

LINGUISTIC STRUCTURES IN TAMIL

A HISTORICAL STUDY

A. ATHITHAN

**Publications Division
Madurai Kamaraj University**



Linguistic Structures in Tamil - A Historical Study

(The Grammar of Tolkāppiyam and the Language of
Paṭiṇṇēṭṭiṭṭaṇakku - A Comparative Study)

Dr. A. Athithan



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M. LAKSHMANAN
Vice-Chancellor

Palaniyam
MADURAI-625 004

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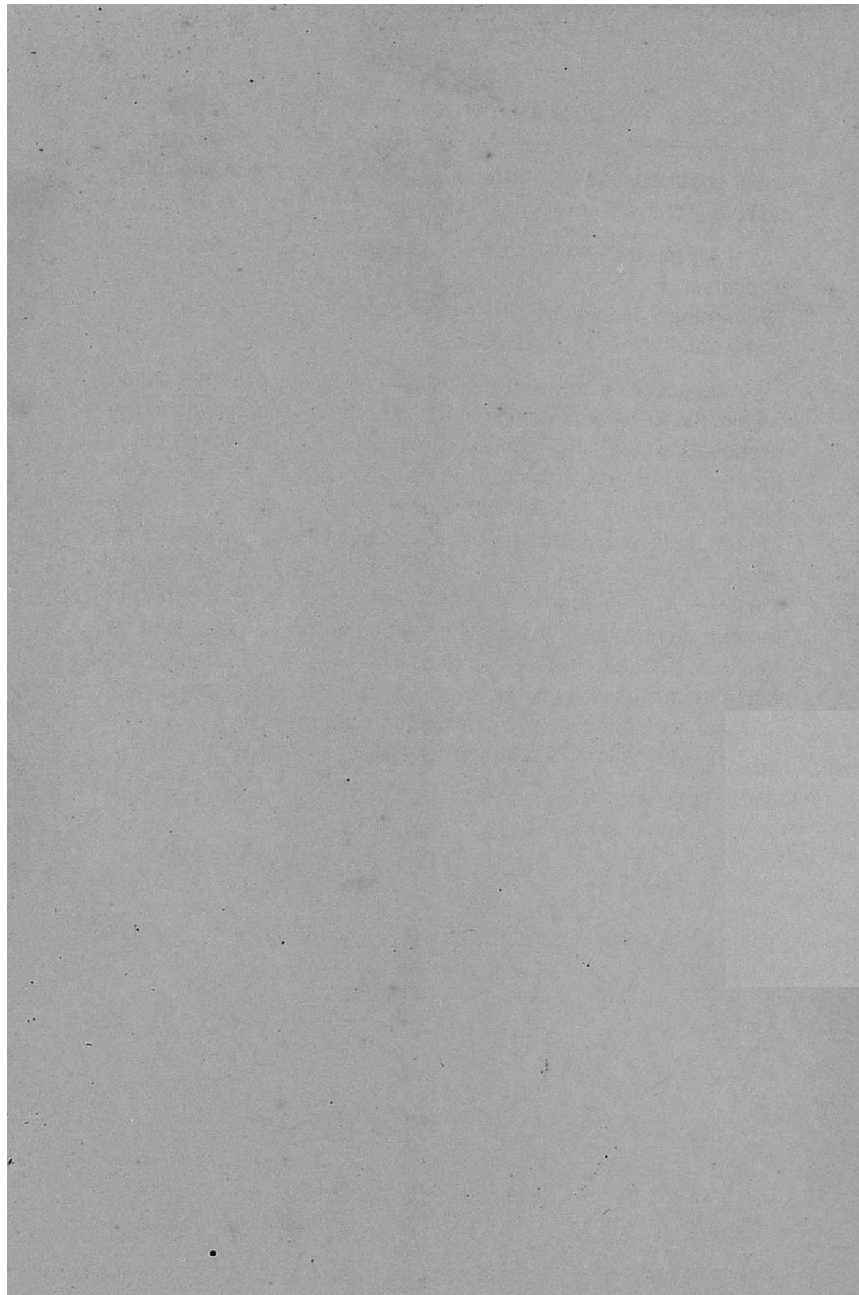
Dr. A. Arulian, a dynamic young linguist has written the monograph 'Linguistic Structures in Tamil - A Historical Study'.

As a work based on original **to K.A.R.M.**
represents a significant contribution to the history of Tamil language.

The Madurai Kamaraj University is pleased to undertake publication of the book in its library.

I have pleasure in welcoming the publication of the work. My wishes and blessings to its author for doing many more successful contributions to the domain of Linguistics.

M. LAKSHMANAN
Vice-Chancellor





MADURAI KAMARAJ UNIVERSITY

Off. : 34949

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M. LAKSHMANAN
Vice-Chancellor

Palkalai Nagar
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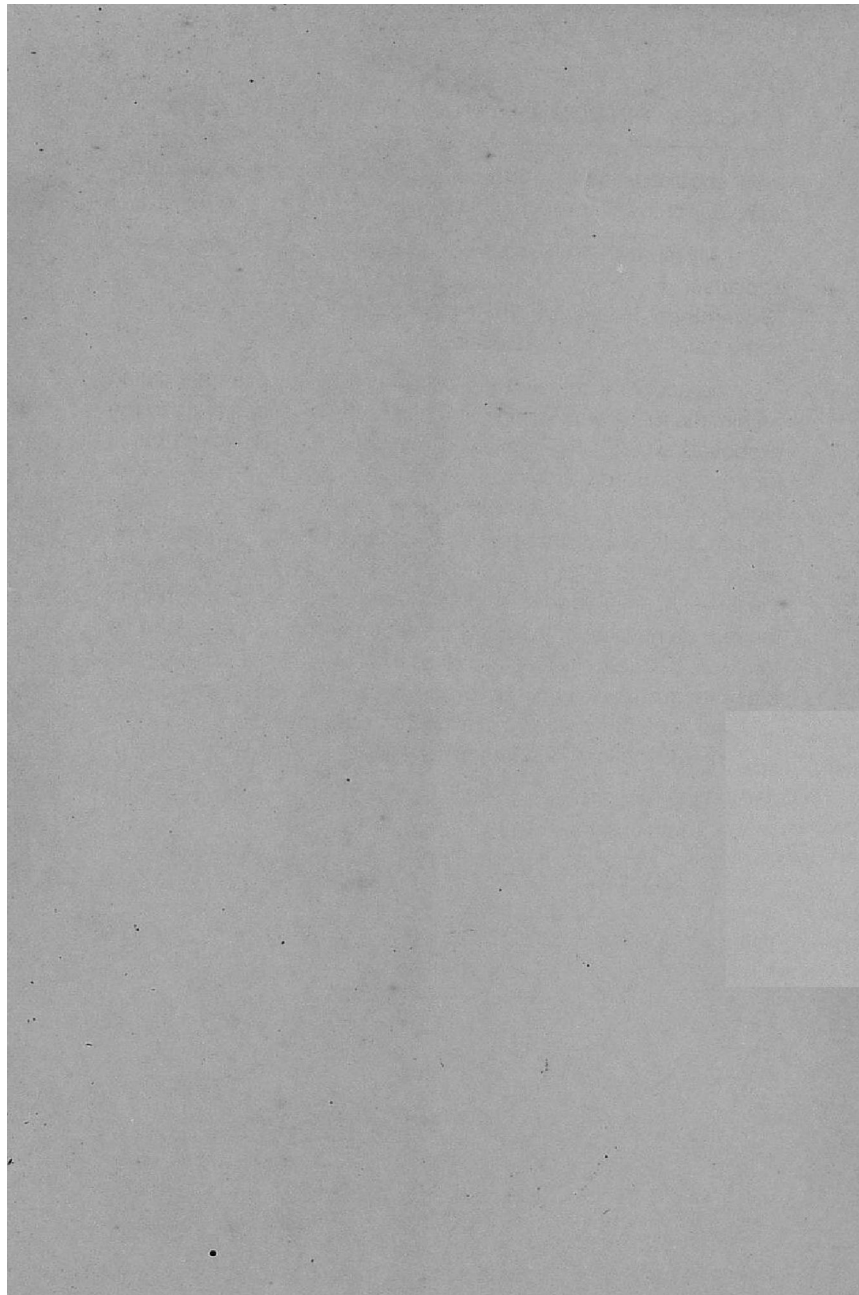
Dr. A. Athithan, a dynamic young linguist has written the monograph 'Linguistic Structures in Tamil - A Historical Study'.

As a work based on original research, this study represents a significant contribution to the study of the history of Tamil language.

The Madurai Kamaraj University is happy to have undertaken publication of this useful research contribution.

I have pleasure in welcoming this exhaustive and fine work. My wishes and blessings to its author to bring out many more successful contributions to the discipline of Linguistics.

M. LAKSHMANAN
Vice-Chancellor





MADURAI KAMARAJ UNIVERSITY

Dr. M. ISRAEL

Professor & Head
Department of Linguistics

Palkalai Nagar
Madurai - 625 021

Foreword

The present publication entitled 'Linguistic Structures in Tamil - A Historical Study' is the outcome of the research work done by Dr. A. Athithan under my supervision from November 1975 and it forms part of the research thesis submitted by him for his Ph.D. Degree to the Madurai Kamaraj University in 1979. Of the three volumes of the enormous work done by the Scholar on 'The Grammar of Tolkāppiyam and the Language of Paṭiṇepkiḷkkaṇakku - A Comparative Study', this is the first part with a modified title. The study comprises of seven chapters namely Phonology, Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives and Adverbs, Itaiçcols and Uriçcols in addition to a few appendices.

This work attempts to trace the historical development of the Tamil Language from the period of Tolkāppiyam to that of Patinēkilkanakku and thereby exhaustively discusses the historical changes found in the language of Patinēkilkanakku at the phonological and morphological levels. Further elaborate enumeration and interpretation of the divergences which are found to occur in the language of Patinēkilkanakku from the grammar of Tolkāppiyam have been meticulously done. Thus, this publication will not only be of much use for the compilers of the history of Tamil language but also to the researchers of Tamil language and literature.

Following are a few noteworthy features to be observed in the publication : 1. Presentation of the interesting interpretation for certain grammatical rules in the light of modern linguistics, 2. Arriving at better translation for quite a few sutras of Tolkāppiyam into English, 3. Enlightening the use of a few forms in the language of Patinēkilkanakku, 4. Attempt at the historical reconstruction of certain forms and 5. The study is mainly based on the indices compiled by himself.

Dr. A. Athithan, the author of this publication, is one of the few scholars of younger generation who have really committed themselves to the study of Tamil Grammar and Modern Linguistics. His intensive interest in the study, dynamic scholarship, critical acumen, capacity for clear expression and vivid exposition, clarity of thought and careful presentation of the text which have been evident throughout the work are deeply appreciable.

I wish him all success and that he may bring out more and more publications to the enrichment of linguistic scholarship.

M. ISRAEL

Dr. A. Athithan

Lecturer

Department of Linguistics

Madurai Kamaraj University

Madurai-625 021



Preface

Although language change has been systematically studied for a period of one hundred years and somewhat less systematically for a good deal longer than that, there is still a considerable amount of disagreement about its nature and motivation. I have for this reason made an attempt to trace the historical development of Tamil language from the period of Tolkāppiyam to that of Patinēṅkilkanakku.

The monograph 'Linguistic Structures in Tamil - A Historical Study' is the first part of my dissertation submitted to the Madurai Kamaraj University in 1979 for the award of Ph.D. Degree. This study attempts to give a descriptive account of the Linguistic structures of Tolkāppiyam and Patinēṅkilkanakku. The outcome of this study may be of great help for the preparation of a historical grammar for the Tamil language. I hope that my fellow scholars will find in these pages a handy source of reference.

In spite of the greatest attention to accuracy, there may certainly be a few mistakes inadvertently committed. Needless to say that I alone bear the responsibility for them.

I welcome this opportunity to express my sense of deep indebtedness to Prof. Dr. M. Lakshmanan, Vice-Chancellor, Madurai Kamaraj University for his blessings to this publication.

I am profoundly grateful to my supervisor Dr. M. Israel, Professor and Head, Department of Linguistics, Madurai Kamaraj University for his constructive criticism and constant encouragement during the preparation of the dissertation in an atmosphere of academic freedom and for having given a foreword to this book, thereby enriching its value.

I express my sincere thanks to Dr. J. Neethivanan, Professor, Department of Linguistics, Madurai Kamaraj University, for his extremely helpful criticism and comment on the manuscript as a whole while it was still in draft.

I am most grateful to the authorities of Madurai Kamaraj University for providing me a congenial environment and financial assistance for this publication.

Dr. M. Manivel, Lecturer, Department of Tamil Studies, Madurai Kamaraj University deserves to be thanked for his useful suggestions and I am thankful to my students Mr. K. Pasumpon and Mr. P. Rajendran for seeing the book through the press with great personal care.

Last but not the least, an appreciation goes to the members of the staff of the Madurai Kamaraj University Co-operative Press for their co-operation in printing this arduous work with patience.

A. Athithan

Scheme of Transliteration

The Scheme of transliteration followed in the present study is as follows :

a	அ	k	க்	l	ல்
ā	ஆ	ñ	ன்	v	வ்
i	இ	c	ச்	l	ழ்
ī	ஈ	ñ	ஞ்	l	ள்
u	உ	t	ட்	r	ற்
ū	ஊ	ṇ	ண்	ṇ	ன்
e	எ	t	த்		
ē	ஏ	n	ந்		
ai	ஐ	p	ப்		
o	ஓ	m	ம்		
ō	ஔ	y	ய்		
au	ஔ	r	ர்		
k	ஃ				

Kurriyalikaram and Kurriyalukaram are referred to as shortened -i and shortened -u respectively.

Abbreviations

Journals, Proceedings, etc.

AICDL	All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists.
AL	Anthropological Linguistics, Bloomington.
An.	Anthropos, Wien.
AORM	Annals of Oriental Research, Madras.
Ar. Or.	Archiv Orientalni, Praha.
BCIE	Bulletin of the Central Institute of English, Hyderabad.
CC	Centamiĉ Celvi, Madras.
CT	Centamil, Madurai.
ER	Educational Review, Madras.
ICTS	International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies.
IJJ	Indo-Iranian Journal, S' - Govenhage.
IJDL	International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics, Trivandrum.
IL	Indian Linguistics, Poona.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.
JAU	Journal of Annamalai University.
JORM	Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras.
JTS	Journal of Tamil Studies, Adayar.
Ling.	Linguistics, Mouton, The Hauge, Paris.

Mi. Ma. Ma. T.P. Meenakshisundaran Maṇivilā malar,	Coimbatore.
OC	Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference.
Pu.	Pulamai, Madras.
QJMS	The Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society Bangalore.
SEDG	Seminar on Early Dravidian Grammars, Annamalai University.
SGTT	Seminar on Grammatical Theories in Tamil, Annamalai University.
SPV	R.P. Sethu Pillai Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, University of Madras, 1961.
ST	Seminar on Tolkāppiyam, Annamalai University.
T.Cult.	Tamīl Culture, Madras.

Books :

CGD	A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages.
LSLT	The Language of Sangam Literature and Tolkāppiyam.
TMT	The Treatment of Morphology in Tolkāppiyam

Grammatical Works :

Naṇ.	Naṇṇūl
TC	Tolkāppiyam - Collatikāram
TE	Tolkāppiyam - Eluttatikāram
TP	Tolkāppiyam - Poruḷatikāram

Literary Works :

PKK Works :

AK	Ācārakkōvai
ATA	Aintiṇai aimpatu
ATE	Aintiṇai elūpatu
CPM	Cirupaṇcamūlam
EL	Ēlāti

IN	Inṇā nārpatu
IYN	Iniyavai nārpatu
KN	Kār nārpatu
KVN	Kaḷavaḷi nārpatu
KYN	Kaṇṇilai
MMK	Mutumolikkāñci
NL	Nālaṭiyār
NMK	Nāṇmaṇikkaṭikai
PKK	Paṭiṇēṇkilkkanaṅku
PM	Paḷamoli
TK	Tirikaṭukam
TKL	Tirukkuṇal
TMA	Tiṇaimoli aimpatu
TMN	Tiṇaimālai nūṇraimpatu

Sangam Texts :

AKN	Aiṇkuṇunūru
AN	Akanānūru
NT	Narṇṇai
PPP	Perumpāṇarṇuppaṭai

Commentators :

Cēṇā.	Cēṇāvaraiyar
ḷa.	ḷampūraṇar
Kal.	Kallāṭaṇār
Nac.	Naccinārkkinīyar
P.S.S.Sastri	P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri
Tey.	Teyvaccilaiyār

General :

Ed.	Edition
e.g.	exempligratia, for example
Epi.	Epicene

Fem	Feminine		
i.e.	id est, that is		
Mas.	Masculine		
Neu.	Neuter		
p./pp.	page / pages		
pl.	plural		
sg.	singular		
S.I.S.S.W.	South Indian Saiva	Siddhantha	Works
viz.	videlicet, namely		

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Purpose and Scope of the Study :

The main purpose of the present study is to compare the Tamil language as described in the grammar of Tolkāppiyam with the language of *Paṭiṇṇēṭṭakkaṇakku* and thus to find out the historical changes found in the language of PKK at the phonological and morphological levels.

The study also aims at enumerating and interpreting the divergences which occur in the language of PKK from the grammar described in Tolkāppiyam.

Sources of the Study :

Introduction

It is an acknowledged fact that a thorough analysis of the linguistic structure of each and every old document is a prerequisite for the study of the historical evaluation of any language. Tamil is no exception to this. It is sad indeed that there has been no historical grammar for the Tamil language so far. A historical grammar of the literary language of Tamil is still a desideratum.

Tolkāppiyam, which is assigned to the pre-sangam age,¹ is the best treatise on descriptive grammar in Tamil that one could have ever formulated in the ancient past. Sangam literature, which is a collection of eight anthologies and ten idylls, is considered to belong to a period proximate to the age of Tolkāppiyam. A comparative study of the grammar of Tolkāppiyam and the language of Sangam literature has already been done by a few scholars.² But so far no comparative study of the grammar of Tolkāppiyam and the language of *Paṭiṇṇēṭṭakkaṇakku* (PKK), a collection of eighteen works, which belongs to the post-sangam period has been attempted. Such a comparative study of the language at two different points of time is indispensable in tracing the historical development of the Tamil language from one stage to another.

Purpose and Scope of the Study :

The main purpose of the present study is to compare the Tamil language as described in the grammar of Tolkāppiyam with the language of *Paṭiṇṇēkilkanakku* and thus to find out the historical changes found in the language of PKK at the phonological and morphological levels.

The study also aims at enumerating and interpreting the divergences which occur in the language of PKK from the grammar described in Tolkāppiyam.

Sources of the Study :

The grammar of Tolkāppiyam and the language of PKK form the primary sources for the present study. The various commentaries of Tolkāppiyam, indices of the language of PKK texts, descriptive grammars already prepared for a few texts of PKK, lexicons and dictionaries are being profusely consulted. A number of reference books and research papers on Tamil phonology and morphology have been referred to. Materials on the history of Tamil language have also been studied and made use of.

Tolkāppiyam :

Tolkāppiyam, the monumental work on Tamil grammar, is a treatise on descriptive grammar. It is considered the document of the earliest stage of the linguistic history of Tamil language. Though it is said to be composed of more than two thousand years ago, currently it is held to be the best type of descriptive grammar in Tamil.

Tolkāppiyam describes Tamil language as well as the form and theory of Tamil literature which were in vogue before and at the time of its author. Rules governing both the literary language and the spoken dialects are formulated in Tolkāppiyam.

Patīṇṇkīlkanakku :

Patīṇṇkīlkanakku, a collection of eighteen works, belongs to the post-sangam period. For the purpose of the present study, as per the consensus among the Tamil scholars³ the following are considered to be the eighteen works of PKK⁴. 1. ācārakkōvai, 2. innā nārpatu, 3. iṇiyavai nārpatu, 4. ēlāti, 5. aintīṇai eḷupatu, 6. aintīṇai aimpatu, 7. kaḷavaḷi nārpatu, 8. kār nārpatu, 9. kainnilai, 10. ciṟupaṇcamūlam, 11. tiṇaimālai nūrraimpatu, 12. tiṇaimoli aimpatu, 13. tirikaṭukam, 14. tiruk-kural, 15. nālaṭiyār, 16. nāṇmaṇikkaṭikai, 17. paḷamoli nāṇūru and 18. mutumolikkāñci.

Of these eighteen works, six are 'akam' works dealing with love theme; one (kaḷavaḷi nārpatu) describes the battle field of kaḷumalam where the cōḷaṇ kōccekkaṇāṇ has defeated the Cēra king; therefore it may be considered a 'puṇam' work and the rest are also evidently works on 'puṇam' (themes other than love), but are unique in being bunches of ethical epigrams.

Brief Survey of the Work :

The study is divided into six chapters viz., phonology, nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, iṭaiccols and uriccols, each of which is in turn sub-divided into a number of sections, wherever necessary.

A section on conclusions is given finally.

Appendices on the following subjects are included at the end:

1. An Explanatory Note on Patīṇṇkīlkanakku
2. A Comparative Chart of Iṭaiccols and
3. A Comparative Chart of Uriccols

A select bibliography is also appended.

In the chapter on phonology, the phonemes occurring in the language of PKK are identified. A comparative study of the distribution of phonemes in the initial and final positions, clusters in the medial and final positions and of the dependent sounds as enumerated in Tolkāppiyam and those of the language of PKK is also attempted. All the changes found in the language of PKK from the grammatical statements of Tolkāppiyam are traced.

The chapter on nouns deals with a comparison of nouns (of rational, non-rational and common classes), cases and of inflectional increments treated in Tolkāppiyam with the various types of nouns and also their inflections occurring in the different texts of PKK. Derivative nouns which are not dealt with in Tolkāppiyam are also discussed.

The chapter on verbs deals with the finite verbs, non-finite verbs, a few common verbs, tense distinction and negation and gives a detailed comparison of the verbal forms described in the grammatical rules of Tolkāppiyam with the different verbal forms occurring in PKK.

Adjectives and Adverbs, which are not treated as separate classes of words in Tolkāppiyam are discussed in the fourth chapter.

The chapter on Itāiccols as well as the chapter on Uriccols deal with the comparative study of all itāiccols and uriccols enumerated in Tolkāppiyam with those itāiccols and uriccols occurring in the language of PKK.

References :

For the purpose of the present study, the numbers of the sutras are followed as they are found in the following publications:

1. Tolkāppiyam - Eluttatikāram with the Commentary of Nacciṇārkkīyār, The S.I.S.S.W. Publishing Society, Tinnevely Ltd., Madras, 1972.

2. Tolkāppiyam - Collatikāram with the Commentary of Cēṇāvaraiyār, The S.I.S.S.W. Publishing Society, Tinnevely Ltd., Madras, 1974.

3. Tolkāppiyam - Poruḷatikāram with the Commentary of Iḷampūraṇār, The S.I.S.S.W. Publishing Society, Tinnevely Ltd., Madras, 1974.

References to sutras are given then and there in the work. Numbers are given to chapters and the sub-headings of the chapters and these numbers are being used for cross-references.

The term 'commentators' refers to the commentators of Tolkāppiyam, whereas the term 'commentators of the verses' refers to the commentators of the texts of PKK.

Reference to the number of the verse and line is given where the word, phrase or sentence occurs. The first number denotes the number of the verse and the second denotes the number of the line in that verse.

The scheme of transliteration and the list of abbreviations are given at the beginning of the thesis.

Unless otherwise explicit reference to a work of PKK is given within brackets, other examples cited in the study are taken from the commentaries of Tolkāppiyam or from the classical language.

Notes on Introduction :

1. Israel, M., TMT, p.7.
2. Ramaswami Aiyar, L.V., 'The Morphology of the Old Tamil Verbs', pp. 747-781.
Sathasivam, A., 'The Suffix '- ciṇ' in Caṅkam Tamil', pp. 140-149.
Andronov, M., 'On the Use of Participles and Participial Nouns in Tamil', pp.242-258.
Meenakshisundaran, T. P., A History of the Tamil Language, 1965.
Israel, M , TMT, 1973.
3. Natarajan, T., LSLT, 1977.
Vaiyapurip Pillai, S., Ilakkiya maṇimālai, pp. 78-80.
Meenakshisundaran, T.P., A History of Tamil Literature, pp. 47-64.
4. The different works of PKK are arranged in the alphabetic order.

1. Phonology

1.1. Phonemics :

According to Tolkāppiyam, there are thirty 'sounds' (eḷuttu) in Tamil, of which twelve are vowels and eighteen are consonants (TE, 8,1,9).

- Vowels**
- kurṛeḷuttu (short) a, i, u, e and o (TE, 3)
- neṭṭeḷuttu (long) ā, ī, ū, ē, ai, ō and au (TE, 4)
- Consonants**
- valliṇam (plosives) k, c, t, p and r (TE, 19)
- melliṇam (nasals) ṇ, ñ, n, m and ṅ (TE, 20)
- iṭaiyiṇam (midlings) y, r, l, v, ʃ and ʈ (TE, 21)

All the thirty sounds enumerated in Tolkāppiyam occur in the language of PKK.¹ They are shown hereunder on the basis of the contrasting pairs.

1.1.1. Vowels :

'i' and 'e'	inri	'without'	(TMN, 71 : 3)
	enri	'said-you'	(TMN, 99 : 2)
'e' and 'a'	eñku	'where'	(AK, 51 : 2)
	añku	'there'	(AK, 60 : 2)
'u' and 'o'	ulku	'end'	(PM, 60 : 3)
	olku	'to suffer'	(PM, 299 : 3)
'a' and 'ā'	kal	'stone'	(TKL, 38 : 2)
	kāl	'wheel'	(TKL, 496 : 1)
'i' and 'ī'	iṇam	'family'	(NL, 146 : 1)
	īṇam	'lowness'	(NL, 40 : 2)
'u' and 'ū'	kuṭṭam	'(sea) water'	(NMK, 81 : 1)
	kūṭṭam	'association'	(CPM, 42 : 1)
'e' and 'ē'	meṇmai	'tenderness'	(TMN, 146 : 4)
	mēṇmai	'excellence'	(PM, 157 : 2)
'o' and 'ō'	koṭi	'garland'	(PM, 103 : 3)
	kōṭi	'ten millions'	(TKL, 337 : 2)

Tolkāppiyar accounts 'ai' and 'au' as two vowels.²

aintu (CPM, 44 : 3)

vauvi (KN, 13 : 3)

1.1.2. Consonants :

'k', 'c', 'p', 'y' and 'v' are non-suspicious segments in the language and are treated as distinct consonants.

'ṭ' and 't'	āṭi	'having danced'	(ATE, 43 : 4)
	āti	'will become-you'	(ATE, 16 : 4)
'ṛ' and 'r'	aram	'virtue'	(TKL, 501 : 2)
	aram	'a file'	(TKL, 567 : 2)
'ṭ', 'ṭ' and 'ṭ'	kalvi	'knowledge'	(NMK, 96 : 1)
	akaḷvār	'they who will dig'	(TKL, 151 : 1)
	kaḷvaṇ	'thief'	(MMK, 17 : 1)
'm', 'ṇ', 'ñ' and 'ṇ'	mammar	'delusion'	(NL, 14 : 3)
	aṇṇal	'God'	(PM, 67 : 3)
	maññai	'peacock'	(KYN, 11 : 2)
	eññaṇam	'how'	(TKL, 251 : 2)
'm', 'n', 'ṇ' and 'ṇ'	perumai	'greatness'	(TKL, 21 : 1)
	porunar	'warriors'	(NMK, 44 : 1)
	karuṇai	'fried vegetable preparation'	(NL, 200 : 2)
	tuṇai	'help'	(PM, 56 : 1)

1.1.3. Dependent Sounds :

Further, Tolkāppiyar enumerates three dependent sounds (cārpeluttu), the occurrences of which are predictable (1.2.4).

1. kuṛṛiyalikaram (shortened 'i')

2. kuṛṛiyalukaram (shortened 'u')

3. āy tam (k) (TE, 2)

shortened 'i' vaṇṭi yāl (TMN, 111 : 2)

shortened 'u' eyiṛu (ATE, 21 : 2)

āy tam (k) ekkam (KYN, 5 : 1)

1.2. Phonotactics :

1.2.1. Initial Position :

1.2.1.1 Vowels :

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, in Tamil all the twelve vowels occur initially (TE, 59).

In the language of PKK, all the vowels except 'au' occur initially. The initial occurrence of 'ai' is found very rare in the language of PKK.

a-	añcātavar	(TKL, 723 : 2)	aṭakkam	(IN, 40 : 1)
ā-	ācai	(TK, 20 : 1)	āṭai	(AK, 11 : 2)
i-	itaṭi	(TMN, 83 : 3)	irumpu	(NMK, 12 : 3)
ī-	īram	(MMK, 11 : 2)	īṇam	(EL, 34 : 2)
u-	uṭku	(IYN, 26 : 2)	uṇaṅkal	(ATA, 47 : 3)
ū-	ūtu	(KVN, 2 : 2)	ūr	(KN, 28 : 3)
e-	eyīru	(ATE, 21 : 2)	erumai	(TMA, 31 : 1)
ē-	ēṇal	(KYN, 1 : 1)	ēlai	(NL, 276 : 1)
ai-	aintu	(CPM, 44 : 3)	aiyam	(PM, 224 : 4)
o-	oppuravu	(MMK, 52 : 1)	oruttal	(KN, 10 : 2)
ō-	ōṅkal	(KYN, 4 : 1)	ōtai	(TMN, 139 : 2)

1.2.1.2. Consonants :

Tolkāppiyar states that the consonants 'k', 't', 'n', 'p' and 'm' occur initially in combination with all the twelve vowels (TE, 61).

In the language of PKK, the distribution of the consonants 'k', 't', 'n', 'p' and 'm' is found almost similar to that described in *Tolkāppiyam*.

/k-/

kaṭal	(NL, 73 : 3)	kākkai	(CPM, 40 : 4)
kili	(ATA, 33 : 1)	kīlkaḷ	(NMK, 98 : 4)
kuṭai	(TKL, 1034 : 1)	kūntal	(EL, 33 : 3)
keṭuka	(TKL, 1062 : 1)	kēḷir	(TK, 58 : 2)
kaiyar	(TKL, 1077 : 2)		
koṭpu	(IN, 34 : 4)	kōpam	(KN, 5 : 3)
kauvai	(NL, 70 : 1)		

/t-/

takkam	(PM, 199 : 1)	tāmarai	(KYN, 43 : 1)
timil	(KVN, 18 : 1)	tītu	(NMK, 8 : 1)
tukaḷ	(NL, 2 : 1)	tūymai	(TKL, 159 : 1)
teyvam	(ATA, 49 : 3)	tēvar	(PM, 114 : 4)
toṭarpu	(IN, 3 : 3)	tōl	(TK, 27 : 2)

Initially, 't' is not followed by 'ai' and 'au' in the language of PKK.

/n-/

nakai	(ATA, 26 : 1)	nākkū	(EL, 79 : 2)
niṭai	(PM, 125 : 2)	nīttam	(TMA, 23 : 2)
nuṭpam	(CPM, 5 : 1)	nūlai	(KYN, 59 : 2)
neṇcam	(TMN, 17 : 3)	nērār	(KVN, 9 : 4)
naintār	(CPM, 73 : 2)		
nocci	(KN, 49 : 2)	nōṇpu	(MMK, 49 : 1)

In the language of PKK, 'n-' does not occur initially in combination with the vowel 'au'.

/p-/

pakkam	(AK, 26 : 1)	pākan	(TMN, 43 : 1)
piṇakku	(TK, 16 : 1)	pītu	(IN, 27 : 1)
pukai	(NMK, 33 : 1)	pūṇṭu	(EL, 26 : 2)
peyar	(ATA, 39 : 2)	pētu	(IN, 8 : 5)
paital	(KYN, 25 : 4)		
pori	(TMA, 14 : 1)	pōr	(PM, 126 : 2)
pauvam	(KVN, 37 : 3)		

/m-/

makal	(PM, 171 : 2)	mātu	(CPM, 53 : 1)
miṇṭal	(TMN, 61 : 4)	mīṇ	(KYN, 53 : 3)
mucu	(ATE, 9 : 1)	mūkku	(NMK, 78 : 1)
meyyatu	(NL, 213 : 4)	mēlāyar	(IYN, 1 : 4)
maintar	(KVN, 34 : 1)		
moḷi	(ATA, 2 : 2)	mōtiram	(TK, 66 : 2)

Initially, 'm-' is not followed by 'au' in the language of PKK.

/c-/

According to Tolkāppiyam, the palatal 'c-' occurs initially in combination with the vowels 'ā', 'ī', 'ī', 'u', 'ū', 'e', 'ē', 'o' and 'ō' (TE, 62).

cikkar	(PM, 76 : 1)	cāntam	(TMN, 28 : 1)
cūṭar	(KVN, 4 : 3)	cīr	(NMK, 44 : 1)
ceppu	(TKL, 887 : 1)	cūl	(KN, 33 : 1)
col	(MMK, 18 : 1)	cēri	(ATE, 46 : 3)
		cōrvu	(NL, 145 : 2)

It may be pointed out here that initially 'c-' is found followed by 'a' in the language of PKK.

caṇṭam (KYN, 2 : 2)

cakkaram (ATE, 56 : 2)

cakaṭam (NL, 2 : 4)

caṅku (TMN, 33 : 1)

/v-/

According to Tolkāppiyam, the consonant 'v-' does not occur initially in combination with the vowels 'u', 'ū', 'o' and 'ō' (TE, 63).

In the language of PKK, the above mentioned distribution is found without any change.

vaṭṭu (PM, 86 : 3) vācam (KYN, 2 : 1)

viṭalai (TMA, 20 : 3) vīriyam (TK, 76 : 2)

veytu (TKL, 569 : 2) vēṅkai (NL, 180 : 3)

vaikal (KN, 12 : 4) vauval (AK, 38 : 1)

ñ-/

Tolkāppiyar states that 'ñ-' occurs initially only in combination with the vowels 'ā', 'e' and 'o' (TE, 64).

Initially 'ñ-' followed by 'o' is not found to occur in the language of PKK.

ñālam (TKL, 102 : 2)

ñeṇṭu (PM, 111 : 2)

It may be noticed that in the language of PKK, only in a solitary instance 'ñ-' followed by 'a' is found to occur initially.

ñamukkuvār (ATE, 45 : 4)

/ # ñ / ~ / # n /

In the language of PKK, the palatal 'ñ-' and the dental 'n-' are found to vary freely with each other.

ñāyīru ~ nāyīru 'sun' (KVN, 1 : 1 ; AK, 15 : 1)

It may be concluded that this feature represents a transitional period as far as the change ñ- > n- is concerned.³

/y-/

Tolkāppiyar says that 'y-' occurs initially only in combination with 'ā' (TE, 65).

yānar (ATA, 23 : 1)

yāy (TMN, 27 : 3)

'y-' is found to occur initially in combination with 'ō' also in the language of PKK.⁴

yōkam (CPM, 44 : 2)

yōcaṇaiyōr (NL, 100 : 2)

In the language of PKK, there are a few instances where the initial 'y-' is lost in some words.

yāru (NMK, 54 : 1) ~ āru (TMN, 29 : 3)

yāmai (PM, 263 : 3) ~ āmai (TKL, 126 : 1)

yār (IYN, 30 : 3) ~ ār (TMN, 150 : 4)

In the language of PKK, there are two alternate forms for a few words, one with initial 'y-' and another without initial 'y-'. This feature represents a transitional stage as far as the particular loss of 'y-' is concerned.⁵

/t-/

't-' is found to occur initially in onomatopoetic words in the language of PKK.

ṭoṇ ṭoṇ ṭoṇ eṇṇuṇ paṛai (NL, 25 : 4)

1.2.2. Final Position :

1.2.2.1. Vowels :

Tolkāppiyar says that all the vowels except 'au' occur finally (TE, 69).

No change is found in the language of PKK, as far as the grammar described in this rule is concerned.

-a	oliya	(CPM, 6 : 1)	kaṭiva	(NL, 157 : 1)
-ā	aṛiyā	(MMK, 28 : 1)	ēlā	(TK, 32 : 1)
-i	puli	(IN, 31 : 4)	kauvi	(NL, 70 : 1)
-ī	centī	(TK, 28 : 1)	teruḷvī	(TK, 25 : 2)
-u	kacaṭu	(PM, 80 : 1)	uṭaṇpāṭu	(TK, 36 : 2)
-ū	kū	(PM, 22 : 4)	tū	(TKL, 455 : 2)
-e	e ^a	(KVN, 15 : 1 ; PM, 109 : 2)		
-ē	neñcē	(KYN, 32 : 2)	avarē	(PM, 251 : 2)
-ai	puṇai	(TK, 316 : 2)	kaṭiṇai	(PM, 246 : 4)
-o	ōo'	(KVN, 36 : 1)		
-ō	kāṇāmō	(ATA, 43 : 4)	kō	(CPM, 44 : 3)

Tolkāppiyar adds that 'au' may occur finally, if it is preceded by 'k' or 'v' (TE, 70).

Commentators⁸ cite the following words as examples for the above statement.

kau, vau

Such of the words are not found in the language of PKK.

Tolkāppiyar states that 'e' does not occur finally in combination with consonants (TE, 71).

No change is found in the language of PKK, as far as the grammar described in this rule is concerned.

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'o' does not occur finally in combination with the consonants except 'n' (TE, 72).

Commentators⁹ cite the following example.

no korṛā

Such an usage is not found in the language of PKK.

Tolkāppiyar states that the vowels 'ē' and 'ō' do not occur finally in combination with the consonant 'ñ' (TE, 73).

No change is found in the language of PKK, as far as the grammar described in this rule is concerned.

Further it is noticed that in the language of PKK, 'ñ' is followed only by 'ai' in the final position.

maññai (KN, 4 : 1; KYN, 11 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'u' and 'ū' do not occur finally in combination with 'n' and 'v' (TE, 74).

It may be pointed out here that there are instances for the occurrence of '-vu' ending words found in the language of Tolkāppiyam. Following are some of the examples.

kalavu (TP, 60 : 1)

aḷavu (TE, 319)

There are instances where the vowel 'u' occurs finally when preceded by the consonant 'v' in the language of PKK also.

uyvu	(TKL, 100 : 1)	acaivu	(NL, 54 : 4)
pivuvu	(KN, 27 : 2)	nilavu	(TMN, 96 : 3)

Vellaivaranar suggests that the above mentioned 'sutra' (TE, 74) should be taken to mean that 'u' and 'ū' do not occur finally when preceded by 'n' and 'v' respectively.¹⁰ S. V. Shanmugam is of the opinion that in the 'sutras' (in Tolkāppiyam) where words with '-vu' have been mentioned, might have been errors committed by later-day copyists influenced by the usages of their time.¹¹

Since there are a few internal evidences available in the language of Tolkāppiyam (porunū, TE, 299; kaḷavu, TP, 60 : 1) itself, contrary to the above mentioned 'sutra', it is quiet possible that the particular 'sutra' may be an interpolation or this could also be an error on the part of the later-day copyists as suggested by a few scholars.

According to Tolkāppiyam, there are only two words with 'c' in the final syllable followed by '-u' (TE, 75).

Commentators cite the words 'ucu' and 'mucu' as examples for this statement.¹²

Among these two words only 'mucu' occurs in the language of PKK.

mucu (ATE, 9 : 1; PM, 268 : 3)

There are a number of words with final '-cu' found in the language of PKK.

tavicu	(PM, 75 : 4)	nañcu	(PM, 27 : 4)
neñcu	(ATE, 5 : 4)	aracu	(EL, 18 : 4)

Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar¹³ is of the opinion that *Tolkāppiyar* accounts only '-cu' ending words, of which the final '-u' is a short '-u' and not the shortened one. The above mentioned '-cu' ending words (in PKK) may be considered words with final shortened '-u'.¹⁴

Tolkāppiyar mentions that there is only one word with 'p' in the final syllable followed by '-u', i. e., words with '-pu' ending and that it occurs with double meaning (TE, 76).

According to the varying stress pattern, the commentators¹⁵ interpret the double meaning as having both the causal and non-causal meaning.

tapu	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nī cā} \\ \text{nī cāvap paṇṇu} \end{array} \right.$	'you die'
		'you cause to die'

In a single instance this form occurs in the language of PKK, as a relative participle denoting the non-causal meaning.

neri ariti mīṇ tapu nī (ATE, 66 : 4)

It may be mentioned here that a number of other words ending with '-pu' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

eṇpu (TKL, 72 : 2) iruppu (TK, 10 : 3)

naṭpu (IN, 3 : 4) eyppu (PM, 37 : 4)

Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar¹⁶ opines that *Tolkāppiyar* accounts only '-pu' ending word of which the final '-u' is a short '-u' and not the shortened one. The above mentioned '-pu' ending words (in PKK) may be considered words with final shortened '-u'.

1.2.2.2. Consonants :

Tolkāppiyar states that among the eighteen consonants, 'ñ', 'ṇ', 'ṇ', 'm', 'ṇ', 'y', 'r', 'l', 'v', 'l' and 'l' occur finally (TE, 78).

'ñ' and 'ṇ' are not found to occur finally in the language of PKK.

-ñ *¹⁷

-ṇ peṇ (KN, 8 : 2)

-n *

-m eccam (TKL, 112 : 2)

-ṇ nōkkāṇ (AK, 20 : 3)

-y nāy (CPM, 15 : 4)

-r kaṭantavar (KYN, 22 : 1)

-l uṭal (EL, 71 : 2)

-v tev (TKL, 639 : 1)

-l pūl (PM, 121 : 3)

-l pīl (NL, 20 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, there are only two words in Tamil with final '-n' (TE, 79).

Commentators¹⁸ cite the words 'porun' and 'verin' as examples for the above statement.

These words are not found in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, there is only one word in Tamil with final '-ñ' (TE, 80).

Commentators¹⁹ cite the word 'uriñ' as example for word with final 'ñ'.

Such a form is not found in the language of PKK.

Tolkāppiyar says that there are only four words with final '-v' (TE, 81).

The following four '-v' ending words, though not mentioned in Eluttatikāram, are attested in Collatikāram of Tolkāppiyam.

av, iv, uv (TC, 167)

tev (TC, 367)

These four words occur in the language of PKK also.

avarroṭu (CPM, 44 : 1)

ivarrai (TMN, 24 : 1)

uvakkāṇ (TKL, 1185 : 1)

tev (TKL, 639 : 1)

'tav' is found to occur in the language of PKK, as an onomatopoetic expression.

tav eṇṇum taṇmai (TKL, 1144 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, there are only nine words with final '-ṇ', these words belong to the non-rational class and the final '-ṇ' of these words do not freely vary with final '-m', i.e., these '-ṇ' ending words do not freely vary with '-m' ending words (TE, 82).

Commentators²⁰ cite the following words as examples for the above statement.

ukin / ekin²¹

cekin

viḷaṇ

payiṇ

kuyiṇ

alaṇ

puḷaṇ

kaṭaṇ

vayaṇ

Of these nine words, only two forms are found to occur in the language of PKK.

ukin (NL, 292 : 1)

payin (NL, 267 : 2)

A few other forms with final '-n', which belong to non-rational class and whose ending does not freely vary with '-m' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

alavan (ATE, 60 : 2) amān (ATE, 30 : 1)

ikalan (KVN, 28 : 4) irān (ATE, 10 : 1)

kān (TMN, 29 : 3)

The forms 'alavan' and 'ikalan' may be considered derived forms (alavu + an > alavan; ikal + an > ikalan). The addition of '-n' in the final position of other words is a later development in the language, as demonstrated through the following illustrations; both forms are available in the language of PKK.

āmā	(NL, 319 : 3)	amān	(ATE, 30 : 1)	'wild cow'
irā	(TMA, 43 : 2)	irān	(ATE, 10 : 1)	'prawn'
kā	(TMN, 106 : 3)	kān	(TMN, 29 : 3)	'park or forest'

1.2.3. Sequential Occurrence of Phonemes :

1.2.3.1. Consonants :

1.2.3.1.1. Medial Position :

Tolkāppiyar enumerates two types of consonantal clusters viz, 1. clustering of non-identical consonants (meymmayaṅku) and 2. occurrence of identical consonants in a sequence (uṇṇilai) i.e., gemination (TE, 22).

Tolkāppiyar has not mentioned whether these clusters occur in single words or in compound words. Iḷampūraṇar interprets that clusters mentioned by Tolkāppiyar are applicable to both single and compound words.²² Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar opines that Tolkāppiyar deals with clusters in single words in Nūṇmarapu and Moḷimarapu of Tolkāppiyam and in compound words which occur in sandhi in the remaining chapters.²³ S.V. Shanmugam also holds this view.²⁴

The interpretation of Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar is more plausible and hence the clusters in the language of PKK are analysed accordingly.

1.2.3.1.1.1. Clustering of Non-identical Consonants (meym-mayaṅku) :

According to Tolkāppiyam, clusters are formed of 't', 'r', 'l' and 'ḷ' as first members and 'k', 'c' and 'p' as second members. Thus the clusters '-tk-', '-tc-', '-tp-', '-rk-', '-rc-', '-rp-', '-lk-', '-lc-', '-lp-', '-ḷk-', '-ḷc-' and '-ḷp-' are obtained (TE, 23).

Clusters of types '-rc-' and '-lc-' do not occur in the language of PKK.

-tk-	uṭku	(IYN, 26 : 2)
-tc-	kāṭci	(MMK, 14 : 1)
-tp-	koṭpu	(IN, 35 : 4)
-rk-	oṟkam	(IYN, 39 : 4)
-rc-	*	
-rp-	aṭukirpār	(PM, 65 : 1)
-lk-	ulku	(TKL, 756 : 1)
-lc-	celcār	(NMK, 40 : 1)
-lp-	iyalpu	(EL, 34 : 2)
-ḷk-	ālka	(TKL, 242 : 1)
-ḷc-	*	
-ḷp-	āḷpavaṇ	(PM, 82 : 4)

According to Tolkāppiyam, clusters are formed of 'l' and 'l' as first members and 'y' and 'v' as second members. Thus the clusters '-ly-', '-ly-', '-lv-' and '-lv-' are obtained (TE, 24).

