

NOUN MODIFYING EXPRESSIONS IN MALAYALAM

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1. Introduction

Noun modifiers can be classified into two types, pre modifiers and post modifiers based on the position of their occurrence with the head noun. Pre modifiers are those which come before nouns and post modifiers are those which come after nouns. Noun modifiers can be further classified into two types based on their constitution: phrasal modifiers and clausal modifiers. English makes use of all the above mentioned types of modifiers. Malayalam makes use of predominantly pre-modifiers only. The pre-modifiers in Malayalam can be further separated as in the case of English into phrasal and clausal modifiers. Both the modifiers give information about the nouns they modify.

Malayalam makes use of adjectives, possessive forms, demonstratives, numerals (ordinals and cardinals), quantifiers and nominals as phrasal premodifiers (Asher and Kumari, 1997:123-131) and relative clauses as clausal modifiers. *nalla* 'good' and *ceRiya* 'small' are attributive adjectives and they modify nouns as premodifiers (eg. *nalla kuTTi* 'good child' and *ceRiya viiTu* 'small house'). Malayalam does not have articles. It makes use of *oru* 'one' which can be considered as equivalent to article 'a' in English. It does not have article equivalent to 'the' in English. Sometimes not having an article *oru* 'a' gives the sense 'the' in Malayalam. Possessive forms of both nouns and pronouns function as noun modifiers. In the phrases *pasuvinRe paal*, *pasuvin paal* and *pashum* which all mean 'cow's milk', *Re* is the possessive marker; *pashum* and *pushuv-in* are the oblique forms of *pashu* 'cow' which functions as modifiers of the noun *paal* 'milk'. *en-Re* 'my' and *avaL-uTe* 'her' are possessive case inflected forms of the pronoun nouns *njaan* 'I' and *avaL* 'she' respectively and they functions as possessive pronouns and modify the following nouns (eg. *en-Re viiTu* 'my house' and *avaL-uTe kuTTi* 'her child'). Demonstratives or demonstrative adjectives modify the following noun for proximity and remoteness. *ii* is used as proximate demonstrative (e.g. *ii kuTTi* 'this child') and *aa*

is used as a remote demonstrative (e.g. *aa kuTTi* 'that child'. Cardinal and ordinal numerals and quantifiers too modify nouns (e.g. *pattu kuTTikaL* 'ten children', *pattaamatta kuTTi* 'tenth child', *kuRe kuTTikaL* 'few children'. In the case of noun phrases of the construction type N+N, the first noun can be seen mostly as a modifier (e.g. *maTicci kuTTi* 'lazy child', *vaasana tailam* 'scented oil'). Certain nouns inflected for locative case can function as modifiers of nouns (Asher and Kumari, 1997:128) (e.g. *kaaTT-ile taTi* 'forest wood', *kuLatt-ile miinU* 'pond fish'). Apart from these phrasal modifiers Malayalam makes use of relative clauses formed from sentences with verbs as clausal modifiers. For example *ciinjja* is an adjective participial (ADJP) form of the verb *ciiyuka* 'become bad' and *paThicca* is an adjectival participial form of the verb *paThikkuka* 'to study'. *ciinjja* and *paThicca* respectively and they occur as premodifiers to modify nouns (*ciinjja pazam* 'rotten fruit', *paTicca paiyan* 'educated boy'). Malayalam does not make use of a relative pronoun for the formation of relative clause or adjectival clause. Rather it makes use of an adjectival participle form of a verb which modifies a noun.

We call the relative clauses or adjectival clauses as noun modifying expressions and the aim of this paper is to explicate in details about noun modifying expressions in Malayalam.

2. Two types of NMEs

Malayalam like other major Dravidian languages like Tamil and Kannada employs two relativisation strategies. The first which is referred to as a sentential relative clause (SRC) is a sort of correlative construction and the second is referred to as participial relative clause.

2.1. Sentential relative clause as NMEs

Sentential relative clause closely resembles a structure found in Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages and can be considered an aerial feature borrowed from them. In Malayalam the SRC is considered very formal and is rarely used, though it does occur occasionally and mainly in written language. The preferred strategy is clearly a subordinating construction in which the verbal element in the relative clause is a nonfinite participial form.

Abraham (1978: 20-22) and in K. P Mohanan (1984:372-377) gives a full account of sentential relative clause constructions in Malayalam. A sentential relative clause has two parts. The first is a question-word question structure in which the markers of relativisation are an E-question word and a finite verb to which is suffixed the interrogative particle *-oo* found in yes-no questions. The second part features a remote demonstrative form (*aa* for the demonstrative adjective and *a-* initial words for pronouns and adverbs) and a finite verb.

