

# **Glimpses of the Tamil language**

**Cristina Muru**

**The Papyrus**

*Glimpses of the Tamil Language*

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First Edition: November 2010

Published by:

The Papyrus  
1205 Karupur Road  
Puthanatham  
Trichy District 621 310  
Tamil Nadu  
India

Price: Rs. 540

Printed at:

Adyar Students Xerox Pvt. Ltd.  
Thiruvanmiyur Branch  
Chennai 41

ISBN : 978-81-90855-21-1

*To mum Luciana & Daddy Ray*



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## PREFACE

It was in August 2006 that I landed in India for the first time. The first time I had travelled outside of Europe. The first time I had to face a very different culture.

I'll never forget that my plane landed in Chennai at 4.30 A.M. The minute I got off the plane, I realized I couldn't breathe, the humidity was suffocating me, the hot air going up my nose violently. I entered the taxi sent from the hotel I had booked under pressure from my terrified mother, who had insisted I do it before leaving Italy, and from the window of the car I started to observe the show around me. Cows, yellow rickshaws, people cycling, people sleeping on the pavement rolled up in white sheets, like silkworms, trying to protect themselves from mosquito bites. I felt as if I was the only spectator of the hugest documentary I had ever seen in my life. Strangely, I remember silence around me, a huge silence that a few hours after would be broken by the total chaos of cars, bikes, vans, and taxis, and where only powerful horns dominated the acoustic scene behind the traffic visual choreography.

I first met India when I joined the English Department of Madras University with a six months *post-lauream* fellowship given by my University of 'La Tuscia' (Viterbo, Italy). My supervisor in India was Prof. C. T. Indra, Head of the Department, who, together with Prof. Prasad, had helped me realize this dream by sending me an invitation letter. Since that moment, Professor Indra is and remains the one person who has helped me the most during all my visits to India and to whom I will be always indebted. She has always supported me, literally and figuratively, and I thank her for having believed in me then and now.

During those six months spent in Chennai, I made two of the most important discoveries in my life: I fell in love with the Tamil language – and Prof. P. R. Subramanian from *Mozhi* helped me in this, but above all I discovered that in this globalized and consumerist world there still exists someone who has a big and pure heart, who is always ready to help others: I met my precious friend Ram from Cre-A:. It is thanks to him entirely if this book sees the light, and for this and for many other things, too many to be listed here, I will never stop being grateful and to thank him.

In those months, even if I did fall in love with Tamil, I was scared of this incomprehensible language, as is normal with any genuine feeling of love, and I postponed a true meeting with *her*. I came back again the year after, and then the following year and

the following. And every time I got more involved in everything related to Tamil. It was never easy to face it and its related culture, but it was always interesting.

Because of the difficulties I faced during my PhD research I travelled all around India and Europe consulting and disturbing many scholars. Among them my deepest debt is to Prof. Jean-Luc Chevillard from CNRS (Paris), Laboratoire d'Histoire des Théories Linguistiques [UMR 7597, CNRS and Université Paris-Diderot Paris 7] and Prof. Sylvie Archaimbault. He encouraged me, he helped me during the most difficult period of my research and he directed me to the right path, that time and many other times later, whenever I had the chance to meet him.

It was through him that I reached my first manuscript in the Richelieu Library of Paris, of which, sometime later, Prof. Županov kindly donated me a copy.

After that I found my second one in the Vatican Library and then a third in the State Central Library of Goa in Panaji, and so on. And a new facet of my life had begun: I felt like Sherlock Holmes always looking for the right proof, during my research of the *original autograph* manuscript; I never succeeded in it, but I enjoyed every single moment of that research.

If I was able to carry on my travels abroad, in this huge country, it is thanks to two people: my mum who always encouraged me to travel as much as possible – even though she repented the moment I communicated to her I was going to India – and my *Maestra* Barbara Turchetta (University of ‘La Tuscia’), a pioneering African researcher and also a traveller. She used to fascinate me when, very modestly, she shared some of her adventures in Africa with us, her students. My only thought then was: ‘I want to be like her’. I will never stop being grateful to her for the support and encouragement she gave; for what she taught to me.

Many other people, including professors, relatives, friends and institutions have supported me in various ways throughout the phases of my work and experience.

I would like to express my gratitude to Marco Mancini, Laura Mori, Ines G. Županov, Francine Mazière, Elisabeth Sethupathy, Eva Wilden, Harold Schiffman, S. Arokianathan, E. Annamalai, Appasamy Murugayan, P. S. Subrahmanyam, H. S. Ananthanarayana, K. Ramasamy, Ilakkuvanar Maraimalai, Sornarajan Victoria, J. Leitão.

Among the institutions I thank: CNRS of Paris, *Mohzi. A Trust for Research Development in Language and Culture* (Chennai) in the person of P. R. Subramanian, the EFEO (Pondicherry) in the person of Dominic Goodall, the IFP (Pondicherry), the Central State Library of Goa in the person of Dir. Carlos M. Fernandes, the Jesuit Archive in Rome



and Shenbaganur, the Archive of Propaganda Fide, the Archive of Torre do Tombo (Lisbon) in the person of Paulo Cascalhera, the National Library of Lisbon, the Vatican Library of Rome, and the PILC (Pondicherry).

A special thanks to my family, but over all to Ray for the continual optimism, determination, strength and positive energy he was able to transmit to me during the period of this work. Thanks to my friends too: Donata, Claudia, Lucia, Brinda, Morena, Monica, Charlie, Francesca e Lele.

Finally, I feel greatly honoured that Mr. M. Sadhiq of *The Papyrus* has agreed to publish this work.

## INTRODUCTION

This book has been written with the purpose of collecting together all the research I have carried out since the years of my PhD research. All these works are focused on the first missionaries' grammars and texts on the Tamil language written between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The first of the four essays is a presentation and recapitulation of my PhD thesis from the University of Rome 'La Sapienza' and published in Italy.

The materials collected between 2007 and 2008 during my research include grammars, dictionaries, catechisms and prayer books written in Tamil by Jesuit missionaries, who put all their efforts in learning the Tamil language with the intent of converting Indians to Christianity.

Tamil, which belongs to the family of Dravidian languages and is spoken in the southern part of India, is an ancient language with a rich grammatical and literary tradition. The most ancient text preserved till today is the *Tolkāppiyam*, probably composed during the first half of the first millennium AD. The oldest literary corpus of classical Tamil is the *Caṅkam* poetry. These texts and others belonging to later centuries are written in verse and the so-called high variety of Tamil language is used. Linguistic science tends to identify two functionally differentiated varieties of Tamil, spoken and written, to which it is usual to refer with the term *diglossia*.

With regard to the spoken variety, the one used in informal situations, there are not many documents available. It has always been an oral language and never written, and apart from some few exceptions, it has never been the language of any poetic or literary text. Therefore, if we want to try to analyse the linguistic history of the spoken variety of Tamil, it is very difficult because of the lack of data.

We would face the same problem if we were to analyse any language with an oral tradition. Only the curiosity of some few scholars who plunged into remote hill countries or river lands and recorded these languages in some way have brought such languages to light. We would never have known anything about the American languages if people like Boas or Lévi-Strauss had not left descriptions of the communities they studied.

In the same way, it was with the same intent, but maybe with a different approach that cannot always be defined as scientific, that the first missionaries approached and studied the languages of those people belonging to the 'new lands' discovered starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Exploration of Asia, America and Africa started in this century and travellers

before, and missionaries later, described and collected lots of linguistic, cultural and ethnographic information about many languages and ethnic groups with whom they interacted.

Among these languages we find a consistent number of works on Tamil. And we can say that it was with the missionaries that the first Western grammatical description of Tamil started.

It is on these kinds of documents that I have focused my attention during the research for my PhD. The main reason why I chose such texts was that the missionaries, the first who approached the study of Tamil from a Western perspective, used to collect their data mainly through speakers, before learning more about Indian traditional grammar and culture.

The first grammars and texts written by them can be considered as the main witnesses of the spoken variety of Tamil dating back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The first essay deals with three different grammars written between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries by three Jesuit missionaries who spread the Christian religion mainly among the lower classes of Indian society. In the original text of the thesis, I gave more historical information about the settlement of the Portuguese in India and their meeting with Indians (Muru, 2010).

The second essay of this volume is a paper (unpublished) I presented in Poland in March 2009 at the International Conference on *Language and cultures in contact: then and now*. It refers to two different kinds of contacts: the *then* contact between Portuguese and Indians showing how the first missionaries adapted their religious vocabulary to the Tamil language through calques, loanwords and neologisms, and the *now* contact, started in the past and still alive and strong in India, that one between Indian languages and English.

Fifteen years after the independence of India from the British in 1947, English was promoted as one of the official languages of this huge country. It was by then so deeply entrenched in Indian society that it was not possible to remove it and leave only Hindi as the unique national language. Nowadays, English is used in any context. It is very normal to hear people switch from their mother tongue into English and then come back again to their language. Tamil speakers use only some English words instead of Tamil ones for referring to some specific concepts.

The third essay shows the results achieved during my first year as Post-Doctoral Researcher at the University of ‘La Tuscia’ (2009–2010). After the study of missionary grammars I moved to analysing Tamil books written by the Jesuits in Tamil intended for

teaching the basis of Christian prayers and beliefs. It was thrilling and exciting to discover the capability the missionaries had in manipulating Tamil to attract and convince Indians. For example, they clearly used all the prestigious words, mainly of Sanskrit origin, to refer to Christian concepts and then switched again to the most popular ways of speaking in order to make clear the contents of the religion to their readers or listeners.

The linguistic analysis of data focuses on verbal and nominal morphology, and one section is dedicated exclusively to some specific lexemes they used that can be connected back to specific varieties of spoken Tamil.

The Jesuits adopted and adapted themselves and the ways in which they expressed themselves to the Indian culture. They made it possible to read and reinterpret Christian ideas in the Indian cultural environment.

The last essay is more technical than the others, and much more linguistically oriented. It deals with the grammaticalization the verb *koḷ* underwent. It is the paper I presented at the last International Conference of Classical Tamil held in Coimbatore (23<sup>rd</sup>-27<sup>th</sup> June 2010), not yet published. It has been included in this miscellany because the chains of grammaticalization which developed starting from this verb were mainly noticed during the analysis of the missionary grammars. In Modern Tamil this verb is highly productive, and it is used in different contexts where it has assumed different grammatical functions. Many other linguistic items in Tamil developed through grammaticalization, and the analysis of the missionary grammars and texts helped in giving a more complete picture of the grammaticalization that occurred in the language. The verb *koḷ* is one of the most difficult among all the auxiliary verbs, because it has developed several nuances of meaning in Tamil. The essay attempted to show, with an analysis of this verb, that it is possible to speak about *polygrammaticalization* because different grammatical chains developed starting from the same meaning of the verb.

## ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADJ.M	adjectival marker
ADV	adverb
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CARD	cardinal numb. suff.
CAUS	causative
CLAS	classifier
CLIT	clitic
CO	co-ordinating clitic
COM	comitative
COMPL	completive
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuous
DAT	dative
DIM	dimonstrative
DIS	distal
EMPH	emphatic particle
EPIC	epicene
ES	esclusive
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
IMP	imperative
IMPERF	imperfective
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental
INT	interrogative
LOC	locative
M	masculine
NEG	negative
NT	neuter
NUM	numeral
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense
PERF	perfective
PLU	plural
POSS	possessive
POST	postposition

PRES	present
PROX	proximity
PURP	purposive
QUANT	quantifier
QUOT	quotative
REFL	reflexive
RP	relative participle
SG	singular
SUB	subordinate
VN	verbal noun
VOL	volitive
VP	verbal participle

### ***General***

Ms	manuscript
Mss	manuscripts
LT	Literary Tamil
SST	Standard Spoken Tamil

***Portuguese missionaries in India during the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries: the ‘Arte’ of Tamil language. A comparative study of some Portuguese Manuscripts<sup>1</sup>***

The present work focused on the study of missionary grammars with the purpose to increase the value of this field of research. Actually the documents produced by missionaries during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, thanks to which much linguistic data was collected regarding languages unknown to Europe, have never been considered as precious sources of data by linguistics. On the contrary, all the scholars who were dedicated to the study of missionary grammars have usually demonstrated how important these documents are. The corpus of this thesis is therefore represented exclusively by documents produced during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries by missionaries. The relative geographical area is the Indian subcontinent and the zone that is focused on is the region of *Malabar*, as it was called by the missionaries. The language on which we focused our attention is that of Tamil.

The typologies of documents on which we have worked are grammars and one dictionary. The three grammars we analysed were written by three different authors. The first one is the first known grammar of the Tamil language, that many authors such as Vermeer (1982) or Hein (1977) defined as the first grammar of spoken Tamil. Henriques, the author, was a Jesuit who operated in the Fishery Coast (South–Eastern of Tamil Nāḍu region). He professed the Christian religion mainly between one of the lower caste of the Indian society, the *paravas* a caste of fishermen. Authors as Manickam (1968), Žpupanov (1999, 2005), Wicki (1948-1988), and the previously cited authors have described very well the vicissitudes of his life, and what we can comprehend is that this man made many efforts to learn the vernacular language, the Tamil. According to his correspondence with Europe he compiled a dictionary (or better, a glossary), unfortunately, so far, no-one has been able to trace it; a grammar of which it seems he wrote different copies and of which we have only a single exemplar which is currently at the National Library of Lisbon. It isn't an autograph document, but it has been officially recognised as being the original by Thani Nayagam (1954) under the classification COD 3141 in the Lisbon Library.

The second grammar we studied was written by another Portuguese Jesuit, Father Balthassar Da Costa who professed the Christian religion, first in Vembār, a South–Eastern coastal village, and then in the internal regions. This grammar is much more detailed than

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<sup>1</sup> Abstract of PhD dissertation submitted at University of Rome ‘La Sapienza’, Italy on February 2009: *Missionari portoghesi in India nel XVII secolo: l’Arte della lingua tamil. Studio comparato di alcuni manoscritti portoghesi.*

Henriques' grammar, which paid attention mainly to the verbal system. Da Costa focused a lot on verbal morphology, but dedicated a large space also to the nominal morphology (then to nouns, adjectives, postpositions, etc.). This grammar shows to have been compiled starting from the same data previously used by Henriques, it isn't improbable that it was widely circulated and hence influenced the documents that were produced thereafter. However, Da Costa added more elements that allow us to presume that he had access to the Indian grammatical tradition. For example, when he describes the gender, he uses Sanskrit words to refer to masculine, feminine and neutral gender. We are sure that this Holyman elaborated his grammar from another version that had been written by the Jesuit, Gaspar De Aguilar, about whom we do not have any documentation. Da Costa cited quite frequently his name, defining him as a good grammarian and he refers the reader back to Aguilar's Grammar for interjection and adverbs. Da Costa's Grammar was part of a more complete instrument for Jesuits, it was attached to a Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary whose author, Father Antão De Proença was strictly in touch with Da Costa and died before him in 1666. De Proença's Dictionary is a monumental piece of work because it is a compendium of various dictionaries which did not reach us (such as Ignacio Bruno's dictionary), to which he added many more entry words directly inferred by the spoken language as he declares in the written introduction. Several copies of this dictionary and grammar exist: in Lisbon, Italy, India and, if we consider the photo static reproduction of the dictionary by Thani Nayagam (1966), we can also add Paris.

The third grammar studied is an anonymous document found in the Richelieu Library in Paris. Maybe it is the most recent of all of the documents, and it is quite different in the lexicon. It did not only use Christian words, but we find a list of lexemes which refer to castes, fishes, plants, fruits of Indian reality. It is also the most incorrect grammar because its author appears to be the less perceptive between all of the Fathers regarding the quantity of Tamil vowels. There are also many mistakes in the transcription and segmentation of words, which made the translation of the Tamil portion and the identification of words rather difficult. However it is a well structured grammar with a large portion dedicated to postposition and adverbs, where it has been possible also to find a trace of the typical features of the spoken Tamil variety.

All of the grammars are defined by their authors as *Arte* according to the Latin tradition, which represents the basis from which they moved and articulated the structure of their grammars. The main purpose of these books was to instruct as many missionaries as



possible, because the best way to spread the Christian religion, the best way to catch the attention of Indians was to spread the Christian *credo* through their mother tongues and not through a western language that nobody could understand or through the medium of interpreters (called *topaz* or *lingua*) who often mangled priests' words. These grammars represented the tools through which Jesuits could learn Tamil, the examples given inside these texts can be considered a true "missionary's jargon", prepared with the aim to convey the necessary concepts to the Indians.

As Hovdhaugen (1996) states, the learning of the vernacular language and the production of books which described the vernacular languages were an integral part of the duties of a good missionary. These documents were all structured according to the Latin grammar model; consequently it is not rare to notice the straining the Jesuit operated on the Tamil language with the purpose to correspond to the Latin part of the discourse. This was one of the points on which we focused our attention. Each *Arte* shows several features in this orientation.

It is also necessary to point out the linguistic situation in which the Missionaries operated. In fact, Tamil Nāḍu has always been considered a region characterised by *diglossia*, or better two different varieties of the same language which are functionally distinguished and consequently used<sup>2</sup>. The **H**igh variety is reserved for formal situations. It is the language of literature and instruction, it is the language of politics (even if today, politicians frequently switch to colloquial Tamil to achieve a greater impact on their people). The **L**ow variety is used in all informal situations. It is through the colloquial Tamil that people express themselves in the society, communicate within their family environment and with relatives, friends and neighbours. The Indian grammar tradition has always only described the High variety of Tamil and we do not have much information and data of colloquial Tamil over all regarding ancient times. There are no old written documents in this variety of language. Consequently it is easy to infer that the missionary grammars represent important evidence of features of various spoken forms of Tamil (the variety changed depending on the destination of the Fathers in the *Malabar* region).

In the draft of the research we have tried to identify all the linguistic traits that could contribute to enrich the knowledge of the history of Tamil language.

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<sup>2</sup> For further information refer to Britto (1956), Ferguson (1959), Krishnamurti et al (1986).

### 1. Structure of the thesis

The five thesis chapters are divided into two main parts. The first three chapters deal with the history, the ethnography and the culture of Jesuits and Indian people.

The first chapter, *Commercial explorations and Religious Missions* is an historical chapter. It contextualises both chronologically and geographically all the events which we consider relevant to this study and strictly connected with the selected corpus. The first objective has been to trace the main events which conducted to the establishment of a contact between Portuguese and Indians. In particular, we have drawn the steps of Portuguese commercial and religious expansion. We have pointed out in which way they achieved the first conversions among the *paravas*, and how much more interested they were in economic gain than in religion. Only in 1542 when Francisco Xavier, a Jesuit of Basque origin, arrived did Christianity start to be spread in a different manner. First of all, he understood the importance of the study of the vernacular languages that should be used instead of the Portuguese language which, in time, became the main *lingua franca* both of commerce and of religion; secondly he started to pay more attention to the traditions and cultures of the Indians, respecting their vegetarian habits for example. With Xavier a new era of conversion in India began.

Secondly, we have highlighted some of the most important features which characterise the societal structure of Indian society: an explanation of the caste system is superficially traced with the purpose to help the reader to understand Missionaries' strategies and behaviour regarding the spreading of the Christian religion. Particular attention was paid to the strategies adopted by the Italian Jesuit Roberto de Nobili (cf. Rajamanickam, 1967; 1972), who was the first to succeed in welcoming the Brahmins into the Christian religion. He has been the best example in India of the techniques adopted by the Jesuits not only in this country but also in other parts of the world to which they went to profess the Christian religion. Jesuits in fact succeeded in their attempts thanks to their ability to understand the different cultures by which they were faced. They clearly understood that they had to mingle amongst the Indians if they wanted to catch their attention; they adopted their music, colours, habits through which they gave a modified reading of the Christian message. They used prestigious Indian words to define and refer to Christian deities; they used the mythology of the Indians to attract them to the Christian religion.

The second chapter, *The Missionary Linguistics*, is articulated in three paragraphs. In the first travellers' reports and missionary grammars are compared, then the differences are highlighted; consequently all of the traits which define missionary linguistics have been underlined (Zwartjes & Hovdhaugen, 2004). Particular attention has been paid to the training that the Jesuits underwent before starting any missionary activity and to the techniques adopted by the missionaries in the conversion to Christianity. The second paragraph deals with an important innovation introduced in India in 1556 by Jesuits which contributed to a faster and more efficient diffusion of religious thoughts and creeds written in the vernacular languages: the print<sup>3</sup>. The first prayer books translated into Tamil by Father Henriques *Tambirān Vaṇakkam* (தம்பிரான் வணக்கம்) was printed in Goa *no ano de MDLXXVIII*, (Rajamanickam, 1968).

Finally, the last paragraph deeply underlies the peculiarities of Missionary Grammars, comparing the first Tamil grammar written by Father Henrique Henriques with that one written by João de Barros (1540) regarding the Portuguese language - we have to remind ourselves that in Europe the vulgar languages were increasing and imposing over the Latin language and many grammars of the vulgar languages therefore evolved.

Henriques refers to Barros' grammar as a model and he advises the readers of his *Sumario da lingua Malavar* to learn this grammar or, at least a Latin grammar. The similarities and differences between Henriques' and Barros' grammars have been mapped out. In this paragraph it has been underlined how much the Classical model influenced the production of the first missionaries who were trying to describe new languages that were so very different from their mother tongues.

The third chapter, *Portuguese missionaries: author and corpus* is formed by two sections. The first one looks at the biographical information we have discovered through primary sources (letters and reports sent to Europe by the missionaries which mainly refer to De Proença's life) and secondary sources (information taken from other authors, who mainly refer to Henriques' life) about the missionaries. Henrique has been studied more thoroughly in the past and for this reason the amount of information about him that we have access to is much greater than that concerning Da Costa or De Proença<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> For further information about the print in India refer to Kesavan (1985), Primola (1958), Rajamanickam (1969), Rodeles (1913), Saldanha (1956), Schurhammer (1956).

<sup>4</sup> For detailed information about these Jesuits refer to Muru (2010).

We have also described every author's manuscript, giving, whenever possible, information regarding the location, dimensions and the conditions of it. The second section of the chapter indicates the *corpus* we have selected in the grammars and the dictionary which we consider to be interesting and relevant to the present research:

The method and the scientific framework of reference in the analysis of data (4<sup>th</sup> chapt. in Muru, 2010) have been described. Each grammar has been transcribed in a digital format, then translated from Portuguese into Italian, all the Tamil portions have been translated<sup>5</sup> and then glossed. At this point only the linguistically relevant ideas have been selected and each chosen folio is indicated in the following table. We have used De Proença's Dictionary as a complementary instrument in the translation of Tamil sections of the grammars and as a tool with whom to verify some our intuitions.

