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MADRAS

A COMPARATIVE PROSODY
OF THE
DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

:(PART I: THE SUTRAMS)

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PREFACE.

THIS is the first of a series of pamphlets on the subject of the comparative prosody of the Dravidian Languages. It contains in a condensed form the subject-matter of the whole book. Being repeatedly asked by a number of Literary men to point out to them the scope of the whole subject, I have to suit their purposes, given in this pamphlet the purport of some of my important investigations. If persons who are not acquainted with this subject feel that the present pamphlet is too difficult to understand, I have only to say to them, that the study of the pamphlets to follow will enable them to understand the value of this present one—which is an epitome of the whole subject. Each sentence in this pamphlet may be taken to be an aphorism, requiring lengthy explanations. My thanks are due to all those great men whose patronage has helped me to complete my researches in this field.

T. RAJAGOPALA RAO.

A Comparative Prosody of the Dravidian Languages.

PART I. GENERAL.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages was published by Bishop Caldwell. But a Comparative Prosody of the Dravidian Languages does not seem to be published before. The difficulty of the subject is perhaps its explanation. To master the Prosody of even a single Dravidian Language is difficult. To study three different systems of Dravidian Prosody and compare them may not be an easy matter. And information regarding Tamil Prosody is not easily procurable. A study of the available works on Telugu Prosody, and the publication by me of a little book, *embodying the essence* of these works, has left me in doubt on several points of Telugu Prosody and led me to the study of the Canarese and Tamil systems of Prosody. The subject is, however, difficult, intricate, vast and neglected, but it has an importance which is historical. The first in the field may have the best advantage, but he will also have the worst defects.

The present dissertation proposes to express in a condensed form, and from a Telugu standpoint, some of the striking features of similarity, in the Dravidian

systems of Prosody. The Sanskrit element in the Dravidian systems of Prosody is too well known to require a comment; and by the term, the Dravidian Element in Telugu Prosody, I mean that part of Telugu Prosody, which is independent of Sanskrit, and which persisted in the Telugu Language, even after Sanskrit has exerted its full influence over it. I take the word *Dravidian* in the broadest possible sense. It does not mean *Tamilic*. In this dissertation, the word Dravidian is used in the sense of that which pertains to the so-called Dravidian languages, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Canarese. I shall, in the following pages, determine what this Dravidian Element in Telugu Prosody is, and try to establish its Dravidian nature by analogies from the Tamil and Canarese systems of Prosody.

CHAPTER II.

The Ganams and the Metres.*

Prosody deals with the rules of versification. A verse generally consists of four lines. Each line can be

* *References.*—For Telugu Ganams, *cf.* Appakaviyam, edition of 1890. Manikya Mandira Press, Madras, p. 178.

For Telugu Vrittams, *cf.* the same book, pp. 248 and 249.

For Canarese Ganams, please compare Rev. F. Kittel's Chandombuchi, Edition of 1875. Basel Mission Book and Tract-Depository, Mangalore, pp. 10 and 11 and also pp. 96 and 97.

For Tamil Seers, and Vrittams, *cf.* Cheyyulilakkanam, Edition of 1893. Niranjana Vilasa Press, Madras, pp. 18-23 (Ahavalpa).

Its author is Mr. Kalyanasundaram Mudaliar. For Tamil Ganams, *cf.* the same book pp. 2-5.

For Tamil Ahavalpa Metre, please compare Yappurungalakkarigai, pp. 73-95. Published by A. Kumarasamy Pillay, of Jaffna, Plavanga year, Vidiyanupalana Yantra Sala, Madras.

divided into a number of technical parts called feet. A foot is generally made up of a number of syllables. I am here concerned with three different ways of dividing a foot into its component parts. Some Languages take each of the syllables of a foot by itself and give it a name, according to its nature; some take its syllables singly or in groups; some take only the accent into consideration. The first method obtains in Sanskrit and in languages like Telugu and Canarese whose poetry takes after Sanskrit, the second obtains in Tamil, and the third in the European Languages. According to the first division each individual part of a foot may be a Guruvu or a Laghuvu, according to the second a Nare or a Nirai, according to the third an accented or an unaccented syllable. A foot is not indefinitely long. If, for purposes of measurement, we call a Guru or a Laghu, a Nare or a Nirai, an accented or an unaccented syllable, by the term a component part, a foot is generally made up of two or three such component parts. If a Guru, a Nare or an accented syllable is represented by the usual Telugu symbol for Guruvu, \cup , and a Laghu, a Nirai, or an unaccented syllable by 1, the following table drawn according to the principles of *Chandaprastaram* in Telugu and Canarese, represents the order in which the component parts of a foot may be grouped together and named:

Expansion according to Prasthara Pratyayam.		Nomenclature of the Group in	
	Sanskrit, Canarese and Telugu where — = a Gurusu & = a Lagbhuvu.	Tamil where — = a nare = a nirai	European languages where — = an accented syllable = an unaccented syllable.
—	Gaganam గగనం	Thema தேமா	Spondee.
	Lagamu లగము	Pulima పులిమా	Iambus.
—	Galamu గలము	Kuvilam కువలమ్	Trochee.
	Lalamu లలము	Karuvilam కరువలమ్	Pyrrhic.
—	Maganam గగనము	Temangai తేమాంగై	Molossus.
	Yaganam యగనము	Pulimangai పులిమాంగై	Bacchic.
—	Raganam రగనము	Kuvilamgali కువలమ్గాలి	Cretic.
	Saganam సగనము	Karuvilamgali కరువలమ్గాలి	Anapaest.
—	Thaganam తగనము	Temangani తేమాంగని	Antibacchic.
	Jaganam జగనము	Pulimangani పులిమాంగని	Amphibrach.
—	Bhaganam భగనము	Kuvilamgani కువలమ్గాని	Dactyl.
	Naganam నగనము	Karuvilamgani కరువలమ్గాని	Tribrach.

cf. Brown's Telugu Grammar, and Chandombudhi.

