

**SYNTACTICO-SEMANTIC STUDY OF
RELATIVE PARTICIPLE IN MALAYALAM,
AND LANGUAGE CONTACT SITUATION**

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CERTIFICATE

This dissertation entitled "SYNTACTICO-SEMANTIC STUDY OF RELATIVE PARTICIPLE IN MALAYALAM, AND LANGUAGE CONTACT SITUATION", submitted by S.A. Shanavas, Centre of Linguistics and English for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far, in part or in full, for any degree or diploma of any institution or university. This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.

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DEDICATED TO
MY MOTHER

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S.A. SHANAVAS

ABBREVIATION

A	Argument position
Abl	Ablative
Acc	Accusative
Adj	Adjective
Adj N	Adjectival noun
Adj Cl	Adjectival clause
C	Complement
Caus	Causative
dat	Dative
Det	Determiner
DS	Deep structure
Fem	Feminine
Fut	Future tense
gen	genitive
Inst	Instrumental
Kan	Kannada
loc	Locative
Mal	Malayalam
Masc	Masculine
NP	Noun phrase
NP rel	Relativized noun phrase
Neg	Negative
Neu	Neutral gender
Nom	Nominative case
N RRC1	Non-restrictive relative clause
Pres	Present tense
Pr	Pronoun

Pl	Plural
RP	Relative participle
RPCl	Relative participial clause
RPN	Relative participial, noun
R. Mark	Relative marker
Sg	Singular
Skt	Sanskrit
S-rel	Relativized sentence
SS	Surface Structure
SOV	Subject Object Verb
Soc	Sociative
thir	Third person
Ta	Tamil
Te	Telugu
Tran	Transitive
VN	Verbal Noun
VP	Verbal Phrase

INSTITUTIONAL ABBREVIATIONS

DLA	Dravidian Linguistics Association
IJDL	International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics
IJDS	International Journal of Dravidian Studies
PILC	Pondichery Institute of Linguistics and Culture

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The present work on the "Relative participle in Malayalam" is an attempt to analyse the form and function of the very concept. In the past majority of grammatical studies have given little importance to the 'relative participle' as a 'form', and considered it as a part of the relative clause¹. Relative participle is a morphological marker suffixed with the participial form - nonfinite - of the verb, which also is not a free word. It is preceded by a substantive to be qualified². Since it is derived from a finite verb, it is sometimes mentioned as a type of verb, and have the quality of a verb. Also it is considered as a type of adjective, since it qualifies a noun.

Participles are specially tightly bound RCs. Participles are also much more adjectival than relative clause proper and thus represent a transitional category between relative clause and adjective clause. The participial structure can occur in the same position as adjectives even if clausal RCs cannot.

There have been some studies on the RP, for example, by P.T. Abraham (1975), A.P. Andrews Kutty (1978) etc., taking into account the clausal level, its transformation and functions. Here I am considering the concept of RP giving importance to the 'form and function' at the phrasal level.

'Form' and 'function' are among the most widely used technical terms in Linguistics with a wide range of meanings. The

1 P.T. Abraham (1978). 'Relative clause in Malayalam', Annamalai Uni., Annamalai Nagar.

2 The traditional grammars have got the terms 'peṛaccam' a verb subordinate qualifies a noun (A.R. Raja Raja Varma, 1986ed; 258).

'form' in opposition to 'meaning/function' refers to the abstract phonological and/or grammatical characteristics of languages, as opposed to its meaning, as in such phrases as 'linguistic form' and 'grammatical form'³. Here the term is connected with function; one may study the RP from the formal and functional point of view in relation to its internal structure versus its role as subject, object, etc.

The term 'function' has three areas of application; the first is connected with the relationship between a linguistic form i.e., RP and other parts of linguistic pattern or system in which it is used. One may study the case relations between the RP and the head noun.

The element referred to as the relative marker, introduces the RC and identify it as such, but it also in many languages clearly acts as a substitute for one of the NP participant in the clause. For this reason, a study of RC is very relevant to the study of those devices languages use for identify grammatical relation, word order and case marking⁴.

It is the interrelationship of word order and case marking that will help the language user to recover the function of the participant that the Relative marker stands for, even though the normal word order and case marking system of the language may be upset by the formation of relative structure.

The data collected for the analysis is from literary texts written in standard Malayalam. Examples are also taken from the

3 David Crystal's (1986; 124). 'First dictionary on linguistics and phonetics', Cambridge Uni. Press.

4 Mallinson, G. & Blake, B.J. (1981,252). 'Language Typology-cross Linguistic studies in Syntax, North Holland Linguistic studies series, 46, Amsterdam.

traditional grammatical works. No particular grammatical model has been applied.

This work is divided into six Chapters including Introduction and Conclusion. In the introduction, We present details about the language and its grammatical literature. The second chapter provides a description of the concept of RP; morphological structure, types of RP, word order, head nouns attached to it etc. The third chapter gives a brief discussion on the syntactics and semantics of the RP. Second part of the chapter deals with the case relations among the RPs and the head nouns. In the fourth chapter participial noun and its various form and functions are discussed very briefly. The fifth chapter is about the language contact situation and RP, specifically about how RC from other languages are paraphrased into Malayalam RP and vice versa.

1.1 MALAYALAM LANGUAGE

Malayalam, spoken in the state of Kerala, is considered to be one of the major languages of India, because of its literary importance and the number of persons speaking it. Among the four cultivated languages of South India, Malayalam literature is the youngest, developing at a much later stage than the rest. It has a literary tradition dating back to the 8th century AD and is one of the fast developing languages in India. In grammar and vocabulary Malayalam is nearer to Tamil than any other Dravidan languages. But, with respect to Sanskrit influence, Malayalam is more akin to Telugu and Kannada than Tamil.

According to one belief Malayalam is derived or developed from old Tamil called 'centamil'. Kerala can claim a number of Tamil writers like the 'Cankam' poets Ilankovatikal, etc. Use of

Tamil for literary purposes with a strong Sanskrit bias was the beginning of the 'Manipravala', an old style of Malayalam. After some centuries the scholars began to adopt the local language as the literary medium, but still grammars and lexicons were not produced, because the scholars took no interest in Malayalam which was called Tamil in those days. For that it had to wait another couple of centuries.

Caldwell has noted that "difference between Malayalam and Tamil, though originally slight has progressively increased so that the claim of Malayalam as it now stands to be considered not as a mere dialect of Tamil, but as a sister language, cannot be called to question"⁵. The most striking feature of the verbal system is the absence of personal endings, which means that here grammatical gender and person as concord categories have been lost. Hermann Gundert, while admitting Tamil and Malayalam to be very closely related, appears to be unwilling to consider Malayalam as an offshoot of Tamil. He opines that it was a sub branch of 'dravidam', a proto language of Tamil and Malayalam (Gundert, 1962ed; 25).

1.2 EARLIER WORKS ON THE GRAMMAR

The first account of Malayalam grammar appeared in a fourteenth century treatise on literary theory called, *Lilasthilakam*. It was written in Sanskrit and deals with *Manipravala*. *Lilasthilakam* describes certain aspects of Malayalam in a fragmented manner, which are useful for the history of the language. Two important traditional grammars published in 19th

5 R. Caldwell (1987ed). A comparative grammar of the Dravidian, Asian Educational Society, New Delhi.

century were Gundert (1868) and A.R. Raja Raja Varma (hereafter A.R.) (1895). Though A.R. claims that his grammar is written on historical principles as opposed to the traditional prescriptive method, it was really a mixture of both. It dealt mainly with the literary language.

In Gundert's (1866) grammar the analysis does not present an orderly picture, because the data, though large, is diverse and unrelated.

"Evaluation of Malayalam Morphology" written by A.C. Shekhar (1953) deals with the language of early Malayalam inscriptions from the 10th to the 13th century. George Mathan (1863), Joseph Peet (1841), Garthwhite (1913) etc. are some of the grammars written during 19th and 20th centuries. K. Sukumara Pillai's (1980) "Kairale: sabda:nusa:sanam" is the latest which can claim that it deals all the aspects of the language - descriptive, historical as well as the transformations. In the last two decades there have been a number of descriptive studies in phonology, morphology, syntax were produced, while no serious work on Malayalam syntax was produced.

1.3 TREATMENT OF SYNTAX

In speech, the basic minimal unit is not the phoneme, nor even a sequence of phoneme. It is rather, the sentence. To understand a language one must start from the sentences of the language and determine their structure. Syntax received less attention than morphology in the Indian grammatical tradition.

'Vya:karanamitram' (1904) of S. Prabhu deals with syntax from grammatical and literary points of view. He refers to loose and tight constructions of the sentence units. Spring (1839) and G. Peet (1841) mentions some of the usages of word in their

different constructions. In 'Keralapaminisyam' (1895) syntax is briefly discussed under *akarmaksadhikaram* (syntactical expectancy). It discusses the mutual relation between the words in a sentence.

In 'Kairale: sabda:nusa:śanam', syntax is discussed under the heading *va:kya vicaram*. It discusses some aspects of Malayalam syntax and transformation in accordance with Western models.

1.4 PARTS OF SPEECH IN MALAYALAM

Parts of speech in Malayalam are classified by traditional grammarians as follows: *Sabdais* (words) are divided into two: *va:cakam* and *dyo:śakam*. *va:cakams* are words denoting a *dravyam* (substance), *kriya* (an action), *guṇa* (a quality), *va:cakam* has a definite meaning, e.g. they have a *va:cyā* (meaning) *dyo:śakam* are words suggestive of some relations but have no independent meaning (e.g., *-um* 'and', *-enkiḷ*, 'if'). They are divided into two on the basis of their forms, namely *nipa:śais* (particle) and *avyaya:śais* (indeclinable).

Sabdais (words) are divided into *na:śma* (nouns), *kriṭi* (verb) and *bhe:śakam* (adjective) according to their meanings. One word may assume different forms. Nouns and verbs differ in their inflexions.

Nouns are divided into proper noun, abstract noun, verbal nouns and pronouns. Pronouns are limited in number. On the basis of their meanings *kriṭis* (verbs) are divided into *akarmaka* (intransitive) and *sakarmaka* (transitive). And, then into *ke:śvala* (simple) and *prāyo:śakam* (causatives). Another division of the verb is based on dependence:

- (1) *muṭṭuvina* (finite verb) stands independently

(2) *pattuvina* (non-finite verb) is subsidiary to some other words

pattuvina (nonfinite form) is divided into:

(1) *vinayaccam* (adverbial participle): incomplete verb which is subsidiary to or which qualifies a verb

e.g.: *paraññu ke:ṭṭu* 'Heard, having said by others'
taccu koṭuttu 'Gave, after stitching'

(2) *pe:raccam* (adjectival/relative participle), which qualifies a noun.

e.g.: *koṭutta vastu* 'The thing which was given'
varugga vaṇṭi 'The bus which is coming'

bhe:daka:s

The term *bhe:daka:s* means 'that which differentiates'; *pe:na* (pen) is a common noun which is used for the whole species, but if you say *ḡalla pe:na* (good pen), *ḡalla* (good) is used to differentiate that pen from others which are not good. Such qualifying words are also called *viṣe:ṣaṇas* by grammarians. A word which qualifies a noun is called *ḡama viṣe:ṣaṇa* (adjective) one which qualifies a verb, *kriya viṣe:ṣaṇa* (adverb) and one which qualifies another adjective, *bhe:daka:s viṣe:ṣaṇa* (in English, this is considered as an adverb).

ḡalla pe:na 'Good pen' (*ḡama viṣe:ṣaṇa*)

eḷuti taḷarḡḡu 'Tired having written' (*kriya viṣe:ṣaṇa*)

ḡalla veḷutta kuṭṭi 'Boy who is very fair' (*bhe:daka:s* ")

bhe:daka:s (qualifiers) are divided into seven group:

1) *suddham* (pure) The root word itself is used as adjective.

e.g.: *cem + koṭi > cemkoṭi* , 'Red flag'

2) *sarvaṣṭmakam* - are derived from *sarvaṣṭmas* (pronouns).

e.g.: a: + a:l > aya:l 'That man'

3. *saṣṭkhyam* (numeral)

e.g.: oru + a:l > ora:l 'One man'

4. *vibhaṣvakam*: Adjectives which give the description of an individual.

e.g.: miṭukkan kuṭṭi 'Clever boy'

Gender and number suffixes are also added to them.

e.g.: miṭukki kuṭṭi 'Clever girl'

5. *pariṣaṣṭnikam* (quantifier): Shows the quantity.

e.g.: naḷi ari 'A small quantity of rice'

6. *ṅamaṅgajam*: (Relative participle) a verbal form which qualifies a noun.

e.g.: kuṭikkunna ca:ya 'Tea, which is used to drink/
drinking tea'

7. *kriyaṅgajam*: (verbal participle) a verbal form which qualifies a verb.

e.g.: urakke paraṅṅu 'Spoke loudly'

Thus the relative participle form comes both in *bhe:ḍaka:s* (qualifier) section and verb (*kriya*) section. In both the sections it represent an important form.

Lakoff (1970) presents a number of rules of English in which adjectives and verbs are treated identically and on the basis of their claim that adjectives and verbs are members of the same lexical category and differ only by one feature (let us call it "[adj]").

WORD CLASSIFICATION

1) *vaścakam*

a) *naścama* (name)

- i. *dravya naścama* (material name)
e.g.: Raman, Sita, manusyan 'man', pakṣi 'bird'
- ii. *guṇa naścama* (abstract)
e.g.: alaku 'beauty', ṇama 'goodness'
- iii. *kriya: naścama* (verbal noun)
e.g.: kali 'play', urakkam 'slept'
- iv. *sarva naścama* (pronoun)
e.g.: avan 'he', avar 'they'

b) *kriya* (verb)

- i. *akarmaka* (intransitive)
e.g.: kalikkuka 'to play', kevala (simple)
- ii. *sakarmaka* (transitive)
e.g.: unṇuka 'to eat', prayojaka (causative)

c) *bhaścakam* (qualifier)

- i. *śudham* (pure)
e.g.: cents:mara 'red lotus'
- ii. *sarvaṇaścikam* (pronominal)
e.g.: a-vaṇ 'he'
- iii. *saśchyam* (numeral)
e.g.: iru-patu 'twenty'
- iv. *vibhaścakam* (quality)
e.g.: bhoṣan 'fool'
- v. *parimaścikam* (quantity)
e.g.: ṇa:li ani 'a measured quantity of rice'

- vi. *pa:ma:ṅgajam* (relative participle)
 - e.g.: *peṭṭa amma* 'mother who gave birth to'
 - velutta paṣu* 'white cow'
- vii. *kriya:ṅgajam* (verbal participle)
 - e.g.: *urakke parayāṅṅū* 'spoke loudly'

2) *dyo:ṭakam* (linking words)

- a) *gati* (post position)
 - e.g.: *koṭṭu* 'by', *ṇinnu* 'from', *kuriccu* 'about'
- b) *ghaṭakam* (conjunctive word)
 - e.g.: *-um* 'and', *egga:l* 'so that', *eṅkil* 'but'
- c) *vya:kṣe:pakam* (exclamatory word)
 - e.g.: *uvvu* 'yah!', *ayya* 'oh!'
- d) *ke:valam* (other than the above)
 - e.g.: *tanne* 'alone', *oo* 'interrogative'

VERB CLASSIFICATION

1) *kṛiti* (verb)

i) *muttu vīna* (finite verb form)

i. *nirde:śakam* (indicative)

- a) Present *kaḷikkuppu* 'playing'
- b) Past *kaḷiccu* 'played'
- c) Future *kaḷikkum* 'will play'

ii. *niyo:śakam* (imperative)

e.g.: *kaḷikkette* 'let play'

iii. *vidha:śakam* (compulsive)

e.g.: *kaḷikkanam* 'should/would play'

iv. *anujna:śakam* (permissive)

e.g.: *kaḷikka:m* 'can play'

2) *pattuvina* (nonfinite form of the verb)

i. *pe:raccam* (*gama:ngam*) (relative participle)

a) *nirde:saka*

e.g.: Pres. *ceyyunna jo:li* 'job which is doing'
Past *ceyta jo:li* ' " " done'
Fut. *ceyyum jo:li* ' " " will do'

b) *niyo:jakam* (No forms)

c) *vidhasyakam*

e.g.: *ceyye:ntunna* 'want to do'

d) *anujasyakam*

e.g.: *ceyya:vunna* 'what you have to do'

ii. *vinayaccum* (verbal participle)

a) *munvinayaccam* (Past verbal participial)

e.g.: *ceytu* 'having done'

b) *natuvinayaccam* (Present VP)

e.g.: *ceyye* 'while doing'

c) *pinvinayeccam* (Future)

e.g.: *ceyya:n* 'for doing'

Along with other Dravidian languages, Malayalam is also an agglutinating language. Words typically contains a linear sequence of morphemes. The word-order is not rigid in Malayalam. But the verb usually comes in the final position. The word-order in Malayalam is of the SOV type⁶. The subject precedes the predicate which occupies the final place in the sentence. Objects ordinarily occur immediately before the verb. But the direct,

6 Greenberg, J.H. (1978). 'Universals of Human Languages', Vol.IV, Cambridge Mass MIT Press.

object is closer to the verb in an SOV language. Generally, the attributes or the modifier precedes the word, they qualify or modify.

The subject in a sentence can be a noun or a noun phrase. A noun phrase is expanded by the attributives. A noun or noun phrase can also constitute an object, direct or indirect. Direct object is added with the accusative case /-e/ with animate noun. Usually the indirect object is marked with a dative case suffix /-u/.

RP, without doubt, raises a lot of questions, which is impossible to be analysed at a stretch. The limitation of an M.Phil dissertation - time and materials - forces me to narrow down the scope of this research to a level where only the basics of these constructions are discussed.

CHAPTER II
RELATIVE PARTICIPLE

RELATIVE PARTICIPLE

2.1 The Notion

The relative participle (hereafter RP) is a word referring grammatically to an antecedent and also having the characteristics of a verb and an adjective. It is partially a verb (though non-finite) because it has temporal references and partially an adjective since it qualifies a noun or a substantive.

"It is the remarkable peculiarity of the Dravidian languages, that they have no relative pronouns whatever, and that the place of the relative pronoun is supplied by a part of the verb which is called the relative participle or adjectival participle; a participle which is invariably followed by a noun and preceded by the words or phrases that depend upon the relative" (Caldwell, 1913; 520).

Relative participle is one of the ways by which a relative clause is expressed structurally. The definition of a relative clause is: "Any syntactic object to be a relative clause, if it specifies a set of objects (perhaps a one-member set) in two steps; a larger set is specified, called a domain of relativization, and then restricted to some subset of which a certain sentence, the restricting sentence, is true, the domain of relativization is expressed in surface structure by the head NP and the restricting sentence by restricting clause, which may look more or less like surface sentence depending on the language" (Keenan and Comrie, 1977; 63-4).

A relative clause (RC) is a clause which modifies a noun phrase (NP) such that it determines the referent of the NP by giving a proposition in which the referent of the NP is involved. This entails that the RC contains an NP which is interpreted as

coreferential with the NP modified by the relative clause. In other words, the head NP before which the RC is embedded is represented in the RC.

Clearly, such a definition serves to encompass those structures across languages which may bear little resemblance to English RC but which nevertheless, have the same role of defining, qualifying, specifying or merely modifying a head noun.

This view is to be found in several studies on Relative Clauses. For Andrews (1975; 13): "..... a RC is any clause with approximately the semantic of structure and function of a RC (restrictive and non-restrictive) in English. An RC is a subordinate clause that modifies a constituent external to it by virtue of containing a constituent that is in some sense semantically equivalent to the modified constituent"¹.

