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2.1 TAMIL

Shaping minds and cultures

The impact of missionary translations in Southern India*

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1. The analysed corpus and purpose of this study

The study¹ is focused on Confession manuals, including two bilingual dictionaries (Tamil-Portuguese and Portuguese-Tamil) and a glossary of religious terms. The Confession manual which to be analysed is the Tamil translation by Henrique Henriques SJ (1520–1600) entitled *Confessionairo*, கொம்பெசியொனாயரு (*Kompeciyonāyru*² – “Confession Manual”) and printed in Cochin in 1580.

Within this text, we have taken into consideration typical Christian religious characters and elements such as ‘God’, ‘Jesus’, ‘Heaven’, ‘Hell’, ‘Holy Spirit’ and ‘Father’ is referred to ‘Priest’ and ‘God’, prescriptions such as ‘The Ten Commandments’, and the ‘Christian Sacraments’ such as ‘Matrimony’, ‘Baptism’, ‘Confirmation’, ‘Holy Communion’ and ‘Confession’. The linguistic choices

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1. This study cannot be exhaustive in this field due to the sheer volume of texts to be analysed and to the perspectives from which they must be approached. Furthermore, it is only a part of a larger project that the writer of this paper and Ines Županov (EHES, CNRS, Paris) are currently working on and which involves the historical and linguistic analysis of the first translations in Tamil, paying specific attention to Henrique Henriques’s Christian texts. The final review of this article owes a great deal to discussion with Ines Županov.

2. The transliteration of Tamil words follows the Madras Tamil Lexicon (1982), hereafter MTL, conventions.

adopted by Henriques in order to give Christian meanings have been compared to those encountered in two other manuscripts from the 17th and 18th centuries respectively: *Confessionario Tamulico. Dialogo entre o Confessor e o Penitente* (n.d.)³ translated by Balthasar da Costa SJ (c.1610–1673) and the manuscript entitled *Tamulica*, (n.d.) by Ippolito Desideri SJ (1684–1733).⁴ The latter includes a brief Confession manual which deals with ‘Mortal Sins’, ‘Capital Vices’, ‘The Ten Commandments’, etc., along with a brief Catechism; an outline of the Tamil language grammar written in Latin and a story to illustrate Tamil syntax.

ஆயித்தஞ்சொல்லுகிறவகை (ஆயித்தம் சொல்லுகிற வகை – *āyittam collukira vakai*) ‘Preparation for Confession’ and *Dialogus inter Confessore[m] et Penitentem*⁵ are the two sections that have been compared with Henriques’s religious book and Da Costa’s manuscript in the most detail and depth.

The inclusion of two bilingual dictionaries and a glossary is considered helpful for checking the meanings given for the lexemes selected for the present study.

The first dictionary is the Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary compiled by Antão de Proença SJ (1625–1666) – published in 1679 and printed in Ambalacat. The second one is a Portuguese–Tamil Dictionary whose author is unknown, even though the last folio of the manuscript (MS M33–374) at the end of an unreadable statement has the name *Irmaõ Joaõ Soares da Veiga* (1769–1839).⁶ The last document is the Tamil-Portuguese glossary (8 folios) *Significação de todas palavras que estão no confessionario p^o mayor commodidade dos que començão aprender a lingoa*⁷ which is found at the end of a manuscript entitled *Grammatica inedita da lingua tamil*,⁸ bearing the name of the Carmelite Paulo Francisco de Noronha (1780–1848).

The main objective of the present analysis is to understand the extent of the missionaries’ knowledge on Indian traditions and the way they used this knowledge, while translating the terminology of the Christian religion, in order to

3. A Tamil Manual for Confession. Dialogue between the Penitent and the Confessor.

4. For further details on this manuscript refer to Muru (2010b) and Bargiacchi (2006, 2007, 2008).

5. Dialogue between the Confessor and the Penitent.

6. A Portuguese colonial administrator who acted as a Governor in the *Índia Portuguesa* of Timor-Leste between 1803–1807. Information available at: http://www.geneall.net/P/per_page.php?id=295249.

7. The meaning of all the words in the Confession, for the greater convenience of those who are beginning to learn the language. Although at the beginning of the manuscript we find the name of Paulo Francisco de Noronha, in the last page of the ‘8 folios glossary’ [MS M15–148] we read: *Acabado de copiar aos 3 de Março de 1794. பாதிரி துமங்கு* [pādiri dumingu]. [Copying finished on the 3rd March 1794. Father Domingo]

8. Unpublished grammar of the Tamil language.

understand the impact on the culture of the encountered populations. Our study focuses on the translation devices adopted by different authors in terms of lexical variation according to contexts and audience.

Our corpus was selected on samples of texts belonging to three different historical periods, since the previous studies were generally based on translations of Hindu-Christian dialogue and the Bible which appeared in documents dated after the 17th century,⁹ with little consideration of documentation from the previous period.¹⁰

Previous studies carried out on this topic focused the attention on the most famous representatives of Christian conversion in Southern India, such as De Nobili (1577–1656), Beschi (1680–1747) and Ziegenbalg (1682–1719), but with relatively little attention to the earlier sources by missionaries, even though Henrique Henriques was often taken into consideration. However this study focuses on other documentations such as works by Balthasar Da Costa (c.1610–1673) or Ippolito Desideri (1684–1733) which had never been studied before, at least as far as we know.

2. Strategies and translation difficulties experienced by the missionaries

The main strategy adopted by Jesuit missionaries in most countries in order to pursue the evangelization process was through the acquisition of local vernacular languages. Mattalucci-Yilmaz (2004: 241) pointed out that it was through the native language that missionaries were understood and could understand the indigenous people of Africa. This is also considered to be true for America and Asia.¹¹ It was only through the use of the native language that they could transmit the Christian religion clearly, precisely and with piety. Nevertheless, the knowledge

9. Apart from Tiliander (1974) and Rajamanickam (1972), see Israel (2010) for an exhaustive review on translations in India with special reference to the Tamil language and on the studies focusing on the assimilation of Christianity. I would like to thank Marcus Schmücker (Institut für Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, Wien) for this reference. In considering previous studies on missionary translations, without any pretention of being comprehensive, refer to Jeyaraj (2005), Kim (2001), Kraft (1979), Nida (1960, 1961, 1968, 2003), Prasad (2009) and Sanneh (1989).

10. Apart from Henriques's Christian texts which were previously studied by Rajamanickam (1972), Vermeer (1982) and the most recently Hein & Rajam (2013) focused on Henriques's Tamil grammar.

11. For further details about this topic related to different countries see the rich bibliography and information included in Aurox (1992), Cuturi (2004), Poli (2009), James (2000), Kishimoto (2005), Maruyama (2004), Zimmermann (1997), Zimmermann & Bierbach (1997), Zwartjes (2011) and Zwartjes & Hovdhaugen (2004). Obviously, this list is not comprehensive.

of vernaculars was not always enough for the transmission of the Christian message in some specific contexts such as those in India, China and Japan.

In facing the Indian local context, the missionaries had to reflect on which language variety had to be chosen. In fact, India offers a complex linguistic landscape where the distribution of language varieties depends on social and cultural factors.¹² In particular, Tamil shows social varieties distributed both vertically and horizontally. On the vertical axis High and Low varieties are functionally differentiated according to context and situation. Ferguson (1959: 325–340) called the social prestige rules “diglossia”.¹³ At the same time there is a sociolinguistic stratification based on the caste to which the speaker belongs. The horizontal axis represents the distribution of diatopic variation and of varieties which differ according to the profession of the speaker as well.

