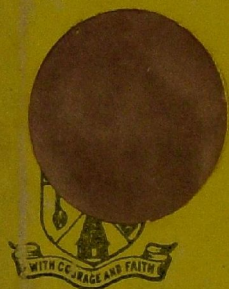


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DRAVIDIAN Comparative PHONOLOGY

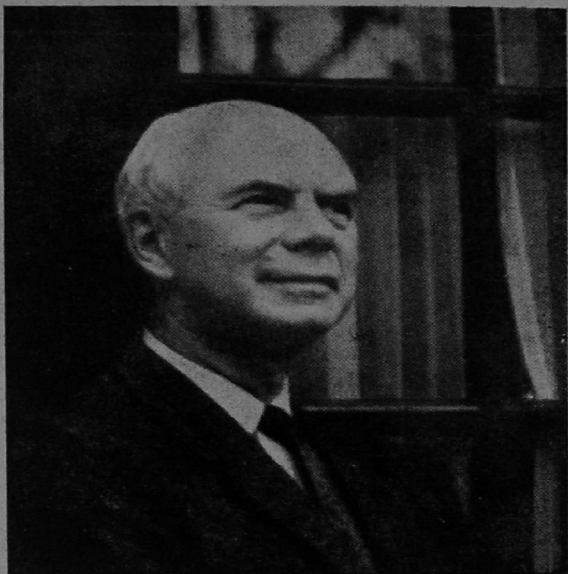
A SKETCH

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TAMILNADU, INDIA

1970



Murray B. EMENEAU (1904—) has been Professor of Sanskrit and General Linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley, since 1940. He did fieldwork on several of the non-literary Dravidian languages in 1935-38. Much of his research since then has been concerned with Dravidian comparative grammar and etymology, as well as with the ethnology of the Nilgiri tribes and with the folktales of India. He is co-author with Professor T. BURROW of Oxford University of **A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary** (1961), its **Supplement** (1968) and **Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan** (1962). His other major publications in Dravidian are : **Kota Texts (Parts I-IV)** (1944-46), **Kolami, a Dravidian Language** (1955 Berkeley, 1961 Annamalai), **Brahui and Dravidian Comparative Grammar** (1962), **India and Historical Grammar** (1965), **Dravidian Linguistics, Ethnology and Folktales : Collected Papers** (1967), and numerous important papers. An

DRAVIDIAN COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY

A Sketch

by

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**ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY
ANNAMALAINAGAR**

TAMIL NADU, INDIA

1970

DRAVIDIAN COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY

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FOREWORD

Dravidian Comparative Phonology : a Sketch by Professor M. B. Emeneau is a slightly revised version of his mimeographed material which was being used by students of Comparative Dravidian at Annamalai and elsewhere. This work is the first attempt to present in one place the results of recent research in Dravidian comparative phonology. I am very happy that we are able to publish the present book and I am grateful to Professor Emeneau who was kind enough to permit us to publish it. It will be complementary to two other forthcoming publications on Dravidian comparative grammar, viz. **Dravidian Verb Morphology : a Comparative Study and Noun Morphology of Dravidian** by Drs. P. S. Subrahmanyam and S. V. Shanmugam, respectively, of this Centre. I hope this series will be useful to students of Linguistics in general and Dravidian Linguistics in particular

Annamalai University }
Annamalainagar }
15-7-1970 }

S. Agesthalingom
Director
Centre of Advanced Study
in Linguistics

PREFACE

A Sketch of Dravidian Comparative Phonology was prepared for use in a course at the Summer School of Linguistics held at Coimbatore in the summer of 1959. It was in effect excerpted from the printer's copy for *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, which had been completed for the press in 1957. It was mimeographed, and was regarded by myself as highly tentative and not suitable for more permanent publication. Since it was not superseded by any other publication and still had some use as teaching material, it was issued again in impermanent form with minimal corrections and changes, by the Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley in 1963 and by the Department of Linguistics, Annamalai University at the same time.

Since it still retains usefulness as teaching material, Annamalai University now issues it in more permanent form. The title is slightly changed, to mark the fact that there has been revision, and in recognition of the fact that bibliographically a work should not be called a 2nd edition when there has been formally no 1st edition, but only 'pre-publication'. The revision has taken into account the new material in *DEDS*, as well as a number of papers, both published and still unpublished, which require changes and additions of statement.

The statements of phonetic correspondences are still in part very tentative — they must remain so until detailed work has been accomplished. Even so, they could have been more detailed at some points — but the work is avowedly a sketch. Students should be sent for detail to those substantial, detailed papers that already exist.

My thanks must go to Professor S. Agesthialingom, Director of the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, for his kind offices and patience, and to all others who share in the publication project of the Annamalai Department of Linguistics.

M. B. Emeneau

Berkeley, California
December 24, 1968

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**DRAVIDIAN
COMPARATIVE
PHONOLOGY**

INTRODUCTION

0.1. The phonetic correspondences that make up the bulk of this sketch are exemplified by groups of etyma adapted from those in BURROW and EMENEAU, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (Oxford, 1961) and *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary: Supplement* (Oxford, 1968), which are abbreviated as *DED* and *DEDS*. The examples are identified by entry numbers from these works. No further reference is given than the number, since it provides an identical reference for both volumes.

Language Abbreviations

0.2. The languages are referred to by the abbreviations given in the following table:

Ta.	Tamil
Ma.	Malayalam
To.	Toda
Ko.	Kota
Ka.	Kannaḍa

Koḍ.	Koḍagu (Coorg)
Tu.	Tu/ʉ
Te.	Telugu
Kol.	Kolami
Nk.	Naikṛi (a dialect of Kolami)
Nk. (Ch.)	Naiki of Chanda (discovered by BURROW and BHATTACHARYA in 1957-8)
Pa.	Parji
Ga.	Gadba (dialects of Ollur and Salur)
Go.	Gondi
Koṇḍa	Koṇḍa (according to BH. KRISHNAMURTI, the name should properly be Kūbi)
Pe.	Pengo (discovered by BURROW and BHATTACHARYA in 1957-8; publication is forthcoming)
Maṇḍ.	Maṇḍa (discovered by BURROW and BHATTACHARYA in 1964; not yet described)
Kur.	Kurukh (Oraon)
Malt.	Malto
Br.	Brahui

Several independent languages have recently been discovered in the south, but the available material does not yet allow inclusion here.

Additional References

0.3. The bibliography and necessary abbreviations for references are those given in *DED* and *DEDS*. The following items are further references, most of which are used in this work.

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PDr. PHONES and COMBINATIONS

1. PDr. phones and combinations of phones, for which there are used the following symbols :

Vowels

<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ō</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	

Consonants

<i>k-</i>	<i>c-</i>			<i>t-</i>	<i>p-</i>
<i>-k-</i>	<i>-c-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-r-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	
<i>-kk-</i>	<i>-cc-</i>	<i>-tt-</i>	<i>-rr-</i>	<i>-tt-</i>	<i>-pp-</i>
<i>-ñk-</i>	<i>-ñc-</i>	<i>-ñt-</i>	<i>-nr-</i>	<i>-nt-</i>	<i>-mp-</i>
	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ɳ</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>m</i>
	<i>y</i>				<i>v-</i>
		<i>-r-</i>		<i>-r-</i>	<i>-v-</i>
		<i>-l-</i>	<i>-l-</i>		
		<i>-ll-</i>	<i>-ll-</i>		

For other possible combinations involving nasals, e. g. *ñkk*, see §54.

It will be recognized that for the second and third rows across of consonants (e. g. *-k-*, *-kk-*), I am not satisfied with the symbols (see "The South Dravidian Languages"), but they are traditional and should be used here.

VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES

***a**

2. PDr. **a* represents a correspondence in which all the languages have *a*, and To. has sometimes *o* and Pa. sometimes *e*. An easy example is the further demonstrative **a-* (*DED* 1); Br. probably has no forms to be adduced here, since its stem *dā-* 'this', which in *DEDS* was listed here, is better taken as a borrowing from Pashto (so BH. KRISHNAMURTI, "Dravidian Nasals in Brahui").

Other examples showing forms in all languages :

Ta. Ma. Ka. *kaṇ* 'eye', Ko. *kaṇ*, To. *koṇ*, Koḍ. *kaṇṇī*, Tu. *kaṇṇu*, Te. *kanu*, *kannu*, Kol. *kan* (pl. *kaṇḍl*), Nk. *kan* (pl. *kaṇḍl*), Nk. (Ch.) *kan* (pl. *-l*), Pa. (S) *kan* (pl. *-ul*), Ga. (Oll.) *kaṇ* (pl. *-kul*), (S) *kanu* (pl. *kaṇḱul*), Go. *kan* (pl. *-k*), (A) *kaṛ* (pl. *-k*), Konḍa *kaṇ*, Pe. *kaṅga* (pl. *ṇ*, *kaṇku*), Mand. *kan* (pl. *-ke*), Kui *kanu* (pl. *kan-ga*), Kuwi (Su. P.) *kanu* (pl. *kaṇka*), Kur. *khann*, Malt. *qanu*, Br. *khan* (pl. *-k*). 973a.

Ta. *varu* (*vār-*; *vant-*) 'to come', Ma. *varuka* (*vār-*; *vann-*), To. *po'r* (*pa-*, *paš-*; *pod-*), Ko. *va'r-* (*va-*; *vad-*), Ka. *bar*, *bār* (*band-*), Koḍ. *bar-* (*bapp-*, *band-*), Tu. *barpini*, Te. *vaccu* (*rā-*), Kol. *var-* (*va-*; *vatt-*), Nk. *var-*, Nk. (Ch.) *var-*/*va-* (*vat-*), Pa. *ver-* (*veñ-*), Ga. (Oll.) *var-* (*vad-*, *van-*), (S.) *vār-* (*vadd-*, *vann-*; imperative *var*), Go. *vay-*, *vāy-* (imperative *varā*), Kui *vāva* (*vāt-*; imperative *va*, *vāmu*), Kur. *barnā*, Malt. *bare*, Br. *banning* (*bar-* *ba-*; *bass-*). 4311.

It is still not clear when To. has *a* and when *o*, or when Pa. has *e* and when *a*.

Exx.: Ta. *arai* 'half', Ma. *ara*, To. Ko. *ar*, Ka. *are*, Tu. *are*, Te. *ara*. 192.

Ta. *kaṭa* (*kaṭapp-*, *kaṭant-*) 'to pass through, cross, exceed, overcome', Ma. *kaṭakka*, To. *kaḍ-* (*kaḍṭ-*), Ko. *kaṛv-* (*kaṛd-*), Ka. *kaḍe*, Koḍ. *kaḍa-* (*kaḍap-*, *kaḍand-*), Tu. *kaḍapuni*, Te. *kaḍacu*, *gaḍacu*, Pa. *kaḍp-* (*kaḍt-*), Ga. (Oll.) *karp-* (*kart-*), Konḍa *gaṛvi-* (*-t-*), Kur. *kaṭṇā*, Malt. *kaṭe*, Br. *kharring*. 929.

Ta. *pal* 'tooth', Ma. *pal*, *pallu*, To. *paś*, Ko. *pal*, Ka. *pal*, Koḍ. *pallī*, Tu. *paru*, Te. *palu*, *pallu* (pl. *paṇḍlu*), *pannu*, Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) *pal*, Pa. *pel*, Ga. (Oll.) *pal*, (S.) *pallū*, Go. Konḍa *pal*, Kui *paḍu*, *palu*, Kuwi *pallu*, Kur. *pall*, Malt. *palu*. 3288.

Ta. *varu* (*-tt-*) 'to fry', Ma. *varukka*, To. *parf-* (*part-*), Koḍ. *bara-* (*-t-*), Pa. *vedp-* (*vedt-*), Go. *vah-*, Konḍa *var-*

(*vaRt-*), Pe. *vah-* (*vast-*), Mand. *vahpa-*, Kui *vahpa* (*vaht-*), Kuwi *vah-* (*vast-*). 4360.

Ta. *maṇru* 'hall of assembly, raised platform under a tree for village meetings, etc.', Ma. *mannu* 'place of judgment or assembly', To. *moḍ* (oblique stem *moṛt-*) 'locus of tribal activity, including village with dairy, dairy apart from village, and funeral place; patrilineal clan', Ko. *maṇḍ* 'burning place for dry funeral; Toda village', Ka. *mandu* 'Toda hamlet', Koḍ. *maṇḍī* 'village green'. 3913.

Ta. *paṇṇi* 'pig', Ma. *panni*, To. *pody*, Ko. *paj*, Ka. Koḍ. *pandi*, Tu. *paṇji*, Te. *pandi*, Pa. *pend*, (NE) *peṇḍ*, Ga. (Oll.) *paṇḍ*, (S.) *paṇḍu*, Go. *paddī*, Konḍa *paṇṇi*, Pe. Mand. *panji*, Kui *paji*, Kuwi *pajji*. 3326.

Ta. *paṇ*, *paṇi* 'work', *paṇṇu* (*paṇṇi-*) 'to make', Ma. *paṇi* 'work', *paṇiyuka* 'to build', To. *poṇy* 'work', Ka. *paṇṇu* 'to prepare', Koḍ. *paṇi* 'work', Tu. *paṇipuni* 'to shape (a vessel)', Te. *paṇi*, (inscr.) *paṇi* 'work', *pannu* 'to contrive, plan', Kol. (SR) *pannī* 'work', Pa. *paṇḍp-* (*paṇḍt-*) 'to make, do', Ga. (Oll.) *paṇḍ-* 'to be able', Go. *paṇi*, *paṇi* 'work', *paṇḍ-* 'to make, build', Konḍa *paṇi* 'work', *paṇḍ-* 'to prepare'. 3209.

3. PDr. **ā* represents a correspondence in which all the languages have *ā*, and To. often has *o* and Pa. sometimes has *ē*.

Exx. :

Ta. *āru* (*āri-*) 'to cool, be alleviated, heal', Ma. *āruka* 'to be extinguished, grow cool, be allayed, dry up (as land, washed hair, wounds), heal', To. *oʻr-* (*oʻry-*) '(hot water) cools, become dry by heating (cloth, head, body), *aʻl-* (*aʻt-*) '(stream) goes dry', Ko. *aʻr-* (*aʻry-*) 'to become cool, (dew) dries, heal', Ko. *aʻr-* (*aʻry-*) 'to become cool, (dew) dries, heal', Ka. *ār* 'to be extinguished, grow cool, be allayed, become dry, heal', Kod. *aʻr-* (*aʻri-*) 'to dry up', Tu. *āruni* 'to grow cool, grow dry', Te. *ārū* 'to be extinguished, cool, be alleviated, heal, dry', Kol. *aʻr-* (*-t-*) 'to become dry', Nk. Nk. (Ch.) *ār-id.*, Pa. *ēd-*, (NE) *ēd-* 'to cool off', Ga. (S.) *āl-* 'to cool down', Go. *ārānā* 'to grow cool (of porridge)', Konḍa *ār-id.*, Kui *āja* (*āji-*) 'to become cool', Kuwi (F.) *aiyali* id., *āī* 'cool'. 346.

Ta. *kāl* 'leg, foot', Ma. *kāl*, To. *koʻl* (*koʻlk iʻr-* '(child) sits on mother's leg to defecate', *koʻs* 'excrement'), Ko. *kaʻl*.

Ka. *kāl*, Koḍ. *ka'li*, Tu. *kāru*, Te. *kālu*, Kol. *ka'l*, Pa. *kēl*, Ga. (Oll.) *kāl*, Go. Konḍa Pe. Maṇḍ. *kāl*, Kui *kāḍu*, Kuwi *kālu*. 1238.

Ta. *ār* (-*tt*-) 'to shout', Ma. *ārkkuka* (*ārttu*), To. *o'sf*- (*o'st*-) 'to dance (of Todas; really, to shout while dancing)', *afoṛ*- (*afoṭ*-) 'to talk', Ko. *a'r*- (*a't*-) 'to call', Ka. *ār* (*ārd*-) 'to cry aloud', Tu. *ārkuni* 'to cry out, shout', Te. *ār(u)cu*, Pa. *ār*- 'to sound (bell, etc.)', Konḍa *ārpa*- 'to shout, howl', Kui *ārpa* (*ārt*-) 'to call', Kuwi (S.) *ārnai* id. 312.

4. PDr. **i* represents a correspondence in which all the languages have *i*, and To. has also *ī*. Relationship between *ī* and *e* in various of the languages is presented in §14.

An easy example of the correspondence for **i* is the nearer demonstrative **i*- (DED 351); Br. has no form with *i*, but its stem *ī*, to which the enclitic pronouns are attached, belongs with the general parallel set with **ī*-.

Further Exx. :

Ta. Ma. *vil* 'bow', To. *pīṣ*, Ko. *viṣy*, Ka. *bil*, *billu*, Koḍ. *billī*, Tu. *billu*, *biru*, Te. *vilu*, *villu*, Kol. Pa. *vil*, Ga. *vinḍ(u)*, Go. Konḍa Pe. Manḍ. *vil*, Kui *viḍu*, *vilu*, Kuwi (Su. P.) *vellu*, Br. *bil*. 4449.

Ta. *iraṇṭu*, *iru* [*C* 'two', *iraṭṭai* 'pair, even', Ma. *iraṭṭa* 'double, even', *iru* [*C* 'two', To. *i*, *ī* 'two' (in certain phrases), Ko. *ir*, *i* 'two' (in certain phrases), Ka. *eraḍu*, *iru*- 'two', Koḍ. *iru* 'two' (in certain phrases), Tu. *ir*- 'two', Te. *iru*- (in some compounds), Pa. *irḍu* 'two things', *irul* 'two men', *ira!* 'two women', Go. *iruṛ* 'a couple', Konḍa *i*- (in certain phrases), Kur. *irb* 'two persons', Malt. *iwr* id., Br. *iraṭ* 'two (entities)'. 401.

Te. *giccu* 'to scratch, pinch', Kol. (SR.) *kism-* 'to pinch', Nk. (Ch.) *kis-/kicc-* id., Pa. *kicc-* 'to pluck (strings of instrument with fingers)', Ga. (Oll.) *kisk-* 'to pinch', (S) *kicc-* 'to pluck', Konḍa *kis-* 'to pinch', Pe. Maṇḍ. *kic-* id., Kui *kisa* (*kisi-*) 'to pinch, nip', pl. action *kiska* (*kiski-*), Kuwi (F.) *kicali* 'to pinch', (S) *kicinai* 'to nip', Kur. *kiccnā* 'to break into very small pieces with the fingers', Br. *kishking* 'to pluck, break off'. 1271.

Ta. *cikku* (*cikki-*) 'to become entangled, caught, obtained', Ma. *cikkuka* 'to be entangled', To. *tik-* (*tiky-*) 'to be trapped', Ko. *cik-* (*ciky-*) 'to be caught, obtained', Ka. *sikku*, *sigu* (past *sikk-*), *sirku*, *silku* 'to become entangled, caught, be got', Koḍ. *cikk-* (*cikki-*) 'to become entangled', Tu. *sikkuni*, *tikkuni* 'to be ensnared, obtained', *silkuni* 'to be entangled, perplexed', Te. *cikku* 'to be entangled, obtained', Kol. *sik-* (*-t-*) 'to hang (intr.)', Pa. *cirṇg-* 'to get stuck, trapped', Go. *jirkānā* 'to be caught on thorns', *hilkānā* 'to be entangled', Kuwi (F.) *sikkū aiyali* 'to be tangled', (S.) *cikku kīnai* 'to snare'. 2060.

5. PDr. *i represents a correspondence in which all the languages have *i*.

Exx.:

Ta. *i* 'fly, bee', *tēn-i* 'honey bee', Ma. *icca* 'fly', To. *i'py*, Ko. *i'p*, Te. *ĩga* 'fly', *tēĩ-i* 'a large black bumble-bee', Kol. Nk. *nĩnga* 'fly', Go. *phuk-i* 'bee', Kui *pūk-i* id., Kur. *tĩn-i* id., Malt. *tēn-i* id., Br. *hĩlh* 'fly'. 453.

Ta. *in* (*inr-*) 'to bear, bring forth', To. *i'n-* (*i'd-*) 'to bear (calf)', Ko. *i'n-* (*i'nd*) '(animal) bears young', Ka. *in* (*id*) 'to bear young, yean', Te. *ĩnu* 'to calve, foal', Pa. *in-* '(grain) produces head', Konḡa *ind-* '(animal) to bring forth young', Br. *hĩning* 'to calve, foal, etc.' 473.

Ta. *tĩ* (*tĩnt-*), *tĩy* (*tĩynt-*) 'to be burnt, charred', (*tĩtt-*, *tĩytt-*) 'to char (tr.)', n. 'fire, heat', Ma. *tĩ* 'fire', To. *tĩ'y-* (*tĩ's-*) 'to be singed', (*tĩ'c-*) 'to singe, roast', Ko. *tĩ'y-* (*tĩ'c-*) 'to be singed, roasted', *tĩ'c-* (*tĩ'c-*) 'to singe', Ka. *tĩ* 'to burn, scorch, parch', n. 'fire', Te. *tĩṇdra* 'light, brightness, heat', *tĩpu* 'severe pain', Br. *tĩn* 'scorching, scorching heat', *tĩrũnk* 'spark'. 2672.

Ta. Ma. To. Ko. *nī* 'you (sg.)', Ka. *nīṁ*, *nīn(u)*, Koḍ. *nī'nī / nī'*, Tu. *ī*, Te. *nīvu*, *īvu*, Kol. Nk. *nī'v*, Nk. (Ch.) *nīv*, *īv*, Pa. Ga. *in*, Go. *immā*, Konḍa *nīn*, Pe. *ēn*, Mand. *in*, Kui *iru*, Kuwi *nīnu*, Kur. *nīn*, Malt. *nīn*, Br. *nī*. 3051.

Ta. *nīr* 'water, juice, dampness', *īr / īram* 'moisture, greenness', Ma. *nīr* 'water, moisture', *īram* 'moisture, dirt', To. *nī'r* 'water', Ko. *nī'r* id., Ka. *nīr* id., *īra* 'moisture', Koḍ. *nī'rī* 'water', Tu. *nīru* id., Te. *nīru* 'water', *nī!lu* (pl.) id., Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) *ī'r* id., Pa. *nīr* id., Ga. *nīr* id., Konḍa *nīr masu* 'mist, dew', Kui *nīru* 'juice, essence', Br. *dīr* 'water, juice, sap'. 3057.