Cluster '-ly-' does not occur in the language of PKK.

-ly-	kalyāṇam	(AK, 88 : 1)
-ly-	*	
-lv-	uḷalvatu	(NL, 107 : 2)
-lv-	kēlvi	(TKL, 413 : 1)

According to Tolkāppiyam, clusters are formed of 'ñ', 'ñ', 'n', 'm' and 'n' as first members and 'k', 'c', 't', 't', 'p' and 'r' as second members. Thus the clusters '-ñk-', '-ñc-', '-ñt-', '-nt-', '-mp-' and '-nr-' are obtained (TE, 25).

The types of clusters mentioned above are found to occur in the language of PKK without any change.

-ñk-	kāñki	(NMK, 62 : 2)
-ñc-	kāñci	(TMN, 139 : 1)
-ñt-	kaṇṭal	(NL, 194 : 3)
-nt-	vantu	(ATA, 5 : 3)
-mp-	ampuli	(PM, 77 : 4)
-nr-	koṇrai	(EL, 5 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, clusters are formed of 'ñ' and 'n' as the first members and 'k', 'c', 'ñ', 'p', 'm', 'y' and 'v' as the second members. Thus the clusters '-ñk-', '-ñc-', '-ññ-', '-np-', '-nm-', '-ny-', '-nv-', '-ñk-', '-ñc-', '-ññ-', '-np-', '-nm-', '-ny-' and '-nv-' are obtained (TE, 26).

Clusters of types '-ṇc-', '-ṇñ-', '-ṇy-', '-ṇc-', '-ṇñ-', '-ṇy-', and '-ṇv-' do not occur in the language of PKK.

-ṇk-	koṇkan	(ATA, 44 : 1)
-ṇc-	*	
-ṇñ-	*	
-ṇp-	naṇpu	(TKL, 74 : 2)
-ṇm-	āṇmai	(TK, 6 : 3)
-ṇy-	*	
-ṇv-	kāṇvara	(KVN, 19 : 3)
-ṇk-	puṇku	(TMN, 64 : 4)
-ṇc-	*	
-ṇñ-	*	
-ṇp-	aṇpu	(NMK, 26 : 2)
-ṇm-	aṇmai	(NMK, 29 : 1)
-ṇy-	*	
-ṇv-	*	

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, clusters are formed of 'ñ', 'n', 'm' and 'v' as the first members and 'y' as the second member. Thus clusters '-ñy-', '-ny-', '-my-' and '-vy-' are obtained (TE, 27).

The above mentioned clusters are not found in the language of PKK.

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, another type of cluster is formed of 'm' as the first member and 'v' as the second member (TE, 28).

Such a cluster is not found in the language of PKK.

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, clusters are formed of 'y', 'r' and 'l' as the first members and 'k', 't', 'n', 'p', 'm', 'c', 'ñ', 'y', 'v' and 'ṇ' as the second members. Thus the clusters '-yk-', '-yt-', '-yn-', '-yp-', '-ym-', '-yc-', '-yñ-', '-yy-', '-yv-', '-yṇ-', '-rk-', '-rt-', '-rn-', '-rp-', '-rm-', '-rc-', '-rñ-', '-ry-', '-rv-', '-rṇ-', '-lk-', '-lt-', '-ln-', '-lp-', '-lm-', '-lc-', '-lñ-', '-ly-', '-lv-', and '-lṇ-' are obtained (TE, 29).

Clusters of types 'yn-', 'yc-', 'yñ-', 'yñ-', 'rn-', 'rc-', 'rñ-', 'ry-', 'rñ-', 'lc-', 'lñ-', 'ly-', and 'lñ-' are not found in the language of PKK.

-yk-	nāykar	(TMN, 134 : 3)
-yl-	eytum	(IN, 5 : 3)
-yn-	*	
-yp-	cāypavar	(TKL, 927 : 2)
-ym-	tūymai	(TK, 37 : 3)
-yc-	*	
-yñ-	*	
-yy- ²⁵	ceyyatu	(KVN, 32 : 2)
-yv-	kāyvōṇ	(MMK, 66 : 1)
-yñ-	*	
-rk-	tērkirkum	(NL, 352 : 4)
-rt-	tērtal	(NMK, 53 : 4)
-rn-	*	
-rp-	amarpu	(IN, 9 : 1)
-rm-	kūrmai	(IYN, 11 : 2)
-rc-	*	
-rñ-	*	
-ry-	*	
-rv-	atirvu	(KVN, 20 : 2)
-rñ-	*	
-lk-	cūlka	(PM, 275:2)
-lt-	amiḷtam	(TKL, 11:2)
-ln-	vālnar	(TMN, 5:4)
-lp-	ikaḷpa	(NMK, 66:2)
-lm-	camaḷmai	(NL, 72:4)
-lc-	*	
-lñ-	*	
-ly-	*	
-lv-	ikaḷvār	(NL, 117:1)
-lñ-	*	

'-tr-' is not enumerated in the list of consonantal clusters in Tolkāppiyam, but it is found to occur in the language of PKK. The instance of its occurrence is found in the borrowed word.

putra (EL, 31:3)

1.2.3.1.1.2. Gemination (uṭaṇilai):

Tolkāppiyar states that all consonants except 'r' and 'l' occur in gemination (TE, 30).

In the language of PKK, 'n' does not occur in gemination.

-kk-	cikkar	(CPM, 76:1)
-cc-	tuccu	(PM, 123:4)
-tt-	koṭṭāvi	(AK, 73:1)
-tt-	oruttan	(PM, 187:2)
-pp-	ippi	(TMN, 48:3)
-rr-	nirral	(MMK, 94:1)
-ññ-	eññaṇam	(TKL, 251:2)
-ññ-	maññaṇai	(ATE, 16:2)
-ṇṇ-	naṇṇal	(MMK, 85:1)
-nn-	*	
-mm-	kammam	(NL, 393:1)
-ṇṇ-	oṇṇār	(CPM, 95:1)
-yy-	veyya	(ATA, 24:4)
-ll-	nallam	(NL, 131:3)
-vv-	ovvēṁ	(TKL, 1114:2)
-ll-	paḷli	(KN, 27:4)

1.2.3.1.1.3. Three Consonantal Clusters :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the three consonantal clusters are formed of 'y', 'r' and 'l' as first members and of the geminated consonants (īroṭṭu) 'kk', 'cc', 'tt', 'pp', 'ññ', 'ññ', 'nn' and 'mm' which follow them respectively as second members. Thus the clusters '-ykk-', '-ycc-', '-ytt-', '-ypp-', '-yññ-', '-yññ-', '-ynn-', '-ymm-', '-rkk-', '-rcc-', '-rtt-', '-rpp-', '-rññ-', '-rññ-', '-rnn-', '-rmm-', '-lkk-', '-lcc-', '-litt-', '-lpp-', '-lññ-', '-lññ-', '-lññ-' and '-lmm-' are obtained (TE, 48).

Clusters of types 'yññ-', 'yññ-', 'ynn-', 'rññ-', 'rññ-', 'rnn-', 'rmm-', 'lññ-', 'lññ-', 'lññ-' and 'lmm-' are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

-ykk-	uykka	(AK, 3 : 2)
-ycc-	pāycci	(PM, 376 : 4)
-ytt-	īyttu	(EL, 53 : 3)
-ypp-	ēyppār	(PM, 193 : 2)
-yññ-	*	
-yññ-	*	
-ynn-	*	
-ymm-	meymmai	(TMN, 127 : 1)
-rkk-	uyirkkum	(ATA, 39 : 3)
-rec-	uṇarcci	(TK, 85 : 3)
-rtt-	aṇarttu	(KN, 11 : 3)
-rpp-	atirppu	(AK, 47 : 3)
-rññ-	*	
-rññ-	*	
-rnn-	*	
-rmm-	*	
-lkk-	vākkai	(NMK, 55 : 3)
-lcc-	cūlcci	(MMK, 95 : 1)
-l̥tt-	ūl̥tta	(KN, 8 : 4)
-lpp-	kālppa	(TKL, 760 : 1)
-lññ-	*	
-lññ-	*	
-lññ-	*	
-lmm-	*	

A few more three consonantal clusters which are not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam are found to occur in the language of Tolkāppiyam as well as in that of PKK.

-rnt-	ayarnta	(TP, 63 : 2)
-ymp-	moympiṇavar	(IYN, 31 : 3)
-rnt-	aṭarntu	(PM, 216 : 1)
-lnt-	katalntu	(TK, 52 : 2)

Tolkāppiyar does not explicitly state whether the term 'irorru' in the above mentioned 'sutra' (TE, 48), refers to the consonantal clusters or the geminated consonants. From the examples cited by Naccinārkkīṇiyar, it is evident that he prefers to accept the term 'irorru' as referring to the geminated consonants.²⁶

In a different 'sutra' (TE, 51, Nac.) Tolkāppiyar refers to the term 'irorru' to denote the consonantal clusters (i.e., non-identical clusters). This fact is attested by all the commentators.²⁷ On the basis of the occurrence found in the language of Tolkāppiyam and Sangam literature (meymmai, TE, 151, AKN, 246; ayanṛta, TP, 63 : 2; moympu, NT, 184) it may be considered that the term 'irorru' in the 'sutra' dealing with three consonantal clusters, refers to 'consonantal clusters', either of identical or of non-identical consonants.

Venkataraḷu Reddiyar interprets the same 'sutra' as to mean that after 'y', 'r' and 'l' the plosives 'k', 'c', 't' and 'p' will occur with their homorganic nasals coming before them.²⁸ Thus according to him, geminated nasals do not occur after 'y', 'r' and 'l'. But there is an instance for the occurrence of one such cluster in the language of Tolkāppiyam (meymmai, TE, 151). So it can be assumed that the three consonantal clusters with geminated nasals occurring after 'y', 'r' and 'l' might have been developed during the period of Tolkāppiyar.

It is worthy of notice that in the language of PKK, a three consonantal cluster (-ttr-) which is not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam is found to occur in a solitary instance. This is evidently in a borrowed form.

puttri (EL, 31 : 2)

1.2.3.1.2. Final Position :

According to Tolkāppiyam, in poetry a cluster of the alveolar nasal 'ṇ' and a labial nasal 'm' occur in the final position in the word 'pōlum' (TE, 51).

(e. g.) pōṇm

Neither the above word nor similar words occur in the language of PKK.

1.2.3.2. Sequential Occurrence of Vowels (aḷapetai):

Vowel clusters are explained in a few 'sutras' in Tolkāppiyam (TE, 5, 6, 41, 42). Tolkāppiyar states that the corresponding short vowel is added to the long vowels to make up the metrical deficiency.

The following types of vowel clusters are found to occur in the language of PKK.

1.2.3.2.1. Two Vowel Clusters :

1.2.3.2.1.1. Initial Position:

āa-	āatum	(PM, 7:1)
ēe-	ēer	(TKL, 1098:1)
ūu-	ūuṅku	(TKL, 644:2)
ōo-	ōotal	(TKL, 653:1)

1.2.3.2.1.2. Medial Position :

-āa-	kalāal	(NL, 213:3)
-ii-	talīiyatu	(TKL, 425:1)
-ūu-	aḷivatūum	(NL, 129:2)
-ēe-	cēey	(KVN, 13:4)
-aii-	vaḷaiiya	(ATE, 54:2)
-ōo-	tōom	(PM, 7:3)

1.2.3.2.1.3. Final Position :

-āa	aṛāa	(NL, 310:1)
-ii	keḷii	(TKL, 816:1)
-aii	aḷaii	(TKL, 91:1)
-ōo	oṇṇutaṛkōo	(TKL, 1088:1)

1.2.3.2.2. Three Vowel Clusters :

1.2.3.2.2.1. Medial Position :

-āaa-	peṛāaan	(PM, 240:2)
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1.2.3.2.2. Final Position:

-iii mariii (NL, 220:4)

Such clusters are found to occur in PKK only to meet the metrical requirements.

1.2.4. Dependent Sound (cārpeḷuttu) :**1.2.4.1. Kuṟṟiyalikaram (shortened ‘-i’):**

According to Tolkāppiyam, the shortened ‘-i’ occurs after ‘m’ and before ‘yā’ in the form ‘miyā’ which is used with the verb when a person is addressed (TE, 34).

(e.g.) kēṇmiyā

Such an usage is not found in the language of PKK.²⁹

1.2.4.2. Kuṟṟiyalukaram (shortened ‘-u’):

Tolkāppiyar says that the shortened ‘-u’ occurs in single words as the final member in the last syllable after a plosive in words having a long vowel before it or in polysyllabic words (TE, 36).

According to Tolkāppiyam, shortened ‘-u’ is of six types, in which the last syllable will always be ‘-ku’, ‘-cu’, ‘-ṭu’, ‘-tu’, ‘-pu’ and ‘-ru’ (TE, 406).

1. neṭil toṭark kuṟṟiyalukaram
(shortened ‘-u’ preceded by a long vowel)
piṭu (PM, 96 : 3)
2. uyirttoṭark kuṟṟiyalukaram
(shortened ‘-u’ preceded by a vowel)
aḷaku (NL, 131 : 1)
3. iṭaittoṭark kuṟṟiyalukaram
(shortened ‘-u’ preceded by a liquid)
koytu (ATA, 15 : 1)

4. āytattoṭark kurriyalukaram
(shortened '-u' preceded by āy₁ta₁m)
ekku (TKL, 759 : 2)
5. vaṇroṭark kurriyalukaram
(shortened '-u' preceded by a plosive)
cuṭṭu (NMK, 5 : 3)
6. meṇroṭark kurriyalukaram
(shortened '-u' preceded by a nasal)
neṇcu (TK, 43 : 1)

According to Tolkāppiyam, the shortened '-u' occurs initially in the form 'nuntai' and it freely varies with short '-u' (TE, 67, 68).

The form 'nuntai' does not occur in the language of PKK.⁹⁰

1.2.4.3. Āy₁ta₁m 'k' :

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'āy₁ta₁m' occurs after a syllable with a short vowel and before a plosive in single words (TE, 38).

ak₁tu (AK, 67 : 2)

ek₁ku (NL, 137 : 2)

Notes on Phonology :

1. The study of a dialect through a text of some written language has to be proceeded on the assumption that each sound (eḷuttu = grapheme) represents only one phonetic value irrespective of its positional variants. The phonetic values of each grapheme during the period of Tolkāppiyam are not exactly known today and hence the allophonic distribution had there been any could not be studied at present.
2. It may be inferred that Tolkāppiyar considers 'ai' and 'au' as complex units.

$$a + i > ai \quad (\text{TE, 54})$$

$$a + u > au \quad (\text{TE, 55})$$
3. The transitional period started in Sangam Literature.
 Burrow, T., Collected Papers, pp. 128-142.
4. These words are borrowed forms in the language.
5. The transitional period started in Sangam literature.
 Burrow, T., Collected Papers, p. 113.
6. 'e-' as in 'evvāy' could be segmented as an interrogative base i.e., e+vāy. In that case the interrogative 'e' may be treated as a possible occurrence in the final position.
7. The vowel 'o' occurs finally only in onomatopoetic expressions.
8. Iḷa., A Commentary on TE, 70.
 Nac., A Commentary on TE, 70.
9. Iḷa., A Commentary on TE, 72.
 Nac., A Commentary on TE, 72.

10. Vellaivananar, K., Tolkāppiyam Nappūl - Eluttatikāram, p. 105.
11. Shanmugam, S. V., Naccinārkkīṇiyar's Conception on Phonology, p. 81.
12. Iḷa., A Commentary on TE, 75.
Nac., A Commentary on TE, 75.
13. Nac., A Commentary on TE, 75.
14. In the language of PKK, a 'cu' ending word with the final muṇṇiyalukaram (short 'u') is also available.
pacu (AK, 5 : 1 ; CPM, 22 : 3)
It is evidently a borrowed form.
15. Iḷa., A Commentary on TE, 76.
Nac., A Commentary on TE, 76.
16. Nac., A Commentary on TE, 76.
17. Symbol * denotes the non - availability of any form.
18. Iḷa., A Commentary on TE, 79.
Nac., A Commentary on TE, 79.
19. Iḷa., A Commentary on TE, 80
Nac., A Commentary on TE, 80
20. Iḷa., A Commentary on TE, 82.
Nac., A Commentary on TE, 82.
21. Naccinārkkīṇiyar cites the form ekin' instead of 'ukin' (TE, 82).
22. Iḷa., A Commentary on TE, 23.

23. Nac., A Commentary on TE, 23, 24, 27.
24. Shanmugam, S. V., Naccipārkkīṇiyar's Conception on Phonology, p. 69.
25. In the list of two consonantal clusters, Tolkāppiyar considers a case of 'y' being followed by another 'y'. Thus here also the gemination of 'y' is treated which appears to be redundant as all the geminated consonants are enumerated elsewhere (TE, 30).
26. Nac., A Commentary on TE, 48.
27. Iḷa., A Commentary on TE, 51.
28. Venkatarajulu Reddiyar, Tolkāppiya Eḷuttatikāra Ārāycci, p. 50.
29. According to Tolkāppiyam, when the final shortened '-u' is followed by a word beginning with 'y-', it disappears and a shortened '-i' comes in (TE, 410).

enru + yārkkū > enriyārkkū (ATE, 48 : 2)

vaṇṭu + yāl > vaṇṭiyāl (TMN, 111 : 2)

30. In the form 'nuntai', '-u-' occurs only medially after a consonant, though Tolkāppiyar takes it as an occurrence in the initial position.

2. Nouns

2.1 Nouns Proper :

Tolkāppiyar classifies the nouns into three classes, viz., those belonging to the rational class, those belonging to the non-rational class and those belonging to the common class (TC, 160).

2.1.1. Rational Nouns (TC, 163-165) :

The following are the nouns listed or whose formations are cited in Tolkāppiyam. The attestation of such items in the language of PKK is given within brackets. Non-availability is marked with an asterisk mark.

1. āṇmakaṇ 'human male' (NL, 202:4)
2. peṇmakaḷ 'human female'*
3. peṇmakaṇ 'human female child'*
4. peṇmai - 'feminine' with final -i juxtaposed¹
peṇtāṭṭi (TK, 96:1)
5. Nouns formed from 'nam' with endings -i and -ai
nampi 'the elite among men' *
naṅkai 'the woman of distinction' *

6. *makaṇ* 'a male not denoting relationship' (NMK, 2:4)
7. *makaḷ* 'a woman not denoting relationship' (PM, 171:2)
8. *māntar* 'people' (IN, 31:2)
9. *makkaḷ* 'people or children' (TK, 64:3)
10. *āṭū* 'human male' *
11. *makaṭū* 'human female' *
12. Nouns with demonstrative roots and with final
'-aṇ' and '-āṇ'
(e.g.) *attanmaiyaṇ*, *avvāḷaṇ*,
aṇaiyāṇ, etc. *
13. Nouns with demonstrative roots and ending with
peṇṭu (human female)
(e.g.) *appeṇṭu* *
ippeṇṭu *
uppeṇṭu *
14. Nouns derived from particles of comparison
aṇṇaṇ (EL, 6:4)
aṇṇavar (IN, 23:3)
15. Nouns derived from the name of a country
malaināṭaṇ (ATA, 11:2)
16. Nouns derived from the name of a family
cōḷaṇ (PM, 21:3)
17. Nouns derived from the name of a group
(e.g.) *avaiyattār* *
18. Nouns derived from the name of an action²
taccaṇ (KVN, 15:2)
taṅkiyāṇ (TKL, 117:2)
19. Nouns derived from a possession
ūraṇ (KYN, 33:3)

20. Nouns derived from quality
 neṭiyōṇ (PM, 345:3)
 ciṛiyōr (IN, 12:2)
21. Rational plural nouns denoting kinship
 tantaiyār (TMN, 138:4)
 maittuṇar (NL, 340:3)
22. Rational plural nouns derived from the part of the whole
 neṭuṅkaṇṇāl (TMN, 81:2)
23. Rational plural nouns denoting caste or class
 āyaṇ (ATA, 7:2)
 vēlāḷaṇ (NMK, 55:1)
24. Catch names used at play
 (e.g.) *paṭṭi puttirar* *
 kaṅkaimāttirar, etc. *
25. Nouns derived from numerals
 mūvar (NL, 363:4)
 aivar (PM, 52:2)

All the nouns except a few enumerated in *Tolkāppiyam* occur in the language of *PKK*.

The occurrence of *-mār* as a nominal termination is neither mentioned nor found used in *Tolkāppiyam*.

However in the language of *PKK*, '*-mār*' occurs with nouns denoting plurality.

aimār (TMN, 32 : 1)

aiyaṇmār (TMN, 20 : 2)

2.1.2. Non-rational Nouns (TC, 168-170) :

1. Nouns other than derivatives

nāy (PM, 14 : 4)

mā (TMN, 9 : 1)

2. Nouns derived from the name of an action

taruvatu (TKL, 546 : 1)

maṟaintavai (TKL, 587 : 1)

3. Nouns derived from quality

periyatu (PM, 1 : 4)

nallavai (NL, 109 : 2)

4. Numerals

onṟu (ATE, 8 : 5)

iraṇṭu (EL, 73 : 1)

5. Nouns derived from particles of comparison

aṇṇatu (NL, 87 : 4)

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, only the non-rational nouns may optionally take the plural suffix '-kaḷ' (TC, 169).

celvaṅkaḷ (NMK, 19 : 5)

valavaikaḷ (NL, 268 : 1)

It is worthy of notice that in the language of PKK, the rational nouns are also found to take the plural suffix '-kaḷ'.

ivarkaḷ (AK, 64 : 2)

makaḷirkaḷ (TK, 40 : 1)

2.1.3. Common Nouns (TC, 172-182) :

The nouns that are common to both the rational and non-rational classes may be assigned to either of them through the terminations of the verbs which the nouns take as predicates (TC, 172).

1. iyarpeyar 'nouns other than derivatives'

(e.g.) korraṇ * cāṭṭaṇ *

korri * cātti *

2. ciṇaipeyar 'nouns denoting part of the whole'

kuruṭaṇ (NL, 158 : 2)

3. *cinaimutarpeyar* 'nouns denoting part and whole'(e.g.) *muṭakkorran* **muṭakkorri* *4. *muraippeyar* 'nouns denoting kinship'*tantai* (NL, 24 : 1)*tantai makarkārrum utavi* (TKL, 67 : 1)

- rational

*murar ciṟu manti murpaṭṭa tantaiyai**nerrukkaṇṭaṇṇa viralāl nēmirttiṭṭu* (NL, 24 : 1)

- non-rational

2.2. Pronouns :

Tolkāppiyar states that pronouns do not take the vocative case (TC, 137, 142, 143, 148).

In Tamil, the pronouns behave like nouns and they are functionally substitutes.

In the present study, pronouns are classified into five groups viz., the personal pronouns, the reflexive pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns, the interrogative pronouns and the indefinite pronouns.

2.2.1. Personal Pronouns :

It is evident from *Tolkāppiyam* that there is a three-way distinction of the personal pronouns, each of which in turn, is divided into two classes, in accordance with the difference in number.

It is evident from *Tolkāppiyam* that each pronoun has a nominative form (free form) and an oblique form (bound form).

2.2.1.1. First Person Pronouns :

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, the first person pronouns are 'yān', 'yām' and 'nām' and they belong to the rational class (TC, 162).

2.2.1.1.1. Nominative Forms :

sg. yāṇ	(TKL, 116 : 1; NL, 276 : 2)
pl. yām	(AK, 69 : 3; TK, 20 : 3)
nām	(ATA, 40 : 2; TMA, 16 : 4)

Tolkāppiyam records the two forms 'nām' and 'yām' for the first person plural but does not make mention of any difference in their usage. Naccinārkkīṇiyar and Kallāṭaṇār pointed out that 'yām' is exclusive plural and 'nām' is inclusive plural.³ P.S.S. Sastri and Kamil Zvelebil state that these two forms were used without any distinction in meaning at the time of Tolkāppiyar.⁴

It is worthy of notice that the clear-cut opposition between inclusive and exclusive plurals is evident from the language of PKK,⁵ i.e., 'yām' always occurs as exclusive plural and 'nām' occurs as inclusive plural.⁶

2.2.1.1.2. Oblique Forms :

sg. eṇ	- (KYN, 2:3; TK, 71:4)
pl. em	- (ATE, 21:3; TMN, 56:3)
nam-	(NL, 372:1; KN, 11:4)

2.2.1.1.3. First Person Inclusive Pronoun 'ellām' (all) :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the form 'ellām' is common to both the rational and non-rational classes (TC, 174, 186).⁷

māṇiṭavark kellām (IYN, 13:3)

- rational

maram ellām (NMK, 43:2)

- non-rational

Further, Tolkāppiyar states that 'ellām' refers to the rationals when it occurs only in the first person plural (TC, 187).

In the language of PKK 'ellām' occurs only in the third person not only in the non-rational class but also in the rational class.

cērtārai ellām (PM, 27:2)

kuṭi ellām (NMK, 28:1)

According to Tolkāppiyam, the form 'nam' occurs after 'ellām' when it is declined for cases (TE, 191).

(e.g.) ellā nammaiym

Such an usage is not found to occur in the language of PKK.

2.2.1.2. Second Person Pronouns :

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'nī' and 'nīyir' are the second person pronouns and they belong to the common class (TC, 174, 188, 193).

2.2.1.2.1. Nominative Forms :

sg. nī (TKL, 1123:1)

- non-rational

nī (NL, 84:3)

- rational

pl. nīyir (ATE, 50:3)

- rational

In the language of PKK, the form 'nīyir' is found to refer to the rational plural and occurs only in a single instance.

Though Tolkāppiyar does not mention the form 'nīr', often this form is found to occur as an alternant for 'nīyir' in the language of PKK.

pl. nīr (TKL, 1319:1; NL, 183:2)

- rational

2.2.1.2.2. Oblique Forms:

sg. *niṇ-* (KYN, 38:3; KN, 16:3)

- rational

niṇ- (KYN, 52:2)

- non-rational

pl. *num-* (NL, 7:2)

- rational

In the language of PKK, the forms '*uṇ-*' and '*um-*' are occasionally found to occur as the oblique forms of the second person pronouns.⁸

sg. *uṇ-* (TMA, 36:2)

pl. *um-* (NL, 94:2)

2.2.1.2.3. Second Person Inclusive Pronoun '*ellir*' (you-all) :

Tolkāppiyar includes this form in the list of rational nouns (TC, 164).

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, the form '*num*' occurs after '*ellir*' when it is declined for cases (TE, 191).

(e.g.) *ellir nummoṭum*

Such an usage is not found in the language of PKK.

2.2.1.3. Third Person Pronouns :

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, the common nouns '*tān*' and '*tām*' are the third person pronouns. *Tolkāppiyar* states that '*tān*' is singular in number and '*tām*' is plural in number (TC, 174, 185, 184).

2.2.1.3.1. Nominative Forms :

tān

tān ōriṇpural taṇimaiyiṇ tuvvātu (MMK, 40 : 1)

...tān navinra

kaṛputtāl viḷttuk kuvuḷ micaik kaiyūṇri

niṛpāl.....(ATA, 10 : 2-4)

- rational

vāṇniṇru ulakam valaṅki varutalāl

tāṇamiḷtam eṇṇararar pārru (TKL, 11)

- non-rational

tām

ēṛrakai māṛṛāmai eṇṇāṇum tām varaiyār
(NL, 98 : 1)

taṁmai ikaḷvārait tām avariṇ muṇ ikaḷka

(NL, 117 : 1)

- rational

.....tāṇē taṇiyumē

cīrkoṇṭa cāṇrōr ciṇam (NL, 68 : 3-4)

- non - rational

In the language of PKK, 'tān' and 'tām', in their nominative form occur as subjects in agreement with the third person verbs.

2.2.1.3.2. Oblique Forms :

taṇ- (TKL, 156 : 1)

- rational

taṇ- (ATE, 38 : 2)

- non-rational

tam- (AK, 15 : 2)

- rational

tam- (TMN, 25 : 2)

- non-rational

2.2.1.3.3. Third Person Inclusive Pronoun 'ellārum' (all) :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the form 'ellārum' is a rational plural noun (TC, 164) belonging to third person (TE, 191) and it denotes plural in number.

aṟikilār ellārum (TKL, 1139 : 1)

ellārum kāṇa (NL, 45 : 3)

According to Tolkāppiyam, the form 'tam' occurs after 'ellār' when it is declined for cases (TE, 191).

(e.g.) ellār tammaiym

In the language of PKK, the form 'ellār' is not found to take the intervening form 'tam' when declined for cases.

ellārkkum (TKL, 125 : 1; TK, 20 : 4)

Tolkāppiyar makes mention of the plural form for honorific usage to denote one person or one object (TC, 27).

In the language of PKK, in a few instances the plural personal pronouns are found to occur as honorific singular pronouns.

First Person :

yām

iṟukārum yām kaṇṭilam (CPM, 61 : 4)

nām

ceyyāta ceytu nām eṇralum (NL, 235 : 1)

nām kātal koṇṭār namakku evaṇ ceypavō

(TKL, 1195 : 1)

em-

emmillu! vāral (KYN, 47 : 4)

empōl (ATE, 58 : 2)

Second Person :

nīr

kātal nīr vārāmai kaṇ nōkki (TMN, 37 : 2)

num-

ariparanta vuṇkaṇṇāl ārrāmai nummiṇ

terivār yār tērumiṭattu (TMA, 12:3-4)

Third Person

tām

tām vēṇṭiṇ nalkuvar kātalar (TKL, 1150:1)

2.2.2. Reflexive Pronouns :

Tolkāppiyar does not mention anything about the reflexive pronouns. Regarding the reflexive use of third personal pronouns Swaminatha Aiyar says, "It would therefore seem that the base 'tān' was in its inception merely a pronoun of the third person, and that a reflexive meaning has come to be superimposed so as to overshadow its original sense to such an extent that it has now come to be called the reflexive pronoun and to be understood reflexively even when used merely as a pronoun of the third person."⁹

The third personal pronouns are found to occur as reflexive pronouns in the language of Tolkāppiyam and in that of PKK.

tām

kālam tāmē mūnreṇa molipa (TC, 199)

.....avaitām

muṭintālum pīlai tarum (TKL, 658)

tam-

mutalā ēṇa tampeyar mūtalum (TE, 66)

tammiṇ tammakka! arivuṭaimai (TKL, 68 :1)

tān

marraiyā tennuṇ kiḷavitāṇē

: cuṭṭunilai yoliya..... (TC, 293)

piṇaiyaṇṇāl tān tīrkum (NMK, 21:1)

taṇ-

neṭumoli taṇṇoṭu puṇartalum (TP, 63:13)

neṭuṇkaṭalum taṇ nīrmai kuṇṇum (TKL, 17:1)

2.2.3. Demonstrative Pronouns :

Tolkāppiyar groups the demonstrative pronouns under rational and non-rational nouns (TC, 162, 167)¹⁰.

Here all the demonstrative pronouns enumerated in Tolkāppiyam are listed under different genders.

Masculine	sg.	avaṇ	ivaṇ	uvaṇ
Feminine	sg.	avaḷ	ivaḷ	uvaḷ
Epicene	pl.	avar	ivar	uvar
Neuter	sg.	atu	itu	utu
		aktu	iktu	uktu
Neuter	pl.	avai	ivai	uvai
		av	iv	uv

Demonstrative pronouns 'uval', 'uvar', 'utu', 'uktu' and 'uvai' are not found to occur in the language of PKK. Only 'uvaṇ' and 'uv' occur, each in a single instance.

avaṇ	(TMN, 135:3)	itu	(ATA, 12:4)
ivaṇ	(ATA, 26:3)	aktu	(PM, 6:1)
uvaṇ	(TMN, 136:3)	iktu	(TMA, 23:1)
avaḷ	(NMK, 67:3)	avai	(EL, 57:3)
ivaḷ	(KN, 35:4)	ivai	(NL, 45:1)
avar	(AK, 92:3)	av	(NL, 318:2)
ivar	(PM, 3:3)	iv	(TMN, 24:1)
atu	(TKL, 303:2)	uv	(TKL, 1185:1)

Duplication of demonstrative pronouns denotes the distributive sense in the language of PKK.

avaravar (PM, 90:3)

According to Tolkāppiyam, the neuter singular demonstrative pronouns 'atu', 'itu' and 'utu' take the inflectional increment '-aṇ-' (2.7.1.9.1.), in declension (TE, 176, 263).

According to Tolkāppiyam, the forms 'avai', 'ivai' and 'uvai' take the inflectional increment '-varru-' (-arru-) (2.7.1.2.1.), in declension (TE, 177).

According to Tolkāppiyam, the forms 'av', 'iv' and 'uv' take the inflectional increment '-varru-' (2.7.1.2.1.) in declension (TE, 387).

2.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns :

Tolkāppiyar groups the interrogative pronouns under rational and non-rational nouns (TC, 162, 167). The interrogative pronouns enumerated in Tolkāppiyam are listed according to different genders.

Masculine	sg.	yāvaṇ	'who-he'
Feminine	sg.	yāvaḷ	'who-she'
Epicene	pl.	yāvar	'who-they'
Neuter	sg.	yātu	'what-it'
Neuter	pl.	yā, yāvai	'what-they'

'yāvaṇ' and 'yāvaḷ'

Interrogative pronouns 'yāvaṇ' and 'yāvaḷ' are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

'evaṇ' 'who-he' (yāvaṇ > evaṇ)

It is worthy of notice that the form 'evaṇ' occurs in a solitary instance as a masculine singular interrogative pronoun in the language of PKK.

kaṇṭārōṭu ellām nakāatu evaṇ oruvaṇ

taṇṭit taṇip pakai kōl (NL, 324:3-4)

'yāvar'

yāvar (AK, 5 : 2; PM, 32 : 3)

'yātu'

yātu (TKL, 1211 : 2; ATA, 44 : 3)

Tolkāppiyar states that the inflectional increment '-aṇ-' intervenes in between 'yātu' and the case markers (2.7.1.9.1.) in declension (TE, 200).

'ātu' 'which' (yātu > ātu)

It is worthy of notice that the form 'ātu' occurs in a solitary instance as an interrogative pronoun in the language of PKK.

ēvu ātu māṛṛum iḷaṅkiḷamai (TK, 49 : 1)

'yā'

peṇṇir peruntakka yā uḷa (TKL, 54 : 1)

yā kāvārāyiṇum nākākka (TKL, 127 : 1)

Here the form 'yā' occurs as a neuter plural interrogative pronoun.

Tolkāppiyar says that in declension, the inflectional increment '-vaṛṇu-' occurs (2.7.1.2.1.) in between 'yā' and the case markers (TE, 175).

'yāvai'

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

2.2.4.1. Nouns Expressing Totality :

In the language of PKK, when the interrogative pronouns take the case marker or the completive particle '-um', they occur as nouns expressing totality. Tolkāppiyar does not make any reference to such an usage of the interrogatives.

'yāvar'	yāvarum kaṇṭa neṛi (AK, 16 : 4)
'yātu'	pētaiyoṭu yātum uraiyarka (NL, 71 : 2)
'yār'	yār māṭṭum (CPM, 47 : 2)

2.2.4.2. Duplication of Interrogative Pronouns :

'yātu'	yātenin yātenin nīnkiyān nōtal atanin atanin ilan (TKL, 341)
'yār'	vaḷampaṭa vēṇṭātār yāryārum illai (NL, 103 : 1)

Here the interrogative pronouns are repeated for emphatic purpose.

2.2.4.3. Interrogative Words Referred to in Tolkāppiyam :

Tolkāppiyar has sporadically referred to a few interrogative words like 'yār' (TE, 172), 'yāvatu' (TE, 172), 'evaṇ' (TC, 31), 'yāṅku' (TE, 427, 428) etc., in his treatise.

'yār' 'who'

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-va-' of 'yāvar' is dropped when it follows a rational plural noun (TE, 172).

yāvar > yār

yār (NL, 27 : 4 ; TKL, 1181 : 1)

'yāvatu' 'which'

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

'evaṇ' 'what'

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'evan' is generally used in questioning about unknown objects (TC, 31).

evan āvar marṛu kol (TKL, 1165 : 1)

kaṇ tām kaluṭvatu evan kolō (TKL, 1171 : 1)

'yāṅku' 'where'

Tolkāppiyar makes mention of the form 'yāṅku' in Eḷuttatikāram while discussing the sandhi changes (TE, 427, 428, 429).

karappavarkki yāṅkolikkum kollō irappavar
collāṭap pōom uyir (TKL, 1070)

aṇṇaiyum il kaṭintāl yāṅku iṇi eṇceykam
(KYN, 52 : 1)

'eṇ' 'what'

In the language of Tolkāppiyam, 'eṇ' occurs as an interrogative form.

eṇṇurraṇa kol (TP, 200 : 2)

'eṇ' occurs in the language of PKK also.

eṇ āti (ATE, 16 : 4)

eṇ uṭaiyai (KYN, 41 : 1)

2.2.4.4. Other Interrogatives Found to Occur Only in the Language of PKK :

In the language of PKK, a few other forms occur as interrogative pronouns which are not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam

'yāṇṭu' 'where'

yāṇṭu perrāl ivaḷ (TKL, 1104 : 2)

When 'yāṇṭu' takes the completive particle '-um', it occurs as a noun expressing totality.

... ..yāṇṭum

ceṇuvoṭu niṛkum ciṛumai (TK, 14 : 2-3)

Interrogative Pronouns Formed From the Base e-:¹¹

‘eṅku’ ‘where’

eṅku varuti (TMN, 49 : 1)

When ‘eṅku’ takes the completive particle ‘-um’, it occurs as a noun denoting totality.

āppi nīr eṅkum teḷittu (AK, 46 : 2)

In the language of PKK, ‘eṅku’ occurs in duplication for emphatic purpose.

taṅ kurra nikkala rākip pirar kurra

meṅkeṅkum tīrttaṅ kiṭai pukutal (PM, 124 : 1-2)

‘eṇṇaṇam’ ‘how’

This form is found to occur in a single instance.

eṇṇaṇam āḷum aruḷ (TKL, 251 : 2)

Interrogative Pronouns Formed From eṇ-:

‘eṇṇa’ ‘what’

eṇṇa payattavō kaṇ (TKL, 705 : 2)

eṇṇa payattatō cālpu (TKL, 987 : 2)

‘eṇṇai’ ‘what’

ēṇalul aiya varavu marṇ eṇṇai kol (TMA, 6 : 3)

eṇṇai imai porumāru (KYN, 10 : 4)

‘eṇṇu’ ‘what’ (eṇ + tu > eṇṇu)¹²

eṇṇal iyaṇratō nā (NL, 353 : 4)

eṇṇiṅku uriyar kayavar (TKL, 1080 : 1)

‘eṇai’ ‘how much’

eṇait tuṇaiyar (TKL, 144 : 1)

eṇai māṭcittu (TKL, 52 : 2)

‘eṇaittu’ ‘how much’ (eṇai + tu > eṇaittu)¹³

paruvam eṇaittuḷa (NL, 18 : 4)

eṇaittu ninaippinūm kāyār (TKL, 1208 : 1)

‘eṇṇar’ ‘how he is’

‘eṇṇar’ occurs in a single instance.

ennarē ērra tunaip pirintār (TMN, 106 : 1)

It may be considered here that the forms 'enāittu' and 'ennar' have developed on the analogy of the forms 'anāittu' and 'annar' respectively.

2.2.5. Indefinite Pronouns :

2.2.5.1. Tolkāppiyar treats the forms 'palla', 'pala' and 'cila' as non-rational plural nouns (TC, 168). They are treated as indefinite pronouns.¹⁴

'palla'

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

'pala'

pala nāṭi (TK, 21 : 3)

In the language of PKK, 'pala' occurs before or after nouns as a noun-qualifier and in some instances occurs as predicate also.

pala nāl (NL, 224 : 1)

iṇcor palavum uraittu (KN, 9 : 4)

-noun-qualifier

kōṭiyum alla pala (TKL, 357 : 2)

mella ninaikkīṇ piṇi pala (NL, 135 : 2)

-predicate

In the language of PKK, 'pala' is found to occur in duplication. Such an occurrence conveys an emphatic signification.

vaṇ kāy pala pala kāyppiṇ (NL, 203 : 3)

'cila'

'cila' is not found to occur as an indefinite pronoun in the language of PKK.

This form occurs before nouns as a noun-qualifier. In some cases it occurs as a predicate in the language of PKK.

cila pakal	(ATA, 34 : 1)
cila nāl	(NL, 154 : 3)
cila moḷi	(KN, 26 : 3)
	-noun-qualifier
uḷa nāl cila	(NL, 324 : 1)
kaṛpavarnālcila	(NL, 135 : 1)
	-predicate

Derived Forms of Indefinite Pronouns :

'pala'

palar	(NL, 96 : 2 ; TKL, 270 : 1)
pallavar	(CPM, 81 : 3 ; NL, 144 : 2)
pallavai	(TK, 31 : 1 ; TKL, 728 : 1)
pallār	(NMK, 72 : 1 ; PM, 345 : 1)
pallōr	(NL, 26 : 2 ; NMK, 31 : 1)

'cila'

cilar	(NL, 113 : 4 ; TKL, 270 : 2)
cillai	(NL, 377 : 2)

The indefinite pronouns enumerated in Tolkāppiyam may be considered appellative nouns formed from the adjectival bases 'pal-' and 'cil-' respectively.

2.2.5.2. A few more forms which may be treated under the indefinite pronouns occurring in the language of PKK are enumerated here.

piran	(AK, 66 : 3)
piṛar	(NL, 85 : 3)
piṛitu	(TMN, 149 : 2)
piṛa	(EL, 5 : 4)
maṛṛaiyān	(TKL, 214 : 1)
maṛṛaiyār	(PM, 311 : 1)
maṛṛaiyavai	(TKL, 400 : 2)

Notes on Nouns Proper and Pronouns :

1. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar thinks that the feminine suffix 'i' is referred to here and hence cites *kiḷavi*, *talaivi*, etc., as examples.

Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., 'Dravidian Nominal Inflection', p. 592.

2. Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār cite the examples like *varuvār*, *celvār* (participial nouns), etc., also.

Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 160.

Tey., A Commentary on TC, 161.

3. Nac., A Commentary on TC, 164.

Kal., A Commentary on TC, 165.

4. Subrahmanya Sastri, P.S., History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and Their Relation to Grammatical Literature in Sanskrit, p. 128.

Zvelebil, K., 'Personal Pronouns in Tamil and Dravidian', p. 67.

5. When these forms occur as honorific singular, the case of inclusive-exclusive distinction does not arise.

6. In the language of PKK, there is an instance where 'm' of 'yām' is lost before a dental nasal. Thus the form 'yā' is obtained as an alternant of 'yām' due to a peculiar change in non-case relation sandhi.

yā ninaippa (ATE, 39 : 2)

7. 'ellām' while occurring in the third person refers to the non-rational class only.

8. nin > un

num > um

9. Swaminatha Aiyar, R., 'The Aryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronouns', p. 186.

10. Tolkāppiyar identifies the demonstrative pronouns as 'cuṭṭup peyar', 'cuṭṭup peyark kiḷavi' and 'cuṭṭu mutar peyar' (TC, 37, 38, 48, etc.).

Demonstrative pronouns are formed by adding the pronominal terminations to the demonstrative bases (TE, 31) 'a-', 'i-' and 'u-'.

11. Tolkāppiyar mentions 'e-' as an interrogative base in Eḷuttatikāram (TE, 159, 334).

- 12&13. Forms 'erru' and 'enaittu' are appellative nouns formed from the bases 'en-' and 'enai-' respectively.

14. A word which is used pronominally without reference to a specific object or thing is called an indefinite pronoun. Israel, M., TMT, p. 54.

2. 3. 1 Numerals :

Tolkāppiyar includes the numerals under non - rational nouns (TC, 168).

He discusses the numerals elaborately also in Eluttati-kāram, while treating the sandhi changes (TE, 409-480).¹

It is inferred from Tolkāppiyam that each numeral has a free form and a bound form.²

2. 3. 1. 1. 'oru'

Free form: oru (TE, 433)
oru (CPM, 256: 3; NL, 85: 1; IYN, 13:1)

Bound forms : 'or-', 'ōr-' and 'oru'

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'or-' occurs only before the numeral 'āyiram' (TE, 464).

The form 'orāyiram' is not found in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'ōr-' is found to occur before words beginning with vowels.

ōr - ēer (TKL, 1098 : 1)

ōr - anaiyar (TKL, 704 : 2)

It may be pointed out here that the form 'ōr-' is found to occur before words which begin with consonants also.

ōr - nāl (TMN, 46 : 1)

ōr - tī (NL, 310 : 4)

Tolkāppiyar states that the form 'oru-' occurs before words with initial consonants (TE, 478).

oru-kaṇ	(TKL, 1095 : 2)
oru-pāl	(PM, 85 : 1)
oru-vaḷi	(NL, 102 : 2)

A few nouns derived from the form 'oru-' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

oruvan	(AK, 66 : 3)
oruvar	(NMK, 24 : 1)
orutti	(KN, 3 : 4)
oruttar	(PM, 76 : 2)
oruttan	(PM, 187 : 2)
orumai	(NMK, 75 : 3)

Forms 'oruttan' and 'oruttar' would have developed at a later stage on the analogy of the form 'orutti' which is referred to in Tolkāppiyam (TC, 180).

