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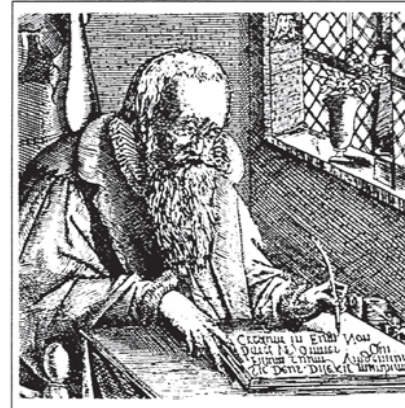
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Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft

Extended Grammars

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Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft

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Émilie Aussant, Jean-Luc Chevillard (dir.)


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Cristina Muru

Grammaire Latine Étendue

Two Portuguese missionary *Tamil Arte* (17th cent.)¹

ABSTRACT

Missionaries, who reached different parts of the globe starting from the 16th century onward, engaged themselves in the *grammatization* (Auroux 1992) of several languages, one of which was Tamil.

The *révolution technologique de la grammatisation* (Auroux 1994), realised through the lens of the Latin grammatical framework, led to a certain uniformity among the missionary grammars, which were similar in their contents and internal organisation. Despite this fact, and at the same time, missionaries were also driven toward a process of extension of the original grammatical model of reference whenever this was not sufficiently equipped to give an account of the linguistic diversity that they encountered in the Tamil language.

Focusing on noun morphology and functional words, this paper intends to discuss where and how this process of extension occurred in the Tamil missionary grammars composed in the 17th century by those ‘Grammatici Tamulici’ (Chevillard 2017: 103) for whom the abridged version (1573) of *De Institutione Grammatica Libri Tres* (1572) by Manuel Álvares (1526–1583) can be considered a valuable candidate as a model of reference.

1. Prem

From the 16th century onwards, the *grammatization*² of many non-European languages realised by missionaries all around the colonised world, was carried out through grammatical models elaborated for the description of other languages like Greek, Latin, and the European vernaculars. However, the typologi-

1) The research on manuscript Cod. Or. 283 of which this paper is the result was (partly) conducted in the framework of the project Texts Surrounding Texts (TST, ANR & DFG). I am grateful to É. Aussant (CNRS, Paris), J.-L. Chevillard (CNRS, Paris), and D. Poli (University of Macerata) for their useful suggestions and remarks on the early draft of this paper. I am also indebted to Grazia Sommariva (University of Tuscia) for her interpretation of Álvares’ text (1572; 1573). Responsibility for any imperfection or mistake is of course mine.

2) “Par grammatisation, on doit entendre le processus qui conduit à décrire et à outiller une langue sur la base des deux technologies, qui sont encore aujourd’hui les piliers de notre savoir métalinguistique: la grammaire et le dictionnaire” (Auroux 1992: 28). See also Auroux (1994).

cal features of the described languages led not only to the transfer but also to the extension of the Latin model of reference, a process labelled by Auroux (1992: 19) as ‘Grammaire Latine Étendue’.

Focusing on noun morphology and functional words, this paper intends to point out *if* and *how*, this process occurred in descriptions of Tamil composed in the 17th century by those ‘Grammatici Tamulici’ (Chevillard 2017: 103) for whom the abridged version (1573) of *De Institutione grammatica libri tres* (1572) by Manuel Álvares (1526–1583)³ can be considered a valuable candidate as a model of reference: Balthasar da Costa (ca. 1610–1673; henceforth BC)⁴ and Gaspar de Aguilar (1548–?). These are two of the earliest grammars of Tamil still available, along with the oldest composed approximately in 1549 by Henrique Henriques (1520–1600), *Arte da Lingua Malabar*.⁵

Da Costa must have composed his *Arte Tamul*⁶ between 1659 and 1673, while Aguilar would have composed his grammar between 1632, when he declared to having mastered the Tamil language; and 1639 when he was recognised as the greatest Tamil teacher; several years before his resignation from the Company of Jesus in 1645. (Muru 2014: 355)