Ta. *pī* 'excrement', Ma. *pī*, Ko. *pī*, Ka. *pī*, *pē*, Tu. *pī*, Te. *pīyi*, *piyyi*, Kol. (SR.) *pīya*, Nk. Pa. Ga. *pī*, Go. *pin*, (W) *pīng*, Konḍa Pe. Mand. *pīṇ*, Kui *piu* (pl. *pīnga*), Kuwi (Su. P.) *pīnga*, Kur. *pīk*, Malt. *pīku*, Br. *pī*. 3455.

6. PDr. *u represents a correspondence in which all the languages have u, and To. often has wī and wa. Relationship between u and o in various of the languages is presented in §14.

Exx.:

Ta. u! (uŋ!u) 'to be, have', Ma. u! (uŋ!u) id., To. wī!d- (wīd-) 'to exist, be in a place', Ko. o!- (oŋ-) id., Ka. u! (uŋ!u), o! 'to be, have', Koŋ. u!!-- (uŋdī) id., Tu. u!!-- (uŋdu) id., Te. uŋdu 'to be, exist, live', un(u)cu 'to place, put, keep', Br. u!, etc. present of *anning* 'to be'. 599.

Ta. kuttu (kutti-) 'to puncture, pierce, bore, dig', Ma. kuttuka id., To. kut- (kuty-) 'to pierce, sew', Ko. kut (kuty-) 'to pierce, sew, gore', Koŋ. kutt- (kutti-) 'to thrust, gore', Tu. kuttuni 'to bore, pierce', Go. guhc-, gu?c- 'to pierce, poke', Konŋa gut- 'to sew', Pe. kund- 'to pierce, punch', Manŋ. kut- 'to punch', kund- 'to pierce', Kui kuta (kuti-) 'to prick', Kuwi (S.) kuttinai 'to stab, stitch', Br. *khutting* 'to dig, probe'. 1429.

Ta. nuŋku (nuŋki-) 'to swallow, gulp', To. nug- (nugy-) 'to gulp', Ko. nuŋg- (nuŋgy-) id., Ka. nuŋgu 'to swallow,

devour', Tu. *niṅguni* 'to swallow', Kur. *nun^ukhṇā* 'to gulp',
 Malt. *nunḡe* 'to swallow', Br. *nughushing* 'to swallow, gulp'.
 3064.

Ta. *utir* (-*nt*-) 'to drop off (as leaves, fruits), drop down
 (as tears), be demolished', Ma. *utiruka* 'to fall, drop, moult',
 To. *wīṭ-* (*wīṭy-*) '(waistcloth) slips off', Ka. *udir*, *udaru*,
udur 'to fall, fall down or off, drop', Tu. *uduruni*, *udaruni*
 'to fall, drop off, hang down'. 526.

7. PDr. **ū* represents a correspondence in which all the languages have *ū*.

Exx. :

Ta. *cūppu* 'to suck, sip', *cūmpu* 'to suck, fondle with the lips', *ūmpu* 'to suck', Ma. *ūmpuka* 'to suck, eat', Koḍ. *uṭ-* (*uṭi-*) 'to suck', Pa. *cūk-*, *cūv-* id., Go. *ūt-*, *suhk-*, *uṭk-* id., Koṇḍa *sūb-* id., Maṇḍ. *jūb-* id., Kui *jūmba*, *jūpa* (*jūt-*) 'to suck, absorb', Kuwi (F.) *jūvali* 'to suck', Br. *cūping* id. 2154b.

Ta. *nūl* 'yarn, thread, string', (*nūlṭ-*) 'to spin', Ma. *nūl* 'thread', *nūlkka* 'to spin', To. *nuṣ* 'thread', *nuṣf-* (*nuṣt-*) 'to join ends of thread by rolling', Ko. *nuṭ* 'thread', Ka. *nūl* 'yarn, thread', (*nūlt-*) 'to spin', Koḍ. *nuṭi* 'thread', Tu. *nūlu* id., *nūpuni* 'to spin', Te. *nūlu* 'cotton thread', Kol. Pa. Ga. *nūl* 'thread', Go. *nūl* id., Koṇḍa *nūlu* id., Pe. Maṇḍ. *nūl* id., Kui *nūḍu* id., *nōlba* (*nōṭ-*) 'to spin', Kuwi (F.) *lūlū*, (S.) *lōlu* 'thread'. 3087.

Ta. *pūṇ* (*pūṇt-*) 'to put on, wear', *pūṭtu* (*pūṭti-*) 'to lock, unite, yoke, put on (as jewels, garlands)', Ma. *pūṇuka* 'to

be yoked, put on (as clothes)', *pūṭṭuka* 'to lock, yoke', To. *puṭ-* (*puṭ-*) 'to wear around neck', *puṭ-* (*puṭy-*) 'to tie around someone else's neck', Ko. *puṭ-* (*puṭy-*) 'to yoke, prepare smithy by getting bellows ready', *puṭ-* (*puṭy-*) 'to fit into sheath (at smithy)', Ka. *pūṇ* (*pūṇ-*) 'to fix (as an arrow), begin', *pūṇḍu* 'to join, yoke, prepare, begin', Te. *pūnu* 'to undertake, wear', *pūn(u)cu* 'to undertake, yoke', Konḍa *pūṭ-* 'to yoke', *pūndi* 'a yoke', Pe. *pūṭ-* 'to yoke', Kui *pūṛpa* (*pūṛt-*), *pūṭpa* (*pūṭt-*) 'to yoke', Kuwi (F.) *pūthali* id., Malt. *pūne* (*punḍ-*) 'to put on one's own neck (as a necklace)'. 3577.

Ma. *pūkka* '(tongue) becomes furred', Ko. *puṭv-* (*puṭt-*) '(mouth, tongue) becomes dry with fever', Tu. *pū agra* 'a sore mouth, aphthae, the thrush', Te. *pūcu* '(tongue) blisters or becomes sore, be affected with thrush', *pūta* 'aphthae, thrush'. 3565.

8. PDr. *e represents a correspondence in which all the languages have *e*, except that To. often has *ō*, Pa. sometimes has *a*, Go. in some dialects has *a*, and some of the other languages sometimes have *a*; Br. has either *i* or *a* (it has no phoneme short *e*; see EMENEAU, *Brahui and Dravidian Comparative Grammar*). Relationship between *i* and *e* in various of the languages is presented in §14.

Exx. :

Ta. *cevi* 'ear', Ma. *cevi*, To. *kīf̥y*, Ko. *keyv*, Ka. *kivi*, Koḍ. *kevin*, Tu. *kebi*, Te. *cevi*, Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) *kev*, Pa. Ga. *kekol*, Go. *kawī*, (M) *keu*, (L) *kev*, Konḍa *gibi*, Pe. *kitul*, Manḍ. *giy*, Kur. *khebdā*, Malt. *qethwu*, Br. *khaf*. 1645a.

Ta. *eli* 'rat', Ma. *eli*, To. *iṣy*, Ko. *eyj*, Ka. *eli*, *ili*, Kod. *eli*, Tu. *eli*, *ili*, Te. *eluka*, Kol. Nk. *elka*, Nk. (Ch.) *elli*, Pa. *el*, Ga. (Oll.) *sir-el*, Go. *alli*, (A) *elli*, Konḍa *elka*, Br. *hal*. 710.

Ta. *eṣu* (-nt-) 'to rise', *eṣuppu* (*eṣuppi-*) 'to cause to rise, raise, rouse', Ma. *eṣuka* 'to rise, be high', *ēṣuka* 'to

rise (honorific of raja)', To. *ōḍ-* (*-ḍ-*) 'to be high, rise',
ōṛf- (*ōṛt-*) 'to carry, arouse', Ko. *eṛv-* (*eṛd-*) 'to rise, fly',
(eṛt-) 'to make to spring up', Ka. *eṛ*, *ēṛ* (*eṛd-*), *ēṛu* (*edd-*)
 'to rise, awake', Koḍ. *ēṛ!* (*ēdd-*) 'to get up', *ēḍ!* (*-t-*)
 'to raise', *ēpp-* (*ēppi-*) 'to raise up, make to get up', Tu.
erkuni 'to rise or collect (as water in a place)', *erpuni* 'to
 lift up', Br. *hēfing*, *harfing* 'to raise'. 723a.

Ta. Ma. *viral* 'finger', Ka. *beral*, Te. *vrēlu*, Kol. Nk.
vende, Pa. Ga. *vande*, Go. *warēnj*, *wirinj*, (M) *veṛenj*,
viṛaskū, (A) *vaṛanj*, Konḍa *ṛaska*, Pe. *vacka*, Manḍ. *vehpe*,
 Kui *vanju*, Kuwi (Su.) *vanju*. 4436.

9. PDr. **ē* represents a correspondence in which all the languages have *ē*, except that To. often has *ō*, and Pa. sometimes has *ā*. Cf. the items with *ē* under Ta. *eṛu* (723a) in the last correspondence.

Exx.:

Ta. *tēḷ* 'scorpion', Ma. *tēḷ*, Ka. *tēḷ*, Koḍ. *tēḷḷ*, Tu. *tēḷu*, *tēḷu*, Te. *tēlu*, Malt. *tēle*, Br. *tēlh*. 2855.

Ta. *tēru*, (*tēri-*) 'to be accepted as true, be clarified, recover from swooning or intoxication, thrive, believe in', *tērru* (*tērrī-*) 'to make clear, know, clarify, communicate strength, encourage', Ma. *tēruka* 'to thrive, recover, believe', *tērruka* 'to make strong', To. *tō r-* (*tōry-*) 'to improve (in health, prosperity)', *tōḷ-* (*tōḷy-*) 'to make improve', *teḷ-* (*teḷ-*) 'to recover slowly after swoon; do work', Ko. *te'r-* (*te'ry-*) 'to be found satisfactory in one's actions; (country) becomes light at dawn', Ka. *tēru* 'to reach as the end; to be reached, be successful as in an examination', *tēṭa*, *tēṭe* 'clearness, purity (as of water)', Koḍ. *tē'r-* (*tē'nd-*) '(man) becomes full-grown', Tu. *tēṭu* 'pure, clear', Te. *tēru*, *tēru* 'to become clear, recover from an illness', *tēlu* 'to be the

result or outcome, be settled or decided, be successful', *tēṭa* 'clearness, purity, brightness', Go. (Ko.) *tēr-* 'to be finished'. 2856.

Ta. *ēñku* (*ēñki-*) 'to sound, scream as a peacock, weep', To. *ō·x-* (*ō·xy-*) 'to scream (peacock or shaman)', Koḍ. *e·ṇg-* (*e·ṇgi-*) 'to lengthen note (in singing or crowing)'. 746.

Ta. *vēr* 'root', Ma. *vēr*, To. *pō·r*, Ko. *ve·r*, Ka. *bēr*, Koḍ. *be·rī*, Tu. *bēru*, Te. *vēru*, Kol. Nk. *ve·r* (pl. *ve·ḍl*), Pa. *vār*, Ga. (Oll.) *vēr*, Konḍa *vēla*, Kuwi (F.) *vē'la*. 4554.

10. PDr. **o* represents a correspondence in which all the languages have *o*, except that To. often has *wa*, *wī*, or *ī*, Go. in some dialects has *a*, and Br. has either *ō*, *u*, or *a* (it has no phoneme short *o*; see EMENEAU, *Brahui and Dravidian Comparative Grammar*). Relationship between *u* and *o* in various of the languages is presented in §14.

Exx. :

Te. *boggu* 'charcoal', Kol. (Kin.) *bogg*, Pa. *bog*, *bogum*, Ga. (S) *bogge*, Kuwi (F.) *bogūñga*, Br. *pōgh*. 3656.

Ta. *poccu* 'vulva', Ma. *pocca*, *pocci*, Ko. *poj*, Ka. *pucci*, *pucce*, Br. *pōs*. 3663.

Ta. *ollu* 'to be possible, suitable, consent', adj. *ol* 'suitable', Ma. *olluka* 'to consent, be fit, possible', *ollātta* 'unbecoming', To. *wal-* (negative only) 'to be bad', *waloθ* 'bad', Ko. *ola'd* 'bad', Ka. *ol* 'to be pleased, desire', *oli*, *ole* 'to be pleased, desire, be apt, fit, agreeable', Tu. *olapuni* 'to love', Te. *valacu* (neg. gerund *ollaka*) 'to love, desire'. 846.

Ta. *koṭai* 'giving away as a gift', To. *kwaṛ* 'fine levied by the tribal assembly'. (This belongs with Ta. *koṭu* 'to give'). 1708.

Ta. *cori* (-*nt*-) 'to itch', n. 'itching, the itch, nettle', Ma. *coriyuka* 'to itch', *cori* 'itch, nettles', To. *twaṛy* 'nettle', Ko. *toyr* id., *toyr-* (*torc-*) 'to itch', Ka. *turī*, *turike* 'itching', *turike giḍa* 'nettle', Tu. *tojji* 'itching', Te. *durada* id., Pa. *cod-* (*cott-*) 'to itch', Ga. (S. P.) *soy-* id., Go. *sōhtānā*, (A) *cohana*, (G. Mu.) *hoh-*, (Ma.) *o?*-, (Ko.) *oh-* id., Kui *soha* 'ringworm'. 2343.

Ta. *toṭu* (*toṭṭ-*) 'to touch, come in contact with, have illicit intercourse', (*toṭutt-*) 'to connect, join, surround', *toṭar-* (-*nt*-) 'to be linked, pursue, tie, attack', Ma. *toṭuka* 'to touch, feel, handle', To. *twaḍ-* (-*θ*-) 'to be polluted', *twaḍf-* (*twaḍt-*) 'to pollute', Ko. *toṛv-* (*toṛd-*) 'to put arms around', Ka. *toḍu* (*toṭṭ-*) 'to join', Koḍ. *toḍ-* (*toṭṭ-*) 'to touch', Tu. *toṭṭuni* 'to embrace', Te. *toṭṭu* 'to touch, be joined', Pa. *toḍ-* (*toṭṭ-*) 'to touch', Go. *tōṛhānā* 'to have intercourse with', Kur. *toṛsognā* 'to touch lightly with the foot', Br. *tōning* (*tōr-*, *tō-*) 'to hold, keep, maintain, restrain'. 2865.

11. PDr. **ō* represents a correspondence in which all the languages have *ō*, except that To. rarely has *ō* and usually has *wa**, *wī**, or *ī**.

Exx. :

Ta. *tōŋjāŋ* 'wolf', Ka. *tōja*, Tu. *tōlu*, Te. *tōdelu*, *tōdēlu*, Br. *tōla* 'jackal'. 2926.

Ta. *cōlai* 'flower garden, grove', Ma. *cōla* 'grove', To. *twa's* 'grove, thicket', Ko. *te'l* 'forest; menstrual blood'. 2357.

Ta. *kōy* 'vessel for taking out toddy', To. *kwa y* 'bamboo pot used at *ti* dairy', Br. *khō* 'cooking-pot'. 1842.

Pa. *pōr-* 'to hatch', Br. *pōrring* id., (Ta. *pori* (-*tt*-) id., Ma. *porunnuka* id.): 3706.

Ta. *mōŋu* 'stupidity, dullness of intellect', Ma. *mōŋtu* 'obstinacy, perverse pride', Ka. *mōja* 'stupidity', Tu. *mōde* 'ignorant man', Te. *mōŋu* 'rough, rude, stupid', Br. *mōŋ* 'foolish'. 4219.

Ta. *ōjai* 'reed bamboo', Ma. *ōja*, To. *wa'ɾ*, Ko. *e'ɾ* (see §18), *o'ɾ*, Ka. *ōje*, Kod. *o'je*, Tu. *ōŋje*. 879.

CONDITIONED STATEMENTS

12. In numerous etymologies the etyma fail to show the correspondences just stated. Most frequently this happens because the statements just given are too simple and need to be qualified in terms of the phonemic or morphological contexts. Often enough, however, such qualifications have not yet been discovered; much more detailed work is still needed in Dravidian comparative grammar. Examples of conditioned statements are given in the following §§13-18.

Shortening of basic long vowels

13. An important statement is that a verb base which contains a long vowel when it is followed by no derivative suffix contains a corresponding short vowel when it is followed by a derivative suffix beginning with a vowel. The long vowel in these instances is basic since there is contrast with other bases which have a short vowel whether or not a suffix follows. This shortening of basic long vowels in verbs has been thoroughly analysed by BH. KRISHNAMURTI, with special reference to Telugu in *JAOS* 75.237-52 (1955) and in *Telugu Verbal Bases* (1961). It occurs in the other languages as well,

and consequently must be reconstructed as part of the morphophonemic structure of PDr. Details still remain to be worked out for the other languages; a few examples involving other languages are given below.

Similar phenomena occur in nouns, but have not been analysed in detail. In personal pronouns the long vowel in the absolute form alternates with a short vowel when the stem is followed by an inflectional suffix beginning with a vowel; e. g. Ta. *nām* 'we (incl.)': dative *namakku*; *yān* 'I': *eṇakku* (< **yanakku*; the initial combination **ya-* occurs nowhere in Dr., but > *e-* except in Kol.-Nk.-Pa.-Ga. where it becomes *a-*, e. g. Kol. *a'n* 'I': *an-*); cf. BURROW, *BSOAS* 11.601 and KRISHNAMURTI, "*Dravidian Personal Pronouns*". Some of the numerals also in their adjective forms (i. e. essentially in syntactic compounds) have forms with long and short vowels depending on whether a vowel or consonant follows: *ōr/oru* 'one', *īr/iru* 'two', *mūv/mu* 'three'. Other adjectives show similar phenomena (e. g. *cīṛ/ciru* 'small'), but the details still remain to be worked out.

Ta. *ār* (*ārtt-*) 'to shout, roar, slander', *araṛru* 'to lament, shout with excitement, sound', Ko. *a'r-* (*a't-*) 'to call', To. *o'sf-* (*o'st-*) 'to dance (of Todas; really, to shout while dancing)', Ka. *ār* (*ārd-*) 'to cry aloud', *arbisu* 'to cry aloud, roar', Koḍ. *ara-* (*-nd-*) 'to make loud hoarse noise, moo', Tu. *ārḱuni* 'to cry aloud, shout', *araṭuni* 'to make a grating noise, interrupt', Te. *ār(u)cu* 'to cry aloud, shout', Pa. *ār-* 'to sound (as bell)', Ga. (Oll.) *arg-* 'to bellow', Kui *ārpa* (*ārt-*) 'to call'. 312.

Ta. *kār* (*-tt-*) 'to be pungent, saltish or brackish', *kari* (*-tt-*) 'to be saltish to the taste, smart (as the eyes from soap or chilli)', *karakara* (*-tt-*) 'to feel irritation (in the

eyes or throat), To. *kary-* (*karc-*) '(nose) tickles' — also nouns Ta. Ma. *kāram* 'pungency, caustic, alkali', To. *ko'rm* 'curry', Ka. Tu. *kāra* 'pungency', Te. *kāru* 'saltiness', *kāramu* 'pungency', Koṇḍa *karya* 'saltiness, salty', Pe. Maṇḍ. *kariya* id., Br. *khārēn* 'bitter'. 1227.

Ta. *kirāvu* 'to cry (as a peacock)', Ko. *kiry-* (*kirc-*) 'to shout', To. *kīrc-* (*kirč-*) id., Ka. *kiracu*, *kiricu*, *kirucu*, *kircu* 'to cry, shout, scream', *kīru* 'to scream, cry out', Te. *cīru* 'to call', Kui *kihpa* 'to shout, cry out'. 1323.

Ta. *paṇi* (*-tt-*) 'to speak, say, order', To. *poṇṭh-* (*poṇṭhy-*) 'to talk in assembly', Tu. *paṇpini* 'to say, narrate, teach', Te. *pan(u)cu*, (inscr.) *paṇcu* 'to command, send', Kol. *pank-* (*panakt-*) 'to send', *pa'na* 'language', Kui *paṇḍ-* (*-i-*) 'to send, commission', Br. *pān-* 'to say, tell'. 3212.

Ta. *para* (*-nt-*) 'to spread, be broad (as a plane surface)', *pār* 'expanse, earth', *pāram*, *pāri* 'earth', Ko. *pard-* (*pardy-*) '(small objects) spread over large space', *part-* (*party-*) 'to spread in sun to dry', To. *par me'ṇ* 'tree with huge trunk', Ka. *pare*, *paraḍu*, *parapu*, *parvu*, *parbu*, *pabbu* 'to spread', Koḍ. *parat-* 'to spread (grain)', *para-* (*-nd-*) 'to crawl', Tu. *parapuni* 'to creep, crawl, spread', *parataruni* 'to spread, extend, creep', Te. *parāgu*, *parāgu* 'to spread (intr.)', *paṛacu*, *paracu*, *paṛapu* 'to spread (tr.)', *pāru* 'to spread, extend', *pāru* 'to creep, crawl', Go. *paṛitānā* 'to swarm (of lice in the hair)', etc. 3255.

Ta. *poru* (*-t-*), *porutu* (*poruti-*) 'to fight', *pōr* 'battle, war, rivalry', To. *pī'r* 'quarrel, fight', Ka. *pōr* 'to fight', n. 'quarrel, fight', Tu. *pōriyuni* 'to quarrel', *pormbuni* 'to strive, wrestle', Te. *pōru* 'to fight, struggle', n. 'fight, battle, war', Ga. (Oll.) *porup-* (*porut-*) 'to become angry', (S.) *pōr-* 'to abuse, scold'. 3708.

Ta. *nerunal*, *nerunai*, *neṇṇal*, *nēṇṇu* 'yesterday', Ko. *ne'r* (oblique *ne'ṭ-*), To. *īne'r*, Br. *darō* (<**neṭ/r-V*). 3109.

It will be noted in the above examples that sometimes the base with long vowel occurs as a noun as well as in verb forms. There are, however, occasional instances in which the secondary allomorph with short vowel is all that occurs in verb forms and in nouns derived from them, but the basic allomorph with long vowel survives only in a noun; e. g. (DED 3994) the 'star' words with *ī* (Ta. Ma. Ko. To. Ka. *mīn*) compared with the 'glitter' verbs with *i* (Ta. *minnu*, Ka. *miñcu*, etc.).

