COLLECTED PAPERS ON DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTICS

By
Prof. T. BURROW
(Professor of Sanskrit, Indian Institute, Oxford University, London)

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FOREWORD

Dr. Burrow and Dr. Emeneau who are the joint editors of the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary started as Professors of Sanskrit and came to be interested in Dravidian Linguistics for solving the etymology of some Sanskrit words. Dr. Burrow was probably the first to make use of the Tamil Lexicon published by the Madras University for this purpose. His essays on Dravidic Study started a new era in Dravidian Linguistics and his analytical memory saw the importance of forms which have suggested to him the basis of the theories. His essays are unfortunately not easily available now to the research students on Dravidian Linguistics. When the Centre of Advanced Study in Dravidian Linguistics came to be organised at the Annamalai University, it as its Director requested his permission to collect the essays in a book form. Since he felt that some of these required revision, he was reluctant at first, but he was magnanimous enough to permit me ultimately to publish them. They, even as they were published in their original form, have a place in the study of the historical development of the various theories. Our thanks are due to Dr. Burrow for his permission and for his introduction written for this edition.

I have great pleasure in placing this book before the scholars interested in Dravidology.

Madurai

5—3—1968

T. P. Meenakshi Sundaran
Vice-Chancellor, Madurai University
INTRODUCTION

At the time these studies were first published, Dravidian philology was one of the most neglected fields in Oriental studies. Bishop Caldwell's pioneer work, which was written before Indo-european comparative philology was properly developed, was not followed up, and it remained the only authority on the subject long after its methods had become out of date. In the long intervening period there were only a handful of articles dealing with Dravidian philology which could be regarded as significant. In general Dravidian comparative philology was virgin ground waiting to be tilled. This fact, at the time, was one of the major attractions of the subject.

In the Indo-european field detailed phonetic comparison of the languages, and the establishment of the laws of phonetic change, had provided the indispensable scientific basis on which the science of comparative philology was founded, and the same methods had been successfully applied to the study of other linguistic families. So it was clear that in tackling Dravidian the same methods had to be applied, which had proved so fruitful elsewhere. For this reason a beginning was made with an investigation of certain problems of Dravidian comparative phonology on the same lines. In the first study it was maintained that primitive Dravidian had initially only unvoiced stops, as in Tamil, and that the initial voiced stops in those languages in which they occur, were of secondary origin. After many years of further study no good reason has been found to alter this opinion.
In Dravidian Studies II the question of the alternation of short e and o with i and u in South Dravidian was investigated. The topic proved to be of considerable interest, and has elicited further articles by other scholars. The other articles concerning phonetic problems deal with the changes affecting certain initial consonants (k- III, y- and ṅ- V, and c/s VI). In these articles attempt was made to present as full a collection of the material as possible, and the etymological collections accumulated for the purpose served also as preliminary work for the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary.

There are two other subjects, both of considerable importance, which figure in the present collection, (i) the question of the influence of Dravidian on Sanskrit and other forms of Indo-Aryan, and (ii) the question of the relationship of Dravidian with Uralian, and in particular with Finno-Ugrian. Three articles are devoted to the former subject, and one to the latter.

Previous scholars, notably Gundert and Kittel, had maintained that Dravidian elements were to be found in the Sanskrit vocabulary, and they had collected some evidence in support of this view. The object of the articles in this collection was to enlarge this material by presenting as many examples as possible where a Dravidian origin of Sanskrit words seemed plausible, and to discuss the principles by which such words might be distinguished from the reverse instances of Indo-Aryan loanwords in Dravidian. This subject (like the corresponding one of Munda words in Sanskrit) has given rise to some controversy, and some scholars have adopted a sceptical attitude. In a few of the examples listed an Indo-European etymology has since been shown to be more
plausible, but these constitute only a small percentage of the list, and there remains an impressive number of Sanskrit words for which Dravidian origin can be claimed with good reason. In the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary some of the more doubtful of the etymologies were omitted, but the greater majority were retained.

The connection between Dravidian and Uralian had first been suggested by Caldwell, who used the term “Scythian” in the sense of Ural-Altaic. Later some useful articles on the subject were published by O. Schrader. Dravidian Studies IV was an attempt to carry the subject further by a detailed comparison of words denoting parts of the body in the two language-families. The correspondences appear to be too numerous to be due to chance, and, of course they are found not only in this part of the vocabulary, and further investigation on these lines would seem to be desirable. Very little attention has been paid to the subject in the intervening period, but there have been occasional signs of interest in it. It is to be hoped that more will be done in the future, not only from the Dravidian, but also from the Uralian side.

The articles cover only a small portion of the Dravidian field and their termination coincided with the beginning of work on the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary. The work involved in that publication and its supplement left no time for the further prosecution of the “Studies”, though at the same time it provided a broader basis for such work in the future.

The number of Dravidian languages available in print at that period was comparatively restricted, and of some the existence even was unknown. The picture has very much changed since then. It is now fairly certain that all the minor
Dravidian languages of Central India have been identified, and useful material is available for all of them, though not all of it is in print. On the whole, however, the conclusions reached in the articles do not seem to be materially affected by the new evidence.

Another change since those days is the amount of attention now being paid to Dravidian studies. At that time comparatively few people were interested in this linguistic field, but in the last twenty years the picture has completely altered. In this the lead has been taken by the universities of South India, and in particular by Annamalai University, which has undertaken the republication of these studies. There is now growing up a new generation of Dravidian linguists, whose influence is becoming noticeable in many aspects of the subject. A rapid increase of research and publication is now under way, and in the next twenty years important advances are to be expected.

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T. Burrow
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Notes on “Convertible of surds and sonants”</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Dravidian Studies I</td>
<td>Notes on “Convertibility of surds and sonants”</td>
<td>BSOS IX (1937-39)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dravidian Studies II</td>
<td>Notes on “The interchange of short o and e with i and u in South Dravidian”</td>
<td>BSOAS X (1940-42)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dravidian Studies III</td>
<td>“Two developments of initial k in Dravidian”</td>
<td>BSOAS XI (1943-46)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Dravidian Studies V</td>
<td>“Initial y and h in Dravidian”</td>
<td>BSOAS XI (1943-46)</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Dravidian Studies VI</td>
<td>“The Loss of initial c/s in South Dravidian”</td>
<td>BSOAS XII (1947)</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Dravidian Studies VII</td>
<td>“Further Dravidian words in Sanskrit”</td>
<td>BSOAS XII (1947)</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit – TPS (1945)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Sanskrit and the Pre-Aryan Tribes and Languages (The Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission, Institute of Culture, 1958)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DRAVIDIAN STUDIES-I

NOTES ON
“CONVERTIBILITY OF SURDS AND SONANTS”*

It is well known that Tamil in contradistinction to other Dravidian languages does not admit of the voiced stops g, j, d, b at the beginning of a word; whereas in the middle of a word the unvoiced sounds are represented by the voiced, though the writing takes no notice of this distinction. Caldwell (3rd ed., p.138), formulating this state of affairs as the “Convertibility of Surds and Sonants”, assumes it to have been characteristic of the primitive Dravidian tongue. In this most people have tended to follow him. More recently, however, contrary opinions have been expressed, notably by M. Jules Bloch. In his article “Sanskrit and Dravidian” (B.S.L., XXV, pp. I ff.) he criticizes Mr. Subbaya for assuming in his articles in Indian Antiquary, 1909, that in the case of Ta. k-, etc., corresponding to Te. Ka. g-, etc., Tamil represents the primitive Dravidian state of affairs, and maintains on the contrary that the “antiquity of the sonants in Dravidian remains indisputable”. Further, in comparing Skt. ghṛtaka horse with Ta. kutirai, Ka. kutire, Te. gurramu, which might have been derived from an original *ghutr-, he is prepared to admit also the possibility of sonant aspires in the early history of Dravidian. This view has received a certain amount of support. K. Goda Varma, for instance (BSOS., VIII, p. 562), quotes as examples of Ka. ga <Primitive Dravidian ga:- Mal. keṭṭu in anakkeṭṭu dam, Ka. gaṭṭu; Ma. keṭṭu bundle, Ka. gaṭṭe; keṭṭu in keṭṭu-tāṭi beard about the chin, Ka. gadḍa; keṭṭan large, Ka. ganḍu; keta palpitation, Ka. gada; in all of which instances Ma. e <a is indicative of original voicing.

* BSOS IX [1937-39]
It is the purpose of the present paper to demonstrate that this theory is incorrect and that the existence of the initial sonants in Telugu and Kanarese is secondary and cannot be attributed to the parent language. That this is so is maintained for the following reasons:

1. A very large percentage of the words in Ka. and Te. beginning with \(g, d, \) etc. have nothing corresponding to them in Tamil at all.

2. Of the correspondences pointed out a considerable number are merely late loanwords in Tamil (and Mal.) and their evidence is therefore of no value.

3. Where the correspondences are ancient there is no regularity in so far as in some cases Telugu agrees with Tamil as against Kanarese and in others Kanarese with Tamil against Te., while inside both languages, especially Kanarese, there is considerable fluctuation.

4. In the case of many individual words it can be demonstrated that voicing in Ka. and Te. is secondary.

Under the first heading we may quote the following examples: Ka. gaddige throne, seat, Te. gadde; Kagadda chin, Te. gadduva; Ka. gampe basket, Te. gampa; Te.Ka. gavi cave [if this is connected with the verb \(kav\)l to overspread, cover, then it is certainly a case of secondary voicing, because that verb appears with initial \(k\)- in both Te. and Ka.]; Te. Ka. gasi dregs, Ka. of ga\(stu\) [also possibly a case of secondary voicing if we are to compare \(kasa\) to be bitter, nasty, Te. kas\(atu\), etc.]; Ka. Tu. Te. g\(\ddot{a}\)si pain, distress, Ka-
also ghāsi; Ka. gā́ja fish-hook, Te. gālamu; Te. giṅja seed
Ka. giṅju the state of being full of seeds; Ka. giḍḍu dwarffish,
Te giḍḍa (cf. guḍḍa); Ka. gidda a quarter, Te. gidda; Ka. girage,
girige ankle, Te. girige; Ka. gibu house, abode, Te. gimu;
Ka. gukku to draw a deep breath, Te. g(r)ukku; Ka. guggari
boiled grain, Te. guggiḷu (pl.); Ka. Te. guṅju to pull;
Ka. guḍḍu egg, eyeball, Te. g(r)uddu; Ka. gutta closeness,
tightness, Te. guttamu; Ka. gubaru thickness, Te. guburu
cf. gumuru; Ka. gudige club, Te. gude; Ka. Te. gubbi
knob; Ka gurugulu sunflower, Te. guruga; Ka. geṇṭu re-
moval, Te. geṇṭu movement; Ka. Te. gojju mess of pottage;
Ka. Te. goḍḍu barren; Ka. Te. gondi alley; Ka gōnde bull,
Te. gōda.

Ka. jagaḷa quarrel, fight, Te. jagaḷa; Ka. jaḍḍa near-
ness, Te. jaḍḍa, cf. Ka. daḍḍa; Ka. jabbu weakness, Te.
īabbu; Ka. jabbulu a grassy place, Te. Jobbilu to grow
thickly; Ka. jambu length, Te. jampu; Ka. jaṅguli herd, Te-
jaṅgili; Ka. jaṅi centipede, Te. jerri; Ka. javṭ hair of a
horse’s tail, Te javvi; Te. Ka. jaḍu and jaṭu red colour; Ka.
īyīla dog, Te. jāgilamu, jāgilāyi; Ka. jigaṭu jihatau slime,
igi, jibi viscosity, jigil to be sticky, Te. jigaṭa, jīgaru (possibly
a case of secondary voicing and connected with Te. Ta.
cikku, Ka. sikku); Ka. Tu. jinkelantelope, Te. jiṅka; Te.
Ka. jiḍḍu greasy substance; Ka. jiṅagugu fineness of texture,
Te. jilugu; Ka. jillu the sensation produced by touching cold
water, Te. jillu coldness, chill; Ka. Tu. Te. jussu crest of
hair (cf. Skt. jūṣam); Ka. Te. juvvi “Ficus insectoria”; Ka.
jompa cluster, bunch, Te. jompanu; Ka. Jōke care, beauty;
comeliness, Te. jōka.

Ka. daṭṭa thick-set, Te. daṭṭamu (cf. Mhr. dāṭ > *daṭṭa);
Ka. Te. daṇḍi greatness; Ka. Tu. dappa thickness, stoutness
Te. dappamu, Ka. also doppa; Ka. dīṇḍu heap, Te. dīṇḍu bundle, etc., Ka. Te. dīṭu equality; Ka. Te. duppi the spotted deer; Ka. Te. dumuku to jump; Ka. dūle itching, lust, Te. dūla; Te. Ka. Tu. dōḍḍa big; Ka. dōne, dōne pool on a hill, Te. dōna (hardly = Ta. cunai); Ka. dobbu, dōbbu to shove, Te. dobbu; Ka. dombi, dombi riot, Te. dommi; Ka. dore to be obtained, Te. doraku, dorayu; Ka. dōme mosquito, Te. dōma.

Initial $b$- in Ka. has replaced Dravidian $v$-; in Telugu, however, $v$- remains. We may regard, therefore, words common to Te. and Ka. beginning with $b$- as representing original $b$- though, of course, if the theory maintained in this paper is correct, they cannot be of primitive Dravidian origin. We cannot be quite sure in every case that an original $v$- may not be represented, because Te. shows a number of irregular instances of $b < v$; e.g. bayalu field, Ka. bayalu. Ta. vayal; bāvi tank < Skt. vāpi; biramu prowess < Skt. vīra-; beṭṭa besides veṭṭa heat, begāḍu be alarmed besides vegāḍu. These examples are most plausibly due to Kanarese influence. Therefore in the examples to follow there may be one or two instances of $b < v$, but they cannot be so in the mass, because the percentage of such instances in Telugu is very small and consequently a reasonable number of correspondences Te. Ka. $b$- demonstrate an original $b$- in these forms as a whole. Examples are:-

Ka. baṅke slime, gum, glue, Te. baṅka; Ka. baṅde rock, Te. baṅḍa; Ka. baduku, barduku to live, Te. bratuku; Ka. Te. bigi to fasten; Ka. biṅka, Te. biṅkamu pride; Ka. biṟu hardness, firmness, Te. biṟru; Ka. biga lock, Te. bigamu (> Ta. Ma. vīgamu); Ka. Te. biḍu waste; Ka. bulla, bulli penis, Te. bulla; Ka. būṅve food, Te. būvva; Ka. būṭaka trick, Te. būṭakamu; Ka. būtu obscene language,
Te. būtu; Te. Ka. beṇḍu cork (> Ta. veṇḍu); Ka. bella jaggory, Te. bellamu (> Ta. Ma. vellam); Te. Ka. besta fisherman, Ka. also besada; Te. bokki defective, toothless, Ka. bokka; Te. Ka. boccu hair, down (> Ta. poccu); Te. bobbarā bark of trees, Ka. bobbaḍe; Ka. bobbe outcry, Te. bobba; Ka bōḍu, bōḍi bald, toothless, cf. bōḷu, bōḷi Te. bōḍi; Ka. bōki a pot, Te. bōki.

In addition there are numerous words peculiar to each language. Examples in Kanarese:—

gaṇjaḷi bush, gabbarisu to dig, gallisu to annoy, gavuju, gavujala wagtail (cf. kapiṇjala?), gāḍi grace, gāḍari wheel, gābu fear, gāṛu wild, guṇgi large black bee, guḍugu to thunder, gumma bugbear, gurbu terror, gubbara manure, gōṇ nape of the neck, gōsumbe chameleon, jakkulisu to tickle, jagali pedestal, jaṅkisu to scold, jabbarisu to scold, jare to abuse, jāli "Acacia arabica", juṇju comb of a cock, jōgaḷa lullaby, daddu cracked, dasi stake daḷa army (Skt. dala), dāgaḍi "Cocculus villosus", dibba eminence, hillock, duḍi to toil, duṇḍu round, dundu prodigality, dūṣaru motive, doṇne, doṇne club (cf. Skt. daṇḍa).

In Telugu such words are a great deal more numerous than in Kanarese:—

gaṇja arable land, gaṇṭa stubble, gaṇṭe, gariṭe spoon, gaṇḍi hole, gaṇḍe fish, gantu a jump, goggu to shrink, gaggulu empty ears of corn, gajja groin, gajju fatness, gaṭaka gruel, gaḍḍi grass, gaṭuku to lap, as a dog, gattamu manure, gadurū to increase, gaddari impudent, ganapa large, gannēru oleander, gabbī big, thick, gara lump, clod, garita damsel, garusu gravel, gavva cowrie, gāḍi drinking trough, gāḍu lust, gābu jar for storing grain, gāma the young of an ant, gāmiḍi
cruel, hard, giśṭa hoof, gitta a young bull, ginunu deception, gibba bull, girupu to twitch, gilubu theft, gilu to flow, giju pulp (also gijuru), guniyu to dangle, gubbu to be diffused, as smell, gubaka boss, knob, gubulu to spread, as scent, gubbu the beating of the heart, gumma spirit or gush, gummaḍi gourd, gummamu doorway, gulla shell or husk, guvva pigeon, gūḷi vulture, geṇṭena oleander, geṇḍi carp, gettera barren soil, genayu, genusu sweet potato, gelivi bloom, gēḍe she-buffalo, goṅiga enemy, goṅgaḍi blanket, goṇṭari rogue, goṇḍi evil, goṇḍili gambols, gontu throat, goggi uneven, irregular, godda hunger, goppa great, goraka an iron arrow, golla shepherd, govaru heat, gōgu hemp, gōḍi way, manner custom, gōṭi woman.

jaṅjaṭa nail or screw, jaṅṭa pair, couple (cf. daṅṭa), jakkara river, jakki horse, jagile stone bench, jaggu brightness, prettiness, jāḍi flood, stream, jalla manger, javaṭa javara fibres of plantain tree, jāgu delay, jāḍu unripe maize, jānu graceful, pretty, jānugu ear, jābura name of a tree, jāvaḍi washerman, jiṭṭa sorrow, jiṭṭi a coarse cloth, jittu prank, jiddu enmity, jimma much, great, jirra a whirling noice, jilla a bit of strick, jiḍi the sap of milk of mango, jila-karrα cummin-seed (cf. Skt. jiraka-), jiluga a kind of bird, juṅu dishevelled hair, jutta short span, junnu honey, jūka haste, flurry, jemuḍu name applied to certain plants of the cactus family, jella a species of fish, jelli the plant “Arachis fruticosa”, jēḍa a sort of crane or heron, jēḍe a marshy soil, jompu spring on a hill, joggu alms, also jōgu.

daṅgu be pounded or cleaned — daṅcu, dampu; daggu cough, daḍḍu naked, daddalamu flat ceiling, daniyu to meet unite, danuku to catch fire, dappi, ḍappi thirst, dabba citron tree, dabbura, ḍabbura cup, danu mud, daṇḍa jaw, davva
tender shoot, dāka kind of pot, dāgu, dācu to hide, dābu fear, diṇṭena bluebell, dibbadamu lid, dilu, dilu thīn, duṇḍagamu wickedness, dumpa root, dukki ploughing, duggu musty straw, dutta jar, duddu pericarp of a lotus, dummu to plough, dunna male buffalo, dummu bone, duvvu to comb, dūku to leap over, dūḍa calf, dūdi cotton, dūpa thirst, dūyu to enter, deppamu butt, target, depparamu difficulty, distress, debe wretch, dēvu to rinse, doṅga rogue, doggali “Amaranthus polygamus”. dodda plunder. dosagu fear, dōdu bulky, dōmaṭi food, dōra heap, dōru expire, dōsa cucumber.

boikku lane, bagisi a kind of tree, baggi ashes, baccena paint, baṭamarulu nostrils, badda, bradda fragment, barre she-buffalo, bāki wide, bāgu good, bāju a kind of hawk, bāḍu veil or covering, bāri annoyance, trouble, bikki, a certain tree, bijugu to tell lies, bittaramu flash of light, bittala nakedness, binugu hunter, bimmaṭa stupor, grief, biḷla disk, buṅga kind of pot, bukkadamu eel, bugga cheek, buggi ashes, bucci little, small, buḍīgī small, squat, burada mud, buruka child, burīi heifer, buliyu to be happy, buṣi ashes, būgara trash, būju mildew, buḍa milk vessel, būra trumpet, būla pith, būsi dirt, beḍḍa small stone, beraḍu bark of a tree, bokku to gobble, boggu charcoal, botṭe child, bodda “Ficus glomerata”, boṇaga small leather bottle, bōda swollen, bōra breast, chest. It is clear, then, that a large proportion of the Telugu and Kanarese words beginning with g, j, d, b have nothing to correspond with them in Tamil. Either then they are Dravidian words which Tamil has lost, or they have been acquired by Kanarese and Telugu from some extraneous source. The latter theory is maintained here, and its full demonstration will emerge with the discussion of the remaining points.
Telugu has far more of such words than Kanarese, which accords with the fact that in other respects, too, it differs a good deal more from Tamil than does Kanarese.

II

To the above list we must add those Telugu and Kanarese words which have indeed a corresponding form in Tamil and Malayalam, but one which turns out on closer examination to be merely a modern loanword. The reason for classifying them as such is that they are unknown to classical Tamil and occur only in the modern colloquial, comparatively modern texts or in local dialects. Here, as elsewhere in the articles, Tamil alone and not as a rule Malayalam is cited on the ground that since Malayalam is in effect only a dialectical variation of Tamil no matters of principle are involved which would be affected by citing it in each specific instance.

Examples of loanwords in Tamil coming under this heading are:

Ta. kaṭṭam chin < Te. gaḍḍamu, kaṭṭi asperity < Te. gaḍḍusu; kaṭu, keṭu fixed time, period < Ka. Tu. gaḍu, Te. gaḍuvu. In this case, as in some other loanwords of this nature, Mal. preserves the g-, gaḍu; Ta. karicai “garse” < Te. garise, Ka. garase; Ta. karaṭi fencing, sword-play < Te. gariḍi, Ka. garuḍi; kavicāṇai, wrapper, cover < Te. gavisena; kiṇṭan a kind of coarse cloth < Ka. giṅṭa, Te. giṅṭemumu; kilukku, kiluṅku rattle < Ka. giluku; kuṭṭu secret < Te. Ka. guṭṭu; kuṭṭai napkin < Te. guḍḍa; kuppi crowd < Te. gobbi; kumpi mud < Te. gummi (?); kumpu crowd < Te. gumpu; kummaṭṭam a small drum < Te. gummeta; kumukku to beat with fists < Te. gumuku; kūṭai basket < Te. gūḍa, Ka. Tu. gūḍe.
kūli ox < Ka. guji; kūnai a large earthen boiler < Te. gūna; kekkali to laugh violently < Te. geggalińcu; keccam tinkling anklet < Te. Ka. gajje; keṭṭam beard < Te. gaṭḍamu, Ka. gaḍḍa; keṭṭi firmness, strength < Te. Ka. gaṭṭi; keṇṭan strong man < Ka. Te. gaṇḍa; keṭṭu wiles, tricks < Te. gattu; keṇtu to skip < Te. Ka. gantu; keḷi to win < Te. gelucu, Ka. Tu. gel; kevi cave, hollow < Te. Ka. gavi; koppi a game of young girls < Te. gobbi; kōḷi banyan < Ka. gōli.

cappai hips < Te. jabba; callatāi sieve Te. jallēda, Ka. jallađe; cōtu pair (of shoes, etc.) < Te. Ka. Tu. jōdu; cōli concern, business, affair < Te. Ka. jōli; cōlikai satchel < Te. jōliya, Ka. Tu. jōlige; tacci kind of game < Te. Ka. dacci; taṭṭi drawers < Te. Ka. daṭṭi; taṇḍai wreath < Ka. daṇḍe; tappanam tacking needle < Te. dabbaramu, Ka. dabbana, dabbāla; tapparai deception < Te. dabbāra; tappili, rogue < Te. dabbili; tappai, tappai split bamboo < Ka. dabbe, ḍabbē, ḍebbē, debbe, Te. dabba; tappai blow < Te. debba; tikkāmali < Ka. dikkāmali (a plant); tikil < Ka. digil fright, Te. digulu; tiṭṭam certainly < Te. diṭṭamu, Ka. diṭṭa; tiṭṭi window < Te. Ka. diḍḍi; turavu irrigation < Te. doruvu; tūḷam beam < Te. dūlamu, Ka. dūla; tūru ill-report < Te. Ka. dūru (Mal. preserves the d-, dūru); tōngan thief < Te. donga; tōṭṭi enclosure < Te. Ka. doḍḍi; toppai paunch < Te. dobba; toṇṇai cup of leaves < Ka. donne, Te. donna; tōcāi kind of cake < Te. Ka. dōse (Mal. dōṣa); paṭṭāni < Ka.Tu. baṭāni garden-pea; pāku beauty, charm < Te. bāgu; pāṇai pot < Te. bāna, Ka. bāne (Skt. bhājana?); pīgī to be tight < Te. Ka. bigi; puṭṭi bottle < Te. Ka. buḍḍi; piṭu waste land < Te. Ka. biṇu; puṭṭakam pretence < Te. būṭakamu, Ka. būṭaka; pokkaṇam wallet < Te. bokkaṇamu, Ka. bokkaṇa;
pokkai hole < Te. bokka, Ka. bokke; poccai paunch < Te. bojja, Ka. bojje; poṭṭu sectarian mark < Te. Ka. poṭṭu; ponti body < Te. Ka. bondi (cf. Pa. Prk. bondi); pommai doll < Te. bomma, Ka. bombe; pōn trap < Te. Ka. bōnu.

In some cases Tamil hesitates between p and v when original b- is represented in loanwords. Examples: palappam and valappam slate-pencil < Te. balapamu; paṅkāram and vaṅkāram gold < Te. baṅgāramu; paṇṭi and vaṇṭi cart < Te. Ka. baṇḍi; pacalai and vaṇṭai spinach < Ka. basaḷe; pikam and vikam > Te. bigamu, Ka. biga lock.

III

There are a considerable number of cases where Telugu and Kanarese do not agree in the matter of voicing. Naturally such instances have to be ruled out as evidence for antiquity of the sonants. Examples where Kanarese shows voicing while Telugu does not are: Ka. garuvali wind, Te. karuvali; Ka. giḍa, giḍu tree, Te. ceṭṭu, Ta. Ma. ceṭi, Ka. also ceṭṭu; Ka. giṇi, giḷi parrot, Ta. kiḷi also kiḷḷai, Te. ciluka; Ka. guḍi point, tip, banner, Te. koḍi, Ta. koṭi, Ka. also kuḍi; Ka. gedalu white ant, Ta. citalai, Te. ceda; Ka. jinugu to drizzle, Te. cinuku; Ka. jimmaṇḍe a cricket, also cimmaṇḍe, Te. cimmaṭa; Ka. jillī hole in an earthen vessel, Te. Ta. cilli, Ta. also illi; Ka. jēnu honey, also tēnu, Te. tēne, Ta. Ma. tēn; Ka. jollu saliva, Te. collu, also jollu. In some cases, as will be noticed, Kanarese itself shows a variant unvoiced form, e.g. tēnu besides jēnu. The evidence for the secondary nature of the voicing is in such cases quite overwhelming.

Secondly, Telugu shows a voiced and Kanarese an unvoiced form. Examples: Ta. kaḷutai donkey, Ka. kaḷte,
Te. gāḍida; Ta. kātal love, Ka. kādal, Te. gāḍili; Ta. kuṭai umbrella, Ka. kođe, Te. goḍugu; Ka. kunni young of an animal, Te. gunna, also kūna; Ta. kuruṭu blindness, Ka. kuruḍu, Te. g(r)uḍi; Ta. kuḷi pit, Ka. kuḷi, Te. g(r)oyyi; Ta. kōvaṇam loincloth, Ka. kōvaṇa, Te. govaṇamu, Skt. kaupina; Ta. caṇal, caṇappu hemp, Ka. saṇabu, Te. janumu, Skt. saṇa; Ta. cēri street, Ka. kēri, Te. gēri; Ta. kōri sheep, Ka. kūri, Te. gorrē.

A few of the words in question appear in Sanskrit with an unvoiced initial, a fact which is in favour of its priority, e.g.:-

Ta. kaṇci rice-gruel, Te. Tu. Ka. gaṇji, Skt. kāṇcika (L.), kāṇjika (Suśr.), kāṇji (L.), kāṇjika (L.); Ta. kuṭi house, hut, Ka. Te. guḍi Skt. kuṭi (Ep.); Ta. kuṇṭu depth, hollow, pit, pond, also kuṭṭam in same sense, cf. kuḷi pit, Ka. kuṇṭe pit, pond, also guṇḍa, guṇḍi, cf. kuḷi, kuṇi, Te. kuṇṭa also guṇṭa pit, hole, Skt. kuṇḍa fire-hole; Ta. cāṭi pot, Te. Tu. Ka. jāḍi, Pali cāṭi; Ta. Ka. palli lizard, Te. balli, Skt. palli; Te. Ka. gujjju dwarf, Skt. kubja, Pa. Pr. khujja, an older form of which is represented by Ka. kurucu, Te. kurucu dwarffish, from Drav. kuru short; cf. also caṇal, etc., and kōvaṇam, etc., above.

The above may be regarded as Dravidian loans in Sanskrit, but whatever view of the precise relationship Sanskrit offers useful contributory evidence for the priority of the unvoiced initial and the secondary nature of the voicing in Telugu and Kanarese.

Examples of secondary voicing in Telugu and Kanarese are also to be found in a number of tbhs., e.g. Te. gajjuramu date tree < Skt. kharjūra; Te. gamburamu camphor < Skt.
kārpūra; Te. Ka. gāju glass < Skt. kāca; Te. Ka. guddali hoe < Skt. kuddāla; Te. gēdagī, gēdaṅgi "Pandanus odoratissimus" < Skt. kētaka; Te. Ka. gēlī ridicule < Skt. kēlī; Te. goḍḍali axe < Skt. kuṭhāra; here the initial in Ka. goḍali agrees with Skt.; Te. Ka. banti series < Skt. paṅkṭi. The connection is somewhat less clear in the case of Te. gōḍa, Ka. goḍe wall cf. Skt. kuḍya; Te. gajji itch, cf. Skt. kacchu; Ka. gaṅṭalu throat, cf. Skt. kaṇṭha; Te. balla plank, cf. Skt. phalaka; Te. baṭṭa, Ka. baṭṭe cloth, clothes are considered to be ṭbhs. of vastra, but they might be driven from paṭṭa, in which case they are to be added to this list.

In addition we may point out instances where the individual languages Telugu and Kanarese show hesitation between the voiced and unvoiced forms. Examples in Telugu: Te. korije hoof, also gorije, gorise Ka. gorasu, gorise, Ta. kuraccai, kuracu (probably lw.), cf. Skt. khura; Te. gaṭṭa and kaḷḷa phlegm; Te. gaḍucu and kaḍucu to pass, of time; Te. gaṇupu and kaṇupu knuckle, joint of bamboo, etc., Ka. gaṇal, gaṇike, Ta. kaṇu; guṇṭa and kuṇṭa pit (above); collu and jollu saliva, Ka. jollu, Ta. colḷu; dinne hillock, also tinne, Ka. dinne, dinne, Ta. tiṇṇai; dōgu and tōgu to become wet, Ta. tōy Ka. tō, Skt. tōya water (lw. < Dr.); begguru and pegguru the bird called adjutant crane.

Such fluctuation is a good deal commoner in Kanarese than in Telugu: Ka. kampu fragrance, also gampu, cf. gabbu, garbu, Te. kampu, gabbu, gammu, Ta. cf. kamal; Ka. giṭṭu to be obtained, to be pressed closely one to the other, also giṭu, kiṭṭu, cf. kiḍu, Te. gīṭṭu to suit, agree, meet, kiṭṭu to approach, draw near, Ta. kiṭṭu; Ka. giru to scratch, giju, giku, also kiru, Te. giku, gicu, giru, Ta. kiru; Ka. gujju prop, also kūcu,
Te. kuruca, guñja; guñuku gulp, also kuñuku, Te. guñuku; guñi, kuñi circle, Te. guñi; guñi, kuñi point, banner, Te. koñi, Ta. koñi; guñta, guña, guñta, kûta peg, Te. guñtamu; gudi to jump, cf. kuduku, Ta. kuti; Ka. guddu, gurdu = Te. guddu, gruddu is probably to be regarded as quite a different word from Ta. Ka. kuttu, kottu to strike; Ka. gumm to cuff = kummu; Ka. günu hump, also kûn, kûnu, Ta. kûn, Te. günu; Ka. geñe touching; match, derivative of Ka. kiñu, cf. Ta. kiñai; Ka. geñe, geñèle union, also keñe; Ka. gerase and kerase a flat bamboo basket; Ka. gere a scratch, streak, kere to scratch, Te. sera; Ka. kër and gër the marking-nut tree, Ta. cër, Te. somewhat divergently jëdi, a difference which suggests the word may be of extraneous origin; Ka. goñta and koñta a bamboo tube, Te. goñtamu; goñde tuft, tassel, also koñde, Te. koñde, Ta. koñtai (lw.); gorapa and korapa curry comb, Te. korapamu and gorapamu, Ta. kurappam (lw.).

Initial j- alternates with either s, c, or t. Examples: jajju and caccu to crush; jane the yolk of an egg, also tane, tene, sene, Te. cene, jene, jane, Ta. cinai; jaragu to slip, slide, also saraku, Te. jarugu, cf. Ka. sari to move, slip, Ta. cari and also Te. Ka. jâru, Ta. câru; Ka. jâga and câga the colour green; Ka. jâlige and sâlige cloth, garment, cf. Skt. sâtaka; jissti and cisste grasshopper; Ka. jiru and cîru to scream, also giru; Ka. cuñgu the end of a turban sticking out, also juñgu, Te. cuñgu and ceñgu, Ta. cuñgu (lw.); Ka. jûparu and îîparu drizzle; Ka. jënu and tënu honey, Te. tene. Ta. tën; joñdiga and toñdangî cockroach; Ka. jôba a lazy man, jômu torpidity, Ta. cômbu to be idle, Te. sômari a slothful person, Ka. sômâri, Te. sommu swoon, torpidity; Ka. jôru to flow, also sôru, Ta. côru; Ka. dañi and tañi staff, Ta. tañi; Ka. dañi to be appeased, become tired = tañi to grow cool, be
appeased, become fatigued, from Ta. Ka. taṇ cool; Ka. taddu and daddu ringworm = Skt. dadrū; Ka. dīḍu, hillock, also tiṭṭu. Ta. tiṣṭai, Te. tiṣṭa; bacca and pacca greenness; Ka. buṭṭi and puṭṭi a basket; būci and pūci worm.

For the full evaluation of this fluctuation a more detailed investigation would be necessary: we should like to know, namely, to what extent the differences correspond to differences of dialect and also to what extent some forms are earlier than others. Even without this, however, it is quite clear in enough instances that the voicing is secondary. For instance, Te. ṅōgu and ṃōgu to become wet, Ta. tōy, Ka. tō, Skt. lw. tōya water; here both Ka. and a fairly ancient loanword in Sanskrit agree with the alternative form tōgu evidence which, of course, is quite overwhelming in favour of its priority. Or take again Ka. guḍī point, flag, also kuḍī. Here Telugu kōḍi backs up the variant form with k- and very strong reasons indeed would have to be adduced to outweigh it. Such, of course, do not exist. Likewise in the case of Ka. jēnu honey, also tēnu, Te. tēne, Ta. tēn, and others. Or again, a derivative form may show the voicing where the word it is derived from does not. For instance, we have dāṇī as well as taṇi derived from taṇ cool, which word itself shows no voicing. Ka. geḍe is a derivative of kīḍu which always appears with k-. The fact that in many of these forms the voicing is secondary lends support to the view that also where voiced and unvoiced forms are more evenly divided the unvoiced forms are original.

IV

Examples enough have been quoted already under the previous headings of cases where the voicing in Telugu or
Kanarese is demonstrable; namely, where Sanskrit has the word and shows initial surd, where the voicing occurs only as a variant form in one language and where a derivative form shows voicing while the word from which it derived does not. Examples are set forth above and there is no need to repeat them here. A few other cases may be mentioned: Te. bebbuli < tiger perum-puli lit. “big tiger”. The word for big peru-, of course, has p- in all the languages (Te. pedda); it has become corrupted in this word which though originally a compound is no longer felt as such. Similarly beggōdi a kind of wild fowl. There are a number of instances like the above where an r has been assimilated to a succeeding consonant and voicing of the initial occurs: Te. diddu to rectify, Ka. tiddu, tirdu, Ta. tiruttu, derived from Ta. tiru; Te. g(r)ud̲di blind, Ka. kuruḍi, kuḍḍi, Ta. kuruṭaṇ; Te. Ka. gujju dwarffish, if derived from kuru- short; Skt. kubja, M. I. khujja, is probably borrowed from the Dravidian word; Ka. gubbi a small bird, Ta. kurvi; Ka. gajjuga molucca-bean, Ta. kaḷarci (also kaḷal, kaḷaṅku), Te. gacca. It does not, however, seem possible to make a rule out of this on account of examples to the contrary: in Ka. tiddu, kuḍḍi above, and others, in Te. for instance pedda “big” (< *perda).

For a quite different reason we find evidence of secondary voicing in two Kanarese verbs: gey to do appears as well as key, also geyme action besides keyme. Here the voicing is obviously due to the word being used as an auxiliary verb, in which case the initial gets treated as at the beginning of the second member of a compound. The same applies to Te. Ka. guri mark, aim, object, Te. gurīncu to aim at, Ka. also kuri, aim: to aim, Ta. kuri. Here the voicing is due to the past indeclinable participle of this verb being used
frequently as a postposition, Ta. *kurittu*, Te. *guriñci*, etc., meaning "with reference to, concerning". The frequency of this usage has led to the voicing in other forms where it is not justified as it is here by the rules of sandhi.

In Telugu *gōru* nail the initial *g-* was originally medial, as seen in Ta. *ukir*, Ka. *ugur*. The same is the case with Te. *digu*, *digu* to descend, cf. Ta. *ili*–.

There are only a few comparisons that have not been enumerated under the previous Ta. *kulai* cluster, as of fruits, Ka. *gole*, Te. *gola*, Ta. *kūkai* owl, Ka. *gūgi*, *gūge*, *gūbe*, Te. *gūbi*, *gūba*. Here for once Sanskrit backs up Te. and Ka. with *ghūka*. Since *kūkai* appears already in Sangam Tamil and is only very late in Sanskrit, we may regard it as original in Dravidian and a loanword in Sanskrit. Ta. *kūtu* nest, Te. Ka. Tu. *gūdu*. If this, as is likely, is from Ta. *kūtu* to collect, gather together, Ka. Te. *kūdu*, the initial *g-* is certainly secondary, because the verb appears with initial *k-* in all the three languages. Ta. *cān* span, as a measure = nine inches, Te. *jāna* or *jēna*, Ka. *gēp*. The word does not seem to occur very early in Tamil. Ka. Te. *jalli*, whisk, tassel, Ka. also *jhalli*, Ta. *calli*, which occurs already in the *Mañimēkhalai*, but it may be an early loanword.

To prove the existence of initial sonants in primitive Dravidian, it would be necessary to demonstrate that a considerable number of regular correspondences existed in which Ka. Te. agreed in showing the voiced initial. We should expect this to appear, naturally, in many common words and verbal roots, and also to be confirmed by the remaining Dravidian language. We find on the other hand that hardly
a single common verb in the three languages satisfies this condition (except Ka. gey and guri which have been discussed above), that Kanarese and Telugu show large numbers of words beginning with sonants, which have no correspondences in Tamil at all, and that such correspondences as occur, after removing obvious loanwords, are self-contradictory and confused, with a fair proportion of instances where secondary voicing is obvious; there are practically no examples which for some reason or other do not fall under suspicion. As for the other Dravidian languages, they all indeed possess the voiced stops in abundance; but the words in which they occur will have nothing to correspond with them in Tamil, or in Kanarese and Telugu either, and for the most part they differ among each other.

The conclusions to be drawn from the evidence as analysed above are then:–

Tamil alone among the Dravidian languages represents the state of affairs in the parent language in this matter. Telugu and Kanarese have for reasons that are obscure in most instances introduced secondary voicing into primitive Dravidian words. At the same time a large percentage of words beginning with the voiced stops in these languages are of extra-Dravidian origin. We must assume the existence of some substrate language to account for these, and, in fact, for the existence of initial sonants at all. Telugu has gone much further in this way than Kanarese. Very much greater is the foreign element in the Northern Dravidian languages, where the really Dravidian element in vocabulary has been considered as reduced. Except in the case of Brahui the origin of this is not known.
DRAVIDIAN STUDIES-II*

NOTES ON THE INTERCHANGE OF SHORT o AND e WITH i AND u IN SOUTH DRAVIDIAN

It is well known that in a great number of words e and o in Kanarese, Tulu, and Telugu correspond to i and u in Tamil and Malayalam.

E. g. :-

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilai, leaf</td>
<td>ila</td>
<td>ele</td>
<td>ele</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iṟanḵu, descend</td>
<td>iṟanḵu</td>
<td>eragu</td>
<td>eraguni</td>
<td>erāgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iḷa, young</td>
<td>iḷa</td>
<td>ela</td>
<td>ele</td>
<td>ela, lē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirai, wave</td>
<td>tira</td>
<td>tere</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>tera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninai, think</td>
<td>ninayu-</td>
<td>nene</td>
<td>nene-pu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piniṅku, be twisted</td>
<td>piniṅku</td>
<td>penagu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>penāgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>together, fight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viḷaṅku, to shine</td>
<td>viḷaṅku</td>
<td>beḷagu</td>
<td>beḷagu-</td>
<td>velūgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uṭal, body</td>
<td>uṭal</td>
<td>oḍal[u]</td>
<td>uḍal, oḍal oḍalu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urai, scabbard</td>
<td>ura</td>
<td>ore</td>
<td>ore</td>
<td>ora</td>
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<tr>
<td>ulai, forge</td>
<td>ula</td>
<td>ole</td>
<td>ule</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuṭai, umbrella</td>
<td>kuṭa</td>
<td>koḍe</td>
<td>koḍe</td>
<td>godugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putar, putal, thicket</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>podr[u]</td>
<td>pudel</td>
<td>podaru, poda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutal, first</td>
<td>mutal</td>
<td>modal[u]</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>modalu</td>
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</table>

With reference to this interchange K. V. Subbayya in his "Primer of Dravidian Phonology", published in the Indian Antiquary, lays down the following rule: “i before

* BSOAS X[1940-42]
cerebrals and liquids and followed by a becomes e in Classical Canarese, Tuḷu and Telugu and also in New Tamil and New Malayalam”¹. Likewise with respect to u and o he says²: “Pr. Drav. initial u becomes o when followed by a and before cerebrals and liquids. This change is found in classical Can., Tel. and Tuḷu, and also in New Tamil and Malayalam”. This formulation is faulty in as much as there is no restriction on the consonants intervening between the i or u and the following a-vowel. Whatever consonant comes between, the result is just the same, e.g.:

- Ta. ḫaḍḷ to rise, Ka. egaru
- Ta. ival petal, Ka. esaḷ
- Ta. pukai smoke, Ka. poge, Tel. poga
- Ta. ṭuḷaṭa scarlet, Ka. togaru, Tel. togaru

and so forth. Likewise the restriction to initial u [and i] is unjustified as is evident from examples already quoted.

Dealing with this question in his Materials for a Sketch of Tuḷu Phonology L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar formulates the following rule³:

“There is a rule in South Dravidian where by a short radical i [of words of more than one syllable] followed by an open vowel in the next syllable is replaced by e: the operation of this rule is restricted to derivative words only and, further, the change occurs only when in the above circumstances the consonant immediately following the radical vowel is a short one. The literary varieties of Tamil and Mal. show in the above circumstances the i– forms, while the colloquials show

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2. Ibid., p. 170.
e-words; in Kann. and Tel., even the literary speeches have accepted a number of e-forms. Tu\(\text{u}\) shows forms with \(i\) and \(e\) side by side in some cases, and those with \(e\) alone in others.” Later he lays down the same rule for \(u > o\): “In circumstances similar to those described for \(i > e\) above, there exists in South Dr. a change of \(u > o\) also. Tu\(\text{u}\) shows forms with \(u\) and \(o\) side by side in some cases, and words with \(o\) alone in others.”

There are some inaccuracies here. To say that “in Kann. and Tel. even the literary speeches have accepted a number of \(e\)-forms”, is very much of an under statement. In effect, whenever such a divergence exists the Telugu and Kanarese literary languages show almost exclusively \(e\)- and \(o\)- forms, and that from the earliest times.

Again, to restrict the operation of the rule to cases where a single consonant intervenes between the \(i\) or \(u\) and the following \(a\)- vowel, appears hardly justified in view of a number of examples to the contrary:

Ta. punnai Calophyllum Inophyllum, Te. ponna, Kan. ponne; Ta. mu\(\text{tt}\)ai egg, Ka. mo\(\text{tte}\); Ta. mullai Jasmine, Ka. molle, Te. moll.

On the other hand in the case of Ta. pi\(\text{l}\)\(\text{l}\)ai child, Ka. pi\(\text{l}\)\(\text{l}\)e, Te. pilla, we find no change. Actually in this case examples are not at all numerous, which makes it difficult to generalize satisfactorily.

So much for the conditions of the interchange. What remains to be discussed is the question as to which in these

1. Ibid., p. 433.
cases is original $i$ and $u$ or $o$ and $e$. So far it has been taken for granted that $i$ and $u$ are original and $e$ and $o$ secondary.\(^1\) Considering the fact that in modern Tamil and Malayalam, in the spoken languages, we see a development of $i > e$ and $u > o$, thus bringing them into line with Kanares and Telugu, this certainly seems at a superficial glance to be the case. On further examination of the evidence, however, the situation appears by no means so simple.

The starting-point of our inquiry is the state of affairs described above: Radical $i$ and $u$ in Tamil when followed in the next syllable by $a$ or $a[i=Kan. e, Tel. a]$ correspond to $e$ and $o$ in Telugu and Kanares. In these positions Kanares and Telugu do not admit of $i$ and $u$. In like manner Tamil [with Mal.\(] does not, except for a few exceptions which will be dealt with below, admit of $e$ and $o$. Thus none of the languages admits of the two sets of vowels in these positions. In other positions, namely before $i$ and $u$, both sets exist independently and have no connection with each other. Thus in Tamil: $isu$ to put, $etu$ to raise; $iri$ to retreat, $eri$ fire; $ciru$ small, $cegu$ to restrain; $tiri$ to turn, $teri$ to be clear; $vili$ to call, $veili$ outside; $uli$ chisel, $oili$ light; $kuvi$ house, $ko$ $i$ banner; $puli$ tiger, $poli$ to shine; $putu$ new, $potu$ common, etc. Likewise for Telugu. In Kanares a change, which will be discussed later, has resulted in a confusion of these two sets so that $i$ and $u$ are exclusively used in these positions. That however is a purely local and special change and the normal Dravidian state of affairs is that just illustrated.

Thus in all the languages under discussion, while $e$ is admitted as well as $i$, and $o$ as well as $u$, when followed by

\(^1\) Cf., besides the authorities quoted above, E. H. Tuttle, Dravidian Developments, 17.
i or u, in other positions, namely before a and ai\[eq=, e\], either one set may be chosen, or the other, but they cannot co-exist in any of the languages preserved. This being the case it is quite possible that the same rule applied to the parent language also, in which case to argue about the priority of e and o or i and u would be pointless since nothing so definite can be said about the phonetics of a reconstructed language, and the reconstructed sounds are in the main to be regarded as convenient symbols.

Obviously then, no progress is to be made by comparing merely the words themselves in question in the different languages. There remains, however, one profitable method of approach, namely, to compare them with kindred words in which the radical i[e] and u[o] are not followed by a or ai. A result of such juxtaposition is to see immediately that in these cases original i and e are confused as i in Tamil and Malayalam and as e in Kanarese and Telugu. The same, of course, applies to o and u. It will be convenient first to present the material :-

Ta. ila\[ntu], ilaku to shine: el light, lustre.

Ta. ila young, tender, soft. Ka. ela, ele, Te. ela, lē, Ta. ilaku to grow soft, weak, ili\[ai to grow weary, become thin: Ta. e\[l\]i easy, slight, weak.

Ta. cirai restraint. prison, Te. cer\[a : Ta. ceru to restraint.

Ta. civu to become red, civappu redness: ce-, cem red, Ka. ke-, kem.

Ta. pinaval female of the dog, pig, deer, or yak, pinā, pinavu woman, pinai female of animals: Ta. pen woman, Ka. pen, pen\[da.
Ta. pira to be born, be produced: Ta. peru to obtain, bring forth, bear [as children], Ka. per, peru.

Ta, vilaniku to shine, vilakkku light, vilar to become white, whiteness, Ka. bahagu to shine, bełakku light, bełar white colour, Te. velëgu to shine: Ta. vel white, bright, velli whiteness, silver, vellicai whiteness, veliru to grow white, whiteness, Ka. bel white, belpu whiteness, belli silver, Te. vella white.

In the ease of u and o:-

Ta. utai to break, Ka. òde : Ta. oti to break, Ka. odi.

Ta. utan with, Ka. odan : Ta. otu with (termination of the third case).

Ta. úlavu secrecy, Ka. òlavu, òlagu, Te. òlavu : Ta. òli to hide, Ka. ùli < *oli.

Ta. kuṭa curved, bent, kuṭaṇku to bend, kuṭā bend, curve, koṭu crooked, Ka. kuḍu (<*koḍu).

Ta. kuḷa young, kuḷaku youthfulness, kuḷantai child, kuḷavi child, Ka. koṇasu a young one of wild beasts, koḍa young, Te. koḍuku son : Ta. kuḷuntu tender shoot, anything young, tenderness, Tuḷu korndu tender.

Ta. kuyam sickle: koy to reap.

Ta. cura to flow: Ta. cori to flow, Ka. suri (<*sori).

Ta. tuyaniku to be exhausted, faint,() tuyar affliction, sorrow, tuyanu mental distraction, perturbation: Ta. toy to languish, grow weak.
Ta. tuḷai hole, Ka. toḷe : Ta. toḷ to perforate. 

hole, Ka. toḷe.

Ta. putar bush, thicket, putal id., Ka. podaru, Tuḷ pudel, Tel. poda, podaru : Ta. potumpu grove, shubby jungle.

Ta. puṭai to beat, thresh, Ka.plode : Ta. poṭi to break to pieces, pulverize; powder.

Ta. putai to bury, cover, clothe, Ka. pode : Ta. poṭtu to bury, cover, Ta. poṭi to hide, cover up, treasure, Ka. pud (< *podī).

Ta. purai to resemble: poru to come into contact with, to resemble, poruntu to agree with, etc.

Ta. muyaṅku to embrace, cling to: moy to crowd together, press, throng.

Ta. muḷaṅku to make a noise, roar, Ka. moḷagu. Te. 
mṛōgu: Ta. moli to speak.

In the above list of parallel forms it is obvious that in Tamil i and u, in the words in which they occur, must have arisen out of e and o. That conclusion is necessary because, as pointed out above, both i and e, also u and o, exist in words in which they are followed by i and u, whereas only i and u exist when there is a or ai in the next syllable. Therefore, in the o- and e- forms there is nothing to cause a change out of u and i, whereas the non-existence of e and o in Tamil in positions where an a- vowel appears in the next syllable, proves that there has actually been a change e > i and o > u in the examples quoted above. Tamil viḷakku, therefore, must be out of *veḷakku uṭai < *oṭai and so forth, and in these cases the vocalization in Kan. and Tel. represents the original.
The statement that \(i\) and \(u\) are exclusively used in Tamil when \(a\) or \(ai\) follows in the next syllable is to be qualified by some exceptions, which, however do not impair the validity of the general rule. In the first place, when \(-a\) or \(ai\) appears in the inflexion of a word the rule does not operate. Thus from \(poru\) to bear, the infinitive is \(pora\), the verbal noun \(poral\) and so forth. This applies also to derivatives in \(-ai\) thus \(porai\) burden, \(kolai\) slaying from \(kol\) to kill, etc. Here, as naturally to be expected, either the change did not take place, or having taken place, was effaced by the influence of primary forms which correctly retained the \(o\).

Other exceptions are:

\[^1\] \(peyar\) name, Ka. \(pesar\). Here the intervening \(-y\)- has probably had a restraining influence. It is instructive to compare the different treatment in \(viyar\) sweat. This word is probably derived from \(ve-\) hot, which would mean that \(e\) is original. The word appears in Kanarese as \(bevar\), also \(bemar\). The Tamil \(viyar\) is therefore \(<\ast\)vivar \(<\ast\)vevar. The difference of treatment to that of \(peyar\) is therefore due to a different consonant having originally intervened. The change \(v>y\) must be due to dissimilation because it does not occur in other similar instances, e.g., \(civa\) to become red \(<\ast\)ceva.

Another exception is \(petai\) hen, Mal. \(pi\(\tilde{a}\) also \(pe\(\tilde{a}\): There appears no particular reason for \(e\) here and it is probably dialectical.

As regards \(o>u\) there is a small group of words in which the expected change has not taken place: \(to\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(n\)\(\tilde{k}\)u\) to begin,

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1 The Tamil Lexicon quotes \(piyar\) from an inscription, which also occurs in old Malayalam. E. H. Tuttle [\textit{Dravidian Developments}, § 23], wrongly regards \(piyar\) as the older form.
toṣar to connect, toḷai to destroy, and toḷai hole. In these cases forms with \( u \) also occur, but are not the prevalent forms, except perhaps tuḷai... In Malayalam, however, forms with \( u \) exclusively occur: tuṭañu to begin, tuṭar to connect, tulavu to destroy, tuḷa hole. It is not quite clear what has prevented the operation of the general rule. Probably the particular combination of consonants before and after the vowel had some influence on its quality.

Such are the main exceptions. Clearly they do not invalidate the general rule, nor the conclusion that necessarily follows from it, namely that in the list of forms quoted above Tamil \( i \) and \( u \) are out of original \( e \) and \( o \). The general assumption then that Primitive Dravidian \( i \) and \( u > e \) and \( o \) in these positions in Telugu and Kanarese is definitely disproved for the examples quoted above. Primitive \( e \) and \( o \) on the contrary become \( i \) and \( u \) in Tamil and Malayalam in these examples.

We cannot, however, simply reverse the statement and assume that wherever \( e \) and \( o \) in Kanarese and Telugu correspond to \( i \) and \( u \) in Tamil in these positions, they represent the original. Because just as it has been proved that there are cases in which original \( e \) and \( o > i \) and \( u \) in Tamil and Malayalam, in like manner examples can be quoted in which original \( i \) and \( u > e \) and \( o \) in Kanarese and Telugu. The demonstration is on the same lines, namely by comparing kindred words [words from the same root] in which the radical vowel \( [i \text{ or } u] \) is not followed by an \( a- \) sound. As examples we may quote:-

Ka. eraḍu two, Ta. iṟaṇsu: here the original \( i \) supported by forms throughout the Dravidian languages; Tamil iṟu-,
Ka. **ir-**, Te. **iru-**, Gondi **irur** [beside **raṇḍ**] Kolami **iddar**, Kurukshetra **irb**, Malto **iwr**, Brahui **irā**, **iraṭ**.


Ka. **eḷe** to pull; thread, Ta. **iḷai** to spin; thread: Ta. **iḷu** to pull, Ka. **iḷ**.


Ka. **teraḷu** to become round, Ta. **tiraḷ** to become round; a ball, a round mass: cf. Ta. **tiri** to turn, revolve, Ka. **tiri**, **tirigu**, Te. **tiri**, **tirugu**.

Ka. **tenasu** beside, **tinasu** food, Tu. **tenasu** and **tinasu** : Ta. **tin** to eat, Ka. **tin**, etc.

Ka. **nela** earth, **nele** standing, place of residence, etc., Tu. **nела** earth, Te. **nelavu** place, residence, etc., Ta. **nilam**, **nilai** : all derived from the common root **-nil** to stand.

Ka. **peṇe** to unite, intertwine, **peṇagu** to be entangled, to quarrel, Ta. **piṇai**, **piṇaṅku**, Te. **penāgu**, **pena** : Ta. **piṇi** to bind.

Ka. **neḷal** shade, Ta. **niḷal** : Ta. **niḷal**, Te. **nida**. The long \( i \) in the Tamil and Telugu forms shows the \( i \) to be original and Ka. \( e \) secondary.

Ka. **bele** price, Te. **vela**, Ta. **vilai** : Ta. **vil** to sell, Ka. **bil**, Te. **vilucu**.

Ka. **ore** sheath, Te. **ora**, Tu. **ore**; Ta. **uṟai** place of residence, cover, receptacle; to reside: Ta. **uṟu** to be in or at Ka. **uṟu**.
Ka. korate deficiency, Te. korāta : Ta. kuru short, kurrām deficiency, fault, Ka. kuru, Te. kuru.

Ka. posa new: Ta. putu, putiya.


Ka. mone point, extremity, end, Te. mona, Ta. munai: Ta. mun in front, Ka. mun, Te. munu, munnu.

Examples of the change i > e and u to o under these conditions are also to be found in a number of loan-words from Indo-Aryan, e.g.:

Telugu: gonam < gūna, komaru < kumāra-, kolamu < kula.

Kanarese: bojanja < bhujānja-, soga < sukha-, tovari < tuvari, devasa < divasa, dese < diśā, soñaga < sunaka, podavi < Pkt. puḍhavi earth.

In other examples the Dravidian words are probably original and the Sanskrit borrowed. Thus, Ka. koḍa, Ta. kuṭam: Skt. kuṭa pot; Ka. moga, Te. mogamu, Ta. mukam: Skt. mukha face.

The rule may therefore be stated simply as follows: Original radical i and e, likewise u and o, are confused when followed in the next syllable by an a- vowel. In Tamil and Malayalam they are represented by i and u and in Kanarese and Telugu by e and o respectively. Since this confusion is common to all the languages concerned, we may assume in

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1 The meaning of “old” and “first” are combined also in Drav. tol. See Kittel, Kan. Dict. S. V. tom. He gives as meanings: “The state of being first or the first, the former, previous, old.”
all probability that it had already taken place in the parent language itself. That is, of course, much more likely than to assume an independent and parallel development in each individual language. Whether in this case the parent language showed $i$ and $u$ or $e$ and $o$, it is not possible to say and is of no great importance, since it is important to know only the original vowel which was there before the confusion took place. This can be done as we have seen when cognate words exist in which the vowel in question is not followed by $a$-. There are, however, a large number of words for which no such related word can be pointed out, e.g.:–

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ta.</th>
<th>Ka.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ital</td>
<td>esal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imai</td>
<td>eme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilai</td>
<td>ele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niñam</td>
<td>neña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulai</td>
<td>ole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nurai</td>
<td>nore, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these cases the original vowel may have been $i$ or $u$ on the one hand, or on the other hand $e$ or $o$, but without related forms of the type used above, it is impossible to say which.

The development sketched above is common to all the languages concerned. We now come to a change that is peculiar to Kanarese. Briefly, radical $e$ and $o$, when followed in the next syllable by $i$ or $u$, become $i$ and $u$ respectively.¹ Examples are:–

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ka.</th>
<th>Ta.</th>
<th>Te.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>idir</td>
<td>etir,</td>
<td>eduru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ili</td>
<td>eli,</td>
<td>eli,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tu. eli,</td>
<td>Te. eluka.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Cf. E. H. Tuttle, *Dravidian Developments*, § 17, where this change is briefly indicated.
Ka. isu to shoot: Ta. ey.
Ka. kiu̇o perishi: Ta. kẹdu, Te. cẹdu.
Ka. kivi ear: Ta. cevi.
Ka. ti̇li become clear: Ta. tẹli, Te. teli white, clear.
Ka. bidir bamboo: Ta. vetir, Te. veduru.
Ka. bisil heat: Ta. veyil, Te. vẹ hot.
Ka. ụd hip: Te. ọd
Ka. uli to sound: Te. oli.
Ka. kụdi point: Ta. kọdi, Te., Tu. kọdi.
Ka. kụdu to give: Ta. kọdu.
Ka. tụdu to join: Ta. tọtu.
Ka. nụdi sound, speech: Ta. nọi.
Ka. pụdi powder: Ta. pọti, Te., Tu. pọdi.
Ka. purụl substance, Ta. porụl.
Ka. puslu lie, falsehood: Ta. poy.

In a number of these cases forms with e and o appear as well as i- and u- forms. This must be due to dialect mixture. The point is touched on by Kittel in his Grammar. Speaking of tụdu and kụdu, which appear in the above list, he says: "[In the formation of the past participle] tu is 'converted into tu after the ancient and medieval themes kụdu and tụdu, these changing their initial vowel u into o and taking the forms kọt and tọt, so that the past participles become kọtu and tọtu." Historically, of course, the vowels in the past participles are original and those in the themes secondary. He then goes on to add: "The themes kụdu and tụdu occasionally appear as kọdu and tọdu in the medieval dialect, and

1 § 164
always so in the modern one; the participles remain *ko̰ṭṭu*, *to̰ṭṭu*.” The same remarks as regards the vowels apply to *kḭdu* perish, *isu* to throw, etc., of which the past participles are *kḛṭṭu*, *eccu*, etc. It thus appears that the change is only rigidly enforced in the ancient classical language and that it is often neglected in the later language. This can be explained by assuming that the development took place only in a restricted part of the Kanarese area, and that this part happened to be the district where the classical dialect was centred.¹ Later the influence of other areas was felt, in which this change had not taken place. At the same time the classical form of speech continued to exert its influence resulting in a mixture of forms.

¹ On the localization of classical Kanarese, see Kāviraṇamargā, ed. K. B. Pathak [1898], introduction, p. 13. It is well up in the northern part of the modern Kanarese-speaking area.
Original Dravidian \( k \)- is palatalized to \( c \)- in Tamil Malayalam and Telugu when followed by the front vowels \( i, i, e, \tilde{e} \). This change takes place in the following words:

- Ta. catar to scatter, also cataru, Ma. citaruka, Te. cedaru; Ka. kedaru, kedaru, Tu. kedaruni; Ka. also cadaru, cedaru, Tu. also cadaruni.

- Ta. cital, citalai, cel white ant, termite, Ma. cital, cetai. Te. ceda, cedalu; Ka. gedalu, gejjalu, gaddali, To. gejalu [Tu. udalu the white ant].

- Ta. ciraŋku eruption, pimple, itch, Ma. ciraŋnu, Ka. keraku scab.

- Ta. Ma. ciri to laugh; Ka. kiri to grin; Ka. also ciricu to laugh, titter; cf. also Ma. ciṭikka to laugh, Ka. kila kilă an intimation sound of joyful titter or laughter, Tu. kiśi kiśi titter, laugh, Ka. kisi grinning. The basis of all these words is naturally onomatopoeic.

- Ta. cirai to shave, cut with a sickle, Ma. cirekka to shave, scrape: Ka. kere to scratch, scrape, shave, kiri to shave, Tu. kerepuni to scrape, polish. From the same base: Ta. curaŋtu to scratch, scrape. Ma. curaŋtu, curaŋtu id. Ka. keraŋtu to dig with the nails, scratch, Tu. kereṅcuni to scratch the ground as a fowl. Cf. Mar. kharāṅnem to scratch [lw < Dr.]

1 Caldwell 3, pp. 150-1.
Ta. cil few, little, small, cila a few, several [neut. pl.], cilku to become few, dwindle, Ma. cila a few, several, Te. cilupa, cilipi small, light: Ka. kela a few, several, Tu. kela, kelavu id.

Ta. cilatan male companion, servant, cilati female friend, confidante. The original meaning was someone at one’s side. Compare Ka. kela side [this word is not preserved in Tamil] and keladan a man who is on one side or both sides. Ka. has also keṭadi a female companion or friend. This is probably the same word as Ta. cilati, and the substitution of the cerebral ’ is due to the influence of the word keṭe union, friendship, relationship.

Ta. cilai to sound, roar, twang; [sb.] a bow, cilampu to sound, etc.; [sb.] an anklet, Ma. cilekka to rattle, tinkle, chatter, chirp, cilampu anklet, cilappu sound, Te. celāgu to sound: Ka. kele to shout [sele to sound, noise], Tu. kilevuni to whistle, resound, kelepuni to crow as a cock, Go. kilitānā to weep loudly as a child, killitānā to chirp, Kui klāpa to crow. The words are onomatopoeic in origin; cf. Tu. kila kila chirping, screeching, Kui kila bila noise of chattering, Te. kila kila, etc. From this is also derived Kur. kilkilā a kind of woodpecker=Ta. ciccili [<*ciccili<*kilkili] kingfisher; cf. Ta. [dial.] kikkiri kingfisher.

Ta. Ma. ciru small, Te. ciru, ciruta : Ka. kiru, Tu. kiri, kiru.¹

¹ Originally *kiltu and derived from kil>cil above. The change –lt– > r is well known in Tamil external sandhi [Vinson, Manuel de la Langue Tamoule, p. 33], and the same change also takes place in the middle of words as here. The final -tu is to be explained as the 3rd sing.neut.pronominal affix, which is appended to
Ta. *cinam* anger, *cinavu* to be angry, Ma. *cinam* anger, the Drav. adjective in certain syntactical relationships [when used predicatively and to form adverbs]. In this case, as a result of the the sandhi change it has been incorporated with the original adjective to form a new word. Nevertheless its origin is betrayed by a peculiarity of its grammatical treatment in Tamil. Whereas other adjectives have a nasal added to them when used attributively before words beginning with an occlusive, e.g. *perum puli* a big tiger, *kurun tokal* a small collection, etc., such is never the case with *ciru* which is always construed without a nasal, e.g. *ciru kuvi* a little house, *ciru parai* a little drum, etc. The account of its origin given here accounts very well for this anomaly.

The commonest word for "small" in Kanarese is *cikka*. Kittel derives this from *ciru* [= *kiru*], comparing for the suffix Ma. *cerukkan* boy, lad. This cannot be correct because *k-* does not become *c-* in Ka. except in rare dialectal forms. Thus *ciru* occurs rarely, probably due to the influence of Te. or Ta., but the regular and usual form is *kiru*.

In the case of *cikka*, on the other hand, no trace of *k-* appears, so that *c-* here must be regarded as original, and the word can have no connection with *ciru* < *kiru*. The word *cikka* has been borrowed from Ka. into IA. See J. Bloch, *Formation de la Langue Marathe*, Index s. v. *cike* a little, *cikkar* small. Earlier it appears as Skt. *cikka* small, in the compound *cikkagaja* a young elephant, and Pkt. [Deśin. iii, 21] *cikkā* a small thing, but it does not seem to have had any currency outside the Deccan.

For the same reason Ka. *cillus* smallness, *cillara* small trifles, odds and ends, can only be connected with *kil-, kiru* etc., if we assume them to be borrowed from Telugu or some palatalizing dialect. Te. has *cillara* in the same sense as Ka. *cillara* and may be the origin of it. Ta. *cillara* is not old, and obviously borrowed from Ka. or Te.

J. Bloch is inclined to derive Mar. *celā* pupil from Dr.: Ka. *cillara, cillus, ciru, smallness*, Ta. *cila* a few [*Formation......*, Index, s. v.]. This attempt is to be
cinikka to be out of humour, cinippu anger; Te. kiniyu to be angry, Ka. kinisu, Kui kireni out of temper, surely [<*kineni].

Ta. ci pusu, mucus of the nose, also ci, cf. cittai rottenness Ma. cika to rot, Ka. ki to become putrid, kivu, kimu pus, Tu. kivu pus, To. gif id., Te. cimu pus, cimidi mucus rejected in view of the fact that Drav. cil- represents earlier kil- in these cases.

Another word to be separated from ciru< kiri is Te. cinna small. This is rather to be compared with Brah. cunak small, cuna a child. In this case we have primitive Dravidian c-, not k-. The words are further to be compared with Beng. cuna, cuni small, Sh. cunu which Turner [N. D. s. v. cun] connects with words derived from Skt. cūrṇa, Pkt. cūṇa powder. They may, however, be Iws < Drav. Santali cuni small appears to be derived from Bengali [Bodding, A Santal Dictionary s. v.].

Ka. saṇṇa small appears to be derived from Pkt. saṇṭha. A. Master [JBBRAS, v [1929], p. 110] is inclined to regard the borrowing as having been the other way. Against this it is to be observed that the word is more widespread in Indo-Aryan [N. D. s. v. saṇu] than it is in Dravidian, where it is confined to Ka. and Te. [Kur. samni small cannot be native Dravidian because s- does not occur in that language in native Dravidian words]. Further the Indo-aryan etymology of the word—Skt. śalakṣṇa > Pkt. saṇṭha [ > Ka. lw. saṇṇa]—Nep. saṇu, etc., is unobjectionable.

1 This is to be distinguished from the following forms, onomatopoeic in origin, which had not original k-:
Ka. siṭṭu anger, which is probably equivalent to Ta. cirram, though somewhat irregular in form; cf. ciru to hiss. Telugu has cirru, cirra anger, and with it can be compared Brah. cirṣing to be annoyed, Kur. cirārnā to lose one’s temper, fly into a passion. With these latter some IA. words are to be compared. Sir Denys Bray compares Jātkī, Sindhi chiś- with the Brah. word; cf. also Hi. chiṣṇā, etc. In Dravidian again we can compare Ka. seṇe to be angry, senasu wrath.
of the nose, Kui sivenḍi, sivenji pus, Kuwi simesi, sivesi, Brah. kish pus, mucus of the nose, Kur. kittnā to rot, Malt. kite.

Ta. Ma. cippu small cluster or bunch of plantain fruits, Te. cīpu: Tu. kipu id.

Ta. cirtti fame < Skt. kirtti.

Ta. ce-, cem red, cekkar, cekkal redness, ceccai redness, cemmai id., cey- red, ceyyan a red man [F. ceyya!] cevv- red [before vowels], cevvu redness, cē to redden, cēppu redness, cēy id., civa to become red, civappu redness [<*ceva-, cevappu DS II]. Ma. ce- red, cekkal redness, cempikka to be red, cuvakka, cuvappu=Ta. civa-, civappu, covva redness=cevva, Te. ce- in cen-galuva red water-lily and similar compounds: Ka. ke- red, kekkarisu become red, keṇka tawny, keṅgal, keṅgalisu, keccane, keṅcage, keṇci, kempu, kēpala Ixora coccinea, kēsu redness, kisu red, Tu. kem red, keṇca, kempu redness [also canna red]. Brah. khisun, Malt. qēso, Kur. khēso. The word does not appear in the Central languages as so for recorded.¹

Ta. Ma. ceṭi shrub, Te. ceṭṭu plant, bush, creeper, Ka. giḍa [<*giḍi<*gedi].

¹ Attempts to Skt. [Siva n. of the God from the Drav. word for “red” [Konow LSI, iv, p.279: S.K.Chatterji, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language i, p. 41, etc.] are to be rejected in view of the fact the c- is only a late development of k- in three of the southern languages. The same objection applies to attempts to derive Skt. Sambhu-, a name of Siva from Ta. cempu *redness, copper [Chatterji, loc. cit., M. Collins, Dravidic Studies [University Of Madras], iii [1923], p. 61, etc.].
Ta. cettu to cut with an adze, chisel, plane, cetukku pare, chisel, etc., Ma. cettuka, Te. cekku [<*cetu]: Ka. Tu. kettu chip, pare, scrape, etc.; cf. Kui. kata cut, chop, hew [?

Ta. cettu having thought [<*cerru]: Ka. gettu id. [from gir <*ger(u)].

Ta. Ma. ceru fight, battle: love- quarrel, Ta. ciraru to sulk, disagree, cirarru to be angry with, Ka. kera! to become angry, to begin to rage.

Ta. Ma. cey to do, Ka. key, gey, Tu. geipini, Te. cēyu, Go. kiānā, Kui kiva, giva, Kuwi kinai.

Ta. Ma. cey a field, especially a wet field, Te. cēnu [pl. cēlu]: Ka. key, Tu. keyi. Derived from this are Ka. kesaru wet soil, mud, mire, Ta. Ma. cēru id., Tu. kēdu; Skt. lw. kedāra a field under water, Pa. kedāra [often spelt ketāra], Pkt. keāra; cf. further Ta. cetumpu mud, mire.

Ta. ceruttal udder, Ma. cerannal, cerunnal, Ka. keccal, Tu. kerndelu, keŋjelu.

Ta. ceruppu shoe, Ma. cerippu, Ka. kerpu, also kera, kerahu, keravu, To. kervu, Tu. cappalu, cappalu, Te. ceppu, Kuwi seppu, Go. sarpum, sarpo, Mařia helpus shoe, sandal.¹

Ta. cerumu to cough: Ka. kemmu.

Ta. cevi ear, cevišu deaf, Ma. cevi ear, cevišu ear [chiefly the inner part], also cekišu, ceppi ear, cheek: earwax, cevippi earwax, Te. cevi ear, cevušu deaf, To. kev ear, Tu. kebi ear, kebure a deaf man, keppu deafness, keppi a deaf.

¹ Lws. from this in IA. would seem to be: Hi. kharpa sandal [<*kharappa: Ka. kerahu <*kerappu], and from a palatalizing dial. Mar. sappaḷa sandal.
woman, keppe a deaf man, keppe cheek, Go. kawi ear, Maria kev, pl. kevku id. Kol. kēv, pl. kēvul, Kui kriu, kiru, Kuwi kiriyu, kriyu, Brah. khaf, Kur. khebdā, Malt. qethwu.

