SANGAM TO MODERN TAMIL GENRE: THE PROCESS OF GRAMMATICALIZATION AND EVOLUTION OF MODERN TAMIL VERB FORMS[1]

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Abstract

Among the three genres of the Tamil language namely old, medieval and modern Tamil, one finds an extensive use of agglutinative suffixes only in modern Tamil, but not in the other two genres. This paper proposes that many of such modern Tamil complex forms of verbs resulted due to a set of reanalyzed structures as they are formed, mainly for the metrical reasons, in the medieval poems of both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava literatures. It is shown in this paper as to how the medieval poems exhibit a number of intermediate structures where words are realized ambiguously with both grammatical as well as lexical meanings. Particularly, the ablative suffixes, aspectual suffixes, comparative markers and the modal auxiliary verbs are taken into consideration here, mainly to show that they came into existence in modern Tamil historically as a result of the grammatical process of reanalysis. Evidences from medieval poems are cited to prove the fact that there existed many ambiguous contexts with a

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possibility of multiple interpretations and subsequently the grammatical interpretation became prevalent in contrast to their corresponding lexical meaning.

0. Introduction

Reanalysis is one of the three mechanisms of syntactic change, which can produce new grammatical forms from a combination of two or more sequentially occurring linguistic forms resulting to a major change in the morphology of the language. Such cases of linguistic change can be considered to be a subtype of the process of grammaticalization.[2] Grammaticalization involves evolution of new independent grammatical categories by means of one or more of linguistic mechanisms, such as metaphorization, morphologization, metonymy or reanalysis. When one of these linguistic mechanisms does not produce a new grammatical item, and is not considered to be responsible for altering the morphology of a language, such linguistic process cannot be understood to be a subtype of grammaticalization. Keeping this in mind, this paper attempts to examine the morphology of the three genres of the Tamil language, and discusses a relationship between them based on how some of the new grammatical categories evolved historically. It is evident that modern Tamil exhibits a number of complex grammatical forms, especially the aspectual, modal and negative

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[2] Campbell (1999, p. 226) states that *reanalysis*, *extension* and *borrowing* are the three mechanisms of syntactic change. Langacker defines syntactic change as: "change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation." Langacker (1977, p. 58). There are other factors that are responsible for language change including foreign influence, bilingualism etc. See Shanmugam (2009) and Renganathan (2011) for a comparison of the three genres of Tamil in terms of changes that underwent historically.

forms that are not either fully attested or partially attested in medieval or old Tamil. An attempt is made here to capture a number of historical processes that are responsible for the formation of certain complex modern Tamil suffixes, including those of the ablative marker, reflexive auxiliary, progressive marker, comparative marker and probability modal suffix.

1. Development of Ablative suffix in Tamil from Medieval poems

An important axiom of reanalysis, according to Campbell (1999, p. 227), is that it depends on the possibility of more than one analysis of a given sequential construction. An example for this point of view may be shown from Tamil in the context of how the ablative suffixes *-iṭamiruntu* and *-iliruntu* were evolved historically. It is known that these two suffixes were not present either in medieval or old Tamil the way they are understood in modern Tamil. However there exists identical structures that can be considered to be the earlier forms, especially before the process of reanalysis, possibly during post medieval periods of the history of the Tamil language[3].

1) avaṉ-iṭam iruntu   appuṟam vā

   he   loc.   be-past-participle later   come

  'Having been with him and come later'   (Source structure)

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[3] Although it is not possible for one to demarcate when exactly this change might have taken place, it is possible to identify those literatures that have the ablative suffix the way it is understood in modern Tamil. For example, use of the ablative suffix *iliruntu* is attested in Divyaprabantam (kūṭṭiliruntu kiḷiyeppōtum kōvintākōvintāveṉṟalaikkum 'from the nest the parrot always calls Govinda' 625:1) and Apirāmi antāti (kayavarkaḷiṭattiliruntu eṉṉait taṭuttāṭkoṇṭavaḷ avaḷē 'the Goddess protected me from evil people and took me with her side!' 54), which are placed later than Tirumantiram in the history of Tamil literature.

     Sentence 1 is understood with the participle form of the verb *iruntu* 'having been' having a lexical meaning. However in the sentence 2, as below, the suffix '*iruntu*' is understood to be a grammatical form representing the human ablative suffix in modern Tamil.

2) avaṉiṭamiruntu appuṟam vā [4]

   he   ablative suffix.

   'Come from him (his location) later'   (Reanalyzed structure)

     Although sentences like 1, as above, are uncommon in modern Tamil, similar structures are attested in Tirumantiram and other medieval Tamil texts.

3) irāppakal aṟṟa **iṭattē iruntu**

parākkaṟa āṉantat tēṟal parukār (Tirumantiram: 1856)

Those who cannot consume the nectar

'Having been in a space where there is no night and day'

…

4) eytiya **nāḷil iruntu** kaṇṭēṉē (Tirumantiram: 186:4)

   called-for-which date-in having been saw-I

   'I saw (having been in) from the day when the God emerged.'

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[4] The spoken counterpart of these examples behaves slightly differently in that unlike the written example, the verbal participle marker in spoken Tamil is to be taken as *-runtu* with a phonological reduction of the initial vowel –i, instead of *iruntu*. Sentence 1 can be expressed in spoken Tamil as avaṉkiṭṭe iruntu appuṟam vā and sentence 2 as avaṉkiṭṭēruntu appuṟam vā. Note that the formation of neuter ablative suffix *–iliruntu* in Tamil also behaves the same way and should be accounted for by reanalysis as well.

