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TAMIL AUXILIARY VERBS

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ABSTRACT

The immediate subject of this work is the semantics of a syntactically-defined set of Tamil verbs, all but one of which are used as main verbs as well as auxiliaries. Those which are discussed in most detail are kiTu, viTu, kiTTiru, iru, vai and vecciru. Mentioned in somewhat less detail are kiTTuvaa, kiTTupoo, vaa, poo (in two meanings), aaku and tole.

In setting out to investigate these forms, certain limitations of the traditional methods of linguistic investigation became apparent. With the hope of obtaining more reliable information than was available from regular informants, a series of questionnaires was devised and administered to a total of 117 people from 27 villages in the Chidambaram Taluk of Tamilnadu. It is hoped that the account given here of the use of an interrelated series of questionnaires for the detailed investigation of a specified area of a language will contribute to the methodological basis on which linguistic investigation is founded.

From the results of this investigation, it was found that a study of Tamil auxiliary verbs is relevant to certain general points of interest within current linguistic theory. Evidence is presented in favour of the separation of syntax and semantics, on the close relationship between auxiliary and main verbs, and on the need within a linguistic theory for devices to handle gradation.

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PREFACE

Of the language families in India, the second most important, numerically and historically, is the Dravidian group, nowadays spoken primarily in South India, though presumed to have been more widely spread in early times. Characterized by such areal features of the sub-continent as the phonological use of retroflex consonants and frequent use of participles and nominalizations in embedding constructions, the Dravidian family also possesses such features as regular vowel-consonant succession in the morpheme (consonant clusters other than homorganic nasal plus stop are very rare within the morpheme) and the use of participles for subordination -- unlike Indo-Aryan where conjunctions are used. The most important language of the family is Tamil, both historically and in its reputation as the Dravidian language the least affected by outside influences. As it is used in the oldest extant Dravidian literature and is relatively close to the variously reconstructed Proto-Dravidian, Tamil may be regarded as the quintessential Dravidian language.

Although the differences between modern written Tamil and the classical Tamil of literature as early as the Fifth Century or so are not as marked as those between modern English and the English of Chaucer's time, there are of course numerous differences. The older and more formal language possesses, for example, a far greater abundance of

variant forms and metrical intricacies; the modern, more flexible, language simplifies many of the forms and makes a much increased use of auxiliary words to carry some of the finer shades of meaning. In the spoken language, these trends are carried on to a still greater degree. It is therefore the spoken language that is the most relevant to any study of Tamil auxiliary verbs, though such speech-related literary sources as modern Tamil novels and plays can also provide useful material for such a study. In the work that follows, we will be almost exclusively concerned with contemporary spoken Tamil.

The primary material on which this study is based consists of the tape-recorded responses of rural Tamil speakers to a series of questionnaires designed to elicit unbiased information about the use of certain auxiliary verbs. These questionnaires were administered to inhabitants of various villages in Chidambaram Taluk, about 120 miles south of Madras, during the author's stay in Annamalainagar during 1971 and 1972. The questionnaires, the assumptions underlying their use, their importance to some of the controversies regarding contemporary linguistic methodology, the principles of their construction, and the problems encountered in their use will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two. In the same chapter, this study will also be contrasted with previous attempts to use a similar method of investigating linguistic problems. The discussion in Chapter Two may be foreshadowed by pointing out here that the research being reported on is possibly the most ambitious project of its kind ever

carried out. In all, no less than 117 subjects from a total of 27 villages were consulted and the responses discussed in Chapters Three and Four have been selected from the total of 3510 thus obtained.

Chapter One of the thesis provides a general introduction to the auxiliaries, discusses their identification, their morphology, and something of their syntax. A survey of the treatment of auxiliary verbs in previous grammatical studies of Tamil is also carried out, providing the most extensive account of the literature on this subject that exists to date.

The exemplification of the research methodology described in Chapter Two is provided in Chapters Three and Four. In the first of these chapters, the two most common auxiliaries in the questionnaires, kiTu and yiTu, are discussed. A new analysis of the semantics of these forms is suggested in the light of the material presented. Chapter Four provides a discussion of iru, both alone and in combination with kiTu and vai. The analysis suggested for the auxiliaries involving iru modifies the whole notion of "auxiliary verb" in relation to Tamil and suggests a way of handling comparable forms in other languages as well.

It is this line of investigation that is pursued in Chapter Five. The chapter starts with a discussion of auxiliary verbs in English, French, German and Finnish, with brief notes also on some other languages that have been discussed in the literature. The relevance of the proposed analysis of Tamil auxiliaries to that of auxiliaries in the other languages is

discussed and consideration is given to some of the characteristics that would seem desirable in a linguistic theory capable of providing an adequate analysis of auxiliary verbs in Tamil and presumably in other languages as well.

Before launching into the discussion of the Tamil forms themselves, some attention must be paid to the method by which they are to be represented. The transcription adopted here will be broad, rather than narrow. As the transcription has much in common with the Tamil writing system, itself a fairly adequate representation of the sound system of Tamil, the two systems will be discussed here concurrently.

The Tamil syllabary contains symbols for twelve vowels:

short¹ low (அ), long low (ஆ), short high front (இ), long high front (ஈ), short high back (உ), long high back (ஊ), short mid front (எ), long mid front (ஐ), short mid back (ஓ), long mid back (ஔ), a low-high front diphthong (ஔ), and a low-high back diphthong (ஔ). All back vowels occur rounded. The sounds represented by the first eleven of the symbols will be transcribed as a, aa, i, ii, u, uu, e, ee, o, oo, and ai, respectively.

¹Although other labels have been suggested for the description of Tamil vowels (eg. "tense" and "lax" instead of "long" and "short" -- Fowler 1954, Asher 1966, Schiffmann 1969), the merits of the various nomenclatures need not be discussed here. The traditional labels given here are adequate for characterizing each vowel in opposition to the other vowels of the system.

The twelfth Tamil vowel symbol is of very rare occurrence and is not necessary for recording spoken Tamil. Even in written Tamil, it is not systematically distinguished from the sequence of short low vowel and labial glide (அஃ-ay). The ai diphthong, on the other hand, is distinguished in Tamil from the sequence of short low vowel and palatal glide (அஃ-ay), and this policy will be followed here as well. Since the Tamil writing system is syllabic, besides the initial vowel forms shown above, there are variants which occur with the consonant symbols in forming the syllabic signs. These are, of course, not distinguished in the transcription.

Besides the vowels, there are Tamil symbols for eighteen consonants; that is, for eighteen syllables consisting of initial consonant plus the inherent vowel a -- a vowel-deletion symbol (a superposed dot, or puLLi) is required to indicate a single vowelless consonant. These include plosives and nasals at six different points of articulation: velar (ஃ, ஃ¹ -k, n), palatal (ஃ, ஃ¹ -c, n), retroflex (ஃ, ஃ¹ -T, N), alveolar (ஃ, ஃ¹ -r, n), dental (ஃ, ஃ¹ -t, n), and labial (ஃ, ஃ¹ -p, m). As nasal-plosive clusters are nearly always homorganic, all such nasals^(except m) will be transcribed merely n, leaving the plosive to indicate the point of articulation of the whole cluster. In the rare cases where the cluster is not homorganic -- in the reading pronunciation of the future tense form of

¹The symbols in parentheses consist of the Tamil symbol (including vowel-deletion dot (puLLi)) to show that the consonantal part of the symbol alone is relevant) followed by the transcription symbol that will be used in this study.

the verb kaaN 'see' (stem=kaaN, first person singular future=kaaN~~peen~~), for example -- the particularized symbol will of course be used. As "dental" and "alveolar" n are both phonetically ~~alveolar~~ and always non-distinctive, this transcription will at no point distinguish between them. They will both be transcribed n in initial position (where the alveolar does not occur), intervocalically (where in Tamil orthography they contrast though only the alveolar form occurs geminate), and finally (where the dental form does not occur). The particularized symbol (n) will in this case be reserved for use in non-homorganic clusters, should they occur, as ambiguity would otherwise arise. This transcription will occasionally differentiate between the alveolar "plosive" ɳ and the tap r, even though these are both phonetically tapped r's and non-distinctive.¹ This is because the plosive, like other plosives, may occur geminated (orthographically doubled), in which case it is realized as a post-alveolar affriate [t].² The "plosives" occur phonetically as tense/lax (geminate/non-geminate), voiced/unvoiced, and plosive/fricative in greater or less diversity (k is perhaps the most variable) according to their environment. For example, k is usually voiceless initially [k], though some words, all borrowings from other languages, may have initial [g] in some dialects. Intervocalically, k varies more or less freely between

¹In standard South Indian Tamil and the dialect of Chidambaram under discussion, this is true. The distinction is made, however, in some local dialects (eg. Kanya Kumari) and in Ceylon (Jaffna) Tamil. In Ceylon also, there is often no phonetic differentiation between L and R.

²In colloquial Tamil, the geminate plosive is usually realized as [tt] (dental), and the tense (or doubled) rr as a rolled [r].

[g], [ɣ], and [x]. It may also occur geminated intervocalically, in which case it is voiceless and plosive and is transcribed kk. In its post-nasal occurrences, k is phonetically [g]. Other plosives show analogous allophonic distributions. It is in the intervocalic position that k is the most varied of the plosives. For example, [ɸ] and [z], do not occur as intervocalic realizations of p and c, let alone, say, [s] or [z] as intervocalic realizations of T.

In addition to the six plosives and six nasals just discussed, there are six other consonants occurring in Tamil. These include the palatal glide (ஔ-ய) [j] and the labial glide (ஔ-ய) [v] or [w], mentioned above. There is also a retroflex glide (ஔ-ர) [ɻ], an alveolar lateral (ஔ-ல) [l], a retroflex lateral (ஔ-ல) [ɭ], and the tapped 'r' (ஔ-ர) [r] discussed above in connection with the alveolar plosive. To represent some sounds occurring in loan words but not in native vocabulary, Tamil uses the supplementary letters ஔ (s) [s], ஔ (j) [dʒ], ஔ (ks) [ks], and ஔ (h) [h]. These symbols occur only rarely, however. Although, in some environments, c may have the phonetic realization [s] or even [ʃ] in some dialects, this variation, which is never distinctive in the material being discussed, will not be indicated in the transcription. The symbol (.) aaytam, found only in formal written Tamil, will be transliterated (x) when it occurs in citations from Tamil works.

The broadness of the transcription as described above reflects the aims of the investigation. As the research is primarily concerned with syntactic and semantic phenomena, the accurate rendition of phonetic minutiae is unimportant, except in the rare cases where this would affect the identification of one or more of the morphemes being considered. The quality of the tape-recordings was another factor influencing the selection of a fairly broad transcription, in that it was not entirely adequate to serve as a basis for a reliable narrow transcription. When citing from works that follow a different transcription from that employed here, any examples will be transliterated to accord with this one.

As mentioned above, the responses to the items on the questionnaires were recorded on tape at the moment of utterance. The tapes recorded in this way were listened to while the author was still in India, and the responses were transcribed by an assistant who was a native speaker of a very similar dialect of Tamil to those of the subjects. The transcription was done in the Tamil writing system, as that was the most expeditious and reliable method, given the background and experience of the person doing the transcribing. As soon as they were completed, the transcriptions were checked against the tapes for accuracy by the author and were found to be reliable for the purposes of the investigation. The few mistakes that occurred tended to follow from the divergences between spoken and written Tamil, and were of a sort that could be easily spotted and corrected. The responses cited in the following chapters are, therefore, basically in a transliteration

of this original Tamil transcription. The inconsistencies of the original have been ironed out, however, and ambiguities resolved by reference to the tapes. Items from the questionnaires themselves are given here in a transliteration of the form in which they were written there. Other Tamil examples are given in a similar form, only departing from the lines of a broad transcription within the conventions described below.

Such inconsistencies that occur in the original Tamil transcription arise for the most part from the tendency in spoken Tamil for all words to end with an open syllable. Since this tendency is less true of written Tamil, certain of its consequences are not provided for in the writing system. For use with words which end with a consonant in written Tamil, for example, an unmarked vowel has arisen in spoken Tamil. Thus, payir 'crop', in written Tamil, corresponds to payiru in spoken Tamil. In the original transcription, this back vowel is represented as u or i, depending in each case on whether or not it was audibly rounded. The written poyirru 'it went', for example, can be found both as pooccu and poocci. Since the two pronunciations are in free variation at this point, there is no need to distinguish between them; u will be used here in all such cases. In this we follow Asher 1966 and Schiffman 1969 (Kumaraswami Raja 1966 adopts a similar procedure to our Tamil transcription but standardizes the treatment of each word). Again, written Tamil words that end in the sequence of low vowel plus lateral can be paralleled in spoken Tamil by forms without the lateral -- muntaanaaL 'the day before yesterday' corresponds to muntaanaa.

These are rendered in the Tamil transcription sometimes with and sometimes without the lateral. They are consistently transcribed here without it. Words of written Tamil that end with a sequence of vowel plus nasal consonant often have equivalents in spoken Tamil that end with a nasalized vowel. Thus, the ooTinaan 'he ran', of written Tamil, is parallel to the ooTinaa of spoken Tamil. Since there is never a distinctive contrast between a nasalized vowel and the corresponding sequence of vowel plus nasal, the nasalized vowel can be represented without danger of ambiguity as the vowel plus consonant sequence. This is done in this study (and in such previous works dealing with spoken Tamil as Asher 1966, Kumaraswami Raja 1966, and Schiffman 1969). The Tamil transcription, on the other hand, sometimes represents these vowels with the VN sequence, sometimes with the unnasalized vowel representation, and occasionally the vowel representation supplemented with a nasalization diacritic. Brief mention should perhaps also be made of the gemination of initial plosives following certain classes of words when they end in a vowel. This is primarily a phenomenon of written Tamil and our transcription will follow the Tamil transcription in writing, eg. antap paiyan or anta paiyan, depending on the apparent phonetic gemination or lack of it in individual cases.

When Tamil examples are given in the following chapters, a three-line presentation will be adopted. The first line will be the Tamil transcribed as described above with hyphens dividing it into convenient segments. In general, these segments will begin and end at word or morpheme boundaries but no theoretical justification is claimed for their placement. The purpose of dividing the Tamil utterances into segments in

this way is to achieve clarity of presentation, not to make any claims about controversial points of their morphological or syntactic analysis. The second line will present, also between hyphens, a rough English gloss or description of each hyphenated segment of the Tamil utterance. The third line will gloss the utterance as a whole in understandable English.

CHAPTER ONE

The verbal phrase may be regarded as the dominant constituent of the Tamil sentence. It shows the relation between the topic of the discourse and the speaker, the hearer, other features of the discourse situation, and what is adduced about the topic. It can occur on its own, with overt subject, and embedded in another verbal phrase or nominal phrase. In all these positions, a great part of its flexibility and delicacy of implication is conveyed by the use of auxiliary verbs. These are relators, showing the relation of one part of the sentence to another or to the discourse situation. They often involve considerations of aspect, but also deal with certain miscellaneous denotations, hard to characterise, such as "future benefit" and "self-affective", as will be seen in the following chapters. As the name implies, auxiliary verbs are verbal in form. They take the verbal desinences of person, number, tense, and gender; in combination, they take on verbal combining forms in the appropriate situations. Each is also identical in phonological shape to a main verb of the language, being differentiated from this on the grounds of its syntactic behaviour. In most cases, the meaning of an auxiliary verb form can be related to the meaning of the same form as a main verb. This suggests, as will be seen in Chapter Five, that the distinction drawn between auxiliary and main verbs, though valid for some purposes, may not hold at all levels of description.

In drawing a contrast between main and auxiliary verbs, we may note first that main verbs can occur alone and normally follow nominal forms. They can also follow other verbal forms, and when they do so, retain their own independent lexical meaning. One of the normal methods of conjoining sentences in Tamil is to link up an indefinite number of main verbs, all but the last in their combining forms, the last verb bearing the person-number-gender (PNg) suffix common to them all. Sentence (1) is an example of this type of construction.

- (1) vaTiveelu-ooTi-vantu-okkaantaar.
 (name)-run-come-sit (past) PNg
 Vadivelu came running and sat down.

It will be noted that each of the conjoined verbs of this sentence retains its capability to take complements and thus to form the nucleus of an independent clause. This sentence can, for example, be expanded to (2) without the meaning of the individual verbs themselves being significantly altered.

- (2) vaTiveelu-veekamaa-ooTi-uuTT-ukku-vantu-tiNNe-le-
 (name)-quickly-run-house-to-come-porch-on-
 okkaantaar.
 sit (past) PNg
 Vadivelu came running quickly to the house and sat
 on the porch.

Auxiliary verbs, on the other hand, cannot occur alone in a verbal phrase and are individually found following main verbs or other auxiliaries. Sentence (3), for example, contains a main verb and two auxiliaries, kiTTu and iru.¹

¹In taking kiTTu to be a complex of two auxiliaries, rather than a single, unitary one, this study follows Ramanujan and Annamalai (1968) and most earlier works. Objections to the view taken by Schiffman (1969) will be taken up below.

- (3) vaTiveelu-veekamaa-ooTi-kiTT-runtaar.
 (name)-quickly-run-(kiTu)-(iru) (past) PNG
 Vadivelu was running quickly.

In all our examples containing auxiliary verbs, we will avoid glossing the auxiliaries individually in order not to prejudge any of the issues under discussion. We will simply identify the auxiliary in question within parentheses as is done here. In connection with this sentence, it will be noted that kiTu is added to the combining form of ooTu "run" and iru is added to the combining form of kiTu, just as in (1) yaa "come" was added to the combining form of ooTu "run" and okkaar "sit" was added to the combining form of yaa. But (3) cannot be expanded in the way that (1) could be. Each of the verbs in (1) was capable of occurring with any of the members of an open set of complements. The second and third verb forms in (3), on the other hand, cannot take complements. Only the members of a closed set of emphatic particles can be inserted between them and still preserve the meaning of the progressive. The ee of sentence (4) is one of the particles which can occur in this way.

- (4) vaTiveelu-veekamaa-ooTi-kiTT-ee-runtaar.
 (name)-quickly-run-(kiTu)-(emph)-(iru)(past) PNG
 Vadivelu was indeed running quickly.

If some other lexical item, capable of serving as a complement to the main verb iru "be", is inserted between the kiTu and iru of (4), the notion of "progressive" disappears and two clauses result instead of only one. In sentence (5), there is a main verb (ooTu) followed by an auxiliary

(kiTu -- now with the sense of simultaneity), which in turn is followed by a second main verb, iru "be".

- (5) vaTiveelu-veekamaa-ooTi-kiTTu-kalapp-aanavar-aa-
 (name)-quickly-run-(kiTu)-tired-being one-as-
 iruntaaru.
 be (past) (PNg)
 Running quickly, Vadivelu was tired.

If this sentence seems somewhat awkward, it is doubtless a matter of pragmatics. If Vadivelu is said to be tired after running quickly, rather than at the time of running, and kiTu (the "simultaneous" auxiliary) is replaced by viTu (the "sequential" auxiliary), as in (6), the awkwardness disappears.

- (6) vaTiveelu-veekamaa-ooTi-iTTu-kalapp-aanavar-aa-
 (name)-quickly-run-(viTu)-tired-being one as-
 iruntaaru.
 be (past) (PNg)
 After running quickly, Vadivelu was tired.

Correlated with the syntactic distinction which we have been drawing between auxiliary verbs and main verbs is a semantic distinction. An auxiliary verb can be said to be a verb which, when added to another verb, gives an aspectual or relational sense to the resulting compound, rather than contributing an additional lexical signification as would a main verb in the same position. Although this terminology is somewhat vague, it seems to work reasonably well for such auxiliaries as kiTu and viTu. It is not so useful, however in analysing sentences with iru, as will be seen in Chapter Four. But even this "semantic distinction" can only be maintained in

connection with the syntactic distinction already drawn. Verbs, whether they be auxiliary or main, are syntactic elements and must, therefore, be defined in syntactic terms.

Indeed, a question may well be raised as to the propriety of engaging in a semantic analysis of a syntactically defined set of linguistic forms. This question may be answered from two sides. First, though we may grant that the semantic and syntactic levels of language are independently structured, it is undeniable that parallels do exist between the two levels of structure. It is almost trivial to say that nouns tend to denote particular "things" -- objects, feelings, etc., or to say that verbs tend to denote particular actions or events. In other terms, we might say that verbs tend to be the syntactic equivalents of logical predicates and nouns of their arguments. It is because of this parallelism that the fallacious "definition" of syntactic categories in semantic terms grew up in pre-Saussurian Western linguistic description. A noun, for example, was defined as denoting a "person, place, or thing" because in many cases, that is what nouns do denote. It should not, then, be surprising if some of the members of such a syntactically defined set as auxiliary verbs should be semantically related as well. Second, it is not accidental that semantic treatments of such fields as kinship and colour terms are concerned usually with what are syntactically nouns or that semantic treatments of relations between logical arguments (eg. Bendix 1966) are concerned with verbs. However, the areas of semantics treated in, say, Goodenough 1965, Berlin and Kay

1969, or even Bendix 1966, are intuitively much more obviously structured than the area we are concerned with in this study. The vocabulary of kinship and colour has, of course, relatively accessible structure and even the verbs of getting and giving treated by Bendix are clearly related. But the same is not true of the material treated here. Such a topic as one might set up to investigate a priori semantic notions, might be "Ways of expressing simultaneity and contemporaneity in Tamil" or "The Tamil perfect and progressive". But these would presuppose the existence and significance of particular semantic categories to underly the labels and thus vitiate in advance much of the importance of the results. For this reason, we have taken as a basis a clearly defined set of forms at the syntactic level and have set out to determine what relations exist between their semantic correlates.

Only some of the forms that fulfil the syntactic criteria we have established will be treated, however. Indeed, not all were examined in the questionnaires. Some forms were not included because they are used only in a relatively formal register and so would not occur in the type of informal, colloquial speech that we were most interested in investigating. Among the verbs of this sort may be included uLLu, which is largely a somewhat formal equivalent of iru -- that is, as a main verb, it means roughly "exist" and as an auxiliary, it functions similarly to the English perfect. Another of these more literary auxiliaries is aruLu "be pleased (of a god)" which is used as an auxiliary to form an honorific. Some auxiliaries were included in the questionnaire examples but will not be

discussed in particular detail here. This is partly because they occurred in fewer of the items on the questionnaires than most of those to be discussed and partly because they gave rise to fewer interesting points of analysis which were capable of being resolved by the data available. Some of these will, however, be mentioned briefly at appropriate points in the discussion. These verbs are (with approximate main verb meaning and most usual auxiliary signification): pooTu "put", aaku "become", and poo "go" -- completives of various sorts; vaa "come" -- a continuative; and tole "lose" -- an indicator of disgust. As mentioned above, the auxiliaries which will be accorded the most attention will be kiTu, viTu, iru, and vai. The first two of these are the simultaneous and sequential auxiliaries. Of these, kiTu is also used as a "self-affective" and occasionally as a continuative, and viTu is also employed as the most frequent "completive" auxiliary. As a main verb, kiTu rarely occurs alone in colloquial Tamil; its written equivalent, koLLu, often means "bear" or "carry". The main verb viTu means approximately "let go". The "perfect" auxiliary iru occurs in conjunction with kiTu to give the progressive (or continuative) meaning illustrated above (3). As an auxiliary, vaa also occurs following kiTu. The other auxiliary that occurs frequently with iru is vai, which means "keep" as a main verb and, roughly, "future relevance" as an auxiliary, both on its own and with iru. Chapter Three will take up the discussion of kiTu and viTu, as mentioned above, and Chapter Four, iru, kiTTiru, vai, and vecciru.

Besides the verbs mentioned above, which may be referred to as "core auxiliaries", there are other forms which are used in various aspectual and relational functions and which behave morphologically and syntactically somewhat like verbs. Some of these are referred to as "auxiliary verbs" by other writers on the subject, and they can be subsumed under the label "peripherals", though they will not be considered as auxiliaries, strictly speaking, in this work. They include some that behave very similarly to main verbs and the core auxiliaries except that they occur with the infinitive of the main verb, rather than the combining form. It may be noted that, in traditional Tamil terminology, both infinitive and combining form are varieties of vinaiyeccam "incomplete verb", i. e., a form which combines with a finite verb, just as an adjectival participle (peyareccam "incomplete noun") does with a noun. Among this type of peripheral may be noted paTu "suffer", which forms a sort of passive, and cey "do", which may be said to form a type of causative. Another subgroup of peripherals includes the "impersonal forms", the modals. These are veenTum "it is necessary", veenTaam "it is not necessary", kuuTum "it is possible", kuuTaatu "it is not possible", teriyum "it is known", teriyaatu "it is not known", and so on. These are identical in form to the adjectival participle or the negative adverbial participle of the corresponding main verb (though here veenTaam is an irregular formation) but differentiated from those in being optionally preceded by another verb in the infinitive and being associated only with nouns in the second (accusative) and fourth (dative) cases, rather than with the usual first (nominative) case. Mentioned above as a core auxiliary, aaku "become"

is perhaps the most common of the verbs which can be considered as a peripheral. Its peyareccam form aana, and the infinitival vinaiyeccam form, aaka, are used to subordinate the preceding word, phrase, or sentence to the following noun or verb. Another subordinator is the quotative verb, en "say".

As the morphology of the core auxiliaries is identical to that of the main verbs, we shall now consider the morphology of the Tamil verb.

Basically, a Tamil verb is of two parts: the root, or individuated part conveying the characteristic lexical meaning of the verb, and the ending, relating the root grammatically to other parts of the sentence by showing PNg concord and tense, manifesting a nominalization possibility, or adding a modal significance (eg. imperative, optative, etc.). We have abbreviated "Person-number-gender" as PNg to indicate that, although PNg endings almost always indicate person and number, gender is only indicated in 3rd person forms. In the third person, there is a basic contrast between masculine/feminine "high-class" (uyartiNai) forms and neuter "no-class" forms in both singular and plural. In the singular, the respectful uyartiNai form is opposed to ones specified for the masculine and feminine genders, but this contrast does not hold in the plural.

The forms of a Tamil verb may be divided on morphological grounds into two basic categories: forms marked for both PNg and tense, and forms marked for either or neither. The first of these will be termed

here "finite verb forms", the second "non-finite verb forms". The distinction is drawn along these lines primarily for ease of description and because of the fact that, divided in this way, the finite forms make up a fairly homogenous group in contrast to the diffuseness of the non-finites, much as the core auxiliaries, distinguished as above, form a fairly homogenous group compared with the diffuse group of peripherals.

Although the distinction drawn here is made as indicated above, it should be mentioned that this differs slightly from the usual distinction drawn between finite and non-finite forms in Tamil and in other languages. Traditional Tamil grammarians are a little confused on this matter. In his ilakkaNac curukkam ("abridged grammar"), Koovinta-raaja Mutaliyaar (1928: 67) says in paragraph 176: "...vinai muṟṟaavatu, tiNai, paal, iTam, enpavaṟṟai uNarttip poruL muṟṟintu niṟkum vinai." -- "As for complete verbs, they are verbs standing complete manifesting the distinctions of class, gender, and person." Here it may be noted that the "class" distinction noted is that between high- and no-class mentioned above, and that paal "gender" includes what would be called both gender and number in Western terms. He then goes on in his next paragraph to include as sorts of complete verb (vinaimuṟṟu) the imperative (eeval vinaimuṟṟu), which is differentiated for number but

not for class or person,¹ and the optative (viyankool vinaimuṟṟu), which is undifferentiated for any of the three categories. Another distinction made by Koovinta-raaja (1928:63), following the Tamil tradition, is that between terinilai vinai "time-showing verb (form)" and kurippu vinai "hinting verb (form)", verb forms which lack a tense marker. As Kumarakulasinghe (1929:71), also following the classical Tamil grammarians, says in this regard, "definite verbs are those which have inflections of tense... indefinite verbs are those which have no inflection of tense." European grammarians of Tamil have usually contented themselves with translating the Tamil term vinaimuṟṟu by "finite verb" and considering the matter closed. In connection with Latin, Hockett (1958:238) makes a more careful distinction. He makes a three-way division of Latin verb forms based on the etymological sense of "finite" as "limited", or specified by the maximum number of morphologically marked distinctions. He sets off as "finites" the forms conjugated for the full six-term number-person system, as well as voice, aspect, and what he calls "tense-mode". He considers imperatives as "semi-finite" because they

¹It might be argued that the second person and the high class are implicit in a "command word" (eevalcol), and that therefore the imperative should be regarded as a finite verb. But even if the imperative is considered invariably to be associated with a particular person or class, individual imperatives can not then be regarded as differentiated from each other by which person or class they occur in. Furthermore, imperatives may be addressed to non-humans, such as animals, that would normally be considered to be denoted by no-class nouns. Such imperatives are in no way formally differentiated from "normal" imperatives. It may be that the use of such imperatives involves recategorization of the addressed animals as human, or it may be that the imperative does not in fact imply high-class in the addressee.

participate in fewer distinctions than the finites. "Non-finites", participating in none of these distinctions, include in his view infinitives, gerunds, participles and supines. It is in a sense akin to this of Hockett's that the terms "finite" and "non-finite" are used here in relation to Tamil.

As mentioned above, the Tamil verb form can be divided into two parts -- the invariable part, or root, and the variable part, or ending. In the case of finite verb forms, the ending is divisible in turn into tense and PNg markers. The tense markers are suffixed to the root and precede the PNg desinences. The PNg markers are the same for all verbs and some are even similar as between written and spoken Tamil, so long as the proviso given in the preface is kept in mind -- that with regard to spoken Tamil, a final nasal in the transcription represents what is phonetically a nasalized vowel. In spoken Tamil, therefore, the first person singular marker is phonetically [ẽẽ], the written equivalent being [een] (- ௭௩௪). The spoken Tamil PNg desinences are shown in the following table (7)

(7)	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1st person	-een	-oom
2nd person	-ee (-aay)	-iinka (-iirkaL)
3rd person		
high class	-aar	
male	-aan	-aanka (-aarkaL)
female	-aa (-aaL)	
no class	-atu	-atunka (-inṛana)

Where the written form differs from the spoken one, it is shown in parentheses.

In written Tamil, there is an additional, second person polite singular form -lir,

but as it is not used in the context of casual speech, it is not listed in the table. In nouns, no-class forms are systematically distinguished from high-class forms in not being obligatorily marked for the singular/plural distinction. This is usually also the case for verbs. Thus, though some native speakers make use of a plural no-class form -atunka (cf. Asher 1966: fn 10 and 35), this is a relatively rare usage and does not happen to occur in the questionnaire responses with which we are primarily concerned in this study. These PNG desinenances are used with all verbs and with all three tenses, except for the no-class future which is synthetically formed by suffixing -um to the infinitive.

Tense markers, on the other hand, are not the same for all verbs, though, with few exceptions, they vary within well-defined limits. The present tense indicators in contemporary written Tamil have the common feature of velarity (-kir- or -kkir-), the future tense markers that of labiality (-v-, -p-, or -pp-), and the past tense indicators that of dentality or alveolarity (-t-, -tt-, -nt-, or -in-). The spoken Tamil forms are less easily categorized, however. The "tense" (cf. Asher 1966:20), or geminated, alternant of the present tense marker is -kkir-; the "lax", or non-geminated alternant is -r-. The "tense alternant of the future tense marker is -pp-, the "lax" alternant being -v-. In the case of the past tense marker, the geminate alternant is -cc- or -tt-, depending on whether or not the root ends in a front vowel. There are four non-geminate alternants of the past tense marker: -nc-, -nt-, -t-, and -in-. Of these, the first two vary as do the

geminate forms, -t- is of relatively rare occurrence, and -in- is the most common form and the one that is currently the most productive.

Tamil verb classifications are usually based on the alternation of tense markers described above, particularly the relatively complex past tense alternation. This has not always been the case, however. The native Tamil grammarians, strangely enough, had nothing to say on the subject. PavaNanti, for example, merely enumerates in successive sutras (142-44; eg. PavaNanti 1936:123-4) the alternative tense markers with which he is concerned and makes no attempt to indicate correlations between the use of particular alternants and particular classes of verbs. Indeed, the idea of a morphological classification of verbs does not appear to have arisen until Europeans began writing grammars of Tamil. Most of the early European writers take the third-person singular present tense form of the verb as the citation form and explain the differences between this and the other possible forms. In this way, verbs are classified by the final sound ("letter") of the stem and by whether they form the present tense forms with a single -k- or double -kk-. Ziegenbalg (1716:94-104) gives a fairly incoherent account of this sort, including a total of eight methods for forming the past tense. Beschi (1738:50-56; tr. Mahon 1848:41-51) gives a better organized series of eight rules, arranged in a group of three for verbs forming the present tense with -kk- and a group of five for verbs forming the present tense with -k-. Similar lists of rules are given by such other early writers as Walther (1739:26-30), Rhenius (1836:78-86), Dupuis (1863:41-61), Lazarus (1870:112-122),

Pope (1911:46-63), Arden (1930:74-86) and Lap (1932:55-62). The 'English missionaries of Madras' (1789:28-29) follow the indigenous tradition by providing merely a list of examples, leaving the reader to induce his own rules. The approaches of Beschi and the others mentioned are unproductive as they lead to no reliably predictive statements as to the formation of tense forms given a base form. Indeed, most of the later writers of this group, who use the singular imperative as the base form, (Rhenius, Lazarus, Pope, and Arden), have even more difficulty in making useful predictions than those using the no-class singular present as a citation form. The most widely used classification system in recent years has been that first devised by Graul (1855:37-39). This system drops all reference to the phonetic shape of the stem as the criterion of classification, though such correlations as exist between the make-up of the stem and the class to which it belongs are pointed out. Graul arranges the verbs first into three kinds, according to whether they form the future with -v- ('weak'), -p- ('middle'), or -pp- ('strong'). The weak verbs are then subdivided into four groups according to whether they form the past with -t-, -nt-, gemination of the stem-final consonant, or -in-. The strong verbs are subdivided into two groups, with -tt- or -nt-. Thus, there are seven groups in all:

(8) <u>group</u>	<u>present</u>	<u>past</u>	<u>future</u>
I	-kir-	-t-	-v-
II	"	-nt-	"
III	"	-in-	"
IV	"	-t-/-r-/-k-	"
V	"	-t-	-p-
VI	-kkir-	-tt-	-pp-
VII	"	-nt-	"

This classification was adopted in such well-known dictionaries as Fabricius 1933 (and 1974) and the Tamil Lexicon (1924-36). This latter expands the number of classes to thirteen by allotting a separate class to each of the phonologically conditioned variants of Graul's classes I and V and adding a final class composed of verbs from three otherwise "irregular" roots. Graul's classification is also adopted by Beythan (1943) and the later editions of Arden's grammar revised by A. C. Clayton (Arden 1934, 1942). But Graul's classification is far from the most economical way of accounting for tense-formation in Tamil. The formation of the future tense with -p-, for example, which sets off groups I and V in (8), occurs after all and only those verb stems ending in -N, -n, -L, and -l (eg. kaaN "see", en "eat", and nil "stand"). It is therefore completely predictable, given the phonological shape of the stem, and does not justify setting up a separate group V as distinguished from group I. Vinson (1903: 110-113), without reference to the Graul classification, attempts unsuccessfully to establish three classes of verbs forming their pasts with -in-, -t-, and -tt- respectively. But he fails to predict the occurrence of the past tenses in -nt- from these and admits a large number of exceptions. A more successful attempt at an economical classification of the forms of written Tamil is given by Lisker (1951). He suggests cutting down the number of Tamil verb classes from seven to three. He does this in two steps. The first is to collapse groups IV and V into group I on the grounds of phonological predictability; and the second is to postulate an extra morphophoneme to be added to Graul's "strong stems" (i.e. groups VI and VII), thus enabling one to predict the geminated consonant (-tt-, -kk-, -pp-) to be found in forms

from those stems. The first step is an obvious one as can be seen from a cursory glance at any list of the groups established by Graul, such as that found in Arden (1934:150-169). The coalescence of V and I was described above. In contrast to those two groups, all of whose members end in a non-plosive, all the members of group IV end in a plosive followed by a final short u. The past tense of this group is traditionally said to be formed by geminating the final consonant of the stem, but the forms could equally well be said to result from assimilation of the -t- past tense marker to the preceding plosive, the non-significant final short u having been dropped. Lisker's second step is, in effect, to label the "strong verbs" as such by positing a zero morphophoneme attached to strong stems so that the geminated alternants of the tense markers can be predicted. Thus, all verbs so marked form their present tense forms with -kk- and their futures with -pp-. The labelled verbs are then distributed into classes I and II depending on whether they form their past tenses with -tt- or -nt-. This method emphasizes the similarities of tense marking between the two strong verb classes and the first two weak ones. But the marking of strong verbs cannot be treated simply as the addition of a nul morphophoneme to certain verb stems as Lisker tries to do. Strong verbs form their infinitives by the addition of -kka, (rarely -ka), to the verb stem; weak ones do so by the simple addition of -a or the replacement of stem-final -u with -a. Thus, in this case, the "labelled" verbs of classes I and II would have to be singled out for special treatment and so, in effect, separately categorized --- just what the whole procedure was designed to avoid. The correlation between gemination and transitivity,

which Lisker mentions, and which, indeed, leads to setting up the null morphophoneme, holds only for many of the verbs in group VI (8). It is true that stems of identical form occur in both groups II and VI and consistently differ semantically in that those in group II are intransitive and those in group VI are transitive. But not all members of group VI are so related to members of group II; some of the members of group VI are intransitive. None of the members of group VII are paired with members of other groups in this way. The suggested labelling, then, tends to obscure one sort of contrast which could otherwise be pointed out as existing between groups VI and VII. Notwithstanding its shortcomings, however, the Lisker paper remains the most thoroughgoing attempt to date to reduce the number of verb classes in written Tamil to a minimum.

Until the last twenty years or so, most accounts of Tamil were almost exclusively concerned with the description of written Tamil, giving at the best of times some of the corresponding spoken forms as a matter of marginal interest. The classification of spoken Tamil forms has consequently received very much less attention in the literature than that of written Tamil. Two recent studies, Subbiah 1965 and Asher 1966, have attempted to describe tense formation in spoken Tamil from the viewpoint of prosodic analysis. The first of these is highly inadequate. Roots are divided into ones with final consonants and ones with final vowels. The consonant-final roots are subdivided into "closed" ("contains only nine roots") and "open" ("all other consonant final roots" -- Subbiah 1965:128). The first of these

sub-groups is said to take the past tense marker -ḷ-, the second to take -ṇ-. The vowel-final roots are said to be sub-divided into three sets: "restricted" ("only four roots"), "closed non-restricted" ("only seven roots"), and "open non-restricted". The restricted vowel-final roots are said to take the past tense marker -ṇt-, the closed non-restricted vowel-final roots to take -ṇc-, and the open non-restricted vowel-final roots are said to take -tt- if they are disyllabic with a w-prosodic V final or -cc- if they are disyllabic with a y-prosodic V final. None of these subgroups will handle such common verbs as naṭa "walk" or para "fly". They are vowel-final roots and are not listed in the restricted or closed subgroups so may be assumed to belong to the open sub group. These are said to form their present tenses with -kk- and the future with -pp-, as do these two verbs. But these two verbs (and the others that in written Tamil would fall into group VII of (3) form the past tense with -ṇt-, not -tt- as the members of this group are said to do. Subbiah goes on to give a list (1965:138) of fifteen "'irregular' monosyllabic roots", far more than seems reasonable. There are fundamental objections, of course, to the procedure by which the verbs belonging to three of the subgroups are simply listed without any attempt to characterize their phonological structure, and the remaining two are regarded simply as all other consonant- and all other vowel-final roots, respectively (excluding, naturally, the fifteen exceptions and the verbs not accounted for at all).

The second of these prosodic accounts is much more satisfactory. Asher establishes two large classes of Tamil verbs, equivalent to what have been termed "strong" and "weak" verbs in accounts of written Tamil. As Asher describes them, Class I has "'tense' plosive articulation in past and future forms" (1966:20); and Class II has "'lax' articulation in past and future forms" (1966:22). The claim is made that "once a division into two classes is made, it is sufficient to know the phonological shape of the stem in order to be able to predict any verbal form" (1966:15). In the attempt to justify this claim, an elaborate system of thirteen phonologically-defined subgroups is set up; and some of these subgroups are categorized in a highly specific manner. The second type of w-prosodic Class II verbs, for example, is characterized as:

"having past tense in -nt- ... stem final in R preceded by a short front or a long open vowel, or stem final in r preceded by one of the syllabic structures CV-, CVV-, CVCV-, VCCVV-... The exponents of -r^w vary in accordance with the structure of the stem and the tense. In all cases the exponent is zero in the past tense forms, -r- in the present and -ru- in the future tense. In imperative forms there is consonantal zero and a lengthening of the stem vowel in the case of monosyllables having short V, and -ru in all other cases." (1966:23)

Of the seven example verbs, only two are said to possess imperative forms, one of each of the two types described. In some instances, Asher sets up categorizations specific to single verbs (cf. his footnotes 22, 28, 30, and 32), but even so, some "exceptions" remain. A more serious objection, however, is that some verbs are not accounted for at all in the classification. Two of these form their past tense with -nT-: uLLu 'be' (past:unTu) and kaaNu

'see' (past: kanTeen). These verbs could be treated as exceptions, especially since the form given is the only one in which the first verb occurs. Alternatively, in accordance with the practice followed in the rest of the article, these verbs could be dealt with by adding a fourteenth subgroup (a fifth type of w-prosodic Class II verb). A slightly more numerous but less common type of verb which is left out of Asher's account is the "onomatopoetic" or "reduplicative" type. Such verbs as calacala 'rustle' and vaRavaRa 'be slippery' have a final low back vowel and belong to the w-prosodic subgroup of Class I. According to the classification, then, they should form the past tense with -nt-. But instead, they do so with -tt- (salasalattutu and vaRavaRattutu, respectively). Presumably these two could be handled by setting up yet another subgroup -- a fourth type of w-prosodic Class I verb -- but this would disrupt the symmetry which is said to be desirable in fn 22. It must be noted as well that, as the number of subgroups proliferates, and approximates more nearly the total number of verbs in the language, the classification approaches ever closer to the status of a simple list. Indeed, if it is assumed that each phonological root participates in only one method of tense formation, it can even be said of a simple list of roots together with the complete set of endings appropriate to it that "it is sufficient to know the phonological shape of the stem in order to be able to predict any verbal form."

Though the more recent Generative-transformational accounts of Kandiah 1967 and Schiffman 1969 do not mention the problem, Agesthialingom 1963 gives a fairly detailed classification with numerous examples but very little

discussion. The theoretical basis of this study biases it in favor of treating as many types of language phenomena as possible as if they were matters of syntax. This syntactic bias causes considerable awkwardness in the classification of verbs which the author presents. Verbs are firstly subcategorized on syntactic grounds into simple and complex verbs (verbs manifesting one of the types of causative construction in Tamil). The simple verbs are then divided into transitive and intransitive. Thus far what might be called syntactic criteria are being employed. But then there is a switch to the morphological criterion of past tense markers. On the basis of their past tense markers, both the set of intransitive verbs and that of transitive verbs are subdivided into nine classes. But three of each of these two sets of nine are yet further subdivided into two groups to enable the present and future tense-formation rules to be stated conveniently. As a result of confusing morphological and syntactic categories in this way, then, Agesthialingom ends up with no less than twenty-four classes of verbs, far more than any other writer has suggested. In addition, he fails to give recognition to the natural morphological classes of strong and weak verbs. As a consequence of this, such rules as those deriving infinitives and polite imperatives are made more complicated than would otherwise be necessary. The most useful side of Agesthialingom's study in this connection is the large number of examples he gives -- a total of 507 roots, a number which compares very favourably with the figures for the two other most extensive classified lists of verb roots currently available, 223 for written Tamil (Arden 1934:150-169) and 208 for spoken Tamil (Shanmugam Pillai 1968:19-90).

The descriptive account of Corré 1962, though it purports to treat the morphology of the verb in Chapter Four, presents no classification of verb roots. Corré contents himself with saying in this connection: "If the present is in /kkir/ , the future must be in /pp/ and the past in /tt/ or /nt/. If the present is in /kir/ , the future must be in /p/ or /v/, and the past in /t/, /nt/, /in/, or [gemination of the stem-final consonant]" (1962:84). Nor do Kumaraswami Raja and Doraswamy (1966) appear to think that a detailed account of past tense formation is essential to their pedagogical purposes. They merely provide a few examples of various types of past tense formation and then provide the past tense forms individually along with the verb listings in the vocabulary at the end. It is Shanmugam Pillai (1968) who gives the most detailed account of past tense formation of the recent descriptivists. He errs in the opposite direction from Asher by setting up no less than fifteen classes of verbs and giving no phonological conditioning rules at all. In describing present and future tense formation, Shanmugam Pillai (1965: 64-5, 182) divides Tamil verbs into the same two fundamental classes as Asher did (and as, indeed, anyone would who was basing his classification on strictly morphological grounds). The strong verbs (his Class Two) are subdivided into five sub-classes and the weak verbs (his Class One) into ten subclasses (1968:19-90). A cursory glance at the examples provided, however, at once suggests that reductions in the number of subclasses can be made on the grounds of phonetic predictability without indulging in the phonological complexity of Asher's characterizations. Shanmugam Pillai's first and

second subclasses of strong verbs, for example, are said to form the past tense with -tt- and -cc- respectively (in discussing Shanmugam Pillai's work, we will transliterate his phonemic transcription into our broader, more conventional one). But it can be noted at once that every member of the first subclass ends in a non-front vowel and that every member of the second subclass ends in a front vowel. In exactly the same way, his classes 10 and 11 (the fifth and sixth subclasses of weak verbs) show an alternation between the past tense markers -nt- and -nc-. His class 12, which he says forms its past tense with -nT-, can also be coalesced with these two since its members all have a root-final -L. Furthermore, his classes 7, 8, and 9, which form their past tenses with -t-, -TT-, and -T-, respectively, can be coalesced into a single -t- group. The roots of these classes end in a liquid followed by a vowel (-Ru or -yi), a retroflex plosive (-T), and a retroflex nasal (-N), respectively. If Shanmugam Pillai's remaining five classes are disregarded as exceptional (between them, they only have six members), we have now a five-fold classification for spoken Tamil parallel to the revised Graul classification for written Tamil:

(9)	Class	fut (WT)	past (WT)	fut(ST)	past (ST)
	I	<u>-v-</u> (<u>v~p</u>)	<u>-t-</u> (<u>t~T~r~k</u>)	<u>-v-</u>	<u>-t-</u> (<u>t~T</u>)
	II	<u>-v-</u>	<u>-nt-</u>	<u>-v-</u>	<u>-nt-</u> (<u>nt~nc~nT</u>)
	III	<u>-v-</u>	<u>-in-</u>	<u>-v-</u>	<u>-(i)n</u> (<u>n~N</u>)
	IV	<u>-pp-</u> (<u>pp~p</u>)	<u>-tt-</u>	<u>-pp-</u>	<u>-tt-</u> (<u>tt~cc</u>)
	V	<u>-pp-</u>	<u>-nt-</u>	<u>-pp-</u>	<u>-nt-</u>

This classification has the advantage of being consistent. The classes are set up purely on the basis of the future and past tense markers they exhibit. Any alternation of markers within the classes is accounted for on strict phonological

grounds. In this, it differs from Asher's classification, where the classes were set up on morphological grounds but then subclasses were defined on both phonological and morphological grounds. The shortcomings of Agesthalingom's classification in this respect were mentioned above. The classification of (9) accounts for all but a handful of Tamil verbs in an economical fashion, requiring only five classes. Even some of the "exceptions" can be identified as exceptions within particular classes. Shanmugam Pillai's Class 3 is an example; the roots which he gives as members of this class are keeLu 'listen' and puLLu 'break'. The past tense of the first is keeTTeen, the future tense keeppeen. If the root of this verb is identified as kee-, it can be regarded as a member of class IV on the grounds of its future tense in -pp- and the geminated plosive in the past tense, but as exceptional in forming its imperative with -Lu and the past tense with retroflex, rather than dental, plosion. The classification suggested in (9) is economical in that it establishes a minimum number of classes consonant with an easily stated series of phonological alternations within the classes. This sort of classification is useful outside the restricted domain of the varieties of spoken Tamil which we are discussing. As it is parallel to the classification of written Tamil suggested above, it emphasizes the similarity between the two types of Tamil and is thus of pedagogical value, giving learners of the language a uniform framework for understanding this aspect of both varieties of the language. Beyond the comparison of differing varieties of Tamil, such a classification can be useful in comparing the Tamil verb system with that of Malayalam. The five classes which Asher (1969:263-4) sets up for the underlying forms of

both Tamil and Malayalam verbs correspond exactly to the five classes of (9) and all the examples of Malayalam roots which he gives for each class have Tamil equivalents which belong to the corresponding classes of (9).

The auxiliaries of spoken Tamil mentioned on page 25 are fairly evenly distributed over the verb-classes of (9). The members of Class I are kiTu, viTu, and pooTu; those of Class II are vaa and tole; of Class III, aaku and poo; of IV, yai; and the members of Class V are iru and its compounds, kiTTiru and vecciru.

Certain auxiliaries are characterized by optionally undergoing an unusual degree of phonological simplification, particularly in rapid or colloquial speech. In the case of kiTu, the initial k- is often deleted; with viTu, the initial vi- is deleted, especially in the past tense, leaving a simple -TT- to mark the presence of the auxiliary. In a similar fashion, the initial i- of iru is usually omitted. When we say that, for example, the completive marker -TT- is a reduced form of -viTT-, however, we are not saying something which is completely uncontroversial. It can be objected that the form -TT- is so widespread in this use that it is in fact the spoken Tamil form, -viTT- being the written Tamil form; and that if -viTT- occurs in speech, it does so because of some mixture occurring between the written and spoken registers, not because that form is part of the spoken language. But,

though there is a tendency for viTu as a main verb to be realized with the vi- intact and for viTu as an auxiliary verb to be realized without the vi- in spoken Tamil, there is considerable variation in usage from person to person and from style to style -- so that viTu can occur, say, as -iTu- on occasion, either as main verb or as auxiliary. In the case of iru, indeed, it is usually the case that the initial i- is deleted, whatever its use. Since there is some indeterminacy in the actual phonological forms of the auxiliaries which are encountered but since all forms that occur can be related to a hypothetical underlying form (which is identical in some cases, such as iru and viTu, to the written form, but is not in the case of kiTu), it is this underlying form which we will be using as a citation form. As these deletions never occur in written Tamil (as distinguished from written representations of spoken Tamil), it is their optional occurrence which distinguishes spoken from written Tamil in this respect.

Taking the reduced form as basic in spoken Tamil has led some authors to the conclusion that what are "auxiliaries" in written Tamil are "suffixes" in spoken Tamil. This is the view taken by Shanmugam Pillai 1968. He refers to the different tense forms of viTu as "definitive suffixes" (1968:54) and to -ru as a "perfect suffix", but reveals the inconsistency of his position when he says of the "definitive suffixes" that "the conjugation is the same as for the auxiliary" viTu (1968:54) and, of the "perfect suffix", "-ru corresponds to iru in written Tamil and hence the conjugation" (1968:62) -- which is to say that these are, morphologically at least, verbs.

Another problem in the analysis of auxiliaries is whether compound auxiliaries are semantically and syntactically compound as well as morphologically so. Of the two compound auxiliaries which we are treating in this study, kiTTiru and vecciru, only the first has received any prior discussion. The position adopted in this study is that these forms are indeed bimorphemic and are made up simply of sequences of the two auxiliaries visible on the surface -- kiTu and iru in the first instance, and vai and iru in the second. As will be seen in Chapters Four and Five, this is the only position consistent with the general analysis of auxiliaries to be presented. This problem has been discussed by Ramanujan and Annamalai (1968:161) and Schiffman (1969:130-132). The first of these takes the position adopted here (as will be mentioned again below) but the second takes the view that kiTTiru is a unitary auxiliary. Schiffman's view clearly results from the theoretical bias of his study. Couching his work in a vague Generative-semantic framework, he takes the view that the "deepest" structures underlying his example sentences are in fact their semantic structures. Unfortunately, however, he seems to think that the elements of which the syntactic structure of Tamil is composed are a set of unexamined primitives which are chosen, apparently, for no particular reason other than that each happens to be an English gloss for some particular usage of a Tamil form. One of these semantic labels is "durative". As Schiffman regards this notion as being an indivisible unit on the deepest level of linguistic structure, it cannot itself be made up of other semantic units. There is, thus, in his view, no fundamental relation between the kiTu+iru which represent "durative" on the surface level and the kiTu and

iru which represent "simultaneous" and "stative", respectively. Also within a transformational-generative framework, however, Annamalai (1970:136, 143) claims that a rule of Conjunction Reduction can be formulated in more general terms if kiTTiru is considered to be syntactically complex.

Having defined the set of auxiliaries with which we are concerned and something of the verbal system in which they function, we are in a position to discuss what previous writers on Tamil have said about them. cursory mention has frequently been made of Tamil auxiliary verbs in previous works dealing with the language. Such discussion as there has been, however, has tended to treat them individually and to overlook the generalizations that may be drawn about their usage.

In the traditional Tamil grammars, auxiliary verbs as such are never mentioned. Neither of the two most important early Tamil grammatical works, Tolkappiyam or Nannul (13thC), mention auxiliaries, though both do make mention of the verbal form with which they are conjoined, vinaiyeccam (cf. Agesthalingom 1968).^{:1-15} The reason that auxiliaries are not mentioned is doubtless that these works are concerned with the highly formalized Tamil of the classical literature in which auxiliary verbs occur only rarely or not at all. Thus, even a European author who discusses auxiliaries in his grammar of "Common Tamil"^{:109-115} (Beschi 1738) makes no mention of them in his grammar of "High Tamil" (Beschi 1917).

Most of the earlier European writers on Tamil (and those writing in the European tradition) make some mention of auxiliary verbs. Indeed, the word used in Tamil to denote "auxiliary verb", tuNaivinai ('help verb'), is probably a calque from the European (perhaps the English) term. The first grammarian to use the term "auxiliary verb" in a description of Tamil was perhaps Walther (1739:53) in the section of his grammar entitled de verbis auxiliaribus. The Tamil equivalent seems to have been coined by Europeans writing Tamil grammars in Tamil, such as G. U. Pope, in whose A Larger Grammar of the Tamil Language (Pope 1859), for example, this term appears.

Among the earliest of Tamil grammars in European languages is that of Ziegenbalg (1716) who writes of auxiliaries: 'Ex verbis sex frequentissime in usu sunt, quippe quae ubique fere cum aliis verbis conjunguntur. Haec sunt: 1. இடுகின்றது esse, 2. பொடுகின்றது jacere, 3. செய்து கொடுத்தி emere seu emendo assumere. 4. பண்ணுகின்றது facere 5. வருகின்றது venire, 6. போகின்றது ire.'" (1716:124) Here, he is referring to iru, pooTu, kiTu, paNNU, vaa, and poo. Of these, paNNU is the odd one out; even in Ziegenbalg's examples it is used as a verbalizer for nouns rather than as an auxiliary in the way the others are used. But though he gives a few contrasting examples of sentences with and without these forms, he glosses both members of each pair in the same way, implying that the presence or absence of auxiliaries is semantically irrelevant. Although some

of his examples of "the composition of verbs" (1716:83) include auxiliary verbs in our sense, others (in which the verbs are affixed to infinitives or nouns, rather than combining forms) do not. Beschi (1738:109-115) also deals with "de compositione verborum" — translated by Mahon as "Of the composition of verbs" (1848:90-95). Under this heading, he discusses iru, koL (kiTu), pooTu, poo, viTu, paTu, oTTu, aruL and aayiru. Of these, aayiru (aay-iru) is used as a verbalizer; and aruL and oTTu are not found in the meanings ascribed to them by Beschi in the dialect of Tamil with which we are concerned. He describes koL in terms roughly consistent with our "self-affective" analysis but contrasts it with pooTu, which he appears to think is the corresponding "other-affective" verb. The latter view is not supported by this or other recent works. The auxiliary iru is, however, described in terms quite consistent with those used in the present analysis. Indeed, Beschi's description of this auxiliary seems considerably more accurate than many more recent accounts. Speaking of the auxiliary use of the present tense of iru, for example, he says it "supposes past time in the action of (the main verb — ID), from the time in which this is said; and implies the present time of the coexistence of the person (performing the action of the main verb -- ID) with the speaker" (1848:90). Walther, who follows Beschi in the organization of his chapters, mentions both Beschi and Ziegenbalg in his preface (although Beschi's grammar was published only a year earlier than Walther's, it was written some ten years earlier). Unfortunately, he does not follow Beschi in keeping the use of iru distinct from such European forms as the German periphrastic perfect. He does, however, note with Beschi the use of konTuvaa (kiTTuvaa)

as a continuous, and adds to it mention of konTiru and konTupoo. He mentions poŉTu and viTu as completives, and notes with respect to viTu, "vulgus festinanter loquendo mutat in (i)Tukiratu" (1739:54). In this latter point, he steers clear of a confusion which entrapped many a later writer and avoids identifying the v-less viTu with the much rarer verb, iTu "give". As mentioned above, Walther seems to have been the first person to make use of the term "auxiliary verb" (albeit in Latin) in reference to Tamil. What is perhaps the oldest Tamil grammar in English is that by "The English Missionaries of Madras" (1789).¹ In general outline, this is quite similar to the previous works mentioned and it has a short chapter on auxiliaries (including both core and peripheral ones) entitled "Of conjoining verbs together" -- even from this title it can be seen how strong is the Latin influence on the work.

After this first wave of European Tamil grammars in Latin, the most common language of description is, unsurprisingly, English. As Graul notes in his preface (Graul 1855:ix), "It will not, I trust, be attributed to any presumption on my part, that, although a German, I accompany the publication of the Tamil text...with various keys in the English language; it is merely owing to the consideration, that most of the

¹Perhaps these are J. P. Fabricius and J. Chr. Breithaupt, whose Malabar and English Dictionary (1779) is also by "the English Missionaries of Madras" and is also printed at "Vepery near Madras".

Tamil students are to be found among the English, whereas those of my own countrymen, who are likely to take an interest in this work, are certainly so far acquainted with the English language, as to make use, without any difficulty whatever, of a Tamil...grammar written in English." Although he does not use the term "auxiliary verb", Graul mentions that "By adding the verb அடு "to be" to the adverbial particip. of other verbs, compound tenses (perfect, pluperfect, second future) are formed." (1855:66). He also suggests that koL is used to form "a sort of medial voice" (our self-affective), that pooTu "sometimes conveys the reverse idea", that koL and vaa, individually and combined, "mark the continuance of the action," that pooTu and viTu "give emphasis (the former in connexion with verbs implying the sense of "off", -- the latter in connexion with verbs implying the sense of "away")." It is also said that viTu, when "added to adverbial participles... denotes also the completion of the action", that iTu is a "mere expletive", and that aayiru "marks the completion of the action." (1855:68-69). From these examples, it should be clear that there has been no advance here from the work of the previous century. The attempt to distinguish between pooTu and viTu is particularly inept, being based on one example of each, glossed respectively as 'he put off' and 'he went away'. Of course, viTu can be used with vaa 'come' as well as poo 'go' and not just in the sense of "He came away". Although the functions of the various forms are given only in vague and often misleading terms, Graul does at least seem to have adopted the policy of considering a set of forms which are implicitly syntactically defined,

i.e., those which follow the combining form (adverbial participle) of the verb. Another mid-nineteenth century writer with a relatively independent point of view was Dupuis 1863. Writing in French, he gives a remarkably clear description of the use of iru, saying that it "joint une idée de chose présente à une action passée" (1863:286) and giving a few suitable examples. He goes on, however, to treat conventionally of aaku, koL, vaa, pooTu, viTu, iTu, aruLu, and poo. Other writers of this period followed more or less closely the writers of the earlier century (Anderson 1821, Rhenius 1836, Lap 1932 (orig. 1863)) or the Tamil grammatical tradition (Lazarus 1878, Kumarakulasinghe 1929). More recent in date but not in view-point are Kerslake 1934, Clayton 1939, and Jothimuththu 1963. This latter work deals with auxiliaries only very sporadically and frequently uses the term "auxiliary verb" as a kind of grab-bag into which to toss any verbal uses that do not seem to the author to be those of standard main verbs. Auxiliary verbs are left out of consideration entirely in Mervart 1929 and Meile 1945. This is particularly inapposite in the case of the former which claims, incorrectly, to be dealing with spoken Tamil.

The two best known works in this long tradition of European grammars of Tamil are Pope 1911 and Arden 1942. As the culmination of the tradition, they might be expected to provide the best account of auxiliary verbs possible within it. But this is not the case. As for iru, Pope (1911: 68-9) contents himself with equating its use with that of the English perfect tenses. As for the other auxiliaries, he mentions not only viTu, koL, vai, iTu, poo, aruL, uN, and pooTu, but also aaTu, pira, kaaN, paTu, and aTi.

Considering the heterogenous nature of this list, it is unsurprising that he nowhere says what he means by the term "auxiliary". Indeed, he hardly discusses the uses of the individual "auxiliaries", merely giving several example sentences containing each and commenting that "each sentence is a formula" (1911:177-87). No justification is given for terming some verbs "auxiliaries" and others not. The examples include both auxiliary uses and main verb uses of the various forms he is discussing but no distinction is drawn between the two types. Of the twenty-one examples of viTu, for example, fourteen follow the combining form of another verb and are used as auxiliaries; the remaining seven, however, are used following nouns or infinitives and are being used as main verbs. Even fewer of the examples of some of the other "auxiliaries" show what we would term auxiliary uses. None of the ten examples given of aaTu show it to be an auxiliary; neither do any of the eight examples given for pira or any of the nine given for aTi. Even for less controversial auxiliaries, Pope's examples are seldom to the point. Of the sixteen examples given for poo, only two show it to be an auxiliary and only one of the ten given for pooTu shows it to be so. The pattern is continued in the groups of examples devoted to the other "auxiliaries". Apparently, Pope regards any (to him) striking or unusual use of a verb as being an "auxiliary" one -- an idiosyncratic and linguistically unsatisfactory approach.

Arden's term "auxiliary verb" denotes what we would call the modals (characterized as occurring in a restricted set of forms with a noun in the dative case and often following an infinitive) (1942:239-46).

The auxiliary verbs of this study are treated by Arden under a variety of headings. The auxiliary iru is said to be used for the "perfect" or "combinate forms of the tenses" and to be equivalent to the English perfect (1942:267-8). It is also said to form an "imperfect past tense" (i. e. a past continuous) but the example given in support of this contention does not contain an instance of iru used on its own as an auxiliary; instead, it is used along with koL and this is therefore an example of konTiru, the usual continuous auxiliary. But Arden does not discuss konTiru or any of the other compound auxiliaries, even though his examples include several instances of their use. He regards koL as a "reflexive verb" (1942:236), even though he notes that it is sometimes used "to express a continuous action", or as "an expletive" as well. Arden lists viTu, pooTu, vai, vaa, and poo as "intensive verbs" (1942:282-3). No distinction is drawn between the uses of the first three of these and poo is said to differ from them only in carrying a "force of completeness". Arden claims that vaa is used as an auxiliary on its own to mark continuousness but both of his examples are of the compound auxiliary konTuvaa. Thus he, too, is very confused in his handling of auxiliaries. He fails to realize the similarities that enable them to be treated as a single syntactic category and instead treats them under a variety of unrelated headings. He also does little to clarify the meanings of the various auxiliaries and fails to notice the interrelations between them.

All the works which we have discussed this far may be termed prelinguistic. None of the authors have expressed any theory of how language should be described; all have approached the analysis of Tamil through their own European languages and have endeavored to fit its categories into their native linguistic frameworks. Their saving grace has generally been their respect for the Tamil grammatical tradition which has kept them from going too far wrong in some areas of the language but which has been no help to them in dealing with auxiliary verbs.

The earliest work to approach the description of Tamil from an explicit theoretical base is Vinson 1903. He writes in his preface:

"La linguistique n'est pas une science abstraite dissertant sur des entités métaphysiques; ce n'est pas davantage une science historique exposant une succession d'événements plus ou moins normalement amenés; c'est une science naturelle étudiant des faits positifs, et elle ne saurait avoir d'autre méthode que celle des sciences naturelles."
(1903:iii)

He also explicitly advances the view that syntax is the central part of grammar and writes:

"l'étude des mots dans la proposition constituera donc un objet d'étude nécessaire et primordial dans la grammaire. La partie de la grammaire qui est consacrée à cette étude spéciale a reçu le nom de syntaxe. (1903:2)

He goes on to say that, although no adequate grammars have been written

for any language, the ideal one would contain sections on phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. But when we read further into this book, we find (and not for the last time) that theory often runs far ahead of practice. Vinson's theoretical views seem to have few practical effects in his actual account of the language. He treats auxiliary verbs under the heading of "composés périphrastiques" (1903:139-43). Under this heading, he presents a schema only slightly revised from that contained in Vinson 1878:38-43. He treats a variety of forms which we would include as auxiliaries, including koL ("voix moyenne"); vaa, konTuvaa, konTiru ("continuatives"); viTu and poo ("terminatives"), pooTu ("attributif"), aruL, aaku, and uL. But he fails to give any indication of just when it is that he feels a combination of two verbs is a "composé périphrastique" and when not. In consequence, there are a variety of forms listed which fall outside of our category "auxiliary". These include nil, taa, aTi, uru, peru and paTu. His discussion of iru is astonishingly ethnocentric for one who maintains that language is a natural science. Not only does he equate the uses of the three tenses of iru with the French passé défini, plus-que-parfait, and futur antérieur, but he then brings in the past tense form of konTiru, in isolation from its present and future forms, and equates this with the French imparfait.

Beythan 1943, though much more recent, is in fact a step backwards from Vinson. Though he treats auxiliaries in considerable

detail (1943:180-1, 198-210), he treats them very conventionally. His "Hilfsverben" are Arden's "auxiliaries", our modals. According to him, iru is used to form "drei Nebenzeiten... ausser den drei einfachen Hauptzeiten, Präsens, Präteritum, Futurum" and he claims that "Diese Formen können als Entsprechungen für unser Perfekt, Plusquamperfekt und Futur II angesehen werden" (1943:180). The inadequacy of this statement will be seen in Chapter Five. The auxiliary uses of koL, viTu, pooTu, vaa, poo, and aruL are also sketchily treated. Furthermore, he perpetuates the false viTu/iTu distinction found in so many of the works we have been discussing.

Andronov 1969 (a translation and revision of Andronov 1966) expresses himself as being a descriptive linguist, but again this seems little reflected in his discussion of auxiliaries. He does, however, give a somewhat better account of these than most. He mentions uses of koL, viTu, konTiru, konTuvaa, vaa, poo, iru, aaku, pooTu, and uL. He is also the first of those we are discussing to notice the use of vai in a sense similar to that which we will be discussing in Chapter Four. He says that vai as an auxiliary "denotes completion of an action coupled with a performer's particular interest in retention of its result." (1969:274). He does nothing more than list auxiliary constructions along with various other sorts of constructions, however, and does not attempt to show any interrelations between them or to define them as a class or part of a class. In none of his discussion of these formations, moreover, does he attempt to outline differences between spoken and written forms or more

or less formal written ones, though his book does claim to survey many varieties of Tamil.

Agesthialingom (1964) treats a considerable variety of "auxiliary verbs" but provides no indication of the criteria by which they have been identified. Some of the forms which he considers are found following the combining form of a main verb (and might therefore be taken as auxiliary verbs in the terms of this study), including uL, iru, konTiru, koL, viTu, aaku, pooTu, poo, vaa and aruL. For each of the forms he discusses, Agesthialingom gives a brief statement of the syntactic environment in which it occurs and a short description of its meaning.

A final recent Western study of written Tamil is Corré 1962.

The author describes his work as

"a descriptive study of the phrase and sentence structure of Tamil; the classification however is based on transformational criteria, that is to say, all structures which may be satisfied by the same n-tuples of morphemes are grouped together... Both the modern literary and modern colloquial varieties of the language are taken into consideration." (1962:2)

Notwithstanding this last sentence, Corré's work is almost exclusively concerned with written Tamil. Although he discusses only a few auxiliaries and those very briefly, Corré stands out as one of the two

previous writers¹ to give an explicit syntactic definition of the category "auxiliary". According to Corré,

"The auxiliary is a verb occurring after another verb...in a sentence such that the sentence is not transformable into two sentences, each containing one of the verbs, that may stand together in a discourse." (1962:73).

This is a broader definition than the one used in this study and includes some of the modals and peripherals as well as our core auxiliaries. Corré does not have the space to investigate the auxiliaries in any detail, to enumerate more than a few of them, or to give any more than the roughest notion of their meanings, but he has at least identified for us what it is he is talking about -- a very real advance over most other studies of this subject both before and after his work.

Before going on to discuss what has been written about auxiliaries in studies of spoken Tamil, brief mention might be made of a few relatively recent works by native speakers of Tamil, thus ending this discussion of works dealing with written Tamil as it began, with Tamil writers on Tamil. But these modern writers have little more to say about auxiliaries than did their ancient predecessors. Subrahmanya Sastri (1947) clearly entertains a different idea of what is an auxiliary from that espoused

¹The other is Kandiah (1967) discussed below.

in this study. He writes, "Certain phrases consisting of infinitives and finite verbs have been considered to be single verbs and consequently the roots of the finite verbs have been reduced to the state of auxiliary verbs" (1947:16). The opacity of this statement is not reduced by his examples, which contain a variety of constructions, including, however, instances of what could, placed in an appropriate sentence, be auxiliary uses of iru, koL, and viTu (by "infinitive", he means vinaiyeccam, a term which includes both infinitives and combining forms). Varadaraajan 1958 attempts a semantic definition of auxiliaries:

"vikuti mutaliyana ceerntu vinaiccol palavakaiyaayp
peruku talee anri, iru, viTu, koL, paTu, uN, nil,
vaa, poo mutal aana tuNaivinaikaL ceerntu putiya
putiya poruLveerupaaTu kaLai uNarttip palavaay
vaLartalum immoRiyil uLLatu." (1958:280)

(i.e. "Besides the development of many kinds of verbs together with their suffixes, there is in this language the extensive development of such auxiliary verbs as iru, viTu, koL, paTu, uN, nil, vaa and poo to express ever newer differentiations of meaning.")

Unfortunately, this is excessively vague. Only three examples are given as illustration and these are simple imperative forms of verbs with and without auxiliary. A third recent work on Tamil is Ilakkuvanar 1961. This does not mention auxiliaries as such but does mention the use of konTiru (1961:182) and gives an interesting tabulation intended to explain the use of iru and konTiru:

1. Past in past -- unTiruntaan
2. Present in past -- unTukonTiruntaan
3. Past in present -- unTirukkinraan
4. Present in present -- unTu konTirukkinraan
5. Present in future -- unTukonTiruppaan
6. Past in future -- unTiruppaan" (1961:152-3)

Apparently, these terms are felt to be self-explanatory by the author as he does not explain them any further other than to say that they are "as in French... responding to relative differences in time" (1961:152). Nor does he give any justification whatsoever for his view. Nevertheless, the position that Ilakkuvanar appears to be espousing here is not entirely dissimilar to the views expressed in Chapter Five below. Finally, Theivananthampillai (1970) discusses Tamil auxiliary verbs in the framework of Twaddell's (1963) analysis of the English auxiliaries with regard to the difficulties faced by Tamil speakers in learning English. As the author is primarily concerned with Tamil equivalents of English expressions, he makes no attempt to delineate the overall system of Tamil auxiliaries or to justify the analysis of Tamil implicit in his comparisons.

Since auxiliary verbs are used more widely in spoken Tamil than in written Tamil, it might be expected that more adequate analyses of their use could be found in studies dealing with the spoken variety than we have seen in our survey of works dealing with the written variety. But this is not entirely the case. As mentioned above, all the available studies dealing with spoken Tamil date from within the last twenty years.

Descriptive studies include Kumaraswami Raja (1966), Shanmugam Pillai

(1965-8), and Ramanujan and Annamalai (1968). The first two of these are intended as pedagogical works. They are, therefore, concerned with providing "facts" to be learned rather than justifications of interpretations. Neither of them discuss the category of auxiliary as such and both of them treat such auxiliaries as they do mention separately at disconnected points in the text. Kumaraswami Raja's treatment of iru is particularly disconnected -- its auxiliary use in the present tense is treated under the heading of "present perfect" on p243, the past tense use is called "past perfect" on p303, and the future tense use does not appear to be mentioned at all. The auxiliaries viTu, poo, and pooTu are all described as competitives or intensives and no attempt is made to discriminate between them (1966:305). There is some inconsistency in the treatment of viTu. Although it is treated chiefly as an auxiliary as indicated above, it is also treated as the suffix -ru in the following citation dealing with the formation of the "past gerund" (combining form): "the verb viTu 'leave', verbs ending in 'intensive' -ru, or those compounded of a noun plus paTu drop their final consonant and vowel and take in their place -TTu" (1966:210). But this is the same -ru which is said later to represent the final -Tu of viTu in southern dialects of Tamil. If the T ~ r alternation is treated as a simple phonological change that takes place in the present tense forms of viTu in some dialects, then the above statement is not necessary and viTu and paTu will be taken care of as members of our Class I of (9). A further difficulty that arises from treating the auxiliaries as unrelated can be seen in the discussion of kiTu

and kiT'Tiru in this work. The unusual singular imperative of the first is treated as the "reflexive... suffix -kkoo" (1966:268) but no indication is given at that point of any conjugated forms that might be possible. Earlier, however, in the section dealing with the combining form, it is said that "Verbs ending in 'Reflexive' -koo drop their final -oo and substitute -Tu" (1966:211). This implies one of two things. It may imply that there are two independent sets of verbs, the non-reflexive ones that do not end in -koo and the reflexive ones which do. If this were the case, it would be necessary to explain why the portion of every reflexive verb which precedes -koo is identical to the combining form of some non-reflexive verb. The other possible implication is that -koo may be a suffix. This would explain the above problem but would raise an equally serious objection. Namely, it would become necessary to explain why it is conjugated as if it were a verb. At another point, the "continuous gerund" is said to be "formed by adding -kTu (-kiT'Tu)" to the combining form of a verb. "Continuous verbs" are then said to be formed by "adding conjugated forms of iru to the continuous gerunds" (1966:235). No parallel is drawn between the two so-called suffixes, -Tu and -kTu, both of which are used as if they were the combining forms of verbs. No reason is given for regarding "continuousness" as marked by -kTu, which then requires a meaningless iru to be conjugated, rather than regarding it as marked by the kiTu and iru together. No reason is given for apparently regarding the reduced alternant -kTu as basic to the description rather than the fuller alternant -kiT'Tu which is also given, though without explanation.