1 A problem is presented by the Kui and Kuwi forms in which -r- appears. Ramaswamy Aiyar in drawing attention to this [Educ. Rev., 37 (1931), p. 552] compares to the Kui forms Tu. kirmbilu ear-wax and ceraḍu ear. With Tu. kirmbilu we can compare also Ta. kurumpi ear-wax, Ka. kurugani, koganī, gugge, Te. gubili, gulibi, gulimi, Go. korangel, Kuvi kirpejja There is a certain doubt about the connection between these words with the Kui forms of the word for ear because of the vowel of the first syllable which from the majority of the forms seems to have been -u-, and also because the Tamil form can be quite naturally explained as the Tamil Lexicon explains it, namely as kuru small + pi excrement. The latter element is in any case pi which has this secondary sense generally in Dravidian [cf. Ma. cevippi ear-wax, Kur. pik in both senses, etc.] If Ramaswami Aiyar’s explanation is to be retained, the first element in a form like Ta. kurumpi must be regarded as having been altered by popular etymology, and on the whole I am inclined to regard this as being the case. The same element appears also to be found in Ta. kuruṭu tragus.

Tu. ceraḍu ear is isolated in Dravidian. Initial k- is occasionally palatalized in Tulu, which is somewhat of a mixed language, and anyway ceraḍu is to be regarded as a dialect form since the standard word for “ear” in Tu. is kebi. Tu. ceraḍu is therefore to be regarded as representing primitive Dravidian *keratu and though so far it has not appeared in any other Dravidian language, we have in Sanskrit a word karaṭa an elephant’s temple; the spot between the forehead and ear of a bird, which is obviously the same word and is to be regarded as a lw. from Dravidian. This root ker- with the rather vague sense of “cheek, temples, ear” [cf. Ma. ceppi “ear” and “cheek”, koviṭu cheek which is a variant form of kevitu which appears in Ma. cevitu ear] appears in a number of derivative words in Drav. Ma. kenna, cenni temples, Ka. kenne the upper cheek < *kerni, *kerne, Te. cerapa cempa cheek, Te. cekku, cekkili, Ka. kekke < *kerkke, and so forth. Likewise Drav. *kevi ear may represent earlier *kevvi


Te. *cekku*, *cekkili*, *ceńka*, *cempa*, *cerāpa* cheek: Ka. *kekke*.

Ta. *cuvar* wall: Ka. *kēr*. The connection is suggested by the Tamil Lexicon, which seems justified if Ta. *cuvar* represents earlier *civar* < *cevar* < *kevar*, of which Ka. *kēr* is a contracted form.

Ta. *cē* to lie, remain, dwell, sleep, Ma. *cēkuka* to roost: Ka. *kē* to lie down, repose, Kui *kēka* to lean on.


or *keppi* [cf. Ma. *ceppi*] < *kervi* or *kerpi*. Skt. *karṇa*-ear, which has no Indo-European etymology, is no doubt borrowed from an early Dravidian *kerne*.

2 CF. Ma. *cua* = Ta. *civa* to be red. It is to be observed that Ta. *cuvar* is pronounced *cevar* in the colloquial [R. P. Sethu Pillai, Tamil Literary and Colloquial p. 10: Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras, ii (1937-8)].
this plant - *kemuka, kecuka, kevuka, kacu, kacvi are derived from Dravidian.

Ta. Ma. cêr marking nut tree, Ta. cêni-kośtai marking nut, Ka. kêr, gêr, Tu. gêru-kâyi, jêru-kâyi, têreda-man Te. jîdi the marking-nut tree, jîdi-gînja the marking nut.


Ta. cêl carp < *kêl a contracted form of kayal which occurs side by side with cêl in Tamil.


The last example is interesting as it seems to throw some light on the date at which the change took place in Tamil. Kerala - first appears in IA. in the inscriptions of Aśoka in the compound Keralaputra which is a literal rendering of Ta. Cêramân [mân < makan son]. From this it would appear that when the Āryans first came into contact with the three Tamil kingdoms, the name was still pronounced *Kêral. Since there are no earlier references in Sanskrit literature to the Keralas,¹ we may conclude that the

¹ The first mention is in Mahâbhâṣya on 4.1.175. The Vârttika here mentions Coḍa- with an -âdi that includes the Keralas whom Pat. takes the trouble to mention. According to the usual view Patanjali is a century or two later than Aśoka, Kâtyâyana roughly contemporary. The references in the Mahâbhârata which are not numerous, belong to the later stage of the compilation of that work, and are not likely to be earlier than Patanjali.
period of this first contact was not very long before Aśoka, and in all probability contemporary with the expansion of the Maurya Empire. In that case the sound change must have taken place in Tamil between this period, roughly 300 B. C., and the period of the earliest Tamil literature which is to be placed in the first few centuries A. D., when of course the change has been completed. The fact that the change takes place in at least one Skt. lw. in Tamil [Ta. *cīrti* fame < Skt. *kīrti*] is additional evidence for this view.

When the vowels in question are followed by a cerebral consonant, i.e. -ṭ-, -ṇ-, -ḍ- or -ṭ- the palatalization of initial

An attempt has been made to see in the term Cerapāḍāḥ which occurs in an obscure passage of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka (ii, 1, 1. See Keith's note in his edition: the theory has been adopted by P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, History of the Tamil, p. 29, and others). There is no foundation for this suggestion, which is based on a mis-construction of the words in question. The passage runs: yā vai tā imāḥ prajās tisro atyāyam āyams, tānīmāṇi vavāṃsi vaṅgā vagadhās cerapāḍāḥ “The three races that transgressed were these birds—vaṅgas, vagadhas, and cerapādas.” The words vaṅga-, vagadha, and cerapāda- are the names of three species of birds not otherwise mentioned. Since the actual number of bird-names current in the Brāhmaṇa period must have been far larger than the comparatively small number of which record is preserved, the fact that these words turn up no where else need not be a cause of surprise. Nor need there be any doubt about the words being bird-names, since the text if construed as above definitely states that they are such. The error of the commentators, followed by the modern interpreters, is to regard vavāṃsi birds as one of the three prajāḥ instead of a general term describing the three which are mentioned after it: and, as a result of this, to turn vaṅgā vagadhās which is actually two nominative plurals, into a compound expression (vaṅga-+ avagadha-) From this have sprung other errors, including the attempt to see in the passage the names of peoples or tribes.
k- does not take place in Tamil and Malayalam. This restriction does not apply to Telugu.

Exx:- Ta. kiṣa to lie down, Ma. kiṣakka to lie, rest, dwell, Ka. keṭe to fall down, sink, perish, Tu. keṭaguni to fall or slip down, Te. keṭayu to fall, die [lw. < Ka. on account of k-]; cf. Kui krūva to sink down or into[?].

Ta. kiṭṭu to draw near; be attained, accomplished, kiṭal to be obtained; approach, encounter [in battle], Ma. kiṭṭu to reach, meet, come to hand, kiṭayuka to be found, obtained, knock against, quarrel, kiṭa[sb.] approach, match, equality, Ka. kiṭṭu, giṭṭu to touch, reach, come to hand, Tu. giṭṭa proximate, near, Te. kiṭṭu approach, draw near, agree, suit; Malt. kitre to approach, kiṭe near, nigh.

Ta. kilāṅgu any bulbous root, Ma. kilāñnu, Tu. keraṅgu sweet potato.

Ta. kilam old age, kilavan an old man, kilavi an old woman, kilasu old age, Ma. kilavan an old man, Ka. kilava id.

Ta. kelu connected with, associated with, near to, possessed of² keluvu to unite with, be attached to, [sb.] friendship, kelumu to approach, join, unite with, etc.,

1 This rule is formulated by L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Educ. Rev., vol. 37 [1931], p. 553, and A. F. Thyagaraju, IA., vol. 61 [1932], p. 142.

2. E. g. KuT. 145 tuṟai kelu ciṟu kuṟi the little house near to the ford, 170 malai kelu nāṭan lord of a land possessed of mountains. The Tamil Lexicon's treatment of this word is inadequate. It calls it "an euphonic increment" without defining the meaning. Actually it is the stem of the verb which appears in fuller form as keluvu and of which the past relative participle keliiya is used in the same sense as kelu. The verb kelumu is naturally merely a phonetic variation of keluvu.
kiḷamai friendship, alliance, ownership, relationship, kiḷatti proprietor, mistress, kiḷavan owner, master, husband, kiḷavi mistress.

Ta. kiḷi to rend, tear, split, kiḷ to cleave, split, tear, Ka. kiḷ to pluck out, pull off, eradicate.

Ta. kiḷar to rise, increase, be abundant, intense, kiḷampu rise, emerge, increase, etc. Ma. kiḷaru, kiḷampu, Ka. keḷar to expand, unfold, gape, break forth, appear, arise; [with metathesis] keraḷu to increase, spread, Te. keralu to increase, rise, swell; be enraged; IA. lws: Skt. kaḍāra, karāla, Pa. kaḷāra wide open, gaping, with projecting teeth.

Ta. Ma. kiḷi parrot, Ta. also kiḷai, Ka. Tu. giḷi, giṇi, Te. ciluka.

Ta. kiḷai kindred, branch, flock, etc.; [vb.] to ramify, multiply as families, keḷ kindred, relations, friendship, friend, Ka. keḷe, geḷe, geṇe union, companionship, friendship, keḷa companion; Te. celimi friendship, celikāḷu friend; cf. Kui klāmbu family, tribe, race, species.

Ta. Ma. kiḷu to pinch, nip, Te. gillum, Tu. kinkuni, Kuvi kicali, Kui kisa, Go. kiskānā, kiccānā, Brah. kishking to pluck, Kur. Malt. kiss- to take out a thorn from the flesh.

Ta. kiḷ below, kiḷakku below, east, Ma. kiḷ, kiḷu, kiḷakku, Ka. kiḷ, kiḷ; kiḷgu to be low, keḷa, keḷagu low, below, Tu. kiḷu low, base, mean, kiḷu inferior, Te. kiḷu-paḍu to succumb, krinda underneath, Brah. ki, kī-, kē- below, kērāgh lower side, bottom, Kur. kīyyā beneath, kīṭa or kīyyanta, lower, lowermost, inferior in rank.

Ta. kiḷ to split, rend, tear, Ka. giḷu, siḷu, Te. cilu.

Ta. Ma. keḍu to perish, decay; [tr.] to destroy, Ka. keḍu to be destroyed, decay, perish, Tu. keḍaguni to ruin, spoil,
keṣṭa bad, spoiled, ṛṣṭunu to decay, be spoiled, [caus.] ṛṣṭāvuni, teṣṭu bad, wicked; teṣṭuni to rot, decay, heṭṭu bad, wicked; Te. ceḍu to be spoiled, ruined, decay, Go. kaṛitaṁ to be rotten, to rot.

Ta. keṇṭu to dig, cut as meat, Ta. Ma. kiṇṭu to dig into, poke, Te. ceṇḍu to cut, Malt. kiṇḍe to cut flesh or fish. This appears to be derived from a root *ken- or *keḷ- meaning to dig into, poke, etc., which appears also in Ta. kilarū to poke, dig up, stir, etc. Ta. kilai to dig up, to stir, scratch as fowls to burrow into, to excavate, Ka. keṇaku to provoke [originally *to prod], Te. kelāku to stir, ceṇaku, ceṇuku to stir up, excite, provoke; cf. also Ta. kēṇi tank, well, ditch, kiṇarū well, kiṭaṇku ditch, pond, pit.

Ta. Ma. Ka. keḷ to hear, ask, Tu. keṇuni; cf. Ta. kil to speak [i.e. to be heard], kilavi speech.

The reason for the absence of palatalization in Tamil and Malayalam in the above cases is not far to seek. In Tamil as pronounced to-day the vowels i, i, e, ē, when followed by a cerebral consonant are pronounced in a manner noticeably distinct from the normal. J. R. Firth1 describes it as a “centralized obscure quality”. This difference of pronunciation must have existed already at the early stage of the language when the palatalization of k- took place and must have been strongly enough marked to prevent the change taking place under these circumstances. This modern peculiarity of the pronunciation of Tamil is thus indirectly attested for the earliest period of the language. It was not, however, shared by Telugu, since the regular treatment in that language is that k- becomes c- in these words; e.g. ceḍu,
celimi, ciluka, etc. The fair number of exceptions to be observed above is to be accounted for mainly by the influence of Kanarese.

There is one other respect in which Tamil and Telugu part company in the matter of the palatalization of initial $k$-. In Tamil $k$- is quite naturally retained before the diphthong $ai$, whereas in Telugu $ai$ becomes $\hat{e}$ in radical syllables, and before this $\hat{e}$ original $k$- changes to $c$- according to the general rule:—

Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. $kai$ hand; Te. $c\hat{e}yi$; Kui $kagu$, $kaju$, Kuvi $k\hat{e}yu$, Go. $kai$, Kolami $kiy$, Kur. $khekkh\ddot{a}$, Malt. $geqe$.

Ta. Ma. $kai$ to be bitter, Ka. $kai$, $kay$, Tu. $kaipe$ bitterness; Te. $\hat{c}\dot{e}du$ bitterness, bitter, $\hat{c}\dot{e}ti$ bitter [in comp].

Ta. $kayiru$ rope, Ma. $kayaru$; cf. Tu. $kaipini$ to fasten, bind tight: Te. $c\hat{e}ru$ rope.

Since in these two respects Tamil and Telugu diverge, it becomes clear that it is not a case of common innovation but of parallel independent development. The two languages must have been separated some time before either of them introduced this change. This is in accordance with the fact observed above, that the change in Tamil took place fairly late in the immediate pre-literary period. At this period Tamil and Telugu must have been long separated. So far there is no evidence for the proximate dating of the change in Telugu.

In Kanarese, Telugu, and Tulu, and to a lesser extent in other languages, dialect mixture and mutual borrowing have resulted in a certain number of irregular forms. Occasional palatalized forms occur in Ka. in the following instances:
candāṣīr, cendāṣīr red shoot, caṇgaluva a red lotus, caṇgaḍīra, cembrisil, etc., caḍaru, caḍaru to scatter, ciru, cīṭṭu small, cēḍu bitterness, sēre confinement, sele sound, noise. These forms are in the main due to influence of Telugu. The mutual influence of the two languages has been very considerable, and of the words mentioned here cēḍu and cīṭṭu are forms peculiar to Telugu. It is to be remembered that in all these cases the regular forms occur also in Ka., much more frequently and obviously as the standard forms. In Tulu the variety is a good deal greater than in Kanarese, in accordance with the fairly mixed character of the language. Thus where Ka. has two forms kere tank, dam, and sēre prison [prob. from Te.], Tu. has three; the proper Tu. form kide cow-pen and two forms borrowed from Ka., kere tank and sēre prison. Palatalization occurs in the following words: caṇna red, caṇḍugu bad, depraved, caḍuruni to be scattered, caḍapalu shoe, sandal, cirtepli leopard [Te. ciruta, cirupuli literally “small tiger”], seṭṭuni to perish, sēre. In a number of instances this c- or s- is further altered to t-: tīdu, tidi small, tiddya junior: Ta. Ma. ciru, Ka. kiru; teṭṭu bad, wicked, teṭṭuni to rot beside, seṭṭuni etc.; tirtu down, underneath [Ta. kiḷ, etc.]; tēredamaara clearing-nut tree beside gēru-kāyi; Ta. Ma. cēr, Ka. kēr, gēr. In yet other instances it develops to h- in Tulu: hiddya junior, hirtu down, beneath, heṭṭu = seṭṭu, teṭṭu bed. Obviously a fairly complicated mixture of dialects lies behind this variety of forms. Irregular preservation of k- is not uncommon in Telugu, and in these cases the influence of Kanarese is usually the cause. Exx: kiniyu to get angry, kiḍupaḍu to be defeated, kendāmarā red lotus, kempu ruby, keḍayu to be destroyed, keralu become large, fierce, gape, kelāku kelanu side [Ka. kela], kelasamu work [= Ka.], kēlu [pl.] beside usual cēyi hand.
Mention may be made in this connection of a couple of words in the central languages. Go. sarpum shoe, sandal, corresponds to Ta. ceruppu, Ka. kerpu, Te. ceppu, Kuvi seppu. Kuvi seppu is obviously borrowed from Telugu, the language being full of such loans. The same must also be the case with Go. sarpum, since otherwise k- is always preserved in that language. It does not, however, represent the actual Te. form ceppu but an earlier form *cerpu, and must therefore have been borrowed before the r was assimilated to the following p, that is before the beginning of the literary period in Telugu. Another instance of borrowing appears in Kui sivenḍi pus, Kuvi sivesi pus. Since k- is regularly preserved in these languages, these forms must be borrowed from Te. cimiḍi [<*civiḍi] id.

Not all irregularities are due to dialect mixture or mutual borrowing. What appears to be an irregular treatment of k- in Tamil appears in the following word:-

Ta. kirai greens, vegetables, Ma. cira, Ka. kire kire, Te. kūra. Here palatalization takes place in Ma. but not in Tamil. In this case the retention of the k- in Tamil is due to the nature of the following vowel which cannot have been a pure i because it appears in Te. as ā. An explanation is provided by Goṇḍi where we have kusir herbs, vegetables. Ta. kirai, Te. kūra represent earlier *kuirai *kuyir[-ai] *kusir [+ai]. At the time of the palatalization of k- in Tamil this diphthong -ui- cannot have yet developed into -i-, though apparently it had already done so in Ma.

In some cases apparent irregularities are due to the words having been borrowed from some non-Dravidian source. An obvious case is Ta. Te. kiccil orange, Ka. kittaḷe, kicili,
Tu. *kittali*. In this case the word is a comparatively recent introduction, and so naturally is not affected by rules affecting original Dravidian words.

The same is probably the case with Ta. Ma. *kiri* mongoose, Ka. *kira*, Kui *kirpeni*. The word does not seem to be current in the earliest Tamil literature, which already uses a lw. from Skt. *nakulam* [Cilapp.]. It looks therefore as if Ta. *kiri* is of later introduction.\(^1\)

Finally in this connection we may mention the following: Ta. *kaţimpu* verdigris, also *ceţimpu*, Ma. *kaţimpu*, *kiţāvu* verdigris, *kiţarkka* to be corroded, Ka. *kilumu*, *kilumbu*, Tu. *kilembu*, also *kaleŋgu*, *kaleŋgi*, Te. *cilumu*, *kilumu*, Kuvi *kilmu*. The word does not occur early in Tamil and the forms are very irregular, so we may conclude that the word has spread through the south Dravidian languages in comparatively recent times.

A special case is the Ka. word for fire *kiecu* with its cognates: Ka. Ta. *kiecu*, Tu. *kittu* lightning, *kiecu*, *kieci*, *kiece* fire, Te. *kittu* also *ciecu*, Koḍagu *tittu*, Go. Kol. *kis*, Kuvi *hiţhi* [Fitzg.], Kur. *ciec*, Malt. *ciću*, Pkt. lw. *cieći* [DNM., iii, 10]. Ta. *kiecu* does not appear early and is obviously borrowed from Kanarese. Likewise Te. *kittu* is a borrowing, the regular form being *ciecu*. The difficulty is presented by the northern forms Kur. *ciec*, Malt. *ciću*. Initial *k*- is never palatalized in these languages. In view of this, and also of the Koḍagu form *tittu*, we cannot consider

k- to be original in this word. Ka. kiccu and Go. kis [<kiccu] must have developed out of ciccu through dis-simulation.

Instances of the palatalization of medial -k- in Tamil are comparatively rare. Though this article deals properly with initial k-, these cases can most conveniently be discussed here. The examples are:

Ta. acciram, arciram, arcirai cold season, dewy season: Ka. aykil cold season: frost, dew.

Ta. arici rice [without the husk], also ari, Ma. ari, Ka. Tu. akki [<*arki], Tu. also ari, Toda ašk.

Ta. Ma. iñci ginger <*singi; cf. Pa. singi, singivera, Skt. śṛṅgavēra.¹

Ta. nāncil, nāncil plough, Ma. nēṅnōl, nēṅnil, Ka. nēgal, nēgil, Tu. nāyeru, Toda nēkhel, Te. nāgali, nāgēlu, Go. nāngēl, Kui nāngeli; cf. Skt. lāṅgala, Pa. naṅgala.

Ta. neruñcil, neruñci Tribulus terrestris, Ma. nēruñnil, Ka. nerigilu, nekgilu, naggilu, Tu. nēgilu.

Ta. aliñcil Alangium hexapetalum, Ma. aliñnil <*aḷiṅkil; cf. Skt. aṅkola, aṅkolla id. which is a lw. from Dravidian.³

1 The ultimate origin of this word is no doubt to be sought in South East Asia [F.W. Thomas, JRAS., 1905, p.169]. On the other hand the IA. forms seem to be borrowed directly from a Dravidian source, on account of the second element āvera which undoubtedly represents Dr. vēr root.

2 For the omission of the liquid before the consonant group -nik- in Skt., cf. Ka. nekgil as opposed to Ta. neruñcil, and for final -ola corresponding to Ta. -il cf. Ma. nēṅnōl plough, as opposed to To. nāncil.
Ta. Ma. nocci Vitex negundo, Tu. nekki, Ka. nekki lekki, lakki, lokki; cf. the first part of Skt. nirgunḍi.  

Ta. eccil food left over, anything defiled by contact with the mouth: Te. eṅgili contamination or defilement by the mouth, leavings or remnants of food.

Ta. Ṽiṅcil Sirissa; cf. neruṅcil, aṅcil: Tu. urkil a kind of shrub, may be the same, but its exact nature is not specified.

Ta. mucci crown of the head, tuft of hair on the head, crest, Ma. mucci face, probably <mukki; cf. Ta. Ma. mukatu top, highest part, head, Ka. Te. mogaḍu ridge of a roof, Go. mukur comb of a cock; Skt. lw. mukuta crest, diadem.

Ta. vici to tie, fasten; Ka. bigi, Tu. bigiyuni, bigipunī, Te. bigi tightness, bigincu to fasten tightly [lw.<Ka. on account of b-].

In the majority of cases, however, when medial -k- is followed by -i- in Tamil it remains unaffected, e.g. :-

Ta. akil eagle-wood, ukir nail, cukir to card cotton, cekil the upper part of the shoulders, tikiri wheel, tukir coral, tukil cloth, nakil breast, nekil to become loose, pakir to distribute, divide, maki to rejoice, be intoxicated, vakir to divide, share out, münkil a bamboo.

The reason for this apparent irregularity is not far to seek. On comparing the forms in the related languages, we find the vowel -i- here represented partly by -i- and partly by -u-, occasionally by -a-. From this we may conclude that the original vowel was of an indistinct or neutral quality

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1 The Drav. forms probably represent original *nerki or *lerki. The irregular l- in Ka. which is not allowed initially in proper Drav. words, suggests that the word may have been borrowed originally from some non-Dravidian source.
which later became specialized as $-i-$ or $-u-$ or even that the
groups $-ir$ and $-il$ in these words represent original vocalic $r$
and $l$. A few examples will illustrate this:- Corresponding
to Ta. akil eagle-wood, Skt. has agaru and aguru, Pa. akalu,
akału, agalu, agalu : corresponding to Ta. tukil fine cloth,
Skt. has dukûla, dugûla. Of inter-Dravidian correspondences
the following may be noted:- Ta. Ma. ukir nail, Ka. ugur,
Tu. ugaru; Ta. Ma. utir to fall of, be shed as leaves,
Ka. udîr, udaru, uduru, Tu. uduruni, udaruni; Ta. Ma. uyir to
breathe, Ka. usir, usur, usalu, Tu. usuru, usulu, Te. usuru;
Ta. Ma. etir opposite, Ka. edur, idir, Te. eduru Tu. eduru,
eduru; Ta. Ma. katîr ray of light; ear of corn; spindle,
Ta. kadîr, kadaru, kaduru, Tu. kadyrû, Te. kaduru; Ta. kayîr
rope, Ma. kayaru; Ta. aval pounded rice, Ma. avîl; Ta. vetir
bamboo, Ka. bidir, Te. vedurû, Tu. bedûrû, cf. Skt. vetra–;
Ta. Ma. matîl wall, rampart, Ka. madîl, Tu. madûlu the
roofed wall of a compound [also madîly], Te. madurû the
roofed coping of a wall.

The divergence of forms can most easily be explained by
the assumption of an original unaccented neutral vowel [$ə$] or
of vocalic $l$ and $r$ in these positions. The non-palatalization
of $-k-$ in Tamil in these words is to be explained by the fact
that the full vowel $-i-$ had not developed in Tamil at the time
the palatalization of $k$ took place. The case is different where
$-k-$ is palatalized. Thus in the case of Ta. nânçil plough, a
comparison with Te. nâgêlu, Go. nângêl shows that $-i-$ is
shortened out of $-ê-$ in this case. Beside Ta. nerûnçil
Tribulus terrestris there is a form neruñci, which seems to
show that the $-i-$ exists here of its own right. The other cases
of palatalization are before final $-i-$, where of course no
difficulty arises.
The original pronunciation of what appears in Ta. as -il, -ir, is probably most nearly represented in Tulu by forms like beduṟu, madaļu. The second u is of modern origin, being appended to all final consonants, the first u followed by r, l, corresponds to the pronunciation which the other evidence above suggests for early Dravidian.

B

In the northern group of Dravidian languages [Brahui, Kurukh, Malto] a development more or less the opposite of the palatalization just described takes place. In these languages initial k- is preserved before i, l; before all other vowels it is changed to a guttural spirant usually represented in Brah. and Kur. by kh, in Malt. by q. In this case the vowels e, ē are classed with the back vowels a, ā, etc. and not as is usually the case with i, i as front vowels.¹

As examples of the change k→kh, q, the following words can be quoted:


Ta. kala to mix, mingle, kalaṅku to be stirred up, mixed up, confused, kalakkam confusion, perplexity, kalaṅkal turbidity, muddy water, kalul to become turbid, agitated, kalulī puddle, kalāvu to mix, be confused, kalāy to quarrel, kalām a battle, Ma. kalaṅnu to be mixed, agitated, turbid as

water, *kalakkam* turbidness, confusion, quarrel, etc., Ka. *kala* confused, mixed, *kalaku* to make turbid, *kalaḍu* to become turbid, Te. *kalāka* confusion, perturbation, turbidity, *kalāgu* to be agitated, disturbed; *kalācu* to stir up, agitate, make turbid: Kur. *khalakhnā* to disturb, make muddy as water, *khalkhkā* disturbed, muddy water, Malt. *qalge* to disturb as water, *qalgro* disturbed, muddy water.¹


Ta. *kaḷam* place, open place, threshing floor, field of battle, etc., Ma. *kaḷam*, Ka. *kaḷa, kaṇa* threshing floor, Tu. *kala* a squire, a bed (of flowers, etc.), Te. *kalanu* threshing-floor, place, battle, *kaḷamu* threshing-floor, Kui *klai* threshing-floor: Kur. *khal* a field, Malt. *qalu* a field on the hills; Skt. (lw.) *khala* threshing-floor, etc.


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¹ A number of Skt. words are derived from the Dravidian family Skt. *kalanika* stain, impurity, *kaluṣa* turbid [+] Ta. *kaluf* and *kalaha* quarrel.

² Skt. *kaśāya* astringent, Pa. *kasāya, kasāva*, and Pa. *kasatā* bitter, acrid, nasty, are derived from this Drav. root. There seems, however, to have been a confusion of two Drav. bases in Skt. *kaśāya* (*kāśāya*) because the meaning “reddish-brown” as applied Buddhist robes cannot be connected with the meaning “astringent”, and its origin is probably to be sought in Dr. *kes–, kēs–* red, the various forms of which are listed above.
Ka. kaccu, karcu to bite, sting, smart, Go. kaskānā to bite, Kui kasa to bite, sting; a bite, sting; the itch: Kur. khāsnā to scratch, khasrā the itch, Malt. gaswe to eat greedily, to nip off with the teeth; Skt. lws. kaśati to scrape, scratch oneself, kacchū the itch.¹

Ta. Ma. cey field, especially wet field, Tu. keyi, Ka. key, kay : Kur. khajj earth, mould, clay, mud, Malt. qaju earth, mud.

Ta. kaṇṭu calf, colt [young of elephant, horse, cow, buffalo, deer, etc.]; sapling, young tree, Ma. kannu the young of cattle [especially buffalo-calf]; young plantain trees around the mother plant, Kan karu, kandu calf, kanda a young child male or female, Tu. kaṇji calf, Te. kandu an infant: Kur. khadd child, young animal or plant, khadā small child, also any young animal, Malt. qade son


Ta. kākkai crow, Ma. kākka, Ka. kāke, kāge, Tu. kakke, Te. kāki, Kui kāva, Go. kāwā: Brah. kākhō, Kur. khākhā, Malt. qāge; Skt. [lw] kāka- crow,

Ta. Ma. kā to guard, keep, protect; wait for, kāppu defence, guard, vigilance, etc., Ka. kā, kāy to guard, protect, watch, kāpu protection; vigilance, Tu. kāpuni to watch, guard; to wait, Te. kācu, kāpu, Kui kāpa to await, Go. kēpānā to watch or guard [especially to watch the crops], Kui kāpa to await, Kur. khāpnā to guard, watch, Malt. qāpe to wait for, watch.

¹ Cf. J. Btoch., BSOS., v, 741
Ta. kāy to be hot, burn, dry up, kāyecu to heat, boil, Ma. kāyu, kāccu, Ka. kāy to be hot, etc., kānke heat, Te. kāgu, kācu, kāyu, Tu. kāyunī, Kui kāga to warm oneself, kānda to be hot, kāra to be hot, kāspa to make hot, Go. kāsāna to become hot: Kur. khāynā to dry up, evaporate, khaidnā to make dry, Malt. qāye to become dry, qāyek dry, Brah. khākhar fire; cf. Hi. khākhar anything very dry.

Ta. kuraṅku thigh, Ma. kuraṇku quarter of animals, Te. kuruṇu thigh, Go. kurki, karki, Kui kuju and kuju [pl. kuska], Kuvi kūdgū [Fitzg.]: Malt. qosge, Kur. khosgā thigh.

Ta. kuttu to pierce, stab, sew, cuff, strike, pound, peck, dig, kottu to peck, hoe, bite, hack, kontu to peck, pierce, Ma. kuttu pierce, stab, sting, dig, cuff, beat, kotti pick-axe, kottu dig, peck, strike cut, Ka. kuttu beat, strike bruise, kottu chop, mine, koccu cut to pieces, guddu to strike, pound, guddali pick-axe, hoe, Tu. gudduni to cuff, box, beat, guddoli a kind of pick, Te. gruddu to cuff, groccu to dig, guddali hoe, Kui kuta to prick: Brah. khutting to dig, khulling to pierce, stab, Kur. khotnā to cut by striking with a heavy instrument [hoe, axe, etc.], Malt. qodali a spade; IA. lws. — Skt. Pa. kuddāla—spade, hoe, Skt. kunta—spear, lance.

Ta. kuttu to cuff, strike with the fists, koṭṭu to beat, strike, pound, Ma. kuṭṭu to pound, koṭṭu to beat as a drum, koṭṭi a mallet, Ka. kuṭṭu to beat, strike, pound, koṭṭana beating the husks from paddy. kuṣuku to sting as a scorpion, Tu. kuṭṭuni to cuff, pound, bruise, koṭṭu a spade, Te. koṭṭu to beat, strike, knock, kuṭṭu to prick, pierce, sting, Go. koṭṭanā to peck at as birds in the hand, to sew leaves together: Malt. qotse to knock, strike, beat, qoture to knock or dash against, Kur. khoṭṭnā to break; IA. lws. Skt. kuṭṭayati bruise, crush, pound, kuṭṭima a pounded floor,
Pa. koṭṭeti beat, smash, pound, ākoṭṭeti beat, pound, stamp, Pkt. kuṭṭei and kuṭṭai.

Ta. koy to reap, kōy a vessel for gathering toddy, kuyam sickle, Ma. koy to reap, koyil the hire of a fruit-gatherer, Tu. koipini, koyyuni; koyyelu, koyilu harvest, Ka. koy, kuy, kuyi; koyilu, kuyilu plucking, Te. kōyu; kōta reaping, Kui kōva to reap, kōeri harvest, Go. kōiyānā to gather, reap: Kur. khoynā, Malt. qoye to mow, reap.

Ta. kulai to tremble, shudder, quiver, kulūṅku to be shaken, quake with fear, Ka. kuluku to shake, Tu. kurkuni id.: Brahm. khuling to fear, be afraid.

Ta. kurūṭu blindness, kurūṭan a blind man, kurūṭi a blind woman, Ma. kurutu, kurūtan, Ka. kuruḍu, kuḍḍu, kuruḍa, kuḍḍa, Te. guḍdi, Tu. kuruḍu, kuruḍa, kuruḍe, kurute: Malt. qoṭri a blind person, qoṭre to become blind.

Ta. kuppai collection, heap, clump, group, stack of grain, mound, kuppam multitude, kuppal heap, mound, multitude, kuvavu to be piled up; [tr.] to heap up; [sb.] roundness, fulness, plumpness; heap, pile; assemblage, collection, clump, group; mound, hillock, kuvaṭu rotundity, anything round; mound, hill, kuvaḷ heap, pile, collection, group; mound, hillock; abundance, kuvi to close as flowers by night, to assume a globular form, to crowd together, pile up; [tr.] to heap up, pile up, accumulate; to join hands as in prayer, kuviyaḷ heap, conical pile, kuviyu heap, anything conical, kuvaï heap, pile; collection, accumulation, kuvaḷai blue nelumbo [ > Skt. kuvalaya; so called because it closes up by day; Skt. kunuda white water-lily is derived from the
same Dravidian root in this sense], 1 kūvai crowd, assemblage, kūppu to heap up as sand or grain; to join hands as in worship, to draw in as the sun its rays; [sb.] joining hands as in worship, kūmpu to close up, shut as a flower; [sb.] cone-shaped pinnacle of a chariot, mast; bud, Ma. kūppa heap of dirt of refuse, kuva heap, kuvaṭu hill, kuvika to be assembled, contracted, kūmpu bud, peak, pointed heap; the mast of a ship, kūmpal heap, kūmpuka to close as flowers, kūmpikka to heap, Ka. kuppaṭisu to heap, amass, kūppu to heap up, kuppe a heap, pile, dunghill, koppal a heap, Te. kūppa, kuva heap, Tu. kuppe, guppe heap, Go. [Maria dial.] kupāhanā gather, collect, kupā kiyānā to heap up, Kuvi kūpa a mound: Malt. qoppe a heap, a pile; vb. to heap, to pile up, qoppre to come together, assemble, Kur. khoprnā to form into a heap, pile up, khoprṇā to be heaped up.

Ta. kulai tender leaf, sprout, shoot; [vb.] to cause to sprout or shoot forth, koḷuntu tender twig, tendril, sprout, shoot, koḷumai freshness, as of shoots, Ma. koḷunnu, koḷuntu tender twig, Kui kōru a new shoot, fresh stalk, stem, or bud, kōra a shoot, sprout, first sprout, koṛgari [pl. koṛgai] a new shoot, fresh stalk, Go. koṛsāṇā to sprout, grow, of trees etc.: Kur. khōrnā to shoot out new leaves, khōr leaf-bud, new leaves, Malt. gōroce to sprout; Skt. lw. kōraka a bud. 3

1. The same idea is behind the etymology of Skt. aravinda. Cf. Te. araviri a flower half-opened, Ka. areviri to half open. Skt. ovinda is a contracted form of what appears more fully in the Ta. part. virinta. The idea is “opening half the time”.

2. The IA. words for “mast” are derived from this: Skt. Pa. kūpa-, kūpaka-, Pkt. kūva, kūvaya, kūvaga, Sgh. kuṃba.

3. All derived from a root meaning “young, fresh, tender, new” which appears also in the following words: Ta. kulay young, tender, kulaku youthfulness, beauty, infant, kulakan a youth, a beautiful person; Skanda, kulantai infant, babe, childhood, kulavi infant, babe, young of certain animals, young of the vegetable kingdom, kulavu youth, tender age, Ka. koḍa tenderness, tender.
Ta. kōtu tusk; horn, branch, peak, kōtai mountain. Ma. kōtu end, corner, kōti corner, utmost point, kōti top, extremity, Ka. kōgu horn, branch, peak of a hill, kūdi a pointed end, point, Tu. kōgu horn, kōgi point, end, extremity, Te. kōgi tip, top, the end of a point or flame. Kui kōju [pl. kōska] horn, antler: Malt. qōru the end, the top as of a tree; Skt. lw. kōti- end, top, highest point.

The change also takes place before e, ē as seen from the following examples:—


Ta. ce, cēy, etc., red, Ka. ke-, kēsu, kisu : Brah. khisun red, Kur. kheṣo red; blood, Malt. qėso red, qēsu blood, qēslo reddish, qēsolāre to redden.


Ta. cirai to shave, Ma. cirekka to shave, scrape. Ka. kere, Tu. kerepuni : Kur. khercnā to rub off, scour, Malt. qerce to scrape, qēre to shape, qērtre to be shaved.

The change outlined above must have taken place fairly early in these languages, because examples where it occurs in lws. from IA. — and such lws. are numerous in the languages as known to-day — are few in the extreme. There is in Kur. an adverb khanē [also khanē] meaning "at that moment" which appears obviously to be derived MI. khaṇa-<Skt. ksaya- moment. Apart from this the only example is the

age, youth, konasu a young one of wild beasts, Te. kōduku a son, krotta new, fresh, krov-viri a fresh flower or blossom. IA. words derived from this are Skt. kuṇaka- a young animal just born, Khar. Doc. kudaga small boy, kūdi girl, Pj. kuri girl, etc. Cf. also Sgh. kolu a lad, koli a girl (⁻⁻⁻). Sant. Mund kuri girl may have been derived from Dravidian through Indo-aryan.
interesting Brah. word *khōlam* wheat < Skt. *godhūma*. The original *k*- in Brah. < Skt. *g*- shows that the word must have been borrowed at a time when Brah., like Tamil and the parent Dravidian language, was still devoid of initial voiced plosives. Before *i*, *i* initial *k*- is preserved in Brah. Kur. Malt. in all Dravidian words. The forms in question have been enumerated above in connection with the palatalization of initial *k*- in Tamil and Telugu, and can here be briefly recapitulated:

Ta. *kiṇṭu, keṇṭu* to dig into, poke, cut as meat, Te. *ceṇṭu* : Malt. *kiṇḍe* to cut flesh or fish. The reason for the vowel alteration *i*/*e* in this word is not clear. That, however, does not affect the validity of the equation Ta. *kiṇṭu—Malt. kiṇḍe* as an example of this rule.


Kur. *kilkilā* a kind of woodpecker; Ta. *ciccili*, etc.


I. DS., i. It thus provides additional evidence for the conclusions reached in that paper. Similar cases in various Drav. languages are Kuvi *tima* an island < Pkt. *diva* < Skt. *dvipa*, Toda *tiv* life < *civ* < *jiva*, Go. *kōdba* horse < Pkt. *ghoḍa*- < Malt. *tanvare* to become rich < Skt. *dhanā*, etc., *tātru* a scythe or sickle < Skt. *dātra*-, Ka. *purbu* brow < Skt. *bhru*-, Ka., Te., Tu. *titti* leather bag, Ka. also *tidi* bellows < Skt. *dτ̐ti*. All these words must have been borrowed from IA. at a time when the languages in question were still devoid of initial sonants and consequently substituted the corresponding surd.

Ta. Ma. kiru to slit, tear, slice, cut, gash, scratch. Ka. kiru, giru to scratch, Tu. kiru a split, rift; a scratch, kiruni to split; to scratch, Te. ciru to gash, rend, scratch, slice, Go. Mar. [Lind.] kīr a wound: Malt. kitire to split wood.

Initial k- is also preserved before -i- in Kur. kipā hunger, Malt. kire hunger, thirst, appetite, famine. Here, however, the related Dravidian languages have ā- as the radical vowel where Kur. Malt. have -i- and the relation between the two is obscure. The forms in the other languages are: Ta. karuppu famine, Te. karavu, Go. karū hunger, karū sāyānā to starve, Kol. kārut with hunger [LSI., iv, 564].

There do not seem to be any genuine exceptions to the rules as formulated here for the treatment of initial k- in the three languages. Where such are quoted,¹ either the etymology is doubtful, or the word in question has been borrowed by IA. from Drav. and reborrowed from there into these languages. An example quoted is Brah. kārak bank, shore: Ta. karai, Ma. Te. kara, Ka. Tu. kare; but we also find Bal. kharagh id. Similarly Brah. kallar saline soil, which appears to correspond to Ta. kalar id.; but we also find Bal. kalar, Jaṭkī kalar, Si. kalaru. It seems that these words are Dravidian in origin which have been borrowed into the languages of this area, but not from Brahui in its present form. Either they have been taken from Brah. at a time previous to the sound change k > kh in that language, or, as is always possible,

¹ E.g. by Ramaswamy Aiyar, loc. cit., p. 547.
they may be derived from some extinct form of Dravidian. In any case the Brah. words are to be regarded as reborrowings and not genuine Brah. forms.¹

A good example of a word which is in origin Dravidian, has become generalized in Indo-aryan, and then has been reborrowed into Brahui, etc., is the word for “house, hut”, which with its derivatives appears in the following forms:—

Ta. kući house, hut, home, family, kuṭikai a hut made of leaves, kuṭical hut, kuṭicai small hut, cottage, kuṭiṇai id., kuṭil hut, shed, kuṭanākar hut or cottage, kuṭumpu² family, household, relations, Ma. kuṭi, kuṭiṇāi, kuṭil, Ka. kuḍi, kuḍu a peasant, guḍi house, tent, temple, guḍisalu, guḍil a hut with a thatched roof, Tu. guḍi a small pagoda or shrine, guḍicilu a hut or shed, Te. guḍi a temple, guḍise hut, cottage, hovel, Kui kūri hut, kumbu [<*kuṟmu] house, balance word of iḍu. The loanwords in Indo-aryan Skt. kuṭa-, kuṭi-, kuṭi hut, cottage, house, kuṭikā a small house, kuṭira hut or cottage, kuṭurigaka arbour or bower, kuṭicaka— a class of ascetics [living in huts], kuṭumba household, [prob.] kuḍya wall, Pa. kuṭi, kuṭikā, Pkt. kuḍi, Mar. kuḍi, Sgh.kiḷi, Be. kuṇiyā, etc.³ Brah. kuḍi, kuḍi hut, small house is reborrowed

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1. Cf. Sir Denys Bray’s remarks (Brah. Lang., ii, p. 28) “... On the contrary Indian and Iranian philologists are nownd again brought up against the whole question of Dravidian words, a this time Brāhūi loanwords in particular in Balochi, Sindhi, Jatki and even Pashto”. The words under discussion suggest that often it may not be a question of Brah. words in particular.

2. For the confusion of a and u here, compare Ta. kāṭai to churn with a churning rod, Ma. kāṭayuka, Ka., Tu. kaḍe to churn, to stir up: Ta. also kūṭai to churn; of Skt. (Iw.) kuṣhara (or kuṭara) the post round which the string of a churning stick winds. Instances can be multiplied.

3. Professor Turner classes Nep. kuri hole, mouse-hole, with these words. It can be more easily explained, as far as meaning is concerned, out of another Dravidian word: Ta., Ka. kuḷi hole, pit, etc. Tu. kuḍe a rat’s hole (treated below).
from Indo-aryan as also are Kur. *kuṟyā* a small shed or outhouse, Malt. *kuṟya* a hut in the fields.

Malt. *kuṇḍa* a large earthen pot, *kuṇḍi* a pool, a reservoir, Kur. *kuṇḍā* a large vessel used in distilling, *kuṇḍi* a deep pit are to be accounted for in the same way. From the Dravidian root *kuḷ-* “hollow, a hollow, to be hollow, to hollow out” a rich family of words is derived. Ta. *kuḷi* to be hollowed out as a hole, pit, or cavity; [tr.] to from pits, hollows, cavities; [sb.] pit, hole, hollow, cavity, tank, pond, *kuḷici* a hollow vessel, pot, *kuḷiṇ-kai* hollow of the hand, *kuḷumpu* a pit, *kuḷal* hollow tube, pipe, etc., *kuḷāi* tube, pipe, tubular cavity, *kuḷai* hole, tube, pipe, *kuṭam* hollow vessel, waterpot; hub of a wheel, *kuṭan-kai* hollow of the hand, *kuṭantam* pot, *kuṭantai* old name of the town Kumbakonam, *kuṭā* cavity, hollow, cavern, *kuṭikai* ascetic’s pitcher, *kuṭuvai* vessel with a small, narrow mouth, ascetic’s pitcher, *kuṭai* to hollow out, bore, etc.; [sb.] anything hollow, hollow vessel of ola-leaves for drinking from, umbrella *kuṭaivu* hollow, cavity, *kuṭam* depth; tank, pond, *kuṭtai* pool, small pond, *kuṇṭu* depth, sinking in, hollowness, *kuṇṭam* deep cavity, pit; pool, tank; fire-pit; small hollow vessel with narrow mouth, *kuṇṭikai* ascetic’s pitcher, *kuṇam* water-pot, pitcher, Ma. *kuḷa* what is hollow; loophole, eye of a needle, etc., *kuḷal* tube, flute, *kuḷi* a hollow, hole, excavation; pit, grave, *kuḷiyuka* to become hollow, deepened, *kuḷikka* to dig a hole, *kuṭam* waterpot, *kuṇṭu* what is hollow and deep, hole, pit, Ka. *kuḷi, kuṇi, guḷi, guṇi* to make a hole, excavate, *kuḍile* the hollow of the hand, *koḍe* to hollow out, excavate, *koḍa* hollow vessel, pitcher, pot, *koḷavi* tube, *kuṇte* pit, pool, pond, *kuṇḍa* a hole in the ground, pit, pond; pot, pitcher, *koṇḍa* id., *guṇḍi* hole, pit, hollow; the pit of the stomach; a large round earthen or metal vessel, *guṇḍige* the pit of the stomach; a pot, *guḍuvana, guḍāṇa* a large earthen pot, Tu. *kurepini, korepini* to bore, excavate, *kuḍe* a rat’s hole, *kuṇḍa* a pit, *koṇḍa* pit.
hole, firepit, guṇḍi abyss, depth, great hole, Te. groyyi, goyyi
hole, pit, kuṇṭa, guṇṭa pond, pit, kuṇḍamu pit [ts.], kuṇḍa
earthen pot or pitcher, kuṇḍu a cistern, kuḍaka cup, bowl;
any cccp-like concave thing, guḍaka a coco-nut or similar
other shell, godugu an umbrella, gunṭa pit, hollow, depression,
kukki a pit, hollow [< krukkii], Kui kṛāū pit, hole, cave,
krūpa a pond, pool, krōdua tube, quiver, grōda the scoop or
receptacle made by holding both hands together. Skt. kuṇḍa
bowl-shaped vessel, pitcher, pot; a round hole in the ground
[for receiving and preserving water or fire; cf. agni-kuṇḍa]'
pit, well, is derived from Dravidian [Ta. kunṭu, etc.] as is
clear, among other things, from the characteristic combina-
tion of meanings. The word appears very early in Sanskrit,
being already found in the Rgveda, and is preserved through-
out Indo-aryan [Nep. Dic. s.v. kūro]. As already observed
the Kur. and Malt. words are reborrowings from IA. 1

1. Another Skt. word belonging to the same Dravidian
group is kuṇṭa-pot. The word is not at all common, or attested
very early. BR. quote only from lexica, a few references to
literature being added in Schmidt's Nachträge. Likewise it is
absent from the earlier Pali literature, though it turns up in the
later texts (Jātaka prose, Comm., etc.). It appears to be a late
loanword, borrowed in the south, in all probability direct from
Tamil, and never to have had a very wide currency. The common
word for "pot" in Skt, and the derived languages is ghāṭa (Pkt.
ghāḍa, Hi. ghārā, etc.), which, though it is not obvious at first
sight, is another adaptation of the same Drav. word.
It represents a Drav. *goḍa < koḍa (Ka.) with secon-
dary voicing. As evident from the list given above
such secondary voicing is common in Ka. and Te in words
of this group, and though the form in question is not actually
attested, it must have been current at some time in the Ka.-
Te. area, parallel with the other related words in g-. It would not
be surprising if it should turn up in an inscription or a dialect.
Given the form *goḍa the derivation of Skt. ghāṭa presents no diffi-
culties. Skt gh- represents Drav. g- (< k- with secondary voicing)
also in ghūka owl: Ta. kūkai, Ka. gūge, Te. gūbe, Drav. short o is
foreign to the phonetic system of Sanskrit, and is normally re-
placed by short a: e.g. Skt. pala, palala flesh: Ta. pulavu, pulāl
Te. pola, polasu; Skt. mallikā jasmine: Ta. mullai. Ka. molle, Te.

Likewise Brah. *kuttīng* to pound, *kutta* bruised, Malt. *kutye* to nail, to drive in a peg, *kotye* to wound by scratching, are derived from the IA. words mentioned above, which themselves go back to Dravidian. There is no need to add further examples. It is sufficiently clear that such words have to be discounted when dealing with the treatment of Drav. initial *k*- in the three northern languages, and when this is done, and doubtful etymologies are disregarded, there is no evidence that the rules as stated above are liable to any exceptions, i.e., Drav. *k*- becomes *kh* in Brah. and Kur. and *q* in Malto before all vowels except *i*, where it is retained.

*molla*, etc. The intervocalic *-e* is naturally a mere Sanskritization of Pkt *-a*. There is also in Skt. a rare word *kulijja* which is quoted from the *kauśika-sūtra* in the sense of “pot, vessel”, and from *pañini* in the sense of a certain measure. This is another lw. from Drav. and can be compared with Ta. *kuḷiçi* pot. It has been further suggested that Skt. *kuḍava* (also written *kutapa*, *kuḍapa*) a measure of grain is connected here. The word, however, cannot very well be separated from Ta. *kuḷakam* dry or liquid measure, Ka. *kolaga*, *kolagu*, *kuḷa*, *koḷa* a measure of capacity: 4 *ballas*, Tu. *kolaga* a measure of grain. These words are naturally to be connected with the root *kol-* (what a thing takes or holds): cf. Te. *kolapātramu* a measure, a vessel of measurement, *kolata* measurement, *kolādi* measure), and in this case are naturally to be separated from the words under discussion.

¹. Further Skt. words derived from this Drav. base are *kulāya* nest, Pa. *kulāvaka*; with the -*m*- suffix of Ta. *kuḷumu* kulmi herd (TS. *gavām* kulmi; it appears to be a hapax legomenon), and with secondary voicing of the initial *k*- *gulma* group, cluster, etc.; Ka. *gummu*, *gummi* mass, crowd (*< kul-[m]-*; probably also *grāma* multitude, troop; village: Ta. *kuḷām*.
BISHOP CALDWELL, the founder of the comparative study of the Dravidian languages, was interested not only in the relationship of those languages among themselves, but also in the question of their connection with other families of languages outside India. His investigations in this direction led him to believe that the Dravidian languages are connected with what he called the “Scythian” family of languages. By the term “Scythian” Caldwell referred mainly to the Ural-Altaic languages, though occasionally using the word in a rather wider sense than that. Within the “Scythian” family he held that it was possible to define the position of Dravidian even more closely, by attaching it to the Finno-ugrain group in particular.\(^1\) The evidence which Caldwell offered in support of this theory consisted partly of grammatical features which he held to be common to the languages concerned, and partly of comparisons of vocabulary. The former are to be found scattered through the body of his work, and the latter are collected together in an appendix entitled “Glossarial Affinitits”\(^3\) In presenting this theory Caldwell was quite modest in his claims; he admitted the possibility of being misled by accidental assonances, and claimed rather to have pointed the way to the possibilities of future research than to have demonstrated the relationship with any finality.

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1. Caldwell\(^3\), p. 68. “The Scythian family to which, on the whole, the Dravidian languages may be regarded as most nearly allied, is the Finnish or Ugrian-----”

Caldwell was not alone in propounding this theory. Similar conclusions were reached by Max Muller, who used the term “Turanian” in the sense Caldwell used “Scythian”. Among others who came out in support of this theory mention may be made of C. Schoebel, who defended it at the First International Congress of Orientalists in a paper entitled “Affinites des langues Dravidienes et des langues Ouralo-altaiques”.

Though enjoying considerable popularity for a time, Caldwell’s doctrine was eventually either ignored or rejected by philologists. It is worth while examining the reasons advanced at the time for this rejection. They are to be found most lucidly and ably expressed in a paper read by P. Hunfalvy at the Second International Congress of Orientalists entitled “On the Study of the Turanian Languages”. His main criticism is against the vagueness of the methods used, particularly by Max Muller in classifying the “Turanian” languages. He objects with justice to the latter’s statement that “the very absence of family likeness constitutes one of distinguishing features of the Turanian dialects”, and proceeds to show that in the case of the Finno-ugrian languages at any rate this was the reverse of true, and that in their case the same detailed etymological correspondences,

1. Letter on the Classification of the Turanian Languages, published in Bunsen’s Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History, vol i. pp. 263-521. London, 1854. Caldwell’s first edition was published in 1856, but his work was independent of Max Müllier’s and vice versa.


the same regular sound-changes, and so forth could be demonstrated as were already familiar from Indo-European. Such detailed and indisputable relationships had not, he maintained, been yet shown to exist between Finno-ugrian and the other members assigned to the "Turanian group, and that until this had been done the question of their relationship must be regarded as unproved. Where Dravidian was concerned he had no difficulty in pointing out certain elementary mistakes which Caldwell and Max Muller had made owing to their lack of specialist knowledge of Finno-ugrian languages. For the rest of the evidence, where such objections could not be offered, he held that there was not sufficient of it to justify the conclusions based on it. In his own words: "These numerous dialects form several distinct families each of which has its own nucleus which must be treated like the Finno-ugric family. The further question, whether those different nuclei point to one common nucleus, cannot be answered in the present state of the knowledge of them we possess. The Turkish and Samojedian languages, which are geographically nearest to the Finno-ugric family, constitute two different nuclei, which cannot be included in the Finno-ugric one ... The Dravidian languages have their source likewise in a different nucleus."

Hunfalvy's objections were shared by his fellow-workers in the Finno-ugrian field, and from that time the question of Dravidian relationship has been to all intents and purposes ignored. The general attitude was expressed by O. Donner: "Die von Rask und Max Muller geschaffene einheit der nordasiatischen sprachen mit den dravidischen wird wohl jetzt überall als eine geistreiche hypothese betrachtet ...."

1. Loc. cit., p. 89

The theory was not disproved, it was merely regarded as unproven unless further evidence were forthcoming. The subject was, however, taken up by no one half a century after Caldwell, naturally enough, since from that time hardly anybody studied the Dravidian languages at all. The few people who paid any attention to Dravidian showed no inclination to follow Caldwell in this matter and while the question seems never to have been re-examined by any scholar, in general scepticism prevailed. In the Linguistic Survey of India Sten Konow remarks: "With regard to the Dravidian languages the attempt to connect them with other linguistic families outside India is now generally recognized as a failure, and we must still consider them as an isolated family".

It was not until 1925 that any further attempt was made to develop the thesis propounded by Caldwell. This was an article by F. O. Schrader entitled "Dravidisch and Uralisch". In returning to Caldwell's theory Schrader considerably simplified its terms of reference, in as much as he left out of account all question of relationship with the Altaic languages and others included by Caldwell under the term "Scythian", and confined himself to a comparison of Dravidian languages on the one hand and the Uralian languages, i.e. Finno-ugrian and Samoyede on the other. As to the exact nature of the relationship of the two groups of languages he did not take up a very clear position as is clear from his own words: "Ich will zu zeigen versuchen, das zwischen der dravidischen Familie einerseits und der uralischen, d.h. der finnisch-ugrisch-samojedischen, anderseits ein historischer Zusammenhang besteht, der wenn nicht als Urverwandtschaft so durch vorgeschichtliche Nachbarschaft und seher intime einseitige oder gegenseitige Beeinflussung erklärt werden muss.".

2. Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, iii, pp. 81-112.
3. Op- cit, p. 83
Schrader bases his argument on phonetic structure, word formation, and correspondences in grammar and vocabulary. In presenting this material he adds considerably to the somewhat slender evidence produced by Caldwell, and, as might be expected from the advances in linguistic science in the intervening period, the material is on the whole more reliable. This does not mean that the percentage of error is negligible; on the contrary it is quite easy to pick put false equations page by page. Nevertheless, even allowing for all this, there remains enough material against which no obvious objections can be raised, to make the subject worthy of renewed serious attention.

In effect little notice was taken of Schradar’s article. His line of argument was attacked by E. Lewy, who maintained that all the facts adduced by him could be explained by the normal workings of chance and that an equal number of correspondences could be found between any two unrelated languages or language-groups in the world. In support of this Lewy produced a list of sixty Kechuan words similar in form and meaning to sixty Finnish words which he placed beside them. The answer to this argument is that the correspondences in vocabulary between Dravidian and Uralian are far more numerous than the list of sixty which Schrader had given and Lewy parodied. It is possible to produce a longer list of words dealing with the body and its parts alone, as is done below. It would not be possible to produce between any two languages the same amount of detailed comparisons as can be made between Dravidian and Uralian without giving reason to believe that those languages were themselves related. Because however Schrader’s article contained only a fraction

1. In the course of a review of W. Schmidt’s Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkrise der Erde in Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, lvi [1928], pp. 142–159.
of the available material, it was possible for Lewy to use this method with some plausibility, and his arguments seem to have had considerable effect, since no further notice was taken of Schrader's article from the Finno-ugrian side.

A work published shortly afterwards by W. von Hevesy purporting to prove that the Munda or Kolarian languages of India are related to Finno-ugrian, is deserving only of being passed over in silence.¹ Unfortunately it seems to have impressed Schrader, a fact which tends to throw doubt on his own competence to deal with the matter. In consequence we find him returning to the subject with an article entitled *On the "Uralian" element in the Dravidia and Munda Language.*² in which he attempts to reconcile his own doctrines with those of Hevesy. They cannot, of course, be reconciled if it is assumed that Dravidian and Uralian are related languages in the proper sense of the term, i.e. descended from the same original language, since the Dravidian and Kolarian languages are obviously unrelated. Schrader had, however, in the first place been undecided whether to assume genetic relationship or prehistoric mutual influence, and now influenced by Hevesy, he is inclined to believe that the latter theory can be applied to both groups of languages. This leads him to some implausible theorizing about two different streams of "Uralians" having entered India and influenced the one the Dravidian and the other the Kolarian languages before presumably their own languages died out. This and the alternative theories he offers³ do not carry much conviction, nor is there any reason why the common material of Dravidian and Uralian should not be explained by the theory of genetic relationship, while

² *BSOS.*, VIII., 751–762
the evidence for a relationship between Uralian and Kolarian is easily seen on examination to be illusory.

In returning to the subject in this paper Schradar adds somewhat to his material by giving a list of words denoting parts of the body which he regards as common to Dravidian and and Uralian. This list contains seventy items, out of which between a quarter and a third constitute acceptable equations. In view of the large percentage of error in this list, it is unlikely to create much impression on the reader without considerable improvement. Consequently I propose to take up the subject where Schrader left it and as a first instalment of evidency supporting the theory of Dravinan-Uralian relationship present the following list of etymologies of words applying to the body and its parts. A thoroughgoing correspondence between the two groups of languages emerges quite clearly in this respect, a correspondence which is particularly valuable since this part of the vocabulary is classed among the most primitive and essential elements of language. For the time being the list may be left to speak for itself, though here and there phonetic developments are briefly discussed. For the rest details of phonology and other questions that arise are reserved for further contributions to this series.

Word-equations

1. Ta. talai "head; top, end, extremity, tip" (iru talai 'both ends' vēgattiṇ talai maruppu "the tip of an elephant's tusk") | Ma. tala "head; top, point, extremity" (nāttala "the tip of the tongue"), talakkam "the top of a tree", talappu "id." | Ka. tale "head; being uppermost of principle" | Tu. tare "head; top; hair of the head" | Te, tala "head; top, end, summit; hair of the head" | Kui tlau (pl. tlāka) "a head; the hair of the head"; Kuvi trāyu "head" | Go. talā "head" | Malt. tali "hair of the head".
The semantic developments are quite clear. The original meaning is “end, tip, top” in general which in Dravidian is increasingly specialized in the sense of “head”. The meaning “hair of the head”, which only occurs in some languages, is the latest developed of all. In Malto this last signification has survived at the expense of the original meaning.

Sauvageot, loc. cit., finds in Altaic a parallel to the Finno-ugrian words in Mo. tolortai “tête, summit, source”. In this connection it may be observed that Caldwell proposed to equate the Mongolian and Dravidian words. (Comp. Gr. 3 620.)

2. Ta. imai “eyelid, winking with the eye; (vb.) to wink”, nimai id., cimil “to wink, blink” | Ma. cima “eyelid, eyelash”, ima “eyelid”, imekka “to blink” | Ka. eme, eve “eyelid”, cimufv “to wink” | Tu. simme, sim, ime “eyelid” || Cf. Balochi chimāk “eyelid”, apparently a lw. from Dravidian, though the word does not seem to be found in the neighbouring Brahui.

LpN. čalbme “oculus” | Fi. silmä “auge” | MdE. sëlme | Voty. sim; Zyr. sin | Vog. säm | Osty. sëm | Hg. szëm “id.” | SamT. šaim, K. sima, Mot. sime, Taigi šime-dä “id.” (Beitr. no. 23, Verw, 52, Wichmann, FUF, xv, 42; VUr. 42).

Two characteristics of the phonetics of South Dravidian are illustrated by these words: (1) Initial c/s tends to be dropped, and while none of the languages is quite consistent in this respect, it may be observed that the tendency is carried furthest in Tamil, particularly in the dialect which forms the basis of the classical language. Similar examples
to be found in the present list are Ta. akkuł “armpit”, etc. (no. 27), and Ta. ìr “nit”, etc. (no. 57). (2) Another feature is comparative instability on the part of initial n-, which may be put on at the beginning of words where it does not belong, as here in Ta. nimai, and in other cases may be dropped when it is original. A good parallel to Ta. nimai is to be found in Te. neraka “wing”: Te. also eraka, rekka, Ta. iraku also ciraku. Among Dravidian-Uralian correspondences the following provides a good example: Ta. Ma. nuntu “to swim”: Ka. ìju, tsu, Tu. icuni, ijuni ~ Fi. uida “to swim”, Md. ujems, Cher. ìjam, Osty. òçem, Hg. úszik: “id.”

The peculiar semantic change in Dravidian is due to the fact that the regular Dravidian word for eye, Ta. Ma. Ka. kàï, is nothing else than the root of the verb meaning “to see” (kàñ-, kàn-) which has extended its functions at the expense of the old word for “eye” with corresponding restriction of the latter’s sphere of reference.

3. Ta. nunaí “point, tip, end”, nuni “id.” | Ma. nuni “tip”.

~ LpN. njudne, njune “nase, schnauze” | Fi. menä “nase, ende, spitze”; Est. nina “nase, vorstehendes ende, spitze, landzunge”. (Donner, no. 956.)

The general meaning found in Dravidian is original, and the meaning “nose” is a specialized development in the Finno-ugrian languages.

4. Ta. Ma. muku “nose; bird’s beak” | Ka. mugu “nose, snout, beak” | Tu. muku “nose, bill, beak” | Te. muku “id.”

~ Fi. nokka “vorragegdes, schnabel, nase spitze”, noukka “schnabel”; Kar. nokka “schnabel, spitze”; Est. nokk “schnabel, insektenrüssel, spitz, vorragendes”. (Donner, no. 863.)
This equation assumes the change of initial *n*– to *m*– in the Dravidian words. Evidence that such a change can take place before the vowels *o* and *u* is to be found in the following words:


Ta. *mnə̄gi* “cavern”; vb. *ṭal* “to enter”, *ṭtal* “to pierce, bore”, *mruṭiṇcu* “hole, cave”, *mūṛai* “a hollow place”, *mōṛai* “cleft, crevice, subterranean watercourse”, *mōṛai-vāri* “a narrow gate or opening”, Ka. *mōle* “a small hole, a fissure”: Ta. *nurāi* “to enter a hole, creep through; (tr.) to insert; (sb.) narrow passage, cave, aperture, window”, *noṇṭuntu* “to insert”, Ma. *nurayuka* “to creep in, squeeze through”, Ka. *nusi* “to enter a door, etc.”, *nusul* “to enter a door or narrow opening”, Tu. *nūranūni* “to creep in, enter with difficulty”, *nuripāvuni* “to press into a hole”, *nurumpe* “a hole”, Kur. *nulugnā* “to insert a thing into another”, *nulgurnā* “to enter into or under”.


“swallow” are connected with the above and show that n- (<*n-*) is original: LpN. njellat “deglutire, devorare”, Fi. niellä “schlucken, verschlingen”, Md. nil’em, Cher. neläm, Zyr. nilalni, Voty. nilni, nilini, Vog. noalt-, etc., Osty. hel-, Hg. nyel- “id.”; SamJu. nallä, T. haltam’ema, Je. noddoabo “id.” The developments of the Dravidian forms are obviously, some what complicated, the main feature being the addition of a k- suffix to the original root. This appears everywhere except in Ta. no!lu and Ka. nope < *no’e.

Ta. mūnu “there”, mūvar “three persons”, Ka. mūru, Tu. mūji; munvery, mūvery “three persons”, Te. mūgu; muguru, mugguru “three persons”, Go. mūnd, Prj. mūir or mundū, Klm. mūding, Brah. musi, Kur. mūnd “three” (neut.); Kur. nubb “three” (masc. and fem.). Konow (LSI., iv, 414) is inclined to regard the initial n- in Kur. nubb as due to dissimilation, and therefore secondary, a development which might be assisted by the initial n- of the immediately succeeding numeral, naib “four.” On the other hand the fact that Kuruk shows a particularly strong tendency to preserve n- in the present list of examples and in the case of the words meaning “to smell” is the only language to do so, provides very good reason for regarding the n- in nubb as original. If this is the case we can compare the Samoyede words for “three” with the above Dravidian words: SamO. nāgur, noagur, nar, noar “three”, Ju. nāhar, ṅar, T. nagur “id.”

A tendency to substitute initial m- for n- when it is followed by the vowels –o- or –u- emerges quite clearly from these examples, and in view of this evidence it can be said that the equation Ta. mūkku, etc., – Fi. nokka, etc., presents no phonetic difficulties from the Dravidian side. A similar example of Dravidian m- corresponding to Uralian n, ṇ is provided by the following words:–
Ta. mūṅkā “a species of mongoose”, Ka. mūṅgi, mūṅgisi, mūṅguli, mūṅguri. Tu. mūṅgili, mūṅguli “a mongoose, ichneumon”; Te. mūṅgi, mungisa, Go. mungus “id.” || > Pkt. maṅguso, muggaso, Mar. Hi. maṅgūs, maṅgūs, Sgh. mugaṭi “id.”


Since a comparison of the Uralian words shows that Dravidian m– represents original n– (ā–) here, we need have have no hesitation in regarding Skt. nakukā– m. (AV, etc.) as belonging to this group. It has been borrowed from some early Dravidian dialect in which the change n>m had not taken place in this word. The final –ula has a corresponding form in Ka. Tu. mūṅguli.

5. Te. cerama “nostriil” | GoM. (Lind) sutrīn “id.”


In this Uralian list compiled by Setāla it is clearly possible that several different words have been confused. However, from among the words quoted, it is clear that there are unambiguous Dravidian and Uralian correspondences between Te. cerama and Fi. sierain, as also between GoM. sutrīn and SamO. šōter. A connection between the two pairs is indicated by Telugu r (as opposed to r), which points to an original –t– having disappeared before –r–.

6. Ta. cevi “ear”, ceviṭu “deaf” | Ma. cevi “ear”, ceviṭu “ear (chiefly the inner part); deafness”, cekitu “id.”, ceppi “ear; cheek; earwax”, koviṭu “cheek” | Ka. kivi “ear”, kivuḍu “defeness”, keppu “deafness” | Tu. kēbi “ear”, kebure “a
deaf man”, keppu “deafness”, keppi “a deaf woman”, keppe “a deaf man”, keppē “cheek”| Te. cevi “ear”, cevuḍu “deaf”| Tod. kev “ear”| Go. kawi; GoM. kev| Klm. kēv| Kui kriu, kiru; Kuvi kiriyu, kriyū| Kur. khebdā| Malt. qethwu| Brah. khaf “id.”

~Fi. korva “ear”; Est. kõrw “id.”| Cher. körž “eine art ohrschmuck, ohrgehänge” (Donner, no. 128; Wichmann, JSFOw., xxx, 6,23) || SamJu. hā “ear”| T. kou| Je. kū, kō| O. kō, kuo| K. ku “id.”

I have already discussed the Dravidian words for “ear” in some detail (BSOS., XI, 124–5). As pointed out there, the Kui word differs from the usual kevi in possessing an –r–. Furthermore this –r– appears in Tu. ceraḍu “ear” (<*keraṭu: >Skt. karaṭa “an elephant’s temple; the spot between the forehead and ear of a bird”), Tu. kirmbilu “earwax”, Go. korangeḍ, Kuvi kirpejja “id.” and also in Ta. kuruṭu “tragus”. In view of these circumstances it was concluded that Drav. kevi must have lost an –r–, i.e. it must represent an original *kervi. Likewise Ma. ceppi “ear; cheek” represents original *kerpi. The conclusions reached in that paper are supported by the Finno-Ugrian forms—Fi. korva, Est. kõrw—, where an –r– does appear in the position expected. In Samoyede, on the other hand, the –r– has been lost in the same way as in Dravidian. (Pr. Sam. *kow<*korw.)

The root of this word has a more extensive series of derivatives in Dravidian than are to be found in Uralian. Since we find the meaning “ear” combined with that of “cheek, side of the face, temple” in a number of the words quoted above (Ma. ceppi “ear: cheek”; Ma. koviṭu “cheek”>: ceviṭu “ear”; Tu. ceraḍu “ear”; Skt. karaṭu “elephant’s temple”, etc.), it is obvious that the following words meaning “cheek” or “temple” are etymologically connected with the above: Te. cerāpa, cempa “cheek”; Te. ceṇka, cekku, cekkili,
Ka. kekke “id.” (<*ker–k–); Ta. cenni “elephant’s temple”; Ma. cenni, kenni “temples”, konni “cheek”, Ka. kenne “the upper cheek”, Tu. kenni, kenne “cheek”. This last group, representing original *kerni, *kerne, must originally have also had the meaning “ear”, because from it is borrowed Skt kārṇa– m. “ear”. The Sanskrit word is of particular interest as belonging to the earliest of the loanwords from Dravidian, inasmuch as it is common to Indo–Aryan and Iranian: Av. karṇa– “ear”; adj. “deaf”, NP. kar, karr “deaf”. The double meaning of the Avestan word provides additional evidence of its Dravidian origin, because this peculiar double meaning is characteristic of some of the Dravidian words. (Ma. ceviṭu “ear” and “deaf”, etc.)

The vocalism of the Dravidian words presents some complications which cannot be discussed exhaustively here. The main feature of course is the prevalence of the vowel –e– in the Dravidian words, as opposed to –o– in Uralian. A parallel to this is found in the words meaning “bone”: Ma. Tu. elu<*eleu <*leu as opposed to Fi. luu, Md. lov–, etc. <*lou (no. 62). At the same time –o– appears beside –e– in some of the Dravidian words: Ma. koviṭu “cheek”: ceviṭu “ear”; Ma. konni “cheek”: kenni, cenni “temple”; Go. koraneḍ “ear wax”: Tu. kirmbiḷu “id”, etc.; to which may be added in view of the usual combination of meanings Go. körwi “cheek”. In this connection mention may also be made of Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. koppu “an ornament for the upper part of the ear worn by women” (<*korpu?).

7. Ka. pāle “the lobe of the ear”, hāle, halle “id.” | Tu. paḍe–tale “the helix or border of the ear” | ? Kui badi “the lobe of the ear” (bandi, bonde “id.”).

~LpL. pēlyē “car” | Md. piɾe | Cher. paɾas | Zyr. Voty. per | Vog. pār | Osty. pól, etc. | Hg. fül “id.” (Beitr. no. 47.)
—Schrader, BSOS., VIII, 756. Skt. pāli—(usually in the
cpd, karṇa-pāli—) “the tip or lobe of the ear” is clearly a
loanword from Dravidian.

8. Te. pukkili “the inside of the cheek”, bugga “cheek,
inside of the cheek”, bukka “the hollow of the mouth” | Ka.
buggi “cheek” | GoM. (Lind) phukā, bhukā “id.” | Kui pūkul
“round faced, plump”.

—Fi. poski “cheek” | Osty. poxtam, purlām, po[λa, etc.,
“id.” | Vog. paja, pōut, etc., “id.” | SimJu. pādu “cheek” | T.
fatua | Je. fāru, paede | O. pudal, pudöl, pūtal, etc. | K. pū’ma,
poutmo “id.” (Verw. 52, Anl. 141.)

The Dravidian forms of this word are characterized by
the assimilation of the intervocalic consonant group, typical
of the “Prakritic” tendencies of Dravidian. The various forms
also point to an original alternation on the part of this
consonant group; i.e. Te. pukkili < *puski- : Ka. buggi
< *puzgi. This kind of alternation is typical of the Uralian
languages, and the feature is of course widely prevalent in
Dravidian.

9. Ta. Ma. vāy “mouth; opening of a sack, etc.”, ō, ēvu
“door (of a sluice)” | Ka. bāy “mouth; the mouth of a vessel,
bag, etc.” | Tu. bāyi “mouth; opening” | Tod. bōyi “mouth”—
Te. vāyi “id.” | Kur. ba “mouth; aperture of a vessel” | Brah.
bā “mouth” | A derivative of this word is found in the
following; Ta. vāyil “gate, doorway, entrance” | Ma. vātil | Ka.
bāgil | Tu. bākil | Te. vākili “id.”

