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Short Remark on a Problem of Old Tamil Verbal Flexion

This article has been written to show the validity of the late Prof. J. Bloch's theory on the origin of verbal flexion in Tamil. Says Prof. Bloch in his path-breaking Structure Grammaticale des Langues Dravidiennes, Paris, 1946, p. 45: "Il semble donc finalement que le système flexionnel de type pronominal se soit développé secondairement. Il succède à l'usage de noms verbaux capables de sujet pronominal au nominatif".

When investigating and analysing grammatically some ancient Tamil literary texts1, preserving that form of Tamil language-development which may be termed Early Old Tamil, a number of forms and constructions has been found which confirm Prof. Bloch's statement fully and satisfactorily. There are several types of the use of verbal nouns or even of mere verbal bases (or stems?) in predicative function.

- 1. Cases like nōkō yānē (Narrinai 26,1) "I have pain", evan ceykō (ib. 30,1) "what shall (I) do?" show that mere verbal bases (or stems) are capable of pronominal subjects and have been used as predicates.
- 2. As far as verbal nouns are concerned, the instances of such predicative use are far more numerous and varied, cf. evan¹kol²tōli³annai⁴kanniyatu⁵ (ib. 53,3) "What, o friend, has the mother thought?", Lit. "What¹, (is) o friend3, the thing thought5 (by) the mother4?" The same type, i.e. the use of verbal noun, ending in -atu, is found in Narr. 72, 10: Pularvatu kol avan natpu "Is perhaps his love fading away?".
- 3. More interesting is the predicative use of some other types of verbal nouns, those ending in -al and -vu, cf.:

That is, the earliest Tamil poems extant, preserved in different anthomies of the

logies of the two great collections of Ettuttokai and Pattuppattu. ² This use of verbal nouns as predicates is known, after all, also in New Tamil, cf. Beythan, Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache, 1943, p. 114, enke utbarrante enke utkāruvatu? "Wo ist das Niedersetzen? = wo soll man sich niedersetzen? invoill tzen?; inraikku nīnkal(!) varuvatu, dass ihr heute kommt = euer Kommen heute "eta "in takal en a quite frequent form of Non heute..." etc. with nan kantatillai, which is a quite frequent form of New Tamil pegative. Tamil negative, cf. Old Tamil nām ceytat(u)onr(u)illai in Narr. 27.

ninakk(u)yān maraittal yāvatu "how (can) I hide (or could have been hidden) from thee?" (Narr. 72,4).

...kālai yem mayir ōti māṇalan tolaivē (ib. 57,10) "at (that) time the great beauty of our mane of hair, dark (and) moist, perishes" (tolaivu "extinction, destruction" < v. tolai-, the verbal noun = Pre-

dicate, $-\bar{e} = acainilai \bar{e}k\bar{a}ram$).

For the right understanding of the evolution of verbal flexion from the use of verbal nouns, the peculiar use of verbal nouns ending in -al is very instructive indeed; verbal noun is modified by the pronominal suffixes, determining the number and person. The temporal concept is, in such cases, mostly absent. Cf.

āļvinaikku akanror... vinai valitt(u)amaital ārralar (Narrinai 69,12)

"He that has left for the sake of manly deeds... endures (and) stays, having established himself in deeds", $\bar{a}rralar$ has to be analysed $\bar{a}rral + -ar$ ($\bar{a}rral$ is verbal noun of $\sqrt{\bar{a}rru}$ — "to stay, to endure"; to this verbal noun the pronominal suffix of the 3rd p. sg. -ar is appended); amaital is another verbal noun (\sqrt{amai} — "to remain, to abide, to stay"); thus, the whole has to be interpreted literally, "remaining — staying (enduring) — he"; then

"he stays and remains, he stays and endures".

This form of predicate expressed by verbal noun plus a pronominal suffix had been very probably preceding the use of finite verbal forms; it belongs to the type, called properly "nom pronominalisé", by J. Bloch, who gives its characteristics in op. cit., p. 36: "De toute façon le procédé de dérivation est commun à la famille entière et a une double importance: il donne une base morphologique au genre nominal, et il fournit une transition entre le nom et le verbe" (stress is mine). This it truly does; there is, after all, no difference between a form like that which we have quoted (ārralar) and another, derived by the same pronominal suffix -ar from a noun: nerunālum ivanar (Narrinai, 84,3) "and yesterday" he was here" (ivan "this place" + -ar "he").

Another very instructive instance of the same type of verbal nouns: nin uruvu kan erippa nōkkal ārralanē... yānē (Narr. 82) "I am he who comforts by looks (so that) thine beautiful eyes glitter".

Here, $\bar{a}\underline{r}\underline{r}ala\underline{n}\bar{e}$ has to be analysed: $\bar{a}\underline{r}\underline{r}al + -a\underline{n} + \text{emphatic } -\bar{e}$; and, again, the double use of verbal nouns $(n\bar{o}kkal, \bar{a}\underline{r}\underline{r}al)$ is observed in this instance³.

It has to be borne in mind, however, that such forms are not regarded by us as the true original and most ancient specimens of Old Tamil verbal flexion; amaital, arral etc. are, morphologically and functionally, highly

³ For the problem of the origin of Tamil verbal flexion, cf. the author's article in "Archiv Orientální", XXIII, 3, p. 489.

developed and specialized verbal forms: but such use of these forms with pronominal suffixes forms certainly a transitional type between the crude use of mere verbal bases (plus pronominal or nominal subject) as predicates and fully "conjugated" predicative verbs of pronominal type. These forms have been used probably as a "type-analogy", i.e. in analogy with some truly original forms and functions⁴.



⁴ It is interesting and characteristic, that in *Narrinai* 69, there is actually no finite verbal form of pronominal type to be found. It remains the task of frequency-statistics to show the relative and absolute occurrence of the verbal nouns used predicatively, and their relation to the developed verbal flexion of pronominal type in different Early Old Tamil texts. It seems, however, that this peculiar type of the predicative use of verbal nouns is found mostly in stanzas which also from different aspects and points of view (e.g. lexical) show that they belong to the earliest strata of Old Tamil poetry. A lot remains certainly to be done. Nevertheless, it can be said that, as in most cases, the late Prof. J. Bloch has been right in his theory of the use of verbal nouns as predicates of nominal or pronominal subjects. A careful and patient morphological and syntactic analysis of all Early Old Tamil texts is a much needed desideratum.