

DRAVIDIC SANDHI

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IV

Consonants and Consonants

Tamil

CONSONANTAL *sandhi* is varied in Tamil. Both from the descriptive and the comparative points of view it would be best to classify the contexts thus :

- (1) With *k-*, *c-*, *p-*
- (2) With *t-*
- (3) With *n'-*
- (4) With *m-* and *ñ-*
- (5) With *y-*, *v-*

This classification would be the most useful not only in envisaging common or parallel phonetic phenomena but in comparing and contrasting the different changes in Tamil amongst themselves on the one hand and with the changes in similar contexts in the non-Tamil speeches on the other.

1. With *p-*, *k-*, *c-* :—

(i) *-l—(a)* in “*vêṭ't'rumai*” compounds, *-l > -t'[r]*³² as in *kaṭ'(r)kuḍam*. In certain compounds like *kâl-kudittu* there is no change.

(b) in “*alvaḷi*” this change of *-l > -t'* occurs only in the following :—optionally in monosyllabic words (with *-l*) in “*eḷuvây*” and predicate sequences like *kaṭ' kuridu*; usually in adjectival compounds like *vêṭ' paḍai* and in sequences like *vaṇḍât'-ceyvên* (I shall do in the event of coming).

The normal rule of change in “*casal*” compounds is due to the closeness of relationship. In “*alvaḷi*”, the change occurs only where the degree of semantic intimacy is strong.

³² For the relationship of *r* to the alveolar plosives *t'* and *d'*, see 15 HAP.

A noteworthy point is that while in *kaṭ' kuṛidu* there is optional change in "alvaḷi", the change is absent when the first word has a long vowel, as in *kāl kuṛidu*. Here the difference is due to a "structural" feature, viz., the existence of a long vowel in *kāl* which obviously prevents the *sandhi* change. That the structure of words does influence *sandhi* changes in Tamil will be evident from other categories also.

(ii) *-ḷ—(a)* in "casal" compounds, *ḷ > ṭ*, as in *kaṭ-pānai*. In *kaḷ kuḍittān*, the change is absent.

(b) In *alvaḷi*, *ḷ > ṭ* optionally, as in *muḷ peridu* or *mut peridu*; but when *-ḷ* occurs in monosyllabics with long vowels and in dissyllabic or polysyllabic words, the change may be completely absent: *marāṅgaḷ kaḍiya*, *vāḷ peridu*.

(iii) *-n³³—(a)* "casal" compounds—*n > t'[r]*, as in *poṭ'-kuḍam*; this change does not take place in *pon koṇarndān*.

(b) "non-casal" compounds and sequences—no change, except after *-in*, the old conditional affix: *varit'ceyvan* (he will do in the event of coming).

(iv) *-n³⁴—(a)* "casal" compounds—*n > ṭ*: *maṭ-pānai*—An exception is furnished by second case compounds like *maṇ koṇarndān*.

(b) "alvaḷi"—no change.

(v) *-y, -r, -ḷ—(a)* "vêṭ't'rumai"—the surds *p-, c-, k-* are doubled, *y* itself undergoing no change: *n'ây-k-kâl*, *têr-t-talai*, *pûḷ-c-cevi*—In "second case" combinations like *têr koṇarndān*, *tamiḷ kaṭ't'rân* (he learnt Tamil) there is no change.

(b) "alvaḷi"—no change, except in the following types which involve intimate semantic relationship:—adjectival compounds like *mey-k-kîrti*, comparisonal compounds like *kâr-*

³³ This is the alveolar point-nasal *n*.

³⁴ The change of *n > t'* is largely absent when *tan, en, n'in, meet p-, k-, c-; -n* of *kuyin, -ûn, eyin*, and *-n* of *pāṇ, aman, paraṇ and kavaṇ* does not undergo this change in similar circumstances. For the treatment in the *sandhi* of the finals of these words and of a few others like *min, pin, tên, mân*, etc., see *sûtras* 211 to 218 of N.

k-kulal, and past participle sequences like *pôy-c-ceyđân* (he did, having gone).

(vi) *-m*³⁵—(a) “*vêt’t’rumai*”—*-m* is elided, and the “surds” following are lengthened (doubled): *paḷa-t-tôl*—except after *-m* of monosyllabic *n’am*, *tam*, *em*, and in “second case” combinations like *n’ilaṅgađandân* where the changes are as in (b) below.

(b) “*alvaḷi*”—*m* changes into a *varga* nasal, i.e., *ṁ* before *k*, *ṁ* before *c*, and remains as such before *p*; further, in the process, the initial voiceless *p*-, *k*- and *c*- become voiced on account of the influence of the nasals preceding: *maran-guridu*, *uṇṇuṇ-jôru* (the food that is eaten).

In two *alvaḷi* types, viz., adjectival compounds like *vaṭṭa-k-kal*, and comparisational compounds like *kamala-k-kaṇ*, the change is as in “casal” compounds because of greater semantic intimacy.

(vii) *-v*³⁶ (in the so-called demonstrative bases *av*, *uv*, *iv*)—*-v* > *ḥ* (*âydam*), as in *aḥ kaḍiyana*.

2. With *t* :—

(i) *-l*—(a) “*vêt’t’rumai*”—the consonant group *t’t’(r)* is produced, both *l* and *t* disappearing in the process: *kat’t’(r)-imai* [*kal+timai*]. The process of phonetic change involves a double assimilation, the alveolar lateral becoming a plosive under the influence of *t*, and the dental plosive itself changing to an alveolar under the influence of *l*.

(b) “*alvaḷi*”—the meeting of the final *-l* of monosyllabic words like *kal*, *pal*, with *t*- in *alvaḷi*, results in the production of *t’t’(r)* or optionally *ḥd’*: *kat’t’(r)idu* or *kaḥd’ idu* (the stone is bad).

³⁵ *-m* is optionally not elided in *kuḷaṅ-garai* beside *kuḷa-k-karai* [TE, 313]; *im*, *kam* and *urum* [N, 223] take the augment *-u-* [or *i*] “*vêt’t’rumai*” sometimes *-a-* before all sounds except *y*-, like *toḷit’peyar* or suffixless verbal nouns.

³⁶ *tev* [N, 236] behaves like “suffixless” verbal nouns in that it incorporates a *câriyai -u-*.

The meeting with *t*-, of final *-l* of polysyllabic words, or of monosyllabic words with long vowels, leads to the production of a short alveolar plosive *d'* only: *vêd'îdu* [*vêl*+*tîdu*], *tôndra-d'îyan* [*tônd'ral*+*tiyan*].

It is interesting to note here again how the syllabic constitution of words influences the *sandhi* change.

(ii) *-l*—(a) “*vêt't'rumai*”—*tt* is produced by the junction of *l* and *t*, these sounds themselves disappearing: *muttîmai* [*mul*+*tîmai*]. The assimilative changes are parallel to those in (i) (a) above.

(b) “*alvali*”—*tt* or *hḷ* is optionally produced when final *l* of monosyllabic words with short vowels is concerned, while *ḍ* alone is produced when *-l* belongs to a polysyllabic word or to a monosyllabic word with a long vowel: *muttîdu* (the thorn is bad) beside *muhḍîdu*; *vâḍîdu*.

The difference between monosyllabic words with short vowels on the one hand, and on the other the polysyllabic words and the monosyllabics with long vowels is parallel to what has been noted in (i) (b) above.

(iii) *-n*, *-ṇ*—(a) “*vêt't'rumai*”—*t't'(r)* and *tt* are the respective resultants of the junction here: *pot't'rîmai*, *matṭân*. The assimilation operates in both directions.

(b) “*alvali*”—*t*- alone is changed to *d'* after *-n* and to *ḍ* after *-ṇ*: *pon-d'îdu*, *maṇḍîdu*.

(iv) *-m*—as in (1) vi above;

(v) *-y*, *-r*, *-ḷ*—as in (1) v above;

(vi) *-v*—as in (1) vii above.

3. With *n'* :—

(i) *-l*, *-n*—both in casual and in non-casual combinations, the change here involves the conversion of initial *n'* to *n*, and in case of *-l*, the conversion of this *-l* to the alveolar *n*:

vin-nîṭci [*vil*+*n'îṭci*]

pon-nalladu [*pon*+*n'alladu*].

The assimilative change in *l*+*n'* occurs in both directions, the alveolar *l* becoming the alveolar nasal on the one side, and

on the other the blade-dental nasal becoming an alveolar under the influence of *l*.

(ii) *-l*, *-ṇ*—both in casal and in non-casal contexts, *n'* is converted to *ṇ*, and final *l* becomes *ṇ*; cf. parallel changes in (i) above.

puṇ-ṇiṇḍadu [*puḷ + n' iṇḍadu*]

maṇ-ṇalladu [*maṇ + n' alladu*]

kaṇ-ṇiṭci [*kaṇ + n' iṭci*]

In both (i) and (ii) above, if the final sounds belong to polysyllabic words or to monosyllabics with long vowels, then in (i) a short *n* alone appears after *sandhi*, and in (ii) a short *ṇ* alone appears.

vānand'ru [*vān + n' and'ru*].

vāṇanmai [*vāl + n' anmai*].

kānaḍai [*kāl + n' aḍai*].

paṣumaṇand'ru [*paṣumaṇ + n' and'ru*].

(iii) *-m*—*-m* elided both in “casal” and non-casal combinations: *mara-n' iṇḍadu*, *mara-n' iṇḍadu*. In the case of the monosyllabics *em*, *n'am*, *tam*, not only *-m* is elided but *n'* is geminated.

(iv) *-y*,³⁷ *-r*, *-ḷ*—no change, except after *-y* in monosyllabic words with short vowels, in which case *n'* is doubled (as in *mey-n'-n' iṇḍadu*, *mey-n'-n' iṭci*).

(v) *-v* (in *av*, etc.)—*-v* is lost and *n'* is geminated, as in *a-n'-n' ūlgaḷ*.

4. With *-m* and *-ṇ* :—

(i) *-l*, *-ḷ*—both in “casal” and in non-casal combinations, *l* and *ḷ* respectively change to *n* and *ṇ* on account of the influence of the nasals following: *kan-māṇḍadu*, *kan-ṇeri*, *kan-ṇerindadu*, etc. *-l* and *-ḷ* are assimilated to the corresponding nasals *-n* and *-ṇ* on account of the influence of *m*- or *ṇ*-.

³⁷ N, 124, refers to the change of *n'* to *ṇ* after *-y* of monosyllabics, as in *n'ey-ṇ-ṇind'r-eriyum* [*n'ey' + n' iṇḍ'r*]: cf. *ai-ṇ-ṇūru* [*ai + n' ūru*]. This change of *n'* to *ṇ* (on account of the influence of the palatal sound preceding) appears to be a middle Tam. change.

(ii) *-n, -ṇ, -y, -r, -ḷ*—no change except after *-y* of monosyllabics like *kay, mey*, when *m-* or *ñ-* become geminated.

(iii) *-m*—*-m* is elided in “*vêṭ’t’rumai vaḷi*” and in “*alvaḷi*” alike, except in monosyllabic *am*.

(iv) *-v* (of *av, etc.*)—*-v* is elided and *m-* or *ñ-* geminated : *a-m-maṇigal, a-ñ-ñāṇgal*.

5. With *-y*³⁸ :—

There is no change except in the following contexts :

(i) When *y-* is preceded by final *-l, -ḷ, -n, -ṇ*, then what is described in Tamil grammars as a *ku’t’riyal-igaram*, i.e., a “neutralized” *i* [= IPA *ĩ*] crops up optionally as an *âgama* between the meeting sounds : *mâl-ĩ-yâvan* beside *mâl-yâvan* ; *âṇ-ĩ-yânai* beside *âṇ-yânai* ; etc.

(ii) *-m*—in “casal” combinations, *-m* is elided before *y-* : *mara-yâl*.

(iii) TE, 47, records the optional change of *ṇ+y-* = *ṇñ*, as in *maṇ ñâtta* [*maṇ + yâtta*], and of *n+y* = *nñ* in *pon-ñâtta* [*pon + yâtta*].

6. Treatment of rare old Tam. final *-n’, -ñ* :—

These sounds as finals of words occur only in the following old Tamil words :

n’—*porun’* (agreeing)

ñ—*uriñ* (rubbing)

The “verbal nouns” take an *âgama* or *câriyai -u-* (and *-a* also in casal compounds for *n’*) when they meet consonants, in both “*vêṭ’t’rumai*” and “*alvaḷi*”. Plosives (and *c-*) appearing after these words appear geminated in casal compounds.

7. In Tamil consonantal *sandhi*, the factors determining the changes are the following :—(a) structural features ; (b) the character of the meeting sounds ; and (c) the degree of semantic intimacy involved. I would give below a few illustrations for (a) :

³⁸ *-y* (when preceded by a long basal vowel) before another *y-* following, is dropped, as in *n’âyâdu* [*n’ây + yâdu*].

(i) the *sandhi* change in *kal+kuridu*, beside the absence of change in *kâl* or *viral+kuridu*; and a similar difference regarding *-l+k-* in the nominative-predicate sequences.

(ii) the difference between *kal+tîdu = kal't'rîdu* and *vêl+tîdu = vêr(d')îdu*; similar differences in *-l+l*, *-l+n'* and *-l+n'*.

(iii) the difference in treatment between *-m* of monosyllabic words like *am*, *kam*, *n'am* and *-m* of words like *maram*, etc., in “*vêt't'rumai*”.

(iv) the manner in which *-y* of monosyllabic words like *mey* [with short vowels] induces the doubling of all sounds following, while *-y* of dissyllabic or polysyllabic words induces only the doubling of the surd plosives, and even this chiefly only in “*vet't'rumai*”.

8. Internal *sandhi* of the following types occurs in Tamil. Strictly speaking, some of these changes form part of the past history of the parent language in as much as they are found in many other speeches; but as they are all clear and definite and, further, as they correspond to similar cases of external *sandhi*, some of them deserve to be noted here:

(a) Derivative nouns have suffixes showing the resultants of the junction of different consonants:

l+t(d)—*end'rau* ‘the sun, etc.’ [*el+d-*], *vel't'ri* ‘success’ [*vel+ti*]

n+t(d)—*tind'ri* ‘food’ [*tin+di*]

l+t(d)—*kôdal* from *kol-* (to take on), *curuttu* (a roll) from *curul-* (to be rolled)

n+t(d)—*uṇḍi* (food) from *uṇ-* (to eat, etc.)

y+t—*n'eyttu* (weaving), *koyttu* (reaping)

r+t—*mât't'ram* (change, etc.) from *mâr-* (to be changed)

(b) Inflexional endings:

ḍ+t—*âtṭi*, the “oblique” base of *âḍu* (goat)

r+t—*ât't'r-*, “ “ “ of *âr* (river)

(c) Verbal extension suffixes:

l+k—*vit'k-* (to sell), *n'it'k-* (to stand)

r+t—*vat't'r-* (to be dried) from *var-*

(d) Causative verb-bases:

ôṭṭi- of *ôḍ-* (to run), *êṭ't'r-* of *êṛ-* (to rise), *curutt-* of *curul-* (to be rolled), etc.

(e) Past stems :

$l+t$ —*vit't'r-* of *vil-* (to sell), *ceṇḍ'r-* of *cel-* (to enter), etc.

$n+d$ —*tiṇḍ'r-* of *tin-* (to eat), *eṇḍ'r-* of *en* (to say)

$ḷ+t$ —*kēṭṭ-* of *kēḷ-* (to ask, hear), *urunḍ-* of *urul-* (to be rolled)

$n+d$ —*kaṇḍ-* of *kān-* (to see), *uṇḍ-* of *uṇ-* (to eat), etc.

$y+t$ —*vay-ṭ-* of *vay-* (to place), etc.

$r+t$ —*pār-ṭ-* of *pār-* (to see), etc.

$ḍ+t$ —*viṭṭ-* of *viḍ-* (to leave), etc.

$ṛ+t$ —*aṭ't'r-* of *aṛ-* (to be severed), etc.

$g+t$ —*pukk-* of *pug-* (to enter), *n'akk-* of *n'ag-* (to smile), *mikk-* of *mig-*.

(f) Future stems of *kārita* verbs :—

$kk+v$ —*aḍipp-* of *aḍi-kk-* (to beat), *n'aḍapp-* of *n'aḍakk-* (to walk);

ōḍuvipp- of *ōḍuvikk-* (to cause to run), etc.

9. Consonantal junction in the colloquial.—While internal *sandhi* changes are all preserved in the colloquial to the extent to which the latter employs the forms concerned, external *sandhi* changes are absent in the colloquial, except the following :

(i) the elision of *-m* in “casal” compounds ;

(ii) the doubling of plosives after *y*, *r*, *ḷ*, in “casal” compounds ;

(iii) the voicing of surds after nasals and the conversion of these latter to the “varga” types.

Malayâlam

While most types of internal consonantal *sandhi* of Tamil are represented in Malayâlam internal *sandhi*, there are differences and deviations in Malayâlam in external *sandhi* contexts. One has in this connection also to note divergences between old Mal. and new Mal. A critical interpretation of the rules of *sandhi* in *Lilātilakam*, the fourteenth-century Mal. grammar, and an examination of early textual and inscriptional instances would be illuminative of external consonantal *sandhi* types in old Mal. I propose to deal with this to begin with, and then to treat about new Mal.

I shall take up the rules and illustrations in Līl. in the order in which they are given in that grammar.

III, 13—"When $-n$ and $-ṇ$ meet $k-$, c , $ñ-$, $p-$, $m-$, $y-$, $v-$, there is no change".

In the *vyākhyā*, the following illustrations are given: *maṇ-kuḍam*, *pon-mala*, *kaṇ-malar*, *pon-vila*, *pon-yâdond'u*.

The commentary also points out that instances like *maṭ-kuḍam* [*maṇ+kuḍam*], *maṭ-pânai* [*maṇ+pânai*], *maṭ-tûdu* [?] are *not* Mal. but Tamil.

The following points may be noted in connection with this rule and the commentary thereon :

(i) While the *sûtra* contemplates the type n , $ṇ+k-$, $p-$, $c-$, $ñ-$, $m-$, $y-$, $v-$, the commentary gives *cāṇ+tugil* also as a case of "no change" in Mal. III, 14 expressly states that $ṇ+t > ṇṭ$ in Mal. The inclusion of *cāṇ-tugil* without change in III, 14, would indicate that $ṇ+t$ did not *always* undergo change in Mal.

(ii) So far as the absence of change in $-n$, $-ṇ+ñ-$, $m-$, $y-$, $v-$ is concerned, the rule is in general agreement with Tamil; but in the types $-ṇ+k-$, $p-$ for which this *sûtra* postulates no change, the Tamil rules are different, in as much as in "vêtt'rumai", $-ṇ$ changes to $-ṭ$ and in "alvaḷi" there is an optional change of $-ṇ$ to $-ṭ$ in the conditions and contexts already mentioned above.

(iii) As for the view held in this *sûtra* that $-n$ followed by $k-$, $p-$ remains unchanged, it is to be qualified by III, 26, which postulates change (see below).

I would consider that this conflict of views was due to the fact that even during the time of L, instances with $-n+p-$, $k-$ showing no change existed in literature.³⁹

³⁹ Most, if not all, of the variations from Tam. rules, expressly or impliedly pointed out by L, are colloquial features (already current in middle Tamil, as attested by inscriptional instances) which came to be universally and unreservedly sanctioned in literary Mal. after the period of L,

III, 14—" $-n$ followed by t - changes t - to $-t$ ". The illustrations given in the commentary are *maṇḍidu* [*maṇ + t̃idu*] and *kaṇ-ḍiḍu*.

I have pointed out above that the instance *cāṇ-tuḡil* given in the commentary on III, 14, would show that the change postulated in this *sūtra* was not universal. I would mention here that the change of $n + t > nḍ$ is absent in new Mal. which allows these two sounds to come together without any change. The older texts, however, show instances of this change, particularly in intimate compounds: *taṇḍār* [*taṇ + tār*] and *tiṇḍēr* [*tiṇ + tēr*] in RC, 203, *eṇḍiśa* [*eṇ + diśa*] in KR, Âr, 3. I have not been able to find instances from pure old Mal. texts showing the change in subject-predicate sequences like *maṇ-ḍiḍu* of Tamil.

III, 15, 16—" $-l$ changes to $-n$ when meeting n' - " and " n' - meeting $-n$ preceding, becomes n - ". The instance *muṇ-ṇand'u* [*muḷ + n'and'u*] illustrates the two assimilative changes contemplated by these two rules.

The change here postulated is in agreement with the Tamil change of $-l + n'$ - when $-l$ occurs in monosyllabic words like *muḷ*-.

This change does not occur in new Mal. in external *sandhi* except in popular compounds like *uṇṇakku*, *taṇṇîr*, *kaṇṇîr*, *veṇṇa*, etc.

The commentary points out that the change $-l + m > nṁ$ also exists in Mal. instances like *vāṇmêl* [*vâl 'sword' + mēl 'above'*], *tōṇ- mēl* [*tôḷ 'shoulder' + mēl*].

The early Mal. texts show rare instances of the change of $-l + m > -nṁ$:—*tōṇ- mēl* [RC, 38].

The more "popular" absence of change is also hinted at in the *vyākhyâ* to L, III, 20, which alludes to *vâl- maṇu*.

III, 17—" When $-m$ is followed by k -, c -, p -, t -, then $-m$ may be converted to the nasal corresponding to the *varga*. The illustrations are *maraṇ-kurudu* (*maram* 'tree' + *kurudu* 'short'), *maraṇ- ceṇudu*, *maraṇ'- tōṇum*. $-m$ does not undergo change before y -, v -.

This rule is in agreement with the Tamil rule regarding “alvaḷi” compounds; the Mal. illustrations given in the commentary also show that “alvaḷi” instances alone are referred to; for “casal” compounds in Mal., see below—III, 19.

III, 18—“ $-m + n' > n'n'$ ” as in *maran'-n'and'u* [*maram + n'and'u*].

The literary Tam. rule is different in that it requires $-m$ to be elided in such instances; *n'ira-minnum* in Bhg, iv, 18, reflects the Tamil literary rule; in modern Mal. everywhere the *Lilâtilakam* rule applies. Cf. inscriptional *vara-vēṇḍu-n'-n'el* in TAS, III, p. 33.

III, 19—“In some types, $-m$ may be elided”—The commentary gives as illustrations *kala-c-cukku* [*kalam* ‘pot’ + *cukku* ‘dried ginger’], the adjectival compounds *vaṭṭa-p-palaga* [*vaṭṭam* ‘round’ + *palaga* ‘plate’], *cadura-k-kiṇaṟu* [*caduram* ‘square’ + *kiṇaṟu* ‘well’], and the numeral compound *âyira-k-kalam* [*âyiram* ‘thousand’ + *kalam*, ‘pots’]; further it includes under this *sûtra* the change of $-mb-$ to $-pp-$, by mentioning the illustration *pirappugâran* (rattan-dealer) in which *pirappu* is the “transitival” or “oblique” form of *pirambu*.

The change of $-mb-$ to $-pp-$ in *pirappugâran* stands altogether on a different category from that of the elision of $-m$ contemplated by the *sûtra* which is in agreement with the Tam. rule requiring elision of $-m$ in “casal” compounds generally and in a few intimate “non-casal” compounds.

The general rule operates in old and new Mal. alike.

III, 20—“When, $-y$, $-r$, $-l$, $-ḷ$, $-ḷ$ meet any of the plosives or c , then the latter sounds are doubled.” The illustrations in the commentary are *poy-k-kudira*, *n'ir-k-kôḷi*, *pâl-k-kiṇḍi*, *pâl-k-kan*, *muḷ-k-kombu*, *n'âr-p-paṭṭu*, *tôḷ-p-petṭi*.

The rule regarding $-y$, $-r$ and $-ḷ$ (when meeting the plosives in intimate compounds) is the same as in Tamil; the same rule exists in new Mal. But so far as $-l$ and $-ḷ$ are concerned, the Tamil literary rules are different; when meeting p , k , c , the lateral $-l$ becomes t' , and $-ḷ$ changes to $-ṭ$ in certain

contexts and conditions, while the junction of *-l* and *-ḷ* with *t-* is governed by the rules already mentioned above. This *sūtra*¹⁰ of L, however, contemplates for Mal. the doubling of *t-*, *p-*, *k-*, *c-* when preceded by *-l*, *-ḷ*, just as when preceded by *-y*, *-r*, *-ḷ*. The illustrations *pāl-k-kiṇḍi*, *mul-k-kombu*, *tōl-p-petṭi* show how Mal., unlike literary Tamil, preserves *-l* and *-ḷ* unchanged and doubles the following plosive.

All this would indicate that the colloquial features of Tamil appear to have been recognized for literary Mal., so far as *-l* and *-ḷ* (when meeting plosives in external *sandhi*) are concerned. It may be noted that in new Mal. also, *pāl-k-kiṇḍi*, *mul-k-kombu*, *n'al-t-tuṇa*, *kal-t-taḷam* show the doubling of the surds and the absence of change in regard to *-l* and *-ḷ*, as required by this *sūtra* of L.

While this *sūtra* thus describes Mal. features which are at variance with Tam. literary rules but in consonance with Tam. colloquial features, two later *sūtras* of L, *viz.*, III, 26 and III, 27, prescribe for Malayāḷam the changes of literary Tamil: III, 26 says that *-l* followed by *k-*, *c-*, *p-* becomes *t'* (=r) and III, 27 lays down that *-l* when meeting *t-* would produce *t't'*.

I shall show below that III, 26 and 27 refer only to the rare instances in early Mal. texts showing the Tamil changes, while III, 20 would refer to the common Mal. rule which is applicable to both old and new Mal. from a fairly early period. In other words, L appears to have recognized the old Tamil tradition in 26 and 27, while the very general Mal. tendency of avoiding the changes mentioned in 26 and 27 is recognized by III, 20.

The commentary further mentions that *ñ-*, *n'*, *v-* would not be doubled after *-y*, *-r*, *-l*, *-ḷ*, and gives the instances *vāl-marū*, and *mey-n'and'u*.

¹⁰ The *sūtra* runs thus: *ya-ra-la-ḷa-ḷ-ēbhyaḥ ka-ca-ta-pānām dvitvam*. Strictly speaking, then, the meeting of *-l* with *t-*, *p-*, *k-*, *c-* would lead only to the doubling of *t-*, etc.; yet 26 and 27 prescribe the production of *t't'* for *l+t*, and *-rp*, *-rk* for *-l+p-*, *k-*.

Here again, the statement is in agreement with Tam. rules only in so far as *-y* and *-r* are concerned, and even here after *-y* of monosyllabic words in Tam. (like *mey*), *n'* and *ñ-* are doubled; with regard to *-l*, *-ḷ*, the rules in Tam. are different.

III, 21—" *-ṇ* of words with long vowels, when followed by *ṇ* [the result of assimilative change according to III, 15], is elided ", with the result that *ṇṇ* is simplified to *ṇ* in instances like *vāṇand'u* [*vâl* 'sword' + *n'and'u* 'good'], *n'īṇâl* [*n'îl* 'long' + *n'âl* 'days'].

The rule agrees with Tam. literary rules regarding *-ḷ*; and instances like the following from old Mal. texts illustrate the rule of L:—*n'īṇayanê* [*n'îl* + *n'ayanê*], in RC, 175, *n'īṇâl* [*n'îl* + *n'âl*] in RC, 28, *n'ânâḷum* [*n'âl* + *n'âlum*] in Bhg, vii, 8.

Such instances⁴¹ are not generally used in new Mal., except in poetry.

The commentary on III, 22, mentions other important points deserving of notice :

(i) *-ḷ* of dissyllabic and polysyllabic words [with short vowels] like *aval* (she), *vêḍaṇṇâl* (*vêḍas*), and 'a following *n'* become *ṇṇ* and then appears simplified as *ṇ* in instances like *avanîla* [*aval* + *n'îla*], *vêḍaṇṇânâlum* [*vêḍaṇṇâl* + *n'âlum*]. This is in consonance with the Tamil rule, but in Mal. this appears to have been exceedingly rare even in the older stages.

(ii) Early Mal. texts show instances like *pâṇilam* [*pâl* 'waste' + *n'îlam* 'land'], *vânâl* [*vâl* + *n'âl*] in which *ḷ* + *n'* produce *ṇ* when *-ḷ* is preceded by long vowels.

Middle Tamil also has instances like inscriptional *kīṇōkkiya* and literary *vânâl*, *cōṇâḍu* [*Cōḷ(a)* 'Cōḷa' + *n'âḍu* 'country']

⁴¹ Cf., however, *n'ânâḷi* [*n'âl* + *n'âlî*] (four measures called *nâlî*'s), and *n'ânûru* used in old and new Mal. alike, and in the modern colloquial also. Here the *l* + *n'* = *m*, simplified to *n*, is parallel to the rule in L, III, 21. *n'ân'ânâḷi* [with *n'n'*] also occurs in inscriptions—TAS, III, No. 31, l. 3.

(Côla desa), though the Tamil grammars (except Viracôliyam) do not prescribe the change as a regular rule.

Now, L while admitting the existence of *vânâl* and *pânîlam* in early Mal., observes that this must be explained as peculiar instances [*êvam-âpi syât kêralabhâṣâvasât*], since no express rule of $l+n' = n$ exists in the Tam. grammars known to the author or commentarian of Lîl.

III, '26—(i) “-l and -n when followed by k-, c-, p- become r (t) ”.—*kar-kuḷam*, *por-kaṇṇâḍi*, *por-pû*, etc.

This is a Tamil change; and as prescribed here by L, it is at variance with III, 20 of the same grammar.

There are instances like *n'er-paliṣa* [*n'el + paliṣa*], *karpiccu*, beside *n'el-p-paliṣa*, *kalppiccu*, *mêl-p-pâdi*, in early west coast inscriptions, and possibly the tradition of literary Tamil *sandhi* continued to be observed by some literary men in Malabar. That the change of -l and *n*⁴² to r was absent in a number of instances even at that period, is clear from III, 20; -l or -n > r (of this type) is completely absent in new Mal.

The commentary observes that the Mal. practice of changing -n (of *mun*, *pin*, *pon*) > -l before surds, as in *pol-p-pû*, *pol-t-tâmara*, *pol-c-cila* is not appropriate for Mal. [*atra la-kâra-çâyâ nâti-yuktâ*]. In UṢ, a work known to have been composed before L, the change of -n to -l before surd plosives is attested by numerous instances:—*pol-c-cila*, *pol-p-pû*, *mul-p-pâḍa*, etc.

Apparently, L disapproved of this unique Mal. change which has no counterpart in Tamil, and conservatively stuck on to the older Tamil tradition which required -n (and -l) in such circumstances to change to r as in *por-pû* [*pon + pû*].

⁴² In the printed edition of RC, I find *idaṛkum-uṇarn'n'îla* (he did not wake up, even with this) in 302; *idaṛ-k-um* contains the Tamil dative *idan+k*. Such instances may have been borrowings from Tam. The Mal. form *idinn-um* or *idin-um* is of very early origin; it occurs in many early inscriptions.

III, 27—" *-l* and *-n* meeting *t-* produce *t't'*,'' as in *kal't'aḷam* [*kal* 'stone' + *taḷam* 'floor'], *pot't'âr* [*pon* 'gold' + *târ* 'flower'].

This change is found in the old texts only in some rare instances: *n'al't'uṇa* [*n'al* + *tuṇa*] in RC, 80, *mêl't'aram* [*mêl* + *taram*] in RC, 81, *n'al't'avanê* [*n'al* + *tavanê*] in KR, Âr., 188, *pot't'âr* [*pon* + *târ*] in US.

In new Mal., the change is absent, and the above instances would appear as *kal-t-taḷam* and *pon-târ*.

Even in old Mal.,⁴³ the change is found mirrored only in a few intimate compounds like those listed above. Further, the absence of change is envisaged in L itself by III, 20 where we are told that the meeting of *-l* and *t-* results only in the doubling of *t-*.

In view of these facts, one has to think that L in this *sûtra* has recorded an old tradition perhaps with a view to providing for the few rare instances used in the earliest Mal. texts.

III, 28—" *-l* followed by *ñ-*, *n'-*, *m-* changes to *n*," as in *kan-ñeṇṇi* [*kal* + *ñeṇṇi*], *vin-niḷam*, *n'en-muḷa*.

This corresponds to a Tamil change. This is found in old Mal. texts: *men-moḷiyâl* in RC, 21, *n'anneṇṇi* [*n'al* + *n'eṇṇi*] in KR, Âr., 238, *n'an-maṇam* [*n'al* + *maṇam*] in Bhg, xi, 1.

The features of consonantal *sandhi* in external positions may therefore be summed up thus, with reference to L and to old Mal. texts:—

I. With *p-*, *k-*, *c-*

(1) *-l* -- *-l* becomes *ṛ* (*t'*) in rare instances [III, 26]; but in others the plosive following is merely doubled [III, 20].

⁴³ Early inscriptions show numerous instances where *-l* followed by *t-* in *sandhi* contexts behaves just as in modern Mal., i.e. with doubling of *t* and with *-l* unchanged. See my HAP.

Inscriptional *mêl-p-pâdi* [TAS, III, p. 30, 3], *n'âl-k-kalam* [*ib.*, III, p. 28], *n'âl-kalam* and *n'âlpadu* [III, p. 32].

(2) *-l̥* — *-ḷ* undergoes no change, but the plosives following are doubled in some compounds [III, 20].

(3) *-n* — *-n* changes to *-ṇ* (*t'*) in rare instances [III, 26]; but the unique Mal. change of *-n* to *-l*, as in *pil-p-pâḍu*, *pol-p-pû*, had already become popular enough among literary men to merit the disapproval of the conservative L [III, 26].

(4) *-ṇ*—no change [III, 13].

(5) *-y*, *-r*, *-ḷ*—doubling of surds following [III, 20].

(6) *-m*—either *varga nasals* [III, 17] or elision [III, 19].

II. With *t*-

(1) *-l* — rare production of *t't'* as in Tamil [III, 27]; but the tendency of the common colloquial to double *t*- and to retain *-l* unchanged is mentioned in III, 20.

(2) *-l̥*—no change.

(3) *-n*—rare production of *t't'* as in Tamil [III, 27]; but the unique change of *-n* to *-l* in US and other texts may be noted [*cf.* III, 26, Comm.].

(4) *ṇ* — rare production of *ṇḍ* [III, 14].

(5) *-y*, *-r*, *-ḷ* — as before *p*-, *k*-, *c*- [III, 20].

(6) *-m* — as before *p*-, *k*-, *c*- [III, 17].

III. With *n'*

(1) *-l* — production of *nn* and of *n* [III, 28].

(2) *-l̥* — production of *ṇṇ* [III, 15, 16] and *-ṇ* [III, 21].

(3) *-ṇ* — production of *-ṇṇ* as in *kaṇṇîr* (tears) and *eṇṇa*.

(4) *-m* — production of *-n'n'* [III, 18].—Inscriptional *kolḷu-n'-n'el* [TAS, IV, p. 47].—In literary Tamil, *-m* is elided.

IV. With *m*-

- (1) *-l* > *n* [III, 28].
- (2) *-l*—*l* > *n* [III, 16, comm.].—Inscriptional *poduvâṇ-mâr* [TAS, IV, I, p. 46 ff.].
- (3) *-n* — no change.
- (4) *-m* — not elided.

V. With *y*-, *v*-

—No change.

The features of old Mal. *sandhi* corresponding to those of literary Tamil are the following:—(1), (3), (5) and (6) in I, among which in (1) and (3) the Tam. features appear only rarely in Mal.; all except (2) in II, of which, however, (1), (3) and (4) appear but rarely; and all cases of III, except (4).

The main differences between Tamil and old Mal. with reference to external consonantal *sandhi* are the following:

- (i) *-l*, *-n* + *p*-, *k*-, *c*- —no change in Mal.
- (ii) *-l*, *-n* + *p*-, *k*-, *c*- —Tam. changes are mirrored only in the oldest texts: and from a fairly early period, Mal. had begun to show divergences.
- (iii) *-l*, *-n* + *t* — the *âydam* [cf. L, II, 7 *vyâkhyâ*] is entirely absent in Mal.; further *-t't'* is found only in rare instances. The Tam. “*alvali*” *n* + *t* = *nd'* is absent in Mal. external *sandhi*. The retention of *-l* and the change of *-n* to *-l* together with the doubling of *t* had become current in Mal. early enough.
- (iv) *-l* + *t* — no change in Mal.
- (v) *-m* + *n'* — while in *-m* is elided in Tamil *alvali*, *n'n'* is produced in Mal. in similar contexts.
- (vi) None of the external consonantal *sandhi* changes of Tamil, outside those mentioned above are found reflected in Mal.

The differences between old Mal. and new Mal. (from the sixteenth century onwards) are the following:

- (i) The junction of *-l*, *-l* + *p*-, *k*-, *c*-, *t*- is treated everywhere in new Mal. alike in that *-l* and *-l* remain unchanged;

the surds following are doubled⁴⁴ in all contexts where Tam. shows change of *l* or *ḷ*.

(ii) Forms like *pol-p-pû*, *pil-p-pâḍu* have disappeared from the present-day colloquial.

(iii) *-l*, *-ḷ + n'* —no change usually in the colloquial, the old *sandhi* change being preserved in poetry and in literary prose.

(iv) While *Lilâtilakam* (III, 13, comm.) expressly prohibits the use of *r* without the supporting vowel, this *r* has come to be regarded in modern Mal. as an absolute final [KP, p. 96]: cf. compounds like *vêr-peḍuga*, etc.

Most internal *sandhi* changes of Tamil are preserved in Mal., the exceptions being types like *vil-kk-* (to sell) for *viṛ-k-* of Tamil, *kolludal* (killing) for Tam. *kôṛal*, etc.

The following are unique in Mal. :—

(i) Earlier *vânṇ-*, subsequent *vân-*, the Past stem of *vâl-* (to prosper), and similarly *tânṇ-*, *tân-*, of *tâl-* (to go down), *viṇṇ-*, *viṇ-* of *vil-* (to fall), and similar past stems of verb-bases with *-ḷ* show the change of *ḷ + nd*, the past affix = *ḷnd* > *ḷn'n'* > *ṇṇ* > *ṇ* (simplified after long vowels but retained after short vowels, as in *amiṇṇ-* of *amiḷ-*, *kamiṇṇ-* of *kamiḷ-*, etc.).

The change in this particular context, viz., in past stems, is peculiar to Mal.; Tam. has only *vâlnd-*, *tâlnd-*, *amiḷnd-*, etc. But the principle of *sandhi* here is reflected in Middle Tamil external *sandhi*, as in *vânâl* [*vâl* + *n'âl*] and *kîṇôkkiya*.

(ii) The change of *-n + -ḍ-* (of *uḍc* < *uḍaiya*) = *nd'* in the singular genitive inflexion of Mal. nouns with person-denoting endings and those with the augment *-in* is another unique feature that I have discussed in HAP.

(iii) The nasal assimilation of *ṇg* > *ṇṇ*, *ṇj* > *ṇṇ*, *nd'* > *n'n'*, *n'd* > *n'n'* and *ṇḍ* (in some instances only) > *ṇṇ* is another peculiarity of Mal. marking it off from Tamil.

⁴⁴ Common contexts in literary Mal., where *-l* occurs are, besides nouns with final *-l*, the finals of locatives like *iḍ-il*, *viṭṭ-il*, and those of the "conditional" verb-forms like *variḡ-il*, *n'ôkk-il*, *ceyḍ-âl*, *van'n'-âl*. Surds are doubled after *-l* in intimate compounds and sequences; in modern writing, the gemination is not always embodied.

These assimilative changes must have been active in the west coast from a very early time, since forms showing these changes occur in the earliest (ninth to twelfth century) inscriptions.

(iv) *r* when compounded with surds is given the value of *r̥* in the colloquial:—*n'îr-k-kôli* [*n'îr + kôli*]; *pôṛ-k-kaḷam* (battle-field) [*pôṛ + kaḷam*]; *ôṛ-kk-* (to remember) [*ôṛ + kk*]; *pêṛ-kk* (to the name) [Dative of *pêṛ* 'name']; *viyaṛ-p-pə* (perspiration) [derivative with *-p-* of *viyaṛ-* 'to perspire'].

So far as Sanskrit loans are concerned, the following rules exist in regard to the change of *r* to *r̥* in the evaluation of the Malayâlis: (i) in consonant groups formed of voiceless plosives and *s*, *h*, *v* with *r*, the latter is always cerebralized to *r̥*: *kṛamam*, *prakāram*, *trāṇi*, *ṣavi-*; but if the consonant groups are formed of voiced sounds and *ś* with the same *r*, there is no cerebralization of *r*: *grāmam*, *brāhmaṇan*, *dravyam*; (ii) *r* in consonant groups formed of *r* followed by other sounds, is changed to *r̥* in Mal. enunciation, except when *r* meets *y*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *h* in which contexts *r* retains its post-dental value: *vaṛgam*, *aṛkan*, *māṛḍavam*, *dhaṛmam*; but *haṛsam*, *aṛh-i-*, *kāṛyam*, *darś-*.

These types in which *r* is changed to *r̥* before the sounds mentioned above are (it may be noted here) already represented in colloquial Tamil inscriptional instances of the middle Tam. period.

Kannada

1. The following external consonantal *sandhi* changes are prescribed for literary Kannada by Śś, though neither Bhb nor Śmd expressly lays them down.

(i) All consonants (except *h*, *r̥* and *l̥*) are required to be geminated after *r* by Śś, 65: *kuḷir-k-kôḍugum*, *budhar-c-cadurar*, *âr-g-gal*, *sûlar-t-tandar*, *ivar-p-paṇḍitar*.

Here Śś prescribes compulsory doubling after *r* in circumstances in which according to Śmd, 43 (i.e., in consonant groups formed with *r* followed by *g*, *d*, *v*, *j*) *śithilatva* of the consonant group cannot possibly occur.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Śmd, 184 incidentally alludes to non-*śithilas* involving *r*—*rêphe alṭa varṇakkeṛagirkum dr̥itva vritti-y-asamâsadolam*.

(ii) Śś, 66 prescribes doubling of consonants (except *y*, *r*, *h*, *l*, *v*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*) after *l* and *ḷ* :

kal-k-kaḍiyâdudu

kaḷ-g-guḍiḍam

nil-t-tam, *bal-s-sâhasi*

Here, Śmd does not expressly enunciate any corresponding rule, and in the texts no symbols are usually found inserted to indicate gemination.

(iii) Śś, 70 71 prescribe the gemination of *-l*, *-ḷ* before *y*-, *r*-, *l*-, *v*- : *bal-l-yatanam*, *kal-l-vâlê*, *meḷ-l-rannam*, *bal-l-laṇḍam*.

Śmd has no corresponding rule.

(iv) Śś, 72 lays down that *-ḷ* of polysyllabic words with short vowels is optionally doubled before *v*- in compounds. Śmd, 43 postulates that in compounds like *esal-vase*, *-ḷv*- forms a *śithila dvitva*. In laying down the rule of optional doubling of *-ḷ* in instances like *esal-ḷ-valê*, Śś appears to refer to instances in poetic usage in which such compounds have been used without *śithilatva* for the group *-ḷv*-.

(v) Śś, 73 says that no doubling is entailed when the final consonants other than *l* (i.e., *r* and *ḷ*) of polysyllabic words with short vowels meet *g*, *d*, *v* of *kṛt* and *taddhita* suffixes and of *samâsas* : *usirdam*, *usirgam*, *maguḷ-gây*, etc.

