"WORDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE"

(A Study in Tamil Linguistics)

BY

R. P. Sethu Pillai, B.A., B.L.

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

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FOREWORD

It has been aptly observed that language is both an art and a science. The aesthetics of language, the study of it as an art, as an expression of the human personality in its personal, individual, social, national and human aspects and as a means of communication of one's ideas, sentiments, aspirations, emotions and ideals is the legitimate province of literary criticism. Linguistics, on the other hand, is concerned with the mechanics of expression; with the classification and identification of its component sounds; with the study of the ways in which words get modified according to their function in the sentence; with the construction of the sentence; and finally with the study of the origin, growth and development of its vocabulary. In short, phonology, accidence, syntax and vocabulary are the four wheels of any scientific study of language.

The following pages are primarily concerned with the fourth aspect of linguistics, namely, vocabulary. Even in the study of the word-treasures of a language, there is more than one line of investigation. For instance, one may consider the origin of the words: whether they are native to the language or have been borrowed from some other tongue; if the latter, what modifications the word has undergone during the process of its naturalization in its new environment, and what general principles can be deduced therefrom. One, may again take for study, how the speakers of a language meet new needs and new experiences by coining new words out of the word material that has been their heritage. Or again, one may as the present writer has attempted, try to find out how the significances of words have undergone changes in the course of centuries.

Words are the current coin of a language. And as it happens in regard to coins, their value may fluctuate, the words may get worn out and debased in circulation, or they may even go out of currency. Words may be, in current polite usage, may be conversational only, may be scientific, may be dialectal. But, all these words are quite alive. There are, however, other words which are not so much alive, which are a trifle old-fashioned, archaic, poetical, literary; or obsolescent,
going gradually out of use, or even quite dead and buried, no longer in use.

Even a dead word, however, is interesting to a student of linguistics as the fossil of a pre-historic monster is interesting to a biologist. Just as the fossil throws light on earlier forms of life in this planet, so a word which is out of use, reveals the culture and thought processes of the people who used it. "Between the development of human civilization in general and the development of human speech in particular, there is a close connection which it is one of the objects of the Science of language to elucidate. Human civilization in all its manifold activities and in all its countless changes manifests itself only by means of words and by means of the expression of thought in language." If, therefore, language is the autobiography of the human race, nowhere is the character clearer than in the changes that have occurred in the meanings of words.

The study of changes of meaning in words is termed semantics; and this study had its greatest exponent in France. Since then this aspect of linguistics has received attention from scholars in various Countries. The present attempt to introduce this line of investigation in the study of the Tamil language has been inspired by such works as those of Trench, Vendryes, Breal, Tucker, Kittridge and others. These scholars had a tremendous advantage; they had ready to their hand, dictionaries in the various languages which gave the successive meanings of words according to the chronology of their usage. All that they had to do was to generalise from recorded data; there was no need for gathering material.

No such aid to the study of semantics exists for the student of Tamil. Therefore, the present study has been based on the author's personal reading. Examples have been culled from every century and every writer in order that the progress of a word may be charted down the course of Tamil literature. What academicians have attempted elsewhere, has been temerarily touched upon in the present pioneer study, in the hope, that the attention of scholars may be drawn to this vast field of study which yet remains to be properly explored.

R. P. SETHU PILLAI.

* E. Chasson : Outlines of the History of the English Language.
WORDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE
(A STUDY IN TAMIL LINGUISTICS)

SECTION I
LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Language has been characterised as ‘fossil poetry.’ "The beautiful thoughts and images, the imagination and feeling of past ages are preserved in words," says Trench. The language of South India is replete with such words.

In the Tamil land where agriculture has been the main occupation of the people from time immemorial, the gentle rain is hailed as the manifestation of Divine mercy. The rain-clouds rolling in the sky fill the hearts of princes and peasants alike with delight. The charming name elili 1 is given to the cloud ‘big with the promise of fertilising showers’. Eiti 2 is beauty and elili denotes a ‘thing of beauty.’ It is remarkable that manju, another word for the cloud, also means beauty. 8 The popular expression manju tavādlal used with reference to the moving cloud, bears testimony to the poetic instinct of the people.

The stars sparkling in the sky and the fishes darting through the waters have attracted the admiring gaze of our ancestors who employed the common term min to denote them. Vaḍamin is the northern star; Arummin is the constellation of six stars; Purai min is the top star, and so forth. 4 Possible confusion between the fish and the star is avoided by calling the latter vēmin or varmin. “The word min has poetry in it” says Dr. Caldwell. “The root of min is ‘min’ to glitter, to be phosphorescent, and ‘min’ a verbal noun which is formed from ‘min’ by the lengthening of the included vowel, signifies in poetical Tamil a star, as

1. வகமன் வரிசையாள். தங்கம், 17.
2. வரிசையாள் வரிசையாள்.....யாழ்ப்பாண். விளக்க விளக்கம்.
3. வெண்கள் வரிசையாள் வரிசையாள். தங்கம். 17.
4. மரியாண் மூன்று; மரியாண் மூன்று மூன்று, நகர். 27.
   மரியாண்-மரியாண்-மரியாண் விளக்கம்.
   முருக்கோடை வரிசையாள்; முருக்கோடை வரிசையாள். நகர் நகர், நகர். 39. 7.
   மரியாண், மரியாண்-மரியாண்; மரியாண்-மரியாண்;
   மரியாண்-மரியாண்; மரியாண்-மரியாண்.
well as a fish. Who that has seen the phosphorescence flashing from every movement of the fish in tropical seas or lagoons at night, can doubt the appropriateness of denoting the fish that dart and sparkle through the waters as well as the stars that sparkle in a midnight sky, by one and the same word, viz., a word signifying that which glows or sparkles?" 

The imagery that inheres in the names of beasts and birds deserves our attention. The squirrel is a pretty creature of innocent pranks. The triple lines, the smart tail, and the swift movements of the squirrel have always been a source of joy to young and old alike. The beauty of the lines on its back has inclined poets to trace the hand of divinity in them. The squirrel is denoted by the term ‘ari’, derived possibly from ari—beauty.

Again, the name of the peacock has arisen from the splendour of its lustrous feathers. The graceful dance of the peacock with its gorgeous feathers spread out like an arch, attracts attention and compels admiration. The splendid plumage being the distinctive feature of the peacock, the name tokai was conferred on it. The colour of the plumage is perhaps signified by the ma in mayil which is the popular name of the peacock.

The distinctive feature of the parrot is its capacity to reproduce articulate sounds. This capacity is no doubt very limited but the absence of it in other birds makes it a conspicuous attribute of the parrot. The word kil which denotes this bird, is derived from kila-to speak—a root from which kila (word) has originated.

The sweet speech of the parrot has always evoked the admiration of poets and the affection of women.

6. It is said that the squirrels contributed their quota of service to the construction of the mighty bridge, now known as Adam’s Bridge, in which Rama was vitally interested and the loyal service rendered by them was acknowledged by a gentle pat of the Lord’s hand. The three fingers of Rama which caressed their back are said to have left ineffaceable lines, which serve to remind posterity of the timely service rendered by these tiny creatures and of the loving recognition accorded to it by the grateful Lord—Ref. Tondaradipodi Alwar—Tirumalai, 27.
8. ari tokai mayil malai-tilav, adigalp, 37-59.
9. It is sometimes supposed to be a corruption of Mayura the sanskrit word for peacock.
10. ari tokai mayil malai-tilav, adigalp, 57-59.
Poetry may be discovered in some of the place-names of South India. Amidst the dust and smoke of the city of Madras, poetry survives in the names of some of its suburbs. Tiruvallikeni (Triplicane) is a beautiful name. The original name of the place was alilikeni, lotus tank. The prefix tiru denotes sanctity. It is obvious that the hamlet which grew round the sacred lotus tank has been called after it. The lotus tank is a perennial source of inspiration to the poet. But the corrupt form, Triplicane, which has almost displaced the original name, is bereft of beauty and poetry. Similarly Mayilai or Mayilappar,11 the place of the beautiful peacock, near Triplicane is instinct with poetry.

A village on the banks of the Kaveri was named Mayil-iluturai a word which at once raises in our mind, the picture of the dancing peacock and its lovely plumage. This picturesque name was probably translated into Sanskrit as Mayurapuram, then changed into Mayuravaram, 13 and ultimately corrupted as Māyavaram.

The Tamil vocabulary furnishes numerous instances of "faded metaphors" which bear the marks of ancient wisdom. The word nūl for instance, which signifies a treatise on art or science, is a beautiful metaphor, drawn from the art of spinning. A perception of the resemblance between the work of the spinner and that of the poet has led to the adoption of the term nūl to the finished literary output.14 The spinner operates on the spindle; the poet operates on his imagination. The spinner draws fine yarn out of a bunch of cotton; the poet draws exquisite filaments of thoughts and images from his language. The humming sound of the spinning-wheel fills the heart of the spinner with joy; the music of the verse enravels the poet.

It is probable that nūl originally denoted only metrical composition which formed the bulk of ancient Tamil literature.15 It was however extended in course of time to all kinds of treatise in verse or prose. It is remarkable that three treatises on Tamil grammar bear the names Nannūl, Cinnūl and Tonnūl.

11. ṛravuru (இரவுரு) மண்சுமையுடனதும்; மாறு மாநவம் வலயி மானூர்பொருள் (சிறுத்துகள், குறுகிய சொல்லனூறு).

12. ṛravuru (இரவுரு); பொறந்துகள்.

13. Cf. the change of Kanchipuram into Kanchivaram (Conjeevaram).


15. மாணகூற்று, பாரும், 8.
Kū đu is used in poetry with reference to the human body. It is obvious that the metaphor is drawn from bird-life. The mortal coil is discarded by the soul just as the nest (kū đu) which shelters the bird and enables it to propagate its species, is abandoned by it at will. Fraser observes, “Often the soul is conceived as a bird ready to take flight. This conception has probably left traces in most languages, and it lingers as a metaphor in poetry. But what is metaphor to a modern European poet was sober earnest to his savage ancestor and is still so to many people.”

The poetic instinct of the ancient Tamil race is reflected in the terms that the grammarians have chosen to employ for denoting the vowels and consonants of the Tamil alphabet. The vowel is known as uyir (life) and the consonant mey (body). This nomenclature is based upon a perception of the nature of the two classes of sounds in the Tamil phonetic system. The vowel-consonant, which as the name indicates is a product of the combination of vowel and consonant, is called uyir-mey, the animated body. This graceful metaphor has called forth the appreciation of the “father of Dravidian Philology.”

The terms that denote the sexes in Tamil are indicative of their distinctive characteristics. Āṟmai—manhood, is derived from the verbal base ā which connotes strength or power and pēṟmai—womanhood, is derived from the root pel which signifies love or beauty. “Beauty in women and heroism in men were mutual attractions and cements of love between lovers in the palmy days of the Tamil country.”

A perception of the resemblance between the tender creeper and the young girl has given rise to exquisite metaphors. Valli and its variant valli and kodī are poetical names for the girl. The maturity or puberty attained by the girl is signified by the expressive metaphor pūppu (bloom). The ancient Tamils considered that the physical charms of virtuous maidens attracted the attention of young men, even as the natural beauty of the fragrant flowers attracted the humming bees. It is significant that the happy union of man and woman is denoted by the term maham, which means fragrance.

Marriage was not looked upon as an end in itself; it was only a means to an end. The analogy therefore is carried beyond the stage of matrimony. The offspring are cherished as the fruits of wedded love and hence abortion is denoted by the term kāy-unripe fruit.22 These beautiful metaphors testify to the poetic sense of the ancient Tamils.

The high level of moral excellence attained by the Tamil race is attested by the synonyms uymai, vāymai and meymmai, signifying truth. Uymai, derived from the root ul literally means the quality of the mind. Similarly the words vāymai and meymmai are abstract nouns derived from vāy and mey and signify the quality of the tongue and the quality of the body respectively. These terms clearly indicate that honesty in thought, word and deed was considered to be of the essence of virtuous life in the ancient unsophisticated society. Truth was regarded as the fountain of honour and was the index of an unsullied mind.23 The expression mey-p-polul used with reference to God, indicates that there is no religion higher than truth.24

The destructive character of evil is clearly expressed by the term tīmai which literally means the quality of fire. The etymological sense of the word is suggested in the couplet

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‘Evil is dreaded more than fire, since evils new from evils ever grow.’ In Silapadikaram the Pandya king who caused the innocent Kovalan to be murdered, is characterised as ti-vēndan 25—the evil king—by Kannaki. When in a state of intense agony, she directed the god of fire to destroy the city which had become the den of evil, she referred to the wicked section thereof as ti-tirattār.27 Tīrāram is the opposite of narrāram.28 The nature of evil disclosed by the term tīmai may be described in the words of Milton:

“But evil on itself shall back recoil,
And mix no more with goodness, when at last
Gathered like scum, and settled to itself,
It shall be in eternal restless change
Self-fed and self-consumed.” 29


23. .

24. .

25. .

26. .

27. .

28. .

29. .
The word kāṇ which denotes the organ of vision, has formed the basis of several significant terms expressive of human emotions. The eye is said to be the index of the feelings surging in the human mind. In-kāṇ is expressive of delight; pun-kāṇ is expressive of distress; tarukāṇ denotes cruelty and urukāṇ denotes affliction. The abstract noun, kāṇmai derived from kāṇ signifies compassion. Contact between the human mind and the external world is established through the eye. The world is for the most part filled with misery and distress, and the mind is moved by the pathos of life conveyed through the eye. Tears are visible signs of the mind moved by distress. Hence sympathy is regarded as the natural quality of the eye. It has been said that the eye devoid of sympathy is unworthy of the name. Kāṇottam which literally means sight or glance has acquired the sense of kindness or compassion. The expression kāṇ-pārītal denotes sympathetic attitude. Similarly Kādaik-kārītal—glancing with the corner of the eye—connotes a favourable disposition. Pura-k-kārītal, on the other hand, denotes neglect.

Kai, the hand, is regarded as the instrument of action. The function of the hand is explicit in the phrase kai-yāl-akālavan, which means a feeble person. The action of giving a helping hand to a man in difficulty or distress is kai-koiṣṭṭal and the withdrawal of help is kai-vidiṣṭal. Contracts or agreements are concluded by striking on the palm, kai-adītal, and the act of giving away a girl in marriage is completed by water being poured on the palm of the groom by the parents of the bride. It is called kai-k.kunir-vārītal. Kai-adāi is refuge or protection, and kai-māra is return or recompense. The idea perhaps is the hand that receives a favour pays it back. Kai denotes also rectitude or moral conduct. Kai-mai denotes widowhood, and kaimyen is a widow.

In the primitive state of society in South India, the wooden yard known as tulākkōl served the purpose of the modern balance. The normal position of the yard was called saman or nadu-nilai and this position was ascertained by holding the instrument aloft by a string.

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30. kāṇ-ākāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam, 1152.
31. kāṇ-ākāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam, 1152.
32. kāṇ-ākāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam, 1152.
33. kāṇ-ākāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam, 1152.
34. kāṇ-ākāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam, 1152.
35. kāṇ-ākāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam kāṇam, 1152.
attached to it. When a commodity was put into the scale-pan suspend-
ed at one end of the wooden yard for the purpose of determining its
weight, the string was adjusted until the instrument resumed its normal
position. Thus by the simple process of balancing the yard, the weight
of a commodity was ascertained. The act of suspending the weighing
instrument by the string is known as eṭṭutal or tūkka. Thus the
words eṭṭai and tūkku used by vendors of commodities are reminiscent
of the old practice of balancing the weighing yard which is called
niruttal or nirai.

These terms have been metaphorically applied to the conditions of
the mind. Nadu nilai denotes impartiality or uprightness. A dis-
passionate consideration of the pros and cons of a question is denoted
by the term tūkka. A comparison of merits or values is signified by
the expression cīr-tōkka. Integrity is denoted by the term nirai.

The images inherent in the words cennmai—straightness, and
koḷumai—crookedness, form the bases of significant moral concepts.
In the moral sphere cennmai signifies good and koḷumai denotes evil.
Ceeppam derived from cennmai indicates uprightness and kōṭam
derived from koḷumai signifies moral perversity. The king who rules
the country with a crooked sceptre is called koḷungōlan. “It is better”
says the poet, “to live in jungles infested with ferocious tigers than to
live under a king who rules with a crooked sceptre.” The standard
language of South India is known as centamiṇi and the dialect of Tamil
which is replete with grammatical and idiomatic irregularities is called
koḍuntamiṇi. The expression cemborul used with reference to the
Supreme Being signifies His absolute impartiality and justice.

The original sense of the word kōṭu derived from koḷumai is an
oblique or curved line. It is significant that kōṭu stands for several
objects that are irregular in shape or form. The branch of a tree and

36. A tūkku ordinarily signifies a weight equal to a hundred
palams—Tamil Lexicon.

37. மையாங்கம் மையாங்கம் குறுக்கும் குறுக்க உரையாடும்-தமிழ், 26.

38. புறையிறை கூரும் கூரும் குளால் குளம்களம்-அல்

39. Cf. the Roman conception of good and evil—“What is good:
that which goes straight and in order; what is crooked becomes the
symbol of all perversity.”—Semantics by Breal p. 123.

40. கோண்டார்கழந் கோண்டார்கழந், 119.

41. ‘அண்டார் மறு நூற்றை என்று கூரிய உங்கள் சொன்னை

42. Koḍuntamiṇi is used, by Beschi for the colloquial dialect of
Tamil.

43. கூரிய நுண்ணா கூரியவர்கொர் கூரியவர்கொர், 858.
the bank of a river; the horn and the hill; the chank and the crescent moon are some of the objects denoted by the term. In modern usage, however, kōţi means generally a line and a straight line is called nēr kōţi which is etymologically a contradiction in terms.

The distinction between akam—within and puram—without, is fundamental in Tamilian thought and forms the basis of primary classification in Tamil literature. "The idea of within and without," says Vendryes, is expressed in most Indo-European languages by the contrast of house and field. This reveals a social condition in which the entire family was lodged in the same house, and where the outer door marked the boundary of the family domain." 44 In Tamil akattān and akamudaiyāṇ denote the master of the house; 45 akattāl and akamudaiyāl the mistress of the house. Purattān—outsider, is the opposite of akattān. 46 Akappadual 47 is the act of getting in and purappadual is the act of getting out; akappakai is internal enmity and purappakai is external enmity. In the world of flowers distinction is drawn between aκa ital and pura ital. In the world of plants aκa-k-kāl is distinguished from pura-k-kāl. 48 In the world of religion, distinction is drawn between aκa-c-camayam and pura-c-camayam.

