G. Srinivasa Varma
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HARIJAN DIALECT
OF
TAMIL

WITH COURAGE AND FAITH
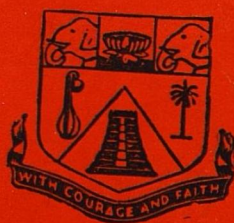
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Annamalainagar
1976

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FOREWORD

The Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics has been engaged in a Dialect Survey of Tamilnadu. This study is important as it reveals the similarities and dissimilarities of the speech varieties of different regional, religious and social groups. The present book 'HARIJAN DIALECT OF TAMIL' by Dr. G. Srinivasa Varma and Mr. N. Ramaswamy is a part of this project and the dialect analysed in this study is spoken by the Harijan community of South Arcot District in Tamilnadu. This is the seventh book in the series on Dialect studies. This is to be followed by several other monographs on dialect studies prepared by the members of the Staff and the Research Scholars of this Centre.

The aim of this project is to unearth the peculiar features of different dialects of Tamil spoken in Tamilnadu. These informations are useful to the Historical and Comparative Linguists to study the pattern of changes that are prevalent in different dialects. This will also be useful to the scholars who work on the Historical Grammar of Tamil.

In the present study many interesting features peculiar to the Harijan speech have been identified and given by the authors. A good number of words used by this community is also classified and given at the end of the book. The introduction by the authors focus on the salient features of the dialect. The authors deserve congratulation and I appreciate their sincere efforts on the wonderful work they have done. I am sure that this book will be useful to Tamilologists in general and Dialectologists in particular.

S. AGESTHIALINGOM,

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10th Dec. '76.   Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

A characteristic feature of the Indian Society is the segementation of the population into ethnically distinct endogamous groups of castes. The society is divided into four major groups or Varnas — the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Sudras — arranged in their particular order with the Brahmins at the top and the Sudras at the bottom. Untouchable or outcastes belong to the fifth group. Mahatma Gandhi coined the term ' Harijan ' to refer to them. The terms *Harijan* and *Paraivan* are interchangeable and are used in this present study because in this district the term 'paraiyan' is the one widely used. Harijan community suffered from untouchability in one form or another by their birth. This community is classified under scheduled caste.

The traditional low social status of Harijans is based on the existence a stratified hierachy of caste founded on the dichotomy of the pure and impure. The Brahmin whose ritual deeds and occupational pursuits represented purity was the pinnacle of the hierarchy. At the bottom of the hierarchy and ritual opposite to Brahmins was the Harijan.

The Harijans held traditional caste occupations which were considered mean and polluting to all caste Hindus. Harijans have traditionally lived in their own settlement of *ceris* on the outskirts of the village. Harijans were bound in

service-relationship, they held no land and had no oppor-
tunities to become literate. In this respect the words of
E· Thurston* will not be out of place to quote here.

"The paraiyans (*Hari jans*) have long been a settled race.
There is some evidence that the race had a long past, and one
in which they had independence and possibly great importance
in the Peninsula. Mr. Stuart mentions that the Valluvans
were priests to the Pallava kings before the introduction to the
Brahmans and even for some time after it. He quotes an
unpublished *vattelutu* inscription, believed to belong to the
ninth century, in which it is noted that "Sri Valluvan
puvanavan, the Uvacchan, will employ six men daily, and do
the temple service."

The inference is that Valluvan was a man of recognised
priestly rank, and great influence. The prefix 'Sri' is notable
honorific. The legendary history of the greatest of all Tamil
poets ' Thruvalluvar ' "the holy valluvan", confirms all that
can be deduced from it. His date can be fixed approximately,
but it is probable that he flourished not later than the Tenth
Century A. D. It is safe to say that this extra ordinary sage
could not have attained the fame he did or have received the
honours that were showered upon him, had not the valluvans,
and therefore paraiyans been in the circle of respectable
society of his day. There are certain previleges possessed by
Pariyans which they could never have gained for themselves
from orthodox Hinduism. They seem to be survivals of a
past, in which paraiyans held a much higher position than
they do now.

Throughout the whole of Tamil country it is used
to find that the land allotted for house site *nattam* is
in two portions in every village *(u:r)*. One part is known

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* E. Thurston, 1909 *Castes and Tribes of Southern India,*
Vol. VI P–S, PP. 77–138.

by the Sanskrit name *gramam* (village), the inhabited place. The other is called by the Dravidian name *Che:ri* gathering place). The facts, taken together, seem to show that the paraiyan priests (valluvans), and therefore paraiyans, as a race are very ancient, that ten centuries ago they were a respectable community. The institution of the Paracheri points to original independence and even to possession of much of the land. If the account colonisation of Tondaimandalam by non-parayains in the eighth century A. D. is historic, then it is possible that at that time the paraiyans lost the land, and that their degradation as a race has begun simultaneously".

When India attained freedom, the Constitution took special care to remove the injustice done to the Harijans. Harijans rights have been safeguarded by legal frame work such as the State Temple Entry Act of 1967 and the Government of India Untouchability Offences Act of 1955. The Harijan is becomming more vocal and more aware of his rights, but still social and religious attitudes persist and tend to change slowly.

Generally we find diversity within languages on all levels-phonological, grammatical and lexical. Such diversity can be studied along three synchromic dimensions - geographical, social and stylistic. Among the social stratifications, caste and caste groups education that correlate with isoglosses distribution, between touchable and untouchable speech and among touchables between Brahmin and non-Brahmins. The significance of linguistic differences and similarities is discussed as an expression of the social and ritual distance between major segments of Tamil Society.

The concept of varna and the opposition of purity and pollution provide the basis for socio-linguistic division of Indian Society in general and Tamil Society in particular. Variation in Tamil is regional as well social. The social parameters

are educated/uneducated,urban/rural, formal/informal, caste castes and so on. Caste status appears to be the dominant social variable correlated with linguistic variation. In Hindu Society the untouchables hold a very important place. They are agents of pollution because of polluted state, untouchables must live in separate place. Brahmins like untouchables in Tamilnadu tend to live apart from the rest of the community in the agraharams. Brahmin community is isolated by ritual status. The dialect differences appear to be used as expressions of social identity. That is why we find in Tamilnadu, Brahmin dialect which is distinguished from Harijan dialect.

The linguistic distinction between Brahmin and non-Brahmin is an expression of social distance between these two groups. The isoglosses separating Brahmin, non-Brahmin and untouchable speech coincide with important boundaries in the Hindu social hierarchy. The social and ritual corrollaries of this division of Hindu society can be understood in terms of the opposition between purity and pollution as it is expressed in the varna system in Tamilnadu.

The Harijan Dialect of Tamil is in the transition stage, more sophistication is taking place from the speech of old and younger generation. This may be attributed to either education or with the contact with other communities. The archaic forms which are found in this dialect should be recorded for preservation throughout Tamilnadu, otherwise interdialectal borrowings will replace those lexical items in due course.

This study represents a Harijan Dialect of Tamil spoken in the South Arcot District in Tamilnadu.

The total population of scheduled caste in Tamilnadu is 6067327. This is about 18% of the total population of the

State. In South Arcot district alone they form 13.2% of the total population of the district which has an area of 4208 square miles. This district still remains as an undeveloped district in the matters regarding industry and also in agriculture. The literacy level of Harijans in Tamilnadu is 31.4%. In South Arcot district the literacy level for Harijans is 13.67%.

The special features of this dialect can be easily noticed if anybody listens to the Harijan's speech with a linguistic mind. Even a man in the street, now-a-days tries to interpret the differences in the speech of the other people either as belonging to a different region or social class or caste.

Some of the special features of this dialect can be illustrated as typical examples of Harijan speech. Phonologically *pallar* (a sect of Harijans) dialect of Tamil spoken in Ramnad district is said to be a / s / dialect according to Kamil Zvelebil *.

But scholars claimed so far that Harijan dialect preserves the / c / initially and intervocalically. The velar voiced nasal is one of the allophones of / n /. But some of the kinship terms begin with [ñ] phone followed by the velar stop retaining its environmental distribution.

Grammatically there is more simplification in the gender agreement of subject and predicate. Neuter marker –*tu*/–*cci* is used for honorific human singular both for masculine and feminine singular. The leixcal item *ma:pleto:li* 'bride-groom's companion at the time of marriage' has unusual ending feminine –*i* in this dialect: Another interesting form is *macci* also has –*i* feminine

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* Kamil Zvelebil — 1965. " *Pallar Speech*" a contribution
to Tamil dialectology, Linguistics, 21.
PP 87-97.

but denotes masculine. The form˘ *macci* in non-Harijan dialect denotes 'sister-in-law' but in the Harijan Dialect it denotes elder-sister's husbánd of a woman.

appa:ru vanticci	father came
aṇṇen vantutu/vanti:ci	elder brother came
akka: vanticci	elder-sister came
atu vanticci	it came

Some of the marked lexical items of this dialect are given below as illustrations of this dialect. Many of these tems may be known to others but not used by them in their speech because social stigma is attached to them.

eṭava:ru	belt
emplatu	eighty
e:cu	to scold
e:ntrom	hand mill
e: ṇe	cradle made of saree
anka:ṭi	edible
aṇṇa:kavuru	waist band
arikaṭe	stalks of padi after harvest
u:ṭṭa:	fishing basket
u:ṇu	to keep a stick in support to stand
ore more	relatives
koṇṭa:nkuṭuṭṭa:n	relatives of marriageble relationship
picini	gum
paḷani	palmyrah juice
pa:ñji ra:tri	midnight
puṭṭi	basket
pu:ṭṭa:n kavuru	rope for yoke
poḷa:cci	split bamboo
tiṭṭa:ṇi	thrashing floor.
taṭṭiyanka:	girl's play of clapping hands

cenka:yom	stalk of seasame plant.
cerava:ne	a small pot
atuva:ne	a cooking pot
ca:lukaravom	holy pots at the marriage
co:ttalavu	sticks used to strain water from rice
kete:ri	heifer
keta:cu	to throw
katava:ni	a nail in the axis
kora:kutti	she–lamb
minna:pallu	front row of teeth
macci	elder sister's husband
maccinicci	sister-in-law
mutukka:n	a big house
mukkuni	supporting 7 shaped wood of a cart.
mulunki	bamboo
vetiva:lu	white tailed cattle
vettumalu	a ditch
va:ca:nku	scolding
ve:ca na:lu	sunny days / summer
va:nkalavu	hooked pole
vatakavuru	rope made of leather
vatampu	a line of thatch in a roof
va:ttappili	a kind of winnowing to remove the chaff
va:rate	a thin narrow cloth

1 PHONOLOGY

1. Phonemic Inventory

1. 1. 1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

There are twenty five segmental phonemes in this dialect of which ten are vowels and fifteen are consonants.

1. 1. 2. VOWEL PHONEMES

	Front	Central	Back
High	*i* *i:*		*u* *u:*
Mid	*e* *e:*		*o* *o:*
Low		*a* *a:*	

1. 1. 3. CONSONANTS

		Bl.	Ld.	Dt.	Al.	Rt.	Pl.	Vr.
Stop	Vl.	*p*		*t*		*ʈ*	*c*	*k*
Nasal		*m*			*n*	*ṇ*		
Fricative						(*ṣ*)[1]		
Lateral					*l*	*ḷ*	*ḻ*	
Flap					*r*			
Semivowel			*v*				*y*	

1. 2. Contrasting Pairs

1. 2. 1. VOWELS

1. 2. 1. 1. Quantitative Contrasts

/*i* *i:*/	*itu*	this
	minnal	lightning
	tiri	wig
	i:rom	wet
	mi:nu	fish
	ti:	fire
/*e* *e:*/	*eli*	rat
	ceṭi	plant
	e:ṇi	ladder
	ce:ti	news

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[1] Phonemes with low frequency of occurrence are given within parentheses

/a ɑ:/	ale	wave
	vali	pain
	a:le	rice-mill
	va:li	black–bird
/o o:/	ole	oven
	koṭi	creaper
	o:le	leaf
	ko:ṭi	crore
/u u:/	uṭu	leave
	kuṭṭe	pond
	puṭu	new
	u:ṭu	house
	ku:ṭṭom	crowd
	pu:	flower

I. 2. 2.   Interlocking contrasts

/i e/	inku	here
	cikku	tangle
	paci	hunger
	enku	where
	cekku	oil press
	pace	grease
/i a/	itu	this
	piṭi	catch
	etu	which
	paṭi	read

/i o/	iṭi	pond
	tiṇṇu	eat
	oṭi	break
	toṇṇu:ru	ninety
/i u/	iḻu	pull
	kiḷi	parrot
	puḻi	squeeze
	uḻu	plough
	kuḷi	bath
	puḻu	worm
/e a/	eri	burn
	ceṭṭi	name of community
	ari	cut
	caṭṭi	pot
/e o/	ele	leaf
	keḷe	branch
	ole	hearth
	koḷom	tank
/e u/	eḻe	thread
	periye	high
	uḻu	plough
	puri	string of a rope
/a o/	aṭi	beat
	paṭi	read
	oṭi	break
	poṭi	snuff

