SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF TAMIL IN MASS MEDIA

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1. This paper tries to present an account of the use of Tamil in mass media, from the sociolinguistic viewpoint. As in the case of the other modern Indian languages, in Tamil also mass media gave a lead in employing the modern literary style and the educated spoken style which avoids archaic usages and adopts necessary loan features as opposed to the classical and neo-classical styles which enjoyed the patronage and favour of the poets, educationists, Universities and a large number of traditional writers. Coinage of new registers and technical terms is found in Tamil for use in the various channels of mass media. This paper tries to identify and explain those principles which underlie the creation of new expressions for the new concepts and meanings.

The present study is based on the data from two sources viz., 1. from six Tamil newspapers published from Tamilnadu (India), namely, *Dinamani, Dina Tanti, Dina malar, Dinakaran, Alai Oosai* and *Murasoli* and three Tamil newspapers published from Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia), namely, *Tamil Nesan, Tamil Oosai* and *Dinamani* and 2. from the Tamil broadcast programmes of the All India Radio — New Delhi, Madras, Tiruchirapalli and Pondicherry (India).

2. In the literature on language planning, there is a reference to elaboration of code (Haughen, 1966), that is, the development of new styles and registers as a process of language modernisation. Modernisation is a process by which language use is made simple and more efficient to express the modern scientific, technological and other social advancements that take place in the various domains of our social activity. By evolving new styles, registers, varieties and patterns, a language is modernised in the sense that its status is raised to match some of the developed languages. Hence, modernisation has become an important aspect in the development of language use in different domains like education, administration and mass media. (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971).

In the pre-Independence period there were several newspapers which used a highly literary variety. For example, *Svade:samittiran, Navasakti, De:sa:bima:ni, Vitutalai,* etc. used different styles of Tamil but mostly the high variety. This trend continued for several years, even in the post-Independence period. It was *Dina Tanti* which started using a completely different style for the first time. In the beginning, people used to mock at its style of news presentation, but slowly the 'Dina Tanti Style' became

very popular among the masses. One of the reasons for its largest circulation and mass popularity is the simplified language with which the news were conveyed to the masses more efficiently. Later on, this newspaper began to attract even the elites. This is not simply because of its news coverage, but because of its more direct and simple language use. It was only in the late 1960s that some of the other newspapers and journals started to change their mode of presentation as well as language style.

In the 1960s a daily newspaper, *Tamilnadu* which was published from Madurai, used mostly the purified Tamil instead of the commonly used forms. The publishers of this daily had to take at least 24 hours to transform the common usages into the so-called pure usages. Due to this process, the news could appear in this daily only a day after. Because of this delay and the variety of Tamil used, the circulation of this daily declined gradually and the publishers were forced to stop its publication. This tendency toward the simplification of language variety used, gradually gained momentum, when the cinema, drama and advertisements also switched over to the use of the modern literary and spoken varieties. In the process of simplification, a number of loan usages were assimilated into Tamil.

2. Development of New Expressions

2.1 Expansion of Semantic range

Expansion of the semantic range of native Tamil words and phrases to match the range of meanings of corresponding English words and phrases is found in the mass media Tamil.

i.   aim (E) (aim to shoot, aim for a post, etc.) (Ta.) (kuRi) — the original meaning is 'aim to shoot'. Now this has been extended to 'aim for a post', eg. *piratamar patavikkuk kuRivaytta:r* '(he) aimed for the post of the Prime Minister'

ii. echo (E) (reflection of sound, event, etc.) (Ta.) *etiroli* — the original meaning is 'reflection of some events/happenings' etc. eg. *vellacce:ta vilayvu etiroli* 'the effect of the damage done by the floods'

iii. throw out (E) ('throw something, expel somebody/something, etc.')
     (Ta.) *tu:kki eRi* — originally it meant 'throwing of physical things. Now it has been extended to 'the removal of (someone) from a post'. eg. *pataviyiliruntu tu:kki eRiyappatta:r* '(he) was removed from the post'.

iv. jump (E) ('physical jumping, entering into a field, etc.')
(Ta.) *kuti* — originally it denoted 'physical jumping'. Now it has been extended to mean 'entering into a field'.
eg. *titi: r enRu araciyalil kutitta:r* '(he) entered politics, suddenly'.

