

Post-Nasal  
Voiceless Plosives  
in Dravidian

\*NPP\*NPP\*NPP\*NPP\*NPP\*NPP\*NPP\*NPP\*NPP\*NPP\*NPP\*NPP\*NPP\*NPP\*NPP\*NP

By

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ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY  
ANNAMALAINAGAR  
TAMILNADU, INDIA

1969

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BY  
N. KUMARASWAMI RAJA

WITH  
*an Introduction by*  
Professor M. B. EMENEAU



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Ko. *kaṅky* payment of vow to god, To.  
*koṅky*, Ka. *kāṅke* : *kāṅike*, Tu. *kāṅikè*,  
Te. *kānuka*, Ta. *kāṅikkai* காணிக்கை  
voluntary offering, gift to a temple, church,  
present to a guru or other great person,  
Ma. *kāṅikka* : \**kāṅikkay* (DED 1209)

## Foreword

*The monograph 'Post-Nasal Voiceless Plosives in Dravidian' is a revised and expanded version of the author's paper, "Post-nasal voiceless plosives in Telugu," read at the Seminar on Comparative Dravidian, held under the auspices of the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University. The paper, when read, received appreciation from various participants in the Seminar and was also favorably commented by scholars like Professor Emeneau. Encouraged by such comments, the Centre has accepted it for publication and I am very glad that it is now possible for us to make it available to all those who are interested in Dravidian linguistics.*

*Annamalai University  
Annamalainagar  
August 6, 1969*

*S. Agesthialingom*  
Director  
Centre of Advanced  
Study in Linguistics

# Introduction

*The main outlines of Dravidian comparative phonology are by now fairly well established. It is time to attempt solutions for those problems that so far have seemed to present the student only with worrisome exceptions. One of these has been the clusters consisting of nasal plus voiceless stop, which appear in contrast with clusters of nasal plus voiced stop, most conspicuously in Kannāḍa and Telugu, but also in most of the other languages of the family except for Tamil and Malayalam, where there occur only nasal plus voiced stop. Tiru N. Kumaraswami Raja has undertaken this problem and in this monograph provides an elegant solution, which is as surprising as it is suggestive of solutions for several morphological problems. It involves a reconstruction of nasal plus double voiceless stop, and a development that (sketchily stated) involves loss of nasal in Tamil-Malayalam and loss of one stop in most of the other languages. The reader will find the details of development in the monograph. He will also find statement of possible application of the reconstruction in the analysis of paired intransitive and transitive verb stems, of nouns with a \*-tt-formative in the oblique stem, and of several types of noun derivation.*

*This important and far-reaching discovery will be read with intellectual excitement by all Dravidianists.*

University of California  
Berkeley  
February 7, 1969

} M. B. Emeneau  
Professor of  
Sanskrit and General Linguistics

## Preface

*Post-Nasal Voiceless Plosives in Dravidian* is an expanded version of my earlier paper, "Post-nasal voiceless plosives in Telugu" (Kumaraswami Raja 1969). When the paper was presented in the Seminar on Comparative Dravidian held at Annamalainagar in January, 1968, Professor Bh. Krishnamurti agreed that it represented a new discovery in the field and suggested later in a private communication that I expand this to cover the different areas of "inflectional and derivational morphology of South and Central Dravidian languages." He also encouraged me to publish the expanded version. I should also refer here to the encouraging remarks on my article by Professor M. B. Emeneau who said that "it is a neat solution and explains many forms that have previously been obscure" and hoped to see it published soon. Encouraged by the remarks of the two eminent Dravidologists and the ready consent of Professor S. Agesthalingom, the Director of the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University, for publishing it in a monograph form, I expanded the paper in its present form.

The expanded version contains a large amount of data pertinent for the discussion collected from the *DED*. It provides correspondences for the new reconstructed sequence (\**NPP*) in all the individual Dravidian languages (§3.10). The application of the new law in the morphological analysis of some of the Dravidian languages is found in Section 6. 'Transitive' formation, Noun formation, Compound formation,



Items meaning single, double, triple, etc., Noun inflection, Dative case, Adjectives from nasal-ending nouns, Noun + *paṭu* compounds, Telugu verbs ending in *-incu*, *-cu* and Telugu nouns ending in *-impu*, *-inta* are the several areas where this new law is applied. Section 7 discusses the relative merit of positing a Quantitative difference to a Qualitative one in Stops in Dravidian phonology. The advantages of the new law [PDr. \**NPP* : (Te., etc.) *NP* : (Ta.Ma.) *PP*] are enumerated in Section 8. An anthropological note on the 'ladle' is appended to this book.

Due to non-availability of certain symbols in the press, the velar nasal is printed as [*ŋ*] throughout the work. Toda voiceless alveolar lateral is represented as [*l̥*] and the voiceless retroflex lateral as [*ɭ̥*].

I should thank Professor Emeneau who was kind enough to go through the manuscript and offer me some useful suggestions in spite of his busy schedule. Out of his love towards the subject and affection towards me, he agreed to write a valuable introduction to this book. Professor Krishnamurti is, as I have already acknowledged, mainly responsible for the outcome of this work. I am indebted to him, among other things, for his constant encouragement. I am also grateful to Professor Agesthalingom who favored the publication of this monograph. I should also thank the University Grants Commission and the Annamalai University authorities for making the grants available for the publication of this work. M/s Azhahu Printers should be thanked for printing this monograph.

*N. Kumaraswami Raja*

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Ka. *impu* sweetness, etc., Tu. *impu*, Te. *impu*,  
*impitamu* : Ta. *inippu*, Ma. *inippam* : \**inVpp-*  
(DED 451a)

## Post-Nasal Voiceless

Ka. *kante* bundle (as of grass, straw, etc.) :  
Ta. *karrai*, Ma. *karra* : \**kanttay* (DED 1178)

Te. *poṇṭe* for the sake of : Ta. Ma. *poruṭṭu* :  
\**poruṇṭṭ-* (DED 3711)

## Plosives in Dravidian

Ka. *tiṇpu* thickness, stoutness, greatness, weight,  
gravity, excess, Ta. *tiṇpam* (< \**tiṇppam*) : *tiṇippu* :  
\**tiṇVpp-* (DED 2634)

## 0

# Introduction

- 0.1. Caldwell's famous theory of the sonantization of medial stops, otherwise called the "law of the convertibility of surds and sonants" (1956:138), assumes that there was no contrast between unvoiced and voiced stops in Dravidian. This means that only sonant sounds could occur in the intervocalic and post-nasal positions and surds always in the initial position and in plosive clusters. Even though this has been generally accepted, opinions contrary to this were also expressed by some scholars.<sup>1</sup>

0.2. One among them is P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri who states (1934:57) that "there need be no hard and fast rule that the consonants that follow nasals and that are between

---

<sup>1</sup>For details, see Burrow 1937-39:711 and Krishnamurti 1961:30-1.

vowels should become voiced in the Dravidian languages.” In order to substantiate his statement, Sastri, in his *History of grammatical theories in Tamil*, provides a chart (pp. 55-6), which according to him, shows that there are examples in Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and Tulu, where voiceless consonants are found after nasals and between vowels.

0.3. The forms cited in the chart are as follows:-

- (A) (1) Te. *iñku*, Ta. *iñcu* ‘to dry up’  
 (2) Te. *koñki*, Ta. *kokki* ‘hook’  
 (3) Te. *vañki*, Ka. *vañki*, Ta. *vañki* ‘armlet’  
 (4) Te. *kāñke*, Ka. *kāke*, Ta. *kāñkai* ‘heat’  
 (5) Te. *añce*, Ka. *añce*, Ma. *añcal*, Tu. *añcal*,  
     Ta. *añcal*  
 (6) Tu. *añci* ‘thither’, Ta. *añkē* ‘there’  
 (7) Te. *kañta* ‘seeing’, Ta. *kañta* ‘having seen’  
 (8) Ka. *uñtu* ‘there is’, Ta. *uñtū*  
 (9) Ka. *eñtu* ‘eight’, Ta. *eñtū*  
 (10) Te. *enta* ‘how much’, Ka. *enta* ‘of what sort’,  
     Ta. *enta* ‘what’  
 (11) Ka. *kantu* ‘to go down’, Ta. *kantū* ‘to be spoiled’  
 (12) Te. *impu*, Ta. *iñpū* ‘sweetness’  
 (13) Ma. *kāmpu*, Ta. *kāmpū* ‘stalk’
- (B) (1) Te. *āta*, Ka. *āṭike*, Ma. *āṭuka*, Ta. *āṭṭam* ‘play’  
 (2) Te. *kāpu*, Ka. *kāpu*, Tu. *kāpu*, Ta. *kāppū*  
     ‘protection’  
 (3) Te. *aṭuka* ‘loft in a house’, Ta. *aṭukkū*  
 (4) Ka. *iṭukku* ‘narrowness’, Ta. *iṭukkū*  
 (5) Tu. *ikara* ‘here’, Ta. *iñkē*

0.4. Of these, the forms *āta* in Telugu and *kāpu* in Telugu, Kannada and Tulu are regular cognates for the

Tamil forms *āṭṭam* and *kāppu*, respectively. It is true that voiceless plosives do not occur in Telugu, Kannada, Tulu, etc. (i. e. languages other than Tamil and Malayalam in the Dravidian family) intervocalically, but if they are simplifications of geminates, they are allowed. Thus Te. *āṭa* and *kāpu* are to be traced from *\*āṭṭa(m)* and *\*kāpp-*.

0. 5. The Malayalam form *āṭuka* as cited by P. S. S. Sastri poses no problem since the *ṭ* therein is not voiceless. Kannada *āṭike* 'motion, play, talk' has a variant in *āḍike*. We can assume here that the *ḍ* in the latter form became voiceless due to the influence of the voiceless plosive in the next syllable.<sup>3</sup> Even though this is not a regular phenomenon in Kannada, Telugu bears testimony to such a process. As Krishnamurti (1961:32) says, "Ancient Telugu, *aduku*, *kaduku*, *uduku*, *koduku*, *ciduku*, *piduku* have developed doublets in the post-classical period with *-t-* for *-d-* under the influence of the following *-ku*, which proceeds from *\*-kku*; Modern Telugu uses forms with *-t-*." It is also worth-mentioning here that the Kannada form *iṭuku* 'narrowness', the Tamil cognate for which is *iṭukku*, has the variants *iḍaku*, *iṭaku*, *iḍaṅku*, *iḍiku*, *iḍuka* and *iḍuku*. The *ṭ* in the second syllable can be explained as a secondary development from *ḍ* through assimilative influence of the voiceless plosive following it.

0 6. The *k* in Tulu *ikara* is probably a simplification from geminate plosive. (The Telugu form *ikkaḍa* with the same gloss may be compared with this.) Telugu *aṭuka* 'loft in a house' is listed in the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* along with *aṭṭam* (DED 83), but not with *aṭukku* as is done by

<sup>3</sup> There is also another possibility: The *ṭ* in *āṭike* is perhaps due to analogical influence of the noun form *āṭa* 'play'.

P. S. S. Sastri. This grouping of Te. *aṭuka* with Ta. *aṭṭam* solves the problem.

0.7. The Tamil cognates which Sastri provides in his chart are not genuine in some instances. Ta. *kaṇṭa* 'having seen'(!) is a relative participle of the verb *kāṇ* 'to see', whereas Te. *kaṇṭa* 'seeing' (<*kanu-ṭa*) is a verbal noun and hence they cannot be equated. Ta. *iṇpu* 'sweetness' and *enta* 'what' are not equivalents for Te. *impu* and *enta* respectively. The actual Tamil cognates are probably *iṇippu* and *eṇaittu* which contain double plosives instead of single ones.

0.8. Sastri assumes that the *p* after the nasal in the Malayalam word *kāmpu* is a voiceless plosive, which is not true. The other problems involved in Sastri's chart will become clear, as we proceed.



1

Proto-Dravidian \*NP

1. 1. Native Tamil words do not have a contrast between voiced and voiceless plosives after a nasal. The sequence of a nasal plus plosive in Tamil may be symbolized as *NP*. Malayalam has often an *NN* sequence corresponding to this, though *NP* is also found in some instances. The regular correspondence for this *NP* in the other Dravidian languages is either *(N)B* or *B*.<sup>3</sup> (*B* here stands for a voiced plosive as against *P* which is phonemically voiceless.) We shall now consider Tamil as representing both Tamil and Malayalam and Telugu all other languages in the Dravidian family.

<sup>3</sup>For the individual correspondences, see Burrow and Emeneau 1961:vii, viii and Emeneau 1963.

When the Tamil-group has *NP*, the Telugu-group has either  $(N)B^4$  or *B* which can be reconstructed in Proto-Dravidian as  $*NP$ . Examples:

Ta. *tūṅku* to hang, swing, sleep, etc., Ma. *tūṅṅuka*, Ko. *tu'g-*, To. *tu'x-*, Ka. *tūgu*, Koḍ. *tuṅg-*, Tu. *tūṅguni*, Te. *tūgu*, Koṇḍa *dūṅ-*, Kui *drūṅga*, Kuwi *tūṅgali*, Kur. *tungul*, Mlt. *tumgle*, Brah. *tungān* (DED 2777a)

In other words, the Telugu-group never has a voiceless plosive after a nasal.

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<sup>4</sup> We may mention here that the Telugu *anusvāra* (a cover symbol for the nasals before the homorganic plosive) freely alternates with *ardhānusvāra* ('half nasal') after a long vowel in a disyllabic word and after any vowel in a polysyllabic word. Krishnamurti assumes that *ardhānusvāra* meant nasalization (of the preceding vowel) but he says that there is no indication in the traditional grammars for this assumption and we agree with him. See Krishnamurti 1961:126, fn. 8.