/a̠ u/	al̠e	to weap
	kaṭi	bite
	ul̠e	to plough
	kuṭi	drink
/o u/	oru	one
	tole	get lost
	uru	figure
	tuṇi	cut into two

1. 2. 2. Consonants

1. 2. 2. 1.   Stops

/p v/	pa:tom	foot
	va:tom	rheumatison
/p v/	paṭṭu	silk
	mappu	cloud
	kaṭṭu	bandage
	makku	dull headed
c ṣ/	pa:com	love
	pa:ṣa:ṇom	poison
	ka:com	name of a disease
/t ṭ/	ma:tom	month
	ma:ṭom	niche in a wall

1. 2. 2. 2. Nasals

/m n/	mane	house site
	▪a:me	tortoise
	marom	tree
	maven	son
	nane	wet
	a:në	elephant
	umi	husk
/m ṇ/	uṇi	insect
	amma:	mother
	aṇṇi	sister-in-law
/n ṇ/	pane	palm tree
	paṇom	money

1. 2. 2. 3. Liquids

/l ḷ/	vale	net
	vaḷe	bend
/l ḻ/	tale	head
	taḻe	leaves
/ḷ ḻ/	puḷi	tamarind
	puḻi	to spueeze

1. 3. Phonemic Distribution

1. 3. 1. VOWELS

All the vowels occur in the initial and medial positions. Finally *e:, o, a,* and *u:* will not occur.

i	*iṭi*	pound
	tiri	wig
	piṭi	catch
i:	*i:rom*	wet
	mi:nu	fish
	ti:	fire
e	*erumpu*	ant
	vel̤e	white
	tale	head
e:	*e: ṇ i*	ladder
	te:l̤u	scorpion
a	*amma:*	mother
	pal̠om	fruit
a:	*a:ṭu*	to dance
	va:l̤u	sword
	appa:	father
o	*oṇṇu*	one
	poṇṇu	girl
o:	*o:ṭṭom*	running
	ko:yilu	temple
	po:.	go
u	*ucci*	top
	puttu	ant-hill
	ul̠u	fall down

u:	u:ṭu	house
	pu:ṭṭu	lock

1. 3 2.   Consonants

All the consonants except *ṭ*, *ṣ*, *ṇ*, *ḷ*, and *ḷ* occur initially. Medially all the consonants can occur while finally *m* and *n* alone can occur.

p	piḷḷe	child	kompu	horn		
t	tuṇi	cloth	kataʋu	door		
ṭ	—		toṭu	touch		
c	colḷu	say	ace	move		
k	kalḷu	stone	panku	share		
ṣ	—		veṣom	poison		
m	manom	heart	ma:men	uncle	marom	tree
n	na:ru	fibre	ma:non	sky	aven	he
ṇ	—		maṇi	time		
l	la:ʋom	profit	pa:lu	milk		
ḷ	—		teḷi	sprinkle		
ḷ	—		va:ḷe	plantain		
r	ra:tri	night	pa:ru	see		
v	va:lu	tail	ave	she		
y	ya:ru	who	a:ya	grand mother		

1. 4. Allophonic Distribution

1. 4. 1. Vowels

Phoneme	Allophone	Description and Distribution

/ i / [i] High front unrounded short vocoid. It occurs in all the three positions viz. initial, medial and final.

[*i rïmbï*]	*irumpu*	iron
[*kili*]	*kili*	parrot
[*tʌmbï*]	*tambi*	younger brother

/ i: / [i:] High front unrounded long vocoid. It occurs in all the three positions.

[*i:*]	*i:*	fly
[*ki:ttï*]	*ki:ttu*	plaited leaf
[*ti:*]	*ti:*	fire

/ e / [ɛ] Low front unrounded short vocoid occurs finally.

| [*pillɛ*] | *pille* | child |

[e] High mid front unrounded short vocoid. It occurs elsewhere.

| [*erïme*] | *erume* | buffalo |
| [*periyɛ*] | *periye* | big |

/ e: / [e:] Hight mid front unrounded long vocoid. It occurs initially and medially.

		[e:lõ] e:lom · auction
		[me:lɛ] me:le above

/ a /   [ʌ]   Lower-mid   back   unrounded vocoid. It occurs medially.

             [a]   Low central vocoid. It occurs elsewhere.

                          [amma:]   amma: mother

/ a: /   [a:]   Low central unrounded long vocoid. It occurs in all the three positions.

                          [a:ɳi]   a:ɳi   nail
                          [pa:lï]   pa:lu   milk
                          [va:]   va: come

/ o /   [ɔ]   mean-mid back unrounded short vocoid. It occurs in with nasalization finally as a phone

                          [mʌrɔ̃]   marom   tree

             [o]   Back higher mid rounded short vocoid. It occurs elsewhere.

                          [moḷa:]   moḷa: chilly
                          [olɛ]   olɛ   harth

/ u /   [ï]   High central unrounded short vocoid.   Occurs in the non-initial syllables

                          [o:ṭï]   o:ṭu   run
                          [orïvVdï]   oruvatu   ten

	[*u*]	High back rounded short vocoid. Occurs elsewhere

[u*l*i] *u*l*i* chisel
[mu*l*i] mu*l*i eye-ball

/ *u*: /	[*u*:]	High back rounded long vocoid. Occurs initially and medially.

[u:*tt*ï] u:*ttu* pour
[pu:*v*ï] pu:*vu* flower

1. 4. 2. CONSONANTS

/ *p* /	[*b*]	Bilabial voiced stop. It occurs after nasals and intervocalli‐cally.

[t*ʌ*mb*i*] tampi younger brother

[oba:y*ɔ̃*] opa:yom help

	[*p*]	Bilabial voiceless stop. It occurs elsewhere.

[p*ʌll*ï] pallu tooth
[k*ʌ*pp*ʌl*ï] kappalu ship

/ *t* /	[*d*]	Dental voiced stop. It occurs after a nasal and intervocali‐cally.

[s*ʌ*nd*ï] cantu lane
[ka: d*ï*] ka:tu ear

	[*t*]	Dental voiceless stop. It occurs elsewhere

| | | [*tuṇḍï*] | *tuṇṭu* | towel |
| | | [*pʌttï*] | *paṭṭu* | ten |

/ *ṭ* /   [*r*]   Retroflex voiced flap. It occurs intervocallcally.

| | | [*koṛɔ*] | *koṭom* | pot |

[*ḍ*] .   Retroflex voiced stop. It occurs after a nasal and as a second member in non-identical clusters.

| | | [*vʌṇḍi*] | *vaṇṭi* | cart |
| | | [*ku: pḍï*] | *ku:pṭu* | call |

[*ṭ*]   Retrofex voiceless stop. It occurs eleswhere.

| | | [*tʌṭṭï*] | *taṭṭu* | plate |

/ *c* /   [*s*]   Alveolar voiceless fricative. It occurs initially and intervocalically.

| | | [*so:rï*] | *co:ru* | rice |

[*j̆*]   palatal voiced affricate. It occurs medially after a nasal.

| | | [*pʌj̃ï*] | *panci* | cotton |

[*c̆*]   Palatal voiceless affricate. It occurs elsewhere.

| | | [*pʌc̆c̆ɛ*] | *pacce* | green |
| | | [*ka:c̆ña:*] | *ka:cna:n* | brewed |

/ *k* /   [*x*]   Velar voiceless fricative. It occurs intervocalically.

| | | [*noxʌttʌṛi*] | *nokattaṭi* | yoke |

[g]	Velar voiced stop. It occurs after a nasal.
	[ma:ŋga:] ma:nka: mango

[k]	velar voiceless stop. It occurs elsewhere.
	[ka:li̇] ka:lu leg
	[pa:kki̇] pa:kku aricanut

/ ṣ /	[ṣ]	Retroflex voiceless groove fricative. It occurs intervocalically.
		[ve:ṣɔ̃] ve:ṣom make-up

/ m /	$\left(\frac{\underset{\smile}{\sim}}{(v)}\right)$	Nasalization of vowel. It occurs finally with back vowels
		[o:rɔ̃] o:rom side
		[vʌri̇̃] varum will come

[m]	Bilabial voiced nasal. It occurs elsewhere.
	[mʌɳi] maɳi bell

/ n /	$\left(\frac{\underset{\smile}{\sim}}{(v)}\right)$	Nasalization with vowels. It occurs with front vowels and low central vowels.
		[to:l ɛ̃] to:len friend
		[vʌndã:] vanta:n came he

	[ñ̃]	Palatal voiced nasal. It occurs before palatal stop.
		[añ̃ ǰi] *anci* five
	[n̲]	Dental voiced nasal. It occurs before dental stop·
		[pʌn̲di] *pantu* ball
	[ṅ]	Velar voiced nasal. It occurs before velar stop.
		[pʌṅgï] *panku* share
	[n]	Alveolar voiced nasal. It occurs elsewhere.
		[na:nï] *na:nu* I
/ ṇ /	[ṇ]	Retroflex voiced nasal. It occurs medially.
		[tuṇi] *tuṇi* cloth
/ l /	[l]	Alveolar voiced lateral. It occurs initially and medially.
		[la:ṽɔ] *la:yom* profit
		]pʌlɔ̃] *palom* strength
/ ḷ /	[ḷ]	Retroflex voiced lateral. It occurs medially.
		[pʌḷḷɔ̃] *paḷḷom* ditch
/ ḻ /	[ḻ]	Palatal - laterated fricative. It occurs medially.
		[tʌḻɛ] *taḻe* leaves

		[*muḷïṅgi*]	*muḷinki*　bamboo
/ r /	[r]	Alveolar voiced lateral flap. It occurs initially and medially.	
		[*ra:ṇi*]	*ra:ṇi*　queen
		[*erïvï*]	*eruvu*　nanure
/ v /	[u̯]	High back rounded non-syllabic vocoid. It occurs after a vowel followed by a consonant.	
		[*kʌurï*]	*kavuru*　rope
	[v]	Lalbo - dental voiced semi - vociod. It occurs elsewhere.	
		[*ko:vɔ̃*]	*ko:vom*　anger
' y '	[i̯]	Front - high unrounded non - syllabic vocoid. It occurs medially after a vowel followed by a consonant.	
		[*Pʌiy̯ɛ̃*]	*payyen*　boy
	[y]	Palatal voiced semi - vocoid. It occurs elsewhere.	
		[*ya:rï*]	*ya:ru*　who

1. 5. Clusters

　Harijan Dialect of Tamil has no vowel cluster while consonant clusters are available in the medial position. The clusters have been analysed on the basis of number of

consonants constituting the cluster viz. two consonants and three consonants. Two consonant clusters are further subdivided into C_1 C_1 identical clusters, and C_1 C_2 non-identical clusters. Three consonants clusters are very few in number and they are not classified further.

1..5. 1.   MEDIAL CLUSTERS

1. 5. 1. 1.   Identical clusters C_1 C_1 type

Cluster	Illustrations	
- pp -	*appa:*	father
−*tt*−	*puttu*	ant-hill
−*ṭṭ*−	*koṭṭu*	pour
−cc−	*taccen*	carpenter
-kk-	*keḷakku*	East
-mm-	*amma:*	mother
-nn-	*kannon*	cheek
−*ṇṇ*−	*eṇṇe*	oil
-ll-	*collu*	say
-*ḷḷ*-	*taḷḷu*	push
−vv−	*vavva:*	bat
−yy−	*koyya:*	guava

1. 5. 1. 2.   Non - Identical to Clusters C_1 , C_2 type.

