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A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF MALAYALAM
PHONETICS

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With the Author's Compliments

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**A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF MALAYALAM
PHONETICS**

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PREFACE

Whether the science of Phonetics in its application to the study of Comparative Philology holds out any charms to the ordinary lay-student, I do not pretend to be able to know ; but of this I am sure that ever since about twelve years ago I came under the spell of this subject, it has never ceased to exercise its potent charms over me. My study of the principles and the script of the International Phonetic Association led me several years ago to think of the desirability and feasibility of applying them to the investigation of the phonetic habits of the South Indian Vernaculars. As a preliminary attempt I had prepared a series of essays on the phonetic features and peculiarities of the Malayalam language, but owing to the want of a proper medium for publication—none of the Indian presses stock the I. P. A. types—my desire to publish them remained unfulfilled for a long time. It was at this stage that I chanced to come across Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's very helpful and suggestive 'Sketch of Bengali Phonetics' published by the International Phonetic Association of London. Here at last was an enthusiastic votary of the subject with a requisite training in the science to whom I could turn for assistance and advice, and I missed no time in placing myself in touch with him. Prof. Chatterji very kindly responded to my letters as soon as he returned from Europe ; he not only encouraged me in my work with his valuable suggestions and appreciative comments, but offered to recommend to the Publication Department of the Calcutta University the advisability of publishing my articles on Malayalam Phonetics. Prof. Chatterji's offer was thankfully accepted, and I prepared and sent over to him the manuscript of present paper. The late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, whose greatest achievement it has been to reorganise the University of Calcutta as a teaching and investigating body, and who for the first time inaugurated the systematic and scientific study of the Indian Modern Languages and their literatures in an Indian University, fully approved of Dr. Chatterji's idea of publishing from the University of Calcutta a series of monographs on the Phonetics of the different languages and dialects of India. In his capacity as President of the Council of Post-graduate Studies in Arts in the University of Calcutta, Sir Asutosh with the University

Publication Committee sanctioned the publication of the present monograph early in 1924. But unfortunately the work of setting the article to print could not be begun early enough, partly owing to the sudden death of Sir Asutosh in May 1924, which was a national calamity, snatching away from the University the greatest leader that an institution can have, and dislocating for a time those activities of the University which he himself had called into being; and partly on account of excessive pressure of work in the University Press. However, through Prof. Chatterji's efforts, aided by the sympathetic interest of the Assistant Registrar and the Press Superintendent, the publication of this paper has finally been carried; and I take this opportunity to express my thanks to authorities of the Calcutta University and to Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji in this connexion.

In this brief sketch I have not attempted to deal with any philological problems, but the treatment of purely phonetic questions will, I hope, be helpful in the discussion of philological matters also.

The script employed is the I.P.A. one. Though scientific precision would require the use of different symbols for the representation of variations in stress, tenseness, intonation, etc., they have not been requisitioned here for two reasons: firstly, they are unnecessary in a practical sketch like this; and secondly, their use would complicate the transcriptions so greatly as to render printing extremely difficult.

The symbols for the exclusively Malayalam sounds are all adapted from the I.P.A. script, and they are:

[*n*]; [*ɳ*]; [*ɽ*]; [*ɻ*]; [*ɽ*].

For the last, which is a trilled retroflex *r*, [*ɽ*] should have been a better symbol, as the symbols for all cerebral or retroflex sounds, like [*ɖ*, *ɗ*, *ɳ*], have a dot below them. But [*ɽ*] is universally employed for the 'flapped' or so-called 'cerebral' *r* of Indian languages (= Hindī र, Bengali র), which is quite different from the Malayalam *trilled* cerebral or retroflex [*ɽ*]; and to avoid confusion with the well-known North Indian sound, [*ɽ*] has been employed instead, although its point of articulation is quite distinct from that of the alveolar [*ɖ*, *n*] which also are written in Italics.

ERNAKULAM,
COCHIN STATE,
September, 1925.

L. VISWANATHA RAMASWAMI AIYAR.

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I give below a list of the International Phonetic Association symbols that I have requisitioned for the following concise discussion of the phonetic habits of the Malayalam language. I am fully conscious of the fact that just as no two persons can utter the same sound exactly alike, no two languages also can have exactly similar sounds; yet after a careful examination of the IPA. script, I have attempted in this essay to make as close an adaptation of this script as possible to the sounds of the Malayalam language. The symbols given below represent the sounds occurring in the pronunciation of the people of the Cochin State, which, situated as it is right in the central portion of Malabar or the Malayalam-speaking land, has in a great degree preserved the true Malayalam sounds free from the contamination of the Kaṇṇaḍa or Kanarese influence in the north and of Tamil in the south.

Front Vowels.

- [i] as in [pʌṭi] *step*, [maṭi] *lap*, *laziness*.
- [i:] as in [ti:] *fire*.
- [e] and [e:] as in [cʃeṭi] *plant* and [pe:ṭi] *fear*.
- [ɛ] not an ordinary sound in Malayalam, but occurs dialectally in words like [keʃəm] *hair*, [teɳ] *honey*.
- [æ] as in [ɲæ'n] *I*, [ɲjæjəm] *justice*.

Mixed Vowels.

- [ʌ]: this is the real sound of the first symbol of the Malayalam alphabet, which, however, retains its purity of sound only in stressed syllables of words, as in [maɾam] *tree*; [amma] *mother*.
- [a]: properly speaking, this sound should be considered to be a variety of the [ʌ] phoneme, for this is the sound of the Malayalam symbol

for [ʌ] whenever it occurs finally, as in [tʌrə] *raised platform*,
[cʃi:tta] *bad*.

[ə] : a common sound in Malayalam : [ka:tə] *forest*, [kaŋtə] *having seen*.

Back Vowels.

[u] and [u:] as in [kutʃi] *child*, [mu:ʃi] *closed*.

[ʊ] occurs dialectally in Malayalam : it is a common sound in Tamil.

[o] and [o:] as in [koʃi] *flag*, [o:ʃi] *ran*.

[ɔ] not a common sound, but exists in some dialects, e.g., [nəm] *we*.

[ɑ:] : only the long and the half-long sounds are common in Malayalam ; the so-called short [ɑ] in Malayalam really is [ʌ] or [a], or [ə], as shown above. [ra:mən, ra:man] *the name Rāma*.

Consonants.

[k] as in [kʌlʃən] *thief*.

[kʰ] as in [nəkhəm] *nail*.

[g] as in [ga:nəm] *song*.

[gʱ] as in [gʱʌnəm] *heaviness*.

[x] dialectal, as in [ʌdʱixəm] *much* ; or colloquial [pʌxʌjən] *rogue*.

[ʒ] as in [muruge] *tightly*, [ka:ŋga] *see*.

[ŋ] as in [ma:ŋga] *mangoe*.

[cʃ] as in [cʃiri] *laughter*, [cʃʌkrʌm] *wheel*.

[cʃh] as in [cʃhʌ:ja] *image*.

[ʃʒ] as in [pu:ʃʒa] *worship*.

[ʃʒh] as in [ʃʒhʌʃiti] *haste*.

[ɹ] as in [ɹæ:n] *I*.

[ʈ] as in [kuʈa] *umbrella*.

[ʈh] as in [pa:ʈhəm] *lesson*.

[ɖ] as in [ɖʌmbʱəm] *pride*.

[ɖh] only in a few rare Sanskrit words borrowed into Malayalam.

[ɳ] as in [kaŋɳə] *eye*.

[t] as in [ka:tlə] *wind*.

[n] as in [nʌnnə] *good* ; the same Malayalam symbol stands for [n] and [ɳ], while in Tamil, which has two separate symbols, the same value [n] is given to both.

[t] as in [tʌmʌra] *lotus*.

[th] as in [ʃʌphəthəm] *oath*.

[d] as in [deja] *kindness*.

- [dʃ] as in [prədʃiːnəm] *chief*.
 [n] as in [pʌni] *fever*.
 [p] as in [pʌlʌkə] *plank*.
 [ph] as in [phʌləm] *fruit*.
 [b] as in [bələm] *strength*.
 [bʃ] as in [bʃiːjəm] *fear*.
 [m] as in [mʌrəm] *tree*.
 [j] as in [jeʃʒəmaːnən] *master*.
 [r] as in [raːmən] *the proper name Rāma*.
 [r̥] as in [ʌra] *chamber*.
 [l] as in [ila] *leaf*.
 [l̥] as in [kuʌm] *tank*.
 [v] as in [vʌtəkən] *northern*, also [vʌtəkən].
 [v̥] as in [puːvə] *flower*; or a glide, as in [voru] *one* after the final vowel of a preceding word.
 [ʃ] as in [ʃʌkəːrəm] *abuse*.
 [ʃ̥] as in [kʌʃəːjəm] *medicine*.
 [s] as in [satjəm] *truth*.
 [z] in colloquial [pʌriʃəːzəm] *ridicule*, [pəːjəzəm] *rice-milk*.
 [ʒ] dialectal as in [beːʒ] *Bravo* !
 [ɛ̃] as in [vəːɛ̃pʌɛ̃m] *plantain fruit*: a sound peculiar to Malayalam and Tamil.
 [ʃi,h] as in [ʃiːriʃiːrən] *a proper name, Hariharan*, [ʃitəm] *pleasure*.

Sanskrit symbols representing the sounds of vocalic [ɾ] and [ɽ] (or [r̥] and [l̥]) have also been incorporated in the Malayalam alphabet, though used only in Sanskrit borrowings.

The Malayalam language is spoken by nearly eight millions of people occupying that tract of the West Coast which is called Malabar, between Gōkarṇam and Cape Comorin. The fact that this strip of land, bounded on the east by the Western Ghats and on the west by the Arabian Sea, forms a geographical entity by itself, has, besides leading to the conservation in this land of strange customs and habits of life, reacted on the language of the people and resulted in the creation and development of a new and independent language differing in many respects from the parent Dravidian stock. Though it was the same political government that in ancient times ruled over Malabar and some of the Eastern Tamil districts, the geographical situation of Malabar prevented an uninterrupted intercourse between the peoples of Malabar and the peoples of the Tamil

districts of the East Coast. The language spoken in Malabar, therefore, must even at a very early time have developed the tendency to disintegration from the Tamil branch of main Dravidian stock to which it belongs. There is excellent evidence to show that this tendency very rapidly matured about the ninth century A.D., and culminated in the formation of a language which, though it bore a great relationship to the Tamil, became sufficiently altered to deserve the name of an independent language. The Tamil language that was used and spoken in those days had two forms, of which one was called the [va:moʃi] or *written language* used in books, and the other [va:moʃi] or the *colloquial* employed in ordinary use. It was from this [va:moʃi], or [koḍuntamiʃu] as it was also called, that the Malayalam language developed. The basic structure of the new language that thus grew up in the West Coast remained essentially Dravidian, but at the same time the influence of Sanskrit and of Aryan civilisation as introduced by the Nambudiri colonists enriched the language with fresh Aryan ideas and, what was more, with a copious Sanskrit vocabulary. There are not wanting reasons for us to think that the Aryans largely colonised the West Coast even before they settled in large numbers in the Tamil districts. Sanskrit learning and literature took firm root in Malabar from the earliest times, and as centuries passed, its influence increased to the point of complete dominance. While infant Malayalam with no literature and ideals of her own thus allowed herself to be dominated by Sanskrit, her elder sister Tamil with her vast literary treasures and intellectual ideas was able successfully to resist the advances and the inroads of Sanskrit to a greater degree. The phenomenal popularity of Sanskrit in Malabar about 1000 A. D. infatuated the pedants even to the ridiculous extent of leading them to Sanskritise the grammatical forms of Malayalam, and to invent an artificial language called [maṇipravaḷam]—an incongruous jumble of Malayalam roots and Sanskrit inflexional endings. This aberration, like many another linguistic artificiality and *Schwarmerei*, had only an impermanent existence and soon died a natural death. Only the book-language or the [grənthəbɸa:ʃa] was influenced by this new innovation, while the spoken language or the [na:ʃo:ti bɸa:ʃa] completely escaped the undesirable domination of this glorified pedantry. Thereafter, however great might have been the influence of Sanskrit over Malayalam, especially in the direction of enriching its vocabulary, the fundamental structure of the language as evidenced by the grammatical forms and endings remained essentially Dravidian. With the appearance in Malabar of a great literary genius, Thunchath Ezhuthachan [tuncʃattə eʒuttacʃən], there arose

a new style of speaking and writing which combined in itself the sonorous grace of the Sanskrit language and the natural simplicity of the Dravidian speech. The newly-developed language, however, suffered an irreparable loss in that it lost its power of forming fresh compounds to express new ideas, and consequently had in later times to draw freely upon Sanskrit vocabulary to make up this deficiency.

Till the time of Thunchath Ezhuthachan, the script used in Malabar was only a copy of the Tamil one, and the Malayalam alphabet contained only the Tamil symbols. The deficiency of the Tamil alphabet in sounds as well as in symbols is noteworthy. The glottal fricative [h] was absent in ancient Tamil, and as is only to be expected, the aspirates [kh], [gʱ], [cʰ], [ʃʃʰ], [tʰ], [dʱ], [tʰ], [dʱ], [ph], [bʱ] were also absent. Again, separate symbols did not exist for the voiced sounds [g], [ʃʃ], [d], [d], [b], although the sounds themselves should be considered to have existed in ancient times and to have been indicated in writing by the symbols of the corresponding breathed ones. The original Malayalam alphabet which had only been a close copy of the Tamil one, was thoroughly revised about the time of Thunchath Ezhuthachan, and new symbols were borrowed or made for the representation of all Sanskrit sounds. The Dravidian sounds [r], [ɻ], [l], [ɭ], and [ɳ], which do not occur in Sanskrit, retained their place in Malayalam.

Thus the Malayalam alphabet includes the symbols for the old (Tamil) or Dravidian sounds and those of the Sanskrit. According to the orthodox classification, the alphabet consists of fifty-three letters, but the actual number of "phonemes" existing in the language is only *thirty-seven*.

The time-honoured classification of sounds adopted from Sanskrit phonetics by Malayalam scholars is subject to various defects inasmuch as it does not take into account the new developments of vowel sounds in Malayalam and omits to make provision for the changed values of certain consonant sounds also.

I shall now proceed to discuss some of the phonetic qualities of the Malayalam sounds.

Mixed Vowels.

1. (i) [ʌ]. This sound, symbolised by the first letter of the Malayalam alphabet, is erroneously supposed to be the equivalent of Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit [a]. The Malayalam sound is a less open one, and is exactly like the vowel sound in the English word *much* when deliberately uttered. [ʌ] is the value to be given to the Malayalam symbol for this

sound when it occurs initially or medially in stressed syllables (whether the stress is a primary one or a secondary one).

(ii) In unaccented syllables, [ʌ] verges on [ə]: e.g., [ʌnʌntənaˈraːjəṇəṇ] *Ananta-nārāyaṇan*, a proper name.

(ii) When this sound forms a syllable with a preceding voiced plosive, or [j], [r], [r], [l] or [l], then the sound changes into [ə], and sometimes into a full [e]: e.g.,

[ʃʒenəm] *people*; [bendʃu] *friend*; [revi] *sun*; [leta] *branch*; [jeʃʒəmaˈnən] *master*; [jentrəm] *machine*; [ʃʒeləm] *water*; [gembʃirəm] *majestic*; [geŋŋa] *the Ganges*. In all the above instances the [e] of the first syllable is developed from [ʌ]. Also in [maˈlevika] *Mālavikā*, a proper name, and [kaleʃəm] *dispute*, the [e] of the second syllable is developed from [ʌ].

(iii) When the sound is associated in any way with the bilabial [m], it may sometimes, in the speech of certain people, change into a kind of [ɔ], as in the following instances: [kʌʃtəm] *misery*; [nəm] *we*; [pəvənəm] *wind*. This change, however, is not so important or widespread as the previous one.

(iv) When [ʌ] occurs finally, it has always a more open value: I think that this sound may be represented by [a], as the completely open character of the back sound [ɑ] is never attained; [ʌmma] *mother*; [ɑːʃa] *hope*; [poːka] *to go*.

(v) In association with [j], the [ʌ] becomes [ə] or [e] even when the [j] may be a compound with some other consonant: e.g., [vʃasanaṁ] *sorrow* becomes [vəʒənəm]; so also [praˈpjəm] *obtainable*; [satjəm] *truth*; [vʌljə] *big*.

(vi) The pure sound [ʌ] cannot be lengthened without disturbing its quality. The Malayali invariably uses the [ɑː] when he wants to lengthen [ʌ]. It was probably this fact that created the confusion that [ʌ] was the short sound of [ɑː].

(vii) [a], as indicated above, represents the sound-value of a final [ʌ]. Many Sanskrit words ending in [ɑː] are shortened in Malayalam into [a], e.g., [prəbʃa] *splendour*; [geŋŋa] *the Ganges*; [ɑːʃa] *hope*; [kʌla] *art*. In Tamil these Sanskrit words are naturalised with an [əi] or [ej] ending, as final long vowels and even final [ʌ] are not favoured in Tamil. This tendency has been inherited by Malayalam in a much less intense form, and this is what probably accounts for the shortening of final [ɑː] of Sanskrit words when they are naturalised in Malayalam.

2. [ə]. This is a very common sound in Malayalam.

(i) It occurs finally in many nouns which in the original Old Tamil language ended in [u] sound: *e.g.*, [ka:tə] *forest*; [pa:t̪t̪ə] *song*; [ka:ppə] *bangle*; [kaɳɳə] *eye*. The equivalent of this primitive [u] in modern Tamil is [ɯ]: Kannaḍa has an [e], and Telugu seems to retain the old final [u] itself.

It can be stated as a general rule that no native Malayalam word can be “hal-anta”, that is to say, can end in a consonant. The only exceptions are furnished by those words which end in consonants known in Malayalam as [ç̌illukʌ] *chips* or *branches*, i.e. [n], [ɳ], [j], [r], [ɾ], [l], [ɭ], [ɻ], [m]. When these consonants occur at the end of words, they can stand alone without the help of any vowel, *e.g.*, [ma:n] *deer*; [peɳ] *girl*; [neɟ] *ghee*; [kaɟər] *rope*; [pe:r] *name*; [pa:l] *milk*. But all these consonants can also alternatively take an [ə] sound to support them, and the words given above may also be pronounced as [ma.nə], [peɳɳə], [neɟjə] [kaɟərə] etc.

It is this peculiarity of the Dravidian languages that has led many Malayalam scholars to entertain the belief that consonants cannot be sounded without the help of vowels.

The genius of the Dravidian languages is so strongly averse to “hal-anta” endings that even borrowed foreign words ending in a consonant naturalise themselves in these languages with the addition of a characteristic vowel at the end. Such words are made “svaraṇta” in Malayalam with [ə], in Tamil with [ɯ], in Telugu with a full [u], and in Kanarese with an [e]. *e.g.*, Malayalam [ko:r̪tə] for *court*; [skhu:ɭə] for *school*; [æ'ktə] *act*; [sa:rə] *sir*; [sle:ttə] *slate*; [va:kkə] from Sanskrit [va:k] *speech*.

When Malayalam words are used in English, sometimes the reverse process is visible—[tarʌva:ɖə] *family* used in English becomes [θa:vəd], [thɑ:wəd] = *Tharvad*, *Tarwad*.

(ii) the [ə] sound is common at the end of past participles in Malayalam, *e.g.*, [kaɳtə] *having seen*; [vaɳɳə] *having come*. The symbol that stands for this sound [ə] was, till a very recent date, the same as for [u], so that confusion would arise easily, but of late a happy innovation has been introduced, and a special symbol has been found out to distinguish the [ə] sound from a full [u] which occurs in many past tense forms—[kaɳtu] *saw*, but [kaɳtə] *having seen*. The [ə] in the past participle is of course only a weakened form of the past inflexional ending [u].

(iii) [ə] also occurs as the weakened form of [a] or [ʌ] in unaccented syllables, e.g., [vʌʃijə'ttɾəkka'rən] *traveller*; [bʃia'gəvətər] *songster*.

All Malayalam grammarians regard this [ə] not as a full sound having one full "mātrā" or *mora*, but only as a half-sound.

Front Vowels.

3. (i) [i] and [i:] : the short sound is never so short in Malayalam as in English "bit" or "pit."

(ii) When the short sound is followed by a consonant of the [t] or [ʈ] series, or by [l] or [ɭ], [ʃ], [r] or [ɾ] and a back vowel, then the [i] changes, especially in the colloquial, into the easier [e]: e.g., [vila] > [vela] *price*; [iṭʌm] > [eṭəm] *place*; [pɪraʌuka] > [peraʌuka] *to be smeared*; [vitakkjuka] > [vetakkjuka] *to sow*.

When the immediately succeeding consonant is not followed by a short back vowel (usually [ʌ]), then the change does not take place, e.g. [irikkiɽuxa] *to sit*.

Evidently this change is only the result of the tendency to harmonise and smoothen the utterance of dissimilar or antagonistic sounds.

This change is very frequent in the colloquial, and is not absent in the literary language also, though, in writing, the symbol does not represent [e] but only [i].

(iii) Conjunct consonants with "-y- subscript," i.e. a following [j], are broken up in the colloquial into [i] and [ʌ]: e.g., [bʃia:gjəm] > [bʃia:giam] *fortune*.

This change, however, hardly occurs in the language spoken by the literate classes who claim—and to a certain extent rightly too—to be able to pronounce Sanskrit conjunct consonants with greater "purity" than the people of other provinces of India.

4. [e] and [e:]. (i) The off-glide [i], usual in the English words "late" or "made," does not appear in Malayalam words. Malayali speakers of English do not at all note the presence of this off-glide, and pronounce "late," "made" [leit], [meid] *etc.* as [le:t, me:d].

(ii) [e:] has in certain words a tendency to become the more open [ɛ] as in English "there"; e.g., [pɛ'pʌtʃi] *mad dog*; [pɛrə] *name*; [kɛ'sə] *case*. Purists would regard this [ɛ] as a corruption, notwithstanding the fact that it is very frequently heard even in the speech of educated persons.

5. [æ]. In literary language, this sound occurs in [pæ'n] *I* (the first person singular), [pæntə] *crab*; [pæ'ttəvə'la] *a season*; [pæ'jɛrə'tʃʃa]

Sunday; [ɲjæjəm] *justice*. It will be seen from these instances that the front nasal [ɲ] easily gives rise to [æ].

In the colloquial, [a:] sometimes becomes [æ] by the “fronting” influence of certain consonants *e.g.*, : [sa:jəŋka:ləm] > [sæjəŋka:ləm] *evening*.

Back Vowels.

6. [u] and [u:]. (i) Here again, the Malayalam short sound is never so short as the English vowel in “put”.

(ii) Euphonic convenience sometimes turns the short [u] into an [o], as in the following instances :

[urakkjuka] > [orakkjuka] *to be stranded*.

[uɽajuka] > [oɽajuka] *to break*.

This change occurs under the same circumstances as those in which [i] changes into [e].

(iii) Conjunct consonants compounded with [v] or [ɱ] have a tendency, in the colloquial, to vocalise the [v] or [ɱ] into [u] : *e.g.*, [ʌʃvəm] > [ʌʃʃuəm] *horse*. This change, however, affects only the colloquial of the illiterate masses.

7. [ɯ]: (i) a very common sound in Tamil which corresponds to Malayalam [ə] at the end of certain words. Even in Malayalam, [ɯ] is the sound used by the illiterate classes in the place of [ə] at the end of words ; *e.g.* [ka:ɽɯ] *forest*; [pa:ɽɽɯ] *song* etc.

This sound is described as an [u] sound “with the lips spread out”; in Tamil and in dialectal Malayalam, however, the lips are not spread out to a great extent.

(ii) The Dravidian tendency of introducing some short vowel after every consonant is evident in the pronunciation of the English words “little”, “broken” [lɪt̪l̪, brʊk̪n̪] *etc.*, in which the Tamilian and the Malayali introduce a short [ɯ] sound and utter the words as [lɪt̪t̪ɯl̪] and [brʊ:k̪ɯn̪].

(iii) In pronouncing conjunct consonants where the first component is a plosive, most Tamilians and some Malayalis introduce a short [ɯ] sound after the explosion of the plosive element : *e.g.* [kɭɪp̪ɯt̪əm] *exact*; [rɐt̪ɯnəm] *gem*.

Sanskrit-knowing scholars pronounce the conjunct consonants together without introducing any such short vowel.

8. [o] and [o:]. (i) The short and the long sounds have separate symbols in Malayalam. These sounds never develop an off-glide as in the

English word “note” or “boat” [nou^t, bou^t]. Examples : [kompə] *branch* ; [po:kum] *will go*.

(ii) [o] results from [u] as shown in (6) above.

9. [ə]. This sound occurs in the dialectal speech of certain classes of people in words like [nəm] *we* ; [ʃʌvəm] *dead body* ; North Malabar [və'n] < [ʌvən] *he*.

10. [ɑ:]. (i) [ɑ:] is the value of all Malayalam long symbols in accented syllables ; in unaccented syllables the sound may be reduced to the half-long sound [ɑ'], or short [ɑ], or even [ə] : e.g., [prədʱiɑ:nəmallaṭṭa] *not important* ; [ɑ:ʃɑ:ri] > [ɑ'ʃəri] *carpenter* (colloquial).

(ii) Foreign words with [ə], as English “hospital” [həspitəl], and “college” [kəʊlɪdʒ] are made into [ɑ:spətri] and [kɑ:leʃʒ] or [ko:leʃʒ] in Malayalam.

The European seems to be guilty of exactly the opposite tendency, for a place name like [paraʃubʱiɑ:gəm] in Madras has been converted by him into [pə'svəkəm].

Diphthongs.

Those found in the alphabet are only [ai] and [au], but there are many others occurring in the literary language and in the colloquial : e.g.,

- [oi] : [poi] *went* ;
- [ei] : [nei] *ghee* ;
- [uo] : [puo] *will (you, he or I) go ?* ;
- [iʌ] : [vʌliʌ] *big* ;
- [ie] : [niei] *you indeed !*
- [aai] : [tai] *mother* ;
- [io] : [poio] *did [he, you or I] go ?*

The diphthongal character of these combinations is ignored in the literary language where these vowel groups are mostly pronounced as two distinct syllables.

The words [poi], [nei], [puo] and [vʌliʌ] are respectively written as [po'ji], [nejja], [pu'vo] and [vʌlija], and when these words are deliberately pronounced, all the sounds are fully uttered.

Consonants.

As already mentioned, the parent Malayalam alphabet, or [vaṭṭeṭuttā] as it was called, was only a reproduction of the Tamil script, and so it contained no symbol for [ɸ] or for the aspirates. The symbols for these were only subsequently formed.

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1. [k] (i) This is a true velar plosive, and fully maintains its character when it occurs in the accented syllable of the word or when it is doubled.

(ii) In unaccented syllables, it may be reduced to the fricative [x], as n [paɾaɽjuxa] *to say* or [naɽəkkuxa] *to walk*.

(iii) It may sometimes even disappear in unaccented syllables : e.g.,

[paɽkuti] *half* > [paɽxuti] > [paɽti] ;

[maɽkən] *son* > [maɽxən] > [məhən] > [mo:n] (colloquial) ;

[po:kum] *will go* > [po'um] > [po'm] > [pu:m] ;

[vaɽikaɽjilla] *will not come* > [vaɽuvilla] or [vaɽilla] ;

[vaɽanəko!u] *you may come* > [vaɽuno!u].

(iv) Sometimes by the side of voiced sounds, the [k] may become voiced into [g] or [ɟ] ;

[bfiəkən] *name of a giant* > [bfiəɟən].

(v) English words with final [k] are naturalised in Malayalam with the [k] doubled and with the addition of a supporting vowel [ə], e.g., *book* > [bukəkə], etc.

(vi) [k] has a more palatal value when it comes in association with palatal vowels : e.g.,

• [irikkjuka] *to sit* ; [maɽəjkkuka] *to cover*.

2. [kh] is not an original Dravidian sound. The educated classes accurately pronounce this and other aspirates, but the uneducated people hardly make any distinction between [k] and [kh] or between [g] and [gh] : e.g.,

[vikhjaɽəm] *celebrated* > colloquial [vikkjəɽəm] ;

cf. [bfiə:ɟjəm] *luck* > Tamil [pa:kkjəm] ;

3. and 4. [g] and [gh]. These sometimes change into [k] in *tadbhavas* or modified Sanskrit words and in certain colloquial corruptions : e.g.,

[go'vindən] *a personal name* > colloquially [ko:ntu] ;

[ghānəm] *heaviness* > [kānəm] ;

[goa ma:mpaɽəm] *Goa mangoes* > [ko:ma:mbəɽəm].

5. [ɽ] is a true cerebral or retroflex sound in Malayalam, as in other Dravidian languages. [ɽ] does not occur initially. Examples :

[ka:ɽə] *forest* ; [kəɽtə] *knot* ; [pa:ɽə] *to sing* ; [paɽtə] *silk*.

6. [ɽh] occurs in Sanskrit words, but is rarely pronounced accurately as an aspirate by the uneducated : e.g.,

[maɽhəm] *house* > [maɽəm], also [maɽəm].

7 and 8. [ɖ] and [ɖʱ] occur only in Sanskrit words.

[ɖ] sometimes changes into [ɖ] in Malayalam: e.g.,

[sʌmɾaːɖ] *king* > [sʌmɾaːɖ] ;

[ɡuɖika] *pill* > [ɡuɖika].

[ɖ] changes a following [ʌ] into [e], e.g.,

[ɖʌmbʱɪɪm] *pride* > [ɖembʱɪɪm].

9. [ɖ] (i) This is a slightly more forward sound than the sound in English “enter”, but does not approach the interdental [t̪]. It can therefore be described as an alveolar sound. The manner of articulation is also different from that of the dental [t], for the blade of the tongue is not spread out as for [t]. This sound never occurs initially or singly (except when it forms a conjunct consonant with [n]) : e.g.,

Mal. [ente] *my*; [kaːttə] *wind*; [vittə] *having sold*; cf. Tamil [eʃentru] *having gone*.

(ii) The genitive ending of certain nouns, and the past participle endings of certain verbs are formed with [ttə].

(iii) This sound is gradually disappearing from Tamil, while in Malayalam it may be said still to hold its own, as shown above. But colloquially, sometimes [tt] appears instead of [ttə], although purists correctly utter the [ttə].

[ellaːttɪlɪm] *in all* > colloquial [ellaːttɪlɪm].

(iv) The symbol for this sound in Malayalam is a double [ɖ]; the reasons for the adoption of this symbol are rather complex, and a discussion of these reasons does not fall within the purview of this short sketch.

The following is a short poetic passage where [tt] occurs in profusion :

[kaːttum maɳɳɳum veɪlɪm maɳɳum

eːttuŋkoŋtuɳaːtalinoːtə

eːttamurakkəm maːtti paɳiɳɳɳu

noːttukiɳɳuɳuɳuːttəmirənnu.....]

The jewel that I have won after suffering the hardships of Wind, Rain, Sun, and Dew, after suffering the greatest amount of sleepless anxiety and hunger...

10 and 11. [t] and [th]. (i) [t] is a pure dental plosive and not a fricative like English *th* as in “thin” [θ]. Many speakers of Tamil and Malayalam quite wrongly use *th* as the equivalent of [t] in writing names and words of their own language in English letters.

(ii) In the colloquial of the masses, the aspirates are not correctly pronounced, and voiced and breathed sounds are freely interchanged.

[oʃoːdiceʃu] *asked* > colloquial [eʃoːticeʃu]; [katha] *story* > [kata].

(ii) Intervocal [t] in unaccented syllables sometimes becomes a fricative [θ], e.g., [vɑːtil] *door* > [vɑːθil].

English [θ] and [ð] are represented in Malayalam by [t] and [d].

Sanskrit final [t] is rendered in Malayalam by [l] instead of [t]: e.g., Skt. [ṣaṭhaːt] *immediately* > [ṣaṭhaːl].

(iv) Sanskrit [t] or [d] in conjunct consonants [ts] or [dm] are naturalised in Malayalam as [l]; Skt. [vatseː] *dear* > [valse], [padma] *lotus* > [pālma] and sometimes [pālpa].

12. and 13. [d] and [dh].

These sounds change an immediately following [ʌ] into [ə] or [e], as already shown above: e.g.,

[dʌja] *pity* > [deja].

[ɑːdʌrəvə] *kindness* > [ɑːdərəvə].

[dhʌnikən] *rich man* > [dhənikən].

[dʌmʌjantiː] *Damayanti, a proper name* > [deməjanti].

Affricates.

14. 15. 16. 17. [tʃ], [tʃh], [tʃʒ] and [tʃh]. (i) Orthodox grammarians classify these sounds as plosives, but they partake more of the spirant or continuant values of the affricates than of the exploding nature of plosives.

(ii) In Tamil [tʃ] has only the value of a pure fricative [ʃ]: e.g., [tricʃuːr] *Trichur* > Tamil [tiriffuːr] [tʃentaːmərəi] *red lotus* > [ʃentaːmərəi].

(iii) Initially, the single symbol has always the value of [tʃ] but, otherwise the [tʃ] easily becomes [ʃ]: e.g.

[viʃʌːrikkjuka] *to think* > [viʃʌːrikkjuka].

(iv) A double sound [tʃtʃ] is a pure affricate where the palatal plosive element is conspicuous, though there is no actual explosion.

(v) All the affricates, like the pure fricatives, change an immediately following [ʌ] into [ə] or [e]: e.g.

[tʃʌŋŋaːti] *friend* > [tʃeŋŋaːti];

[tʃʒʌjʌm] *victory* > [tʃeʒjəm];

[pʌŋkʌtʃʌm] *lotus* > [pʌŋkəʒjəm];

Nasals.

18. [ŋ]. (i) This nasal does not occur initially or singly. It is always found doubled, or in combination with [k], e.g., [vɑːŋŋuka] *to receive*; [vɛŋkʌləm] *vessel*.

(ii) The tendency to nasalisation is one of those characteristics which distinguish Malayalam from Tamil; this tendency is very prominent in the sounds of both Sanskrit and native words : *e.g.*,

Tamil [vaṅgu] *receive* > Malayalam [vaṅṅə];

Sanskrit [aṅgam] *limb* > Malayalam [aṅṅəm]. In writing, the Sanskrit spelling is preserved.

(iii) The plural ending [ka], when it combines with the “anusvāra” = final [m] of a noun, becomes [ṅka];

[maṛam] *trees* + [ka] > [maṛaṅṅa] *trees*;

Tamil [peṇ] *girl* + [ka] > Tamil [peṅga], but Malayalam [peṅṅə].

(iv) In association with palatal vowels, the value of [ṅ] is “fronted” a little and a small glide [j] comes in between : *e.g.*, [paṅṅa] *areca-nut*; [vaṅṅutəṅṅa] *brinjals*.

19. [ɲ]. This is another nasal which is very prominent in Malayalam. This sound is absent in Tamil except when combined with [ç], as in [kaɲçɪ] *gruel*. It is the prominence of this sound in Malayalam that makes Tamilians say [tamiṣu mu:kkaḷe paɲeɲçal maləjaḷəma:kum] *Tamil uttered through the nose becomes Malayalam*.

(ii) Tamil initial [n] occurs as [ɲ] in Malayalam : Tamil [na:n] *I* > Malayalam [ɲæn].

Tamil [nættikkəɹəme] = Mal. [ɲæjəɹa:ɪçɹa] *Sunday*.

A passage with many [ɲ] sounds :

[taṅṅaliṅṅəne joro: va:kkukəḷ aṅṅu paɹəṅṅu niraṅṅəɲ paṭaɲiṭətiṅṅi jiṭəṅṅu naṭənnu tuṭəṅṅi.....].

The army collected itself in the midst of this mutual talk; and thick in crowded members, began to march along.

20. The cerebral [ɳ], the usual retroflex sound, does not call for any special remarks.

21. [ɳ]. (i) This is a peculiar dental nasal in Malayalam and is the proper nasal representative of the [t] series.

(ii) Though there is a special symbol for [ɳ] in Tamil, the accurate sound is not given to it; it is pronounced in the same way as [n]. In Malayalam, the sounds exist separately but, the same symbol is used both for [n] and [ɳ], so that very often confusion arises as to the character of the sound to be given to the symbol : *e.g.*,

[ɳinna:naɳəm naɳnə naɳəṅṅə tuṭaṅṅi] *your face well to become wet began*.

(iii) [ɳ] appears singly only at the beginning of words, and consequently whenever the symbol appears at the beginning of words, the sound [ɳ] is alone given to it.

[nɑːja] *dog*; [nɑrəkəm] *hell*.

Tamilians are ridiculed for mispronouncing [n] as [ɳ].

(iv) In other positions of the sentence than the beginning of words, the sound is always doubled : e.g., [ʋannu] *came*; [panni] *pig*.

But not in all cases, e.g., in [ɳinnute] *your*; [kanni] *month*; [tinmaːn] *for eating*, the medial sounds here are [nn] or [n]

(v) As a general rule it can be stated that [nn] is always the sound which represents the Tamil group [nd] : e.g., Tamil [ʋandaːn] *he came* = [ʋannu].

(vi) In the colloquial [n] changes sometimes into [ɳ] : e.g., e.g., [ʋarunnu] *comes* > [ʋarɳu] > [ʋaɳɳu].

[ennaːrjəputrən ʋaɳəttinnu poːjaːl
piɳnə puriːʋaːsəm entinnu veːntiː
ɳinnoʃu kuːʃittə poːrunnu ɳæːnum
ennaːl maɳoːʃɳæɳɳi (ʋaidehi taːnum)]

*If my lord (Rāma) goes to the forest, of what use is town life for me?
I am also coming with you, my lord, said the beautiful Vaiidehi (Sītā).*

22. [ɳ]. (i) is an alveolar sound, and should be distinguished from [n] as indicated above.

(ii) [ɳ] does not occur initially in Malayalam.

Even Sanskrit initial [ɳ] becomes [n] in Malayalam, as in [nɑːdəm] *soṇd*.

(iii) Along with cerebral sounds like [ʈ], the [ɳ] changes into [ɳ̌] : e.g., [kaɳʈhəm] *neck*.

23. [m] occurs initially, medially and finally : e.g., [maːɳɳa] *mango* [timirəm] *eye-disease*; [maɳam] *tree*. This sound being one of the [ʧillukəl] referred to above (p. 7), it can occur at the end of a word without the support of any vowel.

(ii) Intervocal [m] is very unstable in the colloquial, and changes into [ʋ], or sometimes disappears : e.g.,

[paɳaːjaːmo] *can (he you or I) say* > [paɳaːjaːʋo] > [paɳeːjoː]

[paɳaːjumaːjirunnu] *would have said* > [paɳeːjaːrɳnu].

Even in the literary language we have [dʃiɳaɳam] *wealth* > + [um] and > [dʃiɳaɳaʋum] *and wealth*.

Compare Telugu [ʌʋənu] = [aːmaː] *yes* (Tamil)

(iii) Sometimes [ʋ] gives place to [m] : e.g.,

[aːʋiɳi ʌʋuʈʈəm] *a day in Avini month* > [aːmiɳiːʋuʈʈəm].

24. (i) [j] is an alvolar fricative, and is fully sounded in correct speech, though in the colloquial dialects of some classes of people, it breaks up into [i] + [ʌ].

(ii) This sound belongs to the class of [çʃillukə], and can stand alone at the ends of words: *e.g.*, [kə:j] *fruit*; [pə:j] *mat*.

(iii) The strong palatal character of this consonant enables it to change an immediately succeeding [ʌ] into [ə] or [e]: *e.g.*,

[jʌʃʒəma'nən] *master* > [jeʃʒəma'nən] or [jəʃʒəma'nən];

[jʌʃəssə] *fume* > [jeʃəssə] or [jəʃəssə];

[pə:jʌsəm] *rice-milk* > [pə:jəsəm];

[matijə'ja] *sufficient* > [matijə'jə]

(iv) [j] and [ʃ] are sometimes interchangeable: *e.g.*,

[viʃərpə] *sweat* > [viʃərpə].

Cf. Tamil sing. [pəjəl] *boy* > Tamil pl. [pəʃəŋkəl] *boys*; Tamil [və:ʃikkə] *to read* = Mal. [vəjikkuka]; Tamil [kəʃəppu] *bitter* = Mal. [kəjppə].

(v) [j] appears as a glide to fill up the hiatus between two words: *e.g.*,

[vʌnna] + [ɑ:] > [vʌnnajɑ:] *the man who is come*.

(iv) Sanskrit conjunct consonants with [j] as the second component are correctly pronounced by the educated classes, but in the colloquial of the illiterate classes, corruptions arise: *e.g.*,

Skt. [sandhja:] *night* > [sandhja] > [sandhi], or even [ʌnti] in the colloquial;

[sədjə] *feast* > [səddi].

25, 26. [r] and [ɾ]. (i) Both these sounds belong to the class of [çʃillukə], and can stand alone at the ends of words: *e.g.* [mo:r] *buttermilk*; [tair] *curds*.

(ii) [r] is an alveolar sound, while [ɾ] is a cerebral: and this cerebral [ɾ] is quite different from the so-called cerebral 'ɽ' of Northern India, which is a 'flapped' sound.

(iii) Initial [r] is a sound produced with one or two taps of the tongue against the teeth-ridge, but medial and final [r] is only a flap. [ɾ] is a true retroflex sound and is slightly trilled.

(iv) When [r] comes before a guttural consonant and combines with it to form a conjunct consonant, the [r] becomes [ɾ].

If [r] is the second component in a conjunct consonant, with the first component a voiced sound, the value of [r] remains [r]: *e.g.*,

[grə'məm] *village*; [gʃrə'nəm] *smell*; [brə'mmənən] *Brahmin*.

When the first component is a breathed sound, the [r] changes into [r̥]: e.g.,

[pramāṇəm] *proof*; [krandənəm] *weeping*; [mā'trəm] *only*.

If [r] is the first component, [r] may become [r̥] or may remain unchanged: e.g.,

[derʃənəm, dər-] *visit*; [derbʱa] *a kind of grass*; [mā'rdevəm] *soft*.

(v) [r] and [r̥] change an immediately succeeding [ʌ] into [ə] or [e]: e.g.,

[reŋgeṇa'tən, reŋ-] *the proper name Ranga-nāthan*; [rəmbʱa, rəm-] *proper name Rambhā*; [reva, rə-] *ground rice*; [ret̪nəm, rə-] *gem*; [rebi'ndrəṇa'tən, rə-] *the proper name Rabindranath*.

(vi) [r] or [r̥] never occurs initially in a native Dravidian word. This can be seen from the way in which Tamil has tried to assimilate Sanskrit words: e.g.,

Sanskrit [ra:ʃgā] *king* > Tamil [ʌʌʃən];

Skt. [ra:tri] *night* > Tam. [ir̥:və];

Skt. [lo:kah] *world* > Tam. [uləkəm].

In unaltered Sanskrit words the [r] is retained at the beginning in both Tamil and Malayalam.

(vii) [r] sometimes disappears in the colloquial when it occurs in unaccented syllables: e.g.,

[v̪arunnu] *comes* > [v̪arnnu] > [v̪ar̪nu] or [v̪annu];

Tamil [pa:rkə] *to see* > [pa:kkə].

27. and 28. [l̪] and [l̪̥]. (i) [l̪] is an alveolar, and [l̪̥] is a retroflex, sound. Both belong to the class of [q̪illukə!]: e.g., [pa:l̪] *milk* [ʌvə!l̪] *she*.

(ii) [l̪] and [l̪̥] are interchangeable.

[ʌppo:l̪] *then* > [ʌppo:l̪̥]

[va:l̪əppə!ʃəm] *plantain fruit* > [va:l̪̥əppə!ʃəm].

(iii) [l̪̥] never begins a word, whereas [l̪] may.

These sounds can change an immediately succeeding [ʌ] into [ə] or [e]: e.g.,

[l̪ʌta] *leaf* > [l̪eta];

[l̪ʌŋka] *ceylon* > [l̪eŋka].

(iv) Sanskrit [ḍ] and [ṭ] change into [l̪̥] and [l̪̥] in Malayalam, when these Sanskrit sounds come at the end of words without the support of a vowel:

Skt. [samra:ḍ] *king* > Mal. [samra:l̪̥];

[ṣaṭha:ṭ] *immediately* > [ṣaṭha:l̪̥].

(v) When [l] and [ɭ] combine with a succeeding nasal to form a conjunct consonant, especially in compounds, the character of these sounds changes into the corresponding alveolar [n] and cerebral [ɳ] respectively :

[nel] *paddy* + [maɳi] *grain* > [nenmaɳi] *paddy grain* ;

[veɭ] + [ni:r] > [venni:r] *ashes*.

29. [v] and [ʋ]. (i) The true value of the Malayalam symbol [v] is the dento-labial fricative ; but very often only the bilabial [ʋ] is uttered in actual speech.

(ii) [v] or [ʋ] occurring inter-vocally disappears: *e.g.*,

[ʌvən] *he* in North Malabar dialect becomes [ʋə:n] > [o:n] ;

[po:kumo] *will go* > [po:kuʋo] > [puʋo] > [po:] .

(iii) [v] and [m] are easily interchangeable as already shown.

(iv) [v] or [ʋ] changes an immediately following [ʌ] into [ə] or [e] : *e.g.*,

[vʌra] *line* > [vera] .

(v) In sounding conjunct consonants where [v] or [ʋ] forms the second component, purity of pronunciation is maintained only by the educated classes ; *e.g.*, in the colloquial, we find alterations like

[guruttvəm] *grace* > [guruttəm] > [kuruttəm]

[viddhattvəm] *foolishness* > [viddhattəm] .

(vi) [v] appears as a guttural glide in connected phrases and in sentences where the proximity of two dissimilar vowels creates a hiatus, *e.g.*, [veɭutta] + [oruvən] *fair-complexioned* > [veɭutta voruvən] .

[v] acts as a glide between back vowels, while [j] acts as a palatal glide.

30, 31, and 32. (i) [ʃ], [ʃ̌], [s] are not interchangeable but are separately and distinctly pronounced. [ʃ̌] is an alveolar, [ʃ] is a cerebral, and [s] is also an alveolar where the fore-blade of the tongue is flattened out so as to allow more air to pass through with a sharp hissing noise than when [ʃ] is uttered.

(ii) [ʃ̌] and even [s] sometimes become [ç̌] in the colloquial : *e.g.*, [ʃ̌ʌŋkərən] > *the* [ç̌ʌŋkərən] *proper name Śankaran* ; [sʌmaɟəm] *time* > [ç̌ʌmeɟəm] .

33. [ɹ]. (i) This is a sound peculiar to Tamil and Malayalam ; the position of the tongue is exactly the same as for [ʃ̌] but the air is allowed to pass through without the hissing sound and, besides, the sound is a voiced one.

(ii) As already pointed out, [l̥] and [ɭ] are interchangeable.

A passage with [ɭ] : [miɻikə] viṭarṇṇu vaṭijilaməṇṇu aṭaku kalarṇṇu kaṭaliṇə ɕe:ṇṇu].

34. [ɸ, h]. This velar fricative, usually voiced except in aspirates and interjectional exclamations, is difficult of utterance for Tamilians, and as already mentioned, it was absent amongst the old Tamil (Dravidian) sounds. With the introduction of Sanskrit sounds in the South, symbols also were newly formed for these new sounds, but the Dravidians admitted these sounds only after a struggle, for we see that the early Tadbhavas in Tamil from Sanskrit words containing [ɸ], all avoid this fricative and retain only the accompanying vowel or consonant sound : *e.g.*,

Skt. [ɸitam] > Tamil [idəm] *pleasure* ;

Skt. [maɸa:de:va] > Tamil [ma:de:vən] *Mahādēva*.

(ii) In Modern Malayalam also, the [ɸ] is very unstable in the following instances :—

[vaɸija] *not possible* > [vaɻja] ;

[bəhu] *great* > [bəu].

Sanskrit words with [ɸ], however, are clearly and accurately pronounced by scholars,

(iii) [ɸ] results from the corruption of [k] through the fricative [x] : *e.g.*, [makən] *son* > [maxən] > [maɸən].

(iv) In conjunct consonants [ɸm] and [ɸn], the aspirate [ɸ] is sounded, if at all, only after [m] and [n], *e.g.* as [mɸ] and [nɸ] ; but very often even in very correct speech, the [ɸ] may not be heard at all : *e.g.*,

[bra:ɸimməṇən] or [bra:mməṇən] *Brahman* ;

[ɕɸinɸəm] or [ɕɸinuəm] *sign*.

[ɸi] is uttered correctly in [a:ɸi|a:dəm] *joy*.

The unvoiced [h], as in English *hat*, *happy*, is found in Malayalam only in the unvoiced aspirates [kʰ, ɕʰ, tʰ, th, ph].

In the orthodox Malayalam alphabet, [kʃ], [rʷ] and [lʷ] are also included ; but [kʃ] is a conjunct consonant, while [lʷ] and [rʷ] (actually only the sonants [ɾ] and [l̥]) do not occur as such in Malayalam except in Sanskrit words. Thus—

[kʌuɾptəm] or [kʌiptəm] *exact*.

[rʷ] and [lʷ] may be pronounced as [ri] and [li], or [ir] and [il], or as [ər] and [əl] :

[kriʃṇən] or [kərʃṇən] or [kirʃṇən] *Krishna*.

Conjunct Consonants.

These occur only in Sanskrit words current in Malayalam. It is a boast amongst the Malayalis that they can pronounce words with conjunct consonants more accurately than the people of other parts of India. This boast is not entirely without justification, for those peculiarities of sound characteristic of the utterance of conjunct consonants in the Prakritic languages of North India, like Bengali, Hindi etc., are conspicuous by their absence in Malayalam. But nevertheless "impure" pronunciation of conjunct consonants does occur in the language. Thus—

Skt.		Mal.		Example.
[ŋg]	...	[ŋŋ]	...	[bʱaŋgi] > [bʱaŋŋi] <i>beauty</i> .
[nɖ]	...	[nn]	...	[go:vindən] > [go:vinnən] <i>Gōvinda</i> ;
[nd]	...	[nn]	...	[maṇḍapam] > [maṇṇəpəm] <i>house</i> ;
[ʃṣṇa]	...	[ʃṣṇæ]	...	[ʃṣṇæ:nəm] > [ʃṣṇæ:nəm] ;
[mb]	...	[mm]	...	[amba] > [amma] <i>mother</i> ;
[dm]	...	[lm]	...	[padma] > [palma] <i>lotus</i> ;
[vja:]	...	[ve]	...	[vja:sanəm] > [vesənəm] <i>sorrow</i> ;
[tja:]	...	[tjə]	...	[satjam] > [sattjəm] <i>truth</i> .

(i) In transcribing the sounds of the Sanskrit conjunct consonants, I have proceeded on the assumption that the Indo-Aryan representative of modern Malayalam [ʌ] should have been, in the stressed syllables of words at least, [a].

(ii) Accuracy of pronunciation requires that the components of conjunct consonants in Malayalam should be sounded together in one breath, as in the English words "crypt" or "breadth". Prof. Yogesh Chandra Ray remarks in his *Bengali Grammar* (published by the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Paṛiṣad) that in Bengali certain conjunct consonants (especially those with plosives as their first components) are pronounced with a peculiarity that the two components are not pronounced together, but, as it were, with a slight break in the middle to enable the plosive to sound completely. For instance, Prof. Ray says that अग्नि (āgni) is uttered in Bengali as অগ্নি [og-ni] and not as অ-গ্নি [o-gni], so that here the full explosion of the consonant is made. This difference seems to be significant, for in very lax enunciation of the conjunct sounds in the Bengali way, a short vowel might creep in between the first plosive and the consonant which follows it. In listening to a Calcutta Bengali uttering words like অগ্নি (āgni), কাঁদলে (kāḍle) or

रत्न (rātnā) in a lax manner, the sounds appeared to me to have the values of [ogw̥ni], [kād̪w̥le] or [rət̪w̥nə].¹ In Malayalam, however, no such thing is possible, and the pronunciation of the above-mentioned words is [ʌgni], [rat̪n̪am].

(iii) It should be remembered that only *Tatsamas* are given accurate Sanskrit sounds; there are many *Tadbhavas* in Malayalam which have got rid of the conjunct consonants: e.g., [kr̪ʌʃn̪ən] > *Tadbhava* [kan̪n̪ən] the name *Krishna*; [budd̪fi] used in a good sense to mean "wisdom", > [put̪ti] "perversity", used in a bad sense; [ʌʃudd̪fiəm] < [ʌitt̪əm] pollution.

(iv) When conjunct consonants occur medially, the first component if it is a plosive, is doubled: e.g.,

[lak̪k̪ʃmi] name, *Lakshmi*; [a:p̪pt̪əm] suitable; [pat̪t̪r̪əm] vessel.

The doubling of the sound is, however, not always represented in writing.

(v) Doubling of consonants occurs in various other cases, the most important among which is that of certain plosives and affricates at the beginning of the second component in certain *Samāsas* or compound forms: e.g.

[c̪ʌk̪ka] jackfruit + [pa:ʌm] ripe < [c̪ʌk̪kappa:ʌm] ripe jackfruit.

Glides.

The glides in Malayalam are [j] and [v] or [ɤ], both being used for filling up the hiatus between vowels: e.g.

[pa:ʌ] + [illa] = [pa:ʌjilla] will not say;

[pu:ʌ] + [illa] > [pu:ʌvilla] there is no worm.

These are examples of compounds or sense-groups. Even in sentence where words stand apart, these glides can come in rapid pronunciation. Sometimes the full [j] may not arise, but only [ɤ], as in the Bengali সে এল [ʃe:ʌelo] he came. ●

Sandhi.

Euphonic combinations are developed whenever two vowels or consonants come together, either within a word or when proximately standing in two different words. There is no hard and fast rule in Malayalam as to where the euphonic combination has to set in sentences, but an approximate rule may be formulated that wherever compounds of

¹ Dr. Chatterji thinks that there is no vowel glide perceptible although the stop is certainly fully exploded.

words convey together a definite common meaning there the laws of *Sandhi* can also operate.

The laws of *Sandhi* in Malayalam are various, and different in many respects from those of Sanskrit. A discussion of these laws is beyond the scope of this sketch.

General Observations.

Dynamic Stress.

The existence in all Dravidian of innumerable contracted forms is clear proof for the fact that dynamic stress of some character does exist in all Dravidian languages, including Malayalam. It may also be affirmed that the dynamic accent falls primarily on all root-syllables of words. Word-stress in Malayalam differs from that in North Indian languages, and in Standard Southern English, in three important respects :

1. Word-stress is not initial as in Bengali, German or English, but it invariably falls on the root-syllables of words. Secondary stress also exists in polysyllabic words, but is often denoted by pitch-variations.

2. Stress is always accompanied in Malayalam by a high pitch, and it is a moot point if dynamic stress exists in Malayalam independently of musical accent or intonation. Musical intonation in the colloquial is often strong enough to give a "timbre" to the speech as in the French language.

3. Word-stress in Malayalam is not so strong as in English, and, moreover, the existence of stress, in the literary languages, does not usually involve the slurring over of the other syllables, though very unstable consonants may change their character and long vowels may be reduced in length. In the common colloquial of the masses, elisions and contractions are more frequent than in the language of the literate classes.

Emphasis or Sentence Stress in Malayalam may be denoted either with the dynamic accent or the musical accent. It follows all the rules of the "logische Betonung" (logical stress) enunciated by Prof. Otto Behagel in his "Geschichte der deutschen Sprache". "Mechanische Betonung" is also possible in certain cases.

When a prose passage in the literary language is read out, there are distinct sense-groups forming breath-groups, but in the rapid use of the colloquial, the pauses disappear, and the sounds flow one into another, through not so swiftly as to produce what is called the French "liaison".

sa:dfia:rəṇəja:j | no:kkumbo:l || hindu stri:ka:l|kə || itilum adfikəm |
 sva:təntɾjəmunṭə ||. go:ʃa samprəda:jəm || oru nijəməmə:jittə || namburi
 stri:ka:l| ma'trəme— a:čʃaricəʃavarunnu||u || = *ordinarily Hindu women*
enjoy greater freedom than this ; only the Nambudiri women are observing
the Gosha (Purdah) system as a rule.

Length of Vowels.

Correct pronunciation of Malayalam requires full length to be given to all long vowels, but in actual practice this scarcely becomes possible. Long vowels are fully enunciated in stressed syllables i.e. roots-syllables (ordinarily); but in unstressed syllables, the vowel may become half-long or completely short according as there is a pitch-distinction in the syllable or not.

In the pronunciation of Sanskrit words, scholars generally take care to observe the full length of vowels.

Special emphasis on a certain word or on any syllable of a word may lead to the lengthening of the connected vowel: *e.g.*,

[čʃa:ti: maʃi:ndrən] *There leaped the king;*

[vaṇnu: ra:ʃʒa:və ivitə] *Here came the king;*

in the two above sentences [čʃa:ti:] and [vaṇnu:], the two verbs, are specially emphasised, and the final vowels indicating the inflexional endings are accordingly lengthened.

Length of Consonants.

This is very common in Malayalam, and is known as [dvitvəm] or doubling. When sense-groups with grammatical affinities and with definite common meanings are formed, the first consonant in the second or the succeeding component (if any), when it is a plosive or an affricate, is doubled: *e.g.*,

[ma:mpɻɻ] *mango* + [čʃa:rə] *juice* < [ma:mpɻɻəčʃa:rə] “*mango-juice*”; [a:ʃa:ri] + [paɳi] > [a:ʃa:rippaɳi] *carpentry*.

(ii) In verbal compounds also, doubling may occur: *e.g.*,

[čʃa:ti] *leaping* + [kaɭṭaṇnu] *crossed* > [čʃa:tiḱkaɭṭaṇnu] *leaped across*.

[o:ti] + [po:i] > [o:tippo:i] *ran way*.

(iii) Even in sentences where sense-groups are formed, doubling may occur: *e.g.*,

[ellumurijeppaṇita:l pallumurijectinna:m]

from [ellu murije paṇita:l pallu murije tinna:m]

If one works so hard as to break one's bones, one can eat till one's teeth are broken.

(iv) Doubling of consonants may in some cases be represented in writing, in other cases not.

(v) Doubling of the first plosive element of conjunct consonants may also occur as shown above.

Intonation.

Intonation is very prominent in the colloquial where the variations are many and picturesque. Malayalis cannot easily get rid of this native intonation which often affects even the English speeches of educated Malayalis.

Differences of pitch sometimes indicate differences in the feelings of the speaker; [vannuvu:] may be intoned in at least three different ways which would separately indicate a query, surprise, or satisfaction on the part of the speaker.

Assimilation.

Assimilation of both the progressive and the regressive types exists in Malayalam. The scope of this short sketch precludes any detailed discussion of the various laws. A few examples are alone given below.

Progressive (or the first sound influencing the second):—

[kan] see + [tu] past inflexional ending > [kan̩tu] saw; [vil] sell + [tu] > [vittu] = sold

Regressive: [varum] for coming + [ka:lɐn] time > [varuŋka:lɐn] time for coming; [c̣a:ɾum] + [ta:rum] > [c̣a:ɾunto:rum] in leaping.

Dialects.

The dialects of Malayalam vary not only with the districts but also with the different communities inhabiting Malabar. For instance, the colloquial employed by a Christian of the Cochin State is different from that current amongst the superior Hindu castes of the State, whose language again widely differs in sounds, into nation and forms from the dialectal Malayalam of the 'submerged' classes. No colloquial dialect of Malabar has yet attained importance or popularity sufficient to entitle it to receive recognition as a proper vehicle of literary thought. Some of the reasons that stand in the way of such a healthy consummation are (i) the large the number of colloquial dialects, (ii) the multifarious

elisions and contractions in each dialect, (ii) the lack of any uniformity whatsoever in colloquial forms, and (iv) last but not least, the want of a central unifying force as that supplied by a cultural centre or by the existence of literary excellence in any one of the dialects. So long as those influences, that have coöperated to make the Calcutta colloquial (or the West Bengal dialect) a popular literary language in Bengal are absent in Malabar, no colloquial dialect can find itself elevated to a position of literary prominence in that part of India.

General.

There are certain phonological peculiarities in Malayalam which mark off this language from the parent Dravidian, many of the characteristics of which are still retained by modern Tamil. A study of these might furnish us with a clue to what is called by Sweet "the basis of articulation" * of Malayalam, as distinct from that of Tamil and of other modern Dravidian languages. The phonological peculiarities may be classified under the following main heads :—

1. The tendency to nasalisation is very strong in Malayalam, as a result of which [ŋ], [ɲ], [ɳ] [ɱ] have assumed greater prominence in Malayalam than in the other Dravidian languages.

2. The development of mixed vowels in Malayalam, like [ə] is another distinguishing characteristic. The tongue is kept in a neutral position to a greater extent than in Tamil where especially the vowels are purely back vowels. The fact that Malayalam tolerates [a] at the ends of words while Tamil invariably has [ʊ] or [əi], is itself a result of this trait.

I shall now give below phonetic transcriptions of passages in Malayalam prose and poetry. The sounds given here represent the pronunciation of the natives of the Cochin State.

PROSE.

I. po:li:səka'rən fʒejicɕu.

və:tə piɕicɕa:l to:lpippa'n əsə:ddɕjəma'ja oru po:lisəka'rənuntə'jirnnu.
 əvəne kollattəninnu ko:ɕtəjəttekkə ma:tɕijappo:l kolləm iuspektər ko:ɕtə-

* "Every language has certain general tendencies which control its organic movements and positions, constituting its organic basis of articulation. A knowledge of the organic basis is a great help in acquiring the pronunciation of a language."—H. Sweet, *Primer of Phonetics*, § 184.

jəttə inspektərkkə a:po:lisəka:rən bəhu samənthəna:ṇəṇṇum va:tə veeḍja:l
 a:vene f̥ḷejikkuvān aṛkum tanne prəja:səma:ṇəṇṇum eṇuti aḷjəeḍḍirunṇu.
 oru divəsəm a:ven ko:tṭəjəm inspektṭərə ka:ṇa'n eḷennəppo:l adde:fiəm aḷja:-
 lo:tə "enta' iṇitə vaṇṇətil pinne va:til onṇum f̥ḷejiceḍḍille?" enṇə
 eḷo:dicḍḍu. "f̥ḷejippa:ṇonṇum prəja:səmillā; pakṣe' veṇḍəṇṇə veeḍḷe
 miṇṭa'tirunṇəta:ṇə" enṇə a:ven uttarəm paṛaṇṇu. "a:kəṭṭe' ennoṭə
 vaḷḷatum va:tə veeḍḷe ne'ta'n (ne'ta'n) kaḷijumo'?" enṇə inspektər eḷo:dicḍḍu.
 "kaḷijum" enṇə po:lisəka:rən maṛupaṭi paṛəṇṇu. reṇṭuruppikə (-xə) vi:təm
 va:tə niṣḷeḷeḷe inspektṭərute to:lil niṇṇə reṇṭaṇṇuḷəm ta:ḷe oru kaṛutta
 kala uṇṭə" enṇə po:lisəka:rəṇum, "illəṇṇə" inspektṭərum va:dicḍḍu.
 uṭən tanne po:lisəka:rəno:tə f̥ḷejikke:ṇeməṇṇa va:f̥ijinməḷ inspektər
 uṭuppariceḷe f̥ari:rəm ka:ṇiceḷu. paṛaṇṇəṭə po'le kala ka:ṇa:ṇṇətiṇa:l a:
 va:til po:lisəka:rəṇṇə f̥ḷejəm kittijilleṇkilum aṭine:kka:l valuta:ja
 oru vi:rəva:dəttiḷ appo:l tanne aḷaḷkə f̥ḷejəm kitti. eṇṭəṇṇa:l ta'n
 inspektṭərə onṇa:mətai ka:ṇuṇṇa divəsəm ella:vaṛute:jum mumpil veeḍḷe
 adde:fiəttinekkonṭə adde:fiəttiṇṭe uḍuppə aḷippikkia:m" enṇə paṇṭrəṇṭə
 ru:pa kaṛa:vinməḷ aḷaḷute eḷəṇṇa:tiṇa:ro:tə mumpə tanne aḷaḷ oru va:tə
 niṣḷeḷeḷeḷirunṇu. aṭil f̥ḷejiceḷaṭə konṭə eḷəṇṇa:tiṇa:ro:tə paṇṭrəṇṭə ru:pa
 va:iṇṇeḷe aṭil rəṇṭə ru:pa inspektṭərkkə koṭṭəṭə ba:kki paṭṭu ru:pa
 seppilittə konṭə po:kəjəm eḷəjtu.

Literal Translation.

The Policeman Won.

There was once a police constable whom it was impossible for any man to beat in any wager or bet. When he was transferred from Quilon to Kottayam, the police inspector of Quilon had written to the Kottayam inspector that this constable was an ingenious fellow and that it was difficult for anyone to beat him in a wager. One day when he went to see the Kottayam inspector, the latter asked him, "Have you not been able to win in any wager since your arrival here?" "To score a triumph in betting is not in the least difficult for me, but I was only indifferent to it for some time past," replied the constable. "All right!" said the inspector, "can you score a triumph over me?" "I can" replied the policeman. The constable then betted for a prize of two rupees that there was a big mole on the inspector's body two inches below his shoulder, which the inspector stoutly denied. Thereupon the inspector, resolved to corner the constable at once, took off his upper garments. Though the policeman had to own discomfiture in this wager, he happened to triumph in a greater wager; for he had

already betted with his companions for a prize of twelve rupees that he would make the inspector take off his dress in the presence of all on the occasion of his first visit to him. Now that he won the prize in this wager, he received the sum from his companions, paid down two rupees to the inspector, and triumphantly walked away with the balance of ten rupees in his pocket.

Notes on the Transcription.

1. It will be noted that complete length of vowels is preserved in all root-syllables. Half-length indicates that the syllable, though not having the primary stress, is distinguished in some way (i.e. secondarily) by means of pitch.

2. In the numeral adjective [pa^htrə^hṇṭə], [rə^hṇṭə], [pa^htṭə] = *twelve, two, ten*, the last vowel in rapid reading may not sometimes be [ə], but [u] or [u]; so also is the vowel in the second syllable of [koṭə(u)tə] *having given*; [va^hlə(u)taːja] *big*.

3. [ʌ] at the end of Malayalam words standing singly (i.e. not combined in sense groups) has always a more open value approximating to [a]. I have indicated this in the transcription in words like [kala] *mole*, [ruːpa] *rupee*, [va^hlutaːja] *big*, etc.

II. vaṭekkəṇ kaːttuṁ suːrjənuṁ.

vaṭekkəṇ kaːttuṁ suːrjənuṁ avər reṇṭu^hpeːriluṁ vec^hṇṭə aːraːṇə .
 adhik[x]əṁ śakti(j)u^hlləvəṇənnə taːkic^hṇṭə koṇḍirik^hkjumboːl ʃuːdu^hlla oru
 kuppaːjəvuṁ iṭṭaṇkoṇṭə oru vaṭijaːttrekkaːrən aviṭə va^hnnu. avəril aːr
 aːdjəmaːi vaṭijaːttrekkaːrənəkkəṇṭə ta^hntə kuppaːjəṁ eṭup^hpikkun^hnuvoː, avəṇ
 ma^httəvəṇekkaːl adhik[x]əṁ śaktimaː naːṇənnə vic^hṇṭaːrikkjəppətaːṇə-mənnə
 tiːrc^hṇṭəjaːkki. vaṭekkəṇ kaːttə appoːl aːvunneːṭəttəːləṁ śaktijoːtu[u]kuːṭi
 viːʃi. pa^hkṣe eṭtəttəːləṁ ugramaːj viːʃijoː aṭtəttəːləṁ adhik[x]əṁ kuppaː-
 jəṭə vaṭijaːttrekkaːrən deːṇa^httil va^hriṇṇə. ketti. oṭuvil vaṭekkəṇ kaːttə
 śrəməṁ aːaːddi^hjəmənnə [veːṇṭənnə vec^hṇṭu. pinne suːrjən ʃuːtoːtu[u]kuːṭi
 prəkaːʃic^hṇṭə uṭəneː vaṭijaːttrekkaːrən ta^hntə kuppaːjəṭte eṭuttatu(u)koṇṭə
 avəriruvəriluṁ vec^hṇṭə suːrjənaːṇə śaktimaːnənnə vaṭekkəṇ kaːttinə
 sa^hmmatikkeṇṭi va^hnnu.

The North Wind and the Sun.

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger of the two, when a traveller came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that whoever among them would be able to make the traveller take off his cloak would be regarded as stronger than the other. The North Wind

then blew with all his might, but the more he blew the more closely did the traveller wrap his cloak around him. Finally the North Wind gave up his attempt as impossible. Then the Sun rose and shone warmly, and the traveller at once took off his cloak, and the North Wind had to acknowledge that the Sun indeed was the stronger of the two.

POETRY.

I. The following is a phonetic transcription of the first stanza of a Malayalam adaptation, by an eminent Malayalam poet, of the majestic National Anthem of India by Rabindranath Tagore, the জন-গণ-মন-অধিনায়ক জয় হে ভারত-ভাগ্য-বিধাতা 'jana-gaṇa-mana-adhināyaka jaya hē bhārata-bhāgya-vidhātā' :

j̥ejikkə j̥əṇəmano:ne'ta:ve, j̥ejikkə ni' !
 j̥ejikkə bhā'rato:rvibhā:gjəttin vidhā:ta:ve !
 maṇṇaṇip̄pitum giri puṅḡavəṇ taṇṇil n̄inum
 maṇṇuḷətarəma'ja maləja'drijil n̄inum
 antari:k̄ṣətteja:kə juddhāma:kkijun̄koṇṭə
 ponti nilkunn̄u n̄inte puṇjəma'm tiruṇa'məṃ !
 ni:lima telijun̄na ka:lan̄ni j̥əḷətt̄ilum,
 pa:linəṭokkum divjə j̥ā:nnavi'pajəss̄ilum,
 tirəma:ləkəḷ tallija'rkkun̄na katal̄ilum,
 tirəḷun̄nuntə n̄inte puṇjəma'm tiruṇa'məṃ.
 attiruṇa'mett̄iṅkəḷ ppap̄j̄a:b̄um sind̄hu ta:n̄um
 att̄əjumalla vaṅḡə kal̄iṅḡə c̄j̄o:lad̄ijum
 satt̄vəṛəmun̄ərm̄un̄in divjə ga:thəxəḷ pa:ti-
 jottorūmicēj̄u n̄inteja:fiss̄ina'rth̄ikk̄iun̄nu !
 j̥ejikkə sarvə bhāṇv̄jə da:ta:ve, j̥ejikkə ni' !
 j̥ejikkə j̥əṇəmano:ne'ta:ve, j̥ejikkə ni' !
 j̥ejikkə bhā'rato:rvibhā:gjəttin vidhā:ta:ve !

Literal Translation.

Victory to thee! Ruler of the minds of men! Victory to thee
 Victory to thee! Builder of India's destiny !
 On lordly snow-covered mountain crests
 And in the sweet-blowing mountain-breeze,
 Purifying all hearts,
 Ever stands high thy hallowed name !
 In the dark waters of the Yamunā river,
 In the divine milk-white Gaṅgā stream,
 And in the wave-stirred seas

Thy hallowed name ever surges and rolls !
 Hearing thy hallowed name, Panjāb and Sindhu,
 Nay, Vaṅga, Kalinga, and Choḷa,
 Wake up, and singing sacred songs in unison
 Seek for thy blessings !
 Victory to thee, Distributor of gifts ! Victory to thee !
 Victory to thee, Ruler of the people's minds ! Victory to thee !
 Victory to thee ! Builder of India's destiny, Victory to thee !

II. The following passage is a translation of the poet Tagore's poem in শিশু 'Śiśu' (*The Crescent Moon*, in English) beginning with the lines খোকো মাকে শুধায় ডেকে 'khokā mā-kē śudhāy ḍekē' :

enṅunna:ṇamme' jæ'n vaṇṇatɪ ʃɔlgə wi !
 jɛṅṅine kɪvɔʃəma:kkiʝonne' ?
 o:mane ma'makəmo'ʃəsərvəsəṇəj ni' mama ma:riɭicɛʃirunnu !
 ma:makə ʃaɪʃəv le:kəṇəttiŋkəɭən pa:vəkəɭkkuɭil ni' va:niɾunnu !
 maṇṇu koṇʃivəɾəvigraʃəm ti:rtu jæ'n tiṇṇam kaɭicɛʃu vaɭaɾunnə ka:ɭam,
 ennuṇṇi! jænəɭka:runnu reɕʃicɛʃatam minnute vigrəʃəma:ʃirunnu !

Literal Translation.

"Tell me, mother dear, whence did I come,
 How didst thou possess me ?"

"Darling mine, thou lay'st concealed in my heart

crown of all my sweet desire !

Thou layst hidden in the dolls with which I as a baby played,
 And at the time when with clay I made the image of my childhood's God,
 It was thy form that I shaped with surpassing beauty dowed !"

III. The following is the transcription of a conversation in Malayalam in the very rapid style :

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. eviṭunno' ippam ? | 1. <i>Where are you coming from ?</i> |
| 2. vi:ṭṭinnu tanne. | 2. <i>Of course from (my) home.</i> |
| 3. vi:ʃe:ʃicɛʃo' ? | 3. <i>(Anything) particular ?</i> |
| 4. pa:ʃe: ʃanijan tanne. | 4. <i>The old, old trouble !</i> |
| 5. kaɭʃippinṇəvum ko:ɾṭumalle' ? | 5. <i>Quarrelling and courts, eh ?</i> |
| 6. alla:ṇṭu pinne' ! | 6. <i>What else but that !</i> |
| 7. ko:ɾṭil valla maʃəvumunṭo' ? | 7. <i>Any good out of it ?</i> |
| 8. ella:m kuṇṭəmai | 8. <i>Everything has ended disastrously.</i> |

Below is given the literary form of the above :—

1. eviṭe-ninnanippo:ɭ varunnatə ?
2. vi:ṭṭil ninnə tanne.

3. viſe:ſeceſſə ka:rjəmənta:nə ?
4. pa:ɹja upadrəvəm tanne.
5. ka:kſippinəkəttə'lulla ko:rṭṭə vjəvəha:rəm tanne alle ?
6. alla:te pinne enta:nə !
7. ko:rṭil ſſejəma:rgəm vallaṭumunṭo ?
8. aṭokkeppoi.

Educated Malayalis of Cochin state would carry on the above conversation in the following way :—

1. eviṭṭuṇṇa ippo:l vārṇətə ?
 2. vi:ṭṭiṇṇu tanne.
 3. viſe:ſiceſſə valla ka:rjəvumunṭo ?
 4. pa:ɹjə upadrəvəm tanne.
 5. vjəvəha:rəvum ku:ṭṭəvumalle ?
 6. allaṇṭu pinnejo !
 7. ko:rṭil valla guṇəvumunṭo ?
 8. ja:tonṇu villa.
-

TABULAR REPRESENTATION OF THE SOUNDS OF MALAYALAM.