## 2

# Vowel Reduction

2. 1. P. S. S. Sastri has cited forms only from Telugu, Kannada and Tulu which contain a voiceless plosive after nasal. This problem exists in the other languages of the Telugu-group also. Some of the inconsistencies in the different languages of the Telugu-group may be explained as contractions from historically earlier forms in the same language. Examples:

1. Te. *ancu* : *anucu* to send : \**anVcc-* (DED 278)
2. Ka. *āñke* : *āñike* leaning on, a staff to lean upon : \**ānVkk-* (DED 350)
3. Te. *iñku*, *īku* to dry up or evaporate (as water), sink; *iñkuḍu* : *inuku* : \**inVkk-* (DED 364)

4. Ka. *untu* this or in this, intermediate, manner : *unitu* :  
\**unVtt-* (DED 475)

5. Te. *uncu* to place, put, etc.; *kāp-uncu* : *unucu* :  
\**unVcc-* (DED 599)

6. Te. *ūncu* to make, cause to appear : *ūnucu* : \**ūnVcc-*  
(DED 608)

7. Tu. *eṅke* calculation, estimation : *eṅike*; cf. Ka. *eṅike*,  
*eṅṅike*, Te. *ennika*, Ta. *eṅṅikkai*, Ma. *eṅṅikka* : \**eṅṅikkay*  
(DED 678)

8. Te. *kiṅka* anger, displeasure, etc. : *kinuka* : \**kinVkk-*  
(DED 1332)

9. Tu. *keṅkuni* to provoke, irritate, kindle : *keṅakuni*; cf.  
Ka. *keṅaku*, Te. *ceṅaku*, *ceṅuku*, *cenaku* : \**keṅVkk-*  
(DED 1616)

10. Tu. *coṅkè* the scab of itch, etc. : *coṅiṅke* :  
\**coṅV(ṅ)kk-* (DED 2188a)

11. Te. *conpu* to insert, introduce, thrust, put or send  
in : *conupu* : \**conVpp-* (DED 2285)

12. Te. *tiṅṅa* eating : *tinuṅa* : \**tinVṅṅ-* (DED 2670a)

13. Te. *t(r)ēcu*, *t(r)ēncu* to belch, eructate : *trēnucu* :  
\**trēnVcc-* (DED 2841b)

14. Te. *t(r)ēpu*, *t(r)ēnpu* belching, a belch : *trēnupu* :  
\**trēnVpp-* (DED 2841b)

15. Te. *nāncu* to soak, steep : *nānucu* : \**nānVcc-* (DED  
3006)

16. Te. *nānpu* soaking; to bleach : *nānupu*; cf. Ta.  
*nanaippu*, Ma. *nanappu* : \**nānVpp-* (DED 3006)

17. Ka. *nuṅcu* to slip, slide as out of the hand, slip away, escape : *nuṅucu*, *nuṅacu* : \**nuṅVcc-* (DED 3076)

18. Te. *pancu* to send, command, commission : *panucu* : \**panVcc-* (DED 3212)

19. Te. *pūncu* to undertake, yoke; *pūcu* to endeavour : *pūnucu* (To. *pu'c*) : \**pūnVcc-* (DED 3577)

20. *pēncu* to nourish, nurture, foster, support, rear, fatten, increase, extend : *pēnucu* : \**pēnVcc-* (DED 3633)

21. Te. *pempu* nourishing, fostering, rearing, increase, enlargement ; *pempakamu*, *pempuḍu* : *penupu* : \**penVpp-* (DED 3633)

22. Te. *bōke* bone : *bomike*, *bomika* : \**pomVkk-* (DED 3700)

23. Te. *manki* existence, living, etc. : *maniki* : \**manVkk-* (DED 3914)

24. Te. *māncu* to cause to cease, stop, remove : *mānucu* : \**mānVcc-* (DED 3943)

25. Tu. *muṅci* pepper, chilli : *muṅuci* : \**muṅVcc-* (DED 3986)

26. Te. *muncu* to plunge, immerse, sink, ruin : *munucu* : \**munVcc-* (DED 4096)

27. Te. *munku* to be aggrieved, displeased; n. displeasure, grief : *munuku* : \**munVkk-* (DED 4120)

28. Te. *vincu* to be heard, tell : *vinucu* : \**vinVcc-* (DED 4472)

29. Te. *vinki* hearing, listening, etc. : *viniki* : \**vinVkk-* (DED 4472)

2. 2. The following are the items, where evidence for an earlier vowel between the nasal and the voiceless plosive is found in another (sister) language. Where the evidence is from the Tamil-group, the concerned plosive is always geminate.

1. Ko. *ant-* (obl.) like that, that fashion, that amount; *antk*, *anta'*, *antal*, Ka. *antu*, *anta*, *antā*, *antha*, *anthā*, Koḍ. *antē*, Tu. *antuga*, Te. *anta*, *antagā*, *antaṭa*, *antu*, *ante*, *antē*; *tan-antu*, *tan-antaṭa*, Kur. *anti* : Ka. *ani(t)tu*, Ta. *aṇaittu*, *aṇaittum*, Ma. *anaittum* : \**anVtt-* (DED 1)

2. Ko. *amk-* to press hard, make to keep quiet; *amk* act of pressing, To. *omk-* : Te. *avukku*, Ka. *amuku*, *amiku*, *avuku*, Ta. *amukku*, Ma. *amukkuka* : \**amVkk-* (DED 143)

3. Ko. *amc-* to press, throw (woman) on ground to rape, Te. *ancu* : Ka. *amucu*, *avacu*, *avucu* : \**amVcc-* (DED 143)

4. Ka. *ampaka* sending, etc., Te. *ampakamu*, *ampu* : *anupu*, Ta. *ampakam*,<sup>5</sup> *aṇuppu*, Ma. *anuppuka* : \**anVpp-* (DED 278)

5. Ko. *int-* (obl.) like this; *intk*, *inta'*, *intal*, Ka. *intuṭu*, *inta*, *intā*, *intha*, *inthā*, *intaha*, *intu*, Koḍ. *intē*, Te. *inta*, *intaṭa*, *inte*, *intē*, *intiya*, Kol. *inthe* : Ka. *initum*, Ta. *iṇaittu* : \**inVtt-* (DED 351a)

6. To. *iṅk* to this place, Mlt. *inḱi* thus : cf. Ta. *iṅ* this place, *-ukku* dative case suffix : \**in-Vkk-* (DED 351a)

7. Te. *ika*, *iṅka* hereafter, henceforth, still further, yet : cf. Ta. *iṅi* hereafter : \**inVkk-* (DED 351c)

<sup>5</sup> Ta. *ampakam* is a loan-word from Te. For detailed discussion, see § 8.5.

8. Ka. *impu* sweetness, etc., Tu. *impu*, Te. *impu, impitamu* : Ta. *iṅippu*, Ma. *inippam* : \**inVpp-* (DED 451a)

9. Ko. *oṅk-* to dry (tr.) in heat or sun, To. *wīnk-* : Koḍ. *oṅak-*, Ta. *uṅakku*, Ma. *uṅakkuka* : \**oṅakk-* (DED 517)

10. Kur. *uṅk* husk, chaff, Te. *ũka*, Mlt. *umku* : Te. *umuka, umaka*; cf. Ta. *umi* : \**umVkk-* (DED 548)

11. Ko. *kaṅk* thin dry sticks used as kindling or in a bunch as a torch : Ka. *kaṅike, kaṅuku*, Tu. *kaṅaky*, Te. *kaṅika* : \**kaṅVkk-* (DED 978)

12. Ko. *kancu* dream, Go. *kanckānā, kansk*, Mlt. *qanqe* : Ka. *kanasu, kanasa* : \**kanVcc-* (DED 1184)

13. To. *kenp ört* (buffalo) coughs : Ta. *kanaippu*, Ma. *kanepu* : \**kanVpp-* / \**kenVpp-* (DED 1185)

14. Ko. *kaṅky* payment of vow to god, To. *koṅky*, Ka. *kāṅke* : *kāṅike*, Tu. *kāṅikè*, Te. *kānuka*, Ta. *kāṅikkai* : \**kāṅikkay* (DED 1209)

15. Ka. *jaṅkane, jaṅke* scolding, chiding, Te. *jaṅku, jaṅke, jaṅkena* : *januku* : \**canVkk-* (DED 1882)

16. Pa. *cinkip-* to drip : Te. *cinuku*, Ta. *ciṅukku* : \**ciṅVkk-* (DED 2079)

17. Ko. *taṅc-* to make to become cool, To. *toṅc-* : Ka. *taṅisu*, Ta. *taṅi(tt)* : \**taṅi-tt-* (DED 2473)

18. Ka. *taṅpu, tampu* coolness, etc., Tu. *tampu, sampu*, To. *toṅf*, Ta. *taṅpam* (< \**taṅppam*)<sup>6</sup> : Te. *tanupu*, Koḍ. *taṅīpī*, Ta. Ma. *taṅuppu* : \**taṅupp-* (DED 2473)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See § 3.12.

<sup>7</sup> Ta. *taṅpu* is cognate for Ka. *tambu*, Tu. *cammi*.

19. Ka. *tiṅpu* thickness, stoutness, greatness, weight, gravity, excess, Ta. *tiṅpam* (< \**tiṅppam*) : *tiṅippu* : \**tiṅVpp-* (DED 2634)

20. Mlt. *tinge* to strain (as at stool) : Te. *tinuku*, Ka. *tiṅuku*, *tiṅaku*, *tiṅiku* : Ta. *tiṅukkam* : \**tiṅVkk-* (DED 2634)

21. Te. *dūku* to leap, jump, etc., Ka. *diṅku* : Tu. *dumukuni*, Ka. *dumuku*, *dumiku*, Te. *dumuku* : \**tumVkk-* (DED 2728)

22. Kol. (Kin.) *tumki* Ceylon ebony, Nk. *tumki* : Ka. *tumaki* : \**tumakki* (DED 2732)

23. Ka. *naṅpu*, *neṅpu* friendship, etc., Te. *nanpu*, Ta. *naṅpu* (< \**naṅpp-*) : Te. *nanupu* : \**naṅupp-* (DED 2962)

24. To. *nenp* a thought : Ka. *nenapu*, Tu. *nenepu*, Ta. *niṅaippu* : \**nenaypp-* (DED 3050)

25. Ko. *nunk-* to cut a small piece from dried meat to make broth (implies poverty) : Ta. *nuṅukku* : \**nuṅukk-* (DED 3066)

26. Ka. *nuṅpu*, *numpu* smoothness, delicateness, fineness, Ta. *nuṅpam* (< \**nuṅppam*) : Ka. Te. *nunupu* : \**nuṅupp-* (DED 3066)

27. Tu. *paṅpini* to say, tell, etc., Te. *pampu* ; *panupu*; cf. Ta. *paṅi* : \**paṅVpp-* (DED 3212)

28. Pa. *punc* new : cf. Ta. *punirru* : \**punVce-* (DED 3511)

29. Ka. *pūṅke* admission, promise, vow, Ta. *pūṅkai* (< \**pūṅkkai*), Te. *pūṅki* : *pūṅiki*, *pūṅika* : \**pūṅikkay* (DED 3577)



30. Ko. *mantanm* affairs of the house hold, Ka. *mantana* : *manetana*, Tu. *manetana*; cf. Ta. *maṇai* : \**manay-ttanam* (DED 3911)

31. Tu. *muṅkuni* to say hūm expressive of disapproval or unwillingness, cry of a ghost; *muṅkele*, Te. *munku* : *munuku*, *minuku*, Ka. *minuku* : \**minVkk-* (DED 3978)

32. Tu. *miṅkuni*, *meṅkuni* to shine, sparkle, glitter, Te. *miṅku*, Go. *mīnkō*, Kur. *bīnkō* : Te. Ka. *minuku*, Tu. *miṅukuni*, *meṅukuni*, *minukuni*, Ta. *miṅukku*, Ma. *minukkuka* : \**minukk-* (DED 3994)

33. Ka. *muñcu* to be or go before or first, excell, Te. *muncu* : *munucu* : \**munucc-* (DED 4119a)

34. Ko. *entk* to what extent; *entgo*, *enta*, *ental*, Ka. *entutu*, *enta*, *entā*, *entha*, *enthā*, *entaha*, *entu*, *entum*, Koḍ. *entiē*, Te. *enta*, *entamu*, *ent-enta* : Ta. *eṇaittu* : \**yanVtt-* (DED 4228)

35. To. *e'nk* to what place : cf. Ta. *-ukku* dative case suffix : \**yān-Vkk-* (cf. § 2. 2. 6.) (DED 4228)

36. Ko. *va'nt ur* sky : ? Ta. *vāṅattu ūr* : \**vānatt-* (DED 4410)

37. Te. *venka* the hinder part, back, later time, Ko. *veṅka*, Nk. *Koṇḍa venka* : Te. *venuka* : \**venukk-* (DED 4518)

### 3

## Proto-Dravidian \*NPP

3.1. The problem of post-nasal voiceless plosives in more than sixty sets of items among the Telugu-group of languages have been solved by positing a vowel in between the nasal and the plosive either through internal or external evidences. There are still many more forms which contain a voiceless plosive after nasal, where there is no evidence whatsoever for the reduction of a vowel. The solution of this problem is our main concern.

3.2. Let us present below the etyma provided by Krishnamurti (1961:71) for the Telugu word *boṅku*.

“boṅku to lie; n. a lie (< \*poy-ṅk-); Ka. Tu. boṅku id.; Ta. Ma. pokkam falsehood (-kk- by assimilation from \*ṅk-)”

Telugu *ṅg* corresponds to Tamil *ṅk*, which may be reconstructed as \**ṅk-*. If we reconstruct \**ṅk* for the *ṅk* (Te.) : *kk* (Ta.) correspondence also, as Krishnamurti does above, it would be very difficult to state the reflexes for the reconstructed form in the concerned languages. The correspondences involved here are two, viz. *ṅg* : *ṅk* and *ṅk* : *kk*. They have to be reconstructed differently in order to distinguish them as two different correspondences.