Shanmugam Pillai (1968) is more consistent in trying to regard all occurrences of auxiliaries as suffixes. But, as mentioned above (p 45), this involves him in having to give alternative forms for these "suffixes" that vary as do the corresponding forms of the auxiliary verbs in written Tamil. Thus, for the "definitive" suffix (corresponding to viTu), he gives two forms, -TTu and -Tu, for past and non-past tenses, respectively. For the perfect, he gives -ruk and -ru; "-ruk occurs before the infinitive suffixes and -ru elsewhere" (1968:62). What this means is that the infinitive suffixes will have to be redefined as suffixes which occur after the infinitives of verbs and also after members of a small set of "suffixes". In our view, of course, those "suffixes" are in fact a subclass of verb known as auxiliary verbs. Infinitive suffixes, then, can be said to occur only after the infinitives of verbs. Besides viTu and iru, our auxiliaries kiTu, kiTTiru and aaccu are treated as suffixes by Shanmugam Pillai. Since aaccu is an invariant form, the case for regarding it as a suffix is stronger than for any other of the auxiliaries if it is treated in isolation. But, invariant though it is, it is morphologically the past tense form of aaku and is used in contexts parallel to those in which the past tense forms of viTu and poo are used but not in contexts appropriate to the use of present or future tense forms. In addition, for some native-speakers, (though not for Shanmugam Pillai or Ramanujan and Annamalai 1968), it can be used only with non-human subjects (morphologically, it is a "no-class" form).

Unlike the previous two works, Ramanujan and Annamalai (1968) is intended for reference. The auxiliaries treated in this work are kiTu ("reflexive"), iru ("stative"), kiTTiru ('progressive'), and viTu, aa and poo ("completives"). Although the auxiliaries are treated as such in the description, they are termed "suffixes" -- i.e., the conjugations of these 'suffixes' are referred to, and their 'adverbial participles' (combining forms) are discussed, but they are still given this seemingly incongruous nomenclature. The term 'auxiliary verb' is used at one point (1968:167), apparently to refer to paar (here, 'try'), but the meaning of the passage is unclear (it seems to be contradicted by the examples given in illustration). In any event, no attempt is made to distinguish between the category 'auxiliary verb' (if one is entertained) and the category 'suffix' or to distinguish between a potential category of 'conjugated suffix' (i.e. auxiliary verbs) and 'non-conjugated suffix' (i.e. suffixes). As mentioned above, these authors agree with the view taken in the present study that kiTTiru is made up of the combination of kiTu and iru on the semantic and syntactic levels as well as the morphological one. They adduce two syntactic reasons and a semantic one in support of this view. They point out that the two elements may be separated by members of a small group of affixes (including the emphatic -ee and the interrogative -aa) and that if "two or more progressive actions are conjoined together, the conjunctive suffix -um is added after kiTTu; and iru is added only after all the verbs are conjoined" (1968:161). They also point out the semantic similarity between the notion 'progressive' and the combination of the notions 'simultaneous' and 'stative', a view that will be discussed in more detail in

Chapter Five. This work makes little attempt to establish relationships between the various auxiliaries and appears to treat occurrences of auxiliaries in a single sentence or in the last clause of a compound sentence as in some way different from their occurrences in a non-final clause of a compound sentence.

Subbiah (1965) is an attempt to account for the main structures of Tamil within a Firthian framework. As he says, "This analysis is based on Professor J.R. Firth's theory of 'structure and system', which he expounds in his article 'A synopsis of linguistic theory, 1930-55' " (1965:11). This work does not contain a satisfactory treatment of auxiliaries. Such auxiliaries as are mentioned are discussed under a variety of headings.

Of iru, it is said:

There is only one type of compound verb in Tamil and this is formed by affixing -ru to a form identical to that of the completive verbal form (i.e. the combining form -- ID). The suffix is syntactically not separable" (1965:93).

Other than to gloss the two examples with the English perfect, no comment is made as to the meaning of the "compound verb". No attempt is made to justify using the term "suffix" to refer to iru or to explain why this particular suffix should take verbal suffixes and function "exactly like the simple verbs".

Of kiTu, he says:

Just as there is only one type of compound verb, there is only one type of reflexive verb in the language. This is formed by affixing -kk to a form identical to that of the completive verbal form. These are syntactically unseparable. To this reflexive verb all the verbal suffixes are affixed" (1965:94).

What is not pointed out is that the verbal suffixes which are affixed are those appropriate to kiTu, and not necessarily those appropriate to the main verb to which this "suffix" is attached. The only other auxiliary that is mentioned in this work is viTu, which is treated as "the suffix -TTu" (1965:38). Only occurrences of this auxiliary in non-final clauses of compound sentences are mentioned, in which environment, it is said to form one of the two varieties of "completive dependent clauses". The other variety is formed simply with the combining form of the verb, though Subbiah's statement is rather more complicated than that. No firm distinction is thus drawn between non-final clauses with no auxiliary and those with viTu and no indication whatsoever is given of the sequential import of viTu in such environments. Since kiTu is not mentioned in any guise at this point, no contrast can be drawn between its use and that of viTu.

The remaining studies of spoken Tamil to be considered here approach the subject from the standpoint of different varieties of Transformational-generative grammar. Agesthalingom (1963) is the earliest of these and is based primarily on Chomsky's Syntactic Structures (1957). Unusually for a grammar of this type, there is no theoretical

discussion at all. The phrase-structure, transformational, morphophonological and phonological rules are simply given with brief explanations for most of them. No justification is provided, however, either for the type or formulation of the rules presented. Auxiliary verbs are treated only very sketchily. The only ones that appear to be mentioned are kiTu, iru, and kiTTiru in the PS-rule that expands VP (1.11). Agesthalingom remarks, "kiTTu denotes present continuity of action... iru=to remain... here it is used as an auxiliary verb" (1963:13-16). It is impossible to say what he means here by "auxiliary verb". This is the only point at which the word appears. Since he apparently regards 'continuousness' as being marked simply by kiTu, it may be that "auxiliary verb" means something like "meaningless verbal element" to him. (This view of the iru portion of kiTTiru would agree with that of Kumaraswami Raja 1966 referred to above, and also, apparently, with that of Bright and Lindenfeld 1968 -- cf. Schiffman 1969:131). But no further indication is given here as to the status of kiTTiru and iru apart from the fact that they both figure as terminal elements in the VP expansion rule. There is no indication given that kiTu can occur without an immediately following iru; indeed, this possibility is explicitly denied by the formulation of rule 1.11. Not even the slightest mention is made of auxiliaries anywhere else in this study, even though a series of double-base transformations is given in Chapter Four. In one of these, the possibility of conjoining sentences by means of the "perfective gerund" (i.e. the combining form) is mentioned (4.34), and so kiTu and viTu might have been expected to be dealt with at this point.

Kandiah (1967) is a very substantial work in the theoretical framework of Chomsky (1965). Although this study is not, strictly speaking, concerned with "spoken Tamil" as are the other works we have been discussing in this section, it is best considered here because of its theoretical outlook and general comparability with the other works of this section. As regards his subject matter, Kandiah writes, "the writer considers both the spoken and the written language in the present work... what is common to the grammar of the spoken and written languages is recorded and certain devices that are exclusive to speech are ignored" (1967:20-21). It may be noted that in its spoken form, the "standard Ceylon Tamil" which Kandiah is describing is considerably closer to written Tamil than any of the varieties of spoken Indian Tamil so far described. Kandiah defines what he means by "auxiliary verb" by means of the formal apparatus of his grammar. He refers to all the auxiliaries as "aspectual" and introduces them in the phrase-structure component of his grammar. By a series of rules (PS48-53), each of which have at least two parts, he introduces the auxiliaries and states the co-occurrence restrictions that exist between them. It will be noted that there is no specific syntactic criterion by which Kandiah's auxiliaries can be identified. Auxiliaries are defined here as those elements which are derived from the Aux_{asp} node developed from Modif in PS48, Modif in its turn having been developed from VerbP in PS2 and VerbP from Pred P in PS1. The fact that some of Kandiah's auxiliaries occur following the infinitive form of the verb and some occur following the combining form requires two additional tense

adjustment" rules (T65 and T66) to be inserted into the Transformational Component (these rules are specific to the presence of one of the Modif derivatives in the input string). Kandiah also distinguishes between auxiliary and main verbs in terms of the structure of his grammar. As mentioned above, when two main verbs occur in a sentence, both can be expanded without altering their basic import. When a main verb and an auxiliary occur, on the other hand, only the main verb can be so expanded. Kandiah also takes this fact as the basic means of distinguishing main verbs from auxiliaries and accounts for it within the framework of his grammar. He considers combinations of two main verbs to represent conjoined sentences and thus to be derived from two base strings through the appropriate transformational rules of his grammar (assuming that the ones not provided can be formulated explicitly). Sentences with just one main verb and one or more auxiliaries, on the other hand, are derived from just one base string. Kandiah also mentions "the concomitant factor of inseparability...an auxiliary verb may not be separated from the main verb...except by a limited set of other auxiliary verbs" (1967:170). In all, Kandiah lists eleven auxiliaries. Those following the infinitive of the main verb are iru ("anticipative"), vaa ("realizative"), and poo ("futurative"). Those following the combining form of the main verb are koL ("retentive"), pooTu ("completive"), poo ("continuative"), vaa ("progressive"), iru ("perfect 1"), uL ("perfect 2"), viTu ("conclusive"), and kiTa ("stative"). Some of the divergences between this list of auxiliaries following the combining form and the auxiliaries mentioned above doubtless result

from dialectal variation. Characteristic of a somewhat literary style are the uses of poo, vaa, and uL in the meanings given. Kandiah's auxiliary kiTa does not appear to exist in Indian Tamil. Our auxiliary vai is not listed by Kandiah but the meaning attributed to "retentive" koL is rather similar to our "self-affective" vai: "a sense of the 'retention' of the effect of the action represented by the verb". The most surprising omission is that of the continuous kiTTiru. Possibly this compound auxiliary is not used to denote continuousness in the language Kandiah is describing. The sequence koL+iru is generated by the PS rules (as well as koL+uL and a great many other sequences that do not occur in Indian Tamil) but there is no indication that such a sequence would be used in the way kiTTiru is in the language described in the present study. The treatment of koL (kiTu) is surprising in other ways as well and it is doubtful if all of these can be attributed to the dialectal division between India and Ceylon (most of Kandiah's examples can be regarded as quite acceptable sentences of written Indian Tamil). Instead of regarding kiTu as having two meanings, self-affective and simultaneous, as is done here, Kandiah regards it as meaning simply "retentive" as indicated above. The example he gives for this (10), however, could equally well be an example of the "self-affective" use in Indian Tamil.

- (10) maaNavan paaTattai paTittu konTaan
 student-lesson-read-(koL.) past PNG
 The student learned the lesson. (1967:172)

The example Kandiah gives of his "continuative" auxiliary poo (11) also includes an instance of koL.

- (11) tii pala naaTkaLukku erintu· konTu· poonatu
 fire-many-for days-burn-(koL)-(poo) past PNg
 The fire raged for several days. (1967:173)
 (=The fire was raging for many days.)

But his only comment on this is that "the auxiliary illustrated happens to be preceded by Reten" (1967:173).

More important, however, is Kandiah's discussion of certain embedding transformations, or "time rules". As is well known, if a Tamil sentence is made up of two clauses, the verb of the first of which is simply in its combining form, no statement is made about the temporal relationship of the actions indicated by the respective verbs. Thus, (12) does not specify whether the child ran and then laughed or whether it ran and laughed at the same time.

- (12) koRante ooTi ciriccitu.
 child-run-laugh (past) PNg
 The child ran and laughed.

Kandiah would treat this sentence as three ways ambiguous. He would say that it is derived from three different underlying structures, one of which contains a marker to show that the first action preceded the second, one of which is marked to show that the two actions happened simultaneously, and one of which is not marked for either alternative. He does not give a transformation to account for the third possibility, but his rules T16 and T18 account for the first and second respectively. These two rules are identical except that the input string for T16 contains the simultaneity

marker and that for T18 includes that for subsequence. Now we come to the odd fact that Kandiah's approach does not explain. Referring to T16, he says:

"...if the verb in the embedded sentence takes an auxiliary, it must be the Reten aspectival, koL. Although...the choice...is optional, it is almost invariably selected, for its non-choice will render the sentence three ways ambiguous"
(1967:286-7)

Referring to T18, we see:

"Generally, the verb in the embedded sentence takes only one auxiliary, the Conclu aspectival viTu. Although its choice is optional, it is very often selected for if it is not, the resulting transform will be three ways ambiguous"
(1967:293)

If Kandiah were right, this would mean that usually only clauses in which the verb was marked for "the 'retention' of the effect of the action represented by" the verb can figure in T16. This is certainly not the case for Indian Tamil and it seems unlikely that it can be so for Ceylon Tamil either. In the view adopted in this study, the sentences containing kiTu which are supposedly accounted for by T16 contain an instance of the simultaneous auxiliary and are unambiguous in the relevant sense; those containing viTu that are supposedly dealt with by T18 contain an instance of the completive auxiliary and are also unambiguous. Sentences that contain neither kiTu or viTu but otherwise fall under the purview of T's 16 and 18, such as 1.12, are regarded, not as ambiguous, but as unmarked for the simultaneous/sequential opposition. Because, on the one hand,

Kandiah's base component generates only simplex sentences and, on the other hand, all auxiliaries are defined as being derived from this component, he is unable to explain the use of kiTu and viTu to relate two clauses in time. Excellent though this study of Kandiah's is, therefore, the limitations imposed by the theoretical framework within which he is working appear to us to have prevented him from dealing satisfactorily with Tamil auxiliary verbs.

The third study within a transformational-generative framework and the final work to be discussed in this chapter ought to be the most useful in understanding Tamil auxiliary verbs since it deals almost exclusively with them. Unfortunately, however, its account of auxiliaries in Tamil is considerably less satisfactory than that of Kandiah. This is Schiffman (1969), which is set in the "generative semantics" framework pioneered by Bach, Lakoff, McCawley and Ross in the late 1960's. Although it is currently being published unrevised in the Journal of Tamil Studies (cf. bibliography), it has not all appeared there to date; page references will be, therefore, to the original thesis.

The very title of this work, "A Transformational Grammar of the Tamil Aspectual System", is a misnomer. That the forms being dealt with do not form a system in any ordinarily accepted use of the word is made clear on nearly every page. Nor do all of them convey what can

sensibly be called aspectual notions; as the author himself says about his "self-benefactive" auxiliary, "it is really not clear how /ko/ is related to aspectual notions" (1969:76). Finally, it seems at the least to be stretching a point to claim that the informal presentation of half a dozen tentative rules to start the derivation of surface structures from the author's postulated semantic structures constitutes a "transformational grammar" even in the contemporary lenient sense of the term (for a recent objection to the trend toward inexplicit formulations of transformational rules, cf. Dougherty 1973).

Indeed, although Schiffman treats a very similar selection of forms to those examined in the present study, he at no point indicates the basis of the selection. The auxiliaries discussed are viTu ("completive"), pooTu ("completive with nuance of malicious intent"), vai ("keep for future use"), kiTu ("reflexive, self-benefactive"), taLLu ("riddance"), tole ("disgust, impatience"), iru ("perfect, stative, suppositional"), aaku ("completive, finality"), and kiTTiru ("durative"). Since all these items occur following the combining form of a main verb, presumably the selection criterion Schiffman was using was similar to that used here, even though this is nowhere stated to be the case. The syntactic status of these forms is also left unstated. Usually they are referred to simply as "aspectual markers" but no indication whatsoever is given as to what this implies about their syntactic and morphological behaviour. Apparently, an "aspect marker" is not an affix, however, for in mentioning, "the question of whether aspect markers are perhaps some sort of infix, inserted between the verb-stem and tense," Schiffman points out that:

"This tells us nothing about its meaning, however, and does not explain or give us any insights about why more than one aspect marker is possible, and which combinations are possible and what they mean" (1969:40).

Of course, simply calling them "aspect markers" does none of these things either. The real problem with treating them as affixes has been dealt with above but is not mentioned by Schiffman. Nor does he mention some other forms that he might have dealt with. It may be that uLLu and aruLu are too literary for the colloquial dialect under discussion, but this cannot be true of poo. On p116, Schiffman gives a list of "change of state" verbs, every one of which consists of poo attached to the combining form of some other verb -- exactly the syntactic behaviour most characteristic of the auxiliaries he does treat. Yet he does not suggest that this might be another member of his "aspectual system".

There are also curious omissions in Schiffman's treatment of particular auxiliaries. Most notable of these is his failure to mention the sequential use of viTu. In the first place, in his brief discussion of viTu (1969:97-99), only a single-clause example is discussed; no suggestion is made that viTu might be used in a non-final clause of a compound sentence as well. Furthermore, in the course of discussing the "simultaneous" sense of kiTu (1969:120-130), he gives an example of a compound sentence containing viTu in its first clause. He does not, however, identify this as viTu, but refers to it rather as "-Tu 'after' " as if it were structurally parallel to "munnaale 'before' " (1969:124) or pinaale 'after' instead of kiTu.

Although it was said above that Schiffman's study is in the "framework" of Generative semantics, it is most notable for its lack of any consistent framework. Schiffman often claims that the Chomskyan approach, with its central syntactic component and unitary "deep structure" level, is incapable of handling the "aspect markers" of Tamil. But in throwing out the phrase-structure component, he retains such labels as S, VP, V, and N for labelling the nodes of his "semantic structures". These appear to be used in much the same way as in a grammar with a phrase-structure component but no indication is made as to their origin, given a grammar without such a component. The other labels which feature in his semantic structures are participant labels and verbal labels. Of the former, he has only two, [agent] and [patient]. These he makes do for any sort of relation a noun may be in to a verb, even such relations as 'goal' and 'locative' being labelled as patient (1969:123,151). Schiffman's verbal labels are a much more varied and numerous lot. At various points, he includes [negative], [present] (tense), [past], [habitual], [non-habitual], [completive], [expected result], [permission], [self-benefactive], [simultaneous], [durative], [perfect], [current relevance], [suppositional], [indefinite], [obligatory], [do for future utility], [riddance], [possibility], [malevolent], and [emphatic]. It will be noted at once the wide variety of the notions indicated by these labels. Some are aspectual (completive, simultaneous, durative), some modal (expectation, permission), and many very difficult to categorise (self-benefactive, riddance). Some represent relatively simple notions (negative, past), others highly complex ones (Schiffman himself notes the complexity of such notions as emphatic and permission). Nowhere are these notions shown to be more than completely after-the-fact, chosen

for no particular reason other than that each happens to be an English gloss for some particular usage of a Tamil form.

Nor is it made clear what is the justification for the proposed semantic structures beyond the author's (non-native Tamil) intuitions. These structures have no explicit link with general logical or semantic categories, nor is any claimed. The link between the semantic structures and their relevant surface structures is tenuous at best, being composed of informal rules with no obvious validity beyond the sentences under discussion. It is significant that in order to support these "semantic structures", Schiffman resorts to some very peculiar reasoning. In accordance with the usual view that surface structures have little to do with meaning, he says:

"allowing lexical considerations (in this context, surface word boundaries -- ID) to determine the underlying structure of the sentence...is...what pre-transformational theories have used...with the result that very few insights were ever gained about syntax, let alone semantics."
(1969:129).

But in support of his "tense extraposition rule", he says:

"Justification for this rule will have to be based mainly on the surface structure for the time being but further evidence will be presented for it and rules of this type in the discussion of the section of the aspect marker iru." (1969:107).

Neither this rule nor anything like it is anywhere mentioned, either in the discussion of iru as aspect marker or in the chapter on iru as copula.

Although Schiffman quotes Lakoff (1967:211) to the effect that "There are fewer grammatical categories and grammatical relations in deep structure than had previously been thought; and seemingly simple sentences are not simple in deep structure", he still appears to postulate a very close relation

between semantic and surface structures when it suits him. In his conclusion, we see the statement, "Semantic structures are seen to be mainly left-branching in Tamil, so that the derivation of surface structures is shown to be much simplified if a left-branching order is used" (1969:212). In the discussion of yaa he says, "In these sentences the surface order of the aspect markers follows the semantic structure order of the notions underlying them." On p129, he works back from a semantic structure to claim that the surface structure is not, in fact, as he has stated earlier (but the earlier statement shows the surface structure that would be assigned by most investigators of Tamil, being the way in which a native speaker would assign constituent structure). All this suggests that the order of elements in the proposed semantic structures has been given an independent justification adequate to be sensibly compared with the surface structure order or even to suggest an unusual analysis of the surface structure. But on p89, we find that the ordering of the semantic structures has been based on the surface structures all along:

"since left-branching structures simplify the derivation of surface structures and spare us having to posit a number of rules, we shall proceed on the assumption that left-branching structures are correct for Tamil... until some proof is offered that left-branching is wrong for Tamil."

The work under discussion, then, appears to fall short on three main counts, all of which will be remedied to some extent in the present study. First, it fails to explicitly define the objects being treated on any level. Second, it attempts to set up overly-detailed semantic structures, providing no justification for these or relating them in any way to general semantic categories or to other semantic systems and only loosely and circularly to

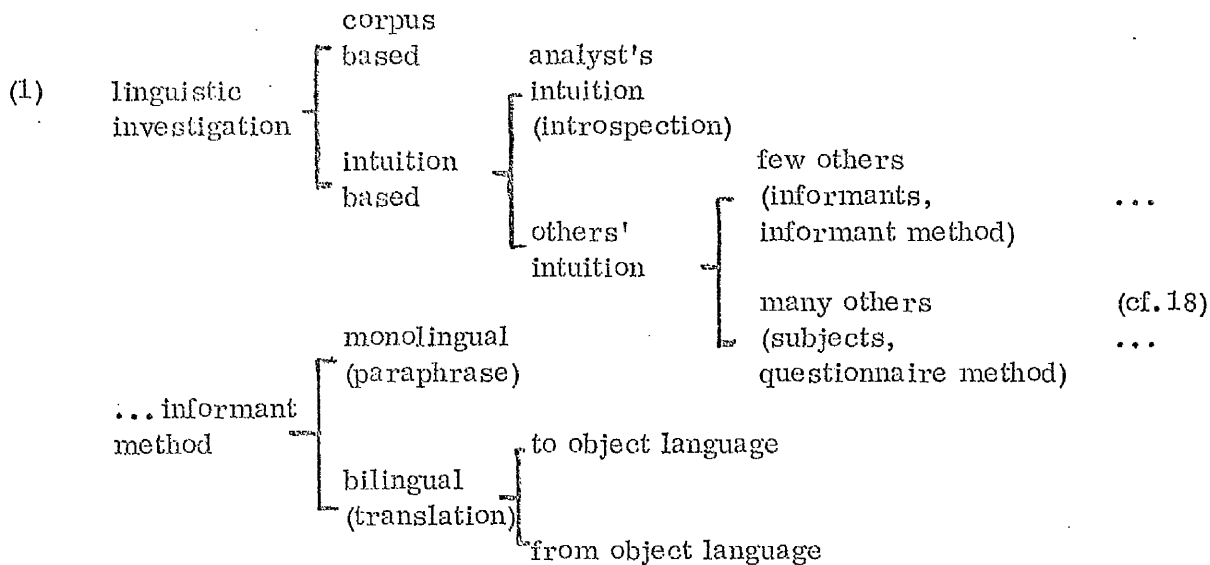
their corresponding surface structures. Third, it neither treats all of the entities that seem to fit the implicit syntactic criteria which appear to have motivated the selection of forms, nor treated those that were included in adequate depth or scope. This work can be said to epitomize the disadvantages of the hyper-theoretical approach to linguistic description. The author's overconcern to maintain a current theoretical background leads him to skimp on the factual material presented and to dismiss as lacking in insight any relatively atheoretical analysis. Unfortunately, however, the theoretical apparatus he espouses provides no means to specify the topic of discussion, to relate the postulated semantic elements and structures to those found elsewhere in Tamil or other languages, or even to establish relationships among the items discussed. As will be seen in the balance of the present work, an approach which does not presuppose a particular theoretical orientation is better adapted to the study of a hitherto poorly-described part of language than an approach bound by a priori theoretical considerations to attempt an analysis which may not suit the material.

CHAPTER TWO

The use of questionnaires in linguistic investigation

In this chapter, we shall be examining the part played in linguistic investigation by the use of questionnaires. The advantages and disadvantages of using questionnaires to collect linguistic data will be compared with those of using the more traditional methods — corpus examination, introspection, and the informant method. From this, we will go on to outline the various types of questionnaire possible and note recent examples of this method of investigation as applied to linguistic problems. The work of the Survey of English Usage and E. H. Bendix will be discussed fairly fully and contrasted with the research being reported on in this dissertation. The second part of the chapter will be concerned with a detailed discussion of the questionnaires used in this investigation. The discussion will describe the structure and evolution of the questions used on the questionnaires, characterize the subjects responding to them, give a general description of the responses obtained from the subjects, and outline the methods used in analysing the responses. Particular attention will be paid to the problems that arose concerning each of these four topics.

As in collecting data on any other level of language, there are four basic ways of abstracting the necessary data for pursuing a semantic investigation from the totality of a language. These are outlined in (1).



To obtain the desired information, one can (a) consult one's intuition, (b) examine a corpus, (c) interrogate one or more individual informants, or (d) question many informants (subjects) by means of a questionnaire. In evaluating the merits of all these approaches, there are two fundamental criteria that must be kept in mind. First, the utterances containing the data must be as natural as possible. In seeking to describe a language, we are interested in the language as normally spoken -- not as spoken in response to questions from a linguistic investigator; language not as the informant feels it ought to be spoken, but as it actually is spoken. Secondly, when the study is to deal with a small selection of forms from the multitude that constitute the language, the utterances being investigated must contain the appropriate forms in adequate numbers to support the analysis.

For obtaining the most natural data possible, the corpus method is best. The way to amass an absolutely reliable body of data about how a given language operates would be to tape-record as completely as possible the

utterances of an individual or small group of individuals over a period of time and then abstract the usages ones is interested in from the spoken (and then transcribed) corpus thus obtained. Utterances obtained in this way should be entirely natural, revealing the forms occurring as produced by the native-speaker's competence in interaction with his environment and what he wants to say. The skewing of the data which would result from any attempt by the investigator to elicit forms of particular interest to himself will not be present. Though the initial presence of the tape recorder might cause some self-consciousness on the part of the speakers, this effect will be minimal or non-existent if the apparatus is kept inconspicuous, or if the recording itself is done without their knowledge. This extreme method of acquiring a corpus for examination is of course impractical, both in the technical aspects of obtaining the data (which could be partly overcome by merely recording conversations occurring in some place where the speakers sit down for a while to talk, as in a living room or at the dining table), and in the unwieldy mass of data it would be necessary to work through to obtain even one occurrence of some of the rarer forms. This is of course the most serious problem facing a corpus-based study if some of the forms under consideration are not very frequent. As Greenbaum (1970:80) says in connection with the semantic tests used by the Survey of English Usage, "a corpus would have to be immense indeed to yield similar numbers of examples."¹

¹He notes that in the material collected by Behre (1967) from a corpus, there were only twenty-five and thirty occurrences respectively of two adverbs, much and very much in the position which interested Greenbaum. In the limited extent of the completion tests of the Survey on the other hand, he had 150 and 161 occurrences of these forms respectively. Joos (1964:16) also says, referring to the corpus that he used as the basis for his study of the English verb, "I count 8038 occurrences of finite verbs in Trial, and 958 infinitives; the other non-finites are rarer by about seven to one."

The method of consulting one's own intuition (introspection) can only be used when the language being investigated is the native language of the investigator. If the investigator has a thoroughly fluent, though non-native, control over the language, his intuitions about it can still be useful. Nevertheless, they should be checked with those of a native speaker where possible. In the present case, the investigator was fluent only to a limited extent and so was unable to use this method. Even when it can be employed, though, introspection has its limitations.¹ From the very nature of the method, the investigator can only describe the features of his own idiolect and has no way of knowing to what degree his own speech is representative of the speech of others in his speech community. Problems relating to division of usage are utterly opaque to the use of this method. Introspection is also severely hampered by the influence of the investigation upon the investigated, which is to say the tendency of the investigator unconsciously to adapt his idiolect to suit his hypothesis in cases of doubtful usage or subtle discrimination. This violates the naturalness criterion mentioned above. (As the availability of utterances containing the appropriate forms is unlimited, the second criterion is fully satisfied, however). Even in uses which do not directly affect his theoretical views, the investigator may find that his intuition suffers from overwork just as does that of any other native speaker and becomes confused and unreliable after considering a large number of unacceptable and border-line utterances relevant to a particular problem. Though this tendency obstructs the informant method as well, it is much more dangerous when the analyst and the informant are one. With

¹In two articles, Leech (1968, 1970) has made similar objections to the overuse of introspection as a technique for linguistic investigation.

introspection, the informant is of maximum sophistication and able to produce intuitions of a higher order of abstraction than other informants, but at the same time, as he thinks about his intuitions and examines limiting cases and cases of border-line acceptability, he grows more and more accustomed to unacceptability. As a result, it proves increasingly difficult for him to make reliable judgements as to whether or not a particular problematical utterance is acceptable. In general, therefore, it is better to have the sophistication in one person (the analyst) and the judge of acceptability in another (the informant).

This is what is accomplished by the standard informant method -- probably the most usual method of obtaining linguistic data. One or a few native speakers (the informants) provide examples of what they consider to be their normal use of the language in response to queries, either in the language being investigated (the object language) itself or in a second language (the tool language) known to both the investigator and the informant. In both of these cases, the informant can be asked to make direct statements about the meaning of a particular form in an utterance (i. e. produce a paraphrase or a translation in a monolingual or bilingual investigation respectively). He can also be asked to judge whether or not sentences constructed by the investigator are acceptable. The logical relations entered into by the forms of the language in which the investigator is interested--with each other and with other parts of the language--can also be determined by asking the informant to judge the acceptability of sentences constructed for the purpose of testing these relations. For example, the informant might be asked if the Tamil sentence (2) is acceptable or not.

- (2) maneVikaL-ellaarun-peNkaL-aanaa-peNkaL-ellaarum-manevikaL-
 wives - all - women - but -women - all - wives -
 alla,
 not
 All wives are women but not all women are wives.

If so, then the non-reciprocal relation of inclusion can be said to hold between the words peN 'woman' and maneVi 'wife' (i.e. the "meaning" of the word peN can be said to be included in that of the word maneVi). Or if sentence (3) were not acceptable,

- (3) koRante-peenaave-oTeeccutu-aanaa-atu-oTeyille
 child- pen - broke - but - it- didn't break
 The child broke the pen but it didn't break.

it would show that the "meaning" of the transitive verb oTu 'break' included that of the intransitive verb oTu 'break'.¹ It is also profitable, especially in investigating forms whose semantic content is marginal² to that of the utterance as a whole, such as the Tamil auxiliary verbs investigated in the project described below, to ascertain what sorts of lexical items are used in connection with a particular form and in what combinations the forms under investigation can occur. It seems unlikely, for example, that sentences such as (4) or (5) would ever be found acceptable to a native speaker.

- (4) *avan-netu-neeran-cett-uTTaan.
 he-long-time-die-(viTu)(past)PNg
 he died for a long time.

¹In fact though, this example is acceptable to most Tamil speakers I have asked, showing that the hypothesized relation does not hold.

²Marginal in that even if a sentence contains deviant items (Tamil auxiliaries, for example), the informant will still claim to understand the meaning of the sentence and will usually correct the deviant items automatically when asked to repeat the sentence in the way he would normally say it.

- (5) *antap-poNNU-viTT-il-vant-uTT-iTTaa.
 that-woman-house-in-come-(viTu)-(kiTu)(past)PNg
 That woman (suddenly gradually) came into the house.

Sentences (6) and (7), on the other hand, are perfectly normal.

- (6) neettikki-raatri-avan-cett-uTT-aan.
 yesterday-night-he-die-(viTu)(past)-PNg
 He died last night.
- (7) antap-poNNU-viTT-il-vant-uTTruntaa.
 that-woman-house-in-come-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg
 That woman was coming into the house.

A particularly effective method of comparing forms is to present the informant with sentences identical in every way except the presence, absence, or arrangement of the forms being investigated. This throws the queried forms into relief, focuses the informant's attention upon them, and highlights the contrasts that exist between them in the language.¹ Note as examples of this method in actual use, the preference rating, preference ranking, similarity, and forced-choice selection tests used in the Survey of English Usage as described below. Care must be taken in utilizing this technique to guard against overdifferentiation when the informant sees two forms in the same context and reads in a distinction that he wouldn't make in normal speech. Back-checking and verification with other informants is advisable in this case, as in all the other informant techniques mentioned here. Similarly, when the investigator produces Tamil forms by substitution that the native speaker might not have thought of, it may happen that if the native speaker cannot fit an

¹Note, though, that this is not always desirable. Indeed, one of the chief aims of the questionnaire method used in this investigation and described below was to avoid focusing the subjects' attention on the crucial forms.

interpretation to them at once, he may reject them as unacceptable even though, given the right context, he would think them perfectly acceptable. This can only be dealt with by rechecking and noting divergences from the behaviour of other informants.

Both the monolingual and the bilingual informant methods require some degree of linguistic sophistication on the part of the informant. This is obvious in the bilingual case; but even the monolingual informant is not required merely to produce a particular utterance, but also to stand back from it, as it were, and make a judgement as to whether he would say it given an appropriate situation. If the informant is too unsophisticated to understand what is meant by acceptability of utterances or is perhaps even incapable of seeing an utterance as an utterance (as distinguished from the thoughts expressed by it) and so is incapable of judging it except insofar as he evidences misunderstanding or understanding of the semantic content, he is useless as an informant. Though too much sophistication on the part of the informant is likely to lead to unreliable judgements, too little is even more likely to do so.

The paraphrase and translation methods work best with relatively simple¹ vocabulary items. Reliable answers are likely to be obtained to

¹This is not meant as a technical characterization of some set of vocabulary items but as an intuitive classification referring to items with relatively clear denotata, not apparently manifesting complicated semantic structures.

sentence (8),

- (8) naan-kaTalle-niint-iTTrunteen-enra-vaakkiattil-kaTal-
 I-sea in-swim-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg-(quot)-sentence in-sea-
 enra-vaarttekki-aarttam-enna?
 (quot)-word to-meaning-what
 In the sentence, "I was swimming in the sea", what is
 the meaning of the word "sea"?

but not to (9),

- (9) paappaa-koocciTTu-pooccu-enra-vaakkiattil-pooccu-
 child-get angry-(poo)(past)PNg-(quot)-sentence in-(pooccu)-
 enra-vaarttekki-aarttam-enna?
 (quot)-word to-meaning-what
 In the sentence, "The child got angry", what is the
 meaning of (pooccu)?

where such meaning as there is is not easily separated out of the verbal phrase
 by average informants.

Using the paraphrase (monolingual) method has the advantage of
 escaping influence from other languages since informants knowing only their own
 language can be used. There are three disadvantages to this method, however.
 Since, by its very nature, this method requires what can be said in one word to
 be said in many, it encourages lengthy circumlocutions which then have to be
 checked over to find the essential parts. Nor is it always easy, even for a
 sophisticated informant, to give paraphrases adequately setting apart
 contrasting forms. Most native speakers of English, for example, would have
 very considerable difficulty in providing contrasting paraphrases for the
 underlined words in the sets of English sentences (10 and (11).

- (10) a) He made her cook the dinner.
 b) He forced her to cook the dinner.
 c) He compelled her to cook the dinner.
 d) He coerced her into cooking the dinner.

- (11) a) He dressed in a hurry.
 b) He got dressed in a hurry.
 c) He dressed himself in a hurry.

The third difficulty of the paraphrase method is that it requires a high degree of fluency in the investigator to enable him to follow the paraphrases accurately. Such fluency is difficult to obtain in the few years at the disposal of most investigators, including the present one.

In the case of the translation (bilingual) method, the translation of forms from one language to the other can go from object into tool language or vice versa. Of these two, translation from the object language into the tool language is the most useful. Compared with the paraphrase method, though, the disadvantages of the translation method are greater, beset as it is with the dangers of both conscious and unconscious interference by each language with the other. This can result in informants remembering how the object language (eg. Tamil) was described in terms of the tool language (eg. English) in school and forcing object language forms into tool language categories in a mistaken effort to please the investigator. In addition, the universe of possible informants is drastically slashed to include only bilinguals. On the other hand, two advantages can be attributed to the informant method using translation. Where the two languages have roughly similar forms (most likely in simple vocabulary items), the translation method is much more concise than the paraphrase. In answer to (8) above, for example, it is much easier to say "sea" than the paraphrase (12).¹

¹In this instance, the synonym samuttiram is readily available but that may not always be the case.

- (12) uppu-niir-nerainta-periya-eri.
 salt-water-filled-big-lake
 A big lake filled with salt water.

Also, if the informant has a better grasp of the tool language than the investigator has of the object language, he will be able to describe to the investigator more exactly what he feels to be the meaning of a particular sentence in the tool language than he could in the object language itself. A sufficiently sophisticated informant will understand the nuances of his own language and so will be able to help the investigator twist the tool language into expressing these.

Items which belong to the same semantic field in the tool language as the translation equivalents of some of the items being investigated can be usefully studied by means of translation from tool to object language. This method will allow the investigator to find whether they too are dealt with similarly in the object language; even if not, the way they are dealt with may give him some insight into the usages he is primarily concerned with. Let us assume, for example, that Tamil is the object language and English the tool language of an investigation into the Tamil auxiliary verbs. Among the auxiliary verbs of Tamil is iru, often used along with a main verb to give a kind of perfect aspect to the meaning of the main verb. In many cases (though not always), this use of iru can be rendered into English with the so-called "perfect tenses", as in (13).

- (13) en-vaaRkke-yil-renTu-taTave-maTraas-ukku-vant-irukkreen.
 my-life-in-two-times-Madras-to-come--(iru)(pres)PNg
 I have come to Madras twice in my life.

To make the time between the coming and the being (the present) maximally short,

in English we can add the word just (14).

(14) I have just come to Madras.

But if we want to render (14) into Tamil, we get (15).

(15) naan-maTraas-ukku-vant-uTT-een.
 I-Madras-to-come-(viTu)(past)-PNg
 I have just come to Madras.

Here a different auxiliary (viTu) is used instead of the English perfect tense plus just. In this case, an item in the tool language (just), which is associated with one handling a phenomenon dealt with by a part of the system under consideration in the object language (perfect tense), is also handled by another part of the same system (viTu) in the object language.¹ As Asher (1968:89) says, "The way the grammar of different languages copes with a given concept or set of related concepts is of interest to the linguist." On the other hand, if the informant has a less than expert grasp of the tool language, he may likely miss the slight distinction of meaning that the investigator is wanting rendered in the target language.

It is possible to combine the monolingual and bilingual approaches to the informant method by using a bilingual assistant to interpret between the investigator and the monolingual informant. This keeps the range of possible informants at a maximum without demanding expert speaking knowledge from

¹It might be noted that, without the maTraasukku, (15) would look like (16) and could occur, not only in similar contexts to I've just come, but also in contexts appropriate to the use of the progressive in English (I'm coming, I'm coming!) in response to someone waiting impatiently for the speaker.

(16) naan-vant-uTT-een.
 I-come-(viTu)(past)PNg

the investigator. This method hinders rapport between investigator and informant, however, and is somewhat clumsy and time-consuming with communication having to filter through the interpreter the whole time. Care must be taken to avoid letting the interpreter influence the statements of the informant as to usage, adequacy of paraphrase, etc. If the informants are being paid, as steady informants usually are, this method involves double the cost in informant fees compared with single informant methods.

The most serious difficulty connected with all methods of collecting data from one or a few steady informants is the danger that their language will change as it is being investigated. In the normal run of investigations, where distinctions are relatively clear cut, this will have only a very marginal effect. But when one is investigating the uses of forms of subtle and often nearly indeterminate meaning, such as Tamil auxiliary verbs, this poses a very real danger. For example, when the auxiliaries, pooccu, iTuuccu, and aaccu, were being investigated, it was found that the starred sentences in (17) were unacceptable to the informant.

(17a) *koRante-paaTatte-keeTT-aaccu.
 child-lesson-listen-(aaku)(past)PNg
 ? The child listened to the lesson.

(17b) *neettikki-maRe-pencu-pooccu.
 yesterday-rain-fall-(poo)(past)PNg
 ? The rain fell yesterday.

But by the time five or six days had elapsed, (even though other topics were being examined as well, with the contrasts of these auxiliaries coming only at intervals during a session of a couple of hours), when these examples were proposed again, they proved completely acceptable. The best that could be

said for this sort of result would be that the informant had grown more adept at finding hypothetical situations, however unlikely, that would allow for auxiliaries in the contexts presented. But this was not the case; careful questioning revealed that his idiolect had simply grown more tolerant of auxiliaries during the period in which he had been questioned about them. The distinctions between these forms had actually been eroding away as the informant's attention was focused upon them.

More examples of the effect of a linguistic investigation upon the speech it purports to be describing can also be provided from the period of field work in which the data underlying this study were obtained. Another steady informant was used in the course of the investigation both for help in setting up the questionnaires and for making acceptability judgements of Tamil sentences intended to pursue various problems, some related to the investigation, some not. In the case of this second informant, there was the same sort of inconsistency described above. Moreover, when his judgements of the questionnaire sentences themselves were elicited (in the case of the last two questionnaires only) prior to their administration and later compared with the results obtained from the informants, considerable differences were apparent between his explicit judgements and the implicit ones of the subjects. These differences can be attributed rather to his having been conditioned by the investigation than to his dialect being different from theirs in view of the overall similarity of his dialect to theirs (his village, though outside the area of investigation, was not so far away from some parts of the area investigated as were other parts of the area). Mention might also be made of a comment passed around among other students at one point to the effect that the Tamil spoken by

this informant was becoming like that of the investigator in some respects. Such an effect can only be said to have resulted from the influence of the investigation upon his speech.

At the same time as this research was being carried out, another researcher was working in a more southerly town in Tamilnadu on the Tamil quotative. He came up at one point from where he had been carrying out his research to give a talk about his work and present some of his data before members of the linguistics department of the university near which the present investigation was carried out. This talk was received with very grave reservations by the people who heard it, on the grounds that the idiolect of his informant apparently differed in some crucial respects from any other idiolect with which they were familiar. Though it may be that there did indeed exist a whole community of people to whom all the things that were alleged to be acceptable were acceptable and all those alleged to be unacceptable were indeed unacceptable, it seems not unlikely that this was a case of the informant having become influenced by the investigation. Nor is it necessary to go so far afield as Tamilnadu to see this effect in operation. As Postal (1970:39) says in a footnote,

"Many of the arguments throughout this paper are based on facts of considerable subtlety. Many may also be based on properties subject to a good deal of dialect and idiolect variation. I have throughout utilized my own judgements... The conclusion which I seek to establish is supported by the validity of any reasonable subset of the overall class of arguments given."

And G. Lakoff says (1971:238) ,

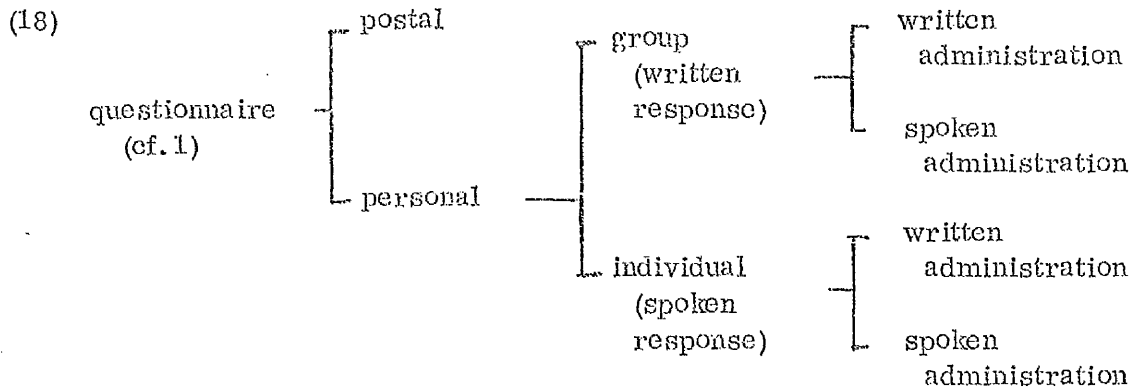
"It should be noted at the outset that all of the sentences discussed in this section are subject to dialect variation... It is especially important to remember throughout this

section that the argument to be presented depends on the existence of a single dialect for which the data presented are correct. It is not even important that the dialect described by these data be the majority dialect. . . "

Though the studies from which these footnotes were taken used introspection as their method of investigation, the triple problem of idiolectal variation, tired intuition, and influence of the investigation on the investigated affects the use of the informant method as well.

The other problem associated with all use of people conscious of giving information is the possible clash between the formal and informal registers. This arises especially when dealing with speakers of a language such as Tamil, where there is a marked difference between the written, formal register and the spoken, colloquial register. This coexistence of divergent styles affects illiterates as well as literates. In Tamilnadu, for example, most radio broadcasts and speeches of all sorts (usually political) make use of the formal register, which thus becomes known even to those who have no knowledge of reading or writing. This proved a problem in the current investigation, as will be seen below.

A method of enquiry with particularly high value in examining such forms of seemingly vague denotation and division of usage as those investigated in this study, is the questionnaire administered in a standard manner to numerous informants, or "subjects" as we will be terming them. The forms which can be taken by questionnaires are shown in (18).



From this diagram, it can be seen that questionnaires fall into two main types -- the postal and the personal. Postal questionnaires are sent to the interviewees to be filled in and returned. In these, both the questions and the responses are in written form. Personal questionnaires can also be divided into two types -- those involving interviewing a group of subjects at one time and those involving interviewing subjects individually. Both types can be administered orally or in written form. If the individual type is used, the responses too may take either form. But since, if the responses are to be written, the individual type holds no advantage over the group type, we will consider here that in contrast to the group type, the individual type makes use only of oral responses, though the input may still be either oral or written as shown in the diagram.¹

The postal, group, and individual methods of administering semantic tests can be graded on a scale of decreasing number of subjects possible and increasing control over the interview situation by the investigator. Using the postal method, large numbers of questionnaires can be sent out.

¹Davy and Quirk (1969) report the results from a questionnaire of the group type with both spoken administration and spoken responses. This was made possible by the use of a language laboratory and would not be practicable in carrying out the type of research with which the present study is concerned.

On the other hand, some will not be returned, even if reminders are sent. Some of the people filling out the questionnaires may misunderstand the instructions or may write down the linguistic forms they think they ought to use rather than the ones they actually do use. Above all, where there is a low literacy rate in a given linguistic community or where the written, prestige language differs greatly from the colloquial under investigation, this method is useless. Where postal interviewing has been used successfully has been in European dialect surveys investigating the spread of particular lexical items over a given area.

In the group type, the interviewer presents the questions to a group of subjects at once. This has the advantage that for all those in a particular group, the situation in which the questionnaire is presented is absolutely the same for each. If they do not understand what is wanted, the subjects can ask the investigator about it. The investigator in turn can check to see if the subjects understand what he wants them to do by asking a few introductory questions and checking their responses on the spot before going on to the main body of the questionnaire. But since the responses in this method must be in writing, its value in linguistic investigation drops as the literacy rate of the linguistic community being investigated drops and as the gap between the normally spoken and written varieties widens. Dealing with educated speakers of standard English, this method has recently been used with considerable success by the Survey of English Usage (of which more below) using orally presented questions. Bendix (1966) (also discussed in more detail below) used written questionnaires with spaces for the answers to be written in when doing his investigation of Japanese verbs. The advantages of administering group semantic tests in writing are most evident when the standard language itself is under investigation

and the investigator's control over the object language is imperfect. Even in the case of individually presented semantic tests, written administration can be helpful when it is wished to avoid distracting or confusing the subjects by inaccurate pronunciation.

In the Hindi part of his investigation, Bendix made use of the individual type of semantic testing, presenting his queries in written form but writing down the responses given orally in English (by his bilingual students of English at Columbia University). In the present study, both administration and responses were made orally, as many of the subjects were illiterate. In addition, here it was colloquial Tamil that was under investigation, which differs considerably from written Tamil. Questionnaires both presented and responded to orally have previously been used chiefly in dialect surveys.

In fact, questionnaires have rarely been used for determining the structure of any part of language. In analysing semantic structure, introspection has been the most frequently used method (eg. Katz and Fodor 1963, Bennett 1975). The corpus method (eg. Lyons 1963, Joos 1964), and informant method (eg. Schiffman 1969) have also found favour. In recent years, however, it has become apparent, to some observers at least, that these traditional means of investigation are not enough. They must be supplemented by thoroughly objective evidence of another sort. Zimmer (1964:93) says, for example, "...we would like to emphasize the need for developing valid experiments that will test the reactions of native speakers under controlled conditions"; and Leech (1970:346) has in a footnote:

"Confidence in subjective data is vicarious, like confidence in paper currency; so long as the validity of the currency is not challenged, there is no need to go beyond it. But if the validity is challenged, then one must be able to fall back on something more palpable."

It is in order to provide this "something more palpable" that controlled linguistic tests of greater or lesser sophistication have been developed.

Some of the early efforts in this direction have centred on confirmation of the authors' hypotheses on the productivity of affixes or the logical relations between predications and make use of the group type of questionnaire mentioned above with both written administration and written responses. Zimmer (1964) describes the results of two tests set up to test the productivity of the negative prefix un- in English. One was a test of twenty pairs of terms administered to thirty university students. As the subjects were instructed to indicate whether either of the alternatives was preferable to the other, and if so, which, the test can be said to be a form of the "preference rating test" in the terms of the SEU as discussed below. The other of Zimmer's tests "was given to twelve adult speakers of English, most of them college graduates" (1964:98) and consisted of a list of fifty items that were to be evaluated as "relatively more acceptable" or "relatively less acceptable." In these tests, there is no attempt to provide any context for the items being tested -- the "words" being presented in isolation (as the purpose of the test was to explore the productivity of the negative prefix un-, some non-words as well as words were included).

In his 1970 article, Leech starts from a chance comment by Goodenough (1965:265) that the way in which he decided that the term halfbrother

denoted a subset of the denotata of brother was to answer a question of the form Is he your brother with Yes, he's my halfbrother. Leech generalizes this to form his "Question-and-answer test (Q & A test)" (1970:344). In this, subjects are presented with a question and answer of the type illustrated here (with a blank in place of Yes). They are then asked whether it would be appropriate to fill the gap with Yes, No, either Yes or No, or neither Yes nor No. In addition, Leech makes use of two other types of test, the "Tautology-and-Contradiction test (T & C test)" and the "Implication-and-Inconsistency test (I & I test)" (1970:345). The first of these assumes a tautology or contradiction (eg. My half-brother is my brother) and asks subjects to state whether the sentence is always true, never true, or could be true or false. The other asks them to assume the truth of a first sentence and then respond to a second sentence by indicating whether it "must be true", "cannot be true", or "may or may not be true". Both of these latter types of test also allow the subjects the option of stating that they "don't know which answer to give". One battery consisting of nine tests (4 Q&A, 1 T&C, and 4 I&I) was carried out on a group of seventy university students, and another battery consisting of fifteen tests (4 Q&A, 5 T&C, and 6 I&I) was administered to another thirty. These tests are intended to be administered to subjects of a high degree of sophistication and this is reflected in the complicated instructions which they are expected to carry out (and do successfully carry out in the event).

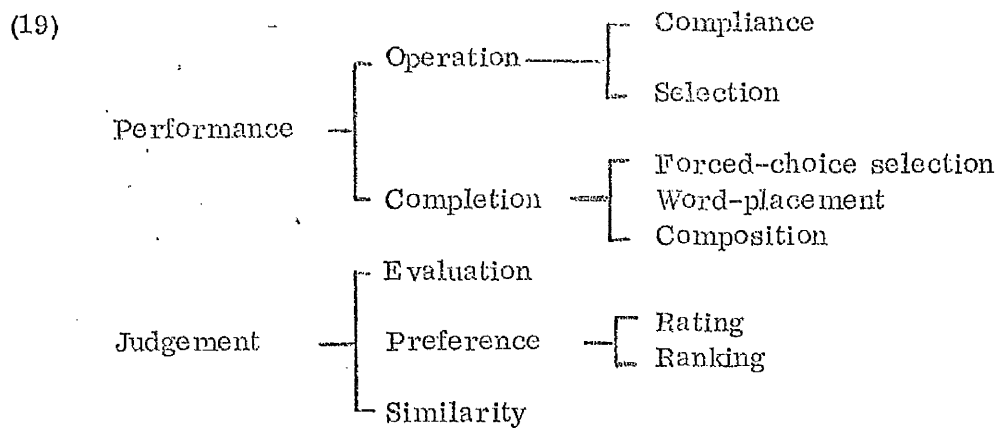
More ambitious than these relatively minor attempts to make use of semantic testing in linguistic investigation is the work of the Survey of English Usage¹ (SEU) making use of the group type of questionnaire administration

¹Of course, semantic testing has been just one phase of the Survey's work. They have also amassed corpora of various types of spoken and written English and have produced various publications based on this material (eg. Greenbaum 1969).

mentioned above (with spoken administration and usually with written responses).

The approach used by the Survey has been explained in recent publications by some of those who took part in it -- notably Quirk and Svartvik (1966), Greenbaum (1970), and Greenbaum and Quirk (1970). It is from these works, especially the latter, that the following account of their procedure has been taken.

The test types used in the Survey are summarized in the following diagram (19) presented in Greenbaum and Quirk (1970:3):



As one of the things with which the Survey is concerned is the relation between the actual use of linguistic forms by individuals and the attitudes of those individuals towards them, it makes use of two basic types of test: Performance tests and Judgement tests. The four types of Judgement tests are: evaluation tests, preference rating tests, preference ranking tests, and similarity tests. In evaluation tests, "subjects are required to evaluate a sentence on a three-point scale: 'perfectly natural and normal', 'wholly unnatural and abnormal', and 'somewhere between' ". Subjects were asked to apply this test to sentences such as He hardly could sit still. In preference rating tests, two or more variant forms of sentences (such as None of the children answer/answers the question) are rated as in the evaluation tests "but this time the juxtaposition

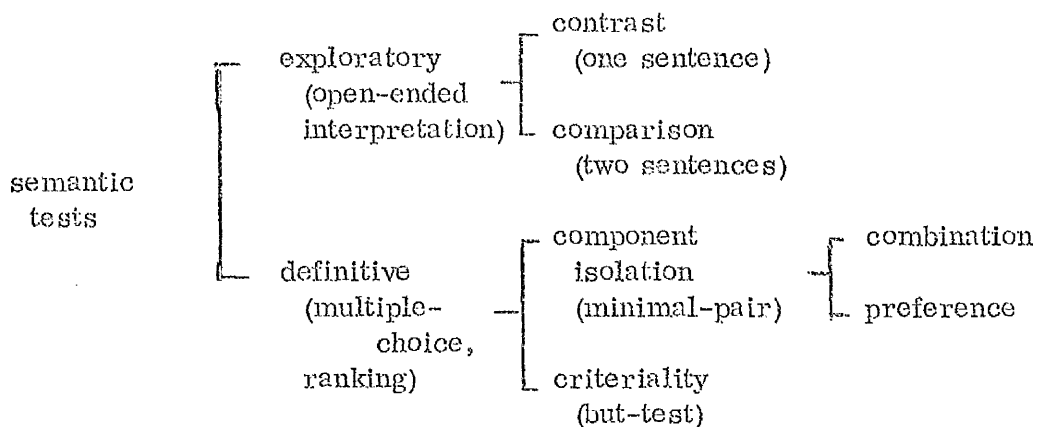
of the two forms inevitably focuses evaluative attention on the only variation between them" (Greenbaum and Quirk 1970:5). In preference ranking tests, the variant forms (as above) are ranked in order of preference. In similarity tests, "subjects are given two sentences, usually with minimal lexical and syntactic differences between them, and are asked to judge their similarity on a three-point scale: 'very similar in meaning', 'very different in meaning', and 'somewhere between' (1970:5). Subjects were asked to apply this test to sentences such as Some lessons are actually given before ten and Actually, some lessons are given before ten. There are two basic types of performance test: operation tests, in which "subjects are asked to effect some change in a given sentence," and completion tests, in which "they are asked to make some addition to a given sentence (1970:3). As shown in the diagram (19), operation tests divide further into the compliance and selection types. Compliance operation tests are intended to discover the unasked-for changes made by the subjects to deal with deviances present in the given sentence or appearing when the asked-for operation is being carried out. One, for example, examines the frequent transposition of hardly to between the auxiliary and the verb in He hardly could sit still by subjects who were merely asked to change he to they. There are also selection operation tests. In these, the subjects are required to perform a specified operation which forces them implicitly to choose between two or more variant forms (e.g. in making the verb present in None of the children answered the question, subjects had to choose between the singular and the plural forms even though they may not have been aware of the choice as they were making it). The three types of completion operation tests are as diagrammed above, the forced-choice selection tests, word-placement tests, and composition tests. The first of these is meant to investigate areas of known divided usage.

In these, "subjects are given a limited set of items from which to select and a limited set of environments in which their selected form is to be used" (1970:4). As for example, the two items I the poem and I have the poem were given together with the two forms learned and learnt. In the ordinary selection tests described above, the subjects' general preference between the two forms can be seen. Here, what is important is to see which form will be used in which slot. In word-placement tests, the subjects are given a sentence and a word which is to be used with it (e.g. My brother plays the guitar and usually). By their response to this test, subjects showed which position they preferred the adverb to be in. In composition tests, as the name suggests, subjects are given part of a sentence and asked to compose an ending for it. This type was mainly used to determine the range of verbs which can occur with particular intensifiers (as described in Greenbaum 1970). For example, I entirely ... and I completely ... were each given as the initial words of a sentence. Subjects were to provide their own endings for the sentences. A noteworthy characteristic of the Survey tests is their variety -- no less than nine different types were included. Such a large variety of test was possible only because of the high degree of linguistic sophistication among the subjects. These were all university students with the exception of one group of teachers. The subjects with whom the Survey dealt, then, were well educated and accustomed to taking tests not entirely dissimilar to those used in the Survey. With less sophisticated subjects, the difficulties of explaining the procedure involved in such a varied and complex group of tests would have been insuperable.

The other major recent study utilizing semantic tests is Bendix (1966), referred to above. In contrast with the Survey of English Usage,

Bendix intends his method for studying semantic structure to be universal rather than atomistic. In the Survey, investigators were concerned merely with supplementing the data already available from corpora and introspection in order to obtain further information on areas of known division of usage and subtlety of semantic distinctions (e.g. adverbial placement, intensifier-verb collocations, etc.). Bendix, on the other hand, is trying to develop a theory which he hopes can be extended to working out the semantic structure of a whole language. To do this, he is trying to apply on a wider scale the method of componential analysis developed by such scholars as Conklin (1955, 1962), Goodenough (1956), and Lounsbury (1955, 1956, 1964) to deal with such closed semantic systems as colour terms and kinship systems. To prove that componential analysis, slightly modified to admit relations as components, can be extended to less structured areas of vocabulary than the above, Bendix applies it to the English verbs have, get, find, give, lend, borrow, take, get rid of, lose, and keep; to "six Hindi expressions which are the approximate translation equivalents of the English verbs have, get and take" (Bendix 1966:81); and to six Japanese expressions roughly corresponding to the same three English verbs. He suggests five sorts of semantic test that would be helpful in eliciting the desired data. These, as I have diagrammed them here (20), fall into two main types, based on the task which the subject is requested to perform and on the purpose for which they are intended.

(20)



Exploratory (interpretation) tests are to give the investigator some idea as to the identity of potential semantic components. Definitive tests are to isolate components and to determine which are criterial.¹

Bendix is much less consistent in his use of the various types of tests he establishes than were the conductors of the SEU. This is a result of the different orientations of the two projects. The concern of the SEU was, to a large degree, methodological, and not theoretical. This has left some of their publications open to the charge that the descriptions resulting from the Survey are atomistic (cf. eg. Thompson 1973). The concern of Bendix is primarily theoretical, with the result that he pays less attention to his methodology, even to the extent of giving no examples for Japanese of the type of test he considers theoretically the most important (the but-test). This lack of concern for methodology extends to the methods by which Bendix obtained his data.

¹In his use of this term, Bendix follows Weinreich (1962:33). Weinreich writes, "A condition for denotation may be considered criterial if, were it unfulfilled, our informants would refuse to apply the term in question." Bendix interprets "condition for denotation" to read "semantic component" and so contrasts "criterial semantic components" with "connotations."

In dealing with the English verbs which form the core of the application of his form of componential analysis, Bendix obtained his data by introspection.¹ To obtain data for illustrating the application of his theory to other languages, however, he makes use of semantic tests of the group type with written administration (for the Japanese data) and the individual type with written administration (for the Hindi data). Among the twenty-five items dealing with Hindi in his Appendix Two (he omits ten which did not turn out satisfactorily), Bendix includes four of the five types of test diagrammed in (20). Four of the twenty-five are contrast interpretation tests, seven are comparison interpretation test, seven are combination ranking tests of various sizes, none are preference ranking tests, and six are but-tests. Of the eight items dealing with Japanese which Bendix gives in his Appendix Three (He omits seven others which "either did not yield significantly convergent responses... or... gave indications of testing variables that were at best only indirectly relevant to the hypothesis" -- 1966:171), there are no contrast interpretation tests, five comparison tests, one combination test, two preference tests, and no but-tests. Among the thirty-three tests he suggests would be of use in analysing the English verbs he has chosen, over half (nineteen) are contrastive interpretation tests. There are one each of combination and preference ranking tests and seven but-tests. The remaining five are of types not dealt with in the general classification of test types. This information is summarized in Table (21).

¹ Although he says on p60, "a small number of informants was consulted", since these are neither specified further nor mentioned elsewhere in the text, and since he refers to the example tests given in this section hypothetically (eg. "To substantiate this we might subject it to such a matching test as:" or "the matching test might take the following form:" (both p68), we must assume that any such consultations were marginal to the investigation and merely to confirm Bendix's own usage.

(21)	<u>type of test</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Hindi</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
	(total)	33	25	8
	contrast	19 (58%)	4 (16%)	0
	comparison	0	7 (28%)	5 (63%)
	combination	1 (3%)	7 (28%)	1 (12%)
	preference	1 (3%)	0	2 (25%)
	<u>but-test</u>	7 (21%)	6 (24%)	0
	other	5 (15%)	1 (4%)	0

From this it can be seen that Bendix was very pragmatic in his choice of test to be actually used, although a more uniform composition of questionnaires and ordering of the different types of tests is theoretically quite important to him, as will be noted again below.

It should be clear from the above that the most important differences between the work of the SEU and that of Bendix spring from their very different orientations towards general linguistic theory. In the SEU, the emphasis was on the methodology of collecting reliable linguistic data by means of questionnaires administered in a consistent way to large numbers of informants. Thus, most of the publications which have drawn on the SEU results (eg. Greenbaum (1969, 1970), Greenbaum and Quirk (1970), Kempson and Quirk (1971), Quirk (1970a, 1970b), and Quirk and Svartvik (1966)) have emphasized the types and construction of the tests used and the various methods employed to ensure that the results were not skewed by extraneous variables. In its attempt to equal the strict controls of experiments in the physical sciences, the SEU research could be said to be firmly based on a general theory of experimental science, rather than the merely linguistic theory that underlies Bendix's work. Considerations of general theoretical interest are, however, seldom discussed in these works

(cf. Kempson and Quirk 1971 for an exception). To Bendix, on the other hand, the theoretical implications of his work to general linguistics are pre-eminent. He is concerned with showing the validity of his hypothesis that componential analysis, suitably extended, can deal satisfactorily with general vocabulary.

The types of test used in the two investigations reflect the different approaches of the two projects. The nine types of test used in the SEU are much more heterogeneous than the five used by Bendix and can be used in exploring a much wider variety of linguistic phenomena. The tests described by Bendix, on the other hand, are much more narrow in focus and are intimately related to his theoretical assumptions, some of the shortcomings of which are discussed in Ariel (1968). There appears, however, to be some inconsistency between the way in which Bendix describes his tests and the way in which they were actually used. As indicated above, Bendix's interpretation tests are logically prior to his multiple-choice tests since it is from the data he obtains in response to the former that the investigator is to set up hypothetical components, the validity of which he will then test with the latter. Indeed, Bendix himself says (1966:20):

"Interpretation tests are fairly open-ended and, thus, not rigorous, relatively speaking. They are more exploratory and offer the investigator a range of responses from which he may induce what the possible identity of the component or components may be... He may then proceed further to test his hypothesized components with more rigorous multiple-choice tests"...

This would imply that there should be two separate batteries of tests, administered at different times -- the first composed of interpretation tests, the second of multiple-choice tests of various sorts. But in actuality, Bendix

mixed his interpretation tests in with his multiple choice tests and administered them all at once, leaving himself open to Chapin's charge (1970:64-65) that "a great deal of machinery has been set up to no particular avail. A native speaker of the language under analysis is required to formulate the tests, and that same native speaker would be able to predict the results with unfailing accuracy."

This charge can not be levelled against the present study, however. As noted above, the native speaker who helped formulate the questionnaires was not in fact capable of predicting the results with any reasonable degree of accuracy.

The SEU tests, unconcerned as they are with narrow issues of linguistic theorizing, actually fulfil the tasks which they are set up to fulfil. Since Bendix is primarily concerned with ascertaining the logical relations between sentences given in his multiple-choice tests, these are exclusively judgement tests (as indeed are all three of the types set up by Leech, mentioned above). He makes no use of operation tests of any sort.

The research being reported on in this study (henceforth TAV), . . . differs both in its aims and techniques from all the previously described works making use of semantic testing procedures. In its relative unconcern with logical relations and its use of operation tests, it is closer to the SEU than to any of the others. But the radically different conditions under which the TAV research was conducted, compared with those under which the SEU and all other studies were carried out, meant that the types of tests used and the structure of the questionnaires had to be vastly different.

Most fundamentally, the aim of the TAV research differed from the aims of previous investigations. Zimmer's tests served merely as a minor supplement to the main body of his work on affixal negation carried out by means of introspection and the informant method. Little attention, therefore, was paid to the details of their construction and to the assumptions underlying them.

Although there is no discussion of language varieties in his work, he is ostensibly concerned exclusively with the written form of the various languages he discusses (English, French, German, Finnish, Hungarian, etc.). Leech (1970), again is exclusively concerned with written standard English since his semantic tests involve both written administration and written responses (indeed, the responses are not even linguistic in nature, involving merely a choice from a group of judgements about the possibility of "yes" or "no" answers to questions, truth values of statements, or implication relations between two statements). The main intention of his article is to demonstrate the need for semantic tests of the sort he uses and to show that the ones he sets up can be useful in testing hypotheses about the logical structure of English. Since he is concerned merely with exemplifying the method, he makes no attempt to use it, as is done in TAV, to explore the structure of some specified area of the language. Instead, he uses his tests merely in connection with a few mutually unrelated questions of logical relations in English which he had presumably encountered in his more general research. This was also the case with the SEU. The SEU research was designed to supplement the extensive files of corpus material which they had already set up and to obtain data on a variety of specific points of English

usage which they found interesting.¹ No attempt at all was made in their programme of semantic testing to work out the interrelations within a fixed, syntactically and morphologically defined, set of forms from the language being analysed, as was done in TAV. Though the SEU made use of oral administration, its use of written responses means that, to all intents and purposes, it also is investigating standard written English. The one case of acceptability testing with spoken output we have from the SEU (Davy and Quirk 1969) was not intended to examine a different variety of English from that with which the rest of their testing was concerned, but to show that their usual procedure was reliable for investigating that variety of English. They concluded that it was, in spite of certain ambiguities inherent in the use of written responses, such as arose from hesitation phenomena and intonational distinctions such as the ambiguity of the written response I haven't a car as between a negative sentence and the denial of a positive one. Because of his research methods, Bendix, too, could investigate only the relatively formal standard written Hindi and Japanese with his semantic tests (his English examples are basically of standard American English, obtained, as they were, by introspection). Up to this point, however, his has been the only study purporting to apply the technique of questionnaire-testing in any systematic way to the description of any language or coherent portion of any language. In contrast to all previous studies utilizing questionnaire

¹Greenbaum and Quirk (1970) list 25 different categories of linguistic problem investigated by means of compliance tests and three investigated by selection tests. All told, 83 tests of those mentioned dealt with adverbial-placement problems, 24 dealt with two categories of intensifier-verb collocation problem, and 52 dealt with seventeen other categories of acceptability problem. The selection tests dealt with three categories of linguistic acceptability problem. The thirteen completion tests dealt with the intensifier-verb collocation problem.

investigation and semantic tests, the TAV research was intended to explore a particular portion of the informal colloquial style of a language. Thus no techniques involving either written administration or written responses could be used and both instructions and items on the questionnaires had to be kept sufficiently simple and clear to be retained in the mind long enough for the instructions to be carried out. Instructions involving selection from a series of possible responses (of the sort used by Leech), lists of items involving back-checking (of the sort used by Zimmer), and groups of three sentences or more to compare with one another (of the sort used by Bendix) were all inapplicable to the investigation.

The formulation of the TAV questionnaire sentences and instructions also faced another problem quite different from any faced by the previous investigations. This had to do with the sophistication of the informants. All four earlier studies being discussed made use of informants of a very high degree of linguistic and test-taking sophistication. Nearly all were either university students or graduates at the time they served as subjects for the various investigations. As mentioned above, one of Zimmer's tests was administered to thirty university students and the other to twelve adults, most of whom were college graduates. Leech's hundred students (in two groups) were all undergraduates. Bendix's twenty-seven subjects were all highly educated and were (at least) bilingual, being students of English at Columbia University. The subjects used in the SEU (in excess of 491) were all undergraduates except for three graduates and a group of thirty-four teachers. In stark contrast to this, none of the 117 subjects of the TAV questionnaires were University educated -- the education level varied from none to the equivalent of the school-leaving certificate, as will be discussed in more detail below.

This marked lack of experience, both in test-taking and in manipulating linguistic examples, in the TAV subjects compared with those in the other studies meant that the test types had to be fewer and simpler and that they would have to emphasize actual linguistic performance on the part of the subjects rather than mere judgements.

Indeed, whatever the degree of sophistication of the subjects, it may well be argued that, in investigating the facts of a language, as distinguished from the attitudes of its speakers towards it, it is the results of performance tests alone that are relevant. As has been written more than once (eg. O'Donnell 1973:313, Labov 1972:191-9, and Chapin 1970:65 -- the words are Chapin's), "An intuitive judgement made by any number of people is still an intuitive judgement." This point is also made by Greenbaum and Quirk (1970:3) in describing the procedure of the SEU when they say that the purpose of the performance tests is to elicit "a subject's use" and that the purpose of the judgement tests is to elicit "his attitude". Unfortunately, the distinction between judgement and performance tests in relation to this issue is somewhat blurred in the case of the SEU by the existence of their category of completion tests (which is to say, "partial performance" tests). When part or most of the response sentence is already given by the investigator and the subject is required only to put in the missing bits, it is not easy to say whether it is the subject's use of the language which is being tested or his attitude towards it. This is especially true of the forced-choice selection tests in which the subject is merely asked to insert one of a given pair of words into one of a given pair of sentences and the other into the other, an instruction equivalent to asking him which of the two possible pairs of sentences is the more acceptable.

Zimmer, Leech, and Bendix all made use of judgement tests exclusively, completely ignoring the issue of whether they were exploring the language as it is actually used or as reflected in the attitudes of its speakers towards it. It was with this distinction in mind that all the responses to the TAV questionnaires were elicited as full sentences actually spoken by the subjects and recorded by the investigator, even those in response to repetition and selection tests. Thus, any element of judgement on the part of the subjects, any element of their attitude towards their language, has been reduced to a minimum. That it has not been completely eliminated is due to the divergence in Tamil between the prestige written register and the colloquial forms that the questionnaires were designed to elicit. This was brought out by the unavoidable artificiality of the testing situation, as will be discussed in more detail below.

An improvement made in the TAV research over all previous studies of this sort is the individual characterisation of the subjects taking part in it. No attempt whatsoever was reported by Zimmer, Leech, or Bendix to record any data about their subjects beyond the vague indications of educational attainment mentioned above, and indeed, none of them even mention the possible importance of such data in analysing the results of the tests. Greenbaum and Quirk (1970:37) say, "...we have sought to obtain responses from as varied a body of students as is conveniently possible...at the University of London...a wide range of regional, school, and social backgrounds is represented. The subjects have largely been British, but there have been several from the United States and the Commonwealth." This seems to imply that some background data was elicited from the subjects individually but no further mention is made of any

such background data. In view of the full consideration and analysis given to all the data obtained from the acceptability tests of the Survey, it must be that the above quotation merely indicates that such a variety of subjects is assumed to have taken part in the SEU experiments because of the usual range of people known to exist in the environment from which the subjects were selected rather than known to have taken part from their answers to any group of background questions that might have formed part of the individual batteries. Beyond the general statement of the subjects' educational attainments, Greenbaum and Quirk mention only the field of specialization for each of their groups of students. Kempson and Quirk indicate correspondingly which of the groups of subjects they are discussing were from the US and which from the UK. But nothing of a more detailed or individual nature is attempted. In TAV, on the other hand, at the beginning of each questionnaire was a set of background questions designed to elicit such performance--relevant details as the subjects' age, caste, educational background, and native town. The information obtained from these questions was useful both in establishing a general profile of the subjects and in making parameters available for investigating the possibility of identifying social and geographical dialects from the material collected.

Except for the SEU, none of the other experiments with the use of the questionnaire method have been able to make much use of any coherent series of questionnaires, as is done in TAV. It is true that when the results of his first experiment were not quite what he wanted, Zimmer was able to revise it and try again with another form of question. Also, when Leech ran out of time in the administration of his questionnaire to the first group of subjects,

he took the opportunity of deleting one unsatisfactory question and adding a few others before administering the questionnaire to the second group of subjects. Nevertheless, neither of these simple revisions, made out of necessity and accident respectively, could be said to be a "series" of questionnaires comparable to those employed by the SEU and TAV. Since Bendix's questionnaires were, in effect, administered simultaneously and in only one version each, he was able to obtain none of the benefits, so valuable to the SEU and TAV, of being able to reformulate or readminister questions which received ambiguous responses on one questionnaire, and of being able to investigate individual points in more depth than is possible on a single questionnaire. The advantages of using a series of questionnaires was much more fully exploited in TAV than in SEU, to the extent that there are chains of questions, usually with slight modifications from one to the other, winding through the TAV questionnaires. These will be more fully described in the discussion below of the TAV questionnaires themselves.

So far in this chapter, we have compared the questionnaire method of investigation used in TAV with the other, more traditional, means of conducting linguistic research. We have noted its advantages and disadvantages and contrasted these with those of corpus examination, introspection, and the informant method. From this comparison, we see that there is a real need for investigations of the questionnaire type, especially in examining areas of divided linguistic usage and ones in which informants have difficulty in consistently making conscious distinctions between the forms being investigated. The auxiliary verbs of Tamil constitute an area of this latter type and possibly also of the former. We then examined the most prominent of previous efforts to use the questionnaire method of linguistic investigation -- those of Zimmer, Leech,

Bendix, and the SEU --- and made a general comparison of them with TAV. From this examination, we can reasonably conclude that TAV is a more ambitious project than any of the others. The only other investigation that can be compared with TAV, in terms of the number of subjects used and in terms of elaboration of questionnaires, was that of the SEU. But the SEU was able to consult the large number of subjects it did only by means of the group administration of its questionnaires. Its investigators made no use of individual administration as was done in TAV. Nor was the SEU concerned with using the questionnaire method to explore a particular area of a language, being content merely to examine a diverse collection of individual issues. The TAV research being reported here is so far unique in its extension of the questionnaire method of semantic testing to illiterate and semi-literate subjects and in the large number of individual interviews carried out.¹ Among the studies discussed, TAV is pre-eminent in its concentration on the colloquial form of the language rather than on the written form, in its focus on the actual use of the language by the subjects rather than their judgements about it, in its individual characterization of the subjects taking part, and, most important, in its use of an articulated series of questionnaires designed to examine individual problems of auxiliary verb usage within the framework of various sentence constructions.