'orō-', 'ōr-' and 'oru-'

In the language of PKK, the form 'orō' occurs before the word 'utavi' and the forms 'ōr' and 'oru' occur before the personal pronouns.

orō-utavi	(TMN, 62 : 3)
ōr-taṇ pōl oruvan	(NL, 260 : 3)
oru-ni	(TMN, 11 : 2)

According to the commentators of the verses (of PKK), the forms 'orō-', 'ōr-' and 'oru-' in the above instances are not numeral adjectives but are adjectives having the meaning 'unique'. There is a possibility that these forms may be traced back to the adjectival form of the numeral 'oru' and identified as numeral adjectives.³

2. 3. 1. 2. 'iraṇṭu'

Free form : iraṇṭu (TE, 434)

iraṇṭu (EL, 73:1; TMN, 8:3)

Bound forms : 'ir-', 'ir-' and 'iru-'

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'ir-' occurs only before the numeral 'āyiram' (TE, 464).

The form 'irāyiram' is not found in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'ir-' occurs only before words with initial vowels (TE, 455).

ir-āru (AK, 41 : 2)

ir-aintu (AK, 10:4)

Tolkāppiyar states that 'iru-' occurs before words with initial consonants (TE, 478).

iru-kāl (CPM, 20 : 4)

iru-kai (KYN, 55 : 4)

iru-talai (PM, 10 : 4)

iru-ciṛakar (KVN, 20 : 1)

A few nouns derived from the form 'iru-' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

iruvar (PM, 294 : 2)

irumai (NL, 129 : 3)

A few other forms are derived from the form 'ir-'.

iratti (NL, 95 : 4)

irattum (PM, 246 : 3)

Tolkāppiyar does not mention anything about the ordinals, though a few ordinals are found to occur in the language of Tolkāppiyam (TE, 29, 65, etc.).

The ordinal forms of the numerals are generally formed by the addition of 'ā kuvatu' / 'āvatu' to the cardinals.

In a single instance the ordinal 'iraṇṭāvatu' is found to occur in the language of PKK.

iraṇṭāvatu (TMN, 16 : 3)

2.3.1.3. 'mūṇru'

Free form : 'mūṇru' (TE, 440)

mūṇru (TKL, 360 : 1; NL, 114 : 1)

Bound forms : 'mu-' and 'mū-'

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'mu-' occurs before words with initial consonants (TE, 440, 441, 447, 451, 480).

mu-kkuram (NL, 190 : 3)

mu-ccarikai (EL, 12 : 3)

mu-ppāl (AK, 3 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'mū-' occurs before words with initial vowels, semivowels and the numeral 'āyiram' (TE, 452, 456, 457, 466).

mū-vulaku (NL, 100 : 3)

The form 'mūvāyiram' does not occur in the language of PKK.

The noun 'mūvar' derived from the form 'mū-' is found to occur in the language of PKK.

mūvar (NL, 363 : 3; TK, 12 : 3)

2.3.1.4. 'nāṇku'

Free form : 'nāṇku' (TE, 442)

nāṇku (TKL, 35 : 1; AK, 3 : 1)

In a single instance 'nāl' occurs as a free form in the language of PKK.

ivaiala ōr nāl iṭṭu (CPM, 2 : 2)

Bound forms : 'nāl-', 'nār-' and 'nān-'

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'nāl-' occurs before words with initial vowels, semivowels and the numeral 'āyiram' (TE, 437, 453, 456, 462, 463, 464, 467).

nāl-āru (NL, 383 : 1)

The form 'nālāyiram' is not found to occur in the language of PKK.

There are a few instances where the form 'nāl-' is found to occur before words beginning with consonants also.

nāl-vakai eccil (AK, 8 : 1)

nāl-ticai (KVN, 29 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, the form 'nār-' occurs before 'paktu' and words with initial consonants (TE, 437, 442, 446).

nār-porul (NL, 82 : 4)

nār-kati (EL, 77 : 1)

The form 'nārpaktu' does not occur in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, the form 'nān-' occurs before words with initial nasals (TE, 460, 462, 471, 480).

nān-maraiyālar (TK, 3 : 3; AK, 61 : 1)

The noun 'nālvar' derived from 'nāl-' is found to occur in the language of PKK.

nālvar (EL, 1 : 1)

2.3.1.5. 'aintu'

Free form : 'aintu' (TE, 443)

aintu (AK, 6 : 2; NL, 333 : 1)

Bound forms : 'ai-' and 'aiN-'

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'ai-' occurs before words with initial vowels, words with initial 'v-' and before the numeral 'āyiram' (TE, 437, 456, 451, 452, 454, 464, 468).

ai-arivu	(TK, 61 : 1)
ai-uṇarvu	(TKL, 354 : 1)
ai-vāya vēṭkai	(NL, 59 : 2)
ai-vakai	(AK, 48 : 2)

The form 'aiyāyiram' is not found to occur in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'aiN-' occurs before 'paktu', words denoting measures, etc., with initial stops or nasals; 'nūru' and 'nūrāyiram' (TE, 437, 443, 446, 448, 449, 451, 460, 471).

aiñ-kūntal	(ATA, 27 : 2)
aiñ-kuravar	(TK, 97 : 1)
aim-pulaṇ	(TKL, 1101 : 1)
aim-pūtam	(AK, 15 : 1)

The form 'aiN-' occurs only with the numeral '-patu' in the language of PKK.

aim-patu	(ATA, 1 : 3)
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A few nouns derived from 'ai-' and 'aiN-' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

aivar	(NMK, 46 : 2)
aimpatinmar	(PM, 52 : 2)

2.3.1.6. 'āru'

Free form : āru (TE, 437)

āru	(EL, 1 : 3; TKL, 381 : 1)
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Bound forms : 'ār-' and 'aru-'

'ār-'

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'ār-'⁵ occurs before words with initial vowels and the numeral 'āyiram' (TE, 458, 469).

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

‘āru-’

According to Tolkāppiyam ‘āru-’ occurs before words with initial consonants (TE, 437, 440, 446, 460, 471).

āru-toḷilōr (TKL, 560 : 1)

āru-cuvai (NL, 1 : 1)

Forms ‘arupaktu’ and ‘arunūṛāyiram’ are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

The noun ‘aruvar’ derived from ‘āru’ is found to occur in the language of PKK.

aruvar (EL, 65 : 1)

2. 3. 1. 7. ‘ēl’

Free form : ‘ēl’ (TE, 388)

ēl (EL, 77 : 3)

In the language of PKK, the form ‘ēlu’ also occurs as a free form.

ēlu (EL, 67 : 4)

Bound forms : ‘el-’, ‘ēl-’ and ‘elu-’

According to Tolkāppiyam, ‘el-’ occurs only before the numeral ‘āyiram’ (TE, 391).

The form ‘ēlāyiram’ is not found to occur in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, ‘elu-’ occurs before words denoting measures, numerals and words with initial consonants (TE, 389, 390).

elu-patu (TKL, 639 : 2)

elu-pirappu (TKL, 62 : 1)

elu-nāl (TKL, 1269 : 1)

elu-nūru (NL, 357 : 1)

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'ēl-' occurs before words with initial vowels, the numeral 'nūrāyiram' and words denoting number with final '-ai', '-am' and '-pal' (TE, 392, 393).

The form 'ēl-' does not occur in the language of PKK.⁶

A few nouns derived from 'ēlu-' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

ēluvar (NL, 24 : 3).

ēlumi (TKL, 107:1)

2.3.1.8. 'eṭṭu'

Free form : 'eṭṭu' (TE, 444)

eṭṭu (AK, 1 : 4; 2 : 3)

Bound form : 'eṇ-'

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'eṇ-' occurs before numerals, words denoting measures, etc., 'nūru' and 'nūrāyiram' (TE, 437, 444, 446, 449, 450, 460, 471, 480).

In the language of PKK, 'eṇ-' occurs only before words with initial consonants and before the numeral 'patu'.

eṇ-kunattāṇ (TKL, 9 : 1)

eṇ-patam (TKL, 548 : 1)

eṇ-patu (CPM, 77 : 4)

2.3.1.9. 'oṇpatu'

Free form : 'oṇpatu' (TE, 470)

oṇpatu (NL, 47 : 1)

Though Tolkāppiyar does not mention anything about the form 'tonṭu' (nine) which is derived from 'tol-', it occurs as a free form in the language of Tolkāppiyam (TP, 406). It is found to occur in the language of PKK also.

tonṭu (EL, 72 : 3; NL, 284 : 2)

Bound forms : 'oṇ-' and 'tol-'

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, 'on-' occurs before '-paktu', '-patu' and '-pān' (TE, 437, 459, 470).⁸

on-patu (NL, 47 : 1)

The form 'on-' is not found to occur before '-pān' and '-paktu' in the language of PKK.

Tolkāppiyar says that 'tonnūru' and 'tollāyiram' are formed by the addition of 'paktu' and 'nūru' respectively with 'onpatu' (TE, 445, 463). But from his description of changes which take place for the formation of 'tonnūru' and 'tollāyiram' it is evident that he arrives at the base 'tol-' before the words 'nūru' and 'āyiram'.⁹

Forms 'tollāyiram' and 'tonnūru' are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

A few nouns derived from 'on-' and 'tol-' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

onpatinmar (AK, 100 : 4)

tonāyiravar (NL, 284 : 2)

2.3.1.10. 'pattu'

Free form : 'pattu' (TE, 473)

pattu (IYN, 40 : 1; AK, 34 : 1)

Bound forms : '-pān', 'paṇ-', '-paktu' and '-patu'

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, '-pān' occurs after the bound forms of numerals (TE, 437, 455).

(e.g.) onpān

irupān

Such combinations are not found in the language of PKK.

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, 'paṇ-' occurs before the numeral 'iraṇṭu' (TE, 434).

The form 'panniraṇṭu' is not found in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-paktu' occurs after the bound forms of the numerals (TE, 390, 437).

(e.g.) onpaktu

Such a combination is not found in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-patu' occurs after the bound forms of numerals and before the numerals and other words (TE, 435, 436, 437, 477).

on-patu (NL, 47 : 1)

pat-in-nāṇku (AK, 47 : 1)

pat-irru-yāṇṭu (PM, 308 : 1)

2.3.1.11. 'nūru'

Free form : 'nūru' (TE, 472)

nūru (TKL, 932 : 1; NL, 357 : 2)

Bound forms : 'nūr-' and 'nūrṛ-'

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'nūr-' occurs only before the numeral 'āyiram' (TE, 471).

This combination occurs only in a derived form.

nūrāyiravar (PM, 214 : 4)

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'nūrṛ-' occurs before other numerals (TE, 472).

The form 'nūrṛ-' occurs only in the derived forms.

nūrṛuvar (PM, 369 : 4)

2.3.1.12. 'āyiram' (TE, 317, 391, etc.)

āyiram (TKL, 259 : 1; PM, 165 : 4)

A noun derived from 'āyiram' is found to occur in the language of PKK.

āyiravar (PM, 47 : 1)

2.3.1.13. nūṛāyiram 'lakh'

The numeral 'nūṛāyiram' denoting 'lakh' is mentioned in Tolkāppiyam (TE, 471).

A form derived from 'nūṛāyiram' is found to occur in the language of PKK.

nūṛāyiravar (PM, 214 : 4)

2.3.1.14. kōṭi 'ten million'

The numeral 'kōṭi' is not enumerated in Tolkāppiyam. But it is found to occur in the language of PKK.

kōṭi (TKL, 337 : 2; 377 : 1)

2.3.2. Fractions :

Fractions are not discussed in Tolkāppiyam. But there are a few fractions found to occur in the language of PKK.

mukkāl 'three quarters'

mukkāl (AK, 27 : 3)

kāl 'quarter'

kāl (TK, 21 : 1)

araikkāl 'one eighth'

araikkāl (PM, 132 : 4)

kāṇi 'fraction 1/80'

kāṇi (PM, 308 : 2; NL, 346 : 3)

muntiri 'fraction 1/320'

muntiri (NL, 346 : 3)

2.3.3. Numeral Compounds :

Tolkāppiyar says that numerals may occur before the same or other numerals (TE, 482).

‘onru’

ōr-onru (CPM, 27 : 4)

Here the same numeral is repeated to denote the distributive sense.

According to Tolkāppiyam, ‘ōr-’ occurs only before ‘āyiram’ (TE, 455, 479).

In the language of PKK, ‘ōr-’ occurs before the numerals ‘aintu’, ‘eḷupatu kōṭi’ and ‘nāl’.

ōr-aintu (TKL, 24 : 1)

ōr-eḷupatu-kōṭi (TKL, 639 : 2)

ōr-nāl (CPM, 2 : 2)

‘iraṇṭu’

īr-aintu (AK, 10 : 4)

īr-āru (AK, 41 : 2)

īr-āru-nālūm (AK, 42 : 2)

īr-aim-patiṇmar (PM, 52 : 2)

‘mūṇru’

mūṇr-aint-ēl (EL, 77 : 3)

‘nāṇku’

nāl-nāl-ticai (KVN, 6 : 1)

nāl-āru (NL, 83 : 1)

‘aintu’

aint-iraṇṭu (TMN, 8 : 3)

mūṇr-aint-ēl (EL, 77 : 3)

īr-aim-patiṇmar (PM, 52 : 2)

‘āru’

īr-āru-nālūm (AK, 42 : 2)

nāl-ārum-ārāy (NL, 383 : 1)

‘ēl’

ēlu-patu-kōṭi (TKL, 639 : 2)
 ēlu-nūru (NL, 357 : 3)

‘pattu’

patt-eṭṭu (NL, 281 : 1)
 pat-in-nāṅku (AK, 47 : 1)
 patt-aṭutta-kōṭi (TKL, 817 : 2)

2.3.4. Numerals and Inflectional Increments :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the inflectional increments which occur after the numerals are ‘-aṇ-’, ‘-iṇ-’, ‘-āṇ-’ and ‘-attu-’ (TE, 198, 433, 317).

Tolkāppiyar says that the inflectional increment ‘-aṇ-’ (2.7.1.9) is suffixed to the numeral ‘ēl’ and to other numerals with final shortened ‘-u’ (TE, 198, 419, 194).

In the language of PKK, ‘ēl’ does not take the inflectional increment ‘-aṇ-’.

It may be pointed out here that the numerals with final shortened ‘-u’ take the inflectional increment ‘-iṇ-’ also.

onṛirku	(NL, 170 : 1)	onṛu-iṇ-ku
iraṇṭirku	(TMN, 15 : 1)	iraṇṭu-iṇ-ku
mūṇṛiṇāl	(PM, 99 : 2)	mūṇṛu-iṇ-āl
nāṇṭirku	(NL, 319 : 1)	nāṇṭu-iṇ-ku
aintinai	(PM, 99 : 1)	aintu-iṇ-ai

According to Tolkāppiyam, when ‘pattu’, ‘orupaktu’, etc., and ‘onṇpaktu’ are followed by numerals and other words denoting measures, etc., the inflectional increment ‘-iṇ-’ intervenes (2.7.1.1.2) between them (TE, 433, 435, 436).

In a few instances, the form ‘patu’ when followed by words other than numerals, the inflectional increment ‘-iṇ-’ (-iṇ > -irru) intervenes between them (2.7.1.1.2) in the language of PKK.

Tolkāppiyar says that the inflectional increment '-attu-' occurs in between, when the numeral 'āyiram', whether alone or with a preceding numeral attribute (2.7.1.3.2.) is immediately followed by another numeral (TE, 317, 318).

According to Tolkāppiyam, inflectional increment '-ān-' (2.7.1.6.1.) occurs between 'orupaktu', etc., and case markers (TE, 199).

The inflectional increment '-ān-' treated here by the grammarian is really an indivisible part of '-pān-', which is evidently an allomorph of 'paktu'.¹⁰

Notes on Numerals :

1. The following are the numerals enumerated in *Tolkāppiyam*.
 onru 'one', iraṇṭu 'two', mūṇru 'three', nāṅku 'four',
 aintu 'five', āru 'six', ēl 'seven', eṭṭu 'eight', onpatu 'nine',
 pattu 'ten', nūru 'hundred' and āyiram 'thousand'.
2. TE, 433, 455, 434, 464, 440, 452, etc.
3. This view requires careful scrutiny and further study.
4. N-represents the homorganic nasal of the following stop or the same nasal as the following nasal.
5. This is nothing but 'āru' in sandhi, where the final '-u' is dropped before a vowel.
6. The number corresponding to 'ēl' 'seven' was replaced by the form 'ēlu' in the later period.
7. 'onpatu' is considered a compound form in which the post-bound '-patu' is a variant of 'pattu'.
8. The combination of 'on-' and '-patu' is not different from the free form 'onpatu' though *Tolkāppiyar* distinguishes the two forms.
9. onpatu + paktu > tonṇūru (TE, 445)
 onpatu + nūru > tollāyiram (TE, 463).
10. Israel, M., TMT., p. 69.

2.4. Verbal Nouns and Derivative Nouns :

2.4.1. Verbal Nouns :

2.4.1.1. Tolkāppiyar sporadically refers to a sub-class of nouns namely 'tolirpeyar' (verbal nouns) in Tolkāppiyam¹. He enumerates eight verbal roots with the consonant endings ('-ñ', '-ṇ', '-ṇ̄', '-ṇ̄', '-m', '-l', '-l̄' and '-v') occurring as verbal nouns in Eḷuttatikāram while dealing with the sandhi changes (TE, 236, 298, 306, 309, 327, 328, 345, 376, 382, 401, 403).²

Of the eight consonant endings, only five are found to occur as the final consonants of verbal nouns in the language of PKK.

'-ṇ̄' ending verbal nouns (TE, 306)

eḷuttināl nīṅkātu eṇṇāl oliyātu (EL, 38 : 1)

pēṇ aṭakkam pēṇāp peruntakaimai (CPM, 45 : 1)

verbal noun 'muraṇ' (TE, 309)

poru muraṇ ārrutal inṇu (NL, 149 : 1)

'-ṇ̄' ending verbal nouns such as 'miṇ̄', 'piṇ̄', 'paṇ̄' and 'kaṇ̄' (TE, 345)

miṇṇuk koṭiyiṇ miḷirum (KVN, 31 : 3)

'-m' ending verbal nouns (TE, 327)

tummuc ceṇuppa alutāl (TKL, 1318 : 1)

Tolkāppiyar enumerates 'īm̄', 'kam̄' and 'urum̄' as '-m' ending verbal nouns (TE, 329).

Verbal nouns 'īm̄', 'kam̄' are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

urumiṭi vāṇam (KN, 3 : 3)

'-l̄' ending verbal nouns (TE, 401)

kuṇam nōkkik koṇṭavar kōl viṭṭuḷiyum (AK, 55 : 3)

verbal nouns 'val' and 'pul' (TE, 403)

Only the form 'val' occurs in the language of PKK.

vallē tuniyē (EL, 50 : 2)

'-l' ending verbal nouns (TE, 376)

ikaḷunar collaṇṇic ceṇṇār (KN, 5 : 1)

verbal noun 'val' (TE, 373)

val viraintu (TMA, 48 : 3)

2.4.1.2. Verbal Nouns with Other Endings :

There are a few verbal nouns with consonants or vowels endings other than those enumerated in *Tolkāppiyam* are found to occur in the language of PKK.

amar (TKL, 814 : 1)

urai (TK, 11 : 2)

etir (TKL, 855 : 1)

oḷuku (IN, 1 : 2)

ceru (TK, 14 : 2)

toṭar (TKL, 450 : 2)

nō (TKL, 157 : 1)

makil (NMK, 80 : 2)

maṇai (NMK, 1138 : 2)

virī (NMK, 74 : 1)

2.4.1.3. Verbal Nouns with Suffixes :

These verbal nouns are formed from the verbal roots by the addition of nominalising suffixes. Though *Tolkāppiyar* does not describe the grammar of verbal nouns of this category a number of verbal nouns belonging to this class are found to occur in his treatise (aṇṇal, TC, 72; niṇṇal, TE, 151) and in the language of PKK.

‘-al’ ending verbal nouns

nāṇal (TK, 6 : 1)

aṇcal (TKL, 428 : 2)

‘-kal’ ending verbal nouns

naṭakkal (CPM, 93 : 2)

poṟukkal (TMN, 67 : 2)

‘-tal’ ending verbal nouns

uvattal (EL, 68 : 1)

pacittal (NMK, 15 : 3)

‘-ṭal’ ending verbal nouns

uṇṭal (NMK, 40 : 3)

vekuṭal (EL, 27 : 2)

‘-ral’ ending verbal noun

akaṛal (IYN, 10 : 3)

‘-ci’ ending verbal nouns

cūḷcci (TKL, 671 : 1)

puṇarcci (TKL, 785 : 1)

‘-pu’ ending verbal nouns

kāṇpu (IYN, 9 : 2)

kaṛpu (NMK, 24 : 4)

‘-vu’ ending verbal nouns

colavu (NMK, 87 : 1)

koḷvu (NL, 262 : 1)

‘-ai’ ending verbal noun

toṭalai (TKL, 1135 : 1)

‘-kai’ ending verbal noun

vāḷkkai (TKL, 44 : 1)

'-mai' ending verbal nouns³

ariyāmai (EL, 10 : 4)

piṟantamai (NMK, 11 : 2)

'-vi' ending verbal nouns

pulavi (TKL, 1306 : 1)

kēlvi (EL, 17 : 3)

'-kāṭu' ending verbal noun

cākkāṭu (NL, 48 : 4)

'-am' ending verbal nouns

oḷukkam (TKL, 136 : 1)

ākkam (KN, 22 : 4)

'-ku' ending verbal noun

aṟiku (TMN, 61 : 1)

'-pākku' ending verbal nouns

viṭupākku (NL, 255 : 4)

vēpākku (TKL, 1128 : 2)

2.4.1.4. Rare Usages :

The following category of words may also be treated under verbal nouns.

2.4.1.4.1. Verbal Nouns Occurring in the Form of Verbal Participles:**'ceytu pattern'**

viḷakkup puka iruḷ māyntāṅku (NL, 51 : 1)

peṭṭāṅku ceytoḷukum pētai (TK, 99 : 2)

Here the forms 'māyntu' and 'peṭṭu' occur as verbal nouns before the particle of comparison 'āṅku'.

'ceytāl pattern'

tīrtāl pōl tīrā varum (EL, 25 : 4)

ventāl pōl tōṇṇum nīḷ attam (TMN, 77 : 2)

Here the forms 'tīrntāl' and 'ventāl' occur as verbal nouns before the particle of comparison 'pōl'.

2.4.1.4.2. Verbal Nouns Occurring in the Form of Participial Nouns:

- celvatu vēṇṭiṇ aṛaṇceyka (NMK, 17 : 3)
 maṇ kiḷarnta pōlum kaṭar cērppa (TMN, 53 : 2)
 ūṇ il cūṛa pīraḷva pōṇṇa puṇal nāṭaṇ (KVN, 9 : 3)
 vellī velṇāñcilāṇ ṇālam uḷuvaṇa pōl
 ellāk kaḷiṛum nilaṇ cērnta (KVN, 40 : 1-2)
illakattu aṇṇil tuṛavā⁴
 uṭampināṇ āya payaṇ (CPM, 18 : 3-4)

In the above instances the forms 'celvatu', 'kiḷarnta', 'pīraḷva', 'uḷuvaṇa' and 'tuṛavā' function as verbal nouns.

Caldwell identifies this category of verbal nouns with the structure of neuter participial nouns as 'verbal participial nouns'⁵. Zvelebil refers to these verbal nouns as 'conjugated nouns'.⁶ From the usages found in literature it may be assumed that verbal nouns of this category is a later development in the language.

2.4.2. Derivative Nouns :

The words of this category are not dealt with but found used by Tolkāppiyar (kāṭci, TE, 83; icaimai, TE, 39). A number of derivative nouns are found to occur in the language of PKK. This class of nouns is formed from verbal stems by the addition of certain nominalising suffixes and is identical with the verbal nouns with regard to their formation. Verbal nouns denote the doing of an action (e.g. ceytal) whereas the derivative nouns denote the action only (e.g. ceykai). Another difference found between these two nouns is, that the verbal nouns can be modified by the adverbial participles, whereas the derivative nouns can be modified only by the adjectival participles.⁷

āṇmai (IYN, 27 : 1)

āṇṇal (IN, 7 : 1)

polivu (KYN, 48 : 2)

2.4.2.1. Defective Derivative Nouns :

Derivative nouns formed from defective verbal roots may be termed here as defective derivative nouns.

uṭaimai (IYN, 7 : 1)

iṇmai (AK, 2 : 2)

aṇmai (NL, 229 : 2)

2.5 Participial Nouns and Appellative Nouns :

2.5.1. Participial Nouns :

Tolkāppiyar says that a class of nouns denotes tense (TC, 70) and identifies it by the terms 'tolirpeyar' (TC, 133, 139)⁸ and 'vinaipeyar' (TC, 165). This sub-class of nouns is here referred to by the term 'participial noun'.⁹

Morphologically, participial nouns are of the same structure as that of the finite verbs

A large number of participial nouns are found to occur in the language of PKK.

First Person :

-ēṇ aṇiyātēṇ (ATE, 48 : 4)

-aṇ iruppan (ATE, 42 : 2)

-am ottanam (TMN, 33 : 4)

-ēm uṇaivēm (ATA, 6 : 3)

Second Person :

-ai iruntai (NL, 79 : 2)

-āy koṇṭāy (TMA, 36 : 4)

-ir etirkoṇṭir (TMN, 15 : 1)

-ir pōvīr (TMA, 12 : 2)

Third Person :

-aṇ nukarvaṇaṇ (KYN, 56 : 4)

-āṇ aṇrāṇ (TK, 17 : 1)

-āl	pirantāl	(AK, 65 : 1)
-ar	añcupavar	(TKL, 464 : 2)
-ār	alantār	(TK, 41 : 1)
-pa	kolpa	(PM, 33 : 2)
-ārkaḷ	vāḷntārkaḷ	(CPM, 43 : 3)
-tu	uṟratu	(ATE, 47 : 4)
-a	veṟuppana	(NL, 161 : 2)
-vai	ciṭaṟiyavai	(KN, 5 : 3)
-ā	kaivārā	(CPM, 82 : 1)

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'ā-' is changed into 'ō-' in the verbal terminations 'āṇ', 'āl', 'ār' and 'āy' (TC, 211, 212).

In the language of PKK, generally 'ā' is changed into 'ō' in the terminations of participial nouns whereas such a change is not found to occur in the finite verbs.

'-ōṇ'	aṟiyātōṇ	(MMK, 641 : 1)
	vēṇṭuvōṇ	(MMK, 91 : 2)
'-ōr'	aṟintōr	(NL, 133 : 3)
	naṭṭōr	(NMK, 22 : 2)

In the language of PKK, participial nouns are formed of appellative verbs also.

The appellative verbs may be classified into two groups. The first one is the group of pronominalised nouns (formed from adjectival and nominal stems) and the second is of defective verbs.

In the present study nouns formed from adjectival and nominal stems are considered appellative nouns and nouns formed from defective verbal roots are considered defective participial nouns.

2.5.1.1. Defective Participial Nouns :

Participial nouns derived from defective verbal roots¹⁰ are herein termed as defective participial nouns.

allavar	(TKL, 751 : 1)
illār	(EL, 15 : 4)
ili	(MMK, 38 : 1)
illatu	(IYN, 24 : 3)
ala	(CPM, 2 : 2)
allavai	(TK, 99 : 3)

2.5.1.2. Aoristic Participial Nouns :

There is a different type of participial nouns, formed from the verbal stems, found to occur in the language of PKK. These forms denote non-past tense.¹¹

āṭunar	(EL, 24 : 3)
etirunar	(ATA, 31 : 2)

2.5.2. Appellative Nouns :

Nouns derived from nominal and adjectival stems are herein termed as appellative nouns.

neñciṇēṇ	(ATA, 50 : 4)
kiḷari	(TMN, 126 : 2)
kuṇattāṇ	(CPM, 59 : 3)
kaittu	(NMK, 62 : 2)

The above mentioned nouns are derived from nominal stems.

nallam	(NL, 131 : 3)
iṇiyan	(NMK, 61 : 4)
nallaval	(KVN, 32 : 1)
eḷiyār	(CPM, 52 : 2)
aritu	(KYN, 11 : 4)

The above mentioned nouns are derived from adjectival stems.

Notes on Verbal Nouns - Appellative Nouns :

1. By this term Tolkāppiyar refers to participial and verbal nouns. In Eḷuttatikāram by this term he refers to verbal nouns only.
2. Tolkāppiyar says that these verbal nouns with consonant endings may be followed by an euphonic '-u' in sandhi (TE, 296, 298).
3. From the evidences it may be stated that the forms like 'pīrantamai' are later development in the language. Real verbal nouns do not signify any tense. Later on conjugated relative participles took the suffix 'mai' and thus a kind of conjugated verbal nouns are resulted.
4. The commentator of this verse considers that the final '-mai' is dropped in this verbal noun form.
5. Caldwell, R., CGD, pp. 540, 541.
6. Zvelebil, K., 'Participial and Verbal Nouns as Predicates in Early Old Tamil,' pp. 178-185.
7. Israel., M., TMT, p. 74.
8. By this term Tolkāppiyar refers to participial nouns and verbal nouns.
9. This term is used here because it is widely recognized and employed.
10. Defective verbal roots are neither nominal nor adjectival but are mid-way between the adjectival and verbal stems. Israel, M., TMT, P. 70.
11. L.V. Ramaswami Aiyar refers to these nouns as aoristic participial nouns.

Ramaswami Aiyar, L.V., 'The Morphology of the Old Tamil Verbs', p. 775.

2.6. Cases¹ :

Tolkāppiyar discusses the case markers and the ways in which the noun-stems take them in three chapters of Eluttatikāram, viz., Puṇariyal, Tokaimarapu and Urupuppūṇariyal. Further, he deals with the cases in three chapters of Collatikāram, viz., Vēṟṟumaiyiyal, Vēṟṟumai Mayaṅkiyal and Viḷimarapu. In Vēṟṟumaiyiyal, he treats the case markers, the first seven cases, their general meanings and also the range of meanings in which each of the cases occurs, in Vēṟṟumai Mayaṅkiyal with the functional syncretism of cases (i.e., varying idiomatic usages of case markers with regard to case meanings) and in Viḷimarapu with the vocative case.

According to Tolkāppiyam, there are eight cases in Tamil (TC, 62-64).

2.6.1. 'eḷuvāy' vēṟṟumai (Nominative case) :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the first case is the nominative case. Tolkāppiyar considers 'peyar' (noun) as the form of the nominative case (TC, 64, 65).

yān kaṇṭēn (TMN, 89 : 3)

Tolkāppiyar says that the nominative case takes six types of predicates viz., verbs denoting existence of things, optative verbs, verbs expressing the action in the past, present and future, interrogative words, words denoting quality and noun (TC, 65).

The nominative case takes the above mentioned six types of predicates in the language of PKK.

1. nelluk kumiyuṇṭu (NL, 221 : 3)

2. nāṭittirivaṇēl naṭṭān

.....celvuḷic celka (NL, 230 : 2-3)

3. yām ilantēm (TK, 91 : 2)
4. aṛivār yār (NMK, 6 : 3)
5. nirmai peritu (TKL, 1272 : 2)
6. valaṇ uyarntu tōṇṇum malai (ATE, 31 : 4)

Further, in the next sutra, Tolkāppiyar points out that compounds which have the same privilege of occurrence can occur as subjects in the nominative case (TC, 67).

eṇṇār aṛivuṭaiyār (NL, 28 : 4)

tuñcā cuṭarttōṭi kaṇ (ATA, 16 : 4)

2.6.2. 'ai' vēṇṇumai (Accusative case) :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the second case marker is 'ai' and it is added to the nouns which occur as direct objects of the verbs or kuṛippu (TC, 71).

ēlai ataṇai ikaḷinturaikkum (NL, 321 : 3)

tiruvuṭai yāraic cēral iṇṇa (IN, 4 : 3)

According to Tolkāppiyam, the use of the case marker 'ai' is obligatory with rational nouns and common nouns and is optional with non-rational nouns (TE, 157).

kūṭalanaiyālai (TMN, 4 : 1)

tannaic cuṭum (TKL, 293 : 2)

- rational nouns

avāviṇai āṇṇa aṇuppiṇ (TKL, 367 : 1)

neṭuṅkāṭu nērciṇai iṇa (KN, 2 : 1)

- non-rational noun

In the language of PKK, the use of the case marker 'ai' is found optional in the case of rational nouns also.

tappiyār aṭṭa kaḷattu (KVN, 1 : 4)

mallar kaṭantāṇ (ATA, 1 : 1)

Tolkāppiyar says that in poetry ‘-a’ may be appended to ‘-ai’ when suffixed to the rational nouns only (TC, 108, 109).

(e.g.) kāvalōṇak kaḷiraṇcumē

Such an usage is not found to occur in the language of PKK.

2.6.3. ‘-oṭu’ vēṛṛumai (Instrumental and Sociative case) :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the third case marker is ‘-oṭu’ and it is suffixed to the agent or instrument of an action (TC, 73).

colloṭu uruppaṭār cōrvinṇi mārupavē (PM, 193 : 3)

In the language of PKK, the case marker ‘-oṭu’ denotes the sociative meaning.

nakaiyoṭu mantiram naṭṭārkkku (CPM, 85 : 1)

kolaipuri villoṭu kūṛruppōl (KYN, 23 : 1)

Tolkāppiyar does not make mention of the variant ‘-ōṭu’ of ‘-oṭu’. But this form denoting the sociative meaning occurs both in the language of Tolkāppiyam and in that of PKK.

āvōṭallatu yakaram mutalātu (TE, 65)

cēṛppa niṇṇōṭu uraiyēṇ (KYN, 50 : 1)

kārōṭu alamaruṇ kārvāṇam (ATE, 15 : 3)

Tolkāppiyar mentions ‘-āṇ’ as a case marker but does not assign it to any case (TC, 97, 108).²

In the language of PKK, the form '-āṇ' denotes the instrumental as well as the sociative meanings.

uṭampināṇ āya payaṇ (CPM, 18 : 4)

— instrumental

aṛattāṇ varuvatē inṇam (TKL, 39 : 1)

— sociative

According to Tolkāppiyam, in poetry '-a' may be appended to '-āṇ' (TC, 108).

(e.g.) pulavarāṇa

Such an usage is not found in the language of PKK.

Tolkāppiyar does not mention the form '-āl', but it is found to occur in the language of PKK as the third case marker denoting 'instrumental', 'sociative' and 'agent' meanings.

varu kuṛiyāl veñcinam poṅki (TMA, 24 : 2)

— instrumental

kālāṇum cellār karuṇaiyāl tuyppavē (NL, 268 : 3)

— sociative

eccamen renneṇṇuṇ kollō oruvarāl

naccap paṭāa tavaṇ (TKL, 1004)

— agent

In the language of PKK, except in a few instances the case marker '-oṭu' has lost its nature of denoting the meanings agent and instrument and is restricted to denote the sociative meaning only. Suffixes '-āṇ' and '-āl' denote the instrumental meaning; seldom they denote the meaning 'agent' also.

Postpositions :

In the language of PKK, a few words are found to denote the sociative and instrumental meanings.

‘uṭan’

This form occurs both in the language of Tolkāppiyam and of PKK.

koṭuppōr inṇiyum karaṇa muṇṭē
 puṇarntuṭaṇ pōkiya kālaiyāṇa (TP, 141)
 oṭṭāruṭaṇ uraiviṇkaṇ (AK, 43 : 4)
 — sociative

‘uḷi’

iyalpuḷik kōlōccum manṇavaṇ nāṭṭa
 peyalum viḷaiyum tokku (TKL, 545)

‘vaittu’

vallavar ūṇṇa vaṭi āpōl vāyvaittuk
 kollac curakkumām kīl (NL, 279 : 3-4)

‘koṇṭu’

‘koṇṭu’ occurs both in the language of Tolkāppiyam and of PKK.

īracaikoṇṭu mūvacai puṇarttum
 cīriyaintirratu cīreṇappaṭum (TP, 320)
 kal koṇṭu eṇiyum tavaru (NL, 364 : 4)

2.6.4. ‘ku’ vēṇṇumai (Dative Case) :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the fourth case marker is ‘-ku’ and it is suffixed to the nouns denoting recipient (TC, 75).

celcārvuṭaiyārkkku iṇiyavāy (ATA, 6 : 2)
 ivarkku ūṇ koṭuttallāl uṇṇārē (AK, 21 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, in poetry ‘-a’ may be appended to ‘-ku’, when suffixed to the rational nouns (TC, 108, 109).

Such a form is found to occur in the language of PKK, in a solitary instance.

inpattiṇ pakkam iruntaikka inṇam
oḷiyāmai kaṇṭālum (NL, 79 : 2-3)³
iruntai-ku + a > iruntaikka

The case marker 'ku' is found to denote the purposive meaning also in the language of PKK.

iṭai nāyirku eṇṇiṭu māru (PM, 73 : 4)
.....kuṇu narikku
nalla nārāyam koḷal (PM, 80 : 3-4)

Postpositions :

In the language of PKK, the forms 'māṭṭu' and 'poruṭṭu' denote the purposive meaning.

'māṭṭu'

māṇ poruḷmāṭṭu oṭa (ATA, 39 : 1)
perumaṭam nammāṭṭuraittu (KN, 30 : 4)

'poruṭṭu'

tam poruṭṭu ūṇ koḷlār (AK, 39 : 1)
vēḷāṇmai ceytarporuṭṭu (TKL, 81 : 2)

2.6.5. 'in' vēṇṇumai (Comparative case)⁴ :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the fifth case marker is 'in' and it denotes the nature of an object in its relation to another (TC, 77).

All the commentators except Teyvaccilaiyār, say that the fifth case denotes 'comparison', 'separation', 'boundary' and 'cause'.

In the language of PKK, the fifth case denotes the meanings 'comparison', 'separation', 'boundary' and 'cause'. Commentators classify the comparative sense (*poru*) into two categories namely, *uvamap poru* (comparative) and *uralporu* (contrastive).

turaṇtāriṇ tūymaiyuṭaiyār (TKL, 159 : 1)

— comparative

teḷivilār naṭṭiṇ pakai naṇru (NL, 219 : 1)

— contrastive

aṇkaṇ vicumpiṇ akaṇilāp pārikkum (PM, 15 : 1)

— separation (*nikkam*)

kuruttiṇ karumpu tinṇarrē (NL, 211 : 2)

— boundary (*ellai*)

kaṭṭuraiyiṇ vallitiṇ nāṭi (PM, 104 : 2)

— cause (*ētu*)

From the usages found in literature it may be assumed that at first '-iṇ' might have been used as a case of comparison; later on it began to denote the meaning separation.

The affix '-il' is found to occur as a variant of '-iṇ' in the language of PKK.⁵

kōḷil poriyil kuṇamilavē eṇkuṇattāṇ

tāḷai vaṇaṅkāṭ talai (TKL, 9)

— comparative

iṇanta vekuliyil tite (TKL, 531 : 1)

— contrastive

kaṇaiyilum kūriyavām kaṇ (PM, 174 : 4)

— boundary

..... *ciṇanta*

uvakai makiḷcciyil cōrvu (TKL, 531)

— cause

Postpositions :

In the language of PKK, the forms 'iruntu', 'kiṭantu' and 'niṇru' denote the meaning 'separation' and the form 'ūṅku' denotes the 'contrastive' meaning.

'iruntu'

illiruntu ellai kaṭappāl (TK, 50 : 3)

'kiṭantu'

..... pirai kiṭantu
murranaittum unṇātavark kiṭantār maṇṇarāy
(CPM, 71 : 2-3)

'niṇru'

.....niṇ naṭai
niṇniṇru arikiṇpār il (PM, 288 : 3-4)
— separation

'ūṅku'

irattaliṇūṅku iḷivaravillai (MMK, 59 : 1)
— contrastive

2.6.6. 'atu' vēṇṇumai (Genitive case) :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the sixth case marker is 'atu' and it denotes the relation between an object and its internal parts (inseparable elements) or between one object and another (TC, 79).

ācāriyaṇatu amaivu (EL, 75 : 4)

vaitāratu vaḷakku (CPM, 96 : 3)

Though Tolkāppiyar does not mention about the suffix '-a', it is found to denote the genitive meaning in the language of PKK.⁶

pāmpiṇa kāl (PM, 5 : 4)

Postpositions :

In the language of PKK, the forms 'uṭai' and 'uṭaiya' are found to denote the genitive meaning.

'uṭai'

paṇpuṭai makkaḷ (TKL, 62 : 2)

urumuṭai vāṇ (TMN, 108 : 3)

'uṭaiya'

arumaiyuṭaiya araṇ (NL, 164 : 3)

cīlam inuṭaiya ācāṇ (TKL, 26 : 3)

26.7. 'kaṇ' vēṛṛumai (Locative case) :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the seventh case marker is 'kaṇ' and it is suffixed to the nouns denoting place, locality or time of action (TC, 81).

vaḷi vantār kaṇṇē vaṇappu (EL, 1 : 4)

palporuṭ kaṇ cenṇār (KYN, 15 : 3)

— place and locality

mūppinṇaṇ naṇmaikku akanṇāṇ (TK, 17 : 1)

— time of action

The affixes '-il' and '-in' are found to denote the locative meaning in the language of Tolkāppiyam and of PKK.

'-il'

avaṇṇu vaḷi maruṅkil cāriyai varumē (TE, 118)

tēṅkalanta collil telittu (KYN, 4 : 4)

'-in'

kūriya muṇaiyiṇ urupuniḷai tiriyātu (TC, 991)

ōṅkal viḷup palaviṇ inpaṅkolīiya tiṅkaṇi

(KYN, 4 : 1)

Postpositions :

Nineteen postpositions denoting the locative case are enumerated in Tolkāppiyam. They are : 1. *kaṇ*, 2. *kāl*, 3. *puṛam*, 4. *akam*, 5. *uḷ*, 6. *uḷai*, 7. *kīḷ*, 8. *mēl*, 9. *piṇ*, 10. *cār*, 11. *ayal*, 12. *puṭai*, 13. *tēvakai*, 14. *muṇ*, 15. *talai*, 16. *iṭai*, 17. *kaṭai*, 18. *valam* and 19. *iṭam* (TC, 82).

Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar consider these forms as case markers.⁷ Cēṇāvaraiyar treats them as independent words, giving the different shades of meaning of the locative case⁸. Teyvaccilaiyār is of the opinion that, the words enumerated in the 'sutra' function like nouns in certain environments and as case markers in others.⁹

In the language of PKK, many of these forms function as case markers, though they are independent words. They denote the different shades of meaning of the locative case and most of these forms incidentally function as locative case markers also.

'tēvakai', 'cār' and 'valam' are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

'kaṇ'

vaḷivantārkaṇṇē vaṇappu (EL, 1 : 4)

'kāl'

.....kataikkāl (PM, 105 : 2)

'puṛam'

palippurattunpār uṇā (PM, 176 : 4)

'akam'

viḷavakattum nāṅkāṇēm (TMN, 62 : 2)

'uḷ'

iraviṇuḷ (KYN, 10 : 2)

'uḷai'

tammulai (NL, 159 : 1)

‘kīl’

maramannar kīl vāltal (IN, 3 : 1)

‘mēl’

mārpin mēl (ATE, 41 : 3)

‘pin’

kālirannānpin celluṅkol (ATE, 40 : 3)

‘cār’

*

‘ayaI’

taṇmaiylālarayaI iruppu (TK, 10 : 3)

‘puṭai’

pullār puṭai taṟukaṇ aṇcuvān (PM, 249 : 3)

‘tēvakai’

*

‘mun’

.....emar

mun kīlarntu eytal muṭi (TMN, 53 : 3-4)

‘talai’

neyttalai pāl ukkuviṭal (PM, 339 : 4)

‘iṭai’

.....elliṭaik

kānavar makkaḷ kaṇalenak kaikāyttum

(TMA, 4 : 1-2)

‘kaṭai’

..... aṭuppinṇaṭai muṭaṅkum

nāyaip puliyam eṇal (PM, 117 : 3-4)

‘valam’

*

‘iṭam’

oḷḷiyam eṇpāriṭam koḷḷār (AK, 82 : 2)

A few more forms are found to denote the locative meaning in the language of Tolkāppiyam and that of PKK.

‘naṭuvan’

aintiṇai naṭuvan (TP, 2 : 2)

pallār naṭuvan collāṭal (NMK, 39 : 1)

‘micai’

yāven cinaimicai uraiyacaikkilavi (TE, 34 : 2)

itaṇmicai cāntam (TMN, 3 : 2)

‘munṇar’

t r l l eṇṇum pulḷi munṇar

k c p eṇṇum mūvelutturiya (TE, 23)

matam naṇṇu māṇpilār munṇar vitanāṇṇāl
(CPM, 17 : 2)

‘vayin’

kunṇicai molivayin niṇṇicai niṇṇaikkum
(TE, 41 : 1)

.....poruḷvayir

pāṇkanār cenṇa nerī (NL, 400 : 3)

In the language of PKK, a few more forms are found to denote the locative meaning.

‘aḷavu’

kuṇṇaiyul naṭpaḷavu tōṇṇum uḷaliṇiya

cālpiṇiṇṇ..... (AK, 37 : 1-2)

‘ākam’

(kuṭamalaiyākattuk kollap piṇaikkum (KN, 33 : 2)

‘uḷi’

tiyuḷi uyttuviṭum (TKL, 168 : 2)

‘uḷi’

namar cenruḷi nāṭṭuk kār (ATA, 4 : 4)

‘ūṭu’

viri kaṭalūṭu celvān (TK, 73 : 2)

‘tirattu’

urumiṭi vānam iliya eḷumē
nerunal orutti tirattu (KN, 3 : 3-4)

‘pānkar’

ōnku kuruntōṭu arumpiṇṇu pānkar
marāam malarntaṇa.....(TMA, 13 : 1-2)

‘māṭṭu’

maṅkul nīr veṇṭiraiyiṇ māṭṭu (TMN, 35 : 4)

‘mītu’

..... aliyaṇmītu
ampu paṇattal aritu (CPM, 83 : 3-4)

‘mukattu’

muṇai mukattu māṇṇalar cāya (TKI, 749 : 1)

‘mutal’

kūṭṭumutal uṇaiyuṇ kōḷi tuyileluppa
(TMN, 143 : 3)

‘varai’

nilavarai nīl pukaḷārrin pulavaraip
pōrrātu puttēl ulaku (TKL, 234)

‘vāy’

neñcamvāy pukkoḷivu kānpānō (TMN, 19 : 3)

2.6.8. 'vīlī' vēṛṛumai (Vocative case):

It is evident from the way in which Tolkāppiyar enumerates the total number of cases in Tamil, that the vocative case was not given equal status with other cases by the grammarians who lived before him (TC, 62, 63).