Cluster type.	Illustrations	
- *pṭ* -	*o:pṭiya:ḷ*	husband's brother's wife
- *pḷ* -	*ma:pḷe*	bride-groom
- tn -	*na:tna:*	husband's sister
- tl -	*vetle*	betal leaf

−tr−	ma:tre	pill
−ṭc−	laṭcom	lakh
−tṇ−	paṭṇi	starvation
−ṭr−	paṭre	paddy heap
−cl−	pe:cle	did not speak
−cr−	pe:cra:n	speaks, he
−ṣṇ−	uṣṇom	heat
−mp−	tirumpu	turn
−mc−	camca:rom	wife
−ml̤−	taml̤a:ru	tumbler
−nt−	uluntu	black-gram
−nk−	te:nka:	coconut
−nc−	inci	jinger
−ṇṭ−	noṇṭi	lame
−lr−	colra:n	tells, he
−lv−	celvom	wealth
−ly−	kalya:nom	marriage
−l̤v−	ke:l̤vi	question
−rp−	arpen	silly-person
−rk−	ma:rkal̤i	name of a month
−rṣ−	varṣom	year
−rṇ−	karṇe	yam
−rl−	verlu	finger
−rv−	po:rve	shawl
−vn−	mɑvnom	silence
−vl̤−	kavl̤i	a bundle of betel leaves
−vr−	kavru	rope
−yl−	kayle	in the hand
−yu−	ceyva:n	will do, he

1. 5. 1. 3.   Three consonant clusters of $C_1 C_1 C_2$; $C_1 C_2 C_3$ & $C_1 C_2 C_2$ types

Cluster	Illustrations	
- *kkl* -	*naṭakkle*	didnot walk
– *kky* -	*pa:kkyaca:li*	lucky person
– *mpḷ* –	*empḷatu*	eighty
– *nkḷ* –	*ke:ṭṭa:nkḷa:m*	they heard
- *nkr* -	*tu:nkra:n*	sleeps, he
– *rkk* –	*me:rkku*	west
– *ykk* –	*te:ykke*	to rub
– *ycc* –	*oraycca:n*	ground, he
– *yyl* -	*ceyyle*	did not do

1. 6.   Syllable Types

Every syllable in this dialect has a vowel short or long as its peak.   The peak of a syllable may have an onset of a consonant (c) or consonant cluster (c c) and or a coda of a consonant (c) or consonants (c c).   Syllabic boundary is shown by a small dash - symbol.

1. 6. 1.   Monosyllabic words

Open : (C) $\overline{V}$

$\overline{V}$	:	*i:*	fly
$C\overline{V}$	:	*po:*	go

Close : $C\overset{\circ}{V}C$

| CVC | : | *cey* | do |

CV̄C   *te:y*   rub

1. 6. 2. Disyllabic words

Open : (C) V̆ (C) CV̆

V - CV	:	*e–tu*	which
V – CV	⁚	*o:–ṭu*	run
CV - CV	:	*nu-ṇi*	tip
CV̄ - CV	:	*pa:-ṭu*	sing
V̄ – CV̄	⁚	*o:-na:*	wolf
VC – CV	:	*ac-ci*	mother's sister
CVC–CV	⁚	*pan-ci*	cotton
CV̄C–CV	:	*to:ṇ-ṭi*	small pot

Close : (C)V̆ (C)CV̆C

V-CVC	:	*o-lay*	oven
V̄ – CVC	:	*o:-rom*	side
CV̄ – CVC	:	*ko:-lom*	fine-art
CVC - CV̄C	:	*kaṇ-ṭa:n*	saw, he

1. 6. 3. Trisyllabic words

Open : (C)V̆ (C)CV̆ (C)CV̆

V – CV – CV	:	*e-ru-vu*	manure
V – CVC-CV	:	*i-rum-pu*	iron
CV–CV–CV	:	*ka-na-vu*	dream
CV̄–CV̄-CV	:	*ko:-ma:-ri*	a disease

C$\bar{\text{V}}$C-C$\bar{\text{V}}$C- C$\bar{\text{V}}$:   *ni:r-ka:k-ka*   a kind of aquatic bird

Close :   C$\breve{\text{V}}$ (C) C$\breve{\text{V}}$ (C) CVC

CV-CVC-CVC	:	*ka-lap-pay* plough
CV-CV-CVC	:	*ke-la-may* day
C$\bar{\text{V}}$-C$\bar{\text{V}}$C-CVC	:	*ko:-la:t-tom* a play
CVC-CV-CVC	:	*cak-ka-ram* wheel
CVC-CVC-C$\bar{\text{V}}$C	:	*tom-kat-ta:n* a kind of ornament

1. 6. 4. Tetra syllabic words

Open :   C$\breve{\text{V}}$ (C) C$\breve{\text{V}}$ (C) C$\breve{\text{V}}$ (C) CV

CV-CV-CV-CV	:	*ka-va-ka-li*	forked stick
C$\bar{\text{V}}$-CV-C$\bar{\text{V}}$-CV	:	*ca:-mi-ya:-ru*	saint
C$\bar{\text{V}}$-CV-CVC-CV	:	*va:-la-tan-tu*	stem of the plantain
C$\bar{\text{V}}$-CVC-CVC-CV	:	*na:-lan-nak-ki*	day after tomorrow
CVC-C$\bar{\text{V}}$-C$\bar{\text{V}}$-CV	:	*mun-ta:-na:-lu*	day before yesterday
CVC-CVC-C$\bar{\text{V}}$-CV	:	*ten-nan-ci:-vu*	coconut's stick
CVC-C$\bar{\text{V}}$-C$\bar{\text{V}}$C-CV	:	*cap-la:n-ko:-tu*	a play

Close :   (C)$\breve{\text{V}}$(C)$\breve{\text{V}}$(C)C$\breve{\text{V}}$(C)CVC

V-CV- C$\bar{\text{V}}$-CVC	:	*e-ra-va:-nom*	roof
C$\bar{\text{V}}$-CV-CV-CVC	:	*ko:-na-ma-rom*	bent tree
CV-CVC-C$\bar{\text{V}}$C-CVC	:	*pa-nak-ka:-ren*	rich man

1. 6. 5.   Penta syllabic words

Open: (C)V̆ (C) CV̆ (C) CV̆ (C) CV̆ (C) CV̆

V̄C- CV CV–CVC-CV : *a:t–tu·ko–mut̠–t̠i*   a plant

CV-CV- CVC CV̄-CV : *ku-ru-vik-ku:-t̠u* nest

Close: (C) V̆ (C) CV̆ (C) CV̆ (C) CV̆ (C) CVC

CV-CV-CVC–CV̄–CVC : *ku-ru-vik-ka:–ran* Korava man

CV̄-CV-CV-CV-CVC   : *ca:-lu-ka-ra-vom* marriage pot

1. 6. 6.   Six Syllabled words

Open : CV̆ CV (C) CV (C) CV̆ (C) CV (C) CV

CV-CV-CVC-CV-CVC-CV : *tu-va-ram-pa–rup-pu*   dhal

CV-CVC-CV-CV̄-CVC–CV : *tu-luk-ka-ca:-man–ti*

flower plant

Closed :   (C) V̆ CV (C) CV̆ C) CV̆ (C) CV̆ CVC

CV-CV̄-CV-CV̄-CVC: *e-li-ka·-tu–ki:-ray* name of greens

CV–CVC-CV-CVC–CV-CVC: *ku:-t̠ap-po-ran–ta-van*

born with one self

1. 6. 7.   Seven syllabled words.

Open: (C) V̆ (C) CV̆ CV̆ (C) CV̆ (C) CVC CV̆ (C) CV

a:-lu-ka:t̠-t̠i-ve–ra-lu   index finger

mal̠- la:-kot̠-t̠ay-pun̠-n̠a:k-ku   ground nut cake

Close: CVC CV̄ CV CṼ CV CV CVC

muk-kaː-la-muː-ṉu-ta-rom   three, three times

1. 6. 8. The strcture of the initial syllable may be classified into open and closed syllables.

Open — CV̆   Closed – (C) CV-, CV̄C, CV̄C(C)

  iː   *cey*

  poː   *teːy*

  e-   *ac-*

  oː-   *pan-*

  nu-   *toːṉ-*

  paː-   *kaṇ*

  ka-   *niːr*

                                   teːyk–

                                   vayk-

1. 6. 9. Medial syllables also can be divided into open and closed syllables.

Open - (C)CV̄   Closed - CV̆C

– *ra* –   – *ṇak* –

– *ṇa* –   – *muːk* -

- *kaː* -

– *sa* -

- *kya* –

1. 6. 10. Final syllables also can be dividided into open and closed

Open –(C) CV̄,CV   Closed -CV̆C

- *yle*   –*caːṇ*

– *le*   – *ṇom*

2 NOUNS

2. 0. Nouns are those which can take case markers. Each noun belongs to a particular gender. It can be inflected for number and case. The gender classification of the noun is mainly based on its pronominal reference.

2. 1. Nouns *Classification*

All the nouns of Harijan dialect of Tamil are classified into 1. Substantives and 2. Pronouns. All substantives are further classified into 1. Simple nouns having only one morpheme and 2. Derived nouns where the stem takes a gender–number marker as derivative suffix. Simple nouns are sub-classified into human and non-human nouns based on their pronominal reference. The pronominal reference in Tamil is found in the finite verbs.

2. 1. 1. Simple Nouns

2. 1. 1. 1. Human Nouns

Personal names of human beings (male and female) come under this category. And also other nouns denoting human beings fall in this category.

Proper nouns	Masculine
muniyan	a personal name
cenka:n	,,
ra:maca:mi	,,
muttu	,.

Proper nouns	Feminine
muniya:mma:	a personal name
mallika:	,,
ce:pa:kyom	,,
vellacci	,,

Other nouns

akka:	elder sister
ponnu	girl
pomple	woman
a:lu	person
a:mple	man
va:ttiya:ru	teacher
tanka:cci	younger sister

2. 1. 1. 2.   Non-Human Nouns

payiru	crops
vanti	cart
ka:le	bull
pacuvu	cow
marom	tree
ce:lam	Selam–town
ka:tu	forest

kuṭṭe	pond
nellu	paddy

2. 1. 2. DERIVED NOUNS

2. 1. 2. Nouns are derived by adding gender marker to the noun stems.

2. 1. 2. 1. Masculine singular markers are *-n, -an, -van* and- ϕ

(i) *–n* as singular suffix

pa:ppa:-n	Brahmin
vella:ḷa-n	Veḷḷala man
tompa-n	man of Tomba caste
taṭṭa:n	goldsmith

(ii) *-an* as singular suffix

ma:m-an	uncle
koḷunt-an	husband's brother
eṭay-an	shepherd
u:may-an	dumb-man

(iii) *-van* as singular suffix

kora–van	korava man
koca–van	potter
talu–van	leader

(iv) ϕ-as singular suffix This seems to be peculiar in the derivation because nothing is really added to the stem. But the stems take feminine suffixal marker. Therefore these forms are said to be derivatives

pariya:ri-ϕ	barber
cakkili-ϕ	cobler
e:ka:li–ϕ	washer

2. 1. 2. 2.　Feminine gender has *-i, -tti, and -cci* as suffixal markers[1]

(i) *-i* as feminine singular suffix.

aṇṇ-i	elder brother's wife
ma:m-i	aunt/mother-in-law

(ii) *-tti* as feminine singular suffix.

pa:ppa: -tti	Brahmin woman
vaṇṇa:-tti	washer-woman
koca-tti	potter-woman
kora-tti	Korava-woman

(iii) *-cci* as feminine singular suffix.

vella:la-cci	woman of vellala caste
tompa-cci	woman of tomba caste
para-cci	woman of paraya caste
eṭa-cci	milk-maid

　　　koravan poṇṭa:ṭṭi　wife of korava man which corresponds to *kora-tti*

2. 1. 2. 3.　Derivatives

　　　There are a number of derivatives in this dialect which occur with verbs, nouns, adjctives etc. modifying them into nouns. Nouns derived by these derivatives may show

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[1] Feminine is also expressed periphrastically by the word *poṇṭa:ṭṭi* 'wife' which follows the masculine noun, or a noun denoting a community. Then the phrase denotes the meaning woman of so and so or such and such caste.

gender explicitly or without any overt marker. Therefore the derivative suffixes are divided into two groups (1) denoting gender and (2) without denoting any gender.

1. Gender denoting suffix

–ka:ren (masculine)   *ka:ri* (feminine)

are the two suffixes having higher productive capacity in this dialect than any other derivatives. They occur with nouns only·

Nouns

ve:le - ka:ren	servant/worker (mas.)
ve:le - ka:ri	maid–servant
paṇa - ka:ren	rich man
paṇa - ka:ri	rich woman

2. Other suffixes.

The following suffixes occur with either nouns or verbs *-a:li, -am, -i, -ca:li, -va:ci, -tanam.*

(i) *-a:li* occurs with the following stems and like stems

Nouns

toḷil-a·li	labourer
ku:ṭṭ - a:ḷi	companion
motal - a:ḷi	master
no:y – a:ḷi	sick - person

(ii) *– am* occurs with the following stems. The stem of this groups also can have other suffixes if possible.

viro:t-am   enmity

turo:k–am	cheating
no:kk-am	aim
mo:c-am	bad
ku:cc-am	shyness

(iii) – *i* occurs with the following stems and like stems.

viro:t-i	enemy
turo:k-i	one who cheats
no:kk–i	an instrument which helps to see through

(iv) –*ca:li* occurs with the following stems.

putti-ca:li	intelligent
pa:kkya-ca:li	gifted
tayriya-ca:li	brave-person

(v) -*va:ci* occurs with numerals denoting fractions

ka:l-va:ci	one fourth
are-va:ci	half
mukka:-va:ci	three fourth

(vi) -*tanom* occurs with the following stems which may have an additional derivative suffix.

putti-ca:li-tanom	cleverness
nalla-tanom	good quality
perun-tanom	generosity
kalla tanam	act of stealthyness

2. 1.   Pronouns

Pronouns as a sub- category of nouns distinguish number and gender. This dialect has innovation in the formation of plural. Personal pronouns have only number distinction.