Distribution of high and middle vowels

14. Another statement of wide scope concerns the distributions of the high and middle vowels in root syllables in the four literary languages in their older stages. This problem has been treated most recently by BH. KRISHNAMURTI, *Language* 34.458-68 (1958). When the root syllable is followed by a derivative syllable beginning with vowel *i* or *u*, the root syllable may contain in all the languages any one of the five short vowel phonemes (for a non-basic short vowel derived from a long base vowel in this context, see §13). When the root syllable is followed by a derivative syllable beginning with the vowel *a*, the root syllable may contain in Ta. and Ma. only *i*, *u*, or *a* and in Ka. and Te. only *e*, *o*, or *a*. It follows that in Ta. Ma. in this context there are some instances of *i* and *u* that are derived from PDr. **e* and **o* respectively, and in Ka. Te. some instances of *e* and *o* that are derived from PDr. **i* and **u* respectively. KRISHNAMURTI sets up criteria for discovery of the PDr. vowels in this context: (1) establishing of etyma which show the short root vowel followed by no derivative

or by a derivative not beginning with *a*; (2) establishing of etyma which have a long vowel that has not been reduced by a following derivative suffix beginning with a vowel. Such helpful etyma may be found in the four literary languages themselves, or they may, in favourable circumstances, be found in non-literary languages in any area of the family. Numerous examples are given in KRISHNAMURTI's article; he also treats the few exceptions. He demonstrates that in PSDr. before **a* in the next syllable PDr. **i* and **e* merged as **e*; and **u* and **o* as **o*, and that thereafter Ta. Ma. dissimilated all instances of **e* and **o* before *a* to *i* and *u* in the pre-Tamil stage. (It is to be noted that in Ka. in the 8th cent. A. D. *e* and *o* merged with *i* and *u* respectively when followed in the next syllable by *i* or *u*, and that in modern Ta. older *i* and *u* become *e* and *o* before *a* in the next syllable.).

Further syllables: Ta. *kiḷai* (-tt-) 'to dig up, stir', *kiḷḷu* (*kiḷḷi*-) 'to dig out, scoop', To. *kiḷy-* (*kiḷc-*) 'to ladle out (food)', Tu. *kilekuni* 'to stir', Te. *kelāku*, *kelanu* 'to stir, mix'. 1321. Ta. *k.ḷḷu* shows base *kiḷ-* with no suffix following, i. e. criterion 1.

Ta. *ciraṛru* (*ciraṛri*-) 'to shout', Ka. *keraḷ* id., Tu. *kērlē* 'sound, noise', Te. *kēru* 'to cry out, be jubilant', *ceralu* 'to be in great glee, be jubilant', Kol. *ke'ri* 'noise, shout', Konḍa *kere-* '(cock) to crow', Kui *gernga* 'to groan, moan'. 1630. Criterion 2, and also possibly criterion 1 on the basis of Konḍa and Kui.

Ta. *cirai* (-tt-), Ma. *cirekka* 'to shave, scrape, cut with sickle', To. *kerf-* (*kert-*) 'to scratch, egg on', *kōk-* (*kōṛy-*) '(buffalo) scratches itself against rock', Ka. *kere* 'to shave, scrape, scratch', *kiri* 'to shave', Tu. *kerepuni* 'to scrape,

polish', Kol. *kerk-* (*kerekt-*) 'to shave', Pa. *kir-*, *kirv-*, *kirc-* 'to scratch', Kur. *kherc-* (*khircy-*) 'to rub off, scour', Malt. *qér-* 'to shave', *qerc-* 'to scrape', Br. *kargh-* 'to shear, mow down'. 1305. Malt. has **ē*, which is evidence for **e* at the base of all the southern forms; Br. *a* < **e* is correct.

Ma. *kuṭay-* 'to throw out, fling away, shake extremities', To. *kwīry-* (*kwīrc-*) 'to move violently, thrashing about', Ka. *koḍapu*, *koḍavu* 'to scatter or throw in different directions with the hand, shake or toss about', Koḍ. *koḍa-* (*-nd-*) 'to shake (body)', *koḍak-* (*-i-*) 'to shake (tr.), wag (tail)', *kuḍi-* (*kuḍīnd-*) '(earth) shakes', Tu. *kuḍpuni* 'to shiver (as from fever); dust, shake off'. 1385. Koḍ. *kuḍi-* is the basis for criterion 1.

Ta. *kutappu*, *kutaṭṭu* 'to turn about food in the mouth, munch', Te. *koḍupu* id. 1417. Te. is the basis for criterion 1.

The various forms for 'tube-shaped things (curls, flutes, etc.)' such as Ta. *kuṭal*, have beside them Ta. Ma. *kuṭi* 'hollow, hole, pit', etc., which give evidence for **u* (criterion 1). 1511.

Ta. *kēḷ* 'kindred, friend', *kiḷai* (*-tt-*) 'to ramify, multiply (as families)', n. 'kindred, group, herd', Ko. *keḷ* 'economic partnership (*jajmani*) between Kota and Toda', To. *keḷ* id., Ka. *keḷe* 'to draw or attract towards oneself', *keḷe*, *geḷe* 'union, friendship, friend'. 1678. Ta. gives evidence for basic **ē*.

Metathesis and vowel contraction

15. Metathesis and vowel contraction in Te. and Kui-Kuwi. The most recent statement is that of BH. KRISHNAMURTI in

JOAS 75.237-52 (1955), which gives earlier bibliography. It had previously been called by various names, including especially 'aphaeresis' because it seems *prima facie* to involve loss of the vowel of the first syllable plus lengthening of that of the second. KRISHNAMURTI's explanation is that in the sequence $(C^1)V^1C^2V^2\dots$, C^2 and V^1 shift position, i. e. suffer metathesis, and then (or simultaneously?) V^1 and V^2 contract, giving length if a single consonant follows, but a short vowel if a consonant cluster follows, ($a + a > \bar{a}/a$; $i/e + a > \bar{e}/e$; $u/o + a > \bar{o}/o$). This explanation accounts for the lengthened vowel better than any of the earlier explanations. If C^1 is in the sequence, C^2 is r , $ɽ$, or $ɻ$; if there is no C^1 , C^2 may also be $ɸ$, l , or $ʃ$ (and there are several instances of other consonants). In the resulting initial consonant clusters C^1C^2 , the archaic Te. inscriptions (7th-8th cent. A. D.) still show $ɻ$ differentiated from $r/ɽ$ in a few words. By the beginning of the literary record (11th cent.), all three phonemes had fallen together as r in this position, and later this r was lost (though this is too simple a statement to cover all instances). For the consonantal developments of C^2 in the sequence $V^1C^2V^2\dots$ when metathesized, see the treatment of the individual consonants below.

Kui has a parallel development for which a practically identical statement suffices, with the addition that in the sequence $C^1V^1C^2V^2\dots$, C^2 may also be $ɸ$, l , or $ʃ$, the latter two of which merge as l after metathesis. Similarly for Kuwi with slight difference of detail.

There are instances of similar metathesis (or perhaps aphaeresis) in other languages; the necessary statements have not yet been worked out, except partially for Brahui in EMENEAU, "Brahui Developments of PDr. $*ɽ$, $*ɸ$, $*r$, $*ɻ$ ".

Verbs are very well represented in KRISHNAMURTI's treatment; a few further examples follow, especially of nouns.

The remote demonstrative masc. sg. **avanru* > Te. *vāḍu*, Koṇḍa *vānru*; pl. **avaru* > Te. personal pl. *vāru*, Koṇḍa masc. pl. *vār*. 1.

The proximate demonstrative masc. sg. **ivanru* > Te. *viḍu*, Koṇḍa *vēnru*; pl. **ivaru* > Te. personal pl. *viru*, Koṇḍa masc. pl. *vēr*. 351.

Ta. *aravu*, *aravam*, *ara*, *arā* 'snake', Ma. *aravu*, *aravam*, Te. *trācu*, Go. *tarāsh*, (W) *tarās*, (M) *tarās*, (Agilabad) *taras*, Koṇḍa *saras*, Pe. *rāc*, Maṇḍ. *trehe*, Kui *srāsu*, Kuwi (F.) *rācū* (pl. *rāska*). 1949.

**il-*, *ila-* (negative verb 'not to be'), Te. *lē-*. 2106.

Ta. *ilir* (-*tt-*) 'to stand erect, as the hair stands on end from fright, etc.', *cilir* (-*tt-*) id., *ciluppu* 'to bristle', *cilumpu* id., Kui *sling-* (-*i-*) 'to stand on end (hair)'. 2113.

Ta. *cirai*, *ciraku* 'wing', *irai*, *iraku*, *irakkai* 'wing, feather', Ma. *iraku*, *ciraku* 'wing', Ko. *rek* 'wing, feather', Ka. *erake*, *eranke*, *rakke*, *rekke* 'wing', *raṭṭe*, *reṭṭe* id. 'upper arm', Koḍ. *rekke* 'wing', *raṭṭe* 'upper arm', Tu. *ediinke*, *reinke* 'wing', Te. *eraka*, *rekka*, *rekka* id., Kol. *reḍapa*, *reppa* id., Nk. *rekka*, *reppa* id., Pa. *rekka* id., Go. *reka* 'feather, wing', Koṇḍa *reka* 'wing, upper arm', Kuwi (Su.) *rekka* 'wing'. 2133.

**talay* 'head', Kui *tlau* (pl. *tlāka*), Kuwi (Su. P.) *trāyu* (pl. *trāka*). 2529.

Ta. *taṭal* (*taṭaṇr-*) 'to glow, burn, shine', n. 'fire, live coals', Te. *trampi* 'fire-pit, heap of cowdung cakes used as

fuel', Kol. *tari-* (-t-) '(fire) burns', Pa. *taṛ-*, *taṛv-* 'to be hot', Go. *tarmi* 'a glowing piece of wood ash', ? Kui *dlāva*, *dlāba*, *jlāva* 'live coal, embers'. 2542.

Tu. *taṅka* 'lungs, liver', Kol. *taṅguḍ* 'liver', Nk. (Ch.) *taṅg* id., Pa. *taṅuṅ* id., Ga. (Oll.) *taṅiṅ* id., Go. *taṅaki* id., Konḍa *taṅki*, *taṅāki* id., Pe. *ṭākiṅ* (pl) id., Mand. *ṭākeṅ* id., Kui *tlāḍa*, *trāḍa*, (K.) *ṭṛāḍaṅga* id., Kuwi (Su.) *tra'na* id. 2546.

Pa. *tir-*, *tīrv-*, *tiri-* 'to tremble', *tirk-* 'to shudder, throb', *tirbir-* 'to tremble', Ga. (Oll.) *tirg-* id., Konḍa *tirg-* id., Pe. *triḡ-* id., *tripka-* (< *trik-pa-*) 'to be startled', Mand. *triḡ-* 'to tremble', Kui *tirg-* (-i-) 'to shiver, tremble', *triki inba* 'to be startled', Kuwi (F.) *ṭriḡ-* 'to shiver', (S.) *triḡ-* 'to tremble'. 2662.

Ta. *turu* 'rust, verdigris, flaw', *turucu*, *turuci* 'blue vitriol, dirt, stain, rust', Ma. *turiṣu* 'blue vitriol', *turumpu*, *turuvu* 'rust', Ka. *tukku* id. (< **tur(u)kku*), *tuttu* 'blue vitriol', Te. *truppu* 'rust'. 2747.

Toda vowels

16. The Toda vowels present the greatest number of problems of any of the languages. This results from a splitting of the PDr. phonemes in different contexts, with a blurring of the results due to extensive borrowing from other languages, especially the Badaga dialect of Kannaḍa and, in recent years, colloquial Tamil and possibly colloquial Kannaḍa. In what follows, there is given an outline to supplement what was included in the correspondences above, without there being any possibility at present of giving a definitive statement of all the developments.

16.1. Nothing can be added to the statement of the developments of **a* and **ā* already given in §§2,3.

16.2. The developments of **ī* and **ū* are the simplest of the whole system.

PDr. **ī* > To. *i*. A few further examples: *mī'n* 'star': Ta. Ma. Ko. Ka. *min*, Go. *mīnkō* 'the stars seen by a stunned or liverish man', Kur. *bīnkō* 'star', Malt. *bīṇḍke* id. (3994); To. *tīṭ* 'pollution': Ta. *tīṭṭu* 'touching, defilement, pollution, menses', Ko. *tīṭ* 'pollution by illegal sexual intercourse' (2680). There are two exceptions. To. *ū·ruf* 'liver': Ko. *i·ruv*, Ta. *iral*, *iruḷ*, Ma. *iral*, Ka. (ZIEGLER) *hīri* (465), is inexplicable at present. In To. *puḷy* 'good-for-nothing fellow': Ko. *pi l* 'weakly', *pī·l(n)* 'a weakling', fem. *pi·ly*, Tu. *pīli* 'dry, thin, light', Te *pīla* 'thin, lean, stunted', *būli* 'worthless, pithless' (3471), the labializing influence of *p*-might be invoked; there is actually no other sure example of a To. word which represents PDr. **pī*-.

16.3. PDr. **ū* > To. *u* in the great majority of instances. A few further examples: *uṛ*- 'to spring forth, be filtered, ooze': Ta. Ma. Ka. *ūṛu* id., Te. *ūru* id. (cf. *uṛiyu* 'to leak'), etc. (648); *puḷ* 'flower': Ta. *pū*, Ka. *pūvu*, etc. (3564); *muḍ* 'three': Ta. *mūṇru*, etc. (4147).

The five exceptions are in part dubious etymologies, in part inexplicable at present because of insufficient evidence in the other languages (e. g. *tīṭ* 'hill mango, *Meliosma pungens* and *Wightii*', Ko. *tuṭ marm*, Badaga (LUSHINGTON) *toḍe*, 2779). In one of the latter we do not know enough yet about Kota to determine the relation between its form and the To. form: Ma. *kūn*, *kūṇu* 'mushroom', Ko. *ki'n*, To. *kyu'n*, Tu. *gūnu*, Go. *kūnji* (pl. *kūhku*), Konḍa *kūnd*, Pe.

kūnd (pl. *kūtku*), Mand. *gūnd* (pl. *gūtke*), Kui Kuwi *kūndu* (pl. *kūtkā*) (1573). One example may conceivably be explained as 'onomatopoetic' (though this by itself explains nothing): Ta. *kūkai*, *kūṇ* 'owl', Ma. *kūman*, Ko. *gumn*, To. *kī'x*, Ka. *gūge*, *gūgi*, *gūbe*, Koḍ. *gu'mī*, Tu. *gūge*, *gumme*, Te. *gūba*, Kol. (Br.) *gu'pe* (1552; cf. Skt. *ghūka-*, Marathi *ghubaḍ*, *ghuman*, etc. in TURNER, *CDIAL*, entry 4494).

16.4. PDr. **ō* shows three developments each of some frequency. They can be stated in their contexts with fair accuracy. When following *p-* (only PDr. **p-*, not **v-*), **ō* > *ī* in four instances; e. g. *pī'r* 'quarrel, fight', *pī'r e'r* 'grown-up male buffalo': Ta. *pōr* 'battle, fight, war, rivalry', *pōr-ēru* 'fighting bull; hero, champion', etc. (Ma. Ko. Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Te. Kui; 3708); *pī'x-* 'to go' (the stem of most paradigms except present and past): Ta. *pōk-* id. (stem in negative), Ko. *o'g-*, Ka. *pōgu* (3734); cf. **o* > *ī* after *p-* in §16.5. This is clearly the regular development; there is only one exception, still unexplained, viz. *po'ṇ-* (*po'ṇy-*) 'to shave, clear (undergrowth)': Ka. *bōṛisu* 'to shave', Tu. *bōruni* id., Te. *bōḍincu* id. (3761) (note the *ṛ : ṇ* alternation; is the phoneme **ṛ* the condition for the special development of **o*?).

Otherwise than after *p-*, **ō* > *wa'* when the next syllable (the last in the word) has **-ay* (which is lost in To.); otherwise, **ō* > *wī'*. Examples of *wa'* (there are five in all): *kwa'r* 'monsoon, year': Ta. *kōḷai* 'west wind; summer', Ma. *kōḷa* 'west wind, cool wind, west', Ka. *kōḷe* 'west wind, the hot season', Ko. *ke'r* 'southwest monsoon' (1827); cf. in §11 s. v. Ta. *cōlai* and Ta. *ōḷai*, and §18 for the Ko. forms. Examples of *wī'* (28 in all): *kwī'r* 'horn, branch, path across stream in thicket': Ta. *kōḷu* 'horn, branch, bank of stream or pool', Ko. *ko'r* 'horns', Ka. *kōḷu* 'horn, branch',

Tu. *kōḍu* 'horn', Te. *kōḍu* 'branch of a river, rivulet', Pa. *kōḍ* 'horn', Ga. (Oll.) *kōr* id., Go. *kōr* 'horn, branch', Kui *kōju* 'horn' (1824); *kwīf* 'Koto man', fem. *kwīty*: Ta. *kō* 'potter', Ko. *ko'v* 'Kota man', fem. *ko'ty*, Ka. *kōva* 'potter' (1468); *nwīf-* 'to look at': Ko. *no't-*, Ka. *nōḍu*, Koḍ. *no't-* (3144). In To. *nu* 'sickness': Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. *nōvu* 'pain, grief', Ko. *no'v* 'pain, disease', Te. *nōvu* id. (3143), there is undoubtedly seen a special development as a reflex of the sequence *-ōvu*; there are no other examples of this sequence or this development.

The past and present stem *pi-* 'to go' (cf. *pīx-* above) very probably is to be compared with the Ta past formation *pōyi* (*n*)-. The form *pōy-* found in Koḍ. and Te. and in Ko. *o'y-* might be enough for the statement, since *p-* would be expected to condition a special development for **-ōy-*, just as it does for **ō*. There are otherwise two examples of **ōy* > *wī'y*: *twī'y-* (*twī'c-*) 'to wash (clothes)': Ta. *tōy* (*-tt-*), Ko. *to'y-* (*to'c-*), etc. (2933); and *kwī'y* 'fowl' (in songs; prose *kwī'ḍy*), borrowed either from Ko. *ko'y* or Badaga *kó'i*: Ta. Ma. Ka. *kōṛi*, Koḍ. *ko'ḷi*, Tu. *kōri*, Te. *kōḍi* (1862). **ōy* > *wa'y* in the possible etymology: *kwa'y* 'bamboo pot used at *ti* dairy': Ta. *kōy* 'vessel used for taking out toddy' (though this is said by *Tamil Lexicon* to be from Skt. *kośa*), Br. *khō* 'cooking pot' (1842).

16.5. The developments of **o* cannot be stated with the same degree of certainty as those of **ō*. Nearly all the instances in which **o* follows *p-* show development to *ī* (cf. in §16.4 **ō* > *ī* after *p-*); there are 15 instances; e. g. *pīn* 'gold, gold bangle in dairy; privates of small girl': Ta. *poṇ* 'gold, ornament, beauty, *pudendum muliebre*', Ma. Ko. Ka. *pon* 'gold', Koḍ. *ponnī* id., Tu. Te. *ponnu* id. (3732); *pīg-* 'to bubble up, boil over': Ta. *poṇku* id., Ma. *poṇṇuka* id.,

Ko. *pog-* 'to boil over', Ka. *poṅgu* id., 'to swell', Koḍ. *poṅṅ-* 'to swell', Tu. *boṅuni* 'to be distended', Te. *poṅgu* 'to bubble up, boil, be elated, proud', Kol. *poṅg-* 'to boil over', Nk. *poṅg-* 'to expand', etc. (3658).

There are about 10 instances of **o > o*, some of them possibly to be explained as examples of special conditioning and some of them almost certainly borrowings. Exx.: *oṣ ter* 'one handful', *o mun* 'one side': Ta. *oru* 'one', etc. (834a); *kog īr* 'old buffalo', *kog foṭṭy* 'big dairy at *Toṛoṛ* village': Ta. *koṟu* 'fat, flourishing, prosperous', Te. *krovvu* 'fat', etc. (1784); *toṟ-mox* 'Toda woman': Ko. *ton* 'Toda man' (<**tod-n*), fem. *tody*, Ka. *toda* 'Toda man' (2885).

The commonest developments of **o* are *wī* (about 31 examples) and *wa* (about 15 examples). Nearly all instances of *wī* are followed in the next syllable by a reconstructed high vowel (**i*, **u*), and nearly all of *wa* by a low vowel (**a*, **ay*). However, *wa* appears at least six times before a high vowel, and there is at least one example, conversely, of *wī* before **a* in the next syllable. Exx.: *kwīṛ-* (*kwīṛt-*) 'to give (to 3rd person)': Ta. *koṭu* (*-tt-*) id. (*Tolk. Coll.* 30), Ma. *koṭukka* id., Ko. *koṛ-* (*koṭ-*) id., Ka. *koḍu*, *kuḍu* (*koṭṭ-*) 'to give', Koḍ. *koḍī-* (*-t-*) 'to give (to 3rd person)', Tu. *korpiṇi* 'to give' (1708); cf. the related forms Ta. *koṭai*, To. *kwaṛ* in §10; *kwīṭṭ* 'sp. biting insect': Ta. *kotuku*, *kocu(ku)* 'mosquito, gnat, fly', Ma. *kotu(ku)* id. (1736); *kwīṭk-* (*kwīṭky-*) 'to tap (on door, something with stick)': Ko. *koṭk-* (*koṭky-*) 'to strike (with small hammer; tipcat in hole on ground), knock on (door)', and a long series without the suffix *-k-*, such as Ta. *koṭṭu* 'to beat, hammer, clap' (1717); other examples of *wa* before a low vowel are *twaḍ-* in §10 (s. v. Ta. *toṭu*; the past stem *twaḍṭ-* is

probably to be compared with Ta *tofarnt-*, and *twaḍ-* is analogical), and *wal-* 'to be bad' (negative stem only; *s. v.* Ta. *ollu* in §10), which owes its development to the 3rd person **ollatu*). An exception to the statement given above is *twary* (*s. v.* Ta. *cori* in §10), in which *wa* appears before a high vowel (**i* > To. *y*).