But a component part of a foot is not necessarily a single syllable and it is a mistake to identify a Thema with a Gagamu. The above table refers only to the component parts of a foot whatever they may be; and these bear an interesting analogy. In Sanskrit, Telugu and Canarese, each component part is a single syllable and may be a Guruvu or a Laghuvu. To define a Guruvu or a Laghuvu or to enumerate the several ganams formed of them is too elementary for a dissertation like this. It is enough to state that the Aksharaganams of Telugu, Canarese and Sanskrit are identical. It has, however, to be noted here, that the division of some of these very Ganams into Surya, Indra and Chandra in Telugu is *apparently anomalous*, though it is really full of meaning. These Ganams enter into a particular class of metres. A rule to obtain them was given by Bhimana,* but it is only an artificial rule of memory. It was for sometime a problem to me why a separate division like that into Surya, Indra and Chandra was found necessary in Telugu, when the usual Sanskrit Ganams served their purpose. Books on Telugu Prosody were never able to explain this, and this led me to study the other Dravidian Systems of Prosody. The anomaly was explained in Canarese where certain metres, indigenous to Canarese, used the Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra Ganams, which are analogous to the Telugu Surya, Indra and Chandra Ganams. A comparison of these metres, with the Telugu metres formed by these technical Ganams, revealed a striking similarity, not only in Lakshanam, but also in the nomenclature. These Canarese metres

*Bhimana says : దివ్యక్రియకురు భవములు | భాక్తిభజనందుడుడ శక్తి-బాహు
 ముల్ మిశ్రంబ్ర వంబ్రులనఁ జను | మాత్రాదిగణము మొదలమాత్రనిలువఁగన్.

led me to the inference, that prior to the advent of Sanskrit, a certain class of metres obtained in that language, with a definition of their own, and that after the advent of Sanskrit, this definition was expressed in terms of Sanskrit Ganams, this part of prosody receiving a separate treatment. This explanation holds equally well with Telugu, in metres depending on the Surya, Indra and Chandra Ganams. A list of these Ganams and metres is found in the table of mine on page 9. The introduction of Surya, Indra and Chandra Ganams thus seems to be due to the existence of pre-Sanskritic Dravidian metres, whose Ganams were expressed in terms of Sanskrit Prosody—this part of the subject being separately treated. The pure Telugu Ganams and metres are included in the original Canarese Ganams and metres. These Canarese Ganams and metres are only a part of the table on p. 10 of this dissertation of the wider classification of the same in Tamil.

A knowledge of Tamil Prosody thus becomes necessary for this subject. The measurement of quantity in Tamil is by the complicated Nare and Nirai. A Tamil foot* is called a Seer and each of its component parts an Asai. The Asai itself is further subdivided. The parts of an Asai are a Nedil, a Kuril* and a half Matrai.

¹A Nedil is any syllable containing a long vowel, e. g., aa, kee, koo, kee, koo, kow. *ā, ī, ē, ū, ē, ō.*

A Kuril is any syllable containing a short vowel, e. g., a, ka, ki, ku. *e, i, u, o.*

A half matrai is any consonant without a vowel, e. g., k, t, m. *ś, ṣ, ṣ, ś, ṣ, ṣ.*

¹ Cf. Yapparungalakkargai, pp. 5—15°

* Cf. Nannul, which says:

An Asai may be a Nare Asai or a Nirai Asai ². A lengthy explanation of these Asai is necessary, as the comparison of Dravidian ³ (Non-Aryan) Ganaans and Metres is based on this.

A Nare Asai may be :—

(1) A single Kuril (short letter) taken by itself, *e. g.*, ka, na, క, న, or, (2) such a single short letter followed by a half matrai, *e. g.*, gam, nam, గం నం, or (3) a Nadil (long letter) taken by itself, *e. g.*, ka, na, క, న, or, (4) such a long letter followed by a half matrai, *e. g.*, kam, nam, గం నం.

“అ క ఇ ఓ ఓ ఓ ఓ ఓ నదిక, అ ఇ ఉ ఎ ఓ ఓ ఓ అయిదే??”

The Nares are thus monosyllabic with or without a half matra. A Nare has never two syllables. According to Telugu nomenclature, a Nare is either a Guruvu (cases 2, 3, 4, in the definition) or a Laghuvu (case 1.)

But if a short syllable is prefixed to any Nare, (Gam గం thus becoming Agam అగం), and the two syllables are taken together, for scansion, it becomes a Nirai. The following example will make it more clear :—

La	Ga	Ga	Gam	are all Nares, because each is taken separately.
అ	క	క	గం	
ఓ	క	న	గం	

2. For definitions *cf.* Yapparungalakkarigai (printed at the Vidyanupalana Yantra Sala in the year Plavanga), which says them అకే నదిక. &c.

The book is an authority on Tamil Prosody.

3. In this dissertation the word Dravidian is invariably used in the sense of “ Non-Sanskritic.”

It does not mean Tamilis. The word is used only in the sense of ‘ Non-Sanskritic ’, *i. e.*, ‘ Non-Aryan.’

{
 (o--o)
 (oo--oo)
 {
 (o--x^o)
 (oo--oo)
 {
 (o--r^o)
 (oo--oo)
 {
 (o--r^oo)
 (oo--oo)

Here each of the letters is taken separately; so that there are two nares in each line here.

But, if we scan the prefixed kurils not separately as in the above example, but jointly with the other syllables as,—

Lala	Lagan	Laga	Lagan	each of these lines is a Nirai and
o o	o x ^o	o r	o r ^o	
oo oo	oo oo	oo oo	oo oo	there are in all four Nirais here.

A Nirai is thus formed of,—

- (1) two kurils together, e. g., o o (oo oo Lala), or,
- (2) two kurils together followed by a half matrai, e. g., o x^o (oo oo Lagan), or,
- (3) a kuril followed by a Nedil, e. g., o r (oo oo Lagá) or,
- (4) a kuril followed by a Nedil and a half matrai, e. g., o r^o (oo oo Lagan).

Using the Telugu nomenclature, a Nirai may thus be a Lalamu (case 1), or, a Lagamu (cases 2, 3, 4).