1. *eetu kuTTi nannaayiTTu aahaaram kazikk-unn-oo aa kuTTi aaroogyamaayirikkum*

Which child well food eat-PRES-Q that child be-healthy

‘The child who eats well will be healthy’

2. *aaru nannaayiTTu paTikku-nn-oo avar pariikshay-il jayikk-um*

who well study-PRES-Q they examination-LOC pass-FUT

‘Those who studies well will pass the examination’

3. *eviTe samaadhanam kiTTu-nn-oo aviTe aaLukaL nannaay jiivikk-um*

where peace get-PRES-Q there people well live-FUT

‘People lives well where they get peace’

2.2. Participial relative clause as NMEs

A participial relative clause otherwise known as adjectival clause is prenominal and can modify a noun or a pronoun or a noun phrase (NP). A participial relative clause ends with a nonfinite form of a verb known as a relative participle (RP) or adjectival participle (ADJP). Like a finite verb form, relative participle form of a verb has three tensed forms: past, present, and future forms. Past and present tense forms are suffixed by relative participle marker *a*. The relative participle marker is zero after the future suffix *-um*; the linguistic environment determines unambiguously which of the two forms is being used. A participial relative clause can take the same range of arguments as a finite verb in a simple sentence.

4. *innale va-nn-a payyan*

yesterday come-PAST-ADJP boy
 ‘the boy who came yesterday’

5. *aviTe nilku-nn-a payyan*
 there stand-PRES-RP boy
 ‘the boy who is standing there’

6. *cennay-ilee-kku pook-um tiivaNTi*
 Chennai-LOC-DAT go-FUT train
 ‘the train which will go to Chennai’

It can be interpreted that the above relative clauses are derived respective from the source sentences with the concerned finite verbs.

7. *innale payyan va-nn-u*
 yesterday boy come-PAST
 ‘the boy came yesterday’

8. *aviTe payyan nilku-nnu*
 there boy stand-PRES
 ‘the boy is standing there’

9. *cennay-ilee-kku tiivaNTi pook-um*
 Chennai-LOC-DAT train go-FUT
 ‘the train will go to Chennai’

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

10. *cennai-kku pooku-nn-a tiivaNTi*

Chennai-DAT go-PRE/FUT-ADJP train

‘the train which will go/is going to Chennai’

Future is otherwise realized in relative clause as a verb in infinitive form (marked by *aan*) followed by the present relative participle form of *pookuka* ‘go’ (i.e. *pook-unn-a*) or as the same infinitive form + *uLLa*, the present RP form of *uNTU* ‘be’.

11. *naaLe naTakk-aan pook-unn-a malsaram*

tomorrow take-place-INFIN go-PRES-ADJP match

‘the match that is going to take place tomorrow’

12. *naaLe naTakk-aan uLL-a malsaram*

she-DAT take-place-INFIN be-ADJP match

‘the match that is going to take place tomorrow’

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

13. *malsaratt-il jeyi-cc-a cennaiy-il ninnum va-nn-a Tiim*

match win-PAST-ADJP Chennai-LOC from come-PAST-ADJP team

‘the team which came from Chennai and won the match’

In Certain aspects, relative clauses function as attributive adjectives. One can notice the clear overlap of surface structures of the relative clauses and the attributive adjectives derived by adding *uLLa*, the relativized form of *uNTU* ‘be’ and *aaya*, the past tense relative participle form of *aakuka* ‘be, become’ (Asher and Kumari, 1997: 73).

14. *enikk-uLL-a paNam*

I-DAT-be-ADJP money’

‘the money I have’

15. *aRiv-uLL-a kuTTi*
 knowledge-be-ADJP child'
 'clever child'

It can be justified that the above phrases are derived respectively from the following source sentences.

17. *eni-kku paNam uNTU*
 I-DAT money be
 'I have money'

18. *kuTTi-kku aRivu uNTU*
 child-DAT knowledge be
 'The child has knowledge'

Similarly the phrases like *nall-avan-aa-y-a payyan* 'good-he-be-PAST-ADJP boy 'good boy' and *DookTar-aa-y-a kuTTi* 'doctor-become-PAST-ADJP child' 'the child which became a doctor' can be interpreted as the respective derivations of the following source sentences.

19. *payan nallavan aay-i*
 boy good-he become-PAST
 'The boy became good'

20. *kuTTi DookTar aayi*
 child doctor become-PAST
 'the child became a doctor'

2.2.1. Internal nouns as heads of NMEs

Almost all the arguments (subject, object, indirect object, locative, etc) can be moved to the head position during relativisation and thereby be modified by the remaining elements in the relative clause.

2.2.1.1. Intransitive subject as head of NME

The subject can head the relative participle form of an intransitive verb.

21.a. *oophiis-il ninnum thiriccuvar-unn-a aaLukaL*
Office-LOC ABL return-PRES-ADJP people
'People who return from (their) office'

The source of the above derivation could be the following sentence.

21.b. *oophiis-il ninnum aaLukaL thiriccuvar-unnu*
Office-LOC from people return-PRES
'People return from (their) office'

2.2.1.2. Transitive subject as head of NME

The subject can head the relative participle form of a transitive verb.