Initially, missionaries in India faced a difficult situation. They had to select a linguistic variety which could be understood by their listeners whilst respecting the rule according to which High variety had to be used in written text. However, respecting this rule they could not to be understood by the common people. According to James (2000: 93), Francis Xavier SJ (1506–1552), one of the first Jesuits to reach Goa in 1542, was perfectly aware of the importance of learning native languages, but he had to create a “Christian language while employing a non-Christian idiom for rendering ideas till then unknown.”

Developing a Christian language required appropriate words to transmit the Christian message: this was one of the most complicated issues the missionaries had to deal with. As Nida (1968: 20) states “religion is vitally related to the total structure of human personality and behavior, and communication in religion is one of the most difficult as well strategic task. Thus the choices of words in the translation of religious texts is not only determined by the linguistic status of it, but overall by the cultural significance of the item to which the word refers”. The missionaries most probably arrived at the same conclusion when they started to translate religious books into native languages. They realised that many Christian-European meanings could not be adequately represented. It was necessary to take

12. India was characterized by ancient literal and grammatical traditions. Even though the grammatical tradition could have been useful, at the same time it was much more difficult to discard or substitute indigenous ideas with the new Western ones. In any case, missionaries in India faced a totally different situation, compared to Africa and the Americas where they had to deal with orally transmitted languages. Kim (2001: 120) states that in America “the settlement of non-European ‘barbarians’ in the reductions was an elementary method of converting people at the lower level of a human hierarchy. Western civilization had to be introduced first before the evangelization of the ‘barbarians.’”

13. For the Tamil language refer to Britto (1986).

into consideration the ‘otherness’ and to draw insights from local languages. As Zwartjes (2011: 12) observes: “we see a strong desire to understand and describe the specific characteristics, in modern terms the ‘otherness’ of the colonized.” This approach was generally overlooked in the preparation of the grammatical explanations of native languages. As a result, a Eurocentric perspective usually prevailed since the missionaries needed to find equivalent structures in the local languages which could represent the Latin grammatical categories. In this context it was not unusual for the missionaries to express negative considerations about the populations they encountered and who were frequently described as primitives, barbarous, etc.¹⁴

According to Nida (1961), similar words in two different languages never have the same identical meaning. It is hard to obtain the exact equivalent: “the problem is not one of finding absolute equivalents, but of finding close equivalents” (Nida 1961: 130) in the form of the words or in the culturally oriented significance. The difficulty is that “in many instances, however, there is not an agreement between the various cultural features nor a similarity in the function which these have in the life of the people” (Nida 1961: 131). Hence, translators are often faced with both cultural and linguistic problems when they want to translate a word into the receptor language. In observing the semantic component of languages in a comparative perspective, we face a three conditions gradualness. Two cultures can present almost the same object or event (referents), but with a different culturally oriented significance; two cultures can have different objects or actions corresponding to two different referents in the source and in the receptor language, but encoding the same culturally oriented significance. Furthermore, two cultures do not have equivalents, either formally or culturally (Nida 2003: 172–173). This means that translations are important in maintaining the original meaning of predication. The missionaries in India knew how the knowledge of native languages would have been the most effective tool for entering into the Tamil language communities through communication. However, the mastery of local religious and cultural patterns was essential in obtaining an effective translation of their beliefs. Moreover, a clear political strategy was based on weakening cultural beliefs through the adaptation of Tamil words for Christian meanings.

In the Tamil context, it is well-known that Roberto De Nobili (1577–1656),¹⁵ an Italian Jesuit in the Mission of Madurai, was one of the first to be concerned

14. As Zwartjes (2011) observes this was not the aptitude of all the missionaries had because many of them were able to appreciate the beauty and the perfection of the local languages. Cf. Buescu (1978, 1983) and Muru (2010a).

15. For further details about Roberto De Nobili’s work see Županov (1999, 2005) and Rajamanickam (1971, 1972).

about the “proper translation” of Christian ideas into Tamil words. He was not satisfied with some of the choices made by Henriques and earlier missionaries, and as a result he created more appropriate new terms.

In Rajamanickam (1972: 186–188) we find the reasons given by De Nobili for the changes he made in his translations, the most important one was that the expressions used by his previous colleagues transmitted the wrong meanings; for example ‘Holy Spirit’ was translated as *Cuttamana Isippiritu*, where the meaning of *cuttamana* is simply ‘clean’ and not ‘Sanctified’.

In a comparison between Henriques’s texts and others dated in the 17th and 18th centuries there is evidence of the usage of different lexical choices to define the most important Christian principles. At the same time, some of the words initially used by Henriques in his *Kompeciyonāyru* could not be changed, because they had spread to many areas of Tamil Nadu and Southern India. It is not surprising that in 1613 De Nobili¹⁶ received a letter from Father Pero Francisco (1564–1615)¹⁷ where he specifically requested that some indigenous words which

16. This is what De Nobili wrote in *Apologia* (1610) about the Portuguese borrowing ‘misei’: “Missa notatur in cartilla .Mixei., haec vox sonat hic barbam, seu quod dicunt bigode quare illius loco inserui vocem, Pugei, quo nomine Tamulica lingua significatur et appellatur sacrificium: hoc nomine Missam appellavi, eo quod in illa [...] Deo Patri Christus sacrificatur. Nec refert quod eo [exhinc] hac voce secantur, quia et antea gentiles dum erant gentiles falsa sacrificia, sacrificia appellabant; et post co[n]versione, missam etiam sacrificium appellarunt; Adde quod ego ad [t]ollendam hanc ambiguitate adiuvari, Christu pugei, id est à Christo institutum sacrificiu[m]”. (De Nobili, *Apologia*, 1610, Goa 51, f. 139r). Rajamanickam (1972: 188) translated this passage like “[...] Mass is translated by *Misei*. Now this word means here *beard* or *moustache*. I have therefore substituted ‘*pugei*’ a Tamilized word meaning and expressing sacrifice [*It does not matter what is the result of this choice and why they are distinguished. In the past among the ‘gentiles’ the sacrifices were false sacrifices. After the conversion they called sacrifice also the Mass*]. Besides to remove all ambiguity I added ‘*Christa Pugei*’ which means sacrifice instituted by Christ” [The italics in square brackets are my translation].

17. A letter of Pero Francisco to De Nobili, 11.8.1613, also cited in Rajamanickam (1972: 189). The original document is in Rome, ARSI, Goa 51, ff. 191r–192v where at folio 192v it is written: “29°. O nome de Deos Tambirán. Se não deixe, pois he usado em toda India e chamare[m] a Deos por esse nome. 30°. Os Anjos, Apostoles, e mais santos se nomerem por sus proprios nomes usados na Igr.^a e não pellas etimologias delles. e se a declinação da Lingoa Tamul o não sofrer, fiquê antes estes nomes indiclinaveis, q[uem] mudados. [...] 32°. O mesmo digo dos Sacramentos e suios nomes. Baptismo, Confirmação, Eucharistia, E os mais, se devê reter sem nenhuã mudança [...]” [29° The name of God Tambirán is used throughout India, then we use this name in order to refer to God. 30° Angels, Apostols and other Saints must be called with their own names, those which are used by the Church, and if in their Tamil declension or termination they have bad meaning, let them be made indeclinable, without any change [...]. 32° The same principle must be observed for Sacraments and their names. Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist let them without any change].

were already in use should be kept unaltered. Examples of theses are *tampirān* 'God', and words borrowed from Portuguese which were used to refer to 'Angels', 'Apostles' and other 'Saints' as well to the 'Sacraments'. For example, referring to the word 'mass' Pero Francisco stated: "31°. Por nenhum caso se chame a Missa Pugei ou Christo Pugei, mas retenhasse o nome missa; e se na declinação ou terminação Tamul tem alguma significação malsoante,¹⁸ fique indeclinavel, ou se chame Misterio da Missa, ou Santo Sacrificio da Missa."¹⁹ According to him these words could not be changed because they were commonly used. The Tamil devotees were already accustomed to them and the alteration would have created confusion amongst them.

