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## *Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

**A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.**

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### Contents

Chapter 1 Importance of Descriptive Grammar in Preserving and Enriching  
Tamil as a Living-Classical Language

Chapter 2 Tolkaappiyam – Kaviraajamaarga  
A Brief Note of Comparison

Chapter 3 Lexical Opposites in Tamil

Chapter 4 Relative Compounds in Tamil and Kannada

Chapter 5 Relative Compounds in Tamil and Kannada

Chapter 6 Agreement in Tamil and Telugu

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-  
Modern Tamil Grammar*

**Chapter 7** Auxiliary Verbs in Modern Tamil

**Chapter 8** Noun Reduplication in Tamil

**Chapter 9** Noun Reduplication in Tamil and Telugu

**Chapter 10** Noun Reduplication in Tamil and Kannada

**Chapter 11** Verb Reduplication in Tamil

**Chapter 12** Verb Reduplication in Tamil and Telugu

**Epilogue**

**References**

## Importance of Descriptive Grammar in Preserving and Enriching a Living Classical Language

Students and teachers view grammar more as a static list of rules that every one must follow. These static rules or “authoritarian” instructions are best studied, they seem to think, using established works of grammatical treatises. This approach to the teaching and learning of grammar is easily evident in learning every Indian language, including English.

While studying time-honored classical languages such as Sanskrit, Latin and Greek may greatly benefit from this approach to maintain their system of rules, studying a living-classical language such as Tamil requires a different approach. Older rules of grammar are needed to learn and interpret the early stages of such a living-classical language. But newly evolved and evolving rules of usage become indispensable to connect oneself to the best use of a living-classical language.

An important feature of a living-classical language is its continuity in its grammatical base, and this continuity must be understood, cherished and put to use, according to Thirumalai (personal communication). He also argues that while literary forms will be added in much greater variety, with each generation of creative writers adding new forms and dynamic literary nuances, addition to grammatical patterns are usually limited in any living-classical language such as Tamil. This basic reality makes a living-classical language distinct from other varieties of classical languages.

This distinction must be recognized and exploited in any teaching program for *Chemmozhi* Tamil. While the most of the rules of grammar noted in traditional grammars such as *Tolkappiyam* and *Nannul* are relevant even today, the need to continuously update our knowledge and understanding of the grammatical operation of Tamil should be recognized.

We want our language Tamil to be alive and dynamic to meet our current and future needs. Lexical items are continuously added and these additions have brought in some variations in rules, especially in the areas of compounds, spelling and inflections. Verb inflections have undergone changes, and the need to develop bias-free style of writing that would eliminate caste-prone expressions, prejudicial gender expressions, etc., must

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

be recognized and such trends in current speech and writing must be recognized and taught. Innovations in language use need to be encouraged to reflect the current state of art of modern living. Business and other office communications need to be developed fully.

All these require an understanding of the patterns of language use. This understanding comes from a descriptive study of current use even as such study relates to the continuity and other sociolinguistic goals.

I enjoy reading *Tolkappiyam*, *Nannuul* and other traditional grammatical treatises. We all see how grammar and sociolinguistic decisions are closely related to each other when we read these grammatical treatises. We also see how attempts were made later on to impose elements and patterns of use not native to Tamil. Some of the later grammatical works are simple reproductions and distractions of earlier grammatical works. These assumed a more prescriptive approach in presenting the patterns of grammar. This trend of prescriptivism is unfortunately well entrenched in our Tamil grammar classes.

The portions of “grammar” in our Tamil textbooks need to be based more on living language, not the earlier stages of Tamil. At the same time there should also be provisions to learn, master and even use classical variations for stylistic purposes.

I believe that describing Tamil as it is used in current standard written Tamil will help improve our language use. In the pages that follow I’ve made initial attempts to describe some aspects of elements of Tamil grammar. My focus here is on reduplication, nominal compounds, lexical opposites, auxiliary verb and agreement. Descriptions of these aspects will help write appropriate grammar lessons with an eye on acquiring and using that will impart modernity and continuity.

Another focus of this work is to compare some of the aspects of Tamil grammar with two other Dravidian languages, namely, Kannada and Telugu. Additional information derived from these two languages will help decide on the selection, gradation and presentation of grammatical elements for the teaching of Tamil to bilingual populations in Tamilnadu.

## Tolkaappiyam – Kaviraajamaarga A Brief Note of Comparison

### Introduction

This paper tries to compare the first grammatical work of Tamil *Tolkaappiyam* and the first grammatical work of Kannada *Kaviraajamaarga*. These two works are not contemporary products but these occupy very important positions in the development of Tamil and Kannada respective.

A comparative study of grammars of two different languages helps us to appreciate their commonness and specialty. The main aim of this paper is to bring together these two grammars and briefly see the similarities and differences between them. Even though the two languages belong to the same language group within the same language family, there are some differences.

### Tolkaappiyam

Tolkaappiyam is the earliest available grammar in Tamil. It belongs to third century B.C. There are three main divisions in this grammar. Each division has nine chapters. In total, there are 27 chapters with 1611 *nuuRpa* or *sutra* or aphorisms . Tolkaappiyam is a grammar of both the common usage and the literary usage (*vazhakku* and *ceyyuL*). Tolkaappiyar deals not only with phonology, morphology and syntax but also poetics and rhetoric and the way the world is categorized (*poruL*). The division on *poruL* is a special feature of this grammatical work. This is a part that deals with, among other things, how one enters into wedded life.

Tolkaappiyam makes several references to the dialects of Tamil and other adjacent languages. It is largely a grammar of written Tamil, but takes into account the possibilities of variation through the spoken medium. The grapheme-phoneme interconnection is highlighted. Graphemics is also part of the grammar within phonology. Morphophonemics is described in great detail even as morphology and syntax are dealt within the same division, highlighting the interconnection and interdependence between the two. Semantics and discourse are also dealt with.

The language of Tolkaappiyam is amazingly simple, straightforward and full of content and analysis. There are references to various religious or sectarian practices, but the

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

writer seems to adopt a sort of neutral position relating to deities, but deals with principles of nature and the world with many significant thoughts.

The descriptive and explanatory power of the grammar presented and the technical terms coined and used are distinctly Tamil with very little dependence, if any, on other sources.

Tamil textbooks taught their grammar lessons based on information from Nannuul, not from Tolkappiyam. Early modern syllabus framers and textbook writers relegated Tolkappiyam to advanced courses for students who specialized in Tamil grammar and literature and used verses from Nannuul for lower classes in high school.

### **Kavirajamarga**

Kavirajamarga is the earliest available writing on grammar, rhetoric, and poetics in the Kannada language. It is a *lakshana grantha* and it is the first attempt of writing the grammar of Kannada. The author of Kavirajamarga was King Nripatunga Amoghavarsha I (850 AD).

It is the earliest existing literary work in Kannada. It is based partly on an earlier Sanskrit writing *Kavyadarsa*. It is an interesting piece of writing on literary criticism and poetics meant to standardize various written Kannada dialects used in literature in previous centuries.

The author of this treatise has mentioned many references from the pre – Kannada Ramayana and Mahabharata and also his own poetry references (references to Kannada works by early writers such as king Durvinita of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and Ravikriti, the author of the Aihole record of 630 AD).

From the references made in this writing to earlier Kannada poetry and literature it is clear that a considerable body of work in prose and poetry must have existed in the preceding centuries.

Kavirajamarga makes important references not only to earlier Kannada writers and poets but also to early literary styles in vogue in the various written dialects of Kannada. The aim of this writing was to standardize these written styles. The king mentions two styles of composition, the “Bedande” and the “Chatthana” and indicates that these styles were recognized as earlier styles.

The name ‘Kavirajamarga’ means literary royal path for poets and scholars (*Kavishiksha*). It is an important milestone in the literary growth of Kannada and is a

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

guide book to the Kannada grammar that existed in that period. It laid a royal road of guiding many aspiring writers. This treatise helps us to know more about the Kannada country, people and their culture.

Regarding Kavirajamarga, Dr. A. Murigeppa is of the opinion that the reference to Kannada grammar made in this study, here and there, is not a full-fledged work on grammar. It is a work of prosody. Apart from that, it has helped the growth of a variety of literary traditions. K. Venkatachalam (*Kaviraajamaarga*, 2002, preface vii) mentions that a person who is well versed in pre-old Kannada can understand *kavirajamaarga* clearly.

### **Tolkaappiyam and Kaviraajamarga: A Comparison**

Tolkaappiyam is the earliest available grammar which is a ‘muula nuul’ – “primary Work”. Regarding Kavirajamarga, some persons are of the opinion that it is the translation of the Sanskrit Treatise *taNDi’s kaaviyaadarsam*; and some persons are of the opinion that *kaaviyaadarsam* is the primary work and *kavirajamarga* is the “Secondary Work”.

### **Divisions or Parts of Tolkaappiyam and Kavirajamaarga**

Tolkaappiyam contains three parts and they are:

- i) Treatise on phonology (Ezhuttathikaaram). This part with nine chapters deals with the pronunciation, positions, combinations usage, etc., of the letters of the Tamil alphabet in 483 aphorisms.
- ii) The treatise on Morphology (Collathikaaram) with nine chapters deals with the formation of words, cases, nouns, verbs, verbal suffixes, qualificatives etc. of Tamil words in 463 aphorisms.
- iii) The treatise on literary study (PoruLathikaaram) also contains nine chapters which speak about the themes of literature and methods of literary appreciation. It contains altogether 665 aphorisms.

Like Tolkaappiyam, Kavirajamaarga also contains three ‘paricceethams’ (taNDi’s three main divisions ‘carukkam’, ‘ilampakam’ and ‘paricceetham’).

Each paricceetham contains padyams. First paricceetham, that is the introductory part of the grammatical work, presents the praise of the king Nirubhatunga, the goddess

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Saraswathi and the poets, the grammar of kavya and its divisions ‘poetry’ style and the ‘prose’ style, the description of the Kannada county and its boundaries, four errors of a treatise, nine common errors, country errors, common preface, etc. It contains 150 padyams.

The second paricceetham deals with the prosody of words. The prosody of a kavya, and the methods of expressing it, combination of foot, combination of words, some words, case markers lengthening, repetition, prasaas, grammatical rules, Sanskrit rules and the Dravidian rules, ten main rules, nine rasas, picture poems, one letter songs, two letter songs, rare words, yamakam, nuDi, varNac cudhakam, etc. It contains 155 padyams.

The third paricceetham deals with 36 kinds of alankaaraas (prosodies) and ends with the praising of the king Nirubhatunga. It contains 231 padyams. Apart from these, five additional padyams are also available in Kavurajamarga.

### **On Rhymes**

Tolkaappiyam talks about ‘Etukai rhyme’. Tolkaappiyar keeps etukai rhyme as one among the four divisions of ‘toDai’. ‘Etukai rhyme’ means the rhymes of the second letter of all the lines in the stanza.

But Kavirajamaarga divides six kinds of prasas and explains it clearly with suitable examples. i) Vinutha prasa vinutha etukai that is the second letter of all lines is same; ii) Shantha prasa (shaantha etukai) that is the two consonants combine with different vowels; iii) Varga prasa (varga etukai) means the related letters of one particular letter. (the letter ‘ka’ has the related letters as ‘kha’, ‘ga’. and ‘gha’); iv) Shamyaprasa (shamyaprasa etukai), that is the letter ‘sa’ has the letters ‘sa’ and ‘sha’; v) Anugathaprasa (anugathaprasa etukai) means the coming letters are repeatedly coming; and vi) Anthyaprasa (ianthyaprasa etukai), means the ending letter are the same. Examples: ‘kuttam’, ‘pattam’ ‘yuttam’. It also deals with the ‘maatru’ – “time duration of a phoneme” of prasa. In the additional padyams, Kavirajamaarga deals with the other varieties of prasa. That is, the ‘Dvitiyaksharaprasa’ (irezhuttu etukai), punaruktaartta prasa (irucol etukai), ‘thryaksharaprasa’ (muuvezhuttu etukai) and the ‘Aadi prasa’ – ‘Antyaprasa’ (mutal-iiRRuetukai).

Tolkaappiyar describes several types of rhymes, which include the ‘Moonai Rhyme’ (the rhymes of the initial letters in the foot of each line), ‘MuRan Rhyme’ (differing in words and meanings), ‘Iyaipu Rhyme’ (the identity of sounds, letters or syllables or words) at the end of each foot in a verse), ‘ALapeTai rhyme’ (is the elongation of letters in every line), ‘Pozhippu Rhyme’ (agreement in second letters in the alternate feet of a line) and ‘ORRu Rhyme’ (agreement in the feet of line with the intervention of two feet in

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

between). The expansions of rhymes are around thirteen thousand and ninety nine (13699). Moonai rhyme 1019; etukai rhyme 2473; muRan rhyme 2; iyaipu rhyme 182; aLapeTai rhyme 159; pozhippu rhyme 654; oruuu rhyme 654; (non rhyme) centoDai 8556; in total it is 13699. But Kaviraajamaarga is not dealing with the above mentioned rhymes and Moonai Rhyme is not used in Kannada.

### **Elements of Prosody**

Tolkaappiyam deals with the relevant elements of poetry in one particular part 'ceyyuLiyal' "Literary Compositions."

1. Maattirai – time duration of a phoneme,
2. Ezhuttu iyal – letter (Phoneme) kinds,
3. Acai – the metrical syllable,
4. Ciir - the metrical foot,
5. ATi – the metrical line,
6. Yaappu – metrical structuring,
7. Marapu – Traditional usage, poetic diction,
8. Tuukku – related to melody or rhyme,
9. toTai – rhyme patterns, rhetorical elements,
10. Nookku – The total import of verse,
11. Paa – is the verse form,
12. ALaviyal – line limit of verse,
13. tiNai – conduct of human life,
14. Kaikkool – Secret and wedded phases of love,
15. KuuRRu vakai – utterances of characters,
16. KeeTppoor – hearers,
17. kaLan – the place where all theforesaid things are happening,
18. kaalam – divisions of time and seasons,
19. Payan – effect,
20. MeyppaaTu – Physical manifestations,
21. Eccham – that which is left to be understood,
22. MuNNam – is facial expression, not speaking from the mouth, but showing through face,
23. PoruL – deals with the universality of the content matter,
24. TuRai – subthemes,
25. MaaTTu – Syntactical linkage,
26. VaNNam - Specific sound features in verses.

Besides these twenty six elements, the following are also dealt with:

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

27. Ammai – verses which are composed in a harmonious succession of mellifluous words of fewer in number is ammai.
28. Azhaku – Choice of four kinds of words with proper rhyme,
29. ToNmai – antique literary source interspersed with prose,
30. Tool – speaks noble ideas in mellifluous diction, and composed in many lines at wide range.
31. Viruntu – composition of newness and novelty,
32. iyaipu – narrative poems ending in n, N, n, n, m, y, r, l, v, L, zha.
33. pUzhan – compositions in the popular language that lend to easy comprehension with no discernment of the mind needed.
34. iLaiPu – easy flowing style keeping off hard consonants composed in the five kinds of lines. But Kavirajamarga is not dealing about this.

### **Treatment of Simile**

Tolkaappiyar deals with the ‘uvamaiyaNi’ and the five kinds of ‘ULLuRai uvamai’ – “Implied Simile” in one chapter ‘uvamaiyiyal’ – “Simile”. But kavirajamaarga deals with 36 kinds of ‘Alankaara’ (aNi) in Kannada, elaborately with suitable examples and Upame Alankara is one among them. He also describes 26 kinds of ‘Upame Alankara’ (uvamai aNi). He gives good examples for that also. Moreover, he also deals with ‘Upame Doosha’/ ‘Upame Skalitya’ (uvamai vazhu) and ‘Upame Doosharahita’/ ‘Upame Skalityarahitha’ (vazhaa nilai).

### **Noverbal Expressions**

Kavirajamaarga deals with nine rasas in the second paricceetham padyams (98 – 102) ‘Veera’ (viiram), ‘Karune’ (karuNai), ‘Adbutha’ (aRputam), ‘Srungaara’ (kaatal), ‘Shanta’ (caantham), ‘Hasya’ (nakaiccuvai), ‘Bhibatsa’ (iLivaral), ‘Bhayanaka’ (accham) and ‘Rowdra’ (vekuLi) with suitable examples. But Tolkaappiyar in the chapter ‘meyppaaTTiyal’ “Physical Manifestations” mentions eight kinds of ‘meyppaaTukaL’ as ‘nakai’ “Laughter”, ‘azhukai’ “Crying”, ‘iLivaral’ “Disgust”, ‘maruTkai’ “Wonder”, ‘accham’ “Fear”, ‘perumitam’ “Pride”, ‘vekuLi’ “Anger” and ‘uvakai’ “Joy”. He also mentions that beyond the eight principal emotions there are thirty-two emotions which can be seen among the people for various reasons.

### **Grammatical Case**

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Tolkaappiyar deals with the cases elaborately in the second division Morphology in three sections as ‘veeRRumaiyal’ – “Case Systems”, ‘veeRRumai mayankiyal’ – “Case Markers Interchanges” and ‘viLi marapu’ – “Vocative Conventions”.

But Kavirajamaarga deals with prathamas (Cases) in four or five padyams. The padyam number 114 points out the prathama vibhakthi and the other six kinds of cases (prathamaas) in the first paricceetham; the padyam numbers 15, 16, 17 and 18 of second paricceetham mention about the prathama marker’s lengthening and the mistakes of the markers lengthening and shortening. The padyam number 23 of the same second paricceetham deals about the vocative case.

Tolkaappiyar deals with the vocative case elaborately. He clearly points out the four endings of the vocative case human class ‘i’, ‘u’, ‘ai’ and ‘oo’ (Aphorism: 605). He also gives the changes of the about said vowels as i>ii, ai>aa/aay, oo, u>ee. (Aphorism: 606, 607). Tolkaappiyar says that scholars are of the opinion that the other vowels in the human nouns will not take the vocative case (Aphorism: 609). . He not only points out the vowel endings of the vocative case but also the consonant endings ‘n’, ‘r’, ‘l’ and ‘L’ of the vocative (Aphorism: 613). Like vowels, the other consonants will not take vocative case. Tolkaappiyar also mentions that the Demonstrative Pronouns (‘aval’ “She” (Remote), ‘ivaL’ “She” (Proximate) and the interrogative Pronouns (‘yaavaL’ “Who is she?”) will not take vocative case (aphorism: 633).

### **Vocative Case**

Kavirajamaarga does not deal with the ‘Sambhodhana vibhakthi’ (vocative case) as elaborately as Tolkaappiyam. It mentions that in the vocative case the lengthening is possible but if the lengthening is too much then the sweetness will go and it is very horrible to hear.

### **Compounds**

Tolkaappiyam mentions six kinds of compounds. But kavirajamaarga is not dealing with the compounds.

### **Euphonic Repetition**

Tolkaappiyam deals with the Euphonic repetition, immediacy repetition and the limit of repetition for the euphonic and the immediacy. The limit for euphonic repetition is four and the limit of repetition of immediacy is three. It also deals about the euphonic particles. Kavirajamaarga just mentions that the repetition is not a mistake.

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

## Homonyms

The Homonyms are described in three ways as ‘neeyaarttam’ ‘oor nudi’ and ‘cileeDai’ in Kavirajamaarga. Kavirajamaarga doesn’t mention synonymy. But Tolkaappiyam refers to this Homonym as ‘pala poruL kuRitta oru col/ kiLavi,’ and synonymy as ‘oru poruL kuRitta pala col/kiLavi’.

## Phonological Changes

Kavirajamaarga left out things like ‘uTampaTumey’ “Consonantal Glide’, ‘kuRRiyalukaram’ “Shortening ‘u’”, ‘poozhi’ “Diphthong” ‘caariyai’ “Euphonic Particles” ‘puNarcci “Coalescence,” etc.

## Conclusion

Tolkaappiyam presupposes a vast body of literature and number of grammatical treatises, which unfortunately have not come down to us. It is a product of great and rich tradition which was in vogue in Tamil Nadu in early times. Kavirajamaarga on its part reflects the great traditions of grammatical and prosodic analysis in Kannada and Karnataka. Both these works contribute greatly to an understanding of Indian grammatical traditions.

## Application

Tolkappiyam offers a worldview of ancient times as well as possibility of application in modern times. So, syllabus framers and textbook writers should study the text with practical application in mind. For example, there are interesting grammatical rules for compounds, rules for borrowing and acceptance of borrowed items into Tamil, interesting exposition of regional dialects and literary devices. Literature is seen via geographical landscape, relating the physical landscape to the interior landscape of human psychology and values.

Tolkappiyam thus offers many items for adoption and incorporation into modern Tamil teaching. Concept and definition of errors in speech and writing and errors in prosody, ideas relating to what constitute literature and how literature mirrors human values adopted in the society are some of the items that should be included in the Living-Classical Tamil language teaching.

## Lexical Opposites in Tamil

### Introduction

The study of Tamil Semantics is a neglected field. This may be due to the fact that semantics is in a state of flux and that it has not attained the status of rigorous methodological discipline, like other major branches of linguistics. As Lyons states in his major work on semantics (1977), there is so much vagueness, ambiguity and confusion about various concepts in semantic studies and, hence, we had to examine them afresh and to redefine them.

This chapter takes Lyon's treatment of the sense relations of

- i) Opposition and Contrast and
- ii) Directional Orthogonal and Anti Podal Opposition

as a model and relate some of the illustrations given for English by Lyons to Tamil.

But my goal is to describe the lexical opposites and use this concept in developing syllabus and textbooks for the teaching of Chemmozhi Tamil. Once again, my goal is to achieve continuity even as I would like to take care of and use modern developments.

Tradition and continuity mark semantics as well in Tamil. We are greatly surprised when we find that many words used in Sangam and other classics such as Tirukkural are still current in Tamil. Two-thousand years have passed by and yet words of ancient heritage still are preserved and actively used in Tamil.

### Application

How many Tamil words do we know? How many Tamil words a child entering First Standard knows? How many of these words are active and how many are passive words? What semantic domains are emphasized while acquiring words in initial stages in childhood? Does our textbook reflect these stages?

Study of Tamil vocabulary acquisition is not a strong streak in educational research in Tamil. Tamil linguists need to show greater interest in identifying children's vocabulary, based on gender, region, socio-economic criteria, parental background, etc.

Regional words have been identified in large numbers and have also been published. However, use of these words in textbooks is not done enthusiastically. We need to select words and use these in textbooks to bring them into popular usage.

Remember that Chemmozhi does not close its door to receive new words through various means. If we conceive our Tamil language a living phenomenon then we should be willing to receive and use newly created and/or borrowed words from various sources while adapting these to the lexical patterns of Tamil.

### **Lexical Opposites**

As in other Dravidian languages, in Tamil also, vocabulary contains a large number of opposites. The standard technical term for "Lexical Opposites", that is, oppositeness of meaning between Lexemes is *antonymy*. The term *antonymy* was coined in the nineteenth century to describe oppositeness of meaning which was itself conceived as the opposite of synonymy.

Antonymy, in its broader sense, has often been thought of as referring to the opposite extreme from identity of meaning. But this is obviously wrong as when two objects are compared and contrasted with respect to their possession or lack of some property, this is done generally on recognition of their similarity in other respects. The standard term antonymy has become as imprecise as the term oppositeness because all kinds of dichotomization are referred as antonymy.

Lyons (1983:68) suggests that "the fact that antonyms not only have polarity relative to one another, along the dimension that they constitute, but differ in their privilege of occurrence and in the relations that they contract with other lexical items may be thought of as contributing to the very definite sense which we have as native speakers that some lexical items have a "positive" and others a "negative" ring about them.