22.a. *chuvanna paTTU saari uTu-tt-a peNNU*
red silk sari wear-PAST-ADJP bride
'The bride who put on a red silk sari'

The following sentence could be the source of above derivation.

22.b. *peNNU chuvanna paTTU saari uTu-tt-u*
bride red silk sari wear-PAST-ADJP
'The bride wore a red silk sari'

2.2.1.3. Direct object as head of NME

The object can head the relative participle form of a transitive verb.

23.a. *kaikoNTU sooppiTTu kazuk-iy-a thuNikaL*
 hand-INST applying-Soap wash-PAST-ADJP clothes
 'Clothes that X washed by applying soap with hand ... '

The following sentence could be the source of above derivation.

23.b. *thuNikaL-e kaikoNTU sooppiTTu kazuk-i*
 clothes-ACC hand-INST applying-Soap wash--PAST
 'X washed clothes by applying soap with hand ... '

2.2.1.4. Dative of experiencer as head of NME

The experiencer nouns in dative form can head the relative participle form of a transitive verb as shown below.

24. *viSakk-unn-a enikkU*
 be-hungry-PAST-ADJP I-DAT
 'for me who was hungry'

25. *peNN-ine ishTTappeT-T-a enikkU*
 bride-ACC like-PRES-ADJP I-DAT
 'I who liked the bride'

The following sentences could be the sources of above derivations respectively.

26. *enikkU viSakk-unnu*

I-DAT be-hungry-PRES

‘I am hungry’

27. *en-ikkU peNN-ine ishTTappeT-Tu*

I-DAT bride-ACC like-PAST

‘I liked the bride’

2.2.1.5. Indirect object (recipient) as head of NME

The indirect object (recipient) can head the relative participle form of a verb as shown below.

28. *cooRu koTu-tt-a paTTi*

cooked-rice give-PAST-RP dog

‘the dog to which X gave cooked-rice’

29. *njaan paisa koTu-tt-a bhikshakkaaRan*

I money give-PAST-RP beggar

‘the beggar to whom I gave money’

The following sentences could be the sources of above derivations respectively.

30. *cooRU paTTi-kkU koTu-tt-u*

cooked-rice dog-DAT give-PAST

‘X gave cooked-rice to the dog’

31. *njaan bhikshakkaaRan-nu paisa koTu-tt-u*

I money beggar give-PAST

‘I gave money to the beggar’

Even the recipient of hearing verbs marked by *-ooTu* ‘with’ can head RCs.

32.a *kaNNan raatay-ooTu kaLLam paRa-njnju*

Kannan Radha-with lie say-PAST

‘Kannan told a lie to Radha’

32.b. *kaNNan kaLLam paRa-njn-a raadha*

Kannan lie tell-PAST-ADJP Radha

‘Radha to whom Kannan told lie’

2.2.1.6. Instrument as head of NME

The noun inflected for instrumental case can head the relative participle form of a verb as shown below.

33. *cooRu koTu-tt-a karaNTi*

rice give-PAST-ADJP spoon

‘the spoon with which X gave Y rice’

34. *iRacci veTTiya katti*

meat cut-PAST-ADJP knife

‘the knife with which X cut meat’

The following sentences could be the sources of above derivations respectively.

35. *cooRu karaNTi-koNTU koTu-tt-u*

rice spoon give-PAST

‘X gave rice to Y with the spoon’

36. *iRacci katti-koNTU veTT-i*

meat knife-INST cut-PAST

‘X cut the meat with the knife’

2.2.1.7. Possessor (alienable or inalienable) as head of NME

The nouns marked for alienable or inalienable possessor can head the relative participle form of a verb as shown below.

37. *kaikaL-oo kaalukaL-oo oTinjnja roogikaL*

arms-or legs-or break-PAST-ADJP patients

'Patients whose arms or legs are broken'

38. *njaan kaal oTi-cc-a paiyan*

I leg-ACC break-PAST-ADJ P boy

'The boy whose leg I broke '

The following sentences could be the sources of above derivations respectively.

39. *roogikauL-uTe kaikaL-oo kaalukaL-oo oTinjnju*

patients-POSS arm-or leg-or break-PAST

'The patients' arms or legs are broken'

40. *njaan paiyan-Re kaal-ine oTicca*

I boy leg-ACC break-PAST

'The boy whose leg I broke '

2.2.1.8. Possessor of an adjunct in a PPP as head of NME

Possessor of an adjunct in a postpositional phrase can head a relative clause as shown in the following examples.

41. *viiTT-in uLLil veLLam kayaR-iy-a njaan*

house-POSS inside LOC water enter-PAST-ADJP I

‘I into whose house the water entered’

42. *muRiy-in uLLil paampu va-nn-a njaan*
 room-POSS inside snake come-PAST-ADJP I
 ‘I into whose room the snake entered’

The following could be the source sentences of the above mentioned derived phrases respectively.