3.3. Krishnamurti tries to explain this inconsistency by distinguishing between radical plosives and suffixal plosives. He says (1961:31) that the suffix consonants alone lack uniformity in Telugu and Kannada. He further states (p.33) that “voicing of the suffix-stops is attributable to a period after the separation of the various cognate languages and hence independent in each of them. Tamil and Malayalam have levelled this development by voicing all stops that occur in the non-initial position except in gemination.” Reconstruction in Comparative Dravidian has so far been confined to the radical syllable and the syllables that follow this were supposed to be elusive in many cases.<sup>8</sup>

3.4. The Telugu dictionary *Sabda-ratnākaramu* derives the word *cē-trāḍu* ‘rope used in drawing up water from a well with a small bucket or vessel’ from *cēdu* ‘to draw water from a well with a small bucket or vessel’ + *trāḍu* ‘rope’.<sup>9</sup> The following is the process of change:—

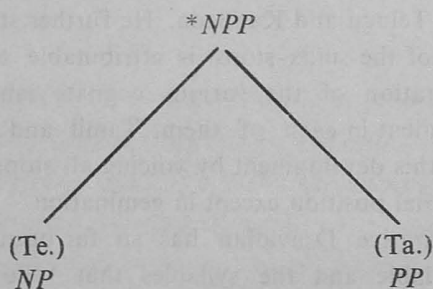
<sup>8</sup> For the definition of a syllable in Dravidian, see Krishnamurti 1955:239.

<sup>9</sup> Sitaramacharyulu 1958.

*cēdu + trāḍu → \*cēd-trāḍu → cē-trāḍu*

The intermediary form *\*cēd-trāḍu* consists of a nasal plus double plosive. Double plosives are avoided in Telugu except when they occur immediately after a single short vowel, no matter whether this vowel is preceded by a consonant or not. The history of the word *vaṅkāya* 'brinjal' is another illustration for this change. *vaṅkāya* can be derived from *\*vaṅg-kāya*, which is composed of *vaṅga + kāya*.

3.5. We can now assume that a three-consonant cluster like *NPP* is impossible in Telugu and it becomes *NP*. With this assumption, let us reconstruct the Telugu : Tamil correspondence *NP : PP* as *\*NPP*.



In Tamil, the nasal before the plosive is dropped in order to avoid this three-consonant cluster.<sup>10</sup>

3.6. Now the Telugu : Tamil cognates *tōṭa : tōṭṭam* meaning 'garden, orchard, plantation' can be reconstructed as *\*tōṇṭam*. The verbal root is *\*tōṇṭ-* 'to draw or fetch water from a well' (cf. Ta. *tōṇṭi* 'pot of earth or metal used

<sup>10</sup> The point of articulation of the nasal, however, is preserved in the first of the two plosives. See § 3.12.

for drawing water'), for which there is a regular correspondence between Telugu and Tamil (*NB* : *NP*), as it is expected:- Te. *tōḍu* : Ta. *tōṅtu*. The elements added to the verbal root are a (Homorganic) Plosive + *am*. (cf. *āṭ-* 'to play' : *āṭ-ṭ-am* 'play, game'.) Thus the problem of the post-nasal voiceless plosive has been solved here by assuming it to be a reflex of geminate plosive.

3.7. We can now safely reconstruct all *NP* clusters in Telugu as *\*NPP* and Caldwell's theory of the convertibility of surds and sonants still holds good. Voiceless plosives do not occur in the Telugu-group of languages except as simplification of geminates. We have already seen that Te. *āṭa* is only a simplification of *\*āṭṭa(m)* (see § 0.4.).

3.8. So far, we have dealt with two sets of correspondences between Telugu and Tamil, viz. *NB* : *NP* and *NP* : *PP*. The former has been reconstructed as *\*NP* and the latter as *\*NPP*. We should also refer here to a third set of correspondence, viz. *P|PP* : *PP* which is reconstructed as *\*PP*.

Examples:—

Te. *kāpu* 'protection' : Ta. *kāppu* id. : *\*kāpp-*

Te. *oppu* 'suitability' : Ta. *oppu* 'likeness' : *\*opp-*

It is worth-mentioning here that *\*PP* is reconstructed for this correspondence only when further evidence does not show a nasal in any one of its related forms, either within the same language or in a related language.

3.9. Making use of the second law [ i.e. *NP* (Te.) : *PP* (Ta.) < *\*NPP* ], we can reconstruct some of the problematic Telugu forms as follows:

*ampa-kāḍu* 'archer' < *\*ampp-* (Ta. *appu* 'adj.')

<i>āṭu</i> 'to be capable of'	< * <i>āntt-</i>	(Ta. <i>ārṛu</i> )
<i>īta</i> 'date-palm'	< * <i>intt-</i>	(Ta. <i>iccam</i> 'adj.')
<i>oṇṭi</i> 'single'	< * <i>oṇṭt-</i>	(Ta. <i>orṛai</i> )
<i>kalāka</i> 'turbidity'	< * <i>kalaṅkk-</i>	(Ta. <i>kalakkam</i> )
<i>koṅki</i> 'hook'	< * <i>koṅkki</i>	(Ta. <i>kokki</i> )
<i>maḍāka</i> 'fold'	< * <i>maṭaṅkk-</i>	(Ta. <i>maṭakkam</i> )
<i>vēṭa</i> 'hunting'	< * <i>vēṅṭt-</i>	(Ta. <i>vēṭṭai, vēṭṭam</i> )

3.10. Proto-Dravidian \**NPP* represents the following correspondences.<sup>11</sup>

1. \**ṅkk* : Ta. Ma. *kk*, Ko. (*ṅ*)*k*, To. *k*, Ka. (*ṅ*)*k*, Koḍ. *k*, Tu. (*ṅ*)*k*, Te. *ṅk*, ~*k*, Kol. Nk. (*ṅ*)*k*, Pa. *k*, Ga. (Oll.) (~)*k*, Ga.(S) Go. Koṇḍa Kui *k*, Kuwi *k, kh*, Kur. *ṅkh, ṅk, ~kh, ~kk, kh*, Mlt. (*n*)*q, (n)**k*, Brah. *nk*.

2. \**ncc* : Ta. Ma. *cc*, Ko. (*n*)*c*, To. *c*, Ka. (*ṅ*)*c, s*, Koḍ. *c*, Tu. (*ṅ*)*c*, Te. *nc*, ~*c*, Kol. *ns*, Nk. *s*, Ga. (S) *c*; Go. *nc*, Kui *s*, Kuwi *c*, Kur. (~)*c*, Mlt. *c*, Brah. *nc*.

3. \**ṅṭṭ* : Ta. Ma. *ṭṭ*, Ko. (*ṅ*)*ṭ*, To. *ṭ*, Ka. Koḍ. Tu. (*ṅ*)*ṭ*; Te. Kol. (*ṅ*)*ṭ*, ~*ṭ*, Nk. (*n*)*ṭ*, Pa. (*n*)*ṭ*, ~*ṭ*, Ga. (S) *nṭ*, Go. (*n*)*ṭ*, Kui *ṭ*, Kuwi *nt*, Kur. (*ṅ*)*ṭ*, Mlt. *ṭ*.

4. \**ntt* : Ta. Ma. *tt/cc*, Ko. *t/c*, To. *c*, Ka. *nt, t/c, s*, Koḍ. *t*, Tu. *nt/ṅc, t*, Te. *nt/nc, ~t|~c, t/c*, Kol. *nt, t/s*, Nk. *t*, Pa. *t/c*, Ga. (S) *nt*, Go. Kui *t*, Kur. (~)*t*, Mlt. *t*.

<sup>11</sup> We would like to point out here that the developments in Toda and Kota relate to Tamil on the one side and Kannada on the other, in some instances. It is an established fact (see Emeneau 1967:367) that Kannada is not as closely related to Toda-Kota as Tamil is. The instances where the Toda, Kota forms have similarity to Kannada may probably be due to borrowing "from Badaga-(Kannaḍa)" as Prof. Emeneau suggests in a private communication.

The symbol ~ before a plosive indicates nasalization.

5. \**mpp* : Ta. Ma. *pp*, Ko. *p*, To. *p/f*, Ka. (*m*)*p*, Koḍ. *p*, Tu. (*m*)*p*, Te. (*m*)*p*,  $\sim p$ , Kol. (*m*)*p*, Nk. Pa. Ga. Konḍa Kui Kuwi *p*, Kur. *mp*,  $\sim p$ .

6. \**ntt* : Ta. *rr/tt*, Ma. *rr*, Ko. *nt*, *t*, To. *t*, *t*, Ka. (*n*)*t*, Koḍ. *t*, Tu. (*n*)*t*, Te.  $\sim t/\sim t$ , *t*, Kol. Nk. Pa. *t*, Ga. (Oll.) *t*, Go. *c*, Kuwi *th*, Kur.  $\sim t$ , Mlt. *t*.

3.11. It is interesting to note that Tamil and Malayalam constantly have *PP* as the reflex of PDr. \**NPP*, whereas the other languages generally have as their reflex (*N*)*P* or *P*. Sometimes, the other languages also have *PP* instead of (*N*)*P* or *P*.<sup>12</sup> The following are the problematic additional reflexes for \**NPP*:—

\**ṅkk* : Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Te. Kol. Nk. Pa. Kuwi Brah. *kk*

\**ncc* : Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Te. Go. Kur. *cc*

\**ṅtt* : Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Te. Kol. Nk. Pa. *tt*, Kuwi *tt*

\**ntt* : Ka. Te. Kol. Nk. Pa. Go. *tt*, Koḍ. *cc*

\**mpp* : To. Ka. Koḍ. Tu. Te. Nk. Pa. Kuwi *pp*

\**ntt* : Koḍ. *tt*

Even when the above languages show *PP* instead of (*N*)*P*, the Proto-Dravidian sequence is reconstructed as \**NPP*, since some other languages show a nasal. And though the Tamil, Malayalam reflexes are always *PP*, sometimes these may be derived internally from an earlier *NP* (Phonetically *NB*)<sup>13</sup> or may have related forms in the sister languages

<sup>12</sup> Instances where the Telugu-group of languages show *PP* as a reflex of \**NPP* are less numerous than those which show the regular reflex. No explanation is possible for this discrepancy. Only future research can throw some light on this.

<sup>13</sup> See § 6.

with phonetic *NB*,<sup>14</sup> and such *PP* sequences point to an *\*NPP* reconstruction.

3.12. It should be mentioned here that in the Ta. *PP* reflex for PDr. *\*NPP*, the first plosive has the same point of articulation as the PDr. nasal, whereas in Malayalam, the nasal is simply dropped and the plosives concerned remain intact. Examples:-

1. Ka. *nuṇpu*, *numṇu* smoothness, delicateness, fineness : Ta. *nuṭṭam*, Ma. *nuppam* : *\*nuṇpp-* (*\*ṇpp* > Ta. *ṭp*, Ma. *pp*)

2. Ka. *teṅku* south : Ta. *terku*, cf. *teṅ*, Ma. *tekku* : *\*tenkk-* (*\*nkk* > Ta. *rk*, Ma. *kk*)

3. Ka. *pūṅke* admission, promise, vow : Ta. *pūṭkai*, cf. *pūṅ* : *\*pūṅkkay* (*\*ṅkk* > Ta. *ṭk*)

4. Ka. *nōṇpu* any religious act or obligation enjoined by the gods, any meritorious act of devotion or austerity, Tu. *nōmpu* : Ta. *nōrpu* : *\*nōṇpp-* (*\*ṇpp* > Ta. *rp*)

5. Ka. *cimpi* oyster shell : Ta. Ma. *cippi* : *\*cimpp-* (*\*mpp* > Ta. Ma. *pp*)

3.13. The following are the items for which *\*NPP* is posited in Proto-Dravidian:-

1. Mlt. *ankó* thus, then, therefore : Tu. *akka* : *\*ankk-* (*DED* 1)

2. Go. *ancānā* to press : Ta. Ma. Ka. Te. *accu*, Kod. Tu. *acci* : *\*a(n)cc-* (*DED* 44)

<sup>14</sup> See § 3.18.