The examples 3 and 4 illustrate the earlier stages of reanalyzed structure of ablative constructions, with axiom as Campbell states as the possibility of more than one analysis – from/having been in. The word *iṭam* in Tamil means 'location or space', and subsequently the verbal participle -*iruntu* means 'having been in (a place)'. Thus, the human ablative suffix -*iṭamiruntu* 'from-someone' is to be understood by the reanalysis of the locative suffix and the lexical form of the verb *iruntu*. Consider below the other cases of these structures in both old and medieval Tamil texts with locative postpositions.

5. aṇaṅku uṭai marapiṉ **kaṭṭilmēl iruntu** (Patiṟṟuppattu. 79:14)
ornaments possessed chest bed on having been
'Having been on the cot; charming chest with ornaments'

6. **tammil iruntu** tamatupāttu uṇṭāṟṟāl (Tirukkuṟaḷ 1107:2)
us-in having been self-alone eat without-being
'Having been within, eating with everyone'

7. **mēliruntum** mēlallār mēlallar **kīḻiruntum** (Tirukkuṟaḷ 973).
top-having been in top-not top-not down-having been
'One is not superior from above; one is not superior from below either'

8. uttara kōca **maṅkaiyuḷ iruntu**
Head living girl-self having been
'From the self of the woman who lives within the heart'

9. koṇṭa **karuttil iruntu** kulāviya aṉpuṟu koḷkait
obtained thoughts been-in expressed love determined
toṇṭarai …   (Periyapurāṇam 1395).

devotees

'Determined devotees who engaged with love,

Having been with learned thoughts.'

In all of these instances, even though the verb *iruntu* is understood with its lexical meaning of 'having been in' rather than as an ablative suffix, they can be ambiguously understood with the interpretation of *from*. This ambiguous interpretation is mainly due to the modern Tamil understanding of this suffix without an equivalent lexical meaning. Hence, these medieval instances are to be assumed as the clear cases of prior forms of the reanalyzed structures in the sense that the form that is derived from a combination of two separate linguistic forms happens to be a morphological suffix. The two linguistic forms in this context are the locative noun along with the verbal participle form of the verb *iru* 'be'.

2. Reanalyzed Morphological Structure

As with the nature of reanalysis, the underlying structure of syntactic construction is changed from [N + Verbal Participle] to a 'Post position', but without making any change in its corresponding surface manifestation. On the contrary, reanalysis can also produce an output that may not be a grammatical category, instead a new lexical item. For example, the verb 'to teach' in Tamil is derived from a reanalysis of two lexical words, namely 'say' and 'give', as shown below.

10) coll-i + koṭu   > collikkoṭu

   Say-and give   'Teach'

The new lexical item *collikkoṭu* 'teach' in its compound form is obtained after reanalysis of the two separate lexical

categories namely the verbal participle form of the verb *col* 'say' and the lexical verb koṭu 'give'. The underlying grammatical information of the structure: [verbal participle' + verb] is changed into a full-fledged lexical verb. Here, the process of reanalysis has taken place, but it cannot be considered to be a subtype of grammaticalization because the output of this process is not a new grammatical category, rather a new lexical form, and thus, does not change the morphology of the language in any manner. In other words, it does not fall under either, as what Hopper and Traugott term a noun-to-affix cline or a verb-to-affix cline (Hopper and Traugott 1997:106). According to Campbell, reanalysis can change underlying structures involving constituency, hierarchical structure, grammatical categories, grammatical relations and cohesion. It must be noted here that not all of these processes lead to grammaticalization, but only those that produce a grammatical category can be treated under this subtype (Campbell 1999:231-34).

The mechanism of cohesion, besides grammatical categories, that Campbell notes above is also a subtype of grammaticalization. Cohesion, according to Campbell (1999), refers to the degree of attachment that an element has to other elements, whether as a fully independent word, a clitic, an affix or an un-analyzable part of a larger unit (p. 232). The French example that Campbell gives explains this concept well. The French question words *est-ce, est-il, dort-il* etc., according to him, evolved from the two forms namely *est* and *dort* respectively, especially after the introduction of the new interrogative structure: *est-ce que mon amie est morte*? 'Is my friend dead?' in contrast to the earlier structure: *est morte m'amie*? 'Is my friend dead?'.

Grammaticalization, in general, defines how a category becomes part of the morphology of a given language, and in this

sense one can say that it does not have a status of its own. Note that any other linguistic process can produce a grammatical item, but grammaticalization is not a linguistic mechanism in its own right. The linguistic processes, such as reanalysis, metaphorization, metonymy or morphologization may or may not produce morpho-syntactic forms as their end product. When they produce a morpho-syntactic linguistic item that can alter the morphological structure of the language, one can assume that to be an instance of grammaticalization. There is a possibility that these linguistic processes can also make changes to the other parts of the language, such as semantic change, restructuring syntax, development of new vocabularies and so on. So, strictly speaking, these linguistic processes can be considered to be a subtype of grammaticalization only when they alter the morphological structure of the language in one way or another.

3. Use of koḷ in Tamil and the process of Reanalysis

Use of the aspectual auxiliary *koḷ* 'acquire/possess' is one of the other instances in Tamil language that underwent grammaticalization along the process of reanalysis and metaphorization, which can be termed as a process by which a lexical meaning is responsible for the similar nuances that the corresponding grammatical forms produce. The aspectual marker *koḷ* produces contexts where the nuances of meanings such as 'self-benefactive', 'reflexive meaning' etc., can be metaphorically related to the lexical meaning of the verb *koḷ* – lit. 'acquire, have or possess something' for one's own benefit.

In order to fully understand how the process of 'reanalysis' and subsequent case of 'metaphorization' became responsible for the evolution of the modern Tamil reflexive aspectual marker, it is necessary for one to comprehend the mechanism of aspectual

system and the way it works in Tamil. The Tamil aspectual system is marked by a specific set of aspectual auxiliaries namely *-koḷ* 'reflexive aspect', *-viṭu* 'completive aspect', *-koṇṭiru* 'progressive aspect', and *-iru* 'perfective aspect'. They are added after a complex verb form called verbal participle, which usually contains the root, past tense marker and the participle marker, *-u*, *-i* or *–y*, depending on the type of verb.