One can observe that there was a constant process of adaption to Christianity in the Indian context using concepts of Hindu religion. The missionaries carefully studied the local beliefs with the aim of finding matching topics within the two religions. It would seem that all of the missionaries were quite well informed of the Indian reality in which they were working. For example, in Henriques's *Kompeciyonāyru* there are special instructions devoted to the chief of jāti and others for the fishermen called *Paravas*. It is plausible to believe that many things were taught by the interpreters who also acted as teachers of the language when the missionaries first arrived in India. Even though Henriques and Da Costa²⁰ or Desideri belonged to different periods, they all appear to be well aware of the Indian traditions, cultures and practices.

3. Some linguistic considerations about the structure of the texts

It is possible to differentiate two stages of evolution of translation techniques each distinguished by linguistic features of texts: the first is related to the 16th century and the second one to the 17th and 18th centuries.

In the first phase, the text is quite different from the one we can observe in the second phase. These differences can be explained by the diglossic situation of the Tamil language, where linguistic registers are distinguished on the level of syntax,

18. In Tamil the Portuguese word 'missa' ('mass') was recognised like மிசை *micai* which in Tamil means 'moustache' (MTL 1982: 3211).

19. For any reason Mass should be called *Pugej* or *Christian Pugej*, but let the word *missa* be retained, and if in its Tamil declension or termination it has bad meaning, let it be made indeclinable or let it be called 'Mystery of Mass', or 'Sacrifice of Holy Mass'. (Cf. also Rajamanickam 1972: 180).

20. We know from Sommervogel (1960) that Da Costa, being in the same Mission of Madurai of De Nobili, was well instructed about Indian traditions.

morphology and phonology. In fact, many characteristics typical of spoken Tamil²¹ are used. For example, the verbal declension of both present and past tenses show phonetic changes. Indeed, the present tense morpheme of strong verbs *-kkir-* is reduced to *-kk̥r-*, while the past tense morpheme *-tt-* becomes *-cc-*. Furthermore, sentences are mainly constructed using verbal nouns and only one main verb is used to close the main sentence resulting in a complex and redundant syntax.²² Long sentences include many phrases which are connected through the quotative particle *enru* ‘that’, a typical characteristic of Tamil language. In any case, from a syntactic point of view and a sociolinguistic perspective it is thought-provoking to notice how the sentences are simplified when Henriques deals with topics related to fishermen’s cultural life (*Paravas*). In fact, they are shorter and the number of embedded relative clauses is greatly reduced, the style is more informal and the register is adapted to context.²³

The question arises if these differences are strategically motivated. If this is the case, we can presume it happened with a double intent. The aim was to show and impose the prestige of Christianity through the language: the expression of Christian practices like ‘Confession’ or topics like ‘Mortal Sins’ and ‘Virtues of Holy Mary’ had to be translated through a formal style which would later lead to the birth of Tamil prose;²⁴ whilst those issues concerning daily life could be expressed through a more informal style, closer to the common way of speaking.²⁵

On the other hand, Henriques realised that in the case of fishermen, a communication strategy through a more informal style and a specific register would have been more effective. This kind of information is relevant because it demonstrates not only Henriques’s knowledge about the local life, but also the efforts the missionaries made to integrate themselves with the local population. At the same

21. Schiffman (1999) outlines the characteristics of spoken Tamil, with particular focus on phonetics (1999: 3–23) and morphology, as well as syntax. Spoken Tamil features are also noticed in some choices of the lexicon (Muru 2010b).

22. For further details about the linguistic structure of Tamil language see Andronov (1977), Krishnamurti (2003), Lehmann (1989), Steever (1998) and Zvelebil (1990). For further details about features of SOV languages see Dryer (2011a, b).

23. Henriques (Vet. Or. f. Tam (2), ff. 59r–67r) deals topics related to fishermen’s cultural life such as சாதித்தலைவமாரைக்கெட்கத்தக்கது (*cātittalaivamārai [k] keṭka[t] takkatu* – *Things fitting to be asked to the talvamār caste*), ff. 62r–63v; ஞாயக்காற்றரைக்கெட்கத்தக்கது (*ñāyakkāraṭṭarai [k] keṭka [t] takkatu* – *Things fitting to be asked to the judge*), ff. 63v–64v; சலாபத்துருவொடிகளைக்கெட்கத்தக்கது (*calāpatturu [v] oṭṭikaḷai [k] keṭka [t] takkatu* – *Things fitting to be asked to the pearl-fishery driver*), ff. 65r–66v.

24. According to some scholars, prose in Tamil was introduced by the Westerners who brought paper and a press with them.

25. Cf. Appendix 1.a and 1.b in order to read two different passages written by Henriques.

time, his choice of colloquial Tamil could have had a significant impact on fishermen, in that it demonstrated that a foreigner could be very knowledgeable about their culture. He also gave an insight for all those other missionaries who would have worked in the same area or within the same social group.

These details are particularly important for those scholars interested in undertaking ethno-linguistic studies related to the culture of a specific social group like *Paravas* specifically in the 16th century. In fact, Henriques gives an account of the traditional techniques of fishing, as well of practices of commerce. Special advice and religious instructions are specifically addressed to those missionaries who had to work with people such as the Caste chief, lawyers, fishermen, etc.²⁶

In the second stage of evolution the sentences are still complex showing causative and passive constructions as a common device; what is much more evident is the difference in the Christian lexicon,²⁷ which was “Tamilized” transforming borrowed words in Henriques’s texts into Tamil words. The connotative significance of the indigenous words which were more deeply rooted in the Indian speakers perception than the borrowed words, were adapted to Christianization and this process led to several semantic adaptations.

4. Christian concepts into Tamil lexicon: an ethno-linguistic analysis

As already stated loan words which can be found in Henriques’s text such as சககிறமெந்து *cakkiramentu* (‘Sacramento’ – ‘Sacrament’),²⁸ கசாதுக்கட்டினது *kacātukkattinatu* (‘casamento’²⁹ – ‘marriage’), இசிப்பிரிது சாந்து *icippiritu cāntu* (‘Espírito Santo’ – ‘Holy Spirit’), were all changed. For example, in translating the word ‘wedding’ both Desideri and Da Costa used *kaliyāṇam*³⁰ when referring

26. Cf. Henriques, Vet. Or. f. Tam (2), ff. 59r–67r.

27. When referring to Roberto De Nobili it would be more correct to say a “Sanskritization” of the Christian words since he used many Sanskrit words. As Rajamanickam states (1972: 190) “[...] Nobili for his purity of style. However when we examine his works carefully we find that are plenty of Sanskrit words”.