—Fi. ovi “door” | LpN. vuoas “capistrum” | Md. oη-,
ov-, oj- : oηskl (pl.), ovks, ojks (pl.) “gebiss am zaum” | Cher.
aη, aη “mündung, öffnung” | Zyr. vom, om “mund,
mündung, öffnung”; Voty. ym “id.” | Vog. aβi “tür” | Osty.
aη “öffnung (einer flasche), mündung (eines flusses)” | SamJu.
āη “mund” | T. aη | O. aη, oan, ean, ēk | K. aη “id.”
(Beitr. no. 41, Verw. 53.)
10. Te. *pedavi* "lip", | Tu. *bimma* | GoM. *pilvi* "id." | Klm. (Haig) *pèdèl* "lips" (< *pedve-*).

11. Te. *selavi* "a corner of the mouth" | Go. *silvi* "lip": GoM. *hilvi* "id."
   ~Fi. *huuli* "lip"; Est. *hūl* "lippe, lippenrand, rand".

12. Ka. *tuçi* "lip" (< *tur-i*) | Go. *tədʒi* "the mouth or face" | Malt. *tora* "mouth", *tebo* "the lips" (< *ter-v-*).
   ~Fi. *turpa* "snout, muzzle", *tursa* "id." | MdE. *turva*, *torva*, M. *tora* "lippe" | Cher. *tärbs* "id." | Zyr. *tirp*; Voty. *tirpi* "lippe" | SamJe. *terö'o*, *tedo'o* "vorderkopf". (KonsP. 344, Sauv. 66.)
   —Schrader, BSOS., VIII, 756.

   ~Fi. *suv* "os, ostium"; Est. *sū* "mund" | LpL. *cuʋua* "speiseröhre, schlund"; LpN. *codda* "gutter" | Vog. *sünt* "öffnung, mündung" | Hg. *szād* "öffnung, orificium". (Paas., s-lauke 98.)

14. Ta. Ma. *nāvu* "tongue"; nā, nąkku "id." | Ka. nālaga, nālīge | Tu. nālayi, nālayi | Tod. nāf | Te. nālīka, nāluka nālka "id."
—Caldwell³, 620; Schrader, ZII., iii, 95; BSOS., VIII, 757.

The word for “lick” in both groups of languages is etymologically connected with the word for “tongue”. In Dravidian we have Ta. Ma. nakku “to lick”, Ka. nakku, nekku, Tu. nakkuni, Te. nāku, Go. nākānā, Kui nāka. All these words in Dravidian are characterized by a k-suffix before which the final -l of the root has disappeared by assimilation. (Ta. Ma. nakku< *nalku; Te. nāku< *nālku; cf. the assimilation in Ta. nākku “tongue”: Te. nāluka, etc.)

In Uralian, on the other hand, there is no k-suffix in the case of the words meaning “to lick”: LpN. njoallot “lingere, lambere”, Fi. nuolla “lecken”, Md. nolams, Cher. nulem, Zyr. ńul-, Voty. ńuli-, Hg. nyal- “id.” || SamK. ńulām “id.” (Beitr. no. 72.)

15. Ta. Ma. Ka. pal “tooth” | Tu. paru | Tod. parrsh | Te. palu, pallu | Kui palu, paďu; Kuvi pallu | Go. pal | Kur. pall | Malt. palu “id.”

~Fi. pii “flintstein; spitze, zapfen” | LpN. badne “zahn” | MdE. pej, pev, păj, peŋ, M. pej “zahn” | Cher. pii, pii “id.” | Zyr. piņ “zahn, zacke, scharfe”; Voty. piņ “zahn, zacke, zinke” | Vog. pęŋk, etc., “zahn” | Osty. peŋk | Hg. fog “id.”

The Finno-ugrian forms of this word, as opposed to the Dravidian, are characterized by the loss of final -l. A number of examples can be quoted to show that the loss of l in a final position was characteristic of Finno-ugrian. The loss occurs, for instance, in Osty. toll “summit, head” < *tol, which is quoted above (no. 7). In this case we find that the l is preserved when it is not final: Vog. tolax, etc.

Another example is the negative: Ta. al “not”, allen “I am not”, allēm “we are not”, allar, alar “they are not” celvār, allar “they do not go”, varuvat allai “you will not come”, varuvat allai “you will not come”, etc. ~Fi. en mene “I do not

luč-alam “we do not sleep”, etc. ~Fi. en mene “I do not
go”, *et mene* “you do not go”, *ei mene* “he does not go”, etc. (Szinnyei, Spr. 117). In the case of this word the final *-l* which has for the most part disappeared in the Finno-Ugrian forms, turns up in the imperative in Finnish—älä mene “do not go”, where it has been preserved by a succeeding vowel.

As further examples the following can be quoted:


A general rule emerges quite clearly from these examples, and accounts satisfactorily for the equation Ta., etc., *pal* ~ Md. *pej*, Cher. *püi*, etc. It does not, of course, account for the final *k/g* in the Ugrian forms, which must therefore be regarded as a suffix.


~Hg. *inya* “gingiva, palatum” | Fi. *ijen*, pl. *ikenet* “the gums”; Est. *ige*, g. *igeme* “id.” (Bud. no. 897.)

~LpN. čolggat “spucken”, čolgga “speichel”, čollit “semel exspuere” | Fi. sylkeä “spucken”, sylki, g. syljen “speichel”; Est. sülg “speichel” | MdM. šedgä, E. šełge “speichel” | Zyr. šölal- “spucken”; Voty. šalal- (frequ.) “id.” | Cher. šūβala’m, etc., “speien, spucken” | Vog. saly “id.” | Osty. sūrgem “id.” (s-laut 33, VUr. 47.)

Paasonen, loc. cit., finds some difficulty in explaining the Cher. form. His theory (for which the reader is referred to the passage cited) is complicated and obviously not very satisfactory. In this connection we may note the parallelsisms in Dravidian. Beside the shorter forms, Te. collu, Malt. tulgpe, etc., we also find longer forms, namely Tod divorshbini (<*jivol-, <*civol-) and Kui deoli (<*jeoli <*cevol-) which clearly bear the same relation to the shorter forms as Cher. šūβal-, etc., does to LpN. čolggat, etc. It is also clear that the relation of the two series is to be explained by the fact that the shorter forms are a contraction of the longer (*suval-*<*sol-).

In dealing with these words attention should also be drawn to another series of words in Dravidian meaning “to spit”: Ta. tupp “to spit”: tuppal “spittle”, Ka. tūpu “to spit”, Malt. tupe, Kur. tuppna “id.”, tuppalkhō “saliva, spittle”: Kui sūpa “to spit”, Kuvi hūpali “id.”, hūpka “spittle”. In these words the sibilant which appears in Kui is original, and the t- which appears in the other languages is a secondary development out of it. This being the case it seems possible to connect this set of words with those quoted above. An original *supp- + the suffix -al may give *suppal (Ta. tuppal, Kur. tuppalkhō) or with the weak grade of the intervocalic consonant, *supal-. This last by still further weakening gives rise to *suval- (Tod. divon <*civol-: Cher šūβal; here either intervocalic -p- or -v- could be represented), which as a result of contraction (usually in connection with the addition of a k- suffix) becomes finally šol- (LpN. colggat, etc.).
The Samoyede words for “spit”, “spittle” have the appearance of being connected here: SamJu. same “speichel”, samcegu “speien”, sabce, sable “speichel”, T. sabši, Je. soli, soli, O. suš, soš, K. sužu “id.”


~ Hg. nydl “saliva”, nydlka “saliva, mucus” | Fi. nila “lubricum quid, pituita”, nilja “id.”: Est, nōlg, g. nōle “rötz” | MdE. nolgo; M. nolga “id.” | Zyr. nilge “schleim; schleimigsc hlüpfriug” | LpN. nīve “schleim”. (Bud. no. 431, Donner no. 994.)

— Shrader, BSOS., VIII, 760. The Sanskrit word lālā is obviously borrowed from Dravidian. The Kur. and Malt. words may be either originally Dravidian words or reborrowings from Indo-Aryan, as frequently happens in these languages.

19. Ta. nurai “foam, froth” ; (vb.) “to froth, foam”, nurai-taļļu (Coll.) “to foam at the mouth” | Ma. nura “foam, froth” | Ka. nōre | Tu. nurē | Te. nūrūgu nuruvu “id.”

~ Osty. ūdrer, ūwr “schaum” | Vog. īr īr “id.” | Zyr. nir “id.” (Paas., Ostj. W. s.v.)

20. Ta. aŋal “chin; side of the jaw; neck; dewlap”, aŋar “side of the upper jaw”, aŋari “id.” | Ma. aŋal “jaw, hinder part of the mouth” | Ka. aŋal “the under part of the mouth; mouth”.

21. Ta. kural “throat, windpipe” | Ma, kural “throat” | Ka. koral “neck, throat”, gonke “throat”, kuňke “the nape of the neck” | Tu. kurely “the nape of the neck”, kekki, kekkily “neck, throat” | Te. konkulu “the bones on either side of the nape or hollow at the back of the neck” | Go. gurngā “throat, oesophagus”.

~ Fi. kurkku “kehle, gurgel, rachen, hals, schlund”, kero, keros “kehle, gurgel”; Est. kōri “gurgel, kehle, luftoder speiseröhre” | MdM. kārga, E. kirga, korga “hals” | Voty. gurul “kinn, der unter dem kinn an der kehle befindliche teil des halses”; Zyr. gorah ‘speiseröhre’. (Wichmann, FUF., xi, 204; xii, 128.)


22. Ka. kuttige “the throat; the neck; throat and neck” | Te. kuttika, kuttuka “the throat, gullet”. ~ Fi. kita “throat”.

23. Ta. cuval “nape of the neck, upper part of the neck; back; mane”.

~ Fi. sepale, sepalus “halskragen”, sevātā umhalsen, umarmen” | LpN. cæbet “collum” | MdM. šivā “kragen”; E. šive “id.” | Zyr. šyli “hals, nacken widerrist (der pferde)” | Cher. ōu, šūj “hals” | Vog. sip, šip “hals” sipili “umarmen”, sipluv, suplu “hals” | Osty. săpōl “hals” svēl “id.” (Setālā, FUF., ii, 262; Paas., s–lauta 37; Spr.33, Toivonen MSFOu., 67, 378.)

24. Ta. cekil “upper part of the shoulders” | Ka. tegal “shoulder” | Kui sukoli, sukori “shoulder–blade” | Brah. ugh “the nape of the neck”.
~Fi sākā “shoulder-blade” | Osty. (Paas) tāŋX “schulterblatt”; tāŋXēt widerrist (des pferdes und gewisser anderer tiere)”.

25. Ka. pedal “shoulder” | Tu. pugely puggely “shoulder” | Kui pakop“i “the shoulder blade” | Kur. pakhrā (-khōcol) “shoulder-blade”,
~Osty. pāŋXēt “schulterblatt”, J. pāŋköl “id.” | Vog. poŋghwel “id.” (Paas., Osty.W. s. v.)

26. Ka. kawuŋkur “armpit” koŋkur koŋkur “id.” | Tu. kaŋkuja “armpit” | Prj. kāngēl kāngēl-ti pāṭāṭā “taking hold (of him) under the arms’ | Go. kākṛṅg (pl.) “armpits”.
~ LpK- kāiṇṇel “achselhöhle” | Est. kāngla “achsel” | Cher. koŋla, koŋgala “id.” | Md. kaval: kundiz kafta kavaldo “sie ergriffen sich unter den armen” | SamT. kālī “armhöhle” | K. kāla “id.”. (Beitr. no. 43, Verw. 54, VUr. 8.)

27. Ta. akku “armpit”, akku “te tickle” | Ma. akkula “armpit; tickling”, ikkili “tickling” | Ka. akala “a term used in tickling” akkalike “tickling”, cakkalagi “tickling another” | Te. cakkli “armpit,” cakkiligili “tickling” | Kur. cangnā “to itch, to be the seat of a titillation”, cangrta'ānā “to tickle” | Malt. cēql-kūnde to tickle”.
~ LpN. caggaldet “titillare”, caggarak “titillationis impatentia”, S. cokkoldet “titillare” | MdE. sangordo-juckend oder stehend schmerzen” | Cher. čigolden “kitzeln” | Hg. csikland “to tickle”. (Paas., s-lauté ’63; Wichmann, FUF., xi, 191.)

On the loss of of c– in the South Dravidian languages, cf. no. 2. The combination of meanings “tickling” and “armpit” is also found in the following words: Kui kit “tickling”, kiti giva “to tickle”, kitki lomberi “armpit”, Go. kulā “armpit” ~Fi. kutkuttaa “to tickle”.

29. Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu kai “hand” | Tod. (Metz.) kōyi | Te. cēyi; pl. cētulu | Kui kaju, kagu; Kuvi kēyu | Klm. kiy | Go. kai | Kur. khekkhā; Malt. qeqe “id.”

~ LpN. gietta “manus” | Fi. kāsi g. kāden “hand” | Md. ked’ | Zyr. ki “hand, arm”, kiki, keke, kek (dem); Voty. ki “hand” | Cher. kit | Vog. kāt | Osty. kēt | Hg. kéz “id.”. (NyH.23; VUr. 35–6.)

Schrader proposes this equation in his first article (ZII. iii, 88, following Caldwell, Comp. Gr.³ 618), but later expresses doubt about it on account of Kui kagu, Kur. khekkhā, Malt. qeqe, where, he says, the guttural seems to stand in the way BSOS; VIII, 761). His doubts are unnecessary. The –g– in Kui kagu has no etymological significance, the word being merely a secondary variant of the regular form kaju. In the two northern languages, on the other hand, the guttural is to be regarded as a suffix, and in this case parallels can be quoted from Finno-ugrian, namely Zyr. kiki, keke, kek (dem.) “hgn”’. In this connection the double consonant in Kurukh is of interest, because it can be explained by the existence of a final dental in the word, which appears in Finno-ugrian, but has disappeared in Dravidian except in the Te. pl. cētulu: i.e. *ketkā > *kekkā > *khekkhā > khekkhā.


~ Osty. kēvən “die innere biegung des armes, einer bacht” | Fi. kyyu̯nur “elbow” | LpN. garnjel “id.” | MdM.
keňt, E. keñeř “vorderarm; elle” | Cher. kiňer “elle” | Hg. könyök “elbow”. (Karjalainen. JSFOu., xxx, 24, 15.)

The Dravidian forms, Ta. kōń, etc., correspond exactly to Osty. kēyn', the long ō being the result of a contraction. In the other Finno-ugrian languages various suffixes have been added, usually with a resulting weakening of the first syllable. The general meaning “bend, angle, corner” is primary, and from it the specialized meaning ‘elbow” has developed in Finno-ugrian.


~ SamO. koži “handwurzel, schienbein”, udet-koži “handwurzel”; kuet, kuette, kuce “id.”

Ta. manikkatstu has usually been interpreted as being composed of maṇi “jewel” and katstu “to tie, fasten”, i.e. “the place were a jewel (bracelet) is fastened on”; and corresponding to this we find in Sanskrit and Pali a term maṇibandha—with the same Meaning. Nevertheless, a consideration of all the evidence, in particular of the Tuļu words, shows that this interpretation is wrong. In Tuļu we have, in addition to maniganṭu “ankle”, both karagantu (Tu. kāryu “leg”) and simply gantu in the same sense. This makes it clear that gaṅtu by itself means “ankle” and furthermore it is clear that it is the same word as the okatstu in Ka. manikatstu, etc., and the other words quoted in the list. The corresponding word in Kanarese, gaṅtu, has the general meaning of “a joint or articulation of the body” and also of “a joint or joint in sugarcane, etc.”; it is also used in the sense of a “knuckle”
of the fingers. The meanings "wrist" and "ankle" are specialized from this general meaning, and so we find Tu. mani\textgreek{a}nu, "ankle" corresponding to Ka. manik\textgreek{a}nutu "wrist".

Phonetically, in comparing the Dravidian and Samoyedic words, it is to be observed that Dravidian \textcup - here represents an original affricate, -\textcup\textcup - or \textcup\textcup-, with loss of the sibilant element. A parallel case of this development can be seen in the following equation:

Ta. co\textcuptu "to fall in drops, drizzle": (sb.) a drop", Ka. lo\textcuptu "a drop", Ka. Tu. ta\textcuptaku "id.", Brah. cu\textcupting "to drip".

\text{\textcup{}\textcup{}\textcup{}} Cher. \textcup\textcupt\textcupsem "tropfen(intr.)", cugalda\textcup "id.", Osty. \textcup\textcupt\textcup\textcupt\textcup\textcupm\textcupm "giessen, streuen, schütten", \textcup\textcupy\textcupm "id.", Vog. \textcup\textcup\textcup\textcup\textcupam, etc., "id." || SamO. \textcup\textcup\textcup\textcup\textcupek "es tropft", Ju. teas\textcup\textcupd\textcupm "tropfen", Je. tidd\textcup, tisa "es tropft", Mot. tizi\textcup\textcuptza "tropfeln". (Beitr. no. 214.)

Compare also Dravidian \textcup\textcup - <\textcup\textcup\textcup\textcup\textcup (below, no. 36).

A further point is raised by Ta. kara\textcuptu "ankle". If this word is etymologically connected with Ta. *\textcup\textcup\textcup\textcuptu, etc., we must assume that an \textcup - has disappeared in the latter case. That this is actually the case is shown by the initial voicing which occurs in Tu. ga\textcuptu, GoM. gu\textcup, etc. This is very frequently an indication that an \textcup - has disappeared in a word.\footnote{"Drav. St. 1," BSOS., IX [1938], p. 720. This aspect of the matter is only touched on briefly there; it is hoped to deal with the question exhaustively in a later article in this series.}

Another word in which \textcup - appears is Ma. kura\textcup\textcup\textcupta "knuckle of hand or foot", which in view of the various meanings of ga\textcuptu must be regarded as belonging to this group of words.

So much for the second part of the word manik\textcup\textcup\textcuptu. The first part is a word meaning "to bend", various forms of which occur in both Dravidian and Uralian:

Ka. ma\textcup\textcupi "to bend, bow", (sb.) bending, a bow", ma\textcup\textcup\textcup\textcup\textcupnu "to bend, to be submissive" | Ta. mu\textcup\textcup\textcup\textcup\textcup\textcupiki "to bend".

\footnote{"Drav. St. 1," BSOS., IX [1938], p. 720. This aspect of the matter is only touched on briefly there; it is hoped to deal with the question exhaustively in a later article in this series.}

It is clear from all this that the popular etymology of Dr. mani-kaffu is unacceptable. It is, however, a popular etymology of long standing and undoubtedly lies behind the Skt. word manibandha-. This is nothing more than a “translation” into Sanskrit of the Dravidian word and shows that from very early times the word has been interpreted according to its popular and not its real etymology.

32. Te. guppili “a fist, the closed hand” | Go. kopop “a double handful”.

—Fi. koprə, koura “hand, hollow of the hand, fist”; Vcps. kopr “die zusammengelegte hand” | Zyr. gabir, kabir “hohle hand”, gabralni, kabralni “zusammendrucken (mit der faust)” | Osty. (Pass.) kūwr “faust. hand”.

33. Ma. pōnja “a handful” | Tu. bukku “id.”

—Fi. pivo “hollow of the hand; closed hand; handful”; Est. pihu, pego “handfläche” || SamJu. peaŋ “flache hand” | T. feaŋ | Je. feo, etc. | O. pingo “hand, flache hand”.

34. Malt. ponda “the palm of the hand; the flat of an animal’s paw”.

—Osty. pət in kät-pət “die flache hand” | Fi. pinta “surface” | Voty. ped: ped pal äussere seite” (Wichm., FUF., xii, 134.)

35. Ta. Ma. viral “finger, toe” | Ka. beral, bera! | Tu. birely | Te. vrēlu | Kui vanju, pl. vaska | Go. wirinj; GoM. vers “id”.

—Fi. varvas, g. varpaan “toe” || SamJu. narwa “id.” (Verw. 56)—Schrader, BSOS., VIII, 758.
36. Ta. Ma. ukir “finger or toe nail, claw” | Ka. ugor “id.”, ugi “to hurt, tear, or rend with the nails”, bagaru “to scratch with the nails” | Tu. ugrayi “nail” | Te. goru | Kui gorä “id.” | Kur. orökh; Malt. orgu “id.” (metathesis) | ?Brah. hör “finger”.

~Hg. vakar “kratzen, schaben” | Md. æŋįțams “kratzen”. (Bud. no. 991; Wichmann, FUF., xi, 183.)

The words for “nail” and “scratch” were no doubt originally identical, and go back to a primitive stage of the language when noun and verb were only imperfectly distinguished. (Cf. Dr. kaŋ “eye” and “to see”.) Semantically an exact parallel is provided by the Uralian words for “nail”: Fi. kynsi, g. kynnen “nagel, klaue” | LpN. gaza “unguis. ungula” | Md. kẽnäxe “nagel, klaue, huf” | Cher. kũts, etc., “nagel. kralle, klaue, huf” | Zyr. giž “nagel, klaue”; Voty. giž “id.” | Vog. kūnš, etc. | Osty. koŋš, etc., “id.” | SamJu, hada “fingernagel” | T. kâtu “nagel” | O. kad “id.”, etc. (Affr. no. 132.) These words are formed from the same root as the words meaning to “dig, plough, etc.”, namely: Fi. kûntâ “pflügen”; Est. kûnda “id.” | Cher. kûndzem “graben, hervorgraben” | Zyr. kenžan “pflugschar”. The Dravidian words connected with this series are as follows. Ta. keŋtu “to dig, to cut”, kiŋtu “to scratch, poke, dig up, excavate” | Ma. kiŋtu “to sir up, dig” | Ka. gĩɗu “to pinch with the nails” | Te. ceŋdu “to cut to pieces” | Malt. kĩdde “to cut flesh or fish”. Here we find in Dravidian a phonetic development of- ɗ- /ŋ̥- to -ŋ̥- /ŋ-. As a parallel instance of this development we may quote the words meaning “to be ripe, ripen”: Te. panḍu “a fruit, berry; ripe, mature; to grow ripe, mature”, panṭa “ripening; produce, crop”, Go. panḍānā “to become ripe”, Kur. panjna “to ripen”, panḍkō “half-ripe”, Malt. panjeck “ripe” ~ Osty. pantišem “reifen, heranwachsen”, Vog. panišam “reifen”. In the case of this word the original affricate is preserved for the most part in.
Kurukh and Malto. The development is of course parallel to the development of -ffi- out of an original affricate (see above, no. 31).

37. Ta. mulai “breast, teat” | Ma. mula | Ka. mole | Tu. mire | Tod. mozn, morsh “id.” | Te. mola “the waist, middle”.

~Est. målw “vogelbrust” | LpN. mielgga “pectus” | Md. målkä “brust” | Cher. mel “brust” | Voty. mił | Vog. marł “brust” | Osty. mëyl | Hg. mell “id.” (VUr. 36.)

—Gundert ap. Caldwell, Comp. Gr.3, 623; Schrader, ZII., iii, 97.

38. Ta. pokkul, “navel”, pökil “id.” | Ma. pokkil, pokkuł, pödu | Ka. pokkar, pokkur | Tu. putat, puvolu | Te. pokkili | Tod. pokku (Pope), buku (Metz) | Kui püjenji; Kuvi püleri | Brah. pūt “id.”

~Osty. pok'ęn “nabel” | Vog. pixtn, puxen | Md. pokah “id.”. (Toivonen, FUF., xvi, 222.)

—Caldwell, Comp. Gr.3, p. 621. The Dravidian words show an alternation of the intervocalic consonant between a strong form -kk- and a weak form -k-; on the one hand Ta. pokkul, etc., and on the other hand Tu. puvalu<*pukał, etc.


~Fi. vatsa “bauch; magen”, Kar. vačča, g. vačan Ol. vačču “bauch, magen; herz; mutterleib”, Est. wats “wanst, bauch” | Vog. vaš “magen”: vaš-xuri “magenbeutel” (Affir. 160) || Cf. SamJu. wēru, jiedu “darm”, etc. ?

40. Te. prágu “bowels” (<*pergu or *peragu) | Go. pir “belly”.

~Osty. porax “das innere”, põrox “inneres; körper, leib, magen”, põrux “magen, eingeweide” | Vog. por perk in šam-por “herz und magen; seele”, šam-perk “seele” || SamO. pārg,
pärgä, perge “das innere, die eingeweihe, der magen des tieres” | Karag. herge-de “ventre” | Je. fed’i-ko “fisch-magen”. (Anl. 158.)

41. Ta. Ma. mutuku “back, region of the spine; back portion, as of a chair” | Go. murchul “back”; GoM. murculi “back”, molko “id.” | Kui musali “at the back of”, musali giva “to turn the back on” | Brah. massuk “the back between the shoulder-blades”.


~ Schrader, BSOS., VIII, 757.

42. Ka tolle “lungs” (F. Ziegler, E-K. Dict.; not in Kittel in this sense) | Kui sōda “the lungs”.

~ Fi. tävy; Est. tävi “lung” | MdE. tēvīav, M. tēlav | Zyr. Voty. ty “id.” | SamJu. tiwok, liwy, etc. | Je. tiji | O. lūmāktā “id.” (Verw. 58, Stuf. 29.)

43. Ta. uy “to live”; uyir “to breathe, to have life; (sb.) breath, life, soul” | Ma. uyir “life, breath”, uyirkka “to live, revive, survive”, virkuka “to sigh, breathe”, virppu “breath” | Ka. Te. Tu. usuru “breath” | Kur. ujjna “to have life, become animated” | Malt. uje “life; to live”.

~ Est. vaim “geist, seele” | LpN. vuoiga “spiritus, anima, flamen”, vuoigai “spiritum ducere”; K. vijn “atmen”, vuiñas “atemzug, seufzer; geist” | MdM. vajne E. ojne “atem atemzug, geist, seele” | SamJu. jind, wind “seele, hauch” | T. balu, baiu “seele” | Je. beddu | O. kuei “atem, seele”. (Beitr. no. 54, Verw. 59, Anl. 135.)

44. Ta. mūkai “liver”.

~ Fi. maksa “liver” | LpS. mukse | Cher. moks | Zyr.-Voty. mus | MdE. makso, M.maksa | Vog. mai | Osty. mūrye1
In the Dravidian words for “green, yellow” an original vowel -i- has been supplanted by -a-. This is a common enough phenomenon in the southern Dravidian languages, but discussion of it must be reserved for another time. As regards the internal consonant there is a development of -cc- > -tt- in Skt. pittā- “bile” and pittala- “brass”, as also in Ta. pittikam “jasmine”: Ma. picckaam. For the same change, cf. Ta. pittai < *piccai, below (no. 56). The same developments of meaning, i.e. from “green, yellow” to (a) “bile” and (b) “brass” occur in both Dravidian (>Skt.) and Uralian; obvious semantic parallels can be quoted from Ind-European:
Gk. \( \chi \alpha \lambda \rho \sigma \) “bile”, etc., and on the other hand Gk. \( \chi \alpha \lambda \kappa \delta \) “brass, bronze”. The meaning “madness” (as being caused by bile) seems to be peculiar to Dravidian and not to turn up in Sanskrit or the languages derived from it. In Tamil we find piccu used in both senses, “gall” and “madness”. In Kanaresc and Telugu, on the other hand, the native word is restricted to the sense “madness”, while for the original sense “bile, gall” they have reborrowed from Skt. the tatsama Ka. pitta, Te. pittamu. Likewise in Tamil pittam (< Skt.) becomes more usual than piccu.

46. Ta. kurankan “thigh” | Ma. kuraku “quarter of animals; ham, ihigh, loins” | Te. kuru “thigh” | Go. kurki, karki “id.” | Kui kujgu and kuju (pl. kuska); Kuvi kudgu “id.” | Malt. gosge “the thigh” | Kur. khosg “id.”

~ Zyr. kosk, kusk “krelu am leibe”; Voty. kus (st. kusk-) “hüfte, mitte des leibes” | Md. ksk “die weichen, die mitte des leibes” | LpN. gäska “mitte” | Fi. keski “id.”

In this word South Dravidian \( r \) and Go. \( r \) have developed out of original \( s \) (or \( z \)). As further examples of this rhotaism the following can be quoted:

Ta. Ma. Ka. Te. āru “to go out, be extinguished; to grow cool; to be calmed, allayed, appeased”, Go. ārānā “to grow cool, of pottage”: Kui āia “to become cool, cool down”, āspa “to make cold, cool down; to reduce a fire”.

Ta. mara “to forget”, marai “to disappear”, Ka. mare “to forget; to be forgotten; (sb.) disappearance, secrecy”, Te. maracu “to forget”, maru-pađu “to disappear”, Tu. madeyuni “to be out of sight”, Go. marēngānā “to forget”: Malt. masge “to vanish or disappear”, masakd “to vanish”.

Ta. Ma. vičiku “firewood”; Tod. (Metz) berk “id.”: Tu. bejakire “dried leaves used as fuel”, Kui vejgu, veju, pl. veska “firewood”, Kuvi vegu, pl. veska “id.”
Ta. varu "dry, poor", vara "to dry up", Ka. bare "to grow dry, dry up, grow lean", Te. varapu "drought", Tu. bajj "empty, vain", Go. warenḍānā "to shrivel and shrink": Kui vasa "to dry, wither; to be dried up, thin, emaciated".

Ta. yāru, āru "river", Ma. āru, Te. ēru "id.", Go. ye "water" afl-yār "boiling water": Kui ēsu "water".

From these examples it is possible to arrive at a general rule: an original intervocalic -s-(-z-) is preserved in Kurukh, Malto and Kui (where it may further develop into -j-); in Tuḷu this sibilant appears as -j- or -d-; in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannarese, and Telugu it becomes -r-, and in Gondi -r-.

47. Ta. cappai "hip, haunch", cēppu "hip", appu "thigh" | Ka. cappe "the hip bone" | Te. jabbu "the shoulder; the outer side of the thigh".

~Hg. csipš, csipe "os coxae, das hüftbein" | Fi. hävās, hāpās, g. hāpāen, hāppāen "pars dorsi tuberosa ad scapulas (equi, bovis, etc.)". (Bud. no. 392, s-laute 37.)
—Schrader, BSOS., VIII, 758.

48. Tu. palle in morambuda-palle "knee-cap" | Brah. pun "knee", pōchi "knee-cap".

~Fi. polvi "knee" | LpL. puḷva "id." | MdM. pəlː polmaiḍē "knee" | Cher. pulː pul-wuŋ "id." || SamJu. pūly, puḷe "knee" | Je. fuase, fose | O. pūle, pūlsai, pūlei, etc., "id." (Verw. 55, Anl. 174, VUr. 18.)

This word for "knee" is not very widely represented in Dravidian because its place has often been taken by periphrases like Ta- muraṇ-kaḷ "knee" ("bent leg"; likewise muraṇ-kaḷ "(bent arm), elbow"). For the rest it seems likely that GoM. menḍā, Kui menḍa "knee" can be compared to the maiḍē which appears in MdM. pəlmaiḍē "knee". (On Dravidian ṇḍ < ṇḍ see above, no. 36.)
49. Tu. *poțițe* “the calf of the leg” | Te. *pikka* “the calf of the leg” | Kui *pota* “id.” | Go. *photari* “id”; GoM. *pihă* “shin” (< *pisă*); Malt. *poțî* in *bagd–poțî* “calf of the leg” || Skt. *piccha* “the calf of the leg”, *picaṇḍaka*- “the calf of the leg”.


~ SamO. *kuelas*, *kwâlas* “huf”.


~ Fi. *talja* “pellis pilosa” | LpN. *duollje* “pellis” | Vog. *toul*, *toulet*; *tawěl*, *haut, leder* || SamT. *tuaja* “stirnhaut unter dem haare”, etc. (Verw. 56, Sauv. 68.)

~ Caldwell 3, 620; Schrader, BSOS., VIII, 759.

The most primitive form in this list is Te. *tokka* “skin”. All the other words are derivatives made with the suffix -al, and the addition of this suffix results in the weakening of the intervocalic consonant: *tokk(a)+al>* *tokal > togal > toval* *tōl*. The three latter stages are all represented in Kanarese, while in Finno-ugrian a disyllabic form is still preserved in
Vog. *tawēl*, etc. The word without the suffix which appears in Telugu as *tokka*, also found its way very early into Sanskrit as a loanword, where it appears as *tvak* “skin, bark, etc.” (RV+).¹

52. Ta. *porukku* “flake, skin; bark, rind” | Ka. *pere* “the slough of a snake”, *pare* “fold, layer, stratum”, *pare* “scale, film, membrane, slough” | Tu. *pare* “a cataract or web on the eye”, *perevuni* “to be peeled”, *piresuni* “to peel” | Te. *pora* “skin, membrane, film, etc.”, *beraḍu* “bark, rind, shell, hard outer crust”.


53. Ta. *ōti* “woman’s hair”.


54. GoM. (Lind.) *kelk* “hair” (always used in the plural) | Kui *kelu* (*keđu*), pl. *kelka* “feather”.

~LpN. *guolgga* “hair”; LpL. *kuòl̥ka* “hair of an animal”.

55. Ta. *tūval* “feather, down, etc.”, *tūvi* “id.” | Ma. *tūval* “a feather, a painter’s brush”, *toppal* “feathers”. *toppa*

¹. Note that *va* and *o* frequently alternate dialectally in Dravidian. Skt. *tvak* (n. s., st. *tvac-*) has no satisfactory Indo-European etymology. The current etymology, Skt. *tvak* : GK. *σάκος* “shield”, is in any case uncertain on account of the meaning, and the total absence of the word in any other IE. languages is sufficient to confirm the doubts raised by the etymology itself.
wool, animal’s hair” | Ka. tuppur “a feather; the soft plume or down of birds; the fine soft hair of rabbits, etc.”; tippur, tupaṭa, etc., “id.” | Tu. tuyi “a feather, quill, the plume of birds” | Tod. tūf “pen, feather” || Skt. tūla- n. “cotton”, hamsa-tūla- n. “the soft feathers or down of a goose”, tūli- “a painter’s brush”.

~Fi. sulka “feather” | LpN. dolgge “id.” | Md. tolga | Cher. tol “id.” | Zyr. tyl, tyy “feder, flügel” | Vog. taul, tawel | Osty. tor̥al, etc., “id” | Hg. toll “feder” || SamJu. tyly | O. tū, etc., “id.” (Verw. 57.)

—Schrader, BSOS., VIII, 756.

The guttural which appears intervocally in Osty. tor̥al is presumably due to confusion of this word with the similar word meaning “skin” (see above, no. 51). On the other hand, the -g- in Md. tolga, etc., is a suffix and has nothing to do with this. An intervocalic -v- < pp emerges quite clearly from the Dravidian forms.

56. Ta. pittai “a tuft or bundle of hair” (< *piccai | Tu. pucca “braided or plaited hair” | Malt. pice “the feathers of a peacock’s tail”, picale “a peacock in full plume” || Skt. picaññ- n. “tail; peacock’s tail; hairbundle”, puccha- n. “tail”. — Derivatives of this are Kui pisēri “tail feathers of a peacock”, plieri “id.”, Ta. Ma. Tu, pili “id.” (< *piseli), Tu. bila “a tail”.

~Cher. poč “schwanz schweif” | Zyr. bezh; Voty. biž “id.” | Vog. ponš- “schwanz” | Osty. poži “id.” || SamJu. panco “schwanz. (Verw. 56, Anl. 156, Affr. 110.)

57. Ta. Ma. ir “nit, louse’s egg” | Ka. sir, ir “id.”, ir “to comb out nits”, iranige “a comb for removing nits” | Tu. iru “nit”, iruvana “nippick” | Te. iru “nit, egg of a louse”, irucu “to comb out nits” | Go. sir “nit” | Kuvi hiru | Kur. sir “id.”
~Fi. saivar “nits”, saivare “id.”; Est. saeras, pl. saer “id.” | LpN. civros “nisse, eier der laüse” | MdE. šark “nisse” | Zyr. šeral, šerol, etc.; Voty. šer, šer “id.” | Cher. šargaš, etc., “id.” (Paasonen, s.-lauta, 48; Wichmann, FUF., xi, 206.)

On loss of c/s in South Dravidian, see above (no. 2). Primitive Dravidian cir is a contraction of *civar.

58. Ta. inai “vein of a leaf, ilai narampu” | Te. in “the midriff of a leaf or any one of the ribs issuing from it, sira, akula naramu”.

~LpN. suodna “nervous, chorda, vena” | Fi. suoni “ader, sehne” | Md. san “id.” | Cher. šun “sehne” | Zyr. sön “ader, nerv, sehne”; Voty. sen, šin “sehne” | Vog. tén, tân “ader, sehne, saite; schnur” | Osty. tön “id.” | Hg. in “sehne” || SamJu. tien “sehne” | T. tæn | Je. ti | O. cen, ten, etc. | K. then “id.” (Verw. 58, Beitr. no. 32, NyH. 7 26.)

—Schrader, BSOS., VIII, 759.

59. Ta. ir “rib of a palm-leaf”, irkkiš “rib of a palm leaf, olai narampu”, iri “fibres between the pulps in a jackfruit”; tür “root” | Ma. irkkiš “midriff of any palm-leaf” | Ka. sere “vein, artery” | Tu. türü “vein” (E-Tu. Dict.) | Te. sira “vein; vein of a leaf” | Go. cirā “the wrist pulse or tendon”; sir “a root” | Kui siru “root” ||>Skt. sirā or šiřa “nerve, vein, artery, tendon” (MBh. Suṣr.), hird “vein, artery” (AV.), Pa. Pkt. sirā “id.”, Mar. šir “vein, artery; nerve, tendon; gut; vein or fibre of a leaf; a streak resembling it in wood or stone”.

~Voty. ser “ader” | Cher. šer “id.” | Osty. tør “dünner wurzel, faserwurzel, wurzelzweig” | Vog. tör “dünner wurzel, faserwurzel” | Hg.” ūr “ader” | Est. sūre “ader im holz, faser im fleisch, etc.” (Paasonen, s.-lauta, 86-7; NyH. 7 26.)
The developments of meaning are fairly clear. In Ta. īr a secondary meaning only is preserved, precisely as has happened in the case of Ta. inai (no. 58). The meanings “root” and “vein, artery” co-exist in Finno-ugrian, which is natural enough. In Dravidian the two meanings are not found attached to the same word (as far as our information goes), but in view of the state of affairs in the related group of languages, we can feel fairly safe in connecting etymologically the words meaning “root” with the words meaning “vein, etc.”

To regard Skt. sirā as a loanword from Dravidian is more natural from a semantic point of view than to derive it from the root sar- “to flow”, while phonetically the fluctuation of the initial (s- and ś-) suggests that it is not a native word. If this is the case then Skt. hird which appears in the same sense in AV., etc., and later is supplanted by sirā (śirā), may conveniently be regarded as the same word. The change s > h is a common enough feature in various areas of Dravidian, and Skt. hird may very well reflect some dialect in which this change had taken place. In that case it would not be connected with Lat. haru-spex, etc. (Walde-P., i, 604.)

Ka. sere and Te. sira are in all probability reborrowings from Skt. It frequently happens that a Dravidian word adopted in Skt. spreads in that form through the Dravidian languages themselves at the expense of the native words. (A good example is Skt. pittam “bile”; see above no. 45.)

60. Ta. kūr “fibre, leaf-rib; tenon” | Ka. kūru “a tenon”, kūlu “id.”

~Hg. hūr “darm, saite”, hurka “darm, wurst” | SamJu. hurkkü, kurkkü “schnur, strick; schnur von sehnen des renntieres” | Taigi körü “strick”. (Toivonen, FUF., xviii, 190.)

The Tamil Lexicon does not give kūr in the sense “tenon”; nevertheless it uses the word in this sense in defining karuntu as “tenon, poruttuk-kūr”.

8148

—LpS. njōrga “cartilago” | Cher. nōrijō “knorpeil” | Vog. nāri | Osty. nōrō “id” || SamJu. nēr “knorpeil”. (Beitr. no. 115, Verw. 57.)

—Schrader, BSOS., VIII, 759.

62. Ta. elumpu “bone” | Ma. eļu, elumpu “id.” | Ka. eļu, eluvu, elubu; iluvu “id.” | Tu. elu | Tod. elf | Te. emmu, emnuka (<*elm-) “id.”

—Fi. luu “bone” | Cher. lu | Md. lovāža | Zyr. Voly. ly | Vog. lu (st. luv-) | Osty. lDU “id” || SamJu. ly, lē “knochen” | O. ly, lē, etc. | K. le “id.” (Beitr. no. 59; Verw. 58; Wichmann, FUF., xv, 28.)

—Caldwell, 615; Schrader, BSOS., VIII, 758.

Initial l- is not permitted in Tamil; and the same rule originally applied to all the South Dravidian languages, though it has reappeared in most of the languages other than Tamil as a result of secondary developments (Ka. lōle “spittle” <nōle: Te. lēdu “is not” <iladu, etc.). That being the case, a prothetic vowel is to be expected in a word like the present one, where Uralian shows an initial l-. The noteworthy thing about this word is that the prothetic vowel is e-. Normally the prothetic vowel should correspond to the following vowel (Ta. urwam: Skt. rūpa-, ulaku: Skt. loka-, aracan: Skt. rāja, etc.), and so originally it must have done here. The Finno-Ugrian forms represent an original diphthong: *lou. Correspondingly Dravidian must have also had a diphthong, but since the prothetic vowel is e- it must have been *leu rather
than *lou. (For a similar vowel correspondence in the case of the word for "ear", see above, no. 6) Sam. le' would seem to agree with Dravidian rather than with Finno-ugrian on this point, and to support an original form *leyu. This *leyu would develop first to *eleuy by addition of the prothetic vowel and finally to elu through shortening of the second syllable.

63. Ta. mūlai “brain, marrow” | Ma. mūla “id.” | Ka. midu “id.” | Te. medādū “brain”, mūlaga “the marrow in a bone” | Go. maddur “brain or marrow” | Kui mili “bone marrow”, kāda-mūla “the brain” | Malt. medo “the brain” | Kur. meddo “brain”, neddo “id.”, murmā “marrow” | Brah. mili “marrow”.

~ (a) Hg. velo “marrow, brain” | Osty. ueləm, uetəm “marrow” | Vog. βελον “id.” | Zyr. vem, vim “gehirn, mark”; Voty. vijim, vim “id.” | Cher. vem “marrow” | Md. ud’imē | Fi. yin (g. yitem); Est. üdi “id.” || SamMot. mui “mark”. (Verw. 58, NyH. 37, KonsP. 268.)

(b) LpN. vuoinamaš “gehirn” | Fi. aivo “id.” | Md. uy “gehirn, mark” || SamJu. ſemaei “gehirn” | T. d’ia | Je. ae, ebe | O. kou, kūn, kūm “id.” (Verw. 58, Beitr. no. 354, Sauv. 131)

The phonetic changes involved in this case are somewhat complicated, and need a few words of explanation. In the first place it is to be observed that the Uralian forms are characterized by loss of final -l (or -l). Attention has already been called to this phenomenon and a number of examples have been given. (See above, no. 15.) This being the case we must regard Hg. velo, etc., as representing original *vedul; likewise SamMot. mui stands for original *mūl, and Md. uy, etc., for original *vūl (loss of initial v: Anl. 138, NyH. 30). This latter form also lies behind SamO. kōu, kūn, kūm, since an initial k- develops before v in this language (Anl. 44-51). The
final -m which appears in many languages (Vog. βelam, etc.) may represent an original -l, since that also seems to be the case in the word for grass: Dr. pul ~ Hg. sū, Osty. pūm, Vog. pum.

Turning to the intervocalic consonant, the various forms of this word are characterized by an alternation δ ~ 0 (NyH. 1' 37). The strong form is represented in Dravidian by Ka. midu, etc., and the weak form by Ta. mūlai, etc. Correspondingly the strong forms in Uralian are Osty. uēīm, etc., the weak forms Md. uj, SamMot. mul, etc.

Initially Dravidian m- corresponds to Uralian v-. In one dialect of Samoyede an initial m- is found; otherwise v- is universal in Uralian. In Dravidian no forms with initial v- occur. This correspondence is presumably to be explained by some kind of alternance between m- and v-, of which quite a number of examples can be quoted from Dravidian:

Ma. mina "work, action"; vina "id.", Ta. vīnai "action, deed, work, effort", Tu. benpini "to labour, work, to plough" [Te. minnaka uṇḍu "to keep quiet."]

Ta. Ma. mizi "to open the eyes, stare: (sb.) eyeball pupil of the eye": Ta. viri "id."

Ta. mel "to return, come back; (tr.) to bring back, redeem", Ma. miłuka "id.": Ma. vīłuka "to return; (tr.) to get back, redeem; to avenge".

Ta. miru "to go beyond, exceed, transgress, be in excess; to be great, haughty", Ma. miłuka "to exceed, transgress", Te. Ka. miru "to go beyond, exceed, transgress; to be excessive, proud, etc.", Kui mija "to exceed, excel, surpass": Ta. viru "to be distinguished, pre-eminent; to increase; (sb.) excellence, distinction, abundance", Ma. viruka "to be grand, dignified; to be puffed up, proud".
Ta. mittāvai “boiled rice, porridge, gruel, a preparation of dhal”: Ta. vittāvai “boiled rice, gruel, thick fluid”.


Ta. merul “to be frightened”, miraī “id.” mirattu “to frighten”, Ma. merul “fright”, merulkā “to be scared”, mirulkā “to start, be shaken by fear”: Ta. veru “fear, dread”, veruwu “to be frightened”, verul “to be frightened; (sb.) fear”, veruttu “to frighten”, Ma. verulkā “to be frightened”, Go. waritānā “to fear”.

Ta. méy “to thatch, cover a roof”, Ma. méyka “to thatch a house”: Ta. véy “to thatch, cover with a roof”, Tu. bēpuni “to thatch the roof of a house, etc.”, Go. wēsānā “to thatch”, Kui vega “to thatch”, via, viori “a thatch, grass used for thatching”.


Ta. mēttu “mound, heap of earth”, Ka. miṣṭe “rising ground, a hill”, Te. metta “raised or high ground, hill, hillock”, Go. mattā “a mountain”: Ka. heṭṭa, heṭṭu “hill, mountain”.

Ka. mase “to whet, sharpen”, Go. mastānā “to sharpen”: Ta. vai “sharp”, Ka. basi “id.”, Kui vaspa “to sharpen”.

Kuvi manji “rice”: Go. wanji “id.”.

On the Uralian side a similar fluctuation of initial v- and m- is noticed by K. Donner in Samoyede (Anl. 26–7, 56 ff.). In view of these facts the assumption of a correspondence
Drav. \( m \)- ~ Ural. \( v \)- in the word for marrow can be regarded as justified by the phonetic tendencies observed in the languages concerned. The causes and conditions of this phenomenon are, of course, not at all clear, but it is presumably to be looked on in the same light as the similar alternation between intervocalic \(-m\)- and \(-v\)-. The following words may be quoted as examples of this:


Ta. namuṇu “lower lip,” Ma. ammitam “id.”: Ka. avuḍu “jaw; lower lip”, Te. avuḍu, audu “the under lip”.

Ta. Ṛemīṭu “to press, squeeze”, nimūṭu “to pinch”, Ma. Ṛamunuṇṭu “to squeeze”: Ma. Ṛevīṭu “to squeeze”, Tu. naṇuṇṭu “to pinch”.


Ta. camai “to get ready, prepare”, Ma. camekka “to prepare, cook”, Ka. same “to prepare, make ready”: Ka. sav “id.”

Ma. kamir “to be overturned, turned upside down” : Ta. kavir “id.”, Ka. kaviku “id.”

~ Fi. kumota “to turn upside down”, Md. komaftoms “umwerfen”: LpN. gavotet “auf den rücken legen”.

Similar examples are common in Finno-ugrian, and a good number are enumerated by Setala. (Stuf. 3 ff.)

Yet another complication of the initial consonant of this word appears in the Dravidian forms beginning with \( n\)-: Kui nili “bone-marrow” and Kur. neddo “brain”. An initial \( i\)- also appears in SamJu. Ṛemaei “brain”, and may also be represented by \( d\)- in SamT. d’ia “id.” In Dravidian an exact
parallel to this treble treatment of the initial is found in the words meaning "swallow" (see above, no. 4): m- in Ma. mizunnu, Te. mingu, Ka. mingu “to swallow”, v- in Ta. vunjku, and n- in Ka. niŋu, Ta. noļu, Ka. noñe “id.” In this case the Uralian languages show initial n- (LpN. njełat, etc.). Since the distribution of the various initials does not coincide in the two groups, it is clear that we are not dealing with special developments in the individual languages, but with a fluctuation that must have already existed in the parent language.

64. Ta. ū “flesh, meat”, ūn “flesh, muscle, meat; body” | Kui ṳju (pl. ūnga) “flesh, meat, fleshy part of fruit”; Kuvi ţxy, pl. ūnga “flesh”.

~LpN. ofdaye “cero, corpus; libido”, LpK. viņčē, viņč “fleisch” | Est. oza; Liv. yoža “id.” || SamJu. omsa,  nợmsa, etc. | T. ămsu | Je. uc’a, oza | K. 𬒈a | Koib. 天空部落 “id.”

It must be assumed that a final -č has disappeared in Tamil, a process which is not uncommon (cf. pai : pacu “yellow”, no. 45, etc.).


~Zyr. kars “ausschlag, flechte, krätze”, kars, kars “grind auf der birkenrinde”; Voty. kars “moosflechte” | Fi karsta “russ; schlacke; krätze”; Vot. karssa “krätze”. (KonsP. 359.)

The Kurukh word shows metathesis of s and r. In other cases the r is assimilated, but its presence originally is indicated by the voicing of the initial consonant in Ka. Te. gajji (see above, no. 31).
In “Dravidian Studies III” (BSOS., XI, 133) the words meaning “itch” are confused with the words meaning “to bite”. They should be distinguished from each other. The words meaning “to bite” are as follows:

Ta. kaccu “to bite, gnaw, nibble” | Ka. karcu. kaccu “to bite, to sting” | Tu. kaccuni “to bite” | Te karacu” “id.” | Kui kasa “to bite, sting” : Kuvi kachali “id.” | Go. kaskänä “to bite” | Malt. qaswe “to nip off with the teeth, eat greedily”.

These words have nothing to do with the words meaning “itch”, and are to be compared to the following Finno-ugrian words:

LpN. gäsket “mordere, rodere”, S. kasket “mordere” | Cher. katškam, etc., “essen” | Voty. kurtššinį “beissen”; Zyr. kurtššinį “id.” (Setälä, FUF., ii, 227; Wichmann, FUF., ix, 118; Toivonen, FUF., xix, 121.)

66. Ka. kēma “callosity as that of a wart” (>Te. kēmamu “id.” | Ma. kēman “strength, solidity” | Te. cēva “essence, core, pith, substance, strength”.

~ Md. kēme “hart, fest” | Fi. kāmā “steifer zustand”, kāmeđ “dick, fest” | Hg. kemény “hart, fest” | SamO. köm,kūm “hart” | K. komdel’am “härten”. (Beitr. no. 7, Verw. 35.)

67. Tu. kēre; kērekāry “a scaly-skinned leg”, kēremēyil “a scaly skin” | Ka. keraku “a scab” | Ma. cirašnu, Ta. cirašku “id.”

~ Hg. kēreg “rinde, kruste” | Osty. kär “rinde (des baumes); schorf (auf d. wunde)”, kērep “schorf, krätze” | Vog. kerep “schale” | Md. kēr “lindenrinde” | Cher. kēr “id.” | Fi. keri “dieinnere birkenrinde” | SamO. kerdp, etc., “schinden, die haut abziehen” | K. khirtim “id.” (Verw. 44, NyH. ’49.)
68. (a) Ta. pokku “to be blistered”, pokkuḷam “boil”, pokkuḷi vb. őttal “to rise in blisters” | Ma. pokkuḷa, pokkiḷa “blister, vesicle, bubble, waterbladder” | Ka. puguḷ “a blister, vesicle”, bokke “a pustule, pimple, blister” | Tu. pokke blister, pustule; sore, ulcer”, bokki, bokke “an itch, pustule, pimple” | Te. pokku “a blister, pustule, pock, pimple; (vb.) to blister, be blistered” | Malt. poka “a blister, a blain” | Kur. pokkha “to get blistered” || Hi. phoskā “blister”, Nep. phoko “blister, boil, ulcer, tumour; bubble”.

(b) Tu. poṭla “a pustule, blister” | Go. bōṭṭā “blister” | Kui. poḍosi “boil, blister”, poṭkori “a blister”, āḍipuṭi “small-pox pustule” | Brah. pūṭurō “a blister” || > Skt. piṭaka-, piṭaka “boil, blister, pimple, pustule”, Pa. piṭakā “id.”

~ Zyr. piški, pišti “schutzblätter, impfser; muttermal”, piška “blatter, pocke”; Voty. poški, poške “hautausschlag, eiterbeule; blister, pocke”; cf. Voty. poškitinti “aufstechen (geschwür, eiterbeule)”, peštini “aufbrechen (intr. v. geschwür, eiterbeule)” (KonsP. 273, 328) || SamO. pükka “blase”.

The Finno-ugrian forms of this word show a fluctuation between -śl- and -st-. The origin of this is not clear, but it is plainly reflected in Dravidian, where with the usual assimilations śl has developed into -kk- and -st- (through -št-) into -tt- (< -ṭ-, -ḍ-). An unassimilated form is to be found in Hi. phoskā, which must have been borrowed from some Dravidian language in which -śl- was preserved. Such a combination is common for instance in Gondi, e.g. kaskānā “to bite” ~ LpS. kasket, kiskānā “to pinch” ~ Zyr.-Voty. kisk- “reissen, zupfen”, Fi. kiskoa “evellere”.

69. Ta. koppuḷ “bubble; blister”, koppuḷam “id.”, kumir “bubble”, kumiri “bubble; (vb.) to rise in bubbles, pustules” | Ma. koppuḷ “bubble; blister”, kumala, kumila “a bubble” | Tu. gobbuli “a bubble”, gulle “bubble; blister, pustule, vesicle”. 
70. Tu. kämpary “a carcase”.

71. Tu. kujary “the stench of urine” | Ka. koccu “id.”

72. Ta. pi “excrement”, pižukkai “dung of sheep, goats, rats, etc.”, puruikkai (colloq.) “id.”, picakku “to soil” | Ma. pi “excrement”, pižukku “excrement of rats, snakes, etc.”, piţa “excrement of rats” | Ko. pi “excrement”, pisaru “the filth of the body; rheum of the eye”, piţke “the dung of goats, sheep, deer, rats, etc.” (pikke, hikke) | Tu. pi “excrement”, pênci “filth, dirt” | Te. piyyi (low) “excrement”, pisa “greasiness or dirt in the hair”, pêda “the dung of cattle” | Go. pin “human ordure” | Kui pia (pl. pînga) “excretion, dung” | Kur. pik “excrements; earwax” | Malt. piku “dung” | Brah. pi “id.”

~Fi. kœpla “wasserblase, fischplace, beule, geschwulst”, kuula, kuulo “blase, beule, geschwulst” | Cher. kóβãl, kóβl “wasserblase” | Hg. hólyag “blase”, (dial.) hupolag, hupolyag, huppolag “id.” | Osty. Xomãl “blase, pustel, schwiele; schwimmbased. fische”, kəməml “wasserblase”. (Toivonen, FUF., xx, 56.)

In Ta. *pi*, etc., a final *c* or *s* has been lost in the Dravidian words, a phenomenon which has already been observed (cf. Ta. *pai* "yellow", no. 45, Ta. *ū* "flesh", no. 64). A similar development is found in the word for "wash";—

Ka. *mi* "to take a bath, to bathe; (tr.) to bathe, to wash", Tu. *mipini* "to take a bath, to wash oneself;" Go. *mihitānā* "to wash someone else’s body, especially infants", Kui *miva* "to bathe oneself", *mispa* "to bathe another", Kur. *mūjnā* "to wash the face of", Brah. *mashing* "to wash the head",


(Beitr. no. 2; 310, Verw. 70, KonsP. 321.)

Toivonen, loc. cit., compares with some hesitation Voty. *pičkiškini* "sich bei der befriedigung des bedürfnisses sehr anstrengen", with the above mentioned FU. words. It is doubtful if there is any connection (cf. KonsP. 306). On the Dravidian side this latter word may be compared with Go. *pidūkānā* "to strain at stool", and other words meaning "to press" (Kuvi *picali*, Tu. *pisuni*, etc.).

**NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS**


WORKS REFERRED TO


Stuf. = E. N. SETÅLÅ. Über art, umfang und alter des stufenwechsels im finnisch-ugrischen und samojedischen. FUF., xii (Anzeiger), 1914.


VUr. = T. LEHTISALO. Zur geschichte des vokalismus der ersten silbe im uralsichen vom qualitativen standpunkt aus. FUF., xxi, pp. 5–55, 1933.
An initial y- is found in Tamil only before long ā in such words as yānai elephant, yātu goat, yāru river, yāmaī, tortoise, etc. Side by side with these forms we also have forms without the initial y-, ānai, ātu, etc., and an examination of literary usage shows that the forms with initial y- are the earlier and gradually give place to the forms in which the initial y- has been dropped. In the early anthologic is the forms with initial yā-greatly preponderate; in Middle Tamil literature yā- and ā-forms are indifferently used; while in Modern Tamil, particularly in the spoken language, ā-forms alone are current.¹

The following is a list of such words together with their cognates in the other Dravidian languages:

Ta. yā, ā to bind, tie; to dam up, stop, confine, yākkai binding, bond; body, ākkai body; strips of fibre used for thatching, yāppu binding, bond; metre, prosody, āppu bandage, tie; body; wedge, Ma. āppu wedge, plug, what stops a crevice, Ka. āpu a restraint, a stoppage, what stops, Malt. āye to tie, bind, 3rd p. t. ēcha, ēpu the fibres of a wild plant of which cord is made, Kur. ēp string, cord, rope, (with prothetic h-) ēhēnā to tie, bind, 3rd p. t. ēhēcas.

Ta. yātu, ātu goat, sheep, Ma. ātu id. Ka. ādu goat, Tu. ēgu, Tod. ādu id., Te. ētu ram, Go. yēśi a she-goat, Kūi ōda a goat, Kur. ērā, Malt ēre id., Brah. hēt she-goat, female hill-goat | >Skt. eda-m. a kind of sheep, edī f. a female sheep, ewe, edāka- m. a kind of sheep, ram, wild goat, Pa. ēlaka- m. a ram, wild goat, Khar. Doc. heṭi:

¹. K. V. Subbāyya, The Pronouns and Pronominal Terminations of the First Person in Dravidian (Dravidic Studies II), p. 17 (Madras, 1923).
he'di pašava (633) sheep or goats. The Kur. and Malto words are in all probability reborrowings from IA., as J. Bloch says (BSOS., v, 740). So also are Ta. ērakam (Cil. x, 5) and Ka. ēlaga. It is interesting to note that the prothetic h- which appears in Brahui is also attested for the North-western Prakrit in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents.

Ta. yāntu, āntu year, Ma. āntu id., Ka. ēdu time, Tu. -odū in iyōdū this year, mūvōdū last year, Te. ēdu year, Go. (Trench) yēnd this year, hēnd the year before last, (Patwar-dhan) yeda (i. e. yēda) year, Kui Īndū last year.

Ta. yāmai, āmai tortoise, Ma. āma tortoise, turtle, Ka. āme, āve, ēve, Tu. ēme id.

Ta. yāru, āru river, Ma. āru, Te. ēru id., Go. yēr water, aṭ-yār boiling water, Kol. yēr water, Kui ēsu, Kuvi ēyu id. (BSOAS., xi (1944), 346).

Ta. yānai, ānai elephant, Ma. āna, Ka. āne, Tu. āne, Tod. ān, Te. ēnūgu, ēnika, Go. yēni id.

Ta. yān I, Ma. ān, Ka. ān, Tu. yānu, Tod. ān, Kot āne, Te. ēnu, Kui. ēnu, Go. anā, Prj. Kl. ān, Kur. Malt- ēn, Brah. i.

Ta. yām we (exclusive), Ma. ḫāiṇaṭ, Ka. ām, Tod. ām, ēm, ēm, Kot. āme, Te. ēnu, Kui. ēmu, Go. ammaṭ, Kl. Naiki ām, Prj. am, Kur. Malt. ēm id.

In addition there are a number of words in Tamil beginning with \( yā \) - for which etymologies are not available in the related languages: \( yā, \ \text{ā}^1 \) a kind of tree, \( yāṅar \) newness, freshness, beauty, \( yāri, \ \text{ār}i \) door (only lex.) \( yāḷa \) an expletive of the second person, \( yāṭol, \ \text{ār}al \) white ants, \( yāṭ \) a musical instrument (\( \text{vīnā} \)), \( yāḷi, \ \text{āl}i \) a mythological lion-faced animal with elephantine proboscis and tusks; a lion.

The examination of these phonetic correspondences is worthy of some attention, particularly as no less than three important pronouns common to all the Dravidian languages are to be found in this list. Before, however, considering the purely phonetic side, there are certain complications to be cleared up in connection with pronouns of the 1st person (sing. and pl.); namely the existence of forms with initial \( n \)-besides those with initial \( y \):-

**Sing.**—Ta. \( nān \) I, Ma. \( nān \) (only this form), Ka. \( nānu, \ \text{Te. nēnu, Kuvi nānu.} \** 

**Plur.**—Ta. \( nām \) we, Ma. \( nām, nōm \), Ka. \( nāmu, nāvu, Tu. nama, Kod. narīga, Te. nēmu, manamu, Kur. Malt. \( nām \), Brah. \( nan \).

In explaining this duality we must begin with the 1st person plural. We have here essentially not two forms of the same pronoun but two different pronouns, one which includes \( (nām) \) and the other which excludes the persons addressed \( (yām, ēm) \). Though found in most Dravidian

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1. Cil. xii, *Uraip-\text{pāṭṭu-maṭai} I. āvum āramum*. The commentators interpret this as \( \text{āccā} \) (\( sāl \) tree, Shorea robusta) which the Tamil Lexicon incorrectly renders "ebony" (Ta. \( ār, \ \text{āṭī} \), Bauhinia racemosa and tormentosa) There is, however, a variant reading \( yāvum \), and in view of the frequent fluctuation of \( ā \) and \( yā \)-forms it would be natural to regard \( ā \) here as a variant of \( yā \). The \( yā \) tree is frequently mentioned in the early poetry as a tree found in desert tracks, but its exact nature does not seem to be known. The word is presumably long obsolete.
languages, this distinction is not universal; it is not found for instance in Kanarese, Gondi, or Brahui. Consequently many people have doubted whether it is original. This is the view expressed for instance by Sten Konow in the Linguistic Survey of India: “It seems necessary to infer that the original Dravidian language had not developed a double plural of this pronoun. The probability of this supposition is strengthened by the fact that Kanarese, Gondi, and Brahui only possess one form for ‘we’. The use of the double plural can accordingly be due to a tendency which has been adopted from a different family, and if that be the case we can only think of the Munḍa languages where there is a similar set of dual and plural forms of the personal pronoun of the first person.” In this view he is followed by K. V. Subbaya and others.

Nevertheless the main weight of evidence is against this hypothesis. Konow’s main argument that “the exclusive form in Kuruṭh, Kui, and Telugu is essentially identical with the inclusive form in Tamil and Malayalam” is incorrect, as is evident even from the table he gives himself. A further examination of the material shows it to be the exact opposite of the truth. The situation in Tamil appears to be as follows: In the early literature yāṁ and nāṁ are used side by side and apparently the distinction between the two has been blurred. Nevertheless in his commentary on Tolkāppiyam, Coll. 162, Naccinarkkiniyar definitely states that yāṁ is the exclusive, nāṁ the inclusive plural. In modern Tamil the distinction is observed and nāṁ is used

1. iv, 293–4.
3. LSI., iv, 293.
4. E.g. yāṁ used inclusively: Cilapp. vi, 27. amarar-talai-
vanai vananikutum yāṁ ena “we will worship the lord of the gods”
(a vidyādhara is speaking to his wife).
for the inclusive plural; for the exclusive plural a new formation, páśkal, is used. The state of affairs in Malayalam corresponds essentially to that in modern Tamil: inclusive nām, nōm, exclusive nāṭial. In the other Dravidian languages, where a distinction between inclusive and exclusive plural is observed, those forms that correspond phonetically to Tamil yām—Tu. enkuḷu, Te. ēmu, Kui āmu, Kur. Malt. ēm—have invariably an exclusive meaning, and on the other hand the forms corresponding to Ta. nām—Tu. nama, Te. manamu,1 Kur. Malt. nām—have without exception an inclusive meaning. This full correspondence of form and meaning cannot be mere coincidence, and can definitely be held to indicate the existence of the distinction in primitive Dravidian. This does not of course exclude Konow's theory that the existence of the two forms is due to Kolarian influence, since it is possible that such an influence was exercised very early on Dravidian, before the splitting up into various languages.

Whereas in the plural of the first person two forms with different meaning are to be postulated for the parent language, in the first person singular only one form—that represented in Tamil by yān—is to be regarded as original. This is clear because the forms beginning with n- only appear in comparatively modern times. Thus in Tamil only yān is known to the early texts and nān makes its appearance much later. Likewise in Kanarese and Telugu nānu and nēnu are respectively later than ānu and ēnu. In Kuvi the form nānu is an innovation as opposed to ānu in the sister-dialect Kui.

1. In Telugu, Kui, and Gondi the oblique cases of these pronouns begin with m- as a result of apharesis of the initial vowel: thus corresponding to the Ta. dative emakku "to us" we have Te. mākun (<*emakun), Kui māngī, and Go. mākun. From these forms m- is extended to the nominative: thus modern Telugu mēmu for older ēmu, Kuvi māmbu besides Kui āmu, Go. manmañ besides ammañ. Telugu goes further and prefixes it to the inclusive nām/nam as well, thus producing the disyllabic form manamu.
The correct explanation of these modern forms would seem to be that given by M. Collins in his *Remarks* to K. V. Subbayya's treatise,\(^1\) namely that *n-* of the inclusive plural *nām* has been tacked on to the singular. Just as *yān* of the singular corresponds to *yām* (excl.) of the plural, so a form *nān* is created by analogy corresponding to the plural *nām* (incl.).

It is thus clear that the pronominal forms beginning with *n-* can be ignored in discussing the phonetic developments of the words which in Tamil begin with *yā*-. The only serious discussion of these words which has appeared is that of Subbayya.\(^2\) He points out with examples that a primitive Dravidian *ā* appears as such in all the languages and likewise a primitive Dravidian *ē* is also found to be preserved throughout. Consequently he argues when we find in the case of these words an *ē* in some languages (e.g. Te. *ēnu, ēnugu*, etc.) corresponding to *ā* in others (Ka. *ānu, āne*, etc.), the original sound must have been different from either *ā* or *ē*. So far his argument is correct, but in deciding what the original sound was he goes wrong in that he fails to give a satisfactory account of the Tamil forms beginning with *yē*.

Subbayya's theory is that Primitive Dravidian had in these words a vowel half way between *ā* and *ē*, which he writes *ē*. This vowel, he says, develops in some languages to *ā* and in others to *ē*. This theory does not account adequately for early Tamil *yā*, and Subbayya's attempt to explain it on these lines does not fit in with the known facts. His argument is as follows: In the modern Dravidian languages the initial front vowels *e-, ē-, i-, i-* are pronounced *ye-, yē-, yi-, yi-*; thus Tamil *eli* rat is pronounced *yeli, erumai* buffalo as *yerumai*, and so forth; likewise the *ē*, which he assumes must have been pronounced *yē*, and this, he says, was represented in

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early Tamil by yā-; later when a came to be pronounced a the intrusive y- element was dropped.

This ingenious theory is unacceptable for the following reasons. Firstly, in view of the general accuracy of Indian alphabets it is usually the best policy to believe that they meant what they wrote. Secondly, this initial y- sound in eli, erumai, etc., is introduced normally when the words stand by themselves, or after a pause; whereas yān, yānai etc., turn up in all positions. Thirdly, and most important, these words are often found in the early texts to have disyllabic pronounciation:

\[\text{ivān iyār}^a \text{ who is this? PN. 13.1.} \]

\[\text{pēr iyār}^a \text{ a big lute. Perumpān}^o 462.\]

\[\text{irai tēr ven kuruk allat iyāvatum} \text{ nothing but the white crane seeking its prey. KuT. 113.} \]

\[\text{ven köṭṭ iyānai} \text{ an elephant with white tusks. KuT. 65.} \]

These and other examples make it quite clear that we have in these cases an original diphthong īṣīdīa and no mere secondary addition of y- to a front vowel as Subbaya assumes. This being the case it seems best, instead of trying to explain away the y- in early Tamil form, to make it the basis of our explanation. We can assume for primitive Dravidian a compound phoneme iā (under certain conditions pronounced ṭīṭa) which is pre-

1. L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Dravidic Glides, published in A Miscellany of Papers (Vyā sasāngrahamu) presented to G. V. Ramamurti, Guntur. 1933, pp. 60 ff.

2. In cases like ven köṭṭ-iyānai the i is shorter than the usual i and is called kurī iyal ikaram by the Tamil grammarians. It corresponds to the kurī iyal ukaram: thus köṭṭu + yānai = köṭṭiyānai. Naturally it makes no difference whether we write köṭṭi yānai or köṭṭ iyānai. For the Tamil, who did not separate words, the question did not arise.
served in early Tamil, but elsewhere becomes ā or ē. This is the simplest and most obvious theory to fit the facts as they exist.

Turning again to the list of words given above, it appears that the distribution of ā and ē as representatives of primitive Dravidian ī ā is on the whole fairly regular. In modern Tamil, Kanarese, Toda, and Malayalam ā is the rule, whereas in Telugu, Gondi, Kurukh, and Malto the regular treatment is ē. In Tamil and Malayalam there are no irregularities, unless we count a loanword from Skt., yānam a watch in the night, which appears also in the variant form ēnam	extsuperscript{1}. Kanarese usually has ā-, but ēve tortoise appears beside āme, ēve, while Ta. yāṇṭu yēār āppēārs ās Kā. ēdu time. This is presumably due to interdialectal mixture, which is also a feature in Tuḷu. In the latter language the regular treatment is ē-, ēdu goat; ēme tortoise, but ā- appears in āne elephant. In the first person singular of the pronoun, y- is quite exceptionally preserved in this language: yānu I, though there is also a variant form ēnu. Toda has regularly ā-: ān elephant, ādu goat, but in the first person plural of the pronoun ēm occurs beside ām and ēm. The treatment in Telugu is regularly ē- with no exceptions. In Kui- Kūvi the regular treatment would appear to be ā-, to judge from ānu I and ē-āndu last year. On the other hand we find ē- in Kui ēsū, Kuvi ēyu water. Gondi regularly has ye- (i.e. ē-; y- is a “glide” of the type mentioned above), but in the compound at-yār boiling water the original yā- appears. Yā also appears in Go. yāyāl mother; cf. Ta. yāy. For Parī and Naiki- Kolami evidence is available only for the pronouns where ā- appears. The northern languages are regular with

\[1\] Another loanword āttīdī procession (> yāttā) already appears without the initial y- in one of the earliest texts (KuT. 293). In more modern Ta. the y- is restored from Sāṃskrit.
The interrogative pronoun, Ta. yār who?, etc., behaves peculiarly in a number of respects. In the first place the initial y- is preserved more widely than is the case with the other words. It is used in modern Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese where otherwise initial y- has disappeared. Forms showing the regular treatment ā- also occurs in these three languages, and it is to be assumed that the retention of y- in Ta. Ma. Ka. yār, etc., beside ār, etc., is due to the need for clarity. Another peculiarity is the occurrence of forms with initial d- in Ka. and Tu.: dāru, dāva, etc., beside yāru, yāva etc. With these forms Brah. dēr who? has been compared. It is doubtful however, whether the Brah. and Ka.-Tu. words belong together, since Brah. d- may here have developed out of n-, as it has done in a number of other words:

Brah. ditar blood: Ta. neyttör, Ka. nettar, Te. netturu, Tu. netterỹ, Kui. nederi, Go. nattur, Klm. natur, Prj. nētir.
Brah. dē sun: Ta. nāyiru, nāyiru, Ka. nēsar id.
Brah. dūi tongue: Ta. Ma. nā, nāvu, Tod. nāf, Ka. nālage, Te. nālika id.

1. Understandably in the case of Tamil, for instance, where, in addition to ār who?, there are at least six other homonymous words ār: (1) ār to become full, (2) ār to shout, (3) ār to combine with, join; resemble, (4) ār = aru rare, difficult (before vowels), (5) ār mountain ebony, (6) ār spoke of a wheel.


3. On the other hand n- is sometimes preserved: in the pronouns nan we, num you, ni thou, and in the words nughushing to swallow (compare Ta. nūṅk, noṅk, Ma. noṅṇu, Ka. nuṅgu, Tu. ninguni, Kur. nunukhṇā, Malt. nunge), and nusing to crush, grind (compare Ta. Ma. nūṭu, nūṛkk to crush, grind, Ka. nuṛi, Tu. nuripuni, Go. nōṛāṇa, Kuvi (Fitzg.) nuiyali). The reason for this duality of treatment is not at present clear.
In view of this evidence it is probably best to compare Brah. dēr with the forms that occur in Kurukh and Malto, the languages most closely related to Brabui: Kur. nē who?, Malt. nē, nēreh, nēth who? The initial n- here is presumably to be classed with the other cases of prothetic n- which appear commonly in Dravidian, and a close parallel to these words is to be found in Kur. nēg sacrificial rite, which can be derived from Skt. yāga- sacrifice.

To return to the Ka. and Tu. forms dāru, dāva, etc., it would seem that we have here a case of sporadic development of y- to d-. A parallel case is Ka. davasa corn, grain, which is derived from Skt. yavasa-. In this case an intermediate form with j- is to be assumed (Pkt. jayasa), and likewise in the case of the interrogative pronoun an intermediate form jāne occurs in Tulu. That a change y>j>d takes place only in this word is due to the fact that y- in the other words disappeared very early, and only in the case of the interrogative pronoun was it preserved long enough for this change to operate.