CONSONANTS

	LIP WITH		TEETH WITH	UPPER GUMS WITH			PALATE			GLOTTAL REGION
	TEETH	LIP	BLADE	FORE BLADE	TIP	AFTER BLADE	FRONT	MID-DLE	BACK	
PLOSIVES		p, b	t, d	s, z	ʈ		k, c	ʈ, ɖ	k, g	
AFFRICATES						ʧ, ʤ				
NASALS		m		n	n	ɲ		ɳ	ŋ	
LATERALS					l			ɭ		
TRILLED					r			r		
FRICATIVES	f, v	f, v	θ, ð		ʃ, ʒ	j		ʃ, ʒ	x, ɣ	h, ɦ

VOWELS

	FRONT	CENTRAL OR MIXED	BACK
CLOSE	i		u, u
HALF-CLOSE	e	ə	o
HALF-OPEN	ɛ, æ		ʌ, ɔ
OPEN		a	ɑ

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A FEW DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES

BY

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Though the question of Dravidian origins (in its two separate aspects: linguistic and racial) yet remains shrouded in what looks like impenetrable mystery, the Dravidologue cannot miss the significance of certain recent researches which tend to prove that the Dravidian speeches were far more widespread in India than the actual location of the present-day dialects would imply. The existence of Brâhûi in the extreme North-west, of Oran and Malto in the North-east, and of islets of Dravidian areas in Central India had already led nineteenth century scholars to adumbrate the possibility of Dravidian-speaking peoples having existed in a pre-historic past in other parts of India also. The postulate of linguistic influence exercised by Dravidian on the development of certain features of new Indo-Aryan appeared to afford some frail evidence for this possibility. Recent researches are tending to bring in fresh evidence in this direction. Prof. Przyluski of Paris who is inquiring into the pre-historic cultural elements in India has in a paper in *Journal Asiatique* (1926) observed that it is highly probable that a Dravidian stratum which extended all over India in the past was partially covered by an Austro-asiatic stratum. He is of opinion, besides, that if these Dravidian-speaking peoples had been powerful enough to overcome the Austro-asiatics they would doubtless have installed themselves or kept their ground in the rich tracts of the Indus basin and the Gangetic valley. In another paper in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1927 (p. 354) Prof. Przyluski has made the inductive suggestion that the Dravidians 'who paid homage to their gods by watering them, adorning them with flowers, unguents and beautiful colours but never offering to them any sacrificial victims' were probably the most ancient stock of people in India and that two fresh ethnic *niveaux*—the 'Austriacs' and the Aryans—were superposed one after the other on this ancient stock. Prof. Przyluski has reiterated this view (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. vi, p. 146 ff.) in a recent contribution also. Further evidence of a more tangible character is available now. Prof. S. K. Chatterjee of Calcutta has pointed out in his *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (p. 65 ff.) that a certain number of the endings of Bengali place-names like *jôla*

(cf. Dr. *cāl*), *vīṭi* (cf. Dr. *vīdu*), *gadda* (cf. Kan. *gudde*), *pola* (cf. Dr. *polam* field), *kunḍa* (cf. Tel. *koṇḍa* 'hill'), *cāṭaṭi* (cf. south Dr. *cāṭaṭi*) point to the existence of Dravidian-speaking peoples having remained in Bengal and developed a civilization¹ of their own before the advent of the Indo-Aryans.

The problem of the racial affinities of the peoples who speak the different dialects of to-day, has to be carefully dissociated from the question of the linguistic relationships of the speeches themselves, though we shall necessarily have to envisage the bearing of the former on the latter wherever these speeches show abnormal linguistic features. The ancestors of the Brāhūis of Baluchistan, of the Oraons and the Malers of North-east India, and of the Khonds and Gonds of Central India may or may not have been racially allied to the genuine Dravidian stock. Neither history nor 'pre-history' has as yet shed sufficient light on this matter. Even in the case of the southern Dravidian peoples, the question whether at all any ethnic type to-day may be said to represent the genuine Dravidian stock, continues to be a knotty one.

Linguistic relationships stand altogether on a different footing. An unmistakable linguistic bond, especially on the morphological side, is recognizable among the Dravidian speeches of the south and of the north. The intimacy of connection traceable among pronouns and Pronominal forms, Tense-affixes and Verbal formations, post-positional case-terminations and certain syntactical peculiarities is unequivocal proof of a common linguistic stage for these speeches. This however is not to deny the existence of certain linguistic variations which evidence the fact of differing degrees of cultural separation among the speeches. It is in the region of vocabulary, far more than in morphology, that we meet with such variations many of which have to be traced to (1) the admixture of foreign racial elements including the possibility of *substrat* in certain cases; and (2) the general linguistic influence of Indo-Aryan and Kolarian. None of these variations however are such as to preclude the postulate of a common Dravidian linguistic stage from which the various dialects of to-day should have ramified and developed peculiarities of their own, each in its own *milieu*.

Is it possible for us to reconstruct this common linguistic stage of Dravidian? The task is not an easy one in the present circumstances. We are handicapped by the absence of evidence regarding the past condition of non-southern Dravidian dialects and of any data

¹ Cf. also the occurrence of Dravidian-looking words in Bengali, like *mud* 'fold', dialectal *śapad* 'to gobble up, finish off by eating', *naḍ* 'to move, walk' (page 878 cf Chatterji's work). Chatterji (p. 68 *op. cit.*) also makes the interesting suggestion that the name (of the place) *tamluk* may be allied to *tamil*.

regarding the southern speeches themselves anterior to a certain limit. This total lack of evidence regarding the history of the lesser dialects, combined with the absence of a satisfactory chronology even where we have some literary materials of the past would inevitably lead to the presence of lacunæ in any present reconstruction of the common Dravidian stage.

If the reconstruction of the linguistic basis is thus bound to a certain extent to be defective, far more difficult would be the task of recasting the common cultural stage of Dravidian. How far the efflorescence of ethical and moral concepts in old Tamil represents the culmination of previous stages, we cannot say; but of one thing we can more or less be sure: that this brilliant outcrop in old Tamil literature cannot wholly have been due to the influence of Sanskrit. Seeds do not germinate on a barren soil; and even granting that seeds of Sanskrit learning were sown plentifully on Tamil soil, the richness and brilliance of the crop testify to the fertility of the soil. Be this as it may, Old Tamil culture, our knowledge of which goes back only to a certain limit, may not be relied on for giving us any satisfactory clue to that pre-historic basic stage which possibly was separated by many a century from the Tamil period of which we know.

The task of recasting the cultural past of common Dravidian is thus well-nigh an impossible task in the present circumstances. But the student who aims at reconstructing the common linguistic stage need not despair. The inter-affinities in Phonology, Morphology and Vocabulary that exist among the different dialects, major and minor, of to-day, would provide him with a starting point; and the cautious application of a combination of the analytical and the synthetic methods might enable him to take a peep into the 'linguistic' past, vague though it may be in some respects.

So far as vocabulary is concerned, the cultural separation evidenced by the word-lists available to-day, is fairly large; but there still remain important groups of words which having resisted the inroads of foreign influence, are shared in common by the dialects to-day. One such category of words is constituted of those which denote the operation of the senses, and another constituted of the names for colours. Prof. Brandstetter, that great student of Indonesian, in his monograph *Der Intellekt der indonesischen Rasse* (p. 7) tells us that 'the material of thought approaches the intellect from two sources: from the external world and from the world within. A piece of stone which rolls down a precipice driven by gravity may be as much the object of our thought as a passion welling up in our minds. The thought-stuff which proceeds from the external world is conveyed to the intellect through the activity

of the five senses, and this activity primarily evidences itself in the vocabulary of the people through words denoting these operations themselves and through expressions for "colours."

The present paper aims at treating about these two types of elementary sense-words in Dravidian. What facts would a comparative examination of these words reveal about the past of Dravidian? In what degree do they appear widespread in the dialects? And wherever variations occur, what degree of cultural separation do they indicate?

These are some of the questions which the present paper would aim at discussing. The method adopted here is to classify the different words, discuss their structural and semantic contents, to indicate their distribution and inter-affinities, and finally to adumbrate views on the 'cultural' unity or separation suggested by the discussion.

[A] Table of Dravidian words denoting the operations of the senses—

...	'To see, etc.'	'To hear'	'To smell, etc.'	'To taste, etc.'	'To touch'	'To know, etc.'
Tamil-Mal. ...	<i>kân-</i> <i>nôkk-</i> <i>pâr-</i> <i>vîli-</i> <i>multi-</i>	... <i>kêl-</i>	... <i>kêl-</i>	<i>śuv-ai</i> 'taste' ... <i>tî-</i> <i>ten-</i> <i>kay-</i> <i>kâr-</i> <i>in-i-</i> <i>uvar-</i> <i>pulī</i> } varieties of taste	<i>toḍ-</i> <i>ūru</i> 'touch' ...	<i>aṭ-i-</i> T. <i>tōnd'-</i> M. <i>tōnn-</i> <i>teri-</i> <i>unn-</i> <i>ey-</i> <i>karud-</i> 'to intend, aim at, etc.' <i>ninai-</i> 'to think, know, etc.' <i>puri-</i> 'to understand'
Kannāḍa ...	<i>kân-</i> <i>nôḍ-</i> <i>pâr-</i> <i>niḷak-iṣu</i> 'to wink' <i>miṭṭi</i> 'blinking' 'staring'	... <i>kêl-</i>	... <i>kêl-</i>	<i>śī</i> 'sweet' ... <i>kaypu</i> 'bitterness' <i>ten</i> <i>puṇi</i> 'sour'	<i>toḍ-</i> ...	<i>aṭ-i-</i> <i>tîl-</i> <i>ni-k-iṣu</i> 'to consider' <i>ey-</i> <i>nenc-</i>
Telugu ...	<i>tsūd-</i> <i>kannu</i> , <i>kānu</i> <i>midik-iṇṣu</i> 'to blink eyes'	... <i>vinnu-tsu</i>	... <i>vinnu-tsu</i>	<i>tîpu</i> 'sweetness' ... <i>cēdu</i> 'bitterness', <i>pulī</i> 'sour'	<i>loṭṭ</i> <i>tāk</i> ...	<i>erugu-</i> <i>teli-</i> <i>en-</i> <i>talā-tsu</i> 'to reflect, recollect'

[B] Table of Dravidian words denoting the operations of the senses—

	'Seeing, etc.'	'Hearing'	'Smell'	'Taste'	'Touch'	'Knowing, etc.'
Tulu	... tû- sû- hû-	kêṇ- 'to hear'	mûs-p- 'to smell' nâḍ- 'to stink' kammuna 'scent, smell, odour' gamas- 'to smell, be fragrant, to stink'	tî-pæ 'sweetness' kay-pæ 'bitterness' puli 'sour' ubar 'saltish'	muli- 'to touch'	pin-p- 'to know' ter- 'to be clear to the mind' cû- 'to reckon'
Kûi-kûi	... Kûi sur- 'to see' " meḥ-p- 'to behold' " par mû- 'to sky' Kûi meḥ- 'to look at' " pār- 'to examine'	ven-b- 'to hear'	mûs-k- 'to smell'	vaṇḍ- 'to taste' seub- 'to be sweet' lakne 'sweet' Kûi kamb- 'bitter'	Kûi qilḡ- 'to touch'	Kûi puṇ-b- 'to know' know, elu 'wisdom' Kûi puṇ- 'to know' telh- 'to be clear to the mind'
Gõṇḍi	... hûr- 'to see' sur- 'to look out for' mid-si 'to flesh eyes' Vizag. Koi ṇḍ- 'to see'	keṇṇ- 'to hear'	mus-k- mahkar 'sweet-smelling'	vaṇḍi- 'to taste' ning- 'to taste' mingul 'sweet' keh-ka 'bitter' kai-ll- 'to be bitter'	bôḷ- itṭ-	puṇḍ- 'to know'
Kurukh- Malto.	Kurukh êr- 'to see' " to look at, etc. " miṭ-k- 'to wink eyes' Malto tuiṇḍ- 'to see'	men- 'to hear'	Kur.-musung- 'to smell' kur. ca'a- 'to stink'	tin- 'to be sweet'	Kur. emsnâ 'to let touch' Malto kap- 'to touch'	Kur. ar- Malto aq- 'to think' " ugṭ-
Brâhûi	... xan- 'to gain sight of' hur- } hun- } 'to see' hir- }	bin- } 'to hear' ben- }		hanen 'sweet' xaren 'bitter'		tir- 'to know' [stem of certain conjugations]

I. 'TO SEE, ETC.'

(a) Occurrence and Meanings.

The words given in the above list would show that the same dialect possesses structurally different forms. These forms are not semantically synonymous but strictly differentiated.

(i) *kāṇ* and its representatives everywhere signify 'to gain sight of', 'to appear', being used transitively and intransitively.

This meaning is very clearly illustrated by passages like the following from the songs of the God-intoxicated devotees of Tamil *nāḍu* :

Tirunāvukkarasu swāmi :

காதன் மடப்பிடியோடுங் களிறுவருவன கண்டேன்
கண்டேனவர் திருப்பாதங் கண்டறியாதன கண்டேன்

'I saw the male elephant with his beloved mate, and in that sight I saw the sacred feet of God and secrets not seen heretofore.'

தேடிக்கண்டுக் கொண்டேன் திருமாலோடு நான் முகனும்—
தேடித்தே டொனாத்த தேவனை யென்னுள்ளே தேடிக்கண்டுக்கொண்டேன்.

'I sought and found Him in my soul,—Him whom Brahma and Viṣṇu sought in vain.'

A similar usage is common in the other southern speeches, while the north-western Brāhūi *xanū*- signifies the same idea of 'finding,' 'gaining sight of' in contexts like the following: *Kōr-dasamusāra kare, laṭṭe tenā xanā* 'the blind man groped and found his crutches.'

(ii) Tamil *nōkk* (found in the literary dialect only and not in the colloquial), Kannaḍa *nōḍ*- (common to the old and the new dialects alike) and Malayāḷam *nōkk* mean 'to look at', 'to consider.' Malayāḷam *nōkk*- is a common everyday form to-day, implying distinctly a great deal more than *kāṇ*-. cf. the Malayāḷam usage in phrases like *nāḍugaḷ kāṇuga* 'to visit lands,' *varavu nōkkuga* 'to await arrival', *peṇṇu nōkkuga* 'to search for a wife', etc.

(iii) Modern Tamil uses *pār*- to denote the idea Malayāḷam *nōkk*-, Kannaḍa *nōḍ*-. This word is also found in Old Kannaḍa and Old Tamil where the meaning apparently was more intensive ('to examine, investigate') than is implied in the modern usage of the word, which is more or less equivalent to that of Kannaḍa *nōḍ*- and Malayāḷam *nōkk*-.

(iv) Tamil *viḷi*- and colloquial *muḷi*- literally mean 'to wink', 'to open the eyes'. *viḷi*- with this meaning is found in old Tamil texts, cf. Śilappadigāram, canto X, *nāḍukāṅgāḍai*, l. 1, *vāṅgaṇ viḷiyā vaigayayāmattu*, Tiruvalluvar's உறங்கி விழிப்பதுபோலும் பிறப்பு, *Māṇik-*

kavâsagar's *nattârgal vilittiruppa nâlattulle*. This form is found among the southern dialects ; it has cognates in the central Dravidian Kûi and north Dravidian Kurukh.

(v) Telugu *tsûd*-to-day has all the force and meaning of modern Tamil *pâr*-, Kannaḍa *nôḍ*-, Malayâlam *nôkk*-, but it appears to have to a certain extent invaded the region of *kân*- also : cf. *nênu idivaragu âyananu tsûḍalêdu* 'I have not seen him so far.'

(vi) Tuḷu conveys the ideas of 'finding' and 'looking at' or 'observing' by *tû*- and its sub-dialectal varieties *sû*- and *hû*-. Tuḷu has no other words to express the idea of 'seeing' or 'looking at'.

(vii) Kûi has two words differentiated semantically : *sâr*- 'to see,' 'to gain sight of,' and *meh*- 'to look at,' 'to behold'. cf. *irariki deraru ini surîdî* 'thou shalt find a greater one than these', *evî meh-k-atu* 'they went and observed.'

(viii) Gôṇḍi has *hur*- 'to see' while *sur*- means 'to look out for': *huṭkat ! bah raj takstatol ! Ona raj ol huyi*. let us see what sort of a king he'll make ! Let him look to his kingdom.'

(ix) Kurukh *êr*- expresses both the ideas of 'seeing' and 'looking at' in expressions like the following : *ortosin îrâge kânâ* 'to go to visit one', *pên êrnâ* 'to search for lice'. *êr*- is used as a constituent of compound verbs with the nuance 'to try to' e.g., *onṭâ mannan arg êrnâ* 'to try to climb a tree'—cf. Tamil *marattil êri parka*.

(x) Brahui *hûr*- is carefully distinguished semantically from *xan*- 'to gain sight of,' as *hûr*- always signifies 'to look at, observe, consider,' e.g., *barak va hurak !* 'Come and observe !'

xan- on the other hand, signifies 'to gain sight of' as in the south, e.g., *daṭtean ni bhalo girate xaios* 'thou shalt see greater things than these.'

(xi) Malto *gotror tunduṇ* 'the blind shall see' would illustrate the meaning of *tunduṇ*- 'to gain sight of' ; while *êr*- 'to observe' is found in *ante ning Dangaleki qanxo kodîth â tîkle indrik erne* 'why observest thou the mote in thy brother's eye ?'

(b) *Classification and analytical comparison of forms.*

Six main types are distinguishable on the basis of structure and meanings :—

Group (i) Tuḷu *tû*-, *sû*-, *hû*-.

Telugu *tsûḍ*-

Kûi *sûr*-

Gôṇḍi *hûr*-

„ *sûr*-

Vizag. Koi *ûḍ*- 'to see' [$<(h) \hat{u}ḍ$]

Brâhûi *hûr*-

Malto *tunduṇ*-

I have discussed these forms and their cognates elsewhere¹ and tried to show that they may all be traceable to a primary base* *tñ-* from which a host of forms have been derived in the different dialects. The words for 'fire', 'light', 'visibility', 'appearance', and 'sight' are inter-related in many language-families, and here in this group we have an instance of a set of Dravidian forms illustrative of this inter-relationship.

The formative morphemes and the change of original *t-* to *s-* in some cases and to *h-* in others have been discussed by me elsewhere.¹

It is noteworthy that though Tamil and Kannaḍa do not show connected forms with the meaning 'to see', 'to look at', these dialects do possess numerous words with cognate semantic contents, basically related to this set.

The relationship of this set to Kurukh *êr-*, Malto *êr* 'to see, observe etc.', Kûi *êr-* 'to spy', Brâhûi *hir-* 'to see' (not adduced by Sir Denys Bray but given by Trumpp) is not clear.

For the significance of the widespread distribution of this set of forms, see below.

(Group ii) Tamil *kân-*

Mal. *kân-*

Kannaḍa *kân-*

Koḍagu *kân-*

Tôḍa *kôn-*

Brâhûi *xan-*

Cf. Kurukh *xannâ*²

This set is obviously related to common Dravidian *kan* (eye) found in all the dialects including Kûi and Gôṇḍi where *kân-* with the meaning 'to see' does not occur.

Group (iii) Tamil *nôkk-*

Mal. *nôkk-*

Kannaḍa *nôl-, nôl-, nôḍ-*

Tôḍa *nôḍ-*

Cf. Kûvi *nôkita* 'in front of.'

This group appears to be restricted to the south. Even in the south, Telugu does not show any connected word. Kûvi *nôkita* may possibly be a borrowing from the south. The limited distribution of this group is significant.

Group (iv)

Tamil *pâr-*

¹ *Calcutta University Journal of Letters*, vol. xix.

² *xan* of Kurukh does not mean 'to gain sight of', which function is performed by *êr*, but 'to be pleasant to the eye' e.g., *xêsô kicrê engage mal xanô* 'a red garment does not suit me well'.

Group (iv)

Old Mal.	<i>pâr-</i> 'to observe, etc'. Modern Mal. <i>pâr-k-</i> 'to live, abide'.
Old Kannaḍa	<i>pâr-</i>
Kûvi	<i>pâr-</i>
Kûi	<i>por-p-</i> 'to spy', 'to watch'.
„	<i>pâr-mb-</i> 'to grope'.

This set appears to be confined to the south and to Kûi-Kûvi. Telugu has no connected word with the meaning 'to examine' but it has *pârūva*, 'seer' 'brahmin' with which Kannaḍa *pârūva*, *hârūva*, and Tamil *pâr-p-ân*¹ are connected. The base *pâr-* has been suggested by Gundert to be an ancient *tadbhava* from Sanskrit *par* which according to him directly gave rise to Tamil *pâr* 'earth' from which the verb *pâr-* with the meanings 'to behold', 'to observe' and the other meanings 'to live', 'abide' (current in modern Malayâlam) have been derived; Gundert in support of his suggestion, suggests the analogy of Sanskrit *loka* and *locana*.

Group (v)

Tamil	<i>viḷi-</i> , colloquial <i>muḷi-</i> , <i>miḷi-</i>
Mal.	<i>viḷi-kk-</i>
Tel.	<i>miḍik-intsu</i> 'to blink'.
Kann.	<i>miṭak-isu</i> 'to wink'.
„	<i>miṭi</i> 'blinking'.
Cf. „	<i>miki miki nôḍ-</i> 'to look with a blink or stare'.
Kûvi	<i>meh-</i> 'to see'.
Kûi	<i>meh-p-</i> 'to observe', 'to look at'.
Gôṇḍi	<i>miḍ-st-</i> 'to open eyes', 'to flash a look'.
Kurukh	<i>miṭ-k-</i> 'to wink eyes'.

It is not impossible to suggest a structural inter-connection among these forms on a Dravidic basis. The change of initial *v-* to *m-* is attested by analogies² in the southern dialects. The continuative *-ḷ-* of Tamil-Mal. and Old Kannaḍa may stand for an older cacuminal *-ḷ-*. *viḷi-*, *muḷi-* of Tamil-Mal. are *kâritas* incorporating the reinforcing affix *k (k)-* in certain tense-forms; if we postulate an older *-ḷ-* for the present *-ḷ-* of Tam.-Mal., this *-ḷ-* when in the immediate proximity of the affix *-k (k)* would, according to sandhi-rules mirrored now in Tamil, change to *-ṭ-* or *-ḍ-* and this might explain the cacuminals of the Gôṇḍi and Kurukh forms. As for the *-h-* of the Kûi-Kûvi form, the analogy of Kûi words like *kah-p-* 'to play' (cf. southern *kaḷi* 'to play') may be adduced to support the postulate of an older *-ḷ-*. *-ḷ-* of

¹ Tamil *pâr-pân* has been explained by some as a *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *brâhmana* or as a Prakrit-derived adaptation of the same word.

² 'Dravidian Notes', *IHQ*, 1929, 340.

Kûi is a characteristic *new* formative of Kûi, while *-(s)t-* of Gôṇḍi is the causative affix.

If then these forms are structurally allied, the basic signification was probably 'to cause eyes to shine', 'to wink' found in Tam., Mal., Gôṇḍi and Kurukh. Kûvi has extended and generalised the meaning to the idea of 'seeing', 'looking at', as our illustrations given above would show. Kûi has on the other hand transferred and restricted the meaning to 'observing', the general idea of 'seeing' being denoted in this dialect by *sur-*.

What factors were responsible for the importance which *meh-* attained in Kûi and Kûvi? While the other dialects retain the probably older meaning 'to wink', 'to open eyes', why should the central Indian Kûi- Kûvi have made the form assume the function of southern *nôḍ-*, *pâr-* on the one hand and of *kâṇ-* on the other? I venture to suggest that the existence of certain Kolarian words for 'eye' like *mat*, *met*, *meh* in the neighbouring Indian Austric dialects may have had something to do with the semantic transformation of Kûi- Kûvi *meh-*

(c) *Distribution of the groups.*

(Group i)	(Gr. ii)	(Gr. iii)	(Gr. iv)	(Gr. v)
Tuḷu	Tam.	Tam.	Tam.	Tam
Tel.	Mal.	Mal.	Mal.	Mal.
Kûi	Kan.	Kannaḍa	Kan.	Kann.
Gôṇḍi	Tel.		Kûi	Tel.
Malto	Tuḷu		Kûvi	Kûi
Brâhûi	Brâhûi			Kûvi
				Gôṇḍi
				Kurukh.

The following points are noteworthy :—

(a) Groups (i), (ii) and (v) appear to be the most widespread. It may be noted that Tamil and Kannaḍa which do not show representatives in Group (i) with the meaning 'to see' or 'to observe', do have a large number of cognates with other meanings basically related to this group.

(b) Group (ii) is represented in every dialect except Kûi and Gôṇḍi of Central India and Kurukh of the north; but these latter dialects do possess the basal *kan* 'eye' represented in them.

(c) Group (iii) is confined to the south and is probably a special development there. It is significant that Telugu alone in the south fails to evidence a representative for this group of the south.

(d) Group (iv) appears in the south and in Central Dravidian. The most ancient Tamil texts evidence the antiquity of this group;

nevertheless, the question of the base being an ancient adaptation from Sanskrit remains to be investigated.

So far as the semantic constituents of the different groups are concerned, the following may be singled out :—

(1) The meaning of Group (ii) is fundamentally distinctive everywhere, while that of Group (i) varies between 'gaining sight of' or 'seeing' on the one hand, and 'looking at' or 'observing' on the other.

(2) In Old Tamil and Old Kannaḍa where representatives of Groups (iii) and (iv) are found together, slightly differing nuances distinguish their meanings.

(3) Kûi and Kûvi have varied the original signification of Group (v), probably under the influence of structurally analogous Kolarian words of the neighbouring districts.

II. 'TO HEAR'

(a) Occurrence and meanings.

(i) *Kêl-* is used transitively as well as intransitively in all the southern dialects: *cf.* for the latter Tamil *adu enakkū kēlkkavillai*, Kannaḍa *adu nanage kēluvadilla* 'that to me is not heard.' Gōṇḍi also shows a similar intransitive usage in expressions like *nī prârdana kenjikatte* 'thy prayer is heard.'

(ii) By a process of Perissemic Irradiation of meaning, *kêl-* of the south has come to mean 'to ask' also in all the southern dialects. An exactly similar semantic change appears to have occurred in connection with Kûi *ven-* and Kurukh *men-* which primarily mean 'to hear': *cf.* Kurukh *meñj êr* 'to ask entreatingly,' Malto 'iṭh indrṭh?' *any menjah* 'he asked "what is this?"', Kûi *nângi venumu* 'ask (thou) me!' etc.

It is worthy of mention in this connection that while Malto has *men-* to signify 'hearing', 'asking', it has *qeg-* (allied to *kêl-kk* of the south) to denote the idea of 'asking' e.g., *nin qegni aṭe en ciyen* 'what thou askest for, I shall give.' This fact would apparently imply the existence of a lost meaning 'to hear' for *qeg* of Malto. Similarly Kûi *kel-p-* 'to invoke the deity' may be allied to *kêl-* of the south.

(iii) It is remarkable that those dialects which do not show *kêl-* or connected forms for 'hearing' show the alternative group formed of *vin-*, *ven-*, *bin-* and *men-* to denote 'hearing.'

(b) Classification and analysis of forms.

Group (i).

Tamil. *kêl*.

Mal. *kêl*.

Group (i)

Kann. *kēḷ*.Tulu. *kēḷ*.Kodagu. *kēḷ*.Tôḍa. *kēḷ*; cf. *kēḷvan* 'word'.Gôṇḍi. *kēṇj*.Cf. Kûi *kēḷ-p* 'to invoke'.Cf. Malto *qeg-* 'to ask'.

Barring the change of medial *-ḷ-* to *-ḷ-* in Tulu (for which compare *vēḷ*, *vēḷ*, etc. of the south) and to *ṇj* in Gôṇḍi, the words reveal a striking structural identity.

Group (ii).

Tel. *vinu-tsu-*Kûi *ven-b-*Kûvi *ven-*Brâhûi *bîn-*, *ben-*Kurukh *men-*Malto *men-*

We have observed already how just those dialects which do not have representatives of Group (i) show forms of Group (ii). This does not mean that some of the conservative dialects of the south, particularly Tamil, do not have cognates for Group (ii) with *other* meanings. Tam. *vinai*, Mal. *vina* (and *mena* in *mena-kkêḍu* 'enforced absence of work') meaning 'earnest action, work' and old Tamil *vinav-* 'to ask' appear to have a basal relationship to this series.¹

The structural variations of the members of this group are all normal. The alternation of *v-* and *b-* according as the particular dialects favours² the one or the other, and the change of *b-* to *m-* in Kurukh and Malto (under the influence of the already existing nasal in the words) are all normal.

Of other forms in the dialects not connected with either of the above groups, we may mention here the very interesting Tôḍa word *ûr-* 'to listen to' in contexts like *ûritṭvôy ôḷ* 'the man who listens.' This word, I think, is related to Tamil *ôr-k* 'to listen', 'to consider,' Kannaḍa *ôr-* 'to search,' Tel. *ôr-* 'to suffer,' *orimi* 'patience,' Mal. *ôr-k* 'to remember', *ôrma* 'memory'. Comparing all these semantic ramifications, one might postulate the basic signification as 'to apply oneself to', 'to be attached to', from which concrete

¹ If two or more basically different words develop in the history of a language synonymous meanings, the tendency to popularise one form to the exclusion of the others with the same meaning, may result in the suppression, in that language, of the less popular forms. For Iî, see Hirt's *IGc. Grammatik*, I, §. 160.

² 'Initial Bilabials of Dravidian,' *ER*, February, 1931.

sense-idea the other meanings have been developed by the processes of Metecsemy and Perissemy.

III. 'TO TASTE'

It may be noted preliminarily that there are very few native words to express the generalised idea of 'tasting', though the concrete conceptions of 'sweetness', 'bitterness', etc. are denoted by allied words common to many dialects. A list of the actual forms for the generic idea in the different dialects would illustrate how each dialect or group of dialects has evolved independent forms of its own :—

Tam.-Mal. *śuvai*, *cuva* 'taste'.

Kann. *savi* 'taste'.

Tel. *tsavi* 'taste'.

Kûi *vaṇḍ-* 'to taste'.

Gôṇḍi *vaṇḍi-* 'to taste'.

Kûvi *sempu hena* 'to be sweet' > 'to taste'.

Tôḍa *bai kôn-* 'to see through the mouth' > 'to taste'.

Brâhûi *cakk-* 'to taste'—a loan-word from Śina.

Of these, the Telugu, Tulu and Kannaḍa words are probably ancient *ladbhavas* of Sanskrit *svâd* 'taste', and Mal. *cava* 'taste', 'peculiar taste' may be related. Gundert's suggestion that all these forms may have been derived from Indo-âryan *carvana* 'chewing' is, I think, less plausible in view of the meaning. Mal. *cava-kk* 'to chew' which in certain contents has exercised contamination on *cuva* 'taste' may be related to this *carvana*, but the words under reference for 'taste' I think are allied to Indo-âryan *svâd*.

The Kûi and the Gôṇḍi forms may be connected with *vâṇ* 'mouth' even as Tôḍa has evolved the idea of 'tasting' from 'mouth'.

Among the specific tastes, while the southern dialects distinguish a large number, the central and the northern speeches conspicuously show only words for 'sweetness' and 'bitterness'.

Sûtra 454 of Uṛi-iyal of Nannûl marks off *inippu* 'sweetness', *kaippu* 'bitterness', *puḷippu* 'sourness', *kâṛpu* 'astringency' and *uvarpu* 'salty taste'. Most of these words are represented in the other southern dialects, while the northern and central speeches show related forms only for 'sweetness', 'bitterness' and in a few cases for 'sourness'.

Group (i) 'SWEET'—

Tamil *tî- cf. ten-* 'sweet' and *tên* 'honey'.

Mal. *tî-*

Tel. *tîpu*

Kann. *sî*

Group (i) SWEET—

Tulu *tîpæ, sî-pæ, hî-pæ*Kûi *sem-b-* 'to be sweet'.Kûvi *hem-pu* 'sweetness'.Kurukh *tin-* 'to be sweet'.

This is a very ancient group, attested in the oldest extant texts of the south. The structural variations are all normal: the sub-dialectal *s-* and *h-* of Tulu < *t-*; Kûi *s-* < *t-* (*vide* my 'Dravidian Initial Affricates and Fricatives' in *Indian Antiquary*; and my 'Initial Tulu Sibilants' in *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, October 1931)

Group (ii) 'SWEET'—

Tamil *in-ya* 'sweet', *inimai* 'sweetness'.Mal. *in-ya*Kann. *im-pu* 'agreeableness, sweetness'.Telugu *ilimi* 'agreeableness'.Tulu *impu*Brâhûi *han-en* 'sweet'.

The basal form is *in-* 'agreeable' and is directly recognizable in the southern words. If Brâhûi *han-en* is not allied to Gr. (i), Brâhûi *h-* may be prothetic as in Brâhûi *hal* 'mouse' beside Gôṇḍi *all-i* and southern *eli, ili* 'mouse', Br. *huṛ-* 'to suck' beside southern *ur-i-*, Br. *hêṭ* 'sheep' beside Tulu *êḍu* and Tamil *âḍu*, Br. *hef-* 'to raise' beside southern *êr-* 'to rise' [Br.-*f-* is the causative affix corresponding to *-v-* of the south], etc.

Other words in the dialects for 'sweet' not belonging to either of the two above groups are the following:—

Kûi *nak-* 'to be sweet' } connected with Kûi *nâk-* 'to lick,'
 Kûvi *lak-ne* 'sweet' } southern *nakk-* 'to lick'.

Gôṇḍi *mingul* 'to sweet' }
 „ *ming-* 'to be tasty' } -allied to Telugu *ming-*, *mring-*
 'to swallow', Tam.-Mal. *viṭṭuṅ, muṭṭuṅ* 'to swallow'; the semantic change apparently was one of transference of meaning: 'to be swallowable' > 'to be tasty' > 'to be sweet.'

Group (iii) 'BITTER'—

Tam. *kay-*, colloquial *kaśa-*Mal. *kay*Kann. *kaypu* 'bitterness'Tel. *cêḍu* 'bitterness'.Tulu *kay-pæ*Kûvi *kamb-eli* 'bitterness'.„ *ka-p-ne* 'bitter'.Gôṇḍi *kay-tt-* 'to be bitter'.„ *keh-ke* 'bitter'.

Telugu *c-* is the result of palatalisation induced by the following front vowel.

Group (iv)—

Tam. *kâr-* 'to be astringent'.

Kann. *kâra* 'pungency, hotness of taste', *kasar* 'astringent'.

Tel. *karu* 'saltish'.

Gôndi *kar-ust-* 'to be tasty' < * 'to be saltish'.

Brâhûi *xâr-en* 'bitter'.

Kurukh *xad-xâ* 'bitter'—probably directly connected with NIA forms.

These forms with slightly varying meanings may be developments of an ancient adaptation from IA *ksâra*. The antiquity of the Dravidian words is testified to by their distribution and by *x-* (< older *k-*) of the Brâhûi and Kurukh words. The variations in the meanings have nothing abnormal about them.

Group (v)—

Tamil *uvar-pu* 'saltish taste'.

Mal. *uvar-*, *ôr-* 'saltish'.

Kann. *ogar-* 'saltish'.

Tel. *ogar-* 'saltish'.

Tulu *ubar-* 'saltish'.

An exclusively southern group, this appears to be related to *uppu* 'salt' found in all the southern dialects.

Group (vi) 'SOUR'—

Tam. *puḷi*

Mal. *puḷi*

Kann. *puḷi*

Tel. *puḷi*

Tulu *puḷi*, *puḷi*

Kûvi *pulla* (a borrowing from the neighbouring Telugu).

This group again is confined to the south.

The native words for 'sweet' and 'bitter' are more widespread than those for the other 'tastes.'

IV. 'TO SMELL'

(a) Here again, the dialects appear to have developed independent forms for the generic idea :

Tamil *maṇa-* 'to have a good smell' > 'to smell'.

Mal. *maṇa-* 'to smell', *nannam*, *naṇṇu* 'smell.'

Kann. *maga* 'smell'.

Telugu *valaru* 'fragrance'.

Tulu *mûs-p-* 'to smell'.

Kûi *mus-k-* 'to smell'.

Gôṇḍi *mûñj-*

Tôḍa *mittuf kôṇ-* 'to see through the nose' > 'to smell'.

Kûvi *gando muñj-* 'to smell'.

(i) Tam.-Mal. *maṇam* with its original meaning (current now also) 'good smell' is probably connected with the second constituent of Sanskrit *pari-maḷa* 'exquisitely fragrant.' In the old Mal. text Ramacaritam, *parimaḷa* appears as *parimaṇam âḷum mâleyam* 'the sandal tree that emits exquisite fragrance'.

(ii) Kannada *maga* 'smell' and *magmagisu* 'to be fragrant' are probably imitative in origin. Cf. Kurukh *mah-mah-r-nâ* 'to be fragrant'.

Old Kannada *sogaḍa* 'sharp smell' appears to be like a *tadbhava* of *sugandha*, while Kannada *sausava* 'fragrance, smell' reminds us of Sanskrit *saurabhya*. Telugu *valavu* 'smell, fragrance' is allied to Kannada *olavu*, *olime* 'agreeableness.'

(iii) There is another Kannaḍa word *kamṇu* which means 'smell' in the older dialect while the modern meaning is 'agreeable smell'. I do not know how far it is correct to connect (as Kittel does) this word and its Telugu cognate *kamṇu* older 'smell', modern 'stink' with Mal. *kendu-* 'to stink' which is obviously an adaptation of IA *gandha*.

All the following forms appear to be related to this series :

Tam. *kamaḷ-* 'to be fragrant'—found in the oldest texts.

Mysore Kann. *gamaṇa*, *gamana* 'odour, fragrance'.

Kann. *kamṇu* 'smell'.

„ *gamṇu* 'fragrance', *gama* 'strong fragrance'.

Tel. *kammana*, *kamṇu* 'fragrance'.

Tulu *gama-su* 'to smell sweet, stink'.

„ *kammana* 'smell, scent, stink'.

(iv) The words in Tulu, Kûi, Kurukh¹ and Gôṇḍi are traceable to a Dravidian base *muṇ-* 'front, face, nose etc.' on which other words have been formed in Dravidian. Whether Tam. *mugar-*, *mugakk-*, *môkk-* 'to smell' are connected with this series or whether they are derived from Sanskrit *mukha* 'face' is not clear.

(q) There is a group of southern words formed on a *naṇ-* basis :—

Tam. *naṇu* 'fragrant', *nâṇ-*

Mal. *naṇu* 'fragrant', *nâṇ-* 'to stink',

nannaṇ, *naṇṇu* 'smell'.

Old Kannaḍa *naṇu* 'fragrant', *nâṭa* 'bad smell'.

Tulu *nâṭa* 'bad smell.'

Tulu *nâḍ-* 'to stink.'

¹ The initial *n-* of Kurukh *nusung* - 'to smell' beside Tulu *muñj-*, Gôṇḍi *mus-k-*, does not create any difficulty, since *n-* initially in Kurukh sometimes stands for *m-*, as in *nubb* 'three' beside *mubb-*; cf. a similar *n-* for *m-* in Tulu *nung* 'to swallow' beside Telugu *ming-*, etc.

The original basic meaning 'fragrant' appears in the primary form *naṛu* of Tamil. *naṛ* is probably traceable still further back to *nal* + *t*, on the analogy of words with -ṛ- like Tamil *kôṛ* < *kôl* + *t*-. This derivation is confirmed by Mal. *nann-am* < *nand'r* < *nal* + *d*-, and by Mal. *naṇṇu* < *naṭ'pu* < *nal* + *p*-.

The derivatives *nâṛ*- 'to stink,' *nâṭa* 'bad smell,' *nâṭa* 'stink' have become pejorative in meaning. In the earliest stages of Tamil, this pejorative meaning had not yet cropped up, though *nât' t' ram* was employed as a *vox media* to mean *naṛu-nât' t' ram* 'good smell' and *tî-nât' t' ram* 'bad smell' alike. How did it happen that in later stages the words underwent pejoration? One of those ideas which easily lend themselves to pejoration is that of 'smell, fragrance,' especially when new words denoting 'fragrance' become sufficiently popular in the language to replace in common parlance the older forms. I think that we have to trace the pejoration of the Dravidian forms to the invasion by the comparatively later *maṇam* 'fragrance,' of the province of *nâṛ*- which thereupon acquired a degradation of meaning in popular associations. Significantly enough, this *maṇam* is in certain sub-dialects of Malayâlam now going the way of older *nâṛ*- and has itself become pejorative in meaning, yielding place to words like *vâsana* (Sanskrit) which in these sub-dialects always does duty for the older meaning of *maṇam*. Cf. here the pejoration of Mal. *kend*- 'to stink' with Skt. *gandhā*. Carnoy in his work *La Science du Mot* (page 196) gives an exactly parallel instance: 'German *stinken* signified formerly "to smell" in general. When German *riechen* (Dutch *rieken*) connected with German *rauch* (Dutch *rook*) which denoted "incense-smoke" came to mean by transference the "perfumes" which these vapours exhale, *stinken* by opposition had to be restricted to the meaning "disagreeable odour". And to-day *riechen* itself in its turn, owing to the intrusion of *duften*, has come to be used for "bad odour".'

V. 'TO TOUCH'

Group (i) Tam. *toṭ*- 'to touch'; *ûṛu* 'touch' < *uṛ*- 'to remain', 'to be in contact with'.

Mal. *toḍ*-

Kann. *toḍ*-

Tôḍa *toḍr*-

Tel. *toṭṭ*-

This group is found in the south only.

Group (ii) Tulu *mutṭ*—

Tel. *mutṭ*—, beside *tāk* and *toṭṭ*—

Koḍagu *mutṭ*— 'to touch'.

mutt—in Tamil, Mal. and Kannaḍa means 'to strike, come in contact with some force.'

VI. 'TO KNOW, ETC.'

The ideas of 'feeling in the mind', 'knowing', 'understanding' are in many languages denoted by words derived through Irradiation from bases expressing concrete meanings and sense-perceptions. The Dravidian words given below are all illustrative of this phenomenon.

It is noteworthy that the widespread character of some of the groups given below significantly points to a fairly early development of the ideas of 'knowing' and 'feeling' from concrete conceptions.

The semantic nuances distinguishing the groups are recognizable: *aṛi*, etc. (group i) signify 'knowing'; *tōnd'r*, etc. (group ii) denote 'appearing to the mind'; *terī*, etc. (group iii) mean 'to become clear to the mind'; *ul*, etc. (group v) refer to 'supposing, thinking'; and *purī*, etc. emphasise the idea of 'understanding'. It will be found that each of these nuances is the direct outcome of the primary semantic component of the base concerned.

- Group. (i) Tam. *aṛi*-
 Mal. *aṛi*-
 Kann. *aṛi*-
 Tulu *ari*-
 Tel. *er-ugu*-
 Tōḍa *aṛi*-, *ori*-
 ? Kurukh *ax*-
 ? Malto *ax*-

aṛ-i, etc. appear to be connected with Tamil-Kannaḍa *aṛ-am* 'knowledge', etc. The base probably was *aṛ*- 'to cut', 'to divide', 'to distinguish', the idea of 'knowing' having been considered as a unique manifestation of the analytical faculty of distinguishing and discriminating.

As far the structural peculiarities of the forms above, Tōḍa *o*- for *a*-, Tel. *e*- for *a*- are normal. If Kurukh-Malto *-x*- stands for older *-rg-* where *-g* is a reinforcer (as in Kurukh *arg*- 'to climb' beside southern *êr*-, etc.), the words of Kurukh and Malto may be related to this group; Grignard, however regards them as adapted from Persian (*via* Urdu) *axun* 'teacher'.

- Group (ii) Tam. *tōndr*-, *tol't'r*-
 Kann. *tōṛ*-
 Tel. *tsôḍ*-
 Mal. *tōnn*-

Tulu *tôj-*

Cf. Kûi *tônj-* and Toda *tûr-* which are used only literally.

The southern dialects employ the words to-day only with the signification 'to appear to the mind' though Old Tamil and Old Kannaḍa texts generally evidence the literal application.

I have discussed elsewhere¹ the structural aspects of this group and its basic relationship to other words of Dravidian.

Group (iii) Tam. *ter-i-*

Mal. *ter-i-*, *tir-i-*

Kann. *tiḷ-i-*

Tel. *tel-i-*

Kûvi, *telh-i-*

Brâhûi stem *tir-*

All the southern words to-day have the literal signification and the perissemic growth alike ; but Brâhûi negative stem *tir-* does not have the former.

Group (iv) Tam. colloquial *puṛ-i-* 'to understand'.²

Gôṇḍi *puṇḍ-* 'to know'.

Kûi *puṇb-* 'to know'.

Kûvi *hunn-* 'to know'.

Tulu *pin-p-* 'to know'.

Cf. Old Kannaḍa *pump-* 'to intend'.

The basic semantic dominant appears to be 'to enter deep (mentally) into a thing'. In the southern speeches we have *pûḍ-*, *pûṇ-* 'to unite firmly' to which the members of this group may be structurally and semantically allied ; but the relationship of Tamil *-r-* to the corresponding finals of the bases of other dialects is not quite clear ; but Tam. *porund-* 'to agree', *pul-* 'to unite', Kann. *porc* 'to be joined', would show that the Tamil word may be basically allied to this series.

Group (v) Tamil *uḷ-* 'to think', *un-* 'to consider'.

Mal. *uḷ-*, *unn-*

Kann. *uṇ-k-isu-* 'to consider'.

Tôda. *un-* 'to suppose, think'.

Baḍaga *un-*

Kôṭa *un-*

All these forms are connected with, or traceable ultimately to, the elementary Dravidic base *uḷ* 'inside' which, as I have shown elsewhere,³ has given rise to numerous forms in the dialects.

¹ *Calcutta University Journal*, vol. xix.

² This meaning is not found in the Sangam texts where the significations for this word are 'to wish,' 'to make,' etc. *cf.* verses 35 and 145 of *Puranânuṭṭu*.

³ Dravidian base *uḷ*, *Bulletin of Linguistic Society of India*, vol. i

There is a Malto verb *ugl-* with the meaning 'to suppose, think' used in contexts like the following :—

ên qêqlno malerin birgtrote barcken any ugleyoma 'do not suppose that I am com eto send peace on earth'. It is possible that this word is related to this group, though its structure remains to be explained with reference to *ul-*

Group (vi) Tamil. *en-* 'to reckon', 'to think'.

Mal. *en-*

Kann. *en-*

Tel. *en-*

Tuḷu *en-*

Kûi. *el-ki-* 'thought'.

„ *êlu-* 'thought, mind, reason, understanding'.

Brâhûi *hêl-* 'knowledge, wisdom'.

The original primary meaning is retained in the southern dialects side by side with metecsemic development 'to think'. The process of change apparently has been 'to count' > 'to reckon' > 'to mark off (mentally) into categories' > 'to think, etc.'

Both Kûi and Brâhûi show only the noun forms. Kûi has *el-ki* (with which we may directly compare Tamil *enṇi-kkai*, Kannaḍa *enṇike*) beside *êlu* with the long vowel. This word with the alveolar lateral cannot be said to be connected with southern *êl-* 'to receive' for which Kûi has a cognate *ên-* 'to accept, receive'.

h- of the Brâhûi word is prothetic as in Brâhûi *he-f-* 'to raise', beside *êr-* of the south, *hîn-* 'to lamb' beside *în* of the south.

The presence of *-l* in Kûi and of *-l-* in Brâhûi would raise the question whether *-n-* of the southern forms may not be secondary; especially when we know that *-n-* in similar positions in the southern speeches (cf. Tam. *un-* 'to eat' beside *ul-* 'inside', *veṇ-* 'to desire' beside *veḷ-*, etc.) is secondary; but for this particular instance, unequivocal proof in the shape of cognates with *-l-* is not available.

The forms Tam. *ninai* and Kann. *nene* 'to think', are allied to Tam. *neṇju* 'mind, heart' and to Kûi *nêṇja* 'to breathe'.

What perhaps is the most striking feature of our discussion of Dravidian words for 'knowing, understanding, thinking, etc.' is that the southern speeches particularly Tamil, not only possess representatives of every group but retain even to-day in most cases the primary literal meanings side by side with the metecsemic developments.

[B] Table of Dravidian Words denoting colours—

	'White'	'Red'	'Black'	'Green'	'Yellow'	'Colour'
Tamil-Mal.	... <i>vel-, ven-, vāl</i>	<i>ṣem-, ṣer-, ṣey</i> Mal. <i>cem-, ceer-, cov-</i> T. <i>tuvar</i> 'red'.	<i>kar-, kay-</i>	<i>paṇ-, paṣu-, pacca-</i>	<i>mañjal</i>	<i>kaḷu, kaḷ. niṇṇu</i>
Telugu	... <i>vella tella</i>	<i>ceṭi-, errani, togar</i> 'red'.	<i>kayṇi nallani.</i>	<i>paṣuru ākkupaccu</i>	<i>paṣuḥupacca paṣuṇe</i>	IA
Kannaḍa	... <i>biḷ</i>	<i>kem-, kes-</i>	<i>kaṇu, kandu, kaṇṇe</i>	<i>paṣi</i>	<i>mañjal</i>	IA
Tulu	... <i>boḷ</i>	<i>kem-</i>	<i>kaṇṇe, kaṇṇe</i>	<i>paṇṇe</i>	<i>mañjal</i>	IA
Kûi-Kûvi	... <i>Kûvi vella cf. Kûi tiri</i> 'clear'	<i>Kûvi lôṅgi ,, kad-</i>	<i>Kûi gand-ari Kûvi kâd- Kûi gri-p-</i> 'to be burnt black',	<i>Kûvi hi'i-</i>	IA	IA
Gôṇḍi	... IA	IA	<i>kaṇ (d) iāl</i> 'black', beside IA <i>kâli</i>	IA	<i>kanṇak</i> 'turmeric yellow',	IA
Kurukh-Malto	... <i>billî M. bîḍyû</i> 'bright'	<i>Kur. xēsô Malto qesô</i>	<i>môxârô Malto marg</i>			IA
Brâhûi	... <i>pi-un</i>	<i>xîs-un</i>	<i>mâ-un } môn }</i>	<i>xâr-un</i>	<i>pusk-un</i>	IA

We may preliminarily note here that the most widespread among the Dravidian names of colours are those for 'red' and 'white' while the words for 'green', 'black' and 'yellow' are shared in common by the southern speeches alone.

Further, it is noteworthy that the names for the generic idea of 'colour' are independent developments in the separate dialects.

I. 'WHITE'

The predominant type is constituted of the following :—

Tamil *vel-*, *ven-*, *vāl-*

Mal. *vel-*, *ven-*

Old Tel. *vella*, *vellani*

Kann. *biḷ-*

Tulu *boḷ-*

Tôḍa *bel-*

Kûvi *vel-*

Kurukh *billî*

Brâhûi *pi-un* 'white', 'silver'.

Cf. Malto *bid-yu* 'bright', 'white'.

In a separate paper of mine ('Dravidic Miscellany', *Indian Antiquary*, 1931), I have discussed these forms and related them to the base-group **ve-l*, **væ-l* of Dravidian.

Other words in the dialects, structurally different from this group are the following :

Kûvi *lôngi* 'bright', 'white'—apheresized from *vil-aṅg-* or *tuḷ-aṅg-* 'to shine'. Tel. *tella* is connected with Tam. *teḷ-*, Kann. *tīḷi* 'clear, bright'.

Kurukh *pendrô* and Malto *pendo*—probably connected with Indo-âryan *pându*.

II. 'RED'

Tam. *sem-*, *sev-*, *sey* 'red'.

Mal. *cem-*, *cev-*, colloquial *cov-*

Kann. *kem-*, *kes-*

Tulu *kem-*

Tôḍa *kem-*, *cem-*

Kurukh *xês-ô*

Brâhûi *xis-un*

Malto *qeso*

The literary dialects show the respective forms from the most ancient past that we know of; and most of these forms are current to-day. Old Telugu has representatives of this group in compounds

like *cendâmara* 'red lotus', but Modern Telugu uses *errani* with which we may compare Tamil *eri* 'glowing light', *eruvai* 'blood' 'copper', Kannaḍa *eruva* 'redness'.

The initial *k-* of Kannaḍa and Tuḷu, *x-* of Brâhûi and Kurukh and *q-* of Malto are related to *c-* of Malayâlam and *ś-* of Tamil.

The nasal transcribed as *-m-* of the southern bases appears in compounds where the second component qualified by the base for 'red' has an initial consonant; while *-s-* of Kannaḍa crops up before an initial vowel in the second component. I have pointed out elsewhere¹ that these features should explain the origin of *-m-* and *-s-*. *-m-*, according to this view, is a 'checking nasal' which originally cropped up before plosives in compounds like *kendâmara* 'red lotus,' and then came to be regarded as a part of the base; while *-s-* of Kannaḍa (and *-s-* of northern forms) developed from an original *-j-* (cf. Tamil *cey* 'red') which in intervocal positions changed regularly to the sibilant in Kannaḍa and other dialects in certain circumstances defined by me elsewhere.¹ Kannaḍa *bem-* (before consonants) beside *bes-*, *bis-* 'hot' (before vowels) presents a striking analogy to *kem-* and *kes-* in respect of this alternation of nasal (*m*, *n* or *ṇ*, according as the following consonant is labial or velar or dental) and *-s-*.

III. 'BLACK'

- Group (i) Tamil *karu-mai* 'blackness', *kaṟuppu*.
 Mal. *kaṟu-tta* 'black'.
 Kann. *kaṟu*, *kanda*, *kaṟc. kaṟpu* 'black'.
 Tuḷu *kaja*
 Old Tel. *kaṟṟa*, *kaṟṟi*, *kanda*.
 Tōḍa *kar*
 Kûvi *kad-ili*

The occurrence of representatives of this group in the ancient literary texts of Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa attests their antiquity. Telugu alone uses a different word *nallani* (adapted from IA?) for 'black' in modern usage; the other southern dialects use the old forms still to denote this colour.

It is interesting to note that Tōḍa *kər* is used alike for 'black', 'blue' and 'green', according to Pope (Outlines of Tōḍa Grammar, page 11).

The change of the original cerebral *-ṛ-* to *-j-* in Tuḷu and to *-nd-* (through intermediate *nd'-*) in Telugu and Kannaḍa is regular.

Though Kûvi now uses the Oriya loan-word *kâli* for 'black', this speech preserves the old Dravidian base in *grî-p* 'to be burnt black'

¹ 'A Problem of Dravidian Phonology,' *JOR*, 1931.

(cf. Tamil *karu-ital*), where owing to accent-shift the vowel in the initial syllable has been aphœresized and the vowel of the second syllable has been lengthened.

Gôṇḍi also preserves the base in *kar-* 'to be burnt black,' though the actual word for 'black' in this dialect is a loan from Indo-âryan viz. *kâli*.

Group (ii)—

Kurukh *môxârô* 'black'.

Malto *margθn* 'blackness'.

Brâhûi *ma-un*, *môn* 'black, dark'.

cf. Kurukh *kirâti môxârô mañjas* 'by starving he has become black'; Malto *niṅge kaḍonḍ talin ponḍjrote ba margḍrote pary-maleke* 'thou canst not make one hair of thy head white or black'; Brâhûi *dâsâ maun c* 'it's dark now.'

Kurukh has *max* 'to grow dark,' while Kurukh *mâxâ* and Malto *maqe* signify 'night'. We may compare these with southern *maṅg* 'to become dim, dark' and Telugu *mâpu* 'darkness, night.' All the northern words (Kurukh, Malto and Brâhûi), appear to be derived from a Dravidian base whose dominant semantic constituent is 'dimness, darkness.'¹

IV. 'GREEN'

Only the southern dialects show related words for 'green':—

Tamil *pay*, *paśu*, *pacc-ai*

Mal. *pay*, *pacca*

Kann. *pasi* 'green'.

Tulu *paji*

Telugu *pasur*

The base appears to be *pay*- 'tender, soft, green' from which a large number of south Dravidian words have been derived. Among non-southern forms, Brâhûi *bai* 'green grass fit for grazing' on the one hand, and Brâhûi *pusk-un*, *ḥosk-un* 'yellow' (cf. Tel. *pasupu* 'yellow') may be related.

The idea of 'green' is expressed in Brâhûi by *xar-un* which means also 'fruitful,' 'blue'; this word is directly allied to Tamil *kâr* 'greenness, flowering period of plants,' Kurukh *xor* 'to sprout, as of plants,' Brâhûi *xarr* 'to sprout,' and Kûi *gâp*- [< **gârḥ*] with the same meaning.

V. 'YELLOW'

All the southern dialects have *mañja!* which appears to be exclusive to the south with the meaning 'saffron, yellow'.

Kûi *siṅga*, Kûvi *hiṅga* 'turmeric, yellow' are from an Indo-âryan loan-word ultimately traceable to *śṛṅgavera*.

¹ 'Dravidic Studies,' *ER*, August 1930.

We have already referred to Brâhûi *pusk-*, *posk-* and compared it to Telugu *pasume* 'yellow.' The interchange of the names of colours, especially of the less conspicuous ones, is common especially in the uncultivated dialects: Tel. *pasume* 'yellow,' basically related to the words for 'green' is an instance; other instances are Tôḍa *kor* for 'blue' and 'green' besides 'black,' Gôṇḍi *kam-k-al* (basically related in structure to 'red') denoting 'yellow,' Kuvi *kâd* standing for 'black' and 'blue.'

VI. 'COLOUR'

Native Dravidian words for the generic idea of 'colour' exist, so far as we can see, only in Tamil and Malayâlam, Old Tamil *kêl*, *keḷu* originally meaning 'red' occurs in the texts with the generic meaning cf. Tolkâppiyam, Śolladigâram, Sutra, 303, குறுங் கெழுந் திறன்கும்மெ where *kuru* is a *tadbhava* from IA $\sqrt{g}h\bar{r}$ while *keḷu* possibly and *niṭ-am* certainly are native. In the Malayâlam compound *kêḷa-mân* 'red deer' the original specific meaning of *keḷu*, *kêl* seems to be mirrored; *niṭ-am* 'colour' is not only found in ancient Tamil and Malayâlam texts but is still the common word for 'colour' in these two speeches. It is related to words like Tamil *niṭ-ai* 'prosperity, abundance,' Mal. *niṭ-avu*, Kannaḍa *niṭ-i* 'excellence' and ultimately traceable to *niḷ-*, *niṭ* of the south with the basic signification 'to be straight, proper, etc.'

For the generic idea of 'colour', the other southern dialects use Indo-âryan loan-words. Kannaḍa, Tulu and Telugu have *baṇṇa*, *vaṇṇa* which are apparently Prâkrit-derived (Skt. *varṇa*). The Sanskrit words *varṇa* and *châya* are also used in Telugu. Kurukh in the north has *baran* (IA *varṇa*) while Brâhûi has adopted new Indo-âryan *raṅg*.

CONCLUSION

The significant facts emerging from the above discussions of the Dravidian words for 'colours' and for the 'operations of the senses' may be summed up thus:—

1. The widespread distribution, in the dialects, of the following would illustrate how certain groups have resisted the inroads of time and foreign influence:—

- (a) certain sets of words for 'seeing' and 'hearing';
- (b) expressions denoting the specific tastes of 'sweetness' and 'bitterness';
- (c) forms signifying 'white' and 'red'.

2. A certain degree of 'cultural' divergence among the dialects is indicated by the existence of sets of words common only to the south and to central Dravidian (c.g., Gr. iv [*pâr*, etc.] for observing,'

Gr. vi [*en-*, etc.] for 'thinking') and by the existence of certain other sets shared by the southern dialects alone (e.g., Gr. iii [*nól-*etc.] for 'looking at', words for 'sour', 'saltish').

3. The fact that the central and northern speeches show mostly Indo-âryan loan-words wherever native words are absent, would point directly to the strong influence of this family on these Dravidian speeches.

4. The abstract ideas of 'smell', 'taste' and 'colour' are generally speaking, conveyed by borrowings from Indo-âryan. Tamil-Mâlayâlam alone appears to have developed native words for the abstract idea of 'colour.'

5. The 'abstractions' of 'knowing', 'understanding', 'thinking' appear to have had their inception from a fairly early stage, since there exist native groups of words shared by members of more than one division of Dravidian.

6. The southern speeches generally, and Tamil particularly, possess representatives of most of the word-groups in the cases discussed in this essay. This 'conservatism' of Tamil and the other southern speeches is further illustrated by the fact that wherever the word-groups imply or denote semantic change, these speeches of the south, generally speaking, preserve the older significations side by side with the new semantic growths.

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To

STUDIES IN DRAVIDIAN SEMANTICS

STUDIES IN DRAVIDIAN SEMANTICS

BY

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GENERAL

TILL about the end of the eighteenth century, the chief languages intensively studied were the classical languages, Greek and Latin in the West, and Sanskrit in India. These classical store-houses of literary wealth and grammatical complexities were assiduously cultivated severally in themselves and for their own sake. In the department of Linguistic Analysis, attention was concentrated exclusively upon the peculiarities of these languages severally without any attempt at comparative study.

It was the discovery of Sanskrit by the West that directly opened the eyes of scholars to a totally new field of research, namely, the investigation of the mutual kinship of ancient languages and their relationship to the living languages of to-day. The new field received additional fascination from the recognition that the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans of ancient India and the peoples of Central Asia and of Europe were racially cognate and that it was not unjustified to postulate an ancient common home for all these peoples, from whence they may have branched forth in different directions in their impetuous mission of colonization.

For a century after the birth of comparative philology, scholars exclusively devoted themselves to the comparative study of phonological features and grammatical forms. Apart from the preparation of classificatory lists of comparative vocabularies, little or no attention was paid to the scientific study of the development of the *meanings* of words. It was only towards the end of the last century that this aspect of comparative philology was envisaged by a few savants. The analysis of the meanings of words, of the laws underlying their growth, and of the expansion and restriction of their significations, revealed itself as a subject of no less scope and fascination than the study of phonology and of grammar.

The study of the subject—for which the name SEMANTICS has been appropriately given by Mons. Breal, an enthusiastic pioneer,—is yet in its infancy. While the science of sound-changes and of grammatical alterations remains within the sphere of pure linguistics, the science of meaning-development overlaps to a great extent the region of psychology. This new science concerns itself mainly

with the changes in the significations of words, the enlargement and the restriction of their content, the appearance and the disappearance of forms, the transference, melioration and pejoration of meanings. This new science further aims at synthetizing and reducing these changes to well-defined laws. Beneath all these changes, are concealed certain definite alterations in the perspective and outlook of the speakers, which, whether they are the result of the consciousness and deliberate exercise of the will, or whether they imperceptibly gather solidity like nebula, proceed upon lines that could not be made clear otherwise than with the help of the science of psychology. It is fascinating to find that often in the history of the development of the vocabulary of a race, its history and mental development are preserved 'as flies in amber.' As language is the powerful instrument with which peoples are able to communicate thoughts amongst themselves, it is clear that, as the thought-horizon of the people expands in breadth and comprehensiveness, there results a corresponding accentuation and accession in the vocabulary and the meaning-content of words also. If the vocabulary of a people remains stationary (comparatively speaking),—if ancient words are preserved in the language of a people from the earliest times downwards without any great change in the nature, content or usage of their meanings, the presumption is irresistible, that the thought-horizon of the people speaking the language has not appreciably widened; if, on the other hand, the changes in the vocabulary and in the development of meanings are vast, many-sided and all-embracing, we may be more or less sure that they are the reflection of a general upheaval in the thought-world of the people. We cannot better exemplify our position than by taking the instances of the English and the Dravidian languages. Whereas the English language shows a phenomenal development in its vocabulary and word-significations within the last thousand years—a fact which attests to the influence of vast historical, political and social movements—the Dravidian languages do not show during this period any such complex development in the sphere of their vocabulary or their semantic content. We do not by any means suggest that there has been complete stagnation of thought in Dravidian India; nor that there have been no social, political or historic influences of a deep-seated character in this part of the world. What we want to emphasize is only the fact that, for some cause or other, the degree of thought-development, as reflected in the vocabulary and in word-significations in Dravidian, has been neither so strong nor so vast within the last millenium as in the English language during the same period. Whether this was due to the conservatism of the people or to the fact that the native

genius had reached its zenith of development in the earlier (for example, *Sangam*) ages of a historic past, or to the fact that the advent of the Sanskrit language and of Sanskrit ideas led to a *bouleversement* of indigenous thought from which native Dravidian could not easily recover, whatever the cause¹ may be, it has to be admitted that the thought-content of a large portion of Dravidian vocabulary has shown comparatively small development since about a thousand years ago. The dominant influence exerted by Sanskrit over Dravidian thought (especially over Malayālam, Telugu and Kannaḍa, and in a lesser measure over Tamil) has to be recognized as an extraneous factor which these languages have still to assimilate completely. The process of assimilation has been disturbed within comparatively recent years by the influence which the English language has begun to exercise over Dravidian. The present position of Dravidian, therefore, is peculiarly unfortunate. The indigenous genius was probably lulled to inaction by the powerful foreign influence of Sanskrit, and to-day it finds itself face to face with another influence even more foreign than Sanskrit and even more powerful, inasmuch as it has adventitious aids to uphold and strengthen it.

* * * *

Every language is in a state of perpetual evolution. Only, the degree of this evolution varies with the individual languages. Language being the direct reflection of thought, it is, as it were, a mirror where the mind and the psychology of the people are reflected; and therefore the evolution of a language is only the representation in tangible and palpable form of the evolution of thought.

This evolution is the resultant of two great forces at work: (a) the conservative instinct which is inherent in human nature but which, varying in intensity with different peoples, seeks to hold on to the heritage of the past with a tenacity that sometimes, as in the case of many modern dialects of Dravidian, dangerously borders on an acceptance of the principle of stagnation; (b) the revolutionary influence which results, consciously or unconsciously, in introducing changes.

In no living language can either of these influences be said to be entirely non-existent; in fact these influences pull in contrary

¹ On page 244 of his work: *Die Sprache, ihre Natur und Entwicklung* (1926), Prof. Otto Jespersen suggests that linguistic change (including semantic alterations) may be accelerated or retarded by the peculiar conditions of the social and political life of the community speaking the language. The substance of Prof. Jespersen's observations supports the view that conservatism in the outlook and the history of a community retards linguistic change.

directions and the result of the struggle is indubitably reflected in the forms of the language. It is no exaggeration to say that in modern Dravidian as a whole the conservative forces have far outweighed the revolutionary tendencies, while, in European languages and especially in English, we see how the cataclysmal and revolutionary influences of the last 1,000 years have made the language of to-day so different from what it was a few hundred years ago.

What will happen to a language if one of these forces dominates the other so greatly as to tend to annihilate it? Says Arsène Darmesteter: ¹ 'Then there is peril for the language. Surely those peoples whose civilization is unchanging and without a history, may keep their languages intact indefinitely; the thought not being subject to change, the expression of the thought has also no need to change. But when a false respect for tradition prevents the language from keeping pace with the advance of ideas and there is a contrariety between the thought of the people and the vesture in which it has to be clothed, the language may die or be reduced to inanition. We have a famous instance of this in the case of classical Latin, the Latin of the writers and of high class Roman society which refused to follow the popular dialect of Latin in the free play of its development,—which crystallized itself in its reverence for a consecrated form, and towards the end of the empire died of inanition, leaving its place to be filled by the popular idiom so full of force and of light; a numerous family of languages and a more numerous group of dialects issued from its bosom all ready to conquer for themselves the empire which the classical dialect had given up. When, on the other hand, the revolutionary force becomes dominant, the language, precipitated on the path of change, becomes transformed with an incredible rapidity. Soon, within the space of a few generations, it reaches such a stage of development that it assumes legitimately the form of a new language. Otherwise, it may split off into a host of dialects which go on dividing and sub-dividing again *ad infinitum*.'

Tested by these observations, there is no doubt that the Dravidian languages reveal the predominance of a definitely conservative tendency which, though it has not yet reached in all dialects a dangerous stage, has very much robbed Dravidian of the creative vigour and freshness that ever-varying change can alone impart. Once again, let me observe that I do not mean that the

¹ *La Vie des Mots* (1923), pp. 13. 14.

revolutionary tendency does not work at all¹ in Dravidian. The very gradual change of the ancient West Coast dialect of old Tamil into Malayālam—a change probably extending over generations—is testified to by the language of *Rāma Caritam*, *Uṇṇunīli saṇḍeṣam* and other early Malayālam works. The development of dialects in old Tamil (mentioned in the *Nannūl*), in Telugu (old and new) and also in Kannaḍa, also illustrate how in all languages except those which are doomed to extinction as if by a divine curse, the revolutionary principle works in some degree or other. Recognizing as we do this fact, we have still to admit that, comparatively speaking, the free development of modern Dravidian has been greatly retarded by an atmosphere of conservatism that like a mephitic gas surrounds the outlook of the people and the literature that they produce.

* * * *

How do words arise? Whatever the condition of the earliest past may be, by what methods does the language try to enrich its vocabulary and the thought-content of this vocabulary? So far as our observation of known facts goes, what are these methods in Dravidian?

As in all other languages, in Dravidian also, there are two main methods in which words are born: (1) *neologisms of words*, by which is meant the creation of primitive roots and the creation of combinations, adaptations or modifications of these roots to express compound or conjunct meanings; (2) *neologisms of significations*, by which we mean exclusively the creation of new significations from existing words.

(1) NEOLOGISMS OF WORDS.

The manner of the origin of the earliest primitive roots is, and probably will be, veiled in thick obscurity. So far as Dravidian is concerned, it is worth emphasizing that there is abundant reason for thinking that every one of our primitive roots is monosyllabic. It is significant that in Dravidian (and particularly in Tamil which I regard as the most conservative dialect of Dravidian) a large number of these primitive roots is still preserved either as such or in a recognizable form. Those roots which our ancient grammars such as the *Kannaḍa Śabdamanidarpana*, for instance, classify as dissyllabic or polysyllabic, are only derivatives formed of combinations of mono-

¹ The ruder dialects of Central India are hemmed in on all sides by superior language-systems; and these Dravidian-speaking peoples have already become bilingual. The extinction of these dialects like that of Brahui of the North-West, is probably only a question of time.

syllabic roots. The study of the primitive monosyllabic roots of Dravidian has not been pursued by any philologist yet. An analytical examination of the sounds and meanings of roots would reveal certain remarkable correspondences from which laws could be formulated. I shall merely indicate here the scope of the subject by giving one illustration: the sound—*ḍ*—existing in a variety of monosyllabic roots like *viḍ*, *pōḍ*, *nōḍ*, *kuḍ*, *kaḍ*, *oḍ*, *aḍ*, *poḍ*, *keḍ*, *taḍ*, *naḍ*, *paḍ*, *māḍ*, *eḍ*, etc., probably had in the most primitive time a separate signification of its own which in later periods was utilized for the formation of the above roots. A comparative examination of the forms and the meanings of the above roots reveals the existence of a particular signification for the sound—*ḍ*—which is roughly equivalent to ‘placing with some suddenness.’ This can be illustrated by the analysis of the basic meanings of the roots themselves.

2. Combinations of words are very common in Dravidian (*vide infra*). The combinations are of two kinds: (a) those whose separate parts and meanings could be distinguished clearly; and (b) those which have developed into single entities in respect of their meanings. Of course all combinations, at the time of their inception, should have had clear and distinct component meanings of their own; but as time passed on, they should have developed single meanings according to the laws that are explained below.

It is unfortunate that the influence of Sanskrit—which has been probably very healthy and life-giving in the field of literary development, has here in the linguistic field produced a very regrettable effect inasmuch as it has stunted the native power of Dravidian to form compounds according to its natural genius. Sanskrit, like ancient Greek and modern German, possessed the wonderful power of forming prolific combinations with the help of its *upasargas*; Dravidian too can be presumed to have had the power of forming such productive combinations at a very early period, as attested by the existence even now of many such compounds in all the Dravidian dialects.

It may be remarked here that all the so-called dissyllabic and polysyllabic roots of Dravidian are derivative combinations, in many of which the primary meanings could be distinguished, though not ordinarily perceived:

kuḷir (cold) *kuḷ* + *ir* (to rest or
to remain)
alar (painful cry) — *al* (sorrow) + *ir*
paḷir (to part) — *paḷ* (part) + *ir*
nagiḷ (to smile) — *nag* (smile) + *iḷ*

Final *ng* of Dravidian verbs is formative and constituted of the spontaneous nasal and *k* (< *kai*, to do or hand).

Final *nd* is similarly formed of the spontaneous nasal and *d* (< *atu*, the neuter demonstrative).

Final *mb* is similarly formed of the spontaneous nasal + *v* (< *vai*, to place). The most prominent of the ancient formative verbal affixes in Dr., which are recognizable in all the modern dialects are = *-g, d, b, v, r, l, l*.

(3) *Onomatopoeitics* abound in Dravidian, as the following illustrations will show :—

kuṭukuṭuppayāṇḍi (pedlar), *kilukiluppi* (plaything), *kokku* (bird), *kāḱka* (crow), *tatta* (parrot), *cilakkal* (to chatter), *pamparam* (top), *kakku* (to vomit), *cīru* (hissing of snake), *mūlu* (to hum), *kurakku* (to bark), *tattaḷi* (to feel confounded,) *coriccal* (itching), *urumu* (murmur) *vaḷukku* (to glide), *oḷugu* (to flow), *moḷugu* (to sweep with water), *viḷungu* (to swallow), *deḱaḱeḱal*, *aḱipiḱi*, etc., etc.

A close examination of the various instances in Dravidian would show that mimetism could, besides *originating new* words, have *influenced* and consequently *modified* the formation of words from roots which are not mimetic. Mimetism may have played *some* part in instances like the following : —*koḷumai*, *aṇar*, *iḱi*, *naḱuṅgu*, *aṇai* (to beat drum), etc., where the radicals, though not mimetic, have been modified by mimetism into incorporating sounds on a mimetic basis.

Mons. Carnoy¹ observes with regard to this feature of languages : “ It would not be difficult to find in languages certain words whose phonetic qualities correspond to the ideas they suggest. These terms may have been created in this manner or may have a different origin, but by a happy coincidence they contain sounds in which we could find a real accord with the sense. The French word *courroux*, for instance, appears to us with its double *r* and its sombre vowels to correspond admirably to a profound irritation. In reality it comes from the Latin word *corruptare* which means only *the trouble in the eyes of a man in anger*. The depreciatory suffix—*ouille* of words like *crāpouille* and other argotic words acquired their phono-semantic value simply on account of certain terms such as *souiller* whose meaning is depreciatory. Further, when we note for instance that the large majority of English words commencing with *sn* express *disgust, disdain* and *disagreeable things*, we have to suspect that there is a real mimetism at least in a certain number amongst them.”