TR-4117

Any language which has RCs must provide some strategy to identify the role that the head noun plays in the subordinate sentence. The semantic definition of an RC is that in RC there is a head noun and this RC restrict the potential reference of that head by specifically pointing out to us that, which distinguishes the particular from the general.

"If an adjective constructed as a root or a verbal stem admits of subject and object like every verbal noun, the result will be a complex 'adjective' a veritable clause connected with the substantive which follows it. Owing to the necessity in many cases, of translating that in our languages by a relative clause this use has been called Relative Participle" (J. Bloch, 1954;

1 Andrews (1975; 13) in Bernard Comrie, Language Universals and Linguistic Typology. Basil Blackbel, (1981; 133).

84). A word that refers to an antecedent, relates the antecedent to a clause modifying the antecedent and in its own clause serves as an adjective modifying a noun.

The notion "relative" suggests the meaning 'a word that introduces a subordinate clause and within the clause functions as an adjective; and the term "participle" conveys, the meaning, a word made from a verb and functioning as a modifier or controlling a word group that functioning as a modifier (Paul Robert; 1968).

A relative clause never stands alone as a complete sentence, it is always linked semantically at least to a noun phrase, that is part of another clause. The linking is achieved through a semantic property of the construction called 'relative clause', that has already been alluded to. A relative clause incorporates as one of its terms, a nominal which is co-referential with a nominal outside of the clause. The nominal head is expressed either overtly or by a pronoun.

Bruce T. Downing (1978) has given ten syntactic properties of relative clause construction in various languages of the world. We shall discuss here some of them which are applicable to the Dravidian languages.

A. Syntactic Characteristics

1. An RC in the Dravidian languages contains a nonfinite verb form whose deep structure is a finite form.
2. an RC may be the combination of a relative participle followed by a substantive, either a noun or a pronoun.

3. An RP ends with a distinctive marker -'a' in most of the Dravidian languages.
4. An RC together with a nominal expression, forms a noun phrase (NP) constituent.
5. An RP contains a covert coreferential pronoun with a noun.
6. An RP is the sole constituent of RC which forms NP.

B. The Semantic Characteristics

7. An RP never stands alone; it is always linked or followed by a noun or pronoun.
8. An RP with the constituent noun never stands alone as a complete sentences.
9. An RP must be a statement about the relative NP and thus about the antecedent.
10. An RP's functional property is modification. This is a property of only some RP's there referred to as adjectival or restrictive as opposed to non-restrictive appositive.
11. An RC can be transformed into a sentence i.e., a relative clause is transformed form of a sentence in clause or phrasal level.

2.2 Relative Clause Formtion

By the operation of recursive rules new sentences of any length can be derived. Recursive rules carry out the syntactic process of:

- (1) Conjugation
- (2) Embedding

Embedding is a process by which one simple sentence is

introduced into another.

The embedded sentence is attached either to the verb or to some particular nouns in the higher sentence.

So embedding can be subdivided into:

(1) VP embedding and (2) NP embedding.

2.2.1 VP Embedding

If it is attached to the verb, the result, from the point of view of surface structure is what is usually called an adverb or an adverbial phrase or clause. In the process of VP embedding simple sentences are transformed into constituents of verb phrases, by embedding a simple sentence as a constituent of the verb phrase of another sentence.

(1) e.g: aval vagnu ka:ryam co:diccu,

she came matter asked

a) aval vagnu

she came

b) aval ka:ryam co:diccu

she asked the matter

'She came and asked the matter' / 'Having come she asked the matter'

2.2.2 NP Embedding

NP embedding is that syntactic process by which simple sentences are transferred into constituents of noun phrase by embedding simple sentences as constituents of one of the noun phrase constituents of another sentences. The embedded sentence attached to a noun, the surface structure result is commonly referred to as a 'relative clause' or under slightly, different circumstances an 'adjective'. NP embedding will result in two functional forms, Complementation and Relativization. In

complementation a sentence is embedded as a complement to a nominal.

- (2) deivam untu enna/uḷḷa ka:ryam śeriyāṇu
god is be RP that fact true is
The fact that god is there is true.

The relativization is a syntactic process by means of which a sentence is embedded as a modifier in a noun phrase.

- (3) john va:ṅṅiya ka:r enikku iṅṅapettu
John bought RP car I dat like
I liked the car that John bought.

It is noted that the most important conjugates (in European languages) are explained by nouns joined to relative pronouns.

2.3 Types of Relative Clauses

Among the major syntactic process possible in natural languages, relativization is one of the basic production mechanism. On the basis of structural properties of relative clause construction in many of the world languages, may be classified into three major types (Peranteau et al, 1972).

- (1) Relative pronominal type
- (2) Relative correlative type
- (3) Relative participle type

In relative pronominal type, like in English, a special pronoun form of relative noun phrase appears in clause initial position. This relative pronoun is commonly either identical with interrogative pronouns or a demonstrative form.

- (4) I saw a man who came yesterday

The underlined portion is the relative clause and the 'who' is the relative pronoun (identical with the interrogative pronoun).

The correlative construction is marked by the appropriate form of an interrogative word (relative pronoun) immediately to the left of the identical noun in the embedded sentence. It also introduces the definite pronoun of the definitizer, corresponding to the interrogative pronoun in question immediately to the left of the identical noun in the matrix sentence.

Hindi is the best example of this construction.

Hindi

- (5) jo a:dmi idar a:ya tha vo kal mar gaya
who man here came was he yesterday die gone
'The man who came here died yesterday'

The relative participle type of construction can be identified with a Relative participle of the verb preceded by the head. In RP clause, the relative clause is marked by the addition of a suffix to the verb and deletion of Relative NP, and the verb of the relative clause becomes non-finite participle. The participial construction can be derived by the application of the participial relative transformation of the underlying structure.

Relative participle type of constructions are seen in languages like Turkish and Dravidian languages:

Turkish

- (6) Bu[Ankaraye gid-en] tren ol-mus
this Ankara to go past train be suppositive
This must be the train that goes to Ankara

(Keenan and Comrie, 1978)

Malayalam

(7) ra:man va:nniya² pustakam rema etuttu
 Raman bought RP. book Rema took
 Rema took the book which Raman bought

A number of implicational generalizations are formulated in terms of the correlations between the position of the Restrictive Relative Clause (RRC) in its sentence and its internal structure on the one hand and between its position and the dominant word order type of the language in question, on the other (Bruce T. Dowing, 1978). According to the position of the RCs with respect to the head noun or correlation between the position of RC in its sentence and its internal structure, are of three types. The post-nominal type where the relative clause follows its head (as in English) belongs to Relative pronominal type. The pre-nominal type where the relative clause precedes its head (as in Malayalam) related to participial type. The third type in which the head occur inside the RC, the internal head (as in Hindi) type belongs to correlative type.

2.3.1 Pre-nominal: Relative clause occurring in the position of S in the configuration, to be represented

[....S...NP] NP, where S is the relative clause and the included NP is the head or modified nominal (antecedent NP).

(8) [(gamma)] [(sapparsicca) (stalam)] (ka:smiira:nu)
 NP₃ RP NP₂ NP₁ V
 We visited RP place Kashmir is
 The place we visited is Kashmir.

2 See Section 2.5

In the above example 'S' represents the relative clause; RP, the relative participle, NP₂ 'stalam' (Place) represents modified noun or head noun.

2.3.2 Post-Nominal

RC occurring in the position of S in the configuration of [NP ...S....] NP

(9) [He was [the man [who shot down (a bird)]]]

In this post-nominal RC *the man* is the head or modified NP and (who shot down) is the RC1.

There is a strong correlation between verb object (VO) word order and the use of post-nominals RC1. The word order in pre-nominal RC is verb-final type, as in Malayalam and other Dravidian languages.

"There is a general tendency across languages to favour post-nominal as opposed to pre-nominal RCs, more specifically post-nominal RCs are almost the only type attested in verb initial languages. Further in verb medial languages of the SVO sort, post-nominal RCs are overwhelming norm and are to our knowledge always the dominant or most productive form of RC1. It is in the verb final languages that pre-nominal RCs are the most productive form. Correlatives are a functional equivalent of RCs and are common in verb final languages. Thus while prenominal RCs are dominant only in verb final languages other forms of relativization are common in such languages "(E.L. Keenan, 1985).

"The head noun in correlative RC remains expressed with in the RC in the usual form for a noun of that grammatical relation with in the clause and there is no overt expression of the head in the main clause". (Comrie, 1981).

2.4 The Term "pe:raccam"

The name given to the relative participle in Tamil by traditional Tamil grammarians is *peyar-eccam* - a noun defect, or a noun complement, i.e. a word which requires the complement of a noun to complete its specification. The term *pe:raccam* a Tamil word coined by Agastiamuni, which corresponds with the Pāṇiniyan terms³ *niṣṭa*, *śatr*, *kvasu* and *ktvālyaptumunna*. It comes as one of the two parts of *akhyastakam* or *kuzvattu* (infinite verb). The other one is *kriyaṅgajam* or *vinayaccam* (verbal participle).

Pe:raccam is the name used for the RP construction in Malayalam also, in accordance with the Tamil term⁴.

"Relative participle is the name given by European grammarians to certain participles in the Dravidian languages which qualify a noun" (Swaminathan, 1975; 239)

The term *pe:raccam* or Relative Participle has been given different names in Malayalam by different traditional grammarians *ṅamaṅgajam* is the name given in A.R. Raja Raja Varma's *ke:rala pa:niniyam*. George Mathan calls it *ṅama:dheshyaññal*. *Sabdamaṅgam* is the term used by grammarians like Garthwite and Seshagiri Prabhu. All other grammarians have employed *pe:raccam* itself.

This name is given to it because it participates so largely in the nature of an adjective that it is invariably followed by a noun to which it connects with the antecedent clause. This

3 See A.R. Raja Raja Varma, 1988ed; 256. "Ke:rala pa:niniyam", NBS, Kottayam, Kerala.

4 Malayalam still uses a large number of technical terms from Tamil.

construction is resolvable by *who*, *which* or indicative *that* or by participle or noun. This participle stands for all the cases of English relative pronouns, the Sanskrit - *ye*, Hindi *jo*; etc.

"Like other Dravidian adjectives it undergoes no alternations on account of the number or gender of the related noun; but in as much as it is a verb as well as an adjective, it is capable of governing a preceding noun equally with any other parts of the verb to which it belongs" (Caldwell, 1913).

Like adjectives, Relative Participle is indeclinable.

- (10) e.g.:
- | | | | |
|----|---------|----------|----------------------------|
| a. | ceriya | kuṭṭi | 'small child' |
| b. | ci:ttā | stri:kaḷ | 'bad women' |
| c. | valiya | vi:tu | 'big house' |
| d. | vanna | kuṭṭi | 'the child who came' |
| e. | kittiya | paṇam | 'money which (I) received' |

"The attribute precedes the word qualified, subordinate words precede the governing word. Subordinate clauses are not normally used, their place being taken by RF construction" (Zograph, 1980; 132).

2.5 STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION

We shall now discuss the structure of the relative participle giving importance to the 'form and function', regarding Relative participial clause (RPC1) as full NPs of the sort given below:

(11) ṅā:n tarayil kiṭṭanna teṅṅai eṭuttu

I floor loc lay RF. towel take past

'I picked up the towel that was lying on the floor'

(12) paṭṭiye piṭṭicca kuṭṭikku ṅā:n paisa koṭuttu

dog acc catch RF boy dat I paisa gave

'I gave money to the boy who caught the dog'

(13) yamuna olugunna nastu ita:nu
 Yamuna flow RP country this is

'This is the country through which Yamuna is flowing'

Such NPs consists of a common noun *tovvel* 'towel,' *kutti* 'boy' and *nastu* 'country' and restrictive clauses, *tarayil kittanna, pattiye atticca, yamuna. olugunna.*

Semantically the common noun determines a class of objects which we shall call the domain of relativization and the restrictive clause identifies a subset of the domain, those elements which satisfy the condition given by the restrictive clause. We shall refer to the common noun in a relative clause which express the domain of relativization as domain noun and the restrictive class S-relative(Relative clause).

The presence of S-rel - the relative participle - and the domain of relativization to be the defining feature of Relative clauses. NPs such as *tovvel* 'towel', *kutti* 'child' which lack anything identifiable as a restrictive clause will not be considered as RCs. On the other hand, the one structure that we shall consider as RC which lack a domain noun in which case the domain of relativization is the class of objects of which it makes sense to assert the restrictive clause.

Since the domain nouns (*tovvel, kutti, etc.*) occurs outside the S-relative, we shall refer to this relative clause as external or headed relatives, and S-relative occurs left of the domain noun, we shall refer to this as prenominal external relatives. The sentence given below shows the same:

(14) ra:man katta kutti mittukkana:nu
 Raman met past RP boy brilliant is

The boy whom Raman met is brilliant

- (15) ke:śavan su:kṣikkunṇa kutira patakkutiraya:nu
 Kesavan keep Pres. RP horse war horse is
 The horse which Kesavan keeps is a war-horse.

Clearly in (14) and (15) the domain noun *kutti* boy and *kutira* horse occurs as free and to the right of the S-relative *kaṇṭa* and *su:kṣikkunṇa*.

- (16) [[ra:man] [(kaṇṭa) (kutti)]] [mitukkan (a:nu)]
 NP₂ RP NP₂ NP₁ V
 Raman saw RP child smart is

- (17) [(ke:śavan) [su:kṣikkunṇa) (kutira)]] [patakkutira (ya:nu)]
 NP₂ RP NP₂ S NP₁ V
 Kesavan protecting RP horse war horse is

In (16) the *NP₂* is the domain noun and S gives the relative clause and *RP* in S is the relative participle.

Here the domain nouns may be either in proper noun or a pronoun or a reduced pronominal suffix.

2.6 FORMS THAT CAN FOLLOW RP

An RP can be followed by a substantive, a noun, a pronoun or a pronominal suffix. Noun and pronoun can follow as a free morpheme and the pronominal marker as a bound morpheme, which will be termed or participial noun:

- (18) a) pustakam vāyicca ra:man 'Raman who read book'
 book read RP Raman
 b) nā:n kaṇṭavan 'He (whom) I saw'
 I saw RP he
 c) vaṇṇaṭu bassu 'What came is a bus'
 came RP that bus

2.6.1 RP followed by a noun

Any type of noun can follow an RP as a complementized noun. Personal noun, proper noun, concrete or abstract noun, numerals

etc., can follow as the relativized noun to the RP.

- (19) a) po:kunṇa kutṭi 'the child who is going'
b) kaṇṭa ka:ryam 'the sight that (I) saw'
c) varum ka:lam 'the time which will come'

2.6.2 RP suffixed by a pronoun

A pronoun in its full form (free word) can follow an RP.

- (20) a) po:ya ṇa:n 'I who went'
b) pustakam taṇṇa ni: 'you who gave (me) a book'
c) co:dicca avan 'he who asked' (Restriction)

The third person proximate demonstrative pronouns can only join with the RP as a bound form. But when it is added as free form the phrase will represent as a Restrictive form.

- (21) co:dicca-avan 'he who asked' (Non-restrictive)

By the addition of a third person pronominal suffix the RP will become a noun⁵. These are variously called *verbal noun*, *personal noun* (purusana:mannaḷ), *pronominal noun*, *participial noun*, *adjectival noun* etc.

- (22) a) vanna + avan > vanna-avan 'he who came'
b) vanna + aval > vanna-aval 'she who came'
c) vanna + avar > vanna-avar 'they who came'
d) vanna + atu > vanna-atu 'that which came'

Gundert (1962ed; 88) has given some forms with a pronominal suffix like -o:r/-o:l/-vo:r/-o:n/-vo:n etc., which are present only in poetic works.

- (23) a) vanna:r 'Those who came'
b) petto:l 'She who gave birth'
c) taṇṇuvo:r 'Those who are staying'

5 Participial nouns is discussed in Section 4.1

There is a special idiomatic usage in Malayalam of neuter relative participle noun when the doer is known or unknown⁶ or unacquainted, which we will discuss in the fifth chapter.

- (24) a) vaggatu ra:man 'The one who came is Rama'
b) tangatu paisa 'What was given is paisa'
c) po:yatu samayam 'What is gone is time'

Here as regards the person 'who came/gave/gone', the male/female/neutral, difference is not quite clear.

2.6.3 RP suffixed with oru ('one' - numeral marker)

A.R. Raja Raja Varma (1988 ed; 259) and some other grammarians considered *oru* as a relative participle marker as like in the following constructions.

- (25) iripporu 'That which remains'

Another example what we can give is:

- (26) vaggoru ma:ran 'A lover who came'

Which can be resolvable into the constituent morpheme as:

- (27) vagg + a + oru > vaggoru

The morphophonemic change seems to be due to the merging of a front close vowel and back open vowel into the latter vowel. Here we can say that *oru* 'one' is a numeral adjective followed by the RP. There is no numeral form other than *oru* appear as like this.

Generally more than one noun cannot be succeeded to an RP, either it is noun or pronoun⁷.

6 It is called *nigirna kartru karagam* 'subject knowing, not specified sentence (A.R. 1988edn; 216).

7 A type of form is there where the head noun precedes the RP and an anaphoric pronominal marker follows it.
e.g.: mutta pulunniyatu 'boiled egg'
egg boiled RP it
See 4.4.

2.6.4 Types of RP depending on reference

Relative participle when followed by nouns will fall in five types like place, time, cause, manner and voice (Gundert, 1962edn: 89).

1) RP followed by a noun referring a place.

(28) iruṅga item 'The place some one/thing stayed'.

2) RP followed by noun or form referring a time. Gundert has given a large number of time references with respect to noun connected with RP.

a) akam 'within'

(29) va:ṅṅatīnakam 'within buying'

Here a pronominal suffix -atu is inserted in between RP and a case-marker.

b) aṅṅu 'that time', 'that day'

(30) parañña aṅṅu 'when (it was) told'

c) avasaram 'occasion', 'just when'

(31) parañña avasaram 'when (it was) told'

(32) po:kugga avasaram 'when (somebody) is going'

d) anataram 'after'

(33) bhakṣana:nantaram 'after meals'

Here the form combined with the noun and became a compound, relating the RP.

e) alavu 'as long', 'as often', 'as much'

(34) koṭutta alavu 'as much as given'

f) ge:ram 'while'

(35) kaṅṅa ge:ram 'at the time (someone) saw'.

g) utane 'as soon as'

(36) parañña: utane 'as soon as (it) was told'

b) o:lam 'as long as'

This form always have future reference.

(37) marikkuvō:lam 'till death'

i) ka:lam 'when'

(38) poi:ya ka:lam 'when (we) went'

j) na:l 'day'

(39) ceyta na:l 'the day on which (something) was done'

k) appo:l 'when about'

(40) taṅṅappo:l 'when (something) was given'

l) vidham 'as like'

(41) ceyta vidham 'as like done'

m) ēe:ṣam 'after'

(42) va:ṅṅiya ēe:ṣam 'after buying'

3) Cause: RP followed by a form represents a cause:

a) o:lam 'till'

(43) varu vo:lam 'untill come'

b) ka:raṇam 'because'

(44) ceyta ka:raṇam 'because of having done'

c) ṅimittam 'because'

(45) poi:ya ṅimittam 'because of going'

d) mu:lam 'so'

(46) va:ṅṅiyatu mu:lam 'because of buying'

4) Indicative manner: Indicative manner will refer about an incident and its effects.