Binary opposition is one of the most important principles governing the structure of languages. Lyons draws up a workable and convenient classification and this will be the basis for the present paper. Oppositeness will be restricted to dichotomous or binary contrasts. Antonymy will be restricted still further in to gradable opposites. Ungradable opposites will be termed complementariness. To be distinguished from both antonymy and complementarity is converseness.

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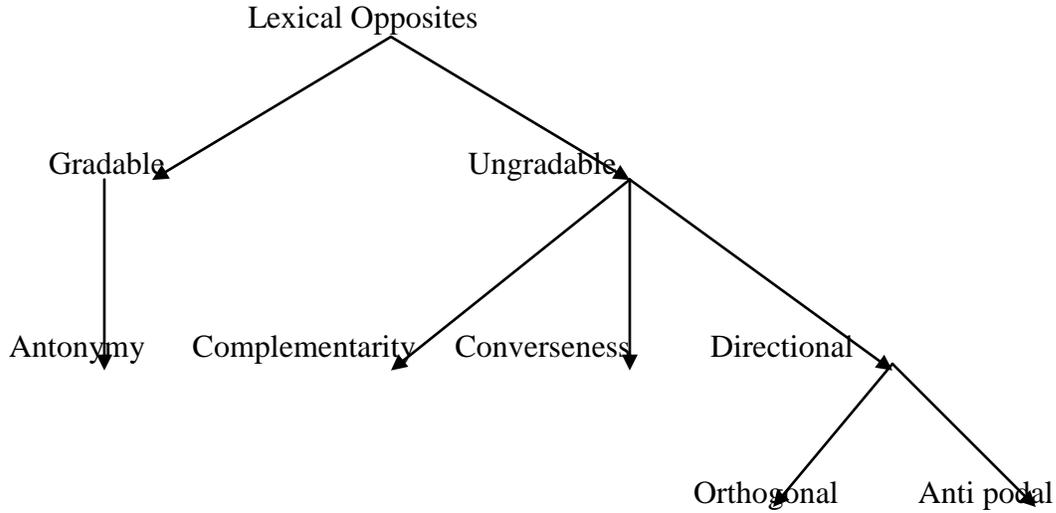
10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

## Lexical Opposites in Tamil

Lexical opposites in Tamil can be classified as:



### Gradable Lexical Opposites – Antonymy

In Tamil, the gradable opposites reflect the real polarization in sense relations. For example one can ask,

- i) inta viiDu anta viiDu poola periyata?  
“Is this house as big as that house?”

The fact that one can say

- ii) inta viiDu anta viiDu poola periyatu  
“This house is as big as that house”

(or)

- iii) inta viiDu anta viiTtilum periyatu  
“This house is bigger than that house”

Depends upon the gradability of periyatu.

The predication of the one implies the predication of the negation of the other; but not vice versa. The expression

cuuTaana paal “Hot Milk” implies aaraata paal “Not Cold Milk” and aaRina paal “Cold Milk” implies cuTaata paal “Not Hot Milk” not generally imply ‘aaRina paal’ “Cold Milk”. The traditional logical categories of contraries correspond in this oppositeness but it applies more widely.

Grading (Term given by Sapir) is bound up with the operation of comparison. The comparison may be explicit, implicit or semi-explicit. Explicit comparison involves two types of comparison i) two things may be compared with respect to a particular ‘property’ and this ‘property’ predicated of the one in a greater degree than it is of the other.

For Example

- iv) enkaL viiDu unkaL viiTtilum/viTta periyatu  
“Our house is bigger than your house”

ii) two states of the same thing may be compared with respect to the property in question.

For Example

- v) enkaL viiDu saataaraNamaana viiTtai vita/ilum periyatu  
“Our house is bigger than the normal house”

These utterances (without context) may be ambiguous between the two types of comparison. The substitution of one pair of a gradable antonym for the other and the transposition of the relevant nominal expression with in a comparative sentence results in a semantically equivalent sentence.

This grading may also be implicit and semi-explicitly.

For Example

- vi) ennuTaiya aRai periyatu “My Room is big”

We are ascribing the property or ‘periyatu’ “bigness/size” to the referent of our room. Here the grading is made implicitly with some norm which is generally understood. We are implicitly comparing the room with something else and asserting that it is bigger.

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

The standard of comparison may here been explicitly introduced in the context where the sentence is uttered. We say then,

vii) enkaL viiDu periyatu “Our house is big” will usually mean something like

viii) enkaL viiDu cumaaraana viiTtilum periyatu  
“Our house is bigger than the ordinary house”

(Or)

ix) enkaL viiDu oru viiTtukkuriya aLaviLum periyatu  
“Our house is bigger than the normal house”

Failure to recognize the logical properties of gradable, antonyms can give rise to a number of pseudo-problems.

By semi-explicitly grading is meant the use of some comparative construction without explicit mention of standard of comparison.

For Example

x) ennuTaiya viiDu rompap/mikap periyatu  
“My house is very/too big”

is graded semi-explicitly and the standard of comparison will usually have been previously introduced in the context.

### **Ungradable Lexical Opposites**

This type of Lexical Opposites is not possible in the comparison.

For Example

aaN	“Male”	peN	“Female”
aaciriyān	“Male teacher”	aaciriyai	“Female Teacher”

and so on. In each pairs “not only the predication of either one of the pair implies the predication of the negation of other, but also that the predication of the negation of either implies the predication of the other” (Lyons: 1977:272).

These ungradable lexical opposites can be classified in to three types namely i) Complementarity ii) Converseness and iii) Directional.

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

## Complementarity

It deals with the ungradable opposites. For example aaN “Male” peN “Female”, a typical pair of ungradable opposites.

For Example

- xi) kaNNan oor aaN “Kannan is a male” implies  
kaNNan oru peN illai “Kannan is not a female”

This dichotomization is due to the difference of sex which can be further illustrated from Tamil usages where both members of a pair are marked for Masculine and Feminine genders respectively.

For Example

- xii) maaNavan “Male Student” maaNavi “Female Student”  
xiii) aaciriyān “Male Teacher” aaciriyai “Female Teacher”

Tamil Language has no common singular term to cover each of those pairs. Honorific singular form like ‘maanavar’ “Student” ‘aaciriyar’ “Teacher” can be used when one does not want to state the sex of the person concerned. In such cases there is a neutralization of oppositeness. This relationship is also illustrated by the following pairs of words.

For example

- xiv) maNamaana “Married” maNamaakaata “Un Married”  
xv) uyiutan iru “Be alive” iRa “To die”

The pair kanni verses maNamaanavaL expresses the complementarity in the case of a woman of marriageable age.

## Converseness

Opposition different from antonymy and complementarity is converseness exemplified by pairs like kaNavan “Husband” manaivi “Wife” which may be regarded as two-place predicates while Lyons suggests the term *converseness* for such type of relations. Palmer

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

(1976:82) points out their essential relational characteristics and thus prefers the term relational opposites.

The comparative forms of explicitly graded antonyms and the corresponding active and passive forms of transitive verbs operate within the sentences as converses.

For Example

- xvi) ravi kaNNanai vita uyaramaanavan  
“Ravi is taller than kannan” is the converse of
- xvii) kaNnan raviyai viTak kuLLamaanavan  
“Kannan is shorter than Ravi”
- xviii) raaman siitaiyai virumpinaan  
“Rama loves sita”
- xix) siitai raamanaal virumpappaTTaaL  
Sita was loved by Rama”

Provided the appropriate grammatical changes are carried out after the transposition of the nominal expressions. Pairs of sentence containing converse lexemes or expressions can be so written that the two members of each pair of sentences will be equivalent.

Converse relations between lexemes which may be used as two place predicative expressions are especially common in areas of the vocabulary having to do with reciprocal social rules.

For Example

- xx) maruttuvar/vaittiyar “Doctor” X nooyaaLi “Patient”  
xxi) mudalaaLi “Boss” X tozhilaaLi “Servant”  
xxii) guru “Teacher” X siiTan “Follower/Student”  
xxiii) aaNTaan “God” X aTimai “Slave”

The idea of presupposition and expectancy is expressed by some pairs.

For Example

- xxiv) vinaa “Question” viTai/patil “Answer”

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

## Directional Lexical Opposites

The directional lexical opposites can be further divided into two types as i) Orthogonal and ii) Antipodal. It is also a major category of lexical opposites. John Lyons (1977:211) states that “though the directional lexical opposites cannot always be distinguished from the other three types of lexical opposites, that is, antonymy, complementarity and converseness is sufficiently important in language to be given a separate label”. This type of opposition is seen most clearly in the relationship which holds between

‘meelee’	“Up”	‘kiizhee’	“Down”
‘vaa’	“Come”	‘poo’	“Go”
‘vantatu’	“arrived it”	‘puRappaTTatu’	“Departure it”
‘iTa’	“Left”	‘vala’	“Right”
‘munnaal’	“Front”	‘pinnaal’	“Behind”

The directionality of ‘meelee’ X kiizhee in the vertical dimension is absolute in a way that the directionality of ‘iTam’ X ‘valam’ and ‘mun’ X ‘pin’ is not absolute.

## Orthogonal

The oppositions which hold within the set ‘vaTakku’ “North” ‘teRkku’ “South” ‘kizhakku’ “East” ‘meeRkku’ “West” each of the four members of the set is opposed in this way to ‘kizhakku’ and ‘meeRkku’; ‘kizhakku’ is opposed to ‘teRkku’ and ‘vaTakku’.

## Antipodal Oppositions

This opposition which holds within the set, that is, in the four directions, is to be opposed to one another. ‘vaTakku’ is thus opposed to ‘teRkku’ and ‘kizhakku’ is opposed to ‘meeRkku’.

The antipodal oppositions are dominant than the orthogonal oppositions. In Tamil ‘vaTakku’ X ‘teRkku’ and ‘kizhakku’ X ‘meeRkku’ are opposites rather than ‘vaTakku’ and ‘kizhakku’ or ‘teRkku’ and ‘meeRkku’. This opposition also seems to operate to some extent in the area of colour. John Lyons (1977:286) neither concludes “nor is the distinction between orthogonal and antipodal opposition always as clear in the vocabulary as might appear to be the case”.

Unlike in English, opposites in Tamil are usually expressed by suffixes. Loan words opposites are usually expressed by native prefixes.

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

For Example

xxv)	'dharmaa'	"Justice"	X	'adharmaa'	"In justice"
	'niithi'	"Justice"	X	'aniithi'	"In justice"
	'niyaayam'	"Justice"	X	'aniyaayam'	"In justice"

Lexical opposites in Tamil may be morphologically related or unrelated irrespective of the fact that whether they are gradable or ungradable.

As in English and many other languages the most commonly used opposites in Tamil tend to be morphologically unrelated.

Fro Example

xxvi)	'nalla'	"Good"	X	'keTTa'	"Bad"
	'uyaram'	"Tall/height"	X	'taazhvu'	"Low"
	'azhaku'	"Beautiful"	X	'avalaTshaNam'	"Ugly"
	'mutiya'	"Old"	X	'iLaiya'	"Young"
	'vanmai'	"Hardness"	X	'menmai'	"Softness"
	'tuuram'	"Distance"	X	'kiTTa'	"Near"

### **Morphologically Related Opposites**

In the case of morphologically related opposites the base form of one member of the pair is derived from the base form of the other by substituting the negative suffix.

For Example

xxvii)	'aRivuTaiyaar'	"Knowledgeable people"
		X
	'aRivilaar'	"Knowledge less people"
	'maNamaana'	"Married"
		X
	'maNamaakaata'	"Un married"

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

‘naTppaana’ “Friendly”

X

‘naTppillaata’ “Un friendly”

### **Morphologically Reduplicative Unrelated Pairs**

‘aTikkaTi’ “Frequently” ‘iTaiiTai’ “Not frequently”  
‘UTanukkuTan’ “At once” ‘mellamella’ “Slowly”

### **Private Opposition**

A privative opposition is a contrastive relation between two lexemes one of which denotes some positive property and the other of which denotes the absence of their property.

For Example

xxviii) ‘uyiruLLa’ “With Life” ‘uyirillaata’ “Without life”  
‘acaiyum’ “Movable” ‘acaivillaata’ “Immovable”

### **Equipollent Opposition**

An equipollent opposition is a relation in which each of the contrasting lexemes denotes a positive property.

For Example

xxix) ‘aaN’ “Male” X ‘peN’ “Female”

### **Conclusion**

1. In Tamil the gradable opposites, that is, the antonymy is possible.
2. Grading is possible in Tamil by explicitly, implicitly and semi-explicitly.
3. Ungradable Lexical Opposite is not possible in the comparison.

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

4. Ungradable opposites other than comparison, that is, the complementarity, Converseness and Directional are possible in Tamil.
5. The two types of Directional opposites, that is, the orthogonal and the antipodal are possible in Tamil.
6. Morphologically related opposites, morphologically reduplicated unrelated opposites, private and equipollent opposition are possible in Tamil. In Tamil the opposites are suffixed to the words.

## 4

# Relative Compounds in Tamil

### Introduction

Relative compounds are very common in Tamil. We find them greatly used in literary compositions, commentaries on didactic works, inscriptions and, in modern times, day to day speech. Political speeches abound in relative compounds, and textbooks use them greatly.

It is also true that excessive use of relative compounds becomes a stylistic feature in classical writing adopted by Tamil scholars. Excessive and obscure combinations do help the comprehension of the texts that abound in relative compounds.

Early grammars in Tamil have expended great energy to describe and delineate the structure and use relative compounds in Tamil.

### Definition of Compounds

Compounds are the combination of two words. In grammar, nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc. are combined together to form compounds. Tolkaappiyar in his traditional grammar *Tolkkappiyam* classified the compounds into six types. In Tamil, there is another compound which is named as *Doublets* by P. S. Subramanyam (1984), *Relative Compounds* by K. Rangan, and *ina aTukkuccoRkaL* by A. Srinivasan.

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the syntactic structures of the Relative Compounds and the semantic meanings conveyed by them.

### Relative Compound Construction

In the Relative Compound construction, the combination of the words may be Noun+Noun, Noun+Verb, Verb+Noun and Verb+Verb. The following are the examples for this type of compounds.

i) viiDu vaasal - Noun+Noun viiDu means “House” and vaasal means “the front portion of the house”. These two are combined together to frame a compound to give the meaning “Property,” which is new to the basic meaning of the component words.

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

- ii) uppu cappu - Noun+Verb. Uppu means “salt” cappu means “To lick.” These two are combined together to frame a Relative compound which means “Taste,” which is completely different to the basic meanings of the constituent words.
- iii) koTTu meeLam - Verb+Noun. koTTu means “To beat or tap with knuckles.” meeLam means “One kind of musical instrument used in various celebrations”. These two words are combined together to frame a compound which gives the meaning “The publicity for the celebration”.
- iv) ONDi Othunki - Verb+Verb. ONDi means “To hide or be alone.” Othunki means “To leave aside”. These two are combined together to frame a Compound, which indicates the meaning “Without oneself getting involved in anything”.

### **Noun + Noun Construction**

The Noun+Noun construction is further divided into

- i) Parallel Nouns combination,
- ii) Opposite Nouns combination,
- iii) Related Nouns combination
- iv) Small + Big Nouns combination
- v) Big + Small Nouns combination
- vi) Body parts Nouns combination
- vii) Resultive nouns combination
- viii) Different nouns combination and
- ix) Opposite nouns combination etc.

### **Verb+Verb Construction**

Like the above, the Verb+Verb construction also has sub divisions as

- i) Parallel verbs combination
- ii) Related verbs combination
- iii) Different verbs combinations and
- iv) Resultive verbs combination etc.

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

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The combination of Noun+Verb and the vice versa combination are very rare occurrences. So they do not have any subdivisions.

### **Meanings Conveyed by Relative Compounds**

The above types of Relative compounds convey Idiomatic meaning, Totality meaning, Adverbial meaning, and Adjectival meaning, etc.

The following present the examples for the above:

avaL vaayum vayirumaaka iruntaaL  
“She is pregnant” (Idiomatic meaning)

avanukku kaaDu karai ellaam irukku  
“He owns so much of wealth” (Totality meaning)

kaLLam kapaDam illaatavan  
“He is innocent” (Adverbial meaning)

antap puuvellaam vaadi vathankip pooyiRRu  
“The flowers are fathered away” (Adverbial meaning)

The sections that follow explain the remaining constructions elaborately.

### **Further Divisions of Noun+Noun Construction**

Noun+Noun construction is further divided into

- i) Parallel Nouns combination,
- ii) Opposite Nouns combination,
- iii) Related Nouns combination,
- iv) Small + Big Nouns combination,
- v) Big + Small Nouns combination,
- vi) Body parts Nouns combination,
- vii) Resultive nouns combination,
- viii) Different nouns combination and
- ix) Opposite nouns combination, etc.

i) In the parallel noun combination, both the nouns are parallel to one another.

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

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Examples for the parallel Nouns combination

1. IiDu iNai                      “Comparison”  
AtaRku iiDu iNai eethumillai   “There is no comparison for that”

In this compound the first part Noun iiDu means “Equal” and the second part Noun iNai means “Pair” but the compound in total means that “Comparison” which is different from the basic meaning of the words.

2. Miccham miidhi                “The remaining”  
AvaLukenRu miccam miidhitaan irukkum   “The last one or the wasted one is for her”

In this, *miccham* means “Remaining one” and *miidhi* also means “Remaining one” but the combination of these two words gives the meaning “wasted one”.

Like this the nouns iivu irakkam   “Pity-ness”

ii) In the Related noun compound both the nouns are related to one another.

Examples for the Related Nouns combination

3. ViiDu Vaasal                “The house and the portico”

In it *viiDu* means “House” and *vaasal* means “the front portion of the House” These two combined together to frame a compound *viiDu vaasal* and give the meaning in the sentence *avanukku viidu vaasal ethuvum illai* “He doesn’t have anything (Wealth)”

4. TuNi maNi                “The dresses and the ornaments” In it *TuNi* means “Cloth” and *MaNi* means “Ornaments” both are combined to frame a compound *TuNi maNi* and give the meaning in the sentence *avan tunimaNi ellaatthaiyum eTuttu vai* “Take all of his things”

Like this *cooRu taNNi*, “the food and the water”

iii) In the small+big noun combination the first part of the noun is the small one and the second part of the noun is the big one.

Example for the small+big noun combination

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

5. Kaasu PaNam “The rupee and the change” In it kaasu means “Change” and PaNam means “Rupee” Both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avanukku kaasu paNamellaam kiDaiyaadu “There is no money for him” means “Money”

6. CaTTi MuTTi “The small vessel” and the big one” In it CaTTi means “The small vessel” and MuTTi means “The big vessel” Both combined together to frame a compound Pooliisukaaran caTTi MuTTi ellaam uTaittaan “The Police broke all the things” Here CaTi MuTTi means things.

Like this kallu karaDu “The stone and the rock”, paayum paDukkaiyum “The mate and the bed”, veyilum venkanalum “The day light of the sun and the heavy fire”

iv) In the Big+Small nouns combination the first part of the compound is the big one and the second part of the noun is the small one.

Examples for the Big+Small nouns combination

7. Kaalam Neeram “Time” In it Kaalam means “the time and the season” Neeram means “the particular time” combined together to frame a compound in the sentence which means “Particular time” avanukku kaalam neeramellaam keDaiyaadu “There is no particular time for him”

8. Nakai NaTTu “The ornaments and the etc things” Here Nakai means “Ornaments” naTTu means the “Screw or bolt” both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence PoNNukku nakai naTTellaam pooTTaaccia? “Did you wear the ornaments and the other things to the bride?”

Like this the compounds mazhai tuLi “The rain and the drops”, MuuTTai muTiccu “the big package and the small package”, uur Deesam “The village and the state”, maaDu kannu “The Cow and the small cow” kulam koottiram “The caste and the particular division of the caste”.

v) In the body parts Nouns combination both the parts of the compound are the body parts which give completely different from the basic meaning of the parts.

Examples for the body parts nouns combination

9. vaayum vayirum “Both the mouth and the stomach” In it vaay means “Mouth” and vayiRu means “Stomach” both are combined together to frame a compound

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

in the sentence avaL vaayum vayiRumaa irukkiRaaL which means “She is pregnant” . This meaning is completely different from the basic meanings of the parts which are idiomatic meaning.

10. muukkum muzhiyum “Both the nose and the eyes” In it muukku means “Nose” and the muzhi means “Eye” both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avaL muukkkum muzhiyumaaga irukkiRaaL “She is very beautiful” which is different from the basic meaning of the body parts. (Idiomatic meaning)

vi) In the Resultive noun combination either the first part of the noun may be the result of the second one or the second part of the compound may be the result of the first one.

Example of the Resultive compounds

11. Contam pantam “The relatives and the relation among them” In it contham means the “Relatives” pantham means “the connection between one to the other”. Both are combined together to frame a compound which means “Relatives” in the sentence contham panthamellaam vantu vaazhntunkaL “All the Relatives Come! and bless”. Because of the relatives the relation will come.

12. Kuttam KuRai “The fault and the remaining thing” In it Kuttam or kuRRam “The fault” and kuRai “The in completed one” both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avan kuttam kuRai eethum ceyallee “He is not committing any mistake or the other thing” which is different from the basic meaning of the parts of the compound.

Like this, cottu sukam “The property and the convenience”

vii) In the different nouns combination Nouns of different kinds are joined together to frame a compound.

Examples for the Different nouns compound

13. kaNNum karuttum “Most consciously” In it kaNNum means “Eye” and karuttu means “Content” Both are combined together and frame a compound in the sentence avan kaNNum karuttumaagap paarttaan “He looked it very carefully or consciously” which is different from the basic meaning of the nouns.

14. maNNum mayiRum “The sand and the hair” In it maNNum means “sand” and

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

mayiRu means “Hair” both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence athilee ore maNNum mayiRumaaga irukku “In it full of dirties”

viii) In the opposite nouns combinations both the nouns are opposite to one another.

Examples for the opposite Nouns compound

15. kuNTum kuzhiyum “The Up and Down” In it the first noun KuNDu means the Upward portion of the path” and kuzhi means “The downward digging portion” Both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence.

intap paathai kuNTum kuzhiyumaaga irukkiRatu. “The path is not a regular one.”

16. TaNNiir Venniir “Cold water and the Hot Water” The first noun TaNNiir is opposite to the second Noun venniir . Both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avan TaNNii Vennii illaamal cettaan “He died without taking anything”

### **The Verb+Verb Construction**

The Verb+Verb construction also has subdivisions as

- i) Parallel verbs combination,
- ii) ii) Related verbs combination,
- iii) Different verbs combinations,
- iv) Resultive verbs combination
- v) Opposite verbs combination, etc.

The combination of Noun+Verb and the vice versa combination are very rare occurrences. So, they are not having subdivisions.

i) In the parallel verbs combination both the parts of the compound are the same meaning but each one is parallel to one another.

Examples of Parallel verbs compound

1. muuTi MaRaittu “To hide” muuTi “To cover” and maRai “To hide”. These two are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avan ethaiyoo muuTi maRaittaan “He hid something” (Idiomatic Expression).

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

2. puuci mezhuki “To made neat” puuci means “To smear” and mezhuki also means “To smear”. These two are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avan puuci mezhukinaan “He manages the thing” (Idiomatic meaning).

Like this, muTTi moothi “To Hit” muTTi means “To hit” moothi means “To hit”

ii) In the Related verbs combination, both parts of the compound are related to one another.

