

# The Linguistic Construction of Identity: A Comparison of Poetry in Tamil and English by Sri Lankan Tamil Writers.

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This paper compares contemporary poetry written in Tamil and English by Sri Lankan Tamil middle-class writers to reveal how the different discourses underlying their respective poetry reflect or constitute two distinct subject positions in the face of the nationalist conflict against the majority Sinhalese community. Although those who write in Tamil and those who write in English belong to the same ethnic community, share the same class background and confront the same socio-political conflict, in choosing to represent their perspectives through English or Tamil discourse they also adopt contrasting ideological positions. It is the different languages in which they primarily express themselves, then, that account for the different values and ideologies displayed by these two groups of writers and provide them different identities. Furthermore, since language plays a significant role in constructing identity and consciousness, the "fictional" identities expressed in the literary text can be considered to be closely related to the social identities of these writers.

In saying that language constructs identity, I am relying on recent post structuralist perspectives on subjectivity.<sup>1</sup> This perspective argues that language is not an autonomous system of value-free elements as posited by linguistic structuralism, but a semiotic system (or discourse) loaded with the social values of the respective users, and constituting both the social reality and consciousness of the linguistic community. Contrary to the humanistic assumption that there is an inner core of human personality or consciousness that transcends conditioning by material forces, this perspective insists that it is in becoming subject to a specific discourse (and taking on the language and ideology associated with it) that we become human subjects. In a sense then, terms like "persona" and "identity" (as usually used in literary circles to refer to the thin exterior of a transcendental inner core of subjectivity manifested in language or literary discourse but not necessarily connected to the core), are inadequate for my purposes. I am considering the linguistically constructed identity as constituting and reflecting "subjectivity" in a more fundamental sense. Additionally, contrary to the assumption that the inner core of subjectivity is transcendental, universal or neutral, I am interpreting subjectivity to be fundamentally ideological.

We can somewhat simplify discussion by generalizing that the values or ideology underlying English and its poetic discourse derive from their participation in a literate discursive tradition and those of Tamil from its dominant orality. We have to remember, however, that we are speaking only in relative terms here as there is no purely oral or literate language community. Though the historical background of English as a language of learning, Science and Technology with a written tradition that spans centuries leaves no one in doubt of its literate loanings, the orality of Tamil needs to be substantiated. Kailasapathy

in his **Tamil Heroic Poetry** explains how in the ancient Sangam and pre-Sangam era poetic composition was solely oral, and uses the values of other oral cultures (such as Homeric Greece) to analyse this poetry.<sup>2</sup> Although Tamil has had a script and written texts for more than two thousand years, Sivathamby points out how even non-aesthetic discourses (i. e. law, medicine) were in verse, and it was with the advent of British colonialism that a prose tradition develops in Tamil, significantly altering Tamil syntax.<sup>3</sup> The fact that there are contrasting values underlying the discourse of literate and oral communities has been well surveyed by contemporary sociolinguists such as Deborah Tannen.<sup>4</sup> Among the values brought up to explain the difference between the literate and oral discourses, respectively, are: impersonal - personal, detached - involved, decontextualized - contextualized, abstract - concrete, rational - affective, and teleological - circular. We should again note that these characteristics make up a continuum rather than water-tight compartments, and that each discourse is a valid form of speaking and thinking with mutual strengths and limitations.

We will first discuss how the values underlying Tamil language and its poetic discourse lend themselves to the expression of a related set of feelings, experiences and ideas in the context of recent Sri Lankan politics. M. Ponnambalam's use of traditional oral stylistic features such as parallelism and repetition not only add to the musicality of his verse, but charge his expression with feeling as he invokes the community to struggle.<sup>5</sup> In "Veerathai Thooku" (i. e., lift up your courage) this statement is repeated at different points in the poem to berate, mock, advise, challenge, or command the reader to stand up and face the gun-toting assailants. The statement is integrated well into the conversational tone of the poem. It soon emerges through some of the parallelisms that the poem is actually asking the reader to take up arms. "Lift up your courage" echoes another phrase "(those who) lift their gun." The poet's argument in the 3rd stanza that the gun in itself does not have a character or provide the user with any characteristics, and that it is the user who gives it character and purpose, as well as the poet's final onomatopoeic words to suggest how the reader should put to flight his oppressors (which sound resembles gun-fire), all suggest that when the poet says "Lift up your courage" he is in fact saying "Lift your gun."