In the words so far discussed an alternative ē/ā in the Dravidian languages is seen to be explicable in terms of the early Tamil forms beginning with yā-. There are, however, in addition one or two words where such an interchange takes place without there being any yā- forms in early Tamil:


Ka. ārisu to collect, gather; select, pick out, choose: Te. ērcu to choose, select pick out.

Ka. ār yoke of oxen plough: Ta. Ka. ēr, Te. ēru id.

In the case of the last word an initial s- or c- has disappeared in the southern languages, as appears from comparison of Kui sēru yoke of oxen and Go. sēr plough. In the case of the other two words it is not possible at present to
account for the variation of the vowel. All that can be said is that Subbayya, for instance, is not justified in treating the correspondence Ta. āḻ : Te. ēlu on the same footing as the words which in early Tamil begin with yā-, since no form *yāḻ appears.

The forms of the pronouns listed above are those of the nominative case. In the oblique cases shortened forms appear:—

First person sing.: Ta. en- (acc. ennai, dat. enakkü), Ma. en- (enne, enikkü), Ka. enman, enage, Tu. enany, enku, Koḻ. yenna, yenaku, Tod. yen, yenak, Te. nanun nākun (*enakun), Kui nāŋgi, Kuvi nange, Go. nākun, Kl. anung me, anna my, Prj. anung, an, Kur. engan, engā, Malt. engen, enge.

First person plur. (excl.): Ta. emakkü (dat.), etc., Ma. ēnha!-, ŋaṅha!-, Ka. emman, emage, Tu. ēnku!-, Tod. yem, yemak, Te. mākun (<*emakun), Kui māngi, Kuvi mange, Go. mākun, Prj. am our, Kl. ammed our, Kur. emāge, eman, Malt. eme, emen.


It is a regular characteristic of early Dravidian that a long radical vowel is shortened when certain (presumably accented) suffixes are added. Thus corresponding to the nominatives tām they themselves and nām we (inclusive) the dative in Ta. is tamakkü, namakkü (original accentuation tamakkü, namakkü). Corresponding to this, the original shortened forms of yāṅ and yām would be *yanakkü and

*yamakku. Initial *ya, however, is not tolerated in any Dravidian language, not even in Tamil, which is alone in preserving initial *yā-; consequently this *ya- has developed in most of the languages to e-, in Parji and Kolami apparently to a-. It will be observed that this initial e- does not obey the rule for original e* formulated in Dravidian Studies II, namely that e in the first syllable becomes i in Tamil and Malayalam when followed by an a- vowel in the next syllable. The vowel e- is preserved in Ta. emakku, etc., in contradistinction to the rule which appears in words like Ta. viḷaṅku to shine (<*veḷaṅku), piṅai female of animals (<*peñai), civa to become red (<*ceva), etc. This difference of treatment finds its obvious explanation in the fact that the e- of emakku differs from the e- in the other words in that it goes back to original *ya-.

The same development takes place in Sanskrit words beginning with ya- when borrowed into Dravidian languages. Thus: Ta. ecu<yaju-, ecamāna<yajamāna-, entiram<yantra-, Emunai<Yamunā, eti<yati-; Ka. eti<yati-, etana<yatna, ethecchā<yathecchā, etc. A treatment a- is much less frequent: Ta. Asōtai<Yaśodā (Cilapp. xvi, 46), Ka. amaḷ pair, Te. amaḷa<yamala-. A restitution of the regular Sanskrit forms is of course frequent in the more modern texts.

A similar development is to be found in the Tamil word eḻāl musical notes of the yār, the yār itself, the human voice, etc. This is obviously derived from the word yār: yār+suffix āl>*yarāl with the usual shortening of the radical syllable, whence Ta. eḻāl. As in the case of emakku, etc., e- is preserved here before the following ā and not changed to i-, as happens in cases where e is original. On the other hand the change has been carried through in the case of

1. BSOS., x (1940), pp. 289 ff.
Ta. īṭai the shepherd caste, īṭaiyañ a shepherd < *ēṭai < *ēyaṭai = yāṭ(u) + suffix -ai.

In a number of words variation between initial a- and e- is to be observed in the Dravidian languages. The following are examples:—

Ta. āṭṭi strychnos nux vomica (Lex.): Ta. ōṭṭi, Ka. īṭṭi, īṭṭe, īṭṭaṅgi, īṭaṅgi id.

Ta. eytu to approach, to reach, to attain, acquire, Ma. eyukka to get, obtain: Ka. ayyu to go to, reach, approach; acquire, obtain.

Ta, al night, darkness, evening: el night, Ma. al darkness, night, Klm. (Haig) ālē night, Gölari (LSI., iv, 388) əlī night.

Ma. aliyyuka to dissolve, melt: Tu. eliyyuni, ēluni id.


Ta. en to say, Ma. ennu-, Ka. an, also en, Tu. anpini and inpini, Te. anu, Kui inba, Naikī yantēr said (LSI., iv, 574), Kur. ānnā, Malt. āne.

The question naturally arises whether these variations are due to an original *ya- developing partly into a- and partly into e-. Since a variation ā/e has been shown to be based on original yā- and since already examples have been quoted where a simple vowel (usually e-, occasionally a-) goes back to earlier *ya-, this is not unlikely in some cases at least. In two cases a comparison with similar words in Finno-ugrian strongly suggests that this is the case. Corresponding to Ta. el, al, etc., night, the following Finno-ugrian words can be quoted (BSOAS., xi (1944), p. 338): Fi. yö night, LpN. igja, Md. vej, ve, Zyr. oj, Voty. uj, Osty. aj, Vog. i, ii, Hg. ēi. Here the final -l preserved in Dravidian has been lost in Finno-ugrian, but the latter languages, in particular the diphthong in Finish, are more original in the matter.
of vocalism. An original diphthong would accord well with the vowel-variations in Dravidian—al, el, ulli, and in the case of Ta. al/el there may easily have been an intermediate stage *yal. Ta. eytu, Ka. aytu also seem to have parallels in Finno-ugrian: Hg. jutni obtingere, geraten, hinkommen, Fi. joutua approach, arrive, Est. joudma ankommen, hingelangen LpN. joavdat ankommen, Osty. joxtam kommen, VogA. joxtam ankommen. The Dravidian forms would be the result of a development *yoxt- > *yaxt- > *yayt- > eytu/aydu, the variation of the initial vowel being due to the lost y-. In the case of the other words it is not possible to say much about them without further information about their etymology. The reason for the variation of the initial vowel may not be the same in all cases; indeed, it is not likely to be so, since the distribution of a and e differs in different words: on the one hand Ta. Ma. en: Te. anu, and on the other hand Ta. Ma. ari: Te. erbugu. The word meaning to say is particularly irregular in this respect, since besides a- and e- an initial i- up in several languages, while the matter is further complicated by the Kur.-Malt. forms beginning with long ā.

B

An initial palatal nasal ṇ- occurs only to a restricted extent in the Dravidian languages. It is found in early Tamil, Malayalam, and in a very few words in Tulu. Even in Tamil and Malayalam it cannot appear before all vowels; it is never found, for instance, before ū. In the main it is found before long ā and short -a- alternating with -e-. The following is a list of words which begin with ṇā- in Tamil or Malayalam:

Ta. nāṅkūṟ worm, nakkup-ṉūṟu id., Ma. ṇēṅṇūl, ṇāṅṅūḷ earth-worm, Tu. nakkuru id.

Ta. nāṅcil, nāṅcil plough, Ma. ṇēṅṅöl, ṇāṅṅil, Ka. nēgal, nēgil, Tu. nāyēru, Tod. nēkbel, Te. nāgalī, nāgēlu, Go. nāngēl,

Ta. nāṅ, nāṅ string, cord, Ma. nāṅ id., Ka. nēṅ cord, rope, Tu. nēṇa, nēṇu cord, rope; bowstring, nāṅe a cord, rope, Te. nānu a sort of necklace, Go. nōne rope, Kui nōne id. also nōsu.

Ta. nāṇal a reed, Ma. nāṇal id., Ka. nāṇal a kind of reed.

Ta. nāyiru, nāyiru sun, Ma. nāyaru, nāyiru, Ka. nēsar id., Tu. nesṛṛu morning, Brah. dē sun, Malt. nīru sunshine, heat | > Pkt. nesaro id.

Ta. nāraı̂ a kind of crane, Ma. nāra, nāra, Tu. nōre id.; Tu. also naraye a kind of crane.

Ta. nāl, nāl to hang, be suspended, Ma. nāluka, nēluka, Ka. nēl, Tu. nēluni, nelpuni id.

Ta. nālam earth, land, Te. nēla land, earth, Kui nēde ground, Go. nēli field.

Ma. nār̩al, nēral Calyptranthes caryophyllifolia, Ka. nēral, nēril Eugenia jambolana or Calyptranthes caryophyl- lata, Tu. nērolu, nērolu Syzygium jambolanum, Koḍ. nēr̩-panų nevel fruit, Te. nēredu, nērēdu Syzygium jambolanum.

Ta. nāval Eugenia jambolana, Ma. nāval Syzygium jambolanum. This item and the last are obviously related words, but it is not possible at present to account for the correspondence of intervocalic -r- in one case with intervocalic -v- in the other.

Ta. nāṛu young plant, seedling ready for transplanting; nāṛu id., Ma. nāṛu young plant, shoot, Tu. nēji a nursling, young plant of rice, etc., Kui nēj to sprout, shoot.

Ta. nār̩al, nēr̩al name of various plants, Ma. nār̩al Milnea montana, Priyaṅgu, Ka. nēr̩al, nēr̩al name of certain tree, Priyaṅgu.
As is clear from these examples, Malayalam is the only language which has preserved initial ū- up to the present time. In modern Tamil ū- has replaced original ū-. In some cases even early Tamil has no form with the palatal nasal, and its existence is only attested by Malayalam: Ma. ūññũl, ūñal, ūñal, ūñru. In the case of the word for tongue, no Dravidian language shows any sign of a palatal nasal, but a comparison with related Uralian words shows that it must at one time have existed there:

Ta. Ma. nā, nāvu tongue (<*nālv-), Ka. nāl̪age, nālige, Tu. nāl̪yi, nāl̪yi, Te. nālika, nāluka, nālka, Tod. nāf, Brah. dūi id. ~ LpN. njal̪me os, ostium, Cher. jihme, ṇolme, etc., zunge, sprache, Vog. ūel̪m, etc., zunge, Osty. ṇal̪am, Hg. ūel̪m id. | SamJu. šāmi id. (BSOAS, xi (1944), p. 337).

The loss of palatalization in this word has for some reason taken place earlier than is the case with the other words listed above.

Turning to the treatment of the vowel following the initial ū-, it is clear that on the whole it has been affected in the same way as the ā in the words beginning yā- which have been treated in the previous section. Just as original yā- in some languages changed to ē-, so initial ūā- changes over a large part of the Dravidian area to ūē. The treatment, however, does not entirely correspond in the two cases, inasmuch as ūē- for ūā- is more widespread than ē- for yā: particularly in Kanarese, where yā regularly becomes ā (āne elephant, etc.), but ūā- always becomes ūē- (nē̄n rope, etc.). Tamil is regular with early ūā-, later ūā-, though in the case of some words ūā- is unknown even to the earliest language. In Malayalam there is a variation in some words between ūā- and ūē- which is presumably based on differences of dialect; thus ūēl and ūēl to hang, etc. For the other Dravidian languages the evidence is not very extensive, but we can probably regard
né- as regular: Ta. ṇālam: Te. nēla, Kui nēde, Go. nēli. In Kui this example is supported by nēja to sprout, compared with Ma. nāru, etc. In the case of two other words the operation of such a law is interrupted by an alternation ā/ō which seems to occur in them: thus Tu. nōrē beside Ma. nāra and Go. nōne, Kui nōne beside Ta. Ma. nāŋ, Ka. nēŋ. The word for plough is peculiar in preserving -ā- in Te. Go. and Kui and also in whatever dialect lies behind the loan-words in Indo-arian.

Since an alternation nā/nē is due in these cases to the fact that the nasal was originally palatal in these cases, it is reasonable to assume that a form ṇā- is represented in cases where we find an alternation nā-/nē- even if no such ṇā- is found in Tamil or Malayalam. A case in point is a word meaning “to winnow”:—

Ta. nēmpu to winnow, nōmpu to separate by winnowing as stones from rice, Ma. nēmpuka to winnow rice grain, nāvuka to cleanse rice from stones, Te. nēmu to winnow, sift.

Here the variation nā-/nē- can be assumed to point to original ṇā-, though no such form is actually recorded. Another instance is Kur. nākhnā to breathe, contrasted with Malt. nēgýe to breathe, nēge breath.

Developments similar to the above are also found when an initial ā- occurs before short a or e. Examples are as follows:—

Ma. ṇenānuka to become soft; to yield, sink, ṇanānuka id., hekkuka to press, strangle; to squeeze, crush, Tu. ṇanīny, hakkü crushing, bruising into a jelly or mass, Ka. nekku to be depressed, sink, Te. nokku to press, pinch, compress, squeeze.

Ta ṇekīr to become loose, slip off, as bangles; to become soft, melt, nekīr to become loose, slip off; melt; become weak; (tr.) to make loose, relax, neku to become soft, relaxed;
melt; slip off: cf. Malt. nethge to shake off (as fruit from a tree), intr. nethgre, Kur. nedōgnā to fall off, as fruit and flowers.

Ta ńańtu, ńeńtunāńtu crab, Ma. ńańtu, Tu. deńji, Ka. endra-kāya, ēdi, esaṣdi, Te. endri, endra-kāya, Go. yeṣe id.: connected with this, Ta. naḷḷi a crab, naḷḷir id., Ka. naḷḷi, laḷḷi id.; cf. Sgh. naḷayā the claw of a crab, naḷayā a crab; Pa. aḷa the claw of a crab.

Ma. ṇamaṇṇī, ṇamiṇći a bivalve shell-fish, found in rice-fields; namicci id.

Ta. ṇamali a peacock, Ka. navil, naval, navulu; nemali id. Te. nemali, nemmili, nevili, nemmi, nammi id., Tu. nevily, Klm. nāmli id.

Ta. ṇemuṅku to yield to pressure, to be squeezed, nemukku to press hard, namukku to yield under pressure, Ma. ṇamunīnu to yield to pressure, sink, bulge, Ka. avugu to yield to pressure, avuṅku to press, squeeze (also amugu, amuku, Tu. avuṅkuni to press, avumpuni id.), Kuvi nabhali to press down.

Ta. ṇemīḷu to press out with the hands, squeeze, nimīḷu to pinch, Ma. ṇamunīḷu to squeeze, ṇeviṇṭu id., Tu. naṃṭuni to pinch. The root in these words is of course identical with that in the last item, and can be compared with the Uralian root which appears in Hg. nyom- to press, etc.

Ta. ṇemir, ṇemar to spread, extend; cf. Ta. ṇemal to wander about.

Ta. ṇemai a kind of tree; Ta. namai Button-tree, Anogeissus latifolia, Ma. nava in veḷḷa-nava id. (Lush)

Ta. narampu nerve, tendon, sinew, Ma. ṇarampu, narambu id., Ka. nara nerve, sinew, tendon, muscle, Tu. nara, narambu yein, artery, nerve, tendon, Tod. narbu muscle, Te. naramu vein,
artery, nerve, tendon. Kui ḍrāṃbu (*nrāṃbu<*naarṃbu) nerve, tendon, Kur. nari pulse, nerve, Malt. nāru the veins.

Ta. ṇaral, ṇeral, naral to sound, make a noise, Ma. naraṇiṇuka to grumble, groan, Ka. naral, nara$l, nera$l to groan, moan, nara$k id., nara$t grumbling, Tu. narakuni to groan, moan, grumble, nara$tuni, naraluni, nerluni id., Te naraga a drum, Kur. narya$āṇā to hum, to weep aloud, Malt. nire to groan|| Cf. Osty. ānalem knarren, knirschen, Fst. naristaa, etc.

Ta. nēru$kil, neru$kci Tribulus terrestris, Ma. nēru$kil, Ka. nerigilu, neggilu, naggilu, Tu. nēgilu id.

Ta. nēruppu fire, Ma. nērippe, nerippu, Te. nippu id.; Go. nirwāṇā to burn, Malt. nare flame, narge to blaze.

Ta. nēri, neri to break, be crushed, nari to crush, torment, nēru$ku to be pressed, squeezed, crowded nēru$ku to press squeeze, bruise, torment, nara$ku, narukku id., nēru$t to rub with the fingers, Ma. nēriyuka to be crushed, smashed, nēri$kka, to squash, smash, nēru$nukka to be pressed, thronged, neriyuka to be crushed, Ka. naku, naruku, naggu to be bruised, neggu to crush, Tu. narguni to be bruised, crushed, nargu$nduni to bruise, crush, torment, Te. nēr$mu to rub, grind.

Ta. nēlī to bend, be twisted; to wriggle, writhe crawl: (tr.) to cause to bend, to twist; to wriggle or distort the body in walking, commonly in affectation, nēlīvu crawling, writhing; bending, yielding, Ma. nēliyuka to stretch oneself, strut, walk affectedly, proudly, nēli$kka to bend the body backwards, Ka. nali to grow bent, curved, to bow, bend.

Ta. nali coldness, frigidity, nali$ to be cold; shake; tremble (sb.) cold, coldness; shivering, ague, nali$ku to shake, tremble, Ma. nali$ku to be affected by cold or damp nali$nu$kka to shake from damp, fear, nali$ppu, nali entityManager dampness. Cf. Ta. nali$ku to shake, tremble, etc.

An examination of the words in this list shows that, just as in the previous series where it is followed by long "ā", the initial palatal nasal is best preserved in Malayalam. In some cases it is only found in that language, as in the case of "narampu" sinew, "nerippu" fire, "neruṇhil" Tribulus terrestris, and "neri" a way.

According to the Tolkappiyam (Erutt.°64) a short "-a-" is not permissible after initial "-i-"; that is to say "keṭu", "kemar", "keral", etc., are correct forms in Classical Tamil, while "kAnthu", "kAral", "kNam" are incorrect. In the main the usage of the early poets is in agreement with this rule, but exceptions are found: e.g. "kAral" to sound (Tirumuruk° 120). The word "kNamali", a poetic synonym of "nAy" dog, always appears in this form, and Naccinárkkiniyar accounts for its irregularity by saying that it is a dialect-word (ticaic-col: Comm. ad. loc.). The situation in the modern language is different. Here we find either "na-" or "ne-", and the two are very rarely confused; thus on the one hand "kAnthu", "namuku", "namai", "narampu", "naral", "nali", and on the other hand "nekir", "neruṇcil", "neruppu", "neri". On comparing the Malayalam forms of these words it appears that where modern Tamil has "na-" Malayalam has "kNa-", and where modern Tamil has "ne-", Malayalam has "kNe-"; thus on the one hand Ma. "kAnthu", "kNamukku", "kRampu", "kAraniṅku"/"kAruṇṅku", and on the other hand Ma. "kRenuṅhil", "kErippu", "kneri". It is clear from this comparison that there are here two sets of words, one originally beginning "kNa-" and the other originally beginning "kNe-". The original state of affairs is preserved, in Malayālam. In modern Tamil the distinction of the vowels is preserved, while the ordinary "n-" is substituted for the palatal "n". In the dialect which formed the basis of the early Tamil literary language the palatal nasal was
preserved, but the vowel of the two series was confused as a result of a change \( \hat{na} > \hat{ne} \). This particular change can only have taken place over a limited part of the Tamil area, since the modern \( na-, ne- \) reflect earlier \( \hat{na}-, \hat{ne}- \), which must have remained the usage in bulk of the koilun tamig areas.

In the Tamil words \( \hat{ne}m\)ai a kind of tree, \( \hat{ne}mal \) to wander about, \( \hat{ne}mar \) to extend, the vowel \( -e- \) in the first syllable is followed by \( -a- \) in the next syllable. This is contrary to the general rule (D.S. II), and is explained by the fact that \( \hat{ne}- \) in these words represents original \( \hat{na}- \), and consequently the \( -e- \) vowel in these words is of too recent origin to be affected by that general rule. It has been already pointed out that the initial \( e- \) when it represents original \( ya- \) is also not affected by the rule. It is possible, however, that such a change has taken place in the case of Ta. \( \hat{n}i\hat{na} \) to tie up, fasten: this may be explained as representing \( \hat{ne}\hat{na}-<\hat{ne}\hat{na}-< \hat{na}\hat{a}- \), where \( \hat{na}- \) is a shortened form of Ta. \( \hat{na}\hat{n} \) rope, etc. A similar case is perhaps to be found in Ta. Ma. \( nil\hat{am} \) ground, earth, land, Ka. Tu. \( nela \) id. This may be explained as a variant with a short vowel in the first syllable of Ta. \( \hat{n}a\hat{lam} \), Te. \( n\hat{ela} \), etc., earth, land: i.e. \( \hat{a}\hat{lam}>\hat{elam}>Ta. Ma. \hat{nil}\hat{am}, \) Ka. Tu. \( nela \). On the other hand an alternative etymology of this word has been suggested, namely that it is derived from \( nil- \) to stand (D.S. II: BSOS., x (1940), p. 295).

In Kanarese there is a double treatment of these words. We may find either \( na- \) or \( ne- \), often side by side as optional forms: e.g. \( nar\hat{a}l \) to groan, \( naggilu \) Tribulus terrestris, \( naggu \) to become bruised, beside \( nera\hat{l}, \hat{ne}ggilu, \hat{ne}ggu, \) etc. As a result of this double treatment it is possible to infer the existence of a palatal nasal originally in cases where Kanarese shows a fluctuation between \( na- \) and \( ne- \) even when no forms beginning with \( \hat{n}- \) are found in Tamil and Malayalam. Such a case is to be found in the following words meaning “to chew the cud”.

8148
Ka. namalu to chew the cud, nevaru id., Te. namalu, nemaru id.; cf. Tu. nauntu chewing, nauntuni, naumpuni to chew.

Etymologically corresponding words are not found in Tamil and Malayalam, but the alternation na-/ne- both in Kanarese and Telugu may be held to justify the assumption of an original palatal nasal in this case. Further, the root is presumably identical with that of Ta. ŋemuŋku, ŋemiti etc.

There is also a series of words in Kanarese where a fluctuation between na- and ne- is to be observed, and to which corresponding words exist in Tamil, Malayalam, and the other related languages, where no other sign of original palatalization exists except this fluctuation in Kanarese. Examples are:-

Ka. nakku : nekku to lick; Ta. Ma. nakku, Tu. nakkuni, Te. nāku, Kui nāka, Go. nākānā id.

Ka. naccu : neccu to confide in, trust; to desire, love; Ta. naccu to desire, love, nattu id., Te. naccu to trust.

Ka. nādu : neغو to fix firmly, stick or fix in the ground; Ta Ma. nātu to set up, fix, plant, etc., Tu. naḍpini, neḍpini to plant, Te. naṭṭu-konu to be settled, neṭṭu-konu to become firm.

Ka. naṇṭu : neṇṭu relationship, friendship, naṇṭu : neṇṭu love, affection, friendship, Ta. naṇṭu to be near, attached, naṇṭu love, attachment, Ma. naṇṇuṅka to remember with love and affection, naṇṇuṅka id., Tu. naṇṭu kin, relationship, neṇṭe a relation, Te. naṇṭu friendship; a friend.

Ka. nane : nene to become wet, moist, Ta. nanai id., Ma. nana moisture, nanayuka to get wet, Tu. nane wet, moist, naneyuni, naneyuni to be moist, wet.

Ka. nare : nere greyness of the hair, grey hair, Ta. narai, Ma. nara, Tu. narë, Te. nara id.
In contradistinction to these words the following perfectly clear examples of original na- on the one hand and ne- on the other hand can be quoted which remain as such in Kanarese and all the related languages. In these cases no fluctuation between -a- and -e- is found either in Kanarese or elsewhere:

(a) Ka. nañju poison; Ta. nañcu, nañcam id., Ma. nañcu, nañhū, Tu. nañji, nañju, Tod. nañju id.

Ka. naḍe to walk, march; Ta. Ma. naṭa id., Tu. naḍapuni to walk, proceed, Te. naḍacu id.

Ka. naḍu middle, waist, Ta. Ma. naṭu, Tu. naḍu, Te. naṇunu id.

Ka. nane a bud; Ta, naṇai, Te. nana id.

Ka. nal good, nalme goodness, affection, etc.; Ta. nal good, nalme goodness, virtue; beauty, naṇmai goodness, etc., Ma. nal, nalme, etc., id., Tu. naly, nala good, Tod. (Emeneau) na- id., Te. naluvu beauty, ability; beautiful.

(b) Ka. nettar blood; Ta. neyttör, Tu. nettyry, Te. netturu, Kui nederi, Go. nattur (nettur in the Maria dialect), Klm. natur, Prj. nēṭir, Brah. ditar id.

Ka. netti forehead; Ta. Ma. nerri, Te. Tu. netti id.; Go. nē张先生 the crown of the head.

Ka. neydal, neydl water-lily; Ta. Ma. neydal id.

Ka. ney, nē, nēy oil, fat; Ta. Ma. ney oil, fat, ghee, Tu. neyi, Te. neyi, neyyi, nēyi, Go. ni, Kui niju, Kuvi niyu, Kur. nēyu grease, fat, lard.

Ka. ney, nē, nēy to weave; Ta. Ma. ney, Tu. neyuni, Te. nēyu id.

Ka. nel, nellu rice, paddy; Ta. Ma. nel id.

Ka. nelli Emblic myrobalan, Phyllanthus emblica; Ta. Ma. Tu. nelli id., Te. nelli id.; also Premna esculenta and
latifolia, Go. (Trench) nalli the Aonla tree, Phyllanthus emblica; Kui neği a tamarind, Kuvi lelli id.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that where Kanarese shows a fluctuation between na- and ne-, it is a sign that the initial nasal in these words was originally the palatal nasal.

The terms for “peacock” mentioned above deserve a few words of special treatment. Besides the forms with initial ṇ- or n- — Ta. ṇamali, Ka. navil, navulu, nemali, Te. nemul, nemmili, nevili, nemmi, nammi, Tu. neyilyu, Klm. nämli—there appears a series with initial m-: Ta. Ma. mayil, Ta. also maññai, Tu. mañry, Ka. maylu (dial.), Tod. (Metz) m’rsh, Kui meçu, Kuvi (Fitzg.) mellu, Go. mal. These two series are related to each as a result of a transposition of the nasals m and ṇ, the latter developing to -y- when it appears in an intervocalic position. As L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar points out (QJMS., xx (1930), p. 298), a precisely similar transposition occurs in the case of Ta. Ma. mayir hair, Tod. mir id. which appears in Kanarese as navir. Another instance of this type is furnished by Ta. miñiru bee; beetle, beside Ta. ŋimiṟu bee. This latter word has cognates in Uralian (F. O. Schrader, ZII., iii, 95): SamJu. ŋiberu, O. ŋimară, ŋiner, ŋimere, etc., “eine kleine mückenart.” In this case a comparison of the Uralian forms suggests that Ta. ŋimiṟu is original and Ta. miñiru is secondary. In a fourth instance all the Dravidian forms have initial m- while the corresponding Uralian words have initial ṇ-, n-. This is the word for “hare”, which appears in the two language-groups as follows:—

Ta. Ma. muyal, Ka. mola, Tu. muyeru, mugeru, Go maiöl Kuvi mrālu, Kui mṛādu, Malt. mnaye, Brah. murū.

—LpN. njoammel hare, MdE. numolo, M. numel Zyry. ŋimal, Hg. nyul||SamJu. niwa, T. ŋomu, Je. naba, O. hewa ŋoma.
In these cases the fact that the Uralian words have universally initial \( \hat{\eta} \)-, \( n \)-, whereas there is fluctuation in Dravidian between \( m \)- and \( \tilde{n} \)-, \( n \)-, suggests that \( \tilde{n} \)- was originally the initial consonant and that the transposition resulting in initial \( m \)- is a secondary Dravidian development. This is also supported by another set of words where \( m \)- is a secondary development out of \( n \)- or \( \tilde{n} \)-. A list has already been given (*Dravidian Studies IV: BSOAS.*, xi (1944), p.333) of words in which initial \( m \)- in Dravidian words is substituted for original \( n \)- or \( \tilde{n} \)-, when the following vowel was \( o \) or \( u \). Cases mentioned were:—

Ta. mōḻu to draw water: Ta. nōḻu, Kui nolpa, Kur. nollā.

Ta. mōṇṭi lame, Te. mōṇḍi: Ta nōṇṭi a cripple, nōṇṭu to be lame.

Ta. mūṛai cavern; to enter, Ta. nūṛai to creep into, through, Ma. nūṛayuka id., and so forth. The following two examples can be added to the list already provided:—

Tu. nūrige, nūrge Indian horse-radish tree, Moringa pterygosperma, Ka. nūgge, nuggi id.: Ta. mūrubkai, Ma. mūrriṇa, Te. mūnaga id | >Skt. mūruṅgi, mūruṅgi id.

Ka. node the grass Saccharum munja: Ka. mōde, mādi id. | > Skt. mūṇja- id.

~SanT. nōṭa, nōṭ grass, O hūž, hūže, hūṭ, K. no’d, no’n id.

In these cases we have a development of original \( n \)-, \( \tilde{n} \)- to \( m \)- when a vowel \( u \)- or \( o \)- follows. The case is not quite the same with the words for “peacock”, “hare”, etc., since there we have an actual transposition of nasals. Nevertheless the two series are similar inasmuch as a secondary \( m \)- in Dravidian has replaced original \( n \)-, \( \tilde{n} \)-. The developments therefore of the Dravidian words for “hare” are clearly —
*ñūmal > *muñal > Ta. Ma. mūyal. In Gondi we have māl < molal < *moñol by assimilation, while in Malto mūnye < muñ < ñuma we find a form without the l-suffix, just as appear in Samoyede. The phonetic developments in the words for peacock are in most respects the same: Ta. mayil < *mañil < ñamil, etc. Here also we have some forms with and some forms without an l-suffix: beside Ta. mayil also Ta. maññal < *ñañna corresponding exactly to Te nemmi, nammi. The forms that appear in the central languages—Kui meḍu, Kuvi mella, and Go. mal—are presumably contractions of mayil, and can be compared with Ka. mola hare, where the first syllable mol- is a contraction of mūyal.

The analysis of the words for peacock given here rules out any possibility of connection between the Dravidian words and the Austro-asiatic words for “peacock”. The following series of words meaning peacock are quoted by Bloch (BSL., vol. 25, p. 17), and Przyluski (BSL., vol. 26, p. 99): Sant. marāκ, Savara māra, Mon mrā, Cham amrak, Stieng brak, Malay mera. Bloch hesitates whether or not to connect the two series. The question is definitely settled in the negative if the above account of the Dravidian words is accepted.

This leaves over the question of the origin of Skt. mayūra—peacock. The word resembles both Ta. mayil, Tu. māiry on the one hand, and Santali marak, etc., on the other. The question arises, therefore, from which of the two series has the Sanskrit word been borrowed? The answer would seem to be that the word has been borrowed from Dravidian, since the resemblance is greater between the Sanskrit and Dravidian forms than between the Sanskrit and Austro-asiatic. Also the Austro-asiatic forms show practically complete uniformity representing original marak, and the theories which Przyluski produces in order to turn this into mayūra— (BSL., vol. 26, p. 100) are too complicated to carry conviction. On the other
hand the theory of Dravidian origin presents no serious complications. The main difference is that the Sanskrit has r in place of Drav. l (except in Tulu), but this presents no difficulty in view of the frequent alternation of r and l in Sanskrit, and also it was borrowed early enough to appear in the Rgveda, which prefers r to l.

Besides mayūra– the Sanskrit lexicographers provide two other words meaning peacock: marūka– and mayūka–. Of these marūka– would seem to rest on the Austro-asiatie forms mentioned above (Sant. marak, etc.) with the vocalism adapted to that of mayūra–, while mayūka– looks like a compromise between mayūra– and marūka–.

In a very few words in Tamil, Malayalam, and Tulu an initial n– is found before other vowels than āḷē:—

Ta. nimir to be erect: Ta nimir to be straight erect, Ma. niviruka to stand erect, rise, Ka. nimir to be stretched out become erect, Tu. nimuruni to become straight.

Ta. nimir to sound, hum; imir, imir id.

Ta. niṣigru bee; Ta. miṣgri bee; beetle.

Ta. ṇolku to languish, become weak; faint; diminish, etc.

Ma. ṇoli a snap of the fingers: ṇoli id., Ta. ṇoli id.

Ma. ṇolā spittle, saliva, ṇolā id., Tu. ṇoli anything sticky, gummy, glutinous, viscous; saliva; phlegm, Ka. lole saliva, slaver; tenacious mucus, phlegm | >Skt. lālā saliva, spittle, slobber.

∼Hg. nyāl saliva, etc. (D.S. IV: BSOAS., xi (1944), p. 339).

Tu. ṇoninu shrivelled, contracted.

In the case of Ta. nimiru bee and Ma. ṇolā spittle, etc., the related words in Uralian show that the palatal nasal is original. There are also a number of other words where no
trace of a palatal nasal is found in Dravidian, but where the corresponding Uralian words show that it must originally have existed.

Te. nimuku to suck. ~Lp. njammat to suck, Fi. ime-, Zyry. hınal-, Osty. em-, Hg. em- id. | SamJu. ~ameadm, T. hımirim, O. hima-, K. hımerlim id.

Ta. nıvı to stroke, rub gently, Ka. nıvı, nıvaru, nıvarısu id., Tu. nıvaipuni to caress, Kui. nıra to rub, stroke, polish, massage, Kur. nırın to rub, scrape.

~Hg. nyů (pr. I nyūvök) conterere, abwetzen, abtragen, nyůved sich abreifen, sich abwetzen, Md. neville- sich abnutzen Cher. nıald- permulcerere, Est. nıstma sich reiben, scheuern (wie schweine).

Ta. Ma. Ka. nı to be extended, long, Ta. Ma. nılam extension, length, Ta. Ma. nıtu to grow long, be extended, lengthened, Ka. nıdu to extend, stretch out as the fingers, Ta. Ma. nıtlu to lengthen, extend, stretch out, straighten, nıtıam length, elongation, stretching, Ta. Ma. nıtu long, tall, Ka. nıdu the state of being long drawn out or extended, nıttage straight.

~Hg. nyúl to be stretched out, extended, nyůjt to extend, stretch out, Osty. hınisam sich dehnen, sich ausdehnen, Vog. honši dehnen, hünkli id., Voty. naje- id. | SamJu. nıensa gerade Je. noete, O. ninze id.

Ta. Ma. Ka. nir water, Tu. niru, Te. niru id., Kui. niru juice, sap, essence, Bräh. dir water | >Skt. nirá- n. water, nívara- n. water; mire.—With loss of initial n-: Ta. ir moist- ness wetness; freshness, greenness iram wet, moisture humidity, freshness, greenness, Ma. iram dirt; moisture, irikka to grow damp, Te. imiri moisture, Klm. ir water.

~Hg. nyirk, nyrok humor, succus, nyirkos humidus, ny- idö feuchtes wetter, ny. fa noch saftiges, feuchtes holz,
nyers fresh, raw, Fi. noro feuchte, sumpfige u. niedrige stelle, norua trieven, träufeln, Est. nörendama trieven, träufeln nörg wasserabfluss, kleiner bach, nirguma rieseln, träufeln, LpN. njoarra to flow, Md. nurge trieven, Cher. nörem feucht, nass werden, Osty. när wet, damp, niwən id. The following Finno-
ugrian words meaning “bog, wet land, etc.”, have been
connected with the above: Fi nurmi wiese, Zyr– Voty. hur
sumpf, morast, Vog. hurm wiese, när nasses land, Osty. nürəm
sumpf. Corresponding to these we have in Dravidan Ta.
nurampu mud, mire, Tu. nurumbu alluvium. Compare also
the two meanings of Skt. nivara– n. water; mire. The latter
word is only found in the lexicographers in Sanskrit, but is of
interest as preserving an earlier form out of which Ta. Ma.
Ka. nir, etc., is a contraction. Compare with this Drav. ir,
cir, sir nit(s) representing *civar (D. S. IV: BSOAS, xi, 349).
A long form corresponding to Skt. nivara– is found in Te.
lmiri moisture, where the initial nasal has been lost and –m–
appears alternating with –v– as usual. In Uralian we can
compare Osty. niwən damp. The other words are contractions
of this, which accounts for the apparent irregularities of the
när, etc. In the case of Ta. nurampu, Tu. nurumbu and prob-
ably in the corresponding Uralian forms, there is also a
weakening of the first syllable due to the addition of the suffix.

Ta. nunai point, tip, end, nugi id., Ma. nuni tip. ~ LpN.
njude, njune nase, schnauze, Fi. nenä nase, ende, spitze, Est.

1. In view of the vowel–variations in the Uralian forms it
would seem possible to connect Skt. nārā f. water, with these
words. Skt. nārā is not in general use, but is quoted by Manu
(l. 10) in supplying an etymology for the name Nārāyaṇa:–
Āpo nārā iti proktā āpo vai narasūnavaḥ
tā yad asyāyamāṃ pūrvaṁ, tena Nārāyaṇah smṛtaḥ
The word need not have been invented by Manu, as B. and R.
seem to think.
nina' nase, vorstehendes ende, spitze, landzunge (D.S. IV: BSOAS., xi (1944), p 333).


In all these words the palatal nasal has disappeared completely in Dravidian, its place being taken by the ordinary n-. The general tendency of Dravidian as compared with Uralian is the gradual substitution of n- for ā-. This takes place most completely when the nasal is followed by ī, ū, or ē. Here only a very few traces of ā are preserved as in Ta. ānimīru, Ma. āōa, etc. It is better preserved before ā and e, where it is still the rule in Malayalam and Classica! Tamil. Even here it has occasionally been lost, as a comparison of the Dravidian and Uralian words for "tongue" shows (Ta. nāvu: Hg. nyelv, etc.). In modern colloquial Tamil the process has been continued and n- everywhere substituted for ā-.

The words Ma. āōa spittle, etc., deserve special mention in this connection, since in this case the vowel ē may not be original. The Skt. loanword lālā has the vowel ā-, and so does the cognate word in Uralian, Hg. nyāl. A number of other words can be quoted in which the vowels ē and ā fluctuate in Dravidian:

Malt. āyu a cow, Kur. ɵy id.: Ta. ā, ān a cow, āyan a herd of cows, āyan a cowherd, Ma. ā a cow, āyan a cowherd, Ka. ā, āyu a cow, Te. ānu id.
Ta. ḍaḍa preceptor, teacher, Ka. Te. ḍa teacher, master, guru: Ta. ācār teacher, guru, family priest, etc.

Kui ḍaḍa o goat: Ta yātu, ātu, Ka. aṭu id.

Ta. āy to diminish, be reduced, become small; to be tired, weary, weak; to expire, come to an end, āyceal ceasing; weariness, debility, āyu id.: Ta. āy to diminish, be reduced; to suffer pain, āyppu being reduced in circumstances, power, energies, āyu diminution, reduction; distress, suffering.

Ta. ār to consider; to select, choose; to think, regard, ārcei investigation, research, ārppu id., Ma. ārka to think, remember, expect, Ka. āru to think, consider, inquire: Ta. ār in the cpd. āray to investigate, examine, explore; consider, deliberate; seek, search, Ma. ārayka id., Ka. āray to search, investigate, deliberate, ārisu select, pick out, choose, Te. ērcu choose, select.

Go. sōritānā to enter: Ta. cār, cēr, Ka. sār, sēr to approach, join, enter, have recourse to.

Ta. cōmpu to droop, fade; be dull, lethargic; be lazy, slothful, Ka. jōmu torpidity: Ta. Ma. cāmpu wither, droop; close up as flowers, shrink, shrivel. Tu. cāmbuni to close, shut, shrivel as a flower.

Ta. cōlai flower-garden, grove; Ma. cōla grove, shade, cool retreat: Kur. cālā grove, sacred grove, Malt. cāle a grove.

Tu. nōrē a kind of crane: Ta. nārai, Ma. nāra, nāra id.

1. The second part of the cpd. is also used independently in the same sense: Ta. āy to search, examine, investigate; to separate, sift; to consider; to select, choose; to pluck, gather, Ma. āyka to select, cull; gather, array, Ka. āy to select, gather, collect, cull, Tu. āyunī to select, gather, āyāruntī to winnow.
Ta. nōmpu to separate by winnowing: Ma. nāvuka to cleanse rice from stones: Ta. Ma. nēmpu, Te. nēmu to winnow.

Go. nōne rope, Kui nōne id., also nōsu: Ta. Ma. nāp rope, string, cord, Ka. nēp id.

Ta. nōṭṭam examination, scrutiny, criticism, Ma. nōṭṭam viewing, examination, experienced eye, sharp sight, Ka. nōḍu to look at, view; examine, consider, nōṭa looking, viewing, sight, examination, Tu. nōṭa sight, vision; aim, nōḍāvuni to point at, show: Ta. nāṭu to seek; examine, investigate, nāṭṭam eyesight, vision; examination, investigation, scrutiny, Ma. nāṭuka to follow with the eyes, covet, seek, nāṭṭam investigation. Tu. nāḍuni to search, seek: Ta. nēṭu to seek, look out for; to consider; to aim at, pursue, desire; to earn, Ma. nēṭuka to gain.

Kui pōrpa to watch for, lie in wait, spy: Ta. pār to see, watch, look at, examine, Ma. pārka to look for, wait for, look after, Ka. pār to look for, wait for, look after, Te. pāruva sight, glance, Tu. pāra guard, custody, keeping.

To these examples the Malayalam inclusive plural of the pronoun of the first person may be added: nōm which appears beside nām; likewise the verbal termination of the first person, -ōm, which appears in Tamil of the middle period beside -ām, -ēm. The tendency is carried furthest of all in Toda, where according to Pope, o and ā are almost always interchangeable: thus the Kanarese kāl is in Tōda kōl.

In some of these cases the -ō- is quite certainly secondary. Thus Ta. -ōm, the termination of the first person plural, is not found in the language of the earliest period. Likewise Ma. nōm is secondary as compared with Ta. Ma. nām, etc. In other cases too we find a o-form appearing

1 Appendix to W. E. Marshall’s A Phrenologist among the Todas, p. 242.
isolated in one language, while the majority of languages
have ā: Kui pōrpa, oāa, Go. sōrītānā, Ta nōmū, Tu. nōt, and in such cases the –ō– is obviously a secondary deve-
lopment. Whether it is so in all cases is not certain, but in
any case the vowel correspondence Skt. lālā : Ka. lōle is one
so well attested in Dravidian as to leave no doubt about the
identity of the words.

In Kanarese lōle has developed out of *nōle by assim-
ilation. The same development takes place in a number of
other words in Kanarese, Kuvi, and Malto:—


Ka. lēvala, lēvala a necklace of silver or gold; a silver or
gold girdle or zone : Ka. nēvala id., Tu. nēvala a silver or
gold girdle worn round the loins, Te. nēvalamu, nēvādamu id.

Kuvi lēlli tamarind : Kui neḍi id., Ta. Ma. Ka. nelli
Phyllanthus emblica, Go. nalli id.

nūlu id.

Malt. lēle to-morrow: Kur. nēlā id.; Ta. nālai to-
morrow, Ma. nāla, Go. nāpī id.

Malt. lōle to take out with a spoon: Ta. noḷḷu to bale
out, as water, noḷku id., Kui nolpa to ladle out, Kur. nolnā
to scoop out, ladle out.

Malt. lulqe to thrust in: Kur nulgnā to insert a thing
into another.

Malt. lōlu a pumpkin, a gourd: Kur. nōl a pumpkin.

In addition to these words there are a number of other
examples of l- developing out of original n– or ŋ–:

Ka. lekkī, lakki, lokki Vitex negundo: Ka. Tu. nekki,
Ta. Ma. nocci id.
Ka. laṅgar, Tu. laṅgari, Te. langaru ancher: Ta. naṅkūram, naiṅkuram, Ma. naṅkūram, Ka. naṅgal, Tu. naṅgar, naṅgalu id.¹

Kuvi linja kernel, yoke of an egg: Kui ninja the heart of a tree, pith, Ta. neṅcu, neṅcam heart, breast, centre of a thing, Ma. neṅcu, neṅnu id.

In other cases it is not always possible to say whether l- or n- is primary. Thus we find a word meaning “garlic” in the following forms:

Kui lesuṭi, Malt. nasnu | Skt. laśuna-, rasuna-.

As the Sanskrit word has no IE etymology, it may be reasonably be regarded as a loanword from Dravidian, but whether initial n- or l- is original is difficult to say.

An initial n- appears to be secondary in Tu. nāṃbu beside lāṃbu mushroom, toadstool, fungus; cf. Ka. aḷambe aḷambe, aṇabe, aṇambbe mushroom, Ta. āmpi id.

A similar fluctuation between n- and l- is found in a series of words meaning “lime, lemon” which are common to Dravidian and Indo-aryan, whatever their ultimate origin may be:

¹ These are clearly loanwords from Gk. ἀγκυρά anchor, with an intrusive n- which is not infrequent in South Dravidian (Cald.³, p. 158). Similar words are found in Indo-aryan, Mar. nāṃgar anchor, Hi., etc., laṅgar id., and in modern Persian laṅgar. The vocalism of Ta. naṅkūram is closer to that of the Greek word than that of any of the other forms, and consequently it cannot have reached the Tamils through Indo-aryan or Iranian. On the other hand, if the word first became current in South India it could easily have spread from there and produced the forms which now exist in Indo-aryan. J. Bloch (Langue Mar., p. 357) confuses the words for “plough” and “anchor”, but it is clear enough from Dravidian that they should be kept apart.
Ka. nimbe, nimbi the acid lime, citrus medica, Te. nimma the lime tree: Ka. limbe the acid lime, Tu. limbi, limbē the lemon-fruit, Citrus bergamia.

=Skt. nimbā, nimbūka- m. the common lime, Citrus acida, Hi. nibu id., etc.: Guj. libu, Si. limo id.

In South Dravidian there is also the following series of related words:

Ta. elumiccai lime, lemon, Ma. elumicca, Ka. ilimičci Tod. (Matz.) yizhmitchch id.

Here we find a prothetic vowel before an originally initial l-, a fact which suggests that in this case l- and no n- is primary.

Finally mention may be made of a few words in Sanskrit of Dravidian origin which show initial l- as opposed to n- or ȵ- in Dravidian. A fluctuation between l- and n- occurs sporadically in Indo-aryan at all periods. Such examples are Skt. naktaka- a rag beside laktaka- id., Skt. nikṣā nit (Lex.): likṣā id., Pa. pilandhati to put on, bedeck, as opposed to onandhati, upanandhati, etc., Mar. loni, Hi. loni, noni butter < Skt. navanita-,¹ and with the opposite development, Hi. nōn, nūn: lon, lūn salt < Skt. lāvāṇa. Consequently it is not surprising to find l- for n- in Sanskrit words, even in such cases where no form with initial l- is found in Dravidian.

An obvious example of this change is the Sanskrit word for "plough". lāṅgala-. Compared with this all the Dravidian languages show initial n- or ȵ-: Ta. ņānçil, Ka. nēgal, Go. nāngēl, Kui nāngeli, etc. In this case Pali naṅgala- agrees with Dravidian.

¹ Attention should be drawn to the similarity of these words to Te. nūnē, nūniya oil, Klm. nūnē id. There is one difficulty in the way of regarding the IA. words as being derived from Dr., and that is that Te. nūnē meant originally "gingily oil" (nuvvu sesamum + ney oil), whence it develops the meaning of "oil" in general, but not that of "butter".
Another example occurs in the various words meaning "forehead" which occur in Indo-aryan and are ultimately derived from Dravidian: Skt. raraṣa-; niṭila, niṭala, niṭāla, Pa. nalāṭa-, lalāṭa, Pkt. nalāḍa-; nilāḍa, naḍāla-, niḍāla-, laṇḍa-, ModIA. Hi. lilāṛ, Si. nirāṛu, Mar. nīḍā, nīḍhāṛ, Sgh. naḷala, Nep. nīḍhāṛ.

Corresponding to these words we find in Dravidian the following series:–

Ta. Ma. nural forehead, Ka. nasāl, Tu. nasalu, nasuṛi, Te. nuduru, nosalu id.; Malt. nitlu the crown of the head.

These words can hardly be separated from the following words of the same meaning, which are distinguished by absence of the l-suffix and a stronger grade of the intervocalic consonant:–

Ta. Ma. nerṛi forehead, Ka. netti forehead, crown of the head, Tu. Te. netti id., Go. nēch the crown of the head.

The IA. words are derived from the Dravidian series with the l-suffix, and the most original forms, i.e. those closest to the original Dravidian, are Skt. niṭāla-, Pkt. naḍāla-, Nep. nīḍhāṛ, etc. By transposition of the last two consonants we get forms like Pa. nalāṭa-, Pk. nalāḍa, and from this type by assimilation Skt. lalāṭa-, Hi. līḷāṛ, etc.

Lastly the following series of words in Indo-aryan appears to be derived from Dravidian:–

Skt. lola- dangling, swinging, moving hither and thither, shaking, rolling, lola the tongue (Lex.), lolakundala- having dangling or pendant earrings, lolajhva- having the tongue hanging out, Pa. Pkt lola- id.; Skt. lelāyati to move to and fro, shake, dangle, lelā moving to and fro, wavering; Hi. lōlnā to shake, lola the tongue of a bell, earring, pendant, Nep. lola a hanging ear-ornament; pendant flesh, Mar. lolīl rolling over, Guj. lolo tongue, loliyū pendant ornament, Sgh. lela moving, etc.
The words can be derived from a Dravidian series meaning “to hang, swing, dangle”:

Ta. नाल to hang, to be pendent, नार्तु to hang up, suspend (<*नाल्त–), नाल to hang, swing, be suspended, नार्तु to hang, suspend, Ma. नालुका to hang, swing, नाली suspended, नालि-कातु a hanging ear, नेलुका to hang as an ornament, नेळूका to let dangle, as a tassel, नेऱ्ऱुम ornamental hangings, Ka. नेल to be suspended; to hang, swing, dangle, Tu. नेलुनि to hang, be suspended; to swing, vibrate.

The phonetic changes involved in connecting the Indo-aryan words with the Dravidian are all such as have become familiar in the course of this paper. Initial न– changes to ल– as a result of assimilation to the following –ल–, and ṥ in Skt. लोला– corresponds to –अ– in Ta. नाल–, etc., in accordance with a fluctuation which we have seen to be common in Dravidian. In Dravidian the influence of the initial palatal nasal causes an original अ to be turned to ए in certain languages, according to the general rule: Ma. नेळ, Ka. Tu. नेळ as opposed to Ta. Ma. नाल, Ta. नाल; and this is reflected in Indo-aryan by forms like Skt. लेलायति he moves to and fro, and Sgh. लेला unsteady, wavering, beside the usual forms, Skt. लोला–, etc.
THE LOSS OF INITIAL c/s IN SOUTH DRAVIDIAN

A frequent phenomenon in Tamil and Malayalam loanwords from early Indo-Aryan is the dropping of an initial sibilant. More rarely examples occur in Telugu and Kanarese. Cases can be quoted for all the there Sanskrit sibilants, though the immediate source of the borrowings are forms with Prakrit s-.

(1) Sanskrit ś–:–

Ta. araṇ, araṇam defence, refuge, fortress, Ma. araṇ stronghold: Skt. śaraṇa- shelter, place of shelter or refuge.

Ta. a:kulli a steamed meal-cake: Skt. śaśkuli–. ॐ i f. a large round cake, composed of ground rice, sugar, and sesamum, and cooked in oil; cf. Ka. cakkuli id.

Ta. āṭai cloth, dress, garment, Ma. āṭa flowing garment, chiefly of women, children, idols: Skt. śāṭa(ka-–) a strip of cloth, a kind of skirt or petticoat.

Ta. āḷai apartment, hall; elephant-stable or stall, Ma. āḷa shed, workshop, cowhouse: Skt. śāḷā hall, shed, stable, etc.


Ta. ulku toll, custom, duty, Te. unkuva bride-price: dowry: Skt. śulka– toll, tax, customs, etc.


2 The borrowing could be the other way round.

In the following words a Pkt. \textit{s}– representing Skt. \textit{ṣr}– has disappeared:


Ta. Ma. \textit{ōṇam} n. of a nakṣatra: Skt. \textit{śravaṇa}–, \textit{śroṇa}–.

(2) Skt. \textit{s}–:

Ta. \textit{aṇṇakaṇ}, \textit{aṇṇālan} eunuch, hermaphrodite: Skt. \textit{sāṇḍha}–.

(3) Skt. \textit{s}–:

Ta. Ma. \textit{anti} twilight, evening: Skt. \textit{sandhi}– junction; the interval between day and night, twilight.


Ta. \textit{amaṇi} time, occasion, Ka. \textit{amaga} time, occasion, season: Skt. \textit{samaya}–.

Ta. \textit{avai} assembly, assembly-hall: Skt. \textit{sabhā}.

Ta. *uvaṇam* white-headed kite, vulture: Skt. *suparna*—.

A Sanskrit intervocalic sibilant is liable to be omitted in the same way.

Ta. *avaṇar* Asuras: Skt. *asura*— (For the *-ṇ*— compare Ta. *uvaṇar* salt-merchant < *uvar* salt. A later adaptation is *atirai* [Ta. Lex. Suppl.]).

¹ In the case of this word it is very likely that Indo-aryan has borrowed from Dravidian. Tamil and Malayalam hardly ever substitute *-r*—, a peculiarly Dravidian sound, for Skt. *-l*—, and *Sihaia*—, *Simhala*— could easily have been adapted by popular etymology from an original Dravidiain form *ciḷam*. It is to be presumed that the Dravidians of South India had a name for Ceylon before the coming of the Indo-aryans. The following words need to be considered in this connection: Ta. *iḷam* toddy, Ta. Ma. *iḷavar* the caste of toddy-drawer in Tinnevelly, Trivandrum, and Malabar, Ka. *idi* toddy, *idiga* a man of the toddy-drawer’s caste, Te. *indra* the toddy-drawer caste, *indravādu* a member of that caste, *idiga* id. The *iḷavar* are said to have migrated from Ceylon in the remote past and to derive their name from *iḷam* Ceylon. This tradition may be only a deduction from their name. Since it is impossible to separate Ta. Ma. *iḷava*— from Te. *idiga*, etc., and the latter caste has no tradition of Ceylonese origin. The words are most simply derived from Ta. *iḷam* toddy; possibly *iḷam* Ceylon was named from *iḷam* toddy, after the palm-trees with which it is well stocked and the toddy produced from them. An earlier from of the word would be *ciḷam* (whence *Sihaia*—), the *c*— being lost later as in the many examples quoted below. It should be noted that Kanaarese toddy-drawers are Telugu immigrants, and the Kanaarese words loan-words from Telugu.
Ta. Ma. tai n. of a mouth : Skt. *taiṣa-.
Ta. tēm eountry, district : Skt. *deṣa-.
Ta. tōm fault, defect, vice : Skt. *doṣa-.
Ta. nirvāṇam nakedness : Skt. nirvasana-.
Ta. uvā new moon; full moon, uvāru id. Ma. uvāvu, vāvu full moon, change of moon, holiday: Skt. upavāsa-, Pkt. ovāsa- fast; cf. Skt. upavasatha, Pa. posatha-, Sgh. pohoya the fasts observed on the occasion of the four phases of the moon.

Ta. tuṇvāy, tuṇavu sacred basil: Skt. tulasī. In this case it is very likely that the Sanskrit word is derived from Dravidian. The same is the case with the following word which is quoted for disappearance of -s-:

Ta. palā, palavu jack fruit, plāvu Ma. pilāvu, Ka, halase, halasa, Tu. pela, pila, peja, Tod. paṣof, Te. panasa, Kuvi panha, Malt. panereço: Skt. panasa-, palasa-, phanasa-, phalasa- jack-fruit.

The case of the following word appears to be more complicated:

Ta.aiyavi mustard, ayami (L.) id.: Skt. sarṣapa- mustard. Pkt. sāsava- id. If the Tamil word were derived from Middle Indo-arian, we should expect a long vowel in the first syllable, i.e. *āyavi. Such a long vowel is found in the other South Dravidian adaptations: Ka. sāsavi, sāsave, sāsime, Tu. dāsami, sāsami Te. sāsavulu mustard seeds. But Ta. aiyavi should represent earlier *sasavi. This form corresponds closely to Malay, Jav. sēsawī quoted by Przyluski and Régamey1 in discussing the Austro-asian forms of this word. It is likely that the Tamil word is derived directly from an Austro-asian source, and not through an Indo-arian intermediary. We may note also the peculiar Tu ṭu form sanṭēni

wild mustard. In view of the common Tuulu interchange of \( t \)
and \( s \), likewise of \(-m-\) and \(-v-\), we may take this as representing an earlier *sansevi, *sansavi. This is the same word with the addition of the common Austro-asiatic infix \(-n-\). Here again the borrowing must have been direct and not through Indo-aryan.

Very rarely an initial affricate is dropped in words borrowed from Indo-aryan:

Ta. āvam bow-string, Ta. Ma. āva-nārī quiver: Skt. cāpa- bow, Pkt. cāva-.

Ta. ētān slave: Skt. cēta servant, slave.

Ta. ēmam defence, protection; safety; happiness, comfort, beside cēmam safety, well-being, welfare: Pkt. chema-, Skt. kṣema- safety, comfort, welfare.

Ta. ellari a kind of drum, beside callari id. Skt. jhallari a kind of drum or cymbal.

In the case of most of these words forms with initial \( c-\) representing the Sanskrit sibilants are also to be found in Tamil, namely: Ta. caraṇ, caraṇam shelter, refuge, asylum, Ta. caṅkulli a kind of pastry or cake, Ta. cālai hall, shed, etc., Ta. culkam bride-price; prize, Ta. cāmaḷam blackness: dark-green colour, Cāmaḷai name of Durgā, Ta. camaṇ, camaṇam Jainism; nudity, camaṇar Jains, Ta. ceṣṭi merchant, Ta. cēṇi ladder; order, arrangement, Ta. caṇṭāṇ eunuch, hermaphrodite, Ta. canti evening, dusk, Ta. camar, camaram battle, war, Ta. camayam time season, Ta. cavai, capai assembly, Te. cintu sea; the Indus; Sindh, Ta. cicam lead, Ta. cuvaṇam a kind of bird, eagle, Ta. cūci needle.

These forms with initial \( c-\) appear in the later literature and as time goes on tend to replace the earlier forms without \( c-\). They are reintroduced from Sanskrit. The process had already begun by the time of the earliest literary documents,
where a few such words are found: cēmam KuT. 277, cattu caravan ib. 390: Skt. sārtha-, cāpam NaR. 228, cāvam (v.l. cāpam) PN. 14 bow: Skt. cāpa-. Of these only cattu represents a Sanskrit sibilant. In the case of the two following words which occur early in Tamil there is reason to believe that Sanskrit has borrowed from Dravidian rather than the other way round:

(1) Ta. cākātu cart, carriage; cart-wheel, cātu cart. cakātu, cekātai, cakaṭam id., Ma. cakātu, cātu cart, Ka. cakkaḍi, cakkaḍā, Te. cekkaḍā: Skt. sakaṭa- cart. Tamil cakaṭam can naturally be regarded as a loanword from Skt., but it is difficult to account for cākātu in this way since there is no apparent reason why the long vowels should be introduced. It is possible that in cākātu we have a native Dravidian word which is the source of Skt. sakaṭa-. Ta. cakaṭam, on the other hand, is to be regarded as derived from the Sanskrit word; the Ka. and Te. forms cakkaḍā and cekkaḍā are quite modern and taken from Mar. chekḍā.

(2) Ta. cāṭai matted locks of hair: Skt. jāṭā. Besides jāṭā Sanskrit has also śaṭā as ascetic’s clotted hair, and saṭā matted locks of hair; mane of a lion, etc.; also Skt. chaṭā mass seems to belong to this group. This alternation between sonant and surd and also between sibilants and affricates is an unusual feature in Sanskrit, but very familiar in Dravidian, and points strongly to the conclusion that the words are borrowed from that source.

Excluding these words, therefore, it is clear that the existence of Ta. c- in early Tamil texts corresponding to a Skt. sibilant, or even to Skt. c-, etc., is exceedingly rare. Its reintroduction, however, has just begun, as observed in instances like cēmam, cattu. We may therefore conclude that in
earliest series of these loan-words the initial consonant was regularly lost, and that since a few examples with $c-$ are already found in the earliest texts, the period at which the earliest loan-words, that is those suffering this loss, were acquired would seem to lie some time previous to the earliest literary records. It is also reasonable to conclude that a word which loses the initial sibilant must have been borrowed early, even if it does not happen to occur very early in literature. For instance, Ta. ṣām, tiruv-ṵam, and Ta. avittam are not, according to the Tamil lexicon, found very early: nevertheless they, along with the other names of months and nakṣatras, must for this reason be among the very earliest loan-words. On the other hand, words which never lose the initial consonant—like cāṭṭu caravan, caṅkili chain, cikaram peak, etc.,—have been borrowed at a later period, that is, after this rule ceased to operate.

The loss of an initial sibilant, and occasionally of an affricate in loan-words from Sanskrit, is paralleled within the native Dravidian vocabulary by the loss of the initial phoneme which appears in some languages as $c-$ and others as $s-$.

This development is found in the Southern Dravidian languages—Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, Tuḷu, Toda, Kota, Telugu—but not in the Central and Northern languages. A typical example is the word for “plough, yoke of oxen”:

Ta. Ma. ēr plough, yoke of oxen, Ka. ār, ēru a pair of oxen yoked to a plough, Te. ēru a plough with draught oxen made ready for ploughing: Kui sēru a yoke of oxen, a pair, two of cattle for ploughing, Go. sēr a plough.

L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar,¹ in discussing this and some

similar words, suggests the implausible explanation that Kui $s$- has developed out of an original ‘prothetic glide’ which he writes ķ. E. H. Tuttle,2 on the other hand, sought the explanation in a primitive Dravidian $s$ which has disappeared in the southern languages. He quotes such examples as:

Kui $si\dot{a}$a; Ta. $illai$ not, etc.
Go. $s\dot{a}rung$; Ta. $\dot{a}ru$ six, etc.
Go. $saiyung$; Ta. $ai$- five, etc.

There is, however, reason to doubt this theory of Dravidian $s$ as a separate sound. The Dravidian languages are so divided that the phoneme which appears in some as $c$- appears in others as $s$-. Gondi and Kui always have $s$- and not $c$-.

It is possible that $s$ has developed out of $c$- or, less likely, vice versa. But the evidence does not point to the existence of a primitive phoneme $s$- side by side with $c$-. This question will be touched on again later. In the meanwhile it will be convenient to give a list of all the cases in which an initial $c$ or $s$ has disappeared in one or more of the South Dravidian languages:

Ta. $an\dot{a}l$, $an\dot{a}l\dot{a}$m squirrel, Ma. $an\dot{a}l$, $an\dot{a}l\dot{a}$, $an\dot{a}l\\dot{a}$n, Ka. $an\dot{a}l$, $an\dot{a}l$, $\ddot{a}\ddot{l}\ddot{a}$; $\ddot{a}n\dot{a}c\ddot{i}$; $\ddot{a}l\ddot{e}$, $\ddot{a}l\dot{\ddot{u}}\\ddot{a}$ma, Tod. (Rivers) $an\dot{a}li$: Tu. $\ddot{a}n\dot{a}li\ddot{u}$, $\ddot{a}n\dot{a}li\ddot{u}$, Kui $siruni$, $sir\ddot{u}\ddot{\ddot{r}}$ id.

Ta. $ak\dot{a}lu$ armpit, $ak\dot{a}lu$ to tickle, Ma. $ak\dot{a}l\dot{a}m$ armpit, tickling, $i\ddot{k}\ddot{\ddot{i}}\ddot{\ddot{i}}$ tickling, Ka. $ak\ddot{a}le$ a term used in tickling $akka\dot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{k}\dot{e}$ tickling: Ka. $cakkala\dot{a}g\ddot{u}\ddot{\ddot{i}}$ tickling another, Te. $cakk\ddot{\ddot{i}}$ armpit, $cak\dot{a}k\dot{\ddot{\ddot{i}}}\dot{\ddot{i}}\dot{\ddot{g}}\ddot{\ddot{i}}\dot{\ddot{g}}$ina, $cak\dot{a}k\dot{\ddot{\ddot{i}}}\dot{\ddot{i}}\dot{\ddot{g}}\ddot{\ddot{i}}$i tickling, Malt. $\ddot{c}\ddot{e}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{q}}}l\ddot{k}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{u}}}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{d}}}$ to tickle, Kur. $cang\ddot{r}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{a}}}n\ddot{\ddot{a}}}$ to itch, to be the seat of a titillation, $cang\ddot{\ddot{r}}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{i}}}\dot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{a}}}n\ddot{\ddot{a}}}}$ to tickle.

Ka. anda fitness, beauty; manner, form, Tu. anda form, shape; beauty, elegence, andacanda very handsome, very pleasant, Te. andamu beauty, andagāḍu a handsome man, andagāṇcu to look beautiful: Ka. canda, cenda beautiful; fitness, beauty; shape, form; canna, cenna a handsome man, cannu, cennu straightness, beauty, grace, niceness; properness, excellence, Tu. canda beauty, elegance, canna handsome, well, Te. candamu manner, way; state, condition, canu to be fit, proper, becoming, cennu beauty, grace, elegance; manner, way. Kittel derives Ka. canda from Skt. chanda- pleasing, pleasure, wish, desire; appearance, shape, but the word is not to be separated from the other words listed here, which he regards as native Dravidian; also it would be strange, if the words are derived from Sanskrit, that what is much the commonest, and indeed the ordinary meaning in classical Sanskrit, should not be represented in Dravidian. Ta. antam beauty and cantam beauty; shape form, are loan-words from Telugu or Kanarese.

Ta. Atiyamān Netumān Ańci, name of a king in whose honour some poems were composed by the poetess Auvaifar PN. 87 (colophon) = Atiyar Kōmān king of the Atiyar PN. 91, 3: Asoka inscr.-Satiyaputo, name of a king in South India. The identification of Atiyamān with Satiyaputo is proposed by K. G. Sesha Aiyar1 and is evidently correct, though his opinion that the s- of Satiyaputa is a secondary development is naturally the reverse of the truth. Ta. Atiyar is the name of the people, and the word mān, which is a shortened form of makan son, is added to this precisely as in Čēramān title of the Čēra kings, which corresponds in the same way to

Asoka's Kerala-pute. Atiya- (<Satiya- / * Catiya-) must be a native name, and cannot be connected with Skt. satya- true.

Ta. appu thigh: Ta. ceppu hip, rappai hip, haunch, Ka. cappe the hip-bone, Te. jabbu the shoulder; the outer side of the thigh.

Ka. apparisu to through to the ground (in wrestling), appalisu to strike against anything, to flap, slap, Tu. appali- puni to strike against anything with the open hand, to squash, Te. appalamu clapping, flapping, striking, appalinchu to flap, slap, touch; to smear, apply, Ta. appaši to remove unevenness in the wall by placing pieces of brick or tile with chunam when plastering (Loc., <Te): Ta. cappāni clapping hands, Ka. capparisu to slap, to pat, cappāši clapping the hands, cappaše, cappaše id., cappalisu to slap, to pat, tappalisu id, Tu. cappāši clapping the hands, cappalipuni to clap the hands, Te. cappaša a clap of the hands, cappalinchu to clap, slap, >Skt. capestha a slap with the open hand, etc.

Ka.appaše flatness: Ka. cappaše, cappaše id., etc.

Ta. amar to be suitable, agreeable; to fit; to resemble, to do, perform, amai vb. ००००००००० to be fit, suitable, agreeable; to be together, connected, joined; to prepare oneself, get ready; to be accomplished, settled, ००००००००० to bring together; to prepare, effect, accomplish, sb. fitness. Ma. ameyuka to agree, amekka to join, attach. Ka. amar to come together, be united; to fit, be agreeable; to be produced, arise, appear, amarcu. amarisu to bring together, join, attach; to put on, fix on; to prepare, do fitly, perform, Tu. amāruni to suit, fit, Te. amayu to be useful or serviceable, amaru to suit, fit, be agreeable; to be prepared or ready, amarcu to prepare, make ready, fit up,
supply: Ta. *camai* vb. *tal* to be suitable, to get ready, prepare oneself; to be made, constructed; to mature, *tal* to get ready, prepare; to create; to do, perform; to cook, Ma. *camayuka* to get ready, to dress well; to assume a shape; to be matured, grow, *camekka* to prepare, cook; to produce an effect, Ka. *samanisu, savanisu* to grow ready or prepared; to be acquired; to be brought about, occur, *samaru, savaru* to make proper, fit; to trim, *same, save* to be made ready, prepared; to make ready, prepare, Te. *savariṇcu* to trim, set right.


Ta. *aruvī* waterfall, cascade, *aruvu* to spring out and gently flow down, Ma. *aruvu, arivi* waterfall: Ta. *cari* to slide down, fall down; a declivity, Ma *cariyuka* id., *carivu* a declivity, Ka. *sari* to slide, fall down, *sari* a steep precipice, also *jari, jarugu, Tu. jariyuni* to slip, slide down. Cf. Skt. *sari* (Lx.) cascade, waterfall (lw.)

Ta. *ācā* Sāl tree, *Shorea robusta,* Ka. *āsu* the Sāl tree, *Shorea robusta* Roxb., *ācā, ārse* id.: probably from an original *sārc-/-sārj-,* cf. Skt. *sarja-,* *Vatica robusta,* which could have been borrowed from the original Dravidian form.

Ta. *āy* to be diminished, reduced; smallness, minuteness, *ācu* minuteness; trifling, small thing, *āyvu* diminution: Ta. *cāy* to grow thin, emaciated; to be dried up as a channel, *cāyvu* deficiency, straightened circumstances.

Ta. ār to combine with, belong to; to resemble: Ta. cār to be near, connected with, joined to, Ka. sār to approach, be joined, associated with.

Ta. āmai, yāmai a tortoise, Ma. āma, Ka. āme, āve, ēve, Tu. ēme id.: Kui sēmbi a tortoise, Te. tābēlu id. (t-<s-).

Ta. ānra extensive, excellent, ānal greatness, abundance, ānvar great men, men of exalted character: Ta. cānvar, cānīr the great, the learned, the noble (<Ta. cāl to be abundant, extensive, great, noble; Ka. sāl, Te. cālu).

Ta. ikal intricacy, obscurity, involvedness: Ta. cikku to become entangled, complicated; complication, intricacy, Ka. sikk to be entangled, Te. sikk id.

Te. iguru, Ka. igaru shoot, sprout: Te. ciguru, Ka. cigur, cigi id., Tu. cigurun, tigurun, sigurun to sprout, Kur. cigi sprout blade, cigiyārnā to sprout.


Ta. īṭi to break, crumble; (tr.) to break, beat, pound, crush, strike; to thunder; (sb.) blow; anything pulverized, thunder, Ma. īṭika crumble, fall to pieces, īṭika to beat, bruise demolish, break down, īṭi a stroke, a bow; bruising, pounding; thunderbolt, Ka. īḍi to be powdered, ground, to crumble, (tr.) to pound, beat, Te. īḍiyu to fall to pieces, split, crack: Ka siḍi to burst forth spontaneously as seeds from a fruit, to bounce, siḍil to be scattered in different directions, to become loose, Te. cīṭu to crack, break, snap, split, Tu. sēḍipuni to box with the fingers as the ear; Ka siḍil thunderbolt, Tu. tedilu thunder, thunderbolt, thunderclap | >Skt. taḍit lightning.

Ta. itai sail of a ship: Ta citai id.; cf. Ta. citār cloth, etc.

Ta. imir to bind: Ta. cimir to bind, tie, entrap.

Ta. imil hump on the withers of an Indian bull, hump of the zebu: Ta. cimir (Loc.) hump, timil hump, as of a bullock; cf. Ta. cimaï summit of a mountain, peak.

Ta. imai eyelid; winking; vb. to wink, Ma. ima eyelid imekka to blink, Ka. eme, eve, Tu. ime eyelid: Ta. cimir to wink, blink, cimili, cimitusi id., Ma. cima eyelid, eyelash, cimitu to wink, cimpuka, cimpuka to twinkle with the eyes, Tu. sime, simme eyelid. | >Skt. smīr (Dhātur.) to blink.

Ta. il, illai not, Ma. illa, Ka. il, illa, Te. lēdu, etc., Tu. iji: Go. hille, Kui sīda, Parjî cille; cf. Malt. cile to forbid.

Ta. il, illam, illi clearing-nut tree, ilavu id.: Ta. cillum, Ka. Te. cilla id.

Ta. ilir to stand on end as the hair; to bristle; to sprout, germinate; cilir id., ciluppu, cilumpu to bristle, Kui slinga to stand on end (hair).

Ta. illi hole, leak: Ta. cilli, Ka. jilli, Te. cilli id.

Ta. ilankan to shine, glisten, glitter, Ma. ilakuka to shine, twinkle; Te. celâgu to shine, be splendid, Tu. jalakuni to shine, glitter.

Ta. irazju to make a noise: Ta. cirazju id.


Ta. idai to grow weary, be fatigued; to fail, lag behind, ilaippu lassitude, distress: Ta. cialai, cašai to weary, become tired, Ka. caši to become tired or fatigued, to lose one’s spirits, succumb.

Ta. ippa to pass away, to pass beyond; to excel, be pre-eminent, irappu passing beyond, away; superiority, heavenly bliss: Ta. cira to surpass, excel, be illustrious, cirappu superiority, pre-eminence, prosperity, Ma. cirakka to excel.
Ta. irai, iraku wing, Ma. iraku, Ka. erake, ekke, rekke, Tu. reńke, edinke, Te. eraka, rekka, neraka; Ta. cirai, ciraku, cirakar wing. Ma. ciraku id.