(47) a) maricca dukham 'sadness due to (some one's) death'

b) kaṅṅa ka:ryam 'the thing that was seen'

In all these phrases we can see a Relative participle attached to either a noun or a noun-like word, some of which are sort of post positions. Though they are not a clear

lexical noun they are functioning as a complement to the RF which can be replaced by a noun or a pronoun.

But some forms have a pronominal suffix attached to it, which receives a post-position.

(48) *va:nniyatu mu:lam* 'because of buying'

2.7 POSITION OF THE DETERMINER

In headed RCs with a determiner, we might expect that the determiner could occur at either end of the RC or between the domain noun and S-relative. For post-nominal type of languages like English the position of determiner is initial (Keenan, 1985) i.e., det + Head + S-relative.

(49) *The man who serves as a clerk died.*

For the pronominal type of languages also the determiner will come at the initial position. In Malayalam even though there is no formal determiner, often a demonstrative pronoun or a numeral will function as a determiner will come either before or after the RF. We can represent the clause as:

Det + S-rel. + Head

(50) *a: po:ya kutti nallavana:nu*
that went RF boy good he is

'That boy who went is a good one'.

2.8 VERBS THAT CAN BE PARTICIPIALIZED RELATIVELY

Any proper verb of action, state, experience or process and appellatives or defectives can be participialized relatively. We have seen the manner of participialization of these verbs. Now the question of participialization of verbs like serial or compound have to be discussed. Which verb or all the verbs in a serialized verb phrase can be relativized? So far we have seen that the participialization is only applicable to the finite verb form. In

a serial verb there are two or more verbs. One is finite, i.e. the last one, except that, all the others are non-finite. As we have said, we can participialize only the finite verb. In a serial verb relativization, the transformation is applicable to the finite verb form only.

- (51) ra:man po:yi vannu > po:yi vanna ra:man
 Raman go adv.P came went came RP Raman
 Rama came having gone. Rama who came having gone.

The form **po:ya vanna ra:man* is unacceptable.

It is not possible to participialized both the verbs in a compound verb.

- (52) si:ta ta:masiccu varunngu 'Sita is coming late'
 Sita latly coming

- (53) a) *ta:masicca varunna si:ta
 late RP coming RP Sita
 b) *ta:masicca varunngu si:ta
 late RP coming Sita

- (54) ta:masiccu varunna si:ta
 late coming RP Sita
 'Sita who comes late'.

Here both the forms in (53) is ungrammatical and only (54) is acceptable. So the finite form of any verb can only be participialized, relatively, to make the domain noun relativized. Despite this transformation the original characteristics are preserved intact.

2.9 WORD ORDER AND TYPOLOGY

Word order in a relative participle phrase in Malayalam is just like an adjective phrase in English. Noun always follows the RP form. A numeral or a demonstrative pronoun can come in between

the RP and head noun as a determiner. It can come in between the RP and the head noun. It can be represented as:

(55) (X) + S + (D) + NP + (Y)

Here X stands for any form preceded by a RP. S stands for RP form, D for determiner (numeral or demonstrative pronoun) NP, head noun and Y and lexical form which follows the RP phrase like finite verb etc.

(56) X S D NP Y V

(57) ingale vanna oru kutti sure:s anu
(vanneru)

yesterday came RP one child Suresh is

'The child who came yesterday was Suresh'.

Here X, Y and D are optional. We can make sentences with X, Y and D are as zero.

(58) S NP V

(59) pathikkunna kutti jeyikkum
study RP child will pass

'The child who studies will pass'.

And for the sentence (59) will be

(60) [[[pathikkunna] kutti] jeyikkum]
1 2 3

The word order of the RP phrase in Dravidian languages will be like this only.

2.10 THE ROLE OF THE HEAD IN THE RP PHRASE

The head of the Relative clause plays a role in two different clause in the overall Relative clause construction: On the one hand, it plays a role in the main clause, but equally it plays a role in the restricting clause. i.e., the RC in the sense of the embedded (subordinate) clause. More commonly, the head

noun appears in a modified or reduced form, or is completely omitted, in one of the two clauses.

2.11 THE ROLE OF THE HEAD IN THE MAIN CLAUSE

The role of the head noun in the noun clause makes little or no difference to the possibility of forming relative clause or to the particular RC construction that is used. As per Greesberg's Universals SOV languages such as Tamil have the order of RC-head. Since Malayalam is closely related to Tamil, has the same structure - the prenominal-RC.

2.12 THE FORM OF S-RELATIVE

The S-relatives are presented as follows:

"The more regular difference between pre and post-nominal RCs concerns the form of the main verb of S-rel., V-rel. (Verb relative). In prenominal RC, V-rel. is almost always in some sort of non-finite form, that is a form different from the one it would have as the main verb of a simple declarative sentence. Typically V-rel. exhibits a reduction in tense - aspect marking and in verb agreement morphology compared with main clause declarative verbs". (Keenan, E.L., 1985). This type of construction called participle form is a peculiarity of Malayalam. But tense - aspects marking is not reduced in the declarative sentence. In negative sentences only the present tense is used.

2.13 ORIGIN OF THE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE MARKER

The most of the Relative participle forms in Dravidian languages are obtained by adding the participle /-a/ to the nonfinite form of the verb, except in future. Since the future participle is absolutely nil in Malayalam it is not relevant here. The origin of the suffix /-a/ has been severally accounted

for:

Caldwell (1913) presents a long discussion on the origin of the suffixed /-a/ and comes into the conclusion that it is the sign of the possessive case. Gundert⁸ on the other hand, appears to have been of the opinion that the suffixed /-a/ was the same as the demonstrative base /-a/. A.R. Raja Raja Varma (1895) also agrees with Gundert.

Gundert's view seems to be the correct one. As in other Dravidian languages, the subject of the action is tackled as to the verb form and became enclitic thereto. We have seen that in the Dravidian the same words are used to denote the correlative, the demonstrative and the third person pronouns. It would seem correct to regard the suffixed /-a/ as the subject of the action expressed in the relative participle, in other words, the suffixed /-a/ of the Rp shall be regarded as parallel to the relative clause *that did, that showed, that does*, in the paradigm above. "If this is correct, the suffixed /-a/ will be the same as /-av/, the old demonstrative base which had lost its final /-v/ in *Tolkappiyam*. Several verb forms occur ending in /-av/ which now end in /-a/" (P. Swaminathan, 1975).

It will be noted that the double use of -av in the Dravidian as a demonstrative and as a relative corresponds to the double use of *that* in the same two senses in English. /-av/ in Dravidian is also the base of the pronoun of the third person.

2.14 TYPES OF RELATIVE PARTICIPLES

As we have seen RP has adjectival function also. Traditionally there are seven types of adjectives

8 Gundert, H. (1868). Malaya:labha:sa Vya:karanam. (Reprint 1962), NBS, Kottayam.

(*naiṁariseṣṣanam*) in Malayalam, equivalent to the English adjectives. Among them all those forms which have the marker /-a/ are considered to be *peṣṣaccam* (RP). The RPs can be classified into three according to the presence or absence of tense or on the basis of the form. They are:

1) Tenseless relative participle - which show action implicitly, derived from appellative verb. This cannot be inflected of tense and negative forms, and does not enter into the variant syntactic relationships with the noun.

- (61) a) *valiya* *vi:tu* 'big house'
 big RP house
 b) *utta* *caṁṁa:ti* 'close friend'
 close RP friend

(2) Tensed relative participle - which shows action explicitly, derived from a full verb of action or state or experience. This can be inflected for present, past and future tense and negative forms and occur with the following nouns in various syntactic relationships.

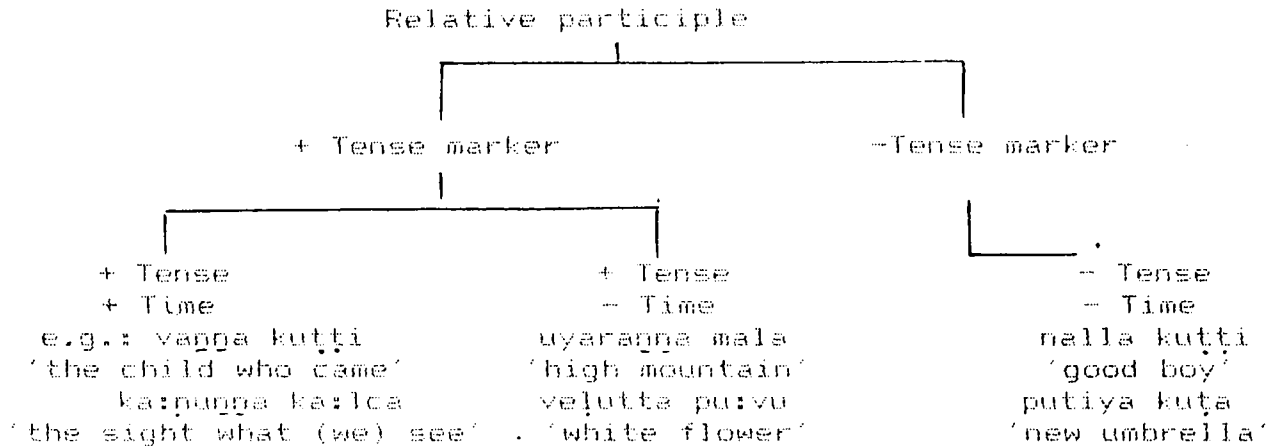
- (62) a) *kaṁṁa* *siṁima* 'the film which (I) saw'
 see Past RP cinema
 b) *varuṁṁa* *stri:* 'the women who is coming'
 coming RP woman

3) The third type of Relative participle is, while resemble tensed RP type in structure, but behave like a tenseless one. Though it contain tense marker neither it denotes any tense that it stands for nor form the negative counterparts.

- (63) a) *ni:ṁṁa* *ka:lam* 'long period'
 lengthy RP period

b) atutta a:l 'next person'
 next RP person

Based on the time and tense relationship, the relative participle can be subjected to a classification (K. Ramaswamy, 1978):



2.15 MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF TENSELESS RELATIVE PARTICIPLE

Morphologically the tenseless RP can be represented by the following way:

(65) Verb stem (appellative) + RP suffix + noun phrase NP

The RP which shows the action implicitly is derived from *kurippu vinai*⁹ (appellative verb). Relative participle marker suffixed to pure adjective words are included here.

(66) nal- 'good' + a > nalla kutti 'good child'
 vel- 'white' + a > vella pra:vu 'white dove'
 put- 'new' + a > putiya tuni 'new cloth'

These forms have the function of an adjective and having the relative marker too, to make it an adjective.

K. Nedungadi (1975) calls this form as *više:ṣaṇam*

⁹ *kurippu vinai* is a Tamil term to refer a type verb called appellative verb. George Mathan (1914) termed this as *savazcya kriya*.

(adjective), S. Prabhu (1916) calls it as *guna vaicakam* (form which qualifies).

- (67) a) *veḷutta ka:la* 'white ox'
b) *ni:nta kai* 'long hand'

Gundert (1868) derives these forms, as adjectival participle from the roots like, *naI-* 'good', *ila-* 'young'.

- (68) a) *nalla* 'good'
b) *iḷaya* 'young'
c) *paḷaya* 'old'
d) *putiya* 'new'

Compare the forms *nalla*, *valiya* and *veḷutta*. All the forms have /-a/, the RF marker, and functions as adjective. C.L. Antony (1973) argues against the opinion that these forms are not relative participles because the forms *naI* 'good', *paḷa* 'old', *kuri* 'short' etc. are only adjectival forms and not having any verbal quality. But there is no distinction of adjectival suffix and verbal suffix as such, sometimes that root itself may function as verb. For example, take the form, *nalla*. The emphatic form *nallu:* is clearly a *finite verb*. We cannot drop the verbal nature and consider this form as adjective. The earlier forms of verbs like *peru* - 'to grow', *paḷa* - 'to become old', etc. considered as adjectives by C.L. Antony, and later had been changed into verb by being suffixed the particle -ku. So it is believed that forms like *valiya*, *periya* etc. are derived diachronically as:

- (69) a) *paḷa* > *paḷaku* > *paḷakiya* > *paḷaya* 'old'
b) *per* > *peruku* > *perukiya* > *periya* 'big'

The forms like *netiya* 'long', *periya* 'big' etc. function like adjective because of the verbal quality only. When they are

joined with a noun they are not devoid of verb meaning. For example in *vella muntu* 'white dhoti' the form *vella* 'white' gives the meaning that it is derived from the verb *velukkuka* 'to become white'.

K. Sukumaran Pillai (1980; 223) gives another derivation to the forms of *ceriya* 'small' and *periya* 'big' against the assumption of C.L. Antony. Pillai argues with the help of *svara vinimayam* (vowel exchange) phenomenon in the Dravidian languages i.e. the final sounds in *peru* and *ceru* are exchanged with /-i/ in accordance with the -y- *kasra* of it. This can be seen in some old Malayalam forms like *iṭaviya*, *vaḷaviya* which are derived from nominal word, of *iṭem*, *vaḷavu*. The derivation is similar to the RP forms:

va:tu > *va:ṭiya*, 'dried' *peruk* > *periya* 'big', *cer* > *cerukiya* > *ceriya*.

Semantically and functionally these pure adjectival participles are like other tensed RPs.

- (70) a) *vanna-vaṇ* 'the one who came'
 b) *valiya-vaṇ* 'the one who is big'
 c) *valiya-val* 'the one who (term) is big'
 d) *valiya-tu* 'the one what is by'

As we have pointed out earlier, there is no adjectives in Malayalam. The notion of an adjective in Malayalam is borrowed with respect to English. Even though the form mentioned above has the sense of an adjective, it does not have any particular syntactic form. The adjective also has to function as a noun. English adjective can function as part of subject, object, and even as verb complementizer, i.e., "Adjectives denotes qualities that nouns have" (Paul Robert, 1967; 35).

(71) The boy was courageous

The courageous boy

But in Malayalam the so called "adjective" (*na:ma* *vi:śaṅgam*) does not have this quality. Hence we have to derive noun forms for these "adjectives".

(72) *valiyavar naṭakkum* 'those who are big will walk'

nallatu evi:karikkuka 'accept that which is good'

If it is added with the third person singular neuter suffix *-atu*, this word forms can be referred to as appellative RP noun. Syntactically these word-forms are complex pronominals and occur in positions, where a nominal can occur. That is in subject, object, adverbial, predicate, noun modifier, etc. positions.

For example, the form *nall-atu* which consists of the adjectival root *nal-* 'good', 'nice', with the RP suffix */-a/* and third person neuter suffix *-atu* which gives the meaning *nallatu*, 'which is good/nice' occurs as object in (73a) as predicate in (73b) and as noun in (73c):

(73) a) *nallatu sama:rikku* 'Say nice things'

b) *i: pustakam nallata:ṇu* 'This book is good'

c) *nallatu valiya kuṭa* 'The big umbrella which is nice'

The form *nalla* have the categorical status of an adjective and do occur as the noun modifier position.

They have to be nominalized when they occur in the predicate position as, apart from verbs, only nominals but not adjectives can behave as predicators. The other members of this class of adjectives are:

ceriya 'small' < *ceru*

valiya 'big' < *valu*

Adjectives are defined as lexical category on the basis of the following syntactic properties in Malayalam.

a) Adjectives occur as noun modifier in a pre-nominal position between a determiner and the head noun.

(74) i: nalla kuṭṭi
 This good child

b) When adjective occurs in predicate position, they have to be pronominalized, that is, occur in the form of adjectival noun.

(75) kuṭṭi nallavan a:nu
 child good he is

c) Adjectives are the only lexical category which can not occur with clitics of whatever type.

(76) *nalla ma:tram 'good alone'
 good alone

2.16 TENSED RELATIVE PARTICIPLE

RPs derived from verb of action, state or experience are termed tensed RP. Tensed RPs are of three forms marked for the three tenses and also for one negative form with, past-tense marker.

Tensed RP except future can be represented morphologically

as:

		Present		
(77)	Verb	+ Past	+	RP suffix + Noun/pronouns
		Neg.		
	vagg-a			'the women who came'
(78)	varugg-a	stri:		'the women who is coming'
	vara:tt-a			'the women who didn't/doesn't/ won't come'

For future RP:

(79) verb + future marker + 0 + Noun/pronoun
 varum ka:lam 'the time which come'

Normally a three-fold distinction is maintained for tense in Malayalam, but it is not followed adequately by the RP construction.

Tensed RP is the only one nonfinite verb form which distinguishes tense. It shows the action explicitly. This can be inflected (as shown) and occur with the following nouns in various syntactic relationships.

(80) paṭhicca kuṭṭi 'the child who studied' (pred.)

(81) pa:ṭiya ra:man 'Raman who sung' (subject)

The tensed RP is termed¹⁰ *terinilai pe:raccam* by ancient Tamil grammarians. No such terminology is to be seen in traditional Malayalam works.

Besides tense and negative inflections, the RP can be inflected in almost all the moods, like intransitive, causative, passive, conditional, infinitival, etc. The tensed RP shows almost all the verbal characters except that of the imperative mood. The morphological representation of tensed RP can be shown as:

(82) Verb stem ± Tran + Caus. ± Pass ± Neg + T + a

For example causative negation of the verb *cey-* 'to do' can be expressed as follows:

(83) *cey-yi-kka + paṭ - a: + tt + a jyo:li*
do tra. cau. pass. Neg. Past. RP job
'The job that had not caused to do'

Now we can see some of the RP forms with a verb root *ke:l* 'to hear'.

¹⁰ There are two types of *vinai* (verbs) in Tamil. *kurippu vinai* (Appel. verb) and *terinilai vinai* (ten. verb) from which *terinilai pe:raccam* (Relative participle) is formed.

(84) a) Indicative	present	ke:l- <u>kkun</u> -a	'what is hearing'
	past	ke:tt-a	'what heard'
	future	ke:lkkum	'what will hear'
	neg.	ke:lkk-a:tt-a	'what did/do/ won't hear'
b) Compulsive	present	ke:lkkē:ntun <u>g</u> -a	'what has to hear'
	past	ke:lkkē:ntiyirun <u>g</u> a	'what had to be hear'
	future	ke:lkkē:ntiyirun <u>g</u> a	'what has to be heard'
	neg.	ke:lkkē:nta:tt-a	'what hasn't/ hadn't hear'
c) Passive (causative)	present	ke:lppikkun <u>g</u> -a	'what is made to hear'
	past	ke:lppicc-a	'what made to hear'
	future	ke:lppikkun <u>g</u> -a	'what is go- ing to hear'
	neg.	ke:lppikka:tt-a	'what did/don't/ won't make to hear'
d) Permissive	positive	ke:lkkā:vun <u>g</u> -a	'what is permitt- ed to hear'
	neg.	ke:lkkaruta:tt-a	'what is not permitted to hear'

In the above given examples no form is giving any marker other than /-a/ except in future.

2.17 TIME UNSPECIFIED RP

The third type of Relative participle resembles the tensed Rp type in structure, but behave like the tenseless one. For instance, the participles in:

uyargga prade:śam, 'high place'
 ta:lgga ja:ti 'low caste'

aṭutta vi:tu 'next house'

Though they have past tense marker, neither denote the past tense nor form other tenses and negative counterparts resembling the tenseless RP. The tense marker in these forms denote neither the particular time that it stands for nor any of the time distinctions.

The RP forms in the following constructions represent the tensed RP structurally. But their time references are not important, when the constructions are concerned semantically.