There is no regular marker for the vocative case. Though Tolkāppiyar does not attempt the classification of vocatives into proximate and remote vocatives, he indicates such a kind of classification of the vocatives in the course of his discussion on the formation of vocatives (TC, 127, 131).

Tolkāppiyar discusses the nouns which take the vocative form under three groups. They are of rational nouns, common nouns and of non-rational nouns.

2.6.8.1. Rational Nouns :

2.6.8.1.1. Nouns with Final Vowels :

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-i' becomes '-ī' and '-ai' becomes '-āy' (TC, 121).

tōli > tōlī (TMA, 15 : 2)

It is worthy of notice that in the language of PKK a noun ending with '-i' takes the particle 'ō' in the vocative form.

tōli + ō > tōliyō (TMN, 97 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-ai' becomes '-ā' in nouns denoting relationship with final '-ai' (TC, 126).

(e.g.) annai > annā

Such a vocative form is not found in the language of PKK.

But there is an instance where the final 'ai' of noun denoting relationship becomes 'āy' in the language of PKK.

entāy (TMN, 46 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'u' becomes u + ē and 'ō' becomes ō + ē (TC, 122).

(e.g.) vēntu > vēntē

kō > kōvē

This kind of vocative forms are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, nouns with final aḷapeṭai '-ii' (lengthening of vowel in poetry) take another '-i' instead of changing the final '-i' into '-ī' (TC, 125).

(e.g.) polantoṭii > polantoṭiii

Such a vocative form is not found in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, nouns which are used to call one near at hand undergo no modification (TC, 127)

paṇaittōḷi > paṇaittōḷi (KN, 4 : 3)

ikuḷai > ikuḷai (TMN, 109 : 1)

2.6.8.1.2. Nouns with Final Consonants :

'ṇ'

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-aṇ' becomes '-ā' (TC, 130).

attaṇ > attā (TMA, 33 : 1)

If the nouns with final '-aṇ' is used to call one near at hand, only the final consonant is dropped and there is no lengthening of the penultimate vowel, i.e., '-aṇ' becomes '-a' (TC, 131).

ūraṇ > ūra (TMA, 33 : 1)

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'āṇ' becomes 'āṇ' (TC, 132).

(e.g.) cēramāṇ > cēramāṇ

Such a vocative form is not found in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, the final 'āṇ' of participial and qualitative nouns becomes 'āy' (TC, 133, 134).

In the language of PKK, participial and qualitative nouns with final 'āṇ' are not found to take the vocative form.

Tolkāppiyar states that 'āṇ' ending nouns with 'aḷapeṭai' function as vocative forms due to meterical exigency (TC, 135).

(e.g.) ulāaṇ > ulāaṇ

Such a vocative form is not found in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'ṇ' becomes ṇ + ē in nouns denoting relationship with final 'ṇ' (TC, 136).

makaṇ > makaṇē (ATA, 22 : 2)

-r'

According to Tolkāppiyam 'ar' becomes 'ir' and 'ār' becomes 'ir' (TC, 138).

(e.g.) kūttar > kūttir

pārppār > pārppir

Such kinds of vocative forms are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, the final 'ar' and 'ār' of participial and qualitative nouns become 'ir' and take 'ē' while taking the vocative form (TC, 139, 140).

In the language of PKK, there is no instance for participial and qualitative nouns with final '-ar' taking the vocative form.

pōvār > pōvir (TMA, 12 : 3)

tālkuḷalār > tālkuḷalir (TMN, 12 : 3)

In the language of PKK, 'ē' is not added to participial and qualitative nouns with final '-ār' while taking the vocative form though '-ār' changes into '-ir'.

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-ār' ending nouns with 'aḷapeṭai' function as vocative forms due to metrical exigency (TC, 141).

(e.g.) makāar > makāar

Such a vocative form is not found to occur in the language of PKK.

'-l' and '-l'

According to Tolkāppiyam, -Vl becomes -Vl¹⁰, -Vl becomes -Vl̄ (TC, 144) and nouns with final -Vl and -Vl̄ do not undergo any change while taking the vocative form (TC, 145).

(e.g.) kuricil > kuricil, makkaḷ > makkāl

tirumāl > tirumāl, kōmāl > kōmāl

Such kinds of vocative forms are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, the final '-āl' in participial and qualitative nouns becomes '-āy' (TC, 146).

tērātāl > tērātāy (TMN, 79 : 2)

- participial noun

kōtaiyāl > kōtaiyāy (KYN, 36 : 3)

-qualitative noun

According to Tolkāppiyam, nouns denoting relationship ending in '-l' take 'ē' in the vocative form (TC, 147).

(e.g.) makal + ē > makalē

Nouns with final '-l' denoting relationship do not take the vocative form in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, nouns with final '-l' and '-l' preceded by 'aḷapeṭai' do not take the vocative forms (TC, 148).

(e.g.) māal, vēel

Such of the vocative forms are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

2.6.8.2. Common Nouns :

According to Tolkāppiyam, common nouns with the four final vowels and the consonants mentioned above (i, ai, u and o; n, r, l and l) undergo the same modifications, while they take the vocative forms (TC, 150).

(e.g.) cātti > cātti

makkaḷ > makkāl

In the language of PKK, the common nouns are not found to take the vocative form.

2.6.8.3. Non-rational Nouns :

According to Tolkāppiyam, all non-rational nouns with final consonants and vowels take 'ē' in the vocative form (TC, 151).

neñcu + ē > neñcē (ATA, 39 : 1)

puṟavu + ē > puṟavē (TMN, 74 : 1)

In the language of PKK, only the '-u' ending non-rational nouns are found to take 'ē' in the vocative form.

In a few instances the non-rational nouns do not take 'ē' in the vocative form.

vāliya neñcu (TKL, 1200 : 2)

kātalai vāli mati (TKL, 1118 : 2)

It is worthy of notice that in a few instances, the final '-ai' and '-n' of the non-rational nouns get changed into '-āy' and '-φ' respectively in the vocative form.

nārai > nārāy (KYN, 50 : 4)

koṇrai > koṇrāy (TMN, 81 : 1)

mullai > mullāy (TMN, 81 : 1)

alavaṇ > alava (ATA, 42 : 1)

According to Tolkāppiyam, all the nouns increase the quantity of the vowels when they are used to summon persons or objects at a distance (TC, 152).

(e.g.) kuḷalāy > kuḷalāay

Such a vocative form is not found to occur in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, the term of address 'amma' becomes 'ammā' (TC, 153).

uṇaṇ puṇarka ammā eñneñcu (NL, 173 : 4)

There are a few forms which are also used as the term of address in the language of PKK.

'ela' (used to address the female companion of a monkey)

palaviṇ palam perra painkaṭ kaṭuvaṇ

elaveṇṇiṇai payiru mēkal cūl verpaṇ

(TMA, 10 : 1-2)

'ēṭi' and ēlāy'

These forms are found to address the female companion of a lady.

ēṭi (TMN, 123 : 2)

eṅkēṭṭi yēlāy (TMN, 135 : 1)

Nouns That Do Not Take the Vocative Form :

A few nouns (and pronouns) that do not take the vocative form, are listed by Tolkāppiyar in his treatise (TC, 124, 128, 129, 137, 142, 143, 148, 154) and they are not found to take the vocative form in the language of PKK also.

(e.g.) tān, aval, etc.

Notes on Cases :

1. The different shades of meanings denoted by each of the cases and the functional syncretism of cases are not discussed in the present study.
2. Since it is mentioned with the markers of the preceding and the following cases (2nd and 4th cases) it may be confirmed that 'āṇ' was used as the third case marker at the time of *Tolkāppiyar*.
3. From the context of its occurrence it is evidently different from the pattern of optative verbs 'iruntaikka' which occurs in *Cilappatikāram*.
4. In modern Tamil, the fifth case is usually called the ablative case of motion. But the description of its usages in *Tolkāppiyam* emphasise it as a case of comparison.
5. There is a tendency for the final '-ṇ' of 'iṇ' becoming '-l' in the language of PKK.
6. In Sangam literature also the form '-a' is found to denote the genitive meaning (LSLT, P.97). This may be the possible reason for the later-day grammarian Pavaṇanti, enumerating '-a' as the sixth case marker (Naṇ., 300).
7. Iḷa., A Commentary on TC, 77.
Nac., A Commentary on TC, 83.
8. Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 82.
9. Tey., A Commentary on TC, 79.
10. V = short vowel; Ṽ = long vowel.

2.7. Cāriyais (Inflectional Increments) :

According to Tolkāppiyam, cāriyais which occur in sandhi occur optionally or obligatorily between nouns and case markers or other words (TE, 112, 132).¹ The cāriyais occur between noun stems and case markers, i.e., in declension and between noun stems and other words, i.e., in word combinations.

2.7.1. Tolkāppiyar enumerates nine cāriyais, viz., 'in-', 'varru-', '-attu-', '-am', '-on', '-ān-', '-akku', '-ikku-' and 'an-' (TE, 119),

2.7.1.1 'in'

cāriyai 'in' occurs both in declension and in word combinations.

2.7.1.1.1. In Declension :

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'in-' occurs after the words with final 'a', 'ā', '-u', '-ū', '-ē', '-ai' (TE, 171), '-m' (TE, 186), shortened '-u' (TE, 195) and '-v' (TE, 184).

-a	vilaviṇai	(NL, 261 : 2)
-ā	avāviṇai	(TKL, 367 : 1)
-u	aḷaviṇkaṇ	(PM, 152 : 2)
-ū	pūviṇku	(NL, 221 : 4)
-ē	*	
-ai	paṇaiyiṇmēl	(PM, 91 : 3)
-m	urumiṇku	(KVN, 35 : 2)
shortened '-u'	kurāṇkiṇuḷ	(PM, 51 : 4)
-v	*	

In the language of PKK, words with final '-ē' and '-v' do not take the cāriyai 'in-' in declension.

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'in-' may occur between the cāriyai '-attu-' and the case marker (TE, 186)

kalattiṇāl (TKL, 102 : 1) kalam-attu-in āl

Tolkāppiyar states that '-in-' occurs after the verbal nouns with final 'ñ' and '-n' (TE, 182) and optionally after the words 'aḷan' and 'puḷan' (TE, 193).

Verbal nouns with the consonant endings ‘-ñ’ and ‘-n’ and the words ‘alaṇ’ and ‘puḷaṇ’ are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

Tolkāppiyar explicitly points out that the fifth case marker ‘-iṇ’ does not take the cāriyai ‘-iṇ-’ (TE, 131).

But it is worthy of notice that in a single instance the fifth case marker ‘-iṇ’ is found to take the cāriyai ‘-iṇ-’ in the language of PKK.

varunta vallitiṇiṇ yāppiṇum (PM, 30 : 3)

In the language of PKK, nouns with final ‘-i’, ‘-ī’, ‘-i’ and ‘-ṇ’ are also found to take the cāriyai ‘-iṇ-’ in declension.

-i nariyiṇku (PM, 290 : 3)

-ī tiyiṇāl (TKL, 129 : 1)

-i kaḷḷiṇai (PM, 256 : 3)

-ṇ peṇṇiṇāl (TKL, 1280 : 1)

2.7.1.1.2. In word Combinations :

According to Tolkāppiyam, ‘-iṇ’ occurs after the nouns ‘maka’ (TE, 218), ‘āṭūu’ (TE, 271), ‘makaṭūu’ (TE, 271), ‘cē’ (TE, 279), ‘vaṇṭu’ (TE, 420) and ‘peṇṭu’ (TE, 420).

Nouns ‘maka’, ‘āṭūu’, ‘makaṭūu’, ‘peṇṭu’ and ‘cē’ are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

The noun ‘vaṇṭu’ does not take the cāriyai ‘-iṇ’ in word combination.

According to Tolkāppiyam, ‘-iṇ’ occurs between the nouns denoting measurement with final shortened ‘-u’ and the word ‘kuṇai’ (TE, 167) and after the nouns ‘paṇai’ and ‘kā’ (TE, 169).

(e.g.) ulaṅku-iṇ kuṇai

paṇai-y-iṇ kuṇai

kā-v-iṇ kuṇai

Such expressions are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

Tolkāppiyar states that cāriyai '-in' occurs optionally after the nouns 'paṇai' (TE, 241), 'vaḷi' (TE, 242), 'maḷai' (TE, 287), 'veyil' (TE, 377) and 'irul' (TE, 402).

(e.g.) paṇai-y-in koṇṭān
veyil-in koṇṭān, etc.

These types of expressions are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-in' occurs between two numerals (TE, 433, 435, 470, 476) and between numerals and nouns denoting measurement (TE, 436, 459, 477).

paṭiṇāṇku (AK, 47 : 1)

In the language of PKK, '-in' is not found to occur between numerals and nouns denoting measurement (like paṭiṇ toṭi).

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-i-' of '-in' may be dropped when it is suffixed to ā 'cow' (TE, 120)².

(e.g.) ā-in > āṇ

āṇ paṭu ney (NL, 239 : 1)

āṇ nilai (AK, 32 : 2)

Tolkāppiyar says that '-n' of the cāriyai '-in' changes into '-r' (in > ir) while '-in' occurs between numerals and nouns denoting measurement with initial vowel (TE, 121).

(e.g.) paṭu-in uḷakku > paṭirruḷakku

Such an occurrence is not found in the language of PKK.

It may be pointed out here that the cāriyai '-in' becomes '-irru' between the form 'paṭu' and word denoting other than measurement with initial consonant in the language of PKK.³

paṭirri yāṇṭu (PM, 308 : 1)

2.7.1.2. 'varru'

'varru' occurs only after the neuter plural nouns. Scholars are of the opinion that the actual form of this cāriyai is 'arru'.⁴

2.7.1.2.1. In Declension :

Tolkāppiyar states that the cāriyai 'varru-' occurs after the nouns 'pala' (TE, 174), 'yā' (TE, 175), 'avai', 'ivai' and 'uvai' (TE, 177), 'yāvai' (TE, 178), 'av', 'iv' and 'uv' (TE, 183) and 'ellām' (TE, 189).

In the language of PKK, instances are found only for 'av' and 'iv' taking the cāriyai 'varru-' in declension.

avarroṭu (PM, 42 : 1)

ivarrāl (NL, 195 : 4)

2.7.1.2.2. In word Combinations :

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'varru' occurs after the nouns 'pala' (TE, 220), 'avai', 'ivai' and 'uvai' (TE, 281), 'ellām' (TE, 322) and 'av', 'iv' and 'uv' (TE, 378).

In the language of PKK, 'varru' is not found to occur in word combination.

2.7.1.3. 'attu'

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'attu' occurs only after the neuter singular nouns and in most of the instances enumerated in Tolkāppiyam, it does not occur in its full form.

2.7.1.3.1. In Declension :

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-attu-' occurs after the nouns denoting trees with final 'a' or 'ā' and before the seventh case marker '-kan' (TE, 181).

Examples in support of the above statement are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-attu-' occurs after the nouns with final '-m' (TE, 185).

ākkattin (TKL, 657 : 1)

aṭakkattāl (AK, 74 : 1)

kaḷḷattin (ATA, 38 : 3)

In the language of PKK, there are a few instances where the '-m' ending nouns do not take the cāriyai '-attu-' in declension.

nalakku (nalam-ku) (TKL, 149 : 1)

tunpakku (tunpam-ku) (NL, 280 : 3)

vaiyakku (vaiyam-ku) (TKL, 701 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-attu-' occurs optionally after the nouns 'aḷaṅ' and 'pūḷaṅ' (TE, 193).

The above nouns are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

It may be pointed out here that a noun with final '-l' takes the cāriyai '-attu-' in declension.

kaṭalattuḷ (kaṭal-attu-ul) (NL, 272 : 4)

2.7.1.3.2. In Word Combinations :

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-attu-' occurs after 'āyiram' and after the nouns denoting star with final '-m' (TE, 317, 318, 331).

(e.σ.) āyirattu onru

makattuk koṇṭāṇ, etc.

Such expressions are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'attu' occurs after the noun 'kalam' and before the noun 'kurai' (TE, 168) and after the noun 'maka' (TE, 219).

(e.g.) kalattuk kurai
makattuk kai

Such kinds of expressions are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

In a few instances the noun 'kalam' takes the cāriyai '-attu'.

kalattu anna (NL, 12 : 4)
por kalattup peyta (NL, 206 : 1)

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'attu' occurs after the nouns 'niḷā' (TE, 228), 'paṇi' (TE, 241), 'vaḷi' (TE, 242), 'maḷai' (TE, 287), 'viṇ' (TE, 305), 'veyil' (TE, 377) and 'irul' (TE, 402).

(e.g.) niḷattuk koṇṭāṇ
paṇiyattuk koṇṭāṇ
vaḷiyattuk koṇṭāṇ
maḷaiyattuk koṇṭāṇ
viṇṇattuk koṇṭāṇ
veyilattuk koṇṭāṇ
irulattuc ceṇṇāṇ

Such combinations are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

2.7.1.4. 'am'

cāriyai 'am' occurs only in word combinations.

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-am' occurs after the nouns 'puḷi' (TE, 244), 'paṇai' (TE, 283), 'arai', 'āvirai' (TE, 283)

'āṇ' (TE, 304), 'ekin' (TE, 336), 'pīr' (TE, 365), 'pūl,' 'vēl', 'āl' (TE, 375), 'kumiḷ' (TE, 386), 'ceru' and 'eru' (TE, 260) and after the nouns denoting trees with final '-u' (TE, 415).

(e.g.) puliyaṇ kōṭu	paṇaṇ kāy
araiyaṇ kōṭu	āviraṇ kōṭu
āṇaṇ kōṭu	ekiṇaṇ kōṭu
pīraṇ kōṭu	pūlaṇ kōṭu
vēlaṇ kōṭu	ālaṇ kōṭu
kumiḷaṇ kōṭu	ceruvak kaḷam
eruvaṇkuḷi	vēppaṇkōṭu

In the language of PKK, the cāriyai '-am' is found to occur only after the noun 'āl' and after the nouns denoting trees with final '-u'.

ālam vittu	(NL, 38 : 1)
ālam vīl	(TK, 33 : 2)
teṇkam paḷam	(PM, 151 : 4)

In the language of PKK, nouns with final shortened '-u' denoting trees are found to take the cāriyai '-iṇ'.

teṇkiṇ aṇaiyar	(NL, 216 : 2)
vēmpiṇ ilai	(NL, 244 : 1)

In a few instances nouns denoting trees with final '-ai' are found to take the cāriyai '-am' in the language of PKK.

punṇaiyam kāṇal	(KYN, 52 : 2)
peṇṇaiyam tōṭṭam	(KN, 24 : 3)

In the language of PKK, a few other nouns with final '-ṇ' and '-l' are found to take the cāriyai '-am'.

poṇṇam pacalai	(KYN, 60 : 1)
kāṇalam cērppa	(ATA, 46 : 3)

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, '-am' occurs after the name *cāttan*, when its final '-aṇ' is elided (TE, 350).

(e.g.) *cāttan korraṇ*⁵

Such an expression is not found in the language of PKK.

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, '-am' occurs after the nouns with final shortened '-u' and a penultimate long vowel (TE, 417).

(e.g.) *ēraṇ kōl*

This combination is not found to occur in PKK.

2.7.1.5. 'oṇ'

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, the *cāriyai* 'oṇ' occurs after the nouns with final '-ō' only (TE, 180, 294).

'oṇ' occurs both in declension and in word combinations.⁶

(e.g.) *kō-oṇ-kai > kōoṇ kai*, etc.

The *cāriyai* 'oṇ' is not found to occur in the language of PKK.

2.7.1.6. 'āṇ'

2.7.1.6.1. In Declension :

Tolkāppiyar says that in compounds with numbers one to eight as pre-bounds and *paktu* as a post-bound, there is no harm, if the *cāriyai* '-āṇ-' also inserted and in that case *aktu* of *paktu* is dropped (TE, 199).

(e.g.) *orupaktu + āṇ + ai > orupāṇai*

irupaktu + āṇ + ai > irupāṇai

Such expressions are not found in the language of PKK.

2.7.1.6.2. In Word Combinations :

According to Tolkāppiyam, cāriyai '-āṇ' occurs between the nouns denoting star and verbs (TE, 247, 286, 331).

(e.g.) paraṇi-y-āṇ koṇṭāṇ

Such an occurrence is not found in the language of PKK

2.7.1.7. 'akku'

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'akku' occurs only in word combinations. The final '-u' and the preceding consonants of 'akku' are dropped, when it is followed by a plosive (TE, 16¹, 162, 223, 226, 299, 346, 374).⁷

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-akku' occurs after the nouns 'im' (TE, 329), 'kam' (TE, 329), 'tāl' (TE, 384) and 'tamiḷ' (TE, 385).

(e.g.) imak kuṭam

tamiḷap pillai, etc.

Such expressions are not found in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-akku' occurs after the noun '-ūṇ' (TE, 270) and after the nouns with final shortened '-u' (TE, 418).

maṇṇap palavu (ATE, 4 : 1)

maṇṇa mutumaram (ATE, 40 : 1)

The form 'ūṇ' is not found to take the cāriyai '-akku' in PKK.

In the above instances the real form of the cāriyai 'akku' in its actual occurrences is '-a-' and not '-akku'. It may be assumed here that Tolkāppiyar arrives at '-a-' from the form 'akku' in order to differentiate it from the increment '-a' whose occurrences are described elsewhere in Tolkāppiyam.

2.7.1.8. 'ikku'

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-ikku' occurs after the nouns denoting months with final '-i' and '-ai' when followed by verbs (TE, 126, 127).

(e. g.) cittiraikkuk koṇṭān

āṭikkuk koṇṭān

Expressions of these types are not found in the language of PKK.⁸

2.7.1.9. 'aṇ'

It occurs after neuter singular demonstrative and interrogative pronouns and after numerals.

2.7.1.9.1. In Declension :

According to Tolkāppiyam, cāriyai '-aṇ-' occurs after the pronouns 'atu', 'itu', 'utu' (TE, 176), 'yātu', 'aktu', 'iktu' and 'uktu' (TE, 200) and after numerals (TE, 194, 198, 419).

ataṇai (AK, 59 : 2) itaṇai (TKL, 517 : 1)

yātaṇiṇ (TKL, 341 : 1) mūṇraṅku (PM, 363 : 1)

Forms 'utu' and 'uktu' are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

In the language of PKK, the forms 'aktu' and 'iktu' do not take the cāriyai '-aṇ-' in declension.

2.7.1.9.2. In Word Combinations :

According to Tolkāppiyam, cāriyai '-aṇ-' occurs after the pronouns and the numerals, cited above and after the noun penṭu (TE, 263, 388, 420, 421, 422).

ataṇ inṇāmai (NL, 60 : 3)

itaṇ tiram (TMN, 64 : 1)

onṇaṇ uṭal (TKL, 253 : 1)

The forms 'yātu', 'aktu' and 'iktu' are not found to take the cāriyai '-aṇ' in the language of PKK in word combination.

2.7.2. Other Inflectional Increments Treated in Tolkāppiyam :

Tolkāppiyar refers to some of the inflectional increments consisting of single phoneme, while discussing sandhi changes. From the enumeration of sandhi changes it is possible to obtain eight different types of 'eḷuttu'.⁹

2.7.2.1. '-a-'

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-a-' occurs between the oblique stems of personal pronouns and the case markers '-atu' and '-ku' (TE, 162, 163).

enatu (TKL, 346 : 1) emakku (KYN, 41 : 4)

ematu (NL, 377 : 3) enakku (ATA, 7 : 4)

tanakku (EL, 5 : 1) ninakku (TMN, 38 : 4)

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-a-' occurs between the two nouns of conjunctival compounds when the conjunctival particle '-um' is elided (TE, 224).

(e.g.) uvāp patināṅku

Such an expression is not found in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-a-' occurs after disyllabic and monosyllabic words with final '-ā' (TE, 226).

No example for the above statement is found in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, the nouns 'ekin' and 'kan' (not denoting trees) and nouns with final '-ṇ' take the inflectional increment '-a-' in case relation sandhi (TE, 337, 346).

The nouns 'ekin' and 'kan' are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, '-u-' occurs after the words with final '-lu' (TE, 261) and after the disyllabic and monosyllabic words with final '-ū' (TE, 267).

There is no instance for the occurrence of '-u-' in the above mentioned statement.

According to Tolkāppiyam, the nouns with final '-au' take the inflectional increment '-u-' (TE, 295).

Nouns with final '-au' do not occur in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, verbal nouns with final consonants 'ñ', 'n', 'ṇ', 'm', 'ṇ', 'l', 'v' and 'l' take the increment '-u' (TE, 296, 297, 298, 306, 327, 328, 345, 373, 376, 382, 403).

Verbal nouns with final consonants '-m' and '-ṇ' take the increment '-u-' in the language of PKK.

tummuc ceṇuppa (TKL, 1318 : 1)

miṇṇuk koṭiyiṇ (KVN, 31 : 3)

2.7.2.6. '-e-'

According to Tolkāppiyam, nouns with final '-ē' may take the inflectional increment '-e-' in casual relation sandhi (TE, 277).

(e.g.) ēek koṭṭil

Such an expression is not found in the language of PKK.

2.7.2.7. '-ē-' ¹⁰

According to Tolkāppiyam, words with final vowels and consonants denoting measurement, weight and number take the increment '-ē-' when the bigger one is succeeded by smaller one (TE, 164).

(e.g.) onrē kāl, kalaṇē patakkū, etc.

Such combinations are not found in the language of PKK.

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'ē-' occurs between two nouns denoting directions (TE, 431).

(e.g.) vaṭakkē ṭerku

Such an occurrence is not found in the language of PKK.

2.7.2.8. '-o-'

According to Tolkāppiyam, words with final 'ō' take the increment '-o-' in casual relation sandhi (TE, 292).

ōo inṭu (TKL, 1176)

Here the increment '-o-' occurs after the particle 'ō' denoting wonder.

2.7.3. Inflectional Increments and Casal Meanings :

When the inflectional increments occur between nouns and other words they generally possess some case signification in the language of PKK.¹¹

'-in'

uṭampin payan koṇṭār (NL, 35 : 3)

- genitive

'-attu'

por kalattup peyta (NL, 206 : 1)

- locative

'-am'

ālam viḷ (TK, 33 : 2)

- genitive

'-akku (-a)'

maṇṇappalavu (ATE, 4 : 1)

- locative

'-aṇ'

iṭaṇ tīram (TMN, 64 : 1)

- genitive

Notes on Cāriyais :

1. Tolkāppiyar classifies the inflectional increments into cāriyais and eḷuttu, whereas Pavaṇanti (Naṇ., 224) includes all the inflectional increments under cāriyais.
2. Pavaṇanti, the later-day grammarian describes the occurrence of the cāriyai 'ṇ' after 'ā' (Naṇ., 248).
3. Since there is no sandhi pattern in Tamil to show the gemination of '-ṛ-' before a vowel/semivowel, the later-day grammarian Pavaṇanti describes 'irru' as a separate cāriyai in his treatise (Naṇ., 244).
4. L.V. Ramaswami Aiyar says that the demarcation of the exact structure of the cāriyai suffers from the mistake of false splitting and that '-v-' really forms part of the plural base.

Ramaswami Aiyar, L.V., 'Dravidic Sandhi Augements', pp. 97-98.

Meenakshisundaran, T.P., 'The So-called Inflectional Increments in Tamil', pp. 125-130.

5. It is evident that the cāriyai 'am' does not occur here and it is only an assimilation of the final consonant as a homorganic nasal to the initial consonant of the following member.
6. Pavaṇanti treats the 'on' cāriyai as 'ṇ' cāriyai.
7. According to Tolkāppiyar, the real form of the cāriyai in its actual occurrence is 'a' and not 'akku'. Elsewhere he describes 'a' as an inflectional increment (TE, 161, 162, 223, 226, 299, 346, 374).
8. M. Israel considers the form 'ikku' as a combination of 'i' (final phoneme of the base) and '(k) ku' (the fourth case marker used in seventh case meaning).
Israel, M., TMT, p. 129.

9. It is evident from Tolkāppiyam that the cāriyais are composed of sequence of phonemes and that only the increments consisting of single phoneme are identified by the term 'eḷuttu'. Pavaṇanti includes all the increments under cāriyai (Naṇ., 244).

10. Tolkāppiyar identifies 'ē' as a cāriyai here though it is an 'eḷuttu'.

11. Because of this reason Caldwell and T.P. Meenakshisundaran point out that the inflectional increments are old case signs.

Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 260.

Meenakshisundaran, T.P., 'The So-called Inflectional increments in Tamil', pp. 125-130.

3. VERBS

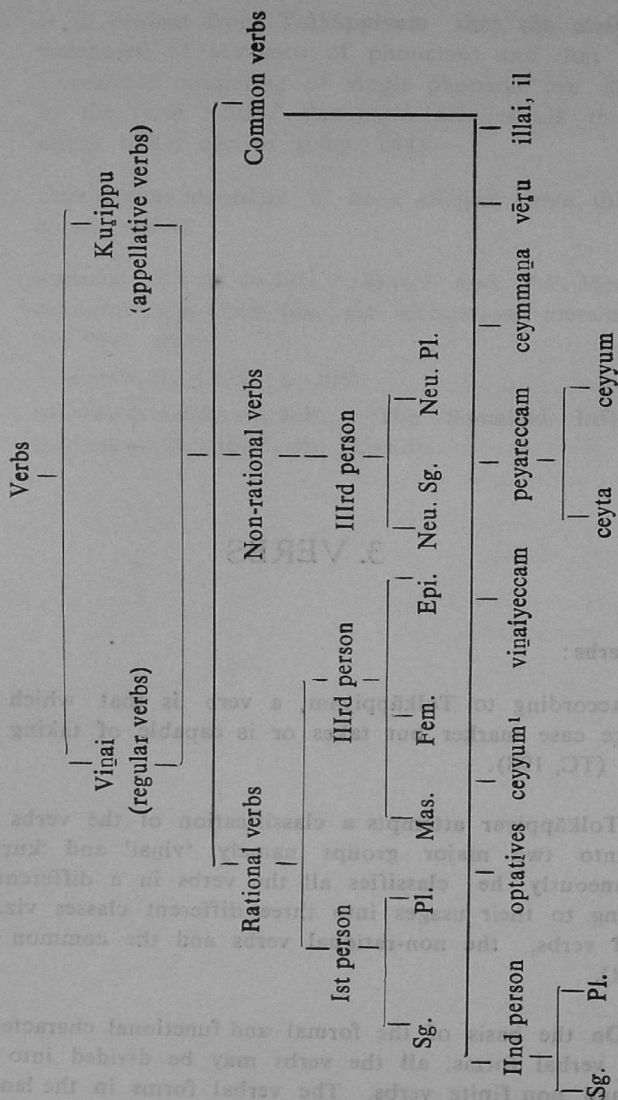
3.0. Verbs :

According to Tolkāppiyam, a verb is that which does not take case marker but takes or is capable of taking tense marker (TC, 198).

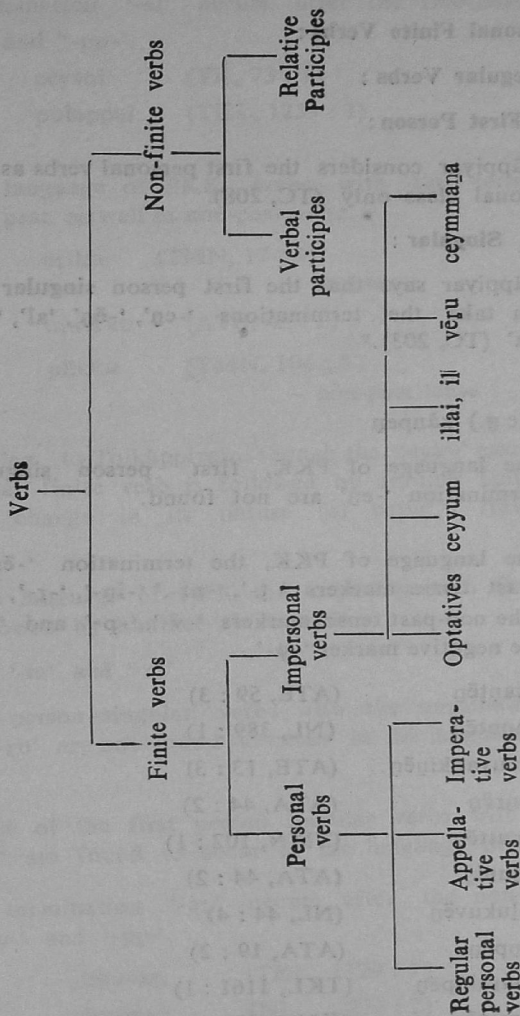
Tolkāppiyar attempts a classification of the verbs basically into two major groups namely 'vinai' and 'kurippu'. Simultaneously he classifies all the verbs in a different way according to their usages into three different classes viz., the rational verbs, the non-rational verbs and the common verbs (TC, 201).

On the basis of the formal and functional characteristics of the verbal forms, all the verbs may be divided into finite verbs and non finite verbs. The verbal forms in the language of PKK are analysed accordingly.

Classification of Verbs According to Tolkāppiyam



Classification of Verbs Made for the Purpose of the Present Study



3.1. Finite Verbs :

3.1.1. Personal Finite Verbs :

3.1.1.1. Regular Verbs :

3.1.1.1.1. First Person :

Tolkāppiyar considers the first personal verbs as belonging to the rational class only (TC, 208).

3.1.1.1.1.1. Singular :

Tolkāppiyar says that the first person singular verbs are those which take the terminations ‘-eṇ’, ‘-ēṇ’, ‘-al’, ‘-ku’, ‘-tu’, ‘-tu’ and ‘-ru’ (TC, 203).²

‘-eṇ’

(e.g.) kāṇpen

In the language of PKK, first person singular verbs with the termination ‘-eṇ’ are not found.

‘-ēṇ’

In the language of PKK, the termination ‘-ēṇ’ occurs after the past tense markers ‘-t-’, ‘-nt-’, ‘-iṇ-’, ‘-r-’, ‘-tt-’ and ‘-t-’, after the non-past tense markers ‘-v-’, ‘-p-’ and ‘-pp-’ and after the negative marker ‘-φ-’.

kaṇṭēṇ	(ATE, 59 : 3)
nontēṇ	(NL, 389 : 1)
muyāṇkiṇēṇ	(ATE, 13 : 3)
eṇrēṇ	(ATA, 44 : 2)
iṇuttēṇ	(TMN, 102 : 1)
aḷutēṇ	(ATA, 44 : 2)
oḷukuvēṇ	(NL, 44 : 4)
eṇpēṇ	(ATA, 19 : 2)
maṇaippēṇ	(TKL, 1161 : 1)
uraiyēṇ	(KYN, 50 : 1)

‘-al’

The termination ‘-al’ occurs after the non-past tense markers ‘-v-’ and ‘-pp-’.

ceyval (TK, 73 : 1)

pulappal (TKL, 1259 : 1)

‘-ku’

In the language of PKK, verbs with the termination ‘-ku’ denote past as well as non-past tense.

aṛiku (TMN, 17 : 1)

— past tense

uraikku (ATE, 48 : 2)

pūkkū (TMN, 104 : 3)

— non-past tense

According to Tolkāppiyam, though the ‘ceyku’ pattern first person singular finite verb is followed by another finite verb, it does not change in its nature (of being a finite verb) (TC, 204).

In the language of PKK, the ‘ceyku’ pattern finite verbs are not followed by another finite verb.

‘-ṭu’, ‘-tu’ and ‘-ru’

First person singular verbs with the terminations ‘-ṭu’, ‘-tu’ and ‘-ru’ are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

‘-aṇ’

A few of the first person singular verbs with the termination ‘-aṇ’ are found to occur in the language of PKK.⁵

The termination ‘-aṇ’ occurs after the non-past tense markers ‘-v-’ and ‘-pp-’.

uḷḷuvaṇ (TKL, 1129 : 1)

iruppaṇ (NL, 276 : 2)

3.1.1.1.2. Plural :

Tolkāppiyar says that the first person plural verbs are 'those which take the terminations '-am', '-ām', '-em', '-ēm', '-kum', '-ṭum', '-tum' and '-rum' (TC, 202).

'-am'⁴

In the language of PKK, '-am' occurs after the past tense marker '-iṇ-', after the non-past tense markers '-v-' and '-k' and '-n-' and after the negative markers '-il-' and '-al-'.

ēyiṇam (TMN, 68 : 3)

uṇaṅkuvam (NL, 342 : 3)

eṇkam (ATE, 64 : 4)

vāḷunam (TKL, 1193 : 2)

kaṇṭilam (CPM, 61 : 4)

aṇiyalam (EL, 10 : 3)

'-ām'

'-ām' occurs after the past tense markers '-iṇ-' and '-nt-', after the non-past markers '-v-' and '-p-' and after the negative marker '-φ-'.

āyiṇām (KYN, 45 : 1)

teḷintām (KN, 14 : 2)

pōvām (NL, 342 : 2)

kāṇpām (TMN, 39 : 2)

cellām (TMN, 77 : 1)

'-em'

First person verbs with the termination '-em' are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

'-ēm'⁵

In the language of PKK, '-ēm' occurs after the past tense markers '-r-', '-t-', '-nt-', '-iṇ-' and '-t-', after the non-past tense marker '-pp-' and after the negative markers '-il-' and '-φ-'.

arṛēm (TKL, 88 : 1)

kaṇṭēm (NL, 385 : 3)

iruntēm (TKL, 1312 : 1)

āṭinēm	(ATA, 15 : 3)
mūttēm	(KYN, 45 : 1)
tīrppēm	(NL, 27 : 3)
aṛintilēm	(KYN, 45 : 4)
kāṇēm	(TMN, 62 : 2)

‘-kum’

First person plural verbs with the termination ‘-kum’ are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

‘-ṭum’

kāṇṭum	(PM, 15 : 2)
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‘-tum’

pakartum	(TMN, 51 : 2)
uraittum	(TMA, 38 : 1)
vaṇakkutum	(NL, 336 : 2)
varutum	(KN, 1 : 3)

‘-rum’

cērum	(KN, 49 : 3)
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First personal plural verbs with the terminations ‘-ṭum’, ‘-tum’ and ‘-rum’ denote the non-past tense in the language of PKK.

The first personal plural verbs in the language of PKK occur as honorific singular verbs sporadically.

yām inī eṇ ceykam	(KYN, 52 : 1)
eññāṇrum eñkaṇavar eṇṭōlmēr cērnteliṇum	
aññāṇru kaṇṭēm pōl nāṇutum	(NL, 385 : 1-2)

‘-ōm’

In the language of PKK, ‘-ōm’ occurs as a first person termination in the honorific singular verbs only.

ālīyār kāṇōmō yām	(ATA, 43 : 4)
ollōm eṇṇu eñki uyañki	
iruppaḷō	(ATE, 40 : 1)

3.1.1.1.2. Second Person :

The Second person verbs are common to both the rational and the non-rational classes (TC, 222).

3.1.1.1.2.1. Singular :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the second person singular finite verbs are those which take the terminations 'i', 'ai' and 'āy' (TC, 223).

'i'

In the language of PKK, 'i' occurs after the non-past markers 't-', 'tt-' 'r-' and 't-', and after the negative marker 'āt-'.

aṛiti (KYN, 22 : 4)

uraitti (KYN, 42 : 2)

niṛri (NL, 376 : 4)

kēṭṭi (TMN, 135 : 1)

kūrāti (NL, 388 : 1)

- rational class

otti (TKL, 1119 : 1)

peruti (TKL, 1237 : 1)

cēri (TKL, 1244 : 1)

- non-rational class

Ilampūraṇar thinks that the termination 'i' occurs in the verbs like 'tiṇṇi', 'cēri', etc., denoting the past tense only.⁶ According to Cēṇāvaraiyar, Naccinārkkinīyar and Kallāṭaṇār second person verbal forms with final 'i' denote future tense.⁷ In the language of PKK, second person verbal forms with the termination 'i' denote the aoristic future.

'ai'

In the language of PKK, 'ai' occurs after the link morph ('an-' and after the non-past tense marker '-v-'.

In the language of PKK, second person singular finite verbs with the termination '-ai' are found to occur only in the non-rational class.

vatintanai (ATA, 40 : 2)

celkuvai (PM, 374 : 1)

'-āy'

In the language of PKK, '-āy' occurs after the past tense markers '-nt-', '-t-', '-r-' and '-in-', after the non-past tense markers '-v-' and '-pp-' and after the negative marker '-φ-'.

cārntāy (NL, 126 : 1)

uṇṭāy (TMA, 33 : 2)

niṇṇāy (TMA, 33 : 4)

āṭināy (TMN, 40 : 3)

varaivāy (TMN, 43 : 4)

uraippāy (ATA, 27 : 4)

varaiyāy (TMN, 27 : 2)

- rational class

āyiṇāy (PM, 374 : 2)

tuvvāy (TKL, 1294 : 2)

celvāy (TKL, 1248 : 2)

- non-rational class

In 'Eccaviyal' Tolkāppiyar mentions that '-i' and '-ē' may be suffixed to the second personal verbs, provided they are preceded by suitable consonants (TC, 451).

(e.g.) uṇṭi

pirimē

Such of the words ending with '-i' and '-ē' are not found to occur in the language of PKK.⁸

3.1.1.1.2.2. Plural :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the second person plural verbs are those which take the terminations 'ir', 'īr' and 'min' (TC, 224).

'ir'

In the language of PKK, 'ir' occurs after the past tense marker '-tt-', after the non-past marker '-t-' and after the negative marker '-il-'.

maṟaittir (TKL, 1318 : 2)

ākutir (TKL, 1319 : 2)

aṟintilir (NL, 165 : 1)

'īr'

'īr' occurs after the past tense markers '-ṭ-', '-tt-', '-in-' and '-nt-' and after the negative marker '-φ-'.

uṇṭīr (NL, 18 : 2)

uraittir (TMN, 81 : 3)

vāṭiṇīr (TMN, 81 : 1)

maṟantir (TKL, 1316 : 1)

cēṇīr (AK, 58 : 2)

'min'

In the language of PKK, 'min' occurs in the affirmative as well as negative imperatives.

vaḷaṅkumiṇ (NL, 6 : 3)

ceymmīṇ (NL, 19 : 2)

muyaṅkaṇmiṇ (ATE, 50 : 1)

iravaṇmiṇ (TKL, 1067 : 2)

In the language of PKK, verbs with the second person plural terminations occur only in reference to the rational class.

3.1.1.1.3. Third person :

A. Rational Class :

3.1.1.1.3.1. Masculine Singular : *

According to Tolkāppiyam, the third person masculine singular verbs are those which take the terminations ‘-aṇ’ and ‘-āṇ’ (TC, 205).

‘-aṇ’

Verbs with the termination ‘-aṇ’ are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

‘-āṇ’

In the language of PKK, ‘-āṇ’ occurs after the past tense markers ‘-r-’, ‘-iṇ-’, ‘-ṭ-’, ‘-tt-’ and ‘-nt-’, after the non-past tense markers ‘-pp-’, ‘-v-’ and ‘-p-’ and after the negative marker ‘-ḥ-’.

nōṟṟāṇ (TKL, 170 : 2)

āṭiṇāṇ (TMN, 124 : 2)

kaṇṭāṇ (PM, 130 : 3)

ittāṇ (TMN, 8 : 3)

tuṟantāṇ (TMA, 47 : 3)

aṭuppāṇ (EL, 42 : 4)

eṇappaṭuvāṇ (NMK, 62 : 2)

uṇpāṇ (NMK, 61 : 1)

kāṇāṇ (TKL, 859 : 1)

3.1.1.1.3.2. Feminine Singular :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the feminine singular verbs are those which take the terminations ‘-aḷ’ and ‘-āḷ’ (TC, 205).

‘-aḷ’

‘-aḷ’ occurs only after the link morph ‘-aṇ-’ in the language of PKK.

koṇṭaṇaḷ (TKL, 1315 : 2)

Verbs with the termination 'aḷ' seldom occurs in the language of PKK.

'-āḷ'

'-āḷ' occurs after the past tense markers '-t-', '-t-', '-in-', '-nt-' and '-r-', after the non-past tense marker '-pp-' and after the negative marker '-φ-'.

alutāl (TKL, 1317 : 2)

ceytittāl (TMN, 146 : 4)

iraiñcināl (TKL, 1093 : 1)

peyarntāl (ATE, 57 : 3)

perrāl (TKL, 1104 : 2)

iruppāl (ATE, 57 : 3)

cērāl (NL, 252 : 2)

3.1.1.1.3.3. Epicene Plural:

Tolkāppiyar says that the third person plural verbs of rational class are those which take the terminations '-ar', '-âr', and 'pa' (TC, 206).