We can go further and say that not only certain syllables and words could be associated with the sense, but that even single

¹ *La Science du Mot*, p. 41.

sounds like *l* in Tamil-Malayāḷam and old Kannaḍa could be recognized as reflecting a certain kind of mimetism. The suggestion of “*indiscriminate mixing up or soft flow*, etc.” is indubitably associated with this sound (which is a native development in Tamil-Malayāḷam and Kannaḍa) and reflected in words like *vaḷu*, *koḷu*, *maḷai*, *taḷai*, etc. and, by a process of derivation in words like *vīḷu*, *īḷu*, *pāḷu*, etc.

Similarly *ṛ* in *viṛai*, *alaṛ*, *kudaṛ*, *veṛi*, *taṛai*, *kuṛukuṛuppu*, etc., has also a mimetic significance of “continuous and sudden movement as of a shiver.” It is remarkable that the same idea of *shiver* is suggested by *ṛ* of many words in foreign languages.

In all languages there exist such a large number of words and sounds conveying a mimetic meaning that some scholars have postulated the origin of language to be from (what Wundt calls) the *Naturlaute*, i.e., sounds resulting *naturally* from the movements of the mouth, of the tension of the vocal chords, the rhythm of the respiration, etc., in connection with the impressions and emotions which, in however minute a way, accompany the thought.

The following instances will show that the association of sound with sense is approximately the same in Dravidian and in European languages, in regard to a number of words :—

<i>Dravidian</i>	<i>European languages</i>
appa	papa
amma	mamma
ata	tante (French)
kāka	crow
bum-bum	boom
urumu	murmur
viṛai	shiver, tremble, etc.
tang	dingdong

However, as Carnoy remarks, ‘Imitation is only approximate, and it may become fixed under a separate form in each language, so that the same cry of the dog, for instance, has given rise to words so different as French *aboyer*, English *bark*, Dutch *blaffen*, etc. There is nothing surprising in this, if we consider that even the so-called direct imitations of the cries of animals are far from being identical in different dialects. The cock, for example, makes *cocorico* in French, but *chicherichi* in Italy, *cock-a-doodle-doo* in England, *kukelik* in Sweden, *cucuria* in Roumania.’

4. Borrowings from foreign languages are another fruitful source of neologisms of the first type. So far as Dravidian is concerned, the largest source of supply has been the Sanskrit language. From the point of view of the student of Semantics,

Malayālam, of all the Dravidian languages, has suffered to the greatest extent from the all-dominant sway of Sanskrit, while none of the other Dravidian languages (with the exception of some of the ruder dialects) has completely escaped its influence. Other influences which have contributed to borrowings in Malayālam are the early Syrian colonization (as in *paḷḷi*, *perunnāḷu*, *metṭān*, *kattanār*, *kūrbāni*, etc.), the names of xians like *vaṟugīs* (from *gīvargīs* which has given us the English name George), *pilippōs* (cf. *φίλιππος*), *lukōs* (cf. *λυκος*), *rappāyi*, *yōhannān*, *paulōs* (cf. *παυλος*), *mathāi* (cf. *μαθαιος*), *iyyu* (cf. Syriac *Yōv* and English *Job*), *iyyakku* (cf. *ιακωβ*) etc.; the tenancy system of Malabar (*kuḍiān*, *janmi*, *pāṭṭam*, *vittu*, *valli*, *puñca*, etc.); the influence of Persian as used in courts of law (*ādālattu*, *pēškār*, *taīšiar*, *nājar*, etc.) the influence of Dutch and Portuguese (*kampaññi*, *kappittān*, *janal*, *alamāri*, *kaḍalāsu*, *kamadōr*, etc.), the influence of the English language (*magistrēṭṭu*, *jaḍji*, *kōṭadi*, *āspatṛi*, etc.), and last but not the least active, the influence of the Nambudiries (*sadyā*, *bhajanam*, *Śānti*, *ōttu*, *uṇṇi*, *appan*, etc.). Beside many of the above, Tāmil shows also *Śiluvai* (cross), a Syriac word; *kullā*, *juṭka* from Urdu; *sāvi*, *kuśini* from Portugese or French, etc. other borrowings (but only partly assimilated) more or less common to Tāmil, Telugu, and Kannaḍa are :—*Karc* (expense), *katri* (scissors), *āmīn* (court official), *hakīm* (doctor), *kicciḍi* (a food preparation), *kiṭiki* (window), *tāluk*, *tupāṅgi* (gun), *sāmān*, *sāhib*, *subēdār*, *sumār*, *beṅgi*, etc., etc.

II.—NEOLOGISMS OF SIGNIFICATION

From the point of view of the student of Semantics, borrowings of words and the formation of derivative combinations are, when compared to the neologisms of signification, relatively unimportant.

The development of new significations from existing words which is denoted by this type of change proceeds mainly from two causes which sometimes may be connected with each other (a) Historical, (b) General.

(a) Whatever contributes to the development of the civilization of a land—historically, economically, socially and religiously—leaves its indelible impress upon the thought-world of the people, and through this, upon the development of their vocabulary also. As a result of these historical influences, new significations become attached to existing words in order that the language may adjust itself to the expanding thought-horizon. Thus, for instance, the ideas, that were introduced into Dravidian by the advent of Sanskrit and of Aryan learning, have been incalculably potent in this direction. Though in many instances it was the foreign words

themselves that were borrowed, the advent of new ideas and new cultures also inevitably led to the enrichment of the thought-world of Dravidian and egged it on to attach new meanings to existing words.

(b) Apart from these historical causes, there are certain general tendencies in man which also provoke him to attach new significations to existing words. This tendency cannot always be traced to historical influences. In an indirect way the development of the thought of a people either in the forward or in the backward direction results in the widening or in the restricting of their outlook, changes their views of life and generally leads them to make adjustments in the meaning-contents of their words. It may be that in consequence certain forms and certain meanings of words disappear altogether or conversely that new meanings and new ideas may be imported into existing words,—all these taking place according to psychological principles.

The subject of Semantics, understood in a strictly restricted sense, concerns itself with these last-mentioned changes.

* * * *

Words are only symbols or signs, sometimes *directly* indicating, but more often suggesting or recalling to the mind by a process of constant association, certain ideas. Such symbols of thought, if they should become the common property of a people, should satisfy the following conditions: (1) that they should be easy of comprehension and of retention in the memory; (2) should be easy of production; (3) should be sufficiently distinct from other signs; and (4) should be well accepted amongst the people as a normal index of the ideas denoted.

Every expression of speech is polyferous, and even those symbols which, having satisfied the above conditions, have become current coins, are not understood exactly with the *same* meanings and connotations by the speakers using them. Erdmann¹ describes that every word denotes a complexus of ideas which may be distinguished thus: (1) the so-called meaning or meanings attached to it, that is, the image or images which they directly evoke; (2) side by side with these perceptual factors is what Erdmann calls, the *Nebensinn*, i.e., the ideas evoked by the word and irresistibly associated with the main images, as for instance in the Malayāḷam word *paṭayāli* (soldier) which, far from being identical with *yodhdhavu*, possesses a totally different side-meaning or *nebensinn*, expressing as it does

¹ *Die Bedeutung des Wortes* (1922), p. 107. It will be noted that Erdmann's classification given here is *not* on all fours with Carnoy's psychological analysis of the meaning-complex (*Vide infra*).

by constant contextual association, images of the mediaeval warriors of Malabar, of inter-statal wars and of Tippu's invasions; (3) by the word, sometimes closely connected with the above but often different, as for instance in the Malayālam word paṭṭāḷakkāran which is entirely colourless and leaves the speaker and the hearer absolutely indifferent in comparison with the suggestion of valour and heroism of the battlefield, raised by the word paṭayāḷi.

Now, when the content of words is so vast, almost without a boundary, the understanding and the use of a particular word necessarily varies with the context and with the temperament of the individual speaker.

This difference becomes clear when we critically examine the so-called equivalents supplied by dictionaries for foreign words. It is usual to regard words of two different languages as equivalent, if they agree in the main images they directly evoke; but it is incorrect to describe this equivalent as in any way identity of content. Erdmann (page 129) quotes Schopenhauer as remarking that there is a great deal of disparity between these so-called equivalents, and observes: 'Schopenhauer therefore finds the chief difficulty in the study of a foreign language, in the understanding of the correct content of a word for which there is no identical equivalent in the mother tongue. Thus, while we have to study a foreign language, we have necessarily to acquire not words but groups of ideas denoted by words and new spheres of thought. For this reason, the study of foreign languages and especially of classical languages, is a powerful means of cultural training. Thus the maxim of Charles V of Sweden becomes true: *a man lives as many times as the number of languages he learns.*'

A very large majority of the current words in Dravidian are, as in all languages, only felt as conventionally conveying the ideas they denote. To the ordinary layman the symbols do not convey either by their sounds or otherwise, the basic root-sense. In fact, the exact root-sense of the symbol is never noticed by laymen. For instance, veḷḷi (silver) is not commonly associated with *whiteness*, nor kōṭṭa (fort) with kōḍu (to dig), nor ōrma (memory) with ōr (to come close), nor vayir (belly) with vayi (hunger), nor kuḷi (bath) with kuḷ (cold), nor kudira (horse) with kudi. Excepting those cases where the parts are sufficiently distinct and where the resultant meanings have not undergone enormous changes, and excepting in the case of mimetic words, other words are usually understood by laymen only in their general cumulative senses and not in their root-senses. Scores and scores of Sanskrit words are every day being imported into Malayālam, but their root-significations are nowhere noticed except amongst scholars. Words like upadēśam (advice), anuvādam

(permission), saṅgati (affair), vikāram (passion) do not suggest to the ordinary Malayāli their source-meanings at all. Such words are usually borrowed, each with a derivative meaning attached to it and already developed in the original language. In such cases it often happens that when one people use the word in its association with one of the derivative meanings, another people borrow the word with another derivative meaning attached to it. In India the Sanskrit vocabulary which is the property of the North as well as of the South, furnishes many instances of the same words being used with different significations by different peoples. Compare the use of the following words in the different provinces :—

<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Malayāḷam</i>	<i>Tamil</i>	<i>Hindi</i>
avakāśam	... right	... right	leisure.
upanyāsam	... essay	... lecture	novel.
kuḍumbam	... wife and children... (dialectally)	...	relationship by marriage.
vicāram	... thought	... inquiry	...
pariṣkāram	... culture	...	clearness.
anuvādam	... permission	...	translation.
vyapāram	... trade	... trade	behaviour.
mahājana	...	...	money-lender.
samvādam	... discussion	..	news.
avadhi	... leave	...	
asat (substanceless)	... wicked	...	...
adhika-prasaṅgi (one who talks over- much)	... dissolute fellow	...	
cāritrya (character)	... chastity	...	...
dāham	... thirst	...	incineration.
upādhyāya (teacher)	... priest (vādhyār)	... any teacher (vādyār)	...
saukarya (convenience)	... convenience, and colloquially, <i>time</i>	time (collo- quially)	
viśeṣa	... news	...	
samsāra	... conversational speech	... wife and family (in certain contexts)	

It is with their respective special meanings attached to them that each language adopts and uses these words ; both the source-meanings and the significations other than those with which they are borrowed, are ordinarily neglected altogether. Even in some of the most recent coinages of Sanskrit pandits, like *prabhāṣanam* (address), *ulghāṭanam* (opening), etc., after they have gained sufficient currency to have become accepted as more or less an integral part of the language, their root-significations are lost sight of, and the words become associated with certain general conceptions in which the root-ideas (for example, of *pra* and *ut* in the above two words) are not perceived at all.

Thus it will be seen as a general principle that in those symbols which at the time of their formation were based upon some quality of the action or of the thing denoted, the conception usually associated with the symbol by the layman does not always coincide with the original trait which led to the formation of the symbol. The psychological reason for this lies in the fact which we have described above, namely, that every symbol has a threefold aspect in its meaning-complexus, judged as well by the impression created in the mind of the speaker and as that in the mind of the hearer.

* * * *

As will be evident from the above, the development of neologisms of significations is not commonly a conscious and deliberate process. The assimilation of the idea by the people will depend upon the necessity felt for it amongst larger and larger groups of people, till an idea, which at first may have been confined to the parlance of one group or community of people, gains entry in a gradual manner into other groups and communities till it becomes the common property of all. Thus in Malayālam, many Persian and English expressions used in connection with official business (courts, offices, schools, etc.), have now become the common property of the language. Conversely, the use of a word to denote a particular idea may also wane on account of the superior dominating influence of a more expressive and more popular symbol. The factors contributing to the waxing and waning of the currency of words cannot be clearly and minutely demarcated. But they may roughly be said to be the following :—(a) the expressiveness of the symbol, (b) the importance of the associations it raises and (c) the currency it has gained amongst influential communities or groups.

As distinguished from the abovementioned class of words, we have in Malayālam, sudden borrowings and coinages from Sanskrit. These are not always assimilated in the language and they often remain as exotic growths for a time,—accepted by cliques

and coteries—and then they disappear. As the mass mind does not easily accept those words which do not satisfy the conditions given above, it is futile to thrust such exotic borrowings upon the people, however essential they may be for the expression of ideas. This remark applies not only to coinages and borrowings of words, but to other spheres of language also. The recent well-meaning attempts of a Malayāḷam scholar, for instance, to popularize English syntactical constructions in Malayāḷam has met with a widespread storm of protest which is not entirely without justification.

* * * *

Erdmann analyses the meaning complex of every word thus :—

(1) *Begriffsinhalt*—the image or group of images directly evoked ;

(2) *Nebensinn*—the side-meaning.

(3) *Gefühlswerth*—the affective connotation.

Carnoy¹ interprets the same differently from the point of view of a psychologist :—

(a) perceptual aspect presented by the main image evoked ;

(b) affective side, being the pleasant or the unpleasant impression accompanying the apperception, the desire or the fear or similar feelings with which the use of the word may be associated ;

(c) conceptual, being the specific intellectual sentiment which the word evokes, perhaps vague at first (brute perception) but well-defined after lapse of time when attention is concentrated and reflection intervenes.

The *affective* aspect or aspects of a meaning-complex (what Erdmann describes as the *Gefühlswerth*) ordinarily escape notice in our consideration of the meanings of words. Often in translations from one language into another, the *affective* connotations are entirely ignored, and not unoften, as a consequence, the translated versions lose the spirit of the original entirely.

The emotional value of words becomes very significant in literary compositions. What is known as 'poetic diction' or 'poetic phraseology' is only a class of words which by their association with and constant use in poetic compositions, have acquired a certain individuality, and in certain cases a dignity of their own. Similarly different classes of literary compositions require words of different types of emotional value. The so-called 'atmosphere' of literary compositions is produced by the use of such groups of words. Compare for instance in Malayalam the affective values of the following groups of words :—

1. (blow) *daṇḍanam*, *tāḍanam*, *aḍi*, *ḥiḍa*, *tallu* ;

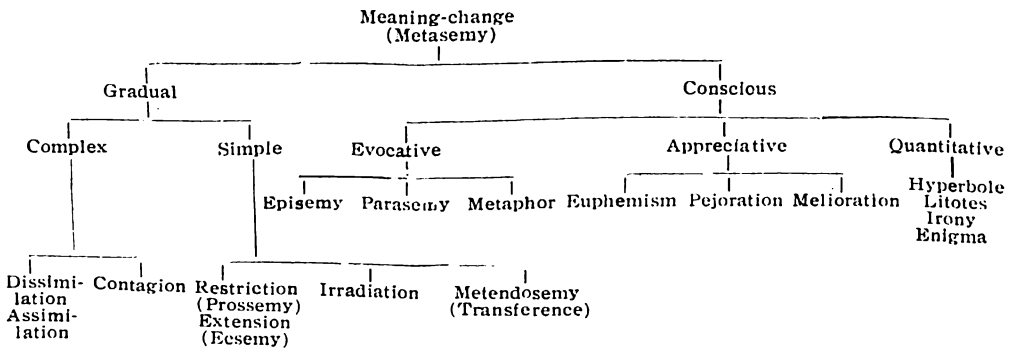
¹ *La Science du Mot* (1926), p. 43.

2. (house) *gr̥ham, maṭham, mana, illam, vīdu, pura, kuḍil, maḍam* ;
3. (bath) *amarēth, snānam, kuḷi* ;
4. (anger) *kōṇam, dēṣyam, śuṇḍhi, kaḍi*.

The differentiation of affective values in the Malayālam language is so great that a separate and distinct set of words is employed by the masses for respectful address and for denoting the everyday actions of the highest castes of Malabar (Nambudiris and Kṣatriyas).

* * * *

Two types of meaning-change should be distinguished : (1) the gradual process as is illustrated in transference, extension, restriction, and association of meanings, where the speakers are not, under normal circumstances, conscious of the changes ; (2) conscious changes like metaphors, euphemism, etc., where the speakers should have deliberately introduced new significations which at the inceptive stages remain quite clear, but later on may have become "set". These two main classes of meaning-change are sub-divided by Carnoy thus :—



I may observe here that this classification of Carnoy's is the most rigorous and subtle of all the groupings so far attempted. While Arsene Darmesteter based his classification on a purely *logical* basis, Carnoy goes deeper and demarcates the various types of change on the basis of *psychological* differences which, as Carnoy rightly observes, are characteristic of the growth of languages in general, while logical distinctions are found only in systematically developed languages.

Mons. Carnoy has employed a new terminology which, despite its forbidding appearance, is quite simple and, further, very helpful in enabling us to remember the subtle but all the same fundamental differences indicated.

f i n i s h

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Dravidic 'Eating' and 'Drinking'

I

In his *Indogermanische Grammatik* (vol. I, p. 164), Hirt says: "Um auf dem Gebiet der Etymologie, namentlich sich in der Bedeutungslehre vorwärts zu kommen, empfiehlt es sich auch, Wörter eines bestimmten Begriffsgebiets in den verschiedensten Sprachen zusammen zu behandeln." Such a classification and discussion of semantic congeners reveal the inter-dialectal distribution of forms, the similarities and divergences in the persistence of old words, the degree of foreign influence (wherever this can be traced) and the semantic evolutions of forms in the different speeches. In Dravidian, the members of which family lie distributed all over India, such semantic groupings would particularly be useful in estimating the influence of Indo-Aryan (henceforth abbreviated as IA) and Kolarian on the native vocabulary.

In this paper I have tried to adopt this approach to the Dravidic words for 'eating' and 'drinking.' I have restricted myself to the discussion of the verbs denoting these ideas and of the general words for 'food' and 'meal.' Specialised names abound in each of the speeches for varieties of 'food' and 'drink'; but since most of these fall under the category of 'cultural' words which would by their very nature be marked more by divergences than by similarities, their study may perhaps not be so fruitful for the immediate purpose of this essay.

The results of my enquiry are summed up at the end of this paper.

'EATING'

	Tamil	Malayalam	Kannada	Telugu	Tulu	Kui	Gondi	Kurukh	Malto	Brähui
1. 'To eat'	<i>tin-</i>	<i>tin-</i>	<i>tin-</i>	<i>tin-</i>	<i>tin-p-</i>	<i>tin-b-</i>	<i>tin-d-</i>	<i>[tin-'to feed]</i>	<i>[tind-]</i>	
2. 'To have a meal'	<i>un-</i>	<i>un-</i>	<i>un-</i>	—	<i>[unbu]</i>	<i>[un-b-]</i>	<i>[un-d]</i>	<i>[ôn-]</i>	<i>[ôn-]</i>	<i>[?kun]</i>
3. 'To swallow'	<i>vilung-māluṅ</i>	<i>vilnñ-</i>	<i>miṅ</i>	<i>mṛiṅ</i>						
4. 'To swallow'	<i>nūṅ-'</i> <i>nugar-</i>	<i>nugar</i>	<i>nūṅ-'</i> <i>[molk]</i>	<i>[molk-]</i>	<i>nīṅ-</i> <i>[mukk-]</i>	<i>[cf. māḷk- to lift food to the mouth']</i>		<i>nunug-</i> <i>môx-</i>	<i>môx-</i>	<i>[nughuṣ?]</i>
5. 'To eat'										
6. 'To have a meal'	<i>śāppiḷ-</i>	<i>[cāpāḍu]</i>	—	<i>pasāpaḍ</i> <i>sāpaḷ</i>						

'DRINKING'

	Tamil	Mal.	Kannada	Telugu	Tulu	Kui	Gondi	Kurukh	Malto	Brähui
1.	<i>Kuḍi-</i>	<i>Kuḍi-</i>	<i>Kuḍi</i>	<i>kuḍ-u-cu</i> , <i>Kṛḷ-</i>	<i>[Kuḍc-]</i>	<i>[guh-p- 'to swallow']</i>				
2.	Old <i>parug-</i>	old <i>parug-</i>		<i>par-p-</i>						
3.	[old Tam. <i>un-</i>]	[old <i>un-</i>]	[old <i>un-</i>]	—		<i>un-b-</i>	<i>un-d-</i>	<i>ôn-</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>[Kun-]</i>
4.				<i>trāg-</i> , <i>tāg-</i>						

Besides the forms listed above, exists a number of literary Tamil words, many of which occurring in Śaṅgam texts are used as *poduvinai* or 'verbs used alike to express all the related significations of a semantically congeneric group,' as distinguished from *ṣiṛappuvinai* which are restricted to specialised signification only.

The meanings of these literary words are mostly secondary developments.

arund—'to eat' besides 'to contain,' 'to experience good or evil':

arundiyadu [Kural, 942]

nugar—'to eat, drink': *aḍiṣil nugar-ga* [Puṛapporuḷ V, 282]. Cf. type 4 in the table above.

ār—'to eat', 'to consume', 'to feed to one's satisfaction' beside 'to be full', 'to experience fully': *Kākkai ār-um* [Aing., 164]; cf. Tel.

ār—'to be replete,' Kanu. *āru* 'fullness.'

ayil—a very old *paduvinai* for 'eating (or even drinking) all kinds of things': *ayini-y-um ayinṛanṛu* [Puṛ., 77] which associates the verb with the noun *ayini* 'food'. *Aśana* in Tamil is a Samskṛta-sama, meaning 'food.' *Ayini* 'food' may very probably be related to this IA form; and the verb itself may have been thence derived. Also cf. *aśi*- 'to take food' < IA *aś*-.

miśai—'to feed upon', 'to eat'; *amiḷḍin miśaindu* [Puṛ., 150] 'having consumed (food) like *amṛta*'. Cf. *miśai* 'above, upon' and *mēy*- 'for catile to graze upon'. Cf. also Tel. *mēta* 'pasturage' and (more generally) 'food'.

mānd—'to eat (grain, fruits etc.)': *tinai mānd-um* [Aing., 263], *kani mānda*, [Puṛ.]. This does not appear to be a *poduvinai* like *agiḷ*-, *nugar*- and *arund*-.

tuy—'to eat' beside 'to enjoy, experience'; cf. *tu* 'food', *tū* 'flesh', meat.'

tut't'r—'to eat' [Ag.]. Cf. *tur*- 'to be crammed,' *tur-u-kk*- 'to cram, like food into the mouth.' *tut't'ru* as a noun is employed in *paduvinai* for 'boiled rice.'

kai-toḍ—'to eat' < 'to touch with the hand.' This is not a Śaṅgam form. It is not mentioned in Tivāgaram but only in Cūḍāmaṇi niḡaṇḍu. Perhaps its meaning 'to eat' cropped up in the

language of the religious devotees as a kind of 'taboo'- expression dictated by utter religious humility.

Tel. *ārag-inē*—'to enjoy,' 'to eat,' 'to drink' is perhaps IA [cf. *ārogya* 'health'].

Mal. *iṛamb*—'to sip' [used in the north], *uṛiñj*- 'to sip' [used in the south], *mōnd*- 'to sip,' *nugar*- 'to eat, drink or enjoy' are in common use.

II

Examination of cognates

1. 'tin-' type

The Kûi and the Gôṇḍi representatives of this widely represented type have incorporated extension-suffixes (for which, see my DV). Cf. colloquial Tamil Infinitive *tin-g-a*, and the Kannaḍa colloquial *tin-b*- (Kittel, Dict., p. 717) for the incorporation of extension-suffixes in some of the forms of this very popular and ancient verb-base.

Semantically also, there is a striking oneness. Wherever it is used, it means primarily 'to eat things other than regular meals or the staple food.' The idea of 'having a meal' is nowhere in the dialects expressed with the help of this base; it would be interesting to classify at once the expressions and words denoting 'to have a meal' in the different dialects:—

Tam. [old] *uṇ*-

„ [new] *śāppiḍ*-

Mal. *uṇ*-

Tel. *bhōjanam cēy*-

Kann. [old] *uṇ*-

„ [new] *ūṭa māḍ*-, *ūṭa āg*-

Tuḷu *uṇ-p-ā* or *uṇ-pu mamp*-

Kûi *ēju uṇ-b*—'to have a meal' <literally 'to eat rice-water, food' or 'cooked food.'

Gôṇḍi *java uṇ-d*—'to have a meal' <literally 'to drink a porridge of staple food'; cf. for the usage, the expression *kaññi*

kuḍi- 'to drink porridge of rice,' used for 'having a meal' by the the 'low' castes of Malabar.

Kuṟukh *maṇḍi-amm ōn*— 'to have a meal' <literally 'to consume rice, food and drink.'

The base *uṇ*-, used largely for 'having meal,' and the Tamil form *śāppid*- will be discussed below. Telugu uses the IA *bhōjanam* commonly for 'meal', which IA loan is restricted in the Tamil Brahmins' dialect to contexts like *brāhmaṇa bhojanam*, *pañkti bhojanam* which of course are IA collocations.

It may be noted that the derivatives from *tin*- in the different dialects Tam. *tīn*, *tīt't'ri*, Mal. *tīn*, *tīt't'a*, Kann. *tinasu*, Tel. *tiṇḍi* preserve the dominant note in *tin*-, viz., 'eating things other than the staple food.' A glutton is described as *tīn-āḷi*, *tinasa-goli* in Kann., *tin-p-ele* in Tulu, *tīt't'a-p-priyan* in Mal.

2. 'uṇ—' type

A very widely represented type with marked structural similarities. Kuṟukh has *ōn*- beside *uṇ*- [*LSI.*, p. 429]. Further, the past stem in Kuṟ. and Malto is *ōṇḍ*- with the cerebral *ṇḍ* [= *ṇ* + *t*, the Dravidian past affix]; hence the original base was *ōṇ*- with the cerebral *ṇ* as in the south.

Telugu, curiously enough, is lacking in a representative of this set. Brāhūi *kun*- may be related in view of the meanings (see below); but the initial consonant is inexplicable.

So far as the meanings are concerned, the following features are noteworthy:—

(a) *uṇ*- in the colloquials of the south Dravidian speeches is (wherever used) always distinguished from *tin*- on the one side and *kuḍi*- 'to drink' on the other. *Uṇ*- always implies 'having a meal' 'eating staple food.' *Tin*- means 'eating other things than a meal or staple food,' and *kuḍi*- in Tam., Mal. and Kann. refers to the 'drinking' of liquids.

Further, in the colloquials, *uṇ*-¹ is generally associated with *human*

1 The derivatives of *uṇ*- in both ancient and modern dialects (including the colloquials) mean only 'food,' 'meal':—Tam. *ūṇ*, *uṇā*, *uṇḍi*; Kann. *ūṭa*, *uṇisu*, Mal. *ūṇu*, Tulu. *uṇṇu*, *nuppu*.

food or meals, the 'food' of animals being coupled with *tin-* or its derivatives.

Kann. *ûṭa* 'meal', Mal. *uṇ-* 'to have a meal (for human beings only)', Tulu *uṇ-pu* 'meal', beside Kann. *haṇṇu tin-* 'to eat fruit,' Mal. *māṇṇa tin-* 'to eat mango' and Kann. *nîr kuḍi* 'to drink water,' Mal. *kaḷ kuḍi* 'to drink toddy,' Tulu *kuḍc-* 'to drink toddy,' illustrate these points.

(b) In the older stages of Tamil, Mal. and Kannaḍa, however, *uṇ-* is associated with a large number of contexts including those for which the modern colloquials would use *kuḍi-*:

Tam. *kaḷ-ḷ-uṇ-* 'to drink toddy' [Puṟ, 123]

maṭṭ-uṇ- 'to drink toddy' [Puṟ, 24]

nuṇṇi-uṇ- 'to drink poison' [Kuṟaḷ]

mulai-y-uṇ 'to drink mother's milk'

mu-n-nîr uṇ- 'to drink three kinds of liquor' [Puṟ, 24]

naṟav-uṇ- 'to drink toddy' [Puṟ., 25]

niṇan-uṇ 'to drink blood' [Patt., 3, 198]

viḍam-uṇḍa kaṇḍan 'he with the neck that drank poison'
'Śiva' [Samb.]

nîr uṇ- 'to drink water' [Nâladi]

Kann. *pāl uṇ-* 'to suck mother's milk'

tên uṇ- 'to drink honey, as a bee'

Mal. *mula-y-uṇ-* 'to drink mother's breast-milk' [Kṛṣṇa G.]

tên uṇ- 'to drink honey, as a bee' [K.G.]

In these contexts, the colloquials (and the more modern literary dialects) would use *kuḍi-*.

In the following in which *uṇ-* is used in the old Tamil texts, the modern dialect would use *tin-*; here the illustrations are, however, few, since the distinction² between *uṇ-* and *tin-* was observed even in the old texts.

uṇḍal-k-iniya paḷam 'fruits sweet for eating' [Patt.]

kākkai-y-uṇṇum 'where the crow eats' [Kuṟaḷ, 527]

uṇṇāḍ-uyāṅgu-mā 'the horse weary on account of lack of
eatables' [Patt.]

2 In a very general way, it may be said that while *uṇ-* denotes in the Saṅgam texts the 'eating' or 'drinking' of anything that serves like food, *tin-* is applied to the 'eating' of things other than these.

kani-y-unṇum 'where fruits are eaten' [Pur., 177]

ûn un- 'to eat flesh' [Tirunâvukk.] beside *ûn tin-* [Pur., 258]

This extended use of *un-* in old Tamil texts in contexts like these [cf. *ûn-tuvai-kari-côṇ-un* in Pur., verse 14, where *un-* is applied not only to the staple food 'boiled rice' but also to 'flesh' and 'curry', where at least in modern speech *tin-* would be used] has led some commentators to postulate that *un-* is a *poduvinaï* used for all kinds of 'eating' and 'drinking,' while others maintain that the use of *un-* in these instances (instead of *tin-* or of the regular *poduvinaï* like *ayil-*, *nugar-*) is only an exceptional usage.

On examining the use of *un-* in old Tamil texts, I find that while *un-* is more or less distinguished in application from *tin-* [*un-* is 'consuming something that has some effect on the person similar to that of a regular meal' while *tin-* is 'eating things other than things contemplated above'], *un-* (as the above illustrations would show) meant 'drinking' also in quite a large number of contexts. Of course, there was the word *parug-* in old Tam. to denote 'drinking'; but in the Saṅgam texts at any rate, *parug-* not only has other meanings but is also not so common as *un-* with the meaning 'to drink.'

(c) The significance of this feature will be evident in the examination of the meaning 'to drink' which *un-* generally has in the central Indian Kûi and Gôṇḍi, and in the north Indian Kuṛukh and Malto.

Kûi *un-ba siḍru* 'drinking water'

pâl un- 'to drink milk'

Gôṇḍi *raṇḍ mund rupaiyana kal unḍator* 'they drink toddy worth two or three rupees'

pâl un- 'to drink milk'

Kuṛ *amm ûn-* 'to drink water'

jhaṛa ôn- 'to drink liquor'

Malto *ên ame ônin* 'I drink water'.

Kuṛukh, however, still retains *ôn-* in the sense of 'having a meal' in contexts like the following, culled from Grignard's excellent texts:—
pacçô pacgiringahin ôndan 'I live with my parents' <literally 'I eat with the old man and the old woman,' *ônâ ra'ake* 'do remain for the meal,' *ônar kirrâge* 'returning after the meal.'

Brâbûi *kun-* means 'eating and drinking':—*kunoiâ dir* 'drinking water'; *î dâiskâ hic kuntanut* 'I have eaten nothing yet.'

It is very remarkable indeed that Kui, Gôṇḍi, Kur. and Malto used old *un-* with the restricted sense of 'drinking,' without going in for new words for this idea as the south Dravidian speeches did.

3. 'to swallow'

This is a purely south Dravidian type. For the correspondence of *l* to *r* in the Tel. aphaeresized form and for the syncope in the Kann. form, see my "Dr. Phonology."

4. *nunḡ-* 'to swallow'

In meaning, this set shows no difference from No. 3 above. Structurally it has at present to be demarcated from the *minḡ-*, *mriḡ-* type, the exact relationship (if any existed) not being sufficiently clear.

5. Kuṛukh *môx-*

This base, according to Grignard, signifies 'eating anything except cooked rice or meals.' It is used with eatables like *mârhi* 'parched rice,' *amkhî* 'curry,' *aḥra* 'flesh,' *tamkû* 'tobacco' and similar things. With *maṇḍi* 'cooked rice or food,' *ôn-* is employed. For the semantic differentiation, cf. *tin-* and *un-* of the south Dravidian speeches.

môx- [*muṣ-* in some tense-forms] has the meanings 'to gobble up,' 'to prey upon,' 'to destroy' 'to kill by witchcraft.' Perhaps, therefore, it is related to Kann. *mukk-*, Tuḷu. *mokk-* 'to gobble up.'

Malto *môx-* is 'to eat things like meat and fruit' [Droese, *Voc.* p. 65] while 'to eat bread' is denoted by *min-* which also means 'to graze, browse' [cf. south Dr. *mêy-*]. 'To have a meal' is denoted by *jagu lap-* 'to eat boiled rice.'

6. Tam. *śāppid-* 'to have a meal.'

Tam. *śāppid-* is the common colloquial term for 'having a meal' amongst many communities. It does not appear to have been generally recognized³ as a literary word. *Nāma dīpikai niḡaṇḍu*, a late (18th century?) dictionary, however, mentions it.

3 The Tamil lexicon, however, cites the noun *śāppāḍu* 'meal' from Tiruvēṅgaḍa śatakam.

In Telugu, *sāpaḍ-* 'to eat a meal' is said to be a dialectal word; the noun *sāpātu* 'meal' [*sāpātu-rāmuḍu* 'a mere glutton'] also exists. The literary form *pasāpaḍ-* 'to have food' occurs in a 17th century work.

I consider these forms to be related to the following, all of which are from IA *prasāda* 'sanctified offering, etc.'

Tam. *śādam* 'boiled rice,' 'food'

Tel. *śādam* 'food' [vaiṣṇavite word]

„ *pasādam* 'sanctified food,' 'meal'

[15th century Bhojarājīyam].

Though Kann. *pasāda*, *śāda* do not have the meaning 'food,' the former has the signification 'sanctified offering' <IA *prasāda*, and the latter means 'purity, brilliancy' <IA *prasāda*.

Tel. *pasāpaḍ-* 'to have food' and *pasādam* 'food' show the connection between the verb and the noun from which the verb has been formed with the native Dravidian auxiliary *paḍ-* (as in *bhāyappaḍ-* 'to fear,' etc.).

Tel. *sāpaḍ-* and Tam. *śāppiḍ-* appear to be the aphaeresized variants of an original like *pasāpaḍ-* <*prasāda-paḍ-*.

Tam. *śādam* and Tel. *śādam* 'boiled rice' may also have been similar variants of *prasāda* 'sanctified offering of boiled rice' <sanctified offering.'

It is very remarkable that in Tamil a word which should have exclusively been communal in origin (for, such sanctified offerings are only possible among the Brahmins or those who were within their cultural influence) has now spread very widely and almost become an indispensable expression in everyday vocabulary.

'Drinking'

1. 'Kuḍi-'

This is a South Dravidian type. *Kuḍi-* is the most common word for 'drinking' in the colloquial of Tamil and in both the colloquial and the literary dialects of Mal. and Kannaḍa.

I have not met with *kuḍi-* with the meaning 'to drink' in the Saṅgam Tamil texts which use *uṇ-* or *parug-* (for which latter, see below), or one of the *poduvinaḥ*'s.

Tel. has *kuḍ-u-cu* [past stem *kuḍi-ci-*] with the meanings 'to eat', 'to enjoy' and 'to drink.' Telugu *krōl-* is another word with the same meanings. This latter may have been an accent-influenced variant of an older **koḍaḷ-*, **kuḍaḷ-* connected with *kuḍi*; for the change, cf. Tel. *vrēl-* 'to sink, hang down' and Kann. *biḷal* 'hanging roots.' The common colloquial word for 'to drink' in Tel. is *tāg-* <*trāg-*.

In Tuḷu, while the commonly employed verb is *par-p-*, the base *kuḍ-c-* signifies 'to drink toddy' [*kuḍcēlu* 'a drunkard'].

2. Tam. *parug-*

This is a Saṅgam Tam. word signifying 'to drink', 'to gulp', 'to enjoy':—*tēṛaḷ parug-i* 'having drunk liquor' [Patt., 2, 157], *vēvci parug-* 'to swallow the roast' [Patt.].

Old Mal. *parug-* is 'to sip', 'to drink', 'to nibble', 'to enjoy', used in old texts like *Rāmacarita* and *Kṛṣṇagāthā*.

Tuḷu *par-p-* is the indispensable verb. *Par-p-*, among the 'lowest' castes of Tuḷuvāṇḍ, is restricted to 'having a meal' since their meal is only liquid *parucelu* 'conjee'.

The type does not appear to be represented in other Dravidian dialects. I do not know if the somewhat far-fetched suggestion of the Tamil lexicon that it may be connected with Skt. *sprh-* 'to desire' has anything in it.

III

Words for 'food', 'meal', 'eatables'

A list of the general words is given below; the specific names for different varieties would be too numerous to be mentioned here.

Tamil	<i>uṇ</i>	}	'food' < <i>uṇ</i>
	<i>uṇ-a-vu</i>		
	<i>uṇ-ā</i>		
	<i>uṇḍi</i>		
	<i>tīn</i>	}	'eatables' < <i>tīn</i>
	<i>tīt't'ri</i>		
	<i>aḍiṣil</i> 'what is cooked,' 'food,' 'boiled rice' < <i>aḍ-</i> 'to cook';		
	cf. Kann. <i>aḍigil</i> 'what is cooked'		
	<i>ayini</i> 'food' < IA <i>aśana</i> [see above].		

Tamil *kūḷu* 'food' [Pur.,] <*kūḷ-ai*- 'what is mixed together'; of Kann. *kūḷu*, Tel. *kūḍu* 'boiled rice'. Kittel [*Dict.*, p. xxxvii] suggests that late Skt. *krūra* 'food,' 'boiled rice' may have been derived from Dravidian.

śōṛu
śonṛi } 'boiled rice'

tut't'ru 'boiled rice'; cf. *tut't'r-* 'to eat'

śāppāḍu 'meal,' 'food' [see *supra*].

pōnagam 'meal' [in Maṇimēgalai, a work showing many adaptations from OIA and MIA] is surely traceable ultimately to OIA *bhojana* 'food'; cf. Tel. *bōna* below.

Mal. *ūṇu* 'meal' <*uṇ-*

tīn
tīt't'a } 'eating' 'what is eaten,' applied to the 'meal' of animals and contemptuously to that of human beings <*tin-*

cōṛu 'boiled rice'

amarēttu [from IA *amṛta*] 'food of lords' when referred to by 'lower' castes; this is an adaptation of *amṛta-ttu* 'at the (precious) food of kings or lords' [18th century Verapoly Dict.].

Tel. *vaṇṭagamu* 'food' <'what is cooked' <*vaṇḍ-* 'to cook'

ôgiramū, ôyiramū, ôrêmu 'food' <IA *odana*.

kūḍu 'boiled rice'; cf. Tam. *kūḷu* above.

bōnamū 'food' <MIA <OIA *bhojana*.

pasādamū 'food' <sanctified offering of food' <IA *prasāda*.

mêtu 'food' <food of cattle; from *mêy-* 'to graze'

tiṇḍi 'edibles' <*tin-*.

sādam 'food,' a dialectal word, from *pasādam* <IA *prasāda*.

buvvu, a child's word for 'boiled rice.'

Kannaḍa *kūḷu* [see *supra*].

ôgara cf. Tel. *ôgiramū* above

ūṭa 'meal'
uṇisu 'food' } <*uṇ-*

Kannaḍa *tinasu* 'eatables' }
tīni } < *tin*
tiṇḍi [Tel. loan?] }

Tuḷu. *paruvēlu* 'meal' of 'low' castes [< *par-p* 'to drink']

„ *uṇ-pu* 'food' used by Brahmins and *nuppu* by certain lower castes are derived from *uṇ-*

Kūi *ēju* 'cooked rice,' 'meal,' 'rice water' is perhaps connected with Kūvi *ēju* 'water,' Gōṇḍi *ēr* 'water,' south Dra. *îr* 'wetness,' *nîr* 'water.'

Kūvi *oṇḍi* 'food,' 'meal' < *uṇ*

Kuṛukh *maṇḍi* 'cooked rice, food'; cf. Santali *maṇḍi*, probably not Dravidian.

IV

The following features emerge from the above discussion:—

1. Three types among the verbs for 'eating' appear to be almost pan-Dravidian, while among the verbs for 'drinking' no all-Dravidian type is available.

2. Some verb-types are exclusively south Dravidian.

3. The first three types of verbs for 'eating' have persisted in the south Dravidian speeches without semantic change; whereas in the words for 'drinking,' the older and the modern (colloquial) words are different in Tamil and in Telugu.

4. The semantic development of *uṇ-* in the central Indian dialects and in Kuṛukh is noteworthy, though it may be said to have been foreshadowed by certain contexts in old Tamil itself.

5. Among words for 'food,' 'eatables,' derivatives with characteristic structural changes (like Tam. *ūṇ*, *uṇḍi*, *uṇavu* from *uṇ-*) are conspicuously absent in central and north Dravidian.

6. The semantic difference between *uṇ-* and *tin-* is fundamental and persistent in the dialects, as reflected not only by the contexts in which they are used but also by the special connotations of their derivatives (in south Dravidian).

7. IA influence is definitely traceable in one common verb-type [Tam. *śāppid-*, Tel. *pasāpaḍ-*], in one Tamil literary word [*ayil-*], in Tel. *āraginē* and in some forms for 'food,' 'meal.'

Guru, who was mainly responsible for the high prosperity and renown that our poet enjoyed in his lifetime.

In conclusion, it may be said to the credit of our author Ghanaśyāma that his poetry is simple, that his knowledge is cyclopaedic and his vocabulary is vast. He is one of the many later poets in whose hands the old Vaidarbhī style of classical poetry was revived in the South. Though at times, given to verbal puns and alliterations, he writes a very clear and pointed language. His independence in thought and in language and his unique position in the royal court of Tanjore as an able poet-minister, made him all-powerful in this temporal world ; and for his renunciation of all worldly pleasures, his desire to do public good and his complete reliance upon God—for all these virtues he deserves to be remembered by posterity for all time to come.

DRAVIDIC NOTES.

BY

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I. THE FRONT FRICATIVES AND AFFRICATES OF DRAVIDIAN.

A. *General*.—The (Sibilant) fricative *s* and post-dental and palatal fricatives and affricates abound in Dravidian:—

	<i>Initial.</i>	<i>Medial.</i>
Tamil	... <i>śēru</i> (to join)	| <i>kaśappu</i> (bitterness) | <i>paccai</i> (greenness)
Telugu	... <i>tsūḍu</i> (to see) cey (hand)—	{ <i>kū(t)su</i> (sit) { <i>osāgu</i> (to give)
Kannāḍa	... <i>ceṇi</i> (red)	<i>hesaru</i> (name)
Malayāḷam	. . <i>cāl</i> (channel)	<i>veśappu</i> (hunger)
Tuḷu	... <i>caḍu</i> (belly), <i>śēru</i> (to join)	rare ¹
Kui	... <i>sā</i> (to die), <i>sude</i> (river)	<i>nespa</i> (to fill)
Kurukh	... <i>cā</i> (to stink), <i>sel</i> (to push)	<i>asar</i> (to fear)
Gōṇḍi	... <i>coḍ</i> (to drop), <i>sī</i> (to give)	<i>gars</i> (to play)
Brāhūi	... { <i>cā</i> (to understand) { <i>sal</i> (to stand)	<i>bis</i> (to bake)

An examination of the above would show that the affricate *c* is rare in medial positions (except in Tamil and Mal. where it appears only in a doubled state *cc*.) Tamil-Mal. does not tolerate *s* initially or medially.

Initially *c* is frequent in Malayāḷam, Kurukh, Tuḷu, Brāhūi, while Kannāḍa shows it occasionally.

ś initially occurs only in Tamil, and here probably it represents only an older *c* (as the symbol in the native script shows),

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1. Medial *ś* has in numerous cases turned into *dj* or *d* in Tuḷu.
 2. For the reduplication *Vide* my paper on "Inter-vocal Plosives and Accentual Influence" in *Indian Antiquary*, June, 1929.

especially as Malayālam, (an off-shoot of ancient Tamil) preserves the value of *c* in initial positions.

Ś medially is the normal sound of the single medial front fricative in Tamil and Malayālam, while Kannaḍa, Telugu and the Central and North Dravidian dialects show the dental sibilant *s*.

Telugu preserves both *s* (*ts*) and *c* initially, according as the following vowel is dorsal or front in character.

Tuḷu¹ shows freely *c* and *s* initially, while occasional variants with initial ś are also found.

I propose to discuss in this paper the relationship of these sounds and their possible derivation. Before doing so, let me record here an observation (based upon the examination of different families of languages), recently² made by *Pater* Schmidt, that it is probable that fricatives are, in the history of phonetic development, secondarily derived from the plosives.

One of the objects of this paper is to examine how far *Pater* Schmidt's conclusion may be justified in its application to Dravidian.

Preliminarily it may be noted that initial *c*, ś and *s* on the one hand, and medial ś, *s* on the other, found in the different dialects, are in many cases related amongst themselves in each of the respective groups. This is proved by correspondences like the following :—

	Tam.	Kui.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurukh.	Mal.
(to go, enter, etc.)	śel	sal	sal	sel	cel
(to die)	śā	sā	sāi	khe	cā
(✓ may, to be changed)	maśal	māsa	mas	massā (axe)	maśakka

1, For explanations of the alternance of initial *t*, *s* and *h* in Tuḷu, see my paper on "The Secondary Velar Aspirate in Dravidian."

2. Page 286 of *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde*, where *Pater* Schmidt compares the phonetic incidence of the fricative in various groups of languages and says : ' Zusammenfassend lässt sich eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit behaupten, dass die ältesten Kulturkreise keine Reibelaute gekannt haben "; and since the oldest culture—spheres, are equated more or less with Language—Spheres, the secondary character of the fricative is indicated.

That in a large number of cases the sounds in each group are related, will be further clear from the following discussion.

B. The question of medial fricatives and affricates may be taken up at first, as it is easier of solution and classification than the problem of the corresponding initial sounds.

All medial fricatives are derivative in Dravidian:—

(a) They may have developed originally from a front glide *y* e.g. Tamil *paśumei* (greenness < *pay*); Kann. *basir* (belly —cf. Tam. *bayir*); Kui. *kasa* (to heat) < *kāy*; Gōṇḍi *mās* (to burn) < *vay*; Kurukh *ṣac* (to be hungry) < *bay*; Br. *bis* (to bake) < *biy*, etc.

(b) They are the palatalised resultants of original *t* under the influence of front vowels:—The *cc* of Tamil in the past tense affixes e.g. *kācc-*, etc.; the past affix *s* of Brāhūi (< original *t*); Kui causative *tiss* (to feed) where *ss* < old causal affix-*t*; Gōṇḍi Past bases like *guhḥ* (having seized) where *c* < past affix *t*, etc.

(c) An older *k* may also have been similarly turned into fricative in instances like following:—Tel. pr. affix *tsu* which is from original *k*; *arki* (nice) and *ariśi* (rice); etc.

(d) In the Central Dravidian dialects Kui and Gōṇḍi, *s* in some cases may be traced to the aspirate *h*:—Kui *riṣpa* (to settle down) where *s* < older *h*; Gōṇḍi *s* in the causative affix *st*, alternating with *ht*, e.g. *kist* from *kiht*, the causal of *ki* (to do).

This is certainly modelled on the Indo-Aryan alternance of *h* and *s*, as in *niḥ + kāma = niṣkāma*. *h* > *s*, is normally a change not native in Dravidian.

The medial fricatives in Dravidian are, therefore, all derivative.

C. So far as the initial sounds are concerned, the question of origin should be approached through the examination of forms that are cognate in meaning.

Tam.	Tel.	Kann.	Kui.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurukh.	Brāhūi.	Tulu.
(to die)	<i>śā</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>sō</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>khē</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>ā</i>
(to go, enter etc.,)	<i>śel</i>	<i>sel, sal</i>	<i>sal</i>	<i>sōṛ</i>	<i>sel, kā</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>sal</i>
(hill)	<i>koṇḍa</i>	<i>kundū</i>	<i>sōru</i>	<i>sūrv</i>	cf. <i>kuk</i> (boy)	<i>kur</i>	<i>surgu</i>
(to join)	<i>śuruṅgu</i>	<i>kuruṅgu</i>	<i>krōk</i>	cf. <i>kut</i>	<i>kuḍ</i>	<i>kuṭṭ</i> (to pound)	<i>sūdi</i> (sheaf.)
(to hang)	<i>cūḍu,</i> <i>kūḍu</i> <i>toṅgu</i>	<i>cūḍu</i>	cf. <i>kut</i>	<i>tōkar</i> (tail)	<i>toṅg</i>	<i>ṭang</i>	<i>soṅju</i>
(to sleep)	<i>tūṅgu</i>	<i>toṅgu</i>	...	...	...	<i>luḡh</i> (sleep)	<i>sūṅju</i>
(to spit)	<i>tuṇṇu</i>	<i>tūṅgu</i>	<i>sunja</i>	...	<i>luṇ</i>	...	<i>suṇu</i>
	<i>tī</i>	<i>cūḍ, (heat),</i> <i>tōr</i>	<i>tōj</i> (to ap- pear)	<i>tāw-</i> (to see)	<i>sunḍyas</i> (distoller)	<i>tor</i> (to show)	<i>tu, su, lu</i>
(√ <i>lag</i> to be fit, etc.)	<i>taṭṭai</i> (flatness)	<i>caṭṭe, taṭṭe,</i> <i>saṭṭe</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>tagu</i> (to wear fit)	<i>tān</i>	<i>dagh</i>	<i>saṭṭe</i> (flat- ness)

It will be observed that the above-mentioned forms are *closely* related in form and meaning. In the first five the initial fricative (or affricate, as the case may be, of some dialects), corresponds to the back plosive *k* of others; while in the next five instances the correspondence is between *t* and the fricative.

This opens up a problem worth pursuing, *viz.*, whether and how far the fricatives¹ in initial positions in Dravidian are traceable to *k* and *t*.

The problem can be conclusively proved only if

(a) it could be shown that *s* may not have changed to *k* and *t* in Dravidian ;

(b) the reasons inducing the change: *k* > fricative, and *t* > fricative are indicated ; and

(c) a sufficiently large number of instances of the change are given.

1. We shall start with the question of the relationship of initial *k* and initial fricative.

(i) Nowhere in Dravidian have we instances of an *original* fricative having changed into *k* under ordinary circumstances.

(ii) Initial *k*- under the influence of a front vowel freely changes into the fricative.

Kannada	Tam.	Brāhūi	Kurukh
(Small) <i>Kinna</i>	<i>śinna</i>	<i>cunak</i> ²	<i>sanni</i>
(red) <i>kem, cem</i>	<i>śuvappu</i>	<i>khem</i>	<i>kem</i>
(fire) <i>cicc</i>	<i>kāy</i>		<i>cicc</i>
	etc. etc.		

(iii) Initial *k*, followed by a dorsal vowel does not usually change into a fricative. No instances are available of the groups

1. The initial fricatives of a number of words in the central Dravidian dialects are traceable to the front on-glide *y* appearing before initial vowels of older bases (See I.H.Q., March and June, 1929).

2. The dorsal vowel *-u-* in the Brāhūi word represents older *i-* which, it may be noted here, is in many cases represented by *a-* or *u-* in Brāhūi. The alternance of *-i-* and *-u-* is common in the modern colloquial parlance of the South also : cf. *mū-* and *mī* (above), *tura*, *tira* (to open) etc.

Ko- or *Ku*¹ having changed in any of the dialects into the fricative.

The few cases of forms with *k* followed by the symbol *a*, that do show this change, have to be explained on the principle that Dravidian *a* is sometimes front in character [=a] and that it changes often into less open vowels. It is, therefore, likely that these cases should be traced to the palatalising influence of the *front* character of the immediately following vowel. This view becomes all the stronger when we note that some of the Dravidian dialects in such instances do show front vowels like *e* or *i* e.g.,

Brāhūi, *ka* (to die); Kurukh, *khe*, Central *sai*; Southern *śa*, *śā*, *sā* etc.

The conclusion, therefore, so far as initial *k* is concerned is that

(a) there are instances in Dravidian of the change : *k* > fricative under the palatalising influence of front vowels, and

(b) that when *k* is followed by a dorsal vowel it does not change at all.

11. Now, we come to the question of *t* and the fricative. This question has three aspects :—

(a) Whether *t* or the fricative is the original ;

(b) If the dental plosive is not original in some cases, whether and how far we can postulate a change like *k* > *s* > *t* ;

(c) if *t* is found to be original and the fricative to be secondary, what exactly the course of change from *t* to the fricative was.

(a) There is reason to think that initial *t* should have been original in a large number of cases, if we judge from the greater or lesser correspondence of forms in the various dialects e.g.,

<i>Southern Dr.</i> (Tamil, Tel., Kann.) etc.,	<i>Central Dr.</i> (Kui, Gōṇḍi)	<i>Northern Dr.</i> (Kurukh, Br.,) Malto
(to be fit) <i>tag</i> ; <i>tāṇ</i> (self)	<i>tan</i> (self)	<i>tāṇ</i>
(to eat) <i>tiṇ</i>	<i>tind</i>	Kurukh, <i>tin</i>

1. It should be remembered that instances like *kurugu*, *śuruṅgu*, should be explained, on the principle stated *supra* in the footnote, of the alternance of *-i-* and *-u-*, as due to the palatalising of *-i-* or some near front vowel. This fact is proved by the existence of cognate forms with the front vowel *-i-*, like *śir*, *siruṅgu* etc.

(to open) <i>tira, tura</i>	Gōṇḍi, <i>tul</i> (to open)	Kurukh, <i>tisig.</i> <i>ture</i> etc.,
(scorpin) <i>tēl</i>	Gōṇḍi, <i>tīril</i> (centipede)	Br., <i>tēlh</i> (Scorpion).

In this connection we may note that the change of *c, ś, s* to *t* is admittedly common in the *colloquial* dialects of the South and particularly in Tuḷu. In adaptations of Sanskrit words with initial sibilants, *t* is substituted for the sibilant e.g.,

Tam.:—*tamayam* for *samayam* ; *taṅgati* for *saṅgati*, etc., etc.

Tuḷu :—*tañci* for *sañci*; *tañja* for *sandhyā*; while these are Sanskrit borrowings, the following appear to be *native* instances : *tane* (of cattle to be pregnant) < *śane* < *kane* < *Kāy*; *tār* (to jump, cf. Tam. *śāṭu* < $\sqrt{kā}$) etc., etc.

This fact complicates the problem of the origin of *t* and the fricative of numerous native forms. How are we to determine which is original and which is secondary ? The only safe course would be to examine if in a *SUFFICIENTLY* large number of dialects, and particularly alike in South, Central and Northern Dravidian, the *cognate* forms show *t* instead of the fricative, in which case a presumption arises as to its *original* character.

Let us take a few instances :—

(i) A large number of cognate forms from the base *tu, tī*, (light, etc.) appear with both initial *t* and the fricative in all Dravidian dialects. (*Vide* my paper on “The Linguistic History of certain Dravidian Words” in Vol. XX of the *Calcutta University Journal of Letters*).

Hence we are not unjustified in thinking (so far as our present knowledge warrants) that *t* is original in this instance.

(ii) *ta-g* (to fit, to be closely pressed, etc.) is a base with initial *t* which has numerous cognate forms in Sn., Central and Nn. Dravidian :—

Sn. :—*tag* (to become fit), *taṭṭi* (that which has become fit flattened), *tāṇ* (self), *taṭṭuga* (spoon), *taggu* (to be humble), *tāṅg* (to assist) etc.

Central :—*tagg* (to be worn light), *tāṇ* (self), *taṅgi* (sister), *tañji* (father), *tah* (to chip off) etc.

Nn. :—*dagh* (to measure), *tāṇ* (self), *taṅkār* (to become oneself), *tambas* (father) etc.

Initial *t*- therefore should be considered to be original in this instance also.

Similar explanations could be given for a number of other instances also.

(b) The next question for consideration is whether in any instances the change : *k* > *fricative* > *t* could be postulated. Here, of course, only if the secondary character of *t* is proved at first, can any plausibility arise as regards the postulate. The few native instances given above illustrative of the change of *s* > *t* in Tulu, fall under this class.

I give below a few other instances which raise the problem:—

<i>Kurukh.</i>	<i>Brāhūi.</i>	<i>Central Dr.</i>	<i>Sn. Dr.</i>
(to turn) <i>kirr</i>	<i>kur</i>	<i>sur, tir</i>	<i>sur, tir</i>
(to beat) <i>khall</i>	<i>kell</i>	<i>Kui., sah</i> (to tal (beat)	
(to move) <i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>tar, sal</i>	<i>tar, sel, sār, etc.</i>
(to be full) <i>tumbu</i>	<i>kubēn</i> (heavy)	<i>kūp</i> (to fill)	<i>kumi, tuṣṣu, etc.</i>

The above are some instances of the possible correspondence *k*: *fricative*: *t*. They are very few; but few as they are, they do raise a problem which we cannot satisfactorily solve in the present state of our knowledge; the materials available are much too inadequate to enable us to come to any definite conclusion.

(c) Despite the question raised by the facts adduced in (b) above, one thing is clear :—initial *t*- should have been original¹ in a number of instances commonly found in Nn., Sn. and Centr. Dr. alike, and many of these original forms have also derivatives with initial fricatives.

What we have now to see is the course of change along which, in these cases, the original *t* may have changed into a fricative:

1. Nothing can be more misleading than to think that because there are instances of the change of *s* > *t* in the South, and a few cases of the possible change (*k* > *fricative* > *t*)—the initial fricative is original in Dravidian and that *all* cases of initial *t* are derived from the fricative. The determining factors are the following :—(a) the existence of *t*- in cognate forms of *numerous* dialects; and (b) the undoubted original character of *t*- in a large number of other forms which do not have alternative fricatives initially.

(i) Under the influence of a front vowel, palatalisation of *t* to *c* or *ś* (and then a change back to *s* in some dialects) is possible :—

Cf. Tamil *tikku*, *śikku* (to be crowded, etc.), Tuḷu *cippale* (clamp), *cīntu* (to burn, from *tī*), etc. Kui *sik* (to be scorched from *tī*), Brāhūi *cāē* (to understand—cf. Southern *teriy*), Kurukh *cind* (ashes, from *tī*), etc., etc.

(ii) So far as cases, where initial *t* with a following dorsal vowel has changed into a fricative, are concerned, there are three possibilities:—

(a) The original vowel may in some cases have been front in character—cf. the alternance of *-u-* and *-i-* above referred to in Dravidian; and note also the front value of Dr. *a* in certain positions.

(b) The change of *t* to a palatal fricative need not necessarily in all cases have been due to the influence of any palatal vowel; for the dental *t* may, by a slight rise in the point of articulation of the tongue, change with a slight leap to *ś*. In this respect, *t* > *ś* stands on a different footing from *k* > *ś*, owing to the greater proximity of the points of production for *t* and *ś*.

(c) The change may have been in many cases a direct fricatisation of *t* > *s*, and then *s* may have changed into *ś* and thence to *c* [cś.].

What exactly the process was in all those instances of original initial *t*—explained above as having subsequently changed into the fricatives,—we are not in a position to say definitively. The preference shown by Tamil, Kurukh and Malayāḷam for fricatives or affricates (as the case may be) with raised point of articulation, on the one hand,—and the common occurrence of initial dental *s* for *t* in Tuḷu and the Central Dravidian dialects, on the other, are noteworthy.

Conclusion.

(a) Certain instances of initial Dravidian fricatives are traceable to the palatalisation of an original *k*.

(b) Some Initial fricatives are also traceable to original *t*, either through the process of fricatisation or palatalisation.

(c) Medical fricatives are undoubtedly secondary.

(d) All things considered, therefore, it appears as if the initial front sibilants and fricatives (dental, post-dental and palatal, and initial affricates are not original in Dravidian but derivative.

II. ONE AND THREE IN DRAVIDIAN.

	ONE	THREE
Tamil	... <i>oru, ondru, ottrai</i>	<i>mū(v), mūndru, mūnu</i>
Telugu	... <i>oka (ṭi)</i>	<i>mūḍu</i>
Kannaḍa	... <i>ondu</i>	<i>mūḍu, mūndu</i>
Malayālam	... <i>onnu</i>	<i>mūnu</i>
Tuḷu	... <i>oñji</i>	<i>mūji</i>
Kui	... <i>ro</i>	<i>mū, mūndi</i>
Gōṇḍi	... <i>uṇḍi</i>	<i>mūndu</i>
Kurukh	... <i>ort, oṇṭa</i>	<i>nubb, mund</i>
Brāhūi	... <i>asi, asiṭ</i>	<i>musi, musiṭ</i>
Malto	... <i>ort, oṇḍ</i>	<i>tīn (Indo-Aryan.)</i>

The history of the forms for “one” and “three” in Dravidian sheds interesting light on the origin and character of the alveolar plosive *t* and of the spontaneous nasals appearing in Dravidian before sonant plosives.

(1) Tamil shows the most conservative form for “one”, in that *or* is constituted of the base *o* (one) and -*r* (from *ir*) the ancient Dravidian verb-forming and noun-forming affix (appearing in *tur*, to appear; *kūr* to sit; *kulir*, cold; *velir*, whiteness etc.)

ondru (one), the substantival form, is derived from *or* itself, the *ndr* group arising from stressed *r* which incorporates the alveolar *t* as *tr*, *t* subsequently having become sonatised into -*d* along with the production of the spontaneous nasal *u*.

This change is more or less analogous to the change of *kumbu* (heap) from *kuv* (to heap), *pāmbu* (that which rushes, snake) from *pāyvu*, *iṅgu* (to move) from *i-gu*, etc., etc. The plosive *t* in the constitution of stressed *r* was recognised, and the spontaneous nasal cropped up on the principle of accommodative ease which also led to the sonatisation of *t* into *d*.

An alternative explanation that might be suggested is that *ondru* arose from *or + t*, this *t* being traceable to the neuter demonstrative which is employed for the formation of neuter nouns. The following facts, however, militate against this possibility:—

(a) The change of *ondru* to *oñji*, of *mūndru* to *mūji*, and of *āru* to *āji* in Tuḷu is a uniform law in Tuḷu operating in all cases of *r*: *maje* (to forget-*maṛa*), *kaje* (blot-*kaṛa*), etc., etc.

(b) The change of *r* to *ttr* in Tamil adjectival or transitival combinations cannot be explained otherwise than on the principle that stressed *r* incorporates the alveolar plosive *t*.

(c) The argument that, as *iraḍu* (two) and *ay-du* (five) show probably the affix -t-, the same affix may presumably have existed in *ondru* and *mūndru*, is answerable by the instance of *āru* (six) which shows admittedly no affix but yet changes into *āju* in Tuḷu and *sājgi* in Kui. A stage like *ādrū* could be postulated for *āru* also though there are no separate forms for the *ordinal* and the *cardinal* here.

In Tamil *ottrai*, the voiceless character of the plosive was retained in a long form, and the spontaneous nasal was avoided as in many instances of other plosives in similar circumstances.

(2) Tamil *mūndru* similarly arises from *mūr* (which was extant in Old and Middle Kann). The colloquial *mūnu* is from *mūndru*, with the dropping of -d and -r.

(3) Kannaḍa *ondu* and *mundu* go back to *ondru* and *mūndru* respectively. The alveolar changes into the dental almost regularly in similar circumstances in Kannaḍa e.g., *ṣandri*, *ṣandi* (pig), *Kandru*, *Kandu* (calf), etc. Along with the change of the character of the plosive, the nasal also changes from an alveolar into a dental.

Kannaḍa *mūr* shows the old base.

(4) Telugu alone, of all the Dravidian dialects, fails to show the ancient formative affix *r* and its development in the form for ONE. *oka* is probably from the radical *o + k* (from *kei*, to do). cf. Tamil *o-kku* in which an older *r* may possibly have existed; similarly Tel. *oka* may probably be *or + ka* or it may be *o + ka*.

Tel. *mūḍu* (three) shows ḍ which represents the alveolar d. The alveolar changes in Telugu into the cerebral almost regularly e. g., the oblique endings of the so-called "irregular" nouns of Telugu.

(5) The Tuḷu forms are the results of a regular and uniform change in Tuḷu :—

(one) *oñji* < *ondri* < *odr* < *otr* < *or*

(three) *mūji* < *mūdr* < *mūtr* < *mūr*.

The equation : old Dr. *r* = Tuḷu *j* (through *tr*. or *dr*) is almost a law.

(6) Kui *ro* (one) < (*o*) *ro* < *oru* < *or*

For stress-displacement in Kui, compare a number of words beginning with *r* in Kui = *ris* (to burn < *eri*), *ri* (to set down < *iri*).

The substantival *ronḍe* (one) shows the stress-displacement and the change of *nd* into *ṇḍ*, the following *r* having dropped off.

Kui adjectival *mun* retains the nasal of *ndr*, *dr* having dropped out.

The substantival *mūñji* < *mūndru* < *mūr*. cf. for the change of *r* to *j*, Kui *pañji* (pig) etc.

(7) Kurukh *ort* is metathetical for *otr* (< *otr* < *or*).

onta may be compared to Kannaḍa *ondu*

nubb (three) shows *n* far *m* and *bb* for the old dorsal off-glide *v*.

The other form *mund* is comparable to Kann. *mund*.

(8) Gōṇḍi *uṇḍi* (one) shows the cerebralisation of *nd* in older *ndr*. Cerebralisation is frequent in Gōṇḍi, as in Telugu.

mūndu shows *nd* instead of *ndr*. For the neuter enunciative vowel-*i*, cf. Gōṇḍi *yēni* (elephant) *neli* (field), *puri* (insect).

(9) Brāhūi *asi* (one) and *musi* (three) are adjectival and *asi-ṭ* and *musi-ṭ* are substantival.

Two explanations are possible for these forms :—

(i) *asiṭ* < *ayit* < *ayitr* < *o(y)ir* < *o + ir*— and a similar change for *musiṭ*. *O* appears as *a* in Br. as illustrated by *maṇḍ* (lame—cf. Southern *moṇḍi*), *paṭṭak* (short of stature—cf. Kannaḍa *puṭṭu*), *khall* (to beat), etc. For the change of *-y-* to *-s-*, cf. Brāhūi *pas-un*, *bas-ing*, etc.

According to this explanation, *-s-* is from the hiatus-filling glide *y*, and *ṭ* is the cerebralised form of alveolar *t*.

In this view, *asi* and *mūsi* would only be differentiated variants of *asiṭ* and *musiṭ*.

(ii) *asi* and *mūsi* may be considered as original in Br., and *ṭ* only an affix conferring the substantival meaning ; if so, the derivation of *asi* and *mūsi* would be similar to that of Tulu *oñji* and *mūji*, with this difference that while Tulu retains the original *o* and develops *j* (with the spontaneous nasal in the form for *one*), Brāhūi shows *a-* and *-s-*.

In this view, *ṭ* may also be regarded as an analogic intrusion from *iraṭ* (two).

The fact that none of the Dr. dialects shows a hiatus-filling glide *y* between *o* and the affix (*i*)*r* in the forms for *ONE*, would point to the latter explanation of the Br. forms as being more probable than the former.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

I A NOTE ON

THE CŌLAVAMŚĀVALICARITRAM

BY

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Students of South Indian History will be particularly interested to hear that there exists in the Tanjore Palace Library, a rare manuscript known as "The Bṛhadīśvara Māhātmya" or "The Cōla Vamśāvalicaritram". This work is described as an extract from the "Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇam". The name "Bṛhadīśvara Māhātmya" is evidently because of the most important topic discussed within. The origin, construction and development of the Bṛhadīśvara temple known as "The big temple Tanjore" is described in detail. In and around this main topic, the history of the Cōla kings of Tanjore numbering sixteen in all and covering a period of nearly 112 centuries is narrated with a great wealth of detail, drawing particular attention to the chief events in each king's reign. The work is in 30 chapters.

Chapters I and II narrate the conversation between Pārvalī and Īśvara regarding the resuscitations of the famous shrines and places of pilgrimage in the beginning of each Yuga after they had been destroyed in the Praḷaya preceding.

In Chapter III are given the territorial divisions of Southern India, the resuming of the reigns of the kings that held sway over them, and in particular the history of Cōla kings, characterising them as great devotees of Śiva fired with a consuming love to practice all the meritorious deeds that are characteristic of a true devotee of Śiva.

Chapter IV deals in general with various kinds of charitable works carried out by the Cōla kings.

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Ernakulam.

III

COGNATES IN CENTRAL INDIAN AND NORTH
INDIAN DRAVIDIAN.

(Contd. from page 147 of pt. ii, Vol. IX.)

Tamil.	Mal.	Kannāḍa.	Tēlugu.	Tuḷu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kuṛukḷ.	Malto.	Brāhūi
<i>aḷu</i> 'to weep'	old <i>aḷu</i>	<i>aḷ</i>	<i>ēḍuc-</i>	<i>ar-p-</i>	<i>rī, Kūvīlī</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>olox-</i>	<i>olg-</i>	
<i>aḷu</i> 'to burn'	old <i>aḷ</i>	<i>aḷ</i>	cf. <i>aḍalu</i> 'grief'	cf. <i>ar-ta</i>		cf. <i>aṛkī</i> 'fever', <i>aḍḍī</i> 'heat'			
<i>īlī</i> 'to descend'	<i>īlī</i>	<i>īlī</i>	<i>ḍig-</i> , <i>ḍig-</i>	<i>ilī, iri</i>	<i>ḍī, K. rī-</i>		<i>ell-[itt-]</i>	<i>el-</i>	
<i>īḷu-kk-</i> 'to pull, drag'	<i>īḷkk-</i>	<i>īḷu</i>	<i>īḍc-</i> <i>igg-</i>		cf. <i>Kūvī</i>		<i>īc-</i>		
<i>uḷu</i> 'to plough'	<i>uḷu</i>	<i>uḷ</i>		cf. <i>ura</i> 'a plough'	<i>rē- rū, K. lū</i>		<i>uy-</i> 'to plough'; <i>uḡta</i> 'a plough'		cf. <i>he-</i>
<i>eḷu</i> 'to rise'	<i>eḷu</i>	<i>eḷ</i>	<i>lē-c-</i>	<i>er-p-</i>	<i>ḍēñj-</i> 'to be raised'		cf. <i>cjḍ-</i> 'to rouse'		f. 'to raise'
<i>kīḷ</i> 'below'	<i>kīḷ</i>	<i>kīḷ</i>	<i>krinda</i>	<i>kirḡu</i>	cf. <i>Kuvi lī</i> 'below'		<i>f r o m</i>		<i>ki, ker-</i>
<i>koḷuḡḡu</i> 'fat'	<i>koḷuḡḡu</i>	<i>koḷuḡḡu</i> , <i>koḷuḡḡu</i> , <i>kobbu</i>	<i>krōvu</i>		<i>krōḡo</i> 'fat, tallow, suet'		<i>sleep</i>		

Tamil.	Mal.	Kann.	Tel.	Tulu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brāhūi.
<i>kuḷai</i> 'to mix, to pound into a paste'	<i>kuḷai</i>	<i>koḷe</i>		<i>kure-p-</i>	<i>glōng-</i> 'to be mixed'	<i>kohk-</i>			
<i>koḷi</i> 'to sift; winnow'	<i>koḷi</i>	<i>koḷi</i>			<i>kṛō-p</i> 'to winnow' K. <i>kloli-</i>		<i>xer</i>		
<i>kōli</i> 'fowl'	<i>kōli</i>	<i>kōli</i>	<i>kōḍi</i>	<i>kōri, kōli</i>	<i>kōju</i>	<i>korr</i>		<i>xer</i>	
<i>tōlan</i> , 'companion'	<i>tōlan</i>		<i>tōḍi</i>		<i>lōṛa, tōnu</i>	K.	<i>mulug-</i>		
<i>mulai</i> 'to creep in'	<i>mulai</i>	<i>nole</i>	cf. <i>nūy</i>	<i>nūr-, nur-g-</i>					
<i>paḷa-</i> 'old'	<i>paḷa-</i>	<i>paḷe</i>	<i>prā-</i>	<i>para-</i>	<i>prāḍi</i>		<i>pac-ba, pac-ga, pac-</i>		
<i>paḷam</i> 'fruit'	<i>paḷam</i>	<i>paṇṇu</i>	<i>paṇḍu</i>	<i>paṇḍu</i>		cf. <i>paṇḍ-</i>	<i>paṇṇ-</i> 'to ripen'	<i>pāx-, pāx-</i>	<i>pū</i>
<i>paḷu</i> 'to ripen'	<i>paḷu-</i>					<i>pīr</i>		<i>pocru</i>	
<i>pīli</i> 'to squeeze'	<i>pīli</i>	<i>pīli</i>	<i>piḍu-c</i>	<i>pīng-</i>	<i>pī-p-</i>				
<i>puḷu</i> 'worm'	<i>puḷu</i>	<i>puḷu</i>	<i>puṇṇu, purugu</i>	<i>puṇu, puri</i>	<i>pīru, pīru</i>	<i>puṛi</i>	<i>pogo</i>		
<i>puḷuṅg-</i> 'to boil'	<i>puḷuṅg-</i>	<i>puḷ-g-</i>			<i>puṛ-p-</i> 'to roast'		<i>pūx-</i> 'to boil'	<i>pūg-</i>	

Tamil.	Mal.	Kann.	Tel.	Tulu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi	Kurukh.	Malto.	Brāhūi.
<i>poludu</i> 'time'	<i>poludu</i>	<i>pollu</i>	<i>proddu</i>			cf. <i>appor</i> 'that time', <i>ippor</i> 'now', <i>murug</i>			
<i>mulu-g-</i> 'to be immersed' <i>vīl</i> 'to fall'	<i>mulu-g-</i> , <i>muññ-</i> , <i>vīl-</i>	<i>mulg-</i> , <i>bāl-</i>	<i>munug</i> cf. <i>vrēl-</i> 'to hang down from'	<i>mark-</i> <i>būr-</i>	<i>muñj</i> cf. <i>vrī-</i> 'to fall down', <i>vrīti</i> 'slip- pery'		<i>mulux</i> cf. <i>bij-</i> 'to let fall inadver- tently'	<i>mul-g-</i>	

REPRESENTATIVES OF \underline{l} IN CENTRAL INDIAN
AND NORTHERN DIALECTS.