3. Ka. *aṇuṅku* to depress, destroy : Ta. *aṇukku* : \**aṇuṅkk-* / \**aṇuṅkk-* (DED 56b)

4. Ka. *aṇṭu* to stick, adhere to; n. adhesion; *aṇṭaru*, Tu. *aṇṭuni*, *aṇṭu*, *aṇṭu pattu*, *aṇṭāvuni*, Te. *aṇṭu*; *aḍug-aṇṭu*, Kol. (SR) *aṇṭ-* : Ta. Ka. *aṇṭu*, Nk. *aṇṭ-*, Kol. *aṇ-* : \**aṇṭṭ-* (DED 86)

5. Tu. *alaṅkuni* to shake (tr.), be agitated, *alaṅkāvuni* : Ta. *alakku*, To. *alk-*, Ka. *alaku*, *aluku* : \**alaṅkk-*<sup>15</sup> (DED 203)

6. Te. *āpu* stop; n. stoppage : Ta. Ma. *āppu*, Ko. *a p* : \**āmpp-* (DED 286)

7. Te. *āṭadi* woman : Ta. *āṭṭi* : \**āṇṭṭ-*<sup>16</sup> (DED 342)

8. Te. *āṭu*, *āṭu* to be adequate, sufficient, be capable of, endure : Ta. *ārṛu*, cf. *āṇṛal* abundance : \**āṇṭṭ-* (DED 349)

9. Mlt. *inqe* to cough; *inqrēse*, *inq-puce*, Kur. *iũkhnā* : Brah. *hikking* : \**iṅkk-* (DED 358)

10. Ka. *iḍaṅku*, *iḍaku*, *iṭaku*, *iṭuku*, *iḍiku*, *iḍuka*, *iḍuku* narrowness, difficulty : Ta. Ma. *iṭukku* : \**iṭVṅkk-*<sup>17</sup> (DED 378)

11. Ka. *iṛaṅku*, *iṛiṅku*, *iṛuṅku*, *iṛaku*, *iṛiku*, *iṛuku* to be compressed or squeezed, squeeze, compress; *iṛiṅkisu*, Te. *iṛuku* : Ta. *iṛukku*, Ma. *iṛukkuka* : \**iṭVṅkk-* (DED 447)

12. Te. *īka*, *īke* feather : Ta. *irkkil*, *irkku* : \**iṛṅkk-* (DED 454)

<sup>15</sup> The cognates for Tu. *alaṅguni* 'to shake (tr.), be agitated' should be the following: Ta. *alaṅku*, Ma. *alaṅṅuka*, Ko. *alg-*, To. *alx-*, Ka. *alagu*, *alugu*, *aluṅgu* : \**alaṅk-*.

<sup>16</sup> Te. *āḍadi*, Ka. *āḍangi*, Tu. *āḍe*, Ta. *āṭavaḷ* : \**ā(ṇ)ṭ-*.

<sup>17</sup> Ka. *iḍugu*, Ma. *iṭaṅṅu* : \**iṭVṅk-*.

13. Tu. *iñcily*, *icily* the wild date, Te. *īta*, Ka. *īcal*, *īcala*, *īcale*, *īcil*, Kui *sīta* : Ta. *īccam-panai* : \**cintt-* (DED 459)

14. Te. *īta* yeaning, bringing forth, Ko. *iṭ may*, To. *iṭ ep īr* : Ta. *īrram*, cf. *in* to yeau : \**intt-* (DED 473)

15. Ka. *uraṅṅtu*, *uruṅṅtu*, *uṅṅtu*, *uraṅtu*, *uruṅtu* to roll; *uruṅṅtu*, *uruṅtu* n., Tu. *uruṅṅtu*, Ko. *urṭ-*, To. *uṭ-* : Ta. *uruṅṅtu* : \**uruṅṅtt-*. (DED 571a)

16. Te. *ūku* to endeavour; n. effort; *ūkuva* : Ta. *ūkku* : \**ūṅkk-* (DED 627)

17. Ka. *eṅṅtu* eight, Ko. *eṭ*, To. *ōṭ* : Ta. Ma. *eṅṅtu*, cf. *eṅ*, Koḍ. *ēṅṅī*, Te. *enimidi* : \**eṅ tt-* (DED 670)

18. Ka. *ilimiñci* lemon, Ko. *elmic*, To. *ūsmič*, *ūsmišky* : Ta. *elumicca*, Ma. *elumicca* : \**elVmincc-* (DED 712)

19. Te. *ēkaru*, *ēkāru* to long; *ēkaṅa* : Ta. *ēkkaṅu*, cf. *ēṅku* : \**ēṅkkaṅ-* (DED 745)

20. Ka. *oṅṅi* a sort of large gold ear-ring, Tu. *oṅṅi*, Te. *oṅṅi* : Ta. *oṅṅu-kkaṅukkan* : \**oṅṅt-* (DED 816)

21. Tu. *olampu*, *olapu* affectation in walking : Ta. *ulaippu* : \**ola(y)mpp-* (DED 843)

22. Tu. *ōṅkadè* retching, heaving of the belly, Ka. *ōkāḷa*, *ōkari*, *ōkarike*, *ōkarisuha*, Te. *ōkara*, *ōkili* : Ta. *ōkkāḷi*, Ma. *ōkkānam* : \**ōṅkk-* (DED 866)

23. Tu. *ōnti* blood sucker, salamander, Ka. *oti*, Koḍ. *oṅti keṅtē*, Mlt. *ute*, To. *wīč* : Ta. *ōtti*; cf. *ōnti*, Ma. *ōntu*, Koḍ. *oṅdi* : \**ōntti* (DED 887)

24. Ka. *gaṇṭe* a mass, lump; island, Ko. *kaṭy* : Ta. *kaṭṭi*, Ma. *kaṭṭa*, Tu. *gaṭṭè, geṭṭi, geṭṭè* : \*kaṇṭṭ- (DED 962)

25. Ka. *kadampu, kadapu* cheek : Ta. *katuppu* : \*kat-  
Vmpp- (DED 1007)

26. Ka. *gantu* to jump, bound, vault; *n.* a jump, etc., Te. *gentu, gantu*; *kuppi-gantu*, Kuwi (S) *gentinai* : *gettinai, geṭṭinai* : \*kantt- (DED 1018)

27. To. *komkwīṛ* armpit, Ka. *kavuṅkuḷ, kaṅkuḷ, kaṅkaḷ, kaṅkuḷa, koṅkuḷ, koṅkaḷ, koṅkaḷa*, Pa. *kavkor, kavkoḍ*, Go. *kākri, kakri*; *kākṛing*; Ta. *kampu-kkaṭṭu* : \*kam(pu)kk- (DED 1034)

28. Tu. *karṅka* state of being burnt or singed; Ta. *karukkal*, Ma. *karikkal, karukkal* : \*karVṅkk- (DED 1073a)

29. Ka. *kalaṅku, kalaku* to agitate, shake, perturb, make turbid, stir up, disturb, Tu. *kalaṅkuni, kalaṅkāvuni* : Ta. *kalakku*, Ma. *kalakkuka*, Ko. *kalk-*, To. *kalk-*, Koḍ. *kalak-*, Kui *giōpka* (< *glōk-pa*), Kur. *khalaḥnā* : \*kalaṅkk- (DED 1096)

30. Ka. *kante* bundle (as of grass, straw, etc.) : Ta. *karrai*, Ma. *karra* : \*kaṅṭṭay (DED 1178)

31. Te. *kācu* catechu, Ka. *kācu, kāci* : Ta. *kāyccu-kkaṭṭi*, Ma. *kāccu* : \*kā(y)ncc- (DED 1201)

32. Te. *kīcu* squeaking; shrill; *kīcum-anu*, Tu. *kīcuni* : Ta. *kīccu, kīccu kīcc-enal*, Ma. *kīccu kīccu* : \*kīncc-/\*kīncc- (DED 1273)

33. Tu. *cimpu* a comb or cluster of plantains, Koḍ. *cīp(ī)*, Te. *cīpu*, Pa. *kīpid* : Ta. *cīppu* : \*kīmpp- (DED 1341)

34. Te. *gīta* line : Ta. *kīrru* : \**kīntt-* (DED 1352)
35. Te. *kūkaṭi māga* fork-tailed shrike : Ka. *kukkaṭi* : \**kuṅkkaṭṭi*/\**kūṅkkaṭṭi* (DED 1355)
36. Ka. *kuñca* bunch, tassel, brush; *goñcal*, *goñci*, *goñce*, Tu. *kuñca*, *goñci*, *goñcily* : Ka. *kuccu*, *koccu*, Tu. *kucci*, Te. *kuccu*, Ta. *kuccu*, *koccu*, Ma. *kuccu*, *kucci* : \**kuncc-* (DED 1368)
37. Te. *kuṅṭa*, *guṅṭa* pond, pit; *gunṭa*, Ka. *kuṅṭe*, Go. *kuṅṭa*, Kuwi *guntomi* : Ta. *kuṅṭam*, *kuṅṭai*, Pa. *guṅṭa* : \**kuṅṭt-*<sup>18</sup> (DED 1389)
38. Ko. *kuṅṭ-* to be lame, limp; *kuṅṭy*, *kuṅṭṇ*, *kuṅ*, *kuṅṇ*, *kuṅy*, Ka. *kuṅṭu*, *kūṅṭu*, *kuṅṭisu*, *kuṅṭa*, *kuṅṭi*, *kuṅṭaṅike*, *kuṅṭitana*, Koḍ. *kuṅṭ(ī)*, *kuṅṭē*, *kuṅṭi*, Tu. *kuṅṭuni*, *kuṅṭāvuni*, *kōṅṭuni*, *kōṅṭāvuni*, *kuṅṭa*, *kōṅṭaṅely*, Te. *kuṅṭu*, *kuṅṭi*, *kuṅṭi tanamu*, Kol. *kuṅṭ* : To. *kuṅ*, Pa. *kūṅṭal*, Go. *kūṅṭānā*, *kūṅṭā*, *kuṅṭahānā* : \**kuṅṭt-* (DED 1408)
39. Te. *gontu*, *gontuka* throat, voice, tone : *kuttika*, *kuttuka*, *kutika*, *kutuka*, Ka. *kuttige*, Nk. *kutka* : \**kontt-* (DED 1428)
40. Ka. *kompe* small village or hamlet, hut, Te. *kompa* : Ka. *koppa*, *koppal*, *koppaḷa*, Te. *kuppamu*, Ta. *kuppam*, To. *koppa* : \**kompp-* (DED 1441)
41. Ka. *kumpaṭe*, Te. *kumpaṭi* : Ka. *kuppaṭe*, *kuppaḍige* : \**kumppaṭ-*<sup>19</sup> (DED 1459)

<sup>18</sup> Te. *kuṅḍu*, Ta. Ma. *kuṅṭam*, *kuṅṭu*, Ka. *kuṅḍa*, *koṅḍa*, *guṅḍa*, *guṅḍi*, *guṅḍige*, *guṅḍit(t)u*, Koḍ. *kuṅḍī*, *kuṅḍitere*, Tu. *kuṅḍa*, *koṅḍa*, *guṅḍi* : \**kuṅḍ-*.

<sup>19</sup> Ka. *kummaṭa*, *kummaṭe*, Ta. *kumpiṭu caṭṭi*, *kummaṭṭi* : \**kumpaṭ-*.

42. Te. *gurinci*, *gurici* concerning; *gurincu* to intend, have in view : Ta. *kurittu* about, *kurī* (*tt*) to intend : \**kurintt-* (DED 1533)

43. Tu. *kūṇṇuni*, *kūṭuni* to mix, mingle (tr.) : Ta. *kūṭṭu*, Ma. *kūṭṭuka*, Ko. To. Koḍ. *kuṭ* : \**kūṇṇṭ-* (DED 1562)

44. Ka. *keṅcage*, *keṅcane* redness, *keṅca*, *keṅci*, Tu. *keṅca*, *keṅci* : Ka. *keccane*, *keccu* : \**kenc-* (DED 1605)

45. Ka. *keṅka* redness : *kekkarisu*, Ta. *cekkam*, *cekkar*, *cekkal*, *cēkkai*, Ma. *cekkal*, Ko. *keky* : \**keṅkk-* (DED 1607)

46. Te. *cempa* cheek : Tu. *keppē*, *keppaḍē* : \**kempp-* (DED 1655)

47. Ka. *koṅki* a hook, angle; *koṅku*, *koṅkisu*, Ko. *koṅk*, Tu. *koṅkē*, *kuṅkē*, Te. *koṅki*, *koṅkara*, Kol. *ko(ṅ)kḍi*, Nk. *koṅki*, Kur. *koṅkō*, *koṅkṛō*, Mlt. *qonqe* : Ka. *kokki*, *kokke*, *kokkari*, Ko. *kok(y)*, Tu. *kokkē*, Te. *kokki*, *kokkemu*, Mlt. *kokre*, *kokro*, Ta. *kokki*, *kokkarai*, Ma. *kokka*, *kokkara*, To. *kwīky*, Pa. *kokor*, *kokoro*, *kokta* : \**koṅkk-* (DED 1689)

48. Ka. *koṅca*, *koṅce* a little, littleness, inferiority, Te. *koṅcemu* : Ta. *koccai*, *koccu*, *koccan*, Ma. *koccu*, *koccan*, *kocci* : \**koncc-*<sup>20</sup> (DED 1695)

49. Tu. *koraṇṭu* kernel or stone of fruit, cashew-nut : *koṭṭe*, *goṭṭu*, Ta. *koṭṭai*, Ma. *kurāṭṭa*, *kurāṭṭa*, *koṭṭa*, Ka. *goraṭe*, *goṭṭa*, *koṭṭe*, Kur. *goṭā*, Mlt. *goṭa* : \**koṭaṇṭ-*<sup>21</sup> (DED 1722)

<sup>20</sup> The Ta. forms *koṅcam*, *koṅcaṅ* and Ma. *koṅcam* do not belong here. They are probably loan-words from Te.

<sup>21</sup> Te. *kuridī*, Koḍ. *koraṇḍi* : \**koṭaṇṭ-*.