Demonstrative pronouns distinguish (i) number and (ii) gender. Demonstrative pronouns are third person pronouns having remote and proximate reference due to the difference in the stem.

2. 1. 3· 1. First person

First person singular is denoted by the form *na:n* or *na:nu*. It has two more forms *en-*and *enn-* which occur as oblique forms. (cf. case)

First person plural has two forms (i) inclusive of the hearer and (ii) exclusive of the hearer

Inclusive plural form is *na:mpe*, *namme-* and *nammaḷ-* where the last two occur before case markers.

Exclusive plural form is *na:nke*. There are two bound forms *na:nkaḷ-* which occurs before some suffix and *enkaḷ-* which occurs before case marker.

<div align="center">

na:nkaḷ-a: are we?

enkaḷ-a:le   by us

</div>

2. 1. 3. 2· Second person

Second person singular forms are *ni:*, *ni:nu*, *on-*, *onn-*. *ni:* and *ni: nu* has no difference except in style. *on-*, *onn-* occur before case markers. Second person plural forms are *ni:nke*, *ni: nkaḷ-*, *onke-*, *onkaḷ-*. *ni:nke* is the free form similar to the nominative while *ni:nkaḷ-* occurs when followed by a suffix.

<div align="center">

ni: nkaḷ-um   you also

onke-, *onkaḷ-*   occur before case.

</div>

2. 1. 3. 3. Third person

Harijan Dialect of Tamil recognizes masculine, feminine, neuter in singular and as well in plural. This is an innovation where apart from epicene plural, respective gender plural forms are also available due to the regular distribution of the plural marker.

2. 1. 3. 3. 1. Distant / Demonstrative

a– is the demonstrative base which takes gender markers as suffix.

a - van	he
a - va(ḷ)	she
a - tu	it

These singular forms take *–uvo:* as plural marker.

a – van – uvo:	they (masculine)
a - vaḷ – uvo:	they (feminine)
a - tu - uvo: > atuvo:	they (neuter)

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. Proximate demonstrative base *i –* takes gender number suffixes like *a - .*

i - va n	this – he
i - va(ḷ)	this – she
i – tu	this – it
i - van - uvo:	they (mas.)
i - vaḷ – uvo:	,, (fem.)
i - tu – uvo: > ituvo:	they (neut.)

note : $(u + u > u$ identical vowels)

Epicene plural forms for distant demonstrative are:-
avuru, avunke and *avunkal.*

Proximate plural forms are *ivuru, ivunke* and *ivunkal.*

2. 1. 3 4. Interrogative

Interrogative bases are *ya:-* and *e-* . *ya:-* with *– ru* suffix is used to denote a person whose identity as male or female is not known to the speaker.

atu ya:ru	who is that?

e - takes all the gender and number suffixes.

e – ven	who (male)
e - ve(l)	who (female)
e - tu	which
e – venuvo:	who (pl.) / *evanuvo:*
e - veluvo: -	who (pl.) / *evaluvo:*
e - tuvo:	who (neut.)

Note that the forms with *– e –* in *-ven* and *.vel* will become *– van* and *val* respectively after when they occur before plural.

2· 1· 3 5. Reflexive

Reflexive forms are used only occassionally. The singular has two forms *ta:n,* and *tàn -* and the plural also has two forms

ta:nka(l) and *tankal-.*

The bound forms as a rule occur before case markers. (c.f case).

2. 2. Gender – Number

2. 2. 1. Singular.

Singular has *-n* as the marker which occurs with first person pronouns:

na:-n	I
ni:-n	you (Sg.)

These forms often take *–u* as a release vowel and become *na:nu* and *ni:nu* respectively.

2. 2. 2. Plural

Plural is denoted by the forms
-ar, –kal, –nkal and *–uvo:/-vo:* in this Tamil Dialect.

(i) *-ar* occurs with third person demonstrative pronouns denoting plural. Some times it is used for honourafic singular too.

avar/avaru	they	distant
ivar/ivaru	they	proximate

In Harijan Dialect of Tamil these two forms are polite forms used for males only. Corresponding feminine forms have *-nkal* as the suffix.

(ii) *- nkal*

avunkal	they	distant
ivunkal	they	proximate

(iii) *-kal* as plural occurs with first and second person singular forms and with a number of nouns.

First person: *na:n-kaḷ*[1]   we (exclusive)

Second person *ni:n-kaḷ*   you

Other nouns: *paḷam-kaḷ* > *paḷankaḷ*   fruits

          ma:ṭu - kaḷ   cattle (pl.)

-kaḷ form can be replaced easily by the common plural marker – *vo:* in this dialect.

ma:ṭu - vo:	cattle (pl.)
a:ḷu - vo:	persons
u:ru - vo:	villages
pa:ney - vo:	pots

2. 3. Oblique Formation

Nouns have different phonemic shapes before case markers. In other words nouns undergo change when they take case suffixes. These changes should be known properly to add the case suffixes. They can be studied in two groups (i) The oblique forms of the pronouns and (ii) the oblique forms of the nouns in general.

1. Oblique forms of pronouns.

First and second person singular pronouns have two forms each.

I Sg. *en-* , *enn-*

II Sg. *on-* , *onn-*

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[1] In fast speech and the noun is not followed by any word, the word final -*ḷ*, -*l*, become zero. This change is found in almost all the Tamil Dialects.

en- and *on-* occur before dative case *-akku*

enakku   to me
onakku   to you (sg.)

enn- and *onn-* occur before other suffixes

enn- a:le   by me
onn- a:le   by you
enn- e   of me (acc.)
onn -e   of you (,,)

2. Oblique forms of other nouns.

Nouns ending in - *om,* *-ru* and *-tu* show change before the case maker. But before certain cases nouns ending in *-tu* shows two types of change.

(i) *-om* ending nouus like *marom* tree *kotom* pot etc. undergo the change as shown below:

marom becomes *maratt-*
kotom becomes *kotatt-*
maratt-e   of the tree
,, -le   in the tree
,, -a:le   by the tree
,, -ukku   to the tree

(ii) *-ru* ending nouns like *co:ru* rice, *a:ru* river, *cevru* wall, *u:ru* village etc. undergo changes as shown below:
-ru becomes *-tt* or remains *as -r*

co:ru > co:tt-

co:tt–le	in the rice
co:tt–e	rice (acc.)
co:tt–ukku	to the rice

But   *u:ru > u:r–*

u:r–le	in the village
u:r–e	village (acc.)
u:r–ukku	to the village

cevuru   wall

cevutt–le or *cevur–le*   on the wall / in the wall

–ṭu ending nouns like *ka:ṭu* forest, *u:ṭu* house, etc. undergo phonemic changes before case markers.

ka:ṭṭ–le	in the forest
u:ṭṭ–le	in the house
u:ṭṭ–ukku	to the house
ka:ṭṭ–ukku	to the forest.

2. 4. Cases

There are eleven cases in the Harijan Dialect of Tamil including the nominative and vocative. Cases like comparison purposive, ablative of motion and rest are the new cases apart from the traditional cases.

2. 4. 1. Nominative

Nouns occur as nominatives without any marker. In other words nominative is unmarked.

kaṇṇan	kannan
marom	tree
vaḻi	path
kaṇ	eye

2. 4. 2. Accusative

Accusative case marker is -*e*. Human nouns obligatorily take -*e* while neuter nouns have an option.

avan–e	he (acc.)
Kaṇṇan–e	Kannan (acc.)
ma:ṭṭ–e	cow (acc.)
na:n ra:mane pa:ṭṭen	I saw Rama
na:n ma:ṭṭe va:ŋknen	I bought a cow
na:n ma:ṭu va:nknen	I bought a cow

2. 4. 3. Instrumental

Instrumental case is denoted by –*a:le*.

avan–a:le	by him
enn–a:le	by me
katti–a:le > *kattiya:le*	by the knife

(Final *i* in *katti* and initial *a*: in *a:le* when occur   together glide *y* will come. This may be explained as V_F - V > Vy V. If the first vowel is non front *v* glide will come.)

2. 4. 4. Sociative

Sociative case is denoted by -*o:ṭe*

onn–o:ṭe	with you
ya:r – o:ṭe	with whom

ma:ṭṭ-o:ṭe	with the cow
kaṇṇ·o:ṭe	with the eye

2. 4. 5. Dative

Dative case is expressed by *– kku, -akku, -ukku* and *– e.* *-e* occurs as an alternant of *–ukku,* with two nouns.

ka:ṭṭ-ukku	to the forest
u:ṭṭ-ukku	to the house
ka:ṭṭ-e	to the forest
u:ṭṭ-e	to the house

-akku occurs with first person and second person singular oblique forms.

en-akku	to me
on-akku	to you (sg.)

- kku occurs with nouns ending in a vowel.

katti-kku	to the knife
pa:lu-kku	to the milk
u:ru-kku	to the village
ma:ma:-kku	to uncle

The marker *-e* is similar to the accusative marker *–e.* Therefore it is to be noted that whether accusative case has the function of dative in this dialect or an accidental similarity.

2 4. 6. Genitive

Genitive is usually expressed in this dialect not by a marker but by the arrangement of words. Very rarely a marker is used.

-um as a suffix and *-o:ṭe* as a post position occur in the genitive sense.

ma:ṭu–um–kaṇṇu >   *ma:ṭṭunkaṇṇu*   calf of the cow
a:ṭu-um-puḷḷe > *a:ṭṭumpuḷḷe*   young one of the goat
enn-o:ṭe puctakom   my book

Genitive without a marker.

en maven	my son
aven payyen	his son
on poṇṭa:ṭi	your wife (sg.)
ma:men moven	uncle's son

1. 4. 7. Locative

Locative case is expressed by the marker *–le*.   The postposition *kiṭṭe* also occur in the meaning 'near' denoting locative sense.

u:r–le	in the village
u:ṭṭ-le > *u:ṭṭle*	in the house
kaṇṇ-le > *kaṇṇle*	in the eye
va:y-le	in the mouth

–kiṭṭe occurs with human nouns and place nouns or immovables.

avan kiṭṭe	with him or near him
u:r kiṭṭe	near the village
marattukiṭṭe	near the tree

1. 4. 1. Ablative of motion

Ablative of motion is denoted by *-runtu* marker which occurs after locative marker in constructions.

u:rle-runtu	from the village
u:ṭle-runtu	from the house
maraṭṭle-runtu	from the tree
marattu kiṭṭe-runtu	from the tree

2. 4. 9. Vocative

Harijan Dialect of Tamil in south Arcot District shows a peculiar vowel prolongation in different syllables in the vocative case. At times final consonant is dropped and the preceeding vowel gets compensatory prolongation. At times second or third syllable gets lengthened without any loss of a consonant or a vowel.

tankacci	Voc. *tanka:cci*	oh younger sister
muniyamma	*muniya:mma:*	oh Munniyamma
kuppan	*kuppa:*	oh Kuppan
kamalom	*kamalo:m*	oh Kamalam

2. 4. 10. Purposive

Purposive case is denoted by the marker *-a:ve* which occurs after dative form.

enakku[1]-a:ve > *enakka:ve*	for me
ya:rukku a:ve > *ya:rukka:ve*	for whom
atkku a:ve > *atukka:ve*	for it

---

[1]The final *-u* in the dative form becomes zero before a vowel in the suffix.

2. 4. 11. Comparison

Comparison of things or persons is denoted by the marker
-po:le which occurs with accusative forms of nouns. There
is another marker *-vite* which occurs in the same sense.

-po:le

avane-po:le iven	he is like this man
enne-po:le aven	he is like me
maratte-po:le ivan	he is like a tree

-vite

onne-vite raman periyavan	Raman is elder than you
kallane-vite kullen me:lu	kullan is better than thief

2. 5. Numerals

Numerals in Tamil Dialects differ in their shape when
compared to the written language. Some of the forms are
not attested in the written language and some expressions are
new. The form *oruvatu* for example stands for *oru* one and
vatu an alternant form of *pattu* ten occurs in this dialect.
Numerals should be classified into two classes on the basis
of their syntatical relationship as (i) cardinals and (ii) ordi-
nals. Ordinals are adjectives derived from cardinals especially
integral numbers. Fractions cannot have ordinal suffix.

2. 5. 1. Cardinals

Integrals-monomorphemic forms

2 .5 .1. 1. One.

