

## Noun Modifying Expressions in Tamil

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### Abstract

Nouns are modified by noun modifiers. English makes use of pre and post modifiers. Tamil makes use of pre modifiers only. The pre modifiers in Tamil could be phrasal or clausal in nature. The phrasal modifiers include determiners, possessive nouns, possessive pronouns, attributive adjectives, participial adjectives, nouns and appositive noun phrases. Postpositional noun modifiers are absent in Tamil. The clausal modifiers are adjectival participle or relative participle clauses. The clausal modifiers are referred here as noun modifying expressions and they are the target of this paper. There are two kinds of noun modifying expressions. They are correlative relative clause and relative participle clause. The correlative relative clause has two parts: the first part containing a finite verb suffixed by the interrogative suffix *-oo* is called modifying part and the second part containing the modified noun or noun phrase is called head. The relative participle clause contains a verb in relative participle or adjectival participle form. The relative participle clause can modify a noun which belongs to the verb in relative participle form or it can modify a noun which does not belong to the verb in the relative participle form. The first types of nouns are called argument nouns and the second type of nouns are called non-argument nouns. Not all the non-argument nouns can occupy the head position. There are constraints on the heads of the noun modifying expressions. Only a set of nouns which is capable of expressing or abstracting or objectivizing the information contained in the relative participle clause can occupy the head position. There are noun modifying expressions with finite clauses and they are linked to the head noun by *en-* complementizers.

### Key words:

adjective participle , adjective participle clause, argument nouns, clausal modifiers, compressed noun modifying expression, correlative relative clause, non-argument noun, NME, noun modifying expression, phrasal modifiers, post modifiers, pre modifiers, relative clause proper, relative participle, relative participle clause

### 1. Introduction

Based on the positions of their occurrence, noun modifiers can be classified into two types: pre modifiers and post modifiers. Pre modifiers are those which come before nouns and post modifiers are those which come after nouns. Based on the constitution, noun modifiers can be further classified into two types: phrasal modifiers and clausal modifiers. Phrasal modifiers are phrasal in nature whereas clausal modifiers are clausal in nature (i.e. with a verb inside). All the above mentioned types of modifiers are found in English. English makes use of attributive adjectives (e.g. *a clean vessel*), participial adjectives (*a broken vessel, a washing power*) and nouns (e.g. *office work*) as phrasal pre modifiers. Determiners including articles (e.g. *this boy, a boy, and the girl*), possessive nouns (e.g. *Kannan's book*) and possessive pronouns (e.g. *our car, his child*) are also pre noun modifiers. Prepositional phrases (e.g. *the door of the car, the money inside the box*) and appositive noun phrases (e.g. *the chairperson, Mr. Kannan*) function as phrasal post modifiers in English. English makes use of relative clause (e.g. *the deer that has spots, the person who drew the picture*), *ing*-clause (e.g. *the crow sitting on the tree, the woman preparing the food*) *ed*-clause (e.g. *the plate paced on the table, the thief chased by the police*) and *to*-clause (e.g. *the person to see*) as clausal post modifiers (Biber et al 2009).

Tamil makes use of pre-modifiers only. The pre-modifiers in Tamil can be further separated as in the case of English into phrasal and clausal modifiers. The adjectival participle clauses or relative participle clauses that come before the head nouns are clausal modifiers in Tamil. The following table gives the list of phrasal and clausal modifiers in Tamil:

<b>Phrasal modifiers</b>		
<b>Sub types of phrasal modifiers</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>Comment</b>
<b>Determiner</b>	<i>andtap paiyan</i> 'that boy' <i>oru paiyan</i> 'a boy' <i>paiyan</i> 'the boy'	Tamil does not have articles. It makes use of <i>oru</i> 'one' which can be considered as equivalent to article 'a' in English. It does not have article equivalent to 'the' in English. Sometimes not having an article <i>oru</i> 'a' give the sense 'the' in Tamil.

<b>Possessive Nouns</b>	<i>pacuv-in paal</i> ‘cow’s milk’ <i>pacum paal</i> ‘cow’s milk’ <i>pacuv-in-atu/uTaiya paal</i>	<i>pacu-m</i> ‘cow’s’ and <i>pacuv-in</i> are incremented forms of <i>pasu</i> ‘cow’ which function as a possessive nouns. <i>atu</i> and <i>uTaiya</i> are genitive/possessive case markers.
<b>Possessive Pronouns</b>	<i>en viiTu</i> ‘my house’, <i>enn-atu/uTayia kuzandtai</i> ‘my child’	<i>en</i> is the oblique form of <i>ndaan</i> ‘I’ which function as a possessive pronoun and <i>atu</i> and <i>uTaiya</i> ‘my’ are possessive case markers.
<b>Attributive adjectives</b>	<i>ndalla paiyan</i> ‘good boy’, <i>ciRiya viiTu</i> ‘small house’	<i>ndalla</i> ‘good’ and <i>ciRiya</i> ‘small’ are attributive adjectives. They modify <i>kuTTi</i> ‘child’ and <i>viiTu</i> ‘house’ respectively. Both the modifiers give information about the nouns they modify.
<b>Participial adjectives</b>	<i>keTTa paiyan</i> ‘bad boy’ <i>paTitta paiyan</i> ‘educated boy’	<i>keTTa</i> ‘bad’ is the past-adjective participial form of the verb <i>keTu</i> ‘become bad’ and <i>paTTitta</i> ‘educated’ is the past-adjectival participial form of the verb <i>paTi</i> ‘learn’. But these forms are lexicalized as adjectives. The adjective participle forms of this type that are lexicalized as adjectives to form new meanings need to be differentiated from the adjectival participle forms that are clausal in nature.
<b>Nouns (as pre-modifiers)</b>	<i>payaNac ciiTTu</i> ‘travel ticket’ <i>viiTTu vaaTakai</i> ‘house rent’	<i>payaNa</i> is the oblique form of the noun <i>payaNam</i> ‘travel’ and <i>viiTTu</i> is the oblique form of the noun <i>viiTu</i>

		'house'
<b>Appositive noun phrase</b>	<i>talaimai aaciriyar tiru raamanaatan</i> 'head master Mr. Ramanadhan'	
<b>Clausal modifiers</b>		
<b>Clausal modifiers</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>Comment</b>
<b>adjectival participle clause or relative participle clause</b>	<i>ndeeRRu va-ndt-a paiyan yesterday come-PAST-ADJP boy</i> 'the boy who came yesterday' <i>avan iRa-ndt-a campavam</i> he die-PAST-ADJP event 'the event that he died'	Tamil does not make use of a relative pronoun for the formation of relative clause. Rather it makes use of an adjectival participle form of the verb which modifies the noun which follows it. The adjectival participle clause in the first example is referred generally as relative clause proper whereas the second one is called appositive clause. Annamalai (1969, 1997) discusses elaborately both these two types of adjectival participle clauses.

Post-positional noun modifiers (equivalent to English prepositional modifiers, for example '*the crow sitting on the tree*') are absent in Tamil as they need a verbal support to modify a noun.

