

Grammaticalization of Verbs in Dravidian Languages

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Abstract

Grammaticalization has been defined as "the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions" (Hopper & Traugott 2003:1). To put it differently, grammaticalization is the process in which a lexical word or a word cluster loses some or all of its lexical meaning and starts to fulfil a more grammatical function. During the process of grammaticalization, nouns and verbs which carry certain lexical meaning develop over time into grammatical items such as auxiliaries, case markers, prepositions, postpositions, inflections, derivative affixes, complementizers, coordinators and sentence connectives. Grammaticalization of verbs in Dravidian languages occurs in all the grammatical categories. Verbs in Dravidian languages are grammaticalized into auxiliary verbs, verbalizers, adjectivalizers, adverbializers, complementizer and prepositions.

Keywords: Dravidian Languages, grammaticalization, auxiliary verb, verbalizer, adjectivalizer, adverbializer, complementizer, preposition

1. Introduction

In historical linguistics, grammaticalization (also known as grammatization or grammaticization) is a process of language change by which words representing nouns and verbs become grammatical markers (affixes, prepositions, etc.). Thus grammaticalization creates new grammatical functions for words. The word undergoing grammaticalization may totally lose its content meaning and become grammatical markers or it may retain its content meaning along with grammatical function. While analyzing Dravidian languages it is noticed that the auxiliary verbs, certain derivative suffixes, inflectional suffixes, complementizers and certain postpositions can be traced back to verbs. It is noticed that some verbs have been grammaticalized into auxiliaries or auxiliary verbs or suffixes denoting tense, aspect and mood; some verbs have been grammaticalized into passive, causative reflexive auxiliaries or makers; some have turned into verbalizers; a few have changed into adjectivalizers and adverbializers; some have become postpositions and a few have modified into complementizers.

For an understanding of this process, a distinction needs to be made between lexical items or content words, which carry specific lexical meaning, and grammatical items or function words, with little or no lexical meaning, which serve to express grammatical meaning.

The present paper aims to explore the grammaticalization of verbs in Dravidian languages into auxiliaries, verbalizers, adjectivalizers, adverbializers, complementizers, and postpositions. The commonness between them in grammaticalization of verbs can be attributed to their family affiliation and areal influence.

2. Review of Literature

The concept of “grammaticalization” has a long history. The phenomenon appears to be proposed first by Meillet (1912) (secondary source Coupe 2018). Later on it was further developed by Givón (1975, 1979), Lehmann (1985), Traugott and Heine (1991). Many researches on grammaticalization have been undertaken by scholars and are published as papers (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, 1994; Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer (1991a; Heine and Kuteva 2002, 2005; Coupe, 2018). Coupe’s (2018) contribution to grammaticalization needs a special mention here as it is on the ‘Grammaticalization processes in the languages of South Asia’. Grammaticalization of verbs appears to be an areal feature in Indian languages. Grammaticalization of verbs in Indian languages could be due to contact and can be attributed to the influence of Dravidian languages on Indo-Aryan languages. Elaborate discussion on the early literature is avoided here due to want of space.

3. Grammaticalization Theory

According to Heine (2004) grammaticalization theory is neither a theory of language nor of language change; its goal is to describe grammaticalization, that is, the way grammatical forms arise and develop through space and time, and to explain why they are structured the way they are. Grammaticalization is defined as a process which is hypothesized to be essentially unidirectional. Grammaticalization is frequently described as leading from lexical to grammatical (=functional) categories. This view takes care of quite number of linguistic phenomena, but it does not account for much of quite a number of the development of grammatical categories. It suffers in particular from two main shortcomings. First, the process is not confined to the development of lexical forms; rather grammatical forms themselves can frequently do, give rise to even more grammatical forms. Second, since linguistic items require specific contexts and constructions to undergo grammaticalization, grammaticalization theory is also concerned with pragmatic and morphosyntactic environment in which this process occurs. While grammaticalization has both a synchronic and diachronic dimension, its foundation is diachronic in nature.

In the process of grammaticalization, an uninflected lexical word (or content word) is transformed into a grammar word (or function word). The process by which the word leaves its word class and enters another is not sudden, but occurs by a gradual series of individual shifts. The overlapping stages of grammaticalization form a chain, generally called a cline. These shifts generally follow similar patterns in different languages (Hopper and Traugott 2003:6) Linguists do not agree on the precise definition of a cline or on its exact characteristics in given instances. It is believed that the stages on the cline do not always have a fixed position, but vary. However, Hopper and Traugott's famous pattern for the cline of grammaticalization illustrates the various stages of the form:

content word → grammatical word → clitic → inflectional affix

This particular cline is called "the cline of grammaticality" (Hopper and Traugott 2003:7) or the "cycle of categorical downgrading" (Givon 1971) and it is a common one. In this cline, every item to the right represents a more grammatical and less lexical form than the one to its left.

4. Mechanisms of Grammaticalization

It is difficult to capture the term "grammaticalization" in one clear definition. However, there are some processes that are often linked to grammaticalization. Technically, grammaticalization involves four main interrelated mechanisms (Bernad & Kutuva, 2002: 16).

- (a) desemanticization (or "semantic bleaching") – loss in meaning content,
- (b) extension (or context generalization) – use in new contexts,
- (c) decategorization – loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms, and
- (d) erosion (or "phonetic reduction") – loss in phonetic substance.

While three of these mechanisms involve a loss in properties, there are also gains in the same way that linguistic items undergoing grammaticalization lose in semantic, morphosyntactic, and phonetic substance.

4.1. Semantic Bleaching

One of the characteristics of grammaticalization is semantic bleaching, or desemanticization, which can be described as the loss of semantic content. Bleaching as a grammaticalization process refers to the loss of all (or most) lexical content of an entity with the retention of its grammatical content (Heine 1993: 89]. James Matisoff described bleaching as "the partial effacement of a morpheme's semantic features, the stripping away of some of its precise content so it can be used in an abstracter, grammatical-hardware-like way"

(Matisoff 1991: 384). John Haiman wrote that "semantic reduction, or bleaching, occurs as a morpheme loses its intention: From describing a narrow set of ideas, it comes to describe an ever broader range of them, and eventually may lose its meaning altogether" (Haiman 1991: 154). He saw this as one of the two kinds of change that are always associated with grammaticalization (the other being phonetic reduction).

4.2. Morphological Reduction

A linguistic expression is likely to lose its morphological and syntactic elements that were characteristic of its initial category except which are not relevant to the grammatical function when it is changed from a lexical to a grammatical meaning (bleaching) (Heine & Kuteva 2007: 40). This is called decategorization, or morphological reduction. For example, the determiner *atu* 'it (third-person-neuter-singular)' as in *paanai uTaint-atu* 'the pot broke' when came to be used as a gerundival marker as in *paanai uTai-kiR-atu teriyaatu* 'It is not known that the pot breaks', loses its grammatical category of third-person-neuter-singular.

4.3. Phonetic Erosion

Phonetic erosion (also called phonological attrition or phonological reduction), is another process that is often linked to grammaticalization. It implies that a linguistic expression loses phonetic substance when it has undergone grammaticalization. Heine writes that "once a lexeme is conventionalized as a grammatical marker, it tends to undergo erosion; that is, the phonological substance is likely to be reduced in some way and to become more dependent on surrounding phonetic material" (Heine 1993:106). Heine and Kuteva (2007) have described different kinds of phonetic erosion for applicable cases:

- Loss of phonetic segments, including loss of full syllables.
- Loss of suprasegmental properties, such as stress, tone, or intonation.
- Loss of phonetic autonomy and adaptation to adjacent phonetic units.
- Phonetic simplification

5. Types of Grammaticalization of Verbs in Dravidian Languages

The grammaticalization of verbs can be classified into the following types based on the resultant property of the grammaticalization process:

1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into aspectual auxiliaries
2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Modal auxiliaries
3. Grammaticalization of Verbs into become passive auxiliary
4. Grammaticalization of Verbs into causative auxiliaries
5. Grammaticalization of Verbs into attitudinal auxiliaries
6. Grammaticalization of Verbs into non-attitudinal auxiliaries

7. Grammaticalization of Verbs into postpositions
8. Grammaticalization of Verbs into verbalizers
9. Grammaticalization of Verbs into adjectivalizers and adverbializers
10. Grammaticalization of Verbs into complementizer

The above listed grammaticalization of verbs can be grouped into three types:

- i. Grammaticalization of verbs into auxiliaries
- ii. Grammaticalization of into 'postpositions'
- iii. Grammaticalization of verbs into 'izers'

5.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Auxiliaries

An auxiliary verb is a verb that adds functional or grammatical meaning to the clause in which it appears, such as to express tense, aspect, modality, voice, emphasis, etc. Auxiliary verbs usually accompany a main verb. The main verb provides the main semantic content of the clause. An example is the verb *have* in the sentence *I have finished my lunch*. Here, the main verb is *finish*, and the auxiliary *have* helps to express the perfect aspect. Some sentences contain a chain of two or more auxiliary verbs. Auxiliary verbs are also called helping verbs, helper verbs, or (verbal) auxiliaries. A considerable number of verbs in Dravidian languages have been grammaticalized into auxiliary verbs denoting tense, mood and aspect, causation, passivation, reflexivization and complementation.

5.1.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Aspectual Auxiliaries

Aspect is a grammatical category that expresses how an action, event, or state, denoted by a verb, extends over time. Perfective aspect is used in referring to an event conceived as bounded and unitary, without reference to any flow of time during ("I helped him"). These are at least three aspects: imperfective/progressive aspect, perfective aspect and habitual aspect.

5.1.1.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Progressive Aspect

The continuous and progressive aspects are grammatical aspects that express incomplete action or state in progress at a specific time: they are non-habitual, imperfective aspects. In the grammars of many languages the two terms are used interchangeably. It depicts an action which is incomplete in the past or the present or in future tenses.

5.1.1.1.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Auxiliaries Denoting Progressive Aspect in Tamil

In Tamil, the verbs *iru* 'be seated' and *vaa* 'come' as well as compound verb forms like *koNTu + iru > koNTiru* and *koNTu + vaa > koNTuvaa* grammaticalized as aspectual

auxiliaries are added to the past participle (abbreviated here as pstpar) forms main verbs auxiliary verbs to express progressive aspectual meaning. The verb *aaku* ‘become’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary is added to the main verb in verbal noun suffixed by *-al* to express inceptive aspect.

Grammaticalization of Verbs	Example
The <i>iru</i> ‘be’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb occurs after stative main verbs in past participle form to express the progressive aspect (Stever 1983: 306)	raajaa naaRkaali-yil uTkaar-ntu iru-kkir-aan Raja chair-loc sit-pstpar be-pres-3sm ‘Raja is sitting on the chair’
<i>koL</i> ‘have’ + pstpar > <i>koNTu</i> + <i>iru</i> ‘be’ > <i>koNTiru</i> . The compound verb <i>koNTiru</i> (literally means ‘having held be’) grammaticalized as an auxiliary occurs after a main verb in past participle form to express progressive aspect (Lehmann 1993:207).	avan maitaana-ttil naTa-ntu koN-Tu iru-kkiR-aan he ground-LOC walk- pstpar hold- pstpar be-pres-3sm ‘He is walking on the ground’
<i>koL</i> ‘have’ + pstpar > <i>koNTu</i> + <i>vaa</i> ‘come’ > <i>koNTuvaa</i> . The compound <i>koNTuvaa</i> (literally means ‘having held come’) grammaticalized as an auxiliary occurs after the past participle form a main verb to express durative aspect (Lehmann 1993:208).	vilai eeR-i-k koN-Tu-var-um price rise- pstpar hold- pstpar-come-fut-3sn ‘The prices keep on rising’
The verb <i>vaa</i> ‘come’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb occurs after the main verb in past participle form to express habitual progressive sense.	avan pala naaTkaLaaka viTutiy-il taamaci-ttu varu-kiR-aan he many days hostel-loc stay-pstpar-come-pres-3sm ‘He is staying/living in hostel many days’
The verb <i>aaku</i> ‘become’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary is added to the main verb in verbal noun (verb suffixed by nominal suffix <i>-al</i>) to express inceptive aspect.	raajaa paTTimanRattil peec-al-aa-n-aan Raja debating-forum-loc speak-nom-become-past-3sm ‘Raja started speaking at the debating forum’

5.1.1.1.2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Auxiliaries Denoting Progressive Aspect in Malayalam

Malayalam grammaticalizes the verbs *uNTə* ‘be’ and *aaNu* ‘be’ as auxiliaries to express progressive aspect. Apart from these verbs Malayalam grammaticalizes the compound forms such as *aayiru*, *koNTiru* and *koNTirukkuayaaNu* and *vaa* ‘come’ into auxiliary verbs to express progressive aspect by combining with the appropriate forms of the main verbs.

Grammaticalization of Verbs	Example
The verb <i>uNTə</i> ‘be’ occurring after the present tense form the main verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary to express progressive aspect.	avan vaayikk-unn-uNTə he read-pres-be ‘He is reading’
The <i>aaNu</i> ‘be’ occurring after the <i>uka</i> -suffixed infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary to express progressive aspect.	avan vaayi-kkukay-aaNu he read-inf-be ‘He is reading’
<i>aaku</i> + pstpar > <i>aay</i> + <i>iru</i> ‘be’ > <i>aayiru</i> grammaticalized as a compound auxiliary verb concatenates with the main verb in infinite form marked for <i>-uka</i> to express progressive aspect.	avaL appool uRangng-uka-yaa-y-iru-nnu she at time sleep-inf-become-paspar-be-past ‘she was sleeping at that time’
<i>koL</i> + pstpar > <i>koNTu</i> + <i>iru</i> ‘be’ > <i>koNTiru</i> grammaticalized as a compound auxiliary verb concatenates with the main verb in past participle form to express progressive aspect.	avaL paaT-i-kkoN-T-irikk-unnu she sing-pstpar-have-pastpar-be-pres ‘She is singing’ avaL paaT-i-kkoN-T-irikk-um ‘she will be sinking’
The compound <i>koL</i> + pstpar > <i>koNTu</i> + <i>irukkuka</i> ‘be’+ <i>koNTirukkua</i> + <i>aaNu</i> > <i>koNTirukkuayaaNu</i> concatenating with the past participle form the main verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary to express progressive aspect.	avaL sTeej-il paaT-i-kkoN-T-irikk-uka-yaaNu she stage-loc sing-pstpar-have-pstpar-be-inf-be ‘She is sinking on the stage’
The compound verb <i>aaku</i> ‘become + pstpar > <i>aay</i> + <i>iru</i> ‘be’ > <i>aayiru</i> occurring after the main verb inflected for <i>-um</i> is grammaticalized as an auxiliary to express habitual aspect.	avan ennum iveTe var-um-aa-y-iru-nnu he daily here come-fut-become-pstpar-be-pst ‘He used to come here daily’
The <i>varu</i> ‘come’ occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary to express habitual aspect.	avar orumiccu taamasi-ccu-va-nnu they together stay-pstpar-come-pst ‘They continue to stay together’

5.1.1.1.3. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Auxiliaries Denoting Progressive Aspect in Kannada

The verb *iru* ‘be and *aaDu* ‘play’ are grammaticalized as auxiliary verbs expressing the progressive aspect. The *aaDu* ‘play’ is used with transitive verbs to signal reciprocal action or action continuing over certain duration (Sridhar 1990:231).

Grammaticalization of the verbs	Example
The verb <i>iru</i> ‘be’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary concatenates with the nonpast marker <i>-utta</i> of the main verb to express progressive aspect (Sridhar 1990:233).	suurya huTT-utt-iddaane sun rise-npst-be-3sm ‘The sun is rising’
The verb <i>aaDu</i> ‘play’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary concatenates with the main verb in past participle form to express the continuation on the action denoted by the main verb over a certain duration; and with some other main verbs it expresses reciprocal action (Sridhar 1990:231)	avar ooDidru ‘they ran’ avar ooD-aaD-id-ru they run-play-pst-3p ‘They ran around’ naanu cillare-g-aagi uur-ela tirug-aaD-ide I change-dat-adv town-all wander-pstpar-play- pst-1s ‘I wandered all over the town to get change’

5.1.1.1.4. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Auxiliaries Denoting Progressive Aspect in Telugu

According to Krishnamurti and Gwynn (1986:170) the durative finite verb has the following constituents: basic stem + [t/T] (durative suffix) + *un* ‘be’ (in its finite form). The verb *un* ‘to be’ appears to be grammaticalized into durative auxiliary verb having concatenated with the main verb suffixed with t/T.

Grammaticalization of the verbs	Example
The verb <i>un</i> ‘be’ added after the non-past form the main verb as aspectual auxiliary to express progressive aspect.	waaDu iNTi-ki was-t-un-aa-Du he house-dat come-npst-be-3sm ‘He is/was/has been coming home’ aame was-t-un-adi she come-npst-be-3sf ‘She is/was coming’ aame wastuu un-adi she come-npst be-3sf ‘She keeps/kept on coming’
The verb <i>saagu</i> ‘continue’ concatenated with the main verb in infinitive form verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary to express ‘continuative’ sense (Viswanathan Kasturi. 2007: 246).	waaDu poo-saag-EE-Du he go-inf-continue-pst-3sm ‘he continued/started to go’ veLL-a-saagu go-inf-continue ‘start or continue to go’ parigeTT-a-saagu run-inf-continue

Consideration of *saagu* ‘continue’ as an auxiliary verb is questionable.

5.1.1.2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Perfect Auxiliaries

The perfective aspect, sometimes called the aoristic aspect, is a grammatical aspect that describes an action viewed as a simple whole—a unit without interior composition. However, perfective should not be confused with tense; perfective aspect can apply to events in the past, present, or future. The perfective aspect is distinguished from the imperfective aspect, which presents an event as having internal structure (such as ongoing, continuous, or habitual actions).

5.1.1.2.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Perfect Aspect Auxiliaries in Tamil

The verbs *aaku*, *iru* and *viTu* are grammaticalized as auxiliary verbs to express perfect aspect. Lehmann (1993: 205) lists *aaku*, *aayiRRu*, *iru* and *viTu* as aspect auxiliary verbs. The verb *viTu* ‘leave’ is grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb to express perfect aspect having added to the past participle form of the main verb (Annamalai 1982: 103). The verb *iru* ‘be’ is grammaticalized as auxiliary to express perfect aspect having added to the past participle form of a non-stative main verb. The verbal form *aayiRRu*, the past third person neutral form the *aaku*, expresses perfect aspect. The auxiliary *aayiRRu* added to the main verb expresses that the completion of the event denoted by the main verb is anticipated (Annamalai (192:33). The following table illustrates aspectual uses of the three verbs mentioned above.

