REDUPLICATIVES

The onomatopoetic expressions which occur always doubled with identical components are called reduplicatives. The single words also can be doubled or multiplied further. For example *pasitrenal* can also occur as *pasitrapitrenal*. But in the case of reduplicatives they cannot occur single. For example, *palapalaekal* cannot occur as *palaenal*. This is called  *iraqali-u-kilavi* by Tamil grammarians. The part of the reduplicated words might have been a free word in the past. For example in *kamagamaenal*, *kama* is connected with *kamai* which is a free word. But at the present stage *kama* does not occur in isolation and therefore has to be taken as a reduplicative. In a few of the reduplicatives, one part of them occurs seperately as a noun.

e.g. *maqakku*-in *maqakumaqakku* enal.

But it does not have the onomatopoetic value as a noun. The reduplicatives also take the nominal suffix-pu-and the verbal noun suffix *tial*. After the *en*- group, the reduplicatives with *-pu* form a larger group. The reduplicatives which are conjugated belong to XII conjugation. As in the case of single words, all the reduplicated words will take *en*-.

The reduplicatives also introduce new phonemic distribution in Tamil. In the initial position one gets *t*, e.g. *takalak*.

Reduplicatives

enal *tickling sound of a clock*, 1, e.g. lapalapovanal
Expression of beating the open mouth with the palm of the hand on account of sorrow*. Plosives occur in the final position. e.g. *kak kaka enal* 'chuckling as fowls'. But sometimes such expressions with new syllabic pattern are changed to be on par with the syllabic structure of other words. e.g. *kapakkuk kapukkenal* 'sounding impetuously'.

The regular sandhi rules operate in the reduplicatives also. When a vowel is followed by another vowel a glide comes in between, e.g. *ilavilavenal* 'Expr. denoting luxuriant growth of vegetation'. Sometimes the glide is not found in the onomatopoetic words as they are given in the Tamil Lexicon. But they can get the glide. The final shortened *u* is lost when followed by another vowel, e.g. *kirukirenal* 'cracking as that of a saw when cutting the timber'. Thenasal is assimilated to the homorganic nasal of the following plosive.

e.g. *kiyaniyyaemenal* 'peeping of chickens'

1. With *en*

All the onomatopoetic reduplicative words can occur with this verb *en*-'to say'. This verb is usually used for quotes. The reduplicatives which occur only with *en* from the majority having 100 words to their account out of the reduplicatives.

*akkuvakkenal* 'Expr. of restless wandering'
*akavakkenal* 'An expression which either repudiates or doubts a statement
*ilavilavenal* 'Denoting luxuriant growth of vegetation'
*keciccegal* 'Expr. of scaring away birds etc.'
*kakkaenal* 'Chuckling as fowls'
*kacukkaacenal* 'Expr. of babbbling interminably'
*karukirenal* 'Expression of seeing things with anger'
*kicukkiccegal* 'Signifying chirping as of lizards'
*kitukkitukkenal* 'Signifying hallow sound'
Ônomatopoeia in Tamil

kiyakukkikukkkenal: "Expr. signifying tinkling sound"
kiyakiyamenedal: "Signifying peeping of chickens"
kikiletal: "Signifying clinking sound"
kirakiranenal: "Signifying calling repeatedly"
kikigavenenal: "Expr. signifying confusion"
kikikyenal: "Signifying chirping, peeping sound as of chickiness, screaming sound as of birds"

kicukicenal: "Chirping as of birds" — do —
kicukkicenal: "Signifying cracking as that of a saw when cutting the timber"

kirukirenal: "Expr. of rattling noise"
kuukkanukukkenenal: "Crackling noise as of flames, signifying jerking"
kumikumigenal: "Signifying tinkling sound as of anklets"

kuvakuvarenal: "Expr. signifying squalling, crying as a new born infant"

kulakkukukulakanenal: "Signifying rumbling sound, hanging loose as arms with feebleness"

kukavenal: "Signifying crowing sound as of a cock"

kutaktenenal: "Signifying palpitation of heart through fright"
kuttukettenenal: "Chirping cackling sound as of a hen"

kerutukkeratenenal: "Hoarse sound or rattle as in difficult or hard breathing"

koraottukkorenental: "Expression of repeated thud"
cakckaottikkaatjasenal: "Expr. signifying the blowing of the wind"
cacakacacagenal: "Reproof, silence, rush in sipidity"

capcapenal: "Worrying with frequent crying"
cuuccucenegal: "Signifying hurry irritability"
ccoottukkenenal: "Repeated clacking noise of wooden sandals in walking"