1. \**cuvar-in pinnaal manintan*  
wall-GEN behind man
2. *cuvar-in pinnaal ndiR-kiR-a manitan*  
wall-GEN behind stand-PRES-ADJP man  
'the man who is standing behind the wall'

The clause modifiers are referred here as noun modifying expressions (NMEs) and they are the target of this paper. NMEs in Tamil are significantly different from that of English.

## 2. Two Kinds of NMEs

Like other major Dravidian languages Tamil makes use of two relativisation processes resulting in two types of relative clauses. The first one is known by the term sentential relative clause or correlative relative clause; it is a sort of correlative construction which belongs to Indo-Aryan group of languages. The second one is known by the term participial relative clause which belongs to some Dravidian family of languages.

### 2.1. Correlative Relative Clauses as NMEs

Ramasamy (1981) discusses in detail about the correlative clause formation in Tamil. Lehman talks about the different types of correlative relative clauses (Lehman 349-356). The correlative relative clause found in Tamil closely bears a resemblance to the structure found in Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages. This could be considered an aerial feature borrowed from them. The correlative relative clause found in Tamil is considered artificial or very formal. Such constructions are rarely or occasionally used in Tamil especially in written Tamil. This is a subordinating construction in which the verbal element in the relative clause is in finite form.

We can assume that a correlative relative clause contains two parts. The first part contains a question word *endta* 'which' attributing the concerned noun and a verb in finite form suffixed with an interrogative particle *-oo* found in yes-or-no questions. The second part contains a remote demonstrative determiner *andta* and the head noun (attributed by *endta* in the first part) or an *a-* initial pronoun (such as *avan* 'he', *avaL* 'she', *avar* 'they', etc) anaphoric to the *endta*-attributed noun. The first part can be considered as the modifying part and the second part as the head. The above mentioned correlative relative clause pattern is a typical instance. The pattern of correlative relative clause may vary. Lehman (1993:315) has a list of correlative NPs that appear in the first part and the parallel demonstrative NPs that appear in the second part.

3. *endta paiyan ndanRaaakp paTi-kkiR-aan-oo andtap paiyan teerv-il veRRipeRu-v-aan*  
which boy well study-PRES-HE-Q that boy examination-LOC succeed-FUT-HE  
'The boy who studies well will pass in the examination'

4. *yaar ndanRaakap paTi-kkiR-aarkaL-oo avarkaL teerv-il veRRipeRu-v-aarkaL*  
who well study-PRES-THEY-Q they examination-LOC pass-FUT-THEY  
'Those who study well will pass in the examination'

## 2.2. Relative Participial Clauses as NMEs

A relative participial clause or adjective participial clause is a pre modifier. It can modify a noun or a pronoun or a noun phrase (NP). A relative participial clause ends with a nonfinite form of a verb known as a relative participle (RP) or adjectival participle (ADJP). Relative participle forms can assume three tensed forms such as past, present, and future forms like a finite verb and a negative form. The past tense, present tense and negative relative participial forms contains the relative participle marker *a*. The future relative participle form does not carry the relative participle marker *a* and we can presume that it is zero after future suffix *-um*. The ambiguity which could arise out of this homonymy is resolved by clear cut context. We can expect a relative participial clause to bear the same range of arguments like a finite verb in a simple sentence.

5. *ndeeRRu va-ndt-a payiyan*  
yesterday come-PAST-ADJP boy  
'the boy who came yesterday'
6. *angkee ndiR-kinR-a paiyan*  
there stand-PRES-ADJP boy  
'the boy who is standing there'
7. *cennai-kkup pook-um toTar vaNTi*  
Chennai-DAT go-FUT-ADJP train  
'the train which will go to Chennai'
8. *.paaTam paTikk-aatt-a paiyan*  
lesson study-NEG-ADJP boy  
'the boy who did not study the lesson'

The future adjectival participle with zero marker is, however, very rarely used, particularly in the spoken language. Reference to future time in a relative participle clause is usually indicated by present tense participle. We can say that the distinction between present and future is nullified or the original present tense marker is a non-past marker.

9. *cennai-kkup cel-kiR-a peerundtu*

Chennai-DAT go-PRE/FUT-RP bus

'the bus which will go/goes to Chennai'

Future is otherwise realized in relative clause as a verb in infinitive form (marked by *a*) followed by adjectival participle form of *poo* 'go'.

10. *ndaaLai ndaTakk-a poo-kiR-a teertal*

tomorrow take-place-*INFIN* go-PRES-ADJP election

'the election that is going to take place tomorrow'

A noun can be modified by a series of relative participle clauses.

11. *pooTT-il ven-R-a cennaiy-ilirundtu va-ndt-a paiyan*

match win-PAST-ADJP Chennai-*ABLA* come-PAST-ADJP boy

'the boy who came from Chennai and won the competition'

### 2.2.1. Argument Nouns as Heads of the NMEs

Almost all the arguments (subject, object, indirect object, locative, etc) of a verb can be moved to the head position during relativization and thereby modified by the remaining elements in the relative participle clause. Subject NPs of intransitive verbs and transitive verbs, objective NPs, locative NPs, dative-experiencer NPs, dative-destination NPs, indirect object (recipient) NPs, instrument NPs, possessor NPs, ablative NPs and adverbial NPs (i.e. the adverbs reduced back to noun forms, for example *veekam* 'speed' from *veekamaaka* 'fast') can function as the heads of adjectival participle clauses.

### Intransitive Subjects as Heads of NMEs

12. *malar-ndt-a puu*

bloom-PAST-ADJP flower

'the flower which blossomed'

13. *puu malar-ndt-atu* (possible source of 12)

flower bloom-PAST-IT

‘The flower bloomed’

### **Transitive Subjects as Heads of NMEs**

14. *veekamaaka uNavu uN-T-a kaNNan*

fast food eat-PAST-ADJP Kannan

‘Kannan who ate the food fast’

15. *kaNNan veekamaaka ilaiyil uNavu uNTaan* (possible source of 14)

Kannan fast leaf-LOC food eat-PAST-HE

‘Kannan ate food in the leaf fast’

### **Objects as Heads of NMEs**

16. *veekamaaka kaNNan uN-T-a uNavu*

fast Knnan eat-PAST-ADJ food

‘the food Kannan ate fast’

### **Locatives as Heads of NMEs**

17. *veekamaaka kaNNan uN-T-a ilai*

fast Kannan eat-PAST-ADJP leaf

‘the leaf in which Kannan ate the food fast’

18. *avan vaci-kkiR-a viiTTu*

he live-PRES-ADJP house

‘the house where he lives’

### **Dative-experiencers as Heads of NMEs**

19. *paci-tt-a kuzandtai*

be-hungry-PAST-ADJP child

‘the child which was hungry’

20. *kuzandtai-kkup paci-tt-atu* (possible source of 19)

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Child-DAT be-hungry-PRES-IT  
'The child was hungry'

