

GRAMMAR
IN
LĪLĀTILAKAM

A CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY.

BY
L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR M.A., B.L.
(Maharaja's College, Ernakulam).



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*From
Prof: E. L. Antony's
Collections*

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P R E F A C E .

The Malayālam language had by about the fourteenth century not only struggled out of its swaddling-clothes, but developed into a healthy, blooming youth, full of initiative and creative vigour. Kēraḷabhāṣā had already produced maṇipravāla works like Uṇṇiyādicaritam, Uṇṇiyaccicaritam, Uṇṇinīlisaṇ-dēsam and the numerous verses cited by Līlātilakam, a different type of compositions like Rāmacaritam written in conformity to the older pāṭṭu tradition, prose works like Dūtavākyam, and commentaries like Kauṭaliyam bhāṣā. The fifteenth century witnessed the efflorescence of the campu on the one side, and on the other the birth of Kṛṣṇagāthā and of the works of the Niraṇaṁ Paṇikkars. The fourteenth century Līlātilakam, therefore, has a special significance, standing as it does between the earliest extant compositions of Malayālam and the fifteenth century works. The grammatical portion of this work forms, so to say, a vantage-post from which the student of the history of the Malayālam language can cast his eyes forwards and backwards into the surrounding terrain.

Līlātilakam is important in other ways too. It argues out, and continually stresses, the independence of the bhāṣā of Kēraḷa, even while it envisages intimate affinities to Tamil. Again, the commentary occasionally displays a rare acumen in the analysis of linguistic phenomena and processes. Further, the work shows a fairly close acquaintance with Tamil grammars, particularly Tolkāppiyam, besides a profound knowledge of the grammatical literature of Sanskrit (and of Prakrit).

The relationship of Malayālam to the earlier stages of Tamil is congenital, while the relationship to Sanskrit is that of a deeply devoted cēla to a guru. The kinship to Tamil is impliedly admitted (though not elaborated on a historical basis) by Līlātilakam. As for the relationship to Sanskrit, this work refused to under-estimate the importance of the innumerable rūḍha elements of bhāṣā, even while it shared the popular contemporary view which looked upon Sanskrit as the ultimate source of all languages.

An exhaustive treatment of the grammar of Malayālam can, of course, not be expected in a work, the chief object of which is the explanation of the lakṣaṇa of maṇipravāla. Many essential points are, therefore, omitted or imperfectly handled ; but this in no way detracts from the value of the linguistic material available in the work.

The present essay is not a mere summary. I have tried to interpret the data in terms of modern Linguistics and with reference to texts and inscriptions of contemporary and neighbouring periods. Forms of sister speeches (particularly Tamil) have been cited, both for elucidation and for comparison. I have throughout aimed at the assessment of the value of the material of Līlātilakam for a study of the older stages of Malayālam.

The lack of transliterations with diacritical marks might perhaps narrow the appeal of my book, but will not (I venture to hope) diminish its usefulness to students of the Malayālam language.

JULY 1944.

L. V. RAMASWAMI.

GRAMMAR IN LĪLĀTILAKAM

THE discovery, a few decades ago, of Līlātilakam, the fourteenth century treatise on Malayalam rhetoric and grammar, was hailed by scholars as once for all removing the reproach that Malayalam possessed no indigenous grammars of its own, prior to the works published in the nineteenth century. Sentimental considerations apart, Līlātilakam is something in the nature of a treasure-trove to students of the evolution of early Malayalam. The work, while primarily concerned with the Maṇipravāḷa form, contains also discussions of Malayalam linguistic features which, though neither exhaustive nor in some points even adequate, have a unique evidentiary value in the study of the evolution of the Malayalam language.

The vyākhyās to the first and the last sūtras of the first Śilpa are important in as much as the former set explains, through a number of *obiter dicta*, the individuality of the Malayalam language as distinguished from Tamil, and comments upon some of the fundamental linguistic features marking off Malayalam from Tamil, while the latter defines the linguistic characteristics of the literary form known as pāṭṭu which formed part of the literary heritage of Kerala.

The second śilpa treats about (i) the nature and the contents of the vocabulary of Malayalam Maṇipravāḷa, (ii) the phonetics of unique Dravidian sounds, and (iii) the morphology of Malayalam inflexions.

The third śilpa is exclusively devoted to the examination of the rules of vocalic and consonantal *sandhi* in external positions in Malayalam.

The evidentiary value of the grammatical and linguistic observations of *Lilātilakam* has, however, to be assessed with reference to the data supplied by early inscriptions and by properly collated editions of Old Malayalam literary texts. At the same time, the materials in this grammar have to be interpreted critically with reference to the extent to which a conservative linguistic tradition may have influenced the outlook of this work.

The object of the present paper is to examine the grammatical portion of *Lilātilakam* from these view-points.

Silpa I, 1. Commentary.

Though *Lilātilakam*, like many medieval Indian grammars, held the view that Sanskrit was the source¹ of all other languages, and though even the explanation of the ശ്രേണി elements of ഓഷാ attributes a remote² (but at present untraceable) Sanskrit origin to these elements, there is no attempt in *Lilātilakam* to minimise or underrate the differences between Sanskrit and what *Lilātilakam* calls ഓഷം. These differences are not only implied in the definition of മണിപ്രവാളം, but they are also expressly brought out in different portions of the work. The peculiarities of the “Dravidian sound-stock” (“ദ്രാവിഡമൗഢം”) are carefully marked off in I, 1 and II, 7, and a whole chapter is devoted to the discussion of ഓഷാസന്ധി. The specialities of the morphology of ഓഷാ claim another chapter³ for

1. “സംസ്കൃതമനാദി; അന്യഭാഷിമതേ; തന്യസംസ്കൃതാത് ലഭ വസ്തുതം” in II, 4, commentary.

“ഓഷായംസ്സംഗിതപാത്; ആദിത്യാസ്യാസ്സംസ്കൃതമിത്യാസ്സേവയം” in VII, 26, commentary.

2. “അത്യന്തതിരോഹംവാദമേനഗഭ്യതേ; തത്രാഭ്യന്തപദപ്രത്യയേ”.

themselves. Syntactical distinctions are envisaged in the course of the commentary on II, 11. In vocabulary the existence of a vast stock of *ഭാഷാ* words is implied in the discussion in the commentary on II, 4. Further, what is described in II, 6, as the *ഭാഷാ* of Sanskrit words is based on a recognition of the differences between *ഭാഷാ* and Sanskrit.

I, 1.

The term *തമിഴ്* had been from a very early time equated in Kerala to the language of the west coast, apparently because of its intimacy in the earliest stages to the language of the east coast.

Lilātilakam refers to this meaning of *തമിഴ്* in the following:—

“തമിഴ് മണിത്വമേ തമിഴിതികേരളഭാഷാ ഗുഹ്യതേ, ന ചോളാഭി
ഭാഷാ; കേരളാനാം ദ്രമിഡശബ്ദാപ്യതപാദപദഭാഗേന തദ് ഭാഷാം തമിഴി
ത്വമ്യതേ” [I, 1].

“മാറ്റംഗിക്കെർന്നുടേയ്ക്കത്ര വാ ‘തമിഴ്’ ഇതി കഥം കഥ്യതേ’...
അത ഏവ ‘തമിഴ്’ ഇതി വ്യാപാരഭാഗേ [I, 4].

This meaning seems to have been current in Kerala till a comparatively late period, as shown by expressions like *തമിഴ് കേരളം*, *തമിഴായിക്കൊണ്ടുവരിയിക്കിന്റേൻ* and *തമിഴ് കേരളം* (=ഭാഷാകാവ്യം).

Lilātilakam, however, uses the term not in this sense but only in the wider sense of Tamil-Malayālam as a group (with common characteristics). This meaning is preferred, firstly because the work regards the term *തമിഴ്* as a modification of Sanskrit *ഭാഷാ* and therefore it could be applied only to the *ഭാഷാ* group of languages (viz. the Tamil-Malayalam group, according to *Lilātilakam*), and secondly because the language of the west coast had by the time of *Lilātilakam* developed so many independent features as to invalidate the exclusive restriction of the term *തമിഴ്* to the west coast speech.

This extended meaning of the word would be evident from observations like the following in Lilātilakam.

“ഭൂമിധരേണ കേരളം അധി തമിഴ് ഇത്യസ്താഭിരവംസ്ഥിതം” [I, 1].

“‘ററ’ ഇത്യേതച്ച ‘തമിഴ്’ അക്ഷരരത്നന അഭ്യുപഗതമിതിബോധ്യം” [II, 7].

“നന്ന ‘ന’കാര കരം ‘തമിഴ്’ ഏവ ഭവതി?” [II, 7].

“ഹലാം അഷ്ടാദശഭേദഃ ‘തമിഴ്’ മാഗ്ദ്രേണൈവ പ്രതിപാദിതഃ [III, 29].

The use by Lilātilakam of the term ‘തമിഴ്’ for the Tamil—Malayalam group necessitated the employment of distinctive terms for the speeches of the east and west coasts. Lilātilakam chose to call the former പാഞ്ചഭാഷാ or പൊളഭാഷാ or പൊളപാഞ്ചഭാഷാ, apparently because at the time of Lilātilakam the people of the പൊള and the പാഞ്ച countries spoke and wrote more or less the same language, while the speech of Kerala (or the older പേരശേര) had already developed unique peculiarities of its own. On the other hand, Lilātilakam called the language of the west coast കേരളഭാഷാ, when it had to be distinguished from other ശേരഭാഷാs, and ഭാഷാ when the west coast speech had to be marked off from Sanskrit.

I, 1.

“Though Sanskrit appears mingled with Tamil and with other languages, the സംജ്ഞാ “പ്രാപ്തം” is not given to any of these; this സംജ്ഞാ is in currency as a നിത്യധർമ്മം, only for the commingling of Kēraḷa-bhāṣa and Sanskrit.”

While it is quite true to say that the സംജ്ഞാ “പ്രാപ്തം” belongs *par excellence* to the Kerala type, in view of the extraordinary development which this *genre* has attained in the west coast, it cannot be said that the term itself was not known or current in Tamil from a fairly early period.

The eleventh century Tamil Grammar, *വീരപോഴിയം*, observes in the 40th sūtra of അലങ്കാരപ്പദം :—

“ഇക്കടയേവദൈവശൃത്തേയിൽ വിരവിതൽ—ഇരണ്ടുതുകക
നക്കടയേതുമിലാ മണിപ്പിരവാളം.”

“The composition in which non-Tamil Sanskrit letters (sounds) are introduced, is of the mixed type. This is മണിപ്പ്രവാളം in which എതുകക does not exist at all”.

“പടൊഴുത്തു” here envisages non-Tamil Sanskrit sounds which were usually represented with ഗ്രന്ഥാക്ഷര symbols in Tamil. Further, the reference to the absence of the എതുകക in മണിപ്പ്രവാള compositions is significant.

For Tamil ചെമ്മുതം, തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ permitted only two types of Sanskrit loans:— Sanskrit words that could be represented unaltered in Tamil with Tamil symbols, and (ii) adaptations of Sanskrit words containing unique Sanskrit sounds, according to certain definite rules of change. Neither തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ nor the Tamil grammatical tradition of later centuries contemplates the use in Tamil poetic composition (or in literature, generally speaking) of the non-Tamil sounds of Sanskrit.

But a large body of religious *prose* commentaries in which Sanskrit words containing non-Tamil sounds (represented with ഗ്രന്ഥാക്ഷര symbols) were used, appeared to have cropped up in the Tamil country during the post-Rāmānuja period after about the middle of the 12th century.

വീരപോഴിയം probably refers to early Jaina specimens of similar മണിപ്പ്രവാള prose commentaries and religious treatises, through the സൂത്ര mentioned above.

A few prominent Vaiṣṇavite commentaries of the post-Rāmānuja period are ആരാധിരപ്പടി (by നീലക്കുരുക്കകുറ്റിരൻ ചിള്ളാൻ). പന്നിരയിരപ്പടി (by മണവാളച്ചിയർ), ഇഴുഴുമുപ്പത്താരായിരം (by വടക്കത്തീരവീതിപ്പിള്ളൈ) and the commentaries by പെരിയവാച്ചാൻ ചിള്ളൈ.

I give below one or two specimen passages from ആറായിരപ്പടി ഉരെ in which long Sanskrit compounds, adapted with Tamil endings, are common, and very rare ; ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃത forms are also met with.

“അനംശ്രിതരഞ്ഞക്കനയേനം ഉത് കൃഷ്ണരേയാകിലും അവർകളുടെ യജ്ഞാനുകൂളിക്കോഗോചരനായ്, അനന്യഭക്തികളായിരുപ്പോർക്കു പുരമസുലഭനായ്, താളശഭക്തിഹീനനായിരിക്കച്ചെയ്തേ എന്നയെന്നസിദ്ധഭോഗ്യനായ്”

“നിത്യനിദ്രോഷനിരതിശയകല്യാണദിവ്യധാമത്തിന് പണ്ണും പ്രേമത്തെ എൻപക്കലിലേ പണ്ണു കൊണ്ടു്, സർവ്വദിവ്യഭൂഷണായുധഭൂഷിതമായ് നിരതിശയസൗഖ്യകൃഷ്ണകല്യാണഗുണവിശിഷ്ടമായ്.....

While, as a general rule, only Tamil endings are met with for Sanskrit forms, Sanskrit inflexional forms with Sanskrit endings are also rarely met with:-

സർവ്വാത്ഥനം അസംഭാവിതമാന.....

സ്വപനൈവ രൂപേണ.....

ദിനേ ദിനേ.....

...യേനകേനാപി പ്രകാരേണ സക്ഷാത് വാ പരമ്പരയാ വാ എനോടു സംബന്ധമുടൈടയാർകളെല്ലാരും ഭഗവദേകഭോഗാനുഭവം.

അയത്തേന നാൻ പെരേറൻ

നരനാരായണ സ്വരൂപേണ അവതരിത്തവരൈ.....

These nominal forms are usually third case forms and rarely seventh case ones ; I have not been able to locate any second case or fifth case forms of Sanskrit in these texts. Nor have I come across conjugational forms of Sanskrit verbs (with Sanskrit endings) in these. In these respects, Tamil മണിപ്രവാള sharply differs from Malayalam മണിപ്രവാള which embodies Sanskrit forms with all kinds of Sanskrit endings.

Though, thus the മണിപ്രവാള style exists in certain Tamil prose compositions, the following fundamental differences between the മണിപ്രവാള style of Tamil and that of Malayālam have to be noted :—

a) The മണിപ്രവാള style appears in Tamil *only* in prose treatises or commentaries. തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ's definition of “പെരുമാൾ” cannot apply to them in as

much as they use tatsamas of all kinds of Sanskrit words in which the non-Tamil sounds are represented through ഗ്രന്ഥാക്ഷര symbols,—a practice which has not the sanction of തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ or of Tamil grammatical tradition.

In Malayāḷam, however, the dominance of the influence of Sanskrit has been such that a system of ആളു എഴുതു was evolved, and non-Tamil Sanskrit sounds were freely used in Malayāḷam poetic and prose literature alike (whether the poetic compositions were composed in Sanskrit metres or in native metres).

Thus the മണിപ്രവാള form was assimilated in Malayāḷam literature, while in Tamil it was held strictly outside Tamil “ചെറുതു”.

b) Not only were Sanskrit words containing non-Tamil sounds freely used in Malayāḷam, but the presence of ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃത forms (i. e. Sanskrit nominal forms with Sanskrit declensional endings and Sanskrit verbs with Sanskrit conjugational endings) was postulated as a *sine qua non* of the മണിപ്രവാള type of composition.

For Tamil, though rare ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃത inflexional forms occur, they do not appear to have been intimately woven into the texture of മണിപ്രവാള compositions.

Contrast, in this respect, Malayāḷam മണിപ്രവാള works like ഉണ്ണുനീലിസന്ദേശം (written in Sanskrit metres) in which passages with ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃത forms blended with native ones are so common, or even കണ്ണശ്ശരാമായണം (written in native metres) in which also passages like the following are met with :

ശുക്രവാണിം ചമ ഭാജ്യം കണ്ടിരേ . . .

...നിത്യസുഖമപരാൽ മററുള്ള നിമേഷസുഖാഭാസേവ നരാണാം സകരിവിട്ടമ്പേൽ . . .

c) As a result of the assimilation of the മണിപ്രവാള type of composition into Malayalam literature, other

stylistic and rhetorical features also came to be regarded as essentials of Malayālam മണിപ്രവാള compositions.

These differences explain the reason why the commentary on ലീലാതിലകം makes the observation: “സം പുനഃ കേരളഭാഷാസംസ്കൃതയോഗ എവ നിരൂപ്യ പന്തമനം സമുപലഭ്യതേ.”

I, 1.

In the course of the discussion of the question of the possibility of the “occurrence of the Tamil words in Malayālam മണിപ്രവാള compositions”, the commentary adumbrates an argument which is later countered. The argument runs thus :—

“The [words of the] language of a country appear mingled with those of neighbouring languages. Hence, in the Tamil grammatical system laid down by Agastya and others, some among the twenty-four neighbouring speeches are described as ലിഗ ഭാഷാ existing in Tamil. The rule is laid down thus: “യയറ ചൊററിരിചൊറിച്ചൊഴൊൾ വടചൊഴെൻറനൈന്തേ ചെഴുളീട്ടച്ചൊഴ്ലേ” Hence, Tamil words might occur in Malayalam as ലിഗ ഭാഷാ”.

This portion call for number of comments.

(1) The സൂത്ര cited here is the first സൂത്ര of എച്ചുവി യൽ in ചൊല്ലതികാരം of തൊൽകാപ്പിയം. The സൂത്ര provides for different types of words for the composition of ചെഴുൾ: - ഇയറ ചൊൽ (native words with meanings unimpaired in different parts of Tamil നാട്), തിരിചൊൽ (the type in which one word may have different meanings, and the type in which the same meaning may be denoted by different words), തിരിച്ചൊൽ (regional words) and വടചൊൽ (Indo-āryan words).

An examination of the തൊൽകാപ്പിയം rules explaining these types (see below) would show that തിരിച്ചൊൽ meant ‘dialectal words’ and വടചൊൽ ‘borrowals of Indo-āryan words’.

The compound *ഭിഗ്ഭാഷാ* of the *പിലാതിലകം* commentary is intended to convey the idea of the Tamil term *തിരൈച്ചൊൽ*; but (as will be seen later) the expression *ഭിഗ്ഭാഷാ* used by *പിലാതിലകം* conveys a much more comprehensive meaning than 'dialectal words', and certainly includes the idea of '(words of) neighbouring speeches'.

(2) In order to understand the reference in the *പിലാതിലകം* commentary to the speeches of the *twenty-four* regions surrounding the Tamil country ("പരിതോദേശചതുർവിംശതിഭാഷാസു"), a brief survey of the *sūtras* of *തൊൽകാപ്പിയം* and of the old Tamil commentaries is necessary.

The two relevant *sūtras* of *തൊൽകാപ്പിയം* are those defining *ഘനർചൊൽ* and *തിരൈച്ചൊൽ*.

I translate them literally below:

"Words which are in consonance with usage in *ചെന്തമിഴ്* land and which maintain their meanings unimpaired (*പഴക്കമെ*) belong to the *ഘനർചൊൽ* type".

"Words which have their own significations in the twelve regions where *ചെന്തമിഴ്* is spoken, constitute the *തിരൈച്ചൊൽ* type".

Though *തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ* makes neither here nor elsewhere any distinction between *ചെന്തമിഴ്* and *കൊടുന്തമിഴ്* and though the meaning of *ചെന്തമിഴ്* ചേർന്ന in the phrase "*ചെന്തമിഴ്* ചേർന്ന പന്നിരുനിലത്തു" need not necessarily mean or imply "adjoining to or separate from *ചെന്തമിഴ്* territory", the commentarians *ഇളയുരണർ* (impliedly) and *ചേനാവരയർ* (expressly) do make a distinction between *ചെന്തമിഴ്* land and *കൊടുന്തമിഴ്* tracts, demarcate the frontiers of the former, and enumerate a number of place-names as constituting the latter.