'-ar'

In the language of PKK, the termination 'ar' occurs after the non-past tense markers '-v-', '-p-' and '-pp-' and after the negative markers '-al-' and '-il-'.

varuvar (ATA, 9 : 1)

ērpar (EL, 7 : 4)

irappar (NL, 1 : 3)

nñkalar (TKL, 1216 : 2)

aṛikilar (PM, 290 : 2)

‘-ār’

‘-ār’ occurs after the past tense markers ‘-t-’, ‘-ṭ-’, ‘-ṛ-’ and ‘-nt-’, after the non-past tense markers ‘-v-’, ‘-p-’ and ‘-pp-’ and after the negative markers ‘-φ-’ and ‘-al-’.

nīṭār (TMA, 11 : 2)

koṇṭār (AK, 18 : 4)

eṇṛār (EL, 68 : 4)

tantār (TKL, 1182 : 1)

ōtuvār (CPM, 60 : 4)

uṇpār (EL, 51 : 4)

kāppār (CPM, 54 : 4)

uḷḷār (ATA, 4 : 1)

ceykalār (NL, 295 : 2)

‘-pa’¹⁰

In the language of PKK, the termination ‘-pa’ occurs only after the verbal stems.

aṛipa (MMK, 11 : 2)

eṇpa (KYN, 24 : 3)

ikaḷpa (TMN, 66 : 2)

viḷaipa (EL, 73 : 2)

uṇpa (AK, 39 : 3)

In a few instances verbs with the terminations ‘-ar’, ‘-ār’ and ‘-pa’ occur as honorific singular verbs in the language of PKK.

neṛiyaru niḷ curattalkuvar koltōḷi (TMA, 15 : 2)

nariyuḷaiyum yāmattum tōṇṛār (TMN, 113 : 3)

taḷḷiyum celpavō (TMN, 84 : 2)

Tolkāppiyar says that the third person epicene plural verbs may take the termination ‘-mār’ (TC, 207).

‘-mār’ is not found to occur as a termination of third person epicene plural verbs in the language of PKK.¹¹

B. Non-rational Class :

3.1.1.1.3.4. Singular :

Tolkāppiyar says that the third person neuter singular verbs are those which take the terminations ‘tu’, ‘-ru’ and ‘-tu’ (TC, 217).

‘-tu’

Neuter singular verbs with the termination ‘-tu’ are not found to occur in the language of PKK.¹²

‘-tu’

In the language of PKK, the termination ‘tu’ occurs after the third person marker ‘-a-’ and after the negative marker ‘-ā-’.

ciraṇatatu (CPM, 3:3)

kunṛātu (TMN, 10 : 1)

‘-ru’

‘-ru’ occurs after the link morph ‘-aṇ-’ and after the past tense marker ‘-iṇ-’.

ciraṇaṇru (MMK, 1 : 2)

ākiṇru (ATA, 26 : 1)

3.1.1.1.3.5. Plural :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the third person neuter plural verbs are those which take the terminations ‘-a’, ‘-ā’ and ‘-va’ (TC, 216).

In the language of PKK, ‘-va’ is not found to occur as the termination of third person neuter plural verbs.¹³

‘-a’

The termination ‘-a’ occurs after the link morph ‘-an-’, after the past tense markers ‘-nt-’, ‘-r-’, ‘-tt-’, ‘-t-’ and ‘-in-’, after the non-past tense marker ‘-pp-’ and also after the negative marker ‘-al-’.

koṇṭaṇa	(ATA, 2 : 4)
aṇinta	(TMN, 63 : 4)
ērra	(KVN, 12 : 3)
poytta	(TMA, 13 : 4)
aḷuta	(TMN, 110 : 4)
pōyina	(ATA, 11 : 3)
ēyppa	(KN, 21 : 4)
ceyyala	(TKL, 1086 : 2)

‘-ā’

In the language of PKK, ‘-ā’ occurs only in the negative verbs.¹⁴

tōṇrā	(TMN, 10 : 1)
vēṇṭā	(TMA, 1 : 3)
vārā	(ATA, 18 : 2)
cellā	(NL, 290 : 3)

According to Tolkāppiyam, gender and number of the predicate should agree with those of the subject (TC, 11).

In a solitary instance the rational subject takes non-rational predicate in the language of PKK.

vaṇaṅkal aṇikalañ cāṇrōrkku aṭṭaṇṇi	
aṇaṅkal vaṇaṅkiṇṇu peṇ	(NMK, 91 : 3-4)

New Usages :

It is worthy of notice that a few verbs formed from nominal as well as adjectival stems are found to occur in the language of PKK.

cēntaṇa	(ATA, 15 : 4)	‘became red-they’
cevvantāḷ	(KVN, 32 : 3)	‘became red-she’
civappuṇṇa	(ATE, 7 : 4)	‘became red-they’

3.1.1.2. Appellative Verbs (Kurippu) :

According to Tolkāppiyam 'vinai' (regular verbs) is that in which tense is overtly marked and 'kurippu' (appellative verbs) is that in which tense is covertly marked (TC, 198, 200, 201). From the treatment of appellative verbs in Tolkāppiyam it is evident that the appellative verbs are of three kinds namely those belonging to the rational class, those belonging to the non-rational class and those belonging to the common class according to their usages (TC, 201).

On the basis of their internal structure, appellative verbs may be classified into two groups. The first one is that of pronominalised nouns and the second is that of defective verbs¹⁵.

(e.g.) kaiyaṇ

nallaṇ

-pronominalised nouns

ilaṇ

uḷaṇ

-defective verbs

3.1.1.2.1. Rational Class :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the appellative verbs are those words¹⁶ denoting possession, words denoting place, words denoting comparison and words denoting quality (TC, 213).

All these types of appellative verbs are found to occur in the language of PKK.

Possession

vaḷaiyam (TMA, 37 : 1)

tōlēṇ (TMN, 37 : 3)

uṭaiyār (TMN, 79 : 2)

Location

mēlēṇ (TMN, 14 : 2)

Comparison

itakkaṇ aṇaiyam yām (NL, 388 : 3)

vāṭtal uyirkkaṇṇaḷ āyiḷai (TKL, 1.24 : 1)

Quality

nallam (NL, 131 : 3)

ilaiyam (NL, 19 : 1)

Tolkāppiyar says that appellative verbs are formed from the stems denoting 'aṇmai' (non-existence), 'iṇmai' (absence), 'uṇmai' (existence) and 'vaṇmai' (capacity) (TC, 214).

Appellative verbs formed from the above stems are found to occur in the language of PKK.

Stems Denoting Non-existence (aṇmai)

allam (TKL, 1209 : 1)

allai (ATA, 21 : 3)

allan (MMK, 49 : 1)

Absence (iṇmai)

ilam (KYN, 4 : 4)

ilēm (CPM, 20 : 3)

ilan (TMN, 99 : 2)

illār (TMN, 45 : 1)

Existence (uṇmai)

uḷam (TMN, 33 : 4)

uḷlān (TMN, 30 : 2)

Capacity (vaṇmai)

vallaḷ (TMN, 24 : 4)

vallavar (NL, 279 : 3)

vallār (CPM, 22 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, appellative verbs of the rational class take the same terminations as those of other regular verbs (TC, 215).

3.1.1.2.1.1. First Person :

Singular : (3.1.1.1.1.1.)

In the language of PKK, 'eṇ', 'al', 'ku', 'tu', 'tu' and 'ru' are not found to occur as terminations of the first person singular appellative verbs.

'eṇ'

uṭaiyēṇ (ATE, 14 : 1)

uḷēṇ (ATE, 54 : 4)

Plural : (3.1.1.1.2.)

In the language of PKK, the terminations 'ēm' and 'am' are found to occur in the appellative verbs also.

'ēm'

mēlēṇ (TMN, 14 : 2)

nallēm (PM, 367 : 2)

'am'

oḷliyam (AK, 82 : 2)

uḷam (TMN, 33 : 4)

3.1.1.2.1.2. Third Person :

Masculine and Feminine Singular : (3.1.1.1.3.1. & 3.1.1.1.3.2.)

In the language of PKK, the third person rational singular appellative verbs take the terminations 'aṇ', and 'āṇ', 'aḷ' and 'āḷ'.

uḷaṇ (EL, 51 : 4)

uḷlāṇ (TMN, 30 : 2)

vallaḷ (TMN, 24 : 4)

uḷāḷ (TKL, 617 : 1)

Epicene Plural : (3.1.1.1.3.3.)

In the language of PKK, the third person plural appellative verbs of rational class are found to take the terminations '-ar' and '-ār' only.

allar (ATA, 32 : 2)

uṭaiyār (TMN, 79 : 2)

3.1.1.2.1.3. yār :

Because of the predicative function of 'yār' mentioned by Tolkāppiyar, the commentators think that Tolkāppiyar might have treated it as an appellative verb

According to Tolkāppiyam, the interrogative predicate 'yār' occurs with the nouns of three genders of rational class (TC, 210).

In the language of PKK, the interrogative predicate 'yār' is found to occur only with nouns of epicene plural of rational class.

nērppār yār nīṇilattiṇ mēl (NL, 27 : 4)

itu ceytār yār (TMN, 38 : 3)

aṇiyār yār (NMK, 6 : 3)

3.1.1.2.2. Non-rational class :

Tolkāppiyar enumerates ten types of non-rational appellative verbs. They are 'inru', 'ila', 'uṭaiya', 'aṇru', 'uṭaittu', 'alla', 'verbs denoting quality', 'uḷa', 'verbs denoting qualified limbs' and 'verbs denoting comparison' (TC, 220).

Of these ten types of appellative verbs 'uṭaiya' does not occur in the language of PKK.

inru

cuṭar inru col inru māṇinru (EL, 66 : 3)

vāḷkkai paruvantu pālpaṭutalinru (TKL, 83 : 2)

ila

naṇmai payattal ila (TK, 10 : 4)

vetir piṇaṅkuṇ cōlai viyaṅkāṇaṇ
celvārkkū etirvaṇa pōlilavē (TMA, 18 : 2-3)

uṭaiya

*

aṇru

puṇpuravē cēvalōṭūṭal poruḷ aṇru (TMN, 74 : 1)

ūtiyamaṇrō uyirkku (ATE, 55 : 4)

uṭaittu

ūrellām nōvatu uṭaittu (TK, 11 : 4)

ārrin oḷukki aṇṇilukkā ilvāḷkkai

nōrpārin nōṇmai uṭaittu (TKL, 48)

alla

pallin vaṇappum vaṇappalla (CPM, 37 : 3)

kaḷḷatta valla karutiṇ ivaimūṇrum (EL, 27 : 3)

Verbs Denoting Quality

kālattināl ceyta naṇri ciṇiteniṇum

ñālattin māṇap peritu (TKL, 102 : 2)

naṭṭārkaṇ ceytaliṇ tītu (TKL, 192 : 2)

uḷa

eccil palavum uḷa (AK, 7 : 1)

utirvaṇa pōlavuḷa (TMA, 18 : 4)

Verbs Denoting Qualified Limbs

kuruti paṭintuṇṭa kākam uruviḷantu

kukkil puṇṭatta ciral vāya (KVN, 5 : 2-3)

Verbs Denoting Comparison

pakal varir kavvai palavām pariya

tiraviṇ ētamum aṇṇa (TMN, 59 : 1-2)

veḷḷattanaiya malar niṭṭam (TKL, 595 : 1)

According to Tolkāppiyam, appellative verbs of non-rational class take the same terminations as those of the regular verbs (TC, 221).

3.1.1.2.2.1. Neuter Singular : (3.1.1.1.3.4.)

In the language of PKK, non-rational singular appellative verbs take the terminations '-tu', '-ṭu' and '-ru'.

'-tu'

iṇitu (TK, 12 : 4)

eḷitu (EL, 3 : 1)

'-ṭu'

uṇṭu (NL, 209:2)

'-ru'

naṇru (CPM, 16:4)

mēṇru (NMK, 36:3)

3.1.1.2.2.2. Neuter Plural : (3.1.1.1.3.5.)

In the language of PKK, plural appellative verbs of non-rational class take the termination '-a' only.

tīya (CPM, 5:1)

vāyiṇa (EL, 28:4)

3.1.1.2.2.3. evaṇ

Because of the predicative function of 'evaṇ' mentioned by Tolkāppiyar the commentators think that Tolkāppiyar might have treated it as an appellative verb.

Tolkāppiyar says that the interrogative predicate 'evaṇ' occurs with nouns of both singular and plural of non-rational class (TC, 219).

In the language of PKK, 'evan' occurs with nouns of both singular and plural of non-rational (neuter) class.

ētiṇ makaḷirai nōvatu evaṇ kolō (ATE, 44:3)

aṟattārrin ilvāḷkkai yārrin puṟattārrir

pōoyṭ peṟuvatu evaṇ (TKL, 46)

-neuter singular

piṇaiyēr maṭa nōkkum nānumuṭaiyāt

kaṇi evaṇō vētila tantu (TKL, 1089)

-neuter plural

3.1.1.2.3. Common Class :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the second person verbs are common to both the rational and the non-rational classes (TC, 222).

Tolkāppiyar does not deal with in detail the appellative verbs of common class in his treatise.

It is inferred from Tolkāppiyam that the second person appellative verbs take the same terminations as those of regular verbs.

3.1.1.2.3.1. Singular : (3.1.1.2.1.)

In the language of PKK, second person singular appellative verbs of the rational class take the terminations '-i', '-ai' and '-āy' and the non-rational class take the termination '-ai' only.

'-i' valli (TMN, 88:3)

'-ai' uṭaiyai (KYN, 41:1)

'-āy' iyalāy (KN, 7:2)

-rational class

'-ai' kātalai (TKL, 1118:2)

nīrai (TKL, 1111:1)

-non-rational class

3.1.1.2.3.2. Plural : (3.1.1.1.2.2.)

In the language of PKK, second person plural appellative verbs are found to occur in the rational class and take the terminations 'ir' and '-ir'.

ilir (NL, 284 3)

kēlir (TMA, 49:2)

3.1.1.3. Imperatives :

Tolkāppiyar does not treat the imperatives separately, but refers to the imperative signification by the term 'ēval' in Eḷuttatikāram (TE, 210, 214).

Tolkāppiyar does not distinguish the imperatives from the second person verbs. Teyvaccilaiyār remarks that since Tolkāppiyar uses the term 'muṇṇilai' - 'second person' and not 'muṇṇilai viṇai' - 'second person verbs' (while enumerating the second personal terminations) to refer to the finite verbs that occur in the second person, it may include not only the indicative verbs of second person but also the imperative verbs.¹⁷

According to Tolkāppiyam, the second person singular verbs of 'ceyyāy' pattern may occur as verbs of 'cey' pattern also (TC, 450).¹⁸

A number of 'cey' pattern of imperatives are found to occur in the language of PKK.

nil (NMK, 43:2)

kaḷai (ATE, 47 : 2)

ayar (TMN, 70 : 4)

kāṇ (TMN, 5 : 4)

In the language of PKK, verbs of 'ceyyāy' pattern are also found to occur as imperatives.¹⁹

uraiyāy (TMN, 38 : 3)

varaivāy (TMN, 43 : 4)

In a few instances the second person singular verbs with final '-i' are also found to occur as imperatives in the language of PKK.

nāṭāti (NMK, 27 : 3)

olīti (TMA, 38 : 2)

In the language of PKK, it is observed that the second person plural verbs with the termination '-min' occur as imperatives.²⁰

nīṭanmin (KN, 6 : 4)

muyñkanmin (ATE, 50 : 1)

In the language of PKK, all the imperatives occur always in the non-past tense. Second person verbs with the terminations '-i', '-āy' and '-min' occur as imperatives. This tendency in the language throws light on the fact that why *Tolkāppiyar* has not distinguished the imperatives from the second person verbs.

ni (NMK, 43:2)

kaṭai (ATE, 47 : 2)

eyar (TMN, 70 : 4)

kaṭ (TMN, 51:8)

In the language of PKK, verbs of 'ceyāy' pattern are also found to occur as imperatives.

uṇaiy (TMN, 38 : 2)

vaṇaiy (TMN, 43 : 4)

Notes on Personal Finite Verbs :

1. From the enumeration and the treatment of the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs in Tolkāppiyam, it may be inferred that Tolkāppiyar includes the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs in the list of common verbs (TC, 222, 227).
 2. For the sake of convenience, in the present study the terminations are arranged in the following order :
'-eṇ', '-ēṇ', '-al', '-ku', '-tu', '-tu' and '-ru' ('-ku', '-tu', '-tu', '-ru', '-eṇ', '-ēṇ' and '-al') (TC, 203).
 3. The later-day grammarian Pavaṇanti enumerates '-aṇ' as a termination for the first person singular verb (Naṇ., 331), so as to describe the later development in the language.
 4. Commentators are of the opinion that the terminations '-am' and '-ām' denote inclusive plural. But Tolkāppiyar does not make any distinction between inclusive and exclusive plurals.
 5. Commentators are of the opinion that the terminations '-em' and '-ēm' denote exclusive plural. But Tolkāppiyar does not make any distinction between inclusive and exclusive plurals.
 6. Ila., A Commentary on TC, 218.
 7. Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 223.
Nac., A Commentary on TC, 225.
Kal., A Commentary on TC, 225.
 8. M. Varadarajan considers that '-i' has come to use due to the lengthening of the second person singular termination '-i'.
- Varadarajan, M., 'Moliyiyar kaṭṭuraikaḷ', pp. 236-242.
According to M. Israel '-ē' is not a personal termination but is an expletive particle.

Israel, M., TMT, p. 151.

9. It may be mentioned here that in *Kiḷaviyākkam Tolkāppiyar* mentions 'ṇ', 'ḷ' and 'r', 'pa' or 'mār' as the masculine singular, feminine singular and epicene plural markers respectively.

10. The termination 'pa' is a combination of the future tense marker 'p-' and the third person marker 'a'.

Israel, M., TMT, p. 151.

11. In the language of PKK, the termination 'mār' denoting plurality is found to occur with nouns

taṇṇaimār (ATA, 47 : 2)

aiyaṇmār (TMN, 20 : 2)

12. For the occurrence of 'ṭu' as the termination of the neuter singular verbs, the commentators cite the forms 'kuṇṭāṭṭu' and 'kuṇṭukāṭṭu' as examples. Such of the words have no attestation in literature. *Nacciṇārkkiniyar* says that 'ṭu' occurs in 'kuṇṭippu' (appellative verbs) only (Nac., A Commentary on TC, 219). Thus it may not be wrong to assume that finite verbs with the termination 'ṭu' were in vogue during the time of *Tolkāppiyar*, might have gone out of use at a later period.

13. 'v-' in this termination 'va' is the future tense marker and 'a' is the third person marker.

Israel, M., TMT, p. 156.

14. *ḷampūraṇar* and *Nacciṇārkkiniyar* state that the termination 'ā' occurs only in the negative finite verbs.

ḷa., A Commentary on TC, 9.

Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 216.

15. Israel, M., TMT, pp. 162-173.

16. Words which have genitive relationship.
Words which have locative relationship.
Words which have the comparative significance.
Words which have the qualitative significance.
17. Tey., A Commentary on TC, 216.
18. Ilampūraṇar interprets that the negative verbs of 'ceyyāy' pattern may be used in the sense of 'cey' pattern. Cēṇavaraiyar refutes Ilampūraṇar by saying that, if it were the opinion of Tolkāppiyar, he would have stated in the sutra 'etirmaṇai viṇaiṇṇol' instead of 'muṇṇilai viṇaiṇṇol'. According to Cēṇavaraiyar, the forms of the 'cey' pattern are the shortened forms of 'ceyyāy' pattern. By the usages found in literature it may be assumed that Tolkāppiyar in this sutra refers only to the 'cey' pattern of verb which is an alternant of 'ceyyāy' pattern and not the shortened form of 'ceyyāy' pattern.
Ila., A Commentary on TC, 444.
Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 450.
19. The termination '-ā-y' of second person indicative singular verb is different from the termination '-āy' of imperative verbs.
20. According to Tolkāppiyam, the optatives with final '-a' occur with imperative signification (TE, 120). In the language of PKK, there are a few optative verbs with final '-a' which occur with imperative signification.
aṭukkuka (NMK, 83 : 3)

3.1.2. Impersonal Finite Verbs :

The verbs which do not denote person and number, gender, but occur as predicates may be identified as impersonal verbs.¹

The impersonal verbs which are discussed in this section are the optatives, the 'ceyyum' pattern of finite verbs, the verbs expressing negation, the form 'ceymmaṇa' and the word *vēru*.

3.1.2.1. Optative Verbs (*viyaṅkōl*) :

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, the optative verbs are common to both the rational and the non-rational classes and they occur only in the third person (TC, 222, 226).² The optative verbs take neither the tense marker nor any pronominal termination.

In the language of PKK, optative verbs occur both in rational and non-rational classes.

aruṇ kēṭaṇ eṇpatu aṛika (TKL, 210:1)

kiḷaiyuḷ kaḷintār eṭukka (NMK, 82:3)

- rational class

vāḷi yeṇ neṇcu (TKL, 1242:2)

- non-rational class

In the language of PKK, optative verbs are found to occur in all the three persons.³

piṛappiṇṇā teṇṇuṇarum pēraṇiṇārai

uṇṇuṇarka ammā eṇ neṇcu (NL, 173:3-4)

naṭṭapiṇ nāṭit tirivaṇēl naṭṭāṇ

maṛaikāvā viṭṭavaṇ celvuḷic celka (NL, 230:2-3)

- first person

tikaḷka niṇ tōḷ (TMA, 21:4)

- second person

In Eḷuttatikāram, Tolkāppiyar says that 'ya' of 'vāliya' may be dropped in sandhi (TE, 211). There he does not indicate that the form 'vāliya' is an optative verb; but all the commentators agree in treating it as an optative verb.

The forms 'vāliya' and 'vāli' occur as optative verbs in the language of PKK.

ceṛāaay vāliya neñcu (TKL, 1200:2)

vāliyeṇ neñcu (TKL, 1242:2)

Various Forms of Optatives :

In the language of PKK, sometimes the second personal finite verbs with the terminations '-i', '-āy' and '-miṇ' occur with the optative signification.

'-i'

vāliyeṇ neñcu (TKL, 1242:2)

'-āy'

cittirap pūṇkoṭi annāṭkaruḷ iyāy (TMA, 42:3)

'-miṇ'

peruṇkuṇattār cērmiṇ (CPM, 26:1)

In the language of Tolkāppiyam, the forms 'muṭika' (TP, 51:1), 'ōmpal' (TC, 13), 'ākiyar' (TP, 77:8) etc., occur as optatives.

These kinds of optatives are found to occur in the language of PKK also.

kaṭāvuka (KN, 32:1)

makkaṭ pataṭi eṇal (TKL, 196:2)

vāliyar (PM, 316:2)

In a few instances, the '-mai' ending verbal forms occur with the optative signification in the language of PKK.

pāṭakam cārāmai pāṭilār tāmvīlaiyum

nāṭakañ cārāmai (EL, 25:1-2)

Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar treats the form 'vēṇṭum' occurring after the verbal nouns as an optative verb.⁴

In the language of PKK, the verbal form 'vēṇṭum' occurring after different verbal nouns has the optative signification.

veruppaṇa ceyyāmai vēṇṭum (NL, 161:2)

In the language of *Tolkāppiyam*, the form 'orāal' occurs as a negative optative verb (TC, 443).

A few other negative optative verbs are found to occur in the language of PKK.

kāyntīyal (ATE, 7:1)

vāral (KYN, 38:3)

alaīyēl (TMN, 126:1)

vēṇṭēl (CPM, 6:3)

eḷḷarka (NMK, 3:1)

Thus it is evident that optatives are formed from the verbal stems by adding the suffixes '-a', '-iya', '-i', '-ai', '-ēl', '-ka' or '-kka' in the language of PKK.

3.1.2.2. Finite Verbs of 'ceyyum' Pattern :

Tolkāppiyar discusses the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs in a few sutras (TC, 173, 227, 238, 240, 242).

They are formed from the verbal stems by the addition of suffix '-um'. They do not take any personal termination.

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs occur with third person masculine singular, feminine singular, neuter singular and neuter plural subjects (TC, 227).

In the language of PKK, 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs are found to occur in the same environments as described in *Tolkāppiyam*.

But it is worthy of notice that they are found to occur with first person plural and with epicene plural subjects also.

..... āṅṅuvāṇ

nūṅṅuvaraik koṅṅu viṭum (PM, 369:3-4)

-masculine singular

.....valvil viṭalaiyōṭeṇ makal

āṅṅuṅkol aiya naṭantu (TMA, 20:3-4)

-feminine singular

nuṇalum taṇ vāyāl keṭum (PM, 184:4)

-neuter singular

uṇṇapāla yārkkū muṇṇum (PM, 229:4)

-neuter plural

tollai viṭaraka nintip peyarntavar

vallai nām kāṇum varavu (KYN, 22:3-5)

-first person plural

ōvātu uraikkum ulaku (CPM, 46:4)

nōkkum vāy nōkki nuṭaiyāṇēl maṇṇavaṇai

ākkumavar yākkum aṇaintu (EL, 8:3-4)

..... talaiyellām

coṇṇaṭi aṇci viṭum (NL, 297:3-4)

-epicene plural

According to Tolkāppiyam, the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern should be used to denote things which prove true for all times past, present and future (TC, 240).

(e.g.) malai niṅṅum

In the language of PKK, such a usage is found in a few instances.

oliyiṇṭi niṅṅāl ulakam viṭakkum

tuliyiṇṭil vellantarum (PM, 16:3-4)

According to Tolkāppiyam, the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern are also used in a general statement to denote the fruit of an extra-ordinary action, even though a particular person has not done it (TC, 242).

In a few instances such a usage is found to occur in the language of PKK also.

puṇaṇ ceyyac celvam peruku maṇaṇceyya
vallavai nīnkiviṭum (PM, 159:3-4)

Tolkāppiyar says that the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern may indicate the particular singular gender in the rational class, if they are suited to (TC, 173).

(e.g.) cāṭṭaṇ yāl eḷūm

(cāṭṭaṇ-masculine singular)

cāṭṭi cāntu araikkum

(cāṭṭi-feminine singular)

Such a type of usage is not found to occur in the language of PKK.

Tolkāppiyar says that in the non-finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern also, the final vowel and the immediately preceding consonant are dropped (TC, 238). From this Cēṇāvaraiyar infers that in the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern either the final '-u' or the final '-u' with the preceding consonant may be dropped.⁵

In the language of PKK, it is found that the vowel '-u' with the preceding consonant is dropped in the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs.

ākum > ām

ām (CPM, 9 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern denote present tense (TC, 173, 227). But in the language of PKK, finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern denote an aoristic tense.

kāṭṭum	(CPM, 28 : 3)	'will show/shows-it'
keṭum	(PM, 184 : 4)	'will decay/decays-it'
añciyiṭum	(NL, 297 : 4)	'will fear / fears-it'

3.1.2.3. Verbs Expressing Negation (inmaiceppal) :

According to Tolkāppiyam, verbs denoting negation are common to both rational and non-rational classes and they occur in all the three persons and five genders (TC, 222, 225):

For the common verbs denoting negation, the commentators cite 'illai' and 'il' as examples.

(e g.) yān illai	yām illai
nī illai	nīyir illai
avaṇ illai	
avaḷ illai	avar illai
atu illai	avai illai

Finite verbs denoting negation 'illai' and 'il' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

'illai'

In the language of PKK, the verb 'illai' occurs as a common verb.

In the rational class 'illai' is found to occur in the masculine singular and in the epicene plural.

nerunaḷ uḷaṇ oruvaṇ inṇu illai	(TKL, 336 : 1)
	-masculine singular
kutittuyntār inṇillai	(NL, 6 : 2)
	-epicene plural

In the non-rational class 'illai' is found to occur in the neuter singular and in the neuter plural.

paccōlaikku illai oli	(NL, 120 : 2)
tiruvin tiralutaiyatu illai	(NMK, 32 : 1)
	-neuter singular
ariya enṇu ākāta illai	(TKL, 537 : 1)
cāvāta illai piṇanta uyirellām	
tāvāta illai vaḷikaḷum	(NMK, 79 : 1-2)
	-neuter plural

'il'

In the language of PKK, 'il' occurs as a common verb. In the rational class 'il' is found to occur in the masculine singular and in the epicene plural.

.....aracaṇum

ilvālvāṇ ilvaḷi il (NMK, 4 : 3-4)

-masculine singular

eñciṇār ivvulakattu il (NL, 21 : 4)

kāreṇac ceytārum il (NL, 103 : 4)

-epicene plural

In the non-rational class 'il' is found to occur only in the neuter singular.

varuvatu oṇṇu il (NL, 265 : 4)

3.1.2.4. 'vēru'

Tolkāppiyar says that 'vēru' is a common verb and it occurs in all the three persons and five genders (TC, 222, 225).

This form takes no tense marker nor any pronominal termination.

The commentators cite examples to show its occurrence in all the persons and genders. But in the language of PKK, the form 'vēru' is found to occur only in third person rational and non - rational plurals.

.....maṇṇavarraip

pōṇṇum pulavarum vēre poruṭṭerintu

tēṇṇum pulavarum vēru (NL, 318 : 2.4)

.....makkaḷ

maṇam vēru ceykaiyum vēru (NL, 127 : 4)

Rarely it is found to occur as a noun-qualifier in the language of PKK.

vēru	iṭam	(EL, 62 : 2)
vēru	uruviṇa	(NL, 118 : 1)
vēru	iṭattār	(PM, 98 : 1)

In the language of PKK, the form 'vēru' occurs as a subject and hence it may be treated as a noun.

vēru	alla	(NL, 370 : 2)
vēru	allai	(ATA, 21 : 3)
vēru	allar	(TKL, 143 : 1)

It may be pointed out here that in a few instances the form 'vēru' occurs as a part of compound verbal forms in the language of PKK.

vērā	(TMN, 121 : 2)
vērāka	(PM, 214 : 2)
vērāki	(NL, 3 : 3)
vērākiviṭum	(PM, 3 : 3)
vērām	(NL, 183 : 3)
vērāyviṭum	(AK, 82 : 4)
vērāy	(ATA, 27 : 3)
vērupaṭum	(NL, 236 : 4)

Thus 'vēru' is found to occur as subject, attribute or predicate in the language of PKK in different contexts whereas Tolkāppiyar does not indicate its multifarious functions.

3.1.2.5. Ceymmaṇa :

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'ceymmaṇa' is a verb common to both rational and non-rational classes (TC, 220,225).

Such a form is not found to occur in the language of PKK.

Notes on Impersonal Finite Verbs :

1. Tolkāppiyar enumerates a list of common verbs namely the second person verbs, the optatives, the verbal participles, the verbs expressing negation, the form 'ceymmaṇa', the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs, the relative participles and the word 'vēru' (TC,222). The second person verbs are already discussed under the personal finite verbs (3.1.1.1.2.) Though the non-finite verbs do not denote person and number-gender like the impersonal verbs, they are discussed under a separate sub-head since they occur only as attributes whereas the other kinds of words in this group occur as predicates.
2. The commentators opine that the optative verbs may occur in all the three persons.
3. In Sangam literature also optative verbs are found to occur in all the three persons.
Natarajan, T., LSLT, P. 162.
4. Nac., A Commentary on TC, 228.
5. Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 238.

3.2. Non-finite Verbs :

Tolkāppiyar deals with the non-finite verbs in *Viñaiyiyaḷ* immediately after the finite verbs. He includes them in the list of common verbs belonging to both the rational and to the non-rational classes (TC, 222).

The non-finite verbs usually do not take any personal terminations. Though tense is not marked in a few patterns of non-finite verbs (verbal participles), the commentators attempt to attribute certain tense significations to almost all of them and thereby assign them to different tenses.

The non-finite verbs in Tamil can be divided into two classes;¹ the first one is that which occurs as adjunct of verbs and the second is one that which occurs as adjunct of nouns.²

Tolkāppiyar terms the non-finite verbs as 'eñcukilavi' the class of non-finite verbs which occurs as adjuncts to the verbs as 'viñaiyeñcukilavi' and the class of non-finite verbs which occurs as adjuncts to the nouns as 'peyareñcukilavi' (TC, 222, 432, 433).

3.2.1. Viñaiyeñcukilavi (Verbal participles) :

3.2.1.1. Tolkāppiyar enumerates nine patterns of verbal participles in *Viñaiyiyaḷ* (TC, 228). In *Eccaviyaḷ* he says that the verbal participles take regular verbs or appellative verbs as their complements (TC, 432).

'ceytu' pattern (cey + t + u) :

It is evident from Tolkāppiyam, that the 'ceytu' pattern verbal participles denote past tense and that they may be extended to future tense (TC, 239).

In the language of PKK, they occur as attributes to past and future finite verbs denoting the past tense in relation to the tense denoted by the finite verbal complement.

kiṭantu uṇṇār (AK, 23:1)

kutar ceṇṇu kollāta kūrmāi iṇitē (IYN, 12:2)

nīruḷ nīlaṛ purintu nōkkār (AK, 13:1)

naṅkaṇivār nālum viraintu (AK, 6:3)

'ceyyū' pattern (cey + ū) :

The verbal participles of this pattern are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

'ceypu' pattern (cey + pu) :

According to Cēṇāvaraiyar, 'ceypu' pattern of verbal participles denote present tense.³ Teyvaccilaiyār considers that verbal participles of 'ceypu' pattern denote the three tenses according to the different context in which they occur.⁴ Naccinārkkīṇiyar points out that they mainly denote an action done previously to that of the following verb and rarely the future tense.⁵

In the language of PKK, verbal participles of 'ceypu' pattern denote both past and future tenses.

nāṇāl ticaiyum piṇam piṇaṅka yāṇai

aṭukkupu ēṇrik kiṭanta (KVN, 6:1-2)

- past tense

kuṇṇaram pāyak koṭiyeluntu poṇkupu

vāṇan tuṭaiṇṇa pōṇṇa puṇal nāṭaṇ

(KVN, 25 : 2-3)

- future tense

'ceyteṇa' pattern (cey + t + u eṇ + a) :

The verbal participles of 'ceyteṇa' pattern are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

'ceyyiyar' pattern (cey+iyar) :

The verbal participles of 'ceyyiyar' pattern are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

'ceyyiya' pattern (cey+iya) :

Commentators are of the opinion that the verbal participles of 'ceyyiya' pattern denote only the future tense.⁶

In the language of PKK, verbal participles of 'ceyyiya' pattern are found to occur rarely and they denote only the future tense.

peruṅkaṭa lāṭiya ceṇṇār oruṅkuṭaṇ

ōcai avintapiṇ āṭutum eṇṇārāl (NL, 332 : 1-2)

'ceyiṇ' pattern (cey+iṇ) :

According to Cēṇāvaraiyar, verbal participles of 'ceyiṇ' pattern denote three tenses. According to Teyvaccilaiyār and Nacciṇārkkīyār they denote future tense only.⁷

In the language of PKK, verbal participles of 'ceyiṇ' pattern denote present and future tenses according to the context in which they occur.

oṇṇiṇa oṇṇiṇa vallē ceyiṇ ceyka (NL, 4 : 2)

uppiṇ peruṅkuppai nīrpaṭiyiṇ illākum (TK, 83 : 1)

vaḷi eṇṇiṇ meyyiṇkitām (ATA, 30 : 2)

'ceya' pattern (cey+a) :

In the language of PKK, verbal participles of 'ceya' pattern may be taken to denote one of the three tenses according to the context.

cīrapuṭaimai eytaṇ

pala nāṭi (TK, 21 : 2-3)

kaṭikāvil kāṇṇurru eṇṇiṇa veṭṭipattū

vīṇṇuvīṇṇu oṭummayil iṇam pōl (KVN, 29 : 1-2)

aḷaṇ pōkāṇ (EL, 37 : 1)

‘ceyarku’ pattern (ceyal+ku) :

According to Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār, verbal participles of ‘ceyarku’ pattern denote future tense.⁸ In the language of PKK, verbal participles of ‘ceyarku’ pattern function as purposive participles and denote future tense.⁹

yāṇṭum perark(u) ariyār (TK, 13 : 4)

cevvīyūṭaiya curam neñcē kātalivūr

kavvai aḷuṅkac celarku (KN, 28 : 3-4)

pūntaṇ puṇar pukārp pūmi kuṇi kāṇṭarku

(PM, 153 : 1)

3.2.1.2. Verbal Participles with Final ‘-i’ :

When Tolkāppiyar deals with the external sandhi rules in ‘Eḷuttatikāram’, he refers to the verbal participle forms with final -i (TE, 236).

Commentators prefer to include these verbal participle forms also under the ‘ceytu’ pattern of verbal participles, since they show the same significations as those of the pattern ‘ceytu’.¹⁰

añci (ATA, 16:3)

akki (EL, 56:3)

ārri (AK, 57:3)

akavi (ATE, 19:1)

3.2.1.3. Verbal Participles with Final ‘-y’ :

According to Tolkāppiyam ‘-i’ and ‘-y’ may interchange in the final position (TE, 58).

In the language of PKK, verbal participles with final ‘-y’ function similar to the ‘ceytu’ pattern verbal participles.

avāy (CPM, 19 : 3)

āy (KYN, 48 : 3)

3.2.1.4. Verbal Participles 'inri' and 'inru' (il + ti ; il + tu) :

In Eḷuttatikāram, Tolkāppiyar says that in poetry the final '-i' of the verbal participle 'inri' may become '-u' (TE, 237).

These forms occur as negative verbal participles in the language of PKK.

'inri'

aiyamē inri aṟintān (EL, 70 : 2)

ēyinārinri initu (ATA, 11 : 4)

'inru'

piṇaiccēlva māṇṇinru iyaṅkalivai mūṇṇum

puṇaiyiṇ nilai kalakku māru (TK, 88 : 3-4)

nirinru(u) amaiyātu ulakenin (TKL, 20 : 1)

kaṇṇinru kaṇṇarac collinūm

collarka (TKL, 184 : 1)

3.2.1.5. Verbal Participles 'anri' and 'anru' (al + ti ; al + tu) :

The forms 'anri' and 'anru' also occur as verbal participles in the language of Tolkāppiyam and of PKK.

'anri'

anriyapaṇittum peyarppayanilaiyē (TC, 66 : 4)

.....aktanrip

piṇarkkurra kaṭṭuraiyuṅ collarka (AK, 77 : 2-3)

vaṇaṅkal aṇikalaṅ cāṇṇōrkkaṭtanri

aṇaṅkal vaṇaṅkinru peṇ (NMK, 91 : 3-4)

'anru'

tuṇanta olukkam paḷittanrākalin (TP, 211 : 4)

urukumā lulla moruṇālu manrār

perukumā nāmalar pēṇap perukā (TMN, 41 : 1-2)

3.2.1.6. 'ceyyā' pattern (cey + ā) :

Tolkāppiyar refers to the 'ceyyā' pattern of verbal participles in *Eḷuttatikāram*, while dealing with the external sandhi changes of words with final '-ā' (TE, 222).

Commentators consider the 'ceyyā' pattern as an alternant of 'ceyyū' pattern.¹¹

In the language of PKK, verbal participles of 'ceyyā' pattern denote past tense and occur either as affirmative verbal participles or as negative verbal participles.

tālāt taḷarāt talainaṭuṅkāṭ taṇṭūṇrā
viḷā iṇakkum ivaḷ māṭṭum (NL, 14 : 1-2)
- affirmative

aṇi nalamuṇṭiṇantu...m maruḷā viṭṭa
tuṇi munnīre cērppaṇku (KYN, 51 : 2-3)
- negative

3.2.1.7. Adverbials :

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, forms ending with 'piṇ', 'muṇ', 'kāl', 'kaṭai', 'vaḷi' and 'iṭattu' referring to tense are of the same nature as that of verbal participles (TC, 229).

(e.g.) vanta piṇ
vanta vaḷi, etc.

All the examples cited by the commentators are phrases, consisting of two free forms (i.e., relative participle + noun) which, as single units, have the function of adverbs. Though *Cēṇāvaraiyar* denies the fact that they are combinations of 'peyareccam' and nouns, *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar* states it as the reason for *Tolkāppiyar*'s placing them in a separate sutra.¹²

All the six types of adverbials are found to occur in the language of PKK.

'piṇ'

kalanta piṇ (CPM, 38 : 3)

maṇaitta piṇ (AK, 34 : 1)

'mun'

iyumuṇ (NMK, 37 : 2)

ulavāmuṇ (IN, 22 : 3)

'kāl'

eṇṇuṇkāḷ (TMN, 150 : 2)

tōṇṇiyakkāḷ (NL, 2 : 1)

'kaṭai'

akalākkaṭai (TKL, 478 : 2)

'vaḷi'

ilā vaḷi (NMK, 49 : 3)

'iṭattu'

karutum iṭattu (PM, 54 : 4)

**Adverbials that are not Enumerated but are Found to Occur
in the Language of Tolkāppiyam and of PKK :**

'kālai'

teriyuṇ kālai (TE, 13 : 2)

'pinṇar'

perra pinṇar (TP, 88 : 14)

vaitta pinṇar (PM, 279 : 1)

'piṇrai'

uṇarnta piṇrai (TP, 122 : 4)

nāṭiya piṇrai (TKL, 518 : 1)

Adverbials That Are Found Only in the Language of PKK :

'uḷi'

viṭṭuḷi (AK, 55 : 3)

celvuḷi (NL, 8 : 1)

'kaṭaittu'

aṇintak kaṭaittu (TKL, 637 : 1)

ceytak kaṭaittu (AK, 40 : 2)

‘kaṇ’

ūṭṭiya kaṇṇum (NL, 40 : 3)

kolutta kaṇṇum (NL, 96 : 3)

‘ñāṇru’

ākiya ñāṇru (NL, 14 : 4)

‘torum’

kāṇ torum (ATE, 15 : 3)

icai torum (NL, 60 : 3)

‘munṇam’

avā munṇam (NMK, 69 : 2)

uraikku(m) munṇam (NMK, 48 : 3)

‘munṇar’

varu munṇar (TKL, 435 : 1)

3.2.1.8. Other Verbal Participles :

A few other verbal participles which are not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam are found to occur in the language of Tolkāppiyam and in that of PKK.

‘allatu’ (al + atu) :

āvōṭ allatu yakaram mutalātu (TE, 65)

varaintu koṇṭallatu pūcār (AK, 35 : 3)

‘ceyyātu’ (cey + ât + u) :

It occurs as a negative verbal participle.

īṇri yamaiyāt(u) iyaipavai ellām (TP, 649 : 2)

vēṇṭātu (TKL, 55 : 2)

acaiyātu (AK, 73 : 1)

Finite verb + âyiṇ / eṇiṇ :

Finite verbs, while occurring in combination with the form ‘âyiṇ’ / ‘eṇiṇ’ function as conditional verbal participles.

vārāvāyīnum	(TP, 21 : 2)
uṇpāñāyīn	(EL, 48 : 2)
uṇarāvāyīnum	(NL, 334 : 2)
uṭaittāyīnum	(TP, 112 : 26)
uṇṭāyīn	(NL, 75 : 2)
illenīn	(TE, 35 : 1)
cīrātenīn	(AK, 35 : 4)
ollumenīn	(CPM, 51 : 2)
kaḷaipavenīn	(NL, 170 : 4)
uṇṭenīn	(AK, 82 : 3)

A few other verbal participles which are not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam are found to occur in the language of PKK.¹³

Finite verb + ākin :

aṭakkuvāñākin	(CPM, 69 : 3)
tunpuruvāḷākin	(NMK, 67 : 4)

Non-finite verb + ānum :

maṇantānum	(AK, 87 : 2)
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Finite verb + ēnum :

iṭuvarēnum	(NL, 211 : 2)
uḷatēnum	(NL, 164 : 1)

Non-finite verb + ēyum :

maṇantēyum	(IYN, 21 : 3)
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Finite verb + ēl :

uṇpāñēl	(EL, 46 : 3)
ikaḷvāñēl	(AK, 15 : 7)
teritīyēl	(ATA, 9 : 2)
aṇitirēl	(NL, 252 : 2)
āpavēl	(TMN, 89 : 1)

mikuvatēl	(NL, 346 : 3)
aṇṇēl	(CPM, 67 : 3)
uṭaittēl	(CPM, 93 : 1)
uṇṇēl	(ATE, 47 : 4)
uṭaiyaiyēl	(ATE, 42 : 3)
iṇṇēl	(IYN, 12 : 4)
allanēl	(TKL, 386 : 1)
ilarēl	(NL, 224 : 3)
uḷarēl	(TMN, 86 : 1)

‘ceyil’ pattern (cey + il) :

viḷakkil	(AK, 66 : 1)
kāṇil	(CPM, 25 : 1)
puḷippil	(IN, 22 : 3)
irkkil	(NL, 26 : 1)

The verbal participles of ‘ceyil’ pattern show the same signification as those of the pattern ‘ceyiṇ’.

‘ceytāl’ pattern (cey + tāl) :

aṇintāl	(EL, 37 : 1)
uraittāl	(CPM, 23 : 4)
pōrttāl	(TMN, 99 : 1)

The verbal participles of ‘ceytāl’ pattern show the same significations as those of the ‘ceyiṇ’ pattern.

‘ceyyāmal’ pattern (cey + āmal) :

ākāmal	(EL, 24 : 3)
vārāmal	(TK, 77 : 3)
aṇiyāmal	(TMN, 135 : 2)

‘ceyyāmai’ pattern (cey + āmai) :

iḷiyāmai	(AK, 27 : 1)
añcāmai	(EL, 27 : 1)
cērāmai	(TMN, 129 : 4)

Both 'ceyyāmal' and 'ceyyāmai' patterns of verbal participles occur as negative verbal participles in the language of PKK.

'il'

nīr paṭiyiṇ ill ākum (TK, 83 : 1)

'allāl'

vaittārka kallāl (TMN, 12 : 3)

tūrrappaṭṭār allāl (NL, 21 : 3)

'alāl'

uṭuttalāl nīrāṭār (AK, 11 : 1)

'alatu'

niṇalat(u) illai (ATE, 6 : 3)

'-pāṇ' and '-vāṇ' ending verbal participles :

uṇpāṇ (PM, 326 : 4)

koḷvāṇ (PM, 89 : 3)

kaṭivāṇ (TMN, 44 : 2)

'-pākku ending verbal participles :

tarupākku (KN, 11 : 1)

In the language of PKK, forms with '-pāṇ', '-vāṇ' and '-pākku' endings function as purposive participles.

Finite Participles : ¹⁴

These forms, unlike the regular verbal participles are similar to the finite verbs in form but are similar to the participles in function.