21. *peNN-ai piTittiru-kkiR-a en-akku*  
bride-ACC like-PRES-ADJP I-DAT  
'for me who like the bride'

22. *en-akkup peNN-ai piTittiru-kkiR-atu*  
I-dat bride-ACC like-PRES-IT  
'I like the bride'

### **Dative Destinations as Heads of NMEs**

23. *avan poo-n-a iTam*  
he go-PAST place  
'the place where he went'

24. *avan andta iTattiR-kup poo-n-aan* (possible source of 23)  
he that place-DAT go-PAST-HE  
'he went to that place'

### **Indirect Objects (Recipient) as Heads of NMEs**

25. *cooRu koTu-tt-a ndaay*  
cooked-rice give-PAST-ADJP dog  
'the dog to which X gave cooked-rice'

26. *avan ndaay-kkuc cooRu koTu-tt-aan* (possible source of 25)  
He dog-DAT cooked-rice give-PAST-HE  
'He gave cooked rice to the dog'

As the head in 25 could be interpreted both as subject and indirect object in the above relative clause, it is ambiguous; whereas the one given below is free from ambiguity as the subject is explicitly mentioned in the relative clause.

27. *kaNNan aataravu koTu-tt-a andaatai*

Kannan support give-PAST-ADJP orphan

‘The orphan to whom Kannan gave support’

### **Instruments as Heads of NMEs**

28. *cooRu koTu-tt-a karaNTi*

cooked-rice give-PAST-ADJP

‘The spoon with which X gave Y rice’

29. *avaL karaNTiy-aal cooRu koTu-tt-aaL* (possible source of 28)

she spoon-INST cooked-rice give-PAST-SHE

‘She gave cooked rice by (using) a spoon’

30. *iRaicci veTT-iy-a katti*

meat cut-PAST-ADJP knife

‘the knife with which X cut meat’

31. *avan iRaicciy-ai kattiyaal veTT-in-aan* (possible source of 30)

He meat-ACC knife-INST cut-PAST-HE

‘He cut the meat with knife’

### **Possessors (alienable or inalienable) as heads of NMEs**

32. *ndaan kaal-ai oTi-tt-a paiyan*

I leg-ACC broke-PAST boy

‘The boy whose leg I broke’

33. *paiyan ndaay-in kaal-ai oTi-tt-aan* (possible source of 32)

boy dog-GEN leg-ACC break-PAST-HE

‘the boy broke the dog’s leg’

34. *komp-oo kaal-oo oTi-ndt-a oru aaTu*

horn-OR leg-OR break-PAST-ADJP one goat  
'a goat whose horn or leg is broken'

35. *oru aaTT-in komp-oo kaal-oo oTi-ndt-atu*  
one Goat-GEN horn-OR leg-OR break-PAST-IT  
'The horn or leg of a goat broke'

36. *viiTT-il taNNiir nduzai-ndt-a en-akku*  
House-LOC water enter-PAST-ADJP I-DAT  
'for me into whose house the water entered'

37. *en-atu viiTT-il taNNiir nduzai-ndt-atu*  
I-GEN house-LOC enter-PAST-IT  
'The water entered into my house'

#### **Ablative arguments as heads of NMEs**

38. *avan paNam eTu-tt-a vangki*  
he money take-PAST-ADJP bank  
'the bank form where he took the money'

39. *avan vangkiy-ilirundtu paNam eTu-tt-aan* (possible source of 38)  
He bank-ABL money take-PAST-he  
'He took the money from the bank'

40. *ndaan paNam vaangk-iy-a kaNNan*  
I money get-PAST-ADJP Kannan  
'Kannan from whom I got money'

41. *ndaan kaNNan-iTamirundtu paNam vaangk-in-een* (possible source of 40)  
I Kannan-ABA money get-PAST-I  
'I got money from Kannan'

#### **Possessors of Adjuncts as Heads of NMEs**

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42. *viiTT-iRkuL paampu nduzai-ndt-a enakku*

House- INSIDE snake enter-PAST-ADJP I-DAT

‘for me into whose house water entered’

43. *en viiTTiRkuL paampu nduzai-ndt-atu* (possible source of 42)

my house-inside snake enter-PAST-IT

‘The snake entered into my house’.

### Time Arguments as the Heads of NMEs

44. *ndaan puunaav-il iru-ndt-a iraNTu ndaaTkaL*

I Poona-LOC be-PAST-ADJP two days

‘The two days I was in Pune’

45. *ndaan puunaav-il iraNTu ndaaTkaL iru-nt-een* (possible source of 44)

I Pune-LOC two days be-PAST-I

‘I was in Pune for two days’

### Adverbs as Heads of NMEs

Even the adverbial *veekamaaka* ‘fast’ can be moved to the head position, but only in its nominal form.

46. *kaNNan illaiy-il uNavu uN-T-a veekam*

Kannab leaf-LOC food eat-PAST-ADJP speed’

‘the speed with which Kannan ate the food in the leaf’

### 2.2.2. Pronouns as Head of NMEs

Even pronouns can head NMEs.

47. *ingkee veelai cey-kiR-a ndaan*

here work do-PRES-ADJP I

‘I who is work here’

48. *ingkee veelai cey-kiR-a ndii*

here work do-PRES-ADJP you

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‘you who work here’

49. *ingkee veelai cey-kiRa avan*

here work do-PRES-ADJ he

‘he who works here’

Lehman (1993:295) considers 49 as wrong. He opines that the head should be in bound form as given below:

50. *ingkee veelai cey-kiR-avan*

here work do-PRES-HE

‘he who works here’

But in the Tamil corpus collected from internet has instances of 49.

### 2.2.3. Verbalizers of Compound Verbs as Heads of NMEs

Tamil forms a number of compound verbs by adding a set of verbalizers (i.e. the verbs which are used in the formation of compound verbs from nouns) with a set of nouns (Rajendran 2000).

51. *araTTai* 'chat (N)' + *aTi* (beat)> *araTTaiyaTi* 'chat'

52. *uRuti* 'firmness' + *aLi* (give)> *uRutiyaLi* 'confirm'

53. *cuuRai* 'scattering' + *aaTu* (play)> *cuuRaiyaaTu* 'plunder'

54. *vazakku* 'case; suit' + *aaTu* (play)> *vazakkaaTu* 'argue a case'

The verbalizers of the compound verbs can be adjectivalized as noun modifiers and the nouns of the compound verbs can occupy the head position.

55. *aTi-tt-a araTTai*

perform-PAST-ADJ chatting

‘the chatting that was performed’

56. *aLi-tt-a uRuti*

give-PAST-ADJ confirmation

‘the conformation that was given’

But certain verbalizers of compound verbs which are very cohesive with the constituent nouns cannot be adjectivalized as modifiers. For example, *viLaiy-aaTu* ‘play’ cannot be relativized as *aaTiya viLai* ‘the ground where X played’. Similarly *vazakk- aaTu* ‘argue a case’ cannot be relativized as *aaT-iy-a vazakku* ‘the case that was argued’, *payam-uRuttu* ‘threaten’ cannot be relativized as *uRuttiya payam* ‘the threat which was caused’ and *aRiv-uRuttu* ‘emphasize’ cannot be re relativized as *uRuttiya aRivu* ‘the knowledge which was caused’.

