Language of *Tirumūlar's Tirumantiram*:
A Medieval Śaiva Tamil Religious Text

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Abbreviations

ab.	Ablative case
acc.	Accusative case
adv.	Adverbial marker
Aham.	Akananuru
Aing.	Aingurunuru
ajp.	Adjectival participle
avp.	Adverbial Participle Marker
caus.	Causative marker
comp.	Comparative marker
comp.	Comparative marker
cond.	Conditional marker
conj.	Conjunctive case
dat.	Dative case
Div.	Divyaprabandam
emph.	Emphatic marker
excl.	Exclamative marker
fem.	Feminine case
fut.	Future tense
ger.	Gerund
gl.	Glide
imp.	Imperative marker
inf.	Infinitive
inst.	Instrumental case
IPS	Inscriptions of Pudukkottai State, 1920
kali.	Kalittokai
mas.	Masculine
neg.	Negative marker
neut.	Neuter suffix
obl.	Oblique marker
pa.	Past tense marker
pas.	Passive marker
Peri.	Periyapuranam
pl.	Plural
pos.	Possessive case
pr.	Present tense
Puram	Purananuru
sg.	Singular
SII	South Indian Inscriptions
soc.	Sociative case
TAS	Travancore Archeological Series, vols. i-ix (I ed., 1910-47)
Thirum.	Tirumantiram
Thiruva.	Tiruvacakam
vbn.	Verbal noun

Transliterations

Vowels

அ	a	ஆ	ā	இ	I	ஈ	ī	உ	u
ஊ	ū	எ	e	ஏ	ē	ஐ	ai	ஒ	o
ஓ	ō	ஔ	au						

Consonants

க	k	ச	c	ட	ṭ	த	t	ப	p
ற	ṛ	ந	n	ண	ṇ	ந	n	ம	m
ய	y	ர	r	ல	l	வ	v	ழ	ṛ
ள	ḷ	ன	n	ஸ	s	ஷ	ṣ	ஹ	h
ஜ	j								

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The Tamil lexicon underwent a major change both connotatively and structurally during the medieval period when heavy borrowings from Aryan languages took place. Simple word forms of the Sangam period transformed into more complex forms with more complex morphology, including more suffixes. Many grammatical forms such as aspectual markers, tense markers, modal suffixes etc., were introduced in the language during the post medieval period. As a result, Tamil became much more of an agglutinative language, as conceptually complex connotations came into existence. This thesis attempts to provide a detailed linguistic analysis of one of the major Śaiva canons of Tamil namely Tirumantiram (lit. *mantras* of the sacred) , which belongs to the time period roughly between the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Although the primary goal of this thesis falls within the purview of analyzing the work of Tirumantiram from a linguistic point of view, it aims to lay down a historical account of the broader changes that took place linguistically from the Sangam period to the Modern period. Thus, upon presenting a description of the genre of Medieval Tamil that evolved mainly due to the influence of Sanskrit language and culture, many of the grammaticalization processes that took place during this time period are also accounted for with data collected from both Old and Modern Tamil.

Tirumantiram is one of the twelve *Tirumaṟais* of the Saiva Canon, and it consists of three thousand verses of four stanzas each. It is included as the tenth *Tirumaṟai* and was written by a Saiva mystic, a philosopher and a poet called Thirumular, who is believed to have lived in the late seventh century A.D. The poems of Tirumantiram are composed in a relatively simple style compared to other Saiva poems of his time, but they are widely known for their profound

philosophical content, mostly expressing radical and reformatory thoughts.   As one advocates the monistic principle of attributing the soul of having the divine power, Thirumular makes references in his work to *tantra*, *mantram* and *yoga* practices, which, according to him, are some of the means to realize the divine power within oneself.

1.1.   The Three Stages of Tamil

The   corpus of Tamil is generally divided into three stages namely old or Caṅkam, medieval, and modern Tamil.   Caṅkam Tamil is considered to be a standardized literary language, which exhibits very few   loan words, and/or morphological and syntactic characteristics of other languages. Because it retains many archaic and indigenous features, this variety of language is also termed *centamiṟ*.   In some of the early poems of Caṅkam collections such as *kuṟuntokai, aiṅkuṟunūṟu patiṟṟuppattu, puṟanāṉūṟu, patiṟṟuppattu* and *naṟṟiṇai,* and also in the grammar of Tolkāppiyam one finds a higher number of 'pure' Tamil words with unique morphological structures than in any other later works. However, in the post Sangam works of the Caṅkam classics, as in the epics such as Maṇimēkalai, Cilappatikāraam etc., one notices many lexical items borrowed from other traditions like Buddism and Jainism. The other significant genre of Tamil that one can distinguish from Caṅkam Tamil is medieval Tamil, which is usually the language of inscriptions and religious literatures.   Inscriptions are available from Pallava period to Chola period. According to Zvelebil (1970: 16) inscriptions represent a variety of language nearer to the spoken language of that time. An attempt is made in this thesis to cite examples from Tamil inscriptions wherever necessary to corroborate evidences of forms that are used in Tirumantiram to be considered as belonging to medieval period.   To cite on example, the modal auxiliary form of medieval Tamil *oṇṇāmai* 'not able' as used in Tirumantiram quite frequently has been attested in medieval Tamil inscriptions both as

oṉṉāmai as well as in its variant form *uṉṉāmai* , which presupposes that this form must have been the predecessor form of the the modern Tamil modal auxiliary *muṭiyātu* (cf. 3.17).

The linguistic structure of *Caṅkam* Tamil in general and of the verb in particular is found to be much simpler than the structures one may find in medieval Tamil, otherwise called the language of *bhakti*. The development of aspectual forms, modals, causatives and other similar grammatical categories at a later stage contributes significantly to the complex nature of medieval and modern Tamil. Presumably, these categories were developed historically by a number of linguistic processes such as reanalysis of word forms, phonological reduction, metaphorization and so on. One of the significant characteristics of medieval Tamil is that it retains features from both old Tamil as well as features associated with modern Tamil. What this means is that since it was the period when many of the new linguistic features were developed, perhaps due to the influence of Sanskrit and other traditions, a larger number of morphological features and new lexical items were introduced in the language during this time.

Use of Sanskrit loan words, the emergence of a Maṇipravāla style of language, and the development of what is known as the agglutinative nature of word forms are some of the significant characteristics that mark the nature of Tamil language change, and subsequently led to the division of three distinct type of language varieties namely old, medieval and modern. The language of medieval Tamil developed as a separate genre in comparison to Caṅkam and modern Tamil in many respects. This is mainly because of the development of various religious literatures as well as what is now thought of as 'excessive' Sanskrit borrowings. There are linguistic characteristics that are unique to medieval texts, both at the morphological and lexical levels. "Many of the lexical and morphological forms that occur less-commonly in Caṅkam

texts seem to be occurring in larger proportions in medieval Tamil" (Shanmugam 1995). Also, there are many instances where certain lexical items underwent meaning change in medieval Tamil in accordance with their use in the religious contexts. Some of the prominent features of medieval Tamil that deserve mention here are as follows.

- The present tense suffix *kiṉṟ*, the modal suffix *lām*, for example, are developed only during the medieval period, particularly in bhakti texts;

- the palatalized forms such as –cc-, and -ñj- that occur within verb forms that end in front vowel 'i' are more common in medieval Tamil than in Caṅkam Tamil.

- At the lexical level, one finds many words having different meanings than they had during Caṅkam time. There are instances where words referring to 'kings', 'palaces' etc., have taken on religious connotations. Eg. the word *kōyil* means 'palace' or 'King's place' in Caṅkam Tamil, where as it means 'temple' or 'god's dwelling place' in medieval Tamil; the verb *vaṇaṅku* means 'bend' or 'yield' in Caṅkam Tamil, but it means 'worship' or 'pray' in medieval Tamil and so on (Shanmugam 1995:55).

The language of Tirumantiram is part of what is known as Medieval Tamil which extends roughly from the seventh century A.D. to the fourteenth century A.D. Major works of Saiva and Vaishnava literatures fall under the category of Medieval Tamil. This is the period when both Indo Aryan languages as well as Northern religious doctrines exerted a profound influence on the Tamil language and culture of South of India. In this respect, the changes that occurred concurrently during this period in the South were both linguistic as well as religious in

nature[1]. Until then, it is believed that the Tamils and their language retained their indigenous features both in terms of language and culture. This indigenous culture, whose language is referred to as either Old Tamil or Sangam Tamil, is considered to have its literary heritage beginning from the second or third century B.C. Sangam literature is known for its use of very minimal amount of lexical borrowings, and the presence of a large number of 'pure' Tamil words, which are mostly devoid of affixes, and simple in nature[2]. On the other hand, Medieval Tamil exhibits a large number of Indo-Aryan borrowings, and words, especially verbs, that are much more morphologically complex. .

Like almost all of the Saiva works, the language of Tirumantiram uses not only a large number of Sanskrit terms and also many new grammatical forms, thus deviating largely from the language of Sangam in a number of ways. The foremost is the presence of many of the Modern Tamil morphological forms, which are either absent from Sangam Tamil or occur as separate lexical items. One of the salient features of the language of Medieval Tamil is the occurrence of many grammaticalized forms of what were once used to be separate lexical items in Sangam period. Because it retains both features of Sangam and Modern Tamil, Medieval Tamil may be ascribed as representing a stage in the progression of major linguistic changes from Old to Modern Tamil.

1.2. The data

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[1] Although the exact dating for the demarcation between Sangam Tamil and Medieval Tamil is a matter of dispute, one can be certain that Medieval Tamil is a development due to influence of Indo Aryan culture, where as the nature of Sangam Tamil is to be determined without such foreign influence. Emeneau(1954: 283), for example, notes that the earliest attestation of Tamil script is known from the Arikamedu finds of the first century A.D. and the presence of Asokan inscriptions in Middle Indo-Aryan dialects has been attested even earlier in as far south as Mysore State in the third century B.C. This means that the spread of Sanskrit culture in the south must have occurred even during what is known to as Sangam period. However, major influence of Sanskrit culture into Tamil must have happened at a much latter period than from their earlier arrival.

[2] Vaidyanathan (1967), for instance, estimates about two percent of Indo Aryan borrowings in Old Tamil when compared to a relatively large number in both Medieval and Modern Tamil.

The major data for analysis in this work is chosen from the work of Tirumantiram by Tirumular. However, both Caṅkam Tamil texts of eight anthologies, ten songs, eighteen didactic works, five epics and the grammar of Tolkāppiyam, inscriptional texts and examples from Modern Tamil are also chosen randomly for the purposes of describing the historical processes that took place across these three stages of the Tamil language. The other types of medieval Tamil texts consulted in this thesis to a lesser extent include mainly the Śaiva Tirumuṟai of the sixty three Nāyanmārs, the *Nālāyirat tivyap prabandam* text of twelve Ālvārs, and a number of other religious and philosophical works composed before l the thirteenth century.[3] The five major contributors to the Śaiva canon of Tirumuṟai include Tiruñāna campantar, Tirunāvukkaracar, Cuntaramūrti, Māṇikkavācakar and Tirumūlar. Among these poets, Appar is considered to be the earliest belonging to the period during the 7th century C. E.; Tiruñāṇsampantar and Cuntaramūrti are believed to be contemporaries belonging to the 8th century C. E. Then comes Tirumular, whose work also falls during the 8th century and finally Māṇikkavācakar who belongs to 10th or 11th century C. E.[4]

1.3.   Influence of Sanskrit in *bhakti* poetries of Nāyanmārs:

Although the Sanskrit words that Nāyanmārs use are nativized, one finds the style of the language in their works largely different from the language of Caṅkam, mainly because of their use of Sanskrit elements in their poems. In fact, there were also cases where more linguistic changes took place during the medieval period, as a result of changes to the morphological structure of the language. Sanskrit influenced the Tamil language in two stages: first during the

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[3] The data for this work is sited from online archive of Tamil literature made available at the URL: http://www.thetamillanguage/sangam. See Zvelebil (1964), Pillai (1979), Sundaram (1965) etc., for a detailed study of Tamil literatures of old and medieval Tamil.
[4] See Varadarajan (1972) for a detailed study of Tamil literatures and their chronology.

Caṅkam period and the other during the *bhakti* period (Sundaram 1965:173).[5] Varadarajan (1980:173) states that the amount of Tamil words traceable to Sanskrit was just 1% in Caṅkam; but it grew to 3 to 5% in the epics (around 700 A.D.). Then, the number rose further during the bhakti and later periods. This led to the use of a new style of language known as Maṇippravāla during the 13th century. The Sanskrit words traceable in Caṅkam period include mostly words related to kings, palace etc., besides some of the devotional terms. Thus, one finds words such as *cavai* from Skt. *sabha:* 'assembly'; *arccanay* from Skt. *arcane:* 'worship'; *īccuran* from Skt. *Īśvara* 'Lord Siva' and so on. Tolkāppiyar recognizes the existence of Sanskrit words during his time, and gives the name *vaṭacol* for such foreign words. Since the term *vaṭacol* means 'Northern words', a generic word, one can assume that he also refers to other languages such as Prakrit and Pali, besides Sanskrit.   Further, it is only during the bhakti period that a general fashion or general rule comes to be established for the method of Tamilizing foreign words. Even though one finds these rules documented by Pavaṇanti, author of the Tamil grammar called *nannūl* in the thirteenth century, the *Tirumuṟai* texts show that a regular system of nativization of Sanskrit word had already been established. E.g. *puṇṇiyam < punya*: 'Merit'; *cimmam   < simham* 'lion'; *akkam <* akṣam 'eye' and so on.

1.3.1. Borrowed lexical items from Sanskrit

Many Tamil words are replaced by borrowed words from Sanskrit, and the native words became obsolete during the medieval time itself. Many Sanskrit words became part of the linguistic stock of Tamil during the medieval period, and so the equivalent Tamil words that are

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[5] Emeneau (1954) studies closely the contact of Aryans with Dravidians during the Harappan times. He concludes that there existed a linguistic substratum after the contact of Aryans with Dravidians and it led to borrowing of some Dravidian words into Sanskrit. Some of the Dravidian words that are believed to have borrowed by Sanskrit during that time include kaḷan 'battle field' mayil 'peacock', ēlam 'cardomom' etc. It should be understood that as there were no written records for Tamil produced during that time, it becomes not possible to predict what Sanskrit words would have been in turn by Tamil at that point.

used widely in Caṅkam texts are either used in a very minimal context, or not used at all both in the medieval texts nor in modern Tamil language. Consider below some of the commonly used Tamil words that are replaced by the corresponding Sanskrit words.[6]

Original Tamil word	Sanskrit word	Nativized word	Meaning
cinam	gōba-	kōpam	anger
makiṟcci	santōśa-	cantōcam	Happiness
ariñan	uttama-	uttamar	Good person
uyantōn	adhipati-	atipati	leader
eṇ	gaṇi	kaṇi	calculate

The nativized Sanskrit words in Tamil made the parallel Tamil words obsolete during the medieval period itself, so their use is blocked and they became permanently obsolete. This is one of the important factors for why the movement for purism was developed at a later point.[7]

1.4. Language of Bhakthi and its unique features

One of the significant developments in the language of Bhakthi was that many new verbs, mostly with religious connotations, emerged and they are either rarely used in Sangam texts or never attested during that period. Interestingly, though, these verbs did not make it into modern Tamil, which presupposes that this is one of the features that makes the language of Bhakti to be considered as unique among the other two varieties of the language. Some of such verbs include *man* 'adore' (Tirum 2:1), *o* 'compare' (Tirum 3:1), *ēttu* 'praise' (Tirum 36:3), *uṟu* 'inhabit' (Tirum 12:3), pēṇu 'seek' (Tirum 22:4) and so on.

The other feature of medieval that deserves mention is that use of compound verbs with case particiles. se of compound verbs consisting of case particles namely *uḷ* 'inside' (eg. *uḷnil* 'stay inside', *uḷḷāṟu* 'heal in'), *veḷi* 'outside', (eg. *veḷicey* 'do out', *veḷiuṟu* 'be out') uṭan

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[6] Vaidyanathan (1971) documents the Sanskrit words that were borrowed during Caṅkam time as well as during medieval period.
[7] See Annamalai (1979, p. 35-59) for a detailed account of the linguistic purism in Tamil.

'with'(*uṭanpiṟa* 'born together', *uṭanvāṟ* 'live along with'), *kūṭu* (eg. *kūṭinil* 'stand together', *kūṭivāṟ* 'live together') etc., are quite commonly used in Tirumantiram and other religious texts, but in a very limited use in Sangam Tamil. Notably, some of these forms tend to become lexicalized as in *uṭanpiṟantār* 'sibilings', *uḷvāṅku* 'inhale' etc., in modern Tamil. The reason why these compound verb forms are non-existent in modern Tamil, but only the corresponding noun forms became prevalent deserve a thorough historical study in terms of how it is dealt with in the fourth chapter on historical morphology.

This thesis is organized along the following lines. This chapter (chapter I) introduces the reader to an overview of the three stages of Tamil including old, medieval and modern Tamil along with a description of the language of Bhakti. Some of the salient features of medieval Tamil that are discussed in detail in the other chapters are introduced briefly in this chapter. The language of Tirumantiram and the nature of verses are dealt with in this chapter to gain a general understanding of the nature of the data that is used in this thesis. Chapter II proposes how some of the linguistic terminologies as used in Tirumantiram play an important role in formulating the Saiva philosophy in general and Tamil's way of understanding the Saiva rituals in particular. This chapter introduces some of the theologically significant vocabularies used by Tirumular such as *cit* 'intellect', *ciṟṟampalam* 'Chidambaram', *uru* 'form', *aru* 'formlessness' etc., and illustrate how they form the foundation for the Saiva Siddanta philosophy as developed in Tamil land at a later period. Chapter III is a description of verb forms that are used in Tirumantiram. Specifically, it is illustrated in this chapter how some of the important grammatical categories such as aspectual, modal, conditional, causal, tense forms etc., are attested in Tirumantiram and in other medieval Tamil texts. In particular, it is discussed in this chapter how these forms coexist both in their lexical as well as grammatical meaning simultaneously, and how it became a

starting point for many of the language changes historically involving the development of grammatical categories from the corresponding lexical forms.   Chapter IV outlines the nature of nouns in their various forms namely derivatives, verbal nouns, pronouns, participial nouns, compound nouns etc., as understood in medieval Tamil.   A comparative account of how each of these forms is realized in both old and modern Tamil is also dealt with in this chapter. A close look at the way the case forms occur in Tirumantiram is also made in this chapter. In chapter V, I propose a theory of language change as relevant to Tamil along the line of the concept of grammaticalization and illustrate how some of the linguistic changes that took place historically in Tamil from old to modern Tamil evolved. I propose in this chapter with adequate evidence from the three stages of Tamil how the processes of reanalysis, phonological reduction and metaphorization are responsible for the development of not only the aspectual and modal forms, but also some of the compound nouns and verbs.   The last chapter (chapter VI) provides an inter-linier translation of the first fifty verses from Tirumantiram. The verses are segmented in such a way that the lexical and grammatical forms are identified with suitable glosses along with a full translation.   The abbreviations that are used to identify grammatical forms are defined in the section on abbreviations.

1.5.   Conclusions:

The language of bhakti contributes in a large scale to the changes in many of the linguistic forms that were either used less frequently or not at all in Caṅkam Tamil. The changes occurred mostly due to the works of poet saints who employed religious content with borrowings from Sanskrit. Excessive use of Sanskrit words and incorporation of religious themes, as opposed to the earlier didactic themes, led to both simplification and enlargement of the language.   The language was simplified in the sense that most of the redundancies as in the use of case forms,

and negative markers were eliminated. The language underwent enlargement both at the lexical and morphological levels in the sense that many new grammatical categories were introduced, as in the case of formation of aspectual auxiliary *koṇṭu*, present tense suffix *–kiṉṟu* and so on. Further, the borrowed words in their nativized form led to the restructuring of the existing lexicon as well as the morphological structures. Mining the corpus of electronic texts from Caṅkam to modern Tamil allows us to identify the path of the linguistic changes that occurred in the three genres namely Caṅkam, medieval and modern Tamil. This present work is a comprehensive account of the language of Tirumantiram, one of the medieval literary works and a principal contributor of the canon of Tirumarai consisting of the Saiva works of sixty for poet saints. The linguistic description of medieval Tamil that is offered in this work is believed to serve two major purposes. First, it would help immensely to read any medieval Tamil text in terms of understanding the suffixes and grammatical structures and secondly this would pave a way to write a concise historical grammar of Tamil tracing the trajectory of changes from Sangam Tamil to modern Tamil.

Chapter 2

Linguistic Terminologies in Tirumantiram and their Theological Significance of Śaiva Lore

> …'As far verily, as this world-space (ākāśa)
> extends, so far extends the space within the heart.
> Within it, indeed, are contained both heaven and
> earth, both fire and wind, both sun and moon,
> lightning and the stars, both what one possesses
> here and what one does not possess; everything here
> is contained within it.'
> > (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 8.1.1 and 5).

> Between the eyebrows on the forehead
> Observe the Mantra that radiates
> Dedicated experience the Graceful Lord
> That is *Ciṟṟampalam*, where I reached by his grace.
> > (*Tirum* 2770)[8].

2.0. Introduction

The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the *Tirumantiram* state a relatively similar idea, namely,

that the primeval divine power is contained within the human self. While the *Chāndogya*

Upaniṣad assumes that the magnificent power of the divine forms part of the heart, the

Tirumantiram assumes that this is within the forehead. According to Tirumūlar, *ciṟṟampalam*

'the locus of *consciousness'* is the basis of all creation, and it encompasses everything within it -

a metaphysical concept that is very similar to what is denoted in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* as

the exhaustive and spiritual space within one's heart (Smith 1996: 81). The term *ciṟṟampalam*

that Tirumular uses quite frequently in his verses, signifies symbolically the form of Śiva in his

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[8] neṟṟikku   nērē   purvat tiṭaiveḷi
  forehead-dat. straight eyebrow between-space
  uṟṟup pārkka voḷiviṭu   mantiram
  stare see-inf. rays-shine Mantra
  paṟṟukkup paṟṟāyp parama niruntiṭuñ
  grace-dat. grace-adv. primal remain-ajp.
  ciṟṟampalamenṟu   cērntukoṇṭēnē.
  locus of consciousness-that reached-self.

manifestation as a "blissful dancer" in the *Cit Sabha* 'the Hall of *consciousness'* in Chidambaram. Understanding the relationship between what is presumed to be a driving force within one's heart/mind and what is manifested in the *Cit Sabha* in Chidambaram in a material form as Naṭarāja in his dancing posture constitutes the main line of argument in this chapter. Along this line of research, it is discussed in detail how some of the linguistically relevant Tamil terminologies such as *cit* 'intellect', *ciṟṟampalam* 'Chidambaram', *teḷintār* 'enlightened one', 'soul', *karuttu* 'theme', *meypporuḷ* 'truth' and so on, along with a host of Sanskrit terminologies such as *jīvan (cīvan), jñāna* 'knowledge' and so on that Tirumular uses in many of his verses quite frequently are intertwined with the theological significance of Śaiva lore and how they play a major role in shaping the Saiva Siddantha philosophy that was developed in the South. In a sense, this chapter is a comparative study of the yogic approach to the worship of Śiva as advocated by Tirumūlar and the idol worship as understood in the Sanskrit *Āgamas,* while at the same time exposing Tirumular's linguistic and literary skills with suitable illustrations.[9] It may be appropriate to mention that the combination of the fluency of language and exquisite literary skill that made the work of *Tirumantiram* a popular treatise among the Tamils.

The *Tirumantiram* attempts to link symbolically the two widely studied Śaivite topics namely the *consciousness* in one's heart (*Cit*) and the material representation of Naṭarāja's blissful dance in Chidambaram. Crucial to this linkage is the understanding of the 'blissful state' in one's heart as a result of internalizing the glory of the divine (Śiva) - what is otherwise termed *mukti* or 'salvation' in *Śaiva Siddhānta.* In order to attain this 'enlightened state' (Tirumūlar uses the Tamil word '*Teḷintār*' to refer to this state of mind), one has to follow closely the yogic practices that Tirumūlar suggests concerning how the divine elements

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[9] In an earlier paper (Renganathan 2008), I discuss in detail the historicity and the myths surrounding the halls, with a special reference to cit Sabha in the Nataraja temple of Chidambaram.

of *Jīvan* 'life' and *Vindu* 'source of human creation' ought to be controlled. In the following verse he states that the human mind is contained within the three elements namely the conscious, subconscious and the divine element. Tirumular personifies all of these three entities under a Tamil term *avan* 'he' as below.

> avan-um avan-um avan-ai aṛi-yār
> he-and   he-and   he-acc. know-neg.3rd.pol.
> avan-ai aṛiy-il   aṛi-vān-um   illai
> he-acc. know-cond. know-3rd.mas.sg. not
> avan-um avan-um avan-ai aṛiy-il
> he-and   he-and   he-acc. know-cond.
> avan-um avan-um avan ivan āmē!
> he-and   he-and   he   he-proximate become-emp.

> *he and he do not know Him.*
> *When He is known, there is none left to know!*
> *When he knows He,*
> *he and he becomes Him.* (Tirum 1789).

Tirumūlar's approach to worshiping Śiva from a *jñāna* standpoint parallels the treatment of idol worship in the Sanskrit Āgamas, where external objects and structural temples play a significant role. Specifically, what Tirumūlar attempts in his work is to set the premise for rituals and rites within one's heart, as opposed to the externalized forms of temples and idols, as the Sanskrit Āgamas propose[10]. Demonstrating the metaphor of "human body as temple and Jīvan (the soul) in its enlightened[11] form as Śivan", Tirumūlar constructs a system where the human body acts as a location for the divine. On the other hand, the Sankrit Āgamas propose a system of worshipping Śiva in temples following closely the rules stated in the

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[10] In one verse Tirumūlar states that his realization of temple within his heart (*neñcam*) occurred to him after his subsequent visits to various temples in the Tamil country. This obviously illustrates why Tirumūlar takes the position of assuming 'mind' as the locus for source of divine power.
[11] The term Tirumūlar uses for "enlightenment" is the Tamil term *teḷintōr*, which means that 'those who are keep themselves clean from sins and worldly desires'

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Kriyāgramadyotikā by *Agoraśiva, Kāmikāgama, Rauravāgama* and so on[12]. Temple and the image of Śiva on the one hand and the human body and *jīvan* on the other hand parallel the objects of worship.

2.1. The concept of 'Cit' and the notion of 'Consciousness'

As already stated, the term *cit* and the way it is understood under the realm of realizing the divine in one's heart require an in-depth study of Śiva worship from a *Jñāna* point of view. The literal meaning of the Tamil word *ciṟṟampalam* is 'locus of consciousness', but it is used in an extended meaning as 'cosmic eye'[13], which is understood to be a micro space where the power of the divine is manifested. This sacred space is considered to be the driving force of all conceivable actions constituting the all-encompassing power. The term *ciṟṟampalam* is misunderstood by some[14] as 'hall of consciousnesses' and 'little hall' in conjunction with the 'sacred hall' that exists in Chidambaram namely *Cit Sabha*, where the Lord Nataraja's image is kept.

In order to understand correctly the meaning of the word *Cit* and its relationship to the word *Chidambaram* one needs to understand how the latter is derived from the former. The word *Chidambaram* is related to the literary word *Ciṟṟambalam* in the sense that spoken Tamil phonological rule of *ṟṟ* becoming *tt* in the root form of the word *Ciṟṟ-* changes it to *citt-*, and consequently, the words *ambalam* and *ambaram* are to be understood as variants for the 'space'. Construing the word *Ciṟṟampalam* to be a 'small hall' by analogy that the word *Ciṟu* means 'small' fails to capture the conceptual basis of the word *Cit,* which means 'consciousness',

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[12] Cf. Ishimatsu, Ginette, "Ritual texts, authority, and practice in contemporary Siva temples in Tamil Nadu" Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1994 (p.5).

[13] Cf. Smith(1966)
[14] See Younger (1995), Davis (1985) and Smith (1986).

'intellect' or 'cosmic eye'.   Tirumūlar's employment of the term *Cit* along these lines of thought constitutes the core of his entire work.

2.1.1. Cōḻa's Temple Architecture and Evolution of indigenous South Indian Temple Culture in the Pre-Colonial period

South Indian historiography has always defined a power relation between temples and the imperial kingdom.   Dirks and Appadurai discuss the autonomy and sovereignty of temples in the context of pre-colonial India.[15]   The significant characteristics of the temple culture in the pre-colonial India is that, as Dirks notes, sovereignty is essentially procured in temples, where the deity is the paradigmatic sovereign.   However, during the process of this sovereignty being recreated during the colonial and post-colonial India by way of establishment of, as mentioned earlier, bodies of endowments namely Hindu Religious Endowment and Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments (HR&CE) Department respectively, as Presler discusses, bureaucracy began to play a major role in determining the power. As we will see in this section, unlike the role of bureaucratic context, the earlier mode of procuring sovereignty to the deity did protect the indigenous characteristics as derived from texts.

The polarization of Sanskrit and Tamil in terms of rituals and priesthood can also be extended further to the way the images in temples are consummated during the pre-colonial South India. The Liṅga and the dancing form of Śiva constitute the two dissimilar patterns of worship in Śiva temples, and each of them had its origin from the Sanskrit and Tamil tradition respectively.   It is claimed in this section how this polarization of images and their co-existence in Śiva temples of South India evolved as a consequence to the process of Sanskritization.

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[15] See Appadurai (1981) and Dirks (1987).

Turning from the few rock-cut examples of the Pallava dynasty (A.D. 600 to A.D. 800)[16] to the structural temples of the Cōḻa kings (from A.D. 866 to A.D. 1280)[17], one finds their extant very vast and extraordinarily complex in nature. One of the notable features of the Draviḍa type of temples lies in the way the outlying elements such as the circumambulatory paths, Maṇḍapas are developed.

Forms of worship and the perception of god underwent a radical change with the changing dynasties, kings and patrons in the Draviḍa region ever since the Pallavas initiated their enterprise of building stone cut temples. Patrons of different periods kept making changes and additions to the already existing temples, as a result, like what Meister (1986) observed, the complex symbolic vocabularies of these temples kept emerging[18].   The role of the Tamil hymnists and the kings played a significant part in shaping the temple architecture as well as the image worship during the Cōḻa kingdom, which lasted between ca. 10th and 13th century[19].

Despite some minor differences in the way the Hindu mythology, gods and sculptures are depicted, the Hindu temples of Cōḻa period, in general, demonstrate a common paradigm for the decorative veneers of Gopurās (Superstructure), maṇḍapas (Halls), prakarās (circumambulatory paths) and tanks. The symbolic meaning of the divine space extending from the Garbagraha to the urban space through the gateways is what is called by George Michell a "Temple town".[20]

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[16] Barrett (1974: 16).

[17] Barrett (1974: 17) and Balasubramaniam (1979).

[18] "None of the present structures in the Naṭarāja's temple complex can be dated before the Later Cōḻa period (1070 – 1279). The accession of Kulōttuṅga I to the Cōḻa throne in 1070 AD seems to have given a new impetus that led to the reconstruction of previous and erection of new structures in the ancient temple site" (Mevissen 2002: 61).

[19] See Balasubrmaniyan (1971, 1975 and 1979) for the chronology of Chōla kings and their service to building and renovating temples.

[20] Michell (1993: 13).

But one exception to this is the Naṭarāja's temple of Chidambaram, which is believed to have a much older history than any other Śaiva temples of Cōḻa period. This temple exhibits an unique way of representation of Śiva in a dancing posture as against the usual Liṅga form. The Bṛhadīśvar temple in Thanjavur constructed between ca 995 A.D. and 1010 A.D. by Rajaraja I is the stereotype of the Cōḻa architecture in general. Here, the Liṅga is the main deity, and the sub shrines are housed in individual maṇḍapas including the dancing image of Śiva, which is housed in the northeast corner of the courtyard.[21] The Sanskrit term *Naṭarāja* meaning 'King of Dance' is frequently referred to in the inscriptions carved on the walls of this temple by the Tamil term *Āḍavallān* meaning 'one who is capable of dancing'.[22] Conception of Śiva in His dancing form is unique to the South Indian architecture of Śiva temples. Notably, this unique feature of Śiva is well attested in the Tamil hymns of *Tirumantiram* composed by Tirumūlar, but nowhere in his work he discusses the Liṅga worship. This gives sufficient reasons to believe that the Tamil hymnists developed the perceptions and symbolisms, and the kings gave a form to them.

2.2. The terms Rūpa and Arūpa and methods of worship in the Naṭarāja's temple of Chidambaram

The dancing image of Śiva, a perceivable form called *rūpa* in Sanskrit, is housed in *Cit-Sabhā* , and it is referred to by Smith[23] as the heart of the world and the heart of individual self (*Cit* means 'consciousness' and *Sabhā* means 'hall'). To the right of Naṭarāja is an empty space, which is popularly called *Rahasya* - a Sanskrit word meaning 'secret'. This space designates

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[21] Pichard (1995, p. 101).
[22] One of the instances of this reference to Naṭarāja as Āṭavallan in the inscriptions may be noted as follows: "taṭṭam onṟu Āṭavallanennuṅgallaal niṟe nāṟpatin kaḻañceykāl..." On the fourteenth day of the twenty-sixth year (of his reign), the lord Śri rāja rāja dēvā gave one sacred diadem (tiruppaṭṭam) of gold, weighing four hundred and ninety-nine kaḻañcu by the stone called (after) Āṭavallān (Hultzsch 1891: 3).
[23] Smith (1996: 82).

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the formless manifestation of Śiva, and is called *arūpa,* an opposite of *rūpa.* The *arūpa* form of Śiva is also called *Ākāśa Liṅga,* assuming that the space or the 'ether' is the other manifestation of Śiva in Chidambaram (see Smith 1993: 62 and Smith 1996: 83). Thus, the custom of worshiping the space in Chidambaram developed a new architectural vocabulary namely *Chidambara Rahasyam* (Secret of *Chidambaram*) in Tamil.

The other manifestation of Śiva is the *Liṅga,* which does not conform to any conceivable object[24]. The *Liṅga,* then, is both a form and without a conceivable form, so it can be understood as *rūpa-arūpa* "form and formlessness". Evidence for this tripartite representation of Śiva in the Chidambaram temple can be drawn from one of the verses in *Tirumantiram,* where Tirumūlar distinguishes the three terms namely *uru* 'form', *aru* 'formless' and *Para Rūpam* 'all-pervading divine'[25]. As we will see below, textual evidence to substantiate the manifestation of the Lord Śiva in these three forms in *Chidambaram* is also found in the works of the Śaiva hymnists Appar, *Māṇikkavācakar and* Sundarar*,* whose dates are generally assumed to fall between 7th and 8th century C.E.[26]

It is in the work of Māṇikkavacakar (ca. 9th A.D.) we find an explicit reference to the idea of "*Chidambara Rahaśyam*" of Chidambaram Naṭarāja: *ariyānē yāvarkkum ambaravā ambalattem periyōnē* "My majesty! No one knows your Formless Form in Ambalam –

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[24] Although there are many interpretations of the form of Liṅga, we confine ourselves to its concrete form, which is incomparable to any perceivable object.

[25] Tirumantiram, (2790:69 Ninth tantra):
"For Rishis Patanjali and Vyagrapada
In the splendid Temple of Chidambaram
He danced as a Form, a Formless and a Cosmic Form,
With the Divine Grace of Sakti He danced,
He, the Citta, the Ananda; Gracefully stood and danced." (Unless otherwise noted the translations of the Tamil hymns in this paper are rendered by the author, with necessary consultations of Smith 1996, Peterson 1989 and Shulman 1980.)

[26] See Zvelebil (1998) for an account of the dates and the works of the Śaiva hymnists.

Chidambaram"(Verse 22, Tiruvācakam, Māṇikkavacakar)[27].   Other references to this

vocabulary of formlessness (Arūpa) are available in the verses of Tirumular's Tirumantiram[28].

One of them is cited as below.[29]

uruvinṛiyē ninṛu uruvam puṇarkkum form-without stand shape obtain-ajp karuvanṛiyē ninṛu tāṅkaru vākum cosmic egg-withou stand-avp. self become aruvinṛi yē ninṛa māyap pirāṉaik form-without stand elusive Lord-acc. karuvinṛi yāvarkkum kūṭaoṇṇātē. essence-without anyone unite-not able (Tirum 2840)	*He has no form, but he forms the basis of* *all forms.* *He is the Cosmic eye, the pervading power* *of all creations* *It is impossible for anyone to reach him* *without his attaining his grace.*

Because this verse is included under the chapter on *Corūpa utayam* "Genesis of the magnificent

form" (verses 2835 to 2846) in the *Tirumantiram*, it may be understood that the project that

Tirumūlar develops concerns not the material form for the Lord, but an invisible, yet

metaphysically perceivable form.

The Tamil version of *Śaiva Siddhānta* philosophy took its form largely from the works

of the four Śaiva saints namely Tirumūlar (6th to 7th CE), Appar (7th A.D.), Sundarar (7th CE)

and Māṇikkavācakar (9th CE).   Essential to the teachings of the Tamil tradition of Śaiva

Siddhānta is the study of the three metaphysical concepts namely *pasu* (soul), *pati* (god) and

pāsa (bond), and these concepts have been discussed widely in the works of the Śaiva saints.

Controlling one's mind and senses so as to experience the supreme within is the principal goal of

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[27] Narayana Veluppillai (1993: 99).
[28] See Zvelebil (1998: 40-43) for an account of the dates between 7th and 11th century A.D. during which the poet saints including Maṇikkavācakar, tirumūlar, Nambi Āṇṭār nimbi, Cēkkiḻār, appar and campantar, who have made important mentions about both the dancing image as well as the Citambaram site. For the text, see *Tirumantiram* by Tirumūlar, trans and notes B. Naṭarājan, gen. Ed. N. Mahalingam (Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1991).
[29] See Zvelebil (1998: 40-43) for an account of the dates between 7th and 11th century A.D. during which the poet saints including Maṇikkavācakar, tirumūlar, Nambi Āṇṭār nimbi, Cēkkiḻār, appar and campantar, who have made important mentions about both the dancing image as well as the Citambaram site. For the text, see *Tirumantiram* by Tirumūlar, trans and notes B. Naṭarājan, gen. Ed. N. Mahalingam (Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1991).

this tradition. All these saints claim that the *Agamas* come directly from Śiva himself. Māṇikkavācakar, who wrote one of the *Tēvāram* texts called the *Tiruvācakam*, claims that he was an ardent follower of the *Agamas*, which he regarded as the sacred revelation (Tiruvācakam 2: 20). Māṇikkavācakar claims that Śiva disclosed the *Agamas* from the Mahendra Hill through his five faces (*Tiruvācakam* 2: 20), and he recovered them from the great fish that swallowed the text (*Tiruvācakam* 2: 18).

The *Tirumantiram* is believed to have been offered to the world by the Lord Śiva himself through Tirumūlar. This text is well known for its treatment of Śaiva philosophy from the point of view of the yogic tradition, which is commonly attributed to the Siddhars of the North India[30]. According to the traditional accounts, he composed three thousand verses constituting the *Tirumantiram* while in a state of meditation[31].

2.3. Traditions of *Āgamas* and *Tirumantiram*

Like the Veda, the *Āgamas*, according to Tirumūlar, are composed by Śiva himself.

> aṇṇal aruḷāl aruḷuñ civākamam
> *Through His grace, the Śaiva āgamas are revealed by the Lord* (58 and 64)

Passing the text through Sakti, Sadasiva, Maheswara, Rudra deva, Vishnu and Brahmisa, the Lord presented the Ā*gamas* , at the end, to Tirumūlar, who in turn offered them to the world in the form of three thousand verses composed in Tamil.

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[30] Legend has it that Tirumūlar was a North Indian yogi - also called *Siddha* - came to the South and entered into the body of a dead shepherd boy, named mūlar, in order to soothe the crying cows, which were grief-stricken due to the death of their master.   Unable to find his own body afterward, he remained in the body of the shepherd boy and went into the state of meditation.

[31] It must be pointed out that there is no evidence whatsoever either in his own work or in any other texts substantiating this legendary background of Tirumūlar. Further, there is no textual evidence whatsoever to prove the fact that Tirumūlar is from North India and is not a South Indian. His north Indian origin must have been assumed by his "yogic" approach to worship of Śiva. And if he was a north Indian, he wouldn't have been able to write in Tamil so well.

In a number of places in the *Tirumantiram* we find references to *Āgamas* and their divisions in general terms as *kāraṇam, kāmikam, cintiyam, vātuḷam* and *yāmaḷam* [32], but without any explanatory notes for these terms. Tirumūlar's references to these Sanskrit terms without much discussion suggest the popularity of the *Āgamas* during his time. Ishimatsu[33] notes that the *Āgamas* and the ritual manuals in Sanskrit, on the other hand, virtually ignore the Tamil Śaiva works. One possible exception, however, is *Pūrva Kāmikāgamā* of the *arcanam vidhi paṭala,* which according to her, makes a generic reference to Tamil *Āgamas* as *Drāviḍabhāṣāṅgam*[34], which needs to be chanted at the end of rituals.