43. *en-Re viiTT-in uLLil veLLam kayaR-i*
 I-POSS house-POSS inside water enter-PAST
 ‘the water entered into my house’

44. *en-Re muRiy-in uLLil paampu va-nn-u*
 I-POSS room-POSS inside snake come-PAST
 ‘for me into whose room the snake entered’

2.2.1.9. Time Arguments as the Heads of NMEs

Temporal arguments can head the relative clauses as shown in the following examples.

45.a. *njaan puunay-il taamasi-cc-a reNTU naaLukaL*
 I Poona-LOC stay-PAST-ADJP two days
 ‘the two days when I stayed in Pune’

The following could be the source sentence of the above mentioned derived clause.

45.b. *njaan puunaav-il raNTU naaLU taamasi-ccu*
 I Pune-LOC two day stay-PAST
 ‘I stayed in Pune for two days’

2.2.1.10. Locative Arguments as the Heads of NMEs

Locative arguments can head the relative clauses as shown in the following examples.

46.a. *njaan innale taamsi-cc-a viiTu*

I yesterday stay-PAST-ADJP house

'the house where I stayed yesterday'

The following could be the source sentence of the above mentioned derived clause.

46.b. *njaan innale viiTT-il taamsi-cc-u*

I yesterday house-LOC stay-PAST

'the house where I stayed yesterday'

2.2.1.11. Manner Adverbs as Heads of NMEs

Even manner adverbs like *phangiyaay* 'beautifully' can head a relative clause provided it is transformed into its nominal form.

47.a. *kaNNan ezut-iy-a phangi*

Kannan write-PAST-ADJP beauty'

'the beauty with which Kannan wrote'

The following could be the source sentence of the above mentioned derived clause.

47.b. *kaNNan phangiy-aayi ezut-i*

Kannan beautifully write-PAST

'Kannan wrote beautifully'

2.2.1.12. Pronouns as Head of NMEs

Even pronouns can head NMEs.

48. *iviTe jooli cey-unn-a njaan*

here work do-PRES-ADJP I

‘I who is work here’

49. *iviTe jooli cey-unn-a nii*

here work do-PRES-ADJP you

‘you who work here’

50. *iviTe jooli cey-unn-a avan*

here work do-PRES-ADJ he

‘he who works here’

In the case of third person as head, it generally appears as a bound form as given below.

51. *iviTe jooli cey-unn-a-van*

here work do-PRES-HE

‘he who works here’

2.2.1.13. Nouns combining with verbalizers of Compound Verbs as Heads of NMEs

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

52. *vaakku* 'word' + *koTukkuka* 'give' > *vaakkukoTukkuka* 'promise (V)'

53. *kola* 'murder' (N) + *ceyyuka* 'do' > *kolaceyyuka* 'kill (V)'

54. *kalyaaNam* (N) + *kazikkuka* 'perform' > *kalyaaNm kazikkuka* 'marry (V)'

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

55. *koTu-tt-a vaakku*

give-PAST-ADJP word

'the promise which was given'

56. *cey-t-a kola*

do-PAST-ADJP murder

'the murder which is performed'

57. *kazi-cc-a kalyaaNam*

perform-PAST-ADJP marriage

'the marriage which was performed'

2.2.1.14. Cognate Object Nouns as Heads of NMEs

There are NMEs with cognate nouns as their heads. The following examples will illustrate this statement.

58. *avan piTi-cc-a piTi*

he catch-PAST-ADJP catch (N)

'the hold which he caught'

59. *avan aTi-cc-a aTi*

he beat-PAST-a beat

'the beating which he beat'

The following could be the source sentences of the above mentioned derived clauses respectively.

60. *avan oru piTi piTi-ccu*

he one catch catch-PAST

‘He caught a hold’

61. *avan oru aTi aTiccu*

he one beating beat-PAST-HE

‘HE beat a beat’

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

62. *avaL paRa-nj-a paRaccil*

she say-PAST-ADJP

‘the way she brought up X’

63. * *avaL paRaccil paRa-njnju*

She talk say-PAST

In the case of 61, the head noun appear to be from outside the relative clause.

2.2.2. Constraints on the heads of NMEs

There could be some constraints on the relivization process or on the head which follows the relative clause as those reported for Tamil by Keenan and Comrie (1977: 72-73), but these are by no means as severe as reported by them (Asher and Kumari, 1997). The relativisation is encouraged only when there is clear cut interpretation of the resultant noun phrase. The possible ambiguity can also discourage the head noun which to be moved after adjectivalization of verbs. For example, ablative nouns cannot be heads of RC.

64.a. *avan viiTT-il ninnum vannu*

he house-LOC from come-PAST

‘he came from house’

64.b. **avan va-nn-a viiTu*

He come-PAST-ADJP house

It gives the dative interpretation ‘the house to which he came’. But in the following instances the relative clauses found in b can be derived from a and the resultant clauses seem possible or acceptable.