#### 2.2.4. Cognate Object Nouns as Heads of NMEs

There are NMEs with cognate nouns as their heads. The following relative clauses can be said to be derived from their respective source sentence given below.

57. *avan piTi-tt-a piTi*

he catch-PAST-ADJP catch (N)

‘the hold which he caught’

58. *avan oru piTi piTi-tt-aan* (Possible source of 57)

he one catch catch-PAST-HE

‘He caught a hold’

59. *avan aTi-tt-a aTi*

he beat-PAST-a beat

‘the beating which he beat’

60. *avan oru aTi aTittaan* (Possible Source of 59)

he one beating beat-PAST-HE

‘HE beat a beat’

But it is difficult to say that 61 is derived from the possible source sentence 62 which is not a valid one.

61. *avan ndaTungk-iy-a ndaTukkam*

he shiver-PAST-ADJP shiver

‘the shiver he shivered’

62. *avan ndaTukkam ndTungk-in-aan*

he shiver shiver-PAST-HE

Similarly it is difficult say that 63 is derived from the possible source sentence 64 which is not a valid one.

63. *avaL vaLar-tt-a vaLarppu*

she bring-up-PAST-ADJP brought up

‘the way she brought up X’

64. *avaL vaLarppu vaLar-tt-aaL*

She brought-up (N) bring-up-PAST-SHE

In the relative clauses 61 and 63, the head nouns appear to be from outside the adjectival clause.

### 2.2.5. Constraints on the Heads of NMEs

There are constraints on the heads of the NMEs. Not all NPs belonging to the relative participle clause can occupy the head position after adjectivalization of the concerned verb. This has been explicated in Annamalai (1969, 1997), Steever (1981) and Lehman (1993). At the outset the embedding of a clause as adjectival clause or non-finite verb clause in general shows constraints. These constraints will not allow an NP occurring in the clause to move to the head position. Apart from this, the semantic role of the NP to be moved to head position and its case marking too show constraints.

NPs marked for sociative case (*ooTu/uTan*) cannot head the concerned NMEs.

65. *raatai kaNNan-ooTu/uTan va-ndt-aaL*

Radha Kannan-SOC come-PAST-SHE

‘Rdha came along with Kannan’

66. \**raatai va-ndt-a kaNNan*

Radha come-PAST-ADJP Kannan

NPs marked by goal *iTam* cannot head the concerned NMEs.

67. *kuzandtai ammaav-iTam ooT-iy-atu*

child mother-TO run-PAST-IT

‘the child ran to its mother’

68. \**kuzndtai ooT-iy-a ammaa*

child run-PAST-ADJP mother

But the NPs marked by receiver *iTam* can head the concerned NMEs.

69. *kaNNan raataiy-iTam paNam koTu-tt-aan*

Kannan Radha-TO money give-PAST-HE

‘Kannan gave money to Radha’

70. *kaNNan paNam koTu-tt-a raatai*

Kannan money give-PAST-ADJP Radha

‘Radha who was given money by Kannan’

Ablative NPs marked by source *il-iruntu* cannot head the concerned NMEs.

71. *avan cennaiy-ilirundtu va-ndt-aan*

he Chennai-ABL come-PAST-HE

‘he came from Chennai’

72. \**avan va-ndt-a cennai*

he come-PAST-ADJP Chennai



*Chennai* in 72 gives target meaning and not the source meaning. Similarly in the following sentence also NP marked by source *iTamirundtu* cannot head the concerned NME.

73. *raataiy-iTamiruntu kaNNan-ukkuk kaTitam va-ndt-atu*

Radha-ABL Kannan-DAT letter come-PAST-IT

‘A letter came from Radha to Kannan’

74. *\*kaNNan-ukku kaTitam va-ndt-a raatai*

Kannan-DAT letter come-PAST-ADJP Radha

But as we have noted, the following relative clause is correct though the head was in the ablative form.

75. *avan paNam eTu-tt-a vangki*

he money take-PAST-ADJP bank

‘the bank from where he drew money’

76. *avan vangkiy-ilirundtu paNam eTu-tt-aan* (possible source of 75)

He bank-ABLA money take-PAST-HE

‘He drew money from the bank’

Genitive NPs (both inalienable and alienable) marked by the concerned case suffix cannot head the concerned NME in certain instances.

77. *kaNNan raataiy-in kaar-ai vaangk-in-aan*

*kaNNan* Radha-GEN car-ACC buy-PAST-HE

‘Kannan bought Radha’s car’

78. *\*Kannan kaar-ai vaangky-iy-a raatai*

Kannan car-ACC buy-PAST-ADJP Radha

Here the possible interpretation could be the ‘Radha who bought Kannan’s car’ rather than ‘Radha from whom Kannan bought the car’. But if we drop the accusative marker with car, the resulting

construction can also mean ‘Radha from whom Kannan bought the car’ apart from another interpretation ‘Radha who bought Kannan’s car’.

79. *kaNNan kaar vaangk-iy-a raatai*

Kannan car buy-PAST-ADJP Radha

‘Radha from whom Kannan bought the car’

In 81, the alienable genitive NP heads the concerned NME. There could be two interpretations: ‘Kannan who bit the dog’s hand’ and ‘Kannan whose hand the dog bite’. One always gets the first interpretation rather than the second one.

80. *ndaay kaNNan-in kai-yaik kaTi-tt-atu*

dog Kannan-GEN hand-ACC bite-PAST-IT

‘The dog bite Kannan’s hand’

81. *ndaay kaiy-aik kaTi-tt-a KaNNan*

Dog hand-ACC bite-PAST-ADJP Kannan

‘Kannan who bit the dog’s hand/‘Kannan whose hand the dog bite’

The NPs marked for object of comparison cannot head the concerned NMEs.

82. *avan enn-ai viTa atika paNam vaittiru-kkiR-aan*

he I-ACC than more money keep-PRES-HE

‘He has money more than I’

83. *\*avan atikam paNam vaittiru-kkiR-a ndaan*

He more money keep-PRES-ADJP I

Annamalai (1969, 1997) is of the opinion that the NPs marked for purpose by dative case cannot head the concerned NMEs. But such instances are possible in the corpus available in the internet.

84. *kumaar teervu-kkup paTi-kkiR-aan*  
Kumar examination-DAT study-PRES-HE  
'Kumar studies for the examination'

85. *kumaar paTi-kkiR-a teervu-kku ndaan-um paTi-kkiR-een*  
Kumar study-PRES examination-DAT I-TOO study-PRES-I  
'I too study for the examination for which Kumar studies'

We have seen that the NPs marked for instrumental case cannot head the concerned NMEs. But in the following instance, the semantic role of the NP obstructs the NP heading the concerned NME (Annamalai 1969, 1997).