തെയ് വല്ലഭയ്യനാർ, another commentarian, advances arguments to show that such a distinction between

ചെന്തമിഴ് നാട് and കൊടുന്തമിഴ് നാട് is not justified. He cites in support of his view the പാതിരം of തൊൽകാപ്പിയം which mentions വേങ്കടം as the northern boundary of തമിഴ്കൂടനല്ലുക and കരരി (regarded by some as a river which is said to have disappeared in the process of a pre-historic land-submergence) as the southern boundary.

തെയ് വച്ചിലൈയാർ further says that those who would interpret “ചെന്തമിഴ് ചേർത്ത്” as “outside ചെന്തമിഴ് territory” would consider the പന്തിരുന്നിലം to be the following (and not the twelve കൊടുന്തമിഴ് tracts mentioned by ഇളമ്പുണ്ണർ and ചേമ്പാവരെയർ):— പഴന്തീപം, കൊല്ലം, കൂപകം, മിങ്കളം, കൊങ്കണം, തുളുവം, കടകം, കൻറകം, കര നടു, വടക, തെലികം and കലികം.

Yet another commentarian, നച്ചിനാർക്കുനിയർ, distinguishes ചെന്തമിഴ് നാട് from കൊടുന്തമിഴ് നാട്, but envisages *twenty-four* tracts as the possible sources of തിരൈച്ചൊൽ: the twelve tracts of കൊടുന്തമിഴ് നാട്, (mentioned by ഇളമ്പുണ്ണർ and ചേമ്പാവരെയർ) and the *other* twelve tracts (mentioned by തെയ് വച്ചിലൈയാർ towards the end of his commentary on the sūtra relating to തിരൈച്ചൊൽ).

When the commentary on ലീലാതിരകം speaks of *twenty-four* neighbouring speeches, it adverts to a view which is reflected in നച്ചിനാർക്കുനിയർ's commentary.¹

(3) A strictly rigorous interpretatoin of തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ's definitions of ഇയറ് ചൊൽ and തിരൈച്ചൊൽ shows that the term “തിരൈച്ചൊൽ” meant “provincialism” or “dialectal word,” and this meaning is more in fitting with the literal signification of തിരൈ (Sanskrit तिर).

1. The grammar നന്മൽ speaks of the twelve (കൊടുന്തമിഴ്) regions and, besides, കൻപതിററിരണ്ടിനിറാമിഴൊഴിനിപം (“the eighteen lands from which Tamil has to be excluded”)

ഇളമ്പുരണർ and ചേനാവരെയർ, through their demarcation of ചെന്തമിഴ് നാട് from കൊടുന്തമിഴ് നാട്, seems to have imported into the interpretation of the തൊൽകാപ്പിയം rules a degree of linguistic separation which perhaps was true of their own days but not of the days of തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ.

നച്ചിനാർക്കിനിയർ (when he speaks of twenty-four regions) and നന്തൽ (with its reference to 12 regions of കൊടുന്തമിഴ് land and the 17 other tracts) evidently gave a very wide meaning to the term തിരച്ചൊച്ചൊൽ and included in it the idea of "words of neighbouring speeches".

നച്ചിനാർക്കിനിയർ's forced explanation of "ചെന്തമിഴ് ചേർത്ത പന്നിരുന്നിലത്തും" as "ചെന്തമിഴ് നാട്ടെട്ടച്ചുഴ്ത്ത പന്നിരണ്ടെന്നും പുറത്തുഴ്ത്ത പന്നിരണ്ടെന്നിലത്തും" is hardly loyal to the spirit of the തൊൽകാപ്പിയം rule.

The reference to the *twenty-four* regions and the equation of ലിഗ്ഭാഷാ to വർത്തശ്ശേഖാഷാ show that the ലീലാതിലകം commentary also used the term ലിഗ്ഭാഷാ in a very wide sense: "(words of) neighbouring speeches."

I, 1.

The commentary expresses the opinion that the Kannada and Telugu peoples and their languages do not belong to the Dramiḍa group which latter (in its view) is constituted only of Tam. and Mal. This may have to be interpreted to-day as merely implying that the commentary recognised the closer relationship of Mal. to Tam. than to Tel. or to Kann. The commentary gives the following reasons:— (i) what is venerated as the dramiḍa veda is written in Tam., and it exclusively belongs to that language; and (ii) the sound-system of Kann. and of Tel. is different from the phonetic stock of the Tam.-Mal. group. The first reason would not stand scrutiny. By dramiḍa veda, the commentary means the 8th century Tam. work called Tiruvāy-mōli

of Śaṭhakōpa, a Sanskrit metrical translation of which was styled ക്രമോപനിഷത്സംഗതി.

The argument that because the languages of the Kannaḍigas and Telugus are different from the language of 'ക്രമോപനിഷത്,' these peoples cannot be called ക്രമോപനിഷത്തി is of little value.

The other argument relates to the non-use of ക്രമോപനിഷത് in Kannaḍa and in Telugu.

ക്രമോപനിഷത് is defined as “ക്രമോപനിഷത്, വക്ത്രമുദയോഷ്ടാഭിജ്ഞാപിതം സർവ്വനീയൈശ്വര്യം, ദീർഘലോപനാശം സമാപ്തം നാശം, ക്രമോപനിഷത്, ക്രമോപനിഷത്, ക്രമോപനിഷത്, ക്രമോപനിഷത്, ക്രമോപനിഷത്”. This definition has to be completed by what the ക്രമോപനിഷത് says in II, 7, viz., that the five sounds ഞ, ഞ, ഞ, ഞ, and alveolar ഞ are 'ക്രമോപനിഷത്' sounds not met with in Sanskrit.

The argument relating to the non-use of ക്രമോപനിഷത് in Kannaḍa and in Telugu would, on analysis, be found to allude to the following:—(i) the absence, in the period of Līlātilakam, in Kannaḍa and in Telugu, of 'ഞ' and of the sound-groups ഞ and ഞ, and the absence in these speeches of what to-day would be called the phonemic difference between blade-dental ഞ and point-alveolar ഞ; (ii) the presence

1. Kannaḍa had ഞ which fell into disuse by about the 11th century, having suffered different changes. Kannaḍa ഞ merged into ഞ by about the 16th century.

Telugu pre-literary inscriptions show ഞ which changed to other sounds perhaps before the 11th century. Telugu ഞ seems to have become merged into ഞ by the 16th century; Telugu pre-literary inscriptions show ഞ, as in “ശ്വരംഞ”; this ഞ changed to ഞ in the literary period. Telugu -ട, -ട go back in many instances to -ട.

The difference between തലവ and തലവ varieties of ഞ and ഞ is another speciality of the Telugu sound-system mentioned by early Telugu grammarians.

in Kannada of the following sounds not met with in *ഭരിയസംഘാതഃ*—സ് (as in Kannada സംഘം, ബിസിദ്ധ, പസ്), ഹ് (as in ഹാല and ഇന്ദ്രം; and ഷ് (as in അഷ്ട and ഇഷ്ട); (iii) the presence in Telugu of ള് (as in ചേല and in സല); (iv) the use in Kannada and in Telugu of voiced plosives in initial positions (as in Kannada ഗിളി, ഗിള്യം, ഗീർ, ബാള, etc.), and as in Telugu ഗോള, ദിഗ്, ഗുരി, ഗീർ, etc.), (vi) the use in these speeches of symbols of voiced plosives in medial positions, and (vi) the use of simple aspirates, voiced aspirates and ഗ്, ഷ്, ള് and ഹ് for Sanskrit words (in contradistinction to the original *ഭരിയ* practice of representing and evaluating Sanskrit words, only with the symbols of *ഭരിയസംഘാതഃ*).

In so far as the reasoning relates to the transliteration of unique Sanskrit sounds, it need not necessarily mean linguistic differentiation; Malayalam itself possessed these in *tatsamas* in Ārya eḷuttu. The other points in the latter argument, however, do testify (when examined along with other features from the modern student's point of view) to the closer intimacy of Malayalam to Tamil than to Kannada or to Telugu.

I, 1.

Another portion of the vyākhyā to I, 1, brings out, through the citation of parallel instances, some of the phonological and morphological differences between Malayalam and Tamil.

1. The correspondence of Malayalam-അ in final positions, to Tamil-എ is alluded to through the illustrations: Malayalam കതിര, Tamil കതിരെ, Malayalam കഴുത, Tamil കഴുതെ. The instances: Malayalam ഉടവാൻ and Tamil ഉടൈവാൻ, Malayalam ഇടയൻ, and Tamil ഇടൈയൻ also refer to this correspondence in medial positions.

In the earliest west coast inscriptions till the 10th

century, forms with final-*ai* are quite usual, those with -*ai* in final positions being exceedingly rare.

But in these same inscriptions, one meets with forms like the following in which a medial -*ai* is reduced to -*ai* (as in colloquial Tamil).

അമച്ച [cf. Tamil അമച്ച]—TAS, III, p. 166 [10th century].

വിളഞ്ച, അഞ്ച, ഇ അപത്തഞ്ച് [TAS, I, p. 240].

തടത്തുവച്ചു [cf. Tamil തടത്തു] ib., III, p. 167, l. 7.

Instances in which -*ai* appears in final positions (corresponding to -*ai* of Tamil) occur at a somewhat later stage :—

പറയം, in a 12th century stone inscription [TAS, III, p. 29], പററില, അടക്കം, in a 13th century stone inscription [TAS, VII, page 66], പററില, എണ്ണ, ഇരട്ട in a 12th century inscription [TAS, IV, p. 50, l. 63, 64], വക, ഉരരംബ കോയിൽ in a 13th century document [TAS. IV, p. 87].

It is possible that the change of -*ai* to -*ai* started in medial positions in words like അച്ച, വച്ച and then gradually spread to final positions also.

It has to be noted that, while the final -*a* of Malayalam words of this class does not have in modern phonation any special palatal tonality before pauses, the following facts [cf. KP, p. 88] indicate that this -*a* was originally palatal in value : the use of the front or palatal glide after -*a* in vocalic sandhi (as in കതിര

1. Cf. the symbolic representation യ്ക്ക in modern Mal. forms തെയ്യ്, വേട്ടയ്യ്, പറയ്യ്. This mode of symbolic representation appears in the transcription of a 13th century Mal. document [TAS, IV, l. p. 87. ff] which contains many forms with -*a* (corresponding to Tamil -*ai*) and instances showing unique Mal. developments like അരളന (Tamil അരളകിൻ), മുഹവം സുതവം : change of -*m*- to -*v*-before-*um*] നമ്പിയെ [Mal. accusative -*e*]; this inscription has വകയ്യ, വേട്ടയ്യ, beside വക, വകകളം, ഉരരംബ, കോയിൽ.

യുടെ, etc.); the evaluation of forms like കരിയ്ക്ക where the influence of the palatal *-a* makes itself felt in the frontalized pronunciation of *-kk-* [cf. north Malayalam കരിയ്ക്ക, etc., in which *-a-* has changed even to a slightly centralized *-e-*]; the difference in south Mal. pronunciation between forms like മയ്ക്ക' (to conceal) and മക്ക' (to forget), which clearly point to the palatal character of the final *a* of the base in the former (corresponding to Tamil മക്കക്ക'-). One might add that the use of *-ai* beside *-a* in early west coast inscriptions points to *ai* itself having been the 'ancestor' of Malayalam *-a* in these words. It is significant in this connection that colloquial Tamil and both literary and colloquial Kannada use *-e* in corresponding words (കലരെ, for instance).

The opinion that Malayalam *-a* represents a stage anterior to that of Tamil *-ai* is unproved. The argument that the തൊൽകുറ്റിയം, എഴുത്തുകാരം sūtra "അകര ഇകരമൈകരമാകം" explains the etymological origin of Tamil *-ai*, and that the "older stage with *-a*" is represented in Malayalam, not only involves too many unsupported postulates, but also runs counter to the admittedly palatal character of the tonality of Malayalam *-a* in the above type of instances.

2. While Malayalam shows *-a* corresponding to *-ai* in the above words, the accusative ending of Malayalam corresponding to the Tamil accusative termination *-ai* is *-e*, as pointed out by Līlātilakam through the illustrations: Malayalam അവരെ, Tamil അവരെ; Malayalam എനെ, Tamil എനെ.

Colloquial Tamil has also *-e* for its accusative ending.

Malayalam accusative *-e* appears represented in a 13th century inscription [TAS, IV, p. 87 ff.]:—നമ്പിയെ (1. 10), ചെർക്കളെ (1. 5.), ചെമ്പ്വർക്കളെ (1. 13).

The Travancore inscriptions of the tenth and the eleventh centuries show *-ai* only.

3. The entire absence in Malayalam of the sound known as *āydam* in Tamil is envisaged through the instances: Malayalam അതു, Tamil അஃது (that); Malayalam ഇതു, Tamil ഇஃது.

The *vyākhyā* to II, 7, expressly points out this absence of the *āydam* in Malayalam:—ആയുവണ്ണം കേരള ഭാഷായാം നാസ്തി.

4. Malayalam പേർ' Tamil പെயർ.

The Malayalam word shows vocalic contraction medially, as in പെയൽ > പേർ. It may be noted that colloquial Tamil has also പേർ.

5. Malayalam ഇതൾ—Tamil ഇതഴ്.

For the change of *ഴ* to *ൾ*, cf. Malayalam അപ്പോൾ from അപ്പാഴ്(തു). The use of *ൾ* for *ഴ* in ഇതൾ is characteristic of colloquial Tamil also.

6. Malayalam അൻ corresponding to old Tamil യൻ, is another peculiarity mentioned by *Lilātilakam* in this context.

7. The difference between Tamil യാനെ and Malayalam ആന: pointed out by *Lilātilakam* involves the absence of *യ-* in the Malayalam form.

Cf. Tamil യണ്ടു, Malayalam ആണ്ടു, Tamil യാടു, Malayalam ആടു, Tamil യാനെ, Malayalam ആമ, Tamil യാറ, Malayalam ആറ.

ആണ്ടു is very common in the earliest inscriptions beside യണ്ടു—cf. അയ്യാമാണ്ടു, in *TAS*, III, p. 166.

It may be noted that even in Tamil, ആണ്ടു, ആനെ, etc., occur in post-Śāngam texts.

1. Tamil colloquials have this form from a very early period. The 35th സ്കൂത of the 13th century Tamil grammar നേമിനാഥൻ already adverts to the change of പെയർ to പേർ.

The same സ്കൂത also refers to the forms പാഴഴു and പോഴു, കുടു and കാടു, യാനെ etc. and ആനെ etc.

8. The correspondence of Malayalam ഓ', ഞ', ന്', to Tamil ഋ', ഞ', ന്':—Malayalam തേങ്ങ, മാങ്ങ, കഞ്ഞി, വന്നാൻ.

This nasalization appears to have started early in the evolution of Malayalam, as the inscriptional instances of the 9th and 10th centuries show.

ഉച്ചോടുങ്ങ [TAS, III, p. 167].

തുകുളംപു [ib., III, p. 172].

തങ്ങ(ം) [ib. III, p. 181].

ആരഞ്ഞു [ib., II, p. 82, l. 47].

അക്കമഞ്ഞൻ [ib., II, p. 43, l. 3].

മാന്നവർകളം [ib., III, p. 167, l. 5].

Lilātilakam does not refer to similar changes affecting the Sanskrit groups ഓ', ഞ', ണ്യ', ണ് & മ്' in familiar Sanskrit words in Malayāli evaluation which converts them respectively to ഓ', ഞ', ണ്, ന്' and മ്'. Early inscriptional instances are available for some of them:

ചങ്ങരൻ [TAS, III, p. 181, l. 5].

വിജയോയിറു [ib., III, p. 55].

ചേന്നൻ, ചെന്നണമം [ib. I, p. 289].

കോവിന്നം [ib. III, p. 177].

For details regarding nasal assimilation in Malayalam, see my PMP, Chapter III.

Had the alveolar group-ൻ' changed into the blade-nasal -ന്'-in the period of ലിലാതിലകം?

The terms in which the commentary refers to the sound-group ഞ' while demonstrating the uniqueness of this and other Tamil-Malayalam sounds (in the commentary on II, 7) do not contemplate the change of ഞ' to the blade-dental-ന്'. The author's mind is well applied here to the problem of sound-differences. He refers to ഞ' as a unique Tamil-Malayalam non-Sanskritic sound; and he stresses that ഞ' is different from ഓ', just as ഞ' is different from ഓ', ഞ' is different from ഞ', and so on. Is it possible

that the author who had such a subtle ear for sound-differences would have failed to register the change of ൂ to േ, if indeed it had been accepted universally in Kerala at this time? It would be absurd to suppose that the author "wrote" ൂ and "evaluated" it as േ.

There are a few illustrations (with േ from ൂ) in the printed text of Mr. Attur Krishna Pisharodi and in a manuscript which I happened to examine myself; but in the absence of information regarding the date of the mss., no inference can safely be drawn from these few instances.

So far as rock inscriptions of the 9th to 14th centuries are concerned, I have come across only one instance of േ from ൂ:—താഴെപ്പറന്ന [TAS, V, p. 174 ff; 12th century], where താഴെ is a present relative participle (< താഴെക്ക), as the context shows. Other instances are rare, and these occur in documents written on cadjan leaves or copper plates, the contemporaneity of which with the dates mentioned therein cannot be relied on.

All this does not mean that the change may not have started much earlier (than the 14th century) in the colloquials and popular dialects, though learned men (like the author of the ലിളാതിലകം commentary) may have conservatively stuck on to ൂ (both in symbol and in sound-value). Indeed, such a perspective is suggested by the use, in mss. of this period, of the symbol ൂ for േ derived from ൂ, and by the reference by Lilātilakam itself (II, 7) to the alternative evaluation in Kēraḷa of േ in ചൊന്നാൻ, as an alveolar group or as a dental one (see below).

9. The illustrations: Malayalam അതിനെ, ഇതിനെ corresponding to Tamil അതക്കൊ, ഇതക്കൊ refer to the use in Malayalam of the augment -ഇൻ- corresponding to -അൻ- of Tamil.

According to TE, 177, the augment employed in the inflexions of Tamil അതു, ഇതു (and, according to TE, the numerals also is -അൻ-; but in the later stages of Tamil, -ഇൻ- was also used.- അൻ appears to have been replaced (in Malayalam) by -ഇൻ- from a very early period : അതിന്നു, ഇതിന്നു, അതിന്നു, ഒന്നിന്നു, ഒന്നിന്നാൽ, [TAS, IV, p. 76 l. 10].

10. The illustrations: Malayalam ആവിന്റെ [the genitive of ആർ, 'the Ficus tree'], Tamil ആവുന്നതു; മാവിന്റെ [the genitive of മാ or മാവ്, 'mango tree'] corresponding to Tamil മാവുന്നതു, refer to the unique genitive ending -ന്റെ of Malayalam. The juxtaposing by Līlātilakam of Malayalam ഇന്റെ and Tamil ഇന്നതു should not mislead us into thinking that -ഇന്റെ of Malayalam was derived from ഇന്നതു. As I have shown in my HAP, Malayalam ഇൻ -ന്നു < ഇൻ ഇടെ < ഇൻ-ഇടെ. The earliest use of this Malayalam genitive -ഇന്റെ or -ന്റെ occurs (so far as I have been able to find out) in US among the texts and in a 14th century document among the inscriptions: പാറപ്പുറം (US, II, 15), തേൻമാവിന്റെ, പുന്നൂത്തിന്റെ; തന്റെ [TAS, IV, p. 149, l. 9]. The use of ഇൻ ഇടെ or ഇൻ-ഇടെ even where modern Malayalam employs ന്റെ continued till a very late period; and even to-day they are used in poetry for securing an "archaic atmosphere" or for prosodic purposes.