	<b>COD 3141 Henrique Henriques</b>	<b>BORG IND 12 Balthassar Da Costa</b>	<b>MS IND 188 Anonymous</b>	<b>MS 34 Antão De Proença</b>
<i>Case</i>	24 r; 25 v; 43 v; 44 r; 150 r; 150 v; 151 r; 151 v	227 r; 237 v; 238 r; 250 v; 251 r	45 v; 46 r; 46 v; 47 r; 47 v; 48 r; 48 v; 49 r; 51 v; 52 r; 54 r; 54 v; 55 r; 54v	Pointed out in § 4.3.2 (cf. Muru, 2010)
<i>Adjective</i>	26 r; 26 v; 27 r; 27 v; 33 r; 33 v	145 r; 145 v; 228 r; 229 r; 233 r; 253 r; 254 r	15 v; 16 r; 17 r; 18 v; 49 v	Pointed out in § 4.4.1 (cf. Muru, 2010)
<i>Aspect</i>	45 r; 48 v; 49 r; 52 r; 52 v	226 v; 227 v; 234 r; 234 v; 256 r; 256 v	24 v; 25 r; 25 v; 50 v	Pointed out in § 4.5.1 (cf. Muru, 2010)

The fourth, and most extensive chapter is entitled *The Tamil described in the Manuscripts* and is an attempt to identify some structural characteristics of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries' Tamil language. Attention is focused mainly on nominal (case system and adjective) and verbal morphology (aspect), after a brief section on phonetics and phonology.

We are going to present some of the results achieved in the following paragraphs.

<sup>5</sup> We have to be grateful to Prof. Chevillard (CNRS in Paris) and Prof. Sethupaty (INALCO in Paris) for the support and suggestions they gave us.

## 2. Phonology of Tamil language

Two of the missionaries, Henriques and De Proença attempted to describe the sounds of Tamil language. It is interesting to see the expedients they resorted to help those who were interested in the learning of Tamil and to explain the right way to articulate some specific Tamil sounds. For example, De Proença, more so than Henriques, gives explanation regarding the position of the tongue inside the mouth in the articulation of retroflex sounds, and for the articulation of all the sounds that are foreign to the Portuguese phonological system. The De Proença's manuscript is also very important because it shows how this author, before Beschi an Italian Jesuit (to whom the 'revolution' of Tamil scripts is attributed) found a way to distinguish the vowel quantity. He refers that the 'Tamil Alphabet' was poor of letters and it lacked sufficient symbols to differentiate long and short [o] and [e] vowels. It also lacked symbols to distinguish the long [a] after a consonant from [r], for this reason he attempts to resolve the problem adding diacritic signs to the letters with the purpose to make more clear to the reader the 'true' nature of the sound. He also remarks that the 'Tamil Alphabet' did not distinguish between voiced and unvoiced consonants, for this reason he decides to follow the Portuguese Alphabet order instead of the Tamil one, with the purpose to make his dictionary easier to be consulted by young missionaries (cf. Appendix 4, p. 28).

On the contrary Henriques also identified the characteristic sounds of Tamil as being different from those of Portuguese, but he created a system of transliteration in Latin letter of these sounds. Consequently he used, and sometimes invented, different kinds of letters. For example to distinguish the two different <l>, the retroflex one and the lateral one, used <L> for the first one and <|> for the second one respectively (cf. Appendix 3, p. 25).

Both of the authors paid more attention to those sounds that are typical of Tamil language, like the retroflex sounds and they (mainly De Proença) described the way in which they should be pronounced, the position of the tongue and how far the tongue should be from the palate. De Proença also went on to focus his attention on the *sandhi* rules which occur when two words join.

We can refer to these sections of the manuscripts as a first study or attempt of articulatory phonetics. An extensive example of the way in which the Fathers described the Tamil language is given in the final Appendixes.

### 3. The analysis of data

After a brief introduction on the typological traits of Tamil language and the description of the phonological system of it offered by the missionaries, the fourth chapter is subdivided in three other main paragraphs all articulated in this way: a first section regarding the framework of reference and the historical data available, and a second part regarding the analysis of data inferred by the manuscripts.

The analysis of data started from an empirical approach through the study of the various *Tamil Arte*, these same data have been compared with different typologies of scientific data coming from both ancient texts and modern texts elaborated again by various eminent scholars such as Andronov (1977), Annamalai & Steever (1998), Arden (1942), Asher (1985), Bloch (1946), Caldwell (1856), Comrie (1990), Graul (1855), Krishnamurti (2003), Lehmann (1989; 1998), Schiffman (1999), Zvelebil (1990), all representative in their contribution to the study of Dravidian languages.

The analysed data has been set up within the theoretical framework of grammaticalization<sup>6</sup>, with the purpose being to recognise processes of grammaticalization still operating or already concluded that can be found among the chosen data. We then verified if some of the process of grammaticalization described for the Modern Tamil had already manifested at that time (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries). The comparison between the data offered by the existing scientific literature in reference to both the Tamil and the Dravidian languages and our data, generally showed the following, that we are going to present and articulate in three different paragraphs.

#### 3.1 The case system

The first paragraph refers to the case system and it is possible to notice that the model described by the missionary grammars lacks the *ablātīvūs origins* which mark the ‘source’, whilst *ablātīvūs locī* and *ablātīvūs instrument* are both included under the etiquette *ablative*. Consequently it is possible to observe how the missionaries included the instrumental, the locative and the sociative case (as it is called by the Dravidian linguistics

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Heine; Claudi & Hünemeyer (1991); Hopper & Traugott (1993).

and corresponds to the comitative) under the *ablātivus origins*, but they failed to refer to the ablative case as it is nowadays recognised in Modern Tamil and as it was present already in the Ancient Tamil although it was expressed mainly by postpositions rather than by a case marker.

The following chart shows which were the cases recognized by the missionaries and how they classified them:

CASE	Cod. 3141	Borg. Ind. 12	MS Ind. 188
NOMINATIVE	∅	∅	∅
ACCUSATIVE	-ai	-ai	-ai
GENITIVE	-uṭaiya	-uṭaiya	-uṭaiya
DATIVE	-kku -ukku	-ukkāka -ukku	-ukku
ABLATIVE (locative)	-il -ile	-iṭattile iṭam -iṭattil iṭatm (t.obl.)+il } (obl.)+il+ e	-il
INSTRUMENTAL ABLATIVE (instrumental)		-āl	
SOCIATIVE ABLATIVE (comitative)		-oṭe	
VOCATIVE	-e	-e	-e
Other ways of speaking (benefactive) <sup>7</sup>		-ukkāka	

#### Case system in the missionary grammars.

As it is possible to see from the previous chart Henrique Henriques (COD. 3141) and the Ms 188 applied the Latin classification to the Tamil language, while Da Costa (Borg. Ind. 12) also identified other morphemes. In any case, none of them listed the ablative case used in Modern Tamil (cf. Lehmann, 1989: 41-42) given by locative case + postposition *iruntu* (-iliruntu/-iṭamiruntu) in the High variety of Tamil. In the Spoken Tamil the

<sup>7</sup> Among the modern grammar Lehmann (1989) includes the benefactive in the case system of Tamil.

markers differ (*-lerundu*, *-kittērandu*) but the process of formation registered is the same for the high variety (Schiffman 1999: 33-34).

All the three manuscripts deal with cases at the beginning of their grammars where they offer the classification of them. Again they deal with the cases when they talk about verbs and postpositions. We are going to refer to some of the example extracted from the analysed grammars.

- 1) Peturu eṇṇ-ai            ciṇekittu   iru-kkiṛ-(ā)tu-kku  
    Piter   1SG-OBL-ACC friend   be-PRES-VN-DAT  
    eṇṇ-ai            ninti-kkiṛ-āṇ  
    1SG-OBL-ACC betray-PRES-3SG-M  
    *Peter betrays me rather than being my friend.*
- 2) Yuvāṇi            vicuvaci-kkiṛ-(ā)t-ukk-āka   Tomai   vicuvaci-kkiṛ-āṇ  
    John            believe-PRES-VN-DAT-BEN   Thomas   believe-PRES-3SG-M  
    *Thomas believes because of the believing of John.*

In the first example the dative is suffixed to the verbal noun of the verb ‘to be’. We could consider the dative as a morpheme indicating the comparison and we could read the same example as *more than to be my friend, Peter betrays me*. The second option allows us to consider the dative a connective with a function of adversative conjunction *rather than being my friend, Peter betrays me*. In the second example the dative is followed by the postposition *-āka* which seems to assume the value of ‘purposive’<sup>8</sup>: it marks the reason for which John believes. The following examples show the different function that the missionaries recognized for the dative case.

- 3) Peturu   vicuvaci-kkiṛ-(ā)t-ukku   muṇṇ(ē)   nāṇ   vicuvaci-tt-eṇ  
    Peter   believe-PRES-VN-DAT   before-POST   1SG   believe-PAST-1SG  
    *I believed before Peter believed.*

The dative case could be interpreted here as a point of reference in time before another with the following literal translation: *I believed, before of the believing of Peter*.

<sup>8</sup> According to some authors it should be seen as a ‘benefactive’ case and for this reason we have glossed it as BEN(efactive), but in our opinion it should be considered a ‘purposive’ case.



- 4) Bakavati<sup>9</sup>.y-ai vicuvaci-kkiṛ-(ā)tu picāc-ai vicuvaci-kkiṛ-(ā)t-ukk-okk-um  
 Pagode-ACC believe-PRES-VN devil-ACC believe-PRES-VN-DAT-resemble-FUT-3SG-NT  
*It resembles to those who believe in devil the belief in the Gods.*

- 5) Peturu yuvāṇi.y-ai aṭi-tt-(ā)tu-kku nāṇ y.eṇṇa cey-v-eṇ  
 Peter John-ACC beat-PAST-VN-DAT 1SG INT do-FUT-1SG  
*What will I do to Peter for having beaten John?*

In the example 4) the dative marks the indirect object, in the example 5) expresses the reason for which the action will be performed.

- 6) Yuvāṇi kovil-ukku pok-ātat-ukku.y eṇṇa collu-v-āṇ  
 John temple-DAT go-VN-NEG-DAT INT say-FUT-3SG-M  
*What will John say about not coming to the Church?*

The first dative indicates the inanimate destination, the second once again refers to the reason.

- 7) Bakavati.y-e vicuvaci.y-ātat-il eṇ-akku.y i-nta naṇmai va(n)-t-(a)tu  
 Pagode-ACC believe-INF-VN-NEG-LOC 1SG-OBL-DAT PROX-DIM reward come-PAST-3SG-NT  
*I received this reward for not having believed in the gods.*

The dative points out the beneficiary, while the negative form of the verbal noun with the locative case seems to mark the instrument through which the beneficiary obtained the reward (Lehmann, 1989: 303). We point out also that this is one of those example where the morpheme of the accusative case is reduced to the Spoken form *-e*.

- 8) Caṇuvecuraṇ-ai vicuvaci-kkiṛ-a av-ar-kaḷ-ukk-uḷle  
 Dio-ACC believe-PRES-RP DIS-3PLU-EPIC-DAT-POST  
 Pedro uṛutu.y-āy vicuvāci-kkiṛ-āṇ  
 Peter strenght-ADV.M believe-PRES-3SG-M  
*Among all those who believe in God, Peter believes most strongly.*

In most of the examples used by the missionaries the accusative is omitted<sup>10</sup> or it is used to mark the direct object. Therefore, we do not report these examples, we only refer to some in which it is used in the comparative constructions (Schiffman, 1999: 126).

<sup>9</sup> This lexeme refers to the Bhagavad Gita. It is used to refer to the pagan deities that the Portugues used to call *pagode*. பகவத் கீதை (bagavat kīdai) N. “The book of Bhagavad Gīta, forming part of the epic Mahabharata; பகவான் (bagavān) N. God” (CRE-A: Dictionary, 865).

<sup>10</sup> In Tamil the accusative case is obligatory only with [+animate] nouns or with inanimate but only if [+definite].

- 9) Maṇuṣaṇ-ā<sup>11</sup> vicuvāci-kkiṛ-(ā)t-ai.p pārkka<sup>12</sup> caṇvecuraṇ-ai vicuvāci-kkiṛ-(ā)[tu]<sup>13</sup>  
 Men believe-PRES-VN-ACC see-INF God-ACC believe-PRES-VN  
 nall-atu  
 good-ADJ-3SG-NT  
*It's better to believe in God than in men.*

Also the locative is used to mark the place or in the comparative constructions:

- 10) Peturu.y i-nta viṭṭ-ile vara.k kaṇ-ṭ-eṇ-illai  
 Peter PROX-DIM house-LOC come-RP-FUT see-PAST-1SG-NEG  
*I didn't see that Peter had arrived in this house.*

- 11) Ō[laiy]-ile eḷutu-kir-(ā)t-ai.p pārkka kaṭatāci.y-ile  
 Palm leave-LOC write-PRES-VN-ACC see-INF letter-LOC  
 eḷutu-kir-(ā)tu nall-atu  
 write-PRES-VN good-ADJ-3SG-NT  
*It is better to write on the paper than on the palm leaves.*

- 12) Maṇuṣar-ka(l)-ai vicuvāci-kkiṛ-(ā)t-il enta naṇmai va-r-um?  
 Men-PLU-ACC believe-PRES-VN-LOC INT good come-FUT-3SG-NT  
*What good will come from believing in men?*

In this last example the locative marks the [+abstract] place, while the accusative marks the direct object. When the missionaries refer to the ablative case, they simply show the comparative construction with the locative case (cf. ex. 11).

Finally we illustrate some examples of cases followed by postpositions:

- 13) viṭṭ-ukk-uḷḷe  
 house-DAT-inside-POST  
*Inside the house.*

- 14) viṭṭ-ukku.p-pirame<sup>14</sup>  
 house-DAT-outside-ADV  
*Outside the house.*

<sup>11</sup> We have not been able to identify this final -ā.

<sup>12</sup> The verb 'to see' has been grammaticalized and it is used with the meaning of 'than'.

<sup>13</sup> The square brackets indicate that we are not sure about the interpretation of the letter due to the condition of the manuscripts, the round brackets refer to the letter that we would expect in that specific context.

<sup>14</sup> This word is used in Spoken Tamil, the Literary Tamil form is *puram* 'outside'.

- 15) *yeṇ-akku          munṇe          peturu va-nt-āṇ*  
 1SG-OBL-DAT    before-POST   Peter come-PAST-3SG-M  
*Peter arrived before me.*

- 16) *eṇṇ-ai.k-koṇṭu          a.v-aṇ          pollāppu.cco-ṇṇ-āṇ*  
 1SG-OBL-ACC-INSTR DIS-3SG-M    sorrow    say-PAST-3SG-M  
*He sad bad things about me.*

According to the previous examples a more detailed study of the case system of the Tamil language would probably lead to the identification of more specific cases. If the dative case is considered it is possible to notice that it responds to a series of supplementary functions, with respect to those which are proper of this case. For example, it is used in the comparison and we wonder if in this case we could recognize a proper comparative case that Blake (1994: 156) found in some of the Dravidian languages. One more function of the dative case is that of identifying the beneficiary of an action, information reinforced by the suffix *-āka* derived by the grammaticalization of the verb ‘to become’, a predicate with two arguments (X becomes Y) which has been re-analyzed as an invariable marker. Lehmann (1989) calls this marker ‘benefactive case’, but for us this marker could rather be considered as an ‘intentional case’ as defined by Blake and found by the authors like Agesthialingom & Kushalappa Gowda (1976) in other Dravidian languages, such as Iruḷa and then it could be defined a ‘purposive case’.

### 3.2 *The adjective*

The paragraph that follows that on case, is dedicated to the adjective (cf. Chevillard, 1992b). The dispute surrounding whether adjectives should be considered an autonomous class of words or not in Tamil is still open and appears to be a prevailing scepticism.

According to Bhat (2000: 47), the cross-linguistic variation of the number of classes of words identifiable in a language can be motivated on functional bases, this means that languages present different needs of expression and according to these needs the number of formal expedients to express them is variable. The author (2000: 49) affirms that it is possible to assume the existence of three ideal languages<sup>15</sup> regarding the presence or, on

<sup>15</sup> The three ideal languages are defined according to typological structures. For further details refer also to Comrie (1983); Croft (1990; 2000).

the contrary, the absence of the adjective:

1) A language where a consistent open class of adjectives is present, such as the existing class of nouns and verbs ;

2) A language where only two main classes exist: noun and verb, with adjectives which are not distinguishable by nouns;

3) A language where once again there are only two main classes (noun and verbs) and where the adjectives are not distinguishable by verbs.

These three ideal languages differ between themselves for the strategy they use to build nominal phrases. If the Tamil language is considered we should ask where to collocate it. Some authors would include it into the second type of ideal language, where adjectives can be considered as such only because they occupy a position in front of the noun; other authors would include the Tamil language in the first type where it is possible to identify a group of 'pure' adjectives.

From this, it is possible to infer that opinions between scholars are not uniform and two main groups are identified: the authors who recognise an autonomous class of adjectives, and on the other hand authors who do not. Among the authors who agree in recognizing a separate class of adjectives we find Zvelebil (1990: 27) "*adjectives [...] exist as a separate word-class in Dravidian*", (1977: 59): "*Monomorphemic 'primary', underived adjectives exist in all Dravidian languages; such primary adjectives are emphatically not derived from nouns and/or verbs, even in diachronic terms*"; Arden (1942: 108, § 189): "*Tamil adjectives are indeclinable and are always prefixed to the noun they qualify*"; Krishnamurti (2003: 388): "*there are few words which are basic adjectives and adverbs*", Subrahmanyam P. S. (personal communication): "*the following word classes can be recognized for Dravidian: nouns (pronouns and numerals are subclasses of nouns since they are inflected for case and can occur as the head of a noun phrase like nouns), verbs, adjectives, adverbs (including expressive), particles, and interjections*".

On the other hand, among the authors who tend do not identify the adjectives as an independent category we find Caldwell (1856: 308): "*Dravidian adjectives [...] are nouns of quality or relation, which acquire the significance of adjectives merely by being prefixed to substantive nouns without declensional change*"; Bloch (1946: 32) "*il n'y a pas d'adjectifs proprement dits en dravidien*"; Andronov (1977: 67): "*in all modern Dravidian languages, except Kurukh and possibly some others, the adjective is a separate part of speech. At the same time it cannot be doubted that in the ancient Dravidian languages and*

*naturally in Proto-Dravidian there was no distinction between the substantive and the adjective and the noun as the general grammatical category represented both*"; Lehmann (1989: 131): "*the lexical category of adjectives is another syntactic category in Modern Tamil, which has evolved in a diachronic process (pronominal forms)*<sup>16</sup> *like nalla and aṣakiya*<sup>17</sup> *are syntactically re-analyzed to adjectives in Modern Tamil and cannot be segmented*"; Steever (in Comrie, 1990: 240): "*although some grammars of Tamil list as many as ten parts of speech, all of them can be resolved into one of two formal categories: noun and verbs*"; Schiffman (1999: 123): "*with very few exceptions, Tamil does not have what are considered to be 'true' adjectives*".

Analysis of the missionary grammars and the consultation of De Proença's dictionary allowed us to trace valid evidence to support all the theories which argue for recognising the class of adjectives as a part of the discourse in the Tamil language.

The Fathers clearly distinguish two different categories of adjectives: the 'pure' adjectives, i.e. those which are not derivable either from other nouns or from verbs and have reason to be regarded as true adjectives, and another series that is derived from nouns or verbs by means of suffixes (i.e. – *āṇa*, –*uḷḷa*).

In Henriques' grammar [fol.27 r] we find the following example:

*juaen meta pilam ullavaen.*

17) i.v-aṇ            meta            pilam<sup>18</sup>-uḷḷ-avaṇ  
           PROX-3SG-M    QUANT            strenght-ADJ.M-3SG-M  
*This man is strong.*

Even in this last case the suffixes added to nouns are nothing if not lexical items, emptied of their original meaning, which went on to take a more purely abstract grammar value. The process in act is always one of grammaticalization. Among the verbs used in the derivation of adjectives we find the verb 'to be, to exist' (*uḷ*) and again the verb 'to become' (*āku*). The shape of these non-finite verbs are used as grammaticalized suffixes.

<sup>16</sup> The section in brackets is our own.

<sup>17</sup> According to the TL transliteration <z> corresponds to <l>.

<sup>18</sup> *Pilam* in Spoken Tamil, *palam* in literary Tamil.

### 3.3 The aspect

In the last paragraph of the fourth chapter attention has focused on verbal morphology in reference to the category of aspect (Comrie, 1976), mainly expressed in Tamil through periphrastic ways and only partially through proper aspectual markers. This is mainly true for the literal Tamil, on the contrary, in the Spoken variety of Tamil it is possible to trace a series of aspectual markers, much more grammaticalized than in the high variety of the language (for further details refer to Schiffman, 1999; 2005).

Analysis of the missionary grammars also inferred that during the 17<sup>th</sup> century some of the aspectual markers that are now recognised had developed, although their number was much more restricted than it is today. Between the three grammars only that of Henriques, dated back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, seems to be relatively poorer with regards to this matter. In spite of this statement it is necessary to say that the interpretation of ‘aspect’ given by missionaries is absolutely ‘personalised’. When referring to the expression of the aspect in Tamil, all of the Fathers used a periphrasis built with temporal adverbs, such as *atukku munne*, or *appō* like the following example show:

18) Nī.ya vicuvaci-kkiṛ-āy-(ē)      appō      nāṇ      vic(uvac)i-tt-(ē)ṇ  
 2SG    believe-PRES-2SG-EMPH    ADV-PERF    1SG    believe-PAST-1SG  
*When you believed, I believed.*

19) Nī.ya      vicuvaci-kkiṛ-āy-(ē)      atu-kku-      munne      nāṇ      vicuvaci- pp-(ē)ṇ  
 2SG      believe-PRES-2SG-EMPH      3SG-NT-DAT    POST-IMPERF    1SG    believe-FUT-1SG  
*Before that time you began to believe I had already believed.*

This strategy, used to express the imperfective and perfective aspect, seems to be an invention of the missionaries as is also stated by another Jesuit, the Italian Constantine Joseph Beschi who affirmed years later in his Spoken Tamil grammar (1848) that he never heard Indians express themselves in these terms, but he only read it on the grammars his colleagues wrote years before. On the contrary Beschi says that he heard the Indians express themselves through a construction given by the adverbial participle of the main verb followed by a conjugated verb for person, number and gender (the auxiliary which expressed the aspect).

It appears, then, that the Fathers who preceded Beschi were not really able to recognise and distinguish the aspect in Tamil, which is why they devised a way to express this

concept. A possible consideration about the syntactic expedient adopted by the Fathers to report the aspectual, temporal and modal expressions is that usually found in the languages born by contact, such as pidgin, where the flexional morphology is reduced or totally absent and that markers placed before the main verbs are used.

However the same kind of expression recognised by Beschi are found in these missionary grammars under other sections entitled for example '*Da composição dos verbos*' (about the verbal composition and other ways to express). In these sections it is possible to trace some of the actual markers used to express aspectual values in Tamil derived by the grammaticalization of some Tamil verbs.

At this point we have focused the attention on the kind of verbs selected in the Tamil language to absolve this function. If they are compared with the concrete entities that Heine (1993: 28) had identified cross-linguistically as linguistic expressions for tense, aspect, and mood which are

- a. location<sup>19</sup>
- b. motion<sup>20</sup>
- c. action<sup>21</sup>
- d. desire
- e. posture
- f. relation
- g. possession

we can confirm that in Tamil we also find some of these concrete entities and we can also confirm that when the grammaticalization is extended to more complex structures, it is possible to speak not only of source concept but rather of source proposition (Heine, 1993: 31) which are listed in the following table.