Apart from this association between "courage" and "gun" which is gradually developed in the poem, there is no radical progression in thought. The structure of the poem could be considered cyclical or incremental as the poet simply gives more emotional depth to the theme announced in the title and the first stanza. In the body of the poem the poet strengthens the theme by deriding the reader's cowardice or providing encouragement through simple illustrations (such as the absurdity of fifty passive Tamil bus passengers from Colombo getting killed by five soldiers near Vavuniya on 10.09.1984). When the poet repeats the theme in the final stanza, almost echoing the first, the theme gains in force and conviction.

For those belonging to the English/literate tradition such use of language and poetic structure could seem redundant or loose. Since the eye and the mind are the dominant faculties in their experience of the poem, it is the tautness of

language and structure that provide effective communication for them. However, for those in the oral tradition, for whom the ear is the dominant faculty, such density of detail helps immediate comprehension and provides a richer experience. Anyhow the repetitions, parallelism, and circularity are aesthetically justified in Ponnambalam's poem, serving the purpose of an evocative appeal to the reader, tapping different shades of feelings and attitudes.

The frank call to take up arms might also seem too extremist to an English sensibility, given the preference for values like balance, moderation and accommodation. But in the typical Tamil political poem the conflict is seen in irreconcilable dichotomies of good and evil, and resolved with an uncompromising call to eradicate the latter. Such treatment of dramatic conflict will seem to lack complexity and balance. However, in the oral tradition, which prefers the dramatic immediacy and emotional intensity of communication, this treatment seems to find a congenial context. Using a vigorous rhythm that becomes more and more insistent towards the end, Vilvaratnam first describes in "Engal Veethiyai Emakkena Meetpom" (i.e., let's liberate our streets for us) how our streets are insecure, being dominated by forces of darkness. He goes on to call on the community to come out of their funeral houses with their axes to chop down the roots of the "demon of darkness." The emotionally charged lines and the mythic associations embed the call for the use of force in a poetically compelling context.

Even the expression of anger against the antagonist in these poems might sound a little too intense, rancorous and vituperative for the tastes of English readers. But we have to realize that strength of feelings and felt experience defines the sincerity of expression or truth for the oral community, just as reason is the index of truth for the literate community. Since Tamil poetic discourse seems to value the logic of the heart against the logic of the mind, poets give uninhibited expression to their feelings against Sinhalese politicians and officials of the state. So Vilvaratnam in his "Ahangalum Muhangalum" (i.e., "Hearts and Faces") — occasioned by the leader of the UNP erecting a statue in Jaffna for the nine killed in the police attack during the IATR (International Association of Tamil Research) conference in 1974 when the SLFP was in power — exposes the hypocrisy of the Prime Minister. Vilvaratnam confronts the leader directly, pointing out to him that he has raised the statues only to memorialize the victimizers (i.e., SLFP) rather than the Tamil victims, motivated by sectarian political motives. He further illustrates how the leader's words of mourning in the North are contradicted by his racist slogans in the South. Having questioned the moral integrity of the Prime Minister, Vilvaratnam exploits his parting statement "I am leaving my heart with you" to fling it back at him saying, "Take back your hearts with you."

In keeping with the penchant for heightened feelings, oral discourse generally displays an appreciation of the hyperbole. However, the dramatically exaggerated language and description become apt vehicles for the expression of atrocities in the North. In fact, the violence by the state is of such proportions that it is hyperbole that will realistically evoke its grotesque details. Cheran's "Uyirpu" (i.e., "Resurrection") is an almost surrealist treatment of

the eerie Sri Lankan torture chambers and nerve-wracking details of the poet's own interrogation. The poet goes on to describe his death in minute detail and eventually promises from the other side of his grave that he will arise within three days. Though this might sound implausible, the poet achieves a willing suspension of disbelief through the surrealistic tone of the poem which poetically justifies his ending.