Kūi-Kūvi.

In nine instances [*see* table above], \underline{l} or \underline{r} represents \underline{l} of the south, in two \underline{d} or \underline{d} appears, and in one a syncopated form stands for its southern correspondent.

Kūvi, a sub-dialect of Kūi, has \underline{l} in at least three instances in which Kūi shows \underline{r} .

Many representatives are accent-shifted and aphaeresized modifications of the forms of the south.

\underline{l} of the south = Kūi-Kūvi \underline{r} (\underline{r}), \underline{d} (\underline{d}) or \underline{l} (of Kūvi).

Gōṇḍi.

\underline{R} represents \underline{l} of the south in at least four instances; *paṇḍ-* 'to ripen' is a verb corresponding to Tel. *paṇḍu* 'fruit'; *kohk-* 'to pound into a paste' owes its \underline{h} to the Gōṇḍi change of an original \underline{l} , $\underline{r} + \underline{k}$; *korr* 'fowl' has the trilled \underline{r} [Trench, *Gr.*, p.]; *addī* 'heat of the sun' [cf. Kann. *alṭe*, *arte*, Tulu *arte*, based on *al* 'to burn'] shows syncope.

Kurukh-Malto.

- (i) *ṣacc-* 'old' [cf. southern *ṣala*];
ṣoc-gō 'worm' [cf. south. *ṣulu*];

īc 'to pull' [cf. sth. *ilu-*]; and perhaps *xacc-* with its meanings as an auxiliary verb [as for *kalī* 'to be over'] 'to finish' 'to be done with'; these reveal \underline{c} or \underline{cc} in forms corresponding to those in the south with \underline{l} .

It is possible that \underline{c} , \underline{cc} of Kur.-Malto are the palatalised resultants of an older affix ($\underline{t}?$) which was embodied in these forms.

- (ii) In *olox* 'to weep' [cf. southern *alū*], for the initial vowel of which one may compare *osgo* 'rat' = sth. *eli*, Gō *allī*; in *ol* 'to burn' [cf. sth. *alū* 'to burn']; in *nulug-* [cf. sth. *nuṇund-*]; and in *mulug-* 'to be immersed' [cf. sth. *muṇug-* 'to be immersed'], \underline{l} stands for \underline{l} of the south.

- (ii) Kur. *ny-* 'to plough' [cf. sth. *uṇu-* 'to plough'] and *kīya* 'beneath' [cf. southern *kīl* 'below'] show \underline{y} corresponding to \underline{l} .

- (iv) In *itt-* 'to descend' [cf. sth. *īlī* 'to descend'], *ṣūx-* 'to boil' [cf. sth. *ṣuluṅg-* 'to boil'] and perhaps in the instances with \underline{c} , \underline{cc} given under (i) above, there has been syncope.

(v) In *xer* 'fowl' [cf. sth. *kōlī*; for *x-*, see IA, 1933] and perhaps in Malto *poeru* 'worm' [sth. *ṣulū*], *r* or *ṛ* stands for southern *l*.

(vi) Kur *pānn-* 'to ripen' shows developments similar to Kann. *paṇṇu* 'ripe fruit', Tel. *paṇḍu* 'ripe fruit', Gōṇḍi *paṇḍ-* 'to ripen' [cf. Tam.-Mal. *paḷam* 'ripe fruit' and Tuḷu *paṛ-ndu* which latter shows the affix (*n*)*d* which has been embodied (with *sandhi* changes) in the Tel., Kann., Gō. and Kuṛukh forms].

The sound- correspondence series for Kur. would therefore be the following:—*l*=*l*, *y*, *r*, (*r*) [and syncope].

Brāhūi.

Not many cognates are available from this dialect; but the following are interesting:—

(i) *ker-agh* 'beneath' [cf. sth. *kīl* 'below'] shows *r*.

he-f- 'to raise' [cf. sth. *elb-* 'to raise'] in which *-f-* is the causative affix [=vi, the causative affix of the south] is perhaps a syncopated representative.

A similar syncope perhaps underlies Br. *ṣū* 'worm' [cf. sth. *ṣulū*] and Br. *tamm-* 'to fall' [cf. sth. *tāl-* 'to fall'].

l of the south=*r*, and an older sound suffering syncope.

IV

COGNATES EXCLUSIVE TO SOUTH DRAVIDIAN.

Tamil.	Mal.	Kannāḍa.	Telugu.	Tuḷu.
<i>agal</i> 'to dig out'		<i>agal-</i> <i>agal</i> 'ditch'	<i>agaḍu, agaḍ-ta</i> 'ditch'	<i>agaru, aga-lu.</i>
<i>alund-</i> 'to insert'		<i>alḍ</i>	<i>add-</i>	
<i>alukku</i>	<i>alukku</i>	<i>alku</i>	<i>aḍusu</i> 'mud, quagmire'	
<i>alagu</i> 'beauty'	<i>alagu</i>	<i>al</i>		
<i>ali</i> 'to destroy'	<i>ali</i>	<i>ali</i>	inscriptional <i>lay-</i> , later <i>ḍayy-</i> cf. also <i>aḍi</i> 'vain, useless in <i>aḍi-</i>	cf. <i>arp-</i> 'to destroy'.

[illegible]

Tamil.	Mal.	Kannada.	Telugu.	Tulu.
<i>tolu</i> 'to worship'	<i>tolu-</i>	be perplexed' <i>t u l i l</i>		<i>turli</i> 'worship'
<i>tolil</i> 'work'	<i>tolil</i>	<i>tuḷil</i>		
'profession'				
<i>toluttai</i> 'servant' 'slave'		<i>tolte</i>		
<i>nīlal</i> , <i>nīlal</i>	<i>nīlal</i>	<i>n e l a l</i> , <i>neraḷu</i>	<i>nīḍalu</i>	<i>neralu</i> , <i>irelu</i>
'shade'				
<i>pāl</i> 'ruin' 'waste'	<i>pāl</i>	<i>pāl</i>	<i>pāḍu</i>	
<i>pugal</i> 'to praise'	<i>pugal</i>	<i>pugal</i>	<i>pogaḍ-</i>	<i>p u g a r -</i> , <i>pugaḷ</i> .
<i>pulugu</i> 'civet'	<i>pulugu</i>	<i>puṇugu</i>	<i>puṇugu</i>	
<i>pulai</i> 'channel'	<i>pulā</i>	<i>poḷe</i>		
<i>poli</i> 'to be showered'	<i>poli</i>	<i>poyy-</i>	<i>pūy-</i>	
<i>polil</i> 'country, etc.'	<i>polil</i>	<i>poḷal</i>	<i>prōlu</i>	
<i>pōl</i> 'to be split'	<i>pōl</i>	<i>pōl</i>		
<i>maḷai</i> 'rain'	<i>maḷa</i>	<i>maḷe</i>		<i>maḷæ</i>
<i>maḷuṅg-</i> 'to become dim'	<i>maḷuṇṇ-</i>	<i>maḷg-</i>		
<i>meḷug-</i> 'to be smear'	<i>meḷug-</i>	<i>mett-</i>	<i>mrēg-</i>	<i>mett-</i>
<i>meḷugu</i> 'shine' 'lustre'	<i>meḷugu</i>	<i>merugu</i>	<i>merugu</i>	<i>merp-</i>
<i>mulai</i> 'protuberance'	<i>mulā</i>	<i>mole</i>		<i>mora</i> , <i>mura</i>
<i>mulaṅg-</i> 'to be sounded'	<i>mulaṇṇ-</i>	<i>mol</i>	<i>mrōg-</i>	
<i>vaḷ-ukk-</i> 'to slip'	<i>vaḷ-ukk-</i>	cf. <i>baḷal</i>		
<i>vālai</i> 'plantain tree'	<i>vāḷa</i>	<i>bāḷe</i>		<i>bāra</i> , <i>bāḷæ</i>
<i>viḷuṅg-</i> 'to gulp'	<i>viḷuṇṇ-</i>	<i>ming-</i>	<i>mriṅg-</i>	

KANNADA.

(i) *ḷ* was a common sound in old Kannaḍa till about the middle of the 13th century; but already in the inscriptional forms of 1000 A. D. to 1200 A. D. it had begun to be altered to *l* or

to *r* (in syncopated forms):—*ēḷu* 'seven' and *ēḷge* 'may he ascend' [1019 A. D.], *baḷi* 'path', *gaḷe* 'staff' [1048 A. D.], *aḷi* 'to destroy' [for *aḷi* in 1076 A. D.], *poḷaḷ-* 'to praise', *neḷaḷte* 'fame' [1123 A. D.] and *iḷigum* 'will descend' [for *iḷigum* in 1187 A. D.] show *ḷ* for *l*,—a change which must have commenced early.

The inscriptional *arḍḍidudu* 'was immersed' [for *aḷḍḍidu*] and *birḍdu* 'having fallen' [for *biḷdu*] in 1019 A. D., *neḷaḷte* 'fame' [for *neḷaḷte* in 1084 A. D. show *r* for *ḷ* in forms showing syncope of intermediate syllables.

Literary forms with a similar *r* for *ḷ* are the following; some of these are met with in the most ancient extant texts beside their originals with *ḷ* :—

erb- 'to rouse' for *eḷb*.

ārdu 'having been lowered' for *āḷdu*.

targ- 'to be lowered' for *taḷg-*,

erdu 'having risen' for *eḷdu*.

korbu 'fat' for *koḷbu*.

kirg- 'to become low' for *kiḷg-*.

arlu 'mud, clay, mire' for *aḷ(a)lu*.

arti 'love' for *aḷti*.

arke 'weeping' for *aḷke*.

poṛtu 'time,' 'the sun' for *poḷ(u)du*.

All these occur only in forms where the vowel following original *ḷ* has been syncopated; *neṛaḷu* which is a comparatively late form for *neḷaḷ* 'shade', is perhaps the only modern form in which the *r* corresponding to older *ḷ* is retained to-day, the *r* in others having been "absorbed" completely in modern forms like *poḍdu* 'time', *biḍdu* 'having fallen', *eddu* 'having risen', *addu* 'having wept', etc.

(ii) Middle and modern Kann. forms like *ēḷu* 'seven', *aḷi* 'to destroy', *kōḷi* 'fowl', *huḷu* 'worm', *bāḷe* 'plantain tree' show the change of *ḷ* to *l*, occurring also in certain regional and communal colloquials of Tamil and in Mal. *aḷḷōḷ*, *iḷḷōḷ*, etc.

TELUGU.

The chief sound-correspondences are (i) pre-literary inscriptional *ḷ* (ii) literary *ḍ* (iii) literary *r* in accent-shifted forms where *r* forms a consonant group with the initial consonant, (iv) *l* in one instance showing accent-shift and aphaeresis.

(i) Even if it is disputed that the inscriptional *cōḷa* 'cōḷa,' *ēḷu* 'seven' and a few others may have been due to the influence

of Kannaḍa vocabulary during the period of the Cālukyas when some of these inscriptions were composed, the form *layy-* 'to be destroyed' [corresponding to *ali* of Tamil and Kann.], showing as it does the aphaeresis consequent on accent-shift so peculiar to Telugu (and not at all common in Tamil or Kann.), raises the presumption that the sound $\dot{\text{l}}$ may have existed in pre-literary Telugu at least in some forms if not in all those corresponding to Tam. and Kann. words with $\dot{\text{l}}$.

(ii) Tel. $\dot{\text{d}}$ corresponding to $\dot{\text{l}}$ appears mostly in words which have not suffered accent-shift; but in *ḍebbadi* 'seventy' [Tam. *eḷubadu*], *ḍi-g-* 'to descend' [Tam. *iḷi*], $\dot{\text{d}}$ appears in accent-shifted forms also.

The correspondence of Tel. $\dot{\text{d}}$ =Tam., Kann. $\dot{\text{l}}$ is regular in as many as twelve instances in the table above.

(iii) Tel. r for $\dot{\text{l}}$ is mostly found in accent-shifted forms where r and the initial consonant become juxtaposed (on account of the suppression of the vowel of the first syllables) so as to constitute consonant-groups.

All the forms of this set are derivative, as shown by the presence of suffixal morphemes and by accent-shift and suppression of syllables.

(iv) In at least two Tel. forms, $\dot{\text{l}}$ corresponds to $\dot{\text{l}}$:—

lē-c 'to rise'=*eḷu*

tālimi 'endurance'=*tālmai*.

The equation therefore for Tel. is the following:—

$\dot{\text{l}}$ =inscriptional $\dot{\text{l}}$, literary $\dot{\text{d}}$, r , l

TUḷU.

The folk-dialect of Tuḷu employs r corresponding to $\dot{\text{l}}$, while the Brahmins' sub-dialect uses $\dot{\text{l}}$ (as in Kannaḍa). The former perhaps is connected with the change of $\dot{\text{l}}$ to r in old Kannaḍa (see above) which change was not only preserved in Tuḷu forms like *ḥarndu* 'ripe fruit', *arlu* 'grief', *er-p-* 'to raise', *arti* 'love', *ḥurg-* 'to boil' *turlu* 'obeisance' [Kann. *tuḷiḷ*], *kirdu* 'inferior' but also extended to forms in which syncope has failed to occur, as in folk-Tuḷu *kōri* 'fowl', *iri* 'to drop' [Tam., Kann. *iḷi*], *ḥuri* 'worm', *būr-* 'to fall' [Kann. *bīḷ-*], *kari-* 'to be finished' [Kann. *kaḷi-*], *ori-p-* 'to be left over' [Kann. *oḷi-*, *uḷi-*].

The latter viz. $\dot{\text{l}}$ for $\dot{\text{l}}$ occurs in both the sub-dialects in a few words like *ēḷu* 'seven' [but folk-speech *erḥa* 'seventy'], *hāḷu*

'waste' [cf. modern Kann. *hāḷu*], and in the Brahmins' sub-dialect in many forms, for which the folk-Tuḷu shows *r* [=l], as in *kōḷi* 'fowl', *kaḷi-* 'to be finished', *ṣoḷdu* 'time', *bāḷa* 'plantain tree', *būḷ-* 'to fall', though even the Brahmins employ only forms with *r* in *ṣarndu* 'ripe fruit', *nirelu* 'shade' [cf. modern Kann. *neraḷu*, older *neḷal*].

It is interesting to note that Tuḷu *korndu* 'tender stalk of coconut' [Tam., Mal. *koḷundu*], *cāra*, *tāra*, *tāḷa* 'coconut tree' [cf. old Tam. *tāḷai* 'coconut tree' in *Ṣuṛanāṇūru*, verse 17], *tarkōlu* 'key' [cf. Tam. *tālakkōl*, *tālkkōl*], *murku* 'completely' [cf. Tam. *mūḷuka*] have (so far as I can see) counterparts with *l* only in Tam.-Mal and not in Kannaḍa.

V.

INTER-DIALECTAL SOUND-CORRESPONDENCES.

Tam.	Mal.	Kann.	Tel.	Tuḷu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurru- <i>kh.</i>	Malto.	Brāhūi
<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l, r, l</i>	<i>ḍ, r, l</i>	<i>r, l</i>	<i>ṛ, ḍ, l</i>	<i>ṛ, r</i>	<i>l, y,</i> [cc], <i>r</i>	<i>l, y,</i> [cc]	<i>r</i>

VI.

UNIQUE *l* IN TAMIL.

I give below a list of words which show *l* only in Tamil or in Tam. and in Mal. For unique *l* in other speeches, see I above.

eḷud- 'to paint', 'to write'.—M.

eḷili 'cloud'

eḷil 'beauty'

aḷal 'foot', etc.—M.

kaḷum- 'to increase', etc.

kiḷakku 'east'.—M. The base is *kīḷ* 'below' [cf. my Dravidic paper on the cardinal directions in QJMS].

It is interesting to note that in *kūvi līk* means 'below' and 'east' while *kui* is both 'top' and 'west'.

kiḷamai 'claim, right', 'day of the week'.—old M. 'day of the week'

kiḷavan 'owner', connected with the above.

kuḷandai 'child'

kuḷavi 'child'

- kuḷu*, *kuḷām* 'heap'
kuḷal 'to be curled'.—cf. *kuṟuḷ-*
koḷundu 'tender sprout'.—Mal.—cf. also Tuḷu *korndu*
 and Gōṇḍi *kors-* 'to sprout out'
koḷunnaṅ 'husband'.—cf. *koḷ-*
śālal 'jumping'
śiḷ 'pus'.—cf. M. *śī*
talal 'fire'
tolu 'cattle pen'.—M. *toluttu*
toluḍi 'multitude'
naḷuṅg-, *naḷuv-*
paḷndu 'defect'.—M.
pilai- 'to do wrong', 'to be emancipated' > 'to get on in
 life', 'to live'.—M.
pūḷ 'owl'.—cf. *pul* 'bird'
moḷi 'word, statement'.—M.
nāl 'day' for *nāl*
pēḷ-vāy for *peru-vāy* 'big mouth'
maḷu 'axe'.—M.—cf. also Tuḷu *maḍu* and Gōṇḍi *mars*
poḷi- 'to be showered'.—M.—cf. Kann. *poyy-* 'to pour',
 Tel. *pōy-*, and Tam.—Mal. *pey-* 'to pour, as rain'
mēḷi 'ploughtail'.—M.—cf. Kann. *mēṇi*, Tel. *mēṭi*.
muḷu-kk- 'to grow ripe'.—M.—cf. Kann., Tuḷu, Tel.
mugg-
muḷu 'whole'.—M.
viḷā 'festival'.—old Mal.
viḷumai 'prosperity'
uḷi 'place', also a locative ending.—cf. *uḷ*
uḷuvam 'ant'
uḷuvan 'tiger'
ūḷ- 'to grow mature'
kelum- 'to be full, ripe'
keḷi 'friendship'.—cf. *kiḷai*
calaṅ- 'to be loose'
nāl 'fault', 'pride', etc.
nūḷil 'slaughter'.—cf. *nuṟu-k-*
piṟal 'to be irregular'

The *ḷ* of some of these words may be quite ancient, being connected with *ḷ* of primaries, while in others the sound may have been derivative. The possibility of some instances of *ḷ* having

been a derivative from other sounds is suggested not only by the occurrence of instances in each of the dialects with unique \underline{l} not met with in other dialects but also by the adaptation of certain IA sounds as \underline{l} in Tamil and Kannaḍa *tadbhavas*. A few among the Tamil words with unique \underline{l} (in the above list) may have been even “disguised” adaptations of Sanskrit *tadbhavas*. It should, however, be clearly borne in mind that the possibility of some instances of \underline{l} having had a secondary origin separately in Tamil, Mal. and Kann. need not militate against the conceivable postulate that \underline{l} may have existed originally as a common Dr. sound in at least a few other words, even in those speeches which do not now show \underline{l} .

VII

THE SOUND \underline{l} IN ADAPTATIONS FROM INDO-ARYAN.

Tamil.

IA \underline{d} :—*nāḷi* ‘a period of 24 minutes’

pūḷi ‘sacred ashes’ ‘dust’ < *pūḍi* < IA *bhūti*—cf. Tel. *būḍi*

IA $\underline{\dot{s}}$:—*uḷai* ‘dawn’—IA *uṣā*

śulṭti ‘sleep’—IA *suṣṭi*

kaluḷ ‘to be stirred in mind’—IA *kaluṣa*

śēḷam ‘seṣa’—IA *śēṣa*

anuḷam ‘an asterism’—IA *anuṣa*

kiyāḷam ‘decoction’—IA *kaṣāya*

IA \underline{l} [through MIA \underline{l}]:—

śēḷgam ‘leech’.—IA *jalūka*

tulāy ‘basil plant’.—IA *tulasi*

śāḷai—IA *śālā*

IA \underline{r} [mostly of consonant groups]:—

amiḷdam ‘nectar’.—IA *amṛta*

kāl ‘seed’.—IA *karṣa*

kāl ‘blackness’ has been compared to IA *kāla*; but this word along with its cognates Kann. *kāl*, *kaḷ-tale* ‘darkness’ may be directly related to the base-group *kaṛu*, *kar-* ‘black’ represented in most Dravidian dialects [JMU]

Malayāḷam.

Many of the Tamil adaptations with \underline{l} are met with in Mal.; in addition, the following may also be noted;—

tāl̥kki [TAS, III, p. 35]—IA *sākṣi*
iraḷcc- [VAS, III, p. 165]—IA *rakṣ-*
tōḷcam 'evil' [TAS, III, p. 216 inscriptional].—IA *doṣa*
ilakkanaṇ 'Lakṣmaṇa'
kirili.—IA *kṛṣi*
poḷutti 'work'.—IA *pravṛtti*
maḷi 'blackness' 'ink'.—IA *maṣi*
tandōḷam 'gladness'.—IA *santōṣa*
kaḷāyam 'decoction'.—IA *kaṣāya*

Kannaḍa.

Sūtras 21, 257 and 281 of the 13th century grammar Śabda-
maṇi-darpaṇa deal with *l* in adaptations from IA.

IA *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ*:—*gaḷige* 'a period of 24 minutes' [IA *ghaṭikā*]

dāḷi 'assault' [IA *dhāṭi*]

lālam [IA *lāṭam*]

haḷḷaḷa [IA *parpaṭa*]

akṣōḷa

pīḷige 'seat', 'preface' [IA *piṭhikā*]

maḷake 'small religious abode' [IA *maṭhika*]

nāḷi 'period of 24 minutes' [IA *nāḍi*]

IA *ḷ*:—*aguḷi* 'bott', 'bar' [IA *argala*]

mannalī [IA *manyālī*]

gaḷaḷ- 'to chatter' [IA *galpa*]

IA *r*:—*paḷihattam* < *prati-hastam* 'each hand'

paḷipāvuge < *prati-pāḍuka* 'each shoe'

prati- appears also as *paḍi-* in Kann., as in MIA, and so
ḷ of Kann. adaptations was perhaps directly evolved
from *ḍ*

baḷḍuṇk, *barduṇk*-, *baduk* 'to increase', 'to prosper' 'to
live' [cf. Tel. *baduk*-], ultimately connected with
vāl- 'to prosper' of Tam., Mal. and Kann. [*bāl-*],
seem to be very ancient adaptations of IA *vardh*¹

1. Kannaḍa *pēḷ* 'to speak' and Tam. *pēś-* are certainly related;
but the inter-connection is not clear. It may be suggested that
the forms are ancient adaptations of IA *bhāṣ* with *ḷ* in Kannaḍa
for *ṣ* and *ś* in Tamil [cf. the Tam. adaptations *pāśai*, *pālai* and
pāḍai for IA *bhāṣā*]; but the vowel -e- cannot be explained with
reference to *ā* of the IA word.

Generally speaking, it may be said that in south Dravidian adaptations with *l̥* of IA words, *l̥* stands for the cerebral consonants of IA, though in instances like Tam. *tuḷani* for IA *dhvani* and Mal. variant *cuḷa* for *cuva* [IA *svād*], IA cerebrals are not involved.

VIII.

l̥ AND ITS RELATIVES.

The question of the history of the sound and its relationships to the cognate sounds particularly of central Indian and north Indian Dravidian dialects does not admit of a ready or easy answer in view of the complete absence of materials illustrative of the past stages of the non-southern dialects and of the past history of the southern literary speeches beyond a certain limit. One treads on delicate ground in dealing with the problem even while outlining perspectives; but the different aspects have to be stated;—

(a)

The following features may point to the existence, in pre-literary Telugu, of at least some instances of *l̥*- words; one has, however, to remember the caution that not all Tel. cognates of *l̥*- words need necessarily have had an original *l̥* and that some instances of unique *l̥* may have been independent developments in the dialects concerned.

(i) The inscriptional instances of Tel., showing *l̥* in words with the characteristic Tel. accent-shift, do raise the presumption that *l̥* occurred in Tel. at a pre-literary period.

(ii) The literary cognates in Tel. of Tamil and Kann. words with *l̥* are, many of them, derivative, as indicated by the presence of the suffixes and by the accent shift.

(b)

ḍ in Telugu appears to have occurred mostly in words which did not suffer accent-shift; but *ḍayy-* = *ḷayy-*; *ḍi-g-* 'to descend' = *iḷi*; *ḍebbadi* 'seventy' = *eḷbadu* are instances of this change in accent-shifted forms.

r occurs mostly in accent-shifted forms in which the *r* forms a consonant group with the initial consonant.

If Śrīmān Śarma's reading of the inscriptional *ṣḷōlnāṇḍu* [later *ṣrōlnāṇḍu*] is correct, this is an instance in which original *ḷ* itself is involved in the accent-shift.

In a few Tel. forms without accent-shift, *r* represents *l*:—Tel. *koṛṛu* 'ploughshare'=Tam. *kolū*; *ṣurūgu* 'worm'=Tam. *ṣulū*; Tel. *koṛal* 'to shine'=inscriptional Tel. *kolal*- [Addanki inscription] (if Śarma's suggestion of the meaning is accepted).

l in Tel. *lē-c*- may have cropped up through the intermediate stage *l*; but for this we have no proof yet.

Whether *r* in old Kannaḍa variants like *erd*- beside *eḷd*- 'having risen', *bird*- beside *biḷd*- 'having fallen', *korbu* beside *kolbu* 'fat' was connected in some way with the Tel. *r* or whether it was only a parallel sound in Kannaḍa (note, however, that there is no conspicuous accent-shift in the Kannaḍa forms as in Telugu) cannot now be determined.

The Tuḷu *r* is probably connected with the Kannaḍa, as in instances like Tuḷu *erṣ*- 'to raise' [Kann. *erb*- beside *eḷb*-], *arṭa* [Kann. *arte*, *aḷte*], etc., but it seems to have been extended in folk Tuḷu to instances like *kuri* 'pit' [Kann. *kulī*], *kari*- 'to be finished' [Kann. *kalī*-] in which no syncope of syllables was active.

The change of *l* > *ḷ* in the Brahmins' sub-dialect of Tuḷu is perhaps parallel to the Middle Kannaḍa change of older *l* to *ḷ*.

(c)

As for the central Indian and northern dialects, nothing absolutely definite can be laid down.

The divergence of the sounds in Kui, Gōṇḍi, Kuṛukh and Malto corresponding to *ḷ* is striking.

IX.

The results of my inquiry may be summed up thus:—(a) The sound *ḷ* occurs in Tamil and Mal. from the earliest known stages down to the present day, in old Kannaḍa, in pre-literary inscriptional Telugu and in Baḍaga (as an old sound and as a new development). Some of these speeches reveal a few unique instances of *ḷ* which are derivative from other sounds.

(b) In phonation, the sound is a "continuant" cerebral, as recognized expressly by the old indigenous grammars of Mal. and Kannaḍa and impliedly by some of the rules of Tamil grammars.

(c) The inter-dialectal sound-correspondences would stand thus:—Tam *ḷ*=communal coll. Tam. *ḷ*=Mal. *ḷ*=old Kann. *ḷ* (and

r)=Middle and Modern Kann. *ḷ*=inscriptional Tel. *ḷ*=literary Telugu *ḍ*, *r*, *ḷ*=Tulu *r* (and Brahmins' sub-dialect *ḷ*)=Kūi *r*, *ḍ*, *ḷ*=Gōṇḍi *r*, *r*=Kur. *ḷ*, *y* (and *cc*)=Brāhūi *r*.

(*d*) Even while recognizing that on the one hand some instances of *ḷ* in Tamil, Mal. and Kann. may have been secondarily derived separately in these speeches from other sounds (cf. the treatment of IA sounds), and on the other hand that not all Telugu cognates of *ḷ*- words of Tamil-Kannaḍa need have had an original *ḷ*, one has to admit that at least a few words with *ḷ* may have been common in south Dravidian.

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

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F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory. A journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

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Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.— It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.— I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions.

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VII

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C. R. Sankaran

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THE POSITIONAL VARIANTS OF THE PHONEME
ĀYTAM IN OLD TAMIL

By

C. R. SANKARAN



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THE POSITIONAL VARIANTS OF THE PHONEME ĀYTAM IN OLD TAMIL

By

C. R. SANKARAN

In a previous paper¹ the positional limitations of the phoneme *Āytam* in old Tamil was discussed. From the discussion it is evident that it is a defective phoneme because of its limitations as to positions of occurrence². It is apparent too that the six variants of *Āytam* in old Tamil were conditional variants or to state even more precisely positional variants, for it is impossible to substitute one variant for the other in each of the forms under discussion.³ The object of this note is to bring out certain salient features in the discussion of the *Āytam* into a greater relief.

Firstly it must be remembered that when "instances like *Ka(l) + ti-tu* and *mu(l) + titu* were taken as instances of *speech-forms* with a given linearly ordered class of phonemes⁴," it was implied that the vowel (*a* or *u*), the *Āytam* (which replaced *l* or *!*) and the consonant (*ṛ* or *ṭ*) in the resultant forms after sandhi-operation could be taken as a class in the same way as English *p, t, k* constitute a special class of English phonemes⁵.

Undoubtedly the definition of 'a given linearly ordered class of phonemes' given by us goes farther than that of Morris SWADESH⁶ and I venture to think that our definition necessitated by the very problem of the *Āytam* is a significant improvement whose implications deserve to be worked out for a broader formulation of the general theory of the phonemic principle itself.

It has been undoubtedly recognised by SAPIR and TRUBETZKOY and following them Morris SWADESH that "Phonemes tend to occur in more or less consistent patterns⁷." It is obvious that our definition of 'a given linearly ordered Class of

¹ N. K. SRINIVASAN and C. R. SANKARAN, "The Phonemic Variants of *Āytam* in Old Tamil". *Bulletin, D.C.R.I.*, Vol. II, 1941, pp. 342-350, especially page 348.

² For a definition of the defective phoneme See Morris SWADESH, "The Phonemic Principle". *Language*, Vol. X, 1934, p. 120.

³ For a general discussion on positional variants, see Morris SWADESH, *ibid.* p. 119.

⁴ *Bulletin D.C.R.I.* Vol. II, 1941, p. 344.

⁵ See Morris SWADESH, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

The *ṭ* in *mu. . . titu* and *e. . . titu* might have been an alveolar plosive in ancient times. Similarly the *ṛ* in *ka. . . ṛitu* and *e. . . ṛitu* might have been the palato-cerebral trill bound up with alveolar plosives in a very ancient stage.

See L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, A primer of Malayalam Phonology : *Bulletin of Rama Varma Research Institute*, Vol. VII, 1939, page 73, footnote No. 1.

Our definition of 'a given linearly ordered class of phonemes' is clear when we state that the vowel + the *Āytam* + the consonant in each of the speech-forms under discussion is taken as an integral part (See *Bulletin, D.C.R.I.* Vol. II, 1941 p. 345.)

⁶ See *op. cit.*

⁷ E. SAPIR, "Sound Patterns in Language", *Language*, Vol. I, pp. 37-51 ; "La réalité psychologique du phonème", *Journal de Psychologie*, Vol. XXX, pp. 247-255.

TRUBETZKOY, "zur Allgemeinen Theorie der Phonologischen Vokal-systeme." *Travaux du Cercle ling.*, Vol. I, pp. 39-66.

TRUBETZKOY, "Die phonologischen Systeme", *op. cit.*, pp. 96-11. Morris SWADESH, *Language*, Vol. X. p. 121.

phonemes' goes deeper than this recognition in that we have pointed out to a significant class of phonemes which show a definite tendency to occur in correlation.⁸

From this definition of a special 'given linearly ordered class of phonemes', we are able to arrive at a sub-class of a phoneme (the *Āytam*), which 'cuts' the principal class of phonemes in the familiar manner of DEDEKIND'S postulate⁹. The application of DEDEKIND'S postulate here makes it possible to define a 'bound' class of these 'cuts' and besides clarifies several issues as we shall see presently.

Bearing in mind that Tolkāppiyānār conceived the *Āytam* to be neither a vowel nor a consonant¹⁰ and for its occurrence in the stream of speech a short vowel was necessary to precede and a consonant to follow¹¹ to determine its *variant character*, the significance, appropriateness and the usefulness of the application of DEDEKIND'S postulate would be patent. Doubtless there should have been the primary accent on the syllable containing the surd¹² (which becomes alveolar or retroflex on account of the influence of alveolar *l* or retroflex *l̥*) when the *Āytam* appears in the instances *ka(l) + t̥itu > ka. . z̥itu*; *mu(l) + t̥itu > mu. . t̥itu*.

The presence of an immediate short vowel, the presence of a following consonant and the influence of some kind of accent-distribution are the specific conditions for the appearance of the *Āytam*. Therefore, the utility of the application of DEDEKIND'S postulate here is apparent as it alone can most conveniently interpret to us the exact status of the *Āytam* in old Tamil. It is for the Experimental Phonetician to investigate the question of the generation of such a class of phonemes which 'cut' the two sub-classes (the vowel and the consonant) and suggest a *physical reason* for the interesting phenomenon. In this connection, it is useful to remember that not only in yet another Dravidian dialect Gōṇḍi—the plural ending *-lk* and the causative ending *-lt*, as for instance *tūrilk* 'girls' and *tiriht-* or *tiruht-* 'to cause to turn round'¹³, we meet with phonetic features similar to those that characterise the production of the *Āytam* in Tamil, but also in an Indo-European dialect—Icelandic—we meet with a phoneme [*h*¹⁴] under conditions similar to those under which the *Āytam* seems to have appeared in old Tamil.

Various parallels have been suggested to the famous law of VERNER up till now¹⁵. Viewing VERNER'S law as the neutralization of the voice-correlation of spirants after unstressed vowel phonemes¹⁶, the problem of the *Āytam* can be very well considered

⁸ For instance *α*, occurs with *k*, *α*, with *c* and so on. See our paper, *Bulletin, D.C.R.I.* Vol. II, 1941, pp. 348-349.

⁹ See *Bulletin, D.C.R.I.*, Vol. II, 1941, p. 345.

¹⁰ See P. S. Subramanya SASTRI, *Tolkāppiyam eluṭatikāram* with a short commentary in English, Vol. I, Madras, 1930. See under Sūtra 38, pp. 6-7. Cf. also *History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil*, Madras, 1934, p. 69.

L. V. Ramaswami AIYAR, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, 1933, p. 52.

¹¹ The ancient Tamil grammarians class *c* and *r* in the plosive series. See L. V. Ramaswami AIYAR, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXII, 1933, p. 46.

¹² L. V. Ramaswami AIYAR, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹³ L. V. Ramaswami AIYAR, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, 1933, p. 46, pp. 53-54, pp. 56-57. See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIX, p. 202.

¹⁴ "Im Isländischen findet sich zwischen Vokal und Konsonant, Z.B. in *dóttir*, *flokk* ein [*h*]*—*artiger Einschub, der sich jedoch gewöhnlich zu einem stimmlosen Engelaute entwickelt hat". Otto JESPERSEN, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*. 5th Edition, 1932, Section 6. 56, p. 98.

¹⁵ R. A. WILLIAMS, "The Phonetical Explanations of Verner's Law". *Modern Language Review*, Vol. II, 1906-1907, p. 247. Cf. also Otto JESPERSEN, "Verner's Gesetz und das Wesen des akzents", pp. 229-248; "Voiced and Voiceless Fricatives in English", page 357; *Linguistica* 1933.

¹⁶ Vide B. TRNKA, "On the Phonological Development of Spirants in English". *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, Cambridge, 1936; pp. 60-61.

Just as we are able to deduce the presence of a stress-accent from the preservation of the fortis spirant under VERNER'S law (R. A. WILLIAMS, "The Phonetical

as a significant *counter-parallel*¹⁷ suggested in modern times. In the fresh light of the behaviour of the *Āytam*, it is not too much to suggest (I venture to think) that even VERNER'S law may have to be re-examined with a view to explore further the *physical* and the *physiological* (?) reasons for the *intervocalic-spirant-voicing*¹⁸. In a similar way my theory regarding the phenomenon of aspiration appearing in prehistoric Greek when accent followed *-sk-*¹⁹ (if my theory is accepted at all !) may also be given a *physical* explanation.

Thus I venture to think that my formulation of the 'cut' conception and its consequent *implications* in the discussion about the *Āytam* may give rise to many an interesting problem to the experimental phonetician. The question whether the *Āytam* was a fricative or an aspirate can also be safely decided after the investigations suggested in this paper are carried out in the phonetics-laboratory and further evidences are collected from both related and unrelated languages pertaining to the relevant issues raised by the problem of the *Āytam* in old Tamil. But for the present I am inclined to think with Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya ŚĀSTRĪ that the *Āytam* was a *spirant* in old Tamil.²⁰

Explanations of VERNER'S Law ", *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. II, 1906-1907, p. 238) ; we may deduce also a purely stress accent where the *Āytam* appeared.

¹⁷ "*Counter-parallel*" in the sense that unlike the cases where VERNER'S Law operates, in the case of the *Āytam*, the accent *precedes*.

¹⁸ The latest theory of Panconcelli—CALZIA on this question is discussed by me in a paper on "Indo-European **gm-sk̑hō*" published in the *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. VIII, 1940-41, Parts 2 & 3, pp. 100-110.

¹⁹ Compare my paper "Indo-European **gm-sk̑hō*", *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, 1939, pp. 632-636 ; "The Cluster Phonemes—*sk-* and *skh* in Greek and their Relation to Accent", *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XI, 1939, pp. 202-209.

Siddheshwar VARMA, "Indo-European **gm-skō-* versus **gm-sk̑hō*", *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, 1941, pp. 383-385.

²⁰ See L. V. Ramaswami AIYAR, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXII, 1933, p. 52.

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Parts I—VI.**

MATERIALS FOR A SKETCH OF TULU PHONOLOGY

BY

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GENERAL

Tuḷu or Tuḷuva ¹bhâṣa (as it is called by native speakers) is a Dravidian dialect spoken by nearly half a million people inhabiting the central portion of the district of South Canara in the Madras Presidency, between the river Kalyāṇapuri and Chandragiri. The area where Tuḷu is spoken is bounded on the north and the east by Kannaḍa regions, while to the south lies the Malayāḷam-speaking district of Malabar. Within the Tuḷu-speaking area, the Indo-Āryan dialect Koṅkaṇi and the cultivated Dravidian speech Kannaḍa are spoken by a not inconsiderable element of the population. As Tuḷu is not a written dialect, the official language of the localities is Kannaḍa. Though the influence of Indo-Āryan on the one hand and of the Dravidian speech Kannaḍa on the other, has led to the borrowing by Tuḷu of a fairly large number of words from these speeches, the Tuḷuva bhâṣa has kept up its dialectal individuality in a remarkable measure in the spheres of Phonology and Grammar.

The people who speak this dialect belong to different castes and communities, but the non-Brahmin Baṇṭs among them appear to keep up even to-day the social traditions of the Tuḷuva people as exemplified by the Aḷiya-Santāna system of matriarchy still prevalent amongst them. The Brahmins, however, form to-day the chief custodians of Indo-Āryan culture. Uḍupi, the centre

(1) The term [tuḷüve] possesses a meaning "soft" in expressions like (tuḷüve gujǰæ) soft jack-fruit. Whether indeed there is any connection between this word and the name of the people, one cannot say.

of Tuḷuva culture, is the seat of eight important religious maṭhas where Brahminical learning is fostered. The religious zeal of the Tuḷuva Brahmins had from a very early period brought them in contact with the Nambûdiri Brahmins of Malabar. It is a very remarkable fact that the Tuḷuva Brahmins have from an early time commanded respect throughout the Malabar country as being fitter to perform the function of the temple priest than any other group of non-Malayâḷi Brahmins. From the point of view of spiritual eminence, the Malayâḷis have accorded to the Tuḷuva Brahmins very much the same recognition and homage that they have been according to the native Nambûdiri Brahmins of Malabar. Cf. in this connection the terms *embirān* 'my spiritual lord' and *pōt't'i* 'worthy of praise' 'the praised one', names by which the Tuḷu Brahmin settlers in Malabar are called by the Malayâḷis. As I have said, this apparently has been a direct result of the cultural intercourse that has existed from an early time between the Brahmins of Malabar and of Tuḷuva nāḍu.

The Tuḷuvas appear to belong to an ancient stock of people as their name is referred to in the ancient Tamil classics. History tells us that they may once have been the subjects of Sâtīyaputra. Notwithstanding this fact, the Tuḷuvas have not cultivated their language as a literary dialect. Apart from a few Pauranic and Sanskritic legends and religious songs preserved on palm-leaves in the Brahmin families and also folk-songs current among non-Brahmin Tuḷuvas, there exist no records (literary or inscriptional) of the past condition of this dialect. The Paurānic legends and songs do not seem to be very ancient; yet they are useful to us in elucidating a few dialectal variations, and also the peculiar changes undergone by Tuḷu borrowings from Sanskrit

(1) Cf. the verse in *Aganânûru*, one of the oldest of extant Tamil classics :

pāgalārakai-p-paraikkat-pīli-t
tōgai-k-kāvit'-t'ruḷunāḍ-anna

"—The Tuḷuva country famed for its arbours filled with peacocks feeding on the pāgal fruits."

(and probably Prakrit also which at one time was current in South India). So far as the folk-songs are concerned, they are invaluable to the student of the history of the Tuḷu language, as they preserve some very old forms of Tuḷu words.

Valuable material regarding the grammatical and glossarial features of the present-day condition of the dialect has been collected by the Mangalore missionaries whose unique pioneer zeal in the exploration of the languages of these parts deserves to be recognised with gratitude. A Tuḷu translation of the New Testament (1859), a grammar containing the outlines of morphology and syntax (1872), and a Dictionary which is fairly exhaustive (1886) are some of their publications which furnish the student with rich linguistic data. These works, however, were all written several decades ago, and were primarily aimed at imparting to missionaries a working knowledge of the language. To the modern linguist interested in details and minute dialectal variations, they are inadequate. Particularly in Phonology and in Grammar where the dialectal differences vary on a communal as well as a regional basis, the modern linguist has to depend on his own independent investigations for the requisite information.

As the dialects of the Madras Presidency did not fall directly within the scope of the Linguistic Survey of India, Tuḷu was omitted from the list of Dravidian dialects described in the Fourth Volume of this series.

The present writer whose interest in Dravidic studies led him to the study of Tuḷu also, happened to spend some time in the Tuḷu-speaking talukas of South Canara, and he utilised his visit to observe the phonetic and the morphological peculiarities of some of the sub-dialects of Tuḷu. He has subsequently also been able to verify his observations carefully by comparing them with the views of Tuḷuvas resident in the Cochin State. He has embodied all these observations of his in the following sketch.

The alphabet originally employed by Tuḷuva Brahmins in writing out the legends on palm-leaves was a modification of the

Malayâlam script. The reason for this preference was apparently the intercourse that existed between the Tuḷuvas and the Malayâlis from an early period. The Mangalore missionaries, on the other hand, printed their Tuḷu works in the Kannaḍa script, and this was probably more in the fitness of things, in view of the close proximity of the Kannaḍa-speaking areas to Tuḷuva naḍu and of the large influence exercised by the former on Tuḷu, particularly in vocabulary.

TULU PHONETICS.

The symbols employed in this sketch for the representation of Tuḷu sounds are adapted from the notation of the International Phonetic Association. They are mostly the same as those which the present writer has used in his "Brief Account of Malayâlam Phonetics."

Tabular representation of Tuḷu Sounds. VOWELS.

	Front.	Central or Mixed.	Dorsal.
Closed	[i]	[ɪ] [ü]	[ʊ] [u]
Half-Closed	[e]	[ɛ] [ø] [ə]	[o]
Half-Open	[æ]	[ɐ]	[ʌ] [ɔ]
Open	[a]	[ä]	[ɑ]

Non-syllabic [ɪ] and [ü].¹

¹These sounds approach the values [ɹ] and [ʃ].

Position on the mouth-roof, according to Jespersen's notation.	Bilabial — <i>b</i>	Labio-dental — <i>d</i>	Inter-dental — <i>d</i> to <i>e</i>	Alveolar. — <i>f</i>	Post alveolar and Palatal — <i>g</i>	Retroflex or Cacuminal — <i>h</i>	Velar — <i>i</i> to <i>j</i>	Glottis.
	Lip with		Teeth with fore-blade.	Upper gums with tip of tongue.	Front palate with blade.	Palatal dome with tip of tongue.	Back plate with after-blade.	Glottal.
	Lip.	Teeth.						
Plosives —	[p], [b]		[t], [d]		[k'], [g']	[ʈ], [ɖ]	[k], [g]	
Affricates —					[tʃ], [dʒ]			
Nasals —	[m]			[n]	[ɲ]	[ɳ]	[ŋ]	
Laterals —				[l]		[ɭ]		
Rolled —				[r]				
Fricatives —	[ʋ]	[v]	[s]	[ʃ]	[ʃ]	[ʂ]		[h], [ɦ]

The number of “phonemes” in Tuḷu is thirty only, these being represented in this sketch by the following I. P. A. symbols:

[p], [b], [t], [d], [ʈ], [ɖ], [k], [g], [c], [ʃ], [m], [n], [ɳ].
[l], [ɭ], [r], [ɻ], [s], [ʂ], [ʃ], [j], [ɸ]—[i], [e], [æ], [ɑ:],
[o], [u], [ʊ], [ʌ].

Owing to the large influence exercised by Sanskrit on Tuḷu lexicology, Tuḷu borrowings from Sanskrit show also the aspirate consonants. It may be noted here that, while the proportion of Sanskrit words in the dialect of the Tuḷuva Brahmins is exceedingly high, the number of Indo-Āryan adaptations in the common people’s dialect is also not negligible.

There occur in Tuḷu a number of other sounds also which can only be described as “phones” or speech-sounds, belonging as they do to one or other of the above phonemes. The most prominent among these are the following:—

[v], [ɳ], [ɳ]—
[i], [ü], [ē], [ö], [ə], [ɐ], [ä].

The contexts in which these occur are alluded to below in connection with the description of the phonemes themselves.

The phonation of Tuḷu sounds, generally speaking, shares many common features of south Dravidian enunciation. In the present sketch I shall point out only the unique peculiarities of Tuḷu while, for information about the common features, I would refer the reader to my “Brief Account of Malayāḷam Phonetics.”

1. [p] This bilabial surd occurs initially and intervocally in Tuḷu words:—[‘pudə] dove; [‘po:di-] or [‘po:ɖi-] to fear; [‘Adəpu] closing.

Intervocally, the short sound is quite stable and pure particularly in secondary or derivative positions; contrast with this the intervocal enunciation of Tamil surds which become voiced mediae.

Tuḷu [p] involves no aspiration normally, but its phonation is accompanied by greater muscular tension than in Tamil or in Malayalam.

2. [b]—In initial positions this plosive is devocalised a little, but it can never be mistaken for [p]. Intervocally [b] does occur in **Tuḷu** in a stable form. ['bAṇjzi] belly; [baɾ-] to come; ['Adəbæ] adulteress; ['ubi-] to swell.

3. [t] This is an interdental surd, in the production of which sometimes the tip of the tongue may be spread not only over the teeth but over the teeth-ridge also.

Tuḷu lacks the alveolar plosives [t̪] and [d̪] of Tamil-Malayalam. The voiced alveolar [d̪] in the Tamil consonant group [ndr] and in Malayalam [nd] is produced with the tip of the tongue on the fore-gums while the voiceless alveolar [t̪] of Malayalam is produced farther backward in or immediately behind the region of the back-gums.

Historically, **Tuḷu** has changed the old alveolar group [ndr] to [ɲz̪]:—

Tuḷu		Tam		Kann
['oɲzi] one	—	['ondru]	—	['oɳdu]
['kAɲzi] calf	—	['kAndru]	—	['kAɳdu].

4. [d] This sound occurs initially in native words:—['dAɳɐr-] to become loose); ['dAl-] to beat.

Compare Kannaḍa and Telugu.

Medially, [d] in **Tuḷu** may in some cases be the result of secondary changes peculiar to this dialect. (Vide Phonology below).

5. [t̪], [d̪] : These are genuine cacuminals produced with the tip of the tongue on the dome of the palate.

They are not found initially in native Dravidian words.

The consonant group [ɳt] in Tuḷu, like the consonant groups [ɲc], [ɳt], [ɳk] and like intervocal surds in derivative positions in this dialect, is quite stable, unlike in Tamil.

6. [k] : The phonation of this velar plosive calls for no remarks, except that when compared with Tamil [k], the muscular tension is greater and that the sound shows less tendency to become weakened intervocally than in Tamil.

[k] in connection with front vowels becomes slightly "frontalised" in its point of articulation though it never reaches the position of the palatal plosive [c], e.g. ['ʌdi-kʰei] palm of the hand; ['kʰippi] small; ['ʌkki] rice.

7. [g] : The voiced velar plosive can occur initially in native words, e. g., ['ga:vü] heat; ['guḷi] or ['guri] pit; ['ga:ɳü-] to glow.

Though not unstable in modern enunciation intervocally, a few instances illustrate the older process of "weakening" e. g.; [ugərɳ] beside [ubərɳ], [uʋərɳ], brackishness.

A frontalised [gʰ] in connection with front vowels is found in words like the following:—[mʌgʰæ] son; [gʰi:rü] to scratch.

[č], [jʒ] : These are affricates as in the other south Dravidian speeches, the plosive element being partially present in the initial contact, and the fricative element in the immediately following continuant sound.

These affricates in Tuḷu are produced at a slightly more forward position than in Malayāḷam or Tamil, especially when they are in contact with front vowels.

Compare the phonation for instance of Tuḷu ['cʃu:ḍü] heat and [čjikkæ] dwarf.

[jʒ] occurs initially in native words e. g., ['jʒʌdər-] alternating with [čʌdər-] to be dispersed; ['jʒa:r-] to slide; ['jʒiræ] small; ['jʒo:əu] child.

[m] calls for no remarks.

10. [ɲ] : This is an alveolar^o produced at the fore-gums in connection with front vowels and at the back-gums in connection with back vowels.

It is distinct as a phoneme from [ɳ].

In connection with dental plosives it becomes dental, involving as its production does the spreading of the fore-blade, e. g. [ˈpɒɲɔ] to rise; [ˈuɲt-] to stand up.

It may be interesting to note that while the dental nasal occurs in Malayalam initially and medially, Tulu (like modern Tam; Kann. and Tel.) possesses [ɲ] only in the consonant groups mentioned above.

11. [ɲ] : A "palatal" nasal produced at about the same position on the mouth-roof as for [ç] and [jʒ]

Besides being a common sound in the consonant groups [ɲç] and [ɲjʒ], it occurs initially in a very few native words e. g. [ɲarkæ] alternating dialectally with [ˈnarkæ] bark, rind.

12. [ɲ] This cacuminal nasal characteristic of Dravidian is being displaced by the alveolar [ɲ] in the common dialect of Tulu; nevertheless, it is conspicuous in the speeches of certain areas and communities:—

[ˈmɛɲɲu] spark, [mɛɲɲu].

[ˈkɛɲɲu] eye, [ˈpɒɲɲu] or [ˈpɒɲɲu] girl.

As in other Dravidian dialects [ɲ] does not occur in initial positions of Tulu words.

13. [ŋ] : This velar nasal never occurs in its short form, nor is it found initially. It is found in the consonant groups [ŋk] and [ŋg]. In the adaptations [ˈʌŋŋəɳa] courtyard and [ˈkɛŋŋəɳə] plate, [ŋŋ] stands for Skt. [ŋg]. Cf. also [ˈʌŋŋəɳŋɔɳu] limbs, a native plural of Skt. [ʌŋga].

14. [l] : The alveolar lateral when in connection with front vowels is produced at the fore-gums while the articulation is slightly more backward i. e. near the back-gums, when influenced by neighbouring back vowels.

[l] does occur in **Anlaut**-positions of **Tuḷu** native words as the result of Accent-shift and Aphesis, e. g., [ˈlamb] to wash beside [ˈʌ.ləmb-]; [ˈlepp-] beside [ˈvɔ.ləpp-] to call, etc.

15. [ɭ] : The individuality of this characteristic Dravidian cacuminal is conspicuous still in **Tuḷu**, though the colloquial favours a tendency to decerebralise the sound:— [ˈʌ.ɭəɳ] to measure; ˈ(a:ɭu) person (ˈkaɭɭa) deceitful; (ˈba:ɭu) sword.

16. [r] : The points of articulation vary slightly with different speakers. It is only post-dental (i. e. articulated at the edge of the upper row of teeth) in some instances, while it is fully alveolar in others. The most forward limit is the teeth-edge and the most backward is the region of the back-gums. The rolled or trilled **r** of Tamil and Malayâlam is not found in **Tuḷu**. Historically, it had undergone peculiar modifications.

17. [ɳ] : Initially, the current bilabial fricative of the common variety of modern **Tuḷu** is developed from an original non-syllabic [ũ] occurring initially before dorsal vowels of native words. The representative of initial [ɳ] of Tamil, Telugu, Kûi and Malayâlam is [b] in **Tuḷu**, as in the other b- dialects of Dravidian viz., Kannaḍa, Brâhûi and Kurukh. **Tuḷu** [ɳ] involves a slightly greater activity of the lips than Tamil or Malayalam [ɳ].

Some speakers (probably influenced by the enunciation of Indo-Aryan) give a labiodental value to this sound especially in Sanskrit words.

Medially, [ɳ] occurs in radical and derivative positions:— [ˈa:ɳəlɳ] yawning ; [ˈkaɳɳə] theft [ɕɕelɳɳə] handsome.

18. [s]—The interdental sibilant is a very conspicuous development in native **Tuḷu** words. It is found both initially and medially:—[su:] to see; [suɭi] eddy; [paɳi] boy, child.

Note that Tamil and Malayâlam do not generally possess [s] in native words.

The voiced variety [z] does not exist in **Tuḷu** or in any other Dravidian dialect for that matter.

19. [ʃ]: This sound is produced in **Tuḷu** with the tip of the tongue forming a slight hole-like passage somewhere on the alveolar region. The fricative element in the affricate [tʃ] of **Tuḷu** is produced at a slightly more backward position.

[ʃ] in **Tuḷu** is found in initial positions as a variant of [t] and alternating with [s]:—[ʃird-] to correct, beside [tird]; [ʃi:] sweetness, beside [ti:].

For the inter-relationships of these sounds, see Phonology below. Medially [ʃ] is very rare in native words, the sound having changed to [s] in this position as regularly as in Kannaḍa.

20. [ɦ]: The glottal fricative is a conspicuous secondary development in native words of certain communal dialects of **Tuḷu**: [ɦudərɪ] lamp; [ɦAi-] to die; [ɦudə] river.

For the circumstances in which the glottal fricative has cropped up in **Tuḷu**, see Phonology below.

Ordinarily the sound is partially voiced, but the **Tuḷuva** Brahmins give the voiceless value to the sound in Sanskrit tatsamas and tadbhavas. Medially, a voiced [ɦ] appears only in borrowings from Kannaḍa, like [Arifu] knowledge.

Vowels.

21. [i]: The phonation is the same as in other south Dravidian speeches. When followed in the next syllable by short consonants and open vowels, [i] changes to [ə] or [e]:—[iɖə] place, beside [eɖə]; [ilə] leaf, beside [elə].

In unaccented positions, a centralised variety of this sound occurs; this is symbolised in this paper by [i̯]:—[kudikə] fox; [maɖip̩u] folding.

22. [e]: In unaccented positions, [e] changes to [ə], and in some instances where the character of [e] is distinctly marked off, to [ɛ̃]. Finally, a more open [ɛ̃] is also found,

23. [æ] : This sound occurs in final positions of nouns which in Tamil have terminal [ʌi] or [əi] and in Kannada [e], *e. g.* [ba:l̥æ] plantain ; [ma:ræ] screen.

It is also found as a colloquial variant of [ʌ] or [ɑ:] in connection with the palatal [ɲ], [ɟ] and [ʝ] :—[æjzæ] footprint; [ɟædər-] to disperse; [ɟæ:ræ] coconut palm; [pærk-] to slice.

24. [ɑ:] : This, as in other Dravidian speeches, is the value of the long â sound.

25. [o] : [o] in Tuḷu is not always so close as in Malayâlam or in Tamil. In the speeches of the common masses, I have heard the value of [ɔ] being given to this sound by some speakers *e. g.* in [bəɭir-] to become pale; [bə:d-] to wish; [bəkkə] and.

In unaccented positions, a centralised variety [ö] appears with less lip-rounding, *e. g.* [dinödu] in a day; [ma:röku] to the tree etc.

Normal [o] of Tuḷu alternates in some speech-varieties with another sound which is allied to [e] and characterised by lip-sounding, in words which in other south Dr. dialects have [e] :—[pəɳɳu] beside colloquial [pəɳɳu]; [po:di-] to fear, colloquial [pø:di]. *cf.* Tam. [peɳ] girl and Mal. [pe:di] fear.

26. [u] : Lip-rounding is very conspicuous.

An original glide [ũ] before initial [u] of native words has now developed into [ʊ] in some speech-varieties.

In unaccented positions [u] may frequently appear with a centralised value [ü] :—[kaɖü-va:ji] a kind of fish; [ku:ðükəɽtu] association; [kaɖüpa] excessive.

[u] changes to [o] in the same circumstances in which [i] changes to [e] mentioned above :—[onəŋgəlu] dry, beside [unəŋgəlu]; [toðæ] thigh, beside [tuðæ].

27. [ɯ] This is a close, back sound somewhat similar to [u] but without lip-rounding. cf. Tamil [ɯ]. This sound (replaced sometimes by [u], see 'Phonology') occurs as an enunciative of **Tulu** words after final consonants. It is noteworthy that it is found not only after some terminal plosives and fricatives but also invariably after [l], [n], [r] [ɭ], [ɳ], [m] and [j], while in literary Tamil and **Malayalam** the enunciative need appear only optionally after the last-mentioned sounds. [e:ɖɯ] sheep [pa:lɯ] division; [ka:rɯ] leg; [e:ɭɯ] seven [a:ɳɯ] boy; [mi:nɯ] fish.

[ɯ] in **Tulu** is also found in declensional endings and conjugational terminations. (see below). The dative ending [kɯ] or [gɯ], Acc. [ɳɯ], Loc. [ɖɯ] etc. appear only with final [ɯ] unless influenced by a back vowel in the stem, in which case [u] appears instead of [ɯ]. cf. [pu:ku] to the flower and [ɖamməgɯ] to the mother. Among the conjugational forms, the endings of the past participle, the perfect participle, the third person imperative etc. show [ɯ] or [u] according to this rule.

28. [ʌ] : This is the short a-sound of Dravidian: Medially in unaccented positions it changes to [ə] e. g., ['bireləɯ] finger; ['ʌɖəpu] closing, etc.

[ʌ] in final positions becomes slightly more open and probably a little "frontalised." This value is represented in this essay by [ä]

[ʌ] sometimes alternates with [ə] or even [e] after the voiced plosives, affricates and fricatives: - [jʌɖi-] [jɛɖi-] tor am; [ɕʌræ], [ɕeræ] head; [dʌɳtæ], [dɛɳtæ] stick.

[ʌ] changes in certain varieties to [ɔ] or [o] under the influence of neighbouring bilabials: - ['tʌppu], ['tɔppu], ['sɔppu] mistake; ['pʌr-pü-] beside [pɔr-pü-] to pluck.

Phones.

Consonants:—[ɾ]—This is the value of [r] when in contact with the retroflex sounds. As it is not a “significant” sound in **Tulu**, it may be considered to be member of the [r] phoneme.

For [ɲ] and [ɳ] and [ɭ] the dental varieties of [n] and [l], see above under the remarks for the latter.

Vowels : A number of these have already been referred to above. Apart from these, I have noted an open mixed obscure [ɐ] in the Gerundial Infinitives of **Tulu** —[pʌɲjɐɾə] for speaking [tinjɐɾə] for eating, etc. This [ɐ] also crops up in the rapid utterance of final [ä] in connected sentences.

Diphthongs.

The following falling diphthongs are current in **Tulu** in rapid enunciation. Deliberate utterance may lead to the disappearance of the diphthongal value:—

[ʌi], [ɔi], — ['kʌi] hand; [mʌi] body.

[a:i] — ['ka:i] fruit

[ʌu] — ['ʌu] there; [ʌuŋkü-] [to press].

[oi] — ['koi] to reap; [oilü-] to reel.

Consonant Groups.

1. The native consonant groups (apart of course from long consonants), found in other Dr. speeches, occur in **Tulu** also:—

(a) Nasals and plosives : [ɲk], [ɲg], [pɕ], [pɲz]‘ [nɕ] [ɲd] [ɲt], [ɲd], [mp], [mb]—For illustrations see below under “Phonology”

(b) [ɭ], [ɭ] [r], [ɳ] and consonants : [nilk-] to peep, stand on tip-toe; [mulpu] here; [tird-] to mend; [tirkæ] settlement; [ta:ɭmæ] patience; [uŋkɐɭu] night-meal; [pʌɳp-] to speak, etc.

2. Apart from these, there occur in **Tulu** certain consonant groups like the following, consequent on the disappearance (in

rapid colloquial enunciation) of an intermediate vowel :
 [ĉʌdpu] leanness; [ʌdgə] near; [ĉfigru] sprout; [nesru] morning
 [pʌspu] tender, etc. [oḍkā] end, broken; [kʌḍtəlu] what is broken.

Dialectology.

The sub-dialectal varieties of **Tuḷu** appear to have both a communal and a regional basis. Of the regional divergences I have not been able to make a proper study yet. The communal variations are all interesting and significant; but among them all the widest cleavage is met with between the sub-dialect of the **Tuḷuva** Brahmins and the speech-variety current amongst the most prominent community of **Tuḷu nāḍu**, viz. the **Baṇṭs** who are cultivators and non-Brahmins. I am told that there are some divergences (of a less significant character, however) between the dialect of the **Baṇṭs** on the one hand, and that current among other non-Brahmin communities like the [mʌnsə] or a class of Holeyas and the [birvə] or toddy-drawers on the other. These differences and the regional variations have yet to be investigated through a systematic linguistic survey of the entire **Tuḷuva** country. In the following sketch, I have dealt with only the variations (in Phonology, Grammar and Vocabulary) between the Brahmins' sub-dialect and what I describe here as the folk-speech i.e. the language employed by the **Bants** who form the largest community in **Tuḷu nāḍu**.

Phonology.

(i) Initial [s] of the Br. dialect corresponds to [t] of the mass-dialect in instances like the following:—

<i>Br.</i>	<i>Folk-dialect.</i>
to see [su:-p-]	[tu : p-]
to appear [so:jz-]	[to:jz-]
to leak [so:r-]	[to:r-]
to die [sʌj-]	[sʌj-] and [tʌj-]

to be obtained [sik]	[tik-]
to wear [sutt-]	[tutt-]
underneath [sittu]	[tirtu]

(ii) In a few, Br. [t] corresponds to certain regional forms of the folk-dialect [s]:—

sweetness [ti:pæ]	[si:pæ] or [ʃi:pæ]
torch [tu:tæ]	[su:tæ]
river [tudæ]	[sudæ]

(iii) Initial [ɸ] is found in **Tulu** in two strata of words: (a) Borrowings from new Kannaḍa of words with initial [ɸ] < older [p]; (b) [ɸ] in native words corresponding to initial [t]. Of these, the borrowings from Kannaḍa are found in varying measure all over the country and amongst all communities; but [ɸ] or sometimes voiceless [h] corresponding to [t] and [s] is more frequent among the Jains and others in the eastern and south eastern taluks of the **Tulu** country.

[ɸ] words	—	corresponding to [s] or [t] words
to see [hu:-p-]	—	[su:-p], [tu:-p-]
river [hudæ]	—	[sudæ], [tudæ]
to appear [ho:jz-]	--	[so:jz-], [to:jz-]

(iv) Borrowings from Kannaḍa with initial [ɸ] (derived in Kann. from older [p]) are preserved in the Br. dialect with the initial aspirate, generally speaking; but in the mass-dialect, the [ɸ] disappears.

Br.	Folk-dialect
ship [ɸʌdəgu]	[ʌdəgu]
gold [ɸonnu]	[onnu]
adulteress [ɸʌdəbé]	[ʌdəbé]
much [ɸe:rəɭa]	[e:rəɭa]

(v) Initial [jz] of the Br. dialect answers to [d] of the folk-speech in the following:—

what ? [jza:næ]	[da:næ]
why ? [jza:jəgu], [jze:gu]	— [-da:jəgu]
to be filled [jzipjz-]	— [-dipjz-]
crab [jzəpjzi]	— [-dəpjzi]

cf. the adaptation [jzeji-] to win, which preserves [jz] in the Br. dialect but appears with [d] as [deji] among certain non-Brahmins.

(vi) Br. [iddi] not, answers to folk-sp. [ij̥zi]

(vii) the sound corresponding to the peculiar voiced continuant [ɹ] of Tamil, Mal., old Kannaḍa and Baḍaga, is in intervocal positions, [ɹ] in the Br. speech, but [r] in the folk-dialect:

fowl [ko : ɹi] — [ko : ri]

pit [guɹi] — [guri]

to fall [bu : ɹ] — [bu : r-]

plantain tree [ba : ɹæ] — [ba : ræ]

This correspondence Br. [ɹ] = folk [r] exists only in cases where the short sound appears intervocally; when it occurs in consonant groups, it assumes the value of [r] in all sub-dialects in Tuḷu :

Ripe fruit [paɹnduɹ], black gram [urduɹ], dust [burdæ], etc.—corresponding to Tam. [paɹəm], [uɹünduɹ], [puɹudi], etc.

(viii) The retroflex [ɻ] [ɻ̃] appear to be more common in the Br. dialect.

to shine [meɻək-] — [menk-]

should be done [ɻmpoɻi] — [maɻpoli]

to do [ɻmpuɻa] — [maɻpuni]

(ix) Inter-vocal plosives in derivative and inflexional positions appear more often unvoiced in the Br. dialect.

(x) Aphœresized forms are, so far as I can see, fewer in the speech of the Brahmins than in the folk-speech.

to call [ʌoɻep-] — [lepp-]

to wash [ɻləmb-] — [ləmb] or [lumb]

left [edəŋguɻ] — [dəŋguɻ] or [dāŋguɻ]

spot, stain [kɻɻəŋkuɻ] — [ləŋkuɻ]

(xi) The tadbhavas from I A appear on the whole to have undergone fewer modifications in the Br. dialect.

Grammar.

(a) Post-positional terminations.

(i) The Acc. ending in the Br. dialect is (-ni-), while in the folk-speech it is (-nu-) or (-nu), the character of the enunciative

depending upon vocalic harmony with sounds of the preceding syllable in each case=

rice (Ari), (Ari ni) — (Ari-nu)

country (u:ru), (u:rü-ni) — (u:rü-nu)

(ii) The Abl. sing ending of the Br. dialect is (-ttu) or (-ttu), while the folk-speech has (ddu) or (-ddu).

from the table (me:jzi-ttu) — (me:jziddu)

from the garden (to:ttö ntu) — (to:ttöddu)

(iii) The Genitive sing, affix of the Br. dialect is (-to), (-do) when preceded by a dorsal vowel in the previous syllable, while it is (-tä), (-dä) when preceded by a front vowel in the preceding syllable; in the folk-dialect the affix is generally always (-tä). (-dä).

of tree (marö nto) — (marö dä)

of water (ni:rüdo) — (ni:rüdä)

(iv) the sing. Gen. of words denoting human beings may have [-no] in the Br. dialect:

of the mother [Appano] — [Appä-da]

of the boy [ma:ni-no] — [ma:ni-dä]

(v) A nasal appears in certain post-positional terminations in the Br. dialect in words which (whether native or adaptations from IA) correspond to those which in Tam., Mal. and other speeches have a final [-m] :-

at the tree [marö-ntu] — [marö-ðu]

of the people [jzäno nto]—[jzänə-dä]

[Note:—[marä] tree (a native word) and [jzäna] people (I A) correspond to [marə-m,] [jzänəm] found in Tam., etc.]

The nasal has been carried over, in the Brahmins' sub-dialect, to the post-positional endings of some words like [uṇəsū], as in [uṇəsōṇtu], etc., though the bases of these words cannot have had an original nasal as in [marəm] etc.

(b) Demonstratives and Interrogatives.

(i) The aphæresized inflexional forms of [indu], [undu]:

[nekku] to this,
 [nettä] of this,
 [neddu] from this,
 [nettu] at this,
 [ne:kuu] these

are not commonly found in the Br. dialect; on the other hand, the non-aphæresized

[undeku] or [indeku] to this;
 [undettä] or [indettä] of this;
 [undettu] or [indettu] from this;
 [undetu] or [indetu] at this;
 [undeku] or [indeku] these;

are met with.

(ii) The following differences are noteworthy in the Interrogatives:

Br. dialect		Folk-speech
[j <u>z</u> a:næ] what?		[d <u>a</u> :næ]
[j <u>z</u> a:jæg <u>u</u>] [j <u>z</u> ə:jæg <u>u</u>] [j <u>z</u> ə:g <u>u</u>]	} why?	[d <u>a</u> :jæg <u>u</u>]
[j <u>z</u> a:la] anything	—	[d <u>a</u> :la]
[o <u>j</u> i <u>k</u> u] what for?	—	[d <u>a</u> :jæg <u>u</u>]
[e:r <u>u</u>] who?	—	[j <u>a</u> :r <u>u</u>]

(c) Personal Pronouns.

Br. dialect	Folk-speech
[e:n <u>u</u>] I	[j <u>a</u> :n <u>u</u>]

[imbje] he (here)—[imbe] (the “oblique” forms show
[imbj-] in the folk-speech)

[imboɭu] she (here) — [mo:ɭu] [Note Aphæresis]

[inɭuɭu], [inikuɭu], [ni:kuɭu] you — [i:rɯ]

Honorific [me:rɯ] he, she (here) is found only in the folk-dialect; in the Br. speech [a:rɯ] or sometimes a:kɭu (he, she (there) does duty for both the proximate and the remote forms.

(d) Verbs.

(i) The Infinitive ends in [-nă] in the Br. dialect, while in folk-speech it may be [nă] or [-ni]:

Br. [ʌmpünă] to make — [mʌlpüni]

(ii) The third person singular neuter ending of all primary tenses except the future is [-nɯ] or [-nu] in the Br. dialect, while in the folk-speech it is [-nɖɯ] or [-nɖu], e.g., it speaks [pʌnpunɖu] or [pʌnpunɖɯ] — [pʌpuunɖu] etc.

(iii) the third person singular neuter ending in the negative of the Future and the Future Perfect tenses is in the Br. dialect [-ʌnɯ], but [-ʌnɖɯ] in the folk-dialect.

(iv) The first person plural ending of all tenses has [o:] in the Br. dialect, but [-a] in the folk-speech.

(v) One type of causatives is formed with [-a:] in the folk-speech but with [-o:] in the Br. dialect:

Br. [ʌmpo:] to cause to make — [mʌlpʌ:] etc.

(vi) Negative verb-forms show some divergences. While in the Br. dialect the infinitive of the particular tense-stem is combined with [iddi] not, and the pronominal ending, the folk dialect shows base plus [iɣzi-] plus pronominal ending:

[i : b̥arp̥üɪddj̥ä] thou hast not come or dost not come — folk-sp. [i : b̥arp̥iɟze].

[a : je b̥att̥üɪddj̥e] he did not come — [a : je b̥att̥iɟze].

B. In the negatives of the present and sometimes in the present perfect tense the Brahmin dialect sometimes shows forms constituted of base plus [iri] plus pronominal ending.

[b̥arp̥irje] he does not come.

[b̥arp̥irjaɭu] she does not come.

V. Certain popular negative forms show divergences:

Br. dialect

Folk-speech

[bo : tri] not wanted

[bo : diɟzi], [bo : ɟiccʃi]

[itri] it was not

[ittiɟzi]

[a : tri] it did not become

[a : tiɟzi] etc.

(vii) The present relative participle shows [-i] in the Br. dialect, but [-a] in the folk-speech: [b̥arpi] — [b̥arpa]

VOCABULARY.

Brahmins' dialect

Folk-speech.

[gepp-] to take

[depp-]

[kip̥pi] young (as an adj.)

[eɭija] (kip̥pi occurs as a noun).

[bigə-da-kʌj] key

[tarko : lu]

[pass-] to catch

[patt-]

[ess-] to raise a fund

[ett-]

[eɪd-] to stand up

[unt-]

[teɲɲei] coconut

[ta : ra : ji]

[ma : ni] boy

[a : ɲu]

[je : vu] girl

[je : vu] child, [poɲɲu] girl.

[gi : r-] to scratch

[je : r]

[pa : pu] enough

[i : jevu]

[a : tu] not-it

[att̥u]

[ʌmp], [mʌmp-] to make	[mʌlp]
[mʌnta] all	[mʌ:ta]
I A [puruʃe] husband	[kʌŋdʌnə]
I A [ʌʃəna], [a:ʃa:ra] food	[umpu], [nuppu]
[oŋəsɪ], [tɪnəsɪ].	
[koɭ-p] to give	[kor-p] in Bant speech, but [ta:ŋk-] in the speech of the holeyas.
[lʌka] like	[lekka]

Unique features of Tuḷu Phonetics.

1. The absence of the cacuminal [ɽ], of the peculiar Tamil retroflex continuant [ɻ] and of the alveolar plosives [t̪] and [d̪] found in Tamil.
2. The existence of [cʃ], [s] and [ʃ] alternating in initial positions of native Tuḷu words is a contrast to the uniformity with which one or other of these more or less uniformly occurs in the other Dravidian dialects.
3. The frequency of the occurrence of [s] in initial positions of native words.
4. The development of an initial secondary [ɦ] in certain communal and regional dialects.
5. The conspicuous development of on-glides before initial vowels of native words in certain varieties of speech.
6. For other unique features of Tuḷu, see end of the section on Phonological Correspondences.

INDO-ARYAN ADAPTATIONS.