All the activities of mankind have been brought under this classification in Tamil literature. Love, furtive and wedded, forms the theme of akapporul. War and other external activities of man form the subject-matter of purapporul.

In primitive society there was perhaps no place for neutrality. The old saying "He that is not with me is against me" is probably illustrated by the words which denote amity and enmity in Tamil. Cērār, kūdinār, onrinār, pullinār are words which contain the sense of adherence, and denote friends. On the other hand Cērār, kūdār, onrār, pullār are words which carry the idea of separation and denote enemies. It is significant that the word ayalān denotes a stranger as well as an enemy. 49

The distinction between the mind and the body is also expressed by the terms akam and puram. As the mind was supposed to dwell inside

45. Āmbaḷadayān (husband) and āmbaḷadayāl (wife) are corruptions of akamudayān and akamudayāl.
46. Purattiyān (aṟṟaṟṟuṟṟum) — stranger — is a corruption of purattān.
47. Akappadual is commonly used to denote 'the act of being caught or entangled'—(aṟṟaṟṟum aṟṟaṟṟum aṟṟaṟṟum nīṟṟ).
48. aṟṟaṟṟum aṟṟaṟṟum aṟṟaṟṟum aṟṟaṟṟum aṟṟaṟṟum aṟṟaṟṟum—nīṟṟ, nīṟṟ, 640.
49. nīṟṟ nīṟṟ nīṟṟ nīṟṟ nīṟṟ nīṟṟ nīṟṟ nīṟṟ. aṟṟaṟṟum, aṟṟaṟṟum. 7.
the body it was denoted by the terms \( \text{ui}, \text{ul\text{am}} \) and \( \text{akam} \); and the body was called \( \text{puram} \). \( \text{Akam-laym} \) is purity of the mind and \( \text{puram-layma} \) is purity of the body.\(^{50}\) \( \text{Akam} \) and \( \text{puram} \) are also used in the restricted sense of chest and back. The expression \( \text{purang\text{a}t\text{a}} \) signifies discomfort as turning the back to the enemy is a sign of acknowledging defeat. Thus it will be seen that the distinction between \( \text{akam} \) and \( \text{puram} \) has influenced the whole range of Tamilian thought.

The classification of humanity into \( \text{m\text{k}k\text{k}k\text{a}l} \) and \( \text{ma\text{k}k\text{k}k\text{a}l} \) testifies to the high level of intellectual life attained by the ancient Tamil society. The animate world is divided into six classes in \( \text{Tolka\text{ppi}v\text{a}m} \), on the basis of the sensory organs of living creatures.\(^{51}\) From the plant-life endowed with one sense, to the animal-life gifted with five senses, different categories of life exist which have been duly recognised and arranged in the ancient Tamil grammar. The distinctive feature of humanity is the possession of the sixth sense, viz., the sense of the mind or reason. Hence human beings in whom the sense of the mind is not awakened are placed in the category of beasts.\(^{52}\) In literary usage, \( \text{ma\text{k}k\text{k}k\text{a}l} \) denotes rational beings and \( \text{ma\text{k}k\text{k}k\text{a}l} \) signifies human beings devoid of reason. This distinction has been adopted in the classification of nouns in the Tamil grammar. “Dravidian nouns are divided into two classes, which Tamil grammarians denote by the technical terms of ‘high-caste’ and ‘casteless’ nouns. ‘High-caste’ nouns are those which denote the celestial and infernal deities and human beings, or briefly, all things endowed with reason. The other class of nouns called ‘casteless’, includes every thing which is destitute of reason whether animate or inanimate. This classification of nouns though not so imaginative as that of Indo-European and Semitic tongues, is decidedly more philosophical.”\(^{53}\)

There are common terms in colloquial Tamil which seem to indicate that the ancient Tamils were acquainted with the structure and functions of the vocal organs. The term \( \text{kuralvalai} \) corrupted into \( \text{kuda-}
\text{valai} \) literally means voice-curve. It designates the projection of the larynx which contains the vocal chords. “The current of air expelled by the lungs while causing the vocal chords to vibrate gives rise to the voice.” A correct knowledge of the position and function of the vocal chords in the mechanism of speech has probably induced the early Tamils to designate the projection of the larynx, popularly known as Adam’s apple, by a term which is expressive of its essential function.

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50. \( \text{குளாகுரு, 298} \).

51. \( \text{குரு-குருத்த குருது, 532} \).

52. \( \text{குரு-குர்த்த குருது, 537, 588} \).

It is significant that caignu which denotes the conch-shell is metaphorically applied to the human throat.

In the popular dialect, of the South, saliva is denoted by the term tuppunir. Tuppun is an obsolete word used in Tamil poetry in the sense of food. It is possible that an appreciation of the part played by saliva in the assimilation of food has led to the adoption of this name. 54

The predominantly agricultural character of the Tamil country is reflected in the variety of terms relating to water-pools. A natural pond is poikai; a natural spring is urru; a tank of small size is kēni; a tank of medium size is kulam; a rain fed tank is vana-māri-k.kulam, corrupted into mānē-māri-k.kulam; a big tank or lake is ēri; a pool in the hilly tract is cunai; a tank of great depth is hayam; a tank in which water is stored for drinking purposes is ēruni. The names of villages terminating in ēri and kulam are additional proof of the primary occupation of the people of South India.

The large number of metaphors drawn from plant-life furnish striking evidence of the charming natural scenery in the midst of which the primitive people of this country lived. Mulai and kilai; malar and alar; koqi and kombu; kāy and kani are drawn from the terminology of plant life and metaphorically applied to denote objects relating to human life. Kānnmulai is off-spring; kilainar are relations, malarci is cheerfulness; alar is wide-spread rumour; poongol and pōnkombu denote the tender girl; kāy is failure and kani is success. This list is not exhaustive but only illustrative.

The pre-eminent place assigned to agricultural occupation in the social economy of South India is discernible in certain expressions consecrated by literary usage. The plough in ancient times was cherished as the symbol of prosperity. The tiller who handled the plough was considered a greater benefactor to the community than the warrior who wielded the weapon. Hence the brilliant lancer is styled ayil-ulavan which literally means the plough-man of the lance. Similarly vel-ulavan is used with reference to the warrior wielding the sword. 56 Tiruvalluvat has chosen to characterise the poets as col-ēr.

54. Salivary digestion results in an almost complete alteration of the starch into dextrose and maltose. Principles of Human Physiology-Starling—p. 588. The final semi-vowel in tuppunir is elided in pronunciation.

55. 12261.

56. சுருங்கும் = சுருங்கும். Tamil Lexicon; மமேயம் (மமேயம்) மமேயம் மமேயம் (மமேயம்).
ulavar and the archers as vil-ër-ulavar. These expressions employed by poets of great eminence afford striking evidence of the profound respect in which the ploughman was held in the palmy days of the Tamil land.

The words denoting the diverse operations connected with agriculture have acquired remarkable significance in the moral and social spheres of life. Kalaitai, removal, owes its origin to the practice of removing weeds which impede the growth of the seedlings. Vilaiu in the sense of result or consequence is obviously related to vilaiyul or vilaiu, which signifies agricultural produce. Tūrrutai in the sense of broadcast, probably owes its origin to the act of casting to the winds the grain mixed with chaff and straw at the threshing floor in order to separate them. Vēlārmai, which denotes cultivation has acquired the sense of hospitality.

The climatic conditions of the Tamil country are conducive to simplicity in dress. The barks of trees and the hides of animals generally formed the material of primitive human dress. An old poem speaks of sages clad in cirai—bark, and urivai—skin. Cilai, a term now restricted to the apparel of women is probably a variant of cirai. Putava or pudaivai, another word signifying the long cloth worn by women, seems to have originated in Malainad. Puda in Malayalam means to cover. The expression pudaivyul in Silappadikaram signifies enveloping or shrouding darkness. Pudai in the sense of cover is according to the classical commentator of Silappadikaram, a dialect of Malainad (Malayalam). Pudappu, a verbal noun from puda, denotes

57. ॥ चिराइः ॥ ॥
Cf. vennir (वैनिर्) > venni (वेनी)
Tannir (तांनिर्) > Tanni (ताणी)
ilanir (इलानिर्) > ilani (इलानी)
Padanir (पडानिर्) > Padani (पडानी) or Padu (पड़ु).

58. ॥ चिराइपुडाइः ॥
59. ॥ चिराइपुडाइः ॥
60. ॥ पुडाइपुडाइयुः ॥
61. ॥ पुडाइपुडाइयुः ॥
62. ॥ पुडाइपुडाइयुः ॥
63. ॥ पुडाइ पुडाइयुः ॥
64. ॥ पुडाइपुडाइयुः ॥
a covering or blanket in Malayalam. 65 Pudavai may be formed from the same root by the addition of vai, another suffix of the verbal noun. It is probable that pudavai has changed into putava by the substitution of the cerebral for the medial dental. It is significant that the presentation of the putava to the bride constitutes the essence of marriage in Malabar. Putava-kota commonly corrupted into putakota, literally the gift of putava or cloth, still forms an essential feature in the Malabar marriage ceremony.

It is probable that the original form of tukil—cloth, was tuyil. The literal sense of tuyil—(tuy-cotton) is cotton fabric. 66 In Malayalam tuyil signifies cotton cloth. A place in South India noted for the manufacture of tuyil come to be called tuyili. It is curious that tuyili is now used to designate the cloth of a particular texture woven at that place. Tuyil has become tukil by the change of the medial y into k, a change which does not militate against the phonetic tendencies of the Dravidian Languages. 67 It is natural that tukil which primarily denoted white cotton cloth was later extended to coloured cotton fabrics. 68 The analogous history of the cloth known as koranāḍ may be considered in this connection. Koranāḍ is a corruption of kūzai-nāḍu—(Kūrai-cloth) a place where cloth is manufactured. 69 The term koranāḍ however, now denotes a particular pattern of cloth manufactured at Koranāḍ in the vicinity of Mayavaram.

The origin of Jewellery may perhaps be sought in the devices adopted by primitive people to ward off the influence of evil spirits, which were supposed to be responsible for most of the diseases of the human body and mind. Propitiation by periodical offerings and sacrifices was one of the modes of pacifying their wrath and the additional device of avoiding their evil influence by the spell of magical incantation was also widely adopted. The invisible spirits were deemed to be subject to the control of certain mystic letters or symbols, the import of which was known only to the initiated few. They were inscribed on a scroll of palm-leaf, attached to a thread or string, and tied round the

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66. ꔲ客家📢客家客家客家客家客家, 158.
67. Cf. Vaiyai—Vaikai (Vaikai)
   Vāyil (doorway)—Vākili (T), Bāgīl (K), Bākil (Tu).
   uṣiyam (service)—uṣigamu (T), uliga (K).
68. ගැරණාධ ආරාමක්මුභාගෝ-කොලා, 15.
69. Kural is cloth ꔲ客家📢客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客家客.
waist, wrist, ankle or other parts of the body. As these appendages served the purpose of resisting the evil influence of the unseen powers, they were known as taḍayam, (taḍai-obstruction), a word which still signifies jewellery in the speech of the South Indian peasantry. In course of time, the threads or strings to which the amulets were attached came to be made of glittering metals and the scroll of palm-leaf bearing the mystic symbols was enclosed in metallic cases.

This view of the origin of jewellery receives confirmation from the primary sense of the word pūṇ which signifies ornament. The metallic ring or cap which serves to keep the ends of a thing intact, is commonly known as a pūṇ. The wooden pestle for instance, used for the purpose of pounding corn, is usually fitted with a pūṇ (ferrule) to protect it against wear and tear. The futility of endeavouring to preserve a thing which is by nature perishable, is expressed in the familiar saying 'Qanil neni viṭãmanuñi yār poḷātenuñi yār?' "can the cucumber fruit be preserved by metallic bands?" Thus it will be seen that the original purpose of pūṇ was to protect the wearer against the influence of evil powers. The jewel called aimbadai five weapons, seems to establish this point beyond the possibility of doubt. "The gold pendant worn by children in a necklace, bearing in relief the five weapons of Visnu as an amulet" is known as aimbadai. It is probable that the weapons of Visnu are embossed on the jewel as He is the God of protection in the Hindu mythology.

The origin of the term kāppu—bangle may be considered in this connection. Kāppu is derived from the root kā (to protect). The ceremony of invocation to the deity for the protection of a child is known as kāppidual. A string dyed with saffron is usually tied round the wrist of the child on the occasion. The expression kāppu-ñan signifies the string of protection tied round the wrist of persons participating in ceremonial functions.

70. "Very frequently men have fastened round their upper arm the Nombu-kayiru (sacred cord) attached to which is the Tyayathu, holding the copper plate with mantrams (spells) engraved on them"—The personal ornaments of the Madrasi—M. C. C. M. Sept. 1913.
71. —Tamil Lexicon.
72. The secondary sense of pūṇ, is armour—See Tamil Lexicon.
73. 'Sāmañkē ṛṣabha ṛṣabhi ṛṣabhi' Uṣhṇepatarnam, 4. For the meaning of aimbadai, refer to Tamil Lexicon.
74. —Tamil Lexicon.
75. —Tamil, 21.
76. —Tamil, 40.
The term *araí-nāṁ* literally means the waist string. The attrition of *nāṁ* due to semantic wear and tear, has perhaps led to the addition of the word *koḍī* to *araí-nāṁ* in the popular speech. *Araí-nāṁ-koḍī* has been corrupted into *aranākkōḍī*. To this waist band now made of gold or silver a talisman is sometimes attached.

The names of some of the jewels still worn by women in South India seem to disclose their original purpose. A jewel worn on the earlobes of women is known as *mudiccu* (knot). In ancient times, knots have been used as amulets in different parts of the world. The ancient Assyrians seem to have made much use of knotted cords as a remedy for ailments and diseases. In Russia amulets often derived their protective power in great measure from knots. In Ceylon, the Singhalese peasants use the knot known as ‘Goigote’ to prevent the devils from diminishing the quantity of corn heaped on the threshing floor during the harvest. With regard to the efficacy of the knot as an amulet, Fraser observes, “The precise mode in which the virtue of the knot is supposed to take effect in some of the instances does not clearly appear. But in general we may say that in all the cases we have been considering, the leading characteristics of the magic knot or lock is, in strict accordance with its physical nature, it always acts as an impediment, hindrance or obstacle and that its influence is maleficent or beneficent according as the thing which it impedes or hinders is good or evil.”

There is reason to believe that most of these primitive appendages consisted of threads and strings. The most significant jewel of the married woman the *tāli*, was originally a simple thread to which probably a knot was attached. The name *nal* (thread) applied to the *tāli* reveals its primitive condition. The deprivation of this thread marks the commencement of widowhood. It is significant that the word *tāli* denotes a thread as well as a jewel.

76. अराई-नाँ मे देवीद कीर्ति अमझेंद्रनाथ, प्रेमनं, 4.

77. Another jewel worn round the neck is called *mudiccu-kārāi* (*काराई*). It has a number of large metal beads strung on the band and attached to the front side, so as to lie beneath the chin under which it is fastened.—The Personal ornaments of the Madras, M. C. C. M., September, 1913.

78. See Fraser’s ‘Golden Bough’ Part II, ch. 5, Sec. x.


80. The jewel consisting of three or more strings of plaited gold is known as *मुर्जानी* (min nul)—M. C. C. M. Sept.

81. अराई-नाँ मे देवीद कीर्ति अमझेंद्रनाथ, प्रेमनं, 2.
With the discovery of metals, rings made of iron came to be used as amulets against demons, witches and ghosts. The ring is known as $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{I}\mathcal{I}$. The etymological significance of this word, perhaps indicates the purpose for which the ring was originally devised. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{I}\mathcal{I}$ is derived from the root $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{I}\mathcal{I}$—to destroy 82. The purpose of destroying the maleficent influence of the evil spirits is perhaps denoted by this term. The practice of wearing iron rings on the fingers and toes is still common in South India. The fourth finger from the thumb is popularly known as the ring-finger. A consideration of the extensive use of iron rings in the ancient world as a charm for banishing ghosts and other dangerous spirits has led Fraser to make the following observation. “How far the custom of wearing finger rings, bracelets and anklets may have been influenced by or even have sprung from a belief in their efficacy as amulets to keep the soul in the body or demons out of it, is a question worth considering.”83

The significance of the Tamil words $t\tilde{a}d\tilde{a}yam$, $p\tilde{a}\tilde{n}$, and $i\tilde{l}\tilde{a}i$ which denote the jewel in general, and of the terms $k\tilde{a}\tilde{p}\tilde{p}u$, $n\tilde{a}l$, $m\tilde{u}d\tilde{i}c\tilde{c}\tilde{u}$ and $a\tilde{l}\tilde{i}i$, which signify particular jewels, may give us a clue to discover the origin of jewellery.

The instinct of self-preservation must have induced primitive man to devise tools and implements. “When primitive man, $h\tilde{o}\tilde{m}\tilde{o}-p\tilde{r}\tilde{i}\tilde{m}\tilde{i}\tilde{g}e\tilde{i}u\tilde{s}$, first stumbled against a stone or hit his head against the overhanging bough of a tree, and instead of wasting his impotent rage in pounding the offensive stone to dust or tearing that bough to shreds, he turned the experience to profit and learnt to fling that stone as a missile at an enemy or broke that bough and used it as a club, he began his human career on earth.”84 The purpose served by the detached bough is indicated by the etymological sense of the word $k\tilde{\theta}l$, which is derived from $k\tilde{\theta}l$ to beat, by the lengthening of the root-vowel. The instrument of destruction is thus denoted by it. In course of time it was extended to all sorts of instruments, e. g., $e\tilde{l}\tilde{u}d\tilde{u}-k\tilde{\theta}l$, the writing or painting instrument, $t\tilde{a}l-k.k\tilde{\theta}l$, the unbolting instrument and so forth.

$P\tilde{a}\tilde{d}\tilde{a}i$ now used in the sense of army is derived from the root $p\tilde{a}\tilde{\dot{u}}$ and signifies the act of striking down the enemy. Tools made of stone were found to be more serviceable for this purpose than $k\tilde{\theta}l$. “Early men displayed a wonderful skill in shaping these

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82. It is significant that the Discus, the most powerful weapon in the armoury of Visnu, who destroys the wicked and protects the virtuous, is styled $a\tilde{l}\tilde{i}$ ($\mathcal{A}\mathcal{Y}\mathcal{L})$.