<sup>19</sup> In Tamil we find: *iru* 'to be'.

<sup>20</sup> In Tamil we find: *pō* 'to go', *vā* 'to come', *viṭu* 'to leave', *tole* (intr.) 'to reach the end, to die, to be ruined'.

<sup>21</sup> In Tamil we find: *vāyiyi* 'to put something somewhere to protect it', *kol* 'to hold, to contain', *talḷu* 'to push', *pōḷu* 'to put', *tole* (trans.) 'to finish, to kill, to destroy'.

<i>Conceptual forms</i>	<i>Proposed label</i>
X is at Y	Location
X moves to/from Y	Motion
X does Y	Action
X wants Y	Volition
X becomes Y	Change-of-state <sup>22</sup>
X is (like) a Y	Equation
X is with Y	Companionship
X has Y	Possession
X stays in Y manner	Manner

**The main event schema as sources for grammatical categories of tense and aspect, Heine (1993: 31)**

Regarding this classification given by Heine it is possible to notice that the Tamil language does not differ from Heine's model for the source or postposition concepts. According to Schiffman (2005) aspect as grammatical category is thus derived from the semantic elements of deixis, having to do with motion, spatial relation, or proximity to(ward) or away from the speaker; stasis, having to do with continuity, duration, lack of boundedness, habituality, etc. of action or state; stasis, antipathy and/or containment (in particular continuity or duration), consequently they also form part of the categories that are cross-linguistically recognised. But Tamil shows different results in the grammaticalization than those expected. The variation found analysing the aspectual markers in Tamil with respect to Heine's model interests the final result or rather, the aspectual value ascribable to each source concept. It differs in Tamil with respect to the general tendency noticed in the other languages by Heine (1993). The following table has the purpose to compare and to point out these differences in the results. Only the similarities are written in bold types.

<sup>22</sup> In Tamil we have X becomes Y: *āku* > resultative.



Heine (1993: 47) source concept		TAMIL	
Location	<b>Progressive</b> , ingressive, continuous	perfect (with dynamic verbs), <b>progressive</b> (with static verbs), resultative, epistemic	<i>iru</i> 'to be at, in'
Motion	Ingressive, future, perfect, <b>past</b>	(1) <b>perfect</b> , (2) iterative, (3) change-of-state, (4) antipathy of the speaker through the action	(1) <i>viṭu</i> 'to leave', (2) <i>vā</i> 'to come', (3) <i>pō</i> 'to go', (4) <i>tole</i> (intr.) 'to reach the end, to die, to be ruined'
Action	Progressive, continuous, <b>ingressive</b> , <b>completive</b> , perfect	(1) future utility, (2) <b>incoative</b> , simultaneity, auto-affective/benefactive, durative, <b>completive</b> (3) relief, (4) malicious intent (aptitude), (5) antipathy of the speaker	(1) <i>ṽāyvi</i> 'to put something somewhere to protect it, to take someone'; (2) <i>kol</i> 'to hold', (3) <i>talḷu</i> 'to push', (4) <i>pōṭu</i> 'to put down', (5) <i>tole</i> (trans.) 'to finish, to destroy, to kill'
Vollition	Ingressive, future		
Change-of-state	Ingressive, future		
Equation	<b>Resultative</b> , progressive, <b>perfect</b> , future	(1) <b>resultative</b> , (2) <b>perfect</b>	(1) <i>āku</i> 'to become', (2) <i>āyru</i> Adverbial participle of <i>āka</i>
Accompaniment	Progressive		
Possession	Resultative, perfect, future		
Manner	Progressive		

Conceptual source for the expression of Aspect defined by Heine (1993) and compared with the results of aspectual markers of the Tamil language.

This table highlights the grammatical realization derived by grammaticalization of Tamil verbs which sometimes from the results we would have expected to find according to Heine's investigation.

The aspectual system of Tamil and the description of the same has been given in the last paragraph of the 4<sup>th</sup> chapter which shows the following auxiliaries already grammaticalized and used among the missionaries:

- *koṇṭu*, the adverbial participle of *koḷ* 'to hold, to contain', it occurs either as instrumental postposition, and with the verbs *vā* 'come' and *pō* 'go', and in composite construction where it adds an aspectual value in the verb: if it is alone it has the reflexive meaning; when it is joined to the verb *iru* 'to be' it has the continuous value. It is found in Henriques [fol. 49 r]; Borg. Ind. 12 [fol. 234 r];
- *koḷ*, 'to hold, to contain' with inchoative value, simultaneity value, durative and completive value. It is found in Borg. Ind. 12 [fol. 234 r];
- *pō*, 'go', change of state. It is found in Borg. Ind. 12 [fol. 226 v];
- *iru*, 'be' the most stabilized and productive used to express the imperfective aspect. It is found in Henriques [fol. 48 v], Borg. Ind. 12 [fol. 226 v], Ms 188 [fol. 50 v];
- *viṭu* 'leave', perfective. It occurs in Henriques [fol. 128 r], Borg. Ind. 12 [fol. 227 v], [fol. 234 r].

#### 4. Conclusions

The thesis concludes with the fifth chapter, *Conclusion*, where all the result achieved are evidenced and summarised. Consequently a recapitulation of the case system is given, the constraints operated by missionaries in describing the past tenses are stressed. Once again it is underlined how much the Latin model influenced the description of Tamil given by these Jesuits, who followed the Classical grammar pattern in their work. In spite of that, we have also demonstrated how much they were able to trace such peculiarities of the language that were being described, even if they were not able to classify them under a proper name. This feature is shown mainly in the paragraph that they have dedicated to the verbal morphology where, under the expression 'other ways of expressing', they describe the expression of aspect in Tamil: adverbial participle of the main verb followed by the

conjugated auxiliary.

Finally, in the conclusion the importance of such a kind of documents, like missionary grammars, is demonstrated. These documents are useful tools for the synchronic description and in some cases for the reconstruction of languages. The efforts done by missionaries in describing languages far from their mother tongue should be considered and investigated much more because they contain useful information that is not always found in the literature of the language, especially when this language had an oral tradition.

Appendixes follow the conclusion: the first one is the plan of the architecture of a church drawn by Father Roberto De Nobili (Rajamanickam, 1972: 62; 1967) with the purpose to unify both low caste and high castes of Indians inside the same church. The missionaries infact faced many more problems in the conversion of Brahmins than with other castes. Since they converted firstly the low castes, the former used to avoid contact with them. Father Roberto De Nobili was one amongst the first to carry on the conversion of Brahmin caste. In doing so, he adopted the same costumes, habits and aptitudes as the members of this cast with the intention of gaining their sympathies. Among his techniques, all developed in the direction of the *inculturation*, he studied a way in which to include both the castes, high and low, within the same church.

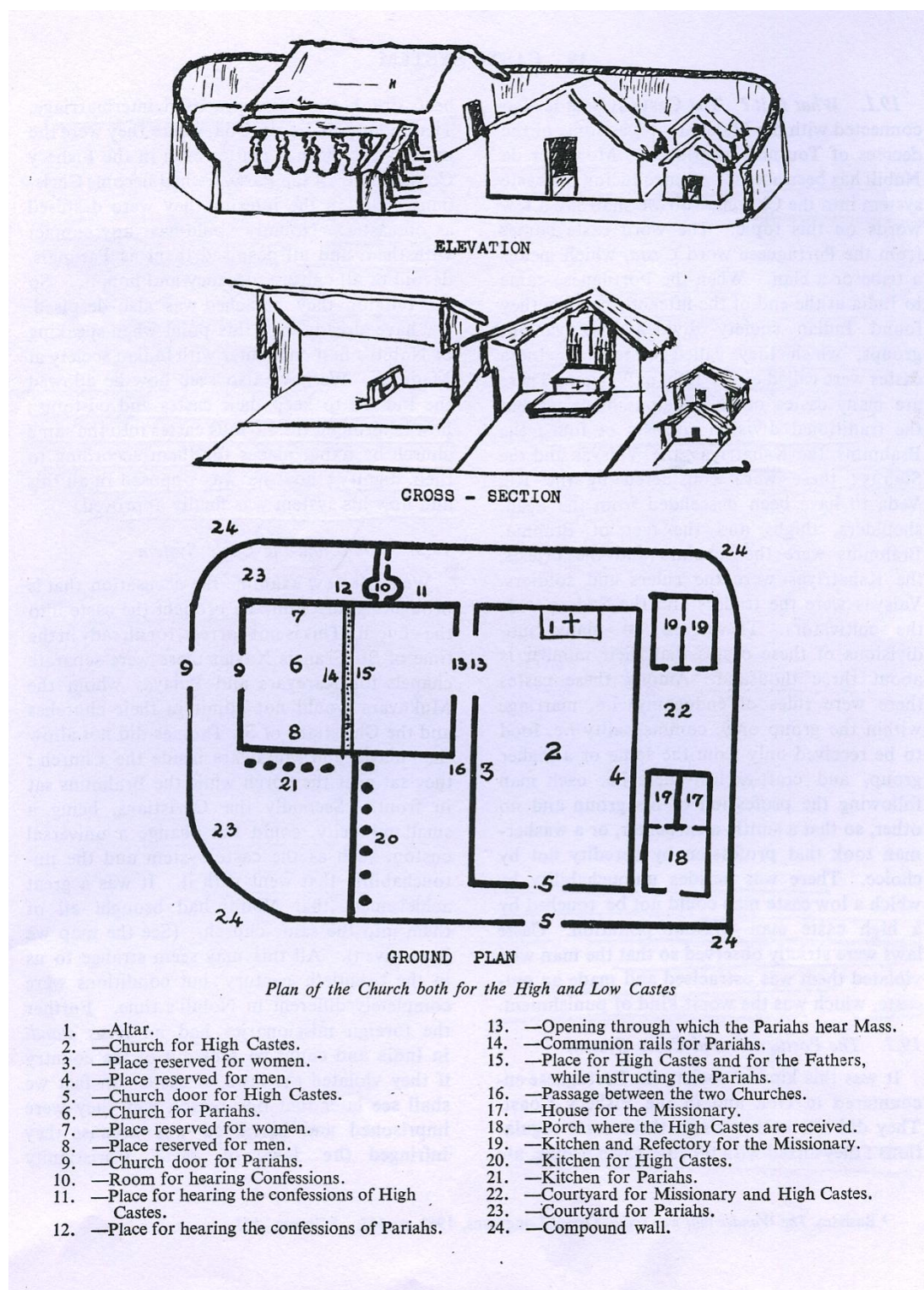
The second appendix is a comparison between a page from the manuscript grammar of Da Costa and his declaration to Society of Jesus at the moment of his entrance in the Company. This image was attached with the purpose to show that it would be plausible to consider the manuscript copy of De Proença's dictionary found in Goa to be written by Da Costa before his leaving for Rome. The hand-writing in the two documents is very similar.

The third and fourth appendixes are copied pages from the original Henriques' and De Proença's manuscripts where they explained and described the phonological system of the Tamil language.

The last appendix, the bibliography, lists the Archives and Libraries visited and the manuscripts consulted. The second part of the bibliography lists the books consulted during the present research.

## *Appendixes*

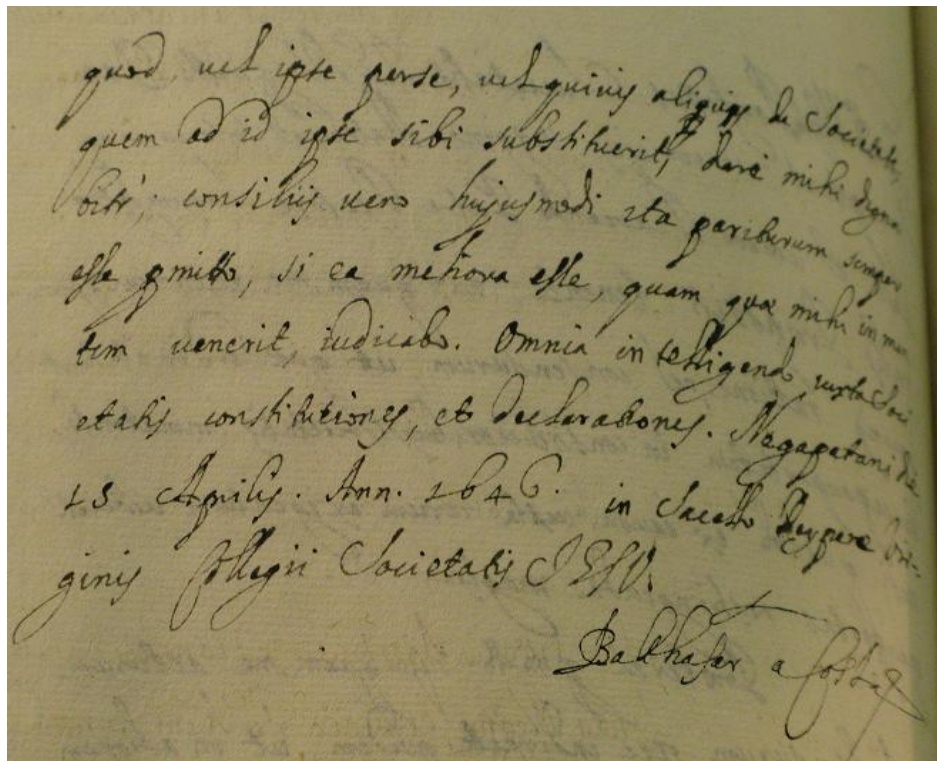
## APPENDIX 1



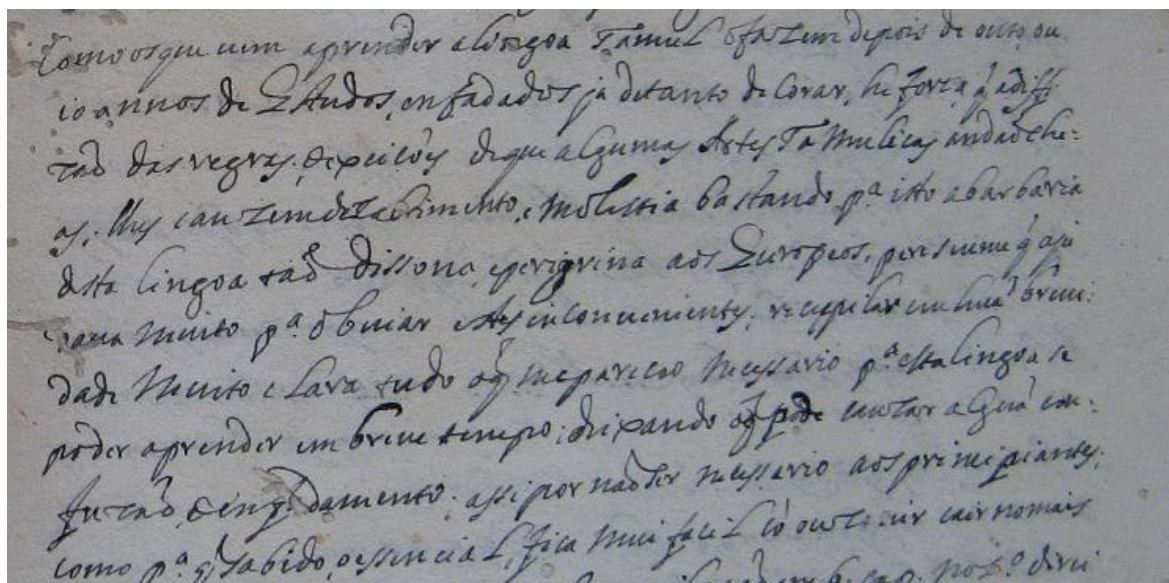
Architecture of a church by Roberto De Nobili (Rajamnickam, S. S.J., 1972: 62)



## APPENDIX 2



quod, vel ipse perse, vel quicunque aliquis de Societate  
quem ad id ipse sibi substituerit, dare mihi digna  
bitur; consilij vero hujusmodi ita pariterum senger  
esse pmitto, si ea meliora esse, quam qua mihi in ma-  
teriam venerit, iudicabo. Omnia intelligend, iustitiam  
etatis, constitutiones, et declarationes. Negaretur de  
18 Aprilis. Ann. 1646. in sacro Imperio  
giniis Phlegii Societatis I. S. S.  
Balthassar a Costa

Balthassar Da Costa's declaration to Society of Jesus, *HARSI*, Rome, Lusitania 6, ff. 140–141.


Coenoscque um aprunder elingua tamul ofatum deois de outa ou  
io annos de studos, onfadados ja detanto de Corar, he forte p ediff  
tas des regre, de poidy de qua alguma detes Tamulica andad che-  
as. My can tem dete comento, industria bastando p a ito a bar baria  
dta lingua tad ditona, e porigna ad Europcos, per sume q ap-  
rana minto p a dluar a p in conueniente, e capitar em lina b rui:  
dadi minto e lava tudo of me parico mupario p a estal ingoa e  
poder aprunder em b rui tempo; di pando of pade lantat a qua em  
fucad, e ing damento; ap p r nado de mupario ad principianty;  
como p a q d abido, p sinua e fta mupali e outa dir car romais  
C. d em b. cap. no 2.º d rui

Portion of Ms 34, State Central Library, Panaji, Goa, India.

## APPENDIX 3

Translated from Portuguese, Cod. 3141, *Sumario da Arte Malavar*, National Library of Lisbon, Portugal.

[Fol. 5 r.]

†  
செசு<sup>23</sup>

The letters of the Malavar ABICI are:

அஆ	இ	ஈ	உ	உள	எ	ஏ	
<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ee</i>
ஐ	ஓ	ஔ	ஔள				
<i>ai</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>oo</i>	<i>au</i>				
க	ங	ச	ஞ	ட	ண	த	ந ப
<i>k</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>n p</i>
ம	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள	ற ன <sup>24</sup>
<i>m</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>r n</i> <sup>25</sup>

All of the letters of the Malavar are included and it is noted that three different 'r's' are illustrated; ட, ர, ற in order to emphasize the difference, I will write this ட in Portuguese .rh., the other, or rather ர, will be illustrated with this .r., and finally for the other ற I will write ~~V~~.<sup>26</sup> because even the pronunciation is that of a double .r.

There are also three different types of .t. and they are the same letters as .r. as explained above as they are sometimes like .r. and sometimes like .t. for this reason I will use the

<sup>23</sup> Cecu= Jesus

<sup>24</sup> The aforementioned letters are transcribed according to modern Tamil, with the exception of ū for which we have reproduced the same symbol that was used by Henriques. The vowels /ē/ and /ō/ were still not graphically differentiated in Henriques' time.

<sup>25</sup> The transliteration in italic is our own and it is based on that of the Tamil Lexicon.

<sup>26</sup> Symbol which, in agreement with Vermeer (1982) will be pronounced R.

letter ழ for .th., and for the other த I will write this letter .t.; for the other ற I will write .th., with the line in the centre of .h.

The same letters that are used for .t. are sometimes used for .d. and therefore for this letter I will use ழ I will write .dh.; for the other த I will write this .d. and for the other ற I will write this letter .dh. with a line in the centre of .h..

There are also three different uses for .l. It is easy to understand: ல. ழ. ள. This .ல. will be written with the letter .l., the other .ழ. will be written with this .ஃ. with a line on .l. which is not from Latin, but from the Portuguese literature.

The differences in these letters are sufficient for the *Arte* although others do exist. And one should be aware that with the various letters that are mentioned above, each one has a different pronunciation, in the same way that the written form is different and it is therefore an easy mistake to mispronounce them.

This language contains long and short syllables and therefore to highlight long syllables, I may put a line above the syllable<sup>27</sup>.

[fol. 6 r]

†  
செசு

The sounds ba be bi bo bu

க	கா	கி	கீ	கெ	
Caana ( <i>ka</i> )	cauena ( <i>kā</i> )	quiina ( <i>ki</i> )	quiena ( <i>kī</i> )	quena ( <i>ke</i> )	
[கெ]	கை	கொ	கொ	கௌ	க
queena ( <i>kee</i> )	quai,na ( <i>kai</i> )	quoona ( <i>ko</i> )	quouena ( <i>koo</i> )	quauena ( <i>kau</i> ) <sup>28</sup>	
iquana					

*Caana* is short, *cauena* is long. Where an accent is commonly used, *quiina* is short *qui<sup>na</sup>* is long, etc.

<sup>27</sup> This is never effectively used during grammar.

<sup>28</sup> The transcription in italic is our own in accordance with the transliteration used by the Tamil Lexicon, Madras



And you must note this syllable **ഞെ** .|. *ca[y],na* and others with similar pronunciations, for which , in Portuguese, there is no corresponding syllable or pronunciation. For this reason we will write in the following manner; .æ<sup>i</sup>, æ a diphthong with half of this letter .i. because with malavar pronunciation it seems to sound like so: æ<sup>i</sup>, pæ<sup>i</sup>, ræ<sup>i</sup>, væ<sup>i</sup>, etc.

Also the following syllables; **വൺ** (van) .i. or rather, van, **പൺ** (pan) .i. or rather pan, will be written as væn e pæn and *mili* as **മല**, **പല** (pal) etc. with diphthongs because this is how they seem to be pronounced.

The following letter or syllable **യി** (yi) must be written with *y* , naturally 'j' with a small 'y'.

## APPENDIX 4

Translated from Portuguese, Ms 34, *State Central Library*, Panaji, Goa, India

[Ms 34, p. 47]<sup>29</sup>

*Fifth title*

*From the disposition of the Tamil letters based on the order of our alphabet*

[p. 50]

A. அ, ஆ, ஐ


B. ஸ, 

C. க

D. த, 

E. எ

F. க

G. க, 


J. இ, ஈ, ய, ச

L. ல, ள, ழ

M. ம, 

N. ந, ன, ண, ஞ, ங

O. ஒ


P. ஸ, 

Q. க

---


<sup>29</sup> The numbering is not original, but hand-written at the bottom of the page, the numbers are not sheet numbers, rather page numbers that are written over the original numbers (from the beginning of the dictionary) and the numbers are found in the top right margin of the manuscript. To avoid confusion, we will refer solely to the “modern” page numbers.

R. ர, ற, ள

S. ச,  (ஸ்)


T. த

V. உ, ஊ, வ

X. ச, கூடி, ஒ, 

We have indicated in the prologue the reasons for which we have not used the Tamil alphabetical order and for which we have used the *Lusitanian* alphabetical order. We now need to illustrate and position the Tamul characters inside the Lusitanian characters, therefore:

With the {letter} .A. we place short அ and then long ஆ ; then in the second letters, seen as they are rarely used in words, we place the diphthong ஐ, which is accompanied by a short .a. and .i., for this reason we should place a அ underneath, before இ in order not to [---]<sup>30</sup> we will put the two அ, ஆ in order with [---] characters which we will leave after both.

In .B. we have the letter ஸ when you must pronounce as .B. at the beginning of the word or when this is in only the second or third syllable. The letter  is the .B. just as in the *Grandonic*<sup>31</sup>, which we mention because it is possible that it is used in some signs.