28. Cf. Vet. Or. f. Tam. (2), f. 29r, line 19–20.

29. *kacātukkattinatu* (Cf. Vet. Or. f. Tam. (2), f. 25r, line 21) is a verbal noun composed by the Portuguese word *casado* (>*kacātu*) which means ‘married’ and the Tamil verb *kaṭṭu* which means “1. to tie, bind [...]; 2. to build, construct [...]” (MTL 1982: 100).

30. This word also is quoted in the De Proença Dictionary (MS M34–277), for *kaliyāṇam*: ‘Casam.^{to} Bodas’ (“wedding”), for *vivākam* we have the translation ‘Matrimonio’ (“matrimony”) (MS M34–444); in MS M33 (M33–78 and M33–241) we find both under ‘casamento’ (“marriage, wedding”) and ‘matrimonio’ (“matrimony”) both *vivākam* and *kaliyāṇam*.

to the practical celebration of marriage (cf. Desideri, MS Goa76b, p. 5, line 7),³¹ and *vivākam* when referring to ‘matrimony’ within the Christian Sacraments (cf. Desideri MS Goa 76b, p. 15, line 13). One may notice that the missionaries’ lexical choices were strategically oriented translations. In fact, according to Madras Tamil Lexicon (MTL 1982: 3718) *vivākam* not only refers to ‘marriage’ but also “to one of the *cōṭaca-camskāram*³² or better the 16th purifying and sanctifying ceremonies which were prescribed for the first three castes”.³³ The *camskāram* (< *saṃsāra*) are a series of sacraments, sacrifices and rituals that serve as rites of passage marking the various stages of human life. Achari (2013: 14) defines *camskāram* the ‘Hindu Sacraments’, within which *vivākam* refers to marriage and “means the assumption of specific burdens. It refers to the supporting and sustaining of dharma which the householder learnt during his years in the first ashram of a brahmachāri.”

In this case the missionaries found two forms in the receptor language which were useful to distinguish between ‘matrimony’ intended as a Sacrament and ‘wedding’ as the formal public celebration of the union in the Christian religion. The referents of the two forms are almost equivalent, but they have a different cultural meaning. However, missionaries preferred to contextualize the indigenous words into their own meanings, instead of borrowing from their own language.

Some native forms, having cultural relevance, were used in order to express meanings that only partially matched the Christian cultural meaning. It was a strategic device to push the Indians to understand. The attempt of cultural mediation or adaptation go beyond those expectations towards an imposition of Christianity on Hinduism through the imposition of Christian concepts on Hindu ideas.

One of the most interesting translation choices is represented by the word used for the idea of ‘God’.³⁴ In Henriques’s, as well as in Da Costa’s texts (cf. MS M49, ff. 35v–36r), one finds *tampirān*, *nāyaṇ Icecu Ikkirisutu*,³⁵ *nāyaṇ tampiranar*³⁶ and *nāyaṇi*, whereas in Desideri’s translation they are replaced by *caruvecurān* and

31. The given numeration refers to the original one. For further details refer to the References, Primary Sources.

32. In MTL (1982: 1663).

33. The first three castes are: Brāhmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas.

34. Refer to Kim (2001), Rajamanickam (1972) and Tiliander (1974).

35. In MTL (1982: 2222) *nāyaṇ*., n. < *nṣāya*. 1. The Supreme Being; [...] 2. King [...]; 3. Master, Lord.

36. For a further discussion on *nāyaṇ* refer to Tiliander (1974: 114–115).

cuvāmi.³⁷ These two forms address two different referents in the text. The first refers to the immaterial and supreme God, the Creator,³⁸ whilst the second alternates between referring to the Son of God Jesus Christ made of skin and bones, who was born as a human being,³⁹ or just to the Priest.⁴⁰ When referring to Jesus Christ *cuvāmi* is usually preceded by the word *nātā*.⁴¹ According to Tiliander (1974: 112), it is added to the name of Jesus to express 'Lord Jesus' and it refers to the one who offers refuge or to a protector.

What did those words used in translation for the word 'God' mean in the Indian culture? Which new dimension did the missionaries try to give them? Their meanings in the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (hereafter DED, Burrow & Emeneau 1984), in the MTL (1982), as well as in the Cre-A: Dictionary (hereafter CD, 2008) are the following: according to the DED (1984: 268) *tampi* (> *tampiran*) the word is used not only for referring to 'younger brother', but also to 'the elite among men, as well as to an inferior priest'. We can only hypothesize that Henriques's choice for *tampirāṇ* was determined by the background in which he had preached, since, as stated above, he worked mainly with the lower caste of *Paravas* (fishermen).⁴² In considering the other word used for God (*caṛuvecurān*), any supposition about its origin is unnecessary as De Nobili, who adopted this word, explained its meaning (Tiliander 1974: 86–92). Furthermore, this issue has been discussed by Tiliander (1974, *ibid.*) who explains that *caṛuvecurān* is a compound word formed by the combination of *sarva* ('all') and *īśvara* ('the Lord'), since, according to the author, *īśvara* is the personification of the creator in Hindu religion, Brahman.⁴³ The aim was to give a monotheistic idea of God and also to compare the Christian Creator of the world and a human being with the Hindu

37. In MTL (1982: 1540) *cuvāmi*, n. < *svāmin*. 1. Master, lord; 2. Supreme Being; 3. Skanda; 4. Spiritual preceptor.

38. For some examples see Desideri MS Goa 76b, p. 20, line 6; p. 26, line 2; p. 28, line 5.

39. This is evident in the first part of the manuscript MS Goa 76b, pp. 11–22 (equivalent to ff. 1r–11v).

40. For some examples see Desideri MS Goa 76b, p. 17 line 1; p. 23, line 15; p. 29 line 3.

41. In MTL (1982: 2215) we find the word *nātākkaḷ*, n. < *nātāñāṭṭ* which means Saints, sages eminent persons.

42. In De Proença's Dictionary one finds the following definition for "*tambirāṇ*: senhor proprio apellido de Pandaras graus os Mouros otem aplicado a deos das prayas" (MS M34–M355) ['Master, proper noun of Pandara degree the Moor applied to the deities of the beach']. In MS M33–120 under the word *Deos* (Gods) we can find both *tambirāṇ* and *caṛuvecurān*. For further analysis of *tambirāṇ* see Tiliander (1974: 118–119).

43. For a discussion on *īśvara* and *Brahman* see Panikkar (2008).

creator. Tiliander (1974) asserts that De Nobili might have selected *Saruvēṣuran* as *nomen proprium* for the Christian God⁴⁴ because he may have believed that the divine name was confined in Southern India to the Viṣṇu centered Sanskrit literature. In fact, it is one of the Viṣṇu's thousand names. As De Nobili explains, demonstrating the reason for this choice (Tiliander 1974: 92):

... when we hereafter take up for investigation whether God is one or many, the fact that he is one we will prove by his name, and the reason for his name, for the meaning of the name *Saruvēṣuran* is 'the Lord over everything' (*ellattukkum karttar*). Therefore it must be said that there is none greater than, and none equal to, *Saruvēṣuran* and that 'He alone' (*avaroruvārē*) is God. And that implies that 'everything is subjected to him' (*ellam avarukku kīl*) and he is 'above everything' (*ellavatrukkum mēl*) and no other substance (*vastu*) can be equal to him or above him. In this way we cannot speak of several *Saruvēṣuran*, but we have to state that he is one (*orē*) *Saruvēṣuran*.