Grammaticalization verbs	Example
The verb <i>viTu</i> ‘leave’ occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb to express perfective aspect.	raajaa poo-y viT-T-aan [Raja go-pstpar leave-pst-3sm] ‘Raja has left’
The verb <i>iru</i> ‘be’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb occurs after a main verb in participle form to express perfective aspect.	raajaa cennai-kkup pooy iru-kkiR-aan Raja Cennai-dat go-pstpar be-pres-3sm ‘Raja has gone to Chennai’
The verb <i>aaku</i> + <i>iR-Ru</i> [become-pst-3sn] > <i>aayiRRu</i> grammaticalized as an auxiliary occurs after verbal participle form of the main verb aspectual to express perfective aspect implying expectation.	paNam kiTai-tt-aa-yiR-Ru [money get-pstpar-beome-pst-3sn] ‘the money is received (as expected)’ raajaa kaTanait tiruppikoTu-tt-aay-iR-Ru Raja dept-acc give-back-become-pst-3sn ‘Raja has given back the debt (as expected)’

5.1.1.2.2 Grammaticalization of Verbs into Perfect Aspect Auxiliaries in Malayalam

In Malayalam, the verb *iru* ‘be’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb expresses perfect aspect having added to the past participle form of the main verb. The aspectual auxiliary verb *iru* inflects for the three tenses distinguishing the perfect aspect into present perfect, past perfect and future perfect (Asher and Kumari 1997:292). Apart from *iru*, the compound verbal form *-iT-T-uNTu* (put-pstpar-be) > *iTTuNTu* which is a combination of the verbs *iTu* ‘put’ and *uNTu* ‘be’, *-iTT-uNT-aa-y-iru* (put-pstpar-be-become-pstpar-be) = *-iTTuNTaayiru* which is a combination of the verbs *iTu* ‘put’, *uNTu* ‘be’, *aaku* ‘become’ *-iT-T-uNT-aaku* (put-pstpar-be-become) = *iTTuNTaaku* also express perfect tenses as given in the table. There are also a few more verbs such as *iTu* ‘put’, *viTu* ‘leave/let go’, *kazayu* ‘lose’, *vekku* ‘keep’ and *pooku* ‘go’ which are grammaticalized as quasi auxiliaries expressing perfect sense (Asher and Kumari 1997:295). One can notice commonness in their meanings, at least in the first four, say a kind of transfer of an object at the possession of the subject. They all occur after past participle form of the main verb.

Grammaticalization of Verb	Example
The verb <i>iru</i> ‘be’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary occurs after past participle form of the main verb to express perfect aspect. It is realized in the three tenses: present, past and future.	<p><i>avan viiTT-il va-nn-irikk-unnū</i> he house-loc come-pstpar-be-pres ‘he has come home’</p> <p><i>avaL naaTTil va-nn-ir-unnū</i> she hometown-loc come-pstpar-be-pst ‘She had come to hometown’</p> <p><i>avar naaLe viiTTil va-nn-irikk-um</i> they tomorrow house-loc come- pstpar-be-fut ‘They will have come home tomorrow’</p>
The compound verb <i>iT-T-uNTu</i> (put-pstpar-be) which is a combination of the verbs <i>iTu</i> ‘put’ and <i>uNTu</i> ‘be’ and <i>-iT-T-uNT-aay-iru</i> (put-pstpar-be-become-pstpar-be) which is a combination of the verbs <i>iTu</i> ‘put’, <i>uNTu</i> ‘be’ and <i>aaku</i> ‘become’ <i>-iTT-uNT-aaku</i> grammaticalized as compound auxiliaries occurs after main verb in past participle form to express perfect tenses (Asher and Kurmari 1997:292)	<p><i>avaL naaTTil va-nn-iT-T-uNTə</i> she house-loc come-pstpar-put-pstpar-be ‘She has come to hometown’</p> <p><i>avan naaTT-il va-nn-iT-T-uNT-aa-y-iru-nnū</i> he house-loc come-pstpar-put-pstpar-become-pstpar-be-pst ‘He had come to hometown’</p> <p><i>avan naaTT-il va-nn-iT-T-uNT-aa-y-irikk-um</i> he hometown-loc come-pstpar-put-pstpar-become-pstpar-be-fut ‘He might/would have come to hometown’</p>
The verb <i>iTu</i> ‘drop’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb occurs after a main verb in past participle form to express completion of the action denoted by the	<p><i>avaL tanRe aabharaNangkaL-e azi-cc-iT-Tu</i> [she her jewels-acc loose-pstpar-put-pst] ‘She has removed away her jewels’</p>

main verb (Asher and Kumari 1997:295).	
The verb <i>viTu</i> ‘leave/let go’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb occurs after the past participle form of a main verb to express the completion of the action denoted by the main verb (Asher and Kumari 1997:295).	raajaa avaL-e bass-il kayaRR-i-viT-Tu [Raja she-acc bus-loc climb-pstpar-leave-past] ‘Raja has got her boarded the bus’
The verb <i>kaLayu</i> ‘lose’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb occurs after the past participle form of a main verb to express the completion of the action (more forcefully) denoted by the main verb (Asher and Kumari 1997:295)	avar avan-e malsaratt-il toolpi-cu-kaLa-njnju they he-acc competition defeat-pstpar-lose-pst ‘They defeated him completely in the competition’
The verb <i>vekku</i> ‘put down’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb occurs after the past participle form of a main verb to express the completion of the action (more forcefully) denoted by main verb (Asher and Kumari 1997:295).	avaL malcaratt-e toTangng-i-ve-ccu she competition star-pstpar-keep-pst ‘He started the competition’
The verb <i>tiir</i> ‘complete’ grammaticalized into an auxiliary occurs after a main past participle form to express telic and atelic aspects (Asher and Kumari 1997:303).	avan oru kuppi veLLam kuTi-ccə tiir-ttu he one bottle water drink-pstpar finish-pst ‘He finished drinking one bottle of water’

5.1.1.2.3. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Perfect Aspect in Kannada

The verb *iru* ‘be’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary is concatenated with past participle form of a main verb to express ‘perfective’ aspect. The past tense marked in the main verb takes the action prior to the tense denoted by the auxiliary, thus giving perfective sense. With the verbs of motion, the affixation of *iru* indicates that the motion is completed, but the result lasted for some time and may still be relevant (Schiffman, 1983: 88). Another verb that is grammaticalized into auxiliary verb expressing ‘completive’ sense is *biDu* ‘leave’. *biDu* ‘leave’ is grammaticalized into an aspectual auxiliary indicating roughly the completion of the action denoted by the main verb in past participle form with the implication that the action is done in an easy and effortless manner or that it was accidental, an expected unintentional act (Sridhar 1990:230). The verb *hoogu* ‘go’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary added to the past participle form of a main verb to denote ‘completive’ aspect. The auxiliary indicates completion of the action expressed by the main verb. Usually the completion carries pejorative nuance (Schiffman 1983: 84). The verb *aagu* ‘become’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary is added after the main verb to express ‘finality’ aspect. It indicates that the long-awaited result has finally taken place (Schiffman, 1983: 89). According to Sridhar (1990:

235) *aagu* is used with the past participle form the main verb to denote the completion of the action prior to the situation being described. The verb *hoogu* ‘go’ grammaticalized as perfect aspectual auxiliary is concatenated with the past participle (pstpar) form of the main verb to express completion but with the implication that the event or state denoted by the main verb is regrettable (Sridhar 1990:231). The auxiliary *hoogu* is used primarily with intransitive verbs with the implication. The verb *haaku* ‘put’ grammaticalized as aspectual auxiliary is added with the main verb in past participle form to indicate that the action denoted by main verb is carried out exhaustively, effortlessly and in some cases inconsiderately or maliciously (Sridhar 1990:233).

Grammaticalization of Verb	Example
<p>The verb <i>iru</i> ‘be’ grammaticalized as auxiliary verb occurs after past participle form of a main verb to express progressive aspect or durative aspect. Three forms are formed by adding to the past participle form of a main verb to the present, past and future tenses of the verb <i>iru</i> ‘be’ (Schiffmann 1983: 88).</p>	<p>naanu alli hoog-idde I there go-pstpar-be-pst ‘I went there (and stayed)/I had been there’ naanu band-iddiini I there come-pstpar-be-pres ‘I came (and am still here)/ I have come’ naanu band-idde I there come-pstpar-be-pst ‘I came (and was still here when...)/ I had come’ naanu band-iritiini I there come-pstpar-be-fut ‘I will come (and be here when...) ‘I will have come’</p>
<p>The verb <i>biDu</i> ‘leave’ grammaticalized as an aspectual auxiliary occurs after the main verb in past verbal participle form to express roughly the completion of the action expressed by the main verb with the implication that the action is done in an easy and effortless manner or it was an accidental, unexpected, unintentional act (Sridhar 1990:230).</p>	<p>avan bid-biTTa he fall-pstpar-fell ‘He fell down’ avanu eraDu nimiSad-alli eNTu mayli ooD-i-biTTa he two minutes-loc eight mile run-pstpar-leave-pst-3sm ‘He ran eight miles in two minutes’</p>
<p>The verb <i>hoogu</i> ‘go’ is grammaticalized as an auxiliary expressing ‘completive’ aspect with the implication that the event or state is regrettable or unfortunate (Sridhar 1990:231)</p>	<p>anna bend-hoog-ide [rice cook-pstpar-go-pres-3sn] ‘The rice has gotten overcooked’ haalu keTTu-hoog-ide [milk spoil-pstpar-go-pres-3sn] ‘The milk has gone bad’</p>
<p>The verb <i>aagu</i> ‘become’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary added after the main verb</p>	<p>avanu band-aaytu he come-become-pst-3sn</p>

to express the ‘finality’ of the action denoted by the main verb (Schiffmann, 1983: 89) or completion of the action prior to the situation being described (Sridhar 1990:235)	‘He finally came’ uuTa maaD-i aayitu meal do-pstpar become-pst-3sn ‘(I/We) have finished eating’
The verb <i>haaku</i> ‘put’ grammaticalized as an aspectual auxiliary occurs after the main verb in past participle form to express the meaning that the action indicated by the main verb is carried out exhaustively, effortlessly and in some cases inconsiderably or maliciously (Sridhar 1990: 233)	avanu aDigey-ann-ellaa tindu-haak-idd-aane he food-acc-all eat-pstpar-put-be-pst-3sm ‘He has eaten up all the food’

5.1.1.2.4. Grammaticalization of verbs into perfect aspect in Telugu

The verbs *wees* ‘throw’ and *poo* ‘go’ grammaticalized as aspectual auxiliaries occur after the main verb in perfective participle form to express perfective aspectual senses.

Grammaticalization of Verb	Example
The verb <i>wees</i> ‘throw’ grammaticalized an aspectual auxiliary (intensifier) occurs after the main verb in perfective participle form to express the intensity of the action denoted by the main verb (Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1986:216).	neenu was-taa-nu I come-will-1s ‘I will come’ neenu wacc-ees-taa-nu (=wacci-wees-taa-nu) I come-perpar-throw-1s ‘I will come certainly, at once’
The <i>poo</i> ‘go’ also grammaticalized as an aspectual auxiliary occurs after the main verb in perfective participle form to express the ‘completive’ nature of the action denoted by the main verb (Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1986:216).	waaDu veLL-i-pooy-EE-Du he go-perpar-go-pst-3sm ‘He went away’

4.1.2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Modal auxiliaries

Mood is one of a set of distinctive forms that are used to signal modality. The mode or manner of a speaker is expressed by mood. It incorporates a statement, a command, a question, a doubt etc. Mood is used to refer to a verb category or form which indicates whether the verb expresses a fact (the indicative mood), a command (the imperative mood), a question (the interrogative mood), a condition (the conditional mood), or a wish or possibility (the subjunctive mood).

4.1.2.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Modal auxiliaries in Tamil

The verbs *aaku*, *iru*, *kuuTu*, *paar*, *poo*, *vaa*, *maaTu*, *muTi* and *veeNTu* grammaticalized as modal auxiliaries occur after infinitive forms of main verbs to express different shades of modal senses (Lehmann 1993:205). They express different modalities such as circumstantial possibility, obligation, desideration, permission, etc. (Lehmann 1993:211). Formally these auxiliaries can be grouped into three groups. The first group involves three auxiliary verbs with defective morphology: *veeNTu*, *kuuTu* and *muTi*. These auxiliaries inflect for *-um* which is a portmanteau morpheme denoting ‘future tense and third person singular neuter gender’ and result into the following forms respectively: *veeNTum*, *kuuTum* and *muTiyum*. The second group consists of auxiliary verbs which have only one inflected form: *aTTu* ‘join’ and *aaku* ‘become’. The verb *aTTu* grammaticalized as modal auxiliary is inflected for the portmanteau morpheme *-um* and results into *aTTum*. The form *aTTum* undergoes phonetic erosion and is reduced as a suffix *-TTum*. The verb *akku* grammaticalized as modal auxiliary inflects for positive portmanteau morpheme *-um* and results into *aakum*. The form *aakum* undergoes phonetic erosion and is reduced as a suffix *aam*. The *aaku* is grammaticalized also as a modal auxiliary having inflected for negative polarity, third person and neuter gender results into *aak-aa-tu*. The third group of verbs *poo* ‘go’, *vaa* ‘come’, *iru* ‘be’ and *paar* ‘see’ which are grammaticalized as modal auxiliaries occur as finite forms with tense and personal suffixes (Lehmann 1993: 211-212).

Grammaticalization of Verbs	Example
The verb <i>veeNTu</i> ‘request, want’ inflected for the portmanteau morpheme <i>um</i> or negative portmanteau morpheme <i>aam</i> and grammaticalized as auxiliaries occur after the infinitive form the main verb to express the following modalities: internal obligation (imposed by the speaker), negation of external obligation and desideration (duty, advice) (Lehmann 1993: 211-212).	<p>raajaa ippootu viiTT-ukkup pook-a veeNT-um Raja now house-dat go-inf want-fut-3sn ‘Raja must go home now’</p> <p>nii inimeel inta marunt-aic caappiT-a veeNT-aam you further this medicine-acc eat-inf want-neg-3sn ‘From now on you don’t need to take this medicine anymore’</p> <p>nii un manaiviy-iTam anpu celutt-a veeNT-um you your wife-with love give-inf want-fut-3sn ‘You should love your wife’</p> <p>raajaa ooyvu eTukk-a veeNT-um Raja rest take-inf want-fut-3sn ‘Raja should take rest’</p>
The compound verbs <i>veeNT-iy-iru</i> (request-pstpar-be) and <i>veeNT-i-vaa</i> (request-pstpar-come) grammaticalized as modal auxiliary verbs occur after the infinitive form of the main verb to express external obligation.	<p>raajaa cennai-kkup pook-a veeNT-i var-um/irukk-um Raja Chennai-dat go-inf want-pstpar come/be-fut-3sn ‘Raja has to go to Chennai’</p>

(Lehmann 1993: 211-213).	
The verb <i>kuuTu</i> 'join' inflected for future <i>um</i> , i.e. <i>kuuTum</i> grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb occurs after infinitive form of a main verb to express circumstantial possibility, obligation, desideration and permission (Lehman 1993: 213).	inru mazai peyy-ak kuuT-um today rain rain-inf join-fut-3sn 'it may rain today'
The negative form <i>kuuT-aatu</i> of <i>kuuTu</i> 'join' grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary occurs after the infinitive form of the main verb to express negative obligation or negative desideration or negation of permission (Lehman 1993: 213).	inta kuLa-ttil kuLikk-ak kuuT-aatu this pond-loc bate-inf join-neg-3sn 'One should not bathe in this pond' nii raajaa-voOTu peec-ak kuuT-aa-tu you raja-with speak-inf join-neg-3sn 'You should not speak with Raja' niinkaL vaNTi ooTT-ak kuuT-aa-tu you car run-inf join-neg-3sn 'You may not drive the vehicle'
The verb <i>muTi</i> 'end' inflected for <i>-um</i> i.e. <i>muTiy-um</i> grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb occurs after infinitive form of a main verb to express ability and circumstantial possibility. The subject of the main verb and <i>muTi</i> combination requires a nominative subject or instrumental subject (Lehman 1993: 214).	naan /ennaal peTTiy-ait tuukk-a muTiy-um I/ I-ins box-acc lift-inf end-fut-3sn 'I can lift the box' naay tollai ill-aamal inta rooTT-il naTakk-a muTiy-um dog problem is-not-negpar thus road-loc walk- inf end-fut-3sn 'One can walk on the road without the problem of dog'
The verb <i>aTTu</i> 'join' inflected for the portmanteau morpheme <i>um</i> results into <i>aTTum</i> which in turn is reduced to <i>-TTum</i> by phonetic erosion; <i>-TTum</i> grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary occurs after infinitive form of a main verb to express hortative or optative modalities (Lehman 1993: 214-215).	raajaa uLlee var-a-TT-um Raja inside come-go-inf join-fut-3sn 'Let Raja come inside' avarkaL makizcciyaaka vaaz-a-TT-um they happily live- inf-join-fut-3sn 'Let them live happily' naan var-a-TT-um-aa I come-inf-inf-fut-3sn-que 'Shall I come' naan epootu anku var-a-TT-um I when there come-inf-join-fut-3sn 'When shall I come there?'
The verb <i>aaku</i> 'become' inflected for the portmanteau morpheme <i>-um</i> is reduced into a short form <i>aam</i> (< <i>aakum</i>) by phonetic erosion; <i>aam</i> grammaticalized as an	niinkaL muunRaam maaTiy-il eeR-al-aam you third floor climb-nom- become-fut-3sn 'You can climb up to the third floor' niinkaL ippootu tuunk-al-aam

auxiliary verb occurs after the <i>-al</i> suffixed verbal noun to express circumstantial possibility, conjectural possibility and permission (Lehman 1993: 215-216).	you now sleep-nom-become-fut-3sn 'You may sleep now' niinkaL uLLee var-al-aam you inside come-nom- become- fut-3sn 'You can come inside'
The verb <i>aaku</i> inflected for <i>aa-tu</i> (neg-3sn) results into <i>akaatu</i> ; <i>akaatu</i> grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb occurs after the <i>-al</i> suffixed verbal noun to expresses negative obligation, negative desideration and negative permission (Lehman 1993: 216-217).	inta kuLa-ttil kuLikk-al-aak-aatu this pond-loc bate-nom-become-neg-3sn nii raajaav-ooTu peec-al-aak-aa-tu you Raja-with speak-nom-become-neg-3sn niinkaL vaNTi ooTT-al-aak-aa-tu you car run-nom-become-neg-3pns 'You may not drive the vehicle'
The verbs <i>poo</i> 'go' and <i>vaa</i> 'come' grammaticalized as modal auxiliary verbs occurs after the infinitive form of a main verb to express intention and prediction (Lehman 1993: 216-217).	rajaa oru viiTu kaTT-ap poo-kiR-aan Raja one house construct-inf go-pre-3sm 'Raja is going to construct a house'
The verbs <i>vaa</i> and <i>poo</i> grammaticalized as modal auxiliary verbs concatenate with infinitive form of a main verb to express inception. The interpretation is contextual.	avan peec-a va-nt-aan he speak-inf come-pst-3sm 'He was about to speak' raajaa peec-ap poo-n-aan Raja speak-inf go-pst-3sm 'Raja was about to speak'
The verb <i>iru</i> 'be' grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb occurs after the infinitive form of a main verb to express intention and prediction (Lehman 1993: 217-218).	rajaa oru viiTu kaTT-a iru-kkiR-aan Raja one house construct-inf be-pres-3sm 'Raja is going to construct a house'
The verb <i>paar</i> 'see' grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb occurs after the infinitive form of a main verb to express intentional attempt (Lehman 1993: 218).	raajaa avaL-aik koll-ap paar-tt-aan Raja she-acc kill-inf see-pst-3sm 'Raja attempted to kill her'
The verb <i>maaTu</i> which historically means 'do' grammaticalized into an auxiliary verb occurs after infinitive form a main verb to express negative willingness, refusal or simple negation in future (Lehman 1993: 218).	raajaa meeTaiy-il paaT-a-maaTT-aan raaja stage-loc sing-inf-do-neg-3sm 'Raja will not sing'

5.1.2.2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Modal Auxiliaries in Malayalam

The verbs *aTTu* ‘join’, *aaku* ‘become’, *veeNTu* ‘request, want’, *kuuTu* ‘join’, *paTu* ‘experience’, *koLLu* ‘get, have’, *kaziyu* ‘be able’, *paRRu* ‘catch’, *saadhikku* ‘be able’, *okku* ‘be able’ and *eelkku* ‘accept’ are grammaticalized as modal auxiliaries expressing different modal meanings (Asher and Kumari 1997:304-314).