There are three forms denoting one *onnu, oru-* and *orutt-*.
orutt- occurs with gender markers

orutt–i	one woman
orutt–en	one man
orutt–aru	one person

oṇṇu can occur as base to ordinals

oṇṇu-a:m *oṇṇa:m*	first
oṇṇu-a:vatu *oṇṇa:vatu*	,,

oru– can occur as an adjective.

oru marom	one tree
oru a:ḷu	one person

2. 5. 1. 2. Two

There are four forms representing 'two': *reṇṭu,* *iru–,* *era–* and *-neṇṭu*

iru occurs before *vatu*

      iru–vatu   twenty

era– occurs before *nu:ru* as *eraṇu:ra* 'two hundred'

neṇṭu occurs after *pan–* as *panneṇṭu* twelve

reṇṭu occurs elsewhere

reṇṭu	two
reṇṭu–a:m	second

2. 5. 1. 3. Three

There are three forms denoting numeral 'three': *mu:–,* *mup–,* *mu:ṇu*

mu:– occurs before *a:yirom* as *mu:vayirom* three thousand

mup– occurs before *patu* as *muppatu* thirty

mu:ṇu occurs elsewhere, *mu:ṇu* three.

2. 5. 1. 4. Four

There are two forms to represent the numeral four *na:lu* and *na:-*.

na:- occurs before other numerals like *nu:ru*

   na:-nu:ru   four hundred

na:lu occurs elsewhere,   *na:lu*   four

   na:lu v:ṭu   four houses

2. 5. 1. 5. Five

There are three stems denoting the numeral five: *am-*, *ayy-*, *anci*.

am- occurs with the numeral-*patu* ten

   am-patu   fifty

ayy- oceurs before *a:yirom* thousand

   ayy-a:yirom > *ayya yirom*   five thousand

anci five occurs elsewhere.

2. 5. 1. 6. Six

Number six is expressed by three forms: *aru-*, *ara-* and *a:ru*.

aru- occurs before *nu:ru* as *arunu:ru*   six hundred

ara- occurs before *vatu* as *aravatu* sixty

a:ru six occurs elsewhere

   a:ru-ɑ:m   *a:ra:m*   sixth

2. 5. 1. 7. Seven

There are two forms *e:ḷu, eḷu* denoting the numeral seven. *eḷu-* occurs before *-vatu* ten, *nu:ru* hundred·

eḷuvatu seventy, *eḷu nu:ru* seven hundred.

e:ḷu occurs elsewhere.

> *e:ḷu a:yirom > e:ḷa:yirom*   seven thousand
>
> *e:ḷu pustakom*   seven books

2. 5. 1. 8. Eight

Number eight is expressed by *eṭṭu, eṇ-, em-* in this dialect.

em- occurs before *-pḷatu* ten as *empḷatu*   eighty

eṇ- occurs before *-ṇu:ru*   hundred

eṇṇu:ru eight hundred.

eṭṭu eight occurs as a free form.

2. 5. 1. 9. Nine

ompo:tu, toḷ, toṇ are the three forms in various positions denoting nine.

> *toḷ-* occurs before *a:yirom* as *toḷa:yirom*   nine hundred
>
> *toṇ-* occurs before *ṇu:ru* as   *toṇṇu:ru*   ninety
>
> *ompo:tu* nine can occur as a free form

2. 5. 1. 10. Ten

The numeral ten is expressed by six basic forms where one of them is similar in shape with the numeral denoting hundred which occurs before the numeral denoting nine. Similarly for thousand also. (see 2. 5. 12.)

> *pattu, patin-, pan-, -vatu, -pḷatu, ṇu:ru*
>
> *ṇu:ru* occurs before *toṇ* as in *toṇṇu:ru*   ninety
>
> *-vatu* occurs after numerals denoting one, two, six and

seven.   (see 2. 5. 1.,   2. 5. 2.,   2. 5. 6.,   2. 5. 7.)

patin– occurs with numerals one, five, six, seven and eight.

patin eṭṭu	eighteen
patin: a:ru	sixteen

platu occurs after *em–* eight as *emplatu* eighty

pan– occurs before *neṇṭu* as *panneṇṭu* twelve

pattu ten occurs elsewhere

2. 5. 1. 11. Hundred

This numeral too has a peculiar form *a:yirom* which is similar to the numeral thousand, as an alternant form. Hundred is expressed by two forms viz. *nu:ru* and *a:yirom*

a:yirom occurs after *tol* nine as *tola:yirom* nine hundred

nu:ru hundred occurs elsewhere.

2. 5. 1. 12. Thousand

a:yirom thousand has only one basic stem. The adjectival form has the shape of *a:yratti* which occurs before other numerals.

a:yratti reṇṭu	thousand and two
a:yratti eranuru	thousand and two hundred

2. 5. 2. Ordinals

Ordinals are formed by adding the suffixes *–a:m* or *–a:vatu* to the cardinal stems which are free forms.

pattu–a:m	*patta:m*	tenth
pattu–a:vatu	*patta:vatu*	tenth
reṇṭu–a:m	*reṇṭ:am*	second

First is expressed in this dialect by ordinal or by the form *mote* and for the first child by the form *talaccen.*

2. 6. Derivative Suffixes

Nouns are derived from nouns and also verbal bases. The later types of suffixes may be named as nominalizers.

2. 6. 1. Nominalizers

Both transitive verbs and intransitive verbs take nominalizing suffixes. Some of the suffixes in this dialect are as follows: *-i, -C i*

o:ṭu	to run	*o:ṭu-i > o:ṭi*	runner
mu:ṭu	to close	*mu:ṭu-i > mu:ṭi*	cover/lid
u:ṭṭu	to feed	*u:ṭṭu-i > u:ṭṭi*	throat
a:ṭu	to dance	*a:ṭu-i > a:ṭi* as in *ku:ṭṭa:ṭi*	dancer

a:ṭṭu cause to dance *a:ṭṭu-i > a:ṭṭi* as *va:la:ṭṭi* (name of a bird which swings its tail.) *koranka:ṭṭi* monkey keeper

-ci stands for addition of a consonant and vowel in the final position of a verb.

pe:cu   to talk
pe:c-ci > pe:cci   speech

2. 6. 2. Derivatives

There are a number of suffixes in this category where they fall into two classes (i) denoting gender number and (ii) denoting or capable of denoting number only.

1. Gender denoting derivative suffix *-ka:r-* which occurs after a noun and then takes either masculine or feminine suffix as the case may be.

ve:le-ka:r-en	servent
ve:le-ka:r-i	maid servent
paṇom-ka:r-en > paṇakka:ren	rich man
paṇom-ka:r-i > paṇakka:ṇi	rich-woman

2. *−a:li, −ca:li, −va:ci, -tanom* are some of the suf−fixes denoting person, able person, part, and quality respec−tively.

−a:li

mo:tal−a:li	master
tol̯il-a:li	worker

−ca:li

putti-ca:li	intelligent person
tayriya-ca:li	courageous person

−va:ci

are-va:ci	half of the thing
mukka:-va:ci	three fourth

−tanom

puttica: li−tanom	intelligency
perun−tanom	generosity

3 VERBS

3.0. Verbs are those forms which can take tense markers. There are some defective verbs which will take tense markers but occur as predicate in a sentence.

3. 1. Verbal Stems

Verbal stems may be classified into three (i) Simple stems which are not derived, (ii) Derived stems where the derivative suffix is a transitive marker (iii) Complex stems where an auxiliary is added to main verb. Progressive tenses usually expressed by auxiliaries in Tamil Dialects.

3. 1. 1. Simple stems

Intransitives come under this category of simple stems along with inherent transitives. Some of the intransitives take transitive suffixes. So, they are grouped as stems for derived transitives.

a) Simple inherent intransitives which cannot take transitive marker.

va:	come
po:	go
vaḷi	overflow

b) Intransitives which can take transitive suffixes. Transitive markers are the following:

(i) *–tt–*, *–t–* and morphophoneme[1] which undergoes changes according to the phonemic sequences.

(ii) *–mp–*   >   *–pp–*

       –nt–   >   *–tt–*

       –nk–   >   *–kk–*

       –ṭ–   >   *–ṭṭ–*

       –r–   >   *–tt–*

3. 1. 2. Derived stems

Derived transitives come under this category

3. 1. 2. 1·

–tt– as transitive suffix.

naṭa–tt–	to conduct
keṭe–tt–	to lay down
ka:y–tt > ka:cc	to boil
valar– tt > valaṭṭ	to raise

–t–

uruḷ–t– > uruṭṭ	to roll
curuḷ–t > curuṭṭ	to wind
peraḷ–t > peraṭ	to turn

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[1]palatalization

-x-

oṭi–x–a	*oṭikka*	to break
eri–x–a	*erikka*	to burn
kiḷi–x–a	*kiḷikka*	to tear
oṭey–x–a	*oṭeykka*	to break

(x will become *kk* before infinitive *a* morpheme otherwise it will be the same consonant which follows it. (see tense)

3. 1. 2. 2.

mp > pp

> *tirump + x > tirupp* to turn

–nt– > tt

aḷunt + x > aḷutt	to press
tirunt + x > tirutt	to set right

nk > kk

ni:nk + x > ni:kk	to remove
aṭank + x > aṭakk–	to controle

ṭ > ṭṭ

> *o:ṭu + x–a > o:ṭṭ–* to drive

r > tt

ce:rt + x > ce:tt	to reach someone
navur + x > navutt–	to move something

2 3   Tense

Conjugated finite forms have tense markers. There are three simple tenses in this dialect viz. past, present and future.

3. 2. 1.   past tense

Past tense is denoted by four forms *–n–*, *–nt–*, *–tt–* and *–t–* which are necessarily followed by person and number-gender markers. In other words tense markers are followed by pronominal termination (P.T.). So the conjugated finite of the verb has stem, tense and P.T. in that order.

–n– occurs with verb stems

po:–n–a:–n	went-he
o:t̲–n–a:–n > o:t̲n̲a:n	ran-he
u:tt–n–a:–n	poured-he
con–n–a:–l̲	told-she

–nt– occurs with the verb stems

va–nt–e:–n	came-I
cey–nt–a:–n > ceynja:n[1]	did-he

–tt– occurs with the verb stems

pat̲i–tt–a:n > pat̲icca:n[1]	read-he
kot̲u–tt–a:n > kot̲utta:n	gave-he
pat̲u–tt–a:n > pat̲utta:n	lied down-he

---

[1] *nt > nc* before or after a front vowel *i* or semi-vowel consonant *y*.

−t− occurs (elsewhere) with verb stems

u[u−t−e	ploughed−you (sg.)
naṭ−t−a:n > naṭṭa:n[1]	planted−he
ke:ḷ−t−a:n > ke:ṭṭa:n[2]	heard−he

3. 2 2. Present tense.

Present tense is represnted by two forms: *−kr−* and *−r−*. Structurally there is a zero also before the neuter gender.

−kr− occurs with strong verbs.

pa:r−kr−a:n > pa:kkra:n		sees−she
	paṭi−kra:n	reads−she
	naṭa−krom	walks−he
ke:ḷ−kr−a:(ḷ) > ke:kkra:		asks−she

−r− occurs with weak verbs

pa:ṭ−r−e:n	sing−I
col−r−e:n	tell−I
aṇṭ−r−e:n	approach−I
tu:nk−r−ṯ:nke	sleep−you (pl.)

φ occurs before neuter marker.

po:−φ−utu	*po:vutu*	goes−it

---

[1] *tt > cc* before or after *i* or *y*. platalization rule operates in Tamil Dialects

[2] *tt > ṭṭ* progressive assimilation

aḻu-φ--utu	*aḻuvutu*	weeps-it
coll-φ-utu	*collutu*	tells-it
pe:c-φ-utu	*pe:cutu*	speaks- it

3. 2. 3. Future tense

Future tense is also represented by two forms *-pp-* and *-v-*. Like present tense it has a structural φ · before neuter. The verbal stem also has a change in its shape·

-pp-

aṭi-pp-a:-n	will beat –he
pa:r-pp-a:-n > pa·ppa:n	will see -he
tove-pp-a:-n	will wash –he
koṭu-pp-a:n	will give –he

-re-

te:ṭu-v-a:-n	will search-he
po:-v-a:-n	will go-he
coll-v-a:n	will tell-he
aḻu-v-a:n	will weep-he

·Structural φ before neuter Those verb stems which take *-pp-* have *-kk-* in the stem before neuter.

pa:kk-φ-um	will see–it
tovekk-φ-um	will wash – it
te:ṭu-φ-um > te:ṭum	will see – it
coll-φ-um > collum	will tell – it

3. 3. Infinitive

Infinitive is represented by two markers *-ke* and *-e*.
-ke occurs with strong verbs ending in morphophoneme **X**

pa:rX-ke > pa:kke	to see
paṭix-ke > paṭkke	to read
ke:ḷx-ke > ke:kke	to hear

-e   occurs with other verbs

po:-e > po:ve	to go
var-e > vare	to come
o:ṭ-e	to run
pa:ṭ-e	to sing
coll-e	to tell

3. 4. Imperative.

Imperative singular is unmarked in this dialect. If a stem ends in a consonant it is released with – *u* vowel. It may be followed by an addressee suffix *-ḍi* feminine or *-ḍa:* masculine when the addressee is younger than ego. Imperative plural shown by the suffix *-nke* which occurs with the stem.