(De Nobili, 26 Sermons II:2, cited in Tiliander 1974: 92)⁴⁵

Therefore, according to Tiliander's interpretation the neologism *Saruvēṣuran* was created to represent a concept which was new to Indians, through ideas and notions of their culture. In the case of Desideri, the word for 'God' adapted to the Tamil phonology is once again *caruvecurān*, whilst surprisingly, as stated above, Da Costa did not use it, even though he belonged to the same mission as De Nobili. This can be explained by the fact that he was a *Pandaraswāmi*, or rather, a priest who preached amongst the lower castes. In this context we can again refer to Nida (2003: 172) "one may find that the receptor culture does possess almost the same object or event as is mentioned in the source message, but in the receptor culture it may have an entirely different function".

Going into a deeper analysis, another interesting example of the intertwining of Christianity and Hinduism is given by the translation of the word used for 'Hell'. In all the manuscripts it is *naraka(m)*⁴⁶ (cf. Desideri MS Goa 76b, f. 7, line 11, and Henriques, Vet. Or. f. Tam (2), f. 6r, line 20).

44. In De Proença's Dictionary (MS M34–347) we find the following definition. "*caruvecuran*: Deos quase omni um dominus" ['God, a Master for all'].

45. Rajamanickam (1972: 103–146) reports De Nobili's works and he focuses on the '26 Sermons' defining this work like a summary of the first three parts of De Nobili's Catechism (*Kāṇḍam*) (Rajamanickam 1972: 122–123). The '26 Sermons' (*Gnāṇōpadesa: 26 piracaṅkaḷ* – Catechism in 26 Sermons) have been published by the Tamil Literature Society (Tuticorin) in 1963. See also Sanfilippo & Prezzolini (2008) and Arokiasamy (1986).

46. In the Portuguese-Tamil Dictionary (MS M33–215) *narakam* is not the only given word for 'hell'; the other choices are *pātālam* and *yampuram*. In De Proença's Dictionary one can find two different separate words: "*Narakam*: inferno, itē um pagode" ['hell, or rather, a devil']

The Sanskrit word *naraka* refers to the underworld of human beings. It is considered the abode of Yama, the God of Justice. In this realm *yamadutas*, the messengers of Yama, bring him the souls of human beings for judgment. Subsequently, Yama sends the righteous to *Svarga*⁴⁷ in order to offer them pleasure in heaven, whilst sending the guilty to the appropriate hell, where they receive the proper punishment according to the severity and nature of their sins (Mani 1975: 368–370). They would be reborn as a human or animal according to their previous life. *Naraka* is a transitory place for the expiration of souls where they are tormented for their sins. One can find the term *yamapuram* (meaning ‘Hell’) in both of the Dictionaries used in this study, but not in the analysed texts and in the 8 folios glossary (MS M15) as well. The first term (*yama*) refers to the God Yama and the second term (*puram*) means ‘village, place’. In these texts the word *naraka* is adapted and used to describe the ‘hell’ of Christianity and the meaning given for this word in the MTL (1982: 2162) is “infernal region, the abyss of the hell”. It is evident that the missionaries made an effort to find a form in the receptor language (Tamil) which could have had a similar referent in the source language, but with a different culturally oriented significance between the two (Nida 2003).⁴⁸ The missionaries attempted to transfer a new meaning into some Tamil forms without being sure about a possible correct interpretation of them by the Indians.

These strategies seem to be similar to those adopted by later Protestant missionaries such as Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719) a Protestant missionary working in Tranquebar on the southeast coast of India. According to Jeyaraj (2005: 20) he “viewed the different kinds of religious similarities as preparatory steps necessary to effectively communicate the gospel of Jesus Christ, and having established the presence and function of the residual image of God in the South Indians, Ziegenbalg addressed the various forces that shaped their beliefs, values and customs.”

In the translation for ‘Father’ (both as ‘Priest’, ‘Family father’ or ‘God’) we find differences among the selected texts. For example in Henriques’s book the word *pitā* ‘Father’⁴⁹ is used when referring to both ‘Divine’ and ‘family father’ (cf.

(MS M34–189). “*Iyampuram*: nome dos deos da morte, inferno” [‘name of the death’s deities, hell’] (MS M34–126). In MS M15–137 we only find *naraka*.

47. In MTL (1982: 1537) சுவர்க்கம் ¹ *cuvarkkam*: 1. Indra’s heaven, the world of gods [...], 2. Happiness [...].

48. In fact, *naraka* would have been more appropriate to refer to ‘Purgatory’ instead of ‘Hell’, since the first one gives an idea of transitoriness.

49. In MTL (1982: 2663) பிதா *pitā*¹: *n.* < *pitāpitṛ*. 1. Father [...], 2. God [...]; 3. Brahṁā [...], 4. Śiva [...]; 5. Arhat [...].

Henriques, Vet. Or. f. Tam. (2), f. 87r, line 22 and f. 87v, line 1–3), while in the other two manuscripts two different forms encode these different meanings: *pitā* is used for the ‘Gods Father’, and *takappan* for the ‘family father’ (cf. Desideri, MS Goa 76b, p. 8, line 1–10). This double choice shows the will of missionaries to improve in order to attribute a higher prestigious perception of the Christian message differentiated from the common language and the ‘Christian divine language’.

More considerations are offered by the given Tamil translation for the Portuguese word ‘Baptismo’ (Baptism) which is *ñāṇastāṇam*⁵⁰ (MTL 1982: 1690 and CD 2008: 652 give *ñāṇasñāṇam*).⁵¹ In Tamil *ñāṇavāṇ* means “wisdom” (MTL 1982: 1689), *ñāṇi* means “man of wisdom” (MTL 1982: 1690) and *ñāṇāṇ* refers to “Brahmā as wise” (MTL 1982: 1690). The word used by missionaries is then a compound⁵² created through *ñāṇa* + *snāṇam*⁵³ which means “1. bathing, 2. Purification”. According to the Roman Catholic Church, Baptism washes away the original sin and is regenerative. Consequently, this shows that missionaries invented a word using indigenous elements with their local meaning and created a new word which could represent the Christian idea of ‘Baptism’, without being totally perceived as extraneous by the Tamil people.⁵⁴

The Tamil word used for translating the Portuguese word ‘mandamento’ (‘commandment’) is *karpiṇai*⁵⁵ which means “teaching, instructions, learning” and also “determination, vow”. In the MTL (1982: 821) we find கற்பனை *karpaṇai* (n. < *kalpanā*) as having two different double meanings: “(1.a) Learning, study, (1.b) Teaching, instruction and (2.a) Determination, vow, (2.b) Command, order”.

50. In MS M33–58 for the word ‘Bautismo’ (‘Baptism’) we find *ñāṇasñāṇam*. For a further analysis about this word refer to Tiliander (1974: 64).

51. The realization of <t> in the analysed texts instead of <n> could have been determined by the graphical similarities that the two letters have, respectively த் and ந் or it could be a mistake made by the missionaries or our inability to decipher it properly.

52. According to Nida (1961: 143) “if the translator attempts to invent a new word (these are usually compounds).”

53. In MTL (1982: 3897) ஸ்நானம் *snāṇam*, n. < *snāna*. 1. Bathing. See நானம்² *nāṇam* [p. 1688]. 2. Purification, of seven kinds, viz., *vāyaviya-snāṇam*, *tivviya-snāṇam*, *maṇas-snāṇam*, *mantira-snāṇam*, *pauma-snāṇam*, *akkiṇi-snāṇam*, *yōka-snā-ṇam* [...] 3. Giving one a bath, one of *cōṭa-cōpacāram*, q.v.; [...]