¹It was not, of course, the intention in TAV to carry out a dialect survey of any sort, a goal that would in any event have been far too large for a single investigator to handle. TAV cannot, therefore, be compared in this respect to such formidable undertakings as the Linguistic Atlas of New England (1939-43), the Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz (1928-40), or the earlier Atlas Linguistique de la France (1902-12).

In undertaking the formulation of the TAV questionnaires, it was fortunately not necessary to start from a position of total ignorance of their general characteristics and functions. As surveyed in Chapter One, they have been at least touched on in previous works on Tamil grammar. The intention kept in mind in formulating the sentences to be used on the questionnaires was two-fold. On the one hand, some sentences were intended to elicit responses which would confirm or reject hypotheses about the behaviour of auxiliaries set up on the basis of what had been reported in previous studies and the investigator's own knowledge of the language supplemented by preliminary work with informants. Sentences of this sort were also to serve as tests of the method inasmuch as they could be expected to confirm previously well-established facts of auxiliary usage. On the other hand, other sentences of the questionnaires were intended to introduce much greater precision into our understanding of the way in which auxiliary verbs are used in Tamil by testing the validity of further hypotheses about the collocation of particular auxiliaries with other auxiliaries and with other relevant portions of sentence structure such as adverbs and tense expressions.

The data on which this study is based are the nearly 3510¹ responses obtained by means of five different thirty-question questionnaires from 117 subjects in a total of 27 villages in Chidambaram Taluk. Before a

¹ Actually, the total number of usable responses is slightly less than that shown here as occasionally the subjects made changes in the given sentence which could not be related to their use of auxiliary verbs. Also, sometimes the appropriate clause was omitted from the sentence; and, in a few cases, isolated responses failed to appear on the tape, either through inadvertence or malfunction. It may also be noted that the numbers of subjects responding to each of the questionnaires were as follows: Questionnaire B--16, C--19, D--24, E--27 and F--31.

usable questionnaire was arrived at, a prototype questionnaire was constructed and administered to a few Annamalai University students. On the basis of this, Questionnaire A was set up. It was when this was administered in the field that the problems of making use of linguistic questionnaires with uneducated subjects became obvious. The village subjects proved unable to handle several sentences which were fairly long, though those had not presented any difficulty for the student subjects, who were accustomed to the very long sentences of Tamil literature. Overtly grammatical instructions such as "change the following sentence from past to future tense" or "change the following sentence from first person to third person" were incomprehensible to these subjects. Consequently, extensive changes had to be made in the questionnaire design before an operationally adequate version was developed. In the first of the questionnaires which elicited appropriate responses, as well as in the four succeeding ones, sentences were considerably shortened from Questionnaire A, and questions such as the above were rephrased as "in the following sentence, take out the word yesterday and put in the word tomorrow" or "take out the word I from the following sentence and put in the word he."

Three types of semantic tests were used on the TAV questionnaires.

As initially conceived of, verified in the prototype questionnaire, and tried out in Questionnaire A, these were the repetition type, the selection type, and the operation type. The repetition type, in which subjects were asked merely to repeat the given sentence, was to determine which collocations of auxiliary or auxiliaries with adjuncts of various sorts were unrepeatable. It was hoped that the subjects, understanding the basic sense of deviant sentences, would frequently involuntarily correct the deviances without being explicitly told to.

It turned out in the field however, that subjects were keen to get all the words of the given sentence "right", however deviant their collocation might be. Consequently, the instructions for this type of test had to be changed in succeeding questionnaires (the ones forming the basis of this study) to: "Say the following sentence in the way you normally would." One sentence which was asked to be repeated in this way was (22) from Questionnaire E (the fourth of the five).

(22) tampi-kaNNe-muuTi-tuunkinaan.
 younger brother-eye-close-sleep (past) PNg
 Younger brother closed his eyes and slept. (E6)

This revised instruction worked quite well in general, which is to say that subjects performed more or less as expected on control sentences that were confidently assumed from prior knowledge to be grammatical or ungrammatical. Occasionally, however, subjects would claim never to use such a sentence as they were being asked to repeat. When this happened, we tried to find out why not (often it was because of the occurrence in the sentence of some vocabulary item which the subject was unaccustomed to) and then suggest he change the offending part (though we tried to avoid this in the case of auxiliaries and in fact never suggested outright that an auxiliary be changed).

The original conception of the selection type of TAV test was similar to the preference ranking tests of the SEU and Bendix described above except that subjects were not merely to select which they preferred of two alternatives differing only in the occurrence of auxiliaries, but to actually utter the one they preferred, or, as we put it, the one which was closer to their normal use. Difficulties arose with this type of test in cases where both of

the presented forms were deviant. Subjects were unable to estimate relative degree of deviance and so would claim that neither was more similar than the other to the way they said it --- both were deviant and that was that. The instructions for this type of test had to be changed, therefore, to "Make a sentence like the following two but say it in the way you normally would yourself". Take for example (23) from Questionnaire F.

- (23) a) en-taattaa-kaalattu-le-nel-nallaa-viLancutu.
 b) en-taattaa-kaalattu-le-nel-nallaa-viLanc-iTruntatu.
 my-grandfather-time-in-paddy-well-grow (past) PNg
 " " " " " " " --(kiTTiru)(past)PNg
 Paddy grew/was growing well in my grandfather's time. (F19)

Again, the revised instruction proved in general satisfactory. Occasionally, subjects would say the sentence they were providing twice to correspond to the two alternatives but in no case was the repetition different from the first response. As adapted to fit the conditions of elicitation, the chief difference between this type and the repetition type is that giving two sentences sharing a deviance puts more pressure on the subjects to retain the deviance, especially in marginal cases or ones that require some other change in the sentence for it to become acceptable.

The third type of test used in these questionnaires, and that used the most frequently, was the operation test. This was modelled after the compliance operation test of the SEU. The idea was to provide the subject with a sentence possibly deviant in its auxiliary verb but to distract him from the point at issue by asking him to make some change elsewhere in the sentence. It was expected that any deviance in the use of auxiliary would be corrected involuntarily by the informant concurrently with the unrelated change he was asked to make consciously. An example of this type of test from Questionnaire B is (24).

- (24) emu'taya-vaattiyaa-eme-peyilaakki-tolecc-u't'faar.
 my-teacher-me-fail-(to)c--(vi)tu(past)PNg
 My teacher failed me, damn it. (B12)

One of the auxiliaries present in this sentence is the marker of disgust, tole. In connection with this sentence, subjects were asked to perform the operation of changing peyilaakku 'fail' to paasaakku 'pass'. The testing hypothesis was that the auxiliary tole would be deleted in the responses since the event being narrated would no longer be of a disagreeable nature but an agreeable one. In the event, none of the subjects retained the given tole and the hypothesis was confirmed.¹

At this point, a few brief notes may be made concerning sentences from the questionnaires and responses used as examples in this and subsequent chapters. It may be noted firstly that each such example will be identified by a code number. In the case of sentences from the questionnaires themselves, this code number will consist of one of the letters identifying a questionnaire (B through F) followed by a number (from 1 to 30) showing the position of the sentence on the questionnaire. Thus, the example above, identified by the code (B12), occurred as the twelfth sentence of Questionnaire B. In the case of response sentences, a tripartite number will be given. The first part will consist of a number from 2 to 28 indicating in which village the example was recorded. The second part will be a number from 1 to 6 and will identify

¹The hypothesis was confirmed in view of there being a selection test (D20) narrating a disagreeable event (the giving of a bribe), in which tole was present in both elements and was retained in 63% of the responses.

which subject in the village gave the response. The third part will refer to the number of the questionnaire sentence in response to which the example sentence was provided. Thus, an example identified by the code (3.4.16) would refer to the sixteenth response given by the fourth subject of the third village visited in carrying out this research.

The type of test will also be indicated for each questionnaire sentence cited as an example. As has just been explained, the questionnaire sentences fall into three types: operation tests, selection tests, and repetition tests. In the case of operation tests, the nature of the operation will be indicated, either in the text (as in the case of 24 above), or in a footnote. Selection tests will be clearly recognizable by their bipartite format (as in the case of 23 above). All questionnaire examples not identified in one of these two ways formed the basis of repetition tests. Although most questionnaire sentences are cited only once in this and subsequent chapters, some which are relevant at more than one point of the discussion will be referred to twice.

Though the operation test type was the most frequent on the questionnaires as a whole, this was not true for each of the questionnaires. It was on the three earlier questionnaires that the operation test was the most frequent by a large margin. On Questionnaire E, however, operation and repetition tests were approximately equally frequent, and on Questionnaire F, it was the repetition tests that were the most numerous. Table (25) shows the distribution of the three types of test from questionnaire to questionnaire.

(25)	<u>questionnaire</u>	<u>selection</u>	<u>operation</u>	<u>repetition</u>
	B	4	19	7
	C	4	18	8
	D	6	18	6
	E	5	11	14
	F	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>20</u>
	total	23	72	55

The wide variation between questionnaires in the relative frequencies of the operation and repetition tests is not particularly significant. It was felt after the first three questionnaires (Questionnaires B, C and D) that perhaps the preponderance of operation tests had been too great and so an attempt was made to correct the situation in the last two. No difference was observed in the readiness with which the subjects gave responses or in their apparent reliability as between questionnaires with a preponderance of operation tests and those in which the repetition tests were more numerous. The relative rarity of the selection tests on all five questionnaires reflects their relative unimportance in the testing scheme after revision to exclude the factor of judging degree of deviance. On these five questionnaires, they were felt to provide a degree of variety and so help to keep the subjects alert and interested in giving responses.

In general, this was also the task of the mechanics of the questionnaire administration. One factor was the actual length of the questionnaires. It was originally intended to have questionnaires fifty sentences long. In the prototype stage, however, this was found to be too long; subjects, even student subjects, became bored long before the fiftieth question was reached. After a certain amount of trial and error, the revised figure of thirty was hit upon and this proved quite satisfactory. It was just long enough to suit the investigator

and just about at the limit of length suitable for the subjects. This latter point made itself clear throughout the administration of the questionnaires. Most subjects lasted the full thirty questions without any sign of fatigue but none made any comments to say that they would like to answer more. There were a few, on the other hand, who began to wonder aloud about the twenty-fifth question or so as to when their task would be over.

The actual administration of the questionnaires was carried out as follows. Two people would bring a questionnaire into a village for administration. One of these would be the investigator and the other his assistant. Upon arrival, the investigator would look around for a likely person, usually a fairly young, alert-looking man and outline the project in fairly simple terms, usually to the effect that he was studying Tamil and wanted to find out how village people spoke compared with the way the educated people in the town spoke. If the person spoken to did not seem to understand what the investigator was trying to communicate, the informant, whose native dialect of Tamil was virtually identical with that of the subjects, was there to explain at greater length and with a more familiar accent. Sometimes the initial contact would serve as subject and then recruit some more subjects from among the villagers, sometimes he would merely help with the recruiting. In any event, every attempt was made to maximize the naturalness of the situation in which the subjects were responding. The naturalness of the physical setting was ensured by asking the villagers to find a quiet place for interviewers and subjects to sit and by asking them to suggest alert, articulate subjects. Of course, it was not possible to attain complete naturalness of setting because of the inevitable

presence of the foreigner in their midst and also because of the tape-recorder. The artificiality of the tasks asked of the subjects was another unavoidable element of unnaturalness introduced into the test situation. Subjects were being asked to consider sentences as sentences rather than as parts of the situation in which they found themselves and thus to make use of their language to serve a function different from any they were accustomed to. But these elements of artificiality are perhaps inevitable in any linguistic investigation carried out by means of any method except corpus examination; and in this investigation, their effects were minimized by having the questionnaire sentences read by the assistant, keeping the subject amid the familiar environment of his village and with his friends and relatives in the vicinity.

After recruiting a potential subject, we wanted to discover the linguistically-relevant details of his background and to ascertain if he possessed the qualities we regarded as desirable in our subjects. To obtain this information, we asked a series of background questions as mentioned above. There were nine of these questions. In them, we asked the subject's name, his caste, his age, whether he had been born in the village in which we found him, whether he had ever lived in any other village (if so, where, for how long, and in what way, if any, he felt that the speech of the other place(s) differed from that of the village he was now in), whether he knew how to read, his education, his occupation, and whether he knew any other languages besides Tamil. The subject's name was not important but we asked it as a slight introduction to the background questions, feeling that it was one he would be likely to expect. Caste, age, occupation, and education (including reading ability and knowledge of other languages) were all

factors which seemed likely to influence the way in which the subject spoke, and this was also true of the questions about the subject's places of residence. As he was answering the background questions, the subject was also revealing to us something about his alertness, his self-confidence, and his articulateness and ease in handling his language. The ideal subject from the point of view of the investigation would have been one who had been born in the village, had lived there all his life, had received no education, did not know how to read, knew no other languages besides Tamil, and was alert, intelligent, self-confident and articulate. Though the occasional subject matched the ideal quite closely, usually some compromise was necessary in order to find the three to five subjects (occasionally six) we wanted to interview from each village. Thus, not only did some of our subjects know how to read, but some of them had been educated as far as the equivalent of the school-leaving certificate. We did, however, disqualify anyone who had been to university. Rarely did we accept anyone who had been born more than a few miles from the village or who had lived a long time away, though occasionally we made exceptions for people who were especially fluent speakers and made excellent subjects otherwise. In any event, the answers of all the subjects to the background questions were recorded immediately before their questionnaire responses so that if any correlation occurred between type of response and these extra-linguistic factors, we would have the means of identifying it and taking it into account in the analysis. If, on the basis of his answers to the background questions, it was decided not to proceed with that subject, his answers to the background questions were erased and we started anew with another candidate.

Originally, we administered a trio of introductory questions to each subject immediately before the questionnaire as examples of the types of questions we were asking and the way in which we expected him to respond to them. But in the field, it proved more efficient to pose these even before the background questions. Ability to answer the questionnaire questions was a sine qua non --- there was no point in asking the background questions only to find that the subject could not handle the questionnaire sentences themselves.

Earlier in this chapter, some mention was made of the inter-questionnaire structure of the TAV questionnaires. The series of related sentences from various questionnaires mentioned there will be discussed in the following chapters in connection with the auxiliaries which they were intended to investigate. It would, however, perhaps not be untoward to discuss one of these series (which is further examined in Chapter 3) in the description of the questionnaires. This series was intended to determine whether kiTu occurring directly before the PNG markers should be considered as a "reflexive", in the way it usually has been in the past, or as a "self-affective" as in this study. The discussion here is phrased in terms adapted from the "hypothesis testing" procedure advocated by Leech (1970). Whatever objections may be raised as to the details of Leech's procedure, his general contention that semantic tests should be used for the confirmation or disconfirmation of hypotheses, rather than the "discovery" of meanings, seems well founded.

In formulating the first test in the series, a distinction was drawn between the notions "reflexive" and "self-affective". It was felt that the categorization of kiTu as "reflexive" was too general in that it left open

the possibility that the auxiliary could be used to indicate that the actor associated with the verb actually performs the indicated action himself, as well as to indicate that the actor is affected by the action indicated by the verb in addition to performing it. To denote this latter use alone, we are using the term "self-affective" in this study. To show that kiTu was used specifically, as a "self-affective", rather than generally, as a "reflexive", sentence (26) was composed.

- (26) ammaa-koRanteye-kuLippaaTTi-kiTTaa-ivaLukku-
 mother-child-bathe--(kiTu) (cond)-to her-
 cantooSamaa--irukkum
 pleasure-be (fut) PNg
 If a mother bathes her child, she will be happy. (B14)

In inventing this sentence, it was assumed that if kiTu could be used only in the "self-affective" sense, few subjects would find the sentence acceptable enough to retain it. In this case, the sentence would have to be glossed something like "If she bathes her child (but it is she herself who becomes clean)... " or "If she bathes her child (so as to reap the social benefits of being thought a good mother)... ". If, on the other hand, kiTu were a reflexive auxiliary, it was thought that a significant proportion of the subjects would retain it in their responses. In that case, another possible gloss would be "If she bathes her child herself, she will be happy." In the event, no subjects at all retained the kiTu in their responses and the hypothesis that kiTu functioned only in the "self-affective" use was confirmed.

Following from this, the question arose as to whether the self-affectiveness of kiTu was limited to the clause in which it occurred, or whether it extended into the succeeding one as well. To test this, the second alternative

may be taken as the hypothesis underlying sentences (27) and (28).

(27) koRante-taanaaka-kuLiccu-kiTTaa-ammaavukku-
 child-by itself-bathe-(kiTu) (cond) - to mother-
 cantooSamaa-irukkum.
 pleasure-be(fut) PN_g
 If a child gets bathed by itself, its mother will
 be happy. (C14)

(28) koRante-taanaaka-kuLiccu-kiTTaa-atukku-
 child-by itself-bathe-(kiTu)(cond)-to it-
 cantooSamaa-irukkum.
 pleasure-be(fut) PN_g
 If a child gets bathed by itself, it will be happy. (D25)

The second clause of sentence (27) describes the effect on his mother of the child bathing himself. The second clause of sentence (28), on the other hand, describes the effect on the child himself. If the self-affectiveness of the kiTu carried over into the succeeding clause, therefore, more subjects should retain kiTu in response to (28) than in response to (27). But, as we shall see, this is not what happened. Sentence (27) was the first of the two to be administered, occurring, as it did, in Questionnaire C. If kiTu had been deleted frequently in the responses to this question, or if the second clause had been modified in some way, evidence would have been obtained that the scope of kiTu extended into the second clause. But this was not the case. The kiTu was retained by 63% of the subjects and no relevant changes were made in the second clause. By themselves, though, the results to this test were not sufficient either to prove or disprove our hypothesis. Just as 63% of the subjects had retained kiTu, so had 37% of them deleted it. What was required was comparison with the results of a similar sentence with a second clause describing the effect of the action of the first clause on the child himself. Thus the next questionnaire, Questionnaire D, included a sentence which did just this, sentence (28). Only 43% of the subjects retained kiTu in response to this sentence. This was a

smaller proportion than retained kiTu in response to (27) and so was the reverse of what could have been expected had the hypothesis that was being tested been true. The hypothesis was therefore rejected and the scope of kiTu was seen to be limited to the borders of the clause in which it occurred.

It was then hypothesized that there was a positive correlation between the occurrence of kiTu in a clause and the occurrence of the reflexive pronoun taanaaka. Since taanaaka had been included in (28), it was decided to put a sentence identical to (28), apart from not including taanaaka, into Questionnaire E. This was sentence (29).¹

- (29) koRante-kuLiccu-kiTTaa-atukku-kuSiyaa-irukkum.
 child-bathe-(kiTu) (cond)-to it-pleasure-be(fut)PNg
 If a child gets bathed, it will be happy. (E25)

The assumption here was that if there was a positive correlation between the occurrences of kiTu and taanaaka, a larger proportion of subjects would make use of kiTu in response to sentence (28), which also included taanaaka, than would do in response to (29). Only 4% of the subjects retained kiTu in response to (29), compared with 43% who did so in response to (28). The hypothesis was therefore held to be confirmed and a positive correlation was indeed found to hold between the occurrences of taanaaka and kiTu within the same clause.

The final sentence of this series was intended to test the hypothesis that the correlation of kiTu and taanaaka was independent of any references in the

¹This sentence also replaces cantooSam 'pleasure' with the more informal synonym kuSi, which had been supplied in the responses to the previous questionnaire.

second clause to another participant than that mentioned in the first clause.

This was sentence (30), which was included in the last questionnaire,

Questionnaire F.

- (30) koRante-kuLiccu-kiT'Faa-aminaavukku-cantooSamaa--
 child-bathe-(kiTu)(cond)-to mother-pleasure-
 irukkum.
 be (fut)PNg
 If a child gets bathed, its mother will be happy. (F20)

This sentence differs from (27) only in that it lacks taanaaka and from (29), materially, only in that it states the effect of the bathing on the mother rather than on the child. The expectation in framing this sentence was that the difference between it and (29) would have little or no effect on the auxiliary but that the difference between it and (27) would cause kiTu to be retained much more rarely in the responses to (30) than had been in the responses to (27). Since only 10% of the subjects retained kiTu in response to (30), compared with 4% in response to (29) and 63% in response to (27), the expectation was fulfilled and the hypothesis was confirmed that the participants of the second clause are irrelevant to the correlation between kiTu and taanaaka.

The sentences of this series are further discussed, in a different order and with example responses, in the first part of Chapter Three, where the other sentences of the questionnaires dealing with kiTu are also discussed. Though this is a particularly long series, with members in all the questionnaires, it is fairly typical in the way in which it was envisaged and developed during the course of the investigation.

During the discussion of the content of the questionnaires so far, we have had occasion to make only brief mention of the subjects from time to time. It seems reasonable at this point, however, to characterize them in somewhat greater detail, to discuss the problem of the reliability of subjects, and in particular, the chief obstacle to reliability, the literariness of responses.

As implied above, the TAV subjects could not be said, in the strict sense, to be a probability sample of any population. They could be said, rather, to be an accidental sample of rural Tamil speakers (cf. Chein 1959 for an elementary discussion of sampling procedures). The basic criterion by which subjects were selected was that of availability, the same criterion used for subject-selection by previous questionnaire-type linguistic investigations. This study differs from the four discussed earlier in the chapter, however, in that an attempt was made to select subjects individually for desirable qualities, such as long term residence in the village and fluency of speech. The resultant sample must be said, therefore, to be accidental with a purposive bias rather than being a completely accidental one.

One characteristic in respect to which the sampling was purposive rather than accidental was the level of education of the subjects. Subjects of lesser education were generally preferred to those of more education and those with any university education were arbitrarily disqualified. The reason for this selection criterion was that the less contact a given subject had had with the written language, it was felt, the more likely he would be to remain uninfluenced by it when responding to the questionnaires. This tendency did not,

however, turn out to be without exception. Occasionally, uneducated subjects were encountered whose speech under questionnaire administration conditions became severely influenced by the written language (learned in spoken form through such media as speeches and the radio). There were also some relatively well-educated subjects who were able to speak formal Tamil or informal Tamil at will, without mixing the two varieties perceptibly. The material for investigating how much truth there was in our assumption that uneducated speakers were preferable to educated ones for this sort of investigation exists in the TAV responses but it is beyond the scope of this study to actually conduct such an analysis. Before doing so, it would be necessary to establish a set of parameters for measuring "formalness" of speech (eg. use of third-person plural desinence -aarkaL instead of -aanka, presence of final nasal in other desinences, (eg. -aan, -aam, -een, -oom) instead of nasalized vowel). It would then be possible to count the number of times these occurred for a variety of subjects of differing education levels, and prove or disprove the hypothesis. The actual break-down of the TAV subjects by level of schooling is as shown in (31).

(31)	0-6	years of schooling	56
	7-12	" " "	38
	over 12	" " "	22

From this it can be seen that, while we were not completely successful in selecting only uneducated subjects, nearly half of the total sample had less than six years of schooling.

The castes of only the last 105 informants are recorded, as the question relating to caste was inadvertently left out of the list of background

questions for the first three villages visited with Questionnaire B. For the 105 caste responses which we have, however, a general breakdown is shown in the following table (32).

(32)	<u>caste</u>	<u>questionnaire</u>					<u>total</u>
		B	C	D	E	F	
	paTaiyaacci	2	5	4	8	9	28
	harijan	0	6	6	4	6	22
	vanniyar	1	1	4	6	5	17
	muslim	0	2	2	2	1	7
	naaTar	0	1	1	0	2	4
	14 others	1	4	7	7	8	27

An attempt has been made to find some correlation between the castes and choices of auxiliary in the responses to Questionnaire C but no correlation has emerged that could be said to be statistically significant. Without having firm data to hand, it cannot be said how representative this sample is of the general population of Chidambaram Taluk in terms of the proportion of each caste to the total. Impressionistically, however, the ranking at least seems reasonable. The area concerned is well known for the high proportion of low-caste and untouchable agricultural workers, paTaiyaaccis and harijans, who live there.

The occupations represented in our sample present even greater variety than the castes. Though more than half (59) of the subjects classified themselves as agricultural workers, there was no other group of comparable size. Eleven were unemployed, five were pupils, and five were shop assistants. Some of the other occupations represented were toddy tapper (1), mechanic (3), launderer (2), barber (1), brick-layer (2), postal worker (3), priest (2), homoeopath (3), fisherman (1), and tailor (2). Presumably, there is some relation between caste and occupation (i. e. both the brahmins in the sample called themselves priest by occupation, one of the launderers gave his caste

as dhobi, or launderer, the barber was of the barber caste, nineteen of the twenty-two harijans gave their occupations as agricultural labourer, as did eighteen of twenty-eight paraiyars, but only seven of the seventeen vanniyaars). We have been unable, however, to confirm any of our hypotheses about possible correlations between occupation and performance on TAV questionnaires.

A rough breakdown of the TAV subjects by age is given in (33).

(33)	number of subjects between 16 and 20 years of age:	23
	21 25 :	32
	26 35 :	33
	35 66 :	29

With respect to age, our sample again ceases to be completely accidental but becomes influenced by purposive factors. In general, we tried to obtain fairly young adult male speakers in our sample. (Since the administrators of the questionnaires were both male, the social norms of South India made it very difficult to obtain female subjects, and even when obtained, made them very much more affected by the interview situation than male subjects so that their responses could not be confidently assumed to reflect their normal speech. Among the 117 subjects, only one was a woman). Usually, we rejected anyone under 18 or over 45 but accepted four below that range and eleven over it on the grounds of availability. The lower age limit was set up to ensure subjects of the desired maturity and self-confidence, the upper to screen out those without sufficient mental alertness to follow the instructions and the majority of those with such defects in the vocal tract as missing teeth.

One question that is bound to arise in the discussion of any programme involving the testing of considerable numbers of subjects is whether or not the sample of speakers that one has taken is sufficiently homogenous for one's purposes. Since the subjects being interviewed are all individual people with individual personalities, there is a sense in which the sample is completely heterogenous, with no two subjects alike. On the other hand, the questionnaire subjects all had certain features in common. All were native speakers of Tamil; all were from a sharply delimited area within Tamilnadu; and all were both willing and able to respond to the questionnaires. The variations exhibited by the subjects along the parameters of level of education, caste membership, occupation, and age have been described above. But another type of variation independent of the above parameters, and much harder to measure, is what we might call reliability --- which is to say, the degree to which a given subject's response can be said to be a reliable indicator of his normal day-to-day speech outside of the testing situation. To some degree, the reliability of a given subject can be estimated impressionistically during the interview itself. For example, the relative loquacity and self-confidence of the subject can be observed. A speaker who is freer with his words and feels more at ease in the interview situation is less likely to introduce artificialities into his speech than is a less articulate speaker or one who feels more constrained or self-conscious. The loquacity and self-confidence of a speaker can naturally be estimated best in the live interview situation --- in which one has access to his general bearing, can observe the way he interacts with the other villagers, and can note the way in which he speaks to them contrasted with the way in which he speaks to the investigators and with the way in which he responds to the questions. There are, however, indications preserved in the tapes and transcriptions as well.

Such obvious indications of doubt or uncertainty as hesitation and repetition apart, an important feature to be noted is the degree of conformity of the response sentences to the given sentences. The subject who sticks very close to the given sentences in repetition tests and makes only the asked-for changes in operation tests is unreliable because of being over-deferential to what he takes to be the interviewer's style of speech. On the other hand, a subject who repeatedly indicates non-comprehension of the given sentences by much hesitation and repetition in his responses or by giving responses so different from the given sentences as to be not readily comparable with them, is unreliable because of being too self-conscious and nervous, or merely inept at the sort of tasks required by the questionnaires.

An important indicator of reliability in responses is provided by the degree to which the responses conform to the formal written standard of the language. As has been mentioned above, even illiterate Tamilians have considerable contact with the written forms through the media of radio and political speeches. If they have had any formal education at all, this informal contact will have been reinforced in the school as well. As the interview situation is likely to be more reminiscent of the school situation than any other experience in the lives of the subjects and will, in any event, be regarded as a relatively formal environment, there is always a tendency on the part of the subjects to use relatively formal speech in replying to the questionnaires. This tendency can be minimal or non-existent in subjects who understand the point of the questionnaires, are self-confident enough to exhibit their own individual speech in the responses, and are fluent enough not to have to fumble about for words. It can, on the other hand, be overwhelming in subjects who cannot get away from their

preconceptions about the priority of the formal language, feel that their own speech is somehow too "inferior" to show off to the investigator, or have to search for words in their responses and pick those of the given sentence (which are ready-made even if not the sort of thing they would utter in a normal situation).

Judging the reliability of a given subject is relatively easy on subjective grounds at the time of the interview. If other villagers, friends and neighbors of the subject, are present during the interview, they can be asked to judge if the language used in his responses is typical of the subject's normal speech habits. They can also be asked to confirm that his speech is typical of that used in the village as a whole. Such judgements have proved correct in so far as they have been susceptible to independent confirmation or disconfirmation. The chief difficulty with merely subjective judgements of reliability is the impossibility of adequately quantifying such judgements. One could presumably categorize some subjects as maximally reliable, others as minimally reliable (consistent with accepting their responses for consideration at all) , and others somewhere in between. But it would be difficult to justify the arbitrary division of the responses into groups called for by any such categorization -- whether three-way, five-way, or even seven-way --- dependent as the assignment of a given subject to a given category would be on the idiosyncracies of the classification criteria. The flexibility of some more readily quantifiable measurement would thus seem to be desirable.

A way in which such a measurement could be used to place the subjects on a colloquial-formal scale would be to calculate an "index of literariness" (IL) for each one. Since in each questionnaire sentence, there

are identifiable points at which the informal and formal styles diverge, it can be noted which style is chosen at each of these points. The sum of formal style choices divided by the total number of points at which such a choice is possible could be said to be the IL of the sentence or subject in question. Thus, a fully formal style would have an IL of 1.00, a fully colloquial one would have an IL of 0.00. Choosing whether to use the complete set of subject's responses to calculate an overall IL for each subject or merely to figure an IL for each response would be a matter of convenience, depending on whether the IL's varied considerably for each subject over his responses or whether they remained fairly constant for each. Once calculated, this index could be used to weight the various responses to a given sentence. It could thus be expected to affect the weighted percentages of various types of auxiliaries in the response patterns to the questionnaire sentences. The calculation of such an index, however, is considerably more difficult of execution than of conception. As a relatively simple example, the sentences of (34) may be examined.

(34a) neettikku-veRaa-muTincutu.
 yesterday-festival-end(past)PNg
 The festival ended yesterday. (E10)

(34b) naan-avaLukku-atellaam-rompa-taTave-colliy-aaccu.
 I-to her-all that-much-times-say-(aaku)(past)PNg
 I've often told her all that. (E15)

These can be contrasted with the sentences of (35) which can be said to be their possible more formal equivalents.

(35a) neerru viRaa muTintatu.

(35b) naan avaLukku atellaam pala taTavai colliy aayirru.

In all, there seem to be eight points of contrast -- three between the first pair and five between the second pair. There are the contrast between the spoken

neettikku 'yesterday' and its written equivalent nee_{rru}, between the vowels of veRaa and viRaa, and between the palatalized and non-palatalized past tense formations in the (a) sentences. In the (b) sentences we have the nasal vowels (not marked in the transcription used here but accessible from the tapes and Tamil transcription) in naan and atellaam in sentence (34b), compared with the vowel plus nasal consonant of the same words in (35b). The informal rompa is opposed to the formal pala, the informal taTave to taTavai, and spoken aaccu to written aayirru. In addition, in response to (34a), many subjects made use of some auxiliary, and that too could theoretically be in either an informal or formal style. However, not all of these nine points of contrast are available for use in distinguishing the "literariness" of one set of responses from another. The atellaam of sentence (34b), for example, was retained by only three subjects out of the twenty-seven with which we are concerned. No subjects at all made use of the formal taTavai, though most made use of taTave or some synonymous expression of an informal nature. Only a single subject made use of pala, all the rest retaining rompa. Again, although various auxiliaries were made use of in the responses to (34a), only two of these were in a written form -- both viTTeen, Bayirru did not occur at all. Thus, even taking all nine theoretical points of comparison into account, the 27 subjects responding to these sentences can be divided into only four very tentative groups: one subject who made four literary choices out of eight (IL 0.50); five subjects who made two literary choices (out of seven, eight, or nine) and one who made one out of four (this subject did not respond to sentence 33b) --- IL's of 0.22-0.29; ten subjects who made one literary choice (IL's from 0.13 to 0.18); and a final ten with IL's of 0.00. It is clearly completely trivial to attempt such an analysis on the basis of only nine points of comparison. Indeed, it is not even clear whether such a procedure would be practicable at all, even if extended to all the sentences of the questionnaire.

The most serious factor acting to vitiate the usefulness of such calculations is that it may not be possible to divide all possible responses at each point of choice into "literary" ones and "non-literary" ones. There is the problem of lexical substitution, for example. One of the choices used in the example above was that between taTavai and taTave. As has been mentioned, the "formal alternative" taTavai did not occur in the responses. But it may be asked whether the distinction between taTavai and taTave was the only possible one to be drawn at this point. Although ten subjects made use of taTave, the remaining seventeen made use of various other expressions, referring either to an occasion (taram) or to a long period of time (tuuram, tolevu, naaLaa). It is clearly beyond the scope of such a study as this to examine in what way these various forms differ stylistically, if indeed they do so differ. At this point it seems there is little more that can be said except to note that the clash of formal and informal registers seems almost inevitable in any study making use of conscious informants. Note that the methods discussed in Labov (1972: especially pp 209-216) for surmounting this obstacle are only useful in obtaining phonological or other data widely diffused throughout the language. They are not applicable to investigating forms dependent on particular sentence formulations like those in TAV. Methods similar to those of Labov's were employed in the current study to elicit samples of monologues and conversation for possible comparison with the questionnaire data. This material has not yet proved useful, however, in evolving the TAV analysis presented in the following chapters.

The results of the questionnaires, as mentioned previously, consist of the approximately 3500 responses received to the 150 sentences

contained in the five questionnaires discussed above. The response sentences often differed from the corresponding questionnaire sentences in various ways. Some of these were alterations the subjects were intended to make, others not. Some were relevant to the issues the questionnaires were designed to investigate, others not. As the problems associated with the formulation of the questionnaires and the subjects responding to them have been discussed in the preceding pages, it seems advisable to comment briefly here on the responses in general before going on to examine some of them in detail in the following two chapters.

Although these comments are framed largely in terms of deviations from the "given" sentence of the questionnaire, it should be emphasized that, in stricter terms, the relevant distinction is between the "target" sentence and the response sentence. The "target" sentence is the sentence which the subject would have uttered, had he followed the instructions faithfully. Thus, in an operation test, the target sentence would be identical to the given sentence except for the requested alteration; in a repetition test, the target sentence would be identical to the given sentence; and in a selection test, the target sentence would be identical to one of the alternants. Since the distinction between "target" and "given" sentence is only important in the case of operation tests, it will not be rigorously maintained in the following discussion.

Changes in the responses that directly concerned auxiliaries are of the most immediate interest in examining the questionnaire results. It was intended to obtain three types of auxiliary changes in the responses -- deletion of an auxiliary provided in the questionnaire sentence, replacement of the given auxiliary with another, and addition of an auxiliary at a point at which none was provided in the given sentence. Most auxiliary changes in the

responses, however, were of the first two types; relatively little success was had in eliciting responses which added an auxiliary to the questionnaire sentence. This was undoubtedly due to the rarity of single sentence contexts which actually require the presence of an auxiliary. A sentence which was successful in eliciting large scale auxiliary addition is shown here (36).

- (36) maa'Fu-meeyntu-paTuttatu.
 cow-graze-lie down (past)PNg
 The cow grazed and lay down. (D5)

In the responses to this sentence, a quarter of the subjects added viTu to the first clause and half of them added some auxiliary (viTu, iru, or poo) to the second one. This sentence is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three. It is typical of sentences to which auxiliaries were added in that most of the subjects adding an auxiliary made use of viTu or iru. Nearly half of all cases of auxiliary addition in the responses made use of viTu and the other frequently added auxiliaries include kiTT'iru, iru, and poo. The preponderance of these particular auxiliaries in this type of response reflects their probable frequency in the language and also the type of sentential contexts which happened to be provided in the questionnaires. Presumably kiTu would have been added more often had there been a larger number of auxiliary-less sentences suitable for its inclusion.

The most useful of the more frequent types of responses is that of replacing the given auxiliary with another. When this type of response occurs, it indicates that the given auxiliary is unacceptable to the subject in the given environment and some indication is given as to why this is the case. Sentence (37) is possibly the best example of a sentence which received this

sort of response.

- (37) caikkiL-ooTTi-kiTTu-pass-il-vanteen
 bicycle-ride--(kiTu)--bus-in-come (past)PNg
 ? I came by bus riding a bicycle. (F30)

No subjects retained the given auxiliary in this sentence and most of them (70%) replaced it with the sequential auxiliary viTu. The remaining subjects made use of some other device to indicate the sequentiality of the two actions. There is no doubt whatsoever in this case that the sentence as it stood indicated by means of kiTu that the two actions were simultaneous. But the situation indicated was an impossible one and so the subjects modified it to represent a possible situation, i.e. one in which the actions represented by the two verbs occurred sequentially. As mentioned in Chapter Three, this is the clearest direct example of the kiTu/viTu contrast between simultaneity and sequentiality.

The other two types of responses involving auxiliaries -- simple deletion of the given auxiliary and retention of the auxiliary -- are somewhat less informative. The former of these may be regarded as a special case of the replacement response in which the given auxiliary is replaced by nil auxiliary. If the auxiliary is simply deleted (or replaced by nil), the reason for the deletion may not be clear. If it was intended that the auxiliary be deleted, it may have been deleted for the intended reason or for some other one unsuspected by the investigator. In the argumentation of Chapters Three and Four, care has been taken not to attach too much weight to cases of simple deletion of an auxiliary. In such cases, it can be stated that the auxiliary is incompatible with some element of the given sentence and an attempt can be made to discover the reason for the incompatibility by comparing the responses to one sentence with those to another, by noting other types of replacement

response, and by observing other types of alteration made in the response sentence. An example of a sentence in which the nil replacement response was the most frequent is shown here (38).

(38) maRe-ettane-maNi-neeram-penc-aaccu.
 " " " " -pencu-pooocu
 rain-how many-hour-time-fall-(aaku)/(poo) (past)PNg
 How many hours did it rain? (C24)

Of the responses, 37% contained no auxiliary. Since both of the alternatives provided were completive auxiliaries, it might have been thought that there was something in the sentence which clashed with the notion of "completion". However, another frequent response (given by 21% of the subjects) was to substitute the third completive, viTu, for the given alternatives. Indeed, if the various types of completive auxiliary responses are combined, they total more than the number of nil responses (26% poo retention, 5% aaku retention, and 21% viTu replacement). It is clear, therefore, that it is not the simple notion of "completion" that causes the difficulty here. Although there is also a clear difference of acceptability between the various completive auxiliaries in this sentence, there is little evidence here as to the reason for this. There may be a clue to the relative unacceptability of aaku in the three responses which changed the tense from past to future, two of them replacing the given auxiliaries with iru. These changes add a notion of uncertainty to the sentence, in keeping with the interrogative. If aaku does indeed convey a sense of certainty not carried by the other two completives, this could explain its unacceptability in (38). This sentence will be further discussed, along with a similar sentence from another questionnaire, in Chapter Three.

The retention of a given auxiliary in the responses shows, at the least, its compatibility with the sentence containing it. It does not, of course, provide real evidence for one meaning hypothesized for an auxiliary over another one unless the other meaning is unambiguously ruled out by the rest of the sentence. This is not easily done, however, and it may turn out that the investigator feels he has ruled out a semantic alternative but has not in fact done so. If the intention was that the auxiliary in question should be replaced or deleted in the responses but instead it was retained, it may be that the auxiliary has a somewhat different meaning than had been thought or it may be that adequate steps had not been taken to preclude the intended meaning. It is advisable to ascertain that no other changes were made in the response sentences to permit retention of an otherwise unacceptable auxiliary. Though such changes would be helpful to the investigator, they are very rare. Normally if there is a clash between an auxiliary and some other portion of a sentence, it will be the auxiliary that will be changed. In general, sentences that were intended to elicit a high degree of auxiliary retention were not intended so much to confirm some fact about the auxiliary in question as to provide reference points to test the reliability of the informants and the soundness of the testing procedure itself. The sentence shown here as (39), for example, included instances of both pooTu and aaku.

- (39) avanka-anta-naaye-aTiccu-pooTT-aaccu.
 they-that-dog-hit-(pooTu)-(aaku)(past)PNg
 They really thrashed that dog. (D9)

All but one of the subjects retained the intensive pooTu in their responses, some by itself, some with aaku, and some with yiTu. The one subject who did not retain pooTu replaced both of the given auxiliaries with yiTu. These results do not further our understanding of the use of pooTu or the completives, but

they do indicate that near-unanimity can be achieved among the subjects in a fairly clear case and that the test itself did not present them with difficulties. In this case, the subjects had been asked to replace the given naaye 'dog' with puneye 'cat'.

Besides changing the auxiliaries, there were numerous other changes that subjects could make in the questionnaire sentence when giving their responses. These can be generally covered under two headings. Firstly, some change might be made in the wording of the sentence -- this usually involved substituting a synonymous word or phrase that seemed more natural to the subject than the one contained in the questionnaire sentence. Secondly, some major change might be made in the structure of the sentence. This usually meant an omission of some of the words, or even a whole clause, of the given sentence, although occasionally some extra material was added when a subject apparently felt that the sentence was somehow incomplete as given and required additional contextualization.

When the TAV project was conceived, it was hoped that it might provide some information on the local dialect variations and might serve as the starting point for a micro-dialect survey. With this aim in mind, the villages at which the questionnaires were administered were deliberately selected to represent all parts of Chidambaram Taluk and, indeed, each questionnaire was administered in villages well scattered over the area. It was hoped that there would be detectable variation in auxiliary usage from one part of the Taluk to another, or that at least some geographical or social variation would be manifested in the rest of the vocabulary. As mentioned

above, however, no significant correlation has so far been observed in the questionnaire results between caste membership and auxiliary usage. Attempts to establish points of geographical variation in auxiliary usage or geographical or social isoglosses between apparently synonymous vocabulary items have likewise not met with success. This does not mean, of course, that such variations do not exist, merely that they have not been established on the basis of the information at our disposal. It may be that the subjects who were interviewed varied along too many relevant parameters to provide any reliable dialect information, or it may be that such information as is present requires more sophisticated excavation machinery than has so far been employed. The type of variation involved can be shown in the responses given to (40).

- (40) naan-rompa-tuuram-ooTiyataale-kaal-oonc-
 I-much-distance-because ran-leg-get painful-
 iTucci.
 (viTu)(past)PNg
 Because I ran a long way, my leg got all painful. (F25)

The division of usage between the main verb given in the second clause of (40) and some of its approximate synonyms is mentioned in Chapter Three. Here it may merely be noted that this division of usage does not follow caste boundaries. The breakdown of the responses according to main verb used and caste membership of the subject is shown below (41).

(41)	<u>ooy</u>	<u>acar</u>	<u>vali</u>	<u>coor</u>	<u>(other)</u>	<u>total</u>
paTayaacci	3	4	2	0	0	9
harijan	4	0	1	1	0	6
vanniyar	0	1	2	1	1	5
others	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>12</u>
total	11	9	8	3	1	32

A similar table could be drawn up to show that the choice of main verb here does not follow village boundaries either.

The omission of elements from the given sentence in the response or the addition of supplementary material is more obviously a matter of idiosyncratic variation than is the alternation between near-synonymous expressions. Longer sentences are, unsurprisingly, more likely to occur shortened in the responses than are short ones. The items dropped most frequently tend to be pronouns (which were provided more often in the questionnaire sentences than they are usually found in conversation) and adverbial expressions of time and place. Unnecessary auxiliaries are presumably dropped in this fashion as well and so not too much is to be read into their occasional deletion. There seems to be no need to give an example of a response showing a deletion of elements from the given sentence as many can be easily observed in the next two chapters. The addition of material in the responses being much rarer, however, an example of this is shown in (42), which was given in response to (43).

- (42) avaru-kuupTtu-kuupTtu-paatom; avaru-valle.
 he-call-call-try (past)PNg; he-come (neg)
 We tried calling and calling him; he didn't come. (25. 2. 15)
- (43) naan-avare-rompa-taTave-kuuppiTT-aaccu.
 I-he-much-time-call-(aaku)(past)PNg
 I called him many times. (F15)

In its attempt to contextualize the questionnaire sentence, (42) is quite typical of this sort of alteration.

Remaining to be touched upon in this chapter are some of the problems that arose in handling the questionnaire results. These problems bear directly upon the discussions of individual auxiliaries and responses in the next two chapters. A first point is the question of multiple responses. In cases where there is more than one response from a given subject on the tape,

how is this to be dealt with in analysing the results? If the two (or even three) responses are the same, the solution is easy -- they can simply be treated as if they were one. In the case of multiple responses that vary one from the other, various possibilities may be considered. The simplest solution would be not to deal with them at all. Any response which gave evidence of hesitation by the subject could be left out of consideration. But this would merely disqualify those subjects whose hesitation actually appears on the tape. Many subjects had to be encouraged to give their responses and some of these may have made false starts which are not preserved. Simple disqualification of all multiple responses might just remove the loquacious from consideration -- those who hastily uttered a response without reflection and then realized that they had said something deviant. Indeed, if the response sounded suspiciously literary or contained some obvious performance error, such as using the past tense with naaLekki 'tomorrow!', the investigator might have brought this to the attention of the subject and tried to elicit a more natural response.

Another easy way to deal with multiple responses would be to include all of them in the analysis. If one speaker gave various responses, perhaps they all should be counted. But this ignores the differences between the various types of multiple responses. There are at least three totally different reasons for a subject to give, say, two responses. It may be that the second was considered to be a correction, semantic or stylistic, of the first; it may be that the questionnaire sentence seemed open to two interpretations, each of which is rephrased in one of the response sentences; or it may be that the two sentences were felt to represent alternative but equivalent ways of expressing the questionnaire sentence in a natural way.

In the first of these cases, only the second response should be considered in the analysis, but in the latter two cases, it seems reasonable to make use of both responses, just as if they had come from different subjects.

But the procedure is not so straightforward in practice as it is in theory. Sentence (44) is an example of a questionnaire sentence which received an unusually high number of multiple responses.

- (44) naan-avare-vite-naTTu-vecc-irunteen.
 I-bean-seed-plant-(vai)-(iru)(past)PNg
 I planted the beans (and went on being interested
 in them thereafter). (E 3)

Five subjects gave more than one type of response to this sentence. These are shown here as (45-49).¹

- (45) naan-avare-vite-pooTT-irukkeen. (17.1.3)
 naan-avare-vite-pooT-rukké...pooTT-iT-ruké
 I-bean-seed-put-(iru)(pres)PNg...put-(viTu)-(iru)(pres)PNg
 I have planted the beans.
- (46) nãã-vantu-avare-kaa-naTTu-vacc- (19.4.3)
 nãã-vantu-avare- pooT-
 I-(hesitation)-bean-vegetable-plant-(vai)-
 irunté.
 rukké.
 (iru) (past)/(pres) PNg
 I have planted the beans.
 I planted the beans (and went on being interested
 in them thereafter).
- (47) naan-avare-vite-naTTTeen...naTTrunté.
 I-bean-seed-plant(past)PNg...plant(iru)(past)PNg
 I planted beans..had planted. (20.1.3)

¹The transcription of these five examples will differ from our usual practice in being closer to the tapes. Nasal vowels will be indicated as such.

- (48) avarai --vitai-naan-pooT'Tu... puumiyil-pooT-runteen.
 bean-seed-I-put... in the earth-put-(iru)(past)PNg
 avarai-vite-naTTu-vacc-iTTu-vant-irukken.
 bean-seed-plant-(vai)-(viTu)-come-(iru)(pres)PNg
 I put the beans... had put them in the earth.
 I have come after planting the beans. (20. 2. 3)
- (49) naan-avare-vite-naTTu-vacc-irunteen.
 avare-vite-naTTu-vecc- ěě.
 I-bean-seed-plant-(vai)-(iru)(past)PNg
 I had planted beans. /I planted beans. (22. 3. 3)

In response (45), the subject gave two complete sentences containing his first type of response, only adding the final part of the second type as an apparent afterthought. Of the two sentences containing iru, the verb of the first differs from the second in containing such features of the formal phonology as the geminate TT of the combining form of pooTu, the initial i- of iru, and the nasal closure of the personal ending. There seem to be two hypotheses to account for the behaviour of the subject here. It may be that he responded first in the light of the initial interpretation he made of the sentence and then, just at the end of his response, a second interpretation occurred to him and he altered the verb to suit. Both of the last two verbs he uttered are satisfactorily colloquial in style. On the other hand, it may be that the subject was simply expressing himself more and more naturally as he went along. There seems to be a progression through the three responses: relatively close to the given sentence in style and content, relatively close to the given sentence in content but natural in style, natural (?) in both style and content.

In response (46), both alternatives seem to be significantly more colloquial than the given sentence and to have been adjusted by the subject in the direction of "naturalness". It may be noted that in neither of

the sentences does the personal pronoun have nasal closure finally; yite 'seed' has been left out of both sentences, being replaced by kaa 'vegetable' in the first one and by nothing in the second; the hesitation marker vantu has been added in both response variants; and neither verb has the nasal closure of the more formal style. Since the initial i- or iru was retained in the first, but not in the second response, the latter might be said on phonological grounds to be marginally more "natural" than the former. On the lexical side, too, the first response is closer to the given sentence, both in the choice of auxiliary and in the choice of main verb. Still, here again the reasonable thing seems to be to include both types of response in the discussion as they seem to represent alternative interpretations. Note that the use of iru along with pooTu is more frequent with that main verb than the use of any other auxiliary, so that both of the responses given by this informant are of the most frequent type with each main verb. This is discussed further in Chapter Four where (44) is treated together with other sentences containing yai.

In contrast to the responses of (46), both types given in (47) are relatively rare in the responses as a whole. Here the second contains only the verb and, so far as can be seen, appears less formal in style than the first. Given the minimal specification of the verb in the first alternative, the second may represent an attempt to express the meaning of (44) more precisely. Assuming that this is the case and the second response is a true revision of what was said at first (or merely the correction of a slip of the tongue), the second response obviously carries more weight than the first.

Response (48) shows signs of hesitation. The first attempt to respond was interrupted before the final specification of the main verb was completed and the subject went back to mention where the bean seeds were put ("in the ground"). The second response is unique among all those given to (44) in that it adds another clause after the one which is relevant to the discussion of yai. This is another example of the contextualization mentioned above (p151). Since the action described in the given sentence (planting seeds) occurred before the extra action described in the response (coming to the place of the speech event), viTu was added to the clause expressing the first action. The special characteristics of the response in this case explain the special characteristics of the choice of auxiliary. Both of these responses appear natural, the second merely being an updating of the first. It may be noted that, though in the first response iru is in the past tense, in the second it is in the present, showing that the planting and the coming are relevant to the subject's position at the time of the speech event.

The subject has provided two alternatives in (49), the first of which is rather closer to the questionnaire sentence. There is little to choose between them on stylistic grounds (the latter is somewhat more colloquial) and so the most reasonable course is probably to treat them as separate responses.

In general then, in the discussion that follows in the next two chapters, each case of multiple response has been treated on its own merits. If the two responses seemed equally valid and reflected alternative possibilities open to the subject, they were both included in the analysis, just as if they had

been supplied by different subjects. If, on the other hand, the second response seemed to be a revision of the first, either because the whole sentence appeared to have been made more natural -- on phonological grounds or lexical ones (substitution of synonymous forms for the ones of the given sentence) -- or because only the final word or two of the sentence had been repeated (in the manner of one correcting a slip of the tongue), the first was disregarded and the second retained.

A more serious problem is that of the statistical analysis of the responses. The discussions of Chapters Three and Four attribute significance to various percentages of auxiliaries in the responses by rule of thumb. No more than this was practicable within the time available for the completion of this study. It seems, however, advisable to discuss whether this is the ideal procedure or whether more sophisticated methods of statistical analysis would have been useful in the analysis had it been feasible to apply them.

On the face of the matter, of course, a scientific statistical analysis of the questionnaire results would seem preferable to the admittedly inexact methods used in this study. Because of dialectal variation, the responses to any given sentence are likely to vary in many ways. It would be helpful, therefore, to be able to state categorically that a given apparently random variation between a pair of comparable response patterns is not statistically significant beyond the .01 level of probability (or perhaps even the .1 level --cf. Sellitz and Jehoda 1959:418). In evaluating a response variation which

seems to bear on the meaning of an auxiliary, on the other hand, it would be helpful to be able to state with some certainty how probable it is that the variation is in fact significant and not produced by random factors.

But the TAV data presents obstacles to the application of statistical analysis with any hope of meaningful results. One difficulty is the very fact that the subjects who were interviewed did not form a random sample of any stable population. The usefulness of conducting significance tests on such data may be questioned, as is done by Chein (1959:541):

"Many studies in behavioral science are carried out on accidental samples of subjects. The data are treated, however, in a manner that is appropriate only to probability samples. For example, statistical tests of significance which presuppose random sampling are applied to the data."

Although Chein goes on to mention the "use of the fiction of hypothetical populations of which our samples are quasi-probability samples" (1959:543), he emphasizes the provisional nature of the evaluations arrived at in this way. Strangely enough, this problem is not mentioned by some other linguists who have made use of samples even more accidental than TAV and have presumed to test their results for statistical significance (cf. Greenbaum and Quirk 1970, Zimmer 1964).

Another obstacle that would confront anyone attempting to apply statistical analysis to the TAV data would be the identification of the relevant variables. In a given response pattern, the effects of a number of interacting variables may often be observed. Unfortunately, in addition to the overt variables with which the study is concerned, there may also be a variety

of covert ones that are difficult to discover. There is, therefore, a considerable degree of approximation inherent in the material with which we are concerned. If this material were to be forced into the framework of a strict statistical analysis, the consequent evaluations would take on a misleadingly precise appearance. Using the methods employed here, however, no such illusory impression is given.

Considering the points mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, it did not seem relevant to the aims of TAV to couch the discussions which follow in terms of formal statistical analysis. More important, it was felt, was the attempt to make use of the questionnaire results in a way appropriate to the nature of the data. In any event, as mentioned by Selltiz and Jehoda (1959: 421), "Since statistical statements are always statements of probability, we can never rely on statistical evidence alone for a judgement of whether or not we will accept a hypothesis as true." This is a point often lost sight of in the attempt to apply exact methods to unsuitable material.

A problem somewhat related to the statistical one just discussed is the percentage of responses of a given type that are to be regarded as significant. In analysing the results of the sophisticated judgement tests which he administered, Leech (1970:355) sets up a "validation percentage" of 80% based on the results from his six control tests, in response to each of which, 80% to 90% of the subjects gave the same answer. Again, because of the various types of TAV tests, no firm rule can be set up. In sentences to which only one interpretation appears in the results, the results are likely to be from about 80% to even 100% consistent. Where there is a marked

division of usage however, or more than one interpretation is possible, even an auxiliary used only by 30% or 40% of the subjects must be regarded as acceptable in that environment.

Only sporadic account has been taken of another factor in the analyses presented here. This is the possible influence of one subject on another. This problem, of course, does not arise across villages or with subjects who were interviewed in different parts of the same village. Sometimes, however, while one subject was being interviewed, a crowd of spectators would gather and a subsequent subject would be selected from them even though he had been in a position to hear how the previous subject had responded. Also, one subject, having been interviewed, might stay to watch a subsequent interview and say something that would influence another subject. This factor was taken account of during the administration of the questionnaires by noting down which subjects were interviewed in the same place and therefore had some opportunity of influencing each other. Although it was felt at the time of the investigation that, in some cases, inter-subject influence would be one of the factors affecting the responses, this has not often proved to be the case. One is obviously inclined to attribute some weight to the influence factor if the only three or four subjects to make use of a particular auxiliary in response to a given sentence all gave their responses in the same location. But on the other hand, if the responses are all given in the same location, the subjects are, almost by definition, covillagers. Thus another interpretation of such a result might be that it represents a phenomenon peculiar to the village. An attempt was made to evaluate the influence of subjects on each other, using as a basis the results to one of the questionnaires. The number of responses to

the questionnaire that made use of the same auxiliary as the corresponding response of the previous subject were counted and no significant difference was noted between the total for the initial subjects from each village (who could not possibly have been influenced by preceding responses) and that for non-initial subjects. This factor does not, therefore, seem to have influenced the questionnaire results to a perceptible degree.

CHAPTER THREE

kiTu and viTu

In this chapter, we shall be discussing two of the most frequent of the Tamil auxiliaries, kiTu and viTu. We are treating these two auxiliaries in the same chapter primarily because of the basic contrast which they express. This contrast is clearest when these auxiliaries occur between the clauses of a sentence rather than sentence-finally, and is manifested as contemporaneity vs sequentiality. In this case, kiTu indicates that the events or states described by the two clauses occurred or were in existence at the same point or in the same period of time. When viTu occurs in this position, on the other hand, the event or state of the first clause is understood to precede in time that of the second. Sentence-finally, the same contrast operates, manifested as continuous vs completive. In this position, however, the contrast has been rendered less obvious by the use of the auxiliary kiTTiru (cf. Chapter Four) as a continuative and the additional, now most frequent, use of kiTu as a self-affective. In this chapter, we shall first discuss the individual sentences and sets of sentences containing kiTu and then those containing viTu.

In the section on kiTu, we shall be discussing its use as a self-affective auxiliary, continuous auxiliary, and contemporaneous auxiliary. We will show briefly how kiTTiru has replaced it in most of its continuous uses but will discuss kiTTiru itself more fully in the next chapter. There will also be discussion of the kiTu/viTu opposition and its operation in the sentence-final and inter-clausal positions, its manifestation as a contrast between the

self-affective (or the continuous) and the completive in the first of these positions, and its manifestation as a contrast between contemporaneity and sequentiality in the second. We will examine the reactions of the questionnaire subjects who responded to occurrences of kiTu in varying sentential contexts in order to gain insights into its meaning and function as a single auxiliary and as a member of an auxiliary system. The collocations of kiTu with the other continuous auxiliaries, yaa and poo, will also be noted, though fuller discussion of these will be postponed until the next chapter when they will be examined more closely in connection with kiTTiru.

In the second half of the chapter, viTu will be treated in much the same manner as kiTu was in the first half. We will examine it on its own and in relation to the occurrence of other auxiliaries in the same context. Its co-occurrence possibilities with other auxiliaries -- with tole, with yaa, and especially with the other completives, poo and aaku -- will be noted in particular detail and the contrast between viTu and absence of auxiliary that exists in some contexts will also be discussed. The points mentioned in the individual discussions will be brought together at the end of the chapter in a summary of the uses of these two auxiliaries both individually and in contrast with each other and with other portions of the auxiliary system.

PART ONE -- kiTu

Among the 150 sentences of the five questionnaires with which this study is concerned, twenty-two included an occurrence of the auxiliary kiTu. In the responses to a further twenty-eight sentences, kiTu was provided by at least one subject though it was not present in the corresponding sentences in the questionnaires. In the responses to one of the questionnaire sentences containing an instance of kiTu, this auxiliary appeared 100% of the time. In three more cases, the percentage of responses retaining the given kiTu was above 90%. On the other hand, there were four sentences in the responses to which no subject used the original kiTu. There were a further four cases in which the percentage of responses retaining the given kiTu was less than 10%. Assuming, as we do in this study, that the percentage of subjects retaining a given auxiliary is directly related to the degree of acceptability of the auxiliary in the given sentential context, it can be said that a useful selection of contexts of widely varying acceptability has been provided for kiTu in this study.

The most useful questionnaire examples with which to commence the discussion of kiTu as a self-affective auxiliary are those that formed the series of sentences surveyed briefly in the preceding chapter (26-30). As the discussion here is meant to be complementary to what has already been said, the sentences will be presented here in a different order and with a somewhat different emphasis than was done there. As mentioned earlier, this series of sentences was intended to explore three different but related issues. Underlying all five sentences was the hypothesis that kiTu has a "self-affective" meaning. The first four sentences are divided into two pairs, (1 and 2) and (8 and 9),

each of which were intended to test this hypothesis by contrasting the acceptability of kiTu in an environment which suggested a self-affective interpretation with its acceptability in one which did not. These same four sentences also contrasted in another respect, that of coreferentiality of the "subjects" of the two clauses. The two pairs that contrasted in this way, (1 and 8) and (2 and 9), were intended to determine if the acceptability of kiTu in the first clause would be affected by whether or not the second clause suggested a self-affective interpretation. The final sentence of the series in this discussion, (12), was in fact the first of the series to be administered. As previously discussed, (12) was intended to clear the way for the subsequent sentences by disposing of the question of whether kiTu could best be treated as a generalized "reflexive" auxiliary, or, more specifically, as a "self-affective" one.

The first pair of sentences, (1) and (2), differ only in that the first includes an instance of the reflexive pronoun, taanaaka, whereas the second does not.

- (1) koRante-taanaaka-kuLiccu-kiTTaa-ammaavukku-
 child-by itself-bathe-(kiTu)(cond)-to mother-
 santooSamaa - irukkum. (C14)
 pleasure-be (fut)PNg
 If a child gets bathed by itself, its mother will
 be happy.
- (2) koRante-kuLiccu-kiTTaa-ammaavukku-cantooSamaa-
 child-bathe-(kiTu)(cond)-to mother-pleasure-
 irukkum. (F20)
 be (fut)PNg
 If a child gets bathed, its mother will be happy.

Both of these sentences include the auxiliary kiTu, but the first sentence suggests a self-affective interpretation, in contrast to the second one which does not. By comparing the response patterns of these two sentences, we can

observe the comparative acceptability of kiTu in the two environments. In response to (1), twelve of the nineteen subjects (63%) retained kiTu. In the responses to (2), however, we note a sharp reduction in the percentage of those retaining the given kiTu. In only three (10%) of the thirty-one responses given to this sentence was kiTu retained. In more than half of the responses (53%), no auxiliary was used in the first clause. One of these is shown as sentence (3).

- (3) koRante-kuLiccaa-ammaavukku-cantooSamaa-
 child-bathe (cond)-to mother-pleasure-
 irukkum.
 be (fut)PNg (25. 4. 20)
 If a child gets bathed, its mother will be happy.

In only three of the responses (16%) to sentence (1), on the other hand, were no auxiliaries used. One of these responses is shown here as (4).

- (4) koRante-taanaa-kuLiccaa-ammaavukku-cantooSamaa-
 child-by itself-bathe (cond)-to mother-pleasure-
 irukkum.
 be (fut)PNg (9. 2. 14)
 If a child gets bathed by itself, its mother
 will be happy.

Responses substituting viTu for kiTu occurred to both (1) and (2), with a frequency of 21% and 23% respectively, as illustrated by sentences (5) and (6).

- (5) koRante-taanaa-kuLicc-iTTaa-ammaavukku-
 child-by itself-bathe-(viTu)(cond)-to mother-
 cantooSamaa-irukkum.
 pleasure-be (fut)PNg (6. 1. 14)
 If a child gets bathed by itself, its mother will
 be happy.
- (6) koRante-kuLicci-viTTaa-ammaavukku-cantooSam.
 child-bathe-(viTu)(cond)-to mother-pleasure
 If a child gets bathed, its mother will be happy. (24. 3. 20)

These results and those to the rest of the sentences in this series are summarized in (7).

(7)			<u>%kiTu</u>	<u>%nil</u>	<u>%viTu</u>	<u>%kiTTiru</u>
			ret	repl	repl	repl
clause parts.	+ <u>taan.</u>	(1)	63	16	21	0
non-corefer.	- <u>taan.</u>	(2)	10	53	23	10
clause parts.	+ <u>taan.</u>	(8)	43	39	4	13
corefer.	- <u>taan.</u>	(9)	4	53	25	18
2 parts. in first clause		(12)	0	93	0	7

The pair of sentences (8) and (9) also varied between themselves in exactly the same way as did (1) and (2) -- (8) included an instance of taanaaka, (9) did not.¹

(8) koRante-taanaaka-kuLiccu-kiTTaa-atukku-
child-by itself-bathe-(kiTu)(cond)-to it-
cantooSamaa-irukkum (D25)
pleasure-be (fut)PNg
If a child gets bathed by itself, it will be happy.

(9) koRante-kuLiccu-kiTTaa-atukku-kuSiyaa-
child-bathe-(kiTu)(cond)-to it-pleasure-
irukkum. (E25)
be (fut)PNg
If a child gets bathed, it will be happy.

The patterns of responses to (8) and (9) were exactly comparable with those to (1) and (2) as regards kiTu. Again, a considerably higher percentage (43%) of the subjects retained kiTu in response to the sentence containing taanaaka than the 4% who retained it in response to the sentence not containing taanaaka. Nine (39%) of the subjects used no auxiliary in their responses to (8), one of which is shown here as sentence (10).

¹It also replaces cantooSama 'pleasure' with the more informal synonym kuSi but this is irrelevant to the discussion.

- (10) koRante-taanaaka-kuLiccaa-atukku-cantooSamaa-
 child-by itself-bathe (cond)-to it-pleasure-
 irukkum.
 be (fut)PNg (13. 2. 25)
 If a child gets bathed by itself, it will be happy.

Just as the percentage of responses using no auxiliary in the first clause increased to 53% in (2) from the 16% of (1), so too did the percentage of such responses increase in (9) to 53% from the 39% of (8). An example of the nil auxiliary response to (9) is given here as (11).

- (11) koRante-kuLiccaa-atukku-kuSiyaa-irukkum.
 child-bathe (cond)-to it-pleasure-be (fut)PNg
 If a child gets bathed, it will be happy. (19. 5. 25)

In these two pairs of sentences, (1) and (2) and (8) and (9), we have contrasted the presence of a reflexive pronoun with the absence of same, and, therefore, a sentence which suggests a self-affective interpretation and one which does not. We have noted that in the responses to these two types of sentences, the frequency of kiTu retention has been consistently greater in those sentences which suggest a self-affective interpretation than in those which do not. This seems fairly straightforward evidence for the self-affective nature of kiTu in these environments. The fact that the frequency of responses containing viTu does not vary consistently from one of these types of sentences to the other suggests that the self-affectiveness or non-self-affectiveness of the sentence has little to do with the use of viTu in it.

It might be suggested, however, that, since the two most frequent types of responses to (1) were those retaining kiTu and those replacing it with viTu, the contrast here may not be between self-affective and complete but, rather, between simultaneous and sequential. In this case, the subjects

who retained kiTu would have done so because they thought of the mother being happy at the same time as the child bathed; and those who replaced it with viTu would have done so because they viewed the mother as being happy after the child had bathed. However, if this were so, we would expect an increased incidence of kiTu in the responses to (8) and (9), rather than the decline which actually occurs. Presumably the child is more likely to be enjoying itself at the same moment as it is bathing than later on, whereas the mother could equally well be pleased after the event as during it.

The chief difference between the pattern of responses to the sentences in which the bather and the enjoyer are one and the same, (8) and (9), and that to the two in which there are two participants, (1) and (2), is the increased incidence of kiTTiru in the responses to (8) and (9) (13% and 18% respectively) compared with that in the responses to (1) and (2) (0% and 10% respectively). This relatively small increase in kiTTiru replacement does not appear to be statistically significant, however, and can not be said, therefore, to follow necessarily from the change in the participants.

The final sentence in this series is (12).

- (12) ammaa--koRanteye--kuLippaaTTi--kiTTaa--ivaLukku--
 mother-child-bathe--(kiTu)(cond)-to her-
 cantooSamaa--irukkum.
 pleasure--be (fut)PNg (B14)
 If a mother bathes her child, she will be happy.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, this sentence was intended to show whether kiTu was being used, specifically, as a "self-affective", or generally, as a "reflexive". Were kiTu simply a reflexive, there would

presumably be nothing to stop it occurring in a sentence such as (12) and meaning something like "If she bathes her child herself..." But if it is not reflexive, but rather self-affective, the only sort of possible meaning that could be attached to (12) would be something like "If she bathes her child (but it is she herself who becomes clean)..." or "If she bathes her child (so as to reap the social benefits of being thought a good mother)..." None of the subjects retained the given kiTu and, indeed, only one subject used any auxiliary at all in response to this question. As that auxiliary was kiTTiru, it will not be discussed at this point. One of the fourteen (93%) nil auxiliary responses is shown here in (13).¹

- (13) ammaa-koRanteye-kuLippaaTnaa-cantooSamaa-irukkum.
 mother-child-bathe (cond)-pleasure-be (fut)PNg (3.4.14)
 Mother will be happy if she bathes her child.

Since the kiTu of the given sentence (12) was uniformly deleted in the responses, it appears to have carried the self-affective meaning.

Sentence (14) was used in two successive questionnaires as an example of a sentence providing a suitable self-affective context for kiTu to occur in.²

- (14) cupramaNiyān-avan-peenaave-caTTeyil-appoo-coruki
 Subramaniyan-his-pen-in shirt-then-clip-
 kiTTaan.
 (kiTu)(past)PNg (B21/C21)
 Subramaniyan clipped his pen to his shirt at that
 time.

¹Here, kuLippaaTnaa is a colloquial equivalent of the written kuLippaaTTinaal, the conditional form of the verb kuLippaaTTu 'wash (another)'. Although a variety of forms were used at this point in the responses to (12), these do not concern us here as they have no bearing on the choice of auxiliary. Nor do they appear to be correlated with social or geographical variations among the subjects (cf. Chapter Two).

²In connection with this sentence, subjects were asked to replace appoo 'then' with eppootum 'always'.

it turned out, however, to be too broadly formulated for the intended results to be obtained. In six (38%) of the sixteen responses to this sentence on one of the questionnaires, kiTu was retained as given. In the other questionnaire, however, only four (21%) of the nineteen subjects retained the given kiTu. One subject responding to each of the questionnaires (6% and 5% respectively) used no auxiliary. One of these is shown here as (15).

- (15) anta-peenaave-eppootum-caTTayil-corukuvaan.
 that-pen-always-in shirt clip(fut)PNg
 He always clips his pen to his shirt. (7.3.21)

Another type of response that occurred rarely in both sets of responses was viTu replacement. An example of this is shown here as (16).

- (16) suppiramaNiyam-anta-peenaave-eppootum-caTTay-il-
 Subramaniyam-that-pen-always-shirt-in-
 coruk-iTTaan.
 clip-(viTu)(past)PNg (10.3.21)
 Subramaniyam always clipped his pen right
 on to his shirt.

Only one subject (6%) used viTu in response to the earlier administration of (14) and only two (11%) used it alone in response to the later administration. In addition, this latter set of responses included one occurrence of the collocation vai+viTu (17)¹.

- (17) suppuramaNiyam-eppavum-caTTayile-peenaave-coruvi-
 Subramaniyam-always-in shirt-pen-clip-
 veccu-puTTaan.
 (vai) - (viTu)(past)PNg (10.1.21)
 Subramaniyam always kept his pen securely
 clipped to his shirt.

¹Because of the labial closure in the form identified here as viTu, it might seem to be an example of pooTu instead. The vowel is not what would be expected for pooTu, however, being centralized and extremely short. The auxiliary of this example was identified as being viTu by the chief informant in the field. Also, other similar occurrences of labial closure followed by retroflex plosive were identified as viTu by other informants.

The responses to (14) are summarized in (18).¹

(18)	$\frac{\% \text{kiTu}}{\text{ret}}$	$\frac{\% \text{kiT'iru}}{\text{repl}}$	$\frac{\% \text{iru}}{\text{repl}}$	$\frac{\% \text{vai+iru}}{\text{repl}}$	$\frac{\% \text{viTu}}{\text{repl}}$	$\frac{\% \text{vai+viTu}}{\text{repl}}$	%other
B21	38	19	19	13	6	0	6
C21	21	11	26	16	11	5	10

Although the responses to both occurrences of (14) showed roughly the same wide spread (all six response types given by the subjects of the first questionnaire occurred among the eight given by those of the second questionnaire, the percentage of each type varied between the two sets of responses. This variation, together with the wide spread of responses, shows that sentence (14) was too broadly constructed and put too little contextual pressure on the subjects to channel their responses in a particular direction.

What was consistent from one occurrence of this sentence to the other, though, was the use of tenses in the responses. Since the effect of the requested operation was to change the reference of the sentence from a particular moment of time (identified as in the past by the tense of the verb in the given sentence) to habituality, the use of the future tense form (often used in Tamil with an habitual sense) could be expected to occur in the responses instead of the past tense form given on the questionnaire. And indeed, that is what happened. The future tense form was used in 50% of the responses to the sentence (14) of the earlier questionnaire and in 53% of the responses to the later one. The past tense form was retained in 44% of the first set of responses and in 42% of the second one. A single subject of each set (6% and 5% respectively)

¹The responses making use of iru and its compounds are not relevant to the discussion at this point.

used instead the present tense form. The interesting thing about the distribution of the tenses used in these responses is that they are directly relatable to the selection of auxiliary. In the responses to the later administration of (14), the ten subjects who changed the tense of the sentence to future mostly used an auxiliary ending in iru (iru 5, vai+iru 1, kiTTiru 2, kiTTupoo 1, no auxiliary 1) whereas those who left the tense in the past mostly used auxiliaries ending in iTu (kiTu 4, viTu 2, vai+viTu 1, vai+iru 1). The single subject who changed the tense to present also used the combination of auxiliaries, vai+iru. This was the only auxiliary or combination of auxiliaries among the eight used in this set of responses with which different subjects used different tenses. The situation was very similar in the responses to the earlier administration of (14), as can be seen in (19), which summarizes the tense information discussed here.

(19)

<u>past</u>	<u>kiTu</u>	6	4	10
	<u>viTu</u>	1	2	3
	<u>vai+viTu</u>	0	1	1
	<u>vai+iru</u>	0	1	1 = 15
<u>future</u>	<u>iru</u>	3	5	8
	<u>kiTTiru</u>	2	2	4
	<u>vai+iru</u>	2	1	3
	<u>kiTu+poo</u>	0	1	1
	<u>nil</u>	1	1	2 = 18
<u>present</u>	<u>kiTTiru</u>	1	0	1
	<u>vai+iru</u>	0	1	1 = 2

Again, the eight subjects who changed the tense of the sentence to future mostly used an auxiliary ending in iru (iru 3, vai+iru 2, kiTTiru 2, no auxiliary 1).

All seven of the subjects who left the tense of the sentence in the past used auxiliaries ending in iTu (kiTu 6, viTu 1). The single subject who changed the tense to present in this case used the continuous auxiliary kiTTiru.