2.2. Coinage of words with native features to bring out the meaning of loan expressions.

English	Tamil
violation	*attu mi:ral*
refusal	*puRakkanippu*
feeding points	*kañcittotti*
triple contest	*mummunayppo:tti*
working camp	*natattutal muka:m*
political colour	*araciyal ca:yam*
files	*ko:ppukal*
boiler	*kotikalan*
suspension	*ve:lay ni:kkam*
self immolation	*ti:kkulippu*
recommendation	*parinturai*
seizure	*paRimutal*
appeal	*me:l muRaiyi:tu* etc.

2.3 Semantic interpretation of traditional Sanskirt words and compounds whose basic meaning is no longer relevant to the modern culture:

i. Skt. *go:sthi* 'any conference'. Now this has been shifted to denote 'any crowd of people, people belonging to the same political party', etc.

ii. Skt. *gho:sa* 'to declare'. Now it is used to denote' any kind of shouting or sound', This meaning is also extended to words like *karako:sam* 'clapping'.

iii. Skt. *vijaya* 'any kind of tour which would end in victory'.
In the present day mass media, it is used to denote any 'official/ unofficial visit'.

iv. Skt. *abhinaya* 'any action on the stage including drama, dance, etc'. But now it is restricted to 'action in dances' only.

2.4. Adaptation

Newspapers also innovate by adapting the meaning of the native or non-native (Skt./Perso-Arabic) words out of the existing stock or by drawing mainly on Sanskrit for translation equivalents of English terms. Items belonging to this category are broadly classified into two groups, viz., i) Sanskrit loan words and ii) Perso-Arabic loan words.

2.4.1   Sanskrit Loan Words

tuṣprayo:kam	'misuse'
manita:pima:nam	'humanitarian consideration'
piratinitittuvam	'representation'
pariccai	'test'
viya:kkiya:nam	'interpretation'
ca:ṭciyam	'witness'
visuva:sam	'faith'
ete:cca:tika:ram	'arbitrary power'
pakiṣkarippu	'negligence'
uta:ci:nam	— do —
	etc.

2.4.2   Perso-Arabic Loan Words

pina:mi	'proxy'
tasta:ve:jukaḷ	'documents'
tama:sa:	'entertainment'
makacu:l	'agricultural produce'
a:jar	'presence'
ja:mi:n	'bail'
va:pa(:)s	'withdrawal'
	etc.

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2.5 Loan Translations

Loan translations are commonly found in the newspapers. The newly coined words show similarity with the original in structure and meaning.

English		Tamil
sudden call	:	*titi:r + alaiyppu*
black money	:	*karuppu + paṇam*
rehabilitation work	:	*niva:rana + paṇi*
first round talk	:	*mutal + cuRRu + pe:ccu*
Indira wave	:	*indira: + alay*
internal assessment	:	*uḷ + matippi:ṭu*
World Bank	:	*ulaka + vanki*
first batch	:	*mutal + aṇi*
continuous strike	:	*toṭar +maRiyal*
		etc.

2.6 Loan Blends

Whenever a linguistic community is confronted with some new objects or practices for which it needs words, it does not always borrow the entire expression. Such a situation may give rise to three distinct possibilities, i.e., loan words, loan shifts and loan blends. A loan blend is a new idiom developed in the borrowing situation, in which both the loan word and loan shift mechanisms are involved. That is, the borrower imports part of the model and replaces the other part by some form that is found in his own language.

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Loan Blend  = ( Native Base + Loan feature )
              (                              )
              (            (or)              )
              ( Loan Base + Native feature )
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The following are some of the examples for loan blends at tested in the mass media. The loan blends are of two types viz., i) English loan blends and ii) Sanskrit loan blends.

i. **English Loan blends**

English	Tamil
suspend	*saspeṇṭ(u) + cey*
out	*avuṭṭu + a:kku*
supply	*saplay + paṇṇu*
order	*a:rṭar + po:ṭu*
Reserve Bank	*risarv + vaṅki*
current light	*karaṇṭ(u) + vilakku*
	etc.

ii. **Sanskrit Loan blends**

Sanskrit loan blends generally occur while verbalising the Sanskrit noun bases into Tamil. The Sanskrit noun bases are taken as such, and instead of the sanskrit verbalisers, the Tamil verbalisers *po:ṭu, cey, iṭu piṭi, paṇṇu,* etc. are added as shown below:

Sanskrit (Base)	Tamil (Adaptation)	Tamil Verb
gho:ṣa	*ko:ṣam*	*ko:ṣam po:ṭu/iṭu* 'shout' (slogan)
abhinaya	*apinayam*	*apinayam piṭi*
praca:ra	*piracca:ram*	*piracca:ram paṇṇu* etc.