Ta. inkai a species of mimosa, ikai, ikkai, ińku id., Ma. ińha, Mimosa inga, the bark of which is used in bathing; Ta. cikkay, Ma. cińha (dialectally in the South), cikakāy, Mimosa abstergens (the fruit serves for cleansing the hair after bathing), Ka. sige, Acacia concinna.

Ta. intu date-palm, ińcu, iccam-pańai id., Ma. ñta, ñtal, Ka. ical, Tu. ińculy, icily, Te. ñta the wild date tree, ñdu, ñdāń id.; Kui sita a small date | > Pkt. sindi- a small date, Skt. hintāla- date-palm.

Ta. Ma. ir nit, louse’s egg, Ka. ir id.; (vb.) to comb out nits, irańige a comb for removing nits, Te. iru nit, egg of a louse, irucu to comb out nits: Ka. sir nit, Tu. tiry id., tiruvana nitpick, Go. sir nit, Kuvi hiru, Kur. cir id.

Ka. ugi to pull, pull or tear off, draw away, pull out: Ka. sugi to tear off, strip off, to plunder, peel.

Ka. ugi to fear: Ka. sugi id.

Ta. ucil black sirissa, ucilai, uńcil, ſuńcil, uńińcil id.: Ta. tuńci, tuńińci id., Ka. sirsala, sirasala, sirisa, Acacia sirissa; cf. Skt. siriśa- id. (lw. < Dr.).

Ta. utal to be angry, enraged; to fight; (sb.) anger, enmity, hatred, utaru id., utarru to anger, vex, provoke: possibly < *cutal, cf. cuṭu to burn, be hot, and for the development of meaning Ta. vemmai, ven-kañ in the sense of “anger”.

8148
Ta. **uṭu** to put on, as clothes; to surround, encircle, **ṇṭukka**i, **uṭupp**u, **uṭai** clothing, garment, dress, Ma. **uṭukka** to put on, chiefly the lower garment, **uṭupp**u clothes, **uṭa** cloth, garment, Ka. **uḍu** to wind or wrap round the waist and fasten there by tucking in, **uḍupu** clothes, Te. **uḍupu** dress: probably <**cuṭu**; cf. Ta. **cuṭu** to wear on or round the head, to be enveloped, **cuṭt**u to adorn as with garlands, to crown, spread over as an army; (sb.) a garland, crest; felly of a wheel, Ma. **cuṭuka** to wear on the head (crown), over the head (umbrella), Ka. **sūḍu** to put round the head, as flowers.¹


Ta. **utti** spots on the head of a cobra; spots on the skin of women considered marks of beauty: <**cutti**, cf. **tutti**, **titti** id., also **titalai**, Tu. **citti** a small spot or speck, **titti** white spots on leaves. The correspondence of intervocalic **−tt−** in Tamil with **−tt−** in Tuḷu points to an original affricate there. With a different suffix Tuḷu has **ṣidību**, **ṣidūbu** the pustule of smallpox, which with assimilation appears in Kanarese as **cibbu**, **sibbu** a whitish, reddish, or blackish spot on the body. The Kanarese grammarians and, following them, Kittel, derive this last word from Skt. **sidīma−** white spot, leprous spot, but it is more likely that the Sanskrit word is derived from the Dravidian.

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¹ Ta. **uṭai** garment according to this etymology represents **cuṭai**, and with the usual changes would have appeared in some areas of Dravidian as **sode**. This could be the origin of Skt. **śāta** (ka-), etc. Since Skt. has no short **−o−** it has to choose some other sound to represent it in Dravidian words. Here it is **−a−**, more commonly **−a−**. Skt. **śāta** is then borrowed into Dravidian: Ta. **āṭai**, etc.
Ta. urnal twigs and sprays; dried leaves, urnalai id.: Ka.
toval young green leaves, Ma. tol green leaves, small branches,
Te. cuvaka, cuvva twig; with strong grade of the intervocalic
consonant:— Ta. cuppal a dry twig, cuppi id., Ma. cappu
leaves, Ka. toppala, tappala all green leaves of plants in
general, soppu foliage, vegetable, herb, greens, sappu id., Tu.
coppu, tappu, soppu leaf, foliage, greens, tappoliyuni to be
covered with foliage; cf. Skt. saṣpa- young or sprouting
grass (lw.<Dr.).

Ta. Ma. Ka. urul to roll, revolve, spin; to become round,
globular: Ta. Ma. curul to be coiled, rolled up, curled, Ka.
surul, Go. surundanā to go round and round.

Te. ulaka light, easy: also culaka, Ka. culuku id.

Ta. ulavu, ulāv to move or walk about, take a stroll; to
surround, encircle as a garment, Ma. ulāvuka to take a walk;
ulāvuka id.: Ta. culavu to revolve, move round, hover about,
to surround, encircle, culāv id.

Ta. ulai fireplace, forge, furnace, Ma. ula, Ka. ole id.: 
Kui soñu, Kuvi holli fireplace; cf. Ta. cuñai potter’s kiln,
furnace, cūlai id., Ma. cuñia, cūla; cf. Skt.(lw.) culli fireplace.

Ta. ural to whirl, revolve, roam about, urī, urī-taru to
wander about, move to and fro, Ma. uraluka to roam about:
Ta. cural to whirl, spin, rotate, curi id., Ma. curaluka, curī-
yuka to revolve, Ka. surī, turī, toral to revolve, turn round.

Ta. Ma. ulukku to be sprained, a sprain, Tu. ünkku, Ka.
uluku, uluku, iluku: Ta. Ma. cułukku id.

Ta. ākam broomstick grass, ākai id.: Ta. ciku, ciku
broom grass, cikam pul id.; cf. Hi. sīk the culm of the grass
of which brooms are made (lw.<Dr>.

Ta. āmpu to suck, Ma. āmpuka, impuka id.: Ta. cippu,
cīmpu to suck, fondle with the lips, cippu id., Ka. cīpu, sipu
id., Tu. jumbuni to suck, sip, lick, Kui jūpa, jūmpa to suck.
Tu. āmbē a hole: Tu. sūmbē a small hole in the wall, tūbe a hole.

Ta. ār time, turn, occasion; age, lifetime: Ka. sūr time, turn, occasion; cf. Ta. cūr to revolve, go round, etc., whence also Ta. ār to think (to turn over in the mind).

Ta. ey porcupine, Ma. eyyan, Tu. eyipāñji, Ka. ey, ēdu. Te. ēdupāni: Go. sōi porcupine, Kuvi sahi id.; cf. Skt. sedhā porcupine, which Kittel (no. 79) followed by J. Bloch (BSOS., V, 740) derives from Dravidian. Sanskrit has also śvāvidh- (“dog-piercing”, AV.), which looks like a popular etymology based on the originally Dravidian word. Compare also Sinh. ippā porcupine, and further NPers. cizū, cizak id., which, since c- and s- are interchangeable in Dravidian, could be derived from the same source.

Ta. ēr plough, yoke of oxen, Ma. ēr id., Ka. ār, ēru a pair of oxen yoked to the plough, Te. ēru a plough with the draught-oxen made ready for ploughing: Ta. cēr (dial) id., Go. sēr a plough, Kui sēru a yoke of oxen, a pair, two of oxen for ploughing, sēreka two, a pair; cf. Ta. cēr to join with, become united, etc., Ma. cēruka to approach, come close to, join, fit or suit, Ka. sēr to come near, approach, join, meet, Tu. šērūni, Te. cēru id. The verb has almost universally preserved its initial consonant in South Dravidian, in contradistinction to the noun, but Tamil has ēr to be similar, no doubt from cēr.¹

¹ These Dravidian words are reminiscent of Skt. RV., etc., sira- n. plough. J. Bloch (BSOS., VIII, 414) draws attention to this, but decides against a derivation from the Dravidian of the Skt. word in favour of an IE. etymology (*sēi to sow). In favour of a Dravidian origin is the frequent use of vuj- to join with sira— (yuvakta sirā RV., x, 101, 3, sadyogam siram AV., viii, 9, 16, etc.), since Dravidian ēr, sēr has just the meaning and etymology which suits these contexts.
Tu. oṇṭa hip, waist, loins; Tu. sōṇṭa id.; Ka. sōṇṭa hip, loins, waist.

Ta. olku to grow weak or faint, to be disheartened, to become reduced, to be injured, etc., ulai to be upset, to be ruined, perish, to be defeated, Te. olla-bóvu to faint, grow pale, fade: Ta. Ma. töl to be defeated, Ta. tolai to perish, be exhausted, be defeated, Ka. söl to be defeated, Tu. söl, töl id., Ka. tolagu to yield, fail, retire, Tu. tolaguni, Te. tolāgu id.

Te. olucu to peel off: Ta. coli to strip off, peel off, toli id., (sb.) skin, rind, husk, Ma. toli skin, bark, peel, rind, tolikka to skin, peel, Ka. suli to skin, peel, strip, Tu. sulipuni, tulipuni id., Malt. cale rind, peel, colye to skin, to strip off the bark from a tree.

Ta. ōppu to drive away: Ka. sō, sōpu, Te. cōpu id., cf. Parji cōttēd sent, drove.

Ta. ōtu to run, Ma. ōtu ka, Te. Ka. ōdu, Tu. ōdu ni id.: cf. Go. sōditāna, jōditāna to run away.

Ta. ai, aintu five, Ma. ai, ańcu, Ka. ay, aydu, Tu. ai, ainu, Te. ayidu, ēguru, ēvuru, Kolami aid: Go. saiyūng, Parji sēvir, Kui singi (LSI., iv, 460; not in Winfield).


In the examples quoted above as instances of the loss of initial c-/s-, there are to be found some examples where c-/s- has developed into t-. These are: Tu. tanily squirrel: Tu. canily, Ta. anil; Go. tarās snake: Kui srāsu, Ta. aravu; Te. tāmbēlu tortoise: Kui sēmbī, Ta. āmai, yāmai; Ta, timil

The fact that Skt. lāṅgala has been borrowed from Dravidian (BSoAS., XI, 131 and 603) also favours this view. The main difficulty is vowel (Skt. i: Dr. ē), as Bloch says. Such a change does indeed occur in Brahuin (khisum red: Kur. khēso), but there is no reason to believe that this is ancient.
hump: Ta. cimir, imil; Tu. tiru nit: Ka. sir Ta. ir; Ta. tuti
spots: Tu. citti, Ta. utti; Ka. toval, tappala, etc.; green leaves:
Ta. cuppal, uwal, etc.; Ta. turićil sirissa: Ka. sirsala, Ta.
ucil, urićil id.; Tu. tūbē a hole: Tu. sumbē, ūmbē id. The
development of t- out of original c-/s- is very common in
Dravidian, and it is hoped to treat it fully in a future article.
For the present it is sufficient to draw attention to the above
examples and also to apply the principle to the following
instances in which forms of words in South Dravidian with
initial t- exist side by side with forms in which the initial
consonant has been lost:—

Ta. aţal to burn, glow, shine; (sb.) fire, flame, heat, Ma.
aţal heat, fire, aţaluka to burn as a wound, the eye from
pepper; to burn from grief, aţala excessive heat, inflammation,
Ka. aţal to grieve, be afflicted, Tu. arluni to burn, blaze; to
smart, arațe, arade heat, burning, impetuosity, Te. aţalu to
grieve: Ta. taţal to glow, to be very hot, to shine; (sb.) fire,
live coals, embers, taţal live coals, embers, fire, Ka. taţalu
glowing coals.

Ta. iru to pay as a tax or debt, irai tribute, taxes, Ma.
tera, teravu the price paid for a wife, teru to pay, terige
tribute tax, Tu. terige id. (lw.< Ka.).

Ta. uyānku to suffer, be in distress, uyavu to suffer; (sb.)
trouble, suffering: Ta. tuyānku to be exhausted, faint,
tuyakku fatigue, loss of strength or courage; sorrow, grief,
tuyar grief, sorrow; to grieve, tuyaram sorrow, grief, tuyavu
mental distraction, perturbation; cf. Ta. cūr to languish,
droop, faint.

Ta. uy̆al to wave, shake, Tu. oyaluni to reel, stagger: Ta.
tuyal to sway, swing, hang, Tu. tūluni to totter, reel; cf. Ka.
jöl to hang, swing, droop, be downcast: Te. sölū to reel stagger, swoon | > Skt. dolā a swing.

Te. ūgu to swing, rock, totter, etc.: Te. ūgu to hang, swing, rock, reel, Ta. tūṅku to hang, swing, sway, Ma. tūṅu, Ka. tūgu.

Ta. uva! to quake, quiver: Ta. tuva! to quiver, tremble; to be flexible, supple, etc.

Ta. uruva to pierce, penetrate: Ta. turuva to bore, perforate; sb. a hole, Ka. turuva to hollow, bore, drill, Kui trūva to be pierced, trupka to bore or pierce.

In these cases it is to be assumed that the initial t- stands for original c- / s-—which has been lost in the alternative forms, just as in the examples quoted previously; e.g. *suya!/*cuya! > alternatively uya! or tuyal. Since there is no evidence that original t- ever disappears, the existence of these forms without initial consonant is an indication that t- in these words has developed out of c- / s-. The same rule can be applied to words where comparisons with Sanskrit are available:

Ta. unti navel; belly, stomach; body of a yār, Ma. unti navel : Skt. tunda-, tundi a protuberant belly, a navel.


These forms can be united on the assumption that in South Dravidian an initial sibilant or affricate, as is so frequently the case, has been lost, and that the Sanskrit words have been borrowed from Dravidian. Thus an original *sundi or *cundi would quite regularly appear as unti in Tamil and Malayalam, while the variant dialectal development *tundi is of the type well attested in Dravidian, and illustrated in the examples given above. Likewise the original form of the
word for "sesamum" would be *se₁ or *ce₁, whence in South Dravidian e₁, alternatively *te₁, which must be presumed to be the origin of the Sanskrit word. The word is probably connected etymologically with Ka. te₁ thin, fine, minute, small, the sesamum being so called on account of the smallness of its seeds. A similar case is to be found in the Telugu word for "sesamum" nuvvu, pl. nuvvulu. This is likewise connected with words meaning small, fine: Ta. no small, fine, thin, slender, novvu to become thin, noy smallness, minuteness; grits, oats, Ma. noccu minute, light, noy grit, groats; what is minute.

With these words the examples for the loss of initial c-/s- in South Dravidian are concluded. Before discussing the matter further, it is necessary to point out that not all words beginning with c-/s- have been affected by this change. It is in fact possible to produce a considerable list of words in which no such change has taken place in any part of the South Dravidian area, at least so far as can be gathered from the recorded documents. As examples of the preservation of initial c-/s- in all the languages concerned the following will suffice:

Ta. cări suitability, propriety, Ka. sari fitness, rightness, similarity, Tu. sari equal, right, fit, proper, Te. sari equal, similar, fit, right.

Ta. că to die, p.p. cettu having died, Ma. că, cattu, Ka. sāy, sattu, Tu. saipini to die, sāvu death, Te. caccu to die, cāvu death, Kui sāva to die, Kuvi hā-; hāki death, Go. saiyānā, sāyānā, Parji cāmam I die, Kolami tik-hātan, tik-sātan I die | >Skt. śava-, Pa. chava- a corpse; cf. Kur. khe'ena to die,
keccas he died, khiū mortal, Malt. keye to die, 3rd pret. keca Brah. kahing to die.¹

Ta. cātu to daub, smear, anoint, cāntu pigment, paste; sandal-paste; sandal-tree, cāntam sandal, Ma. cāntu a kind of ointment or paste of sandal, etc., Ka. sādu a fragrant substance, perfume, Tu. sādike smearing, Te: cādu to rub into a paste | >Skt. candana- sandal-tree, -wood, -powder, -ointment.

Ta. cāl furrow, Ma. cāl furrow; channel, track; line, direction, Ka. sāl a continuous line, row, furrow. Tu. sāly line, row, furrow, Te. cālu line, row, furrow, groove, track.

Ta. cāru juice, sap; toddy; water in which aromatic substances are infused; pepper-water, cēru sap, juice; toddy, honey, treacle; kernel, as of a cocoanut; pus, Ma. cāru sap as of a palm tree; infusion, decoction; broth or soup, Ka. cāru sap, juice; broth, sāru a relish in a liquid state, well seasoned sauce, broth, pepper-water, Tu. sāry sap; soup, broth, cāry a kind of pepper water, Te. cēru tamarind soup or broth.

Ta. cārru to proclaim, publish, Ma. cārru id., Ka. sāru to cry out, to proclaim aloud, to publish, Tu. sāriyuni to proclaim, publish, preach, Te. cātu to proclaim, declare, announce, publish.

Ta. cintu to spill, Ma. cinnuka, cintuka, Te. cindu, T. cindu to be spilt or shed, to run out of a vessel, Malt. tunde to spill, tundgre to be spilled, Kur. tundnā id.

¹ This is one of the few examples where the Northern Dravidian languages (Kurukh, Malto; Brahui) preserve an original guttural in contradistinction to the Central and Southern languages (with affricate or sibilant). The discussion of this phenomenon must be reserved for a future occasion. This special origin of c-/s- in a certain number of words does not seem materially to affect their treatment in the South Dravidian languages.
Ta. cilanti a spider, cilampi id., Ma. cilanni, Ka. seladi, Te. celâdi id.

Ta. ci, ciy to sweep, wipe, Ma. cîka to comb, scrape, smooth, polish, cittal sweepings, Ka. cîpari a broom, Tu. siŋtuni to scrape, rub, wipe, Te. cîkili a broom, cîpuru id., Kui sēpa to sweep, Kuvi hēpinaî id., Go. saiyanā to sweep (Trench; in another dialect hēyânā, Patwardhan), Malt. cîce to wipe clean, celaki a broom, Kur. cîcnā to wipe.

Ta. cura to stream forth, curai streaming forth as milk from an udder, cori to pour forth, flow down, rain, Ma. cura giving milk, curakka milk to form or collect in the udder, to spring forth, gush out, cori to flow down, pour, shower, Ka. sore the milk collected in the udder, tore milk to form or collect in the udder, suri to flow down, pour down, juri to flow or ooze out plentifully, Koṇagū tori to flow out, Tu. doriyuni to flow down, run out, Te. torâgu to flow, gush, run, Kui spângu breast, jrâmbu udder, Kur. curkhinā to pour, ooze, leak, jorō leaking, Malt. curge to ooze out, fall in drops, Brah. curring to flow.

Ta. curā, curâvu shark, Ma. curā, cizāku, tuṟāvu, șrâvu id., Ka. cora, Te. cora, sora id.

Ta. cūl pregnancy, Ma. cūl, Ka. cūl, sūlu, Te. cūlu, cûli id.

Ta. cūl oath, to swear, cūluru to swear, Ma. cuŋaruka to swear, Ka. sūru! an oath, to swear, Tu. sūlu swearing.

Ta. cerukku to be proud, vain; exult; be infatuated, Ka. sorkku, sokku to become mad, intoxicated, infatuated, arrogant, etc., Tu. sorku fat, vigour; rankness, luxuriance; lust; pride, sorkuni to become fat, vigorous, proud, insolent, sorkelu lust, rutting as of an animal, sorkeluni to be in rut, Te. cokku ecstasy, trance, etc.

Ta. *cēral*, *cērān-kai* quantity that can be held in the hollow of the hand, Ka. *sāre*, *sere*, *sēre* the palm of the hand bent so as to receive anything; a handful, Tu. *sere*, *sēre*, Te. *cēra* id.

In these examples and in others which could be added no trace can be found in any of the languages of loss of the initial consonant.

In treating of the initial consonant which forms the subject of this article *c*- and *s*- have been treated as equivalent and alternative sounds, and it has already been pointed out that there is no evidence to show that original Dravidian possessed an *s*- side by side with *c*-.* It is necessary to confirm this by an examination of the distribution of the two sounds in the existing languages.

In the Southern group Tamil has only *c*- and no *s*-.* This was originally an affricate corresponding to Sanskrit *c*-,* but is nowadays a kind of sibilant most nearly corresponding to Sanskrit *s*-,* and it is often transliterated so. Malayalam, like Tamil, has only *c*- and has preserved the affricate pronunciation. Kanarese has both *c*- and *s*-,* but the latter is the more common. Frequently both occur in the same word, e.g. *cavulī, savulī* brackishness, *cai, sāli* cold, *cāliu, celiu, seliū* a long flexible rod or twig, *cāpe, sāpe* a mat, *cāru, sāru* sap, juice, broth, *cippu, sippu* an oyster-shell, *cippu, sippu* to suck, *coṭta, sotta* crookedness. This suggests that the occurrence of the two sounds together in Kanarese is due to dialectal differences, and does not represent a similar dichotomy in the parent language. Telugu also has both *c*- and *s*-,* but whereas
in Kanarese $s$ is the usual treatment and $c$—the more uncommon one, in Telugu $c$—is the usual and $s$—the exceptional treatment. Tuṭu like Kanarese has both $c$—and $s$—, and they frequently alternate in the same word. The latter sound develops to $s$—when followed by $-i$—or $-i$—.

Among the Central group Gondi, Kolami, and Kui have regularly $s$—, which in some dialects of Gondi and in Kuvi, the sister dialect to Kui, has developed into $h$—. Parji only in this group shows regularly $c$—. The Northern languages (Kurūḍh, Malto, Brahui) have both $c$—and $s$—, but reliable etymologies from Dravidian are only to be found among the words beginning with $c$—which is therefore to be regarded as the regular treatment.

From these facts it becomes clear that we cannot speak of an $s$—which has disappeared in South Dravidian in contradiction to $c$—. E. H. Tuttle’s examples were all quoted from languages in which $s$—regularly corresponds to $c$—in other languages: e.g. Go. sēr plough; Ta. ēr, but Ta. also cēr to join, which cannot be separated from this word. Even if Primitive Dravidian did distinguish between an affricate and a sibilant, the distinction has not been preserved in any of the extant languages. Also it certainly did not affect the phonetic change involved in the loss of $c$—/$s$—, since in a language like Kanarese, which has both, they are both liable to be dropped: anda: canda just like ir: sir, etc. For all practical purposes therefore, from the point of view of this article $c$—and $s$—or simply to be regarded as variants of each other.

A survey of the material presented above discloses a complete absence of any regularity of treatment. On the one hand $c$—/$s$—is preserved in some words in all the languages in question. At the other extreme there are words in which the
initial consonant has been lost in all the Southern languages. In between these words we find a mass of words in which the initial has been lost in one or other of the South Dravidian languages while it is preserved in the rest. Further, double forms (Ta. ippi: cippi, Ka. ir, sir, etc.) are to be found in each of the individual languages. Obviously it is not possible to reduce all these facts to any rigid rule. We can only establish that there is a tendency for this initial to be dropped; that this tendency is confined to the Southern Dravidian languages and is one of the features that distinguishes them from the Central and Northern Groups; and that among the Southern Dravidian languages the tendency is strongest in Tamil, particularly in the classical dialect of that language (see the examples).

We have, in fact, to do with a partial or incomplete sound-change. A good parallel can be found in Sinhalese, where a similar state of affairs prevails in the case of similar sound-changes that have taken place in that language. Here we find a development of s to h, which may eventually be dropped altogether, but the newer forms never completely succeeded in ousting the old, so that we often find a variety of forms side by side: e.g. sas, has, as crop of corn: Skt. sasya-; sim, him, im boundary: Skt. sima; simbili, hijbul, iñbul silk cotton: Pkt. simbali-; së, hè, è bridge: Skt. setu-; so, hō, ò river: Skt. srotas-; and so forth. Likewise, c- becomes h- through s-, though this very rarely disappears (iñbinu, simbinu

1 The change of s- to h- in Kuvi and dialects of Gondi (Kuvi hāru salt, etc.; Go. (María dial.) hōvar id.), and the occasional dropping of this h- (Go. Mar. ovar according to Lind) is a modern change of the same kind but independent of the earlier S. Dr. change.

2 W. Geiger, Grammar of the Sinhalese Language, pp. 82 ff.
to kiss: Skt. *cumbati*). In Dravidian there is no intermediate stage *h*—recorded, though it is quite probable that it may have existed at one time. Otherwise the two cases are very similar in the manner in which the change has never been completely established.

Some indication of the date of these developments is to be found. In the first place as regards relative chronology it can be said quite definitely that the above changes had already taken place when the development of Dr. *k*— to *c*— before ō, i took place in Tamil, Malayalam, and Telugu.³ There is no single case of such a *c*— in these languages (e.g. Ta. *c*ered, cey to do, çer marking nut tree, Te. *cēyu* to do, etc.) being dropped. From which it is quite clear that the palatalization of *k*— in these languages took place at a time when the other process was already complete. As regards date contacts with Indo-aryan provide some useful indications. The proper name *Satiya-putra: Atiya-mān* still preserves its *s*— in Asoka's time, but has already lost it by the time of the earliest Tamil literary texts. This is not in itself necessarily conclusive, since in many words there are double forms, though that is less likely to be the case with a proper name. Confirmation, however, is forthcoming from the fact that, as shown earlier, the change has affected the earliest strata of loan-words from Indo-aryan. That is to say, these words must have already become current before the change began to operate, since they have been affected by it in the same way as native words. This is exactly in agreement with the conclusion suggested by the equation *Satiya-putra: Atiya-mān*. From what is known of the history of Aryan expansion in India it is exceedingly unlikely that any

IA. loan-words in Tamil could have been borrowed earlier than Maurya times. On the other hand the influence of that empire extended to the furthest corners of India, and it would not be rash to assume that it was in this period that the earliest loan-words found their way into Tamil and the neighbouring languages. It certainly cannot have been much later since the earliest Tamil texts are not generally put much later than the third century A.D., and between these two limits of time two successive sound-changes have taken place: (1) loss of initial c-/s- in a large number of words, and (2) palatalization of initial k- in Tamil, Malayalam, and Telugu before i and ē. The assumption that the first change operated slightly before, and the second one somewhat later than the Christian era is in accordance with the available evidence. If, however, it were to be shown that the earliest Tamil literature was to be dated later than is now generally assumed, the chronology would have to be adjusted accordingly.
In two recent articles in the Transactions of the Philological Society the problem of Dravidian words in Sanskrit has been discussed, and a considerable number of etymologies have been presented. Roughly 170 Sanskrit words of Dravidian origin are dealt with in the two articles. There remains an even larger amount of material which has not been touched on in the above two articles, and the bulk of this is brought together in the list of etymologies proposed here. The present article contains 315 items, involving a larger number of words since several words may be treated together bringing the total number of Dravidian words in Sanskrit dealt with in the three articles to well over 500. This is a very considerable number, and shows that the extent of Dravidian influence on Sanskrit has always been underestimated rather than overestimated. It by no means exhausts the field, and another supplementary list will eventually be necessary. When the subject has been fully dealt with, it is unlikely that the total list of Dravidian words in Sanskrit will be less than 750, and it may well turn out to be considerably more.

The abbreviations are the same as in the two articles mentioned. The treatment is as concise as possible, necessarily in view of the large amount of material involved. To a large


2. See in particular TPS., 1946, p. 8.
extent the simple presentation of the material is demonstration enough. For the rest, in addition to the comments which are added from time to time, a general account of the principles followed is to be found in the second of the above-mentioned articles.

1. *akkā* f. mother, Comm. on P. 7.3. 107 (Voc. *akka*).


2. *agasti*—m. *Agasti grandiflora*, *Suśr.* etc.

~Ta. *akatti, accam, acci* id., Ma. *akatti*, Ka. *akace, ogace, agase*, Tu. *agase, Te. agise, avise* id. The Dravidian words have every appearance of being original. If the name of the Rṣi is derived from the name of the tree, as presumably it is, then this is one of the earliest loanwords.

3. *aguru*—m. fragrant aloe wood, *Aquilana agallocha* (also *agaru*—; Pa. *akalu, acaḷu, agaru, agalu, agalu, aqgalu, Sgh. agil, ayal*).


4. *āṅkura*—m. sprout, shoot, *Rāmāyaṇa*, etc.
Ta. akai vb. to sprout, flourish, Ma. aka germ, bud, shoot, akekka to bud, Ka. age a seedling; a shoot from the root of a plant or tree, a sprout, Tu. agge the shoot of a branch, Kur. akrārnā to germinate, shoot, sprout. The loss of nasalization is common enough in Southern Dravidian. The suffix -ura in the Skt. word is perhaps to be accounted for by the influence of another Drav. word meaning the same thing: Te. iguru, ciguru shoot, sprout, Ka. igaru, cigw, cigi id., Tu, ciguruni to sprout, etc. (BSOAS., XII, 138).

5. aṅkola- m. Alangium hexapetalum [also aṅkolla-, aṅkoṭa-, aṅkoṭha-].

Ta. aṅiṅcil, Ma. aṅiṅnil id.: cf. BSOAS., XI, 131.


Ta. attai father’s sister; mother-in-law, Ka. atte, atti mother-in-law, Tu. attē a mother-in-law; an aunt, attige an elder brother’s wife, Te. atta mother-in-law; father’s sister, maternal uncle’s wife, Kuvi atta aunt, Go. āti a father’s sister.

7. ambā mother, VS., etc [also ambāḍā, ambāḷā, ambālikā, ambī-, ambikā, ambāyā].

Ta. ammā mother; matron, lady, ammā! id., Ma. amma mother, ammāyi maternal aunt, Ka. amma, amba, Te. amma mother, matron, Kuvi amma paternal aunt, Kui ama id., maternal uncle’s wife; madam, Brah. ammā mother. The Dravidian feminine termination -ā! (Ta. ammā!) appears in Skt. ambāḍa, ambāḷā.

8. arabinda- lotus, Śak., etc.
Cf. Te. araviri a flower-half-opened, Ka. areviri to half open (Ta. arai half, viri to bloom). The lotus is the flower which is open half the time. Skt. vinda is a contraction of the participial form which appears in Tamil as virinta- (compare the similar contraction in Te. viccu to open), cf. BSOAS., XI, 135 n.

9. alaka- m. n. lock, curl, Ragh., etc.

~Ta. alaṅku to dangle, shake, swing, alaṅkal wreath, waving ear of corn, Ka. alaku, aluku, alagu, alugu to move about, shake, aḷaku, aḷuku, aḷku id., Tu. alaṅkuni, alaṅguni to shake, be agitated. Kan. has alaka, aḷaka, aḷake meaning “lock” which Kittel derives from Skt., but they might be original in view of the verb. Ta. aḷakam lock, woman’s hair, is found in the early literature (Narṛ 377) which is an argument in favour of its being native.

10. ālu- m. ebony, black ebony, L. āluka- id, L.

~Ta. ār mountain ebony (Bauhinia racemosa and B° tormentosa), āram, ārai id., Ka. āre Bauhinia racemosa, Te. āre Bauhinia spicata and B° tormentosa. In Skt, there is l for r as in other cases: the -u is the Drav. euphonic -u which appears widely after original final consonants. This ār also appears in kañcanāra- mountain ebony; also in kudāra- mountain ebony, with the variant forms kudāla-, kuddala-, kuddāla-. The first element of this latter word is the Drav. word for mountain: Ta. kunru, etc.

11. iṅcaka- shrimp, prawn, Kāśyapa Saṃh., p. 335, iṅcāka- id., L.

~Ta. iṟavu prawn, shrimp, irā, irāl id., Malt. chema shrimp, South Drav. -r- develops out of an original affricate or sibilant (cf. BSOAS., XI, 346). Alternatively ′′t may represent an original affricate, and this appears in Tu. ēṭṭi prawn.
12. *utkūta*—m. an umbrella or parasol, L.

The *ōkūta* in this word is not to be identified with any of the homonyms *kūta* listed in *TPS.*, 1945, pp. 92-6, but can be equated with the common South Drav. word for “umbrella”: Ta. *kūtai*, Ma. *kuṭa*, Ka. Tu. *kođe*, Te. *gođugu*.

13. *ulapa*—m. bush, shrub; a kind of soft grass; a creeper, creeping plant, RV., etc.

—Ta. *ulavai* green twig with leaves on it; branch of a tree; grove; n. of various shrubs.

14. *ulupin*—m. a porpoise [also *ulūpin*; *ulapin*].

—Ka. *uṇacī*, Te. *ulača*, *uluca*, *ulasá*. The Skt. and Drav. words have different suffixes. Skt. has also *culumpin*-m. porpoise, and with different suffix *culukin*—m., *cullaki* f. id. This is another instance of the loss of initial *c/s in South Drav. discussed in “Dravidian Studies, VI”, *BSOAS.*, XII, 132-147.

15. *kaṇkaṭa*—an iron hook used as an elephant goad, L. [also *karkaṭaka*—hook, *Divyāvadāṇa*, p. 274].


16. *kacaka*—m. a kind of mushroom, Nigh.

—Ka. *kesavu* a mushroom.

17. *kacu*—f. *Arun colocasia* or *Colocasia antiquorum* [also *kacvi f. kecuka*—, *ōā*, m.f. *kemuka*—, *kevuka*—m. id.].

18. **kaccara-** m.f.n. dirty, foul, spoiled by dirt; wicked, L. [Cf. also **kāsambukajāta-** impure, dirty, Mahāvyā°; Pa. **kacavara-** sweepings, dust, rubbish, **kasambu** rubbish, filth, Pkt. **kaccavāra-** dirt, rubbish, **kasaṭṭa-** id.; Nep. **kacar** rubbish, **kasinar** dirt, rubbish. Sgh. **kasaḷa** dirt, refuse; Dam. **khāḷa** dirty, Phaṭ **khāḷu,** etc., etc.]

~Ka. **kasa** rubbish, offscourings, **kasaru** dust and other impurities, Tu. **kajavu,** kajāvu rubbish, sweepings, **kasa** sweepings, gajālī filthy, foul. Te. **kasaṭu** impurity, dirt, **kasavu** sweepings, Ta. **kacatu** uncleanness, dirtiness; blemish, fault; dregs.

19. **kacchū** f. itch, scab [also **kharjū** f. id., Pa. **kacchu-** , Pkt. **kacchu-**, **khajjū** f. id.; Hi. **khāj,** etc.; cf. further Skt. **khasa-** m. itch, scab].

~Ka. **kajjī** scab, itch, gajji id., Te. **gajji** itch, scabies, Kui **kasa** the itch, Go. **kach** (baittānā) of white skin to form on the edge of a boil, Kur. **khasrā** the itch.—Kitt., No. 325: both he and Bloch (**BSOS.**, V, 741) compare Ka. **karcu** to bite, etc., which, however, is better kept apart (cf. **BSOAS.**, XI (1944), p. 353).

20. **kaṭa-** ¹ m. agreement, L.

~Ta. **kaṭṭu** to tie; sb. a bond, etc.

21. **kaṭa-** ² m. a hearse or any vehicle for carrying a dead body; a burning ground or place of sepulture; a corpse [cf. **kaṭasi** cemetery].

~Ta. **kaṭṭai** funeral pyre; body, corpse, Ka. **kaṭugu** a headless corpse.

22. **kaṭa-** ³ the temples of an elephant, Ragh. [also **kaṭāha-** m. id., Siś.].
Ta. kaṭām orifice in an elephant’s temple from which must flows; secretion of a must elephant, PuN., etc. A shortened form of the word which also appears as karaṭa—q.v.

23. kaṭa—¹ m. grass, L. [also khaṭa-, khaḍa—id.; Hi. kharḥ, khar straw, Nep. khar, etc.].

~ Te. gaḍi grass, straw, hay, Go. kāṭā in pūrāl-kāṭā a kind of thin, poor grass.

24. kaṭaka—¹ m. string; bracelet; zone; link of a chain, etc.

~ Ta. kaṭṭu to tie, fasten; sb band, tie, kaṭṭu vaṭam necklace of beads, anklet, kaṭai clasp, fastening of a neck ornament, Ka. Te. kaṭṭu to tie; a band, tie, Tu. kaṭṭāṇi necklace, etc. Kitt., No. 255.

25. kaṭaka—² m. the side or ridge of a hill or mountain, Ragh., etc. [Pkt. kaḍaga—id.; later replaced by a fresh borrowing: Skt. Pkt. ghaṭṭa—landing-place, Mar. ghaṭ mountain-range, pass; quay, wharf, etc.].

~ Ta. kaṭṭu side of a mountain; dam, ridge, causeway, Ka. kaṭṭu dam, kaṭṭe dam, embankment, causeway, gaṭṭa mountain range, gaṭṭu a bank or shore; dam or mound, Te. kaṭṭa a dam, embankment; gaṭṭu hill, bank, shore, a dam or mound of earth.

26. kaṭaka—³ a royal camp; army, Kathās°, etc.

~ Cf. Ta. kaṭṭ ūr camp, Pat. P. 68, 2, etc.

27. kaṭāha— a young female buffalo whose horns are just appearing, L.

~ Ma. kaṭacci heifer, Ka. kaḍasu a young cow or buffalo that has not yet calved. Ta. kaṭāri, kiṭāri heifer, Tu. gaḍasu id.
28. kaṭi- f. long pepper, L.
~Ta. kaṛi pepper; curry, Ma. Ka. kari curry. For Skt. -ṭ- corresponding to South Drav. -r-, cf. paṭaha-.

29. kaṭhina- m.f.n. hard, firm, stiff. [Cf. also kaṭhara-, kaṭhura-, kaṭhora- hard; kaḍḍ- to be hard, severe, DhP.; Nep. kaṛā hard, rough.]
~Ta. kaṭṭi anything hardened, coagulated, kaṭṭu to harden, coagulate; (sb.) strength, firmness, Ka. kaḍugu to become hard or solid, gaṭṭi firmness, hardiness, gaḍacu, gaḍasu firmness, hardness; severity, Tu. gaṭṭi firm, hard, gaḍasu id., Te. kaṭṭidi cruel, hard-hearted, gaṭṭi hard, firm, gaḍasu hard, shrewd, gaḍdu hard, difficult.

30. kaḍ- to be intoxicated, DhP. [cf. also kaḍaṅga- spirituous liquor, L., kaṇḍ- to be glad or wanton, kalyā f. spirituous liquor, kalukka- tavern, L., halā, ḫalā spirituous liquor, Pkt. kallā id., kallāla- a distiller of spirits; Hi. kalār id.].
~Ta. Ma. Ka. kaḷi toddy, intoxicating liquor, Tu. kaḷi, Te. kallu, Kui kalu, Go. kal id., Ta. kaḷi to be intoxicated.

31. kaṇaja- m. a certain weight, Hemādrī.
~Ta. kaṇaṅcu a weight (in mod. times=½ oz. troy), Ma. kaṇaṅcu a drachm, Ka. kaṇaṅju, kaṇaju a weight.

32. kaṇaya- m. a kind of spear or lance (often written kaṇapa-; Pa. kaṇaya- id.; Skt. also kaṇaca-, Hem. Un. 114).
~Ta. kaṇai arrow; handle, pole, kaṇaiyam club; post; crowbar, kaṇicci pick-axe, battle-axe, goad, Ma. kaṇa bamboo branch; handle; arrow, Ka. kaṇe stick, arrow, Tu. kaṇe a slender bamboo branch; the quill of a porcupine, gaṇe pole, staff, arrow, GoM. (Lind.) kaṇi arrow.
The MSS. read indifferently kaṇaya- and kaṇapa-. The first is shown to be correct by Pa. kaṇaya-, Skt. kaṇaca, and the Drav. words. The reading kaṇapa- may be due partly to the influence of kuṇapa- q. v.

33. kaṇṣha- m, neck, throat. MBh., etc. (sahākaṇṭhikā AV.).

~Ta. Ma. kaṇṭtu neck, Ka. kaṇtu, kattu id., Bad. grattu; Ka. gaṇṭalu throat, Tu. kaṇṭelu id.; Te. gontu throat; cf. Brah. gut id., BSOAS., XI (1943), p. 133. With the voiced forms in Drav. compare Nep. ghāṭi throat, etc.

34. kaṇḍū f. itch; scratching, etc. (Nep.D. s.v. kanyāunu).

~Ta. kaṇāntu to scrape, curaṇṭu to scratch, scrape, Ma. kaṇāntuka- to scrape, ciraṇṭu, curaṇṭu to scratch, Ka. keraṇṭu to dig with the nails, scratch, Tu. kereṇcuni to scratch the ground (fowls). In Skt. kaṇḍū an -r- has been lost by assimilation; a longer form appears in Mar. kharāṇṇē to scratch (BSOAS., XI, 122).

35. kaḍamba- m. Nauclea cadamba MBh., etc. [also kalamba-, L., Pkt. kayamba-, kalamba-].

~Ta. kaṭampu Nauclea cadamba, PuN, AN., etc., Ma. kaṭampu, Ka. kaḍamba, kaḍava, kaḍval, kaḍha, Te. kaḍāmi, kaḍimi id.

36. kaṇala- m.f.n. shining, bright, GaṇP.

~Ta. kaṇal to be hot, glow, kaṇal to shine forth, kāṇal hear, sun's ray, Ma. kāṇal live coals, fire, Te. kanakana the glow of fire, kanakananamu to glow, shine. Skt. kan- to shine, DhP., appears to be derived from this Drav. root, and another derivative is very likely kanaka- gold, MBh. Cf. also kandala-gold, L.
37. *kanda*—m.n. a bulbous root.

~Ma. kāṇṭa bulbous root, Tu. kanda id., Ka. gadde a bulbous root; a lump, ganṭe, gedde, gende id., Te. gadda id. The various forms are due to assimilation of -r-, with cerebralization in South Drav. without cerebralization in the form that appears in Skt. Cf. gandha—.

38. *kanduka*—m. ball, MBh. etc. [also gendu-, genduka-, genduka-, L. Pa. genduka-, Pkt. gendua-, Nep. gēd, etc.].

~Ta. Ma. cenṭu ball, Ka. cenḍu, caṇḍu, Tu ceṇḍu, Te-ceṇḍu id. (<*keṇḍu*). Assimilated -r- as in last example. Kitt., No. 280.

39. kapardā—m. a small shell or cowrie; braided and knotted hair, RV., etc. (Pkt. kavaḍḍa, kavaḍḍia; Hi. kaurī, Panj. kauḍ, Si. koḍu).

~Ta. kōṭu crookedness, flexure; shell, chank; coil of hair. Ta. kōṭu<*kavatu<*kapatu<*kapar-t/d— has already in the earliest form of the language altered as much from the original form of the word as Mod. IA. from the Skt. form. Sanskrit here has preserved a Drav. word in an exceedingly ancient form.

40. kapatā—deceit. MBh., etc.

~Ta. kōṭu crookedness. Here Sanskrit preserves an intermediate form postulated above in the history of Ta. kōṭu. The “modern” Drav. form appears in kūṭa— fraud (TPS., 1945, p. 94).

41. *kamala*—m.n. lotus, Suśr., etc. (Nep.D. s.v. kamal).

~A phonetic variant of kuvalaya— id. (TPS., 1946, p. 9). Ta. kuvalai lotus, Ka. kōmaṭe, kōval, kōle id. Cf. also with metathesis Ka. kalave. Te. kalava— id. (cf. Pkt. kalima— id.). The Skt. Lexx. provide also the forms kavāra— and kavela—.
42. kambū— a kind of inferior grain, Hem. Un 847 (= kuruvinda-).

~Ta. kambu bulrush millet, Ma. kamp-ari Holcus spicatus, Te. Ka. kambu id.

43. karaca— m. a measure of grain, Hem. Un. 114.

~Ta. karicai a measure of capacity, Ka. garase, Te. garise id. Cf. also Pa. karisa— (Stede s.v.).

44. karaṭa-1 m. elephant’s temple; the spot between the forehead and ear of a bird.

~Tu. ceraḍu ear < *keraḍu, BSOAS., XI, 125, 335. Cf. also kaṭa-3.

45. karaṭa-2 m. a kind of drum, Comm. on Var. BrS. (Pkt. karaḍa-, karaḍā, karaṇi “vādyā-viśeṣa”)

~Ta. karaṭi, karaṭikai, karaṭip parai a kind of drum (acc. to Comm. on Cilap°. 3, 27, so called because it sounds like a bear, karaṭi), Ka. karaṇi, karaḍe a kind of drum.

46. karaṭa-3 a low, unruly, difficult person (cf. karaṇa a cow difficult to be milked, Pkt. karaṭṭa a Brahman who eats impure food, karaṇa— hard; atheist, unbeliever, Mar. karaṇ hard, rude, savage).

~Ta. Ma. karaṭu rough, Ka. karaḍu rough; useless, wicked, Te. karaṭi stubborn, brutish, villainous.

47. karavira— m. Oleander, Nerium odorum, MBh., etc. (Pa. karavira, kaṇavira-, kaṇevera-, Pkt. karavira-, kaṇera-, Hi. kaner, Nep, kanel).

~Ta. kaṇaviram Red Oleander, Nerium odorum, Ma. kaṇaviram, Ka. kaṇagil, kaṇagile, gaṇigalu, gaṇēraJe, etc., Te. ganneru, gannēru id.

48. karīra— the shoot of a bamboo, Suśr., etc. (Pa. kaḷīra-, Pkt. karilla- id.).
~Ka. kaṇīle, kaṇale a bamboo shoot, Tu. kaṇile id.,
Ma. kayal a shoot or branch growing from the root.
Kitt., No. 89.

49. kartā- m. hole, cavity, RV., AV., etc. (also gārtā-, ŚBr., etc.; cf. Pkt. khaḍḍā hole, pit, gadda hole; Hi. gāpā
ditch, etc. (Nep.D. s.v. gārnu), Pj., La. khaḍḍ pit, etc. (Nep.D.
s.v. khāḍal).

~Ka. kadḍa a pitfall to catch elephants, cf. TPS., 1946,
p. 21.

50. kardama- m. mud [Lex. kardā-, kardaṭa- id.;
kardamila- m. a muddy field, Kalpadruk°. (=kedāra-); Hi.
kādā, kādo mud, etc.].

~Ka. garde, gadde a field, especially a paddy field (i.e. a
muddy field), Kui gado muddy, slushy.

51. kalaṅka- m. stain, soil, impurity [Lex. kalana- id.].

~Ta kalaṅku to become turbid, Ka kalaku to make
thick, kalumbu turbidity, contamination, defilement, taint,
kaluhe turbidity, impurity, kale a stain of mud; a moral
stain or taint, Tu. kalé id; kalēṅgū rust, verdigris, Te. kalāka
turbidity, etc. Cf. BSOAS, XI (1943), pp. 132-3.

52. kalama- thief, L. [Pkt. kalama- id.].

~Ta. kal to steal, kalvān thief, etc, Cf. also khala-
rogue, TPS., 1946, p. 9.

53. kalala- n. the embryo a short time after conception,
Suśr., etc. kalana- id. L.; Pa. Pkt. kalala-).

~Ta. kaḷal to bulge,kaḷalai tubercle, excrescence, Ma.
kaḷala a swelling, chiefly in the groin, Ka. karaṇe, kaṇṇe a
clot or lump, Te. karāḍu lump, clot.

54. kalaha-m. strife, quarrel, fight, MBh., etc. [Pa. Pkt.
kalaha- Nep.D. s.v. kalaha-; Skt. kāli strife, discord; Dameli
kalaṅgal quarrel, fight.]
Ta. kalaṇku to be stirred up, agitated, kalām War, battle, kalāy to quarrel, kalāyu to be agitated, Ma. kalakkam confusion, quarrel, kalaśal id., Ka. kalaku to be agitated, disturbed, Tu. kalambuni to quarrel, etc., BSOAS., XI, 132.

55. kalā art; skill, ingenuity [Pa. Pkt. kalā; Nep. kal mechanical contrivance, etc., Guj. kalvū to understand, Pj. kalnā to learn].

Ta. Ma. Ka. kal to learn; to practise, as arts, Ta. kalai art, science, learning, Ka. kalita, kalike, kale id., Tu.kalpuni to learn, Te. kaṭacu, Go. kaṟitānā id.

56. kalāpa- m. bundle; peacock's tail; whole body or collection of a number of separate things.

Ta. kalappu mixture, kalappai parts, as of a sacrifice; plough, Ma. kalappu the whole sum, kalappa plough and what belongs to it, Ka. kalappu a miscellaneous mass or collection, as of materials for a house, plough etc. Te. kalapa the materials for a plough or building. Kitt., No. 353.

57. kali- sour-rice gruel, Yaśast., i, 512, 9.

Ta. Ma. kali gruel, congee, Te. kali id.

58. kalka- m. a medicinal paste (mixture); dirt, filth; sediment [Lex. avakalkanam mixing].

Ta. kalakku to mix up, kalavai mixture; perfumed paste Ma. kalakku to mix, especially with water, Ka. kalaka, kalka a mixture; a mixture in medicine (of unboiled ingredients).

59. kavara- n. sourness, acidity, L.

Ma. kamarkka to have an astringent taste, Ta. kamaṭu to feel a pungent sensation.

60. kavariki f. a captive, prisoner, L.
Ta. kavar to seize, capture, Ka. kavar to take away by force, seize, strip, plunder, kavarte plundering.

61. kavāsa—open, wide apart (of the legs), Ait. Br.; n. pr. (lit. “straddling”) [also kavāś open, yawning (of the leaves of a door), VS.].

Ta. kavātu forked branch, fork of the legs; separation, division, kavar to branch off, fork, separate, Ma. kava forked branch, space between the legs, kavekka to stand astride, Ka. kaval to be forked; bifurcation, etc.

62. kavāta—the leaf or panel of a folding door [also kapāta—id.; kavati—, kuvāja—, L., Pkt. kavāda—, kavāla—, Hi. kivār fold of a door, etc.].

Ta. kavātu, etc., see above; Gundert, Mal. Dict. s. v,

63. kāca—m. a yoke to support burdens, etc., Jatakam. 22, 55 [also kāja—id., R. ii, 5 i, 17; Pa. kāca—, kāja—; Pkt. kāva—, kāvaḍa— carrying pole, Guj. Mar. kāvaḍ id.].

Ta. kā carrying pole, kāvaḍi id., kāvu to carry on a pole on the shoulders, Ma. kāvuḍa id., Ka. kāgaḍi, kāvaḍi, carrying pole, Tu. kāvaḍi, Te. kāvaḍi—, kādi, Kui kāsa, Kuvi kāṇju id.

64. kānana—n. forest, R. Ragh., etc.

Ta. kā forest, pleasure grove, garden, kāṇ forest, kānam woodland, grove, kānal grove or forest on the seashore, Ma. kāvu garden, grove, kānal dry jungle, Ka. kā forest. Blorch, BSOS., V, 740 (comparing also Skt. kāntāra—).

65. kāṣa—m. a kind of grass (Saccharum spontaneum).

Cf. Ka. kāmaṇci. kāvaṇci, kāṇci, kāci a kind of grass (Andropogon schaënanthus), Ta. kāvaṭṭai, Ma. kāvaṭṭa id.
66. kāśmari f. Gmelina arborea, MBh., etc. [also kaśmari, kambhāri, gambhāri]

The voicing of gambhāri suggests Drav. origin. In South Drav. the names of this tree are: Ta. kumir (Lex. kūmpal), Ma. kumar, kumbi, Ka. (Lushington) kumule, kumbuḍi kūle, Te. gummuḍu, ghumuḍu id. The words are quite obviously related, though the Skt. word is not taken directly from South Drav. on account of phonetic differences. The Lexx. provide a form kumudā Gm. A. taken more directly from this source.

67. kāṣaṇa- unripe, Divyāv. 598, 16.

Te. kasu raw, unripe, kasuru an unripe fruit, kasūgāyi id. Tu. kaskāyī half ripe, Ka. kasa, kasaru unripe; astringent.

68. kiṅkini f. a small bell, MBh., etc. [Pkt. kiṅkini, khiṅkhiṇi id.]

Ta. kiṅkini bell, KuT., etc., kiṇi cymbal kiṇai small drum, Ma. kiṅukinu tinkling, Ka. kiṇi, giṇi id., Tu. kiṅkini the tinkling of small bells, kiṇilu, giṇigini, giṇilu id.

69. kilbiṣa- n. impurity, stain, sin, guilt, RV., etc.

Ta. kaḷimpu verdigris, rust; blemish, fault, defect, ceḷimpu verdigris, rust, Ma. kaḷimpu, kiḷāvu, Ka. kilibu, kilubu, kilumbu, kiluvo, Tu. kilembu, Te. kilumu, cilumu, Kuvi kilmu id.

70. kīcaka- m. a hallow bamboo whistling or rattling in the wind, MBh., etc.; a particular bird, R. ed. Bomb. 3, 75, 12.

Ta. kiccu shrill crying sound, scream, Ka. kicu the shrill chirping of birds, Tu. kicuni to squeaking, kicum-anu to squeak, make a shrill noise.
71. *kija*- spur, RV. 8, 66, 3.

~Ta. *kiru* to scratch, gash, *kirru* stripe, slash, Ka. *kiri* ki, giru, gicu, gi to scrape, scratch, Tu. *kiruni*, gicuni, Tel gicu, giyu, gisu id. The *r* in Ta. *kiru*, etc., represents an original affricate.

72. *kukkura*- dog, Mṛcch., etc. [kurkurā- id., AV., kukura-, L.].

~Te. *kukka* dog. Onomatopaeic in origin: Ta. *kurai* to bark, Ma. *kurekka* id., Te. *kurru* to cry, yell, Tu. *gurane* the snarling of a dog, Malt. *kürkür* call to a dog, Gt. 519, Kitt., No. 44.

73. *kuca*- m. breast, Suśr., etc.

~Te. *kosa* tip, point, Ka. *koṭṭu* point, nipple (*kočcu*).


~Ta. *kunri* crab's eye, Ma. *kunni* id.; Ka. *gurugaṇji*, guruguṇji, gurguṇji, gurukuṇji, a compound with an obscure first element that has also been borrowed into IA.: Hi. ghūghci id.

75. *kuṭaja*- m. *Wrightia antidysenterica*, MBh., etc.

~Ta. kuṭacam, Kuṭiṇcīpo, etc., Ma. kuṭakappāla, Ka. koḍasige, Te. koḍise id.

76. *kuṭi* f. intoxicating liquor, L.

~Ta. *kuṭi* to drink; sb. a drink; drunkenness, kuṭiyan drunkard, Ma. *kuṭi*, Ka. kuḍi to drink, Te. kuḍucu id.

77. *kuṭhāra*- m. axe, R., etc.

~Ka. koḍali axe, hatchet, Tu. kuḍari, koḍari, Te. goḍḍali id. From the Drav. verb Ta. *koṭṭu*, kuṭṭu to beat,

78. *kuṭhāku*—m. woodpecker, L.
    ~From Drav. *kuṭṭu* to beat, strike, peck. Cf. above.

79. *kuḍava*—m.n. a measure of grain [*kuḍapa*—*, kuṭapa*]

80. *kuṇaka*—m. a newly born animal, BhP. [Phalāra *kuṇāk* baby].

81. *kuṇapa*—¹ n. corpse, AV., TS., etc. [*kuṇāpa*—rotten, stinking, ŚBr. Suśr.; Pa. *kuṇapa*—, Pkt. *kuṇima*— id. (Pisch., § 107)].

    ~Ka. *koṇ* the state of being putrid or pap-like, *koṇaku* the state of being worn out, decayed, *koṇaci* putrid, impure, stinking, *koṇe* to rot; anything impure, rotten, Tu. *kureyuni* to rot, *koḷambe* decayed, Ta. *kuṇai* to be soft, pulpy. Kitt., No. 327.

82. *kuṇapa*—² m. a spear, MBh., etc.
    ~Ka. *koṇapi* a flail, Te. *gunupa* a club, *gunapamu* an iron crowbar.

83. *kuṇḍa*—n. a clump [e.g. *darbha-kuṇḍa*, P. 6, 2, 136].
84. kūṇḍala- n. ring, earring; coil of rope [Pa. Pkt. kūṇḍala-, Nep. kūṟulo, gūṟulo, etc.].

- Ka. gūṇḍa, gūṇḍu round, Tu. gūṇḍu a ball, anything round, gūṇḍala an ear ornament, Te. gūṇḍu a ball, anything round or spherical, gūṇḍrama roundness, gūṇḍrami round, gūṇḍramu id.]

85. kutuka- n. curiosity; eagerness, desire [cf. kutūhala-, kautuka-, kautūhala- id.].

- Ta. kutukutu to desire eagerly, kutukutuppu desire, eagerness, cf. Ta. koti to boil, bubble up, kutampu id., Ma. koti eagerness, greediness, kotikka to be greedy, covet, Tu. kodi greed, eagerness, kodipuni to boil, seethe.

86. kuddāla- m.n. a kind of spade or hoe, MBh., etc.

- Ka. guddali a kind of pick-axe, hoe, Tu. guddoli, Te. guddali id., guddaliṅcu to hoe, Kot. kudāy hoe, Malt. qodali id. From the vb. Ka. guddu to strike, pound, etc. Gt. 521; Kitt., No. 266; cf. BSOAS., XI (1943), p. 134.

87. kubja- m.f. (ā) n. humpbacked, VS., etc. [cf. also kubera- n. of a divinity; kubhra- a humpbacked bull, MS.; Nep. kubro humpbacked; Pa. Pkt. khuṣja-; Mar. khubā, khubār hump on back].

- Ka. gubāru a swelling, gubbi a knob, protuberance, kuppū, guppū an abnormal globular excrescence on the body, Tu. gubbi, gubbē knob, Te. gubaka, gubba knob, protuberance.

88. kuraṇṭa- m. a yellow kind of Barleria [also kuraṇḍa-; Pkt. korṇṭa- id.].

- Ta. kurṇṭi Barleria prionitis, Ma. kuriṇṭi id.

89. kurari ewc, L.

- Cf. Ta. Ma. kori sheep, Ka. kuri a sheep, ram, Tu. kuri a sheep, Te. gorre id.
90. kurala- m. lock of hair, L. [Pkt. kurala- hair].
   ~Ta. kural woman’s hair, kūral id., L., kurral curling
   hair, Ma. kūral woman’s hair tied in a knot. Cf. next.

91. kurula- m. a curl or lock of hair [Pkt. kurula- id.].
   ~Ta. kuri! to curl; sb. a curl, lock of hair, Ma. kuri!
   curls, Ka. kuriɁ. Te. kurulu id. Cf. last. Kitt., No. 10;

92. kulaʃa- n. a vessel for holding liquids. KauʃS., a
   particular measure, Pān.
   ~Ta. kuriʃi pot, cooking vessel, Perump°., etc. Cf,
   BSOAS., XI (1943), p. 139.

93. kulmāsa- m. a sort of Phaseolus; a species of
   Dolichos.
   ~Compounded of kul-=Ta. ko! Dolichus uniflorus
   (whence kulattha-, TPS., 1945, p. 92) and māsa- bean.

94. kūn- kūnati to contract, shrink [Pkt. kūn- id.;
   kūnia- contracted: iṣan-mukulita (of flowers DNM.)].
   ~Ta. kūnu to become crooked, bent down, kūn bend.
   curve; humpback, kūn malar, KuT. 147 (=vaɁainta malar C.),
   Ma. kūnu to stoop, Ka. kūn to be bent or bowed. Cf. also
   Ta. Ma. kōnu to be bent, curved.

95. kūpa-1 m. mast, L.; a post to which a boat or ship
   is tied, L. [also kūpadanḍa- mast, DKC., Pa. kūpa, kūpakə-
   mast, Pa. kūva, kūvaga-, Guj. kuvo, Sgh. kuṃba id.].
   ~Ta. kūmpu mast of a vessel; cone-shaped pinnacle of a
   chariot, Ma. kūmpu mast of a ship; peak, pointed heap, Tu.

96. kūpa-2 well; hole, hollow, RV., etc.
~Ta. kūval well; hollow pit, Malaip., etc. Tu. guvelu,
well.

97. kūbara- m.n. the pole of a chariot, Maitrīś., etc.
[Pa. kubbara-, Pkt. kūvara- id.].

~Cf. Ta. kompu stick, staff, pole of a palanquin, etc.,
Ma. kompu pole of a palanquin, etc. This is presumably the
same word as Ta. Ma. kompu branch, etc., the branch of a
tree forming a chariot pole. The suffix -ar appearing in
kūbara- also appears in Ta. kompar branch, beside kompu.

98. kūra- n. boiled rice, Bbpr. [Pa. Pkt. kūra-, Hi. kūr
a mixture of flower, ghee, and sugar; Skt. also kuru, L.].

~Ta. kūr thick gruel, porridge, Ma. kūr boiled rice,
Ka. kūr, id., Tu. kūru, kūlu, Te. kūḍu id. Kitt., No. 311;
A. N. Upadhye, ABORI., xii (1931), p. 280.

99. kūrca- m. a bunch, tuft (of grass, etc., often used
as a seat), TS., etc. [Pa. koccha- a seat of rushes, Pkt. kucca-
beard; Nep. kuco brush, etc.].

~Ta. kuccu cluster, tuft, tassel, Ma. kuccu tassel, whisp
of straw, brush, Ka. kuccu, koccu id., Tu. kucci tassel, Te.
kuccu tuft, tassel. Cf. geccha-.

100. kūrd- to leap, jump, play [also khurd-, gurd-,
gūrd-, DhP., gūrda- a jump, Kāth. Nep.D. s.v. kudnu].

~Ta. kuti to jump, leap, bound, frisk, Ma. kuti to leap,
gallop, jump, Ka. kuduku to trot, gudi to jump. Deriv.
probably Ta. kutirai horse, etc. Also Ta. kūttu to dance,
Ma. kūttu, Ka. kūtu dance, play. Assimilation of r in the
South Drav. words.

101. kekā- f. the cry of a peacock, MBh., etc.

~Ka. kēku, kēgu to cry as a peacock, Te. kēka a loud
cry, kēkariṇcu to cry, yell, Go. kēyānā to call.
102. *kedāra*—a field, especially one under water, MBh., etc.


103. *kenāra*—m. the temples, upper part of the cheek, head, L.


104. *keyūra*—n. bracelet [Pa. *kāyura*—, *keyūra*—]

~Gt., p. 520, rightly compares the first part of this word with the Drav. words for hand, arm, Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. *kai*, Te. *cēyi*, Kui *kaju*, etc. The second part is perhaps *ūru*<sub>ur</sub> to be attached to. Cf. also Ma. *kayyura* gloves (*ura* sheath).

105. *kokila*—m. Indian cuckoo, MBh., etc.


106. *kōta*—m. a fort, stronghold, Vāstu<sup>o</sup>. [also *kōṭa*—]


107. *kōṭara*—n. the hollow of a tree; cave, cavity, MBh., etc. [Pkt. *kōṭhara*—, *kōṭara*— id.]

~Ka. *goṭaru*, goṭru a hole a hallow in a wall, tree, etc., cf. *godagu* a hollow, hole, *kōṭa*, goṭa bamboo tube, *kōde* to hollow out, excavate, Tu. *kudē* a rat's hole; etc.
108. kōṇa- m. drumstick; staff, club, R., etc.

Cf. Ta. kū-nil short stick, cudgel; drumstick, Ka. kū-nil cudgel, kuḍ-upu drumstick, guṇaku, guṇuku id.

109. khaṭṭika- m. butcher, L. [Hi. khaṭik, Mar. khājak].

Ka. kaṭaka, kaṭika, kaḍika, etc., one who cuts or kills, a butcher; kaḍi to cut, Ta. Ma. kaṭi id., Tu. kaḍiyumi to cut, gaḍi incision. Kitt., No. 193.

110. kuṭrā- bed, cot [cf. kaṭāha- cot, L., kaṭa-khaṭṭi-, khaḍū, khaṭi bier, L., Pa. khaṭopikā couch, bedstead, Pkt. khaṭṭā, Hi. khāṭi, etc.]

Ta. kaṭṭil cot, bedstead, Ma. kaṭṭil, Te. kaḷi litter, dooly, Go. kaṭṭul a bed, cot, Kuvi kateli id. Kitt., IA., i, p. 234; No. 274; Cald., p. 570.

111. khaḷisa- a kind of fish, L. [also khaleśa-, L.]

Ta. keḷi, keḷutti a kind of fish, Tu. koleji.

112. khaḷūrikā parade ground, arena [cf. khurali id.]

Ta. Ma. kaḷarī, arena, circular area for gymnastic exhibitions, etc.

113. khaḷla- m. canal, trench [Pkt. khaḷla-, khāḷa- id., Mar. Guj. khāḷ gutter, etc.]

Ta, kāḷ irrigation channel, Narr., 34, etc., usually in the cpds. vāykkāḷ, kāḷvāy id., Ma. vāykkāḷ, Ka. kāḷ, kāḷuve, Tu. kāḷive Te. kāḷava id.

114. khura- hoof, Kāty Śrṣ., Mn., etc.

Ta. kuracu, kuraccai horse’s hoof, Ka. goraṣu, gorise, Te. gorije, gorise, korise id.

115. khaṭṭaka- n. shield, MBh., etc.
116. *ganda*-1 cheek, VarBrS., etc. [also *galla*- id.].

~Ka. *ganda, gala* cheek (one of the twenty-one tsm.).

Te. *ganḍamu, Ma. kenḍa* id. Out of *karṇḍa, cf. karaṭa.*

117. *ganda*-2 joint, knot, L. (and *ganḍū* f. id.).

~Ka. *ganalu* knuckle, knot or joint in cane, ganīke, ganṭu, geṇṇu, giṇṇu id.

118. *ganda*-3 lump, excrescence, boil [Be. gēr tüber].

~Ka *gadde* a bulbous root; a lump, ganṭe, gedde, geṇṇe id. Kitt., No. 13; Bloch, BSOS., V. 741. Cf. kanda. From the same source also Skt. *gadu* excrescence, hump.

119. *ganda*-4 hero, L. [and *ganḍira*- id., L.].

~Ka. *ganḍa* strong or manly man, husband; ganḍasa a male person; manliness, Te. ganḍaḍu, Tu. ganḍu a strong man, Tu. ganḍālu a stalwart man, giant. Kitt., No. 195.

120. *gärta*- m. a high seat, throne; seat of a chariot, RV., etc. [Nep. gāḍi throne, etc., pointing to original *garḍa*-].

~Ka. gaddige, gadduge, gardige a throne, a seat, Te. gaddiya, gaddle, Tu. gaddige id.

121. gardabha- donkey, RV., etc.


122. guccha- m. bundle, bunch, clump; bush, Mn., etc.

[Cf. also gutsa-, guṇja-, guluccha-, gulūca- id., and kūrca- No. 99, Pkt. gucca-, goccha, Nep. gucchā id.]
~Ta. kuccu, koccu cluster, kućcam id., Ka. kuccu, gutti, kottu, goñačal, goņci id., Tu. kuća tassel, goņci, goņčilu bunch, cluster, Te. gutti, gottu id., etc. Kitt., No. 95.

123. guda- m. a globe or ball, MBh., etc.  
Te. guđusu a circle, round, guđu eyeball, egg, gođda a cylindrical stone, gruđu eyeball, egg, Ka. guđasu anything round, guđu eyeball, etc. Kitt., No. 371.

124. gulma- m. a cluster or clump, thicket; a troop.  
~Ka. gungpu a heap; assembly, gumpu, gummi, gummu id., gubaru thickness, thick foliage, gum i a heap, crowd, Kot. gum bush, Te. gumi a crowd, multitude, Tu. gumpu flock, assemblage, Ta. kumi to accumulate, kumpu crowd, collection [cf. also kulmi- herd, TS.].

125. gophaṇā f. sling, Yaśast. [cf. Apte's Dictionary].  
~Ta. kavaṇ, kavaṇai sling, Ma. kavaṇa, kaviṇa, Ka. Tu. kavaṇe, Tu. also kappanda sling, Kot. givṇḍy id. The form of the Skt. word is influenced by popular etymology.

126. ghāṭa- m. pot, MBh., etc.  
~Ta. Ma. kuṭam, Ka. koḍa, Kot. korm; Tu. guḍke a small earthen vessel. The Skt. word is based on a form with voiced initial: *goḍa, cf. BSOAS., XI, 138.

127. ghuṭa- m. ankle, L. [and ghuṭa- id., L.; cf. khuḍaka- ankle joint, Suśr. (khuḷaka-)].  
~Ta. keṇṭai ankle, karaṭu id., Ma. kuraṭṭa knuckle of hand or foot, Tu. gaṇṭu ankle, Ka. giṇṇu, geṇṭu knot or joint, GoM. (Lind.) gut-kēyu wrist, Kur. mulguja wrist, gozh khó ankle; BSOAS., XI (1944), p. 342.

128. ghūṇa- m. a woodworm [cf. kiṇa- id., kuṇa- a kind of insect living in clothes].
~Ka. gonâne (‐puru) a woodworm. Kitt., No. 52.

129. ghûrn– to move to and fro, roll about, shake.

~Ka. kûnî to move about in a hopping or skipping manner, to dance, Te. guniyu to dangle, dance [*kurnî, gurnî].

130. cakragâja– m. Cassia tora [and cakramarda‐].

~Ka. cagace, cogaci, cogarci, tagarise, tagarci, etc., id. The Skt. word has been transformed by popular etymology. In cakramarda– the last element represents the oblique base of the Drav. word for “tree” (Ka. mara, g. marada). Cf. karamarda–, picurnarda–.

131. caûga– m.f.n. handsome, L. [Nep. caûgā].

~Ka. canna a handsome man, cinnage handsomely, cinnige a handsome, fine man, Te. canna handsome.

132. caûcu– f. beak, bill [Pkt. caûcu, Guj. cûc f.; cf. also Deû. cuûculi, Mar. cûc; Be. Hi. cûc, Be. cût, Sgh. hoûta; Guj. Mar. tôc, etc.; Nep. D. s.v. cuco; also cûcundan, chûchundara– musk-rat, a cpd. of this word and undûra– rat].


133. caûtaka– m. sparrow, MBh., etc. [F. caûta, caûtikâ; Pkt. caûda– , ciûgî– m.; Nep.D. s.v. caro].

~Ka. ceûši a hen‐sparrow; cf. Te. jiûta the generic name of certain kinds of birds.

134. caûtuka– a wooden vessel for taking up any fluid.

~Ta. caûtuvam ladle, Ma. caûtukam, Ka. saûtu, saûuka, saûtuga, soûka, Tu. saûî, Te. caûtuvamu id.

135. caûdatégâka– n. a short petticoat, SBr., KâtysûrS.
Kā. caḍḍi breeches which reach only to the middle of the thighs, caṇaka, caṇṇa, ceṇṇa id. Cf. calanaka-, No. 139.

136. catura- m.f.n. dexterous, clever, Kāv.

Ta-. catur- ability, skill; means, contrivance, catir greatness, excellence, Ma. caturam dexterous; attractive, lovely, Tu. cadupu skill, Ka. caduru, ceduru cleverness, Te. caduru to learn, caduruḍu a clever man, caduru, cadurālu a clever woman, caduru cleverness.

137. capaṭa- m.f.n. flat, insipid, Hem. Uṇ. 142.

Ta. cappai flat, insipid, Ma. cappatṣa, Tu. cappaṭa, Ka. cappe, sappage, Te. cappa id., etc. Cf. also Koṅk. cappo flat, insipid.

138. carv- to chew, Mṛcch.; etc. [cf. Pa. cappeti chews, Pkt. cavvia- capaṇunu, Sgh, hapanavā, etc.: Nep. cabāunu, Mar. cāvnē, etc.].

Ta. cappu to chew, cavaṭṭu id., Ma. cappuka to smack the lips, cavekka to chew, cava chewing, cavacal id., Ka. capparasu to smack the lips, chew with a noise, Kot. avē- to chew (Emeneau, Kota Texts, pt. 4, p. 224; for loss of c-, cf. "Drav. St., VI"), Malt. chopye to chew. Assimilation of r in Drav. The alternation Skt. carv-: *carp-, Pkt. cavv-: Pa. capp- is characteristically Dravidian.

139. calanaka- m.n. a short petticoat.

~Ka. calla, collaṇa, collaṇa drawers and breeches of different lengths, Tu. callaṇa, callāṇa short breeches, Te. callaḍamu id. [Mar. colṇā short breeches and drawers]. Cf. caṇḍātaka-, No. 135.

140. cāpa- m.n. a bow, MBh., etc.

~Cf. Ka. cācu to stretch, e.g. a bow, cāpu stretching, a stretch, Te. căcu to stretch, căpu id.; sb. extending, stretching, Ma. cămpu stretch, length.

~Ka. cikka small [cf. also Pkt. cikkä a small or trifling matter, Deśin° iii, 21; A. Master, JBBRAS., v (1929), p. 114; and A. N. Upadhye, ABORI., xii (1931), p. 281].

142. ciça f. tamarind tree.

~Te. cinta tamarind; cf. Kur. cič the kernel of the tamarind fruit. Skt. has also tintaśika- and this alternation t-/c is characteristic of Dravidian. In Drav. t- appears in Malt. teteli tamarind tree.

143. culli f. fireplace, Mn., etc. [Nep. culi, etc.].

~Ta. cuḷai potter’s kiln furnace, cuḷai id., Ma. cuḷa, cuḷa id. Cf. Ta. Ma. cuṭu to burn, etc.

144. cuḍā f. tuft of hair on top of the head, Mn., etc.; the crest of a cock or peacock, L.

~Ta. cuṭu to wear on the head, to be crowned, sb. hair-tuft; crest, comb, cuṭu to crown, as with a diadem, etc., sb. peacock’s crest, cock’s comb, Ma. cuṭuka to wear on the head, cuṭu cock’s comb, Ka. sūḍu, Kitt., No. 283.

144. colaka- n. bark. L. [cf. with ch-, Be. chol rind, etc. Nep.D. s. v. cholnu].

~Ta. coli to strip off, peel off, toli id.; skin, rind, husk, Ma. toli skin; bark, peel, rind, Ka. Tu. suli, Te. olucu to peel off, Malt. cale rind, peel, colye to skin, strip the bark off a tree. Cf. with different vowel Tu. cikuni to flay: Nep. chilnu to peel, etc., and Skt. challi-. Possibly cola-, colaka- jacket, is the same word, originally meaning a bark garment.