Following is a typical case of aspectual verb in Modern Tamil.

11) **kuḷi-tt-u-k   ko-ṇṭ-ēṉ**

   bath past –and have - past – I

   'I took a shower (for myself/prepared myself)'

The role of the aspectual auxiliary '*koṇṭ-* ', the past tense form of *koḷ* in this sentence is to provide the shades of the meanings such as 'for oneself – as in I took a shower myself without anyone's assistance', 'for one's own benefit – as in I took a shower so I can be clean' or 'for future benefit – as in I took a shower so I can be ready to go out' etc. One of these shades of meanings is understandable in appropriate contexts. For the lexical verb *koḷ* to turn into a grammatical auxiliary verb, and for it to provide various shades of meanings as above, one would need to understand the use of this verb historically at different points. Also, the use of the participle marker *–u* along with the past tense marker makes this system more complex than the similar forms in its sister languages such as Telugu and Kannada. In Telugu and Kannada, the aspectual auxiliary markers are added right after the root and no complex form of main verb is involved, or only with a simple change, as shown below. Whereas in Telugu and Hindi no change what-so-ever takes place in the root form of the verb, in Kannada simple change of root

becoming a past tense form takes place, as in the form *bard-* is in fact the past form of the verb *bari*.

12) nīḷḷu **pōsu-koṉṉāṭu**

    He   shower self – he

    'He took a shower for himself' (Telugu)[5]

13) avaṉ kade **bard-koṇṭa**

    he story write self-past

    'He wrote the story for himself' (Kannada)[6]

       Similarly, Hindi also shows a simple form of verb in its aspectual construction.

14) Maine das baje   āp ko   **fōn kar liyā**

    I   agt. Ten o'clock you Dat phone make Aux.

    'I telephoned you at 10 o'clock'.[7]

       We will see below, how the development of a rich aspectual system in Tamil is connected to the complex verb root, and how the development of a new aspectual auxiliary in medieval Tamil was determined by the occurrence of the suffix *koḷ*. The participle form of the verb *koṇṭu* is used both in old Tamil and in medieval Tamil as a main verb to mean 'acquire' or 'have'.   Besides its use as a main verb, it is also used with nouns to mean 'acquire something':[8]

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[5] Krishnamurthi and Gwynn (1985, p. 207).

[6] Schiffman (1979, p. 82).

[7] Hook (1974, pp. 166-7) (quoted from Hopper and Traugott (1993, p. 109)).

[8] The examples from Medieval Tamil texts are taken from the online archive that is available in searchable form at the URL: *http://www.thetamillanguage.com/sangam/.*   Unless

Noun + koṇṭu

15) **pali koṇṭu** uḻalvīr (Appar Tēvāram: 4.1.3)
    sin having live-you
    'You will live acquiring many sins'

16) kaṭaṟ-kaṅkai   **paṉmalar koṇṭu** (Appar Tēvāram: 4.4.7).
    ornamented Ganges many flower having
    'Acquiring many ornamented flowers from the Ganges'

        We find many attestations with the combination of [Noun +
koṇṭu] in Caṅkam as well as medieval texts. But only in Appar's
Tēvāram, which is a medieval text, do we find the first occurrence of
this word after a verbal participle form as shown below:

Verbal Participle + koṇṭu

17) tēṭik **kaṇṭu koṇṭēṉ** (Appar Tēvāram: 4.9.12)[9]
    search-and find-and acquired
    'I searched for and found Him (and acquired within me)'

        Similar occurrences of *koḷ* in the context of aspectual
meaning can be seen in Tirumantiram texts as shown below.

18a) nāta eḻuttiṭṭu nāṭikkoḷ ḷīrē (Tirumantiram: 963:4)
     Sound stand be reached
     'With the primeval sound reach Him.'

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otherwise noted, the text is taken from this source, and the translation is provided from
author's knowledge of medieval and Caṅkam Tamil, with suitable consultation from
available translations.

[9] The Śaiva saint Appar is the earliest Śaiva poet whose work is included in fourth book of
the Śaiva canon Tirumuṟai.

18b) aṇṇal iruppiṭam āyntukoḷ vārkaḷukku (Tirumantiram: 2660:2)

    Lord   be – location explore those-dat

    'Those who explore can find the Lord's place.'

       It is to be noted that Tirumantiram also shows examples where *koḷ* is used in its lexical meaning occurring with noun, a structure that is not very common in modern spoken Tamil.

18c) nakkarai vāḻtti naṭuvē **payaṉ koḷ**var (Tirumantiram: 2899:2)

    Lord praise middle merit obtain

    'One might obtain the merit by praising the Lord'

18d) vaṇṭāyk kiṭantu maṉaṅkoḷvaṉ īcaṉē (Tirumantiram: 2928:4)

    as a bee   remain fragrance obtain Lord

    'The Lord remains as a bee inside a flower and obtains the
    fragrance'