50. Te *caṅka*, *caṅkili arm-pit*, Kol *saṅka*, *saṅkā* : Te. *cakkili*, Kol. (P) *sakka*, Ta. *akkuḷ*, Ma. *akkuḷam*, Ka. *akkaḷike*, Koḍ. *kakkuḷi*, Nk. *sakka*, Mlt. *cēql-kūṇḍe* : \**caṅkk-* (DED 1875)

51. Te. *gōku* to scratch with nails or the like, scrape, Kol. *kok*, (Kin.) *kōk* : Nk. *kokk-* : \**koṅkk-|kōṅkk-* (DED 1879)

52. Ka. *sampage*, *sampige*, *campaka* campaka tree, Tu. *sampigè*, *sampayi*, Te. *sampēga*, *campakamu*, *canupakamu* : Koḍ. *cappayē-mara*; cf. Ta. *caṅpakam* : \**caṅ(u)ppak-* (DED 1915)

53. Te. *ākalī* hunger, appetite, Ta. *cākol*, Kui *sakī* : Kuwi *hakki* : \**cāṅkk-* (DED 2005)

54. Kol. (SR) *cinte velā* evening : *sittenaḥḷuṅ*, Nk. *šitte*, Pa. *citta* : \**cintt-* (DED 2085)

55. Te. *cinta* tamarind, Koḍ. (SR) *sintā* : (P) *sitta māḅ*, Nk. *šitta*, Gō. *sittā maḥā* : \**cintt*<sup>-23</sup> (DED 2086)

56. Ka. *cimpi*, *cimpe*, *simpi*, *simpu*, *simpe* oyster shell, a portion of the shell of coco-nut : *cippu*, *sippu*, Ta. Ma. *ippi*, *cippi*, Tu. *cippi*, *tippi*, *sippi*, Te. *cippa* : \**cimpp-* (DED 2089)

57. Te. *cīkili* broom : Ta. *cikku* rubbish : \**cīṅkk-* (DED 2139)

58. Tu. *hīntruni* to blow the nose : Ma. *cīṛṛuka*, Gō. *icānā*, Kur. *cīcrnā* : \**cīnṭṭ*<sup>-23</sup> (DED 2153)

<sup>22</sup> Ta. *cintam* is prob. a lw. < Te.

<sup>23</sup> Ia. *cintu*, Ma. *cintuka*, Te. *cīdu* Pa. *tīd-*, Ga. (S) *cīnd-*, Kui *sṛinda*, Kuwi *sīndalī* : \**cīnt-*.

59. Tu. *cīmpi*, *cīmpu*, *cīmpu* a bolt, bar, latch : Ta. *cīppu*, Ma. *cī(r)ppu* : \**cīmpp-* (DED 2155)

60. Ka. *suṅṭage*, *suṅṭige* roast meat, act of burning or roasting; that which is chiefly taken from roasting on a spit, the heart, Tu. *cūṭè*, *tūṭè* : Ta. *cūṭṭu*; cf. Te. *cūḍu* to burn : \**cūṅṭṭ-|\*cūṅṭṭ-* (DED 2183)

61. Ka. *suru(ṅ)ṭu* to coil, roll up (intr.), Ko. *curṭ-*(tr.), To *tuṭ-*(tr.), Koḍ. *turīṭ-*(tr.), Tu. *turṭu*, n. : Ta. *curuṭṭu*, Ma. *curuṭṭuka* (tr.) : \**curuṅṭṭ-* (DED 2211)

62. Ka. *soṅku*, *suṅku* to touch, come in contact with, catch, infect, attack; *soṅkuvike*, Tu. *sōṅkuni*, *sōṅkuḍruni*, *sōṅku*, *sōkuni*, Te. *sōku*, *cōku*, *sōku* : Ka. *sokku*, *sōku*, Pa. *cokk-* : \**coṅkk-* (DED 2346)

63. Ka. *jompisu*, *jōmpisu* to get intoxicated, bewildered, stupified; *jompū*, *jōmpū* inebriation, stupor, suspension of sensibility, paralyzation : *soppisu*, *soppu*, Ta. *cōppu* to cause to droop, cf. *cōmpu* droop : \**compp-|\*cōmpp-* (DED 2352)

64. Ka. *nānta*, *nāta*, *nātu* smell in general, a bad smell, Ko. *na'tm*, Koḍ. *na'ta*, Tu. *nāta* : Ta. *nāṛram*, Ma. *nāṛṛuka*, cf. Ta. *nāṇam*, Ma. *nannam*, *nannikka* : \**nāṅṭṭ-* (DED 2379)

65. Tu. *nauṅṭuni* to pinch, *nauntu* : Ta. *namuṭṭu*, *nimiṭṭu* : \**ṅemuṅṭṭ-* (DED 2386)

66. Kol. (SR) *ḍompā*, (Kin.) *ḍompa* : Ka. *ḍoppe*, *doppe*, Te. *ḍoppa*, *doppa*, Nk. Pa. *ḍoppa*, Go. *ḍoppō* : \**ṭompp-* (DED 2420)

67. Te. *dōku*, *ḍōku* to dig slightly so as to loosen the soil for weeding, pare the ground cutting up the turf, Ka. *dōkari*, Ga. (Oll.) *ṭōk* : Ma. *tōkkuka* : \**tōṅkk-* (DED 2423)

68. Tu. *taṭṭaṅku* an obstacle, hindrance : Ta. *taṭṭukku* : \**taṭVṅkk-* (DED 2460)

69. Te. *tāku* to touch, hit, attack, encounter, oppose in battle; n. combat, attack; *tākuḍu*, *tākudala*, Ko. *ta'k*, To. *to'k*, Ka. *tāku*, Tu. *tākuni* : Ta. *tākku*, *tākkam*, *tākkal*, Ma. *tākkuka*, cf. Ta. *tāṅku*, Ka. *tā(ṅ)gu* : \**tāṅkk-* (DED 2570)

70. Ka. *tāṅṭu* to jump, dance, leap, skip over, cross; *dā(ṅ)ṭu*, Tu. *dāṅṭuni*, Te. *dāṅṭu*, Kol. *daṅ-* : Ma. *tāṅṭuka*, Ko. *daṅ-*, To. *toṅ-* : \**tāṅṅṭ-*<sup>24</sup> (DED 2578)

71. Ka. *dīṅṭu* rising ground, hillock : *tiṅṭa*, *tiṅṭu*, *tiṅṭe*, Ta. *tiṅṭu*, Ma. *tiṅṭa*, Ko. *tiṅ*, To. *tīṅ*, Te. *tiṅṭa* : \**tiṅṅṭ-* (DED 2633)

72. Ka. *tirumpu*, *tirupu*, *tiripu* to cause to go around or move about, turn : Ta. *tiruppu*, Ma. *tirippuka*, To. *tīrp-*, Te. *trippu*, Kol. *tip-*, Nk. *tipp-*, Kui *terp-*, Kuwi *tipali* : \**tirumpp-* (DED 2655)

73. Tu. *ciṅcuni* to be scorched, burnt, Ko. To. *ti'c-* : Ta. *tīy(tt)* : \**ciyntt-* (DED 2672)

74. Te. *tēṭi* a large black humble-bee : cf. Ta. *tētt-irāl* honey comb, *tēṅ* honey : \**tēntṭ-* (DED 2674b)

75. Tu. *tiṅṭuni*, *ciṅṭuni*, *siṅṭuni* to scrape, rub, wipe; *siṅṭu*, *siṅṭelu*, Ko. *tiṅ*, Te. *dīṅṭu*, Kol. *dīṅ-*, Nk. *dhiṅ-* : Ta. *tīṅṭu* : \**tīṅṅṭ-* (DED 2678)

76. Ka. *tūṅku* to weigh, *tūku* weight, Ko. To. Koḍ. *tū'k-*, Tu. *tūṅkuni*, *tūka*, *sūṅkuni*, *sūka*, Te. *tūcu*, Konḍa *dūk-*, Kui *drūpka*, Kuwi *tūkhali* : Ta. *tūkku*, Ma. *tūkkuka* : \**tūṅkk-* (DED 2777a)

<sup>24</sup> Ta. *tāṅṭu*, Ma. *tāṅṭuka* do not belong here.



77. Ka. *teñka*, *teñkal*, *teñku*, *teñkalu*, *teñku* south, Tu. *tenṅkāyi*, *tenkāyi*, *teñkāyi* : Ta. *teṅku*, *teṅku*, *teṅ*, Koḍ. *tekkī*, Ma. *teṅku* : \**ten(u)kk-* (DED 2839)

78. Te. *tēku*, *teṅku* teak tree, Kol. *teṅ*, Pa. *teṅ meri*, Go. *tēkā maṅā*, (W) *teṅā* : Ta. Ma. *tēṅku* : \**tēṅkk-*<sup>25</sup> (DED 2842)

79. Ka. *toḍaṅku*, *toḍaku* to engage (as in work), begin, commence, undertake : Ta. *toḍakku*, Ma. *tuḍakkam* : \**toḍaṅkk-*<sup>26</sup> (DED 2866)

80. Tu. *dōṅṅi* long pole with hook to pluck fruit, Te. *dōṅṅi*, Ka. *dōṅṅi*, Pa. *ṭōṅṅal* : Ta. Ma. *tōṅṅi* : \**tōṅṅi* (DED 2925)

81. Te. *tōṅṅu* garden, grove, tope : Ta. Ma. *tōṅṅu*, Ka. Tu. *tōṅṅu* : *tō(m)pp-* (DED 2929)

82. Ka. *nā(ṅ)ṅu* to get within, enter, be pierced or stuck into (as a thorn), fix in the ground, plant, pierce into, Te. *nāṅṅu*, *nāṅṅu*, Tu. *nāṅṅuni*, Ta. *nāṅṅu*, Ma. *nāṅṅuka* : \**nā(ṅ)ṅ-* (DED 2958)

83. Te. *naṅṅuku* to tremble; n. trembling, fear : Ta. *naṅṅuku*, Ma. *naṅṅukuka* : \**naṅṅkk-*<sup>27</sup> (DED 2960)

84. Ka. *naṅṅu*, *neṅṅu* relationship, friendship, Tu. Te. *naṅṅu* : Ta. *naṅṅār*, To. *noṅ* : \**naṅṅ-* (DED 2962)

85. Tu. *navuṅṅu* itching, irritation in the throat : Ta. *navuṅṅu* : \**navuṅṅ-* (DED 2972)

<sup>25</sup> Ka. *tēgu*, *tēga*, *tēṅga* with the same gloss do not belong here.

<sup>26</sup> Ka. *toḍagu*, Ta. *toḍaṅku*, Ma. *tuḍaṅṅuka*, Tu. *toḍaguṅi*, Te. *toḍāgu*, Mlt. *toṅge* : \**toḍaṅk-*.

<sup>27</sup> Ta. *naṅṅuku*, Ma. *naṅṅṅuka*, Ko. *naṅg-*, To. *noḍx-*, Ka. *naḍugu*, Tu. *naḍuguni* : \**naṅṅk-*.

86. Te. *nūka* a king of tree : Ta. *nūkkam* : \**nūñkkam* (DED 3082)

87. Ka. *nū(ñ)ku* to shove, push, thrust aside, impel, urge on, Koḍ. *nu-k-*, Tu. *nūkuni*, Te. *nūku*, Kol. *nu-k-* : Ta. *nūkku* : \**nūñkk-* (DED 3083)

88. Kur. *nīkḥcārṇā* to experience a convulsive and somewhat prolonged heaving of the breast, sigh, sob, draw in a long breath : Ta. *ēkkam*, Go. *nēskānā*, cf. Ta. *ēñkal*, Pa. *nēñ(j)*, Kui *nēnja*, Kuwi *nenjali*, Mlt. *nēḡye* : \**nēñkk-* (DED 3120)

89. Ka. *nōmpi*, *nōmpu* any religious act or obligation enjoined by the gods, any meritorious act of devotion or austerity, Tu. *nōmpu*, Ta. *nōrpu* : \**nōnpp*<sup>-28</sup> (DED 3147)

90. Ka. *bañke*, *boñka*, *boñke* gum, glue, resin, Te. *bañka* Kol. *bañka* : Nk. *bakka*, Pa. *bāk*, *bākar* : \**vañkk-* (DED 3159)

91. Ka. *pampa* equal share or division, Te. *pampu*, *pampakamu* : Koḍ. *pappī īḍ-*, Pa. *payp-*, Kui *pahpa*, cf. Ta. *pakuppu* : \**pa(ku)mpp-* (DED 3247)

92. Te. *prāku* to creep, crawl : Ta. *parakku* : \**parañkk-* (DED 3255)

93. Ka. *paḷañce*, *paḷacane* with a glitter, with pure brightness, with a flash; brightness, pureness, etc. : *paḷaccane*, Ta. *paḷicc-eṇal* : \**paḷVncc-* (DED 3303)

94. Te. *pōka* the areca tree; an areca nut; *goṇṭu-pōka* : Ta. Ma. *pākku*, Tu. *pākuṭṭi* : \**pā(ñ)kk-* (DED 3333)

<sup>28</sup> Tu. *nōmbu*, Te. *nōmu*, Ta. *nōrpu*, *nōmpu* : \**nōnp-*.

95. *pintu* that which is back, behind, previous; that which is afterwards or hereafter; *pinte* (adv.) : Ta. *piṅṅai*, Ma. *piṅṅa*, Koḍ. *pittiē* : \**pinṅt-*<sup>29</sup> (DED 3452)

96. Tu. *puñca* white ant hill, snake's hole : Ta. *purru*, *purram*, Ma. *purru*, To. *wīt-xuḍy*, Ka. *puttu*, *putta*, Koḍ. *puttī*, Te. *puṭṭa*, Kol. (Kin.) Nk. *puṭṭa*, Pa. *puṭkal*, (NE) *puṭkal*, *putta*, (NE) *puṭṭa*, Ga. (Oll.) *puṭkal*, Go. *putti*, (A) *putti*, Konḍa *purhi*, Kui *pusi*, Kuwi (F) *pūci*, Kur. *puttā*, Mlt. *pute*; cf. Kuwi *pūnja* : \**punṅt-*/\**puncc-* (DED 3556)

97. Ka. *peṅṅe*, *heṅṅe* clod, lump, Tu. *heṅṅè*, *eṅṅe* : Ka. *peṅṅe*, *peṅṅa* : \**peṅṅt-*<sup>30</sup> (DED 3606)

98. Te. *peṅṅi* the female of any animal or plant; *enu-peṅṅi* : *peṅṅa*, Ta. *peṅṅai*, Ma. *peṅṅa* : \**peṅṅtay-*<sup>31</sup> (DED 3608)

99. Ka. *pempu* largeness, abundance, eminence, sublimity : Ta. *peruppam* : \**perumpp-* (DED 3613)

100. Tu. *boṅku* hollow, void, empty : Ta. *pokku*, *pokkai*, Ko. *pok va'y*, Ka. *bokke*, Te. *bokka*, Kol. Nk. *pokka* : \**poṅkk-* (DED 3645)

101. Te. *poṅkanamu* purse, pouch, *bonkaṅamu* : *bokkaṅamu*, Ta. Ma. *pokkaṅam*, Ka. Tu. *bokkaṅa* : \**poṅkkaṅam* (DED 3650)

102. Te. *boṅku* to lie; n. a lie; false, untrue, Ka. *boṅku*, Tu. *boṅkuni* : Ta. *pokkam*, Ma. *pokkar* : \**poṅkk-* (DED 3651)

<sup>29</sup> Ka. *pindu*, *pinde*, Ta. *piṅṅai* : \**pinṅt-*.