54. In both the MTL (1982) and CD (2008) dictionaries this word is indicated as a Christian word only.

55. Also confirmed in the De Proença Dictionary MS M34–289, whilst in MS M33–237, we find *kalappiṇai*, *kaṭṭalai viti*. In MS M15–140 and 141 we find both *kalapiṇai* and *karappiṇai*. According to CD (2008: 315) *kaṭṭalai* gives in the 3rd meaning “commandment, (God’s) will” and *viti*² (CD 2008: 1259) means “destiny, rule(s), law (of nature)”.

This is a case where the missionaries had a form partly encoding the meaning they needed in the receptor language, in other words, the idea of 'order' that contextualized the translation of the Ten Commandments in their texts.

The translation of the Portuguese word 'Paraíso' ('Heaven') is another example of this extraordinary aspect of the missionary theological-cultural operation in the systematic attempt to use key-words of the Hindu religion when translating and representing Christian ideas. According to Tiliander (1974: 237–238) "the Tamil equivalent for Svarga is Vānam [...]. The first time Vānam and Būmi occur in Christian Tamil is in Enriquez's *Doctrina Christam*". Nevertheless, through the analysis of his *Kompeciyonāyru* we found that the 'Heaven' concept is translated by two forms which are *corka*⁵⁶ (which corresponds to *svarga*: Indra's heaven) and *mokṣa* which means "liberation, salvation" (MTL 1982: 400s).⁵⁷ *Mokṣa* is the liberation from *saṃsāra* ('birth', 'life', 'death' and 'rebirth') of the soul. The first is used when referring to heaven intended as the abode of the Triune God and for those who go there as a place of everlasting bliss. *Mokṣa* is used for referring to the heavenly status, which is reached after the final judgment which takes place after the Resurrection of the Dead and the Second Coming of Christ.⁵⁸

In Desideri's manuscript one can find *paramaṇṭalam*⁵⁹ and *mokṣa*.⁶⁰ The first word is used with the same meaning of *corka*, whilst *mokṣa* is used in order to refer 'to God heaven, heavenly status'. In Da Costa's manuscript one can only find *mokṣa* for 'Heaven'. Considering what these words refer to the Hinduism context,⁶¹ it could be stated that missionaries were trying to adapt the Indian meanings into their Christianity following a specific linguistic policy.

Indeed, Henriques adapted *corka(m)* (*svarka*) for 'Heaven', because in the *corka* and Christian 'Heaven' the souls experience pleasure, and *mokṣa* as 'liberation' fulfilled in Christianity through the Second Coming of Christ. Later, Desideri maintained two different terms, even if he substituted *corka(m)* with *paramaṇṭalam* maybe because the idea of rebirth into life on earth is also included

56. In MTL (1982: 1652) சொர்க்கம்¹ corkkam, *n.* < *svarga* refers to Indra's heaven.

57. Cf. Henriques, Vet. Or. f. Tam (2), f. 70v, line 9.

58. Close to these two words we can find also a more generic form which refers to 'the other world': *poralokam* (cf. Henriques, Vet. Or. f. Tam (2), f. 70v, line 9).

59. In MS M33–82 amongst the translations given for *ceo* one can find 'sky'. In De Proença's Dictionary and in MS M15 one can find two terms: "*paramaṇṭalam*: *ceo* material" ('material sky') [MS M34–226; MS M15–138]; "*mokṣam*: gloria, bem aventurança" ('Glory, blessedness'), [MS M34–175; MS M15–137].

60. Cf. Desideri MS Goa 76b, f. 6, line 17th.

61. For further discussion about this issue refer to Tiliander (1974: 164–180).

in the first one, whilst Da Costa retained only *mokṣa*, ‘the supreme heavenly status’, maybe following De Nobili’s choice.⁶² Once again, it is clear that they used forms in the receptor language (Tamil) which had similar referents in the source culture, but with different cultural oriented meanings. Following these translation strategies, they strived to introduce a new idea through a familiar concept, without the need to borrow from the Portuguese language, or to create a specific neologism. These techniques would have made the Christian religion more extraneous and would not have entered into the cognitive meaning of Indians in the same way. On the contrary, they attempted to demonstrate that some Christian ideas already existed in the Hindu concepts and that they were transforming the perception of Christianity through the lens of Hinduism.

5. The ethno-linguistic interpretation of the missionaries’ strategies

The first missionaries were not experts in translation techniques, at least not to the same extent that we mean in the present day. Their work was a continuous exercise and experimentation of the transformation of their ‘own culture’ into the ‘otherness.’ However, they proved that they were conscious of the fact that language represents a distinctive element of culture where words assume different meanings according to the cultural context in which they are used. For this reason they had to pay particular attention to their linguistic choices during the translation of religious books. As Nida (2001: 14) states “the knowledge of the appropriate meaning of a non-linguistic event also depends on the context of who does what, when, where and for what reason.” In applying these considerations to the missionaries one can identify the ‘who’ with the Christians, the ‘does what’ with the nativization of Christianity, the ‘where’ is represented by various scenarios according to the area in which each missionary preached the Christian religion, and ‘for what reason’ is represented by the spreading of Christianity. The awareness that the missionaries acquired of the Indian culture and the strategies of communication developed throughout the period of their activities. There were less loan words and consequently a wider use of indigenous lexicons; an adaptation of texts to the addressees and an improvement of their translation which was increasingly directed towards the indigenous perception of the world. It is within this context that the communicative strategies can be considered. Since language is the primary element in the life of a community, it is the main tool in interactions between human beings and consequently it is through the disruptive evolution induced by

62. Discussing the term *mokṣa* Tiliander (1974: 172) states: “De Nobili used the term both for the heavenly bliss and for heaven as a place.”

the 'otherness' that one can experience the usages, behaviors and styles of life by which one is surrounded with greater awareness (Cardona 2006).

If communication does not mean merely to transfer a message, but is also a medium of identification through which one transmits his position in the world to others, this means that the communication of those who want to enter a social group and those who want to be recognized as belonging to the inner-group must model their way of expression to the same vision of the world of their interlocutors. In order to comprehend the interlocutors, one has to know those keys of interpretations through which the other looks at life and the world according to Whorf's (1956) interpretation of relativism. "The position that cultural meanings are encoded in public symbols expressed in social actions in particular places and with particular histories and times leads [...] to a strong position of cultural relativism" (Foley 1997: 17). Linguistic practices are the most pervasive ways in which human beings make meanings and it is essential to adopt the linguistic practices of our receptor, as well as to enter within his own word. It has been demonstrated that Henriques followed this practice, enlivening his translation with tools and concepts of *Paravas'* life. In this way he was able to conquer their attention; it cannot be a coincidence that all of this was possible thanks to the economical support of his followers who contributed towards the publication of his first book around 1560.⁶³

Throughout the linguistic analysis of the presented translations it has been demonstrated that the method used by the Jesuits can be interpreted as a continuous attempt to interpret each lexical term in the framework of the culture which conceived it.