       There is a strong reason to believe that *Appar* was the first to use the verb *koṇṭu* with a verbal participle form, as shown in 17 above. Since, the structure: [verbal participle + *koṇṭu*], is not used in any Caṅkam text, and it is attested only in medieval texts, one can suppose that only during the medieval period did this verb turn into a grammatical form, which is termed as 'aspectual auxiliary verb', a term that is widely used in Schiffman (1979, 2003 and 2005) and others, some authors use other terms such as 'vector verb' Since *Appar* is considered as the earliest among all of the other poet saints, we may assume that he was the one who first introduced this structure in his works. The illustration below explains the 'cline' of grammaticalization' according to which the change that takes place in the language due to one of the grammaticalization process is gradual. In some cases it can also be an incomplete process by which the change may not have taken into effect.
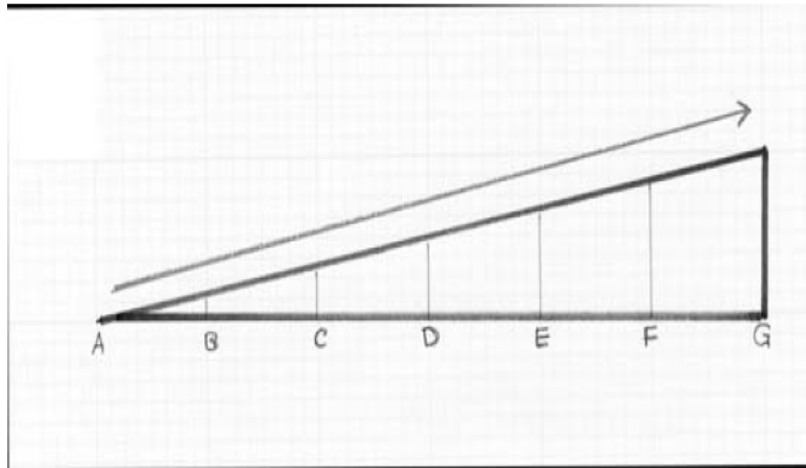
Figure 1

Once the verb *koṇṭu* is attached to another verbal participle, it loses its lexical meaning and acquires a grammatical meaning of 'acquiring something for one's own benefit'. This reanalyzed structure led to the use of *koṇṭu* as a grammatical marker , while the corresponding lexical verb *koḷ* continues to occur in the language in parallel, but with declining frequency. Even though, the combination [noun + *koṇṭu*] is used along with its lexical usage throughout the medieval period, the combination of [participle verb + *koṇṭu*] must have started to spread during the medieval period, especially after *Appar*.[10]

One can state that this is a reanalyzed structure that evolved out of a need, as opposed to prestige because of the poet saints' incessant affinity toward god. This may be the reason why only a

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[10] See Annamalai (1985), Schiffman (2005) and Renganathan (2019) for a detailed study of the use of the aspectual auxiliary *koḷ* and their various usages.

handful of verbs, mostly having a religious connotation of 'be surrendered' are used with *koḷ*. Such verbs include *kaṇṭu koḷ* 'be realized', *cumantu koḷ* 'be carried', *ēṟṟukkoḷ* 'accept someone', *vaḷaittukkoḷ* 'get surrounded' and *āṇṭukoḷ* 'rule'. Thus, it is not just the verb *koḷ* that we claim to be the cause for grammaticalization, but only the structure: [verbal participle + *koṇṭu*], as opposed to [noun + *koṇṭu*], becomes the cause for the development of a new grammatical category in the language. Many writers on this issue talk about the 'speaker-centered' nature of grammaticalization—the speaker is groping for a new or better way to say something, and that is the motivation for this development. Other speakers then see the value of this new usage, and adopt it as well.

Also note that in medieval Tamil, the grammaticalized auxiliary *koḷ* is used only with the meaning of 'self benefaction', and there are no other usages, such as 'future-utility' or 'reflexivity', which Annamalai (1985) states as the other uses of this auxiliary verb. [11] Attributing the other shades of meanings to this auxiliary verb must be a case of later development involving one of the other linguistic processes, namely metaphorization, metonymy or analogy. Schiffman (2005), for instance, illustrates how metonymy can be a possible candidate in the process of transfer of meaning to a particular structure that already exists. He cites the English example of *gonna* as having the meaning of 'intentional' and 'future', which is metonymically transferred to the structure 'be going to', and later

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[11] Annamalai (1985, p. 113), who calls the auxiliary suffix *kạ* as 'verb of ego benefaction' notes the usages of this auxiliary verb in modern Tamil as having the senses of 'self benefaction', 'future utility' and 'reflexivity'.

phonologically reduced to *gonna,* but only in the intentional usage of *going to*, not the directional one.

4. Use of koṇṭiru and iru in Tamil and the process of Reanalysis

The progressive suffix in Tamil is *koṇṭ-iru,* which is made with a combination of the suffix *koṇṭu* and the lexical verb *iru* 'be'. Literally this word means 'have something and remain in the same state for a longer period of time'. In other words, when the action as stated by the agent is performed continuously for a certain period of time, the progressive meaning is understood. This may be illustrated as below:

19) pēci - koṇṭu - iru

   speak have   be

   'keep talking' / 'remain talking'

As is evident from this example, the development of progressive aspectual auxiliary in Tamil must have happened as a result of reanalysis of the two verbs namely *koṇṭu* 'have' and *iru* 'be'. This example can be interpreted either as a) remain while at the state of performing the action of talking or b) keep talking. The latter type of interpretation is obtained as a result of grammaticalization - after reanalysis - and the former type as a result of sequential reading of the constituents. Sentences 20 and 21 below illustrate the instances where the main verb is something other than *iru* 'be'.

20) paṭi-ttuk koṇṭu vā 'come reading'

   (or)

21) pēcik – koṇṭu – pō 'go talking'

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The questions that remain to be answered, however, are how and when this reanalysis happened historically so that the 'progressive' auxiliary became part of the language, and what are the evidences for the corresponding lexical interpretations Strikingly, all of the instances of the combination [koṇṭu + iru] are found to be occurring in Caṅkam and medieval texts but they all follow a noun, giving the meaning of 'acquire/have something'. This is obvious from the example 22, where the word *koṇṭiru* follows a noun.