2. Aguilar’s manuscript: an intriguing issue

Before dealing with the content of Aguilar’s *Arte*, it is necessary to add some information about Cod. Orient. 283⁷ which is a composite manuscript (74+8 folios) including: a title page (f. 1r), *Arte Tamul, sive institutio grammatica*; a *Preface* (f. 1v); a *Tamil Arte* which runs to 42 folios numbered by the same hand that wrote the year 1665 on the title page (*infra*). The *Arte* includes *Letras* (Letter, ff. 2r–6r), *Declinações* (Declensions, ff. 7r–18r), *Verbos* (Verbs, ff. 18r–42v); *Arte de escrever Tamul* (Arte of writing in Tamil, ff. 42r⁸–49r) ending with *1665 pilippi valateyucu* (Philippus Baldaeus). The Tamil transcription of Baldaeus’ name here (f. 49r), which reveals an unexperienced Tamil writer, slightly differs from the Tamil transcription visible on the title page (f. 1r, *pilippi valateyucu 1665*).

The remaining section of the manuscript includes two parts: the second one is 8 folios with an incomplete Tamil syllabary and presents different handwrit-

³ For the application of Álvares’ model see Zwartjes (2002) for South America, Assunção/Toyoshima (2012) for Japan, and Fernandes (2015) for Africa.

⁴ For a detailed discussion about BC and Álvares’ see Muru (*in prep.*).

⁵ Vermeer (1988) published the Portuguese manuscript, while Heine/Rajam (2013) published the English translation.

⁶ Nowadays there are five copies of BC’s *Arte*: MS 60, MS 66, MS 16 at the State Central Library, in Goa (India); Borg. Ind. 12 at the Vatican Library (Vatican City State), and OC Sloane 3003, at the British Library, London (UK). The latter is mentioned in Jeyaraj (2010: 20).

⁷ Further information in Francis (2011), Muru (2014), Pytlowany (2018).

⁸ It is wrongly repeated. Indeed, it should be 43.

ing (Pytlowany 2018: 46); the first, composed by the same writer of the Portuguese text, deals with a short bilingual Tamil-Portuguese manual for confession (*Confessionario Portuguez & Tamul*, ff. 50r–51v) and some prayers (ff. 52r–65r), some of which are found in Henriques’ *tampirāṇ vaṇakkam* (Lord’s prayers – Quilon 1578) and *kirīcittiyāṇi vaṇakkam* (Christian prayers – Cochin 1579). Here, *The Creed* and *Our Father* are marked along with marginal notes using a different ink. Interestingly, these same texts are also found published in the third part of Baldaeus’ *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choro-mandel ... en het Machtige Eyland Ceylon* (1672)⁹ along with a short introduction to the Malabar language¹⁰ (Baldaeus 1672: 195–198; 1703: 663–665) whose examples are taken from Cod. Orient. 283.

In fact, manuscript Cod. Orient. 283 kept at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl Von Ossietzky since 1734, is associated to Philippus Baldaeus (1632–1671), a pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church and an appointee of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC) in Sri Lanka. In Francis (2011: 124) Baldaeus is stated as being the owner of the manuscript: his name appears written in different ink after the title in *Lingæ Malabaricæ sum Philippi Baldæj VDM in Regno Jaffnapatam 1659*. Furthermore, a marginal note on the left side of the title adds: *Lingoa portugallica (und fol. 50) ex majori opera P. Caspar d’Aguilar Soc. Jes. Confecta [quod prefaz]* which is similar to what Streit (1929: 210) gives as a title for Aguilar’s *Arte: Arte Tamul, sive institutio grammaticæ Malabaricæ, idiomate lusitanico ex maiori Opere P. Casp. D’Aguilar Soc. Jes. Confecta, quod ex prae-fatione patet*. The same *Arte* is also mentioned in Sommervogel (1960) as belonging to the Uffenbach collection as it was ms. Cod. Orient. 283 which belonged to ex libris Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734). Another marginal note on the left side of the title is difficult to read.