The compulsory absence of doubling would tend to show that *śithilatva* was impliedly recognized by Śś for the consonant groups involved here. Cf. Śmd, 43 and 44.

(vi) Śś, 74 lays down that *g*, *d*, *v* of the affixes *ge* [Dative], *gaḷ* [Plural affix], *da* [Past tense], *dapa* [Present tense], *va* [Future tense], *gum* [Aorist-Future tense], are optionally doubled when these affixes are annexed to polysyllabic words with short vowels and with final *r*, *l*, *ḷ* :

esal-g-ge, *esalge* ; *esal-g-gaḷ*, *esalgaḷ*, *usir-d-dar*, *usirdar* ; *usir-d-dapem*, *usir-dapem* ; *kisur-v-vay*, *kisur-vay* ; *maguḷ-g-gum*, *maguḷ-gum*.

In *sûtra* 73, Śś prescribes that *g*, *d*, *v* are *not* doubled in *kṛt* suffixes, derivatives and compounds in the circumstances

mentioned above. The instances given under this *sūtra* are partly those contemplated by Śmd, 43 in its definition and scope of some types of *śithila dvitva*. Thus, though the Śś *sūtra* or *prayōga* does not actually refer to *śithila dvitva* as such, the fact that *sūtra* 73 of Śś prohibits doubling would imply that *śithilatva* is prescribed for groups formed with *-r*, *-ḷ* and *ḷ*, on the one side and *g*, *ḍ*, *v* on the other. In effect, therefore, so far as this particular point covered by Śś, 73 is concerned, Śś and Śmd are agreed. But when Śś, 74 prescribes *optional* doubling, it is definite more than *sūtra* 44 of Śmd which says that the consonant groups formed here (with *-r*, *-ḷ* and *-ḷ* on the one side and *g*, *ḍ*, *v* on the other) are *śithila*. I think that the optional doubling prescribed by Śś in 74 is intended to cover instances of poetic usage where in such circumstances *śithilatva* was not attached by the poets to the consonant groups concerned and a *guru mâtṛa* was allowed accordingly before such groups. Śmd, however, does not fail to envisage this aspect for some of the types; Cf. Śmd, 36, 42, 43 [*kela kelaru*], 115, 184 and 231 for optional slackness.

I may in this connection also point out the peculiarities of the approach of Śś to what is defined and described by Śmd as *śithila dvitva*. According to Śmd, *śithila dvitva* or "slack gemination" occurs in the following conditions:—(i) in dissyllabic or polysyllabic words having short vowels; (ii) only after *r*, *ḷ* and *ḷ*; (iii) only before the following suffixes: dative ending *-ge*, plural *-gaḷ* for nouns, the third person imperative affix *-ge*, the aoristic *-gum*, the past *-da*, the present tense *-dapa* and the future affix *-v*; and (iv) in *samâśas* involving *-ḷ*, *r + ḍ*-, *g*-, *v*-, *j*-.

The *śithila dvitva* groups occurring in the conditions defined above would thus usually be *rg*, *rḍ*, *rv*; *ḷg*, *ḷḍ*, *ḷv*; *ḷg*, *ḷḍ*, *ḷv*.

Śmd, 42 treats about the consonant groups formed by final *-r*, *-ḷ*, *ḷ* of noun-bases with dative ending *-ge* and the plural affix *-gaḷ*. Śmd, 43 deals with the consonant groups *ḷ*, *r + g*, *ḍ*, *v*, *j* of *samâśas*.

Śmd, 44 concerns itself with the groups formed by *-r*, *-l* and *-ḷ* of verb-bases with the verbal affixes *-ge*, *-gum*, *-d*, *-dap-*, *-v*.

Now Śś makes no mention of the *śithila dvitva* as such, but prescribes doubling of the second consonantal element in all consonant groups where according to the conditions for *śithila dvitva* implied in the Śmd "sūtras" mentioned above, *śithilatva* cannot possibly exist. Thus Śś. 65, 66, 67, 70 and 71 contemplate only types where the absence of one or more of the conditions for *śithilatva* given above prevents the consonant groups from being slack; and as if to obviate the possibility of these consonant groups being mistaken for "slack groups", Śś elaborately prescribes compulsory (doubling to be symbolically represented) in types like *kuḷir-k-kôḍugum* [65], *kal-k-kaḍiyâdudu* and *kaḷ-g-guḍḍam* [66], *barisi-p-pradhânaram* [67], *bal-l-yatnam*, *bal-l-rannam* [70] and *ol-l-yatnam* [71], the gemination in 70 and 71 affecting not the second consonantal element [*viz.*, *y*, *r*] of the consonant groups but only *-l* or *ḷ* of the first constituent of the compounds. The gemination prescribed for these particular types by Śś is nowhere laid down in Śmd, and is not found adopted ordinarily in MSS. or printed texts. The approach of Śmd to such types is limited to the view that in these no *śithilatva* is involved [*cf.* Śmd, 59, 60, which expressly point out that there is no slackness in consonant groups like *pr*, *tr*], and that if one remembers the conditions for *śithilatva* implied or expressed in *sūtras* 42 to 45 of Śmd, there cannot be any difficulty in marking off the "slack groups" from the genuine *dvitvas*. I think that this approach to the problem is more in fitting with the actual conditions of the language than the perspective of Śś which lays down what I would characterise as superfluous rules of gemination in consonant groups where there is no *śithilatva*.

The main difference in the approach between Śś and Śmd lies in the fact that Śś accords recognition to optional slackness and absence of slackness through unnecessary

prescriptions of doubling, whereas Śmd,⁴⁶ does not insist on compulsory doubling in such types, though the *sûtras* 42, 36, 115, 184 and 231 do not fail to refer to optional *śithilatva*.

2. *ṛ* changes to *r* when meeting other consonants: *mâr-nuḍi* [*mâr(u)* 'other' + *nuḍi* 'word']; *bêr-paḍ-* [*bêr(u)* 'separate' + *paḍ-* 'to happen, etc.'], *nêsar-gaḷ* [*nêsar(u)* 'sun' + *gaḷ*, the plural affix], *nêsar mûḍitukedar-tale*, etc.

It is said that while the change is optional in some sequences like *nêsar-mûḍitu*, *bêsar-tolagitu*, etc., it is constant in optatives like *tôrke*.

This change does not occur in forms like *tôruvam*, in compounds like *kiṛu-gôl* [Śś, 87] in which the first constituent has a short basal vowel, and in compounds with *mûru* (three) and *âru* (six) [Śś, 88].

The change of *ṛ* > *r* when meeting consonants occurs in Telugu in instances like *nûrvuru* (hundred persons) where *nûru* appears as *nûr-*, and in *cervu* (tank) for *ceṛuvu*.

In literary Tamil the change is never permitted, the possibility being barred by the fact that *ṛ* is always followed by a supporting vowel.

3. *ḍ* becomes *ḷ* when meeting other consonants: *eraḷ-kuḍire* [*eraḍu* + *kuḍire*], *kâl-kircu* [*kâḍ(u)* + *kircu*], *mâl̥kum* [*mâḍ(u)* 'to do' + *-kum*, the aoristic Future ending], *mâl̥ke*, etc.

Here too, in forms like *mâḍuvam*, and those like *kaḍugampu* [Śś, 87] the change does not take place.

⁴⁶ Śmd, 42 refers to the *bahulatvam* in slackness, and 43 uses the phrase *kela kelavu*, thereby implying that some instances may not show slackness.

The commentator of Śmd [Mangalore edition] interprets the statement: *śithila vṛtti tânuccariparge yathêṣam* in 115 as meaning that instances like *budhar-ge* may involve optional doubling of *-g-* [*budhar-g-ge*] if *-rg-* is not *śithila*; but there is nothing in the *sûtra* itself which justifies the symbolic representation of consonantal gemination as such. Śmd, 36 also alludes to optional *śithilatva* and to the absence of it. The only context in which there is any provision made in Śmd for doubling in non-*śithila* consonant groups is in 184 for *g* after *r*, and in 231 for *p* after *r*; but here the observations appear to be incidentally made, and no absoluteness is aimed at.

For the phonetic change involved here, cf. Mal. *kâlca* (sight) < *kât-ca* [cf. Tam. *kât-ci*], Mal. *malayâl-ma* < *malayân-ma*.

4. *k*-, *t*-, *p*- become voiced (except after *or*- and *ir*-) when preceded immediately by consonants other than *r* < *ṛ* and by *ḷ* < *ḍ*, mentioned above.

bây-dere [*bây + tere*]

taṇ-gaḍir [*taṇ + kaḍir*]

kaṇ-ḍeravi [*kaṇ + teravi*]

The voicing is due to the influence of the sonority of the neighbouring consonants. In Tamil the treatment is different and varied.

5. *p*-, *b*-, *m*- become weakened to *v*- optionally after consonants [Śmd, 66, Śś, 91]: *kay-voydam* [*kay + poydam*], *mêl-vanṇam* [*mêl + baṇṇam*], *mel-vâtu* [*mel + mâtu*]. This change, however, is absent in quite a number of instances like *pâl-manc nîr-majjige*, etc.

Cf. a similar "weakening" of *p*- to *v*- in colloquial Mal. *kîlloṭṭa*, *kîl-veṭṭa* for *kîl-petṭa* (downwards), etc.

6. *s*- is said to be changed to *c*- or *j*- and to *ch*- in *sâsiram* (thousand) after consonants:

in-caram [*in* 'sweet' + *saram* < IA *svara*]

taṇ-jodar [*taṇ + soḍar*]

ir-châsiram [*ir + sâsiram*]

The change does not occur after *y*, *ḷ* and in instances like *kaṇ-sôl*-.

The aspirate in *ir-châsiram*, etc. may be due to the influence of *-h*- in originals of *sâsiram* which ultimately goes back to IA *sahasra*.

7. *-m* and *-n* are described in the grammars as changing to the *anusvâra* (or *sonne*, as it is called in Kannaḍa) in *virâmas* (i.e., before pauses) and before consonants. [Śmd, 161; and Śś, 79]. The chief forms concerned here are:

(i) singular *ân* (I), *avan* (he), *tân*; the sing. personal endings *-en* and *-an*;

(ii) plural *âm* (we), *nîm* (you), *tâm* (selves); the plural verbal pronominal ending *em*.

(iii) accusative ending *-an*.

(iv) nouns with final *-am*, *-n*; the inflexional ending *-in*; the second person plural imperative *-im*; the aoristic tense affix *-kum* or *-gum*; the samuccaya *-um*; the suffix *-udum*; etc.

The forms as given by me above are those occurring before vowels following; and it is these forms that are structurally related to cognate forms in other Dravidian speeches.

In ancient Kannaḍa, all these were written with a final *bindu* or *sonne* when they are followed by consonants or by pauses: *âṃ vâdi*, *âṃ kulînar*, *aṇṇaṇ bandam*, etc.

The change contemplated here is that of *-m* and *-n* to a *bindu*; but in the representation of the sound by the *bindu*, was there an actual sound-change, or was it merely graphic? In this connection, one may note how the druta *n* of Telugu may be represented by the *bindu* [optionally] before *âdêśa saraḷa* plosives; and one may also compare how before consonants (and sometimes before pauses) *-n* in Tamil colloquial becomes a mere nasal twang, as in *avã* for *avan*, *pônê* for *pônên* (I went). I think that the use of the *bindu* in Old Kannaḍa for *-n* may not have been merely graphic but may have denoted a sound-change similar to the change in Tamil.

The distinction between *-n* and *-m* (which would be very clear before vowels following) need not necessarily have been lost sight of, even while the *bindu* was used for both *-n* and *-m* before consonants.

8. *-m* and *-n* become *varga* nasals before plosives [BhB, 120; Śmd, 161; Śś, 80]—cf. similar rules for Tamil [TE, 144], and for Mal. [L, III, 17].

9. *-ṇ* meeting *n* gives rise to *-ṇṇ* always in *samâśas* and optionally in word-sequences [BhB, 121; Śmd, 158].

kaṇṇîru—*kaṇ* (eye) + *nîru* (water)

taṇṇelal—*taṇ* + *nelal*

kaṇṇeradadu beside *kaṇ neradadu*.

kaṇṇondudu beside *kaṇ nondudu*.

Cf. the Tam. type of *kaṇṇîru*.

10. Kannaḍa shows the following types of consonantal changes in internal *sandhi* :—

- A.— (i) $l + t$ —*uṇḍu* [$uḷ + t$]
 (ii) $ṇ + t$ —*kaṇḍ*-, the Past stem of *kāṇ*-
 (iii) $ḍ + t$ —*bitt*-, „ „ *biḍ*-
 (iv) $g + t$ —*pukk*- „ „ *puḡ*-
 „ „ *nikk*- „ „ *mḡ*-

All these occur in the formation of Past stems in Kannaḍa. Possibly Kann. *nind*- [the Past stem of *niḷ*- ‘to stand’], *kond*- [of *kol*- ‘to kill’], *sand*- [of *sāl*- ‘to enter’], *lind*- [of *tin*- ‘to eat’] show a group -*nd*- derived ultimately from a group like *nd’(r)* occurring in cognate Tamil stems; there is, however, no direct proof available in Kannaḍa, but circumstantial evidence tends to lend some support for this view (see my “History of the Alveolar Plosive”).

It may be noted that these internal *sandhi* changes are not so widely distributed among the grammatical categories in Kannaḍa as in Tamil or in Telugu.

B.—(i) The Future stems of verbs with final *r*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*, *n* show a *p* which is the resultant of the *sandhi* change arising from the meeting of these sounds with the Future ending -*v* : *barp*- of *bar* (to come), *tōrp*- of *tōṛ*- (to appear), *agaḷp*- of *agaḷ*- (to dig), *nōnp*- of *nōn*- (to take a vow); cf. Tamil -*b*- in the common Future stems *tinb*- of *tin*-, *enb*- of *en*-, etc.

(ii) The Future stem of *pōg*- (to go) is *pōp*- and of *âg*- (to become) is *âp*- in Kannaḍa. Here the *sandhi* change is -*g*- (*k*) + *v* = *p*.⁴⁷ Cf. Tam. *âb*- appearing sometimes in the Future stems of *âg*- (to become)

(iii) The Future stems of the causative verbs in Kann. show -*pp*- : *taripp*- of *tar-i-s*- (to cause to give), *baripp*- of *bar-i-s* (to cause to come), etc. I would postulate here an

⁴⁷ A *sandhi* change of this kind [i.e., $kk + v = pp$] underlies Tam. colloquial forms like *eḍuttuppâḷ* < *eḍuttukk(u)vâḷ* < *eḍuttu-k-kolṽargal* (they will take) in which the help-verb *kol*- appears compounded with the past participle of *eḍ*- to take,

old change: -*kk*- [the *kârita* ending appearing in Tamil causatives like *varuvi-kk*- (to cause to come) but regularly replaced from a pre-historic period in Kannaḍa by -*s*-] + Future affix -*v*- = -*pp*-. Cf. Tam. *varuvipp*-, the future stem of the causative *ceyvipp*- of *ceyvikk*- (to cause to do) ; etc.

11. It is noteworthy that most of the types of Tamil literary external *sandhi* in the meeting of consonants and consonants are not represented in Kannaḍa. Kann. *padinâlku* and *nânûru*, it is true, presuppose two changes [elision of *n* of *padin*- in the former, and of *l* of *nâl* in the latter] numerously represented in Tam. literary external *sandhi* ; but such instances are very few, and on the whole one may say that the somewhat standardized rules of Tam. literary external *sandhi* in the meeting of consonants with consonants are mostly absent in Kannaḍa.



LINGUISTICA.

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IF in the final quarter of the nineteenth century the study of comparative speech-science or linguistics as built up by Indo-Europeanist scholars won for itself a unique place among the departments of learning, this science has, within the last thirty years, made still further strides in three directions, particularly.

Intensive specialization is proceeding apace in Indo-European and connected fields. The work initiated in the last century is being pushed forward vigorously; and so numerous to-day are the branches in which intensive progress in research has been achieved that it has become next to impossible for any present-day scholar to acquire anything more than a generalized idea of the subject as a whole. New materials are being collected assiduously, old perspectives are being revised and enlarged, and our knowledge alike of the details and of the generalities is being enhanced. The acceptance of the principle that dialects and folk-speeches could illumine the truths of speech-science much better than literary forms of speech and standardized varieties has led to a partial revision of our methods of approach. Dialectography or linguistic geography is laying bare to us interesting new facts about the incidence of phonetic and semantic changes. 'Experimental phonetics' is trying to clarify our views about sound-changes from a novel and significant standpoint. The study of accentology has revolutionized the study of certain aspects of the history of languages. Investigations into comparative syntax are revealing new view-points of which we had but hazy notions hitherto. The importance of speech-psychology is receiving greater recognition than before, and in this connection the 'social' aspects of language-development have begun to claim attention. The development of the comparatively new subject of semantics is helping

forward the process of the reconstruction of the past history of forms. Thus we are witnessing to-day an extraordinarily rapid development in what a French linguist has called the 'diachronistic' and the 'synchronistic' aspects of Indo-Europeanist linguistics.

Greater interest is being shown to-day in the study of the language-families other than Indo-Germanic. While the work turned out here is admittedly meagre, scholars everywhere are agreed in recognizing the value of extra-*IGc.* studies both for the enlargement of our existing views and for the solution of the general problems of language. The language-families of America, of "Austro-asia", of Central Asia and China, the non-Aryan speeches of India, the Semitic and the Finno-Ugrian families,—all these are engaging the attention of linguists who have mastered the discipline of Indo-Germanist studies. It is yet too early for us to expect here the precision of method and the sureness of facts which we associate with *IGc.* studies; but the fact that many Indo-Germanists themselves have envisaged the importance of the new spheres of work is in itself a considerable step in advance.

Yet another direction in which a new outlook is becoming popular is in the application of comparative linguistics to the confirmation or correction of the results of comparative sociology and culture. Linguistics by itself cannot elucidate these things; but linguistic facts, if used with caution and reserve, might afford valuable confirmatory evidence of what history, archæology and ethnology might tell us of the pre-historic past. "Letzten Endes," says a German scholar, "ist die Sprachforschung eine Unterabteilung der Kulturgeschichte der Völker."

All this increased activity in the world of linguistics is reflected in some of the recent European publications.

The history of Sanskrit or old Indo-Aryan is of the utmost importance to the students of Indian Linguistics; and *OIA* being intimately allied to *IGc.* the progress achieved in the latter has had its reaction on our views of the former also. The revised second edition of Prof. Thumb's

popular "Handbuch des Sanskrit" (2 parts, Grammar and Texts, in the "Indo-Germanische Bibliothek" series, published by Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1930) embodies the results of the latest *IGc.* researches so far as they affect the history of Sanskrit. The popularity of Thumb's work was due to the fact that it brought together in a brief and systematically arranged form the descriptive and historical aspects of *OIA*. To the Indo-Europeanist who found himself forced by the lack of a synoptic handbook to restrict his attention to Greek and Latin, Thumb's volume was a god-send. There was indeed no want of comprehensive treatises of Sanskrit containing the exposition of details; but a concise *resumé* of a minimum of essentials useful for comparative study, synthesizing the descriptive and historical sides, was first furnished by Thumb's Handbook. The second edition has been prepared by the great master of *IGc.* studies, Prof. Hirt, with considerable improvements and notes incorporating the latest views. Prof. Hirt has rewritten some portions of the work (e.g., the whole of Ch. VII treating about Gradation), and he has added a *Nachtrag* of thirty-five pages of small print, containing a wealth of suggestions and references. Particularly noteworthy among these are those on the age of the *R̥g-Veda* (§27), the neutral vowels of *IGc.* (§§58, 59), Fortunatov's Law (§87), the origin and history of Sanskrit inflexional endings (§§230, 238, 244, 245), *OIA* numerals (§377), verb-endings (§418), the Conjunctive and the Injunctive (§§440, 441), Causatives as original combinations (§ 593), *samāsās* of the type of वशम (dependant) and कृतम (thankless) (§667), the origin of *samāsās* generally (§670), etc.

Prof. Hirt's independent researches into many *IGc.* problems, particularly *Ablaut*, are well known. Further, unlike many another scholar, he has not fought shy of the problem of the origin of inflexional endings, verbal terminations and suffixes. His contribution to all these special topics is of unique value, notwithstanding the fact that some of his views may not be shared by others. All these new results which have a direct bearing on the study of *OIA* have

been indicated by Prof. Hirt in his notes and *Nachtrag* to Thumb's volume. The new edition of this work has therefore gained immensely by being revised by this *IGc.* master. Its popularity and usefulness have thereby been immeasurably increased. Students of Sanskrit Linguistics would find valuable guidance in the new edition of Thumb's work and in its latest orientation.

A sure index to the progress, in range and in depth, of *IGc.* studies is furnished by the two monumental etymological Dictionaries: Boisacq's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* and Walde's *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (both published by Carl Winter, Heidelberg). An indispensable condition precedent to the composition of a satisfactory etymological dictionary is the existence of linguistic research (extensive and intensive) in connection with the language concerned. Generations of scholars had well prepared the materials for Greek and Latin; and these only remained to be utilised by master-minds with correct powers of judgment and an accurate sense of proportion. Boisacq's work is a marvel of precision, judgment and scholarship in this line. The structural and the semantic contents of Greek words of all dialects are chronologically traced, the latest view-point in regard to loan-words is envisaged (*viz.*, Meillet's view that all Greek words need not have been *IE* in origin but may have been borrowings from pre-*IE* speeches), the most recent results of epigraphy and philology are requisitioned, the affinities are discussed exhaustively and copious references are made to the literature on each point. A mine of information is contained under each item, and the work is indispensable not only to students of Greek but also to all linguists who concern themselves with etymological studies that may have at all a connection with *IGc.* Walde's etymological dictionary is a work of equal merit and importance. It is passing through its second edition and already two parts of the work have been issued. The previous editions which evoked the encomiums of scholars, are being amplified and improved by the present editor, J. F. Hofmann. The results

of the latest researches (*i.e.*, the question of borrowings and Etruscan connexions) are as far as possible being embodied. The work, when completed, will prove to be as much a monument of the depth and range of Indo-Europeanist linguistic research as Boisacq's work mentioned above.

Specialist research in the ramifications of *IGc.* tells the same tale of minuteness and methodology. A short monograph for instance (published by Carl Winter of Heidelberg in the "Slavica" series) on "Slavische and Indo-Germanische Intonation" by K. H. Meyer attempts to reconstruct methodically the character and variations of *IGc.* accent by tracing them back from an analysis and comparison of accentual features of Greek and Ur-Slavonic on the one hand and the reverse peculiarities of Lithuanian accent on the other. The author demonstrates that Ur-Slavonic features are directly descended from and reflective of the *IGc.* traits, and that the Lithuanian peculiarities form a departure from the normal. This is the main thesis of the paper, while a few other questions are also dealt with, the most important among which, from a general point of view, are that the rigid demarcation usually drawn between dynamic accent (or stress) and musical accent (pitch) and the inferences drawn therefrom are unreal and that qualitative *Ablaut* in *IGc.* must have been brought about by dynamic stress and not by musical pitch which, unlike the former, is extremely inconsistent and shifting. In regard to this last point, a difference of opinion is possible as to whether it is proper to attribute (as the author does on page 43) to the older stages of language the conditions governing pitch in modern speech. However this may be, the thesis on the whole is an excellent illustration of what the younger European scholars trained in the discipline of scientific linguistics are achieving in specialist spheres.

We have already adverted to the increasing recognition by Western linguists of the need for studying language-families other than Indo-Germanic. The most conspicuous among the advocates of this new outlook belong to the "Anthropos" school of linguists headed by the eminent Catholic *savant*,

Father Wilhelm Schmidt. It is this enlarged perspective that underlies the monographs in the "Linguistische Bibliothek" series edited by Fathers Schmidt and Koppers. Volume IV of this series is a very bulky work on *Die nominalen Klassifikations-systeme in den Sprachen der Erde* by Dr. Gerlach Royen (published by "Anthropos"—Administration 1930). The exceedingly comprehensive outlook of the author is indicated by the following observations of his in the Preface, which mirror the attitude of the "Anthropos" school itself:—

"Es beginnt sich immer mehr die Erkenntnis durchzusetzen, dass ein Studium des Sprachlichen, die sich auf ein kleineres Sprachgebiet einengt, nicht nur im Stoff beschränkter bleibt, sondern auch ausserstande sein wird, in die tieferen Fragen nach Warum und Woher der sprachlichen Tatsachen entdeckend einzudringen. Die Ansicht, dass die Indogermanist dadurch, dass sie lauter Fragen rein formalistischer Art nachgeht, sich in eine Sachgasse verrannt hat, wird ohne Rückhalt von jenen Sprachwissenschaftlern vertreten, die ihren Gesichtskreis etwas weiter erstreckten als bloss auf indogermanisches Sprachgebiet."

The subject of the classification of nouns, when approached so comprehensively as in the present work, embraces quite a phenomenally large variety of problems each of which would demand a monograph for itself. Of this fact the author is not unaware, as we note from the beginning of chapter III:—

"Es ist nicht unsere Aufgabe, alle Schwierigkeiten zu lösen und noch weniger, alle Probleme endgültig zu behandeln.....Wir hegen indessen die stille Hoffnung dass unsere vielfach nur fragmentarische Besprechung junge Linguisten anregen wird, die verschiedenen Einzelfragen zum Gegenstand von Spezialstudien zu machen."

The author's object is only to put together, with critical remarks, the views of scholars on various topics and to adumbrate new perspectives of his own. This work, such as it is, has been well carried out, and the author is entitled to the gratitude of all linguists who will find in this

work valuable guidance for a critical understanding of authoritative views, and incentive for pursuing special topics further.

IGc. problems form the main centre of interest, as is only to be expected from the enormous progress achieved here; but under the inspiration of his *guru*, Prof. C. C. Uhlenbeck, the author has collected, classified and compared many interesting materials from other language-families also. The different theories (excepting "zu kühne Hypothesen oder unbeweisbare Phantasien" which are shunned) are reproduced as far as possible in the words of the respective opponents, and these views are critically analysed.

The views of scholars from Protagoras down to Schuchardt, Meillet and Wackernagel, on the origin and character of nominal gender, are reproduced in chapters *I* and *II*. This section covers two hundred and seventy pages and, besides the actual documentation, contains certain helpful critical viewpoints, though in the main it is more or less an objective chronological survey of the development of ideas in regard to *IGc.* gender and the gender-systems of other language systems alike. In fact, the author quotes approvingly the view of R. Gatti: "Viele würden zu anderen Einsichten gekommen sein, wenn sie 'un po' fuori dell'indoeuropeo', Umschau gehalten hätten." Objective on the whole as is the treatment here, the views of one great scholar, Prof. Meillet regarding *IGc.* gender are subjected to an exhaustive critical examination (p. 218 ff) because "Meillet's Autorität als Sprachwissenschaftler ist so gross."

The third part of the work (being the major portion, covering about 670 pages) deals with a very large number of topics connected with the classification of nouns. Some of the most interesting and striking among these are the following:—

1. Sexual Bilingualism and its possible relationship to the origin of gender: among others, the view of Fraser is dealt with here; but on the whole Fraser's theory (in the author's opinion) is a mere "card-stack in which hypothesis is

piled upon hypothesis and which may tumble down at the slightest breeze."

2. Gender-differentiation as the reflection of *Psychopathia sensualis*: Bildersleeve's fantasies, among others, are criticised here: Bildersleeve's methods are "die Karikatur einer ernsten Untersuchung, ein symptom der moralischer Dekadenz."

3. The possible influence of mythological personification on the origin of gender,—too frail a hypothesis (in the author's opinion) to support a convincing gender-theory.

4. The discrepancy between sex and gender: old views are fully discussed, and the author suggests a new explanation of his own (p. 436 ff.).

5. Nominal formatives and suffixes: Jespersen's theory of 'Syncretion,' Bloomfield's 'Adaptation' and other views are mentioned and illustrated.

6. Sound-symbolism, accentual variations, vocalic and consonantal inter-mutations, and their possible relationship to the origin of gender: these are very interesting topics from a general point of view, and useful materials from many non-IGc. languages are here collected and discussed. This is of course a field "auf dem das Irrlicht der Phantasie den Sprachwissenschaftler licht in den Sumpf locken kann"; nevertheless the subject, when cautiously handled, is not without unique importance in the clearing-up of many linguistic problems. It may be interesting to note here that some of the phenomena adduced in these sections have parallels in Dravidian.

7. Prof. Uhlenbeck's theory of *casus energeticus* and *casus inertiae* together with a discussion of other views on the origin of cases: the subject shunned by many till a few decades ago as belonging to the sphere of 'glottogony', has now, rightly enough, begun to engage the attention of even IGc. specialists.

While the above topics are of general interest and are discussed alike with reference to IGc. and to other language-systems, §§9, 10, 12 and 13 are concerned mainly with IGc.

problems; §§9 and 10 contain only summaries of the author's Dutch thesis on the *IGc.* nominal-system.

Helpful critical views are interspersed throughout the third part of the work, and these enable the student to adopt a correct orientation in regard to the many controversial topics.

Dr. Royen's work* is indeed a valuable symposium and a useful guide. Both as a book of reference in the department with which it is concerned, and as a thought-provoking guide to future specialist studies on the various aspects of the vast problem of nominal classification (which, be it observed here, touches and overlaps many another linguistic question), this volume will be welcomed by linguists. Reflecting as it does the enlarged outlook of modern researchers who postulate the necessity for studying other language-systems than *IGc.*, the book will also prove useful to students who may be particularly concerned with individual non-*IGc.* language-families.

All this phenomenal advance in the study of linguistics in Europe has had its reactions on Indian scholars also. A distinct impetus has been given to the study of Indo-Aryan linguistic problems by the works of European scholars like Profs. Bloch and Turner and by the completion of the great *Linguistic Survey of India* by Grierson. India is a vast linguistic museum and the problems awaiting investigation are countless in number. So far as Indo-Aryan is concerned, the brilliant pioneer work of Grierson has to be extended further by the collection of additional material and comparison of features. Individual scholars like Prof. S. Varma of Jammu, Prof. S. K. Chatterjee of Calcutta and Prof. Baburam Saxena of Allahabad—all of them well trained on Western lines—have taken up this work with commendable earnestness. The study of the non-Aryan 'Austric' dialects of India is yet

* We may observe here that the book, though provided with bibliographical lists and a good index, lacks a detailed table of contents, and this renders the handling of the book extremely difficult. Of course the topics are indicated at the beginning of Chapter III; but this is inadequate in view of the variety and complexity of the topics discussed.

in its infancy. Here too, individual scholars are busy collecting materials. Rev. P. O. Bodding of the Santal Mission is now bringing out a comprehensive lexicon of the Santâli language, while for Mundâri a lexicological encyclopædia is being published by Father Hoffmann in Patna. Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurthi, the veteran Savara scholar, is engaged in the composition of a grammar and a dictionary of Savara. We must not also omit to make mention here of the remarkable labours of Prof. Przyluski of Paris who has struck out a new path of inquiry in which the application of the facts of IA and Kolarian linguistics to the outlining of new historical perspectives is playing a prominent part.

So far as Dravidian is concerned, we must confess that much work has not yet been done. Among non-Indian scholars Prof. F. O. Schrader appears to have written a great deal on Dravidian but his work has not yet been published. Prof. Bloch is taking a keen interest in Dravidian studies, particularly in the sphere of Aryo-Dravidian connections; and Mr. E. H. Tuttle of America has published a number of papers which, while they cannot be said to have solved Dravidian problems finally, are certainly original and thought-provoking. At this stage, for Dravidian, far more important is the collection of materials than the adumbration of theories. Many of the lesser dialects still await analysis and investigation by trained scholars. For instance, we may mention here that there are no satisfactory accounts of Tōḍa and Koḍagu; Pope's short account of Tōḍa and Cole's sketchy grammar of Koḍagu, both written more than about three-quarters of a century ago, are totally inadequate and incomplete. The local and provincial peculiarities of even the major dialects require to be analysed further. Satisfactory vocabularies and grammatical records exist now for Kurukh and Kûi; but they are wanting for Gōṇḍi, Malto and Madras sub-dialects like Baḍaga, Iruḷa, and Vizagapatam Kōi. Notwithstanding the availability of materials in the major dialects, we have yet to possess connected historical grammars in which the features are traced chronologically from the earliest extant texts and inscriptions.

The recent formation of a Linguistic Society of India (organized by Profs. S. Varma, S. K. Chatterjee and A. C. Woolner) marks a milestone in the study of Indian languages. We may confidently hope that this Society will co-ordinate the activities of scholars all over India and help forward the study of Indian Linguistics in all its branches.

LĪLĀTILAKAM ON MALAYĀḶAM INFLEXIONS

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THE fourteenth-century treatise, *Lilātilakam*, has, in its second śilpa, sixteen sūtras dealing with MalayāḶam inflexions, both nominal and verbal. Though the treatment is neither exhaustive nor even adequate in some respects, there are data which illuminate the past history of MalayāḶam. Here, as in other sections of the grammatical portion of the work, full recognition is accorded to the individuality of the west coast speech, even while the closeness of its affinities to Tamil is envisaged. It is the language of maṇipravāḶa literature that is discussed, and therefore a number of purely traditionary forms come in for treatment; but the language of conversation and the living linguistic peculiarities of the MalayāḶam of the fourteenth century are not ignored. In a work dealing with the maṇipravāḶa type of composition, the influence of Sanskrit is admitted; but, refreshingly enough, in many places, the work rules out blind servility to the rules of Sanskrit syntax.

Śilpa II—Sūtras 9 and 10

In these sūtras introducing the subject of MalayāḶam inflexions, the existence in MalayāḶam of eight cases, three genders and two numbers is stated.

The classification of the cases into eight types is Dravidian: cf. the rule of *Tolkāppiyam* (the oldest extant grammar of Tamil): *Viḷi^śkoḷvadan^{ka}ṇaṇ viḷiyōḍ-eḷḷē* "the cases number eight, along with the vocative."

2. So far as the classification of genders and numbers is concerned, the one adopted in *Lilātilakam* does not correspond to the Tamil division of 'uyartiṇai' (group constituted of rational beings) and 'aḥḍiṇai' (non-rationals including inanimates), 'uyartiṇai' itself being subdivided into 'āṇpal' (masculine singular), 'peṇṇpāl' (feminine singular) and 'palarpāl' (rational plural), and 'aḥḍiṇai' having two sub-divisions 'ondanpāl' (non-rational singular) and 'palavinpāl' (non-rational plural).

This old classification of Tamil is fundamental in Malayāḷam also, since the personal endings of Old Malayāḷam verb-forms (so far as these personal endings occur) evidence the distinctions inherent in the old classification.

Lilātilakam itself adverts to a feature of this old classification when it observes in the commentary on sūtra 14 that "the second case ending only optionally appears in forms denoting inanimates and irrationals."

Sūtra 11

This is a fairly comprehensive sūtra dealing with the morphology of Malayāḷam inflexions and offering some observations on the syntax of cases.

1. The sūtra states the names of the 'vibhaktis' referred to in the previous sūtra and describes them as 'eight' in number :

"pēr, e, oḍu, kku, nindu, uḍe, viḷityaṣṭakam."

The commentary points out that while 'pēr' and 'viḷi' in the sūtra are 'ārthau,' the others are 'sābdāḥ'.

The form and the purpose of the *Lilātilakam* sūtra may be compared to the *Tolkāppiyam* *Colladigāram* rule :

"peyar, ai, oḍu, ku, in, adu, kaṇ, viḷiyennum itta."

The *Tolkāppiyam* rule has been interpreted by all commentators (except *Teyvaccilaiyār*) as giving the names of the

vibhaktis', and there too 'peyar' and 'viḷi' have been taken as indicating the meanings.

2. "The 'first' case' is the 'prātipadika,' and it is called 'pēr'," says the commentary.

Here one may recall Cēṇavaraiyar's interpretation of the Tolkāppiyam rule: "avattuḷ eḷuvāy vēttumai peyar tōṇḍunilaiyē."

3. The Malayāḷam second case ending *e* is marked off in the commentary from Tamil *ai*, and the augments in forms like *maratte*, *marattine*, *ūnaye* etc. are pointed out as corresponding to Tamil 'cāriyai'.

(a) Very interesting syntactical observations follow. "The force of the second case ending of Malayāḷam is to make the object 'nirvarttya', 'vikārya', 'prāpya', and not to denote 'space' and 'duration of time'; nor are second case forms dependent upon 'upapadas'."

Conceivable Malayāḷam usages like *divasatte nindūn* (where duration of time is denoted by the second case form), and *nētrate kuruḷēyum naḍuvē cilli* "the eyebrow between the eyes and the curls" (where the second case forms *nētrate* and *kuruḷe* are made dependent upon *naḍuvē*, in imitation of Sanskrit usages like those where the indeclinable *antarā* governs second case forms) are disapproved.

Similarly, the commentary points out the unsuitability in Malayāḷam of a construction like *grāmatte āvasikkundōn* where (in imitation of Sanskrit) the verb *āvasikkundōn* governs a second case form.

(b) The terms¹ 'nirvarttya', 'vikārya' and 'prāpya' associated

1. The Kannada Grammar Śabdamaṇidarpana uses these terms in the sūtra treating about the force of the second case ending. It also refers to 'kūla' and 'adhvā' in Kannada as being expressed in the second case.

with the second case object, are used by Sanskrit treatises and adapted in Tamil by some of the Tamil commentators of Tolkāppiyam. Both Cēnāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar use more or less the same language: “iyattappaḍuvadum, vēṟupaḍukkappaḍuvadum, eydappaḍuvadum enacceyyappaḍuporuḷ mūndām.”

The seventeenth century Prayōgavivēka points out the resemblance in the following terms:

“ini vākkīyapadiyattulḷum, kaiyaḍattulḷum, nirvarttiyam, vikāriyam, pirāppiyam enakkūriyavaṇṇam Cēnāvaraiyar mudalāyīṇōr iyattappaḍuvadum vēṟupaḍukkappaḍuvadum eydappaḍuvadum enacceyyappaḍuporuḷai mūndākkumar Nannūlārum ākkal, alīdal, aḍaidal cainendran madam patti palavākkumar.”

4. The third case endings of Malayāḷam are *ōḍu* (the only one mentioned in the sūtra but referred to in the commentary as ‘upalakṣaṇa’), and *āl* and the postposition *koṇḍu* (the two latter mentioned by the commentary).

(a) The observation of the commentary that in third case forms like *avan-e-k-koṇḍu*, the *e* is *not* a second case ending but only ‘sandhāyaka’ has to be understood as implying that in third case forms like these, the third case meaning alone is important and that the element *e* preceding *koṇḍu* need not be isolated as being originally the second case ending.

(b) While *ōḍu* and *āl* are equally important as third case endings in Malayāḷam, why is *ōḍu* alone mentioned in the sūtra and then described in the commentary as an ‘upalakṣaṇa’? I suspect that the model of the Tolkāppiyam Colladigāram sūtra which mentions only *oḍu* as the third case ending for Tamil though *oḍu* and *āṇ* were both current, might have influenced the author of Līlātilakam who (be it observed here) was a keen student of this Old Tamil grammar and some of its earlier commentaries. It is noteworthy

that later Tamil grammars like Vīracōḷiyam, Nēminādam and Nannūl mention both *oḍu* (and *ōḍu*) and *āl* (and *āḷ*) as equally important in the sūtras themselves.

(c) *Ōḍu*, with long *ō*, is the common form in Malayāḷam, though *oḍu* appears occasionally in poetry. The thirteenth century Nēminādam expressly refers to *ōḍu* as a 'development' of *oḍu*.

(d) In Old Tamil, both *oḍu* and *āḷ* appear to have induced the significations of 'agency', 'instrumentality' and 'association'. Some kind of differentiation of functions may have already started in the Old Tamil period. In later periods, the use of the former seems to have become restricted more and more to 'association' (and allied meanings), while the latter (with its variant *āl*) generally signified 'agency' and 'instrumentality'.

In Malayāḷam this differentiation of functions became common at a very early stage, though rare poetic instances exist like *vēdiyarāl vēdaṅgoṇḍ-iḍaṇṇu* [where *āl* is used with the meaning of 'association'], and *kaḍalōḍu pōyūr* [where *ōḍu* has the force of *āl*] cited by Gundert from 'Payyanūr pāṭṭu'.

(e) Malayāḷam appears to have developed the special signification of 'viyōgaḥ' for *ōḍu*,—a meaning that is common in Tamil only for the fifth case ending. In old Malayāḷam texts like Dūtavākyam, constructions like *lajjayōḍu vēṇupaṭṭi*, *santūpattōḍu-vēṇūy* and *cētanayōḍu piriṇṇi*, are quite common, though these have ceased to be popular today.

Though the influence of Sanskrit is possible in the popularising of the use of the third case ending in connection with 'viyōgaḥ', it may have had a Dravidian origin.

Just in the same manner as the third case is prescribed by Tolkāppiyam for what it calls *opp-al-opp-urai* in instances involving

absence of resemblance, as in *ponnōḍirumbanaiyar ninnōḍu piṛarē*, so too 'absence of accompaniment' may have been connected with the third case.

5. The fourth case endings of Malayāḷam are those "in *avaḷ-kku*, and *annu innu* as in *avanu*, *adiinu*."

(a) *annu* and *innu* are 'false' isolations of the Malayāḷam fourth case ending appearing after nouns and pronouns with the 'rational' singular *u* as the final or after nouns embodying the augment *-in-*. Really, here, after the old *k* had been lost, Malayāḷam had, to start with, a 'samvṛta' *u* which in the course of the history of Malayāḷam become opened out to *-ə-*. The elements *anu* and *inu* in what Līlātilakam isolates as *annu* and *innu* do not really belong to the fourth case ending.

(b) The imitation in Malayāḷam of the Sanskrit use of fourth case forms as 'objects' of verb-bases like *kup* is disapproved by the commentary. A Malayāḷam construction like *kāntannu kōṇṇikindadu kānta* is pointed out as incongruous for Malayāḷam.

6. The commentary points out that Malayāḷam has, for the fifth case, the "endings" *-il-nindu*, *mēl-nindu*, *ṭakkal-nindu* and *ēl-nindu*.

(a) The commentary expresses disapproval of Malayāḷam imitations of the Sanskrit use of fifth case forms as 'objects' of verbs denoting 'learning' and 'fearing,' as in Malayāḷam constructions like *avangalnindu payatti* "learnt from him" and *ṭuliyingalnindu ṭēḍiccu* "feared (from) the tiger".

So far as verbs denoting 'fear' are concerned, the oldest Tamil grammar allows for such verb-forms the use of objects both in the second case and in the fifth case. Not only is *aṇṇjal* "fearing" mentioned in the sūtras dealing with verb-ideas

governing the second and the fifth cases, but the alternative government of the second or fifth case forms is expressly pointed out in a special sūtra in the chapter on the merging of cases.

In Malayālam itself, old texts show instances of constructions like *cakrattiṅgal ninnu bhayaṭṭeṭṭi*- where the verb denoting 'fear' governs a fifth case object.

(b) So far as verbs denoting 'learning' are concerned, constructions like *avande aḍukkal paṭhiccu* and *avande aḍukkalninnu paṭhiccu* are both common today, the former adverting to the teacher from whom instruction has generally been received and the latter to the person from whom a particular piece of instruction has been derived.