Combining the above two sets of responses, we find that, with just three

exceptions, all thirty-five responses can be divided neatly into two groups: that consisting of auxiliaries ending in iru or poo and nil auxiliary responses, and that consisting of auxiliaries with kiTu and viTu. With the former group, the future tense was used and with the latter, the past. Of the exceptions, two, both collocations with iru, were in the present tense and a single instance of vai+iru cooccurred with the past tense. The results summarized in (19) suggest two things. One is that there is a tendency for kiTu and viTu to be used with the past tense and consequently for the habitual future not to occur with these auxiliaries. The other is that there is a past component in the auxiliary use of iru which permits it to occur in the future tense form with habitual meaning and still retain a sense that the habitual action took place in the past. This second suggestion will be confirmed by some of the examples discussed in Chapter Four.

A contrast was drawn between vai and kiTu, between the boy leaving the money with his mother and getting it back for himself, in each of the two sentences (20) and (21).

- (20) antap-paiyan-ammaakiTTe-kaace-koTuttu-veccu,
 that-boy-to mother-money-give-(vai),
 marunaaL-vaanki-kiTTaan. (C7)
 next day-get-(kiTu)(past)PNg
 Having left the money with his mother, that
 boy got it back the next day.
- (21) antap-paiyan-ammaakiTTe-kaace-koTuttu-vecciruntu-
 that-boy-to mother-money-give-(vai+iru)-
 marunaaL-vaanki-kiTTaan. (B8)
 next day-get-(kiTu)(past)PNg
 After having left the money with his mother,
 that boy got it back the next day.

The only difference between these two sentences was the addition of iru in the first clause of (21). The significance of this will be discussed in the next chapter.

It had no effect on the acceptability of the second clause. In the responses to both sentences, all but one of the subjects (95% and 94%, respectively) retained the kiTu as given. In both cases, the single subject who gave an atypical response replaced kiTu with viTu, replacing the self-affective with the completive auxiliary.

The uniformity of response to the second clauses of (20) and (21) made it seem likely that, besides the overt contrast of kiTu with vai and vecciru, the rest of the sentences had also encouraged the subjects to think of a self-affective interpretation of these sentences. To test this hypothesis, a third sentence (22), which was identical to (20) and (21) except that it contained no auxiliaries, was inserted into the following questionnaire.

- (22) antap-paiyan-ammaakiTTe-kaace-koTuttu, marunaaL-
 that-boy-to mother-money-give, next day-
 vaankinaan.
 get(past)PNg (D8)
 That boy gave his mother the money and got it
 back the next day.

As might have been expected, fourteen of the twenty-three subjects (61%) used no auxiliary in their responses to the second clause of (22). Five subjects (22%) did make use of kiTu in their responses, however, and four (17%) made use of viTu. Sentences (23) and (24) exemplify the latter two types of responses and illustrate two types of contrast which can be drawn between the two clauses of sentence (22).

- (23) anta-paiyan-ammaakiTTe-kaaciye-koTuttu-marunaaL-
 that-boy-to mother-money-give-next day-
 vaanki-kiTTaan.
 get-(kiTu)(past)PNg (13.1.8)
 That boy gave his mother the money and got it
 back for himself the next day.

- (24) anta-paiyan-ammaakiTTe-kaace-koTuttu-maraanaaLu-
 that-boy-to mother-money-give-next day-
 vaanki-TTaan.
 get-(viTu)(past)PNg (14.1.8)
 That boy gave his mother the money and got it
 right back the next day.

The subjects who provided the self-affective auxiliary kiTu in their responses, as in sentence (23), apparently thought the contrast between the two clauses was between the boy leaving the money with his mother and then getting it back for himself. Those subjects who used the completive auxiliary viTu, as in sentence (24) on the other hand, were presumably emphasizing that, though the boy had left the money with his mother temporarily, he got it back from her the next day. The fact that kiTu was the auxiliary provided by more than half of those subjects who used any auxiliaries at all in their responses to (22) confirms the results of (20) and (21), especially if it is borne in mind that auxiliaries are generally only optional in sentences in any event.

The juxtaposition of the clauses in (25) also encouraged a self-affective interpretation of the second clause.

- (25) ammaa-ennuTaiya-paaye-ruumil-pooTTu-vecc-
 mother-my-sleeping mat-in room-put-(vai)-
 iruntaanka; ate-naan-tiNNeyil-pooTT-uTTTeen. (B19)
 (iru)(past)PNg; it-I-on porch-put-(viTu)(past)PNg
 Mother had put my sleeping mat in the room and
 was keeping it there; I put it on the porch.

Two potential contrasts between the two clauses are expressed in the responses to this sentence. In neither case does the presence of the auxiliary vai in the first clause affect the distinction being made by the auxiliary in the second clause. One of these contrasts, that of what might be termed "relatively provisional action" as opposed to "relatively decisive action" is expressed by the presence in the second clause of (25) of the completive auxiliary viTu. This made it

possible for six (43%) of the fourteen subjects to retain viTu as given. But the meaning of (25), and in particular, the change of subject from the first to the second clause, encouraged the questionnaire subjects to note another potential contrast, that between action affecting no one in particular and action affecting oneself. To express this distinction, subjects had merely to replace the completive auxiliary of the second clause with the self-affective one. Indeed, this is what was done by a majority of subjects. Eight (57%) of them produced sentences like (26), in which the self-affective interpretation suggested by the rest of the sentence is confirmed by the auxiliary.

- (26) ammaa-ennuTaya-paaye-ruumil-pooTTu-vecc-
 mother-my-sleeping mat-in room-put-(vai)-
 iruntaanka; naan-ate-tiNNeyil-pooTTu-kiTTeen. (4.1.19)
 (iru)(past)PNg; I-it-on porch-put-(kiTu)(past)PNg
 Mother had put my sleeping mat in the room and
 was keeping it there; I put it on the porch.

Sentences (27) and (28) were intended to test the differential acceptability of kiTu and viTu in negative and positive clauses.

- (27) kaaleyil-naTaraajan-kuLicc-iTTaan-aanaa-
 in morning-Natarajan-bathe-(viTu)(past)PNg-but-
 taniyaaka-kuLiccu-kiTT-uTale.
 by himself-bathe-(kiTu)-(viTu)(neg) (B27)
 Natarajan bathed in the morning but didn't
 bathe by himself.
- (28) kaalele-naTaraajan-kuLicc-iTTaan-aanaa-
 in morning-Natarajan-bathe-(viTu)(past)PNg-but-
 taniyaaka-kuLiccu-kiTT-uTTaan.
 by himself-bathe-(kiTu)-(viTu)(past)PNg (C27)
 Natarajan had a bath in the morning but had it
 by himself.

These two sentences differ only in that the second clause of (27) is negative and that of (28) is positive; the first clauses are identical except for the purely

stylistic variation between kaaleyil and kaalele. In the second clauses of these sentences, the auxiliaries kiTu and viTu were given in sequence -- a highly unnatural and unacceptable formation. This was done so as to suggest, rather more weakly than was done in the outright selection tests, that one of them be retained in the response. Only a single subject (7%)¹ used either auxiliary in the second clause of his response to (27). In the responses to (28), on the other hand, most of the subjects made use of some auxiliary at that point of their responses -- nine of seventeen (53%) retained the viTu of the given collocation (as in 33), and four (23%) replaced the given collocation with kiTTiru, giving a continuous sense to the clause (as in 34 and 36). Three of the remaining subjects used no auxiliary in this position.² This information is summarized in (29).

¹The one subject who did use an auxiliary in this position retained kiTu, as shown in (27a).

(27a) kaaleyile--naTaraajan-kuLicc-i'Truntaan-aanaa-
 in morning-Natarajan-bathe-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg-but-
 taniyaa-kuLiccu-kiTTu-ille.
 by himself-bathe-(kiTu)-(neg) (3.2.27)
 ? Natarajan was bathing in the morning but didn't
 bathe by himself.

This sentence is deviant in any case, however. If the two morphemes, (kiTu) and (neg) were conjoined normally, the output should be kiTale, not kiTTuille. Thus, even in this response, the retention of kiTu as well as the negative is managed only in an unnatural manner.

²The other subject retained the unnatural kiTu+viTu collocation as given, as shown in (28a).

(28a) kaalele-antap-paiyan-kuLicci-kiTrukkaan-
 in morning-that-boy-bathe-(kiTTiru)(pres)PNg-
 aanaa-taniyaa-kuLicci-kiTTu-i'Taan.
 but-by himself-bathe-(kiTu)-(viTu)(past)PNg
 ? That boy is bathing in the morning but
 bathed by himself. (6.2.27)

In this response, just as in (27a), the auxiliary selection is not the only apparently deviant factor. The sequence of tenses is also odd. While the first clause is cast in the present tense, the second clause, although it refers to the same event from the same temporal reference point, is in the past tense.

(29)		%nil repl	% <u>viTu</u> repl	% <u>kiTu</u> repl	% <u>kiTTiru</u> repl	% <u>kiTu+viTu</u> ret	
	(<u>kiTu+viTu</u>) negative	(27)	93	0	7	0	0
	(<u>kiTu+viTu</u>) positive	(28)	18	53	0	23	6

The frequent use of auxiliaries in the responses to (26) but the almost complete lack of them in the responses to (25) suggests that viTu and kiTTiru, at least, cannot be collocated with the negative morpheme. For further evidence on this point, compare (136) and (139) below.

In choosing whether to retain viTu in their response or to replace the given auxiliaries with kiTTiru, subjects were in effect deciding whether to emphasize the having of the bath as a completed event or as a process. Two of the three subjects who used no auxiliary in this second clause were among those who used viTu in the first (35). The event already having been stated as complete in the first clause, these two apparently felt it unnecessary to repeat this information in the second clause. The third subject who used no auxiliary in the second clause also used none in the first. He appears not to have found it necessary to specify the sort of information conveyed by the auxiliaries in connection with this sentence. The three most frequent responses to (27) -- no auxiliary in either clause (used by six subjects), kiTTiru in the first clause and no auxiliary in the second (five subjects), and viTu in the first clause, no auxiliary in the second (three subjects) -- are shown here as sentences (30), (31), and (32), respectively.

- (30) kaaleyile-naTaraajan-kuLiccaan-aanaa-taniyaa-
 in morning-Natarajan-bathe (past)PNg-but-alone
 kuLikkale. (2.1.27)
 bathe (neg)
 Natarajan bathed in the morning but didn't
 bathe alone.
- (31) kaaleyile-naTaraajan-kuLicci-kiTruntaan-aanaa-
 in morning-Natarajan-bathe-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg-but-
 taniyaa-kuLikkale. (5.3.27)
 alone-bathe (neg)
 Natarajan was bathing in the morning but didn't
 bathe alone.
- (32) kaaleyile-naTaraajan-kuLicc-iTTaan-aanaa-
 in morning-Natarajan-bathe-(viTu)(past)PNg-but-
 taniyaa-kuLikka-le. (4.1.27)
 alone-bathe-(neg)
 Natarajan bathed in the morning but didn't bathe
 alone.

Examples of the responses to (28) -- no auxiliary in the first clause, viTu in the second (used by four subjects), no auxiliary in the first, kiTTiru in the second (three subjects), viTu in the first and no auxiliary in the second (two subjects), and kiTTiru in both clauses (one subject) are shown here as (33), (34), (35), and (36) respectively.

- (33) kaale-le-naTaraajan-kuLiccaan-aanaa-taniyaaka-
 morning-in-Natarajan-bathe (past)PNg-but-alone-
 kuLicc-iTTaan. (9.5.27)
 bathe-(viTu)(past)PNg
 Natarajan bathed in the morning but bathed
 alone.
- (34) kaalai-le-naTaraajan-kuLiccaan-aanaa-taniyaaka-
 morning-in-Natarajan-bathe (past)PNg-but-alone-
 kuLiccu-kiTTruntaan. (6.3.27)
 bathe-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg
 Natarajan bathed in the morning but was
 bathing alone.

- (35) naTaraajan-kaale-le-kuLicc-uTTaan-aanaa-
Natarajan-morning-in-bathe-(viTu)(past)PNg-but-
taniyaa-taan-kuLiccaan.
alone-indeed-bathe (past)PNg (8.1.27)
Natarajan bathed in the morning but bathed
all alone.
- (36) kaalai-le-naTaraajan-kuLiccu-kiTTirukkaan-
morning-in-Natarajan-bathe-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg-
taniyaaka-kuLiccu-kiTTirukkaan.
alone-bathe-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg (10.1.27)
Natarajan is bathing in the morning but is
bathing alone.

The most frequent type of response in the response patterns to the first clauses of (27) and (28) was to use no auxiliary at all, as can be seen in (37).

(37)		%nil repl	%viTu ret	%kiTTiru repl	%kiTu repl	%iru repl
first clause	(27)	38	19	31	6	6
	(28)	47	37	11	5	0

This was the type of response (eg. 30) given in six (38%) of the sixteen responses to the first clause of (27) and in nine (47%) of the nineteen responses to the first clause of (28), as illustrated by (33) and (34).¹ The main difference between these two response patterns is the reversed proportions of viTu retention and kiTTiru replacement that occurred in them. Among the responses to (27), three (19%) contained viTu as given (eg. 32) and five (31%)

¹Of the sixteen subjects who answered the questionnaire on which (27) appeared, one subject (the one who replaced the given viTu of the first clause with kiTu) omitted the entire second clause except for taniyaa, which he incorporated into his response. Of the nineteen subjects who answered the questionnaire on which (28) appeared, two responded only to the first clause (using no auxiliary in one case and retaining viTu in the other), apparently ignoring the second clause completely.

contained kiTTiru instead (eg. 31). Among the responses to (28), on the other hand, seven (37%) contained viTu (eg. 35) and only two (11%) kiTTiru (eg. 36). A single subject replaced the given viTu with kiTu in response to each sentence. The reason that so many subjects used no auxiliary in the first clause of their responses is presumably because it is immediately followed by the amplification of the second clause. The significance of the variation in the number of viTu and kiTTiru responses from one pattern to the other is hard to estimate. It is not easy to see any particular reason for this variation and it may merely be a matter of chance whether one or the other was selected, depending on whether the subject chose to think of the bathing as a continuing past occurrence or a past occurrence that was over and done with by the time of the speech event.

Sentence (38) provided an environment in which both kiTu and viTu were free to occur.

(38) caappiTTa-piraku-naan-kaiye-alampi-kiTTeen.
 eating-after-I-hand-wash-(kiTu)(past)PNg
 I washed my hand after eating. (C3)

When this sentence was administered, it was expected that most of the subjects would retain the kiTu as given. But in the event, only eight (42%) of them did so. The most frequent response was the replacement of kiTu by viTu. Nine (47%) of the nineteen subjects responded in this fashion, one of whose responses is shown here as sentence (39).

(39) naan-cappiTTa-piraku-kaiye-alampi-TTeen.
 I-eating-after-hand-wash-(viTu)(past)PNg
 I washed my hand after eating. (7.1.3)

Two (11%) of the subjects used no auxiliary in their responses to this sentence. Example (40) is one such response.

- (40) caappi'Ta-piraku-kaiye-alampineen.
 eating-after-hand-wash(past)PNg (10. 3. 3)
 I washed my hand after eating.

The two main types of responses to sentence (38) apparently reflect the main choices open to speakers when they reach the verb of such a sentence. If the intention is to emphasize that the action applies specifically to the speaker, the self-affective auxiliary is chosen. If it is the action itself which is to be emphasized, even fairly slightly, then the completive auxiliary is selected. If, on the other hand, no emphasis at all is intended, no auxiliary need be used. When an example of each of the three types of response that occurred to sentence (38) was shown to an informant who had presumably not previously thought about the matter, he said that the sentence with kiTu would probably occur following a question such as "Did you wash your hands?" The sentence with viTu could occur without such a previous question, he said, and showed little special emphasis. The sentence without auxiliary was said to show less emphasis than that with viTu. These informal judgements, unilluminating as they are and less specific than what we had deduced from the questionnaire data, accord satisfactorily with them. As an example of the vagueness of the information provided by a typical native speaker, they also show the need for the type of investigation being reported on in this work.

Sentences (41) and (42) were formulated so as to differ only in the presence or absence of taniyaa 'alone'.

- (41) maaNavar-mutal-paricu-vaank-iTTu-kiTTaar.
student-first-prize-get-(viTu)-(kiTu)(past)PNg
The student got first prize. (B23)
- (42) maaNavar-mutal-paricu-taniyaa-vaank-iTTu-kiTTaar.
student-first-prize-alone-get-(viTu)-(kiTu)(past)PNg
The student alone got first prize. (E23)

Although roughly the same spread of auxiliaries was obtained in the responses to these sentences, the percentages of each varied somewhat between them. The results for these two sentences are summarized in (43) along with those for (47) and (49).

(43)		<u>%viTu</u>	<u>%kiTu</u>	<u>%iru</u>	<u>%nil</u>	<u>%kiTTiru</u>
	<u>viTu+kiTu</u> (-taniyaa)	(41) 50	31	13	6	0
	<u>viTu+kiTu</u> (+taniyaa)	(42) 70	7	23	0	0
	<u>kiTu</u> (+taniyaa)	(47) 57	20	7	16	0
	<u>kiTTiru</u> (-taniyaa)	(49) 11	11	5	26	47

What is not shown in this table is that taniyaa occurred very seldom in the responses, even to the "+ taniyaa" sentences. Only two (7%) of the twenty-seven subjects used taniyaa in their responses to (42), one of which is shown here as (44).¹

- (44) maaNavar-renTaavatu-paricu-taniyaa-vaank-iTTaar.
student-second-prize-alone-get-(viTu)(past)PNg
The student alone got second prize. (17.5.23)

¹In connection with all four of these sentences, (41), (42), (47), and (49), subjects were asked to replace mutal 'first' with renTaavatu 'second'.

This is also an example of the type of response retaining viTu. Sentence (45) is an example of the kiTu retention response to (41).

- (45) maaNavar-renTaavatu-paricu-vaanki-kiTTaar.
 student-second-prize-get-(kiTu)(past)PNg
 The student got second prize. (4.4.23)

As taniyaa was deleted from all the responses to (42) containing kiTu, (45) is also typical of those. An example of the type of response which replaced the given collocation with iru is shown in (46).

- (46) anta-paiyan-renTaavatu-paricu-vaank-irukkaan.
 that-boy-second-prize-get-(iru)(pres)PNg
 That boy has got second prize. (21.2.23)

All eleven cases of iru replacement given in response to the four sentences summarized in (43) made use of iru in the present tense although the given sentences were all in the past tense and virtually all the other responses were in the past tense as well. It will be claimed in more detail in the next chapter that this indicates the existence of a "past" component in the meaning of the auxiliary use of iru.

The small proportion of kiTu retention in response to (42) having been noticed, (47) was administered in the following questionnaire.

- (47) maaNavar-taniyaa-mutal-paricu-vaanki-kiTTaar.
 student-alone-first-prize-get-(kiTu)(past)PNg
 The student alone got first prize. (F23)

This is virtually identical to (42) except that it includes only the auxiliary kiTu. As expected, kiTu was retained in the responses to (47) a higher proportion of the time than in the responses to (42). As the percentage of kiTu retention was smaller than it had been in the case of (41), however, this

kiTTiru on the one hand, and kiTu and viTu on the other, may be said to reflect the different structural relations that exist between them -- kiTu and viTu are the two endpoints of a polar contrast whereas kiTTiru, as will be seen in the next chapter, can be seen as a combination of kiTu and iru. Some slight correlation can also be observed in these sentences between the presence of taniyaa in the questionnaire sentence and the choice of auxiliary in the responses. Though taniyaa 'alone' was usually deleted from the two sentences in which it occurred (42) and (47), the responses to those two sentences showed a larger percentage of viTu occurrences (70% and 57%) than did either of the two (41 and 49) without it (50% and 11%). Slender evidence as to the incompatibility of kiTu and taniyaa might be alleged to be provided by the fact that, of the six subjects using taniyaa in their responses to (42) and (47), only one subject used kiTu along with it.

Having ascertained from sentences on previous questionnaires that kiTu was used normally as a self-affective in simple sentences and in the final clause of conjoined sentences, it was decided to explore its use in an embedding construction. Sentence (50) was intended to provide a test of the relevance of an embedded sentence to the self-affectiveness of the outer sentence. It was assumed that kiTu would be retained if the embedded sentence was indeed relevant.

- (50) appaa-koRanteye-avarukku-vettile-paakku-konTaara-
 father-child-to him-betel leaf-arecanut-bring-
 colli-kiTTaar.
 say-(kiTu)(past)PNg
 Father told the child to bring him some betel
 leaf and arecanut.

(F6)

Here, it is not the telling that affects the father, but the bringing of the

condiments. The results to this sentence clearly suggest that the contents of the inner clause cannot be taken into consideration in deciding whether to make use of kiTu in the outer clause. None of the subjects retained the given kiTu. All but two (93%) of the twenty-seven subjects used no auxiliary in their responses. They generally gave responses along the lines of (51).

- (51) appaa-koRantaye-vettile-paakku-konTaara-connaaru.
 father-child-betel leaf-arecanut-bring-say (past)PNg
 Father told the child to bring him some betel
 leaf and arecanut. (23.4.6)

One subject each (3%) replaced the given kiTu with iru and kiTTiru. These appear to add a perfective and continuative meaning to the sentence, respectively. Although the results to (50) appear to suggest that the meaning of the embedded sentence does not influence the choice of auxiliary in the matrix sentence, they are not conclusive. It may be that kiTu was unacceptable for some other reason than that the outer sentence did not admit of a self-affective interpretation -- for example, the collocation of col "say" and kiTu may not be acceptable whatever the environment. To confirm the conclusion drawn from this sentence, therefore, it would be helpful to have another sentence containing col+kiTu, in the responses to which a significant percentage of subjects retained kiTu. Unfortunately, however, (50) appeared on the last of the questionnaires and this point could not be followed up.

Another context in which kiTu proved to be unacceptable was provided by sentence (52).

- (52) en-makan-renTu-varuSattukku-munnaaTi-taan-
 my-son-two-year-before-indeed-
 porantu-kiTTaan.
 be born-(kiTu) (past)PNg
 My son was born just two years ago. (B3)

Again, no subjects at all retained the given kiTu. Thirteen (81%) of the sixteen subjects used no auxiliary in their responses to this test, and gave responses similar to sentence (53).

- (53) en-makan-renTu-varuSattukku-munnaaTi-porantaan.
 my-son-two-year-before-be born(past)PNg
 My son was born two years ago. (5.1.3)

The other three subjects replaced the given kiTu with viTu as in (54).

- (54) en-mavan-renTu-varuSattukku-pimaale-taan-porantu-
 my-son-two-years-after-only-be born-
 viTTaan.
 (viTu)(past)PNg (4.4.3)
 My son got born just two years afterwards.

In this context, it seems impossible to construe kiTu as self-affective and the sentence structure precludes simultaneity. That the subjects found it senseless in sentence (52) is indicated by the fact that none of them used it in their repetition of the given sentence.

All the examples of kiTu so far considered have had to do with its "self-affective" meaning. In sentence (55), however, it appears in its combining form in a non-final clause.

- (55) tampi-kaN-muuTi-kiTTu-tuunkinaan.
 younger brother-eye-close-(kiTu)-sleep(past)PNg
 Little brother closed his eyes and slept. (F17)

Although this sentence was acceptable to the informant who had been most frequently consulted about the acceptability of sentences containing kiTu, the subjects responding to the questionnaire did not appear to find it so. Only four (15%) of the twenty-seven subjects used kiTu in their responses. Five subjects (19%) used no auxiliary, one of whose responses is shown here as (56).

- (56) tampi-kaN-muuTi-tuunknaan.
 younger brother-eye-close-sleep(past)PNg
 Little brother closed his eyes and slept. (25.1.17)

The majority response to this sentence, however, was to replace the given kiTu with viTu -- seventeen (63%) of the subjects gave this type of response, as illustrated by (57).

- (57) tampi-kaNNe-muuTiyiTtu-tuunknaan. (26.4.17)
 younger brother-eye-close-(viTu)-sleep(past)PNg
 Little brother closed his eyes and then slept.

The contrast between kiTu and viTu in these sentences is that between contemporaneity and sequentiality of the events referred to by the two main verbs. In other words, by using either kiTu or viTu, the subjects indicated whether they envisioned the boy as falling asleep at the same moment as his eyes closed or only after they were already closed. As this latter is the more usual state of affairs, most of the subjects used viTu, even though kiTu had been provided for them in the sentence.

Unlike (55), sentence (58) did not contain any overt indication of the temporal order of the events represented by its two verbs.

- (58) tampi-kaNNe-muuTi-tuunkinaan.
 younger brother-eye-close-sleep(past)PNg
 Little brother closed his eyes and slept. (E6)

The response patterns to the first clauses of (55) and (58) are summarized in (59).

(59)		<u>%viTu</u>	<u>%kiTu</u>	<u>%nil</u>
	<u>kiTu</u> (55)	65	15	19
	nil (58)	22	7	70

Since no auxiliary was used in the given sentence and the temporal relation between the two clauses was left unspecified, the majority response was to use no auxiliary. Among those who did use auxiliaries in their responses, however, the majority again used viTu, the minority kiTu; thus the two response patterns are consistent with one another.

In that the sentences just discussed admitted the use of either auxiliary, they were not formulated clearly enough to prove that the contrast between kiTu and viTu in non-final clauses is that between contemporaneity and sequentiality. It was to provide such evidence that sentence (60) was formulated.

- (60) caikkiL-ooTTi-kiTTu-passil-vanteen.
 bicycle-ride-(kiTu)-in bus-come (past)PNg
 ? I came by bus riding a bicycle. (F 30)

No subjects retained the kiTu provided in this sentence. When the sentence was read to them, nearly all subjects objected with some such query as "How can anyone ride a bicycle and come in a bus at the same time?" When they were pressed to repeat it in such a way that it would make sense, twenty-one (70%) of them included an instance of viTu at the end of the first clause of their responses, as exemplified in (61).¹

- (61) caikkiLe-uTT-uTTu-pasle-vanteen.
 bicycle-leave-(viTu)-in bus-come (past)PNg
 Leaving my bicycle behind, I came by bus. (25. 2. 30)

¹ Note here the use of viTu both as main verb ('leave') and as auxiliary (completive). Even as a main verb, it exhibits considerable phonological disparity from the written form, viTTu.

All the rest of the subjects made use of paraphrase to indicate the sequentiality of the two events. One of these responses is shown here as sentence (62).

- (62) caikkiLLe-vanteen; maru-Trippu-pasle-
 on bicycle-come (past)PNg; next-trip-in bus-
 vanteen.
 come (past)PNg (26.1.30)
 I came by bicycle; the next time I came by bus.

Though there is considerable variety in the wording used to indicate sequentiality in these responses, this example can be regarded as fairly typical. The essential facts about (60) are the unanimity with which subjects rejected it and the consistency of their sequential paraphrases.

The responses to sentence (63) also illustrate the contrast between sequential viTu and contemporaneous kiTu.

- (63) iTaiyan-aaTukaLe-meettu-kiTT-iruntu-TTu-
 herdsman-goats-graze-(kiTu)-(iru)-(viTu)-
 viiTTukku-vantaan.
 to the house-come (past)PNg (D29)
 ? Having been grazing the goats, the herdsman
 came home.¹

This sentence was intended to serve two functions. On the one hand, it was intended as a control sentence. It was expected that very few of the subjects would retain the presumably contradictory pair of auxiliaries, one continuous (kiTTiru) and one completive (viTu). On the other hand, it was hoped that the pair of auxiliaries thus provided would suggest alternative interpretations of the

¹The gloss indicates the meaning this sentence would have, were it grammatical. Although a single subject retained the auxiliaries as given, no native speakers so far consulted have felt this sentence to be grammatically acceptable.

situation depicted in the sentence. Inasmuch as only a single subject retained the given complex of auxiliaries unchanged, the sentence can be said to have served the first purpose well, showing that practical unanimity can be obtained in the responses to clear cases.

With regard to the second purpose behind this sentence, the most frequently selected auxiliaries were viTu and kiTu. The majority response, given by eighteen (75%) of the twenty-four subjects, was to make use of viTu in the first clause as in sentence (64)¹, and thus to assert that the herdsman only brought the cattle to the house after the grazing had taken place.

- (64) eTayan-maaTTe-meecc-iTTu-viiTTukku-vantaan. (16. 3. 29)
 herdsman-cattle-graze-(viTu)-to house-come (past)PNg
 After grazing the cattle, the herdsman came home.

This can be contrasted with the type of sentence shown here as (65), in which kiTu alone was retained in the first clause.

- (65) iTaiyan-maaTukaLe-meecci-kkiTTu-viiTTukku-
 herdsman-cattle-graze-(kiTu)-to house-
 vant-uTTaan. (13. 1. 29)
 come-(viTu)(past)PNg
 The herdsman came home grazing the cattle.

Four subjects (17%) made use of this type of response and so indicated that the actions of the two clauses occurred simultaneously. Only a single subject, whose response was (66), retained the given continuous auxiliary kiTTiru.

¹The subjects were asked to perform the operation of replacing aaTukaLe 'goats' with maaTukaLe 'cattle' in connection with (63).

- (66) iTayan-maaTukaLe-meeyeci-kiTTiruntu-uuTTukku-vant-
 herdsman-cattle-graze-(kiTTiru)-to house-come-
 uTTaan. (12.1.29)
 (viTu)(past)PNg
 The herdsman was grazing the cattle as he came home.

The preponderance of viTu in these responses is presumably due to the fact that cattle are usually driven out to a field to graze and then brought back -- it is seldom the intention of a cowherd to encourage cattle to graze as he is driving them home. The greater number of responses with kiTu than of those with kiTTiru is to be expected, considering the semantic similarity of these two auxiliaries. As will be contended in the next chapter, the continuous is viewed as composed of a "simultaneous" component (kiTu) and an "existential" part (iru). The use of kiTu to indicate that one activity is going on at the same time as another one implies its continuousness. When no other state of affairs is indicated, kiTu is associated with the non-specific existential auxiliary iru or the continuous auxiliaries yaa or poo to form the continuous auxiliaries kiTTiru, kiTTuvaa, and kiTTupoo. When the state of affairs during which the action of the first clause is taking place is explicitly indicated by the main verb (as in 63), however, iru (or yaa or poo) is unnecessary. It seems, then, that the response type of (65) was preferred to that of (66) because it is shorter at the same time as it conveys the same conceptual meaning as does (66). Any difference between the two alternatives appears to be a matter of emphasis or "thematic meaning" (cf. Leech 1974.22-3).

Sentence (67) also turned out to be relevant to exploring the relation between the simultaneous kiTu and the continuous, although it was

intended merely to be concerned with the auxiliary poo.

- (67) appoo-paappaa--koocc-iTTu-pooccu.
 then-small child-become angry-(viTu)-(poo)(past)PNg
 The small child was really angry then. (D13)

The given sentence contains the main verb kooccu 'become angry' and two completive auxiliaries, viTu and poo. These have an additive effect and indicate a more extreme degree of anger than either would individually. But pooccu, the form of poo commonly used as a completive, occurs only with non-gender (neuter) subjects. In connection with (67), subjects were asked to replace the non-gender subject paapaa 'small child' with the high-class (masculine/feminine) subject vaattiyaar 'teacher'. As poo was no longer likely to be interpreted as a completive in the response sentences, it could be treated either as a main verb or as a continuous auxiliary. In both cases, the retention of viTu would seem odd. If poo were treated as a main verb, retention of viTu would presumably mean that only when he had got over his anger did the teacher go away, as viTu between two main verbs would have to be interpreted as indicating sequentiality. Again, if poo were treated as a continuous auxiliary, it would not be expected to be preceded by the completive auxiliary viTu.

In their responses, fourteen (61%) of the twenty-three subjects did unambiguously make use of kiTu, as in (68).

- (68) appoo-vaattiyaaru-koocci-kiTTu-poonaaru.
 then-teacher-be angry-(kiTu)-go(past)PNg
 The teacher, being angry, went away then. (12.1.13)

The remaining nine, however, made use of an auxiliary form without the initial k-, as shown in (69).

- (69) vaatyaar--appootu-koucc-iTTu-poonaar.
 teacher--then--get angry--(viTu)--go (past)PNg
 /or (kiTTupoo)(past)PNg
 The teacher then got angry and went away. (16.1.13)
 or The teacher was angry then.

At first glance, this might seem to be a case of viTu retention. As has been mentioned above, viTu occurs without its initial y- when it occurs as an auxiliary in spoken Tamil, giving a form like that in (69). In the examples considered so far in this chapter, it has been contrasted with kiTu, which has always occurred with an initial k-. But in all of these examples, kiTu has occurred in environments where there was a potential contrast with viTu. In environments in which viTu cannot occur, however (such as preceding the auxiliaries iru, vaa, or poo), kiTu frequently appears without its initial k-. These k--less forms of kiTu primarily occur in the continuous compounds, kiTTiru, kiTTuvaa, and kiTTupoo. Thus, (69) is potentially ambiguous, depending on whether iTTupoo is interpreted as the continuous auxiliary kiTTupoo or as the completive auxiliary viTu followed by the main verb poo.

There are two factors which suggest that the continuous interpretation was the one intended by many of the subjects providing responses like (69). The first is that viTu was added more frequently to the second clauses of sentences containing the form kiTTu than to those containing iTTu in their first clauses. Nine of the twelve cases of viTu addition to the second clause occurred among the fourteen responses containing kiTTu, which is to say in 64% of these. This is a far higher proportion than the 33% of the iTTu responses comprised by the other three cases of viTu addition. One of these latter is shown here as sentence (70).

- (70) vaattiyaaru-kooce-iTTu-pooy-T'Faaru.
 teacher-get angry-(viTu)-go-(viTu)(past)PNg
 The teacher got angry and went away. (15.2.13)

If it is assumed that viTu is equally likely to occur in the second clause of a two-clause sentence whether viTu or kiTu occurs in the first, the unequal proportions of viTu addition must appear anomalous unless a sizable number of the iTTu responses contain, not two clauses, but only one. This would be the case if many of these responses included the main verb koo followed only by kiTTupoo, rather than by the auxiliary viTu and the main verb poo.

The other factor suggesting the continuous interpretation of (69) is its retention of the given appoo 'then'. As will be noted in (71), this was retained by fourteen of the twenty-three subjects responding to the questionnaire.

(71)	<u>+appoo</u>	<u>-appoo</u>
total	14	9
<u>viTu</u> added	4 (29%)	8 (89%)
<u>viTu</u> not added	10 (71%)	1 (11%)

But of these fourteen, only four also made use of viTu in a second clause. On the other hand, eight of the nine subjects who did not retain appoo did make use of viTu in this way. It will be remembered that in (67) appoo referred to a specific unidentified time at which the action described by all the verbal elements of the sentence took place. It seems to be the case that the subjects tended to retain this time expression in responses which still referred to a single point in time (making use of kiTu), but tended not to do so in responses referring to two temporal points (making use of viTu in the first clause). Thus, appoo can be expected to occur in sentences with kiTu, both with and without viTu in a second clause. It can also be expected in iTTu sentences which are analysed as containing kiTTupoo, (like 69), as these also refer only to a single

period of time. However, appoo cannot be expected in iTTu sentences which are analysed as containing viTu (like 70), since these refer to two separate points in time. These expectations are exactly in line with what (72) shows us of a more detailed breakdown of the responses to (67).

(72)	<u>+viTu</u>	<u>kiTTu</u> (total)	<u>-viTu</u>	<u>+viTu</u>	<u>iTTu</u> (total)	<u>-viTu</u>
<u>+appoo</u>	4	(8)	4	0	(6)	6
<u>-appoo</u>	5	(6)	1	3	(3)	0

Here, for the iTTu sentences at least, presence and absence of appoo seems to be exactly correlated with absence and presence of an additional viTu, and hence, possibly, with one and two clause sentences. The presence of appoo in six of the nine iTTu sentences suggests that some of these, at least, contain instances of kiTTupoo and that (69), therefore, may be analysed in this way.

Thus, to return to the overall response pattern of (67), it may reasonably be stated that a total of as many as twenty subjects (87%) made use of kiTu in their responses --- fourteen using it alone, and as many as six combining it with poo. These responses, then, give us a fairly clear insight into the contrast between kiTu and viTu as well as illustrating the use of kiTTupoo. This is because of the two different strategies which the subjects followed when the structure of the given sentence proved to be inappropriate once the given operation had been carried out. Those who recategorized poo as a main verb mostly altered the form of the auxiliary to kiTTu, whereas those who retained the given form of the auxiliary mostly recategorized it as kiTu and used it in conjunction with the continuous sense of poo.

Sentence (73) was intended to explore the use of the combination of kiTu and vaa, kiTTuvaa, as a continuous auxiliary.

- (73) naan-vayal-le-veele-cenc-iTTu-varreen.
 I-field-in-work-do-(viTu/kiTu)-(vaa)(pres)PNg
 I'll come after I work in the field. (C9)
 or I am working in the field.


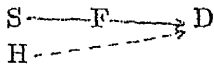
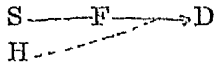
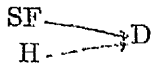

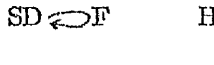
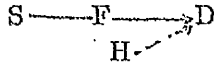
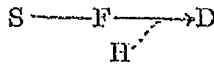
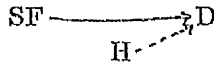
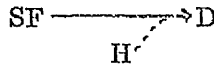
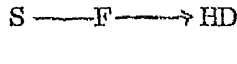
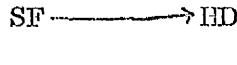
The two glosses reflect the two possible interpretations of iTTu -- as viTu expressing sequentiality, or as the first part of kiTTuvaa expressing continuousness. It was intended to put pressure on the subjects to interpret vaa as a continuous auxiliary in their responses, instead of as a main verb, by asking them to change vayalle 'in the field' to inkeetaan 'right here' when this sentence was administered. It was expected that such a sentence as (74) would be marginally less appropriate for a main-verb interpretation of vaa (and the viTu interpretation of iTTu); and so there would be a tendency to disambiguate the responses in the direction of a kiTTuvaa interpretation (say, by providing the initial k-) rather than in the direction of a viTu+vaa interpretation (say, by supplying a final viTu).

- (74) inkiyeetaan-veele-cenc-iTTu-varreen.
 right here-work-do-(viTu/kiTu)-(vaa)(pres)PNg
 I'll come after I do the work right here.
 or I'm working right here. (9.2.9)

Such a sentence as (74) is perfectly grammatical with both structures indicated by the glosses. Annamalai (1969:9) says of the main verb use of vaa:

"...the verb vaa is used when the motion is to the place where the speaker or hearer is present at the time specified in the sentence or when the sentence is uttered; or towards the speaker or the hearer; or along with the speaker or the hearer."

It does, however permit a smaller variety of presuppositions concerning the relative locations of the speaker (S), the hearer (H), the destination to which the speaker is to come (D), and the site of the action described (F) than does (73). The various possibilities are diagrammed and glossed in (75).

- | | | | |
|------|------|---|---|
| (75) | i |  | "After I work in the field, I'll come (back here where we are)." |
| | ii |  | "After I work in the field, I'll come (there where you will be)." |
| | iii |  | "After I work in the field, I'll come (there along with you)." |
| | iv |  | "After I work in the field (here), I'll come (where you will be)." |
| | v |  | "After I work in the field (here), I'll come (there along with you)." |
| | vi |  | "After I work in the field, I'll come (back here where I am)." |
| | vii |  | "After I work in the field, I'll come (there where you will be)." |
| | viii |  | "After I work in the field, I'll come (there along with you)." |
| | ix |  | "After I work in the field (here), I'll come (where you will be)." |
| | x |  | "After I work in the field (here) I'll come (there along with you)." |
| | xi |  | "After I work in the field, I'll come (there where you are)." |
| | xii |  | "After I work in the field (here), I'll come (there where you are)." |

The first five items represent the possibilities when the speaker and the hearer are at the same place during the speech event; the last seven items represent those when the speaker and hearer are not in the same place (and communication is taking place by shouting, loud-hailer, telephone, etc.). In items i and vi, the speaker is at the destination at the time of the speech event and is expressing

his intention to come back after working somewhere else. Items ii, iv, vii and ix represent the speaker coming somewhere that the hearer will be at some point in the future. In items iii, v, viii and x, the speaker will accompany the hearer to the destination. In the last two items, the hearer is already at the destination at the time of the speech event.

Sentence (73) can be taken as representing any of the twelve possibilities outlined above with yaa as a main verb, or as including yaa as an auxiliary. Sentence (74) can also be taken as including the auxiliary yaa, but it can only be taken as representing the five main verb interpretations in which the speaker and the site of the action are in the same place (iv, v, ix, x and xii). The subjects responding to (73), then, were free to choose any of the above twelve possibilities if they interpreted yaa as a main verb. After the requested operation had been performed, however, six of the ten possibilities would no longer be appropriate and any subjects who had selected one of those would have either to select one of the other possibilities or reinterpret yaa as an auxiliary. If the latter course were followed, it seemed reasonably likely that the sentence would be explicitly disambiguated in the response.

The results to (73) were roughly as predicted. Over half of the nineteen subjects unambiguously rendered the sentence as continuous -- eight (42%) of them making use of ki'Tu with a k- and retaining the yaa auxiliary and another two (11%) substituting the continuous auxiliary ki'TTiru for the ki'TTuyaa of the given sentence. Sentences (76) and (77) are examples of these two types of responses.

- (76) naan-inkiyee-veele-cenci-kiTTu-varreen.
 I-right here-work-do-(kiTTu)-(vaa)(pres)PNg
 I'm working right here. (8.2.9)
- (77) naan-inketaan-veele-cenci-kiTTrukkeen.
 I-right here-work-do-(kiTTiru)(pres)PNg
 I'm working right here. (9.3.9)

The remaining nine subjects gave responses which were as ambiguous as the given sentence - seven of these (37%) retained the auxiliaries as given and two (11%) made use of no auxiliary. Sentence (73), then, presented subjects with a construction in which it was thought that vaa could be interpreted as a continuous auxiliary (preceded by kiTTu) or alternatively as the main verb "come" (preceded by viTTu). To confirm this, the subjects were asked to perform an operation on the given sentence that tended to make the auxiliary interpretation relatively more likely. Reacting as expected, the subjects tended to disambiguate the sentence in the direction predicted and thus indicated that the continuous interpretation was indeed preferable in the response sentences.

Sentence (78) was also intended to test the acceptability of vaa as a continuous auxiliary.

- (78) naan-anta-puttakatte-koncankoncamaa-paTittu-vanteen.
 I-that-book-little by little-read-(vaa)(past)PNg
 I was reading that book little by little. (D7)

Here, koncankoncamaa 'little by little' was included in the questionnaire sentence in order to put pressure on the subjects to interpret vaa as a continuous auxiliary rather than as the main verb 'come'. It was expected that a high proportion of the subjects would retain the auxiliary of this sentence unchanged if vaa were completely acceptable as a continuous auxiliary in this environment. Only five (21%) of the twenty-four subjects retained vaa alone in their responses, however. Although 84% of the subjects gave responses with a continuous import,

most of these used some other auxiliary formation. Nine subjects (38%) made use of kiTu as well as vaa and provided instances of kiTTuvaa as shown in (79).¹

- (79) avaru-anta-puttakatte-koncakoncamaa-paTicci-
 he-that-book-little by little-read-
 kiTTu-vantaaru.
 (kiTu)-(vaa)(past)PNg (13.1.7)
 He was reading that book little by little.

A further six (25%) used kiTTiru to indicate the continuousness instead, as in (80).

- (80) avar-anta-puttakatte-koncakoncamaa-paTicc-
 he-that-book-little by little-read-
 iTruntaaru.
 (kiTTiru)(past)PNg (13.2.7)
 He was reading that book little by little.

From this, it appears that both kiTTuvaa and kiTTiru are more appropriate auxiliaries for the continuous than is vaa alone in the register being investigated. It may be that vaa itself would be more acceptable in a somewhat more formal environment, but this cannot be proved from the information provided here.

The other compound continuous auxiliary formed with kiTu, kiTTupoo, did not appear among the responses to either of the above two questionnaire sentences discussed. It did, however, occur in response to the sentence shown here as (81), in which poo was used in a possibly ambiguous

¹In connection with this sentence, subjects were asked to perform the operation of replacing the given naan 'I' with avar 'he/she (respectful)'.

way, as main verb or auxiliary.¹

- (81) vaattiyar-aTicc-appa-venkaTees-tuTiccu-poonaan. (C28)
 teacher-hit-when-Venkatesh-suffer-(poo)(past)PNg
 Venkatesh really suffered when the teacher hit
 him. or Venkatesh went away suffering when the
 teacher hit him.

Although this sentence was intended just to investigate the use of poo, it elicited a few responses including kiTu as well as poo. As illustrated in (82)², these sentences can probably be interpreted as containing either the auxiliary kiTTupoo or the auxiliary kiTu and the main verb poo.

- (82) appaa-aTicci-viTTaaru; venkaTeesan-tuTicci-
 father-hit-(viTu)(past)PNg; Venkatesh-suffer-
 kiTTu-poonaan.
 (kiTu)-(poo)(past)PNg (10. 2. 28)
 Father hit (him and) Venkatesh went on suffering.
or Father hit (him and) Venkatesh went away
 suffering.

In this case, the latter interpretation is probably the more likely. It is the one the more often recognized first by native speakers, and is indeed the only one recognized by some to whom this sentence has been shown. In any event, the contemporaneous sense of kiTu seems to be present in this sentence. If poo is interpreted as a main verb, kiTu indicates that Venkatesh was suffering at the same time as he went away. If poo is interpreted as an auxiliary, the meaning of the compound auxiliary as a whole can still be derived from the

¹This sentence is discussed further below as (171) in connection with viTu.

²In connection with this sentence, subjects were asked to replace vaattiyar 'teacher' with appaa 'father'.

meaning of the parts -- kiTu can still be said to indicate that the continuousness of poo is contemporaneous with the suffering of tuTi.¹

Sentence (83) was intended to examine the use of the auxiliary poo in combination with certain other auxiliaries.

- (83) avan-enne-cummaa-aTiccu-toleccu-pooy-iTTaan.
 " _ " _ " _ " _ " _ -iruntu-pooy-iTTaan.
 he-me-just-hit-(tole)-(iru)-(poo)-(viTu)(past)PNg
 He just went on hitting me. (E 20)

In the first of the two alternatives, poo was presented to the subjects in what was thought to be a fairly common collocation, preceded by an auxiliary showing disgust on the part of the speaker, tole, and followed by the completive viTu. The second alternative was expected to be quite unacceptable, with iru inserted between tole and poo. In the responses, however, both alternatives proved to be quite unacceptable. Neither given combination of auxiliaries was retained by more than one of the subjects. The given alternatives were not meaningless to the subjects, however, or even seriously ambiguous. Twenty-two (81%) of the twenty-seven responses replaced the given auxiliaries with the continuous kiTTiru. Another potentially continuous response is shown here as (84).

- (84) avan-enne-cummaa-aTicci-kiTTu-puu-TTaan.
 he-me-just-hit-(kiTu)-(poo)-(viTu)(past)PNg
 He just went on hitting me. (17. 3. 20)
or He just hit me and went away.

¹For a fuller explanation of this point, see the discussion of the structure of kiTTiru and the other compound auxiliaries in Ch 5.

Here, kiTu occurs between aTi 'hit' and poo. Again, the more usual interpretation would probably be the second one glossed. In that case, kiTu indicates the contemporaneity of the hitting and the start of the going away; viTu has its usual completive sense.

The auxiliary kiTu also occurred in one of the responses to (85), another sentence that was concerned with poo.

- (85) iNNikku-metuvaaka-veele-cencu-poorlinka;
 today-slowly-work-do-(poo)(pres)PNg;
 kaLeppaa-irukkaa?
 tired-be (pres)(interr) (D6)
 You are working slowly today; are you tired?

It was expected that subjects would confirm the use of poo as a continuative by retaining it in most of their responses. The results, however, did not present a very clear picture. Though the retention of poo was indeed the most frequent response (used by eight -- 33% -- of the twenty-four subjects), many also replaced it with viTu (seven or 29%), or used no auxiliary in their response (six or 25%). A single subject made use of kiTTupoo in his response (86).

- (86) metuvaa-veele-cenci-kiTTu-pooriye; enna,
 slowly-work-do-(kiTu)-(poo)(pres)PNg; what,
 kaLappaa-irukkaa?
 tired-be (pres)PNg (11.3.6)
 You are working slowly; what is it, are you tired?

This sentence is said by informants to be perfectly acceptable and to be synonymous with identical sentences containing kiTTiru or kiTTuvaa instead of kiTTupoo. It is not clear just why this combination of kiTu and poo should be so much less frequent in use than such other continuous indicators as kiTTiru and kiTTuvaa.

In the examples of the past eight pages, we have been discussing kiTu in combination with the continuous auxiliaries yaa and poo to form compound continuous auxiliaries. This theme will be taken up again in the next chapter with a relatively detailed examination of the third compound continuous auxiliary, kiTTiru. It will be suggested there that all three of these compounds with kiTu involve the contemporaneous use of this auxiliary in some way. It may perhaps be suggested that these forms have resulted from the lexicalization or "petrification" (cf. Leech 1974:226-8) of the last two elements of an original two-clause construction of Verb+kiTu+Verb, following the reduction of the second Verb to auxiliary status. It may be that these forms can be made to shed some light on the dynamic underlying the development of auxiliary uses of certain verbs in Tamil and other languages (cf. Chapter Five for a discussion of this point).

The final pair of examples to be dealt with here in the discussion of kiTu appear also to involve the coalescence of two separate morphemes into one. But here it is the self-benefactive use of kiTu which is concerned, rather than the contemporaneous one. In these two sentences, (87) and (88), kiTu was given between the two clauses, in what has been its typical position as a contemporaneous auxiliary in the examples discussed thus far.

- (87) antap-poNNU-ellaap-paaTattaiyum-kattu-kiTTu-
 that-girl-all-lesson-learn-(kiTu)-
 pooccu.
 go(past)PNg
 Having learned all her lessons, that girl left.

(B39)

- (88) anta-paiyan-ellaap-paaTattaiyum-eRuti-kiTTu-
 that-boy-all-lesson-write-(kiTu)-
 pooy-iTTaan.
 go-(viTu)(past)PNg (C30)
 Having written all his lessons, that boy went
 away.

Although the contemporaneous interpretation is clearly unlikely in these sentences, both (87) and (88) proved highly acceptable. All but one of the subjects retained kiTu in response to (87) and all of those responding to (88) did so. In sentence (87), this near-unanimity of response no doubt results from the fact that kal rarely occurs in colloquial Tamil except in combination with kiTu, the combination of the combining form of kal and kiTu, kattukiTu, being used much more regularly to mean 'learn' than simply kal by itself. The use of kiTu in sentence (88) seems clearly similar in effect to its use in (87), even though eRutikiTu does not occur generally as a unit in the way that kattukiTu does. It might seem tempting to treat kattukiTu simply as a unitary verb in spoken Tamil; but in that case, it would be necessary to explain why the verb kattukiTu cannot cooccur with kiTu or viTu and why (89) means both "I have learned my Tamil lesson" (kattukiTu+iru) and "I am learning my Tamil lesson" (kal+kiTTiru).

- (89) tamiR-paaTam-kattu-kiTT-irukkeen.
 Tamil-lesson-learn-(kiTu)-(iru)(pres)PNg
 I am learning my Tamil lesson.

Here it appears to be the case that kattukiTu and other similar formations must be analysed differently when treated from different points of view. Since it does not contrast with kal, it can be said in distributional terms to be a single item. Since it behaves in combination with other auxiliaries as if it were composed of kal+kiTu, it can be said in collocational terms to be a complex of two items. The distributional facts here correspond with the semantics of

the case -- kattukiTu in spoken Tamil cannot be said to mean anything different from what kaI does in written Tamil. At the same time, the collocational facts correspond to the phonological structure of the form -- kattukiTu has exactly the shape that one would expect for the combination of main verb kaI and auxiliary kiTu.

Leaving aside until Chapter Five the question of just how such facts as these are to be handled within a general theory of language, we may speculate briefly here on the origin of such constructions as kattukiTu. It seems reasonable to suppose that what we have here is the self-benefactive use of kiTu. As learning can be seen as an activity which is normally engaged in for the benefit of the learner, it seems not unreasonable that kiTu could have been applied to uses of kaI where it was desired to emphasize this self-benefactive quality. But as most uses of kaI might be said to be self-benefactive to some degree, the use of kiTu may have spread to the extent that it was perceived as being an integral part of the verb. In a similar way, the use of kiTu in (88) may also be said to be self-benefactive. The combination of eRutu+kiTu has not, however, been lexicalized in the way that kaI+kiTu has. It remains for a further investigation to determine whether the choice of object has any effect on the acceptability of kiTu in such a context as this (perhaps writing a letter or an admission of guilt would call less for kiTu than writing the lessons of 88).

The response sets to a further twelve sentences included one instance of kiTu each. Most of these seem to be explicable as instances of the self-affective sense of kiTu, others seem to be deviant uses. None of them

seem to throw any further light on the usage or distribution of kiTu and so they will not be brought into this discussion.

PART TWO -- viTu

The auxiliary which occurred most frequently on the questionnaires and in the responses, both retained and supplied, was viTu. Of the thirty questions on Questionnaire C, for example, twelve included at least one occurrence of viTu. In a further thirteen sentences, although viTu was not contained in the questionnaire, at least one subject supplied it in his responses. The corresponding figures for the other questionnaires are as follows. In Questionnaire B, viTu was given in twelve sentences and supplied in the responses to nine more; in Questionnaire D, ten and ten; in Questionnaire E, nine and fourteen; and in Questionnaire F, six and sixteen. It will be noted that even though an attempt was made in the later questionnaires to include fewer examples of viTu, this resulted in no lessening of the high frequency with which it was supplied by the subjects. The large number of occurrences of this auxiliary in the questionnaires does not so much reflect its semantic complexity as its frequency in ordinary spoken Tamil. In trying to frame natural-sounding sentences (or natural-sounding except for some deviance of auxiliary) for the questionnaires, it was often found that unintentional viTu's had been used. These were often allowed to remain in sentences which had been framed to investigate some other auxiliary when the prime informant felt that the sentences in question sounded more natural with the viTu than without it. We will not therefore in the following pages be treating all sentences

in which viTu occurred in the questionnaires and responses but only a selection of the more interesting and informative ones. Most of the discussion of viTu will involve its use as a completive since the sequential use has already been discussed in connection with the simultaneous use of kiTu.

The first two sentences to be discussed here were intended to test the hypothesis that viTu could be called a completive auxiliary. Assuming viTu to convey a sense of the completion of the action represented by the main verb, it was intended that many subjects would find sentence (90) to be self-contradictory, and that they would therefore make some change in it to remove the contradiction.

- (90) neettikku-tampi-renTu-pustakankaLe-paTicc-
 yesterday-younger brother-two-books-read-
 iTTaan; aanaa-muRukkalum-paTikka-le.
 (viTu)(past)PNg; but-completely-read-(neg) (B18)
 Yesterday little brother read through two books;
 but he didn't read them completely.

Here we have in fact two sentences conjoined by the adversative aanaa 'but'. This implies that there is some contrast between the sentence preceding it and that following it, but not that the two are contradictory. The responses to this sentence were roughly as expected. Only four (27%) of the fifteen subjects retained viTu in the first clause as given. Five (33%) of the subjects used no auxiliary in their responses, three (20%) replaced viTu with iru, two (13%) replaced it with kiTTiru and one (7%) with kiTu. These results are summarised in (91) along with the results from sentences (94) and (97).

(91)		<u>%viTu</u> ret	<u>%nil</u> repl	<u>%iru</u> repl	<u>%kiT'Tiru</u> repl	<u>%kiTu</u> repl	<u>%paar</u> repl
+contra	(90)	27	33	20	13	7	0
-contra	(94)	79	5	8	8	0	0
+contra	(95)	0	97	0	0	0	3

Examples of the two most frequent auxiliary replacement responses to (90) are shown here as (92) and (93).¹

(92) muntaanaaL-tampi-renTu-pustakatte-
day before yesterday-younger brother-two-book-
paTiccaan; aanaa-muccilum-paTikka-le.
read(past)PNg; but-completely-read-(neg) (5.2.18)
Little brother read two books the day before
yesterday but didn't read them completely.

(93) muntaanaaL-tampi-renTu-pustakankaLe-paTicc-
day before yesterday-younger brother-two-book-read-
irukkaan; aanaa-muRucun-paTikkale.
(iru)(pres)PNg; but-completely-read(neg) (4.1.18)
Little brother read two books the day before
yesterday but didn't read them completely.

The fact that viTu was retained as often as it was in response to (90) probably indicates that it is possible to take the respective 'completive' meanings of the two clauses in two ways. The sentence might be interpreted to mean, for example, that "Yesterday little brother read two books right through to the end but didn't read them completely, skipping several passages as he read."

Since the results to (90) were not as clear as it had been hoped they would be, another sentence was provided on a later questionnaire which

¹In connection with (90), subjects were asked to perform the operation of replacing neettikku 'yesterday' with muntanaaL 'the day before yesterday'.

was intended to contrast with it. Thus (94) was formulated -- a sentence structurally the same as (90) but with two non-contradictory clauses rather than the largely contradictory ones of the earlier sentence.

- (94) tankai-oru-puttakam-paTicc-iTTaa;
 younger sister-one-book-read-(viTu)(past)PNg;
 innoru-puttakatte-koncam-paTicc-irukkaa. (D1)
 another-book-little-read-(iru)(pres)PNg
 Little sister read one book through; she has
 read a little of another book.

Since there was nothing in the second clause of this sentence to suggest that the book hadn't been read as completely as indicated in the first clause, it was expected that there would be a marked increase in the percentage of viTu retention in the responses to the first clause of this sentence compared with those to (90). As outlined in (91), this expectation was fulfilled. No less than nineteen (79%) of the twenty-four subjects responding to (94) retained viTu as given at the same time as they carried out the requested operation of changing tankai 'younger sister' to appaa 'father'. Of the other subjects, two (8%) replaced the given viTu with the continuous kiTTiru, two replaced it with iru, and the remaining subject used no auxiliary in the first clause of his response. The contrast between the response patterns to (90) and (94) can hardly be attributed to any other factor than the contradiction of the hypothesized completive sense of the first clause of (90) by the second and the lack of such contradiction in (94). Thus together, the results to these two sentences provide much stronger evidence for the completive nature of viTu than either does separately.

Still, although the responses to (90) and (94) strongly suggested that we were right in our assumption that a completive/non-completive contrast

exists between verb+viTu and verb without auxiliary, the length and complexity of the given sentences allowed responses with no direct bearing on the issue to affect the results. It was decided, therefore, in a later questionnaire, to administer another sentence investigating the same point, but phrased more concisely so as to discourage subjects from making extraneous interpretations or getting confused. This was sentence (95).

- (95) kucciye-oTecc- -een-aanaa-atu-oTey-ille.
 " - " -uTT- " - " - " - " - "
 stick-break(past)-(viTu)-PNg-but-it-break-(neg) (F2)
 I broke the stick but it didn't break.

Here, the first alternative (which does not contain viTu) is directly and minimally contrasted with the second one (which does). In (95), both alternatives present an action in the first clause (breaking) which, if carried out, would cause a certain effect (the stick being broken). In the second clauses of both alternatives, however, this effect is said not to have come about. If the verb oTe were completive (indicated that the effect resulted) whether viTu is present or not, one would expect neither alternative to occur often among the responses. If the verb were not completive whether or not viTu was present, one would expect both alternatives to occur with roughly equal frequency in the responses. But if the hypothesis being tested is true, and the verb is only necessarily completive when it is conjoined with viTu, one would expect the first alternative to occur frequently among the responses and the second to occur only rarely or not at all. And this is indeed what happened. As indicated in (91), all but one (97%) of the thirty-one subjects chose the first alternative. None made use of the second alternative; and a single subject used the tentative auxiliary paar in a possibly deviant fashion not relevant to the current discussion. The clear pattern of responses to (95) appears to provide unequivocal evidence for the analysis of

viTu as a completive.

It may be remarked parenthetically at this point that there is an interesting point of comparison between English and Tamil here. It will be noted that the gloss provided for (95) is ungrammatical in English. It thus appears that the English verb break is in some ways parallel to the Tamil verb oTe+viTu rather than to the verb oTe itself. The reason for this may be that English verbs of change of state are marked for the change having been completed, whereas Tamil ones are not.

The final sentence immediately relevant to the completive / non-completive distinction is (96).

- (96) naan-vant-appa-nii-tuunk-iTTi-yaa ?
 I-come-when-you-sleep-(viTu)(past)PNg-(interr)
 Did you fall asleep when I came (in) ? (E 30)

In framing this sentence, it was intended to suggest a situation in which one event would take place while another one was going on. It was hoped that this would put pressure on the subjects to replace the given viTu with kiTTiru. The percentage of responses in which viTu was replaced by kiTTiru was much lower than expected, however. Only seven (26%) of the twenty-seven subjects gave this type of response, one of which is shown as (97).

- (97) naan-vant-appa-nii-tuunk-iTrunti-yaa ?
 I-come-when-you-sleep-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg-(interr)
 Were you sleeping when I came in ? (18.1.30)

The majority response, given by fifteen (56%) of the subjects, was to retain the viTu as given. The remaining five (19%) used no auxiliary in their responses, as in (98).

- (98) naan-vant-appa-nii-tuunkini-yaa ?
 I-come-when-you-sleep(past)PNg-(interr)
 Were you sleeping (or Did you fall asleep) when
 I came (in)? (19.1.30)

The responses to (96) appear to reflect two different ways in which the situation described can be visualized. Either one person was asleep when the other came in, or he fell asleep (or went to sleep) when the other came in. The first interpretation was the one that was intended when the sentence was framed. Although it turned out to be partially contradicted by the given sentence, it is likely enough to occur that some subjects replaced viTu with kiTTiru to accord with it. When viTu is used, the second interpretation is appropriate. Since viTu was provided in the sentence on the questionnaire, the majority of the subjects kept this interpretation and retained viTu in their responses. Those who used no auxiliary, of course, left the sentence ambiguous between the two interpretations.

The use of viTu in (96) appears to be comparable with that in (95). Again, the verb+viTu indicates that a change of state has occurred -- on the one hand, from being awake to being asleep, and on the other, from being unbroken to being broken. The verb alone, however, seems not to be marked for this "completion" of the change of state. In the one case, it could be either that the resultant state is going on at the time indicated or it could be that the change of state occurred then. In the other case, it could be either that the change of state completely took place or that it did not. Here again, it seems that the basic meaning of the English verb is closer to that of the Tamil verb+viTu than to the Tamil verb alone. The English "Did you sleep when I came in?" appears to mean "Did you go to sleep when I came in?"

rather than "Were you sleeping when I came in?".

Several questionnaire sentences were designed to explore the distinction between the completive and the continuous. The first three which we will be discussing provided three slightly different contexts in which to examine the cocurrence of the verb mara 'forget', the continuous auxiliary vaa, and viTu. In sentence (99), to begin with, both auxiliaries were provided in what turned out to be an unacceptable collocation.

- (99) naan-avan-connateyellaam-muRukkalum-marantu-
 I-he-all that said-completely-forget-
 vant-uTTeen.
 (vaa)-(viTu)(past)PNg (B26)
 I completely forgot all that he said.

In the given sentence, viTu is supported by the presence of muRukkalum 'completely'; and, although the subjects were asked to replace this with paTukkumpoRutu 'when sleeping' or 'when going to sleep', there was still nothing in either the given or the target sentence to hinder a completive interpretation of the auxiliary. Indeed, all of the subjects retained only the viTu of the given auxiliary complex, as shown in (100).

- (100) naan-avan-connat-ellaam-paTukkumpootu-marant-
 I-he-that which said-all-while sleeping-forget-
 uTTeen.
 (viTu)(past)PNg (3.2.26)
 While I was sleeping, I forgot all that he said.

The results to (99), (102), and (105) are summarized in (101).

(101)		%viTu		%vaa	%iru	%nil	%kiTu
		repl	(ret)	ret	repl	repl	add
	<u>vaa+viTu</u> (99) (change <u>viTu</u> support to neutral)		(100)	0	0	0	0
	<u>vaa</u> (102) (change <u>vaa</u> support to neutral)	81		0	6	13	0
	<u>vaa</u> (105) (retain <u>vaa</u> support)	37		42	5	0	16

Sentence (102) differed from (99) in that it contained only the auxiliary vaa and in that this auxiliary was supported by the presence of koncankoncamaa 'little by little'.

- (102) naan-avan-connate-yellaam-koncankoncamaa-marantu-
I-he-that which said-all-little by little-forget-
vanteen.
(vaa)(past)PNg (B2)
Little by little, I was forgetting all that
he said.

This sentence was intended to contrast with (99) and to produce contrasting responses. Just as the operation instructions given to the subjects for (99) were intended to remove the explicit contextual support for viTu without in any other way discouraging its presence in the response sentences, so too in (102) were subjects asked to replace the given contextual support for vaa, koncankoncamaa, with the auxiliary-neutral expression paTukkumpoRutu 'when sleeping'. In spite of the contrast of auxiliaries, however, the response pattern to (102) was not markedly different from that to (99) as can be seen in (101). All but three (81%) of the sixteen subjects replaced the given vaa with viTu, as in (103).

- (103) naan-avan-connatt-ellaam-paTukkumpootu-marant-
I-he-that which said-all-while sleeping-forget-
uTTeen. (4.1.2)
(viTu)(past)PNg
While sleeping, I forgot all that he said.

A single subject (6%) replaced the given yaa with iru, perhaps responding to the gradualness inherent in the koncankoncamaa and still possible with the paTukkumpoRutu. The other two subjects (13%) used no auxiliary in their responses, as shown in (104).

(104) naan-avan-connatellaam-paTukkumpootu-maranteen.
 I-he-that which said-while sleeping-forget(past) PNg
 While sleeping, I forgot all that he said. (5.2.2)

Clearly, a sentence with the verb mara but without other relevant markers, provides a highly acceptable environment for viTu since most of the subjects replaced the given yaa with viTu in response to (102) and all of the subjects retained viTu alone of the given auxiliaries in response to (99). This was not entirely unexpected. One reason that mara was used in these sentences was that it was expected to provide just such an ideal environment for viTu to occur in. Indeed, mara rarely occurs in spoken Tamil without viTu attached; and the use of this verb in speech without the auxiliary has a distinctly literary flavour. Nevertheless, the very high proportion of viTu replacement in response to (102), to the complete exclusion of yaa was a little surprising.

The next step was to ascertain the degree of the attachment between mara and viTu. For this purpose, a sentence was inserted into the next questionnaire with the intention of putting heavy contextual pressure on the subjects to use yaa in their responses along with mara 'forget'. All that was necessary to make a considerable difference in the response sentences was to provide a sentence identical to (102), (105), and have the subjects perform an operation which would be irrelevant to the choice of auxiliary, the changing of naan 'I' to appaa 'father'.

- (105) naan-avan-connate-yellaam-koncankoncamaa-
 I-he-that which said-all-little by little-
 marantu-vanteen.
 forget-(vaa)(past)PNg (C2)
 Little by little, I was forgetting all that he
 said.

The responses to this sentence did indeed differ markedly from those to (99) and (102) as has been shown in (101). Eight (42%) of the nineteen subjects retained the yaa as given and only seven (37%) replaced it with viTu (106).

- (106) enkappaa-connatellaam-naan-koncankoncamaa-
 my father-all that which said-I-little by little-
 marant-uTTeen.
 forget (viTu)(past)PNg (9.2.2)
 Little by little, I forgot all that Father said.

In three cases (16%), kiTu was used in addition to yaa in the responses to (105), forming the continuous auxiliary, kiTTuvaa. One of these responses is shown here as (107).

- (107)¹ appaa-connat-ellaam-koncankoncamaa-marant-
 father-that which said-all-little by little-forget-
 uTTu-varreen.
 (viTu)-(vaa)(pres)PNg (8.4.2)
 Little by little, I'm forgetting all that Father
 said.

Sentence (108) is an example of a response in which yaa was retained.

¹It will be noted that the kiTu here is k-less and it might seem that this sentence is ambiguous between the interpretation presented here and one which would interpret the -uTTu as viTu. If that were the case, an alternate gloss for (107) would be "Having gradually forgotten all that Father said, I'll come." But this gloss is not accepted by native speakers who have been consulted and the sentence is felt to be unambiguously continuous in import.

- (108) appaa-avan-connate-ellaam-koncankoncamaaka-
 father-he-that which said-all-little by little-
 marantu-vantaar.
 forget-(vaa)(past)PNg (8.1.2)
 Little by little, father was forgetting all
 that he said.

This was the only response in which the requested operation was actually performed and naan 'I' substituted by appaa 'father', rather than the substitution of avan 'he' by appaa carried out by most subjects, including those who gave (106) and (107) as their responses. Presumably, the reason for this massive misunderstanding of the operation requested is that both appaa and avan are in the third person and so may seem more substitutable for one another. Also, substituting appaa for avan escapes the uncertainty as to the antecedent of avan which arises when appaa is substituted for naan. In practical terms, it would make no difference in the choice of auxiliary which way the substitution was carried out.

On the basis of the almost invariable cooccurrence of mara and viTu in spoken Tamil, there might appear to be a case for denying the existence in spoken Tamil of a main verb mara 'forget', its place being taken by the "main verb" marantuTu (mara+viTu). But the results to (105) show that this is not the case. Given a context which tends to contradict the notion of "completion", the proportion of responses containing viTu drops significantly. The reason why viTu is so often associated with mara in everyday use apparently has something to do with the punctual nature of the event described.

Sentence (109) contrasts with (105) in that it contains a verb, paTi 'read', which describes an ongoing action rather than a punctual event and

so is connected less closely to viTu than is mara.

(109) naan-anta-puttakatte-konkankoncamaa-paTittu-vanteen.

I-that-book-little by little-read-(vaa)(past)PNg

I was reading that book little by little

(D7)

This sentence was intended to serve as a companion to (105) and give some idea as to the importance of the choice of verb in auxiliary selection. It was expected that a lower proportion of subjects would replace vaa with viTu in their responses to (109) than had done in response to (105) and that the percentage of vaa retention would be correspondingly higher. The results to these two sentences are summarized in (110).

(110)		<u>%vaa</u> ret	<u>%viTu</u> repl	<u>%kiTu</u> add	<u>%kiTTiru</u> repl	<u>%iru</u> repl	<u>%nil</u> repl
	<u>mara</u> (105)	42	37	16	0	5	0
	<u>paTi</u> (109)	21	8	38	25	4	4

Here, the first expectation was satisfied as only two (8%) of the twenty-four subjects replaced the given vaa with viTu. It may appear from the small (21%) proportion of vaa retentions that the second expectation was not satisfied. However, two of the other types of response also involved continuous auxiliaries. The most frequent response, used by nine (38%) of the subjects, was the insertion of kiTu into the sentence to form the compound continuous auxiliary kiTTuvaa. Six more subjects used, instead of vaa, the continuous auxiliary kiTTiru. Thus, the total percentage of continuous responses to (109) is 84%, compared with only 58% in response to (105). Examples of the viTu replacement, kiTu addition, and kiTTiru replacement types of responses to (109) are shown here as (111), (112) and (113).¹

¹In connection with (109), subjects were asked to perform the operation of replacing naan 'I' with avaru 'he/she(resp)'.

- (111) avaru-anta-pustakatte-koncankoncamaa-paTicc-iTTaaru.
 he-that-book-little by little-read-(viTu)(past)PNg
 He read that book little by little. (15.3.7)
- (112) avaru-anta-pustakatte-koncankoncamaa-paTiccui-
 he-that-book-little by little-read-
 kiTTu-vantaaru.
 (kiTu)-(vaa)(past)PNg (11.4.7)
 He was reading that book little by little.
- (113) avar-anta-pustakatte-koncankoncam-paTTicc-
 he-that-book-little by little-read-
 iTruntaar.
 (kiTTiru)(past)PNg (16.1.7)
 He was reading that book little by little.

From the examples discussed so far in this section, we have seen that even a verb such as mara 'forget' which denotes a punctual, or sudden, event, and so usually is followed by the completive auxiliary viTu, can be made to take a continuous auxiliary (vaa or kiTTuvaa in this case) by placing it in the appropriate sentential context. We have also seen the difference between the punctual verb mara in a strongly continuous context and the activity verb paTi 'read' in the same context. The choice of auxiliary is thus seen to depend both on the meaning of the particular verb to which it is attached and on the sentential context in which that verb occurs.

Another sentence which is relevant to a discussion of the interaction between the continuous and the completive is shown here as (114).

- (114) iNNaikkum-toTarntu-naan-aruvaTe-cenc-iTTeen. (D30)
 today all-follow-I-harvest-do-(viTu)(past)PNg
 I continued bringing in the harvest all day today.

When this sentence was framed to include an explicit indication of continuousness, it was expected that the majority response to it would be to make use of the

continuous auxiliary kiTTiru as was done in (115).¹

(115) niinka-iNNeKku-toTarntu-aruvaTe-cenci-kiTrukkiinka.
 you-today-follow-harvest-do.(kiTTiru)(pres)PNg
 You are continuing to bring in the harvest
 today. (14. 2. 30)

But instead, only a single subject (4%) made use of this type of response. By far the most common response was to retain the viTu as given -- seventeen (74%) of the twenty-three responses were of this sort. Three (13%) of the subjects used no auxiliary in their responses, as illustrated by (116).

(116) niinka-toTarntu-aruvaTe-seyriinka.
 you-follow-harvest-do(pres)PNg (15.1. 30)
 You are continuing to bring in the harvest.

Of the remaining two subjects, one each made use of iru and aaku. It will be noted that the two example sentences we have given of responses to (114) are in the present tense. This is also true of the iru response. None of the viTu responses showed such an alteration; nor did the aaku response or the other two nil auxiliary responses. The question of the connection between tense and the choice of auxiliary will be taken up below. The response pattern to (114) shows that viTu may be used even in sentences with overt continuous elements (here: toTaru 'follow') to express the fact of the continued action being completed by the time of the speech event.

The final example to be discussed in the treatment of the completive/continuous distinction presented the subjects with two presumably

¹In connection with (114), subjects were asked to perform the operation of changing naan 'I' to niinka 'you'.

alternative ways of referring to a state of affairs which was typical (or habitual) in the past. When the sentences of (117) were formulated, it was felt that the second alternative (which contained iru) would be much preferable to the first one and that consequently the majority of the subjects would choose it.

- (117) en-taatta-kaalattule-nel-nallaa-viLenc-iTTutu.
 " " " " " " " -iruntatu.
 my-grandfather-time in-paddy-well-grow-
 (viTu)(past)PNg/(iru)(past)PNg
 Paddy grew well in my grandfather's time. (E5)

In so far as no subject at all selected the first alternative, the ten (37%) who selected the second indeed showed it to be preferable. But the most frequent response, made use of by twelve (44%) of the twenty-seven subjects, was to use no auxiliary at all. Three subjects (11%) replaced the given auxiliaries with the continuous kiTTiru. The total absence of viTu in the responses to (117) confirms its unacceptability in a context which explicitly refers to a state of affairs which occurred habitually over a period of past time (a bi- or tri-annual crop over the period of years covered by a man's lifetime). A similar reason seems to have made iru (which can refer to a period of past time) questionable here as well. Since no specific paddy is referred to, it may seem a little odd to refer to it as being in the position, at some point in the past, of having grown well. This example will, however, be discussed more fully in the next chapter in connection with further examples from the questionnaires.