86. *kaNNan ndooy-aal iRandtuviT-T-aan*  
Raju disease-INST die-PAST-HE  
'Kannan died because of disease'

87. *\*kaNNan iRandtuviT-T-a ndooy'*  
Kannan die-PAST-ADJP disease'

As observed by Lehman (1993:292), the NPs of postpositional phrases cannot head NMEs.

88. *kaNNan raataiy-aip paRRi peec-in-aan*  
Kannan Radha-ACC about talk-PAST-He  
'Kannan talked about Radha'

89. *\*kaNNan paRRi peec-iy-a raatai*  
Kannan about talk-PAST-ADJP Radha

90. *kannan raataiy-in pinnaal ndiR-kiR-aan*  
Kannan Radha-GEN back stand-PRES-HE

‘Kannan is standing behind Radha’

91. \**kannan pinnaal ndiR-kiR-a raatai*

Kannan behind stand-PRES-ADJP Radha

91 gives the interpretation that ‘Radha who is standing behind Kannan’.

### 2.2.6 Non-argument Nouns as Heads of the NMEs

So far we have seen that the heads of relative clauses belonging to the arguments of the relativized verbs. But there are relative clauses which are headed by nouns or NPs that do not belong to the arguments of the relativized verbs.

92. *avan varu-kiR-a ceysi*

He come-PRES-ADJP news

‘the news that he comes’

Following Teramura (1969) we can distinguish two broad types of noun modification. In the first type, the modifying element is derived from a sentence which contains the modified noun. The relationship between the modifying element and the modified noun in such constructions may be called an ‘inner relationship’. In the second type, the modifying element is derived from a sentence which does not contain the modified noun. The relationship between the two elements in this latter instance may be called an ‘outer relationship’. Rajendran (2001) refers the first type of derivation as nominalization by argument nouns and the latter as nominalization by non-argument nouns.

Thus, there are two types of nominal heads to the relative clause. In one case the head noun is one of the arguments of the adjectivalized verb and in another case the head noun is not one of arguments of the adjectivalized verb. To put it differently, in the first case the head noun can be plugged back into the preceding modifying expression (or in Chomsky’s term to the gap or trace vacated after NP movement) and in the second case the head nouns cannot be plugged

back into the preceding modifying expression. We refer the first type of nouns as argument nouns and the second type as non-argument nouns.

Not all the non-argument nouns can head the NMEs. Only a set of nouns which is capable of expressing or abstracting or objectivizing the information contained in the relative participle clause can head the NMEs. These nouns include abstract nouns like *ceyti* 'news', *viSayam* 'matter', *karuttu* 'opinion', *uNmai* 'truth', *ndikazcci* 'event', *campavam* 'event', etc. The relative clause of this type is traditionally called appositive clause as opposed to relative clause proper. Lehman (1993:293) refers them as appositive adjectival clause. Following (Teramura (1969) Peter and Pardeshi) we can classify the head nouns into a few classes or clusters of nouns.

### **“News” Nouns as Heads of NMEs**

The nouns which can objectivize or abstract the content of the adjectival clause such as *ceyti* 'news', *uNmai* 'fact', *ndikazcci* 'event', *campavam* 'event' etc. can function as heads of NMEs.

93. *avan iRa-ndt-a ceyti*

he die-PAST-ADJP news

'the news that he died'

94. *avan va-ndt-a viSayam*

he come-PAST-ADJP matter

'the matter that he came'

95. *muyal cingkatt-aik ko-nR-a katai*

rabbit lion-ACC kill-PAST-ADJP story

'the story that the rabbit killed the lion'

### **“Thought” Nouns as Heads of NMEs**

Nouns of thought such as *eNNam* ‘thought’, *ndinaippu* ‘idea’, *cindtanai* ‘thought’ etc. which can objectivize or abstract the content of the adjectival clause can function as heads of NMEs.

96. *avan-ukku ankee poo-kiR-a eNNam illai*  
he-DAT there go-PRES-ADKP thought is-not  
‘He does not have the mind to go there’

#### “Reason” Nouns as Heads of NMEs

The abstract nouns such as *kaaraNam* ‘reason’, *ndookkam* ‘purpose’, *kuRikkooL* ‘aim’, etc., also can function as heads of NMEs.

97. *avaL va-ndt-a kaaraNam*  
she came-PAST-ADJP reason  
‘the reason for her coming’

#### “Sensory” Nouns as Heads of NMEs

The nouns which can be grouped as sensory nouns such as *cattam* ‘sound’, *tooRRam* ‘sight’ or *vaacanaai* ‘smell’, etc. can function as heads of NMEs.

98. *avan kuRaTTaiviTu-kiR-a cattam*  
he snore-PRES-ADJP sound  
‘the sound of his snoring’

99. *avaL camai-kkiR-a vaacanaai*  
she cook-PRES-ADJP smell  
‘the smell of her cooking’

#### Nouns of Emotions and Feelings as Heads of NMEs

Certain nouns which denote emotions and feelings such as *makizcci* ‘happiness’, *koopam* ‘angriness’, *cangkaTam/tunpam* ‘sorrow/unhappiness’, *vali* ‘pain’, *veetanai* ‘pain’,

*uNarcci* ‘feeling’, *mayakkam* ‘unconsciousness’ etc. can function as heads of NMEs denoting the cause of such emotions or feelings.

100. *avan ciikkiram viiTT-ukku var-aat-a koopam*  
avan early house-DAT come-NEG-ADJP angriness  
‘angriness that he did not come home early’

101. *teervil veRRipeR-R-a makizcci*  
examination succeed-PAST-ADJP happiness  
‘happiness that x passed the examination’

102. *teertalil tooR-R-a cangkaTam*  
election fail-PAST-ADJP sorrow  
‘the sorrow that x lost the election’

### “Picture” Nouns as Heads of NMEs

“Picture” nouns such as *pukaipaTam* ‘photo’, *ooviyam/cittiram* ‘drawing’, *tooRRam* ‘image’, etc can function as heads of NMEs.

103. *avaL ciri-ttukkoNTiru-kkiR-a pukaippaTam*  
she laugh-CON-PRES-ADJP photo  
‘the photo in which she is (seen) laughing’

### Nouns Like "State" or "Condition" as Heads of NMEs

The nouns denoting a state or condition can head certain NMEs.

104. *ndaan kuzamp-iy-a ndlaiy-il iru-ndt-een*  
confuse-PAST-ADJP state-LOC be-PAST-I  
‘I was in a confused state.’

The head nouns which are not in argument relation with the adjectivalized verbs can be replaced by the gerundive nominalizer *atu* as shown in the following examples:

105. *avan angkee poo-n-a ceyti*

he there go-PAST-ADJP news  
'the news that he went there'

106. *avan angkee poo-n-a-tu*  
he go-PAST-ADJP-NOM  
'that he went there'

107. *avan cettuppoo-n-a viSayam*  
he die-PAST-ADJP matter  
'the matter that he died'

108. *avan cettuppoo-n-a-tu*  
he die-PAST-ADJP-NOM  
'that he died'

### **Nouns Like “Habit” as the Heads of NMEs**

Nouns like “habit” (*pazakkam* ‘habit’, *vazakkam* ‘custom’, *pazakkavazakkam* ‘customs and habits’) can function as heads of NMEs when preceded by a relative participle clause denoting a habit.