In .C. we use the letter க which is pronounced .cha., or, when at the beginning of a word must be pronounced as so and when it is doubled we will give this letter the sound .ca., .co., .cu. Because we will send it back to the letter .G. for reasons that will be explained there.

<sup>30</sup> [---] = it stays for damaged portion of manuscript which could not be read.

<sup>31</sup> Sanskrit.

The Tamil does not have a letter that corresponds to .D. as the letter ட covers many of the uses of .D., mainly when it is found alone between two words, therefore we will place all names that begin with ட will be put in .D. and they should be pronounced as .D. and in the second and third letters when it is in the order and the place of .D., the letter ட is *Grandonic* and answers to our .D. which we will refer to here as it will appear at times further forward.

In .E. we have long and short எ

[p. 51]

with the distinction that we will write in the following title.

No Oriental alphabet has the letter .F., or words in which a similar sound must be pronounced.


There are also no letters in Tamil that correspond to our .G., therefore, as the letter க is sometimes pronounced .G. mainly when it is in the middle of the diction and is alone, below .g. we will include the letter க when we have the sounds [ga, gue, guī, go, gu] because the sounds ge, gi will be left for .J..

There is no letter that corresponds to our .H., and so we will put a few words in this letter that have this sound in them. We will distinguish க with a low dot meaning it is to be pronounced .H.; also, as the Tamil people always pronounce it as .ga. and not as .ha., even if the best sound it can have is .H., we will follow the order as if it were .ga.. The letter க is a *grandonic*.

We will put mainly the short இ in .J., long ஈ and after the letter ல that corresponds to our .y.

After the letter **ச** when this is at the beginning of the word as in .j. ex. **சீவன** cīvaṇ [--] it remains in the main part of the word, because in order to avoid confusion, we always put **ச** alone as if it were .X. and as such we must search for words which enable better pronunciation. We will put a signal point in **ச** and we will make further reference to this later on.

We will put the three existing l's in .L., firstly the **ல**, as it is similar in nature to our own .l., secondly **ள**, while **ழ** will be put in third place because its pronunciation is longer than our own .l. and longer than **ள** as we have seen in the first Title.

**ம** Tamil is to be found in .M. the letter  is the *Grandonic* .M. which will be used greatly in future. When is found with **ஓ** it means final .M. that carries no vowels.

I will place the five castes of .N. in .N.. Firstly **ந** because, other than having the same pronunciation as our own .N., it is used to begin names, or it is contained in a name before the **த**. **ன** is in the second place, and has the same pronunciation as the first. [because --- ---] in the initial position. **ண** is in the third place because it is very similar in figure to the second.

[p. 52]

In fourth place we have **ள** which we use to begin words or is contained in words, and in last place we have **ழ** as this is the harshest sounding one. In the second letters we can see the order and can easily trace names.






In .O. we have short Tamil **ஒ** long as we will discuss in [.T.].

In .P. we have Tamil ஸ . When this letter is at the beginning of a word it is usually pronounced [P], in the middle of a word it only has this sound when it is doubled or is placed after a consonant.

In .Q. we have the names that begin with the letter க with the same pronunciation we follow the order that we have with doubled letters and second letters. The pronunciation கா, கொ, கு should be written in our letters with .c., cá, co, cu. We will not put this sound in .C., but in .G., where we must also put que and qui, as it seems appropriate to me to divide the five sounds under this letter; I believe that the best place would be under .G., the words que, qua, qu can still be found here but not [---] from which we cannot place the last two. And so we also place கா, கெ, கி, கொ, கு ga, ge, gi, go, gu. [--- ---] in the letter .G. more properties may be in [--- --- ---] all of which are placed in .K.. As this letter is rarely pronounced [---] our alphabet [---] is not familiar in Portuguese therefore I will not mention it. [---] after the sounds ca.co.cu. [---] as the sounds ce. ci. Do not belong in the letter க and they could be placed in .S. it remains below a .C. which in Tamil is pronounced .ch., and with the Italians is pronounced ca, [ce, ci].

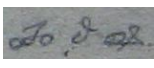


We will put the three .rr.s that exist in Tamil in the letter .R. In first place ர that is pronounced as .r., in second place ர் which is our .rr., doubled even if, when it precedes other letters, it has a different pronunciation, but, with regards to the explanation of the letters we will explain everything in the first Title. We put ள in third place as it is furthest from our pronunciation compared to the other .rr.s.


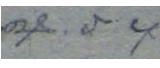




We put ஸ in .S. as, when it is alone it is pronounced as .s. , at the beginning of a word and even pure Tamils do not know the correct pronunciation of this letter due to the fact that they have many names that derive from the *Grandonic* and they would like to pronounce the .S. which [solo] is pronounced only by those who speak very well. I have said at the beginning of a word because in the middle of the word we would respect the order as if ஸ

were .X. As we have already announced, unless we find a written  that is .S. and that the *Grandonics* have both at the beginning and in the middle of words. It will be widely used in the dictionary and joined to **த** i.e.  or with  .ss.; or  .sp. Normally , is put with a consonant which we will refer to as a *grandonic* consonant as it is referred to in books.

We put the letter **த** in .T. and underneath the .t. we will place all names that begin with this letter, returning those that are pronounced at the beginning back to the letter .d.. When it is found in the middle and is doubled, **த** always follows the pronunciation and the place of .t.

We put short **உ** after long **ஊ** in .v. in third place **வ** that is .v. consonant. This [--- --- ---] .V. can be found not only in the first, but also in the second and third letter.

We put all of the names that begin with the letter **ச** in .x., putting here those words that have the initial pronunciation .ch., .S., .J. and generally pronouncing the words as they will be heard by the natives. In the middle of the word, the letter **ச**, when alone, always follows the order and place of .x.. In second place within .X., we place the letter **செ** both in the first and other letters which is composed of  and **ெ** that are both *grandonic*. In the third place we put the letter **செ** which is .X. pronounced on the palate of the mouth just as  is Tamil **ச**. Sometimes it can be found joined to **த** ie  .ct.

The letter **ெ** will often be used.  Made up of  which is the equivalent of what in Tamil is written , other times  is used with the *Grandonic* letter  low down, which is the same as aspired . All of these last pronunciations are foreign to our manner of explaining letters.



[p. 54]

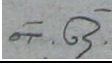
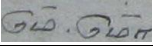
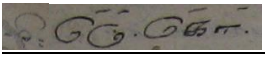
[--- --- ----]. The letter [---] is .X. *Grandonic* with the strict pronunciation of our [---] which Tamil people does not have.





*Sixth title*


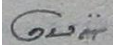
*From some signs that can be seen in this dictionary*





We save beginners from the intricacies of the Tamil scripture by using various signs with characters. These can be very useful for the correct reading of a word, in a sole manner, and in every possible way without confusion, which we mentioned in the first Title when describing the composition of the letters in the second and third, will be avoided.

First of all, in distinguishing the long Tamil vowels from the short, I would elicit the distinction between  and  and therefore, with the aim to indicate the length of these

letters we will place a line over the letter<sup>32</sup> in this way  is . ó. and in the composed syllables  má, mó, and when the length must be maintained, and is longer having the pronunciation || as these indicate|| three or more composed, as it is said that the short letter contains one .ca., the long two, we will use two lines as in the word .

The letter  is not used solely to indicate .R. but also to make .A. long when using after a consonant, or to make .o. when the consonant has the combination. And so, to avoid this situation, when  is for .R. we will place a dot on above it , and when necessary we will use this dot for all of the silent consonants that do not have .A. with them<sup>33</sup> short .

As we have already used the dot to distinguish  when it has the value of long .A. or .O., so as to make it a silent consonant without a vowel we will place two dots above it- i.e. .

If we place a dot underneath  it would meant that this  should be pronounced .J. and when it is found underneath  it means that this  is worth .H.

<sup>32</sup> This is the same method of distinguishing long syllables from short that was used by H. Henriques, cf. Appendix 3.

<sup>33</sup> De Proença is practically referring to the *pulli*.



Even if we say that we will place a dot above the silent consonants, it would be normal to put the dots over the mentioned letters when the first of a double letter is silent. A comma will be placed between letters: /when two பப or two த்த are found together, or other consonants, and each one of them is to be pronounced as in அப,பத்தியம் சத,தம், with the aim of achieving ababaziam, sadadam/.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> In the Ms 34 this section held between straight lines is not included and the page ends with *letra e letra* [between letters]. Such passage was taken from the Ms 49 and Ms 15, that were found in the *State Central Library*, Panaji, Goa, and which are both copies of the Grammar of Balthassar Da Costa and of the titles present in the dictionary.

## APPENDIX 5

### Bibliography<sup>35</sup>

#### Primary sources

##### Manuscripts

#### ITALY

##### National Central Library ‘Vittorio Emanuele’, Rome

*Manuscripts and rare books*

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Or. 114 Compendium of linguistics and grammar

Or. 107 M Tamil-Portuguese Codex, 18<sup>th</sup> cent. (Paolino di S. Bartholomae)

Or. 123 M Tamil Codex, 18<sup>th</sup> cent. (Paolino di S. Bartholomae)

Or. 124 S. Ignazio da Loyola. Spiritual exercises.

Or. 163 M, (762627) Grammatical notes about Oriental languages, 19<sup>th</sup> cent.

Or. 165-167, (762621) M J. Rodriguez – *Arte da lingua de Japam* Voll. 3, 19<sup>th</sup> cent.

##### ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS IN OTHER SECTIONS:

Ges. 1267 (3396) Tamil Grammar, 18<sup>th</sup> cent.

Varia 52 (641) Elia fra da S. Giuseppe, Barefoot Carmelitan Order, Latin-Malabar Grammar, 19<sup>th</sup> cent.

Ges. 963 *Gramatica em lingua Malavar*, it is a Malayālam grammar, 17<sup>th</sup> cent.

Ges. 976 Anonymous Grammar of Malayālam

Ms Varia 53 (598) *Grammatica Tamilica à Fr. Honorato Utinensi Cappuccino Miss.º Ap.º; Madraspatam in India Orientali exacta Anno Domini 1793*

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Ms Varia 55 16 pages, Tamil-Portuguese printed dictionary; it is part of Antão De Proença's dictionary. It is followed by a Portuguese-Malyālam manuscript. In the last part there is a manuscript Tamil-Portuguese dictionary

S.M. della Scala *Liber exercitus spirituali bus, Lingua malabarica*, 17<sup>th</sup> cent.

S.M. della Scala *Dictionarium Malabaricum*, 18<sup>th</sup> cent.

#### JESUIT SECTION:

1267 Beschi C. Giuseppe, *Grammatica Tamulica*

1651 A Jesuit diary

1477 (20) Book for Confessors

1642 Missionaries (list)

1479 Maffei P., *Historiae Indiarum Commentate*

#### MINOR SECTIONS:

MS 1 A manuscripts in Paolino di San Bartolomeo's own hand, Barefoot Carmelitan Order, Missionary in Malabar (1776-1789). *Alphabetum Malabaricum, Aritmetica Malabarica*

MS 22 A manuscripts in Paolino di San Bartolomeo's own hand, Barefoot Carmelitan Order, Missionary in Malabar (1776-1789).; [ff. 248 r–299 v] *Gramatica Malavar ingleza e protugueza Ingleza para o uso da sua Maiestade el Rey de Travancor*. 1784

MS 30 *Vocabularium Malabarico-Lusitanicum*, 18th cent., by Ernesto Hanxleden, Jesuit Company

V 325 Catechism, prayer book

#### **Apostolic Vatican Library, Rome**

##### BORGIANO INDIANO

Borg Ind 12 *Dizionario tamulico com a significanza portugueza composto pello Padre Antão De Proença da Companhia de Jesus*, printed version, 1679; it contains: *Arte Tamulica. Composta pello Padre Balthassar Da Costa da Companhia de [-] Missão [-] do Madure*

### BORGIANI LATINI

Borg Lat 747 Pastrizio Giovanni's letter, 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> cent.

### **Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (HARSI), Rome**

Goa 12, fol. 310 Henrique Henriques' letters

Lusitania 1, 137, Henrique Henriques' monastic vows

Lusitania 3, (Senior) Antão De Proença's monastic vows

Lusitania 4, ff. 252-255, Gaspar De Aguilar's monastic vows

Lusitania 6, ff. 140-141, Balthassar Da Costa's monastic vows

Lusitania 28, f. 43, (Junior) Antão de Proença's monastic vows

### PORTUGAL

### **Nacional Library of Lisbon, Lisbon**

*Fondo Reservados*

COD 3141 Ms, (F33, F676) *Arte da Lingua Malabar*

Res 248 some palm leaves written in Tamil, Tranquebar, 1747

Res 499 a malayāḷamn book, printed in Rome 1772

Res 920 H 3V *Missa que usavam os antigos christaos de São Thome do bispado de angamalie da serra do malavar da India Oriental*

Res. 4055 P *Tratados de las drogas*, written in Portuguese, description of Indian medicinal plants

Res 4738 *Tractado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias orientalis con sus plantas [...]*, 1578 di Christophorus Acosta Africanus, printed text

COD 536 (F 2356) *Malabar Christão, noticias do reino do Malabar*

COD 564 (F7240) *Abecedario em varias linguas europeias e orientais*

COD 1409 *Diário da viagem de um missionario de Lisboa com destino a Índia 1766-1767*

COD 3044 (F258; F592) *Vocabolario da lingua canarin*

COD 3195 (F260) *Vocabolario da lingua canarin*

COD 11410 *Documentos varios relativos a Índia (FR704)*

COD 36 (F2534) *Noticias do Reyno do Malabár. Breve e verdadeira relação da cristianidade de São Tomé Apostolado em Malabar*

### **Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, Lisbon**

Ms 146 A 14 *Vocabulario Tamulico em luzitano*, 144 folios, it is a partial copy of Antão De Proença dictionary

MS 146 A 17 *VOCABVLARIO Portuguez Tamul e Chingala copeado por um certo Mssionario de Ceylão P. de Congregação do Oratorio de S Philippe Neri et Goa o qual foi composto por P. Jacome Gonsalves da mesma Congregação e Superior que foi et mesma Missaõe Ceylão*, manuscript

MS 146 A 16 *VOCABVLARIO LUZITANO TAMULICO E CHINGALATICO*, Copied according to a desire from a Vocabulary of the Venerable Reverend. P. De N. R. Catholic Missionary, Islands Caito on Monday July 9, 1838

### **Arquivo Historico Torre do Tombo, Lisbon**

L574 Obras varias impressas e manuscritas

Codice 3044 Canari language dictionary

Codice 3195 Canari language dictionary

Cassa 192, pba 642 A collection of documents written in Tamil

MicroFilm 2521 Books in Indian letters

### **Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon**

Ms 469 *Breve noticia dos erros que tem os gentios*, 17<sup>th</sup> cent.

Ms 1080, 1630 *Setembro 25. Considerazioni intorni alli punti contenuti (rerum lusitacorum XIX symmicta Lusitanica, tomo 12, fol 359)*

Ms 1426 *Doutrina que o Padre Fr. Xavier fez para os padres que andam por fora (papeis varios, tomo 3º, nº 9, fls 115º-115j)*

Codex 49 IV 49 Padre Henrique Henriques's letters

Codex 50 V 34, ff. 383 – 385, Francisco Xavier's letters

Codex 50 V 36 Francisco Xavier's letters

Codex 50 V 37 nº 365, Balthassar Da Costa's letters

Codex 46 VIII 36 *Vocabulario da lingua da terra*, Concani language

## **FRANCE**

### **Bibliothèque Richelieu, Paris**

Ms 163 letters, Ariel's grammatical notes and considerations about the Tamil language

Ms Ind 188 Anonymous Tamil Grammar preceded by a Tamil-French glossary, 17<sup>th</sup> Century

Ms 190-91 C. Giuseppe Beschi Grammar, 1750

Ms 210 Tamil-French dictionary, preceded by a glossary, 1760

Ms 221 Tamil-Lusitanian dictionary, 1760, a copy of Antão De Proença's dictionary

## **INDIA**

### **State Central Library, Panaji, Goa**

Ms 2 *Arte malabarica e Lusitana*, 18<sup>th</sup> cent.

Ms 6 Catechism written in Portuguese language, translated by Balthassar Da Costa, 1661

Ms 11 Malayāḷam dictionary, 1714

Ms 12 Tamil-Latin dictionary, C. Giuseppe Beschi, 1744

Ms 15 a copy of the Tamil grammar written by Father Balthassar Da Costa

Ms 33 a copy of the De Proença's Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary

Ms 34 a copy of the De Proença's Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary, 1670

Ms 35 Lusitanian-Tamil and Tamil-Lusitanian dictionary

Ms 36 Lusitanian-Tamil dictionary, 18<sup>th</sup> cent.

Ms 37 Tamil-Lusitanian dictionary, Domingos Madeyra

Ms 38 a copy of the De Proença's Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary

Ms 49 a copy of the Tamil grammar written by Father Balthassar Da Costa

### **JEMPARC, Jesuit Archive, Shenbaganur**

Doc 297, Doc 420a, Doc 425, Doc 434, Doc 435, Doc 446, Doc 462 Letters and reports sent to Europe by Father Balthassar Da Costa (1619, 1640, 1647, 1648, 1653, 1655)

Doc 397 Andrea de Freyre's letter, from *Costa di Pescheria*, 24<sup>th</sup> December 1631

Doc 473 Letters sent to Europe by Father Antão De Proença

Doc 479 Annual Report by Andrea de Freyre, 1666

MS 219 Centamil Grammar, C. Giuseppe Beschi

- MS 222/2 A copy of the Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary written by Antão De Proença
- MS 222/3 Tamil-Latin dictionary, C. Giuseppe Beschi
- MSS 222/4 Tamil-Latin dictionary, C. Giuseppe Beschi, MDCCCXLVII
- MSS 222/5 Tamil-Latin dictionary, 2nd section Portuguese-Latin dictionary, C. Giuseppe Beschi
- MSS 225/5 Portuguese-Latin dictionary, C. Giuseppe Beschi
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## *Linguistic contacts in the Southern India: then and now<sup>1</sup>*

### *1. Contacts in the Southern India*

Southern India has always been a point of contact between cultures. Numerous archaeological finds testify that Dravidian people, the inhabitants of South India, were in contact with Europe and in particular Romans and Greek merchants since the time of the Roman Empire. Indian pottery<sup>2</sup> stand as a historical testimony to such encounters.

Contacts between Indians and Europe intensified during the colonisation era, when the Europeans started to move towards new overseas territories.

The Portuguese were the first to arrive in India and to establish themselves there permanently during the 15<sup>th</sup> century when Vasco Da Gama reached a small town not far from Calicut<sup>3</sup> in 1498. The Portuguese were early European explorers who followed the maritime trade routes which had already been established by Arabs and other traders of the area (Schiffman, 1996: 178).

They were soon followed by the other Europeans such as the Dutch, Germans and British. The latter started their colonisation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and dominated India until 1947.

When Western and the Oriental cultures collide, the union usually brings reciprocal influences. But undoubtedly the predominant culture will have much more influence on the less dominate one if its prestige is acknowledged by the colonised community.

In this paper we will discuss two different relationships which have variously determined the Indian languages, with particular reference to the Tamil language<sup>4</sup>. These two relationships are representative both of the past and current situation.

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<sup>1</sup> Paper presented at the International Conference *LANGUAGES AND CULTURES IN CONTACT – THEN AND NOW*, Częstochowa, Poland, 26<sup>th</sup> – 28<sup>th</sup> March, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Paper presented by Mahadevan at the *The International Seminar on Kṛti Rakṣana: Manuscripts and Indian knowledge systems*, held by the National Mission for Manuscripts, Department of Culture, Indian Government and University of Madras, Chennai, 9<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> February 2006.

<sup>3</sup> For more information regarding the history of the contact refer to: Barros (1968), Lopes (1898, 1936), Matthew (1983).

<sup>4</sup> This Dravidian language is spoken in the region of Tamil Nāḍu and also outside India. There are around 60,000,000 speakers (Muru, 2009a; 2009b).

### 1.1 Portuguese-Indian Contact

The first Portuguese merchants who arrived in India were usually accompanied by missionaries, especially the Jesuits, whose purpose was to spread the Christian religion. For this reason the priests made many efforts to translate the Portuguese or Latin prayer books into the vernacular languages, they also drafted grammars describing the vernacular languages as well as compiling dictionaries to help young missionaries who wanted to join the Indian Mission.

As a consequence of their effort to learn the Indian languages it seems that a variety of 'religious language' (which Murugaiyan (1996) has defined 'liturgical language') was established<sup>5</sup>. The Portuguese translated many prayer books into Tamil and although they were helped by the Indians they faced the challenge of translating the Christian concepts into the Indian languages. For this reason they borrowed directly from Portuguese, often creating new words, or adapting the meaning of Indian words, before transferring them into Christian concepts.

From the study of the documents they produced and from correspondence sent to Europe, we discover a recurrent sentence: *the main problem of Tamil language is that of being a pagan language*.

While a Portuguese *lingua franca* was developing as language of communication between Indians and Europeans (not only Portuguese) merchants, the Jesuits were enriching<sup>6</sup> the Tamil language with new expressions and formal Christian words.

### 1.2 English-Indian contact

On the contrary the contact between British and Indians started in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This relationship flourished during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, and had more significant effects on the Indian society which are still visible today.

With the establishment of the British Empire in India the English language was promoted as the official language, closely associated to Hindi, the official/National

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<sup>5</sup> It would be interesting if further studies could analyse this 'religious language' spoken by the Westerns.

<sup>6</sup> In the case of Tamil, it was the missionary-grammar, such as Caldwell (1856), who helped establish the notion that Tamil and the Dravidian languages were genetically separated from Sanskrit (Schiffman, 1996:180-182).

language<sup>7</sup>. This meant the English language became the language of administration, justice and instruction, especially at University level<sup>8</sup>.

The main problem with the English language used in India today is the competence of the speakers. The majority of the Indian population is in effect excluded by the process of *Anglicisation* of the country; consequently several varieties of English have developed in the territory, where it is also possible to recognise some pidginised varieties.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. Corpus of research

For the purposes of this study the following documents were analysed.

The following manuscripts have been consulted with particular reference to Portuguese-Indian contact:

- *Sumario da Arte Malavar* by Henrique Henriques, dated between 1548-1549<sup>10</sup>;
- *Arte Tamulica* by Balthassar Da Costa, dated in the first half of 17<sup>th</sup> century;
- an anonymous Tamil grammar dating back to the second half of 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>11</sup>;
- Henrique's prayer book *Kirīsittiāni Vaṇakkam* printed in Cochin, in 1579;
- the glossary attached to a dialogue between the Confessor and the penitent,

for which we do not possess an exact dating.