Grammaticalization of Verbs	Example
<p>Optative: <i>aTTu</i> ‘join’ + <i>ee</i> > <i>aTTee</i> grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary occurs after a main verb to expressing optative meaning. The same for is used as permissive auxiliary when the subject is first person (Asher and Kumari, 1997: 305).</p>	<p>avan ceyy-aTTee he do-join ‘Let him do it’ njaan pook-aTTee I go-join ‘Let me go/May I go?’</p>
<p>Optative: <i>aaku</i> ‘become’ + <i>um</i> > <i>aakum</i> undergoes phonetic erosion to become <i>aam</i>; <i>aam</i> grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary occurs after a main verb to express optative meaning (Asher and Kumari 1997:305). It is also grammaticalized to express permission and physical ability (Asher and Kumari, 1997:308-309).</p>	<p>nama-kkə pook-aam we-dat go-become-fut ‘Let us go’ nama-kku naTak-aam we-dat walk-become-fut ‘Let us walk’ ningngaL-kkə pook-aam you-dat go-become-fut ‘You can go’ aviTe ninn-aal nam-akku kazi kaaN-aam there stand-if we-dat paly see-became-fut ‘If we stand there, we can see the play’</p>
<p>Debitive: <i>veeNTu</i> ‘request’ + <i>um</i> > <i>veeNam</i> undergoes phonetic erosion into <i>aNam</i>; <i>aNam</i> grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary occurs after a main verb to express the ‘debitive’ modal meaning (obligation) (Asher and Kumari 1997:306).</p>	<p>avan pathikk-aNam he study-request-fut ‘He must study’ ningngL naaLe tanne var-aNam you tomorrow emph come-inf-request-fut ‘You must come tomorrow’</p>
<p>Debitive: <i>veeNTu</i> ‘request’ + <i>um</i> > <i>veeNTum</i> undergoes phonetic erosion into <i>veeN-am</i>; <i>veeNam</i> grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary occurs after the coordinated construction of the main verbs in <i>uka</i>-form to express obligation (debitive) (Asher</p>	<p>nii pathikkukay-um paaTukay-um veeNam you study-con sing-con request-fut ‘You must study and sing’</p>

and Kumari 1997:306).	
Debitive: <i>veeNTu</i> ‘request’ + pst-par > <i>veeNTi</i> undergoes phonetic erosion into <i>eeNT</i> ; <i>eeNTi</i> grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary occurs after the infinitive form a main verb to express obligation (Asher and Kumari 1997:307).	njaan avan-e kaaN-eeNT-i vannu [I he-acc see-oblige-pstpar came] ‘I am obliged to see him’
Debitive: <i>veeNTu</i> ‘request’+ neg > <i>veeNTa</i> undergo phonetic erosion into <i>aNTa</i> ; <i>aNTa</i> grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary occurs after the main verb to express the meaning ‘should not/need not’ (Asher and Kumari 1997:307).	nii aviTe pook-aNTa you there go-request-neg ‘You need not go there’
Debitive: <i>kuuTu</i> ‘gather’ + neg > <i>kuuTaa</i> grammaticalized as a model verb occurs after main verb to express negative imperative sense ‘should not’.	nii aviTe pooyi kuuTaa you there go-pstpar should not ‘you should not go there’
Permission: <i>koLLu</i> ‘have’ + <i>aTTu</i> ‘join’ + e > <i>koLLaTTe</i> undergo phonetic erosion into <i>kooTTe</i> ; <i>kooTTe</i> grammaticalized as an auxiliary occurs after main verb to express permissive sense (Asher and Kumari 1997:309).	njaan angngooTTu pooy-koLL-aTTe / pooykooTTe [I there go-pstpar-have-join] ‘let me go there’
Negation of permission: <i>paTu</i> ‘experience’ + <i>illaa</i> ‘not’ > <i>paaTillaa</i> grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary occurs after infinitive form of a main verb to express the modal meaning of negative obligation or prohibition (Asher and Kumari 1997:310).	avan aviTe pook-aan paaT-illaa [he there go-inf experience-neg] ‘He should not go there’
Physical ability: The verbs <i>kaziyu</i> ‘be able’, <i>paRRu</i> ‘catch’, <i>saadhikku</i> ‘be able’, <i>okku</i> ‘be able’ grammaticalized as modal auxiliaries occurs after the infinitive form of the main verb marked for <i>-aan</i> to express the modal meaning of physical ability (Asher and Kumari 1997:308)	ninakku avaL-e aviTe ninnum kaaN-aan kaziyum you-dat she-acc there from see-inf ‘you can see from there’ ninakku avaL-e aviTe ninnum kaaN-aan paRRum you-dat she-acc there from see-inf ‘you can see her from there’

	<p>ninakku avaL-e aviTe ninnum kaaN-aan saadhikk-um you-dat she-acc there from see-inf ‘You can see her from there’</p> <p>ninakku avaL-e aviTe ninnum kaaN-aan okk-um ‘You can see her from there’</p>
<p>Negative Physical ability: The defective verb <i>vayya</i> grammaticalized as an auxiliary occurs after <i>-aan</i> suffixed infinitive form of the main verb to express negative physical ability.</p>	<p>enikku pook-aan vayaa I-dat go-inf not ‘I could not go’</p>
<p>Negative Physical ability: The past participle forms of the verbs <i>kaziyu</i> ‘be able’, <i>paRRu</i> ‘catch’, <i>saadhikku</i> ‘be able’ and <i>okku</i> ‘be able’ suffixed with negative auxiliary <i>illaa</i> (i.e. <i>kazi-njnj-illaa</i>, <i>paRR-iy-illaa</i> and <i>saadhi-cc-illaa</i>) are grammaticalized as modal auxiliaries occur after <i>-aan</i> suffixed infinitive form of the main verb to express negative physical ability (Asher and Kumari 1997:309).</p>	<p>enikku pook-aan kazi-njnj-illaa I-dat go-inf be-able-not ‘I am unable to go’</p> <p>enikku pook-aan paRR-iy-illaa I-dat go-inf be-able-not ‘I am unable to go’</p> <p>enikku pook-aan saadhi-cc-illaa I-dat go-inf be-able-pstpar-not ‘I am unable to go’</p> <p>enikku pook-aan o-tt-illaa I-dat go-inf be-able-pstpar-not ‘I am unable to go’</p>
<p>Permission: <i>koLLu</i> ‘have/get’ + <i>aTTu</i> ‘join’ + <i>ee</i> > <i>koLLaTTee</i> gramiticalized as modal auxiliary occurs after the past participle form of the main verb to express the model meaning of ‘permissive’ (Asher and Kumari 1997:309).</p>	<p>avan poo-y-koLLa-TTe he go-permissive ‘He may go’</p>
<p>Degree of certainty: <i>aaku</i> ‘become’ + pstpar > <i>aay</i> + <i>iru</i> ‘be’ > <i>aayiru+um</i> > <i>aayirikkum</i> grammaticalized as modal auxiliary occurs after <i>-um</i> inflected main verb to express a degree of certainty i.e. ‘possibility’ (Asher and Kumari 1997:311).</p>	<p>avan innu var-um-aa-y-irikk-um he today come-fut-become-pstpar-be-fut ‘He may come today’</p>
<p>Contingent: <i>eelkku</i> ‘accept’ + <i>um</i> > <i>eekku</i> which undergoes phonetic erosion into <i>eekku</i>; <i>eekku</i> grammaticalized as modal</p>	<p>avan mikkavaarum innu va-nn-eekk-um he most probably today come-pst-accept-fut ‘Most probably he may come day’</p> <p>avan innu va-nn-eekk-aam</p>

auxiliary occurs after past tense form of the main verb to express a degree of certainty (Asher and Kumari 1997:314). The form <i>eekk-aam</i> (< <i>eelkku</i> + <i>aaku-um</i>) substituted for <i>eekum</i> , the degree of possibility will be less (Asher and Kumari 1997:314)	he today come-pst-accept-become-fut 'He may come today'
The past tense form <i>aayi</i> 'became' of the verb <i>aaku</i> 'become' grammaticalized as an auxiliary occurs after the main verb in infinitive form marked by <i>aaRə</i> express the meaning 'going to happen' (Asher and Kumari 1997:301).	maram viiz-aar-aay-i tree fall-inf-become-past

5.1.2.3. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Modal Auxiliaries in Kannada

The grammaticalization of verbs in Kannada into modal auxiliaries requires moving to the past. Schiffman (1984:72-73) throws light into this. A number of verbs are grammaticalized into modal auxiliary verbs in Kannada. They mostly occur after *-al* suffixed infinitive forms of main verbs to give modal senses such as 'may, might, can, must, should, ought, and could' and their negatives. In a sequence of verbs modal forms the last verb. Hodson (1864: 41) gives the older forms of Kannada modals such as *ball* 'can, know how to', *aap* 'can, be able', and their negatives *ari* and *aar*. The standard Kannada keeps only *aar*. The other forms are used in some regional and social dialects (Schiffman 1984:72). The negative affix *baaradu* is the negative form of the verb *baa/bar* 'come'. The Potential mood is formed by adding certain auxiliary verbs to a principal verb in the infinitive mood. The auxiliary verbs *bahudu* and *kūḍuvadu* when added to the infinitive form of a main verb gives the potential meaning 'may' (Hudson 1864).

The verb *beeku* 'want, need' is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb expressing the modal meaning 'must, should, and ought'. The auxiliary modal *beeku* is attached to the infinitive of the verb, and gives the meaning '(someone) must/wants to (do something)', and so forth. *beeku* also has been in the sense of necessity (Shiffmann 1984: 73). Using of *beeku* 'want', 'wish' is the most common way to express obligation (Sridhar 1990:239). The combination of *beeku* and *aagu* 'become' and *iru* 'be' also express the same (Sridhar 1990:239).

The negative of *beeku* are *beeDa* and *beeDi*. They express the modal meaning 'should not, must not, need not'; *beeDi* is used with a more polite or plural form. This form is also used as a negative imperative 'don't (do something)!' (Schiffman 1984:74). When *beeDa* is used as a negative imperative, it is similar to (but slightly stronger than) the negative

imperative *baaradu*. The strongest negative is indicated by the use of the modal *kuuDadu*. This is attached to the infinitive, as are *beeDa* and *baaradu* (Shiffmann 1984:74).

The auxiliary verb *bahudu* is changed into *boodu* (*bahudu* > *bahdu* > *boodu*) by morphophonemic rules (Schiffman 1984:75). It is attached to the infinitive form of a main verb to the meaning, '(someone) can/may (do something)'. The main meaning is 'can' in the sense of 'be able' rather than that of 'permission'; and the sense of 'probability' is also possible.

Grammaticalization of the Verbs	Examples
Potential and permission: The verb form <i>bahudu</i> 'possible' occurring after the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an affirmative impersonal modal auxiliary verb to express the positive potential sense (Schiffman 1984:75; Sridhar, 1990:240).	avanu ii varSa pariikSa paas maaD-a bahudu [he-dat this year exam pass do-inf-pot] 'He may pass the exam this year' lakshmi anggaDiga hoog-a-bahadu [Lakshmi store-dat go-pot/permission] 'Lakshmi can/may/ go to the store'
Potential: The verb <i>bal</i> 'grow strong' occurring after the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a defective modal auxiliary verb (i.e. <i>balla</i>) to express the meaning 'can' (Schiffman 1984:72; Sridhar 1990:240)	maaD-a ball-enu do-inf can-1ps 'I can do/ I know how to do' kumaar eraDu mayli iij-a-balla 'Kumar can swim two miles'
The defective verb <i>aap</i> 'be strong' occurring after the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the meaning 'can' (Hudson 1864; Schiffman 1984:72).	karey-al-aap-enu call-inf-can-1s 'I can call/ I know to call'
Learned ability: The verb <i>bar</i> 'come' occurring after the infinitive form of the main verb marked for <i>-okke</i> is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the meaning 'learned ability' (Sridhar 1990: 241).	Siilaa-ge cainiis aDige maad-ooke bar-atte Sheela-acc Chinese cooking do-inf come-3sf 'Sheela can cook Chinese cuisine'
The negative form <i>baaradu</i> of the verb <i>bar</i> ~ <i>baa</i> 'come' occurring after infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as negative impersonal modal auxiliary verb to express the meaning 'may not' (Shiffman, 1984:75). It also can mean '(one) can't/shouldn't'	naanu maaD-a baar-adu I do-inf come-neg- 'I may not/ am not at liberty to do' id togoND hoog baaradu '(one) can't/shouldn't take this away (having taken, go)'

<p>The negative form <i>kuuDadu</i> of the verb <i>kuuD</i> 'come together' occurring after the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized negative impersonal modal auxiliary verb to express the meaning 'may not'. It also expresses the modal meaning 'should not' (Shiffman, 1984:74).</p>	<p>naanu maaD-a kuuD-adu I do-inf gather-neg- 'I may not/am not at liberty to do'. jooD haak koNDu, guDiyolag hoog kuuDadu [shoes wear-having temple-into go must not/should not] '(one) should never go into a temple while wearing shoes' hoog-kuudadu 'you must not/should not go'</p>
<p>Debitive: The verb <i>beeku</i> 'want' occurring after the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a positive impersonal modal auxiliary verb to express the meaning 'must, need' (Sridhar 1990:239).</p>	<p>naanu hoog-a-beeku 'I ought/need/want to go' niivu naaLe illi ir beeku 'you must/should be here tomorrow' naanu karey-a beeku I call-inf need 'I must/ need to call' naanu jaruuraagi Delli-ge hoog-a-beeku I urgently Delhi-dat go-inf need 'I need to go to Delhi'</p>
<p>Debitive: The combination of the verb <i>beeku</i> 'want' and <i>aagu</i> 'become' i.e. <i>beek + aakittu > beek-aagatte</i> occurring after the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the modal meaning 'become necessary' (obligation) Schiffman 1984:74, Sridhar 1990:239).</p>	<p>beek-aagatte 'will be/become necessary' bar-a beek-aagittu 'ought to have come' niivu sinimaa nooD beek-aagittu 'You should have seen the movie'</p>
<p>The combination of <i>beeku</i> and <i>aagu</i> 'become' and <i>iru</i> 'be' occurring after the infinitive form of the main verb is also grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the meaning 'must, need' (Sridhar 1990:239)</p>	<p>naanu jaruuraagi Delli-ge hoog-a-beek-aagide I urgently Delhi-dat go-inf need-inf-become- pst-3sn</p>
<p>The compound <i>ir + beekku</i> grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb expresses the modal meaning 'must have/must' (Schiffman 1984:73).</p>	<p>band-ir beeku 'must have come' bart(aa)-ir beeku 'must be coming' niivu avarn nooD-ir-a beeku 'you must have seen him (it must be true that you saw him)'</p>
<p>The compound <i>-ir beek-aagittu</i> grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb</p>	<p>hoogt(aa)-ir beek-aagittu 'should have been going'</p>

expresses the modal meaning 'should have been' (Schiffman 1984:73)	
The compound <i>beek-aag boodu</i> (<i>bahudu</i> > <i>bahdu</i> ~ <i>boodu</i>) is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the meaning 'may become necessary'.	beek-aag boodu want-become- 'may become necessary'
The negative form <i>beeDa</i> of the verb <i>beeku</i> 'want' occurring after the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a negative impersonal modal auxiliary verb to express the meaning 'must not, need not'. The negative form <i>beeDi</i> is used with a more polite or plural form. (Schiffman 1984:74, 77).	niivu naaLe bar-a beeD-a you tomorrow come-inf want-not 'You need not come tomorrow' karey-a beeD-a call-inf want-not 'I must not/ need not to call' hoog-a-beeDa 'don't go'
The gerundive form <i>takkaddu</i> of the verb <i>tagu</i> 'suit' occurring after the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an impersonal modal auxiliary verb to express the meaning 'ought' (Sridhar 1990:239-240).	karey-a takk-addu call-inf suit-ger 'I ought to call/ it is proper for me to call'
The compound <i>takkadu</i> 'suit-ger' + <i>alla</i> > <i>takkaddalla</i> is grammaticalized as the negative impersonal modal auxiliary verb to express the modal sense 'ought not'.	takkadd-alla 'ought not'
The defective verb in negative form <i>ari</i> concatenated with the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the meaning 'cannot' (Schiffman 1984:75).	karey-al-ariy-enu call-inf-cannot/know not 'I cannot or know not to call'
The defective verb in negative form <i>aara</i> occurring after the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the meaning 'cannot' (Schiffman 1984:75-76).	karey-al-aar-enu call-inf-cannot-1ps I cannot, or know not to call.
<i>boodu</i> (i.e. <i>bahudu</i> > <i>bahdu</i> > <i>boodu</i>) is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary to express the modal meaning '(someone) can/may (do something)' (Schiffman 1984:75).	niivu avarn al nooD boodu you him-acc there see-can 'You can/might see him there' ii pustka maneg togoND hoog bood aa? 'can/may (I) take this book home?' avarn al nooD ir boodu '(one) might have seen him there'

5.1.2.4. Grammaticalization of Verbs Modal Auxiliaries in Telugu

The verb *peTT* ‘put’, *waal* ‘need’, *walacu* ‘wish’ *kalugu* ‘occur’, *poo* ‘go’, *iccu/ivvu* ‘give’, *waccu* ‘come’, *guuDu* ‘gather’, *saagu* ‘continue’ and *coccu* ‘enter’ are grammaticalized as modal auxiliary verbs. The details of the grammaticalization are discussed in the following table.