11. The absence in Malayalam of the locative post-position കൂടെ is contemplated by the instances:

Malayalam മടങ്ങിപ്പോകേൽ, Tamil മടങ്ങിപ്പോകുൻ.

ചൊൽക്കുപ്പിയം, ചൊൽ 81, refers to the seventh case കൂടെ; and the following sūtra adverts to the different meanings in which the post-position കൂടെ might appear. Līlātilakam observes that കൂടെ is absent in the west coast speeches.

12. Malayalam കനകധാരാജ—Tamil കനകധാര (O! woman with the heavy ear-rings!)

The forms are vocative. In Tamil, the final *കെ* of the compound *കനകമയ* “woman with heavy ear-rings” is changed to *-ആയ* in the vocative, according to the *തൊൽകാപ്പിയം* rule: “*കൈ ‘ആയ’ ആകം*,” as in *നകംയ* (the vocative of *നകൈ*). This type of vocatives is conspicuous by its absence in Malayalam.

13. Some of the differences between the verb-forms of Malayalam and those of Tamil are indicated by Līlātīlakam through the following instances:—

- (i) Malayalam *ഉണ്ടാർ* — Tamil *ഉണ്ടൻ*.
 ,, *നിന്നാർ* — ,, *നിൻറൻ*.

These illustrate the absence of the verbal *ചാരിയെ* -*ആൻ* in Malayalam.

In Old Tamil, both *ഉണ്ടൻ* and *ഉണ്ടാർ* types existed; in later stages of Tamil and in the modern colloquial the *ഉണ്ടാർ*-type became popular.

- (ii) Malayalam *ഉണ്ണിപ്പേരൻ*—Tamil *ഉണ്ണാനിൻറൻ*.

ഉണ്ണിപ്പേരൻ is the Old Malayalam present tense third person plural finite. Such forms with final *-രൻ* for the finite occur numerous in Old Malayalam texts.

The present tense ending *-ഇൻ* is directly “inherited” by Malayalam from the parent stage. Cf. *റാഴിൻ* in a 9th century west coast inscription [TAS, II, p. 80.]

Middle Tamil had, apart from the type of *ഉൺകിപ്പേരൻ* (related to the Malayalam type), other types with the “affixes” *ആനിൻറ-*, *ആകിടന്റ-* (both mentioned in *പിരമൊഴിയം*, the former alone in *നന്മുൽ*). These types did not strike root in Malayalam. The *cliche* *ചെല്ലാനിൻറ ആണ്ടു* found in west coast inscriptions and in some old texts contains this ending.

- (iii) Malayalam *ഉൺപർ*—Tamil *ഉൺപർ*.

Malayalam in its earliest stages (when it was struggling to free itself from its swaddling clothes) does show *ഉൺപർ*, *കാൺപതു*, *എൻപതു*. Cf. forms like

കാൻചൻ in കൗടലീയം, ഭാഷാവ്യാഖ്യാനം ; but by the period of ലിഖാതിലകം, the use of forms with മ' appears to have become general for the future tense forms of ഉൻ, - കാൻ, എൻ- and തിൻ—

(iv) Malayalam വരവർ—Tamil വരവാർ.

The short vowel of the last syllable of Malayalam is contrasted with the corresponding long vowel of Tamil. Of course, Tamil has both വരവാർ and വരവർ, while Old Malayalam texts, whenever they use future finite forms with personal endings, have only the short vowel. This is true of old texts like കൗടലീയം ഭാഷാ, ഭൂതവംശം and ഉണ്ണുനീലീസന്ദേശം.

(v) Malayalam കൊടുവർ—Tamil കൊണ്ടർ.

Though both are future third person plural forms and though Tamil has both കൊടുവർ add കൊണ്ടർ, Malayalam has only the former in the period of ലിഖാതിലകം—For കൊണ്ടർ in a very early west coast inscription, cf. TAS, VIII, p. 41.

There is another Old Tamil type : കൊണ്ടാർ, which in Middle Tamil becomes very rare. In Malayalam, it is absent—This Old Tamil type is perhaps a participial noun, and it always modifies finites [cf. the rule “മാർ വ'നെനെയെടുമിമെ” of നന്നൂൽ]

(vi) Malayalam കൂവ (it cried, shouted)—Tamil കൂയിറു.

Malayalam താവി (it spread)—Tamil തായിറു.

Here the contrast is not only in respect of the third person neuter singular ending which is present in Tamil but absent in the Malayalam forms, but also in respect of the structure of the bases.

കൂയിറു and തായിറു are, strictly speaking, Old Tamil forms based upon കൂ- (to cry) and താ- (to spread). Old Tamil texts show the participles കൂയ് (later കൂവി), തായ് (later താവി) and the present future കൂളം (later കൂവം.)

From forms like കൂ (pronounced കൂ with a glide-developed sound), bases like കൂ'-and similarly തൂ'- appear to have been "isolated" in later stages. Malayalam has only these "developed" bases.

The absence in Malayalam of personal terminations in third person "neuter" past tense forms is also pointed out here. Personal endings had begun to disappear from Malayalam tense-forms even before the time of Līlātilakam, but this disappearance was perhaps more frequently associated in the initial stages with "neuter" tense-forms than with others.

Among the early Travancore inscriptions, I find only a few instances of tense-forms without personal endings.

കൊടുത്തു [TAS, IV, p. 71, l. 3]—3rd person masculine—13th century.

കല്പിച്ചു [TAS, VII, p. 112]—14th century.

In Old Malayalam texts the absence of pronominal terminations is not infrequent ; cf. the following :—

തക്കം ചൊല്ലു നിൻ പേർ [RC, 80]—3rd person neuter.

പണ്ടു [RC, 126]—3rd person neuter.

ഉണ്ടായി [US, I, 26]—3rd person neuter.

പെരുതാകിൻ [RC, 47]—3rd person singular neuter.

The citations in the commentaries of Līlātilakam contain instances of verbal finites without personal endings, like the following :—

ചെങ്കടികടം [IV, 2].

ഞാനുമൊൻറല്ലയായി [IV, 15].

തൂതുമെങ്കി തൂതക്കൊല്ലാം [VIII, 12].

14. Reference is also made to the fact that while Tamil uses Sanskrit words like കസ്യമ, മഖ, ചന്ദ്ര, with certain structural changes [ആരിയച്ചിതൈവ] as കരുമ [change of -s- to -d-], മകം [the disappearance of the aspirate element in ക', and the voicing of ക'] and ചന്തിരം [the use of the anaptyctic vowel], Malayalam retains the Sanskrit forms without these changes.

The difference pointed out here, when interpreted from the modern student's standpoint, shows that scholars in Malabar had from a fairly early period begun to "import" tātsamas from Skt,—a fact which is abundantly illustrated not only by the popularity of the manipravāla literary form in Malayalam, but also by the popularity enjoyed by Sanskrit elements in the conversational language of the period of Lilātilakam (cf. the വൃത്തി to II, 8, and III, 29, below).

I, 11.

Lilātilakam defines and explains the nature of പാട്ട് in Malayalam, as distinguished from the manipravāla form. The essential characteristics of പാട്ട് are: (i) the use of Dravidic metres and rules of versification along with the employment of മോന and എളക; (ii) the employment of purely Dravidic sounds; (iii) the use of Skt. words, if employed at all, only as naturalised adaptations known as ആരിയച്ചിതൈവ in Tamil; (iv) the employment of older forms like വന്നം, പിളന്നം instead of the genuine Malayalam developments വന്ന and പിളന്ന.

1. When the വൃത്തി refers to the "സമ്യ" of labial ങ and ള, the initial sounds of the first പീഠ and of the fifth പീഠ of the third line of the പാട്ട stanza cited in the വൃത്തി, it adverts to a well-known Tamil practice of മോരൈ rhyme. Another such Tamil rule permitting the agreement of ത and പ is adverted to in the observation: "ചികാരതികാരയോസ്സമ്യം. പ്രതീതിസാക്ഷികം".

2. തര, താനവ, താമ, ഉരകപായി, ആനന്ത occurring in a verse cited as an illustration for പാട്ട്, are described as ആരിയച്ചിതൈവ. The forms are derived respectively from Sanskrit യരം ഭാനവ, ഗാമൻ, ഉരഗശായിൻ, ആനന്ദ.

The term ആരിയച്ചിതൈവ is used by the commentators of തൊൽകാപ്പിയം on the basis of the expression ചിതൈവ employed by തൊൽകാപ്പിയം for adaptations from Indo-aryan, in the rule: "ചിതൈവ വരിനം ഇതൈവ നവരൈവം".

3. ചിരതരം occurring in the same verse, is cited as an example of a Sanskrit loan written in symbols common to Sanskrit and Tamil-Malayalam.

This is envisaged by the തൊൽകാപ്പിയം rule:—

വടചൊറകിളവി വടവെഴുത്തൊരിതു

യെഴുത്തൊടു പുണർത്ത ചൊല്ലാകത്തേ.

നന്നൂൽ adverts to such words as words written in പൊതുവെഴുത്തു.

4. Another observation refers to nine types of changes mentioned in Tamil grammars, and cites തര (for ധര) and അനന്താപുര (for അനന്തപുര) as illustrating respectively two of these changes (viz. shortening and lengthening).

തൊൽകാപ്പിയം refers to these in two rules: the 7th സൂത്ര of എച്ചുപിയൽ (“അന്നാറുചൊല്ലുനൊട്ടുകകാലൈ...”), and the 51st സൂത്ര of എച്ചുവിയൽ (“കരൈച്ചൊറകിളവി കരൈക്കും വഴി അറിതൽ...”).

These are referred to as ചെയ്യുൾ വികാരം in നന്നൂൽ :

“വലിത്തൻ മെലിത്തനിട്ടൽ കുറുക്കൽ

വരിത്തൽ തൊകത്തലും വരും ചെയ്യുൾ വേണ്ടുഴി;”

and

ഒരുമൊഴി മൂവഴിക്കുരൈത്തലു മരൈത്തെ

The ലിഖാതിലരം commentary refers to these changes in the 4th ശ്ലോ as changes peculiar to Tamil ചെയ്യുൾ and Malayalam പാട്ടു, and mentions particularly one type viz., അന്ത്യലോപവികാര, as in നീർ for നീലർ.

5. Forms like അളന്നം, പിളത്തം (with ത് instead of ന്) in Malayalam പാട്ടു are due to the “resemblance, in a large measure, of forms of Malayalam പാട്ടു to Tamil forms”.

This gives the reason why in texts like രാമചരിതം the older groups ക്, ബ്, ത് exist side by side with ങ്, ണ് and ന്.

The change of ക് to ങ്, ബ് to ണ് and ത് to ന് had materialized already in the language of the ക്രൈവർണി

as, though the "low castes" continued to use forms like പന്താൻ, തേക്ക, മങ്കാ.

All this shows that the pāṭṭu type referred to here was a literary form¹ inherited by Malayalam from an ancient stage when² the affinities of Malayalam to Tamil were far more intimate than at the time of Lilātilakam.

Silpa II.

The first eight sūtras treat about the vocabulary of the maṇipravāla form, the next fifteen deal with Malayalam casal inflexions, gender and number, and the last two give a summary account of verb-forms.

The ശൃത്തിs to the sūtras treating about the vocabulary contain very interesting observations which merit the attention of the student of Malayalam. But the section on Malayalam morphology, particularly the discussion of verbs,—is disappointingly meagre and inadequate.

II, 1.

The vocabularial elements of മണിപ്രവാള are demarcated as ഭാഷ and സംസ്കൃത, the former being constituted of ദേശീ or തൃവ words, സംസ്കൃതഭാഷ and സംസ്കൃതതൃവ and the general category of ഭാഷീകൃതസംസ്കൃത (which category includes many representatives of the സംസ്കൃതതൃവ group), while the latter is constituted of all ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃത or വിശേഷ്യന്തസംസ്കൃത.

The ദേശീ elements are still further subdivided into ശുദ്ധദേശീ, ഭാഷാന്തരഭാഷ and ഭാഷാന്തരഭാഷ.

II, 2.

ശുദ്ധദേശീ words, as the term itself denotes, are those peculiar to Malayalam, without cognates in other ദേശഭാഷas of the south. The illustrations appearing in the published manuscript are കൊച്ചു, മുഴ and ഞെടി. മുഴ and ഞെടി have cognates in other South Indian languages, and cannot be described as ശുദ്ധദേശീ words.

II, 3.

ഭാഷാന്തരസമ words are those which have cognates showing identity of structure and meaning in other South Indian speeches. The examples given in II, 3, are പൊൻ, നാളെ, ഉടൽ, among which പൊൻ is described by Lilātilakam as പൊളഭാഷംസമ, നാളെ as കണ്ണാടഭാഷംസമ and ഉടൽ as ആശ്രയഭാഷംസമ. Though there may be some reason for describing നാളെ¹ as കണ്ണാടഭാഷംസമ in view of the structural identity of Malayalam നാളെ and Kannada നാളെ with the same meaning (as distinct from *literary* Tamil നാളെ), there appears to be no special ground for calling ഉടൽ an ആശ്രയഭാഷംസമ word since ഉടൽ or ഓടൽ occurs in other South Indian Dravidian languages than Malayalam and Telugu.

The standpoint of Lilātilakam with reference to ഭാഷാന്തരസമ words of Malayalam is made clear in the course of a discussion in the commentary on I, 1. With some insistence and elaboration, Lilātilakam maintains that words like കൂതൽ "woman's tresses of hair" കുഴൽ "woman's curled hair" and കൊങ്ക "woman's breast" which occur at the same time in Malayalam

1. Is there any special reason why the commentary should have singled out the Malayalam words ആന, ആട്, നാളെ, അല്ല, ഇല്ല as കണ്ണാടഭാഷംസമ? Do these Malayalam words show any nearer correspondence to their Kannada counterparts than to Tamil ones? I think that Lilātilakam may possibly have remembered here that these Malayalam words have a somewhat greater structural nearness to Kannada ആന, ആട്, നാളെ, അല്ല (used for all persons and genders) and ഇല്ല, than to literary Tamil யான, யാട്, നാളെ, അല്ല (this last used only for third person non-rational plural) and ഇല്ല. But when it is considered that already from an early period, Tamil colloquials had forms like ആന, ആട്, നാളെ, അല്ല (this last for all genders, persons and numbers) and ഇല്ല (and pre-literary Kannada also had ഇല്ല), the so-called structural nearness to Kannada loses its point.

മലിപ്രവാള works and in Tamil, are as much the property of Malayalam as that of Tamil, even though words like these are used in Malayalam only in the വിശേഷവ്യവഹാര of കാവ്യം. According to Līlātilakam, they belong to the category of ചോളഭാഷാസമ words, and do not lose their Malayalam individuality. So far as words in common usage in Malayalam like ചോൽ, കൽ, കാൽ etc. are concerned, their Mal. character was quite beyond all doubt, and with reference to similar words in Tamil, they are clearly ചോളഭാഷാസമ words. Doubts, however, appeared to have arisen regarding purely literary words like കൂത്തൽ, കഴൽ and കൊങ്ക; because these appeared only in വിശേഷവ്യവഹാര in Malayalam. Līlātilakam dispels these doubts by saying that it is immaterial whether the words concerned occur in common or in literary usage:- “വിശേഷവ്യവഹാരം ഭേദം കിം ന പശ്യാം? വിശേഷവ്യവഹാരംപി വ്യവഹാരം എവ സ്വതഃ”.

Līlātilakam fortifies its position further with the observations: “ജഥ വിശേഷവ്യവഹാരം ഭേദം അപ്രയോജകം ഉപ്യതേ, തർഹി ‘ആട്ടിള’, ‘മകട്ടിള’, ‘നാടുരി’ ഇത്യാദയശ്ചോളശബ്ദാഃ കഥം ചോളഭാഷാ ഭവേയുഃ . . . തേ ച ചോളഭാഷാസ്യാനാം വിശേഷവ്യവഹാരം ഭവതി, ന തു തേഷാം സാമാന്യവ്യവഹാരം.”

Līlātilakam seems to have regarded these words from a level descriptive standpoint. The modern student of the historical evolution of Malayalam, who finds that all the evidence available today points to the earliest stages of the west coast speech having been more or less coincident with what could be called Middle Tamil, would consider words like കൂത്തൽ, കഴൽ and കൊങ്ക as *either* preservations in Malayalam literature of the lexical inheritance from a common stage *or* as learned borrowings from Tamil, according as the evidence warrants one way or the other. This *historical* outlook was, however foreign to Līlātilakam.

In this connection, *Lilātilakam* lays down the general proposition that when words identical in structure and meaning occur in more than one *ഭേദഭാഷാ*, such words belong to each of these 'speeches' and that the words in any one particular speech could only be described as *ഭാഷാന്തരസമ* with reference to their counterparts in other speeches :

“കേചിത് കൈശിദ് ഭാഷാന്തരൈസ്സദൃശാസ്സമ്പദ്യന്തേ പരമോ
ഇവ; തേഷു പുനസ്തദ് ബുദ്ധിനകാത്മാ, കിന്തു തത് സദൃശബുദ്ധിരേവ യ
ക്താ; അന്യഥാ ഗോസദൃശേ ഗവയേ ദേവദാന്ത വാ സാക്ഷാദ് ഗോബു
ദ്ധൗതത് കാത്മം വാഹദേഹാദികമപി ക്രിയേത”

The terms in which the resemblance or similarity is here referred to, show that *Lilātilakam* did not concern itself with the *process* by which the resemblance arose; the latter portion of the above citation would even suggest that *Lilātilakam* did not even think of the possibility of relationship between such words in different speeches. The modern student of the historical and comparative evolution of speeches would not dismiss these resemblances as accidental or unimportant, but would seek to clarify the processes by which these resemblances might have arisen. This historical and comparative outlook, however, was foreign to *Lilātilakam*, as mentioned above.

The unchallengeable individuality of the west coast speech is the corner-stone on which *Lilātilakam* bases all discussion of *ഭാഷാന്തരസമ* words in Malayalam. This basic idea is evident in contexts like the following:

(i) when the commentary adverts to the inappropriateness (“*അനുപപത്തിഃ*”) of regarding common Malayalam words like ചൊൻ, തേൻ, കൽ etc. as being foreign simply because they are met with in other *ഭേദഭാഷാ*s;

(ii) when stress is laid upon the “fixity” or “definiteness” of words [“ഏതേ ഭേദഭാഷാശബ്ദം സ്ഥിരമേവ പ്രതിനിയതാ ഏവ ഭവന്തി”];

(iii) when the proposition is adumbrated that “one language cannot enter another” [“ന ഭാഷായാം ഭാഷാ ന്തരം സമാവിശതി, വ്യവസ്ഥാവിധയപ്രസംഗാത്”];

(iv) when the commentary prescribes സംഹൃതം as the test or the criterion by which the actual nature (സംഹൃതാഭ്യന്തരമന്വേഷ്യം) of a word could be determined;

(v) when the commentary rejects the suggestion that certain words might be considered to be ‘common’ to Mal. and Tam. [“കൂന്തപാദിഗണ്യശ്ചോളാനാം കേരളാനാം ച സാധാരണ ഇതി കിം നോപ്യതേ? അംഗ! കണ്ഠഭാഗേ ച ലക്ഷ്യം? ചോളഭാഷാ ത്വമിതി ചേന്ന, നിശ്ചിതസംഹൃതാഭ്യന്തരഭാവസമ്പത്തേ?”];

(vi) when the commentary on II, 3, expressly points out the ചോളഭാഷാസമ character of Kerala communal colloquialisms like മാങ്ക, തേങ്ക, വന്താൻ, ഇന്താൻ [“സാമു ഭാഷാ ചോളഭാഷാസമേതിദൃഷ്ടവ്യം; ന് തു ചോളഭാഷേതി; അന്യഥാ വ്യവസ്ഥാപ്രസംഗാത്”]; and

(vii) when, after enumerating the fundamental differences between Tamil and Malayalam, the commentary clinches the argument by saying: “കിംകിംവർണ്ണതേ; അത്ര യതുകൃത്യമിദമി ചോളഭാഷാ ലവോപി നോപലഭ്യതേ”.