(c) *ēl-ninṇu* contains the element *-ēl* which appears in forms like *komb-ēl* (ultimately from *komb-in-mēl*). This *ēl* appears already in tenth century inscriptions: *puraiyiḍattēl* [TAS.]

7. The commentary refers to sixth case endings as "*-uḍe, -iḍe, -ḍe* and *-nnu*."

(a) For the history of the first three, see my EMM.

(b) The mention of *-nnu* (which in origin is the Malayālam fourth case ending of words with final *-n* or the augment *-in-*, mentioned above) calls for comment.

The use of the fourth case ending for denoting a sixth case signification when 'uyartiṇai' nouns are 'qualified' by the sixth case forms is already laid down in Tolkāppiyam, which ancient work, however, does not say anywhere that *-ku* is a 'sixth case' ending. This use is adverted to in the chapter on 'Vēttumai mayāṅgiyal', dealing with the 'merging of cases and case-significations'.

In the commentary on the seventh sūtra of Vēttumaippaḍalam of Viracōliyam, Perundēvaṇār refers to *ku* as having a sixth case

meaning, only when it is a 'kāraka': "āṇām vēttumai kāragam āgum poḷudu 'ku' ennum pirattiyam ondē varum . . . piragirudigalīn pinbu 'ku' ennum nālām vēttumaippirattiyam varuvittu . . . kāragapadamākkikkiriyāpadattōḍum kūṭṭi-c- 'cāttanukku magan ānān' ena muḍikka".

The grammar Nēmīnādam does not refer to *ku* as a "sixth case" ending.²

Nannūl, while referring to the use of the affix *-ku* instead of the sixth case ending, does not regard *-ku* as a sixth case ending.

Nor do the commentarians of Tolkāppiyam (except perhaps Iḷambūraṇar) interpret the colladigāram sūtra in such a way as to suggest that *-ku* is a 'sixth case' ending. Their interpretation is that a sixth case compound like *nambi magan* would if resolved become *nambikku āgiya magan*. This interpretation was due to the feeling that sixth case compounds like *nambikku magan* were not very common in Tamil but that generally usage sanctioned only constructions like *nambikk-āgiya magan* or *nambikku magan-āgiyōn*.

But already from a fairly early period, compounds like *nambikku magan* and *piṇikku marundu*³ [as in *piṇikku marundu piṇa* of Kuṛaḷ where *piṇikku* relates to *marundu*] with a sixth force relationship were common.

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2. The seventeenth century Prayōgavivēkam (very much influenced by Sanskrit in its outlook and treatment) includes *ku* in the list of sixth case endings in the sūtra, but observes in the commentary that "*ku* which has the meaning of a 'śasṭhi pratyaya' confers the force of the sixth case." In a later context however, it adverts to *ku* as the sixth case ending itself.
 3. This collocation with a sixth case relationship cannot be justified by the same Tolkāppiyam sūtra that covers instances like *nambikku magan* where 'uyartiṇai' nouns are 'qualified' by the sixth case form.

It is not surprising, therefore, that *-ku* came to be regarded by some as a "sixth case" ending itself.

The correspondence of Sanskrit constructions like *rāmasya putrōsti* to *irāmanakku-p-pudalvan uḷan* may also have contributed to the feeling that *-ku* in forms like these may be regarded as a 'sixth case' ending.

So far as Malayāḷam is concerned, Līlātilakam regards it both as a 'fourth case' ending and as a 'sixth case' ending. Bālaprabōdham (written at a later period for Malayāḷi students of Sanskrit) pointedly refers to *-ku* exclusively as a 'sixth case' ending, the 'fourth case' ending being (in its opinion) only *āykkonḍu* ("ikkum-innum-uḍe ṣaṣṭhikku").

Instances like *pūrinnu nāthan pariksittu* also do occur in Malayāḷam where *pūrinnu* is related to *nāthan* and not to the predicate.

(c) Constructions in Malayāḷam like *kūṅgaikkū pōyi* "went, though (or) while others were observing," in imitation of Sanskrit genitive absolute constructions are condemned by the commentary.

Similarly, imitations in Malayāḷam like *maraiṇṇaḷuḍe māvu* "the mango-tree among the trees," in imitation of the Sanskrit use of the ṣaṣṭhi forms for 'nirdhāraṇa', are also condemned by the commentary.

8. Seventh case endings are "*il, iḷē, mēl, kal*".

(a) Now, the *il-ē* (as illustrated in *avan-il-ē snēham*) is actually compounded of the locative ending *-il* and *ē* which was a terminative expletive in the older stages of the language but which came to have a "qualificatory" value in forms like *kāṭṭilē* (of *kāṭṭilē āṇa* "the elephant of the forest"), qualifying the nouns immediately following.

(b) Locative absolute constructions in Malayālam (in imitation of Sanskrit usage) like *udikkinda ādityanil puṇandūn* "he was born, while the sun was rising" are condemned by the commentary.

9. The eighth case endings are, according to the commentary, "ā, ī, ū and ē, as in *mādhavā, nambī, cārū, ivanē, ivaḷē, maramē, vaḍiyē*."

(a) Among the forms mentioned in the commentary, *mādhavā, nambī* and *maramē, vaḍiyē* [the last two show the ē-ending used for 'aḥḍiṇai' vocatives, according to Tolkāppiyam] follow Old Tamil rules. *Uyartiṇai* forms with lip-rounded *u* ordinarily remained unchanged in Old Tamil; while vocatives for pronouns like *ivan, ivaḷ* are expressly prohibited by all Tamil grammars.

(b) The list in the commentary is but a summary one. Instances of other Malayālam vocatives occurring in the citations of the commentary are *naṇṇē* (Tamil *naṇṅāy*), *tōḷarē, amṇē, tṛkkariyūr-aṇṇalē*. None of these can be justified by Tolkāppiyam rules. Nor can vocatives like *śrēṣṭhaṇmārē* and *dharmajñānāyōḷḷōyē* of the fourteenth century Dūtavākyam be supported by Tolkāppiyam rules.

(c) In the commentary on the fourth sūtra of the fourth śilpa, the vocatives *candranē* and *narēndranē* are conservatively condemned, though it must be said that instances like these with the affix *ē* tacked on to words with final rational singular ending *-n* are common both in Middle Tamil and in Malayālam even when such forms are not 'muṇaipeyar'.

Indeed, while in Old Tamil (according to the rule in the chapter on vocatives in Tolkāppiyam) the vocatives of rational masculine singulars (with *-n*) took on *ē* only when they were 'muṇaipeyar' or nouns denoting relationship, the practice appears to have been extended to other rational masculine singulars

also in later periods. Viracōḷiyam (in its commentary on the eighth sūtra of Vēttumaippaḍalam) instances vocatives like *irāman-ē* and *mannan-ē*. Middle Tamil texts like Nācciyārtirumōḷi have forms like *uṇarvān-ē*, *tuyilvan-ē*, *kaṇṇan-ē*.

The thirteenth century grammar Nēmināḍam also cites illustrations of vocatives like *ayan-ē*, *civan-ē*, *naḷan-ē*, *paraṇ-ē* for 'uyartiṇai' nouns with final *u*. The same grammar has *ammē*, *attē* which also could not be supported by the rules of Tolkāppiyam.

Sūtras 12 and 13

THESE refer to compounds which, when expanded, would have sixth case and seventh case meanings.

Sūtra 14

The second case ending *e* is declared by this sūtra to be optional for inanimate and non-rational nouns ["acētanē tiraṣci cāyaṇ vikalpaḥ"], and that for rationals the second case ending is obligatorily used.

This agrees with the Tamil rule implied in Tolkāppiyam in a sūtra in the Togaimarabu portion of Eḷuttu:—"uyartiṇai-maruṅgiṇ oḷiyādu varudalum."

In modern Malayāḷam, however, the absence of the second case ending is usual only for 'inanimates', and here this absence is not merely optional but so common among native speakers that one who fails to omit the ending would at once be marked off as a foreigner.

Sūtras 15 and 16

Sūtra 15 mentions the three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. The next rule postulates that the feminine ending in words other than nouns is *-l*.

The commentary on sūtra 16 specially points out that the determination of gender in Malayāḷam is guided by sex and not by grammatical rules ["atra stryādikaṇ līṅgaṇ laukikam, na pāribhāṣikam"].

Sūtra 17

i is said to be the feminine affix for the conversion of nouns denoting caste, or masculines.

The commentary gives the illustrations *ceṭṭicci* and *śūdratti*.

It must be observed that, so far as these illustrations are concerned, the original feminine-denoter may have been a Prakritic *-tti* [OIA *stri*].

Malayālam, however, has *i* as the feminine-converter in instances like *tōḷi*, *mutti*.

Sūtra 18

“n is the masculine singular ending, generally speaking.”

The commentary explains forms like *tēnan*, *puḷiyan* (used as neuters) as being due to “masculinity being attributed to them” [“*pumstvādhyārōpāt*”].

Sūtras 19 and 20

Sūtra 19 envisages ‘neuter’ singular *-am*; and the next sūtra refers to the neuter singular ending *-du* of the demonstratives *adu*, *idu*, and of the interrogative *idu*.

Sūtras 21 and 22

The “number” of nouns is dealt with in these.

While singular nouns are instanced in the commentary on sūtra 21, the commentary on the next sūtra lists plural endings of nouns as “*-r*, *-kaḷ*, *-mār*, *-mar*, *-var*, generally speaking.”

The illustrations in the commentary for plurals are all ‘rationals’: *brāhmaṇar*, *kaviḷaḷ*, *nambimār*, *kāṇmar*,⁴ *kaḷvar*, *varumavar*,⁵ *avar*.

Then follow the observations: “because of the use of the word ‘*prāyōpa*’ in the sūtra, *maraiṇṇaḷ* etc. might also be mentioned. Here, plurality also is associated with trees” [“*atra vṛkṣādīnām bahutvamapi gamyatō*”]. The special statement

4. *Kaṇmar* is a participial noun like *uṇmar* and *tinmar* (as in Paripāḍal, for instance).

5. The published text prints these instances as *kaḷavar* and *varuvar* which are verb-forms with which this sūtra is not concerned.

“plurality is also associated with trees” (I think) obliquely glances at the Tamil rule that for “non-rationals” (like trees, for instance) the use of the plural *kaḷ*-ending is optional.

Sūtra 23

This sūtra postulates that the endings of gender and number appear as a rule for verb-forms also.

The commentary indicates that sometimes personal endings did not appear for Malayāḷam finites.

Sūtra 24

This sūtra on verbs lays down that “verb-forms are to be met with in ‘vidhi’ and ‘prārthanā’ and in the first, second and third persons, according to observation.”

The commentary illustrates the facts of the sūtra, and also expands them in certain ways. Some of the illustrations as printed in the published text appear to have become mixed up and corrupted.

1. The illustrations for verbs denoting ‘vidhi’ and ‘prārthanā’ may be classified thus:

(a) *Celvūdāvū* type.—This is constituted of the Malayāḷam participial *celvūdu* and the Malayāḷam tense-form *āvū* (with final *ū*). The force of ‘vidhi’ is not only conferred by *āvū* but also implied in the “non-rational” participial form which by itself is used in Old Malayāḷam texts.

The type *celvūdāvū* is a fairly early west coast type.

The earliest instance of a participial “neuter” like *celvūdu*⁷

7. The types *ceyvidu*, *ceydidu* [with *i*] are equally old in Malayāḷam occurring as they do in very old west coast inscriptions. [Tamil colloquials had forms with *i*; cf. the participials *uṇbidu*, *uṇaṅguvidu* with penultimate *i* instead of *a*, mentioned by Viracōḷiyam].

There is no justification for the view that forms with *-udu* were earlier than those with *-idu*.

(for *celvadu*) occurs in an eleventh century inscription. Here, the *ū* is short, as it is in all forms of this kind in Uṇṇunilisaṇḍēśam (as e.g. in *velvudāga*).

For the type of *āvū*, the earliest available west coast instances are *ūṭṭuvū* and *koḍupphū* [both of the thirteenth century].

Both the type of *celvudu* [with *u* instead of *a*] and that of *āvū* [with *ū* as a final finite ending] are special developments of Malayāḷam.

(b) *celvōṇāga*.—This is constituted of the third person rational singular participial noun and the optative *āga*.

The force of a gentle ‘vidhi’ (or ‘prārthana’, as the case may be) is associated with *āga* which originally was in Tamil a “*viyaṅḡl*” (used only for third persons) but which in later stages was used for all persons and in Malayāḷam acquired an “imperative” value.

This type of *celvōṇāga* is common in literary Tamil also.

The “personal” variations, if desired, would be embodied in the first constituent *viz.* the participial noun: *pōvōy-āga*, *pōvūd-āga* etc. cf. *celvud-āga* of TAS, III, p. 57 [eleventh century], and numerous forms like *vasipphōr-āga* in the fourteenth-century prose text *Dūtavākyam*.

(c) *cellavēṇḍum*, *cellēṇam*.—The type of *cella-vēṇḍum* of which *cellēṇam* is a derivative, is a very old formation.

Tolkāppiyam has a special sūtra dealing with the collocation *ceyal vēṇḍum* [closely connected with *ceyya vēṇḍum*]; this sūtra explains that *vēṇḍum*, a transitive verb taking *ceyal* as its object may have as its subject the doer of the action of the verbal noun [‘*tanpālāṇum*’], or a different person [‘*piṇanpālāṇum*’], in which latter case the verbal noun would have the doer as its subject, while *vēṇḍum* would have a different person as its subject. It is the latter type that has developed the imperative meaning.

(d) *celvin* represents an old second person plural imperative type in Malayāḷam—The corresponding type in Tamil has *-min* as the ending.

2. (a) The commentary then adverts to the first person singular *-ēn* and the first person plural *-ōm* and *-ēm*.

The *-ēm* ending is very rare in Malayāḷam texts, while *ōm* is the usual first personal plural ending wherever it appears in Old Malayāḷam texts or inscriptions.

-ōm is not mentioned by Tolkūppiyam ; it becomes frequent in post-Sangam Tamil texts.

(b) For the second person tense-finites, the following personal endings are mentioned :

-ā (y), as in *vaṇṇā* for the singular ;

-ō (y), as in *vaṇṇō* for the singular ;

-īr, as in *vaṇṇīr* for the plural.

(i) The singular *-ā* is the older *-āy* with its final *y* elided. Forms with *-ā* appear in Rāmacaritam, Uṇṇunilisandōṣam, Dūta-vākyaṃ and other Old Malayāḷam texts.

(ii) The singular *-ō* which is from older *-ōy* with its *-y* elided, is exemplified by Malayāḷam instances like (*śraddha*) *paṇṇindō* (*nī*) of Dūtavākyaṃ.

Tamil grammars refer to *-ōy* along with *-ōn*, *-ōl* and *ōr*.

(iii) The plural *-īr* is also represented (though rarely) in Old Malayāḷam texts, as in *kaṇḍīrō* and (*eṅgu nindu*) *varundīr* of Kauṭāliyam.

(iv) The commentary at this stage makes the observation :
“vartamāna bhaviṣyatōr na viśēṣaḥ.”

I would interpret this as referring to the personal endings of the future and present finites as being the same as those for the

past. I would transfer here the present tense illustrations *kāṇindō* etc. which are printed in the published text along with the past tense instances.

(c) (i) The third personal endings *-ān* and *-āl* are adverted to in the illustrations *vannān*, *vannāl*.

(ii) For the “neuter” third person, the type without any personal endings, as in *vannū*, *pōyi* is mentioned; and the comment is made that these forms are used both for the singular and plural, though traditionary plural forms like *vannana*, *pōyina* are also envisaged immediately after.

(iii) The plural type of *vannana* is used in old texts: *cuvandana tiṣagaḷellām* of Rāmacaritam, and *mēghakulaññāḷ nirannana* of Kaṇṇaśśarāmāyaṇam.

(iv) Finites without personal endings were during the period perhaps already common in the colloquials; in the literary dialect the use of old traditionary forms with personal endings seems to have persisted, though even here the illustrations in the commentary on sūtra 23, the pointed reference in the commentary on the present sūtra to ‘non-rational’ finites like *vannū*, and the actual employment of finites without personal endings in US and RC, show that such finites were not rare in literature too.

(v) Immediately after the mention of forms with the third person ‘rational’ endings *-ān*, *-āl*, the commentary makes the observation:—“‘*varindōl*’, ‘*varindōn*’ ityādikam varttamāna bhaviṣyatōstulyam.” The illustrations of the printed text (*varindō*, *varindēn*) are not appropriate in the context which refers to third personal rational endings. I would therefore suggest the readings given above, on the ground that reference is made here very probably to third personal *-ōn*, *-ōl* which are common to the present, future and the past alike.

Forms like *varindō* are frequent in Old Malayālam texts like Dūtavākyam and Kauṭaliyam.

(vi) Similarly, immediately after the mention of third person 'non-rational' plurals, there appears the observation :

“‘*vandana*’ ‘*vandō*’, ityādi vartamānabhaviṣyatōssamam.”

The printed text gives the inappropriate illustrations ‘*vandu*’, ‘*vandā*’, neither of which is a third person ‘non-rational’ plural.

I would emend these as suggested above.

The forms with *-ana* appear in the past, present and future alike in early Malayālam.

Kauṭaliyam, for instance, has finites like *āvana*.

In Malayālam, forms with *ō* [‘non-rational plural’] appear in the early texts both as predicates and as participial subjects:— examples of predicates are *kaṇappāḍindō*, *alarīyaṇṇindō*, *nīraikkappāḍindō*, *garjjikkindō* [Dūtavākyam, p. 37]; and *āvō* in *iva upāyaṅgaḷāvō* [Kauṭal].

This type of *vandō* is not a literary Tamil one. The long *ō* appears in Tamil only in *ōn*, *ōl*, *ōy* and *ōr*.

TWO DRAVIDIC PROBLEMS

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TWO DRAVIDIC PROBLEMS

I. The Druta Classification in Literary Telugu.

To the student of comparative Dravidian linguistics, no topic of Telugu phonology is more full of historical significance than the one which deals with what is known as the *druta* category of words in the literary dialect. The uniqueness of this category lies in the fact that all words belonging thereto possess a final consonantal *n* which in sentence-constructions may itself undergo, and bring about, assimilative changes. Into this category have been brought together words with final *n* belonging to different morphological types. The rules relating to this category have formed the subject of classification and discussion in all Telugu grammatical studies from the time of *Āndhra-śabda-cintāmaṇi* the earliest grammar of Telugu, attributed to Nannaya) downwards; and these rules have received meticulous application in all Telugu compositions wherever the literary dialect is employed. These rules had already developed into something in the nature of a linguistico-stylistic convention or *cliché* in the period of the earliest extant literary inscriptions and compositions, and we know of no linguistic stage in Telugu anterior to this. The conventionalization of these rules by scholars and literary men may, in some instances, have resulted in a rigidity foreign to the actual conditions of the living speech; but we shall see below that in quite a large number of instances the *druta n* was not of artificial origin but was a part of the heritage of Telugu either directly handed down to it from the parent speech or modified by it in accordance with its own particular "genius".

The question of the origin of the *druta n* in the words concerned has so far not been enquired into by any scholar, Indian or European. Investigations into this question have primarily to depend upon the comparison of the Telugu instances with cognates of other Dravidian speeches, in as much

as the available material in Telugu offers little internal historical evidence of the development of the *druta n*. In a few cases the comparison of the literary forms with those of the popular dialect (as used in the living speech and in some of the inscriptions) may be helpful in clarifying ideas ; but a proper consideration of the question of the nature of the *druta n* would become possible only through comparisons with other Dravidian speeches.

The historical and comparative standpoint was foreign to the outlook of old Telugu grammarians ; and their treatment of this problem has been confined exclusively to the interpretative and classificatory aspects. Among European students of Telugu, C. P. Brown, whose valuable pioneer work in the field of Telugu lexicology deserves to be recognized with gratitude, was not a comparativist ; further, he was too little interested in the literary dialect to bestow adequate attention on the *rationale* of the *druta* problem. Caldwell grievously misunderstood the nature and the significance of *druta n* when he described it as a hiatus-filler (*Comp. Gr.*, p. 175), and dismissed the entire problem in a few sentences. Arden's work, excellent in its own way, is purely a descriptive treatise and is mainly concerned with the popular dialect of Telugu.

The Druta Prakrtamulu

The following groups evidence the *druta n* :—

(a) Inflexional particles :

- (i) Accusative ending *-an*.
- (ii) Locative-instrumental ending *-an*.
- (iii) Dative-instrumental ending *-kin*, *-kun*.

(b) Certain post-positional terminations, some of the more important among which are given below :

- (i) *cētan*, *cēn* used with an instrumental force.
- (ii) *tōḍan*, *tōn*, used with an instrumental force.
- (iii) *mayan*, *main*, used with an instrumental force.
- (iv) *korakun*, used with a dative signification.
- (v) *valanan*, *valnan*, *vallan*, used ablatively.
- (vi) *lōnan*, *lōn*, *lōpalan*, used locatively.

(c) Pronouns :

(i) First person singular *én* and *nén*.(ii) Reflexive *tán*.

(d) Tense endings :

(i) First person singular past *-tin*.(ii) Third person past, singular and plural *-én*.(iii) First person singular indefinite *-edan*, *-udun*.(iv) Third person indefinite *-un*, *-edun*, *-edin*(v) First person singular negative *-an*.

(e) Other verb-endings :

(i) Present adverbial participle *-cun*.(ii) Infinitive participle *-an*.(iii) Conditional *-inan*.(iv) Optative *-tan*, *-edun*.(v) Sequential *-dun*.(f) The *samuccaya* or conjunctive particle *-un*.

(g) A number of *avyayas* or particles which are case-modified nouns, or old infinitives of verbs, or old words with a *samuccaya* ending : all these are used with fixed and well-defined meanings in the literary dialect.

(h) The *druta* features are also associated with compounds formed with Telugu literary bases, like *prā-* (old), *lē-* (young), etc. Similar *druta* characteristics appear in certain other compounds like *mun-goṅgu*, *kañ-jikāṭi*, etc.

Druta Sandhi

In combinative positions of sentence-constructions, the *druta n*, as a rule, combines with the initial vowel of the immediately following word, wherever such a vowel appears. In the following instances, however, the *druta n* is optionally dropped in such circumstances :—

(i) Dative *-kin* and *-kun*.(ii) Post-position *-korakun*.(iii) Present adverbial participle ending *-cun*.(iv) A few *avyayas* like *ikan*.

When followed by words with initial consonants, the *druta n* may

- (i) be dropped before voiced plosives and sounds other than plosives ;
- (ii) be represented by the *ara-sunna* or by the *niṇḍu-sunna* before plosives (according to certain circumstances, for which, see below) which plosives (if surds) become voiced in the process ;
- (iii) become *samsleṣa* (in script) before original surd plosives (which become voiced in the process), except in the case of the personal pronouns *én*, *nén* and *tân* ;
- (iv) become *svatvam* in comparatively recent stages of the evolution of the language by incorporating an enunciative, whenever followed by consonants ; and
- (v) in poetry, be dropped sometimes in final positions characterized by pauses.

(a) Inflexional Particles

(i) The accusative ending in Telugu is formed of a particle with final *n*, the initial vocalic portion of which appears to vary with the character of the final vowel of the noun-base. The exact value of the original particle may have been *-an*. The history of this particle goes back to a very remote past in Dravidian in as much as cognate accusative particles appear in different Dravidian dialects separated by wide cultural and chronological divergences among themselves.

Kannāḍa : old *-am*, *-an*, mediæval *-an*, modern *-an(nu)*,
 Tuḷu *-n(u)*, *-n(u)*, as in *maronu* (tree), *gellunnu*
 (branch), etc.

Gōṇḍi *-(u)n*, *-n*, as in *mars-t-un* (axe), *marri-n* (son).

Kurukh *-n*, as in *kukkosiṇ*, the accusative form of *kukkos* (boy).

The Telugu accusative particle is obviously related to this pan-Dravidian ending.

The *druta n* of the accusative ending of Telugu is thus seen to be an organic part of the old heritage of Telugu.

(ii) The locative particle (as distinguished from locative post-positions with which we shall deal later on in the course

of this essay) appears to be *-an*, represented in instances like the following :

- (a) *cūtamunan* (at the game of dice)
grihamunan (at the house)

The grammars usually describe *-nan* as the locative particle for "inanimate" singular nouns (with final *-u*) of this type. The examination of inflexional particles and increments from a general Dravidic point of view reveals to us that the actual locative particle here is *-an* and that the *-n-* preceding it stands for the inflexional increment¹ which appears in other case-forms of this Telugu type and in words of other Dravidian speeches.

(b) The Telugu *aupa-vibhakti* verbs which embody very ancient assimilative changes in the structure of their inflexional endings show *-an* in the locative (and in the instrumental) :

- ūr-an* (at the village) from the noun-base *ūr* ;
kāl-an (at the leg) from *kāl* ;
kaṇṭan (at the eye) from the base *kaṇ* with which the old neuter inflexional increment *-t-* and the locative *-an* have been combined ;
iṇṭan (at the house) from *il* (house).

We know that the inflexional increment does not appear in all cases and that in instances like *ūr-an*, the locative particle directly appears after the noun-base.

(c) Further, the old locative *-an* appears in a number of other instances in old texts, *e.g.*,

- puramu veli-n*² (outside the town)—Bhārata, Nalô-pâkhyâna.
madi-n (in the mind)—Bhārata, Nalôpâkhyâna.

¹ Vide my "Post-positions in Dravidian".

² The ending in these instances is usually described as *saptamyârtham-iccu dvitîyântamu* (Accusative ending with a locative meaning) but a particle of this kind with a locative force is so frequent and common in the old texts in such instances and in *avyayas* (where the locative signification has suffered discoloration) that one cannot help conceding to it the individuality which its structural resemblance to the locative particle of *ūr-an*, etc., warrants,

... ..*Kuruvibhuṇḍu kâryacinta munīgi*.....(the Lord of the Kurus, having become immersed in thought.....) Bhârata, Udyogaparvam, § 16) where *kâryacinta[n]* shows the locative *-an*.

.....*mrânan jiguru voḍayunu* (shoots sprout from the tree) (Udyogaparvam, § 61) where *mrânan* contains the old locative.

(d) The same ending *-an* with a locative force exists in a number of *avyayas* like *edan*, *tôḍan*, *mīdan*, etc.

All these instances demonstrate the existence of an old Telugu particle *-an*.

I would suggest the following analogies for this particle from other Dravidian dialects :

(1) Kannaḍa *-al* used as a locative particle in very old inscriptional forms like *sthaladal*, *artha-d-al*, etc. (cited by Kittel in his *Gr.*).

(2) Kannaḍa *-al* with a definite "local" signification in words of direction like *mūḍal* (east), *teṇkal* (south), *paḍuval* (west), *attal* (there), *ittal* (here), etc.

(3) Kannaḍa locative particle *-al(i)* connected with (1) above.

(4) *Cf.* also the old affix *-al* which in the southern speeches is employed to form verbal nouns: Tamil *sey-al* (the act of doing), *kāval* (protecting or protection, etc.), Kann. *uḷal* (ploughing), *paḍal* (lying down), *aḷal* (grieving), etc.

As a change of *l* to *n* in such contexts is not impossible in Dravidian (*cf.* the alternative third case endings of Tamil: *-âl* and *-ân*), and as a very probable change of *-al* to *-an* (see below, for discussion) could be postulated for the *tumannar-thaka* ending of literary Telugu itself, it might not be unjustified to envisage the view that the Telugu locative particle *-an* is related to, if not actually derived from, an older *-al* appearing with a locative or "local" signification in the different Dravidian speeches mentioned above.

(iii) In the Telugu datival *-kin* and *-kun* (where the variation in the character of the vowel *-i-* or *-u-* depends upon vocalic harmony with the final vowel of the noun-base), the

final *-n* appears to be something unique in Telugu, in as much as none of the cognates in the other dialects show a nasal in organic positions. The dative ending with the consonant *-k-* (or its voiced counterpart *-g-*) exists in most Dravidian dialects :

Tamil *-kk(u)*.

Kannāḍa *-ku, -gu, -ke, -ge*.

Tuḷu *-ku, -gu, -ku, gu*

Kūi *-ki*

Kurukh *-ge*

Brāhūi *-ki* (for the sake of) (Sir Denys Bray's *Gr.*, p. 53).

In none of these cases we find *-n* as an organic part of the dative ending.

The *druta -n* of the Telugu ending should therefore be a unique feature of this dialect.

That this *-n* was probably not a permanent part of the dative ending originally, is indicated by the *sandhi* rule that it may optionally be dropped before the initial vowels of the words that follow it in combinative positions. (See *supra*.)

Though the origin of this *druta n* cannot be traced with any precision, one may suggest that here we have to do with an old *samuccaya* particle. We shall see below that the *samuccaya* particle *-un* of Telugu does form part of words like *īkan* (yet), *ellan* (all) and also of the present adverbial participle with *-cun*; and it is very significant that these are also cases where *-n* may be dropped before vowels in *druta sandhi* (see *supra*) exactly like the *n* of the dative ending. In view of this, the final *n* of the Telugu dative ending probably stands for an old *samuccaya* particle.

The inherent idea of association implied in the dative case-relationship might very well have justified the original introduction of the *samuccaya* particle; subsequently the distinctive *samuccaya* meaning was probably lost sight of. Though similar instances of the permanent incorporation of the *samuccaya* particle in the *dative* ending are not available from other dialects, we do have parallels in the

ablative instrumental *indam* of old Kannaḍa and in the ablative *irundum* of middle and new Tamil :

Old Kannaḍa *ind-am*, appearing as *inda*, *inde* in later Kannaḍa.

Tamil *viṭṭil-irund-um vandān* (he came from the house), where *irund-um* may alternatively appear without the *samuc-caya um*.

(b) Post-positions¹

Some of the more important post-positions are case-modified forms of nouns.

Both *cētan* and *cēn* are found in the oldest texts and both are employed to denote the idea of "agency", e.g.,—

Hanumantani-cēta sīta cūda[n] *baḍēnu* (Sita was seen by Hanumant) ;

Rāmuḍu bāṇamu-cēta vālini gūlcēnu (Rama slew Vāli with a *bāṇa*).

In *Bhārata* occur forms like *damayanti-cēn* (by Damayanti,) *kriṣṇu-cēn*, etc.

The difference in usage between *cētan* and *cēn* on the one hand, and *tōḍan* and *tōn* on the other (for the latter group also used in the so-called "third case," see below), corresponds more or less to that between the use in Tamil of *-āl* (or *-ān*) and *ōḍu*; Tamil *-āl* or *-ān* generally expresses "instrumentality" or "agency" and Tamil *ōḍu* denotes "associativeness" (*sahārthamu*, or in Tamil grammatical terminology *uḍanigaḷci*, see Nannūl, Sūtra 297).

(i) *Cēta[n]* is the old *aupā-vibhakti* locative of the noun *cēy* 'hand', where *-t-* is the characteristic inflexional increment and *-an* is the old locative termination with which we have dealt with above.

The shorter form *cēn* may have been a modified locative case-form of *cēy* without the inflexional increment ; this matter

¹ Some of these post-positions appear as "independent inflected words" in old texts; this would show that the "hardened" post-positional significations must have gradually cropped up in the course of the evolution of the language.

could not be made clearer because both *cétan* and *cén* already occur in the oldest extant texts.

(ii) *tôḍan* and *tôn* generally express *sahârthamu* or "associativeness", and they occur with this force in the old texts :

vilâsambu-tôn.

nija rūṣambu-tôn (with his own form).

veḍka-tôḍan (with joy).

tôḍu (aid, help) is a noun in old and new Telugu; it is also employed as a constituent of compound verbs like *tôḍu-kôn-*, *tôḍu-ṣaḍ-*, *tôḍu-tecc-* on the one hand, and as a part of old *samâsas* like *tôḍa[n]- buṭṭu* (brother or sister) on the other. For the use of compounds with *tôḍu* in *Bhârata*, cf. *tôḍu-técc-* in stanza 16 of Viduranîti: *vāḍunu satvarambuga[n] jani-y-atani[n] dōḍ-tecci kânṇiñcinan* (and when immediately he produced Vidura, having gone and *fetched* him); *tôḍ-koni teccen dana-talli satyavatinin* (*fetched* his mother Satyavati).

-tôn is as ancient as *-tôḍan* in the extant material, so far as we know; probably it is a contraction of *tôḍan*.¹

As for the post-positional form *tôḍan* of Telugu, it is an old locative (with *-an*) of the noun *tôḍu* (help, aid).

Another form connected with *tôḍu* and occasionally employed in similar contexts in the old texts is *tôḍutan* :

ôriyaṇākuva tôḍutan-unikiyaridi

I would consider this form to be the locative (with *-an*) of an old *tôḍuta* formed of *tôḍu* and the affix *-ta*; one may compare *tolutan* (at the beginning) for a similar formation.

¹ It is remarkable that Brâhûi, the Dravidian dialect of North-West India possesses a "conjunctive" affix *-to* denoting "associativeness" as in *i nâ mârâ-to kâva* (I your son-with shall go);

kanâ tûfak na ilum-to-u e (my gun my brother-with is).

Sir Denys Bray has already pointed out the remarkable similarity of the Brâhûi and the Telugu post-positions; he observes (p. 12. *Brâhûi Grammar*): "Not only is *-tô*, the abbreviated form of the Telugu conjunctive identical with the suffix in Brâhûi, the longer form of *tôḍu* seems to be preserved in the Brâhûi full word *tud* 'accompanying', 'in company with'."

(iii) *main* and *meyan* are post-positions employed after 'inanimate' nouns, with the force of *tôḍan*, *tôn*. These occur in old texts:

nérpu-main (with cleverness).

bhakti-main (with devotion).

i-m-meyyan (in this manner).

sampriti-meyan-unnavârê ? (do they live happily ?)

mey and *mênu* are old Telugu nouns meaning 'body' [cf. §19 of Viduranîti in *Bhārata* : *mênun nippula[n] boralinaya!layu*]. I have tried to show elsewhere that this Telugu word is a cognate of Tamil *mey*, Kann. *mey* 'body', the nasal *-n-* in *mênu* having had its origin in Telugu as in *cênu* 'field' beside Tamil *śey*.

I would regard the Telugu post-positions *mey-an* and *mai-n* as old locatives of *may*, *mey* with the signification 'body'. The meanings of the post-positions are derivable from the primary meaning 'body,' exactly as the power of forming abstract nouns has become associated with the particles *-mi*, *-me* connected with the word *mey*.

(iv) *koṛa-kun* (for the sake of) is the dative case-form of the Telugu noun *koṛa* with the meanings of 'use', 'profit'. *koṛa-kun* is used in the literary speech in the sense of 'for the benefit of', etc., as in *janakuḍu rāmuni-koṛakun sītan-iccenu*.

(v) *valan-an* (by, on account of) [*> valnan > vallan*] could be explained as an old locative of the noun *valanu* 'side', 'manner', 'grace'.

(vi) *lôn* and *lônān* appear with a locative force in the earliest extant texts.

Though it cannot be doubted that these forms are locatives of old Telugu bases allied to Tamil *uḷ*, Kann. *oḷ* (inside, etc.), it is not easy to determine precisely the lines of development along which *lôn* and *lônān* have been formed.

I would suggest that *lônān* is a locative with *-an*, of Telugu *lôn* (inside, mind), the aphæresized, accent-modified cognate of Tamil *uḷḷam* (mind, inside). *lô* with the meaning 'mind' also occurs in Telugu : cf. *taga[n] nī lô[n] ûhîmpumu* (consider well in your mind), §95 of Viduranîti, *Bhārata*.

The post-position *lô-n* may itself have been derived as the locative of *lô*.

Lôpalan is another connected form with the meaning 'amongst': *i-k-kôṛa gâmulâ-lôpalan okkaṭi nî citta-vrittin-ôndenô?* (Has any one among these evil qualities gained possession of your mind ?) ; *talâcen hridayambu lôpalan* (reflected within the mind).

(c) Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns old *ên*, new *nên* (both of which mean 'I') and *tân* have direct cognates with final *-n* in most Dravidian dialects :

Telugu	<i>ên, nên</i>	<i>tân</i>
Tamil	<i>yân, nân</i>	<i>tân</i>
Kannaḍa	<i>ân, nân</i>	<i>tân</i>
Tuḷu	<i>yên(u), yân(u)</i>	<i>tân(u)</i>
Kûi	<i>ân(u)</i>	<i>tân(u)</i>
Kurukh	<i>ên</i>	<i>tân</i>
Malto	<i>ên</i>	<i>tân</i>
Brahûi	—	<i>tên</i>

The Telugu pronouns *ên*, *nên* and *tân* are directly allied to the widespread Dravidian forms given above.

(d) Tense-Endings

(i) The first person singular past ending in old Telugu is *-tîn*¹ of which the more modern representative is *-tini* appearing as *svatvamu* with *-i* following, instead of *-u* on account of vocalic harmony characteristic of Telugu in this and similar contexts. That *-t(i)-* of this ending represents the past-denoting particle and that *-n* is a part of the pronominal

¹ In this connection, it may be noted that Nannaya's *Bhârata* shows the ending *-tin-in* (*druta*, of course, as in *aṭṭinin*) beside *-tin*. Similarly, we have an accusative ending *-nan* (instead of *-an*) as in *satvavatinin*, *sitanun*, and a *samuccaya* ending *unun* (instead of *-un*) as in *adiyun-un-gâka*. The evolution and the origin of the *druta* endings in general, discussed in this essay, would tend to show that these peculiar cases employed in the *Bhârata* have a *druta* super-added to the original *druta* (in its *svatvamu* form). The pronominal portion of the cognate past ending of the other dialects, and the *samuccaya -um* of other South Dravidian speeches clearly indicate that the original forms in Telugu should have been *-tin* (for the past ending of the first person singular) and *-un* (for the *samuccaya*).

ending would be clear when we compare the similar past terminations of other Dravidian speeches:

Tamil *sey-d.én* (I did).

Kannaḍa *gey-d-en(u)* (I did).

Kûi *tak-(i)t-ē* (I walked), where the nasal of the pronominal ending is reduced to the mere nasalization of the vowel.

Gôṇḍi *vank-t-an* (I spoke).

Kurukh *kam-c-k-an* (I made) where *-c-* (< old *t*?) and *-k-* appear to be the affixes conferring the past signification.

(ii) The third person singular (for *mahat* and *amahat* nouns) and plural (for *amahat* nouns) of the old literary past, show the ending *-én* annexed to the base directly, as in *koṭṭi-én* (struck), *cepp-én* (said), etc. For *kon-* (to bring), *an-* (to say) and *paḍ-* (to fall), the third person forms show *-i-* before the ending *-én*: *koni-y-én* (brought), *ani-y-én* (said), *paḍi-y-én* (fell). The affiliations of these forms to those of other speeches are not clear; the past affix *-t-* appearing in the other 'persons' of this tense is conspicuous by its absence in the third personal forms. It is difficult to find out if *-i-* of *ani-y-én*, etc., is really a past affix.

The appearance of the same ending *-én* for the singular (of all nouns) and the plural (of *amahat* nouns) would tend to indicate that *-én* may not have been pronominal in origin.

(iii) There are two different sets of forms in literary Telugu denoting what is described as the "Indefinite" tense (or *taddharmakârtha* in the terminology of Telugu grammars).

One set¹ uses *-ud-* (as the past affix annexed to the base) and pronominal terminations for all forms except the third person singular (for all nouns) and plural (for *amahat* nouns) where neither *-ud-* nor pronominal endings are found but *-un-*

¹ These two sets of the indefinite are used in the classics with different tense-significations. The *-ud-* set is frequently used with a present-future signification and occasionally with a past meaning. The other set (with *-ed-*) is described as a present form in Bhâṣâbhûṣaṇa; it is often also employed to denote the future idea of 'will' and 'would' with an implication of condition in it.

is found annexed immediately to the base (cf. *koṭṭ-ud-un*, the first person singular form with *koṭṭ-un*, the third person form); while the other set shows *-ed-* with pronominal endings for all forms except the third person singular (all nouns) and plural (*amahat* nouns) in which latter we find *-eḷ-un*¹ or *-eḷ-in*.

α. The first person singular endings of the forms belonging to these two past types are *-d-un* and *-ed-an*. The final *-n* (*druta*) of these endings very probably represents the first personal singular pronominal termination appearing in other Telugu tense forms. We are led to think so because these endings are characteristically limited to the singular of the first person; and further some of the other persons (first person plural, second person singular, second person plural) are marked off from the first person singular by characteristic pronominal endings of undoubted Dravidic origin.

β. The third person endings of the two types are respectively *-un* and *eḍun*, *eḷin*. These endings are used in the singular in connection with all nouns, *mahat* and *amahat*, and in the plural in connection with all *amahat* nouns.

The use of these forms in both the singular and the plural (even though it be confined to *amahat* nouns in the latter) is peculiar; this fact would imply that the endings may not contain a pronominal element; for, if they did, the plural ending should have been different.

Caldwell may be correct in connecting Telugu *-un* here with Tamil *-um* appearing in the Tamil tense with *-um*. The similarity in the functions of the Telugu and the Tamil forms and the very plausible phonetic correspondence of Telugu *-n* here to Tamil *-m* have been relied upon by Caldwell in postulating the relationship.

¹ The future-aoristic meanings of *-eḍun*, *-eḷin*, and the fact that these endings appear in the singular and the plural (in the latter for *amahat* nouns) are features parallel to those of *-un*, the third personal ending of the other indefinite tense-type. As we have noted, *-un* is cognate with Tamil *-um* (of the Tamil aoristic tense) and ultimately related (as suggested by Caldwell, p. 484, *Gr.*) to the *samuccaya*; is it possible that *-eḍ-un*, *-eḷ-in* contain an element similar to *-un*?

As for Telugu *ed-un* and *ed-in*, no cognates are available in the other Dravidian speeches (so far as I can see), and no definitive suggestions can be made about the character or origin of final *-un* and *-in* in these endings.

(iv) The negative aorist first person singular of Telugu with final *-an*, has cognates with final *-n* in other dialects :

Tam. *śeyy-é-n* (I do not, or did not, do)

Kann. *gey-a-n* („ „)

Kûi *tak-ä-n(u)* („ „)

The final *-n* in all these cases is a part of the old first personal pronominal ending ; and the *druta n* of the Telugu ending has obviously had the same origin.

(e) Other verb-endings

(i) The present adverbial participle of old Telugu *śatrar-thaka* is marked by the ending *-cun*, the corresponding ending in the popular dialect of Telugu being *-tu* or *-tû*. This participle is employed to denote either ‘ contemporaneous action ’ or ‘ continuity of action ’, as in the following :—

Literary Telugu *cûcu-cun bôvucunnavâdu* (he proceeds observing) ; *pâdu-cun bôyen* (he went singing).

nâku rép-accaṭi panulu ceppuvâḍan-anucū[n] janiye (he went away saying “ I shall communicate to you to-morrow the news from over there ”) [Viduranîti §18].

Popular Telugu *céstû unnâdu* (he is going on doing it) ; *âyana bhôjanamu céstu, nâto maḷḷâḍinâdu* (he spoke to me whilst taking food).

Now, an exact parallelism in structure and function is furnished by a similar participle in Kannaḍa, described in Sûtra 235 of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa and discussed elaborately by Kittel in his *Grammar* on pages 109 and 110.