Data has been directly collected through interviews with Tamil speakers in relation to British-Indian contact. Interview subjects were selected according to the following criteria:

- uneducated or low level standard of education (6<sup>th</sup> up to 10<sup>th</sup> standard education) through the medium of Tamil language and English studied as a second language;
- speakers belonging to the lower social classes, involved in jobs such as *auto-rickshaw*<sup>12</sup> drivers, housekeepers, tourist guides, cooks, waiters, street vendors, taxi drivers and call center employees;
- speakers who use the English language in restricted domains such as the work environment;

<sup>7</sup> For further information refer to Muru (2004, 2009a); Schiffman (1996) and to the bibliography there indicated.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> For further information refer to Bhat (2004), Hosali (2000; 2004; 2005), Kachru (1983), Mehrotra (2000), Muru (2009a).

<sup>10</sup> The date of this manuscript is deducible by the correspondence between Father Henriques and Europe, for further information refer to Županov (1998). The manuscript was found by Thani Nayagam in the National Library of Lisbon and recognized as 'autograph' by the same.

<sup>11</sup> For further information regarding the location of these documents refer to Muru (2009b).

<sup>12</sup> A three wheeled vehicles used as a taxi.



- speakers who learnt the English language mainly through contact with other Indians or Western English speakers;
- 45 men and 21 women were interviewed.

### *3. Analysis of data*

#### *3.1 Tamil texts written by Portuguese*

We have focused predominantly on the lexical level, and the morphological consequences of interference and borrowings. We may distinguish different types of loans.

The first kind is represented by attempted reproduction in the Tamil language of patterns typical of Christian terms but absent in the recipient language; these are Portuguese terms which have been directly transferred into the Tamil language. They retain their original meaning and formal shape, but have been adapted to the phonological system of the recipient language. This means that each word undergoes a modification according to the phonological rules which characterise the Tamil phonological system<sup>13</sup>. These are presented in the following list.

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<sup>13</sup> For further information concerning Tamil and Tamil phonology refer to Andronov (1977); Annamalai & Steever (1998); Arden (1942); Caldwell (1856); Krishnamurti (2003); Lehmann (1989); Schiffman (1999).

**List 1. Portuguese words phonologically adapted in Tamil from *Kirīsittiāni Vaṇakkam* = KV, and *Sumario da Arte Malavar*, = AM<sup>14</sup>, both by Henrique Henriques**

Portuguese words	Translation in Tamil KV / AM	Result (16 <sup>th</sup> century)	Actual word <sup>15</sup>	Tamil
Agua Benta <i>Holy water</i>	<b>Cuttāmān taṇṇir</b> (KV, f. 51 r) சுத்தாமான் தண்ணிர்	<b>Calque<sup>16</sup></b>	<i>Puṇita nīra</i>	
Apostolo <i>Apostle</i>	<b>Appocuttolumār</b> (KV, fol 24 r) அப்பொசுத்தொலு மார்	<b>Nonce borrowing<sup>17</sup></b>	<i>Appōstalar/ tiruttūtar</i>	
Archanjo <i>Archangel</i>	<b>Arukkāncuṭaṇ</b> (KV, f. 59 v) அறுக்காஞ்சுடன்	<b>Nonce borrowing</b>	<i>Tēvadūtar</i>	
Igreja <i>Church</i>	<b>Yigirecai</b> (KV, f. 2 r; AM, f. 44 v) யிகிரெசை	<b>Nonce borrowing</b>	<i>Mādā kōyil</i>	
Matrimonio <i>Marriage</i>	<b>Mattirimoniṇiyu</b> (KV, f. 54 r) மத்திரிமொனியு	<b>Nonce borrowing</b>	<i>Tirumaṇam</i>	
Santissimo Sacramento <i>The Blessed Sacrament</i>	<b>Canticimo cakkiramentu</b> (KV, f 47 r.) சந்தீசிமொ சக்கிறமெந்து	<b>Nonce borrowing</b>	<i>Arccikkappaṭṭa appam</i>	
Spirito Santo <i>Holy Spirit</i>	<b>Icippirittu caṇittu</b> (KV, f. 23 r) இசிப்பீரித்துசநித்து	<b>Nonce borrowing</b>	<i>Tūya āvi</i>	

The words, which were introduced directly from Portuguese into the Tamil language, systematically adhere<sup>18</sup> to the rules of Tamil phonology<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Only some of the most significant lexemes have been presented to demonstrate the adaptation of Portuguese words to the Tamil phonological system.

<sup>15</sup> I am grateful to Mr. S. Ramakrishnan and to his staff of CRE-A: for helping me to check the appropriate equivalents in Modern Tamil language.

<sup>16</sup> This is one example of what we can define *calque* in the missionary documents, where we have a reproduction of the model through elements already existing in the recipient language. For further examples of *calque* refer to Murugaiyan (1996).

<sup>17</sup> This word has been borrowed into the Modern Tamil. It is possible to see it in the second table.

<sup>18</sup> “Il prestito in quanto frutto d’una imitazione che coinvolge anche il significante del modello alloglotto, comporta sempre delle ripercussioni sul piano formale: esse consistono, essenzialmente, nell’adattamento alle abitudini

For example in Tamil, clusters are restricted to native words, then there are no consonant clusters in word-initial or word-final position (Annamalai & Steever, 1998:103), and the clusters in loanwords are removed by epenthesis or deletion, for this reason we find in Henriques' texts the following examples<sup>20</sup>:

a) <i>Spiritu</i>	> <i>Icipp̄rittu</i>	(Spirit)
b) <i>Matrimonio</i>	> <i>Matt̄irimōṇiyu</i>	(marriage)
c) <i>Cristo</i>	> <i>Kir̄cittu</i>	(Jesus)
d) <i>Apostolo</i>	> <i>Appocuttolumār</i>	(Apostole)
e) <i>Archanjo</i>	> <i>Arukkāñcuṭaṇ</i>	(Archangel)
f) <i>Sacramento</i>	> <i>Cakk̄iramentu</i>	(Sacrament)
g) <i>Confessar</i>	> <i>Kompecār</i>	(to confess)

In this last case the soundless labiodentals fricative is substituted by the soundless bilabial occlusive because in the Tamil phonological system it isn't a phoneme.

Moreover, word-initial front vowel is pronounced with a preceding <y> approximant:

h) <i>igreja</i>	> <i>yigirecai</i>	(Church) <sup>21</sup> .
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Murugaiyan (1996: 284) defines these words as *borrowings*, but it is debatable whether such a term is suitable enough to describe these concepts, both in the 16<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries and nowadays. Usually 'borrowing' defines a word that does not undergo phonological assimilation; consequently it is perceived as an *exoticism* by the speakers. In this particular case we encounter Portuguese words which were adapted into the Tamil phonological system, whilst (as in the case of the borrowing) being perceived, in all likelihood, as *exoticism* by Tamils because their meaning was unknown to these people, and therefore they never became *loanwords*.

Consequently their use was not widespread within the community, but restricted to the 'liturgical speeches' of Portuguese or '*Portuguesized Indians*'. Maybe the best term to

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*articolatorie e nell'assimilazione alle strutture fonematiche della lingua che accoglie il prestito, attraverso un processo la cui intensità può variare molto da caso a caso e che prende il nome d'integrazione", Gusmani (1982: 100).*

<sup>19</sup> As Murugaiyan (1996: 286) already noticed.

<sup>20</sup> The bold letter represents the inserted sound.

<sup>21</sup> It is interesting also to consider the explanation given by Dalgado (1938) that the sound changes when the Portuguese words are submitted, when absorbed into the Indian languages. Even if in hindsight many of his deductions are not considered correct, he was in many respects intuitive.

define such words is an *integrated borrowing* as defined by Gusmani (1981:12)<sup>22</sup>. It could also be referred to as a *nonce borrowing* (Poplack, 1980). Actually these loans have been adapted into the phonological system of Tamil language whilst respecting the morphological rules and the syntactic structure of the language, for example we find the Tamil plural suffix added to the Portuguese *tamilized* word, as shown in example a), or case suffixes added to the words, as shown by examples b), c), d). Even the verbal morphology is adapted to the nonce borrowing according to the Tamil verbal system which differentiates between affective and effective verbs<sup>23</sup> (example e):

- a) *Appocuttolumār-gal*      ‘Apostle – PLU’
- b) *Yigireca-il*                      ‘church – LOC’
- c) *Kirīcitt - uṭaiya*                      ‘Christ – GEN’
- d) *Mariyā.y - in*                      ‘Mary – GEN’
- e) *Kompecār-ikkir-eṇ*,      ‘confess – PRES – 1SG’

The key question is, how much were these words spread within the ‘monolingual’<sup>24</sup> Tamil community? According to the Modern Tamil equivalents provided in the first list, it seems that these words were mainly used by the Portuguese and never established in the Tamil lexicon<sup>25</sup> with the exception of *Apostle* for which we find, both the original term *appōstalar* and a Tamil correspondent *tiruttūtar* (CRE-A: Dictionary, 2008: 723). Field research into the Christian Tamil communities may help to establish the values which speakers ascribe to such *tamilized* words.

A second kind of identifiable loan in these documents refers to the terms listed in the table 2. In this case we can refer to them as *borrowing*, referring to 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, which became, in time, *loanwords* because of their increased frequency in individual and social speech within a ‘monolingual’ society. It is important to stress that these texts were produced by Europeans, who were in all likelihood not totally bilingual; furthermore they were probably translating new concepts into the Tamil language. It is no coincidence

<sup>22</sup> It is better to distinguish between the true integration – the influence exercised by the recipient language with the purpose of accepting and to adequate the foreign item into the phonological and morphological structure of the language and the simple ‘*acclimatamento*’ which regards the lexical sphere and depends on the frequency of usage between the speakers. Translated into English from the Italian language, Gusmani (1981: 25).

<sup>23</sup> For further details refer to Paramasivam (1979).

<sup>24</sup> The term is used in this context only to emphasise the intrusion of a Western language in a plurilingual society such as India.

<sup>25</sup> As Murugaiyan (1996: 285) already stated mostly of these words disappeared or have been substituted by Tamil lexemes.

that loans which can be today considered loanwords are lexical items which define major-class contents (*Christianity, Christian, Christ, Jesus, Mary, etc.*).

**List 2. Borrowing from Portuguese which became loanwords in Modern Tamil language**

Portuguese words	Translation in Tamil KV / AM	Result (16 <sup>th</sup> – 17 <sup>th</sup> Cent.)	Actual Tamil word	Result in Modern Tamil language
Apostolo <i>Apostle</i>	<b>Appocuttolumār</b> (KV, fol 24 r) அப்பொசுத்தொலுமார்	<b>Borrowing</b>	<i>appōstalar/</i> <i>tiruttūtar</i>	<i>Loanword</i>
Amen <i>Amen</i>	<b>āmeni</b> (KV, f. 5 v) ஆமெனி	<b>Borrowing</b>	<i>āmen</i>	<i>Loanword</i>
Cristãos <i>Christians</i>	<b>Nacharanigal</b> (AM, ff 49 r, 53 r, 53 v) நசரநிகல்	<b>Borrowing</b>	<i>kirittavarka!</i> < <i>christianity</i> = <i>kirittavam/kirist</i> <i>avam</i>	Created a new word starting from the name <i>kiristu</i>
Fè <i>Faith</i>	<b>Viccuvātam</b> (KV, fol 58 r) விச்சுவாதம்	<b>Borrowing</b>	<i>Vicuvācam</i>	<i>Loanword</i> (originally from Sanskrit)
Jesus <i>Jesus</i>	<b>Cecu</b> (KV/AM <sup>26</sup> , f. 2 r) செசு	<b>Borrowing</b>	<i>lyēcu</i>	<i>Loanword</i>
Maria <i>Mary</i>	<b>Mariyā</b> (KV, fol 23 r) மரியா	<b>Borrowing</b>	<i>Mariyaṇṇai,</i> <i>Mariyā!</i>	<i>Loanword</i>

The introduction of new terms into the Tamil language came from Portuguese speakers and were not determined by the prestigious consideration of Portuguese language by Tamil speakers. Each loan was imposed by a society dominant over the Tamils. The purpose was to facilitate the familiarisation of Tamil speakers with Christian religion, for this reason we can also define these terms as *cultural borrowings*<sup>27</sup>, i.e. words used to describe the adoption into the Tamil language of new concepts belonging to a different culture which

<sup>26</sup> This word appears at the beginning of each *folio*.

<sup>27</sup> Myers-Scotton asserts (1993: 164) that not all the borrowed items enter into a language to fill lexical gaps in the recipient language. Instead, she draws a distinction between what she calls *cultural borrowings* and *core borrowings*. Cultural borrowings are those lexical items which are new to the recipient language culture. Core borrowings, on the other hand, refer to those lexical forms having “viable” equivalents in the recipient language, and hence, do not really meet any lexical need in the base language.

were then absent from the Indian *entourage*. If we define these missionaries as ‘innovators’ we might agree with Myers-Scotton (2002: 238) who stated: *innovators may bring new lexical elements, but adoption does not necessarily follow*<sup>28</sup>, and this is the case with regard to the words listed in the first table. The missionaries had understood that the best way to convert the Indian people was to enrich the Christian religion with elements which could allow the Indians to identify themselves with the new religion.

It is also interesting to emphasise the evolution that these loans seem to have been undergone over time as evidenced by the analysed documents. Even if it is possible to find some of these terms also in Henriques’ manuscripts, there appears to have been a spread in the usage of some particular terms directly derived from Tamil language and adapted to express Christian meanings more commonly in the missionaries which followed Father Henriques.

One of the reasons for this difference between the manuscripts can be established as Henrique was the first person, after Xavier<sup>29</sup>, who attempted to translate religious texts. He worked mainly between *Paravas*, one of the lowest caste of the fishing coast of Tamil Nāḍu<sup>30</sup>, and it is unlikely he didn’t have access to literary Tamil. It is important to remember that the Tamil language has been characterised by *diglossia* since ancient times (according to the meaning given in Ferguson, 1959). This means a High variety of Tamil is functionally used in formal speeches and a Low variety is reserved for the informal situations<sup>31</sup>. The biographical information available relative to the author<sup>32</sup> enables us to presume that the variety of the language which Henriques used was the the variety known as *koṭuntamil*, also referred to as the low variety.

Consequently on examination of other manuscripts dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century we find other kind of loans, which can also be described in terms of semantic calques. In effect we see transference of contents from a model language into the material of a recipient language which extends or in some cases changes its meaning. There are some examples in the table below.

<sup>28</sup> This is demonstrated by the fact that through the centuries Tamils have introduced or created new proper Tamil terms to denote the same concepts.

<sup>29</sup> The first Missionary who reached India in 1542 was concerned about Christianisation of Indian population. He was of Basque origin, and it is for this reason that he was the promoter of vernacular languages instead of Portuguese in the spread of Christian religion.

<sup>30</sup> Henriques lived in Punnāikkayal a village of the Fishery Coast.

<sup>31</sup> For further details refer to Britto (1986); Rangan (1986); Schiffman (1996),

<sup>32</sup> For further information refer to Hein (1977); Muru (2009b); Vermeer (1982); Wicky (1950, 1963); Županov (1998; 1999; 2005).

**List 3. Indian words used with an extended meaning from *Arte Tamul*, Balthassar Da Costa= AT; anonymous Tamil grammar= TG; from the glossary between a Confessor and his Penitent= GI<sup>33</sup>**

Tamil words	Original meanings	Extended meanings	Results
Bagavat (kītai)	The book of Bhagavad Gita	<i>All the pagan Gods of the Hindu religion</i> (AT, ff 42 r, 44 r TG, f 47 r)	<b>Semantic calque</b>
Tambi	Little brother	<i>Tambirāṇ</i> : Name used to refer to God (AT, f 42 r)	<b>Semantic calque</b>
Paccai	Vulgarity, obscenity	<i>Devil</i> (AT, f 49 r TG, ff 47 r, 49 r)	<b>Semantic calque</b>
Kōyil	Temple	<i>Church</i> (TG, ff 23 r, 49 r)	<b>Semantic calque</b>
Vēdam	The Vedas, the sacred texts	<i>The Bible</i> (TG, fol 49 r)	<b>Semantic calque</b>
Alaṭṭu	Trouble	<i>Inopportune thing</i> (GI <sup>34</sup> )	<b>Semantic calque</b>

### 3.2 English and Indian languages

The English language came to India several centuries ago and is still alive in the Indian subcontinent due to its perceived quality of prestige. This language is considered by the Indian speakers as the language of success. It is not unusual for middle and working class Tamil families to make sacrifices to send their children to schools where the English language is the medium of instruction.

During the interviews we heard many times sentences like this: ‘*I don’ want for my child the same life I had, I want a better life for him and the only way is to know the English language, the English is very master*<sup>35</sup>’.

The majority of young people belonging to the high social classes do not study Tamil at all<sup>36</sup>. At primary school they only learn English and in extreme instances they are not able to write in Tamil types or more surprisingly they do not know their mother tongue<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>33</sup>We have selected only the most representative words and those for which we have found a confirmation on CRE-A: Dictionary and Madras Tamil Lexicon (refer to bibliography for further details).

<sup>34</sup>In this manuscript the pages are not numerated.

<sup>35</sup>Data inferred directly through the interviews.

Even though British colonisation ceased in 1947, a ‘virtual colonisation’ has remained at the linguistic level and is imposed by the same Indians throughout the South. This is because the official/national language is Hindi and the Southern speakers are not competent in this language. They generally reject Hindi because they feel as if Tamil hasn’t received the right recognition by the Government as an ancient language. For this reason the only common language available throughout India is English and there is a significant commitment to maintaining this language<sup>38</sup>.

As previously stated this phenomenon determines the development of different varieties of English spoken through all India. Although only 4% of the Indian population uses English as a second language its presence has been shown to be quite relevant in interference phenomenon on Indian languages.

The English language interested many Tamils, because of its prestige. Consequently when communicating they automatically use some English words. There are two main reasons for this:

- they prefer to use the English words instead of Tamil ones because they affirm: ‘*It is easier, English is short, Tamil has long words*’<sup>39</sup>, for example they use *school* instead of *pallikkūdam*;
- a Tamil equivalent does not exist for the English lexeme.

This is true for example in the areas of technology, science, and medicine, consequently we find borrowings such as *computer, desktop, mouse, keyboard, screen* and obviously all the other words found mainly in the scientific field.

The high prestige attributed to the English language and the cultural influence of this language has determined the frequent use of English words within communication. Expressions used for greeting people on different occasions are very common e.g. *Happy New Year, Happy Birthday, and Congratulations*. Other commonly used words are *Festival, friend, pen, and book*. The borrowing of these words is restricted to certain domains and the high classes are more affected by this phenomenon.

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<sup>36</sup> For further details refer to Schiffman (1996; 2004).

<sup>37</sup> Data inferred directly through the interviews and also confirmed by the scientific literature on this matter.

<sup>38</sup> For further information refer to Muru (2004) and the bibliography there indicated.

<sup>39</sup> Statements collected during the interviews in Chennai, 2005 (Muru, 2009a).



Finally it should be noted that those English words which entered in the Tamil language have been adapted to the phonological system of Tamil. This is the same concept already discussed in relation to Christian terminology in Tamil which was referred to as *nonce borrowing*. For many English words we adapt to a ‘*tamilization*’ through pronunciation: *apple* > *āppiḷ*; *orange* > *ārāñju*; *carrot* > *kēraṭ*; *coffee* > *kāppi*, *Father Christmas* > *Kiṛistumas tāttā*, *Christmas tree* > *Kiṛistumas maram*<sup>40</sup>.

As Schiffman (2004) stated, “*South Asia has always had a strong tradition of producing people skilled in mathematics and other technical subjects, and with the advent of the computerisation of the world and the workplace, Indian citizens often found that these skills (as with medicine and engineering before them) were not only portable (opening up new job markets both at home and abroad) but had export value*’. *It was always true that India exported high-tech graduates, but now it is possible to utilise such skills without leaving the country and they can also be marketed in international/global industries via the internet etc. Such skills naturally require a concomitant knowledge of English*”.

From this statement the importance of the English language in the Indian society is affirmed. An ability to speak English determines the social status of many young people and it functions as the *lingua franca* between different ethnic groups living in the same metropolitan areas. For this reason we should not be surprised if it enters the lives of all Indians, in both alphabetised and non alphabetised forms. It would be interesting to study how much the English language affects the Tamil language not only at the lexical level, but also in relation to morphological or syntactical interferences.

#### 4. Conclusions

We have analysed two different consequences of a prolonged and intense contact between civilisations. Attention has been focused mainly the lexical level, but the logical conclusion is that further investigation should be undertaken into other linguistic elements such as morphology.

The two relationships studied have demonstrated the different aptitudes of speakers of the outsider language. Portuguese terms entered the Tamil lexicon because they belonged to a part of a new cultural concept introduced into India which is nowadays part of the Indian cultural religious reality. The English words entered and still enter Tamil (and other

<sup>40</sup>As already noted with Portuguese words in the Tamil language, these original English words adhere systematically to the phonological system of the Tamil language.

Indian languages) because the speakers want to achieve the highest competence possible in this language. The prestige ascribed to English encourages native speakers to use this language for practical reason (to obtain good jobs in new fields), and also because the English language represents a social medium through which some Indians distinguish themselves from other Indians. The insertion of English words in Low-Tamil speeches represents a way to gain more prestige and attention by peers.

The results analysed have shown opposing realities. In the first case (Portuguese-Tamil) the creation of new words, the process of insertion of new terms in the Tamil language was needed by Europeans because of the lack of proper terms to refer to Christian religion.

But as with English-Tamil, even as English became the imposed language within a community it gained much more prestige than the local languages. Furthermore the new terms derived from English were (and still are) introduced and maintained.

Languages are creative expressions of the human mind which suit the needs of their speakers. The creativity in language is increasingly demonstrated when it is forced to embrace different languages and cultures or when it is forced to find a compromise in order to co-exist and become the common medium of communication between different ethnic groups or civilizations. Languages also represent the manner and medium through which people construct and recognise their identity. The attitude of speakers toward the language can enable it to gain importance and power within a society or can make it disappear altogether.

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## *Some evidences of Spoken Tamil in Christian religious manuscripts (17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Cent.)<sup>1</sup>*

### *1. Research purposes and methodology of investigation*

This descriptive study presents some of the results achieved during the linguistic analysis of two Catechisms dated back to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The main purpose of the research was to analyse the variety of Tamil used by Western missionaries due to the linguistic contact between them and Indians.

The methodology of investigation adopted for analysing is mainly based on the frequency of occurrence of certain morphological items<sup>2</sup>. The higher frequency of the variant X with respect to the variant Y has been associated with greater diffusion among the speakers, and it has been chosen as the most representative of the morphology of that specific variety of Tamil used by missionaries.

For the identification of the variety they used the lexemes belonging to the basic vocabulary of the language have been identified, since they are considered the most representative for this kind of study. The syntactical structures' analyses have been avoided as we have considered the fact that they could easily be influenced by the L1 of the speakers. We have concentrated attention on morphology and partially on phonology.