84. The stone age in India, p. 5.
implements and South India has yielded innumerable palaeolithic tools. The Tamil word kalam probably formed from kal, (stone) signifies the lithic tools employed by primitive men. The expression pañai-k-kalam perhaps denoted in the first instance the stone implement used for felling the foemen. In course of time, however, kalam came to be associated with anything made of stone or wood e.g., Unikalam, eating vessel, kolkalam, receptacle, marakkalam, boat. It is significant that the expression aṇi-kalam is used with reference to jewellery. Polished stones probably served as ornaments in primitive society. The word kal still sticks to the names of some of the jewels. The emerald ear-pendent is known as paccai-k-kal. The diamond necklace is kak-adigai. Although in modern jewellery precious stones and glittering metals have taken the place of the polished stones, the expression aṇi-kalam recalls to our mind the lithic jewel.

The ancient conception of royalty being next to Divinity is attested by the existence of common terms applicable to both of them. The sacred character of the royal personality is declared in unmistakable terms in the Tamil Devotional songs. "I find the image of the Lord in the gracious King" says a seer. The king was supposed to be guarded and guided by the light of Heaven. Hence next to Divinity, royalty commanded the allegiance and adoration of the people. Kō and kōn, irai and iraivan are terms common to the Divine as well as the human lord. The temple of God and the palace of the king are both denoted by the term kōyil (Kō - Lord, il - house).

The ancient title denoting the three royal houses of South India are suggestive of the distinctive features of the three Tamil kingdoms. The Chera king is Villavan; the Chola king is Valavan and the Pandya King is Minavan. The Chera was the lord of the hills. His subjects were hardy hillmen skilled in archery and his country abounded in wild life. The bow, therefore, was the natural symbol of his royal authority. The Chola country was the most fertile part of the Tamil land. The abundant and fertilising waters of the Kaveri glorified as

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85. Ibid, p. 8. /  
86. குறுவைவல்லுணர் சுற்றிய முதல் வேள் அம் குறுவைவல்லுணர்  

87. குருவை வல்லுணர் முதல் வேள்  

88. நூறு வல்லுணர் மாளிகை, சுற்றி  

89. பாண்டிய வல்லுணர், மாளிகை, 18, 19, 20.
the Ponni, golden river, made Cholamandalam the granary of South India. Hence the name Valavan indicates that he was the lord of the fertile plains. The fish was the symbol of the Pandiya power. It adorned the royal flag and the royal seal of the Pandiya king. The protecting deity of the Pandiya kingdom was Minatchi—the fish-eyed goddess. The association of the fish with the Pandiya power indicates that he was the lord of the seas. Pearl-fishery was the main source of his wealth and prosperity. In ancient times an enormous and lucrative trade was carried on at Korkai, a sea-port town situated at the mouth of the Tambraparani. The Pandiyan assumed the title of Korkai-t-turaiyan and Korkai-ali—the lord of the Korkai port, with legitimate pride. It is natural that the king whose power and prosperity depended mainly on maritime commerce should adopt the fish as the symbol of his royal authority.

The law by which the primitive Tamils were governed may be understood from the term Valakku which signifies litigation in the modern speech. Valakam or Valakku means custom. “The origin of customs is generally enshrined in the mist of the distant past; but the binding force of customs lies in their sacred antiquity and in the reverential obedience to them by the people themselves for generations.” The ancient Tamils were governed mainly by customs. Decisions in tribunals of justice were based on immemorial custom. When an aggrieved person appeared before the judicial tribunal with a complaint that a violation of custom in regard to a particular matter had resulted in the infringement of his personal or proprietary rights, it was necessary to explain the custom alleged to have been violated. Hence the expression Valakkuadal or Valakkuvaittal came to signify pleading. The significance of the term Valakku is clearly brought out in the chapter dealing with the pleading of Kannaki in Silappadikaram. Kannaki who was aggrieved by an act of the Pandiya king, appeared

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90. 91. 92. 93.

90. It is possible that the tiger was adopted as the symbol of the Chola power at a time when a large part of the Chola country was covered by dense forest. The great Chola kings are praised by the Tamil bards for the meritorious act of clearing the land of wild growth and rendering it fit for cultivation. (Refer—Paṭṭinappālai—283.)

92. 93. “Custom is of far earlier origin than law. Law which is the product of a rather complicated machinery of social and political organisation, was unknown, at any rate in its present sense, in the primitive ages when society was not, as at present, a collection of individuals but an aggregation of families”—Customs and Customary Law, p. 1.
before him to vindicate her husband's innocence and demand redress for the violation of the time-honoured custom that none but the wicked should be punished by the State. In expounding the ancient custom of the country she made the point that even royalty was not above the sacred customary law of the land, and cited the act of the great Chola king who did not hesitate to sacrifice his only son when it was proved that he was responsible for killing a calf on the road. The chapter in Silappadikaram relating to Kannaki's pleading is aptly entitled *valakkurai kālai*, i.e., the chapter relating to the exposition of custom. In modern language an enquiry in a civil court is known as *valakku vicāraṇai* as distinguished from *kurra vicāraṇai*—enquiry in a criminal court. Thus the word *valakku* used with reference to litigation takes us back to the days when the Tamil community was governed by customs having the force of law.

The Greek and Hebrew Languages bear testimony to the commercial relations that subsisted in ancient times between Tamil India and foreign countries. An old Tamil poem gives a list of things imported from other countries by land and by sea. Among the commodities that came from distant countries beyond the seas, a prominent place is assigned to the horse. It is probable that the Arab merchants who maintained active commercial relations with the Tamil country for several centuries carried on a lucrative trade in Persian and Arabian horses. The words designating the equipment of the horse in Tamil, seem to indicate that it was not an indigenous animal. The saddle is denoted by the term *cēram*, which is derived from the Persian *Zīn*. *Lakām*—the reins, is a corruption of the Persian *Lagām*. *Cavukku*—the whip, is obviously the Persian *cūbuk*.

Among the thirty words given in *Cūlamani* as synonyms for the horse, *kōram* and *pari* seem to be significant. One of the Persian words designating the horse is *kurra*. The Telugu word *gurramu* (horse) bears a close resemblance to the Persian *kurra*. In Tamil *kōram* is used generally in the sense of horse and particularly...
reference to the royal horse of the Chola dynasty. Malcolm says, 'that horses of the Turkoman or Khorassan breed were noted for their great size and strength and were most prized by the soldiers of Persia.' It is possible that kūram used with reference to the Chola horse is a corruption of the Persian Khorassan. The mare is denoted by the term faras in Persian. The resemblance of the Tamil word pari horse, to this Persian word is remarkable.

The existence of indigenous words for the boat, the ship, the lighthouse, etc., testifies to the knowledge which the ancient Tamils had acquired of the art of navigation. However, commercial contact with foreign countries has enriched the Tamil vocabulary by contributing a few nautical terms. Langar, the Persian form of the Greek word for anchor, has been adopted in Tamil as Nangaram. The recognition that this nautical term has received at the hands of a mediaeval commentator shows that it must have passed into the Tamil language, possibly through the sailor's slang, at a very early period of its history. The word mālumi designating the pilot is derived from the Persian Mallah. Nikān and its variant Mīkān are perhaps corruptions of the Persian Nakhuda which signifies the captain or owner of a ship, a word adopted in Arabic in the same form. Cukkān, rudder, is Arabic.

The Arab merchants have introduced the name of an Indian fruit into the European Languages in the wake of their commercial intercourse. The English word Orange has been traced to the Indian languages in which it originated. Nāraṅgā or nāraṅgā, the name of the fruit in the Indian languages assumed the form nārang in Persian and nāranj in Arabic. "From the Arabic, the Italians got narancia, the Spaniards naranja, the Portuguese laranja, and the French orange." The forms in which the original word appears in the Indian languages may also be considered. In Sanskrit it appears in two forms nāgarangā and nāraṅga; "but of these words no satisfactory etymological explanation has been given." In the Dravidian languages nāraṅgāy which has assumed the form naraisia in Malayalam, can, according to Dr. Gundert, be traced to the root nar—to smell. It may be noted that the Persian nārang bears a very close resemblance to the Malayalam form of the word. It is probable that nāraṅgāy

98. Naccinārkiniyar has used the word in his commentary on Cintāmanī, St., 1231.
99. Cuṅgān is the nasalised form of cukkān. The Arabic word is Sukkān.
passed into the language of the Arabs during their commercial inter-
course with Malabar. 100

The advent of new religions and the impact of new cultures in South India have from time to time led to a revision of the Tamil vocabulary. New words have come into existence and existing words have acquired new significations. The principal religions that influenced the thoughts and ideals of the Tamil country were Jainism and Buddhism in ancient times and Muhammadanism and Christianity in modern times.

The word *palli* was originally used in the general sense of place, e.g. *Idai-p-palli*—central place: *mażai-p-palli* (*mażai*—cooked rice, *palli*—place) denotes kitchen, now restricted to the kitchen attached to temples and charitable institutions. The Buddhists and Jains employed the term *palli* to denote their holy places. The monasteries of the Jaina monks and the hermitages of the Jaina ascetics were known as *mālavar palli* and *aravār palli*. 101 As Buddhism and Jainism were missionary religions, the learned monks and ascetics were actively engaged in expounding the principles of their faith to their disciples in the monasteries. Thus *palli* was not merely a place for practising religious austerities but was also a theological seminary. It is probable that the education imparted in these seminaries included a course of instruction in grammar, logic and literature, as an exact knowledge of the language and a correct method of exposition were essential for the propagation of religion. Thus the term *palli* came to signify an educational institution. The decline of Jainism in South India led to the abolition of the monasteries. But the thirst for knowledge created by the *pallis* survived them. The excitement caused by the struggle between Jainism and Hinduism for supremacy and the flush of victory scored by the latter gave an impetus to the study of Hindu scriptures and theology. Enthusiastic pupils waited at the doors of learned men eager to receive instruction. The house of the learned man thus became the school and as the *kaḍam* (verandah) of his residence was regularly and habitually used as the place of instruction, the school came to be called *palli-k.kaḍam*. There the master used to sit on a pial-tinnaī

100. Hob-job, p. 642. For a derivation of the word from a Dravidian root refer to Gundert’s Malayalam Dictionary. (Nārakam—from *nār* or *nāru* + *akam* “holding fragrance—an orange tree, *citrus aurantium*. The fruit is *nārāṇia* whence P. *nārānj* and European *orange*”—p. 644.

101. பாள்ளியான மாற்று மருண் மலாயம்—தலை, முனை, 179 முக்காணாமலைய காரணம், பலி பலிக் கடம், சோல. 
and impart instruction to the pupils who sat at his feet. As the pial was the seat of learning, the school received the name śiṅṇai-pallīk-kaṇḍam. Thus it will be seen that the modern school, which is mainly concerned with secular education, had its origin in theological seminars of the religions which have ceased to be a living force in this country.

Pallī as the name of a place of worship or prayer still lingers in the term Pallivēsal which denotes the Muhammadan mosque in the Tamil country.

The history of the word adīkal affords another instance of the influence of Buddhist and Jaina religions. The devotees of the Lord were generally denoted by the term adīyar in the Hindu religion. But Jainism and Buddhism which laid great emphasis on renunciation used the word adīkal with reference to their ascetics. Ilango, the Chera prince, was styled Ilango-adīkal as he renounced his royal splendour and became a Jaina ascetic. Kavunti, the Jaina ascetic, is referred to as Kavunti-adīkal in Silappadikaram. The celebrated monk who expounded the Buddhist law at Kanchi was known as Aravaṇa-adīkal. The new shade of thought which the word adīkal acquired in the Jaina and Buddhist usage has been adopted and perpetuated by the devotees of other religions. The prince of Saiva ascetics is elegantly styled Paṭṭinat-t-adīkal or Tiruvēṇkāṭṭu adīkal. Saint Manikkavasagar is known as Vēṭavur adīkal, and so forth.

The Jaina ascetics who settled in the Tamil country belonged mainly to the Digambara sect of Jainism. Hence the Sramaṇa (Jaina) religion with which the Tamils were acquainted was the religion of the naked ascetics. The word Sramaṇa was corrupted into Samavam, which became amavaṃ by the elimination of the initial consonant. Amavaṃ, the name of the religion came to be associated with nudity as a sect of Jaina monks were nude ascetics. Thus amavaṃ and its corruption ammavaṃ came to denote nudity.

The original sense of the word vinaś is action. The verb is known as vinaś-c-col in the Tamil grammar, as the function of that part of speech is to denote action. Purity of action and decisive action are denoted by the expressions vinaś-t-tōymai and vinaś-t-tītpam in Tirukkural. When the doctrine of karma was elaborated and systematised, vinaś came to be used in the sense of karma. The principle of karma

102. In Nānjanād (South Travancore) and Travancore the word palli is associated with the Christian church. e.g., Savaryār palli.

103. பால்லி வல்லி பால்லி, பொ. 1. பால். 11.

104. மாரட்டி, பொ. 66, 67.
is based on the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. "Every action whether mental or physical is the sowing of a seed or in the technical language of Hindu philosophy, an engendering of karma. The harvest which is sown must be reaped, gathered and assimilated in its unabated fulness. Karma, therefore, is a kind of force which compels the soul to bear the consequence of its right or wrong action, and this force originates in the very action itself which is performed by the soul and at the very moment of its performance." 105 Thus *vinai* came to denote the action of the soul in previous births which causes happiness or misery in succeeding births. The expression *ūvinai* refers to the regular unalterable course of *karma*. The preponderance of evil deeds in the world has gradually led to the restriction of the term *vinai* to the evil *karma* which is the cause of misery and distress.

Sangam is a popular word in the Tamil country. It signifies an institution organised for promoting the cause of learning or religion. "The word Sangam is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Sangha, first popularised by the Jainas and Baudhhas. A Jaina Sangha was for the first time established in the Tamil country at Madura in 470 A.D. It has to be noted that this was not a Tamil Sangam as we understand it, but an organisation of the Jains of the Tamil country for teaching the Jaina Dharma to lay disciples. The first Baudhha Sangha of the Tamil country is mentioned in the romance called Manimekhalai as existing in Kāviti-p-pūmpattinam. The "three Jewels"—Buddha, Dharma and Sangha—are mentioned later in the same poem. Thus apparently the word Sangam was used at first in Tamil for a religious association and its function was to teach Dharma." 106 The classical commentaries in Tamil contain a description of the three Sanghas which flourished in South India under the munificent patronage of the Pandiyas. The restriction of the general term Sangam to an organisation of learned men brought into existence for the purpose of promoting culture is perhaps due to Buddhist and Jaina influence.

The corporate character of family life in South India is attested by the connotation and history of the word *aiyan*. The one-letter word *ai* signifies pre-eminence or headship. The head of the family and the head of the State are denoted by the term *ai*. In the well-known line "*en ai mun nillanmin teevir’—Face not my lord in battle Oh foe,‘ *ai* is used in the sense of lord. 107 As pronominal terminations and formative suffixes are generally attached to one-letter

105. The Key of Knowledge, p. 876.
107. பாடல். 771.
words to facilitate enunciation, an—the suffix of the masculine singular was attached to ai. Thus (ai an) ai-y-an came to be used with reference to the pater familias who was the responsible head of the joint family. The right of managing the joint estate and the duty of supporting the members of the joint family devolved on the eldest son after the death of the father. This status accounts for the term aiyan being applied to the eldest brother in the first instance and to every elder brother in succession. The common term tamaiyan which denotes the elder brother is derived by prefixing the reflexive pronoun base tam to the word aiyan. 108

The resemblance between the growth of the tree and the growth of the human family has led to the application of the word kilai—branch, to relations. The pater familias supports the family, as the trunk of a tree supports its branches. Though the trunk and the twigs are distinguishable, they together form the tree. The trunk sustains the branches and the branches in turn lend charm and beauty by their foliage. The ramification of the human family is commonly compared by the Tamil poets to the banyan tree which abounds in twigs and branches.

The ancient practice of conferring on grand-children the names of their grand-parents has led to the formation of the words pēran (grandson) and pētti (grand-daughter). 109 The practical difficulty experienced in families blessed with more than one grand-son and one grand-daughter of denoting all of them by the names of their grand-parents, is generally obviated by conferring on the eldest son the name of the grand-father, and on the eldest daughter the name of the grandmother. The need for remembering the names of the immediate and remote ancestors at the ceremonies connected with the propitiation of their disembodied souls was perhaps responsible for this practice.

The maternal uncle’s son is ammān-cēy (ammān—uncle, cēy-son) corrupted into ammānci. It was not considered bad manners to be familiar with the ammānci, to crack jokes at him or tease him with pretty pranks. The general inability of an ammānci placed in the midst of a mixed company of wits, to meet them on their own ground and pay them in their own coin, has resulted in making the term ammānci synonymous with simpleton. This degradation in sense resulting from

108. For other words with the prefix tam refer to Caldwell’s Comparative Grammar, pp. 398-400.

109. Pētti is corrupted into pēttī Cf. cēkkai—cēkkai; Nīttu—Nittu, Pēttu—pēttu.

Pēran and pētti literally mean namesake,
a pleasantry is an instance of ‘the mildly malicious wit which is but a form of popular good sense.’" 110

The history of the word eluttu gives us an insight into the origin of the modern alphabet. Eluttu derived from eluttu originally denoted painting. 111 Eluttu-kōl is the painter’s brush. A hall in the temple at Tirupparangunram whose walls were adorned with paintings intended to convey religious and moral instruction is described as eluttu-nilai-mantaṇam in Paripādal. Kamban describes the charming personality of Rama as ovivattu eluta ornā wruvam 112 the form that defies the skill of the painter. In grammatical usage, eluttu signifies ‘a concept which includes the sound of a unit-syllable and the sign that represents it.’ 113 The pictograph is considered to be parent of the present alphabet. This view seems to receive confirmation from the original sense of eluttu in Tamil.

The words denoting the window are expressive of its primitive shape and purpose. In old poems the term kālatar, literally ‘wind-way’ (kāl-wind, aitar-way) signifies the window. 114 The shape of the window is suggested by the word kuruṅgan which means ‘small-eye’. 115 Silappadikaram refers to the window in the mansions of the city of Puhār which resembled the eye of the deer. Pāla-kani, literally ‘the thing of many eyes’ perhaps signifies the lattice-window. These indigenous words have now become obsolete and jannal—a corruption of the Portuguese word janella has obtained wide currency. 116 The history of the English word window may be considered in this connection. Palmer says “a mysterious word that recalls an obsolete technique is the English word window which means literally ‘wind.eye’. The word ‘eye’ in many languages forms part of compound words denoting the window.” 117

Words whose meanings have been obscured or obliterated by corruption will disclose their treasures, if they are restored to their correct forms. In the Dravidian languages, words containing the characteristic sound ‘l’ (ɬ) have undergone remarkable changes.