There is, however, a danger with regard to the Nare, which practice in Tamil scansion reveals. A Nare is monosyllabic. If, at the end of a foot, there is a Nare, it may be either a Guruvu or a Laghuvu. A Nare, in the middle, or beginning, of a foot is always a Guruvu. It can never be a Laghuvu there; for, if it be a Laghuvu, it is at once taken with the following letter in that foot and becomes a dissyllabic Nirai. So an initial or middle Nare

must always be a Guruvu; the Nare at the end of a foot may be either a Guruvu, or a Laghuvu, for a foot is independent of the other feet, and no syllables follow the Laghuvu in that foot to make it a Nirai.

The foot is the fundamental part of every line of Poetry. Its component parts are complex in Tamil. A comparison of the Prosodies of Tamil and Telugu is not possible, unless a common notation is devised. The method devised by me was already indicated. It was already pointed out that a Nirai can stand either for a Lalamu or for a Lagamu. A Nare is always a Guruvu except at the end of a foot (Ganam) where it may be either a Guruvu or a Laghuvu. In the following table I have given my reduction of a few Tamil feet, relevant to this dissertation, to their equivalent Telugu and Canarese feet. I have also indicated the evolution of the Ganams and Metres of pure Canarese and pure Telugu.

One of the earliest Metres of Tamil¹ is the Abavalva. Its Ganams are the Tema, Pulima, Kuvilam and Karuvilam. But the 4 Kai Seers may also enter into it. The correctness of the reduction made by me can be judged from a correspondence in the Ganams of Tema and Pulima reduced by Dr.* G. U. Pope to equivalent English feet. He says: "A Tema may be really a Spondee or a Trochee; and a Pulima may be an Anapæst, Tribach, Bacchius, or Cretic. Similarly for the other feet."

The Tema and Pulima Ganams are ~ ~, ~ |,
| ~ ~, | ~ |, | | ~, | | |.

1 Cf. Yapparungalakkarigai, pp. 73-95.

* Cf. Dr. G. U. Pope's Naladiyar, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1898, page 30 in the Introduction.

The Canarese Brahma Ganams are only some of these, viz. $\sim \sim$, $\sim |$, $| | |$ and $| | \sim$.

The Telugu Surya Ganams are only some of these Canarese Ganams, viz. $\sim | \& | | |$.

The Kuvilam, Karuvilam, Temangai, and Pulimangai Ganams are $\sim | \sim$, $\sim | |$, $| | | |$, $| | | \sim$, $| \sim | |$, $| \sim | \sim$, $\sim \sim \sim$, $\sim \sim |$, $| \sim \sim \sim$, $| | \sim \sim$, $| | \sim \sim$, $| | \sim |$.

The Canarese Vishnu Ganams are only some of these, viz., $\sim | \sim$, $\sim | |$, $| | | |$, $| | | | \sim$, $\sim \sim \sim$, $\sim \sim |$, $| | \sim |$.

The Telugu Indra Ganams are only some of the Canarese Ganams, $| | | |$, $| | | | \sim$, $| | \sim |$, $\sim | |$, $\sim | \sim$, $\sim \sim |$.

I have for considerations of space not included all the Tamil Seers. But a similarity will be observed even in the Rudra Ganams. A single metre, Ahavalpa, represents all kinds of verse with the Ma and Vilam Seers mostly and Kai Seers now and then. The principle is plain and further explanations cannot claim sufficient space in this short dissertation.

General Classification.	The order of the Name and the Nisi.	Name of the Nisi Sans. represented by the order in column 3.	Equivalent notation according to Telugu, Canara or Sanskrit. — (Guru = Guru, i = Lagna)	No. of syllables in the Chakram Sans.	No. of strokes that it has.	Corresponding Sanskrit Brahmi Vektra or Bala according to Canara. Cf. Nagaswami's Chakramatikha. pages 66 & 97.	Corresponding Sanskrit in Telugu Sans. Isha or Chandra Cf. Appalarayan page 371.	Corresponding Sanskrit name made of Brahmi Vektra. Brahmi Sans. Cf. Chakramatikha pages 99, 100, 101.	Corresponding Telugu notes to those in Column 8 made of Sans. Isha and Chandra. Cf. Appalarayan page 98, 99.	The name that may be given to this note in Tamil.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		
Bears of 2 anal.	Maheera	Nare Nare	Tana	()	3	4	Brahmi	NI	Gripaḥi	Tripaḥi		
			Guru	()	2	3	Brahmi	Sarya	Chisara			
			Nisi Nare	Falms	()	3	5	NI	NI	Cyepitara		
	Vilachera	Nare Nisi	Koniam	()	3	4	Vakra	Indra	Nakrasakara	Madrakakara		
			Kara	()	3	5	Vakra	Indra	Ekapitara	Anakakara		
			Nisi Nisi	Karviam	()	4	4	Vakra	Indra	Sripakara	Alpakara	
			Kara	()	4	5	Vakra	Indra				
			Kara	()	4	6	NI	NI	Ela			
			Kara	()	4	8	NI	NI	Akavita		a verse called Akavita*	
	Kachera	Nare Nare Nare	Tanapam	()	3	6	Vakra	NI				
			Karviam	()	3	6	Vakra	Indra	Chrapaḥi	Chrapaḥi		
			Nisi Nare Nare	Palmam	()	4	6	Vakra	NI	Chanda- vakra	A half of Tri- paḥi.	
Kara			()	4	5	Vakra	Indra					
Kara			()	4	6	NI	NI	Chige				
Kara			()	4	6	NI	NI					
Bears of 3 anal.	Maheera	Nare Nisi Nare	Karviam	()	4	6	Brahmi	Chandra				
			Kara	()	4	6	Brahmi	Chandra	The 5 Chakras	The Chakra		
			Kara	()	4	6	Brahmi	Chandra	The Chakra			
			Kara	()	4	7	Brahmi	Chandra				
			Nisi Nisi Nare	Karviam	()	5	6	Brahmi	Chandra			
			Kara	()	5	6	Brahmi	Chandra				
	Kachera	Nare Nisi Nare	Karviam	()	5	7	NI	NI				
			Kara	()	5	6	NI	NI				
			Kara	()	5	6	NI	NI				
			Kara	()	5	8	NI	NI				
			Kara	()	5	7	Brahmi	Chandra				
			Kara	()	6	6	Brahmi	Chandra				

All these are the Avelia Bhadrans of Tamil, the name being according to the number of score in each.