This Kannaḍa participle shows the following endings :

-tum, -ttum, -ttam, -te, -tte (older dialect) ;

-ta, -tâ, -ttâ (modern dialect).

The following structural peculiarities of the Kannaḍa forms are noteworthy for our purpose :

(i) In the older dialects of Kannaḍa, forms with a final

nasal existed beside forms without the nasal; as Kittel has pointed out, *-e* of *-te* and *-tte* (the forms without the nasal) is an emphatic particle.

(ii) The final nasal of *-tum*, etc. is, as rightly pointed out by Kittel, a part of the *samuccaya -um* annexed optionally to these Kannaḍa participles to reinforce the idea of 'progression'.

(iii) The forms of the modern speech are based upon *-tam*, *-ttam* of the older dialect, and the optional lengthening of the final vowel is compensatory for the loss of final *-m*.

So far as the functions of this Kannaḍa participle are concerned, they denote contemporaneous action or continuation :

nagu-tum bandam (he came laughing);

jaḍiyu-tum poḷedam (he beat chiding);

uṇutum irdam (he was eating);

modern *ôḍutta hôguvanū eḍavi biddānu* (he who runs may fall down);

avanu tanna kudureyanṇu huḍukuttâ naḍedanū (he walked seeking his horse).

Now, if we take up the Telugu participle, we note a very striking correspondence in structure and function.

The ending of the literary participle is *-cun*, the final *-n* of which may optionally disappear before vowels in *druta sandhi*. The representatives of this in the popular dialect are *-tû*, *-tu*. The functions performed by the Telugu participle are in the main the same as those of the Kannaḍa form [see Telugu illustrations given above].

(i) Structurally, Telugu literary *-cun*, undoubtedly allied to popular Telugu *-tu*, *-tû*, could be regarded as being cognate with Kannaḍa *-tum*.

(ii) The old Kannaḍa dialect shows endings with and without the final nasal; the Telugu ending may drop its final *-n* in *druta sandhi*.

(iii) Both in popular Telugu and in modern Kannaḍa, the endings show alternatively compensatory lengthening of the final vowel after the nasal has been dropped.

(iv) Both the Kannaḍa and the Telugu participles perform identical functions.

If Telugu literary *-cun* and Kannaḍa *-tum* are seen to be so closely allied in structure, function and later evolution, it is easy to see that the final portions of these endings may have had the same origin.

Kittel has explained that *-tum* of Kannaḍa contains the *samuccaya* particle *-um*, the use of which in connection with the present adverbial participle is in keeping with its meaning of 'progression' or 'continuation'.

The Telugu representative of the Tamil-Kannaḍa *samuccaya*, is *-un*; and this *-un* is probably contained in the ending *-cun*.

In the light of this inference, the existence of alternative forms with and without the *samuccaya* in Kannaḍa and the optional dropping of the nasal in Telugu before vowels, stand explained. The *samuccaya* was only a reinforcer at first and it must have been regarded as such in the earlier stages in Kannaḍa and Telugu, in the former as shown by the existence of alternative endings without the nasal, and in Telugu as shown by the optional dropping of *-n* before vowels in *druta sandhi*.

(ii) The Infinitive of Telugu (*tumannarthaka*) has the druta *n* in its ending *-an*. The uses of the Telugu form and of the corresponding Infinitives of Tamil, Kannaḍa, Malayālam and Gôṇḍi are illustrated in the table given below.

I may also point out here certain uses to which the Infinitives are put in Kûi and in Kurukh; these also remind us of the employment of the Infinitive in the south.

Kûi: The Infinitives in Kûi end in *-a*, the semi-formatives of the verb-bases being incorporated wherever they have to be.

(1) The Infinitive is used as the subject or as the object of a verb:

mî bahta tinba mane (you with to-eat exists, i.e., you have food).

	TELUGU	KANNADA	TAMIL	MALAYĀLAM	GŌŔŔI
(a) Infinitival noun governed by a verb.	<i>hāṭṭāṭṭa tsadurā</i> [u] <i>dādācūnu</i> (the boy) ← <i>tsadurā</i> [u]	<i>nīram taral v(p)āḷ</i> <i>dam</i> (he ordered the bringing of water); <i>taral</i> may appear as <i>tara</i> also ← <i>taral</i> , <i>tara</i> <i>ōḍa</i> (or <i>ōḍal</i>) <i>pāḍ-</i> (to be read); <i>ōḍa</i> <i>beku</i> (reading is necessary) ← <i>ōḍa</i> , <i>ōḍal</i>	<i>nīr</i> 'tara- <i>c-conṇān</i> (he ordered the bringing of water) ← <i>tara</i> <i>sollā-t-taḡum</i> (will be fit to say), <i>sollā-p-paḡum</i> ('will suit to say', <i>i.e.</i> 'will be said'), <i>ōḍal</i> <i>vēṇḡum</i> (will be necessary to read) or <i>ōḍa</i> <i>vēṇḡum</i> with the same meaning. <i>nūṭṭu-paḡa</i> , <i>rīman pōḇu</i> (the sun setting, Rama went)	old Mal. <i>collā-t-taḡannūn</i> (begin to say) of Ramacaritam ← <i>collā</i> <i>paṇaya-t takku</i> (fit to say < where saying fits). <i>paṇaya-p-paḡum</i> will be said < saying will happen). <i>paṇaya-ṇam</i> (must say) < <i>paṇaya-vēṇam</i> < <i>paṇaya vēṇḡum</i> . Not common in modern Malayalam, but <i>cf.</i> the old Mal. usage <i>rīman irikke</i> (or <i>irrikke</i>), <i>arai adu ceyyumo?</i> (Rama remaining, would he do it?)	This dialect shows a participle with <i>-le</i> and without it, alternatively used for denoting 'purpose' and 'Infinitival idea' (Trench's Gōṇḍi Gr., p. 17) :— 'Purpose' : <i>tamāṭi hurile-sk</i> <i>haiddāḷōṇ</i> (I am going to see the fun), where <i>hurile</i> is the participle reinforced with <i>-sk</i> , the Dative ending. <i>tindū hal puṭṭo</i> or <i>tindāle hal puṭṭo</i> (for eating nothing is found) where <i>tindā</i> or <i>tindāle</i> (eating) may be used. 'Infinitival use' : <i>a-ḡḡā handāle varitāḷōna</i> (I fear to go there) where <i>handāle</i> (going) shows <i>-le</i> . The alternative use of forms with and without <i>-le</i> , the use of <i>-(s)ā</i> , the Dative affix for reinforcing 'purpose', and the different uses to which these participles are put in Gōṇḍi suggest a connexion with South Dr. <i>-al</i> , <i>-a</i> .
(b) Infinitival noun as subject of verb.	<i>tsadurā</i> [u] <i>vala-yūnu</i> (is necessary to read); <i>tsadurā</i> [u] <i>ḡaḡunu</i> (is fit to read) <i>tsadurā</i> [u] <i>baḡ-</i> (to be read) ← <i>tsadurā</i> [u]				
(c) In Nominative Absolute Phrases.	<i>kōḍi kūva</i> [u] <i>ḡa</i> [u] <i>rāmṭṭi-ḷlu vāḍa-ḷenu</i> (the cock crowing, Rama left the house) ← <i>kūḡa</i> [u] <i>ḡān</i>	<i>ḡāyakam pāḍal</i> (or <i>pāḍe</i>), <i>arunam</i> (the songster singing, the king was glad)			
(d) Purpose.	<i>ḡāṭṭū tsadurā</i> [u] <i>bōyenu</i> (the boy went for reading)	<i>tind</i> <i>kōḇam</i> or <i>tind-ḡe kōḇam</i> (he killed for eating)	old <i>uḡaḡu-p-pōḇu</i> or new <i>uḡa-p-pōḇu</i> (he went for taking food)		

	TELUGU	KANNADA	TAMIL	MALAYĀLAM	GŌṆḌI
<p>(c) Effect.</p> <p>Note how the significations of 'purpose' and 'effect' are closely related and how the relationship of the Infinitive to the main verb in the former case is 'futuristic,' and may easily give rise to the idea of 'result' being associated with the Infinitive.</p> <p>The use of the Infinitive to denote 'result' is, however, not so common in the dialects as the use of the form for denoting 'purpose'.</p>	<p><i>paḍa</i>[<i>u</i>] <i>gaṭṭenu</i> (he beat in such a way as to cause to fall) ← <i>paḍu</i> <i>śaṣṭamu-gā</i>[<i>u</i>] <i>cāppināḍu</i> (he spoke clearly) ← <i>ṣāṇu</i></p>	<p>Cf. footnote to p. 260 of Kittel's <i>Gr.</i></p>	<p><i>ne</i> <i>viṭaya</i>, <i>maḷai</i> <i>peyḍadu</i> (the rains fell with the result that paddy grew) ← <i>viṭaya</i> cf. <i>-āṣa</i> in <i>naṇḍ</i> <i>ṟ-āṣa</i> <i>ōḍinān</i> (he ran well)</p>	<p>Cf. the old proverb <i>ellu mūṟiye-ṟ-paṇḍāḍi</i>, <i>paṭṭu mūṟiye-t-tinnāṁ</i> (if one works hard enough to break one's bones, one can eat plentifully enough) ← <i>mūṟiye</i></p> <p>[Note the final <i>e</i> and cf. <i>e</i> appearing in Mal. words like <i>aḍṅakkē</i> (near), <i>neṟe</i> (straightly), which are old Infinitives now used as <i>ar-yayas</i>.]</p>	

earu tinba uṇba giteru (they to-eat to-drink made, *i.e.*, they had a meal).

(2) As an Infinitive of purpose, with *tangi* (for the purpose of):

krāḍi dega-tangi dunjite (tiger to-run for-the-purpose-of commenced, *i.e.*, the tiger started to run away).

sēru řuva tangi (yoke of oxen to-plough for-the-purpose-of, *i.e.*, in order to plough).

(3) In Nominative Absolute phrases:

vēla sroḥpa-ne, sūkanga gule lūmbinu (sun to-rise-indeed, stars all disappear, *i.e.*, the sun rising, the stars disappear).

-ne is an emphatic particle in Kûi; *cf.* the use of *-é* in the Mal. Nominative Absolute phrase with the Infinitive as in *avan irikka-v-é, rāman vañṇu* (he to-remain-indeed, Rama came, *i.e.*, he remaining, Rama came).

[Winfield, *Gr.*, pages 134, 136.]

Kurukh: The Infinitive in *Kurukh* ends in *-ā*; the Dative *-ge* is combined with it as *-ā-ge* when the idea of purpose has to be conveyed, *cf.* the similar use of the Dative in the illustrations given above from the southern dialects.

(1) Used with the force of a noun:

ās-ge kâlā tukki (to-him to-walk arises-in-the-mind, *i.e.*, he thinks of walking).

ônâ xaccyas (to-eat he-finished, *i.e.*, he finished eating).

(2) To denote purpose:

ērâ keras (to-see he-went, *i.e.*, he went for the purpose of seeing).

With *-ge*: *môxâ-ge ukkyar* (to-eat they-sat-down, *i.e.*, they sat down for eating).

(3) In Nominative Absolute phrases:

ārgahi onar kirrâ-ge, âd urkhâ (they for-eating to-return, she went out).

[The use of *-ge* here is peculiar.]

The illustrations are taken from Grignard's *Gr.*; Grignard (*Gr.*, p. 236) recognizes also the Dative character of *-ge* in the illustrations here.

On the whole, therefore, one may say that the different uses of the Dr. Infinitives are also reflected in the central Indian dialects of Dr. and in *Kurukh*.

So far as the structure of the Infinitives is concerned, the following table would be illustrative :

Tam.	Kann.	Tel.	Gô.	Kûi	Kur.
-al	-al	-an	-âlê	-a	-â
-a	-a		-â		
			-al		

It may also be noted that the Dative post-position is used for denoting 'purpose' in Tam., Kann., Gôṇḍi and *Kurukh*.

An examination of the different types listed in the above table would reveal that

(i) -al is employed in (a), (b), (c) and (d) of Kannaḍa¹ and in (c) and (d) of Tamil ;

(ii) -a is used in Kannaḍa in (b), (c) and (d) [in (d) with the incorporation of what *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* has described as the *satisaptami* -e], and in Tamil in (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e).

(iii) -an is employed in Telugu in (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e). The following points² may also be noted :—

(i) Wherever Kannaḍa uses -a, the ending -al may be alternatively used ;

(ii) Tamil has only -a for (a), (c) and (e), while for (c) and (d) -al also occurs alternatively ;

(iii) Malayâlam preserves -a in (c) and -e in (e) ;

(iv) Gôṇḍi, the central Indian Dravidic dialect, shows similar forms (with slight modifications) with alternative endings one of which has -l and the other is without -l. Kûi and *Kurukh* show -a.

In Sûtra 234 of *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* where *alke* and -a of Kannaḍa are referred to, the commentator observes : *â alge vikalpadim lôpam*, which statement would probably imply

¹ Five Sûtras of Śs. (585, 586, 587, 588 and 591) deal with the Kannaḍa endings of the present adverbial participle. *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* treats about these participles in Sûtras 233 and 234.

² Cf. also in this connection the Tulu Infinitive of Purpose with the ending -ere, as in *â bêle malpere batte* (he came for doing that work).

that *-al* was the original ending, and that *-a* was of secondary origin through the loss of *-l*.

Kittel disapproves this suggestion (p. 122, *Gr.*) and feels inclined to concede a separate individuality for the ending *-a* as distinct from *-al*. Caldwell ignores the (*druta*) *n* of the Telugu ending, attaches little importance to the *-al* forms and argues (p. 539, *Comp. Gr.*) that the Infinitive with *-a* is primary and original. Caldwell, in my opinion, has his attention almost exclusively fixed upon the Tamil forms. The ulterior relationship of *-a* and *-al* of these Infinitives does not, I think, admit of a dogmatic explanation such as is made by Caldwell. All that we can say is that the two endings may or may not have been related; the functions which they perform are so very much alike on the one hand, and, on the other, *-al* as an affix which converts verbs into verbal nouns by "locating" the action is so common in south Dravidian, that we cannot exclude altogether the possibility of a relationship such as is implied in the remark of the commentator to *Śabdamanidarpana*. If we regard the primary signification of these Infinitives to be that of the verb-idea (specifically 'located' as an action or as a process by the affix *-a* or *-al*, whatever the mutual relationship of these latter may have been), it is easy to see how in the syntactical contexts in which they are used, the different functions of Purpose, Effect and Simultaneous Action may have been derived.

Now, Telugu uses *-an* throughout; and the use of the Infinitive with *-an* corresponds to that of the Kannaḍa form with *-al*. It appears to me that in view of the functional parallelism a structural relationship could also be postulated, particularly as we know that the change of *l* to *n* is not uncommon in Telugu as well as in the other Dravidian speeches.

In this view, then, the ending *-an* of the Telugu Infinitive of literary Telugu will have to be considered as a part of the heritage of Telugu, slightly modified in phonetic value.

(iii) The old conditional participle of literary Telugu has the termination *-inan* annexed to the verb-base :

satyamu ceppina[n] dapp-ela? (what can be wrong, if truth is spoken ?)

bānalu kurisina[n] baṇṭalu paṇḍunu (rains falling, crops will ripen).

We may compare with this form, the Tamil conditional with *-âl*, as in *pâḍiyâl* or *pâḍinâl* (in the event of singing), *ôḍiyâl* or *ôḍinâl* (in the event of running), *etc.*

In both Telugu and Tamil, the use of the forms is not limited to any one particular tense, as finite verbs of all tenses may be governed by this conditional form. The Telugu and the Tamil forms may be structurally cognate, if we can postulate that Tamil *-âl* and Telugu *-an* are related. Phonetically, the change of *l* to *n* is not impossible, and the length of *-â* of *-âl* need not be an absolute difficulty; but before this postulate could be confirmed, we shall have to analyse the forms and see if we can establish a fundamental relationship between the two.

Caldwell argues (p. 529, *Comparative Grammar*) that the Tamil form is constituted of the past relative participle and *-âl* which latter he considers as 'a noun' and as identical with the Tamil instrumental particle *-âl*. His suggestion³ is absolutely unconvincing, as there exists not a particle of evidence to show that *-âl* is 'a noun' or 'is identical with the instrumental ending *-âl*'.

³ Caldwell's acquaintance with these Telugu forms was extremely superficial. We have already pointed out how he regards the druta *n* to be a hiatus-filler. Similarly, he considers the Telugu conditional particle to be *-ina* and observes that "this *-ina* appears to be identical with the *-in* of Tamil (as in *sey-in*) which is used for the same purpose and in the same manner as in Tamil; and as Tamil *-in* is a sign of the locative signifying 'in' or 'in the event of', so is the Telugu *ina* or *ni* apparently identical in origin with the *na* or *ni* which Telugu uses as a locative." There are many mistakes of fact in Caldwell's argument: (i) he omits to take notice of the final *-n* of the Telugu conditional; (ii) Telugu *ina* is never a locative; (iii) the structure of the Tamil conditional of the type of *sey-in* is capable of being analysed as the 'base' combined with *-in*, while Telugu *cās-i-n-an* is more complex, containing as it does the past affix and *-n-an*.

There are a number of ways in which the conditional is formed in Tamil, but we are concerned here only with the following :

- âl* with the impersonal stem of the verb, *e.g.*,
uṇḍâl paṣi tîrum (if food is taken, hunger will disappear).
- êl* with the fully conjugated verb, *e.g.*,
uṇṇum-êl paṣi tîrum (if food is taken, hunger will disappear), where *uṇṇum* is the aoristic future.
avâ nîngâdêl (if the desire does not pass), where *nîngâdu* (does not pass) is the negative third person of *nîng-* (to pass).

Forms like *seydanai-êl* (if thou doest), *seygindrên-êl* (if I do), *kêttîr-êl* (if you heard) are other illustrations of the use of *-êl* after fully conjugated verbs to bring out the conditional idea.

âg-il, *âg-in*, *ây-in* (conditional forms with *-il* or *-in* of *âg-*) are also employed like *-êl* after fully conjugated verbs to express the conditional idea of the main verb: *seydom-âgil* (if we did), *etc.* This similarity of usage, strengthened by the fact that *ây-in* in *ây-in-um* (even if so) has changed to *-ên-* as in *êd-ênum* (whatever even), would show that *-êl* may be directly related to *ây-il*, *âg-il*. Cf. Mal. *âgil-um*, *âl-um*, *ânum*, *ên-um*, *êl-um* denoting "though" (Gundert's *Gr.* pages 290, 291). [Cf. also Telugu *-ên* 'if' which is cognate with Tamil *ây-in* in structure, meaning and usage.]

If *êl* is connected with *ây-il*, *âg-il*, may we not suggest that *-âl*, the conditional particle also is an old contraction of *ây-il*? If so, we shall have to consider the Tamil conditional *seyd-âl* to be constituted of *seyd-*, the conjunctive participle and *-âl* (<*ây-il* <*âg-il*). *ôḍi-y-âl* and *ôḍi-n-âl* (in the event of running) would have to be explained similarly as the conjunctive participle *ôḍi* and *-âl*, the *-y-* and *-n-* in the alternative forms being hiatus-fillers.

If now we take up the Telugu type *cêsi-n-an*, an exactly similar explanation could be offered, *cêsi* being the conjunctive participle of Telugu (like *ôḍi* of Tamil in point of structure), *-n-* being the hiatus-filler (as in Tamil *ôḍinâl* or as in the

relative participles of both Tamil and Telugu : *pâḍi-n-a* where the final *a* is the genitivo-adjectival affix and *-n-*, a hiatus-filler), and *-an* of the Telugu form being cognate with *āyin*, *ân*, *ây-il* and *-âl* of Tamil.

This is the only explanation of the forms, which appears to us to be at once in consonance with the usage and the meanings of these Telugu and Tamil forms. However this be, the parallelism of function (and, to a certain extent, the similarity of structure also) between the Telugu and the Tamil conditionals would indicate that the final *-an* of Telugu (with its druta *n*) probably performed (like Tamil *-âl*) the essential function of inducing the conditional meaning.

(iv) The old optatives are formed with *-tan* and *-eḍun* annexed to the base. *-tan*, it would appear, was originally *-tam* in early texts and inscriptions (footnote to p. 113 of *Sūryanârâyaṇīyam*). *-eḍun* appears to resemble the third person form of one of the indefinite tense-types. I have been unable to trace any cognates in the other dialects for these Telugu endings.

(v) The old sequential (*anantaryâdarthaka*) ending *-ḍun* (as in *cēyu-ḍun*) is equally obscure. There are forms in Tamil like *pōvadum*, *śeyvadum*, *pōgavum*, *śeyyavum* which are employed with a continuative meaning to indicate (as in the usage of the Telugu form) that one action has been finished and another is about to be introduced. These Tamil forms⁴ contain the *samuccaya -um* which appropriately induces the 'continuative' signification. There is no knowing whether Telugu *-ḍun* originally contained a *samuccaya* of this kind; for, we are unable to find out the character or function of *-ḍ-* in *-ḍun*.

(f) The Samuccaya

The *samuccaya -un* of literary Telugu has direct cognates in the other Dravidian speeches :

Tamil *-um*.

Malayâlam *-um*.

⁴ Cf. a similar Kannaḍa usage with a form containing the *samuccaya*, as in *parevudum* (after dispersing), etc. [p. 272, Kittel's *Gr.*].

Kannaḍa *-um*, also *-am-* [where *-a-* stands probably for a neutral vowel].

Modern Kannaḍa *-û* [cf. popular Telugu *-û*].

The correspondence of Telugu *-n* to Tamil *-m*¹ is observable in a few words like the following :—

Telugu	Tamil
<i>kolanu</i> ²	<i>kuḷam, koḷam</i> (tank)
<i>mrānu</i>	<i>maram</i> (tree)
<i>lōnu</i>	<i>uḷḷam</i> (inside, mind)

The alternation of *-m* and *-n* in final positions of Dravidian words, in many instances of which it is possible to postulate the influence of peculiar combinative conditions, has been discussed by me elsewhere.

Further, it may be of interest to note in this connection that, according to Śrîmân V. Prabhākara Śâstri, a Telugu inscription of the pre-Nannaya period shows *-um(u)* as a *ṣamuccaya* particle. In a valuable article on Lakṣmipuram inscription, contributed to the journal *Bhârati* of June 1928 (p. 946), Śrîmân Śâstri has reconstructed the form *guḍḷumu* which he explains as being constituted of the plural of *guḍi* (here meaning ' temple '), and the *ṣamuccaya -um*.

(g) *Avyayas*

The final *druta -n* of a number of *avyayas* of the Telugu literary dialect has to be traced to three different sources.

(i) The following are old *tumunnarthaka* forms of verbs :

<i>cālan</i> (abundantly)	—	<i>cāl-</i> (to suffice)
<i>migulan</i> (much)	—	<i>migul-</i> (to be excessive)
<i>taḥṣan</i> (except)	—	<i>taḥṣ-</i> (to fail)
<i>kūḍan</i> (in addition)	—	<i>kūḍ-</i> (to be joined)
<i>ninḍan</i> (plentifully)	—	<i>ninḍ-</i> (to be filled)

¹ Even in Tamil, Sûtra 122 of *Nannûl* has recognized the alternation of *-m* and *-n* in words like *nîlam, nîlan, etc.*

² The probable circumstances in which the correspondence of Telugu *-n* and non-Telugu *-m* in these and other words may have arisen, have been dealt with by me in my paper on " Dravidic *-m* and *-n* ".

(ii) The following evidence themselves as old locatives of nouns :

mīdan (above) — *mīdu* (upper surface or portion) .
eḍan (concerning) — *eḷa* (place)
tsōppunan (according to)— *tsōppu* (appearance)
eduran, eduḷan (in front of) *eduru* (front)

(iii) The *druta* in the following is due to the *samuccaya* :
ellan, beside *ella* (all)—*cf.* Tamil *ella*, *ellā*, *ellām*, Kann.
ella, *ellam*, Mal. *ellām*.

anta-y-un, *anta*, *antā* (all).

The meanings of these forms are such as would immediately allow of a continual incorporation of the *samuccaya* particle. Śrīmān Mallādi S. Śāstri has pointed out (p. 111 of *Sūryanārāyaṇīyam*) that the final *-n* of *ellan* (wherever this *-n* is *not* the Accusative ending) is due only to the incorporation of the *samuccaya*. We may compare with this the Kannaḍa forms *ella*, *ellam* (with the *samuccaya* !), *ellā* (with compensatory lengthening of *-a* for the loss of *-m*). [See Sūtra 175 of *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* and Sūtra 371 of Śs., for Kannaḍa *ella* and *ellā*.]

(h) A Few Samasas

(i) *Druta* features are associated with compounds formed with a few Telugu words like *prā~ta*, *lē~ta*, etc.

When compounds are formed, the final *-ta* (which is really a noun-suffix) is dropped, as in *prā~jaduvu* (old education), *lē~gommu* (tender branch), etc.

The *ara-sunna* in these compounds represents an old nasal which is characteristic of a number of *guṇavacanas* in all Dravidian speeches in the south. I have discussed this nasal elsewhere in this essay, and I may now content myself with pointing out how the Telugu nasal here is a part of its parental heritage in as much as there are cognate compounds in Tamil showing the nasal before plosives.

Telugu *prā~* (old) in compounds structurally corresponds to Tamil *paḷa[ṇ]*- (old) in compounds like *paḷaṇ-gaṛi* (old curry), *paḷam-boruḷ* (' old substance,' God), etc.

Telugu *lẽ-* (young) corresponds to Tamil *ila[n]-* before plosives in compounds like *ilaṇ-gadir* (tender ray), *ilaṇ-gāl* (mild wind), etc.

(ii) The *druta* features associated with *kañ-jīkaṭi* (darkness of vision), *pon-dāmara* (gold lotus), *muṇ-gōṇṅu* (front hem), etc., are due to the final nasal of *kan-n-u*, *pon-n-u* and *mun-* respectively. As their Tamil and Kannaḍa cognates would illustrate, the first two forms presumably had consonantal nasals in final positions: Cf. *kaṇ*, *pon* of old Tamil and old Kannaḍa, beside *kaṇṇu* and *ponnu*. Telugu now shows only *kannu* and *ponnu* with gemination of *-n-* and the incorporation of the final *-u*, while an older stage is evidenced by the compounds under reference.

The literary Dialect compared with the popular Speech with particular reference to the *druta n*

[The comparisons indicated below are in no way exhaustive. Salient facts, significant for the illumination of the nature of the *druta n*, alone are given here. We shall see below that the *druta -n* has dropped off in a number of cases, while in others it has either kept itself up or left behind traces of its existence and influence.]

INFLEXIONAL PARTICLES

(i) The accusative ending is generally retained with the incorporation of the enunciative *-u* or *-i* (the latter wherever vocalic harmony operates).

(ii) The dative *-kin^o*, *-kun* of the literary dialect lose their final *druta n* in the popular speech.

We have already noted how in the literary dialect itself a sort of impermanence was attached to the final *n* here (from very early stages, presumably), as reflected in the optional disappearance of *n* before vowels in *druta sandhi*.

(iii) The literary locative particle *-an* appears without the *druta* in the popular speech; *-a* (without *-n*) is found in instances like the following :

1. *kâgitâna* < *kâgitamu-n-a* (on paper);
*mârgamu-n-a*¹ (on the road);
î rôju-n-a (‘ on this day ’ > ‘ to-day ’);
dêsamu-n-a (in the land).
2. In post-positions like the following :—
andu-n-a (on account of)
valan-a, valla (by)
côppu-n-a (according to)
pai-n-a (above)
cêt-a (by)
mîd-a (above)
eduṭ-a (in front of)
vaiṭu-n-a (on the side)
proddu-n-a (at dawn)

It may be observed here that the most common locative affix in the popular speech is *lô*, as in *inṭlô* < *inṭilô* (in the house), *baṇḍlô* < *baṇḍilô* (in the cart), *kaḷḷa-lô* [or *kaḷḷa-ḷḷô*] (in the eyes), *ûḷḷô* [or *ûr-lô*] (in the country, village), *vāḷḷalô* (among them), *strīlalô* (among the women).

POST-POSITIONS

Besides the post-positions mentioned above, the popular speech has *tô*, *tôḍa*, *valla* (< *valna* < *valana* < *valanan*), and a number of others. None of these post-positions ordinarily shows the *druta n* in the popular speech; but it is remarkable that in most of them when they combine with the emphatic particle *-ê* so as to form “intimate compounds,” the old *-n* appears in the new inter-vocalic positions created by the use of this emphatic *-ê*:

tôḍa-n-ê (immediately when, as soon as), as in *mīru ceppina tôḍanê* (as soon as you told me). •

tônê (emphatic form of *tô*) as in *attī udârâsayamu tônê* (with such a generous intention), etc.

venṭa-n-ê (immediately after or at the moment that), as in *vâḍu koṭṭina venṭanê* (directly at the moment when he struck).

¹ The *-n-* appearing before *-a* is part of the inflexional augment.

lô-n-é (emphatic form of *lô*) as in *band-lônê paḍukunnânu* (I lay down in the carriage itself).

mîda-n-ê (above) as in *dâni vennu mîda-n-ê* (on its back itself).

We shall see below that in other categories also the *druta n* may appear preserved in the popular speech when new inter-vocal positions arise. So far as the post-positions are concerned, we may also note here that when the *samuccaya -unnu* appears after *lô* (whereby an intimate combination of *lô* and *unnu* is rendered inevitable), the *druta n* of the old *lôn* is preserved inter-vocally between the final of *lô* and the initial of *unnu*: *mâ lô-n-unnu mî lô-n-unnu* (amongst us and you).

(iii) The literary personal pronouns *nên* and *tân* are retained with the incorporation of *-u* (as *nênu* and *tânu*) in the popular speech. The old *ên* (an alternative for *nên*) has been lost in the modern dialects and in the colloquial.

TENSE-ENDINGS

(i) The past tense type with *-t-* (as in *cêsi-t-in*, etc.) is not found in the Northern Circars, though it is not uncommon in the *râyalaśima* country. Whenever it is used, the first person singular appears with an enunciative *-i* after *-t-in*.¹

(ii) Some of the chief contexts in the popular speech, in which the old indefinite tense-types are retained, are the following :

(a) *vaccunu* (indefinite third person of *vacc-* 'to come') when preceded by the infinitive, expresses the idea of 'permission': *ceppinâ ceppa vaccunu* (it may even be said, cf., for the meaning, Tam. *śonnâlum śollalâm*) ; *brâhmaṇâlu kûragâyalu tina vaccunu* (Brahmins may eat vegetables).

(b) *tsâlunu* (is enough), preceded by the infinitive :

¹ The final *-u-i* is also often completely dropped in the mass colloquial of the Ceded Districts : cf. *pôti* (I went). Similarly, in some of the other cases adduced below, where the colloquial retains *-u* (followed by *-u*), the masses often reject the final *-nu* altogether.

abhiprāyamu vastê tsālunâ? (is it enough if the idea is reproduced?)

cf. common conversational *tsālu* (enough) where the *druta n* disappears.

nērcunu (materialises), preceded by the infinitive:

â pani tvaragâ ceyya nērcunâ? (can one do that work soon?)

(c) *telusunu* (is known), as in *â illu miku telusunâ?* (do you know that house?); *valēnu*, *valē* (is necessary) are forms used after the infinitive in the colloquial: *ṣô-valēnu*, *ṣô-valē* or *ṣôvâlâ*, (it is necessary to go). The corresponding literary form is *valayunu*, the third person indefinite tense of *valayu*.

(d) *uṇḍunu* (the indefinite third person of *uṇḍ-* 'to exist'), when used with participles, expresses the idea of something happening:

bailudērutû uṇḍunu (would be starting), *vellē uṇḍunu* (would have started).

(e) *avunu* (third person indefinite of *ag-* 'to become' is used for 'yes' (cf. Tam. *âm*).

(f) *erugud-*, the indefinite stem of *erug-* (to know) is used with reference to acquaintance with persons: *āyananu erugudurâ?* (do you know him?); *erugudunu* (I know). In the first person sing. form, the *druta* form is retained with the enunciative *-u*.

(g) The same indefinite tense of the type of *koṭṭudun* is employed in complex sentences of the so-called "dignified" varieties of the popular dialect to convey the idea of 'conditional happening' implied in English constructions with 'would', 'would have'—

somm-unnaṭṭayâtê, ittunu (if there was money, I would give it) in which *ittunu* is the first person singular indefinite of *icc-* (to give), retained with *druta n* and *-u*.

(h) Similarly, in "dignified" compositions of the popular dialect, the other indefinite type (with *-ed-*) is also sometimes used with the meaning 'will'—

eruka-paracedanu (I shall let know).

(i) A rare conversational tense formed of the base, the particle *-ê-* and pronominal terminations is supposed to have been derived from the old indefinite tense of the type *koṭṭedan*, etc. This conversational tense implies a certain degree of doubt—*parugetta bôku, paḍēvu* (do not run, thou may'st fall). Here the first and the third person sing. forms retain final *n* followed by *-u*.

Let us note that in all cases where the old *druta* forms are retained in the popular dialect, the enunciative *-u* is incorporated.

OTHER VERB-ENDINGS

(i) The present adverbial participle of the popular dialect does not ordinarily show the old *druta n*, the endings being *-tu* and *-tû*; but the compensatory lengthening of the final vowel in *-tû* is significant in as much as it marks the loss of old *n*.

(ii) The emphatic form of the participle (formed with the particle *-ê*) shows the old *-n*: *snânamu cêstû-n-ê, nâto mâṭṭlâḍinâḍu* (even whilst taking his bath, he conversed with me). Cf. this with the similar preservation of the old *n* in other categories (post-positions and the infinitive).

(iii) The infinitive (*tumannarthaka*) ending *-an* of the literary dialect loses its *n* in the popular speech ordinarily; it is, however, retained in cases like the following:

1. Intimate compounds formed with *icc-* (to give, allow), like *râ-n-icc-* (to allow to come), *ceyya-n-icc-* (to allow to be done), *mâna-n-icc-* (to allow to be given up), etc. *nannu rânistâra* ? (will you allow me to come ?).

nênu mâninâ amma mâna-n-ivvadu (even though I renounce it, mother will not allow it to be renounced).

2. Two very familiar and expressive conversational compounds: *pô-n-î* and *kâ-n-î*, which convey delicate nuances. The compounds contain the infinitives respectively of *pô-* (to go, pass) and *ag-* (to become), combined with the imperative *î* of *icc-* (to give, allow). *pônî* (literally *to-go-allow*, 'allow it to go,' 'let that pass') expresses 'consent' or introduces a

fresh subject. *kānî* (literally *to-become-allow*, 'allow it to be,' 'let be') might be roughly said to convey the idea of 'Never mind! all right, let be!'

3. Other intimate phrases where *-n-* is preserved in inter-vocal positions created by the infinitives being followed immediately by words with initial vowels :

Before *akkara-lêdu*: *mîru râ-n-akkara-lêdu* (you to-come-need-not, you need not come).

Before *ârambhinc-* (to begin) (a Sanskrit adaptation): *ataḍu â paṇi ceyya-n-ârambhincinâḍu* (he began to do that work), where the *druta n* is preserved in the inter-vocal situation created by the proximity of the final of *ceyya* and the initial of *ârambhinc-*.

A similar *-n-* is kept up in *léva-n-ett-* (to lift up), constituted of the infinitive *léva* of *lê-tsu* (to rise) and *ett-* (to lift).

4. The emphatic form of *-gâ*, the infinitive (in popular speech) of *ag-* (to become) appears as *gâné*, when combining with the emphatic particle *-é*: *nênu râ-gâ-n-é ataḍu pôyâḍu* (as soon as I came, he went away).

5. In cases where an infinitive precedes *êla* (why?): *adi idi ana-n-êla?* (that this to-say-why, 'why say this and that?')

â paṇi nivu ceyya-n-êla (why did you do that work?)

Cf. the popular saying: *râya guḍḍa-n-êla, cêya novra-n-êla?* (why beat the stone, and hurt your hand?)

(iii) The literary conditional with *-inan* is not represented in the popular dialect except in one form given below. The literary form with *-inan* does not demarcate the specific ideas of phrases with 'if', 'when', 'after', 'though', etc.; but the popular dialect has different forms to distinguish these ideas; the *druta n* does not crop up ordinarily in any of these colloquial forms :

kottin-aṭṭu (in the manner of striking), *kottin-appuḍu* (when striking), *kottina-tarvâta* (after striking) show the relative participle and *aṭṭu* (such), *appuḍu* (then) and *tarvâta* (after) respectively.

koṭṭa-gâ (on striking) is formed of the infinitive *koṭṭa* and *-gâ*, the infinitive of *ag-* (to become).

kottî-tê (in the event of striking) has the conjunctive participle combined with *tê*, the infinitive of *têcc-* (to bring).

koṭṭinâ (though striking)—this is the structural descendant, in the popular dialect, of the literary conditional with *-inan*. The lengthened final *-â* is compensatory for the loss of old *-n*. This form is used in the popular dialect for (i) conveying the 'concessional' idea, and (ii) expressing the meaning of 'whether-or': *ippuḍu mâninâ, rêp-ênâ elluṇḍ-ênâ pôvalenu* (though now given up, it would be necessary to go to-morrow or the day after) where *mâninâ*, and *-êna* (< *ayinâ*) illustrate the meanings.

(iv) The old optatives of the literary dialect are replaced in the popular speech by forms of one type of the indefinite tense, followed by *-gâka*: the *druta n* is sometimes met with here (see the second illustration below):

tvaragâ kôḍalni tîsikoni vattuvu-gâka (mayst thou soon fetch the daughter-in-law!)

mîku kṣêmam kalugunu-gâka (may you be happy!)

The literary *anantaryâdarthaka* or sequential is also absent in the popular speech which in its stead employs phrasal combinations constituted of the relative participle and *avyayas* like *taruvâta*, *pidapa*, etc.

THE SAMUCCAYA

The *samuccaya -un* of the literary dialect is represented in the popular speech by *unnu* after final *-a*, *-â*, *-e* or *-u*, and by *-nni* after final *-i* (of the word), the *-i* arising by vocalic harmony; occasionally words with final *-u* also merely lengthen this *-u* for bringing out the *samuccaya* meaning (cf., Kannada *-û*), as in *ataḍû nênnû* (he and I).

The lengthening of *-u* is probably compensatory for the loss of *-n* of old *-un*; while *-unnu* (and *-inni*) of the popular speech is perhaps to be traced to the *samuccaya* variant *unun* occurring in old texts, as in Nannaya's use of *adiyunuṅgâka*, *divambunum-bôle*, etc.

AVYAYAS

In regard to *avyayas*, the popular dialect shows a number of forms with a lengthened final vowel instead of the literary *druta n* :

<i>kûḍâ</i>	literary <i>kûḍan</i>
<i>tsâlâ</i>	„ <i>câlan</i>
<i>dâkâ</i>	„ <i>danukan</i>
<i>mîdâ</i>	„ <i>mîdan</i>
<i>înkâ</i>	„ <i>îkan</i>
<i>niṇḍâ</i>	„ <i>niṇḍan</i>
<i>varakû</i>	„ <i>varakun</i>

Śrīman Mallâdi S. Śâstri points out (*Śabdânusâsana*, p. 106) that forms like these in which the elision of *druta n* has lengthened final vowels appear in old literary texts and are distinguished by *śiṣṭa vyavahâra*.

Phonetic Changes in the Colloquial

As to the changes involved in the popular dialect in the use of *druta* forms in sentence-constructions, the following points may be noted :

As the rigidity of the *sandhi* rules of the literary dialect is conspicuous by its absence in the popular speech, all the changes characteristic of the former are not present in the latter ; yet the following would illustrate how the popular speech does not fail to reflect in its forms some of the old changes.

1. Ordinarily, the popular speech does not evidence the voicing of the surds and of the affricate *c* in the neighbourhood of forms corresponding to the old *druta prakrtikamulu*. In a few instances of “ intimate ” phrasal compounds, however, the popular speech does show the voicing of surds ; and this voicing has to be ascribed to the influence of the old *druta n* which has disappeared from these forms now :—

(a) Passives formed of the infinitive and *paḍ-* : *koṭṭa-baḍ-* (to be struck), *ceṇṇa-baḍ-* (to be spoken), etc. The influence of the old *druta n* of the infinitives may be postulated here for the voicing of *p-* of *paḍ-*.

(b) “Intimate” compounds like—

kâ-baṭṭi (therefore)—infinitive *kâ* and *paṭṭi* (from *paṭṭ-* ‘to happen’, etc.)

• *lô-baḍ-* (to be obedient)—loc. *lô(n)* and *paḍ-*
kâ-bôlu (perhaps)—infinitive *kâ(n)* and *bôl-* (to resemble)

kâ-bôvu (prospective)—infinitive *kâ(n)* and *pôvun*

paḍa-goṭṭi (to thrash so as to fell)—infinitive *paḍa(n)*
and *koṭṭi-* (to strike)

ceyya-bôku (do not do)—infinitive *ceyya(n)* and *pôku*
(*< pô-v-aku*)

ceyya-gala (able to do)—infinitive *ceyya(n)* and *kalugu*

ceḥḥa-baṭṭi (because of speaking)—infinitive *ceḥḥa(n)*
and *paṭṭi*

ceyya-boyye pani (work going to be done)—infinitive
ceyya and *poyye*

2. As already noted under different headings, the old *druta n* is retained before vowels in the popular dialect in inter-vocal contexts cropping up in “intimate” phrases, though otherwise the *druta n* is dropped in the popular dialect (see sections on the post-positions, the infinitive, and the present adverbial participle).

In connection with the *rationale* of the elision in some cases and the preservation in others of *druta n* in the colloquial in the different contexts mentioned in this essay, I would suggest the following perspectives:

(a) Final consonantal *n* is impermanent before pauses. Even in the literary dialect, *druta n* is dropped before full pauses. The rigorous *sandhi* rules of literary Telugu do not tolerate too many pauses within a sentence; but in the colloquial, this artificial rigour finds no place, and the pauses caused by breath-groups within a sentence are bound to be numerous. Wherever then the old *druta n* cropped up before these numerous pauses, it should have tended to go to ruin.

Similar cases of the dropping of final consonantal *-n* exist in Kannaḍa and in Tamil:

The first person and the third person singulars of the

past and the future tense-forms of mediæval and modern Kannaḍa optionally drop their final *-n*.

In colloquial Tamil the final *-n* of verb-forms like *vandān* (he came), *vandēn* (I came) and of pronouns like *nān* (I) or *avan* (he) is either converted to a mere nasalization of the preceding vowel or dropped altogether before pauses.

Cf. also the uniform dropping of final *-n* in forms like *āye* (it became), *vacce* (he came), *aḍige* (he asked) in the Dāsari dialect of Telugu (*L.S.I.*, IV, p. 601), and the similar elision of *-n* in *pōyā* (he went), *vinyā* (he heard), *aḍigyā* (he asked), etc., in the Vadarī dialect of Telugu (*L.S.I.*, IV, p. 609).

(b) Even within breath-groups in a sentence, the old *druta n* had become converted in certain contexts to a half-nasal in the literary dialect at a certain stage in the evolution of Telugu. Half-nasals (of whatever origin) are impermanent in the extreme, and they have all disappeared completely in colloquial Telugu. This was another reason that contributed to the elision in the colloquial of the *druta* ending.