111. Tirukkural, 1285.
112. ஐலுட்டு எலுட்டு, இழப்பு, 78.
113. History of the Tamils, p. 214.
114. ஐலுட்டு எலுட்டு எலுட்டு எலுட்டு எலுட்டு, இழப்பு, 8.
115. ஐலுட்டு எலுட்டு எலுட்டு எலுட்டு எலுட்டு, இழப்பு, 61.
116. Tamil Lexicon.
The physiological effort involved in the correct phonation of this letter is perhaps responsible for its elimination from the alphabets of the Dravidian languages other than Tamil and Malayalam. The extraordinary lack of uniformity in the pronunciation of words containing this sound is evidently due to the difficulty of its exact phonation. Economy of effort is sometimes achieved by the elimination of this letter even from words in which it forms an integral part of the roots. For instance, tākkōl commonly used in Malayalam and certain parts of the Tamil country in the sense of key, is a corruption of tālkkōl. Tāl is an old word which means bolt. It still lingers in the hybrid tālppāl 118 corrupted into tāppāl in the colloquial dialect. Hence tālkkōl denotes the instrument employed for lifting or drawing off the bolt. In Malayalam the corrupt form Tākkōl is used in the literary and colloquial language. In modern usage, however chāvi a corruption of the Portuguese word chiavi 119 has succeeded to a large extent in displacing the indigenous term.

Several words in the Tamil language have lost their semantic value, by the elimination or corruption of the character ‘।’. The word tōmban for instance is used in certain districts of the Tamil country to denote a class of people who render menial service. The significance of the word will be apparent if it is shown to be the corruption of tōlumban (tōlumbu means service). 120

A married woman who is the lady of the house is commonly known as vāvarasi in the popular speech of the South. The correct form of the word is vāḻvarasi, (vāḻvu—life; arasi—queen). 121 This term indicates the high regard in which wedded life is held in this country and the remarkable position assigned to the wife in family life. For the woman, life in the real sense of the word commences with marriage. The expression vāḷkkai-p. pattaval used with reference to the married woman, clearly reflects the opinion of the community that the purpose of life is fulfilled by marriage. On the other hand vāḻttaval or vāḻveṭṭi, a grass-widow is regarded as “a flower wasting its sweetness in the desert air” and is hence the object of public sympathy, if not of contempt.

When a sick person who is gradually recovering his normal health is asked “How do you feel?” he answers tēvalai or tēvalai. At first sight tēvalai appears to be a corruption of tēvai illai i.e., ‘I need

118. In Tālppāl, tāl is Tamil and pāl is Dutch.—Tamil Lexicon.
119. Tamil Lexicon.
120. வேட்டைப்பட்டாய் வேட்டைப்பட்டாய்—பலவல்-சுவைவல்-டுவல்-2.
121. Vāvarasi is commonly used in the colloquial dialect in Tirunelvelli.
nothing." But this is hardly a proper answer to a query regarding the state of the patient’s health. Moreover, the connection in which this term is employed shows that this cannot be the sense intended. The expression Tāvalai kēṟu is commonly used in the sense of a wound healed or an illness cured. Tāvalai is obviously a corruption of tāḻvilai which indicates that the disease is not taking a bad turn or becoming worse. This expression coming from a patient undergoing medical treatment will naturally mean that the disease has been brought under control. It is worthy of note that the elimination of the special character ‘! ‘ which forms an integral part of the root is the first step in the process of the corruption of this word. 122

There is a tendency in every language to banish words which denote unpleasant or terrific objects. "To primitive people," says Jesperson "a name is something with a real existence outside humanity, something possessing power, so that the way to escape evil consequence is not to use the plain word for anything bad or dangerous." 123 Diseases in general are dreaded by humanity and certain diseases cause a terrible fright. The primitive people of South India seem to have been horrified at the mysterious disease known as small-pox. Malevolent deities were supposed to be responsible for it and their fury was abated by abundant sacrifices. But the disease was designated by a term which evoked the tenderest associations in the panic-stricken mind. Ammai (mother) signifies small-pox. The attack of small-pox is denoted by the graceful expression ammai-vilaiyāṭṭu—mother’s play, and the pustule of small-pox bears the name ammai-muttu—mother’s pearl. Ammai kuttal is the common euphemism for vaccination.

"In India," says Fraser, "the animals whose names are most commonly tabooed are the snake and the tiger. In Telingana the euphemistic name for a snake which should always be employed is worm or insect (purugu). Natives of Travancore are careful not to speak disrespectfully of serpents." 124 In the Tamil country the cobra is known as nallapāmbu, or nallatu which means ‘that which is good’.

The terrors associated with death are assuaged by the employment of circumlocutions. The words tunjinān—slept, cenrān, pōnān,—has gone,

122. Tāḻvilai > Tāvilai > Tāvalai > Tāvalai: The elimination of may be noted in the following words;—

Tāḷvaḍam (தாளவடம்) > Tāvaḍam (தவடம்), Tavaḍamu (Te) āṭṭai (ஆட்டை) — āṭṭai (ஆட்டை).


Tiruvadi atindan—reached the holy feet of the Lord, are commonly employed to denote death. The divine messenger who is charged with the duty of separating the life from the body is painted by mythology in lurid colours. He is described as a dark figure armed with deadly weapons of terrific dimensions, mounted on a sturdy buffalo and demanding his toll with a ruthless and ferocious face. The thought of death raises the image of this terrific personality. The horrors associated with death are mitigated by calling the messenger naḻuvan, the just, and taruṇan, the righteous.

Place-names afford valuable material for the reconstruction of the ancient history of the Tamil race. They may be well utilised for the purpose of corroborating the conclusions warranted by epigraphical and literary evidence. But the popular craze for investing new places with hoary traditions has been responsible for the transformation of several place-names. Mahabalipuram, a celebrated shrine on the sea-coast in the Chingleput district, is an instance in point. This city was originally known as Mallai or Māmallai. Mallai was called Māmallapuram after the great Pallava king Narasimhavarmna alias Māmallan. Māmallapuram was changed into Mahabalipuram by those who wanted the name of the mighty Mahābal to be associated with it.

The history of the Pandava hills near Pāḷāṇi affords another instance of the transformation effected by folk-etymology. This hill belonged to the ancient Cheras and was known as the Aiyirai hill. The Goddess Korravai installed on the top of the hill was propitiated by the Chera kings before they commenced hostilities. By and by, Aiyirai malai was corrupted into Aiyār malai, i.e., the hill of the five. The popularity of the story of the Pandavas led to the identification of

125. See Chēran Chenguttuvan by M. Raghava Iyengar, p. 181.
Aivar with the Pancha-Pandavas. To each of the Pandavas a hill was generously assigned and the ancient Kogravai was made to play the role of Panchali, their devoted wife. 129

The history of the word Trichinopoly is no less interesting. The original name of the place was Cirappalli. 130 In the sacred hymns of the Saivite Saints, it is referred to as Cirappalli. Tiru, signifying sanctity, was attached to it and it became Tiru-c-cirappalli. 131 The shrine on the rock of Tiru-c-cirappalli was perhaps destitute of any memorable tradition. Hence an ingenious device was adopted by which Tirisira, a step-brother of the mighty Ravana was made the founder of the shrine. 132 Tiru, the prefix of Tiru-c-cirappalli was twisted into tiri three, and Tiri-c-cirappalli was represented as the place founded by Tirisira, the three-headed warrior of Lanka. The shrine alleged to have been founded by Tirisira came to be called Tirisirapuram. The zeal evinced by the Saivite poets and scholars in popularising the term Tirisirapuram—an attempt which has not succeeded to any appreciable extent—testifies to their anxiety to dissociate the shrine from every word or sign associated with Jainism, which perhaps held sway at the Cirappalli rock prior to its occupation by Saivism. The modern contraction Tirucci retains only the prefix of sanctity and the initial palatal of the ancient name.

The ancient classification of land in Tamil India is suggested by the word ēdayar which denotes the members of the shepherd community. Ēdayar literally means the inhabitants of the middle tract. The meaning of this term recalls to our mind the primitive division of land into four classes, viz., the hilly tract, kurinji, the sylvan tract mullai, the arable tract marutam and the littoral tract neydal. This classification was deemed so comprehensive that the earth came to be called nānilam. Of these four classes the sylvan region was known as the middle tract, as it lay between the hilly and the arable tracts.

129. Pancha Pandavar malai is the present name of the hill.
130. பஞ்சகவன் பண்டவர் மலை என்று கூறுவல்லோர் சரணாமர் தர்மாசியை மிளகிக்கவும், மேளாள் சமேஸ்த் கூறு குதிரை வைத்திட்டு அமைக்கும்.
131. மல்லை மலைத் தவால் வளித்து உடன் மலையமாக வரலியை வைத்துக் கூறும்.
132. கரின்ஜி மலைத் தவால் மலையமாக மலையான தவால் மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலையான மலை�
Distinct names are given to villages situated in these four natural regions. The hamlets of the hill-men in KURINJI are called KURICCI. 133 AYARKURICCI, NAQUVAKKURICCI, KALLAKKURICCI—the names of these villages indicate that they belong to the mountainous or rocky region. Habitations in the sylvan tract are known as PADI. Ayarpadi, Appadi KOTTUPADI, Mullippadi are settlements in the wooded region. Villages situated in the arable tract are styled UR. URAIYAR, NELLAR, CIRRAR, Parar, are the names of some of the ancient places in the arable tract. Habitations in the littoral tract are known as PaTTINAM. NAGAPPATTINAM, KAVIRIPAMPATTINAM, KULASEKARAPATTINAM are situated in the littoral region. 134

The prefix UR in the place-names AR-P-PAKKAM and AR-UR suggests the primitive condition of these places. AR-K-KADO or ARKADO was supposed to be a corruption of ARUKADO (six forests) and was translated into Sanskrit as SAD-ARANYA. ARUR, now known as Tiruvur, is said to have been the capital of the Cholas in the pre-historic times. The tree known as AR or ATT, a corruption of ATT, perhaps existed in abundance in the territory of the Cholas in ancient times. It is significant that the garland of the royal dynasty of the Cholas was made of ATT flowers. It is possible that the place covered by the ATT forest was given the name ARKKADO. Similarly a strip of land abounding in ATT trees received the name ARPPAKKAM and the land cleared of the ATT forest and rendered fit for the habitation of agricultural communities was denoted by the term ARUR.

The physical geography of the ancient Tamil country may be gleaned from the terms connected with the names of the four cardinal points. The north and the south are denoted by the terms VAJAKKU and TERKU. The east and the west are signified in old Tamil by the words KUNAKKU and KUDAKKU. The termination ku in these terms is obviously a suffix denoting direction. From the roots of these terms, other words have arisen which give us an insight into the extent of the Tamil land. VAJUKU is the name by which the Telugu language and the Telugu country are known in the ancient Tamil literature. 186 The Tirupati hill is denoted by the term VAJAMALAI as it marked the

133. 134. The distinction however is not systematically found. For instance Kapilar uses the word PAKKAM in connexion with Kurinji. The place names terminating in PAKKAM sometimes refer to villages far away from the littoral region.

135. 650, 95. 650, 95.
northern limit of the Tamil country. The Andhra is styled vaḍukan, northerner. The wind blowing from the north is called vaḍai or vaḍandai. Similarly from the root ten which contains the idea of south, the word tennan is derived. Tennen was the name of the Pandiyan—the ruler of the southern kingdom. The people of the southern region were known as tennar. The southern breeze is tenral.

From the earliest times known to Tamil literature, the sea formed the eastern boundary of the Tamil land. The eastern sea is called kuṇakaḍal. The eastern wind is known as koṇḍal. The primitive people fancied that the clouds sucked the waters of the mighty ocean and benefited the earth by gentle showers. This idea is embodied in the word karkol which signifies the ocean. The rain clouds in Southern India are driven towards the lofty range of mountains near the western coast and hence the eastern wind that drives the pregnant clouds to the western hills as well as the clouds themselves are denoted by the common term Koṇḍal. It is probable that Koṇḍal signifies the monsoon winds blowing from the north-east.

From the root of the word denoting the west, several significant terms have originated. Koṇḍaku the modern Coorg, literally means the western region. The venerable sage of the western hill is styled Koṇḍamuni. Koṇḍai literally signifies the western wind. It was applied in the first Instance to the season during which the western wind blows and ultimately to the intense heat of that season. The country situated on the western frontier of the Tamil land is called Koṇanadu, one of the twelve Koṇun.tamil countries in which a crude dialect of Tamil prevailed in the olden days.

136. கோண்டா இடம் இல்லம் ரமணம் என்ற தமிழ் செட்டியர் கி. கி.
137. கோண்டா முமுகி, வட முமுகி செட்டியர் கி. கி.
138. கோண்டாமுணி
139. கோண்டைக் கூப்பர் கூரின் ஏற்றங்கூ கூப்பர் கூ, 7.
140. கோண்டான் தமிழ் செட்டியர் கி. கி. 248.
141. Tamil Lexicon.
142. கோண்டான் செட்டி தமிழ் கி. கி. 400.
SECTION II.

Semantics or the science of signification is an interesting branch of linguistics. The diverse changes that have taken place in the meanings of words have been studied and classified by philologists under the heads restriction, expansion, degradation, elevation and variation. This classification is based on the results of sense-changes. An attempt however has been made in recent times to classify sense-changes from a psychological point of view. Semasiology is based by this school of philologists upon the findings of experimental psychology. 143

In the present state of our knowledge of Tamil words, the application of the psychological method will not yield fruitful results. Sufficient material has not yet been gathered to furnish a satisfactory basis for a synthesis. An attempt is made in the following pages to describe the changes that meanings of words have undergone under the abovementioned heads.

RESTRICTION.

Malayam: Malayam is the poetical name of the Pothiya hill in the Western Ghats. 144 The termination am in Malayalam is an epletive suffix. The generic term Malai or Malayam, (Mount), is restricted to Pothikai by reason of its great celebrity. Pothiyil is a hill of hoary traditions. 145 It is celebrated in ancient songs as ‘the eternal hill of the Tamil sage.’ The Southern breeze is glorified as Malaya-marutham, i.e., the gentle wind of Malayam. The Malayam of the south is placed on a par with the Imayam (Himalayas) of the north by the national bards. 146 Thus the glorious traditions associated with the Pothikai have exalted it as the hill of hills in the Tamil country. 147

143. Meaning and Change of Meaning by G. Stern, p. 5.

144. Malaya is the Sanskrit name of the Western Ghats. Regarding this word Caldwell says “Mala (Ka, Ma, Te) a hill, a mountain; Tamil, malai. This Dravidian root has found its way into the Sanskrit Lexicons as the base of Malaya, the Sanskrit name of the Western Ghats. (C. G. 622).

145. மல்லை மலாய் மலயம்...என்ன மூலம் அதிராசம- நிலை, தமிழ், 31.

146. தமிழ், கல்வி, 14-18.

147. போதியோல் போதிய்கை போதிய்கை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலையை மலை�
Pon: In the world of metals, the word *pon* has undergone a restriction in signification which is indicative of the sense of values that prevailed in the ancient Tamil land. *Pon* was originally a general term signifying metal. The specific metal referred to was left to be inferred from the context. Thus, in the expression *tandil-pon*, the metal of the fish-hook, the word *pon* denotes iron. In some cases the metal was indicated by its distinctive colour or other qualities. *Karumpon*, black metal, signified iron; *venpon*, white metal, signified silver. *Aimpon* is a compound of five metals. In course of time, however, the irresistible fascination of the yellow metal made it the metal par excellence. Hence the word *pon* came to be restricted to gold. In due course, *pon* became a synonym for wealth. The goddess of wealth also is styled *pon*.

Malar: In the world of flowers, the lotus holds a unique place. *Centamaraik*, the red lotus is a perennial source of delight for the poet and has formed the theme for ‘the devout effusion of sacred eloquence.’ *Centamaraik* is cherished as the seat of the Goddess of riches. The *venamaraik* is venerated as the seat of the Goddess of learning. In Jainism Arhat is hailed as ‘The Lord who walked on the lotus flower.’ Thus the Jaina poets vied with the Hindu bards in celebrating the lotus. These traditions naturally led to the restriction of the general terms *pa* and *malar* to the lotus flower. The expression *patamalar* and *malaraigj* raise at once the image of the lotus-like feet of the Lord, in our mind.

Ilai: The term *ilai* denotes the leaves of all trees and plants except the palm. Gradually however it came to be restricted to the leaves that were largely used in daily life. The plantain-leaf, perhaps the largest of the leaves, served as the eating-plate and the betel-leaf was used for chewing. These two leaves are denoted by the term *ilai*. *Ilai-viyan*, a corruption of *ilai-viyan*, refers to the person “whose sole occupation is the cultivation of the betel creeper and selling of its leaves.” The English word betel is a corruption of the Tamil word *verilai* the name by which the betel-leaf is commonly known in the Tamil country. “Betel passed into English through the Portuguese where it has assumed the form betre or betel.”

148. வங்கி, வங்கி. வங்கி, 931.
149. வங்கி-குளி, வங்கி, வங்கி, வங்கி-Tamil Lexicon.
150. வங்கி-குளி, வங்கி-குளி, வங்கி-204.
151. வங்கி, வங்கி-40.
152. வங்கி-குளி, வங்கி-20.
153. வங்கி, வங்கி-641, 642.
154. Tamil Lexicon.
155. Hobson-Jobson.
The betel has been the poor man’s luxury from the earliest times and Marco Polo has testified to its universal use in the Pandya country in the 13th century. It is regarded in South India as the symbol of happiness and prosperity and hence freely distributed on auspicious occasions. A person who has not the wherewithal to chew betel is considered to be a wretch.

A similar restriction has taken place in the meaning of the word paccilai. In ancient poetry paccilai is used in the general sense of green leaf. But in modern usage it is restricted to the leaves having medicinal properties. The proverb that “the healing herb (paccilai) in the backyard is not utilised for medicine” illustrates the truth of the old saying that familiarity breeds contempt.

Pul had a more comprehensive connotation in the ancient literary usage. It was the name of a species of plant life. The palmyra, coconut palm and arecanut palm having a hard exterior were classified as pul, whereas trees having a hard interior were called maram. This distinction is so clearly made in the ancient usage that the leaves of the former class are called olai and the leaves of the latter are ilai. It is remarkable that pul came in course of time to be restricted to grass. Punmai an abstract noun formed by the addition of the particle mai to pul stands for meanness. Perhaps the original sense of punmai was unsubstantiality. An ignorant person is called pullam by Kamban.