2.7 Loan Words

As mentioned above, loan words are also an outcome of the need-filling motive. If the borrower adapts the donor's words, the new form in the borrower's language is called a loan word. This section deals with the English loan words only. In the process of adaptation, the loan words are written using the phonemes of the borrowing language. So, loan words reflect in certain cases, a partial assimilation or shift in the process of Tamilisation.

English Word	Tamil usage
commission	*kamiṣan*
bus	*pas*
conductor	*kaṇṭakṭar*

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driver	*ṭirayvar*
depot	*ṭippo:/ṭeppo:*
high court	*ay ko:rṭ (ṭu)*
cheque	*cek (ku)*
radio	*re:ṭiyo:*
radar	*ra:ṭar*
parliament	*pa:rlimenṭ(u)*
director	*ṭairakṭar*
metropolitan court	*meṭro:pa:liṭan ko:rṭ(ṭu)*
X-ray	*eks re:*
engineering	*injiniyariṅk*
	etc.

2.8 New usages/innovations

Introduction of new usages in the mass media is not uncommon in Tamil. Tamil mass media have established their own norms and standards through their own new styles from time to time. One can distinguish at least three styles established by the various Tamil daily newspapers. They are: i) *Dina tanti* style ii) *Dina mani* style and iii) *Murasoli* style. It has been mentioned earlier that the daily *Dinatanti* is a widely circulated newspaper throughout Tamilnadu including the rural areas. It coins new expressions, and most of them are found to be easily adaptable and intelligible to the masses. When the television broadcast was introduced in Tamilnadu, *Dina tanti* introduced a new expression *pata re:ṭi yo:* which has two components, viz. 1. *paṭam* 'picture' and 2. *re:ṭiyo:* 'radio'. The expression *re:ṭiyo:* is a common usage and *patam* is a native item known to all. So, the combination of these two forms to denote television, poses no problem whatsoever for any section of the speech community in their adaptation. Time and again, *Dina tanti* has coined new expressions like the above. The impct of such coinages can be very well seen in the modern literary works as well as in the other mass media channels like cinema, drama, advertisements, etc. In this respect, *Dina tanti's* new coinages have been accepted by other news papers, journals, etc. and are found quite commonly in the modern use. Moreover, this style reflects the living language. Also, this newspaper never hesitates to adapt loan usages if they are found to be quite common, basic and efficient for mass communcation.

The *Murasoli* style deviates to a greater extent from the style of the other newspapers in the sense that it employs mostly purified expressions. We also find new usages like *pe:runtu* 'bus', *talaimai amaiccar* 'prime minister', *ko:ṭṭa:ṭciyar* 'revenue divisional officer', *na:ṭa:ḷumanram* 'parliament', *kuṭiyaracuttalaivar* 'president of the nation', *vaṭṭam* 'taluk', *ma:vaṭṭam* 'district' *ma:nilam* 'state', *va:kka:ḷar* 'voter', *ve:ṭpa:ḷar* 'contestant' and so on. Most of these loan translations are gradually becoming standard usages in the various domains of language use.

The *Dinamani* style falls somewhere in between the above two styles. It neither falls in line with *Dina tanti* style which employs more standard colloquial and common terms, nor with the style of *Murasoli* which employs modern literary and standardised forms. In *Dinamani*, relatively a large number of sanskrit forms are used. Usages such as *jalam* 'water', *ra:ṣṭrapati* 'President', *varusam* 'year', *upa atyaṭcakar*, Vice-Chancellor, sri: 'mister', *Sri:mati* 'mistress', etc. are typical usages of *Dinamani* Style. However, as per the government orders the usages *Sri* and *Sri:mati* are not found in *Dinamani* style now.

In the commercial and administrative domains, the use of new expressions is found to be quite popular. Some of the expressions are as follows:

1. *narakal moḻi* 'vulgar term'

    eg. *avar narakal moḻi payanpaṭuttukiRa:r*

     'he uses vulgar terms'

2. *piti va:raṇṭ(u)*

    eg. *intira:vukku ṣa:kamiṣan*

     piti va:raṇṭ(u)

     'Shah Commission's Warrant to Indira Gandhi'

2.8.1 Phonemic Assimilations

There are considerable number of phonemic assimilations due to the absence of the one to one phonemic correspondence in Tamil. In Tamil, voiced stops are not phonemes. There is no fricative phoneme other than /s/ and /ṣ/ which become phonemes due to the contrast we find between the native and loan features.