(c) Inter-vocal positions created by intimately attached phrasal compounds prevented, however, the *druta n* from being elided even in the colloquial (see instances given above in the course of this essay).

(d) Further, the need for distinctiveness or emphasis of meaning led in some cases to the compensatory lengthening of the vowel standing before the old *druta* sound, even while the impermanent nasal was dropped off (as in certain colloquial *avyayas*, the *samuccaya* and in colloquial forms like *koṭṭinā* < old literary *koṭṭinan*).

Phonetic Aspects of the changes in the literary dialect

1. The first point deserving of notice in this connection is that the *druta*¹ *n* is consonantal *n*. In every one of the

¹ The word *druta* means 'fleeing', 'impermanent'. The term appropriately applies to the peculiar features of disappearance and phonetic modification characteristic of the consonantal *n* in circumstances which we have referred to at the beginning of this essay. The earliest Telugu grammar describes it as *drutākhyo naḥ*. That the character of this sound was purely consonantal in its original state will have become clear from the comparisons of the *druta* words with their cognates in other Dravidic speeches. It has also been pointed out recently (*Cintāmaṇi viṣaya paṇḍitaṇḍam* by Pandit Chinnarāmaswāmi Śāstri) that the Telugu Bhārata shows only the pure consonant as the *druta*.

instances we have described above, the literary dialect of Telugu shows the consonantal *n*; and the forms with enunciative vowels, appearing in a few cases in comparatively later stages of the evolution of Telugu, cannot alter the fundamental fact that the consonantal *n* alone can be the pivot of all the peculiar changes characteristic of this class of words.

The history of the south Dravidian speeches shows that *n* is one of the sounds which can stand without any supporting vowel or enunciative in final positions of words. In Tamil, Malayâlam and Kannaḍa, the sounds *l*, *n*, *r*, *y*, *ḷ*, *ṇ*, can stand without enunciatives in final positions. Cf., for Kannaḍa, Sûtra 48 of *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*; for Tamil, Sûtra 78 of *Tolkāppiyam*, *Eḷuttadiḡāram*; and for Malayâlam, *Kēraḷapāṇinīyam*, p. 96.

In Telugu poetry also, *l* and *r* of the plural endings do occur without enunciatives, e.g., *vanamul* (forests), *vāral* (they), *bhūpātur* (rulers).

When further we remember that the cognates in other south Dravidian speeches of a large number of cases of Telugu *druta prakṛtikamulu* show consonantal *n* only (or consonantal *l* only), it is not unreasonable to think that the *druta n* of Telugu also was originally the pure consonantal sound unaccompanied by any vowel.

2. The Telugu rule that *druta n* combines with the vowel of words following, is in perfect consonance with the principle prevailing in every south Dravidian speech, whereby the pure consonantal sounds in final positions combine with vowels in *sandhi* contexts.

We may note here that the only cases in literary Telugu where the *druta n* may drop off altogether are (as we have seen above) those occurring in poetry before full pauses, before original voiced plosives, before sounds other than plosives, and those in which the sound was in the earliest stages probably inorganic and impermanent (the final *-n* in the Dative *-kin*, *-kun*, in *inṅkan*, in the *śatrarthaka* termination *-cun*, etc.).

3. The change of *druta n* to the *niṇḍu sunna* and to the

ara-sunna before plosive and affricate consonants is another important phenomenon connected with *druta sandhi*.

The earliest extant Telugu inscriptions show no *ara-sunna* symbol; but on the other hand, even where the metre requires only *ara-sunna*, the *bindu* or the *samśleṣa* is employed. In the Yuddhamalla¹ Inscription, for instance, the *samśleṣa* symbols are employed for denoting *nd* and *ṇḍ*, while for *ṅg*, *ṇj*, *mb* the *bindu* is employed. In the Addanki² Stone Inscription the script manifests more or less the same features. The *lipi* shows the *bindu* or *samśleṣa* even where the metrical scheme requires the *mâtrâ* of the syllable to be short. Apparently the sound-value of some of these consonant groups had changed from being fully evaluated (as they originally should have been in an earlier stage of the language) to a condition of *ardhânuswâra* or *ara-sunna* for which, however, a separate symbol had (at the time of these early inscriptions) not begun to be used.

This would show that what is described as *ara-sunna* in Telugu was in many cases (including contexts where the *druta n* occurs in the proximity of plosives in sentence constructions) a fully evaluated *varga* nasal originally. This reconstruction of the evolution of the *ara-sunna* in these contexts is in keeping with the description by Ketana in his *Bhâṣânuvâṣana*, of *û(n)di-palikina pûrnânuswâramu* (fully or forcibly uttered full nasal) and *dêlci palikina ardhânuswâramu* (loosely uttered half nasal).

Though the *ardhânuswâra* or *ara-sunna* is not evaluated in modern enunciation, it is probable that at an earlier stage it had a 'nasalizing value' whereby the immediately preceding vowel was nasalized; and this stage itself was preceded by the earlier stage when the sound had a full nasal value corresponding to that of the plosive with which it formed a consonant group.

¹ *Vide* the pamphlet on "Yuddhamalla Inscription" by J. Ramayya, published by the Ândhra Sâhitya Pariṣad.

² *Vide* an article (by Somaśekhara Rao) on this inscription in *Bhârati* (March, 1927).

All these facts are also independently confirmed by the comparative examination, from a general Dravidic standpoint, of Telugu words containing the *ara-sunna*.

Now, in all south Dravidian speeches, the final nasal of a word appearing before the initial plosives (or affricates) of the immediately following words, in combinative positions, becomes assimilated as the *varga* nasal corresponding to the plosive concerned. Cf. the evaluation in Tamil of the plural forms *maraṅgaḷ*¹ (trees), *nilaṅgaḷ* (lands), etc., which are constituted of *maram*, *nilam*, etc., and the plural ending *-kaḷ*. For Kannaḍa, cf. Sûtra 80 of *Śabdānuśāsana* which states that “*m* and *n* in final positions before plosives optionally become the nasal of the particular *varga*”.

For Tamil, cf. Sûtra 144 of *Tolkāṭṭiyam*, *Eḷuttadigāram* (Togaimarapu), which states that nasals before *k*, *c*, *t* and *p* generally become *ṇ*, *ṇ̃*, *n* and *m*; the principle is reinforced by other Sûtras in the same section.

Further, the combination of the nasal and the surd plosive generally involves in all the south Dravidian speeches the conversion of the surd to the sonant, the exceptions to this general rule being confined to a few instances in the non-Tamil speeches.

Now, all these features are reflected fundamentally in the Telugu *druta sandhi* contexts with which we are concerned. As we have seen, the proximity of the *druta n* to an initial plosive involves the conversion of *n* to a *varga* nasal on the one hand, and on the other to the voicing of the plosive if the latter is a surd.

The only point of difference to be noted between literary Telugu and other Dravidian speeches is that, whereas in other speeches the combinative positions where the finals of one word would combine with the initial plosives of another,

¹ The assimilative process has operated further in the corresponding Malayālam forms *maraṇṇal*, *nilaṇṇal*; cf., further, the Mal. word *payṇṇa* (green arecanut) with its counterpart in Tamil *pay-ṇ-gāy* (green fruit) which is a compound.

are limited, in literary Telugu the changes were regarded as imperative wherever the *druta n* appeared before the initial plosive of other words in a sentence.

This rule, as we have seen above, is far from being so absolute in the popular dialect of Telugu; indeed, the only change (occurring in connection with contexts involving the old *druta n* and plosives) now preserved in the popular dialect is in a few intimately attached compounds where the nasal has been lost but the original surd appears voiced. Probably the absoluteness with which the rule has been prescribed for the literary dialect in every case of the proximity of *druta n* and plosives, was not justified by the actuality of the conditions of the living speech. A certain undue standardization may have been introduced into the literary dialect in this respect.

Conclusion

The points discussed in this essay may be summed up thus:—

(a) Most of the cases of Telugu literary *druta prakṛtika-mulu* have cognates in other Dravidian speeches; the chief cases for which such cognates could not be traced are the third person past form with the ending *-en*, the third person indefinite forms with final *-edin* and *-edun*, the old optative with final *-edun*, and the sequential with *-ḍun*.

(b) The *druta n* is in most of the instances a part of the heritage directly handed down to Telugu, while some cases appear to have developed in Telugu in the course of its own independent evolution.

In some instances, the *druta n* stands for a very old *samuccaya* which suffered complete or partial discoloration of meaning in the contexts in which it had been employed.

(c) The *druta n* was originally consonantal *n* pure and simple.

(d) The changes in connection with *druta sandhi* are in the main explicable on the basis of rules of phonetic phenomena generally occurring in all south Dravidian speeches.

(e) Though a high degree of standardization is evident in the absoluteness with which the *druta* rules have been prescribed in the literary dialect, the “popular” or “colloquial” speech does not fail to reflect in many contexts the old *druta* *n* and the changes connected with it in combinative positions.

II. The Kannada Variants *kem-*, *kis-*, *kecc-* (red), etc.

The existence in Kannaḍa of the series of variants

kem-, *kis-*, *kecc-* (red),

bem-, *bis-*, *becc-* (hot),

pan-, *pas-*, *pacc-* (green),

of which each class occurs in conditions defined elaborately by all the old Kannaḍa grammars (*Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa*, *Śabdasmṛti*, *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* and *Śabdānuśāsana*), raises an interesting problem which is significant not only from the exclusive view-point of this dialect but also from the general standpoint of Dravidian in as much as the same variations of these bases exist in other Dravidian languages.

The oldest Kannaḍa grammar, *Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa*, describes in Sūtras 152, 153 and 154 that *-cc-* of *kecc-ane* (red), *bṛcc-ane* (hot) and *pacc-ane* (green) is replaced by *-m-* before consonants in *saṁāsas*, that in some cases *-s-* may occur in the stead of *-m-*, and that in some contexts *-e-* of the first two forms may appear as *-i-* (as in *kisu sañje*), and as *ê* (as in *kês-uri*).

Sūtra 52 of *Śabdasmṛti* describes the same changes thus :

ṣaccaneyum keccaneyum |

beccaneyum-enipṣa śabdadantakkakkum ||

beccantire matvam kela- |

riccayipar svantamumanikâraitvamum ||

Sūtra 182 of *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* runs thus :

janīyisugum ṣaccane ke- |

ccane beccanegaḷa cakâradoḷ matvam, ke- ||

ccane-y-âdige catvam ; mē- |

ṇanītara matvam sukâram ; etvakkitvam ||

This sūtra describes that

(i) *-m-* appears for *-cc-* in *pacc-ane*, etc. ;

- (ii) the initial *k-* of *kecc-* may change to *c-* (after *kecc-* changes to *kem-*) ;
- (iii) occasionally *-su-* may stand for *-m-* in such words ; and
- (iv) *-i-* instead of *-e-* may appear [in *kes-* and *bes-* derived according to (iii) above].

The rules become fully clear from the illustrations given by the earliest commentator :

(i) For a nasal (described as *-m-* in the sūtra, represented in writing by a *bindu*) before consonants in *samāśas* : *paṇ-daḷir* (green shoot), *beṇ-gaḍir* (hot ray), *keṇgoḍe* (red parasol).

(ii) For the change of *kem-* to *cem-* :—

Ceṇ-deṇḡu (red coconut-tree), *cem-bon* (red gold), *ceṇ-gôl* (red rod).

(iii) For *-su-* instead of *-m-* :—*kes-uri*, *kes-aḷakke*, *kisu-gal* (red stone), *bisu-gaḍir* (hot ray), *bisu-nîr* (hot water).

(iv) For *-i-* instead of *-e-* :—*bisu-nîr* (hot water), *kisu-gal* (red stone) ; [this change, of course, does not affect the word for 'green' since it does not have a radical *-e-*].

The illustrations make clear that

(i) the nasal appears (in the stead of *-cc-*) before consonants in *samāśas* and not before vowels in which case *kecc-*, *paṇcc-*, *becc-* are retained, generally speaking ; (for exceptions, see below) ;

(ii) the change of the initial *k-* > *c-* of the word for 'red' is limited to the variant with the nasal ;

(iii) *-su-* may occur before words with initial consonants and before a series of old words like *uri* with initial vowels.

Sūtras 341, 342 and 343 of *Śabdānuśāsana* relating to this topic, taken along with their prayogas and vyākhyas, also describe these changes in detail.

Sūtra 341 indicates that *-m-* appears before consonants in *samāśas*, instead of *-cc-*, after *-ane* is dropped in *keccane*, *paṇccane* and *beccane*.

Sūtra 342 mentions and illustrates the change of *kem-* to *cem-*.

Sûtra 343 states that *-isu-* optionally occurs before consonants and words like *uri*, instead of *-em-* in *kem-* and *bem-*; the *prayoga* gives instances like

bisu-nîr beside *ben-nîr* (hot water),

kisu-sañji beside *keñ-jañji* (golden-coloured evening),

on the one hand, and illustrations like

kês-uri beside *ken(n)-uri* and *kecc-uri*,

bês-uri beside *ben(n)-uri* and *becc-uri*.

Sûtra 343 of *Śabdānuśāsana* does not mention the change described here, as affecting the word for 'green', though (as we have seen above) the sûtras of *Bhâṣābhūṣaṇa*, *Śabdasmṛti* and *Śabdamañidarpaṇa* cannot be said to have excluded the application of the rule of *-su-* for the word for 'green'.

The probable reason why Sûtra 343 and its *prayoga* leave out the word for 'green' is that the Sûtra has embodied two different changes, one of which cannot affect the word for 'green'. What the sûtra describes is that *-em-* may optionally appear as *-isu-*, and this would relate not only to the variation of *-m-* and *-s*, but also to the variation of the radical vowel *-e* and *-i-*; and this latter change cannot possibly affect the word for 'green' as its radical vowel is *-a-* (*ṭacc-*, *ṭan-*, *ṭas-*).

The *prayoga* to Sûtra 343 makes clear what exactly words like *uri* (*uryâdi*) are; it also distinguishes how the forms with *-s-* can appear only before initial vowels of the *uryâdi* class, and points out that if the second constituent of the *samâsa* is a word (with an initial vowel) outside the *uryâdi* class, then forms with *-s* are not tolerated; on the other hand, the appropriate forms before words with initial vowels other than the *uryâdi* group, would be *kecc-*, *becc-* and *ṭacc-*, as mentioned in the *prayoga* to Sûtra 343.

There is yet another point deserving of notice. Illustrations like *bennuri* and *beccuri*, beside *bêsuri* in the *prayoga* to Sûtra 343, show that, so far as the *uryâdi* group is concerned, all the three variant types (*becc-*, *ben-* and *bes-*) may be used, while before words other than the *uryâdi* group, the type with *-cc-* alone could be used since the type with the nasal is

excluded by the *prayoga* to Sûtra 341 [*vyañjana iti kim ? kecc-ôle*] and the type with -s- is excluded by the explanation in the *prayoga* to Sûtra 343 : *uryâdiṣviti kim ? kecc-âne*.

Thus we arrive at the following scheme on the basis of all the relevant Sûtras in the grammars :—

Type with nasal	Type with -cc-	Type with -s-
(i) Before consonants.	Before all words with initial vowels, including the <i>uryâdi</i> group.	(i) -s-u before consonants.
(ii) Before <i>uryâdi</i> .		(ii) Before <i>uryâdi</i> .

The following points may also be recorded here preliminarily, the discussion relating to them being reserved for a subsequent part of this essay :—

(a) *-ane* appearing in *keccane*, etc., is a qualificatory ending with an adverbial force, appearing not only in these words but in many other Kannaḍa words also.

(b) What is described as *-m-* in the Sûtras is only a *nasal* sound, transcribed with the *bindu* but really evaluated as a *varga* nasal, the character of which would depend upon the consonant following, while before *uryâdi* it is lengthened *n*.

(c) The alternation of the radical vowels in certain types of the words for 'red' and 'hot' (particularly in Kannaḍa) is a peculiar feature that affects a large number of words of all the south Dravidian speeches.

(d) The *uryâdi* group is constituted (according to the *prayoga* to Sûtra 343 of *Śabdânuśâsana*) of the following ancient nouns :

- uri* (burning, flame)
- akki* (rice)
- ôḍu* (shell)
- eṇṇe* (oil)
- aḍake* (nut)
- ugur* (nail)
- aṇil* (squirrel)

Table of parallel Instances from other Dravidian Speeches.

	KANNADA	TAMIL	TELUGU	TULU	KURUKH	BRĀHŪI
Type I with nasal	<i>keñ-iañji</i> , (golden evening) <i>ken-dalir</i> (red shoot) <i>kem-bon</i> (red gold)	<i>śeñ-gadir</i> (red ray) <i>śem-bon</i> (red gold) <i>śeñ-galam</i> ('red field', = battlefield) <i>śeñ-dāmarai</i> (red lotus)	<i>keñ-gālu</i> ('red hand', palm of hand) <i>keñ-jaḍalu</i> (red hair) <i>ken-dāmara</i> (red lotus) <i>śeñ-gāvi</i> (red colour) <i>śeñ-galuru</i> (red water- lily)	<i>keñ-gaṇṇu</i> ('red eye, sore eye)	<i>xēr</i> [Note the nasali- zed vowel !]	
Type II with -y-		<i>śēy</i> (redness) <i>śēyān</i> ('red one' = Siva)			
Type III with -s-	<i>kisn-sāñji</i> (golden evening) <i>kisn-gal</i> (red stone) <i>kās-uri</i> (red flame)					
Type IV with -cc-	<i>kacc-ōle</i> (red palm- leaf)	<i>kiccu</i> (fire)	<i>kiccu, ciccu</i> (fire)	<i>kiccu</i>	<i>xis-</i> <i>cicc-</i> (fire)	
Type I	<i>pan-dalir</i> (fresh young leaves) <i>pan-dale</i> ('young head', newly deca- pitated head')	<i>pani-gāi</i> (green or unripe fruit—cf. Mal. <i>pañña</i> (unripe arecanut) <i>pani bon</i> (excellent gold)				

	KANNADA	TAMIL	TELUGU	TUḶU	KURUKH	BRĀHŪI
'GREEN' (Contd.)						
Type II with -y-	<i>payir</i>	<i>payir</i> (greenness) <i>pai-i-gūy</i> (green fruit)	<i>payiru</i> (growing corn) <i>payaru-cayy</i> (to cultivate)	<i>pairu</i> (growing corn)		<i>bai</i> or <i>bay</i> (green grass fit for grazing)
Type III	<i>pasu-gīsu</i> (young child) <i>pasu-i-gari</i> (green leaf of palm) <i>pasī</i> (greenness) <i>pasur</i> (greenness)	<i>pas-a-</i> (to become green) <i>pasūppu</i> (greenness)	<i>pasuru</i> (green) <i>pasimi</i> (greenness or yellowness)	<i>pa-i-ira</i> (green leaf) <i>pairu</i> (green grass)		<i>cf. pasun</i> (yellow)—for the meaning. <i>cf. Tel. pasimi</i> which means 'yellowness,' beside 'greenness'
Type IV	<i>pacca-gupṣa</i> (green bodice) <i>pacci-dōraṇa</i> (festoon of green leaves)	<i>paccai</i> (greenness)	<i>pacca</i> (green) <i>kuppu pacca</i> (dark green) <i>tella pacca</i> (light green)	<i>pacca</i>		
'HOT'						
Type I	<i>ben-nīr</i> (hot water)	<i>ven-gai</i> ('hot eye', jealousy) <i>ven-tinam</i> (hot anger)	<i>vēgu</i> (to be hot)— [Note the half nasal]	<i>ben-nīr</i> (hot water)		
Type II	<i>bēy</i> (to be boiled)	<i>vēy</i> -(to be hot) <i>vīyar-vai</i> (perspiration) <i>vēyyil</i> (sunshine)	<i>vēy</i>	<i>bēy</i> (to be boiled)	<i>bē'i-</i> (to be cooked)	
Type III	<i>bisu-nīr</i> (hot water) <i>bisil</i> (sunshine) <i>bēs-urī</i> (hot flame)	Mal. <i>vēṣarpu</i> (perspiration) <i>vēcc-enu</i> (hotly) <i>vēccu-vēccana</i> (hot as a swaying flame)	<i>vēcca</i> (heat) <i>vēccana</i> (heat)	<i>bēsi-</i> (to get hot) <i>bisi</i> (heat, warmth of the sun) <i>bēcca</i> (hot, heat) <i>bēccana</i> (warmth)		<i>bis-</i> (to be cooked)
Type IV	<i>bēccane</i> (hotly)					

The question of the inter-relationships of the variant endings of these forms does not admit of a ready and easy solution in as much as the conditions that governed their origin presumably operated at a very early common stage in the history of these speeches in all of which representatives of each class and group occur. Nevertheless, the problem cannot be burked by the Dravidist in view of its importance in the reconstruction of old bases of this kind. The perspectives suggested below are based on a consideration of collateral facts and probabilities.

Type I with the Nasal

I have elsewhere¹ dealt with the different contexts in Dravidian, in which nasals are found prominently before plosives. As we are here concerned with one special type of such nasals with which we may compare the nasals of Type I of the words for 'red', 'green' and 'hot', I would content myself with discussing this type alone here.

A most conspicuous group of *samāsas* in the cultivated languages of the South shows *varga* nasals cropping up before initial plosives (and *m* and *n*) of the second constituents of the *samāsas*.

Tamil	Kannaḍa	Telugu
(1) <i>iḷa-</i> (young, tender)		<i>lē [n]-</i> (young, tender)
<i>iḷaṅ-gaḍir</i> (tender ray)		[aphæresized, accent-modified form of <i>eḷa- < iḷe</i>]

¹ I would briefly indicate the main headings here :—

(i) Verb-extension particles and the past ending *nd* of what I have described as non-Kāṛita (including Intransitive) verbs.

(ii) The nasal appearing in different particles described as *śāriyai* in various Sūtras of the section on Uyirmayaṅgiyal of *Tolkāṭṭiyam*, *Eḷuttadigāram*. [See Sūtras of Puḷimayaṅgiyal].

(iii) In Kannaḍa the nasal mentioned in Sūtras 379, 380, 381 and 384 of *Śr.*, the nasal mentioned in Sūtras 180 and 223 of *Śmd.*

(iv) In Telugu, the nasal in types like (i) *sogasu-n-danamū*, (ii) *ciguru-n-gaidavu*, (iii) *tella-n-danamū*.

Tamil	Kannada	Telugu
<i>iḷaṇ-gāṭ't'ru</i> (mild wind)		<i>lē-[n]- gommū</i> (tender shoot)
(2) <i>paḷa</i> -(old) <i>paḷa-m-borūl</i> (‘old sub- stance’, God) <i>paḷa-ṇ-gaṛi</i> (old curry)		<i>prā[n]</i> - (old) . . . <i>prā[n]-jaduvu</i> (old education)
(3) <i>uḍa</i> -(joining) <i>uḍa-m-baḍi</i> (agreement) <i>uḍa-ṇ-jāvu</i> (‘death with husband’, <i>sati</i>)	<i>oḍa-n</i> -(together) <i>oḍambaḍi</i> (agree- ment) <i>uḍa-ṇ-jāvu</i> (‘death with husband’, <i>sati</i>)	<i>oḍa-n</i> <i>oḍābaḍi</i>
(4) <i>pi[n]</i> - (behind, etc.) <i>pi-ṇ-gāl</i> (hind leg) <i>pi-m-bakkam</i> (back part)	<i>pi-[n]</i> (behind) <i>pi-ṇ-gāl</i> (hind leg) <i>pi-m-bagal</i> (latter part of day) <i>pi-m-boḷṭu</i> (setting sun)	
(5) <i>mu[n]</i> - (front)	<i>mu[n]</i>	<i>mu-[n]</i>
(6)	<i>be-[n]</i> - (back) <i>be-n-dogal</i> (back skin)	<i>ve-[n]</i> - <i>ve-m-baḍi</i> (back part)

(ii) A similar *varga* nasal occurs in Tamil-Malayālam *samāsas* formed with a number of other *guṇavacana* bases; this nasal is not found in similar circumstances in speeches other than Tamil and Malayālam; but the circumstances in which the nasal crops up in Tamil-Malayālam, appear to be the same as in the common instances shown above.

*kuṛu*¹-(short)→ *kuṛu-ṇ-gāḍu* (underwood); *kuṛu-ṇ-gālu* (short leg); *kuṛu-m-baḍi* (small stile), etc.

neḍu-(long, tall)→ *neḍu-ṇ-gālam* (long period); *neḍu-m-bura* (tall shed).

kaḍu-(hard, severe)→ *kaḍu-m-bagal* (broad daylight); *kaḍu-ṇ-gaṇ* (cruelty < 'severe eye'); *kaḍu-m-baṣi* (excessive hunger), etc.

koḍu-crooked→ *koḍuṇ-gaṇ* (evil eye); *koḍuṇ-gāy* ('crooked fruit' > cucumber); *koḍuṇ-gūt't'ru* (violent wind).

karu (dark)→ *karu-ṇ-gaṇṇi* (black-eyed woman); *karu-m-bon* (iron), etc.

It may be noted that all these epithets have a short radical vowel and that all of them are *guṇavacana* words denotative of quality.

Now, Type I appears to be like (i) and (ii) above. They are *guṇavacana* words, they have short radical vowels, and they incorporate a nasal in *samāsas* before the initial plosives of the second constituents of *samāsas*.

We have also to note that this class of *samāsas* with *guṇavacana* constituents is not limited to Tamil; for, though the *samāsas* in (ii) above have no counterparts with nasals in Telugu and Kannaḍa, all *samāsas* of (i) above are represented in these dialects by similar compound words with nasals.

We have therefore to consider that the nasal of Type I of the words for 'red', 'green' and 'hot' is of the same character and origin as that of the *guṇavacana samāsas* mentioned above.

What probable origin could be ascribed to the nasal? The problem does not admit of an easy explanation. Caldwell says (p. 215 of his *Comparative Grammar*) that "*paśum*-, *paīm*-(of Tamil) is evidently derived from *paś*-, the crude root with the addition of *um*, the sign of the aoristic

¹ The principle holds good for all these bases in Malayāḷam also: cf. the miscellaneous Sūtra of the old Malayāḷam grammar, *Lilātīlakaṃ*, Third Śilpa: *śeṣam prayogāt jñeyam*. Illustrations like *neḍu-ṇ-kamuku* (tall arecanut tree), *koḍu-m-pāmbu* (cruel snake), *peru-n-teruvu* (big street) are given under this Sūtra.

future by means of which it becomes an aoristic relative participle"; he similarly explains words like *perum-*, etc.

Whether Caldwell's outlook is the right one, it is difficult to say. Of one thing we can be more or less sure: the nasal in these *samâsas* is not an organic part of the base of the *gunâvacana* words in view of the fact that the nasal crops up only before initial plosives (or affricates) of the second constituents in *samâsas*.

Perhaps, the question of the origin of the nasal here is bound up with some at least of the other classes of nasals before plosives. The question appears to be a prehistoric one.

Types II and III

We have already seen that *-y-* appears after the bases of words denoting 'red', 'green' and 'hot' in the following forms:—

1. Tamil *sey* 'red'.
2. Tamil *pay* 'green', Kannaḍa *payir* 'green corn', Telugu *payir*, Tuḷu *payiru*.
3. Tamil *vēy-* 'to be hot', Kannaḍa *bēy-*, Telugu *vēy-*, Tuḷu *bey-*.

Again, forms with *-s-* for these words occur in the following speeches:—

1. 'red'→ Kannaḍa, Brâhûi, Kurukh.
2. 'green'→ Kannaḍa, Tamil, Telugu, Tuḷu.
3. 'hot'→ Kannaḍa, Malayâlam, Tuḷu, Brâhûi, Kurukh.

-y- and *-s-* are related; which of the two is primary is not determinable with the help of existing materials; for some perspectives, cf. my paper in *JORM*, April 1932.

Type IV

For the *-cc-* of this type I would suggest a phonetic origin similar to that *-cc-* of the following:—

Tamil *kâcc-* (to heat) < *kây-t(t)u* where *-t* is a causal particle

„ *ôcc-* (to throw) < *ôy-tt-*

„ *pâycc-* (to fling) < *pây-tt-*

Tamil colloquial Past stem *vaycc-*, *vay-tt-* (of *vay-* 'to place'), and similar Past stems like, *meycc-*, *kaycc-*, *é(y)cc-*, *moycc-*, *taycc-* (respectively of *mey-* 'to graze', *kay-* 'to be bitter', *éy-* 'to join', *moy-* 'to gather, as flies or ants', *tay-* 'to stitch').

These analogies indicate that phonetically *-cc-* of Type IV may have been the palatalized resultants of an older *-tt-*.

We know that a number of *gunavacana* bases of Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu do incorporate *-t-*, *-d-* or *-tt-* in final positions :

Kannaḍa	Tamil	Telugu
<i>mellittu</i> (soft)		
<i>taṇṇittu</i> (cold)		
<i>kammittu</i> (fragrant)		
<i>inidu</i> (sweet)	<i>inidu</i> (sweet)	
<i>kiṇidu</i> (small)	<i>ṣiṇidu</i> (small)	
<i>kaḍidu</i> (hard)	<i>kaḍidu</i> (hard)	<i>gaḍusu</i> (hard)
<i>ṇiridu</i> (great)	<i>ṇeridu</i> , <i>ṇeriṣu</i>	
	<i>ṇuḍidu</i> (sour)	<i>ṇuḷusu</i>

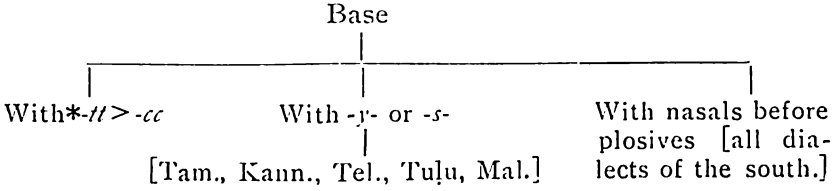
In Kannaḍa the forms are attributive nouns with an adjectival function (see p. 249 of Kittel's *Gr.*). The Tamil and the Telugu instances, however, are mere attributive nouns and are not used adjectivally before nouns.

In origin, the endings are all alike. As Kittel has observed in respect of the Kannaḍa forms (p. 249, *Gr.*) *-d*, *-tt* are remnants of the old neuter pronoun and *-i-* appearing between the base and *-d*, *-tt* is probably euphonic.

That *-i-d(u)*, *-i-tt(u)* do not form integral parts of the words has been recognized also by Sûtra 46 of *Śabdânuśâsana*.

These analogies would suggest that in Type IV the characteristic *-cc-* may have to be traced to the palatalization of an older *-tt* of pronominal origin, as in *mellittu*, *inidu*, etc.

Putting all these suggestions together, I would postulate the following scheme of inter-relationship for the endings of the different types of the words for 'red', 'green' and 'hot':



Some of the Peculiarities¹ of the Kannada Forms

1. *ane*, the particle appearing after Type IV has an adverbial force in this and other instances :

kammane (fragrantly)

neṭṭane (straightly)

summanē (purposelessly)

Another ending (more common in the common dialect), employed with the same adverbial signification is *age*, as in

kammage cf. -*ga* of Telugu in *kammaga*

neṭṭage

summagē.

This *-age* is clearly an Infinitive participle of *ag*- 'to become', with final *-e* which is described by grammarians as the *sati sapṭami* particle characteristically associated in Kannada with the Infinitive participle.

But what is *-ane* ?

That it is but a particle which does not form a portion of the base has been recognized by the old grammars, but no suggestion exists in them as to its origin or affiliations. Kittel (p. 169 of his *Grammar*) suggests that "*ane* may be another form of *age*, or belong (especially in *anukaraṇas* which not infrequently are written either with final *ane* or *ene*) to *an*- and *en*- 'to say', and mean 'so that it says'."

This is not conclusive, and the matter has to be pursued further.

¹ The *Vyākhyā* to Sūtra 343 of *Śabdānuśāsana* recognizes the following among other things : (i) *-ane* is an affix-particle undergoing elision (*lopa*) according to Sūtra 333 ; (ii) *-i* appears as *-c*- in the radicals of Type of our words, according to Sūtra 334 ; (iii) the lengthening of *-c*- in *kēs*-, *bēs*- is in accordance with Sūtra 335. These suggestions have of course to be interpreted in the light of the evidence furnished by other dialects and of general phonetic laws underlying the changes concerned.

All cases of *-āne*, *-ene*, *-ana* and *-anna* of Kannaḍa may be classified thus :

(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>-ane</i>	<i>-ane</i> or <i>-ene</i>	<i>-anna</i> (or rarely <i>-ane</i> , <i>-ana</i>)
(with adverbial force)		<i>-āna</i>)
↓	↓	↓
With <i>guṇa-vacana</i> bases : <i>kammane</i> , etc.	With <i>anukarāṇa</i> words like <i>dhigilane</i> , <i>bommene</i> , etc.	In North Kannaḍa usage, adjectivally, e.g., <i>taṇṇanna usubu</i> (cold sand) <i>uddana kodalu</i> (long) <i>dappane baṭṭe</i> (thick cloth) <i>daṇḍāne paḍārtha</i>

For (2) above, Tamil offers immediate analogies : Sūtra 356 of *Ṇannūl* refers explicitly to *accakkuriṇṇu* and *viraiṇvukkuṇṇu* like the following, formed with *ena* which is considered here (I think, rightly) to be the same as *ena-*, the Infinitive of *en-* (to say) :—*pollēna*

kadum-ena

tiḍuk-ena, etc.

The Kannaḍa *-ane* alternating with *-ene* in (2) above [*anukarāṇas*] may be considered to be the Infinitive of *an-* and *en-* both of which exist in Kannaḍa with the meaning 'to say'.

As for the North Kannaḍa instances in (3) above, Kittel argues that *-anna* is derivable from Kannaḍa *andha*¹ [constituted of *anta*, the Past Relative participle of *an-* 'to say,' and *aha* < *aḥḥa*, the Future Relative participle of *ag-* 'to become'].

We now come to *-ane* of (1) above. Kittel's view that *ane* may be derived from *ag-* 'to become', is not appealing

¹ *-andha* occurs in epithets like *sundara-(v)-āḍ-andha* (beautiful) in old texts, and *-annā* is quite likely a descendant of *-andha* (as Kittel observes on p. 248 of his book) ; it is also probable that *-ana* of adjectival *uddana*, etc., is connected with this *anna* (< *andha*) with the adjectival signification. But how are we to account for the final *-e* of instances like *dappane* used adjectivally in North Kannaḍa? The final *-e* has probably been imported into these forms by analogy from the adverbial *ane*.

because it is difficult to account for the final *-e* according to this view. *âna* in Kannaḍa is an alternative Relative Past participle occurring beside *âda*; this *âna* contains no *-e*. Further, how could an original Relative participle come to express an adverbial signification?

On the other hand, if we consider that *-ane*¹ is the Infinitive (with *sati sapṭami* particle *e* of Kannaḍa) of *an-* 'to say', employed with the meaning 'so that it says', the adverbial signification is readily explained.

2. What is usually described (in the old grammars) as *-m* appearing in Type I, is merely a nasal, the character of which varies with the nature of the consonant following: the consonant groups formed with the nasal are *-ṅg-*, *-ṇj-*, *-nd-*, *-mb-*, *-mm-*, and *-nn-*, respectively in connection with *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, *m* and *n*.

We have seen above that the precise origin of the nasal in Type I cannot be ascertained; all that we can say at present is that a nasal of this kind varying in character with that of the plosive, affricate, *m* or *n* following, exists in Type I in all the cultivated speeches of the south and is also found reflected in the nasalized vowel of the form for 'red' in Kurukh.

We know that in *samâsas*, *m* and *n* finals (when combining with plosives or affricates) become *varga* nasals corresponding to the consonants concerned. This is explicitly recognized by Sûtra 80 of *Śabdânusâsana* for Kannaḍa; and in the main this principle holds good for the other speeches also. *m+k(g)*, for instance, is in none of the southern speeches pronounced as *mg* but always as *ṅg*. The use of the bindu in script (optionally prescribed in the stead of the *saṁśleṣa* script in the above Sûtra of *Śabdânusâsana*) being purely "graphic", the actual evaluation of the *varga* nasals should (I think) have arisen at a very early stage.

¹ With this Kannaḍa particle *-ane* with an adverbial force, we may compare Malayâlam *-ane* in *poḍunnane* (suddenly), *ceṇṇinane* (shortly), *neṭṭane* (perpendicularly) and also Teluga *-ana* in *mellana* (slowness), *grukkana* (suddenly), *erṇana* (redness), *paccana* (greenness), etc.

So far as Type I is concerned, we have no means of determining whether the nasal was a "spontaneous" one or whether it was *-m-* or *-n-*. Such being the case, there appears no justification for the view of the old grammarians that the nasal here was definitely *-m*.¹

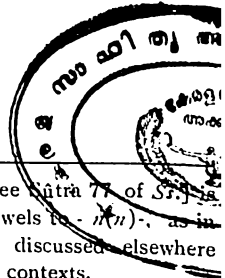
3. A radical vowel *-i-* appears more frequently in the Kannaḍa illustrations of Type of words for 'red' and 'hot' than in those of the other dialects. We find that in the other types the radical vowel is, generally speaking, *-e-*.

The relationship of radical *-i-* and *-e-* in these particular instances is part of a larger problem that concerns all the southern speeches. The problem crops up acutely in Kannaḍa in connection with forms like the following, where variants with *-i-* and *-e-* and with *-u-* and *-o-* are found in definite conditions :

<i>piridu</i>	<i>per- molai</i>	[Sûtra 334 of <i>Śabdânu-śâsana</i>]
<i>ugu</i>	<i>okkam</i>	} [Sûtra 489 of the same]
<i>kuḍu</i>	<i>koṭṭam</i>	
old <i>kuḍu</i> [new <i>koḍu</i>]	<i>kôḍu</i>	} [Sûtra 490 of the same]
old <i>kiḍu</i> [new <i>keḍu</i>]	<i>kêḍu</i>	

Some of the other dialects show *-e-* and *-o-* respectively for *-i-* and *-u-* of the above old Kannaḍa forms : Tamil *peridu* (big), *okk-*(to fit), *koḍ-*(to give), *keḍ-*(to rot) ; this need not (as I have shown elsewhere) lead to the postulate that there was a 'harmonic closure' (under the influence of closed vowels following) in Kannaḍa. The problem of *-i-* and *-e-* in radical positions affects other words of several dialects, and has to be approached from a more general standpoint.

¹ The view propounded in the old Kannaḍa grammars [see Sûtra 77 of *St.*] is that the old nasal was *m* and that this has changed before vowels to *-n(n)-*, as in Kannaḍa *bennu* (back), *ben-n-urî* (hot flame), etc. I have discussed elsewhere the difficulties in accepting this view of an original *m* in such contexts.





THE LINGUISTIC CHARACTER OF SINHALESE

BY PROFESSOR WILHELM GEIGER

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THE LINGUISTIC CHARACTER OF SINHALESE.

BY PROFESSOR WILHELM GEIGER

In two different journals (Anthropos XXXII, 1937, p.155 sq. and Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, 1936, No. 89, p. 233 sq.) Rev. Father GNANA PRAKASAR has published a paper on Dravidian Elements in Sinhalese. The paper had been read in Colombo at a General Meeting of the Asiatic Society on December 14th, 1934.

According to Prakasar Sinhalese is essentially a Dravidian language. The first Aryan immigrants who arrived in Ceylon adopted the language of the original inhabitants of the Island, who were of Dravidian race, filling its vocabulary with Aryan words they had brought to Ceylon from their former home. Moreover, Prakasar advances the hypothesis that the Aryan and Dravidian languages are *radically* related, and that many words, once supposed to be derived from Sanskrit or Pali, are based on pure Dravidian roots.

I shall not enter into details here, but content myself with examining the methods applied by Prakasar, continuing and amplifying what Dr. WICKREMASINGHE and J. DE LANEROLLE have said at the meeting itself. Rev. Father Gnana Prakasar may be an excellent connoisseur of the Dravidian languages, but I am sorry to state that he entirely lacks the necessary linguistic training for the difficult task he has attempted in his paper. He has no knowledge of the modern methods used now in what we may call comparative science of language, but has fallen back upon a practice given up in Europe more than a century ago. The etymologies he ventures to advance are not based on certain phonological rules, but merely

on the similarity of sounds, without consideration of chronological or historical difficulties. Wherever, for instance, he finds the consonant *l* (or *!*) in any word of any language which has the meaning 'shining, light' or something like that he connects it with Cen-Tamil *el*. It is obvious that with such a practice the most abstruse theory, even that of a primeval connexion with the Indo-Germanic language, can be demonstrated. I could quote dozens of examples from Prakasar's paper by which his absolute incompetency in linguistic questions are made manifest, but such sort of polemics is not to my taste and I hope that I shall not be compelled to make use of it. This would be unpleasant to me, and fruitless too. For I cannot expect that he will learn from my objections. We do not understand each other, since we are speaking, as it were, different languages.

What has been published on Sinhalese philology during the last fifty years, except of course by his friend W. F. Gunawardhana, is wholly unknown to Prakasar or he chooses to ignore it. He boldly says (p. 234) 'That the grammar and construction of Sinhalese have always remained Dravidian in the main, is admitted by all serious students of the present day.' He does not know that SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, in the Linguistic Survey of India, has acknowledged without any reservation that Sinhalese belongs to the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. He ignores that R. L. TURNER has done the same in his Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language, S. K. CHATTERJI in his Bengali Grammar and JULES BLOCH in his book "La formation de la langue Marathe." I should recommend Prakasar to read what BLOCH has said on p. 20-21 of his work. Do Grierson Turner, Chatterji and Bloch not rank among the 'serious students' in the Rev. Father's judgment?

Prakasar's practice is rather complex. Starting from the axiom that Sinhalese is a Dravidian language he lays down his personal opinion as an infallible dogma, neglecting the possibility of any objection. He shuts his eyes in the direction of the Aryan languages and does not see, therefore, the most palpable things. Even evident comparisons with

Aryan dialects are ignored or disdained by him and displaced by a Dravidian explanation at any cost, though it may often be very artificial or improbable, nay absurd. It is the chief error of Prakasar and his friends that they confound the general influence of Dravidian on all modern Aryan languages with the particular influence of Tamil on Sinhalese. The former is great and has never been denied by scientists, though nobody has said, on account of it, that Bengālī or Marāṭhī are essentially Dravidian. Of the twelve items on which W. F. Guṇawardhana's opinion of the Dravidian character of Sinhalese is based (quoted JRAS. C. B. No. 89, p.235-6) not less than nine are common to Sinhalese and all MIAVs or at least have analogies in some of them. They do not come into consideration for corroborating his theory. The foreign, mostly Dravidian, influence on the Aryan language began no doubt immediately after the advent into India of the first Aryan tribes and continued with varying intensity up to the present times. Numerous foreign loanwords were adopted already in the Vedic period and henceforth from century to century; they became Aryan property and developed according to the phonological rules of the Aryan language. Moreover, the general direction of the evolution of the Aryan dialects was delineated by that foreign influence and the result is manifest in their particular structure. Sinhalese shares with them this linguistic evolution.

The peculiar influence of Tamil on Sinhalese, on the other hand, appears to be comparatively insignificant, though not entirely wanting. If a judicious Dravidian scholar would show us this influence, we all should be thankful to him, but we shrink from mere imaginations.

SINHALESE AS AN ARYAN LANGUAGE.