Reduplicatives

cotutucotcenegal: "Dripping, drizzling"
	"Tickling sound of a clock, the chattering noise of boots"
	"The sound of a drum"
	— do —
	"Cracking sound of fire, beating sound of drum"
	"Expr. of repeated thumping sound"
	"Expr. of signifying quick succession"
	"Expr. of crackling roaring sound as of burning fire"
	"Expr. of rattling as of a drum"
	"Expr. of rapid kindling of fire getting excited with anger"
	"Keeping time in dancing or music bustle of a great sound repeated sounds in rapid succession"
	"Expr. repeated or beating sound"
	"Expr. of the sound of the flow of at big crowd"

cacacacenegal: "Expr. signifying stickiness constant worry"

cacacacenegal: "Expr. signifying troubling"

notukkunotukkenenal: "Expr. signifying slight tapping or knocking noise"

notukkunotukkenenal: "Signifying frequent passing of tools"

pakapakagenal: "Expr. of crackling of fire; signifying burning sensation of hunger"

pacukpacugenatal: "Expr. signifying green appearance"

patapatalenegal: "Expr. signifying the trembling of the heart"

patukupatukkenenal: "Expr. signifying the throbbing of the heart through fear"

parakuparakenegal: "Expr. signifying utterperplexity; Expr. of scratching sound"
Oomatopoiea in Tamil

paripariyegal
'An Expr. used for controlling elephants'

palalalavengal
'Sounding chirping'

para parakegal
'Expr. of scratching'

paqapagavegal
'Expr. signifying repetitively'

pilapilegal
'The rustling sound of dry leaves while falling down'

pilipiliyegal
'Expr. signifying the noise of a gathering crowd'

pilupiluvegal
'Expr. signifying the rustling sound of dry leaves while falling down; the noise of a gathering crowd'

pukupukegal
'Expr. of gushing out as water; coming in pugs as wind'

pukkupukkenegal
'Expr. of crackling sound fire'

pucipuciyegal
'Expr. of being unnecessarily afraid'

putupputtegal
'Expr. of hard breathing as from running, sudden swelling of the body'

puparegal
'Expr. of swelling enlarging suddenly or growing rapidly'

paraipuraiyegal
'Expr. signifying enough enough'

poriporiyegal
'Expr. signifying scolding, rapid speaking'

polapolavegal
'Expr. signifying crumbling as of earth, looseness'

matakkumatakegal
'Expr. signifying gurgling of water in drinking'

maramaragal
'Expr. of crashing'

makkumakkagal
'Expr. of sobbing violently, doing anything violently'

moyomoyaegal
'Expr. of the mewing of cats'

mukamukegal
'Humming of the bees'

mocumocenegal
'Expr. of crushing sound as of cattle eating seeds; breathing hard as when intensely at work'

meqameqegal
'Expr. murmuring, discontent'

Reduplicatives

mokamokegal
'Expr. of boiling; gurgling sound as of water poured from a narrow necked vessel'

mocukkumocukegal
'Expr. being resonant'

mocumococenegal
Expr. of munching'

motukkumotukkegal
'Expr. of gulping'

motumotegal
'Expr. signifying sound of swallowing or suckling in liquid; crowding together'

mollumollegal
'Expr. signifying noisy clamour'

lapolapovgal
'Expr. of beating the open mouth with 'the palm of the hand an account of sorrow'

lavalavavegal
'Expr. being distressed or knocked about in life; crying in sorrow'

lavavavvegal
'do—

lonoローンkenegal
'Expr. signifying physical exhaustion'

lottukkotukkenegal
'Expr. signifying shakiness as of a running carriage'

lottuloolegal
'Expr. of beating hard; giving repeated blows; hollow sound'

vakkuvakegal
'Expr. of running to exhaustion'

valukkuvaluukegal
'Expr. of toughness'

vayvayegal
'Expr. of threatening'

vijivelivegal
'An imitative sound'

vijivitenga
'Expr. of being busy trembling in fear etc., being angry'

vitavitavegal
'Expr. of being luke-warm'

vitukvitukkenegal
'Expr. of palpitation of heart due to fear'

veccuveccegal
'Expr. of being hot; becoming heat'

veṭṭuveccegal
'Expr. of being angry'

ii. With-ttal

The verbal noun suffix-ttal is added to 57 words. Among the reduplicative with -pu take -ttal also. That is they can be conjugated. These words can not be made into nouns
by adding the -ppu suffix. The reduplicatives which take -ttal suffix are always the reduplication of the pattern CVCV.