However oppressive the conditions against the community, Tamil poems always end on a hopeful note as in Cheran's "Uyirpu." The poems express with unruffled self-assurance notions such as deathlessness, resurrection from the dead, victory in the struggle and imminent transformation of the social order. Though such moods and themes could sound utopian or hollowly idealistic for English readers, they could find compelling poetic expression in the oral tradition. Jesurajah's "Kallukalum Alaikalum" (i.e., "Stones and Waves") is based on the public's repeated erection of statues for the nine killed in the IATR conference, despite their repeated destruction by the armed forces. This tussle between the armed forces and the will of the people takes symbolic connotations for Jesurajah. But around the end of the poem images are telescoped as Jesurajah says that even stones (i.e., statues) will take life amidst the spirit displayed by the people. Since the stones were cut in the figure of candles, he says that they will enflame and turn to ash the forces of oppression; as stones take life people too will rise like waves to finally drown the burnt ashes. Though the symbols become a little too forced in the end, the sheer force of rhetoric and the increasing musicality of the rhythm carry the expression through. The logic of the ear and heart would assent to the truth of such expression, even if the eye and mind coolly dissect the symbols and remain detached from the experience.

But such heightened rhetoric, such visionary idealism, are awkward to express through restrained English poetic discourse. When they do find expression, such "excesses" are sharply criticized. So local English critic Kamal de Abrew criticizes the ending of Canagarajah's poem, "Dirge for Corporal Premaratne", where he envisions a miraculously changed relationship between the Sri Lankan soldier and himself, leading to a new social order.<sup>6</sup> What de Abrew sees as the positive in the poem is the "taut relation between a sense of outrage and a desire for understanding and reconciliation."<sup>7</sup> Similarly, what Ashley Halpe highlights in Canagarajah's poems are "remarkable humanity and balance."<sup>8</sup> Clearly, such characteristics as tension, restraint and balance belong to the literate tradition. What such values cost to the expression of anger and the treatment of dramatic conflict can be illustrated through "Dirge for Corporal Premaratne."

Though the poem begins in exultation at the killing of the Sinhalese soldier, the poet takes pains to make clear that the anger is not personal. The anger is explained as resulting from his attitude to the military uniforms in general. As the poem proceeds, he tries to sublimate this anger through a consideration of the soldier's life out of the uniform. The poem, then, moves in a diametrically opposed direction to Vilvaratnam's "Ahangalum Muhangalum" in which the anger against the Prime Minister becomes more and more personal, intense, and hostile. This also means that the dramatic conflict in "Dirge"

is not posed in neat dichotomies. In order to be balanced, the writer looks at the soldier's life in dual perspectives, with contrasting attitudes. It is the balanced perspective that heightens the tension in the poem. The tension is eventually reconciled by moving the conflict to a higher, more impersonal level where both the writer and the soldier are victims of a third force -- the state. Whereas the Tamil poems intensify the dramatic conflict relentlessly towards an uncompromising conclusion, the preference in the English writing seems to sublimate the conflict and move towards a restrained stasis.

Similarly, while Tamil poetic discourse prefers the hyperbole, English prefers the understatement. In Canagarajah's "Let Life Go On," the poem first attempts to describe with detachment the contrasting scenes of the joy surrounding a child's first birthday and the tension, anxiety and violence in the town:

As dusk descends on Jaffna  
the ghost-town empties of people.  
Only the bullet-ridden bodies remain—  
a school girl and an old man—  
terrorists in tomorrow's news-cast!  
As bombs burst in the background  
the crowds rush indoors  
for the sixty-one hour curfew,  
mustering enough spirit  
for the struggle to preserve sanity  
in their solitary gloomy hovels;  
for the struggle against anxiety  
as their ears strain to catch the boot-steps  
that come to bundle them into trucks  
and dump them for lifetime into cells.

Dusk descends on Jaffna  
but bright lights and balloons beautify  
a small house in a narrow alley:  
an infant's first birthday!  
As protective elders crowd round  
defiantly dispelling despair  
the child brims over with laughter.  
Proud, are you, of completing  
one full mile on a risky road?  
Hopeful, aren't you,  
of the half-century of adventures ahead?