65.a. *malayil ninnum taazooTTu aruvi ozukunnu*

hill-LOC from down falls flows-down

‘the falls flows down from the hill’

65.b. *taazooTTu aruvi ozuk-unn-a mala*

down falls flow-down-PRES-ADJP hill

‘the hill where from the falls flows-down’

66.a. *malaiyil ninnum vaNTi taazooTTu iRang-unnu*

hill-LOC from vehicle down move-down-PRES

‘the vehicle climbs down from the hill’

66.b. *vaNTi taazooTTu iRang-unn-a mala*

vehicle down move-down-PRES-ADJP hill

‘the hill where from the vehicle moves-down’

Instrumental nouns can be heads of RCs. Again this possibility is nullified by a possible ambiguity.

67.a. *kaNNan asukham koNTu mariccu*

kannan disease by die-PAST

‘Kannan died because of disease’

67.b. **kaNNan maricca asukham'*
 Kannan die-PAST-ADJP disease'

NPs marked for sociative case cannot head the RC. Here again the possibility is nullified by a possible ambiguity. Postposition is the constraint as noted below.

68.a. *raadha kaNNan-Re-kuuTe va-nnu*
 Radha Kannan-POSS-SOC come-PAST
 'Radha came with Kannan'

69.b. **raadha va-nn-a kaNNan*
 'Radha come-PAST-ADJP Kannan

The NPs of postpositional phrases cannot head NMEs as shown by the following examples.

70.a. *kuTTikaL ammay-uTe aTutteekku ooT-i*
 child mother-POSS near run-PAST
 'the child went to its mother'

70.b. **kuTTikaL ooTiy-a amma*
 child run-PAST-ADJP mother

71.a. *kaNNan raadhay-e kuRiccu samsaari-ccu*
 Kannan Radha-ACC about talk-PAST
 'Kannan talked about Radha'

71.b. **kaNNan samsari-cc-a raadha*
 Kannan about talk-PAST-ADJP Radha

(The relative clause found in 71.b. is possible with the interpretation that 'Radha with whom Kannan talked to'.)

72.a. *kannan raadhay-inRe piRakil nilkk-unnu*

Kannan Radha-POSS back stand-PRES

'Kannan stands behind Radha'

72.b. **kannan nilkk-un-a raadha*

Kannan stand-PRES-ADJP Radha

2.2.3. External nouns as heads of the NMEs

So far we have seen heads of relative clauses as those belong to the arguments of the relativized verbs. There are relative clauses which are headed by nouns that do not belong to the arguments of the relativized verbs. In this context the nouns like *viSayam*, *vivaram*, etc. can head the preceding relative based NMEs.

73. *avan varu-nn-a vivaram*

He come-PRES-ADJP information

'the information that he comes'

Following Teramura (1969) we can distinguish two broad types of noun modification. In the first type, the modifying element is derived from a sentence which contains the modified noun. The relationship between the modifying element and the modified noun in such constructions may be called an 'inner relationship'. In the second type, the modifying element is derived from a sentence which does not contain the modified noun. The relationship between the two elements in this latter instance may be called an 'outer relationship'. Rajendran (2001) refers the first type of derivation as nominalization by argument nouns and the latter as nominalization by non-argument nouns. It should be made clear that the 'non-argument nouns' are those nouns which are not arguments of the relativized verb. They are rather arguments of the matrix verb (or matrix clause) and do not belong to the embedded verb (or embedded/relative clause).

Thus, there are two types of nominal heads to the relative clause. In one case the head noun is one of the arguments of the adjectivalized verb and in another case the head noun is not

one of arguments of the adjectivalized verb. To put it differently, in the first case the head noun can be plugged back into the preceding modifying expression (or in Chomsky's term to the gap or trace vacated after NP movement) and in the second case the head nouns cannot be plugged back into the preceding modifying expression. We refer the first type of nouns as argument nouns and the second type as non-argument nouns.

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

2.2.3.1. Noun complement of nouns like "news", "information" and the like as heads of NMEs

The nouns which can objectivize or abstract the content of the adjectival clause such as *vaartta* 'news', *viSayam* 'information', *satyam* 'fact', *sambhavam* 'event', *katha* 'story' etc. can function as heads of NMEs.

74. *avan naaTT-il pooy-a vaartta*

he native place-LOCgo-PAST-ADJP news

'The news that he went to his native place'

75. *viiTu tii piTi-cc-a viSayam*

house fire catch-PAST-ADJP information

'the information that the house got fire'

76. *muyalU simkatt-e ko-nn-a katha*

rabbit lion-ACC kill-PAST-ADJP story

‘the story that the rabbit killed the lion’

2.2.3.2. “Thought” Nouns as Heads of NMEs

Nouns of thought such as *aaloocana* ‘thought’, *abhipraayam* ‘opinion, idea’, *cinta* ‘thought’ etc. which can objectivize or abstract the content of the adjectival clause can function as heads NMEs.