These pieces of evidence seem to suggest that the grammar found in Cod. Orient. 283 was authored by Aguilar rather than by Baldaeus. Although I feel comfortable with this conclusion, there are some issues found both in Cod. Orient. 283 and in three copies of BC’s *Arte* (Ms 60, Ms 66, and Borg. Ind. 12) which cannot be ignored as they do not allow one to assume this conclusion so easily. Indeed, BC refers four times to Aguilar’s work when he discusses about the *Relative*, the *postpositions* (Ms 66, f. 33r, lines 4–16), the *adverbs* (Borg. Ind. 12 f. 237v), and the *disjunctions* (Borg. Ind. 12 f. 238r). One example is represented by the following quote:

⁹ Translated into English and published in 1703.

¹⁰ Referred by James (2007: 173) as *Prodomus Grammaticus*, definition used by Baldaeus 1672: 195. It has been translated into English by Van Buitenen/Ganeshsundaram (1952–1953: 168–182). Furthermore, an incomplete English version of GA/PB manuscript is held at the SOAS library (London, UK: Ms 7101).

There is no Relative *who, what, which (qui, quæ, quod)* and while F. Aguilar in his *Arte* says that என்ன (enna [what]) is one, he is mistaken [...].

[Naõ hã nesta lingoa Relativo qui, quæ, quod e ainda quando P. Aguilar na sua *Arte* diga que என்ன o hé, enganouse [...].] (Ms 60, f. M34–18, R, lines 27–29)

But in Cod. Orient. 283 there is no trace of the wrong interpretation about *enna*, nor about a paragraph devoted to pre/postposition or to the other indeclinable parts of speech. Furthermore, in Cod. Orient. 283 the writer says four times (ff. 7r; 17r–v; 37r; 40r) that further details about the Tamil language will be discussed in a more extensive treatise of *Tamil*. Hence, he makes a difference between this *Arte* and a *Tamil Grammar*, the same distinction made by Baldaeus (1672: 195) who promised a larger grammar.

Considering the *Preface* (f. 1 v., partially reproduced below), written by the same hand found in the *Arte*, it clearly leads us to believe that this is not Aguilar's *Arte*, maybe a part or a revised edition of it, but not Aguilar's original manuscript. This hypothesis is also supported by the difference which seems to occur between Aguilar's handwriting (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, ARSI, Lusitania 4, f. 252) and Cod. Orient. 283.

Father Gaspar de Aguilar of the Company of Jesus wrote an extensive and indepth *Arte* of the Tamil language. It seems to be the most exhaustive, methodical and well organised among various others written. We have taken most of the grammar rules from this edition but above all it is the declension of nouns that are the most studied [...] It is true that all that Father G. de Aguilar wrote in this *Arte* and what is left in this grammar book is secundum Arthem et Methodum doctrinalem [...]

[O P. Gaspar de Aguillar da Comp.^a de Jesu compoz hua arte muito extensa e erudita da lingua Tamul da qual por parecer a mais metódica, compreensiva, e bem arrumada de alguas que tem saído, se tiraraõ pela maior parte as regras, que nesta se sueguẽ, particularmente quanto as declinações dos nomes [...] He bem verdade, que todas as cousas da *Arte* do P.e Gaspar d(e) Aguillar que aqui se deixaõ, parecẽ certas secundum Artem, et methodum doctrinalem [...]

(Cod. Orient. 283, f. 1v, lines 1–6; 17–19)

However, despite this evidence, I am still inclined (as I was in 2014) to not consider Cod. Orient. 283 as a product of Baldaeus' intellect, not only because this is what the *Preface* suggests but also because Baldaeus was accused of plagiarism by Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719)¹¹ and Lach and Klay (1993: 911 and n. 253: 1069) remind us that “after all Baldaeus was the same author who “liberated” Fenicio's work on Hinduism¹² and published it without acknowledgment”; Pytlowany and Van Hal (2016) point out that the VOC had the habit of

¹¹⁾ For details see Jeyaraj (2010: 21–22).