(85) 1. a) avan paṭhikkunṇa kuṭṭiya:ṇu

he study pres. RP child is

'He is a child who studies well'

b) ña:n paṭhikkunṇa pustakam ita:ṇu

I study pre. RP book this is

'This is the book I am studying'

2. a) paṅu pullu tinnunṇa mṛgama:ṇu

cow grass eat pre. RP animal is

'Cow is an animal which eat grass'

b) avan tinnunṇa kaṭala ña:n koṭuttata:ṇu

he eat pres RP nut I gave is

'The groundnut he eats is given by me'

3. a) paṭam varakkunṇa a:line a:vasyamunṭu

picture drawing RP man acc needed

'A man who draws pictures is required'

b) avan varacca paṭam paṅṇa:yi

he draw RP picture good be

'The picture which he drew is good'

In the above sentences (a) is semantically different from (b). The distinction is due to the fact that in (a), RP forms are

timeless or denote no particular time. K. Ramaswamy (1976) has tried to give some explanation to this problem. To him they become close attributes to the following nouns and behave like the objectives, and phrases closely knitted together.

From the above examples we can see that though the RP forms in (a) in all the three construction have tense marker the latter are not important. They perhaps represent a habitual reference. But the RP forms in (b) have the respective tenses either present or past. In the deep structure, these two types of constructions will be different.

The RPs without time reference cannot be derived from an underlying sentence having finite verb with tense, through relativization transformation. But the relativization transformation process can be shown to occur on a finite verb without a tense.

(86) aval ka:cciya pa:lu kuṭiccu
 she boiled RP milk drank
 'She drank boiled milk'

This sentence can be derived from the following underlying sentences.

(87) a) aval pa:lu ka:cci 'She boiled milk'
 she milk boiled
 b) aval pa:lu kuṭiccu 'She drank milk'
 she milk drank

Applying the respective relativization transformation and identical NP relation, we will get the surface structure.

(88) aval ka:cciya pa:lu kuṭiccu
 she boiled RP milk drank

But here we can not say that this underlying sentences are the exact forms of the RP sentence. Here both the actions like boiling and drinking has to be done by her. But the sentence (86) does not indicate that she is the person who boiled the milk. It can be any body. At the same time if we are embedding the above underlying sentence, we get a verb-embedded sentence with the same subject as well.

(89) aval pa:lu ka:cci kuṭiccu 'She boiled the milk and
 she milk boiled drank
 drank it'

Another underlying structure that one can propose is:

(90) a) aval pa:lu kuṭiccu.
 b) pa:lu ka:cciyata:nu
 milk boiled RP it is

By applying the relevant relative transformation we get the surface structure. But in the constituent sentence itself there is an RP form suffixed with a prenominal marker. So this can not also represent the form.

Again we can propose another pair of underlying sentences as:

(91) a) aval pa:lu ka:cci
 she milk boiled
 b) aval atu kuṭiccu
 she it drank

Here the pronoun *atu* anaphorically represents the milk. If we join these two constituent sentences after relativization transformation process we may get the forms.

(92) a) aval pa:lu ka:cci atu kuṭiccu
 she milk boiled it drank

b) aval pa:lu ka:cciyatu kuṭiccu
 she milk boiled RP it drank

Here we can see that sentence (92b) is a paraphrase of sentence (88) with head noun and a third person neuter proximate pronomial form suffixed to RP.

This form is also not a true representation of the original RP sentence.

2.18 DERIVED RELATIVE PARTICIPLE

A fourth type of forms which can also function as Relative participle is present in Malayalam. These forms are derived from nouns appended with a copular verbs changed from the root *a:k-* 'to be', *uḷ-* 'to have' to *a:ya*, *-uḷla* as descriptive adjectival participle (*yibba:vakam*). Caldwell notes: "Dravidian nouns of every description may be used adjectively by appending to them the RP of verb signifying to become, which are Tamil *a:na* and *a:ḡum* (also *uḷla*, an equivalent word), and Telugu *agu-* and *ayina* and in Kararese *a:ḡu*" (Caldwell, 1985; 316).

The verb form + *a:k-* 'to be' and *uḷ-* 'to have' in the following sentence is an independent verb, when *untu* is functioning as an independent verb, it may have some relation with nouns other than the subject.

(93) a) kuṭṭi samarthan a:ḡu/a:kunṅu
 child brilliant was/is

'The child is brilliant'

b) ka:ṭṭil a:na untu
 forest elephant be

'Elephants were/are there in the forest'

It may have direct contact with nouns of Dative and locative case relation. So the relativization is acceptable.

c) samardhana:ya kutti
 'Brilliant child (A child who was brilliant)

d) a:nayulla ka:tu
 'Forest where the elephants is'

By suffixing *ulla*, the RP of the verb *ul-* (to exist) and certain other RP like *ketta/petta* 'devoid/engaged'. will also perform the same role.

(94) a) nanni-yulla nayu 'dog of having gratitude'

b) nanni ketta mrgam 'animal not having gratitude'

c) gurutvam ketta vidhya:rti, 'a student devoid of respect to his teacher'

The past adjective participle form of the verb */-a:k/* becomes */-a:ya/* and */ul-/* becomes */ulla/*. These occur as bound forms added to the nouns. In these constructions the noun with */-a:ya/* construction occur on the syntactic position of simple adjective that is between a determiner and the head noun.

(95) a: suggarana:ya kutti 'That beautiful child'

In the above example, the bound adjective participle */-a:ya/* has been analysed as a form which has acquired sufficient status and referred to a derivational suffix. The adjectivalized noun is then analysed as derived adjective. However, there is also an alternative analysis available. First note that there are other adjectival participles which occur as free forms with a noun in the position of an adjective, between a determiner and the head noun.

(96) oru panamulla ne:tavu
 a money have RP leader
 'A leader having money'

The (noun + adjective participle) sequence in the above example is liable to be analysed as adjectival clause consisting of a verbal predicate with one noun argument only, which occurs in the position between determiner and head noun.

Det - S - N.

Consequently, the noun + bound Adj. part. construction in the above example may be analysed in the same way.

The verb form of *a:k* - 'to become' with RP markers - *a:ya*, *-a:kunṅa*, *-a:kum*, and the negative *-a:k:tta* and also the RP forms of *uI* - 'to have', 'to be' viz. *-uIla*, *uṅṅa:kunna*, *uṅṅa:kum* along with a noun having the semantic feature of RP is largely used. The RP of defective verbs with tense do not always represent the tense in its proper sense.

(97) *kalla:kunṅa hrdayamuIlaivaI*

stone be RP heart be RP she ,

'One (she) whom has a strong heart'

Sanskrit adjectives are also used as adjectives in Malayalam after being first transformed into noun by taking the Malayalam noun termination and then having the form */-a:ya/* or */-uIla/* affixed to it.

(98) a) *śre:ṣṭana:ya puro:hitan* 'excellent priest'

b) *śre:ṣṭama:ya vi:tu* 'excellent house'

Such adjectival forms are phrases, not words.

Most of the borrowed nouns or adjectives behave like this. Not only Sanskrit word, but words from English and other languages also behave like this:

(99) a) *kli:na:ya vellam* 'water which very clean'

b) *ṭa:lentūIla kuṭṭi* 'a child with talent'

Some forms with the adjectival participle */-a:ya/* and */-*

ulla/ like *maha:nasya muni* 'great saint' or *a:nayulla kastu* 'a forest where elephants are' etc. drops their copulative participial forms, and stays together to become compounds.

- (100) a) *maha:nasya muni* > *maha: muni*
 great became RP saint 'great saint'
 b) *a:nayulla kastu* > *a:nakka:tu*
 elephant be RP forest 'elephant forest'

The relativization process of this adjectival participle can be shown, with the help of the underlying sentences just like other Relative participle phrases.

For example take the sentence with conjugated RP:

- (101) *samardhana:ya kutti pariksayil jeyikkum*
 brilliant be RP child examination will pass
 'Bright child will pass the examination'

The underlying sentences of this can be shown as:

- (102) a) *kutti samardhan a:nu*
 child bright he is
 b) *kutti pariksayil jeyikkum*
 child examination will pass

With proper Relativization process and identical NP deletion we can derive the resultant sentence.

- c) *kutti samardhan a:ya - kutti pariksayil jeyikkum*
 child bright he be RP child examination will pass

Identical NP relation:

- d) *samardhan a:ya kutti pariksayil jeyikkum*
 bright be RP child examination will pass

Take a sentence with *-ulla* as the conjugated RP.

- (103) *kannulla a:lukal ka:num*
 eye have RP men will see

'Those who have eyes will see'

- (104) a) a:lukaḷḷkku kaṇṇu unṭu
 men dat eye is
- b) a:lukaḷ ka:ṇum
 men will see

RP marker in sentences after embedding.

- c) a:lukaḷḷkku kaṇṇu unṭu + a: a:lukaḷ ka:ṇum
 men dat eye be that men will see

Identical NP deletion and RP marker insertion

(*unṭu* + a > *ulla*).

- d) kaṇṇulla a:lukaḷ ka:ṇum
 eye be RP men will see

The negative copula verbs of the corresponding positive ones *a:ṇu* x *alla* and *unṭu* x *illa* may also form the respective conjugated RP form by adding a /-tta/, a geminated 't' along with the RP marker -a as a link morph.

- (105) a) kaṇṇu + illa:tta > kaṇṇilla:tta a:lukaḷ
 eye not RP 'people those who do not have eyes'
- b) miṭukkan + alla:tta > miṭukkanalla:tta kuṭṭi
 bright he not RP 'The child who is not brilliant'

The defective verb having the three forms of RP -a:ya, -a:kunna and -a:kum do not always represent the tense in its proper sense or like the third type we discussed earlier.

For example:

- 1) Present RP form a:kunna 'going to', becoming etc.
(106) kallakunna hrdayam 'the heart like a stone'

When the form (106) gives present tensed RP, it has a copulative function. Also in the sentence.

(107) mukham:akunna chandran vi:ttine praka:šippikkunnu
face be RP moon house acc brightening

'The moon like face brightens the house'

a) mukham chandran akunnu
face moon is

b) atu vi:ttine praka:šippikkunnu
it house brightens

2) Past RP form: a:ya 'became, happend' etc.

In form, it is a present tense, but in function it does not represent any time reference:

(108) su:tra śa:liya:ya kurukkan su:trattil ko:liye piṭiccu
clever be RP jackal cleverly cock acc caught

'The jackal which is clever, cleverly caught cock'

But the time reference is clear in the following construction.

(109) samardhana:ya kuṭṭi pariksayil onṇa:mana:yi
brilliant be RP boy exam loc first came

'The boy who was brilliant came first in examination'

The past tense reference is clear here.

SUMMARY

In this Chapter, we have noted, about what the term 'Relative participle' is, how it is morphologically connected and its syntactic forms. The different types of RP reveals that the concept of 'adjective' in Malayalam can be distinguished from RP proper, with the presence or absence of time and tense. The notable aspect is that eventhough unlike Tamil, in Malayalam

there is no tensed or tenseless verb differences exists, it is very vivid in RP construction. The derived RP, from a noun appended with a copular verb shows that, most of the nouns can be converted to derived RPs to relativize another NP. Only the finite verb form can be participialized.

CHAPTER III
SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF RP

SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF RP

3.1 RELATIVIZATION PROCESS

The processes of relativization in Malayalam and in Tamil are similar. The derivation of relative participle of different tenses and moods, the different transformations and constraints involved in the derivation, the uses of different kinds of interrogative pronouns in the correlative construction etc. are discussed by scholars like Annamalai (1969), Kothandaraman (1969), Mahalingam (1983) etc., for Tamil, Arden (1891) and other for Telugu, Nadkarni (1972) and other for Kannada and Andrews Kutty (1973, 1975) and P.T. Abraham (1978) etc., for Malayalam.

Relative clause transformation in English involves three syntactic processes.

- a) Fronting of the coreferential noun phrase in the constituent sentences to the sentence-initial position.
- b) Pronominalization of the moved out NP in the embedded sentence.
- c) Optional deletion of the relative pronoun in certain predicatable environments.

This can be explained briefly by the following example:

- (1) I saw the picture they exhibited.
- (2) I saw a picture. They exhibited a picture.
(Involves fronting of the coreferential NP).
- (3) I saw a picture. Picture they exhibited.
(Involves pronominalization of the moved out NP).
- (4) I saw the picture that they exhibited.
(Involves the deletion of relative pronoun).

Roger Fowler (1971) has given a similar transformation process. According to him the first step is to insert the constituent string immediately to the right of the matched Np of the matrix, the matrix will be identified by the presence of a feature [+R] in the Det. of the appropriate NP.

(5) The student [+R] was sitting in the library.

(6) The student fell asleep.

The student - the student was sitting in the library -
fell asleep.

Next, the Det. of the relativized NP is replaced by a Wh - pronoun form, by a feature-transfer rule of a kind which should by now be quite familiar, show in shortened form below:

(7) The student - Wh student was sitting in the library -
fell asleep.

In modern English, the N of the relativized NP is deleted.

(8) The student Wh - was sitting in the library - fell
asleep.

Finally, the symbol Wh - is realized as an appropriate form who(m)/that, or which/that and the string boundaries are removed to integrate the relative clause phonologically in its matrix.

Once RC embedding has taken place, various modification becomes available. The chief of these is relative pronoun deletion, which is permissible in some constructions, but not in others.

(9) The girl [who was] sitting on the bench remained quite
impassive.

Example 9 shows that *Wh* and *be* may be disappear if the constituent (aux) contain [+Prog].

The relative participles in Malayalam are formed from a verb. The formation of Relative participle is the important process of relative clause transformation in Malayalam and other Dravidian languages. The process is called relativization transformation, and most of the RP formation can be discussed in this way. Morphological analysis is quite simple. RP marker is added to the finite form of a verb changing into nonfinite by deleting the word-final vowel (the euphonic one). Syntactically in phrasal level, the RP with head noun is derived from an underlying sentence by the relativization transformation, transforming the verb into a participle and head noun to be brought after the RP. As we noted in Section 2.5, any verb in any tense and almost all moods can be participialized by the addition of the relative participle marker /-a/ in Malayalam and other Dravidian languages except in future tense, where the future tense marker /-um/ itself function as RP marker [Portmanteau morph] (T. Lehman, 1989).

Since this study is concerned with RP at the phrasal or clause level, we shall concentrate on the formation of RP from a verb of a constituent - sentence by relative participial transformation and the bringing of the head noun after the RP. Relative clause formation and its syntactic analysis in Malayalam has been worked out by P.T. Abraham (1978).

Since Malayalam is a SOV type and clearly a verb-final language, it has prenominal RCs and there is a relative marker suffixed at the final position of the verb, before the head. Since it is a participial form, its bond strength to the head is higher than the relative clause proper and weaker than adjective proper. The RP with the head noun is just an expanded noun phrase

and represents a transitional category between RC and the objective.

Now we can discuss something about the transformation or RP from an underlying sentence. Consider a simple sentence with a subject and a predicate of verb only.

(10) ra:man pathiccu

Raman-Nom. study past

Raman studied

The RP form after relativization is:

(11) pathicca ra:man ...

Study-past RP Raman

Raman who studied ...

What are the transformations here? First, we move the subject noun into the final position leaving the subject position empty, e:

(12) e pathiccu ra:man

Then we brought the RP marker:

(13) e pathiccu - RP ra:man ,

Then we change the finite verb into non-finite by deleting the final vowel, and added the RP marker /-a/:

(14) e pathicc - a ra:man

Now it becomes an expanded noun phrase. Though the RP in the noun phrase was made from a sentence and the process is consolidated by inserting the expanded NP into the matrix sentence to get the resultant sentence.

(15) a) ra:man pathiccu 'Raman studied' (Insert sentence)

b) ra:man jeyiccu 'Raman passed' (Matrix sentence)

The subject embedding of these sentences can be shown after relativization.

(16) pathicca ra:man jeyiccu
 studied RP Raman passed
 'Rama who studied (well) passed'

The word order in the constituent sentence and the resultant sentences before and after transformation are:

(17) a) ra:man pathiccu
 subject pred (verb)
 N V₁
 b) ra:man jeyiccu
 subject pred (verb)
 N V₂

After relativization.

(18) pathicca ra:man jeyiccu
 RP subj pred. (verb)
 V₁ > RP N V₂

Identical N is deleted from the constituent sentence and the RP added to the Matrix sentence. It can be shown lexically as:

(19) (N + V₁) + (N + V₂) > V₁(RP) + N + V₂

and functionally as:

(20) RP (qualifier) + subject + verb (predicate)

i.e., the RP form *pathicca ra:man* is an NP which comprises a head NP modified by an S-bar complement which contains an RP where the comp. is empty. That is the structure would be along the lines of:

(21) NP[S[RP pathicca] [comp e]] [NP ra:man]]

It can be said in another, that the process of relativization is effectuated by a transformation which brings the VP around the subject NP and map a feature [+rel part.] on to the verb to make it an RP. This process is defined by the Adj.

VP shift and the [+rel. part.] insertion transformation.

The Adj. VP shift as applied to the following construction would yield an NP from S.

(22) kuṭṭi vannu
 child came

(23) vanna kuṭṭi 'The child who came'
 Came RP child

Here *vanna* is an RP which would function in the place of an adjective qualifying the NP. *kuṭṭi* 'child' the future [+RP] in effect function as a linking element in the adjective construction. VP shift rule will bring the entire VP to the left by the matrix NP during the process of relativization. As all the adjective phrases of RP are derived from underlying verb phrase, the verbs in the deep structure become adjectives in the surface structure.

Abraham (1978) has discussed some of the relativization transformation proposals such as Chomsky's (1965; 217) Art. S analysis, Ansmalai's (1969; 16) NP > A analysis, Nadkarni's (1972) NP-S transformation etc.

According to A.P. Andrews Kutty (1975) the process of relativization participialization involves three transformational rules.

a) Adjectival VP shift which brings the VP near to the subject NP in the constituent structure.

(24) > avan parañṇu viṣayam

b) [+RP] insertion which links the extra-positional VP to the subject NP.

(25) > avan parañṇa viṣayam

- c) The identical NP deletion which deletes one of the identical NPs to generate.

(76) $\text{avan parañña viṣayam}$

But for Nadkarni (1972) the participial transformation introduces two changes in the string that meets its structural description, it deletes the identical nouns from the constituent sentence, and add the features [+RP] to the verb of the constituent sentence. He argues that for relativization it is required that there be an identical noun in the matrix and constituent sentence as in the following example:

(28) NP(s (go:pa:lan teruvil kaḷiccu)_E (sangati)_N seriya:nu)_V

RP insertion transformation

(29) go:pa:lan teruvil kaḷicc + RP sangati seriya:nu

(30) go:pa:lan teruvil kaḷicca sangati seriya:nu

Gopalan road-loc played that fact true is

'That Gopalan played in the street is true'

(The fact that Gopalan played in the street is true)

The element that attracted [+RP] feature here is a regular verb *kaḷikkuka* 'to play' changes into *kaḷicca* 'who played'.

The process of relativization in prenominal RCs' of verb final languages happenly in two steps (Mallinson, 1981).

- a) The deletion of relative NP (at least from some positions).
- b) Distinctive marking of the verb of the RC usually with an affix that separates the clause from its head.

The process of relativization in Malayalam as we have seen can be generally described in three steps. It can be termed as VP shift, RP marking and Embedding, and finally identical NP and case deletion. (as our study is only concerned with the' RP the

details are omitted). Take the following Matrix (31) and constituent (32) Sentences.