Mān: The restriction in sense that has occurred in the terminology of wild life is no less significant. Originally the one-letter word mā signified animal in general. Different species of wild life were denoted by words expressive of their distinctive features or attributes. Kaimma denoted the elephant; pōyma the horse; arima the lion; muilmā the porcupine; kavariuma a kind of deer; karuma the pig and so forth. As one-letter words in Tamil usually take nasal terminations for self-preservation or better enunciation mā became mān. Thus originally there was no difference in sense between mā and mān.

156. Marco Polo’s Travels, p. 334.
157. 1230; 1250.
158. 252.
159.
160. 248.
course of time, however, the term man came to be restricted to the species of wild life known as deer.

Another one-letter word that has undergone a similar restriction in sense is a. A became an just as ma became man. This word originally signified the female of the ox, the deer and the buffalo. But usage has restricted it to the cow.

The history of kaṟṟu is equally significant. It was originally a term common to the young of the elephant, the horse, the ass, the elk, the cow, the buffalo and some other creatures. But in modern usage kaṟṟu is restricted to the young of the cow and the buffalo. In the colloquial dialect, kaṟṟu is corrupted into kannu and kutti a word which signifies the young of certain animals is added to it. Thus kannu-k-kutti has become the common name for calf. The expression kannu-vidal literally means ‘letting the calf.’ As this is preliminary to milking the cow or buffalo, kannu-vidal denotes milking.

The names of the castes and tribes of South India afford remarkable instances of restriction. Antanam, literally means, ‘a man of grace.’ The quality of grace is indicated by the word tan which is found between the prefix am and the suffix an. The exalted sense of the word is explained in the couplet

\[\text{பொருள் குறிப்பு ச சுருக்கம் பழுப்புக்குத்து} \]

\[\text{பொருள் குறிப்பு சுருக்கம் பொருள்} \]

It is obvious that any person who has in him the Divine quality of grace is entitled to the name antanam. But it has come to denote a caste or community in South India.

Similarly the etymological sense of velān is farmer or cultivator. Vēl is an archaic word which signifies the earth. It is possible that

161. Qārā, Qumārā, 570, 571, 572, 573.
162. Qārā, Qumārā, 565, 568.
163. 30. 30.
164. அங்கையால் குழு குழுவிடம் புலமையிடம் நம்பிரமண்க

165. The derivation of velānmai and velālan from vel appears to be more natural than the derivation favoured by Caldwell and Kanakasabhai Pillai. According to these scholars Vellālar—the lords of the flood—is a title expressive of their skill in controlling floods. It is true vel in the sense of earth is not found in ancient literary usage. The Tamil Lexicon has given this meaning on the authority of the Jaffna Dictionary. Cf., however vēl(kō) — (காவ்ோர்) vēl + kō = potter.
the people who cleared the land of wild growth and made it fit for cultivation were called *veḷḷalar* (*ve*-land, ᾱḷar-owner). Now *veḷḷalar* has become the name of a particular community. 168

**Vānīyan:** The word *vānīyan* which is a corruption of *vāṇikan* has undergone a curious restriction. *Vāṇikan* was originally a general name for a hawkers or merchant. The names of different commodities were prefixed to the term *vāṇikan*, to distinguish between vendors of different articles. Thus we have *ūrai-vāṇikan*, *appa-vāṇikan*, *piṭṭu vāṇikan*, *kula vāṇikan*, etc. Cātīvantār, the illustrious author of Manimekalai was known as *Kala-vāṇikan-cātīvantār* as he was a grain merchant. But the term *vānīyan* now denotes the oil monger. The restriction is probably due to the large volume of business conducted by the oil merchant from the earliest times. The use of the gingili oil by the people of South India for various purposes naturally created a large and daily demand for it. “Give to the oil monger and keep the doctor away” is a proverb in Tamil. 167 Thus the important part that the dealer in oil played in the social welfare of South India has led to the restriction of the general term *vānīyan* to the oil merchant.

**Maravar:** The word *maravar* originally denoted men endowed with physical strength. The primary sense of *maram* is heroism. The heroic chastity of Kannaki is styled *mara-k-karpu*, by the commentator of Silappadikaram. 168 The undaunted men who delighted in the performance of heroic deeds and who felt that a day passed without a deed of valour was a day lived in vain, were known by the name of *maravar*. An old poem speaks of “the furious maravars, whose curled beards resemble the twisted horns of the stag, the loud twang of whose powerful bowstrings and the stirring sound of whose double headed drums, compel even kings at the head of large armies to turn their back and fly.” 169 But now the term *maravar* denotes the members of a community in South India whose main occupation is agriculture.

**Rāvullar:** The term *rāvullar* is used in the southern districts with reference to Muslims. *Rāut* is a Urdu word which signifies a cavalier. The plural suffix *ar* is commonly used as an honorific singular pronominal termination in the southern speech. This military term has now been adopted as the general title of the Muslim community.

168. The title *killaar* (حرف) conferred on Veḷḷās perhaps indicates that they had full proprietary rights in the soil cultivated by them. (*Killaar*—right).

167. வாண்கன் வாண்கன் கலாவண்கன் கலாத்தினர் கலாச்சாரன்.

168. மலைநெருந்து புனித பாண்டியன்; சேவை, மின்னு, 42, மு, சன.

169. Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago, p. 43.
Āmakkal: It is remarkable that popular usage has effected corruptions and introduced restrictions in violation of literary and grammatical usage. Makkal, for instance, is a general term of plurality common to the masculine and feminine genders. Thus ut-makkal refers to men in general and pen-makkal signifies women. Curiously the compound ut-makkal has been corrupted into āmakkal and employed to denote husband in the vulgar dialect. 170 In the same way the term pen-cūlī which obviously denotes the female sex is commonly used with reference to wife.

Ālvār: The term Ālvār which denotes the cannonised saints of the Vaishnava religion, is derived from the root āl which contains the sense of immersion. The restriction of the general term Ālvār to the high souls immersed in contemplation is indicative of the popular faith in the efficacy of meditation as a means of attaining salvation.

Aḍiyār: Aḍiyār derived from aḍi (foot) commonly signifies persons who render service. In the terminology of religion it denotes the devotees. This signification is obviously based on the conception that God is the Lord of the universe and that the human soul can rise to its fullest height by devoted and loyal service to Him.

Cōvakan: Cōvakan is derived from the Sanskrit sūva which signifies service. From the sovereign who performs the great service of protecting his subjects 171 down to the humblest person who renders some service or other to society or to his fellowmen, every one is therefore a Cōvakan. However the restriction of the term in modern language to the policeman who is charged with the duty of maintaining order, is perhaps an evidence of the recognition by the people of the paramount necessity of preserving peace and order for the well-being of human society.

Cēlavu: Cēlavu now used in the restricted sense of expenditure had originally a wider range of application. Even the marching of troops or military expedition was denoted by it. The ancient work entitled 'Ceikōn tarai.c-cēlavu' is considered to be a treatise on the expedition undertaken by the king Ceikōn. Similarly the old Tamil work 'Takadūr Yāttirai' of which only fragments are now available, is supposed to describe the conquest of Takadūr, the capital of prince Atikamān by a great Chegamān. But in modern usage cēlavu and yāttirai have lost their military associations. The former now commonly means expenditure and the latter denotes pilgrimage.

170 āmakkan (ஆமக்கன்) is a corruption of āmakkal (ஆமக்கல்).
171 Cēlavu ki Cēlar Čeikōnān Čeikōnālai, Čeikōnālai Čēn.
U clamai: The restriction in the significations of certain words is indicative of the social opinions which prevailed in ancient times. The literal sense of u clamai is possession. It signifies not only the possession of earthly goods but of every object or quality with which a person is endowed. A inu u clamai is possession of knowledge; O lukam u clamai is possession of character; poru u clamai is possession of wealth. However, the man possessed of wealth is generally honoured and respected by society. Hence the general term u clamai is restricted to the possession of wealth. The possessor of wealth is called u dalaiyar.

Inmai: The opposite of u clamai is inmai. It is derived from the root i l and signifies the negation of possession. I l denotes a person destitute of wealth. In the couplet of Tiruvalluvar

 udaiyar and illar are used in the sense of ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’. The semantic restriction of these terms exemplifies the truth of the aphorism, “O m e r e e n k a n u d a n a h e e m a m a n d h a n .” “This world is not for those that are without riches.”

Puru: The restriction that has taken place in the sense of the term puru testifies to the fact that children were regarded as an invaluable treasure by the ancient Tamil community. Puru is derived from the root p eru and signifies an acquisition.

“Of all that men acquire, we know not any greater gain,
Than that which by the birth of learned children men obtain,” says Tiruvalluvar. The parents are called perur and the time of parturition or delivery is known as puru kalam.

Ilavu: The word ilavu comes from the root ila and signifies a loss. It is therefore applicable to all kinds of loss. In poetry ilavu is used in this general sense. The destiny which is responsible for loss is denoted by the term ilavul in Tirukkural. But a comparative sense of values gradually led to the restriction of the word ilavu to the loss of human life. Ilavulai denotes funeral intimation; ilavulivdu corrupted into ilavulivdu refers to a house where death has taken place.

172. R a l a d a n a u, 49.
173. 395.
174. 247.
175. 61. (G. U. Pope’s Translation).
176. 177. 372.
Poṭi: The literal sense of poṭi is dust or powder. The sacred ashes are denoted by the term poṭi in Tēvāram. In popular parlance, tooth-powder is called pal-poṭi and chilli-powder milakay-poṭi. But the restriction of the word poṭi to snuff in modern usage is perhaps indicative of the popularity of tobacco-powder and its extensive use in South India. The expression Pattiyam poṭi does not refer to the dust of the city but to the high-class snuff manufactured in the city (of Madras).

Kalavai: The luxurious life led by the upper classes in ancient Tamilakam may be understood from the restriction of the general term kalavai, mixture, to the sweet smelling paste consisting of sandal and other odorous ingredients.

Oppuravu: Oppuravu has been defined as consonance or complaisance. The aphorism oppura-v-oluku enjoins man to live in consonance with his fellow man. It is significant that the chapter entitled ‘Oppuravarīdal’ in Tirukkural deals for the most part with charitable disposition. Oppuravu is perhaps “the touch of humanity which makes the whole world kin.” However, in modern usage the word has a much restricted sense. Harmony, domestic or communal is commonly signified by it. The expression ur-oppuravu signifies the existence of concord in a village.

Tuppuravu: In classical usage tuppuravu signifies “the necessaries of life.” This original sense is probably disclosed by the first member of the compound, tuppu, which means food. But in modern usage it denotes little more than external purity or cleanliness.

Several Sanskrit derivatives have undergone restriction in Tamil usage. Utsava in Sanskrit means ‘celebration’ in general, but in Tamil urcavam is restricted to the temple festival, Kalyana is ‘anything auspicious’ in Sanskrit, but in Tamil kalyānam is restricted to wedding. Panaka refers to any drink in Sanskrit, but panakam or panakam in Tamil denotes a sweet drink made of lime and sugar. Simai (Sanskrit, sīma-boundary) has come to denote England in general and London in particular. Divasa simply means day in Sanskrit; its connotation is restricted in Tamil to the death anniversary. In popular parlance tivasam signifies the ceremonial offerings made to priests for the delectation of the departed souls. Hence the expression tivasam kadutukal. Vētam originally meant the sacred books in Sanskrit. In the southern districts, however, a Christian is called Vēlak-kēran. The Bible is known as Sattiya Vētam. Hence the name Vēlak-kēran. The Christian church is Vēlak-kōyil and Beschi has given the name Vētiyar to Catechists.

EXPANSION.

Ellai: *el, elli* and *ellai* denote day or day-light. The setting of the sun and the consequent disappearance of light marked a definite limit of time to the primitive man who was unaware of the modern contrivances of dispelling darkness. The primitive people who lived a natural life, saw the animate world terminating its activities at the close of the day. The birds ceased to sing and sought repose; the flowers, with a few exceptions closed their petals. In fact the conduct of every significant object in nature indicated the sun-set was a limit. Thus *ellai* came to denote limit. The modern sense of boundary or territorial limit has been acquired by an extension of its application from the limit of time to the limit of space.

Cudar: The word *cudar* is obviously derived from the root *cudu* which contains the idea of heat. It was naturally applied in the first instance to the sun and fire which emit heat. In these natural elements light is inseparably connected with heat. Hence, *cudar* came to denote light as well. Luminous bodies such as the moon and the planets also are now denoted by this term.

Urai: The semantic history of the word *urai* is one of systematic expansion. The original sense of *urai* is expression. *Mukavurai, avinturai, punainturai* and *puravurai* signify the foreword. The first stage of expansion is marked by its acquiring the sense of exposition. An explanation, annotation or commentary came to be called *urai*. The terms *patavurai, polippurai, karutturai, cirrurai* and *akalavurai* denote different kinds of exposition. The next stage in the semantic progress of the word is reached when it is employed to denote the medium of exposition. Thus *urai* conveys the sense of prose. *Urai-nadai* is prose style. A composition or an essay in prose is commonly

denoted by the term *katturai*. In the modern journalistic world
*urai* is being used with reference to lectures or addresses. *Munnurai*,
is introductory speech, *mugivurai* is concluding speech; *valtturai* is
beneficary address and so forth. Thus through successive stages of
easy and natural transition *urai* has expanded from expression to
exposition, from exposition to composition in prose and finally from
composition to platform oration.

**Pulli**: *Pulli* is a dot. The consonant in Tamil is known as *pulli*
because the dot over the letter constitutes its characteristic sign.
In the modern journalistic usage the word *pulli* has acquired the sense
of statistics. Statistical information or facts and figures are commonly
denoted by the expression, *pulli-vivaram*. In the colloquial dialect
*pulli* conveys the sense of a specified or noted person. A deserving
person is *perumpulli*; a worthless person is *verumpulli* and so forth.

**Mārram**: Mārram is derived from māru which signifies change.
An exchange of commodities is known as *pandamārru*. Gold which
commands a high exchange value is denoted by the expression *mārru-
yarnai pon*. Thus *mārram* literally signifies a word exchanged or a
reply. However, it is not restricted in literary usage to a reply but
employed to denote in general a word spoken or written. This
extension of sense must have taken place very early in the history of
the Tamil language, since *mārram* has been used in the ancient
poems in the sense of word. It is remarkable that māttā (Telugu)
which corresponds to *mārram* (Tamil) conveys also the same sense.

**Paccai**: The word *paccai* is obviously connected with *pasumai*
which is the natural colour of the living plants and trees. In course of
time *paccai* came to denote the quality of a thing existing in a natural
state. Unbaked earth is *paccai man* in contra-distinction to *cutta man*
baked earth. Unboiled water is known as *paccai-t-tanvir* in the
popular speech of the southern districts. A tender child is referred to
as *paccai-k-kulanai*. The idea of rawness is also associated with the
term *paccai*. Raw rice is known as *paccarisi* which is distinguished
from *puluk-k-arisi*, boiled rice. A medicine prepared from drugs in a
raw state is commonly called *paccai-vettu-maruntu*.

186. காளி வருவதுங்கள் காளியுவரன்; கிழமுதுலம்
வருவதுங்கள் காளி, மழை, 54-அதுறுன்கள் காளி என். குன்
புல்லித்துடன் காளியுவரன் கிழமுதுலம், வருவதுங்கள்,
26.

187. பச்சையீர்கள் பச்சையீர்கள் விளக்கம், எழுத, 15.

188. பச்சையீரிகள் பச்சையீரிகள் விளக்கம்-சின்னம், 689.

189. பச்சையீரிகள் பச்சையீரிகள் விளக்கம்? புருநித்திய.
Compu: Compu, signifies copper. It is evident that the colour of the metal has been the dominant factor in determining its name. This metal was perhaps largely used in primitive times for making drinking vessels of a particular shape and size. The name of the metal, viz., compu came to be adopted as the name of the vessel. Hence vessels of that size and shape made of any metal came to be called compu. The name of the metal concerned however is usually prefixed to compu to denote its composition. Thus, we have pitthai-c-cempu; velli-c-cempu; tanga-c-cempu; and ceppu-c-cempu, etc.

Mai: The original meaning of mai is blackness. Gradually things bearing the black colour came to be denoted by this term. The black pigment used for tinting the eye-lids, the lubricant for the cart, the black ink are all denoted by the word mai. In modern usage, however, the word mai used with reference to writing, signifies not merely the black ink but any coloured liquid. Hence the expressions Civappu mai and pacei mai are commonly used. The extension of the semantic scope of this word has rendered it necessary to indicate the black ink by the expression karuppu mai.

Karai: Similarly, the word karai derived from the crude root kar signifies blackness. The black stain in the throat of the Lord Siva is styled karai. But in modern usage karai simply means stain. Yellow stain, is manjal karai; blood stain is isatia-k-karai. This extension has naturally led to the black stain being called karuppu-k-karai.

Ural: The verbal noun ural (from ur, to crawl) was originally used in the sense of crawling or moving slowly. In the classification of the animate world the crawling creatures are denoted by the term Uravana. The verbal noun urli derived from the root ur was probably applied to the slow coach in the first instance and then extended to every kind of carriage. The aerial coach is signified by the term vana-urli in an old poem. The moon which seems to crawl across the clouds in this sky is described by the charming phrase vanarmatiyam in Silappadikaram.
Emney: Emney (e\-ney) literally signifies gingili oil. In course of time, however, the etymological import of the term was forgotten and it came to denote oil in general. Hence the oil extracted from seeds other than sesame is also signified by the term emney. Castor oil is called amanakkku emney. Coconut oil is tīlakāy-emney. The application of the term is not confined to the oil extracted from seeds and nuts, but extended to all kinds of oily substances. Oodhiver oil is min-emney. Kerosene oil is man emney. The purpose for which the oil is used, some times determines the name. The castor oil used for lamps is known as vilak-k-emney. The wide expansion of emney necessitated a revision of the original semantic values. Since the term emney could not specifically denote gingili oil, popular usage has adopted the device of distinguishing it by a participial prefix which indicates its quality. Nal-emney, good or wholesome oil, signifies gingly oil in the colloquial dialect. The oil extracted from black sesame is commonly known as kārel-emney. The repetition of the word el in this compound is obviously due to the obscuration of the etymological sense of emney. 195

Mātam: Mātam denotes a mansion as well as a temple. The latter sense is found in the names Tūṅgānai-mātam, Tān-tōṅri-mātam, conferred on two temples in the Tēvāram, Manimātam is a Vishnu temple at Naraiyur. Āṭaka-mātam mentioned in Silappadikaram signifies perhaps the golden temple of Vishnu at Vanchi, the Chera Capital. The streets adjoining a temple are called māta-t-luru or māta-vili. This street was naturally in close proximity to the residence of the temple priests and other Brahmins. Hence Silappadikaram mentions māda-maguku and mārai-yirukkai, side by side. A niche in the wall of the house usually in the shape of a square or a triangle is known as māta-k-kulji or Carumaṭam which is a corruption of cūvar-mātam. The guardian deity of the house Ilurai Deyvam or a portable lamp is usually kept there. The shape of the niche as well as the purpose for which it is used suggests that it might have been intended as an abode of the deity.