I have already referred to the presence in Tuḷu of a fairly large proportion of Sanskrit words and adaptations. A good number of these words have been adapted with characteristic modifications in the parlance of the non-Brahmins also. Generally speaking, the tatsamas used to be evaluated more or less correctly

by the Brahmins till about a generation or two ago; but when the number of *laukikas* among the Brahmins began to increase, and Sanskrit ceased to be systematically studied by them, the modifications introduced into the popular dialects also began to be accepted by the lay element among the Brahmins.

It is possible that some among the following adaptations were made through the varieties of Prakrit current in south India in an ancient past. No attempt is made here to distinguish the two strata—Sanskritic and Prakritic. I seek only to give here a conspectus of the phonetic modifications as they appear today.

These modifications are very prominent in connection with

- (a) Sanskrit consonant groups.
- (b) Sanskrit initial [v], [s], [jz] and [j] in certain instances.
- (c) Sanskrit aspirate consonants
- (d) Sanskrit [h] both initial and inter-vocal.
- (e) Some miscellaneous instances.

Without seeking to evolve any rules, I shall briefly give a few instances under each heading.

(a) Sanskrit consonant groups.

(i) Anaptyxis is found in the adaptation of Sanskrit consonant groups of which the second component is [r] and the first a plosive.

Sanskrit	Tulu adaptations
[kɪʌmʌ] order	['kəɾəmā]
['gɾhāç̣a:r] curse	['gəɾəç̣a:rā]
['gra:mʌ] village	['gəɾəmā]
['gɾhastʌ] householder	['gerəttæ], ['gerəstæ] or [gərestæ]
[,prʌ'jatnʌ] labour	[pe'rəstənā]

(ii) In the following instead of swarabhakti we find that [r] is dropped: ['dɾʃti] sight, [di:ti]; ['ʃɪŋgə:rʌ] beauty, [ʃɪŋgə:rā]; ['mɾga] animal, [migä].

(iii) Sanskrit consonant groups in which the first component is [v] have lost this [v] in the following : ['vr̥nda:v̥ana] **Brindavana**, ['r̥nda:r̥æ] or ['r̥nda:v̥anæ]; ['vjAr̥tha] **futile**, ['jert̥ä] or ['jert̥æ].

In the following instances, [v] which is the second member of the groups has disappeared : ['dvi:p̥a] **island**, ['di:p̥e], ['d̥h̥v̥ani] **sound**, ['d̥ani]; ['d̥va:r̥a] **door**, ['d̥o:r̥a]; ['j̥z̥a] **to glow**, ['j̥z̥ali-]

(iv) The Skt. group [vj] loses its [j] element in the following : ['vjAr̥tha] **futility**, ['vert̥ä]

['vja:j̥z̥j̥a] **accusation**, ['vej̥z̥j̥ä]

['vj̥a't̥ja:s̥a] **difference**, ['vet̥ja:s̥ä]

['vja:p̥a:r̥a] **trade**, ['be:p̥a:r̥ä] or ['be:r̥ä]

(v) Among the other Sanskrit consonant groups, the treatment of the following is interesting :

['kaṣṭ̥a] **trouble**, [kaṭ̥ṭ̥a] - ['sth̥iti] **situation**, ['t̥iti] or ['ṭ̥iti]

['ṣ̥aṣṭ̥hi] a 'tithi', ['ṣ̥aṭ̥ṭ̥i] - ['sth̥ala] **place**, ['t̥ala]

['duṣṭ̥a] **wicked**, [duṭ̥ṭ̥a] - ['j̥z̥p̥ā:p̥aka] **recollection**, ['j̥z̥a:p̥eka] or ['ṇ̥a:p̥ega].

(b) **Certain Sanskrit initial consonants.**

(i) [v] : Tulu has not preserved or tolerated [ṽ] initially as Tamil, Tel. or Kûi. it has [b] in the place of this [ṽ] or it has dropped it altogether. The modern [ṽ] of some varieties of Tulu is from [ũ]. This intolerance of initial [ṽ] probably accounts for the following :—

['v̥aj̥z̥ra] **diamond**, ['ṽj̥z̥ira]; ['v̥ar̥ṣ̥a] **winter**, ['ṽr̥ṣ̥ä]

['v̥ar̥j̥z̥-] **to cast off**, ['ṽr̥j̥z̥u]; [vi:b̥h̥uti] **secured ashes**,

[i:b̥h̥uti]; ['v̥arna] **colour**, ['ṽr̥ṇ̥a] or ['b̥aṇ̥ṇ̥i]; ['v̥ista:r̥a]

extent, ['iṣ̥ta:r̥ä], ['v̥akra] **perverse**, ['b̥ok̥r̥ä]; ['vi:na:]

musical instrument, ['i:ṇ̥a.]

(ii) [s] appears as [t] in the following:—

['saṇḍ̥h̥ja:] **evening**, ['t̥aṇ̥j̥za]; ['s̥vara] **sound**, ['t̥or̥ä]

['saṇ̥c̥fi] **bag**, ['t̥aṇ̥c̥fi]; [so:ṇ̥a] **to:ṇ̥ä**;

['ṣ̥uk̥ra], ['t̥ok̥r̥ä]

(iii) [d] appears as [jz] in the following :—

['da:kʃinjʌ] benevolence, ['jzɑ:kʃinjä; ['vʌjdjʌ], ['bʌjzä]
['dʌntʌ] tooth, [jzʌntä]—

(iv) Skt. [j] as Tuḷu [jz] :— [jʌntrʌ] machine, [jzʌnträ]
[jʌtnʌ] effort, [jzʌtnʌ]; ['jauvʌnʌ] youth, [jzʌvəna]

(c) Sanskrit Aspirate consonants.

The Tuḷu Brahmins usually give correct values to Skt. aspirate consonants. The carefulness with which the aspirates are incorporated by them has resulted in the conversion of certain initial non-aspirate surds of native words into corresponding aspirates:— ['cʃʌli] cold, ['cʃʃʌli; ['bʌṇḍi] cart, ['bʃʃʌṇḍi]; ['tʌṭṭigʌ] ladle, ['tʃʃʌṭṭigʌ].

But in the dialect of the common people, Sanskrit aspirates lose their aspiration completely : ['gʌndʃʌ] smell, ['gəndä]; ['gʌrbʃʃʌ] pregnancy, [gərbä]; [ʌ'sa:dʃʃʌ] not possible [ʌ'sa:djʌ]; ['kʌʃʃhina] hard, ['kʌʃina];

(d) Sanskrit initial and medial [h] or [ʃ].

Though modern Tuḷu shows a stable [ʃ] in certain contexts, the older treatment of Sanskrit [h] reflects the general tendency of parent Dravidian to avoid [h]:— [ʌʃʃʌmati] egotistic audacity, [ʌmbotʌ] or [ʌmottʌ]; [ʌʃʃʌṇka:ra] selfishness, [a:ṇga:ra]; [ʌ:ʃʃʌ:ra] food, [ʌ:rä]; [bʌʃʃʌʌ] many, [bʌ:ʌ]

(e) Other peculiarities.

(i) Metathesis is observable in
[ʌttəssä] from Skt [ʌʃvattʃʃʌ]
[ʌrkəma] from Skt. [ʌkrʌma].

(ii) SYNCOPÉ.

[bʃʃra:ʃmaṇʌ] brahmin, [bʃʃr:ne]
[bʃʃra:ʃmaṇʌ stri:] brahmin woman, [bʃʃra:ṇti]

(iii) Miscellaneous.

[ʌpʌdrʌvʌ] trouble, [ʌpədrä] or [ʌpə,jzədra];
[ma'hʌ:nʌvʌmi] a sacred day, [ma:rno:mi];
[ʃmaʃa:nʌ] cremation-ground, [maʃa:nä]

- ['vʌndʱjʌ] barren woman, ['mʌɲʱʒa]
 • [pr̥thvi:] earth, ['pɒðəvi] or ['pəðəvi]
 • [ʌvʌsʌrʌ] — [ʌməsəɾa] necessity.

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS.

I. *The North Wind and the Sun* [Brahmin's dialect]

'bʌd̪ik̪ēpʌdʌ 'gʌ:lilʌ 'sʌ:dipɔ:pəɳʌ:jēla|| 'ɔɲʒi dinōɳtu |
 ori 'tirügönditti ,sʌ:dipɔ:pəɳʌ:jēni su:tu | 'su:rjəde:vərʌ:
 'vʌ:jude:vərʌ: | ʌ:jʌ mittu | ɔɲʒi 'pʌntʌ pʌ:dōɳd̪ērʉ||ʌvu
 'jʒʌ:jəgənnəgʌ | ʌ:jʌ mejtʉ 'vʌstrəni ,irüvəɾēd̪ērʉ geppo:p̪əɾʌ: |
 ʌ:kulʉ ʌ: 'pʌntōɳtu jʒʌjitəɳ:kul̪̪̪ntəɳ | niʃcʃejəm ʌnt̪ērʉ||
 dumbuɾt̪ʌ | 'gʌ:lide:v̪ərʉ sʌmōɳtu bi:sj̪eræ (ə) suɾuvʌnt̪ērʉ||
 ʌ:ɳd̪əɳ | ʌ:jʌ vʌstrəni 'geppo:j̪eræ(ə) sʌ:dd̪h̪jʌ:niddi|| 'e:tu
 gʱʌt̪id̪ʉ [or jʒo:ruɳd̪ʉ] | gʌ:libi:sj̪erʌ: | ʌ:tughattid̪ʉ ʌ:j̪e
 vʌstrəni 'pɒd̪ētōɳde|| unduni su:tu | 'su:rjəde:v̪ərʉ | sʌmōɳtu
 ,prʌkʌ:ʃə(ʋ) ʌ:j̪ērʉ|| ondu sʌj̪rəɳæ | ʌ: sʌ:dipɔ:pəɳʌ:j̪e | 'sikæ
 (sixæ) 'tʌd̪ēv̪əræ(ē) 'ti:rənt̪ə | vʌstrəni mejtʉ gette||
 unduni su:tu | 'vʌ:jude:v̪ərʉ pʌntōɳtu 'so:t̪əɳ:kul̪̪̪ntəɳ |
 'su:rjəde:v̪ərʉ 'jʒʌjitəɳ:kul̪̪̪ntəɳ | niʃcʃejəntuɾtu | ʌ:kul̪̪̪-
 ir̪v̪ərʌ: p̪əɾʌ po:j̪ērʉ||

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

North wind-and wayfarer-and

One day-in one wandering-being way-farer (Acc.) having
 seen, sun-god-and wind-god-and him over a wager made. That
 what-for-it asked-if, his body-from cloth (Acc.) two-persons of
 who fling-off-makes he (honorific Plural) that wager-in won-has-he
 deci-sion made-they. First wind god well blow-to beginning-made.
 Yet his cloth (Acc.) fling-make to power-there-was-not. How
 much force-with wind blew-indeed, so much force-with he the
 cloth (Acc.) wrapped-up. This (Acc.) seen-having, sun-god

(1) Long bars indicate pauses, the double ones marking full pauses and single ones half pauses.

Short bars (placed on the left side of words or of syllables) indicate accent, those marked on the top showing primary accent and the others placed on the bottom showing secondary accent.

strength-with shine-became. Á-little hence that way-farer heat (Acc.) resist-to able-not-being, cloth (Acc.) body-from took. This seeing wind-god wager-in defeated-one to-be-and, sun-god won-and settled-having, they both away went.

*Short notes regarding the sounds.*¹

(1) The relationship between dynamic stress and 'musical' pitch in the south Dravidian speeches requires to be experimentally investigated. So far as I can see, accent in these speeches is constituted of both elements. The accent-marks (strong, medium,) given in this essay only symbolise a perceptible rise in stress or in pitch. Generally speaking, accent falls on the root-syllables of native words when separately uttered. In connected speech, two degrees of accent may be demarcated thus roughly: the strong accent which falls on the initial root syllables of important words of each breath-group, and a less strong accent on the root-syllables of other emphatic words in the breath-group.

Statements or exclamations expressive of strong feelings of course involve different degrees and varieties of accent in which pitch or intonation completely submerges the stress element.

[ep̃ŋɔɲzi kaʃtappa:] what a calamity!

[a : je batte] he came!

[i : po:jena:] Did'st thou go?

are statements which could be differently intoned according as the feeling underlying each is sorrow, surprise, anger, etc.

(2) I might draw the reader's attention to the neutral or mixed vowels cropping up in these passages. (a) When [ʌ] occurs at the end of a word, it has a slightly more or open and frontalisèd value which I have represented with the symbol [a], as it is neither so dorsal as [ɑ], nor so open and so frontalisèd as [a].

When [a] is rapidly uttered in connected sentences, it may become [ɐ].

(1) For full phonological and grammatical notes, on a comparative basis, of a few Tulu passages in both the dialectal varieties, see my 'Tulu Texts in Two Dialects' in BSOS, IV.

(b) [ʌ] in unaccented syllables has the value of [ə]; but sometimes when for certain grammatical differentiations, [ʌ] has to receive a little stress or accent, then it has the value of [ɐ] which is a mixed vowel slightly more open than [ə]. For instance, in the Second Person Plural tense forms, the ending is [-Arʌ] as distinguished from [-erʌ] of the Third Person forms. Here [Arʌ] becomes [-ɐrʌ], and [-erʌ] becomes [-ërʌ].

(c) Similarly, [e] in unaccented syllables becomes [ə], except when as in the third person plural tense endings (Masc. and Fem.) or in the Acc. terminations, the sound is definitely marked out with the value of [ë], *e. g.*, pāntā pā:dōṇḍērʌ, made wager; sādipo:pāṇa:jēnʌ, wayfarer (Acc.)

(3) For the use of [-u] and [-ʊ] as enunciatives, see below under Phonology.

(4) Except the enunciative u of old monosyllabic bases, the sounds u and ʊ appearing as enunciatives in Tuḷu words are elided in sandhi positions (*i. e.*, in breath-groups) before other vowels: [iruʋëruḍ-ërʌ] who of the two, [a:kʊ-iruverʌ] they-two both, [tirugond-itti] wandering-remaining, etc.

(5) Note the use of [a:kʊ] as the honorific plural in this text; some Brahmins prefer [a:rʌ], the form employed as the honorific plural in the folk-speech.

(6) I have very rarely heard [indu] employed by Brahmins who use [undu] instead.

(7) Within breath-groups, when vowels appear contiguously (without elision), the glides y and v appear according to the front or dorsal nature of the hiatus created.

(8) [tirügönd-] wandering, and [podëtöṇḍe] wrapped himself up: Note [-önd] and [öṇḍ] which have the value of conferring a particular " reflexive " nuance on the verb concerned. These " reflexive " bases are found in other south Dr. speeches

with [kond] the past stem of Dr. [kol], annexed to the past stems the simple bases of the verbs concerned. In Tuḷu (as also in Mal. colloquial), the initial [k-] has disappeared; in Tuḷu there has also been decerebralisation of [nd] in some cases like [tirügənd-].

(9) Some of the peculiarities of the Brahmins' speech reflected in this passage may be noted down here:

(i) Inflexional: The Acc. ending -ni of the Br. dialect corresponds to -nu or -nui of the folk-speech.

The Abl. [mejttu] from the body answers to the folk-speech [mejddu].

The Locative [dinöṇṭu] at the day, [sAmöṇṭu], [pAntöṇṭu] in the wager, show the infix [ṇ]; the forms of the folk speech would be [dinödu], [pAntödu], etc.

(ii) [jza:jəgənnuɡa] 'why-ask if', because, corresponds to the folk-speech [da:jəgənnuɡa].

(iii) [su:tu] having—Folk-speech [tu:du].

(iv) [niṣṭəjəṁ-əntēru] decision made:

[Antēru] is the past tense of Brahmins' [Amp-] to make, corresponding to the folk-speech [maḷp-] of which the past tense stem is [maḷt-].

(v) [iddi] not, as in [sa: dḥja: niddi], would be [ijji] or even [icṭṭi] in the folk-speech.

(vi) The causative forms [geppo:pəru] cause to take away and [geppo:jəɾə] for causing to take away, correspond to the mass-dialect [deppa:vəru] and [deppa:ɸəɾə] respectively.

·[gepp-] take, of the Br. speech answers to [depp-] of the folk-dialect; the causative base is formed from these with [-a:v].

II. The Fox and the Grapes [Brahmins' dialect].

'kudikæla: 'dra:kṣila: ||

bA'döbūdu jza:lā tirēnti onjzi 'kudikæ | onjzi dinöṇṭu |
 ,tinjəɾə(ə) 'jza:lā sikküna:tu | 'suma:ru dikkuḍu ,nAdəttutu |
 kaṣṭəbūdu | kaḍəku | onjzi 'dra:kṣəda ,to:ttəṇṭu po:tu
 se:rinu || ,taḱka maṭṭ- 'eppərəjitt- onjzi marōta ,kombōdu |

dra:kʃi nelo:nʈittənˈni su:tu ʔuni ʔa:gitu patjeræ(è) |
 kudikæ ,baɦəlä ʔkaʃtəbudije || ʔuma : ru sarti la : gitu
 ,su:nunda:ndəlaː | a: kudikəgu dra:kʃi ʔiku iddi || Anɕa:ndəlaː |
 kudikæ | pakkenæ nira:sä-j-a : pi jzAntu-u-Attu || tanət-a : pi
 keləsa ʔmant-ampentæ pira:pəpən iddi-ntu ,niʃɕjəjentutu |
 kudikæ ʔbetla ,la:gipəræ(è) suru ʔ Antutu || ,baɦəlä ʔupa:ja-ʔ-
 itti jzAntu-ʔ a:nənda:ndəlaː- | ʔo:u-upa:jənta:u-erlaː- | kudikəgu
 dra:kʃi siku-iddi || kaðə-kū | ,baɦəlä ʔvasənönʈu | ʔbu to:tʈöntu
 ʔa:ru:pənu || pa:ru:pənəgä | “ ʔpulijitti dra:kʃi ,enku ʔbo:tri
 -ntu ” pa:ndöntu po:nu || ʔa:ja:jənə : -ʔ-iʃta naðəpp,əntæ(è)
 bannəga | jza:na:ndəlaː ,sama:dhana | ʔa:lo:ɕəna mampunä |
 ,sa:dhara:nə ʔkaʃlæ(i)tənoː ! ||

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

Fox-and Grapes-and.

Hunger-with at-all suffer-not-being-able one fox one day-in
 eat-to anything getting-not-having all-places-in walked-having
 trouble-felt-having end-in one grapes-of garden-at gone having
 reached. Somewhat tallness-being one tree-of branch-in grapes
 having-remained-that having seen, then jumping catch-to fox
 much trouble took. Many times jumped-having seen-yet, that
 fox-for grapes obtain-not-was-possible. Yet fox suddenly
 disappointment having creature was-not. Self-from becoming
 work all making-not away-going not-thus decided-having, fox
 again jump-to beginning-made. Many tricks-having animal it
 was-though, whatever tricks-with-yet fox to grapes obtain-was
 not. End-in much sorrow-with he garden-from away-ran.
 Away-running-while “sour-being grapes me-to want-not” thus
 said having went. Each-each-to hopes fulfilled-being-not happen
 if, some-one-or-other consolation feeling common is-indeed!

III A Conversation [Brahmins' dialect].

Subra:jən — 'sva:mi! 'sva:mi!||

ṣri:dhārən—'sva:mi! naməska:rä!||

su.—in̄kulu | 'maləja:löntu | 'epəlu 'battəru?||

ṣri.—e:n-idæ battutur | mu:ḷzi din—a:n̄u||

su. . 'jzə:jegu battəru?||

ṣri.—e:n-oduppuda 'lakṣədi:pəla· | en̄ 'jzənəṅkül·nila· |

'su:jəræ(é) bo:dəttur battæ||

su. . 'ertur dinöntə 'tadəv un̄du?||

ṣri —nanā pattur dinöntə tadəv uppu.

su.—ittæ | 'devəsta:nəṅtu 'pu:jzə un̄da: iddjæ?||

ṣri.—'ittæ 'iddi || 'po:ji tingəluḍur muginū||

sn.—Aulu | baḥəlä 'boḷlä batnuidæ!|| Aita:vera | in̄kule

,u:rud 'ertur 'naṣṭəkaṣṭä batnur?||

ṣri —naṣṭəkaṣṭəṅkül·on̄jila : paṇjer-iddi|| u:rü purä kṣa:m
batnu!||

Translation.

subrāya : Hail! swami! (A usual form of greeting)

ṣrīdhara : Namaskara!

snbr : When did you come from Malabar?

ṣrī : It is three days now since I came here.

su : Why have you come?

ṣri : I came here for witnessing the Lakṣa-dīpa ceremony
at Uḍupi and also to see my relations.

su : How long do you intend to stay here?

ṣri : For ten days more.

su: Do you still officiate as temple priest (in Malabar)?

sri: Not now. My term of office expired last month.

su: I hear of great floods (and rains) there (in Malabar)!

How much loss has been caused by this in your locality?

ṣri : The losses and troubles are better imagined than
described ! The whole place was stricken with famine!

IV. A passage in the dialect of the Non-Brahmin cultivators called Baṇṭs.

The evils of the Aḷiya-santāna (matriarchal) system of inheritance prevalent among the Tuḷuva Non-Brahmins.

'Aḷijā kaṭṭudā 'do:ṣo:lu||

'da:kṣinā 'kannedā jzillēdu | 'Aḷijasantāna kuḍumbēda
'ejzema:né | kraməpreka:rā | a:kuḍumbēdā a:stidā jza:va:bdari
adüppü:ve|| nadəpüdu | ori 'parəbæ | 'ejzema:n a:pell
a:jəgu | kuḍumbēdā a:stiddu | tanā 'boḍēdi ba:lōlēnu mallā
maḷpūna manəs –uppūndu | aineddu | a:je maltina parədinōlēnu
| 'raddu maipərə(ə) | bokkā aṣenar:thā paḍe:juræ | vja:jzōlu
maḷpūni | aṇḇi kuḍumbōlēdu baḥēḷā-ə unḍu|| akremōgu
'vja:jzjā maḷtudu | a:jənu dettu pa:dōli|| avu | a:ja akremō-
ddu 'paḍkæ|| avu 'pagēla. laḍa:jilā | unḍumaḷpūndu | bokka
'hecḇi karḇidā vja:jzjōddu kuḍumbēdā 'netter-'a:jza:ji lekā |
a:sti 'karəḍ a:pūndu||

Literal Translation,

South Kanara district in aḷiyasantāna family-of manager rule-according-to that family-of property-of holder becomes-well. Practice-in an old-man manager becomes. Him-to family-of property-from his wife and-children (Acc.) big-to-make mind (desire) exists. This-on-account of he-made-which alienations (Acc.) back-restore-to and maintenance obtain-to suits filing such families-in frequently exist. Mismanagement-for suit made-having, him (Acc.) removed-sent-has-to-be. It his mismanagement from worse. It enmity-and quarrel-and causes, and great cost-of litigation-from family-of blood squeezing-like, property waste-becomes.

Connected Translation.

The manager of an Aliyasantāna family is according to law a trustee of the family properties. In practice an old man becomes the manager, and his desire is to enrich his wife and children out of his trust-properties. On account of this, suits

are frequently instituted for restoring his alienations and obtaining maintenance. He has to be removed from trusteeship through a suit. This is worse than the mismanagement itself. It causes enmity and quarrels, and the family assets are squandered, like one's life-blood.

A Brief Account of Tuḷu Phonological Correspondences.

The following brief sketch aims only at visualizing the correspondence of Tuḷu sounds to those of other Dravidian dialects as they appear in closely allied cognates. No attempt is made to propound theories, but the illustrations are made to speak for themselves. Wherever possible, the cognates are so selected as to be representative of the southern (Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu, etc.,) the central (Kûi and Gōṇḍi) and the northern (Kurukh and Brāhûi) groups of the Dravidian family.

It may be observed here that the ancient primary bases of Dravidian are chiefly monosyllabic being constituted of

- (i) a vowel alone, or
- (ii) a vowel+a consonant, or
- (iii) a consonant + a vowel; or
- (iv) a cons. + a vowel + a consonant;

the dissyllabic and the rare trissyllabic bases are all perhaps derivatives formed from the primary bases with the aid of secondary affix-morphemes.

In the following sketch, therefore, I have found it practical to take up the question of sound-correspondences according to the following scheme. [Note:—The symbols I have used in this chapter are those of the R. A. S. scheme of transliteration with two IPA symbols *u* and *ə*.]

I. Consonants.

- (i) In initial positions.
- (ii) In terminal positions of primary bases.
- (iii) In Morphemes of secondary bases.

II. Vowels.

- (i) In initial or radical positions.
- (ii) In derivatives.
- (iii) Enunciatives.

[In the following sketch – word bases alone are considered, as nearly all of the striking correspondences and relationships between Tuḷu sounds and non-Tuḷu Dravidian sounds would be covered thereby; there are a few cases of interesting parallelisms and divergences in the post-positional endings and conjugational terminations. These are dealt with by me elsewhere.]

1.

(1) Consonants in initial positions.

[The following consonants appear in initial positions of native Tuḷu word-bases.

k, g, c, j, t, d, n, p, b, m, r, l, s, ś, h and y and v.

(1) k. Initial k- of Tuḷu answers to k- of other dialects or to the fricatives or affricates of yet others. A rough cleavage is found in Dravidian between those dialects which preserve an ancient k before front vowels and those which have changed this k before front vowels to fricatives and affricates. Tuḷu belongs to the former group, as illustrated by the following :

Kittu (fire) — Koḍagu ciccū, Tel. ciccū; cf. also Gōṇḍi cicc, Kurukh cic.

Kila, kela (some) — Tam. śila, śela.

Kebi (ear) — Tam. śevi, Mal. cevi, Tel. cevi.

Kiṛ- (small) — Tam. śiṛu, Mal. ceṛ-.

(ii) Tuḷu k- before dorsal vowels corresponds to k- of the southern and central dialects and to x- of the north :

Kai (hand) — south Dr. Kai, gei (but Tel. ceyya).

Kālu (leg) — south Dr. Kāḷ, Kūi kālu,

Koy- (to reap) — south Dr. Koy-, Gō. koy-, Kuṛ. xoy-

(2) (i) g- corresponds to g- or k- of other dialects in certain instances :

gaṇḍu (male) — cf. Tel. gaṇḍ āḍ- (to copulate), Kann. gaṇḍu (strength, male)

gaṭṭi (firm, strong) — Kann. gaṭṭi, Tam. kaṭṭi, Tel. gaṭṭi

Kiṛ-, (to scratch)- Kann. Tel. giṛ-, Tam. kiṛ-.

gâvu, kâvu (heat, glare) — Tam. kâ-y-vu, Kann. kâv.
 guri, guḷi (hole, pit) — Tam. kuḷi, Kann. Kuḷi, kuḷi,
 Tel. groyyi.

(3) c- (i) In a very few instances, the affricate c-¹ corresponds to the fricatives and affricates :

caḍappu (leanness) — Mal. caḍappu

cûḍu, sûḍu (heat) — Tam. sûḍu, Mal. cûḍu, Kann. sûḍu

Cali, sali (chill) — Kann. caḷi, Tam. śaḷi.

(ii) In some instances. Tulu c- is a rare sub-dialectal variant existing beside t- (and s- in some cases). The cognates in other dialects generally show t- —

Caṇḍi (wetness), beside } — cf. Tam. taṇ (cold, wet)
 sampu, tampu } Kann. taṇ, Tel. tsaṇ.

Câræ (coconut tree) beside } — cf. Tam. tâlai ('coconut tree')
 târæ, tâḷæ } — in old texts.

cû, beside tû, sû (fire) — see below.

cêḷu (scorpion), beside } — Tam. tēḷ, Kann. cêḷu, Tel.
 tēḷu, sēḷu } tēḷu, Br. telh.

caræ (head), taræ — south Dr. tala, Kûi tḷau, Gô. talâ.
 Also cf. caila (oil) for Skt. taila.

4. j- (i) This sound corresponds to c-, ś or j- of other dialects in a few cases :

jari (slope) — cf. Tam. śari- (to incline), Kann. jari, Mal. cari-

jiræ (small) — cf. Tam. śiru, Tel. ciru.

jadar- (to be scattered), beside } — Tam. śidar-, Kann.
 cadar-, kedar- } cedar-, kedar-

jêvu, jôvu (child) — cf. Tam. śemmal (child).

(5) ñ- is not a very common sound in Tulu, but the influence of the neighbouring Mal. is responsible for the sub-dialectal ñ in a very few words like the following :

(1) The influence of Malyâḷam is probably responsible for c- in these forms.

ñonñur (shrivelled) — Mal. ñaļuññ- (to be shrivelled)
 ñekk-, ñakk- (to crush) — Mal. ñekk-

(6) t- (i) In a large number of instances, t- answers to t- of other dialects :

teri- (to be known) — south Dr. teri-
 tēy- (to be rubbed) — „ tēy-
 tēḷur (scorpion) — „ tēḷ, Br. telh
 tōḍ- — „ tōḍ-

(ii) In the following and other instances, t-¹ alternates sub-dialectally with s- and h ; the cognates of other Dr. dialects generally show only t-².

tû, sû, hû, cû (fire) — cf. Tam. tû (bright), Br. tûbe (moon), south Dr. tî (fire)

tôj-, sôj-, hôj- (to appear) — Tom. tōnd'r- Kann. tōḷ-, tōr-, Tel. tōns-, Kûi tōnj-.

teli-, seli-, heli- (to become clear) — south Dr. teli- (to become clear).

(iii) In a very few cases, t- appears to correspond to ś-, etc. c- etc. of other dialects, derived from an original k-; these t- forms are sub-dialectal :

tett-, beside sett- (to rot) — cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. keḍ- (to become rotten), Tel. ced (to be spoiled).

tutt- (to wear dress), } — cf. Tam. sut't'r- (to go round),
 beside sudd } Mal. cut't'-, Kann. sudd-.

(1) For the classification of the conditions in which some affricates and fricatives are related to k- on the one hand and others to t- on the other, see my papers on "Ancient Dr. k'", "Tulu Fricatives and Sibilants" and "Dr. Affricates and Fricatives".

(2) I may point out here that (i) t- forms are generally more common than their variants with s- and h-; (ii) in some instances the Brahmins use s- forms, while others use t- forms. (iii) in some others the "low-class" communities use s- forms, while others (including Brahmins) favour t- forms; and (iv) the Jains and others in the eastern parts of Tulu naḍu use the h- variants.

(7) d- (i) The voiced sound d- corresponds to t or d- of other dialects in many cases; the voiced d- corresponding to t- is found in southern dialects like Telugu and Kannaḍa and in the central and northern dialects also occasionally.

daver- (to become loose) — Tam. tavar- (to slip off)
Kann. tavar-, davar-

diñj- (to be crowded, crammed). — cf. Tam tiñg- (to beside)
jiñj- [sub-dialectal] (to be crowded), Tel. cikḱ- (dense).

(ii) In the following instances with initial d-, the sound owes its initial position to the operation of Aphæresis consequent on Accent-shift. As pointed out elsewhere by me, the change here involved the conversion of an original initial *d- to d in the mass-dialect of Tuḷu. The aphæresized forms are popular in the folk-speech, while the full forms are retained in several cases in the Brahmins' dialect.

da-mma (left side)	}	cf. south Dr. eḍa(m) (left),
da-ttu (")		Tel. eḍa and ḍâ
beside eḍa (left),		[For the conversion of d- to d-
eḍa-mbu (left side),		initially, cf. Tuḷu adaptations
eḍa-ttu (")		dambha from Skt. dambha, dabbi
eḍa-ñku (on the left)	}	from ḍabbi, etc. and cf. also
		the Tel. alternants like ḍig-,
		ḍig- (to descend)

dabbu (crack) — [cf. aḍar } cf. Tam. -(aḍar-vu (crack)
to crack)]

dapp (to plough), }
beside aḍapp } — cf. Kann. aḍak- (to press down)

daræ (fence) beside }
aduuru (boundary limit) } — Mal. adir boundary, limit,
fence

de-k-katti (arecanut } — cf. Mal. aḍekka-k-katti, Kann aḍegatti
-cracker) } aḍekottu, aḍakegatti; Tel. aḍakottu,
ñkottu

de-k-kâru (space }
between the legs), } — cf. south Dr. eḍa(m) (space, room)
beside aḍa-k-kâru }

dakk- (to cast away), } — cf. Kann. aḍe (to throw or strike
beside Br. s' dialect } with finger)
aḍakk-

daṅg-, deng (to be hidden), beside aḍaṅg } — cf. Tam, Mal. aḍaṅg-(to be contained, etc.)

(iii) In the following Interrogatives we find an initial d- (which in some cases alternates sub-dialectally with j-) : dāṇæ, beside jāṇæ (what?)—cf. Tam (y)ēn, (y)ēnna, Kann. (y)ēnu

dā (which)—Tam. yā-d, yā-v-ad, Kann yād, yāvad, yāvad etc. dā-lā, jālā (anything) dā-y-eggu, jāyeggu (why?) base yā

(8) n (i) This sound generally corresponds to n- of other dialects:

nīru (water)—south Dr. nīr, Kûi nīr; nil-p-(to stand, stay)—sound Dr. nil, Kûi nil. netteru (blood)—Kann. nettar, Gōṇḍi nettar, Br. ditar.

naḍu (middle)—south Dr. naḍu.

(ii) the following words (from the mass colloquial) with initial n-seem to be the result of Aphæresis:

nuppu (food, meal), beside } —cf. south Dr. un-(to eat, take a meal).
Brahmin's un-pu or umpu }

nung (to be dried up)—cf. Tam. uṇaṅg-, Mal. uṇaṇṇ-, Koḍagu oṇaṇṇ-

nuṅgelu, beside uṇangelu } —uṇaṅg-above.
(what is dried)

netta (of this) beside indetta

neḍḍu (from this) „ indeḍḍu

nettu (at this) „ indetṭu.

(9) p- corresponds to p- of other dialects:

puli (tiger)—south Dr. puli, Gō puli.

puri (worm)—cf. Tam., Kann., Mal. pulu, Tel. purugu, Kûi priu, Gō. purî

paru (tooth)—south Dr. pal.

(10) b (i) This sound corresponds to v of some dialects (Tam, Tel, Mal, Kûi, Gōṇḍi) and to b- of others (Kann., Kuṛukh Brāhûi).

bar- (to come)—Tam. var-, Kûi va-, Kann. bar-, Br. bar-, Kuṛ bar-,

bāyi (month)—Tam. vāy, Kann. bāy, Tel. vāy-i, Kuṛ bāy.

bālæ, bāræ (plantain tree)—Tam. vāl ai, Kann. bāle

(ii) In a few instances, Tuḷu initial *b-* also corresponds to *p-* of other dialects.

boḍedi (wife) — cf. old Kann. peṇḍati, Tam. peṇḍatti.

bordu, beside } — cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. pōr
pordu (battle) } (battle), porud- (to fight),
Tel. pôru,

(11) *m-*. (i) *m-* generally corresponds to *m-* of other dialects:

mara (tree) — south Dr. mara(m), Tel. mraṇu, Kui mraṇu, Gô. marâ, Kuṛ mann.

min- (to shine, glitter) — south Dr. min.

murk-, muḷk- (to sink, } — Tam. mulug-, Kann. muḷg,
to be immersed) } Kûi muñj-, Kuṛ-muḷx.

(ii) *m-* in *mêli* (marriage) corresponds to *v-*. Cf. Mal. vēli (marriage), Tam. vēḷ- (to desire to marry), Kuṛ beñj- (to marry).

(iii) (a) In *mûlu* (here) we have Aphæresis (consequent on Accent-shift) and change of *v-* to *m*: **i-ṽ-uḷu*, [a formation exactly like *aṽuḷu* (there) which is retained in Tuḷu without Aphæresis] > *ṽûlu* > *mûlu*,

(b) *mêru*, beside } cf. Tam., Mal. Kann. *ivar*, used as
sub dialectal *imberu* } an honorific plural beside its other
meaning of normal plurality of
number.

mêru < *im(b)eru* < *iberu* < *i-ṽar*.

(c) *môlu* (she, this woman) } — cf. *i-ṽaḷ* (she, this woman)
beside Brahmins' *imboḷu* }

Aphæresis is responsible for *môlu* she (here), as in the instances given above.

(12) *y*- does not appear fully evaluated as a consonant except in a few words like *yân* (1), *yaḍa* (left side) of the mass colloquial; but a semi-consonantal *y* does crop up before the front initial vowels of Tuḷu words. Tuḷu speakers themselves do not notice this sound and do not regard it as an essential component of the words concerned; nevertheless, the foreigner never fails to distinguish its presence before initial front vowels as in *yenne* (oil) *yeñca* (how ?), etc. A similar *y* exists before front initial vowels in other south Dr. speeches.

(13) *r*- occurs in initial positions of a small number of native words, as the result of Aphæresis consequent on Accent-shift:

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| <i>rumb-</i> (to feel off) | — | cf. Mal. <i>uruv-</i> , Tam. <i>uruv-</i> |
| <i>renkæ</i> (wing) | — | cf. Tam. <i>irakkai</i> , coll. <i>ṛekka</i> ,
Tel. <i>rekka</i> , <i>irakka</i> . |
| <i>reñk-</i> (to roll on the
ground), beside <i>oreñk-</i> | } — | cf. Tam. <i>orai-</i> , etc. |

(14) *l*- also appears initially, as the result of Aphæresis; it is noteworthy that the Brahmins' sub-dialect of Tuḷu preserves in many cases the older non-aphæresized forms:

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| <i>lampu</i> (tender) beside
<i>eḷampu</i> , <i>eḷæ</i> , <i>eḷata</i> | } — | Tam. <i>iḷa-</i> , <i>eḷa-</i> , Kann. <i>eḷe</i> , Tel.
<i>lê-</i> , Kûi <i>la-</i> |
| <i>lapp-</i> (to measure), be-
side Brs.' <i>aḷapp-</i> | } — | South Dr. <i>aḷa-</i> (to measure,
etc.) |
| <i>lepp-</i> (to call), beside
Br.s.' (<i>ũ</i>) <i>oḷepp-</i> | } — | Tam. <i>viḷi-</i> , Mal. <i>vili-</i> , Tel. <i>pilits-</i> ,
Toda <i>piṣ-</i> |
| <i>lumb-</i> (to wash), be-
side Brs.' <i>alumb-</i> | } — | Tam., Mal., Kann. <i>alamb-</i> |
| <i>lakk-</i> (to get up) | — | cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. <i>eḷ-</i> (to
rise), Tel. <i>lê-</i> (to get up). |

(15) *s-* (*i*) *s*- corresponds to the fricative *ś-* of Tamil, the affricate *c-* of Mal. and the sibilant *s-* of Kann., in the following instances:

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|--|
| <i>suḷi</i> (eddy) | — | Tam. <i>śuḷi</i> , Mal. <i>culi</i> , Kann. <i>suḷi</i> , <i>suḷi-</i> . |
| <i>sutt-</i> (to roll) | — | Tam. <i>śut't'r-</i> , Mal. <i>cut't'-</i> , Kann. <i>sutt-</i> . |

sai-p- (to die) — Tam. sâ-, Mal. câ-, Kann. sâ-.

(ii) s- alternates sub-dialectally with t- in Tuḷu itself. Vide *supra*.

(iii) A few rare variants with ś- are sometimes heard in the enunciation of some people, alternating with s- forms: śird-, sird-, tird- (to mend), śîpæ, sîpæ, tîpæ (sweetness), etc.

(16) h-. (i) h- alternates sub-dialectally¹ with t- and s- in Tuḷu itself, as already indicated.

(ii) h- forms corresponding to certain Kannaḍa h- words (derived from original p- words) are borrowings in Tuḷu from Kann. (Vide my paper in *Ind. Ant.*, March 1933).

(iii) Initial h- in the following appears to be prothetic:

hêr- (to climb) beside êr- — Tam., Mal., Kann. êr.

helæ (leaf-offering) beside } — Tam., Mal., Kann. ilai,
elæ, eræ (leaf) } ele.

haiṭu, beside aiṭu (at that), the Loc. of avu (that).

hamar- (to be immersed), } — Tam., Mal., Kann. amar-
beside amar-

Unique Features of Tuḷu Anlaut.

1. The sub-dialectal alternation of t-, s-, and h- in words, the cognates of which in other dialects show t-.

2. The partially voiced secondary glottal fricative h- in initial positions.

3. The occurrence of l and r in initial positions of words, as the result of Aphæresis consequent on Accent-shift.

4. Initial d- < ḍ- (derived by Aphæresis).

5. The presence of the voiced sounds g-, j, d, in initial positions.

Of these features, 1 is unique in Tuḷu, 2 is met with also in Kûi, 3 is found also in Telugu and Kûi, and 4 has some parallels in Telugu. The fifth feature is shared in greater or lesser degree by many dialects of Dravidian; Tamil, Mal. and the lesser varieties

(1) It is worthy of note here that only an extremely small percentage of people use fi- forms instead of the more common forms with t- and s-.

of these speeches however do not tolerate these voiced consonants in initial positions of native words.

(2) Consonants in terminal positions of bases.

The consonants and consonant-groups (apart from attenuations like -me, -tana, etc.) appearing in Dr. word-bases are the following:

- (1) k, ñk, g, ñg.
- (2) t, ñt, d, ñd.
- (3) t, nt, d, nd.
- (4) v, b, mb, p, mp.
- (5) c, ñc, j, ñj.
- (6) l, ñl.
- (7) r, ñr.
- (8) ñ.
- (9) y, ś, š, (j).

These appear in what we might distinguish here as the primary and the secondary bases.

The following points are noteworthy in connection with Dr. word-formation:

(a) Primary Dr. bases (monosyllabic) may, or may not have, final consonants. In case final consonants are found, these consonants are of the following types:

(i) In a number of ancient bases with short radical vowels, like aḍ-u, kaḍ-u, ar-u, etc., short voiced plosives or other short voiced consonants are found.

(ii) In other bases with short radical vowels, either geminated surds or consonant groups formed of nasals and plosives, are met with.

(iii) If the radical vowel is long, single plosives (voiced or voiceless) and consonant groups formed of nasals and plosives are alone found, the geminated plosives (characteristic of (ii) above) being conspicuous by their absence.

(c) While Tamil (on account of its phenomenal tendency to voice inter-vocal surds and surds in contact with nasals) shows

no group formed of nasals and surds, the other dialects of the south (including Tuḷu) tolerate such consonant groups.

(d) The sounds and the sound-groups belonging to each of the sets listed above are related to one another. Caldwell's comments on this point to a certain extent bring out this inter-relationship, though some of his observations require modification and revision in the light of new facts and perspectives. The nasal constituents of the consonant group appear to be secondary growths in connection with the plosives with which they are respectively associated.

(e) These consonants and consonant-groups are conspicuous enough in the southern dialects to be distinguished as such, while they are present in attenuated and modified shapes in the central Indian and the northern dialects.

Primary Bases.

(1) **têg-** (to belch) — Kann. **têg-**, Tam. **tigaṭṭ-**, Tel. **têp-, dêv-**

poṅg- (to rise) — South Dr. **poṅg-**

tāṅk- (to take care of) } — Tam. **tāṅg-** (to support)
tāṅg- (to assist)

agg-æ (shoot, branch) — Mal. **agu-** (shoot) Kûi **âk-i**
(branch, shoot) Tel. **âku**
(leaf).

(2) **mutṭ-** (to knock) — South Dr. **mutṭ-**

kûḍ- (to be joined) — „ **kûḍ-**

naḍ-u (middle) — „ **naḍ-u**

taṇḍ-u (stem) — „ **taṇḍ-**

(3) (i) **ûḍ-** (to blow) — „ **ûḍ-**

pond- (to rise) — „ **pond-**

(ii) Tuḷu medial **-ḍ-** corresponds to **ṛ** of Tamil, Mal. old Kann. and old. Tel.

tud-æ, sud-æ (river) — Kann. **tuṛ-e**, Tam. **tuṛ-ai**.

nûḍ-u (hundred) — South Dr. **nûṛ-u**

nâḍ- (to stink) — „ **nâṛ-**

pâḍ-æ (rock) — „ **pâṛ-ai, pâṛe**, etc.

(4) This group of morphemes definitely occurs only in derivatives.

(5) (i) ây- (to select) — Tam., Mal. ây-

ey- (to shoot arrow) — „ ey-

(ii) ś rarely occurs in Tuḷu as a terminal morpheme.

(iii) s is another derivative morpheme. In Tuḷu, s occurs in pass- beside patt- (to be attached), in ess- beside ett- (to raise a fund) and p̄osur- beside pottur- (to kindle), isæ (now) beside ittæ), less (having called) beside lett-.

(iv) j, a frequent medial sound in Tuḷu corresponds to *three* different sounds of other dialects :

α. -j- in the following answers to -y- of Tamil:

kajapu, beside kayapu — Tam. kay-pu
(bitter taste)

koj-e- (to reap) — south Dr. ko-y-

pa-j-i (green) — „ pa-y-pas; pas-

β. j in the following corresponds to r:

kaj-æ (stain, blackness) — Tam. kaṛ-ai

maj-e- (to conceal) — „ maṛ-ai-

ûj- (to percolate) — „ ûṛ-

âj-i (six) — „ âṛ-

ka-ñj-i (calf) — „ kand'ru, Kann. kaṛu.

tôj- (to appear), beside } — Kann. tōṛ, tōṛ,
tōṛ- } — Tam. tōnd'r.

taj-a-p- (to cut) — Tam. taṛ ai-

γ. Tuḷu -j- answers to -l- in the following.

ijji- (not) — South Dr. il, ill-ai; cf.
Tam. ind'ri also.

pej-æ (kind of Artocarpus) — Tam., Mal. pala-vu, palâ.

(6) (i) kal-l-u (stone) — South Dr. kal.

nil- (to stand) — „ nil-

bâl-u (sword) — „ vâl, bâl.

kol- (to cleave to) — „ koḷ-

(ii) -ḷ- in the Brahmins' sub-dialect of Tuḷu corresponds in the following to the peculiar continuative -ḷ- of Tam., Mal., and old Kannaḍa; it may be observed here that in the folk-dialect of Tulu the sound corresponding to ḷ in these instances is -r- :

tāḷ æ, beside folk-speech tār-æ (cocoanut tree)

— Tam. tāḷ-ai ('cocoanut tree')

bāḷ-æ, bār æ (plantain tree) — Tam. vāḷ-ai, old Kann. bāḷ-e
kōḷi, kōri (fowl) — Tam., old Kann. kōḷi.

guḷi, guri (pit) — „ kuḷi

būḷ, būr- (to fall) — Tam. viḷ- old Kann. būḷ.

It is noteworthy that generally speaking, both the Brahmins' sub-dialect and the folk-speech alike retain -r- corresponding to ḷ- of Tamil, etc., when this sound appears as a constituent of consonant of groups :

paṛndu (ripe fruit) — cf. Tam., Mal. pala-m.

portu (time) — Tam., Mal. poḷudu,

[beside also poḷtu] Kann. poḷtu, portu, hottu Tel. proddu,
poddu.

urdu (black gram) — Tam. uḷundu.

(7) r- (i) This Tuḷu sound stands for the post-dental r of other dialects in instances like the following :

tīr- (to be finished) — south Dr. tīr-

nīru (water) — south Dr. nīr.

ner-æ (straightness) — south Dr. nēr (straight)

(ii) In some instances r corresponds to the cerebral ṛ of other dialects, which ṛ does not exist in Tuḷu now (as it has either become r or j) :

pār- (to fly), to run -- Tam., Mal., old Kann. T. pār-

or-æ (sheath) Tam. oṛ-ai; Mal., Tel. oṛ-a; Kann. oṛ-e.

mār- (to sell) — Kann. mār- (to sell) Tam., Mal. mār
(to change).

(iii) Tuḷu r answers to the alveolar lateral l of other dialects in the following :

iræ (leaf), beside ilæ — Tam. ilai. Mal. ila, Kann. ele.

- paru (tooth) — south Dr. pal.
 biru (bow) — south Dr. vil, bil.
 kâru (leg) — south Dr. kâl.
 kur-k- (to shake) — south kul-u-kk-

(iv) As noted above, the folk-speech shows **r** corresponding to **l** of Tamil, Mal. and old Kann.

(8) **ṇ** - (i) **ṇ** corresponds to **ṇ** of other dialects :

tanṇu (cold) — Tam. Mal., Kann. taṇ-, Tel. ts-aṇ-
 un- (to eat, take meal) south Dr. uṇ-, Kûi un-, Gô. unḍ-
 poṇṇu (girls) — south Dr. peṇ, poṇ

(ii) **ṇ** in the following corresponds to **l** of other dialects :

gâṇ (to glow) — Mal. kâl- (to be ablaze), Tel. kâl- (to burn)
 kêṇ- (to hear) — south Dr. kel-, Gô. keñj-
 kôṇ- (to hold) — south Dr. kol-, Tal. kon.

Derivative Positions.

- (1) ul-k- (to be sprained) — Tam., Mal. ulukk-.naḍa-k-æ
 (behaviour) — Tam. naḍakk-âi. kere-ṅg-u (root) — Tam.,
 Mal. kilang-u

In the following, the affix is somewhat unique in Tuḷu:—

pôḍi-g-æ (fear) — Mal. pêḍi (fear), Kann. pêḍi, hêḍi
 (coward)

male-ṅg- (to recline) — Tam., Mal. malar-, Kann.
 malag-

- (2) baradu (useless) — Tam., Mal. varaḍu, Kann. bareḍu
 maraḍu (barrenness) — Tam. malaḍu
 pijinṭ- (to be twisted) — south Dr. piri-
 kurunṭ- (to contract) — „ kurul-, suruḷ-, etc.

- (3) kor-nd-u (tender) — Tam., Mal. kolu-nd-u
 par-nd-u (ripe fruit) — Tam., Mal. pala-m

- (4) [The affixes are derivative]

ur-c- (to go to stool) — cf. Tam. oll-kk- (to empty)
 alec-, beside alek-
 (to shake) } — Tam., Mal. alakk-

- purñc- (to squeeze) — „ „ pili-
 parñc- (to prattle) — cf. Tam., Mal. parai- (to speak)
- (5) aḍavu (closing) — Tam. aḍai-vu Mal. aḍavu-
 parab-æ, paḷab-æ cf. South Dr. pala (old)
 (old person)
 komb-u (branch) — South Dr. kombu
 aḍep-u (lid, closure) — „ „ aḍai-p-u
- (6) l and ḷ- (In secondary position ḷ is becoming gradually
 merged in l.]
 oyl- (to stagger) — cf. Tam. ôy-
 kurul-, kurul- (to be } — Tam, ūruḷ-. Kann.
 contracted) } kurul-
 birelu (finger) — South Dr. viral
 uḍalu (belly) — „ „ uḍal (body)
- (7) r — normal
 tuḍer-u (lamp) — Tam. ūḍar (the sun or moon),
 Kann. cuḍar (lamp, the sun, moon)
 ugur-u (nail) — Tam. uḡir,
 Tel. ḡôru
 begeru (sweat) — Kann. bevaru.
- (8) Tuḡu s' in the following is probably borrowed from
 Kann.
- taṇasu (chilliness) — Kann. taṇasu, taṇisu
 tinasu (food,) — „ „ tinisu, tinasu
 uṇasu (food, meal) — „ „ uṇasu, uṇisu
 gaḍusu }
 kaḍusu } (heifer) — Kann. kaḍasu (heifer)
 nigasu (repletion) — cf. Kann. negasu, Kann. negi-
 (to rise)

1. This -s- is related to -t-, -d-, etc. in eḷidu, eḷaṣu (what is young, tender), peridu, perisu (what is big), etc. of Tamil eḷidu, eḷaṣu (what is young) and piridu, percū, heccu (what is big) of Kannada.

(1) Vowels in primary (radical) positions,

(1) Tulu a, â, i', î, u. û regularly correspond to the same sounds of other dialects.

(2) e and ê : (i) These are normal in a number of words like the following : eri- (to burn) elu, ellu (bone), êlur (seven) êr- (to ascend).

(ii) There is a rule in South Dravidian whereby a short radical i (of words of more than one syllable) followed by an open vowel in the next syllable is replaced by e : the operation of this rule is restricted to derivative words only and, further, the change occurs only when in the above circumstances the consonant immediately following the radical vowel is a short one. The literary varieties of Tamil and Mal. show in the above circumstances the i- forms, while the colloquials show e- words ; in Kann. and Tel., even the literary speeches have accepted a number of e- forms. Tuḷu shows forms with i and e side by side in some cases, and those with e alone in others :

idæ, edæ (place)___Tam., Mal. iḍam, coll. eḍam.

ilæ, elæ, eræ (leaf)___Tam. ilai, coll. Tam. elai,
Kann. ele.

tinasu, tenasu (food)___Kann. tinisu, tinasu,
tenasu.

nene-p- (to imagine)___Tam. ninai-, coll. Tam.
nenai, Kann. nene-

nela (earth, soil)___Tam. nilai, coll. Tam. nelai,
Kann. nele

Kereṅgu (Sweet potato)___Tam. Kilaṅgu,
coll. Keleṅgu

1. pili (tiger) answering to puli of other Dr. speeches, and pilæ (pollution) corresponding to pulai, pule, pole, show i-.

In menṇu, mennu (spark), menc- (to shine), beside minc, there is an opening of the vowel in Tuḷu sub-dialectal forms. cf. a similar opening in sub-dialectal tenasu beside tinasu, (food).

(iii) In certain adaptations from IA of words with initial voiced plosives followed by -a-, and in a few native words with initial affricates followed by -a-, some of the south Dr speeches show in the colloquial a change of -a- to -e- or -ä-. Of course, the instances where this change occurs in native words vary with the speeches; in Tulu there are instances like the following with -a- and -ä- side by side:

taræ, caræ, ceræ (head)

gattæ, gettæ (clod, lump)

(iv) Tulu -ê- in the following, corresponds to -â- of some of the other dialects:

êḍu (goat) — Tam. âḍu, Kann. âḍu,
Tel. êḍu.

êmæ (turtle) — Tam., Mal. âmai.

êru (who?) — Tam. âru, Kann. (y)âru.

ênu (I) beside folk speech yānu —

—Tam. yān, nān, Kann. ān, nān, Tel. nēnu.

(3) ō — (i) normal in words like the following:

ōñji (one), ori (one person) — Tam. oru, ond'ru, Kann.
ondu.

ôḍ- (to run) — South Dr. ôḍ-

(ii) In circumstances similar to those described for $i > e$ above, there exists in South Dr. a change of $u > o$ also. Tulu shows forms with **u** and **o** side by side in some cases, and words with **o** alone in others: uḍelu, oḍelu (belly) — South Dr. uḍal, oḍal.

ugaru, ogaru (brackishness) — Tam. uvar.

uṇasu, oṇasu (food) — Kann. oṇasu.

oræ (Sheath) — Tam. urai, coll. Tam. orai.

mosaḷæ (crocodile) — Tam. mudalaḷai, modaḷai Kann.
mosaḷe

(iii) -o-or-ô- in connection with bilabials corresponds to -e (or in rare cases to -a-) of the literary speeches of South India.

ponnu (girl) — South Dr. literary pen, penṇu, coll.
pon.

bolpu (whiteness) — Tam. veḷuppu, Kann. beḷpu.

bôḍ — (to want, desire) — Tam. vend- Kann. bēḍ.

por-p- (to pluck) — Tam. Mal. paṛi — Kann. paṛe-.

[It may be noted that in the colloquial of Tam. itself, the bilabials have the power of changing the literary -e- to -o-]

(iv) Tuḷu -o- in the following answers to -a- of other dialects.

oreṭ — (to wrangle) — Cf. Tam. alaṭṭ —

oṇeru (moss, lichens) — „ aṇ — (to be attached
closely)

ôvu (which?) — cf. the syntactic Interr. particle-â- of
Tam., Mal. and Kann., and also Kûi â (which?)

(v) -ô- in the following corresponds to û of other dialects:

môḍu (cloudy) — cf. Tam. mûḍ-al
(cloudiness)

cf. the following adaptations in Tuḷu from IA:—

môrti (image) for mûrti

môḍæ (fool) „ mûḍha

môtra (urine) „ mûtra

koṣṭa (leprosy), „ kuṣṭa

(vi) -o- in the following few instances appears to be due to the avoidance of initial ʋ.

oḍæ (round cake).

(called vaḍe) — Tam. vaḍai.

oḷevu (curve) — „ vaḷavu, base vaḷ

oḷe (to call) — Mal. viḷi-. Tel. pil.-

Tuḷu regularly shows (like Kann. Kur. and Br.) *b* corresponding to *ṭ* of Tam., Tel., Kûi and Gôṇḍi; the above forms with *o*- (apparently) $< (v) + \text{vowel} >$ are possibly adaptations in Tuḷu of *ṭ*- words from the neighbouring Mal. It may be noted, however, that *oḷe*- (to call) and its counterpart *le*- in the folk speech are very common and frequently used while the form *buḷp* (to cry out) normally corresponding to Mal *viḷi*, etc.) is but rarely used in common speech.

(*vi*) -*u*- in the following, neighboured by bilabials, corresponds to -*i*- of other southern dialects:

bûr-, *bûḷ* - (to fall)—Tam. *vîḷ* , *viḷ* , Kann. *bûḷ*:-

bud- (to leave) — Tam. *viḍ*-, Kann. *bud*-

buḷp-(to cry out) — ,, *viḷ-i*-

būḷæ (standing crops) — ,, *viḷ-ai*

(2) Vowels in secondary positions.

(1) -*i*- — normal—

er-i- (to burn)

aḍ-i- (bottom)

poḍ-i (powder)

(2) -*a*- — normal in some cases —

kaḍ-a- (to cross), *naḍa*-(to walk), *aḷa*- (to measure), *mada*-(to forget.) etc.

(3) -*e*- in verbs corresponds to *ai*- of Tam., and to -*e*- of Kann. *kaḷe* - (to be lost, deducted) — *kaḷ ai*, *kaḷe*-.
aḍe-(to shut) — *aḍ-ai*, *aḍe*.

(4) -*æ*- answers in nouns to Tamil-*ai* and Kann.—*e*.

bâḷæ (plantain tree) — *vâḷ-ai*, *bâḷ e*

iræ, *ilæ* (leaf)—*il-ai*, *ele*

(3) The vowels *u* and *u* as enunciatives.

(i) As in the other south Dr. dialects, the vocalic enunciative at the end of old monosyllabic bases with short radical vowels and short terminal consonants, is -u :

kaḍ-u (hard, firm), naḍ-u (middle), puru (snail, worm), ar-u (brim, edge), etc.

(ii) Monosyllabic bases with long radical vowels or with short radical vowels followed by geminated consonants or by consonant groups, show generally (see below for exceptions) the enunciative **u** in **Tuḷu**. Colloquial Tamil in similar cases shows -u, Mal.-ə, Kannaḍa and Telugu -u :

nāḍ u (country) — Tam. nāḍu, Mal. nāḍə, Kann. nāḍ-u.
kâr u (leg) — Tam. kâlui, etc.

kaṭṭ-u (bond) — Tam. kaṭṭu, etc.

kaṇṇ-u (eye) — Tam. kaṇṇu, etc.

Dissyllabic bases also show - u :

• pūdar-u (name) — Tam. peyar-u, Kann. hesaru, Tel. peru

ugar-u (brackish) — Tam. uvaru, etc.

baraḍ-u (barren) — „, varaḍu, etc.

(iii) Exceptions in Tuḷu to the above rule are furnished by instances where labial consonants or dorsal vowels in the neighbouring syllable are found; in all these cases the enunciative is -u and not -u :

poṇṇ u (girl)

jōv-u, beside jêv-u (child, etc.)

bolp-u (whiteness)

ucc-u (kind of snake)

morod-u (empty)

kapp-u (blackness)

(iv) Certain post-positional endings show -u; the rule of vocalic harmony pointed out in (iii) above is applicable here too.

ari (rice) — ari-n-ur [Acc.] — Br. -n-i
 ari-k-ur [Dat.]
 ari-d-ur [Loc.]
 ari-dd-ur [Abl.]

ûru (country village) — ûru-n-u [Acc.]
 ûru-g-u [Dat.]
 ûru-d-u [Loc.]
 ûru-dd u [Abl.] — Br. -tt-u.

(v) The use of -u and -ur in the following personal pronouns is illustrative of the same rule of vocalic harmony:

Honorific âr ur (they), but âkui-u, the plural proper.

Honorific imber-ur (folk-speech mer-ur) meaning this person)
 beside môku-u (these persons) the Plural proper.

(vi) -ur or -u appears in the following conjugational forms: the rule of vocalic harmony is found here too: 6

(a) Third Person Sing. of the Present, the Past, the Perfect and the Pluperfect tenses:

Compare Third Person Present Sing. **malp-unḍu** of the folk-speech and **ampuṇu** of the Brahmins' dialect, with the corresponding Past Sing. **maltunḍ-ur**, **antunḍ-ur**.

(b) Past participle — (maltudur) antudur, (having made), but pôtu, (having gone), sêtu, têtu (having seen), etc.

(c) Third Person Feminine Sing, Past, etc., with -aḷ-ur : Pr. **malpuvaḷ-ur** { **ampuvaḷ-ur**, etc.

(d) Second and Third Persons Pl. (Masc. and Fem. only) of all tenses,—with -ar ur, er-ur: - **malpuvar-ur**, **ampuvar ur**

(e) The Neg. tenses corresponding to (c) and (d) in the folk-dialect show -ur.

[Note. In (c), (d) and (e) the enunciative is -u only, as the immediately preceding syllable in these cases has no dorsal vowels]

(f) The Neuter Future Third Pers. Sing. with -p- shows -u only [note the influence of the bilabial];

malpu, ampu.

(g) **Compare** Third Person Imperative (having -aḍ u) with the so-called Potential (having -oḍ u): malp aḍ-u, amp-aḍ-u (let him, her, it make) beside malp oḍ-u, amp oḍ-u (it is necessary to make) and maḷṭonḍu, antonḍu (making).

[Note: (1) Excepting the -u of monosyllabic words (see (i) above), all enunciatives (whether u or uḥ) are elided in sandhi in South Dr. dialects; this rule is true of Tulu also.

(2) While in Tam., Mal. and old Kann., the enunciatives need not necessarily appear after the consonants l, r, n, ṇ, ḷ, y, these enunciatives are invariably present in modern Tulu; of the condition of old Tulu we can have no direct idea as materials are lacking. See my paper on **Dr. Sandhi** for further information about the use of enunciatives in Dr.]

Some significant features of Tulu Phonology.

(1) The retention of ancient k- corresponding to the k-derived affricates and fricatives of certain dialects.

(1) The sub-dialects show t-, s- and h- in initial positions, corresponding mostly to t- of other dialects.

The sub-dialectal variations are unique in Tulu.

(3) The operation of Accent-shift and Aphæresis, resulting in l, r, d (<ḍ), j (and some cases of n and m) assuming initial positions of words.

Some specific instances of this change in Tulu are unique; but aphæresis has operated in Kûi and Telugu also.]

(4) The correspondance of some cases of **Tuḷu** medial-j- (and d-) to-ṛ-of the other southern dialects. [Unique.]

(5) The correspondence of **Tuḷu** r (and intervocal ḷ in the Brahmin's speech) to the sound l of Tamil, etc.

[This correspondence is met with in certain Kann. and Tel. words also.]

(6) The cleavage between Brahmins' speech and folk-**Tuḷu**.

kingdom and the West. The Śakas who controlled Sindh also encouraged trade. Says the *Periplus* (70 A. D.), "Barbaricum was the chief port of Sindh, and "subject to Parthian [Pallava] princes who are constantly driving each other out and whose capital was Minnagara."¹ The ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum, but all their cargoes are carried up to the metropolis, by the river to the king. There are imported into the market-place, a great deal of their clothing and a little spurious figured linen, topaz, coral, storax, frankincense, vessels of glass, silver and gold plate, and a little wine." All this import was not for local consumption; for "on the other hand there are exported costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli, seric skins, cotton clothes, silk yarn and indigo,"

(To be continued.)

1. *Ib.* tr. Scoff., 39.

KUI WORDS AND DRAVIDIAN ORIGINS.

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The recently published Grammar of Kui written by Rev. Winfield (*Bibliotheca Indica series*) provides rich word-lists which would enable us to attempt an analysis of the peculiarities of Kui bases and word-formation and compare them with non-Kui Dravidian features. I propose to study in this paper if, in the course of such a comparative examination of the forms, it would be possible for us to indicate the operation of any common phonetic principles regulating the peculiarities of Kui word-formation. Incidentally, this discussion may also shed some light on the classification of Kui among the Dravidian dialects.

In connection with my article on Brāhūi *r*-verbs (pages 57-64 of J. O. R. Vol. IV), the following points may be alluded to here :—

(a) The appearance of final-*n* in the bases of these *r*-verbs is a peculiarly Brāhūi phenomenon. A few other Brāhūi bases show alternating *r* and *n* in the Infinitives themselves, just as *hun-* (to see) among the *r*-verbs dialectally alternates with *hur-* even in the Infinitive. These are *mann-* and *mar-* (to obey), *ton-* and *tor-* (to hold), *hatin-* and *hatar-* (to bring). The origin of *-n* which appears uniformly in the Infinitives of these verbs may in some way be connected with *-r*. The process of change may have been a kind of assimilation whereby the influence of the nasal of the Infinitive ending-*ing* converted *-r* into *-n* in these *r*-verbs. Assimilation “*durch Fernwirkung*” operates usually among closely connected sounds, according to authorities like Brugmann and Jespersen, and here it is possible that an old-*r* may have easily changed to *-n* in the Infinitives etc. of these *r*-verbs.

(b) There are a number of extra-Dravidian parallels for these Brāhūi bases :—

- (1) *ann* : Elamitic *en* (to be).
- (2) *mann* : Austric *men* ; Lat. *man* ; Nubian *men*.
- (3) *bann* : Elamitic *pari* (to come) : Uralic *bar* (to come).
- (4) *kann* : Indo-Aryan *kr* ; Uralic *kar*, etc.

[A.] GENERAL FEATURES.

(1) Many radical verb-bases are one-syllabled, as in the rest of Dravidian. In determining the radical bases we have of course to eliminate not only the enunciative vowels (which appear in Kui as in other Dravidian dialects) but also the formative and derivative suffixes :—

aḍ (to join); cf. Sn. base *aḍ*—; Gōṇḍi *aḍ*; Kurukh *aḍḍa*.

ḍas (to measure); cf. Sn. *tag*—and its numerous derivatives; Brāhūi *dagh-ing* (to measure).

iṭ (to put); cf. Sn. *iḍ*—

ka(mb) (to be burned): common Dr. *kāy*.

kōg (to be small): *kū*, *-ko*—denote the idea of smallness in a number of words in Dr. dialects.

mās (to make a mistake): common Dr. bases *may*, *māy* (to be changed).

ōj (to burst): cf. Sn. *oḍ-e* (to burst); Br. *Koṭing* (to break); Gōṇḍi *vōr* (to burst).

tij (to turn back): cf. Sn. *tir*; Kurukh and Br. *kir* (to turn); Gōṇḍi *tirit*—.

It will be observed that in many instances, the bases are closed with consonants. It is probable that these consonantal particles are themselves the vestiges of ancient formatives.

It may also be noted here that the enunciative vowel represented in Winfield's book by the symbol *a* has the value [e] or [u] of the I. P. A. script.

While enunciative vowels are absent in Brāhūi and Kurukh, they appear in central and South Dravidian dialects (Kannāḍa *u*, *e*; Tamil *u*; Telugu *u*; Gōṇḍi *a*; Malayālam *ə*; Tuḷu *u*). The

(5) *tin* : I E *da* : Mitanni *tan* (to give), etc.

(6) *can* : I A *jan* (to know); Uralic *tani*, *sani* (to know).

(7) *pan* : I E *bhan* (to speak); Austric *ba* (to speak), etc.

Some of these correspondences are indeed striking; but by themselves they do not afford scientific justification for certain strained theories that have been propounded about Dravidian origins. The chief value of these striking parallels for the Dravidist, at any rate for the present, lies in the caution that they enjoin on him in his discussions of Brāhūi forms. Brāhūi is surrounded by such a large number of non-Dravidian tongues that contamination and cross influence may have operated considerably in modifying what originally were pure Dravidian bases.

absence of these enunciative vowels in Brāhūi and Kurukh need not necessarily point to an ancient stage, as it is possible that the enunciatives which they possessed in common with the rest of Dravidian may have been dropped under the influence of the neighbouring Modern Indo-Aryan or Indian Austric, in both of which families the *halanta* or consonantal *Auslaut* is the rule.

(2) Formative, derivative and reinforcing suffixes are quite common, as in the rest of Dravidian:—

- (a) *mb*: *kūmba* (to be burned).
grāmba (to learn): cf. Sn. *katku* (to learn) ; Gōṇḍi *karit* - (to learn).
ēmba (to move aside): cf. Sn. *ay* (to move); *ey* (to shoot); Gōṇḍi *ambu*; Kurukh *amba* (to set free).
jumba (to suck): cf. Gōṇḍi *sūpu* (suck) etc.
- (b) *ṇḍ* or *nd*: *kānda* (to be hot): common Dr. base *kāy*.
rīnda (to be stable): cf. Sn. *ir*; Kur. *irta*, etc.
rōnda (to slip through).
kōṇḍa (to be curly): common Dr. base *ku-*, appearing in Tam. *śuruḷu* (to be curled), etc.
- (c) *ñj* : *grēñja* (to cry): cf. Sn. *kar-ai*; Gōṇḍi *kilit* (to cry).
ḍuñja (to try): cf. Sn. *tuni* (to venture) ; Gōṇḍi *tun* (to be possible).
kriñja (to dream): cf. Gōṇḍi *kundranā* (to sleep); Kurukh *kungna* (to slumber).
lāñja (to sprinkle): (?) is this the resultant of aphaeresis and accent-shift operating on *taḷi* (to sprinkle)?
muñja (to sink): cf. Sn. *muṅgu*; Kurukh *mulukh*.
muñja (to smell): cf. Sn. *mūkku* (nose); common Dr. base *mu*—(above, forward, before).
neñja (to be full): cf. Sn. *nirai*; Gōṇḍi *nind*; Kurukh *nind* (to be filled).
ḥañja (to fly): cf. Sn. *ḥara* (to fly); Kurukh *ḥarr*; Br. *ḥarra*.

The formative suffix (*ñj*) is derivative in Dravidian and is traceable to (i) an original *y* (off-glide) as in *añja* (to fear), etc., or (ii) an older suffix *ṅg* which has become palatalised as in *ḥañja* (to divide) from *ḥaṅgu*; or (iii) the development of an older *r* as in *niñja* (to fill).

For (i) the following analogies may be given :—Tam. *kuñju* < *kuy* ; *mañju* < *may*, etc.

The following would illustrate the palatalisation of (ñ)g to (ñ)j :—Tamil *iñge* (here) and *iñje*; Mal. *tañgu* (to remain) and *tañju* (to remain).

Tuḷu furnishes interesting parallels for (iii) :—*maje* (to forget—cf. Tam. *maṛ-*); *kaje* (stain—cf. *kar-*); *taje* (to pierce—cf. Tam. *taṛai*); etc.

(d) -g or -ng : *glōṅga* (to be muddy) : cf. Sn. *kol-ai-*, etc.

kāg (to warm oneself) : Dr. base *kāy*.

lāṅga (to be changeable) : cf. Sn. *eḷ-agu*.

mūga (to be finished) : cf. Sn. *mug-*; Kur. *muñj* (to end) ; Br. *mucat* (end).

paṅga (to be split) : cf. Sn. *pagu*; Kurukh *pak*.

reṅga (to be broken) ; cf. Sn. *oḍ-* (to be broken); Br. *koṭ* (to break).

truṅga (to be pierced) : cf. Sn. *tir-a*, *tur-a*; Gōṇḍi *tar-*; Kurukh *tur*, *tar*, etc.

vriṅga (to burst into pieces) : cf. Sn. *vir-i*, *pīr-i*; Kurukh *bird* (to break through).

The following peculiarities in the use of - *k* may be noted:—

(a) What in Southern Dr. appears as a reinforcing - *k* (not incorporated in the bases of all tense-forms) has become permanently assimilated with the base in Kui e. g. *niska* (to stand—cf. Sn. *nil-ku*, *nil-ku*).

(b) The older formative—*k* as a part of the base also exists in Kui, as in South Dravidian :—*peska* (to pick); *aska* (to cut).

(c) Kui appears to have used - *k* in some instances where South Dr. shows no *k*, e. g. *kiska* (to pinch—cf. Tam. *kiḷḷu*).

(d) Kui appears to have lost the use of—*k* as a reinforcing affix (as in Tamil *era-kku* (to beg), etc., but on the other hand employs for this purpose—*v* or -*p*; (compare Tuḷu *māl-ḥu*, *paṇbu*, etc.) as in the following instances, e. g., *meh-ḥa* (to see); *tōs-ḥa* (to show); *ār-ḥa* (to cry out); *rū-va* (to plough); *ja-ḥa* (to beg).

(3) Two-syllabled and poly-syllabled nouns in Kui are really compounds or the developments of ancient compounds :—

paḍa (name) : cf. Sn. *ḥey-ar*, *ḥes-ar*, *ḥes-ar*. *puḍ-ar*; Kurukh *piñj* (to name); Br. *pin* (name).

*nākuri*¹ (dog): cf. Sn. *nāy*; Gōṇḍi *nai* (dog).

*kabari*² (~~work~~): cf. ~~Kann. *gatasu* (work); Br. *giras* (work).~~

bargi (command); cf. Sn. *pēy*, *pēs* (to speak); Kurukh *vēs* (to command), *bū* (to be called), etc.

prāṅga (rice): cf. Sn. *pori* (fried rice); note the accent-shift which has caused the disappearance of the vowel of the first syllable and altered and lengthened the vowel in the second syllable.

kāṇḍru (tears) < *kaṇḍru* < *kaṇidru* < *kaṇ* + *nīr*: cf. Sn. *kaṇṇīru* (tears); cf. Gōṇḍi *kaṇēr* (tears); 'water' in Kui is *ēju* or *Sidru* both of which go back to the Dr. *basi īr* (wetness) from which *nīr* (water) has also arisen.

*kōeri*³ (harvest): cf. *koy* (to reap).

[B.] INITIAL SOUNDS OF KUI.

(a) Vowels in initial positions (Anlaut) exist as in the rest of Dravidian:—

aṭ (to join).

iṭ (to place).

ag (to fit): cf. Tam. *ag-am* (room, enclosure).

ēṇ (to receive): cf. Tam. *eḍ* (to take); Br. base *ēt* (to take); Gōṇḍi *yet* (to take).

in (to say): cf. Sn. *in*; Kurukh *an*.

uṇ (to drink): cf. Sn. *uṇ*; Kurukh *uṇ*; Gōṇḍi *uṇḍ*; Br. *kun*.