* Not included as they are not required for the explanation basis contained.

CHAPTER III,

The Prasam*

(*Note.*—In this chapter, the word *rhyme* is used as synonymous with *Prasam*.)

The next Dravidian element for consideration is the *Prasam*. By it is denoted the consonantal sound in the second letter of a stanza, which must be the same in the second letters of the remaining lines. *Prasam* is not known to Sanskrit, though *Sabdalanakarams* are optional there. The first thing about *Prasam* that a student of comparative Dravidian Prosody notices, is its universal application in all the four Dravidian languages. A closer study explains its development in these languages. The purest and most elementary notions of *Prasam* are still preserved in the Tamil *Nedil Yedugai*, where *Ava* and *Ku koo* (அவா ஏ and கூ கூ) rhyme well. In such cases the rhyme is between the long *a* in *Va* and the long *oo* in *koo*. The consonants are never taken into account here.

* *References.*—For Telugu *Prasams* cf. Appakaviyam Edition of 1890. Manikya Mandira Press, Madras, pp. 159—171.

For Canarese *Prasams* cf. Rev. F. Kittel's Chandombudhi of Nagavarma, Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository 1876, pp. 15—21.

Also edition of Kavirajamargamu Edited by Mr. Rice, Mysore, canto. II, verses 28—43.

For the Tamil *Yadugai* and *Esipu* cf. Mr. Kalyanasundaram Mudaliar's Seyyul Ilakkanam Edition, 1893, Niranjana Vilasa Press, Madras, p. 9.

Also Yapparungalakkarigai Edition, of Plavangu Varsha, Vidyanu Palana Yantra Sala, Madras, p. 92. For sub-divisions of *Yadugai*, please cf. p. 43.

For lists of *Esipu* cf. p. 42 *ibid*.

A general definition of Prasam is, that the first letter of every line in a stanza must have the same sort of *matrai*, and that the second letters must be the same. It is from this rule, that the other rules relating to Prasam in Tamil, Telugu and Canarese can be explained.

A New Theory for Purnabindu Prasam.

Thus expressions like Kampa and Amka (కంప & అంక) rhyme well in Tamil. It is not so in Canarese and Telugu. In Tamil there is no Purnabindu. The Purnabindu is there represented by the corresponding nasal half *matrai*. Thus in Tamil Kampa is written as కంపు (కంప) and Amka as అంక (అంక). Even in Telugu, the Purnabindu has a recent origin, the original transliteration, as can be seen from the earlier Telugu inscriptions being, to use the corresponding half *matrai*. The half *matrai* is counted as a letter in Tamil, so that in Kampa and Amka there are three letters. The second letter in both of them is m (మ) and the rule that, for Prasam, the second letter must be the same, fully applies here. This is the commonest Yadugai in Tamil; and it is a perfect *yadugai*=(Prasam). Telugu has still preserved this principle in the Prasamaitri Prasam, where words like Sambara and Ammulu (సంబర అమ్ములు) rhyme well. If it is presumed that the Purnabindu is foreign to pure Telugu as can be seen (from the nature of the old Telugu inscriptions and Tamil transcription), these words have to be written as Sa-m-bara and A-m-mulu (సామబర అమ్ములు). The second letter is thus m (మ) in both cases, which must, in old Telugu have been, counted as a separate

letter. The Santaprasam of Canarese may also be explained on the same principle.

But can Kanta and Kata rhyme now? No. The vowel on Kanta is Am (ॐ), which has a Purnabindu. Its corresponding vowels must also have the Purnabindu. In the Purnabindu Prasam of Telugu the long or short vowel on the first letter of the line is indifferently preserved. The general rule here is that, if the first letter of a stanza has the Purnabindu, the first letters of the remaining lines must also have it. This rule strictly obtains in Canarese ¹ also though it is not separately mentioned there. In these cases the Prasa letter is not the Purnabindu, but the one that succeeds it. As representing the half matrai, the Purnabindu was in the Prasamaitri Prasam held to be sufficient to make a complete Prasam. Why should the letter succeeding the Purnabindu be the Prasa letter here?

The fact seems to me to be that the Prasamaitri Prasam is only a relic of the obsolete ancient usage. The half matrai now lost its consonantal function and became a vowel with Purnabindu. The general rule of Prasam is that the long or short vowels on the first letters of the lines in a stanza must correspond with each other. A new rule has to be added to this, because of the creation of the vowel with Purnabindu, which is more than a simple long or short vowel. It is a long or a short vowel with the consonantal part added to it. ² It

1 Cf. Chandambudhi, verses 13, page 4. Also verses 17, 27, 55, 61, 59, 70, &c.

2. The idea will be developed later on. Cf. p. 16 of this dissertation.

is represented by the single vowel symbol Am (ॐ) and not by aam (ॐ) also). And yet it is a vowel and as such it is now part of the first letter. It is thus distinct from the second letter, i.e., the Prasa letter. And I submit that for this reason the Purnabindu Prasam is really a double Prasam.

The other Double Prasams.

The elementary principles involved in Purnabindu Prasam being thus explained, it is easy to understand the double Prasams in Samyuktams (double consonants¹). A typical case of the Samyuktakshara Prasam is where the rhyming letter is a compound letter such as kta, kna, gra. This is really an instance of double rhyme. When words like Bhakti and Sakti rhyme, the primary rhyming letter according to natural transliteration is (Bha-k-ti ॐॐ, Sa-k-ti ॐॐ,) the half matrai k (ॐ), the ti (ॐ) being a second rhyme. Why should there be a compulsory double rhyme in such cases?

I submit that the influence of Sanskrit may account for this. Words like Twak,² Bhuk and Srik (त्वक् भुक् सृक्) are monosyllabic in Sanskrit, the tendency there being to combine the half matrai with the preceding letter and take all as one. Telugu and Canarese are modelled after Sanskrit. According to rules of transliteration, however, the half matrai is in

1. The Sarabha Prasam in Canarese corresponds to this.
C Chandombudhi verses 43 and 47.

2. The division of Chapters in Nanartharatnamala into Ekakshara, Dvyakshara and other Vargs is a broad evidence of this usage even to the mere onlooker.

these languages written apart from the first letter and combined with the second. Hence arises the double difficulty that the half matrai both is and is not the Prasa letter. Analogy with Sanskrit combines it with the first letter, while transliteration makes it a part of the second. The safest way to overcome the difficulty is to call that letter the Prasa letter which is transcribed as the second.