The nine agamas that Tirumūlar claims to have obtained from the Lord himself include *Karanam, Kāmigam,* the *Vīram 'good',* the *Sindam 'high', Vadulam, Vyāmalam* 'the other', Kalottaram, the *Subram 'pure'* and *Makutam*[35]. *Tirumantiram* is divided into nine chapters and each one of them is understood to contain references from all of the nine *Āgamas* namely *Kāraṇāgāmam, Kāmigāmam, Vīrāgamam, Cittāgamam, Vātuḷāgamam, Viyāmaḷāgamam, Kālōttarāgamam, Cuppirāgamam* and makuṭāgamam[36]. According to Tirumūlar, God (Śiva) composed the *Āgamas* in Sanskrit and Tamil simultaneously, and the Tamil version is known to us as *Tirumantiram*[37].

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[32] *Tirumantiram*, verses 57 to 66,
[33] Ishimatsu (1994).
[34] *ūrdhvaṃ drāviḍabhā‹ āṅgaṃ gābaṃ nṛttayutaṃ tu vā.* "songs in the Dravidian language, joined with dance." C. Svaminatha Sivacarya, ed., Kāmikāgama (pūrvbhāga) (Madras: South Indian Archagar Association, 1975), 21.
[35] *Tirumantiram*, Verse 63.
[36] Arunachalam 1982. *Tirumantirak kōṭpāṭu.* Pari Puttkap paṇṇai: Chennai.
[37] Tirumantiram, verse 66. It should also be noted that Tirumūlar does not make any explicit reference to any Āgamic text, either in Sanskrit or in Tamil, that would be considered as the authoritative source for *Āgama*. In the verses 57 to 66, however, he makes clear references to the presence of nine *Āgamas,* and their divisions, but what is not clear by this is whether he refers to the Sanskrit *Āgamas,* that he is adopting his work from, or they belong to any Tamil sources, which might have been destroyed.

By no means can this be taken to mean that the *Tirumantiram* is a translation of the Sanskrit *Āgamas*. However, in all nine chapters, Tirumūlar discusses parallel ideas from the *padas* (divisions) of the Sanskrit Āgamas namely *cariya* (exoteric worship), *kriya* (esoteric ritual), *yoga* (exercising mental postures to realize the divine in *Jīvan*) and *jñāna* (knowledge)[38]. We will see below that Tirumūlar's approach to Śiva worship concentrates on the last two *padas* namely *yoga* and *ñāna padas* in stating that *neñcam* 'heart' is the temple and the *Ciṟṟu* 'Cosmic eye' is the divine element that dwells in it. In the other two *padas* namely *cariya* and *kriya* he discusses the ways by which one can realize the *Ciṟṟu*. What is basic to Tirumūlar's treatment of divine worship is that god is formless, and in order to realize him one has to perform a series of ātmārta pūjas in the form of yogic postures, which help control one's senses. This is in parallel to the Sanskrit *Āgamas*, which mainly endorse *nitya pūja* or *parārta pūja* to be conducted with idols and images at home and temple.

If Tirumūlar's *Tirumantiram* is understood to be the Tamil version of the Āgamas, which stands in parallel to the corresponding Sanskrit version, the pūjas that Tirumūlar formulates neither contain any information about the consecration of temples, nor does it prescribe the details of daily rituals in a concise manner. Since neither the *Tirumantiram*, *Tēvāram, n*or *Tiruvācakam* postulate any ritual practices to be conducted in the temples, the Sanskrit *Āgamas* still stand as a religious manual to build temples and conduct rituals.

Zvelebil, for example, comments that Tirumūlar makes almost no reference to the worship of God through *arccanai* (Tamil equivalent for Sanskrit word '*arcanam*') in temples (Zvelebil 1973: 226). The reason for this is that Tirumūlar's account of Śiva worship, as

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[38] The Cariya part deals with the service and teaches the basic moral values. The *Kriya* discusses rituals, Yoga for *asanas* and *pranayamas*, and *ñāna Nyana* to deal with knowledge.

already stated, focuses upon the principles of *Yōga* and *Jñāna*, according to which the human body is assumed to be the center of study both for the realization of god as well as for demonstrating one's devotion to god through soul. Thus, Tirumūlar's verses operate exclusively upon the central metaphor of "human body as temple" - omnipresence of the god as not confined within the four walls of the temple, but existing within the human body itself. This is expressed precisely in the following verse from the *Tirumantiram*:

> Uḷḷam peruṅ-kōyil ūn-uṭamp-ālayam
> heart   great-temple flesh-body-abode
> Vaḷḷar pirānār-kku vāy   kōpura vāsal
> saint God-dat.   mouth tower   entrance
> teḷḷat teḷi-nt-ār-kkuc cīvan civaliṅgam
> clear enlighten-dat. soul   Siva Linga
> kaḷḷap pulanaintum   kāḷā   maṇi   vilakkē
> hidden senses-five-and uncessant sacred   lamp-emp. (Tirum 1823).

> *Mind is the magnificent temple, the fleshy body is the temple*
> *For the generous Lord mouth is the gateway*
> *For the enlightened ones the soul(cīvan) is the Śiva Liṅga*
> *All the five senses are the ceaseless sacred lamps.*

Basic to the understanding of the human body as temple is the illustration of the notion of *enlightenment* (*Teḷintār*) of soul and the attainment of knowledge – i.e., *Jñāna*, by controlling all the five senses that are vulnerable to the worldly desires – i.e., *pāsa*. According to Tirumūlar, the soul - *jīvan* – and *Śivan* are not to be understood as two different entities; often jīvan fails to understand Śivan or is incapable of realizing it due to its preoccupations with *pāsa* – the worldly desires.

At the moment when *jīvan* is capable of realizing Śivan, both jīvan and Śivan unite to form a single entity.[39] Tirumūlar illustrates this well using a figurative expression of a sculpture of an elephant made of wood to that of mind. When the charm of the sculpture is stressed, the wood is out of focus; when the wood is paid attention, the beauty of the sculpture goes unnoticed. Similarly, the Jīvan and Śivan are like the wood and sculpture; the charm of Śiva is experienced only when the soul is free from all of worldly desires.

> maratt-ai maṛaittatu   mā-mata yānai
> wood-acc.wood-pa.neut. giant-mad elephant
> maratt-in maṛaintatu mā-mata yānai
> wood-loc. hide-pa.neut. giant-mad elephant
> paratt-ai maṛaittatu pār   mutal pūtam
> primeval-acc. hide-pa.neut. world prime elements
> paratt-in   maṛaittatu pār   mutal pūtamē
> primeval-loc. hide-pa.neut. world prime elements. (Tirum 2290).

> *The mad elephant hides wood!*
> *The mad elephant is hidden within the wood!*
> *The primeval God hides in all of five elements of earth!*
> *All of the five elements get hidden within the primeval!*

The ultimate endeavor of experiencing Śivan within one's *jīvan* becomes the central focus of study in Tirumūlar's work. On a similar note, his allegorical reference in another poem to the wandering soul as a cow that roams without any aim distinguishes two types of men: one belongs to the category of men who have not yet attained the wisdom of Śivan in their *jīvan*, and the other who attained it are called Śiva yogis by Tirumūlar. The Śiva yogis, unlike the first type of men, enjoy the supreme bliss of Śiva within their jīvan. Śiva yogis, who are like cows that yield precious milk, are the ones who attained knowledge - Jñāna –

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[39] Ibid, verse 2017 and verse 2290.

because of their *enlightenment*.   The other type of men, by contrast, fail to become conscious of

Śivan in their soul (*jīvan*) and thus remain barren[40].

Throughout his work Tirumūlar distinguishes between the two terms *Siddhānta* and

Vedānta[41]*,* which according to him, refer to the Tamil Śaiva *Siddhānta* tradition of the South

and the Sanskrit Vedic tradition of the North respectively.   Both the *Veda* and the *Āgama,*

according to Tirumūlar, are the creations of God[42] and lead one to *mutti* (salvation) and the *citti*

(enlightenment) of the *Jīvān*[43].

2.3.1. The terms *mutti* and *citti* versus *pōkam* and *putti*

What is considered to be an equivalent of the Sanskrit term *mukti* 'salvation' in

Tirumular's terminology is *mutti,* which he uses quite consistently throughout his work.

According to Tirumular, obtaining *mutti* requires for one to follow a virtuous path (*aṟa neṟi*)

throughout his life, both consciously and unconciously.

> tiṟan-taru muttiyum   celvamum vēṇṭin
> stability-offer salvation-and wealth-and require-cond.
> maṟantum aṟaneṟiyē   āṟṟal vēṇṭum
> forget-and virtuous-path conduct need
> …
> *'If one requires both wealth and salvation with stability,*
> *one has to follow the virtuous path even unconsciously...'* (Tirum 244).

Among other things, what *mutti* offers one, according to Tirumular, is *tiṟam* 'stablity/strength',

a term that is exclusively refered to in Tamil religious texts in the context of obtaining a stable

life with power and excellence.   The two parallels namely *pōkam* versus *mutti* and *putti* versus

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[40] Ibid, verse 2015.
[41] Ibid, verses 2385, 2386, 2387, 2392, 2393, 2394 and so on.
[42] Vedamō ṭākamam meyyām iṟaivannūl "The Vēda along with the Ākama are revelations of God",
Tirumantiram, verse 2397.
[43] Ibid. verse 2394.

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citti stay significant, far beyond the philosophies as expounded in all of the *ākamās*, according to Tirumular.

> pōkamum   muttiyum   puttiyum cittiyum
> worldy pleasures-and heavenly pleasures-and wisdom-and powers-and
> ākamum āṟāṟu tattuvat   appālām
> Akamas   six-six philosophies-of beyond-becomes
> ...
>
> *The heavenly pleasures in contrast to worldly pleasures,*
> *The powers of mind in constrast to worldly knowledge*
> *are beyond all of the philosophies of Akamas…* (Tirum 1714).

2.3.2. Implicit versus Explicit Agents on the contest over hegemony and the terms *civanaṭiyār* versus *antanar*:

The explicit agents of the contestation over the idea of indigenous mode of knowledge representation from the point of view of the Tamils are the "intelligibility of ritual text" and "intimacy with the god through one's own language", and from the point of view of Sanskrit it is the "sacredness of sounds of Sanskrit" and authenticity of the Agamic scriptures. The implicit agent in this contestation between these two rivalries is 'safeguarding of the indigenous Tamil Bhakti tradition', which is claimed to have lost its voice due to domination of Sanskrit practices. "Social scientists would say that it was precisely these kinds of village and temple contestations that had formed the basis of the previous system…..no single group could dispense with any other group. In this structure, consensus and balance were realized through conflict; everyone knew that there were others who would enter the contest." (Irschisk 1994: p. 23).

A historical account for the existence of this type of contestations between the indigenous Tamil ritual practice system and the Agamic system can be traced back to the medieval period especially between 6th and 10th centuries A.D. One of such evidences can be observed from the songs of Tirumular who distinguishes the two terms namely *aṭiyār* versus *antaṇar* in the context of representing authotities to Saiva and Agamic traditions respectively (Tirum 1857 to 1867).

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According to him, one of the much acclaimed aspect of Śiva bhakti is carrying out the devotion to Śiva by revering the Śaiva saints (*civanaṭiyar*), who were presumably performing the worship of Śiva. Many legends tell us that how Śiva bhakti was demonstrated by kings and elite groups by treating the Śaiva saints in a reverential manner. Tirumūlar devotes a separate section under the title of *Mahēṣvara Pūja* 'Puja to the great Lord' emphasizing the significance of Śiva bhakti and its relevance to admiring Śaiva saints. According to Tirumūlar, what is offered to god in temples is of no use to the Śiva bhaktas, but instead what is offered to Śiva bhaktas is much like offering to gods in temples (Tirum 1857). What is denoted further in this chapter is when a Śiva bhakta consumes the food offered by a devotee, the pleasure that he obtains is indistinguishable to the pleasure obtained by everyone in the three worlds. (Tirum 1858). This idea is much similar to the custom of "*anna dāna*" (offering food to the poor) performed during the ritual of Hōma in the Vedic culture. There however, offerings are made only to Brahmins and no others are entitled to receive it.

In contrast, however, what Tirumūlar conceptualizes is that offerings made to one Śiva bhakta finds no other match - neither offering to one thousand Brahmans nor building one thousand temples would be equivalent to this (Tirum 1860). Tirumūlar in this entire chapter reiterates his claim that the Śaiva devotees and Śiva bhakti are much superior to the Brahmans and their ritual practices of Hōma (*Vēḷvi*). This is a clear indication of the fact that the contest over religious hegemony between the Agamic and non-Agamic traditions started even from the time of Tirumūlar during the medieval period. This tradition continues to the present time, as what is called *neo-Shaivite* and Drividian movements (see Ramaswami 1992: 138).

2.4. The Dancing image of Śiva and the Origin for the 'Emblem of Victory' of the Tamil Kings:

Evidences indicate that the image of Dancing Śiva gained currency in the South even earlier during the Sangam period, which falls between ca. 3rd B.C. and ca. 5th A.D.[44] One of the Sangam epics called Silappathikaram composed during ca. 5th A.D. makes references to the dancing form of Śiva in the context of his celebration of the destruction of demons.[45] Although no mention is made in this work about the city of Chidambaram, this reference can be taken to consider that the object of the dancing form of Śiva already existed prior to materializing it in temples. However, the earliest attested statue of the dancing Śiva is found in the Śiva temples, mostly in the niches of the walls of the Chalukya period - ca. 6th to 8th century A.D., the Pallava temples[46] - ca. 6th to 8th century A.D. and the Cōḷa (ca. 9th to 12th century A.D.) temples[47]. The Kanchipuram Kailasanāta temple that was built during the Pallava dynasty also exhibits icons of the dancing Śiva, but in a pose of Urudva-Tāṇḍava[48] "fierce dance" (ca. 700-728), which is believed to have a North Indian origin. The type of dance that is well-known in Chidambaram is understood to be as Ānanda Dāṇḍava "dance of bliss", which is discussed in detail in the Tamil hymns of the Śaiva saints. The progression from the Pallava dynasty to the Cōḷa dynasty developed many new forms in and around the temple complex, and resulted in evolving complex

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[44] Even by the 3rd century B.C. three of the four great dynasties (mūvēntars) were already known. The Pallava dynasty, however, did not get mention in Sangam literature. But, the Cōḷa dynasty emeged powerfully only from 866 A.D. to 1014 A.D. (Barrett 1974: 16-17).

[45] The Tamil epic Cilappatikaram composed about 450 C.E. refers to Śiva's dance to celebrate his destruction of the three cities of the demons. (Cilappatikaram, Bk. 6.4, lines 44-45).

[46] Fergusson (1899: 326), who calls the stone-cut temples of Māmallapuram as "raths", states that they are the oldest examples of their class known.

[47] See Kaimal (1999) for a discussion and illustrations on the image of dancing Śiva from Chalukya, Pallava and early Cōla temples.

[48] Kaimal's illustrations from the Badami temples show of Śiva having multiple hands in fierce mood (Kaimal 1999: 395). Similar, gesture of the Lord is attested in the pre-Āryan sources as Rudra-Śiva, whose occurrences can be traced back to the Indus Valley Harappa Culture. "Rudra appears primarily as fear-inspiring deity whose shafts of lightning slay men and cattle (Ṛgveda 1:114: 10), (Yocum 1982: 16). But no reference to dancing form is attributed to Śiva at this time.

symbolic vocabularies commensurate with the radically changing rites of patronage and personal devotion.[49]

Based on the textual and inscriptional evidences, Kaimal (1999) and Zvelebil(1998) observe that for the later Cōlas the posture of dancing Śiva with a tiger, a skull, a drum, snakes, fire and Apasmara - the demon of ignorance, became an emblem to mark their victories from their rivals. The image of dancing Śiva as a symbol for victory among the patron Cōḷa kings might have been the reason for the then popular practice of giving this image a status of the main deity in the Naṭarāja's temple of Chidambaram during ca. 9th A.D. to 10th A.D. Coomaraswamy's summary of the essential significance of the image of dancing Śiva and Kaimal's account of this image as an object of victory offer evidences to the development of this new practice.

2.4.1. The Supreme Bliss (*cittam*) and the Dancing form of Śiva

Tirumūlar devotes an entire chapter in the ninth tantra to the dancing form of Śiva and the importance of the locus of *cittam* (also termed as *citti*) on one's forehead. The word *Cittam* is normally translated as 'Consciousness' by scholars mainly based on the Sanskrit word '*Cittah*'. But what is stressed by Tirumūlar through the word "*Ciṟṟampalam*" is nothing other than the notion of *cittam* or *citti* – the essence of all knowledge and power. This is the 'supreme bliss' that one experiences upon enlightenment by realizing Śivan in *Jīvan*.

According to Tirumūlar, the spot between the two eyebrows is where one feels Śiva and that is where Jīvan is felt as well.

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[49] Meister's assumption of evolving complex symbolic vocabularies in temple architecture in relation to the changing dynasties (Meister 1986: 33-50) can be substantiated by the evidences from Cōlā architecture, and the Rūpa - Arūpa method of worship is one of them.

neṟṟi-kku   nēṟē   purvat   tiṭaiveḻi
                fore-head-dat. straight eyebrows gap-space
                uṟṟup   pārkka voḻiviṭu   mantiram
                stare at-avp.see-inf. ray-shine Mantra
                paṟṟ-ukkup paṟṟ-āyp parama nirunt-iṭuñ
                grace-dat.   grace-adv god   remain-compl.ajp.
                ciṟṟampalam-eṉṟu cērntukoṭēṉē.
                Cirrampalam-that   reach-avp.   (Tirum 2770).

                Between the eyebrows on the forehead
                Experience the transcending Mantra *upon careful observation*
                There remains the Graceful Lord to those dedicated
                That is the Ciṟṟampalam *where I have reached.*

Even though Younger[50] observes the fact that that this chapter in the *Tirumantiram* is an elaborate theological interpretation of the Dancing Image of Chidambaram, but fails to capture the significance of the metaphysical representation of bliss in one's *Jīvan*, which forms the core of this chapter.   What Tirumūlar attempts to illustrate in this chapter is the ways in which one can realize the Śivan in Jīvan, and consequently enjoy the "supreme bliss".   The blissful state is symbolically represented in Chidambaram in the form of dancing Śiva.

2.5. Pūja – Worship of Śiva, Guru and Mahēṣvara

The three chapters namely Śiva Pūja, Guru Pūja and *Mahēṣvara Pūja* (worship of devotees) that Tirumūlar presents in the seventh *Tantra* deal with the *ātmārtha, Ajitāgama* and parārtha *pūjas*.   These *pūjas* parallel the worship methods as defined in the Sanskrit *Kāraṇāgama*[51], but differ from them in stating the worshiping of Śiva in one's own *Jīvan* in contrast to idol worship.

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[50] Younger, Paul, The Home of Dancing Śivan: The Traditions of the Hindu Temple in Chidambaram, Oxford University Press: New York, 1995.

[51] *The Sanskrit Tradition and Tantrism*, ed. Teun Goudriaan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990). Cited from Ishimatsu (1994, p.48).

According to the *Kāraṇāgama, ātmārtha* worship is performed at home with one's personal *liṅga* for the purpose of protecting the soul from everything[52]. In the opening verse (1823) of the chapter on *Śiva Pūja,* Tirumūlar describes the objects of worship to be nothing other than one's own body parts. As cited above, verse 2770 relates the body parts to the components of a temple as follows: the heart is the *garbhagṛha,* the body is the temple tower; the mouth is the gateway; for the enlightened one the *Jīva* is the *liṅga;* and the ever-burning lamp is all the pervasive five senses.

In the subsequent verses of the same chapter, Tirumūlar illustrates how one would perform the *pūja* to the Lord who dwells in one's own soul. According to him, chanting with the songs of praise to the Lord must be performed both in the morning and in the evening so that the god with matted hair (Śiva) would be pleased by it[53]. The Tamil phrase *pāṭṭavi kāṭṭatum pālavi yākumē* "songs are like milk" in this verse can be taken to mean that Tirumūlar is comparing his methods of worship of Śiva in one's own heart with that of performing a similar ritual bath (Skt. *Abhiṣēka*) to the object of *liṅga* with milk.

A similar idea is expressed by him in another verse in the same chapter, but this time with a specific reference to the prayers with the folded hands. He states that those who are unable to express their devotion to Śiva within one's heart are bound to experience the anguish in the ocean of sorrow[54]. Thus, praying to the deities with folded hands and meditating the Lord inside one's heart are the two different types of ritual practice. He further asserts that those who can

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[52] *sarveṣām ātmarakṣārtham Iṣṭaliṅgārcaṇam gṛhe / ātmārtham iti vikhyātam* – Cited by N. R. Bhatt, ed., *Ajitāgama,* vol. 1. (Pondicherry: Institut français d'Indologie, 1964), 196, n. 4. – Cited from Ishimatsu (1994, p. 48).
[53] *Tirumantiram ,* verse 1824.
[54] Ibid. Verse 1834.

not praise the Lord who stays within the lotus of *Jīvan (Āvik kamalam)* are ignorant of the science of *mantr*ā to be recited to him.[55]

2.7. Becoming a Śaivaite and uniting with Śiva and the terms *yōki, jñāni* and *cittan*

The goal of any Śaivaite is to attain *mokṣa* [56]– the highest state of being that can be achieved by a soul - and it can only be attained by conducting a series of rituals that are capable of enabling the soul to obtain liberation from worldly bonds. Liberation of a soul is nothing other than uniting with Śiva, and thus, can be free from being born again.   This spiritual state of the 'divine body', which is called *ātmasuddhi,* is the crucial part of daily worship.   Smith's discussion on liberation of the soul surrounding the three fetters namely *mala*, *karman* and māyā are based on *Mṛgendrāgama* and *Kāmikāgama* provide definitions of ritual practices to be conducted by humans with a *liṅga*.   On a similar note, the *Saiva Siddhānta* discusses the process of freeing oneself from all the human qualities by transcending to the state of "Śiva yogis", *Siddhas* and Ñānis, who not only can liberate themselves from the worldly bonds, but also enjoy Śiva in their *Jīvan*.

One of the common problems of the *Jīvan* is to get trapped frequently in the bondages of life. Tirumūlar suggests that this is because of the *Jīvan's* inability to control *Vindu,* 'the source of creation'. In a separate section on the power of *Vindu* (the *Tirumantiram*, verses 1923 to1974), Tirumūlar states how taking control of the power of *Vindu,* and not wasting it can lead one to attain the status of *Śiva yogi,*[57] and realize *Śiva* in the heart. "The power of *Vindu* is limitless and its commencement inside human body invokes all the powers of the five supreme

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[55] Ibid. Verse. 1842.
[56] See Smith (1996: 83-111)
[57] Tirumantiram, verse 1950.

gods *Sadāsiva, Viṣṇu, Rudra,* and *Maheśvara*; and finally emerges as the power of *Kuṇḍalini* – the supreme strength" (verse 1923).

Thus, Tirumūlar captures the two divine essentials central to the human body namely *Jīvan* and *Vindu,* and he attempts to relate them to the wisdom of Śiva from the point of view of *Yōgic* and *Jñāna* standpoints. His attempts to make the human body and heart sacred, and realizing the divine within the heart form the central point in his discussion. The *Śiva Yōgis*, who are not constrained by any fetters and worldly desires, according to Tirumūlar, are capable of achieving this state. *Śiva Yōgis* are the ones who always keep themselves away from the lustful eyes of women, and destroy the powers of evil elements in their mind. By doing so, they prevent the supreme energy of *Vindu* from being wasted (verse1937). What Tirumūlar offers in the subsequent verses (1932 to 1947) in the same section is an illustration of how the accumulation of *Vindu by controlling* all they five senses leads to the union inside womb, and subsequently procreate the *īcan* "god" with a life and great power

> …īcan karuyir-ōṭum karuttatu vittaayk kaaraṇa kāriyam
>   god life-linger   theme-that skill-adv. reason   deed

> *'that the god emanates in the form of 'life' becomes the cause of all the worldly deeds'*
> (Tirum: 1947:2).

This metaphysical interpretation of sexual union and the cause for the materialization of *īcan* (*karu*) present an answer to the question of why Tirumūlar is formulating a *Yōgic* project focusing primarily upon the human body, both as a locus of worship as well as the object of worship.

2.8. Conclusions

The two metaphysically significant terms Cīvan (Skt. *Jīvan*) and *Vindu* that Tirumūlar discusses in detail in his text play a crucial role in his defining the epistemological system of Śaiva philosophy. The ultimate goal of any human, according to Tirumūlar, is to become *Teḷintār* 'enlightened'. Attaining this state requires controlling of *Jīvan* and *Vindu* in a proper manner. Contrastively, the *Āgamas* state that the worshipper transforms Śiva into *liṅga* and commences his services of worship on this embodied form[58]. Further, one finds in the *Āgamic* tradition a variety of this kind of ritual practices performed by the priests belonging to various categories of class and caste. To quote one example, the Sanskrit *Āgamic* texts, such as Suprabhedāgama and Rāmakaṇṭha's *Jātinirṇaya pūrvakālayapraveśavidhi*, as discussed in Smith (1991, p.70), groups worshippers into various categories and also assign restricted spaces only within which they can perform their rituals. This includes such relationships as the Śaiva-brāhmaṇa priests, non-ādiśaiva brahmans, common brahmans, Kings (*kṣatriyas*), vaiśyas and *Śūdras.*

But, Tirumūlar's approach to Śiva worship, among many other distinguishing characteristics, does not propose any such hierarchical divisions of worshippers on the basis of their status or power. He knows only two types of worshippers namely those who are *Śiva Yōgis* and the others who are not, based strictly on how they perform the *Yōgic* practices, which he considers to be the path to attain the Wisdom of Śiva. In this sense, Tirumūlar's *Tirumantiram* can be treated as an indigenous system of *Āgamic* practices concentrating on the human body itself. The Śaiva Siddhānta tradition that advocates a non-idol and monotheistic approach to Śiva worship are demonstrated in the texts of Śaiva Nāyanmars, including Tirumūlar. Tirumūlar's *Tirumantiram*, which was composed much earlier than the other

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[58] Davis (1991 p.71).

Śaiva texts, superimposes the idea of 'man' as a divine creation and he is the absolute potential

for the divine power.   The *Svetasvatara Upanishad* states that the Soul and the supreme God

are united together – *Atmastham:*

'Atmastham ye anupasyanti tedhirah tesam sugham sasvatama na iteresam

--*Svetasvatara Upanishad*

 The same idea is revealed in *Tirumantiram* in the following verse, which states that realizing

Śivan in one's heart is the ultimate step toward the unity with Him, and to prepare oneself to achieve this

spiritual experience is the goal of any soul.

cīvan enac civan enna veeṛillai
Soul   that   soul   what different-not
cīvanār   civanārai   arikilar
soul-person soul-person-acc. know-not
cīvanār   civanārai arintapin
soul-person soul-person know-pa.after
cīvanār civan āyiṭṭirupparē
 soul-person soul become-3rd.mas.sg. (Tirum 2017).

Soul and Śivan are not two different entities,
when the soul is incapable of experiencing the Śivan.
When the soul realizes the Śivan within,
The soul and the Śivan appear as one.

Chapter 3

Linguistic Analysis of Tirumantiram and Grammar of Medieval Tamil: Verbal Morphology

3.0. Introduction

The language of Tirumantiram is a part of Medieval Tamil which extends roughly from the seventh century A.D. until the fourteenth century A.D. This was a time when much religious literature in Tamil gained ground after all of the Sangam texts had been anthologized at the three academes instituted during the Pandya period. Major works of Saiva and Vaishnava literature fall under the rubrics of Medieval Tamil for many reasons, due to both linguistic as well as religious developments. This is the period when both Indo Aryan languages as well as Northern religious doctrines made a profound influence on the Tamil language and culture of South India[59]. Until this period, it is believed that the Tamils and their language retained their indigenous features both in terms of language and culture. This indigenous culture whose language is refered to as either Old or Sangam Tamil is considered to have its its origins in the second or third century B.C. and lasting until approximately the fourth century A.D. Sangam literature is known for its use of a very minimal amount of borrowing, and for the presence of a large number of native Tamil words, which are typically devoid of complex affixes. Medieval Tamil, besides exhibiting large numbers of Indo-Aryan borrowings, also shows occurrences of more newly developed morphological forms, a feature that leads some researchers to consider Modern Tamil to be what they call an 'agglutinative' language. Further, studying medieval

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[59] Although the exact dating for the demarcation between Sangam Tamil and Medieval Tamil is a matter of dispute, one can be certain that Medieval Tamil is a development highly influenced by Indo Aryan culture, where as the nature of Sangam Tamil does not reflect such foreign influence. Emeneau (1954: 283), for example, notes that the earliest attestation of Tamil script is known from the Arikamedu finds of the first century A.D. and the presence of Asokan inscriptions in Middle Indo-Aryan dialects has been attested even earlier as far south as Mysore State in the third century B.C. This means that the spread of Sanskrit culture in the south must have occurred even during what is known to us as the Sangam period. However, the major influence of Sanskrit culture on Tamil must then have happened at a much later period than their earliest arrival.

Tamil text is significant from the perspectives of historical linguistics for the reason that the texts produced during this period exhibit many word forms and structures that later turned into grammatical suffixes. To cite one example, the modal auxiliary meaning normally obtained by the modern Tamil suffix -*lām* 'possibility' is expressed in Tirumantiram texts as a combination of verbal noun with the suffix –*al,* plus the future neuter form of the verb *āku* 'to become' as in *varal ākum* 'lit. coming is possible'. This verb also has a variant of *āmē* with a phonological reduction of the formative 'k', as in varal *āmē.* One can find many instances of these two types of constructions throughout Tirumantiram texts, which leads one to think that this environment became the source for the later development of the modal auxiliary –*lām.* Thus, the structure [verbal noun + *ākum*] produces a variant during the medieval period as [verbal noun with *al* + *ām*], which then becomes the origin of the later development of -*lām* as a separate suffix after reanalysis. All of the modal forms with the suffix –*lām* are now reanalyzed as [infinitive form of the verb + *lām*] as in the case of [*vara* + *lām*] 'may come'. Furthermore , the combination [verbal noun plus the suffix –*al* and *ākum*] is no longer used in modern Tamil[60]. As will be discussed in detail in this chapter, one can find in Tirumantiram texts many other similar cases of forms that can be considered to be the source for what later developed as separate grammatical morphemes in modern Tamil, especially in the verbal morphology

In addition, like almost all of the Saiva works, the language of Tirumantiram exhibits a large number of Sanskrit words in addition to newly developed grammatical forms, deviating largely from the language of Sangam in several respects. The foremost is the availability of many of the Modern Tamil morphological forms, which are either absent from Sangam Tamil or occur as separate lexical items. Particularly, one of the salient features of the language of

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[60] This is discussed in detail in chapter 4 with suitable examples from all genres of Tamil.

Medieval Tamil is the occurrence of grammaticalized forms of what were once used to be separate lexical items in Sangam period. The other salient feature of Medieval Tamil is that it retains many of the lexical and grammatical forms of Sangam Tamil alongside onewly developed forms. In this respect, Medieval Tamil can be considered to represent an intermediate stage of Tamil language development that marks the boundary between the two distinct stages of languages known as Old Tamil and Modern Tamil.

3.1. Morphology

The language of Tirumantiram, like its other medieval counterparts, consists of a rich morphological structure, although not as rich as Modern Tamil, but relatively more complex than Sangam Tamil. However, what is unique about medieval Tamil is its retention of morphological and syntactic features that are common to old Tamil, but also found in modern Tamil. In this respect, a study of the grammar of medieval Tamil gives an overview of the complete structure of Tamil language that is pertinent to many historical developments that have taken place throughout the history of the language. As one will see from what is described in this chapter, there are many medieval morphological forms that are either extinct (i.e. obsolete) or used only in restricted contexts in modern Tamil. Medieval Tamil, unlike Sangam Tamil, has three tenses namely present, past and future, besides a well developed case system. The systems of aspectual markers and modal verbs have very limited occurrence. as compared to modern Tamil, but still richer than old Tamil.

What is dealt with in this chapter, in particular, is a detailed description of verbal forms as evidenced in Tirumantiram. Even though a brief note on the occurrences of similar verbal forms in other texts in medieval and Sangam Tamil is provided here, a detailed account from a historical perspective is dealt with in chapter 4. The major forms that are discussed here include

the use of person,- number-gender suffixes, tense suffixes, negative forms, comparative forms, imperative and aspectual forms. Many of the forms that are dealt with here denote the intermediary development of Tamil language in the trajectory of changes from Sangam Tamil to Modern Tamil. In this sense, this chapter provides a description of forms that have become obsolete in modern Tamil as well as those forms that are newly created but are not found in Sangam Tamil. For example, as we will see in this chapter, many of the negative forms that are found to be occurring in medieval Tamil cease to occur in modern Tamil and at the same time the aspectual forms that have begun to appear are not found in Sangam Tamil. Thus, the goal of this chapter is as follows:

- o A detailed description of verb forms as evidenced in Tirumantiram text

- o A comparison with similar forms in modern Tamil

3.2. Verbal Morphology

Analysis of Tirumantiram texts demonstrate the fact that many complex paradigms of Tamil constituting the base forms such as root form of verb, infinitive and verbal and nominal participle forms are indeed having either partially developed structures, or they don't contain within them the amount of complexity that one may otherwise find in modern Tamil texts. It is apparent that an analytic discussion of Modern Tamil became possible only after a systematic description of traditional Tamil grammarians like Arden, Pope, Caldwell and others, who primarily introduced many grammatical terms to describe Tamil categories.   Arden (1942: 196), for example, introduces the terms 'infinitive', 'verbal participle', 'relative participles', 'participial nouns' and 'verbal nouns' to best identify major forms of Tamil verbs. Among these, the infinitive and verbal participle forms constitute two major types of verb bases with which many other grammatical categories are formed. Arden (ibid:196) defines the term 'infinitive' as referring to

present time or indefinite time.   The term verbal participle, which is called '*vinai eccam*' in traditional Tamil grammars, marks an incomplete verb which requires a finite verb to complete (Arden, ibid:199). Pope (1883) calls 'verbal participle' form of verbs as 'Adverbial Participle' and Beschi calls it the 'Gerund' (Beschi, 1974).   The term 'relative participle', variously called 'Adjective Participle' by Pope(1883), according to Arden, correspond to English relative sentences. It must be noted here that there are no relative pronouns, like 'which', 'who', 'when' etc., in Tamil. Similarly, 'participial nouns' and 'verbal nouns' are inflected forms of verbs that behave as noun by taking case markers.

For example, the infinitive-based modal verbs and verbal participle based aspectual verbs do not show as many complex nuances in the grammar of Tirumantiram, as one can discover in modern Tamil. However, it can be asserted that all of the essential morphological structures that are prevalent in modern Tamil, but not available during Sangam Tamil, gained ground during the medieval period .

3.2.1. Person, Number and Gender suffixes:

Use of personal endings has been a common feature in all of the three genres of the Tamil language. However, there lies a major difference between these three genres in the way the suffixes are chosen. Except for the imperative suffix *min*/minkaḷ there does not seem to be any newly developed forms in the medieval period, as far as the use of personal ending is concerned.

Person, Number and Gender Suffixes in Tirumantiram

First person singular	-ēn	pōṟṟukiṉṟēn 'Praise (I)	(Tirum 884:1)
First person plural	-ōm	pēr peṟṟōm 'obtain fame (we)	(Tirum 68:1)
Inclusive plural	-ōm	pēr peṟṟōm 'obtain fame (we)	(Tirum 2594:4)

Second person singular	-āy	No occurrence is found in Tirumantiram	
Second person polite (singular)	-īr	teḷintīr 'realized (you)'	(Tirum 172:1)
Second person polite (plural)	-īrkaḷ	No occurrence is found in Triumantiram	
Third person singular (impolite)	ān	iruntān 'is (he)	(Tirum 15:2)
	-anan	ninṟ-anan 'stood he'	(Tirum 1:1)
	-anaḷ	irunt-anaḷ 'remind-she'	(Tirum 814:1)
Third person plural	-arkaḷ	kānparkaḷ 'will see (they) nayam pēci viṭuvarkaḷ 'will gossip (they)	(Tirum 758:2) (Tirum 761:2)
	-ar	nāṭavallārkaḷ naraptiyāy niṟpar 'those who seek will stand as the Lord'	(Tirum 764:2)
	-ār	ārvam uṭaiyavar kāṇpār 'Those who have desire will see'	(Tirum 273:1)
	-ārkaḷ	anpu ceyvārkaḷ 'show love' (Tirum 1880:1) Occurs with nouns also besides verbs: **nāṭavallārkaḷ** naraptiyāy niṟpar 'those who can approach stay as lord of men' (Tirum 764:2) cettiṭṭiruppar **civayōkiyārkaḷē** 'The Sivayogins will be in a dead form' (Tirum 121:4)	
	-anar	vaittanar 'kept-they'	(Tirum 160:2)
Neuter singular	-atu	tīvinai cērntatu 'acquired the evil merit'	(Tirum 143:2)
Neuter plural	-ana	aḍaittana 'closed (they-neut)'	(Tirum 152:2)

As is evident from these examples, Tirumantiram exhibits the same number of suffixes to denote personal endings as that of modern Tamil, except for the case of second person singular *āy*, and second person polite suffix *īrkaḷ*, which are non-existent. Plural nouns in Tirumantiram tend to

take the suffix -*ārkaḷ*, which is not very common in modern Tamil. Even though the suffix –*ar* is not used in modern Tamil, the corresponding suffix with long vowel -*ār,* which is used in *plural* meaning, is used in modern Tamil to denote 'third person polite singular' noun. When this suffix occurs in a verb without the preceding tense suffix, it is to be segmented as the negative suffix -*ā* followed by the personal termination suffix –*r,* as in the following example:

> *atuvitu enpar avavnai aṟiy-ā-r*
> that-this say-fut.-3[rd.] pl. He-acc. know-not-they
> *Those who blabber do not know Him* (Tirum 1154:1)

Further, there are large number of cases of finite form of verbs which occur with the 'empty morph' –*an* – also called euphonic suffix - as in *malaiyāmal irunt-anan tānē* 'he remained without getting tired' (Tirum 813:4), *irunt-anaḷ caktiyum* 'Sakthi remained' (Tirum 814:1).

3.2.2. Use of Tense and the present tense marker -*kinṟ*

Caṅkam Tamil texts show evidence of having only past and non-past distinction as far as tense is concerned, and no present suffix seems to have occurred, except for the use of the present tense suffix –*kinṟ* in the post Caṅkam works of *Cilappatikaram* and *Paripadal*. Only the suffixes –v- and –p- (non-past) along with a set of past tense markers including –nt-, -tt- etc., are used widely in Caṅkam Tamil. But later during the bhakti period the present-tense suffix –*kinṟ* is widely used both in Śaiva as well as in Vaiṣṇava hymns. This suffix was later developed into a more refined form with two allomorphs namely -*kiṟ* and -*kkiṟ* in modern Tamil[61]. Thus, it can be stated that the development of present tense marker shows a continuum of linguistic changes from post Caṅkam to bhakti period and subsequently to the modern period. It is unknown, however, why and how only the form –*kinr* was attested for the first time during the medieval times, and not the other allomorph –*kiṟ.* Sundaran (1965, p. 140) suggests that the

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[61] E.g. nī māḷā vāṟ-kinṟ-āyē 'you live without death' (Māṇikkavācakar 23)

suffix *–kint* that occurs in Caṅkam Tamil is the source for the suffix *–kiṉṟ* in bhakti period.

There are other versions of explanations by various scholars as to how the present tense suffix came into existence in medieval Tamil[62].   However, a satisfactory historical explanation for its origin has yet to be proposed . The two plausible explanations worth considering are the one based on the combination of root form of verb and the temporal word *iṉṟu* 'today' as in *ceyku* 'to do' + *iṉṟu* becoming *ceykiṉṟu-* as originally proposed by Graul (1856) and adopted by Caldwell (1976:494), and the other based on the verb *kil* 'be able', which is widely used in medieval Tamil as proposed by Bloch (1942: 59).   According to Bloch the base verb follows the auxiliary *kil* which in turn precedes the past tense suffix *–t-*, as in [*ceyk(u) + kil + t*]. After the phonological reduction of dropping *u* followed by the application of the phonological rule of *l + t* becoming *r*, the present tense suffix *kiṉṟ* appears to have formed. In a somewhat later proposal, Rajam (1985) makes a connection to the verb *āṉiṉṟ,* which is used widely in Sangam texts to denote present tense. The semantic representation that Rajam proposes for the suffix, *kiṉṟ* is that it is a 'micro-durative aspect in present time' whereas the suffix *āṉiṉṟ* is *macro*-durative aspect at present time. According to Rajam, the suffix *āṉiṉṟ* represents the 'instant present' whereas *kiṉṟ* represents the 'present time', which becomes the reason for its retention, and loss of the former.   Rajam's proposal, unlike the other earlier proposals, not only provides an explanation for the semantic meaning of the present tense suffix *kiṉṟ,* it also gives a reason why the suffix *āṉiṉṟ* is lost in later time.   Interestingly, one notices the use of *–kinr* with conditional suffix *–āl* in the Sangam texts of Aingurunuru, Ahanaanuru and Kalittohai as shown below. Note that this is in opposition to   modern Tamil, where the conditional suffix is

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[62] See Graul (1856), Caldwell (1976: 494), Bloch (1946:59), Andronov(1961), Rajam (1985) and Steever (1989) for a detailed discussion on the emergence of present tense suffix in Tamil.

always followed by the past tense suffix as in *pēc-in-āl* 'speak-past-if' (if one speaks), *pār-tt-āl*

'see-past-if' (if one sees) and so on.