(31) *kuṭṭi vāṅṅu* Matrix
 child came

(32) *niṅṅaḷ kuṭṭiye paṭṭi paraṅṅu* Subordinate
 you child acc about told

Gives the complex sentence:

(33) *niṅṅaḷ paraṅṅa kuṭṭi vāṅṅu*
 you told RP child came

In the first step, the verb phrase in the subordinate sentence is shifted to the prenominal position of the noun which has to be relativized i.e., *kuṭṭi* 'child' i.e.,

(34) *niṅṅaḷ kuṭṭiye paṭṭi paraṅṅu*
 you child-acc about told

(35) VP shifting

> *niṅṅaḷ paraṅṅu kuṭṭiye paṭṭi e*
 you told child acc

(36) RP marking

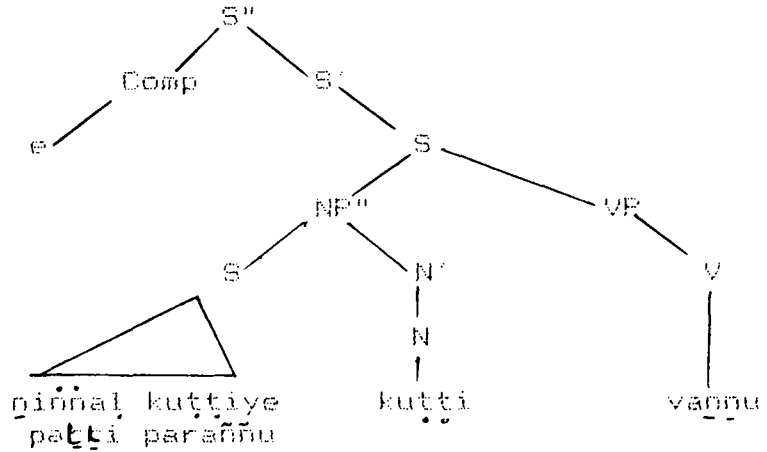
> *niṅṅaḷ paraṅṅa kuṭṭiye paṭṭi kuṭṭi vāṅṅu*
 you told RP childacc about child came

(37) Identical NP & case deleting

> *niṅṅaḷ paraṅṅa kuṭṭi vāṅṅu*
 you told RP child came

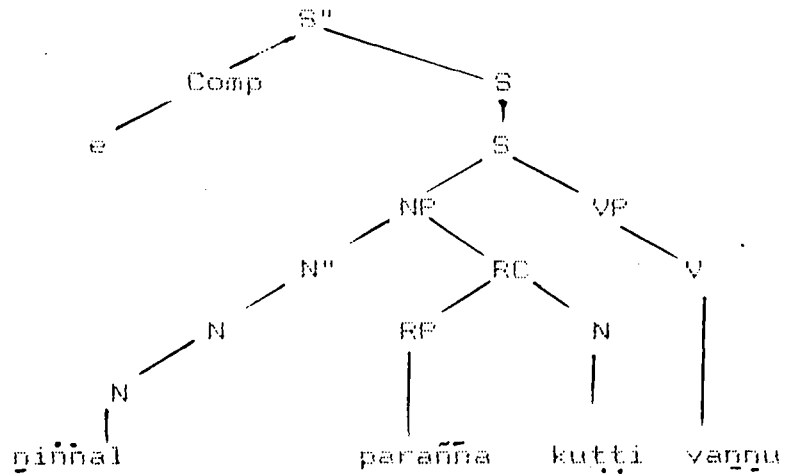
Here the deep structure of the sentence (37) can be represented as (38). Where S represents the RC, N in the NP node.

(38)



And the surface-structure will be:

(39)



By considering the ambiguity of the sentence (33) with a sociative case, with function of Direct object of the derivative constituent sentence.

(40) niñnaḷ kutṭiyo:tu parañṇu

The same procedure can also be applied here as:

(41) VP shifting

> niñnaḷ parañṇu kutṭiyo:tu e

(42) RP marking

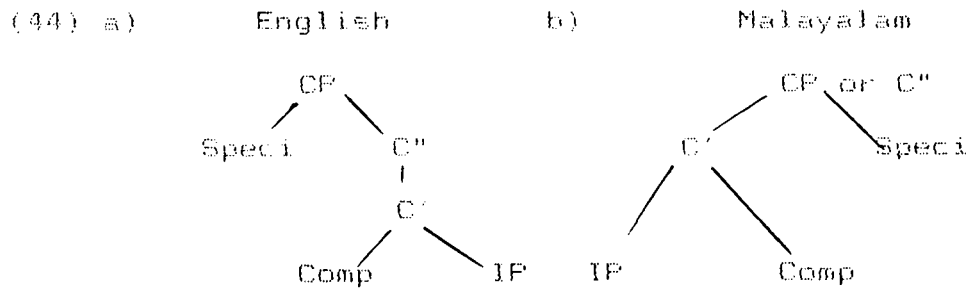
> niñnaḷ parañṇu kutṭiyo:tu kutṭi vanna

Embedding

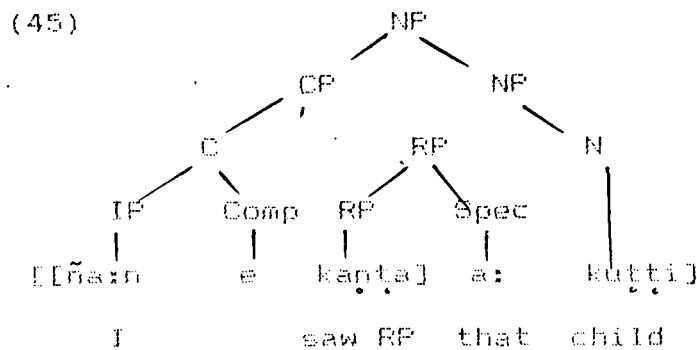
(43) Identical NP & case deletion

> niñnaḷ parañṇa kutṭi vanna

RP can be included in the complement phrase CP. Since CPs are instances of complex sentence. NP complement in RC1 sentence in English like which, that etc. and *etu, a:ru,* and relative marker *-a/* in Malayalam is a type with node CP can be structured as:



And CP adjectival to NP as RC



As shown in RC the complementizer moves from the argument position to the complement position leaving a trace in the argument position. The link between the trace and the complementizer is called chain, as the movement is from an argument position to non-argument position. This movement is called A-bar movement or Wh - movement and *-a/* movement in Tamil by K. Vasu (1991).

In X-bar theory the adjectival phrase is included in clauses, have non lexical element on their head. The two types of clausing phrases in G.P. grammar are IP (inflectional phrase) and CP (complement phrase). Sentence is constructed in GB as IP, i.e., the head of a sentence in inflection, includes tense,

aspect, modality and agreement. To CP where the head is a complementizer like "Wh-words", 'that' and empty in English and 'e' words include *a:*, 'who' *entū* 'why' etc, and RC marker '-a' etc., in Malayalam.

The English example as given with complement Wh-word in (46) that in (47) and empty are termed Restrictive, appositive and free relative clauses respectively in traditional grammars.

(46) The man whom I met lives in the next house.

(47) The book that you presented me is very interesting.

(48) I enjoyed the meal you made us.

The Malayalam examples for all the three types have similar structures with the relative marker:

(49) *ñā:n kaṇṭa sinima ṅanna:yiruggu*

The film which I saw was good.

(50) *ñi: taṅga pustakam ñā:n va:yiccu*

I read the book that you presented me.

(51) *ñi: uṇṭa:kkiya bhakaṣaṇam ñā:n a:svadiccu*

I enjoyed the meal you made.

The movement of elements (particularly substantives) from certain positions occurs in the relativization.

The theory of syntactic movement in Bounding Theory (V.J. Cook, 1988; 121) seems to play a role in the formation of Relative clause in Malayalam. While movement is a general relationship that applies through out English, Malayalam and other languages, the RF phrase construction in Malayalam, have an NP-movement. The movement starts from an A-position and goes to a position that is θ marked (non-A position).

The movement of elements (particularly substantives) from certain position occurs in the relativization process.

In English, Wh-movement is applied in the formation of relative clause, because English RC contains a Wh-pronoun overtly or covertly.

(51) The student who the examiner failed was Tom.

has the Deep structure:

[The examiner failed who] was Tom.

'Who' is the Grammatical function object (GF object), an Argument position (A-position). It moves to the specifier of C" to get the S-structure.

(52) The student (who the examiner failed) was Tom.

The Wh-word may be omitted from the surface structure when it moves that of object position.

(53) The student the examiner failed was Tom.

In Malayalam an NP is the object NP in (54) is moved from an A-position to a θ -position.

(54) addhya:pakan to:lpicca vidya:rthi sure:ṣ a:ṇu
teacher failed student Suresh is

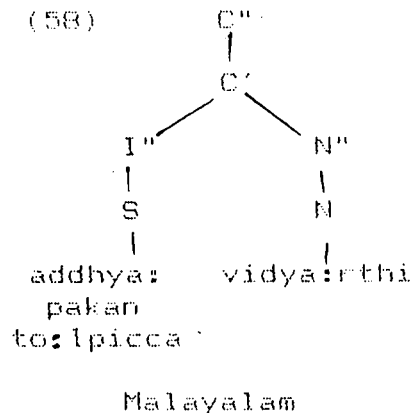
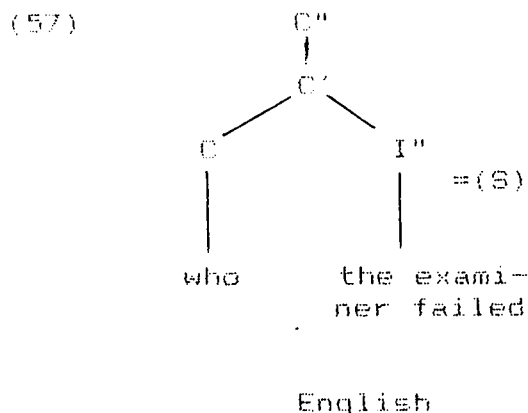
The student who the teacher failed was Suresh.

The deep structure will be (neglecting the details).

(55) [addhya:pakan vidya:rthiye to:lpiccu] sure:ṣ a:ṇu
teacher student acc. failed sures is

Where *vidya:rthi* is the GF object, an A-position. It moves to the Specifier of C" to get the Surface structure.

(56) addya:pakan [to:lpicca vidya:rthi] sure:ṣ a:ṇu



3.2 RESTRICTIVE VS. NON-RESTRICTIVE RP

Relative clauses are divided into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clause considering their semantic distinction. A clear semantic difference can be seen between the English examples:

(59) All teachers, who have been sacked, are to attend a protest meeting.

(60) All teachers who have been sacked are to attend a protest meeting.

In (59) we assume that all teachers are to attend a protest meeting, where as in (60) only those who have been sacked will attend. In (59) the underlined clause is parenthetical and does not restrict the reference of the head in the way it restricts in (60).

We notice that non-restrictive RCs are less intimately joined to their heads than the restrictive ones, and the semantic difference is reflected in the structural differences, by intonation. As Mallinson (1981) have pointed in English, only non-Restrictive RCs can qualify sentential heads.

(61) Jim called me a lexicalist, which made me cry.

(62) Jim called me a lexicalist which made me cry.

The non-restrictive is separated in English by a drop in

intonation between the head and the first element of the RC, where as intonation treats head and restrictive RC as a single unit. This intonation break is represented orthographically by commas, as in (59) and (61).

Unlike English, there is no morpho-syntactic differences between restrictive and non-restrictive RCs in Malayalam. Restrictive - non-restrictive differences can be identified in semantic terms only. On the basis of the presence of some head nouns or the quality of the verb from which the RP has formed the non-restrictive and the restrictive can be differentiated. Also, the addition of some post-positional particles like *ma:tram* 'only' yields the restrictive, while *ella:m* 'all' will indicate non-restrictive distinction.

(63) pa:rkkil po:ya kuttu ma:tram sinima kaṇṭu
park loc went RP boy alone cinema saw
'The child who had gone to the park saw cinema'

(64) pa:rkkil po:ya kuttikal ella:m sinima kaṇṭu
park loc went RP boys all cinema saw
'The children who went to the park saw cinema'

Chomsky (1982) has proposed a model to distinguish the restrictive from the non-restrictive relation. It has often been noted that the non-restrictive head can somehow provide an independent antecedent for the pronoun, in a manner that allows the pronoun not to be bound like an empty category (K. Safir, 1986). The coindexing between a relative and a relative head holds at a syntactic level later than LF for non-restrictive relatives, but not for restrictive relatives. At LF restrictive relative head must R-bind something in the clause that follows, and the reference of restrictive head is dependent on the

modifying clause. This is not true for the non-restrictive head, which has an independent reference.

As we have noted, the RRP and Non-RRP distinction is not clear superficially in Malayalam. There is no morpho-syntactic differentiation between RRP and NRRP. The semantic property of them has been discussed in detail by Abraham (1978).

Take some examples like (65) which are semantically restrictive:

(65) *innale vanna kut̥tiye n̄ain kaṇṭu*

Here *innale vanna* delimits the noun *kut̥ti* and is thus restrictive.

(66) *enikku paḷutta maṭṭha ve:ṇam*

I-Dat. ripened RP mango needed

'I want ripe fruit'

(67) *enikku innale paḷutta maṭṭha ve:ṇam*

I-Dat yesterday ripened RP mango needed

'I want the mango which is ripened yesterday'

In these two sentences the RP *paḷutta* in (66) has a non-restrictive meaning whereas in (67), the RP *paḷutta* has a restrictive meaning, by the presence of temporal particle. Non-restrictive RP serves merely to give additional information about an already identified entity, but not to identify that entity. It describes the subject, but does not identify it.

It can be noticed that the RP in both the sentences is the same, and not differentiated with any structure.

3.2.1 Function of Restrictive and non-Restrictive RP

Restrictive RP phrase is always focusing. As Schachter (1973) shows that focus and RRC1 shows striking similarities in many languages. Malayalam also shows focusing with the help of RP

formation.

(68) namaal kan̄ta per̄kutti nr̄tam ceyyum
we-Nom saw-RP girl dance will do

'The girl whom we met will dance.'

In English non-restrictive RCI is also called as appositive, descriptive, explanatory, it requires the relative pronoun who, or which, are also set off intonationally from the main clause (indicated by commas) (Comrie, 1981). Similarly, the RP in Malayalam with non-restrictive meaning describes or explains entire referent of the head noun.

(69) jo:li ceyyun̄a a:lka:r sambalam va:ñ̄un̄u
job doing RP people salary receive

'Those who are doing job receive salary'

Restrictive RP sentence can function as answers to specifying questions by identifying a particular referent among them.

3.3 CONSTRAINT ON RELATIVIZATION

The question of which position in a clause may function as NP-rel has been a central concern of much recent work in generative grammar. The question of which position of a language can be relativized is not independent of the RC forming strategy involved.

Keenan and Comrie's (1978) pioneered the work on the accessibility hierarchy of subordinate clauses to be relativized. They surveyed the Relative clause formation strategies in over forty languages and claimed that there exists a hierarchy of relativizable relations within clauses which of the positions the hierarchy can be relativized. They made the following cross-linguistic generalization:

"Accessibility to RC formation if by means of RCF, a language can relativize an NP holding position X as the accessibility hierarchy then it can relativize NPs holding positions higher than X as the AH", (Keenan & Comrie, 1978).

1. S \geq DO \geq IO \geq OO \geq possessive-NP \geq O.Camp

and the three constraints underlying the non-random selection are:

2(a) a language must be able to relativize subjects.

(b) any RC forming strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the AH.

(c) strategies that apply at one point of the AH may in principle cease to apply at any lower point.

The hierarchy of relativization in Malayalam according to accessibility hierarchy of Keenan and Comrie can be extended up to genitive and the object of comparison. That is, in Malayalam relativization of subject, direct and indirect object, oblique and genitive cases and object of comparison can be done. As we have seen earlier as in English, Malayalam can relativize any of the positions in the hierarchy including the object of comparison. The hierarchy of relativization of a sentence at various positions is shown in the following examples. In the sentence (70) the underlying structure has subject, object (Direct and Indirect) and a verb.

(70) ra:man si:takku ma:la va:n̄ni koṭuttu
 Raman-Nom Sita dat. chain buy gave
 'Raman bought a chain for Sita'

3.3.1 Subject relativized

(71) si:takku ma:la va:ñni kotutta ra:man
Sita dat. chain bought gave RP Raman
'Raman who bought chain for Sita'

3.3.2 Direct object relativized

(72) Ra:man si:takku va:ñni kotutta ma:la
Raman Sita Dat. bought gave RP chain
'The chain Raman bought for Sita'

3.3.3 Indirect object

(73) ra:man ma:la va:ñni kotutta si:ta
Raman chain bought gave RP Sita
'Sita for whom Raman bought a chain'

Also we can relativize the verb itself adding with a remote third person singular pronoun affixed to the RP.

(74) si:takku ma:la va:ñni kotuttatu ra:mana:nu
'It was Raman who bought a chain for Sita'

All subjects including those of the intransitive verbs and the transitive verbs can be relativized.

(75) aticca a:śa:n (transitive)
beat RP teacher 'The teacher who beat'

(76) vanna vanti (intransitive)
Lame RP bus 'The bus which came'

Also we can relativize subject-less sentences where the subject is explicit.

For example:

(77) aticca kai
beat RP hand

This phrase can have three interpretations, from which we can drive it.

- a) kayil aticcu (I object) locative verb
- b) kaikku aticcu (I object) dative verb
- c) kai kontu aticcu (I object) Instr. verb

Here the ambiguity is due to semantic-pragmatic redundancy of the verb *ati* 'to beat'.

The relation between governing word and dependent word are different, so that the aimed relation often comes under suspension. For example:

(78) veṭtiya kai
cut RP hand

Can be given three interpretation as in (77) with the verb to subject, object and instrument.

- 1) Subject : the hand by which something was cut
(Nominative).
- 2) I object : The hand which was cut (Accusative)
- 3) Instrument : The hand which was used to cut
(Instrumental)

These three cases can be shown in the underlying structures as follows:

- a) kai veṭti
hand Nom cut
- b) kaiye veṭti
hand acc cut
- c) kai kontu/a:l veṭti
hand with/by cut

3.34 Relativization of object of comparison

(79) n̄ain a:reka:lum bahuma:nikkun̄ṅa vek̄tiya:ṅu ra:man
I who-than respecting person is Raman

'Rama is the person whom I respect more than anybody else'

3.3.5 Relativized genitive NP

(80) putranma:rulla ma:tapita:kkal behuma:nikkapetum
sons having RP mother-father Pl respect fut.
'Those parents who have sons will be respected'

3.3.6 Oblique NP

(81) avalo:tottu sayica kutti
she soc. slept child
'The child who slept with her'

From the above analysis it can be seen that in Malayalam there is no accessibility hierarchy or constraint in the relativization of NPs at various positions exists.

3.4 SEMANTIC PROPERTIES AND ANALYSIS

In section 2.1, we have seen some of the semantic characterization of the Relative participle. In this section we will consider these properties in detail.

3.4.1 An RP never stands as its on. It is a bound form, i.e. RP is always linked or followed by a substantive. As the term RP itself refers, a RP is a noun complement. So a noun or a word having the quality of a noun should follow the RP. As shown in section 2.6, substantives like pronoun in free and bound form follow RP as a complementized grammatical entry. The RP with the bound pronoun is called participial noun. Only the third person remote demonstrative pronouns comes as bound form and the third person proximate or the second and first person pronoun cannot join as a suffix to the RP. It can never function as a verbal or participial noun like the first and second pronouns.