77. *avan-U aviTe pook-unn-a aaloocana illa*
 he-DAT there go-PRES-ADKP thought is-not
 He does not have the thought to go there’

2.2.3.3. “Reason” Nouns as Heads of NMEs

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

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

2.2.3.4. Sensory nouns ["sound", "sight" or "smell"] as heads of NMEs

The nouns which can grouped as sensory nouns such as *Sabdham* ‘sound’, *kaazca* ‘sight’ *maNam* ‘smell’, etc. can function as heads of NMEs.

79. *kuTam taaze viiN-a Sabdam*
 pot down fall-PAST-ADJP sound
 ‘the sound that the pot fell down’

2.2.3.5. Nouns of Emotions and Feelings as Heads of NMEs

Certain nouns which denoting emotions and feelings such as *santoosham* ‘happyness’, *koopam* ‘angriness’, *dukkam* ‘sorrow/unhappiness’, *veedana* ‘pain’, *vikaaram* ‘feeling’, *mayakkam* ‘unconsciousness’ etc. can function as heads of NMEs denoting the cause of such emotions or feelings.

80. *avan neerate viiTT-il var-aat-a koopam*

avan early house-LOC come-NEG-ADJP angriness

‘angriness that he did not come home early’

81. *parrikshayil jeyi-cc-a santoosham*

examination succeed-PAST-ADJP happiness

‘the happiness that x passed the examination’

82. *tiranjnjeTupp-il tooR-R-a dukham*

election fail-PAST-ADJP sorrow

‘the sorrow that x lost the election’

2.2.3.6. Picture nouns ["photo", "image", etc.] as heads of NMEs

Picture” nouns such *chaayaa* ‘photo’, *citram* ‘drawing’, *kaazca* ‘image’, etc can function as heads of NMEs.

83. *joolikkaar cirri-ccu-koNTirikk-unn-a chaayaa*

staff-with laugh-CON-PRES-RP photograph

‘the photograph in which the staff are (seen) laughing

2.2.3.7. Nouns like "state" or "condition" as heads of NMEs

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

84. *muRiveeR-R-a nilay-il kuTTikaL*
 injure-PAST-ADJP condition children
 'the children in injured condition'

2.2.3.8. Nouns Like “Habit” as the Heads of NMEs

Nouns like “habit” (*siilam* ‘habit’) can function as heads of NMEs .

85. *avan-U kuTikk-unn-a siilam illa*
 he-DAT drink-PRES-ADJP habit not
 ‘He does not have the habit of drinking’

86. *avan ennum amplatt-il poo-kunn-a siilam uLLa-van*
 ‘he daily temple-LOC go-PRES-ADJP habit be-HE
 ‘He has the habit of going to temple daily’

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

87. *avan aviTe poo-y-a vaartta*
 he there go-PAST-ADJP news
 'the news that he went there'

2.2.3.9. Nouns Like *atra* ‘amount’, *riiti* ‘manner’, etc., as Heads of NMEs

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

88. *avan kazicca atrayum ennekoNtu kazikk-aan paRRattilla*
 he eat-PAST-RP amount I-with eat-INF possible-not
 'I cannot eat as much he ate'

89. *avaL paRa-njn-a riiti*
 she say-PAST-ADJP manner
 'the way she told'

2.2.3.7. Nouns Indirectly Related to the Relativized Verb as the Heads of NMEs

The non-argument nouns which are indirectly related to the relativized verb can head the concerned NMEs.

90. *aviTe pook-unn-a-a teRRu*
 there go-PRES-ADJP mistake
 'the mistake of going there'

91. *avaL-e ko-nn-a paavam*
 she-ACC kill-PAST-ADJP sin
 'the sin of killing her'

92. *avan-e toolpi-c-a vijayam*
 he-ACC defeat-PAST-ADJP
 'the success of defeating him'

93. *avaL nilk-uun-a riiti*
 she stand-PAST-ADJ appearance
 'the way she stood'

94. *avaL irik-unn-a irippu/nila*
 she sit-PAST-ADJP state
 'the state of her sitting'

95. *aviTe pooku-nn-a aasa*
 there go-PRES-ADJP desire

'the desire to go there'

96. *jooli-kku pooku-nn-a kazivu*

work-DAT go-PRES-ADJ capacity

'the capacity to go to work'

97. *jooli cey-unn-a avasaram*

work do-PRES-ADJP opportunity

'the opportunity to work'

98. *viteesattu cell-unn-a upaayam*

foreign country go-PRES-ADJP plan

'the plan to go to foreign country'

99. *avaL pook-unn-a pookku*

she go-PRES-ADJ manner

'the manner of her going'

100. *koccin-e vaLart-unn-a kaTama*

child-ACC bring-up-PRES-ADJP duty

'the duty of bringing up the child'