Let life go on  
whatever be the odds  
Let life go on.

It is at the end of the poem, in three short lines of mostly monosyllabic words that the writer's voice enters to encourage the people for positive living. Though such a pithy ending could have a quiet force of its own, the description of life in the town is not evocative enough. Compared to the heightened, almost surrealist description of life in the North in the Tamil poems of Cheran, Ponnambalam, and Vilvaratnam, which most Tamils would recognize as realistic and appropriate, the description in the English poem is far too detached and understated.

In both English poems discussed above, the underlying structure of the poem is dialectical. Two contrasting moods or attitudes are gradually developed towards a synthesis. Kanaganayakam's "Exile" uses the structure quite overtly. The first stanza begins with the "multitude of voices" which urge the poet to "become an exile". The second stanza is the anti-thesis which describes the disappointing reality confronting the exile: "the perverse delight/of sharing a void". In the final stanza the poem moves towards an ambivalent synthesis: "let me return/the land which bore me/must claim its own." The connotation of the word "claim" is what is in question. Perhaps the poet is suggesting that he will return even if it means falling victim to the "blood (that) has been spilt in the land." Less pessimistically, the syntax could also suggest that he is only reconciling himself to a moral imperative rather than returning willingly and joyfully. This is a realistic and sober reconciliation. However, such diffidence sets off the English writers from the optimism, resolve and commitment displayed by the Tamil writers.

The dialectical structuring of these poems, furthermore, suggests the importance given in English poetic discourse for the logical play of ideas, the complex progression of thought. In fact, such a structure differs from the cyclical or incremental progression in the Tamil poems which is oriented towards providing rhetorical force and emotional intensity to the announced theme. It is not that there is no thought whatsoever in Tamil poetry—even a cry of anguish or a call to resist contains an implicit analysis of the political situation—but that this discourse does not appeal predominantly to a rationalistic or cerebral response. The dialectical structure also reminds us of the tightness in the use of language and structure valued in English poetic discourse compared to the suggestive richness of density valued in Tamil.

Among the most verbally self-conscious, subtle, and economical is Kanaganayakam's "Peace not Joy." Using his characteristic dialectical structure, he first expresses the disappointment of not being able to fulfil his ambitions by returning home; then he expresses the guilt-ridden desire to yet return; he concludes by finding a source of reconciliation:

Decades of illusion  
Carefully cherished  
Nurtured with love and faith  
Collapse in a blinding flash

Néver to be regained.  
A blackened sky  
Is all that remains.

The sin to expiate  
Now looms large,  
The journey stretches  
Through deserted paths,  
Where groping hands  
Seldom touch  
The skin of faith.

A voice deep down  
Faintly murmurs:  
The path will end  
In peace if not in joy.

We have to note how overtones of disillusion and defeat are built into his determined attempts to "expiate" his sin. The paths through which the journey stretches are "deserted" - suggesting the procrastination or failed previous attempts of the writer. Also what the groping hands touch (and that only seldom) is not faith but its thin exterior - "the skin of faith." Although deep inside him there is a voice that urges him to return, it only "faintly murmurs." What it murmurs is not the promise of joy (the physical return to his country and fulfilment of his lifelong ambition) but peace (a spiritual or moral compromise in the land of exile).

In reading such poems we find that this discourse demands the eye and the mind. There is very little attempt to appeal to the ear. The poems invite repeated readings and the employment of disciplined thinking to catch the verbal subtleties. The cerebral quality of these poems is in keeping with the assumption of the literate community that reason is the vehicle of truth. This is what also accounts for the detached stance of the writers which refuses to get too personally involved in the situations dramatized. In this regard, Sumathy Sivamohan's writing is the most demanding. In fact, she seems to make a virtue of difficulty. Besides, since she is so detached, it is sometimes hard to say what her attitude is towards the "parched land planted with paddy/strewn with shots of/justice protest hate revenge/the ending is not coming." What is missing in such English poems is the frank expression of anger and hope, the personal commitment to justice and liberation that come out with dramatic immediacy and emotional intensity in the Tamil poems.