> alar toḍan-**kinr-āl** ūrē malara
> *'if the flower blooms, the whole town is bloomed with happiness'* (Aing. 75:2)

> kār toḍaṅ-**kinr-āl** kāmar puṛavē
> *'if the winter starts, the lovers separate'* (Aing. 413:3)

> kavvai **ākinr-āl** peritē ini ahdu
> *'if it is for the actions, it becomes a big issue'* (Aham:808:3)

> nanṛu **ākinr-āl** tōzi nam vaḷḷaiyuḷ
> *'if it is good, friends are within our reach.'* (Kali:41:37)

A close look at the form *ākinr* in Sangam texts reveals that it also occurs in other forms of verbs

such as verbal participle - ex. *ākinṛu* 'having become' (Aing. 813) -, adjectival participle - ex.

cōrkinṛa 'that which gets tired' (Aintinaiaimpatu: 722) - , participial noun form – ex. āḷkinṛōr

'those who rule' (Manimekalai), finite present – ex. uṛikinṛēn 'I live' (Manimekalai) and so on.

3.3. Use of the present tense suffix in Tirumantiram:

Unlike in Sangam texts, one finds a very limited use of the suffix -*kinr* in Tirumantiram,

especially restricted to its use as a present tense marker.

> uṇṭanar uṇṭār   uṇarvilā   mūṭarkaḷ
> ate-those eat-past-they feeling-not-that foolish
> piṇṭattut paṭṭup piṇaṅku**kinr**ārkaḷē
> body   fallen suffer-pr.-they
> '*Those who ate, remained that way. The fools who did not, suffer as human in all life'*
> <div align="right">(Tirum 3025:4)</div>
> vallārkaḷ   enṛum vaṛiyonṛi vāṛ**kinr**ār
> capapble-they   always path-unite live-pr.they
> *'The capable people live united with norms'* (Tirum 311:1)

Along with these occurrences of present tense in finite forms, there are also other uses where this

suffix occurs in non-finite forms with relative participle marker and equative markers as noted

below.

ēriyum ninṟaṅku iḷaik**kiṉṟ**a kālattu
lake   stand-there weak-pr-that time
'At time when even the lake becomes with scarcity of water' (Tirum 65:2)

nārai paṭuk**kiṉṟ**āṟ   pōlalla nātaṉār
crane lie-pr-formative like-not lord
'The Lord is not like the crane lying down' (Tirum 2911:3)

Strangely though, the allomorph of *kiṉṟ-*, which is *kiṟ-*, does not seem to occur in Tirumantiram, even though it occurs in modern Tamil quite frequently. This presupposes the fact that formation of the allomorph *kiṟ-* is to be considered as a post-medieval development. Further, the fact that the absence of the use of this suffix with the conditional suffix in Tirumantiram entails the fact that use of the suffix *kiṉṟ-* went through a major semantic shift between Sangam texts and medieval Tamil texts. At the same time, it may also be noticed that this suffix in its current form has been used widely in all of the Sangam texts, and the only difference that one finds is in the way it is used in the three varities namely Sangam, medieval and modern Tamil. Obviously, this fact undermines the two earlier-stated proposals according to which it is made with a combination of the words *iṉṟu* 'today' and *kil* 'be able' respectively.

3.4. Past tense:

Tirumantiram texts contain within them a set of past tense forms that are unique to medieval Tamil and an analysis of all of the past tense forms can explain some of the developments that occurred in modern Tamil; and the way that were grouped into seven classes by Graul (1856) and adopted in Arden (1942).

Class 1: Two types of class one verbs are noted. One with the suffix *–t* explicitly marked and the other is realized as -*ṉṭ* with a phonological change of assimilation on *–t* by the preceding retroflex consonant *–ḷ,* as in *āḷ+t* becoming āṇṭ- 'ruled' or ṇ + t becoming ṇṭ as in pūṇṭ- 'ornament'.

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pūṇṭēn 'ornamented (I)' (Tirum 2624:2)
mīṇṭatu 'recovered (it)' (Tirum 2925:2)
āṇṭān 'ruled (he)' (Tirum537:1)
ceytavar 'one who made' (Tirum 532:2)

Class 2: This class of verbs take the past tense suffix –*nt,* and belong to the weak class that

takes the infinitive suffix –*a,* as opposed to –*kka.*

unarntittu 'felt' (Tirum434:4)
virintanan 'unfolded' (Tirum1:3)
virintu 'unfold' (Tirum15:2)
īntāl 'if donated' (Tirum 501:1)
ukantān 'admire' (Tirum 2732:4)

Besides these sets of verbs in class two, which are common in modern Tamil, there are also past

tense forms as in *pōntu* (Tirum 34:4) 'having gone', *ārntu* (Tirum 34:2) 'research', *īnta*

(Tirum 508:3) 'one that offered' etc., which occur as typical to medieval Tamil. In particularly,

what deserves mention in this context is that the verb *pō*, which takes the past tense suffix –*nt*

along with the other suffixes –*in* and -*n,* does not do so in modern Tamil.

Class 3: This class of verbs take the past tense marker –*in*, with an exception of the verb *pō*

'go', which take the suffix –*n* as well as –*nt.*

pōntatu 'left' (Tirum2925:1)
(cf. pōntum 'having gone' Tirum 34:4)
pōyinār 'left (he)' (Tirum151:2)
āyinēn 'became (I)' (Tirum92:2)
tuñcinar 'slept (they)' (Tirum2617:2)
āṭinōm 'danced (we)' (Tirum2635:2)

Notably, the past tense form the verb *pō* with the suffix –*nt* is also attested in inscriptional texts

of the medieval period .

kuṟṟavan-vāy mītēy uvanṟi ceytu nīr koṇṭu **pōntu** pāyttap peruvatākavum
messenger-inst. on-emp. barrage do-avp. water take-avp go-avp. supply-inf. obtain-become
'Let there be irrigation of water using a barrage and it be brought by a messenger' (SII2.99.29)

Class 4: This class of verbs usually end in either -*ṟu* or -*ṭu* and the past tense is made by

doubling the final consonant with elimination of the final vowel –*u*.

> peṟṟōm 'acquired (we)' (Tirum68:1)
> uṟṟatu 'obtained (it)' (Tirum156:1)
> aṟṟatu 'that which is not/became without anything' (Tirum162:2)
> paṭṭāl 'experienced – if' (Tirum183:3)
> viṭṭārē 'dropped (he)' (Tirum188:4)
> cuṭṭatu 'that which became hot' (Tirum421:1)

Class 5: This is a complex class of verbs where an array of phonological rules take place on the

past tense marker –*tt* and the forms such as –*nr, ṟṟ, ṭṭ* etc., appear to be occurring on surface.

> ninṟān 'stood (he)' (Tirum2617:4) (nil + tt > ninṟ-)
> kaṟṟu 'having learned' (Tirum530:3) (kal + tt > kaṟṟ-)
> kēṭṭum 'having listened to' (Tirum300:1) (kēḷ + tt > kēṭṭ-)
> ēṟṟān 'accepted' (Tirum 1887:1) (ēl + tt > ēṟṟ-)
> kaṟṟavar 'learned person' (Tirum 298:4) (kal + tt > kaṟṟ-)

Class 6: This class of verbs take the suffix –*tt* and belongs to the strong class by taking the

infinitive marker –*kka.*

> pūttatu 'bloomed (it)' (Tirum2904:1)
> cōtittu 'having explored' (Tirum242:3)

Class 7: This last set which belongs to the strong class of verbs that take the infinitive suffix –*kka*

but a past tense suffix of –*nt* like that of class 2 verbs. The only difference between class 2

verbs and this class is that class 2 verbs are weak verbs and this class is strong.

> iruntān 'be (he)' (Tirum15:2)
> kaṭantu 'saw (it)' (Tirum2597:3)

3.5. Future Tense: Unlike the past tense marker, the future tense markers -*pp*- and –*v*- are

commonly used in Tirumantiram without much difference from modern Tamil use. The suffix -

pp- occurs with strong verbs and –*v*- occurs with weak verbs. The suffix –*p-,* a variant of *-pp-*

occurs with so called middle verbs such as *niḷ* 'stand', *kaḷ* 'learn' etc. Like in modern Tamil,

the future neuter is expressed with the suffix *–um* without a person, number and gender suffix.

> *-pp-*
> vaippārē 'will put (they)' (Tirum 199:4)
> oppār 'compare-will (they)' (Tirum 5:2)
> *-p-*
> niṟpar 'will stand (they)' (Tirum 47:2)
> enpār 'will say (they)' (Tirum 44:1)
> uṇpāṇ 'will eat (he)' (Tirum 1964:2)
> *-v-*
> naṇṇuvar 'will win (they)' (Tirum 99:4)
> tēṭuvīr 'will search (you)' (Tirum 210:2)
> uṇṇuvar 'will eat (they)' (Tirum 215:2)
> *-um*
> *tōṉṟum* 'will appear (neut)' (Tirum 587:1)
> niṟkumē 'will stand (neut.)' (Tirum 592:4)

Use of *-v-* and *–p-* in some verbs as in *uṇpāṇ, uṇṇuvar* 'will eat' is common

phenomenon found in all the three genres of the language. Meenakshisundaram (1965:142)

notes that *-p-* alternates with *-v-* when the formative *–ku-* is inserted as in *uṇkuv –* vs. *uṇp- ,* but

as noted above, these two suffixes alternate in the language of Tirumantiram only when the first

syllable is geminated as in *uṇ* to *uṇṇu,* and no instance of the verb *uṇku-*. However, there are

other cases of verbs such as *ceykuvārkku* 'for the one who does' (Tirum 595:3), *īcaṉai uḷkuvar*

'remember the god' (Tirum 771:2), which take the formative *-ku-* in Tirumantiram.

Besides these sets of verbs that are found to be common in both in medieval and modern

Tamil, there is a group of verbs, as shown below, which tend to either lose currency in modern

Tamil or became grammaticalized .

3.6. The verb *o* 'be appropriate':

> **ovvāta** manṟuḷ umai kāṇa āṭiṭum
> appropriate-not-that stage-loc Uma see-inf. dance-fut.
> *'The dance that (He) dances in an inappropriate stage for Uma to see'* (Tirum 130:3)

ottuṇarntān   uru   oṉṟōṭonru ovvātu
  appropriate-pa.feel-3rd.sg. form one-soc.-one alike-not
  'The form of the one who felt s.t. alike won't match each other' (Tirum 302:2)

Note that the verb *o* 'be appropriate' takes the future suffix *–v* which states that it is one of the weak verbs, but it takes *–tt* as its past tense, which is not a common past tense suffix for weak verbs.   Further, the use of the future suffix *–pp* with the verb *–o* in some cases shows that the verb *–o* is indeed homonymous to another verb meaning 'be alike'.

  manaiyuḷ iruntavar mātavar **oppar**
  home-loc be-pa.-3rd mas.sg. great boon-3rd sg.mas. be alike-fut
  'One who is inside home is like gifted with boons' (Tirum 47:1)

Except for the forms *ottu* 'be matched' in compound word constructions of ottuppō, ottuvā 'agree to' etc., as in *avar enakku ottuppōkavillai* 'he doesn't agree to me' and *oppiṭu* 'compare' as in *inta puttakattai anta puttakattōṭu oppiṭu* 'compare this book with other book', there are no instances of this verb occurring in modern Tamil either in its finite form or in any other derivations.

3.7. The particle kil:

  The particle –kil is another form that is attested only in the bhakti literature, and it is not found either in old Tamil or even in modern Tamil texts. Meenakshisundaram (1965:139) who glosses this suffix as 'to be able' notes its independent use in Tiruvacakam *kiṟpaṉ uṇṇavē* 'I am able only to eat' (Tiruva. 41). Even though its origin is obscure, it is a possible candidate for one to assume this to be a source for the later development of 'modal' forms as it occurs in a number of instances with the shades of meaning of 'be able'.   However, no study is made so far linking this suffix and the equivalent modal form in modern Tamil.   Zvelebil (1971, p. 444) and Bloch (1942), for example, hypothesize that this suffix is the starting point for the development of present tense marker in Tamil. According to him, the combination of [*kil+t*] gave rise to the

later formation of [*kinṛ*]. However, it must be noted that both the auxiliary suffixes namely *–kil* and *–kiṉṛ* are used distinctively and extensively in bhakti Tamil, so they are definitely different from each other.   Note below the use of the suffix *kil* and *–kinr* exclusively in medieval text:

> pāṭavallār neṟi pāṭa aṟi-**kil**-ēnē
> One who is able to sing – rules – to sing – not knowing
> *I am not able to comprehend the rules of the songs of the one who is able to sing.*
> (Tirum 96:1).
>
> Munti uṟaik-**kiṉṛ**-a mūlan maṭam varai
> prime live-pr-ppl. Siva   abode up to
> *Up to the abode where Siva lives* (Tirum 101:2)
>
> **kiṟpaṉ** uṇṇavē
> 'I am able only to eat' (Tiruvā: 14)[63]
>
> paṇai piṭittuk kiṭak**kiṉṛēnai**
> *'I am lying here holding a stylus'* (Tiruva: 31)

Use of the suffix *kil* in Tirumantiram suggests that it can be considered to be a source for many other grammatical categories as well.   Consider below the other instances of this suffix being used in a variety of contexts.   When occurring with the conjunctive marker *–um*, it gives a conditional meaning:

> inpuṟa nāṭi **ninaik-kil-um** mūnṟoḷi
> Bliss approached aspire even-if three-lights
> *'Even if one aspires for the auspicious lights, approaching Him with desire'*
>   (Tirum 194:3)
>
> ēnōr perumaiyaṉ **ā-kil-um**
> for everyone famed even though
> *'Even though He is very famed..'* (Tirum 3024:1)

With the root form of any verb and person, number and gender suffix *–ar* or *-an*, it gives a sense of present negative, which can also be taken to mean negative modal with a gloss of 'not able'.

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[63] 'l' becoming 'ṛ' before a plosive is a common phonological rule in Tamil, as in pal 'tooth' + poṭi 'powder' > paṟpoṭi 'tooth powder'. Obviously, this rule forms the basis for the development of '*kiṟpaṉ*' from '*kilpaṉ*'.

anṛuṇarvāl   aḷakkiṇṛatu **aṛikilar**
that day feel live judging   know-not
'*One does not comprehend even those that can be judged by senses*' (Tirum 191:2)

ninṛatu kaṇṭu ninaik-**kil**-ar nīcarkaḷ
stood-that having seen think-not-they mean people
'*The mean people are not giving a thought having stood in front.* (Tirum 185:2)

With the negative suffix -*ā,* it is understood with a meaning of 'not be able'.

uṇṇiṇṛu aḷakkiṇṛatu onṛum **aṛi-kil-ār**
inside-lie perceive   anything know-not-they
'*One is not able to realize Him who is within*' (Tirum 184:2)

maruḷ koṇṭa cintaiyai **māṛṛa-kil-lārē**
darkness possess heart change-not-able
'*One is not able to change the heart filled with darkness*' (Tirum 203:4)

There is also an instance where this suffix occurs as a main verb with a negative suffix -ē.

killēn vinait tuyar ākkum mayalānēn
not-able deed sadness make-will grief-become-I
'*I became grief-sticken having not been able to resist the actions causing sadness*'
(Tirum 313:1)

The suffix –*kil* when used in combination of the verb *āku* 'to become' and –*il* denotes a

negative conditional meaning.

tann-il   tann-aic cār-**kil**-an   **ākil**
self-loc. self-acc. unite-not able-he become-if
'*If one is not able to unite the self within…*'(Tirum 2349:3)

entai-y-um   enn-ai aṛi-y-a-kil-ān **ākil**
God-gl.-conj. me-acc. know-gl.-inf.-not able-he become-if
'If the lord is not able to know me…' (Tirum 2428:3)

This suffix is also used in negative adjectival participle constructions as shown below.

inpam atu kaṇṭum   **ī-kil-āp**   pētaikaḷ
bliss   that know-pa.fut. donate-be not-fut ignorant-pl.
'*Even though it is a bliss, ignorant people who don't donate*' (Tirum 267:2)

aṛṛatam   vāṇāḷ **aṛi-kil-āp**   pāvikaḷ
without-own life   know-not-that sinful persons
'*sinful people who don't understand their own life*' (Tirum 2084:2)

3.8. Use of the suffix –il:

The system of negation has undergone many changes in all of the three stages of Tamil, and in each stage one finds a complex system of features for 'negation'. Medieval Tamil does not show evidences of using many of the modern Tamil negative forms including the future negative suffix -*māṭṭ.* However, one finds the uses of the suffix –*il* very significant from the point of view of its later development as the form *illai,* which can be considered to be a nominal form of the verb root –*il.* The other forms of the verb –*il* are –*illātatu* 'that which is not', -*illāmal* 'without' etc. The derived form *illai* constitutes the present negative suffix in modern Tamil. Also, in modern Tamil, one finds the use of all negative suffixes occurring together with the infinitive form of verbs they are attached to, which is not the case in medieval Tamil where the form –*il* occurs with root form of verbs and past tense forms. The following examples illustrate the use of the suffix –*il* with past tense and present tense suffixes, which presumably indicates 'past' and 'present negation' as separate forms.

> maṛantān vaṛi mutal **vantilan** īcan
> forget-pa.-he on the path front come-pa.be not-he Lord
> *'The Lord does not appear in front of those who forget'* (Tirum 256:3)
>
> taṭṭān aṛintum oruvarkku **uraittilan**
> creator know-even no one tell-not-he
> *'Even though the creator knows it, He told none'* (Tirum 486:2)

When occurring with the present tense form of the verb, it denotes present negative meaning.

> kariyankol cēyankol **kāṇkinṛilēnē**
> black-he-with red-he-with see-not-I
> *'Is he black or red? I do not see him'* (Tirum 2814:4)
>
> eṭṭum iraṇṭum initu **aṛikinṛilar**
> Eight-and two-and well know-not-they
> *'Either it is eight or two, they do not know it well'* (Tirum 986:1)

In some cases this suffix occurs with the root form of verb with the formative *kk*, where it gives a sense of 'habitual future negation' of 'won't' or 'be-not'.

> ninṟatu   kaṇṭu   **ninaikkilar**   nīcarkaḷ
> stand-pa.-that see-vbp. think-form.be not-he evil people-pl.
> *'Evil people don't understand even those that are obvious to them'* (Tirum 185:2)

> ninaittatu   aṟivan   enniltān   **ninaikkilar**
> thought-that know-fut.he thought-loc-emp. think-form-be not-he
> *'One would know what they pondered, but not what they think'* (Tirum 22:2)

The verb form *–ilar* does have a variant of *-ilātār* 'those who don't have s.t.', when used with nouns such as antam ilāta (381:1) 'that which does not have an end', nōnpum ilātavar (505:3) 'one who does not observe fasting', ilātana (984:2) 'those that don't conduct penance' and so on.

> ñānam**ilātār** caṭaicikai nūlnaṇṇi
> knowledge not-with-they braid-hair book-reaching out
> *'The senseless people not knowing about sacred thread and matted locks, reach out books to know about it.'* (Tirum 242:1)

It may be noticed that in the forms above one gets a sense of 'universal future negation' as in 'won't be', which is obtained in modern Tamil with the future negative suffix *māṭṭ-* as in *varamāṭṭān* 'won't come', uraikkamāṭṭān 'won't utter' respectively; and *illātār* 'those who don't have s.t.'. When this suffix occurs with noun stems, it gives a sense of participial noun as 'one who does not have':

> kāṇṭaṟku ariyan **karuttilan** nantiyum
> see-those-for elusive thoughts-beyond Nandi-and
> *'He is elusive to see. He is beyond one's conception – He is the Nandi'* (Tirum 1793:1)

> enakku iṟai **anpilan** enpar iṟaivan
> me-to   divine love-not-he say-they Lord
> *'One would say the God is not affectionate to him/her'* (Tirum 22:3)

3.9. Use of the verb *–al* 'not'

Similar to the use of the verb -*il* 'not-be', there are also cases in Tirumantiram where the negative meaning is expressed widely with the verb –*al* '*not*', which is not used in modern spoken Tamil and in a very limited context in modern *literary* Tamil. In particular the use of the negative conjunctive verb –*allatu* 'or', is a nominalized   form of the verb –*al*, which has its source in   medieval Tamil. In modern Tamil the word *allatu* 'or' attained the grammatical status of 'disjunctive marker' to mean 'or'.   This grammaticalized form is less frequently used in modern spoken Tamil, but more widely used in the literary variety.   It is to be noted that except for its use as 'disjunctive marker',   no other uses of this verb, such as the appellative noun *allan* 'not-he', negative conditional form of the verb *al* as in *allāl* 'without' etc., are found to be occurring in modern Tamil. Note that the verb -*al* means 'not identical' whereas –*il* means 'not located/existed', and hence they are not one and the same. In Modern spoken Tamil –*il* is used to mean both 'not-exists' as in *puttakam iṅku illai* 'book is not here' as well as with the meaning of 'not identical' as in *itu puttakam illai* 'this is not a book', whereas the verb –*al* is used only in the latter sense. Thus, the word –*alla* in the sentence *itu puttakam alla* 'this is not a book' is used only the restricted context of modern Literary Tamil, and the corresponding interepretation of 'not exists' is not expressed using the verb -*al*. So, *puttakam iṅku alla 'The book is not here' is not an acceptable expression, as it is not an existential verb.

> puriv-uṭai yāḻarkkup poyyalan īcan
> realize-with   people-to fail-not-he God
> *'God never abandons those who understand him'* (Tirum 348: 3)

> allātavarkaḷ aṟivu pala enpār
> not-those-they knowledge many say-they
> *'Those who are without it say knowledge is immense'* (Tirum 311:2)

> ivanṟā nena nin ṟeḷiyanum allan
> he-indeed say your simple person not he
> *'He is not of the kind that one can identify him easily'* (Tirum 448:2)

ariyan periyan enṟu āṭpaṭṭatu allāl
precious-he big-he that involved-that those not
'Rare and Great is He! Beyond this I know nothing' (Tirum 2814:3)

The negative participle form of the verb –*al,* which is *aṟṟu* is used widely in Tirumantiram to

mean 'deprived of' or 'without s.t.' as in the following examples.

añju aṟṟu   viṭṭatōr ānaiyum āmē
 fear without leave-one command-conj. becomes
'The command that was issued without fear' (Tirum 2094:4)

 aṟṟu   ninṟār   uṇṇum ūṇē ...
deprived stand-pa.3rd.pl. eat-fut. food
'The food that the deprived eat…' (Tirum 253:1)

3.10. Use of the verb -*ili* 'one without s.t.'

The verb –*ili* 'one without s.t.' is used with derived words widely in Tirumantiram both

as a separate noun as well as an adjectival form to mean 'those without certain attribute'.

-*ili*   *iṟappili* 'immortals'   (Tirum 25:2)
                 ulappili 'one without roaming' (Tirum 3:1)
                 tuṟappili 'one without renunciation' (Tirum 25:3)
                 piṟappili 'one without birth' (Tirum 25:1)
                 oppili   'unequal' (Tirum 36:1)

3.10.1. Negative form of a verb and the use of the suffix -ā

Caṅkam Tamil has the suffix −*ā* as a negative marker and it is added after the infinitive of the

verb as in *ceya + ā > ceyā.*[64]   The form *ceyā* is homonymous with the 'negative participle

marker' *ceyā* 'one who did not do' and *ceyān* 'he who did not do'.   Interestingly, Caṅkam

Tamil shows the use of the suffix −*al* for negative verbal participle as in *vār-al-an* 'one who did

not come'.   Notably, in the bhakti period only the suffix −*ā* is found, but not the suffix −*al*.

When the suffix −*ā* occurs with the word *uṭai,* for example, it gives the meaning of 'one who is

possessed with s.t.'.   E.g. *aṭakkamuṭaiyān* 'one who is possessed with obedience'

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[64] Notice that the root is not doubled as it should be in modern Tamil where the final consonant of the single syllable words double when any suffix is added.

(Tirumantiram 554).   *Tirumuṟai* text also uses the adjectival suffix *–āta* as retained from

Caṅkam. E.g. *kallāta mūṭarai* 'the illiterate foolish person' (Tirumantiram 337).   The relative

participle form   is marked in bhakti period with two different suffixes namely *-āta* and *-ā*,

whereas in Caṅkam period only the suffix *-ā* is used. It is worth mentioning that in modern

Tamil only the suffix *-āta* is used as a relative adjectival participle marker. Thus, again we see

that the medieval time is the period when both newly developed grammatical forms as well as

remnants from Caṅkam Tamil are attested.

Many uses of the suffix *ā* are found in medieval Tamil, including future negation, negative

relative participle, negative participial noun and so on. It is to be noted that these uses of the

suffix *ā* became obsolete in modern Tamil.

Future negation:

puṟappaṭṭup **pōk-ā** peruntakaiyānē
set out-vbp. go-will not-he revered-he-emp
'The great Lord who will not set out…' (Tirum 586:4)

Negative verbal participle:

puṟappaṭṭa vāyu **pukaviṭā** vaṇṇam
set out-that breath enter-without manner
'Without letting the breath to enter' (Tirum 586:1)

Negative participial noun:

karakattāl nīrāṭṭik kāvai **vaḻarkk-ā-r**
pot-by   bath   calf   raise-not-they
'(They) don't raise the calf with potful of water' (Tirum 264:3)

Affirmative form of participle is also formed with the verb *–uṟu* 'occur', which is not common

in modern Tamil.

paṇp-uṟu   kālamum pārmicai vāṟkkaiyum
character-occur time-conj. world-loc. life-conj

'The life in the world and the time with character' (Tirum 453:3)

3.11. The expletive *kol*:

The expletive –*kol* is employed to express doubt either at lexical level or at phrasal level. While it is not used in modern Tamil, the nearest equivalent that can be paraphrased for expressions with –*kol* would be the dubitative suffix -*ō*, which, like –*kol*, is used with both nouns and verbs.

> aruḷ peṟṟa kāraṇam en**kol** ...
> grace acquired reason why-ask
> *'if one asks the reason why grace is acquired…'* (Tirum 2599:1)

> kariyankol ceyan**kol** kāṇkinṛilēnē
> black-he   red-he   see-pr-neg.I
> *'Is he black? Is he red? I do not see!'* (Tirum 2814:4)

3.12. Equative and Comparative forms:

In modern Tamil the forms *pōla* and *viṭa,* that are used to give the meanings 'equative' and 'comparative' respectively are usually termed 'post-positions', as they always occur after the case suffix -*ai.*   For example, in the modern Tamil sentence *avan ennai viṭa uyaram* 'he is taller than me', the marker *viṭa* can be glossed as 'than'.   The form *viṭa* is derived from the lexical verb *viṭu* 'leave', with the addition of the infinitive suffix –*a.* Similarly, the comparative marker *pōla 'like'* is derived from the verb *pōl* 'be like' and the infinitive suffix –*a.* Even though these two forms are (supposedly) derived from their corresponding lexical verbs, they are fully grammaticalized as comparative and equative markers respectively.

In Tirumantiram,   the equative markers corresponding to modern Tamil *pōla* 'like'that are attested are *pōl, anna, pōnṛu, okkum* and *ottu.*   It is possible that only the form *pōl* turned into *pōla* in modern Tamil and the form *pōnṛu* is simply a past tense form of the same

verb *pōl* 'be like'. Also note that unlike in modern Tamil, the form *pōl* occurs in medieval

Tamil freely after nouns and the finite form of verbs without any case suffix following.

-pōl:

vānil ninṟār mati **pōl** uṭal uḷḷuvantu
sky-loc stood-he moon like body enters-and
'*Like the moon on the sky, He entered into my body*' (Tirum 37:3)

nīriniṟ pāl**pōla** niṟkinṟa nērmaiyai
water-loc milk like stands-that straightforwardness
'*Like water in milk, the straightforwardness that one follows…*' (Tirum 450:3).

When *pōl* occurs with verbs, it is preceded by the suffix -*āl,* where the final -*l* turns into –*ṟ* due

to the following stop consonant –*p-.*

..pālinuḷ ney kalantāṟ **pōl**
mil-loc ghee mix like
'*It's like ghee is mixed inside milk*' (Tirum 134:1)

-pōnṟu:

meyppaṭṭa kallaic cumappōn viti **pōnṟum**
body-on stone-acc carry-he fate like
'*Like the one carries a stone in one's hand*' (Tirum 536:2)

-aṟṟu

Unlike the marker –*pōl,* the equative marker –*aṟṟu* tends to occur with verbs. This marker is

not to be confused with the negative participle form of the verb –*al,* which is *aṟṟu* 'without', as

dealt with above in the context of the using the negative verb –*al* 'deprived of'.

āṭṭin kaṟuttil atarkiṭant**aṟṟē**
goat-pos. neck-loc. excessive-growth like
'*It's like excessive growth on sheep's neck*' (Tirum 2937:4)

-ottu
nilaviya māmukil nīr**ottu**
pervade-who giant cloud water-like
'*Pervading giant cloud is like water*' (Tirum 3001:3)

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oṟintilan ēṟulaku **ottu**ninṟānē (Tirum 3034:4)
without fail seven world like stood-he
'Without fail he stood like all the seven worlds' (Tirum 3034:4)

-okkum

kāṇa   vallārkku avan kaṇṇin maṇi-y-okkuṅ
see-inf. capable-dat. He   eye-pos. pupil-like
'He is like the pupil of the eye for those who can see him'
kāṇa   vallārkkuk kaṭalin amutokkum
see-inf. capable-dat ocean-pos. nector-like
'He is like the nector from ocean for those who can see him' (Tirum 2823:1,2)

-anna

pīlikkaṇ   **anna** vaṭivu cey-v-āḷ
demon-eye like   form   do-fut-3rd.fem.sg.
'She would make a form with demon's eye' (Tirum 2959:3)

One finds the use of *pōl* as main verb in medieval Tamil texts such as *Divyaprabandam*, *Periyapuranam* and *Tevaram*.

emperumān ponvayiṟṟil pūvē pōlvān
my Lord   golden stomach flower-indeed like-he
'My Lord is like flower in his golden stomach' (Div. 415).

... matakaḷiṟē pōlvān kaṇṭāy
   mad elephant like-he see
'Look! He is like a made elephant' (Peri. 3167).

Presumably, the other inflected forms of this verb *pōnṟu* 'a participle form', *pōnṟa* 'adjectival form' are frequently used both in medieval and modern Tamil.

3.13. Causative:

Causation is a case of forming transitive verbs from intransitive ones, primarily denoting an action performed by the agents will being controlled something exterior to the person (see Schiffman 1999:74), as 'make someone to do something'. However, causative is to be distinguished from 'cause' and 'effect' in verbs as explained using the term 'affectivity' by Paramasivam (1979). The verb *āku* 'to become' can become ākku 'make s.t.'; *ōṭu* 'to run'

can become *ōṭṭu* 'make to run' etc., but in both form of verbs the will of agent is not controlled by any external agent. On the other hand, note in the following examples, using the causative suffixes *–pi* and *-vi* - used with the root form of verbs – the action denoted by the verb is forced upon the agent by someone exterior to the person.

> ellai   **kaṭa-ppi-ttu** iṟaivan aṭi kūtti
> boundary go past-caus.-avp.   God   foot reach
> *'Reaching the foot of the Lord and making s.o. cross the boundary'* (Tirum 2016:2)

> kāmāti viṭṭōrkun   taral-tantu   **kaṟ-pi-ppōn**
> lusturous skillful-dat.-and giving-give.avp. teach-caus.-he
> *'He is the one who teaches even those who are skillful in lust.'*
>
> (Tirum 507:3)
> kānīr varum vaṟi kaṅkai **taruvikkum**
> flood flows-fut. path Ganges provide-make-fut.
> *'The Ganges that makes the flood flow'* (Tirum 809:3)

Besides the use of this word internal suffixes *–pi* and *–vi,* causative is also made with the auxiliary verb *–vai,* but it is added after infinitive form of the main verb as in the following examples.

> pōṟṟi en anpuḷ   **poliya vaittēnē**
> praise my love-within cherish make-pa.1st sg.-emp.
> *'Having praised, I cherished him within my love'* (Tirum 44:4)

> tēcattai   ellām **teḷiya vaittānē**
> country-acc. all   lucid   make-pa.3rd.sg.-emp.
> *'He made all the world lucid'* (Tirum 2063:4)

3.14. The conditional markers -*āl*, -*il* and –*in*

The conditional suffix widely used in Cankam Tamil is *–in*, but in the language of bhakti literature the suffixes -*āl*, –*in* and -*il* are used largely. As already stated, only in some instances in Sangam texts, the suffix –*āl* is used with present suffix -*kiṉṟ* to denote conditional meaning, but in medieval and modern Tamil it is used both as an instrumental suffix as well as a conditional suffix. However, the use of the suffix –*āl* differs from its counterparts, namely –*in*

and *–il* in the sense that it occurs only with past tense suffix, where as the latter forms tend to

occur with root form of verbs, as in *varin* 'if comes', *tōnṟil* 'if appears' etc.

> pērkoṇṭa   pārppān pirāntannai **arcci-tt-āl**
> name-acquired   Brahmin god-acc.   Worship
> *'If a known Brahmin worships the Lord…'* (Tirum 519:1)

> civayōki ñāni citaintu uṭal **vi-ṭṭ-āl**
> Siva yogin   collapsed body leave-if
> *'if a Siva Yogin dies in the pursuit of Yoga'* (Tirum 1905:1)

Besides the suffix *-āl*, the suffix *–in* is also attested in the conditional sense in a large number of

verses. Although these two suffixes are not mutually exclusive, occurrence of these two suffixes

for conditional meaning can be justified by the fact that *-āl* is a modern development whereas *–

in* is a feature that occurs in large numbers, both in Sangam and Medieval Tamil. This suffix is

used only in literary varieties of modern Tamil.

> munnai vinaivar-**in** munnuṇṭē nīṅkuvar
> earlier   sin-come-if early   eliminate-they
> *'If one's Karma from the past overtakes them, they eliminate them.'*
> 					(Tirum 2610:1)

> naman   **var-in** ñāna-vāḷ   koṇṭē eṟi-v-an
> death god come-if knowledge sword have   throw-fut-3rd.mas.sg.
> *If the god of death arrives, he would throw the sword of knowledge.*

> civan var-**in** nān-uṭan pōvatu tiṇṇam
> Siva   comes-if I-with   going   sure
> *'If Siva comes, it is sure that I will be joining him.'* (Tirum 2968:1,2)

The verb *āyin* 'lit. if s.t. becomes' is found to be used very commonly after a noun or a finite

verb in Sangam Tamil in the context of conditional meaning, but it is used only in a very few

cases in medieval Tamil. Note that the verb *āku* , ' become' is a class three verb and its past

form has two main variants namely *ākin-*and *āyin-.* For reasons that are not clear, only the

form *āyin* is used in a grammatical sense of 'if s.t. becomes', but not *ākin.*

piṟital eṇṇinai āyiṉ..
 separation think if, good
'If you think about separation..' (Akam:38:1)

vēṉil āyiṉ maṇiṉiṟaṅ koḷḷum
summer if pearl-color acquire
'If it is summer, the pearls get color' (Aiṅg: 45:1)

It is found that in Tirumantiram the concessive form *āyiṉum* 'even-if' occurs more commonly.

ellā uyirukkum iṟaivaṉē āyiṉum
 all   life-dat.-conj. Lord-emp. even if
'Even if it is God, to all of the life..' (Tirum 312:3)

The concessive meaning of 'even if' is understood more widely in Tirumantiram when the suffix

–iṉ occurs with conjunctive marker *–um* as follows:

tēcaṅ kalantoru tēvaṉeṉṟu eṇṇ-**iṉ**-um
country mix-one God-that   think-if-even
'Even if there is only one god in the whole universe..'(Tirum17:3)

This suffix is not to be confused with the possessive suffix *–iṉ*, which is a feature of Sangam,

Medieval and Modern Tamil, although in Modern Tamil it is restricted to occur only in the

literary variety of the language. The other place where the form *–iṉ* occurs in all of the three

varieties of the language is with conditional suffix as an empty morph.

pālām amirtuṇṭu   paṟṟaṟap   paṟṟ-iṉ-āl
 milk   nector-consume bond-without grab-if
 'if one consumes the milky nectar without any human bondage..' (Tirum1956:3)
-il
Instances of using the suffix *–il* in a conditional sense also occur commonly in

Tirumantiram. However, this suffix is used synonymously with its variants namely *–iṉ* and *–āl*.

kūṟā upatēcam kūṟ**il** civaparam
proclaim preachings say-if Siva lore
'If one preaches the Siva lore..' (Tirum 2447:2)

It occurs in the concessive meaning of 'even if' with a conjunctive suffix as below:

paṇik-**il**-um panmalar tūvip paṇivan
surrender-if-even flowers spread obey
'Even if surrenders, he would surrender spreading the flowers.'(Tirum1526:2)

The suffix -āviṭil is widely used in Tirumantiram to denote negative conditional meaning.

pākan viṭ**āviṭil** panṛiyum āmē
Mahout leave-not pig-conj. becomes
'If the mahout does not leave it, it will become a pig' (Tirum 2926:4)

3.15. Causal expression:

The causal meanings namely 'because of', 'for the reasons of' etc., are obtained using the form -*ātalil,* which has its nearest modern Tamil equivalent in *ātalāl* (verbal noun form of *āku > ātal + āl* lit. 'if becoming happens') and a related equivalent of *atanāl (atu + an + āl* lit. 'because of that')*,* both of which occur in Tirumantiram.

ākum poṛutiṛ kalai aintām **ātalil**
  becomes day-loc art five-it is because
  'Because there are five arts in any day that becomes..'(Tirum2399:2)

amutac civayōkam **ātalāl** citti
  nector Siva-Yoga because realization
  'One would attain the realization, because of nector like Siva Yoga' (Tirum1959:3)

The question arises as to why the formative suffix –*k* is dropped in the above instances of grammatical categories formed out of the lexical verb *āku* 'to become'. One of the reasons why –*k* drops in this environment is because –*k* easily becomes –*h* intervocalically, and subsequently it may be dropped due to phonological reduction, which is a common phenomenon associated with grammaticalization.. Even though, the verbal noun form of this verb is attested in Tirumantiram as below, no instances of the forms either *ākutalāl or *ākutalil are attested either in Tirumantiram or in Sangam texts

cuttattil cuttamē tolcivam **ākutal** (Tirum 2252:1)
purity-in purity Saiva-state becoming
'Attaining the state of Saiva Yoga is the ultimate purity' (Tirum 2252:1)

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3.16. Imperative mood

Imperative mood in Tirumantiram is expressed with the suffix –*min* for singular and –*minkaḷ* for plural. Corresponding negation is formed with the suffix –*anmin.* Both of these forms are no longer extant in modern Tamil, and a totally unrelated form of *uṅkaḷ* is used instead.

> tuṟappili tannait **toṟu-min** toṟutāl
> primeval Him   pray-imp. Pray-if
> *'Worship the primeval. If you pray [to] Him..'* (Tirum25:3)

> ācai yaṟuminkaḷ ācai y**aṟu-minkaḷ**
> desire remove-imp. Desire remove-if
> *'Remove your desires! If you remove your desires..'* (Tirum2615:1)

The suffix –min is not new to medieval Tamil. Occurrences of this suffix are attested in Sangam texts as well.

> kūṟu**min** vāṟiyō   āṟucel mākkaḷ (Aing. 385:4)
> tell   respectful   pedestrians-go people
> *'Oh! the pedestrians, tell!'* (Aing: 385:4)

> varuvīr   ākutal   urai**min** mannō
> come-fut.you becoming proclaim king-oh!
> *'Oh! King! Proclaim your arrival'* (Akam: 1208:3)

Moreover, there are also instances where the second person plural suffix *īr* is used in the imperative mood in the medieval texts.

> tīrttamtām atu tērntukoḷ**vīrē**
> water-sacred that select-have
> *'Choose the sacred water and have it.'*(Tirum 1859:4)

Negative imperative is formed with the suffix –*anmin*, which is obviously composed of the negative particle –*al* 'not' and –*min* with application of morphophonemic rule of *l + m > n.*

> ārkkum   iṭumin   avarivar   **ennanmin**
> everyone-to-and offer-imp. He-that-he-this say-no
> *'Offer to everyone! Don't make any impartiality'* (Tirum 250:1)

Like the affirmative suffix, the negative suffix is also in use during the Sangam period also.

> aiyam koḷḷanmin, ārari vāḻir!
> suspicion have-not   six-sense people
> *'Oh! People with six sense! Don't get any suspicion!'* (Puram:216)

3.17. Modal forms

Tirumantiram does not show as rich a structure of Modal forms (also known as modal auxiliary verbs) as in modern Tamil. However there are certain uses that indicate a pre-cursor of some of the new structures in modern Tamil. For example, no use of the modal *muṭiyum* is found in Tirumantiram, but it uses the two verbs *val* 'be able' and *oṉṉ-* 'be able' which seem to be a usage that is prior to and wider than the use of the form *muṭiyum* 'be able' in modern Tamil.