¹²⁾ They are referring here to Giacomo Fenicio (1558–1632) an Italian Jesuit who wrote an extensive description of Hindu people and religion, *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais*. The manuscript, composed in the Portuguese language and nowadays held at the British Library, London (Ms Sloane 1820), was translated into English by Charpentier (1933) who pointed out about Baldaeus' plagiarism of Fenicio's work in the Introduction (1933: lxxxiii–lxxxv).

making as theirs manuscripts composed by others, and Pytlowany (2018: 45) states that “this copy does not seem to be done by Baldaeus own hand”.

In conclusion, this manuscript, its provenance and origin, still require further study. For these reasons, I would refer here to Cod. Orient. 283 as Gaspar de Aguilar / Philippus Baldaeus (henceforth, GA/PB).

3. Grammaire Latine Étendue: Partes Orationis

The Tamil grammatical tradition found its origins in the *Tolkāppiyam* (1st–3rd cent. A.D.; Wilden 2018) a treatise organised into three sections — letters (*Eluttu*), words (*Col*), and poetic matters (*Porul*) — which recognises four parts of speech: *peyar col* «nouns», *viṇai col* «verbs», *iṭai col* «particles», and *uric col* «mots propres» (Chevillard 1992b: 37). However, the earlier *Grammatici Tamilici*, who were presumably more acquainted with *Nāṇṇul* (12th cent.; Wilden 2018) rather than with *Tolkāppiyam*, clearly adopted a Latin grammar as reference for the description of Tamil taking into consideration Álvares' *partes orationis* (1573).

4. The Noun

As per the description of Noun, Álvares gives the following definition:

The noun is a part of speech which has cases and which does not co-signify tenses, as Musa, dominus.

[Nomen est pars orationis, quæ casus habet, neque tempora adsignificat vt Musa, dominus.] (Álvares 1572: f.48r; 1573: f. 37r)

Padley (1976: 28) states that in Álvares' grammar there are also obvious traces of “Varro's scheme of word-class definition in terms of the presence or absence of case or tense”. The same principle occurs in GA/PB and BC. Both missionaries take the declension of the paradigm as the main criteria upon which to classify the Tamil noun. However, they recognise the difference between the two languages, since the Tamil noun does not change for its declension but in its internal structure when it appears in the oblique stem.

BC clearly states that the Latin declension and inflection do not apply in Tamil where “all noun endings are the same” and “case markers do not change”, but he notices that some nouns exhibit stem-alternates since certain kinds of morphophonemic changes (*sandhi*) occur. According to these criteria he identifies “only four types of names that in this language show some variety”.

As in the Latin *Arte* the diversity of declensions is collected [ordered] by the different terminations of the oblique cases, and in the Tamil language all noun endings are the same: assuming there is but one declension in this language, I shall

decline only four types of names that in this language show some variety; so that the knowledge of them makes the declension of others much easier and clearer.

[Como na Arte Latina se collige a diversidade das declinações pe(l)la diversa terminação dos casos obliquos, e nesta lingoa Tamul toda a terminação dos nomes seja a mesma: suppondo aver nesta lingoa só huã declinação, declinarei só quatro sortes de nomes que nesta lingoa mostraõ alguã variedade; porque da noticia della fique a declinação dos mais muito facil e patente.] (MS60 fol. M–34–16, lines 7–12)

The first declension which is provided refers to the complex noun stem *kartan* “Lord” which does not have an oblique form; the second is the noun root ending in *-a* and the noun stem forming suffix *-m ceyam* “victory”, the oblique stem of which is formed by replacing the forming suffix *-m* with the oblique suffix *-ttu*; the third and fourth declensions are represented by the nouns, the stems of which end in the syllable *-tu* (*vītu* “house”) or *-ru* (*āru* “river”) and the first syllable is long. They both form the oblique stem by doubling the consonant of the final syllable.