The point of reference for the interpretation of data has been the *Standard Spoken Tamil*<sup>3</sup>. The debate on what and which variety of Tamil should be defined *Standard Spoken* has involved many scholars, all of them interested in identifying an appropriate definition for this variety of Tamil. It seems that it is influenced mainly by two social factors<sup>4</sup>: the level of education and the age of speakers. Consequently. In 'modern terms' it is possible to infer that the variety of Tamil that surpasses the diatopically and

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my sincere thanks to Prof. S. Arokianathan, University of Pondicherry, Tamil Department whose help was essential for the translation of the Jesuits' manuscripts. I would especially like to acknowledge my debt to him for revising this paper. I would like also to express my gratitude to Prof. Schiffman who encouraged me in publishing this study and patiently replied to my mails, giving me useful advices. Obviously, any errors are our own.

The results presented in this paper were achieved during my one year research as Post-Doctoral Fellow at the University of Tuscia, Viterbo, Italy, A.Y. 2009/2010 under the project *Fenomenologia del contatto linguistico in prospettiva sociolinguistica storica e sincronica*. I would like acknowledge my debt to my teacher Prof. Barbara Turchetta and to Prof. Marco Mancini.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bybee, J., (2007); Bybee, J. & Hopper, P., (2001).

<sup>3</sup> For further details refer to Shanmugam (1987); Gnanasundaram (1980); Schiffman (1999) and Zvelebil (1963b; 1964).

<sup>4</sup> See Labov (1972; 2001) for social factors.

diastatically marked varieties came about in a young speakers' context. These speakers belong to different social groups, and are all characterized by a high level of education.

The social factors, which determine innovations in a language, have long been explored in sociolinguistics by different authors. It has been largely demonstrated that among all the speakers of a specific language the *innovators* are mainly **young** and **women**, whilst aged people and men show the tendency to be more conservative<sup>5</sup>.

If we consider the structure of the Indian society during 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in a perspective of *social network*, it is quite difficult to consider women as active participant of linguistic innovations since individual's *social network* is defined as the *aggregate of relationship contracted with others, a boundless web of ties which reaches out through social and geographical space* (Milroy, 1980; Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 117). Indian women's social life took place in the inner entourage of the village or of their area. The possibilities that they could have contact with external social networks were remote.

In this historical background we are driven to contemplate that the young played a leading role in the spreading of the *Spoken Tamil* variety also during 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

It could also be considered that the presence of missionaries determined this development, even if it is impossible to know to what extent they can have contributed. In any case it is admissible to assume that they were inclined to use a kind of 'neutral' language trying to avoid specific social group expressions which could *irritate* or put away from Christian religion other Indian speakers.

Consequently, this paper tries to demonstrate that the variety of Tamil used by missionaries was much more similar to the modern *Standard Spoken Tamil* (hereafter indicated as SST) than to a specific dialect of some particular social group or to the Literary variety of Tamil language (hereafter indicated as LT).

Nowadays the *Standard Spoken Tamil* is defined as a *lingua franca* free from all those elements through which it would be possible to recognize the social group to which a specific speaker belongs. It seems that the intent behind this innovation can be determined by the volunteer to hide one's own social identity and at the same time employing an expedient through which to reduce the social distances and eliminate possible social discriminations.

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Labov (2001); Milroy, J. (1992); Milroy & Milroy (1978).



The behavior of the missionaries can be considered in this perspective: they were competent enough to select a variety of language which could be considered a ‘neutral’ *lingua franca*; in this manner they could communicate with a great number of people.

## 2. Sources

The texts that have been analysed are contained in three different manuscripts, which include a Catechism and a dialogue between the penitent and his Confessor. Two of the three texts are attributed to the same author, the Portuguese Father Balthassar da Costa, and appear in two different manuscripts where also a grammar of the Tamil language is available.

The two manuscripts are slightly different. They were found in the State Central Library of Goa, in Panaji under Ms 15 classification<sup>6</sup>.

The third manuscript is archived as Goa 76b<sup>7</sup> in the Historical Jesuit Archive in Rome and dates back to the first years of 18<sup>th</sup> century (probably between 1725 and 1726). The author is the Italian Father Ippolito Desideri<sup>8</sup>, a Jesuit sent on a difficult Mission to Tibet for his great abilities.

According to Bargiacchi (2006) it was during his journey from Tibet to Italy, across India that Desideri learnt the Tamil language.

## 3. Linguistic analysis of texts

The manuscripts were analysed from the phonological, morphological and semantic points of view, with the main focus on morphology. The analysis of the phonological traits is not easy because it is easier to speculate about the possible pronunciation. The semantic-lexical traits of the basic vocabulary were analysed as this was considered useful in determining the variety of the Tamil language used by the missionaries.

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<sup>6</sup> For further information refer to the first essay in this book and to Muru (2010).

<sup>7</sup> The manuscripts Goa 76b counts 137 pages of which 16 deal with the Tamil grammar in Latin and 10 with exercises and syntax. A Catechism and a Confessionario precede these portions. According to Bargiacchi (2007) the manuscript was written by a single author and is an autograph. If we compare the writing of the manuscript with that of the vow (Lusitania 14, fol. 205, HARSI, Roma), they appear to be quite similar.

### 3.1 A sketch of Spoken Tamil phonology

Schiffman (1999: 22)<sup>9</sup> clearly describes the phonological system of the SST that can be resumed in the following few points where the main phonological rules which apply in SST are indicated:

- palatalization: tt, nt → [cc, nj] / [i, ai] \_\_\_\_ (*paṭittēṇ* → *paṭiccēṇ* ‘I read, I studied’);
- gemination of consonants in CVC where V= ǃ (*kal* → *kallu* ‘stone’);
- vocalic epenthesis in CVC where V=ǃ (*nāl* → *nālu* ‘day’);
- fall of [l] in final position in plural morphemes, in pronouns and verbs;
- nasalization: V → ǃ / \_\_\_\_ [m, n] #;
- lowering: [i, u] → [e, o] in sequences (C)...Ca (*iṭam* → *eṭam* ‘place’);
- cancellation: [l, r, ɭ] → Ø / \_\_\_\_ plosive in internal position (*uṭṭkarndēṇ* → *ukkandēṇ* ‘I sat’);
- reduction of consonant constrains (*uṭṭkāru* → *okkāru* ‘sat’);
- monophthongization [ai] → [e] in the accusative, in noun final position, in medial position, except for monosyllabic (*vai* → *vayyi* ‘put’) or in the initial syllable of polysyllables;
- cancellation: [v, k] → Ø / V \_\_\_\_ V (*paarkkavillai* → *paakkaalle* ‘not seen’);
- [ɭ] → Ø / V \_\_\_\_ V with lengthening of the preceding vowel (*poḷudu* → *pōdu* ‘at that time’);
- rounding: [i, e] → [u, o] / [+lab] \_\_\_\_ [+retr] (*miṭā* → *moṭā* ‘ceramic pot’).

These linguistic changes are found in SST, and in each dialect can be fully or partially realised and further specific changes of that dialect can be added (i.e. in the Brahmin dialect the vowels undergo a rounding when they precede the lateral retroflex [ɭ]).

The texts were analysed in order to identify the phenomena described above for the purpose of validating the hypothesis that the Tamil used by the missionaries was very

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bargiacchi (2008); Puini (1876).

<sup>9</sup> For further details about the phonology of Spoken Tamil refer to Arden (1942); Asher (1985); Beschi (1848); Schiffman & Eastman (1975); Zvelebil (1963a).

similar to SST. Not all the attempts in this direction gave good results and thus only partially validated the hypothesis.

The main variation was registered among the vowel phonemes; in most of the cases it is possible to find short vowels instead of long vowels. This change is not ascribable to any of the rules described above; maybe it can be related to a phenomenon of interference from the speaker's L1<sup>10</sup>.

In the phonological system of da Costa's and Desideri's L1 languages (Portuguese and Italian) the vowel quantity is not a distinctive trait. The extensive use of short vowel should be ascribable to the interference from the mother tongue of the missionaries because they were not able to perceive the vowel quantity. In spite of this, the same information can be used to underline once again that the variety of a language used by the missionaries was the Spoken Tamil, the reason for which it is possible to notice the following changes:

- 1) reduction of consonant constraints, cancellation of consonants in intervocalic position and assimilation: *raṭyam* < rāṭciyam 'kingdom' Ms Goa 76b, f. 2 [1, 2]; *iṇṇu* < iṇṇru 'hereafter words' Ms Goa 76b, f. 2, [6]; *caruvecuran* < carvēcuvaran 'God' Ms Goa 76b f. 2, [15]; *patti* < bakhti 'devotion' Ms Goa 76b f. 3, [12]; *mutti* < mukti 'salvation' Ms Goa 76b f. 7 [14]; *kaluren* < kaṟuvuṛēn 'to wash' Ms Goa 76b, f. 10, [14]; *kerpam* < karappam 'delivery' Ms Goa 76b, f. 3, [16];
- 2) lowering: *postakam* < pustakam 'book' Ms Goa 76b f. 30, [13]; *postan̄kaḷ* < pustakaṅgaḷ 'books' Ms Goa 76b f. 44, [11];
- 3) palatalization<sup>11</sup> of -tt- and -nt- after a front vowel: *piñcu* < piyntu 'to tear'; *aṛiñcu* < aṛintu 'having known' Ms Goa 76b, f. 11 [3]; *ninaiccu* < niṇaittu 'having thought' Ms Goa 76b, f. 11, [6]; *aṭiccu* < aṭintu 'having beat' Ms Goa 76b, f. 47, [13]; *peccukkalum* < pēcuṅkaḷum 'words, speeches' Ms 15, 108 [27].

The same considerations cannot be given regarding monophthongization and vowel epenthesis. It is not known whether these changes are missing because the missionaries were conditioned by the high variety of Tamil or because these changes had not yet

<sup>10</sup> An alternative hypothesis could be that the variety of Tamil used among the missionaries is related to one of the Western dialects as these varieties are characterized by the reduction of long vowels into short vowels and from the absence, which is almost total, of the monophthongization of <ai> (Shanmugam, 1987: 40). In effect one faces two different obstacles: first one should drastically limit the area of the missionaries, secondly one would not be able to find the reason for which many of the morphological characteristics would include this variety among the oriental variants more than among the western variants.

<sup>11</sup> Beschi (1848) describes a *not elegant way of speech* referring mainly about the palatalization.

evolved in the language. Sometimes the retroflex phonemes are overused as hypercorrection phenomenon.

One can conclude that the phonology supports the hypothesis that the variety of Tamil used by the missionaries was the Spoken variety, but at the same time phonology leads in the opposite direction because many of the SST characteristics are missing. Consequently, the phonology can only partially help us with the Spoken Standard Tamil hypothesis

### 3.2 Nominal morphology

#### 3.2.1 The instrumental case

The instrumental case in LT is expressed by the morphemes *-āl/-inal* which in SST is realized by *-āle*, whilst in some dialects both the locative case *-le* and the comitative *-ōṭe* can be used to express the instrumental meaning. The postposition *koṇṭu*, which underwent a process of grammaticalization<sup>12</sup>, is used to express instrumental value (Asher, 1985: 112).

The analysis of this case is particularly interesting because it reveals some features of SST. Ms 15 and Ms 49 show the following:

- *-āle* occurs 11 times; *-ināle* occurs 9 times, while we find also two occurrences of *-ōṭe* with instrumental meaning more than comitative;

f. 105, [23-25]	Atu-kk-āka	kurram kaṇṭu	<b>-ināle</b>
	DIS-DIM-DAT-PURP	mistake having seen-VP	
	aṭi-cc-āy-ō	arpa kuratt-ukk-āka	
	beat-PAST-2SG-CLIT	small-ADJ mistake-DAT-PURP	
	vaṛmatt- <b>ināle</b>	kaṭiṇam-āy aṭi-cc-āy-ō	
	revenge-OBL- <b>INSTR</b>	strength-ADV.M beat-PAST-2SG-CLIT	
<i>Did you beat for having seen mistake or <b>by</b> revenge because of a small mistake; did you beat strongly for that?</i>			
f. 106, [29-31]	nī orutt-aṇ- ai koṇru	pōṭāt-irunt-ālum	<b>-āle</b>
	2SG NUM-M-ACC	having killed-VP put-NEG-even if	

<sup>12</sup> For further details on grammaticalization refer to Heine; Claudi & Hünemeyer (1991); Heine & Kuteva (2002); Hopper & Traugott (1993).

yatōrutt-aṇ cettatiṇ-āle  
 INT-NUM-M death-INSTR  
 cantōsha-ppaṭṭ-ay-ō  
 happiness-PASS-2SG-CLIT  
*Even if you did not kill someone, did you feel happy **by the** death of him?*

In Ms Goa 76b *-iṇāle* has a high frequency for, it is found 34 times, while *-āle* occurs 11 times, besides also *-ōṭe* is used as instrumental case 6 times. *Koṇṭu* occurs 5 times.

f. 3, [15-18] Ivar-um ispiritucāntu.v-**iṇ-āle** keṇapam-āka **-iṇāle**  
 3SG-M- HON- CLIT holy spirit-INSTR pregnancy-ADV.M  
 urpavittu kaṇṇi Mari.y-āḷ-iṭatt-ile  
 create-VP Virgin Mary-(F)-place-LOC  
 niṇṇu pira-nt-ār  
 stay-VP-ABL be born-PAST-3SG-M-HON  
*He was born from the Virgin Mary who created him in pregnancy **by the** Holy Spirit.*

f. 27, [1-4] Mantiripi-ppi-ccu koṇṭatu kuḷai.y **-ōṭe**  
 mantra-CAUS-COMPL doing-VN neem leaves  
 aṭi-ppi-ccu koḷḷu-kiṇ-atum taṇṇīr-**ōṭi**  
 beat-CAUS-COMPL REFL-PRES-3SG-NT water-INSTR  
 coriṇcu koḷḷu-kiṇ-atum  
 having poured-VP REFL-PRES-3SG-NT  
 kuṭi-kkiṇ-atum pāvam  
 drink-PRES-3SG-NT sin  
*Being blessed with mantras (of those kinds of people) and getting oneself neem bunch blessing and being sprinkled **with** the holy water and drinking them, those are all sins.*

f. 33 [11-17] aṇcām kaṇṇai.y-ile maṇacu porunti **-koṇṭu**  
 NUM Commandment-LOC mind fixing-VP  
 avar avar-ai koṇṇatuk-kaḷ kolla  
 3SG-M 3SG-M-ACC murder-VN-PLU kill-INF  
 niṇaiccatu-kaḷ kolla takkat-āka  
 thought-VN-PLU kill-INF fit-ADV.M  
 pala upāya tantira-kaḷ-ai colli  
 QUANT manner trick-PLU-ACC having said-VP  
 avar-avar-ai **koṇṭu** kollu-vi-cc-atukaḷ  
 3SG-M 3SG-M-ACC INSTR kill-CAUS-COMPL-3PLU  
 avarkaḷ-uṭaiya kuṭiyai keṭuttatu-kaḷ  
 3PLU-GEN family spoil-VN-PLU  
 uṇ kuṭiyai keṭuttu pōṭu-v-ēṇ  
 2SG family spoiling-VP AUX-FUT-1SG  
*In the 5th commandment killing with determination, deciding to kill and one causing to kill **by** someone, having said many tricks and manners to kill; and spoiling their life (family), you (will) spoil your family.*

### 3.2.2 The comitative case

In LT the comitative case can be expressed by the suffix *-ōtu* and by the postposition *-uṭaṇ*. In SST there are two different forms, one is the same morpheme which one finds in LT, and the other is *-ōṭe*.

In the manuscripts the morpheme typical of SST is the most used. Both the Ms 49 and Ms 15 have only this morpheme *-ōṭe*, while the Ms Goa 76b also presents the LT morpheme *-uṭaṇ* + *e*<sup>13</sup>. This postposition is used only with nouns, which refer to the Christian religion; in all other contexts, the morpheme of SST is used. In this situation, it seems probable that the missionaries desired to underline a differentiation between what was Christian and what was Indian, giving more prestige to the first. The prestigious value is marked through linguistic device: a form of the LT is used to express the company of subjects or entity belonging to the Christian religion, whilst on the contrary the variant of the SST is used to express all the other states of company.

<b>Ms Goa 76b, f. 8, [1 - 2]</b>	pētur- <b>uṭaṇe</b> .y-um Peter-COM-CONJ pāvul- <b>uṭaṇe</b> .y-yum Paul-COM-CONJ <i>With Peter and with Paul.</i>	<b>-uṭaṇe</b> (7 times)
<b>Ms Goa 76b, f. 7, [4]</b>	keṭṭi      maṇac- <b>ōṭe</b> piritikkiṇ-ai strong-ADJ mind-COM promise-ACC paṇṇu-kkiṭ-ēṇ do-PRES-1SG <i>With a strong mind I promise.</i>	<b>-ōṭe</b>

### 3.2.3 The locative case

It is used to express location and sometimes medium of transportation. In LT it is expressed by the morpheme *-il* when it is suffixed to [-animate] nouns, while *-iṭam* is used with [+animate] nouns. The latter also expresses the inalienable possession and goal of destination. In SST the morpheme used with [-animate] noun is *-le*, whilst with [+animate] nouns we find *-kiṭṭe*. In some dialects this last is reduced to *-ṭṭe*.

<sup>13</sup> Even if it is a morpheme of the LT variety a final <e> is added according to the rule of SST for which all the words must end in vowel. Another possible interpretation for this final <e> is to consider it as an emphatic marker.

In the analysed *corpus* it is possible to find the following occurrences:

- In Mss 15 and 49 the locative case is found 61 times, only three times it is used as the suffix *-il*.

Also in this case the SST suffixe is more frequent than the LT suffix. The suffixe *-kiṭṭe* is not found at all.

- Ms Goa 76b: the locative case occurs 124 times; whilst only on three occasions *-il* is the morpheme used, alternatively one would find *-ile* of the SST.

f. 6, [5-6]	reṇṭu kaṇapiṇaiy- <b>ile</b> mutalāv-atu NUM Commandament-LOC NUM-CARD elatt- <b>il</b> pārkka    caṇvecuraṇ-ai all-LOC    COMP    God-ACC ciṇekitt-iru-kkiṇ-atu love-AUX-PRES-3SG-NT	<b>-ile</b> from    SST, [+abstract]
	<i>Among the two Commandments, the primary one compared to others is to love God.</i>	

The suffix *iṭam* + locative is always referred to [+animate] subjects and shows the following distribution:

- In Ms 49 and Ms 15 it is possible to trace 7 occurrences of *-iṭam*, two times they occur with their full meaning ('place', 434 DEDR<sup>14</sup>), while 5 times this word is suffixed with the locative case *-le* → *iṭattile* and it refers to [-concrete] nouns related to deities or human being. In other cases it indicates the recipient of the action.

f. 115, [3]	inta      vakai    pāvam cāmucari-kaḷ <b>iṭatt-ile</b> PROX-DIM variety    sin      family man-PLU <b>place-LOC</b> iraṭṭai    pavām    irukk-um double    sin      be-FUT-3SG-NT	<b>-iṭatt + ile</b> with [+human], [-concrete] nouns. In this sentence the locative is used to expresses the recipient of the action.
	<i>This kind of sin to the family men will be like a double sin.</i>	

<sup>14</sup> Burrow & Emeneau (1984).

- In Ms Goa 76b *-iṭam* is found 17 times, and only once it occurs as simple form maintaining the lexical meaning; in the other cases it is suffixed with the locative case, both to [-concrete] nouns and to [+human, +concrete] nouns expressing also the semantic role of recipient.

f. 27, [21]	Ituvum allāmal 3SG-NT-CLIT besides kuṛattikaḷ kōṇāṅkik-kāṛar kuratti-PLU fortunetellers-CLAS ivār-kaḷ <b>iṭatt-ile</b> 3SG-M-PLU <b>place-LOC</b> Kai kāṭṭu-kiṛ-atum [...] pavam hand show-PRES-3SG-NT [...] sin <i>Beside this, all things like Kuratti Ladies and Fortune-tellers to them the showing palm (are sin).</i>	<i>-ile</i> preceded by - <b>iṭam</b> ‘place’ [+animate], [+concrete]. In this sentence the locative is used to expresses the recipient of the action.
f. 9 [3]	caṇuvecuraṇ- <b>iṭatt-ile</b> God- <b>place-LOC</b> <i>In God’s place.</i>	<i>-ile</i> preceded by - <b>iṭam</b> [+animate], [-concrete].

Neither the suffixe *-kiṭṭe* nor *-ṭṭe* was found. Graul (1855: 19) at the beginning of the 19th century claimed that to the oblique form of *-iṭam*, that is *-iṭattu*, the locative case *-il* → *-iṭattil* was suffixed, for the purpose of expressing the location with animate being.

In conclusion it is possible to affirm that the missionaries used the SST suffix with [-animate] nouns, whilst they used to mix SST and LT features with respect to *-iṭam* (from LT) + *-le* (from SST).

### 3.2.4 The ablative case

For ablative Old Tamil had the morpheme *-in*, and it was indicated as the fifth case in *Tolkāppiyam*; while *ninru* ‘having stood’ participle of the verb *nil* and *iruntu* ‘having been’ participle of the verb *iru* (Krishnamurti, 2003: 240) were used as postpositions. In Modern Tamil these verbs grammaticalized and became bound postpositions suffixed to the noun, which already carried the locative case, whilst the morpheme *-in* is no longer used. In Modern Tamil *-iruntu* is used with the locative *-il* when it refers to [-animate] nouns, whilst it is used with *-iṭam* when joined to [+animate] nouns. It indicates the source



of motion and the separation from an entity. When the locative case *-il + iruntu* is used with [+animate] nouns express the source of a selection and the starting point of a series.

In SST there are two different morphemes: 1) locative *le + rundu* (verbal participle of ‘to be’), it is used with [-animate] nouns; 2) *-kiṭṭerundu* used with [+animate] nouns.

- In Ms Goa 76b the ablative case is found 6 times, five of them are expressed by the form *-iṭṭille ninru* when used with [+animate, + human, + concrete] nouns, by the form *-ileninru* when used with [+animate, - human, +/- concrete] nouns and once it is found with the verb ‘to be’ with [-animate] nouns.

<b>Ms Goa 76b, f. 2, [11]</b>	tiṇamay- <b>ile</b> <b>ninru</b> evil-LOC <b>stand</b> –VP-ABL eṇka  -ai reṭcittu-kol -um 1PL-ES-ACC save-VP-AUX- FUT āmeṇecu amen Jesus <i>Save us <b>from</b> the evil, Amen Jesus.</i>	<b>-ile + ninru</b> → ABLATIVE suffixed to [+animate], [-human], [-concrete] nouns
<b>Ms Goa 76b, f. 3, [16-18]</b>	ivaru-m ispiritucāntu.v-iṇ-āle 3SG-M-CONJ Holy Spirit-INTR kerapam-āka urpavittu pregnancy-ADV.M being created-VP kaṇṇi Mari.y- āl- <b>iṭṭille</b> Virgin Mary-(F)- <b>place-LOC</b> <b>ninru</b> piṇa-nt-ār <b>stay</b> –VP-ABL be born-PAST-3SG-M-HON <i>He also was created by the Holy Spirit in pregnancy and was born <b>from</b> the (the place of) Virgin Mary.</i>	<b>-ile + ninru</b> → ABLATIVE suffixed to [+animate], [+human], [+concrete] nouns
<b>Ms 15, f. 118 [8]</b>	oru vīcai tūratt- <b>ile.y</b> NUM time distance-LOC <b>iruntu.p</b> pā-tt-ēṇ <b>be</b> -VP-ABL see-PAST-1SG <i>One time I saw (it) <b>from</b> far. / Being at distance (it) was seen.</i>	<b>-ile + iruntu</b> → ABLATIVE suffixed to [-animate], [-concrete] nouns
<b>Ms 15, f. 123 [27]</b>	Koyil- <b>ile</b> <b>iruntu</b> temple-LOC <b>be</b> -VP-ABL vēṇē paṇṭatt-ai āṇālum tiruṭ-iṇ-āy-ō ADJ thing-ACC even if steal-PAST-2SG-CLIT <i>Did you steal different things <b>from</b> the Church?</i>	<b>-ile + iruntu</b> → ABLATIVE suffixed to [-animate], [-human], [+concrete] nouns

## 3.2.5 The purposive case

The purposive is formed adding *-āka* to the dative case, this combination marks the purpose for which an action is realized.