The main strategy adopted was the choice of something that was well known to the Indians, both important and familiar to the native. They used forms which were suitable to incarnate the ancient religion with the purpose of transforming them into objects that held different meanings from those developed by tradition. They applied a process which can be considered a strategy of 'purification'⁶⁴ of the Hindu forms, unhinging them and imposing Christians notions. As a result, missionaries' translations can be inserted into a cross-cultural perspective: on one hand missionaries tried to communicate their own cultural meanings through a non-Christian-native language within a new cultural background while on the other, the natives attempted to understand, through their own Tamil words, the new meaning that missionaries attributed to their familiar referents. Missionaries'

63. Županov (2005: 256).

64. In the interpretation of the Jesuit behavior among the indigenous Indians, it is useful to consider Remotti's (1996: 21–29) position on identity.

translations were not a matter of substitution, but a semantic restyling. They were intended to give new meaning to what already existed. The use of Hindu forms helped them to underline the importance of the Christian message, but they needed to apply a process of *kátharsis*: in a re-modelling of good and evil symbols with a purpose of maintaining what Christianity considers the best and the worst. As a result, when native speakers used terms from the Hindu tradition, they were pushed toward Christian concepts, keeping the positive value which could be connected to the new concept missionaries were introducing. The Christian concept of purification entering in the language influenced the mind as well the body and the soul. Language explained what the mind should have correctly perceived, then allowed the body to behave in the right way, in order to affect the soul with the final aim to become a good Christian.

Missionaries studied how and where to act for ‘inculturating’ the indigenous populations toward Christianity; they were well trained for the objective they had to accomplish. It has been largely argued that the term *adaptation* referred to one of the main strategies of the Jesuits (Cuturi 2004: 7–60; Poli 2009) and it is clear how the adaptation was perceived from both sides. In fact, the missionaries adapted themselves to their surroundings: they began to wear local clothes out of respect for Indian customs and at a cultural-semantic level they adapted the Christian meanings into the Hindu concepts. They attracted the indigenous people, shedding a new light on their well known concepts and introducing the Christian perspective. They attempted to bring Hindu and Christian Catholic ideas closer, so as to gain the common ground necessary for an effective communication, with the aim of subsequently differentiating the two whilst convincing the audience of the rightness of the Christian religion.

It seems that the search for an indigenous name for the translation of Christian ideas was motivated by a practical sense, with the aim of reducing the effects of the new meaning that derived from their message (Mattalucci-Yilmaz 2004: 257). It appears that the missionaries wanted to prove that the true religion had always been there, among the Indians, and that now they were simply disclosing the true message of it which was the Christian one.

As already stated above, “since communication consists not only of a message, but occurs *between* participants, there are inevitably a number of psychological factors in communication which must understood [...] The participants in communication are completely human, with their typical array of feelings toward language” (Nida 1960: 158).

6. Conclusions

Authors such as Sanneh (1989), Nida (1960, 1961, 1968, 2001, 2003) and Kraft (1979) made invaluable contributions to the critical issues of the missionary translation.⁶⁵ Other scholars focused on the analysis of the Christian lexicon used in missionary translations. With regards to this, James (2000) gave a list of the Christian Sacraments showing how they were expressed in some of the documents used for this paper.

Rajamanickam (1971, 1972) worked on Henriques's and De Nobili's translations giving information about the historical background and on the authors and their contemporary missionaries. Kim (2001) discussed the name for God amongst missionaries in India, mainly referring to Tiliander (1974). The latter has been, without doubt, a pioneering study about the 'Christian religion' which developed in India, with a special reference in Tamil Nadu. The author mainly focused on how much Hinduism could translate Christian concepts. In fact, he deeply presented an analysis of the Indian literature relating it to the linguistic choices missionaries made within their translations. Nevertheless, we have to say that his main sources were Indian texts and some missionary works. Furthermore, the missionary documents he focused on are those by Henriques compared to De Nobili and in certain cases, Beschi.⁶⁶ Considerable attention was also paid to later Bible translations.

For the present study we have worked on primary sources, including Henriques, but also referred to less known authors such as Da Costa and Desideri, who have not been investigated yet when discussing 'Christian Tamil'. The analysis has not been limited to the presentation of the translation of Christian terms, but has involved reflections on semantic structures of translations from the missionaries' point of view, as well an ethno-linguistic interpretation of them (Cf. §5). In particular, this paper has correlated the forms missionaries selected to represent Christian concepts within the cultural context where these words were used in order to emphasize the linguistic policy that the missionaries followed. The

65. For further studies on this topic see also the exhaustive bibliography in Kim (2001) and James (2000: 128–129).

66. Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi (1680–1742) was an Italian Jesuit priest, Missionary in South India (Besse 1918) who gave a great contribution to Tamil language. Like Chevillard (1992: 77) states Beschi "a joué un rôle de trait d'union entre les traditions grammaticales européennes et tamoules" [Beschi played a role of connection between the European and Tamil grammatical tradition]. He composed a Literary and a spoken Tamil grammar. He compiled also a Tamil-Latin and a Latin-Tamil-Portuguese dictionary. He also contributed to Tamil literature, he is in fact considered the 'Master of Tamil literature' for his poetical works and his extraordinary epic poem.

ethno-linguistic approach in the interpretation of data has demonstrated how the adaptation of missionaries to the Indian context effectively corresponded to a specific main intent. They tried to deviate the Hindu traditional meanings and referents as they were in the cognitive perception of Indians. Their aim was to get them closer to Christianity. Consequently, the cultural background behind the translated words was presented in order to show how the missionaries' linguistic choices were strategically oriented.

Furthermore, the analysis was carried out on an anonymous manuscript Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary and the very well known Dictionary by De Proença: the Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary. We chose to take into consideration the manuscript version of this, which is kept at the State Central Library in Goa, rather than its printed version kept at the Vatican Library of Rome and reproduced by Thani Nayagam (1966) in later publications, because the latter could not offer the same richness of data. In fact, the manuscript version has not yet been carefully studied and it contains greater cultural information than the printed version. This one had been censured in many of its contents, probably during its evaluation process, by various censors (listed with their certificates in the fore matter) before being printed in 1679. The inclusion of the two dictionaries has allowed us to fully understand the interpretation missionaries gave to Tamil words and their cultural referents.

Another important point of our study is that it involved a comparison of missionary translations in three different historical periods. It showed not only the evolution of the techniques of translations, but has also highlighted some socio-linguistic features of the texts. This has illustrated how the Christianization of Hinduism was more evident in the works by Da Costa and Desideri rather than that of Henriques, who relied more on borrowing.

However, our study has posed several questions: "Were the Indians able to understand the meaning the missionaries wanted to impose through the use of native forms for similar referents in the source and receptor language? What should be the nature of the response implied by these impositions?" It is extremely difficult to find a reliable reply to this question, but "basically the receptors must be able to respond to the message as communicated to them in their own language, and can only express this response behaviorally within the cultural context in which they live" (Nida 2003: 148). In our opinion, in order to find an answer to these questions, one should study in depth all of the correspondence sent to Europe by missionaries. In this way there is a possibility of finding some relevant information regarding the Indians' reactions to the translations. This new perspective could represent the starting point for a further research.