A general rule can now be laid down with regard to double Prasams, viz., that a half matrai (whether a nasal or otherwise), always persists in Prasam as a part of the first syllable and requires another letter to follow it to make a complete Prasam. The matrai of the first letter being changed by this half matrai combination, the rule as to a long or short vowel on it becomes unnecessary.

The *Dwitwa Prasam* in Telugu, as between Anna and Ponnu, which corresponds to the Canarese *Turaga Prasam*, is only a case of the *Samyukta Prasam*. The *Laghu Dwitwa Prasam* of Telugu between slurred compound letters like Aduva and Vidruce (అడువ and విడువ) also belongs to this class. The *Anunasika Prasam* where a double consonant, say na (nna), is due to a rule of Grammar is another instance.

A case of *Samyukta Prasam* is the *Samyukta Samyukta Prasam*. The simplest instance of such a Prasam is where Kshathriya (కౌశత్రీయ) rhymes with Dhathru (ధాత్రు). According to *Tamilic* (or natural Dravidian, as these instances go to show), transliteration, (Ksha-th-and Dhath), the real rhyme is the th (5).

A second analogy is also worth noticing here. There is a sub-division of the Tamil *Yadugai*, called the

Asu Yadugai, which nearly corresponds to this. According to this Asu Yadugai any of the half matrais, y, r, l, and zh (ய, ர, ல, ழ, ள, ழ) may intervene between the first and the second letters in one of the four lines of a stanza. Thus Ka-i-manda and Pu-manda (காமிமண்டல and பூமாமல) can rhyme well. The principle is that these four half matrais (y, r, l, and zh) are not cared for there. But Tamil slurs over these half matrais only when they come between the first and the Prasa letters, (as in ka,y-manda), but not when they come after the Prasa letter. If, therefore, a broad principle is assumed that these half matrais may be slurred over, whether they precede or succeed the Prasa letter, all the examples under the Samyuta Samyuta Prasam will be fully explained. Else in Natho (நாத) and Eethrai (இதழை) thrai in the second word will have no explanation. In fact the prevailing opinion among Pandits is that the Reppam and the La can be slurred over in Prasam.

The Other Prasams.

¹The Nadil and the Asu divisions of Tamil Yadugai were already noticed. The remaining divisions of the Tamil Yadugai are the Vargayadugai and the Inavadugai¹

The Vargayadugai has three sub-divisions *vis.*, (a) Vallina Vargayadugai between k, ch, t, th, p (க, ச, ட, த, ப) and hard r (ர, ற.); (b) the Mellina Vargayadugai between the nasals gnya, gne, na, na, ne (க, ச, ட, த, ப, ற, ள, ழ, ழ) ; and (c) the Idaina Vargayadugai between y, soft r, l, v, zh, and l, (ய, ர, ல, ழ, ள, ழ).

(a) In the Vallina Vargayadugai any of the letters k, ch, t, th, p and hard r rhyme within themselves. Thus *Tha-kkar* and *yo-sche-ttar* (தக்கர் and யெச்சேத்தர் கெட்டு and யெச்சேத்தர், rhyme within themselves the k (ஃ) rhyming with the Vallinam soft ch. Since in Tamil each of the letters k etc., represents a number of sounds such as k, kh, g, gh, etc., all the sounds represented by any one of the Vallinam groups (say k) rhyme with all the sounds represented by another letter of the group such as ch, t, th or p. The case of Prasam between *nda* and *ntha* (ஓ and ஓ) and between *da* and *tha* (ஃ and ஃ), classed as *Aprasas̄tha Prasams* by Appakavi bears analogy to the Vallinam Yaduyai.

The Swavargaja Prasam of Telugu and the Varga Prasam of Canarese are different from the Vallinavarga Yadugai. They exemplify instances of Prasam only within any particular Vargam say a Kavargam, represented by k, kh, g, gh. They are not instances of Prasam between one Vargam and another, say, a (k, kh, g, gh) with a (p, pb, b, bb.) In the Swargaja and Varga Prasams, letters like k, kh, g, gh, rhyme only within themselves and not with any other letter, or in Tamil notation a ka rhymes only with ka and not with any other Valliam such as ch. This therefore, is not a case of Vallinam Yadugat. This is, only an instance of simple Prasam. The Samipa Prasam of Canarese and a case of Ubhaya Prasam in Telugu allow Prasam between s, sh, & s (శ, శ, స). They also are not Vallinam Yadugai. The symbol *ch* represents these three sounds in Tamil and the Prasam of these letters is simply *oh* (ஃ) rhyming with itself. o

Cf. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages page 21, Trubner & Co., Ludgate Hill, London 1875.

(b) The Mellina Varga Yadugai between the nasale (க, ச, ஞ, ட, த, ந; ள, ழ, ஶ, ஷ, ஸ, ஹ, ள). corresponds to a case of the Telugu Ubhaya Prasam between n & ன (n & ன). The Vikalpa Prasam of Telugu corresponds to a mixture of the ordinary and Mellinam Prasams.

(c) The Idaina Varga Yadugai allows Prasam between y, soft r, l, v, ழ & ள. A relic of even this Prasam is still preserved in a case of the Telugu Abhāda Prasam between l & ள (o & ஓ) and l and soft r (o & ஓ).

(2) Inavadugai is where a letter rhymes with itself with a vowel change. This is very common in all Dravidian languages.

The Kandakhanda Prasam with Artha Bīndus, the Sandhigata Prasam, and the r (ஃ) Prasam of Telugu are Prasams created by analogy. If there be no vowel change in the Prasa letter, the Telugu Sukara Prasam will be identical to the Canarese Simha Prasam. In each line of a Tamil stanza there may be rhyme between the second, third and succeeding letters also. In fact, Yapparungalakkarigai says that the second and subsequent letters form the Yadugai. The Dwandva Thri and Chathush Prasams of Telugu correspond to the above rule. The Anu Prasam of Telugu and Canarese is where the Prasa letter frequently appears in the line.