> uṟakkattai nīkki   uṇara vallārkku
> sleep-acc. avoid feel   capable-they
> *'Those who can feel, avoiding the sleep'* (Tirum80:3)

> tutipala tōttiram colla vallārum
> melody-many verses say capable
> *'Those who can recite many verses with melodies'* (Tirum33:3)

The verb *–val* is also used in modern Tamil but only in restricted contexts such as the de-verbal derived form *vallavan* 'capable person', but the corresponding verbal use as in medieval Tamil is not attested in modern Tamil. Use of this auxiliary form as a main verb can be found in the following examples.

> vallār   enil aruṭ   kaṇṇāṉ matittuḷōr
> Capable-they if   gracious eye-he respect-they
> *'If capable person, they are respected by the one with gracious eyes'* (Tirum310:2)

> vallārkaḷ   eṉṟum vaṟiyoṉṟi vāṟkiṉṟār
> Capapble-they always poverty-withut live-they
> *'Capable people always live without poverty'* (Tirum311:1)

Along with the form with 'ā', typical of medieval Tamil, the form with corresponding short vowel and the person-number-gender suffix '-an', as typical or modern Tamil is also found to occur in Tirumantiram with identical meaning.

> vallavan vannikku iṟaiyiṭai ..
> Capabale-he fire-to seas-amidst
> *'The God of fire, amidst the seas..'*(Tirum23:1)

The other verb that gives a sense of 'being able' in Tirumantiram is *oṉṉ-* but it is found to occur with the suffix *ātu* in a negative sense, and with a person-number-gender suffix in affirmative meaning.

> paṇintavark kallatu pārkka oṉṉātē
> service-to   without see-to   not-able
> *'Other than those who render service to Lord, others can't see.'*(Tirum 606:4)

> kuḷiyaṟi vāḻarkku kūṭavum oṉṉāṉ
> Cold-sens those-to reach-and cabable
> *'To those who can sense the cold, are reachable by God'* (Tirum 510:2)

Unlike these cases where the verb *oṉṉ* always occurs after the infinitive form of the main verb, a few cases of this verb are also found to occur in negative adjectival participle forms as a main verb.

> oṉṉā nayanattil uṟṟa oḷitannai
> not reachable gaze appear light-acc
> *'In a not reachable gaze, appears the light..'* (Tirum 600:1)

> oṉṉāta   yōkattai uṟṟava rārenil
> not attainable posture   obtain those-if
> *'If they are those who attained the precious Yogic posture'*(Tirum 832:1)

One finds the use of *oṉṉ-* in modern Tamil prose especially in the texts of older generation writers, like Jayakantan, but not among youngsters, in whose intuition this use is found to be archaic.

mīṇṭum orumuṟai avvitam **nikaṟavoṇṇāmal** tavirukkum palamillaata palaviinam
again one time that manner happen-inf.not able avoid-fut.neut strength-neg.ppl. weakness
'The weakness without any strength that thwarts for that not able to occur again….'
(Jayakantan: kōkilā enna ceytuviṭṭāḷ – p. 20).

Further, the fact that the use of the verb *oṇṇ-* with its variant *uṇṇ-* is attested in medieval Tamil

inscriptions indicates that it was one of the popularly used pre-cursor modal equivalent of

muṭiyum 'be able'.

> ciṟai mīṭkaiy-il pinup immutal eṅkaḷ-āl irukka oṇṇāmaiy-āl
> jail recover-loc. after this first us-by remain not-able-because
> *'Because we were not able to remain after the recovery from the jail..'* (IPS, 548)

> ittēvar tēvatānaṅ-kaḷ-ukku iṟaiyirukka uṇṇāt-enṟum...
> this Tevar celestial offering-pl.-dat offering-offer not able- that
> *'The fact that this Tevar caste people is not able to offer their offerings to the*
> *religious abodes…'* (TAS,ii. p1-7).

The verb *vēṇṭum* is used with a modal meaning of 'must/should', and its negative counterpart

vēṇṭām with a variant *vēṇṭā* are used both with the infinitive form of the verb as well as with

nouns to express the meaning 'no need'.

> aṟappeṟa vēṇṭum amarar pirānē
> unceasing-love need immortal Lord
> *'I need to obtain the unceasing love. Oh! the immortal Lord'* (Tirum 1830:4)

> tutikkaiyāl uṇpārkkuc cōravum vēṇṭām
> spinal trunk-by eat-those-dat. tiring not-needed
> *'Those who eat with spinal-trunk should not get tired'* (Tirum 801:2)

> cāmātikaḷ vēṇṭām iṟaiyuṭa nēkiṟ
> state of contemplation no need God- with remain
> *'The state of contemplation is not needed for those who are with God'* (Tirum 631:2)

> ariyan enṟu eṇṇi ayarvuṟa vēṇṭā
> know-not-he that thinking tired-obtain no-need
> *'No need to be tired thinking as not known'* (Tirum348:2)

Use of both *vēṇṭum* and *vēṇṭām* with the verbal noun form of verbs together with the suffix *–al*

are commonly used in Tirumantiram.

marantum araneriyē ārral ventum
forget-and virtuous deed perform need
'One should perform only virtuous deeds, even unconsciously' (Tirum 244:2)

The other uses of modal auxiliaries such as *kūṭum* and *lām* are used less frequently in

Tirumantiram.

camāti yamātiyir rān cellak kūṭum
contemplation death become reach possible
'It's possible for one to reach the end state of Yama upon deep contemplation'
(Tirum618:1)

tānivai okkum camātikai kūṭātu
oneself-these resemble meditation should not
'One should not reach the state of contemplation that resembles him' (Tirum1903:1)

The meaning identical to the use of *lām* 'possible' in modern Tamil is obtained in a construction

constituting the suffix –*al* and the suffix -*ām*, which leads one to propose that the suffix -*lām*

is indeed a combination of the gerund/infinitive and the suffix -ām.

totarntu ninru avvari tūrkkalum āmē
continuously stand that path reaching possible
'One following the eternity continuously, may reach the path to salvation' (Tirum212:4)

ūrrukai ullat torunkalum āmē
praising heart uniting possible
'One may unite with Lord in one's heart.' (Tirum2041:4)

It is quite common in Tirumantiram that the verb *āmē* and its variant the neuter future form of

the verb *āku* as in *ākum* are used in the sense of 'be possible' and 'become-will-it' when

occurring with both nouns and verbs.

naniccutar mēlkoṇṭā vannamum āmē
tiny-flame upon-have color-and becomes
'It becomes the color that one sees on the tiny light flame' (Tirum1997:4)

tanmutal ākiya tattuvam āmē
self-prime became-that doctrine becomes
'It is the doctrine based in Him' (Tirum 2082:4)

eṇṇilum nīrmēl eṟuttatu ākumē
 count-if-and water-on letter-that become-will
 'Even if one ponders over it, it will become like writing on water' (Tirum60:4)

3.18. Verbal participles

The verbal participle construction in Tamil acts as a root form upon which other complex

forms are added. In general, root form (or verb 'stem') and infinitive form of verbs are the other

two forms with which many complex verb paradigms are constructed . Negative and modal

forms are made with infinitive forms of the verb as base, whereas all of the aspectual forms are

formed with verbal participles as their base[65]. As far as the aspectual forms are concerned,

medieval Tamil exhibits a full-fledged system of verbal participles (ex. *nōkki* 'having looked',

kalantu 'having mixed' and so on). However, the number of aspectual verbs that are built upon

these verbal participle forms is very limited when compared to modern Tamil, where a whole

host of aspectual forms are found to occur[66]. Only the aspectual form of verbs *koḷ* and *viṭu* are

attested in Tirumantiram in large number and the other forms such as *koṇṭiru* and *iru* are found

to be absent.

The negative form of verb participle is made only with the suffix -*āmal* in modern Tamil where

as in Tirumantiram both the suffixes -*ātu* and *āmal* are used[67].

  pārkkinṟa mātaraip **pārātu** akanṟu pōy
  see-pr.-that women-acc. see-not leave having gone
  'Having gone aside without seeing the women who see you..' (Tirum1937:1)

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[65] See Annamalai (1985) and Schiffman (2005) for detailed analyses of the use of the aspectual auxiliary koḷ and their various usages.

[66] See Annamalai (1985) and Schiffman (2005) for detailed studies of Aspectual forms in Tamil.

[67] Aspectual verbs, according to Schiffman, are added to a main lexical verb to provide semantic distinctions such as duration, completion, habituality, regularity, continuity, simultaneity, definiteness, expectation or result, remainder of result, current relevance, benefaction, antipathy and certain other notion. (Schiffman, 2005).   Annamalai (1985) includes aspectual verb under a major class of 'extended verb', which according to him includes any form of verb that makes a complex set of verbal phrases using what is called 'verbal participle' as base. The auxiliary verbs such as *viṭu, koḷ, koṇṭiru, tolai, pār, pō* etc., make up such complex form of verb providing a variety of meanings as discussed in Schiffman (2005).

kāycca palāvin kaniyuṉṉa **māṭṭāmal**
  ripe-that jackfruit fruit-eat-to without
  'Without eating the jack fruit that became ripe' (Tirum 201:3)

3.19. Use of the aspectual auxiliary *koṇṭu*.

   It is generally believed that the system of aspectuals, the way it is understood in modern Tamil, was developed in medieval Tamil and most of the complex nuances that the aspectual forms denote were developed later during the post-medieval period. One example for this is that of the reflexive suffix *–koḷ* which is used only with its lexical meaning of 'have/acquire' in Caṅkam Tamil. In medieval Tamil, however, it is grammaticalized with the meaning of 'self-benefaction'.   The other semantic nuances of this suffix, such as 'future utility', 'reflexivity' etc., are not yet in use in any of the medieval texts. This implies that the grammaticalized verb *–koḷ* with its meaning of 'self-benefaction' did not yet move on to the next stage of elaboration during the medieval period, and there is a strong reason to believe that the other shades of meanings were developed later, during the modern period or post-medieval period.

   The other case to explore is that the suffix *koṇṭu* occurs only after nouns in most of the Caṅkam Tamil texts giving the meaning of 'have s.t.', but only in medieval Tamil is it used with verbal participle forms in restricted contexts.   Presumably this led to the transition from the lexical meaning of the verb to its grammaticalized role as an aspectual auxiliary verb at a later stage.   The following examples substantiate the point that the new structure of [Verb participle + *koṇṭu*] was introduced in the bhakti period.

   tēṭik **kaṇṭu koṇṭēṉ**
   sought, found and absorbed
   'I searched and found (Him and acquired within me)'
                    (Appar Tēvā: 4.9.12)[68]

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

nuṇporuḷ **āyntu koṇṭu**
subtle meaning research have
'Having researched the subtle meaning'   (Appar Tēvā 4.40.2).

Despite the fewer number of attestations in Sangam, especially in Ahanāṉūru, no use of this form is found occurring in Caṅkam texts to any large extent.

vari puṉai villaṉ orukaṉai terintukoṇṭu
stripe wear opponent an arrow having known
'having understood the power of the arrow from the opponent who wears striped cloths'
(Aham:163:2)

There is strong reason to believe that *Appar* was the one who first used the structure of the form [verbal particle + *koṇṭu*] with aspectual meaning and then spread further among the other poet saints at a later point.[69]   Since, the structure: [verbal participle + *koṇṭu*], is not used very much in Caṅkam Tamil, and it is attested largely in medieval Tamil, one can suppose that only during the medieval period did the reanalysis of the lexical verb *koḷ* begin to take on wider use. Since *Appar* is considered to be the earliest among all the poet saints, and we find this structure being used more in his work than any other saint poets, we may assume that his work contributed to the later widespread use of this auxiliary verb.

When the verb *koṇṭu* is used with another verbal participle form, it loses its lexical meaning and has only a grammatical meaning of 'acquiring s.t. for one's own benefit'.   This reanalyzed structure led to the use of *koṇṭu* as a grammatical marker . The lexical verb *koḷ* also continues in use in the language alongside the newer grammatical meaning. Even though the combination [noun + *koṇṭu*] is used along with its lexical usage throughout the medieval period, the combination of [participle + *koḷ*] with other tense markers, however, is not attested in bhakti

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[69] A search in the archive of medieval texts for the use of *koṇṭu* as an aspectual auxiliary shows that only the structure noun + *koṇṭu* is used quite extensively in the Tirumuṟai texts. But, the typical structure of 'verbal 'participle + *koṇṭu*' seems to be used in a much lower percentage.

texts. So, it may be assumed that during the bhakti period, grammaticalization of this auxiliary

verb in its past participle form (koṇṭu) was targeted, and it did not spread to other tense forms.[70]

Frequent Use of the suffix *koṉṯu* is attested in Tirumantiram with nouns rather than with a

participle form of the verbs.

> mukattiṟ **kaṇkoṇṭu** kāṇkiṉṟa mūṭarkāḷ
> face-loc eye-have see-pr.-that fools
> *'The fools who see with eyes on their face..'* (Tirum2944:1)

> akattiṟ **kaṇkoṇṭu** kāṇpatē ānantam
> heart-loc eye-have see-fut-noun bliss
> *'It's blissful only when seeing through ones internal eyes'* (Tirum2944:2)

Compared to the use of [noun+ *koṉṯu*] in abundant cases, the use of this suffix in aspectual

meaning is occurring in fewer cases with the verbal participle form of the verb.

> **pēṇikkoṇṭu** uṇṭār piṟappaṟṟu irunta
> pray-have   eat   birthless   remain
> *'Those who consumed the nector obtained from God's grace, remained birth-less'*
>   (Tirum2064:3)

> **toṟutukoṇṭu** ōṭiṉōr tōṭṭak kuṭikaṇ
> pray-have   ran-they gardner people
>   *'The gardner-group prayed and ran'* (Tirum2869:3)

> **ōrntuṟṟu koḷḷum** uyiruḷḷa pōtē
> unite   have   life-have at time
> *'Unite with the God when you have the life'* (Tirum 179:4)

Though it is not usual in modern Tamil, the aspectual auxiliary *koḷ* occurs with the quotative

verb *eṉ* 'say' as main verb in verbal participle form in medieval Tamil..

> īva perumpiṟai **eṉṟukoḷḷīrē**
> this big-mistake that-assume
> *'Assume this to be the heinous crime'* (Tirum506:3)

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[70] An example from English may be cited here with reference to grammaticalization of future intent. The clause
'going to' in English is grammaticalized to 'gonna' as a marker of future intent, as in "I am gonna go now". But ,
for some reason, no other form of 'go' behaves this way. Thus, the process of grammaticalization in this case did
not extend to other forms. .

Despite the above cases of the verb *koḷ* occurring with aspectual meaning, there are other cases where this verb occurs after another finite verb, which functions very similarly to aspectual forms. This structure of [finite verb + *koḷ*] makes one think that there could be another intermediate stage after the structure [noun + *koḷ*] before the development of aspectual forms with the structure [verb participle + *koḷ*].

> vanten akampaṭi kōyil **koṇṭān**
> reach-my heart-that temple have-he
> *'The Lord descended and dwelled in my heart as temple'* (Tirum 2641:2)

> **kūppiṭu koḷḷāk** kuṟunari koṭṭakattu
> call   have to tiny-jackal shed-in
> *'Within the shed where Jackals live, not listening to your call'* (Tirum2881:1)

Besides, there are also cases where this verb occurs as a main verb, which is common in Sangam and medieval Tamil, but not in modern Tamil.

> kaṇṭu civanuruk **koḷvar** karuttuḷē
> see-ppl. Siva-form have   mind-inside
> *'Having realized the God, one would have the Lord live within'* (Tirum2013:4)

> maṭakkoṭi yārotu mantaṉaṅ **koṇṭār**
> damsels   with relationship have
> *'Had a relationship with damsels'* (Tirum.148:2)

Use of the aspectual auxiliary viṭu:

The aspectual marker *–viṭu* is a commonly used auxiliary suffix in Modern Tamil. It often is used to refer to any action that is completed as expected, as in *nāṉ cāppiṭṭuviṭṭēṉ* 'I completed eating', anything that took place accidentally without one's expectation, *nāṉ viṟuntuviṭṭēṉ* 'I fell accidentally' and so on. In the corresponding spoken forms, though, the inter-vocalic *–vi-* is dropped due to phonological reduction[71]. So, the above forms would be used in spoken as *nāṉ*

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[71] See Schiffman (1993) for a detailed study of this phenomenon. Schiffman rightly points out that this is a 'syllable deletion' phenomenon where the vowel that follows, usually *'I'* is also get deleted (p. 515).

cāppiṭṭuṭṭēn and *nān viṟuntuṭṭēn* respectively. But, one notices the use of the verb *–iṭu* 'deposit, put' in medieval Tamil in place of *–viṭu,* resulting in a form similar to spoken forms in Modern Tamil. Often, translation of aspectual meanings in Tamil to English is done using the adverbs such as 'definitely', 'unexpectedly' etc. Unlike the use of *koḷ,* the use of *–iṭu,* as opposed to *viṭu,* is well developed both in medieval Tamil as well as in Caṅkam Tamil. Consider below the occurrences that show the use of the suffix *-iṭu* in a definitive meaning.

> ovv-āt-a   manṟ-uḷ   **āṭ-iṭ-um**
> agree-not-that assembly-inside dance-defin.-neut.fut.
> *'One who dances in an inappropriate assembly'*   (Tirum 130:1)

> nīriṟ kuḷirum neruppiniṟ cuṭṭ-iṭum
> water-loc cold-will be fire-loc hot-will be
> *'It becomes cold in water and hot in fire'* (Tirum 2625:1)

> **vilaṅk-iṭu** peru-maram pōla
> cherish   big tree   like
> *'Like a tree that cherishes well'* (Puṟam: 278).

One of the possibilities is to consider this as the grammaticalized form of the lexical verb *iṭu,* which means 'put or deposit' rather than the verb *viṭu*[72]. The verb *iṭu* along with viṭu also occurs in medieval Tamil as a main verb as in the following instance.

> iṭṭān aṟintilan ēṟṟavaḷ kaṇṭilaḷ
> plant-he know-not receive-she see-past-not
> *'One who planted it, doesn't know it. One who received it, didn't see it'.*
>   (Tirum486:1)

Another reason to assume that this suffix is an equvalent of *–viṭu* in Modern Tamil is due to its occurrence with the conditional marker -āl.

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[72] One of the meanings that the Fabricious dictionary provides for the verb *iṭu* is as follows. [iṭu] , IV. *v. t.* put, deposit. Perhaps, this basic meaning can also be extended to some other shades of meaning like 'plant', 'garland' etc., in other similar contexts. Besides the use of this verb in the context of aspectual meaing as above, it is also used in the contexts of compound formation as in paṅkiṭu 'distribute' cattamiṭu 'make noise', kūppiṭu 'call' and so on. DED gives the meaning of iṭu **'place, deposit or discharge' (DED 442), 'hit against' (DED 443)**

eṟukinṟa tīyai munnē koṇṭu ceṉr-**iṭṭ**-āl
rising-that fire front   take   go-finite-if
'If one brings the rising fire in front…' (Tirum 838:1)

pōṟṟumin pōṟṟip pukaṟmin pukaṟnt-**iṭ**-il
praise-imp. praise-and applaud applaud-and-finite-if
'Praise! After the praise, applaud. If applauded..' (Tirum 35:2)

The modern Tamil counterpart of this suffix -*viṭu* is used in a number of different environments such as *completive event, expected event, definitive meaning, unexpected event etc.*, but in medieval and old Tamil the suffix -*iṭu* is used only in restricted contexts of *definitive meaning*, but not as widely as -*viṭu*. Even though it is not clear whether the auxiliary verb -*viṭu* is related conceptually to the verb *iṭu 'put or deposit',* or to the medieval Tamil verb *viṭu,* , one finds the use of both these suffixes in modern Tamil, except for the fact the latter is used only in literary variety, whereas the former is used exclusively in all contexts. If one takes a close look at the use of the suffix -*iṭu* in both modern Tamil as well as in medieval Tamil, a "definitive" as opposed to "completive" meaning may be understood.

Use of both -*viṭu* and –*iṭu* may be found in Tirumantiram as the following examples indicate.

eṇṇi eṟuti **iḷaittuviṭṭārē**
thought write-ppl. lean-became
'Having understood it wrong, exhausted their life with useless writing' (Tirum315:4)

nāṉaki lātār   nayam **pēci viṭuvarkaḷ**
shameless those absurd speak-will-they
'Shameless people would speak absurdly' (Tirum761:2)

Interestingly in the following example, we find the use of both *viṭu* and *iṭu,* with   *viṭu* being used as a main verb and *iṭu* as an auxiliary verb.

iruñcuṭar viṭṭiṭṭu ikaliṭam ellām
sun and moon leave soul-place all
'Having left the two lights of Sun and Moon, he pervades in the soul' (Tirum3029:2)

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As for the other aspectual markers *kontiru* and *iru* there are no attestations similar to modern

Tamil uses of these suffixes. However, there are cases where the combination of the verb koṇṭu

and iru as below denote a meaning similar to progressive and perfective meanings respectively.

      koṇṭirun tāruyir koḷḷum kuṇattanai
      have be   they life have-will be character-acc.
      'The characteristics of taking away the life of one who possess it.' (Tirum502:1)

     vētiyu māy virintu ārntu iruntān aruḷ
     sacred as   spread-be   blossoms be grace
     'He remained blossomed as sared grace' (Tirum15:1)

      taṅki irukkum vakaiyaruḷ ceytavar
      stay   be-will   manner-grace perform-he
      'He who graced to remain in one's heart' (Tirum223:1)

      māmallapuratt-il   iruntu-vāṟum uḷakkuṇi vāṇikan nākan
      Mamallapuram.obl.loc be-live-neut. Fut.   nam merchant name
      The Ulakkuni merchant Nagan is living in Mamallapuram.
      (lit. by having been in Mamallapuram) (SII.12.34.)

3.20. Appellative Verbs:

When tense is marked covertly in a verb, it is called an 'appellative verb by traditional

and missionary grammarians[73]. Tolkappiyam refers to regular verbs with tense as *vinai* and the

appellative verbs as *kurippu vinai*. Both medieval and old Tamil shows many occurrences of

appellative verbs, but in modern Tamil, only very few verbs take tense covertly. Tolkappiyar

groups two types of appellative verbs, and they are a) appellative verbs of rational class and b)

appellative verbs of non-rational class. The rational class of verbs take human person, number

and gender suffix, where as the non-rational class verbs take neuter suffix. Examples for

rational class of appellative verbs include *purattanan* 'outside person', *nilattanan* 'one who

possess the land', *allan* 'non-existent-he', *ilan* 'not-he', *ilaḷ* 'not-she', *uḷaḷ* 'exist-she', *ular*

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[73] It was Caldwell (1961, p. 477) who first referred to this type of verb as 'appellative' verbs.

'exist-he' etc. The examples for irrational class of appellative verbs include *inṛu* 'not-thing', *uṭaiya* 'that which posses', *uṭaittu* 'that which possess' etc. Caldwell (1961) notes that the class of forms such as *nallatu* 'good thing', *nallar* 'good person - epicene' etc., as appellative nouns (p. 479).

Except for a very minimum number of appellative nouns such as *nallatu* 'good', *nanṛu* 'good thing' etc., most of the appellative verbs, as cited above, are obsolete in modern Tamil. This implies the fact that there must have been less use in medieval Tamil than in old Tamil. But a search of the corpus of texts from these three periods shows that these verbs existed abundantly only in Caṅkam Tamil, but not as many in medieval Tamil text. In this respect, one can conclude that both medieval and modern Tamil do not exhibit much difference as far as the use of appellative nouns are concerned. Caldwell (1961, p. 479) also notes that the appellative noun is more commonly used in the classical dialect of modern Tamil than in the colloquial dialect.

      ullattum ullan   puṛattullan enpavarkku
      heart-inside be-he   outside-be-he say-they-to
      'He remains in one's heart of those who say He resides out of heart' (Tirum1532:1)

      āṛu camayamuṅ kaṇṭavar kaṇṭ-ilar
      six religions   witnessed-he witness-not-he
      'Those who witnessed all of six religions, have not witnessed it.' (Tirum1533:1)

      enakkiṛai anpilan   enpar ..
      me-divine love-not-he say-he
      'he who groan that God is not favourable to him' (Tirum 22:3)

      anpuṭaiyārkaḷ   aṛutakanṛārkaḷē
      love-possess-they cry-ppl.-left-they
      'Those with love, left having cried.' (Tirum152:4)

3.21. Participial nouns:

As in the case of the aspectual system, participial noun formation is found to be a well-developed system in all of the three stages of Tamil. However, all of these three stages differ from each other in the way the participial nouns are formed. Modern Tamil suffixes that make up participial nouns include –avan (varu-kiṟ-avan 'he who comes'), -avaḷ (varukiṟavaḷ 'girl who comes') and -atu (va-nt-atu 'that which came'). One can further reanalyze these suffixes as having the suffix –a with person number gender suffixes, where the suffix –a is to be considered as a relative participle marker. This structure, however, is not attested either in old Tamil or in medieval Tamil. Rather, in old Tamil the suffixes –ōm (nāṭṭōm 'inhabitants of the country'), -ōr (vant-ōr 'those who came'), -ār (uṭaiyār 'he who possesses), etc., are used in a very regular fashion, besides some of the other very restricted type of suffixes such as –mar (irupatinmar 'twenty people') and -ana (pālana – 'portion-that').[74]

Also note that in old Tamil these suffixes are also used with nouns, as shown here. The same is the case with medieval Tamil, except for the fact that the modern Tamil suffixes –an, -aḷ, -ar etc., are used in medieval Tamil only with words that do not take tense, like negative participial nouns, adjectival nouns etc. (E.g. aṟiyātav-an 'one who doesn't know', mārpin-an 'one with a (strong) chest'). The old Tamil suffixes such –ōr (mitantōr 'one who floats') and -mār (maṭantaimār 'those who are illiterates') are also used widely in medieval Tamil. What it suggests is that medieval Tamil shows some of the features that are current both in modern Tamil as well as in old Tamil. This means that medieval Tamil retains not only the newly developed forms, and also the ones from old Tamil. This is identical to what we discussed earlier in the context of the use of the conditional suffixes -āl and –in.

-an/aḷ/ar/ārkaḷ:

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[74] Cf. Zvelebil (1970, p. 33-34). Also see Annamalai (1972) for a detailed description of participial nouns in modern Tamil.

tunpañ cey pācat   tuyaruḷ **aṭaittanan**
agonize do affection distress caught-he
'He caught me within the agonizing humanly pleasures' (Tirum432:2)

kāraṇi kāriyamākak **kalantavaḷ**
Godess deeds-as   united
'She who united with the Godess in all deeds' (Tirum402:2)

-ōr/ār:
    Use of the suffix *-ōr* and *-ār* for making participial noun form of verbs is very typical of

medieval and Sangam Tamil, where as they are lacking in common speech in modern Tamil.

cīreṟuta tāḷaraic citaiyac **ceppinōr**
auspicious-letter he disassemble say-they
'He who speaks disrespectfully of Him.' (Tirum531:2)

teḷintār   kalaṅkinum   nī kalaṅkātē
realized-they distress-if-even you distress-not
'Even if the realized ones feel distressed, you don't distress' (Tirum361:1)

vaṇaṅki **ninṟārkkē** vaṟittuṇaiyāmē
pray-ppl. stand-they-to associate- may
'(He) may be the associate for those who stood worshipping' (Tirum28:4)

When the suffix *-ār* occurring with root form of the verb without any tense marker in it, it acts as

a negative participial noun in the sense of 'those who don't do s.t.'.

viḷintavar   meynninṟa   ñānam **uṇarār**
perished-those truthful-remain knowledge realize-not-they
'Evils do not realize the true knowledge' (Tirum527:2)

īcan atu itu enpār   **ninaippilār**
god that this say-they conscious-not-they
'The senseless say God is this and that!' (Tirum 105:3)

Besides the use of the negative adjectival participle suffix *ā,* which is common only in medieval

Tamil, the negative form *-āt,* typical of modern Tamil is also found to be occurring in some

cases in medieval Tamil, as in the following example:

āṭṭum   aṟāta   avaniyil **māṭṭātār**
participate not-peforming   world   involve not
'Those who do not perform any sacrifice or observe any penance…' (Tirum 56:2)

3.22. Occurrences of participle form of verbs and relative clauses in Tirumantiram:

Relative participle, as opposed to participial noun, occurs as part of a clause, sometimes referred to as adjectival clause (see Annamalai 1997), and it acts as a sentential modifier of a head noun[75]. In modern Tamil relative participle form of a verb is made with the suffixes –*a* (after present and past tense form of verbs), -*um* (after root form of verbs in future tense) in affirmative meaning and –*āta* (after infinitive form of verbs) in negative meaning. However in old and middle Tamil we find affirmative forms with similar suffixes as that of modern Tamil, but as far as negative form is concerned, the suffix -*ā* is used in large numbers and the suffix -*āta* only in a smaller number of cases.

-a/um/ā:
…yān **vanta**   kāraṇam
 I   come-past-which reason
'The reason I came…' (Tirum 77:1).

tīrttanai   aṅkē **tiḻaikkinṟa tēvanai**
 wise-he-acc. there cherish-pr-who Lord-acc.
'The wise Lord who cherishes..' (Tirum 39:2)

... manṟil **āṭum** tirukkūttai
   stage-loc. dance-will sacred-dance
'The sacred dance that would be danced on the stage' (Tirum131:3)

Negative form of relative clauses is made with the suffix -*ā* rather than *-āta,* as in the case of modern Tamil.

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[75] For example, in the noun phrase *en vīṭṭukku vanta paiyan* 'The boy who came to my house', the verb form *vanta* 'who came' is the relative participle form and *en vīṭṭukku vanta* altogether is called relative clause. This clause modifies the head noun *paiyan* 'boy'.

ullam viṭṭōraṭi **niiṅkā oruvanai**
 heart   leave-one-step leave-not-that one person-acc.
'The one who does not leave even for one step away from the heart.' (Tirum431:2)

viṭiñju iruḻāvatu **aṟiyā** ulakam
dawn   dark-become know-not world
'The world that does not know the day becoming dark after dawn' (Tirum 164:3)

pakka ninṟār **aṟiyāta** paramanai
close stand-he know-not-that Lord
'Those who don't realize the Lord who stands close' (Tirum 3:3)

uṭai:

With the above regular cases of relative participle forms, there are also instances in

Tirumantiram, the suffix –*uṭai* (as opposed to –*uṭaiya* as in the case of modern Tamil) is used

in the sense of relative participle with Ø as a relative participle marker. It must be noted that

only the verb –*uṭai* seems to occur with Ø marker, and no other seems to behave in this

manner.

cēvaṭi   ēttuñ   ceṟivuṭai   vānavar
 lotus-foot eight-and   enrich-possess celestials
 'The Celestials who are enriched with eight lotus feet' (Tirum 376:1)

kalaittalai neṟṟiyōr kaṇṇuṭai kaṇṇuḷ
 crescent-head forehead eye-possess eye-inside
 'with crescent moon on his head, another eye within two eyes..' (Tirum 1112:1)

The following table is an illustration of use of various suffixes in all the three stages of the

Tamil language.

3.23. Temporal meaning using the relative clause construction:

Temporal meaning is expressed with temporal particles namely -*kāl*, *pōtu* and *poṟutu*

when occurring in relative clause constructions as relative head. The suffix -*kāl* occurs only in

medieval Tamil with relative participle form in neuter future tense, but the other words *pōtu* and

poṟutu are quite commonly used in modern Tamil.

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kāl

     kūṟṟ-an   **var-uṅ-kāl**   kutikk-al-um-ām-e
     sergent-3rd.mas.sg. comes-fut.neut.-temp. leap-inf.-conj.-become-emp.
     'When the seargeant comes, get the leap be ready' (Tirum 172:4)

     tunpam akaṟṟ-I   toṟuv-ōr **ninaiy-uṅ-kāl**
     distress remove-avp. pray-ppn. ponder-fut.neut.-temp
     'When the worshippers ponder over, he removes sorrows' (Tirum 1005:3)

pōtu

     aṟaik-kinṟ-a pōtu aṟiy-ār-avar-tām-ē
     call-pr.-ppl. temp. know-neg.he-refl.emp.
     'When called, they don't know of it' (Tirum 187:4)

     oṟukkamum cintaiyum   uṇarkiṉṟa pōtu
     conduct-conj. thought-conj. feel-pr.ppl. temp.
     'A good conduct and good thought is when it is felt' (Tirum 305:2)

poṟtu

     ovum   poṟutu aṇu   onṟu uḷa-tām-ē
     transcend-fut.net. temp. subtle particle one exist-inf.emp.
     'When transcended, the subtle particle of soul unites with the God'
                                     (Tirum 2374:4)

     iṇai tuṇai   yāmattu   iyaṅkum   pōṟutu
     join associate sacrificial fire-loc active-fut.neut. temp.
     'All conjoined when there is a sacrificial fire' (Tirum 216:3)

3.25. Verbalizers:

There are handful of verbs that are derived from nouns and they behave the same way as that of any regular verb. Such verbs include *paṭu* 'be fallen', *uṟu* 'be involve', *taku* 'be appropriate', *viṭu* 'to let s.t.', *koḷ* 'have' and so on. However, selection of the type of nouns to make any particular kind of verb seems to be random in nature and no rule can thus be formulated as to whether any particular type of noun or any particular type of meaning can be associated with these verbalizers. Furthermore, all of the verbs that are derived from these verbalizers tend to occur only in the literary variety of modern Tamil but not in spoken Tamil,

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except for the verbs with *viṭu,* which occur vary rarely in spoken Tamil with its spoken Tamil equivalent of *vuṭu* as in *vaṟivuṭu* 'give a way'.

uṟu:
  kaṭan-uṟu 'be indebted' (Tirum 2485:2)
   naṉukal-uṟu 'be close to' (Tirum 2891:3)

paṭu
  talaippaṭu 'be ahead' (Tirum 85:4)
   veḷippaṭu 'be out' (Tirum 380:2)

taku
  naṟkaṇṭam-taku 'be appropriate to the cosmos' (Tirum 1752:2)
  liṅkam-taku 'be appropriate to the Linga' (Tirum 1752:3)

viṭu
  oḷi-viṭu 'emit light' (Tirum 93:4)
  cuṭar-viṭu 'emit the ray of light' (Tirum 657:2)

koḷ
  payaṉ-koḷ 'get benefit' (Tirum 2899:2)
  maṇaṅ-koḷ 'get married' (Tirum 2928:4)

3.26. Conclusions

Development of many complex verb forms during the medieval period denote a major linguistic change that occurred in conjunction with the bhakthi movement. The reason why new verb forms evolved only during the medieval period may not be very obvious unless one attempts to compare all of the grammatical forms that are used in the three varieties of the language and identify which of the linguistic processes such as grammaticalization, linguistic borrowing, use of new registers etc., were instrumental in the formation or loss of linguistic forms. In this sense, this chapter provides a comprehensive account of all of the verb forms used in Tirumantiram and also makes a comparison of how each of the forms are used in other two varieties of the language.   Based on the observations of a search from the electronic database Tamil literature from Sangam, medieval and modern Tamil, the following table summarizes roughly the development of some of the major linguistic forms in the three varieties.

Aspectual and modal forms:

Genre	Vbp + koḷ	Vbp+ viṭu	Vbp+ iru	N+ koḷ	N+ viṭu	Inf.+ vēṇḍum	Inf+ muḍiyum	Inf+ lām	Vb kil
Old Tamil	Few	None	None	Fully developed	Fully developed	None	None	None	None
Medieval Tamil	Fully developed	Few	With Past tense only	Fully developed	Fully developed	Fully developed	None	None	Fully developed
Sangam Tamil	Fully developed	Fully developed	Fully developed	Few	Few	Fully developed	Fully developed	Fully developed	None

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Chapter 4

Linguistic Analysis of Tirumantiram and Grammar of Medieval Tamil: Noun Morphology

4.0. Introduction

A close look at the types of nouns in Tirumantiram texts shows that the varieties of nouns that one can find in it far exceed the number of types or 'classes' that one can normally identify in modern Tamil. There are some noun types that are either obsolete or used in very limited contexts in modern Tamil. In particular, the participial nouns formed with a whole array of nominal suffixes such as *-ār* as in *vallār* 'capable persons'; *uṇarār* 'those who don't realize s.t.'; *–ōr* as in *ceppinōr* 'those who revealed s.t.'; *-ar* as in *niṟpar* 'those who follow s.t.' etc., are not currently in use in Modern Tamil. Therefore, , the corresponding modern Tamil equivalents of these noun type (or 'classes') must have been a later development. This means that we must undertake a thorough reclassification of nouns and their forms that must have developed during the evolution of language as it changed from medieval to modern Tamil.

Further, the process of derivation of nouns from verbs is another area that requires a systematic study from the point of view of both medieval and modern Tamil texts in order to fully understand the nature of these texts. Derivation of nouns in Tamil in general takes place in a number of different environments, and none of them is productive in any sense. This means that no single suffix in Tamil can be attributed to the formation of nouns from verbs in a general sense, nor do all the verbs undergo any single type of derivational process in a consistent manner. Also, all of the suffixes that make nouns out of verbs in Tamil do not seem to operate in any predictable environment so constructing a paradigm of word formation rules would not be viable. The complex nature of word formation mechanisms in Tamil prevents one from making new words productively using any of the language-internal mechanisms. Thus, both the process

of standardization of new vocabularies and identification of appropriate word formation

mechanism becomes a complex task in Tamil.[76]   In this respect, understanding the process of

making nouns from verbs in Tamil, especially from the point of view of how they are associated

with any specific verb type requires an in-depth analysis of how words are created from a

historical perspective. Thus, the goal of this chapter is twofold:

- study the nature of nouns and case forms in Tirumantiram text and

- b) studying the language internal mechanisms employed historically for word

  formation in old, medieval and modern Tamil, starting from identical occurrences

  as found in Tirumantiram texts.

Special attention is necessary to observe the system of deverbal noun formation that allows the

development of lexical items that are verbal derivatives on the one hand and the sentential

nature of gerunds such as verbal nouns and participial nouns on the other.

4.1. Review of literature

Despite the fact that the phenomenon of derivation of nouns from verbs is a familiar

process historically from Sangam to modern Tamil, no systematic study has yet been made that

illustrates all of the behaviors of this process. One of the reasons for this is that the suffixes and

word formation techniques behave in Tamil as though it is a random process, and identifying the

regularity is a more complex task than anyone can imagine. A summary of noun types that are

derived from verbs is studied by Arden (1942) and Zvelebil et al (1967: 36-41). Arden divides

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[76] Consider for example, the suffix –ni is used with place nouns like 'kaṟani' 'porridge-place' (cf. kaṟu niir 'porridge water'. In Sangam Tamil this is used in the sense of rice field: e.g. nel viḷaik kaṟani 'field where rice is grown' - Puṟanāṉūru: 29-Sangam) ; paṟani 'Palani' (cf. *paṟu* 'ripe'/ *paṟam* 'fruit') etc. Emeneau (1970: 23) notes that the suffixes –*kuḷi* and –*kuṉi* are used widely in Dravidian languages, including Kannada, Tamil, Toda and Kota. The example that he gives for Tamil is *aṟukuṉi* 'tearful person, one who is always crying'. Notably, the suffix –ni in the words *paṟani, kaṟani* and *aṟukuṉi* must be related to the suffix –*ni* that is used in modern Tamil words such as *kaṇi-ni* 'computer from the Sanskrit borrowed word *kaṇi* 'compute'.

five kinds of verbal nouns based on whether they take the present tense suffix –*kkiṟ* or –*kiṟ*.[77]

What Arden shows, as rightly pointed out by Schiffman (2005), includes verbal nouns, participial nouns and verbal derivatives.[78] Schiffman, on the other hand, uses the concept of 'nouniness', as was introduced in generative grammars, in order to distinguish the nature of derived nouns based on their noun qualities.[79] It deserves to be noted here that Tolkāppiyanār states two types of nouns namely toṟirpeyar (Col. S. 141) and vinaip peyar 'nouns derived from actions', which are considered to be one and the same. (see Annamalai 1972: 94 and Rajam 1992: 687). Also, the examples that one of the commentators of Tolkāppiyam gives for these terminologies as: *varuvār* 'those who come', *varuvatu* 'coming' are obviously not verbal derivatives.[80] For our purpose, only the verbal derivatives that are capable of entering into the lexicon of the language are taken into consideration and the other types are not dealt with here.[81] Zvelebil et al. groups all of the noun formation processes in Tamil into four major categories based on how the nouns are formed.[82] They include a) suffixation (e.g., kātal-i 'lover' from kātal 'love'), b) internal change (e.g., pāṭṭu 'song' from 'pāṭu'), c) zero modification without any suffix whatsoever (piṭi 'clutch' from 'piṭi') and d) composition involving stems derived

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[77] Arden (1942: 219). What is important to note here is that the present tense suffix did not occur in Sangam texts, where only past and non-past distinction was maintained. See Zvelebil (1970) for a detailed historical study of the development of present tense suffix.

[78] The term 'verbal noun' is used to mean English gerunds and participial nouns to refer to those nouns with a combination of verbal attribute and noun. For example, the noun *varuvatu* 'coming is composed of verb plus a neuter singular suffix and it denotes simply the action of coming.