II, 3.

The illustrations suggested by Tīlātīlakam for ഭാഷാന്തരഭാവ forms are വന്താൻ, നമക്കു and വേണ്ടു.

A somewhat clumsy and hesitant attempt is made to derive the forms from Kannaḍa വന്തൻ, നമു and വേഡ, on the ground that when Paraśurāma created Kerala, the mainland already existed. In the alternative, the Tamil forms വന്താൻ, നമക്കു, വേണ്ടു are suggested as the originals of the Malayalam words.

The anteriority and posteriority of linguistic forms are determined to-day by the clarification of their spatial and chronological history and by the application of general laws of phonetics. Even if the reference to പരശുരാമ's having created Kēraḷa is understood figuratively, and interpreted as implying

a comparatively late origin for Malayalam, there seems to exist no reason at all why the commentary should have regarded Kannaḍa as supplying the originals from which these Malayalam forms were derived.

Perhaps all that the commentary was sure of was that these Malayalam forms showed structural modifications in comparison with those of other ശൈലികൾ, and that they might have been അപഭ്രംശം or "corruptions".

II, 3.

An interesting fact mentioned in the vṛtti is that the "low castes" of Keraḷa used forms like വന്താൻ, ഇന്താൻ, തേക്ക, മാക്ക. Apparently, in communal dialects of Kēraḷa, the change of വന്താൻ to വന്നാൻ, തേക്ക to തേക്കം etc. had not become universal, even though the developments had become generally popular in both the literary and the colloquial varieties of Malayalam. This perhaps points to the fact that the development of the Malayalam features from the parent speech had not been quite uniform among all communities (and possibly in all areas) of Kerala. This fact may account for the existence, side by side in old west coast texts and inscriptions, of Malayalam and pre-Malayalam features.

II, 4.

This sūtra postulates that all words which can be traced to Sanskrit primaries are saṃskṛtabhava. The instances given in the vṛtti are തേവർ, വക്കം, ചങ്ങൽ, ചല, ക, ചിപ്പ, താലി, കരക. These are all described as സംസ്കൃതഭവ. The vṛtti further notes that certain words may also be traced to Prakrit, e. g., വക്കാണം (OIA വ്യാഖ്യാന), ചിതാശേഖി (OIA ശ്രീശേഖി), ആണ (OIA

1. കാഴ് and കതിര are included in this list of സംസ്കൃതഭവ words. The modern student would of course regard them as native forms.

ജ. ജ്ഞാ). While the originals of വക്കാണം, ജ്ഞാന, etc. are easily recognized as Prakrit (MIA) forms, the question of the influence of MIA on forms like പിഴ, കമുക, താലി, ചങ്ങത in the aforesaid list, has to be considered from the modern standpoint.

The commentary opines that Sanskrit was the source from which all other languages took their origin, and then proceeds to observe that അയ words are those whose relationship to Sanskrit cannot even be remotely inferred or guessed. The belief that the Dravidian languages owed their origin to Sanskrit was once universally current in South India; and even to-day there are not wanting scholars who try to bolster up this view. The commentary appears to have been influenced by this general belief; but it is refreshing to note that the outlook of the commentary is so far free from preconceived notions that it gives us an elaborate exposition of the futility of attempts to connect അയ words like പരമ, നാക്ക, പാമ്പ് with their so-called Sanskrit primaries.

Lilātilakam explains സംസ്കൃതഭാവ words of Malayalam as those whose relationship to Sanskrit originals could be inferred [“പ്രകൃതിഭേദനസ്ഥിതം സംസ്കൃതം കപലിദ്വഹവിഷയോ ഭവതി.”] The character of this relationship and the processes and circumstances regulating it are not discussed; but the general standpoint of Lilātilakam that Sanskrit is the source of all other languages should have led it to view these സംസ്കൃതഭാവ as evidencing in a greater or lesser degree their ultimate Sanskrit origin, as distinguished from the അയ elements which, according to the work, should have become changed beyond recognition.

While this is the standpoint of Lilātilakam, the modern student who considers Dravidian and Indo-āryan as fundamentally separate language-families,

would regard “തരവ” as adaptations (with different changes) from OIA and MIA at different stages in the history of the cultural and social contacts of the two language-families.

The term സംസ്കൃതരൂപ in Malayalam (or in other Dravidian speeches) has to be understood by the modern student in a different sense from that implied in Lilātilakam or that given to it expressly in Prakrit grammars and modern Indo-āryan speeches.

II, 5.

The group of സംസ്കൃതരൂപ words of Malayalam is constituted of Sanskrit words which show changes in the endings, when used in Malayalam [“അന്തേവികൃതം സംസ്കൃതം”]. As the illustrations show, these changes might be of different kinds: the adaptation of the Skt. masculine bases with the Malayalam-മ (as in മോലം and ബാണം); and the shortening of the endings ആ and ഇ of Sanskrit feminine bases (as in മാല and നദി).

Lilātilakam considers even the ending -മ of the സംസ്കൃതരൂപ: കകമം, കാരണം, ബലം and കലം, as the അന്തേ ending -മ and not the Sanskrit neuter nominative ending.

ചിതാവു, രാജാവു, പശുവു with the off-glide embodied in Sanskrit nominatives or Sanskrit bases, are also mentioned here.

While Lilātilakam would perhaps regard സംസ്കൃതരൂപ as part of the ancient inheritance from Sanskrit, consistently with its view that Sanskrit is the source of all other languages, the modern student would consider സംസ്കൃതരൂപ as borrowings from Sanskrit by Malayalam at different stages of its history, with changes embodied only in the endings.

The പുതിയ notes in passing that there are no പ്രാകൃത forms in Malayalam മണിപ്രവാള, that words like മണിക്കര are പ്രാകൃതരൂപ or പ്രാകൃതസമ, that all സമരൂപ arises from the identity of the പ്രകൃതി portion, and that forms like പള്ളിപ്പുറം are പ്രാകൃതരൂപകരേണസമ.

II, 7.

“Native words with Sanskrit pratyayas may be used in Kāvya.”

(i) The vṛtti states that such forms (native nouns with Sanskrit declensional endings and native verbs with Sanskrit conjugational affixes) are never met with in ordinary conversation.

It needs to be remarked that these mongrel forms, some of which were bizarre in the extreme, were fashionable only among Sanskritists during a particular period of Malayalam literature. The observation in the commentary of Līlātilakam that such forms never occurred in conversation—(as contrasted with “naturalised” Sanskrit words having native endings, for which, see below)—shows clearly that these സംസ്കൃതീകൃതരൂപം forms never extended beyond the circle of Sanskrit scholars who indulged in them in a spirit of pedantry or (in some instances) of pleasantry.

കൊങ്കയം, കേഴന്തി, ഉത്തരകേശ, പോക്കഞ്ചട്ടേ, പുവുകിരേ, ചുവുകിരേ, തതല്ലിരേ, മമണ്ടിരേ are instances given in the citations of the വൃത്തി of this work.

ഉണ്ണുനീലീസന്ദേശം has പിന്നിടേമാട, മടമ്പീനം, ചൊത്തയിതലം, ചൊൻമടാനം.

Even ചന്ദ്രോത്സവം of a later date shows ചൊടികിട and വിളക്കമടസ്സ.

(ii) The വൃത്തി further points out that samāśas formed of native and Sanskrit words, like നീലക്കുഞ്ച, പച്ചത്തൈപ്പട, and ആമ്പൽപ്രിയംഭരണം with the Sanskrit constituents in different positions have nothing peculiar about them.

II, 7.

In the course of a very interesting discussion, the വൃത്തി explains the uniqueness or അപൂർവ്വത of the Tamil-Malayalam sounds ണറം, റം, റ്, ഴ and short ഹ and ങ and alveolar റ്.

Each one of these sounds is taken up and shown to be an independent sound, i. e., in the language of modern phoneticians, a separate phoneme.

രഌ, *Lilātilakam* points out, cannot be shown to have been a modification of ള; it is a consonant group which has an individuality of its own.

ഴ cannot similarly be shown to be a variant of ഷ or of any other sound; though the adaptation of ഷ in തരളസ like പരളസ shows ഷ, there are hosts of native words with ഷ in which no original ഷ can conceivably be postulated.

ഌ is totally separate from ള; for, otherwise, ഉര and ഉറ could not be distinguished. and കര “charcoal” and കറ “curry” would be alike.

ഌ has a special phonetic value (viz., that of a long voiceless alveolar plosive) which marks it off from other sounds.

As short ള and ഴ form as much the special property of Dravidian languages as of Prakrit, these sounds cannot be held (according to the പുതി) to be Prakrit-derived.

II, 7

The *vr̥tti* gives a clear exposition of the difference between dental ള [ṇ] and alveolar ള [ṇ̥].

(i) It is pointed out that this difference is a fundamental one in Malayalam, since the confusion of the two sounds would result in confusion of meaning, as for instance in കാൺക നാവൽ “see in the tongue” and കാൺ കനാവിൽ “see in dream”. No such semantic confusion would result from varying the value of ള in Sanskrit words.

(ii) The difference in the evaluation of the sounds of Sanskrit words is a “കാകതാപിയ” feature, says the പുതി which also cites a കരിക്ക embodying some of the rules

for the differentiation of the dental and the alveolar ṛ in the evaluation of Sanskrit sounds.

(iii) The vṛtti then observes that these rules regarding the differentiation of dental and alveolar ṛ in the pronunciation of Sanskrit words is “subject to deviations among the east coast people” [‘അ സൂക്തായസ്യ ചോളേഷു വ്യഭിചാരഭേദാത്’]. This would refer to the evaluation, common in the east coast during the period of *Lilātilakam*, of all the ṛ sounds of Sanskrit as alveolar ṛ (except in ṛ , ṛ , ṛ , ṛ).

(iv) The commentary next adverts to the alternative dental and alveolar values, in Kerala evaluation, for the long nasal in ചൊന്നാൻ; but since this difference in sound-value does not alter the meaning, it is said to be ‘അപ്രയോജകം’ This alternative value is heard even today when texts are read. The actual original value of the long nasal was that of the alveolar, in view of the origin of ചൊന്നാൻ from ചൊല്ലിനൻ; but forms like ചൊൻറൻ appearing in the west coast manuscripts of this period—artificial creations of learned men like വൻറ- and തൻറ-,—imply the existence (in colloquials?) of the dental value for the long nasal of this word.

The vṛtti observes that no alternative evaluation is possible for the long nasal in other native words like വന്നാൻ, ചൊന്നാൻ, which should have only the dental value, in the absence of which there would be unintelligibility.

(v) The vṛtti mentions also the difference in the manner of the production of the sounds: while ṛ is a dental sound in the articulation of which there is only spreading of the foreblade of the tongue and no bending of the tongue-tip, ṛ is an alveolar sound produced by bending the tip of the tongue (slightly) upwards and making it to touch the upper gums or the region immediately behind.

The differences in the phonation of the two sounds have already been mentioned by Tolkāppiyam, El, 93 and 94.

The observation of Līlātilakam: “ജിഹ്വാരം വിസ്താരം” regarding the articulation of dental ṇ may be compared to Tolkāppiyam “നാരനി പരന്തു”.

“ജിഹ്വാരം സോന്നതിഃ” for the production of alveolar n may be compared to the Tolkāppiyam observation “അണി നനിനം (അണ്ണം ഒറ്റ)”

vi. I may note here that while in the modern Mal. alphabet the same symbol represents the dental ṇ and the alveolar n, there are two separate symbols for these sounds in Tamil; but while the difference in sound-value is meticulously observed by the Malayalam speaker according to the contexts concerned, this difference has practically ceased to exist in modern Tamil evaluation which gives an alveolar value both to the dental ṇ and to the alveolar n.

The difference between dental ṇ, and alveolar n does not exist in Telugu or in Kannaḍa.

II, 7.

The citation of an അഗസ്തൃ സൂത്ര is followed immediately by the observation (made by the ലീലാതിലകം commentary) that since the form “മരേരം” is used by അഗസ്തൃ in his സൂത്ര, the sound റേ should also be presumed to have been considered by that grammar as a unique Dravidian (non-Sanskritic) sound.

It has to be noted here that the Tamil grammatical tradition, from the time of തൊൽകാപ്പിയനർ down till to-day, does not recognise any distinction between the sound-character of short റ and that of long റേ, both of which are considered as alveolar plosives. This tradition started perhaps very early, when the value of short റ still had the value of an alveolar plosive, like റേ.

In later periods, the alveolar plosive value of *ṛ* seems to have changed to that of an *r*-trill. In Middle Tamil inscriptions, the sounds *ṛ* and *ṛ* appear so much interchanged as to suggest that by this time *ṛ* had acquired the value of a trill.—This trill-value is given to *ṛ* not only in colloquial speech today, but also in the evaluation of short *ṛ* when old texts are read.

The Tamil *grammatical tradition* however, still continues to ignore this change in the value of *ṛ*.

This old tradition is absent in Malayalam, where from the earliest known times, short *ṛ* had the value of a palato-cerebral trill and *ṛ* that of a long alveolar surd.

From the point of view of ലിപ്തലക്ഷണം, therefore, there is need to distinguish the character of *ṛ* from that of *ṛ*.

II, 8.

This sūtra states that “(naturalised) Sanskrit words are met with everywhere (i. e. both in കാവ്യം and in സംസാരപ്രയോഗം”. The vṛtti in elaborating it says that (i) since the use of the particle “ഈ” in this ണ്ടുത indicates അന്യമതപ്രയോഗം with reference to the സംസ്കൃതരൂപരൂപ forms of the preceding ണ്ടുത, this rule postulates that bhāṣikṛtasamskr̥ta words occur not only in Kāvyaś but also in ordinary conversation, unlike samskr̥tikṛta bhāṣā forms found only in Kāvyaś (as stated already), (ii) this bhāṣikaraṇa of Sanskrit words may occur in several ways, and (iii) śuddhasamskr̥ta forms occur only in Kāvyaś but not in ordinary conversation.

The process of ഭാഷീകരണം proceeds along lines like the following: (i) the use of Sanskrit bases or nominatives as ഭാഷാ bases in ഭാഷാ contexts with the inflexional (and conjugational) endings of ഭാഷാ;

(ii) the shortening of the endings ണ, ു and ൂ of Sanskrit feminine bases (except monosyllabics).

(iii) the adaptation of Sanskrit bases with **ഭാഷാ** endings as in **ബാണം**, **ഗംപു** and **മനം** ;

(iv) the embodiment of Sanskrit bases, or those adapted from Sanskrit, in compounds governed by the rules of **ഭാഷാസംസ്കൃത** relating to the doubling of the initial sounds of the second constituents.

It would be clear from the above that the term **ഭാഷീകൃതസംസ്കൃത** includes **സംസ്കൃതരൂപം**, and that it further envisages Sanskrit words (used in Malayalam) like **മധു** and **പാരി**, where the process of **ഭാഷീകരണം** arises from their being used in **ഭാഷാ** contexts with **ഭാഷാ** endings, or in **ഭാഷാ** compounds.

The purpose of the present **സൂത്ര** is to distinguish, from **ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃത** words, all those Sanskrit primaries which have attained “**ഭാഷാത്വം**”, i. e. become “**naturalised**” as members of **ഭാഷാ**. This **ഭാഷാത്വം** is conferred, as the **വൃത്തി** shows, by the **ഭാഷാ** endings and by the association, with those primaries, of phonological and morphological features special to **ഭാഷാ**. Cf. also the following observation in the **വൃത്തി** to I, 1: “**വിഭക്തിഭാഗേ ഭാഷാസംയുക്തസംസ്കൃതം ഭാഷാഭൂയമാപദ്യതേ, ഭാഷാത്വപ്രതീതേന ഏകാദൃകാത്**”

The emphasis on **ഭാഷാത്വം** illustrates the recognition by **Lilātilakam** of the essentiality of the differences between **ഭാഷാ** and **സംസ്കൃത**, in spite of its approval of the general proposition that Sanskrit is the source of all other speeches.

A very significant feature revealed by the **vṛtti** is that these **ഭാഷീകൃതസംസ്കൃത** words were used in the conversational language of the people, while neither the Sanskritised Malayalam forms nor the **śuddha Samskr̥ta** forms (i. e., Sanskrit words with Sanskrit affixes) were current in the colloquial. These latter types never penetrated into the language-consciousness of the Malayalam-speaking people, but remained outside the pale of the colloquial. On the other hand,

the influence of Sanskrit really made itself felt on the vocabulary of the masses through the dissemination of bhāṣikṛtasamskṛta words. In the course of later centuries, this use in Malayalam vocabulary of bhāṣikṛta samskṛta words has, far from showing any signs of decline, only gained in strength and in popularity.

II, 4, 5, 8.

A systematic discussion of the Indo-āryan elements in Tamil—Malayalam, detailing the circumstances in which the borrowings were made, has so far not been attempted. The so-called തത്വങ്ങൾ which in Malayalam would comprehend borrowals made (without changes in the പ്രകൃതി) of OIA words at different periods, will have to be distinguished from the “തത്വങ്ങൾ” which are constituted of words borrowed at different periods from OIA with changes, and from MIA with or without changes. While Malayalam in the course of its history has gone on borrowing തത്വങ്ങൾ from OIA, the MIA elements of Malayalam are mainly those which it has inherited from a common “parent stage” which came under the influence of MIA speeches (particularly of Buddhists and of Jains.)

One might compare words like the following with the corresponding MIA bases (collected from Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakṛta—sprachen* and MIA glossaries) shown below within brackets: അക്കി (അഗ്നി). അച്ചൻ (അജ്ഞ), അമച്ചൻ (അമച്ച), ആഗാൻ and ആഗാരി (ആചാര്യ), ആതിച്ചൻ (ആദിച്ച്), എണ്ണി and ചേണി (സേണി), കണം ‘moment’ ഖണ്ഡ, കച്ചം “arrangement” “regulation” (കജ്ജ, OIA കാജ്; cf. Kann. കജ്ജ), കാരം (ഖാര), കപ്പായം (കപ്പാസ), കേരം (ഖേര), കോട്ടി “assembly” (ഗോട്ഠി), കൊക്കരണി (ഖോക്ഖരണീ), ചങ്ങല (സങ്കലം), ചപ്പ (സപ്തം), ചാരം (ചാര), ചിരി as in ചിരിഭേരി (സിരി), ചുക്കം (സുക), ചുണ്ണമ്പ് (സുണ്ണ), ചുക്ക (സുക), ചെട്ടി (സെട്ഠി), ചാരം (ജാര), ചിളോകം (സിഖോഗ), ചിങ്ങം (സിംഹ), ചെട്ടൻ (ജെട്ഠ), ജോഗിയാർ (ജോഗി), തച്ചൻ

'carpenter' (തപ്പാല), തമ്പലം (തമ്പലം), the feminine suffix തി, (മി, ഇതി), നിജം(നിജി), പരിശു "manner, state" (ഫരിശി, പക്കം (പക'ഖ), പളിങ്ങ (പളിംഗ), പന്തി (പന്തി), പളിങ്ങ (പളി, OIA സ്തൃഷ്-), രായരൻ (രായാ), രക്കാപോകം (രക്കാ), വക്കം (വക'ഖാണ), വട്ടം (വട്ട), ശര (ശരി); വങ്കൻ (വങ്ക, OIA വകു), സുന്ന (സുന്ന, OIA ശൂന്യ). ദൈവ[കല്ല] (വഹര), ലോകൃം (ലോഗിയ), മശാനം (മശാണ), ഏണ (ഏണാ), കമ്മാളർ (കമ്മാര), ജോസ്യം (ജോസു), കര and കരരി (for the shortening of the penultimate vowel, കര and കരരി).