22) karuttiṉāl niṉṟaṉ **pātaṅ**

　 mind – by   your   foot

　 koṇṭirun tāṭip pāṭik (Tēvāram: 4.23.5)

　 possess-be dance sing

　 'Placed your feet in my heart

　 I dance and sing'

　 paṭaṅkoṇṭator pāmparai yārtta paramaṉ

　 picture-possess one snake   sleep god

　 iṭaṅkoṇṭirun tāṉṟaṉ iṭaimaru tītō   (Tēvāram: 1.32.2)

　 place-possess-be his   place   island-is it?

　 ' does the God who is sleeping on the snake,

　 live in the ocean?'

Obviously, the expressions *pātam koṇṭu iru* 'lit. remain having your (Lord's) foot (in mind)' and *iṭam koṇṭu iru* 'lit. acquire a space and remain there' are not the cases of progressive expressions, mainly for the reason that these verbs do not follow a verbal participle as their main predicate, but instead follow a noun. This implies the fact   that this word did not attain the status of a progressive auxiliary verb during the medieval period, so the

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grammaticalization of this verb into an auxiliary verb must have taken place at a later period.

It deserves to be noted here that the initial linguistic change from the status of a lexical verb *koḷ* to the status of a grammatical category led to the later development of the progressive aspectual marker in Tamil.   One can illustrate these historical changes schematically as below.

I. Old Tamil and Medieval Tamil:

a) Noun + *koḷ*/*koṇṭu*   'acquire/have something'

Noun + Verb

II. Medieval Tamil (beginning Appar's period):

a) Verbal Participle + *koṇṭu* 'self-benefaction'

(Reanalysis of *koṇṭu*)

Verb + Verb

b) Noun + *koḷ*/*koṇṭu* 'acquire something'

c) Noun + *koṇtu* + *iru* 'have something and remain'

III. Modern Tamil

a) Verbal Participle + *koḷ*

'self – benefaction', 'future utility', 'reflexivity' etc.

(development due to metonymy/metaphorization)

b) Verbal Participle + *koṇṭu* + *iru*

(new reanalyzed structure involving the verb iru 'be')

c) Noun + *koḷ* (obsolete)

d) Noun + *koṇṭu* + *iru* (obsolete)

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Note that none of the combinations namely [Noun + *koḷ*], [Noun + *koṇṭu],* or [Noun + *koṇṭu* + *iru*] are used in informal Tamil, except in very restricted contexts such as platform speech, literary talks etc.

4.1. Role of *iru* in the historical process of formation of *koṇṭiru*

A closer look at the uses of the verb *iru* 'be' in conjunction with verbal participle forms in medieval Tamil reveals the fact that the structure 'Participle + *iru'* could be considered to be an intermediate form before the formation of the aspectual auxiliary with the structure 'Participle + *koṇṭiru'*. Consider the fact that the following examples where the use of *iru* with participle form of a verb other than *koḷ* provides a meaning that is analogous to progressive meaning, which is normally understood with verbal participle form of the verb *koḷ* (*koṇṭu*) and *iruntu*.

22a**. pēci yiruntu** pitaṟṟi makiḻveyti (Tirumantiram: 304:2)
having spoken – been confused obtain happiness
'Having spoken mindlessly, obtain happiness.'

22b. **āṟi yirunta** amuta payōtari
māṟi yirunta vaḻiyaṟi vārillai
tēṟi yiruntuṉal tīpattu oḷiyuṭaṉ
ūṟi yiruntaṉaḷ uḷḷuṭai yārkkē. (Tirumantiram. 1139)
'The goddess who is peaceful
one does not know her alternate path
with the shining light of the lamp
devoted ones obtain a peaceful heart.'

The expression *pēci yiruntu* is synonymous to the modern Tamil form *pēcikkoṇṭiruntu* 'having kept talking'. Similarly, the other expressions namely *āṟi yirunta* 'remain peaceful' and *māṟi*

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yirunta 'remain changed', *tēṟi yiruntu* 'remain learned' and *ūṟi yirunta* 'remain soaked/involved' can be considered to have the same connotation as that of the corresponding modern Tamil expressions with the progressive aspectual marker *'koṇṭiru'*. The structure of [participle + iru] with the progressive meaning must have lost at a later stage, especially after the process of grammaticalization of *koṇṭiru* took place. Note that this structure is understood in modern Tamil as a perfective aspectual auxiliary.

5. Post positional markers in Tamil and the process of Reanalysis

Development of the Tamil case system, particularly the formation of post positional suffixes, exhibits a wide variety of reanalyzed structures. Like the Tamil aspectual system, the Tamil case system also underwent a drastic change in the modern period. A comparison between the medieval case system and the modern Tamil case system would reveal not only details of the evolving of new forms, it would also tell us about the loss of certain other related forms as well.

The earliest extant Tamil grammar Tolkappiyam lists eight cases, which are more or less identical to the Sanskrit system as proposed in Panini's grammar. Notably, many of the case forms that Tolkappiyar discusses in his grammar are not extant in modern Tamil, and also many of the postpositions that are present in modern Tamil were not discussed in detail in Tolkappiyam either.

All of the post positions in Tamil show a complex structure involving a case suffix and a post positional marker. Consider, for example, how comparison is made in Tamil in combination of the accusative marker *–ai* and the lexical verb *-viṭa*.

23) jāṉ mēri-y-ai viṭa uyaram
     John Mary-acc than tall
     'John is taller than Mary'

19

The comparative marker -*viṭa* is historically derived from the lexical word *viṭu* meaning 'leave something or drop something'; and the suffix –*a* that occurs with this word is an infinitive marker, which converts *viṭu* to *viṭa*, meaning 'to leave or drop something'. What this sentence literarily means is 'Leaving Mary aside, John remains tall', which must be a case of interpretation before the process of reanalysis of this structure.