Some instances (6 in all) **o* > *u* are at present inexplicable though all may be borrowings; e. g. *kub* 'horn blown by Kota musicians': Ko. *kob* 'branch, horn of animal, musical horn', Ta. Ma. *kombu*, Ka. Tu. *kombu*, Koḍ. *kombī*, Te. *kommu*, Kol. *kom*, etc. (1759).

There are four instances of **o* > *ü*, two immediately before *y*, which may be the conditioning factor; e. g. *tüy-* (*tüs-*) 'to breathe heavily': Ta. *toy* (-*nt-*) id., Koḍ. *tuyⁿ-* (*tuyⁿñc-*) '(bull) snorts in anger, (snake) hisses' (2894). But contrast *kwīy-* (*kwīs-*) 'to pluck (fruits), (bee) sucks': Ta. *koy* (-*t-*), Ko. *koy-* (*koc-*), Ka. *koy* (*koyd-*), Koḍ. *koy-* (*koyj-*), Tu. *ḱoyyuni*, Te. *kōyu*, Pa. *koy-* (*kōñ-*), Go. Konḍa Pe. *koy-*, Kui *kō-y-* (*kō-t-*), Kur. *ḱhoynā* (*ḱhoss-*), Malt. *qoye* (1763).

16.6. PDr. **u* is represented in To. most frequently by *u*.

Further examples: *uḷ* 'the inside; in, into': Ta. Ma. Ko. Ka. *uḷ* (600); *kurx-* (-*y-*) 'to be short', *kurk-* (-*y-*) 'to make short': Ta. *kuruku* and *kurukku* (also Ma.) Ko. *kurg-* and *kurk-* (1537).

However, there are numerous instances of *wa* and *wī*. The 13 instances of *wa* all have **a* or **ay* in the following syllable. Another condition for *wa* is that **u* is not preceded by the labials *p* or *m* (in fact, there are in To. no instances

of the sequence *pwV* or *mwV*); **u* in the sequence **p/m u C a/ay* remains as *u* in To. Exx.: *warx-* (-*y-*) 'to sleep', *war̥k-* (-*y-*) 'to make to sleep (by lullaby, etc.)', *war̥k* 'sleep': Ta. *ur̥anku/ur̥aku*, *ur̥akku* (vb. and n.), Ko *org-*, *ork* (n.), Ka. *or̥agu*, *or̥angu* (also *ur̥ugu* 'to be crooked, bent', which meanings, through 'incline, recline', yield 'sleep'; this is evidence for PDr. **u-* in the whole group of words, as is probably also Go. (Ko.) *ur̥ng-* 'to be bent'; 606). With *kur̥x-*, *kur̥k-* above (< **kur̥u...*) contrast *kwar̥-* (-*θ-*) 'to be reduced in size or esteem', *kwar̥* 'defective in physique, character, or status': Ta. *kur̥ai* (-*nt-*) and n. *kur̥ai* (< **kur̥ay-*). An example with labial initial: *mur̥-* (-*θ-*) 'to become angry, sad in mind, have dispute with': Ta. *mur̥ai* (-*tt-*) 'to become stiff-necked, haughty', beside *mur̥k-* (-*y-*) 'to be on bad terms with, be offended': Ta. *mur̥ukku*, Ko. *mur̥k-* (4111). A few occurrences of *wī* before **a* of the following syllable make

it clear that our statement is not complete; e. g. *kwīl̥x* 'lower joints of calf's leg down to hoof, wrist': Ta. Ma. *kuḷampu* 'hoof', Ko. *koḷk*, Ka. *koḷaga*, *koḷagu* (1519). In fact, it has been impossible so far to find a phonological statement that will include all examples of *u*, *wī*, *wa*. It is possible that in future part of the answer for the varying developments of **u* and **o* may be found to depend on which of the stages in the SDr. development of **u* and **o* before **a* Toda is most closely related to — i. e. according to KRISHNAMURTI's chronological treatment: PDr. **u* and **o* > PSDr. **o* > Ta. Ma. *u* and Ka. *o* (which have still further developments in the modern stages of the vernaculars). At present, it has been found impossible to disentangle this problem, which is obscured in part by borrowings from other languages.

In some 20 instances **u* > *ü*. In the majority of these there is **i* in the next syllable (> To. *y*), or **u* is followed

by **cc*. But this statement does not account for all instances of *ü*, or for a few other developments in the same conditions. Exx.: *püsy* 'tiger': Ta. Ma. Ka. Te. *puli*, Ko. *puj*, Tu. *pili*, Ta. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) Ga. *pul*, Go. *pulli* (3532); *püĩy-* (*püĩc-*) 'to be sour', *püĩy* 'tamarind': Ta. Ma. *puĩ*, Ko. *puĩy*, Ka. Koḍ. Tu. *puĩ*, Te. *puli* (3546); *nüc* 'broken rice': Ma. *nuccu*, Ko. *nuc*, Ka. *nurcu*, *nuccu*, Koḍ. *nucci* (cf. Ta. *nūru*, *nurukku*, etc.; 3089). Contrast *iüb-* 'to sneeze': Ta. Ma. *tumpu*, Ko. *tub-*, Kui (K.) *tumb-* (and many forms like Ta. *tummu-*, 2740); this form is possibly analogical to the past stem *iüby-*.

In 16 instances **u* > *ĩ*. In some instances the following syllable has **a* or **ay* and the initial consonant is *p-* or *m-*, which are never followed by *wĩ* or *wa*; however, *pu-* and *mu-* are found in this context (see above), and there seems to be no explanation for *ĩ* rather than *u*; e. g. *mĩn* 'sharp point, top of hill': Ta. *muṇai*, Ka. Koḍ. *mone*, Tu. *mune*, Te. *mona* (4119a). In a group of three instances **u* is followed by *mp* or *m(m)*; e. g. *tĩb* 'sp. *Leucas*': Ta. *tumpai*, Ka. Tu. *tumbe*, *tumbi*, Te. *tummi* (2738).

16.7. PDr. **ē* has two developments, *e* and *ō*, and no reason is evident for the divergence, though it may be noted that before **y*, *ō* does not appear. There are two instances of *e* in this context before *y*, e. g. *e'y-* (*e'c-*) 'to join together (pieces or ends)': Ta. *ēy* (*-nt-*) 'to be suited, meet', Ma. *ēcuka*, *ēśuka* 'to unite, fit, meet', *ēkkuka* 'to join, patch' (761), and one instance of *i*, viz. *mi'y-* (*mi's-*) 'to graze', *mi'c-* (*mi'č-*) 'to make to graze': *mēy-* in most of the languages (4179). For examples of *e* and *ō*, see §9.

16.8. The basic unsolved problem as to the chronological stage of development of **u* and **o* to which the To. material

is to be related (see §16.6), arises also for **i* and **e* and still remains unsolved. So too does the obscuring of developments by borrowing.

**i* has *ī* as its predominant development in To., though there are numerous instances also of *i*, the divergent developments being still unexplained. Further exx.: *tīṭ* 'mountain': Ta. *tiṭṭu*, *tiṭṭai*, Ma. *tiṭṭu*, *tiṭṭa*, Ko. *tiṭ*, Ka. *tiṭṭu*, *tiṭṭe*, Te. *tiṭṭa*, Tu. *diḍḍu* (2633); *kīṭ* 'small': Ko. *kir*, Ta. *ciru*, Ka. *kiri* / *a* / *u*, Te. *ciru* (1326); *pīk-* (*-y-*) 'to cough': Ta. *vikku* 'to hiccup', Ma. *vikkuka* 'to stammer', Ka. *bikku* 'to pant, sob, hiccup, stammer', Tu. *bikkuni* 'to hold one's breath' (4412); *tik-* (*-y-*) 'to be trapped (physically or figuratively)': Ta. *cikku* 'to be entangled, caught, obtained', etc. (2060; see §4); *il-* 'not to exist': Ko. *il-*, Ta. Ma. Ka. Koḍ. *ill-*, Te. *lē-*, Pa. *cil-*, Go. *sill-*, *hill-*, Konḍa *sil-*, Pe. *hil-*, Mand. *lā-*, Kui *sida*, Kuwi *hill-* (2106); *pint-* (*-y-*) 'to ask': Ta. *viṇā-* (*-y-*), *viṇavu* (*viṇavi-*), *viṇāvu* (*viṇāvi-*) id., Ma. *vinavuka* id., Te. *vinu* (*viṇṭ-*) 'to hear' (cf. *vinu* 'the ear'), Kol. Nk. *vin-* (*-t-*) 'to hear', Br. *bin-* id. (also with *e*: Ko. *vent-* (*veynt-*) 'to ask', Nk. (Ch.) *ven-* (*vend-*) 'to hear', Pa. *ven-* (*vend-*) id., Ga. *ven-* id., Go. (G) *ven-* id., Konḍa *ven-* 'to ask', Pe. Mand. *ven-* 'to hear', *venba-* 'to ask', Kui *ven-b-* (*ves-*) 'to hear, ask', Kur. Malt. *men* (*menj-*) id.; 4472).

On the other hand, **e* has *e* as its predominant development, with numerous instances of *ō*, the difference being still unexplained. Additional exx.: *ōṇ-* (*-y-*) 'to count': Ta. *eṇṇu* 'to think, determine, count', Ma. *eṇṇuka* 'to count, relate', Ka. *eṇṇisu* 'to count, consider', Koḍ. *ēṇṇ-* 'to say, tell', Tu. *eṇṇuni* 'to count, think', Te. *ennu* id. (678); *peṇ* 'butter': Ta. *veṇ-ṇey*, *veṇṇai*, Ma. *veṇṇa*, Ko. *veṇ*,

Ka. *beṇṇe*, Koḍ. *boṇṇe ney*, Tu. *beṇṇé, boṇṇeyi*, Te. *venna* (4511).

In addition, a fairly large number of instances have To. *e*, when Ta. shows *i* before **a* or **ay* in the next syllable (and sometimes there is a Ka. form with *e*); it is usually indeterminate what the vowel was in PDr. Exx.: *eṣ* 'leaf, petal': Ta. *ilai*, Ma. *ila*, Ko. *el*, Ka. *ele*, *ela*, Koḍ. *elakaṇḍa*, Tu. *ele*, Go. (Mu.) *koṛk-ila* 'new leaf' (423; possibly **i*); *ner-* (-*ṭ-*) 'to go, be, or sit in a row': Ta. *nirai* (-*nt-*) id., 'to place in a row', Ma. *nirakka*, Ko. *nerv-* (*nerd-*) (3042); *peṭ̃ xo'f-* 'to be married to a man': Ta. *piṭṭai*, etc. (3449; probably **i*). A very few similar instances have To. *ō*; e. g. *ōṛ* 'left (side)': Ta. *iṭai*, *iṭam*, Ma. *iṭam*, *eṭam*, Ko. *eṛ*, Ka. *eḍa*, Koḍ. *ēḍate*, Tu. *eḍa*, Te. *eḍama* (381).

A number of instances of **e* show *i* or *ī* in To. Nearly all of them have **y* following **e*, or a palatal consonant (**c*, *j*, **ñc*) following **e*, or a high vowel (**i*, occasionally **u*) in the following syllable. In other words, there has been heightening of PDr. **e* to pre-To. **i*, and then development (as for PDr. **i*) to *i* or *ī*, with the conditions for the divergent development still unknown (as for **i*). Exx.: see *kīfy* and *iṣy* s. v. Ta. *cevi* and *eli* in §8; *īy-* (*īs-*) 'to know how to': Ta. *ey* (-*it-*) 'to know, understand', Ga. (P.) *etap-* 'to think', Koṇḍa *nes-* 'to know, be capable of' (692); *īc-* (*īč-*) 'to reach, be sufficient': Ta. *eytu* (*eyti-*) 'to approach, reach, be suitable', Ka. *aydu*, Te. *eydu* (693); *nic-* (*nič-*) 'to darn': Ta. *ney* (-*t-*) 'to weave, string', Ko. *nec-* (*nec-*) 'to weave', Ka. *ney*, *nēy*, Te. *nēyu*, etc. (3103); To. also has *nes-* (-*ṭ-*) 'to weave'; *nīṛ* 'heart, dewlap': Ta. Ma. *neṇcu* 'heart', etc. (3097); *niṣf-* (*niṣṭ-*) 'to make fire

by twirling firesticks', *nisy* 'firesticks' : Ta. *ñeli* (-nt-), *ñeli-kōl*, Ko. *neyj* 'firesticks' (2390) ; *īr* 'female buffalo' : **eru* (cf. Tu. *eru* 'male buffalo'), whence **erumay* > Ta. *erumai*, Ma. *eruma*, *erima*, Tu. *erme*, Go. *armī*, (L) *ermī*, Ka. Koḍ. *emme*, Ko. *im*, Te. *enumu* (699).

16.9. It should be added, what is already fairly obvious, that in non-initial syllables short vowels are all lost, except **i*, which > *y*, and long vowels are shortened. This does not hold for verbal personal inflections, which show more syllabic retentions than would be expected ; but more work is needed on this feature.

Kodagu vowels

17.1. In Koḍ. the merged PDr. **i* and **e*, **u* and **o* before **a*, which yield PSDr. **e* and **o* respectively, are treated as in Ka., i. e. remain *e* and *o*. On the other hand, **e* and **o* do not usually become *i* and *u* before a high vowel in the next syllable, as they do in Ka. No front unrounded vowels occur before retroflex consonants. The following paragraphs give the most important changes that result in this gap in distribution (see EMENEAU, "Kodagu Vowels").

17.2. Before retroflex consonants followed by **a* or by *e* which results from **ay*, front unrounded vowels (**i*, **e*) become *a* (complete assimilation). Exx. : *kaḷa-* 'to dig' : Ta. *kiḷai* id., etc. (1321 ; cf. §14) ; *paḷḷe* 'female of various animals' : **piḷḷay* (3449 ; cf. §§16.8, 52) ; *kaḍake* 'bed' : Ta. *kiṭakkai* id. (1277 ; related verbs give evidence for **e*). After these instances are withdrawn from consideration, the following rules apply to the residual material.

17.3. **e* of whatever origin becomes Kod. *ë* before retroflexes. Exx.: *ëdate* 'left (hand)': Ta. *iṭai*, Ka. *eḍa* (381; cf. §16.8); *ëlak-* 'to make to leave a position, uproot, (god) possesses (a man)': Ta. *iḷakku* 'to shake (tr.)', Ko. *eḷk-* 'to lift slightly from position' (432); *ëḷid-* 'to write': Ta. *eḷutu*, etc. (725); *tëḷi-* 'to laugh': Tu. *telipuni* id. (2828). See also s. v. *ëḷ-* in §17.4.

17.4. **ē* > Kod. *ë* before retroflexes. In a number of verbs which have *ë* before retroflex in some forms, other forms show simplification of the cluster of retroflex plus following consonant (as does Ka.), but in all forms *ë* is found. Analogy has kept *ë* throughout the paradigm in each instance. Exx.: *këḷ-* (*këp-*, *këḷ-*) 'to ask, hear': Ta. *kēḷ* (*kēḷp-*, *kēḷḷ-*), etc. (1677); *ëḷ-* (*ëv-*, *ëdd-*) 'to get up', *ëḍi-*, *ëpp-* 'to raise': Ta. *eḷu* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) 'to rise', Ka. *ēḷ(u)* (*eḷd-* > *edd-*) id., *eḷbu* > *ebbu* id. (723a); *ëḷi* 'seven': Ta. *ēḷu*, etc. (772).

17.5. **i* > Kod. *ī* before retroflexes. Exx.: *īḍ-* (*īḷḷ-*) 'to put down': Ta. *iṭu* (*iṭḷ-*) 'to place, put', etc. (375); *īḷi-* 'to descend', *īḷip-* 'to lower': Ta. *iḷi* 'to descend', Ka. *iḷi* id., *iḷi* | *a* | *upu* 'to lower', etc. (426).

17.6. **i* > Kod. *ī* before retroflexes. As in the case of *ē* > *ë*, the conditioning consonants disappeared in consonant clusters in some verb forms. Exx.: *kīḷi* 'below': Ta. *kīḷ*, etc. (1348).

17.7. Simplification of following consonant clusters leads to such contrasting pairs as *këp-* (s. v. *këḷ-* in §17.4) and *teḷp-* (belonging to *teḷy-* 'to wear off; to smear'; 2846), and *tīḷt-* (s. v. *tīḷr-* in §17.14) and *tiḷt-* 'to feed' (: Ta. Ma. *tīḷru*, Ko. *tiḷt-*, Kui *tīs-p-* (*tīs-t-*); 2670a). These pairs establish *ī* and *ë* as phonemes separate from *i* and *e*.

Similar situations establish *ē* and *e* as separate phonemes, e. g. *ēpp-* (s. v. *ē!-* in §17.4) in contrast with *bepp-* (belonging to *bey-* (*becc-*) 'to keep, place' : Ta. *vai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*), etc.; 4565).

17.8. *ī* results also from many instances of **u* in non-initial syllables. A few instances of **u* remained unchanged, and there are in consequence minimal pairs which establish *u*, *ī*, and *i* (as well as all the other short vowels) as phonemes in this position; e. g. *naḍu* 'middle' : *naḍī* 'plant!' : *kaḍi* 'bite!' (2959, 2958, 945).

17.9. None of the above statements of development of **i*, **ī*, **e*, **ē* before retroflexes holds for instances in which the vowels are preceded by the labials *p*, *m*, *b* (< **v*). In these latter cases the PDr. front vowels are replaced by Koḍ. back rounded vowels. As above, consonant clusters are sometimes simplified so that the conditioning retroflex consonant is no longer present in the Koḍ. form.

17.10. **i* > *u*. Exx.: *bud-* (*buṭṭ-*) 'to release, let go, let out' : Ta. *viṭu* (*viṭṭ-*), Ka. *biḍu* (*biṭṭ-*), etc. (4419); *punḍ-* 'to squeeze' : Ka. *piṇḍu* (cf. Ta. *piṇi*, etc.; 3440a). Also see *bu!-* in §17.11.

17.11. **ī* > *u*. Exx.: *buḍī* 'hut of toddy-tapper' : Ta. Ma. *viṭu* 'house', Ka. *biḍu* (4419); *bu!-* (*buṣ-*, *budd-*) 'to fall', *buddu-* (*buddanḍ-*) 'to lie down', *buḥ-* 'to fell, pour' : Ta. *viṭ* (*-nt-*) 'to fall', Ko. *vi'k-* 'to fell, let fall', Ka. *biṭ* (*biṭḍ-* > *bidd-*) 'to fall, die', Te. *biddu* 'to die', etc. (4457).

17.12. **e* > *o*. Exx.: *moṭṭī* 'footprint, doorsteps' : Ka. Te. *meṭṭu* (4150); *poṇṇī* 'wife, female', *poṇga* 'woman' (in songs),

poṃ-makka 'women, wives': Ta. *peṇ* 'woman, wife, etc.', Te. *peṇṭi*, etc. (cf. Tu. *poṇṇu* 'girl, female'; 3608a).

17.13. **ē* > *o*. Exx.: *boṭe* 'hunting': Ta. *vēṭṭai*, etc. (4547).

17.14. Changes identical with those before retroflexes occur also before *r*, when it is derived from PDr. **r*. Exx.: *kīrkē* 'small': Ta. *cīrukkaṇ* 'boy', etc., esp. Ta. *cīru*, *cīr* (1326); *tīr-* (*tīruv-*, *tīnd-*) 'to be used up, (work) is finished', (*tīp-*, *tīt-*) 'to use up, finish': Ta. *tīr* (*-v-*, *-nt-*; *-pp-*, *-tt-*) id., etc., especially Te. *tīru* 'to be destroyed, get rid of', Koṇḍa *tīr-* 'to be used up' (2683); *ēraṅg-* '(food, liquid) slips down throat slowly': Ta. *iṛaṅku* 'to descend', etc. (439); *tēr-* (*tēnd-*) '(man) becomes full-grown': Ta. *tēru* 'to be clarified, be accomplished, reach perfection', etc. (2856); *purīkī* 'mosquito': Ma. *piṛukku* id. (3451); *borad-* (*boranḍ-*) 'to be confused through fear': Ta. *virā!* (*viranṭ-*), *viṛa* (*-nt-*), *veri* (*-tt-*) 'to be frightened', Ko. *verṇ-* (*verḍ-*) id., Te. *vera* 'fear' (4519); *po-r-* 'to transport by pack-animal': Ma. *pēruka* 'to load, pile up', Ka. *pēru* id., Te. *pēr(u)cu* 'to load up, pile' (3641). There are some exceptions which are to be stated in terms of contextual differences; the changes, moreover, do not occur before **rr*.

Kota vowel shift

18. One notable vowel shift in Kota is the following: in initial syllables *e*, *e'* and *i*, *i'* represent **o*, **ō* and **u*, **ū* respectively of some pre-Kota stage, when **ay*, which became pre-Kota **e*, followed in the next syllable; this pre-Kota **e* was thereafter lost. Exx.: *keṛ* 'umbrella': Ta. *kuṭai*, Ka. *koḍe*, Te. *goḍugu* (1386); *tib* 'beetle': Ka. *tumbe* 'large

black bee' (2731); *eːɾ* 'false bamboo' : Ta. *ōɻai* (879; cf. §11, where Ko. *oːɾ* is a borrowing, probably from Ta. or To.); *miːɻ* 'marrow' : Ta. *mūɻai* 'brain, marrow', Tu. *mūɻe* 'bone' (4146); see also *teːl* 'forest' *s. v.* Ta. *cōlai* in §11, *keːɾ* 'south-west monsoon' *s. v.* Ta. *kōɻai* in §16.4, *peg* 'smoke' *s. v.* Ta. *pukai* in §20. There are many exceptions, probably all due to borrowing from other languages; the whole problem is treated in EMENEAU, "*A Kota Vowel-shift*".

CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES

STOPS

***k-**

19. **k-* : *k-* in most of the languages. In Ta. Ma. and Te. **k-* > *c-* when followed by the front vowels *i ī e ē*, except that in Ta. Ma. a retroflex (*ʃ ɳ ʈ ʣ*) following the front vowel inhibits the palatalization (since the front vowels in this position have retroflexed allophones). There are numerous seeming exceptions, most of them borrowings from the non-palatalizing language Kannaḍa; Kannaḍa also has loanwords from Te. with palatalization. A further group of exceptions is seen in onomatopoeics; this problem has been treated in detail by E. ANNAMALAI (see bibliography). In Kur. Malt. Br. **k-* remains before *i ī*; otherwise, it becomes in Kur. and Br. a velar fricative [x], which is represented in the published accounts by *kh*, and in Malt. *q*, about the phonetic value of which there is some doubt. There are a few exceptions in these languages, some of them perhaps due to inadequate recording. For detailed treatment, see BURROW, *BSOAS* 11.122-39.

Exx. :

See Ta. *kaṇ* (§2), Ta. *kaṭa* (§2, with Kur. Malt. exceptions), Ta. *kāl* (§3), Te. *giccu* (§4), Ta. *kuttu* (§6), Ta. *cevi* (§8), Ta. *kār* (§13), Ta. *kiṛāvu* (§13), Ta. *kiḷai* (§14), Ta. *ciraṛru* (§14), Ta. *cirai* (§14), Ma. *kuṭay-* (§14), Ta. *kēḷ* (§14), Ta. *kōṭu* (§16.4), Ta. *koy* (§16.4), Ta. *cīru* (§16.8), Ta. *kēḷ* (§17.4), and various other examples throughout.

Ta. Ma. *cī* 'pus', Ma. *cī-* (*cinn-*) 'to rot, be spoiled', Ko. *kiv* 'pus', *kit-* 'to rot', Ka. *kī* 'to become putrid', *kīvu*, *kīmu* 'pus', Koḍ. *ki'y-* (*ki'ñj*) 'to rot', Tu. *kīvu* 'pus', Te. *cīku*, *cīvuku*, *cīmuku* 'to rot', *cīmu* 'pus', Kur. *kittnā* 'to rot', Malt. *kite* id., Br. *kīsh* 'pus'. 1337.

20. *-k- : -g- in most of the languages; Ta. Ma. -k-, To. -x-, Pa. -g-, -v-, -y- (on the whole dialectal differences; BURROW and BHATTACHARYA, *The Parji Language*, pp. 5 f.), Go. -y- (various spellings), Kuwi -y-, Kur. -kh-, Malt. -g̃- ([γ]), Br. -kh- (uncertain; 2944 may be evidence).

Exx. :

See Tu. *selé* (§23).

Ma. *pokiṇa* 'green imperial pigeon', Kur. *pokhā*, Malt. *poḡe*. 3647.

Pa. *puku* (*pukk-*) 'to enter', Ma. *puku-* (*pukk-*), Ko. *uk-/ug-* (*uky-*), To. *pux-* (*puk-*), Ka. *pugu/pogu* (*pokk-*), Tu. *pogguni*. 3481.

Ta. *pukai* 'smoke', Ma. *puka* id., Ko. *peg* id., *pog* 'tobacco', To. *pax* 'smoke, tobacco', Ka. Koḍ. *poge* 'smoke', Tu. *puge*, *poge* id., Te. *poga* id., Kol. Nk. Ga. *pog* id., Go. *poya* id., Konḍa *pogo* id., Kuwi (Su.) *bōyi* id. 3483.

Ta. Ma. Ka. *mukil* 'cloud', Tu. *mugalu*, Te. *mogulu*, Ga. *mogul*, Go. (M.) *moyol*. 4006.

Ka. *kēgu* 'to cry, as a peacock', Go. *kēy-* 'to call, summon, (peacock) to cry, (owl) to hoot'. 1658.

Ka. *sugi* 'to tear off, strip off', Kur. *cokhnā* (*cokkh-*) 'to pluck, cull', Malt. *coḡe* (*coq-*) id. 2173.

Ta. *tukai* 'to tread down, trample on', Pe. *tog-* 'to tread, step on', Mand. *tug-* 'to trample', Kui *tōg-* 'to kick', Kuwi (Su.) *toy-* id. 2917.

Pa. *tōy* '*Ficus glomerata*', Ga. (P.) *tōy* id., Go. *tōya* id., Konḍa Pe. *tōga*, Mand. *tōge* id., Kui *tōga* 'fig', Kuwi (S.) *tōya* id. 2915.

The complicated relationships between *-k-*, *-v-*, etc. and contractions such as *uka* > *ō* cannot be stated here.

For examples of palatalization of *-k-* in Ta., see BURROW, BSOAS 11.130 f.

*-kk-

21. *-kk- : Ta. Ma. -kk-, Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Te. ṽ] -kk- / Ṽ] -k-, Ko. To. Kol. Nk. Pa. Ga. Go. Konḍa Pe. Mand. Kui Kuwi -k-, Kur. -kk(h)-, Malt. -q-, -k-, Br. -kk- (also -khkh-).

Exx. :

See Ta. *cikku* (§4), Ta. *puku* (*pukk-*) (§20), Ka. *sugi* (§20).

Ta. *nakku* 'to lick', Ma. *nakku-*, Ko. *nak-*, To. *nok-*, Ka. *nakku*, Koḍ. *nakk-*, Tu. *nakkuni*, Te. *nāku*, Kol. Nk. Ga. Go. Konḍa Pe. *nāk-*, Pa. Mand. *nēk-*, Kui Kuwi *nāk-*. 2945.

Ta. *vikku* 'to hiccup', Ma. *vikku-* 'to stammer', To. *pīk-* 'to cough', Ka. *bikku* 'to pant, sob, hiccup, stammer', Tu. *bikkuni* 'to hold one's breath', Te. *vekku* 'to hiccough, sob', Kui *vek-* 'to cough', Kur. *bekkhnā* 'to be choked, cough', Malt. *beqe* 'to be choked'. 44|2.

Kur. *cakkhnā* 'to pierce', Malt. *cage*, Br. *ja^{kh}khing*. 1879.

22. *-nk- : Ta. -*ñk-*, Ma. -*ññ-*, Ko. -*g-*, -*ŋg-*, To. -*g-*, -*x-*, Ka. -*g-*, -*ŋg-*, Koḍ. -*ŋg-*, Tu. -*ŋg-*, Te. -*ŋg-*, -*g-*, Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) Pa. Ga. -*ŋg-*, Go. -*ng-*, Konḍa -*ŋ-*, Pe. -(*ŋg*)-, Mand. -*ŋg-*, Kui Kuwi -*ng-*, Kur. -*ŋkh-*, -*ŋg-*, Malt. -*nq-*, -*ṇḡ-*, Br. -*ng-*. *ŋg*, *ñg*, *ng*, *ñk* (Ta.), and possibly even Malt. *ṇḡ*, all represent the same pronunciation; Te. *g* derives from that pronunciation, whatever may be the state of affairs as regards phonetics in the literature.

Exx. :

See Ta. *nuñku* (§6), Ta. *ēñku* (§9).

Ta. *tūñku* 'to hang, swing, sleep, etc.', Ma. *tūññu-* id., Ko. *tu'g-* 'to hang', To. *tu'x-* id., Ka. *tūgu* id., 'to swing, sleep, etc.', Koḍ. *tu'ŋg-* 'to hang', Tu. *tūṇguni* 'to swing, doze', Te. *tūgu* 'to hang, swing, sleep', Konḍa *dūŋ-* 'to hang', Pe. *tūŋ(g)-* id., Mand. *trūŋg-* 'to swing', Kui (K.) *dūŋg-* 'to hang', (WINFIELD) *drūng-* 'to swing', Kuwi *tūng-* 'to swing, hang', Kur. *tungul* 'a dream', Malt. *tumgle* id., Br. *tungān* 'asleep', *tugh* 'sleep, dream'. 2777a. (-*r-* in Mand. and Kui?).

Ta. *poñku* 'to boil over, bubble, swell', Ma. *poññu*- id., Ko. *pog*- 'to boil over', To. *pīg*- 'to bubble up, boil over, swell', Ka. *poñgu* id., Koḍ. *poηη*- 'to swell', Tu. *boṅguni* 'to be distended', Te. *poñgu* 'to bubble up, boil, be elated', Kol. *poηg*- 'to boil over', Nk. *poηg*- 'to expand', Go. *pongānā* 'to flow, overflow', Konḍa *poṇi*- 'to be bloated', Pe. *boη*- 'to be spilled', Kui *pong*- 'to be spilt, scattered', Kuwi *pong*- 'to swell', Malt. *poṇḡje* 'to be increased'. 3658.

Ta. *vēñkai* 'tiger', Ma. *vēñña*, Te. *vēgi*. 4542.

23. *c- : Ta. Ma. c-, Ko. c-, To. t-, Ka. s-, c-, Koḍ. c-, Tu. s-, Te. c-, Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) s-, Pa. c-, Ga. s-, Go. s-, (SE) h-, zero, Konḍa s-, Pe. Maṇḍ. h-, Kui s-, Kuwi h-, Kur. Malt. Br. c-. In the languages from Ta. to Te. *c- frequently > zero; see BURROW, *BSOAS* 12.132-47. For To. t-, see EMBNEAU, *BSOAS* 15.98-112 (reprinted in *Dravidian Linguistics, Ethnology, and Folktales*, pp. 46-60); t- appears in some words also in Ko., Ka., Tu., and other languages.

Exx.:

See Ta. *cikku* (§4), Ta. *cūppu* (§7; loss of *c-), Ta. *cori* (§10), Ta. *cōlai* (§11), Ta. *aravu* (§15; s- in Konḍa and Kui, t- in Te. Go. Maṇḍ., loss of *c- in southern languages), Ta. *ilir* (§15; loss of *c-), Ta. *cirai* (§15), Ta. *ill-* (§16.8; loss of *c- in the southern languages).

Tu. *selé* 'chink, crack', Te. *celagu* 'to cut', Kur. *cal~~kh~~nā* 'to open, uncover', Malt. *calḡe* 'to split or break open', Br. *caling* 'to become cracked, split'. 1962.

Ta. *i* (-nt-) 'to give to inferiors, agree', Ka. *i* (*itt-*) 'to give, allow', Te. *iccu* (*i-*, etc.) id., Kol. *si-* (-t-) 'to give',

Nk. *śi-*, Nk. (Ch.) *sī-*, Pa. *cī-* (*ciñ-*), Ga. *sī-* (*sīn-*),
 Go. *sī-*, *hī-*, *ī-*, Konḍa *sī-*, Pe. Maṇḍ. *hī-*, Kui
sī-v- (*sī-t-*), Kuwi *hī-*, Kur. *ci[?]inā* (*cicc-*), Malt. *ciye* (*cic-*).
 2138.

In "North Dravidian Velar Stops" it was demonstrated with as much certainty as somewhat unsatisfactory material allowed, (i) that *c- before *u and *ū > NDr. *k-, and (ii) that likewise, with less certainty, *c- before *e and *ē > NDr. *k-; in these instances *k- remained k- in the three NDr. languages. The instances are: (i) 2183, 2204, 2211, 2213, (ii) 2002, 2285, 2312, and perhaps others; they need not be presented in detail here.

24. *-c- : Ta. Ma. -c-, Ko. -c-, To. -s-, Ka. -s-, Kod. Tu. -j-, Te. -c-, -s-, Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) -s-, Pa. Ga. -y-, Go. Konḍa -s-, Pe. Mand. -h-, Kui -s-, -h-, Kuwi -h-, Kur. Malt. Br. -s-. The correspondences for *-c- and *-cc- are in part uncertain.

Exx. :

Te. *usumu* 'to scour, wash', *usugu* 'to rub', Kol. *usm-* 'to wipe', Nk. (Ch.) *us-* 'to clean', Pa. Ga. *uyk-* 'to rub, rub off', Go. *us(u)m-* 'to wipe', Malt. *nusge* 'to rub, clean'. 493.

Te. *dusuku* 'to slip, slide', Kur. *tus^ugnā* (*tusgy-*) 'to loosen'. 2691.

Ta. *naci* 'to be crushed; to crush, destroy', Tu. *nasiyuni* 'to submit, subdue', Kui *nas-* 'to press, crush', *nahi* 'destroyed'. 2949.

Ta. *naci* 'to be worn, frayed', Ka. *nasi*, *nasiku* 'to wear out, waste away', n. 'wasting, waning, faint dawn', Tu.

nasku 'twilight, dawn', Kur. *nasnā* 'to cause to sicken'.
2950.

Pe. Mand. *pih-* 'to leave, abandon', Kui *pih-p-* (*pih-t-*)
'to release, forsake', Kuwi (Su. P.) *pih-* 'to leave, abandon',
(S.) *pih?nai* 'to release'. 3405.

Ta. Ma. *mācu* 'spot, stain', Ko. *māc* 'dirt on body',
Ka. *māsu* 'to be dirty', n. 'dirt', Koḍ. *māj-* 'to become
soiled', Te. Kui *māsi* 'dirt', Kuwi (F.) *māh-* 'to be dirty'.
3927.

Ta. *mācuṇam* 'python', Pa. *māyonḍ bām*, Go. *māsul*.
3928.

Ko. *mick-* 'to yield to importunity', To. *misx-*, *misk-*
'to move (intr., tr.) slightly upward, budge', Ka. *misuku* 'to
move, stir', Tu. *miskuni* id., Te. *misuku* id. 3964.

Ta. *vicu* 'to throw, make violent motion', Ma. *vicu-*,
viśu-, Ko. *vic-*, To. *pis-*, Ka. *bisu*, Koḍ. *bij-*, Tū.
bījuni, Te. *vicu*, Konḍa *visir-*. 4479.

25. *-cc- : Ta. Ma. -cc-, Ko. -c- [ts], Ka. -cc-, -s-, Koḍ. Tu. -cc-, Te. -cc-, -c-, Kol. Nk. (Ch.) -cc-, -c-, Nk. Pa. -cc-, Ga. Go. -cc-, -s-, Konḍa -s-, Pe. Maṇḍ. -c-, Kui -s-, Kuwi -cc-, -c-, Kur. -cc-, -c-, Malt. -c-, Br. -s-, -sh-.

Exx. :

See Ta. *poccu* (§10), Ta. *nuccu* (§16.6).

Te. *giccu* 'to scratch, pinch', Nk. (Ch.) *kis-* / *kicc-* 'to pinch', Pa. *kicc-* 'to pluck (strings of instrument)', Ga. *kicc-* 'to pluck', Go. *kiccānā* 'to pick green leaves for salad', (M.) *kicānā* 'to pluck', Pe. Maṇḍ. *kic-* 'to pinch', Kui *kis-* 'to pinch, nip', Kuwi *kic-* 'to nip', Kur. *kiccnā* 'to break into very small pieces'. 1271.

Pa. *mac-* 'to rub head with earth', Br. *mashing* 'to wash the head, clean the head with fuller's earth'. 3785.

Ta. *muccu* 'to cover', Ko. *muc-* (*muc-*), To. *müç-* (*müç-*), Ka. *muccu*, Koḍ. *mucc-*, Tu. *muccuni*, Te. *muccu*, Nk. (Ch.) *muc-*, Go. *mucc-*, *muc-*, *mus-*, Konḍa *mus-*, Pe. Maṇḍ. *muc-*, Kui *mus-*, Kuwi (S.) *mucc-*, Kur. *muccnā*, Malt. *muce*, Br. *must* 'shut, closed'. 4025.

26. *-ñc- : Ta. -ñc-, Ma. -ññ-, -ñc-, Ko. -ñj-,
To. -z- [dz], Ka. -j-, -s-, -ñj-, Kod. -ñj-, -ññ-,
Tu. -ñj-, Te. Kol. Nk. -ñj-, Pa. Ga. -ñ-, -ñj-,
Go. Konḍa Pe. Maṇḍ. Kui Kuwi -ñj-, Kur. -ñj-,
Malt. -ñj-.

Exx. :

See Ta. *neñcu* (§16 8).

Ta. *nañcu* 'poison', Ma. *naññu*, To. *noḥ*, Ka. Tu.
nañju, Pa. *neñj*. 2955.

Ta. *añcu* (*añci*-) 'to fear', Ma. *añcu*-, Ko. *anj*- (*anj*-),
To. *oḥ*- (*oj*-; *ñci > j), Ka. *añju*, Tu. *añjuni*, Te. *anju*. 51.

Ta. *tuñcu* 'to sleep', Ma. *tuñcu*-, Pa. *tuñ*-, (S) *cuñ*-,
Ga. *tuñ*-, Go. *sunj*-, *hunj*-, Konḍa *sunz*-, Pe. Maṇḍ.
hunj-, Kui *sunj*-, Kuwi *hunj*-. 2693.

27. *-t- : Ta. Ma. -t-, Ko. -t- (one-flap), -d-, To. -t- (voiceless trill), -d-, Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Te. -d-, Kol. (Wardha) -d-, (Kin.) -t-, Nk. Nk. (Ch.) -t-, Pa. -d-, Ga. -r-, -rr-, Go. -r-, -rr-, Konḍa Pe. Mand. -t-, Kui -d-, C]-t-, Kuwi -t-, Kur. Malt. -t-, Br. -t-, -r-, -rr-.

Exx. :

See Ta. *kaṭa* (§2; add To. *kaṭt-* (-y-) 'to send, take across'), Ta. *toṭu* (§10; add To. *twīṭf-* (*twīṭt-*) 'to entangle'), Ta. *ōṭai* (§11), Ma. *kuṭay-* (§14), Ta. *koṭu* (§16.5), Ta. *iṭai* (§16.8), Ta. *viṭu* (§28).

Ta. Ma. *uṭumpu* 'iguana', Ka. *uḍa, uḍu*, Koḍ. *uḍumbī*, Tu. *uḍu, oḍu*, Te. *uḍumu*, Kol. (Wardha) *uḍug*, (Kin.) *uṭug*, Nk. *huṭug*, Pa. *uḍu*, Go. *urum, urrum*. 509.

Ta. *oṭuṅku* 'to be restrained, reduced, etc.', *oṭukku* 'to subjugate, restrain, reduce', Ma. *oṭuṅṅu-* 'to come to an end, dire', *oṭukku-* 'to finish, destroy', Ko. *oṭg-* (-y-) 'to be destroyed', *oṭk-* (-y-) 'to reduce', To. *wīḍg-* (-y-) 'to be crushed', *wīṭk-* (-y-) 'to crush, beat', Ka. *uḍugu* 'to subdue; decrease, be finished', Tu. *oḍuṅgelu* 'the end', Te. *uḍuku*

‘to be annoyed or pained’, *uḍugu* ‘to cease’, *uḍupu* ‘to remove, wipe away’, *ḍuṅku* ‘to diminish’, Kol. *oḍŋg-* ‘to have (child) with oneself while sleeping’, Kui *ḍūmb-* ‘to be contracted’, *ḍūp-p-* (*ḍūp-t-*) ‘to shorten’, Kur. *oŋ^ognā* ‘to press, flatten, kill’, *oŋ^oknā* ‘to crush, cause to wither, kill’, Malt. *oŋge* ‘to blunt’. 804.

28. *-tt- : Ta. Ma. -tt-, Ko. To. -t-, Ka. Koḍ.
Tu. Te. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) Pa. Ga. Go. -tt-, -t-,
Konḍa Pe. Mand. Kui Kuwi -t-, Kur. -tt-, -t-,
Malt. -t-, Br. -t-.

Exx. :

See Ta. *toṭu* (§10; past stem), Ta. *koṭu* (§16.5; past stem
in Ko. and Ka.), Ta. *tiṭṭu* (§16.8).

Ta. Ma. *viṭu* (*viṭṭ-*) 'to leave, let go, release, throw',
Ko. *viṭ-* (*viṭ-*) 'to leave, release', To. *pīṭ-* (*pīṭ-*) id., Ka.
biḍu (*biṭṭ-*) id., 'to throw, etc.', Koḍ. *buṭ-* (*buṭṭ-*) 'to
release', Tu. *buḍupuni* 'to release, discharge', Te. *viḍu* 'to
be loosened, part with', Go. *vir-*, *viṛ-* 'to leave, abandon',
Br. *biṭṭing* 'to throw'. 4419; the past stem in SDr., and the
Br. form are relevant.

Ta. *iraṭṭai* 'pair, couple, even numbers', *iraṭṭu* 'to double
(intr.)', n. 'doubleness', Ma. *iraṭṭa* 'double, even', *iraṭṭi*
'twice as much', To. *iṭṭy* 'double, even (of numbers)', Tu.
reṭṭa 'double', *reṭṭi* 'twice as much', Pa. *iroṭ* 'twice', Br.
iraṭ 'two'. 401.

29. *-nt- : Ta. Ma. -nt-, Ko. Ka. -d-, -nd-, To. -d-, Koḍ. Tu. Te. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) Pa. Ga. Go. Konḍa Pe. Maṇḍ. Kui Kuwi Kur. Malt. Br. -nd- (sometimes spelled -nd-; Kuwi also -nd-).

Exx. : See Ta. u! (uṇṭu; §6), Ta. pūṇ (pūṇṭ-; §7).

Ta. maṇṭai 'head, skull, etc', Ma. maṇṭa 'skull', Ko. maṇḍ 'head', To. maḍ id., Ka. Koḍ. Tu. maṇḍe id. 3831.

Ta. iraṇṭu 'two', Ma. raṇṭu, To. eḍ, Ka. er(a)ḍu, Koḍ. daṇḍī, Te. reṇḍu, Nk. (Ch.) erṇḍi, Pa. irḍu, Go. ranḍ, reṇḍ, Konḍa runḍi, Pe. rinḍaṇ, Kui rinḍe, Kur. ēṇḍ, ēṇ. 401.

Ma. taṇṭa 'arm, generally forearm; upper arm', Te. daṇḍa cēyi 'upper arm', Kol. daṇḍa, Nk. daṇḍ, ḍaṇḍ, Pa. ḍaṇḍa, Go. daṇḍ(a), Konḍa ḍaṇḍa, Kuwi (Su.) ḍaṇḍe. 2476.

Ta. uṇ (uṇṭ-) 'to eat or drink', Ma. uṇṇu-, Ko. To. uṇ- (uḍ-), Ka. uṇ (uṇḍ-), Koḍ. uṇṇ- (uṇḍ-), Nk. Nk. (Ch.) Pa. Ga. un- (uṇḍ-), Go. uṇḍ- (uṭ-), Konḍa uṇḍ- (uṭ-), Kui uṇ-b- (uṭ-), Kuwi (F.) ūnd-, Kur. ōnnā (oṇḍ-), Malt. óne (oṇḍ-), Br. kun- (with k- from Indo-Aryan, specifically Sindhi, khā- id.) 516.