In my view the Sinhalese language belongs to the Aryan group of Indian dialects and has descended through Pali-Prakrit from Old-Indian (Sanskrit). Its evolution proceeds on the same line as that of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars (MIAVs), such as Sindhī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Hindī, Bengālī &c.

It is a great advantage that we are able to trace the development of the language from the 2nd century B.C. The documents on which our knowledge is based are inscriptions and literary works. They are not equally abundant in the different periods and a gap between the 5th and 8th cc. is particularly regrettable because just at that time Sinhalese seems to have passed through its greatest changes as we see from the results observable in the 8th century.

We may distinguish five periods :

Period 1: Sinhalese Prakrit, 2nd c. B.C. to 4th c. A.C. Brāhmī inscs.

Period 2: Proto-Sinhalese, 5th c. to 8th c. Very few inscs.

Period 3: Mediaeval Sinhalese, 8th c. to 13th c. inscs. and from the 9th or 10th c. Literary works.

Period 4: Classical Sinhalese, 13th c. to 17th c. Chiefly literary works.

Period 5: Modern Sinhalese, 17th c. up to the present time. Literary works, newspapers and modern colloquial language.

The 'essential' parts of a language are altogether three. First and foremost stands the vocabulary: the bulk of nouns, verbs, pronouns, numerals, particles. Then comes the Grammar, i.e. the formation of the words as they are used in a sentence; and last what we may call the mode of expression: syntax, diction, style. This is the most variable portion of a language, variable according to the cultural level of the people, to the difference in profession and social position of those who speak it, often also to their individual taste or ability.

I hope to be able to show that in this threefold respect Sinhalese is in general accordance with the MIAVs. As an introduction to the linguistic arguments a few remarks may be offered concerning the ancient history of Ceylon and the first Aryan colonisation of the Island.

A. HISTORICAL REMARKS.

If we admit that there is a historical kernel in the Sinhalese tradition as it existed in Ceylon, already 1500 years ago, in the ancient chronicles *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*, we are perhaps allowed to state : 1) The first Aryan immigrants who arrived in Ceylon perhaps four centuries B.C. came from Northern India, either from Gujarat, as I believe, or from Bengal, as others think. — 2) They must have brought to Ceylon an archaic Prakritic dialect, similar to Pali or to the language of the Asoka inscriptions. — 3) Ceylon was at that time inhabited by a population of a different race, called *Yakkhā* by the Aryan immigrants. — 4) Inter-marriage with the aborigines and also with Dravidian women fetched from Southern India may have influenced the Aryans physically and perhaps also linguistically to some degree. — 5) Very soon after the first colonisation a lively intercourse began between Ceylon and the North Eastern provinces of India, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. — 6) Numerous immigrants of Aryan descent came to Ceylon and brought to the Island their dialects and the Buddhist creed. — 7) This was a strong support for the Aryan character of the Sinhalese and makes it comprehensible that their language became something like a mixture of various Aryan dialects. — 8) As this intercourse was apparently never interrupted we understand that the Sinhalese language, in spite of its geographical isolation, developed in the same way as the Aryan dialects of continental India, passing through an *Apabhraṃśa* stage (Proto-Sinhalese) to its modern form which it had attained, in the main, at the beginning of the 8th century. — 9) Dravidian influence never ceased in the course of the Sinhalese history, but we also learn from this history that the Sinhalese generally regarded the Dravidas, chiefly the *Colas*, as their racial foes and that they were always earnestly striving for the preservation of their own nationality.

It must be admitted that the historical arguments have but the weight of hypotheses. They are not based on facts but merely on the interpretation of chronicles which contain

valuable and perhaps trustworthy traditions, mixed with myths and legends, and which are composed not by judicious historians but by priestly poets. We must even keep in mind that immigrants sometimes give up their own language and adopt that of the people who inhabited the country occupied by them. This is the eventuality we have to assume, if Sinhalese would be proved to be a Dravidian language. Therefore, the linguistic arguments are decisive, and it gives me great satisfaction that I am in a position to show that in our case they are in full accordance with what we might conclude from the historical tradition.

B. LINGUISTIC ARGUMENTS.¹

I. **Phonology.** Sinhalese possesses on the whole the same sounds as Pali-Prakrit and the MIAVs. The peculiar Tamil sounds *r r t n* are lacking and the most important Tamil law, the hardening of soft initial consonants, has no value; probable exceptions are *kurūlu* bird = Sk. *garuḍa*, but Sinh. *guruḷu* as name of the mythical bird; and perhaps *kum̃buru* paddy field ? = Sk. *gambhīra*, but Sinh. *gāmburu* deep (§ 39.2). With P., Pk., and the MIAVs Sinhalese shares the loss of *ṛ, ṝ, ai, au*, the reduction of the three sibilants *ś, ṣ, s* to one, the dropping of final consonants, and the shortening of long final vowels and the dropping of short final vowels. New sounds that came up in the periods 2 and 3 are the umlaut vowel *ä* and the half nasals *ñ* (before *g ḍ d*) and *ṁ* (before *b*).

Peculiar phonological changes which came up in the periods 1-3 are 1) the de-aspiration of the aspirates, already in period 1, probably due to Tamil influence. The MIAVs possess the old aspirates, but in Kāśmīrī the aspiration of the voiced mutae has dropped (LSI VIII. 2, p. 259). — 2) All long vowels are shortened in per. 2. In per. 1 the shortening is only graphical (§ 8-11). Analogies occur prosodically in

1. The numbers in () refer to paras in my Grammar. The abbreviations are the same as in the Sinhalese Dictionary. A few slight differences are easily understood.

the Apabhraṃśa (JACOBI, Abh. Bay. Ak. d. W. XXXI. 2, p. 3) and are not infrequent in the MIAVs (§ 8, p. 15; GRIERSON, ZDMG XLIX, p. 413 sq.). Wherever a long vowel occurs in Sinhalese it is the resultant of the contraction of two or three vowels. — 3) By epenthesis and by the influence of the accent in per. 2 Sinhalese vocalism has become manifold: *ä, e, i* umlaut of *a, o, u* in heavy, assimilation of vowels in light, syllables, reduction (*a > i, u*) and elision of vowels before and after the accentuated syllable &c. (§§ 12-21, 22-30). By this Sinhalese is given one of its peculiar stamps among the MIAVs, though more or less sporadically the same changes can be observed even in them. Epenthesis with umlaut occur in Kāśmīrī and Lahndā. Cf. k. *gagur*^u rat: fem. *gag*^ü*r*^ü, and l. *vāhur* young bull: *vāhir* heifer (LSI VIII. 2, p. 269, VIII. 1, p. 250) with Sinh. *kukulu* cock: *kikili* hen. Cf. also bg. *lēhū* blood = Sinh. *lē, lehe* and pj. bg. *rēhū* a kind of fish = Sinh. *rē, rehe*, Sk. *lōhita, rōhita* (ZDMG XLIX, p. 409), &c. Reduction of *a* to *i* or *u* and elision of the vowel under the influence of the accent is also not infrequent in the MIAVs. Cf. pj. *pahir* a watch = Sk. *prāhara*, bg. *mugur* = Sk. *mudgara*, Sinh. *muguru*, hi. *bijlī* (others *bijulī*) lightning &c. (ZDMG. XLIX, p. 402, 403, 396). — 4) Single velar and dental mutae drop between vowels (§ 41). This is a process which begins in Middle-Indian. In the Prakrits generally *k, g, c, j, t, d* drop in such a position (Pischel, § 186). The hiatus is removed in Sinh. either by contraction or by inserting *y* or *v* or *h* (§ 42). But Guṇawardhana is wrong in assuming Dravidian influence in this case (JRAS. C.B. Nr. 89, p. 236.10). Sinhalese is the continuator of the Apabhraṃśa where those auxiliary consonants are frequently used in order to remove the hiatus (ABAW XXIX. 4, p. 25*, XXXI. 2, p. 5). In the MIAVs they occur sporadically. Cf. Sk. *śṛgāla* jackal, P. *sigāla*, Pk. *siāla*, or. *siala*, but h. bg. *siyāl*, g. *siyāl*, Sinh. *sival*. Where *k, g, t, d* are met with between vowels in Sinhalese they are remnants of a conjunct consonant. — 5) Conjunct consonants are simplified since per. 2. In per. 1 the simplification is merely graphical (§ 37, 40 sq.). There are many analogies in the Apabhraṃśa (ABAW XXIX. 4, p. 29*. § 16) and in the MIAVs. Sk. P. *kukkura* dog is *kukur* in bg. ass. as in

Sinh. and *kukar* in g. m. Where conjunct consonants occur in Sinhalese, a vowel has been elided between them, often with ensuing assimilation. An exceptional case is mentioned in 15. — 6) Middle-Indian pal. *c* (*ch*) becomes *s*; *j* (*jh*) becomes *d* (§ 43-47). Analogies of the former change occur in Marāṭhī and Assamese: Sk. *matsya* fish, P. Pk. *maccha* is h. bg. *māch*, but ass. *mās*, m. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*. In Oriyā *c*, *ch* are often pronounced *ts*, *tsh*, and in sub-dialects of Gujarātī the pronunciation *c*, *ch* sometimes alternates with *s* (LSI V. 2, p. 379, IX 2, p. 326, 330). The change *j* > *d* may be due to Tamil influence. In per. 3 the pronunciation of *d* and *j* must have been nearly the same, perhaps something like *dy*. We meet here even with *buḥ* = *buddha*. Difficult to explain is the change in some words of *c*, *ch* to *d* (§ 45). — 7) Single cerebrals *t* (*th*), *ḍ* (*ḍh*) become *ḷ* between vowels (§ 48-50). In P. Pk. the cerebrals also display more resistance than other mutae. The process *t*: *ḍ*: *ḷ* which is consistently carried out in Sinhalese, begins in P. with the change of *ḍ* to *ḷ*. In the MIAVs, *t*, *th* are generally represented by *ḍ* (*r*), *ḍh* (*rh*) and *ḍ*, *ḍh* by *r*, *rh*. Sk. *sphōṭa* tumor, P. *phōṭa*, Pk. *phōḍa* is pj. h. *phorā*, or *phori*, m. *phod*, but Sinh. *poḷa*; Sk. Pk. *biḍāla* cat is P. *biḷāra*, bg. *biḷāl*, but Sinh. *baḷal*. — 8) Cerebralisation, as in P. Pk. and in the MIAVs, of a dental by an adjoining *r*-sound occurs in some words (§ 52). Sinh. *mala* 'dead' corresponds to Sk. *mṛta*, Asoka inscs. Kālsī *maṭa*, but Girnar *mata*, si. *maṛhu*, g. *maḍū*, m. *maḍē*, or. bg. *maṛā*. — 9) Single Mutae of the labial class are well preserved between vowels, *p* being softened to *v* already in per. 1 and *b* (*bh*) not dropping as in Pk. (§ 55). Sinhalese, therefore, stands on the Prakritic stage concerning *p*, but is more archaic concerning *b*. Cf. Sk. *kṛpaṇa* poor, P. *kaṇaṇa*, Pk. *kivaṇa*, *kiviṇa*, M. *kivaṇ*, Sinh. *kavaṇa*; Sk. P. *alābu*, *lābu*, Pk. *alāu*, *lāu*, or. bg. ass. *lāu*, but Sinh. *labu*. — 10) The nasals *n* and *ṇ*, as also *l* (<*l*) and *ḷ* (<*l*, *ḍ*) are accurately distinguished in per. 3 and 4 (§ 56-59). Sinhalese is very consistent and has a decidedly archaic character. Confusion of *n*, *l* with *ṇ*, *ḷ* begins not before the end of the 16th c. Cf. Sk. *stana* female breast = P. *thana*, Sinh. *tana* (h. *than*), but Pk. *thaṇa*, si. *thaṇu*, pj. 1. *thaṇ*.

Sk. *ṛṇ*, *ny*, *ṇy*, *jñ* are represented by *n* as in Marāṭhī (BLOCH, LM § 135) and other MIAVs. Sk. *kaṇa* ear, Pk. P. *kaṇṇa*, ass. bg. *kāṇ*, but Sinh. *kan*, as si. *kanu*, g. m. *kān* &c. Sk. *kāṇa* blind in one eye is in Sinh. *kaṇa*. — 11) *l* sometimes alternates with *n* (§ 60). Colloquially *l* is frequently substituted for *n* and vice versa in Oṛiyā (LSI V. 2, p. 381¹). The same occurs in Bengālī and Eastern Hindī. Cf. GRIERSON, ZDMG L. p. 15, HOERNLE, Gaudian L., p. 34. The alternation of *r* : *l* needs no notice. It is common to all Indo-Aryan languages, old as well as modern. — 12) Internal *m* sometimes becomes (through *v*) *v* and vice versa. The change of *m* to *v* is frequent in the Apabhraṃśa (ABAW XXIX 4, p. 57*) and in the MIAVs, cf. GRIERSON, ZDMG. L. p. 16 and BLOCH, LM, § 152.3. — 13) In some words *ñḍ*, *ñd*, *ṁb* are substituted for *n*, *n*, *m* (§ 63). The same substitution of a nasalised soft muta for a simple nasal has already taken place in Middle Indian languages (WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gramm. § 157) and occurs in the MIAVs. Cf. Sk. *vānara* monkey = m. *vādar*, bg. h. nep. pj. *bādar*, Sinh. *vañduru*. — 14) At the end of a word sometimes *-um* stands for *-un* (§ 62.4) as in *pādum* eastern = P. *pācīna*. Here influence of Tamil can be assumed. Cf. LSI IV. p. 289. — 15) Nasals drop before an unvoiced consonant (§§ 64.1, 65). In Marāṭhī loss of the nasal before a consonant (de-nasalisation, BLOCH, LM § 71) is frequent. Cf. Sinh. *dat* tooth = Sk. *danta*, m. *dāt*; but *mas* flesh = *māṃsa*, m. *mās* (popular form of *mās*). A phonological peculiarity of Sinhalese is the change of the nasal before a voiced muta to a half-nasal and the rule that *ṅg*, *ṇḍḍ*, *ñdd*, *ṁbb* become *ṅg* (spelt *ṇg*), *ṇḍ*, *nd*, *mb* with full nasal (§§ 64.2, 65, 66). — 16) Sk. sibilant + nasal becomes nasal + *h* in P., Pk. Cf. *gimha* heat < Sk. *grīṣma*. In Sinh. the nasal alone remains (§ 70) : *gim*. An analogy is perhaps m. *masaṇ* cemetery, g. *masāṇ* = Sk. *śmaśāna*. — 17) Sinhalese bears an archaic character by the preservation of initial *y* which has been changed to *j* in all the MIAVs. Internal P. *y*, *yy* is also better preserved in Sinhalese than in the MIAVs (§ 77). With the Western and Southern languages Sinhalese shares the preservation of initial *v* (§ 78) which has become *b* in the Eastern group. — 18). The sibilant *s* (either < Sk. sibilant, or < *c*, *ch*) can be changed to *h*; *h* itself

(if < *s* or *h*, but not if < *c*, *ch*) can drop (§ 80-85). Thus we have the sequence *sē* : *hē* : *ē* bridge = Sk. *sētu*, and *sañda* : *hañda* moon = Sk. *candra*. In some MIAVs, as si. pj. (ZDMG. L, p. 17), the change of *s* to *h* is frequent, but not so consistent as in Sinhalese; it also occurs in sub-dialects of Bengālī (*hōnā* gold, LSI I. 2, p. 79) and Gujarātī (*hōnū* ib.)

We can see from the foregoing that there are analogies in all or at least in some MIAVs for nearly all the phonological rules that are valid in Sinhalese. The influence of Tamil is unimportant (No. 1, 14). By some rules (No. 2, 3, 5, 6) the dialectal peculiarity of Sinhalese among the Indo-Aryan languages is made manifest. In some points it has an archaic character (No. 10, 17); in other instances (No. 7, 18) it shows more consistency than most MIAVs.

II. Vocabulary.—That the bulk of Sinhalese words is Aryan, seems to be denied by nobody, not even by those who attribute to it an essentially Dravidian character. We must distinguish five groups of words: 1) the genuine Sinhalese words, 2) the loanwords from Sanskrit and Pali, 3) the Dravidian loanwords, 4) European loanwords from Portuguese, Dutch and English, 5) words of unknown origin and derivation, the etymological explanation of which has not been successful till now.

Group 1: The genuine Sinhalese words (*tadbhava*) alone must be taken into consideration if we want to describe the linguistic character of Sinhalese. The subject will be discussed below.

Group 2: Sanskrit and Pali loanwords (*tatsama*) are numerous in the mediaeval inscriptions and in the ancient and classical literature, where Tamil loanwords are very rare. This fact shows clearly enough that the educated Sinhalese themselves did their utmost to keep their language free from Non-Aryan elements and to maintain its connexion with the ancient Aryan language. The lws. taken from Sanskrit are much more numerous than those taken from

Pali. In different inscriptions and books the number of such lws. varies considerably. That depends upon fashion and upon the taste and erudition of the author and of the character of his composition. Sometimes the lws. are more or less adapted to the form the language had attained at the writer's time (*semi-tatsama*). Sk. lws. are not wanting in the colloquial language too.

Group 3: The Dravidian loanwords, chiefly taken from Tamil, are numerous in colloquial Sinhalese. In A. M. Guṇasēkara's Grammar approximately 400 lws. of that kind are enumerated. They are easily recognised as a foreign element and are by no means so characteristic of the Sinhalese language as Roman words of English.

Group 4: This group too is a foreign element in Sinhalese, exclusively belonging to the colloquial language. The number of Portuguese loanwords enumerated by Guṇasēkara is 231, of Dutch words 112, of English words 76.

Group 5: There are, in this group, probably also Aryan words which are not recognised as such at the present time, but will be explained, we hope, in the future. Tamil loanwords which have changed their form in the course of time by accommodation to the Sinhalese language (Tamil *semi-tatsamas*) may also belong to the group. It would be a really much more commendable work if a Tamil scholar would examine the 'unexplained' words in the Sinhalese vocabulary and find out such hidden treasures than the fruitless and never provable fancies of a primeval connexion of Dravidian with the Indo-Germanic language. Finally, group 5 may contain words which were borrowed by the Aryan immigrants from the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon. It is, for instance, quite intelligible that for trees or animals not existing in their former home and first seen by them in the Island they adopted the words used by the aborigines. Nobody can say, of course, whether we ever shall be able to etymologise such words.

I revert to the *g e n u i n e* part of the Sinhalese vocabulary. The number of words belonging to this group is very great, but more important than the number is the fact that we are able to trace their evolution through the various periods of the language with the help of certain phonetic rules which are based on a considerable number of indubitable examples. It is true, there are sometimes gaps in the sequence, but we generally can fill them up with the aid of the same phonetic rules. I shall quote an example following Dr. PARANAVITANA in EpZ III, p. 183. He has shown that Sinh. *yāla* cart-load derives from Sk. *śakaṭa* cart. The most ancient form we know of the word is *hakada* (4th c.), next comes *yahada*, occurring in an insc. of the 5th or 6th c. (period 2). We must suppose that this is a metathesis (§ 88.2) of **hayada*. This is an interesting form. We learn from it chronologically that the rules Nos. 4 and 18 were already valid at that time, but the change of *ṭ* to *ḷ* (No. 7) had not yet come to an end, *ḷ* being the intermediate stage between *ṭ* and *ḷ*. The form *yahaḷa* occurs in an insc. of the 10th c. and is finally contracted to *yāla*.

It is not necessary to quote more genuine words from the mass of substantives, adjectives and verbs. There are examples enough in my Sinhalese Etymology. Here I shall confine myself to *p r o n o u n s* and *n u m e r a l s* which are always ascribed to the most ancient portion of a language. In Sinhalese they are of purely Aryan origin.

1) The stems for the *p e r s o n a l p r o n o u n* sing. are in all Indo-Germanic languages *ma-* for the first, *tu-* for the second person, while they are the same in the Indo-Aryan languages and in Sinhalese (§ 128; cf. J. BLOCH, Indo-Aryan, p. 189 sq.). For the nom. sg. of the 1st per. Indo-Germanic has the peculiar form **eghom* (Sk. *aham*, Greek *egōn* &c.). This is given up in Sinhalese as also in most of the MIAVs and replaced by a form of the *ma-* stem. In g. a derivate of *aham* is preserved and optionally in si. (*āñ*, *ā* or *mā*, *mū*) and pj. (*hañ*, obsolete, or. *mañ*).

In the MIAVs, as in Sinh., there is a nom. and an obl. case in both numbers. The forms in sg. are as follows:

		hi.	g.	bg.	Sinh.
1.	nom.	<i>maī</i>	<i>hū</i>	<i>mui</i>	<i>mama</i>
	c. obl.	<i>mō</i>	<i>mī</i> (ag.)	<i>mō</i>	<i>mā</i>
2.	nom.	<i>tuī</i>	<i>tū</i>	<i>tui</i>	<i>tō</i>
	c. obl.	<i>tō</i>	<i>tē</i>	<i>tō</i>	<i>tā</i>

Sinh. *mama* is clearly = Sk. P. Pk. gen. *mama* which must remain unaltered in accordance with the rules of accentuation (*māmā*). The pl. *api* we (c. obl. *apa*) and *topi* you (c.obl. *topa*) are new formations in Sinhalese but of Aryan descent. They seem to correspond to *aphē*, *tuphē* (= *apphē*, *tupphē*) &c. in the Dhau and Jau inscriptions of Asoka.

The pron. interrog. is formed, as in all Aryan dialects, from the oldest period up to the modern times, from the stems *ka-*, *ki-* (§ 132). Similarly the demonstrative pronouns are formed in Sinhalese (§ 130), as in the MIAVs, from the stems *i* and *u* (Sk. *i* in *ay-am*, *id-am*; *u* in ved. *av-ós*): Sinh. *ē* (*hē*): *ū* = si. *hī* (*hē*): *hū* (*hō*), l. *e*, *o*, bg. *ē*: *ō*, Eastern h. (av.) *i*: *ū*. In Sinh. these stems may be combined with the demonstr. st. *im-* (Sk. *im-am* &c.): *mē*: *mū* (§ 131). As all these pronominal stems are of Aryan origin we can assume the same for the new st. *ara* (= lat. *ille*). I derive it from Sk. *ārā*. in *ārāt* (= P. *ārā*) *ārē* far off.

Relative sentences, as in Sk. and P., do not occur in Sinhalese. This can perhaps be ascribed to Tamil influence (JRAS. No. 89, p. 235, 7). But the Aryan character of the language is by no means affected by that loss, for the relative sentence is displaced by a compound construction (§ 133) which is also in common use in Sk. and P. We can say in P. *yaṃ kathēsiṃ vacanaṃ* 'the word I spoke' or more frequently *mayā kathita-vacanaṃ* 'the word spoken by me'. This is also the Sinhalese construction *mā visin kī vacanaya* or *mā kī vō*.

2) As to the numerals I have shown (§ 123) that they are all purely Aryan. Cf. LSI I. 2, p. 3 sq. Even the ancient

word for 'thousand' Sk. *sahasra* is preserved in Sinhalese *dahas*, *dās*. The initial *d* is, for the sake of dissimilation, taken from *das* ten. In the MIAVs this numeral is generally replaced by the Pers. *hazār*.

It is noticeable that for each of the numerals 11, 12, 13, 15 and 18 Sinhalese has two forms: The older forms *era*, *bara*, *tera*, *paṇara* and *aṭara*, which are now obsolete, correspond to those used in the MIAVs. Cf., e.g., Sinh. *tera* 13 = si. *terāhā*, h. *terah*, m. *terā*, pj. *terā*, ass. bg. or. g. *tera*. The other forms *ekoḷos* 11, *doḷos* 12 &c. are derivatives of Sk. *ekādaśa*, *dvādaśa* &c., P. *ekādasa*, *dvādasa*. Dialectal mixture in Sinhalese is made manifest by this fact.

III. **Grammatical inflexion.** A) Nouns, substantives and adjectives. General remarks: As to the gender of the substantives Sinhalese distinguishes animate beings and inanimate objects; the first can be male or female. The language has therefore preserved the three genders. It shares this with Gujarātī and Marāṭhī and forms in this respect, as J. BLOCH, LM, § 180 says, a connected South-Western group among the MIAVs. In Oṛiyā and Bengālī animate beings and inanimate objects are distinguished as in Sinhalese, but the masculine and feminine genders have disappeared, in Hindī the neuter. In the Sinhalese inflexion, forms of masc. and fem. nouns are similar one to the other and are clearly distinguished from the neutral declension (§ 93).

One has compared the Sinhalese with the Dravidian system. But there is a remarkable difference. "Dravidian nouns are divided into two classes, which Tamil grammarians denote by the terms high-caste and casteless. The former includes such nouns as denote beings endowed with reason, the latter all other nouns" (LSI IV, p. 289). In Dravidian languages animals such as dogs, cats, mice can be included in the second class. In Sinhalese nouns of that kind never have the neuter gender.

The adjectives, both attributive and predicative, are uninflected in Sinhalese. The flexibility of the adjectives

gradually disappears also in the MIAVs. In Hindōstānī and Marāṭhī only those in *-ā* are inflected: in Oṛiyā and Bengālī the formation of a feminine form has gone out of use (LSI IX. 1, p. 57; VII, p. 25; V. 2, p. 380; V. 1, p. 34). We must, however, notice that in Sinhalese each adj. can be made a substantive by affixing the terminations of the three genders (§ 120). The comparison of the adjective is the same as in all MIAVs (§ 121). It may be sufficient to compare the Hindōstānī (Delhi) sentence *us-kā bhāi us-kī bahin-sē zīyādā lambā hai* his brother is taller than his sister (LSI IX.1, p. 602) with Sinhalese *ohu-gē sohojurā ohu-gē sohogurī-ṭa vadā usa-yi*.

The inflexion of the substantives is in the main features homogeneous in Sinhalese and in the MIAVs, though in details the formations may be of their own kind in the single dialects. 1) Sinhalese and the MIAVs possess a direct case (nom.) and an oblique case in Sing. and Plur.—2) Other old cases are preserved as more or less sporadic remnants in some of those dialects.—3) New cases are formed by affixing postpositions to the obl. case in all those dialects.

Ad 1: The Sing. dir. c. has in Sinhalese the termination *-ā* in the masc., *-ī* in the fem. and *-a* in the neutr. declension. Among the MIAVs l. m. h. pj. have also *-ā* which is derived from Pk. *-ayō* (J. BLOCH, LM § 191.1). But the Sinh. *-ā* seems to be a transfer of the obl. c. to the nom. c., for we have in per. 1 *pute* (cf. Mg. Pk. *-e*), later *puti*, then *put* in per. 2 and per. 3, often also in books, and *putā* from the 10th c. onwards (§ 95.1).—The fem. *-ī* (<*-ikā*) corresponds to *-ī* in r. g. m. h. pj. (§ 101.1).—The neutr. *-a* is a remnant of Sk. *-am*, P. Pk. *-aṃ*. In Sinh. *-a* could be preserved in a certain group of words (§ 91.2 *pālā* < *phalaṃ*) and was extended to all neutral nouns. The formation is the same as in the MIAVs: l. m. h. *ghar*, or. *ghara*.

The Sing. obl. c. ends in *-ā* in the masc., in *-iya* in the fem. decl. The former is a contraction of *-aha* (<

Māg. Pk. *-āha*, P. *-assa*) and frequently occurs in inscs. of per. 1 and per. 2. MIAVs have also *-ā* (g.r.m.h.), but this termination corresponds to that of the old dat. *-āya* (J. BLOCH, a.a.O.). — The fem. *-iyya*, (< *-yai*) contracted *-ī*, is = g.r.m.h. *-ī*.

The Plur. dir. c. ends in *-ahu* (with elision of *a* : *'hu*) or in *-ō* in the masc. and *-iyō* in the fem. decl. The masc. *-ō* is contracted from *-ahu* (§ 98). I believe that *-ahu* is = Sk. *-āsas*, AMg Pk. *-āō*. The termination *-ō* also occurs in g.: *bāpō* of *bāp* father, *bālakō* of *bālak* child. — The fem. termination *-iyō* (cf. *kikīliyō*) corresponds to g. *-iō*: *chōk^arīō* of *chōk^arī* girl.

The Plur. obl. c. has the termination *-an*, *-un* in the masc. and *-iyan* in the fem. decl. (§ 100). This *-an* is remnant of Sk. *-ānām*, P. *-ānaṃ*, Pk. *-āṇa(ṃ)*, and *-iyan* of Pk. *-iyāṇa(ṃ)*. Corresponding forms are widespread in the MIAVs. Cf. r. m. pj. l. *-ā*, and fem. r. m. *-yā*, l. *-iā*, pj. *īā*, *-ī*, and h. *-iyan*, *-in* (BLOCH, IA, p. 176).

Ad 2. What I have said in ad 1 mostly refers to the inflexion of nouns denoting animate beings. In the neutral declension Sinhalese has preserved two old case-forms and bears a decidedly archaic character. The Sing. instr. ends in *-en*, *-in* = Sk. P. *-ēna*, Pk. *-eṇa* (§ 107.2). Traces of the same case exist in ancient Gujarātī and ancient Marāṭhī. Again the three languages form a peculiar South-West-group. In g. the termination was *-ī*, *ī* in m. *-ē* (J. BLOCH, LM, § 193). The instr. c. in Sinh. has taken up at the same time the function of the abl. c., as *vice versa* in Latin the abl. c. that of the instr. c. — The Sing. loc. ends either in *-a*, more ancient *-ā*, or in *-ehi* contracted to *-ē* (§ 107.3). The former termination corresponds, I think, to Sk. P. Pk. *-ē* and J. BLOCH (§ 194) compares with it old m. *-ī*. The termination *-ehi* I take as a remnant of Sk. P. Pk. *-asi* which first became *-ahi* and then by unlaut *-ehi*. It could remain unaltered owing to the peculiar character of *h*. It is tempting to compare the locatives old maithili *-ahi*, *-ahim* (GRIERSON, Introd. to

the maith. dial. § 78, quoted by BLOCH, p. 193) and bg. *-ē* in *gāchē* &c., also g.- *ē* (*-āē*, *-īē*).

In Sinh. the stem form is used as Plur. dir. c. of the neutral declension, apparently with a collective meaning : *ata* the hand, *at* the hands. But if the st. f. is identical with the Sing. dir. c., the word *-val* is affixed to it in Plur : *nuvara* the town (also st. f.), *nuvara-val* the towns. Obviously this *val* has the meaning 'multitude' or the like, and since its older form is *var*, we may derive it from Sk. *vāra* (§ 111). Similar paraphrastic formations occur in Bengālī and in Oṛiyā. In b. *-sakal* (Sk. *sakala* all) is used in the same manner as *-val* in Sinh. Cf. *gāch* the tree, *gāch-sakal* the trees ; in oṛ. *-sakaḷa* or *-sabu* (Pk. *sabba*, Sk. *sarva*) : *ghara* the house, *ghara-sakaḷa* (or *gh°-sabu*) the houses. In oṛ. even to nouns denoting animate beings such a noun of multitude is affixed in plur : *puruṣa* the man, *puruṣa-mānī* the men (LSI. V. 1, p. 34, V 2, p. 380). The plur. instr., abl., dat. and loc. cases are paraphrased in Sinh. in the declension of all neutral nouns : *at-valin*, *nuvara-valin* from the hands (towns), *at-valaḷa*, *nuvara-valaḷa* to the hands (towns), *at-vala*, *nuvara-vala* in the hands (towns).

Ad 3 : The use of postpositions is common to all MIAVs. It begins already in the Apabramśa. We must, however, notice that, though the tendency is the same in all dialects, yet the words used for the purpose are different (ALSDORF, ZDMG XCI, p. 442). In Sinh. the postpositions *-gē*, *-gen*, *-kerehi* are used for the gen., abl., loc. cases respectively in the declension of nouns denoting animate beings, and *-ta* (*-aṭa*) for the dat. c. in all declensions (§ 112). It is most probable that *-gē*, *-gen* are derived from *gēhē*, *gēhēna* in (from) the house of. The postp. *-kerehi* is more difficult to explain. But it is quite inconceivable how one can doubt that *-ta*, *-aṭa* correspond to MInd. *-atṭham*, *aṭṭhāya*. Already in the Brāhmī inscs. we meet with *sagahaṭa-ya*, *sagaha-aṭa-ya*, *sagahaṭa* (Ed. MÜLLER, AIC. p. 73, No. 5⁴; EpZ I 211⁵⁶, III 178¹⁶) = **saṅghassaṭṭhāya*, **saṅghassa aṭṭhāya*. **saṅghassaṭṭham* as clear dative forms, and we are

able to trace the evolution of this dative case in inscs. and literature up to the modern form *sagaṭa* (§112). In pl. the phrase **thērāṇaṃ aṭṭhāya* (-aṇ), **thērān' aṭṭh°* has in the same manner developed to *terun'aṭa*, *terun-ṭa*.

As postposition for the instr. *visin* (P. *vasēna*) is optionally used in the masc. and fem. declensions.

B. Verbs. General remarks: There are three conjugations in Sinhalese with the stem vowels *a*, *i*, *e* (inf. -*anu*, -*inu*, -*enu*, §§ 141-3). They are all derived from the old verbal stem in *a*. The conj. 2 has branched off from conj. 1 for phonological reasons. The *a*-vowel has originally dropped and at a later time (in or shortly before per. 3) an auxiliary vowel *i* was inserted. The sequel is Sk. *rakṣaṇa* > Pk. *rakkhaṇa* > Old Sinh. *raknu* > *rakinu*. One is tempted to trace the two conjugations back to the types **lābānu* = Sk. *labhana* and **rākana* = *rakṣaṇa* (§§ 24, 29), but in this case we must assume an early confusion of the two formations. The old causatives in -*aya*- (Sk.), -*ē*- (P. Pk.) are inserted in conj. 1. Cf. *maranu* to kill = Sk. *mārayati*, P. *mārēti*, in the MIAVs. si. *māraṇu*, m. *mārṇē*, pj. *mārṇā*. Conj. 3 -*enu* (intrans. and pass.) is a derivation from verb stems in *iya* and *āya*. Cf. *ālenu* to adhere = P. *alliyati*, *nivenu* to be extinguished = P. *nibbāyati*. The scope of this conj. has immensely expanded since period 3. The verb *denu* to give = P. *dēti* and *venu* to become = P. *hōti* are inserted in this class.

The verbal system of Sinhalese is, in the main, the same as that of the MIAVs. It is the resultant of a process of simplification which has begun in the Old-Indian era and continued in the Middle-Indian period. In some respects it has surpassed the MIAVs in simplification. New formations are not numerous and are all built up on an Aryan basis. 1) Sinhalese has, in accordance with the MIAVs, as 'radical tense' preserved the present with the imperative.— 2) The other tenses are formed with the help of participles either present or preterite.— 3) The nominal forms, derived

from the verbal stem : participles, gerund, infinitive, are generally corresponding to those of the MIAVs. — 4) The formation of the causative stem is in accordance with that of the modern Aryan dialects, the old *ya-* passive is displaced, as in most of them, by a paraphrastic formation.

Ad 1: The Sinh. present has still its old meaning, while the corresponding forms in the MIAVs are generally used as subjunctives. The personal suffixes (§ 144) are decidedly archaic and closely connected with the old auxiliary verb *ahmi*, *ahi* &c.

It may be sufficient to compare the Sinh. present inflexion (§ 145) with that of Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Bengālī and Hindī :

	Sg. 1	Sg. 2	Sg. 3
Sinh.	Maram(i)	Marahi(-yi)	Marā(-ayi)
g.	<i>mārũ</i>	<i>mārē</i>	<i>mārē</i>
m.	<i>mārĩ</i>	<i>mārīs</i>	<i>mārī</i>
bg.	<i>māri</i>	<i>māra (-ris)</i>	<i>mārē</i>
h.	<i>mārũ</i>	<i>mārē</i>	<i>mārē</i>

	Pl. 1	Pl. 2	Pl. 3
Sinh.	Maramu(-mha)	Maravu(-hu)	Marat(i)
g.	<i>mārĩē</i>	<i>mārō</i>	<i>mārē</i>
m.	<i>mārũ</i>	<i>mārũ</i>	<i>mārīt</i>
bg.	<i>māri</i>	<i>māra</i>	<i>māren</i>
h.	<i>mārē</i>	<i>mārō</i>	<i>mārē</i>

In conj. 2 we have Sinh. *badim(i)* : *badihī(-yi)* : *badī(-iyi)* &c. (v. *badinu* to fry) and in conj. 3 *ālem(i)* : *ālehī(-yi)* : *ālē(-eyi)* &c. (v. *ālenu* to adhere).

As a second ‘ radical tense ’ a group of the MIAVs has preserved the old *s-* future (l. *marēsā*, g. r. *mārīs* I shall beat = P. *māressāmi*). It has disappeared in Sinhalese as well as in most Aryan dialects of India. In some of the latter a new formation, made with a *b-*suffix, is used as future tense.

The formation of the imperative (§ 150) in Sinh. is also the same as in the MIAVs. The 2nd p. Sg. is the pure verbal stem. Cf. Sinh. *mara* kill, pl. *marav* with pj. g. *mār : mārō*, m. *mār : mārā*, h. *mār : mārāu*. In conj. 2, 3 *baḍu : baḍiv*, *āliya : āliyav* (§ 150). To the 2nd p. Sg. *-va*, older *-ga*, can be affixed in the three conjugations. I cannot explain this syllable (? particle).

Ad 2: A participial tense is formed a) with the present participle. There is a difference between Sinh. and the MIAVs. The pprs. of the former ends in *-ana*, *-ina*, *-ena*, inflected *-annā* < *-anuvā* &c. (§ 137), and derives from the Sk. pprs. in *-āna(ka)*. It occurs already in per. 1 of Sinh. *vasanaka* (spelt for *vasānaka*) 'dwelling' in a Brāhmī insc. of the 4th c. A.C., EpZ III, p. 177². Cf. H. SMITH in BLOCH, IA, p. 260. Among the modern Aryan languages in India the Dardic dialects alone possess a pprs. in *-an*, *-ān*. The other MIAVs have forms derived from the P. Pk. pprs. in *-anta* (BLOCH, LM, § 255). In Sinh., to the inflected pprs. the same terminations as in the present are affixed: *marannem(i)*, *badinnem(i)*, *ālennem(i)* (§ 149). The tense was primarily a habitual present, exactly corresponding to Eng. *I am beating*. But afterwards it is used as future. In the 3rd persons the participle stands alone as an adjective; the copula must be supplied: Sg. *-nnē*, Pl. *°nnō*.

Analogous forms, pprs. + v. aux., are frequent in the MIAVs. They are called 'present definite' in the LSI. Nearest to Sinh. are those forms where by contraction the v. aux. has coalesced with the participle. I shall compare here Lahndā (Multān dial.), and Marāṭhī (Poona dial.) with Sinhalese:

	Sg. 1	Sg. 2	Sg. 3
Sinh.	Marannem	Marannehi	Marannē
l. (m.)	<i>marēnnā</i>	<i>marennē</i>	<i>marēnnē</i>
m. (p.)	<i>mār^atō</i>	<i>mār^atōs</i>	<i>mār^atō</i>

	Pl. 1	Pl. 2	Pl. 3
Sinh.	Marannemu	Marannāhu	Marannō
l. (m.)	<i>marēnneā</i>	<i>marēnneō</i>	<i>marēnnen</i>
m. (p.)	<i>mār^atō</i>	<i>mār^atā</i>	<i>mār^atāt</i>

Bg. *māritām*, -tē, -ta ; -tām, -tē, -ten which has the meaning 'I used to beat' seems to belong to the same formation. In other dialects the v. aux. is separated from the participle, as in h. *mār^atā hū* 'I am beating,' pl. *mār^atē haī*, or its forms are put behind those of the present, as in g. *mārū chū*, *mārē chē* &c.

b) Preterite tenses are formed with the help of the preterite participle. In Sinh. the pppt. ends in -u (conj. 1) or -i (conj. 2) ; both forms are derived from the pppt. in P. -ita, Pk. -ia, -ida (§ 138). Derivatives of the same pppt. occur in several MIAVs. Cf. *māru* beaten, inflected *māruvā*, with si. r. g. *māryō* or -rō, l. *māreā*, h. *mārā*. Ass. b. bg. or. m. have a different formation with a *l*-suffix (BLOCH, IA., p. 270). In conj. 3 of Sinh. the pppt. ends in -uṇu. This form is of comparatively late origin. It did not come into use before per. 3 and often alternates with that in -i in the archaic literature. By the comparison of P. *allīyati* : *allīna* with *ālenu* : *ālunū* one is tempted to derive -ṇu from the Sk. suff. -na, but this is made improbable by the historical spelling with ṇ.

In order to form the preterite tense the same terminations as in the 'future' tense can be added either a) to the inflected form of the pppt. or b) to its stem form (§§ 146-8). There is no differentiation between transitive and intransitive verbs. In conj. 2 the *i* is elided, if the preceding consonant can be doubled by assimilation with the ensuing *y*. In the 3rd person sg. and pl. the copula must again be supplied.

Conj. 1. Sg. 1 a)	<i>māruvem</i>	b)	<i>mārīm</i>
3	<i>māruvē, -vā</i>		<i>mārī</i>
Pl. 3	<i>māruvō, (-vāha)</i>		<i>mārūha</i>

Conj. 2. Sg. 1 a) *rākkem* (<*rākiyem*) b) *rākīm*

Without assimilation *hiṭiyem* I stood *hiṭīm*

Conj. 3. Sg. 1 a) *ālunem* b) *ālīm*

The Sinh. preterite has a decidedly archaic character. It is the direct continuation of a construction which occurs in Pali. Here the pprt. in *-ta* is by no means exclusively passive, but can also be used in active meaning: *puṭṭha* means 'one who has been asked' or 'one who has asked' (V. HENRY, *Précis de Grammaire Pâlie*, p. 109). Examples: *pattō 'si nibbānam* thou hast attained the Nirvana (Dhp 134, see also D I.37⁴) and in a text which is composed in Ceylon: *saṃgahaṃ tatiyaṃ katō* he held (the copula must be supplied) the third council, Dīp 7. 40. In the oldest period of the Sinh. language, in the Prakrit of the Brāhmī inscs., we meet with *niyate*, *dine*, *dini* in active meaning 'he has granted or given' (AIC No. 1, GEIGER, *Festschrift für Winternitz*, p. 320; EpZ. I, p. 62⁴, 148 b, 69², III, p. 116^{6,7}, 155, 165⁴, 166⁴, 250⁴). These forms are the bridge which leads from the Pre-Prakritic period through the Proto-Sinhalese time to the classical form of the language.

In the MIAVs the formation of the pret. of *I n t r a n s i t i v e* verbs is on principle identical with that in Sinhalese: pprt.+personal suffixes or v. aux. (the pron. pers. I, thou &c. is preceding); the third persons are the pprt. in adjective form sg. and pl., the copula being supplied. Thus, for instance, 1. *gēā* 'I have gone' is in accordance with Sinh. *giyem*, P. *gatō 'mhi* and *āeā* I have come with Sinh. *āvem(i)*, P. *āgatō 'mhi*, LSI VIII. 1, p. 267).