145. chikkāra- a kind of antelope, Dhanv. vi, 69.

~Cf. Ka. cigari, cigare the black antelope.
146. *jaḍa*- m.f.n. stiff, torpid, apathetic, senseless; stupid, dull.

~Ka. *jaḍ̣u* callosity, a callous spot, *jiḍ̣u*, *daḍ̣u* id., *daḍ̣a* a blockhead, stupid, ignorant man, Tu. *jaḍ̣u* callosity, hardness, *daḍ̣u* id.; dull, stupid, idle, *daḍ̣de* a stupid fellow, Te. *jaḍ̣u* drowsiness, sluggishness.

147. *jarjara*- m.f.n. cracked, broken, broken in pieces, MBh.

~Cf. Kui *jeri* cracked, partly broken, *jeri jeri āva* to be cracked, partly broken, *jerjeri, jorjori* cracked, partly broken, bruised.

148. *jūṭa*- m. twisted lock or bundle of hair. Mālatum.

~Ka. *juṭu* tuft of hair, Tu. Te. *juṭu* id.

149. *ḍiṇḍima*- m. a kind of drum, R., etc.


150. *tagara*- m.n. *Tabernaemontana coronaria*, and a fragrant powder prepared from it, MBh., etc. [also *sthakara-, Kauś., sthagara-, TBr. id., Pkt. *tagara-, tagara-*.]


151. *taḍ*- to beat knock, strike.


152. *taḍit* lighting, Nir., etc.


153. *tarasa*- m.n. meat.
~Ta. tacai flesh, Ma. taca raw flesh, proud flesh, also taka, tava, dasa; dasappu fleshy excrescence muscle, corpulence. Assimilation of r in Drav.

154. tardū f. a wooden ladle, L. [Pkt. taḍḍu, Nep. dāpu].
~Te. teḍḍu a wooden ladle or spoon; an oar or paddle; cf. Ta. tuṭuppū ladle.

155. tarpa- m. raft, ship, Hem. Un. 296 [also talpa- id., L., Pkt. tappa-; cf. τράπαργα (Periplus), Mar. tāpā, tarāpha id., etc.]

~Ta. teppam raft, float, Ka. Te. teppa id.

156. talavara- an official title used in the Deccan, Pādatāḍitaaka, p. 33 [Jain Pkt. talavara--; also in inscriptions, cf. Ep. Ind., xx. p. 7].

~Ta. talaivan head man, ruler, Ma. talavan. The IA word represents the Drav. plural (talaivar, talavar) used honorifically. Sircar, Successors of the Sātavāhanas, p. 19.

157. tāṇḍava- m.n. dancing, especially Śiva, BhP., etc.
~Ta. tāṇṭu to dance, skip, jump, Ma. tāṇṭuka to jump across, Ka. tāṇṭu jump, dance, leap over, dāṇṭu jump over, Te. dāṭu to leap, jump.

158. tāli- a kind of ornament, Bhoja Un. 168.
~Ta. Ma. tāli neck ornament, especially as a marriage badge, Te. Ka. tāli, tāli, Tu. tāli id.

159. tāla- lock, bolt, W. [and tālaka-, L.; tāḍaka-Divyavadāna, Pa. tāḷa-].

~Ta. tār bolt, bar, latch, in mod. Ta. Usually in the cpds. tāṛkkōl, tāṛppāl, Ma. tār bolt, bar, lock, also tāvu, tākkura, tāṛutu, Ka. tār, tāpāl bar, bolt, Tu. tārkolu id.

160. tinikā- Holcus sorghum, NPR.

161. *tila*— *Sesamum indicum*, AV., etc.


162. *tuṅga*— m.f.n. high, lofty, steep; m. a mountain, peak.

~Ta. *tuṅku* to hang, overhang, etc., *tukkam* hanging, etc., height, *tukku* being suspended, etc.; height, perpendicularity, steepness, Ma. *tuṅṇu* to hang, be suspended, *tukkam* hanging; precipice, Ka. *tūgu*, Te. *tūgu* to hang, etc.


164. *tuṇḍi* f. a kind of gourd, Čaṅ. [also *tuṇḍikā*, L., and *tuṇḍikeri*, Suśr., *tuṇḍikesi*, L., with obscure final element].


~Ta. *turu* rust; verdigris, *turucu*, *turicu* blue vitriol, rust, Ma. *turiṣu* blue vitriol or sediment of vitriol, *turuvu*, *turumpu* rust, Ka. Tu. *tutti* blue vitriol (< *turtu*).

166. *tunda*— protuberant belly; navel [and *tundi* id., L.].


~Ta. turū to be thick, crowded, turumpu id., turumal closeness, Ma. turūka to be thronged, Ka. turūgu to be crammed; a throng, etc. [cf. Mar. turūba full, adv.],

168. tulasī f. holy basil, BhP., etc.

~Ta. turāy sacred basil, PatP., etc., Ka. toḷaci, toḷace, toḷānce id.

169. toya- n. water, MBh., etc.

~Ta. tōy to be wet, to become wet, Ma. tōyuka to soak, Ka. tō, tōyu to become wet or moist, Te. tōgu id. Kitt., No. 155; Bloch, BSOS., V, 739.

170. dala-1 n. leaf, petal, shoot, blade, MBh., etc.

~Ta. itaś petal, leaf, ataś petal, Ma. itaś flower, leaf, Ka. esaś id. Loss of initial vowel in Skt.

171. dala-9 a detachment of troops, L.

~Ka. daśa an army, a force, troop, Tu. daḷa, Te. daḍamu, daḷamu id.

172. dukūla- m. fine cloth, MBh., etc. [Pkt. dugulla-, dualā-, duūla-, Pisch., §90].

~Ta. Ma. tukil cloth; cf. also Go. dikṣi cloth, pl. dikṣing clothes.

173. dūṣya- n. cloth, calico, Divyāv. [also written dūṣyaː-

~Ta. tūcu cloth, garment; cotton, Ka. dūsu cloth. Loss of r in Drav. which is responsible for voicing of initial.

174. dhafi f. a piece of cloth worn over the privities, L.

~Te. Tu. Ka. daffi waistband, sash, zone.
175. *naraka*—m.n. hell, place of torment, m. N. of a demon slain by *Krśna* (“the crusher”).


176. *nikurumba*—m.n. flock, mass, multitude, Viddh. [also *nikuramba*—Malatim°.].

~*Ka. nigumbu* to heap, lay in a mass. Loss of *r* in *Ka.

177. *nibida*—m.f.n. pressed tight, close, compact, MBh., etc.


~With the first part of this word compare Ta. *Ma. nocci Vitex negundo*, *Tu. nekki, Te. nekki, lekki, lakki* id. *BSOAS*, XI (1943), p. 131.

177. *nud*—to push, RV., etc.

Since this verb appears to have no. satisfactory IE etymology, we may compare Ta. *nuntu* to propel, cast forth, thrust away, *nutu* to remove; cf. also (with loss of initial *n*), Ta. *Ma. untu* to push, thrust, impel, drive.

180. *ned*—to flow [in *atinedati* overflows, BAU.].

~*Ka. nādu* to moisten, *nāndu* to make damp; to liquefy, dissolve, *nāju* to moisten, wet, Ta. *Ma. nāntu* to become wet, Go. *nāndānā* to get wet, Kui *nenja* to water plants. Drav. *n*—here out of original *ṅ*, which accounts for the vowel —ē— in Skt. (Cf. *BSOAS*, XI, 603.)

181. *nemi*—*Dalbergia ougeinensis* L.
182. pakkanā m.n. the hut of an outcast; village of barbarians, MBh., etc.

~Cf. Ta. pākkam village, seaside village, village of Kuravans (kuravar pākkattu, KuT. 339. cf. ibid. 394).

183. pāṇgu- lame, MBh., etc. [also pāṅgula- id., Suśr. Pa. Pkt. pāṅgu-, pāṅgula-; Mar. pāgā or pāgā crippled, halt, pāgā also "bow-legged", cf. pēgnē to limp, pēgōḍā or pēgōḍā bow-legged; cf. also Skt. phakka- cripple, L.].

~Ka. pāṅga the state of being astride or forked, Tu. pāṅgaḍipuni to straddle, Te. pāṅga fork; parting the legs wide. pāṅgaṭi forked, pāṅgaṭi-kāṭu bandy legs, pāṅgaṭiṇcu to straddle, sprawl. The original meaning "bowlegged" is preserved in Mar. and the phonetic irregularities there point to the word having been borrowed.

184. pāṅjara- n. cage, framework. MBh., etc. [also piṅjara- id., L.; Hi. Nep. piṅjara, etc.].

~Ta. pantar, pantal shed, pandal, Ma. pantal temporary shed of leaves or wickerwork, Ka. pandar, pandal shed, trellis, Te. pandiri, pandili, shed, trellis, frame, Kui pannari ḍēva a bamboo corn-bin. Dental from palatal in South Drav.

185. pāṇji f. the ball of cotton from which thread is spun, L. [cf. piṅjā f. cotton, L.].

~Ta. pānci cotton, cotton plant, cotton cushion, KuT., etc., Ma. pāṇī cotton, Ka. pāṇji, haṇji ball of cotton, cotton. The word may ultimately be of Austro-Asiatic origin, as also is Skt. picu:- cf. TPS., 1946, p. 5.

186. pataha- m. drum, MBh., etc.

~Ta. pāraid drum, Ma. para, Ka. par, Kot. par id. For Skt. kāṭi corresponding to South Drav. r, cf. kāṭi.
187. *pātu* m.f.n. sharp, pungent, acrid; shrill, intense; smart, clever; great or strong in, capable; cruel, hard.


188. *poṭala*- m. Trichosanthes diacea [cf. *pātu*, *paṭuka*-id.; Nep.D. s.v. parwar].


190. *paṭha*- to recite, read, *pāṭha*- recitation, reading.

~Caldwell, p. 585, suggests derivation from the Drav. words meaning to sing: Ta. Ma. *pātu* to sing, *pāṭṭu* song, Ka. Te. *pāḍu* to sing, *pāṭa* song. Go. *pārānā* to sing, *pāṭā* song, Malt. *pāre* to sing, bewail, Kur. *pārnā* to sing. If so we must begin with the noun *pāṭha*- = Ta. *pāṭṭu*, since there are no forms with short a in Drav., to match with the verbal root will have been invented.

191. *panasa*- m. bread-fruit tree [also *palasa*-., *phanasa*-., *phalasa*-., Pkt. *paṇasa*-., *phaṇasa*-; Skt. also *phalina*-., L.].
192. paruṣa—m.f.n. rough, hard, harsh [Pa. Pkt. pharusa-].

~Cf. Ta. paru rough, parumai roughness, harshness, Ma. paru rough, harsh, paruku rough surface, parapara roughly, paruparuppu roughness, harshness, Ka. parige roughness, parparike id. To be separated from (a) paruṣa—grey-coloured, RV. (:palita-) and (b) paruṣa—knotty; a reed, AV. (:paruṣ-, parvan-).

193. pala—m. straw, L. [cf. palāla—id., MBh., etc.].

Cf. Ta. Ma. pul grass; hay, straw, Ka. pul grāṣ, Tu. pullu a rush, a kind of grass, Tod. pul thatching grass, Te. pulu grass. There are parallels for the difference in vowels here (cf. TPS., 1945, p. 103); Kāśm. pul straw, preserves a form identical with South Drav.

194. palaṅkata—L. shy, timid.

~Ka. peţagu fear fright.

195. pāṭaka—m. a kind of village, half a village, L.

~Cf. Ta. pāṭi town, city; hamlet, pāṭam street of herdsmen, pāṭakam street, section of a village, Ma. pāṭakam id., Ka. pāṭi settlement, hamlet, village, Tu. pāḍu (at the end of place-names) village.

196. pāṭala—m. Bignonia suaveolens (the tree bearing the trumpet-flower) [also pāṭalā; pāṭali id.].

~Ta. Ma. pāṭiri trumpet-flower, Ka. Tu. pāḍari Te. pāḍiri id. In Pāṭaliputra— a Drav. word for "thicket" may be preserved: Ta. putar, putal bush, thicket, Ka. podar bush,
thicket, thick tuft of trees, Tu. pudelú bush, shrub, etc. This would make better sense than Skt. putra-.  

197. pārāvata- m. dove, MBh., etc. [Pa. pārāpata-
pārevata-; Nep.D. s.v. pārewā.  
~Cf. Ta. puravu, purā dove, pigeon, Ma. pirāvu, prāvu, Tu. puda id.; Go. paorish the blue rock dove.

198. pālana- n. milk of a cow newly calved [Be. pālan].  

199. pāli- f. row, line, range; margin, edge, dike [Pa. pāli, Nep. pāri, etc.].  
~Ka. pāri a row, line; regularity, regular or proper order, method, rule, Ma. pāli row, line, Te. pādi propriety.

200. pāli-2 f. lobe of the ear.  
~Ka. pāle id. Kitt., No. 18; cf. BSOAS, XI, 336,

201. pika- m. Indian cuckoo, VS., etc. [Pkt. pika-, Ping., f. piki, Desin., piga-, Kumārap.; Mar. pīk].  
~Preservation of k- in Pkt. and ModIA. indicates a borrowed word (probably with -kk- in the original), and according to Śabaravāmin it was a word used by Mlecchas. Compare with A. Master (JBBRAS., v, 110), Ka. pika (Cuculus Indicus), pikal-akki Madras bulbul (cf. also pikkuṣike n. of a bird), Te. pikili, pigili the hill bulbul. Of these Ka. pika is ts., but the others are native and contain the Dravidian base from which the Skt. word is derived.

202. pichchā f. calf of the leg, Var. [cf. picaṇḍikā id.].  
~Cf. Tu. potte (<*počče) Te. pikka (<*pička), GoM pihā (<*pisā) id., etc., BSOAS., XI, 347.
203. piñjāṭa- m. the concrete rheum of the eyes, L. [also piñjūṣa-, piñjeta- , peñjūṣa-, paiñjūṣa- id., L.].

~ Ka. piccu slimy impurities of the eye, rheum, pisaru filth of the body, rheum of the eye, Tu. pēṇci filth, dirt, Ma. pīla rheum of the eye, Brah, pich id., etc. (cf. BSOAS., XI, 355).

204. piṭaka- n. boil, blister, Car. [also piṭṭaka-, Divyā. 210, 14, and biṭaka- / viṭaka-, L.].

~ Cf. Tu. puṭla, poṭla pustule, blisters, puḍi sore, ulcer, Go. bōṭṭā blisters, Kui poḍosi boil, blisters, poṭkorli blisters, aḍipuṭi small-pox pustule; BSOAS., XI, 354.

205. piṇḍi f. Asoka tree, L.

~ Ta. piṇṭi id., Murukö. 31, etc.

206. piṇyāka- m. n. oilcake, MBh., etc. [Nep. pinā].

~ Cf. Ta. piṇi to squeeze, press out, piṇṭi oilcake, L. Ma. Ka. piṇi to wring, squeeze, Ma. piṇṭi what is squeezed, wrung out, dregs, refuse, sediment, Tu. puṇḍi oilcake, puṇṭuni to wring.

207. pitta- n. bile, AV., etc.

~ From the Drav word meaning “green, yellow”, Ti. pai, pacu, pacc-, etc. (Originally *pice-), cf. BSOAS., XI, 345.

208. pittala- n. brass, bell metal, L. [and pitala-, L.]

~ Ma. piccaḷa brass, Ta. pittalai from the same Drav word meaning “yellow”; see above.

209. pillika- m. chick, young of birds, Mānasollāsa, ii, p. 255 [cf. Pa. pillaka- the young of an animal, Pkt. pilua- id., Mar. pil a young animal, pilā id., Sgh. pilavā young of an animal, Hi. pillā puppy].

~ Ta. pilāi young of animals; of birds (KuT. 92), and certain reptiles, Ma. pilā child, infant, Ka. pilīe child, young
of animals, Te. pilla GoM. pilā id. Cf. J. Bloch, Langue Marathe s. v. pilū; P. C. Bagchi, IHQ., 1933, p. 262.

210. pita- m.f.n. yellow, GrS., Up., MBh., etc.

~From the Drav. word for yellow: see pitta- and BSOAS., XI, 345.

211. pilu- m. a worm, L. [cf. *prū in kaṭaprū worm, L., puṇḍra- m. a worm, L., pulaka- m. a kind of insect or vermin, L., phullaka-worm, L., Pa. puḷava- worm, maggot, Hi. pilī worm, phūl maggots hatched in meat].


212. puṭṭ- to be small, Dhatup. [Nep. purko dwarf].

~Ta. poṭi, poṭicu any thing small or minute, Ka. puṭa, puṭṭa, puṭṭi small, short, Tu. puṭṭa small, little, diminutive, Te. poṭṭi, poṭi, short, dwarfish, Kur. puḍḍa short, puḍḍā to be too small or short for, Brah. paṭak short, stunted.

213. puṇḍra- m. or n. a sectarian mark or spot [also puṇḍ- id., L.; cf. puṇḍarika- n. a mark on the forehead; a kind of leprosy; a tiger].

~Kui pendra in pendra krāḍī leopard (krāḍī tiger), Ta. puḷḷi mark, dot, speck (<*puṇḍāli) Ma. puḷḷi id., puḷḷip-puli leopard (puli tiger); cf. perhaps Ka. Te. boṭṭu sectarian mark.

214. puṇḍarika- n. a lotus flower, RV. etc.

~As the flower that grows in ponds (cf. puṣkara) perhaps based on a Drav. *puṇḍari water, lake, pond; cf. Ta. puṇari sea, Ma. puṇal water, and further Ta. Ma. puṇal Ka. ponal, water, river.

215. pulaka- a flaw or defect in a gem, L.

~Cf. Ka. peḷavu a flaw (Ta. piḷavu a split).
216. *pulaka-* m. n. shrivelled or blighted or empty or bad grain, Mn., MBh., etc. [Pa. *pulaka* shrivelled grain, Pkt *pulaga-*; *pulaya-* id.; cf. also Skt. *pulya-* an empty or shrivelled grain of corn, AV.; further Mar. *pol, phol* a hollow grain etc.].

~Cf. Ka. *polu* hollowness, emptiness, Te. *pollu* the empty ears of corn; chaff; trash, useless thing or word, *polluvaḍu* to become useless, to decay, Kui *polgu* husk, chaff, bran, Go. *poll-* (Koi dialect, LSI., iv, 549), Golāri *pholkī* (ib. p. 390), Naiki *polle* (ibid. 572) Brah. *pölō* hollow empty.

217. *puleya-* m. N. of a people in W. India (see Kirfel, *Bhārata-varṣa*, Index).

~Ta. *pulaiyan* an aboriginal caste on the Ānaimalais and other hills of S. India; an outcast, or low-caste person in general. Ma. *pulayan* N. of a caste of rice slaves formerly saleable; an outcast in general, Ka. *poleya*, mod. *holeya* N. of a servile caste; cf. Ta. *pulai* uncleanness, pollution, Ma. *pula* Ka. Tu. *pole* id. It is possible that this element is also found in Skt. *pulinda-* N. of a forest tribe, *pulkaka-*; MS. 1.6.11, *pulkasa-*; MBh., etc., *paulkasa-*; VS., SBr., N. of despised mixed tribe [cf. also Skt. *bukkasa-*; L.; Pkt. *pukkasa-, bokkasa-*], *pulika-* N. of a savage tribe, Kalpadruk. 206, 36; possibly also in the names of the Rṣis *Pulaha-* and *Pulasti-* who seem hardly to be of Aryan origin.

218. *puṣkara-* m. pond, lake, R. (SundK. xi, 6, *haṃso yathā rāṭati puṣ- karasthaḥ*!), n. water, SBr; lotus flower, AV., etc. [also *puṣka-* pond, tank, Bhoj. U. 2.2.5. *puṣkāriṇī* pond, Pkt. *pokkha-* water; lotus, *pokkāriṇī* pond, Mar. Hi. *pokhara* pond, tank, lake].

water-hole. The primary meaning of Skt. *puskara*- is "pond", the secondary meaning "lotus" ("pond-flower"), then *puskarini* is formed on this latter meaning. Ta. -y- in *poykai* can represent an earlier sibilant.

219. *pūga*- m. the Areca catechu called the betel-nut tree, Suśr., etc.


220. *pecaka*- m. owl, R., etc.


221. *pelava*- m.s.n. delicate, fine soft, tender, Kālid., etc.

~Cf. Te. *pila* thin, lean slender, Tu. *pili* dry, thin, light

222. *pota* a hermaphrodite, or woman with a beard, Hcar., a female servant or slave.

~Ta. *pētu* female of birds and certain animals; hermaphrodite, *pēti* hermaphrodite, Te. *pēdi* eunuch, hermaphrodite, *pēde* a beardless man, etc. (cf. *TPS.* 194; p. 109). The change *e* > *o* is not infrequent dialectally in Drav. after an initial labial: Tu. *poṇṇu* female: Ta. *peṇ*, etc.

223. *pota* a young animal or plant (*mṛga*-p.º, *cūta*-pº, etc.), MBh., etc.

~Ta. *pōtu* sapling; tender branch or shoot, Te. *bōda* the young of a bird, Kui *podeli* sapling, Kuvi *pota* *pōda* girl, *pōdipōda* boys and girls.

224. *phaṇa*- m. the extended hood of a serpent, MBh., etc. [also *phaṭa*-, *phaṭā*., *phuṭa*-, *sphāṭa*-, *sphāṭā* id., Pkt. *phaṇa*-, *phaḍā*, Hi. *phan*, etc.].
~Ka. peđe the expanded hood of a cobra, Te. pađaga, Ta. paṭam id.; Ta. pai hood of a cobra; (vb.) to spread as the hood of a cobra.

225. phal-, phalati to split, cleave, break, MBh., etc. [whence phalaka-, phalahaka- plank, board, lath].
~Ta. piṇa to split, be cleaved; tr., split, cleave, rend, piḷava cleft; piece, slice, piḷācu lath, Ma. piḷakka to split, cleave, peḷi, poḷi chip, Ka. piḷigu to break, crack, burst, Tu. pulevu crack poliyuni to be broken, Kur. palknā to cut in lengths, to split.

226. phalgu- m.f.n. weak, pithless, unsubstantial, useless, VS., etc.
~Cf. Ka poḷu hollowness, emptiness, unsubstantialness; trash, worthless stuff, Te. pollu empty ears of corn, chaff; useless, vain; trash, useless thing, Kui polgu kusk, chaff, etc.

227. phutṭaka- a kind of cloth, Divyāv.
~Ta. puṭṭam cloth, Te. puṭṭamu id.; cf. Ta. puṭāval garment, Ma. puḷava id.

228. baka- m. crane, MBh., etc. [Nep. bakullo].
~Ta. vakkā white stork, Ardea nivea, vaṅkā id., Te. vakku crane.

229. bakula- m. Mimusops elengi, MBh., etc. [also written vakula-; Skt. makula-, makura- id., L., Hi. maulsari].
~Ka. pagaḍe, pogaḍe, Te. pogaḍa id. Secondary voicing in the Sanskrit as opposed to the Drav. word. Ta. vakuḷum, Tiṇaim. 24, Ka. vakuḷa, bakuḷa, etc., are tss. Ta. makiṛ id., Tiruvāym. is probably adopted from Skt. since Skt. makula- also means “bud”, as does makiṛ. Skt. m- is a secondary development from b-/v-, and appears later. It is a characteristically Dravidian change (BSOAS., XI, 351-2).
230. banḍa- m.f.(ā)n. maimed, defective, crippled, AV., ŚrŚ. [Cf. also (1) Skt. vaṇṭa- tailless, Gaut., (2) Skt. būṭa- lopped (of ears), Schmidt, Nachträge, (3) Pkt. boḍa- shaven-headed (Piṇḍaṇijjutti), voḍa-, voḍha (i.e. b-) = chinna-karna- pucccha-, Hāla 550, Comm., Mar. boḍkā bald, without horns, (4) Mar. bhūḍā bare, without horns, Si. bhudo toothless, Pj., La. bhoḍā id.]

∼Ta. vaṇukkanai baldness (*vaṇḍa- > *vaṛ-vaṇ-), Kur. banḍā without tail, docked; Ka. bōḍu a toothless man. bōḍi a toothless woman; one who is bald or destitute of hairs, bōru bald, shaven; leafless, Tu. bōḍubāyi toothless mouth, bōru bald, Te. bōḍu id. Cf. munḍa-.

231. balakṣa- m.f.n. white, TS., etc. [also written vo-],

∼Caldwell, p. 574, and Kittel, No. 408, compare Ta. viḷakku light, lustre, veliccam id., Ka. beḷaku, Te. velugu id. There is, however, in Skt. an alternative form palakṣa-, VS., in view of which it is perhaps better to compare Ka. palakane palaccane, palānce glitteringly; brightness, pureness, Ta. palicc-enal glitteringly, Ma. paḷunṇuka to glitter, Te. paluka paleness, whiteness, and to regard the b- of balakṣa- as an instance of secondary voicing.

232. ballāla- n. pr.

∼Ta. vallāla a mighty man, Ka. ballā! a mighty man, ballāṇa n. of a country and its people.

233. biḍāla-¹ m. cat, Mn., MBh., etc. [also birāla-, bilāla- id., L., Pkt. biḍāla-, birāla-, Nep. birālo].

∼Assuming bir- to be original, the radical syllable is the same as that of the Drav. word for cat: Ta. Ma. verukku, Ka. berku, bekku, Go. warkār, Nahali (LSI.) berivu, Malt. berge, Kur. berkhā. J. Bloch, BSL., xxv (1925), p. 14.
234. **baḍāla-** eyeball, L.

—Cf. **viḷi** to open the eyes; (sb.) eye, eyeball, variant from **miḷi**, Ma. **miḷi** eyeball, pupil of the eye; cf. Ta. **miṇṭaḷ** the apple of the eye.

235. **bilma-** n. slip, bit, chip, RV. ii, 35, 12.

—From the Drav. root **viḷ-** to split: Ta. **viḷaṇu** cleft, crack; vb. to split, **viḷ**, **viḷḷu** to crack, split, Ma. **viḷḷu** to crack, burst open, **viḷḷaḷ** a hollow rent, **viḷḷu** a crack, aperture. From the same root **bila-** hole, TPS., 1946, p. 23.

236. **bīgalā-** n. fragment, BĀU.

—Cf. Ka. **biri** to burst, crack, be split; sb. bursting, a fissure, crack, **biriku** a cleft, fissure, crack, **biraku**, **birku**, etc., id., Tu. **biriyuni** to crack, **birke** crack, chink, Te. **viriyu**, **virugu** to break, go to pieces. Skt. **bīgala-** = Drav. **birugal** with the common suffix -al added to the vb. **birugu** (<**virugu**).


—Ka. **bāṇḍi** a wheel; a bandy, cart, carriage, Te. **bāṇḍi** cart, Ta. **pāṇḍi**, **vaṇḍi**, **vaṇṭil**, Ma. **vaṇḍi**, **vaṇṭil**, Tu. **bhaṇḍi** id. The word seems to be originally Kanaresc. whence lws. in Skt. Pkt., and also in Te. (b-) and Ta. Ma. (p-/v-).

238. **bharata-** 1 m. actor, dancer, tumbler, Yājn., etc.

—In view of the close connection between the two professions, this word may be compared with Ta. **parattal** courtesan. The masculine form **parattan** is given the meaning of "profligate, debauchee", but must also have designated the males of the prostitute caste, and in view of their stage activities his functions must have been similar to those of the **bharata-**.

239. **bharata-** 2 N. of a barbarian tribe, L. (=**sabara-**).
~Ta. paratar, paratavar inhabitants of maritime tracts, fishing tribes, Ma. paravan, f. parattī id.

240. bhilla- m. N. of a mountain tribe, Kāv., Kathās.


241. bhūka- hole, L. (cf. also Mar. bhok hole, etc., Nep.D. s.v. bhwān).

~Ka. bokke any round small hole made by rats, etc., Te. bokku hole, orifice, aperture, Tu. bonku hollow, void. Kitt., No. 162 (comparing also Skt. bhūka- fountain, with Ka. bugge id.)

242. bhṛṅga- m. a species of large black bee, Kāv. Pur.

~Cf. Kui brūnga a large black hornet, bṛūki hornet, būrnga id.

243. magguśa- m. mongoose, Bhoj. Uṇ. 753 [also madguśa-, Hem. Uṇ. 538; Pkt. maṅguso, muggas, Mar. H. maṅgūs muṅgūs, Sgh. mugaṭi id.].

~Ta. mūṅkā a species of mongoose, Ka. muṅgi, muṅgīst, muṅguli, muṅguri, Tu. muṅguli, Te. muṅgi, muṅgisa, Go. mungus id. K. Amṛta Row, IA., 46 (1917), p. 35; cf. BSOAS., XI, 334.

244. maṅku- stupefied, ŚBr. 5.5.4.11 [not “shaking, vacillating” (MW. after BR.); also “blotch”, L., durmaṅku- obstinate, L., Pa. maṅku- confused, stupefied, dummaṅku- id., Buddh.S. madgubhūta-, Divyāv.].

~Ta. makku to become dull, dullness, maṅku to grow dim, lose lustre, Ma. maṅṅuka id., Ka. maṅku dimness, obscurity, maggu to grow dim or faint, Te. makku to fade, lose lustre; (sb.) dirtiness, foulness.
245. maṅgula—n. sin, Kāv.

—From Drav. mank—/g—, above. For the suffix cf. Ta, maṅkulam cloudiness, murkiness.

246. maṅju—adj. beautiful, lovely, charming, pleasant, sweet, MBh., etc. [also maṅjula—id.].

—J. Block (BSOS., V, 741) compares Ta. maṅcu beauty. This is not recorded early and might therefore be from Skt. The old form is maintu might, strength, beauty, desire, love, and the relation of maintu to maṅcu is the same as that of aintu “5” to the popular form aṅcu. As the old form cannot be derived from Skt., the word must be originally Dravidian.


—Ka. miḍice, miḍite, etc., grasshopper, locust Te. miḍuta id., Tu. moṭe; (with v) Ma. vīṭil Ta. veṭṭukkiṭi K. B. Pathak, IA., 1913, p. 235; D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures (Calcutta, 1919), pp. 26-7; J. Block, BSL., xxv (1924), p. 15.

248. maṅ-, maṅḍati, maṅḍayati to adorn, decorate.

—Ta. maṅṇu to wash, to clean; to anoint; to adorn, beautify, decorate; to polish, perfect, finish, maṅ sb. ornament, decoration. J. Bloch, BSOS., V, 740.

249. maṅḍa—m. n. the scum of boiled rice; the thick part of milk, cream [Nep. mār].

—Ta. maṅṭi sediment, dregs, settlings, Ma. maṭṭu dregs, lees, sediment of oil, Ka. maḍḍi, maḍḍu, miḍde, Tu. Te. maḍḍi id.; Malt. meṇḍi rice-water. Cf. (with v) Ta. vaṅṭal dregs, Ka. baṇḍalu id.

250. maṅḍala—n. circle, disc, ring, globe, ŚBr., etc.
~From a Drav. *maṇḍ- to be bent: Ta. maṇḍī kneeling, Ka. maṇḍi what is bent, the knee; also maṇ- in Ka. maṇi to bend bow; sb. bending, a bow, maṇṇagu to bend; with vowel ュー: Ta. muṭaṅku to bend, muṭaṅkal being bent as a bow, muṭalai ball, globe; a twist in the fibres, as of firewood, Tu. moṭaṅkuni to bow, bend. These represent an original base maṇḍ-, the nasal having been lost, and Ta. <*moṇḍale corresponds completely with the Skt. word.

251. mātkuṇa- an elephant without tusks, L.

~Ta. mokkai bluntness, Tu. mukka deformed, Te. mokka blunt, pointless, mokkaḍi, mokkaḍiṣu an elephant with short tusks.

252. mandurā stable [also mandu- in the cpd. mandupāla- groom; cf. also mandira- n. house, dwelling; stable].

~Ta. maṇram hall of assembly; court of justice; cow-stall; house, maṇru id., Ma. mannam, mannu a place of judgment or assembly, Ka. mande pen, fold; herd, mandu a hamlet of Todas.

253. marici- f. a ray of light, RV., etc.

~Cf. Ka. miṭugu to glitter, flash; sb. glitter, shine lustre, merugu shine, lustre mere to shine glitter merasu to cause to shine, Tu. moreyuni to shine, mere display, merpu lustre, Te. meracu to glitter, merapi lustre, merugu, merumu to glitter.

254. marka- monkey, Bh.P. [usually markaṭa- id., VS., etc.; Nep. mākal. To be distinguished from Skt. markaṭa(ka-) spider and its derivatives].

~Ma. moṅña a monkey, cf. mocca a light-coloured monkey, Ka. maṅgā monkey, Tu. maṅgē id., Kui maka id. An r has been assimilated in the Drav. words.


256. *masūra* - m. pulse. lentils, VS., etc. [also *masura*- *masara*, L.].


258. *mācala*- m. crocodile, L.


~, Ta. *māṭam* storied house, mansion, palace, PuN. 53, 67, etc., Ma. *māṭam* a house with an upper storey, Ka. *māḍa* a
large building, māḍī an upstairs house, a palace, Tu. māḍy the roof, Te. māḍugu a storied house or building.

260. mālā wreath, garland, GṛSrS., MBh., etc. [also mālya- n. id., GṛSrS., etc.; a flower, L.; Hi. māl garland, etc., Sgh. mala flower].

~Ta. mālai garland, Ma. Te. māla Ka. māle id. Ta. mālai occurs in the earliest literature (PuN. 60, 76) and Ka. māle is given as one of the tātamas (Kitt. s.v.), both of which facts speak in favour of Drav. origin. This is further supported by the Ta. verbal form malai to wear as a garland, PuN. 12., etc. (also milai id., AN. 182, etc.) The word is further connected with Ta. Ma. Ka. malar flower.

261. māsā- m. a bean, RV., etc.

~Ta. moccai Hyacinth bean, Dolichus lablab, Ma. mocca Dolichos tetraspernum. Ultimate connection is probable with the radical syllable of Ta. muttai, Skt. masura-, mudgā-, q.v.

262. māsara- m. n. a particular beverage (takramiśritam sākṣnayavacūrṇam acc. to Sāyana on TB. 2.6.11.3).

~Cf. Ta. mucar buttermilk, curds, mōr id., Ma. mōr buttermilk, Kā. mosar, mosaru, masaru, Tu. mosaru id. (cf. TPS., 1945 p. 115). Possibly a vṛddhiied form based on *masara-.

263. mukha- n. mouth, face, RV., etc. [cf. Nep.D. s.v. mukh, muhurā/Pṣt. max, Par, Orm. muk].

~Ta. mukam mouth, face, Ma. mukam face, front, mouth, Ka. maga id., Tu. moga front, mugaṇu id., Te. mogamu face, mouth. Gt. p. 53 (cf. mū in front), Kitt., No. 24 (cf. Ka. muka front), Bloch, BSL., xxv, p. 18 (cf. also Ta. mūkku nose, and related words; there are similar words in AA. languages).
264. muṭ- moṭati, muṭati, moṭayati to crush, break, DhP. [also muḍ-, moḍati, muṇṭ-, muṇṭati].

~Ta. muṭṭu to dash against, butt, assault; sb. battering, assaulting, muṭṭikai jeweller’s small hammer, Ma. muṭṭuka to dash against, knock, butt, muṭṭi hammer, Ka. moṭṭu to rap with knuckles or fist, Te. moṭṭu id.

265. munda- m.f.(ā)n. bald, lopped, hornless, MBh., etc. [Pa. munda- bald, shaven, kaṇṇa-munda- with cropped ears, Pkt. munda- bald; cf. Nep.D. s.v. muro].

~Cf. Ta. mōraī hornless, defective, moṭṭai bald, shaven, blunt, maṭṭai baldness, moṇnai id., maṛu blunt, bald, bare, maṛu kūraī bobtail, Ma. moṭṭa a bald head, Ka. moṇḍu maimed, blunt, mōṭu the state of being deprived of the point, short, stumpy, Te. moṇdi maimed, amputated, blunt, Tu. moṇḍu blunt. The word is ultimately connected with baṇḍa- q.v., since initial m- and v- are often interchangeable in Dravidian.

266. mudgā- m. Phaseolus mungo, VS., etc.

~Probably for *muzgā- (cf. madgā-: Wack. i, 155) with the same radical element as in Skt. masūra- (q.v.): Ta. mutirla.

267. murungi Moringa pterygosperma, Suśr. (v.l. muraṅgi).

~Ta. murunkai, Moringa pterygosperma, Indian horseradish tree, AN. 167, etc., Ma. muriṇa, Ka. nugga, nuggi, Tu. nurige, nurge, Te. munaga id. BSOAS., XI (1945), p. 609.

268. murali flute, pipe [and muralikā; Hi. murli, etc.]

~Cf. Ta. mural to make a sound, muralīvṛ soft sound, as of a lute, Ma. muraḷuka to hum, etc., muraḷi flute, pipe, Tu. murelūnī to creak as shoes, Ka. mure, more to hum, etc.
269. mulāli a kind of edible lotus, AV. 4.34.5 [cf. also mṛṇāla- n., mṛṇāli f. the edible, fibrous, root of some kinds of lotus, Pa. muḷāla-, muḷāli the stalk of the lotus, Pkt. muṇāla-, muṇāli id.].

~Ta. muḷari lotus, AN. 163, etc. Probably from the same root that appears in Ta. muḷai to sprout, germinate, Ka. moḷe, Tu. muḷeyuni id., Te. molaka germ, sprout, shoot, molacu to sprout.

270. musali house-lizard, L., alligator, L. [Cf. also mṛḍura- id., Apast.]

~Ta. mutalai crocodile, Ma. mutala, Ka. mosaḷe, Te. mosali id. Kitt., No. 74; Bloch, BSOS., V, 739. Cf. mācala-.

271. mūkaka- frog, Yaśast. ii, 308.

~Kur. mūkhā frog. The word must be ancient in Kurukh, since it has undergone the change k > kh which Kur. and Malt. share with Brahui.

272. muṭa- basket or bundle, Kāranda. [also mūṭa- ibid., mūṭaka- Campak., mūḍaka-, Paṅcad., moṭa- bundle, Divyāv.; Pa. muṭoli bag. Pkt. mūḍa-, mūḍha- a certain measure of corn, Hi. mūṭhā bundle, Nep. muṭuro, etc.]

~Ta. mūṭtai, mūṭa bundle, Ma. mūṭa load, bale, Ka. mūḍe a straw bundle, mūṭe a bundle of cloth, grain, etc., Te. mūṭa bundle, Tu. muḍi a bundle of rice, moṭe a bundle, Kuvi munta (F), mūṭa (S.) (sic).

273. mūrvā Sanseveria roxburghiana, bowstring hemp, Suśr., VarBīS., etc. [Cf. Pa. maruvā id.]

~The radical syllable is seen in Ta. maral bowstring, hemp, muraḷ id., and with different suffixes in Ka. marugu (> *maruvu: Pa. maruvā) and Ta. maṇci, Ka. Tu. maṇji id. (< *maṇi).
274. *meka*- goat, L. [cf. *mē-kr* to bleat].

~Ka. *mēke* she-goat, *mē* the bleating of sheep or goats, Te. *mēka* goat, Malt. *mēge* to bleat. Kitt., No. 75.

275. *meṭa-* m. a whitewashed, storied house, L. [Pkt. *meḍaya*; Guj. *meḍi*, *meḍo* an upper storey, etc.].

~Te. *mēḍa* a house of two or more stories, Ta. *mēṭal* raised floor, platform, terraced house. Cf. *māḍl*.

276. *rolamba*- m. a bee, Kāv. [also *lolamba*-, L.]


278. *luṭh*—, *luṭhati* to roll, Kāv. Pur.

~Ta. *uruṇṭu* to roll, tr. (intr. *urul*), Ma. *uruṇṭuka*, Ka. *uruṭu* intr., *uruṇṭu* tr. and intr. to roll. Skt. has *l*— for original *r* and the initial vowel is lost. From the same source, and with *ṇ*— alternating with *ṭ*—<—*ḍ*—, as usual, Sanskrit has *luṇḍikā* ball, *luṇḍikṛta*— rolled up. Cf. Ta. *uruṇṭai* ball, Tu. *uruṇḍulu* round, etc.

279. *vaṇjula*— m, Calamus rotang, MBh., etc.

~Ta. *vaṇci* common rattan of South India, *Calamus rotang*, Ma. *vaṇci*, *vaṇṇi*. The word is common in the early Tamil literature, and without doubt native.
280. *vandhya*- m.f. (ā)n. barren, sterile [also written *bandhya*—; Pa. Pkt. *vanjha*—, Hi. bājh, etc.].

~Ka. *bañjaru* waste land, *banje* barren, Tu. *banjara* sterile, barren, *banjè* a barren woman, Kui *vanji* barren, sterile, *vanjuri* a barren woman. Cf. also Ka. *baraḍu* barren, sterile (with suffix *du* and *r* out of original affricate), Tu. *baraḍu* id. From the same Drav. base Skt. *vaṣā* in the sense of “a barren woman”.

281. *vambha*- m. bamboo. L. [Mar. bābū id.].


~Ta. *avari*, Dolichos lablab, KuT. 82, etc., Ma. *avara*, avarakka country bean, Ka. *avare* a species of pulse, Phaseolus radiatus; the pulse, called Dolichos lablab, avari, amare, amari, āvare, āvari, āvarike id., Tu. *abare* the common country bean, Tod. (Metz) *evar* bean, Te. *varige* the pulse termed wild kidney bean. Elision of the initial vowel in Skt. as in Telugu.

283. *varaṭa*- m. f. (ā and i) a kind of wasp.

~Ta. *vanṭu* bee, Ma. *vanṭu* a black bee, wasp, beetle. Loss of -r- by assimilation is common in Dravidian.

284. *varuka*- m. a species of inferior grain (*kudhānaya*—), Suśr.


285. *valabhi*— f. ridge of a roof-top, MBh., etc. [also *valabhi*; vaḍabhi—, o-i, Pa. *vaḷabhi* roof, Pkt. *vaḍahi*, vaḷahi ridgepole, thatch, veranda].
—Cf. Ta. vai̱mpu border, edge; eaves, edge of a roof; vai̱mpuka̱ri transverse piece in roofing, vai̱mpu pisi to tie cross pieces on a roof; cf. also vi̱mpu rim, edge.

286. vali—f. wrinkle; a line or stroke made by fragrant unguents on the person [Pa. vali f. line, fold, wrinkle, streak, row, Pkt. vali wrinkle, Mar. val line, row, rank].

—Ta. vari line, streak; ornamental marks on the breast; lines on the palm of the hand, Ma. vari line, row, Ka. bari, bare lines or stripes, Tu. baripuni to scratch, bareta line, mark; wale, stripe. IA. 1 for r.

287. vallura—n. dried flesh, Mn., etc., hog’s flesh, L.

—Ta. valluram flesh, meat, muscle, PuN. 219, etc.

288. vāṭya—m. fried barley, Car. [cf. vataka-, vataka- a round cake made of pulse fried in oil or butter].

—Cf. Ta. varu to dry, fry, parch, toast, varal, varukkaí frying, Ma. vara frying, varukka to fry, grill; Ta. varru, Te. vattu, etc., to dry up.

289. vāsi f. a sharp or pointed knife or a kind of axe, adze, chisel, RV., AV., MBh., etc. [also written vāsi; Pa. vāsi f. sharp knife, axe, hatchet, adze, Pkt. vāsi id.; cf. Nep.D. s.v. basulo].

—Ta. vai sharp, vaci to cut; (sb.) a sharp-pointed stake, vāy the edge of any cutting instrument, vāycci adze, Ma. vāy the edge of a sword, vācci a carpenter’s adze, Ka. basi sharp. Te. vasi nail; thorn, Kuvi vahini sharp, Kuí vaspa to sharpen, vau an edge, a cutting edge. Out of these Skt. vāsi clearly corresponds directly to Ta. vāycci, Ma. vācci.

290. vithurā—m.f.(a)n. staggering, tottering, RV., AV., precarious, AitBr. [cf. vithuryāṭi staggers, totters, RV., and vyath-, vyathate to tremble, be agitated, RV., etc.; Class. Skt., Pa. Pkt. vidhura—distressed, perplexed].


292. *viraṇa*—m. *Andropogon muricatus*, MBh., etc [also *virīnā*—m.n., ŚBr., GṛŚrS., Pa. *biraṇa*—, Pkt. *viraṇa*—].

~Ta. *vīral*, *Andropogon muricatus*, *Ka. biri* id.

293. *vedā* f. boat, L. [also *veṭi*—, L.; also written *beḍā*; Pkt. *beḍa*—m., *beḍā*, *-ōi* f. id.].


294. *vellaka*—an alloy of iron and silver, AŚ. ii, 14.


~Te. *vītatter; viṭattal, viṭṭēr*, etc., *Ka. eḍatazi*, *Te* *veṇuturu, veluturu* id By popular etymology Skt. has *vītattaru*—, *viradru*— id.

296. *vīḍ*, *vṛd* note to be ashamed, MBh., etc. [Pkt. *vīḍia*—ashamed, *vil*—to be ashamed (*viliūna*, Satt. 375)].


297. *śalaka*—m. spider, L.
~Ta. cilanti spider, cilampi id., Ma. cilanni, Ka. seladi, Te. celadi id. Hem. Uₚ₃. 323 gives śilamba- = tantuvāya-. If tantuvāya- means “spider” here (alternatively it could be “weaver”), it can be compared with Ta. cilampi.

298. śaspa- n. grass, VS., etc.

~Ma. cappu leaves, Ka. sappu, sappu foliage, vegetable, herb, greens, toppala, tappala all green leaves of plants in general, Tu. coppu, tappu, sappu leaf, foliage, greens, tappoliyuni to be covered with foliage. Cf. BSOAS., XII (1947), p. 140.

299. śāka- m. teak, MBh., etc.

~Ta. Ma. tēkku, Ka. tēgu, Te. tēku, ṭēku, Tu. tekki, Go. tēkā-marā, Kol. tēk, Drav. t- frequently represents an original affricate or sibilant (BSOAS., XII, 142). Compare further Ka. cēgu the heart or core of a tree; essence, strength. Skt. śāka- n. greens, is a different word; with it compare Kur. cēkhel greens.

300. śimba- m. pod, legume, Sutr. [also śimbi, - o i id., śimi-, L. id. [v.i. śamī-]. Pkt. simbā, Nep. simi; cf. also Nep. chimi pod].

~Ka. cippu, sippu, cimpi, cimpe, simpi, simpu, simpē oyster-shell, a portion of the shell of a coconut, the case of the brain, skull, Te. cippa shell, coconut shell, oyster shell, Tu. tippi coconut shell, cippi id.; oyster-shell, Ta. Ma. cippi, ippi coconut shell, oyster shell. From the same Drav. family also Pa. Pkt. sippi oyster shell (BSOAS., XII, 138), and also probably, in spite of the difference of vowel, Skt. śambu-, śambuka-, śambukka-, śambūka- a bivalve shell.

301. śirīṣa- m. Acacia sirissa, ShādvBr., etc.
233


302. sītalā f. small-pox, the goddess inflicting small-pox, L.

≈Ta. tītalai yellow spots on the skin, cf. tittī id. etc. BSOAS., XII, 140, and s.v. stāhma.sk.

303. sūṇth-, sūṇthayati to dry, become dry, Dhātup. [Whence sūṇthi- dry ginger, Suṣr., etc.]

≈Ta. cuṇṭu to dry up be evaporated by heat, Ka. suṇḍu to evaporate: cf. Ta. cuṇṭu to burn, etc.

304. suṇḍā- f. an elephant's trunk, MBh., etc.

≈Ta. tōṇtai, tōṇtalam elephant's trunk, Ka. suṇḍalu, sōṇḍalu, suṇḍil, tōṇtalu id.; cf. Ta. Ma. cuṇṭu, Ka. cuṇḍu beak, and above, s.v. tūṇda-.

305. sūḷā f. prostitute, Vās, Kuṭṭanim, etc. [Pkt. sūḷā].


306. saivala- m.n. duck-weed, Blyxa octandra [also śaivāla-, śeivala-, śevāla- id.; śipāla- id., RV.; Nep. sivāli, simāli, sēwāli, water-weeds, green slime on water, moss on damp walls; chimāl grass or lichen growing on a tree.]

≈The irregularities of this word show that it has been borrowed. Compare Ta. ciwval seaweed.

307. sīmil-, sīmilati to wink, blink, Dhātup.

308. *sidhmā*-white-spotted, TS. [sīdhmā leprosy, sīdh-
mān- id., sīdmala- leprous; cf. Mar. sībē a kind of leprosy].

~Tu. sīḍibu, sīḍubu the pustule of smallpox, Ka. cibbu,
sibbu, a whitish, reddish, or blackish spot on the body. Cf. BSOAS., XII (1947), p. 140.

309. *sīra*- m. n. plough, RV., etc.

~Compare possibly Ta. M. ēr plough, yoke of oxen, Ka. ēr, ēru a pair of oxen yoked to the plough, Te. ēru a plough with the draught oxen made ready for ploughing, Go. sēr plough, Kui sēru a yoke of oxen. Cf. Bloch, BSOS., VIII, 414; cf. also BSOAS., XII, 141.

310. *sūc-, sūcayati* to point out, show, indicate, MBḥ., etc. [Cf. sūci- vision, seeing, L., sūcipattra- index.]

~Cf. Te. cūcu to see, observe, note, mark, cūcāya hinting, insinuation, indication, cūpu vision, cūpiņcu to show, point out, Ka. cūpu vision sūsike the act of showing forth or exhibiting.

311. *sphoṭa*- m. boil, tumour, Suṣr. [Pkt. phoṭaa-].

~Tu. poṭla pustule, blister, Go. bōṭṭā blister, Kui poḍosi boil, blister. Cf. piṭaka-.

312. *hāphikā* gaping, yawning, L.

~Cf. Te. āvaliņcu to yarn, gape, Koḍ. hāwa‘e yawning, Malt. āwole to yarn, Brah. āvāning id.

313. *hālu*- m. a tooth. Uṛ. 1.1 Schol.

~Apparently a late adaptation of Med. Mod. Ka. hālu tooth < pāllu

314. *huḍukka*- m. a kind of small drum [also huḍukkā f.].
~Ta. ữuExecutable text here~kk, ữuExecutable text here~kkai a small drum tapering in the middle, Ma. ữuExecutable text here~kkka a tabor resembling ad hour glass, Te. ữuExecutable text here~kka a small drum of the shape of an hour glass, Tu. ữuExecutable text here~kku a kind of small drum.

315. heramba— a buffalo, Malatim.

~Ta. erumai buffalo, Ma. erima, eruma, Ka. emme, Tu. erme, Go armi id. (Mar. dial. ermi). Gt., p. 519; Kitt., No. 85; Bloch, BSOS., V, 740.
SOME DRAVIDIAN WORDS IN SANSKRIT

1

Skt. aṭṭa- m. according to B. R. has the meaning of a tower or strong point on a wall serving for defence. In the same sense we also have aṭṭaka-, aṭṭāla-, aṭṭālaka-. From this the meaning ‘watch-tower’ also develops.

Compare Te. aṭṭadi a fortified place in front of a building, and, in a more general sense, Ka. adḍal obstacle, hindrance. These words are members of a numerous Dravidian series beginning aṭ-, aṭṭ-, ad-, adḍ- and meaning generally ‘obstacle, obstruction; athwart, across; to obstruct, close’:

Ta aṭai to be obstructed; to obstruct, block, close, fasten, aṭṭippu shutting, stopping, obstruction, aṭṭaiccu to shut close, Ma. aṭayuka to be shut, shut up, enclosed, Ka. ada the state of being across, transverse or in the way, obstructing, obstruction, impediment, adḍavu an impediment, anything to obstruct, e.g. a stone placed, ad to shut, lock, obstruct, stop the passage; to be enclosed, barred, shut up, adḍa the state of being across, etc., adḍayisu to move obliquely or obstructingly, adḍi an obstacle, opposition, delay, Tu. aṭaka, aṭakāvā obstacle, hindrance, aḍaka id., aḍepuni to shut, close, aḍēke obstacle, hindrance, adḍa obstacle, hindrance; across, athwart, adḍaṇa a shield, adḍali a pole placed across, adḍi obstacle, stoppage, aṭāṅka hindrance, obstacle [=Ka. aṭāṅka, Te. aṭāṅkamu id.], Kui ada a screen, an intervensing object, aḍa giva to screen, intervene, intercept, Brah. ad obstruction, entanglement, aḍi obstacle, obstruction.
The alternation ēśḍā points to the fact that the double consonant in Dravidian is the result of an original consonant group; the forms with single -t-, -ḍ- are in accordance with the usual Dravidian practice of shortening double consonants under certain conditions.

Other words derived from this source are Skt. adṛḍaṇa- [Lex.] shield [Kitt : no. 249 and IA. i, p. 236], and Pkt. adḍa- crosswise, athwart. The latter word is well represented in modern Indo-Aryan: Hi. āṛā, Be. āṛ across, etc. [See Nep. Dict. s.v. ṛbhāṅge].

Skt. adhara- lower, in combination with oṣṭha- lip, may form a compound adharoṣṭha or adharaoṣṭha lower lip, as opposed to uttaraoṣṭha- or uttaraoṣṭha upper lip. Further adhara- m. is by itself used in the meaning ‘lower lip’ and in accordance with this sense the compound adharoṣṭha- is sometimes used in the sense of ‘upper and lower lip’. Finally adhara- comes to be used in the classical poetry in the sense of ‘lip’ in general as well as ‘underlip’ specifically. This development of meaning is not known in the earlier language, and there is no trace of similar development in the case of uttara- applied to the upper lip. The influence of some Dravidian words is to be taken into account here: Ta. utaṭu lip Ka. oḍaṇu, oḍaru id. Of these, Ka. oḍaru lip, is very similar to the Skt. word, especially when it is borne in mind that Drav. short ō is a sound that does not exist in Skt. and is normally replaced in loanwords by short a. This being the case the influence of the Dravidian word may be held responsible for the peculiar development of meaning in classical

1 Cf. Pāṇini, vi. 1, 94, Vārtt. 5.
Sanskrit by which *adhara-* comes to be used in the sense of ‘lip’.

Kittel [IA. i[1872] p. 236; not repeated in his Kanarese Dict.] compares Skt. *alasa-* lazy, tired, faint [SBr., etc.] with Ka. *alasu* to be weary, considering the Skt. word to be derived from Dravidian. A survey of the Dravidian words related to Ka. *alasu* makes it quite clear that he is right. The following words belong to this numerous group:—


This word-family is native to Dravidian and widespread in it. Since it can hardly be doubted that the Sanskrit and Dravidian words belong together, and since on the other side the Sanskrit word has no Indo-European etymology, it is clear that the Skt. word is derived from Dravidian.

Correspondences in Uralian may be suggested for these words, bearing in mind that in South Dravidian *l-* is not tolerated and a prothetic vowel develops before it
Fi. lahiju lazy. laiska träge, faul, mussig, Est. laisk g. laiza faul, träge, LpN, laikke piger, ignavus; cf. SamJu. [Ca.] laek faul. Wilhelm Thomsen [BFB 193] derived Fi. laiska, Est. laisk from Lett. laisks, but the borrowing could be the other way round.

Ta. alacu besides meaning 'to be exhausted, weary', means also 'to shake, be agitated'. It seems that there are two families of words of somewhat similar appearance, one meaning 'to be tired', and the other meaning 'to shake'. The words meaning 'to shake' are as follows:

Ta. alaŋku to move, shake, swing, be agitated, alaňkal wreath for the hair, waving ear of corn, alakku to cause to move, shake, alacu to shake, be agitated alantalai disturbance, confusion, alamaru to shake, tremble, be confused, agitated, to whirl. alavalai confusion of mind, agitation, alukku to shake slightly [tr] aluŋku to shake slightly [intr.], alai to wave, shake, play in the wind; [tr] to agitate; [sb] wave, billow, Ma. ala wave, alaŋũka to be shaken, alayuka to fluctuate, be tossed, alekkuka to beat against, as waves on the shore, alu to shake, Ka. alaku to move about, shake, tremble. alacu to shake, alasu to shake or agitate in water, alugu to be agitated or unsteady, to move about, shake, ale to move about, shake, dangle; to roam about, wander; [sb.] a wave, billow, Tu. alaıkuni, alaŋguni to shake, agitate, wave, move, alacuni, alasuni to move, shake, agitate, alejuni alejuni to be agitated, disturbed, aleyuni alevuni to wander, roam, aluguni to move, shake, Te. alāgu to be displeased, upset, alācu to tease, harass, alāduru grief, sorrow, alamaru to grieve, sorrow, ala wave.

From considerations of meaning these two groups should be kept apart, and where two individual forms coincide
they should be treated as homophones and separated accordingly.¹

The second group also seems to have parallels in Finno-ugrian. Compare Fi. *laikka* leicht oder geschwind sich bewegen, *laikkua* schwanken, *laine* wave, Zyr. *laikal* schwanken, etc. [O. Donner, Vergl. Wörterb. no. 1072]

Skt. *lahari* wave, billow, is probably derived from this source, although no exactly corresponding form is to be found in the available Dravidian evidence. Another Skt. word for ‘wave’ *kallōla* is to be explained as follows. Besides the words quoted above, we also find some with –ll– in place of –l– which has presumably been introduced for the purpose of greater expressiveness: Ta. *allal* affliction, Ma. *alla* tumult, disturbance, Ka. *allari* the state of being troubled, disturbed, Te. *allari* tumult, confusion; quarrel, riot, *allalādu, allalādū* to move, shake, tremble, *allādū* to shake, move, wave, toss about; Ka. *allakallōla, allōlakallōla* great agitation, as of water, confusion of the mind, tumult, disorder, disturbance, Te. *allakallōlamu* confusion, disorder, turmoil, hubbub. In Ka. *allōlakallōla* the latter element *kallōla* is an echo or jingle of a type common in popular and expressive speech in many Indian languages and otherwise has no independent existence. From *allōlakallōla* late Sanskrit has extracted the latter half and made it into an independent word, *kallōla*–wave. There is little doubt that Kanarese in particular out of the Dravidian languages is the source of the Sanskrit word.

1. Ta. *alacu¹* to be weary, Ta. *alacu²* to shake and so forth. Kittel does this for the Kanarese words. Note that Tamil has also a third word, *alacu³* meaning ‘to wash, rinse’. This is connected with the following set: Ta. *alampu* to wash, rinse, *alavu* to spill, Ka. *alambu, ahumbu, alabu, alubu* to rinse, wash, *alasu* to agitate in water as cloth for cleansing, Tu. *alambuni* to wash, *lumbuni* to plunge, wash, rinse.
Skt. alga−, au m. du, the groin is recorded only from one passage, VS. 25, 6 [=MS 3, 15, 6] where the commentators Uvaṇṭa and Mahidhara explain alga as equivalent to vāṅkṣaṇau, īrụṣaṇḍhī. There are some similar words with related meaning in Dravidian: Ta. alkul side, waist, middle, loins; pudendum muliebre, Ma. alkiṭam pedendum muliebre, Kota [Emeneau, Kota Texts i.p.164] algalv loins. The final −l in Ta. alkul is suffixal; cf. Ta. marunkul side, waist, beside Ta. marunku id. Note also Tu. alle the side, groin, hip, which may be connected here.

The Indian theorists of the drama enumerate four kinds of style or manner [vṛtti], namely kaiśiki the graceful, sātīvati the grand, bhārati the verbal, and ārabhaṭi the violent-style. Of these the ārabhaṭi vṛtti is associated with scenes of violence, tumult, disorder, confusion, anger, fighting, and so forth.¹ It has four subdivisions which need not be detailed here. Such scenes are the fight between Mādhava and Aghoraghaṇṭa in the Mālaṁmadhava, the scene of confusion when the monkey escapes in the Ratnāvali, and the attack on Vindhyaṅketu in Priyadarśiṅka, Act. I. Bharata describes this vṛtti as ārabhaṭaprāyaguna having mainly the qualities of an ārabhaṭa−¹ Apart from this passage and lexicons depending on it the word ārabhaṭa− does not seem to be recorded. Its

meaning according to Hemacandra\(^1\) is ‘active, enterprising’, and this meaning is also given by Abhinavagupta.\(^2\) On the other hand it is explained in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*\(^3\) as equivalent to *uddhata*—, that is to say ‘a violent, turbulent man’. With this the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakosa* is in agreement, since it paraphrases Bharata’s *ārabhaṭaprayagunā* by *samuddhata-prāyagunā*. Of these two meanings given, the second is more appropriate, since it corresponds exactly with the nature of the *ārabhaṭi vyātti* as described and illustrated from the dramas. The Petersburg Dictionary follows Hemachandra in defining *ārabhaṭa* as an enterprising man, and derives the word from *ārabh*— ‘to undertake [something]’. This is not satisfactory since for the reasons already given the meaning of *ārabhaṭa*— must have been ‘a violent, turbulent man’, and not ‘an enterprising man’. Formally it is unsatisfactory since there is no suffix -ta in Sanskrit which makes nouns from verbal stems. Further it is significant that it did not occur to Sanskrit authors who looked for an etymology for the word, to connect it with *ārabh*—. They sought other explanations and clearly were oblivious of a connection which the modern lexicographers have taken for granted. Their explanations, of course, are no better than the one we have already rejected.

The Dravidian languages provide an obvious etymology for this word. This is to be found in the following words—


3. Loc. cit.; arenā pratodakena tulyā bhaṭa uddhataḥ puruṣā ārabhaṭaḥ.
Ka. āṛbaṭa crying aloud, roaring, a loud noise, ārbaṭa id., Tu. āṛbaṭa, āṛbhaṭa, āṛbhaṭe a fearful noise, uproar; a joyful cry, triumph, Te. āṛbhaṭamu, āṛbhaṭī cry roar, uproar Ta. āṛppāṭam uproar, loud cry; boisterous behaviour. These words are very similar in form and meaning to the Sanskrit word, and its origin is obviously to be sought here. The Dravidian words are derived from a common root ār meaning to shout which appears as follows:

Ta. ār to shout, roar, bellow, āṛppu loud, tumultuous noise; exultatation, battle, Ma. āṛkuka to cry aloud, roar, shout, Ka. ār to cry aloud, āṛpu, āṛbu crying aloud, Tu. āṛkuni to cry out, shout, Te. ārcu to cry aloud, shout, roar, Kui ārpa to call. Compare also Mar. āraṇem to utter its cry, to crow - the cock, which looks like a loanword from Dravidian.

Skt. ukhā f. cooking pot, pān is a common word, particularly in the Brāhmaṇa literature. An isolated instance of ukhā- m. in the same sense is also quoted. Besides this the dictionaries also give ukhā- m., ukhā f. in the sense of ‘a particular part of the upper leg’. This second word has no connection with the first in meaning and they must be regarded as two homophones. The latter word is of very infrequent occurrence, the dictionaries giving only three instances - Lāṭyā. Sr. S. [ukhasya], Caraka-saṃhitā, Sārīrasth 7, 11 [ukhe n.du. in a list of the parts of the body] and Gaṇapāṭha on Paṇini iv. 1.56 [ukhā f.] Commentators on the three texts explain the word respectively as follows: [1] kaṭisannikṛṣṭajoghanapradeśe ukhah, [2] ukhe iti kakṣasya pārśvayor nimnabhāgau, [3] ukhā = sphik. A portion of the body in the region of the hip is indicated by this evidence. To these
passages we must add RV. iv, 19.9, where *ukhacchid 'one who breaks his ukha' is used in the sense of a lame person [Windisch, Festgruss on Böhtlingk, p. 115]. Finally we may note *ukhe in KS xxxi, 2 [=MS iv, 1.3], which Geldner, in the notes to his translation of the above Rgvedic passage, quotes and considers to mean a part of the body [tasyókhe asramsetām 'his [Prajāpati’s] ukhas collapsed'].

On the etymology of *ukhā see Walde-Pokorny i, 24. The second word appears to be of Dravidian origin. Compare the following words: Ta. ukkam waist, ukkal side, ukkalai the hips, okkal hip, side of the body, okkalai id., Ma. ukkan middle, hip, side, ukkal id., okku hip, loins, Te. okka the hip, waist.

Skt. uñch- means ‘to glean’; with pra- [pronch-] ‘to rub, wipe, wipe out, efface’. The latter word has persisted throughout the successive stages of Indo-Aryan: Pa. puñchati to wipe off, clean, Pkt. puñchāi; for the modern IA derivatives see Nep. Dict. s.v. puchnu. Comparing the meanings of Skt. uñch- and pronch- it is clear that a more general and original meaning is preserved in the compound than in the simple verb. The latter has developed a secondary and specialised meaning ‘to glean’ from an originally more general meaning ‘to wipe, scrape; to wipe up, scrape up’. This verbal root can be derived from some Dravidian words meaning ‘to rub, scrape, etc.’; Ta. uriñcu to rub, wear, grind, scrape, Ka. ujju to rub, make fine by rubbing, urdu, uddu id. The Tamil word corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit word. Since the -l- in Ta. uriñcu is in all probability a svarabhakti vowel, an original *urīcru is to be presumed. The Sanskrit word is derived from a form with -r- assimilated; such an assimilation is found also in Ka. ujju, which in addition has lost the nasal
element: Ta. uriṇcu < *urṇcu is to be analysed into a root *w + a suffix -ṇc-. The root appears in many words: Ta. urai to rub, uracu to rub against, Ma. urasuka to rbu, urekka id., Ka. orasu to rub, scrape, wipe, Tu. uresuni to rub, polish, Te. oracu to rub, etc.

The meaning 'to glean' in the case of Skt. uṇch- develops as a result of its use in connection with śila- m. in phrases like śilān āpy uṇchatah [Manu. 3.100] 'of one scraping up the gleanings' [lūnakedārāseṣadāhāṇyāṇi śilās tāny āpy uccinvataḥ, Kullūka]. This word also appears to be of Dravidian origin, compare Ka. cillu smallness, Te. cilla bits, fragments [Brown]; Tu. cillu a small piece, Ta. Ma. cillu id., Ka. cillara, Te. cillara, Ta. cillarai sundries, trifles odds and ends, small change, etc.

From this combination we get the tatpuruṣa compounds śilōṇcha- and śiloṇchna- 'gleaning'. The compound śiloṇcha- then came to be misunderstood as a dvandva, so that is found sometimes in the masculine dual, and an attempt is made to distinguish śila- and uṇcha- as two different kinds of gleaning [Manu x, 112, and Kullūka's commentary]. Another result of this misunderstanding is that the members of the compound are put the other way round in uṇchasila [Lex.] 'gleaning'.

8

Skt. kaṅkā- m. heron is recorded from the VS. onwards. Similar words meaning 'heron; crane' are common in the Dravidian languages, so that it may reasonably be assumed that the Sanskrit word is derived from this source:

Ta. kokku common crane, grus cinerea; stork, paddy-bird, Ma. kokku paddy-bird, heron, kokkan id., Ka. kokku, kokkare crane, Tu. korīgu crane, stork, Te. koṅga crane,
kokkera id., Kuvi koṇgi crane, Kui kohko paddy-bird, Brah. khākhur demoiselle crane. As there is no short o in Sanskrit, a short a is usually substituted in loanwords from Dravidian. The Sanskrit word therefore represents a Dravidian stem *koṅk-. The alternation kk'[Ta. kokku]/ṅ [Te. koṇga] represents original alternation ik/ṅ, the nasal being assimilated in the first form.

As evidenced by Tu. korigu an original –r– has been assimilated in most of these forms. This makes it possible to bring the following words into the same family: Ta. kuru heron, stork, crane, Ma. kuru heron, kuriyan heron, paddy-bird, Go. [Lind] koruku a crane, cranes. Corresponding words are to be found in the Uralian languages, as follows: LpN. guorgga grus cinerea, Fi. kurki crane, MdM. kargo, E. karga id. | Sam. Ju. karo, haru, O. kara, K. karo id. [Paas. Beitr. no. 114, Leht. FUF. xxi, 11.] Compare also Sam T. kokā're crane, with Ka. Te. kokkera, Brah. khakhur. In these latter words an r has been assimilated which appears in another loanword in Sanskrit. karkarāṭuka Numidian crane, karkareṇu, karkareṇu, karkareṇuka id. The simplest form of the word, which appears in Ma. kuru and the Sam-forms, is the basis of Skt. karaṭu, kareṇu Numidian crane. The suffixal element containing –ṭ– in the Sanskrit words is somewhat obscure.

There is also in Sanskrit a homophone karīka-m. meaning a kind of mango [Lex. =mahārajacūta]. This can be compared in the same way to Ta. kokku mango tree. According to the commentator on Tolkāppiyam, Coll. 40, this is a Tulu word. The actual form in Tulu at present is kukku mango. The word does not seem to occur in the other South Dravidian languages.
The Sanskrit dictionaries give also kaṅkā f. the scent of a lotus; a kind of sandal. Compare Ta. koṅku pollen; fragrance, odour.

Skt. kara-m. tax [Mn. MBh., etc] has no obvious connection in meaning with kara- in other senses. B. R. class it with kara-ray, beam, and derive it from ṣṛkṛ to strew, scatter, a derivation which is unsatisfactory semantically. A Dravidian etymology is available, as Tamil has a similar word, karaɪ tax, tribute [Cil. 23, 127]; cf. kaṟavu id. [Pe. TM]. These Tamil words cannot be derived from the Sanskrit word, as they have a transparent etymology in Dravidian, being derived from a verb meaning ‘to milk’. Ta. kara to milk, kaṟappu milking, kaṟavai milking; a milk cow, Ma. kaṟakka to milk, Ka. kaře to milk. The metaphor is natural and familiar in Sanskrit literature: Saundarananda ii, 19, gām adharmeṇa na dhukṣat kṣiratarṣeṇa gām iva, Raghuvsamsa i, 26, dudoha gām sa yajñāya, sasyāya Maghavā divam. Compare also mānu vii, 129:-

Yathālāppam adanty ādyam vāryokovatsu śaṭpadah |
tathālāpalo grahitavyo rāṣṭrad rajñabdikah karaḥ ||

Skt. karoṭa-m., karoṭi-, i f. is used in the sense of ‘cup, bowl’ and also in the sense of ‘skull’. It is not a common word, nor recorded early. Pali has karoṭi f. in the same senses. Compare the following Dravidian words:

Ta. ciraṭṭai cocoanut shell, begging bowl, carataṭṭid. [loc.] Ma. ciraṭṭa cocoanut shell, chiefly the lower half. These represent an original kiraṭṭē [cf. BSOAS. xi [1943] pp. 122 ff. A variant form, with u instead of i in the first syllable,
appears in Ma. kuraṭṭa nut, kernel; cf. Tu. koraṇṭu the kernel or stone of fruit. With a as variant in the first syllable, Ka. has karaṭṭa the shell of a cocoanut; cf. Mar. karṣi the shell of a cocoanut, a vessel made from it; skull. The vocalism of the Sanskrit word bears the same relation to that of Ma. kuraṭṭa as is found in comparing Go. sawwōr salt, malōl hare with Ta. uvar, muyal. The original meaning is ‘nut, cocoanut’, whence the meanings ‘vessel’ and ‘skull’ develop.

In Ka. kaṇṭa shell of a cocoanut the -r- has disappeared. There is also a whole series of words in Dravidian connected with the above and meaning ‘nut’, in which an -r- has been lost: Ta. koṭṭai nut, stone, kernel, Ma. koṭṭa kernel of fruit, Ka. koṭṭe the stone or kernel of fruit, goṭṭa, goṛate id., Tu. koṭṭe the kernel of a nut, goṭṭu id., Kur. goṭa any seed which forms inside a fruit or shell, Malt. goṭa a seed or berry, Brah. goḍḍa a fruit stone. The initial voicing in some of these words is, as frequently, a sign that an -r- was originally present.

That the words above can be analysed into root+suffix, is indicated by Ta. kuru nut [Loc.], Ma. kuru kernel, nut.

For ‘mushroom, fungus’ Sanskrit has chattrā-, literally ‘umbrella’, also chattrāka-, chattraka-, and more poetically ahicchatra [ka-] lit. ‘snake’s umbrella’. Besides these words Manu and others have also kavaka- mushroom. This could be a Dravidian word corresponding in meaning to Skt. chattrā; compare Ta. kavikai umbrella. The Tamil word is derived from a verb meaning to cover, just as Skt. chattrā- is derived from chad-: Ta. kavi to cover, overspread, surround, cover with an umbrella, overshadow, kavippu covering,
canopy, umbrella; cf. kavavu to embrace, kavai to contain within oneself, to include, Ma. kaviyuka to be overflowed, Ka. kavi to cover, overspread, kavacu, kavicu to cause to overspread, to put on, Tu. kabiyyuni to overspread, as clouds, Te. kaviyu to spread, fall upon; cf. Ka. Tu. Te. gavi cave.

Kittel [Kann.-E. Dict., p. xxxii] derives from the same source Skt. kavaca - coat of mail, corset, jacket; bark of a tree.

This etymology appears unobjectionable. Words from the same root in a similar specialized meaning are found in Kanarese: kavudi, kavadai a quilted cover, gavasangne a cover, a wrapper, a cloth, a case, a sack; any cover or case, gavasangi id. A contracted form of this latter word is Ka. gōni sack, Te. gōne id., from which Skt. gōni sack is derived. The native Kanarese grammarians count gōni as one of the 21 tattasmas, that is to say words which exist both in Kanarese and Sanskrit, but which they do not consider to be borrowed from Sanskrit.

12.

Skt. karava - m. kavari f. a braid or fillet of hair, kavara-bhāra - m., kavaribhara - m a fine head of hair, kavarapuccha - m. f. [i] n. having a tail resembling a braid, Pāṇ iv, 1.55, Vārtt. 2.