GA/PB attempts to find a correspondence with Latin for the organisation of nouns in Tamil. Despite some exceptions, he identifies four declensions considering the form of nouns in the nominative plural (*-ar*, *-mar*, *kal*, *-gal*) to which the invariable case suffix is added:

In order to resume the declensions and to transform them into an intuitive method avoiding confusion with one another, it seems [convenient], to attempt to show only the plural nominative, because from these rules it will be possible to understand all the variety of declensions of the Tamil nouns.

[Por abreviar declinações, e as reduzir a methodo perceptivo] se(m) seconfundire(m) huã co(m) outras, parece accomodado modo deasarmar, attentar somente ao nominativo do plural, porq(ue) dando regras pera este colheremos sem difficuldade, e com boa e breve ordem todas as variedades que os nomes Tamues tem no declinar.] (Cod. Orient. 283, f. 7r. lines 3–7)

5. The Adjective

BC and GA/PB use the label ‘adjective’ (*adjectivo*) rather than *adjectivum nomen* as in Álvares where the Adjective¹³ is still not autonomous from Noun:¹⁴

¹³ For a discussion of the adjective in missionary grammars see Chevillard (1992a: 86–87), in the Latin grammatical tradition see Colombat (1992: 101–122) who states, quoting Irène Rosier, that the opposition between Adjective and Noun starts at the beginning of the 12th cent. (Colombat 1992: 110). For Alfieri (2014: 157) the birth of the adjective as a new part of speech was an “important consequence of the change in the philosophical framework underlying the theory of grammar” in the early Middle Ages and “the classical category of epithet evolved into the modern adjective class somewhere between the 9th and 12th century” (Alfieri 2015: 370).

¹⁴ As Colombat (1992: 106–107) states “Pour l’artigraphie latine antique, l’adjectif est donc une variété du nom, mais qu’on n’éprouve pas le besoin de séparer absolument d’autres variétés. Cette relative indifférenciation persistera longtemps et se retrouve chez certains humanistes.”

The adjective is [the noun] which cannot stay in the sentence without the substantive, overt or covert.

The adjective noun has three forms (declensions), like bonus, bona, bonum; or it has two like brevis and breve; or one like prudens, felix.

[Adiectivum est, quod in oratione esse nõ potest sine substantiuo apertè, vel occultè. Adiectivum nomen vel habet tres formas, vt Bonus, bona, bonum: vel duas, vt Brevis & breve: vel vnam, vt Prudens, felix.] (Álvares 1572: f. 48r; 1573: f. 37r)

However, both BC and GA/PB cannot be satisfied with the morphological definition of the Latin adjective which varies by three endings *bonus*, *bona*, *bonum* because in Tamil the adjective is invariable. Hence, BC¹⁵ and GA/PB have to point out morphological and syntactical properties of adjectives which highlight the difference between ‘Noun’ and ‘Adjective’.

GA/PB

The adjectives which are proper adjectives in the Tamil language are neither declined, nor inflected for case, and almost the majority of them end in *a*.

[Os Adiectivos que são meramente adiectivos na lingoa Tamul não se declinão, nem tem diferentes terminações nos casos, mas quasi todos se acabaõ em *a*.]

(Cod. Orient. 283, f. 13v, lines 6–8).

And in order to understand if they are adjectives or substantives we warn that when these nouns in this language take the three terminations, they are not adjectives and cannot be added to the substantive since they are fully substantive.

[e p(ar)a os conhecer se estaõ adiectivados ou substantivados se advirta que quando estes nomes nesta lingoa tem três terminações, não são adiectivos, ne(m) se podem concordar ou ajuntar co(m) substantivos; mas são inteiros substantivos.]

(Cod. Orient. 283, f. 14r, lines 11–14)

BC

There is not in this language a lack of adjectives, as many would want, rather they are innumerable and could be shown here what is not proper of the vocabulary, I advise [here] only on what is proper of the *Arte*. Let the first warning regarding this matter be that none of the adjectives in this language are declinable; 2nd that they all have a single form for the three genders; 3rd that they are all prefixed to their substantive.