Vidu: The human habitation is denoted by the classical word il, manai and akam. The hospitable house-hold is il-laram or manai-y-aram and the head of the house-hold is il-vālyān. The lady of the house is il-l-il or manai-il. The conspicuous absence of the corresponding terms, silān and manaiyān to denote the husband is perhaps illustrative of the paramount position assigned to the wife in domestic affairs. Akam also denotes the house. Am is the corruption of akam in the Brahminical speech. In the southern districts the elderly woman of

195. In the colloquial dialect enne (e\-ne) is corrupted into engai (e\-ne); Cf. 활동 (e\-nu + the)-e\-ne; e\-ne-e\-ne.
the house is called *atta* which probably is a corruption of *akattal*. *Vidu* the common word for house in the modern language signified heaven or celestial abode in the ancient usage. It was one of the four objectives of life, called *uruti-p.porul* in Tamil and Purusharta in Sanskrit. In the sense of moksha - deliverance from bondage—*vidu* is derived from the root *vidu* to leave. The conception that the home is the abode of bliss on earth was perhaps responsible for its new connotation. It may be observed in this connection that *Pur-inpam*, celestial bliss or eternal happiness is used in contra-distinction to *Cir-r-inpam*, the evanescent pleasure of the world in the Tamil literary usage.

DEGRADATION.

*Kamam*: The word *kamam* is generally banished from the language of decent society on account of its degradation. *Kami* has been included in the list of persons who are declared unfit to receive instruction. This disqualification has been imposed obviously on grounds of morality. But there is nothing in the etymological sense of the word to warrant this condemnation. The Sanskrit derivative *kamam* literally signifies desire. In course of time, however, it was restricted by usage to sexual desire, the most potent and universal of human desires. The God of Love in the Hindu mythology is known as *Kamam* and as he awakens love in human hearts he is styled *Kamavel*. *Kamam* is cherished as one of the four objectives of life and the prince of moralists, Tiruvalluvar did not disdain to use the term *kamattu-p.pal* as the caption of the last canto of his classical work. The cause of the degradation of this term should perhaps be sought in the struggle for existence between *kotal* and *kamam* which are practically synonymous. In modern usage *kotal* denotes love and *kamam* is confined to lust.

196. கித் கல்பாரியப் பொலைப்படை, நெய்யறை, 39.
197. கிமலிகள் மறுக்கம் அரசைகள், 12.
198. கிமலிகள், கோண்டகம் பக்கமாக பதிக்கப்பட்டு கோண்டகம், 27.
198.a. The early missionaries who undertook the task of translating the *Kural* into the European Languages were evidently shocked at this title. Regarding *Kamattu-p-pal*, Rev. Drew said that "It could not be translated into any European language without exposing its translator to infamy." The confessions of Dr. Pope may be considered in this connection. "This prejudice" says Pope, "kept me from reading the third part of the *Kural* for some years; but the idea occurred to me very forcibly that he who wrote,
Teladhiyil: The practice of dedicating girls to the service of God has been in existence from time out of memory. Their service consisted in sweeping and washing the house of the Lord, gathering flowers, making garlands to adorn His image, lighting the halls of the temple at sunset and so forth. The spirit of self-sacrifice and sense of duty that animated these noble girls inspired universal admiration. The respect in which they were held is indicated by the terms Deva-dasi and Deva-adigiyal, the maidservant of the Lord—used with reference to them. However, the act of dedication gradually became the regular practice of a community, and it was not always dictated by considerations of selfless service. Girls who were not religious-minded and who were reluctant to renounce the pleasures of life were dedicated to the temple with the result that they disgraced the office which they were supposed to adorn. The place of their daily service afforded ample opportunities of courting the gaze of men who came to pray. Thus the term deva-adigiyal came to denote the courtesan. The degradation which the word has suffered can be understood from the fact that no term of abuse in the Tamil vocabulary is resented more than Teladhiyil used with reference to a woman, and Teladhiyil makan used with reference to a man.

Kutti: The art of dancing was very popular in ancient days. It received the munificent patronage of kings and princes. The popularity that it enjoyed was perhaps due to its association with religion. The male dancer was called kuttan and the female dancer kutti. The terminations an and i in these words are masculine and feminine suffixes. In course of time, however, the art of dancing came to be confined to the community which dedicated girls to the service of God. The deva-dasi in addition to her routine service in the temple danced on festive occasions to the delight of the vast concourse of votaries. Thus the terms deva-dasi and kutti became synonyms. In modern usage kutti denotes the prostitute without any reference to her attainments in the art of dancing.

Mundai: The term mundan and munda are derived from the Sanskrit munda. The former denotes a clean-shaven man and the latter a clean-shaven woman. The practice of shaving the head of a woman on the death of her husband was responsible for the word mundai being used with reference to the widow. As the woman who

“Spotless be thou in mind! This only merits virtue’s name
All else, mere pomp and idle sound, no real worth can claim.”
could not have covered himself with the spotted infamy of singing a song of lust. Thus I ventured at length to read and study it, when I was able fairly to appreciate its spirit; and, as the result, I translate it, believing that I shall be regarded as having done service in doing so.”—Pope’s Kural, intro., p. 13.
survived her husband was considered an execrable creature, whose very sight was an abomination, the term mungai has acquired an odious signification.

Oirukki: The terms ciruvan and cirukhan denote the boy, and sirvi and cirukki denote the girl. The regularity of the formation of these words is obvious. However, these words have given place to cirumi which is the common term for girl in the modern language. Cirumi is formed by the substitution of m for v. It has been pointed out by Adiyärkkunallär that the word cirumi employed in Silappadikaram is a dialect of Kuṇanäd, one of the Koṭun-tami countries. Provincial words have been, from time to time employed by poets of great celebrity and have thus acquired the status of literary words. It is probable that cirumi was one of such words. When literary status was thus conferred on it, a struggle for existence between the three words commenced. The result of the contest was perhaps determined by euphony and cirumi was selected as the fittest word to survive. The defeat sustained by the indigenous words, led to the degradation of the one and the extinction of the other. Cirukki is now used as a term of disrespect or abuse and ciruvi has become obsolete.

Tarru-tal: The primitive sense of tarru is to broadcast. If the virtues of a person are broadcast or proclaimed the expression a-tarral is employed to denote the act. On the other hand speaking ill of a person is avaloru. The ordinary nature of man to suppress the virtues and proclaim the vices of his fellow men is reflected in the restriction of the term tarru or tarral to the publication of vices or merits. Thus in the modern language tarrutal definitely signifies slandering or abusing a person.

Purankoral: The depravity of human nature is also reflected in the change that has occurred in the meaning of the expression purankoral (putram-back; koral-speaking), which literally means speaking behind one's back. It is human nature to flatter a man to his face and speak ill of him behind his back. There are persons in this world who never speak ill of others either in their presence or in their absence. But these virtuous persons are so rare that they are an exception to the rule. The reprehensible but common habit of humanity accounts for

199. 145.
200. 400.
201. 188.
the restriction and degradation of the expression purankaral. Backbiting is denoted by it in the modern language.

.Pukal: The ancient Tamils considered it a meritorious act to afford shelter and protection to an afflicted person who sought refuge. The word pukal derived from the root puku, to enter, signifies the act of seeking protection and as an appeal for protection was seldom refused, pukal came to denote a refuge. A place of refuge is known as pukalidam or pukalar. The word of protection was regarded as a sacred promise worthy of any sacrifice. Ancient literature speaks of the glory of high-souled men who ungrudgingly sacrificed their lives in the cause of the sacred trust committed to their care. The deterioration of pukal which is associated with the lofty ideal of self-sacrifice is sufficient evidence of the moral degeneracy of modern society. Pukal varittai now signifies not a word of assurance but an insincere or evasive word.

Caḷcei: The root caḷ, literally means surround. Caḷal a verbal noun derived from this root signifies an enclosure. Caḷcei another noun derived from the same root denotes the act of comprehending a thing in all its aspects or of considering a question from all possible points of view. A person who is endowed with this capacity is known as caḷvyan. In modern usage, however, caḷcei has acquired an uncomplimentary sense. It is generally associated with intrigue, diplomacy or conspiracy. The degradation of the term is perhaps due to the ordinary human frailty of putting noble gifts to ignoble uses.

Andi: Andi is derived from the root āl which forms the base of the words āndai, āndan, etc. The Lord of Palani is popularly known as Pāḷānıyāndi. Āndipandaram in the familiar ballad refers to Him. The Lord of Tiruchendur situated on the sea-shore is popularly known as kadal-karaṇāndi. The term āndi, however, is now restricted to the Saiva mendicant. The expression puccanti frequently invoked by parents to frighten children into submission, probably signifies the mendicant whose body is smeared with holy ashes and sandal paste presenting an odd appearance.

Pāvi: Pāvi signifies a sinner. Appāvi denotes a sinless person as the initial a is a negative prefix. In modern usage, however,

202. குரு காவள குருக்கல் காவள்

203. Tamil Lexicon.

204. According to the Tamil Lexicon, puccandi is composed of pucci and āndi (Puccāndi—An imaginary being invoked to frighten children; bugbear; hobgoblin).
appāvi denotes an artless, credulous simpleton. This deflection from the original sense bears testimony to the moral perversity of human race. Words like this 'bear on them the slime of the serpent's trail'.

Maruttuvan, Maruttuvacci: The words maruttuvan and maruttuvacci are obviously derived from maruntu, medicine. A medical practitioner was called maruttuvan or maruttuvacci according to the sex of the person. An old Tamil poet and critic was known among his contemporaries as Maruttuvan Dāmōtārān as he was a doctor as well as a scholar. But now maruttuvan has deteriorated so much that even the most enthusiastic exponent of the indigenous system of medicine will hesitate to call himself a maruttuvan. The word maruttuvacci has similarly suffered a restriction and degradation. It signifies in popular parlance a midwife.

Oliyam: Oliyam connected with ol, destiny, probably signifies customary or hereditary service, i.e., service which a person is called upon to render not for wages or remuneration, but in pursuance of immemorial custom or ancestral obligations. Such a service will naturally be perfunctory and unsatisfactory. Hence oliyam in popular language denotes worthless service. It is a matter of common knowledge that sarkar oliyam, perhaps the customary manual service rendered gratis to the government, connotes inefficient service. The original sense of oliyam is however indicated in the term pohujana-oliyan applied to a person who devotes himself to the service of humanity without any consideration of reward or recompense.

Cerī: The original sense of ceri derived from the root cer, is a collection of huts or houses. The termination ceri in certain place-names serves to indicate the nature of the original habitation. Puduceri means a new hamlet; Vadaceri is northern hamlet; Talai.c-cerī is principal hamlet; Adi-c-cerī is degraded hamlet. In some cases ceris have been named after the clans or communities which originally founded them. For instance, Karsēri denotes the hamlet of Kāralar, in the Tinnevelly District. Similarly the habitation of the Pallas is known as potcerī which has become paccerī by assimilation. The hamlet of the Paraiyas was called

205. Trench—The Study of words, p. 95.
206. It seems that a community in South India has assumed the name maruttuva kulam in recent times.
207. Adi-c.cerī.yāl corrupted into aḍicariyāl denotes the prostitute in the colloquial dialect of the southern districts of the Tamil country.
208. Perukkadal speaks of several ceris:—yavana-c-cerī; Tamiḻa-c-cerī; antanarcēri; amaiccar cēri, etc. Ref. Perukkadal, III, 4, (7, 11, 12, 13).
paraicēri. In course of time, the term cēri came to denote hamlets inhabited by "untouchables," particularly Pallās and Paraiyas. Hence in modern usage cēri denotes the habituation of these classes situated at a respectable distance from the village or town. 209

Narram: The original sense of the word narram is sweet smell. The abstract noun narumai derived from the root naru signifies good smell. Naru was used in old Tamil in connection with words which signified sweet smelling things. The expressions, naru malar, naru-ney, etc., are found in ancient poetry. 210 The first stage of the degeneration of this word is marked by the expansion of its signification so as to make it convey the general sense of smell. Thus narram came to be used also in connection with objects emitting bad odour such as putrefied meat, carcass, etc., e.g., pulal narram, piya narram. 211 The final stage of degradation was reached when the term came to denote definitely bad odour, in the colloquial dialect. It is significant that narai is now used only with reference to things emitting bad smell. Narai-ney for instance is distinguished from nalla ney, good ghee.

Kuppai: Kuppai, kuviyal and kurai are derived from a root which signified simply a heap or collection. This primary sense of kuppai is traceable in the expressions ner-kuppai, malar-k-kuppai, niti-k-kuppai, etc. But in course of time kuppai came to be degraded and restricted to a heap of dirt or filth. In Madras the scavenger is commonly called kuppai-k-karan and the rubbish bin is kuppai-t-totti.

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ELEVATION.

Pillai: In the earliest usage pillai signified the tender stage of plants, and the young of animals, birds and crawling creatures. 212 The infant cocoanut palm is commonly called tennam pillai. The parrot, the squirrel and the mongoose are fondly called kili-p-pillai, anil-pillai and kiri-p-pillai. In the ancient literary usage the offspring of human beings were signified by the terms makavu and kulavi. 213 Gradually, pillai

209. Tamil Lexicon.
210. 211. 212. 213.
which had become a term of endearment was applied to the human offspring and since it was neuter, the sex-denoting terms *an* and *pen* were prefixed to it when necessary. Thus *an-pillai* and *pen-pillai* were used with reference to boys and girls. The expressions *an-pilai-p-pillai* and *pen-pilai-p-pillai* in which *pillai* is reduplicated, are absurd creations of popular usage. There is a tendency in the colloquial dialect to restrict the term *pillai* to the boy. The question *pillayā, penā* asked with reference to a child newly ushered into existence, is indicative of the popular restriction of the word *pillai* to the male child. The grand-son is *pēra-p-pillai* and the grand-daughter is *pētti-p-pen*. The elevation of *pillai* may also be understood by its association with persons entitled to respect. The bridegroom is known as *mappillai* or *manavāla-p-pillai*. The respectable vellalas, the agriculturists *par excellence*, have the title *pillai* affixed to their names.

Pāppu was originally used in connection with the young of birds and crawling creatures. Pāppu became *pappu* by the elimination of the medial liquid. The elevation and restriction of this word may be understood from its application to young girls. Pappa is a pet name for the girl. It is well-known that Bharati's *Pappā-p-pāṭu* is addressed to the young girl.

*Kuṭṭi* and *kunju* have attained expansion and elevation in usage. Generally it may be said that *kuṭṭi* is used with reference to the young of animals and *kunju* to the young of birds. This distinction is also indicated by the appropriate verbs which usage has associated with them. The act of bringing forth young birds from eggs is known as *kunju porittal* whereas the act of bringing forth young animals is called *kuṭṭi-pōṭital*.

Both *kuṭṭi* and *kunju* are now applied to young children as terms of endearment. The youngest boy or girl in a family especially the latter is affectionately called *kuṭṭi*. Sometimes these nursery names exist side by side with the proper names of persons even after they come of age. Kuṭṭi ammāl, Aiyā-k-kuṭṭi, are names commonly found in the southern districts. Similarly Kunjamāl and Kunjuppillai illustrate the elevation of the word *kunju* in the popular speech.

214. *Qāmb, Qamās*, 559, 560, 569. (நம்பால் மக, கோம், 278, கோம கோணமகோம்!)

215. *மகண்சுத்தோ மெர்ப்பணர் மலய, பெர்ப்பணரி*
ōtu: The original meaning of the verb ēstu is to read or learn. The classical commentators have used it in connection with variations in textual readings. In modern literary usage however ēstutal has acquired the sense of chanting hymns or mantras. Ēstuvār refers to the class of persons who regularly chant the sacred hymns during worship in the Siva temples. The act of offering sacred ashes, water or food, charged with spiritual power by the muttering of mantras for effecting a cure or for dispelling the forces of evil is commonly known as ōti-kōḻuttal. Œtu, the verbal noun, derived from the root ēstu, denotes Scripture.

Iraːval: The three words īru, īrattal and iraval denote begging. These terms are derived from the verbal root īra, to beg, by the addition of different suffixes of the verbal noun. The expressions iraval-mākkal and iravalan denote beggars.216 Iravalan is formed by attaching the masculine singular suffix an to the verbal noun iraval.217 But in modern usage iraval denotes not begging but borrowing. A thing got from a person for temporary use is known as iraval-sūman. This deviation from the literal sense which is a consequence of the elevation of the term is perhaps due to the severe condemnation of begging as a demoralising and debasing act by the national poets whose words were cherished by the ancient community.

Nanri: An act of goodness or kindness is denoted by the terms nalam, nanmai, nanru218 and nanri,219 derived from the common root nal. "It is improper and ignoble to forget an act of kindness done by another," says Tiruvalluvār.220 This idea is probably responsible for importing into the word nanri, the sense of gratitude. While nalam, nanmai and nanru retain their original meaning of goodness, nanri has, in modern usage, acquired the sense of gratitude. Nanri karaː is now commonly used in the sense of offering thanks. This transference of sense perhaps bears testimony to the recognition of the principle that one good turn deserves another. "It is a matter of comment by Europeans," says Tagore, "that we use no word like thanks in our own language for expressing gratitude, and they jump to the conclusion

216. ṣr, 333, 10.
217. ṣr, 162, 1.
218. 733 nhārā naːkā hār, ṣhētēr, 109, 100-raːkūm.
219. 785, 102, 50, 52, 434, 472.
220. sōṃbāpūrṇa tāmār (ṭēkēṭēr, 108); sōṃbēt ōrēt ētēt, ṣhētēr, 109, 110, 110, 110, 110.
that our character must be free from that troublesome feeling."