101. *njaan taaze vii-N-a parukku*

I down fall-PAST-ADJP wound

'the wound caused by falling down'

2.2.4. Compressed NMEs

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

102. *talaveetna kuRakk-unn-a guLika*

headache reduce-PRES-ADJP pills

‘the pills which reduces the head ache’

103. *mayakkam tar-unn-a madyam*

intoxication give-PRES-ADJP liquor

‘the liquor which gives intoxication’

104. *budhiy-e vaLarttu-unn-a pustakam*

knowledge-ACC grow-PRES-ADJP book

‘the book which grows knowledge’

105. *raatri Saoujaalayattil pook-aan bhayappeT-unn-a katha*

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

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

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

106. *kazi-cc-aal talaveetana kuRakk-unn-a guLika*

eat-CON headache reduce-PRES-ADJP pills

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

107. *kazi-ccaal mayakkam kiTTu-unn-a madyam*

drink-CON intoxication give-PRES-ADJP liquor

‘the liquor which gives intoxication if one consumes it’

108. *paTi-ccaal budhiy-e vaLartt-unn-a pustakam*

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nominalization normally leads to loss of information. So it is not strange that nominalization on adjectivalized clauses by non-argument nouns needs pragmatics and hearers'

knowledge to interpret the meaning of the resultant NPs. We can find the ‘*pakkavaTa* -type’ of examples (Hook Pardeshi, 2015b) in Tamil too.

109. *vaay-il veLLam uuR-unn-a pakkavaTa*
 Mouth-LOC saliva secrete-PRES-ADJP *pakkavaTa*
 ‘the *pakkavaTa* which makes the saliva to get secreted’

The literary meaning of 109 is ‘the *pakkavaTa* which secretes saliva in the mouth’. All the testable food items can replace *pakkavaTa* in the above example. Let us look at the following example:

110. *atirtti kaTa-nn-a baaTTing*
 boundary-ACC cross-PAST-ADJP bat strike
 ‘the bat strike which made the ball to cross boundary’

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

2.2.5. Adverbial Clause as NME

As in the following instance, the adverbial clause, that is, the verb in gerundival form added with the adverbial marker *aayi* can function as NME, modifying the non-argument nouns such as *aRivU* ‘information’, *teLivu* ‘evidence’ etc.:

111. *avan naaTT-il ninnum poo-y-a-t-aayi aRivU kiTTi*
 he country-from go-PAST- GER-ADV information get-PAST
 ‘(We) received information that he has left the country’

One can analyze the adverbial form as having five parts instead of four parts as follows by including the possible adjectival participle marker *a*: *poo-y-a-(a)t(u)-aayi* go-PAST-ADJP-GER-ADV. It is difficult to consider the adverbial clause as NME.

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

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

112. *paRa-njnj-a vaartta*
 say-PAST-ADJP talk
 ‘what has been said/instructed’

It is difficult to say that 112 is derived from the following possible source sentence (113) which seems to be odd.

113. *avan vaartay-e paRa-njnju*
 he talke-ACC say-PAST-He
 Literally mean: ‘he said a speech/talk’

2.2.7. NMEs Headed by Spatio-temporal and Manner Nouns

There are certain complex noun phrases in which the noun modifying expressions are adjectival clauses or relative participle clauses and the heads are temporal and manner nouns such as *appoL* ‘time/at the time’, *pinniiTu* ‘posteriority/after’, *munpu* ‘anteriority/before’, *uTan* ‘immediacy/immediately’, *vare* ‘end/limit/up to/until’, and *maatiri* ‘manner, way’; they together function as adverbs. *appooL*, *pinniiTu*, *munpu* and *uTan* function as postpositions after nouns and alone as adverbs.

114. *kumar viiTT-il va-nn-a-ppooL njaan viiTT-il illa*
 Kumar house come-PAST-ADJP-time I house-LOC not

‘At the time/When Rajeev came to (my) house, I was not in the house’

115. *avaL kumar va-nn-a Seesham va-nnu*

she Kumar come-PAST-ADJP after come-PAST

‘She came after Kumar came’

116. *avaL kumaar var-um-0 munpu viiTT-il etti*

she Kumar come-FUT-ADJP before house-DAT come-PAST

‘She reached home before Kumar came’

117. *avaL kumar va-nn-a uTan veLiyil poo-yi*

she Kannan come-PAST-ADJP immediately out-side go-PAST

‘She went out as soon as Kumar came’

2.3. NMEs with Finite Clauses

A finite clause when complemented by the complementing verb *en* ‘say’ in adjectival forms *enna* can function as NMEs. *enna* (⋈ *en-n-a* ‘say-PAST-ADJP’), can modify a noun which flows it. The complement clause consisting of the embedded S and the complementizer *enna* has the categorial status of an adjectival clause. These complementizers require a noun to complete the nominalization process. These nouns include abstract nouns like *vaartta* ‘news’, *viSayam* ‘matter’, *abhipraayam* ‘opinion’, *satyam* ‘truth’ etc. As the adjectival clause with *enna* occur as a complement to a noun, it can be interpreted either as a relative clause proper or appositive clause. If the nominalizing noun is not an argument of the relativized verb, then, the relative clause can be interpreted as appositive clause.