[Não há nesta lingoa falta de adiectivos, como m(uit)os [querem], antes são innumereáveis e se poderá aqui mostrar se não fora proprio do vocabulario so advirto o q(ue) proprio da Arte. Seja pois a prim(eir)a advertência, nesta materia, q(ue) todos os adiectivos desta lingoa são indeclinaveis, 2º q(ue) todos são de huã so forma p(ara) os tres generos, 3º q(ue) todos se antepoem sempre ao seu sustantivo.]

(Borg. Ind. 12, f. 253v, line 23 and f. 254r, lines 1–6)

Morphologically, adjectives are attributive modifiers which must precede the noun and those which do not take declension as the noun does. Indeed, when-

¹⁵ BC includes under the label *adjectivo* the relative participle and the simple and derived adjectives.

ever an adjective takes a declension it should be considered a noun as it cannot be conjoined to another noun.

6. The Pronoun

Both BC and GA/PB place pronouns immediately after the noun. Compared to their model of reference where

The pronoun is a part of speech, which, if inserted at the place of the noun, signify a definite person.¹⁶

[Pronomen est, quod loco nominis positum, certam finitamque personam adsignificat.] (Álvares 1572: f. 53r; 1573: f. 39r)

they have to recognise the typological peculiarity of Tamil for which the first-person plural distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive. None of them suggest a specific technical term and only BC explains their correct difference:

Be warned that between these two plurals **நாம** (nām) and **நாங்கள்** (nāṅkaḷ) there is the difference that **நாங்கள்** (nāṅkaḷ) concerns only part of those present, and always those upon which befalls **நீங்கள்** (nīṅgaḷ) as if there were ten people and five said to the other five, you go we [I] will stay the **நாங்கள்** (nāṅkaḷ) and stays **நீங்கள்பொங்கொள** (nīṅkaḷ ponkōḷ), **நாங்களிருக்கிறோம்** (nāṅkaḷ irukkīrōm), however, if the *us* befalls upon all ten, then we use **நாம** (nām).

[Advirtase ã(ue) nestas duas pluraes **நாம** e **நாங்கள்** ha esta diferença que **நாங்கள்** diz so parte dos presentes e tem sempre respeito aos mais sobre os quais caya **நீங்கள்** como se estiverem 10 pessoas e sinco dizeraõ p(er)a outra sinco, ide vos nos ficaremos = [vem] o **நாங்கள்** e fica **நீங்கள்பொங்கொள**, **நாங்களிருக்கிறோம்**, podem se o nos cair sobre todos os 10, entãõ se usa **நாம**.]

(MS60, f. MS-34-17A, R, lines 27-31 and f. MS-34-17B, L, lines 1-7)

Indeed, GA/PB finds a correspondence in his mother tongue for the inclusive *nām*¹⁷ and exclusive *nāṅkaḷ*¹⁸ pronoun attributing the difference between them to a variation of interlocutors' status. Hence, finding a correspondence with the second-person singular honorific *nīr*, *nām* is also taken as honorific:

We warn that in order to express the honorific sense in the place of *ego*, *I*, *we* as well as in the Portuguese we use to say *we the King*, *we the Pope*, *we the Bishop order*, *etc.* and we can define this way of speaking honorific pronoun. It is nothing different from the second form of the plural that we already gave [*nām*]. And in the same way for the majority of pronouns in the following forms.

N(ominativ)e nam I honorific

[Advirtase que por honra dize(m) tambem ê(m) lugar de *Ego*, *eu*, *nos* assi como no Portugues se diz tambem nos el Rey, nos o Papa, nos o Bispo mandamos, ordena-

mos, etc. E ao tal modo de fallar, podemos chamar pronome honorifico. E naõ he outra cousa mais, que a 2º voz do plural ã(ue) pusemos. E assi nos mias pronomes, na forma seguinte.