āv (to become): Sn. *āg* (to become); Gōṇḍi *ai* in *aiānā* (to become) Br. adjectival ending *ā*; Kurukh noun-suffix *abo*.

(b) Secondary consonantal sounds have been developed in Kui in connection with the initial vowels:—

(1) *kuri* appears as an affix for domesticated animals; is the affix *kuri* allied to *kur* (small) *kutti* (young one)?

(2) the three forms given here are probably related to Dravidian *kei* (to do); the final *-as* of the Brāhūi word may have been the result of foreign influence.

(3) *kōeri* is apparently a compound of *koy* (to reap) and *ēri* (to

(i) The prothetic front glide *y* appearing characteristically before original palatal initial vowels has developed into *s* or *j* in a few instances:—

jamba (to rest) : cf. Sn. *ir*.

jelka (to pull) : cf. Sn. *il*.

seṅga (to climb) : cf. Sn. *ēr*; Kurukh *arg* (to climb).

sēlu (wisdom) : cf. Tam. *eṇ* (to think).

japa (to beg) : cf. Sn. *er-a* (to beg).

jāpa (to descend) : cf. Sn. *īr*—(to descend).

Compare the change of *y > y > s* or *j* in the following dialects:—

Tuḷu : *jāne* (what—cf. Sn. *(y)ēn*; *jēru* (who—cf. *yāru*).

Gōṇḍi *sēlar* (younger people—cf. Sn. *il-ayavar*).

(ii) No Kui words, so far as the lists¹ available enable us to see, show any *new* development of the dorsal glide *v > v* or *b*, as we find in Gōṇḍi *vōr* (to break—cf. *oḍ-ai*).

(c) Initial *b* of words in Kui corresponds to (i) *v* or (ii) *p* of other dialects:—

(i) *benda* (to incite) : cf. Sn. *vēl*; Kur. *bend*.

bēgali (other, different) : cf. Sn. *vēr* (to be separate)

bis (hunger) : cf. the Sn. base *vai* related to Tam. *paṣi*, Mal. *payi*, Kurukh *pac*—all these forms signifying 'hunger.'

bandi (belly) : cf. Tuḷu *bañji* (belly); Kann. *basir*; Tam. *vayir*.

bāga (because of) < *vāga* < (*v*) *āga* < *āga*.

(ii) *brada* (to spread) : cf. Sn. base *par-attu*—

bruṅga (to be plucked) : cf. Sn. base *piḍ*—

brūva (to burst) : cf. Sn. base *poḍ*—

Prof. Jules Bloch is inclined² to question the view whether initially there were surd sounds at all in common Dravidian. His position seems to be that, because we find in Kannaḍa Brāhūi, Kurukh, Tuḷu and Telugu a number of instances with

1. *Vide* my paper on "The Linguistic History of Dravidian words."

2. *Vide* his *Sanskrit et Dravidien* (B. S. L. Vol. 24).
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initial sonant plosives, it is possible that common Dravidian had only these sonants initially, which afterwards in Tamil and other dialects may have changed into the surds. Caldwell's observation that the initial sonant plosives of certain Sanskrit loan-words are changed into surd plosives in certain colloquial dialects of Tamil, appears to have been responsible for creating this doubt. Without being dogmatic in any way about this question, we might call attention to the following facts which would tend to probabalise the view that surds were original :—

(i) A host of forms with initial surds are common to Dravidian generally.

(ii) The accent in Dravidian falls on the root-syllables,—a feature presumably characteristic of Dr. from the earliest times. The likelihood of voiced sounds having been tolerated in ancient Dravidian in the face of this accent is considerably reduced ; for in Dravidian, as in some other languages¹ also there is reason to think that the influence of accent had generally the effect of maintaining the surd character of sounds.²

(d) Initial *d*—of Kui corresponds to (i) *t* of other dialects, and (ii) in a very few instances derived from *j*—(*vide supra*)—

daria (to multiply): cf. Sn. *tēr* (to grow).

dāsa (to measure): cf. *tag*, etc.

dahpa (to seek): cf. Sn. *tēḍ* (to search).

dapa (to open): cf. Sn. *tira* (to open); Kurukh *tur*.

(e) Initial *ḍ* (i) represents *d*—in a few cases, and (ii) appears as the result of a peculiar accent shift with aphaeresis in Kui.—

(i) *ḍēṅga* (to hang): cf. Sn. *toṅgu*; Kurukh *ṭaṅg*.

ḍiṅga (to burst into flame): cf. Sn. *tī* (fire), etc.

(ii) *ḍiga* (to touch), cf. Sn. *toḍ* (to touch).

ḍehka (to carry on the shoulder): cf. Sn. *eḍu-kku*
(note aphaeresis).

1. R. Gauthiot: *Une Variation de la loi de Verner* (M. S. L. Vol. XI).

2. See my paper on *Inter-Vocal Plosives and Accentual Influence* in "Indian Antiquary", July, 1929.

ḍīṣṣa (to set down); cf. Sn. *iḍ*—(to place, etc.).

ḍōṣa (to lie down): cf. Dr. base *kiḍ*—(to lie down, etc.) common in the South; Kurukh *kid* (to lay down).

Accent-shift accompanied by Aphaeresis and lengthening of the following vowel is common in Telugu Tuḷu and Gōṇḍi. (*vide infra*)

(d) Initial *g* of Kui in almost all instances corresponds to *k*-of common Dravidian :—

gamba (to increase), cf. Tuḷu *gēnd*; Mal. *kayaṛu*
kēru (to ascend)

glōṅga (to be muddy); cf. Tam. *kolai*

grēṅga (to moon)

grōṅga (to crouch): cf. Sn. *kuruṅgu* (to become short); Kurukh *kurring*; Br. *kūring* (to roll up)

grīṣa (to burn the dead): cf. Sn. *kar-i* (to burn), connected with the Dr. base *kāy*

guhṣa (to swallow): cf. Sn. *kuḍi* (to drink)

(e) Initial *j* is either (i) from the prothetic initial glide *y* (*vide supra*) or (ii) *s*

(ii) *jūmba* (to suck): cf. Gōṇḍi *supa*

(f) Initial *k* is retained in Kui :—

kara (to be hot)

garsa (to dry, to knead)

kata (to cut)

kasa (to bite) cf. Sn. *kaḍi* (to bite)

kerga (to shake): cf. Sn. *kol-ai*, *kol-e* (to shake)

koḍa (to buy): cf. Tam. *koḍu* (to give)

(g) Initial *l* is due to accent-shift :—

laṅga (to be changeable): cf. Sn. bases *ol-*, *el-*, etc. which mean *to be moved*, etc.

laṅga (to sprinkle): cf. Sn. *taḷi* (to sprinkle)?

lēṅga (to be broken): cf. Sn. base *oḍ-*

lohṣa (to abide): cf. Sn. bases *uḷ-*, *iḷ-*

(h) Initial *m-* (i) represents common Dr. *m-*,

(ii) appears in a few rare instances as the development of *b-*.

(i) *maja* (to become changed): cf. *mar-*, *mar-muska* (to smell): cf. Tamil *mū-kku* (nose)

(ii) *midḍe* (child)- cf. Tel. *biḍḍa*; Tam. *piḷḷ-ai mas* (to burn): cf. common Dr. base *vay* (to be hot, etc.)

(i) Initial *n-*, *p-*, *t-* represent Common Dravidian sounds:—

neñja (to be full); cf. Sn. *niṛ-(ai)*; Gōṇḍi *nind*, Kurukh *nind*

nēñja (to breathe); cf. Tam. *nañju*

ninga (to rise); cf. Tamil *nil*

nisa (to stand still) cf. Sn. *nil* (to stand)

peska (to pick up); Sn. *piṛa-kku*, *ṭcru-ku*; Gōṇḍi *peska*; Kur. *peska*; Br. *birring*, *bining* (to separate)

piñja (to rebound; cf. common Dr. base *pi-* (back, behind) appearing in numerous forms like *pin*, *pir*, *pir-i*, etc.

poṅga (to be spilt) cf. Sn. *po-ṅgu* (to rise): Kurukh *poṅg-*

pōṅga (to be noised abroad) do

por(pa) (to put on an upper cloth): cf. Sn. *pōr-vai*

ta(pa) (to bring): common Dr. base *tæ*

ter- (to wind): cf. Sn. *tir*; Gōṇḍi *tirit?* Kurukh *terem* (to turn around)

tōs (to show): cf. Sn. *tōru*, *tōndru*; Gōṇḍi *tōs*

tis (to feed): cf. Sn. *tī-ttru*, *tin*, etc.

(j) Initial *r-* occurring in Kui native forms is the result of accent-shift and Aphaeresis, accompanied by the lengthening of the vowel of the second syllable:—

rāga (to be worn away) cf. Sn. *or-(ai)*

rēsa (to rub) do

rānga (to be broken): cf. Sn. *oḍ-ai*

rīnda (to settle down): Sn. base *ir-*

rūga (to dissolve): Sn. *ūr*, *ur*

rūmba (to roar): Sn. *urumu*

rūta (to set light to): Sn. *cri* (to burn); Kann. *uri* (to burn)

rūha (to feel off): Sn. *uri* (to strip off)

(k) Kui initial *s* is from (i) initial prothetic glide *y*; (ii) common Dr. *ś*, *c* (which are either from ancient *k* or *t*)

For (i) see above

(ii) *semba* (to be sweet): cf. Sn. *tēn* (sweet), *tēn* (honey); Kurnkh *tinna* (to be sweet)

sēpa (to sweep): cf. Sn. *śēr*, etc.

suñja (to sleep): cf. Sn. *tū-ñgu* (to sleep); Kurukh *tuñg*

sūpa (to spit); cf. Sn. *tup-*; Gōṇḍi *tup*; Kurukh *tup*

sūra (to see) cf. Tulu *tu*, *su*, *hu* (to see); etc.

sūṭa (to point with the finger): cf. Sn. *śūṇḍu*

sāpṣa (to kill) cf. Sn. *sā*, etc.; Gōṇḍi *sāi*; Kurukh *khē*; Br. *kā*

sespa (to plane): cf. Sn. *tēy* (to rub off)

sik- (to scorch with fire): cf. Sn. *tī*, etc.

(l) *v-* in Kui is ancient and remains unchanged.

vah (to fry): cf. Dr. base *va-* (heat, etc.)

ves (to speak): cf. Sn. *pēs*, etc.

vā (to come): common Dr. *bā*, *vā*.

ven (to hear): cf. Sn. *vin-*, etc.

(n) Initial consonant groups form a peculiarity¹ in Kui, which is the result of the shifting of the accent from the first to the second syllable:—

br, *pr*:— *brāḍa* (to be scattered): cf. Sn. *para-*

prūnga (to be broken off): cf. Sn. *piḍ-uñgu* (to snatch)

1. The postulate tentatively made by Prof. Bloch (I A, 1908) that ancient Dravidian may have, like Old Indo-Aryan, possessed consonant groups, was based on the single instance of *dramiḍa* mentioned in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Prof. Bloch suggests this as the ancient protoform of modern *tamiḷ*. As the evidence adduced is too frail, and as even here it is possible to regard *dramiḍa* as the Sanskritised form of *tamiḷ*, the suggestion that ancient Dr. may have had initial consonant groups remains unproved.

- pl:*— *plīṅga* (to split): cf. Sn. *paḷ-ir* (to split) *poḷi*, etc.
plaṅga (to be a cover): cf. Sn. *pala-gai*
- gl, gr*
kl, kr } :—*glōṅga* (to be muddy)
grāsa (to step over, cross): cf. Sn. *kaḍ-a* (to cross);
 Kurukh *khadd* (river)
grōṅga (to crouch): cf. Sn. *kuru-ṅgu*
krēṅga (to shake): cf. Sn. *kuluṅgu*
krada (to be greedy)
- ml, mr:*— *mliṅga* (to turn over): cf. Sn. base *mar-*
mrīga (to repeat): cf. Dr. base *mar-*
mruṅga (to be torn): cf. Sn. *mur-*
- tl, tr*
dl, dr } :—*tlau* (head): cf. Sn. *tal-ai*
truṅga (to be pierced): cf. Sn, *tiṛ-, tuṛ-*
drūṅga (to swing)
- vl, vr:*— *vriṅga* (to fall to pieces) } cf. Sn. *vir-i*
vṛeja (to bend back)
- sr:*— *vrīsa* (to mark) cf. Tam. *var-ai* (to write, mark).

It will be observed that the accent-shift occurs only in cases where *l* or *r* begins the second syllable. It has also to be noted that this change is the same as that mentioned above in Kui words with initial *r* and *l*, the only difference being that the initial vowels were dropped in these latter instances, while in forms with *pr-*, *br-*, *tr-*, *tl-*, etc., the initial consonants were retained but the included vowels dropped.

[C.] MEDIAL CONSONANTAL SOUNDS.

(i) Intervocal—*k-* has changed to—*h-*:—*vēha* (boiled rice), *āh* (to catch), *ūh* (to beat)

(ii) Intervocal-*s-* —*j-* in Kui is (1) from *t* or *d* e. g. *kasa* (to cut), *nāju* (country).

(2) from *l* e. g. *nisa* (to stand) *kisa* (to pinch),

(3) from the hiatus-filling glide e. g. *bis* (hunger), *kaju* (hand)

(iii) Inter-vocal—*ḍ-* is from older—*l-* e. g. *viḍa* (bow), *pāḍu* (milk), etc. cf. the same change in some Telugu forms.

[D.] VOWELS OF KUI.¹

(i) *a* stands for (1) [ʌ] of the South e. g., *aj* (to fear), etc., (2) for the neutral [ə] as an enunciative.

(ii) *ā* stands (1) for *ā* e. g. *āsk* (to weed), *pādu* (milk), *vā* (to come), *ā* (to become), *ānu* (I), etc.

(2) for [ə], [e] of the South in instances where accent-shift has occurred:—*lāṅga* (to break), *darja* (to multiply), *jamba* (to rest), *pada* (name)

(iii) *e* and *ē* generally represent *e* and *ē* of the South:—

peska (to pick), *sēru* (plough), *vēs* (speak), *sēpa* (to sweep together), *benda* (to incite)

In a few instances *ē* stands for Tamil *ā* e.g. *ēni* (elephant), *ēṇḍi* (play), etc. In this respect, Kui agrees with Telugu which also shows the same variation from Tamil.

(iv) *i* and *ī* correspond to the sounds of the South:—

sik (to scorch), *mliṅga* (to turn over), *piṇja* (to rebound), *ninga* (to rise); *mīnu* (fish)

(v) *o* and *ō* (1) agree with *o* and *ō* of the South. e. g. *kōḍi* (cattle), *pōru* (buffalo), *kōju* (fowl), *soru* (hill) etc.

(2) in some instances where accent-shift has operated, *o* in Kui stands for *u* of the South, e. g. *glōṅga* (to be mixed up), *proṅga* (to snatch), etc.

(vi) *u* and *ū* appear to correspond to the vowels of the South, e.g., *uju* (flesh), *pūju* (flower), *mūga* (to be finished).

It will be observed that the variations from the south are secondary and are mostly, as is only to be expected, in those forms which have suffered accent-shift.

[E.] CONCLUSION.

[1.] The remarkable closeness of the relationship of Kui to the southern dialects generally in word-structure will have

1. In a few cases where Kui vowels show variations from the southern dialects, we may not be justified in saying that the southern varieties are original; the correspondences alone are here indicated. In this connection we have to remember that even in the South, Telugu and Tulu vowels do show some variations from those of corresponding Tamil-Kannada forms. On the whole, Kui vowels agree with Telugu rather than with Tam-Kann.

been apparent from the above; the points of resemblance may be summed up thus:—

(i) In *Anlaut* the sounds mostly correspond to those of the South except where accent-shift has operated and in a few other rare instances of vowels.

(ii) In *Attlaut* the formative and secondary endings show only a few variations from those of the South; the appearance of *ṅg*, *nd*, *mb*, *ṇḍ* is more striking in Kui than in Gōṇḍi, Brāhūi or Kurukh. The enunciative vowel, it may also be noted, is preserved in Kui.

[II.] The variations met with in Kui are mostly from Tamil and they appear to be secondary in character:—

(i) Accent-shift such as is met with in Kui does not exist in Tamil, Kannaḍa and Malayāḷam, but does exist in Telugu and Tuḷu:—Tel. *vāḍu* (he), *rōlu* (pestle), etc.; and Tuḷu *leṇṇu* (to rise), *rēṇṇu* (to dissolve) etc. The secondary character of these shift-derived forms is unquestionable.

(ii) The same accent-shift is responsible for some of the most prominent changes in the character of Kui vowels.

(iii) The presence of voiced plosives initially is another feature shared by Kui with Telugu, Tuḷu and Kannaḍa of the South.

A study of the phonology of Kui irresistibly suggests for this dialect closer affinities with Telugu (and with Tuḷu)¹ than with Tamil and Kannaḍa.

The closeness of the affinities of Kui to Telugu is more or less confirmed by the following similarities in grammatical structure and vocabulary:—

(a) *Grammatical Structure:*

(i) The distinction of gender on the basis of rationals and irrationals in Kui is more or less like the system in Telugu.

(ii) The free use of the old inflexional endings *-in*, *-t* and *-i* occurs in Kui and Telugu alike.

1. The agreement with Tuḷu in features of phonology rests on the following:—(a) the secondary initial aspirate occurring in Kui and in Tuḷu e. g. Kui *hur* (to see) and Tuḷu *hu* (to see), etc. (b) the development in both of fricatives from on-glides (c) accent-shift and the changes resulting therefrom (d) the change in both of the old group *ndr* to *i*, etc.

(iii) The so-called Intermediate Tense of Kui which does duty for the Present and the Future may be compared to the Indefinite Tense, especially the Third Personal forms. cf. also the Rel. Participles and the 3rd Person Masculine Pronoun of Kui with those of Tel.

(iv) The formatives—*ari*,-*mi*,-*tanamu* of Kui are most intimately related to corresponding formatives in Telugu, These may, however, probably be borrowings rather than features denoting affinities.

(v) Other resemblances are the submergence of *ir* as an auxiliary verb by *ul*, similarity in synactical constructions with help-words, use of tenses etc.

(b) Vocabulary :

The evidence of vocabulary cannot be so positive as that of essential grammatical features, to prove the greater affinities of Kui to Telugu than to Tamil; for, it is possible that large numbers of Telugu forms may have been borrowed by Kui which is spoken in areas lying immediately contiguous to the Telugu region. Nevertheless, the following correspondences¹ may be pointed out:—

Kui	Telugu
<i>kuḍu</i> , <i>kūlu</i> (bread, food)—	<i>kuḍu</i> ; <i>kūra</i> (curry)
<i>ākali</i> (hunger)—	<i>ākali</i>
<i>talli</i> (mother)—	<i>talli</i>
<i>doṅga</i> (thief)—	<i>doṅga</i>
<i>valla</i> (by the side of)—	<i>vadda</i>
<i>āku</i> (leaf)—	<i>āku</i>
<i>jadavu</i> (to read)—	<i>tsadavu</i>
<i>kalgu</i> (to get)—	<i>kalugu</i>
<i>kūg</i> (to sit)—	<i>kūtsu</i>
<i>vinu</i> (to hear)—	<i>vinu</i>
<i>vale</i> , <i>ka-vali</i> (must)—	<i>kāvāli</i>
<i>miḍḍe</i> (child)—	<i>biḍḍa</i>
<i>kōsammu</i> (for)—	<i>kōsaramu</i> (for the sake of).

The evidence of accent-shift,² of the general character of vowels, of grammatical peculiarities and of vocabulary would,

1. Of course, cognates from other South Dravidian dialects could be adduced ; but the resemblances between the Kui and the Tel. forms in structure and in meanings, are remarkable.

2. Accent-shift occurs most numerously in the Central Dravidian dialects, while in Tuḷu, Brāhūi and Kurukh also they are not absent.

therefore, necessitate a slight modification in Prof. Sten Konow's view expressed in the *Linguistic Survey* (Vol. IV, Page 284) that Kui "on the whole, is more closely connected with the Tamil-Kanara forms of speech than with Telugu."

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In Tuḷu, the change occurs mainly in connection with *y* and the liquid sounds *r* and *l*, e.g. *randu* (to crave—cf. *era*); *rēke* (line—cf. Tam. *varai*); *reñju* (to dissolve—cf. Tam. *karai*); *leppu* (to call—cf. Tam. *viḷi*) *lumbu* (to wash—cf. Tam. *alambu*).

Brāhūi *ḍakk* (to conceal—cf. Tam. *aḍakku*); *ḍal* (to gnaw—cf. Tam. *aḍar*); *ḍḍ* (to carry—cf. Tam. *eḍ*); *rēs* (to spin—cf. Tam. *tiri*); *rū* (to reap—cf. Tam. *ari*); etc., show accent-shift.

Probable instances in Kurukh are *ras-na* (to become one with—cf. South. Dr. *or-*); *rek-na* (to grown, to cry—cf. South Dr. *kar-*); *rēt-na*; (to wear away by rubbing); *lekha* (like)—cf. *pḍle*.

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ERNAKULAM.

NOTES ON SANSKRIT-MALAYALAM PHONETICS

By

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1. Sanskrit t and d, and ṭ and ḍ in Malayalam.

Malayalees when reading Sanskrit including the Vedas, pronounce the Sanskrit t and d in certain positions as a dental l and the Sanskrit ṭ and ḍ as a cerebral ḷ. Thus :

ātma is pronounced as ālma,
padma is pronounced as palma,
sat is pronounced as sal.

Similarly

saṭpada is pronounced as ṣaḷpada,
virāṭ is pronounced as virāl,
khaḍga is pronounced as khaḷga.

If t or d is final or is followed by sounds other than a vowel, a semi-vowel, or a sound of its own class, it is pronounced as l. Under the same conditions, ṭ or ḍ is pronounced as ḷ. Thus vāta, vātya, pratna and sattā are not pronounced with a t sound for the t. And similarly there is no ḷ sound in the words nīḍa, īḍya and uḍḍina. If the nasal that follows the two sounds, namely ṭ and ḍ, is m, then the sounds do not change into ḷ, though t and d change into l under these circumstances as in the case of ātma and padma changing into ālma and palma. Thus kuḍmala is pronounced exactly as in Sanskrit and does not change into kuḷmala.

The reason for this phenomenon has not been yet adequately explained. Some suggest that this is a survival of the vedic change of ḍ and ḍh into ḷ and ḷh as in the case of īḍe being pronounced īḷe and dṛḍha being pronounced as dṛḷha in the R̥gveda. But this is no explanation. The change in the R̥gveda occurs when the ḍ or the ḍh occurs between two vowels, and in Malayalam the change cannot occur when there is a vowel following. We have to look elsewhere for an acceptable explanation.

It must also be noted that this change occurs not merely when Sanskrit words are borrowed into Malayalam. It occurs also when the people of Malabar read Sanskrit or recite Sanskrit,

including even the Vedas. Thus when the Malayalee Brahmins recite the Vedas, they pronounce *satpati* as *salpati*, *sadma* as *salma*, *vaṣaṭkṛti* as *vaṣalkṛti* and *ṣaḍbhiḥ* as *ṣalḍbhiḥ*. There is one important thing, and that is that this change does not take place when the sound is initial. Thus though *ātmanā* is changed into *ālmanā*, *tmanā* is not changed into *lmanā* in the recitation of the Vedas.

When the Brahmins of Malabar recite the Vedas, it may appear that in the two cases *alpa* and *salpate* (which is the Malabar pronunciation of *satpate*) the *lpa* element is pronounced alike. But in the recitation they keep the two *l* sounds quite distinct. They double the *l* in *salpate*, but they double the *p* in *alpa*. If in the course of the recitation such a distinction is not clearly brought out, then the listeners declare the recitation as wrong remarking that the *l* which is a transformation of *t* was pronounced as an original *l* or vice versa. An ordinary person cannot grasp this subtle distinction; only a trained ear can detect the mistake.

This peculiarity in the Malabar pronunciation of Sanskrit words has its repercussion in writing also. Since both the Sanskrit sounds *lpa* and *tpa* are pronounced alike in Malayalam, the writing is also the same. The script used in such cases is always *t*. Thus in Malabar manuscripts *alpa* will be found written as *atpa*. The letter for *l* is used only when there is a vowel or a semi-vowel following it. Thus in writing *lakṣaṇa*, *kallola*, *śalya*, etc., the letter *l* is used for the sound *l*; but in writing *alpa*, mostly the letter *t* is found used for the sound *l*. In Malayalam alphabet the symbol for *t* (without a following vowel) is pronounced as *l* and the symbol for *ṭ* (without a following vowel) is pronounced as *ḷ*. Not only this, few Malayalees know that the name of the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is *Vālmiki*; they know it only as *Vānmiki*. Further the word *Kalmaṣa* is written and pronounced as *Kanmaṣa*. This is the reverse process of the semi-vowel being treated as a dental class-sound, due to the usual change of the dental class-sound into a semi-vowel.

To find an explanation for this phenomenon, we must examine some of the original peculiarities of the Dravidian languages. One such peculiarity is the aversion of the language for conjunct consonants and also for final consonants. Thus when the children are taught the alphabet according to the traditional method, after teaching the simple sounds they are taught the combinations of consonants; and the only combinations of consonants that are taught are the combinations of the first letter of the class with its

nasal and the doubling of the first letter and of the nasal. Thus they are taught only kka, ŋka and ŋña. They do not study combinations like kta and pta. They also study combinations like rka, kya and kra. From this it is clear that combinations of sounds of two different classes is alien to the Dravidian languages. Tamil still keeps to this old spirit ; Tamil does not allow even such combinations like kra, which ancient Malayalam permits. In Tamil Brāhmaṇa is to be written as pirāmmaṇa. Double sounds like kka and mma are the only combinations permitted in Tamil.

After the advent of Sanskrit, Malayalam adapted itself to the requirements of the new language ; at the same time, Sanskrit had to bend to the requirements of its new environments. If we examine the Sanskrit sound system it will be noticed that the large number of consonantal combinations consists of dentals and cerebrals joined to gutturals and labials. Combinations of palatals are rare. Since for the dental class there is a corresponding semivowel, namely *l*, in the case of those combinations where the first member is a dental class-sound it can easily be changed into the corresponding semivowel, and Sanskrit can easily be pronounced without breaking the spirit of Malayalam euphony. When there is a conjunct consonant like *tp* in the middle of a word, as in the case of *satpate*, the first member of the conjunct consonant forms part of the previous syllable and the second member is taken over to the following syllable. This is the usual law of syllabic division in Malayalam. Such a separation of syllables does not hold good in the case of combinations like *ky* in *vākya*. Malayalam has an aversion for final consonants, whether as the final of a word or the final of a syllable. Sanskrit is full of words ending in consonants. There are two ways in which this Sanskrit tendency was adapted to the requirement of Malayalam. One is by adding a vowel to the final consonant. The other is by changing the final consonant into a semivowel. Thus a word like *sat* can be Malayalamised either by changing it into *sattṭ* or by pronouncing it as *sal*. In Malayalam a full vowel like *a* is not added at the end. Usually it is the neutral vowel *ṭ* that is added. Thus in Malayalam one speaks of *saṃrātṭṭ*, *āpattṭ*, etc., instead of the Sanskrit *Sāmrāt* *āpat* etc. This tendency of the Dravidian languages, that is, its aversion for final consonants, must be largely responsible for the change of consonant ending words into vowel ending words in Sanskrit at a certain stage in its development, as the change of words like *niṭ* into *niśā*. The present practice in Mala-

bar is to pronounce words like āpat and sampat as āpal and sam-pal in Sanskrit itself, but to pronounce them āpatt̪ and sampatt̪ in Malayalam.

In cases where neither of these devices are applicable, that is in cases like saptati instead of satpati, the people had to pronounce the word as saptati. Thus in words like tapta and ukta, the t was not changed into l, although such a change would have made the words conformable to the spirit of Malayalam euphony. This shows that the aversion must have been originally more for a final consonant than for a conjunct consonant, and as such the original attempt must have been to change the final t and d into l and the final ṭ and ḍ into ḷ; the change of these sounds when they appear as the first member of a conjunct consonant must have been an extension of this original change. Thus the peculiar pronunciation of these four Sanskrit sounds in Malayalam must be traced to the aversion of Malayalam to a final consonant. That is, in Malayalam all words must end in a vowel, or rather in a sound having a vocalic value.

This tendency in Malayalam is quite evident in all its loan words. When words ending in consonants are borrowed from a foreign language into Malayalam, the words add a vowel to the end. Thus the English word judge becomes jadiji in Malayalam; record becomes rikkārt̪; magistrate becomes maisrett̪. The practice of changing the dental and the cerebral sounds in Sanskrit into the semivowel in Malayalam is a consequence of the aversion of Malayalam to a consonant at the end of words. The philological implication of this aversion will be discussed at a later stage in these notes, after considering some other peculiarities in Malayalam.

MALAYALAM PROSODY

By

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In the following paper, I propose to make a study of the problem of prosody in the Malayalam Literature, with special reference to the poetry of the greatest Malayalam Poet, Thunchath Ezhuthachan. I will also compare Malayalam Prosody with Prosody in other languages, especially Tamil and Sanskrit. The affinities of Malayalam Prosody with the Prosody in languages like Greek and Arabic, will also be taken due notice of. I am indebted to my Supervisor, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja for drawing my attention to various points dealt with in this paper.

There are no ancient works available on the subject of Malayalam Prosody. In an ancient work called the 'Lilātilakam,' which deals with Malayalam Grammar, but which is written in Sanskrit Language, there is a bare mention of Malayalam Poetry. In Malayalam as in Greek, Poetry is Song. In Malayalam, the word which corresponds to the Greek Muse is 'Pāṭṭu' (song) and Pāṭṭu is defined in the 'Lilātilakam' (p. 16 of Paribhāṣā) as follows :

“Dṛamiḍa-saṅghātākṣara-nibaddham etukā-mōnā-vṛttaviśeṣa-yuktam Pāṭṭu.”

The explanation to this passage is taken up at a later stage. There are some modern works written in Malayalam, dealing with the subject of Malayalam Prosody. Special mention may be made of a section on Prosody, called 'Vṛttālōkam' (p. 153—175) in a work called 'Kēraḷakaumudi,' by Kovunni Nedungadi, edited by Vidwan T. M. Kovunni Nedungadi (junior) and another work called 'Vṛttamañjari' written by the late A. R. Raja Raja Varma.

Apart from what is contained in these works, there is no systematic treatment of the subject. Those who cannot read and understand Malayalam have practically no access to Malayalam Prosody.

However back we may go in the known period of the history of the Malayalam Language, we find the language considerably influenced by Sanskrit Language ; and the Language had, even in the remotest period known to us, adapted itself to versification according to Sanskrit Metres. Malayalam Poetry written in origi-

nal Malayalam Metres was called 'Pāṭṭu' (song); thus we have Kīlippāṭṭu, Tuḷḷalppāṭṭu, Vañcippāṭṭu, Vaṭakkanpāṭṭu etc. This Pāṭṭu, as stated above, has been defined in the 'Līlātilakam' (The definition has already been quoted before). The explanation for certain words and passages are given below :—

Etukā and Mōnā are respectively alliterations on the second syllables of the two lines forming a metrical unit in Malayalam and alliterations on the first syllables in the first and second halves of the line. According to the explanation given in it Malayalam Pāṭṭu should contain only original Dravidian sounds; and Sanskrit sounds—sounds borrowed from Sanskrit, like aspirates and conjunct consonants of different classes—should not be introduced. This shows that there must have been some period in the history of the Malayalam Language after its coming into intimate contact with Sanskrit when Malayalam Poetry was kept pure without being mixed up with Sanskrit Metres and with purely Sanskritic sounds. But specimens of such *pure* Malayalam Poetry are not available. In later periods, the introduction of etukā has been studiously kept up and has found its way even into Malayalam Poetry written in Sanskritic Metres : e.g. :—

Kattakkār mal kuzhalikalorō rāgabhēdam puṇarṭṭi-
Tṭittittōlum madhurasamayam cintupāṭum daśāyām
Mutṭantōṟum kiḷikaḷ atine kkēṭṭirunna kkaṇakkē
Mutṭum pāṭinreṭam ayi sakhē māṭṭam aṇṇ ētu piṇṇe.

(*Uṇṇunīḷisandēśam*—of the Middle Period.)

Nalla haimavata bhūvil ēṟeyāy
Kollamaññoru vibhātavēḷayil
Ullasiccu yuva-yōgi-yēkanul
Phullabālaravi pōle kāntimān.

(Asan's *Nalini*.)

Non-Dravidian, that is, purely Sanskritic sounds, have been freely introduced; but it may be stated that in the case of the earlier great poets of Malayalam it is observed that in spite of the large number of Sanskrit words used, the sounds are predominantly Malayalam.

There are various kinds of Pāṭṭūs. I propose to deal in this paper with Kīlippāṭṭu. The most representative specimen of this kind of Pāṭṭu consists of the works of Thunchath Ezhuthachan who must have lived about 300 years ago. He has rendered into Malayalam, the Bhāratam in an abridged form and the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam. There are some other works attributed to him; but I do

not propose to enter into a discussion here regarding their authorship. The Rāmāyaṇam and the Bhāratam are decidedly his and they are sufficient for my study.

Ezhuthachan uses four main metres in these two works. But before coming on to this point, it is necessary to explain the main principles of Malayalam Prosody. A metrical unit consists of two lines, each line being divided into two halves. Each of these halves can again be divided into what may be called 'Feet.' In Malayalam, as in various other languages, a long vowel is counted as two 'moras' and a short one as one 'mora.' A short vowel followed by a conjunct consonant has the value of a long. e.g. :—

$\begin{array}{ccccc} \underline{+} & \underline{+} & \underline{+} & \underline{+} & \underline{+} \\ \text{virañṇu,} & \text{connu,} & \text{pacca,} & \text{puṣṣam,} & \text{kuntaṭam} \end{array}$

We have the short and the long as the deciding feature in scanning individual metres. The short and the long signify 'quantity' that is, "the amount of time involved in expressing a syllable." Hence we find that the chief principle in Malayalam versification is quantity, as is also the case with ancient Greek verse. The quantity in a metrical unit remains constant. The number of syllables is also fixed mostly. In the case of quantity it must be observed that the poets take some liberty. Short syllables are freely lengthened for purposes of metre. Shortening of long syllables is rare but not unknown in Malayalam Poetry.*

Thunchath Ezhuthachan has divided Bhāratam into twenty-one Books, called Paṛvās (that is, the first of the eighteen paṛvās in the original, known as the 'Ādi-paṛvam,' Ezhuthachan has split into three Books and Sauttikam into two Books); and Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam has six Books called Kāṇḍās. Metre changes practically with every Book.

The four principal Metres that Ezhuthachan has used in his works are:—(1) Kākaḷi, (2) Kaḷakāñci, (3) Kēka and (4) Aṇṇanaṭa. The number of Books in which these metres are used are, 9, 2, 8, and 2 respectively in Mahābhāratam and 3, 1, 2 and 0 respectively in Rāmāyaṇam.

Kākaḷi

Thunchath Ezhuthachan has given the greatest prominence to this Metre in his works; that is, 9 out of 21 Books in Bhāratam

* The vowels with the cross-mark over them are originally short and those with a star mark are originally long.

and 3 out of 6 Books in Rāmāyaṇam are written in this. This metre can be taken as the arch-type in Malayalam.

Kākaḷi Metre consists of two homogeneous lines of twelve syllables each, each line consisting of four feet of three syllables each; each such foot must have five 'moras.' Thus the possible combinations of syllables in each group would be two longs and one short, the short syllable being the first, second or the third. The metre may be represented in notation as follows:—

$$\begin{array}{cccc|cccc|cccc|cccc} \text{—} & \text{—} & \text{u} & & \text{—} & \text{u} & \text{—} & & \text{u} & \text{—} & \text{—} & & \text{—} & \text{—} & \text{u} \\ \text{—} & \text{u} & \text{—} & & \text{u} & \text{—} & \text{—} & & \text{—} & \text{—} & \text{u} & & \text{—} & \text{u} & \text{—} \end{array}$$

In this representation, I have introduced all possible combinations. There is no rule whatsoever, regarding the position or the sequence of these combinations. Any combination can appear anywhere in the line. Although theoretically it is correct, in actual poetry it is seldom that we find a foot with a short in the beginning. So the cadence will be usually,

$$\begin{array}{ccc|ccc|ccc|ccc} \text{—} & \text{u} & \text{—} & & \text{—} & \text{u} & \text{—} & & \text{—} & \text{—} & \text{u} & & \text{—} & \text{u} & \text{—} \\ \text{—} & \text{—} & \text{u} & & \text{—} & \text{u} & \text{—} & & \text{—} & \text{u} & \text{—} & & \text{—} & \text{u} & \text{—} \end{array}$$

and so on. The fact is that in this metre two short syllables practically do not come together. If the first syllable in a foot is short, and if the last syllable in the previous foot is also short, there is a possibility of two short syllables coming together and such a combination, though technically possible and correct, is against the cadence of this metre and is avoided. The result is that when we recite Malayalam Poetry in this metre, there is an impression of a preponderance of long syllables and the short syllables practically pass off unnoticed. In reciting poetry, the first syllable in the foot is more prominent than the later syllables and the presence of the short syllable in the beginning of a foot is more likely to be noticed than its presence elsewhere. This is the explanation which I venture to suggest for the rarity of the first syllable in a foot of this metre being short. I quote below specimens selected at random from Ezhuthachan's poetry to exemplify this metre.

$$1. \quad \begin{array}{ccc|ccc|ccc|ccc} \text{—} & \text{u} & \text{+} & & \text{—} & \text{+} & \text{u} & & \text{—} & \text{u} & \text{+} & & \text{—} & \text{u} & \text{—} \\ \text{En-na-tū} & | & \text{kēṭ-ṭū} & \text{pa-} & | & \text{ṛaṇ-ṇi-tū} & | & \text{Dhaṛ-ma-jaṇ} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccc|ccc|ccc|ccc} \text{—} & \text{—} & \text{u} & & \text{—} & \text{u} & \text{+} & & \text{—} & \text{+} & \text{u} & & \text{—} & \text{—} & \text{u} \\ \text{Niṇ-ṇō-ṭo-} & | & \text{rut-ta-ṇē} & | & \text{ṇaṇ-ṇā-ḷe-} & | & \text{tiṛ-kun-nu.} \end{array}$$

(Śallya-parvāṃ)

2. $\overline{\text{Nir}}\text{-}\overset{+}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{ja}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{rā}} \mid \overline{\text{sē}}\text{-}\overset{\text{u}}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{vi}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{tan}} \parallel \overline{\text{niṣ}}\text{-}\overset{\text{u}}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{ka}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{lan}} \mid \overline{\text{nir}}\text{-}\overset{\text{u}}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{gu}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{ṇan}}$

$\overline{\text{Nir}}\text{-}\overset{+}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{ja}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{rā}} \mid \overline{\text{nā}}\text{-}\overset{+}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{ya}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{kā}} \parallel \overline{\text{put}}\text{-}\overset{\text{u}}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{ra}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{pri}} \mid \overset{+}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{yā}}}\text{-}\overset{\text{u}}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{sa}}}\text{-}\overset{+}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{khi}}}$

(Strī-parvam)

3. $\overline{\text{Aṅ}}\text{-}\overset{+}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{ga}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{jā}} \mid \overline{\text{lī}}\text{-}\overset{\text{u}}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{la}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{pūṇ}} \parallel \overline{\text{ṭan}}\text{-}\overset{\text{u}}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{taḥ}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{pu}} \mid \overline{\text{rat}}\text{-}\overset{\text{u}}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{tiṇ}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{kāl}}$

$\overline{\text{Maṅ}}\text{-}\overset{+}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{ga}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{lā}} \mid \overline{\text{gāt}}\text{-}\overset{\text{u}}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{ṛi}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{yām}} \parallel \overline{\text{Jā}}\text{-}\overset{+}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{ṇa}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{kī}} \mid \overline{\text{taṇ}}\text{-}\overset{\text{u}}{\underset{\text{u}}{\text{ṇo}}}\text{-}\overline{\text{ṭum}}$

(Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍam)

Kaḷakāñci.

This metre—if this can be called a separate metre, distinct from Kākaḷi—comes in two Books of Ezhuthachan's Bhāratam, namely, Bhīṣmam and Āśramavāsam and also in the Sundarakāṇḍam of Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam. This is only a derivative from the Kākaḷi metre; that is, when the first three feet of the first line of Kākaḷi are changed into five short syllables each, still restricting the feet to the five 'moras,' it is said to be Kaḷakāñci. It can be represented as:—

The standard form

$\overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \mid \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \parallel \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \mid \overline{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overline{\text{u}}$

The second line is purely Kākaḷi. Both lines have 20 'moras' each. The difference is that the first line has 18 syllables, while the second line has only 12 syllables.

The type where only the first 2 feet are changed into 5 short syllables each, are quite common; as,

Variant No. 1

$\overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \mid \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \parallel \overline{\text{u}} \overline{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \mid \overline{\text{u}} \overset{\text{u}}{\text{u}} \overline{\text{u}}$

Here the 20 'moras' of the first line are contained in 16 syllables; and the second line is pure kākāḷi.


We get instances where the ² second line too takes to some changes by way of increasing the syllables. Here I shall give two different illustrations for the same.

Variant No. 2 (a) :—

$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccc} \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \\ \text{Ha-ri-} & \text{sa-hi-ta} & | & \text{Ha-ri-ha-ya-jan} & || & \text{a-ri-ya} & \text{ra-tha} & | & \text{mē-ri-nān} \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{cccccccccccc} \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \\ \text{A-ri-ma-yo-tu} & | & \text{pō-ri-nāy} & || & \text{eṭ-ṭām} & \text{di-} & | & \text{vā-sa-vum.} \end{array}$

Here, the first line is exactly the usual first line of Kaḷakāñci and the first foot in the second line is changed into five shorts. This metre, which is a variant of Kaḷakāñci is termed Maṇikañci. Ezhuthachan must have used this, as many other variations to avoid monotony.

In another place, we get a different kind of change in the second line ; as,

 Variant No. 2 (b) :—

$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccc} \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \\ \text{ce-ki-tu-pa-ṭa-} & | & \text{ya-la-ri-no-ru} & || & \text{pa-ṭa-ha-mu-kha-} & | & \text{vā-dya-vum} \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{cccccccc} \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \\ \text{Tē-ro-li-kaḷ} & | & \text{nā-ṇo-li-kaḷ} & || & \text{sim-ha-nā-} & | & \text{dañ-ṇa-ḷum.} \end{array}$

In this example too, as in the previous one, the first line is the first line of a pure Kaḷakāñci ; but in the second line, the first two feet have one long and three shorts ; i.e., in the first line both the long syllables of the Kākaḷi foot are reduced to two shorts each in the first three feet, and in the second line, for the first two feet, only one long of the Kākaḷi foot is reduced to two shorts each.

The two metres above described, namely Kākaḷi and Kaḷakāñci fall into one group, in so far as a metrical unit (2 lines) is divided into two equal halves—sometimes in the number of syllables and always in the number of ‘moras’—and each such half is again similarly subdivided into two equal halves and still again into further equal halves.

Now we come to two other metres which fall into another group. In this also, a unit consists of two lines—each line is to be divided into two equal halves, but these two equal halves are not

to be divided further into two equal halves, but into two unequal parts or into three equal parts. These two metres are Kēka and Annanāṭa.

Kēka.

This metre is in one sense, the most favourite metre of Thunchath Ezhuthachan, in so far as he has used this in the opening Books of both his works and has also used it in many Books in both. In one place where he has used this metre in two consecutive Books, he has introduced an element of variety at the beginning of the 2nd Book by slightly varying the metre for a few lines.

The characteristic of this metre, according to 'Vṛttamañjari' is that it should have 14 syllables in each of the two lines, divided into 6 feet as 3, 2, 2 | 3, 2, 2. (altogether 14 syllables), that it should have at least one long syllable in each foot and caesura in the middle and that the first syllable of the second line must agree in time ('mora') with the first syllable of the first line.

Thus, this metre should have 14 syllables in each line. All these can be long in this. In that case there will be 28 'moras' in each line. If there is only one long in each of the 6 feet, the number of 'moras' for the long syllables themselves will come to 12. Then there are 8 syllables remaining which must necessarily be shorts. So, that is 8 'moras' for the 8 syllables. Altogether it will be $12 + 8 = 20$ 'moras', in this case. Therefore the number of 'moras' range from 20 to 28 for this metre.

The notation given in 'Keraḷakaumudi' (p. 169) is as follows:—

$$\begin{array}{cccccc|cccccc} - & \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup & - & - & \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup & - \\ - & \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup & - & - & \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup & - \end{array}$$

In 'Vṛttamañjari' we get five examples for this, that is, with 20, 22, 24, 26 and 28 'moras' respectively. But it is not necessary that the number of 'moras' should be even, as the first and second halves of the line need not agree in time. In the third example given there for 24 'moras', the half lines do not contain 12 'moras' each. It is $13 + 11$ instead. In the next instance given for 26 'moras' there are only 25, that is, $12 + 13$. Both these examples, i.e., the 3rd. and the 4th. (p. 53-54, 'Vṛttamañjari') show that the two halves of the line need not be equal which makes all the 9

combinations (i.e., ranging from 20 to 28 'moras') possible in this metre.

There is another way in which this metre can be scanned and that is, by dividing the line into 3, 4 | 3, 4.

If the line is scanned in this way this metre also can be taken as an extension of Kākaḷi metre with an extra syllable in the 2nd. and 4th. feet in each of the lines and if that extra syllable (especially the short, if it comes at the beginning of those feet) is removed, the line would read as Kākaḷi. The 2nd. example (with 22 'moras') given in 'Vṛttamañjari' (p. 53), where the first line corresponds to the standard form given in 'Kēraḷakaumudi' may be quoted below to prove my point :—

$$\begin{array}{cccc|cccc|cccc|cccc} - & \cup & - & & (\cup) & - & \cup & - & || & - & \cup & - & & (\cup) & - & \cup & - \\ - & \cup & - & & - & (\cup) & \cup & - & || & - & \cup & - & & - & \cup & - & \cup & - \end{array}$$

The shorts within brackets may be omitted and the lines would read as Kākaḷi.

I shall quote a line in Kēka (with 24 'moras') to prove the same. But here, the longs are removed from each line instead of the two shorts of the previous example.

$$\begin{array}{cccc|cccc|cccc|cccc} \text{Dhār} & \cup & \text{mi} & \text{kan} & | & \text{Dhṛṣ} & \text{ṭa} & \text{dyum} & \text{nāṇ} & || & \text{ul} & \cup & \text{sa} & \text{vam} & | & \text{ghō} & \text{ṣi} & \text{cca} & \text{tum} \\ & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & \end{array}$$

(Poulōman)

In the example cited above if we omit any one long from the 2nd. and the 4th. feet, the rest of the line will be the standard type of Kākaḷi metre.

Similarly, one long and one short could also be removed from a line in Kēka (with 23 'moras') to make it Kākaḷi. For this I shall give the second half of the same metrical unit, the first half of which I have just quoted above :—

$$\begin{array}{cccc|cccc|cccc|cccc} \text{Kām} & \text{yān} & \text{gī} & | & \text{Pāñ} & \text{cā} & \text{lik} & \text{kū} & || & \text{bhū} & \cup & \text{pa} & \text{ti} & | & \text{pra} & \text{bō} & \text{dha} & \text{nām} \\ & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & \end{array}$$

(Poulōmam)

Here the long and the short within brackets may be omitted and the line would read as Kākaḷi.

Anṇanaṭa

This metre consists of metrical units of two lines, each of which can be divided into two equal halves, which again can be

divided into three equal parts, each containing one short followed by a long. This metre can be represented in notation as :—

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cup & - & | & \cup & - & | & \cup & - & || & \cup & - & | & \cup & - & | & \cup & - \\ \cup & - & | & \cup & - & | & \cup & - & || & \cup & - & | & \cup & - & | & \cup & - \end{array}$

It will be noticed that this ‘Anṇanaṭa’ is the ‘Iambic Hexameter’. About the latter, it is said in the ‘Ency. Britannica’ that, “Next to the dactylic hexameter, it was the form of verse most frequently employed by the poets of Greek antiquity. It was not far removed from Prose; it gave a writer opportunity for expressing popular thoughts in a manner which simple men could appreciate, being close to their unsophisticated speech.” But, Anṇanaṭa is perhaps the stiffest metre in Malayalam Prosody, since the regular sequence of short and long is unchangeable. Because of the peculiarity of the Malayalam Vocabulary which makes it difficult to conform to the regular beat (one short followed by a long) of this metre and because there is no choice left for the poets in composing but to form ‘iambus’ ($\cup -$) continuously, they are compelled to take much liberty in the form of lengthening shorts and shortening longs, the latter of which is a rare phenomenon in Malayalam Prosody. Here I shall quote at random one or two examples from Bhāratam, (Ezhuthachan has used this metre only in two Books in Bhāratam and nowhere in Rāmāyaṇam; perhaps it may be on account of the stiffness of this metre) to show how many shorts are to be lengthened and longs shortened while reciting :—

1. $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cup & \overset{+}{-} & & \cup & - & & \overset{*}{\cup} & \overset{+}{-} & & \cup & - & & \cup & - & & \overset{*}{\cup} & - \\ \text{Ma-rā-} & | & \text{kā-vev-} & | & \text{vē-rē} & || & \text{pa-kut-} & | & \text{tā-vaṇ} & | & \text{tā-ṇum} & & & & & & \\ \cup & \overset{+}{-} & & \cup & - & & \overset{*}{\cup} & - & & \cup & \overset{+}{-} & & \cup & - & & \cup & - \\ \text{ma-rā-} & | & \text{yā-vaṇ} & | & \text{kau-ṣā-} & || & \text{ra-vī} & | & \text{mu-ṇīn-} & | & \text{dṛa-ṇum.} & & & & & & \end{array}$

2. $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cup & \overset{+}{-} & & \cup & \overset{+}{-} & & \cup & \overset{+}{-} & & \cup & \overset{+}{-} & & \cup & \overset{+}{-} & & \overset{*}{\cup} & - \\ \text{Vā-rī-} & | & \text{kā-rī-} & | & \text{kī-rī} & || & \text{kī-lī-} & | & \text{mā-kā-} & | & \text{ḷe nī} & & & & & & \\ \cup & \overset{+}{-} & & \overset{*}{\cup} & - & & \cup & \overset{+}{-} & & \cup & \overset{+}{-} & & \cup & - & & \overset{*}{\cup} & - \\ \text{va-rī-} & | & \text{nel-liṇ-} & | & \text{ṇa-vā-} & || & \text{lā-rī} & | & \text{vā-ṛut-} & | & \text{teḷ-ḷum.} & & & & & & \end{array}$

When we look at the verse as it is written, we can hardly find anything ‘iambic’ in it. In some places we get even ‘trochee’ or ‘choree’ ($- \cup$) instead of iambus’; e.g., 3rd. foot of the 1st. example. The last letter of every line is almost always long as it should be. But it has to be noticed that the first letter of every

half line is a short, which is in striking contrast to Kākaḷi metre where every half line begins with a long. In all other respects, that is, in the number of syllables, caesura in the middle, etc., it resembles Kākaḷi. If we represent the Anṇanaṭa metre in notation without dividing it into feet, we will notice that just by changing the short at the beginning of every half line into long and dividing the line into feet of 3 syllables instead of 2, the Anṇanaṭa becomes Kākaḷi, as is shown below :—

Anṇanaṭa u — u — u — || u — u — u —

Kākaḷi — — u | — u — || — — u | — u —

Although these metres, namely Kākaḷi, Kaḷakāñci, Kēka and Anṇanaṭa, vary from one another in many respects, when we examine them closely we find that the slightest change in one syllable or the other can change it from the one to the other. Let us first take an example in Kākaḷi to illustrate the same :—

Kākaḷi ; e.g. :—Ni-lōl-pa- | lā-da-lā-⁺ || lō-lā-vi- | lō-ca-nan.

— — u | — u — || — — u | — u —

If we change all the longs in the first 3 feet of the above line into shorts, we get the first line of Kaḷakāñci, as :—

u u u u u | u u u u u || u u u u u | — u —

Then again, by reducing the first long of each half-line of the example given for Kākaḷi, into two shorts and then dividing the line into 3 + 4 | 3 + 4, instead of the 4 + 3 | 4 + 3 (that we get after reducing the long into two shorts) the line would read as Kēka (with 20 'moras'), as is shown below :—

u u — | u — u — || u u — | u — u —

Anṇanaṭa is formed from Kākaḷi by changing the long at the beginning of the half-lines of Kākaḷi into short and then dividing the line into three 2-syllabic feet instead of the two 3-syllabic feet of Kākaḷi, as is shown already when dealing with Anṇanaṭa Metre. It can also be formed from the example for Kēka given above, by omitting any one short from the first foot of every half-line and dividing the line into six 2-syllabic feet ; as,

Annanata :— u — | u — | u — || u — | u — | u —

The parallelism in Metre between Malayalam and some other languages :—

It will be noticed that some of these Malayalam metres appear in the other Dravidian languages, especially in Tamil. The following lines* are in Kēka and Kākaḷi metres :—

Kēka : e.g.,

Vā-nu-ṛa | ni-miṛn-ta-ṇe || vai-ya-ka | ma-ḷan-ta-ṇe
Pāṇ-ma-ti | vi-tut-ta-ṇe || pal-lu-yi | rō-m-pi-ṇe ‡
Nī-ni-ṛa | vaṇ-ṇa-niṇ-ṇi || rai-ka-zha | ro-zhu-ta-nam

This is Ācīriyattāzhicai which comes in 3 lines. All the lines have the same number of feet.

Kākaḷi : e.g.,

(1) In-ṛu-ko | laṇ-ṛu-ko || leṇ-ṛu-ko | leṇ-ṛā-tu
Piṇ-ṛai-yē | niṇ-ṛa-tu || cūṭ-ṭa-men | reṇ-ṇī ‡

These are the first two lines of 'Inṇicai Venṇā'. I shall also give another example from the Tamil 'Yāppilakkaṇam', for Kākaḷi Metre :—

e.g., (2)

Vaṇ-ṭu-pā | ṭac-cu-ṭar || maku-ṭa-mā † | ṭap-pi-ṛait-
Tuṇ-ṭa-mā | ṭap-pu-lit- || tō-lu-mā | ṭap-pa-ki
Raṇ-ṭa-mā | ṭak-ku-lēn- || taki-la-mā † | ṭak-ka-ruṇ-
Koṇ-ṭa-lō | ṭiṇ-ku-zhar || tō-tai-yō | ṭuṇ-ka-ṛaik-
Kaṇ-ṭa-nā | ṭun-ti-ṛaṇ || kāṇ-mi-ṇō | kāṇ-mi-ṇō.

These are the last five lines of the 'Seven-line Vēṭṭoli Venṭurai'. (p. 15.)

The above examples represent the Malayalam 'Kēka' and 'Kākaḷi' Metres. What the original Dravidian Metre must have been, how they developed into individual Dravidian Languages in later days, what the causes for such variations are—these and such subjects require separate investigation and are reserved for a future occasion. Considering the linguistic affinities of these Languages, the parallelism in metre cannot be a mere accident.

* These lines are taken from, 'A Grammar of Tamil Grammars' by David Joseph, B.A.

‡ Here one syllable is wanting.

† Here one long is reduced to two shorts.

But when we come to the parallelism in metre between Malayalam and some Non-Indian Languages, one cannot be so sure of a relationship. Still, the parallelism is striking and interesting; e.g., in Arabic, the main principles of metre are more or less identical with those in Malayalam. Thus, a metrical unit consists of two lines, each line consisting of 'feet', determined by the quantity of a syllable, that is, whether they are short or long. The following metre in Arabic closely corresponds to the Kākaḷi Metre in Malayalam described above :

Ar-ra-jaz | ul-mow-zu | nu-iz-ta | jaz-za-ā
Aj-za-u | hu-bai-nal | wa-ra-la | tun-ka-ru.

(Al Mufaz)

The only difference is that while in Kākaḷi Metre each foot consists of two longs and a short, here, each foot consists of two shorts and a long. Further, in Arabic, the position of short and long within a foot is fixed, while in the Kākaḷi Metre of Malayalam it is variable.

The following metre in Arabic is an exact Kēka specimen :—

Fa-la-ma | ra-bu-dran-za || hi-kan-gab | la-waj-hi-ha
Wa-lam-ta | ra-gab-li-my || yi-tan-ya | ta-kal-la-mu.

(Al Mutanabbi)

It will be noticed that the Malayalam Kēka is more free than the above noticed Arabic Metre, in so far as in the Malayalam Kēka, it is possible to have more long syllables.

I have already noticed when dealing with Anṇanaṭa, that this metre is exactly an Iambic Hexameter in Greek for which an example is given below :—

palai pot' esti tout emoi dedogmenon
ho men dikaiois tois pelas pefuk' aner

The relationship between Metres in Malayalam and those in Non-Indian Languages like Arabic and Greek also forms an interesting study and requires special and more elaborate treatment. This too will be taken up on a future occasion.

I have already mentioned that Sanskrit Metres have not much effected Malayalam Metres, although poetry in Malayalam has been written in Sanskritic Metres. The fundamental principles

of Prosody in Sanskrit are absolutely different from those in Malayalam and we do not find between Sanskrit and Malayalam that affinity which we find between Malayalam and Arabic.

On an examination of Sanskrit Poetry, it would be noticed that a metrical unit consists of four lines, but these lines do not permit of a natural division into smaller units called 'feet'. Division into feet of 3 syllables known in works on Sanskritic Metre is purely artificial, unlike the division of lines into feet found in Malayalam, Arabic, etc.

For example ; take the Vamśastha Metre in Sanskrit which consists of 12 syllables and the Kākali Metre in Malayalam which too consists of the same number of syllables.

e.g., (Vamśastha)

Maranña | lum valli | kalum ta | zhaykkayāl
 Parakke | nalppacca | piṭṭacca | kunnukaḷ,
 Karaḷkku | men kaṇṇi | nūṇṇa | taṇṇalām
 Nirarḡha | gārulma | ta ratna | mēṭakaḷ.

Or, the Vasantatilakam metre in Sanskrit and the Kēka metre in Malayalam both of which consists of 14 syllables.

e.g., (Vasantatilakam)

Īvaṇṇa | māy prakṛ | tidēvi | peruttu | taṅka-
 Nāṇyam pa | rattiya | nabhastha | li taṇ cu | vaṭṭil
 Hā kaṣṭa | metṛa ja | ṇamuṇṭo | ru cempu | tuṭṭum
 Kāṇāte | paṭṭiṇi | kiṭannu | pularṇni | ṭunnu !

For division of lines into feet in Malayalam, examples have already been given above.

It is evident that the division of the line into feet is quite natural in Malayalam, but quite arbitrary in Sanskrit. This subject will be developed later, after dealing with the problem of metre in Dravidian Languages completely.

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THE PRONUNCIATION OF SANSKRIT — BY PROF. SUNITI
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The following special letters in this article require a note : ɔ (an inverted c) stands for the sound of Southern English *aw*, *au*, as in *law*, *caught* ; ʋ (an inverted ʌ) indicates the Marathi value of अ — an *o* pronounced with open lips ; ʌ (an inverted ʋ) denotes the sound of *u* in English *but* ; ʌ (an inverted *m*) stands for an unrounded *u*, which is heard in Tamil ; ɐ (= *e* inverted) indicates the 'neutral vowel' sound, like that of the English *a* in *China*, *ago* ; ɐ (= *y* inverted) stands for the voiced *b* — the Sanskrit ब, which is to be distinguished from the usual English *b* (which is unvoiced, like the Sanskrit *visarga*) ; and x stands for the sound of *a* in South English *man*, *cat* (= *mxn*, *kbxt*). The letters with the apostrophe following, *g'*, *j'*, *d'*, *d'*, *b'*, are implosives, which are stops with glottal stop accompaniment, and these sounds are regularly substituted for the aspirates *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, *db*, *bb*, in many modern Indo-Aryan languages.

The pronunciation of Sanskrit is a subject of considerable interest and importance not only for the study of the Sanskrit language itself but also for that of the history of Indo-Aryan ; and the problems which it presents have a bearing on General Phonetics as well. At the present moment, the study of Sanskrit in India may be said to be following two lines—(1) the Traditional, and (2) what in comparison with the traditional method may be described as the Modern. The former is in vogue in the old style Sanskrit schools, in which *Pandits* and *Śāstrīs* of the old type, without any modern or English education, and with their old outlook upon life unaltered, teach boys and young men the Sanskrit language as a sacerdotal and theological discipline. Their method is intensive, and within its narrow limits, it is quite thorough ; and where there has not been any modification, through the present-day standardising tendency, the traditional method can be relied upon as being the repository of the old system of training and culture in Sanskrit. The tradition, however, is not identical everywhere in India. In the various linguistic areas there have occurred divergences, which may be described as dialects or variations (under local conditions of environment and history) of a common arche-type. The traditional

method takes into note only the local line of development, without any reference to the tradition current elsewhere. And we have in the different provincial traditions (provincial in the sense of relating to the various linguistic areas) their own systems of pronunciation of Sanskrit, like their own proper alphabets which are all modifications of the old Brahmi arche-type. It must be said that on the whole there is not a very great difference among the provincial traditions in Sanskrit pronunciation throughout the greater part of India, except in matter of some special sounds or letters, and in some of the outlying tracts like Bengal and Assam. These provincial, traditional schools are continuing still to be in existence, but a standardizing movement is more or less in evidence nearly everywhere. This standardizing movement is coming through the 'modern' method of Sanskrit studies which is followed in the English schools. With the foundation of the Universities, Sanskrit was introduced into the curriculum as a classical language, in Calcutta, in Madras, in Bombay, and later on in Allahabad, in Lahore and elsewhere. Formerly Sanskrit would be seriously studied mainly by those Brahmans who wanted to make Sanskrit learning their profession and Hindu theology and medicine and ritualism and priestcraft their vocation in life. With the foundation of the Universities, boys of the other castes could take up Sanskrit as one of their subjects. The traditional pronunciation and the local script were used as a matter of course, at least in the junior classes, but the Universities agreed in adopting Devanāgarī for Sanskrit to the exclusion of the local scripts, at least in printing their text-books and their question-papers. This was also done by the learned societies, both within India and outside India. The adoption of Devanāgarī as the All-India script for Sanskrit, as the script *par excellence*, or the script for the language, was gradually brought about during the last century; and this is quite a noteworthy thing among present-day Indian intellectual movements, which is helping to remove the babel of alphabets in our country. A hundred or eighty years ago the provincial alphabets, Śāradā, Newārī, Maithilī, Bengali, Oriyā, Telugu-Kannada, Grantha and Mālayālam had greater prestige in their native tracts than Devanāgarī; and the most erudite *Pandits* in Bengal and Mithilā, the Tamil country or Malabar might not feel at home in either reading or writing Devanāgarī.

As the script of Benares, Mathura and Poona, and of the great *bloc* of Hindu states in Rajputana, Devanāgarī has always had a certain amount of importance, especially in Northern India, but not enough to relegate the local scripts to the background. The first Sanskrit book ever printed was in Bengali characters--the 'Ṛtu-saṁhāra' which appeared from Calcutta in the nineties of the 18th. century. But it was the European Sanskritists of Calcutta who, with the support of their Bengali fellow-workers, quickly decided for the script of Benares in printing Sanskrit. The first grammars of Sanskrit by Forster and Colebrooke were in Devanāgarī characters (1800 and 1805). The Asiatic Society of Bengal brought out in Devanāgarī the *editio princeps* of the Mahābhārata in the thirties of the last century. The Brāhmo Samāj of Calcutta helped the movement in favour of Devanāgarī by printing one or two Upaniṣad texts in that character. Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara, Premacandra Tarkavāgiśa, Madanāmohana Tarkālaṁkāra and other scholars in Calcutta similarly brought out their editions of Sanskrit texts in Devanāgarī. And a great impetus for the acceptance of Devanāgarī was given by F. Max Müller when he began to publish from England his R̥gveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary from the fifties of the last century, using that script. All these things have brought about the present position of Devanāgarī in India, so much so that Bengali, Tamil, Telugu and Malayālī boys have to know Devanāgarī in addition to their own alphabets when they study Sanskrit. In Bengal the movement began over seventy years ago when Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara, himself a great educationist, brought out his primer of Sanskrit grammar in Bengali (*Upakramaṇikā*) in which he gave the Devanāgarī letters at the end ; and about this time he published his Sanskrit primers for Bengali boys (*R̥ju-pāṭha*) in the Devanāgarī character. Certain alphabets have died out or are dying out through the establishment of Devanāgarī for Sanskrit : viz., Sāradā, Newārī, and Maithilī, and Grantha. Nowadays, orthodox scholarship, charmed by the occurrence of the word *deva* in the name (and following orthodox scholarship the bulk of educated and semi-educated opinion in the country) have tacitly accepted the theory that Devanāgarī is the original alphabet of Hindu India, and that the other Indian scripts are descended from it. The late Sir Gooroodass Bannerjee, a judge of the Calcutta High Court and a distinguished

alumnus of the University of Calcutta, wrote a book to show how the Bengali letters were derived out of Devanāgarī: a bit of curiously misapplied scholarship and ingenuity, considering the error in the initial premise. Now, the setting up of Devanāgarī has gone hand in hand with the gradual development of a pronunciation of Sanskrit which seeks to rise above the provincial traditions: in fact, of a *Modern Indian Standard for Sanskrit Pronunciation*, which is more or less sought to be followed everywhere in India. What the nature of this pronunciation is like will be indicated below.

We can thus say that two styles of Sanskrit pronunciation obtain in India now — the old-fashioned, local, dialectal or traditional, differing in the different language and dialect areas; and the standardized new pronunciation. Of the former class, there are the various provincial types, extreme cases being presented by those of Bengal (West Bengal, and the various East Bengal types). The new standardized pronunciation may be described as being on the basis of that current in Northern India (Ganges Valley, excluding Bengal), with some Mahārāṣṭra and Āndhra-Karṇāṭaka modifications. It may be said to have originated in Benares during the last two centuries. Benares as the most important Hindu cultural centre in Northern India attracted scholars from all over India, including also Mahārāṣṭra and the South. The old local pronunciation of Sanskrit (the traditional North-Indian one) was modified by the Mahārāṣṭra and Āndhra-Karṇāṭaka traditions, since these latter were in many respects better and more scholarly than the former: and the pre-eminence in learning of the Mahārāṣṭra Brahmans settling or sojourning in Benares received an additional lustre from the prestige of the Mahrattas as the champions of Hindu religion and culture and as the most puissant political group in 18th century India.

Our first *datum* for the study of Sanskrit pronunciation therefore consists of these present-day pronunciations — the various traditional ones—and the standard one. Herein we have a mass of phonetic material which has not been properly investigated or put to use, and which, being the result of unsophisticated development, is fraught with immense suggestive and corroborative value. These traditional pronunciations cannot on the face of them be taken to represent the ancient pronunciation of Sanskrit, or, to be more accurate, of Old Indo-Aryan of the centuries immediately preceding

the Buddha, when the Middle Indo--Aryan or Prakrit stage had not as yet evolved (at least in North-Western India — the land of Paṇini). There are certain traditional systems which are 'corrupt' from the Sanskrit point of view, e. g. the pronunciations now current in Bengal, which are nearly as bad as the traditional English pronunciation of Latin, now being discarded. When a West Bengal boy in Calcutta or in Nadiya reads the opening verses of the Gītā in the following way —

dhritrāṣṭra ubaḥ :

*dharmakkhettre kurukkhettre śamabeta jujutsabāḥ ।
māmakaḥ pāṇḍabāścoibā kimakurbata śanjaya ॥*

śanjaya ubaḥ :

*driṣṭa tu pāṇḍabānūkaṁ bāṛhaṇ durjodhaṁśtada ।
ācārjam upaśāṅgommo rāja bācānam abbrobit ॥*

or when an East Bengal boy, say at Dacca or Sylhet reads them in the following way —

d'ritrāṣṭra ubāṣa :

*d'armakkhettre kurukkhettre śamabeta d'zud'zutsabāḥ ।
māmakaḥ pāṇḍabarcoibā kimakurbata śand'zaya ॥*

śand'zaya ubāṣa :

*driṣṭa tu pāṇḍabānūkaṁ b'ārhaṇ duir'd'zod'ānśtada ।
at'sair'd'zom upaśāṅgoimmo rād'zā bāṣānam abbrobit ॥*

neither does he nor does his teacher trouble himself in the least that a sad havoc is being worked with the pronunciation of the speech of the Gods. The standard pronunciation has slowly been making its presence felt, however, and the old tradition is going to the wall : thus, old-fashioned pronunciations like *biṣṭū*, *kreṣṭyō*, *jibbha*, *ghrōṭa*, *prithak* (which may pass unnoticed, or may even be the rule, in the Sanskrit *śols* or *caṭuṣpāṭhīs*) would now be openly ridiculed in the English schools, where boys are taught to say *biṣṇu*, *kriṣṇa*, *jīuha*, *ghritā*, *prithak*. Yet the old-fashioned pronunciation represents a regular line of development, in which many a germ of the past may be detected on close observation. The other traditional schools are much better when compared with the above : nevertheless, they too

are far removed from the Sanskrit norm, or ideal, in this matter, being, equally like the Bengali pronunciations, intimately connected with the habits of articulation characteristic of the mother-tongue—Panjābī or Marāṭhī, Tamil or Mālayālam.

To note some points in the traditional pronunciations which deserve consideration. The Mahārāṣṭra style of pronunciation is reputed to be one of the best and most correct in India, and this style has largely influenced the rest of India either directly (as in the Tamil country) or indirectly (through the new standard pronunciation). In it, अ has a unique value unknown in other parts of India; in Mahārāṣṭra, अ becomes an unrounded ओ, i. e. an *o* sound produced with the lips spread out instead of being rounded as normally (Phonetic Symbol for this unrounded *o* = [v]). This was certainly not its value in ancient times, judging from the evidence of the *Prātiśākhya*s. We are on equally insecure ground for the ancient pronunciation of अ when we take into consideration the typical North Indian (which is almost the Pan-Indian, barring Bengal, Assam, Orissa and Mahārāṣṭra) value of the letter, as the sound of the *u* in Southern English *but, cut* (Phonetic Symbol [ʌ]), which is a low back vowel, slightly raised towards the [ɔ], and at the same time considerably advanced towards the central position, to give a technical description. The Bengali-Oriyā [ɔ], like the sound heard in Southern English *law, caught*, is even more problematical for the ancient sound of this संवृत अ. What was the exact position of the tongue and of the lips in pronouncing the संवृत अ of Pāṇini? The modern pronunciations are conflicting, while the local traditions show unconscious development, and consequently these are to be checked and supplemented by other sources of information. A similar difficulty is with the ऋ vowel. In the modern traditions, it becomes, usually, *ri* in Northern India and *ru* in Southern India (Orissa and Mahārāṣṭra fall under this); and the pronunciations *ru* (*u* being an unrounded *u*, i. e. an *u* made with spread-out instead of rounded lips), as well as *re, er, ro, or, rɔ, ɔr*, and *ir*, are also heard; and it is said that even *rü* (with *ü* as in German) also occurs. According to some of the *Prātiśākhya*s, it was *ara*. The exact point of articulation and character of the vocalic *r* of Old Indo-Aryan is an important matter in explaining ■

good many points of Sanskrit and later Indo-Aryan phonology. Other things which may be mentioned are the pronunciation of diphthongs (*saṃdhyakṣaras*) *e ai o ou*, of the palatals *c ch j jh*, of the dentals *t th d dh*, of the semi-vowel *v*, of the sibilants *ś ṣ*, and of the *anusvāra* and the *visarga*. The *anusvāra*, for instance, has at present the value of *n* (in Northern India), of *ṇ* (in Bengal) and of *m* (in South India) — हंस being pronounced in Hindustan as *ḥans*, in Bengal as *ḥṇṣ* and in the South as *ḥamsa*. The pronunciation *ṁ* — a nasalised *w* — is I believe found in Mahārāṣṭra : *वृत्सः* : analogous to this must have been the old sound of the *anusvāra* in Eastern India, which gave the Oriya *ñ* as in बाईश *bāiśa* as the *tadbhava* or Prakritic development of वंश *vaṃśa*.

The present-day local pronunciations of Sanskrit have not been properly studied. A stray monograph, like the excellent and exhaustive study of the phonology of the *naturalised* Sanskrit loan-words in the Dravidian speeches, especially Tamil, by Anavaratavina-yakam Pillai (in the *Madras University Dravidian Studies*), gives a mass of material for the usage current in the Drāviḍa lands in early times. But the matter has not been taken up for its own sake. The study of the local pronunciations of Sanskrit of course will go hand in hand with a rigorous phonetic survey of the Modern Indian language and dialects, —Aryan, Dravidian, 'Austic, and Tibeto-Chinese. This is one of the fundamental things in Indian Linguistics, and it is this fundamental thing that is now lacking. Investigation into this fundamental aspect of speech must at once be taken in hand. So far, a small beginning has been made, — in Bengal, in the Panjab, and in South India. It would be quite an important side-line in our research work in vernacular phonetics — this enquiry into what may be called the connected dialectal pronunciation of the classical languages — Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Avestan and Pahlavi, and Hebrew and Syriac. The traditional Indian pronunciation of Persian, for instance, whether at Lahore or Delhi, at Haidarabad-Sindh or Haidarabad-Deccan, at Lucknow or Jaunpur, at Patna or Chittagong, has some valuable light to throw on the phonetics of Early Modern Persian of four or five hundred years ago.