**Reduplicatives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil Word</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapakapattal</td>
<td>'The sound of gurgling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamakamattal</td>
<td>'To be very fragrant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karukaruttal</td>
<td>'To become very black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiṭukijuttal</td>
<td>'To tremble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiṣukinijuttal</td>
<td>'To buzz as mosquitoes; to hum as bees'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kijukijuttal</td>
<td>'To feel joy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuṣukututtal</td>
<td>'Whimpering, whining'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumijkumijuttal</td>
<td>'To spread fragrance to send whiffs of odour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurukuruttal</td>
<td>'To break out as prickly heat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulukuluttal</td>
<td>'To creep or crawl noisily as vermin in a basket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kujaikujaittal</td>
<td>'To become confused'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kujaikuattal</td>
<td>'To grow soft as jaggery; to become puply, signifying gurgling sound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kujiikijuttal</td>
<td>'To be delivered of a child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kujiukututta</td>
<td>'To grow luxuriantly, to become pale'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotikotittal</td>
<td>'To bubble up as boiling rice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolakolattal</td>
<td>'To become loose, deranged in parts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kojiikoluttal</td>
<td>'To be soft as an over ripe fruit; gurgling of sound speaking indistinctly and foolishly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolukoluttal</td>
<td>'To become loose, deranged in parts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kojiakojattal</td>
<td>'To bubble with anger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kologoluttal</td>
<td>'To crash, peal of repeated sound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciṣicijuttal</td>
<td>'To be chattering, to decay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curucuruttal</td>
<td>'Signifying rapid burning as combustibles, twitching with pain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curucuruttal</td>
<td>'To be extremely fertile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ecjiucejittal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil Word</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>colucoluttal</td>
<td>'The state of continuous drizzling the state of being mashy as ever-boiled rice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colucoluttal</td>
<td>'To become muddy slippery as the growth by rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tataatatattal</td>
<td>'To totter from age, to be loose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talututtal</td>
<td>'To falter or stammer from ecstatic joy, love or other emotion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahatauttal</td>
<td>'The sound caused by the discharge of watery stools; breaking wind etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tijutijuttal</td>
<td>'Beating of the heart through fear, signifying speed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirutijuttal</td>
<td>'To stare; look wild as one in fear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narunaratul</td>
<td>'To feel grit in the mouth along with food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narunaratul</td>
<td>'Grinding the teeth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nalaḷuttal</td>
<td>'To speak evasively'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikunikuttal</td>
<td>'Crashing sound as of a falling tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neruneruttal</td>
<td>'To feel sudden pain as in the stomach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neraneruttal</td>
<td>'Grinding the teeth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neruneruttal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noṭunottal</td>
<td>'To be fidgety', restless, to be rude, 'Sound of speaking through nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noṭanoppaṭṭal</td>
<td>'To become soft from over ripeness, to be mashy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noṭunottal</td>
<td>'To whisper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pocupocuttal</td>
<td>'To snap as cords'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potupottal</td>
<td>'To produce the sound of buffling or flowing abundantly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malamalattal</td>
<td>'To crash, rattle sound loudly as branches in snapping'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malaḷattal</td>
<td>'To murmur, grumble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokumokuttal</td>
<td>'To resound'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Onomatopoeia in Tamil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplicatives</th>
<th>Translations</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaṭukāṭappu</td>
<td>'To rustle as dried skin, starchy cloth to rumble as bowls'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaṇakaṇappu</td>
<td>'To murmur, grumble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moraramottal</td>
<td>'To resound'</td>
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<tr>
<td>mokumokuttal</td>
<td>'To rustle as dried skin, starchy cloth to rumble as bowls'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molomoluttal</td>
<td>'To murmur, grumble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loṭaloṭattal</td>
<td>'To become rickety, to be hollow or empty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viṭaviṭattal</td>
<td>'Trembling as from being lean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veruveruttal</td>
<td>'To be afraid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karakarappu</td>
<td>'Sign of hot temper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalakalappu</td>
<td>'Temperature of the body slightly more than the normal; ringing of bells'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalakāḷappu</td>
<td>'Irritation in the throat; hoarseness of voice; dragging violently'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karaṅkaṅappu</td>
<td>'Rustling; sociability'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kicukicupp</td>
<td>'Loud and confused noise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilikilupp</td>
<td>'Reiterative sound crispness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirukirupp</td>
<td>'Signifying hissing as a rocket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kucukucupp</td>
<td>'Childs rattle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuṭukuṭupp</td>
<td>'Giddiness, haughtiness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuḷakkulappu</td>
<td>'Whispering'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuṛukurupp</td>
<td>'Hurry; haste; to rumble; toralle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotukotuppu</td>
<td>'Desire; eagerness; shivering with cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalakalappu</td>
<td>'To be mashy; to be timid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalakāḷappu</td>
<td>'Muttering in displeasure active ness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caracarappu</td>
<td>'Throbbing with pain, slight raiser of temperature in the body'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caracarappu</td>
<td>'Rattling in the root'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calacalappu</td>
<td>'Sound of falling trees'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caḷācaḷappu</td>
<td>'Rustling; rustling as of starchy cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caḷācaḷappu</td>
<td>'To rustle, to be talking incessantly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciṭuṭippu</td>
<td>'Babbling, splashing as of rain; to become watery as vegetables'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cilucilupp</td>
<td>'Frowning of hissing noise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curacurappu</td>
<td>'Chill, guerulousness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curacurappu</td>
<td>'Roughness as of wollen cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curucurupp</td>
<td>'Deligence activity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curucurupp</td>
<td>'Bustling; hurrying'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cotacotappu</td>
<td>'The state of being marshy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takatakappu</td>
<td>'Dazzling, glowing boiling as water bubbling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatattaḷappu</td>
<td>'Being plump'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Onomatopoeia in Tamil

Reduplicatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muramurappu</td>
<td>‘Cleanliness, roughness stiffness as of washed cloth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meñameñappu</td>
<td>‘Murmuring, discontent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metumetappu</td>
<td>‘Softness, having a soft surface’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melumelappu</td>
<td>‘To be soft to the touch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moñamoñappu</td>
<td>‘Rattling sound as of dried skin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moñamolappu</td>
<td>‘Rustling, cleanliness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moñumolappu</td>
<td>‘Smooth and soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moramorappu</td>
<td>‘Plump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vájavalappu</td>
<td>‘Cleanliness, dryness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váluvalappu</td>
<td>‘Slipperiness, smoothness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vájavalappu</td>
<td>‘Clamminess; slimmness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vájvalappu</td>
<td>‘Talkativeness woodiness vain talk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>várvavenappu</td>
<td>‘To be slimmy, to be uncertain or indecisive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vituvitappu</td>
<td>‘Becoming dry and hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vituvitappu</td>
<td>‘Longing, desire, throbbing pain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vituvitappu</td>
<td>‘trembling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vitvillappu</td>
<td>‘Tingling sensation, itching with sexual desire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viluvilappu</td>
<td>‘To be faint with fatigue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viruvirappu</td>
<td>‘Slimness; slipperiness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vétuvétappu</td>
<td>‘To be pungent; to fret with anger’</td>
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<tr>
<td>vétuvétappu</td>
<td>‘Churlishness, crabbedness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vélvelvelappu</td>
<td>‘Iukwarmness, warmth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jilujilappu</td>
<td>‘Whiteness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jilujilappu</td>
<td>‘To be pleasant’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

v. With Auxiliary Verbs

A few reduplicatives take auxiliary verbs and these verbs are then conjugated. There is only one such onomatopoeic reduplicative which takes two different auxiliaries.

kicçukicçupanntutal | ‘To tickle with a view’ |
kicçukiçuµatutal | ‘To make one laugh’ |
Onomatopoeia in Tamil