N(ominativ)o nam eu por honra

(Cod. Orient. f. 15r, lines 10-14)

In GA/PB the pronoun ends the section devoted to the noun declension and here he resumes all the rules and highlights how Tamil does not work with inflection in the same way Latin does, but rather throughout suffixation. Hence, he indirectly underlines the peculiarities of the Tamil morphology which is tendentially agglutinative:

From whatever we said above, it is possible to gather a single general rule for the Tamil noun declension, whatever the noun is. [The rule] is: taking the nominative of any of them, that means substantive, or adjective, or pronoun; or in the singular, or in the plural, for the declension, nothing more [is required] than augmenting the said nominative with one of these words *uñeia*, *in*, *inuñeia* and it is genitive. And augmenting *cu*, or *ucu*, it is the dative [...] and this happens without failing in the ending.

[Detudo o acima dito se pode colher huã regra geral pera declinar nomes Tamuis quaes quers que seiaõ. E he: que dandose o nominativo de qualquer delles, ou seja substantivo, ou adiectivo, ou pronome; ou de singular, ou do plural, pera o declinar naõ he mais, que ao tal nominativo acrescentar alguã destas diçoẽs *uñeia*, *in*, *inuñeia*, e fica genitivo. E acrescentando o *cu*, ou *ucu*, fica dativo, [...] e isto sem fallencia na terminação.]

(Cod. Orient. f. 16v, lines 21-32)

7. The preposition

As Zwartjes (2002: 46) highlights, in Álvares' grammar the definition of the indeclinable part of speech still belongs to the class of 'prepositions'¹⁹ even though Latin does have 'postpositions':

The preposition is a part of speech, which is placed before other parts, either separately, or conjunct.²⁰

[Præpositio est pars orationis, quæ cæteris partibus aut separata, aut coniuncta ferè præponitur.] (Álvares 1572: f.59r; 1573: f. 40v).

GA/PB does not have a section devoted to the indeclinable parts of speech, while BC discusses them after the treatment of the Verb morphology. Nevertheless, he refers to Latin prepositions, differently from Álvares, while describing Tamil, he recognises that:

What in the Latin language are prepositions are in this [language] postpositions for they are always suffixed. There is no more to say of this matter other than that they

¹⁶ Translation into English from Zwartjes (2002: 39).

¹⁷ *nām* 'we' [+ speaker, + addressee, ± 3rd person, ± plural].

¹⁸ *nāṅkaḷ* 'we' [+ speaker, - addressee, ± 3rd person, ± plural].

¹⁹ On the controversy during the Renaissance about Latin postpositions as well as for references to other Latin grammars on prepositions, see Zwartjes (2002: 45-48).

²⁰ Translation into English is from Zwartjes (2002: 46).

are declinable in some oblique cases, and from their variation will their meaning also vary.

[O que na lingua Latina são proposições são nesta posposições porq(ue) sempre se pospoem. Não há mais que dizer nesta materia se [naõ que] são declináveis em alguns casos obliquos da variaçãõ dos quais variaõ tambem elles a significaçãõ.]

(M 60, f. M-34-40, R, lines 19-25)

and uses the term ‘posposições’ (postpositions) which, compared to Álvares, seems to be innovative. Nevertheless, if considered within a wider perspective, it is not, as it had already been used in 1533 by Bernabé Busto (Zwartjes 2002: 46).

8. The conjunction and the disjunction

These are the last two parts of speech to be given in Chapter Six before the last section of the *Arte – Third Title*, which provides rules for the formation of past, future, imperative, and plurals of verbs and nouns (Ms 60, fol. M-34-42 to M-34-47). BC maintains here the subcategorisations for conjunctions found in Álvares — ‘Copulativæ, Disiunctivæ, Aduersatiuæ, Collectiuæ siue illatiuæ, siue rationales, Causales, Expletivæ’:

The conjunction is an indeclinable part of speech which links and arranges the sentence.

[Coniunctio est pars orationis indeclinabilis connectens ordinansque sententiam.]