<sup>30</sup> Ka. *heṅṅe*, Te. *peḍḍa* : \**peṅṅt-*.

<sup>31</sup> Ta. *peṅṅu*, Ma. *peṅṅi*, Ko. *peḍ*, Ka. *peṅḍa* : \**peṅṅt-*.

103. Tu. *boñkeluni* to swell; *boñka* big, large, Te. *poñka* : Ta. *pokkam*; cf. *poñku* : \**poñkk-* (DED 3658)

104. Ka. *potuñku* to hide, Brah. *putunk* : Ta. *potukku* : \**potuñkk-* (DED 3686)

105. Te. *poñte* for the sake of : Ta. Ma. *poruñtu* : \**poruñtt-* (DED 3711)

106. Ka. *hōntu*, *hōtu*, *hōta*, *pōta* he-goat, Kod. Te. *pōtu*, Kol. *po't*, Nk. *phōt*, Pa. *pōt*, Kuwi *pōtū* : Ta. Ma. *pōttu* : \**pō(n)tt-* (DED 3747)

107. Ka. *mañk(a)ri*, *makri* basket plaited of stout slits of bamboo or of the date tree : To. *mokery*, Tu. *makkeri* : \**mañkkVri* (DED 3772)

108. Tu. *mañigañtu* ankle : Ta. *mañi-kkañtu*, Ma. *mañi-kkeñtu*, Ka. *mañikañtu*, Te. *mañikañtu*, *manikañtu*, Kol. *manekñti*; cf. Ma. *mañi-kkañtam* : \**mañi-kkañtt-* (DED 3824)

109. Te. *malāka* a twist, curved line, crookedness, spiral, Ka. *malaku* : Ta. *malukku* : \**malVñkk-* (DED 3874)

110. Ka. *mañku* dimness, want of lustre, obscurity of intellectual perception, confusion of mind, silliness, stupidity, stubbornness, Tu. *mañku*, *mañka* : Ta. *makku* : \**mañkk-* (DED 3890)

111. Tu. *marañkañè*, *marakañè* on the back, topsy-turvy : Ta. *mañukkam* : \**mañVñkk-* (DED 3898)

112. Te. *māñtu* to be caught or entangled; state of being caught or entangled; *māñtu* : Ta. *māñtu*, Ma. *māñtukā* : \**mā(ñ)ñtt-* (DED 3936)

113. Ko. *ma'nt* word, language, To. *mo't*, Ka. *mātu*, *māta*, Te. *māṭa* : Ta. Ma. *mār<sub>r</sub>am* : \**mā(n)ṭṭ-* (DED 3960)

114. Te. *mīṭu*, *mīṭu* to toss or fling with the tip of a finger, toss up, fillip or strike with the nail of a finger against the thumb, strike the strings of the lute with the fingers, touch, play upon : Ta. *miṭṭu*, Ma. *miṭṭuka*, Pa. *miṭṭ-* : \**mī(n)ṭṭ-* (DED 3972)

115. Ka. *mīṇṭu* to jump, bounce, *mīṭu* jumping, flying : Te. *miṭṭu*, Kol. *miṭ-*, Nk. *miṭṭ-* : \**mi(n)ṭṭ-/\*mī(n)ṭṭ-* (DED 3974a)

116. Tu. *moṇṭè* grass hopper : Kol. *miṭṭe*, Ta. *viṭṭil*, Ma. *viṭṭil*, *veṭṭil* : \**meṇṭṭ-* (DED 3974b)

117. Te. *mūkuḍu* an earthen pan, a plate, covering dish : Ka. *mukku* : \**muṅkk-/\*mūṅkk-* (DED 4013)

118. Te. *muncu* to cover, envelope, Kol. *muns-* : Nk. *mus-*, Go. *muccānā*, Kui *musa*, Kuwi *mūcali*, Kur. *muccnā*, Mlt. *muce* : \**munc-* (DED 4025)

119. Tu. *muḍaṅku*, *moḍaṅku* crookedness, obliquity; a hump back, perversity, obstinacy; crooked, perverse : Ta. Ma. *muṭakku* : \**moṭaṅkk-* (DED 4028)

120. Ta. *morampè* swelling or protuberance on any part of the body, Te. *morapa* : Ta. *murappu*, Ma. *murappu*; cf. Ta. *murampu* : \**morampp-* (DED 4074)

121. Te. *mūka* crowd, multitude, host, swarm, army : Ka. *mukkuṟu*, *mukaṟu* : \**muṅkk-/\*mūṅkk-*<sup>32</sup> (DED 4128)

<sup>32</sup>Ta. *mūkai*, Ga.(S) *mūg(i) ēr-* : \**mūk-*.

122. Kol. *mūti* mouth, Ka. Te. Nk. *mūti* : Ma. *mūccu*, *motti* : \**mūntt*-<sup>33</sup> (DED 4129)

123. Te. *menti* pertaining to fenugreek, *mentulu*, Ka. *mente*, *menteya*, Tu. *menti*, *mentè* : To. *möty*, Tu. *mette* : \**mentt*-<sup>34</sup> (DED 4161)

124. Kur. *mēt*, *mēt* adult man, husband : Ta. *maittuṇaṇ*, Ma. *maccunan*, Ko. *maciṇ*, To. *mociṇy*, Koḍ. *macciṇḍē*, Tu. *maitine* : \**may(n)tt*- (DED 4189)

125. Te. *mūpu* upper part of the back shoulder, Kui *mōpo* : Ma. *muḷippu* : \**moḷimpp*-<sup>35</sup> (DED 4207)

126. Tu. *rampè* eyelid : *reppè*, Ta. *irappai*, Ka. *reppa*, *rappe*, Te. *reppa*, *reppa*, Kuwi *reppa*, Kol. *kaṇḍ-repa* : \**era(m)ppay* (DED 4242)

127. Te. *vaḍākū-ḡoṇḍa* Himalaya, the northern mountain : Ta. Ma. *vaṭakku*, Koḍ. *baḍakī*, Tu. *baḍakāyi*; cf. Ta. *vaṭantai* : \**vaṭam-kk*- (DED 4267)

128. Tu. *badeṇkuni* to dangle, as a weak limb : Ta. *vatakkū*, cf. Ma. *vataṇikka*, Ta. *vataṅku* : \**vataṅkk*- (DED 4286)

129. Te. *vanta* grief, sorrow; pain, weeping : Ta. Ma. *varuttam* : \**varuttam* (DED 4313)

130. Ka. *bampu*, *bompu* a slimy and sticky vegetable substance used as a soap : Ta. *vaḷuppu* : \**vaḷumpp*-<sup>36</sup> (DED 4337a)

<sup>33</sup> Ta. *mūñci*, Ma. *mūñṇi*, *mōnta*, Ko. *moṇd* : \**mūnt*-.

<sup>34</sup> Ta. *mentiyam*, *ventayam*, Ma. *ventayam* do not belong here.

<sup>35</sup> Ta. *moympu*, Ka. *muyibu* : \**moymp*-.

<sup>36</sup> Ka. *bombalu*, Ta. *vaḷumpu* : \**vaḷump*-.

131. Tu. *baraṇṭuni* to grow dry, become lean or thin, a sore to heal; *baraṇṭu* scurf, leanness; scurfy, scabby, lean, thin : Ta. *varaṇṭu*, Ma. *varaṇṭuka* : \**varaṇṭt-* (DED 4355a)

132. Tu. *bejaṇṭu* dried cow dung cake, Ka. *baraṇṭi*, *beṇṭi*, Te. *varaṇṭa* : Ta. *varaṇṭi* : \**vaṇṭt-*/\**veṇṭt-* (DED 4356)

133. Ka. *baṅku* to be crooked, bend; *boṅkane* in a bending or bent way, Kur. *beṅknā*, Kuwi *vwākhali* : Ta. *vāṅku* : \**vaṅkk-*/\**vāṅkk-*<sup>37</sup> (DED 4371)

134. Te. *vāpu*, *vāpu* swelling, protuberance : Ta. *vāyppu*, Ko. *vaṇp*, To. *poṇf*, Tu. *bāpu*, Pa. *vāp* : \**vāy(m)pp-* (DED 4383)

135. Ka. *biṅka* pride, pompousness, Te. *biṅkamu* : Ta. *viṅkam* (4477a); cf. *viṅku*, Ma. *viṅṅuka* : \**viṅkkam*/\**viṅkkam* (DED 4411)

136. Te. *vīka* flight, retreat : Ta. *vikku* to kill, destroy, etc. : \**viṅkk-* (DED 4474)

137. Te. *veṇṭa(n)* behind, after, along with : Kol. *veṭṭa* with, Nk. *veṭṭa* : \**veṇṭt-* (DED 4518)

138. Ka. *beṅki*, *beṅke* heat, fire, Tu. *beṅkè*, Te. *vēki*, Kol. *vek*, To. *pōky* : Ta. *vekkai*, Ma. *vekka*, Koḍ. *bekke*, Te. *vekka* : \**veṅkk-* (DED 4540)

139. Ka. *bē(ṅ)ṭe* hunting, the chase, animals pursued by sportsmen; *bēṅṭiga*, Tu. *bēṅṭè*, *bōṅṭè*, *bēṭi*, Te. *vēṭa*; *veṅṭa*, Kol. *veṭ aḍ*, Nk. *vēṭa*, Go. *veṭā* : Ta. *vēṭṭai*, Kuwi *betta kīali*, *bēta kīnai* : \**vēṅṭt-* (DED 4547)

<sup>37</sup> Ka. *bāgu*, *baggu*, *boggu*, Ta. *vāṅku*, Ma. *vāṅṅuka*, Ko. *vaṅg-*, To. *paṅg*, Koḍ. *baṅg-*, Tu. *bā(ṅ)guni*, Te. *vaṅgu*, Kol. Nk. Pa. *vaṅg-*, Kuwi *vwāṅgali* : \**vaṅk-*/\**vāṅk-*.

3.14. The following are the items, where more than one language shows an *NP* sequence, whereas the corresponding *PP* sequence is not to be traced in any related language. We reconstruct these *NP* sequences as \**NPP* with the support of the previous sets of etyma (see § 3.13):—

1. Ka. *añce* on that side, beyond, Tu. *añci* thither; *añca* thus; *añcade*, *añcane*, *añcene* just so, *añcitti* such as that : \**ancc-* (DED 1)

2. Kol. *añton*, *añtor*, *añtod*, *añtov* man, men, woman or thing, women or things like that, Go. *añti* on that day : \**añt-* (DED 1)

3. Ka. *añkaṇa* space either between any two posts or pillars in a wall that supports the roof, or between any two beams, Tu. *añkaṇa*, Te. *añkaṇamu* : \**añkkaṇam*<sup>38</sup> (DED 30)

4. Ka. *añka* fight, war, Tu. *añka*, Te. *añka-kāḍu* : \**añkka*<sup>39</sup> (DED 31)

5. Ka. *añkōṇi* stirrup, Tu. *añkōle*, Te. *añkavanne*, *añkavanniya*, *añkemu* : \**añkk*<sup>40</sup> (DED 34)

6. Ka. *añce* a postal rod, stage, relay, the post, Tu. *añcal*, Te. *ance*, *anciya* : \**ancc*<sup>41</sup> (DED 50)

7. Ka. *añcu* salvage, border, shirt, Te. *ancu* : \**ancc-*; Skt. *añcala* (DED 52)

<sup>38</sup> ? Skt.; Strictly speaking Ta. *añkaṇam* does not belong to this group.

<sup>39</sup> Ta. Ma. *añkam* do not belong here; cf Skt. *añka*.

<sup>40</sup> Ka. *añgavaḍi*, Ta. *añkavaḍi*. *añkapaḍi* : \**añka-paḍi*.

<sup>41</sup> Ta. *añcal*, *añci*, Ma. *añcal* do not belong here.