Vijituppu
Tuqatuqappu
Turuturuppu
Tugutuguppu
Tontatoqappu
Tojatolappu
Toqutoquppu
Nacanacappu

Nacunacuppu
Notunotuppu
Noqunoquppu
Pasapacappu

Paqapaqappu
Paraparappu
Paqapaqappu
Macamacappu
Matamatappu
Matamatappu

Malamalappu
Malumalappu
Miqumiquppu
Miqumiquppu
Miqumiquppu
Mucumucuppu

Mujumujappu
Mugamugappu
Mujumujappu
Muramurappu

Reduplicatives

Muramurappu
Mujumujappu
Menamenoappu
Metumetuppu
Mieinusuppu
Motamotappu
Moramorappu
Molamolappu
Molumoluppu
Mogamogappu
Valavalappu
Valuvalappu
Valuvalappu
Valuvalappu

Warravapappu
Vituvituppu
Viruviruppu
Vilvilappu
Vilviluppu
Viruviruppu
Vetvetuppu
Vetvetuppu
Vetvetuppu
Vetvetuppu

Jiliyijuppu

Cleanliness, roughness; stiffness as of washed cloth
-Murmur-
Murmuring, discontent
Softness, having a soft surface
To be soft to the touch
Rattling sound as of dried skin
Rustling, cleanliness
Smooth and soft
Plump
Cleanliness, dryness
Slipperiness, smoothness
Clamminess; slimness
Talkativeness; woodiness; vain talk
To be slimy, to be uncertain or indecisive
Becoming dry and hard
Longing, desire, throbbing pain
Trembling
Tingling sensation, itching with sexual desire
To be faint with fatigue
Slimness; slipperiness
To be pungent; to fret with anger
Churlishness, crabbedness
Lukewarmness, warmth
Whiteness
To be pleasant

V. With Auxiliary Verbs

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Kicukiccupanputal  'To tickle with a view'
Kicukiccumuttutal  'To make one laugh'
v. With other nominal suffixes

The other nominal suffixes that are added to the reduplicatives are i, ai, and ān. They are mostly agentive suffixes. By the addition of this they denote the objects which produce the sounds. The addition of ai makes sometimes the reduplicatives into abstract nouns.

E.g. kuṉukujappai ‘The state of being pale and bloated in countenance’
This ai suffix and the suffix -ān are added after the reduplicatives take a formative suffix.

E.g. kicukicuttān ‘Small paper kite without a tail’
    kicukicuppān —do—
(a) With -i

Two words in this section take nominal/agentive suffix -i.
    kicikini ‘Tinkling ornament’
    kilukili ‘Children’s rattle box’
(b) With -ai

Five words in this section take nominal suffix -ai. The addition of two different formatives to kuṭukutūtu gives two different but related meanings.
    kilukilippai ‘Child’s rattle’
    kuṭukutukkai ‘Ripe cocanaut in which the kernel rattles’
    kuṭukutuppai ‘Anything making a rattling sound’
    kuḻukuluppai ‘The state of being pale and bloated in countenance’
    kuṭukuruppai ‘Snoring; stertorous breathing’
(c) With -ān

Two words in this section take the suffix -ān. One word takes two different formatives.
    kicukicuttān ‘Small paper kite without a tail’

Reduplicatives

kicukicuppān    —do—
kuṭukututtān     ‘One who is always in hungry’

vii. -as Attributes

A few reduplicated words come as attributes of nouns.

They are 10 in number.

kicukikkuttampalam ‘A child’s play’
    kītkutupāṭālam ‘Abzsmall depth of causing fright’
    kicikinīttamam ‘String of small tinkling bells for the waist; ankles of woman’
    kicikinippālai ‘Needle leaved swallow wort’
    kicikinimālai —do—
    kicākkicāntāppullān ‘Child’s game of finding out a small stick hidden in a ridge of sand’
    kicukikkuttampalam —do—
    kicukikkuttampālam —do—
    kuṭukutukkaiyān ‘To uttering descrepit old man’
    kuṭukutuppānti ‘Professional beggar who goes about rattling’
    akutukutuppai ‘And telling fortunes’

viii. Objects

A few reduplicatives as such without any nominal suffix denote the object which produce such sounds. They are 2 in number.

kakkā ‘Crow’
    kītukīt ‘A small drum’