109. *avanu-kku kuTi-kkiR-a pazakkam illai*  
he-DAT drink-PRES-ADJP habit not  
'He does not have the habit of drinking'

110. *avan tinamum koovil-ukkup poo-kiR-a vazakkam uLLa-van*  
'he daily temple-DAT go-PRES-ADJP habit be-HE  
'He has the habit of going to temple daily'

### **Nouns Like *aLavu* ‘amount’, *vitam* ‘manner’, etc., as Heads of NMEs**

The nouns such as *aLavu* ‘amount’, *vitam* ‘manner’, etc. can function as heads of NMEs

111. *avaL con-n-a vitam*  
she say-PAST-ADJP manner

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‘the manner by which she said X’

112. *avan makiz-ndt-a aLavu*

He be-happy-PAST-ADJP amount’

‘the amount by which he felt happy’

### **Nouns Indirectly Related to the Relativized Verb as the Heads of NMEs**

The non-argument nouns which are indirectly related to the relativized verb can head the concerned NMEs. Lehman (1993:293) refers some them as modality nouns. The example 124 is quoted by Lehman (1993:294) from Annamalai (1969) as an example of appositive clause headed by non-abstract noun. The list of non-argument heads may increase when we explore more data.

113. *angkee poo-kiR-a tavaRu*

there go-PRES-ADJP mistake

‘the mistake of going there’

114. *avaL-aik kon-R-a paavam*

she-ACC kill-PAST-ADJP sin

‘the sin of killing her’

115. *avan-ait tooRkaTi-tt-a veRRi*

he-ACC defeat-PAST-ADJP

‘the success of defeating him’

116. *avaL ndin-R-a koolam*

she stand-PAST-ADJ appearance

‘the way she stood’

117. *avaL iru-ndt-a iruppu*

she sit-PAST-ADJP state

'the way she sat'

118. *angkee poo-kiR-a aacai/viruppam*

there go-PRES-ADJP desire

'the desire to go there'

119. *veelai-kkup poo-kiR-a tiRamai*

work-DAT go-PRES-ADJ capacity

'the capacity to go to work'

120. *veelai cey-kiR-a vaayppu*

work do-PRES-ADJP opportunity

'the opportunity to work'

121. *veLi ndaaTu cel-kiR-a tiTTam*

foreign country go-PRES-ADJP plan

'the plan to go to foreign country'

122. *avaL poo-kiR-a pookku*

she go-PRES-ADJ manner

'the manner of her going'

123. *kuzandtaiy-ai vaLar-kkiR-a kaTamai*

child-ACC bring-up-PRES-ADJP duty

'the duty of bringing up the child'

124. *ndaan kiizee vizu-ndt-a kaayam*

I down fall-PAST-ADJP wound

'the wound caused by falling down'

### 2.2.7. Compressed NMEs

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We can infer that the NMEs headed by certain nouns require more information for the proper understanding of them.

125. *talaivaliy-aik kuRaikk-um maattirai*

headache reduce-FUT-ADJP pills

‘the pills which reduces the head ache’

126. *mayakkam tar-um matu*

intoxication give-FUT-ADJP liquor

‘the liquor which gives intoxication’

127. *aRiv-ai vaLarkk-um puttakam*

knowledge-ACC grow-FUT-ADJP book

‘the book which grows knowledge’

128. *irav-il kazivaRai-kkup pook-ap payappaT-um katai*

night-LOC toilet-DAT go-INF be-afraid-FUT-ADJP story

‘the story which scare one to go to bathroom at night’

The heads of the NMEs require that they need to be expanded as given below:

129. *caappiTt-aal talaivaliyaik kuRaikkum maattirai*

eat-CON headache reduce-FUT-ADJP pills

‘the pills which reduces the head ache if one consumes it’

130. *kuTitt-aal mayakkam tarum matu*

drink-CON intoxication give-FUT-ADJP liquor

‘the liquor which gives intoxication if one consumes it’

131. *paTi-ttaal aRiv-ai vaLarkk-um puttakam*

read-COND knowledge-ACC grow-FUT-ADJP book

‘the book which makes the knowledge grow if one reads it’

132. *keeTT-aal irav-il kazivaRai-kkup pook-ap payappaT-ac ceyy-um katai*

hear-CON night-LOC toilet-DAT go-INF be-afraid-INF make-FUT-ADJP story

‘the story which makes one to become afraid to go to toilet in the night’

Biber and Clark (2002) who studied noun phrase modification in English historically document compression as a historical trend by ranking nominal modifiers along a cline of compression as follows:

COMPRESSED – pre-modifiers < phrasal < non-finite < relative – EXPANDED  
(PHRASAL) post- clauses clauses (CLAUSAL)  
EXPRESSION modifiers EXPRESSION

Matsumoto (1997) who studied these kinds of NMEs in Japanese points out the part played by pragmatics and hearer in the interpretation of these expressions. A parallel process of compression takes place in the formation of nominal compounds (Noun+ Noun compounds such as *kaaRR-aalai* ‘wind mill’ and *arici aalai* ‘rice mill’) as pointed out by traditional Sanskrit and Tamil grammarians. They point out the deletion of certain information in the formation of these compounds and the need for reconstructing this information for the proper interpretation of these compounds. This is true for the interpretation of NMEs headed by nouns or NPs too. More or less a parallel observation is made in Drowning (1977) and Levi (1978).

Hook and Pardeshi (2013, 2015a, 2015b) while discussing about Edward Keenan and Bernard Comrie’s notion of the “noun phrase accessibility hierarchy” (hereafter NPAH) as a way of bringing order to disparate cross-linguistic data on the scope of relativization constructions, talks about “three kinds of syntactic-semantic mismatches in Marathi’s prenominal participial phrases”. The first mismatch is due to the need for the interpolation of [+cause]; the second mismatch is by “nouns that by their very anaphoric nature require the hearer or reader to listen or look elsewhere in the context for antecedents in order for them to be properly understood”. The third mismatch is “something to do with the ambiguous nature of picture nouns like *photo* which can refer to entities in their own right or can behave as anaphors that require the listener or reader to search for antecedents”.

Nominalization normally leads to loss of information. So it is not strange that nominalization on adjectivalized clauses by non-argument nouns needs pragmatics and hearers' knowledge to interpret the meaning of the resultant NPs. We can find the 'pakoda-type' of examples (Hook Pardeshi, 2015b) in Tamil too.