In the process of loan assimilations, we find the impact of the colloquial language. In colloquial Tamil in most cases, the initial /ẖ–/ is not pronounced. This tendency is reflected in the newspaper language also.

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English	General Usage	Mass Media Usage
1. high court	*hai ko:rṭ(ṭu)*	*ai ko:rṭ(ṭu)*
2. hotel	*ho:ṭṭal*	*(h)o:ṭṭal*
3. hostel	*ha:ṣṭal*	*(h)a:ṣṭal*

The introduction of /u/ in the final position i.e. after the final consonants is also found to be a common feature in the Tamil mass media.

English	Tamil
ko:rṭ (court)	*ko:rṭṭu*
Saspend (suspend)	*saspeṇḍu*
	etc.

The English /f/ is assimilated in Tamil mass media as either /p/ or /pp/.

| e.g. 'fan' | *fae:n* | *pae:n* |
| 'coffee' | *ka:fi* | *ka:ppi/ka:pi* etc. |

However, in the spoken Tamil the initial /f/ is found to occur in the speech of the educated speakers. In some of the dialects it is assimilated into /b/ initially and medially.

$$\text{fan} \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} fae:n \\ p\,ae:n \\ b\,ae:n \end{pmatrix} \qquad [\ ae; > e:\ ]$$

$$\text{Office} \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} a:fi:s \\ a:pi:s \\ a:bi:s \end{pmatrix}$$

2.9 Simultaneous use of Tamil and English Forms

The mass media also introduce many English lexical items along with their loan translations. When the original form is found to be more popular and basic than the loan translation, the mass media make use of the original forms side by side as shown below.

e.g. *kutiraippantaya niRuvanam (re:s kl ∧ b)*
'race club'
ko:yil naṭanam (ṭempuḷ ḍa:ns)
'temple dance'

uḷ matippi:ṭṭu muRai (iṇṭarnal asasmeṇṭu)
'internal assessment'
viṭutiyil (a:ṣṭalil) 'in the hostel'
kaṭal panRi (ṭa:lpin) 'dolphin'

This type of style followed in the mass media seems to be more realistic, as this reflects a gradual process towards language modernisation.

2.10   Use of new syntactic patterns

As in the case of lexical usages, the mass media also develop their own syntactic patters. Although several of the new syntactic patterns deviate to a certain extent from the standard syntactic patterns of Tamil, they are found to be completely accessible (both from the point of communicability and intelligibility) to the readers/listeners. The following examples illustrate the various syntactic patterns.

e.g. i)   intiya vikkaṭṭukaḷ maḷa maḷa enRu carivu
            'India lost wickets in quick succession'

      ii)   oru laṭcam ti:mu:ka:vinar taya:r
            'one lakh D.M.K. members are ready (for the strike)'

      iii) tavirttirukkamuṭiyum — tamiḷaka aracu
            maṭṭum manam vaittirunta:l
            'had the Tamilnadu Government wanted, it would have been possible for them to avoid the strike'

      iv)   accutame:nan ta:kku intira: mi:tu
            'Achutha Menon attacked Indira Gandhi'

      v)   Karuna:niti cenRa:r intira: aḷaikka
            'Karunanidhi (went to Delhi) on the invitation of Indhira Gandhi'
            etc.

3. The Mass Media Style

The manner of speech brought into existence at the time of a speech event by the contextual consciousness is called *style*. Styles are developed and promoted by writers with some underlying aims. The aim towards simplicity brings in a kind of style which may be different from the styles developed for political and religious domains. In the midst of the style complexities linguists, especially language planners, are interested in the standardisation of stylistic variations in order to make the mass media language use a more

meaningful one. In some of the extra-ordinary cases, style complexities may lead to unintelligibility also. It is necessary, therefore, to think about style complexities very seriously while planning the modenisation of language use for mass media. Instances of style variation are given below along with some practical suggestions to be adopted in the modernisation of style.

3.1. Use of inapppropriate words

This type of usage is found to occur in some of the newspapers. In an attempt to convey more information, the newspapers introduce several new items which at times become more ambiguous, confusing and difficult to follow.

> e.g. *camman anuppi vara:viṭil intira:vukku piṭi va:raṇṭ*
>
> 'Indira will be sent a warrant, if she doesn't turn up for the summons'

Here, the word *va:raṇṭ* (instead of *piṭi va:raṇṭ*) is the common usage. Sometimes, to express a new concept, the newspapers employ complicated phrases also.