The change that has been effected in the meaning of the word *nanri*, a change which shows that gratitude is ingrained in our being, may be regarded as a sufficient refutation of the charge. The observations of Trench regarding the word obligation may be considered in this connection. "In 'oblige' and 'obligation' says Trench, as when we speak of being obliged or having received an obligation, a moral truth is asserted, namely, that having received a benefit or a favour at the hands of another we are thereby morally bound to show ourselves grateful for the same. We cannot be ungrateful without denying not merely a moral truth, but one incorporated in the very language which we employ."

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- *Kalippu*: This is obviously derived from *kal*. A person addicted to drink is called *kali* in old poetry. The author of Nannul has placed *kali* first in the list of persons unfit to receive instruction. Since the person under the influence of intoxicating liquor makes merry, the words *kalippu* and *kalittal* came to signify merriment or happiness. In modern language these terms are used in the sense of happiness or ecstasy without any reference to the state of intoxication.

*Kalakam*: Originally *kalakam* signified the place where gamesters habitually assembled to play dice. The gradual elevation in the sense of this term is denoted by the expression *kalai teri kalakam*, 'the place where arts are cultivated,' used by Kamban. In modern usage *Kalakam* is generally employed to denote a Sangam or Sabah. An association is called *kalakam*, the University is pal-kalai-k-*kalakam* and so forth.

*Kāṭci* means sight. It is derived from the verbal root *kāy*. A slight elevation in the sense of this word is noticeable in its associations. A pleasant sight is *kan-kāṭci*. Exhibition is *porul-kāṭci*. The chapter in Kamban's Ramayanam which deals with the hero's love at first sight is styled Mitilai-*kāṭci*-paḍalam. *Darisanam* (Skt. darsana) the Sanskrit equivalent of *kāṭci* is commonly used in Tamil in connection with divinity or exalted personality. For instance, worship of God is Swami darisanam and the sight of a saint is Sādhu darisanam.

221. The Indian ideal of marriage—Tagore.
222. Trench—The Study of words—pp. 93, 94.
223. கும்பானன் சூடை கோலா - வான புளித்துமல்லுண்டு;
   ஓசர்: கும்பானன், 928;
   கும்பான் மறுமல்லான குருவாயியும், கும்பான், 928.
224. கும்பான், கும்பான், 39.
Pārvai literally means glance. It is also used in the restricted sense of effecting a cure by means of mystic sight. Diruṣṭi (Skt. Drṣṭi) is the Sanskrit equivalent of this word. But diruṣṭi is generally associated with the evil eye. In the speech of the southern districts it is more commonly found in the compound kaṇ-diruṣṭi which signifies the effect of the evil eye.

Closely connected with the word diruṣṭi is atiruṣṭam (Skt. adṛṣṭa). The literal sense of the word is 'that which is not seen.' Hence it may be good or bad luck. But it has acquired the meaning of good luck or fortune. Usually an unexpected good thing with which a person is favoured is ascribed to atiruṣṭam. Bad luck is denoted by the term tur-atiruṣṭam.

The habits and qualities of men are sometimes reflected in the semantic changes of the words current among them. Saivam for instance, is the name of the religion which is connected with Siva. Hence saivam is a follower of that religion. But now saivam and saivan have obtained a peculiar significance. A vegetarian is saivan and a non-vegetarian is a-saivan. Vegetarian hotel in the southern districts is called 'saivaḷ viḷūṭi, as distinguished from a non-vegetarian hotel which is sometimes curiously called 'military hotel.'

The cook in a Saivite house is known as tavasi-p-pillai, a term which shows that religion was a living reality in the Saivite home. Tavasi-p-pillai is a corruption of tavasu-p-pillai. The house-holder is expected according to Aganul or Dharmashastra to perform five kinds of vēḷyi or tapas. Hence tapasu-p-pillai came to denote the person who prepared the food and other things necessary for the due performance of the duties cast upon the householder. The circumstance that the word is widely current in the Saivite community shows that the Saivites practised religion in their daily life.

Tiru: The highest reverence that the ancients of this country had for Saivam and Vaishnavam, the two main systems comprised in the so-called Hinduism in South India, is reflected in the prefix tiru attached to the two asterisms, ăṭirai and ōnam. Āṭirai pertains to Siva and ōnam is associated with Vishnu. The festival Tiru-v-ăṭirai at Chidambaram and elsewhere is celebrated with great religious fervour by the Saivites. The asterism which is denoted by the term ōnam in Malabar is commonly called Tiruvōnam in the Tamilnad.

Tīttam: The Sanskrit derivative tīttam is generally preferred to nīr or tāmār in the Brahmanical usage. This preference has been perhaps responsible for the elevation which it has attained in popular usage. Tīttam signifies sacred water. The holy water distributed in temples as a symbol of divine grace is known as tīttam. The holy bath
is tīrta-vīri; the receptacle of holy water is tīrta-tōtti and so forth. This elevation is recognised in literary usage. Naladiyar, illustrates the ennobling influence of exalted company: “When the sewage water of the city mixes with river water, even its name is changed; it becomes tīrtaam.”

Sanniti: Sanniti in Sanskrit simply means ‘front,’ but in Tamil Sanniti or Sannitiṇam is the space in front of the deity in the temple or saintly personage. The Saivite head of the Mutt at Tiruvavaduturai and Dharmapuram is styled ‘Paṇḍāra Sanniti’ and their holy presence is ‘Sannitiṇam’ which in the corrupt form ‘Sanninam’ is very familiar in the monastic circles.

Savāl: It is perhaps one of the words that modern politics has contributed to the Tamil vocabulary. It is a corruption of the Persian savāl, which means asking or beseeching. Among the Muslims of South India the expression ‘Suvāl Ceytal’ is used in the sense of beseeching or begging. In the journalistic language, however, savāl has attained considerable elevation. It conveys the meaning of ‘challenge.’

VARIATION

Viruntu: This word has wandered away from its original moorings. Its primitive sense, according to Parimēlalajakar is newness, and viruntinar therefore signified literally new-comers or strangers.225 According to the moral law which prevailed in the ancient Hindu society it was the duty and the privilege of the householder to entertain deserving strangers who called at his door for succour or sustenance. “The offering of hospitality,” says Tagore, “is incumbent on the house-holder for his own sake. Each of the domestic ceremonies, from the birth celebration to the funeral is but an expression of the debt which each member owes to his community. From this it becomes evident that our society is not like a stream on which its members float in comparative freedom but like the earth in whose depths their root system is held secure.”226 In Tamil, viruntu originally signified the hospitality offered to wayfarers, mendicants and ascetics.227 But it connotes in modern usage a sumptuous feast given to friends or relations.

225. விருண்டுப் பட்டு; விருண்டு நட்டு பெருந்து சுண்டு என்று கூறுவர் (முதல் தவ சேலே, 43, புத்தாயுதம் யுதிக).

226. The Indian ideal of marriage—Tagore.

227. Dr. Pope says that “viruntu (கூர்கை) has now degenerated into the feeding of promiscuous multitudes in various charitable foundations” (Pope’s Kural, 211.) It is doubtful if viruntu is used in this sense in the Tamil country.
Paratēsi: The most common word for the beggar or religious mendicant in the Tamil country is paratēsi. It has always been considered a meritorious act to feed and clothe the poor pilgrims who tour the country from one end to the other, offering prayers at the holy shrines and washing the sins of their soul in the sacred waters. Such a person is a paratēsi—literally a person of another country or a foreigner. The hospitality which these deserving pilgrims enjoyed at the hands of the charitable house-holder, has induced all beggars including those of our own country, to style themselves paratēsi and exploit the religious sentiment.

Ceyti: Ceyti, and ceykai are derived from the common root cey, and used as synonyms in literature.228 A good turn done to a person is denoted by the term ceyti in an ancient poem. However, it has now deviated considerably from its original import and is commonly used in the sense of tidings or news. The common query 'enna ceyti?' simply means 'what news?'

Kēli: The verbal noun kēli is derived from the root kēl to hear or listen. Hence the literal sense of kēli is listening or hearing. Listening to the words of the learned was a recognised mode of acquiring knowledge in the ancient system of education.229 Instruction received through the ear was cherished as an invaluable treasure. The most precious of treasures according to Tiruvalluvar is the treasure of the ear.230 The verbal noun kēttal, is derived from the same root and conveys the same sense. 'It is better to listen than to learn' is an aphorism in which kēttal is used in the sense of listening.231 In the modern language, however, words derived from the root kēl convey the idea of query. Questions set for an examination are commonly known as kēli. It is perhaps possible to understand the cause of this transference of sense. The listener of old was not always a passive recipient of instruction. He asked questions with a view to clearing his doubts and difficulties or obtaining further elucidation. There is evidence to show that such questions received the most earnest attention of the ancient preceptors who were anxious to impart exact knowledge

228. செய்தி கொள்ளுந்தி தமிழ்நாட்டில், 31.
229. கெண்டல் கொண்டல் கெண்டல் கெண்டல் கெண்டல் கெண்டல் கெண்டல் கெண்டல், (மெய்ந்தம், 41, தேங்கை).
230. கெண்டல் கெண்டல் கெண்டல் கெண்டல் கெண்டல் கெண்டல் கெண்டல், 411.
231. முக்திக்கு நாகர் 5.
to their pupils. Thus a listener became a questioner and hence KNOWN WHICH LITERALLY SIGNIFIED LISTENING CAME TO DENOTE QUESTIONING. 232

Cardanar: In the old usage cardanar signifies messengers or spies. In the Jaina and Buddhist literature cardanar denotes a class of highly evolved souls endowed with supernatural powers. 233 In the modern speech, however, it denotes the scouts. The scout movement is commonly known as cardanar-iyakkam. Perhaps the authority of the person who first employed the old word in the new sense and its adoption by others who for want of a more suitable word acquiesced in it, have secured general recognition and acceptance for this new signification.

Vasal: The entrance to a house was originally denoted by the compound il-vay (il—house, vay—entrance or passage). Il-vay became vayil by the peculiar process of inversion recognised by Tamil literary usage. 234 Thus vayil came to denote entrance or doorway. Vayil has been corrupted into vasal in the colloquial dialect. (vayil > vayal > vasal). The eastern entrance is denoted by the expression kuna-vayil. Kudavayil corrupted into kudavasal signifies the western entrance. The stepping stone in the door-way is known as vasar-padi. If a house has several apartments and consequently several doorways, the first door-way is called talai-vasal, the intermediate door-way idai-vasal and the postern doorway pura-vasal. In modern usage, however, the term vasal is used in a slightly varied sense. The courtyard in front of a house is commonly called vasal, in the colloquial speech, and the backyard is known as pura-vasal. It is worthy of note that in the old usage the courtyard was denoted by the compound word ilmun which by inversion became munvil. 235 In the modern language it is changed into murram. Vasal and murram which originally signified two distinct places are now employed as synonyms in several parts of the Tamil country.

Manai: The word manai derived from the root man—earth, takes us back to the primitive times when a low earthen dais was improvised by men for sitting on at ease. As civilisation advanced, wooden dais came into existence. But the old word manai was adopted as the name of the wooden seat as the etymological sense of it had been effectively obliterated by time. Then the wooden instrument devised for ginning

232  233  234  235
cotton—an instrument fitted with a low wooden seat for the operator, came to be called manai. The wooden piece on which a cutting instrument is mounted is known as arival-manai corrupted into aruvamanai in the common speech.

Karuppu-k-katti: Sugar-cane Jaggery is signified by the word karuppu-k-katti. It is composed of karumbu and katti and obviously means cane-sugar. But in the modern colloquial dialect karuppu-k-katti does not mean cane-sugar but palmyra jaggery. It is possible that the mistaken notion, that karuppu in the compound karuppu-k-katti signified the colour of the substance, was responsible for this change. Now vellam is used with reference to cane-sugar and karuppu-k-katti and its corruption karuppati denote palmyra jaggery.

The conservative instinct of the community accounts for the existence of several anomalies in the vocabulary of a language. The incompatibility between the words and the objects denoted by them is evidently due to the inability of vocabulary to adjust itself to the changes effected by the advance of civilisation. A lease-deed is still called aday-yalai though the document evidencing the lease is no longer a cadjan leaf. A grain measure is called marakkul although it has long ceased to be a wooden thing. The circular iron plate on which rice-cake is baked continues to bear the name tosai-k-kal, (rice-cake stone). The waist-cord though made of gold or silver goes by the humble name arai-nan, (waist-thread).

Variations or displacements of meaning are sometimes due to a loose application of words. The common people to whom language is merely a practical medium of expression, do not care to acquaint themselves with the accurate significations of words or even if they are aware, do not care to use them in their exact sense. For the sake of effect, words of serious import are pressed into service and made to signify trifles. The word amar-k-kalam for instance, is a victim of this popular tendency. It literally denotes the battle-field, (amar-battle; kalam-field), and raises in the mind of an accurate scholar the image of a blood-stained field covered with mangled limbs of men and beasts and filled with the din of clashing arms and cries of dying soldiers. But in the colloquial dialect the word is employed to signify things that are devoid of these terrific associations. The confusion created by children in the house by throwing things pell-mell, the excitement caused at meetings by interruptions or interrogations and occurrences like these are now denoted by this term.

236. உயிரறிவியுத்துறுத்துலக்குறிச்சிக் குறிப்பிட்டியாள், 1938, குழக்கற்குறிச்சி, குறிப்பிட்டியாள் குறிப்பிட்டியாள்.
The expression mallādal literally means wrestling. Mallan is a wrestler or pugilist. The dance of Lord Krishna after killing Bāna in a wrestle, is denoted by the technical expression mallādal. In popular usage, however, the term is used with reference to the less serious and perhaps less harmful practice of bandying words. The proverb "உணவுடன் வண்ணம்கே வண்ணம் ஓட்டும்" is current in cultured society. The idea contained in the saying is that Kallādam is such a classical treatise that one who has closely studied it, will easily carry the palm in any literary controversy.

Manrādal is another term that has undergone a restriction and variation in sense. Manru or mangam is used in ancient poetry in the sense of Sabha. Silappadikaram describes the five mangrams situated at Pukār, the principal sea-port city of the early Cholas. In course of time, however, the term was restricted to the court of justice commonly known as niti-mangram. Hence manrādal came to denote pleading in a court of justice. Manrādī is used in the Periyapuranam in the sense of litigant. In modern usage manrādal simply means making a fervent and persistent appeal or request, and has no reference to the tribunal of justice.

A storm in a tea-cup is denoted by the term amali in popular parlance. Amali is a corruption of amalai: (amalai > amali > amali). In primitive warfare the soldiers used to gather round the fallen leader of the foemen on the battle-field and sing and dance in jollity. The tipsy dance of the victorious warriors was naturally tumultuous. Hence amali denotes an uproar or tumult.

The dance known as kuravai was a favourite amusement in ancient times. The kuravai dance of the Kurava and the Shepherd girls are vividly described in Silappadikaram. Kuravai as a dance is unknown at present, but the word kulavai, a corruption of kuravai, exists in the plain vocabulary of the peasantry to remind us of the glories of the past.
However, *kulavai* is far too attenuated and altered to be called even the ghost of its former self. The rattling sound *ululu* made by women standing together on auspicious occasions, such as Pongal and marriage, is now signified by the term *kulavai*.245

*Naḍam* and *naḍai* are distinct words drawn from different sources. *Naḍam* signifies dance246 and *naḍai* denotes walk. The popular confusion between *naḍam*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *nata*, and *naḍai* derived from the Tamil root *naḍa* has led to the application of the term *naḍamāḍai* to walking, and *naḍamāṭṭam* to the state of walking. Thus the expression *naḍamāḍai* *muṭiyatu* does not signify incapacity to dance but inability to walk.

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**SECTION III**

**DISCRIMINATION OF SYNONYMS**

Most of the synonyms commonly so-called are really expressive of different aspects or qualities of the person or object denoted by them. The terms used with reference to the king, for instance, connote different aspects of royalty. The conception of the ancient Tamils that royalty was an institution indispensable for the welfare of society is reflected in the word *mannan* which signifies the king. *Mannan* is derived from the root *man* which denotes stability.247 Monarchic institution was the supreme symbol of stability and continuity in the estimation of the ancient Tamil community.

The term *Kāvalan* obviously denotes the person who protects his subjects from internal and external enemies. The protector of Dharma, according to a great religious poet, is styled *kāvalan*.248

*Vēntan* is derived from a root which contains the sense of heat or fire. *Vēyil*, *vēku*, and *vemmai* are derived from the same root. The king has to raise the rod with a severe brow for eradicating evil. It is

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245. குளவை < குளதை. Kulavai—Chorus of shrill sounds made by women by wagging the tongue, uttered on festive occasions—Tamil Lexicon.

246. ஆசிரவியம் குற்றிய தொங்கை-ஆய், மிதுரைக்குரை, 153.

247. மன்னன்—வெண்டன் ராகிருஷ்கணைகளும், 19-3—(தெய்வ செய்யாவில் காட்டு கலா); மண்டுத்தூர் தம்மம் குறிக்குடி

248. வெங்கலன் வெங்கலன் வெங்கலன் வெங்கலன் வெங்கலன்—வெங்கலன் தமிழ் வரலாறு, பாரா, 165, 1.
significant that in one of his couplets Tiruvalluvar employs the term vēntu when he refers to the king’s duty of ruthlessly suppressing crimes and misdeeds in his country.249

Kottavan is derived from the ultimate root kol. Military prowess was indispensable for the king in primitive society. The preservation of the autonomy of the state and the perpetuation of royal power and prestige depended to a very large extent on the heroism of the king. The sovereign who was accorded a pre-eminent place in times of peace was expected to lead the army and bear the brunt of battle in times of war.

Similarly, the words which denote wealth appear at first sight to be mere synonyms but will be found on closer examination to express different aspects or concepts of wealth. The word celvam (wealth) contains the idea of currency. A token coin or a coin that cannot be put in circulation is known as cella-kās in popular parlance. The literal sense of the term celvam is employed by the Tamil bards to indicate the evanescence of wealth.

The idea that wealth is produced and increased by human endea-
vour finds expression in the word panām, which is derived from the root pan—to make.250 ‘Industry is the mother of prosperity’ says a Tamil poet. The etymological sense of panām stresses the view that man is the maker of his own fortune.

The advocates of the doctrine of renunciation deprecated in strong terms the desire for wealth and condemned it as filthy lucre. Wealth was considered to be an obstacle in the way of the soul marching towards its destined goal of salvation. The desire for wealth was the ‘snare of Satan’ to keep the soul for ever in bondage. The poet has said, “Whatsoever thing a man hath renounced, from the grief arising from that, hath he liberated himself.”251 The doctrine which exhorted the mortals to lift their thoughts from the world of ignoble strive to the serene world of eternal bliss, was responsible for wealth being called vērukkai, the cursed or detested thing.252

Maṭu is another term for wealth. “Among pastoral peoples wealth naturally consists in flocks and herds and wealth is counted by so many head of cattle. Thus the cattle became a kind of legal tender.