Grammaticalization of the Verbs	Examples
<p>Entreaty or request: The verb <i>peTT</i> ‘to put’ grammaticalized as modal auxiliary occurs after a perfective participle form to express the meaning of entreaty or request. (Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1986: 216).</p>	<p>naaku ii baabu raa-si peTTu I-dat this letter write-perpar-put ‘Please write this letter for me’ naa pani wad-ee cee-si peTT-EE-Du my work he-emp do-perpar put-pst-3sm ‘He himself did my work (for my sake)’</p>
<p>Obligative: The defective verb *<i>waal</i> ‘need’ undergoes phonetic erosion to become <i>aali</i>; <i>aali</i> concatenated with the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the modal meaning ‘obligative’ (Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1986: 218-219).</p>	<p>neenu iNTi-ki weLL-aali I house-dat go-need’ I must go home’</p>
<p>Prohibitive: The negative form <i>waladu</i> > <i>waddu</i> of the verb <i>walacu</i> ‘wish’ concatenated with the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a negative modal auxiliary verb to express the meaning ‘prohibitive’ (must not) (Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1986: 220).</p>	<p>miiru akkaDaiki weLL-a-waddu you there go-inf-wish_not ‘You must not go there’</p>
<p>Capabilitative: The verb <i>kalugu</i> ‘occur’ concatenated with the infinitive form the main verb is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the modal sense of ‘capabilitative’ (can, could). <i>kala</i> is an irregular future habitual stem (Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1986: 221).</p>	<p>neenu ii pani ceyy-a-gala-nu I this work do-inf-occur-1s ‘I can do this work’ aame annam wand-a-gala-du she food cook-inf-abel-3sf</p>
<p>Non capability: The verb <i>poo</i> ‘go’ concatenated with the negative participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary to</p>	<p>Dabbu caalaka, illu kon-a-leeka-poo-yE-mu money not-enough house buy-inf-be_not-go- past-1pl ‘We could not buy the house as the money</p>

express the modal sense of ‘non-capability’ (i.e. ‘cannot, could not’). (Krishnamurti & Gwynn, 1986: 222)	was not enough’ neenu ii iNT-a-loo uND-a-leek-a-poo-taa-nu I this house-loc be-inf-negpar-go-npst-1s ‘I will not be able to stay in this house’
Probabilitative-permissive: The verb <i>waccu</i> ‘come’ concatenated with the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary to express the modal meaning of ‘probabilitative’ or ‘permissive’ (‘should not’) (Krishnamurti & Gwynn, 1986: 222)	miiru ippuDu annam tinn-a-wa-cc-u [you now food eat-inf-come-npst-2p] ‘You may eat the food now’ aaynaa cebitee,aame winnawaccu ‘She may listen, if she tells (her)’
Negative permissive: The negative form <i>guuDatu</i> of the verb <i>guuD</i> ‘gather’ concatenated with the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary to express the modal sense of ‘negative permissive’ (‘should not’) (Krishnamurti & Gwynn, 1986: 223-224)	miiru tondaragaa naDaw-a-guuDadu you fast walk-inf-gather-not ‘You should not walk fast’ pedda waaLu-nu edirinc-a-guuDadu elder persons oppose-inf-gather-not ‘one should oppose elderly persons’
Inceptive: The verb <i>poo</i> ‘go’ concatenated with the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the modal sense of ‘inceptive’ (‘about to’, ‘going to’) (Krishnamurti & Gwynn, 1986: 224). Note the change of voiceless plosive /p/ into voiced plosive /b/.	pillalu paalu tag-a-boo-tunn-aaru children milk drink-inf-go-pres-3pl ‘The children are going to drink milk’ nuvvu paD-a-boo-tunn-aawu you fall-inf-go-pres-2s ‘you are about to fall’
Permissive: The verb <i>iccu/ivvu</i> ‘give’ concatenated with infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the modal sense of ‘permissive’ (‘allow’, ‘let’) (Krishnamurti & Gwynn, 1986: 225; Viswanathan Kasturi, 2007: 252).	neenu waaN-Ni veLL-an-ic-EE-nu I he-acc go-inf-give-pst-1s ‘I let him go’ aayana mimmala-ni bataK-an-iww-a-Du he you-acc live-give-neg-he ‘He will not allow you to live’
Negative prohibitive: The combination the verbs <i>poo</i> ‘go’ and <i>waccu</i> ‘come’, i.e. <i>poowaccu</i> concatenated with the negative participle form of the main verb marked with <i>aka-ka</i> is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the modal sense of ‘negative	reepu neenu raa-ka-poo-waccu tomorrow I come-go-come ‘I may not come tomorrow’

probabilitative' (Krishnamurti & Gwynn, 1986: 227).	
Inceptive: The verb <i>poo</i> 'go' concatenated with infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the modal sense of 'inceptive'	pillalu paalu taag-a-boo-tunn-aaru children milk drink-inf-go-pres-3pm 'The children are going to drink milk' nuwwu paD-a-boo-tunn-aawu you fall-inf-pres-2s 'You are about to fall'
Inceptive: The verb <i>coccu</i> 'enter' concatenated with infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a modal auxiliary verb to express the modal sense of 'inceptive' (Viswanathan Kasturi, 2007: 252).	waaDu raa-jocc-EE-Du 'He began to come'

5.1.3. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Passive Auxiliary

The passive voice is used to focus on the person or object that experiences an action rather than the person or object that performs the action. In Dravidian languages passivization is effected by adding an auxiliary verb with the main verb which converts the main verb active voice into passive voice. The passivization leads to some internal changes in the argument structure.

5.1.3.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Passive Auxiliary in Tamil

The verb *paTu* 'experience' grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb occurs after infinitive form a main verb to express passive voice.

raajaa oru paampaik kon-R-aan
Raja snake-acc kill-pst-3sm
'Raja killed a snake'

paampu raajaav-aal koll-ap paT-T-tu
snake Raja-inst kill-pst-3sn
'A snake was killed by Raja'

5.1.3.2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Passive Auxiliary in Malayalam

Though passive voice is an unnatural construction, it is very much a part of the Malayalam language. The verb *peTu* 'experience' grammaticalized as a passive voice forming auxiliary occurs after the infinitive form of the main verb to express passive voice. The addition makes some changes in the argument structure of the active sentence.

avan paamp-ine konnu
he snake-acc kill-past
'He killed a snake'

paampu avan-aal kollappeTTu
Snake he-inst kill-inf-experience-pst
'The snake was killed by him'

5.1.3.3. Grammaticalization of Verbs into passive auxiliary in Kannada

Passive is a regular and potentially productive construction. Any transitive verb can be converted into passive voice. The verb *paDu* 'experience' grammaticalized as a passive auxiliary occurs after the *-al* suffixed infinitive form of a main verb to express passive voice (Sridhar 1990:214).

huDug-arU baavuTa haaris-id-arU
boy-pl flag-acc fly-pst-3pl-h
'The boys flew the flag'

huDug-ar-inda baavuTa haaris-al-paTT-i-tu
boy-pl-ins flag-nom fly-inf-pass-pst-3sn
'The flag was flown by boys'

The previous one is called personal passive. In the case of impersonal passive the verb *aagu* 'become' is grammaticalized as a passive auxiliary as exemplified by the following illustration.

yaaroo ii nirNayav-annu khaNDis-id-arU
someone this resolution-acc denounce-pst-3pl-hum
'Some one denounced this resolution'

ii nirNayav-annu khaNDis-al-aay-i-tu
this resolution-acc reprove-inf-become-pst-3sn
'This resolution was reprovved'

5.1.3.4. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Passive Auxiliary in Telugu

The verb *paDu* 'suffer' is grammaticalized as a passive auxiliary is added after the main verb infinitive form to express passive voice.

raawaNudu raamuD-icceeta camp-a-baDD-aa-Du

Ravana Raman-inst kill-inf-suffer-pst-3sm
 ‘Ravana was killed by Raman’

ii pustakaalu amm-a-baDD-aa-yi
 these books sell-inf-suffer-3sn
 ‘These books have been sold’

5.1.4. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Causative Auxiliaries

Causative verbs are verbs that show the reason that something happened. They do not indicate something the subject did for themselves, but something the subject got someone or something else to do for them. Prototypically, it brings in a new argument (the causer), into a transitive clause, with the original subject becoming the object.

5.1.4.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Causative Auxiliaries in Tamil

The verbs *vai* 'keep', *cey* 'do' and *paNnu* 'do' grammaticalized into an auxiliary verb after infinitive form a main verb expressing causation.

Verb Grammaticalization	Example
<i>vekkū</i> ‘keep’ grammaticalized as a causative auxiliary verb concatenates with the infinitive form of the main verb to express causativization.	raajaa avan-aip peec-a-vai-tt-aan Raja he-acc speak keep-pst-3sm 'Raja made him speak'
<i>ceyyū</i> ‘do’ grammaticalized as a causative auxiliary concatenates with the infinitive form of the main verb to express causativization.	raajaa avan-ai peec-a-ccey-t-aan Raja he-ACC speak do-pst-3sm 'Raja made him speak'
<i>paNnu</i> ‘do’ also grammaticalizes into an auxiliary expressing causativization when concatenated with the infinitive form of a suitable main verb.	raajaa avan-ait tuunk-ap paNN-in-aan Raja he-acc speak do-pst-3sm 'Raja made him sleep'

5.1.4.2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Causative Auxiliaries in Malayalam

Causation is expressed in Malayalam by causative suffixes. Malayalam does not make use of causative auxiliary verbs to form causative verb forms.

5.1.4.3. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Causative Auxiliaries in Kannada

Causation is expressed in Kannada by causative suffixes. Kannada does not make use of causative auxiliary verbs to form causative verb forms.

5.1.4.4. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Causative Auxiliaries in Telugu

The verbs *koTT* ‘beat’, *peTT* ‘put’ and *wees* ‘throw’ grammaticalized as causative verbs occurs after the infinitive form of a main verb formed by the suffix *an* to express causativization. (Krishnamurti & Gwynn, 1986: 205). The verb *cees* ‘do’ also is grammaticalized as a causative auxiliary.

pagulu ‘split’ + *an* + *koTT* > *pagalagoTT* ‘cause to split’
weLL ‘go’ + *an* + *koTT* > *weLLagoTT* ‘chase, drive out’
niluc ‘stand’ + *an* + *peTT* > *nilabeTT* ‘set up’
tin ‘eat’ + *an* + *peTT* > *tinabeTTu* ‘make to eat’
paDu ‘fall’ + *an* + *wees* > *paDawees/paDees* ‘let something fall’
tin ‘eat’ + *an* + *cees* ‘do’ > *tina jees* ‘cause to eat’
kon ‘buy’ + *cees* ‘do’ > *kona jees* ‘cause to buy’

5.1.5. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Reflexive Auxiliary

In grammar, reflexivity is a property of syntactic constructs whereby two arguments (actual or implicit) of an action or relation expressed by a single predicate have the same reference. Reflexivity may be expressed by means of reflexive pronouns or reflexive verbs. It is generally claimed that reflexivization in Dravidian languages is manifested by the verbal reflexive verb alone. It is also claimed that that reflexivization in some of the Dravidian languages is manifested by a coreferential pronoun along with a verbal reflexive verb and not by the verbal reflexive verb alone.

5.1.5.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Reflexive Auxiliary in Tamil

The verb *koL* ‘have, take’ following past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb. But reflexivity (acting on oneself) may not be the central notion inherent in this form. Reflexivity need not be marked always by the auxiliary verb (Lehaman 1991: 359-362). With certain verbs probably with the support of the reflexive pronoun (*tanne*) *koL* denotes reflexivity.

kumaar tan-ait taanee mecc-i-koN-T-aan
kumar oneself-acc onself-emp praise-pstpar-take-pst-3sm
‘Kumra praised himself’

avaL tan-ait-taan-ee taNTi-ttu-kkoN-T-aaL
she oneself-acc-onself-emp punish-pstpar-take-pst-3sf
‘She punished herself’

The verb *koL* is grammaticalized to mean that the action denoted by the main verb is performed by the subject for his/her/their own benefit.

avan nari uLLee var-aa-mal paar-ttu-kkoNTaan
he jackal inside come-neg-par see-paspar-take-past-3sm
'He watched so that the jackal did not come inside'

avaL kuzantaiy-ai naRaakap paar-ttu-kkoN-T-aaL
she child-acc well see-pstpar-take-past-3sf
'She looked after the child well'

5.1.5.2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Reflexive Auxiliary in Malayalam

In Malayalam, the reflexivity (acting on oneself) often is expressed by the reflexive pronoun (*tannattaane* 'myself').

avan tannattaane aTiccu
he him-self-acc-himself-emp beat-pst
'He beat himself'

The verb *koLLu* 'have, take' grammaticalized as auxiliary verb occurs after past participle form of the main verb. The auxiliary verb *koLLu* 'have' inflected for *-um* (*koLLu+um* > *koLLum*) which may be clicized into *oLLum* brings out the meaning 'one self'. Similarly the form *koLLu+aak-um* (have-become-FUT) which is clicized (by phonetic erosion) into *koLLaam* which again is clicized into *ooLaam* also brings out the meaning 'myself'.

njaan (tanne) kunjine nook-i-koLL-aam
I (myself) child-ACC see-ADVP-have-become-FUT
'I myself will look after the child'

njaan (tanne) ii jooli ceyt-oLL-aam
I myself work do-ADVP-have-FUT
'I myself will do this work'

5.1.5.3. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Reflexive Auxiliary in Kannada

In Kannada, the verb *koL* 'take' grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb occurs with the past participle form of the main verb with meaning that the action denoted by the main verb was performed by the subject for his/her/their own benefit (Sridhar 1990: 232).

nari yuktiy-inda muule haaris-koN-Di-tu

fox cleverness-inst bone snatch-reflex-pst-3sn
'The fox snatched the bone (for itself)'

The verb *aaDu* 'play is grammaticalized into an auxiliary verb expressing 'competitive' (or 'antagonistic')

5.1.5.4. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Reflexive Auxiliary in Telugu

In Telugu, the reflexivity (acting on oneself) is formed in Telugu by adding the verb *kon* 'take' which is grammaticalized to denote reflexivity to the main verb. Subbarao and Saxena argue that reflexivization in Telugu is manifested by a coreferential pronominal + a verbal reflexive and not by the verbal reflexive alone.

kamala tannu (tannu) tiTT-u-kon-n-adi
Kamala herself blame-pstpar-take-pst-3sf
'Kamala blamed herself'

The verb *kon* 'take' is grammaticalized into an auxiliary verb when added to the main verb giving the sense 'do something for oneself', 'do something by one's own volition', etc. (Krishnamurti & Gwynn, 1986: 207).

waLLu maaTLaaDu-koN-Tunn-aaru
they speak-take-pres-3phu
'They are talking among themselves'

aayana waNTa ceesu-koN-T-aaDu
he cooking do-take-fut-3sm
'He will cook for himself'

aame paNDu-lu ammu-kon-n-adi
she fruit-pl sell-take-pst-3sf
'She sold fruit (for her benefit)'

The verb *kon* is used to denote reciprocal action too (Krishnamurti & Gwynn, 1986: 208).

koTTu-kon 'beat each other'
taguwulaaDu-kon 'fight with each other'
poDucu-kon 'stab each other'

5.1.6. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Attitudinal Auxiliaries

Stever (1983:417) proposed the category of attitude for Tamil. It is characterized by the speaker's subjective evaluation, which is speaker's personal opinion of the event expressed by the main clause (Lehmann, 1993:222).

5.1.6.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Attitudinal Auxiliaries in Tamil

Tamil grammaticalizes the verbs such as *tolai* 'loose', *pooTu* 'put', *taLLu* 'push', *kiTa* 'lie', *kizi* 'tear', *poo* 'go' and *tiir* 'finish' occurring after the past participle form of the main verb as attitudinal auxiliary verbs to express different types of attitude of the speaker.

Grammaticalization of Verbs	Example
The verb <i>tolai</i> 'miss' grammaticalized as an attitudinal auxiliary verb denotes the negative attitude of the speaker, that is the speaker's antipathy towards the event expressed by the past participle clause (Annamalai 1982: 7, Lehmann 1993: 222).	<i>raajaa avaL-iTam uNmai-y-aic coll-it tolai-tt-aan</i> Raja she-with truth-acc say-pstpar loose-pst-3sm 'Raja told her the truth (against the speaker's wish)'
The verb <i>pooTu</i> 'put' grammaticalized as an attitudinal auxiliary verb denotes the speaker's opinion that the subject shows lack of care towards the object of the event expressed by the past participle clause form of main verb (Annamalai 1982: 68, Lehman 1993: 222). <i>iTu</i> 'put' is synonymous to <i>pooTu</i> when used in this context.	<i>raajaa vaacal katav-ai muuT-ip pooT-T-aan/i-T-T-aan</i> Raja entrance door close-pstpar put-pst-3sm 'Raja closed the entrance door carelessly'
The verb <i>taLLu</i> 'push' grammaticalized as an attitudinal auxiliary verb denotes that the event expressed by the past participle clause occurs in an accelerated phase (Steever 1983: 471, Lehmann 1993: 222).	<i>avaL kuzantaikaL-ai peR-Ru taLL-in-aaL</i> she children-acc deliver-pstpar push-pst-3sf 'She delivered the children successively'
The verb <i>kiTa</i> 'lie' grammaticalized as an attitudinal auxiliary verb denotes the durative or progressive aspect of a state expressed by the past participle clause and also indicating the speaker's disapproval of the state (Lehmann 1993: 223).	<i>anta kaTai puuTT-i kiTa-kkiR-atu</i> that shop close-pstpar lie-pres-3sn 'The shop is kept locked'
The verb <i>kizi</i> 'tear' is grammaticalized as an attitudinal auxiliary verb expresses the speaker's negative opinion that the subject of the past	<i>raajaa paaTTu paaT-ik kizi-tt-aan</i> Raja song sing-ADVP tear-PAST-3PMS 'Raja sang a song' which means 'Raja

participle clause is incapable of performing or accomplishing the action concerned (Lehmann 1993: 223).	will not be able to sing a song'
The verb <i>poo</i> 'go' is grammaticalized as an attitudinal auxiliary verb expresses the negative attitude of the speaker towards the change of state: the change is negative, unexpressed, bad, or undesirable (Steever 1983: 495).	<i>kaNkaNnaaTi uTai-ntu pooy-iR-Ru</i> spectacle break-ADVP go-PAST-3PNS 'the spectacle got broken'
The verb <i>tiir</i> 'exhaust' grammaticalized as an attitudinal auxiliary verb emphasizes that the subject of the main verb in past participle form performs the action exhaustively to his/her satisfaction (Steever 1983: 487, Lehmann 1993: 223).	<i>raajaa avaL-ai tiTT-i tiir-tt-aan</i> Raja she-ACC scold-ADVP finish-PAST-3MS 'Raja scolded her exhaustively (and satisfy himself)

5.1.6.2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Attitudinal Auxiliaries in Malayalam

Malayalam grammaticalizes the verbs *iTu* 'put, drop', *taLLu* 'push', *kiTakku* 'lie', *pooku* 'go' and *tiirku* 'finish' concatenated to the past participle form of the main verb as attitudinal auxiliary verbs to express different shades of attitude of the speaker.