~ Ta.kavari a chowrie [Nāṭe 241, etc.], Ma. kavaram hairplait, kavari a woman with fine hair, Ka. kabari, kavari a braid or fillet of hair; a knot of braided hair, Tu. kabari the tufted hair of females.

The meanings given by the dictionaries vary between ‘braid of hair’ and ‘tuft or knot of hair’. Probably the latter meaning should be given in all cases. That such is the meaning in Sanskrit for instance, is indicated by the com-
pounds kvarabhāra— and kvarābhāra—. Kittel and Gundert treat the Kanarese and Malayalam words respectively as loans from Sanskrit. The opposite must be the case firstly because the Sanskrit word is comparatively rare and has left no trace in the modern spoken languages, whereas it is thoroughly established in all the South Dravidian languages, and secondly because the other Dravidian words cannot be separated from Ta. kavari which on account of its different meaning cannot be derived from Sanskrit. The two meanings of the Dravidian words are, of course, easily reconciled, and a good parallel is offered by Ta. pittai hair-bundle, etc. [BSOAS. xi (1944) p. 348].

The Skt. compound kvarapuccha-, which occurs only in the commentaries on Panini, is to be viewed in connection with Ta. kavari, and must mean therefore ‘having a bushy or tufted tail’. The meaning given in Monier-Williams’ Dictionary, ‘having a twisted tail or one resembling a braid’ is misleading.

Another Dravidian word meaning ‘coil, tuft’ or bundle of hair’ deserves mention here: Ta. koppu chignon, coil or hair, Ka. koppu a female’s hair tied in a tuft, Te, koppu hair tied in a tuft worn at the back of the head, chignon, Kui kopa coil of woman’s hair, Go. kūpar the top knot of hair, the top knot of hair, Kur. khopā hair-bundle, chignon. This word has found its way into most of the modern Indo-aryan languages. See Nepali Dictionary s. v. khopā. The two words, koppu and kavari are connected ultimately. The addition of suffixes results frequently in the weakening of intervocalic eonsonants, so that kopp+ari would be expected to give *kovari. The form kavari is explained by the fact that the distinction between o and a is not rigidly preserved in Dravidian.
Skt. kavala- m. a mouthful, morse kavalaya- vb. to swallow, gulp down, devour, kavada-, m. a mouthful of water ρa. kabala-, kabaḷa- m. n. a small piece, ball of food, mouthful, Pkt. kavala-m. id. For ModIA forms see Nep. Dict. s. v. kaūla.

The variation in Sanskrit between l and d points to an original ṭ which occurs in Pa. kabala-. This ṭ also appears in Ta. kavulam morsel or mouthful of food, a word common in the literature [Kurunt° 170, Mullaip° 36, etc.]. A variant form kavayam is also found in Tamil [Kalit° 80]. The word is native to Dravidian, as shown by its connection with other words in those languages. Compare Ta. kavvu to bite, seize by the mouth as a dog, Kui kavali giva to chew the cud. In accordance with the usual consonant alternation, the -v- is weakened out of an original -pp-, and therefore the following words are etymologically connected: Ma. kappu to snap at, eat as a dog, Ta. kappa to gorge, cram into the mouth, Tu kappuni to eat greedily, Kui kappa to swallow, gulp, Kur. khappnā id.

Skt. kulattha- m. a kind of pulse, Dolichos uniflorus, Hi. kulthi id., etc. [Nep. Dict. s. v. kurthi].

Ta. koḷ horse-gram, Dolichos uniflorus [Puḷaṭu° etc.], Ma. koḷlu, Tu. kuḍu id. The Dravidian words are equivalent to the first part of the Sankrit word. The second part of the Sanskrit word is rather obscure suffix which appears also in avattha- Ficus religiosa, and with a different vowel in kapittha- Feronia elephantum.
Skt. *kūṭa-* appears in the dictionaries with a bewildering variety of meanings. In fact there is a whole bunch of homophones bearing this form which need carefully separating from each other. As they are mainly derived from Dravidian, that will be done here, and the etymologies, as far as available, provided.

In the first place it is necessary to get rid of one of the meanings provided, that is ‘the bone of the forehead with its projections or prominences, horn’. This meaning is given by B. R. for the following passages: RV. x, 102, 4, AV. 8, 8, 16, SB. 3, 8, 1, 15, AitB. vi, 24. The authority for this rendering rests solely on Śaṅkara’s commentary on the passage in SB; different renderings are offered by him in the case of RV. and AitB. passages. A study of the context in these four citations, and also in JB 1.49 shows that this rendering is unsuitable, and that in all cases the meaning is ‘mallet’ or ‘hammer’: see Geldner, Vedische Studien i, 137–9, and Oldenberg, Noiten on RV. x, 102, 4. Consequently Kittel’s comparison (Kan-Eng. p. xx) of Skt. *kūṭa-* horn with Ka. *kōḍu* horn. Ta. *kōju*, etc. falls to the ground owing to the non-existence of such a meaning in Skt. It is possible that Śaṅkara, a southerner, was influenced by Dravidian in his rendering of *kūṭa-* in the SB passage.

There remain the following homonymous words:

[1] Skt. *kūṭa-* n. mallet; hammer RV., etc., *kūṭa-* n. a hammer, mallet for breaking small stones Lex., Pa. *kūṭa-* n. a hammer, Pa. *kūḍa-* n. stone hammer; in ModIA, apart from Sgh. *kūḷ* hammer, this word is preserved only in forms which represent an original compound *hastakūṭa-* [see Nep. Dict. s.v. hotro]. As regards the etymology of this word we
may reasonably follow Kittel [Kan. -Eng. Dict., p. xxxiii; cf. J. Bloch, BSOS. v, 738] who compares it to Ka. kuṣṭu to beat, strike, pound, and its correlates, whence also Skt. kuṣṭ-, kuṣṭayati to pound, etc., are derived [BSOAS. xi, 134]. Compare Ta. kuṣṭu to cuff, strike with the fists, koṭṭu to beat, strike, pound, koṭṭi a mallet, Ma. koṭṭu to beat, kuṭṭu to pound, Ka. kuṭṭu to pound, koḍati a wooden hammer, Tu. kuṭṭuni, koṭṭu a spade, Te. koṭṭu to beat, strike, Malt. gole to knock, strike, break, Kur. khoṭṭnā to break.

[2] kūṭa- n. part of a plough, ploughshare, body of a plough; Hi. kūṛ body of plough, Panj. kūṛ bottom of plough, La. kuṛ ploughshare. This word is not common in Sanskrit, and is quoted only from native lexicons; on the other hand it is quite widespread in ModIA. Superficially it might seem plausible to identify it with the last word, but as there are some similar words in Dravidian with exactly the same meaning, it is better to follow Kittel [Kann. Eng. Dict. p. xxxiii] and derive it directly from them. Compare Ta. koro bar of metal, ploughshare, Ma. koro ploughshare, Ka. kuṛu gūru a bar of iron, a ploughshare, Tu. koro a bar of metal.

[3] kūṭa- n. summit, top, summit or peak of a mountain, kūṭagāra- an upper room, apartment on the top of a house, trikūṭa-, citrakūṭa-, gṛdhraṅgūṭa-, names of mountains, aṁsakūṭa- the tip of the shoulder, āksikūṭa- the corner of the eye next to the nose,¹ Pa. kūṭa- pinnacle, top, peak, Pkt. kūḍa- top of a mountain, etc., Sgh. kuṛ summit.

~Ta. kōṭu summit of a hill, mountain, peak, kuvaṭu top of a hill, peak; mountain, hill; Ma. kōṭu end, corner, kuvaṭu

1. Āksikūṭe = āksināsikayoh sandhi (Mitakṣ. on Yājñ 3.96), not 'the prominent part of the forehead above the eye' [MW. following B. R.]. Pali has akkhikoṭi—beside akkhikūṭa—which makes the meaning clearer.
hill, mountain top, Ka. kōdu a point; the peak or top of a
hill, Malt. qoru the end, the top as of a tree.

From the same source is derived Skt. koji- f. tip of a
bow, tip, top, point, highest point, etc. The Dravidian words
with a suffix -i, which are nearest to this, have suffered
shortening of the first vowel: Ma. koji top, extremity, tip [of
finger, tongue, nose, etc.], Ka. kuđi a pointed end, a point,
Tu. kōdi point, end, extremity, Te. kođi tip, top; the end of
point or flame.

[4] kūta- m. a heap, multitude; collection [samūha-],
Pa. kūta- heap, accumulation, sankārakūta- rubbish heap;
Or. kuṭha heap. The etymology of this word is correctly
with Ka. kūta collection, multitude, heap, a noun derived
from the verb kūdu to come together, assemble, etc. The
relevant Dravidian words are as follows: Ta. kūtu to come
together, congregate, assemble, kūṭtām union, combination;
crowd, flock, etc., Ma. kūṭuka to come together, meet, etc.,
kūṭtām junction, assembly, flock, heap, Ka. kūdu to join,
etc., kūta joining, coming together; heap, multitude,
assemblage, Tu. kūḍuni to meet, kūta assembly, Te. kūḍu to
come together, kūṭamu meeting, union, kūṭuva heap, collection.

[5] kūṭa- adj. mfn. false, untrue, deceitful, sb. n. fraud,
untruth, falsehood; frequent in cpds. like kūṭasākṣin- false
witness, etc., Pa. kūṭa- n. falsehood, deceit, Pkt. kūḍa- id;
Mar. kuṭā false, treacherous and related words in ModIA.
(J. Bloch, Langue Marathe p. 312). This word is connected
with the following words meaning ‘crooked’ in Skt.: kuṭ-
kūṭati to become crooked or curved, kuṭi- f. curvature in
bhrukūṭi- oit, kuṭika- bent, crooked, kuṭila- bent, crooked;
dishonest, fraudulent. All these words are derived from
Dravidian. The Dravidian words can conveniently be divided into those with a long vowel [whence kūṭa-] and those which have suffered a shortening of the radical vowel [whence kuṭ-].

(a) Ta. kōṭu to bend, be crooked; [sb.] crookedness, flexure, kōṭtam bend, curve; crookedness of mind; bending from the path of justice, Ma. kōṣuka to be crooked, twisted, awry, kōṭtam crookedness distortion, Kui kōṇda to be curly, bent, twisted, gōṭorī hooked, bent like a hook.

(b) Ta. kōṭu crooked; unjust, wicked, etc., kuṭa curved, bent, kuṭakkam bend, curve, crookedness, kuṭaṅku to bend, kuṭantai curve, kuṭavu, kuṭā bend, curve, Ma. koṭu bent [koṭun-kai Ka. kudu bent, crooked.

(6) kūṭa- n. a trap, snare for birds and wild beasts, Ram., etc.,¹ Pa. kūṭa-Pkt, kūḍa- id. At first sight this might seem to belong together with the last. It is better, however, to derive it directly from the following Dravidian words:

Ta. kūṭu nest, bird-cage, coop, hive, Ma. kūṭu receptacle, nest, cage. Ka. gūḍu nest, dove-cot, cage; trap for catching wild animals, Tu. gūḍu nest, bird-cage, Te. gūḍu nest, cage, Go. kūṭinj a stone-fall trap, such as boys set for birds, Kuvi kūḍa [Fitzg., presumably kūḍa] a cage [made of bamboo], Kui kirenji a cage, cage-trap.

(7) kūṭa-m, kūṭi f. a house, dwelling Lex. These are variants with a long vowel of the more usual forms with a short

1. kūṭa-in AV. 8, 8, 16, the passage referred to above, is explained by some as meaning 'trap'. This is supported by the mention of pāṣa- in the previous line, the two being often mentioned together. On the other hand the verb han- which is used with it points more in the direction of 'hammer, mallet.'
vowel, kuṭa-house, kuṭi ०i f. hut, cottage. These are derived from Dravidian; Ta. kuṭi hut, house, etc., BSOAS. xi (1943) p. 137. Compare also, in addition to the forms quoted there, Ta. koṭṭil shed, hut, cowstall, koṭṭakai shed with sloping roof, cowstall, marriage pandal, Ma. koṭṭil cowhouse; shed. barn, workshop; house, Ka. koṭṭage a stall or outhouse, Tu. koṭṭa a hut or dwelling of Koragars, Te. koṭika a hamlet, small village, koṭṭhamu a stable for cattle and horses, koṭṭāyi a thatched shed. The Sanskrit lexicographers have also preserved a variant with the vowel o: Skt. koṣṭa-m. shed, hut.

(8) kuṭa-n. pot, pitcher Lex. More common is the variant with a short vowel, kuṭa-m. id. This is derived from Dravidian: Ta. kuṭam pot, Ka. koḍa, etc., BSOAS. xi (1943) p. 138.

(9) kuṭa- mf(ā) n. without horns, of an animal, AV, TS, etc., Pa. kūṭa id. This is possibly Dravidian. Compare Ta kūṭai that which is short, kūṭaik-kiṭā tailless he-buffalo, kūṭaik-kompan ox with blunt horns, kūṭaik-kai maimed hand, kūṭai-nari a short-tailed fox, kūḍe, kūṛe stump, stubble.

Skt. kūṛpara-m. the elbow, Suśr., etc., Pa. kappara-, Pkt. koppara- id.

~Ta. kopparam elbow, Ka. koppara shoulder-blade (Kittel, with question mark as to exact meaning), Te. kopparamu, kopramu, kopru id. The irregularity of the vowel of the first syllable is an indication that the IA words are borrowed. What connection, if any, exists between these words and Skt. kaphoni elbow, is not easy to say.
Skt. kaurukuca—mf(i)n. appears as a hapax legomenon in Pādaśāhitaka v. 5, and its meaning ‘given to grumbling’ is made clear by the context:—

Na prapnuvanti yatayo ruditena mokṣam
svargāyatim na parihasakathā runaddhi |
tasmāt pratītamanasa hasitavyam eva
vṛttim budhena khalu kaurukucim vihāya ||

“Hermits do not attain salvation by weeping, and gay chatter does not bar the approach to heaven; therefore a wise man must laugh with cheerful mind, putting aside the habit of grumbling.” The derivative form kaurukuca—presupposes a simple form from which it is derived; this must have been either *kuruca or *kurukucā—. Such a form is not recorded in the Skt. dictionaries but a very similar word is found in Tuṭu: kurukucci grumbling, murmuring. The rare Sanskrit word is therefore in all probability of Dravidian origin. Ultimately, of course, the word is onomatopoeic.

The following words meaning ‘saw’ are found in Sanskrit and the languages derived from it: Skt. krakaca—MBh., etc., Pa. kakaca, Pkt. karakaya--; Skt. karapatra—, Mar. karvat, Nep. karati, etc.; Pa. khara— a saw. It does not make much sense to derive karapatra— from kara—hand; it can, however, be reasonably connected with the other words in this list, all of which are derived from Dravidian. The phonetic irregularities involved have their explanation in the fact that the words are borrowed. The following Dravidian words can be compared:—

8148
Ta. karukku teeth of a saw, jagged edge of a palmyra leaf, Ma. karikku edge of teeth, karukku teeth of a saw, Ka. karku, karku rough, jagged edge, Tu. gargāsu a saw, Te. karakasa roughness, karagasamu a saw.

The Dravidian words are derived from a root kar-meaning ‘hard, rough, uneven’, and the saw is so named on account of its jagged edge. Many Dravidian words are derived from this base: Ta. karakara to feel irritation as from sand or grit in the eye; to be hoarse, karatū roughness, ruggedness, unevenness; knot as in wood, karil soverity, pungency, karan the uneven surface in vegetables and fruits, karumai severity, cruelty, Ma. karatū what is rough, uneven, hard, kari-mu! a hard thorn, karukkarukka to be harsh, sharp, rough, karuma hardness, sharpness of a sword, strength of a man, Ka. karaṇu that which is rough, uneven, unpolished, hard, karku, karku rough, jagged edge, etc., garaku, garku jaggedness, unevenness, roughness, uneven surface, garusu gravel, Tu. karikallu gravel, hard sand, karaṇu rough, coarse, garu rough, kargōṭa hardness, hard-heartedness, Te. kara sharp, karakasa roughness, karusu rough, harsh, gari, garusu gravel.

Related words in the Uralian languages can be quoted here: Fi. karkea rough, hard, karea durus, siccus, karaista durare, karhea asper, durus, karmeia austerus, asper, LpN. garas hart, garrat, garam hart wurden, erstarren, Voty kuri! bitter, scharf schmeckend, Zyr. kurid id. | SamJe. korega' harsh, etc.

The following Skt. words are also derived from this source: khara– adj. hard, harsh, rough, sharp, pungent, acid etc., kharu harsh, cruel; karkara– hard, firm, karkaśa hard, firm, rough, harsh. Of these khara– corresponds to the simple
forms like Te. *kara* sharp; *karkara*- is based on a reduplicated from as in Ma. karukarukka to be harsh, sharp, rough; *karkasa* like Te. *karakaśā* roughness, arises by a special form of reduplication, that is the addition of a ‘tag’, slightly modified in form from the first, radical syllable. Skt. *krakaca*- saw, arises in the same way, and its initial *kra*- is due to a phonetic development seen in some Dravidian languages (e.g. Telugu, Kui) by which *r* is transposed. (Compare Te. *krakku* to vomit < *kurkku*: Ta. *kakku* with assimilation.)

Skt. *khaṇḍ*-, *khaṇḍate* to tear, break into pieces, *khaṇḍayati* to cut, divide, tear in pieces, *khaṇḍa*- m. n. a piece cut off, fragment, bit.

~Ta. *keṇṭu* to cut up; to dig, *kiṇṭu* to scratch, dig, hoe, etc., Ma. *kiṇṭu* to dig, Ka. *ginḍu* to pinch with the nails, Te. *ceṇḍu* to cut, *ceṇḍāḍu* to cut to pieces, Malt. *kiṇže* to cut flesh or fish. —BSOAS. xi (1943), p. 136; ib. (1944), p. 344 (Uralian correspondences).

An author of a treatise on the art of theft is mentioned from time to time in Sanskrit literature under the name of *Kharapāṭa*. The same author appears in Tamil as *Karavaṭan*, and his treatise is mentioned in *Cilappadhiyakāram* xvi, 189, where it is called *karaviṭum*. The author is also, and more commonly in Sanskrit, known by the name of *Karṣisuta*. Of these names *Kharapāṭa* is merely a Sanskritization of the Tamil name, which is also a word meaning ‘thief’, derived from the verb *kara* to steal: cf. Ta. *kara* vb. conceal, hide disguise; to steal, pilfer; (intr.) to lie hidden, *karappu* concealing, hiding; theft, fraud, deceit, *karaṇu* concealment, theft.

1. Mattavilāsaprahasana, etc.
deceit, karavar thieves, karavāl concealment, karaṇaṭam act or practice of stealing, deceit, karavāṭar thieves, deceivers, Ka. kare to hide, Te karaṇi deceive, cheat, Kur. khārni to steal. The suffix in karavaṇa, etc., can be compared with that in ārabhaṭa-, etc. (no. 5).

21

Skt. capeṣṭa- m. (Divyav.), capeṣṭā f. (Pat.), capeṣṭi f. (Balar.) a slap with the open hand; Pkt. capeṣṭā, caviṣṭā, cavelā f. id.; Nep. capeṣṭā a slap, D. pash, capilū slap, Ass. sāpar blow with the palm, Si. capāṭa f. slap, Mar. cāpṭi a slap or smack; Nep. cameṣṭā slap, blow with the palm of the hand, La. camāṭa, Si. camāṭa id. (see Nep. Dict. s. v.).

~Ta. cappāṇi clapping hands, Ka. capparisu to slap, to pat, cappati clapping the hands, cappaṭe, cappaṭe id., cappaṭisu to slap, pat, tappaṭisu id., Tu. cappati clapping the hands, cappatiṇu to clap the hands, Te. cappata a clap of the hands, cappatiṇcu to clap, slap, cappatiḷu (pl.) clapping of the hands; Te. camaru to slap with the open hand; (with loss of initial c-) Ka. apparisu to throw to the ground (in wrestling), appaṭisu to strike against, to flap, slap, Tu. appatiṇu to strike against anything with the open hand, to squash, Te. appaṭamu clapping, flapping, striking, appatiṇcu to flap, slap, touch; smear, apply; appalinta slapping tapping.1

1. This form without initial c- has been Sanskritized into ṣphālayati strikes with the flat hand; cf Pkt. apphālel strikes, apphaḍia- struck, Guj, āphālvū to dash against, etc. (Nep. Dict. s. v. āphālnu).
Since the meaning of the above words is usually to hit with the flat hand, it would seem that there must be some etymological connection between these words and Skt. carpāta– m., carpāṭī f. the open palm of the hand (Lex.); cf. Be. cāpar open palm, Or. cāpurā id. Note also that Te. capētamu, which is a loanword from Skt. capeṭa– means the palm of the hand with the fingers extended, though this meaning is not recorded for the Sanskrit word.

Skt. carpāṭa– also means ‘lying flat, (ears); cf. Nep. capleṭī flat, Mar. cāpaṭ, capḍā flat, low, Gu. cāpaṭ low and flat, Hi. cāpar flat expanse of land, etc. With variations of the initial vowel we have also: Skt. cipāṭa– flat-nosed (Lex.), cipiṭa– flat, flattened (VarBidS.), Pkt. cividada, cimigha, cividha–, Mar. cividā crushed fruits, etc.; further Nep. cepṭo flat, Kash. ċetoṭu flat-nosed, Or. cepā, cepṭā flat.

These words are further connected with verbs meaning ‘to flatten, to press, to crush’: Pa. cippiyamāna– crushed flat, Pkt. cappai, campai presses, Hi. cāpnā to press, Gu. cāpvi, etc.; Mar. cipneṭ to press, civadhneṭ to crush, Be. cipā to press, etc.; Nep. cepnu to press, squeeze, depress, Mar. cepneṭ to press, crush, Hi. cepnā to stick on, paste on, etc.

Corresponding to these words we have in Dravidian: Ta. cappaiṭṭai flatness, anything flat, cappaiṭi to flatten, cappu to be bent, pressed in, cappai that which is flattened, Ma. cippu what is smoothed, flat, Ka. capaṭe flatness, capaṭe id., cappe that which is flattened or pressed down, Te. cappi flat, not projecting, cappidī flat, not projecting, snub. With loss of initial c–, Ka. has dialectally appaṭe flatness. The same loss of initial c– is to be presumed in the case of Ta. appu to stick or clap on with the hand as sandal paste, with a trowel, as mortar, to apply, put on (for the meaning cf. Hi. cepnā), Ma. appi plaster.
Skt. cikkana—adj. unctuous, slippery; sb. n. any smooth liquid, gum; Mar. cikan tough, gummy, glutinous, unctuous, etc., Mar. Gu. cik gum, resin.

~Ta. cikku to be stuck fast; (sb.) a tangle, being entangled, stuck; stickiness of the hair due to oil, cikkena firmly. tenaciously, tightly, Ma. cikku being entangled, intricacy, cikkuka to be stuck, entangled, Ka. sikku to be caught, entangled, cigil, jigil to be sticky, gummy, viscid, glutinous, Tu. tikkuni to be ensnared, caught, tikkaṭuni to be matted, as hair, Te. cikku tangle; to be entangled, stuck, cikkā baḍu to become thick or inspissated, cikkani thick or inspissated as a liquid; dense, close as texture, etc.

The meanings given for cikkana- in Monier-Williams’ Dictionary, ‘smooth, slippery, unctuous,’ are badly chosen and to a great extent misleading. Substitute ‘viscous, sticky, gummy, glutinous, etc.’

Skt. cikkhalla—mud, and its derivatives (Mar. cikhal, etc.) may reasonabiy be held to be derived from this same source.

Skt. cira—n. a strip, long narrow piece of bark or cloth, rag, tatter, clothes; the dress of a Buddhist monk; a stripe, stroke, line, civara—m. iron filings; n. the dress or rags of a religious monk, Pa. cira—n. bark, fibre; a bark dress; a strip, ciraka—n. bark; a strip, civara—n. the robe of a Buddhist mendicant; Nep. ciro a splinter, cut, slice, Hi. cir a strip, Gu. cir a slit, ciro a long piece of canvas, Mar. cir underclothes, cirā a strip of cloth, etc. (See Nep. Dict. s.v.)
~Ta. civu to pare off, shave or scrape off, cival parings, shavings, cirai bark of a tree used as clothing (Tirumurukô 126); cloth, rags, tatters, citar to scratch as a fowl; to be worn out, torn, as cloth (citairâ cirai, Perumpânô 468, Comm.); to separate, split, cut, hack; sb. rag; cloth, citarvai cloth worn out or reduced to a rag (Perumpânô 468), citâr cloth, rag (Purânaô 150); thin bark of certain trees used as clothing, Ma. civuka to scrape, peel, polish, cival thinness of cloth, cir a line, Ka. sigur a splinter or shiver; what is pared off, rind, sibaru, sivarù, sivuru id., civu to cut, thin, shave or scrape; to peel or bark, civu id., ciru a shiver or fragment, sibu a bamboo slit, sire cloth, garment; female’s garment, sira line, stripe, Tu. sire a females’ garment, Te. civu to cut, shave, pare, ciru to slash, gash, rend, tear, slice, cira a female’s garment; any cloth in general jîra a line, a streak, a stripe.

Skt. cîra- represents a contracted and Skt. cîvara an uncontracted form of the same word. Compare Skt. (Lex.) nivara- water; mire: nîra- water < Dr. (Ta., etc.) nir water, and Dr. ir, sir, cir nits, contracted out of *civar (BSOAS. xi (1944), p. 349). The form in Dravidian corresponding most exactly to Skt. cîvara-is Ka. sivarù, sivuru. This is fairly evidently derived from forms without an r- suffix, Ka. civu to cut thin, shave, peel, bark, etc.; cf. Ka. sibu a bamboo slit. Some difficulty is caused by the various intervocalic consonants that appear in some of the Dravidian words, namely -t- in Ta. citar, etc., and -g- in Ka. siguru. That latter is probably only a substitute for -v-, as happens some times. On the others hand Ta. -t- presumably represents an original spirant or sibilant (cf. Kui sespa to scrape, plane shave a stick or piece of wood) which has otherwise disappea- red or been replaced by -v-.
Skt. *cela-* n. clothes, garment, is also to be connected with these words. Compare Ta. *citalai* small piece of cloth, rag, *citaval* strip of cloth, rag, torn piece of cloth; torn piece; cutting off, cropping, which have an *l-* suffix in place of the *r* suffix in Ta. *citar, citār.* With contraction we have Ta. *cilai* cloth, garment, Ma. *cila* cloth, which correspond exactly with Skt. *cela-.* The difference of the long vowel in the two cases is due to the fact that both are the result of a contraction. Compare further Te. *cilu* to break, split, be torn, *cilucu* to split, tear, *tika* a slice, slit, sliver, shiver, Ka. *siḷ* to split, be cleft; (sb.) split, piece, fragment.

24

Skt. *cumb-,* *cumbati* to kiss.

~Ta. *cūppu* to suck, *cūmpu* to suck, fondle with the lips, Ta. Ma. *ūmpu* to suck, Tu. *jumbuni* to suck, sip, lick, Kui *jūpa, jūmba* to suck, Kuvi *jūpali* id.; Malt. *cumqe* to kiss (possibly re-borrowing from IA.); Brah. *cūping* to suck.

Dravidian has also a variant series of words with *i-* instead of *ū-.*: Ta. *cippu* to suck, Ka. *cīpu, sipu* id., Te. *cipu* to make a sound with the lips, Kur. *cipnā* to suck, Malt. *cipe* id.

25


~Ta. *tiṣṭu* rising ground, bank, elevation; sand-bank; *tiṣṭal* sand-bank; raised floor, veranda, *tiṭar* bank, island, rubbish-heap, *tiṭal* id., *tiṭaru* mound, *taṭal* high-land (Coll.)
Ma. tiṭṭa raised ground, hillock, shoal; raised seat as in a varanda, tiṭṭu a mound, shoal, Ka. tiṭṭu rising ground, a hillock, diḍḍu eminence, elevation, hillock, đaḍa bank, shore, donḍe id., Tu. diḍḍu elevated ground, mound, Tod.(Pope) diṣu hill, Te. tiṭṭa heap, mound.

A fluctuation in Dravidian between a and i (also u) in the radical syllable is a feature very commonly met with, although the conditions that cause it are not very clear. Compare the following instances: Ta. kaṭāvu to drive, Ma. kiṭāvuka id.; Ta. kaṭa male buffalo: Ma. kiṭāvū; Ta. alantai tank, pond: ilantai id.; Ta. malai to put on wear: Ta. milai id.; Ta. aṭār a trap: iṭār id.; Ka. đaḍumu thickness, stoutness: Tu. diḍǔmbu corbulence; Ka. mīḍi heel: maḍa id.; Ka. inicī squirrel: Ta. anīl id., etc., etc., The difference in vowel between Skt. taṭa- and Ta. tiṭṭu, etc., is of the same kind.

Intervocically a single unvoiced consonant in Sanskrit very often replaces a double consonant in Dravidian: cf. capeṭā (no. 21), piṣaka-, puṭa-, (no. 39), etc.

As Professor Turner points out (Nep. Dict. s. v. talāu) this word should be separated from Skt. taḍāga- m. tank, pond, and Skt. taṭāka- which also appears is a mistaken form due to the influence of taṭa-. This word taḍāga- is also of Dravidian origin, and can be compared with the following words: Ta. taṭu to hinder, obstruct, taṭakku obstacle, impediment, taṭam ridge, dam, causeway; pond (Kalito 17), taṭavu pond (Puranio 105); prison, taṭai to hinder, stop; (sb.) obstacle, impediment; door; bund, embankment, Ma. taṭa resistance, impediment; Tu. taḍapu hindrance, impediment, taḍe to stop, impede; delay, taḍapu hindrance, impediment, taḍe to stop, impede; (sb.) a check, impediment, obstacle, Tu. taḍepini to check, hinder, etc., taḍe a delay, hindrance, daḍe an obstacle, hindrance; a screen, blind, Te. taḍa hindrance, obstruction, prevention, taḍayu to delay.
Skt. *taḍāga- means an artificial tank or lake, and it is so called on account of the bund, dam, or embankment by which the waters are contained. The word would appear also to have this latter sense sometimes, for instance, in the compound *taḍāgabhedaka-, Mn. ix. 279 where Kullūka uses the term *setubheda- in his paraphrase.

For this development of meaning compare Ta. *cirai, Ka. *kere tank etc., which have likewise developed from a verb meaning to restrain: Ta. *ceru to shut in, restrain, prevent, Ka. *kiru to confine, shut in, etc. (BSOAS. xi 125).

26

Skt. *taraṅga- m. wave, is usually explained as *taraṃ-ga-‘across-goer’, a compound like *pataṃ-ga-, *plavam-ga-, etc. This is not very satisfactory semantically, since it is difficult to see why a term of such vague and general meaning should have developed the meaning of ‘wave’ in particular, and that meaning only a better etymology can be provided by comparing the following Dravidian words:–

Ta. *tiraṅku to be wrinkled, crumpled, to be curled as the hair, *tirai to be wrinkled, rolled; to roll as waves; (sb.) wrinkle; a curtain; a wave, Ma. *tira a roll, as of paper; wave; curtain, *tirekkuka to roll up, wind up, *tirappu rolling, Ka. *tere a wave; what can be rolled up, and unrolled, a curtain; a fold, wrinkle, Tu. *sere a wave, Te. *tera screen, curtain; wave.

Skt. *taraṅga- corresponds exactly in form to Ta. *tiraṅku. This would give Ka. *terāgu, Te. *teragū, but the alternative form Ta. *tirai, Ka. *tere etc, has usually prevailed in South Dravidian. The meaning ‘wave’ in Dravidian is developed from the meaning ‘wrinkle, crinkle, fold’, since waves give to the surface of the water the appearance of being crinkled. This peculiarity of meaning makes it quite certain that the Sanskrit word is in fact derived from this Dravidian.
source, because in contradistinction to other words meaning wave in Sanskrit, *taraṅga*- has also the meaning 'wrinkle, fold'. As examples of this last meaning we can quote the compound *carmataraṅga*—a fold of skin (Lex.), and Kathās 84, 7 vali- *trayataraṅgitāṃ*; of wavey or crinkled hair, *trangitasiroruha*—Mānasoll 111, 20, 28; cf. also Dhurtaviṭasamvāda 3: *kruddhasribhrukūṭitarāṅgakutīlā vidyullatā dyotate*, and Padmaprābhātaka 7: *kim kṛtvā bhṛkuṭitarāṅgaviśamaṁ roṣoparaktam mukham*, etc.

The other Sanskrit words for 'wave' cannot be used in this sense, and they differ from *taraṅga*- in as much as they denote a wave from point of view of its motion. Such is the case with the one word of Indo-European origin for 'wave', Skt. *ūrmi*-: AS, wielm, etc., and also with *kallola*-, *lahari*- which were shown to be of Dravidian origin (see above no. 3). The same is probably true of Skt. *vīci*-, ॐ i f. wave, which Kittel (IA i, p. 237) plausibly derives from Drav. (Kan.) *bisu* to wave, swing, etc. This is better than his later suggestion (Kan.-Eng. Dict. p. xlii) which connects it with Ka. *bigu* to swell, etc. The following is a list of the Drav. words connected with Ka. *bisu*: Ta. *vīcu* to flap, as wings, to swing; as the arm, to wave, to swing and cast a net; to fan; to blow as the wind, *vīcu* swinging, oscillation; beat, flap of wings, *vīci* to wave to and fro, brandish; to swing the arms in walking; to fan, *vīci* a fan, Ma. *vicka* to fan; to blow, of the wind; to cast a net, *vīcci* a fan, *vīcu* throwing a net; a back-stroke, *vīyuka* to fan; to brandish, swing, wield; to flap; the wind to blow; to throw nets, *visuka* to fan; to blow; to throw a net, *visēri* a fan, visari id., Ka. *bisu* to swing, whirl, wave; to fan; to throw a net, to blow, as the wind, Tu. *bijāta* waving, swinging, fanning, *bijuni* to swing, blow as the wind, *bipu* casting, throwing; blowing of the wind; waving hands, *bisuni* to fan, wave, swing, cast, Te. *visaru*, *visuru* to throw, wave, whirl, blow as the wind, *vīcu* to below as the
wind: to wave, vicöpu a chowrie, vivana a fan, a whistle; vivali wind, Kui vinja to blow, to fan. In the specialized meaning of ‘fan, to fan’ this Dravidian family of words has given to Sanskrit viñ-, vyaj- to fan, vijana-, vyajana- a fan. From the general sense ‘swing, wave, oscillate’, the meaning ‘wave’ of Skt. vici- can reasonably be derived. In form it corresponds exactly with Ma. vicci. There is a gradation of the intervocalic consonant in Dravidian which is reflected in Sanskrit with vici- on the one hand and viñ- on the other.

27

Skt. tarala- mña(n. moving to and fro, trembling, tremulous; unsteady, vain, taralayati makes to tremble, taralāyate trembles.

~Ka. tera! to move, shake, stir, tremble, quiver, Te. teralu to move, to toss about, be routed, taralu to stir, move, proceed; with transposition of r and l: Ka. taḷar to move, tremble, totter; moving, trembling, tottering, taḷar-aḍi a trembling step, taḷar-naḍe a trembling, tottering walk, Ta. taḷar to be relaxed, slack, taḷarcci slackness, debility, Ma. taḷaruka to relax, become slack.

Skt. tarala- m. the central gem of a necklace, is a different word from the above. It is to be referred to the following Dravidian group: Ta. tirå! to become round, globular, (sb.) ball, globe, round mass, tirå-маṇi-vaṭam a kind of necklace (Insc.), tiråṭal a solid round object, Ma. tira! a ball, Ka. teralu to ball itself, to become round, tere! a round lump.

28

Skt. talina- mña(n. thin, fine; slender, meagre; small, little; separate, having spaces; clear.

~Ka. teḷ thinness, fineness, delicateness, smallness, teḷḷage thin, delicate; thinly; thinness; diluted state, teḷḷane, teḷḷanna id., teḷupu thinness; delicateness, fineness; diluted, watery
state, Tu. *telpu* thinness; thin, lean; few, little, *tellena* thinnish.

Out of these Ka. *tellane*, Tu. *tellena* correspond in form to Skt. *talina*-. In these words Ka. *-ane*, Te. *-ena* is an adjectival suffix which has developed in these languages, and in Telugu, out of what was originally the infinitive of the verb to say (*an-*, *en-*, *in-*) used adverbially. Compare (no. 22 above) Te. *cikkani* thick, inspissated, with Ta. *cikk-ena* firmly, tenaciously.

29

Skt. *tuvara-*, *tubara-* mfn. astringent, Pkt. *tuvara-* id.

~Ta. *tuvar* vb. to be astringent; sb. astringency, astringent substance, *tuvarppu* astringent taste, astringency, harshness, Ma. *tuvaruka* to grow dry, Ka. *tuvara, tovara, togari, togaru* astringent, an astringent taste, Kui *torpa* to be astringent.

The following similar words have apparently nothing to do with the above group: Skt. *tubari, tubarikā* f. Cajanus Indicus (Lex.) | Ta. *tuvarai* Cajanus Indicus (Perunke), Ma: *tuvara* (< *tuvar* on account of its taste, Gt.), Ka. *togari, tovari, Tu. togari, togare* id. In this case also the Sanskrit word is to be regarded as derived from the Dravidian.

30

Skt. *dadru-*, *dadrū* f. a cutaneous eruption, kind of leprosy, *dārū, dadrū-* f. id., *dadrūna-*, *dardruṇa-*, leprous, Pa: *daddu* a kind of cutaneous eruption; for ModIA derivatives see Nep. Dict. s.v. *dād*.

~Ka. *taddu, daddu, dadru* cutaneous and herpetic eruptions, herpes; a kind of leprosy; a ringworm, Tu. *taddu* an eruption or swelling, erysipelas, *daddu* ringworm, herpes, Te. *daddu, dadduru* a cutaneous disease, herpes, Kuvi (Fitzg.) *tadū* ringworm, Kui *dado, dadu* rough white patches on the skin that cause irritation and itching, dry itch.
The fluctuation between surd and sonant in the case of the initial consonant is a feature of Dravidian, and therefore an indication that the word is original in these languages. Santali dād ringworm is a loanword from Indo-Aryan.

31

Skt. nagara—n. town, city borrowed into Dravidian as Ma. nagaram, Ta. nakaram, Ka. nagara, Te. nagaramu. In addition to these loanwords we find also the following: Ta. nakar house, abode, mansion; palace, temple, shrine, hall; town city, Ma. nakar a town, Te. nagaru a palace. Of these the Tamil word is common in the earliest literature, and for that reason, and because of the difference in meaning, cannot be regarded as a loanword from Sanskrit. On the other hand, in view of the practical identity of the forms, and because the Sanskrit word has no IE etymology, there would seem to be every reason for deriving the Sanskrit word from the Dravidian. From a general meaning ‘habitation’ the specialized meanings of ‘palace, etc.’, on the one hand and ‘town’ on the other easily develop. Compare Skt. pura—‘house abode, fortress, castle; city, town.’

Initial n— is an unstable sound in Dravidian, and there is frequent alternation between words with and without n—in all the Dravidian languages: Ta. nir water, ir damp, etc., etc. Consequently we can reasonably derive Skt. agāra—, āgāra n. house, abode, from the same source. As frequently, there is no strict correspondence in vowel-length in the word as borrowed into Sanskrit.

Analysing these forms, it is to be observed that ar— is a common suffix in Dravidian, and we can therefore compare further Ta. akam in the sense of house (akattān householder, Nālāti°). The general meaning of Ta. akam is ‘the inside’, from which the meaning of ‘abode’ could develop (akam inside, at home, opposed to puram outside). For the
meaning town compare also the Tamil compounds aka-nilai town, akap-pā a fortified wall.

32

Skt. nivāra-m. wild rice, VS., etc., Pa. nivāra- raw rice, paddy.

~Ta. navarai a kind of paddy, nakarai id., Ma. navira, naviri, nakara a rice that ripens within two or three months, Tu. navare a kind of rice.

For the fluctuation between the vowels a and i in the first syllable, compare the examples given above (no. 25).

33

Skt. paṇ-, paṇate to negotiate, bargain; to stake, lay a wager, paṇa- m. a bet or wager; a compact, stipulation, agreement, treaty; the thing staked or the sum played for.

~Ta. puṇai to tie; (sb.) tie; bond; pledge, security, surety, Ka. poṇe bond, bail: a bondsman, a surety, a bail, Tu. pune security, bail; with variation in the initial vowel: Ta. pinaī (vb.) to tie, bind, fasten; (sb.) tie, bond; agreement; bail, security, guarantee; pledge, Ma. pinekka to tie, piṇa tying, yoke; being involved, bail, surety, Ka. peṇe to tie; being tied, Te. pena tie, bond.

34

Skt. paṇḍa- eunuch, weakling, paṇḍaka-, paṇḍra-, paṇḍraka id., Pa. paṇḍaka-id.

~Ta. peṇ woman, female, peṇṭu woman, wife, peṇṭir pl. women, peṭai female of birds, peṭṭai female of animals or birds; woman, girl, peṭṭaiyan hermaphrodite, effeminate, man, peṭu female of birds and certain animals; hermaphrodite, peṭi hermaphrodite, peṭai female of birds, hen, Ma. peṇ female, women, girl, peṇṭi a girl, women, peṇṇan an effeminate man, peṭa, piṭa hen, peṭṭa the female of birds; the female of asses, camels, Ka. peṇ female, woman, peṇḍa id.
penḍatī wife, hēṭe, hēṇṭe hen, Tu. ponṇa female, feminine, ponṇu a girl, female, maid, ponjaṇu, ponjevu a female in general; a woman, Te. penṭi the female of any animal or plant penḍilī marriage, penḍalamu wife, spouse, consort, pesṭa hen, female of any bird, pēḍi eunuch, hermaphrodite, pēḍe a beradless man, Malt. peli woman, pelo female, Kur. pell maidservant, Brah. paṭṭī female.

35
Skt. parāga- m. pollen of a flower; dust, Kav., Pur., etc.
~ Ta. piracam pollen; honey, honeycomb; toddy; bee.
Te. pera honeycomb, beehive, Tu. perya a large bee.

36

In Dravidian compare Kuvi (Fitzg.) pichali to milk, wring, Tu. pisuni to squeeze, press out, and the following forms in which an –r. appears: Malt. perche to be squashed as an overripe fruit, Tu. purṇcuni to squeeze as lemon, Brah. prinching to squeeze (cf. Bal. prich-, pīrich-). These words have correlates in Uralian: Zyr. pitskini auspressen, pressen, Voty, pytškyny drücken, auspressen, VogA. poaštam pressen, Sz. poššeti drücken Osty. pōkōrmōn id.; Hg. fascar obtorquere, premere, pusertaa, Voty. pidztinti id. In most of the Uralian forms an –r- appears after the affricate, while in Dravidian an –r- appears before it, from which it would seem that transposition has taken place in one or the other language group. Sanskrit picc- is presumably derived from *pirc- by assimilation.

37
Skt. picchā f. gum; slimy saliva, picchala- mfn. slimy, smeary, picchila- id.
Ta. picin gum, exudation from certain trees; stickiness, viscousness, picuper Cruz to be sticky, glutinous, viscous, payin gum, glue, pacai stickiness, glue, resin, Ma. paya, paca, paša gum, resin, Tu. paya id., Te. pisunu gum, resin pisini parsi-monious.

With these Dravidian words Schrader (ZII iii, 93) compares the following Finno-ugrian words: Fi. pihka resina, gummi, pix; harz, Est. pihk, id., Hg. fősvény avarus, parcus, tenax, cher. peškede parcum, tenacem esse.

For the homonymous words piccha- tail, and piccha-calf of the leg, see BSOAS. xi, p. 347 and p. 348.

38

Skt. puṅkha- m. the shaft or feathered part of an arrow (which comes in contact with the bowstring), MBh., etc.

~Ta. puruku arrowhead, Ka. piluku, pilku the lower part of an arrow which comes in contact with the bowstring and contains the feathers and shaft.

The Skt. word is based on a Drav. form with the liquid assimilated; such assimilations are found in a number of Skt. words derived from Dravidian (cf. uṇch-, no. 7: Ta. uriṅcu).

39

Skt. puṭa- m.n. fold, pocket; a cup or basket or vessel made of leaves; a casket, puṭaka- m. a vessel made of leaf, etc., Pa. puṭa- a container made of leaves, pocket, basket, Pkt. puḍa-, puḍa-; Be. puṛā a straw vessel for storing grain, Or. Hi. puṛā a packet (especially of leaves to hold sweets), Nep. Dict. s.v. purā.

~Ta. puṭṭil quiver, sheath, basket, flower-basket, Ma. puṭṭil basket; husk, pod, legume, Ka. puṭṭi a smaller or larger basket made of cane, bamboo, or palmyra leaves, puḍayi a buṭṭi, buṭte id., Tu. puṭṭi a small round basket, puḍayi a basket, buḍde a pod, legume, Te. puṭi a flower-basket, puṭika, ...
puṭṭika a small basket, botṭa a large cylindrical basket for storing grain, Kui puṭi a basket.

With a variation in the radical vowel Skt. piṭaka—basket, is derived from the same source; cf. also Ta. pirā a round wicker basket (Perumpān° 276, etc.). The same vowel-variation is found also in the homophone, Skt. piṭaka—blister (cf. BSOAS. xi, 354).

There is another word puṣa—n. in Sanskrit differing completely from the above in meaning and etymology. It means ‘anthill’, and is found only in the cpd. pipilakapuṣa-, MBh. The Dravidian word from which it is derived appears in the various languages as follows: Ta. purru anthill, Ka. puttu Te. puṭṭa, Kui pusi, Kuvi puci, Malt. pute id. Of these the Telugu form with -tt- (out of original affricate most closely resembles the Sanskrit word. On the other hand, in another loanword from the same Dravidian source, namely Skt. puttikā f. the white ant or termite, the Sanskrit word shows the same development of the internal consonant as Kanarese.

40

Skt. pulina—m.n. a sandbank, a small island or bank in the middle of a river, an islet, a sandy beach, Pa. pulina—
pulina—n. a sandy bank or islet in the middle of a river.

—Ta. poril park, grove, forest, pleasure-garden; earth, world; country, district, pūril earth, Ma. poril watered ground; flower-garden; sandy shore; a piece of low ground, Ka. puril sand, sandy shore.

Ka. puril is traditionally regarded as a tadbhava from Skt. pulina--; it cannot, however, be separated from Ta. Ma. poril, which makes it clear that the relationship is the other way round, and Sanskrit the borrower.

These words are related to a further series of words in Dravidian meaning ‘sand, dust ashes, etc.’: Ta. pūri powder,
dust; sacred ashes, pūrti dust, puruti dust, dried earth; pulverised or fine powder; dry earth, Ma. pūrī dust, also earth put to the roots of trees; the pollen of flowers, puruti id., Tu. poyye sand, Tod. (Pope) purzh mud, Malt. porsí sweepings. These words have correlates in Uralian as follows: Hg. por dust, Osty. par ashes, Voty. purzitini to make dusty, Vog. pór, pārś, etc., kehricht | Sam. O. phūrā sand, K. pūre sand, sandbank. In the South Dravidian –z– has developed out of –r– cf: Ta. maru axe = Go. mars, etc.

The form appearing in Ta. as pūrti (a variant of puruti) has developed in Ka. and Tu. to būdi ashes, with assimilation of –z– and voicing of the initial, both frequent phenomena. This Ka. Tu. būdi has been further adapted into Skt. as bhūti–f. ashes, sacred ashes, where on account of the employment of ashes for religious purposes, popular etymology easily identified the word with Skt. bhūti–f. welfare.

41

Skt. pusta–, pustaka– a book (Pa. potthaka–a book; cloth made of makací fibre, Pkt. potthaka–; Hi., etc., pothi) was explained by R. Gauthiot (MSL, xix, 130) as a loanword from Iranian: Pahl. pōst a skin, ModPers. pūst id., from which the meaning “a book written on leather”, “a book (in general)” could be derived. The weakness of this theory is that leather was not used for books in India, and in Iran, where it was so used, the word pōst never developed the meaning of book. The materials used for writing on in India were mainly palm-leaf in the South, and birch-bark in the North, particularly in the North-West.

In the Modern Persian pōst, pūst, besides meaning “skin” hide” means also “bark of a tree”, and in this sense we can
further compare Parachi püst bark (of a tree), Yidgha pisto, Sanglechi pdstāk id., Wakhi pist skin, hide; bark (draxt-pist), Shughni pōst bark. In view of the fact that birch-bark was the usual material for books in N. W. India, it is clear that if Skt. pustaka- is borrowed from Iranian, it must be from the word used in this sense, and not in the sense of ‘skin’.

There are, however, also some Dravidian words that need to be taken into consideration:—

Ta. potti garment of fibres, cloth; sheath, Ka. potti cloth Te. potti cloth; bark; cf. Ta. pottu to cover wrap, Ma. pottuka to cover, envelop; with shorting of intervocalic -tt-, Ta. putai to cover, cloth, etc., Ma. puta a cover, an outer garment, putekka to wrap oneself, Ka. podake a cover, covering, a wrapper; a thatch, Tu. podepu wearing apparel, etc.

The fact that Pa. potthaka-, Pk. pottha-, potthaa- mean ‘cloth’ as well as ‘book’ tends to support the Dravidian etymology, since Drav. potti sheath; bark; cloth is connected with the verb pottu to cover envelop, so that the development of the various specialized meanings easily comes about. The following words can also be grouped here: Skt. pota- m., potikā f. cloth, garment, Pkt. potta- a garment, pottaa- cotton cloth, pottiyā a piece of cloth, potti a sari; Hi. petiyā a loin-cloth, etc.; Sgh. potta bark of a tree; husk of fruit; shell of testaceous animals.

In deciding between the two alternative etymologies, Iranian and Dravidian, it would seem best to derive Skt. pustaka- and the Middle and Modern IA words meaning ‘book’ directly from Iranian pöst- in the sense of ‘bark’, and to refer MI pottha- cloth and the other words to a Dravidian source. Further, the possibility is to be taken into account that the Iranian word itself is derived from Dravidian, since it is without IE etymology and there are other cases where a Dravidian etymology can be suggested for Iranian
words. In view of the western origin of the Dravidian languages and their connection with Uralian, such a state of affairs is to be expected. If so Drav. pott- would be assimilated out of earlier *pőst-. As all the Dravidian languages show 'prakritic' tendencies of this kind, such a development is very probable.

Skt. pusta-, pustaka- also has another sense, namely that of 'plastering'. In this sense we may reasonably follow Gundert (ZDMG. xxiii, 528) and Kittel (Kan-Eng. Dict. p. xl) in comparing the Dravidian words meaning 'to smear': Ta. pūcu to besmear, anoint, rub, daub, spread on, on plaster; sb. daubing, smearing, Ma. pūcuka to smear, daub; to white-wash, plaster; (with pon) to gild, pūccu smearing; daub, coating, Ka. pūsu to smear, daub, plaster, etc., Tu. pūjuni to smear, rub, daub, apply, Te. pūyu id. As Kittel points out Skt. pusta- corresponds to a Dravidian participial form: Ka. pūrita that which is smeared.

Skt. pūj-, pūjayati to honour, worship, revere, respect; pūjā f. honour, worship, adoration.

~Ta. pōrru to cherish, protect, nourish; to worship, treat with regard, entertain (a guest); to praise, applaud, Ma. pōrruka to adore; to preserve, bring up, protect.

Ta. Ma. pōrru (i.e. pōttru) represents an original *pōču, the -rr- having developed out of an original affricate. Skt. pūj- represents a Drav. *pōj- with a weaker grade of the intervocalic consonant. An exact phonological parallel is to be found in Kui tōja to show, as compared with Ta. Ma. tōrru id. For Skt. ū: Dr. ō, compare Skt. kūṣa- peak: Ta. kōtu, etc.


The IA forms with -e- in the first syllable are not based on a Skt. vridhid form *bilva*, but respresent Drav. forms with -e-. The alternation e:i is based on Drav. phonetic developments (Drav. St. II, BSOAS. x(1940) pp. 289-297).

Skt. *maru*—m. a wilderness, sandy waste, desert; a mountain, rock, MBh., etc., *marudhanvan*— m. desert, *maruprapāta*— m. a rocky precipice, a mountain crag, *marubhūmi*, *marusmthalā*, etc., desert, Pa. *maru* desert (always combined with okantāra-), *marumba*— a kind of sand or gravel.


~Ta. mucar buttermilk, curds, (contracted) mør buttermilk, curd diluted with water, Ma. mør buttermilk, Ka. mosar, mosaru, masaru curds, Tu. mosaru id.; Ka. majjige buttermilk, whey, Te. majjiga id., Ta. maccikai (lw. < Te.), Tod. mach (Metz), maj (Rivers) buttermilk; Te. metṭu curds mixed with water; Brah. maringiing to curdle.

The various IA and Iranian forms show considerable irregularities, a fact which is often a sign that words have been borrowed. In view of the striking similarity of the Dravidian words, it becomes highly likely that they have been borrowed from this source. The contracted form which appears in Ta. Ma. mør has also been borrowed into Skt. in moraṭa, mōraṇa Susr. sour buttermilk.

46

Skt. mruc-, mrocgati: mimruc- to go down, set, of the sun. mluc-, mlacioati to go down, set, mlup-: upamlupta- hidden, concealed, abhinimlupta- = mruktə, mluktə- upon whom while not doing any work or while sleeping the sun has set. | Cf. Av. mraoancant- sich duckend.

~Ta. muruku to be immersed, to sink, murucu to dive, dip, get into, muruttu to plunge, dip in, drown, müm to submerge, engulf, mürku to submerge, sink; to be hidden, concealed, Ma. muruku to sink under water, Ka. murugu, munugu to go or sink under, to be immersed, dive; set (of the sun), Tu. murkuni to sink, be immersed; the sun to set, murgelu ducking, diving. Te. munūgu to sink, plunge, dive, munucu to cause to sink, Go. murungānā to dive, sink, be drowned, Kui munja to be immersed, submerged, Kuvi (Fitzg.) mrūkhali to dip into, Malt. mulge to dip in, Kur. mulkhnā id.

Sanskrit has two words for 'tiger' sārdula- and vyāghra-, and, as was to be expected, neither has an Indo-European
etymology. Of these the first can be analysed as a Dravidian descriptive expression, meaning 'striped skin.' The first element appears in Dravidian as Ka. caṇa a line, streak, Te. cāra a line, streak, stripe, cārika id. The second element is the common Dravidian word for skin: Ta. Ma. tōl skin, hide, leather, Te. tōlu, Ka. togal, toval, tōl, Tu. tugalū. Go. Klm. tōl id. The voicing of the initial consonant of the second part is automatic in such a compound; Skt. ू corresponding to Drav. ṛ has parallels in kūja- av. ṛ pūjā. Such a descriptive name for the tiger arises very naturally, and as parallels we may quote Te. cārāla-mekamu tiger (mekamu < mṛga-), and the frequent descriptive names in early Tamil poetry: variyata! ANān° 58, koṭu-vari PNān° 135. 1, vari-vayam id. 100. 7, kuya-vari Tiṇaim° 25., etc.

The first element occurs in number of other Skt. words: śāra-sāra– variegated colours, motley, speckled, śāraṅga-śāraṅga– dappled, spotted; m, a kind of spotted antelope, śaripata°, phala chess-board, kṛṣnasāra- kṛṣnasāraṅga- spotted black; m. the spotted antelope, and probably in sārikā a kind of bird, Maina. The fluctuation between s and s– is a common feature in loanwords.

MW in defining kṛṣnasāra– as 'chiefly black' – suggests a wrong etymology. Skt. sāra– (variant of śāra–) speckled is the second part of this word, and not sāra– essence, etc., which is quite a different word. This latter may also be from Dravidian:–

Sat. sāra– m. n. the substance or essence or marrow or cream or heart or essential part of anything; ingredient; nectar; cream, curds; water; pus; manure; Mar. sār essence, substance; sap, pith, marrow, cream, Hi, sār pith, cream, Or. sāra marrow, manure Sgh. sara essence, cream.

~Ta. cēru juice, sap; toddy; water in which aromatic substances are infused; pepper–water, cēru sap, juice; toddy,
honey, treacle; kernel, as of a coconut; pus, Ma. cāru sap as of a palm tree; infusion, decoction; broth of soup, Ka. cāru up, juice; broth, sāru a relish in a liquid state, well-seasoned sauce, broth, pepper–water, Tu. sāru sap; soup, broth, cāru a kind of pepper–water, Te cēru tamarind soup or broth.

The specialised meaning ‘broth’, etc., which develops in some of the Dravidian languages is found also in Mar. sār a dilute mixture of tamarinds, mangosteins, and similar fruits squeezed in any pulse–decoction, or in water, with salt, asafoetida, etc.

The other word for tiger in Sanskrit, vyāghra—bears a strong resemblance to some Drav. words with the same meaning Ta. vēṅkai tiger, Ma. vēṅga, Te, vēɡi id., which can hardly be accidental. The Skt. word has probably been borrowed from Dravidian, and altered by popular etymology (as if from vy–ā–ghrā). From Skt. the word has travelled westwards: Pers. habr Arm. vagr (Uhlenbeck, Worterb s. v.) Whether there is any connection with the words for ‘cat’ (Ta. veruku, Ka. berku, Go warkār, Malt. berge, Kur. berkhā; cf. E. H. Tuttle, Dravidian Developments p. 16) is a question that can be left for the time being.

Skt. sūrpa– n. a winnowing basket or fan, VS., etc.

~Ta. tūrru to spread, strew; to winnow, Ma. tūrruka to scatter; to fan and winnow grain, Ka. tūru to drive off the chaff from grain by means of the wind, to winnow, tū truvike winnowing, Tu. tūpu winnowing, as grain, tūpuni to winnow, fan, Te. tūrpiṭi winnowing, tūrpettu to winnow, Kui sīrpa to shake out, sprinkle.

South Dravidian t– here represents an original sibilant, as frequently (see BSOAS. xi (1944) p. 339, Ta. toppu, etc.; ibid. p. 349, Ta. tēr etc.)
Skt. *sikatā* f. sand, VS., etc., has the following cognates in Iranian: OPers. *θīkā* sand, gravel (Benveniste, BSL 30, 60), Sogd. *šykal* sand (Benveniste, JRAS. 1933, p. 43), Pashto *šōga* sand, Orm. *sage*, Par. *sō ā*, Mj. *sūgā* Yd. *sigī̄h* id., Bal. *six* sand, barren land, Oss. *sijit*, *sigī* etc., earth soil (Morgenstierne, EVP. p. 3, IIFL. ii, 245). The irregularity in the correspondence of the initial in Indo-Aryan and Iranian led Morgenstierne to regard the eastern Iranian words as borrowed from IA, while Benveniste was inclined to regard the Sanskrit word as borrowed from Iranian. The irregularity, however, in not confined to the correspondence between Indo-aryan and Iranian. Morgenstierne (EVP. 73) remarks that 'in the Dard languages we find a bewildering variety of forms which seem to be derived from, or in some way associated with *sikatā*', and quotes the following forms: E. Pash. *sā*, *sedā*, Kashm. *sēkh*, Burush. (Iw?) 'soh' f., W. Pash *sīyēl*, *sēl* m., Shina *sigal* f., Chiliss, Gowro *sigil*, Torw. *sigul* m., Baskarik *sūgūt* f., Khow. *šuyūr*, Kati *cū* m., Waig *sā*, Ashk. *šō̄ra*- As phonetic irregularity is often a sign that a word has been borrowed from some non-Aryan source, it is worth while comparing the following Dravidian words meaning 'sand':

Ka. *usiku*, *usigu*, *usige*, *usuku*, *usuũ*, etc., sand, Te. *isuka*, *isumu* sand, *esalu* id., Go. (Maria) *usakā* sand. The Dravidian words here appear to have developed a prothetic vowel when compared with the Indo-Iranian forms. This is supported by a comparison with Finno-ugrian, since these words have a fairly obvious cognate in Fin. *hiekka* sand (*h* < *š*). Such prothesis is not usual before sibilants in Dravidian, but it must be remembered that several sibilants (usually represented by *s* *š*, and *s* in Finno-ugrian) have fallen together in Dravidian, and there may have been such a tendency before:
the comparatively rare ś– which is here attested by Finno-
ugrian. The fact that the initial vowel fluctuates between u–
and i– in Kanarese and Telugu also points in this direction.

50

Skt. hintāla– m. The marshy date tree, Phoenix paludosa,
Hariv., etc.

~ Ta. intu date–pākm, iṅcu, iecam–panai id. Ma.
ital, ittal Phoenix dactylifera, Ka. ica1, ica1 the wild date tree,
Phoenix silvestris, Tu. iṅcilu, icilu the wild date tree, Te. ita
the wild date–tree, iḍu iḍādu id., Kui sita a small date.

An initial sibilant is often lost in South Dravidian, and
it is clear from the Kui form that it has happened here. An
intermediate stage was probably h–, such as we find now in
Kuvi and the Maria dialects of Gondi, and this is reflected in
Skt. hintāla–. An original s– is preserved in Pkt. sindi
wild–date. An initial k– in Kur. kindā date–palm is diffi-
cult to account for, but it is worth while noticing that Geiger
(Singh. Gramm. 39. 2) observes a similar variation in Singh-
alese between kutul n. of a palm tree, alternating with hitul
= Pa. hintāla–.

The Skt. word appears to have been influenced in form
by tāla– palmyra palm (Pkt. also tāḍa–), which is itself a
loanword from Dravidian: Ka. tāḍ Palmyra tree, Borassus
flabelliformis, Te. tāḍi id. (Kitt. no. 101).

Alphabetical list of Sanskrit words: ăgāra– 31, aṭṭa–
aṭṭāla– 1, aṭṭana– 1, adharma– 2, alasa– 3, alga– 4, ārahāta–
o 5, āspāl– 21, ukha– oā 6, uṭch– 7, kaṅka– 8, kara– 9,
kaṇṣu– kaṇṣu– 8, karoṭa– o 10, karaka– 18, karkrātuka–
karkareṇu– 8, karkaṇa– 18, kallola– 3, kavaka– 11, kavaca, 11,
16, koṭa– 15, koṭi– 15, kaurukūca 17, krakaca– 18, khaṇḍ– khaṇḍa–
19 khara– kharu– 18, kharapāṭa– 20, goṇi 11, capeṭa– oā 21,
The break-up of Indo-European linguistic unity was accompanied by a rapid and wide expansion of the area in which languages of this family were spoken. This expansion proceeded at the expense of pre-existing languages which were replaced by languages of the Indo-European family. These languages did not give way before influencing the newly introduced forms of speech both in vocabulary and other respects. This becomes clear at once from a perusal of the etymological dictionaries, where it can be seen how large a proportion of the words in each language are devoid of satisfactory etymologies. But investigation of the loan-word problem in Indo-European is rendered difficult by the completeness with which in most cases the indigenous languages have been overwhelmed. In Western Europe the victory of the IE. languages has left only Basque as an isolated remnant of an earlier form of speech. Fragmentary remains of languages in the Greek and Italian peninsulas have survived in a small number of documents, but the information they supply is small and inadequate.

The case is quite different in India. Here although Indo-aryan has occupied the greater part of the country it has not succeeded in completely ousting the earlier linguistic groups. Excluding Tibeto-Burman languages which hardly belong to India proper, the non-Aryan languages of India can be divided into three groups: (1) Burushaski isolated by itself in two valleys in the north-west. (2) The Munda or Kolarian Family represented by a dozen or more languages spoken by primitive peoples in Eastern and Central India. (3) Most important of all, the Dravidian languages forming a solid block in the south, and represented by smaller languages in the central and northern parts of India, reaching in the
case of Brahui as far as Baluchistan. There is therefore plenty of material to work on in studying the sources of the non-Aryan elements in Sanskrit and the languages derived from it. In the case of this last mentioned group this evidence is not merely to be sought among languages spoken at the present day, since Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, and Telugu have respectable literatures, which in the case of Tamil takes us back almost 2,000 years in the history of the language.

A short survey of the work that has been done and the prospects of future investigation forms the subject of this paper. That Sanskrit, particularly the later classical language, contains a large non-Indo-European element is plain enough to see. The expectation that a large percentage of this might be explained from the existing non-Aryan languages of India, has already been shown to be fully justified, and there is no doubt that a very large proportion of the words without etymologies in Sanskrit will eventually yield to treatment of this kind.

Of the three language families mentioned the least is to be expected from Burushaski on account of the restricted area in which it is found and the fact that it is only known from modern times. As far as I am aware no Sanskrit words have been explained from this source, and although the possibility is always to be borne in mind, we must at the same time remain aware of the difficulties with which any such attempts are confronted. To illustrate this we may quote a word of somewhat obscure meaning which occurs in the Vedic literature, namely kilāla-. The contexts make it sufficiently clear that the word means some kind of milk-product, but it is not possible to be more specific than that. The word is clearly borrowed from some non-Aryan source otherwise we would not find a guttural before the vowel -i- (Wack., AIGRI., § 123). In later Sanskrit the word went out of use, except artificially and incorrectly in the sense of "blood", its
place being taken by the variant form of *kilaṭā*. In the north-west similar words are still use, namely Shina *kirāri* a milk product made by Gujars, Khow. *kilāl*, *kilāri* cheese when kept, Yidgha *kirāf* Kafir cheese, Pashai *kirāf*.

In Burushaski, too, we find the word in the form *kilāy* curds made from biestings. Dealing with a non-Aryan word, and one current only in a restricted area of the north-west, we have a strong case for ascribing the word to Burushaski which is the most ancient language in these parts. The difficulty of course is to find any proof, since Burushaski has borrowed so many words from the neighbouring languages that we cannot be sure that this word also has not been acquired by it like many others in recent times. This difficulty could only be got over if it were possible to connect Burushaski with some other group of languages and establish by scientific comparison its ancient vocabulary. This has not yet been done. An attempt has been made to show its connection with the Caucasian languages,¹ but the basis of proof is too slender. It may turn out to be so, but more evidence will have to be produced.

Turning to the second group, the Kolarian languages, we are on somewhat firmer ground. In this field some decisive work has been done in tracing some common Sanskrit words to this source, and also the position of the languages has been made clear by the demonstration of their connection with the languages of Further India. The relationship between the Kolarian languages of India, and the Mon-Khmer group further east was noted early (LSI iv 10-11) and finally

demonstrated by W. Schmidt. Schmidt's theories have been generally accepted, but recently there has been some not very effective opposition. W. Hevesy, who made an unscientific attempt to connect these languages with Finno-Ugrian, attacked the Austro-asiatic theory in this connection. Lately T. A. Sebeok, in an article in Language, has also taken up a sceptical position with regard to the Austro-asiatic theory. It must be emphasized that these criticisms are not at all effective or convincing. It is of course easy to pick out errors in Schmidt's book, such as the inclusion of Indo-aryan (concol, goram, tito), Persian (dil, tear, husiar), and Arabic (julm) words among his comparisons. But when all this has been pruned away, there remains enough clear and unambiguous material to make it quite evident that the languages in question are genealogically related. They have in common the basic principles of the structure of the languages, notably the system of building up words by means of a complicated system of prefixes and infixes, together with the most basic elements of the vocabulary, the numerals from one to six, the parts of the body, and so forth.

It is necessary to insist on this from the point of view of our present subject, since such work as has been done in this direction has been based on the theory of this relationship. That is to say that Sanskrit words have been compared directly with words occurring in Austro-asiatic languages outside India, and it is not supposed that these words were imported into Sanskrit from those regions, but that they were acquired in India from people speaking languages related to

these. A good example is the Sanskrit word for ‘banana’ kadali. J. Przyluski\(^1\) demonstrated quite clearly the Austro-asian origin of this word by quoting words occurring in languages in the Malay peninsula and some other Mon-Khmer languages: Sak. Sem. telui kelui, etc., Southern Nicobar taluii plantain, Khmer tut taloi banana tree, Palaung kaloi plantain. He was not at the time able to quote anything from the Kolarian languages of India, but the word has since turned up in Savara kintēn-ōn banana, a fact which helps to demonstrate the correctness of his procedure.\(^3\)

As might be expected the names of Eastern plants unknown to the Aryans before their arrival figure largely in this list of loanwords. Besides the word for ‘banana’ just mentioned we have also the words for betel (Skt. tāmbūla-: see ib. pp. 15 ff.). cotton (Skt. karpāsa-: ib. pp. 23 ff; add also Skt. picu cotton which can be compared with the unpre-fixed forms he quotes: Črau paç, baç, Stieng pahi; whence also the Dravidian words Ta. pañci, pañcu, Ka. pañji), gourd (Skt. alābu: Malay Peninsula labu, labo, Khmer lbow, etc., ib. p. 155), mustard (Skt. sarṣapa-: Malay sesawi, etc.; Przyluski and Regamey BSOS vii/703), and ginger (Skt. šrīngavēra: Savara singer-ōn, contracted form sin-ōn Khasi-s'ing; of. Burmese kyang (pronounced jīn), from the same source Ta. iñcil). Among animals native to India Skt. mātaṅga- elephant, is convincingly explained from this source (ib. p. 129: Sak. mēntoñ elephant, from Austro-asian tan band, of. hastin-).

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1 Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India p. 4.

2 But his analysis of the word (ka-ta-li) is open to some doubt. It is probably that Sak. Sem. tel-, etc., and Savaru-tēn is the radical element and that the k/l alternation in Sak. Sem. telui, kelui; Khmer taloi: Palaung kloai is phonetic in nature, and due to the proximity of -l- to the initial consonant.
There are also words of a more general character. A word which appears late in Sanskrit, *jim*, *jemati* to eat, and is widely spread in the modern Indo-aryan languages, Hi. *jevna* to eat, *jimana* to feed, Mar. *jevne* to eat, etc., is derived from the usual Kolarian word meaning the same thing: Santali *jäm* to eat, Kurku *jome*, Juang *Jim*, Savara *Jim*, etc. etc. (R. L. Turner, Nepali Dictionary s. v. *jiunär*). This is also one of the words common to the Kolarian and Mon-Khmer languages (Schmidt, no. 74).

The Indo-aryan were in contact with peoples of the Austro-asianic family very early in their career. The name of Indra's celebrated opponent *Sambara*—who figures in the *Rgveda*, is a Kolarian *ethnic or tribal name* identical (with the common nasal infix) with the word which appears in later Sanskrit as *Sabara*—and at present in the form *Savara* or *Sörä* is applied to a people speaking one of the most important languages of this group. We can see quite clearly from the *Rigveda* that the struggle was no short or easy affair, and the mention of 100 forts would seem to show that the enemies of the Aryans were organized in fairly extensive political units and had attained to some degree of material civilization. In consequence of the victory of the Indo-aryans and their eventual occupation of the whole of the Ganges valley, these languages have now been driven to isolated and out of the way spots, and their speakers live in a comparatively primitive state of civilization.

It is certain that great deal more will be added to what has already been discovered in this field, but it will be a long time before the subject can be properly treated. The first thing necessary is that all the existing Kolarian languages should be made available to scholars by the provision of grammars, texts, and dictionaries. At present adequate information is available only for three of the languages:
Santali, Mundari, and Savara. For the other languages the material available is scanty, and in some cases almost non-existent. It is necessary that this work should be done soon, as languages of this kind are liable to become extinct in the near future under present conditions. When this has been done a comparative study of the whole group needs to be undertaken, and the group itself studied in detail in comparison with the Khasi, Mon-Khmer, and allied languages. On such a carefully prepared scientific basis the study of the Austric element in Sanskrit and the more modern stages of Indo-aryan can eventually be firmly established. At the present rate of progress no one can say when this is likely to be done, but it is to be hoped that the rate will be quicker in the future. As things are it will be easily understood how great is the danger of erroneous and superficial comparisons. I have quoted above a number of examples which seem to me free from reasonable doubt, but not all the suggestions which have been made are in this category, and at present it must be emphasized that this is a subject in which to move with a certain amount of caution.

We now come to the third and most important group of the non-Aryan languages of India, the Dravidian languages. These languages are the most important not only numerically and culturally, but also from the point of view of their influence on Sanskrit. That is to say a very much greater number of Sanskrit words can be traced to this source than can be traced to an Austro-asiatic source. Even allowing for the fact that these studies are only in their beginning, the fact still remains that the number of Dravidian words in the Sanskrit vocabulary that have already been established as such, is so much greater than the corresponding number for Austroasiatic, that whatever knowledge is added in the future, the relative importance of the two language groups is not likely to be reversed.
Though the comparative study of the Dravidian languages is not in the state that it should be, it is in a better state than that of the Kolarian languages. In the first place more information is available about the individual languages, although a great deal still remains to be done. The literary languages are naturally well documented, and we have good dictionaries, though the grammatical study of the ancient texts still remains largely a desideratum. Quite a number of the minor languages have also been adequately treated. We are well informed on Brahui, kurukh, and Kui, moderately on Malto, Kuvi, and Gondi. The greatest gap consists of two of the Central Group of languages—Kolami and Parji—about which we have still practically no information. The minor languages of the south—Toda, Kota, etc.—have recently been studied by Professor M. B. Emeneau, and the results of his work are in course of publication.