Thus, the comparative meaning is obtained after the reanalysis of the structure involving the accusative case suffix and the infinitive *viṭa*. To illustrate this phenomenon further, consider the fact that it is only the combination: [*ai* + *viṭa*] when reanalyzed changes to [*e-viṭa*] in spoken Tamil.   But the similar structure with the interpretation of 'leaving Mary, John is tall' does not undergo a phonological change in spoken Tamil as [*e-viṭa*]. Thus, this sentence can be expressed in spoken Tamil as *jāṉ mēr-iy-eviṭa oyaram.* This, presumably, is a case of *cohesion* that Campbell (1999, p. 232) discusses in detail. The two forms namely the accusative case marker –*ai* and -*viṭa* are attached together to form a comparative marker -*eviṭa* in spoken Tamil, where a new grammatical form came into existence by the process of cohesion. Subsequently, the accusative suffix –*ai* and the lexical form -*viṭu* lose their individual characteristics altogether.

Further, consider below the sentences 24a and 24b, where the contrast between the reanalyzed structure on the one hand and the un-analyzed structure on the other hand are shown. In sentence 24a the [–*e viṭa*] combination retains the original meaning, but in 24b it gets the grammatical meaning of comparison.

24 a) jāṉ mēri-y-**e**   **viṭa**/ *mēriyeviṭa pō-ṉ-āṉ

  John Mary acc. to leave   went

  'John went to leave (drop off) Mary'

20

b) jā<u>n</u> mēri-y-**eviṭa** vēkam-ā pō-<u>n</u>-ā<u>n</u>

   John Mary-acc.-than fast   went

   'John went faster than Mary'

Note that only in sentence 24b the accusative suffix –e and the word *viṭa* are combined together to form the comparative suffix -*eviṭa* 'than', but not in 24a, where a pause is required after '*ai/e*'. Thus, the reanalyzed suffix -*eviṭa* has been extended far beyond its origin as a lexical verb. Further, in order to test whether or not *cohesion* took place here, it is possible to insert a phrase in between –*e* and *viṭa* in 24a) but not in 24b) as can be seen in the sentence *jā<u>n</u> mēri-y-e kaṭe-y-ile viṭa pō<u>n</u>ā<u>n</u>* 'John went to drop off Mary in the store' is possible but not in 24b). The sentence, *jā<u>n</u> mēriye kaṭeyile viṭa vēkamā pō<u>n</u>ā<u>n</u>* is not a comparative sentence anymore, but a sentence that is synonymous to 24a) with the interpretation: 'John went fast to leave Mary in the store'. Following are the other post positional markers in Tamil that behave the same way as -*eviṭa* which need to be discussed in the context of reanalysis.

Reanalyzed form	Lexical meaning
e pōla/mātiri 'like'	'to be similar'
e patti 'about'	'grab and'
e koṇṭu 'with'	'have and'
e vacci 'with'	'put and'

Not all of the combinations of accusative marker and the lexical verb, as indicated above, undergo this kind of reanalysis in the language. Consider below the expressions that are not affected by reanalysis because the verb that follows are main predicates rather than the postpositional forms.

-e vāṅki   'having bought something'

-e pāṭṭu   'having seen someone'

and so on.

Thus, development of some of the post positional suffixes, like the comparative marker, must have taken place only in modern Tamil because there are no attestations of the structure [*ai viṭa]* either in medieval or old Tamil. In medieval and modern Tamil, however, there exists a well developed system of 'comparison' using the marker *–in* as shown below:

25) āyu malar**in** aṇimalar mēlatu (Tirumantiram: 1711)

    life flower/heart ornamented lotus flower better-it

    'The heart is better than beautiful lotus flower'

The fact that the use of the aspectual auxiliary *koṇṭu* is restricted to one particular sense in medieval Tamil, and it is not used as an auxiliary verb at all in old Tamil, clearly indicates that historically there existed a number of stages that became the reason for the formation of new forms at a later stage. Note that the uses in such stages have either analogous representations or synonymous with modern Tamil forms with corresponding grammatical expressions. Also, what is important to note in this context is that grammaticalization of the aspectual auxiliary *koḷ* did not stop after the initial process of reanalysis. Rather, the application of one of the other rules namely metaphorization or metonymy etc., must have applied on the outputs of earlier stages at a latter point in time, so that the complex aspectual system, the way it is understood now in modern Tamil, has evolved.

Also, since both the progressive aspectual auxiliary and the comparative marker, as noted here, do not occur either in Caṅkam

Tamil or in medieval Tamil, there is strong reason to believe that these processes must have taken place later than the time when the development of *koṇṭu* as a reflexive auxiliary took place.   Thus, the changes at a later stage represent a considerable range of elaboration, specifically in its meaning. This may be one of the reasons why it is difficult for learners to absorb and use the complete system of aspectual meanings in Tamil.

Hopper and Traugott illustrate a model of a continuum that exists in the context of the development of creoles from pidgins (Hopper and Traugott 1993, p. 216). According to this theory, there is strong evidence for the non-discreteness of categories. This means that there has always been an elaboration of categories, and they never stop adding more features into the already developed forms. This is true in the case of the use of *koḷ* in Tamil for the reason that after reanalysis, and after extending the lexical meaning of 'acquire/have' to the corresponding grammatical meaning of 'doing for one's own benefit', further changes were made at a later period. What cannot be answered in this context, however, is why the initial structures - before reanalysis - tend to become obsolete, as in the case of the loss of [Noun + *koṇṭu*] in modern Tamil. Again, the speaker-centered theory holds that the new category is seen as more useful than the older one so the older one becomes seen as old-fashioned, or not as useful, i.e., its meaning gets restricted and diminished, and maybe seen as archaic; so then it is abandoned.