While the relationship to MIA is more or less clear in respect of the above words, some influence of MIA may have to be thought of in the case of words like the following also : കമ്മൾ < കമ്മി-കൾ, പത്തനം and പപ്പളം (സമന, or സമ്മന with consonantal lengthening in the accented syllable).

II, 1 to 5 and 8.

It would be interesting to contrast the classification made by Līlātilakam of the elements of the vocabulary of the ഭാഷാ portion of മണിപ്രവാള, with that made by തൊൽകാപ്പിയം of the vocabularial elements of Tamil പെരു.

Tolkāppiyam nowhere recognizes a Sanskritic origin for Tamil; and all the early commentarians of this work regard those വടവൊൽ or Indoāryan words which are used in Tamil പെരു (whether in a modified or unmodified state), as importations into Tam. from Skt. and MIA — This is clear from the rules of തൊൽകാപ്പിയം regarding വടവൊൽ and from the references to വടവൊൽ made by some of the earlier commentarians.

Another point to be noted in this connection is that Tamil പെരു was composed only with the aid of തമിഴഴ്ത്ത and never with the aid of the sounds peculiar to ആര്യ ഏഴ്ത്ത; the borrowings and adaptations of Sanskrit words in Tamil പെരു were either those which could be represented in Tamil with the same symbols in which they appeared in Sanskrit (i. e. പൊതു

പെഴുത്തു or of symbols common to Tamil and Sanskrit) or those showing structural changes in the process of adaptation of unique Sanskrit sounds to Tamil.

All IA loans in Tamil പെഴുതു would therefore fall under one or other of these two categories. To the former type would belong words like വാരി, മേര and ചിരതം,—words which have been described by Līlātilakam (in the course of the analysis in I, 11 of the features of Malayalam പാട്ട്) as ‘സ്വരതാദ്രിഡ സംലാതാത്മകം സംസ്കൃതം’ To the latter would belong all adaptations, showing structural and semantic changes, this group being known as ആരിയച്ചിരൈവ in Tamil.

So far as native Tamil words are concerned, the classification of Tolkāppiyam comprehends three types ഇയറുപൊൽ, തിരിപൊൽ and തിരൈച്ചൊൽ, while the ശേരി group of Līlātilakam has three sub-divisions, based on other perspectives: ശുദ്ധശേരി, ഭാഷാന്തര സമ and ഭാഷാന്തരഭവ.

The classification of the ഭാഷ elements (of മണിപ്രവാള) in Līlātilakam is thus adapted to the special conditions of Malayālam in which the dominant influence of Sanskrit had brought in its wake the use of ആളുഴയുത്തു for the representation of Sanskrit words, and the development of new literary forms and conventions.

As for പാട്ട് which represents in Malayalam the direct lineal descendant of Tamil പെഴുതു, Līlātilakam refers to features like “ദ്രിഡ സംലാതാക്ഷരനിബദ്ധം” “ആരിയച്ചിരൈവ” “ദ്രിഡസംലാതാത്മകം സംസ്കൃതം” “മോന” “എളക”, the nine വികാര of പെഴുതു, and the use of older phonetic forms. ‘

1. As for the classification of lexical elements in the older grammars of Kannada, it may be noted that the 13th century ശബ്ദമണി രേഖണ marks off the following categories : (i) ശേരിയ or അച്ചഗനഡ words ; (ii) സമസംസ്കൃത which are സംസ്കൃതപ്രകൃതി that may undergo changes in the terminal portions of bases ; (iii) തത്വഭവ evidencing changes in the bases themselves, and, (iv) twenty-one

II, 9 and 10.

The fourteenth century treatise, *Līlātilakam*, has, in its second śilpa, sixteen sūtras dealing with Malayalam 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 Malayalam. 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 *maṇipravāla* 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 Malayalam of the fourteenth century are not ignored. In a work dealing with the *maṇipravāla* 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.

In these sūtras introducing the subject of Malayalam inflexions, the existence in Malayalam 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

words called "തത്സമം" said to be identical in Sanskrit and in Kannada. No particular mention is made of Prakritic elements.

As for Telugu, *ആശ്രയശബ്ദവിനാശനം* divides the word-stock of Telugu into four classes (in rule 16 of the സംജ്ഞാപരിച്ഛേദം:—
 (i) തദ്ഭാഷ (those derived with changes from Sanskrit and Prakrit);
 (ii) സമ or മൂല (those which resemble Sanskrit and Prakrit words in their bases though not in the endings); (iii) സാധാരണ (those current as common words in common usage); and (iv) ഗൗഢ (illiteracies not governed by rules. To this list, *അമൃതസാഗരം* (in his വികൃതി വിവേക) adds another class which he calls അന്യഭാഷ [“അഹംഭാഷ അന്യഭാഷയും ചത്തഭാഷ പ്രയുക്തം.”]

extant grammar of Tamil): விதிவகைவதக்கள் விதிவகை
எட்டு '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 உயർதീனൈ (group constituted of rational beings) and അംഠിനൈ (non-rationals including inanimates), ഉയർതീനൈ itself being subdivided into ആൺചാൽ (masculine singular), പെൺചാൽ (feminine singular) and പലർചാൽ (rational plural); and അംഠിനൈ having two sub-divisions ഒന്നാൻ ചാൽ (non-rational singular) and പലവിൻചാൽ (non-rational plural).¹

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

Līlātilakam 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’.

II, 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.

“പേർ, ഏ, ഐ, ക്ക, നിൻറു, ഉടെ, വിളിത്തുകൾ”.

The commentary points out that while 'പേർ' and 'വിളി' in the sūtra are 'ആത്മം' the others are 'ശാബ്ദം'.

The form and the purpose of the Lilātilakam sūtra may be compared to the Tolkāppiyam Colladigāram rule: “പെയർ, ഐ, കടു, കു, ഇൻ, അതു, കൻ, വിളിയെന്നും ഇതറം”.

The Tolkāppiyam rule has been interpreted by all

commentarians (except Teyvaccilaiyār) as giving the names of the 'vibhaktis', and there too 'പേയർ' and 'ചിളി' have been taken as indicating the meanings.

2. "The 'first' case is the 'പ്രാതിപദിക' and it is called 'പേർ'", says the commentary.

Here one may recall Cēnāvaraiyar's interpretation of the Tolkāppiyam rule : "അവരൾ എഴുപായ് വേരുകടെ പെയാർത്തോൻറനിലെയ്".

3. The Malayāḷam second case ending *e* is marked off in the commentary from Tamil *ഐ*, and the augments in forms like *മറഞ്ഞ*, *മരത്തിനെ*, *ആനയെ* etc. are pointed out as corresponding to Tamil 'ചാരിയെ'.

(a) Very interesting syntactical observations follow. "The force of the second case ending of Malayāḷam is to introduce the ideas of *നിലുത്തു*, *വികാളം* *പ്രാപ്യ*, and not to denote 'space' and 'duration of time'; nor are second case forms dependent upon 'ഉപപദ'."

Conceivable Malayāḷam usages like *ലവസത്തെ നിൻറാൻ* (where duration of time is denoted by the second case form), and *നേത്രത്തെ കരളേയും നടുവേ ചിളി* "the eye-brow between the eyes and the curls" (where the second case forms *നേത്രത്തെ* and *കരളേ* are made dependent upon *നടുവേ*, in imitation of Sanskrit usages like those where the indeclinable *അന്തരം* governs second case forms) are disapproved.

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

(b) The terms 'നിലുത്തു', 'വികാളം' and *പ്രാപ്യ* associated with the second case object, are used by Sanskrit

1. The Kannada Grammar ശബ്ദാണിശ്ചയ uses these terms in the sutra treating about the force of the second case ending. It also refers to 'കാല' and 'അധർ' in Kannada as being expressed in the second case.

treatises and adapted in Tamil by some of the Tamil commentarians of Tolkāppiyam. Both ചേനാവരൈയർ and നച്ചിനാർക്കിനിയർ use more or less the same language: “ഇയറപ്പുടവതും, വേരപടുക്കുപ്പുടവതും, എയ്യുപ്പുടവതും, എന്നെച്ചുറ്റുപ്പുടവതും മുൻറാ”.

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

“ഇനി വാക്യപരിയത്തുള്ളാ, കൈയടത്തുള്ളാ, നിർവത്തിയാ, വികാരിയാ, പിറാപ്പിയാ എന്നുള്ളിയവണ്ണാ ചേനാവരൈയർ മുതലായിനോർ ഇയറപ്പുടവതും വേരപടുക്കുപ്പുടവതും എയ്യുപ്പുടവതും എന്നെച്ചുറ്റുപ്പുടവതും മുൻറാക്കുവർനന്തലായം ആക്കൽ, അഴിതൽ അടൈതൽ ചൈനേനന്റൽ മതം പരറി പലവാക്കുവർ”.

4. The third case endings of Malayālam are ഓട് (the only one mentioned in the sūtra but referred to in the commentary as ‘ഉപലക്ഷണം’) and ആൽ, and the post-position കൊണ്ട് (the two latter mentioned by the commentary).

(a) The observation of the commentary that in third case forms like അവനെക്കൊണ്ട് the എ is nota second case ending, but only a സന്ധായക, has to be understood as implying that in third case forms like these, the third case meaning alone is important and that the element എ preceding കൊണ്ട് need not be isolated as being originally the second case ending.

(b) While ഓട് and ആൽ are equally important as third case endings in Malayalam, why is ഓട് alone mentioned in the sūtra and then described in the commentary as an ‘ഉപലക്ഷണം’? I suspect that the model of the Tolkāppiyam Colladigāram sūtra which mentions only ഓട് as the third case ending for Tamil though ഓട് and ആൽ 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 വിരചോഴിയം, നേമിനാരായണം

and നന്നൂൽ mention both ഓടു (and ഓടു) and അൽ (and അൽ) as equally important (in the sūtras themselves).

(c) ഓടു, with long ഓ, is the common form in Malayālam, though ഓടു appears occasionally in poetry. The thirteenth century നേമിനാഥം expressly refers to ഓടു as a 'development' of ഓടു.

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

In Malayālam this differentiation of functions became common at a very early stage, though rare poetic instances exist like വേദീയാൽ വേദക്കൊന്നിടത്തു [where അൽ is used with the meaning of 'association'] and കടലോടു പോയാൽ [where ഓടു has the force of അൽ] cited by Gundert from പയ്യന്നൂർ പാട്ട്.

(e) Malayālam appears to have developed the special signification of 'വിധേയ' for ഓടു—a meaning that is common in Tamil only for the fifth case ending. In Old Malayālam texts like Dūtavākyaṃ, constructions like ലജ്ജയോടു വേരപട്ട്, സന്താപത്തോടു വേറായി and മേതനത്തോടു പിരിഞ്ഞു, 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 വിധേയ, it may have had essentially a Dravidian origin.

Just in the same manner as the third case is prescribed by Tolkāppiyam for what it calls *കുറ്റപ്പെടുത്തൽ* in instances involving absence of resemblance, as in

ചൊന്നാടിത്തന്നെയാർന്നിന്നാടു പരിഭവം, so too 'absence of accompaniment' may have been connected with the third case.

5. The fourth case endings of Malayāḷam are those "in അവൾക്കു, and അൻ്റെ, ഇൻ്റെ as in അവൻ്റെ, അതിൻ്റെ"

(a) അൻ്റെ, and ഇൻ്റെ are 'false' isolations of the Malayāḷam fourth case ending appearing after nouns and pronouns with the 'rational' singular ന് as the final or after nouns embodying the augment ഇൻ്റെ. Really, here, after the old ക് had been lost, Malayāḷam had, to start with, a 'സംഘാ' *u*, which in the course of the history of Malayāḷam became opened out to എ. The elements അൻ്റെ and ഇൻ്റെ in what Līlātilakam isolates as അൻ്റെ and ഇൻ്റെ 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 കവ്- is disapproved by the commentary. A Malayāḷam construction like കാത്തൻ്റെ കോപിക്കിൻ്റെ കാത്ത is pointed out as incongruous for Malayāḷam.

6. The commentary points out that Malayāḷam has, for the fifth case, the "endings" ഇൽനിൻ്റെ, മേൽനിൻ്റെ, പക്കൽ നിൻ്റെ and എൽനിൻ്റെ.

(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 constructions like അവൻ്റെ പഠനം. "learnt from him" and പഠിപ്പിക്കൽനിൻ്റെ പേരിച്ചു.

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 അഞ്ചൽ "fearing" mentioned in the sūtras dealing with verb-ideas governing the second and 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 ചക്രത്തിങ്കൽനിന്നു ഭയപ്പെട്ടു,- where the verb denoting 'fear' governs a fifth case object.

(b) So far as verbs denoting 'learning' are concerned, constructions like അവന്റെ അടുക്കൽ പഠിച്ചു and അവന്റെ അടുക്കൽനിന്നു പഠിച്ചു are both common today, the former adverting to the teacher from whom a general course of instruction has been received and the latter to the person from whom a particular piece of instruction has been derived.

(c) എൽനിന്നു contains the element എൽ, which appears in forms like കൊടുവൽ (ultimately from കൊമ്പിൻമേൽ). This എൽ appears already in tenth century inscriptions: പുരയിടത്തു |TAS.]

(d) Beside കാട്ടിൽ, Malayālam also had കാൾ to denote comparison. These post-positions are used after second case forms:— കമലത്തെക്കാട്ടിൽ in വൃത്തി to II, 11 ; and അർങ്ങാവേക്കാൾ in U. S., II, 13 ; but പശുക്കൾക്കാൾ in U. S., II, 68 ; and അതിൽക്കാൾ in Bhg. I, 17, show the use of കാൾ after the seventh case.

7. The commentary refers to sixth case endings -ഉടെ, -യുടെ, -ടെ and ന്നു.

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

(b) The mention of -ന്നു (which in origin is the Malayālam fourth case ending of words with final -ൻ or the augment -യ്ക്ക- mentioned above) calls for comment.

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

In the commentary on the seventh sūtra of വേദവൈകൃതം of വീരബാഴിയം, പെരുന്തേവനാർ refers to 'ക' as having a sixth case meaning, only when it is a 'കാരക':
 'ഔദാരവേദവൈകൃതം കാരകമാകയാഴ്ച്ച 'ക' എന്നാ പിറഞ്ഞിരുന്നതാ
 ദർശനം.....പിറകിത്തീരുകകളിൽപിൻപു 'ക' എന്നാ നാലാം വേദവൈകൃതത്തിൽ വരുവിതു.....കാരകപരമാക്കിരിക്കിരിയാപരത്താഴ്ച്ച കൂട്ടി 'മുറയ്ക്കുക മകനാനാൻ' എന്നു മുടിക്ക.' 1

The grammar നേമിനാമം does not refer to ക as a 'sixth case' ending.

നന്നൂർ, even while referring to the use of the affix ക instead of the sixth case ending, does not regard ക as a sixth case ending.

Nor do the commentarians of Tolkāppiyam (except perhaps ഇളമ്പുറം) interpret the Colladigāram sūtra in such a way as to suggest that ക is a 'sixth case' ending. Their interpretation is that a sixth case compound like നമ്പി മകൻ would if resolved become നമ്പിക്കു ആകിയ മകൻ. This interpretation was due to the feeling that sixth case compounds like നമ്പിക്കു മകൻ were not very common in Tamil, but that generally usage sanctioned only constructions like നമ്പിക്കാകിയ മകൻ or നമ്പിക്കു മകനാകിയോൻ.

But already from a fairly early period, compounds like നമ്പിക്കു മകൻ and പിന്നിക്കു മരുത്തു as in പിന്നിക്കു മരുത്തു പിറ of കുറു, where പിന്നിക്കു relates to മരുത്തു with a sixth case relationship, were common.

1. The seventeenth century പ്രയാഗവിവേകം (very much influenced by Sanskrit in its outlook and treatment) includes ക in the list of sixth case endings in the sūtra, but observes in the commentary that 'ക has the meaning of a അഷ്ടിപ്രത്യയ and confers the force of the sixth case'. In a later context, however, it adverts to ക as the sixth case ending itself.

2. This collocation with a sixth case relationship cannot be justified by the same Tolkāppiyam sūtra that covers instances like നമ്പിക്കു മകൻ, where ഉയർതിക്കൈ nouns are 'qualified' by the sixth case form.

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

The correspondence of Sanskrit constructions like *രാമസ്യ പത്രാശ്ചിതം* to *ഇരാനെക്കുപ്പുതർവനുളൻ* may also have contributed to the feeling that *ക* in forms like these may be regarded as a 'sixth case' ending.

So far as Malayāḷam is concerned, *Lilātilakam* 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 *-ക* exclusively as a 'sixth case' ending, the 'fourth case' ending being (in its opinion) only *അയിക്കൊണ്ടു* ("ഇക്കുമിന്നുമുടെ ഏഷ്ടികു").

Instances like *പാരിന്നു നാമൻ പരീക്ഷിതു* also do occur in Malayāḷam, where *പാരിന്നു* is related to *നാമൻ* and not to the predicate.

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

Similarly, constructions in Malayāḷam like *മരങ്ങളുടെ മദ്ധ്യം* "the mango tree among the trees," in imitation of the Sanskrit use of the *ഏഷ്ടിക* forms for *നിർവാണ*, are also condemned by the commentary.

8. Seventh case endings are "ഉൽ, ഇല, മേൽ, കൽ."

(a) Now, *ഇല* (as illustrated in *അവൻ-ഇല-എ-സ്സേഹാ*) is actually compounded of the locative ending *ഇല* and *എ* which was a terminative expletive in the older stages of the language but which came to have a "qualificatory" value in forms like *കാട്ടില* in *കാട്ടിലത്തെ* 'the elephant of the forest', "qualifying" the nouns immediately following.

(b) The suggestion in KP, p. 179, that *കൽ*, one of the seventh case endings in Malayāḷam, is possibly derived from *കൻ*, the Tamil locative post-position, is not supported by the available inscriptional evidence.

which points to Tamil കാർ, a locative post-position, having been the original of Malayālam കാർ: — കോയിൽക്കാർ (at the temple) in tenth century inscriptions: [TAS, IV, p. 15, l. 19], ചിറയാതിൽക്കാർ [ib., II, p. 81], which form in later inscriptions becomes കോയിൽക്കാർ or കോയിക്കർ [TAS, IV, p. 46, l. 1,—a twelfth century inscription].

(c) Locative absolute constructions in Malayālam (in imitation of Sanskrit usage) like ഉദിക്കിൾ അദിത്യനിൽ പിറന്നാൻ “he was born, while the sun was rising,” are condemned by the commentary.

9. The eighth case endings are, according to the commentary, “അ, ഇ, ഊ and ഐ, as in മാധവ, നമ്പി, മാത്ര, ഇവന, ഇവള, മരമേ, വടിയ”.

(a) Among the forms mentioned in the commentary, മാധവ, നമ്പി and മരമേ, വടിയ [the last two show the ഐ- ending used for അംഗീകരണ vocatives, according to Tolkāppiyam] follow Old Tamil rules. ഉച്ചിർച്ചിരണ nouns with lip-rounded *u* were very rare in Old Tamil; while vocatives for pronouns like ഇവൻ, ഇവൾ did not exist.

(b) The list in the commentary is but a summary one. Instances of other Malayālam vocatives occurring in the citations of the commentary are നമ്മ (Tamil നമ്മായ്), തോഴന്മാ, അമ്മ, തൃക്കാരിയുൾ അണ്ണമേ. None of these can be justified by Tolkāppiyam rules. Nor can vocatives like ശ്രേഷ്ഠന്മാര and ചർമ്മത്തനായാളോഴയ of the fourteenth century Dūtavākyaṃ be supported by Tolkāppiyam rules.

(c) In the commentary on the fourth sūtra of the fourth śilpa, the vocatives ചക്രന and നാരാചക്രന are conservatively condemned, though it must be said that instances like these with the affix ഐ tacked on to

1. For the shortening of the vowel, one may compare Malayalam ചരിക്കൽ (once), Old Malayalam ഒരിക്കൽ (Tamil ഒരിക്കൽ) appearing in RC. 13, and ഒരക്കൽ in TAS, VII p. 113.

words with the final rational singular ending -ൻ, are common both in Middle Tamil and in Malayāḷam, even when such nouns are not ‘മുരൈപ്പൊഴു’.