Cf. also m.	Sg. 1. <i>gēlō</i>	2. <i>gēlās</i>	3. <i>gēlā</i>
	Pl. 1. <i>gēlō</i>	2. <i>gēlā</i>	3. <i>gēlē</i>
bg.	Sg. 1. <i>gelām</i>	2. <i>gelī</i>	3. <i>gela</i>
	Pl. 1. <i>gelām</i>	2. <i>gele</i>	3. <i>gela</i>

(LSI VII, p. 407, V. 1, p. 384) and in the Tināulī sub-dialect of Lahndā (LSI VIII, 1, p. 583):

l. (t.) Sg.	1. <i>giă</i>	2. <i>giă</i>	3. <i>giă</i>
Pl.	1. <i>geă</i>	2. <i>geō</i>	3. <i>gai</i>
Sinh. Sg.	1. <i>giyem</i>	2. <i>giyehi</i>	3. <i>giyā</i>
Pl.	1. <i>giyemu</i>	2. <i>giyāhu</i>	3. <i>giyō</i>

In some Indian dialects the copula must be supplied in the 1st and 2nd persons also, and merely the sg. and pl. forms of the pp^{rt}. are distinguished. Thus g. *hũ gayō* I went, pl. *amē gayā* (LSI IX. 2, p. 474) and in pj. *mai giă*, *asī gaē* (ib. IX. 1, p. 820). There are also p^{rt}. forms in some dialects in which the v. aux. is separately added to the pp^{rt}., thus in g. *hũ gayō chũ*, *am⁷ gayā chīē* lit. 'I gone am, we gone are.' (ib. IX. 2, p. 342).

But the preterite of Transitive verbs is differently formed in the Western group of the MIAVs. Here the construction is passive. Instead of 'I killed him' one says 'he has been killed by me,' or even impersonally 'by me with reference to him it was killed' (LSI IX. 1, p. 51). In the Eastern group, however, the construction is now active as in Sinhalese. The Bengālī sentence *āmi* (sg. nom.: I) *tāhā-kē* (sg. acc.: him) *mārilām* (p^{rt}. sg. 1, cf. above *gelām*) 'I was beating him' (LSI V. 1, p. 9) exactly corresponds to the Sinh. sentence *mama ohu māruvem*.

Ad 3: The formation of the p^{prs}. and pp^{rt}. has been discussed above. I may only add that the 'historical' forms of the pp^{rt}. mentioned in § 138d have their counterparts in the MIAVs. Cf. Sinh. *duṭṭu* seen (Sk. *dr̥ṣṭa*) with si. *ḍiṭho*, g. *ḍiṭhū*; *naṭa* ruined (Sk. *naṣṭa*) with m. *nāṭhā*, h. *nāṭh*; *sun* broken (Sk. *chinna*) with si. *chino*, m. *śinā*; *giya* gone (Sk. *gata*) with h. *gayā*, pj. 1. *geă*, g. *gayū*. The part. fut. pass. (Sk. *-tavya*) has disappeared in Sinhalese, but the gerund (or absolutive) is in frequent use. There are two gerunds: I. present gerund, II. preterite gerund. The former is peculiar to the Sinh. language, but its Aryan origin is indubitable. It ends in *-min* (conj. 1: *maramin*, 2: *rakimin*, 3: *ālemin*) and is obviously the sg. instr. of a verbal noun in *-ma* (§ 156). The form in *-in*

is alone preserved in the declension of that verb. noun, but the nouns ending in *-īma*, *-uma* which are no doubt related to it are flexible. — The preterite gerund ends in *-ā* in conj. 1, in *-a* in conj. 2, and in *-ī* in conj. 3 : *marā*, *rāka*, (older *rākā*), *ālī* (§ 157). The *-ā* of conj. 1 can easily be derived through the older *-ay* (in per. 2 and per. 3) and *-aya* (in per. 1) from Middle-Ind. *-āya* (P. *ādāya*, but also *gahāya* alternating with *gayha*). The form in *-a* (older *-ā*) of conj. 2 becomes perhaps intelligible, if we compare *ipādā* having been born (v. *upadīnu*) with P. *uppajja*, Sk. *utpadya*. In a similar manner we can also derive *rāka* from **-rakkha* = Sk. *-raksya*; *māḍa* having trampled from **-maḍḍa* = Sk. *-mṛdya*. The ger. of conj. 3 is again a later form ; the older *pāmiṇa* 'having arrived' = conj. 2 (v. *pāmiṇenu*) for *pāmiṇī* occurs still in the 12th century.

The gerund forms in Sk. *-tvā*, P. *-tvā*, *-tūna*, Pk. *-tūṇa*, *-ittu* have no derivatives in Sinh. except perhaps *koṭa* having made. It is also difficult to compare the Sinhalese gerund with the various forms of the MIAVs., most in *-ī* (si. l. g.) or *-i* (pj.), si. also in *-ē*, *-yō*, *-yū*, in bg. in *-iyū*. They must, I think, be connected with the Pk. forms in *-iyūṇa*, Apabhramsa in *-ivi*, *-avi*, *-evi*. But none of them can be so clearly traced back to the Old-Indian prototype as the Sinh. gerunds in *-ā*.

The formation of the infinitive requires only a short notice (§ 159). All forms occurring in Sinhalese are derived from the verbal noun Sk. in *-ana*. The same is the case in the MIAVs. Cf. BLOCH, IA p. 283, LM § 265.

Ad 4: Finally, a few words on **P a s s i v e** and **C a u s a t i v e**. a) The sign of **P a s s i v e** is *ya* in Sk., *ya*, *iya*, *īya* in P., *jja* in Pk., but *yya* in Pāṣācī. It is preserved in a few MIAVs : si. *ij*, *j*, r. *ij*. In Sinh. this formation has been eliminated and replaced by a periphrastic one : inf. + v. *labanu* to get (§ 155). One says *gasanu labam* 'I get beating,' *gasanu labuven* 'I got beating' instead of 'I am (was) beaten.' That would be in P. *ghaṃsanam labhāmi* (*laddhō*

'*nhi*). The construction is Aryan. If we admit a foreign influence, it would merely concern the tendency. The same tendency is met with in the MIAVs. In g. bg. h. pj. the passive voice is paraphrased by the pp^{rt}.+v. *yā* to go. Cf. h. *maī mārā jātū hū* I am beaten, *maī mārā gayā* I was beaten. —b) The sign of Causative is *va*, *ava* in Sinh. This is no doubt the *paya*, *āpaya*, *āpē* of P., *vē*, *āvē* of Pk. Cf. Sinh. *maravam* I cause to kill = P. *mārāpēmi* (§ 153). The same formation is that of the MIAVs: g. *āv*, m. *av*, *āv*, h. *vā*, pj. *vāu* (si. l. or bg. *ā*). Cf. m. *baṣṇē* to sit: *baṣ^aviṇē* to cause to sit. Cf. Sinh. *vasinu*: *vasvanu*. Double causatives which are frequent in Sinh. (§ 153 D) also occur in the MIAVs. Cf. Braj Bhākā dial., LSI IX. 1, p. 81: *cal^anaū* to go, caus. *calāv^anaū*, d.c. *cal^avāv^anaū*.

The comparison of the Sinhalese nominal and verbal system with that of the MIAVs makes its Aryan character manifest. This character is not altered by some discrepancies in details nor by the fact that a few formations in Sinhalese have not yet satisfactorily been explained. I mention the conditional mood (§ 152) and in the colloquial language the forms in *-anavā*, *-inavā*, *-enavū* for all persons in the present tense and the future forms sg. 1 and pl. 1 in *-ññā*, *-ññamu* (§ 160). The formation of the optative *maram-vā*, *marahi-vā* &c. (§ 151) is no doubt strange, but certainly made with Aryan elements. We are perhaps allowed to quote as analogous formation, extrinsically only, the past conditional in Lahndā: *mārā-hā*, *mārē-hā*, *mārē-hā* &c. (LSI VIII. 1, p. 307).

But I must add here a short remark which would have its proper place rather in the chapter on the Sinhalese Vocabulary. W. F. Gunawardhana (quoted JRAS.CB. No. 89, p. 236) says: 'In Tamil, there are two verbs *pōḍu* 'to put' and *viḍu* 'to leave off,' which are affixed to other verbs just for the sake of vivid expression, the substantive verb, in this case, being put in the perfect participle. There is no such idiom in any known Aryan language. But the idiom obtains in Sinhalese.' I was really astonished when

I read this statement. Did not the learned Mudaliyar know that the formation of such composite verbs (substantive verb in a st. form + inflected verb of more general meaning) are one of the most characteristic features of all MIAVs. I refer to GRIERSON, Maithilī Grammar, p. 290 sq., and to CHATTERJI, Bengālī Language, p. 1049 sq. Cf. also ALSDORF, ZDMG XCI, p. 445-6. Such formations are due to Dravidian influence, as CHATTERJI has shown, but it was the Mudaliyar's incomprehensible error to take them as an idiom peculiar to Sinhalese. I may also point to the fact that similar combinations, subst. v. gerund + v. *tiṭṭhati* or *viharati* frequently occur in Pali. Cf. *ubhō atthē samadhiḡayha tiṭṭhati* 'comprises two blessing objects,' S I.86²¹; *paṭhamajjhānaṃ upasampajja viharati* 'he enters on the first state of trance' D I.37³. The substantive verbs get by *tiṭṭhati* and *viharati* the meaning of an accomplished action or of a permanent state.

IV. **Mode of Expression.** I hope I can be brief in this chapter. If we compare a Sinhalese text with an older one, for instance, a Pali text, we notice, of course, some discrepancies, but for the main their similarity in style is obvious. The Sinhalese mode of expression is somewhat prolix owing to the many verbal and nominal honorifics which are partly due to Buddhist mentality. For *bhagavā bhavantarēna paṭicchannaṃ kāraṇaṃ pākaṭaṃ akāsi* (Jā I 137²³) the Sinh. Jātaka-book has *bhāgyavat-vū budu-rajāṇan-vahansē bhavāntara-pracchanna-vū kāraṇaya vadāḷa-sēka*.

With Old- and Middle-Indian the Sinhalese language shares the peculiarity that it does not possess an *oratio obliqua*, but quotes all that one may think or say in his own words; *yi* (= Sk. *iti*) and *kiyā* 'having said so' or *sitā* 'having thought so' are put at the end of the sentence. The prolixity of Sinhalese sometimes becomes manifest in the fact that, besides *kiyā* at the end of the sentence, the gerund *kiya-min* 'saying' may be put at the beginning of the *oratio recta*.

The use of the *gerund* is as much in vogue in Sinhalese as it is in the older Aryan languages. All the actions

which are subordinate in time or otherwise are expressed by gerunds, the main action alone by a finite verb. The length of a sentence can become very great by the gerundial construction, chiefly in literary works (see below). That depends upon the taste or erudition of the author. But gerunds are also used in the colloquial language : *mama gohin eññā*, lit. I having gone shall come.

Within the sentence the order of words is quite the same as it is prescribed in Sanskrit. The subject comes first, the verb or predicate stands at the end of the sentence, the object and adverbial determinations stand between subject and predicate : *kaḍuwa śuddha-no-kirīmen malakaḍa kāvā*, lit. the sword by not cleaning ate rust (Gūṇ., Gr. p. 465, No. 138); *minī-maruvā ellā-daman-ṭa issara ellī māruṇā*, lit. the murderer before hanging (i.e. before being hanged) having hanged himself (v. *ellenu*) died (ib. No. 133). Of course, the order of words can be altered owing to momentary reasons. Often the adverbial determination may stand at the beginning of the sentence, as e.g. *e-kalhi . . .* 'at that time . . .' = Sk. P. *tadā . . .* (cf. below).

The attribute, be it an adjective or a genitive, has its place before the noun which it qualifies. This too corresponds to the old Aryan style : *mama oḥu-gē bāla puttā* 'I am his youngest son' would be in P. *ahaṃ tassa kaṇiṭṭha-puttō*. The uninflected adj. + subst. is really a karmadhāraya compound. To an attributive adj. sometimes *-vū* (Sk. P. *bhūta*) is affixed. Prototypes of this construction are met with in P. (§ 120.1).

The near relation in style of Sinhalese to Pali becomes manifest by comparing the translation of the Jātaka-book with the original text. The translation, if we omit words or phrases which are inserted in order to make the narration clearer, is indeed almost a *chāyā*, i.e. a word-for-word translation, and I must emphasize that this Pansiyapanas-jātaka-book is read and understood not only by all educated Sinhalese, but also by people of the middle and lower classes. I

quote two passages which are picked out quite casually. The words printed in *Italics* are the running Sinhalese text.

Jā I. 189¹² = PspJ.89³³: *tadā e-kalhi ēkō ek kukkurō sunakhayek maṅgala-hatthi-sālaṃ maṅgul-āt-hala-ṭa gantvā gos maṅgala-hatthissa maṅgul ātā bhuñjana-tṭhānē anubhava-karana-tanhi patitāni vāṭṭṇā-vū bhatta-sittāni batulu khādati anubhava-karunnēya.* ‘At that time a dog having come to the stable of the royal elephant, used to eat the bits of rice that had dropped at the royal elephant’s place of feeding.’

Jā I. 265¹² = PspJ 162⁶: *rājā rajjuruvō paṃsunō sithila-bhāvaṃ pas-sithila-niyāva ñatvā dāna sigālaṃ kāṇahilā vissajjetvā hāra, nāga-balō āt-bala-āti thāma-sampannō śakti-sampanna-tānāttō aparāparaṃ obinoba samcarantō kara-kāvī [de-piṭa-ṭa nāmī] ubhō hatthē dāta ukkhipitvā osavā āvāṭa-mukhavattiyāṃ muva-viṭa olubbha elba vāta-ecchinna-valāhako viya sulaṅgin kaḍādāmū valākūlak men nikkhamitvā-ṭhitō [vaḷin uḍa] nāṅgī-siṭa amaccē amātyayan assāsetvā asvasā paṃsun paṃsū pas viyūhitvā pīrā sabbē siyallavun uddharitvā goḍa-naṅgā amacca-parivutō amātyayan visin pīrivarana-ladu-va āmaka-susānē amu sohonehi aṭṭhāsi siṭiyāhuya.* ‘When the king saw that the earth had become loose he released the jackal and with the strength of an elephant, being endowed with vigour, he moved to and fro and having got his two hands free he planted them on the edge of the pit and got out of it like unto a cloud which has been torn by the wind, he encouraged his ministers and removing the earth he helped them out (of the pit) and stood in the cemetery surrounded by his ministers.’

NOTE: Quotations in brackets as, e.g. (§ 60), refer to my Grammar of the Sinhalese Language, 1938. The abbreviations are mainly those used in the Sinhalese Dictionary.

INDIAN THEORIES ON HOMOPHONES AND HOMONYMS

THE various schools of linguistic thought in India agree in accepting a functional definition of meaning. The function of a word, or *ṛtti*, lies in its relation to its sense. It is generally assumed that there is a permanent relation between a word and its meaning, between *śabda* and *artha*; this relation is considered as a power, or *śakti*, residing in the word, which enables it to denote the thing-meant.¹ According to the school of Ritual Philosophy (the Mīmāṃsaka-s) this power is inherent in the words themselves,² while according to the school of Logicians (Naiyāyika-s), the relation between a word and its sense is only conventional;³ both agree that this relation must be stable and direct.⁴ This conception of the relation between word (*śabda*)

¹ शक्तिश्च पदेन सह पदार्थस्य संबन्धः *Siddhānta-muktāvali* (*Śabda* section).

पदपदार्थयोः संबन्धान्तरमेव शक्तिः वाच्यवाचकभावापरपर्यायः *Laghu-mañjūśā*, p. 26.

² *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, 1. 1. 5: औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन संबन्धः. See also W. S. Allen, *The Origin and Development of Language*, Transactions of the Philological Society, London, 1948.

³ *Nyāya-sūtra*, II 55: सामयिकाच्छब्दार्थसंप्रत्ययस्य. See also *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra*, VII 2.20: सामयिकः शब्दार्थसंप्रत्ययः.

⁴ What the Naiyāyika-s assert is only that there is no direct relation between the word and the object it represents. This view is similar to the one given by Ogden and Richards in *The Meaning of Meaning* (p. 11). The Indian scholars also agree that

and meaning (*artha*) is quite analogous to that expressed in de Saussure's definition of a linguistic sign as a relation between the *signifiant* and the *signifié*. He says, "*Le signe linguistique unit non une chose et un nom, mais un concept et une image acoustique*".¹

Here it must be noted that both the *signifiant* and the *signifié*, the *śabda* and *artha*, are psychical entities and the relation between them is subjective.² The word (*śabda*) is not the sound uttered in actual speech (*la parole*) but the abstracted phonological pattern, or the engram of the word in the language, or the class, of which the individual utterances are instances. Similarly the *signifié* (*artha*) is also different from the external particular objects, or the 'thing-meant' in Gardiner's terminology³: it is the concept of the object, or *vikalpa*, the mental construct produced by the object, or the 'universal' to which the particular objects in the

the word 'fire' does not burn in the mouth; nor does the word 'honey' sweeten it. (Kumārila, *Śloka-vārttika*, *Sambandhākṣepa*, verse 8). Hence we cannot accept P. C. Chakravarti's statement (*Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus*, pp. 342, 392) that the theory of symbolism, as worked out by Ogden and Richards, 'has maintained a position that goes directly against the view of Indian grammarians'.

¹ *Cour de Linguistique Generale*, p. 100.

² *Vākyapadiya*, I 46 शब्दोऽपि बुद्धिस्थः ; Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, श्रोत्रोपलब्धिर्बुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्यः प्रयोगेणाभिज्वलितः आकाशदेशः ; *Yoga-sūtra-bhāṣya* under *sūtra* III 17: पदं पुनः नादानुसंहारबुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्यम् । cf. A. Gardiner, *Speech and Language*, p. 70, "As words exist in the possession of every individual (of a linguistic community) they are psychical entities, comprising on the one hand an area of meaning and, on the other hand, the image of a particular sound susceptible of being reproduced whenever wanted."

³ *Speech and Language*.

external world are related through inherence.¹ A fundamental identity of opinion is often concealed by divergent and overlapping terminologies.²

This binary semantic relationship requires a word to have only one sense, and a sense to have only one word to denote it. But every natural language in the world contains elements running counter to this 'monosemy' in the language system. This discrepancy between the *signifiant* and the *signifié* of linguistic symbol has attracted the attention of scholars in India even from ancient times.

There are two main categories of this 'multiple meaning':³ synonyms or *paryāya-śabda-s*, where several different words are used for the same sense, and homonyms or *nānārtha-śabda-s*, where the same word is found to have various senses. Sanskrit language is full of synonyms and homonyms, and the various lexicons in Sanskrit deal with words usually arranged as *paryāya-s* and *nānārtha-s*. Patañjali has drawn attention to this feature of language. He says that there are many words with the same sense, and that one and the same word is also found to have different senses.⁴

¹ In the *Laghu-maṅjūṣā* (p. 45) Nāgeśa says that, in reality, the meaning is only subjective and the word is also subjective. See also S. Varma, *Analysis of Meaning in Indian Semantics*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1926, p. 14 and Kaiyaṭa on Pāṇini, 5. 2. 94.

² Ullmann, *The Principles of Semantics*, 1951, p. 6.

³ "Multiple meaning is one of the chief symptoms of a wider feature of speech and language: discrepancy between the *signifiant* and the *signifié* of linguistic symbols." (Ullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 107).

⁴ *Mahā-bhāṣya* under *sūtra* 1. 3. 1: बहवो हि शब्दा एकार्था भवन्ति । तद्यथा इन्द्रः शक्रः पुरुहूतः पुरन्दरः । एकश्च शब्दो बह्वर्थः । तद्यथा अक्षाः पादाः माषाः इति ।

Yāska refers to the theory of the etymologists and the grammarian Śākaṭāyana, that all nouns are derived from verbal roots, and says that this theory seems to be too sweeping; for if all nouns are derived from verbs which denote action, every object will have as many names as the actions with which it is concerned, and, on the other hand, each noun could be applied to as many objects which are concerned with that action indicated by the verbal root.¹ This may be taken as one of the explanations for the presence of synonyms and homonyms in language. Yāska generally subscribes to the verbal derivation of nouns, and we find in the *Nirukta* the tendency, often mechanical, to offer different etymologies for a single word, when its meaning becomes different.²

The problem of synonyms is not very great; for, according to the Indian writers, exact synonyms are rare,³ and there will be shades of difference in the meanings of the so-called synonyms. Popular new forms of old words are taken to be their corruptions (apabhraṃśa); still they had to accept certain

¹ *Nirukta*, 1. 12: नामान्याख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च । न सर्वाणीति गार्ग्यो वैयाकरणानां चैके ।

अथ चेत् सर्वाण्याख्यातजानि नामानि स्युः, यः कश्चन तद्धर्मं कुर्यात् तत्सर्वं तथाचक्षीरन् . . . अथापि यावद्विर्भावैः संप्रयुज्येत तावद्भयो नामधेयप्रतिलम्भः ।

² Dr. Siddheswara Varma, (*The Etymology of Yāska*, Hoshiarpur, 1953, p. 8) points out that this is perhaps the germ of the double-meanings (śleṣa) of later classical Sanskrit Literature.

³ Like हस्त, पाणि and कर for the hand; in such cases of well-known synonyms all the words are considered to have equal denotative power.

well-known synonyms. Even these show different aspects of the same 'thing-meant'; and the emotive value associated with the words will be different in each case.

The occurrence of plurivalence (one name with several senses) is more likely to give rise to ambiguities. Every language contains, in a greater or lesser measure, words which are different in meaning, but identical in sound. In English we have 'hare' and 'hair', 'I' and 'eye', 'waist' and 'waste', 'straight' and 'strait', 'right' and 'write'; in French *sans*, *cent* and *sang* are all pronounced alike (*san*); in German *Tor* is either 'foot', or 'gate', *acht* is either 'eight' or 'attention'.¹

An interesting problem about the exact nature of homonyms is discussed by the Indian Grammarians. Are we to consider them as the same word with different senses, or as different words having the same sound? Both the views are known; Puṇyarāja calls² them the 'one-word theory' (*eka-śabda-darśana*) and the 'many-words theory' (*aneka-śabda-darśana*).

¹ In languages like Chinese, Sanskrit and Arabic the number of such words is very large. In some languages like Chinese and English each homophone may have a different symbol in writing; but in Sanskrit and other 'phonetic' languages they are also written alike. In Chinese key-words are added as determinants; the *upasarga-s* in Sanskrit are also considered as key words. cf.

उपसर्गवशाद्वातुर्वलादन्यत्र नीयते ।

प्रहाराहारसंहारविहारपरिहारवत् ॥

² Commentary on *Vākyapadīya*, II 252: अत्र एकशब्ददर्शनम् अनेक-शब्ददर्शनं चेति द्वौ पक्षौ । He says that, according to Bhartṛhari, these two theories are referred to by Patañjali himself in the *Mahā-bhāṣya*: एतच्च भेदाभेदस्वभावं दर्शनद्वयं शब्दानां भाष्यकारेण वार्त्तिकव्याख्यानानुसारे दर्शितम् । *ibid.*, p. 189. These two views are also referred to as

These are analogous to what some of the modern linguists call 'homonyms' and 'homophones'¹; the former is usually the result of 'divergent sense-development' and the latter that of 'convergent sound-development'.

Bhartrhari refers to both the theories as prevalent among linguists; but he seems to prefer the latter theory, since, according to him, the semantic aspect of a word is more important than the phonological aspect.² As Professor Brough puts it, "it is necessary to recognize that when we talk of 'the word *X* with meaning *A*', and 'the word *X* with meaning *B*', the identification of the two '*X*'s as 'one word' is a mere practical convenience for lexicography and exegesis, something which belongs not to the material, and that this method is not necessarily the best approach to a satisfactory description of language in operation".³

Bhartrhari discusses these two theories in various contexts. First we have the problem of metaphorical transfers based on similarity or contiguity, and shifts in meaning, where a word expresses not only its primary meaning, but some other meaning also. Here Bhartrhari

भेदपक्ष and अभेदपक्ष as well as नानात्वपक्ष and एकत्वपक्ष in the *Vākyapadiya*.

¹ Ullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 130. Bally calls them *homonymes sémantiques* and *homonymes étymologiques*. See Ullmann, *loc. cit.*

² Strictly speaking Bhartrhari takes only the sentence as the unit of speech, and does not accept the autonomy of the word. Still for practical purposes of analysis he takes them as units of language.

³ *Some Indian Theories of Meaning*, Transactions of the Philological Society, London, 1953, p. 169.

says¹ that, according to those who hold that a word can have more than one meaning, the distinction between the primary and secondary senses of a word is based merely on the relative frequency of usage; that which is well-known through constant usage is called the primary and normal sense, while the less frequently used sense is called secondary. The same word can have more than one meaning, one after another, but not simultaneously.²

It is the context or the collocation of other words that determines the sense to be taken in a particular case.³ On the other hand those who hold that a word can have only one sense consider that the word having the primary sense and the word having the secondary sense are actually different, though they seem alike in sound.⁴

Again, dealing with homonymous words (nānārtha-s) where various senses are associated with the same sound, Bhartṛhari refers to the two theories. According to the former, it is the same word that gives the various senses, the senses depending not merely on the form of the word, but on the various contextual factors;

¹ *Vākyapadiya*, II 252: एकमाहुरनेकार्थं शब्दमन्ये परीक्षकाः ।

II 255: प्रसिद्धिभेदाद्गौणत्वं मुख्यत्वं चोपवर्ण्यते । Kumārila-bhaṭṭa rejects this view. *Vide infra*.

² *Ibid.* II 252: यौगपद्यमतिक्रम्य पर्याये व्यवतिष्ठते ।

³ *Ibid.* II 253: अर्थप्रकरणाभ्यां वा योगाच्छब्दान्तरेण वा ।

⁴ *Ibid* II 256:

एकत्वं तु स्वरूपत्वाच्छब्दयोगौणमुद्देश्ययोः ।

प्राहुरत्यन्तभेदेऽपि भेदमार्गानुदर्शिनः ॥

according to the latter theory there are different words having the same sound, and the ambiguity due to the various words having the same form is to be removed with the help of contextual factors.¹

It is quite possible that two or more different words, derived from different roots with different prefixes and suffixes, may assume the same form. Though identical in form, they have different meanings. Thus the word *samāna*, derived from the root *an* 'to breath' (*sam* + *an*) with the prefix *sam*, means 'one of the vital airs'; *samāna*, derived from the form *sama*, means 'similar' or 'identical'; *samāna*, derived from *māna* with the prefix *sa*, means 'having the same measure', 'honoured' or 'proud'. Here we have three different words having the same form. Similarly *su-tapa* means 'practising great austerities', while *suta-pa* is 'the drinker of Soma juice'.² Even in the *Dhātupāṭha*, roots having the same form but differing in meaning and conjugated differently are held to be different roots. Thus *pā* 'to drink' is different from *pā* 'to protect'.³ In cases where the derivations are clear, there is no

¹ *Ibid.* II 316: शब्दार्थाः प्रविभज्यन्ते न रूपादेव केवलात् ।

II 318:

भेदपक्षेऽपि सारूप्याद्विज्ञार्थाः प्रतिपत्तिषु ।

निश्चिता यान्त्यभिव्यक्तिं शब्दाः प्रकरणादिभिः ॥

See also Puṇyarāja's commentary on verse II 317.

² See Monier William's Dictionary.

³ The *Daiva* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 1) discusses the purpose of the repetition of roots of like forms. cf. पठितस्य पुनः पाठे फलं वृत्तेन वक्ष्यते ।

doubt as to whether the words are homophones or homonyms; but at times the exact derivations may not be clear.

It is equally possible that a word which was originally associated with only one sense, was also applied to another sense through metaphorical transfer or slight shift in meaning, and that, in course of time, the transferred sense also gained currency to such an extent that both the meanings are held to be primary. It is only by the historical study of the words that one can get at the truth as to whether it is a case of divergent sense-development or one of convergent sound-development. In English 'flower—flour' is an instance of the former.¹

Confusion between homonyms and homophones is quite likely in a synchronistic study of words. Yāska usually gives different etymologies for a word, when its meaning becomes different. Thus the word *Vṛka*, meaning 'the moon' is derived from *Vi + vr*, *vi + kr* and *vi + kram*; meaning 'the sun', it is derived from *vrj*, and, meaning 'a dog', it is derived from *vi + kṛnt*. He seems to have held the view that when the meanings differ, the words are also different.

It must be noted in this connection that the Indian scholars were mainly concerned with the descriptive, synchronistic, study of language, with describing the language as it exists, and, therefore, it did not occur to them to distinguish clearly the two types of such occurrences from each other—those arising through divergent sense development, and those arising through

¹ Ullmann, *op. cit.*

convergent sound development. Such a distinction is easy in a historical, diachronistic, study of language. The Indian scholars studied the problem of shifts in application under metaphor or *lakṣaṇā*, and discussed the problem of *nirūḍha-lakṣaṇā*, where the acquired sense becomes the normal sense; but they did not observe that polysemy, which in synchronistic terms means that one word can have more than one sense, implies from a diachronistic point of view, that a word may retain its previous sense or senses and at the same time acquire one or several new ones. The homophones are, on the other hand, different words which, in the course of historical development, accidentally converge in shape.

It is true that the distinction between homonyms and homophones does not normally exist synchronistically. As Jespersen says: "The psychological effect of these cases of polysemy, where 'one and the same word' has many meanings, is exactly the same as that of those cases where two or three words of different origin have accidentally become homophones."¹ It is to the credit of the Indian writers like Bhartṛhari that they were able to discuss the *homonyms* (*nānārtha-s*) from two different points of view: as homonyms and as homophones, even though they were primarily engaged in a synchronistic study of language.

¹Jespersen, *Linguistica*, p. 405. See also A. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 120:

"The unreflecting user of language makes no difference between homophones, at least so long as they are written alike."

This cannot apply to homophones which belong to distinct morphological categories, where the difference is quite clear.

The ancient writers on language in India were mainly concerned with the primary senses of words. Even Yāska and Pāṇini seem not to have fully appreciated the importance of metaphorical transfer in language. Yāska gives different etymologies to the same word, in order to explain the different meanings it has in different contexts. “The fact that a sign can intend one thing without ceasing to intend another, that, indeed, the very condition of its being an expressive sign for the second is that it is also a sign for the first,—is precisely what makes language an instrument of knowing.”¹ Yāska sometimes forgets that the literal meaning of a word could be shifted or extended or changed according to various contexts; he offers separate etymologies of a single word, when its meaning becomes different, and even with a metaphorical meaning. Thus the term *keśin* (for the ‘rays’) is derived from the root *kāś* which is not correct phonologically or semantically² and the literal sense ‘hairy’ could be applied to the ‘rays’ metaphorically.

The author of the *Uṇādi-sūtra-s*, on the other hand, seems to have believed that the same word can have more than one sense; for in the *Uṇādi-sūtra-s* we generally find only one derivation for each word discussed; only in rare cases³ does he give different

¹ Ullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Urban, *Language and Reality*, p. 112 f.

² *Nirukta*, 12. 25. The term is related to *I.E. qaik* ‘to comb’. See Dr. Siddheswara Varma, *Etymologies of Yāska*, Hoshiarpur, 1953, p. 8.

³ Like वृत्ति etc.

derivations for the same form. In the case of the word *akṣa*, he says that it should be derived from the root *aś*, when it refers to the 'die' in gambling.¹

Even Pāṇini does not refer to the metaphorical use of language.² He sanctions in *sūtra* 2.3.46 the nominative case not only for the primary sense of the stem, but also for gender, number, etc. From the discussion of the term *parimāṇa* (measure) in that *sūtra* by later commentators, it is clear that Pāṇini included even metaphorical transfers under the primary sense itself.³ He seems to accept the 'many-words' theory regarding homonyms.⁴

The latter lexicographers follow the 'one-word' theory; the very terms *nānārtha-s* and *anekārtha-s* applied to homonyms in the lexicons show that they believed the same word could have more than one meaning. Confusion between the primary and secondary senses of words is also quite common in the lexicons. So also confusion between similar words.

¹ अशेर्देवने । No other derivation for the word is given.

² That Pāṇini was aware of the existence of faded metaphors in language is clear from his derivation of the words शीतक, उष्णक (5. 2. 72), अयःशूलिकः दण्डाजिनं (5. 2. 76), पार्श्वकः (5. 2. 75), छात्र (4. 4. 62), etc.

³ cf. Das Gupta, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 514: the term used for the 'measure' is applied to what it measures.

⁴ Pāṇini does not refer to *lakṣaṇā* even in cases like सिंहो माणवकः. The grammarians do not accept *lakṣaṇā* to explain the variations of meaning in compound words, but assume a separate function for compound words (*samāsa-vṛtti*). Roots in the *Dhātupāṭha* are repeated when there is difference in meaning and also in the conjugational form, and there is confusion between the primary and secondary meanings of roots, as given by Bhīmasena.

According to the Mīmāṃsaka-s we have to assume 'monosemy' in the language system as far as possible. Since the relation between a word and its sense, *śabda* and *artha*, is permanent; this invariable connection of words with their senses shows that it is not proper for an object to have many words to express it; it is equally improper for a word to have more than one sense. As far as possible we should try to explain away all instances of multiple meaning,¹ it is only when there is no other way that we should accept synonyms and homonyms.

Kumārila-bhaṭṭa says in his *Tantra-vārttika*² that the corrupt forms of words (apabhraṃśa) which have gained currency among the people, express their meanings only indirectly by manifesting the potentiality of the original correct words through their similarity with it. Such corrupt forms originate owing to the discrepancy of the speakers³; but due to long usage people may in course of time mistake them as correct words. Still they cannot be considered as synonyms for the original word. It is only in the case of well-known synonyms like *hasta*, *pāṇi* and *kara* (all denoting the hand) that we need assume all the three

¹ *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, 1. 3. 26: अन्यायश्चानेकशब्दत्वम्; on the basis of this Śābara in his *Bhāṣya* on *sūtra* 3. 2. 1 says: अन्यायश्चानेकार्थत्वम् ।

See also *Tantra-vārttika* on 1. 3. 26: एकात्मकयोरेव वाच्यवाचक्योरन्योन्याक्षेपात् परस्परनियमः संभवति, अन्यतरस्यापि त्वनेकत्वे व्यभिचारान्नियमहानिः ।

² *Tantra-vārttika* under *sūtra* 1. 3. 28.

³ cf. Puṇyarāja on *Vākyapadiya* I 149:

शब्दप्रकृतिरपभ्रंश इति सङ्ग्रहकारोक्तः ।

to be correct words; here there is no other way since all words are quite well-known.¹ Kumārilabhaṭṭa points out that since names are used for referring to objects, it is unnecessary to have more than one name for an object.² The connection between *śabda* and *artha* must be accepted as invariable and constant as far as possible.

The same principle is accepted regarding homonyms also. Śabara says, while commenting on *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra* 3. 2. 1, that it is not proper for a word to have more than one sense. In the case of well-known homonyms like *akṣa* which means the 'die' in gambling, as well as an 'axle', all the meanings have to be considered as primary and authoritative; frequency of usage has nothing to do with the authoritativeness of the sense assumed.³ In other cases the Mīmāṃsaka-s assume corruption of meaning as a cause for homonyms; thus in the case of the word *pīlu* which means a kind of tree according to the Aryans and 'an elephant'

¹ *Tantra-vārttika*, loc. cit.

अनन्यगतिकत्वेन सा दृढस्मरणेन च ।

एकशक्त्यनुसारेण यावत् त्वस्ति गतिः क्वचित् ॥

उपमानानुमानाभ्यां तावत् सैवानुगम्यते ।

² *Ibid.*

नाम च व्यवहारार्थमर्थस्याभ्युपगम्यते ।

तेनैकैव सिद्धेऽर्थे द्वितीयोऽपि च निष्फलम् ॥

³ *Tantra-vārttika*, p. 217.

न चाल्पत्वबहुत्वाभ्यां प्रयोक्तृणां विशिष्यते ।

वाच्यवाचकभावोऽयमक्षपादादिशब्दवत् ॥

विभीतकोऽक्षशब्दो हि यद्यप्यल्पैः प्रयुज्यते ।

तथापि वाचकस्तस्य जायते शकटाक्षवत् ॥

according to the Mleccha-s the latter sense is held to be the result of corruption of the sense at the hands of the Mleccha-s. In the case of secondary power of words by metaphorical transfer or shift, the Mīmāṃsaka-s assert that the true sense is the primary sense and that the transferred senses are merely derived from the primary sense. From this discussion it is clear that the Mīmāṃsaka-s believed in the 'one word' theory regarding true homonyms.

Among the literary critics Udbhaṭa stood by the 'many' words' theory, which asserts that the words should be regarded as different when they have different senses, even though their forms may be the same.¹ Discussing the figure of speech called *śleṣa* (paranomasia) or pun, Udbhaṭa says that when two expressions are exactly identical in form, the form employed once can convey both the meanings; but if they differ in minor details such as accent etc., when one of the expressions is employed, the other is also brought forth through the similarity of forms. Udbhaṭa distinguishes these two types of puns.

Among the later critics Mammaṭa seems to hold that in *śleṣa* or paranomasia we have two different

¹ *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-sāra-saṃgraha* IV 50.

एकप्रयत्नोच्चार्याणां तच्छब्दायां चैव बिभ्रताम् ।

स्वरितादिगुणैर्भिन्नैर्बन्धैः श्लिष्टमिहोच्यते ॥

See also Indurāja's commentary thereon: इह खलु शब्दनाम् अनेकार्थानां युगपदेकार्थविवक्षायां द्वयी गतिः । अर्थभेदेन तावद् शब्दा भिद्यन्ते इति भट्टोद्भट्टस्य सिद्धान्तः । तत्रार्थभेदेन भिद्यमानाः शब्दाः केचित् तन्त्रेण प्रयोक्तुं शक्वाः केचिन् ।

expressions, identical in sound, uttered simultaneously.¹ An expression can give only one sense at a time; hence in order to convey two different senses, it has to be assumed that two expressions, similar in form, are being uttered simultaneously.

It is also assumed that, so far as literary figures of speech are concerned, slight difference in accent can be neglected.² The simultaneous utterance of two identical expressions is indicated by the term *tantra*. The understanding of the expression by the hearer in the two different senses intended is by repetition or *āvṛtti*.³ Bhāmaha too states clearly that a word cannot have more than one meaning.⁴

Critics like Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha consider that paranomasia based on homonymous expressions should be classed among the figures of speech depending on sound, since the effect would be lost if the synonyms be substituted for the words. This type of paranomasia is divided into two classes: that based on homonymous words, and that where the similarity of expressions is based on the peculiar coalescence of different words; the former is called *abhaṅga-śleṣa* (double meaning with the

¹ *Kāvya-prakāśa*, IX 84:

वाच्यभेदेन भिन्ना यद्युपपद्माषणस्पृशः ।

श्लिष्यन्ति शब्दाः श्लेषोऽसौ ।

² *Ibid.* काव्यमार्गे स्वरो न गण्यते इति नये ।

³ See Nāgeśa's *Laghu-śabdenduśekhara* on Pāṇini's *sūtra* सङ्ख्यानामेक-
शेषः (1. 2. 64): वोदुरावृत्त्यैव बोधः, उच्चारणं तु तन्त्रेणैव; also *Vākya-padīya* II
478ff.

⁴ Bhāmaha, *Kāvya-lankāra*, VI 18: ननु ज्ञानफलाः शब्दा न चैकस्य
फलद्वयम् ।

same word division) and the latter *sabhaṅga-śleṣa*¹ (double meaning with a different word division). According to them paranomasia depending on sense (*artha-śleṣa*) is that where the same expression is applicable to two things; here we get only a slight shift in meaning, and even the substitution of a synonymous word will not affect the sense.² It is the sense that can be applied in two different ways, and hence it is *artha-śleṣa*, a single meaning with different applications.

The Naiyāyika-s seem to hold the 'one word' theory (*ekatva-pakṣa*) regarding homonyms. According to them words are divided into four classes:³ etymological (*yaugika*), conventional (*rūḍha*), 'etymological and conventional' (*yoga-rūḍha*), and 'etymological or conventional' (*yaugika-rūḍha*). Of these the last type, the *yaugika-rūḍha*, also called *rūḍha-yaugika*, refers to words the meaning of which can be taken either as a *yaugika* (etymological) or as a *rūḍha* (conventional) one.

¹ Thus in the expression राजा हरति लोकस्य हृदयं मृदुलैः करैः । "The king attracts the people's heart by mild taxation," or "The moon attracts the heart of the world by its soft rays", the two meanings are based on the homonymous words राजा, लोक and कर. This is *abhaṅgaśleṣa*. But, in श्वेतो धावति "The white runs," or "Here runs the dog," the syllables are separated in two ways: श्वा इतः धावति, श्वेतः धावति. This is *sabhaṅga-śleṣa*.

² e.g., कुटिलाः श्यामला दीर्घाः कटाक्षाः कुन्तलाश्च ते । "Your eyes and your hair are not straight [and they are] dark and long."

³ *Siddhānta-muktāvalī* (Kāśī Sanskrit Series, 1951) p. 282 f: शक्तं पदम्, तच्चतुर्धा, क्वचिद् यौगिकं क्वचिद् रूढं क्वचिद् योगरूढं क्वचिद् यौगिकरूढम् । Jagadīśa, in the *Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā*, includes words with secondary signification (*nirūḍha-lakṣaṇā*) as a fifth type in this classification.

When the meaning of the word can be ascertained either etymologically from the meaning of its component parts, or conventionally by the whole word taken together, it is called *yaugika-rūḍha*. Both the meanings are determined independently of each other, and understood separately. The same word gives one meaning when taken in its conventional sense, and quite another if viewed as a derivative, e.g., the word *udbhīd* means 'tree' when taken in its etymological sense, while conventionally it is the name of a sacrifice. Similarly the word *aśva-gandha* can be used in its etymological sense of 'having the smell of horse'; it is also used popularly as the name of a particular plant. The term 'maṇḍapa' also belongs to this class.¹ It is quite possible to consider such a word as an instance of two words with different meanings, having the same form. The inclusion of the *yaugika-rūḍha* words as a separate class by the Naiyāyika-s shows that they did not treat homophones separately, but included them under homonyms themselves.

There are various means by which the potential ambiguity in the case of homophones and homonyms is removed in different languages. Homophones, or words alike in their form, may easily be differentiated by spelling; this is what we find in languages like

¹ This term 'maṇḍapa' is sometimes given as an example of conventional words (*rūḍha*); it normally means 'an open hall'; but the etymological meaning, 'one who drinks the scum of boiled rice' is also possible in this case, and hence the word belongs to the *yaugika-rūḍha* class. Dinakara points out that the reading 'maṇḍapa' in the *Siddhānta-muktāvalī* (loc. cit) is a corrupt form for 'maṇḍala' (p. 283).

English and French. In fact this role of writing has often been given as an argument for the retention of historical spelling in these languages. But, as Jespersen points out,¹ the difference in spelling cannot remove the ambiguity in the spoken form of the phrase, it only gives a false sense of security to the poet who would otherwise try to avoid the phrase. And it does not apply to the Indian languages, where the spelling is phonetic.

The real differentiation possible in all cases of ambiguity is by grammatical means and by the context of situation. When two or more homonyms belong to entirely different spheres of thought, or when they belong to different morphological categories, there is very little chance of real confusion. Thus we need not agree with Dr. Bridges² that the verb 'know' is doomed because of clashes between 'know no', 'knows nose' and 'knew new', since "the influence of the context, working hand in hand with grammatical discrimination, is likely to forestall any ambiguity".³

The importance of contextual factors in determining the exact sense of an expression has been emphasised by various writers in India from very early times. In the *Bṛhad-devatā* it is said⁴ that the established rule regarding the meaning of a Vedic passage,

¹ *Linguistica*, 1933, p. 401, n. 1.