118. *kaNNan malsar-ttil jeyi-ccu enna vaartta*

Kannan contest_LOC win_PAST COMP news

‘The news that Kumar won the contest’.

119. *kaNNan kattu va-nn-illaa enna satyam paRa-njnju*

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

'Kannan told the truth that no letter was received'

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

120. *kaNNan vaangngaam enna stalatte njaan kaN-Tu*

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

'I saw the land which Kannan may buy'.

Abstract nouns such as *chootyam* 'question', *samSyam* 'doubt', etc can head *enna*-complement clause. In this context the S (finite clause) of the complement clause takes an interrogative clitic *oo*. The resultant relative clause in turn can function as the subject to the be-verbs such as *iru* 'be', *uL* 'be', *il* 'be not', *uNTu* 'be'.

121. *kumaar naaLe var-um-oo enna samSyam en-ikku uNTu*

Kumaar tomorrow come-FUT-HE-Q doubt I-DAT be

'I have doubt whether Kumaar will come tomorrow'

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

122. *puli va-rum enna bhayatt-il avan ooTippoo-yi*

tiger come-FUT COMP fear-LOC he run away-PAST

'He ran away due to the fear that tiger is coming'

123. *puli varu-nn-a bhayatt-il avan ooTippoo-yi*

tiger come-PRES-ADJP fear-LOC he run away-PAST

'He ran away due to the fear that tiger would come'

The nouns of perception such as *shabdam* 'sound', *maNam* 'smell', *thottaRivu* 'feeling', etc. can head only the adjectival clause and not the *enRa*-complement clause.

124. *muRi-yil aaroo iriku-nn-a shabdam keeT-Tu*
 room-LOC who be-PRES-ADJP sound hear-PAST
 'The sound that someone was in the room was heard'.

125. **muRi-yil aaroo irikk-unnu enna shabdam keeT-Tu*
 room_LOC who be_PRES COMP sound hear_PAST

2.4. NMEs assimilated with Head

The complementizer *ennatu* (< en-n-a-atu) is a tense inflected and *atu* (neuter suffix) suffixed abstract noun of the verb *en* 'say'. The relative form *enna* of *en* 'say' is headed by the neuter suffix *-atu* which can be interpreted as *sampabam* 'happening'. *ennatu* too embed an S in finite clause; that is the verb of the embedded S is in finite form. Only *ennatu* used as complementizer in Malayalam. Asher and Kumari (1997:57) call them as headless relative clauses.

126. *kumaar aviTe uNTu enn-atu enikku aRiyaam*
 Kumar there be COMP I-DAT know-FUT
 'I know that Kumar has gone to Chennai'

127. *kumaar oru paaTTukaaran enn-atu en-ikku aRiyaam*
 Kumar a singer COMP I-DAT know know-FUT
 'I know that Kumar is a singer'.

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

ennatu- clause in subject relation:

128. *oru kampyuuTTar vaang-aNum ennatu enRe aaza*
 one computer buy-INF-want-FUT COMP my desire
 'My desire is to buy a computer'

ennatu-clause in object relation:

129. *naaLe paLLikkuuTam illa ennatu keeTTu*
 'Tomorrow school not COMP-ACC learn-PAST-I
 'I learned that there is no school tomorrow'.

ennatu-clause in Sociative relation:

130. *kumaar piza aTaccu at-ooTe jeyililum poo-yi*
 Kumar remit-PAST- he COMP-SOCI jail go-PAST
 'Kumar not only remitted the fine but also went to Jail'

In certain circumstances the neuter can be replaced by masculine (*avan* 'he') or feminine suffix (*avaL* 'she').

2.5. Conclusion

The noun modifiers in Malayalam are predominantly premodifiers comprising of phrasal and clausal modifiers. The clausal modifiers are referred here as noun modifying expressions. We have seen different instances of NMEs in Malayalam. There are at least three types of NMEs. One type of NMEs is headed by nouns which are the arguments of the relativized verbs. Here we have seen some constraints on the heads of NMEs. The second type of NMEs is headed by nouns which are not the arguments of the relativized verbs. Here we have noticed that not all the non-argument nouns can head the NMEs and there are semantic constraints on the heads of the

NMEs. Even the tense (past, present and future) also puts constraints of the heads of NMEs. There are only selective sets of abstract nouns which can head the NMEs of the second type. The third type of NMEs has a finite clause with an adjectival *en*-complementizer. The third type of NMEs with a finite verb and adjectival *en*-complementizer can be headed by non-argument.

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