30. *-r- : Ta. Ma. To. Ka. Te. r (in To. a voiceless alveolar trill), Ko. Koḍ. -r-, Tu. -d-, -r-, Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) -d-, -r-, Pa. -d-, (NE) -ḍ-, Ga. -y-, Go. -r-, -rr-, -ṛ-, Konḍa -r-, Pe. (See BURROW and BHATTACHARYA, "Notes on Kuvi", pp. 240-1), Kui -j-, C]-r-, Kuwi -r-, -y-, Kur. Malt. -s-, -r-, Br. -r-, -rr-. Kui also has *h* before consonants and elsewhere. For Go., see BURROW and BHATTACHARYA, *Voc.*, pp. 76-7. Most modern Ta. Ka. and Te. dialects have -r- (for the phonemic result, see §48 on *r). Te. (literary) has *r* in the consonant clusters resulting from metathesis, except for a very few instances in the oldest inscriptions, which have r.

Exx :

See Ta. *vaṛu* (§2), Ta. *āru* (§3), Ta. *tēru* (§9), Ta. *coṛi* (§10), Ta. *kiṛāvu* (§13), Ta. *cirai* (§15), Ta. *cru* (§17.14), and other words throughout and especially in §17.14.

Ta. *aṛu* (*aṛṛ-* / *aṛunt-*) 'to be severed, perish', (*aṛutt-*) 'to break off, cut, exterminate', Ma. *aṛu*- id., Ko. *arv-* (*art-*) 'to cut', To. *aṛf-* (*aṛt-*) 'to cut, reap', Ka. *aṛu* 'to be severed, cease', Koḍ. *ara* (*arat-*) 'to cut', Tu. *arpuni*

'to efface', Te. *aru* 'to be destroyed, decrease', *rakku* 'to scratch', Kol. Nk. *ark-* (*arakt-*) 'to harvest', Br. *harring* 'to tear'. 266.

Ta. *karu* (-*tt-*) 'to grow black, become angry', *karai* 'stain, blackness', Ma. *karu-* 'to grow black', *kara* 'blackness, stain', Ko. *kar* 'black', To. *kar* 'dirt', *karf-* (*kart-*) 'to become black', Ka. *karangu* 'to turn black', *kare* 'blackness, stain', Koḍ. *kara-* (-*t-*) 'to become black', *kare* 'stain', Tu. *kade* 'menstrual discharge', Te. *kara* 'blackness, stain', Go. (Ko.) *karr-* 'to be burned', Konḍa *kari* 'blackness', Br. *khār* 'angry'. 1175.

31. *-rr-: Ta. Ma. -rr-, Ko. To. -t-, Ka. Koḍ. -tt-, -t-, Tu. -t-, Te. -t̥t-, -t̥-, Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) -tt-, -t-, Pa. -tt-, -t-, (NE) -t̥-, Ga. -t̥t-, -t̥-, Go. -tt-, -t-, Konḍa -R- (voiceless trill), Pe. Maṇḍ. -cc-, -c-, Kui -s-, Kuwi -cc-, -c-, Kur. Malt. -tt-, -t-, Br. (? -t-; perhaps 3089 Br. *nut* 'flour').

Exx.:

See Ta. *tēru* (§9; Ka. *tēṭa*, *tēṭe* is borrowed from Te.).

Ta. *tīrru* 'to feed', Ma. *tīrru-*, Koḍ. *ti t-*, Pa. *tittip-*, Pe. *tīc-*, Kui *tispa*, Kuwi (F.) *tissali*, (Su.) *tih-* (*tīs-t-*). 2670a.

Ta. *curru* 'to revolve, be coiled; entwine, roll up, wear round', Ma. *curru-* 'to go about, roll wound, put on', Ko. *cut-* 'to wander, wrap around' (borrowed from Ka. or Badaga), To. *tūt-* 'to wander round; whirl, wear (waistcloth)', Ka. *suttu* 'to surround, wrap round, roll up', Koḍ. *cutt-* 'to wind around, wander about', Tu. *suttuni* 'to wind, roll, surround' (borrowed from Ka.), Te. *cuṭṭu* 'to wrap, encircle, go round', Pa. *cutt-* 'to wind round', Ga. *cuṭṭ-* 'to roll up'. 2238.

CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES :

Ta. *teru* (*terr-*) 'to tarry', Ko. *teṭ* (*-y-*) 'opportunity is, time is, be possible', To. *teṭ-* (*-y-*) 'leisure is'. 2831.

Ta. *teru* (*terr-*) 'to burn, scorch', Pa. *ted-* (*tett-*) 'to be fierce (of sun's heat)'. 2832.

Ta. *tirai* 'tribute', Ko. *ter-* (*teṭ-*) 'to pay (debt)', To. *teṭ-* (*teṭ-*) 'to pay (fine, debt)', Ka. *teru* (*tett-*) 'to pay', Koḍ. *ter-* (*tett-*) id, Te. (inscr.) *tere* 'a tax'. 2833.

Ta. *tōṇru* 'to be visible, appear', *tōṛru* 'to cause to appear, show, create', Ma. *tōnnu-* 'to appear', *tōṛru-* 'to produce', Ko. *to'r-* 'to be visible', To. *twīṛ-* 'to be foreseen, be visible', *twīṛ-* 'to be foreseen', Ka. *tōṛ(u)* 'to appear', *tōṛisu* 'to show', Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) *to't-* 'to be not (negative verb)', Pa. *tōnd-* 'to appear, be got', (NE) *tōṭip-* 'to show', Ga. (Oll.) *tōṇḍ-* 'to appear, be got', *tōṭp-* 'to show', Konḍa *tōṛ-* 'to appear', *tōR-* 'to show', Pe. *cōṇj-* 'to appear', *cōc-* 'to show', Mand. *hūṇj-* 'to appear', *tūc-* 'to show', Kui *tōṇj-* 'to appear, seem', *tōs-p-* 'to show', Kuwi *cōṇj-* 'to appear', *tōh-* (*tōs-t-*) 'to show'. 2942.

Ta. *neṛru* 'to thrust, dash', Te. *neṭṭu* 'to push, shove', Go. *natt-* 'to dash or throw down'. 3119.

Ta. *purri*, *purram* 'white anthill', Ma. *purru* id., Ka. *puttu*, *putta* id., Koḍ. *puttī* id., Te. *puṭṭa* id., Pa. *putkal*, (NE) *puṭkal* id., *putta*, (NE) *puṭṭa* 'nest inside anthill', Ga. (Oll.) *puṭkal* 'white anthill', Go. *putti* id., Konḍa *puRi* id., Pe. *puci* id., Kui *pusi*, (K.) *pucci* id., Kuwi (Su. P.) *pucci* id., Kur. *puttā* id., Malt. *pute* id. 3556.

32. *-nr- : Ta. -nr-, Ma. -nn- (dental), Ko. -ḍ-, -nd-, To. -ḍ-, Ka. -r-, -nd-, Koḍ. -nd-, Tu. Te. -ṇḍ-, Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) -nd-, Pa. -nd-, (NE) -ṇḍ-, Ga. -ṇḍ-, Go. -nd-, -ṇḍ-, Konḍa -nr- (-ṇḍr-), Pe. Mand. Kui Kuwi -nj-, Kur. Malt. -nd-, Br. -s-.

Exx. :

See Ta. *maṇru* (§2), Ta. *paṇri* (§2; To. is irregular, probably because of borrowing; so also is Te.; N. B. Ko. **nri* > -j), Ta. *iṇ* (§5), **avanru* and **ivanru* (§15), Ta. *iōṇru* (§31).

Ta. *tiṇ* (*tiṇr-*) 'to eat', Ma. *tinnu-*, Ko. *tin-* (*tiḍ-*), To. *iṇ-* (*iḍ-*), Ka. *tin(nu)* (*tind-*), Koḍ. *tin-* (*tind-*), Tu. *tinpiṇi*, Te. *tinu* (*tiṇṭ-*), Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) Pa. *tin-* (*tind-*), Ga. *tin-* (*tiṇḍ-*), Go. *tind-*, Konḍa *tin-* (*tiṇr-*), Kui *tin-b-* (*tis-*); Kur. *tindnā* 'to feed', Malt. *tinde* id. 2670a.

Ta. *oṇru* 'one', Ma. *onnu*, Ko. *oḍ*, To. *wiḍ*, Ka. *ondu*, Koḍ. *ondī*, Te. *oṇḍu*, Go. *undi*, Konḍa *uṇṇi*, Kur. *ōnd*, Malt. -*ond*, Br. *asi(ṭ)*. 834.

Ta. *mūnru* 'three', Ma. *mūnnu*, Ko. *mu'nd*, To. *mu'd*,
 Ka. *mūru*, Koḍ. *mu'ndī*, Te. *mūḍu*, Kol. Nk. *mu'ndiŋ*,
 Nk. (Ch.) *mūndi*, Pa. *mūdu(k)*, Ga. (Oll.) *mūnd*, Go.
mūnd, *mūnd*, Konḍa *munḍri*, Kui (K.) *mūnji*, Kur. *mūnd*.
 Br. *musi(ɟ)*. 4147.

33. *t- : t- in all languages.

Exx. :

See Ta. *tī* (§5), Ta. *tēl* (§9), Ta. *tēru* (§9), Ta. *toŋu* (§10), Ta. *tōŋtān* (§10), Tu. *tañka* (§15), **talay* (§15), Ta. *taṛal* (§15), Pa. *tir-* (§15), Ta. *turu* (§15), Ta. *toy* (§16.5), Ta. *tiṭṭu* (§16.8), Ta. *tukai* (§20), Pa. *tōy* (§20), Ta. *tūñku* (§22), Ta. *teṛu* (§31), Ta. *tiṛai* (§31), Ta. *tōṇru* (§31), Ta. *tiṇ* (§32).

34. *-t- : Ta. Ma. -t-, To. -θ-; -d- in all the other languages, Go. also -dd-, Kur. Malt. also -th-. In To. *-yt- > -s-; see Ta. *koy* (*koyt-*) (§16.5): To. *kwīy-* (*kwīs-*); also 1628 Ta. *cey* (*ceyt-*) 'to do, make': To. *kīy-* (*kīs-*).

Exx. :

See *utir* (§6), Ta. *kotuku* (§16.5), Ta. *eytu* (§16.8).

Ta. *utavu* 'to help', Ma. *utaku-*, Ko. *odg-*, To. *wīθx-*, Ka. *odagu*, *odavu*, Tu. *odaguni*, Te. *odavu*. 522.

Ka. *todal(u)*, *toda!* 'stammering', Tu. *todaḷe* id., Kuwi *toth-* 'to stammer', Malt. *todlo* 'stammerer'. 2884.

Ta. *pituṅku* 'to be squeezed out', *pitukku* 'to squeeze out', Ma. *pituṅṅu-*, *pitukku-* id., To. *pīθx-*, *pīθk-* id., Ka. *hiduku* 'to squeeze', Te. *piduku* id., Kol. *pidk-* id., Go. *pidūkanā* 'to exert oneself violently in vain', Kur. *ped^ckhnā* 'to squeeze', Malt. *pethge* 'to break open (as a large fruit)'. 3426.

Ta. *poti* 'udder', Te. *podūgu*, *poduvu*, Ga. (S.) *podmu*, Konḍa *podmu*, Kuwi (Su.) *podmu*. 3682.

Ta. *mitar* 'brain', Ko. *medl*, Ka. *midu!*, *medu!*, *miduḍu*, *medaḍu*, Tu. *medaḍu*, Pa. *medek*, Ga. (P.) *medik*, Go. *medur*, *maddur*, Kur. *meddō*, Malt. *medo*. 4153.

35. *-tt-: Ta. Ma. -tt-, Ko. To. -t-, Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Te. -tt-, -t-, Kol. -t-, Nk. Nk. (Ch.) Pa. -tt-, -t-, Ga. -t-, Go. -tt-, Koṇḍa Pe. Maṇḍ. -t-, Kui Kuwi -tt-, -t-, Kur. -tt-, -t-, Malt. Br. -t-. In To. *-itt-, *-ytt- > -c- [ts], in past stems of verbs.

Exx.:

See Ta. *varu* (-tt-) (§2), Ta. *ār* (-tt-) (§3), Ta. *kuttu* (§6), Ta. *koṭu* (-tt-) (§16.5), Ta. *kaṛu* (-tt-) (§30).

Ta. *neyttōr* 'blood', To. *netṣ xaṛ*, *nōtīṣ xaṛ* (both found in songs), Ka. *nettar(u)*, Ko. *netr*, Koḍ. *ṇetta ca'ñcī* ('red sandalwood'), Tu. *netteru*, Te. *netturu*, *netru*, Kol. *netur*, Nk. *nettur*, Nk. (Ch.) *ettur*, Pa. *netir*, Ga. (S.) *nettūr*, Go. *nettur*, *nattur*, Koṇḍa Pe. Maṇḍ. *neter*, Kuwi (Su.) *neteri*, Br. *ditar*. 3106.

36. *-nt-: Ta. -nt-, Ma. -nn- (dental), To. -d-, -θ-, all the other languages -nd-, Ko. Ka. Pa. Ga. also -d-; no Br. correspondence has been found. In To. *-int-, *-ynt- > -s-, in past stems of verbs. For statement of the conditions for the To. developments -d- and -θ-, see EMENEAU, *JAOS* 87.383 (§3.5); for the Ka. developments -d- and -nd-, *ibid.* 382-3 (§3.4).

Exx.:

See Ta. *varu* (*vant-*) (§2), Ta. *ti* (*tint-*) (§5; see especially To.), Ta. *exu* (§8; see especially Ko. To.), Ta. *toḥu* (§10; see especially Ko. To.), Ta. *para* (§13), Ta. *toy* (§16.5; see especially To.). Apart from past stem formations and some verb derivations, there are few examples of -nt- that run through many languages; this probably results from the fact that PDr. *n is primarily alveolar.

***p-**

37. **p-* : *p-* in all languages, but OKa. *p-* > modern Ka. *h-*.

Exx.:

See Ta. *pal* (§2), Ta. *paṇṇi* (§2), Ta. *paṇ* (§2), Ta. *pī* (§5), Ta. *pūṇ* (§7), Ma. *pūkka* (§7), Ta. *poccu* (§10), Ta. *pori* (§11), Ta. *paṇi* (§13), Ta. *para* (§13), Ta. *poru* (§13), To. *puḷy* (§16.2), Ma. *pokiṇa* (§20), Ta. *puku* (§20), Ta. *pukai* (§20), Ta. *poṇku* (§22), Pe. *pih-* (§24), Ta. *puṛru* (§31), Ta. *pituṇku* (§34), Ta. *poti* (§34).

***-p-**

38. Morphophonemically, **-v-* takes the place of **-p-* in alternation with **-pp-* (see §55). It is probable that no set of phonemic correspondences can be found which would require the setting up of **-p-* in phonemic contrast with **-v-*.

*-pp-

39. *-pp- : Ta. Ma. -pp-, Ko. To. -p-, Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Te. -pp-, -p-, Nk. Pa. -pp-, -p-, Kol. Nk. (Ch.) Ga. Go. Konḍa Pe. Maṇḍ. -p-, Kui Kuwi Kur. -pp-, -p-, Malt. Br. -p-.

Exx. :

See Ta. *cūṇpu* (§7), Ta. *kutappu* (§14).

Ko. *kepak* 'frog', To. *kopīn*, Ka. Koḍ. Tu. *kappe*, Te. *kappa*, Go. (M) *kappe*, Konḍa *kapoki*, Kuwi *kappa*. 1027.

Ta. *kuppai* 'heap, rubbish, excrement', Ma. *kuppa* 'heap of dirt', Ko. *kip* 'heap of weeds, rubbish', To. *kīp* 'rubbish', Ka. *kuppe* 'heap, dunghill', *kuppu* 'to heap up', Koḍ. *kuppī* 'a dropping of dung', Tu. *kuppe*, *kippe* 'heap', Te. *kuppa* 'heap, pile', *guppu* 'to heap up', Pa. *kuppa* 'mound', *kopp-* 'to be full', Ga. (Oll.) *kop-* id., (S.) *kuppā* 'heap', Go. *kuppa*, *kupa* id., Konḍa Pe. Maṇḍ. *kupa* id., Kui *kupa* 'hillock', Kuwi (Su.) *kupli* id., (P.) *kuppa* 'stack', Kur. *khoppnā* 'to heap up', *khoprñā* 'to be heaped up', Malt. *qope* 'to heap', n. 'heap'. 1440.

40. *-mp-: Ta. Ma. -mp-, Ko. -b-, -mb-, To. -b-, Ka. -v-, -mb-, Koḍ. Tu. -mp-, Te. -m-, -mm-, -mb-, Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) -m-, Pa. Ga. -mb-, -b-, Go. Konḍa Pe. Maṇḍ. -m-, Kui -mb-, Kuwi -m-, -mb-, Kur. Malt. Br. -mb-.

Exx.:

See Ta. *kompu* (§16.5; add Nk. *komm* 'horn', Konḍa *komu* id., *koma* 'branch', Pe. *komo* 'horn', Maṇḍ. *kumu* id., Kuwi *kommu* id.), Ta. *uṭumpu* (§27).

Ta. Ma. *pāmpu* 'snake', Ko. *pa'b*, To. *po'b*, Ka. *pāvu*, Koḍ. *pa'mbī*, Te. *pāmu*, Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) *pa'm*, Pa. Ga. *bām*. 3361.

Ta. Ma. *kāmpu* 'flower-stalk, handle', Ka. *kāvu* id. (whence Ko. *ka'v* 'handle', To. *ko'f* id., 'hollow stem'), Te. *kāma* 'stem, stick, handle', Go. *kāme* 'spoon handle', Kuwi (F.) *kamba*, (S.) *kāmiba* 'handle'. 1216.

Ta. *cēmpu*, *cēmpai* 'a kind of yam', Ma. *cēmpu*, *cēmpa*, Te. *cēma*, Pa. *kibi*. 1667.

Ta. *nampu* 'to trust', Ma. *nampu-*, Ko. *nāmb-*, To. *nob-*, Ka. *nambu*, Koḍ. *namb-*, Tu. *nambuni*, *nanimuni*,

Te. *nammu*, Konḍa *nami-*, Kui (K.) *nam-*, Kuwi (Su.) *nam-*. 2975.

Kur. (LSI) *khimb-*, (HAHN) *khimcnā*, (GRIGNARD) *kheōcnā* 'to embrace', Br: *khumb* 'an embrace'. 1301.

Initial voiced stops

41. The occurrence of initial voiced stops instead of voiceless in numerous examples in Ka. and Te. was treated by BURROW, *BSOS* 9.711-22, and need not be discussed here; examples of it have been given throughout without comment. Similar treatment is needed for the numerous occurrences in CDr. and NDr. in general. It is to be noted that some onomatopoetic formations may have to be reconstructed with initial voiced stops for PDr.; see EMENEAU, "Onomatopoetics in the Indian Linguistic Area".

NASALS

*[~]**n**

42. *[~]**n**. This nasal occurs initially only in Ta. Ma. Kod. Tu. and consequently is a phoneme only in these languages. For the restrictions on vowels occurring after it, and for a statement of developments, see BURROW, *BSOAS* 11.603-16.

***n**
.

43. ***n** : Ta. Ma. Ko. To. Ka. Kod. **n**, Tu. **n**, *n*, Te. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) Pa. *n*, Ga. (Oll) **n**, *n*, (S.) *n*, Go. *n*, Konḍa **n**, Pe. Mand. *n*, Kui *n*, **n**, Kuwi *n*, Kur. Malt. Br. *n*. It does not occur in initial position.

Exx. :

See Ta. *kaṇ* (§2), Ta. *paṇ* (§2), Ta. *pūṇ* (§7), Ta. *paṇi* (§13), Ta. *eṇṇu* (§16.8), Ta. *veṇ-ṇey* (§16.8), Ta. *peṇ* (§17.12), Ta. *uṇ* (§29).

Ma. *kiṇayuka* 'to quarrel', Ka. *keṇaku* 'to irritate, provoke', Tu. *keṇ(a)kuni*, *kenakuni* id., Te. *cenaku* 'to touch, oppose, rush against, have intercourse with another woman', Kur. *khennā* 'to have intercourse with'. 1616.

Ta. *naṇṇu* 'to do, make', Kur. *nannā* 'to do', Malt. *nane* id. 2963.

44. *n : Ta. Ma. n, ñ (probably to be interpreted as entirely allophonic in distribution), all other languages n. In Br. *n- before a Dr. front vowel becomes d- (BH. KRISHNAMURTI, "*Dravidian Nasals in Brahui*"). There are many instances of alternation of initial n- and zero ; see BURROW, *BSOAS* 11.328-56, especially 332 ; for one example, see Te. *usumu* (§24).

Exx. :

See Ta. *iñ* (§5), Ta. *ni* (§5), Ta. *nir* (§5 ; doublets without n-, and Br. d-), Ta. *nuñku* (§6), Ta. *nūl* (§7), Ta. *nerunal* (§13 ; Br. d-), Ta. *min*, *minnu* (§§13, 16.2), Ka. *nōḍu* (§16.4), Ta. *nōvu* (§16.4), Ta. *poñ* (§16.5), Ma. *nuccu* (§16.6), Ta. *neñcu* (§16.8), Ta. *muñai* (§16.6), Ta. *viñā* (§16.8), Ta. *nirai* (§16.8), Ta. *nakku* (§21), Ta. *naci* (§24), Ta. *nañcu* (§26), Ta. *neñru* (§31), Ta. *tiñ* (§32), Ta. *neyttōr* (§35 ; Br. d-), Ta. *nampu* (§40).

Ta. *naṭa* 'to walk', etc., Kol. *aḍg-* id., Nk. Nk. (Ch.) *aṭg-* id. 2957.

Ta. *araḷ*, *aruḷ*, *aruku*, *arukku* 'to be terrified', Ma. *araḷu-* id., Ko. *arkl* 'fear, misgiving', Ka. *araḷ*, *ar(a)lu* 'terror',

Tu. *naraṅuni* 'to waver, be reluctant', Te. *aragali* 'hesitation', Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) *ari* 'fear', *ars-* 'to fear', Pa. *nar* 'fear', *narc-* 'to fear', Ga. *nar* 'fear', (Oll.) *ṇars-*, (S.) *narc-* 'to fear', Malt. *arkare* 'to be terrified', Br. *narring* 'to flee, run away'. 2980.