What emerges from this comparison is that due to the contrasting values underlying the respective languages and their poetic discourse the dominant ethos of both poetry are different. The persona of English writing displays a poise, sophistication, detachment, and rationalism that is also non-committal, indecisive, prudent, self-possessed, sober, prosaic. The persona behind Tamil poetry, on the other hand, is earthy, passionate, full-blooded, highstrung, antagonistic, forth-

fight, resolute, idealistic, committed. This difference in ethos also explains the contrasting ideologies that emerge through such discourse. Tamil discourse lends itself to the expression of Radicalism. The ardent nationalism of the community and its frank commitment to armed revolution with the clear goal of transforming the socio-political order finds passionate expression in Tamil poetry. English discourse transforms the experience of the writer into a vague liberalism tinged with pragmatism typical of an intellectual, moderate standpoint. The poems protest against the oppressive conditions, but rarely envisage a plan of action or display enthusiasm for change. They take care not to endorse violence, express personal hostility against the dominant community, or support "separatism."

The Tamil poets are not unaware of the ideological implications of their orality. Having defined modern Tamil poetry as wedded to the armed struggle for liberation, Tamil poet Cheran argues in his Foreword to the collection *Marunathul valvom* that the orality creates a rapport with the rest of the community and assures communication with a larger cross-section of Tamils. Sensing a drift towards western literate values, he polemically argues for a return to the oral roots of Tamil culture. He specifically argues against the bias towards thought at the expense of feelings in modern poetic discourse, stating that feelings and musicality thrive in heightened states of consciousness during times of oppression and that they communicate to the common people with immediacy: "Resoluteness and the upsurge of anger and feeling are reflected in the language. A noteworthy feature is that in those heightened states of consciousness and feelings the poems are also rhythmical. There is a school of thought which considers poems which pay attention to sound and feelings as inferior to poems exhibiting profundity of thought and the creative spark. Our experience tells us this opinion is mistaken. In our context, poems are not meant for silent reading (contemplation) and intellectuals. It is imperative that they should appeal to the common man and his heart."<sup>10</sup> Thus Tamil poets recognize oral discourse as offering them the thought processes, values, and forms of creative expression to communicate with the masses and empower them in the present political context.

Before concluding, we have to realize that the contrasting identities and ideologies constructed by the English and Tamil discourses go beyond literature to explain the different positions adopted by the respective writers in the current political conflict. Those who write in Tamil—belonging to the predominantly Tamil speaking, monolingual, "indigenous" middle class which was oppressed during colonialism but gained privilege with post-independence nationalism—generally endorse the armed struggle against the Sinhalese for a separate Tamil state. It is from their ranks that most of the cadres, ideologues and administrators for the "de facto" regime of Tamil areas are drawn. On the other hand, those who write in English—belonging to the predominantly English speaking, bilingual, "westernized" middle class which was privileged during colonialism but is gradually losing its social status (although not its economic power) since independence—have been remaining detached and uncommitted to the armed struggle. Many from this rank have been fleeing abroad as economic refugees, sometimes funding the armed struggle from a safe distance. It is clear, then, that the discourses of the respective group of writers not only constitute their literary identity but



their social identity and subjectivity in a deeper sense—as displayed in their respective social histories. That is, English and Tamil or oral and literate discourses influence not only the creative writing of these groups of writers, but also their thought and behavior in everyday life. However, no linguistic or ideological determinism need be implied here; it might very well be that while Tamil writers negotiate with the available discourse for positive subject positions and empowerment, English writers let themselves be hegemonized by the discourses they inhabit.