Grammaticalization of Verbs	Example
The verb <i>kiTakku</i> 'lie' concatenated to the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an attitudinal auxiliary verb to express the sense that state of action denoted by the past participle clause is against the speaker's expectation of the state.	<i>viiTu puuTT-i kiTakk-unnu</i> house lock-pstpar lie-pres 'The house is locked (against the expectation of the speaker)'
The verb <i>taLLu</i> 'push' occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an attitudinal auxiliary verb to express the sense that the event expressed by the past participle clause occurs in an accelerated phase (Rajasekharan Nair 1990: 115-117)	<i>aaSaari meeSakaL uNTaakk-i taLL-i</i> carpenter tables make-pstpar puhs-pst 'The carpenter made the tables (intensively)'
The verb <i>pooku</i> 'go' is occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an attitudinal auxiliary verb expresses the negative attitude of the speaker towards the change of state: the change is negative, unexpressed, bad, or undesirable	<i>ayaaL mariccu pooyi</i> he die-pstpar go-pst 'He died (against the expectation of the speaker)' <i>pensil muRi-njnju pooyi</i> pencil break-pstpar go-pst The pencil is broken (against the

	expectation of the speaker)’
The verb <i>tiirku</i> 'exhaust' grammaticalized as an attitudinal auxiliary verb expresses the sense that the subject of the main verb in past participle form performs the action exhaustively to his/her satisfaction .	avan veLLam ellam kuTi-ccu tiirttu he water all drink-pstpar exhaust-ed 'He exhausted the water by drinking it'

5.1.6.3. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Attitudinal Auxiliaries in Kannada

The data is not available for the grammaticalization of verbs into attitudinal auxiliaries in Kannada.

5.1.6.4. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Attitudinal Auxiliaries in Telugu

The data is not available for the grammaticalization of verbs into attitudinal auxiliaries in Telugu.

5.1.7. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Non-attitudinal Auxiliaries

Lehmann (1992) classifies certain number of auxiliaries as non-attitudinal verbs. According to him they cannot be easily assigned to any one of the grammatical categories discussed so far. Therefore he has assigned them negatively as non-attitudinal auxiliary verbs. They express that the subject of the action denoted by the main verb performs the action willingly, unwillingly, for future purpose or for the benefit of others and so forth (Lehmann, 1993:225).

5.1.7.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Non-attitudinal Auxiliaries in Tamil

In Tamil, the verbs such as *koL* 'hold', *azu* 'cry', *paar* 'see', *vai* 'keep' and *koTu* 'give' concatenated after the past participle form of the main verb are grammaticalized as non-attitudinal auxiliary verbs (Lehman 1993: 225).

Grammaticalization of Verbs	Example
The verb <i>koL</i> 'take' occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb to express the 'self-benefactive' sense that the benefit of action denoted by the main verb goes to the subject of the main verb. Lehmann (1993) opines that it express the concept of volition (Lehman 1993: 225). Paramasivam (1979:33, 1983: 247) opines that <i>koL</i> expresses that the event denoted	<i>raajaa caTTaiy-ai poT-Tu koN-T-aan</i> Raja shirt-acc wear-pstpar-take-pst-3sm 'Raja worn the shirt (for his own benefit) <i>raajaa tanait taanee taNTi-ttu-koN-T-aan</i> Raja himself punish-psppar-take-pst-3sm 'Raja punished himself'

by the adverbial clause occurs on its own. The choice of interpretation is contextual.	
The verb <i>azu</i> ‘weep’ occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb to express the sense that the subject of the main verb performs the action unwillingly (Lehman 1993: 226).	<i>raajaa avaLu-kku kaTan koTu-ttu azu-t-aan</i> Raja she-DAT loan give-ADVP cry-PAS-3PMS ‘Raja gave her loan unwillingly’
The verb <i>paar</i> ‘see’ occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb to expresses the sense that the subject of the main verb attempts or tires to asses or judge the action denoted by the main verb (Annamalai 1982: 52, Lehmann 1993: 226).	<i>avan paza-ttai caappiT-Tup paar-tt-aan</i> he fruit-ACC eat-ADVP see-PAST-3PMS ‘He ate the fruit (to see whether it is ripe and palatable)’
The verb <i>vai</i> ‘keep’ occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb to express the future benefit or purpose of action denoted by the main verb (Annamalai 1982:62, Lehmann 1993: 227).	<i>avan jannl-ai tiRa-ntu vai-tt-aan</i> he window open-ADVP keep-PAST-3PMS ‘He kept the window open (so that the wind can flow in)
The verb <i>koTu</i> ‘give’ occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb to express the sense that the benefit of the action denoted by the main verb goes to the person realized as indirect object of the main verb (marked with dative case) (Annamalai 1982: 77, Lehmann 1993: 227).	<i>raajaa avaL-ukkuk kaTitam ezut-ik koTu-tt-aan</i> Raja she-DAT letter write-ADVP give-PAST-3PMS ‘Raja wrote letter for her’

5.1.7.2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Non-attitudinal Auxiliaries in Malayalam

In Malayalam, the verbs such *nookku* ‘see’, *vaykku* ‘keep’ and *koTuku* ‘give’ concatenated after the past participle form of the main verb are grammaticalized as non-attitudinal auxiliaries.

Grammaticalization of Verbs	Example
The verb <i>nookku</i> occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb to express the meaning that the action mentioned by the main verb was/is/will	<i>avan paza-tte kazi-ccu nook-i</i> he fruit-acc eat-pstpar see-past ‘He ate the fruit (so as to find out its ripeness, taste, etc.) <i>avaL paaT-aan nook-i</i>

be attempted or tried (Asher and Kumari, 1997:347). Similar sense will be realized when <i>nookku</i> is concatenated with the infinitive form marked with <i>-aan</i> . Both combinations give different shades of meaning (Rajasekharan Nair 1990:92-98).	she sing-pstpar seek-pst 'She tried to sing'
The verb <i>vaykku</i> 'keep' concatenated to the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb to express the sense that the future benefit or purpose of action denoted by the main verb goes to the person realized as indirect object of the main verb (marked with dative case).	njaan avaL-kkə veNTi bhakshaNam cey-tu va-ccu I she-dat for food do-pstpar keep-past 'I prepared food for her'
The verb <i>koTu</i> 'give' and <i>taru</i> 'give' concatenated to the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as auxiliary verbs to express the sense that the action denoted by the main verb goes to the person realized as indirect object (marked with dative case) (Asher and Kumari 1997:348)	avan avaL-kku paTam vara-ccu-koTu-ttu he she-dat picture draw-pstpar-give-pst 'He draw the picture for her' avaL eni-kku malayalam pathippi-ccu-ta-nnu she I-dat Malayalam teach-pspar-give-pst 'She taught me Malayalam'

5.1.7.3. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Non-attitudinal Auxiliaries in Kannada

In Kannada, the verbs such as *koDu* 'give', *koLLu* 'take', *aaDu* 'play' and *nooDu* 'see' occurring after the past participle form of the main verb are grammaticalized as non-attitudinal auxiliary verbs. Schiffman (1984: 85-87) refers *koTu*, *koLLu*, *aaDu* and *nooDu* as aspect markers. Sridhar (1990: 230) lists *koDu*, *koLLu*, *aaDu* *nooDu* as vectors under aspect. Following Lehman's classification of auxiliaries into aspect, attitudinal and non-attitudinal, they have been treated under non-attitudinal auxiliary verbs.

Grammaticalization of Verbs	Example
Benefactive: The verb <i>koDu</i> 'give' occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalised as a non-attitudinal auxiliary verb to express the 'benefactive' sense that the action denoted by the main verb is meant for the benefit of somebody (realized in dative form) Schiffman (1984:	Raaju ond kate berda [Raju one story write-pst-3sm] 'Raju wrote a story' Raaju ond kate berd-koTTa [Raju one story write-give-pst-3sm] 'Raju wrote a story for someone'

85).	
<p>Self benefactive: The verb <i>koLLu</i> ‘have/take’ occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a non-attitudinal auxiliary to express the ‘self-benefactive’ sense that the action denoted by the main verb is meant for the benefit of the subject itself (Schiffman, 1984: 85).</p>	<p>avanu baTTe oge-du-koN-D-a he clothes wash-pstpar-have-pst-3sm ‘He washed the clothes (for himself) kuut-koLLi sit-have-past sit-by yourself sit down (seat yourself/selves)’ kay-kaal toL-koLLi hand-leg wash-have-pst ‘wash your hands and feet’</p>
<p>Reciprocity: The verb <i>aaDu</i> ‘play’ occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a non-attitudinal auxiliary verb to express the meaning ‘act reciprocally’ (Sridhar 1990: 276); in most cases repeated play full or nervous action (Ramanujan 1993).</p>	<p>hoDe ‘hit’ + aaDu > hoDedaaDu ‘hit each other’ earcy ‘splash’ + aaDu ‘play’ > eracaaDu ‘splash each other’ sainikaru viiraaveeSadinad kaaD-aaD-ida-ru soldiers heroism-with fight-pstpar-play-pst-3pl ‘The soldiers fought (with each other) heroically’</p>
<p>Attemptive: The verb <i>nooDu</i> ‘see’ occurring after the past participle form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a non-attitudinal auxiliary verb to express the sense ‘attemptive, experimentive’ with the implication that the action denoted by the main verb is attemptive or experimentive in nature (Shiffmann 1984: 85).</p>	<p>avan kaafi kuDid-nooDda he coffee drink-pstpar-see-pst-3s ‘He drank coffee (to find its taste)’ mane kaTTinooDu maduve maaDi-nooDu house build-pstpar-see-2s marriage</p>

5.1.7.4. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Non-attitudinal Auxiliaries in Telugu

In Telugu, the verbs *cuusu* ‘see’ and *iccu* ‘give’ concatenated with the infinitive form of the main verb are grammaticalized as non-attitudinal auxiliary verbs, the details of which are tabulated below.

Grammaticalization of Verbs	Example
The verb <i>cuuc</i> ‘see’ concatenated with the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a non-attitudinal auxiliary to express the sense ‘trying or attempting to perform the action denoted by the main verb’ (Viswanathan Kasturi.	<p>koTTa juus ‘try to beat’ tinna juus ‘try to eat’ aDuga juus ‘try to ask’</p>

2007:251) .	
The verb <i>icc</i> ‘give’ concatenated with the infinitive form of the main verb is grammaticalized as a non-attitudinal auxiliary to express the meaning ‘allow or let’ (Viswanathan Kasturi. 2007:251).	tin-an-icc- ‘allow to eat’ paaD-an-icc- ‘allow to sing’ raay-an- icc- ‘allow to write’

5.2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Postpositions

The inflected forms of verbs denote different word category or functional category due to historical meaning change. The Dravidian languages such as Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu grammaticalize a number of verbs into postpositions. The postpositions are historically the inflected forms of verbs. The grammaticalization of the verbal forms into postpositions is the effect of the verbal forms and the case markers they govern. The postpositions may differ by the preceding case markers.

5.2.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Postpositions in Tamil

The verbal participle forms of the verbs *iru* ‘be, sit’, *oTTu* ‘stick’, *kuRi* ‘aim’, *koL* ‘take’, *cuRRu* ‘circulate’, *tavir* ‘avoid’, *taaNTu* ‘cross’, *paRRu* ‘seize’, *paar* ‘see’, *viTu* ‘leave’, *vai* ‘put’, *nookku* ‘see’ *pintu* ‘lag behind’ and *muntu* ‘precede’, the infinitive forms of the verbs *tavir* ‘avoid’, *ozi* ‘cease’, *pool* ‘seem’ and *viTu* ‘leave’ occurring after the case marked noun forms are grammaticalized as postpositions as explained in the following table (Lehmann 1993: 120).

Grammaticalizaion of Verbs into postpositions	Examples
The past participle form of the verb <i>iru</i> ‘be’ occurring after the locative case marker <i>-il</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>iruntu</i> ‘from’	1. avan viiTT-il-irutuntu veLiyeeR-in-aan. he house-loc from go out-past-3sm ‘He went out from the house’ 2. avan viiTT-il iru-ntu va-nt-aan. he house-loc come-advp come-past-3pm ‘He was in the house (habitually/ continuously)’
The past participle form of the verb <i>oTTu</i> ‘stick’ occurring after the accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> is grammaticalized in as postposition <i>oTTi</i> ‘about’	avan anta talaipp-ai oTT-i peec-in-aan He that title-acc stick-advp talk-past-3sm ‘He talked about that title’ avan poosTar oTT-i pizai-kiR-aan he poster stick-advp survive-pres-3sm ‘He survives by pasting posters’
The past participle form of the verb <i>kuRi</i> ‘aim’ occurring after the accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> is	<i>avan avaL-aik kuRi-ttup peec-in-aa</i> ‘He talked about her’ <i>avan avaL colvat-aik kuRi-ttu va-nt-aan</i>

grammaticalized as postposition <i>kuRittu</i> ‘about’	he she saying-ACC note down-advp come-past-3sm ‘He was noting down what she was telling’
The past participle form of the verb <i>koL</i> ‘have’ occurring after the accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> ~ ϕ is grammaticalized as postposition <i>koNTu</i> ‘by (means of)’	avan katti koN-Tu pazam veT-in-aan he knife with fruit cut-pst-3pms ‘He cut the fruit with a knife’ avan pencil-aic ciiv-ik koN-Tu peec-in-aan he pencil-acc sharpen-pstpar hold-advp speak-pst-3sm ‘He was speaking having sharpening the pencil’
The past participle form of the verb <i>cuRRu</i> ‘go around’ occurring after the accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>cuRRi</i> ‘around’.	avan viiTT-aic cuRR-i marangkaL niR-kinR-ana he house-acc surround-advp trees stand-pres-3pn ‘Trees are standing around his house’ avan koovil-aic cuRR-i va-nt-aan he temple-acc surround-advp come-past-3sm ‘He came surrounding the temple’
The past participle form of the verb <i>tavir</i> ‘avoid’ occurring after the accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>tavirttu</i> ‘except’	avanai tavirttu elloorum viruntukku vantana he-acc except all party came-they ‘All except him attended the party’
The past participle form of the verb <i>taanTu</i> ‘cross’ occurring after the accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>taanTi</i> ‘across’	en viiTTait taaNTi koovil irukkiRatu my house-acc across temple be-pres-3sn ‘There is a temple after my house’
The past participle form of the verb the verb <i>paRRu</i> ‘seize’ occurring after the accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>paRRi</i> ‘about’.	avan avaL-aip paRRi peec-in-aan he she-acc about talk-pst-3sm ‘He talked about her’
The past participle form of the verb the verb <i>paar</i> ‘see’ occurring after the accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>paarttu</i> ‘towards’	avan viiTT-aip paarttu naTa-nt-aan he house-acc towards walk-pst-3sm ‘He walked towards the house’
The past participle form of the verb <i>viTu</i> ‘leave’ occurring after the accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>viTTu</i> ‘from’	avaL viiTT-ai viTTu cen-R-aaL She house-acc from go-pst-3sf ‘She went from the house’
The past participle form of the verb <i>vai</i> ‘put’ occurring after the	avaL kamp-ai vaittu paamp-ai aTittaal she stick-acc snake beat-pst-3sf

accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> is grammaticalized in its past participle form as postposition <i>vaittu</i> ‘with’	‘She beat the snake with a stick’
The past participle form of the verb <i>nookku</i> ‘look at’ occurring after the accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>nookki</i> ‘towards’.	avan avaL-ai nook-i naTa-nt-aan he she-acc look at-advp walk-past-3pms ‘He walked towards her’ avan avaL mukatt-ai nook-i ciri-tt-aan he her face-acc look at-advp smile-past-3pms ‘He smiled looking after her face’
The past participle form of the verb <i>pintu</i> ‘be behind’ occurring after the dative case marker <i>-ku</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>pinti</i> ‘after’.	avaL enakkup pinti aluvalaka-ttiRku va-nt-aaL she I-dat after office-dat come-pst-3sf ‘She came to office after me’
The past participle form of the verb <i>muntu</i> ‘precede’ occurring after the dative case marker <i>-ku</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>munti</i> ‘before’	avan avaL-ukku munt-i anku va-nt-aan he she-dat before there come-pst-3sm ‘He came there before her’
The infinitive form of verb <i>tavir</i> ‘avoid’ occurring after the accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>tavira</i> ‘except’	avan-ait tavira elloorum viruntu-kku va-nt-aarkaL he-acc except all pary-dat come-pst-3phu ‘All except him attended the party’
The infinitive form of the verb <i>ozi</i> ‘cease’ is occurring after the nominative form of a noun is grammaticalized as postposition <i>oziya</i> ‘except’	avan oziya elloorum viruntu-kku va-nt-aarkaL he except all pary-dat come-pst-3phu ‘All except him attended the party’
The infinitive form of the verb <i>pool</i> ‘like’ occurring after the accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>poola</i> ‘like’	avaL avanaip poola nallavaL she he-acc like good-she ‘She is as good as him’
The infinitive form of the verb <i>viTu</i> ‘leave’ occurring after the accusative case marker <i>-ai</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>viTa</i> ‘than’.	avan avaL-ai viT-a nall-avan he she-acc leave-inf good-3sm ‘He is better than her’ avan avaLai viT-a virump-av-illai he she-acc leave-inf like-inf-not

	‘He does want to leave her’
The infinitive form of the verb <i>kuuTu</i> ‘assemble’ occurring after the nominative form of a noun is grammaticalized as postposition <i>kuuTa</i> ‘along with’	avan avaL kuuT-a va-nt-aan he she join-inf come-past-3ms ‘He came with her’ avan avarkaL-uTan kuuT-a virump-in-aan He they-with join-inf want-past-3pms ‘He wanted to gather together with them’

5.2.2. Grammaticalization verbs into Postpositions in Malayalam Verbs

The past participle forms of the verbs *nilkku* ‘stand’, *kuuTu* ‘gather’, *vakku* ‘keep’, *koLLu* ‘have, take’, *paRRu* ‘catch’, *kuRikku* ‘note down’, *cuRRu* ‘go around’ and the inflected forms of the verbs *kuuTu* ‘gather’ *illa* ‘be not’ are grammaticalized as post positions in Malayalam as explained in the following table.