Indeed, while in Old Tamil (according to the rule in the chapter on vocatives in Tolkāppiyam) the vocatives of rational masculine singulars (with -ൻ) took on ഏ only when they were ‘മുരൈപ്പൊഴു’ or nouns denoting relationship, the practice appears to have been extended to other rational masculine singulars also in later periods. വിരചാശിയാ (in its commentary on the eighth sūtra of വേദരൈപ്പൊഴു) instances vocatives like ഇരമന and മനന. Middle Tamil texts like നാച്ചിയാർ തിരുമൊഴി have forms like ഉണർവാനേ, തുയിർവാനേ, കണ്ണന.

The thirteenth century grammar നേമിനാഥ also cites illustrations of vocatives like അയന, ചിവന, നളനേ, പറനേ for ഉയർതിനെ nouns with -ൻ. The same grammar has അമ്മേ, അത്തേ, which also could not be supported by the rules of Tolkāppiyam.

II, 12 and 13.

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

II, 14.

The second case ending ഏ is declared by this sūtra to be optional for inanimate and non-rational nouns: “അചനനേ തിരശ്ചി ചായം വികല്പഃ”, 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 Eluttu:— “ഉയർതിനെ മന്ദകിൻ കഴിയാതു വരുമല്ല”.

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.

II, 15 and 16.

Sūtra 15 mentions the three genders : masculine, feminine and neuter. The next rule postulates that the feminine ending³ in words other than nouns is -ഉ്.

The commentary on sūtra 16 specially points out that the determination of gender in Malayālam is guided by sex and not by grammatical rules: “അതു സ്ത്രീ ലിംഗം പ്രകാരം, ന പാരിഭാഷികാ”.

II, 17.

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

The commentary gives the illustrations മെട്ടിച്ചി and ശ്രദ്ധണി.

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

Malayālam, however, has ഇ as the feminine-converter in instances like രോഴി, കീഴവി.

II, 18.

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

The commentary explains forms like രേനൻ, പള്ളിപ്പൻ (used as neuters) as being due to “masculinity being attributed to them” [“പുരുഷാധ്യാപോപാത്”].

II, 19 and 20.

Sūtra 19 envisages ‘neuter’ singular -അം; and the next sūtra refers to the neuter singular ending -ഉ of the demonstratives അതു, ഇതു and of the interrogative എന്തു.

II, 21 and 22.

The ‘number’ of nouns is dealt with in these.

While singular nouns are instanced in the commentary on sūtra 21, the next sūtra lists plural endings of nouns as “-ൻ, -കളു, -മാര, -മര, -വര, generally speaking”.

The illustrations in the commentary for plurals

are all 'rationals': ബ്രാഹ്മണർ, കവികൾ, നമ്പിമാർ, കാണർ,¹ കർവർ, വരമവർ,² അവർ.

Then follow the observations: "because of the use of the word 'പ്രായേണ' in the 'sūtra, മരങ്ങൾ etc. might also be mentioned. Here, plurality also is associated with trees" [അത്ര വൃക്ഷാഭിനാമ ബഹുത്വമപിഗമ്യഭൂതം]. The special statement '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 കർ-ending is optional.

II, 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 Malayālam finites.

II, 24.

This sūtra on verbs lays down that "verb-forms are to be met with in 'വീഡി' and 'പ്രാർത്ഥനാ' 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 'വീഡി' and 'പ്രാർത്ഥനാ' may be classified thus:

(a) ചെൽവുതാവു type.—This is constituted of the Malayālam participle ചെൽവുള and the Malayālam tense-form ആവു (with final ഉ). The force of 'വീഡി' is not only conferred by ആവു, but also implied in the

1. കാണർ is a participial noun like ഉണർ and തിരുർ (as in പരിപാടർ for instance).

2. The published text prints these instances as കളവർ and വരുവർ which are verb-forms, with which this sūtra is not concerned.

“non-rational” participial form which by itself is used in Old Malayālam texts to denote ‘വിധി’.

The type ചെൽവുതാവു is a fairly early west coast type.

The earliest instance of a participial “neuter” like ചെൽവുതു¹ (for ചെൽവതു) occurs in an eleventh century inscription. Here, the *ഉ* is short, as it is in all forms of this kind in Uṇṇuṇiṭisandēsam (as *e.g.* in ചെൽവുതാക)

For the type of ആവു, the earliest available west coast instances are ഉടുവു and കൊടുപ്പു [both of the thirteenth century].

Both the type of ചെൽവതു [with *ഉ* instead of അ] and that of ആവു [with *ഉ* as a final finite ending] are special developments of Malayālam.

(b) ചെൽവാനാക.—This is constituted of the third person rational singular participial noun, and the optative അക.

The force of a gentle ‘വിധി’ (or ‘പ്രാർത്ഥന’, as the case may be) is associated with അക which originally was in Tamil a ‘വിധിക്കോർ’ (used only for third persons), but which in later stages was used for all persons and in Malayālam acquired an “imperatival” value.

This type of ചെൽവാനാക is common in literary Tamil also.

The “personal” variations, if desired, would be embodied in the first constituent viz., the participial noun: പോവോതാക, പോവുതാക etc. Cf. ചെൽവുതാക of TAS, III, p. 57 [eleventh century], and numerous forms like

1. The types ചെൽപ്പിതു, ചെൽപ്പിതു [with ഇ] are equally old in Malayalam, occurring as they do in very old west coast inscriptions. [Tamil colloquials had forms with ഇ of the participials ഉൻപിതു, ഉൻപിതു with penultimate *ഃ* instead of *ഃ*, mentioned by Viracoliyam.

There is no justification for the view that forms with -ഉതു were earlier than those with -ഇതു.

വശിഷ്ഠാശാസനം in the fourteenth-century prose text Dūtavākyaṃ.

(c) ചെല്ലവേണ്ടം, ചെല്ലണം.—The type of ചെല്ലവേണ്ടം, of which ചെല്ലണം is a derivative, is a very old formation.

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

(d) ചെൽവിൻ represents an old second person imperative type in Malayālam—The corresponding type in Tamil has -മിൻ for its ending.

2. (a) The commentary then adverts to the first person singular -എൻ and the first person plural -ഓമ and -എമ.

The -എമ ending is very rare in Malayālam texts, while -ഓമ is the usual first person plural ending wherever it appears in Old Malayālam texts or inscriptions.

-ഓമ is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyam; it becomes frequent in post-Sangam Tamil texts.

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

-ആ(യ്), as in വന്നു for the singular ;

-ഓ(യ്) as in വരുന്നു for the singular ;

-ഇര, as in വന്നീർ for the plural.

(i) The singular -ആ is the older -ആയ് with its final -യ് elided. Forms with -ആ appear in Rāmacaritam, Uṇṇunilīsandēśam, Dūtavākyaṃ and other Old Malayālam texts.

(ii) The singular -ഓ which is from older -ഓയ് with its -യ് elided, is exemplified by Malayālam instances like (-ശ്ശ) പണ്ണിമരം (നീ) of Dūtavākyaṃ.

Tamil grammars refer to -ഓയ് along with -ഓന -ഓള and -ഓര.

(iii) The plural -മ്മര is also represented (though rarely) in Old Malayālam texts, as in കണ്ടിര of KR, and (എങ്കനിക്ക) വരികൻ of Kauṭaliyam.

(iv) The commentary at this stage makes the observation : “വർത്തമാനഭവിഷ്യഭൂതാന വിശേഷഃ”

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 കാണിക്ക etc., which are printed in the published text along with the past tense instances.

(c) The personal endings -ത്ത and -ത്തു are adverted to in the illustrations വന്നാൻ, വന്നാർ.

For the “neuter” third person, the type without any personal endings, as in പന്ന, പോയ്, is mentioned; and the comment is made that these forms are used for both the singular and plural, though traditional plural forms like പന്ന, പോയ are also envisaged immediately after.

The plural type of വന്ന is used in old texts ; മുവന്ന തിരക്കളല്ല of Rāmacaritam, and മേഘകവഞ്ചന തിരന്ന of Kaṇṇaśśārāmāyaṇam.

Finites without personal endings were during the period perhaps already common in the colloquials ; in the literary dialect, the use of old traditional 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 വന്ന, and the actual employment of finites without personal

endings in US and RC, show that such finites were not rare in literature too.

Immediately after the mention of forms with the third person 'rational' endings, -അൻ, -അം, the commentary makes the observation :—“വരികേറാൻ”, “വരികേറാൻ” ഇത്യാദിക വർത്തമാനവിഷയത്താൽ. The illustrations of the printed text (വരികേറാൻ, വരികേറം) are not appropriate in the context, which refers to third personal rational endings. I would therefore suggest the reading given above, on the ground that reference is made here very probably to third personal -കാൻ, -കാമ, which are common to the present, future and the past alike.

Forms like വരികേറാൻ are frequent in Old Malayālam texts like Dūtavākyaṃ and Kauṭaliyam.

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

“വൻറൻ വൻറാൻ”, ഇത്യാദി വർത്തമാനവിഷയത്താൽ.

The printed text gives the inappropriate illustrations: ‘വൻറൻ’ ‘വൻറാൻ’, neither of which is a third person ‘non-rational plural’.

I would emend these as suggested above.

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

Kauṭaliyam, for instance, has finites like അവൻ.

Forms with ഓ [non-rational plural] appear in the early texts both as predicates and as participial subjects; examples of predicates are കാണപ്പിടൻറാ, അലറിയങ്ങിടൻറാ, നിറൈക്കപ്പിടൻറാ, ഗർജ്ജിക്കിടൻറാ [Dūtavākyaṃ, p. 37]; and അവൻ in ഇവ ഉപായങ്ങളാലോ [Kauṭal,]

This non-rational plural type of വരികേറാൻ or വൻറാൻ is not a literary Tamil one. The long ഓ appears in Tamil only in “rational” കാൻ, കാമ, ചെയ് and കാര.

(d) .കിൽ, the ending of the conditional verb-form, mentioned in the vṛtti to 24, was an early, popular

'isolation' in Malayāḷam, as shown by 10th century forms :—തരികിൽ ; കൊടുകിൽ [TAS, III, p. 176, unique in Malayāḷam as the conditional of the negative] ഒഴികിൽ [ib. III, p. 180].

(e) One of the illustrations given in the ചുരുക്കി is വന്നുവന്നു (I came). The use of വന്നു here is irregular in as much as the past stem of വാ. is വന്ന- with the dental group -ന്ന- which goes back to -ന്- of Tamil. The older form should therefore be വന്തു, and not വന്നു; but during the time of Lil. and of the Kannaṣṣa Paṇikkars the development of ന് to ന്ന had become so fixed and popular on the one hand, and on the other the change of വന്നു to വന്ന had perhaps been initiated so firmly in the colloquial, that the original of വന്ന was "etymologised" as വന്നു, and the spelling വന്നു was sometimes employed to represent വന്നു. Cf. the use of വന്നു [RC, 30]; തന്നു [US, II, 12]; and പിന്നൊന്ന as an illustration in the vṛtti to Lilātilakam II, 11.

Śilpa III.

The whole of this śilpa is devoted to the examination of vocalic and consonantal sandhi in Malayāḷam. Though the treatment here again is far from being exhaustive, many features recorded in this śilpa are of great value to the student of the evolution of the Malayāḷam language. Several vṛttis mark off Malayāḷam features from the corresponding Tamil ones, and everywhere the outlook is guided by the desire to distinguish, define and explain features and phenomena that are peculiarly Malayāḷam; it has at the same time to be recognized that some of the sūtras and the vṛttis to these also reveal a respect for purely literary sandhi phenomena which were absent from the living speech of the time and which existed only in kāvya as the remnants of an older literary tradition.

I have discussed the sūtras in detail in my DS, and pointed out the divergences between Old Mal. and Tamil on the one hand, and the differences between Old Malayālam and New Malayālam on the other. In the present essay I shall therefore merely indicate the important points relating to the sūtras and the vṛttis of this chapter, and finally sum up the chief characteristics of the outlook of this work, so far as they are revealed in the third śilpa.

III, I.

This is a സംമാന്യ സൂത്ര laying down that the glide -y- crops up between contiguous vowels in vocalic sandhi, as in കിളിയതു്, വാടായതു്, etc.

The prescription of യ് as the intervocal glide “when vowel meets vowel,” in general terms as a സംമാന്യവിധി, and of the following sūtras as വിശേഷവിധി, impliedly brings out some differences between the Malayālam (of the period of Lilātilakam) and Tamil. The rule in Tamil is to use യ് after front vowels and ള് after back vowels; and this practice is observed in many early west coast inscriptions. The gradual disappearance in Malayālam of contexts where ള് was originally used (as in the infinitives, which in Malayālam came to be used, in the course of its early history, with -യ്), and the increasing popularity of യ് (as in വാടായതു്, an illustration supplied by the പുത്തൻ) have led to this സംമാന്യവിധി being laid down.

The vṛtti has a number of significant observations.

(i) The vowels അ, ഓ, ഇ, ഊ, ഉ, ഊ, ഏ, ഐ, ഒ, ഓ and the diphthong ഐ occur in initial positions of Malayālam words; ഐ is not met with initially; even words like പൊവ are rare in Malayālam.

(ii) In final positions, all vowels except ഒ, ഐ, and ഊ may occur. Final -ഐ- as in അനൈ is pointed out as a Tamil feature. The പുത്തൻ points out that short ഒ as a final, though occurring in the rapid

colloquial under the stress of emotion, is not literary; words like പോ, അയ്യോ should be evaluated only with a long ഓ.

III, 1.

The observations made by Līlātilakam on the glide-sound -യ്- illustrate the insight of this work into linguistic *minutiae* and its acquaintance with the earlier Prakrit grammars. In the commentary on II, 1, the following observations occur:—“അയാ യകാരോ വിസന്ധിപരിഹാരാത്മമാപതതി—അന്യഥാ ഉച്ചാരണസ്യ ദുഷ്ടീഷ്ടതാ—അതഃപ്രാപ്തം കൃതേ ‘സോഅ’ ഇത്യാദൌ യകാരമായയോച്ഛാജ്ഞേ—സാസ്കൃതേ ‘ഓധി’ + ‘അന്നാ’ ഇത്യാദൌ സാക്ഷാദേവദവതി”.

Again, in the commentary on IV, 21, there are the following comments on the -യ്- glide in a compound like ‘കൊടിയിട’—“കിന്തി വിദ്യഭാവേവേപ്യവമേവോച്ഛാരതിവ്യം—കുതഃ—പ്രാകൃതേ ‘വ അ’ ഇത്യാദൌ സുഖോച്ഛാരണമേതേവ അലാർമ്മഭേദ്യഹൃശിഷ്ടോപകാരഃ പരിഗൃഹ്യതേ”.

(a) The ‘glide’ character of യ് is clearly brought out here not only by the term യകാരമായ for the Prakrit glide (to which the Malayālam glide is compared)—a unique word which, so far as I can see, no one of the earlier Prakrit grammars has employed—but also by expressions like ‘വിസന്ധിപരിഹാരാത്മമാപതതി’ and ‘സുഖോച്ഛാരണമേതേവ.’ The pointed contrast between യകാരമായ of Prakrit and the fully consonantal യ in Sanskrit ഭദ്ധ്യൻ reinforces the significance of the term—രായ in bringing out the absence of full consonantal friction in the phonation of this glide-sound. The adjustment of the articulatory origins in the transition from a palatal vocalic sound to another immediately following vowel leads to the assumption by the tongue of a position for a light spirantal യ് Hemacandra describes the Prakrit glide as ‘യശ്രുതി’ and ‘ലഘുപ്രയത്തര’.

(b) The somewhat close acquaintance shown by Lilātilakam with Prakrit grammatical rules and practice is evidenced in a number of ways.

യശ്രുതി is not mentioned by Vararuci in his പ്രാകൃത ബ്രഹ്മണം. Nor does Caṇḍra in his പ്രാകൃതലക്ഷണം refer to യശ്രുതി as such, when he prescribes in III, 55, of his പ്രാകൃതലക്ഷണം: “കകാരവർഗ്ഗതീയജയോവണ്ണസ്ഥിതയോഃ, യതഃ ഹേതി.” Hemacandra speaks of യശ്രുതി, in connection with the ഉദൃഗ്ഗത vowels അ and ഐ, generally speaking. In Jaina Prakrit manuscripts, however, the യശ്രുതി is found introduced in association with all kinds of vowels,

These divergencies of rules and practice are obliquely glanced at in the observations:— ‘അവിദ്ധ്വജാവേപി ഏവമവോച്ഛാരയിതവ്യം’— and ‘പ്രാകൃത . . . അചാരമ്മദ്ധ്യസ്ഥിതേഷ്വാപി യകാരഃ പരിഗ്രഹ്യതേ.’

(c) It may be noted here that among the older Dravidian grammars, the glide character of this sound appearing between vowels is recognized only by Lilātilakam for Malayāḷam and by Śabdacintāmaṇi for Telugu.

Tolkāppiyam speaks of the sound ഉടമ്പടുമെ “consonant appearing in the junction (of vowels).” The earliest native Kannaḍa grammars also refer to യ in such contexts as fully consonantal.

III, 1.

The commentary expressly points out that the final -ഓ of Malayāḷam words like പോ, അയ്യോ is a long sound and that the use of the short sound is not proper, though sometimes (in the colloquials) the short value is given.

Now these observations of the commentary are, I think, also applicable to the final long -ഐ of many Mal. types. To-day, there appears to be no fixity or rule regarding the length of final -ഐ in Malayāḷam. Even educated persons indiscriminately use the short and long varieties in final positions of Malayāḷam words.

I would suggest the adoption of a set of rules like the following :

a) Short -എ should be retained in those types where in origin it was short, except when stress requires lengthening. The chief types where final എ was short in origin are (i) the Malayālam accusatives; (ii) Malayālam infinitives like വളരെ, എറെ, പോലെ, etc.; (iii) words like നാളെ, etc.; and (iv) sixth case forms like എന്റെ, പക്ഷികളുടെ, etc.

(b) Wherever the old long -എ still denotes emphasis, the length should be retained, as in തന്നെ (in ഞാൻ തന്നെ), ഒക്കെവ, മുഴുവനെ, ആതമമ, പലേ, where the long -എ corresponds to the തേറാ എ of Tamil.

(c) In other instances, where final എ denoting emphasis (തേറാ എ of Tamil) has now lost its original force and become a mere indicator (in popular conception) of the category to which the form belongs, the short എ may be used, as in അതെ (originally അതേ), the negative participle type of ചെയ്യാതെ, the "permissive" type of ചെയ്യട്ടെ, etc.

(d) Collocations like കാട്ടിലേ അന്ന were isolated as such from contexts where -എ of കാട്ടിലേ appeared as a terminative expletive in locative forms governing finites. Such an expletive -എ tacked on to locatives and also to the third case ending ആൽ, are common in കൂപ്പുഗാഥ and ചെറുശ്ശേരിഭാരതം.

But the expletive എ was itself the "faded" representative of a still older emphasis - denoting -എ attached to locatives when the semantic stress fell on these locatives.

In view of the fading of the original "തേറാ" force, a short value may be agreed upon for the qualificatory particle.

(e) The following types should retain their length, in view of the emotional stress associated with -എ:—

i. Restrictive -എ corresponding to പിരിയിലെ -എ of Tamil, as in അയാളെ റുന്നുള്ളു.

ii. Interrogative എ, as in അല്ല, ഇല്ല, കൂടെ (കൂടാ + എ), വേണ്ട (വേണ്ടാ + എ)

iii. Vocative -എ, as in രാമനേ, മകളേ, etc.

iv. The - എ at the end of negatives, as in വരല്ല, ചെയ്യരുത, dialectal പോകരുത [prohibitive].

v. Interjectional -എ, as in അയ്യോ.

vi. The augment --എ as in ആരുകാൽ. etc.