Commentators refer to such forms under the sutra 457 of Tolkāppiyam-Collatikāram. ¹⁵

The termination that occurs after the tense marker may, as a whole, be identified as the verbal participle marker.

(e. g.) vantāṇ ‘having come’ va + nt + āṇ (-āṇ : verbal participle marker)

..... meynnīrmai koṇṭa

taṇiyāl marraṇṇō aṇaṅkirreṇṇu (ATA, 20 : 1-2)

vaṭakkoṭu kōṇant talai ceyyār mikkōl

uṭar koṭuttuc cērtal vaḷi (AK, 30 : 2-3)

Here the finite forms ‘aṇiyāl’ and ‘ceyyār’ occur as finite participles.

Compound Forms :

eṇitara (KVN, 17 : 2)

aṭaitara (TMA, 27 : 1)

kāṇkuṇṇi (AK, 65 : 1)

kavvikkoṇṭu (IYN, 36 : 3)

pukkāyiṇi (IYN, 2 : 1)

oppa muṭintāl (IYN, 2 : 1)

In the language of PKK, adverbials with ‘-kāl’ ending function as conditional verbal participles. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar’s observations, which seem to support the suggestion poisted above, are worth quoting here. “The conditional meaning for forms like ‘vantakkāl’ would arise when these forms modify ‘indeterminate’ or future verb forms. In the earlier stages of Caṅkam Tamil, such conditional forms are rare. The restriction of the force ‘vantakkāl’ to the pure conditional appears to have been comparatively of a later period”.¹⁶

uykkākkāl (AK, 3 : 2)

ākkīyakkāl (IYN, 19 : 3)

allākkāl (NL, 312 : 3)

Verbal Participles Formed From Nominal Stems :

tamittu (AK, 65 : 2)

taṇittu (PM, 383 : 3)

piṇṇrātu (TMN, 87 : 2)

3.2.2. Peyareñcukilavi (Relative Participles) :

The non-finite verbs which modify the nouns are herein identified as relative participles.

Tolkāppiyar treats the relative participles mainly in Vinaiyiyal (TC, 234-238), immediately after the verbal participles and also in Eccaviyal (TC, 433). He includes the relative participles under the common verbs (TC, 222).

Tolkāppiyar says that the relative participles take nouns as their complements (TC, 433). The noun complements according to him may be words denoting land, object, time, instrument, agent or action. He enumerates two different patterns of relative participles, viz., 'ceyta' and 'ceyyum' (TC, 234).

3.2.2.1. 'ceyta' pattern (cey + t + a) :

vēntarai aṭṭa kaḷattu (KVN, 16 : 4)

pōya curam (ATA, 35 : 4)

- land

māntiya nīr (TMN, 95 : 1)

ciṟu kai aḷāviya kūl (TKL, 64 : 2)

- object

eyta ampu (TKL, 772 : 1)

eṟinta vēl (NL, 213 : 3)

- instrument

cānrōṇ epak kēṭṭa tāy (TKL, 69 : 2)

kaivāyil koṇṭelunta ceñcevip puṇṇēval (KVN, 26 : 2)

- agent

kuḷaikkamarnta nōkku (TMN, 96 : 4)

makarak kuḷai maṟitta nōkku (TMN, 77 : 4)

- action

viṟunṭiṇṇi uṇṭa pakal (TK, 44 : 1)

piṟanta nāl (AK, 43 : 3)

- time

In the language of PKK, relative participles of 'ceyta' pattern denote past tense and occur in all persons and in all genders.

3.2.2.2. 'ceyyum' pattern (cey+y+um) :

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, the 'ceyyum' pattern relative participles occur in all persons and in all genders (TC, 235).

puttēḷir vāḷum ulaku (TKL, 58 : 2)

naiyum iṭam (TMN, 133 : 3)

- land

āyūṇ kaḷal (TMN, 98 : 2)

maḱarḱu āṛṛum naṇṇi (TKL, 67 : 1)

- object

nīrāṭum pōḷtu (AK, 14 : 1)

ālikkum pōḷtu (KN, 1 : 4)

- time

nalviṇai nīkkum paṭai (TK, 95 : 4)

- instrument

vāṇurāiyum teyvam (TKL, 50 : 1)

kāma neṇi paṭarum kaṇṇiṇār (NL, 13 : 3)

- agent

poṛukkum poṛai (NL, 65 : 4)

teriyātu uraikkum vekuḷvu (TK, 93 : 2)

- action

In the language of PKK, relative participles of 'ceyyum' pattern denote non-past tense.

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, the final '-u' with the preceding consonant may be dropped in the relative participles of 'ceyyum' pattern (TC, 238).

ām (TMN, 44 : 3)

cām (TKL, 397 : 2)

pōm (NL, 23 : 3)

3.2.2.3. 'ceykinra' pattern (cey + kin_r + a) :

Tolkāppiyar does not make mention of the 'ceykinra' pattern among the patterns of the relative participles, as the relative participles of such a pattern do not occur in the language before or at the time of the author. But 'ceykinra' pattern of relative participles denoting present tense are found to occur in the language of PKK.

cērkinra (TMA, 19 : 3)

3.2.2.4. Negative Relative Participles :

Tolkāppiyar says that the relative participles though they are used in negation are of the same nature (as the positive relative participles) (TC, 236).

(e g.) uṇṭa kutirai

- positive

uṇṇāk kutirai

- negative

In the language of PKK, negative relative participles are found to occur in the 'ceyyā' and 'ceyyāta' patterns.

'ceyyā' pattern :

āṭā araṅku (TMN, 129 : 2)

ōmpā maṭamai (TKL, 89 : 1)

'ceyyāta' pattern :

vārāta nāl (TMN, 101 : 4)

tērāta man (TMN, 53 : 3)

Tolkāppiyar refers to the negative relative participle forms 'illā' and 'il' in Eḷuttatikāram while dealing with the sandhi changes (TE, 372).

'illā' and 'il' occur as negative relative participles in the language of PKK.

‘illā’

karrarī villā uṭampu (NMK, 22 : 4)

nirai yillā māṇṇuyīr (ATE, 14 : 1)

‘il’

pātil puṭavai (IN, 2 : 3)

pōrppil iṭi muracu (KVN, 2 : 2)

‘ilā’

‘ilā’ is found to occur as an alternant of ‘illā’ in the language of PKK.

vaṭuvilā vaiyattu (NL, 114 : 1)

vaḷamilāp pōltattu (NMK, 94 : 2)

The negative relative participle forms ‘ilāta’ and ‘illāta’ are also found to occur in the language of PKK.

‘illāta’

vaḷukkenaittum illāta vālvāy (NL, 262 : 1)

kaṇakkāyar illāta ūr (TK, 10 : 1)

‘ilāta’

poccāp pilāta pukaḷ (KN, 7 : 3)

nārram ilāta malar (IN, 8 : 3)

Tolkāppiyar does not make mention of the relative participle forms ‘al’ and ‘allā’, whereas these forms occur in the language of Tolkāppiyam and in that of PKK.

‘al’

appāl molikal alvaḷiyāna (TE, 196 : 2)

allitattu (TKL, 301 : 1)

‘allā’

apporuḷ allāp piritu poruḷ kūṟal (TC, 35 : 2)

tavam allāt takkār (CPM, 77 : 2)

The relative participle 'allāta' which is neither mentioned nor found used in Tolkāppiyam is found to occur in the language of PKK.

allāta ennaiyūm (TMN, 88 : 1)

maṛumaṇatta nallāta mānalatta vēntaṇ (PM, 165 : 1)

3.2.2.5. Rare Usage :

It is worthy of notice that the form 'uṭaiyūm' occurs as 'ceyyūm' pattern of relative participle denoting non-past tense in the language of PKK.

parpala tāṇiyatta tākip palaruṭaiyūm

meyttuṇaiyūm cāra iṇitu (IYN, 17 : 3 - 4)

It is formed from the defective verbal root 'uṭai-'.
 10 Cēḡā, A Commentary on TC, 228.
 11 Cēḡā, A Commentary on TC, 228.
 12 Cēḡā, A Commentary on TC, 228.
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 100 Cēḡā, A Commentary on TC, 228.

3.3. Tense :

Tolkāppiyar deals with the tense in a few sutras (TC, 70, 112, 198-201, 207, 213, 215, 220, 227, 229, 239, 240-242, 245, 247, 248, 427, 437), but does not analyse the tense markers.¹

Tolkāppiyar states that there are three tenses viz., past, present and future (TC, 199, 200).

Generally the tense markers occur immediately after the verbal stems. In the finite verbs the tense markers are generally followed by pronominal terminations.

An attempt is made here to segment and identify the different tense markers that occur in the verbs of PKK language.

3.3.1. Past Tense :

In the language of PKK, 't-', 't-', 'r-', 'nt-', 'tt-', 'k-', 'in-', 'i' and 'y' occur as past tense markers.

-t-

alutēṇ	(ATA, 44 : 2)	alū + t + ēṇ
ceytāṇ	(PM, 21 : 3)	cey + t + āṇ
ceytēm	(KN, 33 : 3)	cey + t + ēṇ
peytāl	(TKL, 1115 : 1)	pey + t + āl

-t-

kaṇtēṇ	(ATE, 59 : 3)	kaṇ + t + ēṇ
uṇtāy	(TMA, 33 : 2)	uṇ + t + āy
uṇṭir	(NL, 18 : 2)	uṇ + t + ir
viṭṭār	(TMN, 47 : 4)	viṭ + t + ār

-r-

eṇrēṇ	(ATA, 44 : 2)	eṇ + r + ēṇ
ceṇrāl	(NL, 15 : 2)	ceṇ + r + āl
niṇrāy	(TMA, 33 : 4)	niṇ + r + āy
eṇrār	(AK, 63 : 3)	eṇ + r + ār

-nt-

cārntāy (NL, 126 : 1)	cār + nt + āy
tuṛantān (TMA, 47 : 3)	tuṛa + nt + ān
teḷintēn (ATE, 9 : 3)	teḷi + nt + ēn
kaṭintān (TMA, 10 : 4)	kaṭi + nt + ān
ikaḷntār (AK, 22 : 5)	ikaḷ + nt + ār

-tt-

īṛuttēn (TMN, 102 : 1)	īṛu + tt + ēn
pūttana (KN, 4 : 1)	pū + tt + a + a
ittān (TMN, 8 : 3)	i + tt + ān
paḷittār (AK, 91 : 2)	paḷi + tt + ār

-k-

pukkaṛru (KVN, 24 : 3)	puk + k + ar + ru
pukkār (CPM, 39 : 1)	puk + k + ār
pukkān (PM, 86 : 3)	puk + k + ān

-iṇ-

muyaṅkiṇēn (ATE, 13 : 3)	muyaṅk + iṇ + ēn
āṭiṇāy (TMN, 40 : 3)	āṭ + iṇ + āy
īraiṇciṇāl (TKL, 1093 : 1)	īraiṇc + iṇ + āl
vāṭiṇīr (TMN, 81 : 1)	vāṭ + iṇ + īr
āṭiṇān (TMN, 124 : 3)	āṭ + iṇ + ān

-i (-iṇ > -i)

vāṭi (PM, 278 : 2)	vāṭ + i
āṭi (ATE, 45 : 4)	āṭ + i

-y

āy (TK, 25 : 2)	ā + y
pōy (TMN, 127 : 2)	pō + y

3.3.2. Non-past Tense :

Verbs of non-past tense denote either present or future. There is no clear-cut distinction between present and future tenses in the language of PKK.

In the language of PKK, '-p-' / '-pp-', '-v-', '-n-', '-t-'/ '-tt-', '-k-', '-ṭ-' and '-r-' occur as non-past tense markers.

-p-

uṇpār	(EL, 51 : 4)	uṇ + p + ār
kēṭpar	(NL, 100 : 1)	kēṭ + p + ar
eṇpar	(AK, 62 : 2)	eṇ + p + ar

-pp-

pulappar	(KYN, 43 : 2)	pula + pp + ar
aṭuppāṇ	(EL, 42 : 1)	aṭu + pp + āṇ
iruppāl	(ATE, 40 : 1)	iru + pp + āl

-v-

vīlvar	(TK, 45 : 4)	vīl + v + ar
eṇappaṭuvār	(TK, 26 : 4)	eṇappaṭu + v + ār
ceyvam	(NMK, 9 : 3)	cey + v + am
varaivāy	(TMN, 43 : 4)	varai + v + āy

-n-

vālunam	(TKL, 1193 : 2)	vālu + n + am
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-t-

aṛiti	(KYN, 22 : 4)	aṛi + t + i
peṛuti	(TKL, 1237 : 1)	peṛu + t + i
ākutir	(TKL, 1319 : 2)	āku + t + ir

-tt-

uraitti	(KYN, 42 : 2)	urai + tt + i
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-k-

eṇkam	(ATE, 64 : 4)	eṇ + k + am
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-ṭ-

kāṇṭum	(PM, 15 : 2)	kāṇ + ṭ + um
kēṭṭi	(TMN, 135 : 1)	kēṭ + ṭ + i

-r-

nirri	(NL, 376 : 4)	nir + r + i
cēri	(TKL, 1244 : 1)	cē + r + i

3.3.3. Present Tense :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern denote present tense (TC, 173, 227, 240).

The terminal '-um' of the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verb is not a personal termination, since it does not restrict the use of this verb to a specific gender or number. It is evident that '-um' is a tense marker.

In the language of PKK, finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern denote either present tense or future tense (3.1.2.2.).

It is worthy of notice that in a few instances '-kiṇṇ-' occurs as a tense marker denoting clear-cut present tense in the language of PKK. It is found to occur in the non-finite verbs and in the participial nouns only.

cōrkiṇṇa	(TMA, 19 : 3)	cōr-kiṇṇ-a
uḷalkiṇṇār	(TMN, 139 : 2)	uḷal-kiṇṇ-ār
vāḷkiṇṇār	(TMN, 109 : 3)	vāḷ-kiṇṇ-ār

Note on Tense :

1. Tolkāppiyar identifies the verbal terminations as a subclass of 'iṭaiṇṇol' by the phrase *viṇaiṇṇol maruṇṇi kalamotu varuna* 'those which occur with tense markers'. This reveals that he recognizes the existence of tense markers in verbs (TC, 250).

3.4. Negatives :

Though Tolkāppiyar refers to the negatives in his treatise in different sutras (TE, 237, 275, 290, 372; TC, 107, 214, 222, 236, 244, 255, 256, 435) he neither discusses the formation of negative verbs nor analyses the negative markers.

In the language of PKK, negation is indicated either by syntactical device or by morphological device.

3.4.1. Syntactical Device :

According to Tolkāppiyam, the interrogative verbs denoting emphasis may have the capacity to express negation (TC, 244, 435).¹

In the language of PKK, negative signification is expressed by the interrogative verbs by the addition of the particles ‘-ō’ and ‘-ē’.

anṇiṇkum unṭō aṭaikkun tāl (TKL, 71 : 1)
 tunṇattir kiyārē tunaiyāvār (TKL, 1299 : 1)
 naṇṇē tariṇum naṭuvikantām ākkattai
 aṇṇē oliya viṭal (TKL, 113)

In Iṭaiyiyal Tolkāppiyar says that the particles ‘-um’ and ‘-ō’ denote negative signification (TC, 255, 256).

In the language of PKK, particles ‘-um’ and ‘-ō’ denote negative signification (5.2.4; 5.2.5).

3.4.2. Morphological Device :

The morphological device of negative formation is expressed either by certain negative roots or by negative suffixes.

Generally the negative verbs in Tamil are not conjugated for tense and their relation to time depends on the context only. This holds in the case of PKK also.

Verbs Formed from Negative Roots :

The roots 'al-' 'to be not' and 'il-' 'to be not' are the negative verbal roots in Tamil.

Tolkāppiyar treats the verbs formed from these roots as appellative verbs (TC, 214, 220). Further he includes the verbs denoting negation in the list of common verbs (TC, 222, 225).

These verbs do not take tense markers but take number-gender markers.

A number of verbs formed from the roots 'al-' and 'il-' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

'al-'

- allam (TKL, 1209 : 1)
- allar (PM, 66 : 4)
- alla (PM, 224 : 1)
- allai (TKL, 1221 : 1)
- allan (PM, 391 : 2)
- allār (TK, 32 : 3)

'il-'

- ilam (TKL, 174 : 1)
- illatu (TKL, 119 : 1)
- ila (TKL, 9 : 1)
- ilar (TKL, 365 : 2)
- ilēn (TKL, 1226 : 2)

In *Eluttatikāram*, Tolkāppiyar refers to the non-finite verbs formed from these roots also (TE, 237) while dealing with sandhi changes.

A few non-finite verbs formed from the verbal root 'il-' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

- inri (NL, 68 : 2)
- ipru (TKL, 184 : 1)

Tolkāppiyar enumerates the non-finite verb 'il' and the formation of its variants 'illā' and 'illai' also in Eḷuttatikāram (TE, 372).

il (TK, 83 : 2)

illā (NL, 52 : 2)

In the language of PKK, 'il' and 'illā' occur as non-finite verbs, whereas 'illai' is found to occur as a finite verb only.

illai (NL, 6 : 2)

A few more non-finite verbs formed from the verbal roots 'al-' and 'il-' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

allā (PM, 248 : 2)

allatu (AK, 35 : 3)

allāl (TMN, 12 : 3)

aṇri (NL, 70 : 2)

aṇru (TMN, 41 : 1)

ilā (NMK, 94 : 2)

illāta (NL, 362 : 1)

3.4.3. Other References to Negatives :

Tolkāppiyar, while dealing with the functional syncretism of cases, says that the case markers will have the same meaning even if they are followed by the negative verbs (TC, 107).²

poruḷṇait tuvvāṇ (TK, 81 : 2)

kaṭaiyuḷ viriyār (AK, 44 : 2)

Cēṇāvaraiyar discusses the occurrence of the negative markers '-ā-' and '-ē-' in the personal verbs.³

(e.g.)

uṇ + φ + ā + f

uṇ + φ + ē + ṇ

Actually the suffixes 'ē-' and 'ā-' in 'uṇṇēṇ' and 'uṇṇār' are not negative markers but are the first and the third personal markers. It would be better to treat that a zero variant occurs here as the negative marker.

V. I. Subramoniam considers 'a-', 'e-' and 'i-' as the three allomorphs of the negative marker 'a-' by segmenting the finite verbs of different persons as follows.⁴

(e.g.) vār + a + a + ũ⁵
 uṇ + e + e + ũ
 uṇ + i + i + r

In the language of PKK, 'ā-' and 'φ-' occur as negative markers.

'ā-'	kaivārā	(EL, 89 : 2)	- verbal participles
	aruḷā	(KYN, 51 : 2)	
	pullā	(IYN, 25 : 4)	
	āṭā	(TMN, 129 : 2)	
	ōṭā	(TMN, 54 : 2)	
			- relative participles
	aṇiyāmai	(TK, 3 : 4)	- verbal nouns
	uṇarāmai	(TKL, 1304 : 1)	
	pularāmai	(AK, 19 : 2)	
	kōṭāmai	(TKL, 115 : 2)	
	collāmai	(TK, 32 : 2)	
'φ'	uraiyēṇ	(KYN, 50 : 1)	- finite verbs
	cellām	(TMN, 77 : 1)	
	kāṇēm	(TMN, 62 : 2)	
	cēṇṇir	(AK, 58 : 2)	

From the segmentation of the verbal forms it is evident that the suffix 'āt-' occurs as a negative marker in the language of Tolkāppiyam and of PKK.⁶

'-āt-'

kūrāti	(NL, 388 : 1)
nāṭāti	(NMK, 27 : 3)
	- finite verbs
amaiyātu	(TP, 649 : 2)
oliyātu	(EL, 38 : 1)
eñcātu	(ATA, 17 : 2)
aṛātu	(TK, 22 : 2)
	- verbal participles
vārāta	(TMN, 101 : 4)
kallāta	(TKL, 397 : 2)
	- relative participles
tērrātavar	(TKL, 187 : 2)
tēyātār	(TKL, 149 : 2)
	- participial nouns

In the language of PKK, '-al-' 'to be not' and '-il-' 'to be not' are found to occur as negative markers.

'-al-'

aṛiyalam	(EL, 10 : 3)
nīnkalar	(TKL, 1216 : 2)
celkalār	(NL, 295 : 2)
ceyyala	(TKL, 1080 : 2)

'-il-'

kaṇṭilam	(CPM, 61 : 4)
aṛikilar	(PM, 290 : 2)

Notes on Negatives :

1. '-ā', '-ē' and '-ō' are listed as interrogatives by Tolkāppiyar (TE, 32).
2. It is evident from this sutra, that the negative verbs may follow the case markers like the affirmative verbs.
3. Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 450.
4. Subramoniam, V.I., 'Negatives', p. 34.
5. In the case of negative finite verbs, while accepting the terminations of finite verbs (-aḷ, -āḷ, -ār, -ir, etc.) as enumerated by Tolkāppiyar, there is no possibility for obtaining an overt form to represent negation. Thus a zero allomorph may be set up in them for negation.
6. V.I. Subramoniam also identifies '-āt-' as a negative marker.

Subramoniam, V.I., 'Negatives', pp. 34,35.

4. Adjectives and Adverbs

4.1. Adjectives :

An adjective is a word that syntactically is in attributive construction with a noun which it precedes but does not agree with the noun in gender or number.¹

Tolkāppiyar does not deal with the adjectives in Tolkāppiyam. Caldwell considers Uriccols in Tamil as adjectives.² Emeneau and Burrow also recognize a very few forms of Uriccols as adjectives in their etymological dictionary. Zvelebil takes the term 'Uriccol' to mean qualifiers.³ It is evident that a few Uriccols occur as adjectives.

kaya (TC, 320)

taṭa (TC, 320)

maḷa (TC, 311)

In ancient Tamil, adjectives are found to occur in the root or stem forms. In the later period, they are formed by suffixing '-a' to the adjectival stems, on the analogy of the adjectival participles.

irm	(PPP, 341)
tiṇ	(AN, 289)
pacum	(AN, 85)

A number of adjectives are found to occur in the language of PKK.

4.1.1. Inherent Adjectives :

karum	(TMA, 16 : 1)
arum	(NL, 34 : 2)
perum	(NL, 4 : 2)
aru	(EL 57 : 2)
ciṛu	(PM, 51 : 4)
neṭum	(ATA, 47 : 1)
pun	(NL, 44 : 2)
nal	(AK, 1 : 4)
taṇ	(NL, 73 : 3)
oṇ	(NL, 102 : 1)
naṛum	(KN, 30 : 3)
tol	(NL, 107 : 1)
nun	(ATA, 27 : 2)
nēr	(KN, 2 : 2)
neṭum	(TMN, 60 : 3)
pacum	(KN, 39 : 2)
kariya	(TMN, 73 : 1)
ciṛiya	(AK, 26 : 2)
periya	(NMK, 8 : 1)
ariya	(TK, 69 : 4)

4.1.2. Derived Adjectives :

tattuvamāṇa	(NMK, 30 : 3)
meyyāṇa	(AK, 100 : 4)

Notes on Adjectives :

1. Relative participles are always followed by nouns and therefore they are also called adjectival participles. But as these forms denote time and action, it is better to consider them as verbs and to exclude them from adjectives.
2. Caldwell, R., CGD, pp. 303-310.
3. Zvelebil, K., 'The Existence of Adverbs in Tamil', p. 45.

4.2. Adverbs :

Adverbs occur syntactically in attributive construction with verbs which they precede and qualify. As far as the formal criterion is concerned, it is hardly possible to find in Tamil any primary adverb roots. However Kamil Zvelebil has proved the existence of adverbs in Tamil.¹ According to him most of the adverbs can be analysed into stem morphemes plus derivational suffixes (*naṇ+i*, *piṇ+a+ku*, etc.).²

Tolkāppiyar does not discuss anything about the adverbs in his treatise,

Among the 120 Uriccols a few forms occur as adverbs.³

tava (TC, 299)

naṇi (TC, 229)

A separate class of words which may be identified as adverbs is found to occur in the language of PKK.

These adverbs can be classified into three sub-groups, viz., time adverbs, place adverbs and manner adverbs.

4.2.1 Time Adverbs :

iṇi (KYN, 45 : 1)

muṇi (IYN, 2 : 2)

piṇ (NL, 5 : 2)

4.2.2. Place Adverbs :

aṇku (AK, 60 : 2)

āṇku (NL, 23 : 2)

4.2.3. Manner Adverbs :

mika (IYN, 1 : 1)

naṇi (PM, 265 : 1)

naṇku (IYN, 2 : 4)

cāla (NL, 34 : 3)

Notes on Adverbs :

1. Zvelebil, K., 'The Existence of Adverbs in Tamil', pp. 44-50.
Zvelebil, K., 'More About Adverbs and Adjectives in Tamil', pp. 281-290.
2. Zvelebil, K., 'More About Adverbs and Adjectives in Tamil', p. 285.
3. Kamil Zvelebil rightly concludes in his paper, "almost all Tamil adverbs are by origin substantives or verbal forms, used as adverbs. However, there are in Tamil a few etyma, not analysable into smaller units of meaning, not analysable in any other classes of words (parts of speech), used in the language since its traceable beginnings as verb qualifiers. These 'true' adverbs denote fundamental conceptions of time and place. As a separate class of words, adverbs are very scarce in Tamil".

Zvelebil, K., 'The Existence of Adverbs in Tamil', p. 49.

5. Itaiccōls

5.1. Itaiccōls Treated in Tolkāppiyam :

5.1.1. Definition of Itaiccōls :

According to Tolkāppiyam, itaiccōls do not occur in isolation and they form part of, or occur with nouns or verbs (TC, 159, 249). Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccīnārkkīṇiyar mention that itaiccōls occur mostly within the words.¹ Teyvaccilaiyār thinks that itaiccōls occur between nouns and verbs.² P.S.S. Sastri identifies itaiccōl as 'pakkaccōl', i.e., as part of the word used at the side of the word.³

5.1.2. Distribution of Itaiccōls :

According to Tolkāppiyam, itaiccōls may be modified in form and one itaiccōl may be followed by another (TC, 251).

(e.g.) varuka tillamma

5.1.3. Semantic Aspect of Itaiccōls :

According to Tolkāppiyam, itaiccōl is a kind of 'col' and it differentiates the meaning of other words (TC, 159' 455). But commentators are of the opinion that itaiccōls do not have meaning of their own.⁴

5.1.4. Sub-classes of Īṭaiccols Enumerated in Tolkāppiyam (TC, 250) :

1. puṇariyal nilaiyiṭaip poruṇilaik kutavuna
(inflectional increments)
2. viṇai ceyal maruṅkiṇ kalamoṭu varuna
(verbal terminations
which occur with tense
markers)
3. vēṛṛumaip poruḷvayin urupākuna
(case markers)
4. acainilaik kiḷaviyākivaruna
(expletive particles)
5. icainiṛaik kiḷaviyākivaruna
(euphonic particles)
6. tattam kuṛippil poruḷ ceykuna
(suggestive particles)
7. oppil vaḷiyāl poruḷ ceykuna
(particles of comparison)

5.1.5. Treatment of Īṭaiccols in Tolkāppiyam :

Of the seven sub-classes of īṭaiccols, the first one is treated in the chapter on case relation sandhi (Urupuppūariyal), the second one in the chapter on verbs (Viṇaiyiyaḷ), the third in the chapters on cases (Vēṛṛumaiyiyaḷ, Vēṛṛumai Mayaṅkiyaḷ and Viḷimarapu) and the last (seventh) in the chapter on similes (Uvamaiyiyaḷ). The remaining three sub-classes (4, 5 & 6) are discussed in the chapter on īṭaiccols (Īṭaiyiyaḷ).

5.1.6. Place of Īṭaiccols in the System of Parts of Speech :

Applying the definition of parts of speech cited by linguists, M. Israel explicitly describes the categories of forms included under īṭaiccols by the grammarians and states that

ītaiccols as a whole do not form a separate part of speech. Further he classifies the seven sub-classes of ītaiccols enumerated in Tolkāppiyam into two major groups, viz., Affixes (the first three sub-classes) and Particles (the remaining four sub-classes).⁵

In the present study the first three sub-classes have already been dealt with in the preceding chapters (2.7, 3.1.1 & 2.6).

5.2. *ītaiccols Enumerated in Tolkāppiyam and Their Occurrence in the Language of PKK :*

Tolkāppiyar enumerates forty seven 'ītaiccols' in the chapter 'ītaiyiyal'.

1. *maṇ* 'what is past', 'what is to come' and 'what is left understood' (TC, 252)⁶

In the language of PKK, this form occurs with nouns and verbs.

ceṅkōṭu pāytumē enṛāl maṇ (NL, 372 : 2)

- what is past

ūṭuka maṇṇō oḷiyīlai yāmirappa

nīṭuka maṇṇō virā (TKL, 1329)

- what is to come

uḷḷiyatu eytal eḷitu maṇ (TKL, 540 : 1)

- what is left understood

'*maṇ*' denotes a few other meanings also.

abundance

nīṛai ariyar maṇ aḷiyar (TKL, 138 : 1)

existence

maṇṇuyir (ATE, 14 : 2)⁷

king

tēṛāta maṇ kiḷarnta (TMN, 53 : 3)

In the language of PKK, 'man' occurs as an expletive particle also.

kanaviṇum innātu mannō (TKL, 819 : 1)

2. til 'desire', 'time' and 'what is left understood' (TC, 253)

This form is not found to occur in the language of PKK.

3. koṇ 'fear', 'uselessness', 'time' and 'greatness' (TC, 254)

In the language of PKK, 'koṇ' is found to denote the meaning 'uselessness' occurring before nouns and verbs.

koṇṇē vekulī perukkalum (TK, 38 : 2)

koṇṇē vekulāṇ (EL, 20 : 2)

In a single instance this form is found to occur as a noun in the language of PKK.

koṇṇālar (NL, 243 : 4)^a

4. um 'incompletion', 'superiority', 'doubt', 'negation', 'completion', 'number', 'definiteness' and 'that which is to come' (TC, 255)

This form occurs after nouns and verbs in the language of PKK.

piṇavum tama pōr ceyiṇ (TKL, 120 : 2)

- incompletion

pakaiyēyum pātu perum (NL, 187 : 4)

- superiority

eṇṇāti eṇpārum il (ATE, 16 : 4)

- doubt

naṇṇē tariṇum naṭuvikantām ākkam (TKL, 113:1)

- negation

iru kaiyum nillā vaḷai (KYN, 55 : 4)

kātu iraṇṭum illātāl (CPM, 4 : 1)

- completion

pāvaiyum pantum pavalavāyp painkiliyum
māyamum onrum ivai ninaiyāl (ATA, 33 : 1-2)

- number

malku tiraiya kaṭaṭkōṭṭu iruppinum
vallūr ruvaril kiṇaṭṭiṇkaṭ ceṇṇuṇpar (NL, 263 : 1-2)

- definiteness

iḷivu talai varinūm iṇpattiṇ pakkam
.....iruntaikka (NL, 79 : 1-2)

- that which is to come

According to the commentators of PKK, 'um' denotes a few more meanings also.

superiority (uyarvuc ciṇappu)⁹

neṭuṇkaṭalum taṇṇirmai kuṇrum (TKL, 17 : 1)

inferiority (iḷivuc ciṇappu)

pakaiyēyum pāṭu peṇum (NL, 187 : 1)

incompletion-past (iṇratu taḷuviyatu)

eccōrvum aṇipa (MMK, 18 : 1)

incompletion-non-past (etiṇratu taḷuviyatu)

kallātān oṭṭam kaḷiya naṇṇāyinum

koḷlār aṇivuṭaiyār (TKL, 404)

expletive (acai)

ennaṇṇi koṇṇārkkum uyvuṇṭām (TKL, 110 : 1)

sound filler (icainiṇai)

peṇṇirum vālārō maṇṇu (NL, 194 : 4)

The syntactical constructions in which 'um' occurs, are not discussed here (TC, 283, 285, 287, 291, 293).

5. 5 'exclusion', 'question', 'negation', 'that which is left understood', 'definiteness' and 'superiority' (TC, 256)

'ō' occurs with nouns and verbs in the language of PKK.

ivaḷō tavaṛiḷaḷ (ATE, 7 : 1)

kāmam viṭuvonṛō (TKL, 1247 : 1)

- exclusion

illaiyō (ATA, 3 : 3)

maruntō (TKL, 968 : 1,

- question

ariyarō (NL, 77 : 2)

parinturaikka vēṇṭumō (ATA, 23 : 2)¹⁰

- negation

celpavō cintanaiyumākāta neṇceriyum

velpavō ceṇṛāy viṇaimuṭiya-nallāy (TMN, 83:1-2)

- that which is left understood

onṛunṭō (ATE, 8 : 4)

- definiteness

elvaḷaiyō (TMA, 18 : 3)

- superiority

In the language of PKK, the commentators of the verses assign a few more meanings also for the itaicol 'ō'.

expletive (acai)

eṇkolō cēkku miṭam (ATA, 40 : 4)

ākkam evaṇō uyirkku (TKL, 31 : 2)

sound filler (icainiṛai)

niṇṇalatu illaiyāl iyāyō (ATE, 6 : 5)

sorrowness (irakkam)

kauvaiyō (TMA, 11 : 1)

uraikkō (ATE, 48 : 2)

wonder (viyappu)

eṇintu eḷuvār taṅkai iruntaṭaṅkaṇ kaṇṭu

maṇintu uḷalvāṇō immalai (TMN, 28 : 3-4)

doubt (aiyam)

..... neṭuṅkaḷic cērppar
kuraiyēnō paṭṭa paḷi (KYN, 52 : 3-4)

vocative (viḷi)

tōḷiyō (TMN, 97 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, the itaiccol 'ō' denoting 'superiority' may be lengthened in its 'mātrās' (TC, 261).

ōo uvaman uḷaḷvinri ottatē (KVN, 36 : 1)

6. ē 'certainty', 'question', 'exclusion', 'number' and 'final expletive syllable' (TC, 254)

In the language of PKK, the form 'ē' occurs with nouns and verbs.

vantārkke yām enpār (TMN, 39 : 2)

ceṅkōṭu pāytumē enṛāl (NL, 372 : 2)
- certainty

akattārē vālvār (NL, 31 : 1)
- question

..... kānāṭaṇ kēṇmaiye
ārvattiṇāra muyaṅkiṇēṇ (ATE, 13 : 2-3)

vakai terivāṇ kaṇṇē ulaku (TKL, 27 : 2)
- exclusion

māṇṭamaintu ārāyṇta mativaṇappē vaṇkaṇmai
āṇṭamainta kalviyē (EL, 26 : 1-2)
- number

payanil polutāk kaḷipparē (NL, 162 : 3)
- final expletive syllable

'-ē' ending mārukōleccam referred to in Tolkāppiyam is same as that of the itaiccol '-ē' expressing the negative meaning (TE, 275).

naṇṛē kāṇ (NL, 24 : 2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'ē' can occur both as an expletive and as a sound filler (TC, 272).

ottanām yāmē uḷam (TMN, 33 : 3)

keṭuppatūum keṭṭārkkuc cārvāy māṭṭāṅkē
eṭuppatūum ellām maḷai (TKL, 15)
- expletive (acai)

eṇṇum poruḷ iṇitē (ATE, 1 : 1)
- sound filler (icainiṇai)

According to Tolkāppiyam, the itaicol 'ē' denoting 'certainty' may be lengthened in 'mātrās' (TC, 261).

Such a form lengthened in mātrās is not found in the language of PKK.

Tolkāppiyar states that the itaicol 'ē' used at the end of a stanza may also have one mātrā (TC, 286).

payaṇil poḷutāk kaḷipparē (-e) (NL, 162 : 3)

According to Tolkāppiyam, the itaicol 'ē' denoting number, used at intervals though not used incessantly may be taken to denote number (TC, 288).

māṇṭamaintā rāynta mati vaṇappē vaṇkaṇmai
āṇṭamainta kalviyē collāṇṇal (EL, 26 : 1-2)

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'ē' denoting number is not used without being followed by a numeral to denote the total number (TC, 290).

In the language of PKK, examples are found where 'ē' is not followed by numeral denoting totality.

māṇṭamaintā rāynta mativaṇappē vaṇkaṇmai
āṇṭamainta kalviyē collāṇṇal - pūṇṭamainta
kālamaṇṇal karutuṅkāḷ tūṭuvarkku
ñālamaṇṇa pukaḷ (EL, 26)

In the language of PKK, itaicol 'ē' denotes a few other meanings also.

doupt (aiyam)

eṇṇē ikkāḷaṇ iṭu ōrāṇ (EL, 37 : 3)

sorrowness (irakkam)

mērkāṇam iṇmaiyaṇ mēvātu oḷintālē (NL, 372:3)

kāmanēṇi paṭarum kaṇṇiṇārkkku illaiyē (NL, 13:3)

superiority (cirappu)

tāṇē maṭintirāt tāḷāṇmai muṇ iṇitē (IYN, 32 : 2)

vocative (viḷi)

neñcē (TKL, 1112 : 1)

7. eṇa 'verb', 'suggestion', 'sound', 'quality', 'number' and 'noun' (TC, 258)

Ṭaicol 'eṇa' occurs after nouns and verbs in the language of PKK.

aruḷāṇ eṇa (ATE, 60 : 3)

nilaiyā eṇa uṇarntār (NL, 182 : 3)

- verb

polḷeṇe āṇkē puṇam ōrār (TKL, 487 : 1)

- suggestion

katum eṇa (TKL, 69 : 2)

olḷeṇa ōṭum (KYN, 7 : 3)

- sound

cāṇṇōṇ eṇak kēṭṭa tāy (TKL, 69 : 2)

iṇmai eṇa oru pāvi (TKL, 1042 : 1)

- quality

pakai pāvam accam paḷi eṇa nāṇkum

(TKL, 146 : 1)

maṇam māṇam māṇṭavalic celavu tēṇṇam

eṇa nāṇkē ēmam paṭaikkku (TKL, 766)

- number

āṇmai eṇak karuti (ATE, 61 : 3)

aḷukkāru eṇa oru pāvi (TKL, 168 : 1)

- noun

According to Tolkāppiyam, the itaiccōl 'ēṇa' denoting number may also be followed by a numeral denoting totality (TC, 287).

pakai pāvam accam paḷi ēṇa nāṇkum (TKL, 146:1)

Tolkāppiyar states that the form 'ēṇa' when used in the sense of 'and', though it occurs once, may be taken to mean with others also (TC, 294).

mey vāy kaṇ mūkkuc cevi ēṇap pērperra
aivāya vēṭkai (NL, 59 : 1-2)

8. ēṇru 'verb', 'suggestion', 'sound', 'quality', 'number' and 'noun' (TC, 259)

This form occurs after nouns and verbs in the language of PKK.

nī varuti ēṇru (ATA, 17:3)

errenru (TKL, 275 : 1)

- verb

nirayattu viḷvar kol ēṇru (NL, 58 : 1)

- suggestion

ollenru olikkum (ATA, 28 : 1)

- sound

pētaiyān ēṇru uṇarum (ATE, 55 : 3)

nanrenru tēri (ATE, 9 : 3)

- quality

purpāinkūḷ āppi cuṭalai vaḷittīrtam

tēvakula niḷalāṇilai veṇṇpali ēṇru

īraintin kaṇṇum (AK, 32 : 1-3)

- number

amiḷtam ēṇru (TK, 11 : 1)

- noun

Tolkāppiyar does not mention that the occurrence of 'enru' referring to number will be followed by a numeral denoting totality.

It is worthy of notice that in the language of PKK 'enru' is being followed by a numeral denoting totality.

purpainkūl
 venpali enru
 iraintin kaṇṇum (AK, 32 : 1-3)

Tolkāppiyar states that the form 'enru' when used in the sense of 'and' though it occurs once, may be taken to mean with others also (TC, 294).

vinai pakai enrirantiṇ eccam (TKL, 674:1)

9. marṛu 'change of vinai' and 'expletive' (TC, 262)

In the language of PKK, iṭaiccol 'marṛu' occurs before or after nouns and verbs.

iṭṭalum tuṇṇam marṛu iṭṭiya oṇporulai
 (NL, 280 : 1)

tuli viliṇ allāl marṛānkē (TKL, 16 : 1)
 - change of vinai

nī eytutal vāyāl marṛu entāy (TMN, 46 : 2)
 maṅkalam eṇṇa maṇai māṭci marṛatan
 naṅkalam naṇmakkaṭ pēru (TKL, : 60)
 - expletive

'marṛu' is found to occur with other iṭaiccol also.

kalappaṭuṇ kūṭuṅkol marṛu (KYN, 40 : 4)

The variant form 'marṛai' is also found to occur in PKK.

..... marṛaip
 peruṇcelvam eytiyakkāl (NL, 272 : 1-2)

10. **erru** 'what is past' (TC, 263)¹¹

In the language of PKK, this form does not denote the meaning 'what is past', whereas it is found to denote the meaning 'interrogation'.

errenru iraṅkuvatu ceyyarka (TKL, 655 : 1)

erronrum illā viṭattu (NL, 150 : 1)

In a single instance it occurs as a particle expressing exclamation of 'pity' or 'wonder' in the language of PKK.

terra uṇarār poruḷkalai-errē

arivilāṇ meyttalaip pātu (PM, 132 : 2-3)

11. **maṛṛaiyatu** 'object of the same class as those which have been excluded' (TC, 264)

In the language of PKK, this form does not occur whereas the noun forms 'maṛṛaiya' and 'maṛṛaiyavai' derived from 'maṛru' are found.

maṛṛaiya ellām piṛa (TKL, 661 : 2)

māṭalla maṛṛaiyavai (TKL, 400 : 2)

12. **maṇṇa** 'certainty' (TC, 265)

This form occurs before verbs functioning as a verbaliser in the language of PKK.

māntalīr mēṇiyāy maṇṇa viṭuvaṇō (ATA, 45 : 3)

pala collak kāmuruvar maṇṇa mācaṛra

cila collal tēṇṇātavar (TKL, 649)

13. **taṇcam** 'the state of being easy' (TC, 266)

This form occurs before nouns and verbs in the language of PKK.

taṇcam tamaralla ētilār (TKL, 1300 : 1)

taṇcam tamiyaṇāy ceṇṇēṇ (TMN, 9 : 2)

14. **antil** 'that place' and 'expletive' (TC, 267)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

15. kol 'doubt' (TC, 261)

In the language of PKK, 'kol' occurs after nouns and verbs.

kāṇārkol (TKL, 1220 : 2)

eṇṇaikol tōli (ATE, 56 : 1)

'kol' occurs as an expletive particle also in the language of PKK.

kāṇap puṇarppatukol neṇcu (ATE, 30 : 4)

In a few instances 'ō' is added to 'kol' where it expresses an interrogative meaning.

vittum iṭal vēṇṭum kollō (TKL, 85 : 1)

evāṅkolō (KN, 33 : 3)

'kōl' a variant of 'kol' is also found to occur in the language of PKK.¹²

.....teruḷilār celvār^{kōl}

ūriṭu kauvai oḷittu (ATE, 33 : 3-4)

16. el 'brightness' (TC, 269)

This form occurs before nouns as a noun-qualifier.

elvaḷaiyai (TMN, 90 : 3)

'el' denoting the meaning 'day' and 'night' occurs as a noun in the language of PKK.

elluru pōltil (KYN, 7 : 2)

- day

ellil piṇaṅkaṭai niṇṇolukuvāṇ (TK, 19 : 1)

- night

17. ār

According to Tolkāppiyam, the iyarpeyar to which the itaiccol 'ār' is suffixed takes the rational plural predicate (TC, 270).

No example for the above statement is found in the language of PKK.

Tolkāppiyar says that 'ār' can occur as an expletive also (TC, 271).

In the language of PKK, 'ār' does not occur as an expletive particle.

18. *kurai* 'sound filler' and 'expletive' (TC, 272)

In the language of PKK, this form is found to occur as a sound filler before a noun.

nalkuravēṇṇum iṭumpaiyul palkurait
tunpaṅkaḷ cenṇu paṭum (TKL, 1045)

19. *mā*

Tolkāppiyar states that 'mā' occurs as an expletive with optative significance (TC, 273).

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

20-25. *miyā*, *ika*, *mō*, *matī*, *ikum* and *cin*

Tolkāppiyar enumerates 'miyā', 'ika', 'mō', 'matī', 'ikum' and 'cin' as expletives which are used with verbs of second person (TC, 274).

The above six particles are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

26. *amma*

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'amma' is used to invite the attention of the listener (TC, 276).

This form occurs only in a single instance in the language of PKK.

kaṇ kayal eṇṇum karuttiṇāl kātali
piṇ cenṇatu amma ciṇu ciral (NL, 395:1-2)

In the chapter Viḷimarapu Tolkāppiyar states that the lengthened form of the expletive particle 'amma' though it is not a kinship term, may be considered a form taking the vocative case (TC, 153).

piṛappu iṇṇā eṇṇu uṇarum pēraṇivīnārai
uṇap puṇarka ammā eṇ neṇcu (NL, 173 : 3-4)

27. āṇka 'expletive (in conversation)' (TC, 277)

The iṭaiccol 'āṇka' which is said to occur as an expletive in Tolkāppiyam is not found in the language of PKK.

28. pōlum 'expletive (in conversation)' (TC, 288)

taṇantamai cāla aṇivippa pōlum
maṇanta nāl vīṇkiya tōl (TKL, 1233)
aḷalpōlum mālaikkut tūtāki yāyan
kuḷal pōlum koḷlum paṭai (TKL, 1228)

29-35. yā, kā, piṛa, piṛakku, arō, pō and mātu

According to Tolkāppiyam 'yā', 'kā', 'piṛa', 'piṛakku', 'arō', 'pō' and 'mātu' are expletive particles (TC, 289).