<b>Ms Goa 76b, f. 15, [2-3]</b>	At- <b>ukk-āka</b> avar-ai DIS-DIM-DAT-PURP 3SG-M-HON-ACC stōttiram paṇṇu-kiṭ-ōm worshipping do-PRES-1PLU <i>For that we worship him.</i>	<b>-ukk + āka →</b> PURPOSIVE derived from the combination of dative + infinitive of the verb ‘to become’
<b>Ms Goa 76b, f. 48, [3]</b>	enru-kiṭ-at- <b>ukk-āka</b> say-VN-PRES-3SG-NT-DAT-PURP amakā pāvamāy irukk-um great-ADJ sin-ADV.M be-FUT-3SG-NT <i>For that reason it will be as a great sin.</i>	<b>- ukk + āka →</b> PURPOSIVE derived from the combination of dative + infinitive of the verb ‘to become’
<b>Ms Goa 76b, f. 61, [13]</b>	At- <b>ukk-āka</b> kuṛram kaṇṭu DIM-DIS-DAT-PURP mistake having seeing-VP aṭi-cc-ay-ō arpa beat-PAST-2SG-CLIT small-ADJ kurratt- <b>ukk-āka</b> vanmatt-iṇāle mistake-DAT-PURP revenge-INSTR kaṭiṇām-āy aṭi-cc-āy-ō strenght-ADV.M beat-PAST-2SG-CLIT <i>Did you beat strongly by revenge for the great mistake or did you beat having seen the mistake and for the sake of that you beat?</i>	<b>- ukk + āka →</b> PURPOSIVE derived from the combination of dative + infinitive of the verb ‘to become’
<b>Ms 15, f. 117 [26]</b>	Cantōshatt- <b>ukk-āka</b> Happiness-DAT-PURP <i>For the sake of happiness.</i>	<b>- ukk + āka →</b> PURPOSIVE derived from the combination of dative + infinitive of the verb ‘to become’

The dative case + *āka* has been found in all the manuscripts, but with a low frequency of occurrence (6 times in Ms Goa 76b and 4 times in Ms 15 and Ms 49) which suggests that it was not yet totally grammaticalized, or that it was not productive in the language used among the missionaries. In the other Dravidian languages, such as Iruḷa, Koḍagu and Kannaḍa<sup>15</sup> the purposive is obtained by the combination of the dative plus the suffixation of a grammaticalized verb.

<sup>15</sup> For further details on the case system refer to Blake (1994) and on the case system in Dravidian languages refer to Agesthalingom & Kushalappa Gowda (1976).

### 3.2.6 Numerals: ordinals and cardinals

The numerals in SST are very different from those used in LT, as they underwent phonological processes (cf. § 3.1) for which their shape changed. The following table illustrates the different realizations of cardinals in LT and SST, on the right side the forms identified in the manuscripts are indicated:

LT	Document	SST	Document
<i>oṇru</i>		<i>oṇṇu</i> One	Ms 15 (3 occ)
<i>iraṇḍu</i>	Ms 15 (12 occ)		Ms Goa 76b (3 occ)
<i>mūṇru</i>	Ms 15 (1 occ)	<i>reṇḍu</i> Two	Ms 15 (16 occ)
<i>nāṇgu</i>			Ms Goa 76b (11 occ)
<i>aiṇdu</i>		<i>mūṇu</i> Three	Ms 15 (3 occ)
<i>āru</i>	Ms 15 (1 occ)		Ms 15 (2 occ)
<i>ēlu</i>		<i>nālu</i> Four	Ms Goa 76b (18 occ)
<i>eṭṭu</i>	Ms Goa 76b (10 occ)		Ms Goa 76b (13 occ)
<i>oṇbadu</i>		<i>aṇju</i> Five	Ms Goa 76b (7 occ)
<i>pattu</i>			Ms Goa 76b (4 occ)
<i>nūru</i>		<i>āru</i> Six	
		<i>ēlu</i> Seven	
		<i>eṭṭu</i> Eight	
		<i>ombadu</i> Nine	
		<i>pattu</i> Ten	
		<i>nūru</i> Hundred	
		<i>oṇṇarai</i> One and half	Ms Goa 76b (2 occ)
<i>Irupatu</i> ‘	Ms 15 (1 occ)		
20’	Ms 15 (1 occ)		
<i>nārupatu</i> ‘	MS 15 (1 occ)		
40’			
<i>āyira</i> ‘10			
00’			

The SST numerals are more frequent. The ordinals that are formed suffixing the cardinal with *-atu* or *-am* occurred more frequently in forms typical of the SST, than LT. In fact the most frequently observed suffix in SST is *-atu*, the same that occurs in the manuscripts. For example in Ms Goa 76b *-atu* occurs 89 times, whilst *-am* occurs only twice.

### 3.3 Evidences of Spoken Tamil in verbal morphology

The present and past tense paradigm differ between SST and LT. In the Catechism only the past tense morphemes are the same as those in SST. The following chart shows the verbal maker of the present tense and past tense both in LT and SST. Indicating the classes (cf. Graul, 1855) of verbs which are most sensitive to dialectal variation.

Class	Present		Past		Future	
	LT	SST	LT	SST	LT	SST
I	-kiṛ-	[-r-]	-t- <sup>16</sup>	[-d-]	-v-	[-v-]
II	-kiṛ-	[-r-]	-nt-	[-nd-]/[-nj-]	-v-	[-v-]
III	-kiṛ-	[-r-]	-in- /-i- <sup>17</sup>	[-in-]/[-n-]/ [-nn-]	-v-	[-v-]
IV	-kiṛ-	[-r-]	Gemination	[-tt-]	-v-	[-v-]
V	-kiṛ-	[-gr-]/[-kr-] /[-kkr-]	-nr- <sup>18</sup>	[-nn-]/[-tt-] /[-tt-]	-p-	[-b-]/[-pp-]
VI	-kkiṛ-	[-kkr-]	-tt-	[-tt-]/[-cc-]	-pp-	[-pp-]
VII	-kkiṛ-	[-kkr-]	-nt-	[-nd-]	-pp-	[-pp-]

Tense morphemes (based on Schiffman, 1999).

In SST<sup>19</sup> the present tense morpheme underwent two different phonological processes: 1) cancellation of high front vowel; 2) lenition of the voiceless velar plosive that disappears in some classes.

Verbs which belong to Graul's VI Class whose stem ends in <i>, <e> and <y> they underwent palatalization in SST. The following changes occur at the past tense: <tt> > <cc> and <nt> > <ñj>. The weak verbs of the I, II and III Classes mark the past with three different morphemes <t>, <nd> and <in> or <i>; these morphemes are also used in SST.

The I Class joins the II Class of verbs , where the past morpheme <nd> is realized like <ñj>. In the II Class there are all those verbs which present a long vowel in the Imperative mode (ex. *vā* 'come' → *vandēn* 'I went'); all the verbs ending in -ai in LT, which becomes -e. In SST show palatalization (*teri* 'know' → *teriñjadu* 'known').

<sup>16</sup> The variant morpheme -t- changes in the following contexts: 1) when the verbal stem ends in a retroflex lateral, than [l̥] + [t] → -ṇṭ-; 2) when the verbal stem ends in lateral, then [l] + [t] → -nr- (Hart, 1992: 37).

<sup>17</sup> This Class is the only one that presents irregularities in the third neutral person, both singular and plural which can be realized in three different ways: *vāngu* 'to buy' → *vānginadu*, *vāngiyadu*, *vāngirru*. The last one has changed into *vāngiccu/vāngicci* in SST.

<sup>18</sup> According to Lehmann (1989: 59) and Hart (1992: 37) the past morpheme is -t- if the verbs are in the V Class, whilst -nr- occurs when the morpheme -t- combines with a verbal stem ending in -ṇ-. It undergoes the following changes: 1) -t- > -ṭ- if the verbal stem ends in -ṇ-; 2) -t- > -tt- if the verbal stem ends in -l-; 3) -t- > -ṭṭ- if the verbal stem ends in -l-.

<sup>19</sup> For further details regarding tense markers in SST refer to Bright (1996); Zvelebil (1963a).

The verbs with final trill delete or change it before the past tense marker; the verbs that in LT belong to the I Class show palatalization in the past when used in the SST (*ceyyi* ‘do’ → *ceñjadu* ‘did’). The verbs of the V Class that end in sonorant undergo unpredictable changes: 1) some of them joined the II Class; 2) some others are not used.

In the analysed texts, it is possible to find some verbs suffixed with the SST past tense morphemes.

The dialectal variation is frequently present in the past tense for all the verbs of II, V, and VI Class, but also for those belonging to III Class for which there is an extensive use of *-cci-/-ccu-*.

These are some of the verbs found in the analysed manuscripts, all in the past tense:

Manuscript	SST Past	English translation	LT correspondence
Ms Goa 76b, f. 1 [13]	viyāpiccirukkiṛar	It was pervaded PAST	viyāpikkirukkiṛar (VI Class)
Ms Goa 76b, f. 11 [3, 4]	ariñcu	1)having cut, 2) having undrestood VP	aṛintu (II Class)
Ms Goa 76b, 11 [6]	niṇaiccu	Having thought VP	niṇaintu (VII Class)
Ms Goa 76b, 23 [2]	cōticcu	Having examined VP	cōtittu (VI Class)
Ms Goa 76b, 27 [8]	pāttu	Having seen VP	pārttu (V Class)
Ms Goa, 76b, 24 [13]	vicāriccu	Having asked VP	vicārittu (VI Class)
Ms Goa 76b, 27 [16]	iṭiccu	It destroyed PAST	iṭittatu (VI Class)
Ms Goa 76b, 27 [16-17]	taṅgiccu	It remained (to stay in a place for sometime) PAST	taṅgittu (III Class)
Ms Goa 76b, f. 27, [2]	aṭipiccu	Having caused to beat VP	aṭipittu (VI Class)
Ms Goa 76b, f. 29, [4]	vicuvacicu	Having believed VP	vicuvacittu (VI Class)
Ms Goa 76b, f. 33, [16]	kollaviccataṭaḷ	They caused the death CAUSATIVE PAST	kollaviṇratuṭaḷ (I Class)
Ms Goa 76b, f. 34, [15]	kopiccu	Becoming angry VP	-
Ms Goa 76b, f. 36, [18]	oḷicacu	Being hidden VP	oḷintu (II Class)
Ms Goa 76b, f. 40, [17]	pōccutu <i>pōccu → SST + utu → Brahmi Iyengar dialect<sup>20</sup></i>	It went PAST	ponatu (III Class)
Ms Goa 76b, f. 47, [7]	aṛaiccaṇ	He declared PAST	aṛaintaṇ (II Class)

<sup>20</sup> For further details regarding the dialectal varieties of Tamil language of Brahmins refer to Agesthalingom & Karunakaran (1980); Gnanasundaram (2008); Ramanujan (1996); Shankaranarayanan (1980) and Subramoniam (1973).

Ms Goa 76b, f. 48, [23]	niṛaiñci	Being full VP	niṛaintu (II Class)
Ms Goa 76b, f. 51, [2]	ciriccayō	Have you laughed? PAST	cirittayō (VI Class)
Ms Goa 76b, f. 53, [21]	īraiccēṇ	I dissipated PAST	īraittēṇ (VI Class)
Ms Goa 76b, f. 54, [11]	kuṭicceṇ	I drunk PAST	kuṭittēṇ (VI Class)
Ms Goa 76b, f. 59, [22]	pēccinēṇ	I spoke PAST	pēcinēṇ (III Class)
Ms Goa 76b, f. 61, [2]	paṭipaccu	He caused to study CAUSATIVE PAST	paṭipattu (VI Class)
Ms Goa 76b, f. 67, [5]	uttariccayō <i>Sri Lankan variety</i> <sup>21</sup>	Have you suffered? PAST	uttarittayō (VI Class)
Ms 15, f. 101, [11] <sup>22</sup>	pēccinēṇ	I spoke PAST	pēcinēṇ (III Class)
Ms 15, f. 101, [12]	aṭicceṇ	I beat PAST	aṭittēṇ, (VI Class)
Ms 15, f. 105, [4]	paṭiccutu <i>paṭiccu → SST + utu → Brahmin Iyengar dialect</i>	Having studied PAST	paṭittatu (VI Class)
Ms 15, f. 108, [14]	accu	It became PAST	āṇadu (III Class)
Ms 15, f. 111, [23]	niṇaiccu	Having thought VP	niṇattu (VI Class)
Ms 15, f. 113, [21]	camatticcayō?	Did you accept? PAST	Camattittayō? (VI Class)
Ms 15, f. 115, [11]	aḷiñcutu <i>aḷiñcu → SST+utu → Brahmin Iyengar dialect</i>	It was destroyed PAST	aḷintatu (VI Class)
Ms 15, f. 115, [28]	iraṭiccuttu <i>iraṭiccu → SST+ utu → Brahmin Iyengar dialect</i>	It doubled PAST	iraṭittatu (VI Class)
Ms 15, f. 119, [28]	pūrukīratu <i>communitary usage</i> <sup>23</sup>	It pulls with the purpose to open PRES	-
Ms 15, f. 121, [35]	vaiccu	Having put VP	vaittu (VI Class)
Ms 15, f. 122, [9]	cammaticca	That accepted PAST RP	Cammatitta (VI Class)
Ms 15, f. 124, [2]	vaḷicceṇ <i>regional usage</i> <sup>24</sup>	I rolled PAST	vaḷittēṇ (VI Class)

Some of the verbs indicated above are used only in the SST and nowadays are no longer used.

<sup>21</sup> CRE-A: Dictionary, 2008.

<sup>22</sup> The data from Ms 49 are the same reported for Ms 15.

<sup>23</sup> CRE-A: Dictionary, 2008.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

### 3.4 Lexemes

The following chart shows some lexemes used in SST and some words used only by some castes. Among these lexemes, whose semantic is related to kinship terms, can lead to the Brahmin Tamil (**bt**), and also to the non-Brahmin variety (n-bt) that is differentiated into high variety (hn-bt) and low variety (*ln-bt*)<sup>25</sup>.

Adam's apple	piṭattai	n-bt
Arm, hand	kayyi	(n-bt) <sup>26</sup>
Ascetic	caṇacci	(n-bt)
Beggar	pikshaikāḷam	Derived from <i>piccai</i> in LT which means 'charity'
Bird	parave/pakshi	(hn-bt)
Body	oṭampu	<i>ln-bt</i> , the second variant is <i>carīram</i> → <b>bt</b> e hn-bt
Brain	mūḷe	(n-bt)
Breast	mole	n-bt
Breast	neñcu/māru	<i>ln-bt</i>
Breath	mūccu	n-bt
Brother's wife	maccinaṇ	<i>ln-bt</i> , community usage; maccāṇ (n-bt), maccāl (Sri Lanka dialect <sup>27</sup> )
Chettiar	vāṇiyaṇ	(n-bt)
Child	koḷante	(n-bt)
Ear	kātu	n-bt
Egg	muṭṭe	hn-bt, monophthongization → in LT the same word is realized like <i>muṭṭai</i>
Elder brother	aṇṇacci	<b>bt</b>
Elder sister	akkā	n-bt
Eye	kaṇṇu	n-bt
Face	mokam	n-bt

<sup>25</sup>See Agesthalingom & Karunakaran (1980); Arokianathan (1987); Bloch (1910); Bright (1996); Chevillard (2008); Gananasundaram, V. (2008); Ramanujan (1996); Shanmugam (1987); Shanmugam (2008); Shapiro & Schiffman (1981); Srinivasa (1980) and Zvelebil (1959; 1960; 1964) for further details about Tamil dialects.

<sup>26</sup>The parentheses indicate that the form is found both in SST and in LT.

<sup>27</sup>CRE-A: Dictionary, 2008.

Family	camucāra	<i>ln-bt</i>
Father	appa/takappan	n-bt/ <i>bt</i>
Fish	mīnu	n-bt
Fisherman's wife	minavi	<i>ln-bt</i>
Good	nannāya	<i>bt</i>
Hand	kayyi	n-bt, <i>bt</i>
Head	tale	n-bt, <i>bt</i>
Heart	irutayam/neñcu	n-bt
Husband	ūṭṭukkāran/purushan	n-bt/ <i>ln-bt</i>
Kiss	mutti	(n-bt)
Left hand	eṭatukkayyi	n-bt
Leg	kālu	<i>ln-bt</i>
Lips	otaṭu	n-bt
Man/male	manushan/āmpaḷe/purushan	hn-bt/ <i>bt/ln-bt</i>
Married woman	aṭṭukkaṟattiṇay	<i>ln-bt</i> , regional usage
Mind	manacu/manam	<i>ln-bt/n-bt</i>
Mother	ammā/tāyi	n-bt
Mouth	vāyi	(n-bt)
Neck	kaḷuttu	(n-bt)
Nose	mūkku	n-bt
Preachers	koṇaṅgikkālar	n-bt
Prostitute	puṇṇiyavati	Used to indicate a prostitute. In reality means 'holy woman'
Right hand	valatukayyi	n-bt
Snake	pāmpu	n-bt
Son	aṇ piḷḷai	n-bt
Son	piḷḷai	n-bt
Stomach	vayiru	n-bt
To laugh	ciri	n-bt
Wife	māmi	<i>ln-bt</i>
Wife	peñcati	<i>ln-bt</i>
Wife	poṇṭāṭṭi/ūṭṭukkāri/manevi	<i>ln-bt/n-bt</i>
Wife	camucāratṭai taḷḷi	n-bt
Wife	tāra	n-bt
Woman	stiri	n-bt, <i>bt</i> , not productive
Woman	poṇṇu/pompaḷe/manushi	n-bt



Woman dress	cīlai	<i>ln-bt</i>
Woman from Kuzava tribe	kuḷattiḷum koṭaṅgaḷum	<i>ln-bt</i>
Young brother	tambi	n-bt, <i>bt</i>
Younger sister	taṅgacci	<i>ln-bt</i>

#### 4. Conclusions

This study leads to the conclusions that the missionaries were inclined to use the *Spoken* variety of *Tamil* language in the translation of their religious books. Besides, it seems that the variety of language used at that time was characterized by features traceable in the modern variety of Tamil defined SST. As it has been demonstrated in paragraph 3.4 sometimes some lexemes of specific social groups have been traced: 9 lexemes in the Brahmin dialect (the *Iyenagar* Br. Dialect), 16 occurrences in dialectal variety of Tamil which are distratically and diatopically marked; but the largest number of lexemes, both the high and the low variety, can be attributed to the non-Brahmin dialect (41 occurrences)<sup>28</sup>.

Other data show the effect of contact between the missionaries and the Sinhalese communities among which the Jesuits opened several missions. Besides, the missionaries must have known the Sanskrit language and would most probably have considered it as a prestigious language as Sanskrit words are used to denote Christian meanings, for example the loanword *moksham* is used to represent the Christian heaven.

It is quite reasonable to believe that the missionaries interacted with many different communities, and for this reason it is possible to find also dialectal words<sup>29</sup>.

With the exception of the case markers like genitive, accusative and dative, which have not been indicated in this study, the other case markers can be retraced back to the SST variety.

In the present study we have suggested a slightly different interpretation of the grammaticalized verb *āku* defined benefactive case by Lehmann (1989: 35-36). We have considered it as *purposive* case because it marks the reason for which the action expressed by the main verb occurs.

<sup>28</sup> The non-Brahmin Tamil dialect is equal to the Standard Spoken Tamil (Schiffman, 1999).

<sup>29</sup> The Indian society is divided into social groups which can usually be identified by the way in which they speak.

Also the past tense morphemes of many of the verbs used in the manuscripts have been traced in SST.

The synchronic and diachronic data presented in this paper suggest that the variety of Tamil used by the missionaries does not differ extremely from the Modern *Standard Spoken Tamil* and the main reason for this choice it is easily understandable: they wanted to convert as many Indians as possible, for this reason they used a language which could be easily understood by many Indians.

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### 'Polygrammaticalization': the case study of verb *kol* in Tamil<sup>1</sup>

### 1. The framework for the methodological research

The aim of the present paper is to give a partial reconstruction of the “polygrammaticalization” phenomenon, which to some extent interested the high productive verb *ko!* in Tamil. According to Craig (1991: 455) polygrammaticalization has been defined as the phenomenon through which a single word is the source of multiple grammatical chains, giving origin to several grammatical morphemes. Consequently polygrammaticalization can be defined as a process starting from a source and generating several outcomes which are functionally different (Hopper & Traugott, 1993: 222).

Grammaticalization is a mechanism leading from lexical to grammatical and from grammatical to more grammatical forms and what has been defined grammatical chain can be resumed in the following:

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source > outcome/source > outcome
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The framework of polygrammaticalization has been applied to the analysis of the different functions of the verb *kol* in Tamil.

If the meaning of this verb is looked up in the *Madras Tamil Lexicon* (hereafter MTL) 16 different definitions as transitive and 2 more as intransitive verb are given. Among the 16 meanings I focused my attention on number 4 which is *to acquire, to take possession of*, and number 7 meaning *to hold*, which is semantically close to the verb *to keep*<sup>2</sup>. This choice has been motivated by the *outcomes* Heine & Kuteva (2002) have found cross-linguistically which derived from grammatical chains whose source was semantically close to the meanings I have selected.

These authors have demonstrated how in different world languages the verb *to take* and *to hold* are the source of auxiliaries and bound morphemes in tense, mood and aspect verbal systems.

<sup>1</sup> This paper was presented at the International Conference of Classical Tamil, Kovai, 23<sup>rd</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> June 2010.

I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. E. Annamalai for his useful comments and suggestions regarding this paper.

<sup>2</sup> This meaning has been drawn both from ancient texts such as those analysed by Zvelebil et al (1967) and from CRE-A: Dictionary where another meaning is also listed: *to consist of*.