In our treatment of the completive as contrasted with the continuous, we have discussed examples featuring the cooccurrence of different types of verbs with the completive and continuous auxiliaries. The examples which have been discussed have indicated some of the factors governing the

selection of one type of auxiliary rather than another in a given context. It has also been noted that the completive auxiliary may occur in contexts marked for continuousness but that it is unacceptable in some contexts referring to typical (or habitual) events of the past.

The next six examples to be discussed involve the cooccurrence of viTu and the auxiliary of disgust, tole. Sentence (118) was intended to test the cooccurrence of these two auxiliaries.

- (118) en-vaattiyaaar-enne - peyilaakki-tolecc-uTTaar.
 my-teacher-me-fail-(tole)-(viTu)(past)PNg
 My teacher failed me, damn it. (C12)

Seven (37%) of the nineteen subjects responding to this sentence retained both of the given auxiliaries. Another ten (53%) retained viTu alone, as shown in sentence (119).

- (119) en-vaatyaar-enne-peyilaakk-iTTaar.
 my teacher-me-fail-(viTu)(past)PNg
 My teacher failed me. (6.1.12)

The other two subjects retained the viTu and replaced the given tole with the auxiliary pooTu. Common to all of the responses to this sentence was the presence of viTu. This shows that viTu is completely acceptable following such a verb as peyilaakku 'fail', both with and without the intervening occurrence of tole. The fact that tole occurred in only a little over a third of the responses probably does not so much indicate its unacceptability in such a sentence as (118) as it does its inappropriateness in such a pleasant situation as answering a linguistic questionnaire. Because of its use to indicate the mental state of the speaker, tole proved much more difficult to investigate using the methods of TAV than did the other auxiliaries. To obtain a full characterization of the use

of this auxiliary a more spontaneous method of elicitation would be required than that employed in this study.

As the results to some other sentences (discussed below) had suggested that some auxiliaries were more acceptable with different tenses than others, it was decided to see if a change in tense from past to future would have any effect on the acceptability of the auxiliaries in a sentence like (118). To do this, sentence (120) was formulated and inserted in another questionnaire.

- (120) poona- varsati-i-ee-anta-vaattiyar-enne-peyilaakki-
 last-year in-(emph)-that-teacher-me--fail-
 tolecc-uTTaar.
 (tole)-(viTu)(past)PNg (D12)
 Last year that teacher failed me, damn it.

In connection with this sentence, the subjects were asked to change the given poona varsatilee 'last year' to aTutta varsatilee 'next year'; they were thus forced to alter the tense of the auxiliary as well. But this had no apparent effect on the pattern of responses, as will be seen in (121) which summarizes the results from sentences (118), (120), and (123).

(121)		%viTu		%nil	%tole	%pooTu
		ret	(alone)	repl	ret	repl
past-desir.	(118)	100	(53)	0	37	10
fut.-desir.	(120)	96	(50)	4	46	0
past+desir.	(123)	94	(94)	6	0	0

Eleven (46%) of the twenty-four subjects retained both tole and viTu as given and a further twelve (50%) retained viTu alone, dropping tole. The remaining subject used no auxiliary in his response. Sentence (122) is an example of the most frequent type of response to (120).

- (122) anta-vaatyaar-enne-aTutta-varuSam-peyilaak-iTuvaar.
 that-teacher-me-next-year-fail-(viTu)(fut)PNg
 That teacher will fail me next year. (11.5.12)

Sentence (123) was intended to confirm that tole was more appropriate for communicating undesirable events (which would presumably give rise to feelings of exasperation or disgust) than for communicating desirable ones.

- (123) emuTaya-vaattiyaar-enne peyilaakki-tolecc-uTTaar.
 my-teacher-me fail-(tole)-(viTu)(past)PNg
 My teacher failed me, damn it. (B12)

Although the questionnaire sentence itself referred to a presumably undesirable event, as had (118) and (120), the subjects were asked to replace the peyilaaku 'fail' of (123) with paasaaku 'pass' so that the response sentences would refer to a desirable event. As indicated in (121), this sentence was completely successful in its primary aim. As no subjects at all retained the given tole in these "desirable" responses, compared with between thirty and fifty percent of tole retention in the "undesirable" responses of (118) and (120), our hypothesis concerning tole was confirmed. With regard to viTu, however, the responses to (123) were no different from those to (118) or (120). Again, all but one -- fifteen (94%) of sixteen -- of the subjects retained viTu in their responses. One of these responses is shown here as (124).

- (124) emuTaya-vaattiyaar-enne-paasaakk-iTTaar.
 my-teacher-me-pass-(viTu)(past)PNg
 My teacher passed me. (4.4.12)

The remaining response, sentence (125), made use of no auxiliary.

- (125) en-vaatyaar-enne-paas-pooTTaar.
 my-teacher-me-pass-put(past)PNg
 My teacher gave me a pass. (5.2.12)

From the examples of the collocation of tole and viTu thus far, it is clear that the collocation itself is highly acceptable in some environments and that the occurrence of viTu is unaffected by the desirability of the event described by the verb (although this is a crucial fact governing the acceptability of tole). From the evidence here, the change of tense doesn't appear to affect viTu either but examples will be discussed below which suggest that some such correlation does exist.

Besides the three sentences just discussed, there is another triad of sentences which are similar to each other and which also feature the cooccurrence of tole and viTu. The patterns of responses to these are, however, somewhat different to those discussed in the preceding paragraphs. In formulating sentence (126), for example, it was intended to provide a context appropriate for the occurrence of tole and to compare the acceptability of this auxiliary with and without a following viTu.

- (126) anta-veelaiyee-muTikkirattukku-nireya-lancam-
 " " " " "
 that-work-to get finished-much-bribe-
 koTuttu-tolecc-uTTeen.
 " -tole-cceen. (B20)
 give-(tole)-(viTu)(past)PNg/- (past)PNg
 I gave a lot of bribes to get that work done,
 damn it.

The two alternatives of (126) equally proved not very acceptable. Each of them was retained by three (19%) of the sixteen subjects. The most common response, however, given by four (25%) of the subjects, was to retain only the viTu of the first alternative. Six subjects retained neither of the given auxiliaries: three (19%) made use of the auxiliary iru and another three used no auxiliary in their responses. Examples of the viTu retention and nil

auxiliary responses are shown here as (127) and (128).

- (127) anta-veeleye-muTippataakkaaka-niraya-lancam-
 that-work-to get finished-much-bribe-
 koTutt-iTTeen.
 give-(viTu)(past)PNg (2.2.20)
 I gave a lot of bribes to get that work finished.

- (128) anta-veeleye-muTikkiratukku-neraya-lancam-
 that-work-to get finished-much-bribe-
 koTutteen.
 give (past)PNg (4.1.20)
 I gave a lot of bribes to get that work finished.

As fewer subjects had made use of tole, with or without viTu, in the responses to (126) than had been expected, it was decided to amplify the results by including a fairly similar sentence on another questionnaire. This was sentence (129).

- (129) anta-veele-kiTaippataakkaaka-anta-payalukku-neraya-
 " " " " " "
 that-work-to get-that-rascal to-much-
 lancam-koTuttu-tolecc-uTTeen.
 " " -tole-cccen. (C20)
 bribe-give-(tole)-(viTu)(past)PNg/-(past)PNg
 I had to give that rascal a big bribe to get
 the job, damn it. /...job.

Not surprisingly, the pattern of responses to (129) was quite similar to that to (126) -- as can be seen in the summary shown in (130).

(130)		<u>tole+viTu</u> ret	<u>tole</u> ret	<u>viTu</u> ret	nil repl	<u>iru</u> repl	other repl
<u>±viTu</u>	(126)	19	19 (38)	25 (44)	19	19	0
<u>±viTu</u>	(129)	26	11 (37)	32 (58)	26	0	5
= <u>viTu</u>	(133)	0	64	4	24	4	4

Again, a little over a third of the subjects retained one of the given alternatives, though the percentage of each was somewhat different. Five subjects (26%)

retained the first alternative and two (11%) retained the second. Again, the most common type of response was to retain only the viTu of the first alternative -- six (32%) of the nineteen subjects gave responses of this sort, as in (131).

- (131) anta-payalukku-veele-kiTakkirattukku-neraya-
 that-rascal to-work-to get-much-
 lancam-koTutt-uTTeen.
 bribe-give-(viTu)(past)PNg (6.5.20)
 I gave that rascal a big bribe to get the job.

Of the five responses which did not contain an auxiliary, one is shown here as

(132).

- (132) anta-veele-kiTaippatakaaka-anta-payalukku-rompa-
 that-work-to get-that-rascal to-much-
 lancam-koTutteen.
 bribe-give (past)PNg (7.1.20)
 To get that job, I gave that rascal a big bribe.

It may be that the slightly increased use of viTu in the responses to (129) compared with (126), as well as the increased incidence of nil auxiliary and the decreased use of iru, is due to the lesser degree of ambiguity concerning the number of bribes. Although both sentences could mean either that several bribes of unspecified size or that one big bribe had been paid, it is only the first one that also leaves the number of recipients open. In so far as reducing to one the number of possible recipients can be said to increase the likelihood that only one bribe was given, sentence (129) can be said to more likely be describing a single instance, quickly completed, of a large bribe than can sentence (126).

The third of the three sentences we are considering in this section, (133), differs from the previous two in that, although the format is the same, the two alternatives presented did not in fact differ in any respect.

- (133) anta-veele-kiTaikkirattukkaaka-anta-payal-ukku-
 " " " " " "
 that-work-to get-that-rascal-to-
 niraiya-lancam-koTuttu-tolecc-een (D20)
 " " " " "
 much-bribe-give-(tole)(past)-PNg
 I had to give that rascal a big bribe to get
 the job, damn it.

Neither of these alternatives contained an instance of viTu though both made use of tole. This formulation, including tole twice but no other auxiliaries even once, was intended to put as much pressure as possible on the informants to include an instance of tole in their responses. As shown in (130), there was indeed a marked increase in the proportion of tole responses to this sentence compared with the two other sentences summarized there. Sixteen (64%) of the twenty-five subjects made use of tole, six (24%) used no auxiliary, and only a single subject replaced tole with viTu.

This second set of three sentences involving tole and viTu has added somewhat to the information gleaned from the first three sentences of this section. The responses to the final sentence showed the largest proportion of tole retention of all the questionnaire sentences -- this was presumably due to the fact that the question was designed precisely to discover how large a proportion of subjects could be indirectly persuaded to make use of tole when they were not in the frame of mind which would ordinarily call it forth. This is the only auxiliary among those investigated for which we do not have an example showing over 80% retention. It also appears from the results discussed that viTu and tole may function in similar environments and that there may be little to choose between a sentence with tole alone and one with tole+viTu.

As mentioned in the first chapter, auxiliary verbs normally occur towards the end of the sentence or clause in which they occur. If the clause or sentence is a finite one, the auxiliary occurs after the main verb but before the PNG markers. If the clause or sentence is not finite, the auxiliary may be the final element (as in the case of simultaneous kiTu discussed earlier in this chapter) or it may be followed by some other element. Bearing this in mind, it was decided at an early stage of the investigation to investigate the correlation of viTu with some of the other elements that can occur at or near the end of clauses. Sentence (134), for instance, was formulated to test the cooccurrence of viTu and the modal veenTum 'be necessary'.

- (134) tinkakiRame-appaa-puttakam-paTiccaar; aanaa-innum-
 monday-father-book-read (past)PNg; but-yet-
 irupatu-pakkankaL-paTicc-iTa-Num.
 twenty-pages-read-(viTu)-be necessary (C1)
 Father read some of the book Monday; but he must
 read through twenty pages yet.

To judge from the results of this sentence, a considerable degree of incompatibility appears to exist between viTu and veenTum. Only two (12%) of the seventeen subjects retained the viTu given in (134). The majority response to this sentence was to use no auxiliary with the modal, as in (135).¹

- (135) tankacci-tinkakkiRame-puttakam-paTiccatu; innum-
 younger sister-monday-book-read (past)PNg; yet-
 koncam-paTikka-Num. (7.1.1)
 little-read-be necessary
 Little sister read the book on Monday; she has
 a bit more to read.

In addition, there were two idiosyncratic responses -- one replacing viTu

¹In connection with this sentence, subjects were asked to replace appaa 'father' with tanke 'younger sister'. tankacci is a more informal equivalent of tanke.

The single subject who retained the given viTu also changed the sentence considerably (138), omitting ille in the process.

- (138) appaa-neetikku-renTu-pustakam-paTiccaaru; naalakki-
 father-yesterday-two-book-read (past)PNg; tomorrow-
 muuNaavatu-pustakam-paTicc-iTuvaaru.
 third-book-read-(viTu)(fut)PNg (3.4.1)
 Father read two books yesterday; tomorrow he
 will read through a third book.

Again, it seems likely that viTu is semantically incompatible with the negative. It appears that if something hasn't been done, then it cannot have been completed.

The results to sentence (139) confirm those to (136).

- (139) canikiRame-tampi-renTu-pustakankaLe-paTicc-
 saturday-younger brother-two-books-read-
 iruntaan; aanaa-veeroNNum-paTicc-irukka-le.
 (iru)(past)PNg; but-anything else-read-(iru)-(neg)
 Little brother had read two books on Saturday
 but hadn't read anything else. (C19)

This sentence was intended to test the cooccurrence of the auxiliary iru and the negative but it is relevant to the discussion of viTu as well. In sixteen (94%) of the seventeen responses, the negative morpheme was retained as given but no auxiliary was used with it. In the remaining response, the given iru was replaced by viTu and the negative morpheme was deleted (140).¹

- (140) canikiRame-tampi-muuNu-pustakam-paTiccaan;
 saturday-younger brother-three-book-read (past)PNg;
 veer-ennatte-paTicc-iTTaan.
 else-something-read-(viTu)(past)PNg
 Little brother read three books on Saturday; he
 read through something else (as well). (8.4.19)

¹The operation subjects were asked to perform in connection with sentence (139) was to change renTu 'two' to muuNu 'three'.

In these results, not only does the auxiliary iru also appear to be incompatible with the negative, but again, the addition of viTu apparently leads to the negative being dropped.

From the results to the three questionnaire sentences which we have been examining in the preceding paragraphs, we have been able to make certain observations about the collocability of viTu with some of the other elements which occur at or near the end of clauses. There seems to be a fairly strong constraint upon the occurrence of viTu with the clause-final modal veenTum and an even stronger one upon its occurrence with the negative. Although these elements occur at a similar point in the sentence to viTu, the constraint upon their occurrence appears to be semantic, rather than syntactic.

In the preceding pages we discussed certain clause elements, veenTum 'be necessary' and ille (negative), which appear to be semantically incompatible, to some degree at least, with the completive auxiliary viTu. We can now proceed to examine the collocation of viTu and the future tense to see if it is wholly acceptable. The responses to the first pair of sentences to be discussed suggest that there is a tendency for viTu not to be used with the future tense. But this suggestion is contradicted to some extent by some of the further examples to be discussed in this section of the chapter (cf. also sentence (120) above).

Sentence (141) was designed to contrast the past and future tenses in collocation with viTu.

- (141) neettikku-vivacaayi-anta-nilattukku-varappukaL-
 yesterday-farmer-that-field to-dikes-
 kaTT-iTTaar.
 build-(viTu)(past)PNg (B6)
 Yesterday the farmer made dikes for that field.

Here the sentence itself is in the past tense, the tense presumed to occur the most frequently with viTu. But the subjects were asked to replace neettikku 'yesterday' with naaLekku 'tomorrow' when giving their responses. This was intended to put pressure on the subjects either to make use of the future tense with viTu or else to omit viTu from their responses. The majority of the subjects -- twelve (75%) of sixteen -- chose the latter alternative and used no auxiliary with the future tense of the response, as in (142).

- (142) naaLakki-anta-vivacaayi-nilattukku-varappu-
 tomorrow-that-farmer-field to-dike-
 kaTTuvaar.
 build(fut)PNg (3.3.6)
 Tomorrow that farmer will build dikes for the
 field.

The remaining four subjects, however, retained the given viTu in their responses, changing its tense to future.

The results to (141) may be contrasted with those to (143).

- (143) anta-aaL-varappukkaL-kaTT-iTTaar.
 that-person-dikes-build-(viTu)(past)PNg
 That person made the dikes. (C6)

This simplified version of (141) was intended to serve as a control. Again, the verb of the given sentence was in the past tense. But in this case, the subjects were merely asked to replace aaL 'person' with kiRavar 'old man' in giving their responses, a change which would have no effect on the tense of the sentence. As summarized in (144), all but two (89%) of the nineteen subjects retained viTu in their responses to this sentence.

(144)		<u>%viTu</u> ret	<u>%nil</u> repl	<u>%kiTu</u> repl
	future (141)	25	75	0
	past (143)	89	0	11

The remaining two subjects made use of kiTu instead of viTu, presumably as a self-affective. One of these is shown here as (145).

- (145) antak-kiRavar-varappu-nallaa-kaTTi-kiTTaar.
 that-old man-dike-well-build-(kiTu)(past)PNg
 That old man made his dike well. (6. 2. 6)

Thus, the results to (141), especially when contrasted with those to (143), suggest that a degree of incompatibility exists between viTu and the future tense.

It may appear that the results to the sentences about to be discussed provide counterevidence to the above suggestion; but, as will be seen, this "counterevidence" itself is not entirely consistent. Whereas sentences (141) and (143) involved simply the presence or absence of viTu without extraneous complicating factors, all of the sentences which remain to be discussed in this section involved also the auxiliary poo. It will appear from the results to these sentences that the future tense is even less acceptable with the completive auxiliary poo than it is with viTu; and the suggestion may therefore be made that the increased use of viTu with the future tense in these cases results, at least in part, from the greater unacceptability of poo with the future tense.

The attempt was made in framing sentence (146), for example, to provide an appropriate context for the use of the completive poo rather than viTu.

- (146) neettikku-maNN-il-kaacu-viRuntu-tolencu-pooocu.
 yesterday-sand-in-money-fall-lose-(poo)(past)PNg
 Yesterday the money fell into the sand and got lost. (B25)

When this sentence was invented, it was suspected that the given auxiliary poo would be likely to be retained in a completive context which indicated an undesirable event and which also gave some scope for a metaphorical interpretation of the main-verb meaning of poo, 'go'. Not realizing, however, the degree of incompatibility which exists between the use of the auxiliary poo and the future tense, we asked the subjects to replace neettikku 'yesterday' with naaLekku 'tomorrow'. Nine (69%) of the thirteen subjects whose responses to this sentence are available replaced the given poo with viTu, as in (147).

- (147) naaLekki-maNN-il-kaaci-viRuntu-tolanci-viTum.
 tomorrow-sand-in-money-fall-lose-(viTu)(fut)PNg
 Tomorrow the money will fall into the sand and get lost. (4.4.25)

The other four (31%) of the subjects retained the given poo. The remarkable thing, however, is that three of the four retained poo in the past tense, even as they performed the requested operation. The fourth subject made use of both poo and the future tense of viTu in his response ; there were no cases of the future tense of poo in the responses at all.

In view of the puzzling response pattern to (146), it was decided to supplement it with the results to another sentence. As several subjects had objected to (146) on pragmatic grounds, however, saying that no one could know in advance that he would lose his money, the next sentence (148) was modified sufficiently that the event envisioned would be one that could be foreseen.

- (148) neettikku-kaacu-celavaayi-pooocu.
 yesterday-money-get spent-(poo)(past)PNg
 Yesterday the money all got spent. (C29)

It was felt that the apparent pragmatic unnaturalness of (146) might have skewed the results, and a considerably higher proportion of poo retentions were expected to (148) than had been obtained to the earlier sentence. But this was not the case. As seen in (149), the results to (148) confirmed those to (146) regarding the incompatibility of poo and the future tense.

(149)	$\frac{\% \text{poo}}{\text{ret}}$	$\frac{\% \text{viTu}}{\text{repl}}$	$\frac{\% \text{nil}}{\text{repl}}$	$\frac{\% \text{viTu}}{\text{add}}$
(146)	24	69	0	7
(148)	0	58	31	11

No subjects retained poo alone, the two subjects who made use of it all adding viTu to it as shown in (150).

(150) naaLekki-kaac-ellaam-celavaa-pooy-iTum.
 tomorrow-money-all-get spent-(poo)-(viTu)(fut)PNg
 The money will all get spent tomorrow. (7.1.29)

Six (31%) of the nineteen subjects made use of no auxiliary in their responses, as shown in (151).

(151) naaLekki-kaacu-nerayaa-celavaakum.
 tomorrow-money-much-get spent (fut)PNg
 A lot of money will get. spent tomorrow. (9.3.29)

The greatly increased proportion of this type of responses in response to (148) may well be the most direct result of increasing the pragmatic appropriateness of the given sentence; there is no completive/future clash here and no instances of past tense retention. Indeed, the increased naturalness of (148) appears to have decreased the apparent acceptability of both completive auxiliaries. Just as the significance of the 24% of poo retentions to (146) is reversed when it is realized that all three of the responses involved retained poo in the past tense, so too is that of part of the 58% viTu replacement to (148).

In nearly half (five) of the eleven such responses, the verb was left in the past tense, even though the change of time reference from 'yesterday' to 'tomorrow' was carried out as instructed. One of these responses is shown here as (152).

- (152) naaLekki-kaacu-celavaay-iTuucu.
 tomorrow-money-get spent-(viTu)(past)PNg
 Tomorrow the money got spent. (8.2.29)

If these deviant responses to (146) and (148), as well as those to the next sentence to be discussed are excluded from consideration, the response patterns are as shown in (153).

(153)	$\frac{\% \text{poo}}{\text{ret}}$	$\frac{\% \text{viTu}}{\text{repl}}$	$\frac{\% \text{nil}}{\text{repl}}$	$\frac{\% \text{viTu}}{\text{add}}$
(146)	0	90	0	10
(148)	0	43	43	14
(154)	0	54 (ret)	46	0

It will be noted here that with the deviant responses removed, the response patterns to the two pragmatically appropriate sentences are almost exactly comparable. The difference between these and (146) doubtless arise from the unease of the subjects when confronted with a sentence which they felt to be in some way senseless.

Sentence (154) was also intended to explore the three complete auxiliaries.

- (154) neettikki-viRa-muTinc-iTucci.
 yesterday-festival-finish-(viTu)(past)PNg
 The festival finished up yesterday. (C10)

The non-gender colloquial form of viTu was provided in this sentence with the intention of discovering whether either of the others would be substituted

for it. The response pattern to this sentence was very similar to that of (148). Eleven (61%) of the eighteen subjects retained the given viTu as they performed the operation of replacing neettikki with naaLekki. Six subjects (33%) used no auxiliary in their answers as in (155), and one made use of the completive poo (in the past tense).

- (155) naaLekki-viRaa-muTiyum.
 tomorrow-festival-finish(fut)PNg
 The festival will end tomorrow. (10.3.10)

But again, among these responses there was an astonishing proportion of deviant responses containing the future time-reference and the past tense form at the same time. Five (28%) of the responses to (155) were of this type, four of which were among the ones in which the given viTu was retained and the other was the one in which viTu was replaced by poo. Sentences (156), (157) and (158) show examples of viTu retention (future), viTu retention (past), and poo retention (past) respectively.

- (156) naaLekki-viRaa-muTinc-iTum.
 tomorrow-festival-finish-(viTu)(fut)PNg
 The festival will finish up tomorrow. (8.2.10)

- (157) naaLekki-viRaa-muTinc-iTucci.
 tomorrow-festival-finish-(viTu)(past)PNg
 The festival finished up tomorrow. (6.3.10)

- (158) naaLekki-viRaa-muTincu-pooccu.
 tomorrow-festival-finish-(poo)(past)PNg
 The festival finished up tomorrow. (10.1.10)

If these deviant responses are not taken into consideration, the response pattern to (154) is as shown in (153). It is to be noted that this sort of deviant response occurs only in connection with (146), (148) and (154) among all the sentences of the questionnaires. All three of these sentences make use of the non-gender colloquial forms of the completive auxiliaries poo and viTu: pooccu and iTucci.

All the deviant retentions of the past tense form occur together with one of these two forms. There are no cases of deviant past retention in the nil auxiliary responses or in response to any sentence without one of these specialized past tense auxiliary forms. Thus it appears that the subjects who gave this sort of response were so accustomed to thinking of these auxiliary forms in past sentences such as (148) and (154) that they made the change to naaLekki without really registering what they were doing and so left the auxiliary in the past tense. It also appears that this effect was stronger with poo than with iTu.

To confirm the effect of the tense-change operation on (154), the similar sentence (159) was framed and subjects were asked to perform an operation that would not affect the tense of the sentence.

(159) neettikku-viRaa-muTincu-viTtatu.
 yesterday-festival-finish-(viTu)(past)PNg
 The festival finished up yesterday. (D10)

They were asked to replace neettikku with muntaanaaL 'the day before yesterday'. The response pattern to this sentence indeed contrasted sharply with that to (154). This is summarized in (160).

(160)		$\frac{\% \text{viTu}}{\text{ret}}$	$\frac{\% \text{nil}}{\text{repl}}$	$\frac{\% \text{poo}}{\text{repl}}$	$\frac{\% \text{aaku}}{\text{repl}}$
tense changed	(154)	54 (61)	46 (33)	0 (6)	0
tense unchanged	(159)	39	0	57	4

Here, the parenthesized figures for (154) include the deviant tense responses and the others do not. Thirteen (57%) of the twenty-three subjects responding to (159) replaced the given viTu with poo as in (161).

- (161) muntaanaaLu-anta-viRaa--muTinci-
 day before yesterday-that-festival-finish-
 poocci.
 (poo)(past)PNg (13.3.10)
 That festival finished up the day before yesterday.

Nine subjects (39%) retained the viTu as given, and the remaining subject replaced it with aaku (162).

- (162) muntaanaaLu-viRaa-vellaam--muTinc-
 day before yesterday-festival-all-finish-
 aaccu.
 (aaku)(past)PNg (16.2.10)
 The festival all finished up the day before
 yesterday.

This was the only instance of aaku in response to any of the sentences discussed in this section.

Taken together, the results to the sentences discussed in this section have indicated that, though viTu cannot be said to be incompatible with the future tense, there is a tendency for the two not to occur together. The other completive auxiliary we have been discussing, poo, however, does seem to be largely incompatible with the future tense and sentences in which poo is perfectly acceptable in the past tense require viTu instead with the future tense. As aaku is used as a completive only with the past non-gender form aaccu, any distinction which may be formed by the three completives in the past tense can be said to be neutralized in the future.

In the preceding section on the cooccurrence of viTu and the future tense, poo came in for considerable discussion as well. Following on from this, the current section will deal more explicitly with the contrast between the two completives poo and viTu. The first two sentences to be discussed here

belonged to the same series as the last two discussed in the previous section.

To all intents and purposes, the two sentences shown here as (163) and (164) are identical, the variation in the phonological shape of the word for 'yesterday' being the only difference between them (and that was being replaced by muntaanaaL 'day before yesterday' in both cases).

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|-------|
| (163) | neettikku-veRaa--muTincutu. | (E10) |
| (164) | neettu -veRaa--muTincutu. | (F10) |
| | yesterday-festival-finish(past)PNg | |
| | The festival ended yesterday. | |

Neither of these sentences contains any auxiliary, the intention in framing them being to discover what auxiliaries, if any, would be provided by the subjects. Though the spread of auxiliaries is exactly the same in the responses from one pattern to the other, the proportions of each auxiliary are different. In the responses to (163), as can be seen in (165), twelve (44%) of the twenty-seven subjects made use of viTu, eight (30%) made use of poo, and the remaining seven (26%) followed the given sentence in using no auxiliary.

(165)	% <u>viTu</u>	% nil (ret)	% <u>poo</u>
(163)	44	26	30
(164)	33	40	27

In the responses to (164), on the other hand, the nil auxiliary response was the most frequent, used by twelve (40%) of the thirty subjects. Ten subjects (33%) made use of viTu and the remaining eight (27%) used poo. In such sentences as this one, it seems that there is little to choose between the completives poo and viTu (and even nil auxiliary). The three alternatives seem just about equally acceptable and informants who have been consulted are not prepared to consistently associate any difference of meaning with the different auxiliary options. The context of these sentences was thus too neutral to elicit

any indication of the contrast between viTu and poo.

The results to (166) were somewhat more satisfactory, however.

- (166) naan-rompa-tuuram-ooTiyat-aale-kaal-oonc-
 I-much-distance-running-because-leg-get painful-
 iTucci. (F25)
 (viTu)(past)PNg
 Because I ran a long way, my leg got all painful.

In this sentence, the completed action is an undesirable change of state. It was expected that by constructing such a context, subjects could be induced to replace the given viTu with poo. Insofar as five times as many subjects made use of poo in their responses as used viTu, this expectation was fulfilled. Fifteen (48%) of the thirty-one subjects replaced the given viTu with poo as in (167).

- (167) naan-rompa-tuuram-ooTnat-anaale-kaalu-oonci-
 I-much-distance-running-because-leg-get painful-
 pooooi. (27.5.25)
 (poo)(past)PNg
 Because I ran a long way, my leg went all painful.

In contrast to this, only three (10%) retained viTu. The other frequent type of response, given by eleven (35%) of the subjects, was to use no auxiliary, as in (168).

- (168) naan-rompa-tuuram-ooTiyat-aalu-kaal-valikkutu.
 I-much-distance-running-because-leg-pain (pres)PNg
 Because I ran a long way, my leg hurts. (26.3.25)

It may be noted parenthetically at this point that there was a sharp division of usage between the given main verb and various of its synonyms in the responses to (166). The verbs used and the number and percentages of subjects who made use of each were: ooy (11--35%), acar (9--29%), vali (8-26%),

and coor (3--10%). Of these, the first two are the more usually used to refer to weakness in the limbs caused by overexertion and the like, the third specifically to pain, and the fourth to general weakness. Although the auxiliary poo occurred most frequently with ooy (one of the more specifically change-of-state verbs) and nil auxiliary with vali (which does not involve a change of state), no firm correlation emerged between choice of main verb and choice of auxiliary in these responses.

The first of a series of three questions designed to explore the viTu/poo distinction is shown here as (169).

- (169) vaattiyar-aTicc-appa-venkaTees-tuTiccu-ppooy-
 teacher-hit-when-Venkatesh-suffer-(poo)-
 iTTaan. (B28)
 (viTu)(past)PNg
 Venkatesh really suffered when the teacher hit him.

Both poo and viTu were provided in this sentence with the intention of discovering which one would be preferred by the subjects. This turned out to be viTu.

Twelve (75%) of the sixteen subjects retained only the viTu of the given auxiliaries, as exemplified in (170).¹

- (170) appaa-aTicc-appa-venkaTees-tuTicc-iTTaan.
 father-hit-when-Venkatesh-suffer-(viTu)(past)PNg
 Venkatesh really suffered when Father hit him. (4.1.28)

No subjects retained the given poo alone, two (12%) retaining both of the given auxiliaries and two more replacing them with kiTTiru. This latter type of

¹In connection with (169) and (171), subjects were asked to replace vaattiyar 'teacher' with appaa 'father'.

response probably reflects the continuous use of poo discussed elsewhere and does not concern us here.

Sentence (171) was intended to contrast with (169) in containing only an instance of poo rather than the poo+viTu of the earlier sentence.

(171) vaattiyar-aTicc-appa-venkaTees-tuTiccu-poonan.
 teacher-hit-when-Venkatesh-suffer-(poo)(past)PNg
 Venkatesh really suffered when the teacher hit him. (C28)

This change, however, does not seem to have affected the responses in any particularly significant way. As can be seen in (172), more subjects made use of poo in their responses to (171) than did in response to (169) and fewer made use of viTu.

(172)		% <u>viTu</u>	% <u>poo</u>	% <u>poo+viTu</u>	%continuous
	<u>poo+viTu</u> (169)	75 (87)	0 (12)	12	12
	<u>poo</u> (171)	53 (64)	21 (32)	11	16
	<u>poo+viTu</u> (175)	53 (74)	16 (37)	21	0 (nil: 11)

But the reason for this may be simply that viTu was given in the first sentence but not in the second. When (171) was framed, it was expected that there would be a greater degree of ambiguity possible between the completive and continuous interpretations of the auxiliary. But this was not confirmed in the responses. Only three subjects used continuous auxiliaries (kiTTiru or kiTTupoo) in response to this sentence, compared with just two who made use of kiTTiru to (169). Sentence (173) is one of the responses given by ten (53%) of the nineteen subjects who replaced the given poo with viTu.

(173) appaa-aTicc-appa--venkaTees-tuTicc-iTTaan.
 father-hit-when-Venkatesh-suffer-(viTu)(past)PNg
 Venaktesh really suffered when Father hit him. (8.2.28)

Four (21%) of the subjects retained viTu as given, and two (11%) made use of both poo and viTu, as in (174).¹

- (174) appaa-aTicc-appa-venkaTeeSu-tuTiccu-puuTTaan.
 father-hit-when-VenkaTesh-suffer-(poo)(viTu)(past)PNg
 VenkaTesh really suffered when Father hit him. (6.1.28)

The third sentence in this series was (175).

- (175) kaatt-il-tuNikaL-parantu-pooy-iTTatu.
 wind-in-cloths-fly-(poo)-(viTu)(past)PNg
 The bits of cloth (or clothes) flew off in the wind. (C26)

This sentence, like (169), contains the collocation poo+viTu. It was thought that in the given sentence, poo might be ambiguous between the interpretation given in the above gloss and the continuous interpretation which might be glossed as "The clothes were flying in the wind". It was hoped to make the continuous sense virtually certain in the responses by asking the subjects to perform the operation of replacing tuNikaL 'cloths' with koTi 'flag'. As para 'fly' is also used in Tamil to describe a flag flying from a flagpole and kaattu is used mainly for light winds which would not be capable of wrenching a flag from a flagpole, this was thought to be a reasonably unambiguous context. The results of this sentence were therefore expected to show a greatly increased proportion of responses containing poo, compared with those of (169) and (171). But this was not what happened, as was indicated in (172). The ordinary completive interpretation was still the one found most acceptable by the subjects, regardless

¹Written out in formal style, the reduced form puuTTaan of (174) would be pooyviTTaan. It is only when it is thus followed by viTu that the oo in poo becomes uu, to my knowledge. This collocation of auxiliaries also occurs in the responses as pooyiTTaan.

of the change in the sentence from "flying and moving" to "flying motionlessly". Ten (53%) of the nineteen subjects retained only the viTu of the given auxiliaries as shown in (176).

- (176) kaattu-le-koTi-parant-uTTutu.
 wind-in-flag-fly-(viTu)(past)PNg
 The flag really flew in the wind. (8. 1. 26)

Another four subjects (21%) retained both auxiliaries and a further three (16%) retained poo alone as in (177).

- (177) kaatt-le-koTi-parantu-pooocu.
 wind-in-flag-fly-(poo)(past)PNg
 The flag really flew in the wind. (9. 4. 26)

The results of this sentence were very similar to those of the preceding two, especially (171), and provided little new information about the uses of either poo or viTu. Indeed, this whole series of three questions was not adequately formulated to provide more information about the poo/viTu contrast than to give two more examples of contexts in which viTu is more acceptable than poo. The first two sentences failed to provide environments which contrasted sufficiently to bring out whatever difference may exist between poo and poo+viTu, and even the more carefully formulated (175) was based on a faulty assumption as to the effect of the proposed operation on the semantics of the given sentence.

The next two sentences to be discussed were designed to explore the acceptability of poo in collocation with the auxiliaries iru and kiTTiru respectively. In both cases, these collocations proved unacceptable and it is the changes made by the subjects that interest us here with regard to our comparison of viTu and poo. In sentence (178), the auxiliaries poo and iru

were suffixed in sequence to the verb caa 'die'.

- (178) kaTal-le-muuRki-maaTu-cettu-pooy-irukku.
 sea-in-submerge-cow-die-(poo)-(iru)(pres)PNg
 Submerged in the sea, the cow has gone and died. (F12)

In framing this sentence, it was thought that the presence of poo would be quite acceptable as the two presumed semantic conditions for the occurrence of the completive poo were present: the undesirability of the expressed event and the possibility of a metaphoric connection between the completion of the expressed event and the main verb meaning of poo ('go'). On the other hand, it was not expected that iru would be acceptable in this context because of its sense of the subject of the sentence 'being in the position of some event having taken place' (cf. the discussion of iru in the next chapter). This second expectation was completely fulfilled as iru was not retained by a single subject. More than half of the thirty-one subjects (seventeen, or 55%) retained poo as predicted (eg. 179).

- (179) kaTal-le-muRuvi-maaTu-cettu-pucci.
 sea-in-submerge-cow-die-(poo)(past)PNg (28.6.12)
 Sinking into the sea, the cow went and died.

A considerable number of subjects, however, (eleven -- 35%) replaced the given auxiliaries with viTu, as in (180).

- (180) kaTal-le-muuRki-maaTu-cett-uTTutu. (24.1.12)
 sea-in-submerge-cow-die-(viTu)(past)PNg
 Sinking into the sea, the cow died off.

Here again is illustrated the general use of viTu in completive contexts and the difficulty of formulating a sentence that will be specific to poo and not admit the use of viTu as well.

In sentence (181), the two auxiliaries poo and kiTTiru were suffixed in sequence to caa 'die'.

- (181) raattiri-koncankoncamaa-avar-cettu-pooy-iTTruntaar.
 night-bit by bit-he-die-(poo)-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg
 He was going and dying slowly in the night. (F21)

Here, where the continuousness of the auxiliary was supported by the koncankoncamaa 'bit by bit', it was expected that poo would be retained only rarely, if at all, but that the continuous auxiliary would prove quite acceptable. In the event, both expectations were fulfilled. Only three (10%) of the thirty responses contained an instance of poo -- one by itself, one with iru, and one with kiTTiru as given. The kiTTiru of the given sentence, on the other hand, was retained by eighteen (60%) of the subjects, one of whose responses is shown here as (182).

- (182) avaru-koncankoncamaa-raatri-cettu-kiTTTruntaar.
 he-bit by bit-night-die-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg
 He was dying slowly in the night. (25.5.21)

Although six subjects (20%) replaced the given auxiliaries with viTu, only three of these, one of which was (183), failed to make some compensatory change.

- (183) raatri-koncankoncamaa-avaru-cettu-viTTaar.
 night-bit by bit-he-die-(viTu)(past)PNg
 He died slowly in the night. (28.5.21)

In (184), for example, the verb was changed to uyir poo (lit. 'life go').

- (184) raatri-koncankoncamaa-avaru-uyir-pooy-iTTutu.
 night-bit by bit-he-life-go-(viTu)(past)PNg
 His life ebbed out bit by bit in the night. (27.3.21)

From these two examples, it appears that viTu is preferable to poo as a completive with caa 'die'. In response to (178), over a third of the subjects replaced the given poo with viTu, and in response to (181), all the subjects

who made use of any completive auxiliary made use of viTu.

The last sentence to be discussed in this section (185) contrasted the transitive verb kacaku 'crumple' in the first clause with its intransitive counterpart kacanku 'become crumpled' in the second.

- (185) naan-tuNiye-kacakk-iTTecn; atu-kacanki-
 I-cloth-crumple-(viTu)(past)PNg; it-become crumpled
 pooccu,
 (poo)(past)PNg (F18)
 When I crumpled up the cloth, it got crumpled up.

Associated with these two verbs were the completive auxiliaries viTu and poo respectively. It was hoped that these would be retained in the responses much as given and confirm the hypothesis that viTu was the preferable with a transitive verb and poo with an intransitive. Both halves of the hypothesis were confirmed to some degree. The results provided some support for the first half of this hypothesis in that the only auxiliary used in the responses to the first clause was indeed viTu. Although it was retained by only fifteen (52%) of the twenty-nine subjects, none of the others used any auxiliary at all at this point in their responses. It seems reasonable that the reason viTu was so frequently deleted was that it appeared in the first of two closely related clauses and for that reason was felt to be somewhat unnatural. It is perhaps for a similar reason that the English gloss, "When I crumpled the cloth, it got crumpled up" seems superior to "When I crumpled up the cloth, it got crumpled up".

The results to (185) better supported the hypothesis that poo was preferable to viTu as a completive associated with the intransitive member of a paired transitive-intransitive pair. The highest rate of poo retention found in the questionnaire results was that in response to this

sentence, indicating that this may be regarded as its optimum environment among those included in the questionnaires. Twenty-three (79%) of the twenty-nine subjects retained the poo as given and yet another retained poo and added viTu to it as he did so. Examples of the three most common types of response to sentence (185) as a whole--viTu in the first clause and poo in the second (38%), no auxiliary and poo (38%)¹, and no auxiliary and viTu (10%)-- are shown here as (186), (187), and (188), respectively.²

(186) avar-tuNiye-kacakk-iTTaar; atu-kacanki-
 he-cloth-crumple-(viTu)(past)PNg; it-crumple-
 pooccu.
 (poo)(past)PNg (23. 3. 18)
 When he crumpled up the cloth, it got crumpled up.

(187) avar-tuNiye-kacaknaar; atu-kacanki-
 he-cloth-crumple (past)PNg; it-crumple-
 pooccu. (25. 5. 18)
 (poo)(past)PNg
 When he crumpled the cloth, it got crumpled up.

(188) avar-tuNiye-kacaknaar; atu-kacank-
 he-cloth-crumple (past)PNg; it-crumple-
 iTuccu. (27. 3. 18)
 (viTu)(past)PNg
 When he crumpled the cloth, it crumpled right up.

The distribution of the auxiliaries viTu and poo among the responses to the two clauses of (185) suggest that viTu is the preferable of the two for use with a transitive verb and poo is preferable with an intransitive one. No other auxiliaries besides viTu were used in response to the first clause and only an

¹These two percentages of poo retention do not add up to 79% because one of the subjects who retained poo in the second clause did not provide a first clause. There was another subject who did not provide a second clause (retaining viTu in the first clause) and so the number of responses was the same for both clauses.

²In responding to (185), subjects were asked to replace naan 'I' with avar 'he'.

eight as many subjects used viTu in response to the second clause as used poo.

Some of the sentences discussed in this section have suggested distinctions that may be drawn between the use of viTu and that of poo as a completive. In (166), for example, we saw that poo was far more acceptable than viTu when used with an intransitive verb indicating the completion of an undesirable change of state (ooy 'get painful'). And in (185), poo again appeared to be preferable to viTu when used with an intransitive verb directly contrasted with its transitive counterpart. Though the other sentences discussed proved somewhat inconclusive, sentences (163) and (164) showed that in some intransitive contexts, there is little to choose between the two auxiliaries. Sentences (169), (171) and (175) similarly showed that on occasion, viTu is preferable to poo, even in intransitive clauses.

The next section of the chapter continues with the discussion of poo and viTu begun in the previous section and brings the third completive auxiliary aaku into the discussion as well. Sentences (189) and (190), for example, confronted subjects with the combination aaku+viTu -- two different completives in succession, parallel to the combination poo+viTu which occurred in sentences (169) and (175) above.

- (189) naan-neettikku-vaankina-paRam-ellaam-keTT-aaki-
 (190) " - " - " - " - " - " - " - " - " -
 I-yesterday-bought-fruit-all-spoil-(aaku)-
 viTTatu. (B29)
 yiTTatu. (C17)
 (viTu)(past)PNg
 The fruit I bought yesterday has all got spoiled.

These two sentences are identical except for minor phonological differences and subjects were asked to perform the same operation upon them -- that of

replacing neettikku 'yesterday' with muntaanaaL 'the day before yesterday'.

The results to these two sentences are summarized in (191).

(191)	<u>%poo</u> repl	<u>%poo+viTu</u> repl	<u>%viTu</u> ret	<u>%aaku+viTu</u> ret
(189)	50	25	13	12
(190)	37	37	26	0
both	42	32	20	6

It will be noted that the given collocation of aaku+viTu proved almost entirely unacceptable. Only two (12%) of the sixteen subjects responding to (189) retained it and none of the nineteen responding to (190) did so -- a total of two (6%) of the thirty-five responding to either sentence. The auxiliaries which occurred in the rest of the responses to these sentences were poo, viTu, and their collocation, poo+viTu. In response to (189), these were given by eight (50%), two (13%), and four (25%) subjects respectively. In response to (190), they were given respectively by seven (37%), five (26%), and seven (37%) subjects.

Although the same three types of responses were provided by the two completely different sets of subjects responding to the two sentences, the proportion of each auxiliary was not constant from one pattern of responses to the other. Since the two given sentences were virtually identical, the uneven proportions of the various responses cannot be due to differences in the given sentences. Before we assume that this variation results from alternative interpretations of the given sentences or indicates that the auxiliaries in question are interchangeable in such an environment as this, let us examine another variable present in the responses. This is the choice

of main verb. Although the given main verb keTu 'become rotten' was used in ten (63%) of the responses to (189) and in nine (47%) of those to (190) -- in nineteen (54%) of the two sets of responses combined -- there were two synonymous verbs which were often used in its place. If it could be shown that there was a relationship between the main verb used and the auxiliary chosen, and that the percentage of a given auxiliary varied from pattern to pattern in the same way as the percentage of a given main verb, we would have the explanation for the variation. Unfortunately, the data from just these two response patterns is not enough to give a firm answer as to whether or not there is such a relationship. An indication of the existence of such a relation, however, can be drawn from the information at our disposal. In the responses to (189), keTu, as mentioned above, was used ten (63%) times, aRuvu 'become rotten' five times (31%), and viiNaa¹ 'become useless' once (6%). In the responses to (190), on the other hand, keTu was used nine times (47%), aRuvu four times (21%), and viiNaa six times (31%). Sentences (192) to (195) are examples of the four most common types of response to (189) and (190):

keTu+poo, keTu+viTu, aRuvu+poo, and viiNaa+poo+viTu.

- (192) muntaanaaLu-vaankuna-paRam-ellaam-keTTu-pooccu.
 day before-bought-fruit-all-spoil-(poo)(past)PNg
 yesterday
 The fruit I bought the day before yesterday has all
 gone rotten. (10. 3. 17)
- (193) muntaanaaLu-vaankina-paRam-ellaam-keTTu-viTTatu.
 day before-bought-fruit-all-spoil-(viTu)(past)PNg
 yesterday
 The fruit I bought the day before yesterday has
 all got rotten (3. 1. 29)

¹This is composed of viiN 'useless' plus aaku. Here, aaku is not being used as an auxiliary verb in our sense, but rather as a verbalizer, making a verb out of what is (on the surface at least) a non-verbal element.

- (194) muntaanaaLu-vaankina-paRa-llaam-aRuvi-pooceu.
 day before-bought-fruit-all-spoil-(poo)(past)PNg
 yesterday
 The fruit I bought the day before yesterday has
 all gone rotten. (2. 3. 29)
- (195) (naan-muntaa)¹ naaLu-vaankina-paRam-ellaam-viiNaa-
 I-day before-bought-fruit-all-become useless-
 yesterday
 pooy-iTTutu.
 (poo)-(viTu)(past)PNg (8. 3. 17)
 The fruit I bought the day before yesterday has
 all gone rotten.

The following table (196) shows the kinds and numbers of combinations of main verbs and auxiliaries that occurred in the thirty-five responses being considered.

(196)	<u>my</u>	<u>aux</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
	<u>keTu</u>	<u>poo</u>	6	60	5	55	11	58
		<u>viTu</u>	1	10	3	33	4	21
		<u>aa+viTu</u>	2	20	0	0	2	11
		<u>poo+viTu</u>	1	10	1	11	2	11
	<u>aRuvu</u>	<u>poo</u>	2	40	2	50	4	44
		<u>viTu</u>	1	20	1	25	2	22
		<u>poo+viTu</u>	2	40	1	25	3	33
	<u>viiNaa</u>	<u>viTu</u>	0	0	1	18	1	14
		<u>poo+viTu</u>	1	100	5	82	6	86

The first two pairs of columns in this table give the data for (189) and (190) respectively, and the third gives the total of the two. The percentages are based on 100% being the total number of responses containing a given main verb. This table shows the degree of variation in the use of particular auxiliaries with

¹The words in parentheses here are obscured on the tape but are presumably as shown.

particular main verbs from pattern to pattern. It indicates a general preference by both groups of subjects for using poo with keTu and for using poo+viTu with viiNaa. Over half the subjects who made use of keTu used the auxiliary poo, in contrast to the fifth or less who used any of the other auxiliaries. Six of the seven who made use of viiNaa employed poo+viTu with it and none used just poo alone. With aRuvu, on the other hand, none of the chief types of auxiliary response was significantly more frequent than another.

The correlations observed in (196) may be checked by examining the proportion of each main verb used with the individual auxiliaries. Table (197) presents the data in a suitable form for this purpose.

(197)	<u>total</u>		<u>keTu</u>		<u>aRuvu</u>		<u>viiNaa</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>poo</u>	15	100	11	73	4	27	0	0
<u>viTu</u>	7	100	4	57	2	29	1	14
<u>aa+viTu</u>	2	100	2	100	0	0	0	0
<u>poo+viTu</u>	11	100	2	18	3	27	6	55

Here, if we take the two most frequent auxiliary responses, poo and poo+viTu, we note a marked difference in the main verbs with which they occur. Nearly three-quarters of the occurrences of poo are with keTu and none are with viiNaa, whereas over half the occurrences of poo+viTu are with viiNaa and only a sixth with keTu. The main verb aRuvu, on the other hand, can be seen to occur in an almost identical proportion of the responses containing each auxiliary. In so far as such correlations as those between poo+viTu and viiNaa and between poo and keTu seem to hold independently for each response pattern, we may be justified in feeling that the correlation would hold in further patterns of responses as well. But two small response patterns obviously do not constitute proof in as blurred a case as this is. What can be said is merely

that the difference between the response patterns of (189) and (190) may possibly be accounted for by the different distribution of main verbs within them. No geographical or social factors appear to be associated with choice of main verb, however, at least in the material which we have at our disposal. The results to (189) and (190) show that these two sentences fall as a whole on the side of those in which poo was favoured in the responses, as opposed to viTu. Similarly to the previous such sentences discussed (166), (178) and (185), the event described by the main verb in these sentences is intransitive and is of a nature that can easily be perceived as undesirable.

Another sentence which was framed to contain an instance of the completive auxiliary aaku was (198).

- (198) anta-paiyan-kiTTe-naan-rompa-taTave-colli-yaaccu;
 that-boy-to-I-many-times-say-(aaku)(past)PNg;
 avan-keekka-le.
 he-listen-(neg) (C15)
 I spoke to that boy many times; he didn't listen

This sentence was intentionally deviant, containing as it did a first person subject pronoun, naan 'I', even though the verb was in the no-gender form. The intention here was to elicit the auxiliary aaku bearing a personal suffix. But no such instances were produced. Only three subjects (16%) retained the aaku and all of these retained it in the given no gender form, one even retaining the explicit pronoun naan. The two most frequent types of responses were to use no auxiliary or to replace the given auxiliary with viTu. Each of these two response types was provided by seven (37%) of the nineteen subjects and examples of each are shown here as (199) and (200).¹

¹In connection with (198), subjects were asked to perform the operation of replacing paiyan 'boy' with poNnu 'girl'.

- (199) antap-poNNU-kiTTe-naan-rompa-taTavayaa-conneen;
 that-girl-to-I-many-times-say (past)PNg;
 aanaa-atu-keekka-le.
 but-it-listen- (neg) (9. 3, 15)
 I spoke to that girl many times; but she didn't listen.
- (200) antap-poNNU-kiTTe-rompa-taTave-coll-iTTeen;
 that-girl-to-many-times-say-(viTu)(past)PNg;
 antap-poNNU-keekka-vee-yille.
 that-girl-listen-(emph)-(neg) (6. 4. 15)
 I spoke to that girl many times; that girl just
 didn't listen.

The results to sentence (198) illustrate some of the ways in which the use of poo and aaku as completives is restricted compared with that of viTu. In contrast with the verbs of previous sentences in which poo has occurred (eg. 185, 189, 190), the verb of this sentence, collu 'say' is a transitive verb. Although it does not have an object in this particular sentence, it does take objects (such as kate 'story' or poy 'lie') perfectly freely in other sentences. This suggests that poo is not used with transitive verbs (as is confirmed by further examples checked with informants). In this, it patterns like its corresponding main verb, poo 'go', which also functions only in intransitive clauses (unless supplemented with a transitivizing suffix). In the case of aaku, the fact that not a single subject made use of any form other than the inappropriate non-gender one suggests that this is the only form in which aaku occurs as an auxiliary. The presence of viTu in the responses, on the other hand, indicates that neither of these restrictions hold on its occurrence.

The second clause of sentence (201) contains an intransitive verb describing a presumably undesirable change of state.

- (201) veyyil-le-veele-cencu-kiTTu-oTamp-ellaam-karutt-
 sun-in-work-do--(kiTu)-body-all-grow black-
 aaccu.
 (aaku)(past)PNg (F27)
 His whole body grew dark from working in the sun.

This sentence was framed with the idea that the completive auxiliary aaku given in the second clause would be replaced by poo an appreciable number of times. The expectation was fulfilled in the results as eighteen of the thirty subjects (60%) replaced aaku with poo (eg. 202).

- (202) veyil-le-veele-cencatu-le-enakku-oTamp-ellaam-sun-in-work-doing-in-to me-body-all-karuttu-pooccu.
 grow dark-(poo)(past)PNg (26. 4. 27)
 My whole body went dark from working in the sun.

Another six subjects (20%) replaced the given aaku with the more general completive viTu, as shown in (203).

- (203) veyil-le-veele-cencatu-le-oTamp-ellaam-karutt-sun-in-work-doing-in-body-all-grow dark-uTTutu.
 (viTu)(past)PNg (27. 4. 27)
 His whole body got dark from working in the sun.

Of the remaining subjects, three (10%) used no auxiliary in their responses, two (7%) retained the given aaku, and one (3%) used the collocation of poo+viTu. It will be noted that in this sentence, as well as in the others especially appropriate for the occurrence of poo, such as (186), (178) and (185), a context which is suitable for poo is not likely to be actually unsuitable for viTu.

Sentence (204) included the combination of auxiliaries vai+aaku.

- (204) ennooTa-viiTTe-kaTTaratt-ukkaaka-nireya-kaTan-my-house-building-in order to-much-loan-vaanki-vecc-accu.
 get-(vai)-(aaku)(past)PNg (B13)
 I got a big loan in order to build my house.

When this sentence was framed, it was hypothesized that aaku might be more acceptable in contexts where a particular unit of activity was envisaged as

being finished (or completed) -- cf. also Garey's (1957) use of the term telic to describe this sort of predication and Vendler's (1967) use of the term accomplishment. Here, it was thought the getting of a loan might indicate one such unit of activity, much as the eating of a meal does (this hypothesis was suggested by the common question caapTaacca? 'Have you eaten?'). (The reasons for the inclusion of vai in the questionnaire sentence and its deletion from the responses are not relevant here). Indeed, aaku retention was one of the most frequent response types to this sentence, being used by five (36%) of the fourteen subjects, one of whose responses is shown here as (205).

- (205) en-viiTTe--kaTratt-ukkoocara--kaTan-neraya--vaanki-
 my-house-building-in order to-loan-much-get-
 yaaccu.
 (aaku)(past)PNg (4.1.13)
 I got a big loan in order to build my house.

The other frequent type of response to (204) was to replace the given completive aaku with viTu. Five subjects employed responses of this type, one of which was (206).

- (206) en-viiTTe--kaTratt-ukkaaka--neraya--kaTan--vaank-
 my-house-building-in order to--much-loan-get-
 iTTeen.
 (viTu)(past)PNg (2.3.13)
 I got a big loan in order to build my house.

The results to (204) suggest for aaku what was noted in connection with poo in the last paragraph -- that viTu retains its acceptability in almost all completive contexts, even those which are relatively appropriate for the use of one of the other completive auxiliaries. They also seem to support the hypothesis that sentences such as this provide relatively satisfactory contexts for the use of aaku.

The non-gender forms of aaku and poo were contrasted in the two alternatives of (207).

- (207) keeliye-keeTTu-ava-ciricc-aaccu.
 " " " --ciriccu-pooccu. (E26)
 joke-hear-she-laugh-(aaku)/(poo)(past)PNg
 Hearing the joke, she laughed.

The intention in constructing this questionnaire item was to determine which completive auxiliary would be preferable for use with the activity verb ciri 'laugh'. Neither alternative seems particularly likely, though. On the one hand, the activity described is not delimited into any sort of unit as was done in (204), and on the other hand, the intransitive verb does not depict an undesirable activity as did that of (201). When the prime informant was asked about the acceptability of the two alternatives before administration, he judged the first alternative acceptable, but the second one unacceptable. To the subjects, however, both alternatives proved unacceptable. None of the twenty-seven responses given to this sentence contained an instance of aaku and only one (4%) was a case of poo retention. Although viTu was not given as one of the alternatives, it occurred in the responses eleven times (41%) -- far more often than the two given alternatives combined. One of the responses in which viTu was supplied is shown here as (208).¹

¹Every subject responding to this sentence used the third person masculine pronoun rather than the third person feminine one intended. This seems to have been due to an error in administration, by which the sentence was given to the subjects with the masculine pronoun. Although no-gender forms may be used with female referents (especially younger ones), they are not permissible with male referents and would make the alternatives of (174) seem odder than intended. As this might encourage subjects to think up their own interpretations of the given sentence, it may have contributed to the low rate at which the given alternatives were retained.

- (208) keeliye-keTTu-avan-ciricc-iTTaan.
 joke-hear-he-laugh-(viTu)(past)PNg
 Hearing the joke, he laughed. (22.5.26)

The other frequent type of response to (207), employed by fourteen (52%) of the subjects, was to use no auxiliary. Curiously, half of these involved an unasked-for change of tense--two to the future tense (209) and five to the present (210).

- (209) keeli-paNN-aa-cirippaan.
 joke-tell-if-laugh(fut)PNg (21.4.26)
 He'll laugh if you tell a joke.
- (210) keeliye-keTTu-cirikraan.
 joke-tell-laugh(pres)PNg (20.2.26)
 He is laughing at the joke.

No such tense alterations occurred among the cases of viTu replacement.

From the responses to (207), we see again the use of viTu to indicate completion in environments unsuitable for the use of poo or aaku as well as its tendency to be used only in the past tense in environments that would call up instances of other tenses as well, were viTu not present.

The non-gender forms of aaku and poo were contrasted again in the two alternatives of (211).

- (211) maRe-ettane-maNi-neeram-penc -aaccu?
 " " " " -pencu-pooccu? (C24)
 rain-how many-hour-time-fall-(aaku)/(poo)(past)PNg
 How many hours did it rain?

Here, it was intended to find out which was preferable for use with the verb pey 'fall (as rain)'. Here again, aaku proved highly unacceptable, only a single subject making use of it. Five (26%) of the nineteen subjects, however, made use of the second alternative and retained poo in their responses. The

nil auxiliary response was the most frequent type, being used by seven (37%) of those responding to (211). Another four subjects (21%) used viTu, as in (212), and two (11%) made use of iru.

(212) maRe-ettane-maNi-neeram-penc-uTTutu?
rain-how many-hour-time-fall-(viTu)(past)PNg
How many hours did it rain? (8.4.24)

The results to (211), together with those to (214), are summarized in (213).

(213)	<u>poo</u> ret	<u>aaku</u> ret	<u>poo+viTu</u> ret	<u>viTu</u> repl	nil repl	<u>kiTTiru</u> repl	<u>iru</u> repl
(211)	26	5	0	21	37	0	11
(214)	42	0	0	4	38	13	4

The same basic sentence was used in (214) to contrast non-gender forms of poo+viTu and poo.

(214) maRe-ettane-maNi-neeram-pencu-pooy-iTTatu?
" " " " " -pooccu? (D24)
rain-how many-hour-time-fall-(poo)-(viTu)(past)PNg
How many hours did it rain?

As seen in (213), no subjects made use of the first alternative. On the other hand, poo occurred even more frequently in this response pattern than in the previous one; it occurred in ten (42%) of the twenty-four responses. This increase may, in part, reflect the fact that poo was present in both alternatives of (214) instead of in only one, as in (211). But a similar explanation could not account for the decline in the proportion of viTu responses from 21% to 4%; only a single subject made use of this auxiliary in response to (214). A frequent type of response again was to use no auxiliary. One of the nine (38%) responses of this type is shown here as (215).

- (215) maRe-ettane-maNi-neeram-pencatu?
 rain-how many-hour-time-fall(past)PNg (15. 2. 24)
 How many hours did it rain?

The divergence in the patterns of responses to (211) and (214) does not appear to be significant; subjects were apparently just making different use of the same set of available options. It seems that these sentences were formulated too broadly and gave subjects too much scope for alternative interpretations and so are not much help in distinguishing the completive auxiliaries from each other except that again aaku turned out to be clearly unacceptable in this type of sentence.

The response patterns dealt with in this section have improved our understanding of the interrelations among the completive auxiliaries. Following from the points discussed in the last section, the results to sentences (189), (190), (201), (211) and (214) show that poo tends to be acceptable only in transitive sentences and to increase in acceptability as the events described become less and less desirable to the speaker. Nevertheless, however aptly formulated a sentence such as (201) may be for the use of poo, viTu is still an acceptable alternative, neutral as it is to such factors as transitivity of verb stem and desirability of represented event.

Although the sentences with aaku are not as revealing as those with poo, a somewhat similar relationship appears to exist between this auxiliary and viTu as exists between poo and viTu. Even in sentence (204), which provided the best context for aaku among those discussed, the given aaku was still replaced by viTu in the responses as often as it was retained. Thus, even if it is the case, as is suggested by the results to (204) and some of the

other aaku sentences not explicitly discussed here, that aaku indicates precisely the completion of a particular unit of activity, it does not do this in opposition to viTu but in specification of it. It will be noted in passing, therefore, that the completive auxiliaries differ among themselves in a different way from the way in which they differ from such other auxiliaries as the simultaneous. The structural relation which holds, say, between kiTu and viTu is the reciprocal one of opposition. That which holds between poo (or aaku) and viTu is the non-reciprocal one of specification.

As one of the most common ways by which units of activity are delineated is by treating the "unit" as the object of the verb (eg. eat a meal, read a book, get a loan), we may expect aaku to occur chiefly with transitive verbs, if our suggestion as to the specific function of aaku is correct. Since poo seems to be used exclusively in intransitive clauses, we could predict that these two auxiliaries would be disjunctively distributed among clauses and could rarely be used to indicate alternative interpretations of a given clause. If the sixteen sentences from the questionnaires in which aaku was given are examined, this prediction is largely borne out. In all six of the response patterns in which the smallest proportions of aaku retention appeared, there was at least occasional use of poo. Among the ten response patterns with relatively high rates of aaku retention, on the other hand, only one also contained instances of poo replacement.

Two other points were raised in sentences discussed in this section. As seen in sentence (198) and confirmed by observation and work with informants, aaku occurs only in the third-person no-gender form when used as a completive auxiliary. The results to sentences (189) and (190) suggest that

even apparently synonymous main verbs may make a differing selection of completive auxiliary.

So far in the second half of this chapter, we have been concerned primarily with viTu as a completive. No mention has been made of its sequential use. In view of the considerable attention paid to the sequential usage of viTu in the first half of the chapter where it was contrasted with the simultaneous use of kiTu, it does not seem necessary to continue that discussion at any length here. We will content ourselves at this point, therefore, with an additional example of the sequential use of viTu which involves the simultaneous kiTu only by implication.

Sentence (216) was presented to the subjects without auxiliaries, leaving them free to specify the relation between the two clauses by means of any auxiliaries they wished or to leave it unspecified if they wished.

(216) maaTu-meeyntu-paTuttatu.
 cow-graze-lie down(past)PNG (D5)
 The cow grazed and lay down.

Since grazing and lying down are not activities which can take place easily at the same time, it was expected that if any auxiliaries were inserted between the two clauses, viTu would be used, rather than kiTu. Indeed, this expectation was borne out by the results. Although seventeen (71%) of the twenty-four subjects left the first clause of this sentence more or less as given and used no auxiliary in it, the other seven used viTu, as in (217).¹

¹In connection with (216), subjects were asked to perform the operation of replacing maaTu 'cow' with aaTu 'goat'.

- (217) aaTu-meenc-iTTu-paTut-rukku.
 goat-graze-(viTu)-lie down-(iru)(pres)PNg
 After grazing, the goat has lain down. (13.4.5)

As expected, no subjects made use of kiTu to specify the temporal relation between the two clauses of (216). It will be noted, however, that viTu is not the only auxiliary present in (217). As can be seen in (218), the summary of the results to the two clauses of (217), there was a strong tendency to make use of an auxiliary in the second clause if one had been used in the first clause.

(218) clause	nil		<u>viTu</u>		<u>iru</u>		<u>poo</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1/2: nil	11	46	3	13	0	0	3	13
<u>viTu</u>	1	4	1	4	4	17	1	4

(kiTTiru)

Of the seven subjects who made use of viTu in the first clause, only one used no auxiliary in the second -- one used viTu, one kiTTiru, and four made use of iru. Of the seventeen subjects who used no auxiliary in the first clause, on the other hand, eleven used none in the second clause either, three made use of viTu and three of the completive poo. In general terms, then, there were two main types of response involving auxiliaries. If a completive was used in the first clause, a stative (iru or kiTTiru) was used in the second. If no auxiliary was used in the first clause, a completive was used in the second. These appear to reflect two alternative interpretations of the given sentence. On the one hand, the action of the first verb (grazing) is seen to be ended but that of the second one (lying down) resulted in a state which is still in existence at the time of the speech event. Under the second interpretation, on the other hand, the actions represented by both verbs are seen as no longer affecting the current situation. Sentence (215), with its various types of responses, points up particularly clearly the similarity of the two uses of viTu and suggests that "sequential" might be

paraphrased as "inter-clausal completive", as will be seen in more detail below.

In our investigation into the meaning and use of the auxiliaries kiTu and yiTu in this chapter, we have examined over two hundred sentences. The contrasts that exist between these two auxiliaries have been explored and some of the ways in which they interact with other members of the auxiliary system have been outlined. The relationships between the auxiliaries and such factors of the sentential context as the choice of verbs, the use of tenses, and the occurrence of adverbial expressions have also been noted.

The discussion of kiTu was divided into three major parts devoted respectively to its use as a self-affective auxiliary, a simultaneous auxiliary, and as a component of the compound continuous auxiliaries. In the first of these parts, a distinction was drawn between the reflexive and the self-affective and kiTu was found to belong to the latter category rather than the former (12). Factors that were found to influence the acceptability of the self-affective kiTu included the presence of a reflexive pronoun (1, 2, 8 and 9), the tense of the sentence (14), the presence of a contrasting auxiliary in another clause (20, 21, 22 and 25), the negative or positive polarity of the sentence (27, and 28), and the nature of the main verb (52). Among the factors which were investigated but appeared not to affect the occurrence of kiTu were the coreference of participants (1, 2, 8 and 9), and the presence of an embedded self-affective expression (50). There was no evidence in the sentences of this part for a special relation between kiTu and yiTu or any other auxiliary (except that a direct opposition appears to hold between kiTu and vai in some

contexts -- cf. 20, 21, 22 and 25).

In the second part of the discussion of kiTu, on the other hand, a very clear and direct contrast was found to hold between the simultaneous use of kiTu and the sequential use of viTu. This contrast was indicated particularly clearly in the responses to (55), (58) and (60); and further illustration was provided by (63). Finally a potential ambiguity between the structures viTu+Main Verb and kiTu+Auxiliary was examined (67).

The discussion of the third major part of the chapter followed from that of the second. That had been concerned primarily with kiTu as it occurs between two main verbs (i.e. between two clauses); this was concerned with kiTu as it occurs between a main and an auxiliary verb (i.e. forms the initial component of a compound continuous auxiliary). Since the most common of the continuous auxiliaries, kiTTiru (kiTu+iru), is dealt with in the next chapter, discussion of the continuous here centred on the less common ones, kiTTuvaa and kiTTupoo. Although kiTTupoo appeared to be the less common of these two, and thus perhaps to be the more specific in its meaning, no clear criteria for distinguishing the two from each other or kiTTiru have so far emerged. The simplex auxiliary vaa was used in some of the questionnaire sentences, but even in an unambiguously continuous sentence such as (78), the given vaa was replaced by both kiTTuvaa and kiTTiru more often than it was retained on its own. Thus, though most subjects appear to recognize vaa as indicating continuousness when it is given in certain contexts, considerably fewer seem to use it themselves. It can probably be claimed that vaa is used as a continuous auxiliary only in a relatively formal, or written, style; but

this cannot be proved, of course, from the questionnaire data, focused as it is on the colloquial styles.

The second half of the chapter dealt primarily with viTu as a completive. In successive sections, it was dealt with in opposition to nil auxiliary, in connection with the continuous, in association with tole, in terms of possible collocation with other near-final morphemes, in cooccurrence with the future tense, in contrast with poo, and in contrast with poo and aaku. In these latter sections, it was found that the relation between viTu and the other two completive auxiliaries was not one of opposition, but of hyponymy. Of the three, viTu turned out to be the general completive, and poo and aaku to be used as specific sorts of completive. Although poo and aaku seem to be used in largely complementary contexts, viTu can generally be used wherever poo or aaku are found and in a great many other contexts as well. When the tendency was explored for viTu to occur exclusively with the past tense in contexts in which the present or future would be admissible with nil auxiliary or iru as well, it was found to contrast with poo in another way. For poo appeared in the results to such sentences as (148) or (159) to be incompatible with the future tense, in contrast with the mere tendency of viTu not to occur with that tense.

As a point of contrast between Tamil and English, it was noted in connection with sentences (95) and (96) that some English verbs that indicate a change of state or the completion of some activity behave like the corresponding Tamil verb with the addition of viTu and so might be regarded as inherently completive, unlike the corresponding Tamil verbs, which are not specifically completive unless viTu is added.

An important issue in the discussion of viTu is whether its two apparent senses, the completive and the sequential, can be subsumed under a single more general use. For the purposes of exposition at least, it is convenient to discuss viTu in terms of two distinct senses as we have been doing. But this is the case merely because of the two quite different syntactic environments in which it is used, regardless of whether there actually are one or two "meanings" in question. Still, in some ways, such a division may also seem useful from the analytic point of view. On distributional grounds, for example, it would be symmetrical to assume that there are two syntactic entities, viTu₁ and viTu₂, which occur at the same mutually exclusive points of structure as do kiTu₁ and kiTu₂. As the meanings of kiTu₁ (simultaneous) and kiTu₂ (self-affective) are indisputably separate, it could then be claimed that the meanings of the parallel forms viTu₁ (sequential) and viTu₂ (completive) are likewise separate, and that kiTu₁ and viTu₁ function in a direct opposition, whereas kiTu₂ and viTu₂ do not. The separation of the two uses of viTu is also sanctioned by precedent. In most previous works on the subject, as mentioned in Chapter One, these two uses of viTu are treated separately (and, indeed, as in Schiffman 1969, no connection whatsoever is drawn between them by some authors).

There may be, however, a much more important reason for treating the two uses as being merely instances of the same sense in two different environments. This is that the two uses appear to be in syntactic complementary distribution. Occurring at the end of a sentence, however many clauses there may be in it, the auxiliary viTu can be nothing other

than completive. It is only when it occurs at the end of a non-final clause that viTu can be sequential, and thus it is only in that position that there could conceivably be any contrast between the two uses. It would therefore be of interest to determine whether there is any evidence for the existence of a completive/sequential contrast in that position.

An attempt was made to test this point by formulating the pair of examples (219) and (220).

(219) avar kaTitatte-eRut-iTTaaru. cevappu-maiy-aalu-
 he-letter-write-(viTu)(past)PNg. red-ink-with-
 eRut-iTTaaru.
 write-(viTu)(past)PNg
 He wrote a letter. He wrote with red ink.

(220) avar-kaTitatte-eRut-iTTu-cevappu-maiy-aalu-
 he-letter-write-(viTu)-red-ink-with-
 eRut-iTTaaru.
 write-(viTu)(past)PNg
 Having written the letter, he wrote with red ink.

Here, two completed predications are expressed in two sentences in (219), and these have been conjoined into a single sentence in (220). As these two predications express activities that one would expect to take place concurrently, it was felt that a sequential auxiliary would not be acceptable between them. Example (219), in which the two activities are both stated to be completed by separate sentence-final instances of viTu, was expected to be acceptable. Sentence (220), on the other hand, featured an instance of viTu in interclausal position. If viTu in this position were necessarily to be interpreted as a sequential, it was expected that the sentence would be unacceptable. If, however, such a viTu could also function as a completive, this sentence should be equally as acceptable as those of (219). In this case, we would have

established that the completive interpretation contrasts with the sequential in this environment and we would have a basis for concluding that the two senses of viTu may be regarded as separate.

Unfortunately, however, there were no examples like these on the questionnaires and no others directly relevant to the point at issue. In our attempts to obtain supplementary data from native-speakers in London, we encountered the problems of informant work discussed in Chapter Two, and received varying judgements about the relative acceptability of these examples. Although some subjects regarded (219) and (220) as fairly equally acceptable, the general tendency was for (219) to be regarded as somewhat more acceptable than (220). To some extent, this provides support for the view that the sequential is a contextually-determined variety of the completive. It seems that the conjoining of two sentences may be taken to imply that they are more closely related than if left as separate sentences. Thus in (219), the two actions seem separately indicated to be completed and no particular connection is implied between them. In (220), on the other hand, although the two actions are still stated to be completed, their conjunction implies that they are in some way related, and indeed, that the first precedes the second.

This does not, however, seem to be the only possible explanation for at least some of the unacceptability of (220) when compared with (219). For some subjects, the mere presence of the same verb (eRutu) in two successive clauses is objectionable, apparently on stylistic grounds. In such cases, if the sentences are changed to contain differing verbs, the two examples may become equally acceptable. Nevertheless, even though there seem to be other

factors at work in making (220) less acceptable than (219), the presumed complementary distribution of the two uses of viTu still provides some support for considering viTu as a single entity which occurs both in final clauses (completive) and in non-final clauses (sequential).

CHAPTER FOUR

kiTTiru, iru, vai, vecciru

This chapter deals with two relatively frequent auxiliaries, kiTTiru and iru, and two rather less common ones, vai and vecciru. Together, these four auxiliaries may be said in some sense to form a different subset of auxiliaries from that which is comprised by kiTu and viTu. Already in the discussion of such sentences as (14) of the previous chapter, a contrast was observed between the tense-selection properties of kiTu and viTu and those of iru and kiTTiru. It was observed that there was a tendency for kiTu and viTu to occur with the past tense, in contrast with the more frequent use of the future with iru and kiTTiru. As will be developed later in this chapter, iru and vai are semantically similar in that they involve the notion of a "state of affairs." Attention will also be paid, both in this chapter and the next, to a view that was touched on in Chapter One and again, briefly, in connection with kiTTupoo, in the discussion of sentence (81) in Chapter Three. It will be held that the continuous meaning of kiTTiru is in some way derivable from the sum of its parts--from the "simultaneous" meaning of kiTu and the "current relevance" or "stative" meaning of iru.