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Appendix⁶⁷

Appendix 1.a

Henriques, Vet. Or. f. Tam (2), fol. 75v, line 5–20

- [5] mutal-āvatu kurucu varaintu-koṇ(tu)
first-ORD NUM N cross draw.VP-REFL
‘First drawing oneself the (sign of the) cross’
- [6] namm-uṭaiya nāyaṇ taṇṇ-ai [p] paṭai(tt-at-iṇāle-y-u[m])
1PLU.OBL-GEN N Lord self.OBL-ACC create-VN-INSTR-CONJ
‘Our Lord because he created us’
- [7] kuruci-le pāṭupaṭ(ṭi)
N cross-LOC suffer.VP
‘having suffered in the cross’
- [8] /r/aṭcitt-at-iṇāle-y-um⁶⁸ iṇru mutal-/ā/m⁶⁹
redeem-VN-INSTR-CONJ N this day first-ORD NUM
‘and because he redeemed us, this dayfirst’
- [9] paṭi⁷⁰ [y] a/l/antu⁷¹ cukatt-ile koṇ-iruk(kiṛ-at-iṇāle-y-u[m])
N degree reach.VP N happiness-LOC keep-AUX-VN-INSTR-CONJ
‘degree having reached, and because he kept us in happiness’

67. MTL transliteration rules have been adopted. Numbers in square brackets refer to the line as it appears in the original document Vet. Or. f. Tam. (2). Round brackets refer to those words or portions of words, which in the original document, appear in the next or previous line. The book analysed in this study was written according to the Tamil literary tradition without separation of words unified in a single line. “When sounds come together across word or morpheme boundaries, certain changes occur that are referred to as *sandhi*” (Schiffman 1999: 20). In order to identify each single lexeme we have separated them. Subsequently, square brackets represent the separation of *sandhi*. Sounds between oblique slashes refer to what one would have expected according to Standard Tamil. The original version encountered in the documents has been reported in the footnote. The Leipzig Glossing Rules have been adopted (Linguistic Department of Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology: (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>) available in PDF format at http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/LGR09_02_23.pdf).

68. The word *laṭcittatiṇāle* is used by Henriques. However, the lateral [l] has been interpreted as [r] in order to give this word the meaning of ‘by salvation’. In fact, “*raṭci* < ‘*iraṭci*’ is the verb stem for ‘to save’” (MTL 1982: 3419 and 307), “to redeem” (CD 2008: 1179 and 144).

69. The vowel length is not indicated in the original document where it appears as <a>.

70. Cf. Winslow (1987: 713): *paṭi* 2. Grade, rank, class, order, sphere degree in religion, & c.

71. <ḷ> is found in Henriques’s manuscript.

- [10] kiricittiyāṇi mār(katt-ile)
N Christian N religion-LOC
'in the Christian religion'
- [11] varutti⁷² vittat-iṇāle-y-um
to cause one to come.VP sow.VN-INSTR-CONJ
'and because he sowed causing one to come'
- [12] aṇ/ē/kam⁷³ palaṇ-kaḷ-um⁷⁴ pollappu-kka(l-um)
N many N strength-PLU-CONJ N fault-PLU-CONJ
'many forces and faults'
- [13] vara[v]-oṭṭāmal [t] taṛkāttu-k(koḷḷu-(kai[y]-iṇāle-y-u[m]))⁷⁵
come.INF-AUX.not permitting having protected.VP-REFL-VN-INSTR-CONJ
'and because he protected us not permitting to come'
- [14] taṇ-akku
self-DAT
'to us'
- [15] [v]aṇekam naṇmai-kaḷ viceṣcam-ā(ka)
N many N benefit-PLU N sth. of special interest-PART
'many benefits, special'
- [16] [c] coraka-tt-ile vaitt-irukkīr-at-iṇā(le-y-um)
N heaven-OBL-LOC keep-AUX-VN-INSTR-CONJ
'in the heaven, and because he kept for us'
- [17] avar-uṭaiya [y] a/lḷav-illāta⁷⁶ [v] ut(tama)
3SGM HON-GEN N measurement-ADJ MARK.not N supreme
'by his supreme unlimited (inherent) quality'
- [18] kuṇatt-iṇāle taṇ-akku [p] palapala
N inherent quality-INSTR self-DAT ADJ many
'to us many'
- [19] naṇmai-kaḷ-u[m] cakāyaṇ-kaḷ-u[m] cey(t-at-iṇāle-y-um)
N good things-PLU-CONJ N help-PLU-CONJ do-VN-INSTR-CONJ
'good things and aids, and because he did for us'
- [20] avar-ai [p] pukaḷa v/ē/ṇum⁷⁷
3SGM HON-ACC praise.INF must-N FIN VB
'one must praise him'

72. Cf. Winslow (1987:920).

73. The vowel length, which appears as <e>, is not indicated in the original document.

74. "palam: strenght" in Winslow (1987:740).

75. We are not sure about the morpheme 'koḷḷu' glossed in this word.

76. <ḷ> is found in Henriques's manuscript.

77. The vowel length is not indicated in the original document where it appears as <e>.

(*Literal translation*) First one draws the sign of the cross (on) oneself. Our Lord because he created us, and because he redeemed us having suffered in the cross, and because he has kept us in the happiness having reached the first degree in this day, and because he sowed causing us to come in the Christian religion, and because he protected us not permitting many forces and faults to come, and because he has kept in the Paradise many special benefits for us, and because he did many aids and good things for us through his supreme unlimited quality, one must praise him.

Translation

[First, we must cross ourselves. Our Lord, who created us, who suffered on the cross in order to redeem us, (in) this day reached the first degree and he kept us in happiness. Our Lord who did many good things and aids for us, who kept special benefits in the Heaven for us through his supreme unlimited quality; our Lord who protected us keeping us away from forces and disasters; we must praise him.]

Appendix 1.b

Henriques, Vet. Or. f. Tam (2), fol. 62r, line 18–21; fol. 62v, line 1–2

- [18] cāti [t] talavamār-ai [k] keṭka [t] takk-atu
N caste talavamār-ACC ask.INF suitable-VN
‘Things suitable to ask to the talavāmar caste’
- [19] antanta [v] ūr-il [p] paṭṭaṇ(kaṭṭi-kaḷ)⁷⁸
DEM that all N village-LOC N Paravas headman-PLU
‘all that in the village Paravas headmen’
- [20] naṇr-āy [k]
N good-ADV MARK
- [21] ∞ kompecārikk-a∞ [t] takk-a(t-āka)
Confess.INF suitable.VN-ADV MARK
‘for properly confess’
- [1] [v] eḷutiṇ-atu cāti [t] talavamār-kk-um
write-VN N caste talaivamār-DAT-CONJ
‘also to the leader caste that which was suitably written’
- [2] uta-vum
help-FUT-3sg
‘it will help’

Translation

[Things suitable to ask to a talaivamār caste.

All that was well written for the Paravas Headmen in the village in order to confess properly will also be useful for the talaivamār caste.]

78. Cf. MTL (1982: 2419): பட்டங்கட்டி. ‘paṭṭaṇkaṭṭi’: 2. Title of the headman of certain castes, as Kaikkōḷar, Paravar, etc. [...]. 3. A caste. See கடைசன் ‘kaṭaiṣaṇ’.

Abbreviations

1	1st person	INSTR	Instrumental
3	3rd person	LOC	Locative
ACC	Accusative	M	Masculine
ADJ	Adjective	N	Noun
ADJ MARK	Adjectival marker	N FIN VB	Non-finite verb
ADV MARK	Adverbial marker	OBL	Oblique
AUX	Auxiliary	ORD NUM	Ordinal Number
CONJ	Conjunction	PART	Particle
DAT	Dative	PLU	Plural
DEM	Demonstrative	REFL	Reflexive
FUT	Future	SG	Singular
GEN	Genitive	VN	Verbal noun
HON	Honorific	VP	Verbal participle
INF	Infinitive		