8. Ka. *āṭaṅka*, *ātaṅka* obstruction, Tu. *āṭaṅku*, *āṭaṅka*  
Te. *āṭaṅkamu* : \**āṭaṅkk-* (DED 73)

9. Ka. *lampaṭe*, *alapaṭe* exhaustion, weariness, harrass,  
ment, Te. *lampaṭa*, *lampaṭiḍu* : \**alamppaṭṭ-* (DED 200)

10. Ka. *aṅke* an order, command, control, restraint, Tu.  
*āṅkè*, Te. *āka*, *ākaṭṭu* : \**āṅkk-* < \**ān-kk-* (DED 286)

11. Te *renca* two in gambling, Go. *rancē* two or so : cf.  
Ta. *iraṅṭu*, *iraṅṭai* : \**iraṅ-cc-* (DED 401)

12. Ka. *eṅṭu* arrogance, Tu. *eṅṭu* pride : \**eṅṭṭ-* (DED  
679)

13. Pa. *enk-* to play; *enkip-*, Ga. *endk-*, *endikp-* :  
\**entkk-* (DED 687)

14. Ka. *empali* name of a tree, Te. *vempali* : \**vempalli*  
(DED 690)

15. Mlt. *onqe* to be under the effect of drink or poison,  
be intoxicated; *onq-male*, *onqtre*, Kur. *oṅkhnā*|*uṅkhnā*  
(*uṅkhyas*), *oṅkhta'ānā* : \**oṅkk-* (DED 792)

16. Ka. *oṅṭu* to agree (with one's health), be salubrious,  
Te. *oṅṭu*, *oṅṭami*; cf. Ta. (*vayirril*) *oṅṭu* to get absorbed in  
the stomach : \**oṅṭṭ-* (DED 818)

17. Ko. *oṅṭgyn* boar, Te. *oṅṭikāḍu*, *oṅṭigāḍu* : \**oṅṭṭ-*  
(DED 819)

18. Ka. *ontu*, *vantu*, *vanti* a turn, time; *ontu* a share,  
portion, Tu. *onti*, *ontu*, Te. *vantu* : \**ontt-*/*\*vantt-* (DED 826)

19. Te. *kañki* an ear or head of corn, Ka. *kañki*, *kañku* : \**kañkk-* (DED 912)

20. Ka. *kañci* a kind of lime or bitter sour orange, Tu. *kañci-kāyi*, *kañci-puḷi* : \**kañcci* (DED 928)

21. Ka. *kaṇṭale*, *kaṇṭāḷa*, *kaṇṭāḷe*, *kaṇṭle* double bag carried across a beast, Te. *kaṇṭ(a)lamu* : \**kaṇṭṭ-* (DED 987)<sup>42</sup>

22. Ka. *kantu* to set (as the sun), Tu. *kantuni*, *kantely*, *kantū*, *kānta*, *kantanè* : \**kantt-* (DED 1017)<sup>43</sup>

23. Ka. *kampu* bad smell; *kampisu*, *gampu*, Te. *kampu*, Kol. *kamp* : \**kampp-* (DED 1045a)

24. Ka. *gaṇṭ(a)lu*, *gaṇṭala* throat, Tu. *kaṇṭely* : \**kaṇṭṭ-*<sup>44</sup> (DED 1151)

25. Ka, *gāmpa*, *gāṇpa* a rustic, a simpleton, vulgar or vile man; *gāmpu*, *gāṇpu*, Te. *kāpu*, *kāpata*, *kāpudi*, *kāpudanamu* : \**kāṇpp-*/\**kāmpp-* (DED 1218)

26. Ka. *giṇṭa* gingham, stout cloth, double threaded stuff, Te. *giṇṭemu* : \**kiṇṭṭ-*<sup>45</sup> (DED 1288)

27. Ka. *keṇṭu* to dig with the nails, scratch as with the finger nails, Tu. *keṇṭuni* : \**kiraṇṭṭ-*<sup>46</sup> (DED 1305)

28. Ka. *kuñke* nape of neck, shoulder; *goñke* throat, Te. *koñkulu* : \**koñkk-*<sup>47</sup> (DED 1370)

<sup>42</sup> Ta. *kaṇṭālam* does not belong here and is prob. a lw.

<sup>43</sup> Ta. *kantu* which P. S. S. Sastri suggests as a cognate for this does not fit in here.

<sup>44</sup> Ga. (Oll.) *Koṇḍa gaḍli* do not belong here.

<sup>45</sup> Ta. *kiṇṭan*, Ma. *kiṇṭan* do not belong here.

<sup>46</sup> Ta. *curaṇṭu*, Ma. *ciraṇṭuka*, *curaṇṭuka* do not belong here.

<sup>47</sup> Go. *guṇṅā*, (M)*guṇṅā* do not belong here-

29. Ka. *kuṅṭe* a harrow, the web-beam in a loom, Tu. *kuṅṭe*, Te. *guṅṭaka* : \**kuṅṭt-* (DED 1409)

30. Kol. *gunti* bow, Go.(A) *gunti* : \**kuntt-* (DED 1437)

31. Ka. *goravaṅka*, *goravaṅke* the common maina, Te. *goruvaṅka*, *gōraṅka*, *gōriṅka*, *gōruvaṅka* : \**korVvaṅkk-*<sup>48</sup> (DED 1471)

32. Ka. *kuṅcu* to sink, become low, be bent down, be depressed, crouch, decrease, cease or stop (as a voice or speech), Te. *kuncu* : \**kunce-*<sup>49</sup> (DED 1472)

33. Ka. *gōraṅṭa*, *gōraṅṭi*, *gōraṅṭe*, *goraṅṭe*, *gōraṅṭe*, *kuruṅṭa(ka)*, *kuraṅṭaka* Barleria prionitis, Tu. *gōra(n)ṭe*, Te. *gōraṅṭa*, *gōrāṅṭa* : \**kōraṅṭt-*<sup>50</sup> (DED 1535b)

34. Ko. *kempn* n.pr. man, *kempy* n.pr. woman, Ka. Tu. Te. *kempu* : \**kempp-*<sup>51</sup> (DED 1607)

35. Ka. *geṅṭu* remoteness, distance, removal, Te. *geṅṭu* : \**keṅṭt-* (DED 1618)

36. Ka. *geṅṭu* knot of cord, joint of reed, bamboo, cane, joint or articulation of body, Tu. *gaṅṭu*, *gaṅṭu* : \**keṅṭt-*<sup>52</sup> (DED 1619)

37. Tu. *koṅṭa* viciousness, stupidity; vicious, stupid, Te. *koṅṭe* : \**koṅṭt-*<sup>53</sup> (DED 1731)

<sup>48</sup> Ta. *kurakam* is not a straight equivalent for this.

<sup>49</sup> Ma. *kuṅcuka* does not belong here.

<sup>50</sup> Ta. *kuraṅṭam*, *kuraṅṭakam*, *kōraṅṭam* do not belong here.

<sup>51</sup> Ta. Ma. *kempu* are prh. lws. < Ka.

<sup>52</sup> Ka. *giṅṅu*, *geṅṅu*, Ta. *keṅṅai*, Koḍ. *giṅṅi*, *ka'li-giṅṅi* : \**keṅṅt-*

<sup>53</sup> Ta. Ma. *koṅṭi* do not belong here.

38. Ka. *cañca*, *cañcu* a man of wild tribe that resides in forests, a šabara; *cañciti* (fem.), Te. *cencu*, *cancuḍu*, f. *cenceta* : \**cance-* (DED 1889)

39. Ka. *cañcali* a small tree commonly cultivated, Te. *ceñcali* : \**cance-* (DED 1890)

40. Ka. *sañcu* to be full of artifices or act cunningly; n. expedient, means, artifice, strategm, trick, intrigue; a trace, Tu. *sañcu*, Te. *sancu*, *cancu* : \**cance-* (DED 1891)

41. Tu. *sāñkuni* to foster, nourish, nurse, bring up, take care of, protect, shelter; *sāñkanè*, Te. *sāku*, *sākuḍu* : \**cāñkk-* (DED 2003)

42. Ka. *jiñke* antelope, Tu. *jiñke*, Te. *jiñka* : \**ciñkkay* (DED 2066)

43. Ka. *cuñcu* a projecting ledge on a house, Te. *cuncu-midde* : \**cuncc-* (DED 2179)

44. Ka. *cuñcu* the hair curling round the forehead, Te. *cuncu* : \**cuncc-* (DED 2180)

45. Ka. *cuñc-ili* musk-rat, Te. *cuncu*, *cunc-eluka* : \**cuncc-* (DED 2190)

46. Ko. *kunt-* to lift; *kut-* to place burden on head, Pa. Ga. (Oll.) *kumt-* : \**kum-tt-* (DED 2204)

47. Nk. *senku!* (pl.) head of jowar, Go.(A) *señk* corn (pl.) : \**cen-kk-* (DED 2300)

48. Ka. *soñṭa* hip, loins, waist, Tu. *soñṭa*, *oñṭa* : \**coñṭt-* (DED 2329)

49. Ka. *sompu*, *sampu* beauty, grace, elegance, charm, Te. *sompu*, *sompāru*, *sompillu* : \**can-pp*<sup>-54</sup> (DED 2332)

50. Ka. *ḍoṅku* to bend, be crooked; *ḍoṅku*, *ḍoṅka* state of being bent, curved, crooked; crookedness, a bend, a curve, Tu. *ḍoṅku*, *ḍoṅku*, *ḍoṅkelu*, Te. *ḍoṅku* : \**ṭoṅkk*<sup>-55</sup> (DED 2418)

51. Ka. *daṅṭu* stalk, Tu. *daṅṭu*, Te. *daṅṭu* : \**taṅṭṭ*<sup>-56</sup> (DED 2484)

52. Tu. *tāñcuni* to come into collision; *tācuni*, Te. *tācu* to kick : \**tānc-* (DED 2570)

53. Ka. *tunṭu* wickedness; *tunṭa*, *tunṭi*, *tunṭatana*, Tu. *tunṭa*, *tunṭa tana*, *tunṭi*, *tunṭedi*, Te. *tunṭa*, *tunṭari*, *tunṭa tanamu* : \**tunṭṭ*<sup>-57</sup> (DED 2714)

54. Ka. *tuḷa(ṅ)ku*, *tuḷiku*, *tuḷuku*, *tunuku* to be agitated, shake, Te. *toṅaku* : \**tuḷaṅkk-*/\**tunāṅkk-*<sup>-58</sup> (DED 2762)

55. Ka. *dū(ṅ)ṭu* to walk on one leg, hop, rack; *duṅṭu*, Te. *dūṅṭu* : \**tūṅṭṭ*<sup>-</sup> (DED 2783)

56. Ka. *toṅku* to stoop, Mlt. *tonqe*, *tongro* : \**toṅkk*<sup>-59</sup> (DED 2863)

<sup>54</sup> Ta. *compu* does not belong here.

<sup>55</sup> Ta. *ṭoṅku* is prob. a l.w. < Te. or Ka.

<sup>56</sup> Ka. *daṅḍa*, Ta. Ma. *taṅṭu*, Ko. *taḍ*, *taṅḍ*, To. *toḍ*, Koḍ. *taḍi*, Kui *ḍaṅḍu* : \**taṅṭ-*. It is also possible to explain the inconsistency of voiceless plosive after nasal in the above forms by assuming this to be the result of dissimilation. When the initial consonant gets voiced, there is a tendency for the voiced plosive to become voiceless. Cf. *padmini* (a pr. name) > \**badmini* > *batmini* (in colloq. Ta. & in Rajapalayam dial. of Te.).

<sup>57</sup> Ka. *tunḍutana*, *tunḍu*, Ta. *tunṭaṅ*, Ma. *tunṭan* : \**tunṭ-*.

<sup>58</sup> Ta. *tuḷaṅku*, Ma. *tuḷaṅṅuka*, Kui *tlāṅga* : \**tuḷaṅk-*.

<sup>59</sup> Ka. *toṅgu*, Ta. *toṅku*, Ma. *toṅkuka*, Ko. *toṅg-*, Tu. *toṅgē*, Te. *toṅgu*, Kui *ḍoṅgu* : \**toṅk-*.

57. Ka. *panta* bet, wager, Tu. *panta*, Te. *pantamu* : \**pantt*-<sup>60</sup> (DED 3239)

58. Ka. *pañcu*, *pasu* to divide, separate, part, distribute, share; be divided, etc., Te. *pancu* : \**pancc*- (DED 3247)

59. Ka. *paḷaṅku*, *paḷuṅku* to touch with force, strike or dash against, push : Tu. *paḷeṅkuni* : \**paḷVṅkk*- (DED 3302)

60. Ka. *heñcu*, *hañcu*, *añcu* tile, Koḍ. *añci*, Te. *pencu*, *pencika*; *cilla-pencu* potsherd : \**pencc*- (DED 3597)

61. Ka. *poñcu* to be in wait, lurk; *hoñcu*, *añcu*, Tu. *añcuni*, Te. *poncu* : \**poncc*- (DED 3757)

62. Te. *mancu* dew, mist, fog, Kol. *manc*, Kuwi *moncū* : \**mancc*-<sup>61</sup> (DED 3792)

63. Ka. *miñcu* to become great, excell (as in any work), go beyond, exceed, expire (as a period), pass beyond reach, behave overbearingly or proudly, Te. *mincu*, *mincudala* : \**mincc*-<sup>62</sup> (DED 3962)

64. Kur. *mīṅkhnā* to close the eyes, weigh down eyelids (as one feeling drowsy); (eyes) to be closed, Mlt. *minqe* : \**miṅkk*- (DED 3963)

65. Ka. *miñcu* silver ring worn by married women on the second toe, Te. *mincu* : \**mincc*-<sup>63</sup> (DED 3968)

<sup>60</sup> Ka. *pandya*, Ta. Ma. *pantayam*, Ko. *pandi'gm*, To. *padym*, Te. *pandemu* : \**pant*-.

<sup>61</sup> Ta. *mañcu*, Ma. *maññu*, Ko. *manj*, To. *moz*, Ka. *mañju*, Koḍ. *mañi*, Tu. *maindy*, Pa. *mañ(j)*, *mēndir*, *mēdir*, Ga. (Oll.) *nēndir*, Kuwi *manz* : \**manc*- < \**maynt*-.

<sup>62</sup> Ta. *miñcu*, Ma. *miñcuka* do not belong here.

<sup>63</sup> Ta. Ma. *miñci* do not belong here.