Although kiTTiru was discussed in connection with the other continuous auxiliaries and in connection with kiTu in the preceding chapter, the more important portion of our treatment of this auxiliary will be found in this chapter. The main discussion of kiTTiru has been placed in the same

chapter with that of iru rather than with that of kiTu primarily to clarify the interrelations of the auxiliaries as much as possible. In the preceding chapter, our chief concern was with the kiTu/viTu contrast -- a contrast which involved kiTTiru only marginally. As implied above, however, kiTTiru is crucial to the central topic of this chapter, the auxiliary iru and its compounds. Our discussion of the meanings of iru and kiTTiru will not only dominate this chapter, but will form an introduction to Chapter Five as well. The treatment of kiTTiru in this chapter falls roughly into three parts. In the first, the continuous meaning of kiTTiru is described and contrasted with the habitual use of the future tense form. Examples of kiTTiru in various tense forms constitute the second part; and the third part describes a series of questionnaire sentences which were administered with the view of determining its semantic limitations.

The largest section of this chapter is that devoted to iru. This too is divided into three parts, the first dealing with the meaning of iru itself, the second briefly mentioning the problem of distinguishing between the main verb and auxiliary uses of iru, and the third discussing the collocation of iru with the negative morphemes, with the future tense form, and with viTu. It will be suggested below that iru is used to show that the speaker feels the action represented by the main verb, though occurring in the past, is somehow relevant to the past, present, or future, depending on the tense in which iru appears. Thus, in some ways, iru is used similarly to the perfect tenses in English and it is often most convenient to gloss it in this way. Given this similarity, we will compare the Tamil iru with the English perfect tenses in this chapter to some extent, and will elaborate further in the following one. In investigating the relationship between the main verb iru and the auxiliary iru in this chapter,

we will hope to provide a basis for a discussion in Chapter Five of the relationships between main and auxiliary verbs in other languages as well. Both as auxiliary and as main verb, iru covers many of the same functions in Tamil that are covered by be and have in English. At the same time, all of the uses of iru can to some degree be related to its main verb meaning of 'be', as will be seen below.

The third major section of this chapter will deal with yai and vecciru. There is less material from the questionnaires relating to these auxiliaries than to the others which have been discussed individually. Nevertheless, the successive parts of this section will treat in as much detail as possible the notion of "future relevance" in connection with these auxiliaries, their use with viTu in bi-clausal sentences, and the potential ambiguities between their use as auxiliaries and as main verbs.

The central position of iru in the organization of this chapter has already been mentioned above. Not only is its meaning in some ways akin to that of yai, but it forms a constituent of both kiTTiru and vecciru. This centrality is emphasized by the distribution of the auxiliaries among the responses to individual questionnaire sentences. Many response patterns include instances of both iru and kiTTiru; whereas others contain instances of yai and vecciru. But kiTTiru occurs only rarely in response patterns which also contain instances of yai or vecciru. Although the overlap between the two most frequently occurring auxiliaries in this chapter, kiTTiru and iru, is fairly symmetrical, that between iru, and yai and vecciru, is not. Iru appeared in response to sentences containing kiTTiru (or eliciting kiTTiru

as the most frequent type of response) about as frequently as did kiTTiru in response to those containing iru (or eliciting it more often than any other auxiliary). Although iru was used as a response to all sentences in which vai or vecciru was given, neither of these occurs more than once or twice in response to any sentence in which it was not given and never in response to any sentence containing a given iru. A similar asymmetry exists with regard to vecciru and vai. Vai occurs among the responses to only two of the eight questionnaire sentences in which vecciru was given, although vecciru occurs among the responses to eight of the eleven questionnaire sentences in which vai was given. These distributions suggest that there are two major types of contexts among the sentences which we are discussing in this chapter -- one type consistent with the occurrence of iru and/or vai or vecciru and another type consistent with the occurrence of kiTTiru and/or iru. The symmetry between the overlaps of kiTTiru and iru responses suggests that the areas of meaning of these two forms are in some sense on a par with each other. The asymmetry between the overlaps of iru responses and ones containing vai or vecciru suggests that in some way the area of meaning of iru is broader than that of either of the other auxiliaries, so that it can more readily replace them than they can it. This view will be developed further later in the chapter.

PART ONE -- kiTTiru

The continuous auxiliary kiTTiru was one of the most frequently-occurring auxiliaries, both among the questionnaire sentences and among the responses. It was given in twenty of the 150 sentences and supplied in the

responses to a further forty-eight. The high number of cases of this auxiliary in response to sentences in which it did not occur reflects the wide variety of contexts in which it can be used. As with the auxiliaries discussed in the previous chapter, the questionnaire sentences containing kiTTiru are spread over the entire range of acceptability. In response to two of the sentences, kiTTiru was retained by over 90% of the subjects, and in a further three cases, it was retained less than 10% of the time. With the poles of acceptability thus established, we may regard intermediate figures of acceptability with more confidence.

Sentences (1) and (2) were provided in their respective questionnaires as examples of clearly continuous contexts.

- (1) poona-varuSam-ellaam-avar-maaTTuvanTi-ooTTi-
last-year-all-he-oxcart-drive-
kiTTiruntaar.
(kiTTiru)(past)PNg (D4)
He was driving an oxcart all last year.
- (2) poona-varuSattil-ellaam-avar-maaTTuvanTi-ooTTi-
last-year in-all-he-oxcart-drive-
kiTTiruntaar.
(kiTTiru)(past)PNg (C4)
He was driving an oxcart all last year.

It was expected that kiTTiru would be highly acceptable in these sentences, and this expectation was fully satisfied by the results. All twenty-four of the subjects responding to (1) retained kiTTiru as did seventeen (89%) of the nineteen responding to (2). One of the subjects who did not retain the kiTTiru of (2) merely replaced it by another compound continuous auxiliary, kiTTuvaa, as shown in sentence (3).¹

¹In connection with these two sentences, subjects were asked to replace maaTTuvanTi 'oxcart' with laari 'lorry'. The minor variation of the form of varuSam 'year' from one sentence to the other was not expected to affect the results.

- (3) poona-varuSam-ellaam-laari-ooTTi-kiTTuvantaar.
 last-year-all-lorry-drive-(kiTTuvaa)(past)PNg
 He was driving a lorry all last year. (6.5.4)

This response confirms (if confirmation were needed) that this sentence was all but universally interpreted as being continuous and as providing a most acceptable environment for a continuous auxiliary. The remaining response to (2) omitted kiTTiru but did not replace it by any other auxiliary. This seems merely to reflect the general principle of omissibility of auxiliaries (and therefore of kiTTiru in particular). Since there are two indications of continuousness in the given sentence (the second one being poona varuSamellaam 'all last year'), one can presumably be omitted without deleting the notion of continuousness from the sentence altogether.

Subjects were also expected to retain kiTTiru frequently in response to sentence (4).

- (4) kaattil-nel-payir-calacalattu-kiTTirukkum.
 wind in-paddy-crop-make a "salasala" sound-(kiTTiru)
 (fut)PNg
 Paddy rustles in the wind (D19)

This sentence contains an instance of the "predictive" use of the future tense form as well as the continuous auxiliary but this did not affect the acceptability of the latter. Twenty-one (91%) of the twenty-three subjects responding to this sentence retained the auxiliary as given while performing the requested operation of replacing kaattil 'in the wind' with vayalil 'in the field'. The remaining two subjects used no auxiliary in their responses, supplying sentences like (5).

- (5) vayal-il-nel-payir-calacala-nnu-rukum.
 field-in-paddy-crop-salasala-say-be (fut) PNg
 Paddy rustles in the field. (13.4.19)

This appears to be essentially equivalent to the majority response and to take the nature of the verb as sufficient indication of continuousness.

Sentences (6) and (7) belonged to the same series as did (1) and (2) and were intended to contrast with these in allowing a habitual interpretation as well as one of continuousness.

- (6) canikkiRame-canikkiRame-avar-maaTTuvanTi-ooTTi-
Saturday-Saturday-he-oxcart-drive-
kiTruntaaru.
(kiTTiru)(past)PNg
He was driving an oxcart on Saturdays. (E4)
- (7) canikiRamecanikiRame-avar-laari-ooTTi-iTruntaaru. - k
on Saturdays-he-lorry-drive-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg
He was driving a lorry on Saturdays. (F4)

When the patterns of responses to these sentences are compared with those to (1) and (2), the effect of the alternative interpretations possible with these can be clearly observed. As can be seen from (8), the percentage of kiTTiru retention was considerably smaller in response to (6) and (7) than it had been to (1) and (2).

(8)	<u>kiTTiru</u> ret	nil repl	<u>kiTTuvaa</u> or <u>kiTTupoo</u>	other	past tense
(1)	100	0	0	0	100
(2)	89	5	5	0	100
(6)	65	23 (fut)	12	0	50
(7)	61	23 (")	10	6	64

The second most frequent type of response to (6) and (7) was to omit kiTTiru and change the tense to future, choosing the "habitual" interpretation of the situation represented by the given sentence. Seventeen (65%) of the twenty-six subjects responding to (6) retained kiTTiru, as did nineteen (61%) of the

thirty-one responding to (7). Four subjects in all changed the tense of kiTTiru to future, combining the continuous and habitual interpretations. One of these is shown here as sentence (9).

- (9) canikiRamecanikiRame-avar-laari-ooTTi-Truppaaru.
 on Saturdays-he-lorry-drive-(kiTTiru)(fut)PNg
 He is usually driving a lorry on Saturdays. (17.5.4)

Twenty-three percent of the responses to each of the sentences (six and seven subjects respectively) made use of the habitual interpretation alone, as illustrated by (10).

- (10) avaru-canikiRamecanikiRame-laari-ooTTuvaaru.
 he-on Saturdays-lorry-drive (fut)PNg
 He drives a lorry on Saturdays. (19.2.4)

Another type of response which occurred only in response to the latter two of the four sentences of this series was the replacement of kiTTiru by kiTTupoo, as in (11).

- (11) canikiRamecanikiRame-avaru-laari-ooTTi-TTupooraru.
 on Saturdays-he-lorry-drive-(kiTTupoo)(pres)PNg
 He is driving a lorry on Saturdays. (21.2.4.)

Three subjects each gave responses of this type (12% and 10% respectively) to sentences (6) and (7). From this, we may perhaps venture the speculation that kiTTupoo may differ from kiTTiru in containing an element of habitualness, though there is no further evidence from the questionnaires on this point. In any event, the difference of composition between the first two of the sentences in the series we have been discussing and the last two does show that kiTTiru is less likely to occur in a sentence which is open to a habitual interpretation than in one in which the continuous sense is stronger.

Whereas sentences (6) and (7) were themselves continuous, merely presenting a situation which could also be construed as habitual, sentence (12) was itself habitual.

- (12) kaalele-avar-ponTaaTTi-tooca-cuTuvaa.
 morning in-his-wife-dosai-cook (fut) PNG
 His wife cooks dosais in the morning. ¹ (E16)

Here, a large majority, twenty-one (79%) of the twenty-seven subjects, followed the given sentence in making use of no auxiliary. Five of these, however, ignored the habitual sense of the given sentence and changed the tense of the verb to the past. Three subjects (11%) made use of kiTTiru in their responses, of whom two retained the habitual future tense and one did not, changing the tense to past, as in (13).²

- (13) kaalayile-avaru-tankacci-tooce-cuTT-uTruntaa.
 morning in-his-younger sister-dosai-cook-(kiTTiru)(past)PNG
 His little sister was cooking dosais
 in the morning. (19.6.16)

In two further cases (7%), the auxiliary iru was provided in the future tense, as in (14).

- (14) kaalele-en-tankacci-tooce-cuTT-urukkum.
 morning in-my-younger sister-dosai-cook-(iru)(fut)
 My little sister will have the dosais cooked
 in the morning. (22.4.16)

In these responses, the habituality of the given sentence is retained but an indication is made that the speaker's sister will not merely cook the dosais

¹By 'dosai' is meant the South Indian pancake made from a mixture of rice and black gram flour.

²When presented with sentence (12), subjects were asked to perform the operation of replacing ponTaaTTi 'wife' with tankacci 'younger sister'.

but that she will cook them and be on hand, perhaps to serve them. Sentence (12) provides us with a more strongly habitual context than did (6) or (7) and makes no use of kiTTiru. The results of this sentence, together with those to the preceding series, suggest that although the notions of continuousness and habitualness are in some ways akin, kiTTiru is exclusively an indicator of continuousness in Tamil, habitualness being indicated by the use of the future tense form of the verb.

The comparison suggested to the subjects by sentence (15)¹ was that between nil auxiliary and kiTTiru when referring to a period of time in the past.

- (15) en-taattaa-kaalattule-nel-nallaa-viLancutu.
 " " " " " -viLanc-iTruntatu.
 my-grandfather-time in-paddy-well-grow (past) PNg
 /-grow-(kiTTiru)(past) PNg
 Paddy grew /was growing/ well in my grandfather's
 time. (F19)

The first alternative of (15) was in the past tense and contained no auxiliary; the second alternative was also in the past but made use of kiTTiru in addition. Twenty (65%) of the thirty-one responses to this sentence followed the first alternative and used no auxiliary. The remaining eleven (35%) all followed the second alternative and made use of kiTTiru. Here again, where there is a possible "habitual" interpretation (albeit referring to the past rather than the present as in previous examples), the nil auxiliary response proves more popular than the one containing kiTTiru. As will be seen below, however,

¹Other sentences in this series, dealing primarily with iru, are discussed below as (61, 62, 63 and 65). One of these was already mentioned as (117) in the discussion of the completive/continuous distinction.

kiTTiru is considerably more acceptable in this environment than is iru alone.

The final sentence to be discussed in our consideration of the continuous sense of kiTTiru is (16).

- (16) naaL-muRukkalum-naan-vayalle-veele-cenc-iTTuvarreen.
 day-whole-I-field in-work-do-(kiTTuvaa)(pres)PNg
 I am working all day in the field. (B9)

This sentence was intended to test the acceptability of kiTTuvaa in a context which could be interpreted as either habitual or continuous but the results were not as expected. The habitual interpretation does not appear to have been taken up by any of the subjects. Two subjects made use of no auxiliary in their responses, but of these, one retained the present tense of the given sentence, and one changed the tense to past. There were no occurrences of the future tense among the responses. The majority response to this sentence was to retain the continuousness of the given sentence but to replace the given auxiliary kiTTuvaa with its more common equivalent, in this dialect at least, kiTTiru. One of these is shown here as (17).¹

- (17) naaL-muRuvatum-int-iTat-le-taan-veele-cencu-
 day-whole-this-place-in-(emph)-work-do-
 kiTrukkeen.
 (kiTTiru)(pres)PNg
 I am working all day in this very place. (2.4.9)

Just three subjects (19%) retained the given kiTTuvaa, and another two (13%)

¹In connection with sentence (16), subjects were asked to replace vayalle 'in the field' with inkeetaan 'right here'. The subject giving the response shown as (17) made use of intiTatleta 'right in this place' instead, but this alteration does not appear to be significant.

shortened it to the more literary continuous yaa. These results suggest that kiTTiru is more acceptable than kiTTuvaa as a continuous auxiliary in the register being investigated and are still consistent with the results to (78) of the preceding chapter which suggested that both compound auxiliaries are preferable to yaa alone in indicating continuousness.

In this first part of our discussion of kiTTiru, we have been examining its use as a continuous auxiliary. Sentences (1) and (2) served as control sentences to show that subjects could be expected to give uniform responses in clear cases. Contrasted with these were sentences (6) and (7) which represented a situation which could be construed as habitual as well as continuous. From the results to these sentences, as well as to (4) and (12), it could be concluded that kiTTiru itself is usable only as an indicator of continuousness and not of habitualness as well. Sentence (16) appeared to indicate that this is true for kiTTuvaa also but that kiTTuvaa is not as acceptable a continuous marker as is kiTTiru. It was left unclear as to whether kiTTupoo differs from the other two compound continuous auxiliaries on this point. Sentence (15) indicated that subjects found kiTTiru equally doubtful when referring to a past habitual situation as when referring to a habitual present.

Most of the examples with kiTTiru in the previous section were in the past tense. Indeed, the central contrast was between the past continuous (with kiTTiru in the past tense) and the present habitual (with no auxiliary and the verb in the future tense form). The examples to be discussed in this section, however, involve explicit contrasts between different tense forms used with kiTTiru.

Sentences (18) and (19), for example, were formulated to provide a minimal contrast between the use of kiTTiru with the future and with the present tense.

- (18) innumaa-anta-peeppare-muRukkalum-paTicc-iTTiruppiinka ?
 still-that-paper-completely-read-(kiTTiru)(fut)PNg
 Will you still be reading through that paper? (B17)
- (19) innumaa-antap-peeppare-muRukkalum-paTicc-iTTirukkiinka ?
 still-that-paper-completely-read-(kiTTiru)(pres)PNg
 Are you still reading through that paper? (C25)

Of these two, only the second proved to be acceptable; and indeed, nearly all the responses to both sentences were in the present tense. The response patterns are summarized in (20).

(20)	<u>kiTTiru</u>	<u>nil</u>
18 (fut)	79%	21%
19 (pres)	79%	21%

Eleven (79%) of the fourteen subjects responding to (18) retained the given kiTTiru; however, all but one of these changed the tense to present. Fifteen (79%) of the nineteen subjects responding to (19) retained kiTTiru in the present tense as given. Three subjects and four subjects, responding to (18) and (19) respectively (each 21%), used no auxiliary in their responses, all but one of them making use of the present tense as shown in (21).

- (21) innumaa-anta-peeppare-muRuvatu-paTikkariinka.
 still-that-paper-completely-read (pres) PNg
 Are you still reading through that paper? (9.2.25)

Both with and without kiTTiru, the subjects responding to each of these sentences apparently felt the muRukkalum 'completely' to be out of place since over half of them (eighteen, or 55%) left it out of their responses. These results unfortunately tell us little about the use of kiTTiru; the reason for the

unacceptability of (18) appears to be the presence of inum 'still' which was almost universally taken by the subjects to refer to the present time in the absence of any future time indicator beyond the simple tense form. Also, the continuous clashes somewhat with the idea of 'completely'.

Because the future tense form had apparently not been a strong enough indication of future time in (18), it was decided to formulate two additional sentences incorporating kiTTiru in the present and future tenses respectively. This time, instead of using what seemed to be a neutral time indicator (as had been done in the previous two sentences) a time indicator appropriate to the tense of kiTTiru was inserted into each sentence. These sentences are shown here as (22) and (23).

- (22) naaLe-kaalele-naTaraajan-kuLippaan; aanaa-tomorrow-morning in-Natarajan-bathe (fut) PNg; but taniyaaka-kuLicc-iTruppaan.
by self-bathe-(kiTTiru)(fut)PNg
Natarajan will bathe tomorrow morning but he will be bathing by himself. (D27)
- (23) ippoo-naTaraajan-kuLikkraan; aanaa-taniyaa-now-Natarajan-bathe(pres)PNg; but-by self-kuLicc-iTrukraan.
bathe-(kiTTiru)(pres)PNg (F26)
Natarajan bathes now but he is bathing by himself.

The results to these sentences were more as had been expected and indicate that kiTTiru is equally acceptable with the present and future tenses. The results to each clause of these sentences are summarized in (24).

(24)	1st clause		2nd clause	
	%nil <u>ret</u>	% <u>kiTTiru</u> <u>repl</u>	% <u>kiTTiru</u> <u>ret</u>	%nil <u>repl</u>
(22) (fut)	71	25	76	24
(23) (pres)	68	32	68	32

In each case, the tense of the given sentence was retained unanimously (except for three of the subjects to (23) who changed one clause or the other to past or future). As shown in (24), seventeen (71%) of the twenty-four subjects responding to (22) used no auxiliary in the first clause as given and six (25%)¹ inserted kiTTiru there. In response to the first clause of (23), seventeen of the twenty-five subjects (68%) used no auxiliary and eight (32%) inserted kiTTiru. The results for the second clause were similarly comparable. In response to (22), nineteen (76%) of twenty-five² subjects retained kiTTiru; in response to (23), nineteen (68%) of twenty-eight retained it. The rest of the subjects in both response patterns used no auxiliary in the second clause. The results to these sentences appear to indicate not only that kiTTiru is equally acceptable with the present and future tenses, but also that its presence or absence in either clause of these sentences is not especially significant. The tendency was to follow the given sentences in the selection of auxiliary and retain the use of no auxiliary in the first clause and kiTTiru in the second clause. The combined figures for the two clauses of both sentences reinforce this view, as can be seen in (25).

(25)	<u>both ret</u>	<u>1st repl</u>	<u>2nd repl</u>	<u>both repl</u>
(22)	54%	21%	17%	8%
(23)	42%	25%	29%	4%

¹ A single subject (4%) used iru in the first clause of his response, but this does not appear to be significant.

² Of the twenty-five subjects responding to (22), one of those using kiTTiru in the second clause provided no first clause at all. Of those responding to (23), two who used kiTTiru in the second clause and two who used no auxiliary there provided no first clause. On the other hand, one of those who added kiTTiru to the first clause provided no second clause. There are thus three more responses to the second clause for consideration than there are to the first.

In response to (22), thirteen of the subjects (54%) retained both clauses as given, with no auxiliary in the first and kiTTiru in the second. Nine subjects (38%) each changed the auxiliary content of one clause, four replacing the kiTTiru of the second clause with none, as in (26), four replacing the nil auxiliary of the first clause with kiTTiru, as in (27), and one making use of iru in the first clause instead.

- (26) naa Le-kaaleyilee-naTaraajan-kuLippaan; aanaa-tomorrow-morning-Natarajan-bathe (fut)PNg; but-taniyaa-kuLippaan.
by self-bathe (fut) PNg (13. 1. 27)
Natarajan will bathe tomorrow morning but he will bathe by himself.
- (27) naa Lekki-naTaraajan-kuLicc-iTruppaan; aanaa-tomorrow-Natarajan-bathe-(kiTTiru)(fut)PNg; but-taniyaa-kuLicc-iTruppaan.
by self-bathe-(kiTTiru)(fut)PNg (14. 4. 27)
Natarajan will be bathing tomorrow but he will be bathing by himself.

Only two (8%) of the subjects changed the auxiliary content of both clauses, using kiTTiru in the first and nil auxiliary in the second, as in (28).

- (28) naa Le-kaalele-naTaraajan-kuLicc-iTruppaan;
tomorrow-morning-Natarajan-bathe-(kiTTiru)(fut)PNg;
aanaa-taniyaa-taan-kuLippaan.
but-by self-(emph)-bathe (fut) PNg (12. 1. 27)
Natarajan will be bathing tomorrow morning but he will bathe all by himself.

In response to (23), the trend was still the same though the exact figures were somewhat different. Ten subjects (42%) left the auxiliaries unchanged from the given sentence; seven (29%) dropped the kiTTiru of the second clause, leaving the first unchanged, and six (25%) added kiTTiru to the first clause while retaining that of the second. Only a single subject (4%) altered the auxiliaries of both clauses, adding kiTTiru to the first and using none in the second.

Two further sentences which were intended to test for possible variable acceptability of kiTTiru with various tense forms are shown here as (29) and (30).

- (29) eppootum-tiNNeyil-taan-naan-tuunki-yiTTirukkireen.
 always-porch on-(emph)-I-sleep-(kiTTiru)(pres)PNg
 I am always sleeping right on the porch. (C11)
- (30) neettikku-raattiri-naan-tiNNeyil-tuunki-kiTTirukkireen.
 yesterday-night-I-porch on-sleep-(kiTTiru)(pres)PNg
 I am sleeping on the porch last night. (D11)

Both of these sentences were given in the present tense (the second presumably unacceptably so). The contrast between them lay in the operations which the subjects were asked to perform. The subjects presented with (29) were instructed to replace eppootum 'always' with neettikki raattiri 'last night'. In connection with (30), on the other hand, they were asked to change neettikki raattiri to eppootum. It was expected that most subjects would make use of the past tense of kiTTiru (to agree with neettikki raattiri) in their responses to (29), and that most of those responding to (30) would make use of the future tense (to agree with the habituality of eppootum). The tense usage in the responses was much as expected -- all of the responses to (29) were in the past tense and all but three of the responses to (30) were in the future tense. (The three exceptions (13%) all followed the given sentence in making use of the present tense). The auxiliary responses to these two sentences are summarized in

(31).

	%kiTTiru			
(31)	<u>%kiTTiru</u> ret	%nil repl	%iru repl	
(29)	68	26	5	(tense to past)
(30)	61	22	17	(tense to future)

Here again, the auxiliaries appear to be little affected by the change of tense form. Thirteen (68%) of the nineteen subjects responding to (29) retained kiTTiru in their responses, as in (32).

- (32) neettu-raattiri-tiNNayile-tuunki-kiTTutaanirunteen.
 yesterday-night-porch on-sleep-(kiTTiru)(emph)(past) PNg
 I was sleeping on the porch last night. (10.1.11)

Five (26%) of them used no auxiliary, as in (33), and a single subject made use of iru.

- (33) neetikku-raatri-naan-tiNNayil-taan-tuunkineen .
 yesterday-night-I-on porch-(emph)-sleep (past) PNg
 I slept on the porch last night. (7.3.11)

Among those giving responses to (30), on the other hand, were fourteen (61%) who retained the given kiTTiru, as in (34).

- (34) eppavum-naan-tiNNayile-tuunki-kiTTuruppeen.
 always-I-porch on-sleep-(kiTTiru)(fut)PNg
 I am always sleeping on the porch. (12.3.11)

Five subjects (22%) made use of no auxiliary in their responses, as in (35), and the remaining four (17%) replaced the given kiTTiru with iru, as in (36).

- (35) eppootum-anta-tiNNayile-naan-tuunkuveen.
 always-that-porch on-I-sleep (fut) PNg
 I always sleep on that porch. (11.5.11)

- (36) eppoRutum-naan-tiNNayil-taan-paTutt-iruppeen.
 always-I-porch on-(emph)-lie down-(iru)(fut) PNg
 I am always on the porch lying down. (16.1.11)

Besides fulfilling the purpose for which they were intended and showing that the frequency of kiTTiru was not appreciably affected by the tense of the responses, sentences (29) and (30) provide an interesting illustration of the possible ambiguities that may arise between the main verb and auxiliary interpretations of a given verb form. Rather than bringing the sentences

main verb and that of iru the auxiliary (or indeed, iru the component of a compound auxiliary) is clearly to be seen.

The structures of (36) and (38) are very similar and differ from that of (37) chiefly in not containing kiTu or viTu. No problem of interpretation arises in connection with (38). In what may be said to be a typically Tamil manner, both the getting into the appropriate physical position for sleeping and the sleeping itself are made explicit in the sentence. To say that someone is sleeping is ordinarily to imply that he first lay down (or got into some other relaxed physical position) and then went to sleep. It can also be said that to be asleep is to be in a state which occurs after having lain down. This is what is made explicit in (36), which could also be glossed something like "Having always lain down on the porch, I am", or indeed, "I have always lain down on the porch."

Apart from these last two paragraphs of digression dealing with a subject to be discussed in greater detail below, this section on the cooccurrence of kiTTiru with various tenses has revealed little of moment. All that we can really conclude from sentences (18) and (19), (22) and (23), and (29) and (30) is that there appears to be no significant connection between the selection of kiTTiru and that of any of the tenses. There is no problem of cooccurrence between kiTTiru and a tense as there was between viTu and poo and the future tense.

The third of our three major sections on kiTTiru deals with a series of sentences which were intended to discover the limit of applicability of the notion of continuousness as expressed by kiTTiru. Sentence (39),

for example, was formulated with the idea that kiTTiru would seldom be retained, as getting a prize seemed to be more of a punctual activity than a durative one.

(39)¹ maaNavar-mutaI-paricu-vaank-iTTiruntaar.
 student-first-prize-get-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg
 The student was getting first prize. (C23)

To some extent, our expectations were fulfilled, as less than half -- nine (47%) -- of the nineteen subjects retained the given kiTTiru. Five subjects (26%) used no auxiliary in their responses as shown in (40).

(40) maaNavar-renTaavatu-paricu-vaankinaar.
 student-second-prize-get (past) PNg
 The student got second prize. (9.2.23)

The remaining subjects gave a variety of responses, illustrating some of the other options available, given the sentential context provided by (39). Two (11%) replaced kiTTiru with kiTu, changing the continuous sense to a self-affective one, and two more replaced it with viTu, emphasizing the completed nature of the past event rather than its having been carried on through a perceptible period of time. The single subject who made use of iru did so in the present tense --- this characteristic use of iru in the present tense in contexts which would call forth the past tense of some of the other auxiliaries will be discussed below.

Although kiTTiru was deleted from (39) by a majority of the subjects, still it was retained by a good many more than had been expected.

¹This sentence also appears as (49) in Chapter Three where it is discussed in connection with another series of sentences in which it appears, involving kiTu and viTu.

Another attempt was made, therefore, in framing sentence (41), to provide an event so punctual that it could not be seen as a process.

- (41) appoo-taan-paampe-kanTu-piTittu-kiTTirunteen.
 then-(emph)-snake-see-catch-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg
 Just then I was catching sight of the snake. (D21)

It was again expected that most subjects would indicate their uneasiness at the prospect of using kiTTiru with such a verb as kanTupiTi 'catch sight of' by dropping it from their responses. However, this expectation was fulfilled to an even lesser degree than in the previous example. To be sure, nine (39%) of the twenty-three subjects used no auxiliary in their responses and provided sentences of the type exemplified by (42).

- (42) appa-taan-paampe-kanTupiTicceen.
 then-(emph)-snake-catch sight of (past) PNg
 Just then I caught sight of the snake. (13.4.21)

But the fact that over half (thirteen -- 57%) of the subjects responding to (41) retained the given kiTTiru shows that the interpretation of kanTupiTi as a process with a perceptible duration is not as difficult as had been expected.

As sentence (41) had provided even less satisfactory results than (39), yet another attempt was made to frame a sentence which would be incompatible with kiTTiru. This is shown here as (43).

- (43) maReyil-naTanta-vuTan-enakku-cali-piTiccu-
 rain in-walk-at once-to me-cold-catch-
 kiTruntatu.
 (kiTTiru)(past)PNg (E21)
 As soon as I walked in the rain, I was catching
 a cold.

In this sentence, our intentions were fully realized and the subjects unanimously deleted the given kiTTiru. The most frequent response type was to use no

auxiliary, as in (44).¹

- (44) maReyie-nenanc-oNNa-enakku-cali-piTiccicu.
 rain in-get wet-at once-to me-cold-catch(past)PNg
 As soon as I got wet in the rain I caught a cold. (17.5.21)

Thirteen (48%) of the twenty-seven subjects responding to (43) made use of this type of response. Nine (33%) of the subjects replaced the given kiTTiru with viTu as shown in (45).

- (45) maReyil-nanenca-taale-enakku-cali-puTicc-
 rain in-get wet-because-to me-cold-catch-
 iTTuTu.
 (viTu)(past)PNg (19.2.21)
 I caught a cold because of getting wet in the rain.

This was not the only completive auxiliary which occurred among the responses to (43). The past non-gender form of the completive auxiliary poo occurred in three (11%) of the responses, one of which is shown here as (46).

- (46) maRayil-nanenca-vuTanee-enakku-niirkonTu-pooccu.
 rain in-get wet-at once-to me-catch cold-(poo)(past) PNg
 As soon as I got wet in the rain I caught a cold. (22.3.21)

In this, as in both of the other responses of this type, the given main verb calipiTi 'catch a cold' (cali 'cold' + piTi 'catch') was replaced with the synonymous expression niirkoL (niir 'water' + koL 'take'). Besides these three responses, two others made use of this synonym for calipiTi. Although

¹This is in many ways a typical response to (43) and exhibits some of the features in which responses often differed from the given sentence. All but two of the responses, for example, contained the verb nane 'get wet' instead of the given naTa 'walk'. The form oNNa which occurs here is a not uncommon colloquial form of uTan 'at once'; its dialectal distribution is not clear at this point. This form occurred in four of the responses, uTan in six (including 46) and causative forms in eight, including (45). The colloquial past non-gender termination -ccu was also of frequent occurrence in the responses.

kiTTiru was deleted by all the subjects from the position in which it occurred in the given sentence, two put it back near the beginning of the sentence and used it in connection with nane 'get wet'. One of these is shown here as (47).

- (47) maRele-nanenc-iTrunt-ooNNa-niir-puTiccicu.
 rain in-get wet-(kiTTiru)-at once-water-catch(past)PNg
 Just after I was getting wet in the rain, I caught a cold. (21. 1. 21)

Sentence (43), then, much more than either (39) or (41), provided a context in which kiTTiru was rejected by the subjects to whom the test was administered. Such verbs as calipiTi, niirkoL, and niirpiTi are not appropriately viewed as describing events which take up a discernable period of time, it seems from these results.

The three sentences discussed so far in this section were formulated with varying degrees of success to provide a context which would be semantically incompatible with kiTTiru. The final sentence of this section, (48), was formulated to provide a context which would be syntactically incompatible with kiTTiru.

- (48) naan-renTu-maNi-necram-veele-cencu-kiTrunta-piraku-
 I-two-hour-time-work-do-(kiTTiru)-after-
 kuLicceen.
 bathe (past) PNg
 I bathed after working for two hours. (E13)

The kiTTiru given in the first clause of this sentence was almost universally deleted in the responses. The majority response to both clauses of this sentence was to use no auxiliary. Twenty (77%) of the twenty-six subjects responding to the first clause used no auxiliary and twenty-four (89%) of the twenty-seven subjects responding to the second clause followed the original sentence in using no auxiliary in this position. Indeed, only two auxiliaries occurred at all in the

response pattern to this sentence. Five subjects (19%) made use of viTu in their first clauses and two others did so in the second clauses of their responses. Sentence (49) is an example of the first of these two types of responses.

- (49) naan-renTu-maNi-neeram-veele-cenc-uTTu-kuLicceen.
 I-two-hour-time-work-do-(viTu)-bathe (past)PNg
 Having done the work in two hours, I bathed. (22.2.13)

One subject each retained the given kiTTiru and added it to the second clause as shown in (50).

- (50) renTu-maNi-neeram-veele-cenca-piraku-kuLicce-iTrunteen.
 two-hour-time-work-do-after-bathe-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg
 I was bathing after working for two hours. (20.1.13)

When (48) was checked with the primary informant before administration, it was judged to be somewhat odd, though not entirely unacceptable. The cure suggested for the "oddity", however, was to eliminate kiTTiru, just as was done by nearly all the subjects. In any case, kiTTiru is clearly unacceptable in this position. This unacceptability seems to result from the presence of piraku. It appears also to be the case that other auxiliaries besides kiTTiru are unacceptable in collocation with this temporal indicator (and presumably with such others as mun 'before', appuram 'after' and appoRutu 'at that time'). It will be noted that piraku was deleted from (49) and the other responses making use of viTu to indicate sequentiality, though there is no similar evidence from the questionnaires on this point with reference to other auxiliaries.

Besides the sentences we have been discussing in this part of the chapter, kiTTiru was supplied in the responses to about thirty more questionnaire sentences. In most of these cases, it was provided by only one or two of the subjects responding to each sentence and usually indicated that the event described by the main verb in question was viewed by those few subjects as being in process at some time indicated in the sentence. As these do not contribute anything more to our understanding of kiTTiru than we have learned from the sentences examined so far in this chapter, we will not be discussing them individually here. Some may become involved in the discussion of other auxiliaries, though, in cases where those auxiliaries were given in the questionnaire sentences or were significantly provided in the responses.

The examples discussed in the first part of this chapter have helped us understand the use of kiTTiru better than would have been possible without them. Although there are many lacunae in the treatment, that is due rather to lack of space and time rather than to any limitations imposed by the method of the investigation. In the first section of the discussion, we found that the frequency of kiTTiru in the responses varied inversely to the extent to which a sentence could be interpreted as continuous or habitual. It was noted that, even in reference to past time, as in (15), the continuousness of kiTTiru is not to be confused with the notion of habitualness. The next section of the discussion went on to examine the cooccurrence of kiTTiru and various tense forms but found no such negative correlations as had been

observed in Chapter Three between poo (and to a lesser degree, viTu) and the future tense. The final section looked at various sentences which had been formulated with the intention of checking the semantic and syntactic parameters of acceptability for kiTTiru. We were able to do this only sketchily but the results could be extended by further research along the same lines.

PART TWO -- iru

The fourth of the auxiliaries that occurred most frequently in the questionnaires and in the responses (even to sentences not including it), was iru. This auxiliary was slightly more frequent in the data on which this study is based than was kiTTiru. It was given in nineteen of the 150 questionnaire sentences, compared with twenty for kiTTiru; but it was provided in the responses to a further fifty-four, compared with forty-eight for kiTTiru. This preponderance of instances of iru supplied in the responses over instances given on the questionnaires is greater than that for any other auxiliary and suggests that it can occur in a very wide range of contexts. Again, however, the various response patterns show a very wide range of acceptability for iru among the examples to be discussed, as was also the case among the auxiliaries treated previously.

In the first section of this part of the chapter, we shall be endeavouring to show that the use of iru as an auxiliary indicates that the

subject of the main verb is (or was or will be, depending on the tense of iru) somehow in existence at the time of the speech event and that the event represented by the main verb took place at some time prior to the state referred to by iru. Most of the initial discussion will centre on example sentences in response to which iru was seldom retained. For sentences showing a high rate of iru retention, see some of the examples in the third section of this part (eg. 80 and 90).

When sentence (51)¹ was formulated, it was hypothesized that for iru to be acceptable as an auxiliary, it would have to be possible to construe the subject of the main verb as being in existence at the time of the speech event.

- (51) kaTal-le-muuRki-maaTu-cettu-pooy-irukku.
 sea-in-submerge-cow-die-(poo)-(iru)(pres)PNg (F12)
 Submerged in the sea, the cow has gone and died.

It will be noted that, in addition to making use of the main verb caa 'die', we described a situation in which not even the dead body might be at hand. Thus, it was expected that iru would seldom be provided in the responses. This

¹This sentence also appeared in Chapter Three as (178), where it was discussed in connection with viTu and the other completives. Oddly enough, this sentence was judged to be acceptable by the main informant prior to its administration to the subjects of the questionnaire. This is presumably an example of a usage which had become acceptable to him during the course of the investigation and so points to the need for enquiries of the type reported in this study.

The second most frequent type of response, given by only three (19%) of the subjects, was to replace the given auxiliaries with kiTTiru, as in (54).

- (54) maRe-etne-maNi-neeram-pencu-kiTruntatu?
 rain-how many-hour-time-fall-(kiTTiru)(past)PNg
 How many hours was it raining for? (2.3.24)

This type of response clearly differs from the nil auxiliary response in emphasizing that the rain was falling throughout the stated period of time.

Though this type of response is presumably quite acceptable, it occurred only infrequently, perhaps because the fact of it raining over a period of time was already made explicit by the form of the question. As for the auxiliaries given in (52), no more than one occurred in any response. Since neither of them occurred more than once in the responses as a whole, however, this is of little significance. In all, no responses retained aaku, one retained poo, and two retained iru. As seen in (55) and (56), these were each in different tense forms.

- (55) maRe-ettane-maNi-neeram-peyt-irukkiratu?
 rain-how many-hour-time-fall-(iru)(pres)PNg
 How many hours has it rained for? (4.2.24)

- (56) cumaaraa-maRe-ettane-maNi-neeram-penc-irukkum?
 about-rain-how many-hour-time-fall-(iru)(fut)PNg
 About how many hours has it rained for? (5.1.24)

In (55), the question concerns the situation as it is at present: "Up to the present, how many hours has it been raining for." In (56), it is still referring to the present but the assumption is made that the addressee does not know certainly how long it has been raining. The future tense form is used, therefore, to ask the length of time it has probably been raining. But even though these two

types of response were encouraged by the formulation of the given sentence, they were provided only rarely in the responses. We may conclude from this that the use of iru in such a context seemed odd to the subjects. This apparent oddity appears to have resulted from the formulation of the questionnaire sentence. The completive auxiliaries that were given in collocation with iru are used to indicate that the action of the main verb is completely finished. This would encourage an interpretation according to which the question asks about an event which took place at an indeterminate time in the past, not directly related to the present. Thus, there is a large proportion of simple past tenses in the responses. The responses including the past tense of kiTTiru are also consistent with a completely past interpretation. When iru is used, on the other hand, it refers to the immediate past -- though the rain has stopped falling, it is still on the ground. It may perhaps be said in connection with this example, that a three-way contrast is possible between the past, the present tense of iru, and the present tense of kiTTiru. In the first case, the rain is said to have fallen at some point in the past but nothing is said about its current existence. With iru, on the other hand, the rain has stopped falling but is still in existence -- presumably on the ground. In the third case, the combining form of the main verb is followed by kiTu, which in turn is followed by iru. Thus, iru denotes the present existence of the subject of the main verb and kiTu denotes the contemporaneity of the existence and the falling of the rain -- in other words, "The rain is falling". This analysis may seem somewhat speculative at this point, but it will be seen to fit well with the results from some of the other examples in this part of the chapter as well as those already dealt with in the previous part.

Mention has already been made (eg. in the discussion of 39 above) of the contention that there is a past component to the meaning of iru. The origin of this contention (which will be modified below) can be found, for example, in the results to (57).

- (57) avan-int-uuT-le-rompa-naaL-irunt-irukkiraan.
 he-this-house-in-much-day-be-(iru)(pres)PNg (E11)
 He has been many a day in this house. (i.e. He
 is in the situation of having been many a day
 in this house).

When this sentence was framed, it was intended to examine the possibility of iru occurring twice in the same clause, once as a main verb and once as an auxiliary. That this collocation is acceptable to a degree is shown by the fact that twelve (43%) of the twenty-eight subjects retained the collocation of the two types of iru as given. This was not the most frequent response, however. The most frequent response, that given by fourteen (50%) of the subjects, was to use no auxiliary. A response of this type is given here as sentence (58).¹

- (58) avanka-inta-viiT-le-rompa-naaLaa-iruntaanka.
 they-this-house-in-much-day-be (past)PNg
 They were many a day in this house. (22.2.11)

The interesting thing about this sentence is that the tense has been changed from the present tense form of the given sentence to the past tense form of this one. Virtually all the subjects giving this type of response² made the same change of tense. This pattern of responses illuminates the way in which a past element may appear to exist in the meaning of iru. If iru is used to refer to the

¹In connection with sentence (57), the subjects were asked to perform the operation of replacing avan 'he' with avanka 'they'.

²A single subject among those using no auxiliary in their responses left the tense of his response in the present. The existence of this isolated response makes no difference to the argument presented here.

situation existing of some event having happened, that event must have happened prior to the time at which the situation referred to by iru is in existence. Hence, in describing some past event, it may be that some auxiliary will be used in the past tense along with the main verb or it may be that the present tense of iru will be used to show the relevance of the past event to the current situation. It may be noted, however, that it is perhaps not completely accurate to talk about there being a "past component" in the "meaning" of iru. It is probably more accurate to regard this "past component" as being a product of the juxtaposition of iru and the main verb, rather than residing in the "meaning" of either of them. Though the combining form of the main verb is morphologically past, it cannot be said to be semantically so since it invariably occurs with all tenses of all auxiliaries, as we have here defined them, without any notion of "pastness" coming in at all. To say that the "past component" resides in the auxiliary iru itself would likewise raise difficulties. We would be faced with saying that the basic difference of meaning between iru the main verb and iru the auxiliary was that the latter contained a component of "pastness" not present in the former. This would obscure the basic similarity of the two uses of iru which is central to our discussion here as well as in the next chapter. Henceforth, therefore, we will be referring not to the "past component of iru," but to the "past significance of the auxiliary iru construction".

In sentence (57), the auxiliary iru was used in the present tense and we noted that a considerable number of subjects replaced this with the past tense of the main verb. In (59)¹, however, it was the other way around and the

¹This sentence also appeared as (42) in Chapter Three, where it was discussed together with other ones from the same series in connection with kiTu, viTu and kiTTiru.

given past tense form was replaced by the present tense in just those cases in which the given auxiliaries were replaced by iru.

- (59) maaNavar-mutal-paricu-taniyaa-vaank-ITTu-kiTTaar.
 student-first-prize-alone-get-(viTu)-(kiTu)(past)PNg
 The student alone got first prize. (E23)

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the majority response to this sentence was to retain the viTu of the given auxiliaries. All nineteen responses of this type, as well as the two retaining the given kiTu, also retained the given use of the past tense. The remaining six subjects (22%) replaced the given auxiliaries with iru at the same time as they performed the requested operation of replacing mutal 'first' with renTaavatu 'second'. All of these subjects made use of the present tense form of iru, as illustrated by (60).

- (60) maaNavar-renTaavatu-paricu-vaanki-yirukkaar.
 student-second-prize-get-(iru)(pres)PNg
 The student has (i.e. is in the situation of
 having) got second prize. (19.5.23)

Thus again, we see the way in which the present tense of iru is used in an auxiliary construction parallel to the way in which the past tense is used with other auxiliaries and absence of auxiliary.

Having briefly discussed two examples each concerning the basic auxiliary meaning of iru and the past significance of its auxiliary construction, we will now go on to examine a series of selection tests in which the past tense form of iru was contrasted with no auxiliary, viTu, kiTTiru, and the present tense of iru. In the two alternatives of (61), for example, the past tense of iru was contrasted with the plain past tense form of the main verb.

- (61) en-taattaa-kaalattilee-nel-nallaa-vilenc-iruntatu.
 " " " " " -vilencatu.
 my-grandfather-time in-paddy-well-grow-iru (past)PNg
 " " " " " " " -grow(past)PNg
 Paddy had grown (was in the situation of having grown)
 well in my grandfather's time. (B5)
 Paddy grew well in my grandfather's time.

When this sentence was formulated, we were still working under the hypothesis that iru meant something like "current relevance" when used as an auxiliary. As the fact of paddy growing well was certainly relevant in the grandfather's time, according to this sentence, it was expected that iru would be quite acceptable here. But this was not the case. Only a single subject (8%) of the thirteen responding to this sentence made use of the first alternative and made use of the past tense form of iru. Another isolated subject made use of the past tense of kiTTiru, but all the rest of the subjects (eleven -- 85%) made use of the second alternative of the selection test. Although these results seemed to disconfirm the hypothesis that iru could be said to mean "current relevance", they do seem to be consistent with the view that iru as an auxiliary retains the existential sense which it has as a main verb. Since no specific paddy is referred to, there is nothing that can be said to have ever been in the situation of having grown well.

The similar selection test shown here as (62) again made use of the past tense form of iru in the first alternative, but made use of the past tense of kiTTiru in the second alternative, rather than the nil auxiliary of (61).

- (62) en-taattaa-kaalattilee-nel-nallaa-vilenci-kiTTiruntatu.
 " " " " " -vilenci-kiTTiruntatu.
 my-grandfather-time in-paddy-well-grow-(iru) (past)PNg
 " " " " " " " -(kiTTiru) (past)PNg
 Paddy was in the position of having grown well in my
 grandfather's time. (D23)
 Paddy was growing well in my grandfather's time.

In view of the presumed unacceptability of the first alternative in this case, it was expected that the second one would prove the preferable. Since the majority response to this example was indeed to retain the past tense of kiTTiru, this expectation was fulfilled. Sixteen (64%) of the twenty-five subjects gave responses of this sort. The other major type of response was, as might be expected, to make use of no auxiliary; this was the type of response given by six (24%) of the subjects. In only three responses (12%) was the first alternative made use of and the past tense of iru retained. These results are consistent with those to the previous example. The greatly increased incidence of kiTTiru in the responses is presumably the effect of it being provided as one of the alternatives of the selection test. The fact that kiTTiru was neither retained in (62) to the degree that nil auxiliary was in (61) nor was supplied as often in response to (61) as nil auxiliary was to (62) indicates that it is less acceptable in this environment than is the use of no auxiliary.

The third member of this series to be discussed, (63), contrasted the past tense form of viTu with the past tense form of iru.

- (63) en-taattaa-kaalattule-nel-nallaa-viLenc-iTTatu.
 " " " " " " -iruntatu.
 my-grandfather-time in-paddy-well-grow-(viTu)(past)PNg
 " " " " " " - (iru)(past)PNg
 Paddy grew well in my grandfather's time.
 Paddy had grown well in my grandfather's time. (E5)

As will be seen in (64), the response pattern to this example differed markedly from those to the two previous ones discussed.

(64)	<u>%nil</u>	<u>%kiTTiru</u>	<u>%iru</u> (p)	<u>%iru</u> (pr)	<u>%other</u>	* *	<u>%1st</u> <u>alt</u>	<u>%2nd</u> <u>alt</u>
(61)	85	8	8	0	0		8	85
(62)	24	64	12	0	0		12	64
(63)	48	15	37	0	0		0	37
(65)	47	5	32	11	5		32	11

In the responses to this test, the percentage of iru retention rose to 37% as no less than ten of the twenty-seven subjects followed the second alternative. Even so, this type of response was overshadowed by the nil auxiliary response employed by thirteen (48%) of the subjects. In addition, four subjects (15%) made use of the past tense of kiTTiru. This was much less than in response to (62), where this type had been given as one of the alternatives, but was slightly increased over the response pattern to (61), in which one of the given alternatives had been highly acceptable. Indeed, it seems that the greatly increased incidence of iru in the responses to (63) is largely an effect of pairing it with an even less acceptable alternative. The incidence of iru in the responses to this series of selection tests has gone steadily upwards in inverse proportion to the acceptability of the other alternative with which it has been paired.

This trend is continued in the responses to the remaining member of this series to be discussed here, (65).¹

(65)	en-taattaa-kaalattilee-nel-nallaa-viLenc-iruntatu.	
	" " " " " " -irukkatu.	
	my-grandfather-time in-paddy-well-grow-(iru)(past)PNg	
	" " " " " " - (iru)(pres)PNg	
	Paddy had grown well in my grandfather's time.	
	Paddy has grown well in my grandfather's time.	(C5)

¹The fifth member of this series was discussed above (p287) in connection with kiTTiru.

Here again, the past tense of iru is contrasted with an even less acceptable alternative -- this time the present tense of iru. Odd as it may be to talk about the past existence of some generalized paddy that grew in the past, it is even odder to talk about the present existence of such a subject. This is reflected in the responses. Under the pressure of iru having been contained in both of the given alternatives, nine (48%) of the nineteen subjects made use of some form of this auxiliary. Six of these (32%) followed the first of the given alternatives in providing the past tense form and two (11%) followed the second alternative in using the present tense. The other subject who retained iru in his response followed neither of the given alternatives in supplying it in the future tense form. This is shown here as (66).¹

- (66) en-taattaa-kaalattule-nellu-nallaa-veLanc-iTukkum.
 my-grandfather-time in-paddy-well-grow-(iru)(fut)PNg
 Paddy will have (been in the situation of having)
 grown well in my grandfather's time. (10.1.5)

Although a larger percentage of the subjects responding to (65) retained some form of iru than did to any of the other members of this series, still the most frequent single type of response, provided by nine (47%) of the subjects, was that containing no auxiliary. A single subject made use of kiTTiru in response to (65).

Though the last two members of this series were more important in indicating the degree to which subjects could be influenced by the

¹The phonological form of iru here, in which the retroflex T has taken the place of the normal flap r, appears to be relatively unusual. The infinitive marker kk keeps this form from being confused with the non-gender future form of viTu, iTum.

actual formulation of the questionnaire sentences, the first two tended to support what had been said earlier about the semantics of iru. Overall, this first section dealing with iru has discussed two important aspects of its meaning. Firstly, its meaning as an auxiliary verb has been treated as closely comparable with its meaning as a main verb and has been taken to indicate the continued existence of the subject after the event represented by the main verb has taken place. Secondly, the constructional meaning of "pastness" has been discussed in connection with two further questionnaire examples. Finally, the results to a series of questionnaire sentences were discussed with the conclusions indicated above.

Considering the emphasis put on the semantic similarity of iru the auxiliary and iru the main verb so far in this chapter, it may be wondered if the two are indeed as distinct as was suggested in Chapter One. Sentence (67)¹ can help us to investigate this point.

- (67) avan-cennai-yil-pooy-irunt-uTTu-uuru-kku-tirumpinaan.
 he-Madras-in-go-be-(viTu)-town-to-return(past)PNg
 Having gone and stayed in Madras, he came back to
 his home town. (F22)

In this sentence, it was expected that iru would be interpreted as the main verb 'be', and it was the collocation of this verb with the completive auxiliary

¹This sentence was judged unacceptable by the primary informant prior to its administration to the questionnaire subjects. In his opinion, the sentence would have been acceptable if the iru had been deleted. This judgement was borne out to a considerable extent by the responses obtained to the sentence, as will be seen below.

viTu which the sentence was intended to investigate. Among the twenty-eight responses obtained to the first clause of (66),¹ seven (25%) included an occurrence of iru. Of these, four were of the type illustrated here by (68)² and retained the given viTu as well.

- (68) avan-meTraas-le-pooy-irunt-uTTu-uurukku-tirumpinaan.
 he-Madras-in-go-(iru)-(viTu)-town to-return(past)PNg
 Having gone and stayed in Madras, he came back
 to his home town. (23.5.22)

The other three omitted the viTu of (67) as shown in (69).

- (69) avaru-cennai-kku-pooy-iruntu-uuru-kku-tirumpinaaru.
 he-Madras-to-go-(iru)-town-to-return(past)PNg
 Having been in the situation of having gone to
 Madras, he returned to his home town. (27.6.22)

It will be noted that, as well as lacking viTu, (69) differs from (67) and (68) in having substituted the postposition -kku 'to' for -le 'in' after the name of the city. The choice between these two postpositions can be related to two alternative

¹There may be some doubt as to the clause division of this sentence. If we were to follow our usual rule here and admit one clause for each main verb of the sentence, considering iru as a main verb, we would have to allow for three clauses in this sentence. But cennaiyil 'in Madras' must be in the same clause as iru, even though, on the surface at least, pooy intervenes. In any case, iru occurs as a main verb in only a few of the responses. For the sake of consistency in making comparisons from response to response, therefore, we will assume these sentences to be composed of two main clauses and that the end of the first clause is marked by viTu in those cases in which it occurs, and by the switch from concern with Madras to concern with the town in the rest.

²In this pattern of responses, three names for Madras occur. Possibly the use of meTraas is typical of a slightly more highly educated register than that of paTTinam, and cennai is higher still. For our purposes, however, they may be considered simply as equivalent.

interpretations of the sentence. If -le is used, as was done in the given sentence (67) and in just two of the response sentences, one of which was (68), iru must be interpreted as a main verb because it is the only potential verb in this sentence with which the locative postposition can be attached to a place name. If -kku is used, on the other hand, the name of the place must fall into the clause whose main verb is poo. In such cases, iru is likely being treated as an auxiliary, though not necessarily so. The use of postpositions appears to be correlated with the use of iru in the first clause to (67). Both response sentences retaining -le also retained both of the given auxiliaries. The other two in which both iru and viTu were retained in the first clause made use of -ukku, as did all three of the (69) type. Thus all seven responses making use of iru in the first clause also made use of a postposition. Only eleven of the twenty-one responses not containing iru did so, however. Two of those which did not are shown here as (70) and (71).

(70) avan-paTNam-pooyi-tirumpi-vant-uTTaan.
 he-Madras-go-return-come-(viTu)(past)PNg
 He went to Madras and came right back. (24. 3. 22)

(71) meTraas-pooy-ITtu-uuru-kku-tirumpunaan.
 Madras-go-(viTu)-town-to-return(past)PNg
 Having gone right to Madras, he came back to
 his home town. (25. 4. 22)

These two sentences are more typical of the responses to (67) in their use of auxiliaries than were (68) or (69). Sentence (70) is an example of the majority response to the first clause. Provided by fifteen (53%) of the subjects, this was to use no auxiliary. Sentence (71) is one of the six (21%) responses in which the viTu of the first clause of (67) was retained but not the iru.

Although there was clearly some problem in using iru in the first clause of (67), the responses that did so give us some idea of the main verb/auxiliary ambiguity possible with iru as well as some indication of the factors that may operate to disambiguate it. The use of -le in (67) and (68) indicates that iru has been unambiguously interpreted as a main verb. The use of -kku, in so far as it contrasts with the possibility of -le, would seem to point to the auxiliary interpretation of iru. The use of viTu following iru in two of the responses of this latter type, however, indicates that it is quite possible to interpret iru as a main verb in these cases as well.

The results to the second clause of (67) may be said to accord with those to the first clause. Although no auxiliary was given in this clause, the pattern of responses was somewhat similar, as shown in (72).

(72)	% <u>nil</u>	% <u>viTu</u>	% <u>iru</u>	% <u>iru+viTu</u>
1st clause	53	21	11	14
2nd clause	54	40	7	0

Again, the majority response, provided by sixteen (54%) of the thirty¹ subjects, was to use no auxiliary. This type of second clause is exemplified by those in (68), (69) and (71). The auxiliary viTu was more often used in the responses to the second clause than in those to the first, even though it was given in the

¹Two (7%) of the thirty subjects to whom (67) was administered did not respond to the first clause of the given sentence. Both of these subjects gave responses to the second clause which contained viTu and in which -iliruntu 'from' was attached to the name of the city.

first but not in the second. This is not surprising, given viTu's basic function as a completive. The sequence of events being narrated is only completed by the second clause, whether or not the first clause is viewed as completive. Twelve subjects (40%) provided responses of this type, as in (70) and (73).

- (73) avan-meTraas-le-pooy-irunt-uTTu-uuru-kku-tirump-
 he-Madras-in-go-be-(viTu)-town-to-return-
 iTTaan.
 (viTu)(past)PNg (28. 3. 22)
 Having gone and stayed in Madras, he returned
 right to his home town.

Two subjects (7%) made use of iru in the second clause of their responses.

Both of these occurred following first clauses in which iru was also present.

These appear here as (74) and (75).

- (74) avaru-cennai-kku-pooy-iruntu-TTu-ippa-taan-uur-
 he-Madras-to-go-(iru)-(viTu)-now-(emph)-town-
 tirump-irukkaaru.
 return-(iru)(pres)PNg (23. 4. 22)
 Having (having been in the situation of having)
 gone to Madras, just now he has (is in the
 situation of having) returned to town.
or Having gone to Madras and stayed there, just now
 having returned to town, he is (here).

- (75) meTraas-kku-pooy-iruntaan; neetti-taan-uur-
 Madras-to-go-(iru)(past)PNg; yesterday-(emph)-town-
 ukku-tirump-irukraan.
 to-return-(iru)(pres)PNg (28. 4. 22)
 He had (was in the situation of having) gone to
 Madras; he has (is in the situation of having)
 just returned to town yesterday.
or He went to Madras and stayed there; he returned
 to town just yesterday and is (here).

It will be noted that each of these is representative of one of the types of first clause containing iru which were discussed in the preceding paragraph. Both sentences provide the same contrast between past situation and present situation by making use of the past tense of iru in the first clause and the present tense

in the second clause (though of course the tense of the first clause of (74) is not directly observable). Presumably the use of iru in just these two cases was due, at least in part, to the presence of iru in the first clauses of these particular response sentences. Though it might have been expected that the examples containing iru in the second clause as well as in the first would assist in determining whether iru was being treated as an auxiliary or main verb in the responses to (67), they do not appear to do so. If the iru of the first clause is interpreted as a main verb, as in (74), it seems likely that that of the second clause may be too; and if that of the first clause is seen as an auxiliary, as may be the case in (75), that of the second clause may be expected to be treated likewise. Nevertheless, since roughly the same possibilities can be seen from these examples to exist for the second clause as did for the first, these results can at least be said to be consistent with those discussed in the preceding paragraph.

The final of our three sections on iru will present a selection of questionnaire examples which were formulated to investigate the collocation of iru with various other elements that function at or near the end of the clause. In sentences (76) and (77), for example, iru was given in the future tense form.

- (76) niinka-poona-vaaratt-il-vayal-ukku-ettane-taTave-
 you-last-week-in-field-to-how many-time-
 taNNi-iracc-iruppiinka ?
 water-lift-(iru)(fut)PNg (D18)
 How often will you have irrigated the field last
 week? (i.e. You are probably in the position of
 having irrigated the field how often last week?)

- (77) poona-vaaratt-ule--vayal-ukku-ettane--taTave-taNNi--
 last-week-in-field-to-how many-time-water--
 eracc-iruppiinka ?
 lift-(iru)(fut)PNg (F24)
 How often will you have irrigated the field last
 week?

The only important difference between these two sentences is that when they were administered, subjects were asked to replace the given niinka 'you' of (76) with avanka 'they', whereas they were only asked to repeat (77) in accordance with their own usage. Since in both of these sentences the presence of the expression poona vaarattule¹ 'last week' puts the time of the event in question unambiguously into the past, the future tense form of iru can only have the significance of probability and not that of future time (or habitualness). This being the case, it was expected that a higher percentage of subjects would retain the given iru in the future tense in response to (76) than in response to (77). After the requested operation has been performed, the responses to (76) ask the addressee a question about some people in the third person. Since the addressee will not necessarily know how often the other people did what they did, it seems perfectly reasonable to ask him about them in terms of what they are likely to have done rather than in terms of what they actually have done. In the responses to (77), on the other hand, the subject will still be in the second person

¹The difference between the poona vaarattil of (76) and the poona vaarattule of (77) is purely stylistic. The former is somewhat more formal than the latter. The fact that the more colloquial form occurred in the later questionnaire reflects the tendency for the language of the questionnaires to become more and more colloquial as the investigator became more and more familiar with the sort of language he was receiving in the responses.

and the sentence will therefore be asking the addressee what he himself has done. Since the addressee can be regarded as knowing for certain what he himself did, it makes little sense to ask him about his own activities in terms of what he is likely to have done rather than in terms of what he actually did. This is why it could be expected that the iru of sentences (76) and (77) would be retained less often in the responses to the latter than in those to the former. In the event, eighteen (82%) of the twenty-two subjects responding to (76) made use of the given iru, as shown in (78), and only thirteen (43%) of the thirty subjects responding to (77) did so.

(78)	<u>%iru ret</u>	<u>%nil repl</u>
(76)	82	18
(77)	43	57

All the subjects responding to both sentences who did not retain the given iru used no auxiliary in their responses. Four subjects (18%) gave responses of this type to (76) and seventeen (57%) responded in a similar fashion to (77). One of these is shown here as (79).

(79) poona-vaaratt-ule-vayal-ukku-etni-taTave-taNNi-
 last-week-in-field-to-how many-time-water-
 eraccinka?
 lift(past)PNg (25.5.24)
 How many times did you irrigate the field last week?

In addition to the general purpose served by (76) and (77) in exploring the probabilistic sense of the future tense form, the results to (76) show that iru itself is fully compatible with the use of this form. Indeed, in the responses to these sentences, iru was retained only in the future tense. There were no responses containing other tenses of iru and no responses in the future tense without iru.

Two more sentences involving the collocation of iru and the future tense are shown here as (80) and (81).

- (80) caayankaalatt-ukk-uLLee-ant-aaL-anta-nilatte-uRut-
evening-to-within-that-man-that-field-plough-
iruppaar.
(iru)(fut)PNg (E14)
That man will have (be in the situation of having)
ploughed that field by evening.
- (81) caayankaalatt-ukk-uLLe-ant-aaL-anta-nilatte-uRut-
evening-to-within-that-man-that-field-plough-
irukka-pooraar.
(iru)-(poo)(pres)PNg (F14)
That man is going to have (be in the situation of
having) ploughed that field by evening.

These sentences were intended to test the difference of acceptability between the collocation of iru and the morphological future tense form and its collocation with the periphrastic future tense form (infinitive+poo). In these sentences, there is no specific reference to the time at which the event described occurs relative to the time of the speech event. It is therefore possible for the future tense form of (80) either to refer to the future time relative to the speech event or to be interpreted in terms of probability or habitualness. These latter possibilities do not arise in the case of (81), however, as the periphrastic future can not be used in these ways. From this, it was expected that both sentences would prove largely acceptable but that (81) would be slightly less so than (80). As may be seen in (82), the pattern of responses to (80) was roughly as expected but that to (81) was markedly different.¹

¹ Both (80) and (81) were checked with the main informant prior to being taken into the field. The informant accepted (80) with the reservation that it was only rarely used and stated that it would be more acceptable were the auxiliary iru dropped. His opinion was not borne out in practice since no responses were obtained of the type he claimed to favour. He adjudged (81) quite unacceptable and claimed that if poo were deleted, the sentence would be acceptable. Upon administration, this judgement was borne out by the responses obtained.

(82)	<u>%iru</u> <u>ret</u>	<u>%kiTTiru</u> <u>repl</u>	<u>%viTu</u> <u>repl</u>	<u>%poo</u> <u>ret</u>	<u>%nil</u> <u>repl</u>	<u>%other</u> <u>repl</u>
(80)	85	7	4	0	0	4
(81)	35	0	45	10	10	0

In response to (80), no less than twenty-three (85%) of the twenty-seven subjects retained the future tense form of iru and two more subjects (7%) replaced it with the future tense form of kiTTiru. In response to (81), on the other hand, no subjects retained the given collocation of iru and poo. Eleven (35%) of the thirty-one responses contained iru -- all but (83) in the future tense.

- (83) caayantiratt-uk-uLLe-ant-aaLu-anta-nelatte-uRut-
evening-to-within-that-man-that-field-plough-
irukka-laam.
(iru)-may (24. 3. 14)
That man may plough that field by evening.

Here the future tense has been replaced by the modal of possibility or permission, -laam. In using this form, the speaker shows even more doubt about the described event actually taking place than he would have done by using the future tense form. Another three subjects (10%) retained the periphrastic future poo but deleted iru, as in (84).

- (84) caayantiratt-uk-uLLa-ant-aaL-nelatte-uRuva-poorar.
evening-to-within-that-man-field-plough-(poo)(pres)PNg
That man is going to plough the field by evening. (27. 2. 14)

These two types of response indicate that the interpretation of poo as a marker of future time was perceived by about half the subjects. The other half may have been influenced by the completive use of poo as fourteen (45%) of the subjects interpreted the sentence as completive and replaced the given auxiliaries with viTu, as in (85).

- (85) caayantiratt-uk-uLLe--ant-aaLu-anta-nelatte-uRut-
 evening-to-within-that-man-that-field-plough-
 uTuvaaru.
 (viTu)(fut)PNg (27.5.14)
 That man will get that field ploughed by evening.

Five of the subjects giving this type of response changed the tense of the sentence to past. This is not surprising, given that there is no evidence outside of the verbal form as to which time relative to the speech event the described event occurred in and considering that there is a tendency, as discussed in the previous chapter, for viTu to occur more with the past tense than with other tenses. The responses to (80) and (81) again show that the use of iru in the future tense form can be highly acceptable. This acceptability does not, however, extend to the collocation of iru and the periphrastic formation of the future tense, which seems to be quite unacceptable for reasons that are not at all clear.

A similar disparity of acceptability appears to exist between the collocation of iru and different sorts of negative, as will be seen from the next three response patterns to be discussed. Sentence (86)¹, for example, was intended to investigate the collocation of iru and the negative morpheme, ille.

- (86) canikiRame-tampi-renTu-pustakankaLe-paTicc-
 saturday-younger brother-two-books-read-
 iruntaan; aanaa-veeroNNum-paTicc-irukka-le.
 (iru)(past)PNg; but-anything else-read-(iru)-neg
 Little brother had read (was in the situation of
 having read) two books on Saturday, but he hadn't
 read anything else. (C19)

¹This sentence appears also as (139) in Chapter Three, where it is discussed along with others of the same series in connection with viTu.

It had been observed from the results to (136) of the preceding chapter that the collocation of viTu and the negative ille was unacceptable, and this sentence was intended to discover whether the restriction extended to iru as well. As no subjects at all retained iru in the second clause of their responses to this sentence, it seems that the collocation of iru and the negative was just as unacceptable as had been that of viTu and the negative.

In response to the first clause of (86), nine (47%) of the nineteen subjects retained the given iru. The other two types of response, used by six (32%) and four (21%) of the subjects respectively, were to use no auxiliary and to replace the given iru with kiTTiru. Examples of these two response types are shown here as (87) and (88).¹

- (87) en-tampi-muuNu-pustakankaLe-paTiccaan; aanaa-
 my-younger brother-three-books-read (past)PNg; but-
 veeroNNum-paTikka-le.
 anything else-read-(neg) (9.3.19)
 My little brother read three books; but he didn't
 read anything else.
- (88) canikiRame-muuNu-postakam-en-tampi-paTiccu-
 Saturday-three-book-my-younger brother-read-
 kiTTiruntaan; veeroNNum-paTikka-le. (6.5.19)
 (kiTTiru)(past)PNg; anything else-read-(neg)
 My little brother was reading three books on Saturday;
 but he didn't read anything else.

Unlike the next pair of sentences to be discussed, there was no specific

¹In connection with (86), subjects were asked to perform the operation of replacing renTu 'two' with munNu 'three'.

indication of a temporal or causal connection between the events described in the two clauses besides the presence of iru itself. This appears to have encouraged subjects to give responses like (87) and (88), where even the connection indicated by iru has gone. Among the subjects who retained iru in the first clause, two changed its tense to the present, as shown in (89).

- (89) tampi-muuNu-pustakan-taan-paTicc-irukkaan;
 younger brother-three-book-(emph)-read-(iru)(pres)PNg;
paakki-pustakan-paTikka-le.
 rest-book-read-(neg) (8.1.19)
 Little brother has read only three books; he didn't
 read the rest.

It will be noted that canikiRame 'Saturday' has been omitted from this sentence. This was also the case in the other response of this type, and appears to follow from the change of tense. In (86), the situation of the books having been read is stated to have existed on Saturday, whereas in (89), that situation exists in the present. In other words, the given sentence says that by Saturday, little brother had read the two books (and so perhaps was ready to be tested on them). This contrasts with (89), in which it is said that by now, little brother has read the two books (and so perhaps is ready to be tested on them).

It may perhaps be objected at this point that the reason iru did not occur in the second clauses of the responses to (86) was because it was simply redundant, not because of any incompatibility between it and ille. It may be felt that the meaning of the sentence would remain the same whether or not iru was present in the second clause and that, therefore, it was omitted for reasons of linguistic economy. If this were the case, however, we would expect iru to be dropped sometimes from one clause and sometimes from the other, not exclusively from the second clause or from both clauses at

the same time. But there were no cases in which iru was dropped from the first clause but retained in the second. In this connection, we might recall to mind sentences (22) and (23). In each of those sentences, both clauses referred to the same point in time, and indeed, to the same event. In that context, there seemed little difference of meaning between a clause with kiTTiru and one without. It will also be recalled that, from the responses summarized in (25), it seemed unimportant whether kiTTiru appeared in one clause, in both clauses, or in neither. If iru also were simply redundant in one or both clauses of (86), we would expect a pattern of responses corresponding to that of (25) -- that is, roughly half the responses would retain both given iru's, roughly a quarter would retain it in each clause alone, and a few subjects would drop it from both clauses. But this is not at all the pattern of response to (86), where approximately half the subjects retained iru only in the first clause and the other half retained it in neither. Unfortunately, there is no corresponding sentence to (86) with iru in the positive, but it is reasonable to suppose that its behaviour in this situation would closely parallel that of kiTTiru, given the other ways in which kiTTiru functions as if it were a compound of kiTu and iru. It may also be remembered that the one response to (86) which did contain an auxiliary (viTu) dropped the negative marker (this was shown as sentence 3.140).

Having determined from (86) that the negative morpheme used to refer to past and present times was unacceptable in collocation with iru, we decided to test the future negative morpheme as well. In view of the results obtained to the earlier sentences involving auxiliaries and negatives, it was expected that the collocation of iru and maaTT- would be unacceptable as well. When the results to the first sentence (90) did not satisfy our expectations,

another identical sentence (91) was administered, the results to which were consistent with those to the first, rather than to our original expectations.

(90) tampere-orunkaa-paTicc-iruntaa-peyil-

(91) " " " " " "

younger brother-without rest-read--(iru)(cond)--fail-
aay-irukka-maaTTaan.

(E19)

" " " "

(F5)

(aaku)-(iru)-(neg)(fut)PNg

If little brother had studied without resting, he would not have failed. (i. e. If little brother was in the situation of having studied without resting, he will not be in the situation of having failed.)

The results to the second clauses of (86), (90) and (91) are summarized in (92).

(92)	<u>%iru ret</u>	<u>%nil repl</u>	<u>%other</u>
(86)	0	94	6
(90)	85	11	4
(91)	77	23	0

Clearly in these last two sentences, iru was highly acceptable. Twenty-three (85%) of the twenty-six subjects responding to the second clause of (90) retained iru with the future negative (and another one -- 4% -- retained iru with the future positive). In response to (91), twenty-four (77%) of thirty-one subjects retained iru as given.

To discover the reason for this sharp difference in acceptability between the collocation of iru and the future negative and that of iru and the unmarked negative, we must examine the morphological and semantic differences between these two types of negative. On the one hand, unlike the unmarked negative, the future negative admits not only of tense marking (future) but also of marking for person, number and gender, just as positive forms do. On the other hand, in common with other future forms, the future negative has a sense of

intention or probability lacking in the unmarked negative. This is particularly true of the counterfactual usage found in (90) and (91). In these sentences, the meaning of the whole is not that the event described did not take place but that it did. In the semantic structure of (86), there is of course no such counterfactual element. Which of these differences between the future and unmarked negatives is responsible for their highly divergent patterns of acceptability with iru (and presumably some of the other auxiliaries as well) is, however, unclear at this point.

The response patterns to the first clauses of (90) and (91) were also quite different from that to (86), as can be seen in the summary of (93).

(93)	<u>%iru ret</u>	<u>%nil repl</u>	<u>%kiTTiru</u>
(86)	47	32	21
(90)	81	19	0
(91)	84	13	3

Here again, iru was much more acceptable in the latter two sentences than in the former one. Twenty-one (81%) of the twenty-seven subjects responding to the first clause of (90) retained iru and twenty-six (84%) of thirty-one retained it in response to (91). The difference of acceptability between iru in the first clause of (86) and the corresponding iru in (90) and (91) appears to be caused by the different relationships between the two clauses in each case. In (86), the first clause is a separate sentence, complete with PNG markers. No connection between the two clauses is morphologically marked. In the latter two sentences, on the other hand, the first clause is not independent, and is marked by the conditional suffix -aa as being the condition under which the

prediction of the second clause is said to be valid. Thus in these sentences, it is considerably more relevant than it was in (86) that the subject was in the situation of the event described in the first clause having happened.

The two final sentences to be discussed in immediate connection with iru are (94) and (95).¹

- (94) neettikku-tampi-renTu-pustakankaLe-paTicc-
yesterday-younger brother-two-books-read-
iTaan; aanaa-muRukkalum-paTikka-le.
(viTu)(past)PNg; but-completely-read-(neg) (B18)
Yesterday little brother read through two books;
but he didn't read them completely.
- (95) tankai-oru-puttakam-paTicc-iTTaa;
younger sister-one-book-read-(viTu)(past)PNg;
innoru-puttakatte-koncam-paTicc-irukkaa.
another-book-little-read-(iru)(pres)PNg (D1)
Little sister read one book through; she has
read a little of another book.