(82) po:ya ñam /pi:/piñnal/ta:ñkal/ ivan
go past RP IP IIP IIIP1 IIP.honr. IIIP
'I/you/you pl/you(hon)/he(prox) who went'

But when the pronoun be a free word as in the following sentence, the first one is restrictive RC and the second one non-restrictive RC.

(83) innale vanna avane ka:naṇam

yesterday came RP he acc see necessity

'He who came yesterday should be seen' (Restrictive)

(84) innale vannaṇavane ka:naṇam

'(Somebody) want to see him who came yesterday' (Non-rest.)

Most nouns can follow the RP, except the verbal noun or the participial noun. As shown in the examples (87&88), some participles¹ either a proper noun nor a verb also follows the RP.

(85) kaṭayil po:ya ra:mu/kuttikal

Ramu/the children, who went to the shop.

(86) deivatte ariṇṇa mahaṭvam

god acc know RP honour

'The honour because of realizing the God'

(87) accan po:ya pirake kuttiyum po:yi

father went RP followed child and went

'The child went after his father'

(88) vanti vanna-ppo:l ta:masiccu po:yi

train came RP when late gone

'It was very late when the train arrived'

In the above examples the first sentence has a proper noun, second has an abstract noun and third has a post-position and the fourth has an adverbial form, preceded by the RP-marker.

3.4.2 The second semantic property is that an RP with the constituent noun i.e., RC never stands alone as a complete

1 See Section 2.6.4.

sentence. Though RP along with the head noun is derived from a sentence it can't represent a sentence with complete sense. In a complex sentence, the RP represents a noun phrase anaphorically. In phrasal or in clause level, it gives, the full reference of the quality or description of the head noun.

3.4.3 The Third property of the RP in Malayalam is that it must be a statement about the Relative NP and thus about the antecedent. The NP may have different semantic relations with the verb form that is converted into RP. The statement about the noun can be formed from either the verb of state or of action.

- (89) co:dicca ka:ryam 'The matter that was asked'
vica:rica ne:ram 'The time when (he) thought'

But in some instances, there will be no antecedent reference to head noun, but to some other noun it may have. For examples:

- (90) kaṅṅa-tiḷ santosaṁ
see that loc happy
'Glad to meet you'

- (91) train yaṅṅa naṅṅarathil bhukambam uṅṅa:yi
train come Past RP town-loc earthquake happened
'An earthquake occurred in the town where the train arrived/come from'

In the first example the RP-marker does not represents antecedent noun as subject or object but it give reference any to the action of 'to see'. And in the second example, the RP represents one of the towns.

3.4.4 The fourth property of a RP is its function of modification. This is a property of some RP's those referred to as adjectival or restrictive as opposed to non-restrictive or

(92)	paṭhicca	kaḷḷan	'cunning thief'
	learned RP	thief	
(93)	kuṭikkunna	vellaṃ	'drinking water'
	drink RP	water	
(94)	paṭhicca	pustakam	'the book (that was) studied'
	study RP	book	
(95)	oṣṭunna	vaṇṭi	'moving train'
	run RP	train	
(96)	paraṇṇa	kaṛyam	'the matter that (I) said'
	tell RP	matter	

Notice the function of RP in the above phrases. In (92,93 and 95) it has the function of adjective, while in (94) and (96) it is descriptive functions.

3.5 CASE RELATIONS AMONG RP AND HEAD NOUN

It is noted that languages ranging from the comparatively uninflected English to the highly inflected Latin, have RCs that are explicitly case-marked. "The recovery of grammatical relations in language involves an often quite delicate trade off between explicit case marking and rigidity of word order (Generally speaking, the greater the flexibility of word order in a language, the greater the need to mark the roles of NPs explicitly", (Mallinson, 1981; 331)

Since in Malayalam word order is largely free there would be a need to identify the role of the NP replaced by the marker. Also it is not a strict verb-final language, having explicitly case-marked NP constituents. There is a relative marker as such to mark the onset of an RC, the final position of the verb acting

as a clause boundary to separate RCs from their head. Thus the main strategy for recovering the role of the NP relativized is in part, a knowledge of the valency of the verb in the RC, and in part, recognition of the NPs which have not been removed.

The various types of relations between the RP and the head noun as well as the peculiarity of RP in Malayalam are discussed in this section. Since the RP is derived from an underlying sentence, grammatical functions such as subject, object, predicate etc., of the relativized noun with respect to the verb would be preserved in RP also. For example, the nouns relativized in the following sentences act as subject in the first, object - direct - in the second and object - indirect - in the third. The case relation of the noun, with respect to the verb will also be expressed explicitly in the surface structure.

- (97) kut̥ti elutunnu > elutunna kut̥ti (Agent)
 child (Nom) writing writing RP child
 'The child writes' 'The child who writes'
- (98) pustakam pathiccu > pathicca pustakam (D. object)
 book (Acc) read read book
 'Studied a book' 'The book (that was) studied'
- (99) pe:pparil elutunnu > elutunna pe:ppar
 paper loc writing writing RP paper
 'Writing on a paper' writing paper

The case in (97) is nominative, in (98) it is accusative and (99) is locative. Almost all the case suffixes are found to occur with the NPs in the constituent sentence which is identical with the Matrix NP in the underlying structure of the RP.

3.5.1 Nominative case : Almost all the subject or agent noun complemented to RP will be in nominative case. Objects may also

come with nominative markers.

(100) Ra:man vāṅṅu > vāṅṅa ra:man
 Raman Nom came came RP Raman
 Raman came > Raman who came

(101) avane paṭṭi kaṭiccu > avane kaṭicca paṭṭi
 he acc. dog Nom bite he acc bite RP dog
 'Dog bite him' > 'The dog that bite him'

(102) aval jyo:li ceytu > aval ceyta jyo:li
 she job did she did RP job
 'She did the job' > 'The job she did'

3.5.2 Accusative : Accusative cased noun with RP always gives the function (karma) of direct and indirect object only.

(103) ra:mane paṭṭi kaṭiccu > paṭṭi kaṭicca ra:man
 Raman(acc) dog bite dog bite RP Raman
 'A dog bit Raman' 'Raman who was bitten by a dog'

(104) rema paṇam koṭuttu > rema koṭutta paṇam
 Rema money gave Rema gave RP money
 'Rema gave money' 'The money that Rema has given'

3.5.3 Sociative : Sociative case has the meaning of witness or indirect object.

(105) kriṣṇan pa:rtiyil ce:rṅṅu > kriṣṇan ce:rṅṅa pa:rti
 Krishnan party loc joined Krishnan joined RP party
 'Krishnan joined in a party' 'The party in which Krishnan joined'

(106) piṇṇal valakkitta a:l kuṁa:raṅṅu
 you quaralled RP man Kumar is
 'The man with whom you quarrelled is Kumar'

(107) aval vali co:dicca kutti
 she way asked RP child
 'The child whom she asked the way'

3.5.4 Instrumental NP: Instrumental NP represents the cause and instrument. Its grammatical function will be a direct object.

(108) ña:n pe:na koṇṭu elutunnu > ña:n elutunna pe:na
 I pen instr writing I write RP pen
 'I am writing with a pen' 'The pen that I write with'

(109) paṭṭiye vaṭiya:l aṭiccu > paṭṭiye aṭicca vaṭi
 dog acc stickinst beat dog acc beat RP stick
 'The dog was beaten by a stick' 'The stick by which the dog was beaten'

3.5.5 Genitive NP : Genitive NP possesses certain characteristics that differentiate it from other cased NP. Among the Genitive NPs, only those which form the compound relations are relativized. The causal NPs are indicated at S-level through the marker or *koṇṭu*.

(110) buddhiyuḷla kuttikal
 brilliant possess RP children
 'The children who are brilliant'

(111) puḷakku:kara uṇṭu > puḷakkuḷla kara > puḷakkara
 river-dat bank is river gen RP bank 'River bank'
 'Bank belongs to the river'

The derivation would show that there seems to exist a relation between the process of relativization and the formation of possessive construction. The relation is captured by deriving such genitive NP forms from RC clauses which involve a verb of the 'be' form and also the dative case relation of the relativized NP to the predicate NP in the sentence. At this point

we can propose a genitive rule which generate a nominal compound without a genitive marker *puḷakkara* from the RC structure. The transformation is performed the RP from the verb is deleted and the genetic case suffixed is substituted for the dative case.

3.5.6 Ablative case : Ablative NPs are used to indicate object.

- (112) si:ta vellam eṭutta kuḷam
 Sita water taken RP pond
 'The pond from which Sita took water'

3.5.7 The Dative NP : The underlying relationships like purposive, benefactive, experiencer, location, possession, temporal are manifested through the dative NP at the surface level.

- (113) ra:dha bhikṣa koṭutta stri: (benefactive)
 Radha alm gave RP woman
 'The woman to whom Radha gave alm'

- (114) kaḷuttinu piṭicca kaḷḷan (Experiencer)
 neck-dat caught thief
 'The thief who was caught by the neck'

- (115) paṭṭu maṇikku vaṟuṅga tapa:l (temporal)
 ten o'clock coming RP post
 'The post coming at ten o'clock' (the ten o'clock post)

- (116) ka:ttirunṅa sadhya < sadhyakku ka:ttirunṅu (purposive)
 wait RP feast waited for feast
 'The awaited feast'

- (117) viṣaṅga kuṭṭi < kuṭṭikku viṣaṅgu (experiencer)
 feel hungry RP child child-Dat felt hungry
 'The child who was hungry' 'The child was hungry'

(118) paṇamulla manuṣyar < paṇam manuṣyar-ku unṭu
 money possess RP people money men-DAT be
 'People with money' 'People have money'

Dative case with the syntactico-semantic functions of the indirect object:

(119) ña:n paṇam koṭutta stri: < stri:kku ña:n paṇam koṭuttu
 I money gave RP women woman-Dat I money gave
 'The woman to whom I 'I gave money to the woman'
 gave money'

With dative marker RP can have a wide range of constructions.

3.5.8 Locative NP : The locative NP can be classified into two parts:

3.5.8.1 Temporal locative NP which indicate the time of action or event.

(120) aver vaṇṇa samayam
 they came RP time
 'The time when they came'

3.5.8.2 The Non-temporal which indicate other than forms of action like location where the event occurred etc., referred to as the spatial locative NP.

(121) itu ña:n vaḷarṇna vi:tu
 this I grew RP house
 'This house where I grew up'

(122) ra:man po:ya ka:tu
 Raman went RP forest
 'The forest where Raman went'

(123) aver po:ya stalam (primary)

they went RP place

'The place where they went'

(124) occa ke:tta stalam (secondary)

sound heard RP place

'The place where (they) heard the sound'

The temporal RCs are semantically identical with the phrasal construction.

(125) aval vanna samayam > aval vanna:ppo:l

she came RP time when she came

'The time she came'

3.6 SEMANTIC AMBIGUITY

As we have seen the case marker of the relativized NP is not represented at the surface level, and as a result, certain RPs can have more than one semantic interpretations since they can be derived from different source sentences which are semantically different.

Take the following examples:

(126) ra:man parañña kutti

Ram told RP child

The absence of a case marker will render structures as above, potentially ambiguous. It will allow for the interpretation of subject, and object with direct and indirect functions.

(127) kuttiye patti paraññu (accusative) DO

(128) kuttiyo:tu paraññu (sociative) IO

The ambiguity arises here due to the presence of the ambiguous word para 'say' or 'to tell'.

The above interpretations can be paraphrased as:

(129) ra:man e:tu kuṭṭiye paṭṭi parañño: a: kuṭṭi (Accusative)
Raman which boy acc about told so that body

(130) ra:man a:ro:tu parañño: a: kuṭṭi (sociative)
Raman Nom to whom told that boy

In this correlative type of RC, the presence of case is obvious. So sentences (129) and (130) are non-ambiguous.

Consider another ambiguous sentence:

(131) kaṭam co:dicca manuṣyan
lent asked RP man

'This sentence can be interpreted as:

(132) The man who asked a loan.

(133) The man from whom one asked a loan.

These can be derived from different source sentence as:

(134) manuṣyan kaṭam co:diccu
man Nom loan asked

'The man asked a loan to (somebody)'

(135) manuṣyano:tu kaṭam co:diccu
man (soc) loan asked

'(Some body) asked a loan to the man'

Here the first interpretation gives the head noun as subject of the clause and having nominative case, and the second interpretation gives the NP as object and having sociative case.

3.7 FUNCTIONAL PROPERTY OF RP

The RP in Malayalam has the following three functions:

- 1) Relative clause formation as the main constituent of RC.

(136) vaṅga kuṭṭi
V. RP Head N

'The child whom came'

2) For complement clause formation to mention the incident.

(137) kuttī vanna ka:ryam
child came RP fact
'The fact the child has come'

3) Descriptive or copulative function.

(138) ro:giya:ya vrddhan 'Old man who is sick'
paṇamulla vidva:n 'Scholar having wealth'

4) The RP with a third person singular pronoun acts as a replacement for an NP in the relative clause, the NP which is coreferent to the head.

(140) puḷuṇṇiya mutṭa > mutṭa puḷuṇṇiyatu
boiled RP egg egg boiled RP it

5) Adjectival function.

(141) nalla kuttī 'Good boy' (Ad.)
vanna kuttī 'Boy who came' (RP)

6) For habitual reference.

(142) kuṭikkunna vellam 'Drinking water'

7) Attributive function.

(143) taṇutta vellam 'Cold water'

SUMMARY

The Chapter discusses some of the transformation process proposed by various linguists. Morphological analysis is very easy to discuss, that the conversion of a finite verb into non-finite by delating the final vowel and the addition of the relative marker /-a/. Movement of relativizing noun comes to the following position of the RP. The NP-movement and bringing of an anaphoric pronominal etc. are just mentioned. The difference between restrictive VS non-restrictive RP can only be noted at

the deep level. Constraint on relativization and accessibility hierarchy shows that they are not relevant with respect to Malayalam RP. It also shows that the RP with respect to head noun have various kinds of relations as, subject, object (direct, indirect etc.,) as like were in underlying sentences.

CHAPTER IV
PARTICIPIAL NOUN
AND
ADJECTIVAL NOUN

PARTICIPIAL NOUN AND ADJECTIVAL NOUN

4.1 PARTICIPIAL NOUN

Participial nouns are those nouns derived from participialized verbs suffixed with a pronomial marker. It is seen that by adding the pronomial suffix of *a-vaṅ* 'he', *a-vaḥ* 'she', *a-vaḥ* 'they' and *'a-tu* 'that' (third person remote) pronouns to the relative participle, a class of composite nouns is formed. A.R. Raja Raja Varma, (1988ed; 261) notes that by the addition of a gender suffix *pe:raccaṃ* (RP) becomes a noun. They are variously called by him as *a:kayata ḡasman*, *pe:racca ḡasman* (noun derived from an RP), or *kriyāṅga ḡasman* (participial noun).

- (1) *ariyugṅa-vaṅ* 'One who knows'
know pres. RP he
- (2) *ariṅṅa-vaḥ* 'One who(fem) did know'
know past RP she
- (3) *ariṅṅa-tu* 'What was known'
know past RP it
- (4) *elutugṅa-vaḥ* 'Those who are writing'
write Pres. RP they

Caldwell. (1987ed; 540) divided verbal nouns into two classes, "participial nouns, which are formed from the RP of each tense, and retain the time of the tense to which they belong, and verbal nouns properly so called, which are always formed directly from the theme, and are indeterminate in point of time".

H. Gundert (1962ed; 172) mentioned a variety of nouns derived from verbs as personal nouns (*puruṣa ḡa:maṅṅaḥ*)!

"There are real compositions of the verb with demonstrative pronouns like *keṭṭiya-vaḷ* 'wife or the lady who has been married'.

Orden (1969ed; 254) describes a class of composite nouns formed by adding the pronomial suffixes he, whe, it, they, etc., to adjectives, genitive cases of nouns and pronouns and RP a class of composite nouns is derived, called Relative participle nouns.

George Mathen (1963; 396) termed *savarūpyaṇama* (appellative noun) for the constructions exemplified with animate pronomial form.

(5) *naṭṭaṇṇa-vaṇ* 'The one who walked'

He noted that these appellatives are formed by the addition of *-vaṇ* 'he' third person masculine suffixed to the RP, having non-restrictive meaning and functioning as common noun is entirely different from *naṭṭaṇṇa aṇaṇ* 'he who had walked' a RP followed by a third person masculine pronoun as free form having restrictive meaning, and which cannot function as a common noun.

Garthwaite (1913) called it *kriya puruṣa ṇama* (appellative noun) having characteristics of verb, while considering it as an incomplete verb.

(7) *ceyṭa-vaṇ* 'He who did'

do RP thir Masc

For Caldwell participial nouns are formed by suffixing demonstrative pronouns or their terminations, to the present and preterite RP.

(8) *paṭṭhikka-vaṇ* 'One who has learned (Mas.Sg.)

(9) *paṭṭhikka:tta-vaḷ* 'One who is learning (Fem.Sg.)

(10) *paṭṭhikka:tta-vaṇ* 'Those who are not learned (Pl.)

Lindholm (1971) suggests that the adjective participle form of the verb combines with the third person pronominal suffix *-aa*, *-ai*, *-tu*, *-var* etc., which otherwise occur with the demonstrative and interrogative stem /a-/ /i-/ etc. The form with the neuter pronominal /-tu/ in Malayalam like *vannatu* 'that which came', *po:kunnatu* 'that which is going' *o:ṭunnatu* 'that which is running' etc., are considered to be 'participial nouns'. He says that the morphological structure appears to be the adjectival participle (*pe:raccam*) *vanna* (Mal.)/*vanta* (Tam.) plus the pronominal *-tu*, which substitute syntactically for a noun. So a participial noun is a substitute or proform for a noun phrase containing an adjectival clause.

Z.A. Zograph (1982: 39)¹ says that the participial noun, derived by the addition of personal affixes (the so-called personal or pronominal noun) are a special feature of the Dravidian languages.

As we noted in the second chapter, there are three types of RPs in Malayalam. All of them can be nominalized to a noun adding a pronominal marker. Those can be called adjectival nouns which formed from timeless RPs.

(15) *nalla-van* 'The one who is good'

(16) *putiya-tu* 'That which is new'

(17) *viliya-var* 'Those who are tall'

Those which are formed from RP proper are called participial nouns:

(18) *paṭhicca-van* 'He who studied'

(19) *pa:ṭiya-tu* 'That which sung'

Those forms which are formed from derived RPs are called derived participial nouns:

(20) panamulla-var 'Those who have money'

(21) ci:ttaya:ya-tu 'That which is rotten'

The distinction between verbal nouns and participial nouns in Malayalam can be shown by considering, those nouns which are derived directly from a verb into verbal nouns (VN) (*kriya:ṅa:mam*) and those which are derived from a verb after participialization as participial noun (NP) (*kriya:ṅa ṅa:mam*)².

Example for verbal nouns are:

(22) pa:ttuka 'to sing' > pa:ttu 'song' (VN)

(23) crikkuka 'to laugh' > ciri 'laugh' (VN)

(24) ciriccavar 'those who laughed' (PN)

Most of the Traditional grammarians are given the same definition for *kriya:ṅamam* as verbal nouns which are gerunds in English.

Annamalai E. (1972) comments on the distinction between the Verbal noun (VN) and Participial Noun (PN) in Tamil. He discusses the arguments of Arden (1942), Agastialingam (1967) and Andronov (1959) and concludes that none of the criteria suggested is adequate. "The distinction on the ground that the VN denotes action and the PN the actor (Caldwell, 1987; 542), Arden (1942; 256) is inadequate because the semantic relationship in PN between the pronomial ending and the verb to which it is attached is not only agentive but is of many other cases..." (Annamalai, 1972). He proposes a deep level syntactic criterion to distinguish between the PN and the VN, i.e., the tense specifies the final noun is a PN when the sentence preceding it obeys the complex NP constraint and is a VN when it does not.