III, 2, 3.

After the demonstratives അ and ഇ, the sound ഖ or optionally ധ, crops up before vowels following, as in അവഴക് or അപ്പഴക് (that comeliness).

The vṛtti to 2 points out that -y- also occurs sometimes, as in അയാൾക്കു. Tamil inscriptions show colloquial forms like ഇയ്യർ.

I may note here two points of difference between Tamil and Malayālam.

(a) ഖ occurring in literary Tamil in similar contexts appears invariably geminated, while in Malayālam it may optionally remain short, colloquial Tamil may have short ഖ, as in ഇവാഠ [SII, III, p. 252] and ഇവർ [ib, III, p. 77].

The difference between Tamil and Malayālam is reflected in Malayālam forms like ഇവിടെ, അവിടെ occurring in Old and New Malayālam alike [cf. അവിടെയേ of early inscriptions].

(b) -y- after *a* never occurs in Tamil literary speech Nannūl, 163, provides (as an exception to the rule) that ഖ may appear after അ before front vowels following (as in അയിടെ), but after the short അ, literary Tamil never allows -യ്-

“ബഹുവചനാധാരം അയ്” ഇതിഗണ്യം says the വൃത്തി to sūtra 3. This has reference to the plural അയ് mentioned by തൊൽകാപ്പിയാ along with ഇയ് and ഉയ് in the എഴുത്തുകാരാൾ 81.

III, 4

ʋ is the glide appearing after the back, lip-rounded vowels *ഉ, ഉ, ഓ*, as in *മെ വണ്ടു, കാഞ്ഞൂ പതു, പോ വൃത്താൻ പാൻ പാദം*.

The *vr̥tti* sheds light on the following:—

(i) In *മെവു, വടുവു*, often heard in Malayālam (even in the period of *Līl.*), beside *മെ* and *വടു*, *വു* was originally a glide and not a consonantal final.

Cf. *vr̥tti* III, 12, below.

(ii) The intermediate demonstrative *ഉ* of literary Tamil is not met with in Malayālam.

III, 5.

“In sandhi contexts, the final *സംയുത ഉ* of Malayālam is elided before vowels following”.

(a) The *vr̥tti* points out that (i) this sound is അർദ്ധമാത്രിക i e., possessed only of a half-mātrā value ;

(ii) it resembles the *അർദ്ധമാത്രിക* (denoted in the IPA script by the symbol *u*) of Tamil ; and that

(iii) it differs from the *ഉ* of *മെ, വടു*, in as much as this latter *ഉ* is a fully rounded *ഉ* with the value of one *മാത്ര*.

In modern Malayālam, its phonetic value before pauses is that of *ə*, while in intimate word-compounds it has a tendency to revert to an *u*-like sound before initial consonants of the second constituents.

I am of the view that a sound *u* similar to that of Tamil is the “ancestor” of modern Malayālam final *ə*.

When did this change of older *-u* to *-ə* occur? The *vr̥tti* here has not noted any special distinction between the Malayālam *സംയുത* and the Tamil *അർദ്ധമാത്രിക*; on the contrary, the terms in which the relationship of the Malayālam sound to its Tamil counterpart is referred to might indicate that at the time of the *vr̥tti* the Malayālam *സംയുത* probably had the same value as the Tamil *അർദ്ധമാത്രിക* *u*.

It is not quite easy to find out when the change in

the value of the Malayālam ൠ occurred. No distinctive symbol is employed in Tamil or in Old Malayālam to represent the ൠ, usually denoted in writing by the symbol for ൡ. In the oldest west coast inscriptions, therefore, the symbol for ൡ usually represented (wherever necessary) the ൠ sound. This symbol was probably used, as often in modern writing, even after the Malayālam ൡ had developed. Thus the difficulty in tracing the chronology of the change of -*u*- to -*ə* in Malayālam even approximately is obvious. Nevertheless, use the of the words ചെട്ടിപ്പുറം, ചെത്ത, without the symbol for ൡ at the final positions, in a 15th century inscription published on p. 14 of the Cochin Archaeological Report for 1926, the dropping of the symbol for ൡ in numerous instances in a 16th century Ms. of a Malayālam translation of കറുത്ത, and the transliteration by the 16th — 17th century Catholic missionary Fenicio of Malayālam words (containing the ൠ final) like പൂവ് (as “pua”), പട്ടാങ്ങ (as “pattanga”), മുളച്ച (as “muleca”), മരുന്ന (as “marunna”), കല്ല (as “calla”), കോയില (as “coila”) and എന്താണു (as “entauada”) show that the change of *u* > *ə* in pausal positions materialised by about or before the 15th century.

In “vulgar” writing, even to-day, the Malayālam ൠ (particularly before pauses) is represented without any special symbol as in the inscriptional instances given above. The absence of the symbol for ൡ would change the vocalic value to that of -*ə*; and as a loosely-uttered -*ə* is generally felt as nearer to *ə* than to *u* or *u*, the practice of dropping the ൡ symbol with a view to denoting the ൠ *ə* is sometimes followed.

(b) The *vṛtti* regards the final vowel in അ (that) as ൠ. Strict rules of Tamil grammar regard the corresponding sound as a fully rounded ൡ, though in comparatively late Tamil texts the sound is elided like *u*

before vowels following, in sandhi. In Old Malayālam texts, the final vowel of അ, ഇ, is sometimes elided before vowels following, and sometimes not — In colloquial Tamil to-day, the value of the final vowel of these words is that of the ഊ u. It is interesting to note that Lil. recognizes here the existence in Malayālam of the ഊ value for the final vowel of അ.

III, 6.

“When ഐ, ഓ are followed by vowels in sandhi contexts, ഐ and ഓ are “geminated” as ഐ and ഓ; and u is elided.”

The rule, as stated here, alludes only to contexts in which vowels follow, but the changes are met with before consonants following also, as in അറവായക; cf. the illustration കുറവായക in III, 29, commentary. Further, what is described as “gemination” here represents perhaps an original change of ഐ + ഐ = ഐ, ഓ + ഓ = ഓ.

For a full discussion of these changes, occurring not only in Malayālam but in Tamil and in certain other Dravidian speeches, see my HAP.

III, 7.

This is a സാമാന്യം about the meeting of vowels and consonants in sandhi contexts.

Here again, the ഹൃദി envisages the special conditions of Malayālam in framing the present sūtra as a സാമാന്യം prescribing mere ഹൃദി without any change, and in laying down the next four rules as വിശേഷം which latter provide for all Malayālam contexts (except the types of ഓടിക്കടന്ന and ഹൃദി) involving doubling.

This arrangement of the rules in Lilātilakam reflects the peculiarities of the west coast speech in this respect. The contexts involving doubling of plosives (after vowels) became reduced in Malayālam, in the course of its earlier history. The influence of the

colloquial brought about absence of doubling in the types of വിത്തുപാട് (cf. Tamil വിത്തുപ്പാട്), of കിളിമെരത് (cf. Tamil optional കിളിക്കരിത്), തീച്ചട (cf. Tamil തീച്ചട). The gradual replacement of the older infinitives with -a by purpose-participles with വാൻ also led to a reduction in the number of contexts involving doubling.

The vṛtti points out that (i) the consonants occurring in initial positions of Malayāḷam words are ക്, ച്, ഞ്, ത്, ന്, പ്, മ്, യ്, വ്; and that (ii) റ് is not a consonantal initial in Malayāḷam.

Regarding *r*-as a consonantal initial in Malayāḷam, the വൃത്തി says that words with initial റ് and ല് like രായരൻ and ലാക്ക are "corruptions from Sanskrit ;" [സംസ്കൃതശ്യാപഭാഷാഃ], and that the evaluation of the word for 'two' in Malayāḷam should be ഇരണ്ട and not രണ്ട, as often pronounced in Malayāḷam even at the time of Lil. In literary Tamil, the word for 'two' is ഇരണ്ട. In colloquial Tamil and in Malayāḷam, it is pronounced രണ്ട¹ with an initial *r*-, the *i*-being aphaeresized.

Lil. conservatively sticks to the Tamil literary tradition, and criticises the use of രണ്ട, in rather strong terms:—"ഇരണ്ടാലുകൊൻരണ്ടു നമുക്കിദാനീം" ഇതിതപശബ്ദം. ഭാഷാ യാമലി വ്യവസ്ഥയാ ഭവിതവ്യം. ന ഇ ശ്ലോക്കം തഥാ പ്രായോഗികം. ന ചലുത്തേന ഇതി വാചസ്പത്യേന ഇതി വക്തവ്യം; ന വാ വേദത്തി 'ഇതി ഭക്തത്തി' ഇതി വാ വക്തവ്യ 'തത്തി' ഇതി വക്തവ്യം; അഥാ പ്രത്യേകം"

III, 8.

"After the final -എ of second case forms [accusatives], the plosives are geminated, as in അതിനെക്കണ്ട (saw that.)"

A similar rule exists in Tamil also after -എ of the second case forms.

1. Cf. also Telugu രണ്ട, Gondi രണ്ട; but Brahui has ഇരട്, Kann. ಇರಬ, Kurukh ഇരബ്.

The *vyākṛti* says that after long *ai* there is no doubling, and gives *അയ്യ കണ്ടു* (yes! he, she or it saw) as an example. The reason for the absence of doubling is the intervention of a pause after *ai* in instances like these. See my DS for *ആയിട്ടു*, *വ* instances like these.

III, 9.

After the short interrogative particle *എ*, there is gemination of plosives and of *അ*, *ന*, *മ*, and *വ*.

III, 10.

A similar rule is laid down after the short demonstratives *അ*, *ഇ*. Cf., for Tamil, TE., 204, 206, 207,

III, 11.

This comprehensive *sūtra* says that in *സമാസ* plosives are doubled after vowels, as in *അനക്കാട്ട്*, *വാഴപ്പാടം*. The doubling affects only plosives, but not the sounds *അ*, *ന*, *മ*, *വ*.

This rule relating to *സമാസ* or compounds corresponds roughly to the body of rules affecting *തൊക്കെട്ട* in Tamil.

III, 12.

This rule contemplates instances like *മാങ്കൊമ്പ്*, *പുളിങ്കൊമ്പ്*, *പൂത്താട്ടം* in which a nasal *āgama*, the character of which depends upon that of the plosive following, appears between the two constituents of compounds.

I may note here that the nasal appears generally in connection with words denoting trees or flowers [cf. TE., 218, 230, 232 etc.]

The nasal *അഗമ* is common to both Malayāḷam and Tamil, after the names *മാ* and *ഉതി*; but after *പുളി*, the name of the tree, *Tolkāppiyam* prescribes *-അമ* as the *അഗമ*, though forms like *പുളിക്കായ്* and *പുളിമ്പഴം* appear to have become popular in Tamil in later periods.

As for ഴ (after which too Līlātilakam prescribes the nasal അഗമ), the Tolkāppiyam rule has been interpreted by ഉച്ചയുക്തം and നളിനാർക്കിനിയർ as allowing the use of this augment alternatively.

It may also be mentioned that the ധൃതി emphasizes once again that മാവ് (mango tree) and പൂവ് (flower) appearing in Malayālam beside older ോ, ൂ, are special Malayālam formations; but Middle Tamil already had similar forms.

The work next proceeds to deal with consonantal ഹസ്വ.

III, 13.

“There is no change after ഴ and ഴ appearing in sandhi contexts before ക്, ച്, പ്, ഴ്, മ്, യ്, വ്.

i. The rule, as stated here, is partly in agreement with Tamil literary rules, and partly at variance with them. When -ഴ and -ഴ് meet ഴ്-മ്, യ്- and വ് in Tamil, there is, generally speaking, no change; but when -ഴ and -ഴ് meet ക്-, ച്-, പ്-, there are changes affecting -ഴ and -ഴ് in Tamil in ഹസ്വ contexts (see my DS).

Līlātilakam states that for Malayālam the meeting of -ഴ and -ഴ് with ക്-, ച്-, പ്- is not attended by any change: and, generally speaking, this is true of the colloquial; but, for the literary dialect, so far as -ഴ is concerned, Līlātilakam itself (through III, 26, below) prescribes the Tamil change of -ഴ to -ഴ before ക്, ച്, പ് (as in പൊഴ്കണ്ണടി, പൊഴ്പു etc).

I think that, while III, 13, envisages the colloquial Malayālam usage (not unrepresented in literary speech during the period of Līlātilakam), III. 26. contemplates the tradition (inherited from Tamil which required the change of -ഴ to ഴ).

ii. The ധൃതി marks off the absolute consonantal finals of Malayālam as ഴ്, മ്, യ്, ഴ്, ല്, ഉ്, ഴ്, വ് and ഴ്.

உரிஞ் and உயாத் are distinguished as exclusively Tamil.

The inclusion by Līlātilakam of ூ among the consonantal finals of Malayāḷam is dictated merely by respect for tradition; for it should be noted that even in Middle Tamil, ூ had ceased to be an absolute final.

iii. The ூ contains an important observation about ூ. It points out that ூ is never an absolute consonantal final in Malayāḷam, the sound in final positions of words like உயா ூ being always followed by the ூ. For modern Malayāḷam, KP allows ூ as an absolute final (p. 95). The rule of Tamil is that ூ is never an absolute consonantal final. For Kannaḍa, the grammar Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa (sūtra 48) allows ூ as a final. For the reasons for the change of outlook in modern Malayāḷam (and in Kannaḍa), see my PMP.

iv. The ூ expressly points out the absence in Malayāḷam of the literary Tamil change of ூ to ூ before ூ, ூ, ூ (in “casal” contexts). Colloquial Tamil shows no change here.

III, 14.

“ ூ - is cerebralized to ூ when it meets - ூ ”.

This is essentially a Tamil rule, not met with in external sandhi in modern Malayāḷam. Even Old Malayāḷam texts show only a few literary word-compounds like the following, containing this sandhi change in external positions :—

1. The two examples cited in the vṛtti here : மனித, and மனித, are usually cited by Tamil grammars as illustrating the change in nominative-predicate sequences. Nowhere in Old Mal. texts or inscriptions have I come across instances of a nominative-predicate sequences with this sandhi change.

എഞ്ചിൾ [എൻ + തിൾ]—KR, I, 3.

തണ്ടാർ [തൻ + താർ]—KR, II, 36.

തിണ്ടാർ [തിൻ + താർ]—RC, 203.

Except in a few such rare old compounds, the change is not met with in west coast inscriptions.

The rule, therefore, of the production of ഞ when -ൺ meets ഞ, postulated in Lilātilakam, III, 14, covers only Old Malayālam literary compounds like those listed above. [It should be remembered that in internal sandhi this change occurs in Malayālam and in other Dravidian dialects].

III, 15, 16.

These two rules together envisage the following changes :— ഉ + ഞ = ഞ, —as in മണ്ണുൻറു [മുൻ + ഞൻ].¹

The change is not common in modern Malayālam, except in “crystallised” compounds like എണ്ണ, വെണ്ണ.

The വൃത്തി mentions the change of -ഉ to -ൺ when meeting മ്, as in വാങ്ങേൻ [വാൻ + മേൻ]; തൊങ്ങേൻ [തൊൻ + മേൻ]. This alludes to rare literary instances, as in RC, 38. In external sandhi, the change is limited even in Old Malayālam. The colloquial tendency to keep the meeting sounds unchanged as in modern Malayālam is implied by the instance വാൻമൻ cited as a counter-instance in the വൃത്തി to III, 20.

III, 17.

-മ് meeting initial plosives of words following, becomes a *varga nasal*.

This is a rule common to Dravidian dialects.

1. The example മണ്ണുൻറു, cited in the *vṛtti* to III, 15 & 16, is an instance, usually given in Tamil grammars, of a nominative-predicate sequence evidencing the change of ഉ + ഞ = ഞ: aside from Lilātilakam, I have not come across any Malayalam nominative-predicate sequence containing this sandhi change. The citation of instances usually given in Tamil grammars and the prescription of some peculiarly Tamil changes, reveal a certain bias on the part of Lilātilakam in favour of the literary Tamil rules of Sandhi.

III, 18.

മ് meeting ന്. gives rise to -നും, മ് being dropped.

The meaning of the sūtra and the illustration given [“മാനന്മ”] show a departure from Tamil, which prescribes the elision of -മ് in all സംധി contexts. Though instances like മന്നിം, പാട്ടനെൻ are common in Malayālam, yet there are illustrations like കലനെൻ [TAS, III, p. 170, l. 13], തമ്മനെൻ, വായ്പയെന്നെൻ in inscriptions.

III, 19.

The ശുഭ postulates the elision of final മ് in instances like വട്ടപ്പലക, etc.

The commentary refers to the ചീത of the initial പ etc., of പലക, etc.

Strictly speaking, then, the instances കരിപ്പുവീളൻ (“he with the bow of sugarcane”, the god കാമ), പീരപ്പു കാരൻ (the rattan dealer) have no place here. The ലോപ in these instances refers to the മ് of the മെൻറാൻ group of കരിമ്പ് and പീരമ്പ്, a change that is separately provided for in Tamil grammars.

The Old Malayālam text, രാമചരിതം, has instances like കാരകുചീരൻ, ഇരിപ്പഴുകും.

Modern Malayālam has ചെട്ടപ്പുഴ്, കറുവാണിടം, വേപ്പില, കുരുത്താല.

III, 20.

ക്-, ച്-, ത്-, പ്- are geminated after -യ്-, -ര്യ്-, -ല്-, -ഴ് and -ള്.

The rule, though framed in absolute terms, applies only to ശമാസ and intimate sequences. The Tamil rules provide for the doubling of plosives after -യ്-, -ര്യ് and -ഴ് in compounds (and sequences); but the meeting of -ല്- and -ള് with plosives involves other changes.

The difference is important because it is clear that even in the period of Līlātilakam, the tendency of Malayālam was to steer clear of the literary rules of

Tamil. *Lilātilakam* itself, in III, 26 and 27, postulates the Tamil changes for the meeting of -*ḷ* and -*ṇ* with plosives in Malayāḷam. As I shall point out below, these later sūtras of *Lilātilakam* are intended only to cover a few instances which appear either to have been handed down to Old Malayāḷam by tradition or to have been borrowed from literary Tamil by Old Malayāḷam writers versed in Tamil lore.

III, 21.

The simplification of ഏ [arising from -*ḷ* + *ṇ*-] to -*ṇ* [as in വാണമ്, നീണമ] where the first constituent of the compound is a dissyllabic or polysyllabic word, or a monosyllabic word with a long vowel, is referred to here.

The വൃത്തി mentions instances like അവണില [അവൾ + നില] വേദങ്ങളൊലും [വേദങ്ങൾ + നാലും] occurring in texts; but in the printed editions of Old Malayāḷam texts, such compounds with dissyllabic or trisyllabic first constituents are not found, though I have come across compounds like നീണമ [RC, 28], നീണയന [RC, 175].

The commentary disapproves of the ഏ arising from the junction of -*ḷ* and *ṇ*- (dental), in instances like വാണമ from വാഴ്നാമ, on the ground that the old grammatical tradition as embodied in works like *Tolkāppiyam*, ഭാഷാലക്ഷണം does not mention it. Alternatively, it seeks to justify the change as a special Malayāḷam usage.

The change does not appear to have been an Old Tamil one. തൊൽകാപ്പിയാ does not expressly refer to it; nor do Śaṅgam texts show forms other than instances like വാഴ്നാമ.

But the Middle Tamil grammar, വിശേഷാഴിയാ, expressly sanctions the change (for external സന്ധി), in the 18th ശ്ലोक of സന്ധിപ്പദം :- “നേച്ചരിൽ മുനഴിതു പിൻമി ക്കു ന്നു.”