Examples of Related verbs compound

3. kazhuvi mezhuki “To make neat and clean” kazhuvi means “To clean by water” and mezhuki means “To smear by cow dung or some other smearing things”. These two verbs are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avaL viiTTaik kazhuvi mezhukinaaL “She cleaned the house neatly”.
4. KiNTi kiLaRi “To mix it nicely” KiNTi means “To mix” KiLaRi means “To mix” These two verbs combined together to frame a compound in the sentence poolisu kiNTikkiLaRi uNmaiyaL vaankiyadhu “Police tried so much and get the truth” (Idiomatic meaning).

iii) In the different verbs combination both parts of the compound are completely different from one another and conveyed a meaning which is different from the basic meaning of the verb when they occur as individually.

Examples of Different verbs compound

5. kuuDi kulaavi “To gether and enjoy” kuuDi means “To gather” or “To join” kulaavi “To enjoy”. These two verbs are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avarkaL kuuDiK kulaavinaarkaL “They combined together and enjoyed like anything”.
6. AaDippaaDi “To enjoy” aaDi means | “To dance” paaDi “To sing”. These two verbs join together and frame a compound in the sentence avaL aaDipaaDi makizhntaaL “She enjoyed like anything”.

iv) In the resultive verbs compound the first part of the verb compound or the second part of the verb compound may be the result of the other one.

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

### Examples of Resultive verbs compound

7. tappi tavaRi “Incidentally”. tappi means “wrongly” and tavaRi means “Wrongone” Both the verbs combined together and give the meaning in the sentence raaman tappittavaRi ceytiTTaan “Rama has done it incidently”. The conveyed meaning by this compound is adverbial.
8. vaaDi vatanki “withered away”. vaaDi means “To dry” vatanki “To fry”. Both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence puu vaaDi vatankippooccu “The flower withered away completely”. Here it conveys the adverbial meaning.

v) In the opposite verbs compound, both the parts of the compound are opposite to one another are combined together and give a separate meaning which is not related to the basic meaning of the verb.

### Examples of opposite verbs compound

9. oTTiyum veTTiyum “Intelligently” In it oTTi means “Relatedly” veTTiyum means “Differently”. These two are combined together and frame a compound in the sentence avan oTTiyum veTTiyum peecinaan “He is talking very cleverly.”
10. kuuTTi kuRaittu “Not in a proper way” the first verb kuuTTi means “adding to” and kuRaittu means “by deleting”. Both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avan kuuTTik kuRaittu visayattaic connaan “He reported the news with some additions and deletions.” That is, not in a proper way.

The compounds of the type Noun+Verb and verb+Noun are very rare in Tamil.

The above types of Relative compounds convey the Idiomatic meaning, Totality meaning, Adverbial meaning Adjectival meaning, etc.

The following are the examples for the above:

AvaL vaayum vayirumaaka iruntaaL “She is pregnant” (Idiomatic meaning)

Avanukku kaaDu karai ellaam irukku “He owns so much of wealth” (Totality meaning)

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

KaLLam kapaDam illaatavan “He is innocent” (Adjectival meaning)

Antap puuvellaam vaadi vathankip pooyiRRu “The flowers are fathered away”  
(Adverbial meaning)

It is possible from the above four types of compounds that both the parts of the compound may have meaning; only the first part may have some meaning; only the second part may have some meaning and both the parts may not have any specific meanings.

The following are the examples for the above said types:

1. Avanukku viiDu vaasal ellam irukku “He owns all kinds of wealth” In it the first part viiDu means “House” and the second part vaasal means “The front portion of the house”. This is a Noun compound. aval puuci mezhukinaaL “She filled the house by smearing and covering”. In it both the first part and the second part have meanings. Puucu means “To cover” and mezhku means “To smear”. This is a verb compound.
2. vaNDi vaasi vantaalum poogalaam “If the cart and the remaining or the etc is coming, we will go”. Here the first part VaNDi has the meaning “Vehicle” but the second part has no specific meaning.
3. avan veLLaiyum coLLaiyumaa kiLampiTtaan “He goes neatly.” Here the second part does not have any specific meaning. The first part veLLai means “White” But the compound VeLLaiyum coLLaiyum means “Neatly” which is an adverbial meaning.
4. avan kaaccumuuccunnu kattinaan “He shouted like anything”. Here both kaaccu muuccu do not have meaning. But the compound kaaccu muuccu has the meaning “terribly” or “noisily”

## Conclusion

Relative Compounds have found a special niche in the colloquial language. Perhaps such compounds carry information that could not be easily conveyed without such compounding. But this needs further investigation.

In any case, as I wrote above in the beginning of this chapter, relative compounds are found throughout the historical stages of Tamil in all its domains: literature, grammar,

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

prose, prosody, inscriptions, day to day speech and so on. Accordingly, our textbooks should pay adequate attention to the acquisition and elegant use of this feature. Exercises to develop this are not many in the textbooks that I viewed. Perhaps those who are in charge of developing Living Classical Tamil textbooks and syllabus should bear this in mind.

We must recognize that each language may have some preference for one or the other creative aspects of language use. For example, English probably shows greatest ease in accepting and adopting words from other languages. Tamil, I believe, has a preference for relative compounds. Modern political speeches have further popularized the dominant use of this feature both in writing and speaking.

## Relative Compounds in Tamil and Kannada

### Introduction

Compounds are the combination of two words. In grammar, Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs, etc. are combined together to form compounds.

Tolkaappiyar in his traditional grammar Tolkkappiyam classified the compounds into six types.

1. VeeRRumaitokai (Casal Compounds),
2. Vinaittokai (Compounds of verbs),
3. PaNputtokai (Compounds of quality),
4. Uvamattokai (Compounds of Comparison),
5. Ummaittokai (Compounds of Conjunction) and
6. Anmozhittokai (Compounds of Metonymy).

### Doublets

In Tamil, there is another compound available. This type of compound is named as Doublets in Telugu by P. S. Subramanyam (1984), Conjunctive Compounds by K. Rangan (2003), iNai mozhikaL by R. Rengaraajan (2004) Allatu Compound by Pon. Kothanda Raman and as aTukkuccoRkaL by A. Srinivasan. In English it is named as Paired Construction, or binomial. In Telugu, it is named lexical duet by B. Ramakrishna Reddy (2004). In Kannada, it is named as “JooDu nuDi”. In Telugu it is termed also as “Janta paadhaalu”.

### Tamil and Kannada

Tamil and Kannada are the two major languages belonging to the same language family, which is the Dravidian family. Both languages are treated as sister languages. This study of relative compounds structure in Tamil and Kannada reveals the fact that though relative compound is a general morphological feature of all the languages, some specific characteristics in individual languages can be drawn from the functional point of view and from the semantic point of view as well.

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

## Focus of This Chapter

An attempt is made in this chapter to study the relative compounds from the point of view of occurrence in individual languages, its function and semantic interpretation. The purpose of this paper is to high light the syntactic structures of the Relative Compounds in Tamil and Kannada and the semantic meanings conveyed by them.

In the Relative Compound construction, the combination of the words may be Noun+Noun, Noun+Verb, Verb+Noun and Verb+Verb. The following are the examples for this type of compounds.

- i) viiDu vaasal - Noun+Noun viiDu means "House" and vaasal means "The front portion of the House". These two are combined together to frame a compound to give the meaning "Property," which is new to the basic meaning of the component words.

Like this in Kannada also:

Mane maTa – Noun + Noun mane means “House” and maTa means “The front portion of the House”. These two combined together and formed a compound and indicate the meaning “Property”.

- ii) uppu cappu - Noun+Verb. Uppu means "salt" cappu means "To suck". These two are combined together to frame a Relative compound which means "Taste". This meaning is completely different from the basic meanings of the constituent words.

These types of compounds are not found in Kannada. But the above said compound is used as uppu kaara – Noun + Abstract Noun compound.

- iii) koTTu meeLam - Verb+Noun. koTTu means "To beat or tap with knuckles" meeLam means "One kind of musical instrument used in various celebrations". These two words are combined together to frame a compound which gives the meaning "The publicity for the celebration".

This type of compounds is not found in Kannada.

- iv) oNDi othunki - Verb+Verb. oNDi means "To hide or be alone." othunki means "To leave aside". These two are combined together

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

to frame a Compound, which indicates the meaning "Without oneself getting involved in anything".

Like this in Kannada

Eddu biddu – Verb+Verb. Eddu means “To get up” and Biddu means “To fall down”. Both verbs are opposite to one another and formed a compound Eddu biddu which means “Very urgently”

The Noun + Noun construction is further divided into

1. Parallel Nouns combination,
2. Opposite Nouns combination,
3. Related Nouns combination
4. Small + Big Nouns combination
5. Big + Small Nouns combination
6. Body parts Nouns combination
7. Resultive nouns combination and
8. Different nouns combination

Like the above Noun+Noun compound the Verb+Verb compound is further divided into

- iii) Parallel verbs combination
- iv) Related verbs combination
- v) Different verbs combination and
- vi) Resultive verb combination

The combination of Noun+Verb and the Verb+Noun combinations have very rare occurrences. So they do not have subdivisions.

The above types of Relative compounds convey the Idiomatic meaning, Totality meaning, Adverbial meaning and Adjectival meaning.

The following are the examples for the above said meanings.

Ex. From Tamil

Vaayum vayirum “The mouth and the stomach”

avaL vaayum vayirumaagaa irukiRaaL

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

“She is pregnant” (Idiomatic Meaning)

Kaiyum kaalum “The hand and the leg”

Enakku kaiyum kaalum ooTalee

“It is not able to do anything for me” (Idiomatic Meaning)

Ex. From Kannada

Kai Kaalu “The hand and the leg”

Nanagee ketharikai kaal oogatilla

“It is not able to do anything for me” (Idiomatic meaning)

Ex. From Tamil

Avanukku kaaDu karai ellaam irukku

“He owns so much of wealth” (Totality Meaning)

Ex. From Kannada

Aadu maathu ottu kottillaa

“Totally I don’t know anything”

Ex. From Tamil

KaLLam kapaDam illaatavan

“He is innocent” (Adjectival Meaning)

Ex. From Kannada

Kapeeka maneyannu Gudisi saarisiddaree

“Because of festival they clean the house”

Ex. From Tamil

Anta puuvellaam vaadi vadankip pooyiRRu

“The flowers are feathered away” (Adverbial meaning)

This type of construction is not found in Kannada.

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

## I Noun+Noun Compounds:

- i) In the parallel Nouns combination, both the nouns are parallel to one another.

### Ex. From Tamil

iiDu iNai “Comparison”

In this compound the first part Noun iiDu means “Equal” and the second part Noun iNai means “Comparison”. Both are combined together and frame a compound iiDu iNai which means “comparison “in the sentence ataRkku iiDuiNai illai “There is no equivalent for that” which is completely different from the basic meaning of the words.

### Ex. From Kannada

Ulpa swalpa “Little”

In the above-said compound ulpa means “Little” and swalpa means “Little”. Both are combined together and frame a compound ulpa swalpa which means “Little” in the sentence nanagee ulpaswalpa malayaalam goddu “I know a little bit Malayalam”.

- ii) In the Opposite Noun compound both the nouns are opposite to one another.

### Ex. From Tamil

taNNiir Venniir “Cold water and the Hot water”

In this compound the first noun taNNiir “Cold Water” is opposite to the second noun venniir “Hot Water”. Both are combined together and frame a compound in the sentence avan taNNii venniii illaama cettaan means “He died without having anything” which is different from the basic meaning of the nouns.

### Ex. From Kannada

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Hinde Munde “back and front”

In this compound the first word hinde means “back” is opposite to the second noun munde means “front”. Both are combined together and frame a compound hinde munde which means “Back and front” in the sentence Avanu hindee munde yocchisaadee maattaaDudia “He talks without thinking”

- iii) In the related Nouns compound both the nouns are related to one another

Ex. From Tamil

viiDu vaasal “The property/wealth”

In the above said compound viiDu means “House” and vaasal means “The front portion of the house”. These two are combined together to frame a compound viidu vaasal which gives the meaning “Property/wealth” in the sentence avanukku viidu vaasal oNNum illai “He doesn’t has anything (Wealth)”

Ex. From Kannada

Mane maTa “The Property/Wealth”

In the above said Compound mane means “House and maTa means “The front portion of the house. Both are combined together and frame a compound mane maTa means “Property” in the sentence avanugeeane maTa ellavu idee “He is not having any property”

- iv) In the Small+Big Nouns combination the first part of the compound noun is small and the second part of the compound noun is big.

Ex. From Tamil

Kaasu PaNam “The Money”

In the above compound kaasu means “Change” and paNam means “Rupee”. Both are combined together and frame a compound kaasu paNam and it means “Money” in the sentence avanukku kaasu paNam eduvum illai “He doesn’t has Money at all”

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

In Kannada the compound kaasu paNam is not available but the vice versa compound HaNa kaasu is available. But the small+big compound the example Badava Sreemantha is available. In it Badava means “Poor man” and Sreemantha means “Rich man”.

- v) In the Big+Small Nouns combination the first part of the compound noun is big and the second part of the compound noun is small.

Ex. From Tamil

Kaalam Neeram “Particular Time”

In the above compound Kaalam means “The season” and the Neeram means “The particular time”. Both are combined together, form a compound and indicate the meaning “Particular Time” in the sentence avanukku kaalam Neeramellam kiTaiyaatu “There is no particular time for him”.

Ex. From Kannada

HaNa Kaasu “Money”

In the above mentioned compound HaNa means “Rupee” and Kaasu means “Change”. Both are combined together as a compound means “Money”.

- vi) In the Body Parts Noun combination both parts of the compound are framed by the combination of the parts of the body.

Ex. From Tamil

Vaayum Vayirum “Pregnant”

In the above compound Vaay means “Mouth” and Vayiru means “stomach”. Both are combined together as a compound and means “Pregnant” in the sentence avaL vaayum vayiRumaaka irukkiRaaL “She is pregnant”.

Ex. From Kannada

KaiKaalu “Inability”

In the above example Kai means “Hand” and Kaal means “Leg”.

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Both are combined together and frame a compound kai kaal which means the “Inability” in the sentence nanagee kai kaal oogatilla “It is not able to do anything” This meaning is the Idiomatic expressive meaning.

- vii) In the Resultive Nouns Combination the first part of the Noun is the root cause of the thing and the second part of the Noun is the result of that action.

Ex. From Tamil

Tappu taNDaa “Mistake”

In the above compound Tappu means “mistake/Fault” and taNDa means “Punishment”. Both are combined together and frame a compound Tappu taNDa which means “Mistake” in the sentence atilee tappu taNDa eetum illee “In that no mistake”.

In Kannada also the same type of compound is found in the same way.

Ex. From Kannada

Tappu DaNDa “Mistake”

In the above said compound tappu means “mistake/fault” and DaNDa means “punishment”. Both are combined together and frame a compound tappu DaNDaa which means “Mistake” in the sentence avanu tappu DaNDa maaDuvan allaa “He is not the type of doing mistake”.

- viii) In the different Nouns combination both the Nouns are completely different and the combined together and frame a compound and gives a completely different meaning from the basic meaning of the nouns.

Ex. From Tamil

MaNNum Mayirum “Dirty”

In the above compound MaNnu means “Sand” and Mayir means “Hair”. Both are combined together and frame a compound means “Dirty” in the sentence adu maNNum Mayirumaa irukku “It is full of dirty things.”

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Ex. From Kannada

maNNU kesaru “Dirty”

In the above compound maNNU means “Sand” and kesaru means “Mud”. Both are combined together and form a compound maNNukesaru which means “Dirty” in the sentence magu maNNU kesarralli aaDutidree “The Children are playing in the dirty place”

II Verb+Verb Compounds:

The verb+verb construction also has sub divisions as

- i) Parallel verb combination
  - ii) Related verbs combination
  - iii) Different verbs combination
  - iv) Opposite verbs combination and
  - v) Resultive verbs combination.
- i) In the parallel verbs combination both the verbs in the compounds are parallel to one another.

Ex. From Tamil

Puuci Mezhuki “To make it clean”

In the above compound the first part verb Puuci means “To repair” and the second part verb Mezhuki means “To smear”. Both are combined together and form a compound means “To Manage” in the sentence avaL puuci mezhukinaaL “She manages in some way”.

Ex. From Kannada

ToLedu BaLedu “To make it clean”

In the above compound the first part of the verb ToLedu means “To clean by water” and the second part of the verb means BaLedu means “To smear”.

Both are combined together and form a compound means “To manage” in the sentence vishesha dinagalangu maneye cutta toledu baledu maaDutaaveo “During festival days all clean the houses very neatly”

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

- ii) In the related verbs compound both the verbs are related to one another.

Ex. From Tamil

kiNTi kiLaRi “To search keenly”

In the above combination the first verb kiNTi means “To mix” and the second verb KiLaRi means “To mix”. Both are related to one another and frame a compound means “Very keenly” in the sentence avan avarai kinTi kiLaRi vishayattai vaankinaan “He get the news by keen enquiry”. This is different from the basic meaning of the verbs. This meaning is an Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Kannada

- iii) In the Different verbs combination the combined verbs are not related ones but different verbs.

Ex. From Tamil

kuuDi kuzhaavi “To gather and enjoy”

In the above said compound the first verb kuuDi “To join” and the second verb kuzhaavi “To enjoy”. Both are combined together and frame a compound means “To enjoy much” in the sentence avarkaL kuuDik kuzhaavinaarkaL “They are enjoyed joint together”.

Ex. From Kannada

Hodedu Badedu “Mix together and enjoy”

In the above said compound hodedu means “To join” and the second verb badedu means “To enjoy”. Both are join together and frame a compound which means “mix together and enjoy” in the sentence makkaligee hodedu badedu maadudu cariyillaa “Children are joined together and enjoy is not good”

- iv) In the opposite verbs compound both the verbs are opposite to one another.

Ex. From Tamil

OTTi veTTi “Tactfully”

In the above-said compound the first verb OTTi means “To co-operate” and the second verb veTTi which is opposite to the first verb. Both are combined together and frame a compound veTTi oTTi means “Tactfully” in the sentence avan oTTiyum veTTiyum peecinaan “He talks very tactfully”.

Ex. From Kannada

Eddu Biddu “Hurily”

In the above-said compound the first verb eddu means “To get up” and the second verb Biddu means “To get down” which is opposite to the first verb. Both are combined together and frame a compound which means “Hurrily” in the sentence bussu bandaaga avanu eddu biddu ooTidee “He runs hurrily Because, the bus is coming”

- v) In the Resultive Verb Compound the first verb of the compound is the root caste and the second verb is the result of the action of the compound.

Ex. From Tamil

vaaDi vatanki “To withther”

In the above example the first verb which is the root cause verb vaaDi means “To become fade” and vatanki means “To shrink”. Both are combined together and frame a compound vaaDivatanki means “To whether” in a sentence puukkaL vaaDivatankina “The flowers are weathered away”.

Ex. From Kannada

The types of the compound Noun+Verb and the Verb+Noun are very rare in Tamil and Kannada.

It is also possible that

- i) Two parts having meaning

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

- ii) Two parts don't have meaning
- iii) One part of the compound (Either the first or the second part) have meaning.

i) Two Parts having meaning

avanukku viidu vaasal ellaam irukku  
“He owns all kind of wealth”

(Tamil Noun+Noun)

avanagee mane maTa ellava idee  
“He owns all kinds of Property”

(Kannada Noun+Noun)

avaL puuci mezhukinaaL  
“She managed in some way”

(Tamil Verb+Verb)

ii) Two parts are not having meaning

guNDakkaa maNDakkaaNNu peecaatee  
“Don't talk rubbish”

(Tamil)

niinu yagva thadva maatthu naada beedaa  
“Don't talk rubbish”

(Kannada)

iii) One part having meaning

avan veLLaiyum coLLaiyumaa kiLampiTTaan  
“He goes neatly”

(Tamil first part has meaning)

avaru ThoTa GeeTa maaDikoNTillaa  
“He doesn't own any property”

(Kannada)

Akkam pakkam paarttup peecu  
“Talk by seeing the surroundings”

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

(Tamil second part has meaning)

nammee akka pakka cennakira beekku  
“Our’s neighbours should good”

(Kannada)

## Conclusion

It is clear from our study here that even in two genetically related languages relative compounds can develop interesting distinctive features. Kannada and Tamil are closely related languages, and yet there are differences. Such differences need to be noted when we want to translate materials from one language into another.

Also, we need to recognize the fact that even as most states in the Indian Union were linguistically re-organized, none of the states is totally predominantly monolingual. Even as the Indian Union is multilingual, the states that constitute the Union are also multilingual. It only means that fostering an understanding between the various speech forms and patters of linguistic groups would add to the richness of civilization within these states.

Text composition and comprehension become easier when we have a good command over the features of composition of relative compounds. Ultimately, discovery of the minute and detailed grammatical rules should not be the major goal, but using such rules for practical purposes should be our major concern.

## Agreement in Tamil and Telugu

### Introduction

The system of agreement in any language is a vital grammatical phenomenon. Earlier both the terms *agreement* and *concord* were used as if they were synonyms. John Lyons 1968: p.239 describes concord as a kind of inflection. Agreement may be studied with reference to morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels of the language.

Moravcsik 1978: p.333 defines agreement as “a grammatical constituent A will be said to agree with a grammatical constituent B in properties C in language L, if C is a set of meaning-related properties of constituent B across some subset of the sentences of language L, where constituent B1 is adjacent to B and the meaning related non-categorical properties of constituent B1 are the properties of C”.

This chapter highlights the variations in the agreement system between Tamil and Telugu, two genetically related languages of the family of Dravidian languages. Though Tamil and Telugu belong to the same language family, they show variations in agreement system in addition to the similarities between these two languages.

### Sociolinguistic Importance of the Agreement Feature

Agreement is an important aspect of all the major Indian languages. Through the agreement feature, we not only indicate the number and person, but also important sociolinguistic information such as respect, honor, and social status, etc. Our cultural and social patterns thus are expressed through linguistic device of agreement.

Historically speaking, agreement features had a lesser load of such sociolinguistic information in the early stages of Tamil. For example, number inflection was not important to assign respect in several classical works in Tamil. A king or a god may be referred to (and even addressed) in singular person in such works. That did not mean that the writers of these literary works did not care for or did not have respect for the kings or gods, etc. The writers simply followed the linguistic convention prevailing then. In other words, as our social stratification became more elaborate and stringent within the Tamil society, agreement features also got elaborated and became more specific and focused. Slowly freedom in using these features is heavily restricted since switch from plural

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

marker to a singular reference would be taken as an offence and would entail physical quarrels.

When continuity of our Chemmozhi across generations and classes now and into the future becomes our focus in teaching Tamil, we will give an understanding of these classical features, only for comprehension purposes and not for daily communication.

Tamil and Telugu offer interesting contrasts in the use of the agreement feature.

### Agreement Markers in Tamil and Telugu

The following table shows the agreement markers of Tamil and Telugu briefly.

Person	Tamil		Telugu	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
I	een	oom	nu	mu
II	aay	iir/iirkaL	vu	ru
III	aan/aaL/tu	aar/aarkaL/na	Du/di	ru

#### Examples from Tamil

naan vanteen	neenu vacceenu	“I came”
naam vantoom	manamu vacceemu	“We (inclu.) came”
naankaL vantoom	meemu vacceemu	“We (Exclu.) came”
nii vantaay	nuvvu vacceevu	“You came”
niinkaL vantiirkaL	miiru vacceeru	“You (pl.) came”
avan vantaan	waaDu vacceeDu	“He came”

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

avaL vantaal	adi vaccindi	“She came”
adu vantatu	adi vaccindi	“It came”
avar vantaar	waaru vacceeru	“He (Hon.) came”
avarkaL vantaarkaL	waaru vacceeru	“They (Human) came”
avai vantana	avi vaccaayi	“They (Non-Human) came”

### Third Person and Agreement

There are two more forms in Telugu for third person Masculine and Feminine ‘atanu/aayana’, ‘aame/aawiDa’ to indicate the degree of respect. These forms have the agreement marker –ru and have the variants -Du and -di in spoken language.