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## Notes

1. For a discussion of this perspective, see Catherine Belsey, *Critical Practice*, London: Methuen, 1983; Miane Mac Donell, *Theories of Discourse: An Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1986; Paul Smith, *Discerning the Subject*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.
2. K. Kailaspathy, *Tamil Heroic Poetry*, Oxford: OUP 1986.
3. K. Sivathamby, "English and the Tamil Writer", *Navasilu* 3 (1979) p. 53 - 60.
4. Deborah Tannen, *Spoken and Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy*, Norwood, N. J.: Ablex, 1982.
5. The Tamil poems discussed in this paper are from *Maranaththul Valvom: A Collection of 82 Political Poems by 31 poets in Tamil*. Jaffna: Tamiliyal, 1985.
6. The English poems discussed here are from the following publications: *An Anthology of Contemporary Sri Lankan Poetry in English*, ed. Rajiva Wijesinha, Colombo: British Council, 1988; and *Navasilu: Journal of the English Association of Sri Lanka and the Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies*, Sri Lanka, Nos. 7 and 8 (1987).
7. Kamal de Abrew, "Navasilu Nos. 7 & 8", In *An Anthology of Contemporary Sri Lankan Poetry in English*, pp. 132-136.
8. Ashely Halpe, "Brief Chronicle: Some Aspects of Recent Sri Lankan Literature in English", In *Navasilu* nos. 7 & 8 (1987): pp. 175-181.
9. R. Cheran, "Foreword", *Maranaththul Valvom*, pp. V - XV.

# POSTPOSITIONS IN JAFFNA TAMIL

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This paper investigates the occurrence of postpositions in the Jaffna dialect of Tamil. Meenakshi (1976) speaks of roughly about 60 linguistic forms which function as postpositions in literary Tamil. The number is very much less in spoken Tamil.

Postpositions may be defined as adverbials that function sometimes as nouns taking certain case suffixes, and sometimes as case suffixes.

Nouns with certain inflections too function as adverbials syntactically. Morphologically postpositions are treated as a sub class of nouns, for most of them can be inflected at least to a few cases. Like nouns most of the post positions also occur after relative participles. They also occur as attributives to the head which is a noun, and occur after nouns in the dative case functioning as adjectival. Examples are as follows:

pin pakkam 'back side'  
 maTattukku kilay 'under the tree'

There are a handful of forms that do not take any case suffix. But most of them also occur as postpositions after relative participles. They are therefore considered in this analysis a sub class of postpositions.

All these postpositions syntactically function as adverbials occurring in the modifier slot in immediate constituency with the verb in verb phrases. There are only a couple of monomorphemic forms like ini 'here after', yet, etc. which may be considered as members of a separate morphological class called adverbs. But syntactically they also function like the above mentioned nouns and postpositions, and therefore they are considered in this analysis as defective postpositions. Herein a separate morphological category of adverbs has not been set up.

In the case of certain inflected postpositions (locational and/or temporal), the significance of the case suffixes may appear to be redundant since the uninflected form innately signifies the inflectional reference. For example, all the inflected forms of pin-, namely, pinnaalay and pinnukku mean 'behind.' In certain syntactic constructions anyone of the two inflected forms can be used without change in meaning:

avaTukku pinnukku vantaan 'He came behind him.'  
 avaTukku pinnaalay vantaan

In Jaffna Tamil most of the basic forms of the postpositions do not occur as free forms. A number of forms occur freely with the stem formative -ay suffixed to the basic forms, while a few occur with the enunciative vowel -u, or with the derivative suffix -am. Case suffixes are inflected to these

resultant forms. Examples are: kiil-ay, pirak-u, mun-ti, mun-n-am. Some of the basic forms of the postpositions occur as the first member in a compound. An example is meel viitu 'upstair house.' Only in the case of amk-, inc-, umk-, and emk- the instrumental suffix -aalay behaves as a stem formative for further inflections. For example, amk-aal-ukku. (hyphen indicates the morpheme boundary).

-aan, an allomorph of the neuter gender suffix which is a very productive noun-forming derivative suffix occurs with postpositions also as with substantives. This suffix is added to the stem or oblique form of the postpositions which have to be lexically determined.

Examples are:

amk-aal-aan-ukku - amkaalaanukku 'for the thing on that side'  
 munnatt-ay-aan-ukku - munnattayaanukku 'for the earlier thing'

Nouns ending in -m have oblique bases with the formative suffix -tt. The only postposition ending in -m that has an oblique stem ending in -tt is munnam 'before' (obl. munnatt-). But there are a few postpositions occurring with oblique bases ending in -tt without any corresponding basic forms occurring in the dialect. Examples are: amkatt-, incatt-, umkatt-, emkatt-. Their corresponding basic forms may be hypothetically reconstructed on analogical basis as \*amkam, \*incam, \*umkam and \*emkam.