Grammaticalization of verbs into Postpositions	Example
The past participle form of the verb <i>nilkku</i> ‘stand’ occurring after the locative case marker –il is grammaticalized as a postposition <i>ninum</i> ‘from’	avan viiTT-il ninnum vannu [he house-loc from came] He came from home
The past participle form of the verb <i>kuuTu</i> ‘gather’ occurring after the case marker – <i>ooTu</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>kuuTi</i> ‘with’.	avaL santooSattooTu kuuTi paRanjnu she happiness-with said’ ‘She told with happiness’
The past participle form of the verb <i>vakku</i> ‘keep’ occurring after the accusative marker – <i>ai ~ φ</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>vaccu</i> ‘with’.	avan vaTi vaccu paTTi-ye aTiccu [he stick with dog-acc beat] He beat the dog with stick’
The verb <i>koLLu</i> ‘get’ is grammaticalized in its past participle form as postposition <i>koNTu</i> ‘with’.	avan vaTi koNTu paSuvi-ne aTiccu [he stick with cow-acc beat] ‘He beat the cow with stick’
The past participle form of the verb <i>paRRu</i> ‘catch’ occurring after the accusative marker – <i>ai ~ φ</i> is grammaticalized as <i>paRRi</i> ‘about’	avaL avane paRRi avar-iTattu paRanjnj she he-acc about they-with told ‘She told them about him’
The verb <i>kuRikku</i> ‘note down’ is grammaticalized in its past participle form as postposition <i>kiRiccu</i> ‘about’	avaL avan-e kuRiccu avar-iTattu paRanjnj she he-acc about they-with told ‘She told them about him’
The past participle form of the verb <i>cuRRu</i> ‘go around’ occurring after the accusative marker – <i>ai ~ φ</i> is grammaticalized as postposition <i>cuRRi (~ cuRRum)</i> ‘around’	avan viTT-ine cuRRi/cuRRum maram vaLartti he house-gen around tree grew He grew trees around the house

The past participle form of the verb <i>nookku</i> ‘see’ occurring after the accusative marker – ai ~ φ is grammaticalized as postposition <i>nookki</i> ‘toward’	avan avaL-e nookki vannu he she-acc toward came ‘He came toward her’
The inflected form of the verb <i>kuuTu</i> ‘gather’ occurring after the genitive case suffix is grammaticalized as postposition <i>kuuTe</i> ‘with’	avaL avan-Re kuuTe vannu she he-gen with came ‘She came with him’
The negative past participle form of the verb <i>illa</i> ‘be not’ occurring after the nominative form of a noun is grammaticalized as postposition <i>illaate</i> ‘without’	avan paNam illaatee kashTapaTunnu he money without suffering ‘He is suffering without money’
The negative participle form of the verb <i>kuuTu</i> ‘gather’ occurring after the nominative form of a noun is grammaticalized as postposition <i>kuuTaate</i> ‘in addition’	avan kuuTaate avaL-um vannu he in addition she-also came ‘She also came in addition to him’

5.2.3. Grammaticalization verbs into Postpositions of Kannada

Several postpositions in Kannada are derived from verbs. In the majority of instances, the past verbal participle form is used as postpositions (Sridhar, 1990: 282). Postpositions normally govern the genitive case (Sridhar 1990: 93).

Grammaticalization of verbs into Postpositions	Example
The past participle form of the verb <i>biDu</i> ‘leave’ is occurring after the accusative suffix is grammaticalized as postposition <i>biTTu</i> ‘without’. (Sridhar 1990: 93, 282).	aake tanna naayi-nannu biTTu elliyuu hoogu-v-ud-illa she her dog-acc leave-pstpar where-inc go-npst-ger-neg ‘She doesn’t go anywhere without her dog’
The past participle form of the verb <i>aagu</i> ‘become’ occurring after the dative suffix is grammaticalized as postposition <i>aagi</i> ‘for’ (Sridhar 1990: 93, 282).	aata seeDigaagi uurannee suTTa he revenge-dat-for town-acc-emp burn-pat-3sm ‘He burned the whole town out of revenge’
The past participle form of the verb <i>hiDi</i> ‘hold’ occurring after the case maker is grammaticalized as postposition <i>hiDidu</i> ‘starting from’ (Sridhar 1990: 93, 282).	hiDidu ‘starting from’
The past participle form of the verb <i>suttu</i> ‘encircle’ occurring after the case maker is grammaticalized as postposition <i>sutta</i> ‘around’ (Sridhar 1990: 93, 282).	sutta ‘around’
The past participle form of the verb the	avanu guddali togoNDu nela adeda

compound verb <i>togo</i> ‘take’ + <i>koL</i> ‘have’ occurring after the accusative case maker is grammaticalized as postposition <i>togokoNTu</i> ‘with’.	[he space with ground dig-pst-3sm] ‘He dug the ground with a spade’
The negative participle form of the verb <i>illa</i> ‘be not’ occurring after the nominative form of a noun is grammaticalized as postposition <i>illade</i> ‘without’.	avanu aayudhav-illade Satruv-annu soolisdida [he weapon-without enemy-acc defeat-pst-3sm] ‘He defeated the enemy without (any) weapon’
The past participle form of the verb <i>seerisu/seersu</i> ‘cause to join’ is grammaticalized in as postposition <i>seerisi/seersi</i> ‘including’	nannu and seersi koTTe I it together give-1s ‘I gave it (all) together’
The past participle form of the verb <i>nooDu</i> ‘see’ occurring after the accusative suffix is ‘grammaticalized as postposition <i>nooDi</i> ‘toward/in the direction of’.	naanu avarn nooDi hooDe I he towards go-pst-1s ‘I went toward him’

5.2.4. Grammaticalization Verbs into Postpositions in Telugu

The postpositions such *nunci/ninci* ‘from’, *kuurci*, *gurinci* ‘about’, *baTi* ‘because of’ are originally inflected forms of the verbs *uNTu* ‘be’, *kuurcu/gurincu* ‘aim’ an *paTTu* ‘experience’ respectively. These verbs are grammaticalized as postpositions historically (Krishnamurti and Gwynn, 1986:322).

Grammaticalization of verbs into Postpositions	Example
The past participle form of the verb <i>uNDu</i> ‘be’ occurring after the nominative form of a noun is grammaticalized as postposition <i>nuNDi</i> ‘from’ > <i>nunci/ninci</i> ‘from’ (Krishnamurti and Gwynn, 1986:322)	aayana laNDan-nunci wacceEDu [he London-form came] ‘He came from London’ reNTu gaNTala-nunci waana kurustunnddi [two hour-from rain pouring] ‘It has been raining for two hours’
The past participle form of the verb * <i>kuurcu</i> ‘aim’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun is grammaticalized as postposition <i>kuurci</i> ‘about’. The past participle form of the verb * <i>gurincu</i> ‘aim’ occurring after the accusative form a noun is grammaticalized as postposition <i>gurinci</i> ‘about’ (Krishnamurti and Gwynn, 1986: 323)	waaLLu nannu-gurinci/guurci maaTLaaDukoNTunnaaru [he I-about talking] ‘They are talking about me’
The past participle form of the verb	mii maaTal (a) baTTi aayanna sangati maaku

* <i>paTTu</i> ‘experience’ occurring after the case form is grammaticalized as postposition <i>baTTi</i> ‘because of’.	telisindi [we words because of his matter us knew] ‘We knew about him because of your words’
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5.3. Grammaticalization of Verbs into 'izers'

Under this heading we will be discussing about grammaticalization of verbs into adjectivalizers and adverbializers and also about the grammaticalization of the verb into verbalizers.

5.3.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Adjectivalizers and Adverbializers

The verbs in Dravidian languages have been grammaticalized as adjectivalizers and adverbializers.

5.3.1.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Adjectivalizers and Adverbializers in Tamil

In Tamil, the adjectival participle form (*aa-n-a*) of verb *aaku* ‘become’ is grammaticalized as adjectivalizer. *aana* forms adjectives with certain set of abstract nouns. Similarly infinitive form (*aaka*) of the verb is grammaticalized as adverbializer. *aaka* forms adverbs with certain set of abstract nouns. The past participle form *enRu* of the verb *en* ‘say’ (*en* + pstpr >*enRu*) also is grammaticalized as adverbializer and forms adverbs with certain onomatopoeic words as illustrated in the table given below.

Grammaticalization of verbs into adjectivalizer and adverbializer	Example
The verb <i>aaku</i> ‘become’ inflected as adjectival participle form <i>aa-n-a</i> (become-past-adjpar) is grammaticalized as adjectivalier. The verbal form <i>aana</i> forms adverbs with certain set of nouns.	<i>azaku</i> ‘beauty’ + <i>aana</i> > <i>azakaana</i> ‘beautiful’ <i>eLitu</i> ‘simple one’ + <i>aana</i> > <i>eLitaana</i> ‘easy’
The verb <i>aaku</i> ‘become’ inflected as infinitive form <i>aaka</i> is grammaticalized as adverbializer. The verbal form <i>aaka</i> forms adverbs with certain set of abstract nouns.	<i>azaku</i> ‘beauty’ + <i>aaka</i> > <i>azakaaka</i> ‘beautifully’ <i>eLitu</i> ‘simple one’ + <i>aaka</i> > <i>eLitaaka</i> ‘easily’
The verb <i>en</i> ‘say’ inflected as adverbial participle form <i>enRu</i> is grammaticalized as adverbializer. <i>enRu</i> forms adverbs with certain onomatopoeic nouns	<i>toTiir</i> + <i>enRu</i> > <i>tiTiirenRu</i> ‘suddenly’ <i>paTaar</i> + <i>enRu</i> > <i>paTaarenRu</i> ‘producing sound’

The form *aana* and *aaka* resort to various grammatical functions which are not discussed here.

5.3.1.2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Adjectivalizers and Adverbializers in Malayalam

The adjectival participle form *aaya* of the verb *aaku* ‘become’ and the adjectival participle form *uLLa* of the verb *uNTə* ‘be’ are grammaticalized as adjectivalizers. They form adjectives when concatenated with a set of nouns. The form *uLLa* acts as an adjectivalizer with abstract nouns, whereas *aaya* functions as adjectivalizer with human nouns.

saundayam ‘beauty’ + uLLa > saundayamuLLa ‘beautiful’
miTukkə ‘cleverness’ + uLLa > miTukkuLLa ‘clever’
niiLam ‘length’ + uLLa > niiLamuLLa ‘long’
pokkam ‘height’ + uLLa > pokkamuLLa ‘tall’
miTukkan ‘clever male person’ + aaya > ‘clever’
sundari ‘beautiful female person’ + aaya > sundariyaaya ‘beautiful’

The past participle form *aayi* of the verb *aaku* ‘become’ is grammaticalized as an adverbial suffix (adverbializer) (Asher and Kumari, 1997:111). The adverbializer *aayi* forms adverbs with a set of nouns.

bhamgi ‘beauty’ + aayi > bhamgiyaayi ‘beautifully’
ghambhiiram ‘majesty’ + aayi > ghambhiiramaayi ‘majestically’
taazma ‘humility’ + aayi > taazmayaayi ‘humbly’
ciitta ‘badness’ + aayi > ciittayaayi ‘badly’

The past participle form *ennə* of the verb *en* ‘say’ is also grammaticalized as adverbializer. The adverbializer *ennə* forms adverbs with certain set of onomatopoeic words.

peTT-ennu ‘suddenly’
paTapaTa-ennu ‘speedily’

5.3.1.3. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Adjectivalizers and Adverbializers in Kannada

The past adjectival participle form *aada* of the verb *aagu* ‘become’ and present adjectival participle form *iroo* of the verb *iru* ‘be’ have been grammaticalized as adjectivalizers in Kannada (Schiffman, 1983: 45).

sundara ‘beauty’ + aada > sundravaada ‘beautiful’
kempu ‘redness’ + aada > kempaada ‘red (inherently)’
kempu ‘redness’ + iroo > kempiroo ‘red (temporarily)’

Some defective verbs can also become adjectives when *aada* is added to them (Schiffman, 1983: 45).

beekku ‘want, need, must’ + aada > beekaada ‘necessry’

The past participle form *aagi* of the verb *aagu* ‘become’ is grammaticalized as adverbializer. It forms adverbs with nouns and in restricted instances with nouns.

nidhaana ‘slowness’ + aagi > nidhaanavaagi ‘slowly’

joor ‘loudness’ + aagi > jooraagi ‘loudly’

anda ‘beauty’ + aagi > andavaagi ‘beautifully’

maaTa ‘cuteness’ + aagi > maaTavaagi ‘cutely’

hosatu ‘new’ + aagi > hosataagi ‘newly’

keTTa ‘bad’ + aagi > keTTadaagi ‘badly’

5.3.1.4. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Adjectivalizers and Adverbializers in Telugu

The past adjectival participle form *ayina/ayna* of the verb *aw* ‘be, become’ is grammaticalized as adjectivalizer (Krishnamurti and Gwynn, 1986:119-120).

andam ‘beauty’ + ayina > andamayina ‘beautiful’

priyam ‘affection’ + ayna > priaymayna ‘dear’

guNDaram ‘roundness’ + ayna > guNDaramayna ‘round’

telupu ‘whiness’ + ayina > telupayina ‘white’

The infinitive form *gaa*, of *aw* ‘be, become’ is grammaticalized as adverbializer in Telugu. Many adverbs are derived from nouns by the addition of *gaa* (Krishnamurti and Gwynn, 1986:271).

aalasyam + gaa > aalasyangaa [delay becoming] ‘late’

mundu+gaa > mundugaa [in front becoming] ‘early’

pedda ‘bid’+ gaa > peddagaa ‘loudly’

baagu ‘nice’ +gaa > baagaa ‘nicely, well’

5.3.2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Verbalizers

A number of verbs have been grammaticalized as verbalizers which combine with nouns to form new verbs. The function of the verbalizers is to verbalize the base. The bases are generally nouns. Even a verb can be compounded with a verbalizing verb to form another verb. It can be stated that there is no productive verbalizing suffix in Tamil. The verbalizing

suffix *-i* which was in use to form verbs from Sanskrit noun stems is no longer in use. Only compounding is extensively used in the formation of verbs in Tamil.

5.3.2.1. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Verbalizers in Tamil

There are thirty nine verbs (Rajendran 2000) which can be claimed to function as verbalizers to form compound verbs from bases. The following table illustrate this claim.

Verbalizers with core meaning	Examples of Compound verbs in which the verbalizers form a part
<i>aTi</i> 'beat'	<i>kaN</i> 'eye' + <i>aTi</i> > <i>kannaTi</i> 'wink'
<i>aTai</i> 'get'	<i>muTivu</i> 'end' + <i>aTai</i> > <i>muTivaTai</i> 'come to an end'
<i>aLi</i> 'give'	<i>paricu</i> 'prize' + <i>aLi</i> > <i>paricaLi</i> 'award'
<i>aaku</i> 'become'	<i>veLi</i> 'outside' + <i>aaku</i> > <i>veLiyaaku</i> 'come out'
<i>aakku</i> 'produce'	<i>cooRu</i> 'cooked rice' + <i>aakku</i> > <i>cooRaakku</i> 'cook rice'
<i>aaTu</i> 'move'	<i>kuttu</i> 'drama' + <i>aaTu</i> > <i>kuttaaTu</i> 'act'
<i>aaTTu</i> 'swing'	<i>ciir</i> 'orderliness' + <i>aaTTu</i> > <i>ciraaTTu</i> 'tend lovingly'
<i>aaRRu</i> 'perform'	<i>paNi</i> 'work' + <i>arru</i> > <i>paNiyarru</i> 'work'
<i>iTu</i> 'put'	<i>paarvai</i> 'look' + <i>iTu</i> > <i>paarvaiyiTu</i> 'inspect'
<i>uRu</i> 'obtain'	<i>keeLvi</i> 'hearsay' + <i>uRu</i> > <i>keeLviyuRu</i> 'get to know'
<i>uRuttu</i> 'trouble'	<i>tunpam</i> 'suffering' + <i>uRuttu</i> > <i>tunpuRuttu</i> 'cause suffering'
<i>uTTu</i> 'give'	<i>ninaivu</i> 'remembrance' + <i>uuTTu</i> > <i>ninaivuuTTu</i> 'remind'
<i>eTu</i> 'take'	<i>ooyvu</i> 'rest' + <i>eTu</i> > <i>ooyveTu</i> 'take rest'
<i>eytu</i> 'obtain'	<i>maraNam</i> 'death' + <i>eytu</i> > <i>maraNameytu</i> 'die'
<i>eel</i> 'accept'	<i>patavi</i> 'position' + <i>eel</i> > <i>pataviyeel</i> 'take office'
<i>eeRu</i> 'rise'	<i>cuuTu</i> 'heat' + <i>eeRu</i> > <i>cuuTeeRu</i> 'become hot'
<i>eRRu</i> 'raise'	<i>veLi</i> 'outside' + <i>eRRu</i> > <i>veLiyeRRu</i> 'expel'
<i>kaTTu</i> 'tie'	<i>iiTu</i> 'compensation' + <i>kaTTu</i> > <i>iiTukaTTu</i> 'make up'
<i>kaaTTu</i> 'show'	<i>aacai</i> 'desire' + <i>kaaTTu</i> 'show' > <i>acaikaaTTu</i> 'lure; tempt'
<i>kuuRu</i> 'say'	<i>puRam</i> 'back' + <i>kuru</i> > <i>puRangkuuRu</i> 'backbite'
<i>koTu</i> 'give'	<i>peeccu</i> 'conversation' + <i>koTu</i> > <i>peeccukkoTu</i> 'initiate a talk'
<i>kol</i> 'get'	<i>toTarpu</i> 'contact' + <i>kol</i> > <i>toTarpu kol</i> 'contact'
<i>cey</i> 'do'	<i>vicaaraNai</i> 'investigation' + <i>cey</i> > <i>vicaaraNai cey</i> 'investigate'
<i>col</i> 'say'	<i>kooL</i> 'lie' + <i>col</i> > <i>kooL col</i> 'tell tale'
<i>taTTu</i> 'pat'	<i>maTTam</i> 'substandard' + <i>taTTu</i> > <i>maTTam taTTu</i> 'degrade'
<i>paTu</i> 'experience'	<i>veTkam</i> 'shyness' + <i>paTu</i> > <i>veTkappaTu</i> 'feel shy'
<i>paTuttu</i> 'cause to experience'	<i>tunpam</i> 'suffering' + <i>paTuttu</i> > <i>tunpappaTuttu</i> 'cause to suffer'
<i>paNnu</i> 'do'	<i>yocanai</i> 'thinking' + <i>paNnu</i> > <i>yocanai paNnu</i> 'think'
<i>paar</i> 'see'	<i>veevu</i> 'spying' + <i>par</i> > <i>veevupar</i> 'spy'
<i>piTi</i> 'catch'	<i>aTam</i> 'obstinacy' + <i>piTi</i> > <i>aTampiTi</i> 'become obstinate'

<i>puri</i> 'do'	<i>maNam</i> 'marriage' + <i>puri</i> > <i>maNampuri</i> 'marry'
<i>peRu</i> 'get'	<i>ooyvu</i> 'rest' + <i>peRu</i> > <i>ooyvu peRu</i> 'retire (from service)'
<i>poo</i> 'go'	<i>cooram</i> 'adultery' + <i>poo</i> > <i>coorampoo</i> 'commit adultery'
<i>pooTu</i> 'drop'	<i>cattam</i> 'sound' + <i>pooTu</i> > <i>cattam pooTu</i> 'shout'
<i>muuTTu</i> 'make'	<i>kopam</i> 'anger' + <i>muuTTu</i> > <i>kopamuttu</i> 'cause anger'
<i>vaa</i> 'come'	<i>valam</i> 'right' + <i>vaa</i> > <i>valamva</i> 'go round'
<i>vaangku</i> 'get'	<i>veelai</i> + <i>vaangku</i> > <i>veelaivaangku</i> 'extract work'
<i>viTu</i> 'leave'	<i>muuccu</i> 'breath' + <i>viTu</i> > <i>muuccuviTu</i> 'breathe'
<i>vai</i> 'keep'	<i>aTaku</i> 'pledge' + <i>vai</i> > <i>aTakuvai</i> 'pledge'

It has to be noted here that all the verbalizing verbs are native Tamil words. Not all the verbs listed above are actually used as verbalizers. The number of compound verbs formed from each verbalizer also varies.