I mainly worked on data drawn from the following texts<sup>3</sup>: a) Subrahmanya Sastri (1945), b) K. V. Zvelebil et al (1967), c) *Tēvāram* (6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> cent. AD) by Subrahmanya Aiyer et al (2007), d) Tamil inscriptions (Velupillai, 1976). I worked also on data extracted from religious Tamil texts written by Jesuit missionaries between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and finally from contemporary texts both and grammars in Literary Tamil and in Spoken Tamil. The two main varieties of Tamil analysed are the literary and the spoken ones because they are useful for determining the process of grammaticalization. In a certain way literary Tamil texts are witness of the less grammaticalized forms of the verb with respect to the texts which are written in Spoken Tamil, where it is possible to find both the source and the target forms. Further, only literary texts are available for the Tamil ancient period, except some inscriptions.

Nowadays the verb *koḷ* is still used both in Literary Tamil and in Spoken Tamil as lexical verb, even if its use is reduced to [-animate] subjects (Schiffman, 1999).

## 2. The use of the verb *koḷ* in *Caṅkam* and *Bakhti* literature as lexical verb

The following examples, extracted from *Bakhti* and *Caṅkam* literature, show the function of the verb *koḷ* used according to its lexical meaning.

- 1) oru-kaṇai    **koṇṭu**    mū-v-eyil-uṭarri  
 NUM-arrow    **keep**-VP    three-NUM-fortress-destroy-VP  
*Having destroyed three fortress keeping one arrow.*

(*Puraṇāṇūru* 65)

The translation I have given in the example 1) differs from that one given by Subrahmanya Sastri (1945: 80) who translates it as: *having destroyed three fort with one arrow*, considering then the verb *koṇṭu* as a functional word which identifies one element of the verb. In my opinion in this context the verb *koḷ* should be still taken into account in its full lexical meaning, since evidences of its grammaticalization starts only later and also because *kaṇai*, as Subrahmanya Sastri asserts (1945: 80-81), should be considered a noun in the objective case with the case suffix dropped. Consequently it should be interpreted as the argument of the verb *koṇṭu* which is also the instrument of the verb *uṭarri*. *Koṇṭu* is the

<sup>3</sup> For further details on the texts refer to the bibliography.



transitive verb which governs the object ‘arrow’ and occurs in the verbal participle responding to the Tamil syntax. I wish to propose now the following sentences from Subrahmanya Sastri (1945: 73) and *Tēvāram* (Subramanya Aiyer et al, 2007):

- 2) Muruku viri-kuḷalār maṇam **koḷ** anaṇkaṇai muṇ  
 fragrance spread-curved hair ladies mind **take possession of** anaṇkaṇ POST  
 peritum muṇintu ukant-āṇ perumāy  
 ADV being angry with-VP pleased-3SG-M (Civaṇ)  
*Civaṇ became great long ago by being severely angry with Anaṇkaṇ who captivates (takes possession of) the minds of ladies from whose tresses of hair fragrance spreads.*  
 (Tēvāram 1-088\_(3))

- 3) pūṇ nal poṇi **koḷ** aravam  
 ornament ADJ spots **contain** snake  
*Cobra which (contains) has beautiful spots in his ornament.*  
 (Tēvāram 1-23\_(3))

- 4) poṭi **koḷ** uru var  
 ash **obtained** body 3SG-HON  
*The appearance of Civaṇ obtained with sacred ash.*

The above examples show that the verb *koḷ* was used as a lexical verb without expressing any grammatical function. The examined examples date back to 1<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D., and to 6<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century A.D. in case of those extracted by *Tēvāram*. Zvelebil et al (1967) in a linguistic analysis<sup>4</sup> of the poems by *Peruṇkuṇṇūr Kīḷar*, *Kallāṭaṇār* and *Māmūlaṇār* selected from *Eṭṭuttokai* (ca. 160–300 A.D.), demonstrated that the verb *koḷ* was used to mean ‘to seize, to take, to think’ (ibid., p. 84); ‘one having taken’ (ibid., p. 141); verbal adverb marker: *kiṭṭu* ‘having taken’; *kiṭṭi* ‘having approached’; ‘having taken’ (ibid., p. 195).

Finally, I wish to consider Agesthalingom (1979) grammar of Old Tamil with special reference to *Patirruppattu* (4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.) because it again supports the above statements. In the index of *Patirruppattu*, the author listed the occurrence of the verb *koḷ* and of its forms giving the lexical meaning they have in the text:

- *koṇṭa*, the relative participle, is translated as ‘which had’, ‘which resided’, ‘which lit’;
- *koṇṭu*, the verbal participle, expresses ‘having had’, ‘having seated’ ‘having seized’, ‘having adhered’;

<sup>4</sup> For further details refer to Zvelebil et al, (1967: 11-12).

- *koḷ*, the verb stem, is translated like ‘having’ and all its derivatives are related to the act of possession.

It seems that the process of grammaticalization had not yet started, maybe except for the *H-possessive*<sup>5</sup> form as seen in Zvelebil et al (1967: 195).

### 3. The use of the verb *koḷ* between 6<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries

The following examples come from texts we would presumably assume to be extracted by Spoken Tamil: inscriptions and Jesuits’ grammars and Catechisms.

Analysing the Tamil inscriptions (6<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.) in the volume written by Velupillai (1976: 30-33) the verb *koḷ* is mainly found in relative participle form following a noun or as an *H-possessive* auxiliary after a verbal participle form of a main verb (Velupillai, 1976: 102-161; 305-306; 530; 1022). Only starting from the 9<sup>th</sup> century it is possible to find the postposition with instrumental meaning. Velupillai (1976: 264, cf. note 4; 744, cf. note 7) states that “*koṇṭu* as instrumental case marker is not found in the earlier period. It is not noticed in the 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries. Hence it might have come to use only from the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>6</sup>”.

The texts written by Jesuits are mainly religious books translated into Tamil. I mainly looked for the verb *koḷ* and the usage they made of this element. I first analysed some missionary grammars (16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries) and then three different catechisms dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>7</sup> and I found the following:

- verb *koḷ* is used in its lexical meaning: ‘to keep’, ‘to receive’, ‘to observe’, ‘to learn’, ‘to get possession of’:  
(ex.: ‘to receive’)

5) cattiyam **koṇṭ**-avaṇ                      akkiyāniy-ō   kiristatuvaṇ - ō?  
 promise   **receive**-VN-3SG-M   Hindu-CO   Christian-CO  
*The receiver of the promise was Christian or Hindu?*

(Ms Goa 76a, fol 47, lines 15-16)

<sup>5</sup> Heine & Kuteva (2002: 24) describe H-possessive as a predicative possession, a marker of possessive *have*-constructions (‘have’, ‘own’).

<sup>6</sup> During the 12<sup>th</sup> century inscriptions *koṇṭu* as instrumental case is not found (Velupillai, 1976: 966).

<sup>7</sup> For further bibliographical information on these texts refer to Muru (2010).

- verb *koḷ* is used as instrumental postposition (refer to example 9);
- verb *koḷ* is used in *H-possessive*:

6) anta pāvaṇ-kaḷ-ile ettaṇai āṇāl pāvam nilai **koṇṭa** maṇaciṇā-le  
 DIS-DIM sin-PLU-LOC QUANT CONJ sin stay-VN **have** mind-LOC  
 naṭa-nt-ōm eṇru niṇaiccu  
 conduct oneself-PAST-1PLU QUOT think about-VP  
*Having thought about the sins how many days we behaved with a mind in sinful state?*  
 (Ms Goa 76a, fol 24, lines 21-22)

- verb *koḷ* is used as auxiliary joined to verb *iru* to express the continuous aspect:

7) atu-kaḷ-ai colli **koṇṭu iru**-kkir-a  
 3PLU-ACC say-VP AUX-CONT-PRES-RP  
*Those things which area said.*  
 (Ms Goa 76a, fol 35, lines 9-10)

- verb *koḷ* is used to express reflexivity:

8) iṇi tīviram-āka paṭittu-**kkōḷ**  
 ADV seriousness-ADV.M study-VP-REFL  
*Here afterwards seriously you study for yourself.*  
 (Ms Goa 76a, fol 39, lines 12-13)

Contemporary scientific literature refers to this last function of the verb *koḷ* as ‘an auxiliary which makes a verb reflexive’ (MTL, Cre-A:), but as Schiffman (2005) already asserted, this interpretation is somewhat problematical even if until now it can be considered as the most exhaustive.

#### 4. Polygrammaticalization of the verb *koḷ* and grammatical chains

##### 4.1 The first process of grammaticalization

The first grammaticalization which interested the verb *koḷ* depended on its lexical meanings ‘to seize’ and ‘to take’ which through a metaphorical process (Heine, 1993) was reinterpreted as a free postposition expressing the ‘instrumental’ value:

<b>A:</b> VP of verb <i>koḷ</i> ‘to take’	>	<b>B:</b> instrumental postposition
<i>source</i>	>	<i>outcome</i>

If we have a look at the texts dating back to the period between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries the verbal participle form *koṇṭu* of the verb mainly appeared in post nominal position. The semantics of the verb implied two different arguments and one of this was the instrument through which the action expressed by the main verb in the sentence was realized. The post-nominal position of the verb *koḷ* after the element which semantically expressed the role of the instrument in the sentence induced metaphorical extension connected to cognitive processes for which the verb grammaticalized as a postposition marking the grammatical function related to the instrument, becoming in this way a functional word.

- 9) *avaṇ* *avaṇ-ai* ***koṇṭu*** *colli-kkiṛ-atum* *pāvam*<sup>8</sup>  
 3SG-M 3SG-M-ACC INSTR say-PRES-3SG-NT sin  
*He may to say sin with him.*

(Ms Goa 76b, f. 29, lines 17-18)

#### 4.2 A grammatical chain

The second instance of grammaticalization process I wish to consider refers to a subordinating morpheme derived from postposition. The instrumental postposition derived from the first grammaticalization, which was the outcome of A into B, became the source for a new process whose product was C: a temporal subordinator.

This grammatical chain follow the order cross-linguistically recognized according to which a free word tends to loss its autonomy and to become a bound morpheme.

According to Craig (1991: 469) *the phenomenon has been observed in other languages [...] it provides further evidence for establishing certain paths of evolution linking certain postposition to certain subordinate markers*. In the framework of this presentation I will only focus on the development of postposition into temporal subordinators in Tamil.

<b>A:</b> VP form of verb <i>koḷ</i> ‘to take’	>	<b>B:</b> instrumental postposition	>	<b>C:</b> temporal subordinators ‘ <i>while/when</i> ’
<i>source</i>	>	<i>outcome/source</i>	>	<i>outcome</i>

<sup>8</sup> In this context we expected a postposition like *paṛri* or *kuṛittu* ‘about’ more than *koṇṭu*, but we cannot forget that these texts were translations of religious books and were produced by foreigners who learnt Tamil as second language.

When the verb *koḷ* is used in its verbal participle form (*kiṭṭu* = in Spoken Tamil, *koṇṭu* = in Literary Tamil) and it is attached to one or more non-finite verbs belonging to a temporal subordinate clause it expresses the temporal relation between the subordinate and the main verb of the sentence.

- 10) *nāṇ cāppittu-kkiṭṭ-ē va-nt-ēṇ*  
 1SG eat-VP-SUB-EMPH come-PAST-1SG  
*(It was) while eating, I came.*

(Schiffman, 1999: 98)

The cases I am observing in Tamil support the patterns of prototypical matching reported in Craig (1991) where an ‘ergative/instrumental’ postposition is extended into subordinators of temporal clauses: *when, while*.

Schiffman (1999: 98) recognized this property of the verb *koḷ* as an aspectual value related to verbal morphology which indicates ‘simultaneity’, while according to Lehmann (1989: 226; 271-272) *koḷ* occurs in its verbal participle form in complement clauses to express the temporal relation of simultaneity ‘*while*’:

- 11) *Kumār pāṭittu.k koṇṭu kuḷi-tt-āṇ*  
 Kumār sing-VP SUB<sup>9</sup> bath-PAST-3SG-M  
*Kumār was singing while bathing.*

This example demonstrates that the verbal participle form of *koḷ* introduces what is syntactically a temporal subordinate which is embedded into the main sentence and is focussed in the example n. 10). It occurs at the end of the subordinate according to the typological tendency of Tamil to be a SOV language.

#### 4.3 An example of polygrammaticalization

What I am going to take into consideration now is the grammaticalization which involved the verb *koḷ* in its stative lexical meaning: *to keep*. From this single source it is possible to identify at least three different outcomes related to aspect and mood verbal system. The following scheme resume the first grammaticalization which induced the

<sup>9</sup> The author does not gloss the verb *koḷ* in this context, but he always gives the translation ‘hold-VP’. Consequently the gloss used here ‘SUB’ is my own choice, according to my previous statement.

<sup>10</sup> Examples 12) and 13) are extracted from Schiffman (1999: 97).

Lehmann (1989), Schiffman (1999), and other scholars, have already recognized to be aspectual markers: inceptive<sup>11</sup> and continuous, in this last case when it precede the verb *iru* ‘to be’. The first example shows the inceptive<sup>12</sup> aspect:

- 17) *nāṇ at-e terinju -ki-tt-ēṇ*  
 1SG DIS-DIM-ACC know-VP-INCEPT-PAST- 1SG  
*I realized (came to know) that.*

(Schiffman, 1999: 100)

While in the following examples the continuous aspect is shown:

- 18) *ellārum peci-kiṭṭiru-nd-āṅka!*  
 all speak-VP-CONT-PAST-3PLU  
*Everyone was talking.*

(Schiffman, 2005)

- 19) *cāya vēṭṭi kaṭṭi-kkiṭṭ-iru-nt-āṇ*  
 wood-coloured dothi wear-VP-CONT-PAST-3SG-M  
*He was wearing a dyed dothi.*

(Subramanian, 2008: 27)

- 20) *Taṇṇīr-iṇ mēṇparapp-il mitantu-koṇṭ-iru-nt-a ciṇṇa kuruvi*  
 water- GEN surface- LOC float-VP-CONT-PAST-RP ADJ sparrow  
*A little sparrow that was floating on the surface of the water.*

(Subramanian, 2008: 8)

#### 4.4 A second grammatical chain

This grammaticalization process took place from the previous outcome, the auxiliary, which can be considered the source for a further auxiliary expressing the volitional mood. Both Schiffman (1999: 97; 2005) and Lehmann (1989: 225) consider it an aspectual marker, but since it refers to the attitude of the speaker regarding the action it would be maybe more correct to consider it a modal marker as it is possible to deduct from the following examples:

- 21) *Kumār taṇ caṭṭaiy-ai.k kuppaittoṭṭi.y-il pōṭ-ṭu.k-koṇ-ṭ-āṇ*  
 Kumār self shirt-ACC garbage-LOC throw-VP-VOL-PAST- 3SG-M  
*Kumaar threw his shirt wilfully into the garbage can.*

(Lehmann, 1989: 225)

<sup>11</sup> Refer to the examples in Schiffman (1999:100; 2005).

<sup>12</sup> For a definition of aspect refer to Comrie (1976) and Timberlake (2007).

- 22) Ramasamy muṭi-e veṭṭi-**kki**-ṭṭ-āṇ  
 Ramasamy hair-ACC cut-VP-VOL-PAST -3SG-M  
*Ramasamy cut his hair (on purpose).*

(Schiffman, 1999: 97)

#### 4.5. Grammaticalization of *H-possessive* function

I would like now to point out another process of grammaticalization that in my opinion this verb underwent: the one of *H-possessive*. This is another of the grammatical chains that have been cross-linguistically recognized by Heine & Kuteva (2002) for which the verb ‘to *take*’ is used in construction like ‘to have something’. In many of the examples given above it is possible to also recognise this function for the verb *koḷ* (cf. Zvelebil et al, 1967) since the Classical time. The lexical meanings which have been cross-linguistically recognized for this process indicate a concrete concept related to possession which belongs to a non-rigid semantic domain (Heine, 1993). In fact for this grammaticalization we consider the lexical meaning of the verb *koḷ* ‘to obtain’, ‘to receive’. Both these meanings gave rising to the possessive construction as shown in the following example:

- 23) ilaṅkutāl aruvi.y-ōṭ aṇi-**koṇṭa** niṇ-malai  
 shining-ADJ waterfall-INSTR beauty-have-**RP** 2POSS-mountain  
*Your mountain that **have** beautified by the shining and flowing stream.*

(Kalittokai 46)

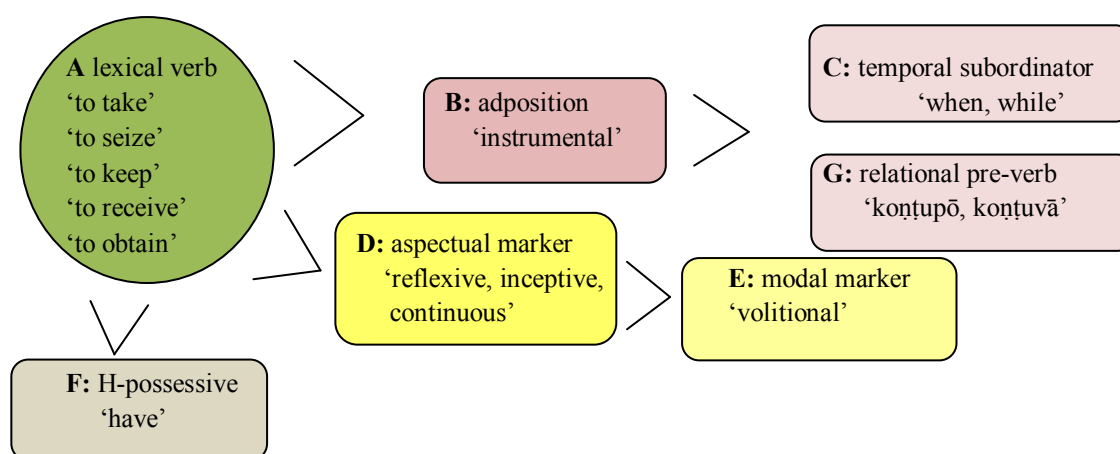
#### 4.6. A further grammatical chain and the following lexicalization of verb *koḷ*

Finally there is one more question which we need to consider and which refers to the one Schiffman (2005) defined as lexicalization of verb ‘*koḷ*’, resembling very much a case of serialization. The verb is not used alone anymore but is joined to another verb to form a new word with a different verbal meaning. I would like to focus on two forms which are particularly productive in Tamil: *koṇṭupō* ‘to take away’ and *koṇṭuvā* ‘to bring’, which derive respectively from the verb *pō* ‘go’ and from the verb *vā* ‘come’. If I refer once again to Craig’s study (1991) I cannot avoid connecting these formations with those that the author defines as ‘lexicalized pre-verbal’ where a pre-verbal is a prefix to the verb which marks a relation between an argument of the proposition and the verb. Also in the case of Tamil we have the verbal participle of the verb *koḷ* prefixed to the stem of two motion



verbs. Craig (1991: 468) claims that ‘to bring’ and ‘to take, to carry’ are the most common instances of incorporated relational pre-verbs. In the corpus I analysed several times it is possible to trace this construction from ancient times.

All the grammaticalization chains and the polygrammaticalization phenomena I have analysed until now<sup>13</sup> can be resumed in the following scheme which lists the semantic meaning of verb *ko!* sources of metaphorical processes and points out the outcomes of the grammaticalization processes. Besides, the grammatical chains derived from the *outcome* of previous grammaticalization processes are evidenced.



Scheme 1. Polygrammaticalization and grammaticalization chains of verb *ko!*

## 5. Conclusions

Grammaticalization is above all a semantic process which is context dependent. Consequently, it can be described in terms of context induced reinterpretation as dependent on a metaphorical process. For example, if we refer to the instrumental postposition derived from the verb *ko!* the context of reinterpretation is given by that one in which the verb occurred. In the example n. 1) the verbal participle of the verb *ko!* occurs immediately after the instrument through which the subject destroyed three fortresses. From the meaning ‘to keep’ a metaphorical process induced the reinterpretation of *ko!* as a functional word indicating the instrument (through which the action was performed), then with the

<sup>13</sup> We should also consider the grammaticalization the occurred at the verb *ko!* which developed into a verbalizer. I thank Prof. Annamalai for this suggestion.

postposition *with*. The original lexical meaning of the word is lost and the word assumes a functional value in the structural system of the language.

The metaphor is largely correlated with the shift from meanings situated in the externally described situation to meanings situated in the internal evaluative, perceptual, cognitive situation, and in the textual situation (Hopper & Traugott, 1993). As already seen, the grammatical chain through which a postposition develops is the following one:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \mathbf{A} \text{ (free word: verb)} & > & \mathbf{B} \text{ (free word: postposition)} \\ \textit{source} & > & \textit{outcome} \end{array}$$

The *outcome* can remain a postposition and does not change in a case marker like in Tamil, where a bound instrumental case marker already exists. Consequently, the postposition is a free morpheme and can be preceded by other elements.

In regards to Tamil it should also be considered the high frequency of occurrence of the verbal participle form of the verb *kol* in serial verb constructions. Studies on grammaticalization of some full lexical meaning verbs have shown how verbs which are part of a serial verb construction, can develop into functional morphemes (Heine; Claudi & Hünemeyer 1991: 199-204). For example, many verbs whose semantics refers to direction, movement, even if they have preserved a full lexical meaning in some contexts, in others they have become aspectual or temporal markers in many Atlantic pidgins and creoles (Turchetta, 2009: 66-69). This seems to be the case also for Tamil where for example the verb ‘to come’, ‘to go’, even if still used in several contexts as lexical verbs, have largely developed, over all in Spoken Tamil, as aspectual markers: iterative and change of state respectively.

If we look at the grammar of the language, it is possible to consider grammaticalization as one of the main processes that induced linguistic change and structural development in Tamil. It has occasionally been argued that language contact and grammaticalization can go together (Heine & Kuteva, 2005:14). This consideration is particularly interesting and thrilling when we think of the long cultural and linguistic contact that have interested Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages.

The former seemed to have a verbal system which was mainly based on aspectual values rather than on temporal ones (Krishnamurti, 2003; Zvelebil, 1990). It was only later

that a temporal system developed, the morpheme for the present tense arose and as a consequence new grammatical categories like aspectual markers developed. On the contrary, Indo-Aryan languages have always been characterized by the presence of aspectual morphemes suffixed to the main verb of the sentence, extremely reduced phonologically if compared to those of Tamil (Masica, 1991). Tamil language represents the aspect through a syntactic construction: the auxiliary follows the verbal participle of the main verb (because of the typological SOV order of the language). The auxiliary takes all the information relative to tense and person, number and gender. At this point it is again interesting to focus the attention on Indo-Aryan languages which also developed a system of compound verbs which represents one of the true innovations of New Indo Aryan unknown to Sanskrit (Masica, 1991: 326). According to Heine & Kuteva (2005: 202) South Asia is interested by a general grammaticalization cross-linguistically widespread regarding the auxiliarization pattern involving a combination of two verbs, where the first (V1) is a non-finite content verb and the second (V2) a finite verb dubbed “vector verb” (“to go”, “to come”, “to take”, etc.) which assumes grammatical functions such as expressing telicity, progressive, continuative, or inceptive aspect.

In this sense the verb *ko!* then is only one of the example of grammaticalization and to some extent polygrammaticalization as one of the main processes of linguistic change which characterized the structure of Tamil language. The same framework could be applied to many other several cases, among which the verb *āku* is included.

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