[79] Participial nouns, which are called pronominalized deverbal adjectives by Arden, are not verbal derivatives in that they are not lexical words, rather they are sentential gerunds. E.g. *ceykiṟavan* 'one who does'. Similarly, the type of nouns made with the suffix –tal and –ttal, as in varutal 'coming', *pārttal* 'seeing' etc. and nouns formed with the suffix –tu, as in *varuvatu* 'coming', *pārppatu* 'seeing' etc. also belong to the type of gerunds and they should not be confused with the true derivatives, which is the subject of discussion in this work. . (cf. Schiffman 2005).

[80] Naccinārkkiniyar (Col. S. 167, 170). Israel (1973: 72) is also of the opinion that what Tolkāppiyar refers to applies mostly to verbal noun type of nouns, rather than verbal derivatives. Israel also notes that there are occurrences of verbal derivatives in Tōlkāppiyam such as añcal 'fear', varal 'fear' etc., but not explained in any of the Sutra.

[81] For a detailed study of formation of different kinds of nouns from verbs and their nature of participation in sentences see Schiffman 2005 and Arden 1942.

[82] Zvelebil et al (1967: 36-39).

from another noun (e.g., talai 'head' from talai 'to be first').   Even though Zvelebil's classification offers a broad summary of types, it fails to address the qualitative and quantitative behaviors of each of these types. It is not clear which type, among these four groups, is more productive when compared to others. Nor does he address the issue of the relationship between strong/weak correlation of verbs and noun formation mechanisms.   Emeneau (1967, pp. 21-30) summarizes a restricted set of techniques for noun formation in South Dravidian languages. Among them the suffixes *–kuḻi, -uḷ, -talai* etc., require special attention from the point of view of Tamil words that are in use during the medieval period.

The process of deverbal nominalization exists in Proto-Dravidian, and occurrence of suffixes in abundance for word formation seems to be not a new phenomenon. Krishnamurthi (2003:199) lists nine different methods of deverbalization mechanisms that existed in Proto-Dravidian. The suffixes and the methods that he provides includes **-ay,* gemination of stop, *-al, -t-al, -t-tal,* gemination of post-nasal stop, lengthening of root vowel, *-am, -(i)kay,* and *–(i)kk-ay.* In essence, deverbal noun formation has to be considered as one of the kinds linguistic changes that have resulted in the enriching of the lexical resources of the language. But, unlike any other processes in a language, the process of deverbalization does not occur in a logical and coherent manner, so that accounting for all of the possible type of deverbal nouns can be accounted for. In other words, deverbal nominalization is not *productive* in Tamil. This may be one of the characteristics of derivation in general—it is rarely completely productive, in the sense that ***any*** item of a word-class can be converted into another category by the automatic addition of a suffix. Take English verbs that are derived from adjectives (or nouns) by the addition of the suffix –en: sweet/sweeten,   quick/quicken,   short/shorten,   long/lengthen,   strong (strength)/strengthen, weak/weaken, etc. but not sour/*souren, slow/*slowen i.e. there are many restrictions:

red/redden, white/whiten, black/blacken, but not blue/*bluen, yellow/*yellowen, green/*greenen. A broader study of English derivation would show many restrictions like this (Schiffman, p.c.).

4.2. Noun types in Tirumantiram

Tirumantram texts show a wide variety of derived nouns as well as verbal nouns that are both common throughout the three varieties of language as well as some that are specific only to medieval Tamil. What concerns us most for any study of word formation techniques is the nature of suffixes that result in a new word that then alters the structure of language in one way or another. A close look at the nature of nouns in both modern and medieval Tamil reveals that the mechanism for formation of new words is not unique and the selection of suffixes and words is rather random so one is almost tempted to rely on the native speaker's intuition or expertise in language to come to any conclusion on whether or not a particular combination makes a good derivation or not. This section summarizes in detail all of the word formation mechanisms that one may find in Tirumantiram texts both for the formation of derived nouns as well as adjectival nouns. A comparison of modern Tamil forms is also included here to better understand the historical processes involved in generation of the respective forms from one genre to another.

4.3. Participial Nouns:

As stated elsewhere, the term 'participial noun' is used to denote those adjectival nouns that act as modifiers of head nouns, usually in agentive meaning, as in 'one who does s.t.' or in an adjectival meaning, as in 'one who posseses s.t.' etc. Particularly, these nouns are not considered to be lexical nouns because they are very productive and can be formed automatically using many verbs and adjectives as the base. Formation of participial nouns in medieval Tamil differs quite considerably from modern Tamil, however, as there are suffixes, as shown below, that are

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either obsolete in Modern Tamil, or they are used less frequently and only in restricted contexts.

Also, those suffixes that are used with both nouns, adjectives and verbs are considered here, as

they are capable of occurring with case suffixes in a syntactic environment.

-*ār* /*ā*n (affirmative) >   *vallār* 'capable person' (Tirum: 310:2)
                                                uṟṟār 'relatives' (Tirum: 396:1)
                                                aṇṭattār 'earthly people'

-*ān*   >   *uḷān* 'possessor'
                                                ninṟān 'one who stood' (Tirum: 137:4)

The modern Tamil equivalents for these suffixes are -*avar, -avan, -avaḷ, -avarkaḷ,* and -*atu,*

which obviously don't have the long vowel as their base. So, the equivalents of these examples

in modern Tamil would be *vallavar, uṟṟavar, uḷḷavan* and *ninṟavan* respectively. Occurrences

of these modern Tamil equivalents are also found in Tirumantiram, but in rare cases.

cātikka **vall-avar** tammai uṇarnt-avar
achieve-to capable-those oneself realize-those
'Those who can accomplish, are those who realized themselves'
                                                (Tirum 1986:2)

Correspondingly, the same suffix is used in a negative sense, especially without any tense suffix

in the verb root, as in the following examples.

-*ār* (negative) >   *uṇarār* 'unrealized-one' (Tirum 33:2)
                                                ilār 'those without s.t.'   (Tirum 1992:4)

The modern Tamil counterpart for the suffix -*ār* in its negative meaning is -*āta*, which has a

variant of –*kkāta*, where the former is used with weak verbs and the later with strong verbs[83].

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[83] Arden (1962:145) divides Tamil verbs into three types based on how their future tense is formed. They included
'weak', 'middle' and strong verbs. Weak verbs, like *cey* 'do', *aṟi* 'know' etc., form their future tense using the
suffix –*v,* as in *ceyvān 'will do (he)', aṟivān 'will know (he)'* respectively. The middle verbs form their future
tense using the suffix –*pa*, as in kēl > kēṭpān 'listen > will listen (he)', en > enpān 'will say (he)' and so on. The
strong verbs, on the other hand, form their futures tense using the suffix –*pp,* as in the following examples. *pār* >
pārppān 'will see (he)', *koṭuppān* 'will give (he)' and so on.

However, only the weak verb counterpart is found to be occurring in Tirumantiram with the suffix -*āta* as shown below.

-*āt-avar* > *aṟiy-āt-avarum* 'Those who do not know' (Tirum 2442:1)

-*āt-avarkaḷ* > *all-āt-avarkaḷ* 'those without s.t.' (Tirum 311:2)

The suffix -*ōr,* which is identical to the use of -*ār* in its affirmative meaning is found to be occurring widely in Tirumantiram. However, except for a handful of nouns such as *peṟṟōr* 'parents', *uṟṟōr* 'relatives', *avaiyōr* 'assembly' etc., it does not have any modern Tamil equivalent in its verbal sense, which presupposes that this suffix must have become less productive at some point of time during the development of modern Tamil from medieval Tamil as a suffix that is used for making a relative pronoun.

-*ōr* > *ceppinōr* 'one who said s.t.' (Tirum 531:2)
  kaṭantōr 'one who surpasses' (Tirum 212:2)
  ilōr 'one without s.t.'
  ānōr 'one who became s.t.' (Tirum 227:4)
  puviōr 'earthly people' (Tirum 1904:1)
  ūṇattōr 'lame people'(Tirum 1904:4)

Similarly, the suffix –*ar* is also found to be occurring in Tirumantiram in affirmative meaning as below.

-*ar* > *niṟpar* 'one who stands' (Tirum 47:2)
  mūvar 'three people - trio' (Tirum 7:1)
  amarar 'immortals' (Tirum 34:2)

Although this suffix is not used in modern Tamil, the corresponding equivalent -*avar* is used instead. Use of this suffix is also found in Tirumantiram.

-*avar* > *ceytavar* 'one who did s.t.' (Tirum 223:2)
  uṭaiyavar 'one who has s.t.' (Tirum 273:1)

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The other suffixes that are used to make nouns from verbs are *-i* and *–an*, which occur

infrequently in modern Tamil.

> *-i*   *iṟappili* 'one without death' (Tirum: 25:2)
>   *ulappili* 'one without birth and death' (Tirum 3:1)
>   *tuṟappili* 'one without renunciation' (Tirum 25:3)
>   *piṟappili* 'one without birth' (Tirum 25:1)
>   <u>oppili</u> 'unequal' (Tirum 36:1)

Note that the word *iṟappu* 'lose' ulappu 'roaming,' tuṟappu 'renouncing', piṟappu 'birth' etc.,

are derived nouns that are formed from the corresponding verbs such as *iṟa* 'to lose', *ula* 'to

roam', *tuṟa* 'to renounce', *piṟa* 'be born' respectively. These nouns with *i* tend to occur in

adjectival sense when occurring before nouns as in *oppili vaḷḷal* 'unparallel generous person'

(Tirum 36:2).

> *-an*   >   *mēniyan* 'one with a kind of body' (Tirum: 540:2)
>   *puṇṇiyan* 'one with merits' (Tirum 384:4)
>   *kūttan* 'dancer' (Tirum 91:2)

These words are obviously derived from their corresponding nouns namely *mēni* 'body',

puṇṇiyam 'merit', *kūttu* 'dance' respectively, although there are similar forms which do not

take noun as their base, instead a verb root or an adjectival root. Consider the following

examples where the root form is a verb.

> *all-an* 'one without s.t.' (Tirum 448:2)
> *anp-il-an* 'one without love' (Tirum 22:2)
> *veyy-an* 'a hot person' (*vem-* 'hot') (Tirum 8:1)
> *taṇṇiy-an* 'a cold person' (*taṇ-* 'cold') (Tirum 8:2)

These forms are obviously not a derivative in the sense that they can enter into the lexicon of the

language. Instead, they are to be considered as syntactic nouns participating in complex

sentences as complements.

Unlike modern Tamil, typical to medieval Tamil, adjectival nouns can also be formed with person, number and gender suffixes being added to nouns. This type of nouns are formed in the context of making special attributes to human nouns based on attributes of neuter objects like *flower*, *moon*, *sun* etc.

-ōn > malar-ōn 'one who is like a flower' (Tirum 16:1)
        ceñcuṭar-ōn 'one who is like red rays' (Tirum 221:3)

-ān > oṇcuṭarān 'one who is like a bright ray' (Tirum 221:1)

4.4. Verbal derivatives derived from verbs:

Verbal derivatives, as opposed to participial nouns, are capable of entering into the lexicon, thus participating in the process of enrichment of lexical stock of the language. Many nouns are derived with particular type of suffix added to a verb or adjective, and their environments are predictable only in some cases, but not in others.

-ppu iṟa > iṟappu 'die - death' (Tirum: 304:1)
        piṟa > piṟappu 'be born - birth' (Tirum: 304:1)
        ciṟa > ciṟappu 'excel - excellence' (Tirum 100:4)

Compared to other suffixes, the suffix –*ppu* is found to be chosen in a predictable environment of occurring only with strong verbs as noted above. However, like all of the other derivative suffixes, this suffix is also not productive in nature in the sense that it is not capable of occurring with all of the strong verbs to produce corresponding nouns, as for example , the forms *koṭuppu 'giving', *paarppu 'seeing' etc., are not possible derivations.

-vu muṭi > muṭivu 'finish – decision' (Tirum 11:3)
        ninai > ninaivu 'think – thought' (Tirum 47:2)
        iṟa > iṟavu 'loose – death/loosing' (Tirum 127:4)
        teḷi > teḷivu 'clear – realization' (Tirum 139:1)
        cār > cārvu 'lean – inclination' (Tirum 159:2)

Unlike the suffix –*ppu,* the suffix –*vu* seems to occur both with strong verbs (*muṭi, ninai* and *iṟa*) as well as with weak verbs (*teḷi* and *cār*). In this sense, the derivational process using this suffix occurs in an unpredictable environment and thus it becomes hard for one to consolidate a rule as to how this suffix participates in the language for forming nouns from verbs. Similarly, the other suffixes that are used to make nouns out of a verb in an unpredictable environment are listed as below.

-*am*   *nēci*   >   *nēcam* 'love - affection/love' (Tirum: 47:2)
       cuṟṟu   >   *cuṟṟam* 'surround – relatives' (Tirum: 212:1)
       koṇṭāṭu >   *koṇṭāṭṭam* 'celebrate – celebration' (Tirum 209:3)

-*kku* *pō*   >   *pōkku* 'go – departure' (Tirum: 166:3)
       vac-   >   *vākku* 'speech' (Tirum: 1972:4)
       viḷampu >   *viḷakku* 'reveal - illumination' (Tirum: 602:3)

-kkai   *vāṟ*   > *vāṟkkai* 'live – life' (Tirum 206:1)
       tūr   > *tūrkkai* 'fill – fillup' (Tirum 211:2)

For the following nouns, the exact root form is found to be obscure.

       vac-   >   *vacanam* 'dialogue' (Tirum: 1972:4)
       upāy-   >   *upāyam* 'help' (Tirum 726:3)

The following abstract nouns are formed using an adjective and a suffix as opposed to a verb and a suffix as discussed above, and these types nouns tend to be very productive in the sense that there are large number of these types of nouns that are attested in Tirumantiram. However, not all of the adjectives in the language undergo this process of derivation, and determining what type of adjectives participates in the formation of this type of nouns is not possible.

-*mai* *eḷiya*   >   *eḷimai* 'simpleton' (Tirum 133:2)
       ciṟiya   >   *ciṟumai* 'littleness' (Tirum 133:1)
       periya   >   *perumai* 'pride' (Tirum 133:1)
       ariya   >   *arumai* 'preciousness' (Tirum 133:2)
       tīya   >   tīmai   'badness' (Tirum 533:2)
       nalla   >   nanmai 'goodness' (Tirum 722:2)

Use of certain number of words among this list like *nal* 'good' to *nanneṟi* 'good faith' (Tirum 2821:1), *nalyōkam* 'good fortune' (Tirum 2821:3) etc., are not very common in modern Tamil, but only used in a very regular fashion in medieval Tamil.

This suffix also occurs in combination with the negative suffix *ā* to provide the corresponding derived noun in negative sense.

kol	>	kollāmai 'destined from killing' (Tirum 197:2)
aṟi	>	aṟiyāmai 'ignorance' (Tirum 2019:1)
kaṟi	>	(iḷamai) kaṟiyāmai 'be static to age' (Tirum 186:1)

4.5. Formation of adjectival nouns:

A group of nouns typical of medieval and old Tamil occur with certain adjectives to form compound nouns, and the adjectives in such nouns are either obsolete or used in a very restricted contexts in the literary Tamil of the modern period.

oṇ
　　　oṇmalar 'charming flower' (Tirum 197:2)
　　　oṇporuḷ 'precious wealth' (Tirum 174:2)

paim
　　　paimpon 'precious gold' (Tirum 1106:2)

nuṇ
　　　nuṇcikai 'exquisite hair' (Tirum 230:2)
　　　nuṇpukai 'sacred smoke' (Tirum 1091:3)

pal
　　　palluyir 'multitude of life' (Tirum 943:1)
　　　palkōti 'many crores' (Tirum 739:3)

tiru
　　　tiruvārttai 'sacred word' (Tirum 133:3)
　　　tirunāmam 'sacred name' (Tirum 133:2)

aru
　　　aruntavam 'precious penance' (Tirum 6:2)
　　　arumporuḷ 'precious object' (Tirum 156:2)

4.6. Verbal Nouns:

Verbal nouns - also called gerunds - are made in modern Tamil using the neuter singular suffix *–atu* preceded by tense suffixes. Thus, *varukiṛatu* 'coming-present', *vantatu* 'coming-past' etc., are the candidates that can enter into larger sentence by taking case suffixes. Also, note that verbal nouns are to be distinguished from *participial nouns* in the sense that participial nouns are adjectival participle form of verbs which take person, number and gender suffixes other than neuter singular suffix, as in *varukiṛavan* 'a boy who is coming', *vantavaḷ* 'a girl who came' etc., but verbal nouns do not take any person, number and gender suffixes. The sentence, *avan varukiṛatai nān pārttēn* 'I saw him coming', thus, is a complex sentence involving a subordinate clause with a verbal noun occurring with the accusative suffix. This sentence can be analysed as [*nān* [*avan varukiṛān*] *pārttēn*], where the subordinate sentence *avan varukiṛān* 'he comes' acts as object of the matrix sentence, and is made into a gerund as *avan varukiṛatu* 'his coming'. In this sense, the verbal nouns, unlike verbal derivatives, cannot enter into lexicon of the language, as they represent a sentential proposition. Tirumantiram shows occurrences of verbal noun with the suffix *–al* in large numbers besides *–atu* in less number of cases.

-al
vā   >   *varutal* 'coming' (Tirum 188:3)
maṛa   >   *maṛattal* 'forgetting' (Tirum 332:2)
en   >   *enal* 'saying' (Tirum 398:4)
cimiṭṭu >   *cimiṭṭal* 'winking' (Tirum 66:2)

-atu
uṇar   >   *uṇarvatu* 'feeling' (Tirum 109:4)
koṭu   >   *koṭuttatu* 'giving' (Tirum 171:4)
aḷa   >   aḷakkinṛatu 'judging' (Tirum 184:2)

Note that unlike the suffix *'atu'*, the forms that occur with the suffix –*al* do not take tense

suffixes, but are capable of taking case suffixes.

   cimiṭṭal-ai   paṭṭuyir pōkinṟavāṟum
   wink-ing-acc. occur-life depart-like-conj.
   'It's like the life departs upon winking' (Tirum: 66:2)

4.7. Plural in Tirumantiram

  The suffix –*kaḷ* is used largely in modern Tamil, but in medieval Tamil, especially in

Tirumantiram the suffixes –*ōr, -ār etc.* are used in addition, mostly in derived nouns such as

participial nouns. The suffix –*r* occurs in modern Tamil along with the –*kaḷ* as in –*ārkaḷ.*

  -kaḷ

   tēvarkaḷ 'gods' (Tirum 3:1)
   taḷaṅkaḷ 'abodes' (Tirum 118:2)

  -ārkaḷ
   anpuṭaiyārkaḷ 'those with love' (Tirum 152:4)
   vallārkaḷ 'capable people' (Tirum 711:3)
  -ōr
   uṇarvōr 'those who realize' (Tirum 134:3)
   āvōr 'those who become' (Tirum 224:1)
  -ār
   teḷivār 'those who know' (Tirum 138:4)
   koḷvār 'those who acquire' (Tirum 175:1)

  -ar
   mūvar 'three people' (Tirum 7:1)
   vāṉavar 'celestial people' (Tirum 86:2)

This list can indeed be extended further with many other similar words like *cīrnanti* 'fame

Nandi' (Tirum 1863:1), *cemporuḷ* 'revered meaning' (Tirum 2473:4), taṟpatam 'inherent-

meaning' (Tirum 2441:1) and so on. There are also occurrences of complex type of adjectival

phrases like *oṉcīr niṟa maṇam* 'precious and unique kind of fragrance' (Tirum 2827:3), which

are in fact typical of the language of the verses to express the thoughts in a very condensed manner, thus making the language devoid of many complex syntactic constructions.

4.8. Case system in Tirumantiram

The case system is yet another complex structure of modern Tamil, and it is even more complex than the other two stages of Tamil namely medieval and modern Tamil.   This is because many of the post-positional forms that are used in Caṅkam Tamil are in fact used as case suffixes in modern Tamil.   Arden (1942) lists seven cases in modern Tamil – nominative (first case – marking the agent of an action), accusative (second case – marking the object of an action), instrumental (third case – marking the instrument or another person with which an action is performed), dative (fourth case – marking the motion toward a place or agent), ablative (fifth case – marking the motion from a place or agent), genitive (sixth case – marking possession of an object), and locative (seventh case – marking the existence of an object in a place).   In addition, the eighth case of 'vocative case' – traditionally called as *viḷi vēṟṟumai* – is also included as part of the case system, but it does not participate in any morphophonemic alternations (cf. Schiffman 2004:301).

In medieval and modern Tamil, the case system underwent many changes both in terms of reducing the number of suffixes that can be used for each case, and also in terms of avoiding redundancies.   To cite one example, medieval Tamil shows a set of suffixes, what are called *cāriyai* by traditional Tamil grammarians, that are used as case forms in modern Tamil.   The language of old and medieval Tamil used them along with case markers, as in *at-an-ai* 'that-an-obj.'. The suffix *–an* here does not have any function of its own, except for maintaining meter in poems.   There are more   of this kind of *cāriyais* found in old Tamil than in medieval Tamil. However, in the case system of modern literary Tamil, these suffixes are retained in order to

maintain the aesthetics of the language. In some case forms, like in genitive and sociative, both case suffixes and the *cāriyai* are used to mark the 'possessive' and sociative meanings respectively. Thus, the word *maratt-in-uṭaiya* 'of the tree' can be expressed in modern Tamil either as *mara-tt-in* or *maratt-in-uṭaiya,* thus creating a redundancy; similarly *atanōṭu* 'with that' is used either as *atan* or *atōṭu.* Modern spoken Tamil, however, avoids such redundancies, and all of the *cāriyais* are eliminated altogether and replaced with a suffix ōṭa, as in *marattōṭa,* which is synonymously understood as either 'of the tree' or 'with the tree'. Medieval Tamil eliminated many of the postpositional suffixes that are used in Caṅkam -Tamil. Rajam (1992, p. 306) lists around fifty different forms that are considered to be case markers and postpositional forms in Caṅkam Tamil. Most of the suffixes in this list are particles that can occur independently of the case system. For example, one of the locative markers that is included under case suffixes in this list is *ayal*, which means literally 'vicinity'. The sentence *malai ayal* means 'by the side of the mountain'. According to Rajam (ibid.), it is a postpositional phrase in old Tamil representing one of the locative meanings. Agesthialingom and Shanmugam (1970), however, list only twenty three forms that, according to them, are considered as case markers and postpositions that seem to have been used during the Pallava period.

4.8.1. Nominative:

Traditionally called '*eṟuvāy vēṟṟumaī*', this case is used to denote the subject of a sentence without any explicit suffix. Connotatively, the subject of a sentence can be an agent of an action, a noun that is being described by a stative verb, a grammatical subject of passive verbs, or as topic of an equational noun-noun sentences. Occurrences of these types of subjects in Tirumantiram require special attention. Unlike in modern Tamil, the subject in Tirumantiram can occur in large number of cases in final position usually for metric purposes.

Subject in final position:
ninṟān   nila-muṟutu aṇṭattuḷ **nīḷiyan**
stand-pa.3rd.mas.sg. earth entire   cosmos-loc. tall-3rd mas. Sg
'The tall one stood filling all of Cosmic space' (Tirum 375:1)

Passive construction:
...vintuvum nātamum **ōṅkiṭa paṭṭatu** mantiram
  Bindu-conj. Nada-conj. flourish-pas.neut. Mantra
  'The Bindu and Nada are flourished by Mantra' (Tirum 917:3)

Topic of noun-noun sentence:
añcol   moṟiyāḷ   aruntava   peṇpiḷḷai
sweet-word language-3rd. fem.sg. precious-penance female-child
'Of sweet speech woman reachable by rare penance' (Tirum 1109:1)

4.8.2. Accusative:

Object of a sentence is marked in modern Tamil using the suffixes *–ai* and ø, each

occurring in compliment to each other in the context of specific versus non specific objects.

That is, when the object is a specific noun – proper nouns, followed by demonstrative adjectives,

a possessive noun etc., the suffix *–ai* is marked explicitly, otherwise a ø suffix is understood.

Tirumantiram shows the use of both of these suffixes in a large number of cases.

> *-ai*
> parṟatu   vāyninṟa   **parṟinai** pārmicai
> affection-that becomes stand affection-obj. earth-loc
> *'The affection that stands as affection on the earth'* (Tirum:259:1)

> *-ø*
> ceyalarṟiruppār   **civayōkam** tēṭār
> action-without-they-remain Siva-lore search-not-they
> *'Those without any action, do not search for the Siva lore'* (Tirum 2319:2)

4.8.3. Dative case:

Traditional grammars call 'dative case' *koṭai vēṟṟumai* 'case of giving', which is

relevant for its use with verbs of transfer such as *koṭu* 'give'*,* *aḷi* 'offer'*,* *aruḷ* 'grace' etc.,

indicating a transfer of an object from one person to another. Besides, this suffix is also used to

denote movement of an object from one place to another. The verbs that are used to indicate this meaning are usually called motion verbs such as *pō* 'go', *vā* 'come' etc. In addition to these two basic occurrences of the suffix *–kku,* there are also cases where this suffix is used in 'comparative' and purposive meanings'. Comparative meaning is understood when the dative noun is occurring in combination of two nouns, where one noun with the dative suffix is compared to another (ex. *mūvarkkum mūttavan* 'elder to all three' Tirum 7:1). The purposive meaning, on the other hand, is understood when verbs other than motion and transfer verbs are used, usually to denote the purpose action. This meaning is usually expressed in modern Tamil with the suffix *–ukkāka,* which only occurs very rarely in Tirumantiram.

-kku:

Comparative meaning:
munnai oppāyuḷḷa **mūvarkku**m mūttavan
previous-acc like-exist trio-dat-conj. elder
'The elder to the previous three who resemble' (Tirum: 7:1)

Case of giving:
vēntan **amararkku** aruḷiya meynnerṟi
Lord immortals-dat grace-which truthful-order
'The truthful order that the Lord offered to the immortals' (Tirum: 34:2)

Case of motion:
aivarukku nāyakan ōlai varutalāl
five people-dat god leaf come-ger.-because
'Because the summons comes to the five people from god (of death)'
(Tirum 188:3)

Purposive:
moṟintatu **mūvarkkum nālvarkkum** īcan
proclaim-pa.-3[rd.] neut. sg. Three-people-dat. four-people-dat. god
'God proclaimed the words to the three-people and four-people'
(Tirum 71:1)

Use of the suffix ukkāka:
cuṇaṅkanukkāka cuṟalkinṟavāṟē
dog-purp. Revolving-pr.-like
'Like revolving around for prowling dogs' (Tirum 753:4)

When the dative suffix occurs with stative verb –*iru* 'be', it is understood to give the meaning of

'*possession*' (See Schiffman 1999:29).

> **enakku** iṛai anpilan enpar ...
> me-dat   god love-not-3rd.sg. say-fut.3rd. hum.pl.
> '*They say that I don't have divine love*' (Tirum 22:3)

4.8.4. Possessive:

The case that denotes '*possession*' of an object by an agent is marked in modern Tamil by

the suffix –*uṭaiya* (spoken –*ōṭa*) mostly, and in literary contexts using the suffixes –*in* and –

atu. In the contexts where –*in* occurs before a stop consonant, the final –*n* becomes a trilled –*ṛ*

as in –*iṛ (mukattiṛ kaṇ* 'eye of the face' and *akattiṛ kaṇ* 'eye of the mind' (Tirum 2944:1,2).

In Tirumantiram, however, only the suffixes –*atu, –in* and the empty suffix -ø are used widely.

The suffix –*uṭaiya* occurs as a main verb to mean 'to possess' (ex. *kalvi uṭaiyār* 'one who

possesses education' Tirum 293:1) .

-*atu.*

> **pāratu** ponmai pacumai uṭaiyatu
> earth-pos. glory green   possess-it
> '*That which possesses the glory and the greenness of the world*'

> **nīratu** veṇmai cemmai **neruppatu**
> water-pos. white redness fire-pos.
> '*Whitness is of water and redness is of fire*' (Tirum: 2145:2)

 -in-ø
> **villin-ø**   vicai **nāṇiṛ**   kōtt-ilakk-eytapin
> bow-pos speed string-loc   tie-target shoot-after
> '*Bow's speed is known, after it reaches the target having tied in the string*'
>   (Tirum 2567:1)

 -ttu-ø

> akal-iṭattār   meyyai **aṇtattu-ø**   vittai..
> wide-space-3rd.mas.sg. truth-acc. universe-pos. seed-acc.
> '*The truth of this wide space and origin of this universe…*' (Tirum 4:1)

Besides these regular suffixes that are found to be common both in medieval and modern Tamil, there is yet another possessive suffix, which is –*tam.* This suffix is an extension of the genitive form of the reflexive pronoun *tām* 'oneself', which is presumably extended to possessive meaning in its genitive form of *tam* 'one's own'.

aṇṇal-tam kōyil   aṟal-iṭṭatu   āṅku okkum
God-pos.   temple lamp-place-vn. there compare-neut.fut.
'It will be like God's temple is lit with lamp' (Tirum 1911:2)

This suffix generates a redundant environment when occurring with possessive pronouns:

piraman-māl **taṅkaḷ-tam** pētamaiyālē
Brahama-Mal their-pos   ignorance-inst.
'By their ignorance, Brahama and Mal are known as two different supreme gods'
                    (Tirum 372:2)

4.8.5. Sociative/Instrumental case:

The sociative and instrumental cases that are included traditionally under 'the third case' is termed as –*oṭu vēṟṟumai* '*oṭu* case', even though at a later stage the corresponding form with a long *ō* as *ōṭu* became very common. This case is used to mark the meanings of both 'an instrument with which an action is carried out' as well as 'marking the accompanying agent of an action' (see Arden 1942:75 and Schiffman 2004:301).   In modern Tamil the suffix –*ōṭu* is used to mark the sociative case and -*āl* to mark the instrumental case. The suffix –*uṭan,* on the other hand, is used only in literary contexts along with other postpostions such as –*mūlam* and –*kūṭa.* In Tirumantiram, the suffix –*oṭu* is also used in free variation along with its long vowel counterpart –*ōṭu.* Also, the forms –*uṭan* and -*kūṭa* occur in Tirumantiram as separate verbs, which shows that the use of these forms in the context of case marking must have been a later development by the process of grammaticalization.

-*oṭu*:

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ōṅku peruṅkaṭal uḷḷuṟu **vānoṭum**
rising big ocean   inside-exist sky-soc.-conj.
'With the sky that is inside of great ocean' (Tirum: 390:1)

kamukūṟu teṅku **karumpoṭu** vāṟai
Areca palm coconut cane-soc.   Plantain tree
'The plantain tree with areca palm, coconut tree and sugar cane'
(Tirum: 248:3)

-ōṭu:

ōtum **eṟuttōṭu** uyirkkalai mūvaiñum
chant-that letters-soc life-art three times five
'The life related fifteen arts along with chanting words' (Tirum: 963:1)

ceyalaṟṟiruppār **cekattōṭuṅ** kūṭār
action-without-be-they world-soc. Join
*'Those who will remain without any action and they won't join the world
either'* (Tirum: 2319:3)

āl:

ponnāl purintiṭṭa poṟcaṭai yenna
Gold-by thread-pa.-ppl. golden braid like
'Like golden braid threaded by gold' (Tirum 9:1)

vaṟi

viti vaṟi inpam viruttamum illai
fate path bliss   wisdom-conj. not
'The bliss obtained through fate is not wisdom' (Tirum 45:2)

kūṭu as part of the predicate:

ūrelām **kūṭi olikka** ...
Town-all assemble-avp. sound-inf.
'All of the town assemble and sound' (Tirum 145:1)

uṭan as part of the predicate:

periyār   **uṭan kūṭal**   pērinpamāmē
noble people along unite-ger. Great-bliss-becomes-emp.
'Uniting with noble people is a great bliss' (Tirum 545:4)

en uḷḷattu **uṭan iyaintāḷē**
my heart-pos. along unite-3rd. fem.sg.-emp.
'She united in my heart' (Tirum 1114:4)

Note that the use of the verb –*uṭan* always occurs in combination with another verb to mean 'to do s.t. along with', which is a typical feature of medieval Tamil. Following are some of the similar combinations that one finds in Tirumantiram:

> uṭan iyaintāḻ 'agree in conjunction' (Tirum 40:1)
> uṭan piṟantār 'born together' (Tirum 174:1)
> uṭan kiṭantu 'being together' (Tirum 17471:1)

4.8.6. Locative case:

The suffixes *il, micai, kaṉ, iṭai, uḷ, mēl, pāl* and *kīḻ* are used widely in Tirumantiram to mark locative meaning. The suffixes *il, micai* and *kaṉ* form a group by providing a simple meaning of location, denoting either '*space*' or '*place*'. Mostly, these occur freely and it is difficult to determine any specific environment within which each of these suffixes would occur. The suffix –*micai,* for example, is attested, both in Sangam Tamil as well as in medieval Tamil in a large number of cases, only with neuter nouns but not with human nouns. However, it is possible to substitute this suffix with other locative markers without altering their basic meaning of location. In this sense, it may be termed that use of one suffix in place of another is determined largely on stylistic grounds, rather than on connoting any difference. The other suffixes *iṭai, uḷ, mēl* and *kīḻ* act mostly like modern Tamil postpositions denoting the meanings such as 'between', 'inside' and 'upon' respectively. However, in modern Tamil, these forms occur mostly after dative and possessive suffixes as in *kāṭṭukkiṭiyē* 'between forests', *kāṭṭukkuḷ* 'inside the forest' *kāṭṭukku mēl* 'above the forest' and so on, along with their possessive equivalents such as *kāṭṭiniṭiyē* 'between forests', *kāṭṭinuḷ* 'inside the forest' *kāṭṭin mēl* 'top of the forest' respectively. But, as may be noted from the examples below, occurrence of these post positional forms after dative suffix –*kku* is comparatively minimum or unnoticed in

Tirumantiram texts, although there are many occurrences after the suffix –*in*, which can be taken either as a possessive suffix or an empty morph.

micai:

> kaviṟkinṟa **nīrmicaic** cellum kalampōl
> over turn-pr.-that water-on go-neut.fut. boat like
> *'Like the boat going on water over turning..'* (Tirum: 104:2)

> pūvanam paṭaippāṉum **pūmicai** yāṉāy
> soft sky   creates-he-and earth on became
> *'one who creates the sky also on the earth'* (Tirum: 386:3)

il:

> kaṭalil keṭuttuk **kuḻattiṉil** kāṇṭal
> ocean-loc ruin-avp pond-empty-loc see-ger.
> *'Seeing in a pond having ruined in ocean'* (Tirum: 513:1)

kaṉ:

> pūviṉ-kaṉ niṉṟu poruntum puvaṉamē
> flower-loc   stayed-avp fit-that world
> *'The world that fits within a flower'* (Tirum:385:4)

iṭai:

> ... **kāṭṭiṭaik**   koṇṭupōyc cuṭṭiṭṭū
>   forest-loc take-avp   burn
> *'Having taken (the dead body) to the midst of the forest and burn it..'*
>   (Tirum: 145:3)

uḷ/uḷḷē:

> **akattuḷ** ākācam em āti aṟivu
> mind-loc sky   our primal knowledge
> *'The sky in one's inner mind is the primal knowledge'* (Tirum:2812:2)

> ... matiḷuṭaik **kōviluḷ** vāṟpavar
>   Wall-pos.   temple-loc. live-who-he
> *'The one who lives within a temple with walls'* (Tirum 154:2)

> **uḷḷattiṉ** **uḷḷē**   uḷa pala tīrttaṅkaḷ
> mind-pos. inside   exist many holy waters
> *'Within one's mind are there many holy waters'* (Tirum 509:1)

mēl/mēlē:

> **pū mēl** uṟaikiṉṟa   puṇṇiyam vantaṉaḷ
> flower on live-pr.-rel.ppl.   merit   come-pa.-3rd.sg.
> *'One who resides upon a flower arrived for the merit'* (Tirum 1141:3)

> mēlait **tuvārattin mēl** maṉam vaittiru
> west   whole-pos. on   mind   place
> *'Keep your mind on the west side hole'* (Tirum 583:2)

> kaṭantu niṉṟāṉ kamalam **malar mēlē**
> transcend-avp. stand   heart   flower on
> *'Transcending all He stood; on the lotus heart'* (Tirum 26:3)

kīr̠/kīr̠ē

> ākiṉṟa   nanti **aṭikkir̠** aṭaṅkumē
> become-pr.rel. Nanti foot-below contain-neut.fut.-emp.
> *'Everything contains underneath the foot of the Nandi who is everything'*
>   (Tirum 2738:4)

> nāpikku kīr̠ē   pannireṇṭaṅkulam
> throat-dat. under twelve-inches
> *'Twelve inches underneath the throat'* (Tirum 579:1)

The suffix *pāl* acts very much like modern Tamil suffix *iṭam*, in the sense that it can be replaced

by *iṭam.*

> **avan-pāl** aṇukiyē   aṉpu cey-v-ārkaḷ
> he-loc   approach-avp.-emp. love   do-fut.3rd.mas.pl.
> *'Reaching him will they show their love'* (Tirum 1880:1)

There are also instances where the inflectional increment *–tt* without any explicit marker gives

locative meaning, with presumably a *-ø* suffix:

> **ñāla-tt-ivaṉ** mika nall-aṉ   **en-r̠-ār-ē**
> world-loc-he very   good-3rd.mas.sg.   say-pa.3rd.mas.sg.-emp.
> *'(They) said that his the very good person in the world'* (Tirum 540:4)

4.8.7. Ablative case:

The ablative case that marks the motion of an object from a place or person is denoted by the suffixes *–iliruntu* and *-iṭamiruntu* in modern Tamil, but these are non-existent in Tirumantiram texts.   Instead, the suffix *–ninṟu* 'having stood' is used in its place in Tirumantiram.

-ninṟu

vān-ninṟu aṟaikkum   maṟaipōl ...
sky-from   call-fut.neut. rain-like
'Like the rain that is invited from sky' (Tirum 30:1)

neyninṟu eriyum neṭuñcuṭarē...
Ghee-abl. burn-that long flame leaving
'The flame that burns out of ghee…' (Tirum 218:1)

kollayininṟu kutikoḷḷum kūttanukku
burning ground-from dance-refl.-who dancer-dat.
'*The dancing Lord who dances from burning place'* (Tirum 542:3)

acumpininṟu ūṟīyatu āramutu ākum
fleshy body mire-abl. fountain ambrosia becomes
'*That which fountains up from fleshy body mire becomes ambrosia'*
(Tirum2818:2)

Occurrences of *ninṟu* in ablative meaning is also attested in medieval inscriptions, which indicate that this suffix was prevalent widely in different genres of language at that time.

pālāṟṟu ninṟum tōṇṭina perumpituku kāl
Rivar Palaru from dig-that big ditch inside
Inside the ditch that was dug in Palaru (SII 1.151.79)

The following instances of using the form *–iruntu* with locative nouns indicate the earlier stages of evolution of the suffixes *–iliruntu* and *-iṭamiruntu* in the sense that historically the combination of the participle form of the verb *–iru,* which is *–iruntu,* and locative nouns was used to mean the proposition of '*having been in a place*' an action was carried out. Note that the

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verb in such propositions can be both motion verbs as well as stative verbs in this stage, but later

when this combination of forms were reanalyzed to corresponding markers for 'ablative', their

occurrences were narrowed down to motion verbs.

-iruntu

    kōyiliruntu   kuṭikoṇṭa   kōnnanti
    temple-having-been live-ref.-ppl. king-Nandi
    '*The King Nandi who lived having been in the temple*' (Tirum 116:2)

    irāppakal aṟṟa **iṭattē iruntu**
    night-day not place be-avp.
    '*Having been in a place where there is no day and night*'

    parākkaṟa   ānantat tēṟal **parukār**
    dead-without bliss   nector drink-not-they
    '*One does not drink the blissful-nector that doesn't give death*'
                              (Tirum 331:1,2)

    (kāṭci)   oṟukak kamalattin **uḷḷē iruntu**
    appearance   show-inf. heart-pos. inside be-avp.
    '*Having been inside the heart, appears the Lord*'

    viṟumap poruḷuṭan mēvi ninṟānē
    subtle   objects-with pervade stand-pa.-3rd.sg.
    '*With subtle object He pervades*' (Tirum 2156:3,4)

This suffix is also used in temporal meaning:

    eytiya **nāḻil iruntu** kaṇṭēnē
    create-that day-loc. be-avp. See-past-1st sg.
    '*I saw from the day of creation*' (Tirum 186:4)

4.9. Derivation of Nouns from Verbs:

    To demonstrate the nature of complexity involved in the process of derivation of nouns

from verbs in Tamil, consider below how the two typical types of derivatives differ from each

other both conceptually as well as by the way they are formed.

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The nouns such as *paṭukkai* 'bed' as derived from *paṭu* 'lie, recline', *vāṟkkai* as derived from *vāṟ* 'live', *cērkkai* 'joint' from *cēr* 'join' etc., differ considerably from the kinds of nouns such as *paṭippu* 'education' as derived from *paṭi* 'study', *vāṟvu* 'life' as derived from *vāṟvu* 'live' etc., in that only the latter type of noun formation mechanism is associated with strong/weak correlation of the verbs, but not the former type.[84]   That is, the suffix *–kkai* that occurs with the former type of verbs can be added to any verb stem, no matter whether it is a strong or weak stem, but in the latter type the two suffixes namely *–vu* and *–ppu* are chosen according to whether the verb belongs to a weak stem or a strong stem respectively.[85]   As we will see in this chapter,   there is one kind of suffix that is always added to weak stems; and another kind that is always added to strong stems; and yet there is a third kind of suffixethat can be used only with a selective number of verbs, either strong or weak.