249. நூறுவூடு நூறுவூட்டு வேண்டு கல்வெணை முதலகம், 550.
251. ஏகத்து, 616.
252. மாத்தூ, பா, பா, பாவநிவோத பாவூபட்டாம் பாவூபட்டாம் அந்த மாத்தூ மாத்தூ கேகுற்றாரா மாத்தூ கேகுற்றாரா, தென்னா ஏற்றெம், 106.
This happened among the Indo-Europeans, and Indo-European languages have preserved many traces of this primitive state in which cattle, a man’s only wealth were used as money.” This, according to Vendreys, is an instance of social factors influencing the evolution of vocabulary.

A careful consideration of the synonyms of the verb *sca*-speak, will enable us to discover the distinctions existing between them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urai</td>
<td>comment, explain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arai</td>
<td>assert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pərai</td>
<td>proclaim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pannu</td>
<td>repeat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuru</td>
<td>speak in a logical or analytical manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuyirru</td>
<td>speak in a melodious voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vilambu</td>
<td>enlighten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iyambu</td>
<td>speak in a musical tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Càru</td>
<td>advocate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milagru</td>
<td>speak in a pleasing manner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three words, *i*, *tā* and *koaḷu* are commonly considered to be synonyms, but there is a clear distinction between them. *I* is used when a person begs for a thing; *tā* is used when he asks for a thing; and *koaḷu* is used when he demands a thing. Thus the distinction is based upon the power and position of the person who addresses the word. The three words are assigned to the three possible positions which a man can occupy in his relations with his fellowmen, viz., inferiority, equality and superiority. The nouns derived from their verbal roots reflect these shades of thought. *Ikai* derived from the root *i* is defined as ‘the gift of a thing to the destitute.’ *Taruṭai* derived from *tā* is used in connection with transactions in which one thing is given for another. The expression *varaṭ-tarutal* signifies the boon granted to a person in return for the penance performed by him. *Koaḷai* formed from the root *koaḷu* signifies a thing given to a person in power or authority. The


255. *smanjanāravatatiḥ ṛnte - ṛnte, 221.*

256. *varam-avaratatiḥ ṛnte - ṛnte, 256.*
offering made to the village deities with a view to propitiating them is aptly termed \textit{kodai} for the deity is deemed to have the power of demanding it.\textsuperscript{257}

\textit{Anpu} and \textit{arul} denote soft-heartedness. But literary usage has established a distinction between them. Tirukkural suggested the distinction in a metaphorical way. The classical commentator of the \textit{Kural} in which the phrase occurs, has explained the distinction between them which was perhaps not so clearly perceived till then.\textsuperscript{258} According to him the tenderness which a person feels for his relations is signified by the term \textit{anpu} and the compassion he feels for the animate world beyond the circle of relations is denoted by the term \textit{arul}.\textsuperscript{259} Thus \textit{arul} is the quality of mercy which by its gentle touch makes the whole world kin.

The distinction between \textit{valakham} and \textit{palakkam} is identical with the distinction between custom and usage in law. Custom carries with it an idea of great antiquity. In law one of the essentials of a valid custom is that it must uniformly have existed from time immemorial. No such antiquity is necessary to prove a usage. \textit{Palakkm} may therefore be defined as a uniform practice among a people or class with respect to certain matters or things.\textsuperscript{260}

\textit{Udai}; \textit{Adai}: Although \textit{udai} and \textit{adai} appear to be synonyms, the former signifies cloth and the latter dress. The classical word \textit{udukkai} refers to loin cloth. \textit{Uduppu} means unsewn garment. The well-known saying \textit{‘Uppatu nāli, uduppatu nāngu mulam’}—a measure of rice for food and four cubits of cloth for wear—illustrates the commonly accepted sense of the word \textit{udai}. \textit{Vattudai} is the name of a special dress which extends up to the knees, generally worn by the ancient warriors. The associations in which \textit{udai} is used seem to show that it is worn close to the body. On the other hand \textit{adai} appears to denote the dress put on for the sake of appearance.

\textsuperscript{257} It is significant that the offerings made to the ferocious deities alone are known as \textit{kodai}. The huge quantity of rice and meat with which they are propitiated is called padaippu (படைப்பு).

\textsuperscript{258} \textit{தேஞ்சஞ்சி}: \textit{போது} பாதுகாவை தேஞ்சஞ்சி போது \\
புத்தெச்சியால் ஆனத்தில் இருந்தாள் போது \\
உண்டமை கொண்டிருந்தது (கிட்டம்பிருள், 757, முசுகையாளன்).

\textsuperscript{259} \textit{வங்காளதோற்றை பொருள் தேஞ்சி போது} அல்லது \\
பாதுகாவை தேஞ்சி போது. இந்த போது \\
உண்டாக்கப் பெறும் கொண்டான் கொண்டிருந்தது (கிட்டம்பிருள், கிட்டம்பிருள், 25. போது).}

\textsuperscript{260} \textit{Vallakkam} and \textit{Pallakkam} are also used in the sense of habit and practice respectively.
The proverb 'நல்ல வுவைக் கொண்டு வரவு வாய்க்கள்'—a man well dressed does not feel nervous in an assembly—clearly brings out the sense of this word. Paarai literally denotes the covering cloth. It has acquired the special meaning of 'ladies' undergarment.' Ciriirai is the saree usually worn by girls.

Osaï and oli have acquired by usage distinct significations. The existence of this distinction has received sufficient recognition in ancient poetry. When the saint addresses the Lord as 'நரிசையச் செய்து நெற்போன்' 261 it is obvious that he attaches distinct sense-values to these two terms. Osaï conveys the sense of noise and oli signifies tone. The distinction between noise and tone may be stated in the words of Max Muller: "Noises such as the rustling of leaves, the jarring of doors or the clap of thunder are produced by irregular impulses imparted to the air. Tones such as we hear from tuning forks, strings, flute, organ pipes are produced by regular periodical vibrations of elastic air." 262 It is possible that Otaï is a variation of osai as the palatal and dental sounds are interchangeable in Tamil.

Araiippu formed from the verbal root arai means an invitation. The ceremonial invitation of the bride on the eve of her wedding is called per-araiippu. In the speech of the northern districts of the Tamil country, however, it is almost synonymous with call. The expression varav-alarittal means only securing the presence of or producing a person.

Karai in the sense of call is confined to literary usage. The cawing of the crow to attract its kind is denoted by the term karaital in Tirukkural. The classical word for the light-house in Tamil is kalam-karai.vilakkam which literally means 'the light that beckons the boat to the haven.' In Kannada kare is the ordinary word for call.

From the root ka the words kavu, ka-pada, ku-ka, ku-vē-ku and ka.k-kural are derived by the process of agglutination or reduplication. However, semantic discrimination has been effected by usage. Kav or kuvutal is commonly applied to the warbling of birds and especially to the crowing of the cock. Kappuḷu is shouting. In the speech of the southern districts, the imperative verb kappidu means nothing more than call. Perhaps this usage owes its origin to the act of calling a man by shouting from a distance. The ancient method of calculating distance by means of the range of human voice at its highest pitch is reflected in the expression kappidu taram, Ka-ka and ka-vē-ku are shouts of alarm, and akkaḷ is the voice of agony or

261. சுந்தரர் (சுந்தரவிசாரி) பகுவைவிரையிட்டிரு, 1.
distress. In Madras *kuvutal* is sometimes applied to the voice of the hawker vending his wares in the street.

The principle of drawing a distinction between synonyms, is adopted in grammatical terminology for the purpose of denoting differences brought into existence by literary usage. *Viyam* and *Ēval* are synonyms signifying command. When grammarians were confronted with two forms of command, a command properly so-called and a polite command, they distinguished them by the terms *vyaṅgōl* and *Ēval*. Thus, the verb in the imperative mood is *Ēval vinai* and the verb in the optative mood came to be called *vyaṅgōl vinai*.

*Pākuti* and *pāṭi* were originally synonyms. *Pākuti* has changed into *pāṭi* by the elimination of the medial vowel consonant and the augmentation of the quantity of the initial vowel by way of compensation. The root of *pākuti* is *paku* to split, separate or divide. Hence *pākuti* denotes a part or portion of the whole. In modern usage however *pāṭi* connotes an equal division or a moiety.

*Santi* and *anti* were originally identical in sense. It is probable that *anti* is a variation of *santi*, brought about by the elimination of the initial sibilant. A distinction between these synonyms was established in due course. *Anti* was confined to contact of time and *santi* was generally appropriated to contact of place. The time which marks the contact of day and night is *anti*—the twilight. *Santi* refers ordinarily to a place where different paths meet.

*Ēyīru* in the sense of tooth is now confined to poetry and literary prose. *Īru* which is probably a corruption of *Ēyīru* is commonly used to denote the gums of the teeth.

Distinction between synonyms is sometimes brought about by the elevation or degradation of one of them. The terms *paduttal* and *kidattal* were originally synonyms but a distinction has been established owing to the gradual deterioration of the latter. *Padukkaï* and *kiṭakkaï* formed from the roots *padu* and *kiṭa* denote the act of resting or sleeping. However, the word *kidattal* is now relegated to the vocabulary of the vulgar dialect. *Kiṭai* derived from the root *kiṭa* clearly indicates

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222-226.
322.
227.
225.
the degree of its degradation. Although it retains its primary sense in
poetry, common usage has confined it to the sheep-fold, āṭṭu-k-kidai.

Eating is denoted by the terms, āvă and tină. The nouns formed
from these verbal roots are āvă and tină. Unavu, āvă and unčč are
synonyms. While these words retain their original meaning, tină is
now used mainly with reference to the food of animals.

The Tamil word āvă and the Sanskrit derivative āsai were used
originally as synonyms. Annihilation of desire is denoted by the
expression āvă-v-aruttal in Tirukkural. In the exhortation āsai-
arumin, āsai is used in the same sense. Sita refers to her husband
āsaiyin-kani—the delicious fruit of her desire. But in modern usage
āsai has acquired the meaning of improper or unwholesome desire. The
distinction between the two words is clearly indicated in the compounds
pērasai and pērava. Avarice is denoted by the former and intense
desire by the latter. It is significant that āval which is a contraction of
avāval continues to bear the original sense of desire or eagerness.
The connections in which āsai is used in modern parlance, clearly mark
the extent of its degradation: e.g., āsai-k-kilati—concubine; āsai-
naayakan—illicit lover; āsai-maruntu—love potion or philter.

When "words bearing the same sense are drawn from different
languages and are current side by side, a distinction is gradually estab-
lished between them. The Tamil word tiney and the Sanskrit derivative
tailam are synonyms. The Sanskrit word for sesame is tila and hence
the oil extracted from tila is known as taila. But tailam is hardly used
to denote the gingili oil in the modern speech. Scented and medicinal
oils are generally denoted by it.

The Sanskrit term sthala corrupted into талам is the equivalent of
śidam in Tamil. A distinction has gradually come into existence by
which the Sanskrit derivative is confined to sacred and holy places while
its Tamil equivalent continues to convey the original sense of place.

The Tamil word ārivu and the Sanskrit derivative gnānam are
synonyms. Ārivan is used in poetry in the sense of sage; ārivunāl is
a book of knowledge. Gnānam also means knowledge; Gnānend-
driyam is the collective name for sense-organs. Usage however has

268. तिन, प. 37.
269. सितेप, वसामिडोगर
रक्त-प्राण-कुमारन, सज्जवाकल-कामिक, 2615.
270. आस, अनुप्रवास, 212.
271. In avāval—the elimination of the first vā is due to haplogony;
the increase in the quantity of the initial vowel is due to compensation.
restricted arīva to knowledge and gnānam to wisdom. Thus arīva denotes a man of knowledge and gnām signifies a sage or a wise man.

The Sanskrit derivative vīttai and the Tamil word kalvi are synonyms. Vidyāsalai derived from the root of the word vīttai and kallari derived from the root of the word kalvi, denote the school. Similarly vittakan and karravan signify the learned person. Popular usage however has restricted the term vīttai to an act or craft involving subtlety or dexterity. The magician is commonly called vīttai-k-karan.

Loan-words are sometimes altered in accordance with the phonetic laws and tendencies of the language in which they are adopted and made the vehicles of different thoughts. The Sanskrit word bha is current in Tamil in a double form viz., pāram and vāram. The labial and the labio-dental are interchangeable in Tamil and hence pāram and vāram are different forms of the same word. This difference in form has led to a difference in sense. In modern usage pāram retains the sense of arrow but vāram denotes the rocket. A display of fireworks is commonly known as vāra vēdikkai.

The Sanskrit term jāla is employed in two forms in Tamil, jalam—the tattama form—signifies water; but calam—the tatbhava form in which the palatal surd has taken the place of the palatal sonant—is used with reference to the pus issuing from festered wounds.

The words formed by attaching different particles serving the same grammatical purpose, to a common root, are made the vehicles of allied but distinct thoughts. For instance, from the verbal root vēḻ, the nouns vēḻiv, vēḻkai, and vēḻtai are derived. It is evident that these words have been formed by attaching different suffixes of the verbal noun to the common root. Though the three words contain the sense of desire, each of them is confined to a particular kind of desire. Vēḻiv denotes a sacrifice performed with religious zeal. Vēḻkai connotes sexual desire. Vēḻtai signifies hunting. Vēḻtuvan or vēḻan is the name of the hillman whose main occupation is hunting.

The term yakkai and yappu are derived from the root yz—to bind together. But yakkai signifies the body and yappu means metrical composition. The body has been conceived as a house built of bones and flesh, bound together by nerves and covered with skin. This concept forms the basis of the term yakkai. In the composition of verse also

272. 

273.
a similar process is adopted. Syllables and words are arranged in a particular order, strung together by rhyme and alliteration and made the vehicle of thought. Hence metrical composition is signified by the term 𝗴乌鲁.

The words 乌鲁 and 乌鲁 are derived obviously from a common root containing the idea of a roll but denote different objects by a variation of termination. A roll of palm leaves is called ��-乌鲁; a roll of betel leaves is known as ��-乌鲁 and so forth. Gold or silver coins rolled in a piece of yellow cloth and presented to the newly married couple on auspicious occasions is known as 乌鲁 in the Southern districts. 乌鲁 however is definitely restricted to cigar. 乌鲁 "It has passed into the English vocabulary in the form of cheroot but appropriated specially to cigars truncated at both ends.

Variations in form caused by the operation of phonetic laws such as metathesis, prothesis and euphonic nunnation have brought about variations in sense:

(1) Metathesis:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visiği</th>
<th>Fan.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sivigi</td>
<td>Syringe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koppulam</td>
<td>Bubble.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokkulam</td>
<td>Boil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukił</td>
<td>Bud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumil</td>
<td>Bubble; knob.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Prothesis with or without consonantal changes:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raja (Skt.)</th>
<th>Rasan</th>
<th>arasan</th>
<th>king.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Raja (Skt.)</td>
<td>Rayan</td>
<td>irayan</td>
<td>Title of certain castes like Madhva Brahmins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakta (Skt.)</td>
<td>Rattam</td>
<td>irattam</td>
<td>blood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakta (Skt.)</td>
<td>Rattam</td>
<td>arattam</td>
<td>a garment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

274. 乌鲁—Presents with betel given to bride and bridegroom—Tamil Lexicon.
275. 乌鲁 (Tamil), 乌鲁 (Malayalam), tcutta (Telugu), cutti (Kanarese). In Telugu and Kanarese the radical consonant of the root is eliminated.
276. Hobson—Jobson,
(3) Euphonic nasalisation:

Kṍḍu  
Kūḍdu  
Aḍu  
Aṇḍu  
Taḍu  
Tanḍu

nest.
covering.
approach.
attach.
obstruct.
collect.

Dimorphism due to different degrees of corruption, has served the cause of semantic distinction:

Prosthapada (Skt.) Purattasi (Ta) The sixth Tamil month.
Prosthapada (Skt.) Pūrattādi (Ta) The twenty-fifth nakṣatra.
Srāvana (Skt.) Sirāvanam (Ta) A religious ceremony.
Srāvana (Skt.) Āvaṇi (Ta) The fifth Tamil month.
Lakṣana (Skt.) Ilaṭcaṇam (Ta) Beauty.
Lakṣana (Skt.) Ilakkaṇam (Ta) Grammar.

Distinction in form between Sanskritic and Prakritic terms employed in Tamil has contributed to semantic discrimination:

Sāṇya (Skt.) Sūniyam (Ta) Witchcraft.
Sunna (Skt.) Sunnam (Ta) Cipher.
Varna (Skt.) Varuṇam (Ta) Colour.
Vanna (Skt.) Vaṇṇam (Ta) Beauty.
Ārya (Skt.) Āriyan (Ta) A man of Āryan race.
Ajja (Skt.) Accan (Ta) Father.

Semantic wear and tear is responsible for the existence of several pleonasms in the colloquial dialect of Tamil. For instance:

Cakaḍa-vanṭli, cor, Cakkaḍa-vanṭli Country cart.
Ūtai-vāḍai, cor, Uḷaivāḍai Chill wind.
Kaduvan-pūnai, cor, Kaduvam-pūnai Big cat.
Arai-nāṇ-kayiru, cor, Aruṇākayagu Waist cord.
Cūrā-vali-k-kāṟṟu, cor, Cūrā-vali-k-kāṭtu Whirl wind.

In each of these compounds, the classical word which has lost its significance is followed and supported by its popular equivalent.

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277. A carriage with a covering overhead is called kūṇḍu vaṇṭli and a carriage without a top is commonly known as moṭṭai vaṇṭli.

278. Tamil Lexicon. It is possible that taṇḍai (anklet) is the nasalised form of taḍai (obstruction).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>மெய்</th>
<th>ஆய்வகம்</th>
<th>இடையுள்ள எண்(வரையறை)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>அகம்</td>
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<td>அசான்</td>
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<td>An</td>
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<td>அந்தன்</td>
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<td>அந்தம்</td>
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<td>அந்பிள்ளை</td>
<td>An-pillai</td>
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<td>அந்மாக்கல்</td>
<td>An-makkaal</td>
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<td>அந்மை</td>
<td>Anmai</td>
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<td>அறிரை</td>
<td>Atirai</td>
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<td>Ali</td>
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<td>அய்வு</td>
<td>Iravu</td>
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<td>Ilamun</td>
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<td>இல் ஐ</td>
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