5.3.2.2. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Verbalizers in Malayalam

A set of verbs in Malayalam combines with nouns to form new verbs. Asher and Kumari (1997:401-402) consider them as noun-verb compounds. But they also express their doubts whether to consider the verbal component as being lexical or grammatical (Asher and Kumari (1997:401).

Verbalizer with core meaning	Examples of NV compound verbs
<i>aTikku</i> 'beat'	<i>kaN</i> 'eye' + <i>aTikku</i> = <i>kaNNaTikku</i> 'wink'
<i>koTukku</i> 'give'	<i>samaanam</i> 'presentation' + <i>koTukku</i> = <i>sammaanam koTukku</i> 'present'
<i>taru</i> 'give'	<i>sammaanam</i> 'presentation' + <i>taru</i> = <i>sammaanam taru</i> 'present'
<i>aaku</i> 'become'	<i>cooRu</i> 'cooked rice' + <i>aaku</i> = <i>cooRaaku</i> 'be cooked as rice'
<i>aakku</i> 'cook rice'	<i>cooRu</i> + <i>aakku</i> = <i>cooRaakku</i> 'cook rice'
<i>aaTu</i> 'dance/move'	<i>kuuttu</i> 'drama' + <i>aaTu</i> = <i>kuuttaTu</i> 'act'
<i>aaTTu</i> 'shake'	<i>Taar</i> 'cradle' + <i>aaTTu</i> = <i>taaraaTTu</i> 'cradle'
<i>cey</i> 'do'	<i>paNi</i> 'work' + <i>cey</i> = <i>paNi cey</i> 'work'
<i>eTukku</i> 'take'	<i>paNi</i> 'work' + <i>eTukku</i> = <i>paNiyeTukku</i> 'cause to work'
<i>peTu</i> 'suffer'	<i>keeLvi</i> 'question' + <i>paTu</i> = <i>keeLvippeTu</i> 'hear'
<i>uuTTu</i> 'feed'	<i>paal</i> 'milk' + <i>uuTTu</i> = <i>paaluuTTu</i> 'breast feed'
<i>peTu</i> 'suffer'	<i>maraNam</i> 'death' + <i>peTu</i> = <i>maraNappeTu</i> 'die'

<i>eeRRu</i> ‘cause to climb	<i>cuuTu</i> ‘hotness’ + <i>eeRRu</i> = <i>cuuTeeRRu</i> ‘heat’
<i>keTTu</i> ‘tie’	<i>paNam</i> ‘money’ + <i>keTTu</i> = <i>paNam keTTu</i> ‘remit fee/money’
<i>kaaTTu</i> ‘show’	<i>aacai</i> ‘desire’ + <i>kaaTTu</i> = <i>aaca kaaTTu</i> ‘lure’
<i>kuuRu</i> ‘say’	<i>Pin</i> ‘behind’ + <i>kuuRu</i> = <i>pinKuuRu</i> ‘back bite’
<i>paRa</i> ‘say’	<i>kata</i> ‘story’ + <i>paRa</i> = <i>katapaRa</i> ‘lie’, <i>kuRRam paRayuka</i> ‘blame’
<i>taTTu</i> ‘tap’	<i>vaTTaM</i> + <i>taTTu</i> = <i>vaTTaM taTTu</i> ‘degrade’
<i>kuNungngu</i> ‘	<i>naaNam</i> ‘shyness’ = <i>kuNungngu</i> = <i>naaNam kuNungngu</i> ‘be shy’
<i>peTuttu</i> ‘cause to suffer	<i>kaSTam</i> + <i>peTuttu</i> = <i>kaSTappeTuttu</i> ‘cause to suffer’
<i>piTi</i> ‘catach’	<i>maNaM</i> ‘smell’ + <i>piTi</i> = <i>maNaM piTi</i> ‘sniff’
<i>kazi</i> ‘pass away’	<i>vivaahaM</i> ‘marriage + <i>kaziyu</i> = <i>vivaakaM kaziyu</i> ‘to be married’
<i>kazikku</i> ‘case to pass’	<i>vivaahaM</i> ‘marriage’ + <i>kazikkku</i> = <i>vivaakaM kazikku</i> ‘marry
<i>paRRu</i> ‘catch’	<i>aTuttuuN</i> ‘retirement’ = <i>aTuttuuNpaRRu</i> ‘retire’
<i>vaangngku</i> ‘get/buy’	<i>paNi</i> ‘work’ + <i>vaangngu</i> = <i>paNi vaangngu</i> ‘vex’
<i>viTu</i> ‘leave’	‘ <i>cuvaacaM</i> ‘breathe’ = <i>cuvaacam viTu</i> ‘breathe’
<i>Veykku</i> ‘keep’	<i>cooRu</i> ‘cooked rice’ + <i>vey</i> = <i>cooRuveykku</i> ‘prepare rice’
<i>muTakku</i> ‘stop’	<i>paNi</i> ‘work’ + <i>muTakku</i> = <i>paNi muTakku</i> ‘strike’
<i>Valikku</i> ‘pull’	<i>kuurkkam valikkku</i> ‘snore’

5.3.2.3 Grammaticalization of Verbs into Verbalizers in Kannada

Sridhar (1990:288) calls the verbalizers as explicators. He lists the verbs *paDu* ‘experience’, *aagu* ‘become’, *maaDa* ‘make’, *hoogu* ‘go, and *niiDu* ‘give as explicators and gives the examples tabulated below:

Verbalizer with core meaning	Examples of NV compound verbs
<i>aagu</i> ‘become’	<i>maduvu</i> ‘marriage’ + <i>aagu</i> > <i>maduvu aagu</i> ‘get married’ <i>manavarika</i> ‘conviction’ + <i>aagu</i> > <i>manavarika aagu</i> ‘be convinced’
<i>paDu</i> ‘feel’	<i>satoosa</i> ‘hapiness’ + <i>paDu</i> > <i>satoosa paDu</i> ‘rejoice’ <i>dukkha</i> ‘sorrow’ + <i>paDu</i> > <i>dukkha paDu</i> ‘regret’ <i>aase</i> ‘desire’ + <i>paDu</i> > <i>aase paDu</i> ‘carve’

	sukha ‘pleasure’ + paDu > sukha paDu ‘enjoy’
hoogu ‘go’	moosa ‘deceit’ + hoogu > moosa hoogu ‘be deceived’
biiLu ‘fall’	agatya ‘necessity’ + biiLu > agatya biiLu ‘need’
maaDu ‘make’	majaa ‘merry’ + maaDu > majaa maaDu ‘enjoy’ haaLu ‘destruction’ + maaDu > haaLu maaDu ‘destroy’ manassu ‘mind’ maaDu > manassu maaDu ‘make up one’s mind’ tiirmaana ‘decision’ maaDu > tiirmaana maaDu ‘decide, conclude’ biDugaDe ‘independence’ + maaDu > biDugaDa maaDu ‘release’
niiDu ‘give’	kare ‘call’ + niiDu > kare niiDu ‘call forth’
goLisu ‘bring about’	jaari ‘currency’ + goLisu > jaarigoLisu ‘enforce’ muktaaya ‘conclusion’ + goLisu > muktaaya goLisu ‘end’
goLLu ‘become’	muktaaya ‘finishing’ + goLLu > muktaaya goLLu ‘end’

5.3.2.4. Grammaticalization of Verbs into Verbalizers in Telugu

A number of verbs have been grammaticalized as verbalizers in Telugu. Viswanathan Kasturi (2007:268) points out that there are a number of verbs in Telugu that are added to various nouns to derive singular meaning. He has listed a number of such formations. The verbs which form new verbs by combining with nouns can be considered as verbalizers. He has identified a number of them: cees ‘do’, wees ‘throw’, paDu ‘fall’, kalugu ‘happen’, aaDu ‘play’, is(c) ‘give’, peTTu ‘give’, moos ‘carry’, aw ‘become’, raas ‘write’, kaTTu ‘tie’, cuus ‘see, look’, toomu ‘brush’ koTTu ‘beat’, ekku ‘climb’, paTTu ‘catch’, tirugu ‘move, wander’, duwwu ‘comb’, ceDu ‘get spoiled’, calints(c) ‘shake’, poos ‘pour’, cuupu ‘show’, ceppu ‘tell’ and troos ‘push’ are used as verbalizers (. Following table gives the examples (Viswanathan Kasturi, 2007: 268-272).

Verbaliser with core meaning	Examples of NV compound verbs
cees ‘do’	paNi ‘work’+ cees ‘do’> paNicees ‘work’, khuuni ‘murder’ + cees ‘do’> khuuniicees ‘murder’, nidra ‘sleep’ + cees > nidrajees ‘sleep’
wees ‘throw’	muggu ‘decorative design’ + wees > mugg(uw)ees ‘decorate with design’, tuukam ‘weight’ +wees > tuukamwees ‘weigh’, cukka ‘a drop’ + cees > cukk(w)ees ‘drink alcoholic liquids’
paDu ‘fall’	ciikaTi ‘darkness’ + paDu > ciikaTipaDu ‘fall dark’, jabbu ‘sickness’ + paDu > jabbu paDu ‘fall sick’, srama ‘labour’ + paDu > sramapaDu ‘work hard’
kalugu ‘happen’	adrsTam ‘luck’ + kalugu > adrsTam kalugu ‘possess luck’, manci ‘goodness’ > manci kalugu ‘happen good’
aaDu ‘play’	snaanam ‘bath’ + aaDu > snaanamaaDu ‘take bath’, niiLLu ‘water’ +aaDu > niiLLaaDu ‘give birth’, Debbalu ‘blows’ + aaDu > DebbalaaDu ‘quarrel’
is(c) ‘give’	appu ‘loan + is(c) > appis(c) ‘lend’, jawaabu ‘reply’ + is(c)>

	jawaabis(c) ‘reply’
peTTu ‘put, keep’	appu ‘loan’+ peTTu > appupeTTu ‘lend’, niiLLu ‘wanter’ + peTTu > niiLLupeTTu ‘water’, kaafi ‘coffee’ + peTTu > kaafipeTTu ‘prepare coffee’
moos ‘carry’	munDa ‘widow’ + moos > munDamoos ‘become widow, loose everything’
aw ‘become’	payaNam ‘journey’ + aw > payaNamaw ‘get ready for travel’, nayam ‘cure’ + aw > nayamaw ‘be cured’
raas ‘write’	poga ‘smoke’ + raas > pogaraas ‘go up as smoke’
kaTTu ‘tie’	niiLLu ‘water’+ kaTTu > niiLLugaTTu ‘water the field’,
cuus ‘see’	antu ‘end’+cuus > antucuus ‘see the end, finish’
toomu ‘brush’	pallu+toomu > pallu+toomu ‘brush the teeth’
koTTu ‘beat’	gaali ‘air’ +koTTu> gaaligoTTu ‘fill air, flatter’, buDDi ‘small bottle’+koTTu> buDDigoTTu ‘drink alcoholic liquids’, mandu + koTTu>mandugoTTu ‘consume alcoholic drinks’
ekku ‘climb up’	kaipu ‘intoxication’+ekku>kaippuekku ‘get intoxicated’, picci ‘madness’ + ekku > picci ekku ‘get mad’
paTTu ‘catch’	picci ‘madness’ +paTTu > piccipaTTu ‘get mad’, deyyam ‘spirit’ + paTTu > deyyampaTTu ‘be possessed by spirit’
tirugu ‘move, wander’	kaLLu ‘eye’ + tirugu > kaLLutirugu ‘feel giddiness’, tala ‘head’ + tirugu > talatirugu ‘feel giddiness’
duvvu ‘comb’	tala ‘head’ + duvvu > taladuvvu ‘comb the hair’, kaalu ‘leg’ + duvvu > kaaluduvvu ‘invite for combat’
ceDu ‘get spoiled’	mati ‘wisdom’ + ceDu > maticeDu ‘become mad’
calints(c) ‘shake’	mati ‘wisdom’ + calints(c) > maticalints(c) ‘become mad’
poos ‘pour’	kucce ‘frills’ + poos > kuccepoos ‘make frills’, naaru ‘seedlings + poos > sow the seed’
cuupu ‘show’	aasa ‘desire’ + cuupu > aasajuupu ‘create desire, promise to give something’
ceppu ‘tell’	caDuvu ‘education’ + ceppu > caDuvuceppu ‘teach’, baDi ‘school’ + ceppu > baDiceppu ‘educate’
t(r)oos ‘push’	cetta ‘garbage’ + t(r)oos > cettat(r)oos > ceddoos ‘sweep’

5.3.3. Grammaticalization of Verb into Complementizer

Complementizer or complementiser is a lexical category (part of speech) that includes those words that can be used to turn a clause into the subject or object of a sentence. For example, the word *that* may be called a complementizer in English sentences like *Mary believes that it is raining*. The concept of complementizers is specific to certain modern grammatical theories; in traditional grammar, such words are normally considered conjunctions.

5.3.3.1. Grammaticalization of Verb into Complementizer in Tamil

The adverbial participle form (*en-Ru*) the verb *en* ‘say’ function as complementizer.

avaL paanai uTai-ntu viT-T-atu en-Ru kuuR-in-aaL
she pot break-paspar leave-pst-3sn say-pst-3sf
‘She told that the pot was broken’

4.3.3.2. Grammaticalization of Verb into Complementizer in Malayalam

The adverbial participle form *ennə* (or past participle form) of the verb *en* ‘say’ is grammaticalized as quotative participle complementing a finite clause.

avan nallavan aaNə ennə avaL paRanjju
she good_male_person having_ said she said
‘She said that he is good male person’

avan naaLe var-um ennu avaL paRa-njju
he tomorrow come-fut having-said she said
‘She said that he would come tomorrow’

5.3.3.3. Grammaticalization of Verb into Complementizer in Kannada

Kannada has a verb *annu*, which has a number of special phonological, syntactic and semantic properties not shared by other verbs (Shiffman, 1984: 117). It is essentially a quotative verb. The quotative verb can occur as a main verb, instead of verbs such as *heeLu* ‘say, speak, tell’, *maataaDu* ‘speak, converse’, or as a verbal participle making the end of the quotative material, followed then by a main verb such as *heeLu* ‘hear, ask’.

avan bar-t-iini anda
he come-fut-1ps said
‘He said, “I will come”

avan bar-t-iini anda heeLda
he come-fut-1ps said said
‘He said, I will come’

In the second sentence, *anda* functions like a complementizer equivalent to *enRu* in Tamil.

There is another use of *annu* which is slightly different from its quotative use. The form *ante* appearing after a finite sentence can be translated in a number of ways: ‘it seems,

‘apparently’, ‘allegedly’, ‘I guess (that)’, ‘it looks like’, ‘supposed to’, ‘they say (that) and so forth (Shiffman, 1984: 118).

avar naaLe kelsa maaDtaar ante ‘apparently he will work tomorrow’
avar meeSTar ante ‘he seems he is a teacher/he seems to be a teacher’
avan il bar-bood aante ‘they say he may come here’
niiv naaLe hoog-beek ante ‘you are apparently to go tomorrow’
avar inglaNDnal profesar aag-iddaar ante
‘He is supposed to have been a professor in England’

The above said information about complementizers is based on Shiffmann who deals with the spoken variety of Kannada. According to Sridhar (1990:40) who deals with the standard Kannada, finite noun clauses are marked by the complementizers *emba* or *ennuva*, *embudu* (*ennuvudu*) and *endu* (*annoo*, *anoodu* and *anta* respectively are colloquial variety).

[madhura bomaayiy-alli id-d-aaLe] emba/ennuva vandanity-annu nambalaare
Madhura Bombay-loc be-npst-3sf comp rumour-acc believe-neg-1s
‘I cannot believe the rumor that Madhura is in Bombay’

[madhura bomaayiy-alli id-d-aaLe] embudu nija
Madhura Bombay-loc be-npst-3sf comp true
‘That Madhura is in Bombay is true’

mantrigaLu tamma sambLav-annu hintirugis-utt-eene endu heeLi-d-aru
Minister his salary-acc return-npst-return-npst-1s comp say-pst-he
‘The minister said that he would return his salary to treasury’

5.3.3.4. Grammaticalization of Verb into Complementizer in Telugu

The non-finite forms of the verb *an* ‘say’ such as *ani* (perfective form), *aNTee* (conditional form), *anna* (concessive form), *anne*, *anna* (relative forms) are grammaticalized in a variety of ways as complementizers of subordinate clauses in complex sentences (Krishnamurti and Gwynn. 1986: 363-372).

raamu [neenu reepu weL-taa-n(u)] ani kamala-too cepp-EE-Du
Ramu I tomorrow go-fut-1s say-perpar Kamala-to said-pst-3sm
‘Ramu said to Kamala “I will go tomorrow’

dajan aNTee panneNDu
dozen said-if twelve
‘A dozen means twelve’

subbaaraawu anee aaynaa....

Subba Rao said he

‘A man called Subba Rao...’

nii-kku paaTa waac(u)-ann-a sangati andarikii cepp-ees-EE-nu

you-dat song come say-rel information they-dat tell-pst-1s

‘I told them that you can sing’

6. Consolidation

The grammaticalization of verbs into auxiliaries is a historical development. The grammaticalization of verbs into auxiliaries is a combinatory effort of the grammatical form of the main verb and the auxiliary that follows it. The aspectual meaning is established by the past participle suffix or the negative participle suffix of the main verb and the auxiliary that follows it. The past participle form takes back the tense denoted by the finite form of the auxiliary to the past and thereby brings out the aspectual senses, progressive aspectual meaning and perfective aspectual meaning. The modal meaning is established by the infinitive suffix of the main verb and the auxiliary that follows it. Parallel can be seen between the auxiliary systems Dravidian Languages; one of the reasons could be their family affiliation and another could be aerial spread.

Tamil grammaticalizes the verb *iru* ‘be’ *vaa* ‘come’ and the compound verb *koNTiru* ‘having taken be’ concatenated to the non-past form of the main verb as progressive auxiliaries. *aaku* ‘become’ grammaticalized as inceptive auxiliary occurs after the verbal noun form of the main verb. Malayalam grammaticalizes *uNTə* ‘be’ added after the present tense form of the main verb and *aaNu* ‘be’ concatenated to the infinitive form (suffixed by *uka*) of the main verb, the compound *aayiru* ‘having become be’ added after the infinitive form (suffixed by *uka*) of the main verb, the compound *koNTiru* ‘having taken be’ added after the past participle form of the main verb and the compound *koNTirukkukayaaNu* added after the past participle form of the main verb as progressive auxiliaries. Malayalam grammaticalizes the compound *aayiru* ‘having become be’ added after the main verb inflected for the future *-um* and *varu* added after the past participle form of the main verb as habitual auxiliaries. Kannada grammaticalizes the verb *iru* ‘be’ concatenated to the non-past form of the main verb and *aaDu* ‘play’ added after the past participle form of the main as progressive auxiliaries. Telugu grammaticalizes the verb *un* ‘be’ added after the non-past form the main verb as aspectual auxiliary to express progressive aspect. The verb *saagu* ‘continue’ concatenated with the main verb in infinitive form verb is grammaticalized as an auxiliary to express ‘continuative’ sense.