3. 4. 1. Imperative singular.

va:	come-you (sg.)
po:	go-you (sg.)
naṭe	walk-you (sg.)
pa:r- > pa:ru	see-you (sg.)

Imp. singular with addressee suffixes.

va: – ḍa:	come–boy
po: – ḍa:	go–boy
va: – ḍi	come–girl
po: – ḍi	go–girl

3. 4. 2. Imperative plural.

va: – nke	come-you (pl.)
po: – nke	go-you (pl.)
pa:ru – nke	see-you (pl.)

3. 5. Prohibitive

Prohibitive has one marker *–a:t–* which is always followed by either second person singular or plural. Prohibitive occurs after infinitive form of the verb.

po:ve – a:t –e > *po:va:te* don't go-you.

vare – a:t–e > *vara:te* don't come-you.

vare – a:t – i:nke > *vara:ti:nke* don't come-you. (pl.)

po:v – a:t – i:nke > *po:va:ti:nke* don't go-you. (pl.)

3. 6. Negatives

Negatives in general may divided into two classes as (i) past negative and (ii) future negative.

3. 6. 1. Past tense

Past negative is formed by adding the negative marker *-le* with verb stems and the sequence gives the meaning. There is no explicit past tense marker in it more over the same

form stands for all person gender and number. In written Tamil the infinitive form of the verb takes the negative marker

var–le	didn't come
cey–le	didn't do
natax–le > natakle	didn't walk
coll–le > collle / collu–le	did not say

3. 6. 2.   Future negative

Future negative markers are *–ma:tt–* and *–a:–* which occur with the infinitives   They are always followed by Pt. (see 3. 2. 1.)

–ma:tt– occurs when followed by Pt. denoting human beings.

vare–ma:tt–a:n	he will not come
vare–ma:tt–e	you (sg.) will not come
vare–ma:tt–o:m	we will not come

–a:– occurs before neuter.

vare–a:–tu > vara:tu	it will not come
po:ve–a:–tu > po:va:tu	it will not go

3 7.   Permissive

Permissive is shown by the suffix *–la:m* which occurs after infinitive form of the verb.

po:ve–la:m > po:vela:m	you can go
vare–la:m > varla:m	you can come
natakke–la:m > natakkla:m	you can walk
pe:ce–la:m > pe:cela:m	you can talk

3. 8. Doubitative

Conjugated finite verbs take doubitative suffix as report-
ing of ones action for which the speaker has no comment or
involvement. So. he is doubtful about that action. *-a:m* is
the marker added to the finite verb expressing the idea of doubt-
fulness.

po:na:n–a:m	it is supposed that he has gone
kuṭikra:n–a:m	it is supposed that he drinks
varuva:n–a:m	it is supposed that he will come

3. 9. Verbal Participale

Verbal participale is marked by the suffixes *–i, –u,* and *–e·*
–i and *–u* occur after past tense morpheme or *i* alone can occur

–i	*pe:c–i*	having talked
	o:ṭ–i	having ran
–u	*va–nt–u*	having come
	pa:r-tt–u	having seen
	ke:l–t–u > ke:ṭṭu	having heard
	kaṇ–t–u > kaṇṭu	having seen

–e occurs after negative *–a:m–*

var–a:m–e	without coming
pa:kk–a:m–e	without seeing

3. 10. Relative Participle

Relative participle is expressed by the marker *–e* which
occurs after present and past tense markers.

pa:kr–e	one who is seeing
te:ṭr–e	one who is searching

pa:r–tt–e > *pa:tte*   one who has seen

te:t–n–e > *te:tne*   one who searched

3. 11. Pronominal termination

Conjugated finite verbs have pronominal terminations showing the subject's number, gender, and person. Third person has all the three fold distinctions while first and second person forms show only number differences. Third person neuter suffix if used for human, then it is honour.

3. 11. 1. First person singular.

The form – *e:n* denotes first person singular.

kant–e:n	saw–I
pa:rtt–e:n	saw–I
pa:tn–e:n	sang–I

3. 11. 2. First person plural.

The form *–o:m* is used to denote plural. The suffix does not distinguish whether the subject is inclusive or exclusive plural.

vant – o:m	came–we
pa:tt – o:m	saw–we

3. 11. 3. Second person singular.

Second person singular is marked by suffix *–e*

pa:tt–e	saw–you
po:n–e	went–you
vant–e	came–you
cenc–e	did–you

3. 11. 4 Second person plural.

Second person marker *–i:–* and plural marks *–nkal* put together form the shape *-i: nkal*. In fast speech the final consonant is dropped and the marker gets the shape *–i: nke*

> *ke:ṭṭ–i:nkal* > *ke:ṭṭi:nke*   asked–you
>
> *va:lnti:nkal* > *va:lnti:nke*   lived–you
>
> *va:ḷanti:nkal* > *vaḷanti:nke* grew–you

3. 1 1. 5.   Third Person.

Third person pronominal terminations show both gender and number. So, there are two morphems in the order of person and number (Singular). Plural marker follows the singular in this dialect. It is uniform for all the three genders.

So, the third person marker–*a:* is added after the tense marker. In the future tense neuter alone has the shape–*um* while in the present and past the form is -u–

> *a:kn–a:-l*   cooked–she
>
> *a:ṇṭ–a:-n*   ruled–he
>
> *vant–a:-ru*   came–he (hon.)

Neuter–*u*

> *vant–u–tu*   came–it
>
> *var–u–tu*   comes-it

Neuter–*um*

> *var–φ-um* > *varum*   will come –it
>
> *po:-φ-um* > *po:vum*   will go –it
>
> *naṭakk-φ–um* > *naṭakkum* will walk–it

3. 11. 6. Gender

Masculine, feminine and neuter gender are expressed in the third person. Each gender has one or more markers depending up on their distribution.

3. 11. 6. 1. Masculine

Masculine is shown by-*n* in the third person

pa:ṭna·-n	sang-he
pa:ṭra:-n	sings-he
pa:ṭuva:-n	will sing-he

3. 11. 6. 2. Feminine

Feminine gender is formed by adding the suffix -*ḷ* after the third person marker.

a:kn-a:-ḷ	cooked-she
a:ṭr-a:-ḷ	dances-she
pa:ṭu-va:-ḷ	will sing-she

3. 11 6. 3. Neuter

Neuter gender (see 3. 11. 5.)

3 12. plural

There are two types of plural in the Harijan Dialect. One is the general plural or epicene plural where gender is not known. The other plural form occurs only after the gender marker with which the gender is known clearly. The latter one is new innovation in the Central and Eastern Tamil Dialects (ETD. & CTD.).

3. 12. 1. Epicene plural

Epicene plural has the form *–kal–* when some morpheme follows it, while in the final position it becomes *–ke*.

elutna:n–kal–a:m	it is supposed that they wrote
elutna:n–ke	wrote-they
pe:cna:n–kal–a:m	it is supposed that they spoke
pe:cna:n–ke	spoke -they

3. 12. 2.   General Plural

General plural is shown by the suffix *–uvo:* . It occurs after the gender markers.

vanta:n–uvo:	they come (mas.)
vanta:l–uvo:	they (fem·)
vantutu–uvo: > *vantutuvo:*	they came (neut.)

3. 13. Derivatives

Verb stems occur as bases for derived nouns. There are fifteen suffixal morphemes in this dialect. Each suffix will occur with a few verbs which should be listed in descriptive study. Here, only a few examples are given below.

–ppu–, –tu, –talay–, –tay, ·*cci,* *–cal,–kay, –vay, –vu, –vi,–ma:nam, –aney, –aney, –i, –ikkay.*

–ppu

tatu–ppu	screen
viri–ppu	bed-spread
ciri–ppu	laughing
mati–ppu	folding

–tu

    eḻut–tu   script

    pa:ṭ–tu > pa:ṭṭu   song

-talay

    viṭu-talay   freedom

    ve:ṇṭu–talay   request

-tay

    naṭax–tay > naṭattay   character

–cci

    muṭi–cci   knot

    a:ra:y–cci   research

–cal

    kiḻi–cal   rag

    viri–cal   crack

–kay

    cey–kay   action

    paṭux–kay > paṭukkay   bed

–vu

    aḻa–vu   measure

    co:r–vu   tiredness

-vay

    aḻu–vay   weeping

    kala–vay   mixture

    pa:r–vay   sight

–vi

    ke:ḻ-vi   question

    po:ra–vi   birth

–ma:nom

varu-ma:nom	income
ti:r-ma:nom	decision

–ancy

ca:t–aney	accomplishment
co:t–aney	experiment

–aṇey

vica:r–aṇey	enquiry

–i

mu:ṭu-i > mu:ṭi	cover
otavu-i > otavi	help

–ikkay

eṇṇu–ikkay > eṇṇikky	counting

3, 14. Complex Verbs

Continuous tenses are expressed in this dialect only with complex verb stems. So, a complex verb stem may have a main verb and one or more auxiliary verbs in its structure. The auxiliary verbs are added either to the infinitive form or to the verbal participle form of the verb. Complex verbs with infinitives are called 'Modals' and those forms with verbal participles are called 'Aspects'·

3. 14. 1. Continuous tenses are expressed by the auxiliary verb *–kiṭru*

This form is added to the verbal participle and then the complex verb is conjugated like any other simple verb for the respective tenses.

3. 14. 1. 1. Past continuous.

vantukiṭru–nt–a:n	was coming–he
cencikiṭru–nt–a:n	was doing-he
pa:ttukiṭru–nt–a:l	was seeing-she
naṭantukiṭr–nt–utu	was walking-it

3. 14. 1. 2. Present continuous.

vantukiṭru-kr a:n	is coming-he
cncikiṭru-kr-a:n	is doing-he
pa:ttukiṭru-kr-a:l	is seeing she
naṭantukiṭru-kk-utu	is walking-it

3. 14. 1 3. Future continuous

vantukiṭru-pp-a:n	will be coming-he
cencikiṭru-pp-a:n	will be doing-he
pa:ttukiṭru-pp-a:l	will be seeing-she
naṭantukiṭr-kk-um	will be walking-it

3 15. Conditional

There are two suffixes -*a:l*- a bound form occurs when followed by some other suffix and -*a*: as a closing suffix.

vant-a:l-um	even if some one comes
po:n-a:l-um	even if some one goes
vara:ṭṭ-a:	if some one didn't come
po:va:ṭṭ-a:	if some one didn't go

4 ADJECTIVES

4. 0. Adjectives

Adjectives are those forms which can occur in the atributive position of a noun qualifying the head noun. Adjectives may be (i) Simple and (ii) Derived.

4. 1. Simple adjectives

Simple adjectives in this dialect are not derived from any other base and they may be treated as inherent. But historically they may have a base and derivative suffix, which is not attempted here.

putu	new
palaya	old
pala	old
periya	big
tati	thick
cinna	small
ketta[1]	bad

[1] *ketta* 'bad' can be associated, with the verb *ketu* to become bad etc.

melioi	thin
nalla	good

4. 2. Derived adjectives.

Derivative suffixes are added to the noun stems, numerals and demonstrative and interrogative bases

4. 2. 1. Derivative suffix *-a:ne*

This suffix occurs with certain forms optionally.

ne:r-a:ne pa:te	straight path
ne:r pa:te	(,,)
alaku-a:ne > *alaka:ne*	- beautiful
vayacu-a:ne > *vayaca:ne*	old
karatumortu-a:ne } > *karatumorta:ne* }	rough

4. 2. 2. Derivative suffix *-nte*

This suffix occurs with demonstrative and interrogative bases.

a-nte —	that
i-nte	this
e-nte	which
ante payyen	that boy
ente u:ru	which place

4. 2. 3. Numerals - Cardinals & Ordinals.

Numerals occur as adjectives. They may be cardinals or ordinals. Fractions with another derivative suffix can occur as adjectives.

Cardinals

    na:ppatu a:ḷu   forty persons

    nu:ru puctakom   hundred books

Ordinals

    oru aḷu   one person

    na:lavatu payyan   fourth boy

    a:ra:m vakuppu   sixth class

Fractions

    pa:ti pe:r   half of the people

    areva:ci pe:r   "

    mukka:va:ci pe:r   three fourth of the people

5 ADVERBS

5. 0. Adverbs.

Adverbs are those forms which occur before the main verb. It modifies the verb for which it is in the attributive position. Adverbs can be grouped into two classes on the basis of their structure namely (i) Simple and (ii) Derived adverbs.

5. 1. Simple adverbs.

Simple adverbs are mono-morphemic inherent forms.

moḷḷama: /meḷḷama:	slowly
meḷḷa	slowly
oṭane:	immediately
rompe	abundant

5. 2 Derived adverbs.

Adverbial suffix *-a:* may occur with certain noun stems and or to the demonstrative and interrogative bases.