4.9.1. Types of deverbal nouns in Tamil:

Consider below the different derivations of the weak verb vā 'come' and the strong verb naṭa 'walk/happen':

```
1. vara-vu  'income'                  naṭa-ppu 'incident'
2. varu-kai   'visit'                 *naṭa-kkai (cf. vāṟkkai)
3. va-nt-an-am 'welcome'              *naṭ-a-nt-anam
4. var-al 'coming'                    *naṭ-al / naṭakkal
5. varu-t-al 'coming'                 naṭa-ttal 'walking/happening'
6. varu-kiṟ-atu 'coming'             naṭa-kkiṟ-atu 'walking/happening'
7. varu-kiṟ-a-v-an 'one who is coming' naṭa-kkiṟavan 'one who is walking'
(only medieval and modern Tamil)
8. varu-v-ōr 'those who come'         naṭ-pp-ōr 'those who walk'
(only in old and middle Tamil)
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[84] The type of nouns that are made with the suffix *–kkai* may or may not be an abstract noun, but all the nouns that are formed with the suffix either *–ppu* or *–vu* are abstract nouns.

[85] The verb *paṭu* 'lie down' is a strong verb and vāṟ 'live' is a weak verb. There are also other verbs that behave the same way. They include verbs such as *uṭkkai* 'dress' from 'utu' 'put on' (Tevaram: 419.10) (stong verb); nampikkai 'belief' from nampu 'believe' (weak verb); irukkai 'seat' from 'iru' be (strong verb) and so on.

While the examples 1 through 3 are considered to be verbal derivatives, the rest are understood either as verbal nouns or participial nouns having, as Schiffman (2005) suggests, borrowing the term from Ross (1970), a lesser degree of 'nouniness' in them. Words of the type 1, 2 and 4 are commonly-occurring forms in all the three stages of Tamil language, where as the type 3 is only occurring in a minimum number of verbs.

Also, if a derived noun can take an adjective or genitive phrase, it can be understood to have the properties of a lexical item , otherwise it must be considered as having sentential properties so as to become part of a noun phrase in a sentence. For example, from the list above it may be understood that not all of the nouns can take the adjective *nalla* 'good'.

Consider the following phrases with an adjective and derived noun.

> 1a. nalla varavu 'good coming'
> 2a. nalla varukai 'good arrival'
> 3a. nalla vantanam 'good arrival'
> 4a. *nalla varal
> 5a. *nalla varutal
> 6a. * nalla varukiṛatu
> 7a. * nalla varukiṛavan
> 8a. *nalla varuvoor

In order to identify the nature of words between 4 and 8, one can attempt to see if they have any syntactic properties , i.e., whether they have sentential properties, (such as gerund) by inserting them as part of a sentence.

> 1b. *avan vīṭṭukku varavu 'his coming home'
> 2b. *avan vīṭṭukku varukai
> 3b. *avan vīṭṭukku vantanam
> 4b. avan vīṭṭukku varal
> 5b. avan vīṭṭukku varutal
> 6b. avan vīṭṭukku varukiṛatu
> 7b. avan vīṭṭukku varukiṛavan 'he is the one who is coming home'

8b. avar vīṭṭukku varuvōr

From all of a) and b) sentences we may conclude that there are two types of nouns:

- derived nouns having lexical properties and

- b) derived nouns having sentential qualities, i.e., like gerunds in English. It should be noted that it is only the former type that is of interest to the language planners in the context of coining nouns, but not the latter type.

Rajam (1992: 688) cites twenty two suffixes, with suitable examples, including that of -*vu* and -*pu*, that are used in Caṅkam Tamil to make nouns from verbs. However, according to her, except for the suffixes –*ttal* and –*tal*, all the other suffixes make unpredictable environments for their distribution in the sense that the type of verbs they are added to can not be determined by any phonological environments and their occurrence is thus random.[86] For some unknown reason, Rajam does not include the suffixes –*vu* and –*pu* among the ones that produce nouns in predictable environments, i.e., -*vu* occurring with weak stems and -*pu* with strong stems. Perhaps this might be due to the fact that not all of strong (as in *paṭippu* 'education' but not **pārppu* 'seeing' and so on) and weak verbs (as in *nikaṟvu* 'happening' but not **purivu* 'understanding' and so on) take these suffixes to form corresponding nouns. In general, it may be stated that noun formation in Tamil does not offer a predictable environment for defining the conditions for their derivation in a clear way. There are cases where the formation of certain nouns is random and therefore the circumstances in which they are formed cannot be defined. For example, the nouns such as *pārvai* 'vision' (*pār* 'see' - strong verb + *vai*) vs. *cērvai* *'associate' (cēr* 'join' – week verb + -*vai)*; *viyappu* 'amazement' (*viya 'amaze – weak verb +*

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[86] The suffixes that Rajam (1992: 688) cites are as follows: *am, ar, al, āḷ, u, uḷ, ai, kkal, (k)ku, (k)kai, (c)ci, ccu, (t)tal, ti, tai, pāṭu, (p)pu, mai, vi, vu* and *vai*. Perhaps, one can add as part of this list the other suffixes such as –*ttu* as in celuttu 'send', *(m)pu* as in *tirumpu* 'turn', -*ṅku* as in *neruṅku 'approach' etc.*

ppu) vs. *kalappu* 'mixture' (*kala* 'mix' – strong verb - + *ppu*) etc., are the instances where one can not state why the suffixes *'-vai'* and *'-ppu'* occur both with weak verbs and strong verbs. In such instances, therefor, one has to rely on native speaker's intuition as to what suffix goes with what verb. Besides, there are also cases where certain forms in modern Tamil occur as remnants of medieval Tamil and thus don't correspond to the pattern. Examples for such cases may provided as in *kāṉāmal pōṉatu* 'lost', *edirpārāmal* 'unexpectedly' etc., where the verbs *kāṉ* 'see' and *etirpār* 'expect' etc., take the negative participial suffix *-āmal* belonging to medieval Tamil, where the distinction between weak and strong is not maintained in negative forms. (Cf. *iṟantu **piṟavāmal** īṅku vaittāṉē* 'He made me not be re-born'). The modern Tamil equivalents of these verbs would be *kāṇkāmal* and *pārkkāmal* with 'k' and 'kk' marking middle and strong verbs respectively. Since there was no distinction between strong and weak verbs during medieval Tamil at least as far as noun formation is concerned, it is plausible to assume that the words *pārvai* 'vision' *etirpārāmal* 'unexpectedly' *kāṇāmal* 'without seeing' etc., are borrowed from medieval Tamil, instead of being produced by using the word formation mechanism that are relevant to modern Tamil.

Before one attempts to study the nature of nominal derivatives involving specifically the suffixes *–vu* and *–ppu*, it is worth studying the nature of other commonly used noun formation mechanisms in Tamil, and see if they are connotatively related to any predictable environments such as weak or strong verbs.

4.9.2. Common types of derivations from verbs and their occurrence in medieval Tamil:

   a) Gemination of medial consonant of the initial syllable: There is a set of verbs that are made into nouns by geminating the consonant in the initial syllable. This type of

derivation is found to be occurring only in the case of weak verbs and no strong verb

seems to undergo this type of derivation.

pēcu 'speak' - *pēccu* 'speech' (weak)
pāṭu 'sing' – *pāṭṭu* 'song' (weak)
pūcu 'rub' – *pūccu* 'smearing' (weak)

pēccoṭu pēccuk kellām 'for ever utterance' (Tēvāram: 759)

arakkan āṟṟalai aṟittavan **pāṭṭukku**
demon   skill-acc destroy-He song-for
'For the song praising the one who destroyed the skill of the demon'
          (Tēvāram: 43)

kōvaṇa āṭaiyum niṟu **pūccum**
loin-cloth dress-acc. ash smearing
'The loin-cloth dress and the smearing of ashes' (Tēvāram: 17.7)

b) Addition of the suffix –*am* besides doubling of medial consonant of the first

syllable: This type of noun formation technique occurs only in the case of weak verbs, and

there is no attestation of any strong verb that is affected by this mechanism.

ōṭu 'run' – *ōṭṭam* 'running' (weak)
nāṭu 'approach' – *nāṭṭam* 'desire' (weak)

Note also that ōṭu 'run' can be made into a transitive verb by doubling the

consonant *ōṭṭu* 'cause to run'.

nāta muṭi-v-ilē **nāṭṭam** iru-pp-atu
sound the end-at desire being
'*Having a desire for the end of the sound*' (Tirum 629)

kūṭu 'assemble' – kūṭṭam 'crowd'

paramparanē un-paṟa   aṭiyār **kūṭṭam**
Lord – oh   your loving devotee crowd
'*Oh! Lord! Your loving crowd of devotees*' (Tirum: 426)

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c) Nouns made using the suffix *–al*: This is a very productive suffix when compared to other types of nouns for the reason that there more number of verbs that can be affected by this suffix, then other suffixes. Both strong and weak verbs can undergo this kind of derivation.

> *avi* 'fry' - *aviyal* 'fried curry' (strong)
> *kuḷi* 'bath' - *kuḷi-y-al* 'shower' (strong)
> *tullu* 'jump' - *tullal* 'jumping' (weak)
> *pāṭu* 'sing' - *pāṭal* 'song' (weak)

collal   pāṭal   vall-ār   tamekkenṟum
say-ing sing-ing capable-people us-dat.-that-also
'For the sake of those who are capable of singing/songs and saying/speech'
                                         (Tēvāram: 1.26.11)

d) Nouns made with the suffixes *–kai* and *–kkai*: This type of noun i derived from both weak and strong verbs. Weak verbs take the suffix *–kai* and strong verbs take *–kkai*. However, the only frequently occurring verbs in medieval and old Tamil in this class of nouns seems to be *ceykai* 'doing' from the verb *cey*, *irukkai* 'bed' from the verb *iru* 'be' and *vāṟkkai* 'life' from *vāṟ* 'live'.

> pattu kolāmaṭiyār **ceykai**tānē (weak verb)
> affectionate devotees **activities**-indeed
> *'It is indeed the actions of the affectionate devotees'* (Tēvāram: 4.18.10)

> tuṇaiylāl **irukkai** illai
> association-without seat not
> *'There is no seat, if there is no association'* (Tēvāram: 4.40.3)

 manam pukuntu ennuyir manniya vāṟkai
 mind   enter-having my life happy life
 'My happy life, having Him entered into my mind' (Tirum 1759:1)

4.9.3. The suffixes -*vu* and -*ppu* and their occurrences in medieval Tamil:

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Although all of the derivational processes in Tamil require further study from a historical perspective, the derivational process that involves the suffixes –*vu* and –*ppu*, in particular, needs special attention because one can not offer a clear justification for some of the exceptions that this process produces.   Unless a diachronic analysis is made with data collected from the early stages of Tamil, i.e., old and medieval periods, the exceptional behaviors that these verbs exhibit can not be accounted for.

In general, the derivation of nouns using the suffixes –*vu* and –*pu* takes place based on whether the verb belongs to either weak or strong stem. These suffixes resemble the future tense markers that are used when the human noun is used a subject. But it is difficult to give any satisfactory explanation as to how future tense and derived nouns are related conceptually, nor can one relate it the weak/strong correlation of these verbs with that of their derivatives in any conceivable way.

Consider the examples below, which show exceptions to the general rule of using the suffix –*vu* for weak verbs and -*pu* for strong verbs.

Weak verbs:

aṟivu 'knowledge' - *ari* 'know' *aṟivēn* – 'I will know'
makiṟvu 'happiness' - *makiṟ* 'happy' - makiṟvēn 'I will be happy'
vāṟvu 'life' – *vāṟ* – live – *vāṟvēn* 'I will live

matiyon ṛavutat tavar**vāṟvum**
knowledge one that sowed-one life
 'The life of the one who gave the knowledge' (Tēvāram: 383).

muṟavu 'drum' – *muṟaṅku* – 'make noice'

viṟavāroliyum muṟavumōvā vēṇupurantannuḷ
 festival-noice   drum-resite-not Venupuram-in
 'In Venupuram where there is no noise of festivals and drumming'

Exceptions:

> *ninaivu* – 'memory' *ninai* – think - *ninai-pp-ēn* 'I will think'
> (cf. *ninaippu* – 'thought')
>
> *turavu* 'ascetism' *tura* 'renounce' – *turappēn* 'I will renounce'
> (cf. *turappu)

Strong verbs:

> *paṭippu* 'education' – *paṭi* 'study'
> *naṭippu* 'acting'   - *naṭi* 'act'
>
> **ninaippum maṟappum** ilātavar neñcam
> memory-and forgetting-and without-the one heart
> *'whose heart without either remembrance or forgetfulness'*
> (Tirum 2970:1).

Strikingly, none of the verbs belonging to the class of middle verbs (those which take the future

suffix either '*tp*', '*rp*' or '*np*'), seems to follow the above pattern.

Middle verbs:

> *kalvi* 'education' – *kal* 'learn' - *kaṟpēn* – 'I will learn'
> *kēḷvi* 'hearing'   - *kēḷ* 'ask' – *kēṭpēn* 'I will ask'

Note that the future tense suffix and the deverbal noun suffix in these examples are different.

Also, none of the other middle class verbs such as *tin* 'eat', *kāṇ* 'see' or *nil* 'stand' undergoes

this process of deverbal nominalization.

As mentioned elsewhere, since all of the verbs do not undergo any particular process in a

productive manner, it may be reasonable to think that the exceptions as shown above have some

historical relevance in one way or another.   For example, the noun *turavu* 'renounce' and the

verb *tura* are understood in modern Tamil as strong verbs, but it takes the suffix *–vu*, like any

weak verb. This is because this verb is used as a weak verb in medieval and old Tamil (cf. tuṟavōr 'renouncers'), and the noun was formed in old Tamil.   Modern Tamil borrowed both the derived noun (*tuṟavu)* as well as the verb (*tuṟa),* but a linguistic change at a latter stage must have changed the verb (*tuṟa)* to a strong verb. This may be reason why the derived noun and verb type do not match in this case. Also for some strange reason, the verb *ninai* 'think' is found to be occurring both as a strong verb as well as a weak verb in medieval and Caṅkam periods. Consider below the examples for verb *ninai* 'think' being used both as a week and a strong verb.

> nina**nt**apō tiniya vāṟē
> think-when this   as
> '*As it was when one thought'* (Tēvāram: 4.39.7).
>
> pōkamum mātar pulavi atuninai**nt**u
> austerity   women   that thought
> *When thinking of the austerity of women*
> nītiyuḷ īcan ninai**pp**oṟi vāṟē
> virtue-in God thinking –avoid
> *God avoids to think of the virtue* (Tirum 529:1).

Caldwell, however, generalizes the derivational process that takes place with the suffix *–vu* and -*pu,* by introducing a single formative 'b', which, according to him, changes to either 'v' or 'p' (Caldwell 1961, p. 546). But, as he does not lay out the environments where these changes take place, it does not seem to be obvious to think that these suffixes can be anything other than future tense markers. Caldwell also provides examples from other Dravidian languages such as Telugu and Kannada, where this suffix is used.

> *Sā-vu* 'death' from *sā* 'die' (Kannada)
> *Digu-vu,* the bottom from *dig-u,* to descend (Telugu)
> *ēḍu-pu* 'weeping' from *ēḍu-chu* 'to cry' (Telugu)[87]

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[87] Caldwell (1961: 546).

4.9.4. Word Formation Rules:

Christdas 1986, on the other hand, adapting the theory of lexical phonology, posits two word formation rules to account for this particular type of derivation involving the future tense suffix as part of the deverbal process. According to her, the first rule adds the tense suffix and the second rule adds the word formation suffix, which is –*u* as follows.

[[[[vāṟ]v]u]

[[[paṭi]pp]u]

In order to account for the exceptional form such as *tuṟavu* 'asceticism' and *ninaivu* 'thought', as noted above, under this theory one has to assume that the internal bracket that marks the boundary between the root verb and derivative marker is closed already, so the successive rule does not look at the weak/strong information of the verb. This bracket erasure principle is particularly needed to account for the historical change that took place on the root form of this verb, but not on derived forms. Extending this method of accounting for all of the word formation techniques in Tamil, however, would only yield a complex set of rules, but, on the other hand, such an attempt might provide a clear understanding of how this mechanism would work for each of these types of derived words.

4.9.5. Quantitative analysis of the use of the suffixes –*vu* and –*pu* in medieval and Sangam Tamil:

In order to determine the nature of the productivity of any given derivative suffix, it is necessary to see how many verbs are used in medieval and old Tamil taking these suffixes. The advantage of such a study is that one can understand how each of these suffixes has an effect in language use, so they can be considered for coining words. What is most relevant to our

discussion at this point is whether all of the mechanisms used in the derived nouns, like paṭippu 'education', *paṭippatu* 'studying', *paṭittal* 'studying', *paṭippavan* 'the one who studies', should be considered while coining technical terms, or only selected methods should be adapted. In this context, it is worth considering the idea of 'nouniness' that Schiffman (2005) uses, borrowing the idea from Ross. Applying such tests would yield a satisfactory metric to determine which noun type would be a possible candidate for coining new words. From a close look at all of these derived nouns, one may be able to understand that only the type of nouns such as *paṭippu,* and the one with the suffix *–kkai* as noted above, would show more 'nouniness'qualities than the rest. In this sense the rest of the nouns are to be considered as having more syntactic characteristics, and less of a lexical nature.

Considering the fact that the use of the suffixes *–vu* and *–pu* are occurring more frequently than the rest of the suffixes, an attempt is made here to study the number of verbs that use these suffixes in old and medieval texts. For this purpose the online corpora are used to get the count for all the nouns that take these suffixes in the texts of these two different periods. Consider the table below that shows the number of occurrences of the nouns with each of these suffixes.[88]

Text	–ppu	–vu
Medieval	29	19
Sangam	42	19

Obviously, this table states that there were a larger number of nouns with the suffix *–ppu* in the Caṅkam period than the other type. The difference between Caṅkam and medieval period, as far as the use of the suffix –ppu is concerned, is that the use of this suffix is declining.

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[88] Only Tēvāram and Nālāyirat tivyappirabandam texts of the medieval period is taken for consideration here, but all of Sangam texts are included.

4.10. Coinage of Technical Terms:

Coining technical Terms has never been an easy task in Tamil, and there are always cases where multiple number of words might exist for any given word, making standardization efforts very complicated.[89] The effort of coining new words and development of vocabulary in ones language can come under the study of language development. The development of vocabulary can come through the path of internal creation, i.e., the language's own processes of word formation, or through borrowing (Ferguson 196:33). Internal creation includes the process that we discussed so far in the context of forming nominal derivatives, as well as the formation of other categories such as verbs and adjectives. There have been attempts to make use of words from medieval and old Tamil to name the newly introduced objects or system. To cite one example, the transport system in Tamil Nadu was named *pōkku varattu tuṟai* 'department of transport' during the fifties and this word has had a success as far as standardization is concerned. The two constituents in this word, such as *pōkku* 'going' and *varattu* 'coming' are used extensively in medieval texts, but not as much in modern Tamil. Except for instances of compound nouns that were formed earlier in the history like *poṟutu pōkku* 'pass time', *puṟampōkku* 'public place' etc., use of *pōkku* 'departure or leaving' is very uncommon in modern Tamil.

> **pōkkum varavum** puṇarvum ilāp puṇṇiyaṇē
> going   coming   meeting   without meritorious person
> *'Oh! The meritorious person who neither goes, comes or meets'*
>   (Tiruvācakam: 80).

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[89] As a result of adapting multiple number of suffixes both from the same variety of language or from the obsolete language varieties, no standardization effort for coining technical terms could be successful. For example, note that many words are used to represent the word 'computer': kaṇini from kaṇi 'compute' + -ni; kaṇip poṟi from kaṇi 'compute' + poṟi 'instrument'; kaṇippāṉ from kaṇi 'compute' + -ppāṉ 'agentive suffix' etc. Schiffman (2005) notes that the word kaṇini was coined in Tamil Nadu and the word kaṇippoṟi in Malaysia. This clearly shows the complexity involved in word formation techniques, so arriving at a definite form out of the internal structure of language becomes difficult.

Again, resurrecting old words for new purposes, which is called loan extension, has been one of the active methods adapted in Tamil word formation efforts. Examples include words such as vāṇoli 'radio', pērāciriyar 'professor' etc., which are resurrected from ancient Tamil. Similarly, there are also instances of loan creation (*pukai vaṇṭi* 'train', niṟaṟ *paṭam* 'photograph'); loan translation (*tolaipēci* 'telephone', *āḷunar* 'governor'), borrowing (*kilō* 'Kilo', *rūpāy* 'rupee') etc.[90] The process of making new technical terms in the fields such as, science, administration etc., is ongoing. What one needs in the context of word formation and coining new words is a systematic study of standardized words, their usability, so a satisfactory consensus can be arrived at for the modernization efforts. Consider below the type of Tamil words created for some of the English words.[91]

> Click - coṭkku
> Download – pativiṟakkam cey
> Electronics – min aṇu
> E-mail – min añcal
> Engineer - poṟiyāḷar
> Hardware - vanporuḷ
> Installation – ēṟṟamaippu
> Internet – iṇaiyam, valaip pakuti
> Keyboard – vicaip palakai
> Software – menporuḷ

It may be noted that the new words thus created here are mostly loan translations and the suffixes that are used include –*kku*, -*al*, -*ar*, -*i*, -*ai* and –*ppu*.

4.11. Conclusions

As for the formation of participial nouns, otherwise called syntactically significant nouns, Tirumantiram exhibits many cases that are now extinct in modern Tamil. Especially the use of the suffixes *ār* as in *vallār* 'one who is cabable', *āṇ* as in *uḷāṇ* 'one who is' are extinct in

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[90] See Shanmugam (1983, pp. 1-27) for a study of modernization efforts in Tamil.
[91] Source: http://www.geocities.com/Athens/5180/cwords.html.

modern Tamil. However, Tirumantiram shows the existence of the corresponding modern Tamil

forms such as *vallavan, uḷḷavan* etc., in minimum number of cases, which indicate that the

development from *ār* to *avar* must have taken place during the medieval time. Similarly, the

structure of case system in Tirumantiram exhibits many similarities with modern Tamil, except

for some differences, especially in terms of using some of the case forms. For example, the use

of the suffix *-micai* for locative meaning and *–oṭu* for sociative meaning are typical cases of

medieval Tamil. One significant point to be observed in the conext of case suffixes is formation

of the ablative suffixes *–iliruntu* and *-iṭamiruntu* in modern Tamil, which, as indicated earlier,

are the developments from their corresponding syntactic construction involving the locative noun

and the existential verb *–iru*.   Thus, the expression *vīṭṭil iruntu vantēn* 'having been in house,

I came', is latter developed into a form identical to modern Tamil as in *vīṭṭiliruntu vantēn* 'I

came from home'.   The same type of an example of syntactic construction turning into

morphological form is noted with respect to the use of the sociative suffix *-uṭan.* A syntactic

construction like *periyār uṭan kūṭal* 'noble people's action of uniting together' turned into the

corresponding morphological form of *periyāruṭan* 'with noble people' in modern Tamil.

Further, it is found from the study above that the two suffixes *–kkai/kai* and *-ppu/vu* in Tamil

make nouns that are lexical in nature, as opposed to the ones with sentential or syntactic

functions.. What interests language planners most is the former type of nouns, which can be

used to coin new words.   Even though word formation has been a historical process involving

many suffixes and methods adapted throughout the history of language, one needs to pay special

attention as to what type of newly-coined words show larger currency. It is observed here that

the words with the suffixes *–ppu/vu* have been used from old Tamil to modern Tamil and only in

old Tamil were many words formed with the suffix *–ppu/-vu* when compared to medieval and

modern Tamil. There has also been a tendency to choose suffixes from external sources, such as Sanskrit or English, as opposed to exploiting language-internal mechanisms.

Chapter 5

Historical Morphology and Syntax: The Process of Grammaticalization during the transition from Old to Modern Tamil

5.0. Introduction

Any historical study of the changes in theTamil Language from the Sangam to the modern period requires a systematic analysis of words and structures that are common in all of the three periods, namely old, medieval and modern. It is a known fact that the language of modern Tamil is richer in grammatical forms than medieval and old Tamil in many senses. This is especially true in the use of verb forms such as modals, aspectuals, negative forms etc., which in modern Tamil are more complex than comparable forms in the other two periods of the language. In order for one to understand the development of any new forms, or loss of any old forms, one needs to find the trajectory of changes throughout these three stages, keeping in mind the linguistic processes that took place in a regular fashion. It is interesting to note that there exists in modern Tamil a set of fossilized forms that don't seem to follow any pattern of the paradigmatic structures, such as examples like *etirpārāmal* 'unexpectedly', (as opposed to *etirpārkkāmal*), *kāṇāmal* 'without seen' (as opposed to *pārkkāmal*) etc. These remnant forms require explanation in terms of comparable words and structures in medieval and old Tamil, where the negative suffix *ā* occurs with verbs, which were not fully developed for weak and strong correlations, and also that the verb *kāṇ* ' see' was quite common in medieval Tamil, but is not in modern Tamil. Thus, any discussion of modern Tamil grammar remains incomplete without a discussion of the grammar of both medieval and old Tamil forms. We will see in this chapter how a comparison of the morphological forms and words from modern Tamil with that of medieval Tamil forms, particularly the forms from Tirumantiram, illustrate a number of

grammaticalization processes that are responsible for the change from medieval Tamil to modern Tamil.

The term grammaticalization is defined originally by Antoine Meillet as "the shift of an independent word to the status of a grammatical element (Meillet 1912:131). This is further illustrated in Givón (1971:413) with a classic expression that 'today's morphology is yesterday's syntax'. Most recently, Hopper and Traugott (2003:xv) define grammaticalization as "the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and once grammaticalized continue to develop new grammatical functions". We will see in this chapter how a number of the so-called lexical items of medieval and old Tamil turn into grammatical elements and how the newly developed morphological forms in modern Tamil, arrived at by the process of grammaticalization, underwent a change in a unilateral direction and how they continue to develop new grammatical functions. This is especially true in the way that the modern Tamil aspectual and modal forms are developed from medieval Tamil. Many of these changes can be accounted for by such linguistic processes as 'reanalysis', 'phonological reduction' and metaphorization. Particularly, this chapter is devoted to a detailed discussion of the development of the modern Tamil forms such as aspectual forms, modal forms, case suffixes and postpostions, compound words and so on from comparable structures in medieval and old Tamil. Many of the illustrations shown in this chapter mark a transition that took place from lexical to grammatical forms. It is found that in some cases, both the source form as well as the output of grammaticalization occur in medieval Tamil concurrently, and in some other cases, only the source form is attested in medieval Tamil, which obviously indicates that the respective process must have taken place at a later stage of either the post-medieval period or the modern period. In particular, the three grammatical processes of

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'*reanalysis*', '*phonological reduction*' and '*metaphorization*' are dealt with in detail in this chapter with suitable examples from old, medieval and modern Tamil.

5.1. Reanalysis and formation of ablative suffixes in Tamil

Reanalysis is one of the three mechanisms of syntactic change, which can produce grammatical items out of a combination of two separate linguistic items, or just one item, e.g. in the case of French pas acquiring the status of negative particle, via metonymy, and thus can alter the morphology of the language. Such cases of linguistic change can be considered to be a subtype of grammaticalization.[92] Grammaticalization involves the evolution of independent grammatical categories by means of one or more of the linguistic mechanisms, such as metaphorization, morphologization, metonymy or reanalysis. When one of these linguistic mechanisms does not produce a grammatical item, and is not considered to be responsible for altering the morphology of a language, it can not be understood to be a subtype of grammaticalization. Keeping this in mind, this chapter attempts to examine the morphology of the three stages of Tamil and proposes a relationship among them based on the way some of the grammatical categories evolved. It is evident that modern Tamil exhibits a number of grammatical forms, especially the system of aspectual, modal and negative forms etc., that are not attested either in medieval Tamil or old Tamil in the same way they are currently understood, but there exist many related structures and forms that require a careful study from the point of view of reanalysis.

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 construction. An example for this view

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[92] 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).

may be shown from Tamil as follows in the context of how the ablative suffixes *iṭamiruntu* and

iliruntu were evolved historically. It is known that these two suffixes are not attested either in

medieval or old Tamil texts, entailing the fact that they are developed at a later stage. Evidences

from Tirumantiram show how these two suffixes could have developed by the process of

reanalysis of structures involving the locative case suffixes namely *il* and *iṭam* occurring in

combination with the verbal participle form of the verb *iru.* [93]. Consider below a hypothetical

modern Tamil sentence where where the ablative suffix is understood are two separate words:

> avan-iṭam iru-nt-u   appuṟam vā
> he   loc. be-past-participle later   come
> *'Be with him and come later'*   (hypothetical source sentence)

This sentence is understood in such a way that the verb *iruntu* 'having been' is a lexical form

that makes a complex construction with two different clauses.

> avan-iṭam-iru-nt-u appuṟam vā[94]
> he   ablative suffix.
> *'Come from him (his location) later'*   (Reanalysed)

However, the form '*iruntu*' in this sentence is understood as a grammatical item representing the

developed version of the human ablative suffix in modern Tamil. Although sentences of the first

kind, as above, are uncommon in modern Tamil, similar structures are attested in Tirumantiram

and also in other medieval Tamil texts as below.

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[93] Although it is not possible for one to demarcate the point in which 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 'from the nest parrot always…') 625:1) and Abirami Anthati (kayavarkaḷiṭattiliruntu ennait taṭuttāṭ koṇṭavaḷ avaḷē 'Oh! the Godess, who protected me from evil people and took me with you!' 54), which are placed later than Tirumantiram in the history of Tamil literature.

[94] 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 avañ-kiṭṭe runtu apparam vā and sentence 2 as avañ-kiṭṭe-runtu apparam vā. Note that the formation of neuter ablative suffix –*iliruntu* in Tamil also behave the same way and should be accounted for by reanalysis as well.

irāppakal aṟṟa   **iṭattē iruntu**
Night-day without space   be-avp.
'Having been in a place where there is no day and night'
<div align="right">(Tirum 1856:1)</div>

eytiya **nāḷil**   **iruntu** kaṇṭēnē
born-ajp. day-loc. be-avp. see-pa.1st.sg.-emp.
'I realized the Lord from when I was born' (Tirum: 186:4)

The examples here may be taken to illustrate the phenomenon of reanalysis as well as for the axiom that Campbell states, i.e., the possibility of more than one analysis. The word *iṭam* in Tamil means 'location or place', and subsequently the verbal participle *-iruntu* means 'having been in (a place)'. The human ablative suffix *-iṭamiruntu* 'from-someone' is derived by reanalysis of the locative suffix and the participle form of the verb *iru* 'be', which is *iruntu* 'having been'. Consider below similar constructions in both old and medieval Tamil texts with locative postpositions namely *mēl* 'above', *kīr̠* 'below', and *uḷ* 'inside'. In all of these examples, though, the verb *iruntu* is understood with its lexical meaning of 'having been in', rather than an ablative suffix.

aṉaṅku uṭai   mārap-in **kaṭṭilmēl iruntu**
ornament possess chest-pos. bed-top   be-avp.
'Having been from the bed with ornamants in the chest' (Pati. 79:14)

tammil iruntu   tamatupāttu uṇṭāṟṟal
us-loc. be-pa.avp. self-alone   eat-neg.
'Having been into oneself; not consuming on own' (Tirukkural 1107:2)

mēl-iruntum   mēl-allār   mēl-allar   kīr̠-iruntum
top-be-avp.conj.   top-not-3rd.pl. top-not-3rd.pl. down-be-avp.conj.
'One is not superior on the top; Nor do they at the bottom either'(Tirukkural 973).

uttara kōca **maṅkaiyuḷ iruntu**

north ruling girl-self   be-avp.
'From the self of the woman who belongs to the northern country'
vittaka vēṭaṉ kāṭṭiya   iyalpum
skilled Vedic show-ajp. attitude
'The attitude that the skilled Vedic person showed'
<p align="right">(Manikkavacakar Tevaram: 2:48)</p>

Evidence for occurrences of the locative suffix along with verbal participle form of the verb *iru* 'be' is also attested in inscriptions of medieval time.

māmallapuratt-il iruntu-vāṟum   uṟakkuni vāṇikan nākan
Mamallpuram-loc. be-avp. live-fut.neut. paddy   merchant Nagan
'The paddy merchant who lives in Mamallapuram' (SII.12.34).

These are the clear cases of grammaticalization in the sense that the form that is derived from a combination of two separate linguistic items happens to be a morphological suffix at a later stage. Under this circumstance, one can call this a mechanism of reanalysis, which is a subtype of grammaticalization.   As with the nature of reanalysis, the underlying structure of syntactic construction is changed from [N + Verbal Participle] to a 'Postposition', but without making any change in surface manifestation.

Reanalysis can also produce output that may not be a grammatical category, but instead results in a new lexical item. For example, the verb 'to teach' in Tamil is derived from a reanalysis of two lexical items 'say' and 'tell', as shown below.

<p align="center">3) coll-i + koṭu   > collikkoṭu
Say-and give   'Teach'</p>

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

<p align="center">131</p>

participle' + verb] is changed into a full-fledged lexical verb. Here, the process of reanalysis has taken place, but it can not be considered to be a subtype of grammaticalization because the output of this process is not a new grammatical category, and it 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 terma 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). It may be stated that development of the lexical item *collikkoṭu* 'teach' is a case of lexicalization resulted due to the process of *reanalysis* followed by a subsequent process of erasure of the morpheme boundary between the words *colli* and *koṭu.*

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 morpholigization may or may not produce morphosyntactic forms as their end product. When they produce a morphosyntactic linguistic item that can alter the morphological structure of the language, one can assume that this is 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.

5.2. Prepositional Verb construction and the formation of compound words:

Typical to medieval Tamil in general and *Tirumantiram* in particular, there are a number of verb forms where a combination of a verb with the particles such as *uṭan* 'along with', *kūṭu* 'be together', *uḷ* 'inside', *veḷi* 'outside', etc., occurs as a predicate. These verbs provide a set of complex semantic structures of a) performing an action in conjunction with another action: ex. *uṭan-pō* 'go along with s.o.', b) doing an action together with some one or a collective number of people: ex. *kūṭi-vāṟ* 'live together', c) occurring in something internally: uḷ-āṟu 'heal internally' and d) perform an action outside of s.t.: veḷi-yiru 'be outside'. Interestingly, this type of construction is not found to occur frequently in modern Tamil, except in some cases in fossilized forms as a separate verb. For instance, the nouns like *uṭan-piṟantōr* 'sibling', *uḷḷ-uṇarvu* 'intuition' etc., occur as separate lexical items. Similarly, the verbs such as *uṭan-pō* 'cooperate', *uḷ-vāṅku* 'inhale', *veḷi-yēṟu* 'expel' etc., occur in a similar sense as separate lexical verbs. Thus, the loss of the use of the complex verb as found in medieval texts and

subsequently the formation of new compounds in modern Tamil are the matters of concern here.

Hooper and Traugott (1993:135) call this type of compounding as cases of morphologization

due to what they term as 'univerbation', which is nothing but a process of 'uniting of the affix

with its stem'.

Consider the following types of verbs that occur in Tirumantiram in their literal sense:

uṭan + vb:

vāṟv-um manaivi-y-um makkaḷ **uṭan-piṟa-nt-ār-um**
life-conj. wife-gl.-conj. children alongwith-born-pa.3rd.pl.-conj.
'Life, wife, children and those who were born together' (Tirum 174:1)

aruḷ ceyyum periyār **uṭan-kūṭal** pērinpam-āmē
grace do-ajp. great people alongwith-join great-bliss-becomes-emp.
'It's a great bliss to be with great people who graces' (Tirum 545:3)

Although the forms *uṭan-piṟantār* 'be born along with' *uṭan-kūṭal* 'be together along with'

occur as separate verbs in *Tirumantiram*, only the verb *uṭan-piṟantār* turns into a separate

lexical verb meaning 'sibling' in modern Tamil; the other verbs do not have such extended

meaning whatsoever in modern Tamil. For reasons unknown, neither the verb *uṭan-kūṭal* nor

the other similar verbs such as *uṭan-mukiṟ* 'unite along with' (Tirum 1120:4), *uṭn-kiṭa* 'lie

along with' (Tirum 1747:1), *uṭan-iyai* 'agree alongwith' (Tirum 1114:4), *uṭan-aṇai* 'settle

along with' (Tirum 2171:2) attained the status of a lexical verb like that of *uṭan-piṟa* 'sibling'.

Particularly, the following example with the preceding noun in genetive case shows that the

particle *uṭan* is not a case form rather to be considered as part of the predicate *uṭan-kiṭa* 'lie

together'.

onṟiyavār-um **uṭal-in** **uṭan-kiṭant-um**