The postpositions which take case inflections are classified into three classes on the basis of the number of cases to which they can inflect. A large number of the postpositions inflect to three cases. A few inflect to only two cases. There are a few others which inflect only to one case.

Class I

(a)

Basic form	Instrumental	Dative	Locative
amk- 'there'	amkaalay	amkaalukku	amkaalil
amkay	amkattayyaalay	amkattaykku	amkattayil
inc- 'here'	incaalay	incaalukku	incaalil
incay	incattayyaalay	incattaykku	incattayil
umk- 'there'	umkaalay	umkaalukku	umkaalil
umkay	umkattayyaalay	umkattaykku	umkattayil

ul				
ullay	'inside'	ullaalay	ullukku	ullil
emk-				
emkay	'where'	emkaalay	emkaalukku	emkaalil
kiil		emkattayyaalay	emkattayyaku	emkattayil
kiilay	'below'	kiilaalay	kiilukku	kiilil
meel				
meelay	'up'	meelaalay	meelukku	meelil
mun				
munay	'before'	munnaalay	munnu	munnayil
veli				
veliyay	'out side'	veliyaalay	velikku	veliyil, veliyilay

(b)

		Sociative	Dative	Locative
kaalamay	'morning'	kaalamayyootu	kaalamayyaku	kaalamayil
muntanaal	'day before yesterday'	muntanaalootu	muntanaalukku	muntanaalayil
naalay	'tomorrow'	naalayyootu	naalayyaku	naalayil
neeTTU	'yesterday'	neeTTayyootu	neeTTayyaku	neeTTayil

**Class II**

		Instrumental	Dative	Locative
ant-u	'that day'	_____	antayyaku	antayyil
ant-ay		_____	antayyil	_____
appoot-ay	'then'	_____	appootayyaku	appootayil
int-u	'today'	_____	intayyaku	intayyil
int-ay		_____	intayyil	_____
ippoot-ay	'now'	_____	ippootayyaku	ippootayil
ent-u	'which day'	_____	entayyaku	entayyil
ent-ay		_____	entayyil	_____
eppoot-ay	'when'	_____	eppootayyaku	eppootayil
pirak	'after'	pirakaalay	pirakukku	_____
pirak-u		_____	_____	_____
pin	'behind'	_____	_____	_____
pin-nay		pinnaalay	pinnukku	_____

**Class III**

munti	'before'	-----	-----	muntiyil	is
munnam	'before'	-----	-----	munnattayil	is
munnatt-ay					

The following are the postpositions that do not take any case suffix:

appa	'then'		
ippa	'now'		
utanamili	'immediately'		
utanay	'immediately'		
uppa	'then'		
caatay	'like, as if'		
pati	'in accordance'		
poola	'like'		
mattum	'only'		
maattiram	'only'		
muulam	'through'		
netuka	'always'		(C)
netukalum			

The following are the defective postpositions.

ini	'hereafter'		
innum	'yet'		
mella	'slowly'		
payya	'slowly'		

Syntactically some of the postpositions usually follow the substantives inflected to particular cases:

(a) The following postpositions usually occur after substantives in the nominative case.

alavilay	'about'		
toffu			
totakkam	'from'		
poolay	'approximately'		
mattum	'till, as far as'		
muulam	'through'		
vaTay	'till, as far as'		
vaTavilay	'about'		
valiya	'along'		

(b) The following usually occur with substantives inflected to the accusative case:

kaattilum	'more than'
kontu	'through'
taviTa	'besides, except'
paTTi	'about'
poola	'like'
maatiTi	'like'
vita	'more than'

(c) The following usually occur with substantives inflected to the dative case:

ul	}	'in, inside'
ulay		
kitta		'at, by'
kiil	}	'under, below'
kiilay		
pin	}	'behind, after'
pinn-ay		
pinnukku		
piraku		
pirak-aalay		
mun-	}	'before, in front of'
mun-n-ay		
mun-n-am		
mun-n-aalay		
mun-n-ukku		
munti		
meel-	}	'on'
meelay		
veli	}	'out, out side'
veli-y-aalay		

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