5. 2. 1. Adverbial suffix -*a*:

ve:kom-a: > *ve:kama:*	quickly/fast
mollom-a: > *mollama:*	slowly
putucu-a: > *putuca:*	newly
palacu-a: > *palaca:*	old
ne:r-a: > *ne:ra:*	straightly
ocarom-a: > *ocarama:*	height
kullom-a: > *kullama:*	dwarf

5. 2. 2. Adverbial suffixes.

The following suffixes are some of the adverbial markers which occur with demonstrative and interrogative bases.

-*ma:tiri*, -*pti*-, -*prom*, -*ppo:*, -*nke*, etc.

anta–ma:tiri	like that
a-pti	like that
i-pti	like this
e-pti	like what?, How?
a-prom	later
a-ppo:	then
a-nke	there

6 CLITICS

6. 0. Clitics

Clitics are those forms which do not take either tense or case suffixes. Clitics are of two types (i) free and (ii) bound clitics.

6. 1. Free Clitics.

6. 1. 1. Afterwards

    inime:l / inime: hereafter/afterwards
In fast speech the final *-l* is lost.

6. 1. 2. Other

    ve:re   other

    itu ve:re atu ve:re   this is different and that is
                        different

6. 1. 3. After

pirpa:ṭu/peraku/pinne

All these forms are in free variation having

the same meaning 'after' and same function.

ni:nu pinne va:yen   you come after (some time)

ni:nu pirpa:ṭu pa:ren   you do it afterwards

ni:n peraku va:yeu   you come after some time

6. 1. 4.   Before

minne   before

ni:nu varattukku minne ⎫

na:nu vanten   ⎬ I came before you come

6. 1. 5.   Immediately.

oṭane   immediately

ni:nu vanta oṭane na:num vanten

I came immediately after you came.

6. 1. 6.   While

-ṗo:–mpo:tu/kuḷḷe   while

All these three forms are in free variation.

vara-ṗo: while some one is coming.

varu-mpo:tu

vara-kuḷḷe   ⸰   ,,

-*kuḷḷe* form is peculiar to this dialect. It can be a marker for this caste dialect like -*cce* in Brahmin Tamil.

Br. *vara-cce*   while some one comes

6. 1. 7. Manner

paṭi	manner
ke:kkum-paṭi	in order to hear
naṭakkum-paṭi	•in order to walk

6 2. Bound clitics

6. 2. 1. Distant Demonstrative

The stem *a--* takes gender number markers and also adjec-tival and adverbial suffixes.

a–an > avan	he
a–al > aval	she
a–tu > atu	it
a–nta	that
a–nke	there

6. 2. 2. Proximate Demonstrative

The stem *i–* takes all the suffixes which occur with distant demonstrative.

i-an > ivan	this-he
i–nte	this
i–nke	here

6. 2. 3. Interrogative

e-- is ·the interrogative stem which behaves like other bound stems. (Demonstrative)

e–an > evan	who
e–tu	who
e-nke	where
e–nte	which

6. 2. 4.   Collective

ella: / ella:m	all
ella: vi:ṭum	all houses
ella:–rum	all people
atu ella:m	all they

7 LEXICON

/ ḭ /

ippe   now
iṭu   this
iṭi   to pound
iṭi   thunder
iṭuppu   hip
iṭu   to put
icce   desire
ikḷu   arm pit
imma:n   this much

ini   this much
inume   here after
innum   still
inci   ginger
inke   here
inki   ink
iḷi   to show the teeth
iḷuppu   a disease
iḷu   to pull

/ ḭ: /

i: fly
i:ttu   to comb the nits
i:ṭṭi   spear
i:ṭu   to mortgage
i:cal   winged white ant
i:ccamarom   date palm

i:kku   fibre of the coconut
            palm
i:ru   gum of the teeth
i:ru   nits
i:rom   wet / dampness
i:ḷe   secretion of the mouth

/ e /

eppe	when	*enne*	me
epti	how	*enne*	what
etuple	in front off	*ente*	which
etten	person who deceives	*eṇṇe*	oil
ettu	to kick	*eṇṇu*	to count
ecce	saliva polluted	*eṇa:kku*	to pick the leaves
ekku	to pull in side stomach	*eṇe*	to join
		enke	where
etava:ru	belt	*enke*	our
ettette	far away	*ere*	fodder
ettu	eight	*ere*	to irrigate
ete	weight	*ele*	leaf
etu	to take	*eli*	rat
etom	place	*elika:ki:re*	greens
etakku	to be mischivious	*elle*	boundary
etatu	left (hand)	*ella:m*	all
etuppu	taking	*ella:rum*	all people
emplatu	eighty	*ellu*	gingily seed
eme	eye brow		

/ e: /

e:ppom	hiccup	*e:ma:ru*	to be deceived
e:ttu	to load	*e:mali*	simpleto1
e:ttom	irrigating instrument	*e:nom*	a vessal
e:cu	to scold	*e:ṇi*	ladder
e:ka:li	washer man	*e:ṇe*	cloth cradle
e:kkom	craving for	*e:nke*	why
e:ttu	head constable	*e:lom*	auction
e:tu	cream of milk	*e:ri*	lake
e:ma:ttu	to deceive	*e:ru*	to climb
		e:ru	a plough with bulls

/ a /

appen / appa:ru father

appe then

apṭi like that

aprom after wards

aplom pappad

atte aunt

atte / ate of it

atu it

atircom sweet

atikom excess

aṭi bottom

aṭi to beat

aṭe a dish

aṭe palave a plank in the cart

aṭuppu harth

aṭume slave.

aṭanku to be controled

aṭakku to controle

aṭṭe cover or board

aṭṭe leech

aṭṭiye necklace

aṭṭu:liyom wrong doing

aṭa:vaṭi wrong

aṭakkom humbleness

acati tiredness

acinkiyom ugliness

acci axile

accom fear

acalu original

acca:rom advance

acca:ṇi axile nut

akalom broadness

akaḷi water barrier

akiṭṭu throat irritation

akulu earthen lamp

akka: elder sister

akkare carefulness

akki skin eruptions

akkini fire

ami mortar

ami to put off

ame to prepare

amukku to press

amunku to be pressed

amaṇekaṭṭe naked

amma: mother

amma:n mother's brother

amma:n that much

ampatu fifty

ampa:rom a heap

analu flame

annom swan bird

annom rice

aṇe bund

aṇe to embrace

aṇippuḷḷe squirrel

aṇṇi elder brother's wife

aṇṇen	elder brother	*aṇke*	there
anna:ṭom	daily	*arikeṭay*	paddy corn stalk
aṇṇa:kavru	waist rope	*ari*	to collect the stalks
aṇṇa:ru	to lift ones lower-jaw	*aṛu*	to cut
		aruppu	cutting/harvesting
aṇṇa:cci	elder-brother (Hon)	*aruva:*	scithe
		aruva:maṇe	kitchen knife
aṇṇa:tte	elder brother (Hon.)	*arappu*	soap nut powder
		ale	wave
anti	evening	*aleccalu*	wandering
ante	that	*alma:ri*	cupboard
anci	five	*alava:nku*	a hooked pole
ancale	name of a girl	*allikoṭi*	lilly creaper
ance	there	*alla:m*	all

/ a: /

a:ppom	an edible	*a:kku*	to cook
a:ppe	ladle	*a:kku*	rope made of creaper
a:ppu	a wodden peg	*a:me*	tortoise
a:tron	anger	*a:mple*	man
a:tti	name of an instrument	*a:mpṭaya:n*	husband
a:ṭu	to dance	*a:mpṭu*	to get catched
a:ṭu	goat	*a:ne*	elephant
a:ṭutuṇṇa:pa:lay	Aristolochia indica plant	*a:ṇe*	promise
		a:ṇevuṭu	to promise
a:ṭṭu	to shake	*a:ncine:ru*	Lord Anjineya
a:ṭṭom	village drama	*a:lu*	banyan tree
a:ṭṭa:nko:ray	a kind of grass	*a:ḷu*	person
		a:ḻom	depth
a:ce	desire	*a:ru*	to get cool
a:cci	Vellala woman	*a:ru*	river

a:ru six	*a:ra:ṭṭu* to console the child
a:rom spokes of a wheel	
a:ro: some one	*a:ra:ṭci* intensive study

/ **u** /

uppu salt	*ucṇom* heat
uppu to bulge	*umi* husk
uppucom bulging	*umru* saliva
utrom wooden beam	*uṇi* an insect on cattle
uṭu leave	*uṇme* truth
uṭukke country double headed drum	*uṇṇa:kku* uvula
uṭumpu mountain lizard	*uri* hanging rope to keep milk pots
ucuppu to kindle	*uri* to peel
ucci head	*uli* chisel
uccive:le noon	*ulle* inside

u: /

u:ṭṭu spring	*u:kku* safty–pin
u:ṭṭu to pour	*u:me* dumb
u:ṭṭa: fishing basket	*uṇṇu* to plant
u:ṭu house	*u:nom* defective
u:ṭṭom healthy, stout	*u:nce* swing
u:ṭṭi throat	*u:ru* village
u:ṭṭu to cause to eat	*u:lalu* fraud

o

oppi ricite	*oppa:ru* your father (Hon.)
oppen your father	*oppa:ri* lamentation

oppu   to agree

opravu   without quarrel

ote   to kick

otaru   to shake

otaṭu   lip

otavi   help

otte   alone/one

ottu   to press

okka:ru   to sit

ocatti   high/superior

oṭi   to break

oṭe   to break

oṭṭe   one finger length

oṭṭu   to paste

ompo:tu   nine

oṇaṭṭu   to dry

oṇakke   taste

onke   your

ore   cover

ole   harth

oli   to get clear

olakku   name of a measure

oremaray   relation

/ o: /

o:tom   dampness

o:cane   thought

o:ṭu   to run

o:ṭu   tiles

o:ṭṭe   hole

o:ṭṭu   to drive/to chase

o:ccu   to cajole

o:mom   bishop seed

o:matra:kom   a medicine

o:ṇa:n   camilion

o:nku   to raise

o:li   heap of paddy

o:le   palm leaf

o:rom   edge

o:ri   lonely person

/ p /

pippa: wooden drum

pittu   mad

pituku   to press out

piṭi   to catch

picini   gum

picce   alms

picceka:ren   beggar

pirumaṇay   pad-seat

piri   to unwind

piruvom   eye brow

pillu weed

pili tiger

pi: excrement

pi:ttu to boast

pi:ccekay left hand

pi:kkenka: a gourd

peca:cu evil spirit

periya big

pela:kka: jack fruit

pelom strength

pe:yi devil

pe:nta: a kind of play

pattu ten

pace grease

pacce green

pacume greenish

pacanke boys

pacuvu cow

patray paddy heap

patte bark

patti pound

pattu silk

patta receipt of ownership of land

pattika:du rural areas

patnom Madras/city

patrom safety

pattu ten

pattu dirt

pakkom side

pavlu day

palni palm juice

pavrnami full moon

pallom ditch

palli name of a caste

pallu a kind of song

putti small basket

puttu a kind of dish

putunku to pluck

putukku testicles

pu:nna:kku oil cake

punyom virtue

pullaya:nta:n a boy

pullaya:ru Lord Vinayaga

pulle child/girl

puli tiger

puli tamarind

puluvu lies

punuku a kind of cat

pu:vu flower

pu:ttu lock

pu:ttu to lock

pu:cci insect

pu:cu to paste it

pu:mi earth

pu:ne cat

pu:nci a small root-branch

pu:tta:nkavuru yoke fastening rope

pu:nu metal ring

pu:ntu garlics

pottalu hole
poti journey bundles
poteri back of the nape
pottu thilak
pottupu:cci spider
potnom packet
pontu hole
pomme doll
pomple woman
pomna:tti woman
ponam corpse
ponnu girl
ponkalu a dish
pola to split

pola:cci splited wood
porlanka:vuntay   peanut–
                                    cake
po: go
po:tum enough
po:tu to give, put
po:tti competion
po:kri rowdy
po:kku action of going
po:ni a vessal
po:li duplicate
po:la similar
po:li a sweet dish
po:le a box