(Álvares 1572: f. 60v; 1573: f. 40v-41r)

He highlights once again the typological feature of Tamil:

There is but one in this language and that is உம (um), which is always suffixed and is always repeated twice, as in நானும் (nānum) நீயும் (nīyum), I and you.

[Hua’ sô há nesta lingua e he உம. Esta sempre se posponem e sempre se repete duas veses, ut நானும் நீயும் eu e tu.] (Ms 60, f. M-34-41, R, lines 6-8)

As disjunctions are placed in this language: ஆகிலும் (ākilum) எனகிலும் (en-kilum) ஆனாலும் (ānālum) ஆதல (ātal) ஒன்றில (oṇṇil) but they must be repeated two or more times.

[Por disjunções se poem nesta lingua ஆகிலும் எனகிலும் ஆனாலும் ஆதல ஒன்றில mas he necessario repetiremse duas, ou mais vezes.]

(Ms 60, f. M-34-41, R, lines 26-30)

9. Conclusive remarks: terminological innovations

When one applies the concept of ‘extended grammar’ to *Grammatici Tamulici* one has to keep in mind that missionaries were not native speakers of the Tamil language, thus we are dealing with ‘exo-grammatization’ or ‘exo-transfer’ (Auroux 1992: 35). In fact, although Tamil has an indigenous tradition of ‘gram-

matical’ description missionaries described it once again from the 16th century onwards. They adopted a new perspective on how to apply the Latin model leading to a creative extension of it (Chevallard 2017: 103). However, any extension or transference strictly depends on the subjects that realise it.

The question is, how was Latin grammar used for the description of Tamil? How far were the two *Arte* discussed here able to escape from the existing framework used as a model of reference? Despite the application of Latin parts of speech to Tamil, BC and GA/PB were able to point out the linguistic and typological peculiarities of the Tamil language escaping their initial model.

Looking at how this grammatization occurred and how the grammatical model elaborated for the Latin language was used in the description of Tamil one can appreciate how they adapted the model of reference to the observed ‘linguistic object’. If one applies the same categories identified by Aussant (2017: 8-14) as ‘object of transfer or extension’ in the *Grammaire Sanskrite Étendue* to BC and GA/PB, one can figure out that the adaptation, transfer, and extension consisted of:

1. elements of the metalanguage, like technical terms.²¹ They selected technical terms in their model of reference and applied them to Tamil: ‘creenças’ (augmentations), or they invented new linguistic terms more appropriate for the described language as ‘posposições’ (postposition);
2. elements of the conceptual domains and *modus operandi*. BC and GA/PB followed Álvares’ methodology and in adopting a contrastive analysis they provided examples in Tamil with Portuguese (or Latin) glosses. They explained the Tamil structure adopting the same conceptual frame used for Latin (i.e. the declension of noun) or comparing Tamil to Latin or Portuguese (cf. inclusive and exclusive pronouns);
3. elements of the structure and organisation of the grammar according to which GA/PB and BC imitated the body structure of Álvares’ text. They not only followed the same order in the description of parts of speech, but they also presented similar subdivisions and organisation of each section, adding also final appendices to their main text (cf. rules for past, imperative, future and plurals).

In conclusion, this stage of research increasing the information about Cod. Orient. 283 and the documentation focused on the transfer of grammatical models has shown how the ‘object’ of transference was not simply transferred as it was, but rather it was adapted through extension to the target language that had to be described.

²¹ GA/PB not only made use of European tools, but he also borrowed technical terms from the Indian grammatical tradition (i.e. for letters and case markers). See Muru (2014: 367-377).

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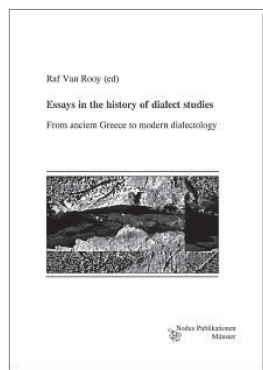
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