Examples from Telugu

Atanu/aayana vacceeDu/vacceeru “He came”

Aamee/aawiDa vaccindi/vacceeru “She came”

### Prestigious Forms and Agreement

In Tamil and Telugu the most prestigious forms are ‘taankaL’ and ‘tamaru’ which mean “You (Hon.)”. These forms have the agreement markers –iirkaL and –ru.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil	Telugu	
taankaL vantiirkaL	tamaru vacceeru	“You (Hon.) came”

### Plural Marker in Agreement

In Tamil the plural marker –kaL not only functions as plural marker but also functions as an agreement marker. But in Telugu the plural marker –lu cannot function as an agreement marker.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

## Tamil

## Telugu

mantirikaL vantarkaL mantrulu vacceeru “The Ministers came”

In the sentence ‘intira kaanti vantaarkaL “Indira Gandhi came,” the third person singular noun Indira Gandhi takes the plural agreement marker –aarkaL (Plural agreement marker –ar+ the plural marker –kaL) due to socio-cultural reasons. But in Telugu the above sentence takes the honorific marker gaaru after the proper noun intira kaanti and takes the honorific agreement marker –ru but it does not take the plural marker –lu as in the sentence ‘intira kaanti gaaru vacceeru’ (Te.).

### Conjoined and Collective Nominals and Agreement

Like this the conjoined nominal and collective nominal take the plural agreement + the plural marker -kaL in Tamil. But in Telugu the above-said two nominal take the plural agreement but not the plural marker –lu.

Example from Tamil and Telugu

## Tamil

## Telugu

avanum avaLum vantaarkaL waaDu aame vacceeru “He and she came”

## Tamil

## Telugu

makkaL vantaarkaL manishulu vacceru “people came”

### Titles and Agreement

In Tamil, popular persons like ‘amaiccar’ “Minister”, ‘tuNai veentar’ “Vice-Chancellor”, ‘janaadipathi’ “President” etc., have the plural form ‘avarkaL.’ This form means “They.” It also functions as honorific form. It has the plural agreement marker –kaL. This third person pronoun avarkaL is morphologically segmental. But in Telugu ‘mantri’ - “Minister” ‘upaadiyakshulu’ - “Vice-Chancellor” ‘raastrapathi’ - “President” etc., have the honorific form -waaru/-gaaru. These forms are the honorific forms and not the plural forms.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

## Tamil

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

amaiccar avarkaL vantaarkal

Telugu

mantrula waaru/mantri waariyulu vacceeru

“The honorable Minister came”

Tamil

tuNaiveentar avarkaL vantaarkaL

Telugu

upaatiyakshula waaru vacceeru

“The honorable Vice - Chancellor came”

In the above examples, Telugu is similar to Tamil when it adds the plural marker with honorific form as ‘avarkaL’ to the form mantri waariyulu vacceeru. Telugu can also add the plural marker -lu with mantri as mantrula waaru vacceeru. But there is a difference in the usage of the agreement marker. Tamil uses the marker –kaL and Telugu uses the marker -ru.

### **Elder Persons and Agreement**

Elder persons like father, teacher, officers etc. in Tamil are having the agreement marker –aar. But in Telugu the above said persons may have the agreement marker either –Du or –ru.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

Telugu

appaa vantaar    naannaa vacceeDu/vacceeru    “Father came”

Tamil

Telugu

saar vantaar    saar vacceeeDu/vacceeru    “Teacher came”

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Telugu

manushulu vacceeru “Human beings came”

Telugu

kukkalu vacceeyi “Dogs came”

### **Mass Noun and Agreement**

In Tamil the nouns like ‘paal’ “milk”, ‘taNNi’, “water”, ‘moor’, “buttermilk” etc. are considered as singular and take the singular agreement marker. But in Telugu the above-said nouns are considered as ever plural and take the plural agreement marker.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

<b>Tamil</b>	<b>Telugu</b>	
paal irukku	paalu unnaayi	“Milk is there”
Tamil	Telugu	
taNNi irukku	niiLLu unnaayi	“Water is there”
<b>Tamil</b>	<b>Telugu</b>	
moor irukku	majjiga unnaayi	“Butter-milk is there”

### **Second Person Interrogative and Agreement**

In Tamil for the question ‘nii yaar’ “who are you?” the answer is ‘naan parimala’ “I am parimala” won’t take agreement marker. But in Telugu the answer for the above question is ‘neenu parimalanu’. In this –nu is the agreement marker of ‘neenu’. Like this the other personal pronouns have the agreement markers.

### **Human and Nonhuman Nouns and Agreement**

Both in Tamil and Telugu, one human and one non-human nouns are combined together and occur as subject. In this condition, human plural agreement is used.

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Example from Tamil and Telugu

**Tamil**

oru manitanum oru naayum vantaarkaL

**Telugu**

oo manushi oka kukka vacceeru

“One man and one dog came.”

The inanimate nouns like ‘kal’ “stone”, ‘ilai’ “leaf”, ‘maNal’ “sand” etc. do not use a plural marker or an agreement marker in Tamil. But in Telugu the above-said nouns take the agreement markers compulsorily.

Example from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

anta iTattil kal niraiya irukku

Telugu

akkaDa caalaa raaLLu unnaayi

“There are so many stones”

When more than one non-human noun occurs as subject, the subject does not take the plural marker –kaL but it takes the conjunctive marker -um. The plural agreement marker is also optional in Tamil. But in Telugu the plural marker with noun is obligatory and the agreement marker with the verb is also obligatory.

Example from Tamil and Telugu

**Tamil**

reNDu naayum muunu puunaiyum vantatu/vandhana

**Telugu**

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

reNDu kukkalu muuDdu pillulu vacceeyi

“Two dogs and three cats came”

In Tamil though the non-human plural nouns have the agreement marker –na the usage of that marker is the optional one whereas in Telugu the non-human plural nouns have the agreement marker –yi. This use is obligatory.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

ankee niraiya marankaL irukku

Telugu

akkaDa caalaa ceTTLu unnaayi

“There are so many trees”

Tamil

naaykaL vantuccu

Telugu

kukkaLu vaccaayi

“The dogs came”

### **Proper Names and Agreement**

In Tamil, the proper names like raaman, kaNNan, kumaar and baabu are combined together and occur as subject. But they may not take plural marker –kaL. Instead they may take the form ellaarum and the plural agreement marker –ar+ the plural marker kaL. In Telugu for the above-said combined subject, the last proper name takes the plural marker –lu and the plural agreement marker –ru in the final position.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Tamil

raaman kaNNan kumaar baabu vantaarkaL

raaman kaNNan kumaar baabu elloorum vantaarkaL

Telugu

raama kaNNa kumaar baabulu vacceeru

“Rama kaNNan kumar baabu came”

### **Honorific Nouns and Agreement**

In Tamil, the honorific human nouns like ‘amaiccar’ “minister”, ‘talaivar’ “head”, ‘tuNai veentar’ “Vice-Chancellor” etc. take the honorific plural agreement marker ‘avarkaL’. But in Telugu the above-said nouns take either the plural marker-lu or the honorific form ‘vaaru’.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

talaivar avarkaL peesuvaarkaL

Telugu

adyakshula vaaru maaTlaaDutaaru

Telugu

adyakshulu maaTlaaDutaaru

“The honorable leader will take”

Tamil

tuNai veentar avarkaL varuvaar/varuvaarkaL

Telugu

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

upagulapathila/upaadyaashula vaaru vastaaru

Telugu

upagulapathilu/upaadyaashulu vastaaru

“The Vice-Chancellor will come.”

### **The Potential Auxiliary Verb**

The potential auxiliary verb ‘muTiyum’ “capable” cannot take the agreement marker. The oblique form + instrumental case maker + muTiyum is the construction. But in Telugu the potential auxiliary verb ‘gala’ “capable” can take the agreement marker. The nominative form + the potential auxiliary verb + -nu is the construction.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil	Telugu	
ennaal vara muTiyum	neenu raa galanu	“I can come”
nammaal vara muTiyum	manamu raa galamu	“We (Inclu.) can come”
enkalaal vara muTiyum	meemu raa galamu	“We (Exclu.) can come”
unnaal vara muTiyum	nuvvu raa galavu	“You can come”
unkalaal vara muTiyum	miiru raa galaru	“You (pl.) can come”
avanaal vara muTiyum	waaDu raa galaDu	“He can come”
avaLaal vara muTiyum	aamee raa galadu	“She can come”
avarkalaal vara muTiyum	waaru raa galaru	“They can come”
adaal vara muTiyum	adi raa galadu	“It can come”
avaikaLaal vara muTiyum	avi raa galavu	“They (non-Hum.) can come”

### **Neuter Singular and Agreement**

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

The neuter singular ‘atu’ – “it” and the plural ‘avai’- “they” in Tamil take the plural marker –kaL. Whereas in Telugu the neuter singular ‘adi’- “it” and the plural avi – “they” do not take the plural marker –lu.

### Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil	Telugu	
adu/aduka vantuccu	adi vaccindi	“It (non-Human) came”
avai/avaikaL vantana	avi vaccaayi	“They (non-Hum.) came”

### Numerals and Agreement

In Tamil, more than one numerical noun, that is, two, three etc. are used in a syntactical construction the agreement marker is optional both for the human and the non-human. But the agreement depends upon the numerical noun not the person. Whereas in Telugu the agreement marker for the above-said is obligatory.

#### Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

avaLukku muunu puLLe/ puLLaiga

Telugu

avaLukku mugguru pillalu

“She has three children”

Tamil

naalu pustakam/pustakanka irukku

Telugu

naalugu pustakaaLLu unnaayi

“There are four books”

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*



<b>Tamil</b>	<b>Telugu</b>	
ettanai peer vantaarkaL	miiru endaru occaaru	“How many of you came?”
Tamil	Telugu	
ettanai manitarkaL	endaru manusulu	“How many persons?”
Tamil	Telugu	
ettanai maDu vantadu	enni aawulu occaayi	“How many cattle came? ”
Tamil	Telugu	
ettanai aaDu cettatu	enni meekalu caaccaayi	“How many goats died?”

From the above examples we come to the conclusion that though the agreement system is more or less same in Tamil and Telugu as far as the Human is concerned, there are differences between Tamil and Telugu in marking agreement.

### **Negative Constructions and Agreement**

The Telugu negative form ‘kaadu’ ‘not’ does not take the agreement marker of the person like ‘leedu’ and Tamil ‘illai’.

### **Examples from Tamil and Telugu**

<b>Tamil</b>	<b>Telugu</b>	
naan illai	neenu kaadu	“not myself”
Tamil	Telugu	
naanga illai	meemu kaadu	“not our self”
Tamil	Telugu	
naama illai	manamu kaadu	“not our self”

In Tamil, the simple negative marker ‘illai’ “not” does not take the agreement marker, whereas in Telugu the simple negative marker ‘leedu’ takes the agreement marker depending on the person.

### Examples from Tamil and Telugu

<b>Tamil</b>	<b>Telugu</b>	
naan ankee illai	neenu akkaDa leenu	“I am not there”
naam ankee illai	manamu akkaDa leemu	“We (Inclu.) are not there”
naankaL ankee illai	meemu akkaDa leemu	“We (Exclu.) are not there”
nii ankee illai	nuvvu akkaDa leevu	“You are not there”
niinkaL ankee illai	miiru akkaDa leeru	“You (pl.) are not there”
avan ankee illai	waaDu akkaDa leeDu	“He is not there”
.....	atanu akkaDa leeDu	“He is not there”
.....	aayana akkaDa leeDu/leeru	“He is not there”
avaL ankee illai	adi akkaDa leedu	“She is not there”
.....	aame akkaDa leedu	“She is not there”
.....	aawiDa akkaDa leedu/leeru	“She is not there”
Avar ankee illai	waaru akkaDa leeru	“He/She (Hon.) is not there”
Adu ankee illai	adi akkaDa leedu	“It is not there”
Avai ankee illai	avi akkaDa leevu	“They (Non-Hum.) are not there”
avarkaL ankee illai	waaLLu akkaDa leeru	“They (Hum.) are not there”

### Negative Potential Auxiliary Verb Construction

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10 : 6 June 2010

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The negative potential auxiliary verb ‘muTiyaadu’ “not capable/impossible” do not take the agreement marker. The oblique form + case maker + the negative potential auxiliary verb is the construction. But in Telugu the negative potential auxiliary verb ‘leedu’ “not capable/impossible” can take the agreement marker according to the person with the nominative form.

### Examples from Tamil and Telugu

<b>Tamil</b>	<b>Telugu</b>	
ennaal vara muTiyaadu	neenu raa leenu	“I cannot come”
nammaal vara muTiyaadu	manamu raa leemu	“We (Inclu.) cannot come”
enkalaal vara muTiyaadu	meemu raa leemu	“We (Exclu.) cannot come”
unnaal vara muTiyaadu	nuvvu raa leevu	“You cannot come”
unkalaal vara muTiyaadu	miiru raa leeru	“You (pl.) cannot come”
avanaal vara muTiyaadu	waaDu raa leeDu	“He cannot come”
avaLaal vara muTiyaadu	aamee raa leedu	“She cannot come”
avarkalaal vara muTiyaadu	waaru raa leeru	“They cannot come”
adaal vara muTiyaadu	adi raa leedu	“It cannot come”
avaikaLaal vara muTiyaadu	avi raa leevu	“They (Non-Hum.) cannot come”

### Equative Sentences and Agreement

In the negative equative sentences, the negative form ‘illai’ won’t take agreement marker in Tamil. But, in Telugu, the negative form ‘kaadu’ can take agreement marker depending upon the person. Moreover the nouns with the first and second person pronouns also take the agreement marker.

### Examples from Tamil and Telugu

<b>Tamil</b>	<b>Telugu</b>
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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

naan DaakTar illai        neenu DaakTarunu kaanu “I am not a Doctor”  
naangaL DaakTar illai meemu DaakTaramu kaamu “We are not Doctors”  
naam DaakTar illai    manamu DaakTaramu kaamu “We are Doctors”  
nii DaakTar illai        nii DaakTaruvu kaavu        “You are not a Doctor”  
niingaL DaakTar illai    miiru Daaktaru kaaru        “You are not a Doctor”  
avan DaakTar illai        avan DaakTar kaaDu        “He is not a Doctor”  
avaL DaakTar illai        aame DaakTar kaadu        “She is a not a doctor”  
avar DaakTar illai        vaaru DaakTaru kaaru        “He (Hon.) is not a Doctor”  
avarkaL DaakTar illai    vaaLLu DaakTaru kaaru        “They are not Doctors ”  
adu DaakTar illai        ati DaakTar kaadu        “It is not a Doctor”  
avai DaakTar illai    avi DaakTaru kaavu “They (Non-Hum.) are not Doctor”

### **Conclusion**

From the above-mentioned discussions we can conclude that, though Tamil and Telugu are genetically related languages and belong to same language family and share many features, still there are eye-catching differences between them found in those languages.

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Textbook writers and syllabus framers have the responsibility to focus on the sociolinguistic features of agreement. Let us not take the functions of agreement in Tamil for granted.

How we should communicate with each other and what truth value our communication must carry have all been discussed in Tirukkural and other didactic literature. Chemmozhi early grammars as well as literary works wrote on communication mostly from moral angles. Moral instruction imparted through works such as NaalaTiyar are recognized and faithfully included in our textbooks. However, how language should be used in speaking and writing for persuasive communication showing due respect and

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

dererence to our addressees needs to be demonstrated through drills and exercises in our classrooms.

Arguments are very important for clarity of truth but arguments should be carried out in a manner emotions are kept under control and only facts are focused upon. Switch from from singular to plural and from plural to singular endings have great social implications. Unfortunately, caste and other social criteria as well as economic status play a crucial role in such choice. This should change so that all could participate as equal partners in the communication process.

## Auxiliary Verbs in Modern Tamil

### Introduction

Auxiliary verbs are the verbs which lose their original syntactic and semantic properties when they collocate with other verbs as auxiliary and signify various grammatical meanings which are the auxiliary meanings of the other verbs in the sentences.

### Example

raaman ankee iruntaan	“Rama is there” - Main Verb
raaman ankee vantiruntaan	“Ram has come there” – Auxiliary verb

The verbs which thus become auxiliaries may also function like full verbs elsewhere, resulting in formally being identical but functionally different pairs of verbs. The difference is manifested in their different syntactic distribution and semantic denotation.

The function of an auxiliary in any language is to express the voice, mode, tense or aspect of the action denoted by the main verb of a sentence.

### Various Names of Auxiliary

Auxiliary verbs have various names. Walther, 1739, Pope, 1859, Arden 1891, Agesthialingom, 1964, Meenakshisundaram, 1965, Isreal, 1976, Karthikeyani, 1976, Srinivasan, 1976, Joseph, 1981 and Steever, 1983 addressed this auxiliary as auxiliary verbs. Bahl, 1967 termed this as Explicator. Hock, 1974 mentioned this auxiliary as Compound Verbs. Subbarao, 1979 called this as Secondary Verbs. Bhat, 1979 termed this as Vector. Kachru pointed out this as Serial verbs.

### Auxiliary Verbs and Language Teaching

Auxiliary verbs play a very crucial role in sentence construction. They support or negate the content, and they supply additional information. Auxiliary verbs have been used throughout the history of Tamil. However, modern expressions, especially in official communications, scientific writing and business communications, exploit the use of auxiliary verbs as part of logic and reason. In this respect, it is important that our students are well trained in the correct and efficient use of auxiliary constructions. Extending and

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

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developing use of auxiliary verbs in Tamil to meet various needs will add to the continuity of Chemmozhi in the future.

### Characteristics of Auxiliary Verbs

1. Auxiliary verb always occurs after the main verbs and it is dependent upon the main verbs.

Example:

iRaivan ceyya vaittaan “God made him to do this”  
naan payantu pooneen “I was afraid of that”

2. Most of the auxiliary verbs have PNG markers and negative markers but the modal auxiliary verbs do not have the PNG markers and the negative markers except the Model auxiliary verb maaTTu.

Example:

murugan ceytu kaaTTinaan “Murugan demonstrated it.”  
inRu mazhai varakkuuDum “Today the rain may come.”  
avan vara maaTTaan “He won’t come definitely.”

3. Auxiliary verbs come after the verb root of the main verb, infinitive form of the main verb, verbal participle form of the main verb, relative participle form of the main verb, finite verb of the main verb, verbal noun form of the main verb and the participial noun of the main verb and the conditional infinitive form.

Example:

puRaa viTu paTTatu	“The pigeon left out” Verb root
iraaman colla vantaan	“Rama has come for telling this” Infinitive
kaNNan vantu irukkiRaan	“Kannan has come here already” Verbal Participle
kaTaikku vantirunta raaman	“Rama who has come to the shop” Relative Participle,
kala vantaal illai	“Kala who had not come” Finite Verb
nii varalaam	“You may come”

iraamantaan paarttavanaam	Verbal Noun "Rama one who saw that"
geetha paaDip paarttaal teriyum	Participial Noun "If Geetha try to sing then it will be clear" Conditional Infinitive Form

4. When Auxiliary verbs occur in compound sentences, then the auxiliary may be deleted from the sentences.

Example:

naan paarttum irukkiReen: naan keeTTum irukkiReen = naan paarttum keeTTum irukkiReen. "I had seen; I had heard = "I both seen and heard"

4. Auxiliary verbs are reduplicated to indicate various grammatical meanings.

Example:

latha varukiRaaL	"Sita comes"	Present Perfect
sita vantu koNTiRukkiRaaL	"Sita is coming"	Present Progressive
cirittuk koNTirukka veeNTaam	"It is not necessary to laugh"	Negative Present Progressive

5. In between the main verb and the auxiliary verb no meaningful units will occur.

Example:

aaciriyar paTittu viTTaar	"Teacher had read"
aaciriyar paTittu ippootu viTTaar	"Now the Teacher read it and left"

But some words which have lexical meanings occur in between the main verb and the auxiliary verb.

Example:

unnaal paTikka muTiyaatu	"You cannot read"
unnaal paTikka ippoootu muTiyaati	"You cannot read now"
unnaal ceyya iyalum	"You can do this"
unnaal ceyya inRu iyalum	"You can do this today"

6. Auxiliary doesn't take complements by itself.  
7. Auxiliary doesn't give the meaning of its homophonous full verb.  
8. Auxiliary loses its meaning if it is permuted.

9. Infinitive that occurs before auxiliary cannot be converted into verbal noun.
10. The verb V1 alone cannot be negated without negating the auxiliary V2.
11. When the auxiliary V2 is negated the preceding verb V1 also comes under the scope of negation.
12. The verb V1 cannot be reduplicated before V2 if the verb V2 is an auxiliary.
13. Auxiliary construction doesn't permit negative simultaneous for both V1 and V2.
14. Auxiliary verb cannot form single word utterance.
15. An Auxiliary can take another auxiliary so that the sequence of V1, V2, and V3 can be seen among which the last two can be auxiliaries.
16. The auxiliary verb V2 can be replaced by another auxiliary where as the second member of the compound verb cannot be replaced by another verbs.
17. Compound verb is semantically one unit but whereas the auxiliary structure is not so, expressing one main notion plus some auxiliary notion.

### **Modern Tamil Auxiliary Verbs**

In Tamil, the following verbs are function as auxiliaries: 'aTi' – "To beat", 'aruL' – "To become grace", 'aam' – "To accept", 'aaccu' – "To finish", 'iyalum' – "Possible", 'iru' – "To be", 'il' – "To be not", 'uL' – "Inside", 'eTu' – "To take", 'ozhi' – "To destroy", 'kaaTTu' – "To show", 'kuuTum' – "To be possible", 'koNTiru' – "To have", 'koL' – "To have", 'cey' – "To do", 'takum' – "to be worth", 'taLLu' – "To push", 'teri' – "To know", 'tolai' – "To go", 'neer' – "To face", 'paTu' – "To suffer", 'paNnu' – "To do", 'paar' – "To see", 'peRu' – "To get", 'poo' – "To go", 'pooTu' – "To put", 'maaTTu' – "To hang", 'muTiyum' – "To be possible", 'varu' – "To come", 'viTu' – "To leave", 'veeNTum' – "To need" and 'vai' – "To put"

### **Kinds of Auxiliary Verbs**

Auxiliary verbs are broadly classified in to three types. They are Voice Auxiliary, Aspectual Auxiliary and Modern Auxiliary.

#### **Voice Auxiliary**

Voice Auxiliaries are the auxiliaries which come after the infinitive forms of the main verbs. The verbs like 'paTu', 'peRu', 'koL', 'cey', 'vai', 'paNnu', 'aruL' are the voice denoting auxiliaries. Among the above paTu and peru are the passive voice denoting auxiliaries. koL is the reflexive voice, benefactive denoting auxiliaries. aruL is the

benedictive voice denoting auxiliaries. Cey, vai and paNnu are the causative voice denoting auxiliaries.