/ t /

tittippu sweet
tittu to scold
titta:ni raised ground
tittom plan
tikku direction
tikku stammering
timuru arrogance
tini to push inside
tinne pial
tinnu to eat
tiri to rotate
tiri wig of a lamp
tiruten thief
tirutu to steal

tilumpu to turn oneself
tiluppu to turn
tillumillu fraud
tettu to stammer
teppekatte float
tece direction
tekku south
temma:nku a kind of song
tenom daily
teratti puberty
teruvu street
teri to sprinkle
terame ability
tera:ni capability

teli to sprinkle	*ta:lom* tune
tellu to winnow	*ta:rom* wife
tati a stick	*ta:ru* a bunch of plantain fruits
tatu to stop	
tate hindrance	*ta:rukali* stick with goad
tattu to beat	*tottu* to get involve
tattu plate	*tote* thigh
tatti woven mat	*tote* to wipe
tattiyanka: singing and dancing with clapping hands	*tottuke* side dish
	totti tub
tatta:n goldsmith	*toke* amount
taccen carpenter	*tone* company
takli spinning instrument	*tonnu:ru* ninety
takarom tin	*tonku* hang
tanku to stay	*tonkatta:n* hanging ear ring
tankom gold	*tole* to get lost
tanka:cci younger sister	*tolle* trouble
tay to stitch	*tore* to open
tayanku to hesitate	*tore* entrance in a tank or river
ta:ppa: bolt	
ta:tta: grand father	*tovaramparuppu* dhal
ta:te cheeck	*tova:rom* hole
ta:ti beard	*tovuttu* to dry
ta:ci harlot	*tovuppu* sour taste
ta:kku to attack	*tole* hole
ta:kku piti to bear	*tola:yrom* nine hundred
ta:mpu kavuru thick rope	*to:ppu* grove
ta:niyom grains	*to:tu* ability
ta:nku to bear	*to:ru* to get defeated
ta:li marriage badge	*to:ttom* garden
ta:li to season the sauce	*to:tti* village head worker

to:ce   a dish
to:ke   peacock feather
to:ni   boat

to:ntu   to dig
to:lu   shoulder
to:li   companian

/ C /

cippi   shells
cippom   small bundles
citre   April-May, month   in
    Tamil
cikku   entanglement
cikkanom   miserlyness
cimul   a box
cimni   kerosine oil lamp
cinne   small
cinka:ri   to put make up
ciri   to laugh
cirippu   laughter
ci:ppu   comb
ci:ttu   cards
ci:ca: bottle
ci:kku   disease
ci:krom   quickly
ci:me   foreign land
ci:ni   sugar
ci:ntu   to blow the nose
ci:mantom   name of a cere-
    mony while bearing the
    child
ci:vu   to comb
ci:vu   broom-sticks
ci:le   loin-cloth

ci:ravom   cumin seeds
cepukotom   copper vessal
cettu   to smoothen
cette   dust
ceti   plant
cetti   chetty caste
cekku   oil-mill
cekka:n   oil-monger
cenka:yom   stalk of seasame
    plant
ceme   burden
cenkallu   brick
cene   pregnancy
cevuppu   red
cevuru   wall
cele   idol
cele   a few
cere   jail
ceruppu   chappals
cerava:nay   small pot
ce:ppankelanku   yam
ce:ru   clay
ce:te pa:ccu   irrigate   and
    plough
ce:kay   dirty

ce:man ceṭi a kind of plant
ce:ri Harijan village
ce:ru to add
ce:le saree
cappu to suck
caṭṭu nutrition
caṭṭe shirt
cakke chaff
came to cook
cammaṭom agreement
canikeḷame Saturday
canku conch
cankaṭom trouble
calḷe difficulty
caraṇa a kind of play
ca:ṭṭu to lean on
ca:mi God
ca:ma:n things
ca:mpe ash
ca:ṇi cowdung
ca:ṇu one finger length
ca:ṇa:n name of a caste
ca:lukaravom holy pot at the marriage
ca:rom sloped verandah
ca:ru juice

cuṭṭu to rotate
curuṭṭu cigar
curuṭṭu to role
cuṭu to boil
cukku dried ginger
cuṭṭom cleanliness
culḷi twigs
cu:ṭṭu buttocks
cu:ṭu hot
cu:ri knife
cu:ren brave person
cu:lom tirident
coṭṭu property
coṭṭe bald
cokku to get involved
coccom balance
coṇe feeling
corekka: beggar's gourd
co:ppu soap
co:tane experiment
co:ṭṭalavu a kind of grass
co:ṭi pair
co:mpe:ri lazy
co:ru rice
co:le leaf of sugar cane
co:ḷom maize

/ k /

kiḷi parrot
kiluvey a thorny fence plant
kiṭṭe near

kiṭṭi tied lines in cart
kitta:n thick cloth
kiṇṇi eating vessal

kili fear
kili to tear
ki:ttu woven leaf
ki:ṇu to remove the kernal
ki:ṇom defective
ki:re greens
ki:l tar
ki:lakam wrong talk
ki:le below
keṭe:ri heifer
keṭa: he-goat
keṭa:cu to throw
keṭṭi thick/hard
keṭṭe bad
keṭu to seduce
ke:ṭu one of Navagraha
ke:ṭu suffering
ke:ṭṭe name of a star
ke:ṇi well
ke:valom meanness
kappalu ship
kate story
katte bundle
katti knife
kattu to cry
kaṭukken ear ring for men
kaṭava:ṇi a linch pin
kaṭakali yoke stick
kaṭuta erumpu ant
kacappu bitterness
kacci party

kakku to vomit
kavam phlem
kamma:len blacksmith
kammi less
kanni young girl
kannom cheeck
kaṇṇu eye/young plant
kantala:ṭṭu deceive
kanku fire
kari mutton
kari char coal
karavaṭom dried onion
                        mixture
karcana:kaṇṇi a shrub
kale to mix ·
kaluvom mortar
kalavaṭav broken rim of a
                        pot
kalunka: small dam
kaluttuka:l country balance
kallu stone
kali ragi preparation
kallu toddy
kallen thief
kavaṇti sling
kavaṇe bundle
kavuru rope
ka:ppu bangle (metal)
ka:tu ear
ka:ttu wind
ka:tta:le in the morning

ka:ccu to boil

ka:ce fever

ka:tu forest

ka:ttu to show

ka:ta:n blue-bird

ka:tte:ri devil

ka:ma:le jaundice

ka:ni land

ka:ṇom one oil-mill quantity

ka:ṇa:n not to be seen

ka:vu scape goat

ka:valu protection

ka:vuntu safety

ka:vati pole with burden at the end

ka:lu leg

ka:lra cholera

ka:la:n mushroom

ka:li Goddess Kali

ka:ruva:ri agent

kuppi bull's horn cover

kuppe waste

kuppe kuli manure pit

kupre front side down

kuttu to pestle

kuttave rent for the land

kuttumi husk of paddy

kucci a small hut

kucci twigs

kucuvu escaping bowl gas

kutu to give

kuti to drink

kutuppa:ttu cause to drink

kutupne luck

kutumi tuft (male)

kutumpom family

kutika:ren drunkard

kutipo:te giddyness due to drinking

kutti small girl

kumutu/kumputu worship with folded hands

kumpalu crowd

kummi a play

kuni to bend

kuntu to sit

kunta:ni a kind of mortar

kunkuvom kumkum

kulukke cattle feed tub

kulukku to shake

kulunku to be shaked

kuli to bathe

kullen dwarf

kuruten blind-man

kuruti blind-woman

kuruttu sprout

kurukke between

kurumpu clever

kurumpi ear-wax

kurumpɛya:tu sheep

kuruppu palm leaf scripture denoting date of birth

ku:ptu to call

ku:ppu forest area
ku:ttu village drama
ku:ttu nellu paddy husking for wages
ku:ccom shyness
ku:ci sharpness
ku:ccalu crying louder
ku:ttu to sweep
ku:ttu to add
ku:ttom crowd
ku:tu nest
ku:ni hunch backed woman
ku:ntu cage
ku:la:n broken pieces of straw
ku:re roof
ku:re potave saree for the marriage
koppare large mouthed vessal
kopli to gargle
koplom boil
kottu to peck
kottu bunch
kote umbrella
kotekallu a stone wet mortar
kotte nut
kotta:nci coconut shell

kottake cattle shed
kotta:rom big pandal
kotta:pli carpenter's wooden hammer
kocavom saree frills
kocuvu mosquito
kompe:ri mu:kkan a snake
komaccalu enmity
komka:ni hooked instrument
konke ear of the corn
kolli fire stick
koluvu plough's iron tip
kole murder
kole bunch
kole to bark
kolle land (dry)
kore to decrease
kora: kutti female-lamb
ko:manom loin cloth
ko:ma:ri cattle disease
ko:ni gunny bag
ko:ni u:ci big needle
ko:lom drawings by flour
ko:li hen
ko:le coward
ko:vom anger
ko:ylu temple

/ m /

miti/miri to step on
mimma:pallu front teeth

minnalu lightning
minci toe ring

mi:ti   balance

mi:nu   fish

mi:ru   to go out of controle

mette   bedding

metti   toe ring

menni   throat

menaktu   to take steps to do

mene   one man's work in a
field while removing weeds

melantu   to winnow

mela:ru   sticks

me:ccalu   grazing

me:rkku   west

me:kom   cloud

me:tu/mo:tu   high grounds

me:le   above

me:y   to graze

me:ni   good harvest

mappu   cloud

mattu   churn

macci   elder sister's husband

maccinicci   wife's sister

maca:lay   masala

mati   to fold

mati   lap

matte   palm leaf

makku   dull headed

makka:rupannu   to give trou-
ble

mamutti   spade

mane   house site

mani   bell

mane   seat

mance   yellow/turmaric

manke   girl

maniya:ru   village headman

male   mountain

male   rain

malla:tte   ground nut

maruma:ti   ceiling

maruli   tapico plant

mayleka:le   coloured bullock

ma:nom   sky

ma:tom   month

ma:ttu   to change

ma:ci   name of a month

ma:vu   flour

ma:marom   mango tree

ma:nka: mango

ma:le   garland

ma:ru   chest

muppatu   thirty

mutukka:n   big house

muttu   pearl

muttom   kiss

mulicci   knot

mutte   egg

mutti   wrist

muttu   to hit

mucci   a small winnow

muni   to tie on the cloth

mullu   thorn

mulle   mullay flower

murukku   to rotate/twist

murukku an edible

muḻi to spit

muḻinki bamboo

muruntupo:cci over fried

mu:ṭu to close, cover

mu:nci face

mu:ṇu three

mu:ḻi broken

moppu bad smell

mottom thick

moṭṭu to hit by fist

mokke blunt

mɔ:ne edge

moyalu hare

moḻe shoot of a grain

moḻom on cubit

mo:trom ring

mo:com bad

mo:lom drum

mo:ḻi plough-handle

mo:ru butter milk

mo:ntupa:ru to smell

/ n /

niḻlu to stand

niccayom definitely

niccaya:rtom betrothel

ni:nu you (sg.)

ni:ḻom long

ni:ccal swimming

ni:ccataṇṇi water from old rice

ni:kku to remove

netom daily

nettom blood

neṭṭu to push

nene to think

nenci chest

necom truth

nelom land

nelḻu paddy

neḻalu shade

neḻi to bend

nevom nail

nerom colour

neruppu fire

neru to weigh

neruttu to stop

naṭu to plant

naṭu centre

nacukku to press

nakku to lick

nampe we

nampikke hope

naṇṭu crab

nane to wet

navuru to move

na:ppatu forty

na:ṭṭu seedling

na:ṭṭom bad odour

na:kku tongue

na:me   we

na:nu   I

na:ṇom   shyness

na:nke   we

na:lu · four

na:lu   day

na:li   time

nuppaṭu   thirty

nuṇi   tip

nu:ru   hundred

nu:lu   thread

noṇa: name of a tree

noṭi   ǝ second

nocci   a plant

nole   to enter

nole   shade

nore   foam

norukku   to pulvarize

nolumpu   mosquito

no:kkom   aim

no:ṭṭu   note

no:ṭṭom   watching

no:ru   mouth

/ l /

lekku   light in weight

lenko:ṭu   loin cloth

la:ṭṭu   shake

la:ru   cheating

la:vom   profit

la:ṭom   horse shoe

/ r /

reṭṭe   double

ra:vaṇa:ṭṭi   myna bird

ra:ca: king

rompe   plenty

roppu   to fill

rokkom   in cash

roṭṭi   bread

ro:ca: rose

/ v /

viluṭu   hanging root

vilutrom   bael tree

veṭi   cracker

veṭṭiya:n   headman of the
   workers in a village

veṭi va:lu   white tailed bull

veṭṭma:lu   ditch

velalu   water grass

velakuṇṭa:n   name of a paddy

vellom   jaggary

vellom flood

ve:ca na:lu summer

ve:ṇum want

ve:ṇa:m don't want

ve:ṭṭi dhothi

ve:li fence

ve:le work

ve:re different

vappa:ṭṭi concubine

vaṭakavru leather rope

vaṭakku north

vaṭampu roof line

vaṭom thick rope

vaṭe a dish

vaṭṭe rim of a wheel

vatakku to roast

vacampu a medicinal root

vacati comfort

vakka: a bird

vali pain

valukke bald head

vari line

vari tax

va:ṭṭa pili a kind of winno-
    wing to remove chaff

va:ca:mku cursing

va:nkalaku bill hook

va:raṭay a piece of cloth

va:yi mouth

va:yta: land revenue

| ய |

ya:ru who

ya:va:rom trade

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