Of these expletive particles three particles namely 'piṛa', 'arō' and 'mātu' occur in the language of PKK.

piṛa

'piṛa' occurs before or after nouns in the language of PKK.

uḷḷuvaṇ maṇ yāṇuraippa tavartiraṁāṇ
kaḷḷam piṛavō pacappu (TKL, 1184)

In the language of PKK, 'piṛa' occurs as a noun also.

piṛavum tama pōl ceyiṇ (TKL, 120 : 2)
nalla piṛavum uṇarvārai (PM, 104 : 2)

arō

The iṭaiccol 'arō' occurs after nouns and verbs and indicates the meaning 'sorrowness' in the language of PKK.

tūriṇ tiṇṇaṇṇa takaittu (NL, 138 : 3)

aritu arō tēṇṇam arō (TKL, 1153 : 1)

mātu

'mātu' is found to occur in a single instance after a noun in the language of PKK.

uḷi nīrar mātō kayavar (NL, 355 : 2)

36-38. āka, ākal, and enpatu 'expletives' (pirivil acainilai)
(TC, 280)¹⁸

In the language of PKK, these forms occur after nouns and verbs referring to the meanings of the preceding forms.

āka

iravalar kaṇṇāka ivār āvāka (NL, 279 : 1)

pāyntaruvi āṭiṇēm āka (ATA, 15 : 3)

vācam uṭaittāka (KYN, 2 : 2)

ākal

maṇaṇ aṇcāṇ ākal iṇitu (IYN, 17 : 4)

enpatu

irā vāral enpatu urai (ATE, 14 : 4)

pollātatu enpatu nī poruntiṇāy (TMN, 88 : 2)

39. au

According to Tolkāppiyam, 'au' may occur as an expletive particle (TC, 281).

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

40. **naṇṇē** 'suggestive (particle)' (TC, 232)

ceṇṇē eṇipa orukāl ciṇuvarai
niṇṇē eṇipa paṇaiyinaṇi-naṇṇē kāṇ (NL, 24 : 1-2)

41. **aṇṇē** 'suggestive (particle)' (TC, 282)

In the language of PKK, this form denotes interrogation occurring only in a single instance.¹⁴

allaṇ paṭṭāṇṇātu aluta kaṇṇiṇ aṇṇē
celvattait tēykkum paṭai (TKL, 555)

42. **antō** 'suggestive (particle)' (TC, 282)

This form occurs only in a single instance suggesting the meaning 'sorrowness' in the language of PKK.

.....melviraṇi
nāl vaittu naṇkuṇṇam eṇṇuṇkol antō taṇ
tōl vaittaṇaimēṇ kiṭantu (NL, 394 : 2-4)

43. **aṇṇō** 'suggestive (particle)' (TC, 282)

'aṇṇō' denotes the suggestive meaning 'sorrowness' in the language of PKK.

aṇṇiṇ maṇṇu aṇṇō (ATA, 20 : 2)
koṇṇē kaṇṇippar tam vāṇṇai aṇṇō (NL, 330:2)

- 44-45. **eṇā** and **eṇṇā** 'number' (TC, 289)

These forms are not found in the language of PKK.

46. **untu** **um** > **untu** (TC, 292)

This termination is not found to occur in the language of PKK.

47. **oṭu**

Tolkāppiyar states that the form 'oṭu' when used in the

sense of 'and' though it occurs once it may be taken to mean with others also (TC, 294).

piṇi piṛappu mūppoṭu cākkāṭu tuṇṇam
(EL, 24 : 1)

'ōṭu' a variant of 'oṭu' also occurs in the language of PKK.

vaṇkaṇ kuṭikāttal kaṇṇarital ālviṇaiyōṭu
aintuṭaṇ māṇṭa tamaiccu (TKL, 632)

Tolkāppiyar mentions a few more expletives in Eccaviyal.

According to Tolkāppiyam, the words 'kaṇṭir', 'koṇṭir', 'ceṇṇratu' and 'pōyirru', when followed by the interrogative are treated as expletive particles (acaiccol) (TC, 425).

This sutra (TC, 425) follows the one that deals with 'aṭukku' (duplication) and hence this is also interpreted by the commentators to be dealing with 'aṭukku'.

In the language of PKK, the form 'kaṇṭir' only is found to occur as an expletive particle without taking the interrogative forms.

oṇṇpatiṇmar kaṇṭir uraikkuṇkāl meyyāṇa
ācāram viṭu perṇār (AK, 100 : 4-5)

According to Tolkāppiyam, the words 'kēṭṭai', 'niṇṇrai', 'kāttai' and 'kaṇṭai' are expletive particles, when they do not denote the second person singular (TC, 426).

These forms are not found in the language of PKK.

It is evident that a number of itaiccōls enumerated in Itaiyiyal denote different or some other meanings in addition to those enumerated in Tolkāppiyam.

Particles of Comparison :

Tolkāppiyar, identifying the particles of comparison as 'oppil valiyār poruļceykuna' in *Iṭaiyiyal* (TC, 250), enumerates thirty eight forms for this category in *Uvamaiyiyal* (TP, 282, 283, 287).¹⁵

1. **anna** (TP, 282)

paḷaviṇaiyum anna takaittē (NL, 101:3)

koṇṇanna innā ceyiṇum (TKL, 109:1)

2. **āṅka** (TP, 282)

In the language of PKK, 'āṅka' occurs only in a single instance.

māṇ cērnta nōkkiṇāy āṅka vaṇakkākum

tāṇ ceyta pāvai taṇakku (PM, 8:3-4)

3. **iṛappa** (TP, 282)

In the language of PKK, this form does not occur as a particle of comparison but it is found to occur as a verb.

iṛappap perukiya kaṇṇum (AK, 85:2)

4. **uṛaḷa** (TP, 282)

'uṛaḷa' occurs only as a verb in the language of PKK.

oḷḷitaḷt tāmaraip pōtu uṛaḷum (ATE, 48:1)

5. **enna** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur as a particle of comparison but it is found to occur as a verb in the language of PKK.

tāy annaṇ ennat takum (EL, 6:4)

6. enra (TP, 282)

In the language of PKK, 'enra' occurs as a word connector or as a verb.

tavaci enra mūvar (TK, 13:3)

-connector

viṭuka enra pōltu (NMK, 77:3)

-verb

7. eḷla (TP, 282)

In the language of PKK, this form does not occur as a particle of comparison but it is found to occur as a verb.

ellārum eḷlap paṭum (TKL, 191:2)

8. ēyppa (TP, 282)

alavaṇ kaṇ ēyppa arumpīṇra (KN, 39:1)

mel eyīru ēyppa vaṭintu (KN, 21:4)

9. oppa (TP, 282)

viḷaṅkāt tuṇai yiḷintu nīrppōkkum oppa

viḷaivilāp peṇṭir tōḷ cērvum (TK, 5:1-2)

10-11. oṇra and oṭuṅka (TP, 282)

These forms do not occur in the language of PKK.

12. oṭṭa (TP, 282)

ulakattōṭu oṭṭa oḷukal palakaṇṇum

kallār aṇivilār (TKL, 140)

13. ōṭa (TP, 282)

This form does not occur as a particle of comparison

but it is found to occur as a verb.

kaṭāavuka pāka tēr kār ōṭakkantē (KN, 32:1)

14. **kaḷḷa** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

15. **kaṭuppa** (TP, 282)

In the language of PKK, this form does not occur as a particle of comparison but it occurs as a verb

kaṭuppat talai kīrik kālum ilantu (PM, 146:1)

16. **kāyppa** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

17. **takaiya** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur as a particle of comparison but it is found to occur as an appellative noun in the language of PKK.

pavaḷam citariyavai pōlak kōpam

tavaḷum takaiya puṇavu (KN, 5:4)

18. **naḷiya** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

19. **naṭuṅka** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur as a particle of comparison but it is found to occur as a verb.

pullunar illār naṭuṅka (ATE, 17:3)

20. **nanta** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

21. **nāṭa** (TP, 282)

In the language of PKK, 'nāṭa' does not occur as a particle of comparison but it occurs as a verb.

nāṭa vaḷam tarunāṭu (TKL, 739:1)

22. **nikarppa** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

The form 'nikar' occurs as a noun with the meaning 'similarity' in the language of PKK.

nikaril kuravar (AK, 16:2)

23. **pulla** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur as a particle of comparison but it is found to occur as a verb in the language of PKK.

pullap puṭai peyarāk kaṅkulum (TK, 44:2)

24. **puraiya** (TP, 282)

In the language of PKK, 'puraiya' does not occur as a particle of comparison but it is found to occur as a verb.

puraiyak kalantavar kaṇṇum (PM, 227:1)

The form 'purai' occurs as a particle of comparison in the language of PKK.

kayal purai uṇkaṇ kaṇaṅkuḷāy (PM, 163:3)

25. **pōla** (TP, 282)

neruṅku vāṇ pōla nekiḷntu (TMN, 41:4)

orumai makaḷirē pōlap perumaiyum
(TKL, 974 : 1)

The form 'pōl' is also found to occur as a particle of comparison.

oruvarai pōl eṅkum palvaraiyum (TMN, 13:1)

26. **poruva** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

27. **poṟpa** (TP, 282)

In the language of PKK, this form does not occur as a particle of comparison but it occurs as a noun or as a verb.

poṟpavum pollātaṇavum (PM, 82:1)

-noun

poruntinār mēni pōl poṟpa (ATA, 8:2)

- verb

28-30. **maruḷa, matippa and maṟuppa** (TP, 282)

'maruḷa', 'matippa' and 'maṟuppa' do not occur in the language of PKK.

31. **māṇa** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur as it is, whereas the form 'māṇum' derived from 'māṇa' is found to occur in the language of PKK as a relative participle.

tam nalam māṇum aṟiviṇavar (PM, 223:2)

32. **māṟṟa** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur as a particle of comparison but it is found to occur as a verb.

maṭi āṇmai māṟṟak keṭum (TKL, 609:2)

33. **viyappa** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur as a particle of comparison but it is found to occur as a verb.

viḷaintoruvar tammai viyappa oruvar
(NL, 339:2)

34. **viḷaiya** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

35. **vīla** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur as a particle of comparison but it is found to occur as a verb.

toṭiyōṭi vīlat turantu (ATA, 36:4)

36. **vella** (TP, 282)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

37. **nōkka** (TP, 283)

This form does not occur as a particle but it occurs as a verb.

nōkkak kuḷaiyum viruntu (TKL, 90 : 2)

38. **nēra** (TP, 287)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

It may be worthy of notice that in the language of PKK, only a few particles of comparison enumerated by Tolkāppiyar occur as particles denoting comparison, whereas the remaining forms occur as nouns or verbs.

In the language of PKK, the particles of comparison enumerated by Tolkāppiyar resemble the non-finite verbs in form and function.¹⁶ A few of them are capable of being inflected for tense (pōṇṇāṇ-KYN, 46 : 2; oppār - AK, 31 : 2, etc.).

It is indeed a problem to decide whether these forms are real particles or a type of non-finite verbs. This requires further study and investigation. A few more forms which may be treated under the category of particles which is separated as a class of stems in this study.

5.3. Particles that Are Not Enumerated but Are Found to Occur in the Language of Tolkāppiyam and in PKK :

1. ākalāṇ ‘connector’

paṇimoli iyalpākalāṇ (TP, 172 : 3)

tānkaṛku aritākalāṇ (AK, 65 : 3)

2. āṅku ‘expletive’

āṅku nāṅkē molippuṇar iyalpē (TE, 108 : 9)

ūṭaliṇ uṇṭu āṅku ōrtuṇpam puṇarvatu
(TKL, 1307 : 1)

3. āyiṇ ‘connector’

uyartiṇai āyiṇ (TE, 190 : 1)

ciṇṇitu āyiṇum (NL, 38 : 3)

4. āṇa ‘connector’

akāk kālaiyāṇa (TC, 40 : 3)

tattuvamāṇa neṇi paṭarum (NMK, 30 : 3)

5. āṇum ‘connector’

uṭamaiyāṇum (TC, 213 : 1)

eṇṇāṇum (NL, 5 : 1)

6. eṇiṇ ‘connector’

illeṇiṇ (TC, 35 : 1)

kūḷeṇiṇ (NL, 1 : 3)

7. *tām* 'emphatic particle'

avaitām kurriyalikaram (TE, 2 : 1)

..... ilintavai

tām kalanta neñciṇārkkū (NL, 259 : 2-3)

8. *tāṇ* 'emphatic particle'

..... ikāra pakaram

tāṇ mikat tōṇri (TE, 233 : 1)

... uṇarcci tāṇ

naṭpāṇ kiḷamai tarum (TKL, 785)

9. *torum* 'expletive'

tiṇaitorum mariiya (TP, 22 : 2)

nātorum nāṭu keṭum (TKL, 553 : 2)

5.4. Particles Found Only in the Language of PKK :

1. *aṅku* 'expletive'

āṇravinta mūtta viḷumiyār tammōṭu aṅku

ōrāṇu cellumiṭattu (AK, 60 : 2-3)

2. *atu* 'expletive'

tiṇamatu tiṇpenṭir toḷil (CPM, 25 : 4)

3. *ākavē* 'connector'

varaivāy nī ākavē vā (TMN, 43 : 3)

4. *ātalāl* 'connector'

aṇṇariyum ātalāl vārātu alar oḷiya (TMN, 37 : 3)

5. *āti* 'expletive'

pūvāti vaṇṭu tērntu uṅkuḷalāy (EL, 32 : 3)

6. āyil 'connector'

cuvarkkattu uḷarāyil cūl (TMN, 62 : 4)

7. āl 'expletive'

cēvalum taṇṇarukil cēkkumāl (ATA, 41 : 3)

8. āṇ 'expletive'

orutalaiyāṇ vantuṟūm (TK, 18 : 1)

9. āṇāl 'connector'

mīp pōrvai māṭcittu uṭampāṇāl (NL, 42 : 2)

10. iktō 'suggestive particle'

ceṇṇār varuvar ceṇitoṭṭi kār iktō (ATA, 23:1)

11. itō 'suggestive particle'

..... oṇṭārāṇ itō

kūṭalaṇaiya varavu (KYN, 60:3-4)

12. itō 'suggestive particle'

iyaṇkeyil eytavan tār pūppa itō

mayaṇki valaṇ ēruṇkār (ATA, 1:2-4)

13. ela 'vocative'

ela eṇṇu (TMA, 10:2)

14. eṇ 'connector'

ollen oli puṇalūraṇ (ATA, 29:1)

15. ēyum 'connector'

vilaṇkēyum tammoṭu uṭaṇuṟaital mēvum

(PM, 122:1)

16. ēl 'connector'

ēṇḷitu cēvakaṇēl (CPM, 89:2)

17. ēlāy 'vocative'

en kēṭṭiyēlāy (TMN, 135:1)

18. ēṇum 'connector'

kaḷunīruḷ kār aṭakēṇum (NL, 217:1)

19. ai 'expletive'

irappārai illāyiṇ (TKL, 1058:1)

20. aiya 'vocative'

aiya kēḷ (NL, 350:2)

21. ōrum 'expletive'

kūreyiṟu iṇa kuruntu arumpa ōrum
varuvar naṅkāṭalar (KYN, 25:2-3)

22. kāṇ 'expletive'

.....nōy kaḷaintār peruñ celvam
kāṇ iytṭu vāḷvar kalantu (EL, 55:3-4)

23. kāṇāy 'expletive'

kāṇiṟ kaṭaip paṭṭāṇ enṟu ikaḷār kāṇāy
avaṇ tunaiyā āṟu pōyarrē (NL, 136:2-3)

24. kāṟum 'expletive'

iṇṟukāṟum yām kaṇṭilam (CPM, 61:4)

25. tāṇ 'expletive'

aṟṟamē maṟaikkum perumai ciṟumaitāṇ
kuṟṟamē kūṟiviṭum (TKL, 980)

26. toṟu 'expletive'

nātoṟu nāṭi (TKL, 553:1)

27. *tōru* 'expletive'

tārāttōru āyntu (TMN, 139:3)

28. *tōrum* 'expletive'

nāṭōrum nātu (TKL, 520 1)

29. *vālā* 'expletive'

en vālā enri (TMN, 99:2)

Particles identified as connectors are generally adverbial participles in form ¹⁷. The particles listed above can be sub-grouped under the following five categories: 1. expletive particles 2. suggestive particles 3. emphatic particles 4. connectors and 5. vocatives.

A few particles of comparison which are not enumerated in *Tolkāppiyam* are also found to occur in the language of PKK.

1. *iṇṇa*

maṇiyum poṇṇum cāntamum mālaiyum iṇṇa
aṇi ellām āṭaiyiṇ piṇ (PM, 271:3-4)

2. *iṇai*

naṇuntātu iṇai kāla nīlam (TMA, 32:2)

3. *āṅku*

muttēr muṇvalār col iṇitu āṅku iṇitē
(IYN, 1:3)

4. *ūṅku*

ataṇiṇ ūṅku illai uyirkku (TKL, 122 : 2)

5. *ēr*

muttu ēr muṇvalār (IYN, 1:3)

6. *otta*

pāl otta vellaruvi (TMN, 19 : 1)

7. *cērnta*

māṇ cērnta nōkkiṇāy (PM, 8:3)

8. *nēr*

poṇ nēr nīrattāy (KYN, 26:3)

Notes on Itaiccōls :

1. Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 249.
Nac., A Commentary on TC, 251.
2. Tey., A Commentary on TC, 245.
3. Subrahmanya Sastri, P.S., A Commentary on TC, 249.
4. Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 249.
Nac., A Commentary on TC, 251.
5. Israel, M., TMT, p. 257.
6. Words or phrases within quotations refer to the meanings of the particular 'itaiccol' mentioned by Tolkāppiyar.
7. The form 'maṇ' while denoting the meanings 'existence' and 'king' occurs as a noun-qualifier and as a noun respectively.
8. koṇṇālar is derived from the form 'koṇ'.
9. The commentators classify the meaning superiority (ciṇṇappu) connotated by the particle '-um' into two types, viz., superiority (uyarvuc ciṇṇappu) and inferiority (ilivuc ciṇṇappu).
10. mārukōl eccam referred to in Tolkāppiyam is not different from the negative aspect of itaiccol 'ō' (TE, 290).
11. erṇu occurs as a noun in the language of PKK.
erṇirku (TKL, 1080 : 1)
erṇuḷḷum (NMK, 138 : 2)
12. Occurrence of 'kōl' may be an error committed by the copyist.

13. Commentators interpret the phrase 'pirivilacainilai' as an expletive which occurs in duplicataion. Naccinārkkiniyar refers to 'pirivilacainilai' as that which depends upon the preceding word and that which referring to its meaning. Thus it may be interpreted to serve as quotative. These forms do not occur in duplication in literature.
14. The form 'aṇṇē' is also found to occur as an adverb in the language of PKK.

aimpūtam aṇṇē keṭum (AK, 15 : 3)

15. Tolkāppiyar classifies the similes into four kinds, viz.,
1. Viṇai Uvamai (simile of action), 2. Payaṇ Uvamai (simile of effect), 3. Mey Uvamai (simile of form or shape) and 4. Uru Uvamai (simile of colour) (TP, 272).
16. Like many of the non-finite verbs these forms have the termination -a, which may be identified with non-finite marker. Besides, except a very few forms (anna, āṇka, etc.) all the forms are formed from verbal roots, i. e., their derivation can be traced back to the verbal roots. These forms occur in attributive construction with nouns or verbs, like the non-finite verbs.

Israel, M., TMT, p. 275.

17. According to the definition of Hockett, they can be identified as 'impure markers'.

Hockett, C.F., A Course in Modern Linguistics,

pp. 192, 197, 214.

6. Uriccols

6.1. Characteristics of 'Uriccol' According to Tolkāppiyam :

Tolkāppiyar says that uriccol originates from sound, suggestion or quality and that its form may be modified in nouns and verbs (TC, 297). Further he mentions that uriccol forms part of, or occurs with nouns and verbs (TC, 159) and hence he treats it as a secondary part of speech (TC, 158).

In Eluttatikāram he identifies uriccols by the term *kuṛaiccorkilavi* 'defective words' (TE, 482).

6.1.1. Uriccol and Meaning :¹

With regard to the meaning of uriccols, Tolkāppiyar says that one uriccol may have many meanings and many of them may have one meaning (TC, 297). He adds further that it is not necessary to enumerate the words which are explicit in meaning but those which are not explicit are included in uriccols (TC, 298).

According to *Tolkāppiyam*, meanings of all uriccols which have been mentioned can be determined through the context in which they occur (TC, 389). Further, *Tolkāppiyar* states that there will be no limit, if one attempts to give the meaning of the meanings given to the uriccols (TC, 391). He says that the meaning does not change even if it can be expressed in other ways, that it depends upon the capacity of those who know them and that it is not possible to explain why a word denotes a particular meaning (TC, 392-394).

6.2. Uriccols in *Tolkāppiyam* and in the Language of PKK :

Tolkāppiyar enumerates 120 forms of uriccols in the chapter *Uriyiyal*.

1. *uru* 'much' or 'many' (TC, 299)²

'uru' occurs as a noun-qualifier in the language of PKK.³

uru puṇal (NL, 185 : 1)

uru pañcamūlam (CPM, 2 : 3)

The form '*uru*' denotes the meaning 'excellence' also in the language of PKK.

uru puli (NL, 193 : 1)

2. *tava* 'much' or 'many' (TC, 299)

The form '*tava*' is found to occur only in a single instance, functioning as an adverb in the language of PKK.

ōṭṭu tava niṟkum ūrntu (CPM, 94 : 4)

3. *naṇi* 'much' or 'many' (TC, 299)

'naṇi' occurs as an adverb in the language of PKK.

naṇi virumpu tālāṇmai (NL, 200 : 3)

pakaivar puṇarcci naṇi iṇṇā (IN, 16 : 2)

4. **uru** 'dread' (TC, 300)

This form occurs as a noun-qualifier in the language of PKK.

ūruḷ eḷunta uru keḷu centī (NL, 90 : 1)

In the language of PKK, 'uru' occurs as a noun with the meanings 'colour', 'shape' and 'beauty' also.

ainturuviṇ vil eḷuti (TMN, 104 : 1)

-colour

arivu uru ārāynta kalvi (TKL, 684 : 1)

-shape

uruvuṭaik kaṇṇiyaraip pōla (NL, 274 : 3)

- beauty

5. **purai** 'greatness' (TC, 300)

This form does not denote the meaning 'greatness' in the language of PKK, whereas it denotes the meaning 'crime' occurring as a noun.

purai tīrā maṇṇā iḷamai (NL, 11 : 2)

purai tīrnta naṇmai (TKL, 292 : 2)

It may be pointed out here that the form 'purai' is found to occur as a patticle of comparison in the language of PKK.

kayal purai uṇkaṇ (PM, 163 : 3)

6. **kuru** 'colour' (TC, 300)

This form does not occur as uriccol denoting the meaning 'colour' in the language of PKK.⁴

7. **keḷu** 'colour' (TC, 300)

In the language of PKK, 'keḷu' is not found to occur as uriccol denoting the meaning 'colour'. However 'keḷu' is found to occur as a verbal form with the meaning 'having'.

ūruḷ eḷunta uru keḷu centi (NL, 90:1)

Commentators cite 'kēḷ' denoting the meaning 'colour' as example for the above mentioned uriccol and treat 'kēḷ' as an alternant of 'keḷu'.⁵

It is quiet possible that during the period of *Tolkāppiyar* 'keḷu' has an alternant form 'kēḷ' such as 'oru' has 'ōr', 'iru' has 'ir', etc. *Tolkāppiyar* has given only 'keḷu' in his treatise perhaps taking it as the basic form. During the period of the commentators the form 'keḷu' went out of usage and hence the alternant form 'kēḷ' alone is attested.⁶

In a few instances 'kēḷ' denoting 'colour' is also found to occur in the language of PKK.

mākkēḷ maṭa nallāy (NL, 41:1)

poṛkēḷ puṇal oḷuka (NL, 212:2)

8-9. cellal and inṇal 'distress' (TC, 302)

These forms do not occur in the language of PKK.

10. mallal 'fertility' (TC, 303)

In the language of PKK, 'mallal' occurs as a noun-qualifier.

mallal peruñcelvam (PM, 289:1)

mallal māñālam (TKL, 245:1)

11. ē 'abundance' (TC, 304)

The form 'ē' occurs as a noun-qualifier in the language of PKK.⁷

ē kal malai nāṭa (PM, 126:3)

12-13. ukappu 'height' and uvappu 'delight' (TC, 305)

'ukappu' and 'uvappu' do not occur in the language of PKK.

14. **payappu** 'profit' (TC, 306)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK, whereas the form 'paya' denoting 'profit' is found to occur as a noun-qualifier.

paya molī (IYN, 6:2)

paya malai (KYN, 4:3)

15. **pacappu** 'sallow complexion' (TC, 307)

In the language of PKK, the form 'pacappu' occurs as a noun.

pacappurra pētai (TKL, 1239:1)

iṭil pacappu (TMN, 23:3)

16. **iyaipu** 'unity' (TC, 308)

'iyaipu' occurs as a derivative noun in the language of PKK.

paṇ eṇṇām pāṭarku iyaipu iṇṇēl (TKL, 573:1)

17. **icaippu** 'sound' (TC, 309)

This form does not denote the meaning 'sound' in the language of PKK.

However it is found to occur as a verbal noun denoting the meaning 'uniting'.

tāl icaippum (AK, 91:1)

In a few instances the form 'icai' denoting 'sound' is found to occur as a noun-qualifier in the language of PKK.

imiḷ icai vāṇam muḷaṅka (KN, 18:2)

18-19. **alamaral** and **terumaral** 'reeling' (TC, 310)

The forms 'alamaral' and 'terumaral' do not occur in the language of PKK, whereas a few forms

derived from the same base as those of 'alamaral' and 'terumaral' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

kārōṭu alamaruṇ kārvaṇam kārṭorum
nīroṭu alamaruṇ kaṇ (ATE, 15:3-4)
..... cāṇṭōraḱ tāṇṭar terumantu
tēyvar oru mācuṇiṇ (NL, 151:3-4)

20. *maḷa* 'infancy' (TC, 311)

The form '*maḷa*' does not occur in the language of PKK.

21. *kuḷa* 'infancy' (TC, 311)

In a solitary instance '*kuḷa*' occurs in the language of PKK as a noun-qualifier.

kuḷak kaṇṇu (NL, 101:1)

22. *cīrtti* 'great fame' (TC, 312)

In the language of PKK, though the form '*cīrtti*' does not occur, the form '*cīr*' denoting 'great fame' is found to occur as a noun.

cīruṭai āṇmai ceykaiyiṇ aṇipa (MMK, 20:1)
tāṇkarum cīrk kō uyarum (CPM, 46:3)

23. *mālai* 'nature' (TC, 313)

'*mālai*' occurs as a noun-qualifier in the language of PKK.

maruviyām mālai mālai nāṇṇ kēṇmai
(TMN, 18:3)

'*mālai*' occurs as a noun with the meanings 'evening' and 'garland' also in the language of PKK.

alaikkum cīru mālai (ATE, 25:3)

- evening

kaimālai iṭṭuk kaluṇtāl (NL, 393:3)

- garland

24. **kūrppu** 'superiority' (TC, 314)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK. However the form 'kūr' is found to occur in the language of PKK as a noun-qualifier with the meanings 'abundant' and 'sharp'.

iṭumpaikūr neñcattār (NL, 107:1)

vaṇāṅkūr kaṭuṅkatir (TMA, 48:3)

- abundant

tōṇṇi kūrmukai iṇa (KYN, 26:1)

- sharp

25. **kaḷivu** 'superiority' (TC, 314)

This form does not denote the meaning 'superiority' in the language of PKK whereas it denotes the meaning 'past' occurring as a noun.

kaṭṭārmuṇ tōṇṇā kaḷiv(u) irakkam (NMK, 10:1)

In a few instances the form 'kaḷi' occurs as a noun-qualifier.

kaḷi taṟukaṇmai (MMK, 32 : 1)

kaḷi peṟuṅkāmatṭāṇ (TKL, 866 : 1)

26. **kataḷvu** 'hastiness' or 'quickness' (TC, 315)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK. However the form 'kataḷ' occurs as a noun-qualifier in the language of PKK.

kataḷ vēlam (KYN, 16 : 2)

kataḷ urai (ATE, 18 : 1)

A form derived from the same base as that of 'kataḷvu' is found to occur in the language of PKK.

kaṭṭaṟivillātāṇ kataḷntu uraiyum (TK, 53 : 2)

27. **tunaivu** 'hastiness' or 'quickness' (TC, 315)

The form 'tunaivu' does not occur in the language of PKK.

28. **atirvu** 'shaking' or 'trembling' (TC, 316)⁸

'atirvu' occurs as a derivative noun in the language of PKK.

atirvu illāccir muḷā (KYN, 20 : 2)

The form 'atir' is found to occur in the language of PKK as a noun-qualifier.

atir kural ēru (ATA, 28 : 1)

29. **vitirppu** 'shaking' or 'trembling' (TC, 316)

This form does not occur as it is, whereas a few forms derived from the same base as that of 'vitirppu' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

ney vitirppa] nantum neruppaḷal (NMK, 63:1)

irṇkai vitirār kayavar (TKL, 1077:1)

30. **vārtal** 'the state of being straight' and 'long' (TC, 317)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

However, the form 'vār' occurs in the language of PKK as a noun or as a noun-qualifier.

vār cāṇṇa kūntal (CPM, 46:1)

- long (noun)

vaḷ vār muracu (ATA, 4:2)

vār kural ēṇal (ATE, 13:1)

- the state of being
straight (noun-
qualifier)

31. **pōkal** 'the state of being straight' and 'long' (TC, 317)

In the language of PKK, 'pōkal' does not occur as uriccol denoting the meanings 'the state of being straight' and 'long'. However, the form 'pōku' is found to occur as a noun-qualifier with the meanings 'limited' and 'going'.

pōku īram innā (IN, 40:1)

- limited

pōku āru akalākkaṭai (TKL, 478:1)

- going

32. **oḷukal** 'the state of being straight' and 'long' (TC, 317)

This form does not denote the meanings 'the state of being straight' and 'long', whereas it denotes other meanings like 'living', 'behaving' and 'remaining', etc., occurring as a noun.

paḷaṅkurai cērntoḷukal innā (IN, 5:2)

- living

araṇoṭu okkum ārrin oḷukal (NMK, 8:2)

- behaving

ñāṭpin maṭintoḷukal innā (IN, 6:2)

- remaining

The form 'oḷuku' is also found to occur as a noun-qualifier, with the meaning 'flowing'.

oḷuku tiraik karai (ATE, 55:1)

33. **tīrtal** 'separation' (TC, 318)

In the language of PKK, 'tīrtal' occurs as a verbal noun.

tīrtal uṇuvār maṇaiyār (PM, 88:3)

pacaintārin tīrtalin tippukal naṇru

(NMK, 15:3)

The form 'tīr' is also found to occur as a noun-qualifier.

purai tīr malai nāṭaṇ (KYN, 6:3)

aiyam tīr kāṭciyār (AK, 38:2)

34. tīrttal 'separation' (TC, 318)

This form occurs as a verbal noun or as an optative verb in the language of PKK.

iṭar tīrttal eḷḷāmai (EL, 4:1)

pārppāṇkaṇ tīrttalāl (PM, 11:2)

-verbal noun

aṟṟār aḷipaci tīrttal (TKL, 226:1)

-optative verb

35-36. keṭavaral and paṇṇai 'play' (TC, 319)

The forms 'keṭavaral' and 'paṇṇai' do not occur in the language of PKK.

37. taṭa 'greatness' or 'bigness' and 'curvedness'

(TC, 320, 321)

In the language of PKK, 'taṭa' is found to occur as a noun-qualifier with the meanings 'bigness' and 'curvedness' only.

taṭa meṇ paṇaittōḷ (ATE, 16:1)

- bigness

taṭa malark kōtaiyāy (KYN, 36:3)

- curvedness

38. kaya 'greatness' or 'bigness' and 'tenderness'

(TC, 320, 322)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

39. **naḷi** 'greatness' or 'bigness' and 'denseness'
(TC, 320, 323)

In the language of PKK, 'naḷi' occurs as a noun-qualifier.

naḷi kaṭal taṇ cērppaṇ (NL, 166:1)

- bigness

naḷi tirait taṇkaṭal (KYN, 49:1)

- denseness

40. **paḷutu** 'uselessness' (TC, 324)

'paḷutu' occurs as a noun in the language of PKK.

paṇṭiyaiyac colliya cor paḷutāl māḷkaṭal

kaṇṭiyaiya... (TMN, 100:1-2)

'paḷutu' is found to denote the meaning 'crime' also.

paḷutu iṇṇi (IYN, 40:3)

paḷuteṇṇum mantiriyaṇ (TKL, 639:1)

41. **cāyal** 'tenderness' (TC, 325)

'cāyal' occurs as a noun in the language of PKK.

cāyalum nāṇum avar koṇṭār (TKL, 1183:1)

cāṇṇāmai cāyal olukkam (NL, 142:2)

In a single instance 'cāyal' is found to denote the meaning 'lady'.

iḷai vaḷarum cāyal (TMN, 26:4)

42. **muḷutu** 'completeness' (TC, 326)

This form occurs as a noun in the language of PKK,

muṇṇīr muḷutuṭaṇ āṇṭār (PM, 217:1)

muḷutum kiḷaiṇār paḷiyāmai (CPM, 51:3)

The form 'muḷu' occurs as a noun-qualifier in the language of PKK.

muḷu nilam (NMK, 2:2)

muḷu meyyum (NL, 399:1)

43. vampu 'transitoriness' or 'insecurity' (TC, 327)

This form occurs in a solitary instance in the language of PKK as a noun-qualifier.

vampamaḷai urakkēṭṭu (ATA, 9 : 4)

44. mātar 'desire' or 'love' (TC, 328)

In the language of PKK, the form 'mātar' occurs as a noun-qualifier.

mātar vaṇṭārkkum (NL, 73 : 3)

'mātar' occurs as a noun with the meanings 'lady' and 'beauty' also in the language of PKK.

oṇṇutal mātar tīrattu (KN, 34 : 4)

-lady

tēṅkōtai mātar tiruvoṭuṅkum (ATA, 17 : 4)

-beauty

45. nampu 'desire' (TC, 329)

This form does not occur as uriccol in the language of PKK.

However 'nampu' is found to occur as a verbal from with meaning 'believing'.

nampum nilaimai (NL, 87 : 2)

46. **mēvu** 'desire' (TC, 329)⁹

This form does not occur in the language of PKK as it is, whereas a few forms derived from 'mēvu' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

nallatu mēval eḷitu (EL, 39 : 2)

uṭaṇṇaital mēvum kalantār (PM, 122 : 2)

47. **ōyṭal** 'decrease' or 'emaciation' or 'fatigue' (TC, 330)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

48. **āyṭal** 'decrease' or 'emaciation' or 'fatigue' (TC, 330)

'āyṭal' does not occur in the language of PKK. However, the form 'āy' is found to occur as a noun-qualifier.

āyṭōṭiyār (TKL, 911 : 1)

49-50. **niḷattal** and **cāāy** 'decrease' or 'emaciation' or 'fatigue' (TC, 330)¹⁰

The forms 'niḷattal' and 'cāāy' do not occur in the language of PKK.

51. **pulampu** 'loneliness' (TC, 331)

'pulampu' occurs as a noun in the language of PKK.

cērppan piriappulamp(u) aṭaintu (ATA, 41 : 1)

In a few instances 'pulampu' is found to denote the meaning 'distress' also.

vālaruvi āṭappulam(u) akaṇṇu (ATA, 13 : 3)

52. **tuvaṇṇu** 'fullness' (TC, 332)

In the language of PKK, 'tuvaṇṇu' occurs only as a non-finite verb with the meaning mentioned by Tolkāppiyar.

ōṭam tuvaṇṇum oli puṇalūraṇ (ATE, 50 : 2)

53. **murañcal** 'maturity' (TC, 333)

'murañcal' does not occur in the language of PKK.

54. **vemmai** 'desire' (TC, 334)

In the language of PKK, the form 'vemmai' does not occur as it is, but the form 'vem' occurs as a noun-qualifier with the meanings 'hot' and 'cruel'.

ventikkāṇ (CPM, 65 : 1)

-hot

vemmuṇai (CPM, 15 : 3)

-cruel

55. **porpu** 'magnificence' (TC, 335)

This form does not occur as it is, whereas a few forms derived from the same base as that of 'porpu' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

poruntuṇār mēṇi pōl porpa (ATA, 8 : 2)

porpa uraiṇpāṇ (PM, 50 : 3)

56. **vaṛitu** 'smallness' (TC, 336)

'vaṛitu' is found to occur in a solitary instance as a noun in the language of PKK.

aṛivuṭaiyār avviyamum ceyvar vaṛit (u) uraittu
pillaikaḷai maruṭṭum tāyar pōl (PM, 323 : 1-2)

57. **ēṛram** 'remembrance' and 'determination' (TC, 337)¹¹

The form 'ēṛram' occurs as a noun in the language of PKK.

ēṛram uṭaimai kōḷiṇ aṛipa (MMK, 15 : 1)

58. piṇai 'love', 'desire' or 'regard' (TC, 338)

In the language of PKK, 'piṇai' occurs as a noun.

piṇai ili (NMK, 92 : 2)

'piṇai' occurs with the meanings 'female deer' and 'association' also.

iralai piṇai taḷuva (KYN, 29:2)

- female deer

piṇaiccēlva māṇṇiṇ (TK, 88:3)

- association

59. pēṇ 'love', 'desire' or 'regard' (TC, 338)

The form 'pēṇ' occurs as a noun in the language of PKK.

pēṇil īkai (MMK, 34:4)

pēṇoṭu eṇṇum (EL, 63:2)

'pēṇ' denotes the meaning 'protection' also.

pēṇ aṭakkam (CPM, 45 : 1)

60. paṇai 'escaping' and 'becoming stout' (TC, 339)

In the language of PKK, the form 'paṇai' occurs as a noun-qualifier with the meaning 'becoming stout'.

paṇaittāl katir cennel (TMA, 32:3)

parumap paṇai eruttu (KVN, 38:1)

In the language of PKK, 'paṇai' occurs as a noun with the meanings 'bamboo', 'drum', 'paddy field' and 'greatness' also.

neṭum paṇai meṇ tōl (TMN, 115:3)

• bamboo

paṇai muḷaṅku pōrttāṇai (KVN, 40:3)

- drum

akaṇ paṇai ūraṇ (ATE, 42:1)

- paddy field

paṇai ṇiṅkip paintoṭi cōrum (TKL, 1234:1)

- greatness

61. **paṭar** 'thinking' and 'going' (TC, 340)

'paṭar' occurs as a noun-qualifier with the meaning 'thinking' in the language of PKK.

paṭar pacalai yāyiṇru tōl (ATE, 65:4)

piriyap perum paṭar nōy ceyyum (NL, 168:4)

In the language of PKK, 'paṭar' denotes the meanings 'wide' and 'distress' also.

paṭar cāral (ATE, 1:2)

- wide

paṭar tirttal (EL, 4:2)

-distress

62. **paiyul** 'sickness' (TC, 341)

The form 'paiyul' does not occur in the language of PKK.

63. **ciṛumai** 'sickness' (TC, 341)

In the language of PKK, the form 'ciṛumai' does not denote the meaning 'sickness', whereas it denotes the meanings 'distress', 'fault' and 'lowness' occurring as a noun.

ciṛumaiyul niṅkiya incol (TKL, 98:1)

- distress

ciṛumai pala ceytu (TKL, 934:1)

- fault

ceṛuvoṭu niṛkum ciṛumai (TK, 14:3)

- lowness

64. **eyyāmai** 'incorrect knowledge' (TC, 342)

In the language of PKK, 'eyyāmai' does not denote the meaning 'incorrect knowledge', whereas it denotes the meaning 'suffering' occurring as a verbal noun.

eyyāmai ellā aṛamum tarum (TKL, 296:5)

65. **naṇṇu** 'greatness' (TC, 343)

In the language of PKK, 'naṇṇu' occurs as an adverb or as an appellative noun.

naṇṇu ūṭṭa nantum viruntu (NMK, 63.4)

- adverb

kaḷḷam kaṭaippiṭṭital naṇṇu (NL, 20:4)

- appellative noun

'naṇṇu' denotes the meaning 'goodness' also.

(naṇṇu inṇi vaitta (TK, 62:3)

66. **tā** 'strength' and 'pain' or 'distress' (TC, 344)¹²

In the language of PKK, 'tā' does not denote the meanings 'strength' and 'pain' or 'distress', whereas it denotes the meaning 'fault' occurring as a noun.

tāvil cir iṅkuṇattān (TK, 2:2)

67 **tev** 'taking' (TC, 345)

The form 'tev' does not occur as uriccol in the language of PKK.

68. **tevvu** 'enmity' (TC, 346)

In the language of PKK, the form 'tevvu' does not occur but the form 'tev' is found to occur as a noun with the meaning 'enemy'.

tev (TKL, 639 :1)

69-70. **viṛappu** 'denseness' and 'the state of being terrified' (TC, 347, 348) and **urappu** 'denseness' (TC, 347)

The forms 'viṛappu' and 'urappu' do not occur in the language of PKK.

71. **veruppu** 'denseness' (TC, 347)

This form does not occur as uriccol in the language of PKK, whereas a form derived from the same base as that of 'veruppu' is found to occur with the meaning mentioned by *Tolkāppiyar*.¹³

virī tirai vellam veruppap paruki (KN, 34 : 1)

72-73. **kampalai** and **cummai** 'noise' (TC, 349)

The forms 'kampalai' and 'cummai' do not occur in the language of PKK.

74. **kali** 'noise' (TC, 349)

'kali' occurs as a noun in the language of PKK.

āntai kuṛuṇ kali koḷḷa (KYN, 21 : 1)

kaḷaṇi uḷavar kali aṇci (KYN, 33 : 3)

The form 'kali' is found to denote the meanings 'denseness', 'prosperity', 'adament' and 'kaliyuga' also.

kār nirmai koṇṭa kali vāṇam (ATA, 2 : 3)

-denseness

kārttaṇ kali vāyalūraṇ (KYN, 45 : 2)

-prosperity

kali mā (IN, 28:1)

-adament

kalikkaṇ tuṇavaṇam poy (CPM, 69:3)

-kaliyuga

75. **aḷuṅkal** 'noise', 'piteousness' and 'disaster' (TC, 349, 350)

In the language of PKK, 'aḷuṅkal' occurs as a noun in a solitary instance with the meaning 'noise'.

aḷuṅkal mutu pati aṅkāṭi mēyum (PM, 108:3)

76. **kaḷum** 'bewilderment' (TC, 351)¹⁴

This form does not occur as it is, whereas a few forms derived from 'kaḷum' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

kaḷumiya ṇāṭpiṇuḷ (KVN, 11:1)

kaḷumiyār (NL, 228:3)

77. **ceḷumai** 'fertility' and 'stoutness' (TC, 352)

In the language of PKK, the form 'ceḷumai' does not occur but the form 'ceḷum' denoting the meaning 'fertility' occurs as a noun-qualifier.

ceḷuṅ kulam (CPM, 35:2)

ceḷum perum poykai (NL, 352:1)

78. **viḷumam** 'regularity', 'magnificence' and 'distress' (TC, 353)

In the language of PKK, the form 'viḷumam' occurs as a noun with the meaning 'distress' only.

kaṭaika koṭkac ceytakka tāṇmai iṭaikkōṭkin
eṇṇā viḷumam tarum (TKL, 663)

The form 'viḷu' with the meaning 'magnificence' is also found to occur in the language of PKK as a noun-qualifier.

viḷup piṇi (NL, 329:1)

viḷuc cīr mutumakkaḷ (IN, 18:3)

viḷup pēru (TKL, 162:1)

79. **karuvi** 'collection' (TC, 354)

In the language of PKK, the form 'karuvi' does not denote the meaning 'collection'. However, it denotes the meanings 'weapon' and 'instrument (cause)' occurring as a noun.

karuvi kaṇ māri (IN, 4:2)

- weapon

orumaittāṇ ceyta karuvi teriveṇṇiṇ (CPM, 75:4)

- instrument

80. **kamam** 'fullness' (TC, 355)

'kamam' occurs as a noun in the language of PKK.

kamam cūḷ eḷili (KN, 37:1)

81. **ari** 'slenderness' or 'nicety' (TC, 356)

In the language of PKK, 'ari' does not denote the meaning 'slenderness' or 'nicety'. However, it denotes the meanings 'lines in the white of the eye', 'dots' and 'small stones' occurring as a noun.

ari paranta uṇkaṇṇāḷ (TMA, 12:3)

- lines in the white
of the eye

arakkārnta ōmai aripaṭu nīlal (KYN, 19:1)

- dots

aripey cilampolippa (ATE, 40 : 2)

- small stones

82. **kavavu** 'wearing' or 'embracing' (TC, 357)

The form 'kavavu' does not occur in the language of PKK.

83. **tuvaittal** 'sound' (TC, 358)

In the language of PKK, the form 'tuvaittal' does not occur as it is, but the form 'tuvai' denoting the meaning 'pure' is found to occur as a noun-qualifier.

kuyttuvai ārveṇcōṟu (NL, 217:3)

84. **cilaittal** 'sound' (TC, 358)

'cilaittal' does not occur as it is, whereas a form derived from the same base as that of 'cilaittal' is found to occur in the language of PKK.

cilaitteluntu cemmāppavarē (PM, 176:2)

85. **iyampal** 'sound' (TC, 358)

Though this form does not occur in the language of PKK as it is, a few verbal forms derived from the same base as that of 'iyampal' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

uṟṟiyampum nitta nīrc cērp̄pa (PM, 186:2)

āntai kural iyampa (ATE, 38:1)

86. **iraṅkal** 'sound' and 'repentence' (TC, 358, 359)

This form does not occur as it is, whereas a form derived from the same base as that of 'iraṅkal' with the meaning 'sound' is found to occur in the language of PKK.

murukkiyam pōl kār vāṇam muḷaṅki iraṅka
(KN, 27:1)

87. *ilampāṭu* 'poverty' (TC, 360)

'ilampāṭu' does not occur in the language of PKK.