There are 8 cases of Anthya Prasam in Tamil called the Eaiṇṇu. The Adi Eaiṇṇu corresponds to the Telugu and Canarese Anthya Prasam and denotes rhyme at the end of the lines of a stanza. But though there may be no Anthya Prasam between line and line, there may be Anthya Prasam within the line itself. A Tamil line generally consists of 4 feet¹. Thus the Anthya Prasam

Cf. Yapparungalakkarigai, p. 42.

may be between the feet 3 & 4, 2 & 4, 1 & 4, 2, 3 & 4, 1, 3 & 4, 1, 2 & 4, or 1, 2, 3 & 4 of any single line. These are respectively called the Inai, Pozbuppu, O-roo-vu, Koozhai, Markaduvai, Keelkaduvai and Mutru Elaipus.

GENERAL.

The analogies pointed out in this chapter show that Prasam is an element common to all the Dravidan languages. Whether Tamil gave it to Telugu and Canarese, or as springing from a common stock this element was common to these languages is a question requiring further evidence. Still there is strong analogy between Tamil and Telugu in all the sub-divisions of Tamil Yadugai—even in such obsolete Prayogams as Sambara and Ammulu and nda and ntha. Most of these, however, have become obsolete in Telugu long ago. This gives another ground for suspecting a *Prebharatic* Telugu Literature. If Telugu Prosody be due mainly to Sanskrit, or to Nannayya Bhat, a special classification of Ganams, an adoption of non Sanskritic metres, and the copying of a Prasam agreeing with Tamil even in obsolete Prayogams could not be possible. A *Sanskrit* nation cannot be expected to borrow rules from a Tamil, against a perfected Prosody, their own. Still the analogy persists, whatever its origin may be.

There is Yati in Telugu also. It is true that, in Telugu, this word is synonymous with Visranti Virati, Varamanam, Visramam, Viramam, etc.—its Sanskrit equivalents. But in the real Sanskrit sense the word is a misnomer in Telugu. No provision was made in Telugu to guard against the mutilation of a word. If the place of Yati falls in the middle of a word, it may be mercilessly dissected in Telugu. In Telugu no new word need begin at the place of Yati. If the tenth letter of an Utpalamala is the place of its Yati in Sanskrit, the Telugu Utpalamala has its Yati also at the tenth letter. But there is a rule in Telugu that such Yati letter (*i. e.*, the letter coming at the place that is fixed for that metre as the place of its Yati) must correspond to the first letter in that line.

The metres which Telugu has derived from Tamil have their Yati just where Sanskrit has it. But metres which have a purely Dravidian origin * have their Yati on the initial letter of one of its Ganams. Whether that Ganam is the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, or any one or more of such Ganams depends upon its metre. Thus while in the case of Sanskrit metres the place of Yati falls upon a fixed letter counted from the 1st letter of a line, the counting in Dravidian metres is by the feet.

There is Yati in Tamil also. It is there called monai. The Tamil metres being Dravidian, the monai in Tamil falls upon the initial letters of one, or, more of its Ganams. Thus in Tamil the monai may be on the 1st letters of any of its feet *viz.* of feet 1 and 2, 1 and 3, 1 and 4, 1, 2 and 3, 1, 3 and 4, 1, 2, and 4, or 1, 2, 3 and 4. These are respectively called † the Inai, Pozhippu

* *Viz.* those in the table on p. 9.

† *Cf.* Yapparungalakkari, p. 41.

O-roo-vu, Kuzhai, Merkaduvai, Keelkaduvai and Mutru monai. If the first letters of each of the lines agree in monai, it is called Adī monai. The Tamil Poet must have monai in each line generally, but he may have it at the beginning of anyone or more of the feet as he chooses. The fact that Yati in Telugu must be at the beginning of one particular foot may be due to analogy with Sanskrit which has generally one fixed place of Yati.

As for the letters to be used at the place of Yati, there is some peculiarity. It has been already mentioned that a word can be mutilated in Telugu. But the poet is not at liberty to use at the place of Yati, any letter he chooses. Certain letters which are said to be allied to the first letter of the line must be used there. Both in Telugu and in Tamil certain lists of such allied letters were drawn up. The list is simple in Tamil; but it is made very complex in Telugu. This complexity is due to practical constructions put upon the *simple lists of original Telugu*. It is necessary to divest the *original lists of pure Telugu* of all their complexity before they can be compared with Tamil. I shall for this purpose take the 41 Yatis of Appakavi and try to reduce the list to its original simplicity. These 41 Yatis can be grouped under 3 broad headings viz., (1) the Sanskrit additions, (2) the interpretations and (3) the original Dravidian rules.

(1) *The Sanskrit additions.* Nineteen of the Sanskrit letters, such as kh, ga, gya, are foreign to pure Telugu. The original Dravidian rules of Vadi could not have spoken of letters not in their alphabet. Such Yatis are necessarily non-Dravidian and can be eliminated from Appakavi's list. These

are (1) the *Tadbhava*¹ *Vyaja Yati* between gna and na, (2) the *Visesha*² *Yati* between gna and k, kh, g, gh, (3) the *Ruvali*,³ *Rutva Sambandha Vadi*⁴ and *Ritva*⁵ *Samya Vadi*⁶ relating to ri (ఱ), & (4) the *ooshmayati*⁷ between s, sh & s (శ, ష, స). The *Mavarna*⁸ *Yati* of m with y, r, l, v, s, sh, d s when the latter are preceded by a Poornabindu also belongs to this class, as a Poornabindu can never, in pure Telugu, precede these letters. *Vedic Texts* like *Vabayo Rabbhadh* (వబయోరబ్బహః వ్యవయోరబ్బహః) give rise to the *Abheda*⁹ *Yati* between v & b, l & l & d. The letters kh, gh &c being foreign to pure Telugu the *varga yati* reduces itself to the groups k, g, ch, ja, t—d, th, d, (z), & p, b. Two cases of *Sarasavadi* 9 & 10 one of which identifies na with na (ఱ with ఱ), and the other s, sh & s with ch, ohh, j, jh also come under this heading. These *Yatis* being of a Sanskrit origin are out of place in pure Telugu. Appakavi's list thus reduces itself to 33, two of which *viz.* the *Sarasayati* and the *Vargayati* are partly affected.