Although these sentences were formulated to investigate viTu, they also give some indication of the semantic contrast which may be said to exist between viTu and iru. From what has been said thus far about these two auxiliaries, there might seem to be a rather close semantic connection between them. On the one hand, viTu indicates completion of an event, and on the other hand, iru indicates the state of some event having taken place (though not necessarily its completion). In response to the first clause of (94), however, where the completive viTu was contradicted to some degree by the second clause, iru was supplied by three (20%) of the fifteen subjects, as in (96) and (97).²

¹These sentences also appeared as (90) and (94) in Chapter Three, where they were discussed in connection with viTu.

²In connection with (94), subjects were asked to replace neettikku 'yesterday' with muntaanaaL 'the day before yesterday'.

- (96) muntaanaaL-tampi-renTu-pustakankaLe-paTicc-
 day before yesterday-younger brother-two-books-read-
 irukkaan; aanaa-muRucum-paTikka-le.
 (iru)(pres)PNg; but-completely-read-(neg)
 Little brother has (is in the situation of having)
 read two books the day before yesterday; but he
 didn't read them completely. (4.1.18)
- (97) muntaanaaL-tampi-renTu-pustakam-paTicc-
 day before yesterday-younger brother-two-book-read
 iruntaan; innumaa-paTikka-le.
 (iru)(past)PNg; more-read-(neg)
 Little brother had (was in the situation of having)
 read two books the day before yesterday; he
 hasn't read any more. (2.4.18)

This contrasts with just two (8%) who supplied iru of the twenty-four subjects responding to (95), where the contradiction between the clauses had been removed, as in (98).¹

- (98) appaa-oru-puttakam-paTicc-irukkaaru; innoru-
 father-one-book-read-(iru)(pres)PNg; another-
 puttakam-paTippaaru.
 book-read(fut)PNg (14.2.1)
 Father has (is in the situation of having) read
 one book; he will read another.

In this sentence, it will be noted that in addition to replacing viTu with iru in the first clause (and changing the tense from past to present as might be expected), iru was deleted from the second clause and the tense there was changed to the future. These two alterations appear to be complementary and to maintain the balance within the sentence. In the given sentence, the inter-clausal contrast was between a completed event and one that is in the situation of having been partly carried out. It will be noted that in many cases in which the given viTu was retained, the latter situation was specified by means of kiTTiru

¹When sentence (95) was presented to the subjects, they were asked to perform the operation of replacing tankai 'younger sister' with appaa 'father' upon it.

or the future tense, rather than iru, however. In (98), on the other hand, the contrast is between the position of being in the situation of having carried out one event and being about to carry out another. The complementary alterations made in the two clauses of (95) to arrive at (98) thus appear to result from a contrast in the first clause between yiTu (indicating completion) and iru (indicating existence in a state resulting from a past event). In the context presented here, the one permits a contrast with a current state in the second clause, the other only with the future.

Sentences (96) and (97) also provide another brief example of the way in which the main verb and auxiliary uses of iru contrast. In (96), iru appears to be treated unambiguously as an auxiliary, whereas in (97), the main verb interpretation seems reasonable as well. Note that the iru of (97) can be expanded into a clause, as in (99).

- (99) muntaanaaL-tampi-renTu-pustakam-paTiccu-
 · day before yesterday-younger brother-two-book-read-
 paay-le-iruntaan; innumaa-paTikka-le.
 mat-on-sit(past)PNg; more-read-(neg)
 Little brother read two books the day before yesterday
 and sat on the mat; he didn't read any more.

But the same alteration can not reasonably be made to (96); such a sentence as (100) does not appear to make sense.

- (100) muntaanaaL-tampi-renTu-pustakankale-paTiccu-
 day before yesterday-younger brother-two-books-read-
 paay-le-irukkaan; aanaa-muRucum-paTikka-le.
 mat-on-sit(pres)PNg; but-completely-read-(neg)
 Little brother read two books the day before yesterday
 and sits on the mat; but he didn't read
 them completely.

From this it appears that (97) is ambiguous in a way that (96) is not.

In this third section dealing with iru, we have dealt with most of the sentences in which it was relatively highly acceptable. But some of these results were not as had been expected, and some apparent differences of acceptability proved difficult to explain. The greater acceptability of iru with the morphological future than the periphrastic one and its greater acceptability with the future negative than the unmarked negative may appear to correlate with the notions of probability or habitualness which may be denoted by the morphological future and future negative, but it is hard to see how this would fit in with the analysis presented here. If the same restrictions hold for other auxiliaries, such as the completive (which does not seem unlikely, moreover), some other explanation would have to be sought. In any event, more data is clearly needed to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of these points. An attempt was made in the final paragraphs of the section to draw comparisons between the uses of viTu and iru and between the main verb and auxiliary uses of iru.

Besides the occurrences we have been discussing here, there were a further twenty-six questionnaire sentences in the responses to which iru was provided by one or two subjects. Most of these have apparently resulted from the reinterpretation of the sentences in terms of the situation of an event having taken place, as this has been described above. Others are apparently idiosyncratic or deviant usages and, as such, can contribute little to our discussion. These have therefore not been included in this study except when they contribute to our understanding of the use of another auxiliary. In such cases, they have been dealt with in connection with the auxiliary in question.

Our treatment of iru in the preceding pages has concentrated on describing its basic meaning as an auxiliary and on relating this to its meaning as a main verb. The discussion of sentences (51, 52, 61 and 62) was concerned with showing that, just as the main verb meaning of iru is basically existential, so too is its auxiliary meaning. In (61), this existential notion was contrasted with the more general one of "current relevance"; and the results to that sentence seemed to provide evidence in favour of the former rather than the latter as being the meaning of iru. The element of "pastness" that often seems to form a part of the meaning of iru was discussed, primarily in connection with (57) and (59). It was suggested that this "pastness" is a result of the auxiliary construction involving iru, rather than a component of the meaning of either iru or the main verb form to which it is attached. Some of the problems of distinguishing between the main verb and auxiliary uses of iru were discussed in connection with (67) and (94); and other problems involving iru and various negatives and future tense forms were discussed in the final section of the discussion.

PART THREE -- vai and vecciru

Although there are far fewer occurrences of vai and vecciru among the responses we are dealing with than there were of iru or kiTTiru, there is enough material at least to describe the meaning of these forms and to indicate something of the relationships that exist between them and other auxiliaries. The incidence of vai and vecciru on the questionnaires themselves is less than that of any of the other four auxiliaries which we have examined in detail thus far. In contrast to the occurrence of kiTTiru in twenty of the 150 sentences and iru in nineteen, for example, vai was given in twelve and vecciru

in eight. But the disparity is even greater with regard to supplied -- as opposed to given -- occurrences. KITTiru, for example, was supplied in response to forty-eight sentences in which it did not occur, and iru in response to fifty-four, as was noted above. But vai was supplied in only six such cases and vecciru in only fourteen. This relatively small number of cases of these auxiliaries in the responses reflects the relatively restricted range of semantic contexts in which they can occur. Although there are examples of a wide range of acceptability among the questionnaire sentences containing these auxiliaries, it will be found in the discussion below that a high degree of acceptability often seems to be positively correlated with the possibility of a main verb as well as an auxiliary interpretation of these forms. The problem of whether a given verbal form is to be analysed as an auxiliary or as a main verb is more acute with vai and vecciru than with the other auxiliaries and thus this problem will be given more space in this part of the chapter than in the other parts.

The first sentences to be discussed in connection with these auxiliaries formed a series which was intended to test the hypotheses that vai was essentially a "future affective" and that vecciru was simply a combination of vai and iru at the semantic as well as the syntactic level. These hypotheses had been developed from observing the way in which vai and vecciru had seemed to function in examples obtained earlier in the investigation. The notion of "future relevance" has obvious affinities with the main verb meaning of vai, 'keep', and so it was necessary to devise a sentence in which the hypothesized auxiliary meaning would be possible but not the main verb meaning. This was the basis on which sentence (101) was formulated.

- (101) naan-avare-vite-naTTu-vecceen.
 I-bean-seed-plant-(vai)(past)PNg (D3)
 I planted the beans (and was interested in them
 thereafter).

Seventeen (68%) of the twenty-five subjects responding to (101) retained the auxiliary as given and another three (12%) made use of vecciru instead, as in (102).¹

- (102) nii-avare-vite-naTTu-vecc-irukkee.
 you-bean-seed-plant-(vai)-(iru)(pres)PNg (13.4.3)
 You planted the beans (and are still interested
 in them).

Here, iru appears to be used exactly in the way in which we saw it being used in the previous part of the chapter. This sentence appears to indicate that the subject of the sentence is in the situation of some event having taken place, in the future effects of which he is interested. This "future affective" sense of vai was made explicit in the response shown here as (103).

- (103) neettu-avare-vite-naTTu-vecciy-ee-muLanc-
 yesterday-bean-seed-plant-(vai)-(emph)-sprout-
 irukk-aa? (14.4.3).
 (iru)(pres)-(interrog)
 Yesterday you planted beans! Have they sprouted?

Here the first clause, equivalent to the given sentence, has been supplemented by the second one, in which the possible existence of the results of the action of the first clause is made clear. Three further subjects (12%) replaced the vai of (101) with yiTu, changing the specification to completive. The remaining two

¹In connection with sentence (101), subjects were asked to replace naan 'I' with nii 'you (singular)'.

subjects replaced the given main verb naTu 'plant' with the more general pooTu 'put'. One of these replaced the given vai with iru and the other with aaku.

Noting that some subjects had made use of vecciru in their responses to (101), it was decided to insert (104) into the following questionnaire.

(104) naan-avare-vite-naTTu-vecc-irunteen.
 I-bean-seed-plant-(vai)-(iru)(past)PNg (E3)
 I planted the beans (and went on being interested
 in them thereafter).

This differed from (101) only in that it contained iru and formed the basis of a repetition, rather than an operation test. It differed from (102) in that iru was in the past tense rather than the present. As summarized in (105), the response pattern to (104) differed from that to (101) chiefly in the greatly increased proportion of iru and the somewhat decreased proportion of vai.

(105)		% <u>vai</u>	% <u>vecciru</u>	% <u>iru</u>	% <u>vecciTu</u>	% <u>viTu</u>	%other (<u>aaku</u>)
(101)	vai	68	12	4	0	12	4 (4)
(104)	vecciru	7	48	32	3	0	10 (0)
(108)	vecciTu	8	8	17	17	29	21 (17)
(113)	nil	0	0	6	0	0	94 (nil)

As in the previous pattern, the most frequent type of response was again to retain the given auxiliary. Fifteen (48%) of the thirty-one responses were of this type. In ten (32%) of the responses, iru alone was used, as in (106).

(106) naan-avare-vite-pooT-runteen.
 I-bean-seed-put-(iru)(past)PNg (21.2.3)
 I was in the situation of having planted beans.

The large increase in this type of response in response to (104) compared with (101) suggests that the meaning of iru was present in the given sentence as well

as that of vai and thus that vecciru is transparently a semantic compound of vai and iru. The remaining six responses to (104) fall into four types; there were two of the nil auxiliary type, two of vai, one of vecciTu (vai+viTu), and one of kiTTiru. Of these, the only one worth commenting on is the single occurrence of vecciTu (107).

- (107) avare-vite-naTTu-vecc-iTTu-vant-irukkeen.
 bean-seed-plant-(vai)-(viTu)-come-(iru)(pres)PNg
 I have come after planting the beans. (20.2.3)

This sentence has been expanded from the given one by the addition of an extra clause which contextualizes the given sentence, adding supplementary data about the situation presented in the sentence as the subject saw it. This clause relates the action described in the given sentence to the situation in which the speaker finds himself at the time of speaking and so contains an instance of the auxiliary iru in the present tense. The use of viTu here is sequential -- it indicates that only after planting the beans with a view to the future results to be obtained from so doing did the speaker come to where he is at the time of the speech event. Parallel to vecciru, here vecciTu also seems to be a simple combination of two auxiliaries (in this case vai and viTu) at the semantic level as well as at the syntactic.

The combination of vai and viTu was included in (108), but was apparently not particularly acceptable in such a context.

- (108) kolleyil-eL-teLiccu-vecc-uTTeen.
 garden in-gingili-sow-(vai)-(viTu)(past)PNg
 I sowed gingili in the garden. (D28)

Here again, a verb was used that was expected to be easily interpretable as

affecting the future. The given auxiliaries were used with the main verb teLi 'sow', which refers to the method of planting seeds by scattering them on top of the ground rather than burying them in it. When the sentence was presented to the subjects, they were simply asked to replace the word for one type of seed which is normally sown rather than planted (eL 'gingili') with that for another such type of seed (kampu 'sugar cane'). Nevertheless, vai was retained in only a third of the responses -- on its own by two of the twenty-four subjects (8%), in the given collocation with viTu by four (17%), and in collocation with iru by another two (8%). One of these latter is shown here as (109), and one of the four (17%) responses which contained iru but neither of the given auxiliaries is to be seen in (110).

- (109) kolle-yil-kampu-teLicci-vecc-irukkeen.
 garden-in-sugar cane-sow-(vai)-(iru)(pres)PNg
 I am in the situation of having sown sugar cane
 in the garden (with a view to harvesting it
 later). (16. 3. 28)
- (110) kolle-yil-kampu-ve-teLicc-irukkeen.
 garden-in-sugar cane-sow-(iru)(pres)PNg
 I have sown sugar cane in the garden. (15. 2.28)

It will be noted that in both these cases iru has been supplied in the present tense, as is usual when it is used to replace another auxiliary in the past tense. Its use in these two sentences appears to be exactly parallel; it relates the past event (sowing) or the past event and intention (sowing with an end in view) to the time of the speech event. The most frequent type of response to (108), however, was to retain just the viTu of the given auxiliaries. One such response is that shown here as (111).

- (111) kolle-le-kampu-teLicc-iTTTeen.
 garden-in-sugar cane-sow-(viTu)(past)PNg
 I sowed sugar cane in the garden. (13. 3. 28)

Seven (29%) gave responses of this type, and were evidently reacting to the completive sense of the original sentence. Here again it appears that the two auxiliaries each added their own individual meanings to the given sentence without showing any degree of idiom formation. The types of response to (108) not mentioned so far are the use of the completive aaku instead of either of the given auxiliaries (four responses --17%) and the use of no auxiliary (one -- 4%). It is not clear just why vai was so much less often retained in the responses to this sentence than to the two earlier ones discussed. One reason for the decline in acceptability of vai may be the relatively casual nature of the activity of sowing, compared with that of planting. Though the main verb meaning of vai, 'keep', does not seem applicable in either of these cases, it may nevertheless exert some influence over the sorts of contexts in which the auxiliary meaning of vai may occur, and it does seem somewhat more closely related to the idea of carefully planting something than it does to merely sowing something. Here, where the actions represented by both main verbs in question (naTu 'plant' and teLi 'sow') can be said to be "future affective", the acceptability of vai seems to have varied according to some other factor. But in the next paragraphs, we shall see that it may also be observed on occasion to vary according to a factor of "future affectiveness".

In the responses to many of the questionnaire sentences, other changes were made besides those which were asked for in operation tests and those which involved auxiliaries. Often a synonym was used in place of some word in the given sentence which for some reason did not seem quite appropriate to the subject giving the response. In the responses to (108), for example, fifteen (63%) retained the given main verb teLi, but the other nine (37%) made

use of the synonymous verb vire 'sow' instead. As there appears to be no correlation between the occurrence of either of these main verbs in the responses and the choice of auxiliary, there was no need to include this variation in our analysis of the preceding paragraph. In the case of (101) and (104), however, there does seem to be a correlation between the main verb used and the selection of auxiliary. It was mentioned above, in the discussion of the pattern of responses to (101), that there was a single instance of iru being used as the sole auxiliary of a response sentence and that this was one of the two responses in which the main verb naTu 'plant' had been replaced by pooTu 'put'. It will also be noted that in (106), our example of the iru type of response to (104), that the main verb has been changed from naTu to pooTu. The table shown here as (112) shows that this correlation of iru and pooTu is more than coincidental.

(112)	(101)	(104)	(113)	(total)
<u>naTu+vai</u>	16 (72%)	2 (12%)		18 (38%)
+ <u>vecciru</u>	3 (19%)	10 (59%)		13 (27%)
+ <u>vecciTu</u>		1 (6%)		1 (2%)
+ <u>iru</u>		3 (18%)		3 (6%)
+ <u>viTu</u>	3 (19%)			3 (6%)
+nil		<u>1</u> (6%)	<u>9</u> (100%)	<u>10</u> (21%)
	<u>22</u> (100%)	<u>17</u> (100%)	<u>9</u> (100%)	<u>48</u> (100%)
<u>pooTu+vecciru</u>		4 (31%)		4 (12%)
+ <u>iru</u>	1 (50%)	7 (54%)	2 (11%)	10 (30%)
+ <u>kiTTiru</u>		1 (8%)		1 (3%)
+ <u>aaku</u>	1 (50%)			1 (3%)
+nil		<u>1</u> (8%)	<u>16</u> (89%)	<u>17</u> (52%)
	<u>2</u> (100%)	<u>13</u> (100%)	<u>18</u> (100%)	<u>33</u> (100%)
<u>uuNu+vecciru</u>		1 (100%)		1 (20%)
+nil			<u>4</u> (100%)	<u>4</u> (80%)
		<u>1</u> (100%)	<u>4</u> (100%)	<u>5</u> (100%)
<u>pute+vai</u>	<u>1</u> (100%)			<u>1</u> (100%)
	<u>1</u> (100%)			<u>1</u> (100%)

It will be noted at once that there is a sharp contrast between the auxiliaries used with naTu and those used with pooTu (the two main verbs that were used only rarely, uuNu 'plant' and pute 'bury' were invariably used with the auxiliary provided in the given sentence and have been listed in the table only for the sake of completeness). This contrast may be seen particularly in the results of sentence (104). In the responses to (104), seventeen (55%) of the subjects retained the main verb naTu of the given sentence and thirteen (42%) replaced it with pooTu (the remaining subject made use of uuNu 'plant' instead). Taking the seventeen subjects using the main verb naTu as 100%, ten subjects (59%) retained the given collocation of vai+iru, two more (12%) made use of vai on its own, and another (6%) used the collocation vecciTu instead. In all, thirteen (76%) of the instances of the main verb naTu were used along with the auxiliary vai either alone or in collocation with another auxiliary. Only 31% of the instances of pooTu were so used. Taking the thirteen subjects making use of this auxiliary as 100%, only four (31%) retained the given collocation entire, seven (54%) of them making use only of iru.

Having noted the results to (101) and (104), it was decided to present the subjects of the next questionnaire with a sentence similar to them but lacking any auxiliary. This was intended to further explore the trend that seemed to be emerging from the earlier sentences. In (101), where the simple auxiliary vai had been used with naTu, it was retained 68% of the time as given and there were only two responses in which that main verb had been altered to pooTu. In the results to (104), on the other hand, where the additional auxiliary iru had been added to the vai of (99), iru was used alone in 32% of the responses. This appeared to be correlated with the highly increased rate at which the given main

verb naTu was replaced by pooTu. With the expectation, therefore, that this correlation between main verb and auxiliary would continue to hold true, sentence (113) was administered.

- (113) naan-avare-vite-naTTeen.
 I-bean-seed-plant(past)PNg (F3)
 I planted beans.

Although the number of subjects who used any auxiliary at all in their responses was well below what had been hoped for, those that did use auxiliaries gave the type of response expected. Only two (6%) of the thirty-one subjects responding to (113) used an auxiliary in their responses; both of these made use of iru and changed the main verb to pooTu as they did so. One of these responses is shown here as (114).

- (114) naan-avare-vite-pooT-rukkeen.
 I-bean-seed-plant-(iru)(pres)PNg
 I have planted beans. (25. 3. 3)

In addition to the two subjects who gave responses like (114), sixteen more (52%) changed the main verb to pooTu but made use of no auxiliary with it. Nine subjects (29%) retained naTu as the main verb, and four altered it to uuNu 'plant'. The results to (113) are summarized in (112) along with those to the two earlier sentences.

Looking at the results to these three sentences as a whole, we see that a majority (67%) of the subjects who used the main verb naTu 'plant' made use of the auxiliary vai or some collocation of it with another auxiliary; and only a few (6%) made use of iru. Among those making use of the main verb pooTu 'put', on the other hand, the most frequent auxiliary by far (after nil) is iru, used by 30%. The reason for this variation in usage appears to be

that naTu encourages the use of a "future affective" auxiliary whereas pooTu is quite neutral in this respect. The verb naTu means specifically 'plant', an action which is only likely to be performed with some future goal in mind; pooTu can be used in this way as well but also is used frequently in a general sense to communicate the action of someone putting something down or in, not necessarily with any purpose in mind or even remembering about it afterwards.

The first clauses of sentences (115) and (116)¹ differ only in that the first contains an instance of vai, whereas the second contains vecciru.

- (115) antap-paiyan-ammaa-kiTTe-kaace-koTuttu-veccu-maru-
 that-boy-mother-to-money-give-(vai)-next-
 naaL-vaanki-kiTTaan.
 day-get-(kiTu)(past)PNg (C7)
 Having left the money with his mother, that boy
 got it back the next day.
- (116) antap-paiyan-ammaa-kiTTe-kaace-koTuttu-vecc-iruntu
 that-boy-mother-to-money-give-(vai)-(iru)-
 maru-naaL-vaanki-kiTTaan.
 next-day-get-(kiTu)(past)PNg (B8)
 Being in the position of having left the money
 with his mother, that boy got it back the next day.

These two sentences were formulated with the expectation that the auxiliaries of the two clauses would be mutually reinforcing. It was thought that the future affective vai would encourage retention of the self-affective kiTu and vice-versa. The intention was to discover whether vai and vecciru would differ in acceptability

¹Sentences (115), (116) and (121) also appear in Chapter Three as sentences (20), (21) and (22). The responses to the second clauses of these sentences were discussed there in connection with the auxiliary kiTu.

in a self-affective context such as this. The results to the two sentences are summarized, along with those to (121), in (117).

(117)	<u>%vai</u>	<u>%vecciru</u>	<u>%nil</u>	<u>%iru</u>	<u>%viTu</u>
(115) <u>vai</u>	21	26	26	16	11
(116) <u>vecciru</u>	0	94	6	0	0
(121) <u>nil</u>	0	4	79	4	13

It will be noted at once that the only responses containing vai on its own occurred in response to the sentence in which it was thus given, and that only a fifth of the time. The collocation of vai and iru, on the other hand, proved very acceptable indeed in the responses to the sentence in which it was given, being retained by all but one of the sixteen subjects (94%). It was also provided by five (26%) of the nineteen subjects responding to (115). This was thus the most acceptable auxiliary alternative overall among the three given possibilities of the sentences summarized in (117). An example of this type given in response to (115) is shown here as (118).

- (118) antap-paiyan-avanka-ammaa-kiTTe-kaaciye-koTuttu-veccu-
 that-boy-his-mother-to-money-give-(vai)-
 iruntu-makkaa-naaL-vaanki-kiTTaan.
 (iru)-next-day-get-(kiTu)(past)PNg (9.3.7)
 Being in the position of having left the money with
 his mother, that boy got it back the next day.

Three other subjects (16%) replaced the given vai of (115) with iru, as in (119).

- (119) antap-paiyan-ammaa-kiTTe-kaaci-koTutt-iruntu-maru-
 that-boy-mother-to-money-give-(iru)-next-
 naaL-vaanki-kiTTaan.
 day-get=(kiTu)(past)PNg (6.2.7)
 Being in the position of having given the money to
 his mother, that boy took it back the next day.

The other two types of response to (115) were to make use of the completive viTu in the first clause and to make use of no auxiliary in that position. One of these

latter was (120).

- (120) antap-paiyan-ammaa-kiTTe-kaaciye-koTuttu-maru-naaL-
 that-boy-mother-to-money-give-next-day-
 vaanki-kiTTaan.
 get-(kiTu)(past)PNg (9.2.7)
 That boy gave the money to his mother but took it
 back the next day.

In view of the very high rate of vecciru retention to (116), it was decided to ascertain the degree to which vecciru was required in this environment, as opposed to being merely permitted. Sentence (121), identical to (116) except that it contained no auxiliaries, was therefore administered in a subsequent questionnaire.

- (121) antap-paiyan-ammaa-kiTTe-kaace-koTuttu-maru-naaL-
 that-boy-mother-to-money-give-next-day-
 vaankinaan.
 get (past) PNg (D8)
 That boy gave his mother the money and got it
 back the next day.

However, the mere juxtaposition of the two clauses was not enough to elicit more than a single explicitly future affective response. Nineteen (79%) of the twenty-four responses to (121) retained the use of no auxiliary and three (13%) made use of viTu instead. Single subjects made use of vecciru and iru in their responses.

The reason that yai proved more acceptable with iru than without in response to sentences (115), (116) and (121) appears to be the construction of the sentences. In these three sentences, the event described in the second clause logically presupposes the continued existence of the situation resulting from the event described in the first clause. Of the two auxiliaries that form the vecciru

collocation, vai seems to be present primarily in the responses to sentences in which it was given. The presence of iru, on the other hand, seems to result from the relationship that exists between the two clauses regardless of auxiliary, as well as the extra emphasis on this relationship afforded by its presence in (116).

That vai was never provided alone in the responses to the two of the three sentences discussed above in which it was not so given, is typical of its occurrence in the questionnaire responses as a whole. Although considerable thought was devoted to trying to devise sentences which would elicit vai without actually containing it themselves, no such entirely satisfactory sentences were finally formulated. Sentence (121) was one in response to which a single subject made use of vai in collocation with iru, however, even though neither was present in the questionnaire sentence itself. Another such sentence is shown here as (122).¹

(122) anta-veele-kiTappataakkaaka-anta -payal-ukku-nereya-
 " " " " " " "
 that-work-to obtain-that-rascal-to-much-
 lancam-koTuttu -tolecc-uTTeen.
 " " -toleccen. (C20)
 bribe-give-(tole)-(viTu)(past)PNg/-(tole)(past)PNg
 In order to get that job, I had to give that
 rascal a big bribe, darn it.

The single response to this sentence in which vecciru was used rather than

¹This sentence also appeared as (129) in Chapter Three, where it was discussed in connection with viTu and the co-occurrence of that auxiliary with tole.

either of the given alternatives is shown here as (123).

- (123) antap-payal-ukku-veele-kiTakkiratukkaaka-lancam-
 that-rascal-to-job- to get -bribe-
 nereya-koTuttu-vecc-rukkeen.
 much-give-(vai)-(iru)(pres)PNg (6.1.20)
 I am in the situation of having given that rascal
 a big bribe in order to get the job.

Though only one subject gave this type of response, it seems in no way strange or deviant. It seems to be a good example of the use of vai to indicate that the action represented by the main verb is being performed by the actor with some particular end in view -- in this case, obtaining the job.

In this, our first section on vai and vecciru, we have been discussing the way in which the notion of "future affective" or "future relevance" is central to the meaning of vai. We have seen that vecciru may be considered simply as a semantic combination of vai and iru, as well as a syntactic one, in parallel to the combination of vai and viTu, vecciTu. A specific piece of evidence adduced to show the future affective nature of the auxiliary vai was its greater acceptability with a verb of specifically future affective import (naTu 'plant') than with a more general verb (poTu 'put'). The final examples of this section contrasted the use of vai, iru and their collocation and discussed the use of vecciru in response to a sentence not containing it.

Just as vai and kiTu were intended to balance each other in the two clauses of (115) and (116), so too were vai and viTu intended to balance the two clauses of (124).

(124) ammaa-en-paaye-ruum-il-pooTTu-vecc-irukkaanka-
 mother-my-mat-room-in-put-(vai)-(iru)(pres)PNg-
 ate-naan-tiNNe-yil-pooTT-uTTTeen.

it-I-porch-on-put-(viTu)(past)PNg

(E17)

Mother is in the situation of having put my sleeping
 mat in the room; I put it on the porch.

It was thought that the future affective of the first clause, along with the stative (or existential) iru, would imply a degree of tentativeness or incompleteness of the action of the first clause, as opposed to the completed action of the second clause, and thus that the sentence would be acceptable as it stood. However, we were wrong to assume that the present tense of iru would be acceptable in the first clause. Nearly all the subjects responding to this sentence made some change of tense, usually in the first clause but also sometimes in the second. Three of the four (15%) responses retaining iru in the present tense in the first clause, for example, replaced the viTu of the second clause with iru in the present tense as well. The most frequent response to (124), however, provided by ten (38%) of the twenty-eight subjects, was to retain the given auxiliary collocation but to change the tense of iru to the past, as in (125).

(125) ammaa-en-paaye-ruum-le-pooTTu-vecc-iruntaanka-
 mother-my-mat-room-in-put-(vai)-(iru)(past)PNg-
 ate-naan-tiNNay-le-pooTTu-vecc-irukkaen.

it-I-porch-on-put-(vai)-(iru)(pres)PNg

(18.1.17)

Mother was in the situation of having put my sleeping
 mat in the room; I am in the situation of having
 put it on the porch.

In this sentence, the viTu in the second clause of (124) has been replaced by the collocation of vai and the present tense of iru. This explicitly contrasts the past state of affairs with the present one. Two of the subjects making use of the type of first clause illustrated here gave this type of response to the second. Two more used iru alone in the second clause in place of the given viTu, one used no auxiliary, and five retained the past tense of viTu as given. In their

responses to the first clause of (124), twelve (46%) of the subjects retained just iru of the given collocation. Eight of these changed the tense of iru to the past, as did the subject who provided (126), only four retaining the given present tense form.

- (126) ammaa-en-paaye-ruum-le-pooT-runtaanka-naan-tiNney-
 mother-my-mat-room-in-put-(iru)(past)PNg-I-porch-
 ile-pooTT-uTTeen. (19. 2. 17)
 on-put-(viTu)(past)PNg
 Mother had put my sleeping mat in the room; I
 put it on the porch.

Although all but two of the subjects who changed the tense of iru to the past retained the viTu of the second clause unchanged, none of those who retained the present tense of iru did so, as mentioned above. The incompatibility of the tenses in the two clauses of (124) results from the semantic relationship between the two clauses. The first clause describes an event which results in a situation in which the event described in the second clause takes place. The tense form of the first clause must therefore be appropriate to the same or an earlier time than that of the second clause.

Sentence (127)¹ contrasts with (124) in that the first clause contains iru in the past tense instead of the present.

¹This sentence also appeared as (25) in Chapter Three where its second clause was discussed in connection with kiTu.

- (127) ammaa-ennuTaiya-paaye-ruum-il-pooTTu-vecc-iruntaanka-
 mother-my-mat-room-in-put-(vai)-(iru)(past)PNg
 ate-naan-tiNNey-il-pooTT-uTTeen.
 it-I-porch-on-put-(viTu)(past)PNg (B19)
 Mother had put my sleeping mat in my room; I put
 it on the porch.

As might seem likely from the above discussion, this sentence was much more acceptable than (124) and the results proved to be considerably more homogenous than those to the earlier sentence. The response patterns to the first clauses of (124) and (127) are summarized in (128).

(128)	$\frac{\% \text{vecciru}}{\% (p)}$	$\frac{\% \text{iru}}{\% (p)}$	$\frac{\% \text{viTu}}{\% (p)}$	$\frac{\% \text{iru}}{\% (pr)}$	$\frac{\% \text{nil}}{\% (p)}$
(124) present	38	31	4	15	12
(127) past	40	40	20	0	0

Of fifteen subjects, six each (40%) made use of vecciru and iru in response to (127); one of these latter is shown here as (129).

- (129) ammaa-ennuTeya-paaye-ruum-le-pooT-runtaanka-ate-
 mother-my-mat-room-in-put-(iru)(past)PNg-it-
 tiNNey-le-pooTT-uTTeen.
 porch-on-put-(viTu)(past)PNg (3.2.19)
 Mother had put my sleeping mat in my room; I
 put it on the porch.

The remaining three subjects (20%) made use of viTu in the first clause instead, as in (130).

- (130) ammaa-en-paaye-eTuttu-ruum-ule-pooTT-uTTaanka-
 mother-my-mat-take up-room-in-put-(viTu)(past)PNg-
 ate-eTuttu-tiNNey-ile-pooTTu-kiTTeen.
 it-take up-porch-on-put-(kiTu)(past)PNg (3.4.19)
 Mother took up my sleeping mat and put it down in
 the room; I took it up and put it on the porch.

In spite of the tense problem in (124), the responses to these two sentences are quite consistent with each other. But as iru was retained in the responses more

than twice as often as vai and as vai was never retained without iru, it seems that the true complementary auxiliaries were iru in the first clause and viTu in the second, not vai and viTu as intended. In fact, it is the iru which indicates that the situation resulting from the event of the first clause existed at the time of the second clause, and thus that the earlier action was in suspension pending the later one.

Sentences (124) and (127) were intended to contrast vai and viTu syntagmatically; that is, within the same sentence. In (131) and (132), on the other hand, they were contrasted paradigmatically; that is, in separate sentences forming the alternatives of a selection test.

(131) paiye-en-pakkatt-il-pooTT-uTT-aa-marakka-
 " " " "-pooTTu-vecc-" " -
 bag-my-side-at-put-(viTu)/(vai)-(cond)-forget-
 maaTTeen.

"
 (futneg)PNg

(E8)

If I put my bag at my side, I won't forget it.

(132) paiye-en-pakkatt-il-pooTT- uTT -aa-marant-
 " " " "-pooTTu-vecc-" " " -
 bag-my-side-at-put-(viTu)/(vai)-(cond)-forget-
 irukka-maaTTeen.

" "
 (iru)-(futneg)PNg

(D16)

If I put my bag at my side, I won't be in the
 situation of having forgotten it.

The first clauses of these two pairs of sentences are the same; the second pair differs from the first only in that iru occurs in its second clauses. Both types of second clause proved acceptable to the subjects. All those responding to (131) left the second clause without auxiliary as given; and all those responding to (132), except for two subjects who used no auxiliary in their responses,

retained the iru of the given sentences. The results to the first clauses are summarized in (133).

(133)		<u>%viTu</u>	<u>%vai</u>	<u>%iru</u>	<u>%nil</u>	<u>%vecciru</u>
(131)	<u>-iru</u>	17	14	41	21	0
(132)	<u>+iru</u>	9	18	41	0	32

When these sentences had been formulated, it had been expected that the alternatives with vai would be preferable to those with viTu, since the second clause explicitly states a future effect of the action described in the first clause. Overall, as can be seen from (133), this expectation was marginally fulfilled. Although viTu may have appeared slightly more acceptable in the results to (131), being chosen by five (17%) of the twenty-nine subjects, compared with only four (14%) who selected vai, it appeared considerably less acceptable in response to (132), being retained by only two (9%) of twenty-two subjects, compared with four (18%) who selected vai and seven (32%) who made use of vecciru. Nevertheless, as neither viTu nor vai was used alone by as many as a fifth of the subjects to either sentence, neither can be said to be particularly acceptable in this context (the vecciru responses will come into the discussion again below).

In anticipation of some of the discussion in the next section, a few words may be said about the use of vai in the responses to these sentences. As mentioned above, four subjects each selected the second of the given alternatives in response to (131) and (132). These are exemplified as (134) and (135) respectively.

- (134) paiye-en-pakkat-le-pooTTu-vecc-aa-marakka-maatTeen.
 mat-my-side-at-put-(vai)-(cond)-forget-(futneg)PNg
 If I put my bag at my side (and keep it there), I
 won't forget it. (18.4.8)
- (135) paiye-en-pakkat-le-pooTTu-vecc-aa-marant-
bag-my-side-at-put-(vai)-(cond)-forget-
irukka-maatTeen.
 (iru)-(futneg)PNg (16.2.16)
 If I put my bag at my side (and keep it there), I
 won't be in the situation of having forgotten it.

As will be noted from the glosses given for these items, vai could just as well be a main verb here, complete with its ordinary meaning of 'keep', as it could be the auxiliary vai. Indeed, there would be a problem in distinguishing between the two possibilities even if we were to employ such a syntactic test as the following. "Given (134) or (135), and asked the question, 'What is the speaker of the sentence saying he should do so as not to forget his bag?'; would a possible answer be paiye avar pakkattule vekkaNum ('He should keep the bag at his side')?" It might seem that we could consider "yes" answers to this question to be proof of the main verb status of vai in these sentences. But such a conclusion would overlook the considerable degree of overlap between the uses of vai and pooTTu. Though we are often glossing them here by the convenient English words 'keep' and 'put', they might be glossed more revealingly as 'put carefully' and 'put carelessly'. Thus even if the original sentence was paiye en pakkattule pooTTaa... (with no vai), we might get the same result to the syntactic test question suggested just above. This result would therefore be expected in the case of a sentence containing vai, whether it was an auxiliary or a main verb. This possibility of interpreting vai either as auxiliary or as main verb exists, of course, only in such sentences as (134) and (135), where it is appended to the combining form of another verb. If vai is itself the first member of a verb phrase, then it must be interpreted as a main verb as is the

case in (136).

- (136) paiye-en -pakkat-le-vecc-uTT-aa-marakka-maaTTeen.
 bag-my-side-at-keep-(viTu)-(cond)-forget-(futneg)PNg
 If I keep the bag right at my side, I won't forget it. (22.1.8)

In the rest of this discussion, we will be referring to the use of vai illustrated in (136) when talking about its use as a main verb, and to the use illustrated in (134) and (135) when talking about its use as an auxiliary.

As shown in (133), the most frequent type of response to both (131) and (132) was to replace both of the given auxiliary alternatives with iru. This was done by nine (41%) of the twenty-two subjects responding to (131), the same percentage as the twelve of twenty-nine subjects who responded to (132) in this way. Examples of iru replacement from among those given to (131) and (132) are shown here as (137) and (138) respectively.

- (137) paiye-en-pakkat-le-pooT-runt-aa-marakka-maaTTeen.
 bag-my-side-at-put-(iru)-(cond)-forget-(futneg)PNg
 If I have (am in the situation of having) put my
 bag at my side, I won't forget it. (22.4.8)

- (138) paiye-en-pakkatt-ule-pooT-runt-aa-marant-
 bag-my-side-at-put-(iru)-(cond)-forget-
 irukka-maaTTeen.
 (be)-(futneg)PNg (12.1.16)
 If I am in the situation of having put my bag at
 my side, I will not be in the situation of
 having forgotten it.

The widespread use of iru in the responses to (131) and (132) suggests that neither of the given auxiliaries is capable of explicitly linking two points or periods of time in the way that iru does. In so far as the conditional posits the existence of one event or state as a prerequisite for the existence of another, it might seem that iru would be unnecessary here. But this result clarifies the

distinction between the existential sense of iru and the conditional. In this sentence, it is the effect of having put the bag by his side (i. e. its existence there) that will ensure that the speaker will not forget it. Merely having put it there would not be sufficient; only a single subject used no auxiliary while retaining the main verb pooTu as given in (131). The conditional shows the dependence of one event or state on another rather than its simple occurrence in the situation of the other event having taken place. For this latter sense, iru is required.

Up to this point, we have been discussing mainly similarities in the response patterns to (131) and (132). But there were also differences between the two patterns, as well as similarities. The most dramatic difference can be seen in the last two columns of (133). Though no subjects made use of the nil auxiliary response to (132), this was the second most frequent response to (131), provided by seven (21%) of the subjects and exemplified here by (139).

- (139) en-paiye-pakkat-le-yee-irunt-aa-marakka-maaTTeen.
 my-bag-side-at-(emph)-be-(cond)-forget-(futneg)PNg
 If my bag is at my side, I won't forget it. (20.1.8)

The second most frequent response to (132), on the other hand, was to make use of vecciru. This type of response was supplied by seven (32%) of these subjects, though it never occurred in response to (131). Sentence (140) is one such response.

- (140) paiye-en-pakkat-le-pooTTu-vecc-irunt-aa-marant-
 bag-my-side-at-put-(vai)-(iru)-(cond)-forget-
 irukka-maaTTeen.
 (iru)-(futneg)PNg (15.3.16)
 If I was in the situation of having put the bag carefully by
 my side, I would not be in the situation of having forgotten it.

The other type of auxiliary response which occurred more frequently in response to (131) than to (132) was retention of the first of the given alternatives, viTu, as mentioned above. The third difference between the two response patterns is that vai and iru appeared as main verbs more often in the responses to (131) than in those to (132). In the latter response pattern, pooTu is retained as the main verb in all but one of the responses. In the former pattern, on the other hand, there are four occurrences (14%) of iru as main verb (as in 139) and nine (31%) of vai, as well as sixteen (55%) in which pooTu was retained. The main reason for these three differences in the response patterns seems to lie in the different auxiliary structures of the two given sentences. In one respect, the structure of (132) is balanced -- each clause has an auxiliary; but in another respect, it is not balanced -- the first clause describes an event, whereas the second describes the situation of an event having taken place. In responses such as (140), this imbalance has been corrected. In (131), there was no auxiliary in the second clause and so perhaps the nil auxiliary response to the first clause may also have been permitted there for stylistic reasons. The presence of an auxiliary in the second clause of (132) may also have disposed the subjects to interpret both first clause alternatives as auxiliaries as well, thus inhibiting the use of vai as a main verb. In (131), on the other hand, there was no auxiliary in the second clause and the possibility of interpreting vai as a main verb seems to have arisen fairly often. The larger proportion of viTu responses to (131) than to (132) may in turn have arisen from the differing selection of main verbs used in the two patterns. As was seen in (112) in the previous section, the main verbs pooTu and naTu selected significantly different sets of auxiliaries. The most common auxiliary used with pooTu was iru. That is also true of the

responses to (131). More than half of the responses containing pooTu made use of iru, whereas all but one of the cases of viTu retention followed the main verb vai. As pooTu was virtually the only main verb used in response to (132), there was a smaller proportion of viTu retention in these responses than in those to (131).

This second section on vai and vecciru has contained a rather wide-ranging discussion. The large degree to which iru has been featured reflects the degree to which the uses of vai and iru are related within the auxiliary system as a whole and shows the impracticability of investigating particular members of a syntactic or semantic system without reference to other members. The treatment of (124) and (127) indicated that, though vai may add a sense of future affectiveness to the significance of the main verb, it is not used on its own to create a semantic link between two clauses in the way that iru is. When some event is said to take place in the situation of another one having already done so, iru is likely to be used in the first clause, regardless of whether there is also an indication (vai) of the first one having been performed with an eye to its future results. Sentences (131) and (132) gave rise to a variety of considerations. The overall structure of the sentences was again seen to be relevant to the selection of individual auxiliaries (as was also the case in the discussion of 115 and 116). The choice of main verb was again seen to be a factor in the selection of auxiliary (as also in 112 and in 196 and 197 of Chapter Three). There was also a brief treatment of the alternative main verb and auxiliary interpretations often possible with vai.

It is this latter point with which our third and final section on vai is primarily concerned. Sentences (141) and (142), for example, each contained an instance of the vai+iru collocation.

(141) ennoTeya-caTTeye-enta-peTTiy-il-pooTTu-vecc-irukkiinka ?
 my-shirt-which-box-in-put-(vai)-(iru)(pres)PNg
 Which box have you put my shirt in? (B22)

(142) ennuTeya-caTTeye-entap-peTTiy-il-pooTTu-vecc-irukkiinka ?
 my-shirt-which-box-in-put-(vai)-(iru)(pres)PNg
 Which box have you put my shirt in? (D 22)

These ^{two examples of the same} sentence were presented virtually identically on the questionnaires and called for the same operation, the replacement of the given caTTe 'shirt' with veTTI 'dhoti'. The response patterns were virtually identical as well. All but one of the sixteen subjects (94%) responding to (141) retained the auxiliaries as given and the one who did not merely dropped the given main verb and retained the given combination, reinterpreting the vai as a main verb. Similarly, all but two (92%) of the twenty-four subjects responding to (142) also retained the given auxiliaries and one subject reinterpreted vai as a main verb while retaining the given combination. A single subject made use of no auxiliary in his response to this sentence. These results indicate that vecciru is highly acceptable in the type of context represented by these sentences.

A third sentence in this series made use of the past tense of iru to contrast with the present tenses of (141) and (142). This was (143), the responses to which are summarized, along with those to the two earlier sentences, in (144).

(143) ennoTaya-caTTeye-enta -poTTiy-il-pooTTu-vecc-iruntiinka ?
 my-shirt-which-box-in-put-(vai)-(iru)(past)PNg
 Which box had you put my shirt in? (C22)

(144)	<u>%vecciru</u> <u>ret</u>	<u>%iru</u> <u>ret</u>	<u>%nil</u> <u>repl</u>
(141) present	94	6	0
(142) present	92	4	4
(143) past	58	26	16

Although the given combination of auxiliaries was retained much less of the time in response to (143) than to the two earlier sentences, it was still retained by a majority of the subjects. Eleven (58%) of the nineteen subjects gave responses of this type, one of them changing the tense of iru to the present. In three responses, one of which was (145), no auxiliary was used.

(145) emuTaya-veeTTiye-enta-peTTiy-il-pooTTiinka ?
 my-dhoti-which-box-in-put(past)PNg
 Which box did you put my dhoti in? (7. 3. 22)

Five subjects (26%) retained only iru of the given auxiliaries but three of these retained vai as well, reinterpreting it as a main verb. One such response is shown here as (146).

(146) en-veeTTiye-enta-puTTiy-il-vaicc-iruntiinka ?
 my-dhoti-which-box-in-put carefully-(iru)(past)PNg
 Which box had you put my dhoti in? (10. 2. 22)

In sentences of this type, where vai is the initial element of the verbal string, it is, by virtue of that position, being treated unambiguously as a main verb. In many of the other sentences which we have been discussing in connection with vai, such as (143), the vai is interpretable as either auxiliary or main verb, depending on which structure is taken to underlie the surface sentence. The reduced proportion of retention of the given collocation in the responses to (143),

compared with (141) and (142), is doubtless due to the use of the past tense without a specific past time being indicated. Four of the five subjects who retained iru and one of those who retained vecciru changed the tense to present.

Another sentence to illustrate the alternative main verb and auxiliary interpretations often possible with vai is (147).

- (147) kaale-le-naan-anta-caTTe-vaanki-vecc-aaccu.
 morning-in-I-that-shirt-buy-(vai)-(aaku)(past)PNg
 I bought that shirt in the morning (perhaps
 intending to wear it at some point). (E28)
or I bought that shirt in the morning and kept it.

This sentence was intended to test the acceptability of the collocation of vai+aaku. The two glosses given here represent the alternative interpretations of vai as auxiliary or main verb. In the latter interpretation, the clause of which vai is the nucleus can be expanded to give further details as to the time, location, and manner of the keeping referred to. In six (22%) of the twenty-seven responses obtained to (147), the given collocation was retained. The majority response, however, was to replace this collocation with that of vai and viTu. One of the fourteen (52%) responses of this type is shown here as (148).¹

- (148) kaale-le-anta-veeTTiye-vaanki-vecc-uTTeen.
 morning-in-that-dhoti-buy-(vai)-(viTu)(past)PNg
 I bought that dhoti in the morning. (22.1.28)

¹As in the case of (141, 142 and 143), subjects were asked to replace caTTe 'shirt' with veeTTi 'dhoti' in connection with sentence (147).

Four further subjects (15%) retained just vai of the given collocation, as in (149).

- (149) kaaley-ile-naan-anta-veeTTiye-vaanki-vecceen.
 morning-in-I-that-dhoti-buy-(vai)(past)PNg
 I bought that dhoti in the morning. (18.5.28)

Altogether, including the response types mentioned so far and the one response each of the vai+iru and vai+kiTu collocations, vai was retained in all the responses but one to (147). From this it appears that vai itself is perfectly acceptable here, but that the given collocation is not so. If a completive sense is desired with vai, viTu is clearly more acceptable than aaku.

The responses to (147) were broadly confirmed by those to (150), which again contained the vai+aaku collocation but which stated that the event described in the principal clause occurred prior to another event described in the first clause, rather than at the specific past time of (147).

- (150) niinka-varattukku-munnaaTi-yee-naan-anta-caTTe--
 you-coming-before-(emph)-I-that-shirt-
 vaanki-vecc-aaccu.
 buy-(vai)-(aaku)(past)PNg (C16)
 I bought that shirt even before you came.

The responses to this sentence, along with those to (147) and (154), are summarized in (151).

(151)	<u>%veccaaccu</u>	<u>%vecciTu</u>	<u>%vai</u>	<u>%viTu</u>	<u>%aaku</u>	<u>%other</u>
	<u>ret</u>	<u>repl</u>	<u>ret</u>	<u>repl</u>	<u>ret</u>	<u>_____</u>
(147)	22	52	15	4	0	7
(150)	21	42	0	21	5	10
(154)	7	0	7	36	29	21

Again, the most frequent type of response, supplied by eight (42%) of the nineteen subjects, was to replace the given collocation with that of vai and viTu, as exemplified in (152).

- (152) niinka-varratt-ukku-muntiy-ee-anta-caTTaye-vaanki-
 you-coming-to-before-(emph)-that-shirt-buy-
 vecc-uTTeen.
 (vai)-(viTu)(past)PNg (6.1.16)
 I bought that shirt even before you came.

Four subjects (21%) retained the given collocation and another four made use just of viTu, as in (153).

- (153) niinka-varratt-ukku-munnaaTi-yee-caTTaye-vaank-iTTeen.
 you-coming-to-before-(emph)-shirt-buy-(viTu)(past)PNg
 I bought the shirt before you came. (7.1.16)

One subject retained the given aaku but dropped vai, one replaced the given collocation with vai+iru, and one replaced it with kiTu. The chief difference between these two response patterns is the decline in vai retention to (150) and the corresponding increase in viTu replacement. This may have resulted from the relatively strong emphasis in (150) on the event having taken place before another event, rather than at some previous time -- an emphasis which would encourage the use of the completive at the expense of whatever other alternative was provided in the sentence (in this case, vai).

Although it might seem that the vai in sentences (147) and (150) could equally well be interpreted as an auxiliary or as a main verb, the results to the next sentence which we will be discussing suggest that perhaps the main verb interpretation is the more likely. Though it contained the same collocation of auxiliaries as did (147) and (150), sentence (154) elicited a radically different pattern of responses, as was seen in (151).

- (154) ennooTa-viiTTe-kaTTarattukkaaka-niroya-kaTan-vaanki-
 my - house - to build - much - loan - get -
 vecc-aaccu.
 (vai)-(aaku)(past)PNg (B13)
 I got a big loan in order to build my house.

In response to this sentence, only three (21%) of fourteen subjects made use of vai in their responses, each in a different collocation -- once with aaku, once with iru, and once by itself. The most frequent type of response to this sentence was to replace the given collocation of auxiliaries with viTu. There were five responses (36%) of this type, one of which is shown here as (155).

- (155) en-viITTe-kaTrattukkaaka-neraya-kaTan-vaank-iTTeen.
 my-house-to build-much-loan-get-(viTu)(past)PNg
 I got a big loan in order to build my house. (2.3.13)

Four subjects (29%) retained aaku alone and a further two (14%) replaced the given collocation with iru. The most important way in which (154) differs from (147) and (150) is that, although it seems to admit the meaning of vai as an auxiliary, it presents an obstruction to its interpretation as a main verb. In neither earlier sentence could there be said to be any problem in interpreting vai either way. The shirt could have been "bought and kept" or "bought with a future intention in mind". In (154), on the other hand, the speaker says that he got a loan for the purpose of buying a house. This seems to be an appropriate context for a "future affective" interpretation, but not for the main verb "keep" interpretation since the loan would have to be passed on to the builder for it to do any good in getting the speaker's house built. Thus the sharp decline in vai responses between the first two sentences summarized in (151) and the third corresponds to a sharp decline in the possibility of interpreting it as a main verb. This makes it appear that vai was being interpreted as a main verb in (147) and (150) more often than as an auxiliary.

In this final section on vai, two series of examples (141, 142, 143 and 147, 150, 154) have been briefly discussed. The first set of examples

all contained instances of yai which were interpretable either as main verbs or as auxiliaries. In some of the responses, the auxiliary interpretation was eliminated by replacing the given head of the verbal phrase with yai. These examples suggest, however, that in many cases it may not be important to distinguish between the use of a verbal form as auxiliary or as main verb. It may not be necessary to distinguish semantically between the notion of "keep" (or "put carefully") and "future affective". In either case, providing there are no complements attached to yai, its apparent meaning is bound to be influenced by the preceding main verb (indicating what sort of "keeping" or "future affectiveness" is involved). And also, if complements are attached, and yai is necessarily a main verb in our terms, the meanings of the complements will join with the meaning of yai to indicate what sort of "keeping" is referred to (eg. "in a drawer", "close at hand", "carefully"). The second series contained two sentences (147 and 150) in which yai might also have been thought to be interpretable equally well as auxiliary or main verb, even though it was given in collocation with a completive auxiliary. In the third sentence (154), however, the auxiliary interpretation was rendered unlikely by the context and the acceptability of yai plummeted. This suggests not only that in these particular cases yai was generally being taken as a main verb, but also perhaps that viTu and the other completives may be attached only to main verbs (and not to the "auxiliary" yai any more than they could be attached to kiTTiru, kiTu, "auxiliary" viTu, or iru).

Since there were fewer total cases of yai and vecciru on the questionnaires than of the previous auxiliaries discussed, a larger proportion of the total has been dealt with here than was the case in the previous chapter or the earlier parts of this one. Nevertheless, there remains a residual group

of sentences in which vai appeared on the questionnaire, or in the responses, or both, and which are rather uninformative or irrelevant to the course of the discussion. In some cases, these may have been discussed in connection with another auxiliary; otherwise, they do not concern us here.

Regardless of what has been said above about a relative paucity of examples containing vai and vecciru compared with what was available for the other auxiliaries discussed, there are sufficient to enable us to have selected the eighteen examples dealt with in the three sections of this final third of the chapter. In the first of these, we examined relatively clear cases of the auxiliary use of vai. In the initial series of sentences especially (101, 104, 108 and 113), we were working with a context which seemed amenable to the auxiliary semantic interpretation of "future affective" but not to the main verb semantic interpretation of "keep" or "put carefully". The future affective meaning of vai was seen to be particularly crucial in its use with the alternative main verbs, naTu and pooTu, of (101, 104 and 113). Although it seemed at one point as though the meanings of vai and iru were quite close, signifying perhaps something like "future affective" and "present affective" respectively as auxiliaries and something like "cause to be (in a particular position)" and "be" as main verbs, the results to (115, 116 and 121) suggested that this was not the case. The results to these examples seem to show that vai definitely lacks the stative "existential" predication of iru, and that if it occurs in an environment where the stative meaning is appropriate, it occurs in collocation with iru. This contrast between vai and iru was discussed further in the second section and the previous conclusions were confirmed by the results to (124) and (127). The discussion of (131) and (132) was primarily concerned with the subtle question of auxiliary "balance" within a sentence but

other topics were mentioned as well, including the main concern of the third section, the alternative main verb/auxiliary interpretations of yai.

In general, the two primary auxiliaries with which we have been concerned in this chapter present somewhat different problems than did the two with which we were primarily concerned in the previous one. With kiTu and viTu there was rarely much chance of ambiguity between their potential interpretation as auxiliary and that as main verb. In colloquial Tamil, kiTu can hardly be said to occur as a main verb (though its main verb equivalent koLLu can often be glossed as 'bear' or 'carry'); viTu means approximately 'let go' or 'let loose (of)' as a main verb. Such main-verb meanings as these forms possess seem different enough from their auxiliary meanings, therefore, that it was never necessary in Chapter Three to have recourse to the syntactic criteria by which we initially identified the auxiliary verbs in Chapter One to ascertain which uses were auxiliary and which were central to a given clause. The meanings of iru and yai as auxiliaries are so close to their meanings as main verbs, however, that it was often the case that no clear line of demarcation could be drawn between the two uses.

CHAPTER FIVE

In this chapter, we will briefly examine the implications for general linguistic theory of the discussion of Tamil auxiliary verbs contained in the preceding chapters. This discussion will be concentrated on two main themes. To begin with, the uses of Tamil iru and kiTTiru will be compared with those of corresponding auxiliaries in various other languages. It will be suggested on the grounds of semantic similarity between the Tamil forms and those of the other languages discussed that an analysis which holds good for Tamil may reasonably be expected to be useful in analyzing the auxiliaries of other languages as well. From this, we will go on to examine more of the points of Tamil auxiliary usage described in the previous chapters and explore the types of theoretical framework that may be necessary to handle these within a general linguistic theory.

Among the uses of auxiliary verbs in Tamil discussed in the preceding chapters, two may be selected for particular notice as helping us to understand the relations between main verbs and auxiliaries in many other languages as well. These two are the use of iru (which functions also as a copula and denoter of existence) as a "perfect aspect" and the use of iru, combined with kiTu (also used as an auxiliary to indicate contemporaneity of two events) to form a "progressive aspect".

It is our view that, in its uses of these auxiliaries, Tamil is unusually transparent, compared with other languages, and that the surface structure of these aspects in Tamil clearly represents their semantic composition and

indicates the semantic relationship between the auxiliary and main verb uses of the forms involved. The similarity of auxiliary and main verb meanings over a wide variety of languages, many of which are presumably unrelated, suggests that there is some language-universal conception of the perfect and the progressive which is directly relatable to the embedding of some predication within an existential predication. This view will be supported in what follows by citing such semantic descriptions of perfects and progressives in other languages as we have access to. As a preliminary to such a discussion, let us examine the concept of 'being'.

It might be said that the concept of 'being' can be approached either from a basis rooted in symbolic logic or from one grounded on expressions of 'being' in natural languages. But this is not a true contrast. The philosophical concepts made explicit by symbolic logic arose within linguistic systems -- indeed, the word being is itself a linguistic entity. Whichever approach is adopted towards its description, the concept of 'being' is essentially a linguistic one.

If, however, the 'logical' approach is taken, the uses of such a specific linguistic item as the English verb 'to be' can be mapped onto the categories of a symbolic logic. This is what Graham (1965:231) does: "In symbolic logic the verb 'to be' dissolves into the sign of existence (\exists), which is not a predicate but a quantifier, and three separate copulae, the signs of identity ($=$), class membership (\in) and class inclusion (\subset)." However, there are other systems of symbolic logic besides that referred to by Graham. Kahn (1973:4-7), for example, discusses Les'niewski's system. This includes a more general symbol -- a primitive copula, or " ε relation" -- which can be adapted to cover the four "meanings" so sharply separated by the more widely used system.

Here, selecting a symbolic logic more suitable to describing the semantics of the language with which he is primarily concerned (Ancient Greek), Kahn is, in effect, combining the logical and the natural language approach to discussing the concept of 'being'.

A study which explicitly combines the two approaches (though not in these terms) is Durbin and Durbin 1969. Using the logical system referred to by Graham above, the Durbins argue that, although there are four symbolic equivalents for 'be' and another two for 'have', these are not consistently distinguished by any of the languages under consideration (English, Athabaskan, Yucatecan Maya, and Gujerati). On this basis, the authors group the three copulae of their symbolic logic into a single category, set up a separate category for the existential use, and amalgamate the two possessive relations into their third category. They then go on to state that though "the concepts of existence, coextension, and partitive (their three categories - ID) are universal...their manifestations are varied and sometimes, even appear to be lacking in the surface structure." (1969:117). Since the criterion used in reducing the six distinctions of symbolic logic to their three "universals" was precisely the lack of surface structure differentiation between the logical categories, there seems no clear reason for retaining the three "universals" as separate either.

An alternative view is that the concept of 'being' can be regarded as a semantic unity which is subdivided variously by natural languages. Although parts of this unity are treated variously by various languages, there can be said to be a considerable degree of similarity in their treatment of the concept as a whole, as will be discussed below. It is the similarity of treatment, cross-linguistically

as well as within individual languages, that is ignored by such symbolic differentiation as that suggested by Graham (and before him, such as Russell and Carnap). The very existence of the series of cross-linguistic comparison, The Verb 'Be' and its Synonyms (Verhaar 1967-73), is evidence that such a concept as 'being' has sufficient cohesion to be discussed in connection with a wide variety of languages. It is this conceptual unity too, that enables Bendix (1971:406) to refer to "have and be as manifestations of the same thing." Bhaskararao (1972) presents a transformational study of Telegu in which a node BP (Be Phrase) is introduced in the second PS rule and later developed into various copulative, existential, temporal, locative, and possessive expressions.

Another recent argument for the semantic unity of what we are calling 'being' is that which regards statements of existence, possession, and location to be fundamentally of the same type (cf. Allen 1964, Kahn 1973). More specifically, it is argued that statements of existence and possession can be said to derive in some sense from locative expressions (Anderson 1971, 1973; Hopper 1972; Lyons 1967, 1968). Whatever the merits of this specific view, its importance to this discussion is that it again expresses the underlying "sameness" of what we are referring to as expressions of Being.

Taking English as our first example of the way this conceptual unity is manifested in natural languages, we note that there are two verbs particularly relevant to this discussion, have and be. These have in the past been often considered to be separate lexical verbs. They have each been regarded as functioning in two separate ways --- as main verb and as auxiliary (eg. Jespersen 1933: 126, 242, Lester 1971: 53-54, Scott 1968: 109, Strang 1968: 155; for be,

cf. also Curme 1931:26). It is true that, in English, have and be are manifested by separate phonological forms and that they interact independently with such verbal categories as number, person, and tense. They are also distinct in the syntax of English as well, as shown by the fact that they are not interchangeable in such sentences as (1).

(1) Jennifer has a birthday today and is three years old.

Such a sentence as (2) is of course impossible.

(2) To Jennifer is a birthday today and she has three years of age.

However, when we examine these forms from the semantic point of view and investigate their possibilities of paraphrase, any line of demarcation that might have been previously drawn to separate them becomes indistinct.

Similarities between the uses of have and be in English have been noticed before. Bach (1967) notes some similarities of distribution between the two and suggests parallel treatments of them within his theoretical framework. In his discussion of semantic description, Bendix (1971) touches on some of the uses of have in English and distinguishes three classes of 'A has B' relations, which he terms 'inherent', 'accidental', and 'characterizing' (cf. also Fillmore 1968:63; Hopper 1972:124-6). Sentences containing each of these uses of have can be paraphrased with ones containing be. Note the sets of sentences in (3) to (6).

(3) Sue has a pen in her hand.
A pen is in Sue's hand.
There is a pen in Sue's hand.

- (4) There is a fly on the wall.
A fly is on the wall.
The wall has a fly on it.
- (5) Joshua's book has a discussion of tense in it.
Joshu has a discussion of tense in his book.
A discussion of tense is in Joshua's book.
There is a discussion of tense in Joshua's book.
- (6) John has intelligence. / John is intelligent.
Frances has great beauty. / Frances is very beautiful.
My father has white hair. / My father is white-haired.

Of these, sets (3) and (4) would presumably belong to Bendix's 'accidental' class, (5) to the 'inherent' one, and (6) contains 'characterizing' sentences. The tendency in modern spoken English for the third person singular forms of have and be to be contracted into phonologically identical shapes shows another way in which these verbs are treated similarly in the language. For example, He has been to Paris is often contracted in speech to He's been to Paris and He is well travelled to He's well travelled. Similarly, the phonological distinction between has and is has been lost from the sentences in (7).

- (7) It's rained today. / It's rainy today.

Revealing as the interrelations of have and be are in English, it is from cross-linguistic comparison that we find evidence to show that the relations which they express may well constitute a single phenomenon, as suggested above. Lehiste, for example, discusses "the notions of 'being' and 'having' in Estonian" within the framework of Case Grammar, and concludes "that the distinction between 'being' and 'having' in Estonian is one of different arguments taken, under special conditions, by the same verb." (1969: 324). A similar analysis to this could probably also be taken for the facts of Finnish and Tamil discussed below and, with more rules intervening between the deep and surface structures, perhaps such

an analysis could be extended to a language like English as well (in that case, presumably an underlying verb be would appear on the surface as have if it appeared in a case frame including Dative and Objective). In any case, whether we are to consider possession and existence as separate relations or as a single relation with a variable number and type of arguments, it is indisputable that their treatment in natural languages is in many ways similar.

In some languages, such as Finnish and Tamil, there is only a single verb to correspond to the English possessive have and existential be, both in their main verb and auxiliary uses. In Finnish, this verb is olla 'to be' and in Tamil, iru 'be'. Thus, the English The man is in the house could be rendered in Finnish as (8) and in Tamil as (9).

- (8) Mies on talossa.
man (nominative), be (3rd sg pres), house (inessive)
- (9) manusan viiTTe irukkaar.
man, house-in, be (3rd sg resp pres)

The English The man has a book could be rendered as in (10) and (11).

- (10) Miehellä on kirja.
man (adessive), be (3rd sg pres), book (nominative)
- (11) manusanukku puttakam irukku.
man (dative), book, be (3rd sg neut pres)

In both (10) and (11), the possessor is in a case used elsewhere in the language to express a spatial relation. The dative in Tamil is usually used to indicate the place to which the action of the verb is directed (eg. paalu cennekku vantaar 'Balu came to Madras', uurukku pooyirukkaar 'He has gone home'). The adessive in Finnish, on the other hand, has a wide variety of uses. It indicates primarily the place at

which some event takes place, but is also used to indicate 'near' or 'at the home of' as well as the more figurative uses of instrumental and possessive. It is also used, as well as the inessive described below, to form an expression of continuousness, as in (12).¹

- (12) (Example from Eliot 1890:150)
 olen menolla.
 be (1st sg pres), going (adessive)
 I am going.

Further, in both Finnish and Tamil, this same verb 'be' is used to form a perfect in many ways equivalent to that of English. Compare the simple past sentences of (13) and (14) with the perfect ones of (15) and (16).

- (13) Mies luki kirjan.
 man (nominative), read (3rd sg past), book (accusative)
 The man read the book.
- (14) manusan puttakatte paTiccaar.
 man, book (accusative), read (3rd sg resp past)
 The man read the book.
- (15) mies on lukenut kirjan.
 man, be (3rd sg pres), read (past participle),
 book (accusative)
 The man has read the book.
- (16) manusan puttakatte paTicc-irukkaar.
 man, book (accusative), read (comb. form),
 be (3rd sg resp pres)
 The man has read the book.

¹It is curious, but apparently not significant, that the Tamil kiTTe is also used for 'near', 'at the home of', and for accidental possession (eg. antap paNakkaarankiTTe paNam ille 'That rich man has no money (on him) '). The form used with iru 'be' to form the continuous in Tamil is, of course, very similar -- kiTTu.

The Tamil form which I refer to as the 'combining form' has also been referred to as a 'past participle' and serves some of the same functions as the past participle in languages like English. Wang (1965) suggests that Mandarin is another language in which the possessive and existential meanings are carried by a single form, yǒu, which also functions as the marker of an aspect in some ways similar to the perfect.

In some other languages, forms roughly equivalent to both have and be exist but are distributed differently among the various apparent senses in which these verbs are employed. In French, for example, avoir and être exist as rough equivalents of the English verbs have and be. But in such expressions as j'ai faim 'I am hungry' and j'ai vingt ans 'I am twenty years old', French makes use of the opposite alternative to that employed in English. Though English uses only have in perfect constructions, French uses either avoir or être, depending on which main verb is selected. In a similar way, German uses both haben and sein in forming the perfect, selecting one or the other to accord with the main verb of the sentence. Other examples of languages using two verbs over a similar range of contexts include Swedish (vara 'to be' and ha 'to have') and Japanese (Bach 1967:483: "In Japanese, ar and i occur both in some predicative and have constructions and in periphrastic verbal constructions").

Bendix (1971:406) mentions that 'languages vary as to whether they express the existential with their equivalent of have or be or some other verb that we would define as containing a component have/be'. As examples, he gives 'have: Chinese yǐ, French il y a, Russian imeetsja, Spanish hay, (English one has); be: German es ist, Hindi hai, Japanese aru, Russian est', Italian c'è, English there is; give: German es gibt; find: Russian naxoditsja, Swedish det finns,

(English one finds).'' Although it may be wondered just how parallel some of these expressions are (note especially the three locutions given for Russian and the two supplementary English ones given in parentheses) (cf. also a similar but shorter list in Lees 1972:70) and whether Bendix would admit such expressions as the French se trouve into the list, it does contribute to the point that the functions of have and be cannot be neatly separated from one another.

Besides the perfect, another aspect marked by auxiliary elements in English and Tamil is the continuous (or 'progressive'). In languages in which it occurs, this aspect is also frequently marked in part by a form homophonous with the verb 'be'. In Finnish, as stated above for example, an infinitive form is used in the inessive case (used elsewhere in the language to denote 'existence in an object... the surroundings, state or condition of anything... occupation in which one is engaged' (Eliot 1890:139-41) along with the appropriate form of olla 'to be'.

- (17) Olen lukemassa kirjaa.
 be (1st sg pres), reading (inessive), book (partitive)
 I am in the state of reading the book= I am
 reading the book.

Anderson (1973) gives many examples of markers of the progressive aspect in languages of the world in his attempt to support his "localist hypothesis". It is his contention that the aspects, particularly the progressive, have developed from locative constructions including the verb 'be'. Finnish is an obvious example to be used in support of this contention. In addition, he gives examples from such languages as Basque (18), Scottish Gaelic (19), and even Early Modern English (20).

- (18) (cited by Anderson (1973:9) from Darrigol) :
 erorten niz
 falling (locative case), be (1st sg pres)
 I am in falling= I am falling.

- (19) (1973:17-18):
 Bha e ag gearradh craoibhe 'He was at cutting of a tree'
 Bha e'na shuidhe 'He was in his sitting'
- (20) (cited by Anderson (1973:21) from Jespersen):
 They had ben a fyghtyng
 who were merrily a working

In connection with this last example, Anderson notes, "A here is (historically at least) a reduction of a full preposition, as it is in examples involving nouns like that in I would they were a-bed..." (1973:21).¹ Though I know of no evidence from Tamil to support the localist side of Anderson's hypothesis, the verb iru 'be', as we have been discussing above, is used in the formation of the Tamil continuous as it is in so many other languages.

It is, of course, true, that any aspect in one language is not quite the same as an aspect in another language. At the lexical level, it is well known that the words of no two languages are in a one-to-one correspondence. Words with concrete referents are more likely to be close equivalents, cross-linguistically, than words of a highly abstract nature. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that such an abstract category as an aspect should differ in its interpretation from language to language. But this is not to say that parallels cannot be drawn. Similarities can be observed between the way that certain aspectual forms are used in one language with the way that certain other ones are used in another language. This is just to make it clear that when we draw parallels between an aspect in one language and the

¹cf. also F. Mossé (1935).

equivalent one in another, we are at no point suggesting that these "equivalent aspects" are used in the same way in all contexts.¹

In discussing the perfect and progressive aspects here, that is, we are concerned not to prove that they are used in Tamil exactly the same way as in English, for example, but to ascertain whether we can hypothesize, eg., a general linguistic "perfect" with features common to all the individual language-specific perfects of which accounts exist, or providing a pool of 'perfective' features from which individual perfects select. If it is possible to hypothesize such a general linguistic perfect, we may ask if it is then possible to specify the various modifications which this "general perfect" may undergo in individual languages. In an attempt to answer these questions with regard to the perfect and progressive aspects, we may examine these aspectual constructions in some other languages in the light of our analysis of the Tamil ones. Using our analysis of the Tamil aspects as a point of departure, therefore, we can say that they consist of two predications. In the case of the perfect, one of these is centred on the main verb and the other is the existential predication of iru 'be'. It is because the two predications are collapsed into a single clause that the iru of such sentences as (21) is to be regarded as an auxiliary verb rather than as a main verb.

- (21) anta aaL puttakatte paTicc irukkaar.
 that man book-(acc) read be-(3rd sg resp pres)
 That man has read the book.

¹This discussion ignores the terminological confusion between 'past' and 'perfect' that may underlie such a statement as: "...the Hungarian tense system shows a binary opposition between...the Present and the Perfect. The Perfect expresses relative antecedent and the Present relative non-antecedent." (Lotz 1962:262).

In the case of the progressive, we may again say that there are two predications-- that expressed by the main verb and that expressed by the auxiliary iru. In this case, however, the two are connected by the 'simultaneous' auxiliary kiTu, which indicates that the two predications are concurrent--giving the meaning of the progressive.

Now let us see to what extent this analysis can be extended to parallel aspects in other languages. The perfect which has received the most discussion in the literature is, of course, that of English. Perhaps the most common contemporary view of the perfect in English is that it expresses some kind of "current relevance", eg., "the present perfect indicates a period of time stretching backwards into some earlier time. It is past with 'current relevance' " (Quirk et. al. 1972:91). Twaddell (1963) also uses the expression "current relevance" when discussing these forms. In the sense that a verb in the perfect form is said to "produce currently relevant effects" (Twaddell 1963:9), Joos (1964:140) writes, "the perfect phase means that the event is not mentioned for its own sake but for the sake of its consequences."¹ Bauer (1970:190) states that the perfect views "the action...as being an accomplished fact at the moment of speaking." Palmer (1965) is another who takes a similar view: "The perfect forms indicate periods

¹The question of which label to apply to the grammatical category which the perfect belongs to does not concern us here. It has been referred to as a tense (eg. Jespersen 1924:269), a compound tense (eg. Sweet 1891:98), a status (eg. Bauer 1970:197), a phase (eg. Huddleston 1969:777), a taxis (Allen 1966:256), and a relative aspect (Kurylowicz 1964:90). Perhaps the most frequent term, in recent literature at least, is the one we shall be using -- aspect (used in this connection by a wide variety of earlier writers, including Hockett 1958:237, Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1968:108, Quirk et. al. 1972:90, Langendoen 1969:117, Scott 1968: 110, and Strang 1968:162).

of time that began before and continued up to a point of time" (pp61-2). Particularly close to the terminology we have been independently using to characterize Tamil is Strang (1968:162) who says, "The perfective adds a positive implication of 'being in a state resulting from having...'. It is to be noted that all of these commentators have found it necessary, in describing the perfect, to refer to two tenses --- that of the main verb and that of the perfect auxiliary have. This view, that the perfect, in English at any rate, requires that two predications be postulated, has been made even more explicit in recent years. Particularly well known for this view are those who, like Bach (1967) do not have a place in their postulated underlying structures for have and be as units separate from the tenses and aspects they carry. As Bach puts it: "Thus the perfect tenses can be paraphrased roughly as 'NP has the property that S' where S contains Past and has the identical NP as its subject" (1967:474). Anderson (1973:86) also feels that perfect constructions "involve once again the introduction of a secondary predication of some sort."

Although most of those who have discussed the perfect tense in English have felt it to be basically monosemous, along the lines taken by the present writer, a few recent accounts have claimed that it is in fact polysemous. It may be worthwhile at this point to examine the claims of two of these and see in what way they differ from the point of view being expressed here. (For objections to such earlier polysemous views on the perfect as those of Kruisinga 1931:390ff, Poutsma 1926:209-13, and Zandvoort 1962:59-62, see Sørensen 1964 and Bauer 1970). It is perhaps not surprising that, though both McCawley (1971) and Leech (1969) feel that the perfect is four ways ambiguous, they do not agree precisely on which ways it is ambiguous. McCawley (1971:104) claims there to be four "uses" of the present perfect in English:

- "(a) to indicate that a state of affairs prevailed throughout some interval stretching from the past into the present (Universal)...
- (b) to indicate the existence of past events (Existential)...
- (c) to indicate that the direct effect of a past event still continues (Stative)...
- (d) to report hot news (Hot News)."