88. *or̥kam* 'poverty' (TC, 360)

'or̥kam' occurs as a noun in the language of PKK.

..... tar̥cērtār

or̥kam kaṭaippiṭiyār (ATA, 48:3-4)

or̥kam tāmurra iṭattum (PM, 119:1)

'or̥kam' occurs with the meaning 'linguishing' also.

urra pērācai karuti aṇaṇ orūm

or̥kam ilāmai initu (IN, 39:3-4)

89. *ñemirtal* 'spreading' (TC, 361)

This form does not occur as it is, whereas a form derived from the same base as that of 'ñemirtal' is found noticed in the language of PKK.

murraṇ ciṇu manti murpaṭṭa tantaiyai

ner̥rukkaṇṇa virālāṇ ñemirttiṭṭu

(NL, 237:1-2)

90. *pāyṭal* 'spreading' (TC, 361)

In the language of PKK, this form does not occur with the meaning 'spreading'. However, it is found to denote the meanings 'penetrating' and 'jumping', occurring as a verbal noun.

evvāyūm pāyṭaliṇ celkalātu (KVN, 10:1)

- penetrating

nīl kōṭṭuyar pāyṭal inṇā (IN, 30:1)

- jumping

The form 'pāy' is found to occur as a noun-qualifier with the meanings 'flowing', 'a movement characterised by speed and force' and 'spreading' also.

nīr pāy maṭai (NMK, 44:2)

- flowing

pāy mā (NMK, 18:2)

- a movement
characterised by
speed and force

pāy tirai (NL, 339:3)

- spreading

91. **kavarvu** 'desire' (TC, 362)¹⁵

'kavarvu' does not occur as it is, whereas a form derived from the same base as that of 'kavarvu' is found to occur in the language of PKK.

kaṇi iruppak kāy kavaroṭarṇu (TKL, 100:2)

92. **cēr** 'collection' (TC, 363)

'cēr' is found to occur as a noun-qualifier in PKK.

āram tēṅkā varumullai cērtintēṇ (TMN, 106:3)

nākam cēr kāṭu (TMN, 13:4)

'cēr' is found to denote the meanings 'touching', 'associating' and 'reaching' also.

mēkam cēr koṭi (CPM, 4:3)

- touching

kāṇalum cēr veṇmaṇalum (TMN, 58:2)

- associating

ñālam cēr yānai (KVN, 2:1)

- reaching

93. **viyal** 'breadth' or 'extensiveness' (TC, 364)

This form occurs as a noun-qualifier in the language of PKK.

viyap¹⁶ puṛavu (TMN, 98:1)

viyalūraṇ (ATA, 21:3)

viyaṇ nalam (TMA, 39:3)

94. **pēm** 'dread' (TC, 365)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

95. **nām** 'dread' (TC, 365)

This form occurs as a noun in the language of PKK.

nāma vēl kaṇṇāḷ naṭunaṭuppa vāralō
(TMN, 25:3)

96. **urum** 'dread' (TC, 365)

'urum' occurs as a noun-qualifier in the language of PKK.¹⁷

urum iṭi vāṇam iliya eḷumē (KN, 3:3)

97. **vaya** 'strength' (TC, 366)¹⁸

This form occurs as a noun-qualifier in the language of PKK.

vaya mā (PM, 40:2)

vaya muraṇ āṇēru (KN, 10:1)

98. **vāl** 'brilliance' or 'lustre' (TC, 367)

In the language of PKK, 'vāl' occurs as a noun-qualifier.¹⁹

oṇkatir vāl mati (NL, 176 : 1)

99. **tuyavu** 'confusion of mind' (TC, 368)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

The form 'tuyakku' with the meaning 'confusion' is found to occur in the language of PKK. This form may be considered a form derived from the base of 'tuyavu'.

añcum piñi mūppu aruñkūrṛuṭaṇ iyaintu

tuñcu varumē tuyakku (PM, 137 : 3-4)

100. **uyā** 'suffering' or 'distress' (TC, 369)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

101. **ucā** 'deliberation' or 'wisdom' (TC, 370)

This form occurs only in a single instance, functioning as a noun in the language of PKK.

acāattāṇ uṛṛa varuttam ucāattāṇ

kēliraik kāṇak keṭum (NL, 201 : 3-4)

102. **vayā** 'great desire' (TC, 371)

'vayā' is found to occur only in a single instance as a noun in the language of PKK.

vayāyum varuttamum (NL, 201 : 1)

103. **kaṛuppu** 'anger' and 'colour' (TC, 372, 373)

'kaṛuppu' does not occur as it is, whereas a few of the forms derived from the same base as that of 'kaṛuppu' with the meaning 'anger' are found to occur in the language of PKK.

kaṛutta pakai muṇaiyum (AK, 55 : 1)

kār ūr kaṛuttu (TMN, 121 : 4)

104. civappu 'anger' and 'colour' (TC, 372, 373)

'civappu' denoting the meaning 'colour' is found to occur in the language of PKK as a noun.

civappurraṇa kaṇ (ATE, 7 : 4)

105. nocivu 'minuteness' (TC, 374)

'nocivu' does not occur in the language of PKK.

106. nuḷaivu 'minuteness' (TC, 374)

'nuḷaivu' does not occur in the language of PKK. However, the form 'nuḷai' is found to occur as a noun-qualifier.

nuṇmāṇ nuḷai pulam (TKL, 407 : 1)

107. nuṇaṅku 'minuteness' (TC, 374)

This form occurs only in a single instance, functioning as a noun-qualifier in the language of PKK.

nuṇaṅku nūl ōtutal (CPM, 30 : 3)

108. puṇiṇu 'recent calving' (TC, 375)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

109. 'naṇavu 'field' and 'extensiveness' (TC, 376)

In the language of PKK, 'naṇavu' does not denote the meanings 'field' and 'extensiveness'. However, it is found to occur with the meaning 'wakefulness' and with the nominal function.

naṇaviṇāṇ nalkātavar (TKL, 1213 : 1)

110. **mata** 'artlessness' and 'strength', 'larger quantity' and 'beauty' (TC, 377, 378)²⁰

'mata' occurs as a noun with the meanings 'artlessness' and 'strength' only in the language of PKK.

mata(v) erumai (KYN 37 : 2)

-artlessness

matam naṅṛu (CPM, 17 : 2)

-strength

This form is found to denote the meanings 'must of an elephant' and 'enjoyment' also.

kaḷirriṅ matam nārum (KN, 24 : 2)

-must of an elephant

collil piṛakkum uyar matam (NMK, 7 : 2)

-enjoyment

111. **yāṇar** 'newness' (TC, 379)

In the language of PKK, 'yāṇar' occurs as a noun.

yāṇar akal vayalūraṅ (ATA, 20 : 1)

yāṇar nallūraṅ (ATE, 47 : 1)

112. **amartal** 'desire' (TC, 380)

In the language of PKK, the form 'amartal' does not occur, whereas the form 'amar' is found to occur as a noun-qualifier.

tam amar kātalar (NL, 392 : 1)

kaṅṛu amar āyam (ATE, 22 : 2)

113. **yāṇu** 'beauty' (TC, 381)²¹

'yāṇu' does not occur in the language of PKK.

114. **paravu** 'extolling' (TC, 382)

This form does not occur as it is, whereas a form derived from 'paravu' is found to occur in the language of PKK.

paravanmiṇ parraṇmiṇ (NL, 92:2)

115. **paḷiccu** 'extolling' (TC, 38)

This form does not occur in the language of PKK.

116. **kaṭi** 'forbidding', 'sharpness', 'protection', 'newness', 'quickness', 'brilliance', 'largeness in quantity', 'superiority', 'fear', 'direct promise', 'doubt' and 'pungency' (TC, 383, 384).

In the language of PKK, 'kaṭi' occurs as a noun and denotes the meanings 'forbidding', 'protection', 'newness' and 'superiority' only.²²

kili kaṭi ēṇal (KYN, 7:1)

- forbidding

kaṭi pollā eṇṇaiyē kāppu (TMN, 32 : 4)

kaṭi maṇai (NL, 238:3)

- protection

kaṭineyṭal (PM, 396:2)

kāṇṭal kaṭi kavina (TMA, 3:1)

- newness

kāṇam kaṭi araṅkā (TMN, 111:1)

- superiority

117. **ai** 'wonder' or 'astonishment' (TC, 385)

This form is found to occur as a particle denoting the expression of wonder.²³

vantu aiya eṇṇum vakaiyirre (TMN, 138:3)

118. **munaivu** 'disgust' (TC, 386)

'munaivu' does not occur in the language of PKK.

119. **vai** 'sharpness' (TC, 387)

This form occurs as a noun-qualifier in the language of PKK.²⁴

vai eyiru (CPM, 18:1)

120. **erul** 'strength' (TC, 387)

'erul' does not occur in the language of PKK.

It is evident that a number of uriccols enumerated in Tolkāppiyam are not found to occur in the language of PKK. A few other uriccols denote different or some other meanings in addition to those enumerated in Tolkāppiyam. A few uriccols occur in the root form and a few other uriccols have only derived forms in the language of PKK.

6.3. Is Uriccol a Separate Part of Speech? :

Among the 120 forms of uriccols many of them are verbal roots; a good number of them are nouns formed from nominal roots; some others are derived nouns formed from verbal, adjectival or nominal roots and a few others are qualifiers.²⁵

The various functions of the uriccols found in the language of PKK also demonstrate the fact that uriccols as a whole, do not form a separate part of speech.

Notes on Uriccols :

1. In *Eccaviyal*, *Tolkāppiyar* mentions that even among uriccols there may be some forms which serve as differentiating words (TC, 456).
2. The word within quotations denotes the meaning or meanings of the particular uriccol as enumerated in *Tolkāppiyam*.
3. When the term qualifier is used it is considered from the functional point of the concerned word and the terms adjective and adverb are used in terms of the concerned word class.
4. In a single instance 'kuru' with the meaning 'pimple' is found in the language of PKK.
kūnmēl eḷunta kuru (PM, 305:4)
5. Iḷa., A Commentary on TC, 301.
Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 301.
Nac., A Commentary on TC, 303.
Tey., A Commentary on TC, 298.
6. In the ancient literature 'keḷu' is not found to occur with the meaning 'colour'. This might be a possible reason for the commentators not giving examples for 'keḷu' as a uriccol form.
7. The form 'ē' denotes the meaning 'arrow' also in the language of PKK.
ēp piḷaittu (PM, 334 : 4)
8. Cēṇāvaraiyar gives 'atiḷvu' as an alternate reading for 'atirvu'.
Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 316.

9. Commentators Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar interpret the form of this uriccol as 'mē'.
Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 329.
Nac., A Commentary on TC, 329.
10. Cēṇāvaraiyar gives 'cāy' as an alternate reading for 'cāay'.
Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 330.
11. Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar gives 'eṇṇam' as an alternate reading for the form 'ēṇṇam'.
Nac., A Commentary on TC, 337.
Both the forms 'eṇṇam' and 'ēṇṇam' occur in the language of Sangam Literature.
Natarajan, T., LSLT, p. 245.
12. In a few instances 'tā' occurs as an imperative verb or as an onomatopoeic expression also.
vaṇṇam tā eṇkam (ATE, 4:4)
- imperative verb
vaṇṇōṭu tī tā eṇa (TMN, 102:3)
- onomatopoeic expression
Teyvaccilaiyār gives 'tāvu' as an alternate reading for 'tā'.
Tey., A Commentary on TC, 340.
13. In the language of PKK, the form 'veṇṇuppu' occurs as a noun with the meaning 'hatred'.
veṇṇuppiṇāl pōrttu (PM, 294:3)
14. Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar interpret the form of this uriccol as 'kaḷumu' in terms of its availability in literature.
Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 351.
Nac., A Commentary on TC, 351.

15. Teyvaccilaiyār gives 'kavarpu' as an alternate reading for kavarvu.

Tey., A Commentary on TC, 358.

16. Here it may be assumed that the final '-l' of 'viyal' has been dropped.

17. 'urum' is found to denote the meaning 'thunder' also.
urumiṇ kaṭuñ ciṇam (NL, 164:2)

18. Tolkāppiyar enumerates 'vaya' as a form of uriccol, whereas the occurrence of the same is found before the noun only as a noun-qualifier. On the other hand the form 'vayam' is found to occur as a free form

vayam tikaḷpu (AN, 93:16)

vaiyai vayamāka vai (PL, 7:78)

Thus it may be proper to assume that Tolkāppiyar has arrived at the form 'vaya' taking into consideration of the form occurring as a noun-qualifier only.

19. In the language of PKK, 'vāl' denotes the meaning 'sword' also.

vāl vāy kiṭantu (NL, 362:1)

20. Tolkāppiyar enumerates 'mata' as a form of uriccol, whereas the occurrence of the same is found before the noun only as a noun-qualifier. On the other hand the form 'matam' is found to occur as a free form.

ōṭā maṇavar matam cerukki (KVN, 28:1)

It may not be wrong to assume that Tolkāppiyar has arrived at the form 'mata' only taking into consideration of the form occurring before the noun as a noun-qualifier.

21. Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar interpret the form of this uriccol as 'yāṇ' in terms of its availability in literature.
Cēṇā., A Commentary on TC, 381.
Nac., A Commentary on TC, 381.
22. The form 'kaṭi' is found to occur with verbal function in the language of PKK.
kaṭi eṇrār (NL, 56:4)
- imperative verb
kīḷi kaṭi ēṇal (KYN, 1:1)
- relative participle base
23. 'ai' occurs as a noun denoting the meaning 'hero' also.
eṇ(n)ai muṇ nillaṇmiṇ (TKL, 771:1)
24. 'vai' denoting the meaning 'straw' is also found to occur in the language of PKK.
naṇpulattu vaiyaṭakki (CPM, 60:1)
25. Israel, M., TMT, p. 303.

Conclusion

Attention is drawn to the following important and noteworthy features found in the language of PKK, which are obtained as a result of the comparative study of the grammar of Tolkāppiyam and the language of PKK.

The features that are characteristic of the language of PKK have been listed under the following three sections.

The first section deals with the deviations that are found in the language of PKK from the grammar described in Tolkāppiyam. In the second section the absence of certain features (in the language of PKK) that are attested by Tolkāppiyar have been treated as characteristic of PKK, since the non-occurrence of such features is also an important factor in the changing history of the linguistic structure of ancient Tamil. The third section deals with the usages that are not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam but found in the language of PKK, is an important source material for the study of post-Tolkāppiyam language.

The third section is further sub-divided into two parts. The first part deals with the noteworthy features which may be considered the new developments in the language of PKK. The second part deals with such features that are not attested in Tolkāppiyam, but whose origin and / or development could be traced back to Sangam literature.

The general observations are enumerated separately at the end of the conclusion.

These lists are not exhaustive. Since all the features have already been discussed throughout the study, it is considered worthwhile to list only such features which are significant and salient to distinguish the language of PKK.

Section 1 :

There are a few deviations in the language of PKK from the grammar of Tolkāppiyam at the phonological and at the morphological levels. They are listed here.

1. The initial 'c-' and 'ñ-' are followed by the vowel 'a' (1.2.1.2.).
2. The initial 'y-' is followed by the vowel 'ō' (1.2.1.2.).
3. 'v' is followed by 'u' in the final position (1.2.2.1.).
4. A word with final '-v' (other than those enumerated in Tolkāppiyam) is found to occur in the language of PKK (1.2.2.2.).
5. A few more '-pu' and '-cu' ending words are found to occur in the language of PKK (1.2.2.1.).
6. A few words with final '-ñ' which does not freely vary with final '-m' are found to occur in the language of PKK (1.2.2.2.).

7. The suffix '-kaḷ' occurs with rational nouns also (2.1.1).

8. The form 'ellār' does not take the intervening form 'tam' in declension (2.2.1.3.3).

9. The form 'ellām' occurs in the third person (2.2.1.1.3).

10. Bound forms 'ōr-' and 'nāl-' occur before words with initial consonants (2.3.1.1 & 2.3.1.4).

11. 'nāl' and 'ēḷu' occur as free forms (2.3.1.4 & 2.3.1.7).

12. A few verbal nouns with the endings other than with those mentioned in Tolkāppiyam are found (2.4.1.2; 2.4.1.3 & 2.4.1.4).

13. Case marker 'ai' is optional with rational nouns also (2.6.2).

14. 'a' and 'il' occur as sixth and seventh case markers respectively (2.6.6. & 2.6.7).

15. Case marker '-in' takes the inflectional increment '-in' (2.7.1.1.1).

16. In declension, nouns with final '-i', '-ī', '-l' and '-ṇ' take the inflectional increment 'in' (2.7.1.1.1).

17. A few words ending in '-m' do not take the inflectional increment 'attu' (2.7.1.3.1).

18. A noun with '-l' ending takes the inflectional increment 'attu' (2.7.1.3.1).

19. Nouns with final '-ai', '-ṇ' and '-l' take the inflectional increment '-am' (2.7.1.4.).

20. 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs occur with first person and third person epicene plural subjects also (3.1.2.2).

21. 'ceyyā' pattern verbal participles occur as negative verbal participles also (3.2.1.6.).

22. A few more patterns of verbal participles like 'ceyyātu', 'ceyyāmai', 'ceyil', etc., and adverbials like 'vanta kālai', 'āṭiya piṇṇai', etc., are found to occur in the language of PKK (3.2.1.8 & 3.2.1.7).

23. Relative participles of 'ceykinra' pattern are found to occur in the language of PKK (3.2.2.3).

24. A few itaiccols and uriccols denote some other meanings (other than those enumerated in Tolkāppiyam) in the language of PKK (5.2 & 6.2).

25. 'eṇru' denoting number is being followed by a numeral denoting totality (5.2).

26. A good number of particles of comparison occur as verbs (5.2.).

27. A few uriccols occur as stems (cēr, kūr, kataḷ, vār, āy, vem, tev, tuvai, nuḷai, amar, etc.) and a few others occur as derived forms (alamantu, cilaittu, porpa, etc.) (6.2).

Section 2 :

Following features attested in Tolkāppiyam are not found to occur in the language of PKK.

1. 'au' is not found to occur initially as well as finally (1.2.1.1 & 1.2.2.1).

2. 't', 'n' and 'm' are not found to occur initially in combination with the vowels 'ai' and 'au' (1.2.1.2).

3. 'ñ' does not occur initially in combination with the vowel 'o' (1.2.1.2).

4. 'o' does not occur finally in combination with the consonants (1.2.2.1).

5. The '-pu' ending word (tapu) does not occur with the non-causative meaning (1.2.2.1).

6. Consonants 'n' and 'ñ' do not occur finally (1.2.2.2).

7. A number of two consonantal and three consonantal clusters are not found to occur in the language of PKK (1.2.3).

8. Consonant 'n' does not occur in gemination (1.2.3.1.1.2).

9. Cluster '-ṇm' does not occur finally (1.2.3.1.2).

10. Of the rational, non-rational and common nouns enumerated in Tolkāppiyam, a few types of nouns do not occur in the language of PKK (2.1.1).

11. In the language of PKK, 'nam', 'num' and 'tam' which may intervene between inclusive pronouns and case markers do not occur in oblique formations (2.2).

12. 'ellām' does not occur in the first person and 'niyir' does not occur in the non-rational class (2.2.1.1.3 & 2.2.1.2.1).

13. The bound forms 'or-', 'ir-', 'mu-', 'nāl-', 'ai-', 'āṭ-', 'ēḷ-' and 'eṇ-' are not found to occur before the numeral 'āyiram' (2.3.1).

14. Inflectional increment 'vaṇṇu' does not occur in word combination (2.7.1.2.2).

15. Inflectional increments 'oṇ', 'āṇ', and 'ikku' are not found to occur in the language of PKK (2.7.1).

16. In the rational class, verbs with terminations, 'eṇ', 'tu', 'tu', 'ru', 'em', 'kum' and 'mār' are not found in the language of PKK (3.1.1.1.1 & 3.1.1.1.3).

17. In the non-rational class, verbs with terminations 'tu' and 'va' are not found in the language of PKK (3.1.1.1.3.4 & 3.1.1.1.3.5).

18. Verbal participles of 'ceyku' pattern is not followed by another finite verb (3.1.1.1.1.1).

19. The forms of 'ceymmaṇa' pattern do not occur in the language of PKK (3.1.2.5).

20. Verbal participles of 'ceyyū', 'ceyteṇa' and 'ceyyiyar' patterns are not found in the language of PKK (3.2.1.1).

21. A number of itaiccōls (til, antil, kurai, mā, miyā, ika, mō, mati, ikum, ciṇ, etc.) and uriccōls (cellal, iṇṇal, keṭavaral, paṇṇai, nampu, ōyṭal, etc.), do not occur in the language of PKK (5.2 & 6.2).

22. A few itaiccōls (koṇ, erru, kurai, etc.) and a few uriccōls (purai, paṇai, paṭar, mata, etc.) do not denote all the meanings enumerated in Tolkāppiyam (5.2 & 6.2).

Section 3 :

A: A few note worthy features which may be considered new developments in the language of PKK are listed here.

1. The occurrences of clusters '-tr-' and '-ttr-' are available (1.2.3.1.1.1 & 1.2.3.1.1.3).

2. Clear-cut distinction between the use of exclusive and inclusive first person plural pronouns is found in the language of PKK (2.2.1.1.1).

3. Verbal nouns with participial nouns structure and verbal participles structure are found to occur in the language of PKK (2.4.1.4).

4. 'ōm' is found to occur as a termination of first person finite verbs (3.1.1.1.2).

5. '-mai' ending verbal forms are found to occur as optative verbs (3.1.2.1).

6. A few second person verbs have optative signification (3.1.2.1).

7. A form 'uṭaiyum' occurs as a 'ceyyum' pattern of relative participle (3.2.2.5).

8. A rational subject takes non-rational predicate (3.1.1.1.3.5).

9. Regular verbs are also formed from adjectival and nominal stems (3.1.1.1.3.5).

10. A number of other particles (than those mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam*) are found to occur in the language of PKK (ela, vālā, āti, tōru, etc.) (5.3).

11. A few more particles of comparison are (iṇṇa, iṇai, ūṇku, ēr, nēr, etc.) found to occur in the language of PKK (5.4).

B: Following are the features whose origin and / or development could be traced back to the language of Sangam literature. These features are not attested in the language of *Tolkāppiyam*.

1. 'ñ-' and 'n-' freely vary (1.2.1.2).

2. Initial 'y-' is lost in a number of words (1.2.1.2).

3. The forms 'tāṇ' and 'tām' occur as reflexive pronouns (2.2.2).

4. The interrogative pronouns while taking completive particle 'um' often function as nouns denoting totality (2.2.4.1.)

5. A few more interrogative pronouns (*yāṇṭu*, *eṅku*, *eṇṇai*, etc.) and indefinite pronouns (*piṇaṇ*, *piṇa*, *piṇar*, *piṇitu*, etc.) are found to occur in the language of PKK (2.2.4.3; 2.2.4.4 & 2.2.5.2).

6. Personal pronouns occur in duplication to convey the emphatic sense (2.2.3).

7. 'mār' occurs with nouns as a suffix denoting plurality (2.1.1).

8. The numerals 'toṇṭu', 'kōṭi' and a few fractions are found to occur in the language of PKK (2.3.1.9; 2.3.1.14 & 2.3.2).

9. '-aṇ' occurs as a termination of first person singular finite verbs (3.1.1.1.1.1).

10. Second person verbs with the terminations '-i', '-āy' and '-min' occur as imperatives (3.1.1.3).

11. '-kiṇi' occurs as a present tense marker in the language of PKK (3.3.3).

12. The form '-āt-' occurs as a negative marker in the language of PKK (3.4.3).

13. A few particles of comparison are being inflected (*pōla*, *pōṇṇāṇ*, etc.) for tense (5.2).

14. A number of particles of comparison function as non-finite verbs (*pōla*, *oppa*, *irappa*, etc.) (5.2).

General Observations :

1. Only a two-way distinction of tense is clear-cut in the language of PKK.

2. From the occurrence of various uriccols in PKK, it is evident that uriccols as a whole do not form a separate part of speech.

3. The language of PKK does not belong to a limited period of one or two decades but it may represent the language of atleast a few hundred years.

4. Even among the texts of PKK themselves a good number of divergences or deviations are found. These divergences support the fact that PKK works might have been composed during different periods.

5. Since examples are not available in the language of PKK for a number of grammatical features in Tolkāppiyam, it is evident that the poems of PKK would have been composed considerably at a much later period than Tolkāppiyam.

6. A good number of borrowed forms are found to occur in the language of PKK.

7. A comparison of the Grammar of Tolkāppiyam with the language of PKK enables us to understand the proper segmentation of the forms and the proper interpretations made in the grammatical statements, of which a few are wrongly analysed or interpreted either by the grammarian or by the commentators.

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APPENDIX I

AN EXPLANATORY NOTE ON PATINENKILKKAṆAKKU

Patinenkilkkaṇakku is a collection of eighteen works, many of which are concerned with ethics. The term 'kilkkaṇakku' (literally 'lower compositions') implies that there is a classification like 'mēṛkaṇakku' also. Mēṛkaṇakku consists of eight anthologies (eṭṭuttokai) and ten idylls (pattuppāṭṭu). The works which contain verses having less than fifty lines and which are composed in different metres generally come under 'kilkkaṇakku'. Mēṛkaṇakku works have fifty to five hundred lines and are composed of 'akaval', 'kalippā' and 'paripāṭal' metres.

All the works, except one in Patinenkilkkaṇakku are composed in 'veṇṇā' metre. Mutumolikkāñci is composed in veṇṇurai, a variety of veṇṇā metre.

For the purpose of the present study, as per the consensus among the Tamil Scholars,¹ the following are accepted as the eighteen works of Patinenkilkkaṇakku.

PKK Works²

Authors

acārakkōvai (100)	Peruvāyiṇ muḷḷiyār
iṇṇā nārpatu (40)	Kapilar
iṇiyavai nārpatu (40)	Pūtañcētaṇār
ēlāti (80)	Kaṇimētaiyār
aintiṇai eḷupatu (66)	Mūvātiyār
aintiṇai aimpatu (50)	Māraṇ poraiyaṇār
kaḷavaḷi nārpatu (41)	Poykaiyār
kār nārpatu (40)	Maturaik kaṇṇaṇ kūttāṇār
kainnilai (60)	Pullāṇkāṭaṇār
ciṇupañcamūlam (97)	Kāriyācāṇ
tiṇaimālai nūṇraimpatu (153)	Kaṇimētāviyār
tiṇaimoḷi aimpatu (50)	Kaṇṇaṇcētaṇār
tirikaṭukam (100)	Nallātaṇār
tirukkuraḷ (1330)	Tiruvḷḷuvar
nālaṭiyār (400)	Various authors
nāṇmaṇikkaṭikai (106)	Viḷampinākaṇār
paḷamoḷi (400)	Munturai araiyaṇār
mutumolikkāñci (100)	Maturaik kūṭalūr kiḷār

Though *tirukkuraḷ* might have been composed earlier than *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* it is included in the eighteen works of PKK for the simple reason that it is composed in *veṇṇpā* metre, which characterises the period starting some where from the 3rd century A.D., and continuing upto the 7th century A.D., if not later³. As far as the remaining seventeen works in this collection are concerned, they belong to the post-sangam period but earlier to the 7th century A.D.

Of the eighteen works, six are 'akam' works dealing with the love theme; one (*kaḷavaḷi nārpatu*) describing the

battle field of Kaḷumalam, where the Cōḷaṇ Kōcceṇkaṇāṇ has defeated the Cērā king; therefore it may be considered a 'puṇam' work and the rest are also evidently works on 'puṇam' (themes other than love) but are unique in being bunches of ethical epigrams.

Akam Works :

The names of six 'akam' works except 'kainnilai' are characterised by the theme as well as the number of verses contained in them. Kār nāṇpatu consists of forty verses depicting the life of lovers during the rainy season. It is the poetry of a heroine expecting the return of the hero at the appointed time. Kainnilai consists of sixty verses which are classified into five groups of twelve verses each and describing the akam life of the five different regions of Tamil Nadu.

Tiṇaimoḷi aimpatu and aintiṇai aimpatu each consists of fifty verses, being classified into five 'tiṇais'⁴ of ten verses each and each of them describes the akam life of the five different regions. Tiṇaimālai nūṇaimpatu describes the five regions and each 'tiṇai' has thirty verses. Aintiṇai eḷupatu too describes the five regions in seventy verses.

Puṇam Works :

Among the twelve puṇam works three viz., tirikaṭukam, ēlāti and ciṇupaṇcamūlam are named after the popular medicines of the age. They are the ethical works being as good as these medicines, for curing human beings of their moral ills and restoring them to the health of good life. Tirikaṭukam consisting of one hundred verses, each verse brings out three characteristic features of three kinds of people or three moral epigrams. Ciṇupaṇcamūlam contains one hundred verses, each of which brings out five moral principles. Similarly, ēlāti, which consists of one hundred verses each dealing with six moral principles.

Nāṇmaṇikkaṭikai literally means a necklace made of four kinds of precious stones. It has one hundred verses, each dealing with four ethical statements. Among the four forties⁵, *iṇiyavai nāṇpatu* enumerates the sweet 'do's' and *iṇṇā nāṇpatu* the other bitter 'don'ts' of moral life. *Ācārakkōvai* consists of one hundred verses highlighting the good conduct of the people.

Nālaṭiyār and *paḷamoli* each consists of four hundred verses on morals. *Mutumolikkāñci* consists of ten tens, each ten consisting of ten statements. *Kaḷavaḷi nāṇpatu* (forty verses) is a description of a battle field and it emphasises the ephemeral nature of the world.

Tirukkuraḷ contains 1330 verses written in the form of couplet and it deals with the three aims of human life (*āram*, *poruḷ* and *iṇṇam*). This work stands the test of time because it emphasises the truth of life.

Notes on Patineṅkīlkkāṇakku :

1. Vaiyapurip Pillai, S., Ilakkiyamaṇimālai, pp. 78-80. Meenakshisundaran, T.P., A History of Tamil Literature, pp. 47-64.
2. The number of verses available in the editions referred to here in the study are given within brackets.
3. Meenakshisundaran, T.P., A History of Tamil Literature, p. 48.
4. Kuṟiñci, Mullai, Pālai, Neytal and Marutam.
Kuṟiñci is the happy union of the ideal lovers. Mullai is the ideal chastity where the loving hearts bearing jointly the burden of life, feel and think alike. Pālai is the feeling of separation. Neytal is the feeling of desolation and despair. Marutam deals with the prostitutes and love quarrel of the lovers.
5. The four forties are, viz., iṇiyavai nārpatu, innā nārpatu, kār nārpatu and kaḷavaḷi nārpatu.

1. *TC*, 234

2. *TC*, 235

3. *TC*, 236

4. *TC*, 237

5. *TC*, 238

6. *TC*, 239

7. *TC*, 240

8. *TC*, 241

9. *TC*, 242

10. *TC*, 243

11. Symbols + denote the availability whereas the symbol - denotes the non-availability of tradition / version. The main reference is *Tolkāppiyam*.

- Notes on Pāṇini's *Ashtadhyāyī* by P. B. Srinivasan, pp. 78-80.
2. The number of verses available in the editions referred to here in the study are given within brackets.
3. *Meenakshisundaran, T. A. History of Tamil Literature*, pp. 48.
4. *Meenakshisundaran, Pāṇini's Ashtadhyāyī*, pp. 78-80.
5. The four forties are, viz., *igiyavai nāṭṭam*, *nāṭṭam kār nāṭṭam* and *kāṇṇai nāṭṭam*.

APPENDIX II

A COMPARATIVE CHART OF ITAICCOLS @

	Sangam Literature	PKK
1. maṇ (TC, 252)	+	+
2. til (TC, 253)	+	-
3. koṇ (TC, 254)	+	+
4. um (TC, 255)	+	+
5. ō (TC, 256)	+	+
6. ē (TC, 257)	+	+
7. eṇa (TC, 258)	+	+
8. eṇru (TC, 259)	+	+
9. marru (TC, 262)	+	+
10. erṛu (TC, 263)	+	+
11. maṇṇaiyatu (TC, 264)	+	+
12. maṇṇa (TC, 265)	+	+

@ Symbol + denotes the availability whereas the symbol - denotes the non-availability of itaiccol / uriccol with the meaning mentioned in Tolkāppiyam.

13. tañcam (TC, 266)	+	+
14. antiḷ (TC, 267)	+	-
15. kol (TC, 268)	+	+
16. el (TC, 269)	+	+
17. ār (TC, 270)	-	-
18. kurai (TC, 272)	+	+
19. mā (TC, 273)	+	-
20. miyā (TC, 274)	+	-
21. ika (TC, 274)	+	-
22. mō (TC, 274)	+	-
23. mati (TC, 274)	+	-
24. ikum (TC, 274)	+	-
25. ciṇ (TC, 274)	+	+
26. amma (TC, 276)	+	+
27. āṇka (TC, 277)	+	+
28. pōlum (TC, 278)	+	+
29. yā (TC, 279)	+	-
30. kā (TC, 279)	+	+
31. piṛa (TC, 279)	+	+
32. piṛakku (TC, 279)	+	+
33. arō (TC, 279)	+	+
34. pō (TC, 279)	+	-
35. mātu (TC, 279)	+	+
36. āka (TC, 280)	+	+
37. ākal (TC, 280)	+	+

Particles of Comparison :	Sangam literature	PKK
1. <i>anna</i> (TP, 282)	+	+
2. <i>āṇka</i> (TP, 282)	-	+
3. <i>irappa</i> (TP, 282)	-	-
4. <i>uṛala</i> (TP, 282)	+	-
5. <i>eṇṇa</i> (TP, 282)	+	-
6. <i>eṇṇa</i> (TP, 282)	-	-
7. <i>eḷḷa</i> (TP, 282)	-	-
8. <i>ēyppa</i> (TP, 282)	+	-
9. <i>oppa</i> (TP, 282)	+	+
10. <i>oṇṇa</i> (TP, 282)	-	-
11. <i>oṭuṇka</i> (TP, 282)	-	-
12. <i>oṭṭa</i> (TP, 282)	-	+
13. <i>ōṭa</i> (TP, 282)	-	-
14. <i>kaḷḷa</i> (TP, 282)	-	-
15. <i>kaṭuppa</i> (TP, 282)	+	-
16. <i>kāyppa</i> (TP, 282)	-	-
17. <i>takaiya</i> (TP, 282)	-	-
18. <i>naḷiya</i> (TP, 282)	-	-
19. <i>naṭuṇka</i> (TP, 282)	-	-
20. <i>nanta</i> (TP, 282)	-	-
21. <i>nāṭa</i> (TP, 282)	-	-
22. <i>nikarppa</i> (TP, 282)	+	-
23. <i>pulla</i> (TP, 282)	-	-

24. puraiya (TP, 282)	+	-
25. pōla (TP, 282)	+	+
26. poruva (TP, 282)	-	-
27. porpa (TP, 282)	-	-
28. maru a_ (TP, 282)	-	-
29. matippa (TP, 282)	-	-
30. maruppa (TP, 282)	-	-
31. māṇa (TP, 282)	+	-
32. māṛra (TP, 282)	-	-
33. viyappa (TP, 282)	-	-
34. viḷaiya (TP, 282)	-	-
35. vīla (TP, 282)	-	-
36. vella (TP, 282)	-	-
37. nōkka (TP, 283)	-	-
38. nēra (TP, 287)	-	-

24.	porosa (TP, 282)	+	-
25.	pola (TP, 282)	+	+
26.	porosa (TP, 282)	-	-
27.	porosa (TP, 282)	-	-
28.	marula (TP, 282)	-	-
29.	mariposa (TP, 282)	-	-
30.	mariposa (TP, 282)	-	-
31.	magna (TP, 282)	+	-
32.	magna (TP, 282)	-	-
33.	vivipara (TP, 282)	+	-
34.	vivipara (TP, 282)	+	-
35.	villa (TP, 282)	-	-
36.	villa (TP, 282)	-	-
37.	negra (TP, 282)	-	-
38.	negra (TP, 282)	-	-
39.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
40.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
41.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
42.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
43.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
44.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
45.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
46.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
47.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
48.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
49.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
50.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
51.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
52.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
53.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
54.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
55.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
56.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
57.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
58.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
59.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
60.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
61.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
62.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
63.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
64.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
65.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
66.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
67.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
68.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
69.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
70.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
71.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
72.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
73.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
74.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
75.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
76.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
77.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
78.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
79.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
80.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
81.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
82.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
83.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
84.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
85.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
86.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
87.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
88.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
89.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
90.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
91.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
92.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
93.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
94.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
95.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
96.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
97.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
98.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
99.	(282, TP) villa	-	-
100.	(282, TP) villa	-	-

APPENDIX III

A COMPARATIVE CHART OF URICCOLS

		Sangam literature	PKK
1. uru (TC, 299)	+	+	+
2. tava (TC, 299)	-	+	+
3. naṇi (TC, 299)	-	+	+
4. uru (TC, 300)	+	+	+
5. purai (TC, 300)	+	+	+
6. kuru (TC, 301)	+	+	+
7. keḷu (TC, 301)	-	-	-
8. cellal (TC, 302)	+	+	+
9. inṇal (TC, 302)	+	+	+
10. mallal (TC, 303)	+	+	+
11. ē (TC, 304)	+	+	+
12. ukappu (TC, 305)	+	-	-
13. uvappu (TC, 305)	+	-	-
14. payappu (TC, 306)	+	-	-

15. pacappu (TC, 307)	+	+
16. iyaipu (TC, 308)	+	+
17. icaippu (TC, 309)	-	-
18. alamaral (TC, 310)	+	-
19. terumaral (TC, 310)	+	-
20. maḷa (TC, 311)	+	-
21. kuḷa (TC, 311)	-	+
22. cīrtti (TC, 312)	+	-
23. mālai (TC, 313)	+	+
24. kūrppu (TC, 314)	-	-
25. kaḷivu (TC, 314)	-	-
26. kataḷvu (TC, 315)	+	-
27. tuṇaivu (TC, 315)	-	-
28. atirvu (TC, 316)	+	+
29. vitirppu (TC, 316)	+	+
30. vārtal (TC, 317)	+	-
31. pōkal (TC, 317)	+	-
32. oḷukal (TC, 317)	+	+
33. tīrtal (TC, 318)	+	+
34. tīrttal (TC, 318)	+	+
35. keṭavaral (TC, 319)	-	-
36. paṇṇai (TC, 319)	+	+
37. taṭa (TC, 320)	+	+
38. kaya (TC, 320)	+	+
39. naḷi (TC, 320)	+	+
40. paḷutu (TC, 324)	-	+
41. cāyal (TC, 325)	-	+
42. muḷutu (TC, 326)	+	+

43. vampu (TC, 327)	-	+	+
44. mātar (TC, 328)	+	+	+
45. nampu (TC, 329)	+	-	-
46. mēvu (TC, 329)	+	+	-
47. ōyṭal (TC, 330)	-	-	-
48. āyṭal (TC, 330)	-	+	-
49. niḷattal (TC, 330)	+	+	-
50. cāay (TC, 330)	+	+	-
51. pulampu (TC, 331)	+	+	+
52. tuvaṇṇu (TC, 332)	+	+	-
53. murañcal (TC, 333)	+	-	-
54. vemmai (TC, 334)	+	+	-
55. porpu (TC, 336)	-	+	-
56. vaṇṇitu (TC, 336)	-	+	+
57. ēṇṇam (TC, 337)	-	+	+
58. piṇai (TC, 338)	-	-	+
59. pēṇ (TC, 338)	+	-	+
60. paṇai (TC, 339)	+	+	+
61. paṇar (TC, 340)	-	+	+
62. paiyuḷ (TC, 341)	+	+	-
63. ciṇumai (TC, 341)	+	+	-
64. eyyāmai (TC, 342)	+	+	-
65. naṇṇu (TC, 343)	+	+	+
66. tā (TC, 344)	-	+	-
67. tev (TC, 345)	+	-	-
68. tevvu (TC, 346)	+	+	-
69. viṇṇappu (TC, 347)	+	-	-
70. uṇṇappu (TC, 347)	-	-	-

71. veruppu (TC, 347)	+	-	(TC, 347) veruppu
72. kampalai (TC, 349)	+	+	(TC, 349) kampalai
73. cummai (TC, 349)	-	+	(TC, 349) cummai
74. kali (TC, 349)	+	+	(TC, 349) kali
75. aḷuṅkal (TC, 349)	-	+	(TC, 349) aḷuṅkal
76. kaḷum (TC, 351)	+	-	(TC, 351) kaḷum
77. ceḷumai (TC, 352)	+	+	(TC, 352) ceḷumai
78. viḷumam (TC, 353)	+	+	(TC, 353) viḷumam
79. karuvi (TC, 354)	+	+	(TC, 354) karuvi
80. kamam (TC, 355)	+	+	(TC, 355) kamam
81. ari (TC, 356)	-	+	(TC, 356) ari
82. kavavu (TC, 357)	+	+	(TC, 357) kavavu
83. tuvaittal (TC, 358)	+	-	(TC, 358) tuvaittal
84. cilaittal (TC, 358)	+	-	(TC, 358) cilaittal
85. iyampal (TC, 358)	+	-	(TC, 358) iyampal
86. iraṅkal (TC, 358)	-	-	(TC, 358) iraṅkal
87. ilampāṭu (TC, 360)	-	+	(TC, 360) ilampāṭu
88. oṟkam (TC, 360)	+	+	(TC, 360) oṟkam
89. ṇemīrtal (TC, 361)	+	-	(TC, 361) ṇemīrtal
90. pāyṭal (TC, 361)	+	+	(TC, 361) pāyṭal
91. kavaru (TC, 362)	+	+	(TC, 362) kavaru
92. cēr (TC, 363)	+	+	(TC, 363) cēr
93. viyal (TC, 364)	+	+	(TC, 364) viyal
94. pēm (TC, 365)	+	-	(TC, 365) pēm
95. nām (TC, 365)	-	+	(TC, 365) nām
96. urum (TC, 365)	+	+	(TC, 365) urum
97. vāya (TC, 366)	-	+	(TC, 366) vāya
98. vāl (TC, 367)	-	+	(TC, 367) vāl
99. tuyavu (TC, 368)	-	-	(TC, 368) tuyavu

100. uyā (TC, 369)	+	-
101. ucā (TC, 370)	+	+
102. vayā (TC, 371)	+	+
103. kaṛuppu (TC, 372)	-	-
104. civappu (TC, 372)	+	+
105. nocivu (TC, 374)	+	-
106. nuḷaivu (TC, 374)	-	-
107. nuṇaṅku (TC, 374)	+	+
108. puṇṇiru (TC, 375)	+	-
109. naṇavu (TC, 376)	+	-
110. mata (TC, 377)	+	+
111. yāṇar (TC, 379)	+	+
112. amartal (TC, 380)	-	-
113. yāṇu (TC, 381)	+	-
114. paravu (TC, 382)	-	-
115. paḷiccu (TC, 382)	-	-
116. kaṭi (TC, 383)	+	+
117. al (TC, 385)	+	+
118. muṇaivu (TC, 386)	-	-
119. vai (TC, 387)	+	+
120. eṇuḷ (TC, 388)	+	-

71. rə-tə-ə (TC, 347)	+	-	100. nɔ̌ə (TC, 369)
72. kə-ə-ə (TC, 348)	+	+	101. nɔ̌ə (TC, 370)
73. ə-ə-ə (TC, 349)	+	+	102. nɔ̌ə (TC, 371)
74. ə-ə-ə (TC, 350)	-	+	103. kə-ə-ə (TC, 372)
75. ə-ə-ə (TC, 351)	+	+	104. ə-ə-ə (TC, 373)
76. ə-ə-ə (TC, 352)	+	-	105. nɔ̌ə (TC, 374)
77. ə-ə-ə (TC, 353)	-	+	106. nɔ̌ə (TC, 375)
78. ə-ə-ə (TC, 354)	+	+	107. nɔ̌ə (TC, 376)
79. ə-ə-ə (TC, 355)	+	+	108. nɔ̌ə (TC, 377)
80. ə-ə-ə (TC, 356)	+	+	109. nɔ̌ə (TC, 378)
81. ə-ə-ə (TC, 357)	+	+	110. nɔ̌ə (TC, 379)
82. ə-ə-ə (TC, 358)	+	-	111. nɔ̌ə (TC, 380)
83. ə-ə-ə (TC, 359)	-	-	112. nɔ̌ə (TC, 381)
84. ə-ə-ə (TC, 360)	+	-	113. nɔ̌ə (TC, 382)
85. ə-ə-ə (TC, 361)	-	-	114. nɔ̌ə (TC, 383)
86. ə-ə-ə (TC, 362)	-	-	115. nɔ̌ə (TC, 384)
87. ə-ə-ə (TC, 363)	+	+	116. nɔ̌ə (TC, 385)
88. ə-ə-ə (TC, 364)	+	+	117. nɔ̌ə (TC, 386)
89. ə-ə-ə (TC, 365)	-	-	118. nɔ̌ə (TC, 387)
90. ə-ə-ə (TC, 366)	+	+	119. nɔ̌ə (TC, 388)
91. ə-ə-ə (TC, 367)	+	+	120. nɔ̌ə (TC, 389)
92. ə-ə-ə (TC, 368)	-	+	
93. ə-ə-ə (TC, 369)	-	+	
94. ə-ə-ə (TC, 370)	-	+	
95. ə-ə-ə (TC, 371)	-	+	
96. ə-ə-ə (TC, 372)	-	+	
97. ə-ə-ə (TC, 373)	-	+	
98. ə-ə-ə (TC, 374)	-	+	
99. ə-ə-ə (TC, 375)	-	+	

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