Example:

avanaal katai ezhutappaTTatu	“The story was written by him”	(Passive)
baalu kaTitam varappeRRaan	“Balu received letter”	(Passive)
avan tanakkut taanee peecikkoNTaan	“He talked by himself”	(Reflexive)
avanai varapa paNNineen	“I made him to come”	(Causative)
avanai naantaan ceyya vaitteen	“I made him to do”	(Causative)
avanai varac ceyteen	“I made him to come”	(Causative)
avar vantaruLinaar	“He came gracefully”	(Benedictive)

### Aspectual Auxiliary

Aspectual auxiliary are the auxiliaries which come after the verbal participle forms of the main verbs. iru, koNTiru, viTu, ozhi, vaa, vai,

Avan vantiruntaan	“He had come”	Past perfect
Avan vantu koNTiruntaan	“He is coming”	Present Progressive
Avan cirittuk koNTirukka veeNTaam	“It is not necessary for him to laugh”	Negative present progressive
anpuTan pazhaki varum tankai	“Ever lovable sister”	Habitual thing
raaman taan paarttavanaam	“Rama who had seen it”	
murukan ceytu kaaTTinaan	“Murugan demonstrated it”	
nii paatip paarttaal teriyum	“If you try to sing then it will clear”	
avan paarttu viTTaan	“He had seen it”	(Completion)
unakku collat terital veeNTum	“You must know how to tell it”	
naan ezhutikkoNTatu ennavenRaal	“The written thing was ...”	
muttu vizhuntaTittu ootinaan	“Muthu ran like anything”	Idiomatic meaning
amaiccar vantarulinaar	“The Minister has come”	meaning ‘Speediness’
naan caappiTTaaccu	“I finished eating”	meaning ‘Completeness’
avan cettuppoonaan	“He dead”	meaning ‘Completeness’
avan caRRaip pizhinteTuttaan	“He extracted the juice”	meaning ‘Excess’
raaman vantullaan	“He came”	meaning ‘Complete’
raaman ceytu kaaTTinaan	“Rama demonstrated it”	
avan ezhutit taLLiTTaan	“He wrote like anything”	meaning ‘Impatience’
avan aTittuttaLLiTTaan	“He beat like anything”	meaning ‘Idiomatic Expression’

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

pooyt tolai	“Get lost” meaning ‘Riddance’
kannanaip paarkka neerntatu	“Accidently I met kannan”
uma eTuttup paarttaaL muTiyavilai	“Uma tried it but it was not possible”
naankaL vazhakkamaaka keTTu varukiRoom	“Habitually we heard”
avan paarttu viTTaan	“He saw definitely”

### Modal Auxiliary

Model Auxiliary verbs are the auxiliary verbs which come after the infinitive form or the verbal noun of the main verbs and they don't have the PNG markers and the negative markers except the Modal Auxiliary maaTTu .

Example:

baama varalaam	“Baama may come”	Meanings Permission, possibility,
ennaal cappiTa iyalum	“I can eat”	Meaning ability
ennaal paarkka muTiyum	“I can see”	Meaning possibility
avan paarkkkavillai,	“He did not see”	Meaning Negative
avan paarkka maaTTaan	“He never seen”	Meaning negative conformity
Mazhai varak/varutal kuuTum	“Rain may come”	Meaning Possibility
Itu collat takum	“It is worth to say”	Meaning appropriation
Enaku aaTat teriyum	“I know dance”	Meaning fact
Nii paaTa veeNTum	“You must sing”	Meaning completion, request
ennaal paaTa iyalum	“I can sing”	Meaning ability
avanaal paaTa iyallaatu	“He is not able to sing”	Meaning Inability
peeca veeNTum	“You must talk”	Meaning Condition
nii varalaam	“You may come”	Meaning Permission

### Sequence of Auxiliary

Auxiliaries are coming in sequence as two or three or even four in a sentence.

Example:

vantu koNTirukkiRaan	“I am coming” (Two auxiliaries “koNTu” and “iru” are the two auxiliaries combined in one sentence)
pazhattai paRittup paarkka veeNTum	“Pluck the fruit and see” (Two auxiliaries “paar” and “veeNTum” in one sentence)
avan saami vantarula vaittaan	“He made the force to come” (Two auxiliaries

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*



education, business, etc. Through this approach we will contribute to the continuance of the use of Tamil as a living-classical language in the future.

## Noun Reduplication in Tamil

### Introduction

Reduplication is an important word formation process in *all* Indian languages. This should be considered as an important areal feature. This fact, in itself, makes it important for us to study various aspects of reduplication. Study of reduplication will enable us also to see how this linguistic process is involved in culture expressions.

Reduplication may be defined as “the total or partial bimodal reduplication meaning thereby repetition of the base of the word or the stem. Either a syllable or a constituent of a word or of the whole may iterate”. Whatever may be the unit of repetition the end result is a new word that has no parallel in its non-reduplicated counterpart.

Lawral J. Brinton, in his *Structure of English - An Introduction* (1991, p.91), defines: “Reduplication is an initial process similar to derivation in which the initial syllable or the entire word is doubled, exactly or with a slight morphological change.

Abbi (1992) talks about two types of reduplication, viz., Morphological and Lexical reduplication. She further divides the lexical reduplication into three types: Echo-Formation, Compounds and Word Reduplication.

Reduplication may be further divided also into three processes: Complete, Partial and Discontinuous Reduplication.

### Chemmozhi Tamil and Reduplication

Reduplication is easily attested in classical Tamil literary and grammatical works. To provide a description of movements, processes, and characteristics of objects, individuals, birds and animals and social groups, these classical works employ reduplicated words and phrases.

### Focus of This Chapter

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

This chapter highlights the process of Noun reduplication in Tamil.

The study of reduplicated structure in Tamil reveals the fact that though reduplication is a general morphological feature of the language, some specifications can be drawn from the functional and as semantic points of view as well.

An attempt is made in this paper to study the reduplicated Noun from the point of view of occurrence in the language, its function and the semantic interpretation.

Tamil language has eight parts of speech, namely, Noun, Pronoun, Verb, Adverb, Adjective, Conjunction, Postposition and Interjunction. The formation of Reduplication occurs in almost all the parts of speech.

Noun, which is the primary item of the parts of speech reduplicates and give different meanings in Tamil.

### **I. Common Reduplicated Nouns and the Meanings Indicated by Them**

i) All the kinship terms are reduplicated and give the addressive meaning. E.g. ‘appa’ in Tamil which means “Father”. When it reduplicates as appaa... appaa... and expresses the meaning addressive. Like this the names of the persons are reduplicated and conveyed the addressive meaning.

ii) The nouns like ‘paampu’ which means “Snake” reduplicate and give the meaning of Caution.

E.g. From Tamil

paampuu... paampuu... “Oh! Snake Snake”

Like this the nouns ‘tiruTan’ “Thief”, ‘pooliisu’ “Police”, ‘buudham’ etc are reduplicated and give the meaning caution.

iii) The Commercial nouns like ‘kattarikkaay’ “Brinjal” ‘veNdaikkay’ “Ladies finger” etc are reduplicated and drawing the attention of the people.

E.g. From Tamil

Kattirikaa... kattirikaa... “Brinjal”

iv) The place names of are reduplicated and give the Emphatic meaning. That is, to point out a particular place of the bus, importance of that particular place etc.

E.g. From Tamil

Madhuree... madhuree “The place Madurai”

v) The verbal nouns like ‘veelai’ “Work” ‘kasTam’ “Difficulties” etc are reduplicated and expressing the meaning of Irritation.

E.g. From Tamil

Veelai veelai oree veelai “Work, work always works”  
kasTam kasTam eppa paaru kasTam “Difficulty, difficulty  
always difficulty”

vi) The nouns like ‘vaattu’ which means “Swan”/”Duck”, ‘kazhutai’ which means “Donkey”, ‘kuNTu’ which means “Fatty”, ‘payttiyam’ which means “Mad Man/Lady” etc are reduplicated and give the Ironical meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Vaattu... vaattu... “Swan oh! Swan”  
Kazhutai... kazhutai... “Donkey oh! Donkey”  
Payttiyam... payttiyam... “Mad oh! Mad”  
kuNTu... kuNTu... “Fatty oh! Fatty”

vi) The Interrogative Nouns like ‘yaar’ “Who” ‘enku’ “Where” ‘eppa’ “When” ‘enna’ “What” etc are repeatedly coming and give the meaning of Emotion.

E.g. From Tamil

Yaaru... yaaru... “Who? Who?”  
Enkee... enkee... “Where? Where?”  
Eppa... eppa... “When? When?”  
Enna... enna... “What? What?”

viii) The names of the Gods Raamaa, KaNNaa, Sivaa, etc and the Kinship Nouns amma, appa in Tamil and are reduplicated and give the meanings of Emotion and Relieving of Burdens. The other kinds of kinship terms are not reduplicated.

E.g. From Tamil

Siva... Sivaa...	“Oh! God Siva”
Raama... Raamaa	“Oh! God Rama”
Appappaa....	“I cannot express it”
Ammammaa...	“I cannot express”

ix) The Exclamatory Noun ‘ayyoo’ “Alas” reduplicates and gives the “Sympathy” meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Ayyoo... ayyoo...	“Oh! What a pity”
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x) The Common Nouns like ‘kizham’ which means “Old People” ‘karmam’ which means “fruits of deeds” ‘Saniyan’ which means “Troublesome person” etc are reduplicated and give the meaning of Irritation or Expressing the hatefulness.

E.g. From Tamil

Kezham... kezham...	“Old one old one”
Saniyan... saniyan...	“Trouble some one”
Karmam... karmam...	“Fruits of deeds”

xi) Sometimes particular kinds of nouns or words are reduplicated by some particular persons and give the meaning of Irritation. That irritation reveals some past time incidents or events and makes the hearer to become frighten by uttering the word repeatedly.

E.g. From Tamil

takaDu... takaDu...	“Piece of iron”
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xii) Some kinds of nouns like ‘kanchi’ “Watery food” ‘kandal’ “Piece of cloth” followed by the post position ‘taan’ are reduplicated in Tamil and give the Idiomatic meaning.

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

E.g. From Tamil

Ini katai kandal... kandaltaan... “You are almost closed”  
Inimee nii kanchi... kanchitann “You are almost closed”

xiii) The Temporal Nouns like ‘aaNDu’/ ‘varusham’ “Year” ‘dinam’ “Day” ‘nittam’ “Daily” etc are reduplicated and give the meaning of Continuity.

E.g. From Tamil

Varushaa...varusham “Each and every year”  
aaNDuaaNDu kaalamaa “Traditionally”  
nittam nittam “Daily”

xiv) Nouns like ‘paNam’ “Money” ‘niyaayam’ “Justice” are followed by the post position marker ‘taan’ reduplicated and give the meanings Emphatic and Compulsion.

E.g. From Tamil

paNam... paNamtaan... “Money only Money”  
niyaayam... niyaayamtann... “Justice only justice”

xv) The praising nouns like ‘vaazhka’ ‘vaLarka’ “praising” in Tamil are reduplicated and give the meaning of Excitement.

E.g. From Tamil

Talaivar vaazhka... vaazhka... “Leader you live more days”

By the influence of this reduplication the English words like ‘jolly’, ‘happy’ etc are reduplicated and reveal the meaning of Over Happiness, Over Enjoyment and Over Excitement. E.g. Hay jolly... jolly...

## II. Idiomatic Meaning

The following nouns are reduplicated in the sentences and give the Idiomatic meaning.

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

i) The Qualitative Nouns like ‘paccai’ “Green” reduplicated with the particle ‘aaka’ “To become” and give the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan paccai paccaiyaakap peecinaan “He talked vulgarly”

ii) The Portative Nouns (In Tamil it is called as CinaipPeyar) like ‘kaadhu’ “Ear”, ‘kaN’ “Eye” etc are reduplicated and give the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

avaL tirumaNam kaadhun kaadhun vaittaaRpool naTantatu  
“Her marriage was happened very secretly”  
avaL kuzhandaiyai kaNNukku kaNNaaka vaLartaaL  
“She brought up the child very carefully”

iii) The Inanimate Noun ‘vaazhai’ “Banana”/ “plantain” in Combination with the particles ‘aTi’ and ‘aaka’ reduplicated and give the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan kuTumbam vaazhaiyaDi vaazhaiyaaka tazhaittatu  
“His family prosperous likes anything”

iv) The Mass Noun ‘puyal’ “Strom” and the Non - Human Noun ‘ciTTu’ “Sparrow” are reduplicated and give the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan puyal puyalaakap puRappaTTaaL  
“She goes very fastly”  
avaL ciTTu ciTTaakap paRantaasL  
“She has done her work very fastly”

v) The Abstract Noun ‘alai’ “Wave” is reduplicating and giving the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Karunaanidhiyaip paarkka makkaL kuuTTaam alai alaiyaakak  
vandadu

“To see the C.M. Karunanidhi the people are gathering like  
anything”

vi) The Noun ‘kuuzh’ “Semi-Liquid food” is reduplicated and  
expressed the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Kuzhandai kaaril aTipaTTu kuuzh kuuzh aakiyadu  
“The child died in an accident”

vii) The Temporal Noun ‘vidiyal’ “Dawn” is reduplicating and  
expressing the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan vidiya vidiyak kaN muzhittup paTittaan  
“He woke-up the whole night and study”

viii) The Material Noun ‘muttu’ “Pearl” ‘maNi’ “Bell” are in  
combination with the particle ‘aaka’ reduplicated and indicate the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

kaNNan muttu muttaakak kaNNiir vaDittaan  
“KaNNan weeps like anything”  
Kuzhandai maNi maNiyaakap peeciyatu  
“The Child is taking very clearly”

ix) The Noun ‘aTukku’ “Portion” is in combination with the  
particle ‘aaka’ reduplicating and indicating the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan aTukkaTukkaaka poy connaan  
“He tells lie continuously”

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-  
Modern Tamil Grammar*

x) The Interrogative Noun ‘enna’ “What” is reduplicating and conveying the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan varuvataRkkuL ennaennavoomellaam naTantuviTtatu  
“Before his arrival so many things are happened here”

xi) The Natural Noun ‘malai’ “Mountain” is reduplicated and expressed the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avanukku selvam malaimalaiyaak kuvintatu  
“The wealth is coming like anything to him”

xii) The Noun ‘vaazh’ “Fame” is reduplicated and indicated the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Vaazh vaazhinnu kattaatee  
“Don’t shout like anything”

xiii) The noun ‘tuNDu’ “piece” is reduplicating and indicating the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

tuNDU tuNDaakiRuveen jaakiratai  
“Be careful I’ll spoil your life”

### III. Adjectival Meaning

The following nouns are reduplicated in the sentences and give the Adjectival meaning and function as an Adjective.

i) The Portative Nouns ‘kulai’/ ‘kottu’/ ‘caram’ / ‘caTai’ “Wreath

of a flower” are reduplicated in the sentences in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ “To become” and indicated the Adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Kulaikulaiyaakap puutta senkaandal puu  
“The red species of Malabar lily blooms as bunches”  
Avan tooTTattil muntiri kottu kottaakak kaayttiruntau  
“In his garden the graphs are in bunches”

ii) The Measuremental Noun ‘paTi’ “Measurement” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ reduplicates and indicates the Adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan vaazhkkaiyil paTippaTiyaaka munneRinaan  
“He gradually develops in his life”

iii) The Demonstrative Noun ‘vidham’ “Kind” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ repeatedly coming and gives the Adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avanukku ovvaru paTattileeyum vidhavidhamaana keeracter  
“In each and every film his role is a different one”

iv) The Neuter Noun ‘kuTTi’ “Small” ‘kuDam’ “Small pot” are reduplicating and indicating the adjectival meaning. In the above two the noun ‘kuDam’ is coming with the particle ‘aaka’ in the sentence.

E.g. From Tamil

Avaiyellam kuTTikkuTTi kataikaL  
“Those are very small stories”  
kaDavulukku kuDamkuDamaakat taNNiir uuRRinaarkaL  
“People are pouring pot pot of water to the God”

v) The Quality Noun 'vaNNam' "Color" is reduplicated and indicated the adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

vaNNa vaNNak kanavukaL "Colorful dreams"

#### IV) Adverbial Meaning

The following Nouns are reduplicating and giving the adverbial meaning and functions as an Adverb.

i) The Adverbial Noun 'veekam' "Speed" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' in the sentences reduplicated and indicates the Adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan veeka veekamaaka ooTinaan "He ran very speedily"

ii) The Abstract Noun 'aacai' "Desire", 'koopam' "Anger", 'azhukai' "Weeping" etc are in combination with the particle 'aaka' in the sentences reduplicated and indicated the adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Acaiaacaiyaa irukku "It is too desirable"  
Koopamkoopamaa varutu "I got too much angry"  
Azhukaiazhukaiyaa varutu "I felt too weepy"

iii) The Temporal Noun 'talaimuRai' "Tradition" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' in the sentences reduplicated and expressed the adverbial meaning. It conveys the continuity of the action.

E.g. From Tamil

talaimuRaitalaimuRaiyaakap pinpaRRapaTTu varukiRatu  
"It is followed by traditionally or generation to generation  
Continuously"

iv) The Noun ‘tuNDu’ “Piece” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ in sentences reduplicates and indicates the adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan pazhattai tuNDu tuNDaaka veTTinaan  
“He cuts the fruit in to pieces”

v) The Portative Noun ‘pakkam’ “Page” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ in the sentences reduplicates and indicates the adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan pakkam pakkammaka ezhutittaLLinaan  
“He writes so many pages”

V) Regarding the Temporal Noun, when it reduplicates the meaning given by it is from the broad sense to the particular sense and the particular sense to the broad sense in Tamil. The Noun ‘kaalam’ “Time”/ “Season” reduplicates and indicates the meaning of sense from the broad sense to the particular sense.

E.g. From Tamil

Kaalaakaalattil tirumaNam naTakkanum  
“The marriage should taken place at a particular time”

The Noun ‘vidiyal’ “Dawn” reduplicates and indicates the meaning from the particular sense to the broad sense.

E.g. From Tamil

Vidiya vidiyak kalyaaNam  
“The marriage is taken place over the whole night”

VI) Regarding the Numeral Noun the Countable Noun ‘kooDi’ “Crore”, ‘laksham’ “Lakh”, ‘kaTTu’ “Bundle” are reduplicated and give the uncountable meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

kooDikooDiyaap paNam “Chores of Money”  
lakshalakshamaa paNam “Lakhs of money”  
kaTTukkaTTaap paNam “Bundles of money”

The Cardinal Numerical Noun ‘oNNU’ “One” is reduplicated and indicated the Emphatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

oNNU oNNuaak koTu “Give one by one”  
oNNU oNNU koTu “Give one to Each”

The Ordinal Numerical Noun ‘oru’ “one” is reduplicated and indicated the meaning of wholeness.

E. g, From Tamil

Ovvoru maadamum “Each and every month”

The Noun ‘mudhal’ “First” is reduplicated and expressed the earlier meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Mudhanmudhalil idu toTankiyatu japaanil  
“At first it was started in Japan”

Like the Ordinal Numerals the Personal Pronouns like ‘avan’ “He”, ‘avaL’ “She” etc are reduplicated and give the meaning from single to the whole meaning and the vice versa in Tamil.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan avanaa ceyvaan “Each and every one will do it”

VII) Regarding the Demonstrative noun ‘anta’ “That”, ‘inta’ “This” are reduplicated and give the specific meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Entaenta veelaiyai eppaappa ceyyanumoo anta anta veelaiyai

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

appaappa ceyanum

“At what time what work is going to be done that time that work will be done in that particular time”

VIII) Regarding the Interrogative Nouns when they are reduplicated give the plural meaning for the singular one and the vice versa. The nouns ‘yaar’ “Who”, ‘eppaDi’ “How”, and ‘enna’ “What” are reduplicated and indicated the plural meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Yaar yaaroo vantaanga “So many persons were coming here”

IX) The Abstract Noun and the Quality Nouns like ‘veyiloo veyil’ “Too hot” ‘tangamoo tangam’ “So many Gold” ‘paccaiyo paccai’ “Greenish” etc give the meaning of excessiveness in Tamil.

X) The Nouns which are used for pointing out the colors reduplicated and indicated the Emphatic meaning in Tamil.

E.g. From Tamil

Paccai paceel enRa tooTTam “Greenish Garden”

## **Conclusion**

To conclude, the Nouns of above-said kinds are reduplicated and given various meanings. They are addressive meaning, meaning of caution, meaning to draws the attention of the people, Emphatic meaning, meaning of Irritation, Ironical, Emotional, Sympathetic, Emphasis, Compulsive, Continuity, Idiomatic, Adjectival and Adverbial. It also gives the meaning from Broad sense to particular sense and particular sense to broad sense, Count to Countless, individual to Wholeness. It also gives the meaning of Specificity, plurality, Excessiveness, Excitement, Enjoyment and over happiness.

## **Implications for Teaching and Learning Tamil**

Let us not take things for granted. Reduplication is a natural process and every mother tongue or first language learner of Tamil knows how it operates as he or she uses it in a natural manner. However, second language learners of Tamil or those students hailing from bilingual families may have some difficulty in making use of reduplication as a creative process. They may not have either internalized the overall underlying process

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

with all its exceptions, because of their limited exposure to Tamil. Even for the mother tongue or first language learners, the processes of reduplication may pose some difficulties since new vocabulary are subjected to the reduplication process in a dynamic and radical manner. Pronunciation of reduplicated forms with appropriate emotions may also be demonstrated and emphasized as part of natural conversations. Furthermore, reduplication plays a very important role in plays, movies and platform speeches to wider audience (both political and faith-based speech deliveries). Humour also is generated through the process of reduplication.

Once again I argue here in favour of looking at grammatical features not as items for memory and reproduction or even for correct style, but items that should be exploited efficiently for practical purposes. Then teaching grammar in Chemmozhi classes will become more fun-filled. Loyalty toward Chemmozhi and its continuity in the future can be further ensured.

## Noun Reduplication in Tamil and Telugu

### Introduction

Tamil and Telugu belong to the same family of Dravidian languages belonging to the same language group. These two languages are considered as sister languages. Tamil had very rich grammatical and literary traditions dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. Telugu also has rich grammatical works and has literary traditions.

The present chapter highlights Noun reduplication in Tamil and Telugu.

An attempt is made in this chapter to study reduplicated Nouns from the point of view of occurrence in these two languages, its function and the semantic interpretation.

### Common Reduplicated Nouns and the Meanings Indicated by Them

i) All the kinship terms are reduplicated and give the addressive meaning. E.g. ‘appa’ in Tamil and ‘naanaa’ in Telugu which means “Father”. When it reduplicates as appaa... appaa...in Tamil and naanaa... naanaa... in Telugu and express the meaning addressive. Like this the names of the persons are reduplicated and conveyed the addressive meaning.

ii) The nouns like ‘paampu’ in Tamil and ‘paamu’ in Telugu which means “Snake” reduplicate and give the meaning of Caution.

Ex. From Tamil

paampuu... paampuu... “Oh! Snake Snake”

Ex. From Telugu

Paamu... paamu... “Oh! Snake Snake”

Like this the nouns ‘tiruTan’ (Ta.) ‘tongalu’ (Te.) “Thief”, ‘pooliisu’ “Police”, ‘buudham’ ‘bhuudhamu’ etc., are reduplicated and give the meaning of caution.

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

iii) The Commercial nouns like ‘kattarikkaay’ (Ta.) ‘onkaaylu’ (Te.) “Brinjal” ‘veNDAikkay’ (Ta.) ‘beNdakkaay’ (Te.) “Ladies’ finger,” etc. are reduplicated and drawing the attention of the people.

Ex. From Tamil

Kattirikaa... kattirikkaa... “Brinjal”

Ex. From Telugu

Onkaaylu... onkaaylu ... “Brinjal”

vii) The place names of are reduplicated and give the Emphatic meaning. That is, to point out a particular place of the bus, importance of that particular place etc., Example madhuree... madhuree... (Ta.) cittuuruu... cittuuruu...(Te.)