6. Use of the lexical verb *viṭu* and the possible case of Reanalysis

The other major type of aspectual marker that is widely attested in modern Tamil is completive aspectual auxiliary obtained from the lexical verb *viṭu* 'leave/drop something', akin to the derivation of comparative marker as discussed elsewhere. This aspectual marker is used to denote many shades and nuances of

actions, and significant among them are 'actions carried over with an element of abruptness'; 'action completed within an expected time frame'; 'occurrence of unexpected events' and so on. This is true even though the verb *viṭu* is used as a main verb in old, medieval and modern periods, especially with the meaning of 'leave something or someone' or 'drop something or someone'. Unlike the use of the auxiliary verb *koḷ*, however, *viṭu* occurs commonly in modern Tamil with both lexical and grammatical meanings. In this respect, what needs to be addressed are the two types of progressions that took place during the development of *koḷ* and *viṭu* as aspectual auxiliaries from their lexical meanings. The former exhibits a complete 'loss' of use, where as the latter shows 'less use'. (Cf. this is a clear case of 'cline of grammaticalization' as noted earlier). Thus, the two processes namely a) complete loss of lexical use and b) lesser use of lexical items can be attributed to the historical changes that occurred from medieval to modern Tamil. What we will attempt to discuss here is whether *viṭu* was developed in medieval Tamil the same way as *koṇṭu* i.e., by means of reanalysis. We will also try to answer the question why only for *viṭu* survives for both types of uses i.e., lexical and grammatical, but *koḷ* does not.

What is worth considering with regard to the use of *viṭu* is that both in medieval and old Tamil the auxiliary verb *-iṭu*, replaces the role of *-viṭu*. This is obviously similar to the spoken version of *-viṭu* in modern Tamil, where only *iṭu*, occurs. In old and medieval Tamil, this auxiliary verb is used extensively with the grammatical meanings such as 'definiteness' and 'completion', as in *vant-iṭuvāṉ* 'he will definitely come'; '*pāṭ-iṭuvāṉ*' 'he would sing for sure' etc. Consider below the examples from Caṅkam and medieval texts for how this completive auxiliary is used.

24

Medieval Tamil

Use of viṭu as a lexical verb:

26) paṭittār maivēḻvi payiṉār pāvattai

learned one Vedas yaham learned-one sin

viṭuttār mikavāḻum vīḻi miḻalaiyē (Campantar Tēvāram: 1.82.8)

rid-of-he many living Vizhi Mizhalai region

'Who learned the Vedas and the rituals
Get their sins removed
in the Vizhi mizhalai region'

As an aspectual auxiliary:

27) Maturaiyar maṉṉaṉ maṟupiṟap pōṭa **maṟitt-iṭu-mē**

(Tiruvācakam: 527)

Madurai   king   next life   attain stop-definitely

'Next life will be avoided for the Madurai King'

Old Tamil

Use of viṭu as a lexical verb:

28) aiyam koṇṭu   eṉṉai aṟiyāṉ   **viṭuvāṉēl**

(Kalittokai: 1117)

doubt having leave   me   recognize-not leave

'Doubtfully, without knowing me, he would abandon me'

Aspectual auxiliary

29) koyt-**iṭu** taḷiriṉ   vāṭiṉiṉ (Aiṅkuṟunūṟu: 527)

plucked tender leaves fade-yours

'Your face faded, as a dry leaf'

25

The use of *-iṭu* as a completive auxiliary in old and medieval Tamil has not been studied in detail, and it seems to be the case that any discussion of the use of the modern Tamil aspectual auxiliary *-viṭu* would be incomplete if it is not discussed in connection with its medieval counterpart *-iṭu*. Especially, the important question that remains to be answered is how the spoken forms of the completive auxiliary in modern Tamil and *-iṭu* in medieval Tamil are identical. Schiffman (1993) posits a synchronic rule to account for the difference between the use of *–viṭu* in modern spoken and written Tamil. According to him, the rule of intervocalic *–vi* deletion takes place to produce the spoken form from written literary form.

Example:

Modern Literary   V-deletion   Modern Spoken
colli-viṭu-vēṉ → colli-0-ṭu-vēṉ   colli-ṭu-vēṉ (Schiffman 1993)

On the other hand, if one attempts to provide a solution from a diachronic point of view, with historical data from medieval Tamil, it is possible to interpret it in a slightly different manner. Assuming that at some point in the history of the language, between the medieval and modern period, a linguistic change took place and by that change, it inserted the glide *–v,* possibly by cohesion, so the completive aspectual auxiliary *-iṭu* transformed into *-viṭu*. Assuming the fact that the modern spoken Tamil simply retained the *-iṭu* from medieval Tamil, one does not need to posit the rule of *–vi* deletion, but rather one has to explain the formation of *-viṭu* in literary Tamil. It should be noted that the v-deletion rule is still necessary in the language in order to explain other structures, even if it is not necessary to explain why *-viṭu* becomes *-iṭu*.

26

Medieval Tamil   Modern Spoken
  colli-ṭu-vēṉ   →   colli-ṭu-vēṉ

Modern written Tamil
  colli-v-iṭu-vēṉ → colli-viṭu-vēṉ
  (Reanalysis - cohesion)

By this, one has to assume that the use of aspectual auxiliary, either -viṭu or -iṭu in Tamil, is independent of the lexical use of the verb viṭu given the fact that historically, from old Tamil onwards only the suffix -iṭu has been used as a completive aspectual auxiliary. The use of the corresponding literary form namely -viṭu in Tamil and -biṭu in Kannada[12] must have been obtained as a result of a linguistic change (reanalysis) at a latter point.