unite-like-conj. body-pos. along with-lie down-conj.
'Like being united of the body, having been lied along with..'
(Tirum 1747:4)

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Thus, the expression [*uṭal-in-uṭan   kiṭant-um]* 'having lied down along with a body' is synonymous to the expression [*uṭal-in   uṭan-kiṭant-um]* without reanalysis. Use of the latter type of construction is found to be common in Sangam poems as well as in other medieval poems:

> tamm-oṭu **uṭanvāṟ**   pakai uṭaiy-ār-kku
> we-pos.   along with-live enmity possess-3ʳᵈ.pl.dat.
> *'To those with a sense of enmity along with their life'* (Kali.77:24)

> illāyin   **uṭan**   **uṇṇum**
> not-cond. along with eat-neut.fut.
> *'If not, it will eat along with'* (Puram. 95:7)

> **uṭan**   **payil-kiṉṟ-aṉaṉ**   mātavaṉē
> along with associate-pr.-3ʳᵈ.mas.sg. Lord-emp.
> *'The Lord is associated along with'* (Tevaram 1216).

> **uḷ + vb:**

> tiruvaṭiyē   tañcam **uḷ-teḷi-v-ār-kk-ē**
> sacred-foot-emp. abode   inside-understand-fut.3ʳᵈ.pl.-dat.emp.
> *'For those who internalize it, the sacred foot is their abode'*
>   (Tirum 138:4)

> otta uṭal-ai-y-um   **uḷ-niṉṟa**   uṟpatti
> alike body-acc.gl.conj. inside-stand-ajp   production
> *'Bodies alike and the thoughts that occur-internally..'* (Tirum 84:3)

> tīy-iṉ-āṟ cuṭṭ-a   puṇ   **uḷḷ-āṟum**
> fire-inst. burn-ajp. wound   inside-heal-neut.fut.
> *'The burn that is caused by fire heals inside'* (Tirukkural 319:1)

Even though the particle *uḷ* 'inside' implies here the meaning of 'inside something', the use of the corresponding noun phrase with *uḷ* as a locative postposition as in *manattiṉ-uḷ* 'inside heart' may be considered as a development due to reanalysis. Note that such postpositional phrases also occur in Tirumantiram [alongside?], as in *neñciṉuḷ* 'inside heart' (Tirum 86:3) after

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the genitive suffix –*in.* Further, unlike in modern Tamil, the particle –*uḷ* also occurs as a suffix

without the genitive case form preceding it, as in the example: *neñcuḷ* 'in heart' (Tirum 2214:2).

The other verbs that occur in Tirumantiram in combination with *uḷ* are as follows:

> uḷ-uḷan 'one who exists inside' (Tirum 222:2)
> uḷ-vai 'keep inside' (Tirum 333:3)
> uḷ-uṛu 'inside-dwell' (Tirum 390:1)
> uḷ-eṛu 'rise inside' (Tirum 1015:2)

veḷi + vb:

mēl-eṛintu   uḷḷē   **veḷi-ceyta** a-pporuḷ
above-throw-avp. inside out-do-ajp. that-substance
'*That substance came out having thrown from above..*' (Tirum 1017:1)

virumpiyē   uḷḷam **veḷi-yuṛa** kaṇṭa-pin
desire-avp.emp. heart   out-exist see-ajp-after
'*After seeing the heart departs out wishfully*' (Tirum 2976:3)

The particle *veḷi* 'out' does not occur as a postposition in modern Tamil, but for some unknown

reason only the corresponding form with an emphatic marker *ē* as in *veḷiyē* 'outside' (ex.

vīṭṭukku veḷiyē 'outside of the house') occurs as a postpositional form. A possible solution to

this problem could be that as with many case markers, points of the compass, etc. the emphatic –

ee has been added to these forms, and then lost its emphatic meaning. Thus the locative –lee,

the forms aṅkē (aṅku + ē) 'there' iṅkē (iṅku + ē) 'there' the compass designations vaṭakkē

(vaṭakku + ē) 'to the north',mēṛkē (mēṛku + ē) 'to the west' etc., all have what used to be an

emphatic marker lost their emphatic meaning, but now if one wants emphasis, another –*ee*, e.g.

aṅkēyē 'right there' etc. may be added to it. Similarly, when the words *veḷi* 'out' *uḷ* 'inside'

etc., which are once used to be part of the predicate are reanalyized to be part of the preceding

noun to act as a case marker, the emphatic suffixes could have been added.

kūṭi + vb:

uṟaipp-oṭuṅ **kūṭi-ninṟu** ōtalum-āmē
chain-soc. associate-stand-avp. chant-conj-become-emp.
'Chant the mantras of God with chain in hand and in association'
(Tirum 86:4)

ūr-elām **kūṭi-olikka** aṟut-iṭṭu
town-all associate-make noise-inf. cry-let it be
'Having cried and made noise with the entire town together'
(Tirum 145:1)

Similar to *veḷi*, the particle *kūṭi* does not occur as a postposition in modern Tamil, instead the infinitive form of the verb *kūṭu,* which is *kūṭa* is occurring as in *en kūṭa* 'with me'. As already stated, even though modern Tamil completely lost the use of forms consisting of a prepositional particle and a verb, there are a handful of nouns and verbs with these particles occurring as part of the stem as separate lexical item.

Nouns:
uṭanpiṟantōr 'sibling' lit. 'be born together'
uḷnōkkam 'intention' lit. 'look inside'
uḷḷuṇarvu 'intuition' lit. 'feel inside'
veḷiyēṟṟam 'expulsion' lit. 'lift outside'
Verbs:
uṭanpō 'cooperate' lit. 'go along with'
veḷippaṭu 'appear' lit . 'befell outside'
uḷvāṅku 'inhale' lit. 'acquire inside'
veḷiyēṟṟu 'expel' lit. 'lift outside'

The morphosyntactic changes that take place with respect to this type of complex verb construction can be schematically represented in the three genres of language as below.

Usages in Tirumantiram	Usage in Sangam Tamil	Modern Tamil Usages	
uṭan			
uṭanpiṟantār 'born together'	Used widely in post Sangam texts as a noun		Noun: *uṭanpiṟantār* 'siblings' Verb: *uṭanpō* 'cooperate',

tamm-oṭu uṭanvāṛ 'living together, with self' oṭu is used as sociative suffix but not *uṭan*		Becomes a case suffix tamm-uṭan vāṛ 'live with self'	
uḷ			
uḷteḷivār **'transparent inside (they)'** Also occurs as a case suffix: *neñcuḷ* 'in heart'	Occurs in post Sangam texts. Occurs as separate verb as in *uḷḷuruki ninṛu* 'being moved to s.t.' (Aintinaiaimpatu 98)	Becomes a Postposition occurring after genitive and dative suffixes: *neñcinuḷ /neñcukkuḷ teḷivār* 'transparent in the heart'	
uḷuṇar 'feel internally'			Noun: *uḷḷuṇarvu* 'intuition' Verbs: *uḷvāṅku* 'inhale'
veḷi			
veḷi ceytu 'having made s.t. outside'; and veḷippaṭu 'appear'	Uses as *veḷiyiṭu* 'release/publish', *veḷippaṭu* 'appear' etc., occur but not as a complex verb as in the case of Tirumantiram.	Only the form *veḷiyē* is used as postposition but not *veḷi.*	Noun: veḷiyēṛṛam 'expulsion' Verb: *veḷiyiṭu* 'release/publish', *veḷippaṭu* 'appear' etc., occur widely.
kūṭi			
kūṭi-ninṛu 'having stood together'	Occurs rarely in Sangam. (ex. *kūṭi nirantu* 'be together and satisfied' (Aintinaiaimpatu 33); *kūṭi puṇarntīr* 'be together and united' *(*Kalittokai 92)	Only the form *kūṭa* is used as a postposition.	Verbs like *kūṭivāṛ* 'live together' *kūṭippēcu* 'speak together' etc., are used widely in modern Tamil.

Although it happens randomly, the formation of a specific set of compound nouns and compound verbs from the so called prepositional verb phrase is a case of compounding by morphosyntactic process as discussed by Heine and Reh (1984:16) and Hooper and Traugott (1993).[95] The fact

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[95] Heine and Reh (1984:16) distinguish between functional, morphosyntactic and phonetic processes. According to them functional processes involve desemanticization, expansion, simplification and merger; morphosyntactic

that some of these compound nouns and verbs co-exist with their corresponding prepositional verbs in their literal sense from the Sangam to the medieval period raises the question as to when this process could have taken place. A close look at the table above would indicate that only the verbs containing *uṭan* occur more frequently in old Tamil than the other verbs. Particularly, only in Tirumantiram does one notice the use of all of these prepositional verbs in large numbers, more so than in any of the other medieval works. Further, loss of the use of prepositional verbs in modern Tamil and subsequently the wider use of the compounds formed from these verbs shows that these two processes, namely a) the formation of compound words from prepositional verbs and b) loss of prepositional verbs are to be understood as occurring on a cline of grammaticalization. This change involves a stage with occurrences of synonymous expressions, which later led to loss of one of the forms. For example, the sentence *avan ennuṭan uṭanpiṟantān* 'he was born with me' consists of the complex verb construction, where as the sentence *avan en uṭanpiṟantān* 'he is my sibling', where the predicate is a compound noun meaning 'sibling'. Note that both of these sentences are synonymous and convey the same meaning. Presumably, one can predict that one of these uses became obsolete due to redundancy. Naturally, the former type of sentence consisting of the form *uṭan* as used in both contexts namely as a preposition and as part of the predicate tends to be vulnerable to the loss .

A search in the database of Sangam, medieval and modern Tamil texts for the occurrence of compound words consisting of prepositional particle and verb reveal that only in modern Tamil do all of these words occur more frequently than in medieval and Sangam texts. Some words such as *uḷḷuṇarvu* 'intuition', *veḷiyēṟṟam* 'expulsion' etc., don't even exist in the early texts. Further, it is the case that some of the compound words of this kind such as

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processes involve permutation, compounding, cliticization, affixation and fossilization; phonetic processes involve adaptation, erosion, fusion and loss.

uṭanpiṟantār 'sibling', *veḷippaṭu* 'appear' etc., could have occurred due to language change, and some others like *veḷiyēṟṟu* 'expel'; *veḷiyēṟṟam* 'expulsion' etc., could have been coined by language planners at a later point. The fact that this complex verb construction is used for word formation also justifies the reason why it is used less frequently as a predicate construction in modern Tamil.

5.3. Use of the aspectual marker *koḷ* in modern Tamil and the process of Reanalysis:

Use of the aspectual auxiliary *koḷ* 'acquire/possess' is one of the cases in Tamil language of a lexical verb that underwent grammaticalization through the processes of reanalysis and metaphorization, which can be termed as a process by which a lexical meaning is responsible for the similar nuances the corresponding grammatical forms produce. The aspectual marker *koḷ* makes contexts where the nuances of meanings such as 'self-benefactive', 'reflexive meaning' etc.,[unclear] which can be metaphorically related to the lexical meaning of the verb *koḷ* – lit. 'acquire, have or possess s.t.' for one's own benefit.

In order to fully understand how the process of 'reanalysis' and subsequently   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 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 contain the root, past tense marker and the participle marker, -u, -i or –y, depending upon the type of verb.

The following is a typical case of an aspectual verb in Modern Tamil.

kuḷi-tt-u-k   koṇ-ṭ-ēn

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 meaning is understood in the relevant context. 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 a . In Telugu and also in Hindi, the aspectual auxiliary markers are added right after the root and no complex form of the main verb is involved, or only with a simple change, as shown below. Where as 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-* which is in fact the past form of the verb bari.

nīḷḷu **pōsu-konnāḍu**
He   shower self – he
'*He took a shower for himself*' (Telugu)[96]

avan kade **bard-koṇḍa**
he   story write self-past
'*He wrote the story for himself*' (Kannada)[97]

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

Maine das baje   āp ko **fon   kar liyaa**
I   agt. Ten o'clock you Dat phone make Aux.

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[96] Krishnamurthi and Gwynn (1985, p. 207).
[97] Schiffman (1979, p. 82).

'I telephoned you at 10 o'clock'.[98]

As we will see below, the development of a rich aspectual system in Tamil is connected to the complex verb root, and the development of a new aspectual auxiliary in medieval Tamil was determined by the occurrence of the suffix *koḷ* after this complex form of verb.   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':

Noun + koṇṭu

pali koṇṭu uṟalvīr
sin having live-you
'You will struggle to live acquiring sins' (Appar Tēvᶦram: 4.1.3)

kaṟaṟ-kaṅkai   **paṉmalar   koṇṭu**
ornament-Ganges   many flower acquire-avp.
'Fetching flowers from the Ganges' (Appar Tēvāram: 4.4.7).

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

Verbal Participle + koṇṭu

tēṭik **kaṇṭu koṇṭēṉ**
search-and find-and acquired
'I searched and found Him (acquired Him within me)'
(Appar Tēvāram: 4.9.12)[99]

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

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[98] Hook (1974, pp. 166-7) (quoted from Hopper and Traugott (1993, p. 109)).
[99] The Śaiva saint Appar is the earliest Śaiva poet whose work is included in fourth book of the Śaiva canon Tirumuṟai.

nāṭa   eṟuntiṭṭu **nāṭik-koḷ-ḷīrē**
approach-inf. get up-avp. approach-refl.-2nd. pol.
'*Get up and approach the Lord*' (Tirum: 963:4)

aṇṇal   iruppiṭam **āyntu-koḷ-v-ārkaḷ-ukku**
Lord-pos.   location   research-refl. 3rd. pl.-dat.
'*Lords dwelling place is visible to those who makes an attempt to find it*'
                    (Tirum: 2660:2)

It is to be noted that Tirumantiram also shows examples where *koḷ* is used in its lexical meaning

occurring with a noun, a structure that is not very common in modern spoken Tamil.

nakkar-ai vāṟtti   naṭuvē **payan koḷ**var
Lord-acc. praise-avp. middle merit   obtain-fut.3rd.mas.pl.
'*One obtains the merit of the Lord by praising him*' (Tirum: 2899:2)

vaṇṭāy   kiṭantu **maṇaṅ-koḷ**-vāṉ īcaṉē
come-pa. lie-avp. heart-acquire   Lord-emp.
'*The Lord takes in his heart those who come to him*' (Tirum: 63:4)

There is a strong reason to believe that *Appar* was the   first to use the verb *koṇṭu* with a verbal

participle form, as shown above. Since the structure: [verbal participle + *koṇṭu*], is not attested

in any Caṇkam text, but is found 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' (Hook 1974) or simply 'auxiliary verb' to refer to

identical structures involving a participle form of a verb followed by an auxiliary verb. As for

the origin of this type of form in Tamil, it may be difficult to define the exact point of departure.

However, since *Appar* is considered to be the earliest among all of the other poet saints during

the medieval period and this form is found to be occurring widely in the medieval period, we

may assume that this construction must have begun to occur during his time in a gradual manner.

It may also be the case that this form could have begun to occur in post Sangam period but must have spread in a gradual fashion. 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.
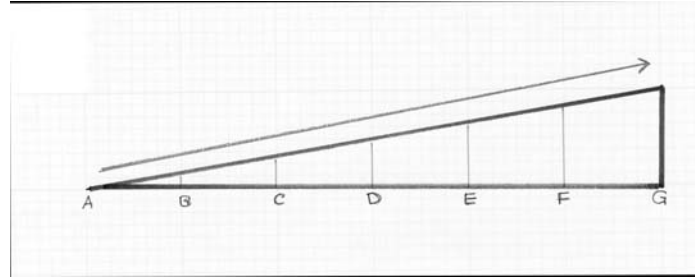

fig. 5.1.

Once the verb *koṇṭu* is attached to another verbal participle, it loses its lexical meaning and acquires a grammatical meaning of 'acquiring s.t. 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*.[100]

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 handful of verbs, mostly having a religious connotation are used with *koḷ*. These verbs include *kaṇṭu koḷ* 'be seen', *cumantu koḷ* 'be carried', *eṟṟukkoḷ* 'accept s.b.', *vaḻaittukkoḷ* 'get encircled' and *āṇṭukoḷ* 'rule'. Thus, it is not just the verb *koḷ* that we claim to be the cause for

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[100] See Annamalai (1985) and Schiffman (2005) for a detailed analysis of the use of the aspectual auxiliary koḷ and their various usages.

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

5.4. Use of *koṇṭiru* 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 stated by

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[101] Annamalai (1985, p. 113), who calls the auxiliary suffix *koḷ* 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'.

the agent is performed continuously for a certain period of time, the progressive meaning is understood.   This is illustrated as below:

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 been obtained 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 constituents. Sentences as below illustrate the instances where the main verb is something other than *iru* 'be'.

paṭi-ttu koṇṭu vā 'come reading'
 (or)
pēci – koṇṭu – pō 'go talking'

The questions that remain to be answered are how and when this reanalysis happened such 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 Sangam and medieval texts but they all follow a noun, giving the meaning of 'acquire/have s.t.'. This is obvious from the following example, where the word *koṇṭiru* follows a noun.

karuttināl ninṟan **pātaṅ**
mind – by   your   foot
koṇṭirun tāṭip pātik
possess-be dance sing
paṭaṅkoṇṭator pāmparai yārtta paraman

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picture-possess one snake   sleep god
iṭaṅkoṇṭirun tānṟan iṭaimaru tītō
place-possess-be his   place   island-is it? (Tēvāram: 1.32.2)

Placing your feet in my heart
I dance and sing
Does the God who is lying on the snake,
live in the ocean?

Obviously, the expressions *pātam koṇṭu iru* 'remain having your (Lord's) foot (in mind)' and

iṭam koṇṭu iru 'acquire a space and remain there' are not cases of the progressive expression,

mainly for the reason that these verbs in these examples do not follow a verbal participle as their

main predicate, but instead follow a noun. This implies   that this word did not get the status of

a progressive auxiliary verb during the medieval period, so the grammaticalization of this verb

into an auxiliary verb must have taken place at a much 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 s.t.'
        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 s.t.'

   c) Noun + *koṇṭu* + *iru* 'have s.t. 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)

Note that none of the combinations viz., [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.

5.5. 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 following examples where the use of *iru* with participle form of a verb other than *koḷ* provides a meaning that is analogous s to progressive meaning, which is normally understood with verbal participle form of the verb koḷ (koṇṭu) and iruntu..

pēci-y-iruntu   pitaṟṟi   makiṟveyti
speak-avp.be-avp. baffle-avp. happiness-obtain-avp.
'*Having spoken, baffled and obtain the happiness*' (Tirum: 304:2)

aṇṭattuḷ **ūṟi-y-iru-nt-eṇ**   ticaiy-āti
earth-loc. involve-gl.be-pa.1st.sg. direction-all
'*Submerged into the ocean of life in all of the directions*' (Tirum: 424:2)

tēṟi -y-iru-nt-a   vaṟiy aṟi-v-ār-illai
success-gl.be-pa.ajp. path   know-fut.-3rd.mas.sg.-not

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'There is none who knows the path of salvation'
(Tirum: 1139:2)

The phrase ***pēci yiruntu*** is synonymous with the modern Tamil form *pēcikkoṇṭiruntu* 'having kept (on) talking'. Similarly, the phrases *ūṟiyiruntēn* 'remain involved' and *tēṟiyirunta* 'remain clarified' and so on can be considered to have the same connotation as that of corresponding modern Tamil phrases with the progressive aspectual marker *'koṇṭiru'.*

5.6. 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 forms. 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 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 are 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.*

jān mēri-y-ai viṭa uyaram
John Mary-acc than tall
'John is taller than Mary'

The comparative marker *-viṭa* is historically derived from the lexical word *viṭu* meaning 'leave s.t. or drop s.t.'; and the suffix *–a* that occurs with this word is an infinitive marker, which converts *viṭu* to *viṭa,* meaning ' leave or drop s.t.'. What this sentence literarily means is 'Leaving Mary aside, John remains tall', which must be a case of (re)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 of *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 *jān mēr-iy-eviṭa oyaram.* This presumably is a case of *cohesion* that Campbell (1999:232) 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. This is a new grammatical form evolved by the process of cohesion of the accusative suffix *–ai* and the lexical form *-viṭu*

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

jān mēri-y-**e** **viṭa**/ *mēriyeviṭa pō-n-ān
John Mary acc. to leave went
'John went to leave (drop off) Mary'

jān mēri-y-**eviṭa** vēkam-ā pō-n-ān
John Mary-acc.-than fast   went
'John went faster than Mary'

Note that only in the later sentence the accusative suffix –e and the verb *viṭa* 'to leave' are combined together to form the comparative suffix -*eviṭa* 'than', but not in the former. Thus, the reanalyzed suffix -*eviṭa* has been extended far beyond its source as a lexical verb in terms of its meaning, which is 'to leave'. Further, in order to test whether or not *cohesion* has taken place in this context, it is possible to insert any phrase in between –*e* and *viṭa* in the former but not in the later.

Thus, the sentence *jān mēri-y-e kaṭe-y-ile viṭa pōnān* 'John went to drop off Mary in a store' is possible but not in the later. The sentence, *jān mēriye kaṭeyile viṭa vēkamā pōnān* 'John left quickly to drop off Mary in the store' is not a comparative sentence anymore. Following are the other post positional markers in Tamil that behave the same way as -*eviṭa* which needs to be dealt with in the context of reanalysis.

Reanalysed form	**Lexical meaning**
-e pōla/mātiri 'like'	'to be similar'
-e paṭṭi '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. Note that the erasure of morpheme boundary takes place only as part of spoken Tamil, and in the corresponding literary variety the morpheme boundary is preserved.   Consider below the expressions that are not affected by reanalysis because the verbs that follow are main predicates rather than postpositional forms.

<pre>
-e vāṅki   'having bought s.t.'
-e pāttu   'having seen s.b.'
and so on.
</pre>

Thus, development of a selected set of postpositional 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 texts. In medieval and modern Tamil, however, there exists a well developed system of 'comparison' using the marker –*in* as shown below:

<pre>
āyu malarin aṇimalar mēlatu
life flower/heart ornamented lotus flower better-it
</pre>
'The heart is better than beautiful lotus flower' (Tirum 1711).

For the reason that the use of the aspectual auxiliary *koṇṭu* is restricted only to the meaning of 'self-benefactive' in medieval Tamil, and that it is not used as an auxiliary verb in old Tamil texts, it may be inferred that this form must have undergone many changes historically to produce other nuances as the way it is understood in modern Tamil. Note that the uses in such stages have either analogous representations or are synonymous with modern literary 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 reanalyis.   Rather, the application of one of the other rules namely metaphorization or metonymy must have applied on the outputs of subsequent stages at a latter point in time, so that the complex aspectual system, the way it is understood now in modern literary Tamil, has evolved.

Also, since both the progressive aspectual auxiliary and the comparative marker, as noted here, do not occur either in Sangam 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 latter stage represent a considerable range of elaboration, specifically in their meaning. This may be one of the reasons why it is so difficult for learners to absorb and use the complete system of aspectual meanings in Tamil. Thus, one may as well hypothesize that there exists a complexity of modern Tamil aspectual system due to many ambiguities because it is not fully developed yet and it is still in the later stage of the process of reanalysis.

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 can not be answered in this context, however, is why the initial structures - before reanalysis - tend to become obsolete, as in the case of the lose 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.

5.7. 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 the completive aspectual auxiliary obtained from the lexical verb *viṭu* 'leave/drop s.t.', 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 s.t. or s.o.' or 'drop s.t. or s.o.'.   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 *viṭu* survives with 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* substitutes for the function 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-iṭuvēṉ*' 'I will sing for sure' etc. Consider below the examples from Caṅkam and medieval texts for how this completive auxiliary is used.

Medieval Tamil

Use of viṭu as a lexical verb:

> paṭittār maṟaivēḻvi payinṟār pāvattai
> learned one Vedas yaham learned-one sin
> **viṭuttār** mikavāṟum vīṟi miṟalaiyē
> rid-of-he many living Vizhi mountain
>
> *Who learned the Vedas and the rituals*
> *the sins of whom*
> *is removed in the mountains of Vizhi* (Campantar Tēvāram: 1.82.8)

As an aspectual auxiliary:

> Maturaiyar mannan maṟpiṟap pōṭa **maṟitt-iṭu-mē**
> Madurai   king   next life   attain stop-definitely
> '*Next life will be avoided for the Madurai King*' (Tiruvacakam: 527)

Old Tamil

Use of viṭu as a lexical verb:

> aiyam koṇṭu   ennai   aṟiyān   **viṭuvānēl**
> doubt have-avp.   me-acc.   know-not-3[rd].mas.sg. leave
> '*Doubtfully, without knowing me, he would abandon me*' (Kalittokai: 1117)

Aspectual auxiliary:

> koyt-**iṭu** taḻirin   vāṭinin
> plucked tender leaves fade-yours
> '*Your face faded, as a plucked (dead) leaf*' (Aiṅkuṟunūṟu: 527)

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*. In particular, the important question that remains to be answered is how it comes to be the case that the spoken form 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 –*vi* deletion takes place to produce the spoken form from written literary form.

      Example:
     Modern Literary   V-deletion   Modern Spoken
     colli-viṭu-vēn → colli-0-ṭu-vēn   colli-ṭu-vēn (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* was changed into -*viṭu.* Assuming the fact

that the modern spoken Tamil simply retained the -*iṭu* form 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 things, even if it is not necessary to explain why *viṭu* becomes *iṭu.*

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

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

By this hypothesis, 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* 'abandon/drop s.t. down'. 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 -*biḍu* in Kannada[102] must

have been obtained as a result of a linguistic change (reanalysis) at a latter point. Even   though

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

one can presume that insertion –*v* in modern Tamil is a case of hypercorrection, another plausible solution is to treat the use of -*iṭu* in medieval and old Tamil as a separate lexical source of *iṭu* to mean 'to discharge', 'to offer' or 'to pour', which is very analogous to the modern Tamil verb *viṭu* to mean to 'to drop' or 'to abandon'.   This fact can be substantiated further by the use of *iṭu* as a main verb in medieval Tamil, as in the following examples.

> **iṭu-vat-um**   ī-vat-um   eṇṇu-min ...
> offer-vn.conj. donate-vn.conj. think-imp.
> *'Think of offering and donating.*' (Tirum 268:3)

> ār-kk-um   **iṭu-min** avar-ivar   enn-anmin
> all-dat.-conj. offer-imp. he that-he this say-neg.imp.
> '*Offer to all. Don't discriminate anyone by saying that him or this him'*
> (Tirum 250:1)

5.8. Phonological Reduction and Reanalysis:

Like the process of metaphorization which is accompanied by the process of reanalysis, cases of phonological reduction of lexical forms also tend to bring about the process of reanalysis and subsequently to the emergence of new morphological forms.   Hopper and Traugott (1993:345) illustrate this phenomenon with examples from Turkish, Maori etc., where certain phonological changes within lexical words lead to morphologization. As we have briefly explained this phenomenon in a previous chapter, 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' in Tamil. Tirumantiram texts show evidences of utterances where the probability meaning is understood at a clausal level with a combination of verbal noun with the suffix –*al* and the verb *ākum* 's.t. would become'. Tamil *koṇṭ* becoming *kiṭṭ-* and then *iṭṭ* in ST also shows radical phonological reduction, an indicator of morphologization.

> āṇavam nīṅk-āta-var   enal-ākum-ē

Ego   remove-neg.-pn.   say-become-emp.
'It may be called that a person who didn't remove ego' (Tirum: 398:4)

neñc-ena nīṅkā   nilai perlākumē
Heart-that remov-inf. state obtain become-emp.
'May obtain a state to remove (ego) from heart' (Tirum: 2719:4)

talaipaṭalākum   tarumamum tānē
dominate-ger.-become faith   indeed
'Truth may indeed dominate ' (Tirum: 2666:4)

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

apparic-īcan aruḷ **peral āmē**
That-Lord   grace obtain become
'One may get the grace of the Lord' (Tirum: 36:4)

karai pacu pācam kaṭantu **eytal āmē**
Stain soul affinity surpass attain become
'One may attain salvation overriding the sin, desire and soul' (Tirum: 49:4)

While the form *āmē* in the former sentence occurs with a noun, it is understood with a similar meaning of 'may become' as in the examples as shown above. As a result of the phonological reduction from *ākum* to *ām*, the process of reanalysis of the structure [medieval Tamil infinitive *al* + *ākum*] to [modern Tamil infinitive of verb with -*a* + *lām*] has taken place. This presumably passes through a stage with the infinitive construction as in [*varal* + *ākum*] into an intermediate stage of [*vara* + *lām*] particularly after the change from *ākum* to *ām*. This is a clear case of *boundary shift* as noted by Heine et al. Langacker (1977:64) refers to a notion called *constituent-internal reanalysis*, which according to Heine et al (1991:216) is a case of boundary shift. Boundary shift involves both boundary loss and boundary creation. Thus, the boundary between the medieval Tamil infinitive verb with the suffix *al* and the finite verb *ām* is

lost, and subsequently the boundary between the modern Tamil infinitive verb with the suffix –*a*

and the newly formed modal suffix *lām* is created.

Similar cases of verb forms with *ākum* are found occurring in Divyaprabandam, which

belongs to medieval Tamil and in Aingurunuru, which belongs to Sangam Tamil.

> mukti muṟṟa lākumē
> Salvation obtain might become
> '*One may obtain salvation*' (Divyaprabandam: 830:8)

> maṟaka lākumē
> forget become
> '*One may forget*' (Divyaprabandam: 831:8)

> iṟai nekiṟ cellal ākum annāy
> King kind go become, Madam
> '*Oh! Madam! One may reach the heart of the king*' (Aing. 25:4)

A search of the forms *ākum* and *ām* occurring with verbal noun form with the suffix –*al*

indicates that Sangam Tamil does not show any occurrence with phonological reduction.

Similarly, only in Tirumantiram among the medieval texts does one find instances of these

examples in a relatively larger number of cases. This forces us 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.

5.8.1. Use of *pōkum* versus *pōm* 'will go-neut':

The use of neuter future form of a verb with the suffix *kum* is quite common in modern

Tamil. The verbs like *pōkum* 'will-go-neut.', *ākum* 'will-become-neut.', *vēkum* 'will-boil-

neut.', *nōkum* 'will-hurt-neut.' etc., are common in modern Tamil. These forms are used both to

denote neuter future *āṭu pōkum* 'the goat will go', as well as for relative clause construction as

in *pōkum maṉitaṉ* 'the man who goes/will go'. Arden (1942) classifies the verbs *pō* 'go' and

āku 'become' as belonging to class three verbs and the rest as belonging to class two verbs from the way they decline for past tense. The former takes the suffix *–in* and the later type of verbs take *-nt* as past tense suffix. Interestingly, in medieval Tamil the former type verbs occur in large numbers with a phonological reduction of *'k'* as in *pōm* and *ām* respectively.

> pūṭṭ-um   taṟi-y-onṟu **pō-m**-vaṟi onpatu
> lock-neut.fut. stake-one   go-neut.fut. path nine
> '*There is one stake to hold and nine paths to leave*' (Tirum 175:2)

> āna   malam aṟum   ap-pacu tanmai **pōm**
> become-pa. sin   remove that-soul nature   leave-fut.neut.
> '*The sin that occurred will be removed and the nature of the soul will change*'
>   (Tirum 2320:2)

> ām   viti nāṭi   aṟañ ceymin
> become-neut.fut. fate reach-avp. noble-deed do-imp.
> '*Perform noble deeds, for the good Karma to happen*' (Tirum 195:1)

Thus, as is evident from these examples, the familiar process of phonological reduction that is very common in medieval Tamil is responsible for the formation of new grammatical suffixes, especially the formation of the modal suffix '*lām*'.

5.9. Metaphoric Extension:

Metaphorical extension is another type of linguistic process that plays an important role in language change. The term 'metaphor' has been used in a variety of contexts, but as far as any linguistic change is concerned, according to Bybee and Pagliuca (1985:72), it is a process of 'generalization or weakening of semantic content' involving "a concrete lexical item being recruited to express a more abstract concept". Besides the use of lexical items in an abstract sense, the observation of Ransom (1988) on metaphorization also suggests that the formation of more abstract forms such as 'complimentizers' need to be treated under the phenomenon of metaphorical extension. Tamil shows both cases in the sense that, as is evident from the

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discussion below, a selected number of verbs are used to denote both concrete and abstract entities; and also certain grammatical forms such as *enṟu* 'that' (from the quotative verb *en*)are instances of extension of meaning from concrete to abstract. What is important from a historical perspective is the fact that the extension of meaning is not always the same. As we will see below, some of the verbs that undergo metaphorical extension to denote a particular concept are not the same in the three periods of the language.

5.9.1. Use of the verb *nil* 'stand' and *iru* 'be':

The use of the verb *iru* 'be' to refer to the existence of both concrete nouns in certain location or space, as in *paṇam paiyil irukkiṟatu* 'the money is in the bag', as well as occurrence of abstract entities in abstract locations, as in *un manatil kōpam irukkiṟatu* 'you have anger in your mind', is quite comman in modern Tamil. In the contrary, unlike in modern Tamil, in medieval Tamil in general and in the language of Tirumantiram in particular one finds the use of the verb *nil* 'stand' in large numbers in the contexts of 'keeping s.t. in one's mind', 'remember s.t.' and so on. Thus, the wider use of the verb *nil* 'stand' in a metaphorical sense of 'existence of s.t.' in medieval Tamil raises a question as to why this failed to continue to be used = in modernTamil.

> āti-yum-āy aran-āy **uṭal-uḷ-niṉṟa** vēti-yum-āy
> beginning-conj.-adv. Siva-adv. body-loc.-stand Vedic-conj.adv.
> '*As a prime God, Siva resides in ones body as an erudite of Veda* '
> (Tirum 15:1)

> mā-nanti ūṭum avar-tam **uḷḷattuḷḷē niṉṟu**
> great-Nandi love-fut.neut. he-pos. heart-loc. stand
> '*Dwelling inside the heart of the great Nandi (Siva) who loves (us)…*'
> (Tirum 414:3)

As evident from these examples, the verb *niṉṟu* 'stand' is used in a metaphorical sense of 'remain in one's heart', which is typical of medieval Tamil. This word is further extended to the ablative meaning of 'having begun from a point of reference' as in the following examples.

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vāṉ-niṉṟu aṟaikk-um   maṟai-pōl ...
    sky-abl.   call-neut.fut. rain-comp. god-conj.
    'Like the rain that is called for from the sky…' (Tirum 30:1)

    ney-niṉṟu eriyum   neṭuñ-cuṭarē
    ghee-abl.   burn-neut.fut. long-flame-emp.
    'The long flame that burns from ghee…' (Tirum 218:1)[103]

 In contrast, in modern Tamil, the verb *iru* 'be' is used in place of *nil* 'stand' both in its lexical use (ex. *kaṭavuḷ eṉ maṉatil irukkiṟār* 'god remains (lit. is) in my heart') as well as in its case meaning (ex. *vīṭṭiliruntu* 'from house' lit. 'having been in the house'). The semantic shift from using the verb *nil* to *iru* in modern Tamil is a topic that requires further investigation. As discussed elsewhere, the participle form *iruntu* 'having been' as used in Tirumantiram was reinterpreted as the corresponding ablative form in modern Tamil. Thus, the parallel structures of 'locative' and 'ablative' using these two verbs namely *nil* 'stand' and *iru* 'be' become a matter of importance from a historical perspective in the sense that the former becomes obsolete and the later becomes current in modern Tamil.

5.9.2. Use of the verb cey 'to do or to make':

        The verb *cey* 'to do' or 'to make' is used in its concrete meaning to perform an action or to make an object. The meaning of this verb is extended to other grammatical functions such as a 'verbalizer' (ex. *vēlai cey* 'do work'), as a causative marker (ex. *pōkac cey* 'make to go') and so on. However, typical to medieval Tamil, as may be found in the following examples, this verb is also extended further to denote actions that are abstract in nature, like 'do anger', 'do happiness' etc., which is usually uncommon in modern Tamil.

        ciṉañ-ceyta nañcuṇṭa   tēvarpirāṉ-ai

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[103] Use of niṉṟu as an ablative marker is also attested in inscriptions of the medieval time:
mēl pāl   ellai   ūr-puku-vaṟi   niṉṟum   vaṭakku nōkki...
west toward boundary town-enter-path   stand-conj. north   toward
'From the gateway to the town in the west side toward north side…' (SII.1.151).

anger-do   poison-eat-ajp. god-acc.
'The God who consumed poison and also in anger (lit. do anger)' (Tirum 41:1)

ēla   ninaippavarkku **inpam cey-t-ān-ē**
always think-pn.-dat.   bliss do-pa.3rd.mas.sg.-emp.
'He made all those who were thinking of him very happy (lit. did happiness)'
(Tirum 182:4)

A whole array of such cases of extended meaning of the verb *cey* occurs in Tirumantiram, which

are not otherwise common in modern Tamil.

tamiẕ cey 'lit. make Tamil' 'fig. write Tamil' (Tirum 81:4)
varuttañ cey 'lit. do harm', 'fig. make sorrow' (Tirum 339:3)
pōṟṟi cey 'lit. make praise', 'fig. praise' (Tirum 3:4)
karuṇai cey 'lit. make compassion', 'fig. be compassionate' (Tirum 65:4)
cintai cey 'lit. make thoughts', 'fig. think' (Tirum 73:4)

Noticeably, the causative meaning as noted above is not found to be occurring in Tirumantiram

indicating the fact that it took place at a later time historically. What is significant in this context

is that some of the metaphorical uses of the verb, as in the case of 'performing an action in an

abstract sense' is lost in modern Tamil, and on the other hand the development of 'causative

verb' using the verb *cey* is an innovation in the post-medieval period.

5.9.3. Use of the verb *eṉ* 'to say'

The quotative verb *eṉṟu* 'that' deserves a detailed discussion in the context of

grammaticalization for the reason that it is metaphorically extended from the corresponding

lexical verb *eṉ* 'to say'.   Notably, the corresponding spoken form -*ṉṉu* in modern Tamil has

larger number of usages than the literary form *eṉṟu* 'that' (See Schiffman 1999:174-83). Even

though the use of the verb *eṉ* 'to say' in its lexical meaning is less frequent in modern Tamil, its

usage along with its grammatical meaning indicates a progression of language change

historically.   In contrast, the use of the verb *eṉ* 'to say' in medieval Tamil, especially in

Tirumantiram, is more common than modern Tamil.

5.9.3.1. Use of *en* as a main verb:

> anpu civam iraṇtu **enpar**   aṛiv-il-ār
> love Sivam two   say-fut-3rd.hum.pl knowledge-not-3rd. hum.pl
> *'Illiterates would say love and Sivam are two different'* (Tirum 270:1)