(II) *The Interpretations.* Of the remaining 33 *Yatis*, 20 are affected by the rules of Sandhi. Three of these relate to cases of Sandhi between a vowel and a vowel. These are the *Svara Pradhana*¹ *Vadi*, the *Lupta Visarga Vadi*,² and the *Vridhhi*³ *Vadi* which declare that in such cases, *Yati* may be allowed to the combining vowels, the resulting vowels, or the allied consonants like ya & ha. The case of union by Sandhi of a consonant and a vowel, where *Vadi* may be allowed to the uniting vowel or the resulting consonant, is illustrated in 14 *Yatis*, 12 of which go by the general name of *Ubhaya 4-15 Yatis* the *Pratyeka Yati* (పాఠా, పాఠా) and the *Bhinna*¹⁷ *Yati* (పాఠా, పాఠా) being the other two. The union by Sandhi of a consonant with a consonant, where the *Vadi* may be permitted

either to the constituent consonants or to the resulting compound, gave rise to the *Antyoshma*¹³ *Sandhi* and the *Vikalpa-Sandhi*¹² *Yatis*. A rule of Sandhi is that where a Varga letter (say k) unites with a nasal consonant (say n), the Varga letter drops by Sandhi and its corresponding nasal (క + నము = క్కము) enters into the resulting consonant. The *Bindu yati*²⁰ evidently assumes this Sandhi in the form కి + క్కరెమి = కిరెమి; (కి + క్కరెమి = కిరెమి) which is the usual Sanskrit transliteration for nasal half matras proceeding a Varga consonant, and allows Yati between the Varga Yuks and the their corresponding Anunasikams, where the former are preceded by a Purnabindu (a nasal half matra). Letters like ష, ఞ, ణ are foreign to Telugu.

These 20 rules relate to Sandhi. They owe their origin to rules of Grammar. They are not the statement of an original rule. They only explain the application of that rule to practical cases. The original group is not there. It is assumed and its application is herein interpreted. The rule and the interpretation are quite distinct. The one may be compared to any section in an Act, say the Indian Contract Act; the other to the interpretation given by a High Court of Judicature to that section in a complicated case. If, on the ground of their not being the original list, these 20 Yatis are removed from Appakavi's list, the total number comes down to 13.

As the *Sarasayati* (partly discussed in the preceding section) identifies n and n (ఞ and ణ), it can be inferred from the 1st axiom in Geometry, that consonants, which are allowed to agree with n (ఞ), agree with in (ణ), and *vice versa*. This is the *Anunasi Kakshara*

These 20 rules relate to Sandhi. They owe their origin to rules of Grammar. They are not the statement of an original rule. They only explain the application of that rule to practical cases. The original group is not there. It is assumed and its application is herein interpreted. The rule and the interpretation are quite distinct. The one may be compared to any section in an Act, say the Indian Contract Act; the other to the interpretation given by a High Court of Judicature to that section in a complicated case. If, on the ground of their not being the original list, these 20 Yatis are removed from Appakavi's list, the total number comes down to 13.

As the Sarasayati (partly discussed in the preceding section) identifies n and n (\bar{n} and \bar{n}), it can be inferred from the 1st axiom in Geometry, the consonants, which are allowed to agree with n (\bar{n}), agree with n (\bar{n}), and *vice versa*. This is the *Anunasikakshara Yati*. The application of the first axiom to *Anunasikakshara Yati* gives the rule that consonants agreeing with n (\bar{n}), and those agreeing with n (\bar{n}) agree with each other. This is the *Anuswara Sambandka Yati* (between $oa, oa, oa, oa,$ and os, os, os, os). This list is thus reduced by two more Yatis, 11 of them still remaining.

The Yati termed *Prani Viramam*¹ is a statement of the general rule that as a consonant has always a vowel in it, its letter for Yati should have a corresponding consonant with a corresponding vowel in it. Thus the letter pu (\bar{p}) should have for its Yati, one of the consonants p, ph, b, or bh, combined with one of the vowels, u, uu, o, or oo, ($\bar{u}, \bar{u}, \bar{o}, \bar{o}$). The *Muvibhakti Yati*², (between p, ph, b and bh, and mu when any of the vowels $\bar{u}, \bar{u}, \bar{o}, \bar{o}$, is on them) is a case of the Mukara Yati between pu, phu, bu, bhū and mu.

When by Abheda Yati, V & B are equal, the *Abheda Varga*³ Yati between p, ph, b, bh, & v, becomes only its corollary. The Rizu Yati identifies *ha* & *ya* and as *ya* is the Grammatical form which *a* takes in Kalanthams where there is no Sandhi, the only remaining case of *Sarasa*⁴ *Vadi* identifying *a, ya, ha*, vanishes. The *Samyuktams* are foreign to Telugu and the *Samyukta*⁵ Yati which

lays down that, in compound letters, the Yati may be only for one of its constituents may well be taken for an interpretation clause. A certain class of Yatis was condemned by Appakavi as inadmissible (= *Agrahya*⁶ Yatis) though included in his original list of 41. The 11 remaining Yatis are thus reduced to 5 which may be taken as the simple Telugu Yatis before any practical constructions were put upon them.

(iii) *The original Dravidian rules.* The five Yatis thus left are the Swara Maitri Vadi, the Mukara Yati, the Ruzu Yati, Ekatarayati and the partly effected Varga Yati. It is perhaps possible to explain the Mukara Yati and the Ruzu Yati also, but I am not now able to find any plausible explanation. Even when these two Yatis are retained, it is possible to place the Tamil and the Telugu lists side by side and the coincidence is remarkable.