7. Phonological Reduction, Reanalysis and formation of *lām*

Like the process of metaphorization which is accompanied by the process of reanalysis, cases of phonological reduction of lexical forms also tend to cause the process of reanalysis and subsequently to the emergence of new morphological form. Hopper and Traugott (1993:345) explain this phenomenon with examples from Turkish and Maori, where certain phonological change within lexical words lead to morphologization. As we have briefly explained this phenomenon elsewhere, an example for the case of phonological reduction leading to morphologization in Tamil can be attributed to the formation of the modal auxiliary –*lām*, which is used to denote the probability meaning of 'may/shall' in Tamil. Many attestations from *Tirumantiram* show evidences of

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[12] Schiffman (1979, p. 81).

the utterances where probability meaning is understood at a clausal level with a combination of verbal noun with the suffix –*al* and the verb -*ākum* 'something would become'.[13]

30. āṇavam nīṅkā tavar eṉalākumē (Tirumantiram: 398:4)

   Ego   rid of those say become

   'One shall be called those without getting rid of the ego'

31. neñceṉa nīṅkā nilai peṟlākumē (Tirumantiram: 2719:4)

   Heart –that rid of state obtain become

   'One may obtain a state with everything removed from heart'

32. talaipaṭa lākum tarumamum tāṉē (Tirumantiram: 2666:4)

   Dominant become faith   indeed

   'Faith might get the dominant position indeed'

     Correspondingly, the verb *ākum* shows a variant of *āmē* with a phonological simplification after dropping *ku*. Expressions with this variant are deemed to be synonymous to the corresponding forms without phonological reduction.

33. tāṉē taṭavarai taṉ **kaṭal āmē** (Tirumantiram: 10:4)

   Self   realize to self succeed become

   'Those who can realize themselves can succeed from one's own self'

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[13] Tamil *koṇṭ* becoming *kiṭṭ-* and then *iṭṭ* in spoken Tamil also shows a radical phonological reduction, which is an indicator of morphologicization.

34. appari cīcaṉ aruḷ **peṟal āmē** (Tirumantiram: 36:4)

   That Lord grace obtain become

   'One can get the grace of the Lord'

35. karai pacu pācam kaṭantu **eytal āmē** (Tirumantiram: 49:4)

   Stain soul affinity surpass attain become

   'One can obtain salvation without sin, anger and desire'

      The form *āmē* in sentences 33 to 35 precedes the verbal noun forms such as kaṭal, peṟal, eytal respectively with a meaning of gerund. As a result of the phonological reduction from *ākum > ām*, the process of reanalysis of the structure [verbal noun + al + *ākum*] to [Inf. of verb + *lām*] has taken place. This, presumably, is obtained through the verbal noun construction (ex. *varal + ākum*), as an intermediate construction (ex. *vara + lām*) after the phonological reduction (lenition of 'h') during the change from *ākum* to *ām*.

      Similar cases of occurrences with *ākum* is found to be occurring in Divyaprabandam, which belongs to medieval Tamil and in *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*, which belongs to Caṅkam Tamil.

36. mukti muṟṟa lākumē (Divyaprabandam: 830:8)

   Salvation obtain might become

   'One can obtain salvation'

37. ācaiyāma varkkalāla

   desire because of them

   mararāka lākumē (Divyaprabandam: 831:80)

   great people become

   'With a great desire to Him, they can become great'

29

38. iḻainekiḻ cellal ākum aṉṉāy (Aiṅ. 25:4)

be courteous go become, Madam

'One can become very kind'

A search of the forms *ākum* and *ām* occurring with verbal noun form with the suffix –*al* indicates that Caṅkam Tamil does not exhibit any occurrences with phonological reduction. Similarly, only in Tirumantiram among the medieval texts does one find instances of these examples with both regular and reanalyzed structures in a relatively larger number of attestations. This forces one to conclude that the process of phonological reduction of *ākum* to *ām* and correspondingly the process of reanalysis leading to morphologization of the suffix *lām* must have taken place during the time of Tirumantiram.

8. Concluding remarks

From the three major varieties of the Tamil language namely old, medieval and modern, old Tamil seems to occur without as many suffixes as one can find in modern Tamil. However, in medieval Tamil one finds traces of the historical processes with multiple shades of word forms with or without grammaticalized suffixes. As indicated in this paper, much of the formation of complex grammatical suffixes resulted from the reanalyzed structures within the corpus of poems from both *Śaiva* and *Vaiṣṇava* literatures. In this sense, medieval Tamil is to be understood as a stage when many lexical forms turned into grammatical suffixes through the process of grammaticalization. This may be understood as a result of a change from the genre of poems to prose, as can be noted from the examples of formation of ablative, aspectual and the modal auxiliary forms.

The linguistic process of *reanalysis* cannot be considered as a subtype of grammaticalization unless it produces a morphological form that can alter the morphological structure of the language. From examples drawn from medieval and modern Tamil, two cases of reanalysis are illustrated in this chapter: a) reanalysis of two linguistic units namely a case suffix and lexical verb and b) cohesion. It is illustrated here that the Tamil ablative marker *-iṭamiruntu* 'from-human noun' and *-iliruntu* 'from-neuter noun', the reflexive auxiliary *koḷ* and the progressive aspectual auxiliary *–koṇṭiru* are derived by the first method of reanalysis. It is also shown here that the Tamil postpositions like *-eviṭa* and the completive auxiliary *-viṭa* are the two grammaticalized forms that resulted due to the second method of 'cohesion'. It must be noted that the formation of the ablative suffix, the progressive suffix and the postpositional markers in Tamil, are, without any doubt, the clearest cases of *reanalysis*. But, it is hypothesized here that formation of *–koḷ* as a reflexive auxiliary and *-viṭu* as a completive auxiliary in modern literary variety are formed as a result of the process of reanalysis as well.

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