E.g. From Tamil

Madhuree... madhuree “The place Madurai”

Ex. From Telugu

cittuuruu... cittuuruu... “The place Citturu”

viii) The verbal nouns like ‘veelai’ (Ta.) ‘paNi’ (Te.) “Work” ‘kasTam’(Ta.) ‘kasTaalu’ (Te.) “Difficulties” etc are reduplicated and expressing the meaning of Irritation.

E.g. From Tamil

Veelai veelai oree veelai “Work, work always works”  
kasTam kasTam eppa paaru kasTam “Difficult, difficult  
always difficult”

Ex. From Telugu

paNi paNi eppuDu paNi “Work, work always works”

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

kasTaalU kasTaalU eppuD u cuuD u kasTaal ee  
“Difficult, difficult always difficult”

vi) The nouns like ‘vaattu’ which means “Swan”/”Duck”, ‘kazhutai’ which means “Donkey”, ‘kuNTu’ which means “Fatty”, ‘payttiyam’ which means “Mad Man/Lady” etc are reduplicated and give the Ironical meaning. But these types of nouns are not reduplicated in Telugu.

E.g. From Tamil

Vaattu... vaattu...	“Swan oh! Swan”
Kazhutai... kazhutai...	“Donkey oh! Donkey”
Payttiyam... payttiyam...	“Mad oh! Mad”
kuNTu... kuNTu...	“Fatty oh! Fatty”

ix) The Interrogative Nouns like ‘yaar’ (Ta.) ‘evaru’ (Te.) “Who” ‘enku’ (Ta.) ‘ekkaDa’ (Te.) “Where” ‘eppa’ (Ta.) ‘eppuD u’ (Te.) “When” ‘enna’ ‘eeNTi’ “What” etc., are repeatedly coming and give the meaning of Emotion.

E.g. From Tamil

Yaaru... yaaru ...	“Who? Who”?
Enkee... enkee...	“Where? Where”?
Eppa... eppa...	“When? When”?
Enna... enna...	“What? What”?

Ex. From Telugu

evaru... evaru...	“Who? Who”?
ekkaDa... ekkaDa...	“Where? Where”?
eppuD u... eppuD u...	“When? When”?
eeNTi... eeNTi...	“What? What”?

vii) The names of the Gods Raamaa, KaNNaa, Sivaa, etc and the Kinship Nouns amma, appa in Tamil and are reduplicated and give the meanings of Emotion and Relieving of Burdens. The other kinds of kinship terms are not reduplicated. But in

Telugu the kinship term ‘amma’ only reduplicated and give the emotional and burden meaning. The other kinship terms are not reduplicated.

E.g. From Tamil

Siva... Sivaa...	“Oh! God Siva”
Raama... Raamaa	“Oh! God Rama”
Appappaa....	“I cannot express it”
Ammammaa...	“I cannot express”

x) The Exclamatory Noun ‘ayyoo’ “Alas” reduplicates and gives the “Sympathy” meaning. This type of reduplication is not possible in Telugu.

E.g. From Tamil

Ayyoo... ayyoo... “Oh! What a pity”

viii) The Common Nouns like ‘kizham’ which means “Old People” ‘karmam’ which means “fruits of deeds” ‘Saniyan’ which means “Troublesome person” etc are reduplicated and give the meaning of Irritation or Expressing the hatefulness. This type is also not possible in Telugu.

E.g. From Tamil

Kezham... kezham...	“Old one old one”
Saniyan... saniyan...	“Troublesome person”
Karmam... karmam...	“Fruits of deeds”

xi) Sometimes particular kinds of nouns or words are reduplicated by some particular persons and give the meaning of Irritation. That irritation reveals some past time incidents or events and makes the hearer to become frighten by uttering the word repeatedly. This is also not possible in Telugu.

Ex. From Tamil

takaDu... takaDu... “Piece of iron”

xi) Some kinds of nouns like ‘kanchi’ “Watery food” ‘kandal’ “Piece of cloth” followed by the post position ‘taan’ are reduplicated in Tamil and give the Idiomatic meaning. This is also not possible in Telugu.

Ex. From Tamil

Ini katai kandal... kandaltaan... “You are almost closed”  
Inimee nii kanchi... kanchitann “You are almost closed”

xii) The Temporal Nouns like ‘aaNDu’/ ‘varusham’ “Year” ‘dinam’ “Day” ‘nittam’ “Daily” etc are reduplicated and give the meaning of Continuity. In Telugu these types of nouns are reduplicated and give the meaning continuity.

Ex. From Tamil

Varushaa...varusham “Each and every year”  
aaNDuaaNDu kaalamaa “Traditionally”  
nittam nittam “Daily”

Ex. From Telugu

Samaccuraalu ... samaccuraalu “Each and every year”  
Roojuu... roojuu “Daily”

xiii) Nouns like ‘paNam’ “Money” ‘niyaayam’ “Justice” are followed by the post position marker ‘taan’ in Tamil and ‘ee’ in Telugu reduplicated and give the meanings Emphatic and Compulsion.

Ex. From Tamil

paNam... paNamtaan... “Money only Money”  
niyaayam... niyaayamtann... “Justice only justice”

Ex. From Telugu

Dabbu... Dabee... “Money only Money”  
niyaayam... niyaayamee... “Justice only justice”

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

xiv) The praising nouns like ‘vaazhka’ ‘vaLarka’ “praising” in Tamil are reduplicated and give the meaning of Excitement. In Telugu they are using the Sanskrit or English words for this kind of reduplication.

Ex. From Tamil

Talaivar vaazhka... vaazhka... “Leader you live more days”

By the influence of this reduplication the English words like ‘jolly’, ‘happy’ etc are reduplicated in both the languages and reveal the meaning of Over Happiness, Over Enjoyment and Over Excitement. E.g. Hay jolly... jolly...

### **Idiomatic Meanings**

The following nouns are reduplicated in the sentences and give the Idiomatic meaning.

xiv) The Qualitative Nouns like ‘paccai’ “Green” reduplicated with the particle ‘aaka’ in Tamil and ‘gaa’ in Telugu which means “To become” and give the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan paccai paccaiyaakap peecukiRaan “He talks vulgarly”

Ex. From Telugu

waaDu pacci paccigaa maaTlaaDutunnaaDu “He talks vulgarly”

xv) The Portative Nouns (In Tamil it is called as CinaipPeyar) like ‘kaadhu’ “Ear”, ‘kaN’ “Eye” etc are reduplicated and give the Idiomatic meaning. .

Ex. From Tamil

avaL tirumaNam kaadhuma kaadhuma vaittaaRpool naTantatu  
“Her marriage was happened very secretly”  
avaL kuzhandaiyai kaNNukku kaNNaaka vaLartaaL  
“She brought up the child very carefully”

This type of noun reduplication is not possible in Telugu. Instead of this portative noun 'kaadhu' "ear" the abstract noun 'gudda' "Secrete" is repeatedly coming and express the Idiomatic meaning. Like this the portative noun 'kaN' "Eye" is not repeated in Telugu. But the reduplication type of Tamil is expressed in another way as "kamala aa piTTanee reppalaakka pensutundi".

Ex. From Telugu

Aamee pelli gudda guddagaa jarigindi  
"Her marriage was happened very secretly"

xvi) The Inanimate Noun 'vaazhai' "Banana"/"plantain" in Combination with the particles 'aTi' and 'aaka' reduplicated and give the Idiomatic meaning. The same thing is expressed in Telugu by using the particle '-aagaa'.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan kuTumbam vaazhaiyaDi vaazhaiyaaka tazhaittatu  
"His family prosperous likes anything"

Ex. From Telugu

waaDu kuDumbam taamara taamparagaa abiviruthi ceestundi  
"His family prosperous likes anything"

xvii) The Mass Noun 'puyal' "Strom" and the Non - Human Noun 'ciTTu' "Sparrow" are reduplicated and give the Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan puyal puyalaakap puRappaTTaaL  
"She goes very fastly"

avaL ciTTu ciTTaakap paRantaasL  
"She has done her work very fastly"

This type of reduplication is not found in Telugu. But the same thing is expressed in another way.

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Aamee kaNNU minnu kaanuguNDa pravateestundi  
“She is behaving like anything (Proudly)”

xviii) The Abstract Noun ‘alai’ “Wave” is reduplicating and giving the Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Karunaanidhiyaip paarkka makkaL kuuTTaam alai alaiyaakak  
vandadu  
“To see the C.M. Karunanidhi the people are gathering like  
anything”

The same thing is expressed in another way by using the noun ‘kumbalu’  
“Group”.

Ex. From Telugu

Sabhakku prajaalu kumpulu pumpulukaa occeeru  
“The people came for the meeting as sea of humanity”

xix) The Noun ‘kuuzh’ “Semi-Liquid food” is reduplicated and expressed the Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Kuzhandai kaaril aTipaTTu kuuzh kuuzh aakiyadu  
“The child died in an accident”

The same is expressed by the following way in Telugu.

Ex. From Telugu

aa pillee nojju nojju aayppooyindi  
“The child died in an accident

xx) The Temporal Noun ‘vidiyal’ “Dawn” is reduplicating and expressing the Idiomatic meaning. This type of expression is not found in Telugu.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan vidiya vidiyak kaN muzhittup paTittaan  
“He woke-up the whole night and study”

xxi) The Material Noun ‘muttu’ “Pearl” ‘maNi’ “Bell” are in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ reduplicated and indicate the Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

kaNNan muttu muttaakak kaNNiir vaDittaan  
“KaNNan weeps like anything”  
Kuzhandai maNi maNiyaakap peeciyatu  
“The Child is taking very clearly”

The sentence the child is talking very clearly is expressed in Telugu as “aa paappaa muddhu muddugaa palukkutundi”.

xxii) The Noun ‘aTukku’ “Portion” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ reduplicating and indicating the Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan aTukkaTukkaaka poy connaan  
“He tells lie continuously”

xxiii) The Interrogative Noun ‘enna’ in Tamil and ‘eemi’ in Telugu “What’ is reduplicating and conveying the Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan varuvataRkkuL ennaennavoomellaam naTantuviTtatu  
“Before his arrival so many things are happened here”

Ex. From Telugu

Waadu occee looppala eemeemoo jarigindhi  
“Before his arrival so many things are happened here”

- xxiv) The Natural Noun ‘malai’ “Mountain” is reduplicated and expressed the Idiomatic meaning. The same is expressed in Telugu by using the noun ‘kuppulu’.

Ex. From Tamil

Avanukku selvam malaimalaiyaak kuvintatu  
“The wealth is coming like anything to him”

Ex. From Telugu

waaDikki kuppulu kuppalaagaa maNi ostundi  
“The wealth is coming like anything to him”

- xxv) The Noun ‘vaazh’ “Fame” is reduplicated and indicated the Idiomatic meaning. This type of reduplication is not possible in Telugu.

Ex. From Tamil

Vaazh vaazhinnu kattaatee  
“Don’t shout like anything”

- xxvi) The noun ‘tuNDu’ “piece” is reduplicating in combination with the particle ‘-aaka’ which means “To become” and indicating the Idiomatic meaning. The same is expressed in Telugu by using the noun ‘mukkulu’ “Piece” with the particle ‘-aaga’ and indicating the idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

tuNDU tuNDaakiRuveen jaakiratai  
“Be careful I’ll spoil your life”

Ex. From Telugu

Mukkulu mukulugaa koosthaanu/ceesthanu  
“Be careful I’ll spoil your life”

## **Adjectival Meaning**

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

The following nouns are reduplicated in the sentences and give the Adjectival meaning and function as an Adjective.

ii) The Portative Nouns ‘kulai’/ ‘kottu’/ ‘caram’ / ‘caTai’ “Wreath of a flower” are reduplicated in the sentences in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ “To become” and indicated the Adjectival meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Kulaikulaiyaakap puutta senkaandal puu  
“The red species of Malabar lily blooms as bunches”  
Avan tooTTattil muntiri kottu kottaakak kaayttiruntai  
“In his garden the graphs are in bunches”

In Telugu the above sentences are expressed in the following way.

thooTTaloo puulu kutthlukutthulugaa puucaayii; mucirikaayalu kutthulu  
kutthulugaa kaaseeyii.

ii) The Measuremental Noun ‘paTi’ “Measurement” is in combination with the particle ‘-aaka’ reduplicates and indicates the Adjectival meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan vaazhkkaiyil paTippaTiyaaka munneRinaan  
“He gradually develops in his life”

The same thing is expressed in the following way in Telugu.

Ex. From Telugu

WaaDini laifloo/ jiividhamloo meTTu meTTugaa payakiceeDu  
“He gradually develops in his life”

iii) The Demonstrative Noun ‘vidham’ “Kind” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ repeatedly coming and gives the Adjectival meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avanukku ovvaru paTattileeyum vidhavidhamaana keeracter

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

“In each and every film his role is a different one”

The same is expressed in Telugu as

“okkaokka cinimaaloo okkaokka veeruveeru veesalu veesaaDu”

iv) The Neuter Noun ‘kuTTi’ “Small” ‘kuDam’ “Small pot” are reduplicating and indicating the adjectival meaning. In the above two the noun ‘kuDam’ is coming with the particle ‘aaka’ in the sentence.

Ex. From Tamil

Avaiyellam kuTTikkuTTi kataikaL  
“Those are very small stories”

In Telugu this type of construction is not possible.

kaDavulukku kuDamkuDamaakat taNNiir uuRRinaarkaL  
“People are pouring pot full of water to the God”

In Telugu this type of construction is

“kaDuvulu kaDuvulugaa niilu poostaaru”

v) The noun ‘taarai’ is repeatedly coming and give the adjectival meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avar kaankaLiruntu taarai taaraiyaakak kaNNiir vaTindadhu  
“He wept like anything”

In Telugu the same is expressed in the following way

waaDu kaLLununci taara taaragaa kaNNiilu kaarceeDu  
“He wept like anything”

vi) The Quality Noun ‘vaNNam’ “Color” is reduplicated and indicated the adjectival meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

vaNNa vaNNak kanavukaL “Colorful dreams”

### **Adverbial Meaning**

The following Nouns are reduplicating and giving the adverbial meaning and functions as an Adverb.

iii) The Adverbial Noun ‘veekam’ “Speed” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ in the sentences reduplicated and indicates the Adverbial meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan veeka veekamaaka ooTinaan “He ran very speedily”

This type of reduplication is not possible in Telugu. Instead of that onomatopoeia words are coming in that context.

iv) The Abstract Noun ‘aacai’ “Desire”, ‘koopam’ “Anger”, ‘azhukai’ “Weeping” etc are in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ in the sentences reduplicated and indicated the adverbial meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Aacaiacaiyaa irukku	“It is too desirable”
Koopamkoopamaa varutu	“I got too much angry”
Azhukaiazhukaiyaa varutu	“I felt too weepy”

This type of reduplication is not possible in Telugu. Instead of this they are using “kaNNiir muNNiirgaa eeDustundhi”; “aacai aacaigaa undi”.

iii) The Temporal Noun ‘talaimuRai’ “Tradition” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ in the sentences reduplicated and expressed the adverbial meaning. It conveys the continuity of the action.

Ex. From Tamil

talaimuRaitalaimuRaiyaakap pinpaRRapaTTu varukiRatu  
“It is followed by traditionally or generation to generation”

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Continuously”

In Telugu it is “param parangaa ostundi”

iv) The Noun ‘tuNDu’ “Piece” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ in sentences reduplicates and indicates the adverbial meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan pazhattai tuNDu tuNDaaka veTTinaan  
“He cuts the fruit in to pieces”

In Telugu it is “mukkalu mukkalugaa keeseDu”

v) The Portative Noun ‘pakkam’ “Page” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ in the sentences reduplicates and indicates the adverbial meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan pakkam pakkammaka ezhutittaLLinaan  
“He writes so many pages”

In Telugu it is either “peegilu peegilugaa or puTTulu puTTlugaa raaseeDu”. The Telugu people are using the –lu suffix.

VII) Regarding the Temporal Noun, when it reduplicates the meaning given by it is from the broad sense to the particular sense and the particular sense to the broad sense in Tamil. The Noun ‘kaalam’ “Time”/ “Season” reduplicates and indicates the meaning of sense from the broad sense to the particular sense.

Ex. From Tamil

Kaalaakaalattil tirumaNam naTakkanum  
“The marriage should taken place at a particular time”

The Noun ‘vidiyal’ “Dawn” reduplicates and indicates the meaning from the particular sense to the broad sense.

Ex. From Tamil

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Vidiya vidiyak kalyaaNam  
“The marriage is taken place over the whole night”

These two types are not available in Telugu.

VIII) Regarding the Numeral Noun the Countable Noun ‘kooDi’  
“Crore”, ‘laksham’ “Lakh”, ‘kaTTu’ “Bundle” are reduplicated and give the uncountable meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

kooDikooDiyaap paNam “Chores of Money”  
lakshalakshamaa paNam “Lakhs of money”  
kaTTukkaTTaap paNam “Bundles of money”

The Cardinal Numerical Noun ‘oNnu’ “One” is reduplicated and indicated the Emphatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

oNnu oNNuaak koTu “Give one by one”  
oNnu oNnu koTu “Give one to Each”

In Telugu it is “okaokaTTi ivvu”

The Ordinal Numerical Noun ‘oru’ “one” is reduplicated and indicated the meaning of wholeness.

E. g, From Tamil

Ovvoru maadamum “Each and every month”

The Noun ‘mudhal’ “First” is reduplicated and expressed the earlier meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Mudhanmudhalil idu toTankiyatu japaanil  
“At first it was started in Japan”

Like the Ordinal Numerals the Personal Pronouns like ‘avan’ “He”, ‘avaL’ “She” etc are reduplicated and give the meaning from single to the whole meaning and the vice versa in Tamil. In Telugu also it is reduplicated in the same manner.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan avanaa ceyvaan “Each and every one will do it”

VII) Regarding the Demonstrative noun ‘anta’ “That”, ‘inta’ “This” are reduplicated and give the specific meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Entaenta veelaiyai eppaappa ceyyanumoo anta anta veelaiyai  
appaappa ceyanum

“At what time what work is going to be done that time that  
work will be done in that particular time”

The same is expressed in Telugu as “ee ee paNilu eppuDu eppuDu ceyyaala”.

XI) Regarding the Interrogative Nouns when they are reduplicated give the plural meaning for the singular one and the vice versa. The nouns ‘yaar’ “Who”, ‘eppaDi’ “How”, and ‘enna’ “What” are reduplicated and indicated the plural meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Yaar yaaroo vantaanga “So many persons were coming here”

In Telugu it is “evaru evaroo occeesaru”

XII) The Abstract Noun and the Quality Nouns like ‘veyiloo veyil’ “Too hot” ‘tangamoo tangam’ “So many Gold” ‘paccaiyo paccai’ “Greenish” etc give the meaning of excessiveness in Tamil.

XIII) The Nouns which are used for pointing out the colors reduplicated and indicated the Emphatic meaning in Tamil and Telugu.

Ex. From Tamil

Paccai paceel enRa tooTTam “Greenish Garden”

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Ex. From Telugu

tooTTa pacca paccagaa undi “Greenish garden”

### **Conclusion**

1. To conclude, nouns of above-said kinds are reduplicated and they express the following meanings in Tamil: addressive, caution, and draws the attention of the people, Emphatic, Irritation, Ironical, Emotional, Sympathetic, Emphasis, Compulsive, Continuity, Idiomatic, Adjectival, Adverbial, Broad sense to particular sense, particular sense to broad sense, Countless, Wholeness, Specificity, plurality, Excessiveness, Excitement, Enjoyment and over happiness.

2. In Telugu some nouns do not reduplicate.

## Noun Reduplication in Tamil and Kannada

### The Focus of This Chapter

Tamil and Kannada belong to the same language group, the Dravidian family. Both languages are treated as sister languages. The present chapter highlights the Noun reduplication in Tamil and Kannada.

### Noun Reduplication

Noun, which is an important item of the parts of speech, reduplicates and gives different meanings, both in Tamil and Kannada.

#### I. Common Nouns Reduplicated and the Meanings Indicated by Them:

- i) All the kinship terms of Nouns are reduplicated and give the addressive meaning. E.g. ‘appa’ in Tamil and ‘appa’ in Kannada are the kinship terms which mean “Father” in both the languages. When it reduplicates as appaa... appaa... in Tamil and appaa... appaa... in Kannada it expresses the meaning addressive. Like this the Proper Names are reduplicated and indicated the meaning “addressive”.
- ii) The nouns like ‘paampu’ which means “snake” in Tamil (Ta.) and ‘haavu’ in (Ka.) reduplicates and give the meaning of caution.

E.g. From Tamil

paampuu... paampuu... “Oh! Snake Snake”.

E.g. From Kannada

haavu... haavu... “Oh! Snake Snake”

Like this, the nouns ‘tiruTan’ “Thief”, ‘pooliisu’ “Police”, ‘buudham,’ etc., are reduplicated and give the meaning caution.

iii) The Commercial nouns like ‘kattarikkaay’ in (Ta.) ‘badanekaay’ in (Ka.) means “Brinjal” ‘veNdaikkay’ in (Ta.) ‘benDakaay’ in (Ka.) means “Ladies finger,” etc., are reduplicated and draw the attention of the people.

E.g. From Tamil

Kattirikaa... kattirikkaa... “Brinjal”

E.g. From Kannada

Badanekaay... badanekaay... “Brinjal”

- iv) Both in Tamil and Kannada the names of the places are reduplicated and give the Emphatic meaning. That is, to point out a particular place oo the bus, importance of that particular place.

E.g. From Tamil

Madhuree... madhuree... “The place Madurai”

E.g. From Kannada

BengaLuur... BengaLuur... “The place Bangalore”

- v) The verbal nouns like ‘veelai’ in (Ta.) ‘kelsa’ in (Ka.) means “Work” ‘kasTam’ in (Ta.) ‘kasTaa’ in (Ka.) means “Difficulties,” etc., are reduplicated and express the meaning of irritation.

E.g. From Tamil

Veelai veelai oree veelai “Work, work always work.”  
kasTam kasTam eppa paaru kasTam “Difficulty, difficulty  
always difficulty”

E.g. From Kannada

Kelsa... kelsa... baari kelsa “Work, work always work.”  
kasTaa... kasTaa baari kasTaa “Difficulty, difficulty

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

always difficulty”

- vi) The nouns like ‘vaattu’ which means “Swan”/”Duck”, ‘kazhutai’ which means “Donkey”, ‘kuNTu’ which means “Fatty”, ‘payttiyam’ which means “Mad Man/Lady,” etc are reduplicated and give the ironical meaning. These types of nouns are not reduplicated in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Vaattu... vaattu... “Swan oh! Swan”  
Kazhutai... kazhutai “Donkey oh! Donkey”  
Payttiyam... payttiyam “Mad oh! Mad”  
kuNTu... kuNTu “Fatty oh! Fatty”

- vii) Both Tamil and Kannada, the Interrogative nouns like ‘yaar’ “Who” ‘enku’ “Where” ‘eppa’ “When” ‘enna’ “What” etc are repeatedly coming and give the meaning of emotion.

E.g. From Tamil

Yaaru... yaaru... “Who? Who?”  
Enkee... enkee... “Where? Where?”  
Eppa... eppa... “When? When?”  
Enna... enna... “What? What?”

E.g. From Kannada

Yaar... yaar... “Who? Who?”  
Yaavaaga... yaavaaga... “When? When?”

- viii) Both in Tamil and Kannada, the names of the Gods raamaa, kaNNaa, sivaa, etc and the kinship nouns amma, appa are reduplicated and give the meanings of emotion and relieving of burdens. The other kinds of kinship terms are not reduplicated in both the languages.