2 Nouns derived from noun or adjective is called *taddhitam* and from a verb is called *krittu*. See A.R. Raja Raja Varma (1988ed:193)

Lehman (1989; 294) says that participial nouns are those having the structure of:

- (25) Verb stem + tense + third Pr. remo. demo pronoun
i.e., *cey + t + a + van/val/var/tu* etc. 'who/which did'
do RP he/they/it

"What combines with the third person remote demonstrative pronoun - or the nominal suffix /-atu/ is the case of the verbal noun - is a tensed verb. Since the pronominal head eg. *avan* 'he' occurs as bound form, the preceding verb, which syntactically modifies the head, does not occur in the adjectival participial form, but only in a tensed form", T. Lehman (1989; 169).

4.2 VERBAL NOUN AND PARTICIPIAL NOUN

Nouns can be derived from verb or verbal forms. These forms are commonly termed as *kradanta ga:mam* (verbal noun). According to Sanskrit grammarians, the suffix added to the verb or verbal form to make it as noun is called *krittu*. So the nouns derived with *krittu*³ is called *kridantam*.

George Mathan (1863; 396) have given three types of verbal noun forms termed:

- a) *va:cya ga:ma* 'verbal abstract noun'
- b) *sava:cya ga:ma* 'verbal appellative noun'
- c) *vacano:lbhava ga:ma* 'verbal root converted into noun'

Among these, the first two forms will have case relations and the first and third have not.

- (26) *aṭi* - 'beating' from *aṭikkuka* 'to beat'

³ Nouns derived from noun or adjective is called *taddhitam* and from a verb is called *krittu*.
See a.R. Raja Raja Varma (1988ed; 193)

Savaicya namas are formed when the third person remote pronominal suffixes like /-van/-val/-var/-tu/ etc. added to the participial form of the verbs (RP).

(27) *naṭanna-van* 'One who walked'

(28) *ke:lakkuppavan* 'The one who heard'

As *savaicya namas* like other nouns have case relations and they have agreement between forms also.

(29) *avan egge taḷliya-van* 'He who pushed me'
 he me push RP he

(30) *aval avite poi:kunṅa-aval* 'She who is going there'
 she there going RP she

(31) *paraññatu* 'What was told'
 tall past RP that

The neuter pronominalized RPN known as *savaicya nirlingam* 'verbal concrete noun' noun with verbal pronominal suffix is used as *vaicya nama*.

(32) *avan paraññatu koṅṭu vāṅṅu*
 he tell past RP that so came
 '(I) came because he told'

The neutrality of *savaicyanama* does not have agreement with the antecedent head noun.

(33) *ra:ma:yaṅam elutiyatu va:lmi:ki a:ṅu*
 Ramayanam write past RP that Valmiki is
 'The Ramayanam was written by Valmiki'

The form in(33) has a neutral pronominal, but represents a human subject.

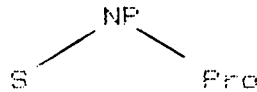
(34) *ra:ma:yaṅam elutiyavan va:lmi:kiya:ṅu*
 Ramayanam write past RP he Valmiki is
 'The man who wrote Ramayanam was Valmiki'

The sentence (34) is less honourific and less frequently used than sentence (33). The third type of verbal noun i.e. *vacanolbhava gā:ma* (verb root converted into noun) does not accept any suffixation and behaves in the root form.

- (35) *ati* 'beating'
muri 'peace'

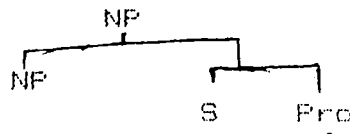
The respective morphological process of participial noun realizes that it is complex NP. The verbal predicate of a RCI and its pronominal head NP by a one word form is the participial noun. Thus syntactically, the combination of the verb, that is, the predicate of a RCI and a bound pronominal is an instantiation of the combination of a RCI with a pronominal head NP as represented by:

(36)



- (37) *pathikkunṅa* -*van/val*
 study Pres RP he/she
 'One (M/F) who is studying'

(38)



- (39) *pa:ṭṭu pathiccatu* 'What learned the song'

When in a structure of the above type, the pronominal head consists of a first or a second person pronoun the respective pronominal head occurs as a free personal pronoun, modified by an adjectival clause:

- (40) *yu:nive:rsiṭi-yil pathikkunṅa ḥa:n ho:stṭalil ta:masikkunṅu*
 university loc study Pres. RP I hostel loc stay Pres.
 'I who studies in the university stays in hostel'

(41) pa:rkil po:kugna ni: ve:gam va:raṇam
 park-loc going RP you soon come (imp.)
 'You who is going to the park must come soon'

However, when the 'pronominal head consists of a third person pronoun, the pronominal head can not be realized as a free personal pronoun. But if we consider it as free, the clause will have the meaning of restriction:

(42) i:viṭe ta:masikkugna-vane po:li:s piṭiccu
 here staying RP him police caught
 'The police caught him who stays here'

(43) i:viṭe ta:masiccirugna avane ni: ka:ṇaṇam
 here stay Past RP he acc you see imp.
 'You have to see him who stayed here'

The participial noun forms like *ta:masikkunṇavan* '(he) who stays' has been analysed as a combination of tensed RP with a remote demonstrative third person pronoun occurring as a bound form.

The pronominal head in the participial noun in (44) obeys the complex NP constraint and in (45) it does not obey this constraint.

(44) i:viṭe ta:masikkugna-tu ra:ma:ṇa:ṇu
 here staying RP that Raman is
 'The one who stays here is Raman'

(45) i:viṭe ta:masikkugnatu nallatalla
 here staying RP that good not
 'It is not good to stay here'

The pronominal marker *-atu* 'that' in (44) anaphorically refers to the subject noun Raman, whereas in (45) the pronominal marker *-atu* refers not to the subject NP, but to the verb of

action, which is relativized.

A.R. Pajaraja Varma (1988ed; 262) describes a special idiomatic usage in Malayalam involving neuter RP noun where the doer is unknown or unacquainted.

(46) *vannatu bharta:vennariññu*

come Past RP that husband so knows Past

'(She) knew that the person who came was (her) husband'

Here *vannatu*, the person who came refers to the subject only.

Sentences of the type (44) and (46) are called cleft sentences. A cleft sentence is derived from a verbal sentence where the antecedent noun commands the pronominalized noun. So a noun in the cleft sentence may be reflexivized by an identical noun elsewhere in the sentence (Lindholm, 1971).

In accordance with the suffixed pronominal the RPNs (participial nouns) are differentiated into two, such as neuter PN and human suffixed PNs. Semantically, the neuter PN can again be divided into genderless human PN, and neuter NP proper.

Examples for the above three types of PNs can be seen in (42) for human suffixed FN genderless human PN in (44) and the neuter PN proper in (45). Human suffixed PN will have a pronominal suffix, other than neuter pronoun, genderless human PN with neuter singular ending refers to human, either known or unknown and neuter FN refers to non-human.

4.3 SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF PARTICIPIAL NOUN

Syntactic and semantic aspects of participial nouns have long been discussed by grammarians. But all the grammarians have ignored the neuter PN. Structurally the human suffixed and the neuter PN are the same. Both can be represented in Malayalam and in Tamil as:

verb-stem RP suffix + human or neuter pronominal
 +
 with tense third person suffix

- (47) vanna -van/val/var 'He/she/they who came'
 come Past he/she/they
 vanna-tu 'What/who came'
 come Past that

And in Tamil it can be as:

- (48) vanta -van/val/var 'He/she/they who came'
 came Past he/she/they
 vanta-tu 'What/who came'
 came Past that

In both the languages, they have the same function. The morphological structure appears to be a RP *vanna* 'what/who came' and the pronominal marker, *-van/-val/-var* etc. substitutes syntactically for a noun. Thus a PN is a substitute for proform of a noun phrase containing an adjectival clause. As it is a noun, it takes all the inflection which is applicable to a noun.

- (49) po:lisu kaṇṭa-var-eyella:m aticcu
 police saw RP they Acc all beat
 'The police beat whoever they saw'

- (50) avan pa:pam ceyta:ti:nre phalam anubhaviccu
 he sin dip RP that gen. result suffered
 'He suffered for his sin.'

- (51) avaḷ paraṅṅa-t-il tettuṅṅu
 she told RP that loc. wrong is
 'There is falsehood in what she said'
 'What she said is false'

In the above sentences we can see accusative case in (49), the genitic in (50) and locative in (51).

A participial NP is structurally identical with a complex NP consisting of an adjectival relative participle and a pronominal head NP. "The tensed verbal clause, in RPN is interpreted as RC and where verbal predicate combines with the pronominal head NP to one word form, contain a NP gap and the pronominal head, is interpreted as coreferential with that non-overt NP", (T. Lehman, 1989; 81)..

(52) $\bar{n}a:n$ $codicca$ $ku\ddot{t}ti$ $ita:nu$
 I asked RP child this is
 'This is the child about whom I asked'

(53) $\bar{n}a:n$ $co:dicca-van$ $ita:nu$
 I asked RP he this is
 'This is the man about whom I asked'

In (52) the adjectival clause lacks a direct object, NP and the head NP is interpreted as coreferential with that NP. Likewise, in (53) the tensed verb clause where verbal predicate combines with the pronominal head to the participial noun form, lacks a direct object NP and the pronominal head NP is interpreted as 'O'-referential with that object NP.

The pronominal head of the participial noun in (53) consists of the remote demonstrative personal pronoun e.g. $avan$ 'he'. Note that in this construction the respective pronoun does not have a demonstrative function. In the context of anaphora in Malayalam, there is no contrast between remote vs proximate demonstrative pronouns, and in this case they function only as pronominals. In the participial NP, the bound pronominal never occurs as demonstrative pronoun, but always as pronominal and thus only the remote demonstrative personal pronoun occur as bound form. The participial noun-phrase as a whole occurs as a complex NP with

- (58) aya:l paraññatum ceytatum seriya:yi
 he told what did RP what right became
 'What he told and did was correct'

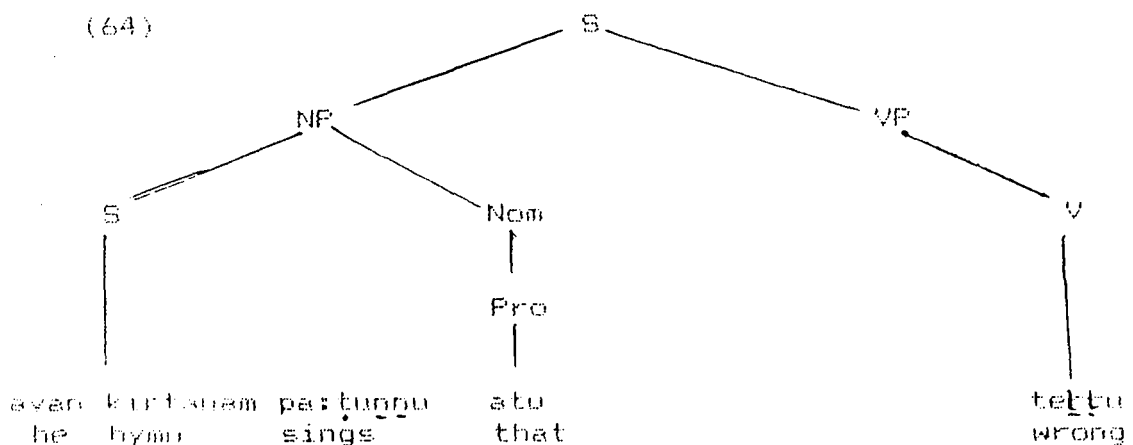
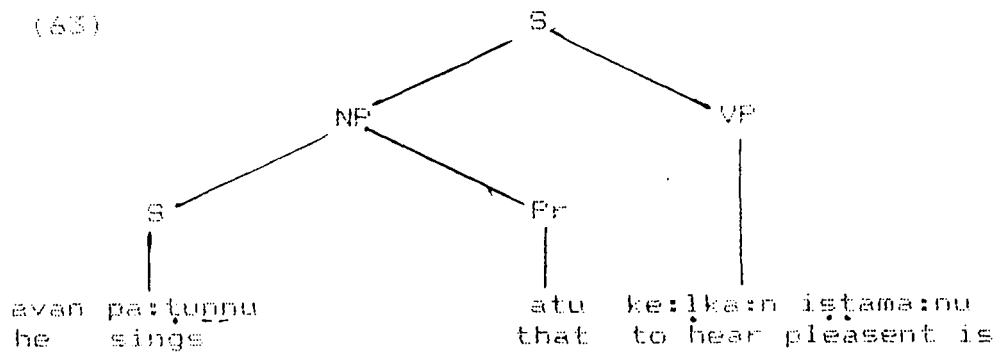
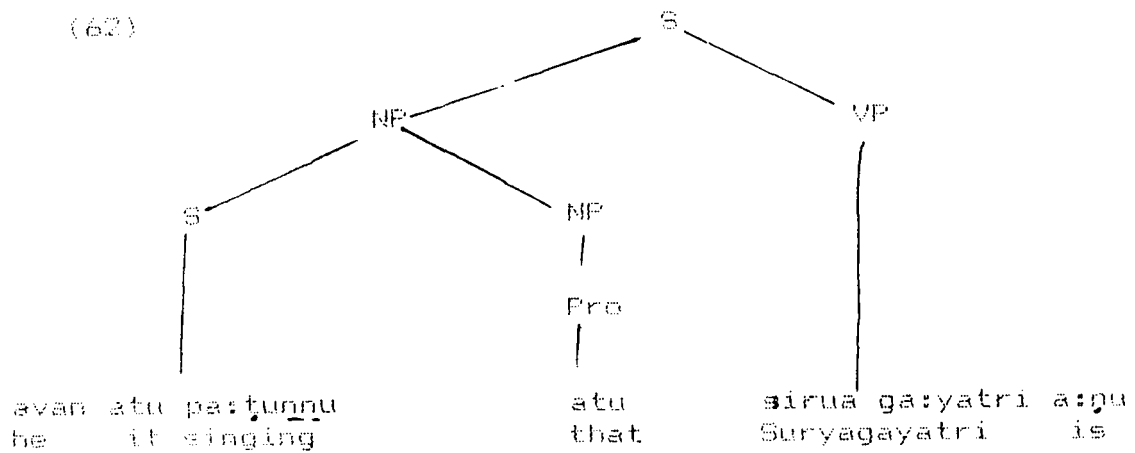
Spencer (1950) noted that the form *ceytatu* can have either a nominalization meaning of 'doing' or a relative participle *ceyta* 'do RP' from the verb *cey-* 'to do' and the pronoun 'it' means 'that which some one does', have a relativization meaning.

- (59) avan pa:ṭunnatu suryaga:yatri (Relativization)
 he singing RP it Surya gayatri
 'What he sings is Surya Gayatri'

- (60) avan pa:ṭunnatu ke:laka:n inṣṭama:ṇu (Nominalization/
 he singing RP it to hear like is relativization)
 '(I) like to hear him singing' (Nom)

- (61) avan ki:rtanam pa:ṭunnatu telḷu (Complementation)
 he hymn singing RP wrong
 'The hymn/sings is wrong'

In all the three sentences *avan pa:ṭunnatu* occurs. Its source in each sentence indicates that *atu* in all of them is anaphorically related to some person or action etc. All of them can be derived transformationally. Each of them is derived from different sources and their underlying structures may be represented by the diagrams (62) (63) and (64) respectively.



From the above diagram, it can be inferred that the transformations by which the sentences are derived are different.

Now we shall discuss another participial noun formation involving RP at its phrase level and the transformation.

Consider a phrase:

(65) puḷuṇṇiya mutṭa 'Boild egg'

Which can be paraphrased into, a different structure without any semantic change.

(66) mutṭa puluṅṅiyatu 'Boiled egg'
 egg boiled

This can be explained with the general morphological structure of the RP with head-noun, as RP + Head noun i.e., RP must be followed by a substantive, as in (65). In (66) the head-noun come to the front position of RP and that place is filled by a pronoun. Both the forms can be derived from the underlying structure:

(67) mutṭa puluṅṅi '(Some one) boiled egg'
 egg boiled

The second form have a pronoun -atu in the place of the head noun. We know that a RP should be followed by a substantive.

Semantically this demonstrative pronominal suffix is anaphoric to the head noun mutṭa 'egg' in the sentence (68) which is a paraphrase (of (59)).

(68) mutṭa puluṅṅiyatu kaḷiccu '(We/I) ate boiled egg'
 egg boiled that ate

(69) puluṅṅiya mutṭa kaḷiccu '(We/I) ate boiled egg'
 boiled egg ate

But in (70) the pronoun -atu does not refer to the antecedent head-noun, but to the subject or agent of the sentence.

(70) mutṭa puluṅṅiyatu remaya:ṇu
 egg boiled that Rema is
 'It is Rema who boiled the egg'

Again if we consider the sentence (71) -atu has the role of focusing the object.

(71) mutṭa puluṅṅiyatu vaḷare nallata:ṇu
 egg boiled that very good is
 'Boiled egg is very good'

Now we can try to derive the sentences one by one. Let us look at their transformations. Sentence (69) can be derived from the sentences (72a) and (72b).

(72) a) mutṭa puluṅṅi '(Some one) boiled egg'
 b) atu kaḷiccu 'Ate that (egg)'

By embedding a) in b) to form (72) morphologically we have to add only the RP marker -a and a link morph /-r/ which is present in the pronoun.

(73) mutṭa puluṅṅi-y-atu kaḷiccu

Here the pronoun-atu in (72) is anaphoric and cannot be separated out, giving mutṭa 'egg' as subject NP, instead of 'that'.

Consider the analogous sentence (75) which can be derived from the sentences (74a) and (74b) as in the previous procedure.

(74) a) mutṭa puluṅṅi '(Some one) boiled egg'
 egg boiled
 b) atu remaya:ṇu 'It) is Rema'
 that rema is

(75) mutṭa puluṅṅiyatu remaya:ṇu
 egg boiled that Rema is
 'It is Rema who boiled the egg'

Here also -atu 'that' is anaphorically related to the process of boiling and subordination takes place without any structural change.

These sentences can be analysed in another way wherein the subject or verb, would be relativized.

(76) rema mutṭa puluṅṅi
 Rema egg boiled
 'Rema boiled the egg'

(77) subject relativization

> mutṭa puluṅṅiyatu rema
 egg boiled that Rema
 'The one who boiled egg is Rema'

Here -atu refers to the subject noun not the object.

So depending on the position of relativization, the anaphoric -atu will refer to the corresponding noun.

4.4 FOCUS AND PN

As in many other languages, focus construction and the construction involving RC in Malayalam shows some formal similarities. "The most tenable hypothesis about the nature of this relationship seems to be that both constructions involve the promotion of material from an embedded into a matrix sentence, a syntactic process that may be correlated with the semantic process of foregrounding one part of a sentence at the expense of the other", (Paul Schachter, 1973)³. There is a significant relationship between focus constructions, such as Cleft sentences and constructions involving RC.

Consider the conversion of the sentence (78) into focus and relativized forms.