² R. Bridges, *English Homophones*, 1919, p. 22.

³ Ullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

⁴ *Bṛhad-devatā*, II 118:

अर्थात्प्रकरणाद्विज्ञादौचित्याद्देशकालतः ।

मन्त्रेष्वर्थवबोधः स्यादितरेष्विति च स्थितिः ॥

as well as that of an ordinary sentence, is that the meaning should be determined from considerations of the purpose served (*artha*),¹ the subject matter under discussion (*prakaraṇa*), an indication from another place (*liṅga*),² propriety (*aucitya*), place (*deśa*) and time (*kāla*). Bhartṛhari agrees with this view, and says³ that the meaning of an expression is determined not merely by its form, but by the contextual factors also. In the *Vākya-padīya* he quotes the same list with a slight modification, substituting 'syntactic relation' (*vākya*) for indication (*liṅga*).⁴

Of these terms, *vākya*, *prakaraṇa*, *liṅga* and *artha* are known to the ancient Mīmāṃsaka-s also. The process of subordinating the details of a sacrifice to the main sacrifice is done by the six means of proof: *śruti* or direct statement, *liṅga* or the direct meaning of word, *vākya* or syntactic connection, *prakaraṇa* or context of

¹ Macdonnell's translation of *artha* as 'the sense of the word' does not seem to be correct in this case, though it has the support of Indian commentators.

² Macdonnell translates the term as 'gender'. The exact meaning of the term is discussed later.

³ *Vākya-padīya*, II 316.

वाक्यात्प्रकरणादर्थादौचित्य।देशकालतः ।

शब्दार्थाः प्रविभज्यन्ते न रूपादेव केवलात् ॥

Clearly the first half of the verse is a quotation from the *Bṛhad-devatā*, in spite of Puṇyarāja's statement that the list embodies Bhartṛhari's own views (see the commentary on the verse).

⁴ *Vākya* is the connected utterance of words indicating syntactic relation, such as that of an adjective and a substantive. The meaning of the substantive is restricted by that of the adjective. This applies to ordinary words also, not merely to ambiguous words.

situation, *sthāna* or position, and *samākhyā* or etymological meaning.¹ In this list the first means of proof is the strongest and others are respectively each weaker than the preceding one. It may be noted that the etymological meaning comes last in the list.

Bhartṛhari gives another long list of the contextual factors that determine the exact meaning of a word in the case of ambiguous and equivocal expressions:²

संसर्गो विप्रयोगश्च साहचर्यं विरोधिता ।

अर्थः प्रकरणं लिङ्गं शब्दस्यान्यस्य संनिधिः ॥

सामर्थ्यमौचिती देशः कालो व्यक्तिः स्वरादयः ।

शब्दार्थस्यानवच्छेदे विशेषस्मृतिहेतवः ॥

This list is taken up for detailed discussion by later grammarians like Nāgeśa, and rhetoricians like Mammaṭa and Jagannātha Paṇḍita.³ It may be pointed out that the list is concerned with ambiguous expressions; whether we take them as homophones or as homonyms—the same sound for different words or the

¹ *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, 3. 3. 14: श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानं समवाये पारदौर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षात् ।

² *Vākyapadīya*, II 317 f. The reading found in all the quotations is संयोग for संसर्ग except in Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*; the meaning is not however affected.

³ Nāgeśa, *Laghu-mañjūṣā*, p. 110 f; Mammaṭa, *Kāvya-prakāśa*, II; Viśvanātha, *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, II; Hemacandra, *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, p. 39; Jagannātha Paṇḍita, *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, p. 118-126. etc.

Puṇyarāja in his commentary on the *Vākyapadīya*, says that the list gives earlier views; but the list is quoted as embodying the views of Bhartṛhari himself. In Bhartṛhari's own commentary these verses are introduced as another view (अपर भावः). (Adyar Library MS.)

same word with different meanings—there is a possibility of doubt as to the exact meaning intended. Here contextual factors help to determine the meaning.

(a) *Saṃsarga* (contact) or *saṃyoga* (association) is a connection that is generally known to exist between two things; e.g., the term *dhenu*, which means a ‘cow’ or a ‘mare’, is restricted to the sense of ‘a cow’ in the expression सवत्सा धेनुः “*dhenu* with its calf”, and to that of ‘a mare’ in the expression सकिशोरा धेनुः “*dhenu* with its colt”. Similarly in the phrase सशङ्खचक्रो हरिः “Hari with a conch and a discus”, the meaning of the ambiguous term *hari* is restricted to that of Viṣṇu alone, since the association with the conch and the discus is applicable only to him.

(b) *Viprayoga* (dissociation) is the disappearance of the connection that is known to exist between two things; e.g., *dhenu* refers to the cow in the expression अवत्सा धेनुः “*dhenu* without its calf” and to the mare in अकिशोरा धेनुः “*dhenu* without its colt”. Similarly the term *hari* refers to Viṣṇu in the expression विशङ्खचक्रो हरिः “Hari without the conch and the discus,” since the possibility of association is found only in him.

(c) *Sāhacarya* (companionship) is mutual association. Thus in the expression ‘Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa’, ‘Rāma’ refers to Śrī Rāma, the brother of Lakṣmaṇa, and not to Paraśu-rāma. Jagannātha, distinguishes this from *saṃyoga* and *viprayoga* thus¹:—when the connection

¹ *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, p. 124.

(or the separation from that well-known association) restricting the denotation of a word is actually expressed (by a word like 'with' or 'without'), it is *saṃyoga* or *viprayoga*; when the two related things are stated together, as in a *dvandva* compound, it is *sāhacarya*.

(d) *Virodhitā* (opposition or hostility) is well-known. Thus in the expression 'Karna and Arjuna', Arjuna refers only to the enemy of Karna, and not to Arjuna, the son of Kṛtavīrya. Similarly in *chāyātapau* (*chāyā* and light), the term *chāyā* means 'shade' and not beauty.

It may be noted here that even in the case of unambiguous terms the semantic range is not definitely fixed. "The frontiers of verbal significations are often fluid, even though the core may be perfectly clear and unmistakable. 'Man' has a wider area of meaning when opposed to 'animal' or 'God' than in contradistinction to 'woman'." ¹

All these four factors can be brought together under 'association of meaning'. The meaning of a word can be restricted by the meanings of the words collocated with it. Attribution, dis-attribution, companionship and opposition are only different types of 'association of meaning'.

(e) *Artha* or the 'purpose served'. Speech is mainly purposive in nature, and the meanings of the words must be explained in such a way as to serve the purpose. In the sentence, "worship *Sthānu* for removing the shackles of worldly existence" (स्थाणुं भज भवच्छिदे) the

¹ Ullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 62 f.

term *Sthāṇu* refers only to the God Śiva, and not to a pillar, though the word means both; the intended object could be obtained only by worshipping the god. Nāgeśa explains the term *artha* as 'the meaning of another word', and gives the examples, *añjalīnā juhōti* 'He offers oblation with folded hands' and *añjalīnā sūryam upatiṣṭhate* 'He worships the sun with folded hands'.¹ Here the term *añjali* (folded hands) has to be taken in the sense of 'hands placed side by side slightly hollowed so as to hold the oblation' in the former case, and in the sense of 'hands folded palm to palm as a mark of salutation' in the latter case.²

(f) *Prakaraṇa* or the 'context of situation'.³ The well-known example of this is the sentence, "Bring *saindhava*". The word *saindhava* means 'salt' as well as 'a horse'. If the sentence is uttered when a man is taking his meal, the term denotes 'salt', and if it is uttered when he is about to go out, the sense is to be taken as 'a horse'. Another example is *deva jānāti sarvam* 'My Lord knows everything'; whether

¹ *Laghu-mañjūśā*, p. 110. Also Puṇyarāja on *Vākyapadīya*, loc. cit.

² cf. *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, 1. 4. 25: अर्थाद्वा कल्पनैकदेशत्वात् and the commentary thereon. Suitability to the context shows that folded hands must be closed for prayer, and open for drinking water; Similarly 'He eats on the mat' means 'He eats sitting on the mat', and 'He eats in a copper plate' means 'He eats placing the food in the plate'. कटे भुङ्क्ते कांस्यपात्रायां भुङ्क्ते इत्यर्थात् कल्प्यते कटे समासीनः कांस्यपात्रायां ओदनं निधाय भुङ्क्ते इति ।

³ Appayya dīkṣita, in his *Vṛttivārttika*, p. 6, defines *Prakaraṇa* as वक्तृश्रोतृबुद्धिस्थता ।

deva means 'a king' or 'god' is to be decided from the context.

The importance of the context of situation in deciding the meaning of speech has been fully appreciated by modern writers on linguistics. Professor Firth, in his context-theory, has given great prominence to the context as the basis of determining the meanings of expressions, and has taken into consideration the influence of non-verbal elements of the situation such as the social setting and the cultural background.¹

(g) *Liṅga* is an 'indication' from another place. Thus in the Vedic passage *aktāḥ śarkarāḥ upadadhāti* 'The wet pebbles are placed near by', the meaning of the term *aktāḥ* (wet) is not clear, since the pebble could be made wet with so many different liquids. But from another passage in the same context, *tejo vai ghr̥tam* 'clarified butter is the brilliance', it is to be understood that the pebbles are to be soaked in clarified butter.² The term *liṅga* is also explained as an indication taken from another word such as an attribute, in the same sentence, to restrict the meaning of the word e.g., the meaning of the term *makara-dhvaja* (which normally means 'the god of love', and 'ocean') is restricted to that of 'the god of love' in the expression 'Makara-dhvaja is angry', since the expression 'anger' is in Sanskrit applicable only to him. In this case the association need not be a well-known one as in the case

¹ Firth, *Technique of Semantics*, Transactions of the Philological Society, London, 1935, pp. 36-72.

² See Puṇyarāja on *Vākyapadīya*, *loc. cit.*

of *saṃyoga*; the attribute used being only to reject the other meaning.¹

(h) *Śabdasyānyasya sannidhiḥ* 'the vicinity of another word'. It is the use of a word having a meaning logically connected with only one of the possible meanings of the ambiguous word, *e.g.*, 'Arjuna, the son of Kṛtavīrya' (Arjunaḥ Kārtavīryaḥ); here the expression 'son of Kṛtavīrya' restricts the meaning of 'Arjuna' to that particular king. Jagannātha² gives as example *kareṇa rājate nāgaḥ* (The *nāga* shines by its *kara*); here both the words *nāga* and *kara* are ambiguous; *nāga* meaning 'an elephant' and 'a snake', and *kara* meaning 'hand' and 'the trunk'; but in this sentence, each word restricts the meaning of the other word, and we get the meaning 'the elephant is conspicuous by its trunk'.

In this connection it is interesting to note the theory of meaning on the basis of collocation, developed by Prof. Firth.³ According to this theory the meaning of a word is determined by its collocation with other words; in certain collocations a word may have one meaning and in certain other collocations, a different meaning.

(i) *Sāmarthyam* or 'the capacity' that is known from the result; in the example⁴ 'The cuckoo is

¹ See *Pradīpa* commentary on *Kāvya-prakāśa*, *loc. cit.*: लिङ्गं संयोगातिरिक्तसंबन्धेन परपक्षव्यावर्तको धर्मः ।

² *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, p. 124.

³ Firth, 'The Modes of Meaning', *Essays and Studies*, London, 1951.

⁴ *Kāvya-prakāśa*, *loc. cit.* Even the meaning of ordinary words is restricted by this; thus Puṇyarāja gives the example 'a girl

intoxicated by *madhu* ' (Madhu-mattaḥ kokilaḥ), the word *madhu* means the spring-season, and not honey, since only the former has the power to intoxicate the cuckoo.

(j) *Aucitī* or 'propriety'. The example given in *Kāvya-prakāśa*, is *pātu vo dayitā-mukham* ' May your beloved girl's *mukha* protect you ', here the term *mukha* means 'favour' (*sāṃmukhya*), not 'face', since only the former meaning will be proper in the context.¹

(k) *Deśa* or 'place'. In the sentence 'Here shines *Parameśvara*', the reference to the place (here) shows that by the term *Parameśvara* is meant the king and not God Śiva.

(l) *Kāla* or 'time'. The word *citrabhānu*, meaning both the sun and fire, is restricted to the sun when the reference is during day time, and to the light when the reference is at night.

(m) *Vyakti* or the 'grammatical gender'.² The term *mitra* means 'the sun' when used in the masculine gender and 'a friend' when used in neuter gender.

(n) *Svara* or 'accent'. The meaning of a Vedic passage depends on the proper accent used. Thus the term *indra-śatruḥ* (accent on last syllable) means 'the killer of Indra'; but *indra-śatruḥ* (accent on first

without a waist line' (*anudarā kanyā*) in the sense of 'a girl with a narrow waist line'.

¹ According to Ganganath Jha's translation of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, here it is the meaning of the word *pātu* that is restricted to the sense of 'turning agreeably'.

² For the use of this term in this sense, see Pāṇini, 1. 2. 51.

syllable) means 'one whose killer is Indra'.¹ The *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* refers to the story of Vṛtra who lost his life because of the wrong use of accent in the chanting of the *mantra-s*.²

According to Pāṇini 6. 1. 223 and 6. 2. 1 all compounds have different meanings depending on the position of the accent. In the Vedic language the proper use of accents is absolutely necessary; and even in classical Sanskrit, accent plays an important role in determining the sense of an expression, according to Pāṇini. From the grammatical rules we know that the word *kṣaya* (with the accent on first syllable) means 'abode'; but *kṣaya* (with the accent on the final syllable) means destruction (Pāṇini 6. 1. 20). The importance of accent was neglected in later times, and many of the literary critics assumed that accent need not be considered in literature.³

Accent plays an important role in Chinese and other languages. In English the alteration in sense is clear between the pairs: gallant-gallant, record-record, desert-desert, etc.

The *svara* or 'accent' must be distinguished clearly from *kāku* or 'intonation' which plays a prominent role in bringing out the nuances in most of the languages.

¹ cf. *Pāṇiniya-śikṣā*, verse 52:

मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

² *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, 1. 6. 3. 1.

अथ यदब्रवीद् ईन्द्रशत्रुर्वर्धस्वेति तस्माद् हैनं इन्द्र एव जघान ।

³ कान्यमार्गे स्वरो न गण्यते । See *Kāvya-prakāśa*, IX 84.

The former is capable of objective analysis and belongs to the primary meaning of words, whereas the latter can only suggest subtle variations of meaning. The accent refers mainly to the word, while the intonation applies to the expression as a whole.

This list is not considered exhaustive. Thus *abhinaya* or gesture, *apadeśa* or pointing out directly, etc. are also to be taken as determining the exact meaning of an ambiguous expression.

There is some overlapping also in the functions of these various means of determining the exact meaning of words in ambiguous cases. All this could be classified under three headings: (1) grammatical means such as gender, part of speech, flectional endings, etc., (2) verbal context and (3) non-verbal, situational context. In the *Vākyapadīya*,¹ Bhartṛhari refers again and again to the importance of contextual factors in the determination of the meaning of expressions. It is the context that helps us in understanding elliptical sentences; similarly contextual factors decide whether a word should be taken in its primary sense or in its secondary metaphorical sense.

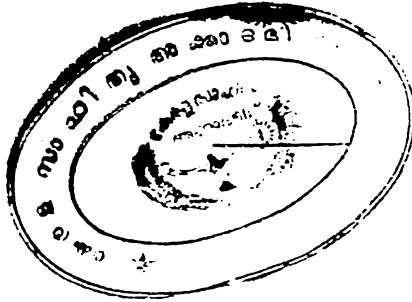
Because of these contextual and grammatical factors determining the intended sense, homonyms do not introduce even the slightest confusion in actual speech. "Such homonyms as 'wood' (noun) and 'would' (verb), for instance, could be confused only in the dream world of Alice in Wonderland."²

¹ *Vākyapadīya*, II 253, 267, 268, 335, 338 etc.

² Bloomfield, *Language*, p. 125.

In Sanskrit the noun *aśvaḥ* can never be confused with the verb *aśvaḥ* (from the root *śvi*). “Actual misunderstandings of any importance are only imaginable when the two words belong to the same part of speech,”¹ and it is quite clear that there could not be any real confusion, as, otherwise, a synonymous word or phrase would have stepped forward to prevent misunderstanding.

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¹ Jespersen, *Language*, p. 285.

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SUPPLEMENT TO LANGUAGE :
BARRIER OR BRIDGE

WORLD TRANSLITERATION WITHOUT
DIACRITICAL MARKS

BY A. SIITAA DEVII

SINCE writing "Language: Barrier or Bridge," a number of people have expressed a wish that there be developed a simple form of transliteration that could be printed in the ordinary press or even written on the lineotype, using no special symbols other than are already at hand. Yet this transliteration should adequately express the nice distinctions that are to be found in all the Indian languages, including, of course, English, Portuguese, Dutch, and French, for they have been indigenous to our soil for generations. Therefore, the following is suggested as a supplementary form of transliteration, where special types are not available, or it is desired to use a certain font of type which does not include these diacritical marks.

Again let us keep a continuity of markings wherever possible. Let us use the double letter to indicate the length of the sound, italics (in typing the underlined stroke) where the palatal is desired, and the apostrophe following that character where a high head sound is to be depicted.

VOWELS

- a—as in "sofa"; aa—as in "father"; a—as in "hat"; aa—the same sound long (Sinhalese);
- i—as in "it" or ii—as in "eat" or y—a very short form of "i" usually the first "receive's" final before another vowel, as in "kyur" vowel in "receive"; vowel; for "cure";
- u—as in "put"; uu—as in "pool"; w—a very short form of "u" usually before another vowel, as in "will.";
- u—as in French "lune"; uu—the same long (Finnish);
- e—as in "get"; ee—as in "straight"; e—as in French "eu"; ee—Finnish long "main", etc. sound of same;
- o—as in "hotel" oo—as in "Roosevelt" or "over";
- o—as in "not"; oo—as in "naught" or "ball"; *oe—as in "boy"; oe—as in Dutch "ui" "Huizen";
- *ae—as in "aeternitas," "nostrae", etc. in Latin, or as in the English "aisle", once spelled "ael"; *ai as in "hai" Ch*
- *ao—as in "Rao," "howl", etc.
- **r—as in "rsi"; rr—as in "pitrrn"; l—as in "klp" ll—same sound long

* A student of Samskrit Sandhi, as well as Latin diphthongs will be familiar with the idea of "ae" the vriddhi combination equalling the sound in "I". Similarly "oe" in Latin was used to represent the diphthong as above shown in "boil." The transliterations of "ai" for "I" and "au" for "howl" are absolutely misleading and inaccurate. In English hundreds of words testify to the accuracy of the Samskrit statement that "a" plus "i" equals the sound of the long vowel "e" as found in Italian and Samskrit. The very pronunciation of the sacred word "AUM" as "OM" testifies to the fact that "a" plus "u" equals the sound of "o" and cannot equal the vriddhi sound of "ao." The French "faute," "baume" etc. are also cases in point. These mistransliterations actually keep students from correctly comprehending the laws of Samskrit Sandhi, and should be dropped for the more accurate Latin transliteration as soon as possible. Only one common word in English mistransliterates "I" as "ai", and that is the word above given "aisle" and its spelling was once "ael" in Latin, but it became confused with another word "isle." If one carefully listens to these sounds as one says them, he will be convinced of the accuracy of the Samskrit and Latin teachings as to Sandhi or union.

** (Samskrit) Vowel "r" or "rr" or "l" or "ll" need no special markings, since they never occur with another vowel before or following, as is always the case with semi-vowel or consonantal "r", and since, also when in the case of sandhi, a vowel is added before or after the vowel "r", the vowel "r" immediately changes into its semi-vowel or consonantal character, as, for example, "maha" plus "rsi" becomes "maharsi," or "tava" plus "lkaara" becomes "tavalkaara," "maatr" plus "aananda" becomes "maatrananda," etc.

CONSONANTS

The consonants are depicted below in the order usually used in Indian languages: The aspirates "kh, gh, ch, jh, *th, dh, th, dh, ph, bh*" are usually pronounced with a forcible expulsion of the breath with the sound of the consonant rather than as a consonant plus a "h" as in "cob-horse." Sounds high in the head will be represented by a consonant plus an apostrophe (g', j', n', d', b', s', z' and after any vowel indicating that it is nasalized, as, for example, in "ka'jur" and "ta'jur", Tibetan classics, and in French "bo," (bon) and in the Hindustani assent "haa"). The one exception is the use of "c" for the two sounds in "church" and "j" for the two sounds in "judge" which would be written respectively "carc" and "jaj", as these two sounds have long become identified in the oriental transliteration for the very high "t" and "d" their phonetic equivalents. (If anyone experiments by forcing a "t" up to the roof of the mouth where an "i" is said he will find it turning into a "c" or if likewise he forces a "d" up to that same point he will find it turning into a "j".) As before stated, the palatals usually represented in transliterations by dots below or by the letter "h" after, as in "sh", "zh" etc., will be hereinafter shown as in italics and written with an underline, as in *t, d, n, s, z*. *Und*

The dental "t" as in "moth" and "d" as in "this", so very common in all Indian languages will remain as in the oriental transliteration as simply "t" and "d". "Th" and "dh" are mistransliterations for these sounds, for these must be used for the aspirate explosives above mentioned.

Only bold-face will accurately express the lower resonance of the Panjabi special sounds, and can be so used. For the aspirates' pronunciation, see above note.

re - lax' Malayalam + Panjabi a

		(k)		$\frac{k}{\text{on}}$		$\frac{g}{\text{on}}$		$\frac{h}{\text{on}}$	
Gutturals		k	kh	g	gh	Ḳ (arabic "q")	hk	hg	ng
as in "Kate"		"gate"		upper		lower		"sing"	
				gutturals				Sindhi special	

Cerebrals		c	ch	j	jh	c	j	(see "s", "z" and "l" below)	n'	j'
as in "church"		"judge"		softer Telugu		special sounds		"canyon"		Sindhi special

Note : As above stated, short nasal will be shown by vowel plus apostrophe.

Palatals		t	th	d	dh	$\frac{r}{rd}$	or r'	$\frac{r}{rdh}$	or r'h	"n"	d'	$\frac{r}{n}$
as in "take"		"read"		"laṛki"						"tender"	Sindhi special s	
(See also below "s" and "z"; "r" and "l".)												

Dentals				<i>Note:</i> "n" will have the special value of the Sanskrit anusvara, as it does in English, that is it will take colour from the class of consonant following it as it does in "bank," "inch," "end," "anthology." When standing alone, it will always have the value of a simple dental "n" as in "net."	
as in	t	th	d		dh
	"moth"		"this"		
	"mother"				
(See "s" and "z" below)					

Labials				Note : " m " will never have the changeable value of the Samskrit anusvara, but will always be unequivocally " m " as in " mat, "			
as in	p	ph	b	bh	f	v	
	" pat		" bat "		" fat "	" vat "	b' Sindhi special

Semi-Vowels		y	w	r	l	r	l	l'
as in "yet"		"wet"				$\frac{r}{\dot{r}}$	$\frac{l}{\dot{l}}$	
				"red"		"led"		Tamil Tamil Italian "ll"
								as in "million"

(See also the complex sound of "rd" under the Palatals, and the note under vowels explaining "y" and "w".)

Sibilants and Aspirates		s'	z'	s	z	s	z	h	$\frac{h}{h}$	$\frac{h}{h}$
as in "S'iva"		"paz'am"		"shot"		"measure"		"set"		soft visarga
		Tamil								guttural
										as in Dutch
										"morgen or
as in "Lakshmii"										Tamil "avarkal"

* Actually the italics or any other special marking for visarga "h" is unnecessary, for in every case where visarga is used a "h" must of necessity be so pronounced. Take the word "du : kham." Whether written "duhkham" or "du:hkham" the same effect will be given, since either "h" or " : " before "k" slightly gutturalizes. In the same way, a final plain "h" is unpronounceable save with a slight after-echo of the

EXAMPLES OF TRANSLITERATION

To each person the transliteration of his own language will look strange. But every other person will breathe a sigh of relief to see another language correctly transliterated.

In Hindustani: "Haa ' mae ' aataa huu'. Lar'kii aatii hae. Ahkbaar aor kaahgaṛ ko lao." **ca k ba a r a o r ka a*

In Tamil: "Paz'am konḍuvaa. Ippoṇ'udu pooh^hiireen."

It may take South Indians who have been misled by the English mistransliteration of double "o" for the sound of long "uu" and double "e" for the sound of long "ii" a little time to acquaint themselves with the European value of these letters, especially as instanced in Dutch, Finnish, etc. If one "e" equals the sound of the "e" in "get," how can two "e's" equal the sound of the double "ii" as in "eat"? If one "o" equals the sound of "o" in "hotel," how can two "o's" suddenly change into the sound of double "uu"? as in "fool"? On the face of it, it is absurd. While most people pronounce from usage the late President Roosevelt's name correctly as the long sound of "o", a few make a travesty of the name by pronouncing it as if it were written "Ruusevelt." Note also in the verb "pooh^hiireen" that the indefinite guttural "h" is used, since the common pronunciation of that word in Tamil is with a very slight guttural. The Tamilian writes a single "k" which by the laws of his phonetics changes into this soft guttural when medial, though the pronunciation of the man of the street will usually show more of a "g" sound than the soft guttural.

previous vowel just as is visarga. So whether a word is written "mu:" or "muh" or simply "muh" would in no way alter its pronunciation. But, because the visarga has its very definite indication to the pandit of a grammatical ending, and, because certain of the verbal roots end in "h", though they are never used in their pure root form and since he would prefer that the visarga be specially indicated by some special sign, ~~the italic form is~~ herein used, though not at all needed from the standpoint of pronunciation.

2 → to suggest the echo idea

In French : “Laa lun ee bel” for “La lune est belle”.

English itself most needs transliteration. How many will recognize the following : “Huic *kat* jamt oovar da fens farst ?” or “Da lav av da *dav* for its meet (or “mait”) was tacing *tuu* sii.”

Yet soo dis *tuu* samwan anfamilyar wid Inglis *and* hii wil proonaons *it* mor akyureetli *dān* if yuu geev him : “Which cat jumped over the fence first ?” and “The love of the dove for its mate was touching to see.” Just try now yourselves to pronounce these last two sentences as ordinarily written according to our oriental transliteration, or according to the Dutch or Italian standards, and laugh to see how odd they would sound. In English one learns pronunciation by the word method, not by syllables as in Indian languages. So good pronouncing dictionaries are an absolute necessity.

In Samskrit : Those who wish to transliterate Samskrit are faced with the problem : Shall I show the origin of the words, splitting up the long Samskrit blocks of two to six words into their component elements ? Or shall I keep the transliteration, syllable by syllable, so that the metre will be maintained and the poetic value not be lost ? The following is a suggestion as to one method by which both needs can be satisfied and even *svara* or pitch inflections be shown. (And if these can be shown in Samskrit, it would be equally applicable to Chinese or any other inflected language.)

Let (·) the decimal or high-point full-stop (inverted full-stop) stand for the Sandhi mark. State clearly in the beginning of the transliteration, after the style of diacritical markings has been explained, the following : All words will be reduced to their original forms, but if the rhythm is to be recaptured, the student must realize that any two sounds

joined by the decimal point must be pronounced as nearly as possible as one sound, the sound after the decimal point pulling into itself the sound before the point.

For example, if one attempts to say the final "a" of "ca" as one with the initial "e" in "eva," we will find that we have only two instead of three syllables, as is always to be the case where the inverted full-stop is set between two vowels. So "ca'eva" is to be pronounced as "caeva." "ma'in" as the English word "main," "a'um" as in the sacred word "OM," "ra'o" as "rao", etc. The simplest form of vowel Sandhi is where the same class of vowels meet each other, but if we do not know the original words we may be actually puzzled as to the meaning of the compound. Is "nityaasakta," when split up, "nitya'aasakta" (ever very much attached) or "nitya'asakta" (ever unattached)? Context may not assist us in revealing the mystery, since by the laws of Sandhi, both these combinations would have the same final blended form.

In the case of the consonants, the beginning student is most puzzled by the fact that "tat" becomes "tad" before a vowel, "tac" before "c" "tan" before "m" or "n", "taj" before "j", and before "s'" the "t" becomes "c" and the "s'" becomes "ch." Yet if the student would stop thinking and merely listen, he would see the invariable attempt to pronounce the two sounds together results in the inevitable Sandhi or blending merely codified by ancient Samskrit grammarians. They preferred to write what they actually said than to write one thing and say another. So the table of Sandhi as given in a Samskrit grammar will merely show the natural and inevitable changes that take place in ordinary speech when a sound of a certain class meets a sound of another class. We are familiar with the

pronunciation of the phonetic "edyukesan" as "ejukesan" or "piktyur" as "pikcur". The change of "dy" to "j" was long since noted and codified in Pali, But Pali is a language with thousands of years of background. Give English a similar background and it will have codified and regularized its phonetic unfoldment.

So let us not think of Samskrit Sandhi as a difficult subject to learn, but rather be grateful to the Samskrit realists who show us facts as they are.

Two passages from "Giitaa": XV 7-8. (Note that if the inverted full-stop is used to draw together the sounds on either side of it, there will be only sixteen syllables in each line (eight plus eight).

mama ^{hh} 'eva'ams'o' jiiva loke	jiiva bhuuta ^{hh} h sanaatana ^{hh} h
mana ^{hh} h sasthaani'indriyaani	prakrti sthaani karsati
s'ariiram yat'avaapnoti	yat'ca'api'utkraamati'iis'vara ^{hh} h
grhiitvaa'etaani samyaati	vaayur gandhaan iva'aas'ayaat

A passage from the Bhaarata Samaaja Puujaa showing svaras or pitch

(It is understood that once the svara sign is shown the syllables remain upon that svara until a change is indicated or a new word is started. All new words are to be considered as starting in the middle svara unless otherwise indicated. Two forms will be given—the first will show the Chinese diacritical marks which are very suggestive. The second what could be done in an ordinary print-shop where these marks are unavailable.)

Using the Chinese accent marks

(')equals upper svara. (')equals lower svara. (-)equals middle svara.

" Hari^h Om. A'pa 'vi-traf 'pa-vi 'tro 'vaa
 'sarva'a-vasthaa'm ga 'to °pi vaa
 'ya^h smare 'et pu 'nda-rii 'ka'axam
 'sa 'baa-hy'aa' bhyan-ta 'ras' s'u' ci-^h

" To the Lord who snatches away our hearts (Hari), OM—Unpurified, purified, or into all situations going likewise, he who remembers the Lotus-eyed one, both outwardly and inwardly is resplendently pure."

But the writer did not even know, when first she sent the above to our press (which has perhaps the finest set of diacritical marks in a private press) whether it would not come back with the comment: "Impossible to print, for these accent marks unattached to vowels are unobtainable." Though we can print French in our press, these marks always occur only over the vowels themselves and are not available separately. But as can be seen above, our Press rose to the occasion. But it will indeed be useful to have a printable alternative. So let us try the following.

Let the inverted comma to the left of the syllable be used for the upper svara and we will invert an apostrophe for the lower svara. As we did in the former example, we will not need the apostrophe to show an incomplete word, for we can show it with the degree sign Ex: "°pi" "Hari^h Om. A'pa,vi-traf 'pa-vi,tro,vaa ,sarva'a-vasthaa'm ga,to °pi vaa. ,ya^h smare't pu'nda-rii,ka'axam ,sa ,baa-hya'a'bhya-nta,ras's'u'ci-^h

For a very small sum the writer had these marks put on her typewriter, instead of marks that were never in use. So the above in preparation for the printer was written on the typewriter itself. For ease in writing, likewise a key with an underline can be made "dead," as is also done when typewriters are prepared to use the ordinary diacritical dots and points. With the dead underline, it is easy to show all the palatals.

As for writing by hand, this new type of marking will be found much easier than the old, for the underline can be drawn under two consecutive letters, as often must be done, since two palatals will follow each other, and it is easier to draw this underline than to dot under each individual palatal.

So above is depicted a form of transliteration in which even pitch inflection as well as vowel and consonantal characteristics can be shown clearly without the aid of marks not obtainable in the ordinary print shop. The use of the double letters for the long vowels is especially intriguing. It will be noted that, after having used these over a period of months, "Sītā Devī" automatically and irresistibly became "Siitaa Devii" and one has to catch oneself from writing one's friends names in the same phonetic transliteration, it is so contagious. Comments on the above will be especially welcome.

One more point that should be added : Some of those most highly valued letters coming from abroad have asked me why the writer did not mention the splendid work that is being done in the field of an All-World Language by Esperanto, Interlingual, etc. etc. The answer is simple : Because at no time did the writer feel she was entering that field. In the attempt to form a grammatical code, it was primarily to depict for the shorthand writer a code that would take care of the existing grammar of *all* languages. Therefore, it included the dual persons of Sanskrit, the Atmanepada mood—in fact every grammatical structure of which the writer had knowledge. In the field of an All-World Language, this is never done—the maker of the language simply decides the code that he desires to use and attempts to build an artificial structure. "Language : Barrier or Bridge" dealt with the language situation *as it now is*, attempting only to construct a code that would act as a common denominator between the *already* existent languages

of the world. That is why the writer, thinking her field a unique one, did not make comparisons between her work and the artificially constructed "world languages" already existent. In fact she would have coded their grammars in the same way as she coded the natural languages and made use of their dictionaries similarly. But again all comments are most welcome and they are very carefully studied and pondered over, to see what use can be made of them in the writer's scheme. It was a visit from a linguist in Madras protesting that he did wish a non-diacritical transliteration system could be evolved that has led to the above effort, for his seed, though sown in the beginning in apparently stony and unreceptive ground, eventually pushed its way up into fruition.

This System above given in no way supersedes the charts given on pp. 16-17 of "Language : Barrier or Bridge," which build upon the present Oriental System of Transliteration now in use and give scripts and details herein omitted. But the writer sees clearly that the present trend is towards simplification of markings as shown in the suggestions of Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, Swami Sivananda, and many other popular writers for the press. Even if the Orientalists wish to continue with and add to what is not and never has been an All-India System of Transliteration, we must provide for the needs of those who would properly express the whole of India's sound repertory in her many printing presses and their many fonts of type.

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“ LANGUAGE : BARRIER OR BRIDGE ”
—SUPPLEMENT TWO

CAN WE BEGIN AFRESH ?

BY A. SIITAA DEVII

THE eternal war in the world goes on between the conservative and radical elements—those who would hold fast to the *status quo* and those who would ruthlessly change what seems out of date and antiquated. But Truth itself is eternal and should never be prejudged by the rule of newness or oldness. Its discovery or rediscovery should be hailed with delight, regardless of the amount of trouble it may cause a world that has heretofore recognized an only partially right truth. When a few months ago a scientist boldly proved that the speed of light had previously been miscalculated, the scientific world accepted and readjusted accordingly, and no one complained that because so many books, rules, measures, and even mechanical robots would have to be re-adjusted to conform with the newly discovered truth, we should reject it.

But Science has always been the high-priest of truth and scientists, true scientists, live only to discover the fuller expression of Truth, and are willing to scrap innumerable times their old truths when a new truth requires it, as fuel for the

altar of their God. Industry which has worked hand in hand with Science now for many years has likewise learned her lesson well, and is willing to scrap even costly machines when they become obsolescent or out-of-date, and as a consequence Industry and Science are constantly progressing and never static.

But in the Cultural fields are we as ready to accept a Truth or even to consider it? Will not a better system of education have to batter its way throughout generation after generation before it wins attention in orthodox circles? With the exception of a small minority of iconoclasts we prefer to follow in the footsteps of our fathers, grandfathers, and their forefathers in anything that concerns our cultural outlook, whether it be in education, art, and especially in language. Of course, even in these fields we must inevitably change, for change only is the eternal rule of life, but the changes are not consciously willed improvements, but the unconscious, almost imperceptible, adjustments that life makes to that which hinders or helps it in its evolutionary growth.

We are most hidebound in the linguistic field. Though our languages are constantly and inevitably changing, few languages will attempt to set deliberately their houses in order, wipe out anachronisms, in other words "streamline" their linguistic vehicle so that it may travel more swiftly, more smoothly, and with less resistance in the modern world. Dutch is a notable exception. Its spelling was obsolete and involved, and no longer conformed to pronunciation. Government officially adopted a newer form that was eagerly accepted by the young, though, of course, the conservatives objected and still continue to spell and write in the old way. Though brave spirits such as Pitman, Shaw, and other pioneers in the linguistic field have endeavoured for many many

decades to get a rational system of spelling for English, Government takes no action, and the ultra conservatives will not change even the spelling of such a word as "knight" because they claim "We will not be able to recognize its derivation if we change its name." Yet since the derivation of the word is from Anglo-Saxon "cniht", German and Dutch "knecht", and Danish "knegt," it is very questionable if "knight" in any way does point to the true derivation and certainly in no way indicates the real pronunciation. "Daughter" likewise comes from Anglo-Saxon "dohtor," Scottish "dochter," German "tochter," Greek "thygater", and Samskrit "duhitṛ." Even to go back to the Anglo-Saxon "dohtor" would be an improvement over our present spelling, though not 100 percent phonetic. Since the majority of our words have completely changed their spellings from the words of their ancestral lines, and sometimes even for the worse, as in the case of "aisle" which was once more phonetically written "ael", it seems pointless to contend for what is not even a really derived spelling on the grounds of its historic value.

Some object to an All-India Transliteration Scheme on the grounds that we should follow what was given us by "Max Muller and Pope" for Samskrit and Tamil and not start anything we would have to "learn afresh". But neither of these illustrious linguists attempted an All-India Transliteration. They considered India as hopelessly divided and only attempted to give some form of spelling that would arbitrarily for each language convey the idea of the particular sounds of that language. Nor did Pope give a system of transliteration. He in his handbooks only shows on one page in the beginning the English equivalents for the Tamil sounds where possible. Max Muller's system of transliteration,

as given in "The Sacred Books of the East" series is not at present followed by Orientalists, for he suggested the use of italics to represent the palatals and many other differences, since he attempted to minimize the use of dots under consonants.

As a matter of record and appreciation, the one heroic attempt to unify the languages of India in a common transliteration was made by the great linguist H. H. Wilson, the Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, and in 1855 he gives "A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms", showing the respective scripts and a transliteration that covers some 70 sounds and involves the use of single, double, and triple dots under a number of the letters, because it covers the field of Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Samskrit, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Oriya, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil, and Malayalam. All honour to a magnificent attempt to unify India in the early days, though naturally it failed to win wide acceptance, because types were and still are unobtainable in both western and eastern print shops. Nor was there an attempt in this system to make a common diacritical mark do duty throughout for a certain idea, as, for example, the dot under signifying a palatal, but rather he listed all the sounds available and put one, two, or three dots under in an arbitrary way to cover the sounds isolated.

A really fine suggestion for Tamil transliteration, though it was a "broad" one, taking no account of all the sounds covered in one Tamil letter and merely transliterating the letter, as such, is the one given by Prof. J. R. Firth (Phonetician of Indian Languages, Oxford) in Arden's Grammar of Tamil (revised edition, 1934). Following the scheme of "World Orthography" he lists the vowels as "a, aa, i, ii, u, uu, e, ee, ai, o, oo, and au." But again, coming to the con-

sonants, he uses the special characters adopted in "World Orthography" which, while very graphic, are not to be found in the print-shops of the world and are, therefore, not usable NOW.

An attempt to bridge the gap between the time when special characters would be available in print shops for the difference between "t" as in "turn" and "t" as in "thin", etc. and our present inadequate equipment was made in the first supplement to "Language: Barrier or Bridge" which was published in 17th Feb. 1952, Vol. XVI, Pt. 1. Briefly there it was suggested that the high head sounds be represented by the apostrophe ('), the palatals by italics (as was done by Max Muller), the long sounds as are treated in "World Orthography" by doubling the letters. However, in this supplement exception was taken to the use of "ai," and "au" for the sound of the vowels in "eye" and "how" as violating both the rules of Samskrit Sandhi, Latin, and present English usage which has only one mistransliterated word "aisle", above mentioned, which was once rightly spelled "ael." "Main, strain, gain," etc. are all English words testifying to the correctness of the idea that "a" plus "i" equals the sound of "e" as set forth in Samskrit Sandhi. Similarly the French usage of "a" plus "u" for the sound of "o" is a true heritage from Samskrit. Supplement One urged the use of "ae" and "ao" and "oe" for the sounds represented in "eye", "how," and "boil" and anyone who listens to the actual sounds of these compounds slowly said will see that Samskrit and Latin (and English also in its use of "ai", as above noted) are right as to their make up.

In Supplement One, again a protest was made against the use of the extremely misleading "ee" for the long sound of

“i” and the equally misleading “oo” for the long sound of “u” instead of the logical “ii” and “uu.” Several systems of transliteration, attempting to reform English spelling, yet still permitting this anomaly, even before the beginning of this century, drew forth the fire of the great English grammarian, Dr. Sweet, who succinctly said: “It is unphonetic to make *ee* the long of *i* and to assign *e* itself to another distinct sound, namely that in *set*.” He argued that any system that permitted such an unphonetic error in its system would be on a most “unphonetic basis.” Unfortunately this error has gained a firm hold in popular Indian transliterations, and it is a common thing to see Raama’s wife’s name being spelled as “Seeta” though if it were so written in Tamil as சீதை all would be shocked. Dr. Sweet urged a return to the original Roman values (which are likewise Indian) where “long vowels have the same signs as the short ones, with such modifications as are required to show the quantity, as in *sit*, *siit* . . . equalling *sit*, *seat*.” He himself used a form of “iy” for “ii” and “uw” for the long sound of “u”, but as “w” is confused in India with the Indian “v”, the simple double letters, as suggested by Dr. Firth and in “Supplement One to Language: Barrier or Bridge” seem much more suitable and simpler. But the main object in Supplement One was to give a system of transliteration that could express adequately *all* of India’s many languages (including French and Dutch and English) without special diacritical marks. Today if a writer wishes to distinguish between “Raama” or “Ramaa” “Brahma or Brahmaa” in an Indian daily newspaper, how can he do so without the use of the double vowels? Newspapers and most journals carry no long vowel sounds, so if he wished to say “Rāma and His shakti Ramā, Brahma and the creative Brahmā,” he will find published “Rama and His

shakti Rama, Brahma and the creative Brahma ', something utterly meaningless to author and reader alike.

But always will come the objection : " How can we start afresh ? " The reverence for the printed word always makes us dislike to feel that a way of writing should be changed, yet if the reader examines a book written even in the early part of last century, he will find it difficult to make out some of the letters which are very confusing to our modern eyes. Our own personal likes or dislikes should not enter into the question. Is it a better way, is it a truer representation of the sound, should be our only consideration. If it is, then we should be willing to be as brave as are our scientists and industrialists and set about its use even if we alone are the first users. Many will follow a sensible course, when outlined, and soon we shall find we are no longer in the foreground but that someone else inspired by our boldness has already thought out a better way and has passed us on the way. Then we, in our turn, should reconnoitre and see if he has a truer truth, and if, be it, he has, we should in our own turn follow. For there can be only one thing alone that can lead us to our ultimate goal, and that is the pure light of Truth.