> ñāla-tt-ivan mika nall-an   **en-ṛ-ār-ē**
> world-loc-he very good-3rd.mas.sg. say-pa.3rd.mas.sg.-emp.
> *'(They) said that his the very good person in the world'* (Tirum 540:4)

This type of occurreces are very uncommon in modern Tamil. However, one finds many

occurrences

> nān teyvam **enṛu** naman   var-uv-ān-ē
> I   god   quot. death god come-fut.-3rd.mas.sg.emp.
> *'The Death God would arrive saying that he is the god'* (Tirum 257:4)

Contrary to the fact that the word *enṛu* is a quotative marker in this sentence, one can also

interpret this sentence literally with *enṛu* as a verbal participle form of the verb as *'the Death*

God would arrive having said, I am the God'. This presumably is the case when one argues that

grammaticalization denotes a progression from stage 'A' to 'B' containing an intermediate stage

of 'A and B', where both the grammaticalized as well as non-grammaticalized versions co-exist

(Cf. Cooper and Traugott 1993:36). One of the reasons why B survives and A is lost or having

lesser use can be due to development of redundancy by synonymy, which Cooper and Traugott

term as *'variability resulting from grammaticalization'* and subsequently the co-occurrence

according to them is called '*layering*', i.e., occurrence of both forms in concurrent layers (ibid, p,

126).

> aṛikinṛāy   nī **enṛu** aruḷ ceytār   nanti
> know-pr.2nd.sg. you quot. grace do-pa.-3rd.mas.sg. Nandi
> *'Siva graced you that you are the knower'* (Tirum 2181:3)

These two usages of the verb *en* 'to say' are, thus, related in terms of metaphorical extension especially due to the fact there exists an intermediate stage of *quotative* expression as predicate verb as noted below:

iṭap-pakkam-ē iṟai no-nt-atu **en-ṟ-ār**
left side emp. god hurt-pa.-neut. say-pa.-3rd.mas.sg.
'The left side hurt – he said' (Tirum 148:3)

This type of construction, where the finite form of the quotative verb occurring after a sentence as a finite predicate is common in modern Tamil also.

nān varuvēn **enpēn** (spoken: nān varuvēmpēn)
I come-fut-1st.sg. say-fut.1st.sg.
'I will come , I will say'

Note that this type of sentences are synonymous to the corresponding equivalents with the quotative marker *enṟu,*

nān varu-v-ēn **enṟu** col-v-ēn (spoken: nān varuvēṇṇu colluvēn)
I come-fut.-1st.sg. quot. say-fut.1st.sg.
'I will say that I would come'

The nominalized form of the quotative verb is also very common in both spoken and written form of Tamil as noted below:

nān varvēn enkiṟatu... (spoken: nān varuvēṅgṟatu)
I come-fut-1st.sg. that
'The fact that I would come…'

Thus, one can also predict that the development of the quotative marker *enṟu* took place as a result of this type of synonymous expressions involving the adverbial participle form of the verb *en* 'to say' occurring along side of its finite form of the verb as a predicate. It may be worh noting the fact that the development of *en* from a quotative verb into a grammatical marker parallels similar developments in Sanskrit, i.e. *api*, which presumably is used as one of the

features, among a few others such as use of retroflex sounds, to consider India as a linguistic

area.

Another special feature of medieval Tamil, but uncommon in modern Tamil, with

respect to the use of the verb *en* 'to say' is its inflection in the non-finite form with the

completive aspectual markers –*iṭu* and *koḷ* as below.

> civa civa **enṛ-iṭa**   tīvinai   māḻ-um
> Siva Siva say-compl.inf. bad deeds vanish-neut.fut.
> *'When one says 'Siva Siva', the bad deeds of the past would cease to*
> *exist'* (Tirum 2715:2)

> īva   perum piṛai   **enṛu-koḷḷ-īr-ē**
> offer-inf. big   mistake say-avp.-refl.2nd.pl.emp.
> *'Assume (yourself) that it is to offer a genuine fault'* (Tirum 506:4)

Yet another feature of medieval Tamil with respect to the use of the verb *enṛu* is reduplication,

which is very common in modern Tamil in all verbs except for *enṛu.*

> picc-an   periy-an   piṛapp-ili enṛ-enṛu
> mad-3rd.mas.sg. great-3rd.mas.sg. birth-not   quot-avp.quot.avp
> *'Having said repeatedly as a mad person, great person and immortal..'*
>   (Tirum 2171:3)

> avan-ukku ivan-illam enṛ-enṛu   aṛi-nt-um
> he-dat.   he-home   quot.avp.quot.avp know-pa.conj.
> *'Despite knowing that the home for him this-him…'* (Tirum 2650:3)

Use of *enṛu* as a quotative marker is as common in Sangam Tamil as in medieval and modern

Tamil.

> cell-al **enṛu** yān coll-av-um
> go-inf. quot. I   say-inf.-conj.
> *'For me to say that to go'* (Aham 72:1)

> palam   **enṛu** ikaṛ-tal ōmpu-min
> strength quot curse-ger. say-imp.
> *'Tell to curse that as one's strength…'* (Puram 301:11)

Similarly, the use of the verb *en* 'to say' is also very common in old Tamil:

ellaiy-um   irav-um   **enn-ātu** kall-ena
boundary-conj. night-conj. say-not stone-comp.
'Not saying, 'boundary and night' like a stone…' (Aham 70:4)

However, the other forms such as reduplicated form, a form with aspectual suffixes are uncommon in old Tamil. This, presumably, indicates the fact that this verb is a common lexical verb since it takes all of the newly developed aspectual forms as well as undergoing reduplication, which are the salient features of medieval Tamil. In modern Tamil, though, use of this verb is restricted to its grammatical usage, and all of its lexical use has been lost.

5.4. **Conclusions**

Three major linguistic processes namely *reanalysis*, *phonological reduction*, and *metaphorical extension* are dealt with in detail in this chapter to show how the transition from old Tamil to modern Tamil took place. The language changes that took place due to these grammatical processes involved both the formation of new forms as well as the loss of old forms. A close look at the nature of medieval and old Tamil forms reveals that loss of certain forms were due to development of redundancy due to synonomous expressions. Particularly, when reanalysis takes place, synonymous expressions come into existence in the language, and as a result redundancy occurs.   What is thus observed in particular from most of the cases of language change due to grammaticalization was that the linguistic processes namely *reanalysis, metaphorizaiton, phonological reduction* etc., cause redundant forms in the language to come into existence, and subsequently one of them wins over the other, resulting in a new form. The linguistic process of *reanalysis* can not 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' and -*iliruntu* 'from-neuter noun', the reflexive auxiliary *koḷ* and the progressive aspectual auxiliary – *koṇṭiru* are derived by the former method of reanalysis where the case suffixes *il* and *iṭam* undergo a morphosyntactic change by merging together with the syntactic form of *iruntu* to give rise to a new grammatical category of ablative suffix. 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 later method, which is 'cohesion'. It must be noted that the formation of the ablative suffix, the progressive suffix and the postpostional markers in Tamil, are, without any doubt, the clearest cases of *reanalysis*. But, it is hypothesized here that formation of –*koḷ* as an aspectual auxiliary and -*viṭu* as a completive auxiliary in modern literary variety are formed as a result of reanalysis as well. Further, what is termed as 'univerbation' by Hopper and Traugott (1993) is another mechanism by which new compound forms are developed by morphologization of an affix with a stem. Classic cases of this process are found in modern Tamil compound words such as *uṭanpiṟantār* 'sibling', *uḷnōkkam* 'intention', *veḷiyēṟu* 'expulsion' etc. These outputs of the process of morpholigization resulted in loss of the corresponding complex verb constructions which are commonly occurring in medieval and old Tamil texts.

Chapter 6

Interlinear Translation of the first fifty verses from Chapter one of Tirumantiram

6.0. Introduction

The ability to read the Tirumaniram text is dependent on a sound background knowledge in Hindu philosophy as well as the familiarity with various linguistic terminologies that are quite common during the medieval period. Lacking knowledge in any of these two areas will only lead to misunderstanding of the verses. Even with a strong background in both medieval Tamil as well as the Hindu philosophy, it is still possible for a misinterpretation of these verses to occur, for the main reason that many of the words and structures that Tirumular uses can be ambiguous and more than one interpretation would be possible. In this sense it is believed that the grammatical description provided in the preceding chapters will be of immense help in understanding the verses of Tirumantiram in general. Furthermore, Tirumantiram is abundant with figurative expressions as well as allegories, which often entail a knowledge of medieval culture. To cite one example, in one of the verses, Tirumular uses a simile for 'thinking of god in one's heart' to 'a kite inside a Palmyra tree', which obviously is not a common expression in modern Tamil.

> ...
> panaiy-uḷ   irunta   paruntatu pōla
> palmyra-loc. be-pa.ajp. kite   like
> ninaiy-āt-avarkk-illai   nin-inpan-tān-ē
> think-not-ajp.3rd.pl.-not your-bliss-indeed-emp.
>
> *'Like a kite inside palmyra,*
> *one can not experience the bliss of God,*
> *if they don't think of him in their mind' (Tirum 47:3).*

To understand such similes and metaphors in Tirumantiram, obviously requires one to make an extensive study of the other literatures of the same period and see how such expressions are

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understood in any other contexts. Tirumantiram is written in *venpā* meter with the music of the *viruttam,* a term used to denote the older meters, such as *venpā, akaval, kali* etc. (Meenakshisundaram, 1965: 65). Tirumantiram, according to tradition, must consist of three thousand verses with possible interpolations. This chapter constitutes the invocation along with a special introduction that illustrates the significance of praising the Lord Siva and obtaining his grace.   The ultimate message that Tirumular conveys from his verses, in general, is that "Love is God" and love is often manifested within one's heart. In order for one to understand the supreme within one's heart, one has to undergo a series of meditations mostly in the form of praising the Lord in one's mind. An attempt is made in this chapter to provide an interlinear translation of the first fifty verses with word to word translation along with an illustration of all of the grammatical terms used in each line. In many of the verses it may be the case that words and suffixes are split unevenly to maintain meter in the respective line. For the sake of clarity, such uneven combinations are corrected here and the words and suffixes are presented in their correct order. Further, each verse is also provided with a rough English translation providing in essence what is described in the verse altogether, rather than giving any emphasis on maintaining a word to word translation.

The Tenth Tirumarai of the Saiva Canon:

  Patt-ām   tiru-maṛai
  Ten-ord.   sacred-Tantra
  The Tenth Tantra

  tiru-mantiram
  sacred-chant
  Tirumantiram

  tirumūlar -aruḷ-i-y-atu
  Tirumular   offer-past-glide-3[rd] neut. sing.
  What Tirumular offered.

vināyakar kāppu
Vinayagar   invocation

 aintu kara-tt-an-ai   yānai muka-tt-an-ai
 five   hand   3rd mas. Sg.acc.   elephant face - 3rd. mas. Sg. acc.
 intin   iḷam-piṟai   pōl-um   eyiṟṟ-an-ai
 Indra-pos. young-crescent moon like-conj. tusk-pos.acc.
 nanti   makan-tan-ai   ñāna   koḻunt-in-ai
 bull-Siva son-pos.-acc.   wisdom child-pos.-acc.
 punti-y-il   vai-tt-aḍi pōṟṟu-kinṟ-ēn-ē
 heart-loc.   keep-feet praise-pr.-1st.sing. emph.

With five hands and an elephant face.
With a tusk like crescent moon.
The son of Nandi, with full of wisdom.
 I praise of His feet, keeping Him in my wisdom of consciousness.

 pāyiram
 Chapter
 kaṭavuḷ vāṟttu
 God   praise
 Invocation.

1) onṟ-avan tān-ē iraṇṭ-avan inn-aruḷ
   one-he   indeed-emp. Two –he sweet-grace
   ninṟan-an   mūnṟ-in-uḷ nānkuṇar-nt-ān-   aintu
   stand-past-3rd.sg. three-pos.inside four-feel-pa.3rd.mas.sg   five
   venṟ-an-an   aaṟu   virint-an-an   ēṟumpar
   conquer-obl.3rd.sg. six   filled-obl.3rd.sg. seven-world
   cenṟan-an   tān-iruntān   tānuṇarntu eṭṭē
   go-pa.obl.3rd.sg.   he-be-pa.3rd.sg.   he-feel-avp.   eight

   The One is He (Sivam), Two is his sweet grace (Siva/Sakti)
   Stood was He in Three, realized the Four and Five
   He conquered, filled-in Six and the Seven world
   He visited, He manifested in all of Eight.

2) pōṟṟ-icaittu   inn-uyir   mann-um punitan-ai
    praise-sustain-avp. sweet-life offer-3rd.fut. sacred-3rd.sg.acc.
    nāṟṟicai-k kum   nalla mātu-kk-um nātan-ai
    four-direction-dat-conj. good woman-dat.-conj. leader-acc.
    mēṟ-ṟicaik kuḷ   ten   ticai-kk-oru vēntan-ām
    west-direction-loc. South direction-dat.one leader-rep.
    kūṟṟu-t-ai tānai-yān   kūṟu-kinṟ-ēn-ē
    Reveal-acc. Him   I   praise-pr.1st. sg.-emp.

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The sacred one is praised and remembered by all of sweet lives
Lord of Her, in all of four directions.
The King of the Southern quarter within the Western side
Of Him I sing, and praise.

3) okka ninr-ān-ai   ulappili tēvar-kaḷ
   same stand-pa.-3rd.sg. acc. death-not-those Devars
   nakkan-enru ēttiṭ-um nātan-ai nāḷ-toṛum
    pure-he that   adore-conj. god-acc. daily-conj.
    pakka-ninr-ār   aṛiy-āta paraman-ai
   near-stand-pa.3rd.sg. know-not-that god-acc.
    pukku-ninru unniy-ān   pōṛṛi ceyv-ēn-ē
   seek- stand-avp. praise 3rd.sg. praise do-fut.3rd.sg.emp.

The immortal Devas pray the one who is very close,
The pure one, whom the immortals always adore.
Many even don't know Him, despite His being very close.
I will seek, praise and meditate upon Him.

4) akal-iṭattār   meyyai aṇṭattu   vittaip
   wide-space-3rd.mas.sg. truth-acc. universe-pos. seed-acc.
    pukal-iṭattu   enr-an-ai   pōta-viṭṭān-ai
   enter-space-pos. say-obl.-acc. refuge-let-pa.3rd.sg.mas.acc.
    pakal-iṭattum   iravum   paṇint-ētti
   day-space-pos.conj. night-conj. surrender-avp.seek
    ikal-iṭattē   iruḷ niiṅki   nin-r-ēn-ē
   this world-space dark remove-avp. stand-pa.1st.sg.-emp.

The truth of the vast land. The magic of the cosmos.
Contained in Him the truth. The skillful of all the arts.
* I pray of him at night and day.*
* He is contained inside me. He confiscated all of my ignorance.*

5) civanoṭu okk-um   teyvam tēṭinum   illai
   Siva-soc. compare-neut.fut. god   search-cond. not
    avan-oṭu opp-ār   iṅku yāvarum illai
   Him-soc. compare-fut.3rd.mas.sg. here none-conj. not
    puvanam kaṭant-anru   ponn-oḷi   minnum
   world   cross-without golden-ray spark-neut.fut.
    tavana   caṭai-muṭit tāmaraiyānē
    gleaming   matted locks lotus-3rd.sg.emp.

Nowhere does one find a god like Siva.
No one resembles him in any way.

Siva, the one with gleaming matted locks,
stays within a lotus of sparkling golden rays.

6) avan-ai oṟiya amar-ar-um   illai
   Him-acc. except immortal-conj.   not
    avan-anṟic ceyyum   arun-tavam   illai
    Him-without do-neut.fut. precious-penance not
    avan-anṟi   mūvar-āl   āvat   onṟ-illai
    Him-without three-3rd.sg.inst. become-fut. one-not
    avan-anṟi   uur puku-māṟu   aṟiyēnē
    Him-without town enter-manner know-neg.-1st.sg.emp.

   No one is immortal other than He .
   No penance is precious without a devotion to Him.
   The three Gods accomplish none without him;
   Attain no knowledge without his grace.

7) munn-ai oppāy-uḷḷa   mūvar-kk-um   mūtt-avan
    past   comp.-be-ajp. three-3rd.pl.-dat-conj. elder-3rd.mas.sg.
    tann-ai   opp-āy onṟum illā   talai-makan
    Himself-acc   comp.adv. one-conj. be-not-ajp head-son
    tann-ai   appā enil   appanum-āy   uḷ-an
    Himself-acc. father say-cond. father-conj.adv. be-3rd.sg.mas.
    ponn-ai   opp-ā-kinṟa   pōtakatt-ān-ē
    gold-acc. comp.become.pr.ajp. young-3rd.mas.sg.emp.

   Elder to all the three gods alike.
   The unparallel prime God.
   He is the father, when called so.
   He is a gold like young God.

8) tīy-in-um   veyy-an   punal-in-um   taṇṇiyan
   fire-comp.conj. hot-3rd.mas.sg. flood-comp.conj. cold-3rd.mas.sg.
    āyinum īcan aruḷ aṟi-v-ār   illai
    yet   god grace know-fut.3rd.pl. not
    cēy-in-um   nall-an   aṇiyan   nal-anpar-kku
    red-comp.conj. good-3rd.mas. nearby-3rd.mas good-devotee-dat.
    tāy-in-um   nall-an   tāṟ-caṭaiy-ōn-ē
    mother-comp.conj. good-3rd.mas. flow-matted locks-3rd.mas.sg.emp.

   Harsh, harsher than fire. Cool, cooler than flood.
   Yet, there is none who knows His grace.
   Charming. Very close to his devotees.
   Superior to a mother. Oh. One with flowing matted locks.

9) ponn-āl puri-nt-iṭṭa   poṟ-caṭai   yenna
   gold-inst. be-wrought-ajp. gold-matted locks like
   pinnāṟ piṟaṅka irunt-avan   pēr-nanti
   back   gleam   be-3rd.mas.sg. famed-Nandi
   ennāl toṟappaṭum   em-iṟai   maṟṟavan
   me-inst. worship-pas.-conj. our god   other-3rd.sg.
   tann-āl toṟa-ppaṭu-v-ār   illai-tān-ē
   self-inst. worship-pas.-fut.3rd.pl. not-indeed-emp.

   The matted lock of hair, braided like gold.
   Famed God with his gleaming hair in the back.
   My Lord whom I worship,
   is not worshipped likewise, none other than me

10) tān-ē   iru-nilam tāṅki   viṇṇāy   niṟk-um
    self-emp. two land carry-avp. space-adv. stand-neut.fut.
    tānē   cuṭum   aṅki ñāyiṟum tiṅkaḷum
    self-emp. scorch-neut.fut. prime sun-conj. moon-conj.
    tānē   maṟai-poṟi taiyal-um-āy   niṟk-um
    self-emp. rain-pour   rain god-conj.adv stand-neut.fut.
    tānē   taṭavarai   taṉ-kaṭal-āmē
    self-emp. mountain cold-ocean-becomes-emp.
    Stands up touching the sky, holding both lands.
    Remains as the parching prime Sun and the Moon.
    Becomes the pouring rain of the Rain God.
    He stands firm as Mountains and frosty Ocean.

11) ayal-um puṭai-yum   em ātiy-ai nōkkil
    near-conj. distance-conj. our prime-acc. look-cond.
    iyalum   perun-teyvam yātum   oṉṟ-illai
    around-conj. great-god   any-fut.neut. one-not
    muyalum muyal-il   muṭi-v-um maṟṟāṅkē
    effort   effort-cond. end-gl.conj. other-there-emp.
    peyalum   maṟai-mukiṟ pēr-nanti-tānē
    shower-conj. rain-clouds great-Nandi-indeed-emp.

    He is near and far, if I seek out for Him.
    Any other Great God, nowhere around.
    He is all of the efforts, and end of all the efforts.
    The Great Nandi is the Rain, and He is the Cloud with Rain.

12) kaṇṇutal-āṉ   oru kātalin niṟk-a-v-um
     forehead-eye-3rd.mas.sg. a   love-pos. stand-inf.-gl.-conj.
     eṇṇ-ili   tēvar   iṟaṇṭ-ār   enappalar
     count-not god   two-3rd.mas. called-many
     maṇṇ-uṟuv-ār-kaḷ-um vāṉ-uṟu-v-ārkaḷ-um

earth-live-gl.3rd.pl.-conj. sky-live-gl.3rd.pl.-conj.
aṇṇal ivan eṉṟu aṟiya-kil-ārkaḷ-ē
great he that know-not-3rd.pl.-emp.

With eye on the forehead stays in love.
Many in earth and in heaven
assumes many gods are non-existent
No one realizes that the God is in your love.

13) maṇṇ-aḷant-āṉ malar-ōṉ mutal tēvar-kaḷ
earth-measure-3rd.mas. lotus seated-3rd.mas. begin god-pl.
eṇṇ-aḷant inna ninaik-kil-ār īcaṉ-ai
thought-measure this think-not-3rd.pl. god-acc.
viṇṇ-aḷant-āṉ-taṉṉ-ai mēl-aḷant-ār-illai
sky-measure-3rd.mas.self-acc. above-measure-3rd.hum.pl.not
kaṇṇ-aḷant eṅkuṅ kaṭantu niṉṟ-āṉ-ē
eye-measure everywhere transcend stand-3rd.mas.sg.emp.

One who measured the earth. One on the lotus flower.
No one thinks of Him who reckoned everyone's heart.
No one is capable of grasping Him who grasped the heaven.
He transcends and pervades.

14) kaṭantu niṉ-ṟ-āṉ kamalam-malar-āti
transcend-avp. stand-pa-3rd.mas.sg. lotus-flower-beginning
kaṭantu niṉṟāṉ kaṭal-vaṇṇam em māyaṉ
transcend-avp. stand-3rd.mas.sg. ocean-like our dark complexioned one
kaṭantu niṉṟāṉ avarkku appuṟam īcaṉ
transcend-avp. stand-3rd.mas.sg. he-dat. after god
kaṭantu niṉṟāṉ eṅkum kaṇṭu niṉṟ-āṉ-ē
transcend-avp. stand-3rd.mas.sg. everywhere see-avp. stand-3rd.mas.sg.emp.

He transcends; resides inside the lotus flower.
The unseen transcends with the color of the ocean.
Transcends all, he is the God.
Transcended and he stands firm infinitely everywhere.

15) āti-y-um-āy araṉ-āy uṭal-uḷ niṉṟa
beginning-gl.-conj.adv. destroyer-adv. body-loc. remain-ajp.
vēti-y-um-āy virintu ārntu iruntāṉ aruḷ
learned-gl.conj.adv. spread-avp. complete-avp. be-pa.3rd.mas.sg. grace
cōti-y-um-āy curuṅk-ā-tat-ōr taṉmai-y-uḷ
effulgence-gl.conj.adv. shrink-neg.that-one quality-gl.loc
nīti-y-um-āy nittam-āki niṉṟāṉ-ē
just-gl.-conj.-adv. always-become-avp. stand-3rd.mas.-emp.

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He is the beginning. He is the Hari Hara. Resides in every heart.
The graceful one blossoms as divine effulgence.
Unshrinkable shining glaze.
He remains as the eternal order forever.

16) kōtu   kulāviya   konṟai   kuṟaṟ-caṭai
    fibrous be with-ajp. Konrai flower rolled-matted-locks
    mātu   kulāviya   vaaṉutal   pākaṉai
    female be with-ajp. bright-forehead part-person
    yātu   kulāvi   amarar-um   tēvarum
    always be with-avp. immortals-conj. celestials-conj.
    kōtu   kulāvik   kuṇam   payil-v-ār-ē
    adore   be with-avp. attribute practice-fut.-3rd.mas.sg.-emp.

    With matted locks with fragrant konrai flowers.
    With the divine mother he remains.
    All of the Devas and celestials
    Worship Him in their heart.

17) kāyam   iraṇṭuṅ kalantu kotikkiṉum
    body   two-conj. mix-avp. give-cond.conj.
    māyaṅ   kattūri   atu mikum av-vaṟi
    soul-pos. effulgence that exceeds that way
    tēcaṅ   kalant-oru tēvaṉ   eṉṟ-eṇṇ-iṉ-um
    universe mix-one   god   that think-cond.conj.
    god   relation-dat-against-not-indeed-emp.

    The body and the soul intermingles,
    Soul's effulgence still dominates.
    Even if one decides the God infils the universe.
    None supercedes His love upon us.

18) atipati ceytu   aḻakai   vēntaṉ-ai
    rule   make-avp. Alagai   king-acc.
    nitipati ceyta   niṟaitavam nōkki
    supreme make-pa.ajp. full-penance look-avp.
    atupati   ātarittu   ākkam-atu   ākkiṉ
    that leader bestow-avp. richness-pos. make-cond.
    itupati   koḷ eṉṟa   em-perumāṉ-ē
    this leader get say-ajp. our-lord

    Witnessing the devout penance of the king Alagai,
    The supreme made him the lord.
    All the rich bestowed him, for his supreme.
    The Lord thus offered him the leadership.

19) itu-pati   ēlaṅ   kamaṟ-poṟil   ēṟ-um
    this-supreme fragrant effluent-world seven-conj.
    mutu-pati   ceytavan   mūt-aṟivāḷan
    mature-supreme do-pa.-ppl.3rd.mas.sg. ripe-wisdom-3rd.mas.sg.
    vitu-pati   ceytavan   meyt-tavam nōkki
    Brahaman-supreme do-pa.ppl.3rd.mas.sg. true-penance look-avp.
    atu-patiyāka   amaru-kiṉṟ-āṉ-ē
    that-supreme-adv. stay-pr.-3rd.sg.mas.emp.

    Lord of all the seven fragrant worlds.
    The learned one made the most matured one.
    Facing the supreme Brahma's penance,
    remains the Lord as the most supreme.

20) muṭivum piṟapp-ai-y-um   munnē   paṭai-tt-a
    end-conj. birth-acc.-gl.-conj. aforehand create-pa.ajp.
    aṭikaḷ uṟaiyum   aṟaneṟi   nāṭ-il
    god   live-fut.neut. virtuous-path aim-cond.
    iṭiy-um   muṟakkam-um īcar uruvam
    thunder-conj. noise-conj.   god   shape
     kaṭi-malar   kuṉṟa malaiy-atu-tāṉ-ē
    fragrant-flower hill   mountain-that-indeed-emp.

    In the virtuous land of the Lord,
    who crafted the birth and death,
    thunder and its resonance resemble His face.
    The Kailas filled with fragrant flowers.

21) vāna peruṅ-koṇṭal   māl-ayan   vāṇavar
    sky   abundant-wind Vishnu-Brahma celestial
    ūnap piṟavi oṟikkum   oruvaṉ-ai
    lame   birth remove-fut.neut. one-3rd.mas.-acc.
    kānak kaḷiṟu kataṟap piḷanta   en
    forest   elepant trumpet kill-pa.ajp. my
    kōṉ-ai   pukaṟu-min kūṭ-al-um-āmē
    king-acc. praise-imp. unite-ger.fut.-become-emp.
    Rescuer of celestials, Vishnu and Brahma.
    Destroyer of all evils in one's life.
    One who fiercely killed a forest elephant.
    Sing His praise and be part of Him.

22) maṉatt-il eṟukiṉṟa   māya naṉ-nāṭaṉ
    mind-loc. rise-pr.ajp. Vishnu good-supreme
    niṉai-tt-atu aṟivaṉeṉil   tāṉ niṉaik-kil-ar
    think-pa.vbn. know-fut.cond. self think-not-3rd.pl.
    enakku iṟai   aṉp-il-aṉ   eṉ-p-ar   iṟaivan

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me-dat divine love-be-not-3rd.mas.sg. say-fut.3rd.mas.sg. god
piṟaikka ninṟār pakkam pēṇi ninṟānē
survive-inf. stand-pa.3rd.mas.sg. side seek-avp. stand-pa.3rd.mas.sg.-emp.

The leader of the illusory world rises in one's mind.
He is the knower of all. No one thinks of Him.
Many groan that they fail to have God's grace.
God always seeks those who seek Him.

23) vallavan vannik kiṟaiyiṭai vaaraṇa
mighty-3rd.mas.sg. fire-dat engulf-middle seas
nill-ena niṟ-pi-tta nītiyuḷ īcan-ai
stand-say stand-caus.pa.ajp. just-loc god-acc.
illena vēṇṭā iṟaiyavar tam-mutal
not-say need-neg. god self-beginning
allum pakalum aruḷu-kinṟ-āṉ-ē
night-conj. day-conj. grace-pr.3rd.mas.sg.-emp.

The mighty sets fire amidst the seas.
He graces all day and night.
Do not say no to the primeval.
He brought all the celestials together.

24) pōṟṟicaittum pukaṟntum punitan-aṭi
praise-sing-avp.conj. fame-avp.conj. holy-3rd.sg.-feet
tēṟṟu-min enṟum civan-aṭikkē celvam
worship-imp. say-conj. Siva-pos.foot-dat-emp. prosperity
āṟṟiyatu enṟu mayal-uṟṟa cintai-y-ai
offer-neut.sg. say-avp. cloud-acquire-ajp. thought-acc.
māṟṟi ninṟār vaṟi manni ninṟānē
change-avp. stand-pa.3rd.mas.sg. path firm-avp. stand-pa.3rd.mas.sg.emp.

Sing His praise. Sing of his holy feet.
Bring the treasures to the feet of the Lord.
He altered all of the ego-centered minds.
He stood benignly firm with stable ones.

25) piṟapp-ili piññakan pēr-aruḷāḷan
birth-not god great-graceful-3rd.mas.
iṟapp-ili yāvarkkum inpam aruḷum
death-not all-dat-conj. bliss provide-fut.neut.
tuṟapp-ili tannait toṟu-min toṟu-t-āl
obstinante-not self-acc. worship-imp. worship-pa.-cond.
maṟappili māyaa viruttam-um āmē
forget-not Maya immortal-conj. become-emp.

He is birthless. The compassionate with matted hair.
He is deathless. Offers bliss to everyone.
Worship the bondless.
Forget not. Sure to attain a mind without illusion.

26) toṭarntu   ninṟān-ai   toṟumin   toṟutāl
   continue-avp. stand-3rd.sg.mas.acc. worship-imp.   worship.cond.
   paṭarntu   ninṟān   pari   pāraka muṟṟum
   spread-avp. stand-3rd.mas.sg. expand earth   complete-conj.
   kaṭantu   ninṟān   kamalam malar mēlē
   transcend-avp. stand-3rd.mas.sg. lotus   flower above-conj.
   uṭant iruntān   aṭip puṇṇiyam āmē
   smiling be-3rd.mas.sg. foot graceful becomes

   Adore the ever pervading Lord.
   Primeval Lord filled the world.
   Surpassed one stood inside the lotus.
   Attain the merit by being part of His feet.

27) canti   enat-takka tāmarai vāṉ-mukattu
   infinite say-kind   lotus   sky-face
   antam-il īcan aruḷ namakkē   enṟu
   end-not god grace we-dat.-emp. comp.
   nantiy-ai nāḷum vaṇaṅka-ppaṭu-mavar
   Nanti-acc. daily   worship-inf.pas.3rd.mas.sg.
   puntiyin-uḷḷē   pukuntu nin-ṟ-āṉ-ē
   belly-pos.inside enter-avp. stand-pa.3rd.mas.sg.emp.

   The lotus-face rivals the shine of sunset.
   The divine's grace is ours forever.
   Sing the praise of the Lord.
   He will reside in your heart for sure.

28) iṇaṅk-i   ni-nṟ-āṉ   eṅkum   āki   ni-nṟ-āṉ-um
    unite-avp. stand-pa.-3rd.mas. everywhere become-avp. stand-pa.3rd.mas.sg.conj.
    piṇaṅk-i   ni-nṟ-āṉ   pin-mun āki   ni-nṟ-āṉ-um
    dis-unite-avp.   stand-pa.3rd.mas.sg. back-front become-avp. stand-avp.3rd.mas.conj.
    uṇaṅk-i   ni-nṟ-āṉ   amarāpati nātan
    wither-avp. stand-pa.3rd.mas.sg immortal-god leader
    vaṇaṅk-i ni-nṟ-ār-kk-ē   vaṟi-ttuṇai āmē
    pray-avp. stand-pa.3rd.mas.pl.dat.emp. path-companian becomes-emp.

   Submissive, He remained. Pervasive, He stayed.
   Squabbled, He remained. Front and Back, He became.
   Withered, He remained. King of the world, he became.
   Worship Him. He will be your escort for sure.

29) kāṇ-a   nill-ā   aṭiyēṟ-k-uṟavār uḷar
    see-inf. stand-neg. devotee-dat.-kin be-3rd.mas.sg.
    nāṇ-a   nillēn   unn-ai   nān taṟuvik-koḷ-a
    shy-inf. stand-neg.3rd.mas.sg. you-acc. I   embrace-refl.-inf.
    kōṇ-a   nill-ā-ta   kuṇatt-aṭiy-ār   mana-ttu
    crooked-inf. stand-neg.ajp. attribute-devotee-pl. mind-pos.
    tāṇiyan-āki   amar-ntu ni-nṟ-āṉ-ē
    self-3rd.mas.sg.become-avp. sit-avp.   stand-pa.-3rd.mas.sg.-emp.

    No one except you is my kin.
    I feel no shyness to embrace you.
    In the heart of His devotees,
    He stayed alone forever.

30) vān ninṟu   aṟaikk-um maṟai-pōl iṟaivan-um
    sky stand-avp. invite-ajp. rain-like   god-conj.
    tān ninṟu   aṟaik-kum-kol enṟu tayaṅku-v-ār
    self stand-avp. invite-ajp.excl. that   hesitate-fut.-3rd.mas.sg.
    ā   ninṟu   aṟaikkum atu pōl en nantiy-ai
    cow stand-avp. invite-ajp. that like my Siva-acc.
    nān ninṟu   aṟaipp-atu ñānam   karut-i-y-ē
    I   stand-avp. invite-vbn. knowledge expect-avp.gl.emp.

    As the sky draws rain
    Why can't the Lord draw me to him,
    the devotees may wonder. Like the cow calls the calf,
    I intend to call the Lord for my wisdom.

31) maṇṇ-akatt-āṉ   okkum   vāṉ-akatt-āṉ   okkum
    earth-contain-3rd.sg.mas. compare   sky-contain-3rd.mas.sg. compare
    viṇṇ-akatt-āṉ   okkum vēt-akatt-āṉ   okkum
    sky-contain-3rd.mas.sg. compare Veda-contain-3rd.mas.sg. compare
    paṇṇ-akatt-u   iṉṉ-icai   pāṭal uṟṟ-āṉ-ukk-ē
    music-contain-pos. sweet-music song   possesses-3rd.mas.sg.dat.emp.
    kaṇṇakattē   ninṟu kātalitt-ēṉ-ē

    eye-contain-emp. stand   love-pa.1st.sg.emp.
    He is like the earth, like the sky.
    like the heaven, and like gold.
    As a singer draws music from his song,
    I gaze upon the Lord with love.

32) tēvar   pirāṉ nam pirāṉ ticai   patt-ai-y-um
    celestial god   our   god   directions ten-acc.gl.conj.
    mēvu pirāṉ viri   nīr   ulak-ēṟ-ai-y-um

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desire god   expand water world-seven-acc.gl.conj.
tāvu   pirān-tanmai tān aṟiv-ār-illai
jump god-quality   self knowledge-pl.not
pāvu   pirān aruṭpāṭal-um āmē

prevail god   grace-field-conj. become-emp.
The Lord of the celestials is ours too.
Pervasive in all of ten directions.
Transcendent in all of seven worlds.
May we sing of His grace.

33) pati-pala-v-āy-atu paṇṭu   iv-vulakam
  god many-adv-that variety this world
viti-pala ceytonṟum meymmai uṇarār
fate-many commit-any truth   feel-not-3rd.pl.
tutipala   tōttiram colla vall-ār-um
poem-many verses   say-inf. cabable-3rd.pl.conj.
matiy-il-ar   neñcin-uḷ vāṭu-kinṟ-ār-ē
knowledge-neg.3rd.pl. heart-loc. suffer-pr.-3rd.pl.emp.

Numerous are the gods in this world.
Surplus are the rituals. Yet, no illumination of the truth.
Surplus are the sermons they can chant.
Yet, hurt in heart, the un-illuminated ones.

34) cāntu kamaṟu-ṅ   kavāyin   kantam-pōl
  paste be-fragrant-fut.neut. mouth-pos. throat-like
vēntan amarar-kku aruḷiya   meynneṟi
supreme immortals-dat. grace-ajp. truthful-words
ārnta cuṭar-anna āyira   nāmamum
filled flame-like thousand name-conj.
pōntum   iruntum   pukaṟu-kinṟ-ēn-ē
leave-pa.fut.neut. remain-pa.fut.neut. praise-pr.1st.sg.emp.

Like the fragrance of musk-deer's emits.
The supreme taught the true path to the celestials.
The Lord has a thousand names, Like the flame filled with light.
I praise of Him while sitting and moving.

35) aaṟṟu-kilā-vaṟi yākum   iṟaivan-aip
  offer-not-path become-fut.neut. god-acc.
pōṟṟumin pōṟṟip pukaṟ-min pukaṟnt-iṭ-il
pray-imp. pray-avp. praise-imp. praise-comp.cond.
mēṟṟ-icai-kk-um   kiṟakkut ticai eṭṭ-oṭu
west-side-dat-conj. east   side eight-soc.

māṟṟuvan appaṭi   āṭavum āmē
change   that manner dance   may

Praise the Lord of whose path no one can find.
Upon your praise and upon your adoration.
He will protect us. He will impel us.
In all the eight directions of east and west.

36) appanai   nantiy-ai ārā   amutin-ai
     Father-acc. Bull-acc. ever-sweet nector-acc.
     oppili vaḷḷalai   ūṟi   mutalvan-ai
     unequal bounteous   time first-acc.
     e-pparic-aayinum ēttumin   ētt-in-āl
     which gift-any-conj. praise-imp. praise-cond.
     appari cīcan aruḷ-peṟ-alāmē
     that-gift God   grace-accept-inf. become-emp.

     Divine father, the everlasting nectar
     Incomparably bounteous, the primeval
     Praise Him with whatever offerings.
     You will get the grace of that gifted one.

37) nān-um   ninṟēttuvan   nāt-oṟum nantiy-ait
     I-conj.   stand-praise-3rd.sg. daily   Bull-acc.
     tānum   ninṟān-taṟal   tān-okkum mēniyan
     self-conj. stand-fire   self-comp. body-3rd.sg.
     vān-il   ninṟār   mati-pōl   uṭal uḷḷ-uvant-u
     sky-loc. stand-3rd.pol.sg. moon-like body inside-come-avp.
     ūn-il   ninṟ-āṅkē   uyir-kkinṟ-a-v-āṟē
     flesh-loc. stand-there live-pr.-like

     I kneel and praise the Nandi regularly.
     One with fire like body.
     Stays in my heart like the moon in the sky.
     He throbs and breaths inside my flesh.

38) pitaṟṟ oṟiy-ēn   periyān   ariyān-aip
     speak cease-not-1st.sg. supreme-3rd.mas.sg. precious-acc.
     pitaṟṟ oṟiy-ēn   piṟavā   uruvānaip
     speak cease-not-1st.sg. immortal-not form-3rd.mas.sg.-acc.
     pitaṟṟ oṟiy-ēn   eṅkaḷ pēr-nanti tann-aip
     speak cease-not-1st.sg. our   fame-Nandi self-acc.
     pitaṟṟ oṟiy-ēn   perumait tavan   tānē
     speak cease-not-1st.sg. fame   penance self-emp.

     I will not cease in my praise of the great and precious Lord.
     I will not cease in my praise of the unborn form.

I will not cease praising our great Nandi.
I will not cease praising e   the famed Lord.

39) vāṟtta-vallār   manat uḷḷ-uṟu   cōtiy-ait
    grace-be able-3ʳᵈ.pol.sg. mind   inside-dwell light-acc.
    tīrttan-ai   aṅkē tiḷaikkinṟ-a   tēvan-ai
    pure one-acc. there sporting-pr.ajp. God-acc.
    ēttiyum   em-perumān enṟu-iṟaiñciy-um
    praise-conj. our-god   that-call-conj.
    āttam ceyt īcan aruḷ peṟal-āmē
    adore do   god   grace obtain-may
    Be capable of praising the divine light inside heart,
    The pure one and the primeval divine.
    Upon praise of him and taking Him as the only God,
    Earn His grace by your adoration.

40) kuṟaint-aṭaint īcan kurai kaṟal nāṭum
    humble-seek   God fame feet   seek
    niṟaint-aṭaiñ cem-pon-in   nēr-oḷi   okkum
    fulfil-seek   pure-god-pos. great ray like
    maṟaiñ-caṭai ceyyātu   vāṟtta-vallaar-kkup
    hide-ritual   do-neg.ajp. praise-inf.-capable-3ʳᵈ.pl.-dat.
    puṟam-caṭam ceyvaan   pukuntu ninṟānē
    external-ritual do-fut.3ʳᵈ.mas.sg. enter-pa.avp. stand-pa.3ʳᵈ.mas.sg.emp.

    Bow, surrender and seek the Lord's feet.
    He is like the rays of purest gold.
    Praise of Him without any fault.
    He enters into your heart upon your explicit wish.

41) cinañ-ceyta nañcuṇṭa   tēvar-pirān-aip
    anger-make poison-eat-pa.ajp. celestial-god-acc.
    punañ-ceyta neñc-iṭai pōṟṟa-vallaar-kkuk
    deep   make heart-loc. praise-be able-dat.
    kanañ-ceyta vānutal pākanum aṅkē
    gleam-make   brow   consort   there
    inañ-ceyta   mān-pōl iṇaṅki-ninṟānē
    identify-make deer-like be obedient-stood-3ʳᵈ.mas.sg.

    The angry Lord who consumed poison.
    Praise of him in your deep heart.
    The Lord who consorts with the goddess in his body.
    The Lord finds you like a deer rightly finds its partner.

42) pōy-aran tann-aip pukaṟvār   peṟuvatu
    seek-god self-acc. praise-3ʳᵈ.pol.sg. obtain-ger.

nāyaka nān-muṭi ceytatuvē nalkum
supreme four-bundle make-that-emp. offer-fut.neut.
māyakam cūṟntu varavallar ākilum
ignorance surround-avp. come-inf.be able even if
vēyana tōḷi-kku vēnt-oṉṟum-tāṉē
shoulder mother-dat. the Lord-one-emp.

To those who praise Him,
God's grace flows like holy water from His head.
Even if one praises him with ignorance,
The escort of the goddess is still supreme.

43) aran-aṭi coll-i araṟṟi aṟutu
Haran-feet say-avp. uproar cry-avp.
paran-aṭi nāṭiyē pāvippa nāḷum
supreme-feet seek-avp.-emp. worship daily
uran-aṭi cey-tu-aṅku otuṅka-vallaar-kku
mighty-feet do-avp.-there approach-able-dat.
niran-aṭi cey-tu niṟai-nt-u niṉ-ṟ-āṉ-ē
eternal-feet do-avp. fill-avp. stand-pa.3rd.mas.sg.-emp.

Praise the Lord's feet, and cry for his grace.
Reach out to His feet on all the days.
Hold the feet of the mighty Lord.
He stays for you filled with grace eternally.

44) pōṟṟi eṉ-p-ār amarar puṉitaṉ aṭi
praise-avp. say-fut.-3rd.pl. immortals holy feet
pōṟṟi eṉ-p-ār acurar puṉitaṉ aṭi
praise-avp. say-fut.-3rd.pl. demons holy feet
pōṟṟi eṉ-p-ār maṉitar puṉitaṉ aṭi
praise-avp. say-fut.-3rd.pl. man holy feet
pōṟṟi eṉ aṉp-uḷ poliya vai-tt-ēṉ-ē
praise-avp. love-inside glorify-inf. make-pa.1st.sg.

The immortal celestials praise the sacred Lord's feet.
The demons praise the feet of the sacred Lord.
The humans praise the feet of the sacred Lord.
I praised Him and had him shine in my love.

45) viti-vaṟi all-atu iv-vēlai ulakam
fate-path not-neut.sg. this-deed world
viti-vaṟi iṉpam viruttam-um illai
fate-path bliss flourish-conj. not
tuti-vaṟi nittalum cōtip pirāṉum
worship-path daily-conj. effulgence god-conj.

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pati-vaṟi   kāṭṭum   pakalavan āmē
Heaven-path show-fut.neut. Sun   become-emp.

This world revolves around its fate.
Bliss fails to flourish due to fate.
Worship the radiant Lord on all the days.
The Lord of the sun will escort you to the celestial world.

46) anti-vaṇṇā   aranē   civanē   enṟu
   Twlight-colorful-one Haran-emp. Siva-emp. that
   cintai-cey vaṇṇam tirunt-aṭiyār   toṟa
   thought-do manner   sacred-devotee-3rd.pol.sg.worship
   munti-vaṇṇā   mutalvā paranē   enṟu
   prime-natured-one prime-one supreme-emp. that
   punti vaṇṇan   em manam pukuntānē
   knowledge-natured-one our mind   enter-pa.3rd.mas.sg.-emp.

   Oh. the twilight. Oh. the Hara. Oh. the Siva.
   Thus the sacred devotees praise of Him.
   Oh. the primeval. Oh. the prime God.
   Thus, I praise Him in my heart.

47) manaiy-uḷ   iruntavar   mā-tavar   oppar
   house-inside be-pa.ajp.3rd.pl. great-penance alike-3rd.pl.
   ninaivuḷ   iruntavar   nēcatt-uḷ niṟpar
   thoughts-inside be-pa.ajp.3rd.pl. love-inside stand-3rd.pl.
   panaiy-uḷ   irunta   paruntatu pōla
   palmyra-loc. be-pa.ajp. kite   like
   ninaiy-āt-avarkk-illai nin-inpan-tān-ē
   think-not-ajp.3rd.pl.-not your-bliss-indeed-emp.

   One inside heart compares to the great sages.
   One inside thought stays with love.
   He fails to offer his grace, if one fails to pray
   like a kite in the Palmyra tree.

48) aṭiyār   paravum   amarar pirānai
   devotee-pl. adore-neut.ajp. immortal god-acc.
   muṭiy-āl vaṇaṅki mutalvanai   munnip
   head-inst. pray-avp. prime-3rd.mas.sg.-acc. seek-avp.
   paṭiyāl aruḷ-um   paramparan entai
   lord-by grace-neut.ajp. pervasive-god father
   viṭiyaa   viḷakkenṟu mēvi   ninṟēnē
   stop-not-ajp. lamp-that   seek-avp. stand-pa.1st.sg.

   The heavenly Lord whom the devotees adore.
   I sought Him surrendering my head on to Him.

The Lord of the primeval graces us all.
I praised of the Lord of ceaseless light.

49) parai-pacu   pācattu   nātanai uḷḷi
    limitation-soul affection-pos. Lord-acc. seek-avp.
    urai-pacu pācatatu   oruṅka-vallaar-kku
    dwell-soul affection-pos. release-be able-dat.
    tirai-pacu pāvac ceṟuṅ-kaṭal nīnti
    hidden-soul sinful   rich-ocean   swim-avp.
    karai-pacu pācam   kaṭanatu eytalāmē
    shore-soul   affection cross-avp. reach-may-emp.

Seek the Lord of the limitless affection.
Keep the Lord of affection in heart.
Cease the Sin and swim in the ocean of love.
Attain the limitless affection in your heart.

50) cūṭuvan   neñciṭai   vaippan   pirān-enṟu
    adire-3[rd]sg. heart-middle keep-fut.3[rd].sg. Lord-that
    pāṭuvan   panmalar   tūvip   paṇintu
    sing-3[rd].sg. gifted-flower smear-avp. surrender-avp.
    ninṟ-āṭu-v-an   āṭi   amarar pirān-enṟu
    stand-avp.dance-fut.3[rd].mas.sg. dance-avp. immortal-Lord that
    nāṭuvan   yāninṟ-aṟi-v-atu-tān-ē
    seek-fut.3[rd].mas.sg. I-stand-avp.know-that-emp.

Adore Him, keep Him in heart, as the supreme Lord.
Sing of Him, offer Him colorful flowers with obedience.
Dance and sing. Seek the Lord.
This is what I know, nothing else.

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