(78) unṅale enre accan enikku oru pustakam tappu
 yesterday my father me one book given
 'My father gave me a book yesterday'

a) Relativization of the subject:

3 Paul Schachter (1973) 'Focus and Relativization' Language, 49.1.

(79) innale enikku oru pustakam tanna enre accan ...
 yesterday me one book gave RP my father
 'My father who gave me a book yesterday'

b) Relativization of indirect object:

(80) innale enikku enre accan tanna pustakam ...
 yesterday me my father gave RP book
 'The book that my father gave me yesterday'

c) Relativization of the direct object:

(81) ennale accan pustakam tanna ña:n ...
 Yesterday father book gave RP I
 'I who have given book by my father yesterday'

d) Relativization of the verb:

(82) innale enre accan enikku pustakam tannatu ...
 yesterday my father me book gave RP that
 'That my father gave me a book yesterday'

Now the derived focus sentences are:

(83) innaleyai:nu accan enikku pustakam tannatu
 yesterday father me book gave RP that
 'It was yesterday that father gave me a book'

(84) innale accana:nu enikku pustakam tannatu
 yesterday father is me book gave RP that
 'It was my father who gave me a book'

(85) innale accan enikka:nu pustakam tannatu
 yesterday father me is book gave RP that
 'It was to me father gave a book'

(86) iggale accan enikku pustakama:nu tappatu
 yesterday father me book is gave RP that
 'It was a book that father gave me yesterday'

(87) iggale accan enikku pustakam tappata:gu terru
 yesterday father me book gave RP that is wrong
 'It was wrong that father gave me a book'

From the above examples we can see that the focus constructions (Cleft sentences) are derived from structures that include PN as an input. All these constructions have a pronominal marker attached to the RP.

4.5 SUMMARY

In this Chapter we are concerned about the nouns formed from RP by the addition of a pronominal marker. The form suffixed with other than neutral pronominal marker -atu functions as a clear noun or a gerund or an adjectival noun. But the form with neutral suffix gives more functions; as a noun, as a main part of Cleft and pronominalized sentences, etc. The RP with neutral pronominal suffix and its anaphoric references shows that it is not only a noun, but something else. But with nominal inflections it proves that it is a noun.

CHAPTER V
RELATIVE PARTICIPLE
AND
LANGUAGE CONTACT SITUATION

RELATIVE PARTICIPLE AND LANGUAGE CONTACT SITUATION

In this chapter we shall discuss the language contact situation and the concept of relative participle in Malayalam.

Linguistic interference may happen because of the contact among languages. We know, linguistic interference may be of phonological, lexical or grammatical. Since RP is a grammatical form, we are concerned here with the grammatical interference.

5.1 LANGUAGE CONTACT

Some attention has been given to the systematic study of language contact situation by linguists and some have suggested the term "Contact linguistics" in a wide sense, to refer to both the process and the outcome of any situation in which languages are in contact. The languages in contact influence each other. The extent of syntactic divergence between two languages in contact will play a role in determining how much and what kind of influence is likely to occur. Weinreich (1953, 43-44) claims that syntax is the most resistant to diffusion and that the transfer of a full grammatical paradigm with its formant morpheme has never been reported.

The Indian linguistic area is a classic example of convergence with prolonged contact between the Dravidian and the Indo-Aryan languages, in particular, leading to a good deal of borrowing at the syntactic level. While Dravidian languages are strongly SOV, Indo-Aryan languages tend to be less so. Indo-Aryan languages have pre-nominal RC as well as post nominal RC, whereas only former is characteristic of Dravidian.

Rene Appel and Pieter Muysken (1988, 44) have proposed five ways by which grammatical borrowing could potentially take place:

1. through convergence
2. through relexification
3. through second language learning
4. through cultural influence and lexical borrowing
5. through imitation of prestige patterns

In a situation where several languages have been spoken for a long time like the Indian linguistic area have the same set of convergences as observed by Nadkarni (1975). But they argue that even though it is not clear syntactic borrowing may take place as an internally motivated evolution going on in the direction of acquiring the forms of the target language.

We shall see how the Malayalam RP would appear in other languages, as a result of paraphrase into the languages, particularly in English and Hindi. It is also relevant to discuss the reverse procedure.

Malayalam being a cultivated language has contact with cognate languages of the Dravidian family like Tamil, Kannada, Teluge, and Indo-Aryan (a sub group of Indo-^{European}~~Iranian~~) languages like Hindi, Urdu, Sanskrit etc., and ^a~~Indo~~ Germanic language like English, ^{also}~~it~~ belonging to ^{the} Indo-European family. Here we shall discuss what happens when an RC from Hindi, a language with similar word order is converted into Malayalam. The same will be checked in English, with the SOV word order.

In fact, we shall concentrate on three languages of the three different ^{groups} families: Tamil, a cognate language; Hindi, an Indo-Aryan sub group language with similar word order; and English, ^a~~an~~ ^{language} ~~Indo~~ Germanic with a different word-order.

There are two types of interactions that take place in the language contact situation. Graduation of non-congruent forms in

languages in contact, termed interference; as the introduction of new forms or rules in one language under influence from another where they already exist as convergence.

As we have noted the Indo-Aryan languages have relative pronouns derived from the Sanskrit relatives: *yah, ya, yad* (who, masc., who fem., which neut.) but of these pronouns they make little use probably through an under current of Dravidian or at least of Pre-Sanskrit influence¹. This type of RC formation is called correlative type. However the correlative type has only marginal presence in Modern Malayalam, and it is considered to be an influence of Indo-European languages like English and Sanskrit on Malayalam. Nadkarni (1975) pointed out an instance that The Indo-Aryan Language Sinhala appears to have only prenominal RC, and this must be the result of its isolation from the Indo-Aryan languages on the main land its prolonged contact with Tamil.

The relexification is a process by which Vocabulary or form of one language with that of another, maintaining the original grammar. When a language brought into a region than that of its original use, and speakers of other languages in that region adopt it as their second language, because of its cultural and political prestige, then the original language of those speakers may influence the new language in various ways.

The examples in Malayalam for these types can be cited from the use of the correlative RC. The correlative RC must be a syntactic borrowing from Indo-Aryan languages.

Consider the following examples of proverbs:

1 See Caldwell (1987ed; 521)

- (1) va:letuttavan va:la:l marikkum
 sword take RP he sword by die fut
 'One who takes sword will be (killed) by it'
- (2) a:ru va:letuttuvo avan va:la:l marikkum
 who sword took he sword by will die
 'One who takes sword shall die by it'
- (3) uppu tinnavan vellam kutikkum
 salt eat RP he water drink fut
 'Those who ate salt will drink water'

And the para phrased form is:

- (4) a:ru uppu tinnunnuvo avan vellam kutikkum
 who salt eat cor. part he water will drink
 "Those who eat salt will drink water"

Rene' Appel and Pieter Muysken (1987; 56-62) present five specific examples from five continents, all cases of relative clauses, as evidence for borrowing of grammatical structure.

5.2 ON TRANSLATING FORM TO MALAYALAM RP

The derivation of the Relative clause in English involves three syntactic processes: (1) Fronting of the coreferential NP in the constituent sentences to the sentence-initial position, (2) Pronominalization of the moved out NP in the embedded sentence (3) Optional deletion of the Relative pronoun in certain predicate environment². The process of relativization involved in Malayalam and Tamil are parallel³. The moving of the coreferential NP in the constituent sentence is not necessary in the process of relativization in Malayalam and Tamil, as in

2 See Roger Fowler, 1971. An introduction to transformation syntax. Routledge ed. Kegan Paul Ltd., London.

3 See Andrews Kutty, A.P., 1975 and P.T. Abraham, 1978.

English. Instead, it is deleted along with the case-marker occurring with it. The equivalent NP deletion transformation will account for it.

As we saw in the section 2.3, the relativization is a process by which a constituent sentence is embedded with a noun and a complementizer or a modifier. In English, it is the clause level which carries a relative pronoun overtly or covertly. In Indo-Aryan languages, the RC is formed by the correlative type or exists as free RC (A. Radford, 1981). But in Malayalam the function of an RC is done by the form called RP which is a verbal form having a marker.

An English adjective and also many English participles and participial phrase may generally be translated into Malayalam by using an RP. In English participles, participial phrases, and relative clauses qualify nouns and stand in same relation to them as adjectives. For instance:

(5) He brought a writing pen - the participle 'writing' - qualifies the noun 'pen' and stands in the same relation to it as an adjective.

(6) 'Bring the boy, writing in that room' and
'Bring the boy who is writing in that room'.

The participial phrases 'writing in that room' - and the relative clause - 'who is writing in that room' - qualify the noun the 'boy' and stand in the same relation to it as an adjective.

In Malayalam, a verbal participle or a verbal participial phrase can never occupy the position of an adjective, but a relative participle or a relative participial phrase is specially used in the position of an adjective, and discharges the same

is qualifies, as an English participle or participial phrase does, when used to qualify a noun. Hence in some cases the former can be exactly rendered in English by the latter.

(11) a: muriyil elutunna aḷine vilikku
that room loc. writing RP man Acc call
'Call the man writing in that room'

What in English is expressed as a relative clause or adjectival clause is reduced to a phrase in Malayalam. This phrase used in the adjectival position has as its basic component an adjective participle which is also called RP:

(12) vīḷāṅṅa paḷam 'Fruit which is ripened'
ripe Past RP fruit
nīraṅṅa kuṭam 'Pot which is filled'
fill Past RP pot

The first word in both cases is a verbal form having an adjectival function.

The relative pronoun is rarely used in Malayalam. According to Caldwell, the Dravidian language have no Relative pronoun, instead they use RP for the same function. Relative pronoun in Malayalam is a borrowed feature occurring in the passive voice. It must have been strengthened as translation from English became common.

In Malayalam, there are two major types of RCs⁴:

- a) RC with verbal predicate and
- b) RC with non-verbal predicate.

In English, Non-verbal predicate RC and certain verbal predicate RCs are reducible to adjectives by the mechanism of RC

4 P. P. Abraham (1978). Relative clause in Malayalam, Annamalai Uni., Annamalai Nagar

reduction and adjective preposing.

- (13) a) Sceneries which are beautiful attracted tourists.
b) Beautiful sceneries attracted tourists.

- (14) a) Souls which are departed.
b) Departed Souls.

The Malayalam version show that such reductions are very rare.

- (15) mano:harama:ya drisyannaḥ sandarsakare a:karṣiceu
beautiful sceneries tourists acc attract Past

- (16) ve:rpetta a:tama:kkal
departed soul

The difference is to be noted in the position of the RC in English and Malayalam. In Malayalam, the RC always precedes the antecedent which function as the head in the S. But in English, it always follows the antecedent.

- (17) panna:yi pathicca kuttikal jeyiccu
well studied students passed
'The students who studied well passed'

Like in English, Hindi also has two kinds of participle viz., present and past. The present participle is formed by appending *ta* to the root.

- (18) calta ga:thi 'Moving vehicle'
kha:ta letka 'Eating boy'

The past participle is formed by appending */-aa/* to the root of the verb.

- (19) cal-a: a:dmi 'Moved man'
suna ga:na 'Heard song'

Both the participles are affected by gender, number and case of the noun or pronouns which they qualify.

(20) calta > cala mas. sg.

(21) calte > cale mas. pl.

(22) calti > cali fe. pl.

As in Malayalam the present participle can be used like an ordinary adjective.

(23) behta pa:ni sa:ph hota he 'Flowing water is clean'

Occasionally, 'huva', or 'hui', or 'hue' is placed after the present participle.

(24) behta huva pa:ni sa:ph hota hei

Which can be translated as before:

(25) olugunna vellam suddhamayirikkum

flow RP water clean be Fut.

'Flowing water is clean'

A past participle, in Hindi can be used as an ordinary adjective only with or without or 'huva'

(26) sukhe patte 'Dried leaves'

Among the Hindi participles may be included the -va:la form. These are made by appending -va:la to the oblique infinite form and are adjectival in nature, denoting one who performs an action:

(27) ja:ne va:la: 'One who goes'

(28) kha:ne va:la: 'One who eats'

(29) pathne va:la: 'One who reads'

5.4 RESTRICTIVE VS NON-RESTRICTIVE RCs

In English the clear distinction to restrictive - defining - and non-restrictive - appositive - is represented by intonationally or by diacritic mark, where as in Malayalam there is no such differences can be noticed superficially. But by semantic interpretation or by adding some particles can be

expressed.

(30) I saw a picture they exhibited.

(31) I saw a picture, they exhibited.

(32) nallavannam pathicca kuttikal jeyiccu (Non-res.)
good manner study Past RP children passed
'The students who studied well passed.'

(33) nallavannam pathicca kuttikal ma:tram jeyiccu
good manner study Past RP student only passed
'Those students who studied well passed'

5.5 DISTINCTION BETWEEN ADJECTIVES AND PARTICLES

A clear cut distinction exists among Adjectives participle constructions or relative clauses in English, where as there is no such clear cut distinction cannot be seen in Malayalam. In Malayalam all these forms are expressed with the same marker

To certain extent these distinctions can be observed in Hindi also.

5.6 SUMMARY

Here we are concerned about the language contact situation and the RP form. The functions of relative pronouns 'who', 'which', and 'that' etc. in English and 'jo' and 'jis' etc. in Hindi, etc. are performed by RP alone in Malayalam. The correlative type of RC in Malayalam is an influence from Indo-European languages. This Chapter tells us that participle construction is not be sole properly of Malayalam only, but other languages also have the same. But RP instruction in that languages have only adjectival function. But RP in Malayalam have various fuctions other than adjectival function.

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

In this study, we have dealt with the notion of RP and tried to establish the 'form and function' of it in Malayalam. In the introduction we had given a short account of Malayalam language and its grammatical works and how syntax is treated in the traditional grammars. We have noted that the RP has been included as a 'part of speech, along with both adjective and verb (non-finite) .

The description of 'relative participle' include a brief account of the types of relative clause formations in languages viz., participial, relative, and correlative depending upon the structure, internal or external, on the word order etc. With respect to head noun, types of RP as pre-nominal and post-nominals is another heading. Malayalam RC, as per our analysis, is "pre-nominal, external, and participial" type. The various definitions of the RP and the references to this particular form in traditional grammars are also mentioned.

The structural description gives importance to the 'form and function'. The types of verbs which can be converted into an RP, are the finite form of any verb, either it is explicatory compound, simple or copulative, or appellative. The important aspect is that, only the finite form can be participialized. The word order typology before and after transformation is noted, that Malayalam has a pre-nominal and external RP. If we consider their transformation with the the GB theory, the NP-movement rule would be applicable. An NP is moving from an A position to a position that is O marked.

The role of head noun in the RP phrase, the form of *Syrel*.

etc. reveals the importance of the RP form in Malayalam. In the pre-nominal RCs, V-rel. is almost always in some sort of nonfinite form, that is a form different from the one it would have as the main verb of a simple declarative sentence. Opinions regarding the origin and development of the RP marker /-a/ reveal that it has originated from the demonstrative base /-a/.

The claim of A.R. Raja Raja Varma (1988ed; 259) and others that /-oru/ 'one' is also a RP marker is doubtful. If it is acceptable it can not be easy to show that the demonstrative base /-a/ as the relative marker, because the former does not have a demonstrative meaning. What has happened, is only a morpho-phonemic change. In Malayalam we have only one marker to represent an RP i.e. /-a/.

Types of relative participles, like adjectival, conjugated, appellative etc., is considered because of the presence of the RP-marker and they are also formed from words with verbal functions. Derived RP from a noun appended with a copulative verb is a peculiarity of the Dravidian languages. Accordings to the presence or absence of time or tense, we got three types of RP like timeless, tensed and time-unspecified. Much has to be discussed about time and tense reference in these types of RPs. The RP marker appears in all the inflected forms of moods and tense will have the same form irrespective of its structure i.e., /-a/ except in future. A fourth type of RP is derived from nouns appended with a copulative verb. This form, can be seen only in Malayalam and Tamil, with the same structure. But in Malayalam we can make many Derived RP from indigeneous nouns as well as from the borrowed ones. whether we can call it a type of RP or not, only future research can tell.

Under the title 'syntax and semantics of the RP', we have discussed the relativization process and the semantic characteristics of RP. Clearly, the transformations in English and in Malayalam are not similar. Various theories have been discussed here at the phrasal level. The case marker of the relativized noun with respect to the verb is not represented at the surface level. So the difficulty in tracing out the underlying sentence with more than one interpretations could be solved by a detailed study. The analysis with the help of -bar theory and theory in detail should reveal more about RP. As passive transformation and relativization in English where, or an NP Wh-word is moving to a certain position. Relativization in Malayalam is also involves an NP movement i.e., NP to be relativized is moved to the position after the verb, which is to be participialized, in accordance with the characteristics of the qualifier, and the qualified. There is no difference noticed regarding the relativization of a sentence whose subject is unknown (*nigizhṅakertṅakarakam*) or sentence whose subject is known. Though there have been some studies on restrictive and non-restrictive RCs in Malayalam, it appears that neither the RP has been ignored, nor the distinction between RCs and RP maintained.

The question as to which position in a clause the rel. NP may occur is discussed under the heading 'Constraint on Relativization'. The relativized NP of subject, object (direct, indirect, comparison, genitive NP, etc.) reveals that there is no relativization hierarchy in Malayalam.

In 'Semantic properties and their analysis' we show how the in RP Malayalam is different from other languages, where the RP

formation exists. Among the four semantic properties analysed, the first two are about the structure of RP and the latter two refers to the meaning that represents. By noting the different case relations that exists between the RP and the head noun we are able to trace the underlying sentences from which the RP form has been formed. Since the case-marker is covert, some forms are dubious, and can be traced as different sentences having different cases. Since the RP phrase is derived from a underlying sentence, the grammatical functions such as subject, object, predicate, etc., of the relativized noun with respect to the verb would be preserved in the RP also.

The distinction between the participial noun and adjectival noun is more vivid in Malayalam compared to English where the former one does not exist. The participial noun in traditional grammars has got various names as compared with the verbal noun. Participial noun, conjugated noun and its differences, have been analysed here, in short. This shows that participial noun in Malayalam is very complex one, which inevitably needs more attention.

The forms with pronominal markers other than the neuter demonstrative can be explained without much difficulty, as it functions only as a true noun. But the form with the third neuter suffix *-stu* with or without anaphoric references needs a detailed study to understand all the aspects of its form, function, derivation and meanings. It functions as a true noun with all the nominal inflections as well as it perform some other duty, as the main component in cleft, and pronominalized sentences etc. The participial NP is structurally identical with a complex NP consisting of an adjectival RP and pronominal head NP. In the

formation of the focus and Cleft sentences it may refer anaphorically to certain positions.

The Chapter on 'The language contact situation and the RP form in Malayalam' concentrates only on certain aspects, like how the RP from Malayalam is translated into other languages. The functions of relative pronouns 'who', 'which', 'that' etc. in English and 'jo', 'jis' etc. in Hindi etc. are performed by the RP alone. This shows that the RP in Malayalam is very much different from others. A lot of Sanskrit forms exists in Malayalam which functions like an RP has to be analysed separately to find out whether these forms have been absorbed into Malayalam. The study also exposes the fact that there are many problems in the relationship between the verb form, from which the RP is formed, and its time and tense references, the relation between the head noun and RP, and the case relation that exists between them.

Research is definitely possible to unravel these intricate problems. How imperative the need is for going into details of these complicated issues, is realized when one find that little work have been done along these lines. Research can further lead to the clarification of problems regarding the classification of adjectives and the RP, characteristics of RP, participialized now and its various functions etc. On other words, research is possible on all matters that have been raised but not solved in this work.

In conclusion, one can only agree with Mallinson and Blake (1981: 282) that:

"Participiales and adjoined relatives are the two types of structures that present problems for linguists attempting to establish Universal principles of RC formations".

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