Tamil grammaticalizes the verb *viTu* ‘leave’ and *iru* ‘be’ and the impersonal compound *aayiRRu* added after the past participle form of the main verb as perfect auxiliaries. Malayalam grammaticalizes the compounds *iTTuNTu* and *iTTuNTaayiru* and *iTu*

‘drop’ and the verbs *viTu* ‘leave, let’, *vekku* ‘put down’ and *tiir* ‘complete’ added after the past participle form of the main verb as perfect auxiliaries. Kannada grammaticalizes the verbs *iru* ‘be’, *biDu* ‘leave’, *hoogu* ‘go’, *aagu* ‘become’ and *haaku* ‘put’ occurring after the past participle form of the main verb into perfect auxiliaries. Telugu grammaticalizes the verbs *wees* ‘throw’ and *poo* ‘go’ occurring after the past participle/perfective participle form of the main verb into perfective aspectual auxiliaries.

Tamil grammaticalizes the inflected forms *veeNTum* and *veeNTaam* of the verb *veeNTu* ‘request’, the compound *veeNTiyiru*, the inflected forms *kuuTum* and *kuuTaatu* of the verb *kuuTu* ‘join’, the inflected form *muTiyum* of the verb *muTi* ‘end’, the inflected form *aTTum* of the verb *aTTu* ‘join’, *poo* ‘go’, *vaa* ‘come’, *iru* ‘be’, *paar* ‘see’ and *maaTu* ‘do’ occurring after the infinitive form of the main verb and the inflected forms *aam* and *aakaatu* of the verb *aaku* ‘become’ occurring after the infinitive/verbal noun form of main verb (marked by -al) as modal auxiliary verbs.

Malayalam grammaticalizes the inflected form *aTTee* of the verb *aTTu* ‘join’, the inflected forms *aakum* > *aam* of the verb *aaku* ‘become’, the inflected form *veeNam* > *aNam*, *veeNTa* > *aNTa* of the verb *veeNTu* ‘request’ occurring after the main verb and the verbs *paaTillaa*, *kaziyu* ‘pass away’, *paRRu* ‘catch’ and *vayyaa* ‘not able’ and the compounds *kazijnjillaa*, *paRRiyilaa*, *saadhiccillaa* occurring after the *aan*-marked infinitive form of the main verb, the inflected form *kuuTaa* > *uuTaa* of the verb *kuuTu* ‘gather’ and the compound *koLLaTTe*, the inflected form *eelkkum* > *eekum* of the verb *eelku* ‘accept’ occurring after the past participle form (i.e. past tense form) of the main verb, the inflected form *aayi* of the verb *aaku* ‘become’ occurring after *aar*-marked infinitive form of the main verb as modal auxiliary verbs.

Kannada grammaticalizes the verb in impersonal form *bahudu* ‘possible’, *bal* ‘strong’, the defective verb *aap* ‘be strong’, the negative form *baaradu* of the verb *bar* ‘come’, the negative form *kuuDadu* of the verb *kuuTu* ‘come together’, the impersonal form *beeku*, the compound *beek-aagittu*, the compound *beek-aagide*, the compound form *ir beekku*, the compound form *ir beek-aagittu*, the compound form *beek-aag boodu*, the negative form *beeda* of the verb *beeku* ‘want’, the gerundive form *takkaddu* of the verb *tagu* ‘suit’, the compound form *takkaddalla*, the defective verbs in negative form *ari* and *aara*, and *boodu* occurring after the infinitive form of the main into modal auxiliaries. The infinitive suffix *al* is changed into *a* when consonant initial word follows it (except with passive).

Telugu grammaticalizes the verb *waal* ‘need’, the negative form *waladu* > *waddu* of the verb *walacu* ‘wish’, the irregular form *kala* of *kalagu* ‘occur’, *waccu* ‘come’, the negative form *guuDatu* of the verb *guuD* ‘gather’ and *poo* ‘go’ and *coccu* ‘enter’ occurring after the infinitive form of the main verb and *poo* ‘go’ occurring after the negative participle form of the main verb into modal auxiliaries.

Tamil grammaticalizes the verb *paTu* ‘experience’ as the passive auxiliary. Malayalam grammaticalizes the verb *peTu* ‘experience’ as the passive auxiliary. Kannada grammaticalizes the verb *paDu* ‘experience’ as the passive auxiliary. Telugu grammaticalizes the verb *paDu* ‘suffer’ as the passive auxiliary.

Tamil grammaticalizes the verb *cey* ‘do’ and *paNnu* ‘do’ concatenated to the infinitive form of the main verb as the causative auxiliary. Malayalam and Kannada do not have a separate causative auxiliary as they make use of causative suffixes extensively. Telugu grammaticalizes *koTT* ‘beat’, *peTT* ‘put’ and *wees* ‘throw’ concatenated to the infinitive form of main verb as passive auxiliaries.

Tamil grammaticalizes the verb *koL* ‘have, take’ occurring after the past participle form of the main verb as reflexive auxiliary verb to express reflexivity (acting on oneself) as well as the reflexive meaning of ‘do something for oneself’. Malayalam does not grammaticalize of the verb *koLLu* ‘have, take’ occurring after the past participle form of the main to express reflexivity (acting on oneself). It makes of the referential compound pronoun *tennetaane* ‘oneself’ instead. It grammaticalizes *koLLu* occurring after the past participle form of the main verb to express the reflexive meaning of ‘do something for oneself’. Kannada does not grammaticalize the verb *koL* ‘take’ occurring after the past participle form of the main to express reflexivity (acting on oneself). It grammaticalizes *koL* ‘take’ occurring after the past participle form of the main verb to express the reflexive meaning of ‘do something for oneself’. Telugu grammaticalizes the verb *kon* ‘take’ occurring after the past participle form of the main to express reflexivity (acting on oneself) with the support of the referential pronoun *tannu* (*tannu*). It grammaticalizes the verb *kon* occurring after the past participle form of the main verb as reflexive auxiliary verb to express the reflexive sense of ‘do something for oneself’.

Tamil grammaticalizes the verb *tolai* ‘miss’, *pooTu* ‘put’, *taLLu* ‘push’, *kiTa* ‘lie’, *kizi* ‘tear’, *poo* ‘go’ and *tiir* ‘exhaust’ occurring after the past participle form of the main verb as attitudinal auxiliary verbs. Malayalam grammaticalizes the verbs *iTu* ‘put, drop’, *taLLu* ‘push’, *kiTakku* ‘lie’, *pooku* ‘go’ and *tiirku* ‘finish’ concatenated to the past participle form of the main verb as attitudinal auxiliary verbs. The data is not available for the grammaticalization of verbs into attitudinal auxiliary verbs in Kannada and Telugu.

Tamil grammaticalizes the verbs such as *koL* ‘hold’, *azu* ‘cry’, *paar* ‘see’, *vai* ‘keep’ and *koTu* ‘give’ concatenated after the past participle form of the main verb as non-attitudinal auxiliary verbs. Malayalam grammaticalizes the verbs such *nookku* ‘see’, *vaykku* ‘keep’ and *koTuku* ‘give’ concatenated after the past participle form of the main verb as non-attitudinal auxiliaries. Kannada grammaticalizes the verbs such as *koDu* ‘give’, *koLLu* ‘take’, *aaDu* ‘play’ and *nooDu* ‘see’ as non-attitudinal auxiliary verbs. Telugu grammaticalizes the verbs *cuusu* ‘see’ and *iccu* ‘give’ concatenated with the infinitive form of the main verb as non-attitudinal auxiliary verbs.

Dravidian languages show parallel tendency in the formation of postpositions from verbs. The grammaticalization of verbs into postpositions is again a combined effort of the case suffix of the noun and the verb that follows. The postposition governs the case suffix.

Tamil grammaticalizes the verbal participle forms of the verbs such *iru* ‘be, sit’ (*iruntu* ‘from’) occurring after the locative case form of a noun, *oTTu* ‘stick’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*oTTi* ‘about’), *kuRi* ‘aim’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*kuRittu* ‘about’), *koL* ‘take’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*koNTu* ‘with’), *cuRRu* ‘circulate’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*cuRRi* ‘around’), *tavir* ‘avoid’ occurring after the accusative form of a nouns (*tavirttu* ‘except’), *taaNTu* ‘cross’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*taaNTi* ‘across’), *paRRu* ‘seize’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*paRRi* ‘about’), *paar* ‘see’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*paarttu* ‘towards’), *viTu* ‘leave’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*viTTu* ‘from’), *vai* ‘put’ occurring after the accusative form of the noun (*vaittu* ‘with’) and *nookku* ‘see’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*nookki* ‘towards’), *pintu* ‘be behind’ occurring after the dative form of a noun (*pinti* ‘after’) and *muntu* ‘precede’ occurring after the dative form of a noun (*munti* ‘before’) and the infinitive forms of the verbs such as *tavir* ‘avoid’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*tavira* ‘except’), *ozi* ‘cease’ occurring after the nominal form of a noun (*oziya* ‘except’), *pool* ‘seem’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*poola* ‘like’) and *viTu* ‘leave’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*viTa* ‘than’) as postpositions.

Malayalam grammaticalizes the past participle forms of the verbs such as *nilkku* ‘stand’ occurring after the locative case form of a noun (*ninnu* ‘from’), *kuuTu* ‘gather’ occurring after the *ooTu* marked case form of a noun (*kuuTi* ‘with’), *vakku* ‘keep’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*vaccu* ‘with’) , *koLLu* ‘have occurring after the accusative form of a noun, take’ (*koNTu* ‘with’) , *paRRu* ‘catch’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*paRRi* ‘about’) , *kuRikku* ‘note down’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*kuRiccu* ‘about’), *cuRRu* ‘go around’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*cuRRi* ‘around’) and *nookku* occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*nookki* ‘towards’), the inflected forms of the verbs *kuuTu* ‘gather’ occurring after the genitive form of a noun (*kuuTe* ‘with’) and the negative participle form of the verb *illa* ‘be not’ occurring after the nominative form of a noun (*illaate* ‘without’) and the negative form of the verb *kuuTu* ‘gather’ occurring after the nominative form of a noun (*kuuTaate*) as post positions in Malayalam.

Kannada grammaticalizes the past participle form of the verbs such as *biDu* ‘leave’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*biTTu* ‘without’), *aagu* ‘become’ occurring after the dative form of a noun (*aagi* ‘for’), *suttu* ‘encircle’ occurring after the case form (*sutta* ‘around’), *togo* ‘take’ + *koL* ‘have’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun (*togokoNTu* ‘with’) and *nooDu* ‘see’ occurring after the accusative form of a noun and negative participle form of the verb *illa* ‘be not’ occurring after the nominative form of a noun (*illade* ‘without’) as post postpositions.

Dravidian languages show parallel tendency in the grammaticalization of verbs into adjectivalizers and adverbializers. The reason for this can be attributed to their family affiliation.

Telugu grammaticalizes the past participle forms of the verbs such as *uNTu* 'be' occurring after the nominative form of a noun (*nuNDi* 'from' > *nunci/ninci* 'from', *kuurcu* 'aim') occurring after the accusative form of a noun, *gurincu* 'aim' occurring after the accusative form of a noun and *paTTu* 'experience' occurring after the case marked nouns (*baTTi* 'because of').

Tamil grammaticalizes the adjectival participle form (*aa-n-a*) of verb *aaku* 'become' as adjectivalizer and infinitive form (*aaka*) of the verb *aaku* 'as adverbializer. It also grammaticalizes the past participle form *enRu* of the verb *en* 'say' (*en* + pstpr > *enRu*) also as adverbializer. Malayalam also grammaticalizes the adjectival participle form *aaya* of the verb *aaku* 'become' and the adjectival participle form *uLLa* of the verb *uNTə* 'be' as adjectivalizers. It grammaticalizes the past participle form *aayi* of the verb *aaku* 'become' as an adverbial suffix (adverbializer). Kanna grammaticalizes the the past adjectival participle form *aada* of the verb *aagu* 'become' and present adjectival participle form *iroo* of the verb *iru* 'be' as adjectivalizers. It grammaticalizes the past participle form *aagi* of the verb *aagu* 'become' as adverbializer. Kannada grammaticalizes the infinitive form *gaa* of *aw* 'be, become' as adverbializer.

Telugu grammaticalizes the past adjectival participle form *ayina/ayna* of the verb *aw* 'be, become' as adjectivalizer and the infinitive form *gaa* of *aw* 'be, as adverbializer.

The tendency of forming new verbs by the noun and verb combination is very explicit. Dravidian languages make use of a selected number of verbs as verbalizer to form new verbs by combining them with a selected number of nouns. Dravidian languages show parallel tendency in the grammaticalization of verbs into verbalizers.

Tamil grammaticalizes the verbs such as *aTi* 'beat', *aTai* 'get', *aLi* 'give', *aaku* 'become', *aakku* 'produce', *aaTu* 'move', *aaTTu* 'swing', *aaRRu* 'perform', *iTu* 'put', *uRu* 'obtain', *uRuttu* 'trouble', *uTTu* 'give', *eTu* 'take', *eytu* 'obtain', *eel* 'accept', *eeRu* 'rise', *eRRu* 'raise', *kaTTu* 'tie', *kaaTTu* 'show', *kuuRu* 'say', *koTu* 'give', *koL* 'get', *cey* 'do', *col* 'say', *taTTu* 'pat', *paTu* 'experience', *paTuttu* 'cause to experience', *paNNu* 'do', *paar* 'see', *piTi* 'catch', *puri* 'do', *peRu* 'get', *poo* 'go', *pooTu* 'drop', *muuTTu* 'make', *vaa* 'come', *vaanguku* 'get', *viTu* 'leave' and *vai* 'keep' as verbalizers.

Malayalam grammaticalizes the verbs such as *aTikku* 'beat', *koTukku* 'give', *taru* 'give', *aaku* 'become', *aakku* 'cook rice', *aaTu* , 'dance/move', *aaTTu* 'shake', *cey* 'do', *eTukku* 'take', *peTu* 'suffer', *uuTTu* 'feed', *peTu* 'suffer', *eeRRu* 'cause to climb', *keTTu* 'tie', *kaaTTu* 'show', *kuuRu* 'say', *paRa* 'say', *taTTu* 'tap', *kuNungngu* , *peTuttu* 'cause to

suffer', *piTi* 'catch', *kazi* 'pass away', *kazikku* 'case to pass', *paRRu* 'catch', *vaangngku* 'get/buy', *viTu* 'leave', *veykku* 'keep', *muTakku* 'stop', and *valikku* 'pull' as verbalizers.

Kannada grammaticalizes the verbs such as *aagu* 'become', *paDu* 'feel', *hoogu* 'go', *biiLu* 'fall', *maaDu* 'make', *niiDu* 'give', *goLisu* 'bring about', and *goLLu* 'become' as verbalizers.

Telugu grammaticalizes the verbs such as *cees* 'do', *wees* 'throw', *paDu* 'fall', *kalugu* 'happen', *aaDu* 'play', *is(c)* 'give', *peTTu* 'give', *moos* 'carry', *aw* 'become', *raas* 'write', *kaTTu* 'tie', *cuus* 'see, look', *toomu* 'brush', *koTTu* 'beat', *ekku* 'climb', *paTTu* 'catch', *tirugu* 'move, wander', *duwwu* 'comb', *ceDu* 'get spoiled', *calints(c)* 'shake', *poos* 'pour', *cuupu* 'show', *ceppu* 'tell' and *troos* 'push' as verbalizers.

Dravidian languages show parallel tendency in the grammaticalization of verbs into complementizers. The reason for this can be attributed to their family affiliation.

Tamil grammaticalizes the past participle form *enRu* and the gerundival form *enpatu* of the verb *en* 'say' as complementizer. Malayalam grammaticalizes the past participle form *ennə* of the verb *en* 'say' as quotative participle complementing a finite clause. Kannada grammaticalizes the forms such as *anda*, *ante* of the verb *annu* 'say' as complementizers. , which has a number of special phonological, syntactic and semantic properties not shared by other verbs. It also grammaticalizes the forms *emba* or *ennuva*, *embudu* (*ennuvudu*) and *endu* (*annoo*, *anoodu* and *anta* respectively are colloquial variety) of the verb *en* 'say' as complementizers. Telugu grammaticalizes the non-finite forms of the verb *an* 'say' such as *ani* (perfective form), *aNTee* (conditional form), *anna* (concessive form), *anne*, *anna* (relative forms) as complementizers of subordinate clauses.

The above description clearly depicts the parallels between the four Dravidian Languages in the grammaticalization of verbs. Krishnamurti (2003) throws light on the auxiliary systems of Dravidian languages. The typology of grammaticalization based on Subbarao's study (2012) is worth being discussed here. (Due to want of time and space I am avoiding discussing about them here.)

There are a few more grammaticalizations of verbs which I have not discussed here: the grammaticalization of verbs into sentential coordinators (for example, Tamil makes use of *aanaal* as 'but'- coordinator) and discourse coordinators (for example in Tamil makes use of *appaTi enRaal* 'if so', *eenenRaal* 'why', *eppaTi enRaal* 'how', *illai enRaal* 'if not', *enRaalum* 'even if', *iruppinum* 'even though', *aakaiyaal* 'because of that', *aanaalum* 'even though', *aayinum* 'eventhough', *aakaTTum* 'let it be/yes', *aakaTTum paarkkalaam* 'let us see').

6. Conclusion

According to Hopper and Traugott (2003), the cline of grammaticalization has both diachronic and synchronic implications. Clines represent a natural path along which forms or words change over time diachronically (i.e. looking at changes over time). However, clines can be seen as arrangement of forms along imaginary lines, with at one end a 'fuller' or lexical form and at the other a more 'reduced' or grammatical form synchronically (i.e. looking at a single point in time) (Hopper and Traugott 2003:6.). As per Hopper and Traugott's view, the changes of word forms is seen as a natural process from a diachronic or historical point of view, whereas this process can be seen as inevitable instead of historical synchronically. The studying and documentation of recurrent clines enable linguists to form general laws of grammaticalization and language change in general. It plays an important role in the reconstruction of older states of a language. Moreover, the documenting of changes can help to reveal the lines along which a language is likely to develop in the future.

The present study on the grammaticalization of verbs in Dravidian languages substantiates evidences to the process of grammaticalization of verbs in the four important Dravidian languages. This study needs to be extended to other Dravidian languages as well to other families of languages in India. It appears that grammaticalization can be considered as universal feature or tendency of languages.

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