133. *vaayil eccil uuRu-kiR-a pakkooTa*

Mouth-LOC saliva secrete-PRES-ADJP *pakoda*

'the *pakoda* which makes the saliva to get secreted'

The literary meaning of 133 is 'the *pakoda* which secretes saliva in the mouth'. All the testable food items can replace *pakkooTa* in the above example. Let us look at the following example:

134. *ellaikkooTTai taaNT-iy-a maTTai aTi*

boundary-ACC cross-PAST-ADJP bat strike

'the bat strike which made the ball to cross boundary'

The literary meaning of the above example is "the strike which crossed the boundary". It appears that many such instances of NMEs headed by non-argument nouns can be found in Tamil. Even NMEs headed by argument nouns need interpretation by expansion.

### 2.2.8. Lexicalization of NMEs

A number of NMEs are lexicalized as adjectives. Following are the few examples: the adjectivalized form *keTTa* 'bad' (from verb *keTu* 'become bad'), *iruNTa* 'dark' (from the verb *iruL* 'become dark', *varaLNTa* 'dry' (from verb *varaL* 'become dry').

### 2.2.9. Difficulty in deciding the head as argument-noun or not

There are NME + N combinations it is difficult to decide whether the head nouns are argument heads or non-argument heads.

135. *co-nn-a peccu*

say-PAST-ADJP talk

'what has been said/instructed'

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It is difficult to say that 135 is derived from the following possible source sentence.

136. *avan peecc-aic co-nn-aan*  
he talke-ACC say-PAST-He  
Literally mean: 'he said a speech/talk'

### 2.2.10. NMEs Headed by Spatio-temporal and Manner Nouns

Lehman (1993:340-347) notes down (as observed by Paramasivam 1983:203-8) that there are certain complex noun phrases in which the noun modifying expressions are adjectival clauses or relative participle clauses and the heads are temporal and manner nouns such as *pootu* 'time/at the time', *piRaku/ appuRam/pin/pinnar* 'posteriority/after', *mun/munnar* 'anteriority/before', *uTan* 'immediacy/immediately', *varai* 'end/limit/up to/until', and *maatiri paTi/aaRu* 'manner,way/'; they together function as adverbs. *piRaku*, *appuRam*, *pinnar*, *pin*, *mun*, *munnar* and *uTan* function as postpositions after nouns and alone as adverbs.

137. *kaNNan viiTTu-kku va-nt-a pootu ndaan viiTT-il illai*  
Kannan house come-PAST-ADJP time I house-LOC not  
'At the time/When Kannan came to (my) house, I was not in the house'

138. *avaL kaNNan va-ndt-a pinnar/piRaku va-ndt-aaL*  
she Kannan come-PAST-ADJP after come-PAST-SHE  
'She came after Kannan came'

139. *avaL kaNNan var-um mun/munnar viiTTiR-ku va-ndt-aaL*  
she Kannan come-FUT-ADJP before house-DAT come-PAST-SHE  
'She came to house before Kannan came'

140. *avaL kaNNan va-ndt-a uTan veLiyee poo-n-aaL*  
she Kannan come-PAST-ADJP immediately out-side go-PAST-SHE  
'She went out as soon as Kannan came'

141. *kaNNan veelaiy-ai muTikkiRa varai avaL kaattiru-ndt-aaL*  
 Kannan work-ACC finish-PRES-ADJP up-to she wait-PAST-SHE  
 ‘She waited as long as Kannan finished his work’
142. *kaNNan varu-kiR-a varai avaL kaattiru-pp-aaL*  
 Kannan come-PRES-ADJP she wait-FUT-SHE  
 ‘She will wait until Kannan comes’
143. *ndaan con-n-a paTi/maatiri avaL keeT-T-aaL*  
 I say-PAST-ADJP way she listen-PAST-SHE  
 ‘She obeyed me as I said’
144. *mazai varu-kiR-a maatiri terikiR-atu*  
 rain come-PRES-ADJP way appear-PRES-IT  
 ‘It appears that it is going to rain’
145. *avaL avan-aip pookum paTi/aaRu kuuR-in-aaL*  
 she he-ACC go-FUT-ADJP way ask-PAST-SHE  
 ‘She asked him to go’

### 2.3 NMEs with Finite Clauses

A finite clause when complemented by the complementing verb *en* ‘say’ in adjectival forms *enRa*, *enkiRa*, *ennum* can function as NMEs. *enRa* (< *en-R-a* ‘say-PAST-ADJP’), *enkiRa* (< *en-kiR-a* ‘say-PRES-ADJP’) and *ennum* (< *enn-um* ‘say-FUT-ADJP’) can modify a noun which flows it. *enRa*, *enkiRa* and *ennum* can be replaced by each other without imparting meaning difference among the sentences which take *enRa*, *enkiRa* and *ennum* as their respective complementizers. The complement clause consisting of the embedded S and the complementizer *enRa/enkiRa/ennum* has the categorical status of an adjectival clause. These complementizers require a noun to complete the nominalization process. These nouns include abstract nouns like *ceyti* ‘news’, *viSayam* ‘matter’, *karuttu* ‘opinion’, *uNmai* ‘truth’ etc. As the adjectival clause with *enRa*, *enkiRa* and *ennum* occur as a complement to a noun, it can be interpreted either as a

relative clause proper or appositive clause. If the nominalizing noun is not an argument of the relativized verb, then, the relative clause can be interpreted as appositive clause.

146. *kaNNan pooTTi-yil ve-nR-aan enRa/enkiRa/ennum ceyti uNmai*

Kannan contest\_LOC win\_PAST\_he COMP news true

'The news that Kannan won the contest is true.'

147. *kaNNan kaTitam var-a-villai enRa ceytiy-aic con-n-aan*

Kumar letter come-INF-not COMP news-ACC tell-PAST-HE

'Kannan told the news that no letter was received'

If the nominalizing/head noun is an argument of the adjectivalized verb, then *enRa*-clause can be interpreted as a relative clause proper. This happens when the embedded clause contains the modal auxiliary verb form *-aam* (which occurs only in one finite form) (Lehman 1993: 328) and the whole clause can be interpreted as a relative clause proper.

148. *kaNNan vaangk-al-aam enRa ndilatt-ai ndaan paar-tt-een*

Kannan buy-NOM-may COMP land-ACC I see-PAST-I

'I saw the land which Kannan may buy.'

Abstract nouns such as *keeLvi* 'question', *aiyam/candteekam* 'doubt', etc can head *enRa*-complement clause. In this context the S (finite clause) of the complement clause takes an interrogative clitic *aa*. The resultant relative clause in turn can function as the subject to the be-verbs such as *iru* 'be', *uL* 'be', *il* 'be not', *kiTaaiaatu* 'be not', *uNTu* 'be' (Lehman 1993:329).

149. *kaNNan ndaaLai varu-v-aan-aa enRa aiyam en-akku iru-kkiR-atu*

Kannan tomorrow come-FUT-HE-Q doubt I-DAT be-PRES-IT

'I have doubt whether Kannan will come tomorrow'

*enRa*-clause complemented by abstract nouns is sometimes synonymous with appositive clause (relativized clause) without *enRa*.