Tamil List ²	Telugu List	Name of the Telugu Yati.
(1) అ అ ఐ ఐ అ ఇ ఐ ఐ	అ అ ఐ ఐ అ ఇ ఐ ఐ	
(2) ఇ ఈ ఎ ఏ ఇ ఈ ఐ ఐ	ఇ ఈ ఎ ఏ ఇ ఈ ఐ ఐ	Swara Maitri
(3) ఉ ఉ ఊ ఊ ఊ ఊ ఊ ఊ	ఉ ఉ ఊ ఊ ఊ ఊ ఊ ఊ	
(4) క క	క క	} Varga Yati.
(5) ఖ ఖ	ఖ ఖ గ గ	
(6) చ చ	చ చ	
(7) ఛ ఛ	ఛ ఛ	
(8) జ జ	జ జ	
(9) ఙ ఙ ఙ ఙ	ఙ ఙ ఙ ఙ	Mukara Yati.
(10) ణ ణ ణ ణ	ణ ణ	
In other cases each letter to itself.	ర ల	} Ruzu Yati. Ekatarayati.

1. The r (ఋ) in the ఇ, ఈ, ఐ, ఎ, ఏ Group has to be eliminated.

2. Cf. Yapparungalakkarigai, p. 30.

Here is a remarkable coincidence. Behind all the mass that gathered round the simple rules of Telugu Yati, the true type of the Dravidian monai is now seen. Its meaning is clear. One of three conclusions must now follow. It may be that the Aryans borrowed the Tamil monai and improved it on their own lines. Or it may also be that at a very early time before the Aryan settlement, the Telugu people have themselves got it from Tamil. Or perhaps it may be due to a system of Prosody common to these languages, still preserved in them. The first inference is not probable. The Aryan influence would tend more to the adoption of the Sanskrit system of Prosody than to a foreign Dravidian. *The Yati in the Dravidian sense was never preserved in Canarese.* The second and third conclusions have a plausibility about them notwithstanding the total absence of a prebharatic Telugu Literature. But the alliterative metre of ancient Europe requires a passing notice here. If a common system of Prosody is assumed to exist in the original language of the ancestors of the four Dravidian languages (as the Vedic metre to the Aryans), then the alliterative metre of the ancient Germanic tribes, as is still preserved in the records of the High and Low German, the Anglo-Saxon and the Icelandic metres finds an explanation. Even in these Indo-Germanic¹ languages "a line consisted of two sections each containing two strongly stressed syllables, and of these four long syllables, three were alliterated." Three severe and consistent rules were required for this poetry "*viz.*, that the section, the strong accentuation and above all that the alliteration must be preserved" The Teutonic languages, in which this alliterative metre is found

1. Extracted from the latest edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica—Articles on Verse and Alliteration.

are, however, classed as the Aryan languages and not as Dravidian. It requires more facts than are contained in this dissertation to establish the original source of this common Dravidian element. And it is, therefore, safe that no theorising on probabilities of this common element is made here.

CHAPTER V.

Concluding Remarks.

I have in preceding pages indicated some of the common non-Aryan features of Telugu Prosody. The subject is vast and *occupies a volume*. Even in the Telugu Prosody as moulded by the Aryan influence, the Original Dravidian element persisted; and I have traced it out in the Chapters on Metre, Prasam and Vadi. The inferences from the Dravidian element in Telugu Prosody are many and far reaching. The obsolete elements, still left, of some of the most elementary principles of Dravidian Prosody cannot be the result of a mere borrowing of the system from a foreign language. The Aryans would never borrow a metre, a Yati or a Prasam from a *Tamil language* and enforce it on Telugu against a perfected *Devabhasa*, their own. The Present subject at least adds another possibility to the supposition, that a prebharatic Telugu Literature must have existed. A historic nation, like the Andhras, more ancient than the Aitereya Brahmana that first mentioned them, cannot be supposed to have no literature of their own. For centuries before and after the Christian era, the history of the Dekhan was the history of the Telugu people. They conquered Malwa, they conquered Guzerat

Of Bhandarkar's early history of the Deccan, Bombay Government Press, 1884, p. 5.

Kalinga, Vengi and Chola were theirs. They extended their Kingdom even as far south as Palghat, where their Viceroys ruled. Even the mighty Kingdom of Magadha was once (B.C. 27) under their sway. Far ¹ beyond the seas, Java, Borneo and Celebes were theirs, and the *inscriptions* in those Islands reveal a history, which India has forgotten. Theirs was the first alphabet in Southern India. Great poets like Kalidasa flourished under the Andhra Kings and in the Dekhan are *inscriptions* of these Kings whom the Vayu, Matchya and other Puranas have extolled. ² Literature flourished under them ³ and the greatest of ancient Canarese poets traced their origin to the Vengi country. If Tamil and Canarese literature flourished well under the Jains, the best Canarese Jain ⁴ poets were Andhras, and the most *magnificent* works of the Jains are at Amaravati, in the heart of the Teingu country. The many Telugu proverbs that are handed down to us are poetic in structure, full of rhyme and alliteration. They must have formed the popular portions of a Pre-Aryan Telugu poetry. Some of the songs that have come down to us such as the Kuchehela Katha and the Kamesweri (or Akkala) pata are in the Ahavalpa metre of Tamil and their scansion is not possible unless the Tamil seers are used. Songs like the *Rishala Ashramamu*, *Ramazattabhishekhamu*, *Seeta Surati* are in the Turuvoja metre which is simply a line of Ahavalpa doubled and is in Tamil called the Enjeer Kada Nedil Ausiria Virutham. Several of them such as the Varusapatalu do

(1) Burnell's South Indian Paleography.

(2) Early History of the Deccan, p 25.

(3) Prof. Rangasawmi Aiyangar's History of India. Part 1, p, 127.

(4) The Present writer's article in Andrapatrica of Bombay. 21-12-1910 ; 28-12-1910 & 4-1-1911.

not contain a single Sanskrit word. A civilised and enterprising nation like the Andhras, which stood foremost in all the cultured arts cannot be supposed to have no poetry of its own. The survival of this Dravidian element in Telugu Prosody even after an overpowering Aryan influence, and the firm impress of a Dravidian Vadi and a Prasam even on the Telugu Aryan metres could not have been possible, if no Telugu poetry existed before. The songs and sayings that enlivened this ancient Audhra nation were lost to us, but the essential elements of their Dravidian Prosody still remain—relics of a forgotten past, happy and glorious.