The examples McCawley gives in support of these uses are, respectively, I've known Max since 1960, I have read Principia Mathematica five times, I can't come to your party tonight -- I've caught the flu, and Malcolm X has just been assassinated. The four senses isolated by Leech (1969:152-58) are, in his words, "Duration of state up to the present moment", "Duration of habit up to the present moment", "Indefinite past... (= 'at least once in the past')", and "resultative ... In many instances the perfective indicates that the result or outcome of an event is still in force." Among the examples he gives of these various senses are, respectively, They have lived here for ten years, He has driven a taxi for several years, She has met Mr. Robinson once, and He has broken the chair. From this, it is clear that the second and third of the senses listed by Leech are included in McCawley's Existential 'use', that Leech's first and fourth senses are equivalent to McCawley's Universal and Stative uses, and that Leech doesn't mention the Hot News use. The reason for the inconsistency between the two accounts is that the "polysemy" alleged to exist by both these scholars results from ignoring the relevance to the meaning of the sentence of the temporal adjuncts and the Aktionsart of the verb. It is the latter that has been ignored by both scholars in setting up a distinction between the perfect relating to past states and the perfect relating to past events. It is clear that the first two "senses" identified by Leech are in complementary distribution, as are the first two "uses" isolated by McCawley. "Duration of state" can occur only with stative verbs and "Duration of habit" can

occur only with verbs that can admit a habitual interpretation -- ones denoting repeatable events. Though Leech's second and third senses cooccur with many of the same verbs, the distinction between "indefinite past" and "duration of habit" may surely be said to lie in the temporal adjuncts used, rather than in the perfect construction itself. Note that McCawley includes these two in a single "use". But his "Hot News" use is open to the same objection. Note, for example, the following three sentences (22).

- (22) He has driven a taxi for several years.
 He has driven a taxi once.
 He has just driven a taxi.

Dillon (1973) accounts for four slightly different "interpretations" of the perfect in terms of occurrence in differently subcategorized clauses (following Anderson 1971), but fails to notice the existential component of its meaning. As Chafe (1969:172), who deals with many of the same topics as Leech, says,

"In summary, the meaning of perfective in all these sentences seems to be that a certain situation exists at the time of reference-- here, let us say, at the moment of utterance. If the situation is a state, perfective also means that the patient began to be in that state prior to the time of reference. If the situation is the consequence of an event, perfective means that the event took place prior to the time of reference. Perhaps the best way to characterize the meaning of perfective is to say that everything is understood to obtain at the time of reference, as in a non-perfective sentence, except that either the beginning of the state or the event which produced the situation is pushed back to an earlier time."

In the perfect construction of English, it may be said that it is the tense of the auxiliary (have) that indicates the time of reference and the presence of the auxiliary that indicates the existence of the earlier time to something which is "pushed back". Thus, it seems that the analysis of the perfect we have suggested for Tamil applies to English as well and the English perfect may also be considered as made up of two conjoined predications.

Our analysis of the progressive construction in Tamil is less obviously related to the parallel construction in English than was that of the perfect. It does, however, have a certain amount in common with some recent treatments of the progressive. Such writers as Bach (1967:474), Halliday (1963:12), and Huddleston (1969:787) treat the progressive under such formulations as "present in present" (compared with such as "past in present" for the perfect). It may well be questioned (as indeed it is by Anderson 1973a:336) whether the progressive involves embedding one tense within another or whether it involves rather a tensed predication and an untensed one, but these treatments do at least suggest the use of more than one predication in dealing with the progressive as well as with the perfect. Anderson's own view, as mentioned above, concentrates on the locative side of the concept of 'being', but insofar as his view also involves treating the be of the progressive as essentially the same as be, the main verb, it is fairly similar to that espoused here. The differences between these various views will be discussed in more detail below.

A similar analysis of the perfect as has been suggested for Tamil and English may likely be said to be appropriate for German and French as well, though the situation in these languages is complicated by the historical tendency for the perfect to degenerate into a simple past in these and some other Indo-European languages, as described by Meillet (1921) and Zieglschmid (1930a, 1930b). This tendency, which does not seem to have been satisfactorily accounted for to date, apparently does not exist in English. But in South German, for instance, the past tense form disappeared as early as the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries (Grebe 1966.104) and the use of the perfect construction was extended to

fill the gap. Consequently, the preterite/perfect distinction is apparently no longer maintained in South German, at least not by surface verbal forms. Grebe (1966:105) even reports that the 'past tense' forms of auxiliary sein and haben have been replaced in some South German dialects by the 'perfect' forms: "Der Ausfall des Präteritums und des Plusquamperfekts hat im Oberdeutschen zur Herausbildung einer neuen Form für die Vorvergangenheit geführt: Ich hab's ganz vergessen gehabt. Ich bin eingeschlafen gewesen." ('I had completely forgotten it' and I had gone to sleep"--cf. Standard German Ich hatte es ganz vergessen and Ich war eingeschlafen). In North German, on the other hand, and more especially in Standard German, the distinction between preterite and perfect is maintained and is described in terms reminiscent of those frequently used to describe the English perfect. Jørgensen (1966:45) says, for example, "Altogether, one may say that the perfect gives the impression that the earlier action or situation, seen from the point of view of the actual present, still has a certain interest or validity." Grebe (1966:100) describes the past tense in contrast to the perfect: "...ein Geschehen vom Standpunkt des Sprechers aus gesehen vergangen und im Gegensatz zum Perfekt von diesem Standpunkt völlig losgelöst ist." In describing the uses of the tenses in (literary) German, he associates the perfect with the present and the past perfect with the past. Of the first two, he says (p103):

'Der Sprecher benutzt diese Formen, wenn er „die Welt bespricht“, das heißt, wenn er ablaufendes oder vergangenes Geschehen in seinen Erlebnisbereich einbezieht und sich dazu äußert."

Of the latter two, he says (p104): "Der Sprecher benutzt diese Formen wenn er „die Welt erzählt“, das heißt wenn er vergangenes Geschehen aus der Erinnerung darstellt. Dieses Geschehen ist im Gegensatz zum Perfekt völlig losgelöst von ihm."

Here again, the contrast is explained as being between an event which has completely passed by and has no connection with the present, and one that is still considered by the speaker to have something to do with the present (cf. also Stopp 1957:172). Another view is held by Kufner (1962:88): "the German past tense...and present perfect phrase...have exactly the same fundamental denotation: past time. They differ only in stylistic flavor, in their connotation." Such statements may arise from two factors. One is that the German perfect, as indeed the Tamil perfect, lacks such constraints that operate on the English perfect as that against cooccurrence with specific past time adverbials (eg. yesterday). The other is that Kufner is most concerned with spoken German, whereas the past/perfect distinction is most clearly maintained in Standard (written) German, rather than in any variety of the spoken language.

As mentioned above, German makes use of auxiliary verbs in forming its perfect tenses. These are haben 'have' and sein 'be'. Though the selection of which auxiliary is to be used with a particular main verb is often said to be lexically conditioned (eg. Folsom 1966:15), there are syntactic and semantic considerations which affect the choice. The clearest syntactic influence is that haben "is used with all transitive verbs (i.e. those which take a direct object in the accusative" (Stopp 1957:49). This includes reflexives. With intransitive verbs, on the other hand, it is said that "Haben directs attention to the action for its own quality, sein directs interest to the event which is the result of the action, to the impact on the outside situation" (1957:50). In other words, it may be said that haben is used in imperfective intransitive sentences and sein in perfective intransitive sentences. Thus, sein is used with verbs that denote a specific change of state or position (verblüthen, ankommen, etc.). With verbs that

denote physical movement (such as tanzen, reiten, segeln, and rudern), haben is used if it is just the action of dancing, riding, sailing, or rowing that is referred to. If it is made explicit, however, that a change of place occurs, sein is used. Note the examples from Grebe (1966:99) shown here as (23), and compare Priebisch and Collinson (1966: 331).

- (23) Ich habe als junger Mensch viel getanzt.
 Das Mädchen ist aus der Stube getanzt.
- Er hat den ganzen Vormittag gesegelt.
 Ich bin über den See gesegelt.

This semantic correlation also holds for the distinction between the use of sein and haben with such verbs as fliegen and fahren pointed out by Grebe (1966:100). If the subject of a sentence containing one of these verbs is doing the action of flying or driving (is the pilot or driver), haben is used as the perfect auxiliary. If, on the other hand, the subject of the sentence is merely going from one place to another (is a passenger), sein is used instead. But the use of sein with the quintessentially stative verbs sein and bleiben shows that the correlation of 'perfective' denotation with sein and 'imperfective' denotation with haben is not without exceptions.

In modern French usage, a parallel development to the German one has taken place, by which the past has been replaced by the perfect. At the same time, however, a "perfect perfect" seems to have been developed to take the place of the previous perfect and so the system of verbal contrasts in French has remained basically unchanged. As Benveniste says, in contrasting the two separate temporal systems which he sees in French:

"Fonctionnellement, j'ai eu fait est le nouveau parfait d'un j'ai fait devenu aoriste... au couple il mangea (aoriste): il eut mangé (parfait) du récit historique, le discours répond maintenant par il a mangé (nouvel aoriste): il a eu mangé (nouveau parfait)" (1959:81).

The French situation is, however, different from that of English and German in another respect. There is in French an explicit "imperfect" past tense form (*imparfait*) in opposition to both the *passé simple* (*passé défini*) and the *passé composé* (*passé indéfini* or perfect) --- or to both the *passé composé* and the *passé surcomposé*, depending on which stage of the language is being discussed. The presence of this additional form referring to past time in the French verbal system may have helped keep its oppositions intact, whatever the formal replacements that occurred. In any case, we again find, in the French case, as well as in the English and German, that the perfect is described in terms which can be interpreted as referring to two predications, each with its own tense---one past and one present in the case of the present perfect. As Wartburg and Zumthor (1947:100) have it, the perfect in French "marque essentiellement le passé dans la mesure où il comporte pour le présent une conséquence quelconque relativement au sujet de l'action, ou un intérêt encore actuel." More explicit is Price (1971:166), who gives the meaning of the "perfective" j'ai chanté as "'I have sung', i.e. 'at the present time, I am in the position of having completed the action of singing.'" It is perhaps revealing that Price glosses the French perfect in almost exactly the same words as were arrived at independently above in glossing the Tamil perfect.

As mentioned above, the perfect is marked in French with either avoir 'have' or être 'be', according to the main verb of the sentence. The first of these is the more common, being used with all transitive verbs as well as intransitive ones "indiquant la nature d'un mouvement, propre ou figuré, tels que

courir, nager, marcher, sauter, etc.; périr, céder, réussir, etc." (Wartburg and Zumthor 1947:11); in other words, verbs indicating the nature of a movement, such as 'run', 'swim', 'walk', 'leap'; and, figuratively, such as 'perish', 'give way', 'succeed'. Être is used with reflexive verbs and with "ceux qui indiquent la direction d'un mouvement, propre ou figuré: aller, venir, entrer, sortir, arriver, partir, tomber; naître, mourir; et leur composés" (1947:12); i.e. a small number of verbs indicating the direction of a movement, such as 'go', 'come', 'enter', 'go out', 'arrive', 'leave', 'fall', and, figuratively, 'be born', 'die'. In short, it appears to be necessary simply to list the verbs which form their perfects with être, apart from the reflexives, and state that all others use avoir. Puzzlingly, Wartburg and Zumthor mention that there are about thirty French verbs indicating a change of state that can be used with either être or avoir in forming the perfect and that there is a difference of meaning depending on which is used. Avoir is used to point out the fact of the change itself and être to point out the new state of affairs brought about by the change. They give as an example the two sentences of (24).

(24) Il a vieilli (avoir) 'He has grown old'
 Il est vieilli (être)

They paraphrase the first of these, "during the time in which I haven't seen him, he has taken on the appearance of an older man"; and the second, "without regard for what has gone on during my absence, I simply state that he seems older than one would have expected." (tr. p.11). Other verbs that are said to partake of this distinction are paraître 'seem', apparaître 'appear', disparaître 'disappear', rajeunir 'become young', grandir 'grow', embellir 'make beautiful', rapetisser 'make smaller', monter 'climb', descendre 'descend', and échapper 'escape'. As a further example of this phenomenon, Wartburg and Zumthor give the sentences of (25).

- (25) ce mot m'a échappé (avoir) "The word has escaped me"
 ce mot m'est échappé (être) "The word escaped me"

Of these, the first is glossed "I have forgotten the word or didn't understand it" and the second, "I said it without thinking". At first glance, these cases seem to disprove our contention that avoir and être are equivalent forms in complementary distribution conditioned by the main verbs with which they occur. Of course, one may say in such cases that there are two homophonous main verbs with slightly differing meanings which happen to make use of different auxiliaries in forming their perfects. But that is a claim of desperation, to be used only if no more reasonable explanation can be arrived at. On the other hand, Wartburg and Zumthor are the only authors of the dozen or so I have consulted who mention this phenomenon. It may be that il est vieilli is not a case of the perfect at all. It may be that vieilli is used here as an adjective rather than as a past participle, so that the sentence means "He is (grown) old". As Wartburg and Zumthor themselves say, "A phrase of the type il est aimé is always a little ambiguous, aimé being taken as an adjective or as the participle of a passive verb." (tr. p.11). In any case, it is clear that the accounts given by many scholars of the semantics of the French perfect, some of which were cited above, are amenable to the interpretation of being similar to our analysis of Tamil.

German and French are less relevant to a discussion of the progressive than they are to the perfect, since neither of these languages has any strictly verbal form of the nature of the progressive. The most common function of the English progressive, that of marking an action which is currently in progress, is filled in these languages by the present tense form. It thus follows that the expressions which may be termed "progressive" in these languages are far more

marked than in English and provide a stronger emphasis on the fact that the event represented by the verb is actually in progress at the time of speaking. Such prepositional forms, however, as French être en train de, être à (Price 1971:238) or German sein+preposition+article+infinitive (eg. Lockwood 1968:162, die Preise sind im Steigen; cf. also Stopp 1957:261, and a similar formation involving sein--er war gerade dabei, sich zu waschen) make use of the verb of being to create such a "progressive" effect.

There are far fewer published accounts of the Finnish aspects than of those of French, German, or English. In his discussion of the perfect and pluperfect in Finnish, Eliot, for example (1890:176) gives a few examples and says merely, "The perfect corresponds pretty nearly to the tense formed with the auxiliary have in English... The pluperfect expresses an action finished in past time, and may be rendered by had in English." No indication is given as to what differences there may be between the Finnish usage and the English usage of their respective perfect auxiliaries. Such historically oriented works as Hakulinen 1961 and Sauvageot 1973 pay no attention at all to the semantics of verbal forms and if such a discussion is present at all in Lehtinen 1962, it is not readily accessible, not being listed in the table of contents or index to this thick book. On the other hand, Sauvageot (1949:185) is somewhat more helpful when he writes,

"Le parfait... implique un résultat acquis dont l'effet se prolonge. Il est moins répandu qu'en français parlé. Ce que frappe un Français, c'est l'alternance entre l'emploi du prétérit et celui du parfait... (186)

"Dans la mesure où l'événement est situé dans le passé pur, il est évoqué au moyen du prétérit, le parfait ne servant qu'à indiquer le fait dont la prolongement est encore ressenti."

Although in his comparison with the French perfect, Sauvageot fails to note the shift in the system of spoken French described above, he does emphasize the "current relevance" of the Finnish perfect. Even more explicit, and hence even closer to our account of the Tamil perfect, is Olli's account (1958:131):

"The present perfect indicative denotes action in a period of time which begins in the past and extends to the present... The past perfect indicative denotes action which had taken place up to (before) a given point of time in the past or before another action in the past."

Elsewhere, he paraphrases the perfect formation as follows (1958:11 and 106):

"Minä olen sanonut sen, I have said it, is literally translated: I am the one having said it... Olemme sanoneet: We have said (literally: we are the ones having said)."

Again, from this description, it seems that the perfect in Finnish too can be best handled by means of the dual predication that has been proposed on independent grounds for Tamil.

The Finnish "progressive", as in the case of German, French, English and Tamil, is formed with the verb of being, olla. As in the case of French, German and Tamil, it is less widely used than in English and therefore carries more information when it is used. As mentioned above, Finnish provides Anderson (1973) with a good example in support of his "localist hypothesis", since the "progressive" is formed with olla plus the "third infinitive" -- a form in the inessive (interior locative) case. This case is used generally in the language to indicate something within which something else is located. Compare the pair of sentences shown here as (26).

(26)	Minã olen Lontoossa. I am London-in I am in London.	Minã olen kirje kirjoittamassa. I am letter writing-in I am writing a letter.
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Again, we note the use of the verb of being to construct a "progressive" form. This type of formulation is of interest both to Anderson's "localist hypothesis" and the view being proposed here.

In attempting to extend our discussion of the progressive and the compound perfect to other languages, we come up against a paucity of sources. Thus, although Ferguson (1972:110) indicates that the same form is used in Bengali for "present tense existential verb (incl. locative and possessive uses)" and for forming the perfect and continuous tenses, he does not describe these tenses in as much detail as would be desirable for our purposes. He says of the perfect, however:

"The meaning of the perfect tense tends to be resultative very much like the English perfect ('I have said') but it is more frequent in use than the English perfect and is often best translated by a simple past ('I said')... The Bengali simple past... seems limited to reporting single events in a narrative context" (1972:90).

When he goes on to compare the Bengali uses with those of Amharic and points out that in Amharic too, there is a "present tense of existential verb" which is "suffixed to conjunctive, yielding a 'perfect' tense (resultative)," (1972:110), he merely implies that the Amharic usage is exactly comparable with that of Bengali without providing any overt account of it independently. In a general comment, however, he categorizes perfect tenses in much the way that has been done above: "One of the common auxiliary functions of verbs of 'being' is the formation of tenses with the semantic value of emphasis on present state, either perfect tenses in which the present state results from past action or continuous tenses in which the present state is characterized as an ongoing process." B. Kachru (1968:26-7) indicates

that the same verb which is used in existential, copulative, and possessive expressions in Kashmiri is also used to form a 'perfective' and an 'imperfective' aspect but gives no further description of these, apart from examples glossed with the English present and past perfect and present and past progressive forms respectively.

Kazazis (1968:75) mentions that the Greek verb ἔχω 'have' "is also an auxiliary verb and is used in forming compound tenses: τελειώσω 'I finish', ἔχω τελειώσει 'I have finished', εἶχα τελειώσει 'I had finished'." But, besides glossing these forms with the English perfect, he gives no indication as to how they are used.

According to Asher (1968:109), the verb irukkuka 'sit', "(the three simple tenses of which can occur as auxiliaries) combines with the past tenses of verbs to form 'perfectives'." Thus far, the formation sounds very like that of Tamil, provided that "past tense" is to be construed as referring to the Malayalam equivalent of the non-finite verbal form we have called the "combining form" in Tamil. But Asher also mentions auxiliary uses of other verbs of being in Malayalam as well (1968:109):

"untə is added to the present tense to form 'progressives'...
ituka, normally followed by untə, is used to form 'completives'
 ...aana is used with a non-finite verbal form to produce another
 sort of 'progressive'All four of these verbs may be combined
 to form a sort of 'past-completive-perfective.' "

Although it is clear that there are considerable differences between the uses of auxiliary verbs in Tamil and Malayalam, Asher's account does suggest that the auxiliaries of the two languages are in some ways comparable (eg. verbs of being are used in the formation of perfects and progressives in both languages). The copula of another Dravidian language, Kurukh, is discussed by Vesper (1968), who indicates (1968:130, 142) that various copula stems can be used as auxiliaries and mentions (1968:131) that some have been described as forming "compound tenses",

and discusses one that is used in a sort of progressive expression. Shehadi (1969: 118) indicates that one of the Arabic copulae (kana) is "used as an auxiliary verb to help make tense more specific," though he goes into no further detail about this usage. In discussing the Japanese existential verb ar-ru, Makino (1968:8) discusses the sentence shown here as (27).

- (27) john-wa ano hon-o yom-te ar-ru
 that book read (is)
 (lit: John is in the state of having read that book).
 John has read that book before.

This structure seems to be parallel to the perfects in English and Tamil which we have been discussing above. Makino says that (27) "expresses a present state resulting from a comparatively near past action or event" and that a similar type of sentence "is used to express an experience currently effective resulting from a comparatively distant past action or event." He goes on to express himself in very similar terms to those which we have used in referring to iru:

"In the structure we are discussing now ar-ru somehow retains the original meaning of existence, since the whole structure certainly implies an existence at the present moment of an action or event expressed by a constituent sentence" (1968:9).

Other articles in the series The Verb 'Be' and its Synonyms (Verhaar 1967-73) either do not discuss the possibility of verbs of being functioning as grammatical markers (of the 'perfect', 'progressive', or whatever) or indicate explicitly that they do not so function. Languages for which the question is left open in these studies include Classical Armenian (O'Coigneallaig 1968), Classical Chinese (Graham 1967), Modern Chinese (Hashimoto 1969), Eskimo (Mey 1968), Estonian (Lehiste 1969) and Hungarian (Kiefer 1968). Languages for which it is clearly indicated that such notions as 'perfect' and 'progressive' are not expressed by

auxiliary verbs, but by some other device, are Hindi (Y. Kachru 1968), Mundari (Langendoen 1967) and Twi (Ellis and Boadi 1969).

Bull gives a list of forty-six languages which he investigated in his research on Tense and aspect relations:

"Albanian, Amharic, Arabic, Armenian, Basque, Bulgarian, Burmese, Cantonese, Catalan, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, French, Finnish, Gaelic, German, Greek, Gujrati, Hawaiian, Hebrew, Hindi, Icelandic, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Lithuanian, Low German, Magyar, Malay, Malayalam, Mandarin, Ningre, Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Punjabi, Rumanian, Serbo-Croat, Swedish, Tagalog, Thai, Turkish, Urdu, Yoruba, and Zulu." (1968:v).

In pursuing his investigations, however, he seems to have been chiefly concerned with mapping tense and aspect forms against his a priori "hypothetical tense system". Though examples are not given for the majority of the above languages, Bull does cite Hebrew and Gaelic as examples of languages using a verb of being to form an equivalent of the perfect and makes the following general comment on the subject of auxiliary verbs:

"...verbs with the same general meaning are used (as auxiliaries--ID) in totally unrelated languages...verbs used in progressive forms are to stand (Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, Italian), to be (English, German, Dutch, French, Gujrati, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Punjabi, Serbo-Croat, Icelandic, Danish, Urdu, Amharic, Hebrew, Arabic, Basque), to hold (Swedish), to sit (Malayalam), and to busy one's self in (Basque). Those used to express plus vector (futures and conditionals--ID) are to be (Polish, Armenian, Malay, Japanese), ought (Sardinian, Japanese), to have (Most of Romance), can (Malay), become (German, Low German), will or shall (most of Germanic, Bulgarian, and Magyar), and want (Rumanian, Modern Greek, Albanian, Serbo-Croat, Thai, and Mandarin). It is to be noted that the first group contains no verbs of volition while the second is dominated by volitional concepts..." (1968:32)

Insofar as this comment points generally to a comparable use of auxiliaries across a wide variety of languages, it provides additional evidence in favour of our view that the analysis of Tamil auxiliary verbs is germane to the discussion of a wide variety of languages and not just to Tamil alone. The absence of examples or detailed discussions of individual languages, however, limits the use we can make of Bull's material in trying to extend our comparison of auxiliary verbs in Tamil to those in other languages. In some cases, indeed, Bull's brief mentions appear to conflict with the more detailed accounts we have been discussing above. Hindi, for example, is included with English as being a language in which the verb to be is used in a progressive construction. But Y. Kachru (1968) indicates that the most usual Hindi equivalent of to be, ho, is used as an auxiliary verb only to carry tense. The "durative" aspect is said to be carried by another form, ra ha (1968:40). Again, Bull suggests that in progressive constructions, Malayalam makes use of a verb form which may be glossed as 'sit' in other of its uses. But, as we know from Asher (1968:109), the most likely Malayalam equivalent for 'sit', irukkuka, is used as an auxiliary to form the perfects. The two types of progressive that Asher mentions are formed with unta and aanu, respectively, the two copulae of Malayalam.

In any event, from the data we have been able to present in the preceding pages, it can be seen that there are rather similar facts to be accounted for in describing the auxiliary verbs of a wide variety of languages. It has been seen that there is a "perfect auxiliary" in many languages which can be said to be homophonous with a main verb used in existential predications. In some of these languages, furthermore, the verb of being is also used to form an expression semantically akin to the "progressive" in English or Tamil. These similarities in

the development of auxiliary verbs in various unrelated languages can be explained if the notions of "perfect" and "progressive" are understood to be semantically complex and to involve an existential predication as one component of their meaning. Although such a treatment of the forms of a given language may be suggested by such interlinguistic comparison, it is of course necessary to justify the analysis in terms of each individual language on its own terms. This is relatively easy in the case of Tamil, where the semantic constituents of the perfect and progressive formations are individually represented on the syntactic and phonological levels in the same way they are when they are not forming the perfect. As will be seen below, some recent accounts of English have also approached a similar description of certain auxiliary formations. Moreover, it seems not unlikely that further research on some of the other languages surveyed above might show similar analyses to be appropriate for those languages also.

Within the scope of the current work, the most important area of discussion is not however, so much the nature of auxiliaries in other languages (except in so far as they are comparable with Tamil ones), but the nature of Tamil auxiliaries themselves and the types of information that a linguistic theory must be able to encompass in order to describe them adequately. Perhaps the most important fact about the auxiliaries which must be accounted for is their relationship with their corresponding main verbs. In analysing this relationship, it is difficult to get far without appealing to a concept of linguistic structure as involving a series of interdependent levels. It is not our purpose here to sketch out in any detail the number or nature of the specific levels required, but presumably phonological and morphological levels analogous to the syntactic and semantic ones to be discussed below will be necessary to state the sound pattern of Tamil on the one hand and its

inflexional and derivational patterns on the other. The phonological modifications mentioned in Chapter One as typical of both auxiliaries and their corresponding main verbs would doubtless have to be accounted for at the phonological level. Some correlation may possibly exist at this level with the distinction between forms which may occur as auxiliary verbs and those which may not (eg. the variation of the first syllable of viTu between vi and u is not paralleled in the case of the verb viTi 'dawn'). There seems little likelihood, however, of being able to establish either phonological or morphological correlates of the distinction drawn between main verb and auxiliary uses of the same form at the syntactic level. The rest of our discussion of the interdependency of levels will, therefore, be concerned with syntax and semantics.

To talk of "main verbs" and "auxiliary verbs" is, of course, to talk in syntactic terms. And indeed, the initial distinction made between these two categories in Chapter One was a syntactic one. A main verb was said to be capable of forming the nucleus of a clause, an auxiliary verb not to be so capable. It was noted that if two main verbs are conjoined, each can be expanded to take complements from a variety of open classes. If one of two conjoined verbs is an auxiliary, however, it can not take these complements and may be separated from its main verb by, at the most, one of a limited number of emphatic particles. When two sentences, each containing auxiliary verbs, are conjoined, certain complications arise which are not directly relevant to this discussion (but see, eg., Annamalai 1969a for the occurrence of auxiliaries in relative clauses). However, as was also pointed out in Chapter One, there are many similarities between auxiliary verbs and main verbs. For example, they can both occur after the combining form of another verb and may take PNG markers and other verbal desinences. In discussing the semantics of various auxiliaries in Chapters Three and Four, it was found that

the main verb and auxiliary uses of yai and iru in particular were semantically akin, though not identical.

It is relevant to mention at this point that a particularly interesting result of our study of Tamil auxiliary verbal structure is the light which it sheds on the current controversy within linguistic theory as regards the separability of syntax and semantics. Within the general framework of Transformational Grammar, for example, some views (referred to as "Generative syntax" or "Interpretive semantics") maintain a fundamental distinction between syntax and semantics, claiming that the "semantic interpretations" of a separate "semantic component" of the grammar are mapped on to the phrase-markers produced by the syntactic component. Such views (which vary as to which portions of the syntax are relevant to semantic interpretation) are discussed in, eg., Chomsky 1965, 1970, Jackendoff 1972, Katz 1972, and Katz and Fodor 1963. The "Generative semantic" views, on the other hand, as expressed by, eg., Bach 1968, Lakoff 1971, McCawley 1968, 1968a and 1971a, abandon the distinction between syntax and semantics and envision a continuum, at the top of which are "semantic representations" and at the bottom of which are "surface (syntactic) structures". In some of these views, an attenuated base component (perhaps similar to the "formation rules" of symbolic logic--McCawley 1971a:221) specifies the initial possible arrangements of the semantic-syntactic categories and a series of transformations relate these to surface structures. But in none of them, whatever their individual differences of detail, is a formal distinction drawn between syntactic and semantic phenomena.

This controversy also affects Stratificational Grammar, insofar as Reich (1970:48) appears to be denying the traditional Stratificational view of linguistic

structure as containing a series of rather discrete levels, each with its own patterning, including ones which are intended to handle semantic data (sememic) and syntactic data (lexemic), as discussed in, eg., Bennett 1968, Lamb 1966 and Lockwood 1972. Other writers (eg. Chafe 1970:69, Leech 1974) tend to adopt the view that syntax and semantics are fundamentally distinct levels joined by a greater or lesser amount of interlevel structure.

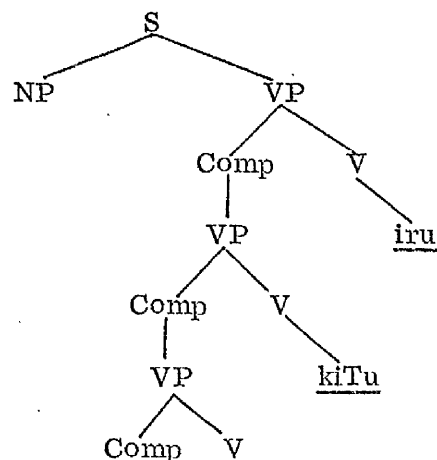
In discussing the syntactic and semantic parallels between the Tamil auxiliary verbs and their corresponding main verbs, it seems helpful in the first place to segregate the two types of phenomena and postulate two separate levels of description--the syntactic and the semantic--on which to deal with them. But as there are clear parallels between the structures at the two levels, it seems that there must be an interlevel structure capable of doing more than merely linking together the corresponding forms, as will be further explained below. In so far as parallel patterning of different levels suggests that they are mutually interdependent, the interlevel structure may be expected to make explicit this interdependence.

Let us examine, for example, the syntactic and semantic characteristics of iru, viTu, kiTu both individually and in combination. The surface syntactic structure, at least, is readily stated. As a main verb, iru occurs with a subject NP (and agrees concordially with this) and some locative, temporal or attributive complement. As an auxiliary, it occurs following the combining form of a verb and without the complements possible in its main verb use. It still bears the appropriate PN_g markers to agree with the subject of the sentence, however. A similar syntactic difference exists between the main verb viTu and the corresponding auxiliary. As a main verb, this form normally occurs

with a subject NP and also an object NP (optionally in the accusative case). As an auxiliary, it occurs following the combining form of another verb and can no longer take the normal expansions of the main verb. A pattern which seems to cover both the main verb and auxiliary uses of these forms may be symbolized as NP+VP, where VP is made up of Complement+V. As a main verb, iru takes a variety of complements which may or may not be NP's; and the main verb viTu takes nominal complements as well as some others. As auxiliaries, however, both take VP's as complements. In kiTu, on the other hand, we have a form which occurs only with VP complements and thus only as an auxiliary, not as a main verb. As a self-affective auxiliary, it seems analysable in the same way as suggested for iru and viTu. The inter-clausal auxiliary uses of kiTu and viTu seem to be amenable to an analogous treatment.

Structurally, the auxiliary can be considered as belonging to the first of two temporally-related clauses; the second being simply conjoined to the first one as in the case of conjoined clauses without auxiliaries. In the case of kiTTiru, the main verb VP would be the complement of kiTu and the whole VP thus formed would in turn be the complement of iru, as in (28).

(28)



This sort of analysis seems to account for the syntactic parallelism between auxiliaries and main verbs in a quite straightforward way. Given the suggested treatment of kiTTiru, for example, we would expect to find cases of just

main verb+kiTu occurring as a constituent in the surface structure of some continuous sentences. And this is exactly what we do find in such sentences as (29), mentioned by Annamalai (1970:136).

- (29) naan-patrikke-paTiccu-kkiTT-um-Tiivii-paattu-kkiTT-
 I-newspaper-read-(kiTu)-and-television-watch-(kiTu)
 um-irunteen.
 and-(iru)(past)PNg
 I was reading a newspaper and watching the television.

Here, two continuous sentences are conjoined but only the second iru is present in the resulting sentence.

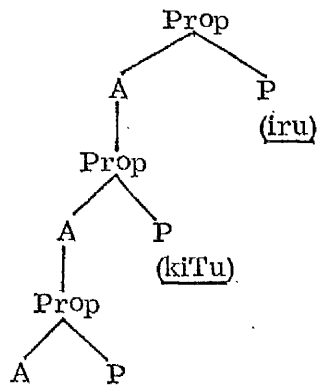
When we go on to consider semantic phenomena, we find an analogous situation. The meaning "be" of the main verb iru was seen in Chapter Four and the earlier part of this one to be semantically related to its use as a "perfect aspect", but the exact structure of this relationship was left unspecified. If iru is taken to be an existential predicator, however, a parallel may be suggested between its use to predicate the existence of a particular argument (in which case, it is realized syntactically as a main verb) and its use in predicating the existence of an entire proposition (in which case it is realized as an auxiliary). This type of structuring would account for the element of "pastness" that was noted in Chapter Four to be present in auxiliary constructions involving iru. If the existence of some proposition is indicated, then the event predicated within it must have come into existence (i.e. happened) prior to the time at which it is said to be in existence. A similar analysis would seem suited to viTu as well. On the one hand, viTu indicates that one of its arguments releases (or is released by) the other. On the other hand, it indicates that some proposition is "released" (i.e. completed). This approach seems equally valid for the inter-clausal as well as the sentence-final use of viTu.

From what has been said in the previous chapters about the synchronic semantics of kiTu, there has seemed to be no connection between its inter-clausal and sentence-final uses as "simultaneous" and "self-affective", respectively. It has been pointed out, moreover, that kiTu does not occur on its own as a main verb, but only as an auxiliary. Nevertheless, comparison of the spoken forms with their corresponding written ones may provide an insight into the semantic development of this auxiliary and may suggest that in some other variety of the language, the parallel between kiTu and viTu may extend somewhat further than has been suggested thus far. In written Tamil, the equivalent of kiTu is koL (and of kiTTiru, konTiru). The auxiliary uses of the written forms do not seem distinguishable from those of the spoken ones. Unlike the spoken form, however, the written form occurs as a main verb, meaning roughly "take" or "receive". It seems possible, therefore, to see the interclausal "simultaneous" use of kiTu as meaning, in effect, that the proposition of the first clause is "taken over" temporally to that of the second clause. It may also seem that even the "self-affective" use of kiTu may have developed from such a main verb meaning if the main verb predication became thought of as "received by" or "affecting" the syntactic subject of the whole sentence. Whatever the merits of these speculations, however, the inter-clausal use of kiTu is directly in opposition to the corresponding use of viTu, as was extensively discussed in Chapter Three. Even if the "self-affective" use of kiTu is treated as an unexplained semantic intrusion, its propositional structure seems parallel to that for the corresponding auxiliary use of viTu.

As was the case on the syntactic level, kiTTiru appears at the semantic level to be a combination of kiTu and iru. We might paraphrase

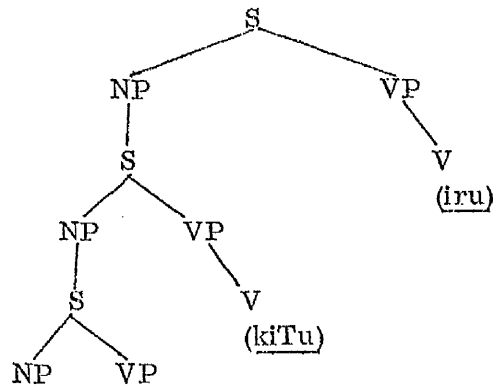
the progressive in this connection as "being in the act of doing something." Here, "being" represents iru, "in the act of" represents the simultaneous (or contemporaneous) meaning of kiTu, and "doing something" represents the proposition embedded beneath both of these. It seems that, just as kiTu may occur with two propositions to show that the action of one is being carried on at the same time as that of the other, it may also occur with an embedded proposition as the argument of an existential proposition. All this may be diagrammed as shown in (30), where Prop indicates "proposition", P "predicate", and A "argument".

(30)



It may be noted at this point that the auxiliaries have so far seemed amenable to being analysed in roughly analogous ways at the proposed semantic and syntactic levels. This may seem to suggest that, instead of two separate levels, a continuum is involved, the top of which can be labelled "semantics" and the bottom "syntax", but with no firm line of demarcation within. By relabelling the nodes of (30) with the same category labels which we were using for syntax, we could produce a structure such as (31), which appears to describe semantic facts in the same terms as those used to describe syntactic facts in (28).

(31)



We could then claim that (31) is simply earlier in the "derivation" of some sentence than (28), and could presumably "derive" (28) from it by some operation i.e. ("predicate raising") raising each lower predication (VP) into the complement slot of the next higher one in the tree. In other words, we could redraw (30) as the equivalent (31) and then state rules to convert (31) into (28). But to do this would be to claim that the structures of (30) are commensurable with those of (28)--that semantic propositions are essentially "the same thing as" syntactic sentences, that arguments are equivalent to NP's, and so on. And it is far from clear that this is the case.

A model of linguistic description containing no distinct separation of syntactic and semantic levels would have difficulty in handling such a Tamil construction as kattukiTu. This collocation (composed of kal "learn" and kiTu) occurred in example (87) of Chapter Three. As was pointed out in the discussion of that example, not only is there no perceptible semantic difference between kal and kattukiTu, but kal does not occur in spoken Tamil without the attached kiTu. There seem to be good grounds, therefore, for viewing kattukiTu as being a semantic unity in colloquial Tamil and meaning simply "learn". If a predicate is equivalent to a VP then, kattukiTu plus its complement must be viewed as a verb phrase and ought to occur embedded in kiTu and iru predicates in the way that other

VP's do. But this is not the case. Syntactically, kattukiTu behaves as a collocation of kal and kiTu. It cannot occur with kiTu or viTu, for example, and sentences like (32) are ambiguous between a meaning which would be expected to result in two kiTu's in the surface structure ("Little sister is learning to read") and one which would produce only one ("Little sister has learned to read").

- (32) tankacci-paTikka-kaTTu-kiTT-rukkaa.
 little sister-read-learn-(kiTu)-(iru)(pres)PNg
 Little sister is learning/has learned to read.

It might be claimed that the extra kiTu could be removed by a deletion transformation, but such a transformation would apply at most only to a very restricted group of verbs and possibly only to kiTu. Other verbs may occur twice in succession provided that at least one of the occurrences is a main verb. In the case of viTu, for example, (33) is possible, where viTu the auxiliary occurs in collocation with viTu the main verb.

- (33) naan-uuTTe-uTT-uTTeen.
 I-house-leave-(viTu)(past)PNg
 I left home.

Within a separate syntactic level, however, the kiTu of kattukiTu would be treated as an auxiliary and the non-occurrence of *kiTTukiTu would be explained by the general syntactic constraint preventing a sequence of two identical auxiliaries.

Another argument in favour of separating the syntactic and semantic levels can be based on differing semantic structures which are realized by similar syntactic elements. In the case of kiTu, for example, whatever the chain of historical development that has led to the current situation, the sentence-final meaning of "self-affective" appears now to be semantically quite separate from the interclausal one of "simultaneous". In the case of viTu, on the other hand, the

same semantic element appears to be involved in the "completive" sentence-final meaning as in the "sequential" interclausal one. Thus, though kiTu and viTu are exactly comparable in their structuring on the syntactic level (except for the capability of kiTu to form compound auxiliaries) and though the syntactic structures of each type of occurrence are analogous to the corresponding semantic ones, the two syntactic viTu's must realize a single semantic element whereas the two kiTu's correspond to two separate semantic entities. In the terms of a continuous derivation which dispenses with discrete semantic or syntactic levels, the substitution of kiTu for "self-affective" or "simultaneous" and that of viTu for "completive/sequential" would presumably be handled by lexical insertion rules operating at various points in the derivation. Such a procedure, however, would not reflect the essential syntactic unity of kiTu and its close syntactic parallelism with viTu. As seen above, however, the semantic level of a bi-level account would show the semantic unity of the "sequential" and the "completive", and would indicate the operation of the contrast "sequential/simultaneous". It would also posit a separate notion "self-affective". On the syntactic level, kiTu and viTu would be shown to be strictly parallel in their occurrences both interclausally and sentence-finally. At this level, the two forms would be seen to function similarly, regardless of the differing semantic structures which they represent. It would be left to the inter-level structure to indicate the exact ways in which the two levels of description fail to coincide.

The strict ordering and cooccurrence restrictions characteristic of syntactic phenomena but not of semantic ones also suggest that Tamil auxiliary verbs, at least, can be handled more satisfactorily within a model of linguistic description containing discrete semantic and syntactic levels than one which

combines the two into a semantic-syntactic continuum. There seems no semantic reason, for example, to claim that "continuous" is made up of "simultaneous+existence" rather than "existence+simultaneous". The same point can also be made with respect to other auxiliary collocations, such as kiTTuvaa, kiTTupoo, tolencuviTu, pooyviTu, and vecciru. Again, there seems to be no synchronic semantic incompatibility between the notions "self-affective" and "completive". Yet we saw in Chapter Three that kiTu and viTu may not occur in the same clause. To maintain that syntactic structures are merely semantic ones in a different arrangement is to presuppose a linear ordering of semantic entities for which there is no semantic evidence. To handle syntactic restraints one-by-one as they occur throughout the course of a derivation is to ignore the complex syntactic relationships themselves.

Whereas it is the different natures of syntactic and semantic description that induce us to postulate separate levels on which to treat them, it is the similarities between the structures which appear to exist on these levels that indicate a close interdependency between them. Analogous treatments of certain of the auxiliaries were suggested above on independent grounds for each level. It was suggested, for example, that surface syntactic constructions involving auxiliaries could be represented best in semantic terms as involving one proposition functioning as the argument of another proposition. A surface combination of auxiliaries, kiTTiru, was seen to involve three layers of propositions. Such parallelism of structure can hardly be accidental. It might be explained, of course, as showing the dependence of one level of structure upon the other. But in that case there would be difficulty in deciding which way the dependence could be said to run. It seems to make little sense to say that when a verb begins to be used syntactically as an auxiliary it promotes the development

of semantic embedding. Nor can it be said that semantic embedding necessarily brings about the formation of auxiliary verbal structures, since there are numerous other ways of giving syntactic expression to embedded semantic structures, in Tamil as well as in other languages. We may say, rather, that there is a mutual inter-dependence between the semantic and syntactic levels which encourages a certain amount of structural parallelism between them. Clearly, if one level is thought of as being mapped on to the other during the encoding and decoding of utterances, the greater the structural correspondence between the levels, the easier the mapping process will be.

In speculating about the types of interlevel structure that might be needed in a complete description of Tamil auxiliary verbs, we may consider a type of interrelation between the syntactic and semantic levels which has been discussed recently by others---from a syntactic viewpoint it has been referred to as "syntactic compression" (Jacobs 1973), and from a semantic point of view as "petrification" (Leech 1974:226). Jacobs describes the effect of syntactic processes which work "to create single clauses where there previously were more than one--to bring into more direct contact material originally in separate clauses" (1973:236). It is the single-clause construction of (34) that, according to Jacobs, brings about the closer semantic association between the agent and the affected that exists in it, compared to (35).

(34) Isabel fed her baby.

(35) Isabel caused her baby to eat.

Leech, on the other hand, describes the semantic "petrification" of forms derived by lexical rule from combinations of other forms. He points out, for example, that wheel-chair, which should mean just "chair which has wheels", to judge from its

constituents, has come in actual usage to mean "chair for invalids which has wheels". He defines petrification as "The whole process by which an institutionalized lexical meaning diverges from the 'theoretical' meaning specified in a lexical rule" (1974:226). Insofar as syntactic compression gives rise to forms with similarly institutionalized meanings, its semantic effects seem also to be aptly described by this term. We might say, for example, that kill means basically "cause to die", but that the lexicalization of cause to die into the single word kill has petrified its meaning to the extent that the two expressions no longer mean quite the same thing.

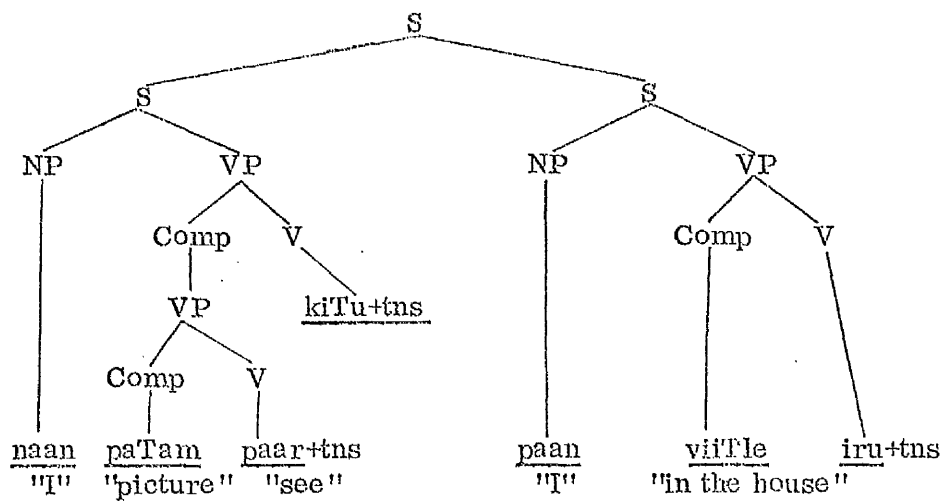
The auxiliary verbs of Tamil appear to instantiate this phenomenon.

In the case of kiTTiru, for example, we can look at sentences such as (36) and (37).

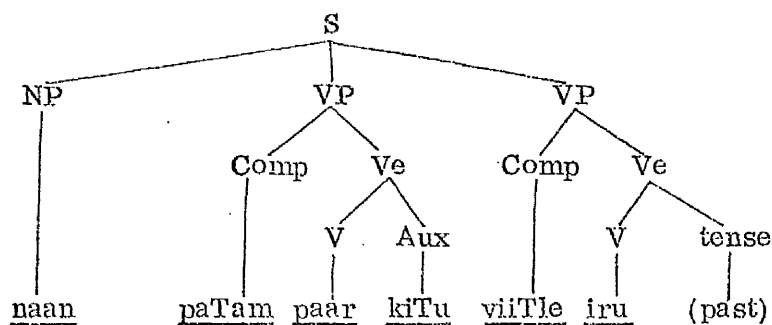
- (36) naan-paTatte-paattu-kiTTu-viiTle-irunteen.
 I-picture-look-(kiTu)-house in-(iru)(past)PNg
 I was in the house looking at the picture.
- (37) naan-paTatte-paattu-kiTT-irunteen.
 I-picture-look-(kiTu)(iru)-(past)PNg
 I was looking at the picture.

In the first sentence, kiTu unites its own clause with the following one, both in the deep and surface syntactic structures. Adopting one possible formalization, we might diagram the deep structure of (36) as something like (38) and then propose to derive the surface structure (39) from it by means of some such transformations as "conjunction reduction" and "predicate raising".

(38)

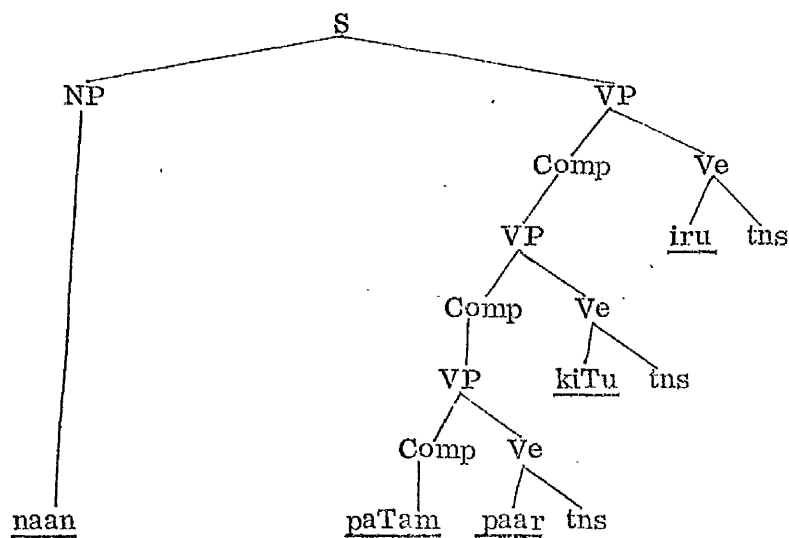


(39)



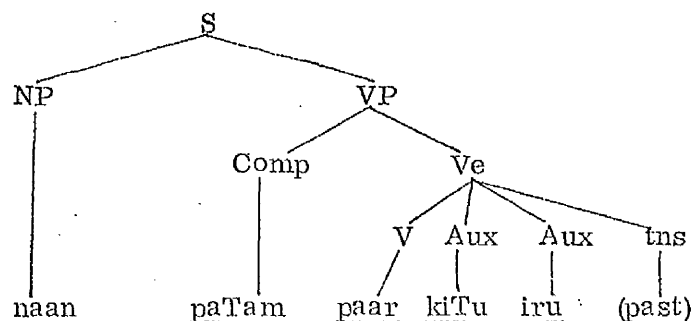
In the second sentence, however, the two surface clauses have been coalesced into one. Similar to (28), the deep structure of (37) might be represented as (40).

(40)



From this, we might expect to derive the surface structure (41) by successive applications of "predicate raising" and then "tense adjustment".

(41)



This reduction of an underlying three clauses to one is a case of syntactic compression. Corresponding to the reduction of the kiT'Tiru structure from three clauses to one is the "petrification" of its meaning. From its composite meaning of "simultaneous+existential", the conventional unified meaning of "continuous" may be said to have been institutionalized. Such interlevel dependencies as the relation between syntactic compression and petrification, then, seem to suggest the existence of interlevel structuring more intricate, perhaps, than the simple linking of corresponding elements at various levels which otherwise would have seemed sufficient. It would be difficult to specify the nature of such structures any further, however, on the basis of the research carried out for this study.

There remain to be considered at this point a few questions which arose in the discussion of Chapters Three and Four which may present some problem of analysis within a linguistic theory. The first of these is the use of auxiliaries for reasons of style, rather than content. It was noted in connection with such examples as (20) and (21) in Chapter Three and (131) and (132) in Chapter Four, for example, that the use of auxiliaries in the responses to one clause of a sentence could be influenced by the presence or absence of auxiliaries in the other clause. The presence of vai and vecciru in the first clauses of (20) and (21) established a contrast between the future affectiveness of one action and the self affectiveness

of a subsequent second one which contributed to the high acceptability of kiTu in the responses to those examples in contrast to those to the next example, in which nearly as many subjects made use of kiTu as did of viTu. The concept of the "balance" maintained between the auxiliary content of two clauses of a sentence was brought into the discussion of (131) and (132) to account for certain differences in the response patterns to those two sentences. The presence of iru in the second clause of (132) appeared to be connected with an increased incidence of vecciru, a decline in the use of nil auxiliary, and a less frequent occurrence of the main verb use of vai and iru in the responses to that sentence compared with those to (131), in which no auxiliary was present in the second clause.

In sentences such as these we have been discussing, in which the action of one clause is contrasted with that of another, the presence of an auxiliary in one clause tends to encourage an auxiliary to occur in the other as well. In sentences where both clauses describe the same action, however, as in (27) and (28) of Chapter Three for example, the opposite tendency was noted. Although the majority of the subjects responding to (28) made use of an auxiliary in the second clause, only a few also made use of one in the first clause of their responses. The fact that just a slightly larger percentage of the subjects responding to (27) made use of an auxiliary in the first clause of their responses when there was no auxiliary in the second clause indicates that the auxiliary omission was largely dependent on the redundancy between the two clauses, rather than on any factor specifically related to the auxiliaries. Similarly, in example (185) of Chapter Three, the responses showed that viTu was not entirely acceptable in the first of two similar clauses. It was suggested in connection with that example that the omission of viTu from the first clause of the responses was caused by similar factors to

those which make the English gloss, "When I crumpled the cloth, it got crumpled up" seem more satisfactory than "When I crumpled up the cloth, it got crumpled up".

In such examples as these, various factors appear to be in operation. Most important are presumably the semantic connections between the clauses of a sentence. Contrasting clauses tend to call forth the use of auxiliaries in each clause to highlight the contrasts between them. Confirmatory or highly redundant clauses tend to leave the auxiliary appropriate to all the clauses until the end of the sentence. Related to the "semantic balance" between clauses is the "syntactic balance", by which the final clause of a sentence tends to contain a larger number of auxiliaries than earlier clauses and by which, if an auxiliary is present in the first of two contrasting clauses, another one tends to occur in the second to balance it. In order to handle effects of this sort, it seems likely that the semantic and syntactic levels would have to be closely related. A primary semantic distinction would have to be made between "contrasting" and "overlapping" (or "redundant") clauses. In the first case, an implicational rule (or connection, in a static model of description) on the syntactic level would indicate that the presence of an auxiliary in one clause encourages the presence of an auxiliary in the other. The specific semantic relation between the clauses would then specify which auxiliary or auxiliaries might be required. In "overlapping" clauses, on the other hand, a syntactic redundancy rule would indicate that any auxiliary present in the sentence should appear in the final clause and that no more would be required. Both the implicational and the redundancy rules suggested here would have to be assigned percentages showing the degree of optionality for each one, given a particular degree of contrast or overlap between the clauses involved. Although theoretically desirable, rules (or connections) of this type have so far proved too complex to

formulate satisfactorily within any specific linguistic theory.

In discussing the question of "auxiliary balance" in the preceding paragraphs, it was noted that rules or connections with various specified degrees of optionality would appear to be necessary in adequately describing certain aspects of the usage of Tamil auxiliary verbs. Other problems to be discussed in subsequent paragraphs also concern phenomena which may be best described in terms of gradients as well. The inadequacy of theories which lack any method of handling gradable phenomena has already been pointed out recently in such articles as Anderson 1974, Bolinger 1961, Lakoff 1973, Quirk 1965 and Ross 1972, 1974. None of these, however, deals with the topics discussed here. Ross suggests the use of "squish" matrices in dealing with "fuzzy categories" and a system of deducting "grammaticality points" from a string of phrase-markers as it goes through certain transformations which affect acceptability. Lakoff abandons transformational grammar for what he terms "correspondence grammar" (1973:277), in which individual correspondence rules (similar in effect to transformations) will be labelled for degree of applicability by a complex formula taking into account relevant features of the syntactic environment in which the rule applies. It might also be suggested, perhaps less speculatively, that gradable phenomena could be handled within a static linguistic model (eg. Stratificational Grammar) by lines of varying resistances within the network (in analogy with an electric current). Speculations of this sort are not, however, within the scope of this work. The various sorts of gradable phenomena dealt with in the following paragraphs are meant to indicate the types of phenomena typical of Tamil auxiliary verbs that an adequate description of Tamil would be expected to handle, rather than to make specific proposals about how in fact they should be handled.

Throughout the discussion of Chapters Three and Four, a wide variety of collocational facts about auxiliaries were noted. Most of these can be referred to as gradable "cooccurrence probabilities" rather than as simple statements of whether cooccurrence restrictions exist between particular items. Among the topics investigated was the cooccurrence of auxiliaries with tense morphemes. In some cases, the tense seemed to have little or no effect on the acceptability of the auxiliary---it was noted in connection with examples (22) and (23) of Chapter Four that kiTTiru was equally acceptable with present and future tenses, for example, and iru was noted to be similarly tolerant of collocation with various tense forms in Chapter Four. In connection with examples (80 and 81), however, iru proved to be quite unacceptable with the periphrastic tense form in an identical context to that in which it occurred quite freely with the morphological future tense form. A similar discrepancy appeared in the results to (86), compared with those to (90, 91 and 132), from which iru appeared to be unacceptable with the unmarked negative but highly acceptable with the future negative. Results like these, insofar as they are reliable (and the results to 86 in particular need to be supplemented by additional research as there certainly are contexts in which the iru+negative collocation is not so unacceptable as appeared there), confirm our conclusions above regarding the separation of syntax and semantics. Given the semantic near-identity of the morphological and periphrastic futures, the sharp divergence between the collocability of these with iru clearly cannot result from semantic factors. It seems likely that there is a syntactic restriction upon the cooccurrence of poo and iru within a single clause unless one is functioning as the main verb of the clause.

From the results to some examples, there appeared to be a gradation among auxiliaries according to their collocability with the future tense form. Auxiliaries such as iru and kiTTiru would occur at one end of the scale, that of fairly complete collocability, and poo would occur at the other end (cf. Chapter Three examples 146, 148, 154 and 159), with viTu somewhere in between (cf. also 118, 120, 141 and 143). Collocability with the future tense form seems to be roughly in an inverse relation with collocability with the past tense form. A marked relationship between auxiliary and tense usage was noted in connection with (14) of Chapter Three. The auxiliaries kiTu and viTu showed a tendency there to occur in the past tense form and thus to contrast with iru and kiTTiru, which occurred in the future tense form in that environment. Clearly this two-way gradation between the cooccurrence of auxiliaries and tenses is not unconnected with the meanings of the auxiliaries themselves, however. A sense of "completion" is presumably more closely related to the meaning of the past tense than to that of the present or future. "Existence" seems time-neutral, but the effect of the auxiliary construction with iru of conveying a sense of "pastness" was mentioned frequently in Chapter Four. In contexts where some "past" sense is desirable, then, iru may achieve this simply through its use as an auxiliary, leaving the verbal tense form free to draw attention to features of the situation which might indicate use of the future or present tense instead, such as "habituality" in the case of (42) given in response to (14) of Chapter Three.

- (42) eppootum-cupramaNiyam-paiyil-peenaa-coruki-yiruppaan.
 always-Subramaniyam-pocket in-pen-clip-(iru)(fut)PNg
 Subramaniyam will always have his pen clipped to his shirt (7.1.21)

Gradations of this sort could not be handled within the type of matrices (termed "squishes") set up by Ross (eg. 1972) to handle variable membership of syntactic categories. Rather, the various elements of semantic representation might be given some sort of collocability index with other elements, such that, say, there would be a higher index for viTu with past tense than with future tense. Some other element of the representation might of course have a much higher index with the future tense and might override the relatively smaller viTu index, causing the whole sentence to come out in the future tense. On the other hand, poo would have a much lower index with the future tense and thus it would be very difficult to override (cf. the discussion of 146 in Chapter Three where even the presence of naaLekku 'tomorrow' in the response sentences failed to override the use of the past tense with poo). This sort of labelling (or variable featurization) would clearly be exceedingly intricate, however, as each semantic element (and perhaps each syntactic one) would have to be labelled for collocation with each other one.

Alternatively, the meanings of "completive" and "past tense" might turn out to have some semantic element in common (perhaps a "connotation" rather than a "denotation") which would link them together in a way in which viTu and the future are not linked. Such a proposal as this might be workable within the sort of theory developed by Leech (1974). Almost all of what Leech has to say about semantics involves what he terms "conceptual meaning"; but he also discusses six other "types of meaning" as well, among which he includes "connotative meaning" ("What is communicated by virtue of what language refers to") and "collocative meaning" ("What is communicated through association with words which tend to occur in the environment of another word"--1974:26). We will return to "collocative meaning" below. Although Leech says nothing specific about how his six types of

non-conceptual meaning would be handled in the organizational sketch of a grammar which he gives on p335, he suggests there that one of them, "thematic meaning", might motivate syntactic transformations. We might think of "connotative meaning", then, (as illustrated by the correlations between tense and auxiliary discussed above) as affecting the formation of predications in certain ways.

The collocation of auxiliaries with particular lexical items was also examined in the TAV research, though considerations of time and space sharply limited this side of the investigation. In Chapter Three, for example, particular examples explored the cooccurrence possibilities of taniyaa 'alone' with kiTu and viTu (41, 42 and 47), of appoo 'then' with kiTu, viTu and poo (67), of caa 'die' with poo, viTu and kiTTiru (181), and of mara and paTi with yaa and viTu (99, 102, 105 and 109). The collocations of mara with viTu and eRutu with kiTu (88) are particularly interesting in that they appear to represent earlier stages in the formation of semantic units like kattukiTu discussed above. In addition to the relatively simple collocational relations mentioned above, there were occasional examples exploring the collocational variation within small groups of closely related lexical items with respect to certain auxiliaries. In connection with examples (189 and 190) of Chapter Three, for example, the cooccurrence possibilities of the closely related verbs keTu, aRuvu and viiNaa 'become rotten (or useless)' with the completive auxiliaries poo, viTu and aaku; and the collocations of naTu 'plant' and pooTu 'put' with yai, iru and vecciru were discussed in Chapter Four (101, 104 and 113).

Collocational facts of these sorts could presumably be handled within linguistic theory in a way analogous to the connotational ones discussed earlier. Within Leech's 1974 framework, for example, we might think of "collocational

meaning" as affecting the lexicalization process and influencing the selection of one particular synonymous or near-synonymous item rather than another.

In the preceding paragraphs, we have assumed that there was some clear notional distinction between connotational facts and collocational facts (and, indeed, between either of these and elements of conceptual meaning itself). But this is, of course, not the case. Some of the cooccurrences discussed (eg. of auxiliaries and particular tense morphemes) seem to involve clearly semantic elements and some (eg. of various completive auxiliaries with keTu and aRuvu) seem to involve rather the lexical realizations of particular semantic elements. But the two groups are hard to separate on purely notional grounds, especially if we consider such collocations as those of viTu and the modal veenTum 'be necessary' (discussed in Chapter Three, example 134) and kiTTiru and piraku 'after' (discussed in Chapter Four, example 48). If we analysed cooccurrence data of the types we have been discussing along the lines suggested (or in some analogous way within the same or some other linguistic theory), we would have a principled way of distinguishing between these various types of meaning, if indeed there are distinctions to be drawn. Having defined, say, "collocational meaning" as that which is associated with the cooccurrence of particular lexical items rather than their meanings, we would be able to identify any fact which could be best described within the terms of the theory as being so associated as a "collocational" one. Such a formal criterion could be expected to concur in clear cases with the notional one and to provide a basis for choice in notionally unclear cases (cf. Lyons 1966).

It may seem that cooccurrence restrictions represent one end of the scale of collocability and thus should be treated in a parallel fashion to the gradable cooccurrence possibilities discussed above. In the terms we have been

using above, however, the difference between a slight cooccurrence possibility and an outright cooccurrence restriction may be slight in terms of probability but of large theoretical importance all the same. Indeed, it may be said that where there is no collocation, there can be no collocational meaning. Cooccurrence restrictions themselves may presumably exist at both the semantic and syntactic levels, however, and indeed Katz (1972:79-82 and 369-384) argues in favour of the separation of syntax and semantics precisely by pointing to the need for such restrictions to be separately indicated at each level.

A final topic relevant to the construction of a linguistic theory which was explored to some extent in the questionnaires is that of meaning relationships between the auxiliaries. The most important part of this topic has already been discussed above--the semantic identity of the main verb and auxiliary uses of the forms under discussion. Connected with this was the analysis of compound auxiliaries, which concluded that they are essentially just cooccurrences of two simple auxiliaries, the combined meaning of which has undergone a degree of semantic petrification. As to the meaning relationships between individual auxiliaries, one group that was discussed from this point of view in Chapter Three was the group of completive auxiliaries, viTu, poo and aaku. It was noted there that a relation of hyponymy could be said to exist between the meanings of the latter two and that of the former. The meanings of the two more highly specified completive auxiliaries may be regarded, perhaps, as containing more components than does that of viTu. The auxiliary viTu has thus the most general completive meaning and can occur in the environments appropriate to poo and aaku, as well as in ones appropriate to neither. In comparison, absence of auxiliary may be seen as specifying the meaning of the main verb even less than viTu and thus as representing the final

stage of generalization of auxiliary meaning. Less success was obtained in exploring the semantic relationships between the continuous auxiliaries, however-- the three compounds (kiTTiru, kiTTuvaa and kiTTupoo) and the two simple auxiliaries (vaa and poo). In connection with examples (6 and 7) of Chapter Four, it was tentatively suggested that kiTTupoo might contain a "habitual" component, missing from the meaning of kiTTiru. If this were the case, it would suggest one type of contrast between the two forms. As regards semantic connections between other auxiliaries, it was suggested in Chapter Four that vai and iru might have some components (such as "stative") in common, but evidence on this point was largely negative (cf. 124 and 127). Nor was much evidence available to confirm or disconfirm a hypothesis that there was a component of "affective" (or similar) in common between kiTu "self-affective" and vai "future affective". The other important semantic relationship that was discussed in Chapter Three was the direct opposition between the sequential and the simultaneous senses of viTu and kiTu. Insofar as "sequential" implies "non-simultaneous" and "simultaneous" implies "non-sequential", the semantic relation of antonymy may be said to hold between these two senses. "Sequential" is also synonymous with "completive", as was mentioned above. These logical relations of synonymy, antonymy and hyponymy which relate semantic elements to each other must be indicated at the semantic level of our description, along with the components which make up the individual elements themselves.

In concluding this chapter, we may note that a fairly wide range of topics have been discussed within it which go some way towards indicating the usefulness of a study of Tamil auxiliary verbs in dealing with important issues of linguistic theory. In the first half of the chapter, it was noted that many other languages have auxiliary verbal formations basically similar to some of those of

Tamil, even though, in the case of languages such as English, these similarities are obscured by the presence in the language of two verbs for the concept "be"--be and have. Having established that an analysis of Tamil auxiliary verbs might be expected to serve as a basis for a comparative study of such formations in other languages, our attention was turned to more general issues of linguistic theory. Specifically, it was suggested that the facts of Tamil auxiliary verbal structure provide evidence in favour of the separation of syntax and semantics and thus against the recent view that these two types of facts can be accounted for within a single semantic-syntactic continuum. It was also suggested that the gradable phenomena discussed in connection with the auxiliaries would require particular handling within a grammar and that perhaps they could be better handled in association with the conceptual-semantic part of the grammar rather than within it. It was also suggested, in rather less detail, that a certain amount of inter-level structure would be needed to account for the relation between syntactic compression and semantic petrification. Finally, the problem of the stylistic balance of auxiliaries within a sentence was discussed as yet another aspect of Tamil auxiliary verbal usage which a complete account of Tamil would be expected to explain.

CONCLUSION

A few words remain to be said in summary of the accomplishments of TAV, its shortcomings, and the directions in which further work might prove profitable.

The significance of the TAV research may be said to lie in three areas -- the methodology of linguistic investigation, certain general issues of linguistic theory, and the analysis of the Tamil auxiliary verbs themselves. These were the topics of discussion respectively in Chapter Two, Chapter Five, and Chapters Three and Four of the preceding thesis.

The methodological significance of this work lies in its extension of the questionnaire method of linguistic investigation beyond the limits which had been previously reached. Perhaps the most important advance of the TAV was to make use of an articulated series of questionnaires, rather than the two or three relatively unrelated questionnaires characteristic of most previous studies. Also important, however, were the techniques employed to extend this method of investigation to examining the colloquial speech of linguistically unsophisticated informants, the attempt to acquire a systematized body of data about a complex area of linguistic behaviour, and the provision of a degree of individual characterization for each subject.

The importance of this study of Tamil auxiliary verbs for linguistic theory results in part from its analysis of a type of linguistic structure which was

seen in the previous chapter to be quite widely spread among languages of the world. It was suggested there that, insofar as the auxiliary verbs of other languages could be seen from a review of the relevant literature to behave similarly to the Tamil ones, the analysis presented here might prove useful in examining the other languages as well. More specifically, examples were drawn from the proposed analysis of Tamil auxiliaries in support of the view that linguistic structure contains separate semantic and syntactic levels, rather than the semantic-syntactic continuum that has been advocated by some. It was suggested that certain aspects of the syntactic and semantic behaviour of Tamil auxiliary verbs could be best accounted for in terms of a model containing independent patterning at two levels of structure. The degree of correspondence between the proposed semantic and syntactic patternings suggested, moreover, that a considerable amount of inter-level structure would be needed to relate the two levels together. It was not possible to be specific, however, as to exactly what form these interlevel structures would take.

A distinction was drawn, in the latter part of Chapter Five, between two types of patterning between auxiliary verbs and other linguistic elements which seemed to be connected with what Leech (1974) has termed "connotational meaning" and "collocational meaning" respectively. It was speculated that these phenomena might have to be handled in a somewhat different way from the "conceptual meaning" of the language. In connection with a discussion of the stylistic balance of auxiliaries within a sentence and the various cooccurrence problems mentioned above, it was pointed out that these were all examples of gradable phenomena of a sort that had been barely looked at to date from the point of view of a general model of linguistic description and that some way of accounting for them would have to be developed.

Also, the relations between main and auxiliary verbs, which have given rise to considerable discussion in recent times in relation to English and other languages (eg. Ross 1969, Clements 1975), were examined in relation to Tamil, particularly in connection with iru and yai. The fundamental similarities between auxiliaries and their corresponding main verbs were noted and it was suggested that it might be more exact to refer to the auxiliary and main verb uses of certain verbs, rather than to employ the more distinct nomenclature of auxiliaries versus main verbs. An attempt was made in Chapter Five to account for the slight semantic and syntactic differences between the two types of verbal use in terms of 'petrification' and 'syntactic compression'.

Finally, the TAV research may be said to have increased our knowledge of the Tamil auxiliary verbs themselves. The meanings of the individual auxiliaries covered were examined in more detail than ever before and considerable attention was paid to the interrelationships between them. The cooccurrence possibilities of the auxiliaries with each other and with other elements of the language were also discussed and some attempt was made to distinguish semantically between members of groups of closely related auxiliaries. In particular, the self-affective, simultaneous and compound uses of kiTTu were examined, as were the completive and sequential uses of viTu, the existential use of iru, and the future-affective use of yai. The continuous (simultaneous+existential) compound kiTTiru was also examined in detail and was compared with the other continuous auxiliaries vaa, poo, kiTTuvaa and kiTTupoo. The comparison and contrast of the completive auxiliaries viTu, aaku and poo was also a feature of some of the discussion. The auxiliary of disgust, tole, was also mentioned, particularly in association with viTu.

Although an attempt was made in the TAV research to be as thorough as possible within the limits of the time available for its completion, certain shortcomings must be admitted. Firstly, as was noted in Chapter One, there was not space to examine all the auxiliaries that might have been dealt with and those that have been included have not always been studied in as much detail as would have been ideally desirable. It was not possible, for example, to determine the parameters along which the various continuous auxiliaries differ and some doubt remains as to the precise meaning of aaku as opposed to the other completive auxiliaries.

As has been mentioned before, one auxiliary in particular, tole, proved difficult to investigate using the methods of TAV. This was because of its emotive denotation -- so "unsuitable" for utterance in a pleasant interview situation such as that in which the subjects were participating. It may be that more reliable information about certain highly emotive expressions may be obtained by the use of the analysts' own intuition (in the case of native speakers) or that of a perceptive informant than by the methods employed here. Otherwise, it may be possible to adapt the TAV methods sufficiently to investigate such items as well in the same detail as was done here with such auxiliaries as kiTu and viTu.

Other obvious shortcomings of this study may be said primarily to have resulted from the pioneering nature of its methods. Some of the questionnaire sentences turned out to be too broadly formulated to yield decisive information on the points they were intended to investigate. Others caused difficulties by appearing too "unnatural" to the informants. Such problems as these appeared more in the earlier questionnaires than the later and so may be attributed rather to practical considerations than to any flaw in the principles underlying the study. None of these

various problems of scope and execution seem to have seriously affected the basic accomplishments of the TAV project as outlined above, however.

It would seem, moreover, that the type of research established in TAV could be profitably extended in a variety of directions. Besides making good the limitations of scope inevitable in the present work or carrying out similar research into other topics in Tamil or other languages, this and further research like it could be useful in a variety of linguistic fields. From the anthropological linguistic point of view, for example, the cultural implications of such an investigation could be explored. Topics such as the linguistic self-consciousness of the culture, the attitude of the speakers to their language, word-play among participants and onlookers at an interview, and precedence relations in the culture as expressed by the deference paid to individual speakers are among those that suggest themselves. Perhaps even more useful from an anthropologically oriented viewpoint would be the material contained in the relatively free "conversations" that were collected in connection with this study. Among the topics that concerned individual speakers in this investigation were the position of untouchables in the local community, the practice of "country medicine", and the social benefits of prohibition.

These incidental materials could also prove useful in a socio-linguistic study (indeed, it is often hard to say just where anthropological linguistics ends and socio-linguistics begins). In addition, strictly comparable sets of data from a wide variety of speakers, such as that contained in TAV can be expected to be of use in examining linguistic correlates of occupation or social class. As was noted in Chapter Two, the range of speakers consulted in the TAV research itself was

probably too wide and ranged over too great a number of variables to provide any reliable results in this direction. The results of a study of comparable scope carried out with subjects varying along only a few relevant parameters (e. g. of similar age, from the same village, with similar educational background, but differing in caste) could provide useful material on such socio-linguistic variation, particularly if attention were paid to inserting vocabulary items especially prone to such variation into the questionnaire sentences. The TAV results could help at least in the initial identification of such items.

The investigation of geographical dialects is the area in which most use has already been made of the questionnaire method of investigation. Indeed, one hope that was entertained at the start of the TAV project was that it might provide a sort of micro-dialect survey of the area in which the investigation was carried out. It was hoped in this way to obtain some objective evidence for the naive view, sometimes encountered, that it was possible to tell even people from neighboring villages apart by their speech. Insofar as auxiliary verbs are parts of the "grammar" rather than the "lexicon" of a language, variation in their use might not have been expected, especially within such a small compass. But the questionnaire sentences included many other elements beside auxiliaries and it was hoped that some of these might exhibit significant variation. But again, the subjects varied in too many respects for any particular variation to be attributed specifically to geographical factors, even though the villages were selected so as to provide a comparable geographical spread for each questionnaire. Information on geographical dialects ought to be obtainable, however, from a similar investigation, provided some attempt were made to reduce the number of

variables by collecting the responses from more strictly comparable subjects from a smaller number of villages.

Finally, studies utilizing TAV methods could be useful in psycholinguistic research. Such features of the responses as unexpected deviation from the given sentences, hesitations and clear performance errors may reveal something about the psychological complexity of individual sentences. Material relevant to simple problems related to the limitations of memory and the perceived relations between linguistic phenomena and the universe of reference (the "real world") is already available in the TAV results themselves, even though no specific effort was made to gather such data. An attempt might also be made to relate linguistic characteristics of an individual's responses (eg. conformity with the given sentences, frequency of multiple responses) with other aspects of his observable behaviour in the interview situation (eg. loquacity, self-confidence).

A final remark may be made in conclusion. Although the title of this work, Tamil Auxiliary Verbs may seem to indicate a rather narrow and esoteric topic of strictly specialist interest, it is hoped that the work itself has shown the TAV project to have been relevant in fact to a wide spectrum of contemporary linguistic scholarship.

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