45. *m : m in all the languages.

Exx. :

See Ta. *maṇṇu* (§2), Ta. *mōṇu* (§11), Ta. *miṇ*, *miṇṇu* (§§13, 16.2), Ta. *muṇai*, *muṇukku* (§16.6), Ta. *mulai* (§16.6), Ta. *muṇai* (§16.6), Ta. *mēy* (§16.7), Ta. *erumai* (§16.8), Ka. *meṇṇu* (§17.12), Ta. *mukil* (§20), Te. *usumu* (§24), Ta. *mācu* (§24), Ta. *mācuṇam* (§24), Ko. *mick-* (§24), Pa. *mac-* (§25), Ta. *muccu* (§25), Ta. *maṇṇai* (§29), Ta. *mūṇṇu* (§32), Ta. *mitaṇ* (§34). BH. KRISHNAMURTI has suggested that in Br. before front vowels *m- becomes b-, parallel to the development of *n- > d- (see §44).

LIQUIDS

and SEMI VOWELS

*y

46. *y. Medial and final it occurs as y in all the languages, except Kui in which it appears as j. In Go. TRENCH usually wrote it as i. No certain instances have been found in Br., but it is probable that there has been loss or contraction. In general, in the other languages there are complications in that there is often contraction with a preceding vowel or loss before a following consonant or coalescence with that consonant, and in that there seems to be neutralization of vowel quantity except for a and ā (for this matter of quantity, see BH. KRISHNAMURTI, *JAOS* 75.243-4); these complications must be ignored here.

Ta. -ai is structurally -ay, and in this final position there are special developments in the other languages: loss of y in Ma. and Te., *-ay > Ka. Koḍ. Tu. -e, etc.

There are relations between -y- and -c-, and between -y- and -k-, which cannot be treated here.

Exx.:

See Ta. *arai* (§2), Ta. *tīy* (§4), Ta. *kōy* (§§11, 16.4), Ta. *pōy* (§16.4), Ta. *tōy* (§16.4), Ta. *toy* (§16.5), Ta. *koy* (§16.5), Ta. *ēy* (§16.7), Ta. *mēy* (16.7), Ta. *ey* (16.8), Ta. *eytu* (16.8), Ta. *ney* (16.8).

Ta. Ma. *nāy* 'dog', Ko. *na'y*, To. *no'y*, Ka. *nāy(i)*, Koḍ. *na'y*, Tu. *nāyi*, Ko. *a'te* (cf. *resn a'te* 'wild dog'), Nk. Nk. (Ch.) *āte*, Pa. *netta*, Ga. (Oll.) *nēte*, (S.) *nette*, ((P.) *kope nete* 'wild dog'), Go. *nai*, *nay*, *ney*, etc. 3022.

Initial *y- is rare. The material has been collected and analysed by BURROW, *BSOAS* 11.595-603. It appears only in OTa. and only before *ā*. It seems, however, that it must be posited for PDr., since the combination *yā- is a convenient formula for the correspondence: OTa. yā-, modern Ta. Ma. Ko. Ka. Koḍ. *ā-*, To. *a'-* and *o'-*, Te. Go. Konḍa Pe. Mand. Kur. Malt. Br. *ē-*. The instances are few, and there are exceptions in some of them in some of the languages; for the other languages than those listed the instances are too few and with too many exceptions to make a statement.

There is only one instance in which the long vowel shows a short vowel as a morphophonemic alternant, i. e. *yā-: *ya- (> e-). This is the 1st sg. personal pronoun and has been stated in §13. This 1st pl. exclusive pronoun shows much the same phenomena, but there have been too many analogical and other changes in this pronoun for it to be as revealing as the 1st sg. pronoun.

Ta. *yātu*, *ātu* 'goat', Ma. *ātu*, Ko. *a't*, To. *o'd*, Ka. *ātu*, Koḍ. *a'dī*, Tu. *ēdu*, Te. *ēdika*, Go. *ēṭi*, Kur. *ēṭā*, Malt. *ēṭe*, Br. *hēṭ*. 4229.

Ta. *yāmai*, *āmai* 'tortoise, turtle', Ma. *āma*, Ko. *eṃ(b)*, Ka. *āme*, Koḍ. *a'me*, Tu. *ēme*, Te. *tābēlu*, *tāmēlu*, Go. *(h)ēmūl*, Kui *sēmbi*. 4232.

Ta. *yānai*, *ānai* 'elephant', Ma. *āna*, Ko. *a'n*, To. *a'n* (contrast *o'n* 'I'), Ka. Tu. *āne*, Koḍ. *a'ne*, Te. *ēnūgu*, *ēnika*, Kol. *ēnāgi*, Pa. *ēnu*, Ga. *ēnig*, Go. *ēni*, *ēnal*, Konḍa *ēni*, *ēngu* (*n*, not *ṇ*). 4235.

Ta. *āḷ*, (inscr.) *yāḷ* 'to rule', Ma. *āḷ-*, To. *o'ḷ-*, Ka. *āḷ*, Koḍ. *a'ḷ-*, Tu. *āḷuni*, Te. *ēlu*, (inscr.) *ēḷu*. 341.

47. **v-* and **-v-* : *v* in both positions in Ta. Ma. Ko. Te. Kol. Nk. Pa. Ga. Go. (written *w* in TRENCH) Konḍa Pe. Maṇḍ. Kui Kuwi (S. spells *w-*, F. *vw-*); To. *p-*, *-f-*, Ka. Koḍ. *b-*, *-v-*, Tu. *b-*, *-b-* and *-v-*, Kur. *b-*, *-b-* and *-v-*, Malt. *b-*, *-w-*, Br. *b-*, *-f-* and *-v-*.

Exx. :

See Ta. *varu* (§2), Ta. *vaṛu* (§2), Ta. *vil* (§4), Ta. *cevi* (§8), Ta. *viral* (§8), Ta. *vēr* (§9), **avanṛu* and **ivanṛu* (§15), Ka. *pūvu* (§16.3), Ta. *nōvu* (§16.4), Ta. *vikku* (§§16.8, 21), Ta. *viṇā* (§16.8; this has an example of *m-* alternating with **v-*), Ta. *veṇ-ṇey* (§16.8), Ta. *viṭu* (§17.11), Ta. *viṛ* (§17.11), Ta. *viraḷ* (§17.12), Ta. *vēṭṭai* (§17.13), Ta. *vēṇkai* (§22), Ta. *viṇu* (§24), Ta. *viṭu* (§28).

Ta. *aṛi* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) 'to know, perceive, ascertain', *aṛivu* 'to make known', *aṛivu* 'knowledge', Ma. *aṛiyu-* 'to know; be known', *aṛivu* 'knowledge', Ko. *ayr-* (*arc-*) 'to know', *arv* 'sense, wisdom', Koḍ. *ari-* (*-v-*, *-ṇj-*) 'to find out', *aṛivī* 'knowledge', Br. *harrifing* 'to enquire'. 265.

48. *-r-: -r- in all the languages; -r- in some dialects of Go.; Br. also -rr-; To. also *ʃ* and *ʒ*, as well as contractions of *VrV > V· (see EMENEAU, *TPS* 1957.57-63). *r and *r̥ have lost contrast completely in Ko. Kod. Br., partly in To. Tu. Kol. Nk. Go. Kui Kuwi Pe. Mand. Kur. Malt. and also in modern Ta. Ka. Te., and retain contrast only in Ma. and Konḍa.

Exx.:

See Ta. *varu* (§2), Ta. *arai* (§2), Ta. *ār* (§§3, 13), Ta. *iraṇṭu* (§§4, 29), Ta. *nīr* (§5), Ta. *utir* (§6), Ta. *vīral* (§8), Ta. *vēr* (§9), Ta. *pori* (§11), Ta. *kār* (§13), Ta. *para* (§13), Ta. *poru* (§13), Ta. *ciraṛru* (§14), Ta. *cirai* (§14), Ta. *aravu* (§15), Ta. *iravu* (§15), Pa. *tir-* (§15), Ta. *turu* (§15), Ta. *īral* (§16.2), Ta. *oru* (§16.5), Ta. *erumai* (§16.8), Ta. *iraṭṭai* (§28), Ta. *neyttōr* (§35), Ta. *araḷ* (§44).

Other examples of To. sibilants from *r:

paṣkin 'I want to come' from stem *var- 'to come' (4311), *taṣkin* 'to want to give (to you)' from stem *tar- (2526).

Ta. *iru* (-nt-) 'to exist, remain, sit down', *iruttu* (*irutti*-) 'to cause to sit', *irukkai* 'sitting, residence', To. *īr-* (*īθ-*) 'to sit, live', *īst-* (-y-) 'to seat', *īšk* 'lifetime'. 407.

Exx. of **VrV* > To. *V*·: see Ta. *iraṇṭu* and *iraṇṭai* (§§28, 29), Ta. *viral* (§8; add Ka. *beraḷ*, To. *peṇṭi*).

Ta. *curuḷ* (*curuṇṭ-*) 'to become coiled or rolled, curl', *curuṇṭtu* (*curuṇṭti*-) 'to roll up, coil, curl, fold', Ko. *curṇ-* (*curḍ-*) 'to lie in coils', *curṭ-* (-y-) 'to coil, roll', To. *tuḷ-* (*tuḍ-*) 'to be rolled up', *tuṭ-* (-y-) 'to roll up, curl'. 2213.

49. *-l-: -l- in all the languages; Kui (WINFIELD) usually -d-, but C]l; Br. also -lh- (voiceless lateral); To. usually ɟ, occasionally l̥ (voiceless l). Ko. often has *-li > j (see Ta. *eli* §8, *puli* §16.6, *ñeli* §16.8). There are alternations of l and ɾ in the morphology.

Exx.:

See Ta. *pal* (§2), Ta. *kāl* (§3), Ta. *vil* (§4), Ta. *nūl* (§7), Ta. *eli* (§8), Ta. *cōlai* (§11), Ta. *ilir* (§15), **talay* (§15), Ta. *puli* (§16.6), Ta. *mulai* (§16.6), Ta. *ilai* (§16.8), Ta. *ñeli* (§16.8), Ta. *mukil* (§20), Tu. *selé* (§23), Ka. *todal* (§34).

Ta. *kal* (*kaɾɾ-*) 'to learn', *karpi* 'to teach', Ma. *kal* (*kaɾɾ-*) 'to learn', Ko. *kal-* (*kaɾ-*) id., To. *kal-* (*kaɾ-*) id., Ka. *kal* (-t-) id., Tu. *kalpuni* id., Te. *karacu* id., *karapu* 'to teach', Kol. *karp-* (*karapt-*) 'to learn, teach', Nk. *karap-* 'to learn', etc. (with *ɾ); 1090 (alternation of *l and *ɾ). There are no To. verbs with ɟ and t̥ in the basic and past stems respectively, corresponding to *l and *ɾɾ, though there are several with l and t̥ (as in this verb); one verb has ɟ and d: Ta. *kil* (*kiɾɾ-*) 'to be able', *kirpu*, *kerpu* 'strength,

ability', Ma. *kalpu* 'strength', To. *kĩs-* (*kĩd-*) 'to be able',
? *kel oĩ* 'old man', *keloč* 'old woman'; 1307.

Ta. Ma. Ko. Ka. Kol. Nk. (Ch.) Ga. Go. Konḍa Pe.
pāl 'milk', To. *po's*, Koḍ. *pa'lĩ*, Te. *pālu*, Pa. *pēl*, Kui
pāḍu, *pālu*, Kuwi *pālu*, Br. *pālh*. 3370.

50. *-ll- : Ta. Ma. Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Te. Nk. Ga. Kuwi
Br. -ll-, Ko. Konḍa Pe. Maṇḍ. Malt. -l-, To. -s-,
-l-, Kol. Pa. Go. -ll-, -l-, Kui -ḍ-, -l-. Ko.
often has *-lli > -j.

Exx.: See Ta. *ollu* (§10), Ta. *ill-* (§16.8).

Ta. Ma. *all-* 'not to be so-and-so', Ko. *ala* id., Ka.
Koḍ. *alla* id., Go. (Tr.) *hal*, *hallā* 'not', (Ch.) *halle* 'no',
Malt. -l- 'negative morpheme', Br. *all-* base of past negative
tenses of *anning* 'to be', *ala*, *alavā* 'certainly not'. 198.

Ta. Ma. Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Te. *palli* 'lizard', To. *pasy*, Ko.
e'paj, Go. (Y.) *pal*. 3294.

Ta. Ka. Te. Kol. Nk. *pilli* 'cat', Pa. *biley*, Konḍa
bilay, Kuwi (Su. P.) *bileyi*. 3438.

Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. Te. *nelli* 'emblic myrobalan', Koḍ.
nellike, Pa. *nella*, Go. *nelli*, *neli*, *nalli*, Konḍa *neli*, Kui
neḍi, Kuwi *lelli*; Ko. *nel* baṇ 'Fragaria nilgerrensis', To.
niṣ ko'y id., 'emblic myrobalan'. 3114, 3115.

51. *-l- : Ta. Ma. Ko. Ka. Koḍ. Nk. -l-, To. -l-,
-l̃-, Tu. -l-, -l̃-, Te. Kol. Nk. (Ch.) Pa. Ga. Kur.
Malt. -l-, Go. Konḍa Pe. Maṇḍ. Kuwi -ṛ-, Kui
-l-, -ḍ-, C]l-, Br. -l-, -lh-.

Exx. :

See Ta. uḷ (§6), Ta. tēḷ (§9), Ta. tōṇṭāṇ (§11), Ta.
kiḷai (§§14, 17.2), Ta. kēḷ (§14), Ta. kuḷampu (§16.6), Ta.
puḷi (§16.6), Koḍ. tēḷi- (§17.3), Ta. kēḷ (§17.4).

Ta. kaḷam, kaḷaṇ 'open space, threshing floor, battlefield',
Ma. kaḷam id., Ko. kaḷm 'place for threshing or dancing',
To. koḷṇ 'threshing floor', Ka. kaḷa id., 'battlefield', Koḍ.
kaḷa 'threshing floor', Tu. kala 'bed of flowers, place where
pariahs assemble', Te. kalanu 'battle, threshing floor', Kol.
kalave 'worship in fields, threshing floor', Nk. kaḷave 'thresh-
ing floor', Pa. kali id., Ga. (Oll.) kalin id., Go. kaṛa
id., 'sacred enclosure', Konḍa kaṛaṇ 'threshing floor',
Maṇḍ. kāṛa id., Kui klai id., Kuwi (Su.) kṛānu id., Kur.
khall 'field', Malt. qalu 'field on the hills'. 1160.

Te. *ālu* (pl. *āṇḍru*) 'wife', (inscr.) *āḷu* 'woman', Go. *ār* (pl. *āska*) id., Konḍa *āru* 'wife', Pe. *ār* (pl. *ācku*) 'woman', Mand. *ār* (pl. *ācke*) 'woman, wife', Kui (LETCHMAJEE) *ālī* id., Kuwi (S.) *āḍi*, (T.) *āru* 'wife', ? Ta. *aḷaku* 'hen of fowl, peacock, etc.'. 342b.

52. *-ll- : Ta. Ma. Ka. Koḍ. Tu. -ll-, Ko. -l-,
To. -l-, -l̃-, Te. Kol. Nk. Pa. Ga. Kur. Br. -ll-,
Go. -ll-, -l-, Konḍa Pe. Maṇḍ. Malt. -l-.

Ex. :

Ta. *pi!lai* 'child, young of many animals', Ma. *pi!la*
id., To. *pe!̃ xoʻf*- 'to be married to a man', Ka. *pi!le*
'child, young of an animal', Koḍ. *pa!le* 'female of various
animals' (§17.2), Tu. *pi!le* 'child, baby', Te. *pilla* 'child,
baby, young of any animal, girl', Kol. *pilla* 'baby, daughter,
woman', Nk. *pilla* 'girl, daughter', Go. *pila*, *pilla* 'child,
young of an animal', Konḍa *pila* 'child', Pe. *pilka* 'young
shoot of tree', Kuwi (Su.) *PELLI māṇga* 'bride', Kur. *pellō*
'female child, bride', Malt. *peḷi* 'woman', *pelo* 'female of
plants', Br. *pillōta* 'small child, orphan'. 3449.

53. *-r-: Ta. Ma. -r-, Ko. *l*, *r*, *g*, *y*, To. *ḍ*, *r*, *ṣ*, *ṣ*, *w*, Ka. -r- > -l-[V, -r-[C, Kod. -l-, zero[C, Tu. -r- (-l- in the brahman dialect), Te. -r- > -ḍ- (in the metathesized situation, *ḍ*- > *d*-), C]-r-, Kol. Nk. -r-, Nk. (Ch.) -y-, zero, Pa. -r-, Ga. (Oll) -r-, (S.) -ḍ-, Go. -r-, -r-, Konḍa Pe. Mand. Kui Kuwi -r-, Kur. Malt. zero, -r-, Br. -r-, -rr-, -r-, zero. In Pa. and Ga. the phoneme in this correspondence contrasts with those in the correspondences for all other PDr. phonemes. See detailed treatment by BH. KRISHNAMURTI, "Proto-Dravidian *z"; for To., EMENEAU, *TPS* 1957.51-7; for Kod., EMENEAU, "PDr. *r in Kodagu"; for some of the CDr. languages, BURROW and BHATTACHARYA, "A Comparative Vocabulary of the Gondi Dialects" and "Notes on Kuvi"; for Kur. and Malt., BURROW, "The Treatment of Primitive Dravidian -r- in Kurukh and Malto"; for Br., EMENEAU, "Brahui Developments of PDr. *r, *l, *r, *r".

Exx.:

See Ta. *eṛu* (§8), Ta. *taṛal* (§15), Tu. *taṅka* (§15), Ta. *kōṛi* (§16.4), Ta. *ēṛu* (§17.4), Ta. *mitaṛ* (§34; Ka. *l* and Go. *r* may perhaps represent *r as seen in Ta.).

Ta. *aṛu* (-t-) 'to lament', *aṛai* (-tt-) 'to call, cry out', Ma. *aṛu*- 'to weep, cry', Ko. *ag-* (*aṛt-*) id., To. *oṛ-* (-y-)

id., Ka. *aṛ(u)* (*aṛt* > *att-*) id., Tu. *arpini* id., Te. *ēḍucu* id., Kol. *ar-* (*-t-*) 'to weep, caw, roar, etc.', Nk. *ar-* 'to weep, cry', Pa. *aṛ-* id., Ga. (Oll.) *aṛ-*, (S.) *āḍ-* 'to weep', Go. *aṛ-* id., Konḍa *aṛba-* id., Pe. *aṛba-* id., Mand. *ṛi-* id., Kui *ṛi-v-* (*ṛi-t-*) id., Kuwi (Su.) *ṛi-* (*-t-*) id. 240.

Ta. *uṛai* 'deer', Ma. *uṛa-mān* 'porcine deer', Ka. *duppi* 'axis deer' (< Te.), Tu. *ure* 'deer', Te. *duppi* id., Kol. *duppi* id., Pa. *uṛup* 'spotted deer', Ga. *ḍuppi* id., Go. *ḍuppāl, duppi* id., Konḍa *ḍupi* 'axis deer'. 598.

Ta. *uṛu* (*-t-*) 'to plough', Ma. *uṛu-* id., Ko. *ug-* (*uṛt-*) id., To. *uṣf-* (*uṣt-*) id., Ka. *uṛ* (*uṛt-* > *utt-*) id., Koḍ. *uṛ-* (*utt-*) id., Tu. *ūḍuni* id., *ura, dappu* 'ploughing', Te. *dun(n)u* 'to plough', *dukki* 'ploughing', Kol. *ur-* (*-t-*) 'to harrow, plough', Nk. *ur-* id., Pa. *uṛ-* 'to plough', *ḍukki* 'cultivated upland field' (< Old Te.), Ga. (S.) *ūḍ-* 'to plough', Go. *uṛ-*, *ur-* id., Konḍa Pe. *ṛū-* id., Kui *ṛū-v-* (*ṛū-t-*) id., Kuwi (Su.) *ṛū-*, Kur. *uinā* (*uss-*) id., Malt. *use* 'to turn up the soil (as pigs do)'. 592.

Ta. *meṛuku* 'to smear floor with cowdung solution, smear', n. 'cowdung, wax', *meṛukku* 'smearing with cowdung solution, cowdung', Ma. *meṛuku-*, *meṛukku* id., Ko. *mek* 'bee's-wax', *mek-* 'to smear with cowdung solution', To. *mōšk-* id., *mōšk* 'wax', Te. *m(r)ēgu, mrēvu* 'to smear', Go. *maṛhuttānā* 'to paint cattle for a festival', Konḍa *miṛis-* 'to clean utensils with ashes, etc.', Kui *mrāṇḍ-* 'to plaster, smear', Br. *miring* 'to plaster'. 4169.

CLUSTERS OF NASAL PLUS VOICELESS STOP

54. A conspicuous problem has been that of clusters of nasal plus voiceless stop, as found especially in Ka. and Te. as well as in others of the languages, in contrast with those made up of nasal plus voiced stop. Alongside this phonological problem, there has been the morphological puzzle of equivalent forms which show in Ta. Ma. double stops (e.g. *kk*) and in Ka. nasal plus voiceless stop (e.g. *ñk*). N. KUMARASWAMI RAJA proposed in "Post-nasal Voiceless Plosives in Telugu" and *Post-nasal Voiceless Plosives in Dravidian* a solution in which PDr. clusters of the form *NPP* yield in Ta. Ma. *PP* and in Ka. Te. and sometimes elsewhere *NP* (not *NB*). This important breakthrough goes a long way towards furnishing a solution for some morphological problems which were previously regarded as apparently phonologically unmotivated, e. g. intransitive stems in *NB* beside transitive stems in *PP*, the latter in Ta. Ma. resulting from *NB-X*, which yields *NPP* > Ta. Ma. *PP*.