E.g. From Tamil

Siva... sivaa... “Oh! God Siva”  
Raama... raamaa “Oh! God Ram”

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Appappaa.... “I cannot express it”  
Ammammaa... “I cannot express”

E.g. From Kannada

Shiva... shiva “Oh! God Siva”  
Raama... raamaa “Oh! God Ram”  
Appappaa.... “I cannot express it”  
Ammammaa... “I cannot express”

- ix) Both in Tamil and Kannada, the exclamatory noun ‘ayyoo’ “alas” reduplicates and gives the sympathetic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Ayyoo... ayyoo... “Oh! What a pity”

E.g. From Kannada

Ayyoo... ayyoo... “Oh! What a pity”

- x) The Common Nouns like ‘kizham’ in (Ta.) ‘muduka’ in (Ka.) which means “Old People” ‘karmam’ which means “fruits of deeds” ‘saniyan’ which means “Troublesome person” etc., are reduplicated and give the meaning of irritation or expressing the hatefulness.

E.g. From Tamil

Kezham... kezham... “Old one old one”  
Saniyan... saniyan... “Trouble some one”  
Karmam... karmam... “Fruits of deeds”

E.g. From Kannada

Muduka... muduka... “Old one old one”

- xi) Sometimes individuals reduplicate some words of their choice to give the meaning of irritation. That irritation reveals some past time incidents or

events and make the hearer to become frightened by uttering the noun repeatedly. This type of construction is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

takaDu... takaDu... “Piece of iron”

- xii) Some kinds of nouns like ‘kanchi’ “Watery food” ‘kandal’ “rags, torn cloth” followed by the postposition ‘taan’ are reduplicated in (Ta.) and give idiomatic meaning. This type of construction is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Ini katai kandal... kandaltaan... “Your story (fate) is just like rags now!  
You are almost finished!”

Inimee nii kanchi... kanchitann “Your story (fate) is just like porridge  
now! You are almost finished!”

- xiii) The temporal Nouns like ‘aaNDu’/ ‘varusham’ in (Ta.) ‘varSa’ in (Ka.) means “Year” ‘dinam’ in (Ta.) ‘dinaa’ in (Ka.) K “Day” ‘nittam’ “Daily” etc., are reduplicated and give the meaning of continuity.

E.g. From Tamil

Varushaa...varusham “Each and every year”  
aaNDuaaNDui kaalamaa “Traditionally”  
nittam nittam “Daily”

E.g. From Kannada

VaruSa...varuSa “Each and every year”  
Dina... dinaa.. “Daily”

- xiv) Nouns like ‘paNam’ in (Ta.) ‘rakka’ in (Ka.), ‘niyaayam’ in (Ta.) and ‘nyaaya’ in Kannada are followed by postposition ‘-taan’ in (Ta.) and ‘-ne’ in Kannada and are reduplicated to give the meanings emphasis and compulsion.

E.g. From Tamil

paNam... paNamtaan... “Money only Money”  
niyaayam... niyaayamtann... “Justice only justice”

E.g. From Kannada

Rakka... rakkane... “Money only Money”  
Nyaaya... nyaayane... “Justice only justice”

- xv) The nouns that praise and greet like ‘vaazhka’ ‘vaLarka’ “praising” in (Ta.) are reduplicated and give the meaning of excitement. This type of reduplication is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Talaivar vaazhka... vaazhka... “Leader you live more days”

By the influence of this reduplication the English words like ‘jolly’, ‘happy’ etc., are reduplicated and reveal the meaning of great happiness, great enjoyment and over excitement. E.g. Hay jolly... jolly...

### **Idiomatic Meaning in Reduplication**

The following nouns are reduplicated in the sentences and give some idiomatic meaning.

- i) In Tamil the qualitative nouns like ‘paccai’ “Green” reduplicated with the particles ‘-aaka’ “To become” and give the idiomatic meaning. This is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan paccai paccaiyaakap peccinaan “He talked vulgarly.”

- ii) In Tamil the portative nouns (In Tamil it is called as cinaippeyar) like ‘kaadhu’ “Ear”, ‘kaN’ “Eye” etc., are reduplicated and give the idiomatic meaning. This is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

avaL tirumaNam kaadhuma kaadhuma vaittaaRpool naTantatu  
“Her marriage was happened very secretly.”

avaL kuzhandaiyai kaNNukku kaNNAaka vaLartaaL  
“She brought up the child very carefully.”

- iii) In Tamil the Inanimate Noun ‘vaazhai’ “Banana”/ “plantain” combined with the particles ‘aTi’ and ‘taan’ are reduplicated and these give some idiomatic meaning. This type of construction is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan kuTumbam vaazhaiyaDi vaazhaiyaaka tazhaittatu  
“His family prosperous likes anything.”

- iv) In Tamil the mass noun ‘puyal’ “Storm” and the non-human noun ‘ciTTu’ “Sparrow” are reduplicated and give some idiomatic meaning. This is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan puyal puyalaakap puRappaTTaaL  
“She started like a storm.”

avaL ciTTu ciTTaakap paRantaasL  
“She has done her work very fast, like a sparrow”

- v) The Abstract Noun ‘alai’ in (Ta.) ‘ale’ in (Ka.) means “Wave” and is reduplicated to give some idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Karunaanidhiyaip paarkka makkaL kuuTTaam alai alaiyaaka  
Vandadu.  
“To see Karunanidhi, the people came like waves.”

E.g. From Kannada

Ale aleyante bandaru “People came like waves.”

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

- vi) In Tamil the Noun ‘kuuzh’ “Semi-Liquid food” is reduplicated to express some idiomatic meaning. The same thing is expressed by ‘cuur’ which means “piece” in Kannada to express some idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Kuzhandai kaaril aTipaTTu kuuzh kuuzh aakiyadu  
“The child became like semi-liquid in the accident. (The condition of the body of the child was like semi-liquid food.”

E.g. From Kannada

Cuure cuuraagi nooyitu “It became pieces.”

- vii) In Tamil, the Temporal Noun ‘vidiyal’ “Dawn” is reduplicated to express the idiomatic meaning. This type of construction is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan vidiya vidiyak kaN muzhittup paTittaan  
“He woke-up the whole night and study”

- viii) In Tamil the Material Noun ‘muttu’ “Pearl” ‘maNi’ “Bell” are in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ reduplicated and it indicates the idiomatic meaning. In Kannada ‘muddu’ means “Fresh” is reduplicated and indicates the idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

kaNNan muttu muttaakak kaNNiir vaDittaan  
“KaNNan weeps like anything”  
Kuzhandai maNi maNiyaakap peeciyatu  
“The Child is talking very clearly”

E.g. From Kannada

Mogu muddu muddaagidee “Child is so cute”

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

- ix) In Tamil the Noun ‘aTukka’ “Portion” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ reduplicated and it indicates the idiomatic meaning. In Kannada the noun ‘matte’ means “again” is reduplicated and it indicates the idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan aTukkaTukkaaka poy connaan  
“He tells lies continuously”

E.g. From Kannada

Matte matteheNuu mattaLige janma kaTTaLu  
“Who has the birth of female child continuously”

- x) In Tamil the Noun ‘maNi’ means “bell” which in combination with the particle ‘-aaka’ is reduplicated and it indicates the idiomatic meaning. This type is not found in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan kuzhantai maNimaNiyaaKap peeciyadu  
“His child speaks very clearly”

- xi) The Interrogative Noun ‘enna’ in (Ta.) ‘eenu’ in (Ka.) means “What’ is reduplicated and they convey the idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan varuvataRkkuL ennaennavoomellaam naTantuviTtatu  
“Before his arrival so many things happened”

E.g. From Kannada

Eeneena kelsa maaDide “What all works you did?”

- xii) In Tamil the Natural Noun ‘malai’ “Mountain” is reduplicated and it expresses the idiomatic meaning. This type is not found in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Avanukku selvam malaimalaiyaak kuvintatu  
“The wealth is coming like anything to him”

- xiii) The Noun ‘vaazh’ “Fame” is reduplicated and it indicates the idiomatic meaning. This type is not found in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Vaazh vaazhinnu kattaatee  
“Don’t shout like anything”

- xiv) Both in Tamil and Kannada the noun ‘tuNDu’ “piece” is reduplicated and it indicates the idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

tuNDU tuNDaakiRuveen jaakiratai  
“Be careful I’ll spoil your life”

E.g. From Kannada

tuNDu tuNDaagi kattarisida “He cuts like anything”

### Adjectival Meaning

The following nouns are reduplicated in the sentence and they give the adjectival meaning and function as an adjective.

- i) In Tamil the portative nouns ‘kulai’/ ‘kottu’/ ‘caram’ / ‘caTai’ “Wreath of a flower” are reduplicated in a sentence in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ “To become” and indicate the adjectival meaning. In Kannada the noun ‘hosa’ means “Fresh” is reduplicated in the sentences in combination with the particle ‘-aagi’ and indicates the adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Kulaikulaiyaakap puutta senkaandal puu  
“The red species of Malabar lily blooms as bunches”  
Avan tooTTattil muntiri kottu kottaakak kaayttiruntau

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

“In his garden the graphs are in bunches”

E.g. From Kannada

Hosa hosadaagi ivee “They are very fresh”

- ii) In Tamil the Measurement Noun ‘paTi’ “Measurement” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ is reduplicated and indicates the adjectival meaning. In Kannada the Numerical Noun ‘ondu’ which means “One” is reduplicated and indicates the adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan vaazhkkaiyil paTippaTiyaaka munneRinaan  
“He gradually develops in his life”

E.g. From Kannada

Ondondaagi daTioda “He closed one by one”

- iii) The Demonstrative Noun ‘vidham’ in (Ta.) ‘vidha’ in kannada means “Kind” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ in (Ta.) ‘-aagi’ in (Ka.) repeatedly coming and giving the adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avanukku ovvaru paTattileeyum vidhavidhamaana keeracter  
“In each and every film his role is a different one”

E.g. From Kannada

Vidha vidhaagiruvudu “In each and every film his role is a  
different one”

- iv) The Neuter Noun ‘kuTTi’ in (Ta.) ‘saNNa’ in Kannada means “Small” and ‘kuDam’ in Tamil ‘koDa’ in Kannada means “Small pot” are reduplicated and indicate the adjectival meaning. In the above two the nouns ‘kuDam’ occurs with the particle ‘-aaka’ in the sentence.

E.g. From Tamil

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Avaiyellam kuTTikkuTTi kataikaL  
“Those are very small stories”  
kaDavulukku kuDamkuDamaakat taNNiir uuRRinaarkaL  
“People are pouring pots of water to God”

E.g. From Kannada

saNNa saNNa kategaLu      “Those are very small stories”  
koDa koDa niiru suridaru      “People pour pots of  
water to God”

- v) The Noun ‘taarai’ in (Ta.) ‘dhaare’ in Kannada means “continuous.” It is in combination with the particle ‘-aaka’ in Tamil ‘-aagi’ in (Ka.) and give the adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avav kaNkaliruntu taarai taaraiyaakak kaNNir vantatu  
“He wept like anything”

E.g. From Kannada

Dhaare dhaareyaagi harigitu      “He wept like anything”

- vi) The Quality Noun ‘vaNNam’ in (Ta.) ‘baNNa’ in (Ka.) means “Color” is reduplicated and it indicates the adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

vaNNa vaNNak kanavukaL      “Colorful dreams”

E.g. From Kannada

baNNa baNNavaagi kanasu gaadivee      “Colourful dreams”

### **Adverbial Meaning**

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

The following Nouns are reduplicated and they give the adverbial meaning and function as an adverb.

- i) The Adverbial Noun 'veekam' in (Ta.) 'veega' in (Ka.) means "Speed" is in combination with the particle '-aaka' in (Ta.) '-aagi' in Kannada in the sentences are reduplicated and indicate the adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan veeka veekamaaka ooTinaan "He ran very speedily"

E.g. From Kannada

Veega veegavaagi oDida "Ran very fast"

- ii) In Tamil the Abstract Noun 'aacai' "Desire", 'koopam' "Anger", 'azhukai' "Weeping" etc., are in combination with the particle 'aaka' in the sentences and are reduplicated. They indicate the adverbial meaning. In Kannada the Abstract Noun 'siTTu' means "anger." It is in combination with the particle '-aagi' in the sentences when reduplicated and they indicate the adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Aaciaacaiyaa irukku "It is too desirable"  
Koopamkoopamaa varutu "I got too much angry"  
Azhukaiazhukaiyaa varutu "I felt too weepy"

E.g. From Kannada

siTTu siTTaagi noda "He gave with anger"

- iii) In Tamil the Temporal Noun 'talaimuRai' "Tradition" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' in the sentences reduplicated and these express the adverbial meaning. It conveys the continuity of the action. Instead of this Kannada language speakers use 'talemaarininda bandidee'.

E.g. From Tamil

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

talaimuRaitalaimuRaiyaakap pinpaRRapaTTu varukiRatu  
“It is followed by traditionally from generation to generation  
Continuously.”

- iv) In Tamil the Noun ‘tuNDu’ “Piece” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ in sentences that are reduplicated and these indicate the adverbial meaning. Like this in Kannada the Noun ‘tuNDu’ means “piece.” It is in combination with the particle “-aagi” in sentences and gives the adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan pazhattai tuNDu tuNDaaka veTTinaan  
“He cuts the fruit in to pieces”

E.g. From Kannada

tuNDu tuNDaagi kattarisida “He cuts into pieces”

- v) Both in Tamil and Kannada the portative Noun ‘pakkam’ in (Ta.) ‘pakka’ in (Ka.) which means “Page” is in combination with the particle ‘aaka’ in (Ta.). These are reduplicated in sentences and indicate the adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan pakkam pakkammaka ezhutittaLLinaan  
“He writes so many pages”

E.g. From Kannada

Pakka pakkadalli bareda “He wrote so many pages”

- IV) Regarding the Temporal Noun, when it reduplicates the meaning given by it is from the broad sense to the particular sense and the particular sense to the broad sense in Tamil. The Noun ‘kaalam’ “Time”/ “Season” reduplicates and indicates the meaning of sense from the broad sense to the particular sense. But in Kannada the Temporal Noun ‘kaalam’ which means “Time” reduplicates and gives the meaning continuous.

E.g. From Tamil

Kaalaakaalattil tirumaNam naTakkanum  
“The marriage should taken place at a particular time”

E.g. From Kannada

Kaala kaaladivda bandide “It has come from age”

In Tamil, the Noun ‘vidiyal’ “Dawn” reduplicates and indicates the meaning from the particular sense to the broad sense. This type of construction is not found in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Vidiya vidiyak kalyaaNam  
“The marriage is taken place over the whole night”

- V) Both in Tamil and Kannada, regarding the Numeral Noun, the Countable Noun ‘kooDi’ “Crore”, ‘laksham’ “Lakh”, ‘kaTTu’ “Bundle” are reduplicated and give the uncountable meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

kooDikooDiyaap paNam “Crores of Money”  
lakshalakshamaa paNam “Lakhs of money”  
kaTTukkaTTaap paNam “Bundles of money”

E.g. From Kannada

kooTi kooTi janariddaru “Crores of People are there”  
laksha laksha janariddaru “lakhs of people are there”

The Cardinal Numerical Noun ‘oNnu’ in (Ta.) ‘ondu’ in (Ka.) which means “One” is reduplicated and indicate the emphatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

oNnu oNNuaak koTu “Give one by one”

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

E.g. From Kannada

Ondondagi koDi “Give one by one”

The ordinal Numerical Noun ‘oru’ in (Ta.) ‘obbu’ in (Ka.) means “one” is reduplicated and indicates the meaning of wholeness.

E. g, From Tamil

Ovvaru maadamum “Each and every month”

E.g. From Kannada

Obbobbaru “Each and every person”

The Noun ‘mudhal’ “First” is reduplicated and expresses the earlier/first occurrence meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Mudhanmudhalil idu toTankiyatu japaanil  
“At first it was started in Japan”

E.g. From Kannada

moTTa modalaaki idu piraaramba koTTidu jappaanalli  
“At first it was started in Japan”

Like the Ordinal Numerals the Personal Pronouns like ‘avan’ “He”, ‘avaL’ “She” etc., are reduplicated and give the single to whole meaning and the vice versa in Tamil. This type of construction is not reduplicated in ‘avan’ and ‘avaL’ in Kannada but it is possible with the honorific and the Plural Noun ‘avar’ “He”.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan avanaa ceyvaan “Each and every one will do it”

E.g. From Kannada

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Avaravaraagi maaDu ballaru “Each and every one will do this”

- VII) In Tamil, regarding the Demonstrative noun ‘anta’ “That”, ‘inta’ “This” are reduplicated and give the specific meaning. In Kannada the Demonstrative Noun ‘yaavu’ means “What” is reduplicated and indicates the meaning of specific.

E.g. From Tamil

Entaenta veelaiyai eppaappa ceeyanumoo anta anta veelaiyai  
appaappa ceyanum  
“At what time what work is going to be done, that time that  
work will be done in that particular time”

E.g. From Kannada

Yaavu yaavu samayadalli “At what time”

- VIII) In Tamil, the interrogative nouns are reduplicated and give the plural meaning for the singular one and vice versa. The nouns ‘yaar’ “Who”, ‘eppaDi’ “How”, and ‘enna’ “What” are reduplicated and indicate the plural meaning. The same thing happens in Kannada also. The Interrogative Noun ‘yaar’ means “Who”, is reduplicated and it gives the meaning of plurality.

E.g. From Tamil

Yaar yaaroo vantaanga “So many persons were come here”

E.g. From Kannada

Yaar yaar bandiddaaree “So many persons were come here”

- IX) The Abstract Noun and the Quality Nouns like ‘veyiloo veyil’ “So hot” ‘tangamoo tangam’ “So much gold” ‘paccaiyo paccai’ “Greenish” etc are reduplicated and give the excessive meaning in Tamil. Like this in Kannada the Abstract Nouns like ‘hasi’ which means “wet” ‘kempu’ which means “reddish” ‘bangaravee bangara’ which means “Good Gold”

'aloode aloodu' "Too much cry" etc., are reduplicated and indicate the excessive meaning.

- X) The Nouns which are used for pointing out the colors reduplicated and indicated the emphatic meaning in Tamil and Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Paccapaceel enRa tooTTam "Greenish Garden"

E.g. From Kannada

Kempu kempaagidee "It is reddish"

### Conclusion

- i) Both in Tamil and Kannada Nouns are reduplicated and the process indicates the following meanings: addressive, caution, draws the attention of the people, meanings of irritation, emphasis, unbearable, emotional, hatefulness, and idiomatic adjectival and adverbial.
- ii) Some Nouns are reduplicated in Tamil which indicate idiomatic meanings, which is not possible in Kannada. In several cases, this holds true not only for the idiomatic meanings but also for some other types of meanings.
- iii) Some Nouns are reduplicated both in Tamil and Kannada but the constructions of these may be different.
- iv) Eventhough both the languages belong to the same language group within the same family, they maintaining different structures in reduplication in several contexts.

## Verb Reduplication in Tamil

An attempt is made in this chapter to study the reduplicated verb from the point of view of occurrence in the language, its function and semantic interpretation. Both the kinds of verbs, finite as well as the non-verbs are reduplicated in Tamil.

Verbs occur as predicates in the rightmost position of a clause. Thomas Lehman in his *A grammar of Modern Tamil* divides the Tamil verb forms into finite and non-finite and nominalized verb forms. Again he divides the finite verbs into imperative, indicative and optative and the non-finite verb forms into infinitive, verbal participle, conditional and adjectival participle.

Modern Tamil distinguishes between singular and plural imperative forms. These are further distinguished into positive and negative forms. One of the imperative forms is also overtly marked for the category of person, that is, for second person.

### Singular Imperative Positive (+Ive)

The positive singular imperative form is identical with the verb stem and thus devoid of any marker. These verbs are reduplicated and give the following meanings: Emphatic, repetition, entertainment, irritation, cordiality etc.

Exx.

cey cey	‘do’	Emphatic
paNNu paNNu	‘do’	Repetition
paaru paaru	‘see’	Entertainment
poo poo	‘go’	Irritation
vaa vaa	‘come’	Cordiality

The imperative and second person morphemes are not overtly expressed and are realized by a zero morph each.

### Singular Imperative Negative (-ive)

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

The negative singular Imperative form consists of the verb stem to which the negative allomorph -aat- is suffixed followed by the euphonic suffix –ee- . These types of verbs are reduplicated and give the following meanings: command, request, and caution.

Exx.

pookaatee pookaatee	‘Don’t go’	Command
ceyyaatee ceyyaatee	‘Don’t do’	Request
varaatee varaatee	‘Don’t come’	Caution

Like this the plural structures of the imperative also reduplicated and give the above said meanings.

### Indicative Verb Forms

Tamil has both positive and negative indicative verb forms. Positive indicative verb forms are marked for the category of tense, person, number and gender + status. Negative indicative verb forms are however, not marked in the same way for these categories as the positive indicative forms are. There is one to one correspondence between positive and negative indicative forms. These types of verb forms are reduplicated and give the confirmative meaning.

Ist person sing.	Vanteen vanteen	‘I came’	Surety or confirmative
	Vareen vareen	‘I am coming’	Surety
	Varuveen varuveen	‘I will come’	Surety
Ist person plu.	Vantee vantee	‘You came’	
	Varee varee	‘You come’	
	Varuveen varuveen	‘I will come’	Surety
IInd person pl	Vantee vantee	‘You came’	
	Varee varee	‘You are coming’	Compulsion
	Varuvee varuvee	‘you must come’	Surety

Like this the plural form of the verbs also reduplicated and the future form of the IInd person verbs are reduplicated and give the confirmative as well as the challenging meanings.

IIIrd person sing.

avan vantaan vantaan 'He came' Confirmative

avan varaan varaan 'He is coming' Confirmative

avan varuvaan varuvaan 'He will come' Confirmative

IIIrd person plu.

avunka vantaanka vantaanka 'They came' Confirmative

avanuka varaanka varaanka 'They are coming'  
Confirmative

avanukha varuvaanka varuvaanka 'They will come'  
Confirmative

All the three persons both sing. And plural the verb forms are reduplicated and give the confirmative meanings.

### **Negative Indicative Verb Forms**

Negative indicative verb forms are not marked for the category of tense. The verb stem combines only with the negative morpheme and the three morphemes of person, number and gender. In old Tamil the negative morpheme is realized by a zero morph or by the negative allomorph –aa- depending on the following person, number and gender morphemes. Only with the third person singular and plural neuter morpheme is the negative morpheme overtly expressed by the allomorph –aa-. In the case of occurrence with all other person, number and gender morphemes, the negative morpheme is not overtly expressed.

In modern Tamil, the form inflected for third person singular number and neuter gender viTaathu. This form is interpreted as referring to future time or expressing habitually. These types of verbs are reduplicated and give the meaning 'surety'

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Ex.

viTaatu viTaatu

‘It will not leave’ SURETY

Tamil uses two defective auxiliary verb maaTTu- will and ‘il’ - ‘be not’ both of which follow a lexical main verb inflected for infinitive. The construction like viTamaaTTan viTamaaTTan expresses the future negativity meaning ‘surety’.

To express the past and present negativity, the auxiliary verb ‘il’ ‘be not’ is used. This defective verb occurs in a finite form unmarked for tense and marked with the person – number – gender suffix ‘ai’. The verb constructions reduplicated and give the meaning confirmation and surety.

Ex.

viTavillai viTavillai – viTalee viTalee (in spoken) ‘I don’t leave’.