> e.g. *pillaiya:r culi po:ṭappaṭṭatu*
>
> '(something) was started'

This phrase is used as a substitute for the word *a:ra:mpi* 'start' as in

> *intira:vukku etira:na ka:riyankalukkup*
>
> *pillaiya:r culi po:ṭappaṭṭatu*
>
> 'anti-Indira activities were started'

3.2. Uncommon Constructions

Some uncommon constructions are also found in use in the newspapers.

> 1. *emji:ya:r alaitta:r karuna:nitiyai*
>
>   'M.G.R. invited Karunanidhi'
>
>   (S + O + V ———> S + V + O)
>
> 2. *kavarnar virainta:r maturaikku*
>
>   'Governor rushed to Madurai'
>
>   (S + case + V ———> S + V + case)
>
>   etc.

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3.3 Occurrence of redundant elements

The occurrence of redundant features is found to be very common in the *Dinatanti* style. Expressions like *terintate:* 'it is already known', *me:lvivaram* 'further particulars', *e:munpe: aRivikkappaṭṭapaṭi* 'as announced before' occur as redundant features in this newspaper.

e.g. *meṭro:pa:liṭan ko:rṭṭil valakku naṭappaṭu terintate:*

> '(as already announced), a case is pending in the metropolitan court'

4. Language use in Radio broadcast

This section deals with the process of modernisation that is taking place in the use of Tamil in Radio.

4.1 Loan Translations

The following loan translations are found in use.

iṭam peyaRum maruntakam 'mobile hospital'
tala nitikkaṇakka:yar 'local fund auditor'
aracuttarappu 'government side'
mattiya pulana:yvuk kalakam 'central investigations bureau'
etc.

4.2. Loan Blends

4.2.1 English + Tamil Blends

vikkaṭṭu + kaḷ 'wickets'
sivil + rurimai 'civil rights'
po:li:s + a:r 'policemen'
ran + kaḷ 'runs'
settiyu:ltu vakuppu 'schelduled caste'
etc.

4.2.2. Sanskrit + Tamil Blends

pirata:na + aluvalakam 'main office'
atika:rapu:rva + ceyti 'official news'
avacara + caṭṭam 'emergency law'
etc.

4.2.3.   English + Sanskrit Blends

me:jistre:t + visa:ranai 'enquiry by a magistrate'
film + utsavam (filmotsav) 'film festival',
etc.

4.3. Loan words

The radio programmes sometimes prefer loan words to translated or blended forms.

4.3.1.   English

ta:ktar 'doctor'
saplai 'supply'
leftinant kavarnar 'Lt. Governor'
munisipa:liti 'municipality'
etc.

4.3.2.   Sanskrit

ra:strapati 'President'
lo:k sapa: 'Lower House of the Parliament'
Pirata:na mantiri 'Prime Minister'
etc.

4.3.3.   Perso-Arabic

Ila: (k)ka:	'department'
tasta:ve:ju	'record'
maso:ta:	'bill'
kaja:na:	'treasure'
pina:mi	'proxy'
etc.	

4.4. New Coinages

A number of newly coined usages are also found to occur.

e.g.	*valakkuRaiñar*	'lawyer'
	niRuvanam	'establishment'
	ve:tpa:lar	'candidate'
	ve:lai niRuttam	'strike'
	nerukkati nilai	'emergency'
		etc.

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4.5. Simplification by abbreviation

Simplification is an important process in the modernisation of language use. In the radio broadcasts we find the use of simplified forms also. The use of abbreviated forms of certain expressions is also found to occur.

e.g. MISA — Maintenance of Internal Security Act.

MGR — M.R. Ramachandran

UNESCO (instead of *aykkiya na:ṭṭu capayin kalvi, aRiviyal, panpa:ttu niRuvanam)*

carvate:sa tiraippaṭa vila:va:na pilmo:tsva: (international film fair — filmo tsav)

Simplification of language need not necessarily be at the lexical, phonological and morphological levels alone. It could also be extended to the syntactical level. By doing so, complicated lengthy and complex sentences could be converted into simple short sentences. This type of simplification will increase the efficiency of the usages in communication.