150. *puli varu-kiR-atu enRa payatt-il avan ooTivi-T-aan*  
tiger come-PRES-IT COMP fear-LOC he run away-PAST-HE  
'He ran away due to the fear that tiger is coming'

151. *puli varu-kiR-a payatt-il avan ooTivi-T-aan*  
tiger come-PRES-ADJP fear-LOC he run away-PAST-HE  
'He ran away due to the fear that tiger is coming'

The nouns of perception such as *cattam* 'sound', *maNam* 'smell', *uNarcci* 'feeling', etc. can head only the adjectival clause and not the *enRa*-complement clause (Lehman 1993:329).

152. *aRaiy-il yaaroo iru-kkiR-a cattam keeT-T-atu*  
room-LOC who be-PRES-ADJP sound hear-PAST-IT  
'The sound that someone was in the room was heard'.

153. *\*aRaiyil yaaroo iru-kkiR-aarkaL enRa cattam keeT-T-atu*  
room\_LOC who be\_PRES\_they COMP sound hear\_PAST\_it

#### 2.4. NMEs with *enRatu*, *enkiRatu*, and *enpatu* as Heads

The complementizers *enRatu*, *enkiRatu* and *enpatu* are tense inflected abstract nouns of the verb *en* 'say'. They too embed an S in finite clause; that is the verb of the embedded S is in finite form. Only *enkiRatu* and *enpatu* are used as complementizers in Modern Tamil; *enRatu* is not in use; *enpatu* is more commonly used than *enkiRatu*. *enpatu* can embed a verbal as well as non-verbal predicate clauses.

154. *kaNNan ceennai poo-y-viT-T-aan enkiRatu/enpatu en-akkut teriy-um*  
Kannan Chennai go-ADVP-leave-PAST-he COMP I-DAT know-FUT  
'I know that Kannan has gone to Chennai'

155. *kannan oru paaTTukkaaran enkiRatu/enpatu en-akkut teriy-um*  
Kannan a singer COMP I-DAT know know-FUT  
'I know that Kannan is a singer'.

156. *kaNNan oru kolaikaaran enkiRatu/enpatu uNmai*

Kannan a murderer COMP true

'It is true that Kannan is a murderer'

157. *kaNNan va-ndtu-viT-T-aan enkiRatu/enaptu uNmai*

Kannan come-ADVP-leave-PAST-HE COMP true

'It is true that Kannan has come'

The complements of the *enpatu*-clauses of the 154 and 157 have verbal predicates whereas the 155 and 156 have nominal predicates. In 154 and 155 the matrix predicates are verbal whereas in 156 and 157 the matrix predicates are nominal.

The construction consisting of the embedded S and complementizer *enpatu* has the categorical status of a nominalized clause. So an *enpatu*-clause can be inflected for cases which in turn function as subject, object etc of a predicate. It occurs in all NP positions except the predicate position.

1. *enpatu*-clause in subject relation

158. *oru kaNippoRi vaangk-a-veeNT-um enpatu enatu aacai*

one computer buy-INF-want-FUT COMP my desire

'My desire is to buy a computer'

2. *enpatu*-clause in object relation

159. *ndaaLai paLLi illai enpat-aik keeLvippaT-T-eeen*

Tomorrow school not COMP-ACC learn-PAST-I

'I learned that there is no school tomorrow'.

3. *enpatu*-clause in sociative relation

160. *KaNNan aparaatam kaT-T-in-aan enpatooTu ciRaikkum cen-R-aan*

Kannan fine remit-PAST- he COMP-SOCI jail go-PAST-HE

'Kannan not only remitted the fine but also went to Jail'

*enpatu*-clause is synonymous with *atu*-clause as can be inferred from the following examples.

161. *raatai inRu varu-v-aaL enpatu en-akkut teriy-um*  
Radha today come-FUT-SHE COMP I-DAT know-FUT  
'I know that Radha will come today'

162. *raatai inRu varu-v-atu en-akkut teriy-um*  
Radha today come-FUT-IT I-DAT know-FUT  
'I know that Radha will come today'

*enpatu*-clause is synonymous with *enRu*-clause in certain contexts.

163. *kaNNan var-a-maaTT-aan enpatu en-akkut teriy-um*  
Kannan come\_INF-not-HE COMP I-DAT know-FUT  
'I know that Kannan will not come'

164. *kaNNan var-a-maaTT-aan enRu en-akkut teriy-um*  
Kannan come-INF-not-HE COMP I-DAT know-FUT  
'I know that Kannan will not come'

Larkin (1972:49) feels that object complement clauses of *enRu* and *enpatu* are not semantically identical as exemplified by the following examples. If the speaker feels that he is giving information that is new to us he uses *enRu*-clause; on the other hand, if the speaker wants to remind or point out a known fact he uses *enpatu*-clause.

165. *maRupaTiyum avar teertal-il tooRRuviT-T-aar enRu con-n-aaL*  
again he election-LOC fail-PAST-HE COMP say-PAST-she  
'She told that he lost the election again'

166. *maRupaTiyum avar teertail tooRRuviTTaar enpataic connaaL*  
again he election\_LOC fail-PAST-HE COMP say\_PAST\_she  
'She told that he lost the election again'

167. *vinai vitaittavan vinaiyai aRuppaan enRa pazamozi*

bad-act sow-PAST-HE bad-result reap-FUT-He say-ARJP old-saying  
'the old saying that One who sowed bad act will reap bad results'

168. *vaazaikkaay utal-ukku ndallatu alla enRa karuttu*

unripe-plantain-fruit body-DAT good not COM opinion  
'the opinion that the unripe plantain fruit is not good for health'

169. *amaiicar kollap-paT-T-aar enpat-an viLaivaaka kalavaram eeRpaTTatu*

minister kill-INF-PASS-PAST-He COMP-that result riot happen-PAST-IT  
'the riot broke as a result of minister being killed,'

## 2.5. Infinitive Clause as NME

Rarely, as in the following instance, infinite clause (i.e. verb without tense and marked by *a*) can function as NME.

170. *avan cuT-ac cuT-a toocai caappiTTaan*

He heat-INF heat-INF dosa eat-PAST-HE  
'He ate hot dosa'

## 3. Conclusion

We have seen different instances of NMEs in Tamil. There are at least three types of NMEs. One type of NMEs is headed by nouns which are the arguments of the relativized verbs. Here we have seen some constraints on the heads of NMEs. The second type of NMEs is headed by nouns which are not the arguments of the relativized verbs. Here we have noticed that not all the non-argument nouns can head the NMEs and there are semantic constraints on the heads of the NMEs. Even the tense (past, present and future) also puts constraints on the heads of NMEs. There are only selective sets of abstract nouns which can head the NMEs of the second type. The third type of NMEs has a finite clause with an adjectival *en*-complementizer. The third type of NMEs with a finite verb and adjectival *en*-complementizer can be headed by non-argument

abstract nouns and those with the model verb *aam* and adjectival *en*-complementizer can be headed by argument nouns. We have noticed a tendency in which some of the NME + N combinations have been compressed and they need expansion for proper interpretation. The NMEs headed by non-argument nouns need further exploration.

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