The three verbs ‘veeNTu’ “To need” ‘pooTu’ “To place” and ‘taku’ “To be opt” have the infinitive form ‘veeNTa’ ‘pooTa’ and ‘taka’ combined or the co occurrence with the emphatic clitic – ee – is a reduplicated construction with the negative form of the respective verb.

Ex.

veeNTavee veeNTaam – ‘Don’t need’ (Complete Objection).

### Optative

The optative is formed by the addition of the optative suffix – ka (allomorph – kka) to the verb stem. These types of verbs are reduplicated and give the appraisal meaning.

Exx.

vazhka vazhka  
ozika ozhika

“You may live”  
“Down down”

## Non - Finite Verb Forms

Tamil distinguishes between four types of non finite verb forms i) infinitive, ii) verbal participle iii) conditional iv) adjective participle. The entire above verb forms except the infinitive have both positive and negative forms. Adjectival participle distinguishes tense. All the other non-finite verb forms are tenseless. Each of the verb suffixes, which is either added to the verb stem (when the form is tense less) or to the tense suffix in the case of negative forms.

### Infinitive

The infinitive verb is formed by the affixation of the infinitive suffix –a- to the verb stem. The infinitive form occurs mainly in compound verb constructions and in complex sentence constructions, there also a few cases where the predicate of a simple clause, also it occurs as predicate of a simple interrogative clause with a first person subject NP.

These types of infinitive verb forms are reduplicated and give the following meanings:

- i) Intensity
- ii) Repetition
- iii) Continuity of action
- iv) Adjectival meaning
- v) Resultive
- vi) More
- vii) Negligence meaning
- viii) Graduality and
- ix) Adverbial meaning.

- |      |   |              |
|------|---|--------------|
| i)   | TooNDat tooNDth thaNNiir vantathu<br>“Continuously digging the water comes out” | (Intensity)  |
| ii)  | ceyyacceyyap pazhakkam varum<br>“Do it again and again you will get practiced”  | (Repetition) |
| iii) | pazhakap pazhakap paazhum puLikkum<br>“In due course even the milk became sour” | (Graduality) |
| iv)  | pazhakhap pazhakha varum icai   |              |

- “By practice the music will come rhythmically” (Continuity)
- v) ooDa ooDa viraTTinaan  
“He chased him even though he is running” (Resultive)
- vi) keeTkka keeTkka avan koTukkavillai  
“Even though he is asking two or three times he is not giving” (More)
- vii) peecap peeca peecaamalee iruntaan  
“Even though we talk he kept quite” (Negligence meaning)
- viii) kuniyak kuniyak kuTTinaan  
“Even though he is bending he beat him” (Adverbial meaning)
- ix) avan peecap peeca aluppuThaTTiyathu  
“Repeatedly speaking makes tiredness” (Adjectival meaning)

Annamalai (1980:162) and Paramasivam (1983:265) note that an infinitive clause with adverbial function can have various semantic interpretations such as i) purpose ii) cause iii) time and iv) result. Of the four types of infinitive adverbial clauses except purpose infinitive clauses can be reduplicated to express intensity, repetition or continuity of an action. In the case of causal and temporal infinitive clauses there is often ambiguity between a causal and temporal interpretation.

Ex.

kaalam chella chella athu maariviTTatu

“Latter and later that has been changed”

### Verbal Participle

The verbal participle is the second tense less non finite verb form. It has both a positive and a negative form. The positive verbal participle is formed by the affixation of the verbal participle suffix to the verb stem. The verbal participle suffix is homophonous with the various past tense allomorphs. The past tense allomorphs have been given above as – t -, - nt -, - in -, - i – and – tt. This kind of verbal participle forms are reduplicated and give the following meanings: i) intensity ii) cause iii) continuity iv) Resultive v) Habitually vi) Idiomatic vii) Discontinuous viii) Adverbial meaning.

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

- i) paarthu paarthuc ceytaan  
“He is doing that work very calculative” (Intensity)
- ii) peecip peeci toNDai varandatu  
“Throat became dry by repeatedly talking” (causative)
- iii) azhuthu azhuthu kaN civanthatu  
“By continuous crying the eyes became reddish” (Resultive)
- iv) vizhuntu vizhuntu upacarittaaan  
“He laughed too much” (idiomatic)
- v) paaTam naTatti naTatti pazhakkam aanathu  
“By taking class continuously it became habitual” (Habitual)
- vi) kaaRi kaaRit tuppinaan  
“He spits continuously” (Adjectival function)
- vii) mazhai viTTu viTTup peeyintatu  
“The rain rains discontinuously” (Discontinuously)
- viii) turuvit turuvit aaraayntaan  
“He searched it very keenly” (Continuity)
- ix) koTutu koTutu civantakai  
“He gives too much because of that he got fame” (Adjectival function)

### Negative Verbal Participle

Negative verbal participle gives the following meaning.

- i) collic colli alutthu poccu  
“Again and again telling gets bored” (Adverbial function)
- ii) cenju cenjum oru pirayojanam illai  
“There is no use of repeatedly doing” (Adjectival function)
- iii) paTiccu paTiccu colliyum nii keeTkavillai

“Repeatedly telling you are not listening” (Idiomatically)

### Miscellaneous Types

- i) uri urinnu uriccan “He compelled me like anything”  
(Idiomatic expression)
- ii) colic colvatarkku mun “About to tell”  
(Idiomatic expression)
- iii) cenjaalum ceyvaan “He may do”  
(Imminence), (Probability)
- iv) avan viTTuviTTaan “He leave away” (Auxiliary)
- v) avan peecuvaan peecuvaan “He will do”  
(Inability)

When the reduplicated verb form occurs with the modal auxiliary form –aam the modality of probability and possibility is likewise expressed. However in comparison with the reduplicated verb form inflected for future tense a lesser degree of possibility or probability is implied.

Ex.

kumaar vantaalum varalaam “Kumar may come or may not”

The predicate of a simple clause can consists of the conditional form of the verb+clitic+um and a reduplicated form of the respective verb, which is inflected either for past or future tense or followed by the modal auxiliary form –aam. When the reduplicated verb form is inflected for past tense the speaker expresses that the action of the following sentence which is semantically related to the action of the preceding sentence. E.g. by being a consequence is not approved by him.

Ex.

kumar oru puthu caTTai vaankinaalum vaankinaan  
“Kumar has bought a new shirt but now he is  
wearing the same shirt daily”

When the reduplicated verb form is inflected for future tense the modality of probability and possibility is expressed.

Ex.

kumar inkee vantaalum varuvaan “Kumar may come here”

## Conclusion

The outline picture of verb reduplication in Tamil:

- i) Imperative verbs both positive and negative are reduplicated and these give various meanings.
- ii) Indicative verbs (only the positive forms) are reduplicated. In the negative indicative verb forms only the Ird person singular and plural neuter are reduplicated.
- iii) In optative verb construction, both the positive and negative forms are reduplicated and give the related meanings.
- iv) Regarding the infinitive, the positive structure gives the positive and the negative meaning.

## Practical Implication

It is very clear from the description above that noun and verb reduplications are complex even though they appear to use simple devices. It is also clear from the descriptions I’ve provided that writing a school grammar or applying grammar for various purposes of writing using grammatical rules that are appropriate is not an easy task. We need to investigate the nuances of grammar, identify the most relevant and apply using these nuances in our speech and written communications.

At present, both grammar books and exercises that are presented in Tamil textbooks focus more on identification and memorization of grammar rules, not their application in creative ways. True, the lessons as well as grammar books do give illustrative examples. These are inadequate and focus on a limited number of possibilities, not selected and graded. This situation should change, and we should integrate rules with creativity.

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

## Verb Reduplication in Tamil and Telugu

### Focus of This Chapter

This chapter highlights the verb reduplication processes in Tamil and Telugu. This study of reduplicated structure in Tamil and Telugu reveals the fact that though reduplication is a general morphological feature of the language, some specific characteristics in individual languages can be drawn from the functional point of view and from the semantic point of view as well. An attempt is made in this chapter to study the reduplicated verb from the point of view of occurrence in individual languages, its function and semantic interpretation. Both the kinds of verbs, finite as well as the non-finite verbs, reduplicate in Tamil and Telugu which are related to tense, aspect and person.

### Tamil Verbs

Verbs occur as predicates in the rightmost position of a clause. Thomas Lehman in his *A Grammar of Modern Tamil* divides the verbs in Tamil into finite and non-finite and nominalized verb forms. He further divides the finite verbs into Imperative, Indicative and Optative, and the non-finite verb forms into Infinitive, Verbal Participle, Conditional and Adjectival Participle.

### Singular Imperative Positive Reduplication

In Tamil and Telugu, the positive Imperative form is identical with the verb stem or root and thus devoid of any marker. These verbs are reduplicated and give the meanings Emphatic, Repetition, Entertainment, Irritation, Cordiality etc. Examples from Tamil and Telugu Tamil Telugu cey cey cey cey “(You) do” Emphatic meaning paaru paaru cuuDu cuuDu “(You) see” Entertainment poo poo weLLu weLLu “(You) go” Irritation vaa vaa raa raa “(You) come” Cordiality kuTi kuTi taagu taagu “(You) drink” repetition The imperative and the second person morphemes are not overtly marked and are realized as zero morph.

### Singular Imperative Negative Reduplication

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

In Tamil, the negative singular Imperative form consists of the verb stem to which the negative allomorph –aat is suffixed followed by the euphonic suffix –ee. These types of verbs are reduplicated and give the meanings Command, Request and Caution.

But in Telugu the structure of the negative singular imperative form is verb+the negative form oddu and give the above mentioned meanings.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil Telugu Pookaatee pookaatee poo/weLLoddu poo/weLLoddu “Don’t go”  
Command

Ceyyaatee ceyyaatee ceyoddu ceyoddu “Don’t do.” Request

Varaatee varaatee raaoddu raaoddu “Don’t come.” Caution

Like this, the plural structures of the positive and the negative reduplication occur by adding the plural suffixes –inga and -iirkaL in Tamil. In Telugu, for both positive and negative, the plural suffix –aNDi is added with the above said examples. But the conveying meanings by them are the same.

Exx. from Tamil and Telugu

	Tamil	Telugu	
1 <sup>st</sup> person Sing.	Vanteen vanteen	occeenu occeenu	“I came” Surety or Conformation
	Vareen vareen	ostunnaanu ostunnaanu	“I am coming”
	Varuveen varuveen	ostaanu ostanu	“I will come”
2 <sup>nd</sup> person Sing.	Vantee vantee	occeevu occeevu	“You came” Surety or Conformation
	Varee varee	ostunnaavu ostunnaavu	“You are coming” Commanding
	Varuvee varuvee	ostaav ostaavu	“You’ll come” Sarcastic meaning
3 <sup>rd</sup> person sing.	avan vantaan vantaan	waaDu occeeDu occeeDu	“He came” Conformation
	varRaan varRaan	ostunnaaDu ostunnaaDu	“He is coming”

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Conformation  
Varuvaan varuvaan ostaatDu ostaatDu “He’ll come”  
Challenging or Conformation

Like this, the plural forms of the above verbs are reduplicated and give the confirmative meaning. But the future form of the Indicative verbs is reduplicated and gives either the confirmative meaning or the challenging meaning. All the three persons both singular and plural forms are reduplicated.

**Negative Indicative Reduplicated Verb Forms:**

Negative Indicative verb forms are not marked with Person, Number and Gender. (Here after PNG markers). The verb stem combines with the negative marker. In old Tamil the negative morpheme is realized by a zero morph or by the negative allomorph –aa depending upon the PNG morphemes. Only with the third person singular and the plural neuter morpheme, the negative morpheme is overtly marked by the allomorph –aa. In the case of occurrence with the all other person, number and gender morphemes, the negative morpheme is not overtly marked.

In Modern Tamil, the form inflected for third person singular number and neuter gender viTaatu. This form is interpreted as referring to future time or expressing the meaning “Habitual”. These types of verbs are reduplicated and give the meaning “Surety”.

Exx. From Tamil

viTaatu viTaatu “It will not leave (You)” Surety

Modern Tamil uses two defective auxiliary verbs ‘maaTTu’ “will not” and ‘il’ “be not”. These two auxiliary verbs come after the infinitive form of the main verb and convey the future negative meaning “Surety”. To express the past and the present negative meaning the auxiliary verb ‘il’ ‘is not’ is used. It is unmarked. These types of construction reduplicated and convey the meaning “Surety or Conformation”.

Exx. From Tamil

viTavillai viTavillai > viTalee viTalee (in spoken) “Not leaving”  
ceyyavillai ceyyavillai > ceyyalee ceyyalee “Not doing”

The infinitive forms of the verbs ‘veeNTu’ “Need” ‘pooTu’ “To place” and ‘taku’ “It is worth” are veeNTa pooTa and taka are in combination with the clitic –ee are reduplicated and give the meaning “Complete Objection”.

Exx. From Tamil

veeNTavee veeNTaam “I don’t need” Complete objection

But in Telugu the above said forms have PNG markers and they will not reduplicate.

### **Optative Reduplicated Verbs**

The optative form is framed by adding the optative marker –ka to the verb stems. These forms are reduplicated and give the meaning of “Appraisal”.

Ex. from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

Telugu

Vaazhka vaazhka zindaabaadh zindaabaadh “You may live”

### **Non-Finite Verb Forms**

Tamil and Telugu distinguish four types of non-finite verb forms i) infinitive ii) verbal participle iii) conditional and iv) adjective participle. All the forms have the negative forms.

#### **i) Infinitive**

The infinitive verb is formed by affixing the infinitive marker –a to the verb stem. The infinitive form occurs mainly in the compound verb and the complex verb constructions. There are also a few cases where the predicate of a simple clause also occurs as a predicate of a simple interrogative clause with a first person subject NP.

The infinitive verbs are reduplicated and give the following meanings: i) intensity ii) repetition iii) continuity of action iv) adjectival meaning v) resultive vi) more vii) negligence meaning viii) gradually and ix) adverbial meaning.

Exx. from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

tooNDat tooNDa niir varum

“Continuously digging the water will come out”

Intensity

muyyakka muyyakka roogam

“The disease will increase by continuous strain”

Intensity

The same meaning intensity is expressed by different forms in Tamil and Telugu.

Tamil

Telugu

ceyyac ceyyap pazhakkam varum ceyyagaa ceyyagaa tiruku tundi

“Do it again and again you will get practice” Repetition

The same types of reduplicated infinitive forms are expressed by different proverbs in Tamil and Telugu.

Ex. From Tamil and Telugu

pazhakap pazhakp paalum puLikkum (Tamil)

tinaga tinaga veeppaakku tiyagaa undu/undundi (Telugu)

“In due course even the milk become sour” Gradually

Tamil

Telugu

pazhakap pazhaka varum icai paadagaa paadagaa raagam ostadi

“By practising continuously the music will come rhythmically”

Continuity

Ex. From Tamil

ooDa ooDa viTaTTinaan

“He chased him even though the opposite party is running”

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

This type is not found in Telugu.

Ex. From Tamil

keeTka keeTka avan taravillai

“Even though he is asking again and again he is not giving” More

This type of reduplication is not possible in Telugu. This type of expression is expressed by the ordinary structure as ‘enta aDiginaa kuuTa ivva leedu/ivvatee’.

Ex. From Tamil

peecap peecap peecavee maaTTenkiRaan

“Though we talk again and again he is not answering”

Negligence meaning

Ex. From Telugu

ceppinaa ceppinaa kaani vinaleedu ceptu ceptuunnaam vina leedu

“Though we are telling again and again he is not hearing”

Negligence meaning

In the above examples of Tamil and Telugu, the Tamil verb ‘peecu’ “To talk” is substituted by the verb ‘ceppu’ “To tell.”

The infinitive reduplicated verb gives the idiomatic adverbial meaning in Tamil. But this type of reduplicated structure does not occur in Telugu. However, Telugu expresses this in the ordinary adverbial structure.

Ex. From Tamil

kunyak kunyak kuTTinaan

“Though he is bending enough again and again he is beating”

Adverbial meaning

Ex. From Telugu

Vininakoddii ceptaadu “Even though we are not hearing he’ll tell”

Adverbial meaning

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Tamil

Telugu

avar peecap peeca alupput taTTiyatu  
“His repeated speech makes tiredness”

vinakka vinakka visukku occindi  
Adjectival meaning

In the above example, the verb ‘peecu’ “To tell” in Tamil is substituted by the verb ‘vinu’ “To hear” in Telugu.

Annamalai (1980:162) and Paramasivam (1983:265) note that an infinitive clause with adverbial function can have various interpretations such as i) purpose ii) cause iii) time and iv) result. Of the four types of infinitive adverbial clauses all clauses except the purpose infinitive clause can be reduplicated to express intensity, repetition or continuity of an action. In the case of causal and temporal infinitive clauses, there is often ambiguity between a causal and temporal interpretation E.g. kaalam cellac cella adu maaRiviTum “When/became it becomes latter and latter that was changed”.

## ii) Verbal Participle

The verbal participle is the second tenseless nonfinite verb form. It has both a positive and a negative form. The positive verbal participle is formed by the affixation of the verbal participle suffix to the verb stem. The verbal participle is homophonous with the various past tense allomorphs. The past tense allomorphs are –t-, -nt-, -in-, -i- and –tt-. This kind of verbal participle are reduplicated and give the following meanings: i) intensity, ii) cause, iii) continuity, iv) resultive, v) habitual, vi) idiomatic, vii) discontinuous and viii) adverbial meaning.

Exx. from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

Telugu

Paarttu paarttu ceyteen  
“Do the thing very carefully”

cuusi cuusi ceesaanu

Intensity

Tamil

Telugu

peecip peecit toNDai vaRanDatu  
“By repeated talking the throat becomes dry”

Causative

Tamil

Telugu

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

azhutu azhutu kaN civantatu eeDisi eeDisi kaLLu erragaa baTindi  
“By the continuous crying the eyes become reddish” Resultive

Tamil

Telugu

vizhuntu vizhuntu upacarittaan ongi ongi seevai ceesaaDu  
“He invited in a grand manner” Idiomatic

paaTam naTatti naTatti pazhakkam aanadu (Tamil)  
paaTTam ceppi ceppi alavaadu aayindi (Telugu)  
“By talking the classes continuously it became habitual Habituality

Tamil

Telugu

kaaRi kaaRit tuppinaan kaaRi kaaRi uncinaaDu  
“He spits continuously” Adverb

Tamil

Telugu

mazhai viTTu viTTup peytatu vaana aagi aagi kuurcindi/paDinti  
“The rain rains discontinuously” Discontinuous

Tamil

Telugu

tuRuvut tuRuvi aaraayntaan tirugi tirugi/malli malli aDigeedu  
“He searches it very keenly” Continuity

koTuttu koTuttuc civanta kaikaL  
“He donated a lot because of that his hands become reddish”  
Adjectival function

### Negative Verbal Participle

The negative structure of the reduplicated verbal participle from conveys the adverbial and the adjectival functional meaning.

Exx. From Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

Telugu

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*



“He left away”

Auxiliary function

Tamil

Telugu

avan peecuvaan peecuvaan  
“He will talk”

waaDu maaTlaaDutaaDu maaTlaaDutaaDu

When the reduplicated verb form occurs with the modal auxiliary verb form –aam, the modality of probability is likewise expressed. However in comparison with the reduplicated verb form inflected for future tense a lesser degree of possibility or probability is implied.

Tamil

Telugu

Kumaar vantaalum varalaam

Kumaar oostee oostaaDu

“Kumar may come or may not come”

Probability

The predicate of a simple clause can consist of the conditional form of the verb + clitic + um and a reduplicated form of the respective verb, which is inflected either for past or future tense or followed by the modal auxiliary form –aam. When the reduplicated verb form is inflected for past tense speaker expresses that the action of the following sentence which is semantically related to the action of the preceding sentence. E.g. by being a consequence is not approved by him.

Ex. From Tamil and Telugu

Kumaar oru pudhu cattail vaankinaalum vaankinaan (Tamil )

Kumaar tiisukuneedeetoo tiisukunnaaDu daanee veesukuni raawaalu (Te.)

“Kumar has brought a new shirt but now he is wearing the same shirt daily”

When the reduplicated verb form is inflected for future tense the modality of probability and possibility is expressed.

Exx. From Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

Telugu

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10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

Kumaar inkee vantaalum varuvaan kumaar ikkaDa oostee oostaaDu  
“Kumar may/may not come here”

### Conclusion

- i) Imperative verbs, both positive and negative forms, are reduplicated and these give various meanings which are not one to one correspondence with each other.
- ii) Positive Indicative verb forms are also reduplicated and these indicate a variety of meanings. Regarding the negative Indicative verb forms, only the II<sup>nd</sup> person singular and plural neuter forms are reduplicated.
- iii) Regarding the optative verb forms, both the positive and the negative forms are reduplicated and convey the related meanings.
- iv) Regarding the Infinitive and the verbal participle forms, the positive forms give the positive related meaning and the negative forms give the negative related meanings.

Comparative and contrastive studies between related languages are useful to design materials for teaching these languages. Tamilnadu follows an open policy to teaching a variety of languages. Telugu is taught in schools in major urban centers as well as in border districts. To teach Telugu and to design Telugu textbooks specifically meant for such populations, comparative and contrastive information relating to Tamil, the dominant language of the state, is very useful.

## Epilogue

Grammar is not a popular subject, unpopular not simply in Tamil classrooms but also in every language classroom around the world! We have a rich grammatical tradition in Tamil and several other Indian languages. However, these traditions have been imparted largely as knowledge, assuming that knowledge will easily translate into better writing.

Because we are burdened with technical terms in grammar lessons and also because we learn grammatical rules of English for better use of that language, we tend to ignore grammar in Tamil classrooms. After all, Tamil is our mother tongue or first language, and so we all know it and use it effectively – so goes our thinking.

Traditional grammars are excellent pieces of research and application. But we should recognize the fact that grammar of a language is always evolving and the standard grammar written for a time and age need not be always one hundred percent applicable to current situation in Tamil. This is hard for many of us to accept, for various reasons. Moreover, Tamil grammars are excellent aphoristic treatises. And because of this intrinsic brevity of such works, we are at a loss to understand and apply the rules easily. In addition, brevity does not reveal the extent to which such rules cover the usage.

Many changes have taken place in the underlying rules that enable us to use Tamil in a natural way. Use of agreement, auxiliary verbs, tenses, conditional clauses, lexical choice, verb inflections and so on has changed over the centuries. Mixing spoken and written varieties is most common now, whereas these two were apparently kept separate in written discourses in traditional Tamil.

For these and other reasons not detailed here, there is a great need to study in depth the grammar of modern Tamil and relate it to the grammar of early literary and grammatical texts. Chemmozhi is not a fossilized tool of communication. Tamil as a chemmozhi is a living and dynamic language, unlike other classical languages. If we want to keep our language that way for generations, we need to identify the links of continuity between modern and ancient Tamil. Such links are, fortunately, not hard to find.

Descriptive Tamil grammar will help us to identify the deeper nuances of the current language and link these nuances to the ancient usage because there is so much similarity between the two.

Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*

I've tried in this book to present a detailed study of rules that underly various components of Tamil grammar. This is only a partial treatment. Further exhaustive and deeper research will bring out detailed picture of how Tamil operates. In addition, through such studies we will be able to redesign our grammar lessons for practical applications.

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Language in India [www.languageinindia.com](http://www.languageinindia.com)

10 : 6 June 2010

A. Boologa Rambai, Ph.D.

*Improving Chemmozhi Learning and Teaching – Descriptive Studies in Classical-Modern Tamil Grammar*