And this brings up the analogous question of the bearing of the Greater Indian traditions of Sanskrit and Pali pronunciation (which

are still current, though in a fragmentary form, in Indo-China and Indonesia) on the mediaeval pronunciation of Sanskrit in India. Ceylon with its Dravidian Tamil and its Indo-Aryan Sinhalese is culturally a part of India, but the same cannot be said, at least with equal thoroughness, of Burma and Siam, Cambodia and the Malay-land, and Java and Bali. In these latter lands, the Mons, the Khmers and the Chams, the Burmese and the Siamese, the Malays, the Javanese and the Balinese received Sanskrit quite early, and later Pali also followed Sanskrit into Indo-China. The traditions of Indian pronunciation of Sanskrit from the early centuries of the Christian era have still continued, specially in Siam and Cambodia and in Java and Bali. This tradition has often suffered from violent changes through the imposition of the speech-habits of the original languages to which Sanskrit had to accommodate itself: e. g. the Siamese speech-habit, which turns *āditya* into *āthit'*, *nagara* to *nakhon*, *deśa* to *thet'*, and reduces words like *dūra-śabda* and *ākāṣa-yāna* (which are the modern Siamese words for the telephone and the aeroplane) into *thoro-sap'* and *āgāt-chān* ; and so forth. In such a case as the above, the type of Sanskrit pronunciation introduced would be an interesting side-study. The traditions still current in Java, in pronouncing the innumerable Sanskrit words present in Old Javanese (Kawi) as well as in the modern forms of Javanese, and in Bali where the *ṭeḍaṇḍas* or Brahman priests still intone the ancient Sanskrit *mantras*, represent one type of ancient Sanskrit pronunciation, and are more valuable, notwithstanding the Indonesian speech-habits which have imposed themselves as a matter of course. Thus, in these Indonesian tracts, it is interesting to note the pronunciation of the Sanskrit अ as both *a* (the short form of the vowel heard in South English *father*, *art*) and *ɔ*, and of आ as *ɔ*, with modification of final आ to *ö* in Bali (*mudrö*, *sabö*, *gadö*, = *mudrā*, *sabha*, *gada*,) ; ऋ is pronounced as *rě*, the *anusvāra* as *ṇ* (ण), व as both *b* and *w* (representing respectively the North-central and North-eastern, and the North-western, Western and Southern habits of pronunciation). The necessity of the study of these Greater Indian traditions side by side with those of the different language and dialect-areas within India will be easily conceded. This struck me forcibly when, as against the nearly pan-Indian pronunciation of Sanskrit ह *hm*, as in

brāhmaṇa, as *mh* (*brāmhana*, *brambhā* etc.), I heard Ceylonese Buddhist monks pronounce the word ब्राह्मण as written in Sanskrit — *brā-h-ma-ṇa* : which brought back to me the pronunciation which the Greeks heard in North-western India when Alexander the Great came in the 4th century B. C., — for the Greeks wrote down the word as *Brakhman-*; and I think I heard in the island of Bali from the lips of the *pēdaṇḍas* the more learned form *brāhmaṇa* with *h+m*, beside the popular *brōmana*.

A few remarks on the nature of the present-day standard pronunciation may be made before we can pass on to the other sources of information to be utilised in this connection. This Modern Indian standard, as has been said before, is based on the old Benares pronunciation : that is, on the mediaeval Āryāvarta pronunciation, with some Mahārāṣṭra and other extraneous influences. Its vowel system is based on that of the Eastern Hindī and Bihārī dialects, and this on the whole serves for the rest of India too. Thus, it gives the sounds of **अ** and **ऌ** (the latter in unaccented positions) to **अ**, rejecting the Mahārāṣṭra value of **व** and the Bengali-Oṛiyā value of **ऌ**; **ऋ** is *ri*, and the other North-Indian variants and the South Indian *ru* are eschewed; **ऌ** according to the local Benares tradition is *lri*, but that is dropped in favour of *li*, which is current in Bengal; the Southern *lu* is not permitted. The diphthongs **ए ऐ ओ औ** are *e ai o au* : the opener sounds as current in the Western Hindustan tracts have not been adopted (e. g. Western Hindī **ऐ** as *xe* or *xe*, and **औ** as *xo* or *o*). As regards the consonants, the usual Bihārī and Hindī values of the letters are followed. **च छ ज झ** are palatal or palato-alveolar affricates, and the dental affricate values of **त्**, **त्थ** or **स**, **द्**, **द्भ** or **द्भ** found in a great many Indo-Aryan dialects, in the North, South, West and East but absent in 'Āryāvarta,' are not at all tolerated. So, too, the recursive or implosive pronunciation of the voiced aspirates **घ ङ ढ ढ भ**, i.e. *g' j' d' d' b'* instead of *gh jh ḍh ḍh bh*, found in many traditional or local pronunciations which keep close to the vernacular, is not all admitted. On the other hand, **ण**, which is absent in the vernacular dialects of the Gangetic plains, is sought to be given its proper cerebral pronunciation, *ṇ*, in the standard now set up — the traditional pronunciation invariably turning it to the dental *n*: the insistence on the proper value of **ण** being given to the letter, in the Standard Pronunciation, is due not only to Mahārāṣṭra influence, but also to that

of the Panjab and Rajputana, where *ṛ* is a living sound in the vernaculars. In the Gangetic plains, the proper *ṛ* sound is aimed, but it is usually a substitute that is arrived at — a nasalised cerebral *r̥* — *ṛ̥*. One may say, however, that for *ṛ*, *ṛ̥*, *ṝ* and *ṝ̄*, these three are equally allowable in the Standard Pronunciation. The *j* and *b* pronunciation of initial *ṛ* and *ṝ* occurs in the North Indian tradition, following the vernacular habits, but the example of Mahārāṣṭra and South Indian as well as Kashmīrī and Panjābī *Śāstrīs* is making the *j* and *b* pronunciation out of fashion, and *y* and *v* are recognised. The old North Indian tradition turned the palatal *ṣ* to the dental *s*, and the cerebral *ṣ* was altered in it to *kh* (ख): विशेषः *viśeṣaḥ* was *bisekhaḥ*. Mahārāṣṭra and South Indian influence brought in some kind of *sh* sound for both *ś* and *ṣ*. The genuine folk-element in the North Indian dialects possesses only the dental *s*, and lacks not only the Sanskrit *ś* and *ṣ*, but any kind of *sh*-sound altogether: the only *sh*-sound heard and imitated was from Persian and English, and this foreign *sh* is quite different from both *ś* and *ṣ* of Sanskrit. In the Standard Pronunciation, it is this *sh* sound — an imitation of the one obtaining in Persian and English—that is employed for both *ś* and *ṣ* — the earlier *s* for *ś* may be tolerated, but *kh* for *ṣ* is no longer allowed. So that usually in this kind of pronunciation of Sanskrit, there is no discrimination between *ś* and *ṣ*, both being pronounced as *sh*: only a Mahārāṣṭra *Śāstrī* or a Vedic scholar from the South is expected to differentiate properly between *ś* and *ṣ*. For the *anusvāra*, the four variants *n*, *m*, *ṇ*, and *ṇ̄* are all allowed in the standard pronunciation; the last however is the least common, and the second and third are in a vague way regarded as the most correct. In the matter of *visarga*—interior *visarga* simply doubles the following consonant, but when final, it becomes a frank *h* — a voiced *h*, after which the preceding vowel is pronounced as a sort of prop: e. g. रामः हरिः मनुः प्रायशः = *rāmaḥ*, *qariki*, *manuḥ*, *prayaśaḥ*. This sort of articulation is in accordance with both the local tradition and Mahārāṣṭra usage: and it is not the old sound of the *visarga*. For *ṛ*, a kind of *v* (bi-labial or denti-labial) is heard: usually, it is the bilabial fricative sound, but a semi-vowel *w* is allowed before the back vowels *a ā*, and before the front vowel *e*, specially when the *ṛ* is post-consonantal. About conjunct consonants, the two combinations *ṣṣ* and *ṣṇ* are to be noted. In the Ganges Valley, Old

Indo-Aryan *kṣ* became *kkh* in Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) ; but the mediaeval Sanskrit tradition in Northern India pronounced *kṣ* as *cch* (*ch* initially, *cch* internally), and this *cch* tradition is still current in the local pronunciation of Sanskrit. Now the *cch* is no longer tolerated in the Standard Pronunciation *k + sh* (of some kind) is only allowed. The North Indian tradition makes *gy* or *gṣ* out of *ज्ञ* — as if it was *gñ* instead of *jñ* : in the standard pronunciation, this tradition has been accepted, and the Mahārāṣṭra pronunciation *dñ* or *dny* and the correct Sanskrit *jñ* are neither of them allowed (*tat + jñānam* gives *taj jñānam* : by *saṁdhi* the standard pronunciation would pronounce it turn to *taj gyānam*). This *gñ* value of *ज्ञ* seems to have been an old one, and to have also affected the South : witness the Tamil form *kinānam*, often pronounced *gnānam*) beside another, older Tamil form *ñānam* (which may be from either the Sanskrit. or a Prakrit *ñānam*). The stress system followed in the Standard Pronunciation may be said to be the usual North Indian (‘ Hindi ’) one : and vowel-length is usually sought to be retained as in the orthography.

The current pronunciations can thus be questioned as to their faithfulness to the old ones. They are to be checked by other kinds of information. The information of paramount importance, outside of the present-day usages, which is available to us is that supplied by the Sanskrit treatises on pronunciation and phonetics, the *Śikṣās* and *Prātisākhya*s, which embody both ancient theory and ancient practice. These works, with their commentaries, cover the entire range of Sanskrit phonetics and phonology from the period of the ‘Brāhmaṇas’ downwards. In the older texts, the actual observations of the Old Indo-Aryan speakers into the articulation and behaviour of the sounds of the spoken dialects—say of the period 1000-500 B. C.—may be said to be embodied ; while in the later works, and in the subsequent compilations and commentaries, later vernacular habits are noticed, and they are sometimes cautioned against and sometimes tolerated. A careful comparison of the present-day usage with the accounts given in the *Śikṣās* and the *Prātisākhya*s is of vital importance for arriving at the old pronunciation of Sanskrit. I need not discuss this matter in detail here. It is enough to mention the very valuable work recently published by Dr. Siddheshwar Varma --

'Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians' (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1929, James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. VII). The entire question of the *Śikṣā* and *Pratīśakhyā* evidence has been handled here with admirable clearness and philological acumen, and this makes the work indispensable for all students of the Sanskrit language and Sanskrit linguistics. A good idea of the nature of the ancient Indian phonetic theories and observations and some important points in phonetic discussion can be formed from Dr. Varma's book. Among the important points discussed are, apart from the contents and chronology of the extant works, the old Indian theory of the syllable, including syllabic division and syllabic quantity which are so intimately connected with the later development of the Aryan speech and with Sanskrit prosody ; consonantal length (or ' doubling, ' as it is usually called), is another item which engaged the attention of the ancient phoneticians ; as also *abhinidhāna* or incomplete articulation. This habit of *abhinidhāna* undoubtedly made the old pronunciation of Sanskrit strikingly different from the modern ones. Thus, at the present-day in pronouncing words like शक्ति, अब्द, लिप्त we fully explode the first consonant in the group — *śak-ti*, *ab-da*, *lip-ta*; but in ancient i.e. pre-Prakrit times they did not fully pronounce or explode the *k*, *b* or *p* : this is what exactly is done in Modern English (*looked*, *begged*, *slipped* are pronounced in English, not like *luk-t*, *beg-d*, *slip-t*, but as *lukt*, *begd*, *slipt*, with the *k*, *g*, *p* not fully articulated). The nature of the old Sanskrit accent as described in the *Pratīśakhyas* is another subject of utmost philological importance, from point of view also of the Modern Indo-Aryan (vernacular) phonology. In all these and other points it will be seen that modern pronunciations can largely be corrected by a study of the old pronunciations and theories as discussed in the *Pratīśakhyas* and other works.

The remarks of the Prakrit grammarians on pronunciation and the phonology of Prakrit are also to be taken into account.

An important source of information regarding the ancient and mediaeval pronunciation is the actual spelling in extant epigraphical and other documents, in Sanskrit as well as the Prakrits. From the inscriptions of Aśoka downwards we find indications of vernacular habits of pronunciation from the actual spellings. Thus it is plain

that certain dialects of the 3rd century B. C. had a palatalised *k* sound; and intervocal *ś s* seem to have become voiced to *z' z* (the former denoted by *y*, the latter by an *s* with a bar below and by the ligature *ys*) in the North-Western frontier tract ; and that *y* had become a strong fricative about two centuries before the Christian era. Mistakes in spelling in the inscriptions and in Mss., in using one letter for another, are valuable evidence for the pronunciation, and such mistakes are pretty frequent in these documents. A spelling like *likṣita* for *likhita* in an old Bengal inscription establishes the contemporary pronunciation of *kṣ* as *khy*, as now ; and spellings like *tejānsi*, *vanṣe*, *hansa*, *prāṇśuḥ*, with *ṇ* or *n* for the *anusvāra* in Gupta inscriptions, would establish the fact that the old sound of *anusvāra* was lost by the first half of the 1st millennium after Christ. The optional doubling of consonants in connection with a nasal or liquid or semivowel is frequent in the inscriptions, and it is found partly in the traditional spellings current in some of the vernaculars (e. g. Bengali) at the present day. Thus आर्त्त, अर्थ, दीर्घ, सर्व, आर्य्य, beside आर्त, अर्थ, दीर्घ, सर्व, आर्य and पुत्र, पराक्रम, पथ्य beside पुत्र, पराक्रम, पथ्य. This is to be taken with great caution, as these doublings are sometimes only scholastic, without any reference to the pronunciation (e. g. in the spellings favoured by Bengali—वर्द्धमान, धर्म, सर्व, पर्याय — where the doubling is only the remnant of an orthographical tradition, not true to the pronunciation ; whereas in spellings like वाक्य, शुक्ल, तक्र, पक्क — although in Bengali there is no doubling, in the pronunciation it is actually heard—*bakkə* or *baikkə*, *ʃukkrə*, *ʃukklə*, *pakk(w)ə*.) A survey of our epigraphical records from this point of view, properly arranged chronologically and regionally, will be invaluable for the study of the history of the Sanskrit orthoepical tradition, as well as for that of the phonology of Indo-Aryan.

The above are the internal evidences in this connection. We have in addition some good external evidence, too, to help us. This is obtained from extra-Indian languages, and is from both foreigners devoid of any theory regarding the pronunciation of Indo-Aryan who wrote down in their own scripts the Indian names and words they heard spoken, and from cultured Indians who had to adapt the Indian alphabet to foreign speeches which they reduced

to writing for the first time. All this refers to a period roughly embracing about a thousand years from the 4th cent. B. C. The Greek language and the Sanskrit and other Indian names and words it has recorded should first be considered in point of both time and importance. From the 4th century B. C. down to the first two centuries after Christ, there were important Greek and semi-Greek peoples acting as links between India and Western world. The Greek way of writing down Indian names gives us some indication as to the pronunciations heard by these foreigners during the period say 330 B. C. — 200 A. C. Sometimes complications are brought in by diversity of transcription, which would suggest diversity of pronunciation heard. Thus for अ we find both *s* and *ti* (= *ty*) : *Sandraḡoptos* = *Candraguptaḥ*, *Prasioi* = *Prācyāḥ*, besides *Tiastenēs* = *Caṣṭēna* ; and both *z* and *di* (= *dy*) for ञ : *Ozēnē* = *Ujjenī* = *Ujjayinī*, and *Diamouna* = *Jamunā* = *Yamunā*; and ऋ is represented by *b* (which about 2000 years ago had not as yet altered to *v* as it did in later Greek), by *hu* = *hw* or *vh* (cf. the Marāṭhī transcription ऋ for the English *v*), and by *ou* = *u* or *w* : thus *Bibasis* and *Huphasis* = *Vipāṣā*, *Sōastēs* = *Suvāstu*, and *Ouindion* = *Vindhya*. The intervocal ऌ -*ḍ*- seems to have received its present day pronunciation of ऌ (‘ cerebral *r* ’) as early as the 1st cent. A. C. : witness Greek transcriptions like *Karuophullon* = Pkt. *Kaḍuaphalam* = Skt. *Kaṭukaphalam*, and *Saraganos* = Pkt. * *Saḍaganṇa* from earlier * *Sāṭakanṇa* = Skt. *Sātakarṇa*.

The Chinese transcriptions are to be considered next. We have a considerable mass of material for this. There are transliterations of names, personal and geographical ; there are Buddhist terms and words in Sanskrit and Prakrit, and long Sanskrit *sūtras* and prayers transcribed in Chinese ; besides Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries with pronunciation in Chinese characters. The material is vast enough, but the ground is insecure. The Modern Chinese people have retained the ancient characters, but have altered the pronunciation beyond recognition, in all the different dialectal areas. Scholars at the present day are seeking, and with considerable success too, to rediscover the old pronunciation of Chinese of c. 500 A. C., and even earlier. Thus, the Chinese characters for *Buddha* and *Brahman* are pronounced in North China (Peking) as *Fu* and *Fan*, and in the

South China (Canton) as *Fat* and *Fam* : from the evidence of the Japanese pronunciation of the same characters, respectively as *Butsu Butsu* =, *Butu* earlier and *Bon* (= *Boñ*), and from other reasons, it has been surmised that the 5th-6th century A. C. the pronunciation of these names in the Chinese of the North was **Bhywət* and **Bhywam* respectively. A few centuries earlier these undoubtedly approached more the Indian originals as *Buddh(a)* and *Bamb(a)*. The reconstructed Old Chinese **Bhywət* and **Bhywam* of course are too much altered to be of any help to us for the actual sounds of Indo-Aryan of the 1st half of the 1st millennium A. D. Similarly the two characters transcribing the name *Kāśyapa* are pronounced in Chinese as *Chia-yeh* in the North (Peking) and as *Ka-yep* in the South (Canton) and the Japanese pronounce them now as *Kashyō*, which in their phonetic writing they write as *Kā-si-a-pu*, which shows that *Ka-syapu* was the Old Japanese pronunciation. The Old Chinese equivalents in sound of these characters have been reconstructed as **Ka-χ'yap*. This again would not be of much help for our purposes; but it points to one thing, which is established by other means : viz. internal *ś* had been voiced to *χ'* in some of the North-Western dialects some two thousand years ago, the pronunciation of which the Chinese transcription sought to record. And similarly when we find that in Chinese they were careful to record the palatal *ś* and the cerebral *ṣ* by different characters consistently in the same text, we might presume that the pronunciation taught by the Indian translator and followed by his Chinese collaborator preserved the two sounds distinct. Similarly *b* and *v* are found to be kept distinct, and not confused as at present in Gangetic India. It is also noteworthy that sometimes wrong spellings in the Prakritic way, and even Prakrit words feature in two Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries (the *Fan Yü Tsa Ming* and the *Fan Yü Ts'ien Tseu Wen*, both edited by Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi) which date from the 8th century A. C. The material furnished by Buddhist Chinese sources is from many aspects well worth investigating.

Pahlavi or Middle Persian transcriptions present only a slight amount of material, as the bulk of Pahlavi literature is lost. Persian (or New Persian) and Arabic transcriptions of Indian names and words are later; and owing to the imperfections of the Perso-Arabic

script, especially in the early centuries of Islam when Arabic writing in the Kufic style was a very primitive and unsatisfactory system, these transcriptions are exceedingly puzzling and often valueless : e. g. in a work like Alberūni's *Al-tahqīq al-Hind*.

From the beginning of the Christian era onwards (it was perhaps earlier still) the enterprise of Buddhist missionaries, Brahman priests and ordinary Indian merchant-adventurers and settlers carried the Indian script beyond the frontiers of India, and reduced to writing for the first time a number of languages in Central Asia (Serindia), Indo-China and Indonesia (Insulindia). To mention these languages: there were Old Khotanese, Old Kuchean (' Tokharian '), and Tibetan in Central Asia ; Mon, Burmese, the lost Pyu language of Burma, Khmer, Cham and Siamese in Indo-China ; Old Malay of Sumatra (now no longer written in the Indian script), Sundanese, Madureses, Javanese and Balinese, besides a number of minor Malayan dialects in Indonesia including the Philippines. The Indian script was further transmitted from one non-Indian people to another, being sometimes itself modified in this transmission. The adaptation of the Indian script for these speeches was in some cases on the basis of Indian dialectal values of the letters ; and they are very valuable, especially the Central Asian alphabets of Indian provenance, for Indo-Aryan pronunciation of the early centuries after Christ. The spelling of Old Khotanese, for instance, as Leumann has shown, indicates the open or spirant pronunciation of the voiced stops *g d b* in the North-western tracts of India. This can be corroborated by other evidence,—and for a large tract of Aryan India too—in the early centuries of the Christian era. Intervocally, the sound of *g, d, b* were represented by the surds *k, t, p* ; and *kk, tt, pp* evidently were (at best in some cases) a graphic device for a single intervocal *k, t, p*. Moreover, *ś, ṣ, s* intervocally were pronounced as *z', z, z*. The Kuchean system of writing, as also the Tibetan and the rest, are of very great interest, revealing the nature of the sounds of which the Sanskrit letters had become the symbols in the early Christian centuries, when these letters had also to be modified to represent foreign sounds. The treatment of Sanskrit loan-words in these speeches, which altered clipped and cut them according to their own phonetic habits, can equally be expected to throw helpful light on the matter. This of course is apart from

such meagre traditions of Sanskrit pronunciation as have survived in Indo-China and in Indonesia. Work in this line has been going on in Europe in some of these speeches, but the entire evidence is to be pooled for our purposes.

The materials obtained from the above internal and external sources are finally to be checked by the modern science of Linguistics in two of its branches—Phonetics, and Historical Phonology of Indo-Aryan and Indo-European. By applying the principles of General Phonetics to the information derived from the tradition and from old records and old evidence, certain definite conclusions can be arrived at ; e. g. about the pronunciation of the sonant liquids (*r l*), about the aspirates (including *h* and *ḥ*,) about the dentals, palatals and cerebrals, about *abhinidhāna*, about pitch and stress accent and other things. Comparison of Old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) with the other Indo-European languages outside India—Avestic and Old Persian, ‘ Tokharian ’, Old Armenian, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Irish, Old Church Slavic, etc. and with its latest development in India through the Prakrits and the Apabhraṃśas and the modern vernaculars, also will be of a great suggestive value, as we can see at every step.

In the present paper only the problem and the nature of the materials for solving it have been discussed. The subject is capable of being taken up at greater length for a full investigation. It must however be admitted that as a problem the pronunciation of Sanskrit is not of much practical significance : any of the traditional styles, or the modern Indian standard that has now grown up, is quite sufficient for our daily requirements with Sanskrit whether as a cultural discipline or as a language of religious ritual. Yet the investigation will not be a futile one : for a great many interesting and important things in the history of a language are connected with its pronunciation ; in fact, as Patañjali himself has said, ‘ the sound is the word ’ ((*dhvaniḥ śabdaḥ*)) : and a student of language can never minimise the value of the study of the sounds of the language, which, in themselves and in their attributes, in their mutual relationship in the sentence and in their relationship to grammar, form its very body, as it were, at a given epoch in its history.

AN OLD PORTUGUESE WORK ON KĒRAḶA BELIEFS

By PROF. L. V. RAMASWAMI AĪYAR, M.A., B.L.

The "Livro da Seita dos Índios Orientais" of Father Jacob Fenicio —edited with an Introduction and Notes by Professor Jarl Charpentier of Uppsala.

This 16th century Portuguese account of Hindu religious beliefs and customs current in Kēraḷa, edited and published about a decade ago by the late Professor Charpentier, has remained more or less a sealed book to Kēraḷa scholars on account of the lack of an English translation. Even the very learned English Introduction of Professor Charpentier, tracing elaborately the contacts of Europeans with India from the earliest known times, contains so many untranslated passages in Latin, Portuguese, Italian and French as to make it very difficult for the average scholar unacquainted with these languages, to utilise the rich materials collected by the late Swedish savant.

Father Fenicio appears to have served as a priest at Cochīn and Porcad from about 1584 to the early years of the 17th century. He stayed at the Zamorin's court for some time, and founded the missionary station at Tānūr. He died at Cochīn in 1632-

Latin accounts of contemporaries and later writers give us more details about the life of Fenicio. Here, he is described as an earnest student of the Kēraḷa language and customs which he learnt so well that he was able to 'discomfit' Hindu religious men in the discussions held publicly at Calicut and elsewhere. He is said to have utilised the writings of the Malabar poet, presumably Pākkanār, for refuting Hindu orthodoxy. He is also said to have composed the political differences between the Zamorin and the Raja of Cranganore.

He was a zealous missionary missing no opportunity of preaching the doctrine of Christ to the people of the land.

A careful examination of Fenicio's work shows that this missionary's knowledge of Hindu religious mythology was essentially derived from the popular versions and floating traditions of Kerala. It is doubtful if he knew much of Sanskrit; and there are no indications in the Portuguese text pointing to the author's having consulted any literary sources at all. A list of the main contents of the book would give us an idea of the sort of topics that he has reproduced.

The work is divided into eight Books. The first book treats about the creation of the world, about Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, the Earth, the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, and Hindu cosmogony and chronology; Book II deals with Śiva, his exploits, his sons Gaṇapati and Subrahmaṇya, and the ceremony of Vināyakacaturthi; Book III with Viṣṇu and his avatāras, the Mahābali story and the origin of the Ōṇam festival; Books IV and V give a fairly long account of the Rāmāyaṇa story; Book VI concerns itself with Kṛṣṇa and with the fight of the Pāṇḍavas with the Kauravas; Book VII treats about Ayyappan's origin and adventures, Kēraḷa temples, pollutions and ablutions, fasts and penances, śrāddhas and Keṭṭukalyāṇam.

While it is the last two chapters that treat primarily about Kēraḷa customs and beliefs, references to Kēraḷa practices are contained in the other chapters also. Further, the mythological traditions narrated by Fenicio in the first six chapters, derived as they are from Kēraḷa sources, have a Kēraḷa "bias" about them.

I shall list below some of the topics that convey a special appeal to students of Kēraḷa antiquities.

1. The origin of the letters of the alphabet as traceable to the sounds (or words) used by Śiva and Śakti in their first talk to each other.

2. A conversation between Fenicio and the Zamorin's astrologer.

3. Fenicio's dispute with learned men about Hindu cosmology.

4. The ridicule poured by a gentile poet on Śiva and Viṣṇu, through a poem describing the refusal of a maiden to marry either of these gods.

5. The tradition (in Kēraḷa) of the disappearance from the calendar, of one day of the week, known as *Poṅgalācca*, on which day Śiva is said to have cut off one of the heads of Brahmā.

To say that something will be done on *Poṅgalācca* means among the people of Kēraḷa (according to Fenicio)¹ that it will not be done at all.

6. A very curious story of the origin of toddy and the toddy-palm.

"The Brahmins, however, do not drink wine, nor do they eat anything containing wine, on pain of being outcasted. A certain Brahmin ruler would not write with our ink, suspecting it to have been made with wine.

"This year, the Zamorin of Calicut killed with his own hand a brother-in-law of his with two slashes, for appearing in a drunken state before him.

"A prince of the royal family of Cochin used to go about in disguise, killing Nairs found drunk".

7. Gaṇapati's curse on the moon of the caturthi day in

1. I am unable to trace this tradition or idiom in modern usage.

August, as explaining the practice of avoiding the sight of the moon on the Vināyakacaturthi day.

8. The seat of Bhagavati is said to be Cranganore, a great centre of pilgrimage. Numerous "fanois" are offered here on the festival day, and this is the largest source of revenue for the ruler of Cranganore. "The ruler of Cochin, wishing to have a part of this money, stationed armed men on the roads along which the pilgrims passed, seizing from them the money they carried and compelling them to go to another temple of Bhagavati, which for this purpose he caused to be built in his own kingdom in 'Palurti'."

9. The Ōṇam festival falls on the Tiru Ōṇam day of August when Māvēli (Mahābali) who had been made by Viṣṇu the "gateman of Paradise" after the conquest of the three worlds by Viṣṇu, is allowed to see his former subjects rejoice and make themselves as merry as in days of yore when he was their ruler. Viṣṇu ordered that on that day the high and the low should dress themselves in new clothes, eat *five* curries and celebrate the day. During the season, there are tournaments in cities and villages, where the people dividing themselves into parties engage themselves in fights, some with wooden sticks or with bows and wooden arrows, others without weapons but with bare hands giving slaps on the face and punches on the belly.

"Thus are all the festivals of these gentiles, according to the law which they profess, sensual and without any spiritual fervour", moralizes Fenicio.

10. A tradition attributes the origin of the Brahmins to fishermen who were appointed by Paraśurāma as guardians of the temples he built; the sacred thread is a memento of their past profession; and the ancient practice of the bridegroom and the bride (on the occasion of marriages) of catching with a piece of cloth (instead of the net) from inside a big

vessel filled with water, the fish which they put into it for this purpose, is referred to as another relic of their past.

11. Arjuna happened to chew the betel-leaf when he was in heaven for a time, and enjoyed it so much that he stole a branch and showed it to Kṛṣṇa who, in his turn, finding that he had never eaten anything so tasteful in his life, planted it on earth.

12. Ayyappan is the son of Viṣṇu by Śiva. 'Some say that Viṣṇu opened his body and delivered Ayyappan; others say that he vomited Ayyappan through the mouth, wherefore Ayyappan is called *Chūrtava* from the verb "charticunnu" which means "vomits"'

13. Ayyappan served the Pandyan king as a Nair soldier, brought a live tiger to him, and returned to Malabar where temples were erected to his honour and offerings made to him.

14. The Kerala method of choosing sites for temples, the ceremonies connected with the consecration of images, the offerings, the exorcisation of the devil, the small-pox goddess, the god kuṭṭiccāttan, and connected topics.

15. "The Zamorin of Calicut worships and makes offerings to an iron sword of Cēramān Perumāḷ, the Emperor of Malabar. It is certain that the sword is worshipped not for the iron material but because of its being a relic of an illustrious master of the past.

"The cross is like a bough of God with which we Christians protect ourselves against our enemies, just as the natives of

1. Fenici, has tripped woefully here. His etymology is all wrong, "*Chartava*," "the other name of Ayyappan", is obviously a mistake for Śaṣṭāvu which really has nothing to do with the verb "*Charticunnu*".

Malabar protect themselves with a sheaf of green leaves symbolic of their king's authority. They show the same reverence to this sheaf that they show to their rulers".

"The green boughs of Malabar rulers other than those of Cochin and Calicut are tied together both at the bottom and at the tip; this would signify the limited character of their power; but the bough of the Zamorin of Calicut has the tips of the leaves turned downwards, which is a symbol of overlordship over all other rulers except the ruler of Cochin whose green bough has its loose leaf-tips turned upwards, which shows that the ruler of Cochin is subject to the authority of none. "

"The Malabar people have so much respect for these green boughs of their rulers, that it would be enough for anyone keeping valuables at some place of embarkation, to place a bough of his ruler on his articles, in order to ward off interference by others.

"Similarly, if any person who is injured by another requests with green leaves in his hand, in the name of his king, for the cessation of the offence, the other at once leaves him without doing him any injury."

16. Having described the bath-observances, Fenicio says: "if you were to ask them why they alone in Malabar observe these bath-ceremonies while there are numerous other gentiles

1. Prof. Charpentier cites in his notes the following French passage from Paulinus' "Voyage aux Indes Orientales" which I translate:—

"These two rulers, the Zamorin and Perumpadappu (പെരുമ്പടപ്പൻ) alone had the privilege, as overlords, of causing to be carried before them a sheaf of coconut branches, tied below but free and loose above, which indicates that their authority and domain were vast, free, absolute and not restricted, while the other small chiefs of Malabar carried coconut boughs tied above and below which would show that they were subject to the authority of the above two overlords".

of diverse castes and nations who do not observe these ceremonies of pollutions and baths, they reply that there are two laws, *karma* and *jñāna*, of which the former is internal meditation and remembrance of gods, and that when Paraśurāma made the sea retreat from the land of Malabar, he asked the settlers to practise Karma Yōga. For this reason, this land of Malabar is called *Karma Bhūmi*. People of other provinces observe only *jñāna*, just as Malayālis do the same when they go out of Malabar”.

16. The ashes made from the dung of the cow claim the attention of this missionary to an unusual extent, perhaps because it was a topic on which he could vent all his ridicule. “In short, among the gentiles there is no purification except with cow-dung. They attribute so many excellences to the cow.....in its two horns reside Gaṇapati and Subrahmaṇya, in its eyes the Sun and the Moon, in its two ears the two wives of Brahmā, Īśwara in the nose, Viṣṇu in the tongue, the *dēvagaḥ* in the teeth, the Rṣis in the hair, the four feet are the four laws, the milk is Ambrosia which is called *amṛdam*, the urine is the *tīrtham* or the water which washes away all sins. For this reason, when the cow happens to urinate in the presence of some of them, they receive the urine and drink a portion of it and sprinkle a portion over their bodies and faces.’ Finally, they declare the dung to be a universal purifier”.

17. “After remaining some time in Paradise and not being satisfied, Dharmaputra said, “this does not suffice for me, I will be born again in Kaliyuga”; and he was born as Cēramān Perumāḷ, Emperor of Malabar. Bhīma was born as Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ; Nakula as Cōḷa Perumal; Sahadēva as Pāṇḍi Perumāḷ. All of them lived lives of Dharma, died and reached Paradise”.

1. That is the limit of the fervour of Rev. Father Fenicio. In spite of such sarcasm, the Hindus use the ashes, not on any one particular day of the year, but twice a day all through the year. Western science is gradually recognising the dung as a germicide, while the urine is an ingredient in the Ayurvedic Pharmacopea. But one is yet to hear of drinking and sprinkling it. [T. K. K. M.]

18. The two different versions of the story of the origin of Śivarātri; the Tiruvādira fast; the ceremonies for the dead; the *māsōpavāsa*; the marriages of Nambūdiri Brahmins; "Ordeals";— these are some of the other topics in the last Book.

Objectivity of treatment need not of course be looked for in Fenicio's reporting of the traditions or in his interpretations. He is frankly hostile to many of the view-points which he reports. He says at one place that he retails these traditions in order to expose their "absurdities," and again and again he enters upon polemical discussions.

Despite all this, Fenicio's work has a definite value for the antiquarian when once the factual inaccuracies and interpretational errors (like that of his meaning of Karma) are eliminated.

Fenicio cites a number of poetic extracts from the writings of a poet whom he refers to as "Malabar poet," "Pākkanār" (in his *tolḷāyiram*).

The tradition of Pākkanār still exists in Kēraḷa, though authentic versions of his poems are lacking.

Latin accounts of the life of Fenicio tell us that Pākkanār, the Malabar poet of old, whose poems Fenicio is said to have assiduously cultivated for polemical purposes, was the author of nine hundred eight-line stanzas which ridiculed orthodoxy and "called Brahmins stupid and blockheaded". Juvencius says that Fenicio's exploitation of Pākkanār's verses was so far successful that "a princess and her son acknowledged the antiquity of the divine religion, hating the legends of the Brahmins". In the present work, Fenicio himself refers to Pākkanār's ridicule in his *Tolḷāyiram* of some of the practices of orthodoxy.

The reconstruction of the original versions of Pākkanār's stanzas from Fenicio's translations is somewhat difficult on account of the inconsistent and varying notations used by him.

The difficulty is not insuperable, however ; and it is to be hoped that the task of restoration of the old work from Fenicio's translations would be taken up by some scholar who already knows (or can easily make available for himself) the verses that still circulates in parts of Kēraḷa as those of Pākkanār.

BOOK REVIEW.

*Malayāḷam Campu Kāvya*s by Mahākavi Uḷḷūr S. Paramēswara Iyer
—Śreedhara Printing House, Trivandrum—Price Rupees Two
and annas four.

Within the compass of about 460 pages of demy size, Uḷḷūr has not only dealt with every essential point relating to Malayāḷam *Campu*, but also provided for the *Campu* enthusiast a judiciously selected anthology of extracts from both published and unpublished works.

Here is *multum in parvo* : there are comments on the subject-matter, characterisation, style, treatment and chronology of *campus*, comparisons and contrasts, and well-weighed verdicts.

This survey of *Campu* from the 14th century Uṇṇiyaccicaritam to modern Citrābhiṣēkam misses neither the 'trees' nor the 'wood' : general problems and particular topics alike receive attention here.

Starting off with some preliminary observations on the *Campu* form, the work covers the entire ground : 14th century works, *Rāmāyaṇa Campu*, *Bhārata Campu*, Maḷamañṇalam's works, Nilakaṇṭhakavi's productions, miscellaneous compositions dealing with Vaiṣṇavite and Saivite topics, and modern works. *Campu* works constitute an essential part of our literary heritage ; and both in breadth and in depth, this literary form has attained unique development in Malayāḷam. Our *Manipravāḷa* style, the *lakṣaṇa* of which is defined so elaborately in *Līlātilakam*, is also unique in South India.

Uḷḷūr notes two differences between Sanskrit *Campus* and Malayalam ones, and indicates the significance of these differences.

That this *miśra* type of compositions was in all likelihood originally used in Kēraḷa in *Kūttu* and *Pāṭhaka* by Cākkiyārs and Nambiyārs is demonstrated by Uḷḷūr with the help of a number of facts, some of which are unearthed by Uḷḷūr himself for the first time.

The copious extracts from *Unṇiyāti Caritam* (ഉണ്ണിയടി ചരിതം) *Unṇiyācci Caritam* (ഉണ്ണിയച്ചി ചരിതം) and other unpublished works would be welcomed by all students of Malayalam.

The critical examination of the literary qualities of some of these works has a special value, in as much as the critic is himself a distinguished poet and *Campūkār*. For instance, the discussion (at pages 115—125) of the originality of Punam's representation of Śūrpaṇakhā and of Rāvaṇa rises from the plane of the purely critical to the level of the creative.

Other interesting topics are the different *rasas* of the Malayalam *Campus*; the intellectual equipment of the *Campūkāras*; the faults of such works (only spots on the sun, after all); and the reasons for the decline of this form in Kēraḷa (viz., the rise of Mēlputtūr's Sanskrit *Campus*, the popularity of *Kathakalīs* and the gradual widening of the gulf between the language of the *Campus* and the colloquials).

Uḷḷūr's monograph, evidencing as it does critical acumen, creative enthusiasm, strenuous research and an unusual knowledge of the highways and byways of our literature, whets our appetite for more productions of this kind from his pen, and makes us expectantly look forward to the early publication of his critical *magnum opus*, the history of Malayalam literature.

L. V. R.

REVIEW.

The *Bengali Literature*, (No. 2 of the P. E. N. series—Price Rs. 2) by Śrī Annadasankar Ray and Srīmathi Lila Ray, edited by Madame Sophia Wadia, can be had at the International Book House, Ltd., Ash Lane, Fort Bombay.

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EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MALAYĀLAM PROSE
WRITTEN BY CHRISTIANS*

By

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4-1667

CONSONANTS

1. Old -cc-, denoting a stage anterior to -śś-, is retained in the following:—
Kurēcce < ultimately *Kurāi-y-a-c-ceydə*; *vācca*, the past relative participle of *vāy-kk-*.

In modern *kurēśše* or *kurēśša*, the stop element in the long affricate has completely dropped out.

The other form *vāśša* (< *vācca*) is not heard in the Cochin State today.

2. *t* and *d* become changed to -s- in vulgar corruptions like the following:—

kausukham < *kautuka-*; [Skt.] 'the influence of *sukham* [Skt.] has also perhaps been operative.

sōppə 'garden' < *tōppə*.

dēvasa < *dēvatā* [Skt.]

varasan 'uninvited guest' < *varattan*.

dīnasa-ppettə < *dīnata* [from Skt. *dīna*]

agimōssiyam, a corruption of *aikamatya* [Skt.]

anuvasiccə 'having allowed' < *anuvadiccə* [from Skt. *anuvad-*]

carasi-kk- 'to be careful,' "corrupted" from *śraddhi-kk-* adapted from Skt. *śraddhā*

sarggam, a "sanskritization" of the native word *tarkkam* 'quarrel,' under the influence of Skt. *sarga*

3. Colloquial forms like the following show the assimilative change of the alveolar nasal *ṇ* to other nasals:—

tiṅga-y-illa [< *tiṇṇuga-y-illa*]

mumbə [< *munṇbə*]

imbam [*iṇbam*]

timma [*tiṇma*]

kāmmāṇ [*kāṇmāṇ*]

4. *veḷmāḍam* [< *veṇmāḍam*], *kāḷmāṇ* [< *kāṇmāṇ*] show *ḷ* < *ṇ*

5. *ṇ* is substituted (by analogy) for *n* (arising from the meeting of *ḷ* and *m*), in *peṇiaṇmār*, *kaṇmaṇmār*.

6. Skt. *b-* appears as *v-* in forms like *veḥdiccə* (Skt. *bandh-*), *vālyam* (Skt. *bālya*), etc.

7. *solppan* (Skt. *svalpa*) in collocations like *solppan poḷudə* has final *ṇ* < *m*; cf. vulgar colloquial *samayan* for *samayam*.

* Continued from p. 337 of Vol. III.

8. Forms like *pōrālīga* (<*pōrāyga*), *varālīga*, *mētālīga* are met with ; these are heard occasionally today.

9. *ellāppolūm* or *ellāppalūm* does not have the *y* of modern *ellāyppolūm*.

10. *sāndhiga* (for Skt. *sandhyā*) and *praḷegam* (for Skt. *praḷaya*) have -g- in the stead of -y-. Instances like colloquial *caṇdriya* beside *candrika*, *iṣṭiya* beside *iṣṭika*, etc. may have led to the feeling that the velar plosive was original in popular colloquial *sāndhiya* (from *sandhya*) and *praḷeyam*. Such a process of wrong back-formation has operated in *tirige* (*tiriye* < *tiriya*) and *olige* (*oliye* < *oliya*), both of which are modern.

11. *Kār-kk-* for (*kā-kk-*) and *kaṇar-kk-* (for *kaṇa-kk-* formed from Skt. *ghana*) have an intrusive *ṛ*. These are colloquial. Literary Mal. has *kalar-kk-*, *kōr-kk-*, *pīlar-kk-*, in all of which *ṛ* is an intrusive. Tam. colloquials have *kār-kk-*, *kōr-kk-*.

12. The change of the post-dental *ṛ* to the palato-cerebral *ṣ* is met with in forms like *pallikkāṣar* which shows the dissimilative change of old *ṛ* to *ṣ*.

13. Skt. *ṣ* is adapted as *ḷ* in *ḷal*, *aṇvali-kk-*, *puruḷan*, etc.

14. *Kūdal* 'hesitation' [< *kūsal* < *kūśal*] shows the change of *s* > *d*.

SANDHI.

1. The colloquial practice of using the front on-glide after consonants preceding, even where there is no breath-pause, is represented in some of these texts, as in *avar yeṅgilum*, etc.

2. The Mal. fondness for the front glide *y* which from an earlier period began to replace in many contexts the back glide *v* (which was originally normal in these contexts) is reflected in instances like *vaññū-y-eññā*, etc.

3. Rules regarding doubling of stops are here not consistently or "correctly" observed.

FOREIGN NAMES.

There are a number of names of European places, towns, countries, subjects of study and religious functionaries, which are sought to be spelt in Varttamānappustagam according to the pronunciation current at the time in the Mediterranean countries (particularly Italy and Portugal). The spellings used in Vartt. are transliterated here.—The interpretation of the phonetic facts has to be made separately with reference to the actual sound-values of the European names.

allemāññā 'Germany'

āśya 'Asia'

grammatīca 'grammar'

ittālya 'Italy'

iṅglēsā 'English'

ispāñña 'Spain'

īndia 'India'

evaṅgēliōṇ

evurōppa 'Europe'
 kardiṇāl 'cardinal'
 kāppa dē bōṇo esperāṇsa 'Cape of Good Hope'
 kumbasāram 'Confession' from Portuguese 'confessare'
 koṇsūl 'Consul'
 kvāreṇtēṇa 'Quarantine'.
 lisbōa 'Lisbon'.
 trōṇōs
 dōje 'Doge'
 pātriārkaṇmār 'Patriarchs'.
 pilosūpia 'Philosophy'.
 pyirēṇsa 'Florence'.
 plenipotensārio 'Plenipotentiary'.
 prāsaṇ 'Frenchman'.
 prattugāl 'Portugal'.
 proppagāṇda phīde 'Propaganda fide'.
 Bolōṇña 'Bologne'.
 muṇsiṇṇōr 'Monsignor'.
 miserakkōrdia 'Misericordia'.
 lāsaretta 'Lazarette'.
 Viṣkōṇti 'Visconti'.
 viṣkōṇtessa 'Viscontessa'.
 vattikāṇa 'Vatican'.
 siyēṇna 'Sienna'.
 siṇṇōra 'Signora'.
 sekretāri 'Secretary'.
 rettorikā 'Rhetoric'.
 rōma 'Rome'.

VI MORPHOLOGY

1. The third case postposition *koṇḍa* is used in contexts where to-day the postposition *āl* would be preferred.

2. The Skt. *prati* when used as a postposition in this dialect has not only the meanings 'concerning' 'towards', but also the force of 'for the sake of', as in *avar prati*, *daivatte prati*, etc.

3. *-ēl*, as in *marattēl*, *kayyēl*, appears fairly often; this type is still heard in parts of Travancore.

4. *eḍō* for singulars and plurals, masculines and feminines, as commonly in the older stages.

5. The frequency with which the terminative expletive *ē* is used in instances like *irikkayilē*, *adiṇālē*, etc., is a noteworthy old feature.

6. Among pronouns, the following are noteworthy :—*iṇikkā* a colloquial form < *eṇikkā*.

ñōm [for *hām*] owing to the influence of the bilabial *ñom* and *nōm* are heard to-day.

tande tande 'of each', modern *avanavande*; *tainaḷ tainiḷude* 'of each group', modern *avaravarude*; *ā dēham* 'that personage' [modern *addēham* the honorific third person singular pronoun].

7. Among feminine forms, one may note the old *aḍiyāṭṭi*, *paidalāṭṭi*, *agadiyāṭṭi*.

8. Rational plurals like *dōṣāṭṭāḷar*, *kūli-y-āḷar*, *puṇya-v-āḷar*; *paḷikkārar*, *paḷikkāḷar* and *kartaṇaṇṇaḷ* are other old plurals.

9. Though the personal endings of finite tense-forms had disappeared already in Mal., certain traditional forms continued to be used in formal prayers and utterances. Since the history of the Malayāḷi Christians goes back to a period when these personal endings were still current, there is nothing surprising in the fact that such endings were retained in their prayers and formal ceremonies. The prayers cited in SV contain many types of personal endings.

10. Past stems like *vīññ-* (for *vīñ-*) and (conversely) *ūñi* (for *ūññ-i-*) are peculiar.

11. The "indeterminate" tense with *ū* is represented in more contexts than those in which they are used to-day :—*vāstavamāyirippū*; *aviḍe paṛkka ṇallū*.

12. *Okka* which originally was a pure infinitive began to be declined (like a noun) in the New Mal. period. *Okkaḱkum*, *okkayude*, *okke* are all met with here.

13. The collocations formed of the relative participles and *āṛa* express 'manner'; future relative participles followed by *āṛa* (as in *ceyyum-āṛa*) express 'effect' also; past relative participles followed by *āṛe* denote 'time'—Older *kāṇmāṛ-uṇḍa*, *vicāriḍḍāruṇḍa*.

14. The combinations of present relative participles and *appōḷ*, like *ceyyuṇṇappōḷ* are rare to-day.

15. *Koḷgā*, *celgā*, *eḷuññēkkā* are imperatives with final long *ā*.

16. *Vēṇḍuvada* or *veṇḍvada* for modern *vēṇḍada*.

17. Verbal nouns with *-ga*, *-kka* are used with the "seventh case" ending *-il*, as in (*paraññott-*) *irikka-y-il-ē*; this is uncommon to-day in Cochin colloquials.

18. Among negative tense-forms the following may be noted :—

(i) Beside the negative finite type of *ceyyāññu*, the type of *pōgāttu*, *illāttu* so common in 18th century Mal. literary texts, is also used.

(ii) *tāmasirādē*, *bōdhirādē*, *vicārirādē*, *sammadirādē* which show an *r* instead of the glide-developed *y*. This *r* is met with in the negative participles of dissyllabic verb-bases which have *i* for their past stems.

(iii) Negative "purpose"-participles with *-āyuvān* occur fairly frequently in the texts under reference :—*udappinde avagāsam koḍukkāyuvān*; *veliccam-ākkāyuvān*; *āgāyuvān*; *pūgāyuvān*, *vighṇam varuttāyuvān*; etc.

(iv) *ñillādē*, *perattāḍiyādē* as negative imperatives (met with dialectally even to-day).

(v) *pūgikkollāyē* is another old form with *ollā*.

VII VOCABULARY

Native elements.

The words that I have discussed below are (a) those which are not in common currency to-day, except (if it so happens) in regional or communal colloquials ; and (b) those which show structural or semasiological peculiarities.

These words include (i) old words forming part of the native heritage, (ii) words and forms specially adapted for expressing purely Christian religious ideas, and (iii) peculiar pseudo-Sanskritic formations derived from native words.

Many of the words discussed below are, it is true, met with in non-Christian texts and documents also ; but the question how far some of these words enjoyed a special popularity in the language of the Christians (in respect of structure, meaning, connotation or associations) is a matter deserving of a more intensive investigation than I have been able to make in the course of these pages. I have, however, indicated in connection with a few words that they may have had a 'communal' popularity on account of social, cultural or historical considerations.

Wherever a word in the following lists is listed in VD (as cited by GUNDEBT), or in BAILEY, I have indicated the fact within square brackets. Though presumably the materials gathered by the compilers of VD (in the 17th and 18th centuries) and by BAILEY (at the very beginning of the 19th century) were *chiefly* drawn from the language of the Christian communities of North Travancore and South Cochin, it must be understood that the mere fact that a word is listed by VD and BAILEY does not necessarily mean that it was "communal" or that it enjoyed a special popularity among the Christians. This question, as I have pointed out more than once in the course of these pages, is a complicated one, and further materials (not available now) alone will satisfactorily solve the problem.

The words discussed below are all taken from Vartt., SV or BG. Many of the words are common to all the three. There are, however, a few which are exclusive to one text or the other ; and these have been marked off as such by me.

aḍutta 'suitable, fitting' and *aḍātta* 'unworthy, unsuitable,' as in the following, are not common to-day ; *tanikk-aḍutta yōgyaṇṇaḷ* or *makkalkk-aḍutta āsarna* ; and *varggattiṇ-aḍātta kṛtyaṇṇaḷ*, etc.

altal 'sorrow'. -

amaḷi 'tumult' [VD]

amboṇ 'fine gold' not *aimboṇ* 'five metals', but cf. Tam. *am*, 'beautiful', or cf. Tam. *paim-poṇ*.

ayarpya 'estrangement' 'discord' [VD]. Cf. Tam. *ayar-kk-* 'to forget.'

ariśam 'revengefulness' [SV defines it thus as 'revengefulness']—In literary Mal., it means 'anger'. 'Black pepper' is the meaning in Tam.

araśar-irikkā-sthānam 'seat of kings' 'capital of a country'.

alarinnā 'having become fatigued, on account of a long march' [Vartt.] appears to be a blend of *alaññā* and *ayarinnā*. Perhaps there is also the influence of *ular-* 'to be hot, dry.'

aṛappā 'qualm' 'aversion' [VD] ; the verb *aṛai-kk-* 'to feel aversion' also exists in Mal.

Tam. *aṛai-* does not have this meaning ; perhaps Tam. *aṛai-pō-* 'to become bewildered or nonplussed' may ultimately be related to the Mal. form.

The form *aṛappā* is used in expressions like *aṛappu kett!* 'without any qualm or aversion.'

aḷivā 'repentance' [VD], as in *maṇassinḍe aḷivā* in SV. Cf. 'loosening of the mind', 'distress', a meaning that is associated with the word in classical literary texts. 'Distress' is a meaning shown by Tamil also.

iḷummal 'gnashing' in *paḷ-l-iḷummal* 'gnashing of the teeth'—VD has *iṛambal*.

udappā 'offence' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *udai-kk-* 'to kick,' 'to strike.'

uyir-kk- 'to be resurrected', *uyirppu* 'resurrection' [Bailey], *uyirovar* 'those alive'.—Cf. Tam. *uyir-* 'to be animated to life.' *uyir-kk-* and *uyirppā* (as in *mariccavarude uyirppā*) convey the Christian idea of 'resurrection.'

uvavi [also *upavi*] [VD] incorrectly perhaps owing to a dissimilative change] 'love.' VD has a new *upavi-kk-* 'to love' based on *upavi*.

uvavi is based on the old base *uva-kk-* 'to feel glad.' Tam. has *uvavu* 'great pleasure' 'religious ardour.'

uvavi is a classical word met with in Rāmacaritam ; but *upavi* and *upavi-kk-* appear to have been specially popular in Christian literature.

ūṇi *hirūpi-kk-* 'to consider carefully or intently.'

ūṇi < *ūṇṇi* < *ūṇḍi*, the conjunctive participle of the verb *ūṇḍ-* 'to be fixed, steadfast,' etc.

The peculiarity here is the somewhat rare change of *ññ* to *ṇ* (through an intermediate stage of *ṇ* simplified from *ññ* after a preceding long syllable). The cerebralisation (raising of the tongue-tip on the mouth-roof) arises from the influence of the back vowel preceding.

There are some rare analogies in Mal :— < *āṇā* < *āñā* < *āññā* < *āḡiṇḍu* [present tense of *ā-* 'to become'.] *varuṇu* [the colloquial variant of the present tense finite *varuññu*] < *varuñu* < *varuññu*.

ūḷam 'turn' [VD and Bailey], as in *paḷa ūḷavum* 'many times'.—Cf. Tam. *ūḷ* 'turn' 'time'.—SV has the pseudo-Sanskritic form *ūṣam*.—Cf. the form *kṣvaṇ* used in BG for *kḷavaṇ*.

erivā 'religious zeal' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *erivu* 'burning' 'agitation' 'wrath,' which meanings exist for the Mal. word also even to-day.—The meaning may have been specially adapted in the religious vocabulary of Christians :

eliāppolūm 'always' appears in this dialect often without the intrusive-y- of modern *eliāyppolūm*.

ellāvaṇ-um 'all people' is a "corruption" with "wrong" singular masculine ending—(a)ṇ, occurring in BG.—The "correct" form is *ellāvar-um*.

eḷima 'humility' [VD and Bailey].—A common word in the 18th and 19th century Kēraḷa Christian vocabulary.

ēg- 'to rebuke' [VD and Bailey]. In classical Mal *ēg-* generally means 'to direct, command,' 'to order a boon to be conferred.'—This classical *ēg-* corresponds to Tam. *ēv-*.

ērakkuravā [VD and Bailey], *ērakkurayam* 'assault' 'indignities,' 'illtreatment'—The first word is a noun, while the second is a noun formed from the old infinitive *ēra-k-kuraya*.—*ērakkuravā* occurs in old granthavaris [Cf. Cochin Arch. Report for 1103 M.E.].

Tam. *ērakkuraya-p-pēs* means 'to vilify or abuse.'

ēttam and *kai-y-ēttam* 'assault' derive their meaning from *ēr-* 'to attack', whereas *ērakkuravā* derives its meaning from 'what is more or less than propriety.'

oppāri 'comparison' 'parable'.

orimbāḍa, *orumbāḍa* 'concord' [Bailey]. Cf. Tam. *orupṭāḍu* 'unanimity' 'concord', Tam. *orum-paḍ*- and Tam. *oru-maṇa-p-paḍ*-

karēr- and *kēr-* 'to climb, ascend' are both met with in this dialect.—The former base appears to have disappeared in Mal. colloquials by about the 19th century. [see my EMM, p. 42].

kaḷalappāḍa 'election,' 'nomination' [VD]. Cf. Tam. *kaḷal-* 'to become loose, free, marked off as a separate unit.'

Bailey's *kaḷalappāḍa* means 'groin'.

kār-kk- 'to guard, watch, etc.' [Vartt. and BG].—The intrusive -r- in this word is not met with in other Mal. colloquials.—*Kaṇar-kk*—[BG.] is another base which has an intrusive r not heard in other colloquials.

The intrusive -r- appears in literary Mal. *piḷarkk-* [cf. Tam. *piḷa-kk*], *kōr-kk-* [cf. Tam. *kō-kk-*], *kalar-kk-* [cf. Tam. *kala-kk-*] and in colloquial Tam. *kōr-kk-*, *cumar-kk-* [for *cuma-kk-*] and *kār-kk-* [for *kā-kk-*].

The r is inserted in these forms as an intrusive, on account of the analogy of forms like *kuḷir-*, *kuḷir-kk-*.

kīḷi-kk- 'to cover or traverse a distance of' [Vartt].

kuṛai-kk- 'to cut short' is used literally in *kuṛeccu koṇṇā*; cf. *ṇilattil kuṛayāḍē* in Uttararām. gadyam.

kūḍal 'hesitation' < *kūṣal* [the usual modern Mal. form] < *kūṣal* [cf. Tam. *kūṣal*, *kūccal*].

kūṭṭ-aruttā 'definitely'.—Cf. *aruttu paṛa-* 'to speak decisively,' *aruttā paḷiṣa* 'fixed interest,' *vila-y-aṟu-kk-* 'to fix the price.' VD has *aṟṭṭa vākkō* 'conditional promise.'

Bailey equates *kūṭṭarupṭā* to 'want of friendship' 'arrogance, haughtiness,' in which *aṟu-kk-* appears to have the meaning 'to sever.'

kai-y-āl- 'to rule' [VD], and *kai-y-āli-kk-* 'to entrust, hand over charge to' [VD and Bailey].

kuraḷa 'backbiting; calumny'.—Eḷuttaccan has *kuralakkāraṇ*.—Cf. Tam. *kuralai*.

cavaḷ- 'to be soiled'. [VD and Bailey].—Cf. Tam. *cavaḷ* 'to become crumpled'.—Tam.—Mal. *cavaṭṭ-*, *caviṭṭ-* 'to trample on, to tread on' are causatives of *cavaḷ-*, *caviḷ-*.

cittāḷma 'services performed by personal attendant' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *cittāḷ*. *cey-* 'to do' appears very often as *cai-* in SV and BG.—This *cai* or *cay-* is common in old mss. and inscriptions.

cemmōrtta [VD and Bailey], *cummōrtta*, *cemmūrttam* [this last in Vartt. only] 'blessing, benediction.' VD has also *cemmōr-* (<*cemmuvar-* 'to become prosperous') and *cemmōrtt-* (<*cemmuvarutt-* 'to make prosperous' 'to bless'.)

cemmuvar- occurs in Kṛṣṇagātha and other old classical texts. The structural contraction and the particular meaning 'benediction' for the derivative *cemmōrtta* are due probably to the incorporation of the form in the religious terminology of the Christians.

The *u* of *cummōrtta* is due to the bilabial following; and *cem-mūrttam* is a corrupt variant.

tagarppa 'demolition, destruction,' as in *manassinde tagarppa* 'contrition of the mind,' used in religious phraseology.

taṇma 'lowness, vileness.'—This is the sense in which the word is sometimes used in classical texts like Kṛṣṇagātha. Cf. *taṇ-peḍ-* of this 15th century text.

taṇuppa 'comfort' is another meaning, as in *rakṣayum taṇuppum* [SV]. *taṇya* 'wicked,' as in *taṇya hṛdayam* 'wicked heart,' shows in its formation the influence of *taṇ* above and of Skt. *daṇḍya*—*taṇya* does not occur in any classical texts, so far as I know.

tatra-p-peḍ- 'to be in a hurry' 'to hustle' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *tattaram* 'flurry.'

tala-p-peḍ- 'to be the first' 'to commence.'—Cf. Tam. *talappaḍ-*.

tigai- 'to be fulfilled' 'to be completed' is used in phrases like *pustagaṇṇal tigayuvāṇ* which is the literal translation of "in order that the scriptures might be fulfilled."

tirva and *tirmma* 'final settlement.' In Vartt., *tirmma-y-aṭṭa* means 'definitely.'

tēr- 'to become aware of (fault), to be mended or reformed,' as in *piḷacca-dinmēl tēri*.

tuḍarmāṇṇal 'continuations.'—The *-āṇam-* here is due to analogy of forms like *tir-māṇam*.

tuḍassam 'beginning' [VD and Bailey] (for *tuḍakkam*, *toḍakkam*) owes its -ss- to the analogy of *taḍassam* perhaps.

turaṣṣa 'opening' [Bailey] is another form with -ss- introduced on account of the analogy of words like *baḷaṣṣa*.

telinnā 'having become glad.'

ṇaḍē 'formerly, for the previous time.' This is used in classical Mal. and in some modern regional colloquials.—*ṇaḍāḍē* 'for the first time,' heard in the northern parts of Cochin State, is derived through haplology, from *ṇaḍāṇaḍē*.

ṇāṇḍi 'gratitude.'—The "correct" Mal. form is *ṇāṇṇi* [< older *ṇāṇḍi*]; but the influence of Skt. *nandi* 'joy' has led to the spelling *ṇāṇḍi* in the "learned" Mal. of some people. In literary Tamil and in older Mal. the form has both the meanings 'goodness' and 'gratitude.'

ṇarunṇāṇi 'insolent language' 'abuse' [VD]. The form is connected with *ṇarukk*—'to mash, cut into pieces'.—I have not come across *ṇarunṇāṇi* elsewhere.

ṇerappə, ṇirappə [BAILEY] 'reconciliation, levelling of differences' 'peace'—Eḷuttaccan has *ṇirappu parai*.

ṇigalam 'pride, haughtiness' [VD and BAILEY]; this is perhaps a popular back-formation from *ṇilam*, like *tegal* 'scorpion' [BG] from *tēl*.

ṇombaram 'pain' 'distress' [BAILEY]—Cf. Tam. *ṇombalam* and North Mal. *ṇombalam*.

paṭṭāṇṇa, paṭṭāṇṇa [BAILEY], *paṭṭāḷṇṇa* [BG] 'truth'. The "correct" form is *paṭṭāṇṇa* [cf. Tam. *paṭṭāṇṇu*].

paṭṭāṇṇa with final *a* instead of *ə* appears to be a colloquial variant.

BAILEY has *paṭṭāṇṇa-yuḍe* as the "sixth case" form of *paṭṭāṇṇa*.

paṭṭāḷṇṇa occurring in BG is a "corruption", with an intrusive *l*.

paḍava 'boat'.

pammāḷṭa 'deceit' [BAILEY].

poruḷ paḍavārtta, (poruḷ)paḍārtha, piḍārtha [this last in BG].—In Vartt., the word has the meaning 'religious discourse' in contexts like the following: *upavi mēl uḷḷa poruḷpaḍārtta*;

poruḷpaḍārtta paraṇṇādiṇḍe śēṣam; i ṇagariyil uḷḷa poruḷpaḍārtta-k kāraruḍēyum.

The same meaning exists for the expression in SV:—*ōttum poruḷ-paḍavārttayum*, and *taṇṇaḷ taṇṇaḷuḍe pēccil paḍārtta parayugayum*.

piḍārtha (which is apparently a corruption appearing in BG) means 'speech' 'expression' in *ṇinnuḍe piḍārtha ṇinne ariyikkuṇṇu*.

paḍavārtta occurs in the old commentary on Līl in *pāl pōle paḍavārttayum* where *paḍavārtta* may mean 'speech' or 'expression'.

GUNDERT cites VD as explaining it as 'disputing'. This appears to me to be unsatisfactory.—In the Christian texts under reference, the expression appears not only as *paḍārtta* but also as *poruḷ paḍavārtta*. Can it be that the expression was phrasal to start with, and that from the collocation *poruḷ paḍa vārtta parayuga* 'to hold a discourse in such a way as to make the meaning clear' the expression *poruḷ paḍavārtta* was isolated?

paḍava 'bird' [BAILEY] 'bird in general'.—

peśar 'rain'.—Cf. Tam. *puyal* 'storm', colloquial, *peśal* 'beating rain'.—
Cf. *piśir* 'rain-drops.'

puṛavar 'outsiders'.—This form occurs in Uttara-rāmāyaṇam gadyam.

punnāram or *ponnāram* 'false praise, flattery' [VD and BAILEY], as in
punnāram-āya vacanaṇṇal.

peraṭṭa 'adultery', as in the sixth commandment *peraṭṭ-aḍiyādē* 'non
moechaberis'.—Neither the literary dialect nor the colloquials that I
know of have *this* meaning for *peraṭṭa*.

pūg- 'to enter' (a Mal. base formed from older *pug-*) often interchanged
with *pōg-* 'to go.'

paidalāṭṭi 'young woman or girl'.—Note the association of *-āṭṭi* with *paidal*,
in order to indicate the feminine gender.

perppa 'copy.' [VD and BAILEY]—*pagarppa* is a comparatively late form.
porudi 'forgiveness, pardon', [BAILEY] as in *dōṣattinde porudi* 'forgive-
ness of sins'.

poruppāṇ-um 'Arrangements for lodging', as in *tinṇānum poruppānum*
pozu-kk- has the meaning 'to abide', 'to stay' in Mal.

pōrum 'enough' [BAILEY], beside *madi*.

pōriga in *madi pōriga* 'sufficiency' 'ability'.—BAILEY has *pōrima* with the
same meaning.

maṛudali-kk- 'to oppose' 'to contradict', from *maṛu-tala*, 'opposition'.—
Cf. *maṛu-kk-* 'to oppose.'

miṇḍ-aḍaṇṇ- 'to be silenced'.—VD has *miṇḍu-māṇ-*, and BAILEY has *miṇḍ-
āṭṭam muṭṭ-* with the same meanings.

muṇḍugār literally 'those who wear the loin-cloth' is used for native Chris-
tians as distinguished from *kuppāya-k-kār* 'those who wear coats' i.e.
Eurasian Christians (who are called *caṭṭakkār* to-day).

muṇḍu muṇigal 'miscellaneous *sāmāns*'.—The generalisation of meaning
is evident in contexts like *ponnum velliyum koṇḍulla muṇḍumuṇigal*.

mēśakk-iri-kk-, *mēśa-kali-kk-*, literally 'to dine at table' means 'to take food'
in contexts like *pul purattu mēśakk-iruttuvāṇ*. *mēśa-kali-kk-* or *mēśakk-
iri-kk-* is generally used to-day only in connection with the dinner or
meals of Europeans.

mēṇi 'rank' 'honour', as in *mēṇi-kṣayam* [SV]. VD has *mēṇi-y-aṇiyuṇṇa-
vaṇ* 'courteous man'.

maiyaḷ 'twilight' 'dusk' [VD and BAILEY]—Cf. Tam. *mai-* 'to be dim'.

mōṇṇ- 'to bark or howl, like a dog' [VD], as in *mōṇṇuvāṇ pōguṇṇa ṇāya*.
—Cf. *moḷaṇṇ-*, *muḷaṇṇ-*.

mṛuṇṇali-kk- 'to become benumbed' [BG] is a corruption of *viṇṇali-kk-*. In
corrupt colloquials, *v* changes to *m*; cf. *mikk-* for *viikk-*, *amasaram* [BG]
for *avasaram*.

vaga- 'to arrange,' as in *vagaṇṇuṇḍākkiya pustagam*. VD *vagaccal* is equated
to 'composition of work, fiction'; and BAILEY has 'to compose a work'.

vaḍuḡar 'bondsmen or slaves' [VD and BAILEY].—These were generally Pulayas. Though slavery has disappeared, Pulaya servants (and families, sometimes) remain attached to Christian families permanently even to-day in Kēraḷa.

varattar 'uninvited guests' [VD and BAILEY], from *varattā* 'coming, arrival.'—BG has *varasan* (with $s < t < tt$).

vaḷarmi-kk- 'to rear up' is based upon the colloquial *vaḷarmma* (= literary *vaḷarcca*).

vaḷaṇṇi-kk- 'to hatch a plot' [Vartt.]

vācca 'some', 'any' is the past relative participle of *vāy-kk-*. The meaning has undergone considerable generalisation.—BAILEY has *vāssadum* 'anything'.

vīccuḡār, literally 'throwers (of nets)' 'fishermen'—VD has *vīccuḡāran*. *vīṇḍu vīḷuvāṇ* 'in order to redeem or recover.' *vīḷ-* is a Late Mal. base corresponding to Early Mal. and Tam. *mīḷ-*.

vīḷḷaccan 'pater familias'.

vēṇḍuvadā, *vēṇḍvadā* 'what is required'.—Modern *vēṇḍadā*.

vēṇḍādhīnam 'objectionable, malicious words.'—A corruption of *vēṇḍādanam* under the influence of forms like Skt. *parādhīnam*. One hears in the corrupt colloquials *ācchādhīnam* for Skt. *āchādana*.

BAILEY has *vēṇḍāsānam* which is also a "corruption" with $s < t$ (through the fricative stage).

veḷusam in *veḷusamāyi ppara-* 'to speak openly'.—Cf. *vaḷusam* and *paḷusam*.

vellaṅguḍi (*vellaṁ kuḍi*), literally 'drinking of water', is used for 'food taken during a journey' and for 'food' in general. BAILEY gives the meaning 'provisions for a journey'.

veḷmāḍam 'terrace', for *veṇmāḍam*.

sargam 'quarrel' for *tarkkam*, is one of those numerous pseudo-Sanskritic forms that abound in this dialect.

sōppa 'garden' 'a *tope*' [VD] shows *s* for the initial *t-* of *tōppa*.

TAMIL AND MALAYALAM.

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TAMIL AND MALAYALAM.

When about eleven years ago at the suggestion of Prof. S. K. Chatterji (who proposed to me that I should take up the work of writing a historical grammar of Tamil somewhat on the model of Wright's grammars) I began to examine the so-called Sangam works of Tamil (എട്ടുത്തൊക്കെ, പത്തുപ്പാട്ട് and പതിനെൺകീഴ്ക്കണക്കു്), I was at once struck with the conspicuous divergences that existed between the language of these works and that of the Saivite and Vaishnavite bhaktas of the Tamil country, with whose productions I was already familiar. The linguistic cleavage impressed me as something more than merely dialectical; it appeared to me that chronological evolution was involved here. On further examination, I could see that the language of the collection known as പതിനെൺകീഴ്ക്കണക്കു് (which embraces works probably of widely different dates, like കുറുപ, നാലടി, etc.) was in some respects less archaic than that of എട്ടുത്തൊക്കെ and പത്തുപ്പാട്ട്. Even among the members of the last-mentioned two collections, minor linguistic divergences revealed themselves (as for instance in പരിപാടത and in കലിപ്പാതതൊക്കെ). But on the whole it was fairly easy to see that the features common to എട്ടുത്തൊക്കെ and പത്തുപ്പാട്ട് would very well justify the use of the term Old Tamil for describing their language as distinguished from that of the Saivites (തേവാരം, തിരുവാചകം, തിരുക്കോവൈ) and the Vaishnavites (നാലായിരപ്രബന്ധം), which might be fittingly termed Early Middle Tamil. Some of the works belonging to the collection പതിനെൺകീഴ്ക്കണക്കു്, while they showed fewer archaisms than എട്ടുത്തൊക്കെ and പത്തുപ്പാട്ട്, yet appeared to me to have been written in a language much nearer Old Tamil than Middle Tamil. Hence I would describe their language as Transitional Old Tamil. On the other side, works written after about the 9th or 10th centuries down till കമ്പൻ, showing as they did more modern peculiarities, could be described as Late Middle Tamil.

The study of the origins of the Malayalam language led me very definitely to the view that this west coast speech was allied more directly to Early Middle Tam. than to any other chronological unit of

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Tamil, I have collected and discussed the relevant features of affinities in my "Evolution of Mal. Morphology". The divergences between Old Tam. and Middle Tam. could in the nature of things be merely touched upon in that work, though I have had to discuss some of the aspects elsewhere.

In this paper I wish to present a conspectus which would show at a glance (i) the differences between Old Tam. and Middle Tam., and (ii) the affinities between Mal. and Early Middle Tam. Such a survey would serve as a synoptic basis for a complete history of the Mal. language with plenty of sidelight on the evolution of the earlier stages of Tamil.

The highly debated question whether the Sangams mentioned in Tamil literary tradition had at all a historical basis does not concern me. For my purpose, it is enough to give recognition to what is an obvious fact that the linguistic features common to *ஐங்குறுநூறு* and *பதிற்றுப்பத்து* would very well justify the use of the term 'Old Tamil', for the language of these collections. These collections contain poems written by different writers, perhaps during widely differing periods. In spite of a plethora of speculations and quasi-scientific discussions, the dates of composition or even of compilation are unknown; but of this there is no doubt that the language of these works is older than that of the Saivite and Vaishnavite devotees who poured out ecstatic prayers to their divine masters in the language current among the people during the period covered by the sixth to the ninth centuries.

Old Tam. may have become standardized in later stages, and some of its features (like some rules relating to external sandhi) might have been purely literary; but there is little doubt that the vast majority of its peculiarities did have their roots in a living speech current long before the Middle Tam. period.

Further, even after full allowance has been made for regionalisms in Old Tam. and Middle Tam., most of the unique features of the latter could be derived from Old Tam. on the basis of normal rules of phonetic, morphological, syntactic and semasiological change. A fairly continuous linguistic evolution could thus be established between the chronological units: Old Tam. and Middle Tam.

The abbreviations O. T. and M. T. stand for Old Tamil and Middle Tam. respectively.

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In this connection, it is noteworthy that the grammar called തൊൽകാപ്പിയം (എഴുത്തു and ചൊൽ) lay down the rules applicable to Old Tam., while വീരചാഴിയം, its commentary written by പെരുഞ്ചൈനാർ, the grammars നന്മുൽ and വേമീനാതം (the two last-mentioned belong to the 13th century) contemplate also the evolved usages current in the Middle Tam. period. The commentary on വീരചാഴിയം is particularly useful in as much as it refers to many 'popular' and colloquial peculiarities of the time.

Phonetics and Phonology.

1. The O. T. sounds known as അയ്യം (as in അയ്യം, എയ്യം, കയ്യം, മയ്യം), and കുറിയലികരം (as in കേൾമിയാ, നാകിയാ) are absent in Mal.—There are reasons to think that they must have fallen into desuetude in the M. T. period.

O. T. യാനൈ, യാഴ്, യാർ appear in M. T. colloquial inscriptions as ആനൈ, ആഴ് etc.—Mal. follows M. T.

2. ഹ് is described in തൊൽ, എഴുത്തു as a labio-dental.—In colloquial Tam. and in Mal. it is more often a bilabial.

The sound ഹ് now evaluated as a cerebralized variety of post-dental or pre-alveolar ഹ് is recognized by Tol. എഴുത്തു as a വല്ലെഴുത്തു or plosive, in phonation, behaviour in sandhi, etc. The present-day value of ഹ് arose after the O. T. period, unless indeed it is thought that തൊൽകാപ്പിയം merely reproduced a still earlier tradition.

3. The sound ഞ് was current in O. T. and not unrepresented in M. T. It occurs in colloquial passages of M. T. inscriptions, besides the dental ഞ് (as in നായിൻ) — Mal. has preserved this ഞ് not only in old words but also as a unique feature in തൊൻ, തെഞ്ചൻ, തെന്റ, തൊഞ്ചൻ, etc.

4. O. T. words with the absolute consonantal finals dental ന്, (in പൊന്തൻ 'agreeing' വെരിൻ 'backside'), ഞ് (in ഉരിഞ്ചു 'rubbing') and വ് (as in തെവ്) fell into disuse in the M. T. period.—Except അവ്, ഇവ് which appeared in അവെല്ലാം, ഇവെല്ലാം in Old Mal. the others are non-existent in Mal.