5. Development of new expressions: Tamil Newspapers in the Malaysian situation

5.1. New Coinages

The following usages are peculiar to the Tamil newspapers published from Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia).

anukkama:na vaṭṭa:ram	'close quarters'
araiyiRuti a:ṭṭam	'semi-final'
aRRaikku:li	'daily wage'
araca tantirikaḷ	'diplomats'
toliR pe:ṭṭai	'industrial zone'
ira:nuva a:ṇkaḷ	'army men'
kaṇippoRi	'computer'
kalappu iraṭṭaiyar-a:ṭṭam	'mixed-doubles play'
ka:ppuRuti	'insurance'
ka:val cuRRu	'patrol'
kuṭṭakaiya:ḷar	'contractors'
kaiyeRi kuṇtu	'hand grenade'
cati na:cam	'plot'
ca:laittaṭuppu	'road-block'

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culal niti	'revolving fund'
tukka a:ṭai	'condolence badge'
tu:y maikke:ṭu	'pollution'
nirma:nippu	'establishment'
paṇippaṭai	'work force'
ni:riṇai	'straits'
payaṇakkavarcci	'tourist attraction'
payaṇi:ṭṭa:lar	'consumers'
piṇaippaṇam	'ransom'
purintuṇarvu	'understanding'
puṇar kuṭiye:RRam	'rehabilitation'
po:taippiṭṭu	'drug addiction'
maRu nulaivu	're-entry'
minnalippu	'electricity supply'
vilaicciṭṭai	'price-list'
vivara vaṅki	'information bank'
	etc.

5.2. Those technical terms which give new meanings

a:ṭcikkuḷu	*ce:vai*
iṭipa:ṭukaḷ	*pa:ṭuka:valar*
eḷuttu	*pe:ravai*
kaṅka:ni	*pe:ra:ḷar*
kuḷirmai	*poruḷiyal*
ceyalavai	etc.

5.3. Tamilisation

5.3.1. Sanskrit-Tamil

   i)   **Sanskrit Base + Tamil Suffix**

   nirma:ṇi-ppu > *nirma:ṇippu*
   tantiri-kaḷ > *tantirikaḷ*
   etc.

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ii)   **Sanskrit Word$_1$ + Sanskrit Word$_2$**

  cati – na:cam > catina:cam

  vima:nam – ce:vai > vima:nacce:vai

  paripa:lanam – capai > paripa:lana capai

  etc.

iii)   **Sanskrit Word + Tamil Word**

  tukkam – a:ṭai > tukka a:ṭai

  para – veḷi > paraveḷi

  maunam – puraṭci > maunappuraṭci

  culo:kam – aṭṭai > culo:ka aṭṭai

  etc.

5.3.2.   **Tamil – Sanskrit**

i)   *Tamil Base + Sanskrit Suffix*

  talaimai – tuvam > talaimaittuvam

  panka:ḷi – tuvam > panka:ḷittuvam

  etc.

ii)   *Tamil Word + Sanskrit Word*

  aracu – tantirikaḷ > araca tantirikaḷ

  nalan – apivirutti > nalanapivirutti

  varave:Rpu – ce:vai > varave:Rpu ce:vai

5.3.3.   **Tamil – Sanskrit–English**

i)   *English Word + Sanskrit Word*

  perri – ce:vai > perrice:vai

ii)   *Tamil Word + English Word*

  ataiya:lam + ka:rṭu > ataiya:ḷa ka:rṭu

  tuṇai + kampani > tuṇai kampani

  nulaivu + pa:ram > nulaivu pa:ram

iii)   *English Base + Tamil Suffix*

  visa: + kkaḷ > visa:kkaḷ

  pa:spo:rṭṭu+kaḷ > pa:spo:rṭṭukaḷ

  etc.

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5.4. Nuances found in the coinages

5.4.1. Derivational and Inflectional processes

Sanskrit Base + Tamil Suffixes

piratiniti – tti – a:r > piratinititta:r 'nominated – (he)'

The Sanskrit form *piratiniti* which is a noun is made into a verb in Tamil, and this forms takes the verbal suffixes like any other Tamil verb in the inflectional formation.

5.4.2. Simplification

In Modern Tamil the verb *oppu* occurs only with the auxiliary *koḷ*.

e.g. *oppukkoḷ* 'accept'

na:n oppukkoḷkiRe:n 'I agree'

In the language style of the newspapers, *oppu* is used without the auxilaiary *koḷ*, and the suffixes (tense & gender-number) are added to the base form of the verb directly.

e.g. *oppu – in-a:r > oppina:r*

'(he) agreed'

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