Middle Tamil texts like *തേവാരം* and *നാലായിരപ്രബന്ധം* show forms like *ചാന്നാ* (for *വാഴ്ന്നാ*); and Middle Tamil inscriptions have instances like *കിഴന്നാക്കിയ* (for *കിഴ്ന്നാക്കിയ*).

So, the change in external *സന്ധി* is not an exclusively Malayālam one.

But in internal *സന്ധി*, as in *വിണ്ണ്*-, *വാണ്ണ്*-, *മകിണ്ണ്*- the change seems to be special to Malayālam.

III, 22.

The *ശൃതം* states that the *ഉ*- sound appearing after *-വ്* (before words following, with consonantal initials) is *അബമാത്രിക*; and the illustration *തേവ്കല്ല* is given.

The need for a rule like this in Malayālam arises this way.

Old Tamil (as well as the Tamil grammatical tradition) recognised only a *മുറകരം* after *-വ്* in words like *കന്യ*, *പുവ*.

But already from the period of Old Tamil onwards, this *മുറകരം* behaved before vowels following, like *കുറകരം*, in being elided.

This practice is referred to both by *വീരചോഴി* and *പ്രാചീന താമ്രപാഠിക* *മുറകരത്തിൻ പിന്മൊഴി പകർത്തരേ* and by *നന്നൽ* [*“മുറക അറ” ഓരോവഴി*]

In Malayālam, from the earliest known periods, the sound had only a *കുറകരം* value. This peculiarity is given formal recognition to in this *ശൃതം*.

III, 23, 24.

Here again, the Malayālam use of the “enunciative” before pauses and before consonants following, in words like *തോലു* and *കല്ല*, is recognized. Though Tamil colloquials embodied the enunciative in the colloquials at least from the Middle Tamil period, the Tamil grammatical tradition does not recognize it.

III, 25.

എഴു. (seven) becomes എഴ in compounds, in which this word is followed by consonants. For a similar Tamil rule, cf. TE, 390,

III, 26.

“-ല and -ന, while meeting the plosives [ക', വ', പ'] become changed to ഓ, as in പൊറകണ്ണാടി [പൊറകണ്ണാടി], കറുപ്പിൻ കൽ + പീറ്റ etc.”

(a) This is a Tamil rule observed in *സമാസ* and certain sequences. It may have been adopted by some Old Malayālam writers.

Though the inscriptions of the 9th and 10th centuries show instances of these Tamil changes, there exist others, where these changes are absent and the modern Malayālam practice is followed in the meeting of ല and ന with the plosives :—

കൈയാൽ പൊൻകൊണ്ടു [TAS, III, p. 166]—10th century.

നാൽപ്പത്തിരുകലനെൽ [TAS, III, p. 170—10th century];

ഇഷ്ടയാൽക്കടക്ക [III, p. 181—of 1004 A. D.]

In the 12th century, the absence of the Tamil changes becomes more common :—

നാൽപ്പതു (l. 241), നാൽപ്പത്തു beside നാൽപതു (l. 106) [TAS, IV, p. 46 ff; നാൽക്കലം [TAS, III, p. 28, l. 17]; മേൽപാതി, മേൽപ്പാതി [TAS. III, p. 13, 29]; the adapted Sanskrit കല്പിച്ച (beside കൽപിച്ച) [III, p. 23].

Thus by about the twelfth century, the modern Malayālam tendency (embodied for -ല as a rule by *Lilātilakam* in III, 20) had become fairly popular.

The prescription of a Tamil rule by *Lilātilakam* in III, 26, in spite of this fact, shows that *Lilātilakam* wanted to lay down a special sūtra to cover a few rare traditionary instances which still continued to exist in Malayālam works.

The current printed editions of US¹ or of the works of the Panikkars do not, however, show any instances containing the Tamil changes.

(b) The vṛtti to this rule makes an observation (in regard to the meeting of -^ന and -^പ with ^ക-, ^ഖ-, ^പ-), which betrays a conservative literary bias :—“അതു ലകാര മായാ നായിച്ചതാ” “the substitution of an ^ല—like sound [for ^ന] is not appropriate for Malayālam”.

The reference here is to the colloquial retention of original -^ല on the one hand, and on the other to the unique Malayālam substitution¹ of original -^ന by -^ല before ^ക-, ^ഖ-, ^പ-, in instances like പിൽക്കാലം, മുൽപ്പാട്, പൊൽപ്പ, commonly met with in US and other Old Malayālam texts,

Lilātilakam expressly disapproves of this peculiar Malayālam change, and conservatively prescribes the Tamil rule.

The earliest inscriptions show forms like പൊൻതണ്ടം, but US shows words with ^ല for ^ന.

1 The change of -^ന- to ^ന in the meeting of -^ന with ^ക in a form like ഇര^ന^ക [verse 302 of RC.] is probably an imitation of Old Tamil usage, since ഇര^ന^ക never took root in Malayalam; ഇതിൽ^ക, ഇതിനക്ക^ക, ഇതിൻ^ക, ഇതിന്^ക being its Old Malayalam representatives.

Again, RC has ചെൻറീശ [134] [ചെൻ ‘scoutb’ + തീശ ‘direction’] with the change of ^ന (ദ^ന) to ^ന. This also may be an imitation of Tamil usage. This literary change may, however, be conceivably justified by Lilatilakam III, 27, commentary.

Gundert quotes [p. 19 of his Grammar] from his manuscript copy of RC the following instance containing the Tamil sandhi change of ഓ + ^ന = ^ഓ [after long vowels, as in Old Malayalam നീശാൻ or after polysyllabics] :—അയ്യനീകീയടി (= അയ്യനീകോ + തീയടി). This form occurs in TAS, II, p. 67, l. 3, beside അയ്യനീകോതീയടി [p. 81, l. 26] without the സംസ്ഥി change. But this is not provided for in Lilatilakam.

III, 27.

When -*av*, -*av* meet *av*- the consonant group *av* is produced, as in കറളം [കർ + രളം] പൊരൊമാ [പൊൻ + മാമം].

This change is absent in modern Malayālam and in many contexts of Old Malayālam. It is, however, met with in a few literary compounds like the following, used in the texts :—നാരന്ത [RC, 80], മേരൊ [RC, 81], നാരവന്ത [KR, II, 188], പൊരൊമാ [RC], നാരന്തി (four measures) [TAS, III, p. 16, l. 53], കോരൊൻ [US, II, 97].

The common Malayālam treatment of the meeting of -*av* with *av*- is envisaged in III, 20.

III, 28.

-*av*, followed by *av*, *av*-, *av*- changes to alveolar -*av*, as in കൻ-ഞ്ഞി [കർ + ന്ഞി] വിനീളം [വിർ + നീളം].

This again reflects a Tamil rule which is preserved in modern Malayālam only in instances like നെൽമണി, നമ്മ. Even in Old Malayālam colloquial, the tendency to keep the meeting sounds unchanged had become prominent, as illustrated by inscriptional instances :—മേൽ നിൽ [TAS, III, p. 180, l. 4].

III, 29.

This is a പറയുടെ സൂത്ര stating that “all other sandhi changes have to be inferred from പ്രയാഗ”.

(i) The illustrations envisage the following types:

(a) Adjectival compounds like പച്ചച്ചുട്ട്, പുത്തറി, ചിറ്റൊളം, കരിങ്കുള, കരുമകിർ, മുത്തങ്ങ, കരങ്കാൽ, നെടുങ്കുള, വന്മല, കൊടുമ്പാമ്പ്, പെരിഞ്ഞമ്പ്, പന്തമ്പ്.— Different changes like the doubling of the penultimate plosive as in പുത്തറി and ചിറ്റൊളം, and the cropping up of a nasal അഗമ, are involved here.

All these are collectively referred to by Tolkāpiyam, ചൊൽ, in a final miscellaneous സൂത്ര 482 ; “പൺപുതൊക്കുമൊഴിയും മരുവിൻ പാഞ്ഞിയ പുനരിയനി മൈയിടെയ്യണരത്തൊൻറാ”, which involves the phrase “പൺപുതൊക്കുമൊഴി, explained as “പൺപുകൊമ്പെയൽ തൊക്കുമൊൾ”.

(b) Numeral compounds like ഇരുപത് [cf. TE, 440], മൂവാൾ [cf. TE, 457], മുക്കുട [cf. TE, 447], അമ്പലത്ത് [cf. TE, 443].

പതിനഞ്ച് is foreign to literary Tamil which has only പതിനഞ്ച് [TE, 435]. പതിനഞ്ചല, പതിനഞ്ചി, പതിനഞ്ചി are also popular west coast forms [cf. TAS, II, p. 49, 1.51]. While forms like പതിനഞ്ചത്തു are derived by commentaries from TE, 437, those like മുപ്പതിനാൾ are peculiar to the west coast.

(c) The illustration കറവ തിരു "trade in cattle" given in the വൃത്തി involves the change of the മെൻമാർ to the വെൻമാർ.

(d) In കൂറവാഴ്ച്ച, the penultimate ൾ becomes "geminated" to ൾൾ [cf. Rule III, 6].

(ii) The vṛtti further justifies the compounding of Malayālam and naturalized Sanskrit words (as in ചുറ്റുക with doubling of ക്) in conformity to the rules of Malayālam sandhi, provided the Sanskrit words are ഭാഷിതശാസ്ത്ര words. The vṛtti argues that in ഇന്ദ്രകല there is no doubling of -ക്-, since ഇന്ദ്ര is not a "naturalised" word. Further, it is pointed out that even Sanskrit ൾ and ൾ could be doubled in compounds, if they occur as initials of ഭാഷിത words, as in അനന്താശ്രമം etc., because Sanskrit sounds like these occurred in adaptations from Sanskrit like ഉപവാസം, സൗസൽ, ദീക്ഷ, ദൈവം, ശാഖ, പുഷ്പ, current in the conversational language of the savarna castes.

While ചുറ്റുക, അനന്താശ്രമം, പെരികുടാരം, are admissible, instances like ഇന്ദ്രകലം, ദേവകുടാരം, മധ്യകുടാരം, ചൊല്ലി നാശം, നന്മാശ്വാസരതവന്ത should be strictly avoided. Where Sanskrit words meet, Sanskrit rules should, of course, be followed.

Conclusion.

The grammatical outlook of Līlātilakam is marked by three features :—

A. Recognition of the independence of the west coast speech.

B. Respect for tradition.

C. Insight into linguistic phenomena and processes.

A

The recognition of the individuality of Malayāḷam is brought out through the præscription of special rules or the demarcation of distinctive features.

1) The commentary on the first sūtra of the first chapter stresses the following differences between Malayāḷam and Tamil :

- i) Malayāḷam -അ — Tamil എ.
- ii) Malayāḷam medial -അ — Tamil എ.
- iii) Malayāḷam accusative -എ — Tamil -എ.
- iv) Absence of അയ്യം in Malayāḷam.
- v) Nasal assimilation in Malayāḷam.
- vi) Malayāḷam എ. of ഞാൻ.
- vii) Malayāḷam അങ്ങ് etc.—Tamil യാങ്ങ്, etc.
- viii) Malayāḷam പേർ — Tamil പെരു
- ix) Malayāḷam ഇരു — Tamil ഇരുഴ്,
- x) Malayāḷam augment -ഇൻ- — Tamil -അൻ- in അതൻ-, ഇതൻ-.
- xi) Malayāḷam -(ൻ)-റെ or (ഇൻ)-റെ — Tam. ഉടെ.
- xii) Comparisonal -കാൾ — Tamil കാട്ടിൽ.
- xiii) Absence of കൻ in Malayāḷam.

- xiv) Malayāḷam locatival കർ—Tamil
- xv) Malayāḷam—മല.
- xvi) Absence of some Tamil vocative types in Malayāḷam.
- xvii) Absence of പാരിയെ in verb-forms of Mal.
- xviii) Malayāḷam ഉണർ—Tamil ഉണർപർ.
- xix) Malayāḷam കൂവി—Tamil കൂയിറ.
- xx) Malayāḷam verbal finites without personal endings.
- xxi) സംസ്കൃതരൂപ words and ഭാഷീകൃതസംസ്കൃത words—Tamil അരിയച്ചിനെയു

2) The stress on the മണിപ്രവാള *genre* being the unique property of കേരള, in view of its development on the west coast, as shown by its ലക്ഷണ in *Lilātilakam*.

3) The reference to ശുദ്ധഭാഷീ forms of the west coast, like കൊച്ചു and ഞൊടി.

4) The prescription of special rules in the third *Silpa* for Malayāḷam developments:—Mal. short intervocal -വ് in അവിടെ, അവാർ, etc.; Malayāḷam compounds and sequences like കളഞ്ഞെൻ and വരവേണ്ടെന്നെൻ; the incorporation of the enunciative in instances like തേവ്കല്ല, തോലുനൻ, and കല്ലുനാലു.

5) The demarcation of Malayāḷam specialities like the absence of final -യെ and ു, and of final -ൺ and -ൻ in Malayāḷam; മരവ്, വടുവ as Malayāḷam developments; the junction of ് and ൾ producing ൽ, as in വാണാർ; the absence in Malayāḷam of Tamil സംസ്കൃത changes, as in മടപാന്നെ; the use of Sanskrit sounds by the ശൈവണ്ണികs of Kēraḷa.

6) The framing and sequence of some of the sūtras of the third Śilpa envisage Malayālam developments:— the increasing frequency of w° as an inter-vocal glide in Malayālam, through the prescription of w° in a സമാന്തവിധി in the first sūtra of the Śilpa; a similar സമാന്തവിധി in III, 7, prescribing mere സംഗ്രഹ when vowels meet consonants; and the prescription of doubling of plosives after $-\text{a}^{\circ}$ in Rule 20 and of the traditional change of $-\text{a}^{\circ}$ to o° through Rule 26.

B.

Respect for tradition is evident in the following :

1. Recognition of the closeness of the affinities of the west coast and the east coast dialects, through the application of the word ഭൂമിയ or തമിഴ് to the Tamil—Malayālam group.

2. The definition of the പാട്ട് *genre* of Malayālam.

3. The condemnation of the vocative—type : നരേന്ദ്രന,

4. The sanction accorded to verbal finites with personal endings, like വന്നം, വന്നോം, കാണിൻറീർ, പോയിന, which had disappeared from the colloquials of the period.

5. The inclusion of w° as an absolute final in the list of absolute final sounds in the വൃത്തി on III, 4, even though forms with w° finals had disappeared from both Tamil and Malayālam colloquials.

6. The use of തൊക്കപ്പിയം as a yard-stick to measure the acceptability or “legitimacy” of forms like മരവ്, വാങ്ങം.

7. The condemnation of the form രണ്ട in III, 7.

8. The disapproval of “ചകാരമായാ” in III, 26.

C.

Līlātilakam shows remarkable insight into linguistic processes in the discussion of topics like the following :

1. The rejection of the argument that seeks to connect every തൃ words of Malayālam with some Sanskrit form or other.

2. The analysis of unique Tamil-Malayālam sounds in II, 7, and, particularly, of the phonemic differences between റ്റ and റ and between dental റ and alveolar റ്റ.

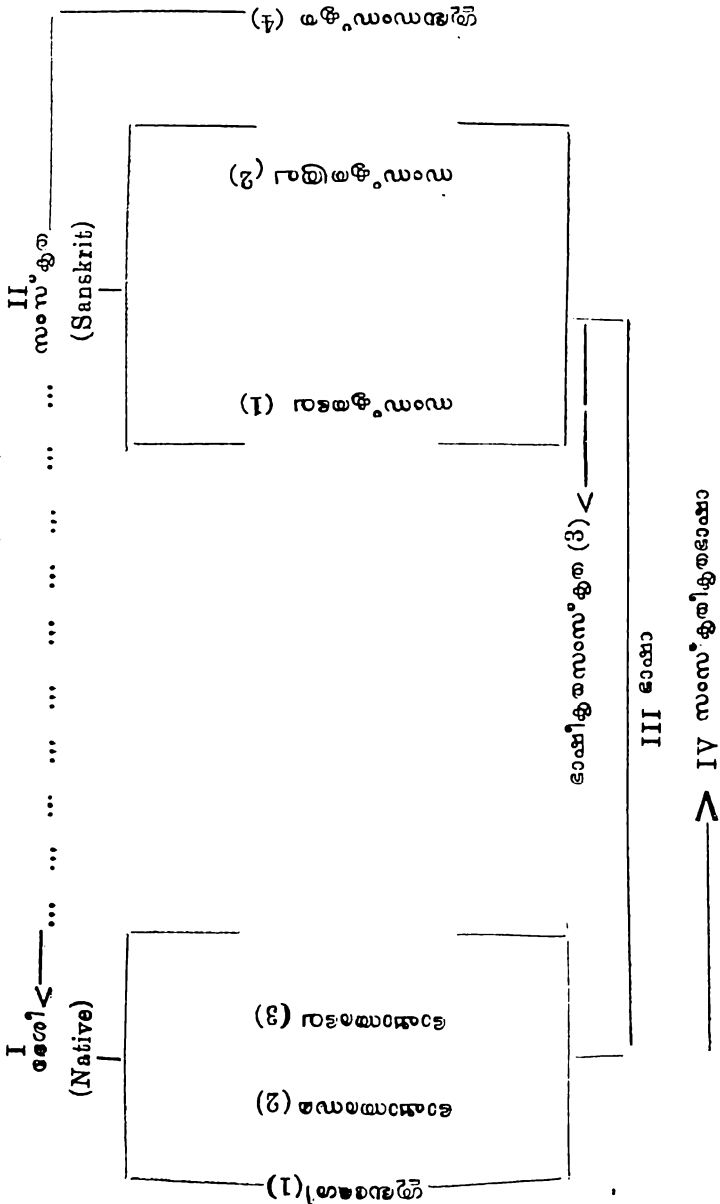
3. The explanation for the shortening of final ഓ of words like പോ. അയ്യോ in the വൃത്തി on III, 1.

4. The recognition of the glide character of യ through the comparison of the sound to Prakrit “യകാരമോയ”.

5. The intimate analysis of what is called അർദ്ധമാത്രീക ഉ in the വൃത്തി on III, 5.

6. The classification of the elements of the vocabulary of മണിപ്രവാള, which may be graphically represented by the following diagram.

[The dotted line indicates the view of Lilatilakam that ശൈലീ elements should ultimately have had a Sanskrit origin, though the relationship is not at present traceable.]



I(1) ശുദ്ധഭാഷാ:— Malayālam words which cannot easily be connected with the forms of other speeches.

(2) ഭാഷാന്തരസമ:— Malayālam words like പൊൻ, കർ, which are identical in structure with words of other speeches.

(3) ഭാഷാന്തരഭേദ:— Malayālam words or forms like വന്നാൻ, നമുക്കു്, ചെന്നാ, which (though showing structural differences) can be recognised as cognates with forms of other speeches.

II(1) സാസ്കൃതഭേദ:— Adaptations [tadbhavas] from Sanskrit, showing considerable structural changes which, however, are not so radical as to obscure the relationship of these to their originals.

(2) സാസ്കൃതരൂപ:— Sanskrit words [tatsamas] with slight structural modifications in the endings introduced in the process of adaptation in Malayālam, —current in the kāvyas and in conversation alike.

(3) ഭാഷീകൃത സാസ്കൃത words, which form a comprehensive category taking in സാസ്കൃതഭേദ and സാസ്കൃതരൂപ, and, besides, Sanskrit words like മധു, വാരി, in ഭാഷാ contexts with ഭാഷാ endings.

These are met with alike in kāvyas and in conversational language.

(4) ശുദ്ധസാസ്കൃത forms—nominal or verbal forms of Sanskrit with Sanskrit endings, used only in മണിപ്രവാള works and never in conversation.

III. The term ഭാഷാ comprehends therefore all elements except II (4).

IV. സാസ്കൃതീകൃതഭാഷാ words are those ഭാഷാ words which have Sanskrit declensional or conjugational endings. These were occasionally used in മണിപ്രവാള കാവ്യ. These unnatural hybrids never struck root in the mass-speech.

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