5. ത്, ഡ്, ന്, ഞ്, റ്, യ്, were compulsorily absolute consonantal finals in O. T.—Colloquial passages in M. T. inscriptions (and in

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modern Tam.) show final enunciative vowels embodied. —Mal. follows M. T. colloquial practice.

6. The Tam. enunciative u could be shown to have phonetically developed in Mal. before pauses to the more open sound ə , while it was retained unchanged within pauses, as in രണ്ടുപേർ, വിട്ടുകൊടുത്തു, തെച്ചുകുളി.

7. O. T. അതു and ഇതു had a full u sound (മുറിയലുകരം) finally (except in some contexts). In the M. T. colloquial, the final vowel appears to have been optionally given the സംവൃത value of കുറിയലുകരം. — Old Mal. had this optional practice.

8. The semi-permanent incorporation of vocalic glides (before pauses and before consonants following) in Mal. words like തീയ്, നീയ്, പൂവ്, വടുവ്, മാവ് was not permitted in Old Tam.—M. T. inscriptions and colloquial Tam. do have instances with the glide (as in ഇങ്കേയ്, ചങ്ങരങ്കേയ്, ഇവനേയ്).

9. The use of intervocal glides is normally regulated by rules that I have discussed elsewhere. Colloquials of Tam. show variations from the general rules. — These colloquial tendencies became pronounced in different directions in Mal.

10. The elision of final vowels in phrases like വെണ്ണകുടങ്ങി, ചേരപ്പട്ടണമുൻ, വിൽച്ചുറിഞ്ഞൊച്ച and ഏറഴുത്ത്, etc. is due to another colloquial tendency which is not absent from Tam.

11. The demonstratives അ and ഇ, when followed by words with initial vowels, take on u as a glide in O. T. and M. T.—Colloquially u is simplified to v in M. T. colloquial inscriptions cf. ഇവർ, ഇവ്, ഓരൈ, etc.) — This colloquial feature has been made permanent in Mal. അവിടെ, ഇവിടെ, while the old rule is observed in അച്ചണ്ണ, ഇച്ചണ്ണ.

12. The O. T. sandhi rule whereby v is embodied in അവ്യയം, അവയാരെ (before words with initial u) is absent in M. T. colloquial and in Old Mal.

13. The rules of Tam. regulating the “doubling” of the initial voiceless plosives of words when they follow the final ഇ, ഇം, ഉ, ഉം of words preceding, are applicable only to “casal” compounds in

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Mal., generally speaking. The rigour with which literary Tam. prescribes “doubling” in such contexts for some “non-casal” compounds is absent from an early period in Mal. — Colloquial Tam. departs from literary Tam. in many of those respects in which Mal. differs from literary Tam.

14. The absence of “doubling” of the initial plosives of the second constituents in Mal. instances like വിത്തുപാട്, വിട്ടുകൊടുത്തു, നാട്ടുകാർ, അച്ചുകൂടം is generally against the rules of literary Tam. (when the finals of the first constituents are geminated surds followed by the enunciative). But M. T. instances like നാട്ടുപുഴ and Mal. show this absence of “doubling”.

15. തൊൽകാപ്പിയം instances like ഉടൂഉക്കറെ, പലാഅക്കോടു, യാഅത്തോൽ, മാഅത്തോൽ are all absent in Mal.

16. The change of final *m* to alveolar *n* in Tam. words like ഇടം കലം, പൊലം, പുലം, നലം, കുളം, particularly before vowels following as in നിന്നൻ ഉണ്ടു ‘having drunk blood’, ഇടനം etc. is represented only in Mal. കൻ beside കടം.

A number of “non-rational” words with final alveolar ന്, (like എകിൻ, ചെകിൻ, പയിൻ, കയിൻ, etc.) mentioned by തൊൽകാപ്പിയം, എഴുത്തു, are absent in Mal.

17. So far as the junction of consonants in external sandhi is concerned, Mal. has (except in some tradition-influenced instances of Old Mal. and in some familiar compounds like നാനാഴി, എണ്ണാഴി, നാനൂറ, etc.) steered completely clear of the “complexities” of Tam. literary rules, and conformed to the usage of colloquial Tam. which even from the M. T. period onwards avoids many of these literary rules. — The mention made by ലീലാതിലകം of some of the Tam. literary rules as applicable to Mal. refers only to the literary tradition.

18. The internal sandhi changes of Tam. are all preserved in Mal. One particular change in Mal. may be shown to be of M. T. origin, — The stages along which Mal. past stems like വീണ-, താണു- വാണു-, have been evolved are the following:—വാഴ്ത്തു-, (as in Tamil); വാഴ്ന്നു- with the Mal. assimilative change of ്ത്തു to ്ന്നു, (represented in many old west coast inscriptions); വാണു with the internal sandhi change of ്ന്നു to ണ്ണു, and the reduction of ണ്ണു- to ണു-

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Now, the change of ഴ് to ഴ (i. e. when final ഴ meets dental ന് in sandhi) is absent in O. T., and crops up only in M. T.—O. T. has വാഴ്നാൾ, താഴ്ന്നീർ, etc. without the change. M. T. shows വാഴ്ന്നാൾ, ചോഴ്ന്നാഴ്, (ചോഴ and നാഴ്), കീഴ്ന്നോക്കിയ (കീഴ് and നോക്കിയ) embodying the change under reference. വീരചോഴിയം, the M. T. grammar, expressly refers to it in സംസ്കൃതം, സൂത്ര 18. Mal. has it in internal sandhi also.

19. Special phonological changes of Mal. could all be demonstrated as having had their starting point in Tam., and some of them are reflected in M. T. inscriptional instances and in regional colloquials of Tam.

ഐ to അ finally (as in തല) and medially (as in അഞ്ച്, വെച്ച്); the accusative ഐ to ഐ; the old infinitive അ to ഐ through front e; vocalic changes like അ to ഐ (as in കെട്ട്, പെട്ട്), ഇ to ഐ (as in ചെറ്റ്), ഉ to ഇ (as in ഇരിക്ക, പോരിക, വരിക), ഇ to ഉ (as in വരണം, വരുക്കൽ, etc.) consonantal assimilation in varying numerousness in the change of ക്ക് to ഴ്, ബ് to ബ്, ന് to ന്, റ് to ന്, വ് to ഴ്; the palatalisation of medial ത് to ച്, ന് to ബ് and of initial ക്ക് to ച്; the change of ഴ് to ച് (as in ആഴ്, കാഴ്); of ന and ബ to യ് (as in കോയ്, കാരായ്, മലയായ്); of ച് to ഴ് (as in വിഴ്, പഴി, വിഴപ്പ and even അരി from അരയി derived from അരിമി); of യി to യ (as in കയറ, പയറ, വയറ്); aphesis (as in ലാത്തുക, വാവ് and ലാവ്); syncope as in മുങ്ങ, തിങ്ങ, etc.); absorption of syllables with compensatory lengthening (as in ഉറക്ക 'to shed water' പുക, etc.); metathesis (as in അലരി); the influence of bilabials (as in ചുവപ്പ്, ചൊവ്വ, etc.); the influence of accent (as in കടാവ്, പാവ്); the elision of വ് (as in തോലി, കേളി, ചെച്ചി); the change of m to വ് (as in മരവ, മരവ, etc. before the സംയ്യ); the change of ഴ to ഴ before the plosives ക്ക്, പ്, ത്, ച്; and the change of ഴ to ച് in അല്ലെങ്കിൽ.

Morphology.

1. No native bases of Mal. can be said to be nearer related to O. T. than to M. T.

2. For the "third case", O. T. had അ (far more frequently than ഓട്) and ആൻ (far more frequently than ആൽ). M. T. had ഓട് and ആൽ numerously. ഓട് and ആൻ are mentioned only by M. T.

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grammars. — Mal. has only ആൽ and no അൻ; ഏ is rare and used only in poetry in Mal.

3. O. T. fourth case forms with person - denoting ഞ and with the augment ഇൻ showed the change of ഞ to ി before the fourth case ending ക്, as in അവൻക, മരത്തിൻക, etc. The change for the ഞ of the augment ഇൻ is expressly prescribed for old Tam. by തൊൽ, ഏഴഞ്ച. — In the M. T. period, forms like അവനക്ക, മരത്തിനക്ക cropped up with what was described by the M. T. grammars as an ഉ-ചാരിയെ introduced between ഞ and ക്. — These forms, I think, are the immediate "ancestors" of Mal. അവൻ (അവൻ), മരത്തിൻ (മരത്തിൻ).

4. O. T. had ഇൻ as the fifth case ending. — M. T. shows ഇൽ നിൻ. — Mal. ഇൽനിൻ is related to, and derived from, the latter.

5. O. T. used this fifth case ഇൻ as a comparisomal ending. M. T. had ഇല. — Mal. has ഇല.

6. O. T. had, for the sixth case ending, അൽ when non-rationals were qualified by the sixth case forms, and ക് when "rationals" were qualified. — M. T. had a newly used ഉടെ and ഉടെയ. — Mal. ഉടെ, and the alveolar plosive represented by the symbol ഐ (after person-denoting ഞ and the augment ഇൻ) are derived from ഉടെ.

7. The seventh case ഇൽ is an M. T. ending. — Mal. ഇൽ may be compared.

8. Mal. has those vocative types which are used in some regional colloquial or other of Tam. — Many types prescribed in the Tam. grammars are purely literary.

9. The postpositions of Mal. correspond to M. T. postpositions. The "postpositional" use of കൊണ്ട, ആയ, കുറിഞ്ഞ് etc. cropped up only in M. T. — In O. T., these forms were used with their primary participial significations without any grammatical "discoloration."

The O. T. inflexional augment -ഇൻ- was optional for bases with final ഇ, ഇ and ഐ.—M. T. generally avoided using it for the fourth and the sixth "cases" of these bases.—Cf. Mal.

O. T. had -അൻ- as the augment for അ, ഇ, യ. — M. T. more commonly used -ഇൻ- for these words.—Mal. uses only ഇൻ-.

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O. T. had no ഉ-ച്ചാരിയെ for the fourth case endings anywhere.—M. T. used it in instances like അവനക്ക്, മരത്തിനക്ക്, etc.—Mal. fourth case അവൻ, മരത്തിൻ are very probably allied to these.—M. T. used this ഉ-ച്ചാരിയെ in fourth case forms like കാലുക്ക്, കണ്ണുക്ക് also. Mal. however, does not have these, though the forms അവളുക്ക്, അവയുക്ക് are heard in Mal. colloquials.

തൊൽ augments ഒൻ (as in കോഒൻ), അക്ക്, ഇക്ക് were abstractions. They are not mentioned in M. T. grammars.

O. T. had അവയെറു, ഇവയെറു—as the inflexional stems beside അവറു, ഇവറു.—M. T. had the latter more commonly than the former, and colloquial M. T. had ഇവിറു also.—Old Mal. practice, corresponds to M. T. practice.

10. “Rationals” had no കൾ for plurals in O. T. — M. T. uses കൾ for “rationals” freely. — Mal. usage corresponds to M. T. Rare instances of the use of കൾ for “rationals” in O. T. are അരചർ കൾ (in കലിത്തൊക്കെ) and മററയവർകൾ in കുറൾ.

Mal. ആണങ്ങൾ, പെണ്ണങ്ങൾ, കുഞ്ഞങ്ങൾ appear to have a structure similar to that of regional colloquial Tam. ആവുകൾ, മാട്ടുകൾ.

11. The use of double plurals with കൾമാർ and മാർകൾ is expressly referred to in the 12th century commentary on വീരചോഴിയം.—Mal. shows instances of this type.

12. ആ and ഈ, the lengthened demonstratives, are used only in poetry according to the Old Tam. grammar (as in ആയിടെ and ഈ വയിന്ന).—Mal. has them in both literary and colloquial dialects.

13. The so-called intermediate demonstratives on an ഉ-basis ceased to be colloquially active in the M. T. period.—Mal. does not have them.

14. The Mal. use of അതു, ഇതു as adjectives as in അതുകാളം, ഇതു വഴി, may be compared to a corresponding colloquial Tam. usage in ഇതു വിഷയം, അതുമാതിരി, അതേകാളം.

15. The frequent use in Mal. of the demonstratives before relative participles as in ഈ പറഞ്ഞ കാളം, ആ പോയ ആൾ, ഇക്കൂട്ട വിശേഷം, etc.

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is already represented in M. T. (in instances like ഇച്ചിറന്തവാൻമുടരേ in തിരുവായ്മൊഴി and inscriptional ഇച്ചിമൈത്തനാൻകൈല്ലെക്കും.)

16. The plurals അവൈ, ഇവൈ in M. T. had കൾ optionally annexed to them.—Compare Mal. അവകൾ, ഇവകൾ.—അതുകൾ is the modern Tam. plural.

17. O. T. invariably used the ചാരിയൈ (അ)-റു്—in the inflexional forms of അവൈ, ഇവൈ, യാവൈ, പല, etc.—In the M. T. period, on account of the influence of forms like അവൈകൾ, ഇവൈകൾ (which normally had no ചാരിയൈ at all) and also of the use of അവൈ, ഇവൈ without the accusative ending (and therefore without the ചാരിയൈ), occasionally forms like യാവൈയിൻ, ചിറന്ത (in കമ്പ രാമായണം) cropped up without -റു്—This tendency became more pronounced in Mal. which has ഇവയുടെ, ഇവയ്ക്കു, etc.

18. Mal. അവററകൾ, ഇവററകൾ, and അവററ'-, ഇവററ'- (as inflexional stems) are today reserved only for cattle and also for human beings when treated with a certain degree of contempt.—Modern Tam. has only അതുകൾ, ഇതുകൾ corresponding to these.

19. The tense-expletive ഇതു is traceable to a stage when participials with ഇതു were used as predicates.—പെരുന്തേവനാർ records participials with ഇതു in his commentary on വീരചോഴിയം; and M. T. inscriptions have forms like വൈച്ചിതു, SII, III, p. 223.

20. O. T. had നാം as the first person plural.—നാങ്കൾ appeared only in the M. T. period freely.—Mal. ഞാങ്ങൾ may be compared. M. T. had also നങ്കൾ—as the inflexional stem beside എങ്കൾ.—Mal. ഞങ്ങൾ and old എങ്ങൾ are allied to these.

21. Mal. നിൻ- for the inflexional stem of the second person pronoun singular is one of the few archaisms in the west coast speech.

22. O. T. had only നീയിർ as the second person pl. pronoun. Transitional O. T. and Early M. T. had നീർ also. Late M. T. has നീം and നീംകൾ.—Mal. നിങ്ങൾ has to be compared to Late M. T. നീംകൾ.

23. O. T. inflexional stems എല്ലാനമു്—and എല്ലീർനമു്—and എല്ലാർ തമു്—went out of use in M. T. which used the types നമ്മെ എല്ലാം etc. and അവരെല്ലാരുടെ, etc.—Mal. has these M. T. types and,

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further, optionally introduced "casal" concord in നമുക്കു എല്ലാക്കും, നമ്മുടെ എല്ലാവരുടെയും, etc.

24. O. T. verb - bases like തൊലെയ്, പഴിയ്, ഓയ്, കഴിപ്പ്, പരപ്പ് (all of which had their past stems with ഇ) went out of use in M. T. colloquial.—Mal. does not have them.

25. O. T. causative bases were of the following types;—(i) ചേക്ക from ചേർ (ii) വാഴ്ത്ത from വാഴ്, ഓട്ട് from ഓട് (iii) with ഇ, as in പടീ, ചെലീ, etc. which had past stems with ഇ (as പടീഇ, ചെലീഇ, നീറീഇ, etc.) — The causatives with വി-, ബി-, ള്ചി- (having their past stems in - ത്ത) became common only in the M. T. period. — The Mal. type (ചെയ്യി-, വിടുവി-, എടുപ്പി-) is derived from it.

The only rare instances of the causatives with വി-, ബി-, ള്ചി-, that I have been able to gather from O. T. works are the following:—കേട്പിക്കും (തൊൽകാപ്പിയം, ചൊൽ); പോർപ്പിത്തിലതു (പുറം); മറപ്പിത്തായ് (കലിത്തൊക്കെ); വിളിപ്പിറപ്പിക്ക, ഉണർപ്പിത്തൽ, പിറപ്പിത്തോർ and പുണർവിത്തൽ (പരിപാടൽ).

26. ഉൾ had conjugational forms in O. T. — M. T. began to use ഉണ്ടു for all persons, genders and numbers (നന്നുൽ: ഐന്മാൽ മൂവിടത്തു). — Cf the Mal. usage.

27. The personal terminations of finite tenses, എൻ, ആയ്, ആൻ etc. were rarer in O. T. than അൻ-എൻ, അൻ-ഐ, അൻ-അൻ etc. — M. T. had എൻ, etc. very frequently. — Old Mal., wherever it uses personal terminations, uses generally the M. T. endings.

28. The present tense ending കിൻറ appears commonly only in M. T.—പരിപാടൽ among O. T. works, and ചിലപ്പതികാരം and മണിമേകലൈ begin to show such instances. — Mal. ഇൻ-, ഉൻ- are derived therefrom.

29. ആറിൻറ is another present tense affix, used in M. T. — Old Mal. inscriptions and the Panikkars use it.

30. O. T. past conjunctive participles like ഉരൈഇ, ചെലീഇ ചാഞ്ചയ്, പാഞ്ചയ്; ചെയ്ച; ചെയ്ത, ഇട്ടു ഉ; ചെയ്താ went out of use in the M. T. colloquials. — Mal. does not have them.

Similarly the following O. T. past types also fell into disuse in the M. T. period:—(i) Those with -ഇ-ചിൻ- (as in വന്തിചിൻ, മായ്ത്തിചിനോർ, പെററിചിൻ, കണ്ടിചിൻ:

(ii) third person sing. “non - rational” finites like നടുങ്കിൻറ, പോയിൻറ and those like മായ്ത്തൻറ, വന്തൻറ.

On the other hand, വീരചോഴിയം records വന്തിട്ട്, പോയിട്ട്, (with ഇട്ട്) as a past conj. participle type for M. T. — Cf. Mal. വന്തിട്ട്, പോയിട്ട്, etc.

31. For Mal. വാണ്ണ് —, വീണ്ണ് —, see above.

32. O. T. used ഉ for finites in an “indeterminate” sense for some forms of the third person. — The future value was recognized in the M. T. period (cf. നന്നുൽ) . — Mal. gradually extended the ഉ tense (as future and aoristic tenses) to all persons, genders and numbers.

The third person forms with ഉ, appearing in പുറന്നു, like കളിക്കു, ഓലിക്കു, പൂക്കു, പറിക്കു, etc. are not met with in M. T. or Mal.

33. O. T. had finite forms like the following in the first and second persons with a signification on which commentators are not agreed: പടർതി, ചെഴ്തി, ഇറത്തി; വിനവതും, വരതും, മേരും. — M. T. colloquials appear to have lost them. — Mal. has no such forms.

34. The following O. T. future finite types are rare in M. T. colloquials:— (i) first person sing. ചെയ്ക് (as in നോക്കോയാനേ, മൊഴി കോ, കാൺക് വന്തിചിൻ, etc.) (ii) first person plural ചെയ്കും (as in കാൺകും) and ചെയ്കവം; (iii) the third person “rational” plural ചെയ്മാർ (as in തരുമാർ.....വന്താർ, etc.) the third person rational plural of the type of ആവ(=ആവർ) . — Mal. does not have any of these.

35. The appellative relative participial instances like the following are O. T. :— കവളയാനൈ, മരാത്തനീശൽ.

36. The Mal. “indeterminate” tense with ഉ could be derived from future participial nouns like those current in M. T. (See my EMM).

37. The old infinitives had in O. T. only rarely the signification of “purpose”. Structurally, O. T. used forms like പിറപ്പ, കാപ്പ, as infinitives. — M. T. had also പിറക്ക, കാക്ക etc. — Old Mal. infinitives of this category show ക only.

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38. O. T. "purpose" participles of the types of ചെയ്യിയർ, ചെയ്യിൽ disappeared in M. T. colloquials. — M. T. on the other hand developed a new "purpose"-type showing വാൻ, ബാൻ, പ്ലാൻ. — Cf. Mal. വാൻമാൻ, പ്ലാൻ.

39. O. T. had for the conditional endings ഓൻ (affixed to the verb-base) or ആയിൻ (affixed to the finites). — M. T. developed ഇൽ, ആയിൽ, ആൽ, ഏൽ. — Mal. has the M. T. affixes only.

The conditional -കാൽ, appearing in കലിത്തൊക്കെ (among O. T. works) and used freely in M. T., does not, however, occur in Mal.

40. The following O. T. imperative types are not met with in M. T. colloquials or in Mal.:—(i) ചെയ്‌മോ, ചെയ്‌യ് (ii) ചെയ്‌യി (iii) ചെയ്‌യ്ക്ക (as in കാണെ, etc.) (iv) ചെയ്‌യിമേ (v) ചെയ്‌യൽ.

Nor does Mal. have the new M. T. types ചെയ്‌യൂ, ചെയ്‌യുകൾ, ചെയ്‌യിൻകൾ, ചെയ്‌യിനിർ, ചെയ്‌യിനീർകൾ (all of which are mentioned by വീരമോഴിയം).

41. O. T. optatives like വാഴിയ, ആകിയർ are absent in M. T. inscriptions and in Mal.

On the other hand, the optative type ചെയ്‌യ്, restricted in O. T. to the third person, was extended in M. T. to all persons:— Old Mal. usage corresponds to M. T. practice and gradually it became in New Mal. a polite second person imperative.

42. Mal. ചെയ്‌യട്ടേ and ചെയ്‌യാ have relatives in M. T.

43. O. T. participial nouns, with a dental ന്, like അറിയുന്നു, പാടുന്നു, ചേരുന്നു, ഉറന്നു, വല്ലുന്നു, തപ്പുന്നു are not common in M. T.— Mal. does not have them at all.

44. The following O. T. negative formations are infrequent in M. T.:— (i) ചെയ്‌ക്കേൻ അല്ലേൻ, etc. (ii) ചെയ്‌ച്ചേൻ, ഉരൈക്കലൻ, etc. (iii) ചെയ്‌ക്കുൻറം ഇലൻ, വാഴക്കുണ്ടൻറം പലമേ, വരുന്തകാണ്ടലം ഇലമേ; (iv) prohibitives like ഉരൈയാതി and മറവാതിമേ; നടുക്കൽ, തെരുമൻ; (v) negative optatives like ചെയ്‌യുക and ആകിലിയർ, ഇറാഅലിയർ. — Mal. does not have any of these.

Nor does Mal. have M. T. പോകേൽ, കാട്ടേൻമിൻ, പോകേൻമിൻകൾ.

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45. The negative finite type of ചെയ്തിലേൻ, ചെയ്തില്ല, etc. became common only in the M. T. period.—Cf. Mal. ചെയ്തില്ല, ചെയ്തിനില്ല.

46. While O. T. used the negative finite type of ചെയ്യാ for third person “non-rational” plurals, instances occur in M. T. where this type is used for singulars also.

—Mal. extended its use for all persons and, further, used it as a stem for the formation of the special tense - type of ചെയ്തായിന്നു, ചെയ്താഞ്ഞു, ചെയ്തായ്ക, etc.

Syntax.

This requires separate treatment; I shall, however, indicate a few categories in which Mal. usage corresponds to M. T.

1. The “directive” use of the fourth case ending, as in ഉൾക്കച്ചെന്റാൻ, is not represented in O. T. texts, so far as I can see. തൊൽകാപ്പിയം, ചൊൽ, does not provide for it; but ചേനാവരെയർ in his commentary includes it under സൂത്ര 110. It becomes common in M. T. and the Mal. usage may be compared.

2. The full-fledged passive construction becomes common only in M. T. texts. The so-called passive constructions in പുറം (എമ്മാൽ വിയക്കപ്പട്ടുചേർ) and in തൊൽകാപ്പിയം (എന്നപ്പട്ടവ) are all capable of being explained as native constructions. A rare full-fledged passive construction in an O. T. work is നീക്കെപ്പട്ടക്കപ്പട്ടായ് in verse 35 of the second part of കലിത്തൊക്കെ.

3. Correlative constructions in imitation of Sanskrit begin to appear only in മണിമേകലൈ.

4. Casal concord of വിശേഷണ and വിശേഷ്യ, in the second case, is met with often in തേവാരം and നാലായിരപ്രബന്ധം.

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Ezhuthachan's Malayalam

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● The language of Ezhuthachan preserves several older features of morphology, syntax and vocabulary. I have collected and classified below some of the more significant among these. The norm with reference to which I have measured the language of Ezhuthachan is the standard Malayalam prose written by well-known writers of today. The illustrations are taken only from those works which have been unequivocally ascribed to Ezhuthachan, viz., അല്പാക്ഷര രാമായണം, മഹാഭാരതം, ചിന്താരത്നം, കൈവല്യനവനീതം, and ഹരിനാമകീർത്തനം.

Some of the forms and constructions classified below in Ezhuthachan were already "traditionary" in his time, while others were perhaps "current coins" in the speech of the period. All of them have ceased to exist to-day, except a few still persisting in "regional" and "communal" colloquials.

Ezhuthachan, viewed from the standpoint of formal grammar appears to have respected several traditionary constructions and forms. Even in the matter of the കിളിപ്പാട്ട് garb in which he robed his രാമായണം and മഹാഭാരതം, he had perhaps seen certain imperfect specimens composed by others before his time. It may not be correct to think that Ezhuthachan worked *in vacuo* and, like a magician with his wand, raised the കിളിപ്പാട്ട് genre from out of the void. Magician he certainly was, in a higher sense. His creativity lay in perfecting this literary form, in evolving a unique medium of thought rich in healthy life-giving elements borrowed from Sanskrit but free from the artificialities of the earlier മണിപ്രവാള works, and in filling his writings with the fragrance of spiritual rapture.

For comparative and historical accounts of the features classified below, I would refer the interested reader to my "Evolution" of Malayalam Morphology."

Nominal Bases.

(1) പെരുമാൻ; വിഷ്ണു; വാസലകം (also വാസലാകം); ഉമ്പർകോൻ; മറയോർ; പോറ്റി (used today only in a restricted sense); ആയർകലം; കാലന്തർ; പറവർ കലകാലൻ; കൂടലർകാലൻ; ചെന്നൈ വായ്മലർ; താരിൽമാളൂ (for Sita); മൊഴിമാളൂ 'Saraswati'; എപ്പേരും; വൈ 'hunger'; വിള 'earth'; അന്തൺ

'brahmins'; കുറവാർകഴലിയാർ; കണൽനേർമിഴിയാർ; മതിനേർമുഖിയാർ; മറകളുടെ മറപൊരുൾ; ചോരിച്ചൊമ്പാ; അല്പൽ; അത്തൽ; അഴൽ; ഇണ്ടൽ; പോതു; മാൽ ഇടർ; മൈ; പൈതൽ; കൈനിലയം; കള്ളക്കാടു 'adharmā'; കരളക്കാരൻ; പാലന്നം 'swan'; ചാക്കു 'death'; ഉടമ; ഉടപ്പം; അരതി; വിടുതി; നദേനേ (modern colloquial നട്ടാടെ); ചേകവർ 'servants'; കെടുതി.

(2) Adaptations from Sanskrit, like the following, are noteworthy:— ഭാഗവതന്മാർ 'bhaktas' (its modern meaning, 'songsters', is a semantic development, borrowed by Malayalam from Tamil); അന്യോന്യം 'friendship'; ആഭാസൻ (as in കലഹീനനായുള്ളോരാഭാസൻ); ബലപ്പെടുക് 'to bind as a captive' beside ബലപ്പെട്ടു 'with the semantic development 'having hurried' (in അഷ്ടമ skandha of ഭാഗവതം); ഓഹ് 'madness'; സമ്മതം 'verdict of the great ones' (in സമ്മതം മറഞ്ഞിതു ദുർമ്മതം നിറഞ്ഞിതു); വർത്തമാനം 'what has happened in the present' 'contemporary happening' (in പണ്ടു കീഴ്മിഞ്ഞതും വർത്തമാനങ്ങളും മേലിലുണ്ടാവാൻ ഇരിക്കുന്ന വാർത്തയും, and in മുഖിൽ ചെല്ലതും വർത്തമാനങ്ങളും മേലിൽ ഭവിപ്പതും, in which വർത്തമാനങ്ങൾ is used in a more restricted sense than in modern speech); യോഗിപ്രതിയോഗികൾ 'combatants'; സാധുക്കൾ 'noble ones'; സംഗതി 'union'; ദേഷ്യം 'hatred'; അവകാശം 'occasion' (as in കൂപത്തിൽ വീണ പോവാണെന്നവകാശം); ഗോഷ്ടി with the modern meaning 'prank' in ധാർത്തരാഷ്ട്രന്റെ പ്രഹാശ്യം കൂട്ടിയ ഗോഷ്ടികളും; ആത്തി 'affliction.'

(3) Nominatives like വായ, കായ, പായ നായ do not occur in Ezh.'s works; but വാ കീറിക്കൊണ്ടു, വാപേരിയും, നാ നരികൾ, are met with, beside വായ്, നായ്, കായ്.

The "second case"

(1) In എന്നോട രാമകുമാരനോളം പ്രിയം എന്നുള്ളിൽ ആരേയും ഇല്ല, and ഭരതനേക്കാൾ രാമനെ സ്നേഹം എന്നിങ്ങനെ the postpositional കരിച്ച usually annexed to the "second" case forms ആരെയും and രാമനെ, is omitted; but Ezh. also has constructions like പാണ്ഡവന്മാരെക്കരിച്ചുള്ള വൈരവും and even അവനെക്കരിച്ചേററം പ്രസാദിച്ചു.

പാത്തലം തന്നിൽ നമ്മെ കൂറുള്ളോർ and ഞങ്ങളെയുള്ള തിരുവുള്ളം also show the accusative without any postposition.

(2) പിന്നിട്ടു, മുനിട്ടു and വേറിട്ടു are used transitively with direct objects:— രാത്രിയും പിന്നിട്ടു; മാറ്റവും പിന്നിട്ടു ബ്രാഹ്മിനെ മുനിട്ടു; രാമനെ വേറിട്ടു; പ്രകൃതിയെ വേറിട്ടു.

The "third case"

The ending ഓടു is associated with വേർപാടു by Ezh. (and by many Old Mal. writers). This is somewhat peculiar; for it is not warranted by

Tamil syntax. Perhaps it arose from ideas like — ഓടു കൂടാതെ ഇരിക്ക where of course the use of the 'third case' would be normal. Ezh. however, does not uniformly associate വേർപാടു with the "third case," since there are instances where the "fifth case" is also used.

ദേഹി ഞാനെന്നുള്ള മോഹത്തോടു വേർപാടു;
അഹല്യയും കിടമിഷത്തോടു വേർപെട്ടു നിൽപയാൾ;
പാണ്ഡുകാമിനി ജനത്തോടു വേർപെട്ടിരുന്നാൾ;

but ഇവരികൾനിന്നു വേരൊന്നു and കർമ്മബന്ധത്തിങ്കൽ നിന്നാൽ വേർപെട്ടു show the association with the "fifth case." In late classical Sanskrit, വിധോഗഃ is associated sometimes with the "third case" (see Whitney's *Gr.* p.) but this is not a deep-rooted principle of Sanskrit syntax.

The "fourth case"

The "datival" or fourth case ending — ക്ക് is used by Ezh. in the following, for which (at least communally or regionally) — ഇന്ന് would be preferred today:— മതികൂട്, വാതികൂട്, തണീകൂട്, പോക്കു (beside പോരിന്നു); but പാരിന്നു നാമൻ പരീക്ഷിത്തു.

(2) ആയ്ക്കാണ്ടു is a "reinforcer" in സുഗ്രീവനായ്ക്കാണ്ടു രാജ്യം നല്കി നാൻ, ഭാനം അരുന്ധതിക്കായ്ക്കാണ്ടു ചെൽ. The use of ആയ്ക്കാണ്ടു for the mere "datival" idea is somewhat "pleonastic".

ആയ്ക്കാണ്ടു was often used to strengthen the idea of "purpose" in instances like ആമിഷഭോജികളെ വധിപ്പാനായ്ക്കാണ്ടു (cf. ദേവകായ്ക്കാർമ്മമായ് ചെന്നു വാണീടിനാൻ), and since "purpose" is often conveyed by the fourth case (cf. നായാട്ടിന്നു പോയാൻ), ആയ്ക്കാണ്ടു was used in contexts like ബ്രാഹ്മണരെ കൊണ്ടു ഹോമപൂജാദികൾ പുരാളഭയത്തിന്നായ്ക്കാണ്ടു ചെയ്യിച്ചു, and analogically transferred to contexts where the mere datival idea is more conspicuous than "purpose," as in ഭവാനായ്ക്കാണ്ടു നല്കിനാൻ, and even to "communicatives" as in പുത്രരോടായ്ക്കാണ്ടേവം ജ്ഞാനവും ഉപദേശിച്ചു.

Similarly, since the directival idea is also associated with the fourth case ending (cf. ദിക്കിന്നു പോയാൻ referred to below), ആയ്ക്കാണ്ടു came to express the directival idea also, as in മൈഥിലരാജ്യത്തിന്നായ്ക്കാണ്ടു പോകുന്നേൻ; വനത്തിന്നായ്ക്കാണ്ടു നീക്കുകിൽ; ഭണ്ഡകാരത്തിന്നായ്ക്കാണ്ടു ഗമിച്ചീടുക.

"The Directives"

The following types of Ezh. deserve notice.

(1) Like certain older writers, Ezh. uses forms with — ന് or — ന്നു in instances like ദിക്കിന്നു പോയിതു, വനത്തിന്നു പുറപ്പെട്ടു, കാലപുരത്തിന്നു പോകാം, കാനനത്തിന്നു ചെന്നു.

In Cochin State today, ദികിലേക്കു, വനത്തിലേക്കു, പുറത്തിലേക്കു are used; but in Travancore speech (I am told) the use of the older constructions like വീട്ടിനു പോയ്, എറണാകുളത്തിനു ചെന്നു, വൈക്കത്തിനു എഴുന്നള്ളി is quite common.

(2) ആമ്മാൾ is used by Ezh. to denote the directive idea:— അയോലു ക്കാമ്മാറെഴുന്നള്ളീടിനാൻ; അന്തഃപുരത്തിന്നാമ്മാറെഴുന്നള്ളണം.

(3) പിന്നോക്കി in ആരും ഒരു പദം പിന്നോക്കി വെക്കാരേ നേരേ പോരു വിൻ; പുരം നോക്കിപ്പോയാർ.

(4) For ആയ്ക്കോണ്ടു, see above.

The "fifth case"

(1) പോക്കൽനിന്നു (for പക്കൽനിന്നു) is a fifth case postposition popular with Ezh. I have not come across this variant of പക്കൽ in earlier works like ഉണ്ണുനീലിസന്ദേശം, ലീലാതിലകം or the works of the പണിക്കന്മാർ; but ഭാഷാഭാഗവതം, the campus (of Punam) and ചാണക്യസൂത്രം have പോക്കൽ and പോക്കൽനിന്നു. Some instances from Ezh., are the following:— രാഘവൻ പോക്കൽനിന്നു; നിന്തിരുവടി പോക്കൽനിന്നൊരു തനയനെ.

(2) In വിദൂരവാക്യം, the following sentence contains an instance of this association of the fifth case with the idea of 'fear':— അത്യന്തമധമന്മാർക്കു അശ്വനാൽ ഭയം പിന്നെ മദ്ധ്യമന്മാർക്കു മരണത്തിങ്കൽനിന്നു ഭയം ഉത്തമന്മാർക്കു ഭയം അപമാനത്തിങ്കലും.— Similar instances occur in earlier texts; perhaps this association arose as an "imitation" of Sanskrit casual concord; ലീലാതിലകം, however, had already in the 14th century denounced it.

The "sixth case"

(1) The use of ഉടെ for ഞ്ഞു is of course poetic and archaic.

(2) മനസ്സുന്റേ എന്നും ജീവൻ എന്നുടെ എന്നും and ദേഹവുമന്റേ എന്നിവിടം എന്നിവിടം show simple genitives where മനസ്സുന്റേതു, ദേഹവുമന്റേതു, etc., would be preferred today.

(3) കേൾപ്പിക്കേണം മമ and ബാലഭാവത്തെ മമ കാട്ടേണം ഭയാനിയേ! show the Sanskritic use of മമ imported into Mal. contexts.

The "seventh case"

(1) പോക്കൽ (for പക്കൽ) occurs as a "locative" postposition: എൻ പോക്കലുള്ള ദുരിതങ്ങൾ; മൃത്യുവിൻപോക്കൽ അകപ്പെട്ടു.

(2) സുഖമേ and അകമേ appear to have a "locative" meaning as in the following:— സുഖമേ ജയിച്ചുവരിക നീ; സുഖമേ വസിക്ക നാം എല്ലാവരും; ഭക്തി അകമേ വന്നുദിഷ്ടിതിനും.

The "eighth case"

(1) എടോ as a സംബോധന ending denoting familiarity without any association of 'inferiority' or 'contempt' (which എടോ and എടി always had) is today used only in communal and regional dialects in connection with women; but in Ezh. എടോ appears to have been quite commonly used thus: വല്ലഭേ, ബാലേ, പേടിയായ്ക്കേതും എടോ (addressed by Rama to Sita); കാഞ്ഞു കാണേടോ ബാലേ; രാമാഭിഷേകം അടുത്തന്നാൾ ഉണ്ടേടോ (the last two addressed by മന്നം to കൈകേയി); ആരുമേ വിപ്രിയം ചെയ്യയുമില്ല നിനക്കേടോ (addressed by ദശരഥ to കൈകേയി).

(2) The സംബോധന ending ഉള്ളോവേ (so frequent in ഭാഷാഭാഗവതം and in കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ) is rare in Ezh., being represented only in മരകലവരസമനാ യുള്ളോവേ.

Augments

(1) The use of augments in the following is out of vogue today:— സകലത്തേയും കണ്ടു, ആയിരത്താണ്ടു, സമൃത്തിനമാധാരമെന്നതും, പതിനുമടങ്ങായ്.

(2) Ezh. uses അരികത്തു്, അകലത്തു്, ഒട്ടകത്തു്, ചാരത്തു്, അണയത്തു്, where അത്തു് has a locative force.

Plurals

Among the plurals, the following are interesting:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) മൂവർ
നാല്വർ (നാലർ)
ഐവർ
അറുവർ
എണ്ണർ
നൂറുവർ (the Kauravas). | (2) മകളർ (in ദക്ഷിണ മകളരായി) This form persists in the speech of the Nambudiris today. |
|--|--|

(3) കരളക്കാരർ, ചതിക്കാരർ, show — കാരർ, the normal "ancestral" form of modern — കാരർ. — കാരർ, with the change of റ് to റ, I am told, is heard today in the southern parts of Travancore; this — കാരർ is old, as it occurs in old Travancore inscriptions and documents.

(4) ജീവനങ്ങൾ and മീനങ്ങൾ are old, while രാജാക്കൾ and ഭൂതാക്കൾ are less used today than രാജാക്കന്മാർ and സഹോദരന്മാർ.

നിക്ഷുപ്താദങ്ങൾ (beside നിക്ഷുപ്താദകൾ in ഭാഗവതം) is peculiar.

(5) മധുപന്മാർ is reminiscential of വണ്ടന്മാർ in ഭാഷാഭാഗവതം. ജീവന്മാർ is another plural not common today.

Pronouns

(1) എങ്ങൾ — as an inflexional case of the nominative ഞങ്ങൾ was exclusive in ഉണ്ണുനീലിസന്ദേശം, common in ലീലാതിലകം and in the works of the Panikkars (beside ഞങ്ങൾ — alternatively, as an inflexional base). It is also met with in the campus and in Ezh., though not as frequently as in the earlier texts; this എങ്ങൾ — (as an "oblique" or inflexional base) exists today only as a regional form. Ezh. uses it as a rare form, beside ഞങ്ങൾ — as an "inflexional" base : എങ്ങളെ കക്കെ എടുത്തു പറക്കണം; എങ്ങളിൽ —; etc.

In പേപറഞ്ഞു കണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതികാലം എങ്ങളും, the form is used as a rare nominative (cf. എങ്ങളും വന്നതു in കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ.)

(2) തനിയെ, അവൻ തനിക്ക, താനേ, തമ്മേ, തമ്മാൽ, തമ്മോടു are all rare today; but Ezh. has them all:— സമ്പത്തു താനേവരും; നീ ഒരു നാരിമണി താനേ വാഴുന്നീളും; ഭഗവാൻ തനിക്ക; അഷ്ടവസുക്കൾ മരുത്തുകൾ തമ്മോടും; മന്നവൻ താനേതന്നെ; തനിയെ പരിഭവനം ചെയ്തതിന്ന.

(3) The use of താൻ in the following may also be noted:— ഇതാദരാൽ പഠിക്കുതാൻ കേൾക്കുതാൻ...; അപ്രിയം ചെയ്തതാൻ ചൊൽകുതാൻ; മഴതാൻ വെയിൽതാൻ ഇരുട്ടുതാൻ.

(4) തങ്ങളെ means 'themselves alone' in ഗോക്കളം ഗോശാലയ്ക്കൽ തങ്ങളെ വന്നാർ.

കണ്ണകൾ തങ്ങളെ ചിമ്മുന്നിതു ചിലർ; തങ്ങൾ തങ്ങൾക്കുള്ള വസ്ത്രങ്ങളെടുത്തും കൊണ്ടു; തങ്ങളാൽ തങ്ങളാലായ സല്ക്കാരവും; തങ്ങളിൽ തങ്ങളിൽ നോക്കാതെ മിണ്ടാതെ; തന്നുടെ തന്നുടെ ഗൃഹോക്ത മാറ്റേണ; തങ്ങൾ തങ്ങൾ ചുമന്നീടുവിൻ also illustrate older usages.

The Demonstratives

(1) The adjectival use of അതു in അതുകാലം; മരുവുന്നതുകാലം; ഇതുപൊഴുതു; കനിവൊടൊരു യാഗം തുടങ്ങിയതുകാലം is not common in modern speech or in modern prose, except in അതുമാതിരി, അതുപ്രകാരം though poets frequently employ this construction today.

(2) അവ and ഇവ, when inflected are generally used only with the augment — (അ)ററ, as അവറേറ, അവററാൽ, ഇവറേറക്കൊണ്ടു, ഇവററിൻ, etc.

The older അവയിററ, ഇവയിററ, ഇവിററ occurring in ഉണ്ണുനീലിസന്ദേശം and കണ്ണശ്ശരാമായണം are not met with in Ezh., however.

അവ and ഇവ are used as such without augment in the second case and in അവറകൊണ്ടു, ഇവറകൊണ്ടു.

(3) അവയവ ന്ദിയും കലയും കടന്നു of Ezh. shows a use of അവയവ not common today.

(4) പല and എല്ലാ take on the augment in Ezh., generally speaking. എല്ലായിലും, however, occurs in Ezh.

(5) When പല is employed pronominally, predicatively or appositionally, Ezh. uses പലവ (പലവ്) and പലത്ത് alike to denote the plural idea. പലവ or പലവ appears in the following:— മലമുലാലികളും പലവും; ഇതിപലവും അകതളിരിലോത്തു; പലവും നിരൂപിച്ചു; ചോരപ്പഴകൾ പലവ ലിക്കയും; പലവും ശാസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ; ഭഗവല്ലക്ഷങ്ങൾ പലവും. പലത്ത് occurs in instances like കായ്ക്കങ്ങൾ പലതുണ്ടു; കർമ്മബന്ധങ്ങൾ പലത്ത്; ഇശ്വരചരിത്രങ്ങൾ പലത്ത്; ഇശ്വരനാമം പലത്ത്; ദൃശ്യകനങ്ങൾ പലത്ത്.

A form പലവയും is non-existent in Ezh though he has പലവ.

The optional use of പലത്ത് instead of പലവ appears in Mal. even before Ezh.'s time. This was obviously due to the feeling that since the plural idea was inherent in പല, there was no special need to use a plural ending. This feeling appears to have operated in other instances also. cf. Ezh.'s വസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ ദിവ്യങ്ങളായുള്ളതും.

(6) The use of the expletives ഇതു (and — തു) for tense-forms, as in പെററിതു കൈക്കേയിയും; നിറഞ്ഞതേ, etc. was perhaps already a "poetic archaism" during the period of Ezh.

Verb-bases

Some of the chief old verb-bases, used by Ezh., but no longer current today, are the following:—

ഉഴക്കു (as in വാരിയും ഉഴത്തു; കളി പൂത്തു)

ഉഴറു 'to hurry' (used by Ezh. very often)

പൊലിക്കു 'to extinguish' (as in തീയും പൊലിച്ചു)

പതുക്കു 'to become soft' (as in പല്ലവംപോലെ പതുക്കാതെ മേനിയും)

ഏകു 'to order' 'to order the gift of' 'to confer as a boon.'

നീളിക്കു 'to become long'

കിഴയ്ക്കു 'to become weak'

ഇളയ്ക്കു 'to grow slack'

അൻപു — 'to feel affection' (as in അൻപേണം ഏൻമനസി നീലകണ്ഠ ഗുരു)

ഇറക്കു 'to die' (as in ഇറന്നീടുവാൻ)

ഉഴലു 'to roam'

വെല്ലു 'to win'

നണ്ണു 'to consider'

കാർ 'to think' (as in കല്പാതകായും കാരായ്മയുടേപ്രഭോ)

കിഴിയുക 'to be humble' (as in കിഴിഞ്ഞു പറഞ്ഞു)

വായ്പ്പ 'to increase'

ഇടർപോക്ക് 'to remove distress'

നീക്കൊള്ളു — "to renounce"

അമൃതം -

ഇഴുപ്പ് -

ചുവത്തു -

എറു -

വേണം

കേഴു

അടൽപൊൽ

എത്രപൊൽ

അഞ്ചു

ഇയ്യപ്പ

വീയ്യ

കുറിക്കൊള്ളു -

തൊഴിക്കു (1) 'to beat one's breast'

പഴിക്കു 'to blame'

പന്തികൂട്ടു 'to prepare'

അകെക്കു 'to be rent asunder' (as in മഴകൊണ്ടു വെട്ടിയാൽ അകച്ചിടാം.)

നിരപ്പു പറയുക 'to make proposals of peace'

മുളുക 'to approve.'

ചെറുക്കു -

എഴു (as എഴു in compounds and also as എഴുന്ന)

തഴുക്കു -

പിഴുക്കു -

മൊഴിയു -

കാലു (in കാലോലക്കണ്ണിർവാത്തു)

ചെവിക്കൊള്ളു -

മാക്കു (as in മാലേരി മാക്കായു)

ഇഴുകു (in കളഭം ഇഴുകിയും)

കരയേറു and കരേറു (both with the literal and the generalised meanings)

(2) The different older personal forms of ഉറ had all been mostly replaced by ഉണ്ടു, but a few instances mirror the older tradition :— ഉളയായാർ; ഉളർ; ഉളനായാൻ.

The "ancestral" construction from which the modern colloquial ഏതാണ്ടു, എങ്ങാണ്ടു, ആരാണ്ടു are derived, occurs in Ezh. (as in കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ, ഭാഷാഭാഗവതം, etc) :— ഏതാനും ഉണ്ടു അറിഞ്ഞിട്ടു നീ എങ്കിലോ സീതാവൃത്താന്തം ചൊല്ലിത്തരണമേ; ഏതാനുമുണ്ടു അശുഭാത ഭവാനെന്നു തോന്നീടും.

(3) The base വൽ occurs in forms like വല്ലാഞ്ഞു, വല്ലകയില്ല, ചൊല്ല വല്ലേൻ (an old *cliche*), വല്ലാത 'not being able' വല്ലാതെ (used in the older sense) and വല്ല (only with the modern meaning.)

ഒൽ is represented by ഒല്ലാഞ്ഞു, ഒല്ലാ (as in പറഞ്ഞീടൊലാ, etc.) and ഒല്ലാത (as in ഒല്ലാതകാൽക്കും ഒരായ്ക്കു മൃഗശൃംഗം.)

(1) A passage containing this verb describes a combat vividly : കൂടക്കൊടുക്കയും മുടിത്തടുക്കയും ചാടിക്കഴിക്കയും കേടിൽപ്പഴിക്കയും കോടിയൊഴിക്കയും മാടിവിളിക്കയും വാടിവിയക്കയും ഒടിക്കിഴയ്ക്കയും.

(4) The base *എൻ* appears rarely in some forms with the original signification of 'saying,' as in *അലരാച്ചു കൊടുക്കയില്ലയെന്നാൻ*.

എന്മാൻ, the infinitive participle (with-*മാൻ*) of *എൻ*-appears in *മുവിലെ സുയോധനൻ കണ്ടു ചൊല്ലുതാൻമാൻ ഉമ്പർകൊൻ നിന്ദാഹം പ്രവേശിച്ചാൻ*.

(5) *അരുത്*, used as a verb-base, is represented in *അരുതാത്തു*, *അരുതാതേ*, *അരുതാത*, *അരുതായ്ക* (as in *ആരനീ എന്തു തണ്ണീർ കുടിപ്പാനതായ്ക*), *അരുതായ്കിൽ*.

അരുത് is used (with the infinitive verbal participle prefixed to it) by Ezh. both in the more modern sense of 'prohibition' and in the older sense of 'difficulty or impossibility.' The former type is common; instances of the latter type in Ezh. are the following :—

ബ്രാഹ്മണശാപം തടുക്കരുതാക്ഷമേ;
ഗഡായുദ്ധംകേരളമീങ്ങനേയന്നു പറയരുതാക്ഷമേ;
വൈഭവശക്തി ചൊല്ലരുതു;
വിധിവിഹിതം ഇതൊഴിക്കരുതാക്ഷം.

when *അരുതാതേ* or *അരുതാത* is suffixed to the infinitive, the meaning is always that of 'difficulty' or 'impracticability':— *എങ്ങമിരിക്കരുതാതേ തളൻ;* *പോകരുതാതേ;* *ഒരേടത്തും ഇരിക്കരുതാത വാൾ*.

When *അരുത്* is preceded by the participles having final -*മാൻ*, then too it has only the older signification of 'difficulty' or 'impossibility.' This construction occurs in Ezh., though no longer current today:— *സേവകന്മാർ പോലും അറിവാൻ അരുത്*; *എനിക്കിപ്പോൾ ചൊല്ലുവാൻ അരുതല്ലോ*; *ശത്രുക്കൾക്കെണ്ടു യന്ത്രം ചേമിപ്പാൻ അരുതെങ്കിൽ*.

Also in *അരികളെക്കൊന്നു ജയം തരുവതിനരുതു*, the idea of 'difficulty' is conveyed.

(6) *പെടുക്ക്* with its past stem *പെടുത്ത്*—, *വളക്ക്* with the past stem *വളത്ത്*—, and *അമക്ക്* with the past stem *അമത്ത്*— are met with in Ezh. In the works of the Panikkars and in *കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ* there were more bases of this type. *പെടുക്ക്* is almost exclusive in Ezh. as in *മാൽപെടുത്തും*, *പൊട്ടിപെടുത്തും*, *വിഷം പെടുപ്പാൻ*; the more modern base *പെടുത്തും*— with its past *പെടുത്തി*— (as in *നിറുത്തും*— with past stem *നിറുത്തി*—) is very rare; but the base *വളക്ക്* alternates with the base *വളത്തും*— in Ezh.

വളക്ക് is the base of the relevant forms in the following :— *വൈതലേ... വളത്തും തുടങ്ങിനാൻ*; *പുത്രനെ വളപ്പിതിന്നു*; *നാദം വളക്കും ചെറുതൊന്നൊലികൾ*; *മുന്നം മഴിയപൂവ്വന്മാർ വളത്തും ഇന്നു ഞാൻ ഇല്ലാതേയാക്കുവാൻ നിണ്ണയം*. But *വളത്തും*, the modern base, appears in instances like *മകളായി വളത്തുന്നേൻ*; *നീ വളത്തിക്കൊരുക*; *വില്ലൊളിവളത്തിനാൻ*; *പുണ്യശാല വളത്തുവാൻ*.

അമത്തു in ഐവിരൽ അമത്തു is a form of the base അമക്; there are not, however, many representatives of അമക് in Ezh.

Older writers have forms of other bases of this type, like താഴക്, വിടക്, and ഉയക്. [See my E M M]

(7) What is described as the കാരിത affix — ക് of verb-cases appears in Tamil only in the present tense and in the future with ഉ directly, though indirectly it makes itself felt in certain other forms. In the aorist negatives (and in the singular imperatives like ഇത, ഏട്ട, കൊട്ട) this — ക് does not appear in Tamil. The earliest stages of Mal., show many negative participles without — ക്. Ezh. uses this old type beside the more modern Mal. type of negative participles :— പാരാതേ; ചൊന്നതു കേളാഞ്ഞാലു; കേളാതിരിക്കുന്നതാകിലോ; തോലാതവണ്ണം; പാത്തിരിയാതേ പടകുട്ടുകേവേണ്ടു; മടിയാതേ; and ചോദിയാതേ (beside ചോദിക്കാതേ) ദുഃഖിയാതേ; ദുഃഖിച്ചിരിയാതേ.

(8) Ezh. uses many denominative verbs (formed from Sanskrit roots) that are not current today :—

നമിക്കു	ശോചിക്കു
ഉഷക്കു	ഭത്സിക്കു
ഗന്ധിക്കു	കത്സിക്കു
വൃഗ്രിക്കു	സൂജിക്കു
ചേഷ്ടിക്കു	ദീപിക്കു
വേപിക്കു	ഗോപിക്കു
ഭാഷിക്കു	മോചിക്കു.

മോഹിക്കു, used in many contexts with the specific meaning 'to swoon'; സമ്മാനിക്കു 'to honour'; കല്പിക്കു 'to order' and 'to plan in the mind.'

ശിക്ഷിക്കു is used by Ezh. both with the primary ('to teach') and the secondary ('to punish' common in some other Dravidian speeches) significations; വഹിക്കു (in വധിച്ചതില്ല കണ്ണനെ ഇതെന്നാലേ വഹിക്കുമോ എന്നതറിഞ്ഞതു മില്ല) shows how the generalised sense attached to modern Mal. വയ്യാ, വയ്യ had arisen even in Ezh.'s time

ബദ്ധപ്പെടുക 'to bind as a captive' appears in ബദ്ധപ്പെടുത്ത കളിപ്പിച്ചു കൊരുകയും, but ബദ്ധപ്പെട്ടു with the meaning 'having hurried' occurs in ഭാഗവതം.

നിവൃത്തിച്ചിതു മുനിവർഗ്ഗം has നിവൃത്തിക്കു in the sense 'to leave.' ആമന്ത്രണം ഉണ്ണുക means ശ്രാദ്ധം ഉണ്ണുക.

Personal terminations.

The types of finite tense-forms for which Ezh. employs personal terminations (i. e. if and when used at all) are the following :—

Present tense : only the first person singular; but a very rare മരിക്കു നായോ നീ occurs in ഭാരതം.

Past tense : the first person singular and the third personal " rational " singular and plural, commonly; and rarely the second person sing., as in കാകിതു കണ്ടായോ; ഹരമാനേ നീ കണ്ടായല്ലി.

Future tense : the first person sing., with the personal termination അൻ suffixed to the future stem having വു, മ, പ്പ, as in നഷ്ടമാക്കുവൻ ഞാൻ, അതഥപതിയാക്കി വയ്ക്കൻ അവനേ ഞാൻ, മരിപ്പൻ ഞാൻ, ഇപ്പോഴേ കാണൻ, നിന്നുടെ ഭാസിയായി വാഴുവൻ.

" Aorist " Negative tense : only in the *cliche* ചൊല്ലുവല്ലേൻ.

The personal terminations ഓ (first person plural) ഇൻ (second person plural), അൻ (third person " irrational " plural), met with in the works of the നീരണം Panikkars, are never used by Ezh., even in deference to tradition.

Those personal terminations which Ezh. used in his works were in his time perhaps exclusively " literary." It is noteworthy that even the literary tradition evidences a gradual evolution; for, certain types of personal endings met with in രാമചരിതം, ഉണ്ണുനീലിസന്ദേശം and കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ appear to have fallen into desuetude by about the period of Ezh.

Past stems.

Among past stems, the following may be noted :— പുകു (no പുകുന്നു) of പുകു; പുകഴുന്നു (more common than പുകണ്ണു) of പുകഴു, and മകിഴുന്നു; but കവിണ് താണു, വിണ്, കേണ്.

കിളറി appears as the past stem of കിളർ ' to rise ' in കതിരകളുടെ കള നുകര ഏറ കിളറിപ്പൊങ്ങീടും പൊടിയും.

ചാൻ (in ചാൻ ചേൻള്ള ഭൂപാലതം), the past participle of ചാര, appears to be old.

The future tense.

(1) The first person future in Ezh. is commonly represented by forms like വരുവൻ ഞാൻ, വയ്ക്കൻ, മരിപ്പൻ, etc.; but the 2^o future for the first person is not unrepresented :— മരിക്കും ഞാൻ.

(2) The following instances of future forms with 2^o may be noted :— മതിയാം (for മതിയാകും), പോം (for പോകും); ഉണ്ടാമോ; ആം in ഇതുകൾ ഭക്ഷിച്ചു കാഴ്ചിച്ചു പോകിലാം വെന്തു വെണ്ണീരായി ചമഞ്ഞു പോയിടിലാം മണ്ണിൻ കീഴായി കൃഷികളായി പോകിലാം; നാട്ടിൽനിന്നാട്ടിക്കളകിലും ആം വാട്ടം വരാതെ വയി ചീടകിലും ആം.

The future relative participle exists in ആമ്പോര (for ആകമ്പോര), ചാമ്പോര, ആമ്മാറ (for which, see below.)

The aorist tense.

(1) The "aorist" tense with **ഉ**, so characteristic of Mal., is represented in Ezh. by all the older syntactic varieties that I have discussed in my "Evolution of Mal. Morphology." A few instances of the older types are given below :—

മുന്നം നാരദൻ അതരചെയ്തു കേട്ടിരിപ്പു ;
 മുന്നം എല്ലാം പറഞ്ഞു കേൾപ്പു ;
 ഹേമത്തിലുണ്ടാ നിറക്കേടകപ്പെട്ടു ;
 നിന്തിരുവടിയുടെ നാമമന്ത്രത്തെ സന്തതം ജപിപ്പു ഞാൻ ;
 എന്നോട് രാമഗുണങ്ങളെ വണ്ണിച്ചു മുന്നമെല്ലാം നീ പറഞ്ഞല്ലോ കേൾപ്പു ഞാൻ ;

(2) This **ഉ** appears in നല്ല (ഇതേ നല്ല, എന്തു നല്ല നന്മനന്മാരുണ്ടാവാൻ, എങ്ങു (as in ഭൃഗുസനനെന്ന തമ്പി എങ്ങു, വിശ്വാസമുള്ള ശക്തി എങ്ങു) ; ഉള്ളു (as in സീതയ്ക്കുരൊതു തണയുള്ളു ; എന്തൊരു പൂത്തൊരുമുള്ളു ജഗത്തിങ്കൽ; അവരും പെറുളളു നമസ്സ എന്ന തുപൻ). **ഉ** appears in എവിടുത്തു (മാധവൻ എവിടുത്തു) and even after an inflexional ending :— സകല ധർമ്മങ്ങളും നിങ്കലു (cf. കയ്യിലു of കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ and എവിടുത്തു of ഭാഷാഭാഗവതം.)

(3) The participials with — **ഉ** are not unrepresented in Ezh., though not as frequent as in ഭാഷാഭാഗവതം or in കേരളാപ്പതി :— എല്ലാം ഈശ്വരനെന്നെ ചൊല്ലാവുത് എന്നിക്കിപ്പോൾ; എന്തൊരു വരം വേണ്ടുതെന്ന; സുഗ്രീവൻ തന്നെക്കണ്ടു മിത്രമായിരിപ്പുത്.

ഒരു തേരാളിയേ വിജയനുള്ളു; and കൊണ്ടുതന്നുവണ്ണനം എങ്ങുതു show ഉള്ളു and എങ്ങുതും. cf. നല്ലു and അഴകു of ഭാഷാഭാഗവതം.

The older infinitive participle.

(1) These participles with — *a* were extensively employed in Old Mal. texts. Ezh. has some of these older types :— വാനരവീരരെല്ലാം കാണവേ ജാനകിദേവിയെ വെട്ടിനാൻ നിട്ടയം; പലരും കാണവേ; മുഷ്ടിമുരുട്ടി പ്രഹരിച്ചിരിക്കവേ; ഇടരൊഴിയ നടക്കൊരുക; നിറന്ന പീലികൾ നിരക്കവേ കത്തി; കേൾക്കപ്പറഞ്ഞില; വില്ലം കഴിയേക്കലച്ചു; അടയസ്സഹരിച്ചു; ചെവികഴിയെ റലിച്ചുബാണങ്ങൾ; മുഴലേ പ്രദക്ഷിണംചെയ്തു; കറയക്കണ്ടല്ല പറഞ്ഞതേ.

കേഴത്തുടങ്ങിനാൻ (beside the more modern കേണതുടങ്ങി); പോകത്തുടങ്ങിനാൻ; ഉണ്ടാക്കപ്പോകാ; അറിയപ്പോകാ.

Many old infinitive participles of this type had become "crystallized" into forms with a postpositional, adverbial or adjectival force; among such old instances of this type, Ezh. has പെരികെ (used as an adjective, as in

പെരികെ പ്രസിദ്ധമാനും and as an adverb as in പെരികസ്സന്തോഷിച്ചു); and ഉറക്കെ used in a more original sense than today as in ഉറക്കക്കെട്ടി.

In the older texts, the syntactic significations of this infinitive participle were "sequentiality," "simultaneity," "effect" and "purpose." Ezh.'s instances do not show "sequentiality"; the idea of "simultaneity" is conveyed by Ezh.'s instances like പലതും കാണവേ പുറം ഭരിപ്പിച്ചാൻ; the meaning of "effect" is conveyed by instances like വില്ലും കഴിയേക്കലച്ചു; "purpose" which came to be expressed very early in Mal. by the participle having final വാൻ, മാൻ, പ്പാൻ, is denoted by the older infinitive participle only very rarely as in പറക്കപ്പോകാരേ.

(2) The use of കാൺകെ in എല്ലാവരും കാൺകെ ഭ്രൂപതിയ പിടിച്ചിഴച്ചതും is peculiar; കാണെ would be more appropriate here according to Old Mal. usage, but കാൺകെ for കാണെ in this sense appears in the campus and in other works.

(3) The compound verbs constituted of the older infinitive participle and ആകു, represented today only in forms like ചെയ്യാം. പോകാം, എടുക്കാവൂ, മതിയാവൂ, etc., appear more numerous in Ezh:— ബാലിയെക്കൊല്ലാത്തു ദ്രവം; ചിന്തിക്കാത്തുരണമേ; കലയ്ക്കായില ചിന്തിക്കുകയായില;

The participles with - വാൻ

The participles നടപ്പാൻ, എടുപ്പാൻ, കൊടുപ്പാൻ (like the plural imperatives നടപ്പിൻ, എടുപ്പിൻ, etc.) only very rarely appear in Ezh. as നടക്കുവാൻ, എടുക്കുവാൻ, etc. (or, in the case of the plural imperative as നടക്കുവിൻ, etc.)

The relative participles

(1) The ending — ഇന - in തിങ്ങിന ഭക്ത്യാ, പൊങ്ങിന, വന്നീടിന, ചൊല്ലീടിന, was an archaism even in Ezh.'s time.

ആകിയ similarly was a "traditional" form.

(2) The type കേട്ടോളം, കണ്ടോളം, ഇല്ലാത്തോളം denoting 'extent' or 'measure' is less common today than കേട്ടതോളം, കണ്ടതോളം, ഇല്ലാത്തതോളം, etc.

(3) അളവു denoting 'time' in കേട്ടളവു, etc. is not heard today.

(4) ആറു 'way' 'manner,' suffixed to the past relative participles, preserves in Ezh. the meaning of 'manner' and also has in some instances the meaning of 'time.'

'Manner'.— മാറ്റം അറിഞ്ഞവാരെങ്ങിനെ; വിശ്വരൂപം കാട്ടിയവാരും; തമ്പ്രമായി ചെന്നവാരും.

'Time'.— നാലഞ്ചു നാഴിക ചെന്നവാരേ; സൂര്യൻ മറഞ്ഞാരേ കൈനില പൂക്കാൻ; ഓരോ വിശേഷങ്ങളും പറഞ്ഞിത്തിരിനേരം ഇരുന്നവാരേ.

The meaning of 'manner' no longer exists today; but ആര denoting 'time' exists, I am told, in South Travancore colloquial.

(5) ഉള്ളോരു, in instances like the following, is attached to plurals:—
കുരുവസ്സുകളായുള്ളോരു ഞങ്ങളു; ചൊല്ലാതുളളോരു കഥകളു.

(6) ആമ്മാറു (ആകം ആറു) is employed in instances like the following by Ezh:—
മുന്നിലാമ്മാറങ്ങൊരു പുഷ്പരിണിയും കണ്ടാൻ; തേരിലാമ്മാറു കരേറിനാൻ; വിസ്തയമാമ്മാറു കണ്ടു; ഇങ്ങിനെ ചാസുകി ചൊന്നോരു വാക്കുതരം മംഗലമാമ്മാറു കേട്ടോരനന്തരം; വിഷ്ണുപദത്തിങ്കലാമ്മാറുറച്ചിതു; ശ്രീരാമലക്ഷ്മണന്മാരെ കൃഷ്ണലാമ്മാറങ്ങെടുത്തു; കല്യാണമാമ്മാറു; തേങ്ങിലാമ്മാറിരിക്കുമ്പോൾ; അടൽക്കളത്താമ്മാറു നിറഞ്ഞുകൌരവർ. In some of these instances, ആമ്മാറു is pleonastic. For ആമ്മാറു with a "directive" force, see above.

(7) The Sanskrit വിധൌ suffixed to the future relative participle (having ഉം) expresses the idea of 'time':—
ചെന്നു കൂടും വിധൌ; കാക്കും വിധൌ.

Optatives and Imperatives

The old optative was used as a second personal imperative from the earliest known period in the history of Mal. Gradually, the third personal forms became more and more restricted. Ezh. has, however, ജയിപ്പതാകരാമൻ; നീല്പതെല്ലാം; അറിയുമായവരിക; അങ്ങിനെ പോകതെല്ലാം; in which the old form is associated with the third person.

The conditionals

The conditionals with -കിൽ and -ആകിൽ (as in എന്നാകിൽ, ചെയ്യുന്നാകിൽ) are quite common in Ezh. These are not common today, except in ഏകിൽ and ഒന്നകിൽ (colloquial ഒന്തലോ). -ഇൽ alone (without the ക് preceding it) is met with in forms like ചെയ്തിടിൽ, വന്നിടിൽ beside ചെയ്തിടുകിൽ and വന്നിടുകിൽ. -കിൽ for the conditional appears from the earliest known times in Mal.; the type with -mere ഇൽ is occasionally found in early texts.

Verbal nouns with -ക, ക്ക.

While the verbal nouns with -ക or -ക് (like ചെയ്ക) are used with many syntactic functions and declined frequently in the "third case," the "seventh case" forms like the following from Ezh. are rather rare today:—
കാൺകയിൽ ഇച്ഛയില്ല; താപവുകൊണ്ടു ധരണിയിൽ വാഴ്ചയിൽ നല്ലമാണം; ശത്രുക്കൾ വന്നവളെ ബലപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതു കണ്ടിരിക്കയിൽ മൃത്യുഭവിക്കുന്നതുതമമേവനും; മോഹമനി ക്കില്ലനി ജീവിക്കയിൽ.

Appellatives

Third personal appellatives like നല്ലൻ, ഉടയോർ in Ezh.; എങ്ങാൻ of Punam and എങ്ങാൻ of കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ may be compared.

Negative verb-forms

One of the most characteristic developments of Mal. morphology is the type based on a negative stem followed by tense-endings or other verb-affixes. This is unique in Malayalam; see my E M M, ch. VI, for a discussion of the evolution of this type.

This type had been developed in Mal. long before Ezh., as representatives occur with varying frequency and numerousness in all the Old Mal. works. The only forms of this type which have persisted in present-day Mal. are the past forms and the verbal nouns like അറിയായ്; but in Ezh. the older forms exist :—

Present tense : there are not many instances in Ezh. :— എന്നിവ നിറുപിച്ചു ഞാൻ ഇവ ചെല്ലായിന്നു; മറെറൊരു പാതിപ്രകാശത്തോടു കൂടായ്ന്നു. This form occurs frequently only in ഭാഷാഭാഗവതം; even in ഉണ്ണുനീലിസന്ദേശം, കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ and Panikkar's works, this present tense form is represented only by a few instances. A few also occur in the campus.

Future tense : in Ezh. there are no finite tense-forms as such, but future participial nouns like കൂട്ടാക്കാത്തു്, വരുത്തുതിന്നു, etc. exist. The future finite of this type is very rare even in Old Mal. texts.

Inf. participles : ഭരിച്ചുകാത്താൻ എന്നേ; ഭംഗിച്ചുകാത്താൻ; ഹാനിവരാത്താൻ; കേടു വന്നുകാത്താൻ.

Prohibitives :— സന്തതി ഉണ്ടാകായ് (third person); മോഹിച്ചിയായ്, മാം; ചേരിച്ചിയായ്; ദുഃഖിക്കായ്; വീഴായ്ക തക്കുകൻ (third person); plural ഭയപ്പെട്ടായ്; ഉഴറായ്; ചൊല്ലായ്.

Other negative forms

(1) The aorist negative tense with -ആ (as in വരാ, പോകാ), restricted in Tam. to the third person "irrational" plural, was employed in Mal. from an early time for other persons and numbers. Modern Mal. has only a few of this type: കൂടാ, പോരാ, വയ്യാ, വേണ്ടാ. Ezh.'s works have more numerous instances of this class :— പ്രാണനാഥൻ പൊറാപിരിഞ്ഞാലോ; ഉണ്ടായ്വരാ; നാണക്കുകപ്പെട്ടാ; ചെല്ലാ നിറക്കയർത്തിങ്കൽ മാനസം.

(2) ഇല്ലാത and അല്ലാത appear in Old Mal. as ഇല്ലയാത and അല്ലയാത; Ezh. has അളവില്ലയാത വെളിവു; ഫലമില്ലയാത; ഭയമില്ലയാത; കണ്ടതില്ലയാത്തു; കൃതമല്ലയാത്തതും; അവനില്ലയാത്തതു കാരണം; അല്ലയായ്കിൽ.

(3) നീക്കാവതല്ല; തട്ടക്കാവതല്ല; ചൊല്ലാവതല്ല; മിണ്ടാവതല്ല; ഇതിനടെ മഹത്വം ചൊല്ലാവല്ലേ; : these represent a type very common in the older texts.

ആകുമിക്കാമല്ല stands for a similar old type.

(4) The combination of the type of ചെയ്യുക, ചെയ്തുകൊണ്ടു is used today to denote both 'impossibility' and 'prohibition' according to the context. Ezh. employs it only for denoting 'difficulty' or 'impossibility':— ഇവനതെവ. ആക്കു അറിഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടു ചെയ്യാൻ; ലോകവാസികൾക്കൊക്കും ജയിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു യല്ലോ.

Miscellaneous

(1) The semantic history of മതി 'enough' in Mal. has been discussed by me in my E M M. The old compound മതിപോരുക 'to be satisfied' (used by കണ്ണശ്ശൻ and in the campus) occurs in Ezh.:— കണ്ണാ മതി മതി പോരും പറഞ്ഞതു; അയ്യോ മതി മതിപോരും (the anguished cry of കീചക).

മതിയല്ല, മതിവരാ, മതി ആക are the other compounds met with in Ezh.

പോരും 'will be enough' in പോരും ഇനി മമ പോരും; പോരും പരക്കും പറഞ്ഞു, and പോരൂ in ഭീമൻ സന്യാസിക്കലേ പോരൂ illustrate the use of the second constituent of മതി പോരുക in the sense of 'to be enough.' പോരുക with this meaning persists today only in the negative പോരാ, പോരേ.

(2) The "ancestral" forms of present-day കാണാണ്ടു, പോകാണ്ടു are often written in printed texts and in manuscripts as കാണാതേകണ്ടു, പോകാതേകണ്ടു, et. I think that there is some "confusion" here arising from "folk-etymology." കണ്ടു in these contexts is hardly appropriate; on the other hand, these forms are, in Mal., the negative counterparts of ചെയ്യുകൊണ്ടു, കണ്ടുകൊണ്ടു, പോയ്കൊണ്ടു, etc. in which കൊണ്ടു, the past conjunctive participle of the verb-base കൊൾ, is employed with a special nuance (in Mal. and other Dravidian languages) implying that the effect of the verbal action in some way enures to the subject. The negative counterparts of these forms should appropriately be ചെയ്യാതേകൊണ്ടു, etc. Indeed, confirmation for this is available from Ezh's കൊല്ലാതേ കൊള്ളാത്തതെന്തവൻ തന്നെ നീ കൊല്ലിക്കയത്രേ നിനക്കു രസമേടോ where a conjugated form of കൊല്ലാതേ കൊള്ളുക is conspicuous. Similar instances are available from കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ : കൊല്ലാതെ കൊണ്ടാകിൽ; ക്രന്ധാതെ കൊള്ളുവാൻ; താരാതെ കൊള്ളുവാൻ; and from ചെറുശ്ശേരി ഭാരതം : എന്നെ നീ വൈകാതെ കൈ പിടിച്ചീട്ടകിൽ നിന്നുടെ ഹാനി വരാതേകൊള്ളാം.

(3) The so-called ending -വാൻ expressive of 'surprise' or 'doubt' is, as I have pointed out in my E M M, constituted of the back glide വ് and

ആൻ (from older ആയിൻ = ആകിൽ). Ezh.'s ഭാരതം has only one instance ആക്കുവാൻ; but ചിന്താരത്നം and കൈവല്യനവനീതം have ആരുവാൻ; ഏങ്ങിനേവാൻ; ആത്മാവോവാൻ; ഉണ്ടോവാൻ; ചൊല്ലിക്കാമോവൻ; ചിരിക്കയില്ലയോവാൻ.

(4) എന്നി (from ഇൻറി, the conjunctive past participle of ഇൽ (when ഇൽ is treated as a verb-base) and എന്നി-യേ (from - y - e, the ഏ being the നിപാത of clearness or emphasis) occur freely in Ezh. The നിരണം Panikkars have ഇൻറി, ഇനി and ഇനിയേ.

(5) അല്ലയല്ലി, അല്ലല്ലി; ഇല്ലയല്ലി, ഇല്ലല്ലി are all frequent in Ezh.