CONSONANT ALTERNATION, SINGLE VERSUS DOUBLE

55. Similar to the alternation of a long vowel of the base, when no derivative suffix follows, and a short vowel, when a derivative suffix beginning with a vowel follows (§13), is a consonant alternation in certain bases. These show a short vowel which is followed by a double consonant (**kk*, etc.) when no derivative suffix follows, in alternation with a single consonant (**k*, etc.) when there follows a derivative suffix beginning with a vowel. The formula is: $(C^1)VC^2C^2- : (C^1)VC^2-V...$. Consonant alternations found include stops — **kk* : **k*, **cc* : **c*, **ʔʔ* : **ʔ*, **ɽɽ* : **ɽ*, **tt* : **t*, **pp* : **p* (N. B. !), some non-stops — **nn* : **n*, **ʎʎ* : **ʎ* — but there is no alternation involving **r* or **ɽ* (since these do not ever occur doubled) or (probably) **y*. Both verbs and nouns are involved in these alternations. Treatment has been carried further by Kamil ZVELEBIL, "On Morphophonemic Rules of Dravidian Bases".

Exx. : See Ta. *kiʎʎu*, *kiʎai* (§14).

Ta. *koʎtu* 'to sting (as a scorpion or wasp)', *koʎukku* 'sting of a wasp or scorpion, claws of crab or lobster', Ka.

kuṣuku 'to sting', *kuḍuku* 'to peck', Tu. *koḍapuni* 'to bite (as a snake), peck', Nk. *koṛk-* 'to peck', Pa. *koḍk-* id., *koṭṭ-* 'to peck, dig', Ga. (Oll.) *koṭ-* id., (S.) *koṭ-* 'to bite (as a snake)', Go. *koṭṭ-* 'to hoe, peck', Pe. *koṭ-* '(snake) to bite', Mand. *kuṭ-* id., Malt. *koḍe* 'to dig out'. 1718.

Ta. *pukai* 'to burn as the heart, grieve', Tu. *buguḷuni* 'to be grieved', Te. *pogulu* 'to be sorrowful', *pokku* id., 'to grieve'. 3649.

Ta. *kappu* 'to overspread (as a cloud)', *kavi* 'to cover, overspread, surround', *kammu* 'to be overcast, cloudy', Ma. *kappu-*, *kammu-* 'to cover, overspread', *kaviyu-* 'to overflow, inundate, surpass', *kamiyu-* 'to overspread', Ko. *kavc-* 'to cover with a garment', To. *kofc-* (*kofč-*) 'to cover, surround', Ka. *kappu* 'to cover; spread, overspread, surround', *kavi* 'to cover, overspread, attack', *kavi | a | ucu* 'to put upon', Tu. *kabiyuni* 'to surround, besiege, overspread', Te. *kappu* 'to cover, overspread, conceal, spread', *kaviyu* 'to spread, attack', *kammu* 'to cover, surround', *kamiyu* 'to overspread', Pa. *kapp-* 'to cover, overspread', Konḍa *kap-* '(clouds) to overspread the sky', Kur. *khapnā* 'to cover exactly, stick fast to'. 1024.

Ma. *pikku-* 'to break in pieces', Te. *pigulu* 'to burst'. 3398.

Ta. *terru* 'to stumble, mistake, stammer', Ma. *terru-* 'to slip, stumble, mistake', Koḍ. *teri-* 'to totter about'. 2835.

Ta. Ka. *muccu* 'to cover', Ko. *muc-* id., To. *müc-* (*müč-*) id., Koḍ. *mucc-* 'to close', Tu. *muccuni* 'to shut, close, cover', Te. *musūgu* 'a cover', *muccu* 'to close',

Nk. (Ch.) *muc-* 'to cover, close, shut', Pa. Ga. *muy-* 'to cover oneself' ($y < *-c-$), Go. *mucc-* 'to cover', Konḍa *mus-* 'to bury, cover, close', Pe. *muc-* 'to cover, bury', Mand. *muc-* 'to bury', Kui *mus-* 'to cover (a drum or umbrella)', *mus-p-* (*mus-t-*) 'to bury, cover', Kuwi (Su.) *muh-* (*mus-t-*) 'to bury', Kur. *muccnā* 'to close, shut', *mus^ugnā* 'to envelop', Malt. *muce* 'to close, shut', *musge* 'to pack up, tie into a bundle', Br. *must* 'shut, closed'. 4025.

ALTERNATIONS OF VARIOUS CONSONANTS

56. Morphophonemic alternations of various consonants include **l*, **ɾ*, and **n*; **ɾ* and **ɳ*; and **ʈ* and **ɽ*. Examples of the latter are seen especially in Te., where verb bases with **ʈ* in several instances have transitives with **ɾ* (cf. also some other CDr. languages). To. also has several instances, of more sporadic nature, as well as some instances of *q* representing **ʈ*.

Ta. *paʈu* 'to perish, die, set, rain', Ma. *paʈu-* 'to fall, sink', Ko. *paɾ-* 'to lie down, sleep', *paɾc-* 'to make to lie', etc., Te. *paɖu* 'to fall, lie, sleep', *paɾucu*, *paɾacu*, *parcu* 'to cause to fall', *paɾupu* id., 'throw down', Nk. *paɾ-* 'to fall', *parp-* 'to make to fall', *part-* 'to fell', Nk. (Ch.) *paɽ/q-* 'to fall', *payip-/payp-* 'to make to fall, demolish'. 3190.

Similarly, Te. *āɖu* 'to play, move, shake, speak', *ārcu* 'to shake (tr.), move, cause to say' (290); Te. *ōɖu* 'to run, be defeated', *ōrcu* 'to defeat' (877); Te. *kūɖu* 'to meet, join, collect (intr.)', *kūrcu* 'to unite, join, bring together', *kūɾpu* 'joining, uniting' (1562).

Ta. *poṭi* 'to be broken to pieces, become pulverized; pulverize', n 'powder, dust', Ko. *poɣɿ* id., To. *pīry* 'dust', Ka. *puḍi* 'powder, dust', Koḍ. Tu. Te. *poḍi* id., 'flour', Nk. (Ch.) *podil* 'flour', Pa. *por*, *podil*, *poyl* 'flour, husk dust', Ga. (P.) *podul* 'flour'. Both To. and Nk. (Ch.) Pa. Ga. attest *ɽ. 3667.

Ta. *naṭuṅku* 'to shake, shiver, tremble', Ma. *naṭuṅṅu-*, Ko. *narg-*, To. *noḍx-*, Ka. *naḍugu*, *naḍagu*, Tu. *naḍuguni*, Te. *naḍūku*. 2960.

Ta. Ma. *kuṭi* 'house, family', To. *kwīḍy* 'a family of children'. 1379.

Ta. *kuṭai* 'to scoop, hollow out, bore', n. 'anything hollow', To. *kuḍy* 'pit, mortar', *kuḍy-* (*kuḍs-*) 'to have a shallow hollow (as back of thumb by pressure of index finger)', (*kuḍc-*) 'to make into a shallow hollow (thumb, pile of rice)'. 1383.

APPENDIX

PHONES AND THEIR RECONSTRUCTIONS

(Only those reflexes which are different from their proto forms have been listed here.)

- a* < **o*, **e*, **a* (Br. Go.)
- < **e*, **a* (Pa.)
- a* < *-*ay* (Ma. Te.)
- ai* < *-*ay* (Ta.)
- ā* < **ē*, **ā* (Pa.)
- b-* < **v-* (Ka. Kod. Tu. Kur. Malt. Br.)
- b-* < **mp* (To. Ko. Pa. Ga.)
- < **-v-* (Tu. Kur.)
- c-* < **k-*, **c-* (Ta. Ma. Te.)
- c-* < **ytt*, **itt*, **cc* (To.)
- < **ɪɪ*, **cc* (Pe. Mand. Kuwi)
- < **cc*, **-c-* (Ko. Te.)
- < **cc* (Kol. Nk. (Ch.) Kur. Malt.)

- cc < $*_{\underline{r}\underline{r}}$, $*cc$ (Mand. Kuwi)
 < $*_{\underline{r}\underline{r}}$ (Pe.)
 d < $*_{-\underline{r}-}$, $*_{-t-}$ (Te.)
 $d-$ < $*_{n-}$ (Br.)
 $-d-$ < $*_{-\underline{r}-}$, $*_{nt}$, $*_{-t-}$ (Pa.)
 < $*_{-\underline{r}-}$, $*_{-t-}$ (Tu. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.))
 < $*_{nt}$, $*_{-t-}$ (Ko. Ka. Ga.)
 < $*_{nt}$ (To.)
 < $*_{-t-}$ (Kod. Te. Ga. Go. Konḍa. Pe.
 Mand. Kui Kuwi Kur. Malt. Br.)
 dd < $*_{-t-}$ (Go.)
 $-d-$ < $*_{\underline{n}\underline{r}}$ (To. Ko.)
 $\dot{d}$ < $*_{-\underline{r}-}$, $*_{-t-}$ (Te.)
 $-d-$ < $*_{ll}$, $*_{-l-}$, $*_{-l-}$, $*_{-t-}$ (Kui)
 < $*_{-\underline{r}-}$, $*_{nt}$, $*_{-t-}$ (To.)
 < $*_{-\underline{r}-}$, $*_{-t-}$ (Pa. (NE))
 < $*_{nt}$, $*_{-t-}$ (Ko. Ka.)
 < $*_{-\underline{r}-}$ (Ga. (S.))
 < $*_{-t-}$ (Kod. Tu. Kol. (Wardha))
 e < $*_a$, $*_e$ (Pa.)
 < $*_i$, $*_e$ (Ta. Ma. Ka. Te.)
 $-e$ < $*_{-ay}$ (Ka. Kod. Tu.)
 $\bar{e}$ < $*_{\bar{a}}$, $*_{\bar{e}}$ (Pa.)
 $-f-$ < $*_{-v-}$ (To. Br.)

- g- < *-ɾ-, *ŋk, *-k- (Ko.)
 < *ŋk, *-k- (Ka.)
 < *ŋk (To.)
 < *-k- (Kod. Tu. Te. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.)
 Pa. Ga. Konḍa Pe. Mand. Kui)
- ḡ- < *-k- (Malt.)
- h- < *p- (Ka.)
 < *c- (Go. (SE) Pe. Mand. Kuwi)
- h[Ĉ < *-ɾ-, *-c- (Kui)
- h- < *-c- (Pe. Mand. Kuwi)
- i < *e, *i (Ta. Ma. Ka. Te. Br.)
- ī < *o, *i (To.)
- ī̄ < *ō (To.)
- j- < *-ɾ, *-y- (Kui)
 < *ŋc (Ka.)
 < *-c- (Kod. Tu.)
- j < *lli, *li (Ko.)
- k- < *kk (To. Ko. Ka. Kod. Tu. Te. Kol.
 Nk. Pa. Ga. Go. Konḍa Pe. Mand.
 Kui Kuwi Malt.)
- kkh < *kk (Kur.)
- kh < *k (Kur. Br.)
- khkh < *kk (Br.)

- l- < *l̥l̥, *-l̥-, *ll̥, *-l- (Malt.)
 < *l̥l̥, *ll̥, *-l- (Go. Konḍa Pe. Mand.)
 < *-l̥-, *ll̥, *-l- (Kol. Pa. Kui)
 < *-ll̥-, *-l- (To. Ko. Konḍa)
 < *-l̥-, *-l- (Tu. Te. Nk. (Ch.) Ga.
 Kur. Br.)
- ll < *l̥l̥, *ll̥ (Nk. Pa. Ga. Go. Br.)
 < *l̥l̥ (Te. Kol. Kur.)
- l̥- < *-l- (To.)
- lh- < *-l̥-, *-l- (Br.)
- l̥- < *-r̥-, *l̥l̥, *-l̥- (Ko.)
 < *-r̥-, *-l̥- (Ka. Koḍ. Tu.)
 < *l̥l̥, *-l̥- (To.)
- l̃- < *l̥l̥, *-l̥- (To.)
- m- < *mp, *-m- (Te. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.)
 Go. Konḍa Pe. Mand. Kuwi)
- mb < *mp (Ko. Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Te. Pa. Ga.
 Kui Kuwi Kur. Malt. Br.)
- mm < *mp, *mm (Te.)
- n < *n̥, *n̥ (Tu. Te. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) Pa.
 Ga. (S) Go. Pe. Mand. Kui Kuwi
 Kur. Malt. Br.)
- nd < *n̥f̥, *nt̥ (Kuwi)
 < *n̥r̥, *nt̥ (Ka. Koḍ. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.)
 Pa. Go. Kur. Malt.)
 < *nt̥ (Ko. Koḍ. Tu. Te. Ga. Konḍa Pe.
 Mand. Kui)

- $n\bar{d}$ < $*n\bar{r}$ (Ko.)
 $n\bar{d}$ < $*n\bar{r}$, $*n\bar{t}$ (Ga. Go.) } (See also $n\bar{d}$)
 < $*n\bar{t}$ (Br.) }
 ng < $*n\bar{k}$ (Go. Kui Kuwi Br.) (See also $n\bar{g}$)
 nj < $*n\bar{r}$, $*n\bar{c}$ (Pe. Mand. Kui Kuwi) } (See also $n\bar{j}$)
 < $*n\bar{c}$ (Ko. Te. Kol. Nk. Go. }
 Konḍa Malt) }
 nn < $*n\bar{r}$, $*nt$ (Ma.)
 nq < $*n\bar{k}$ (Malt.)
 $n\bar{r}$ < $*n\bar{r}$ (Konḍa)
 $\underline{n}$ < $*n$ (Ta.)
 $n\bar{g}$ < $*n\bar{k}$ (Malt.)
 $n\bar{d}$ < $*n\bar{t}$, $*n\bar{r}$ (Tu. Te.)
 < $*n\bar{r}$ (Pa. (NE))
 < $*n\bar{t}$ (Ko. Ka. Koḍ. Kol. Nk } (See also $n\bar{d}$)
 Nk. (Ch.) Pa. Ga. Go. }
 Konḍa Pe. Mand. Kui }
 Kuwi Kur) }
 $-n\bar{-}$ < $*n\bar{c}$ (Pa. Ga.)
 $n\bar{j}$ < $*n\bar{c}$ (Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Pa. Ga.) (See also $n\bar{j}$
 and $n\bar{j}$)
 $n\bar{n}$ < $*n\bar{c}$ (Ma. Koḍ.)
 $n\bar{j}$ < $*n\bar{c}$ (Kur.) (See also $n\bar{j}$)
 $n\bar{g}$ < $*n\bar{k}$ (Ka. Tu. Te.) (See also ng and $n\bar{g}$)
 $n\bar{n}$ < $*n\bar{k}$ (Ma.)
 $-n\bar{-}$ < $*n\bar{k}$ (Konḍa Pe.)

- ηg < $*\dot{n}k$ (Ko. Koḍ. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) Pa. Ga. Pe. Mand. Kur.) } (See also $\dot{n}g$)
- ηkh < $*\dot{n}k$ (Kur.)
- $\sim g$ < $*\dot{n}k$ (Te.)
- o < $*a, *o$ (To.)
- < $*u, *o$ (Ta. Ma. Ka. Te.)
- o' < $*\bar{a}, *\bar{o}$ (To.) (See also $\bar{o}$)
- $\bar{o}$ < $*o, *\bar{o}$ (Br.) (See also o')
- $\bar{o}$ < $*e$ (To.)
- $\bar{o}'$ < $*\bar{e}$ (To.)
- $p-$ < $*v-, *p-$ (To.)
- $-p-$ < $*pp$ (To. Ko. Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Te. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) Pa. Ga. Go. Konḍa Pe. Mand. Kui Kuwi Kur. Malt. Br.)
- $q-$ < $*k-$ (Malt.)
- $-q-$ < $*kk$ (Malt.)
- r < $*-r-, *-r-, *-r-$ (Ka. Te.)
- $-r-$ < $*-r-, *-r-, *-r-, *-r-$ (Go. Br.)
- < $*-r-, *-r-, *-r-$ (Tu. Kol. Nk.)
- < $*-r-, *-r-$ (Ga.)
- < $*-r-, *-r-$ (Ko. Koḍ. Nk. (Ch.) Kui Kuwi Kur. Malt.)
- rr < $*-r-, *-r-, *-r-, *-r-$ (Br.)
- < $*-r-, *-r-$ (Go.)
- < $*-r-$ (Ga.)

- r*- < **ṛ*, **-r*- (Ka.)
 -*R*- < **ṛṛ* (Konḍa)
 -*r*- < **-ṛ*-, **-l*-, **-ṛ*-, **-r*- (Go)
 < **-ṛ*-, **-l*-, **-ṛ*- (Konḍa Pe. Mand. Kuwī)
 < **-ṛ*-, **-ṛ*- (To. Ko. Kui Kur. Malt. Br.)
 < **-ṛ*- (Pa. Ga. (Oll.))
 < **-ṛ*- (Kol (Kin.) Nk Nk (Ch.))
 -*s*- < **c*- (Ka. Tu. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) Ga. Go.
 Konḍa Kui)
 -*s*- < **ynt*, **int*, **yt*, **-c*- (To.)
 < **ṛṛ*, **cc*, **-c*- (Kui)
 < **ṛṛ*, **cc*, **-c*- (Br)
 < **ñc*, **cc*, **-c*- (Ka.)
 < **-ṛ*-, **-c*- (Kur. Malt.)
 < **cc*, **-c*- (Go. Konḍa)
 < **cc* (Ga.)
 < **-c*- (Te. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.))
 -*sh*- < **cc* (Br.) (See also -*ṣ*-)
 -*ṣ*- < **ll*, **-l*- (To.)
 -*ṣ*- < **-ṛ*-, **-r*- (To.)
 -*ṣ*- < **-ṛ*-, **-r*- (To.) (See also -*sh*-)
 -*t*- < **c*-, **-t*- (To. Ko. Ka. Tu.)

- t- < *ɾɾ, *tt (Ka. Koḍ. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.)
Pa. Kur. Malt. Br.)
- < *ɾɾ (Go.)
- < *tt (To. Ko. Tu. Te. Ga. Konḍa Pe.
Mand. Kui Kuwi)
- th- < *-t- (Kur. Malt.)
- tt < *ɾɾ, *tt (Ka. Koḍ. Nk. Nk. (Ch.) Pa.
Go. Kur.)
- < *ɾɾ (Kol.)
- ɹ- < *ɾɾ (To. Ko.)
- ɹ- < *ɾɾ, *ɹɹ (Tu. Te. Pa. (NE) Ga.)
- < *ɹɹ (To. Ko. Ka. Koḍ. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.)
Pa. Go. Konḍa Pe. Mand. Kui Kuwi
Kur. Malt. Br.)
- ɹɹ < *ɾɾ, *ɹɹ (Te. Ga.)
- θ- < *nt, *-t- (To.)
- u < *o, *u (Ta. Ma. Ka. Te.)
- < *o (Br.)
- v- < *-k-, *-v- (Pa.)
- < *mp, *-v- (Ka.)
- vw- < *v- (Kuwi (F.))
- w < *-ɹ- (To.)
- w- < *v- (Go. (Trench) Kuwi (S.))
- w- < *-v- (Malt.)
- wa < *o, *u (To.)

- $wa^{\cdot}$ < $*\bar{o}$ (To.)
 $w\bar{i}$ < $*o, *u$ (To.)
 $w\bar{i}^{\cdot}$ < $*\bar{o}$ (To.)
 $-x-$ < $*\bar{n}k, *-k-$ (To.)
 $-y-$ < $*-r-, *-k-, *-y-$ (Kuwi)
 < $*-r-, *-c-, *-y-$ (Ga.)
 < $*-k-, *-c-, *-y-$ (Pa.)
 < $*-r-, *-y-$ (Ko. Nk. (Ch.))
 < $*-k-, *-y-$ (Go.)
 $-z-$ < $*\bar{n}c$ (To.)
 $V^{\cdot}$ < $*VrV$ (To.)
 ϕ < $*-r-$ (Nk. (Ch.) Kur. Malt. Br.)
 $\phi-$ < $*c-$ (Ta. Ma. To. Ko. Ka. Kod. Tu. Te.
 Go. (SE))
 $\phi[C$ < $*-r-$ (Kod.)

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A Note on the symbols used

Due to non-availability of certain symbols in the press, the following sounds have been printed as follows:

- / é / Lower Mid Front Vowel (in Tulu)
- / ġ / Voiced Velar Fricative (in Malto)
- / ī / Voiceless Alveolar Lateral (in Toda)
- / ȷ / Voiceless Retroflex Lateral (in Toda)
- / ŋ / Velar Nasal (in Ko. Koḍ. Kol. Nk. Nk. (Ch.)
Pa. Ga. Konḍa Pe. Mand. Kur.)
- / ʉ / Unrounded u (in Tulu)
- / ù / Long u (in Malto)
- / ʒ / Voiced Dental Affricate (in Toda)

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<i>p.</i> 62, <i>l.</i> 1	Ko. - <i>c</i> - [<i>ts</i>]	Ko. - <i>c</i> -, To. - <i>c</i> - [<i>ts</i>]
<i>p.</i> 80, <i>l.</i> 2	Tu. - <i>mp</i> -	Tu. - <i>mb</i> -
<i>p.</i> 87, <i>l.</i> 24	<i>āfu</i>	<i>āḍu</i>
<i>p.</i> 100, <i>l.</i> 8	Voiceleess	Voiceless



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extensive volume of **Toda Songs** with texts, translations, and ethnographic commentary by EMENEAU nears completion. He gained his Ph.D. at Yale University in 1931. He was awarded the honorary degree of L.H.D. (Doctor of Humane Letters) by the University of Chicago in 1968 and of LL.D. (Doctor of Laws) by his alma mater. Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia. in 1970; the Yale Graduate School Association awarded him the Wilbur Lucius Cross Medal in 1969. He was President of the Linguistic Society of America (1949), Collitz Professor of Indo-European Comparative Grammar in the Linguistic Institute (1952), and President of the American Oriental Society (1954-55). He was also elected to the American Philosophical Society (1952). He has been Vice-President of the International Association of Tamil Studies since 1966, He is an honorary member of the Linguistic Society of India and an honorary fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. A volume of Studies in Indian Linguistics was brought out in 1968 by the Centres of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Deccan College (Poona) and Annamalai University to commemorate his **Sastipurti** (completion of sixty years).

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