A comparative study of the Dravidian and Sanskrit vocabularies soon reveals a large number of common words which are not to be explained as Sanskrit words borrowed into Dravidian, but as Dravidian words adopted by Sanskrit. This is clear because the words in question have no Indo-European etymology, and because the comparative etymological study of Dravidian shows them to belong to the basic vocabulary of that group of languages. Many of the words are, apart from the expected phonetic modifications, almost identical both in form and meaning, so that even with a superficial knowledge it is possible to recognize a great number of them. The following list contains some of the examples where the identity of the Sanskrit and Dravidian words is striking and obvious:

Skt. anala—fire || Ta. anal fire; (vb.) to burn, Ma. anal fire, heat, Ka. analu heat. F. O. Schrader, KZ 5 6 pp. 125–7.
Skt. ēḍa—sheep, ram, wild goat | Ta. yāṣu, āṣu goat.
        sheep. Ma. āṭu id., Ka. āḍu goat, Tu. ēḍu, Tod. āḍu id., Te. ēḍa ram, Go. ṣṭi a she-goat, Kui ṣḍa a goat, Kur. ēḍā, Malt. ēṛī id., Brahuī et she-goat, female hill-goat. Gt.¹ 519, Kitt². no. 34, J. Bloch, BSOS v, 740; cf. BSOAS xi, p. 595.

Skt. kaluṣa—turbid | Ta. kalu ṣ to become turbid, agitated kaluṣi disturbed water, puddle; further Ta. kalaṅku to be stirred up, agitated, Ma. kalaṅṇu, Ka. kalagī id., Kur. khalakṣṇā to disturb, make muddy as water, Malt. qalge id., Kitt, no. 358, J. Bloch BSOS v, 738; cf. BSOAS xi, 132.


Skt. kuṭ— to become crooked or curved, kuṭi curvature, kuṭika—bent, crooked, kuṭila—crooked || Ta. kuṭu crooked, kuṭa curved, bent, kuṭakkam bend, curve, kuṭaṅku to bend, Ma. kuṭu bent, Ka kuḍu bent, crooked, Cald.³ p. 584, Kitt. no. 360; cf. TPS 1945, p. 94.

Skt. kuṭi hut, cottage, house || Ta. Ma. kuṭi hut, house; home, Ka. guḍi house, tent, temple, Kui kūṛi hut etc., BSOAS xi, 137.

Skt. kuṭṭ—kuṭṭayati to bruise crush, pound || Ta. kuṭṭu to strike with the fist, Ka. kuṭṭu beat, strike, pound, Malt. qote to knock, strike, beat, Kur. khoṭṭnā to break, etc. BSOAS xi, 134.

Skt. kuntala—hair of the head | Ta. Ma. kūntal, Ka. kūdal id. Kitt. no. 9.

Skt. kuvalaya—lotus | Ta. kuvalai, Ka. kōmaie, kōva1, kōje id. BSOAS xi, 135.

Skt. khal—threshing-floor || Ta. kaɭam threshing-floor, open space, Ma. kaɭam id., Ka. kaɭa, kaɭa threshing floor, Tu. kala a square, a bed (of flowers, etc.), Te. kalanu threshing-floor, Kui klai id., Kur. khul a field, Malt. qalu a fied on the hills. BSOAS xi, 133.

Skt. khal— a rogue | Ta, kaɭ to steal kaɭvan thief, kaɭavu kaɭavu theft, deception, Ma. kaɭam kaɭavu, Ka. kaɭa a thief, Te. kalla deceit, kallari a rouge, Kur khalb theft, khalbas thief, Malt. qalwe thief, qalwi theft qalwo stealthily, secretly. Gt. 522, Kitt. no. 194; BSOAS xi, 133.

Skt. ghūka—owl | Ta. kūkai, Ka. gūgi, gūge, gūbe Te. gūbi, gūba id. BSOS ix, 721.

Skt. tamarasa—lotus | Ta. tamarai, Ka. tămare, tāvare, Te. tămara, Kuvi tamberti id. Kitt. no. 100.¹

Skt. tāla—palm, palm, Pkt. also tāda id. | Ka. tā, Palmyra tree, Borassus flabelliformis, Te. tādu id. Kitt. no. 101; TPS 1945, p. 120.

Skt. tubara—, tuvara—astringent || Ta. tuvar to be astringent astringency, Ka. tuvara, tovara, togaru astringent, an astringent taste, Kui torpa to be astringent, TPS 1945, p. 106.

Skt. nakra crocodile | Ka. negaɭ crocodile, Tu. negary a sea animal, the vehicle of Varuṇa, negaɭu an alligator, crocodile, Te. negaɭu id Kitt. no. 57, J. Bloch, BSOS v, p. 739².

¹ Skt. tāmarasa— is a mleccha— word according the Sābarabhāṣya on Jaimini-sutra i, 3, 5.

² Bloch wonders whether these words are connected with Skt. makara— alligator, Go. mugral, Kui magori id. The examples given of a Dravidian change n— > m— in BSOAS xi, 333–4, and 609 support this view.
Skt. nand- nandati to rejoice | Ta. nantu to prosper, flourish, be luxuriant, to be proud, glow with pride or splendour.

Skt. nira- water | Ta. Ma. Ka. nir water, Tu. nīru Te. nīru id., Kui nīr juice, sap, essence, Brah. dir water. Cald. p. 571, Kitt. no. 157, J. Bloch, BSOS v, 739; cf BSOAS xi, 611.

Skt. paṇava- drum, tabor | Ta. paṇai a kind of drum, Ka. pāne, paṇa id.


Skt. punnāga- Calophyllum Inophyllum | Ta. punnai id., Ma. punna, Ka. ponne, punnike, Tu. ponne, Te. ponna.


Skt. phala- fruit | Ta. Ma. paṇam fruit, Tod. pōm id., Ka. paṇa ripeness, paṇ, paṇṇu a ripe fruit, Tu, paranu a ripe fruite, Te. paṇḍu a fruit, to ripen, Go. paṇḍānā to ripen, Kur. paṇjiṇā id., paṇḍkō half-ripe. Cald. p. 548, Gt. p. 519, Kitt. no. 111, J. Boch, BSL. xxv, p. 17; BSOS v, 740. Cf. also Pkt. poṇḍa fruit.

¹ Also 'menstruation'. Compare Skt. puṣpita (Pādaṭāditaka 40) puṣpavati (ibid, 38,39), puṣpini, Pkt. (Sattasai) pupphavai, in the same sense.
Skt. *bijā*—seed | Ta. *vitāi, vittu, viccu* to sow; seed, Ma. *vitekka* to sow, *vittu* seed, Ka. *bittu* to sow; seed, Tu. *bittu* seed, *bittum* to sow, Kot. *vit*—to sow, Te. *vittanamu* a seed, *vittu* id.; vb. to sow, Go. *witanā* to sow, (Maria dial.) *vijā* seed (Lind), Kuvi *vichanga* (Fitzgerald) semen, Malt. *bichi* seed (Droese). From the same source, Sinh. *bittaraya* egg, seed (Maldivian *bis*).


Skt. lašuna—garlic | Kui lesuṣi, Malt. nasnu id. BSOAS xi, 614.


Skt. valaya—bracelet | Ta. valai circuit, bracelet, etc.; vb. to bend; to be round; to surround, Ka. baḷe bracelet, balaṣu to go round, encircle, encompass. Cald. p. 574, Gt. p. 520, Kitt. no. 299.


Skt. šakala—scales of a fish; bark, šalka—, šalkala—id. | Ta. cekī skin or rind of fruit; fish-scales, cital, cetīl id., Tu. cagulī the rind of a fruit or vegetable, Malt. cheglo the rind of a fruit.

Skt. šava—corpse | Ta. cā to die, cāvu death, Ka. sā to die, sāvu death; a corpse, Te. caccu to die, cāvu death, etc. Cald. p. 574, Gt. p. 529, Kitt. no. 331.

Considering how many words there are in which the relationship of Sanskrit and Dravidian is fairly obvious, it is not surprising that attention was early turned to this subject. Caldwell devotes a section of his work on Dravidian1 to such words, and Gundert in an article published in 1869a gives a list of words which he considers Sanskrit to have acquired from Dravidian. Later (1894) Kittel published a long list in the preface to his Kannada-English dictionary. Yet in spite of the efforts of these scholars Sanskritists and, to a greater extent still, students of Indo-European continued to ignore this side of their subject. Thus one would not

gather from Uhlenbeck's Sanskrit Etymological Dictionary that anything at all had been done in this direction and it would be easy to collect from the specialist literature a large number of misguided attempts at providing Indo-european etymologies for words for which good Dravidian etymologies had already been pointed out. The reason for this was partly the almost complete neglect during this period of Dravidian philology itself, and partly the lack of scientific method which is visible for instance in Kittel's treatment of the subject. In his list the true tends to be hidden among the false, and it is not surprising if those who had not the means of independent judgment were inclined to ignore the whole.

Since Kittel's Dictionary very little work has been done on this subject. Most worthy of note are two articles by Jules Bloch, who approaches the subject with rather excessive scepticism and caution.

It is now time to say a few words on the principles to be followed in deciding whether a word common to both is originally Sanskrit or Dravidian. The first and most obvious essential is of course to make sure that the word has no Indo-european etymology. Since the Indo-european vocabulary of Sanskrit has been long worked out and established, and as it is hardly likely that much that is new remains to be found in this field, the investigator with even a moderate knowledge of Indo-european linguistics is here on fairly safe ground, and can proceed with reasonable confidence. The question that next arises is whether a Sanskrit word of unknown etymology may not itself have been borrowed into

1. A good example is the derivation of *mzd-: meda-, K. F. Johansson, IF. ii, p. 35. See further p. 18 ff.

Dravidian and not necessarily be derived from that source. This kind of thing of course happens endlessly, since in the dictionaries of Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, and Telugu the Sanskrit vocabulary is appropriated wholesale. But in the case of the words we are discussing there are reasons to show that this has not happened, and they are briefly summarized here.

Firstly the currency of the word in the Dravidian languages is to be considered. If a word occurs widely in Dravidian and is of the nature of a basic element in the vocabulary a corresponding word in Sanskrit, if without Indo-European etymology may reasonably be considered a borrowing from Dravidian. Thus Dravidian min fish and nir water, from which Skt. mina- and nira- are derived, are words which occur, if not in all, at any rate in the great majority of the Dravidian languages, and further it is evident to a comparative student of these languages that they are the basic Dravidian words for denoting these things. Similarly in the word for crow :-

Skt. kāka- | Ta. kākkai, Ma. kākka, Ka. kāke, kāge, Tu. kakke, Te. kāki, Kui. kāva, Go. kawāl, Kur. khākha, Malt. qāqe, Brah. khākhō, Kitt. no. 40; BSOAS xi, 133. The universality of the word in Dravidian is evidence for the derivation from this source of the Sanskrit word, which otherwise might be thought to be onomatopoeic. The same applies to the Dravidian words corresponding to Skt. ēda- sheep, kutt- to pound, pandā eunuch, weakling (TPS 1945, p. 109), and so forth.

Secondly a word is shown to be Dravidian if it is clearly to be derived from some Dravidian root. Take for instance the word for ‘sandal-wood’ :-

Skt. candana- sandal wood, tree, powder or ointment | Ta. cāntu pigment, paste, sandal paste; sandal tree, cāntam sandal, cāttu to daub, smear, anoint, Ma. cāntu a kind of
ointment or paste of sandal, etc. Ka. sādu a fragrant substance, perfume, Tu. sādike smearing, Te. cādu to rub into a paste; sb. a beauty spot (of paste).

Here the Dravidian word for sandal is quite clearly seen to be native since it is etymologically connected with other words meaning 'to rub into a paste', and the specific meaning 'sandal' has developed out of a more general meaning. Many similar examples can be quoted. Ka. sāvu death; corpse is derived from the Dravidian word sā to die, so if it is to be connected with Skt. śava corpse, it can only be done by assuming that the Sanskrit word has been borrowed from Dravidian and not vice versa. Ta. vaḷai Ka. baḷe bracelet, are transparent by derived from a verb meaning 'to surround, encompass,' so they cannot be borrowed from vaḷaya--; it must be the other way round.

A third point to be considered is the antiquity of the word in Dravidian. In so far as this is inferable by comparative study it has already been touched on under point one. But apart from this literature in the case of Tamil takes us back as far as the early centuries of the Christian era, and to a period when Indo-aryan influences, linguistic and otherwise were comparatively restricted. The number of Sanskrit loan-words in the early texts is surprisingly small, and consequently

1. That the sandal is native to Malabar is a commonplace of Skt. literature: Sakuntalā, Act. iv, kadham dani tādassa anākādo paribbhaṭṭā Malāgapavva-dummūlidā via candanalada āsuntare jividam dhāraissam, Kavyamīmāṃsa p. 81, Tāpapahāracaturop nāgavāsaḥ surapriyahā nānyatra Malayād adreśātya candanādrumāḥ, and so forth. The Dravidian verb, Ta. cāṭtu, Te. cādu, seems also to have been adopted in the Sanskrit word uccādāna- or uitsādana-rubbing the body with oils or perfumes, which cannot be referred to a Sanskrit root.

2. There is, of course, a Skt. verb vaḷ- to go round, etc., but it only appears late and therefore itself almost certainly borrowed from Dravidian.
the occurrence of a word in Tamil so early is an argument for its being Dravidian; if on the other hand it only appears late it is more likely to have been borrowed. There is a word for 'creeper' common to both Dravidian and Sanskrit.

Skt. valli | Ta. Ma. valli, Ka. balī, Te. valli. Kitt., IA i, p. 235. The Tamil word is common in the early literature, and not among the type of words that are borrowed from Sanskrit at this period. They are cultural and technical words, whereas valli is a term for a common natural object, and such words are not borrowed at this period. Later valli with a different -l- is adopted from Sanskrit. For 'coral' we have:—

Skt. pravāla- | Ta pavaram, pavaḷam, Ma. paviṟam, Ka. pavaḷa Tu. pakala, pavaḷa, Te. pagaḍamu, pavaḍamu, pavaḍamu, Kuvi pagnelu.

The Tamil word occurs in the earliest texts, and coral is prolific on the coasts of South India, so we may reasonably consider Sanskrit to be the borrower. In the case of a word meaning 'check':—

Skt. kapola- | Ta. kavu! cheek, elephant's temple or jaw, Ma. kavi!, the Dravidian word occurs apparently only in Tamil and Malayalam, but it is ancient in Tamil and therefore almost certainly genuine. The Sanskrit word, which has no IE etymology, may therefore be derived from this source.

Just as the comparative antiquity of a Tamil word increases the likelihood of its being genuine, so the comparative lateness of the appearance of a word in Sanskrit makes

1. Ta. aracan king, ṭūtu messenger, tavaci ascetic, teyam divinity, taccan carpenter, nēmi felly of a wheel, kammiyan smith, mechanic, and so forth.

2. There are, however, some similar Austro-asiatic words quoted by S. K. Chatterjee, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India p. xxii.
it more likely that it has been borrowed. ghūka- owl is quoted only from very late works, whereas Ta. kūkai id., is recorded in the earliest texts, that is to say a good deal earlier than the corresponding Skt. word. palli lizard, is quoted only from a comparatively late lexicon. The fact that words are found only lexicons, which means that they had never a wide currency in Sanskrit, also points to their being loanwords. Another instance is:–

Skt. kūpuṣa- bladder | Ta. koppuḷam bubble, blister, bladder, Ma. koppuḷ etc.; cf. BSOAS xi, 355.

Fourthly the phonetics of the words in question may often be used to establish that a word is originally Dravidian. Take for instance a word meaning ‘jasmine’:-

Skt. mallikā- jasmine | Ta. mullai, Ma. mulla, Ka. molle, Te. mollā id. BSOAS xi, 39.

There is no reason why a Sanskrit -a- should give Tamil -u-, Ka. Te. -o- if Dravidian were the borrower, but assuming that Sanskrit is the borrower, the correspondence is natural: Sanskrit has no short -o- and consequently has substituted short a. The same has happened in the case of a word meaning ‘flesh’.

Skt. pala-, palala- flesh | Ta. pulavu, flesh, raw meat, pulāḷ id., Te. pola, polasu flesh, meat. BSOAS xi, 139.

There is a similar correspondence between Sanskrit short a and Dravidian e in the following word which is originally Dravidian:–

Skt. arka- Calotropis gigantea | Ta. erukku, Ma. erikku, Ka. erke, ekke, yakka, Tu. ekkamāle, ekkame id. Kitt. no. 83, In the case of the name of the tree Pandanus odoratissimus:–

Skt. ketaka- | Ta. kaitai, kaital, Ma. kaitā, Ka. kēdage, Te. gēdage, the diphthong -ai- in the Tamil and Malayalam words is an indication that the word is originally Dravidian.
Consonants as well as vowels peculiar to Dravidian are also useful as an indication. Thus \( t \) in Ka. \( târ \), palm, Te. \( tâdu \), Skt. \( tâla \), and also a word meaning 'black':-

Skt. \( kâla \) - black | Ta. \( kâr \) blackness; blemish, fault, defect, Ka. \( kâr \) blackness, \( kâggu \) to turn black. Gt. 520, Kitt. no. 172, J. Bloch, BSOS v, 738. Likewise \( r \) in Ta. \( karai \), \( karavu \) tax: Skt. \( kara \) (TPS 1945, p. 88) and Ta. \( pöru \) worship, adore, honour; Skt. \( pûj \) (TPS 1945, p. 114).

Again when the word in its Sanskrit form has suffered from assimilation or loss of consonants, it is clear that Sanskrit, not Dravidian, is the borrower. Instances are Skt. \( puîkha \) - feathered part of an arrow: Ta. \( puîkku \), Ka. \( piîkku \) (TPS 1945, p. 110), Skt. \( uîch \) - to glean, \( prûch \) to rub, wipe: Ta. \( uriîcu \) to rub, scrape (TPS 1945, p. 85). Further:-

Skt. \( campaka \) - Michelia champaka | Ta. \( eçpakanam \), \( canpakanam \), Te. \( canupaka \) (beside \( campaka \), \( sampega \)) id.

Skt. \( anköla \) - Alangium hexapetalum | Ta. \( ariîcil \), Ma. \( ariînil \) id. BSOAS xi, 131.

Skt. \( kajjala \) - soot, lampblack | Ta. \( karical \) blackness. From the Sanskrit side phonetic irregularities may point to a word being borrowed:-

Skt \( kulpha \) - \( gulpha \) - ankle | Ta. Ma. \( kùlampu \) hoof of an animal, Ka. \( koîagu \), \( koînagu \) the hoof of a beast, whether cloven or not.

The alternation between surd and sonant is rare and irregular in Sanskrit, but a common phenomenon in Dravidian, and suggests that the word is derived from this source. Similarly the fluctuation in the initial in the case of Skt. \( jatâ \) matted locks; fibrous roots, \( satâ, satâ \) matted locks; mane of a lion, and possibly \( chaîtâ \) collection, heap, is reminiscent of Dravidian conditions, and consequently it is reasonable to regard Ta. \( caîtai \) matted locks; fibrous roots; thick bunch,
Ka. jade, jede matted hair, are native Dravidian words and that Sanskrit has borrowed.

Fifthly a comparison of the meanings of the Sanskrit and Dravidian words is often useful. For instance:—

Skt. satha- fraudulent, deceitful; a cheat, rough | Ka. cotta, cotta, soṭṭa, sotta crookedness, saṭi, seṭe, sede to become crooked or bent, Te. cotta crookedness, lameness.

The meaning 'deceitful' develops secondarily from the meaning 'crooked', and this shows Dravidian to be original. Likewise in the case of the following:—

Skt. malla- wrestler, athlete | Ta. mallan strong, powerful person, warrior, commander, military chief, youth, inhabitant of agricultural or hilly tract; the fact that the Tamil word has a much wider meaning than the Sanskrit is in favour of its being genuinely Dravidian. On the other hand Ta. mallan wrestler pugilist, with a meaning identical with Skt. malla- is to be regarded as a loanword. Such are some of the general principles according to which one may proceed, and in addition there are the particular arguments which arise in the case of each individual word. On the whole it is possible to arrive at a considerable degree of certainty, although there are always some cases about which it is difficult to be sure.

For the greater part of the loanwords in Sanskrit there has been no serious attempt to find an Indo-european etymology. For quite a number obviously weak or bad etymologies have been proposed. In some cases, though very few, the claims of Indo-european and Dravidian are nicely balanced, so as to leave room for difference of opinion as to the real origin. Liden, KZ 40, 260, explained Skt. palli lizarh as a fem. of *palla-, a Pkt. form out of *padla- <*padra- '(a snake) with legs'. All the intervening stages, phonetic and semantic, are purely hypothetical, and it is
certain that any one who was acquainted with the fact that such a word was widespread in Dravidian, would not have wasted time proposing such an etymology. Further examples:

Skt. tūla- cotton; down (hamṣa-tūla-) | Ta. Ma. tūval feather, down, etc. BSOAS xi, 248.

This has been derived (WP i, 709) from the root tū- to be big, strong thick, and connected with words as different in meaning as Gk. ἀπλη, τύλος swelling, hump, and Alb. tul a piece of flesh without bones. The Dravidian words are identical in meaning, and obviously provide a much better etymology.

Skt. kōraka- bud | Ta. kūraī sprout, shoot, Kui kōru new shoot or bud, Go. kōrsānā to sprout, Kur. khōrnā to shoot out new leaves, khōr leaf-bud, new leaves, Malt. qōroce to sprout, BSOAS xi, 135.

The Sanskrit word has been connected (Pettersson, ap. WT i, 371) with a whole host of words which have nothing to do with it, all supposed to be derived from a root qeu– to bend. On the other hand the Dravidian etymology strikes us as correct at once.


There is a vague derivation of Skt. mayūra- from a root mei– to cry, which is obviously worth little in view of the Dravidian words.

Skt. śerabha- and śerabhaka- names of snakes, sira-boa constrictor | Ta. cērai, cārai rat-snake, Ma. cēa, Ka. kōre, kyāre, Tu. kēre. Te. sāre-pāmu id. Kitt. no. 78.

The derivation of the Skt. words from a root meaning black (WP i, 361: Skt. śyāva–, etc.) is nothing but a mere possibility; on the other hand the Sanskrit and Dravidian words are very close, both in form and meaning.

It is exceedingly doubtful whether Indo-European possessed the letter b. The current etymology Skt. *bala-*, Gk. Lat. *debilis*, OB bolje magis, plus, is one of the examples quoted. The Latin word can alternatively be explained as from *de-hibilis*, the Gk. word by comparing Cretan δελτον. εγεσόν. The Dravidian words are certainly native and not derived from Sanskrit. There is a stronger case for deavied from Sanskrit. There is a stronger case for deriving the Sanskrit word from Dravidian than for reconstructing this doubtful Indo-European root.


The Skt. word is classically compared with G. *δέντοστ* tree, and this could be justified as an instance of dialectal phonetic change (R. L. Turner, JRAS 1924, p. 566: cf. *āṇḍa-*, *caṇḍa-*). On the other hand the Dravidian words, although to some extent influenced latterly by Sanskrit, are fundamentally a native group. We might have here a case of accidental similarity, but the fact that the effect of Dravidian on the Sanskrit vocabulary is so very extensive, does weigh in favour of Dravidian origin.
A special class of words for which some very doubtful Indo-European etymologies have been proposed consists in those supposed to contain an irregular, Prakritic cerebral. There are of course in Classical Sanskrit a certain number of Prakritic forms such as bhaṭa- soldier, bhaṭṭa-, bhaṭṭāraka- lord, etc. The same principle has been applied even to words occurring in the Rgveda, as well as to a great number of other words of doubtful etymology. In many cases such etymologies are very dubious or palpably false, in a considerable number the words turn out to be of Dravidian origin. Such are kuṭila- crooked: Ta. koṭu, etc., kuṭi house; Ta. kuṭi, Skt. kūṭa- in its various senses, Skt. puṭa- basket of leaves (TPS 1945, p. 111), Skt kaṭu- pungent, sharp, bitter, is derived from the Dravidian word which appears as Ta. kaṭu severe, punget, sharp, bitter, Ma. kaṭu extreme, impetuous, fierce, kaṭukka to grow hard, sharp, worse as pain, Ka. kaṭu intense, vehement, severe, Tu. kaṭu pungent, severe, extreme, Te. kaṭu kaḍidi excessive, extreme, difficult, hard, Kui kaṭi nōmeri a severe fever, kaṭru kāu a species of fruit with a pungent taste, kṛṣṭu pungent, Malto qarge bitter, Kur. khar-khā bitter; pungent, hot as spices; harsh, cutting, as words. With Sanskrit kaṭa- mat, we can compare Go. kaṭṭi a palm leaf mat which can be derived from Dravidian kaṭṭu to tie, fasten together, construct. Skt. kaṭa- in vikaṭa- huge, extensive, saṃkaṭa- narrow utkaṭa- high, immense, is probably to be equated with Ta. kaṭai, Ma. kaṭa, Ka. Tu. kaḍe- end; side, direction, as certainty is kaṭa- in Skt. kaṭākṣa- side-glance: Ta. kaṭaiṅkāṇ, Ka. kaḍeṅgaṇ id. (Kitt. no. 350). Skt. kuṇḍa- pot, vessel; pit, is derived from Dravidian (F. B. J. Kuiper, BSOS ix, 691 ff.; cf. BSOAS xi, 138) and has naturally nothing to do with Gk. κυλίνδω to roll. Skt. (BUddh-) aṇṭhāti to

1. These are collected by Weckernagel, Altindische Grammatik i, § 146.
visit, is not derived from arthate but from Dravidian. Ta. Ma. 
and to approach, come in contact with. Even when no 
Dravidian correspondences have been pointed out, this type 
of etymology is often obviously unsound. It is not possible 
to reconstruct an Indo-european word on the basis of a 
hapax legomenon in Sanskrit and a rare Gk. dialect word as 
is done in the case of Skt. kevasta-. Gk. kaiata Skt. kāya-
hole, is explained as being out of karṣa id., no doubt rightly, 
but the variant form garta- shows the word to be foreign to 
Aryan (probably Dravidian: cf. kulpha-, gulpha-) and the 
phonetic development here will be one that has taken place 
outside Indo-aryan. When the Dravidian elements have been 
picked out, and the other false etymologies discarded, very 
little remains out of this collection of so-called Prakritic 
cerebrals in Sanskrit.

This is enough to illustrate the kind of false etymology 
which tends to be produced by studying Sanskrit purely from 
the Indo-european point of view. It would be easy to 
multiply examples, but it is sufficient here to emphasize the 
importance of the loanword question in Sanskrit from the 
point of view of Indo-european studies. For the current 
understanding of Indo-european it is necessary that all non 
Indo-european elements in the individual languages should be 
rigorously excluded. This has certainly never been comple-
tely done in the case of Sanskrit, and presumably the same 
thing applies in the other branches too. In the case of 
Sanskrit the position is very favourable for doing this, because 
the languages from which Sanskrit has drawn, particularly 
the Dravidian group, are still available for study. It is not 
so easy to do this in the case of other languages, where such 
materials are not available, but a lesson may be drawn from 
Sanskrit as to the kind of bad etymology which should be 
avoided, and in particular Indo-europeanists should continu-
ally bear in mind, which they have never done to the proper
sent, that all the languages since the beginning of their separate existence and primitive Indo-European itself, have always been liable to the influence of foreign languages. To study the Indo-European languages without a lively awareness of this fact, merely from the point of view of Indo-European itself can only lead to a series of pitfalls not only in matters of detail but also in matters of principle.

The adoption of Dravidian words by Sanskrit has already begun by the time of the Rgveda, and continues throughout the later stages of Sanskrit, and is continued in the Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan languages. The Dravidian words that occur in the Rgveda are specially interesting. Of the words already mentioned in this paper the following are found in the Rgveda: kätuca- bitter, kuṇḍa- pot, kulpha- ankle, kīṭa- mallet, khala- threshing-floor, dāṇḍa- stick, puṣpa- flower, phala- fruit, bala- strength, bīja- seed, mayūra- peacock; in addition we have lāṅgala- plough (BSOAS xi, 131, 603), muṇja- a kind of grass (BSOAS xi, 609), ukha- a part of the body (TPS 1945, p. 85) pūj to honour (TPS 1945 p. 114). To these we can add:-

Skt. araṇī- stick for kindling fire by rubbing || cf. Ta. arai to rub, grind, Ma. arekka id., Ka. are, Tu. arepuni id., Te. rācu to rub, grind.

Skt. ulūkhalā- mortar || Ta. ulakkai pestle, Ma. ulakka, Ka. olake id., Te. rōkali a large wooden pestle. J. Bloch, BSOS v, 742.

Skt. kurambha- flour or meal mixed with curds, a kind of gruel || Ta. kurampu to be stirred up, mixed; (sb.) a mixture, liquid of thick consistency such as sandal paste; thickened curry, broth, Ma. kurāṃka to be mixed as pap, kurampu thickened fluid.

Skt. kāṇā- blind in one eye || Drav. (Ta., etc.) kāṇā negative participle of kāṇ-, kān- to see. Gt. p. 521, Marīa Go. kānā blind (Lind).

Skt. kulāya- n. nest | Ta. kuẓām, kuẓāam crowd, flock, shoal, from vb. kuẓu to assemble. Cf. Ta., etc., kūṭu vb. to assemble, kūṭu sb. nest.

Skt. kūla- herd, troop, flock, etc., | Ta. kuṣu, kuṣuvu, kuṣuu assembly, flock, herd, swarm, kuṣunu to flock together. BSOAS xi, 139.

Skt. naḍ- , naḷ- reed | Ka. naḷḷu reed, Ta. nānal, Ma. nānal. Ka. nānal id. (< *nānal), cf. Ta. ṇeḷ to be hollow, ṇeḷḷa hollow, Tu. nalle a hollow, nalli shinbone (cf. Skt. naḍaka- the hollow of a bone), Ka. naḷḷu a nalla, or depression in the ground (cf. Hi. nāḷa; etc., in this sense).

Skt. piṇḍa- lump, elod, etc. | Ka. petta, pette, penče, heṇḍe, heṇḍe a clod, lump of earth, Te. peṭḍa, pella id. Te. piṇḍali a lump or mass, Ka. Te. piṇḍu to squeeze together.

Skt. biḷa hole, cave | Ta. viḷavu cleft, crack; vb. to split, viḷ, viḷḷu to crack, split, Ma. viḷḷu to crack, burst open, viḷḷa- a hollow, rent, viḷḷu a crack, aperture.

Skt. maṇḍūka- frog | The frogs’ habit of sleeping in the ground during the dry weather, and waking up in the rains is the subject of one Vedic hymn (vi, 103). The word can be derived from the Dravidian words maṇ earth (Ta. Ka., etc.), and Ta. tuṅku to nod, sleep (among other meanings), Ma. tuṅṇu, Tu. tuṅguni, Ka. tūgu, etc. Drav. ṃ + t produces -ḍ- in sandhi1

1. Skt. maṇḍuki a particular part of an elephant’s leg (Palakāpya, ed. A. S. S. p. 529) is quite a different word from this and also of Dravidian origin. Compare Ta. maṇḍi kneeling, Ka. maṇḍi what is bent; the knee, Tu. maṇḍi knee, Go. (Maria) mendā the knee, Kui menda id.

Here are some twenty-five words. It is not many, compared with the number in later Sanskrit, but it is enough to show that the process had already begun at this early period. This is of particular importance on account of the historical conclusions we are enabled to draw. At the time of the *Rigveda* the Indo-aryans had not penetrated far into India, and were separated by large tracts of territory from what is now the most northerly boundary of the main body of Dravidian languages. The Dravidian words in the *Rigveda* are evidence that at one time the Punjab and adjacent areas were at this ancient period occupied by Dravidian-speaking peoples. This confirms the conclusions that have been drawn from the position of the isolated Brahui language in Baluchistan, and makes it exceedingly unlikely that they have wandered there as a nomadic tribe from some other part of India. These words, and the continual adoption later of Dravidian words, make it necessary to conclude that the greater part of Northern and Western India, now Aryan-speaking, was originally Dravidian-speaking. The Kolarians also appear in the *Rigveda*, and there is no doubt that they had by this time pushed up the Ganges valley, so as to meet the on-coming Aryans. But their influence on Sanskrit was never on anything like the same scale as that of Dravidian, which means that they cannot have formed a major element of the population in this parts of the country.

The adoption of Dravidian words by Sanskrit continues steadily throughout the whole history of the language. At
each later stage more such words are found. The great
majority have become established by the time of the epic
poem, Mahābhārata and Rāmāyāṇa, and of these a large pro-
portion are first quoted from these texts. In Prakrit we find
additional Dravidian words which are not known to Sanskrit,
and again in the modern Indo-aryan languages there are
Dravidian words which are not recorded earlier in Indo-
aryan. These words have not in the main been taken from
the existing South Dravidian languages, although in many
cases these are the only languages which we are in a position
to quote. The source of the main body is to be sought rather
in the extinct Dravidian dialects which have been replaced in
large areas of India by Indo-aryan. There are now islands of
Dravidian speech in the central and northern parts of India,
gradually being overwhelmed by Indo-aryan. In earlier times
these Dravidian areas must have been bigger and more
numerous, with Indo-aryan spread more thinly. This is why
we find the influence of Dravidian on Indo-aryan so great,
and also why it has continued to be active during each
successive period. It also makes more complicated the
business of defining the Dravidian element in the Sanskrit
vocabulary. The particular languages or dialects from which
most of these words are derived are no longer available; we can
only find those words which they shared with other Dravidian
languages, particularly the cultivated and well-preserved
languages of the South. But there must have been many
words current in the ancient Dravidian as once spoken in the
Punjab, Rajputana, and Western India, to which the counter-
part is not to be found in the existing languages. Likewise it
is to be expected that there will be in Sanskrit not a small
number of Dravidian words, which it is not now possible to
trace.

Just as Sanskrit has been influenced by the non-Aryan
languages of India, in the same way it would not be surprising
if these languages, namely the Dravidian and Kolarian families, had mutually influenced each other. In the present condition of the study of these languages, this is a subject which it is not possible to tackle properly, but there is one word which deserves consideration in this respect and that is Skt. lāṅgala-, Pa. naṅgala- plough. The corresponding Dravidian words are very close in form—Ta. ṇāṅcil, nāṅcil, Ma. ṇēṅṅōl, Ka. nēgal, nēgil, Tu. nāyery, Tod. nēkhel. Te. nāgali, nāgēlu, Go. nāngēl, Kui nāngeli—so that it would be natural to assume that the Indo-aryan was borrowed from Dravidian. On the other hand Przyluski² has pointed out some Austro-asian words that appear very similar and claimed them as the origin of the Sanskrit word. The words he quotes are Khmer aṅkāl, Čam. laṅan, laṅal, laṅar, Khasi kalynkor, Malay tengola, teṅgāla, Batak tiṅgala Makassar naṅkala—The connection of these words with the Sanskrit and Dravidian words is obvious as also with Santali nahel, Mundari nāel. The word is clearly Austro-asian, since it is built up by a series of varying prefixes on a base *kal or *kel. The simple form appears in Sanskrit as hala- plough with a change k>k which is characteristic of Santali and the neighbouring Kolarian languages. In this case Dravidian has borrowed from Austro-asian. Sanskrit has acquired the word either directly from an Austro-asian source, or equally possibly from an intermediate Dravidian source.

Another word which Tamil has acquired from an Austro-asian source is iṅci ginger. In this case the Sanskrit word spīṅgaverā- contains apparently as its second element the Dravidian word, Ta., etc. vēr root, an indication that here too Dravidian is the intermediary between Austro-asian and Sanskrit. Mention has also been made of Ta. paṅci

1. Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India—pp. 8 ff. His further attempts to connect Skt. lāṅga-, lāṅgula, etc., with this word are of course fanciful.
cotton, which seems to be of Austro-asiatic origin and no doubt full investigation would reveal more instances of this kind as well as instances of the reverse kind, namely the influence of Dravidian or Kolarian.

In speaking of the Kolarian languages it was pointed out that they were connected with languages to the east of India. The connections of the Dravidian languages lie in the opposite direction. Bishop Caldwell, who first studied those languages comparatively, maintained that they were related to the Finno-ugrian or Scythian languages as he called them, and collected some evidence to support this. Later F. O. Schrader published an article in support of the same point of view, and more recently I have studied the comparative vocabulary dealing with the parts of the body, and this shows a wide degree of correspondence. This theory has not yet become an established tenet of linguistic science, although the theory of the north-western origin of the Dravidians has found its way into most of the history books. The reason for the failure of this theory to become generally established, is not so much lack of evidence and material for proof as the fact that practically no work has been done on the subject, and that Dravidian philology has always remained a neglected subject. Suffice it to say here that the correspondences between the two language families are so numerous and far-reaching that they cannot well be explained any other way than by the theory of common origin. From the point of view of the subject of the present paper it will be necessary ultimately when the Dravidian loanwords in Sanskrit are treated in a complete and final way, to give not only the immediate Dravidian etymologies, but also the further Uralian etymologies where such are to be found. At present it will be sufficient to give a few examples by way of illustration.
Skt. mūsala—pestle | Ka. mase, masagu to rub, grind, Kur. masmasr— to shampoo, Go. masitānā to sharpen, masol whetstone, J. Bloch. BSOS v, 741; also with rhotacism Ta. maruku to be crushed, pounded | Fi. musertaa to crush, pound, Hu. muszolni.

Skt. kaśāya—stringent, Pa. kasāya—, kasāva—, and Pa. kasaṭa—bitter, acrid, nasty | Ta. kai, kaya, kaca to be bitter, kayar, kacar bitterness, Ka. kay, kasa, kasaru, kasi, kahi, Tu. kaipe bitterness, kasa brackish, Te. cēdu, cēti bitter, kasu raw, unripe, kasūgāya an unripe fruit, kasuru id., Kuvi kasa sour, Go. kehke bitter, Malt. qase to become bitter, insipid or vapid | Fi. katkera acer, amarus, Kar. kačkera id., LpN. guocca putridus, Cher. kočo, kača, kafšō, etc., bitter, sour, Voty. köš, Hg. keszerū.

Skt. tarala—unsteady, trembling, tremulous | Ka. tera! to move, shake, tremble, quiver, Te. teralu to move, toss about, taralu to stir, move, etc., TPS 1945. p. 106 | SamO. tarelnan zittern, Osty. toren zitternd, torilem zittern, MdM. teiōms vibrieren, beben.

Skt. lālā saliva, spittle | Ma.nōla, nōla spittle, saliva, Tu. nōli anything sticky, gummy, glutinous, viscous; saliva; phlegm, nōne saliva, spittle, Ka. lōje saliva, slaver; tenacious mucus, phlegm, Malt. lāli spittle, Kur. lāle id. | Hg. nydl saliva, nyālka saliva, mucus, Fi. nil lubricum quid, pituita, nilja id., Est. nolg, g. nolė rotz, MdE. nolgo, M. nolga id. Zyr. nilēg schleim; schleimig, schlüpftrag, LpN. ūile schleim. BSOAS xi, 339.

Skt. tūla—cotton, hamsa-tūla—the soft feathers of down | Ta. tūval feather, down, etc., Ma. tūval a feather, of a goose | Tod. tūf pen, feather, etc. | a painter’s brush, toppal feathers, Fi. sulka feather, LpN. dölge id., M. tölga, Cher. rol id., Xyr. tyl, tyr feder, flugel, Vog. taul, tawel, id., Hg. toll feather, pen. BSOAS xi, 348.

A more complicated case is presented by the following words:

**DRAVIDIAN:** Tu *sūṅgu, tūṅgu* the beard of barley, etc., *cuṅge* awn, *tūṅgalu* awny, full of beard, as corn, Ka. *sunku* the bristle or beard of corn; with related meaning, Ta. *ciku*, *cikam-pul* broomstick grass, *ūkam*, *ūkai* id. (> Hi. *sik* the culm of the grass of which brooms are made).

**FINNO-UGRIAN:** MdE. *šuva* kaff, spreu, M. *šuva*, *šova* bart an der ähre, *kalōn* *šuva* kleine fischgräte, Zyr. *šu* getreide, korn, etc., Cher. *šū* die kleie des hafers, Fi. *siikanen* ährenspitze, bart an der ähre, achel.

**SANSKRIT:** *śūka-* awn of grain, a spike, spicule *śūnga-*awn of grain. In Iranian, Av. *sūkā* needle, is connected with Skt. *śūka*.

Attention has been drawn to the similarity of the Indo-iranian and Finno-ugrian words and Jacobson¹ and others have considered that in this case Finno-ugrian has borrowed the word from early Aryan. But the existence of Dravidian words corresponding to the Finno-ugrian, shows that the words must be native in Finno-ugrian and not borrowed. It is the Indian and Iranian words that must have been borrowed, a fact which is further demonstrated by the phonetic relation between Skt. *śūka-* and *śūnga-* which does not fit into any recognized Indo-european pattern. In view of its Iranian connection, however, Skt. *śūka-* is

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¹ Arier and Ugrofinnien pp. 126 and 167.
not to be regarded as a loanword from Dravidian, but rather as a much earlier loanword acquired outside India, very likely from Finno-ugrian itself.

This brings us to the earliest period of the loanwords in Sanskrit, namely the primitive Indo-Iranian period when there was contact between the Indo-Iranians and speakers of early Finno-ugrian. It has long been known that the latter acquired a number of Aryan words at this period, particularly in the matter of numerals which have recently been fully discussed by A. S. C. Ross.¹ The tendency has been to look exclusively for the influence of Indo-Iranian on Finno-ugrian and to ignore the possibilities of the borrowing being the other way round. In the case of the word sūka— the evidence from Dravidian points to the fact that the Indo-Iranian is the borrower. There are also some other words mentioned in this connection to which the same may apply. A notable example is the word for 'bee'. Fi. mehišinen, Cher. mūkš, md. mekš, Voty. muš, Hg. mēh: Skt, māks-, māksā, māksikā fly. bee, Av. māks̥it Fliege. The Finno-ugrian words here are usually considered to have been borrowed from Indo-Iranian, but there are two reasons which suggest that Indo-Iranian may have been the borrower. Firstly the other Indo-European languages have no corresponding word and secondly the Finno-ugrian forms point to an original vowel ē in the first syllable. This latter point is important because the other Finno-ugrian loanwords show a phonetic system corresponding to that which has been reconstructed for Primitive Indo-Iranian. It is obvious that, such being the case, it cannot be assumed without further argument, that Finno-ugrian is the borrower in this case.

These are the main lines on which research into the loan-words in the Sanskrit vocabulary can be undertaken.

¹ TPS, 1944, pp. 45-93.
The subject is still only partly explored and much remains to be done. The full working out of Dravidian and Austroasiatic philology is necessary, before a final and definitive exposition of the subject can be made. This is not likely to be done in a short time, but it is to be hoped that in the years to come Sanskritists will pay more attention to this neglected field. When all this material has been collected and subjected to scientific study, there is reason to believe that a very large proportion of the unexplained words in Sanskrit will be traced to their source. In the same way much will be found that will illuminate the study of the modern Indo-aryan vernaculars. Indian linguistics must be based on the combined study of the three major linguistic families together with their external connections. This is a vast field for investigation of which only the surface has so far been touched.
SANSKRIT AND THE PRE-ARYAN TRIBES AND LANGUAGES

The two subjects combined in this title may not at first sight appear to have very much to do with each other. They are, indeed, from many points of view poles apart. It is a fact that, as far as the more primitive tribes are concerned, Sanskrit civilization, in spite of the long period it has been established throughout India, has passed them by almost completely. On the other hand, some of the ancient pre-Aryan tribes, notably the southern Dravidian ones, have constituted themselves into considerable nations, retaining their own identity and language, and at the same time permeated from an early period by Sanskritic (i.e. Aryan) culture. Furthermore, in the Indo-Aryan area the pre-Aryan populations have, for the most part, long since lost their tribal identity, having been absorbed into the composite society produced by the fusion of the Aryans and their predecessors. Fortunately for the linguist and the historian this process was never completed; and particularly in the mountainous belt that runs across central India, islands of Munda- and Dravidian-speaking peoples still remain as the modern representatives of pre-Aryan India. In other cases certain tribes, though they have adopted Aryan speech, have preserved their individuality and a culture of their own, e.g. the Khasas (D. N. Majumdar, the Fortunes of Primitive Tribes, pp. 110 ff.)

The fusion of Aryan and pre-Aryan can be exemplified in many ways, and one of the most important ways in which it shows itself is in the linguistic development of Indo-Aryan. The Indo-Aryan language was introduced into India sometime in the second millennium B.C., according to the
usual run of opinion, and that period, in its earliest phase, i.e. as Vedic or, to put it more precisely, Pre-Vedic and at this period the language was very nearly pure Indo-European. In the period of over 3,000 years which have elapsed since then, this Indo-European base has not only been subject to continual transformation within itself, but it has also continuously received accretions from the pre-existing languages with the speakers of which the invading Aryans merged.

DRAVIDIAN INFLUENCE ON INDO-ARYAN

It is by now quite clear that the most pronounced influence of this sort on Indo-Aryan has come from the side of Dravidian. Some of the commonest words in Sanskrit, e.g. nira (water), mina (fish), mukula (bud), kuntala (hair), tāmarasa (lotus), tāla (palmyra palm), and so forth, are immediately recognizable as the ordinary Dravidian names for these objects. Consequently, attention was first directed to this problem quite early. Robert Caldwell, as usual the pioneer in such matters, gave a list of 'words probably borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian tongues' (Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, pp. 567 ff). A few of Caldwell's identifications are off the point, but in the main they hold good. On the other hand, his list of 'Sanskrit affinities,' purporting to be words of common origin, i.e. implying the assumption of genetic relationship, can all be explained away as being either loan-words, like his first list or cases of accidental or fallacious resemblance. Another pioneer in this respect was H. Gundert who, in 1869, published a similar list in support of this theory ('Die Dravidischen Elemente im Sanskrit', ZDMG., No. 23, pp. 517-30) A much more extensive list was later compiled by Kittel and published by him in the preface to his Kannada-English dictionary (1894).
As a result of his own work and that of Gundert, Caldwell was able to claim (op. cit., p. 575) that 'the indebtedness of Sanskrit in some particulars to the Dravidian languages seems now to be generally admitted', and to quote the distinguished European Sanskritist Benfey in support. In this respect, however, he turned out to be somewhat premature, since the practical effect of the work of the above three on European Sanskrit studies was next to nothing. This may be referred to two causes. In the first place, truth and falsehood appear very mixed up in the lists we have referred to, and it is easy to find points to criticize. To some extent this may have acted as a deterrent and raised suspicions about the over-all correctness of this method of approach. But even so it can only be a secondary cause, since it is quite evident that the main reason why these discoveries were neglected was the fact that at this period European Sanskritists paid practically no attention to Dravidian studies.

It was in accordance with this dominant tendency that C. C. Uhlenbeck's etymological dictionary of Sanskrit completely ignored the question of the influence of the Pre-Aryan languages on Sanskrit, even though many perfectly valid etymologies from Dravidian had already been pointed out. Another feature, characteristic of some of the scholarship of this period, deserves to be mentioned, namely, tendency to resort to tortuous reconstructions in order to find, by hook or by crook, Indo-European explanations for Sanskrit words. Nevertheless, in spite of even such measures, there remained a considerable mass of the Sanskrit vocabulary which was beyond even attempts of this nature.

Now fifty years later the position is considerably improved, and the importance of the importance of the influence of the pre-Aryan languages on Sanskrit has come to be
increasingly recognized. In accordance with modern developments, the new etymological dictionary by M. Mayrhofer takes the non-Aryan influence fully into account, while at the same time fully recognizing the possibilities of error attached to the early stages of such investigations (Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, Heidelberg, 1953).

DRAVIDIAN WORDS IN SANSKRIT

Concerning the question of Dravidian words in Sanskrit, I have written at length elsewhere, and do not propose to go into details on the present occasion. I intend rather to speak about certain results and general conclusions to be got on the basis of this material. The relative importance of various pre-Aryan people vis-a-vis the Indo-Aryans may be expected to be reflected in the degree of influence exercised on the Indo-Aryan language. From this point of view, it can be stated with little hesitation that Dravidian rates very high in this respect. The number of loan-words in classical Sanskrit from this source is very considerable. In comparison, the demonstrable influence of the Austro-Asiatic Kol or Munda languages seems to be comparatively small. There is a difficulty in this matter consisting in the fact that only a small number of languages belonging to the latter group have been investigated, and that their serious comparative study has not yet begun, as it cannot until adequate material is available. Nevertheless, even when allowance is made for this, it seems quite impossible that these languages can have exercised anything like the same degree of influence on Sanskrit as Dravidian. This being the case, one would be inclined to believe that in the north Indian areas occupied by Indo-Aryan the Dravidians had formed a more prominent part of the population than the Mundas.

Another important matter to be considered is the period at which most of these Dravidian loans into Sanskrit took
place. In the Vedic literature they are comparatively few, although a number of them have been pointed out, and consequently, we know that even at this early period the Aryans must have been in contact with Dravidians. Also the Vedic language was the possession of the sacerdotal class, and they zealously guarded its purity against the influence of mleccha languages and against the corruptions of the popular speech. Consequently, there was likely to be a considerable time-lag between the words becoming current in Indo-Aryan and their being admitted into the sacred language. It is therefore likely that many such words were in use considerably earlier than they appear in literature.

Coming next to the epic literature, we find that the bulk of the Dravidian words which have been accepted into Sanskrit are well established by this time. The epics in their final form are perhaps not very early, but the tradition they embody, including style and language, goes back a considerable time. Furthermore, these same words, which appear in the epics for the first time, turn up also to a large extent in the early Pali texts, and this certainly takes them back well before the Christian era. In view of these considerations, we may fix the period when Dravidian influence on Sanskrit was most strongly exercised as the late Vedic and early classical period. As regards the later history of Sanskrit, it is true that new words from various sources continue to appear in the centuries following, but the interesting thing is that very few of these appear to be Dravidian. Proceeding to Prakrit, the influx of new words is again abundant, but the percentage which can be found a Dravidian origin is comparatively small (A useful list of these was compiled by K. Amrita Row and published in *Indian Antiquary*, XLVI. pp. 33ff.). Again in modern Indo-Aryan there is a significant access of new words, but (leaving out the special case of Marathi) whatever the origin of this vocabulary, it is clearly not Dravidian.
SOME IMPORTANT CONCLUSIONS

Certain conclusions follow inevitably from these facts. It is not possible to account for these Dravidian words in Sanskrit on the theory that the source was the existing Dravidian languages of South India. This is impossible, because the period when the bulk of these words must have been acquired preceded that of any extensive contact between Aryan and South Dravidian. This begins in the Maurya period or, at the earliest, in the Nanda period, but it is not until the Andhra period that we get any close connection between a section of the Aryans and the South Dravidians. It is possible that a few Dravidian words may have gained currency in this way, but as far as the origin of the majority of them is concerned, it is definitely ruled out.

We are therefore driven to the conclusion that the Dravidian which exercised the main influence on Sanskrit was a Northern Dravidian. There is no difficulty in this assumption, since certain islands of Dravidian still exist in the North. These are Kurukh and Malto, and in the far west, the Brahui of Baluchistan. Of course, Dravidian on such a small scale, as it exists now in the North, could not have exercised any serious influence. So we must conclude that Dravidian was at one time extensively current in the North and very likely also (in order to account for its influence on Sanskrit) that it had been current in some of the main areas of Aryan settlement.

A consideration of the type of words adopted by Indo-Aryan leads to certain conclusions. We have on the one hand, for instance, such words as the names of Indian trees for which the Indo-Aryans cannot have had any words to begin with, and some of which one would therefore expect to find borrowed from Dravidian. Such are ketaka (pandanus
odoratissimus), tāla (palmyra palm), and so forth. But in addition to these, we find a considerable number which are unnecessary’ inasmuch as Indo-Aryan was perfectly well supplied with words having these meanings already. Such are the above mentioned nīra (Aryan: udaka, āpas) and mīna (Aryan: matsya). Similar cases are kānana, forest (Aryan: rana); kāca, carrying yoke (Aryan: vivadha); kuntala, hair (Aryan: keśa); and so forth. It is difficult to see how such words could have become current in Sanskrit, unless at one period there was a considerable amount of bilingualism in North India. The unnecessary adoption of, for example, Dravidian nīra is reminiscent of the Anglo-Indian slang in which, for instance, ‘pawny’ would commonly be substituted for the English word ‘water’. Such usage was particularly common among the lower ranks of the army and corresponding grades elsewhere, but largely avoided in official English speaking and writing in India. Much the same was obviously the case in the later Vedic period in India. The official language consciously avoided the use of mleccha terms, though not with complete success, since they were not always detected. On the other hand, they must have had considerable currency in the language of the lower classes during the bilingual period. In course of time, a considerable number were elevated to the status of literary words, and as such we meet them in the epics.

Another point that would be worth special investigation is these loan-words in modern Indo-Aryan. It is interesting to note that such words as kānana, kuntala, mīna, nīra are not preserved in modern Indo-Aryan, which preserves only the words of Indo-Aryan origin (Hindi: ban, kes, machl) or in the last instance, where there is excessive reduction in Prakrit (uāa), by a new Indo-Aryan formation. The same applies to many other presumable loan-words as well as to the Dravidian. For instance, beside the Indo-Aryan hastin (elephant),
there is a whole list of synonyms—gaja, kuñjara, mātaṅga, nāga, etc.—which may very well have their origin in unknown pre-Aryan languages. Of all these words, however, it is the Indo-Aryan hastin which has maintained itself in the modern languages (Hindi: hāthi).

The comparative cessation of the accession of Dravidian words to the Indo-Aryan vocabulary is an indication that the extensively spoken Dravidian of North India, from which the major part of the Dravidian element in Sanskrit was derived, had by that time been generally replaced by Indo-Aryan. Of course, as mentioned above, there remain islands of Dravidian in the North to this day, and presumably, as we go backwards in time these will have been more numerous; but such remnants would never have the power seriously to affect Indo-Aryan, and that, as we have seen, was the case. It is also significant, during this later period, that the Southern Dravidian languages do not exert any major influence on Indo-Aryan, from which it is evident that they cannot have done so during the earlier period when contact between these Dravidians and the Indo-Aryans was very slight. We are left therefore with only one possible assumption, namely, of an extensive occupation by Dravidian speakers of some of the primary areas of Aryan settlement.

NON-DRAVIDIAN SOURCES

So far I have spoken mainly about Dravidian speakers and their influence on Indo-Aryan. At this point therefore it is time to put this influence in its proper perspective, since it must now be pointed out that, extensive as this influence has been, there also are to be found in Sanskrit (and the same applies to the later stages of Indo-Aryan) very many words which are clearly borrowed from some pre-Aryan source or sources, and which at the same time are not Dravidian. Some of these, of course, can be, and have been,
attributed to Austro-Asiatic, but the number of these which can be regarded as certain remains comparatively few. Further research will add to them, no doubt, but it is my opinion that, when all has been done in this direction which can be done, the number of loan-words in Sanskrit, which cannot be explained as either Dravidian or Munda, will remain considerable. It may very well turn out that the number of such words which cannot be so explained will outnumber those which can be. This is the impression that one gets, for instance, from the field of plant names, since so far only a minority of this section of the non-Aryan words has been explained from these two linguistic families. If we take for instance, the name of the jujube (zizyphus jujuba), we find four synonyms, all obviously non-Aryan words namely, kuvala or kola, karkandhu, badara, and ghontā; and none of these has been explained out of either Dravidian or Munda. Evidence such as this leads to the conclusion that there must have been several non-Aryan languages or families of languages which exercised an influence on the vocabulary of Indo-Aryan.

We may now briefly summarize the conclusions to which a survey of the non-Aryan words in Sanskrit would seem to point. In the first place, we have concluded that a form of Dravidian must have been extensively current in North India prior to the advent of the Aryans, and that over considerable areas this was the language which Aryans displaced. It is from here that the main source of the bulk of the Dravidian loan-words in Sanskrit is to be sought and not from the South Dravidian we know today. Apart from islands of Dravidian speech in the North, some of which are still extant, the process of the replacement of Dravidian by Aryan was completed before the Christian era, and coinciding with this the accession of Dravidian words to the Sanskrit vocabulary is reduced to small dimensions. As regards Kol or Munda,
the fact that words from this source are comparatively few in Sanskrit — always making allowances for the fact that many members of this family are still but little known — is against the hypothesis that languages of this family were current much further west than they are now found. The evidence as it is so far established would suggest that these languages in ancient times as well as now were situated only in eastern India. This is in agreement with the fact that their genetic relationships show that they were introduced into India from the East. Finally, it is always important to bear in mind that numerous extinct languages were current in ancient times, that such languages also influenced the Indo-Aryan vocabulary and that many of these must have belonged to families other than Dravidian or Munda.

TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

It now remains to test the conclusions just set forth based on a consideration of the loan-words in Sanskrit by (a) reference to certain ethnological and linguistic aspects, and (b) an examination of some of the statements in Sanskrit literature concerning the Pre-Aryan populations. As regards the former point, it is particularly the situation in the mountainous and forest tracts of Central India that deserves attention. In Madhya Pradesh the most prominent of the tribal groups is, of course, the Gonds. They are at present stretched over an enormous area, and it was long customary to regard them as the original occupant of these areas. It is now, however, becoming increasingly clear that their presence in most of the areas they now occupy is due to migration, and that this migration does not belong to the remote past but is comparatively recent. As regards the area from which they spread, there is some fairly definitive linguistic evidence. In the first place, their language shows unmistakable traces of a particularly close connection with Kui-Kuvi among the Dravidian languages, and secondly, we have recently learnt of
a tribe in Koraput, the Konda Doras, whose language, while not merely a dialect of Gondi, is nevertheless of a pronouncedly Gondoid type (S. Bhattacharya, ‘Konda Language’, Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, II, pp. 17-48). These facts point fairly obviously to the conclusion that the point of departure of the Gond expansion was to the south-east of the area they at present occupy, and the general direction of their movement was northward and westward. We may assume that in ancient times the Gonds were not present in the Vindhyan region and in the adjoining mountainous region of Central India, and this is in accordance with the fact that in the classical Sanskrit literature they are completely unknown.

Migration and movement of population seems to have been a fairly continuous process in this part of India. Another certain case of comparatively recent migration of a Dravidian-speaking tribe is that of the Kurukhs or Oraons in Chota Nagpur (On the migration of the Kurukhs, see S. C. Roy, The Oraons, chapter I). These are newcomers on the plateau, where they have settled among and partly displaced the Mundas. Earlier they were settled in the Shahabad District of Bihar, and their traditions speak of a still earlier movement up the Narmada valley from western India. That they are of western origin would be possible, but the further theory that they originated from South India has no evidence to support it, and the proposed special resemblance of Kurukh to Canarese (Kannada), to which reference has frequently been made, is non-existent.

Taking into account these comparatively recent tribal movements, we thus find that there is a very considerable area in Central India for which we have no positive proof of early Dravidian settlement. We have also of course, no proof to the contrary, since those tribes which can be identified as the earliest inhabitants of the region and have lost their
original languages may have once possessed now extinct Dravidian languages. On the other hand, such languages may have been of a quite different nature, and it is not at all unlikely that the only forms of Dravidian current in these areas are the ones we have seen to have been comparatively recently introduced.

Tribal migration has not, of course, been confined to Dravidian tribes. Turning to the Kol or Munda group, there seems to be reason for suspecting the same kind of thing in the case of at least one of this group namely, the Korku. It can be seen from the map of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Volume IV, that this language is set quite apart from the rest of the family, well away to the west, and separated by a considerable stretch of territory in which no Munda is to be found. This is no doubt susceptible of various explanations, but the most obvious one is that they branched off from the main body of Kols situated in eastern India and migrated west. This is also supported by the fact that these languages are clearly members of a wide-spread family found in South-East Asia, and the weight of evidence points to the fact that their presence in India is due to immigration from the East. In that case, the most ancient element in the population of the mountainous region of Central India cannot be identified as either Kol or Dravidian.

There are quite a number of tribes in the region who can be regarded with some plausibility as the pre-Gond and pre-Kol stratum of the population. The Baigas are a well-known case in point, who have often been so regarded. For instance, the *Mandla District Gazetteer* says of them: ‘Their origin is obscure, but they are almost certainly older established than the Gonds and...were gradually pushed by them into the vastness of East Mandla.’ Likewise Verrier Elwin, in his study of the Baigas, observes that ‘what little evidence we have suggests that the Baiga represents
the earliest settlement of all' (The Baiga, p. 4). This makes him further suggest that there were two settlements of the Kolarian or Munda race, the first represented by the Bhar, Bhuiya, Baiga, and kindred tribes who have entirely lost their own languages, and the second, by the Munda-speaking tribes proper. Since, however, we have no evidence about the original languages of the former set, to assume that they were originally Kolarian is begging the question. Consequently, there is a lot to be said for the more radical solution proposed by W. Koppers in his work on the Bhils (Die Bhil in Zentral Indien, Vienna, 1948; cf. also his article in Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, XLI. pp 141-52]. Having studied the Bhils, in the first place, he proceeded to examine various other Central Indian tribes for the sake of comparison, in particular the Nahals. These latter live in the same area as the Korkus, but in his opinion are clearly the older inhabitants of the territory. Similarly, he stresses the fact that the Baigas and allied tribes are distinct from both Dravidian and Munda. Thus he arrives at a large group of non-Munda and non-Dravidian tribes, scattered over a large area, and he is at the same time at pains to point out that there is no need to assume that these among themselves necessarily form a united group.

Koppers' theory represents a clear-cut break with a common tradition in Indian ethnological studies which looked for either Dravidian or Munda in everything that was Pre-Aryan. In the case of Nahali, at any rate, it turns out that it has some linguistic support. The Nahals, who now always live in close connection with the Korkus, have nevertheless preserved a language of their own — that is to say, a small number of them have — and this appears to be neither Dravidian nor Munda. For a long time, very little information concerning it was available. The Amraoti District Gazetteer says as follows: 'The Nihals, the drudges of the Kurkus, also
speak their language. Originally, the Nihals had a distinct language of their own, which is now very rapidly disappearing. Nothing is known as to its affinities, and the few who still speak it do so with such a large admixture of Korku and Marathi words that it has become difficult to obtain any definite knowledge (about it). A small amount of material on this language was gathered for the Linguistic Survey of India, but it unfortunately suffered from misinterpretation, since in that work it was classified as a Munda language. But, as R. Schafer pointed out, such evidence as there is points to Nahali having been originally quite independent from both Munda and Dravidian (Ethnography in Ancient India, p. 13). Recently, the information available on this language has been considerably extended by the researches of S. Bhattacharya (Indian Linguistics, XVII, Taraporevala Volume, 1951 pp. 245-58).

Thus we find that two independent lines of investigation tend to converge. On the one hand, the investigation of the Sanskrit vocabulary shows that while the influence of Dravidian is strong, and that of Munda is not so strong but nevertheless exists, we also have to assume the existence of other pre-Aryan languages and language families to account for the large number of unexplained words in Sanskrit. Correspondingly, we have quoted ethnological researches which have assumed the existence of non-Dravidian and non-Munda tribes in Central India, and have found support for this theory in the existence thereof of at least one language belonging to neither of these two groups. What goes for Central India was originally the case no doubt in northern and southern India, and the universal adoption of Indo-Aryan in the North and Dravidian in the South have covered up an original linguistic diversity.
PRE-ARYAN TRIBES IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

All these considerations are to be borne in mind when we consider the references in Sanskrit literature to the pre-Aryan peoples. We must remember, in the first place, that the distribution of the tribes was not necessarily the same as at the present time. For instance we find no mention of the Gonds, which would not have been the case if they had had the predominant position among the tribals of Central India which they have today. We have remarked above that there is reason to ascribe the present extension of the Gonds to comparatively recent migration, and the fact that they find no mention in the classical Sanskrit literature is in agreement with this contention.

Not only Gond, but the majority of tribal names which exist today are unknown to Sanskrit. In the late classical period, we find that certain words such as Pulinda and Sabara are used in a quite general sense, and, consequently, they are ascribed to such tribes everywhere and carry no ethnic connotation. This was not the case earlier. The two words mentioned occur quite early in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and there the context shows that they refer to specific tribes. The same holds good for the inscriptions of Aśoka, and for some, at any rate, of the references in the epic. Since they occur so early, these terms have to be interpreted in accordance with the extension of the Aryans in the late Brāhmaṇa period, which was a good deal less than it became later. These tribes, along with the Paundrās, Mūtibas, Andhras, etc., appear to represent the immediate southern and eastern neighbours of the Aryan kingdoms, with whom they had relations of peace and war. They are conventionally represented as Kṣatriyas by origin, who became degraded through non-observance of the Vedic rites. Their position is to be sought on the immediate fringe of the Aryan territory of that time, and as far as we can gather the Pulindas and Sabaras...
occupied the same Vindhyan region which we have previously discussed. These two tribes have long since lost their identity, and since then the terms have been used indiscriminately for any and every forest tribe. It is therefore exceedingly doubtful that the modern Savaras of Ganjam have anything to do with the people mentioned in early Sanskrit literature. It is also a dubious procedure to identify them with other people having the same name, which are recorded in various regions of Central India.

The Bhils (Sanskrit: Bhillas) are mentioned much later (towards the close of the Hindu period), and though the word has sometimes a purely general use like Sabara and Pulinda, it refers mainly to the people now known by that name. The references indicate that these Bhillas were situated in southern Rajasthan and adjoining areas of Gujarat. This is in accordance with the linguistic evidence, since the particular dialect of Gujarati spoken by this tribe indicates their origin in the northern part of the area they now occupy. Like the Gonds and others, the Bhils also seem to have extended their territory by migration in comparatively recent times, though in their case the movement was southwards, while that of the Gonds was northwards. It also seems that they had lost whatever pre-Aryan language they had before this southern expansion began, and that there is no chance of finding any trace of it remaining.

The Andhras present a problem which has caused considerable confusion, but appears not incapable of solution. This term has for long been in common use to denote the Telugu language, country, and people, and it is the term which has been chosen as the name of the new State which has been set up to embrace all the people speaking the Telugu language. By contrast the name as used in such early texts as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and in the edicts of Asoka seems fairly clearly to indicate the western Deccan as their home
Political history points in the same direction. The Āndhra or Satavahana dynasty, a family which, according to the Pūrāṇas, belonged to the Āndhra race (the term is ‘āndhra-jātiya’), flourished in the earlier period of its sway in western India. Later, its dominions came to include the Telugu area in the east, and towards the end probably the centre of gravity had shifted to this area. I would propose therefore that, as a result of this political change, the term ‘Āndhra’ came to be used to denote a different country, and eventually people and language. As regards the original Āndhras, they have not entirely disappeared, but are still represented by the Andhs, a non-Aryan tribe of Berar. We should also note that the Prakrit form of this word (with suffix ‘ka’) appears as the name of the tribe Andhaka, which in the Kṛṣṇa story is closely connected with the Vṛṣṇis and located in western India. Evidently therefore this was one of the most important and largest of the pre-Aryan tribes which are mentioned in Sanskrit literature.

Another pre-Aryan tribe which is mentioned quite frequently in Sanskrit is that of the Ābhīras. The locality of these is fixed in Rajasthan, since they are traditionally connected with Vinaśana, the place where the river Sarasvati disappears in the sand, a disappearance said to be due to the river’s loathing of the said Ābhīras. The position of the Ābhīras is much the same as that of the later Bhils, and it looks as if this is the older designation of the same tribe.

In the vicinity of the Ābhīras lived the Gurjaras, a quite different tribe who make their appearance in Indian history at a comparatively late date. They do not appear before the sixth century A.D., but when they do, they play the dominant part in North India for the next four centuries. The suddenness of their appearance coupled with the immensity of their impact, has naturally always presented a problem.
to historians. It was long customary to assume that they came from outside India along with, or about the same time as the Hānas, but through lack of corroboration evidence this theory seems now to have been abandoned. The most satisfactory explanation seems to be that they were an ancient pre-Aryan people domiciled in the region of Mt. Abu who, like others before them, managed through favourable circumstances to acquire political domination over large stretches of territory for a considerable period of time. It is practically certain that they had, to begin with, a language of their own, since a large number of the proper names of the Gurjara period (Aṇahilla etc.) seem incapable of derivation from Sanskrit or Prakrit. At the same time, I have noticed nothing about them that suggests a Kol or Dravidian connection.

There are many other pre-Aryan tribes appearing in Sanskrit literature which deserve mention. The Barbaras, known also to the Greeks, and situated near the mouths of the Indus, still preserved a language of their own in the time of Kumārila. The Khasas of the Himalayan regions figure quite prominently, and though they have adopted Indo-Aryan speech, they have retained their tribal identity to this day. In north-western India, the geographical lists mention numerous tribes, a number of which have a non-Aryan look (Taṅganās, Kīras, etc.). Other ancient tribes and castes probably to be regarded as non-Aryan are registered under such names as Daśeraka, Pārava, Kāraskara, and so forth. The term ‘Niṣāda’, originally meaning simply an aboriginal, seems in certain contexts to mean a specific tribe. The name ‘Guha’ of the Niṣāda chieftain encountered by Rama is not chosen at random, but as can be seen from various geographical and tribal lists, it is an ethnic name applied to yet another pre-Aryan tribe.
A few words here are necessary concerning the use of the term ‘Nāga’ in connection with the non-Aryan tribes. An instance of this, which may be conveniently quoted as an example, is the statement of the Purāṇas that after the decline of the Kuśāna dynasty there arose in North India a number of Naga dynasties ruling in such places as Mathura, Padmāvatī, and so forth. In the case of one of these dynasties, known as the Bhārasivas, the evidence of the Purāṇas is corroborated by epigraphical evidence. It is clearly a fact that a number of dynasties of non-Aryan origin succeeded in establishing their authority as a result of the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the Kuśānas. It is further frequently stated that these dynasties belonged to a Nāga tribe, which would be a specific non-Aryan tribe like the ones previously mentioned. It is therefore necessary to point out that no such tribe existed in ancient India. Neither in the geographical lists nor in the lists of castes (where such tribal names as Andhra, Sabhara, Pulinda, etc. appears with regularity and frequency) is any Nāga tribe ever mentioned. The Nāgas existed only in mythology, and, since their attributes and characteristics are well known, they need not be detailed here. The use of the term in connection with pre-Aryan dynasties, such as those mentioned above, is due to a convention which became established, according to which petty dynasties, originating in all kinds of tribes, were accustomed to ascribe the origin of their family to the union of somebody or other with a Nāga maiden. This custom remained permanently established both in India and in South-East Asia. The actual tribe from which such dynasties originated is often quite well known, so the question of there being a Naga tribe does not arise. In the case of the Nāga dynasties of North India, mentioned above, a clue to their origin is found in the name of the most important of them, the Bhārasivas. Their own theory, that they were so called
because their ancestors had borne on their shoulders as a burden the linga of Siva, is an ad hoc invention of a common sort. The name, which they felt needed explanation to make it into Sanskrit, finds a better explanation if we regard the first part as identical with (or perhaps rather a vṛddhied form of) the name of the Bhar tribe, which still counts as one of the most important pre-Aryan castes of Uttar Pradesh.

LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION OF THE TRIBES

Concerning the linguistic affiliations of these various tribes mentioned in Sanskrit literature, it is unfortunately not possible to say anything definite. Some of such tribes have ceased to exist, and those that remain have adopted some form of Indo-Aryan language. We can only say anything definite on this point in the case of those tribes whose location can be fixed in the Dravidian and Kol area. The Tamils or Dravidas are mentioned quite early, though not until well after the Vedic period. Elsewhere, as far as South Dravidian territory is concerned, we have regional names, Kuntala, Mahisaka, etc., which are not associated with linguistic divisions. The ambiguity of the term ‘Andhra’ has been noted above. The tribes located in eastern India, in particular the Odras and the Paṇḍras, may claim to be early Kolarian, and of these the latter (in the vṛddhied form Paun德拉) are already known in Vedic times. Manu mentions them along with Yavanas, Dravidas, etc. as Kṣatriyas who have lost status through non-performance of Vedic rites, which is to say that they were independent non-Aryan kingdoms. No doubt many of the later dynasties in the later history of Orissa were of the same nationality, though Brahmanized in religion and using Sanskrit as their official language. We may instance the Brhauma Karas, the first part of whose name corresponds, in sense and derivation to such modern terms for these aboriginals as Bhumij and Bhuiya, whereas the second term may be a Sanskritization of the Kolarian word for ‘man’.
In the case of the northern Dravidian tribes existing today, there appears to be some possibility that they may be recognizable in certain Sanskrit references. Father Grignard, in an article which besides this contains theories which are much too speculative, identified the Kurukh with the Kurusa tribe of Sanskrit literature (commonly pronounced Karukha), and in this he is followed by Sarat Chandro Roy. This identification is supported by the fact that the Karusas of Sanskrit literature are usually mentioned in connection with another tribe, the Maladas. This pair, Karusa (karukha) and Malada, corresponds very well with the modern, closely kindred tribes Kurukh and Malto, and since the similarity of name extends to both members of the pair, the possibility of chance resemblance is very considerably reduced.

As to the Brahuis, their ancestors may in some cases be represented by the Sanskrit name Bahlika (Bālhika), since there is an obvious resemblance between the two names. It is true that the Sanskrit name is usually held to represent Middle Iranian Bálxi, from Bāxtri, i.e. Bactrian, and in some contexts it may. There are, however, contexts, where it does not seem to have this meaning. I may cite the reference to a people of this name (Bālhika) in the Atharva-Veda where, according to the usual system of dating, this form occurs some centuries before the above mentioned Middle Iranian phonetic change had taken place. Particularly significant is the reference in the Mehrauli pillar inscription of Candra, who claims to have conquered the Bālhikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus. This would not get him to Bactria, but it would take him to the country where the Brahuis now live.

It would be possible to cite further evidence concerning the references to the pre-Aryans in Sanskrit literature. Much more detailed discussion could also be given to those references which have been touched on, but limits of space prevent
this. There are also other aspects of the fusion of Aryan and pre-Aryan, e.g. in the field of religion, which it has not been possible to include in the present discussion. Nevertheless, from the subjects which have been touched on, the influence of the pre-Aryan languages on Indo-Aryan, and the extent to which they figure in Sanskrit literature and Indian history, has been sufficient to demonstrate the importance of their contribution to the amalgam of Indian civilization. It is to be expected that further researches in these and other fields will confirm and strengthen these conclusions.
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