66. Kol. *eṅon, eṅor, eṅod, eṅov* man, men, woman or thing, women or things like what, Nk. *eṅa* how, Go. *baṅṅi* : \**yaṅṅ-* (DED 4228)

67. Ka. *rampige* shoe maker's knife or awl, Tu. *rampi*, Te. *rampamu*, Pa. *rampa* : \**tampp-*<sup>64</sup> (DED 4236)

68. Ka. *rampa* clamour, vociferation, Koḍ. *rampa*, Te. *rampu*, *rampu*, Kol. *rampam* : \**tampp-*<sup>65</sup> (DED 4237)

69. Ka. *vaṅki, oṅki* hook, gold armlet of a curved shape, Te. *vaṅki, oṅkiya* : \**vaṅkk-*<sup>66</sup> (DED 4260)

70. Ka. *vaṅki* a sort of knife or sword; *vaṅkuḍi, baṅkuḍi*, Te. *vaṅki, vaṅkiṇi* : \**vaṅkk-*<sup>67</sup> (DED 4261)

71. Te. *vanta, vranti* river, Kol. *vrantā, vanta*, Nk. *vanta* : \**v(r)ant-* (DED 4291)

72. Ka. *bāṅa(n)ti* a woman recently delivered, woman just brought to bed, lying in woman, Tu. *bāṅanti*, Te. *bālinta, bālinta bōḷamu, bālenta* : \**pāṅant-* / \**pāḷant-* (DED 4381)

73. Ko. *vent-* to ask, To. *pint* : \**vint-* (DED 4472)

74. Ka. *beṅce* small pond, Te. *venca* lake : \**venc-* (DED 4500)

<sup>64</sup> Ta. *irampam* does not belong here.

<sup>65</sup> Ka. *rambu*, Tu. *ramb(h)ārūṅi* : \**tamp-*.

<sup>66</sup> Ta. *vaṅki*, Tu. *oggi, uggi* do not delong here.

<sup>67</sup> Ma. *vaṅki* does not belong here.

3.15. The following are the items with *NP*, for which some other related language(s) show(s) only a *P* instead of double plosive:

1. Tu. *eḍaṅkuni* to hit, kick, Ka. *iḍaku* : \*eḷaṅkk- (DED 376)
2. Te. *lēta* young, tender, light, delicate, soft, Nk. *lēta*, Kui *lēti*, cf. Ta. *iḷam* : \*eḷam-tt- (DED 436)
3. Tu. *oraṅṅu*, *oraṅṅu* hatred, ill-will, retaliation; *oraṅṅuni* Ka. *uruṅṅu*, *oraṅṅu*, *oraṅṅu* : \*oraṅṅt- (DED 559)
4. Ka. *iṅumpu*, *iṅumpe*, *iṅupe* ant, Koḍ. *urupī* : \*iṅumpp-<sup>68</sup> (DED 734)
5. Tu. *olampu* cleanliness, purity; *olapu*, Koḍ. *olap* : \*olampp-<sup>69</sup> (DED 839)
6. Te. *rōta* disgust, abhorrence; dirt, filth; *rōta*, Ko. *rōte*; cf. Ta. *urai* to rebuke, *oru* dislike : \*oraṅtt- (DED 857)
7. Tu. *ōṅṅe* a kind of large thin reed, a pipe made of reed, Koḍ. *oṅṅe* : \*ōṅṅt-<sup>70</sup> (DED 879)
8. Tu. *ōṅṅe-puḷi* the sour fruit of *G. cambogia*; *ōṅṅe-puḷi*, Ka. *ōṅṅe*, *ōṅṅe-puḷi* : \*ōṅṅt- (DED 880)
9. Te. *kaḍāti*, *kaṅṅati* musk deer; *kaḍiti*, *kaṅṅiti*, Ka. *kaḍiti* : \*kaṅṅVntt- (DED 935)
10. Tu. *kaṅṅṅu*, *kaṅṅṅu* rancidity, rancid; *kaṅṅṅuni*, Ka. *kamaṅṅu*, *kamuṅṅu*, *kavuṅṅu* : \*kamuṅṅt- (DED 1120)

<sup>68</sup> Ta. *eṅumpu*, *eṅumpi*, *iṅumpu*, *uravi*, Ma. *eṅumpu*, *iṅumpu*, *uṅumpu*, Ko. *irb*, To. *īrb*, Ka. *iṅive*, *iṅave*, *iṅuyu*, *iṅuve*, *irvu* *irve* : \*iṅump-.

<sup>69</sup> Tu. *lumbuni*, Ma. *olumpuka*, Koḍ. *olamb-* : \*olVmp-.

<sup>70</sup> Ta. *ōṅṅai*, Ma. *ōṅṅa*, To. *waṅṅ* : \*ōṅṅ-.



11. Te. *kāka* warmth, heat, anger; warm, hot, Ka. *kāñke*, Pa. *kāka*, Kuwi *kāka*, Brah. *khākhar* : \**kāñkk*-<sup>71</sup> (DED 1219)
12. Ka. *gumpu* heap, herd, multitude, Te. Tu. *gumpu*, To. *kupy* : \**kumpp*-<sup>72</sup> (DED 1449)
13. Te. *k(r)ōti* monkey, Ga. (S) *kōnti*, Ka. Tu. *kōti*, Kol. *ko'ti*; cf. Ta. *kurañku* : \**koranti* <sup>73</sup> (DED 1473)
14. Kur. *kēt<sup>or</sup>* winnowing basket, Kol. Nk. *kēt*, Pa. *kēti*, *kēti*, Ga. (Oll.) *kēti*, *kētin*, *kēten*, Mlt. *ketnu*, Te. *cēṭa*; cf. Ma. *cēruka* to winnow : \**kēntt*- (DED 1679)
15. Ka. *kuṛuñku* a bite, gnaw, nibble; *kuṛuku*, *koṛuku*, *koṛaku*, Te. *koṛuku*, Kol. Nk. Pa. *kork*, Go. *kōrkānā*, Kui *kospa* : \**koṭVñkk*- (DED 1798)
16. Ko. *koṇṭ!* pocket in outside edge of cloak, Te. *gōṭu*, To. *kwīṭy*, Ka. Tu. *gōṭu* : \**kōṇṭt*- (DED 1825)
17. Te. *goṇṭu-pōka* an inferior kind of areca-nut; *gōṭu-pōka*, Ka *gōṭu*, *gōṭ-aḍike*, Koḍ. *goṭ-aḍake* : \**koṇṭt*- / \**kōṇṭt*- (DED 1826)
18. Te. *cācu* to extend (tr.), stretch, lengthen, Ka. *cācu*, Koḍ. *ca'c*, Tu. *cācuni* : \**cānc*- (DED 2007)
19. Te. *cāpu* to extend (tr.), stretch, lengthen; n. extending, stretch, extent, length, a full piece of cloth; *jampu* long; delay, procrastination, Ka. *cāpu*, *jāpu*, *dāpu* : \**cāmp*-<sup>74</sup> (DED 2007)

<sup>71</sup> Ta. *kāñkai* does not belong here.

<sup>72</sup> Ka. *gummu*, *gummi*, Ta. *kumpu*, *kumpal*, *kumpam*, *kumpi*, Ma. *kūmpal*, Ko. *gub*, *gubl*, To. *kubīl* : \**kump*-.

<sup>73</sup> Ta. *kōnti* is prob. a l.w. < Te.

<sup>74</sup> Ma. *cāmpu*. Ka. *jambu* : \**cāmp*-.

20. Te. *ciñki* ragged, tattered; a rent, tear, Pa. *cik-*, Kui *siki, sike* : \**cinkk-*/\**cīnk-* (DED 2056)

21. Ka. *ciṭuñku* a sound in imitation of the cracking or snapping of the fingers; *ciṭuñkisu, ciṭuku, ciṭaku*, Tu. *ciṭuku, ciṭiki, ciṭka*, Te. *ciṭika, ciṭuku* : \**ciṭuñkk-* (DED 2072)

22. Te. *cīpuru*, To. *ki·p*, Ka. *cīpari*, Koḍ. *ci pe*, Pa. *cēpid*, Ga. (Oll.) *sēpeṭ*, (S) *cēpēd, cēpe*, Koṇḍa. *sipa-*, *siper*, Kui *sēpa, sēperi*, Kuwi *hepali, hēpinai* : \**cimpp-* (DED 2139)

23. Kur. *cīcnā* to rub with something soft for cleaning or drying, wipe away, dry; *cīcñā*, Mlt. *cice* : \**cince-*/\**cīnce-* (DED 2139)

24. Te. *cīkaṭi* darkness, obscurity, gloom, dark, *cī-jīkaṭi*, Kol. *cīkaṭi*, (SR) *cīkaṭ*, Pa. *cīkoḍ*, Ga. (Oll.) *sīkaṭ*, Go. *sikāṭi, sikāṭi, ikāṭ*, *sikāṭi*, Koṇḍa *sikaṭi*; cf. Pa. *ciruñ*, *sirñgaṭi* : \**ciñkkaṭ-* < \*\**ciruñkkaṭ-* (DED 2144)

25. Mlt. *cumqe* to kiss, *cumgrése*, Pa. *cūk-*, Ga.(S) *cupk-* : \**cumkk-* (DED 2154b)

26. Ka. *suru(ṇ)ṭu* to become shrivelled or contracted, Tu. *suruṇṭuni, sirṇṭuni, kuruṇṭuni, kuruṇṭuni, suruṇṭu, kuruṇṭu; suruṇṭuni, suruṇṭu* : \**curuṇṭṭ-* (DED 2253)

27. Te. *cēpu* the breasts to become full with milk, the milk to be secreted, flow, rush or spring forth; let the milk flow; n. the becoming full with milk (of breasts), the secretion or flowing forth of milk; *cēpu*, Ka. *cēpu*, Koḍ. *ce·pu* : \**cēmpp-* (DED 2303)

28. Kol. *ṭumṭer, ṭumṭor, ṭuṇṭor* scorpion; *ṭiṭor*, Nk. *ṭiṭor* : \**ṭVmṭor* (DED 2409)

29. Tu. *tañka* lungs, liver; *sañka* liver, Go. *tanāki, tanēki, taṛāki, taṛaki*, Koṇḍa *taṛki* : \**taṅkk-* (DED 2546)

30. Tu. *tāñkuni* to take care of, nourish, foster, Ka. *ḡāku*, Koḍ. *ta·k-* : \**tāñkk-*<sup>75</sup> (DED 2573)

31. Te. *tāṣa* bark, Ka. *tāṣi* : \**tāñṣṣ-* (DED 2575)

32. Te. *tuṣṣa* piece, fragment, Mlt. *tuṣgro* : \**tuṣṣṣ-*<sup>76</sup> (DED 2712)

33. Te. *toḍāku*, *tonāku*, *tolāku* to be slightly shaken or agitated as a liquid, be spilled; n. slight agitation or motion in a liquid, Ka. *tuḷaku* : \**toḷañkk-* (DED 2764)

34. Ka. *tū(n)tu* hole; *tūntu* to make to enter, Te. *tūṣtu*, *tūṣāḍu*, Kuwi *tūthali*, Mlt. *tūturo* : \**tūntṣṣ-* (DED 2795b)

35. Kur. *toñkhnā* to break any part of a plant with the fingers, cull or pluck a leaf or flower, prune a tree, Mlt. *toqe* : \**toñkk-* (DED 2864)

36. Te. *tōka* tail, Ka. *tōke*, Tu. *tōkè*, Kol. *to·ke*, Nk. Pa. *tōka*, Go. *tōkār*, Konḍa *tōka* : \**tō(ñ)kk-*<sup>77</sup> (DED 2916)

37. Te. *dōcu* to plunder, pillage, sack, rob, loot, Ka. *dōcu* : \**tōncc-* (DED 2919)

38. Te. *tōpu* red; a red colored cloth, Tu. *tōpu* : \**tōmpp-*<sup>78</sup> (DED 2931)

39. Te. *dōpu* to put or thrust in, insert, introduce, Ku. *dōpa* : \**tōmpp-* (DED 2932)

<sup>75</sup> Tu. *tāñgu*, Ta. *tāñku*, Ma. *tāññuka*, Ko. *ta·ñg-*, To. *to·g-*, Ka. *tāñgu*, Koḍ. *ta·ñg-* : \**tāñk-*.

<sup>76</sup> Te. *tuṣḍamu*, *tuṣḍu*, *tuṣḍe*, *tuṣḍemu*, Ta. Ma. *tuṣṣam*, Ko. *tuṣḍ*, To. *tuḍ*, Ka. *tuṣḍu*, Koḍ. *tuṣḍī*, Pa. *tuṣḍa*, Mlt. *tuṣḡre*, *tuṣḡre* : \**tuṣṣ-*.

<sup>77</sup> Ta. *tōkai*, Ma. *tōka* do not belong here.

<sup>78</sup> Ta. *tōmpu* does not belong here.

40. Ka. *nāñcu*, *nāñcu* to become abashed, ashamed or embarrassed; *nācu*, Tu. *nācu* : \**nāñ-cc-* (DED 3014)

41. Te. *pāci* moss; *pāci*, Ko. *pāty*, Ka. *pāci* : \**pānc-*<sup>79</sup> (DED 3161)

42. Te. *paḍāti*, *paḍātuka* woman, *paḍucu*, *paḍucūḍu*, Ka. *paḍati*, Kol. *paḍas*, Pa. *paḍic* : \**paḍant-* (DED 3177)

43. Te. *pātu* to bury, inhume, fix in the ground, plant; n. burial, that which is buried or concealed underground, Kol. *pa'tar* : \**pānt-* (DED 3359)

44. Tu. *pur(e)ñcuni*, *purecuni* to squeeze (as a lemon), Ga. (S) *pīc-*, Kuwī *pīcali*, Brah. *princing*; cf. Ta. *pīli* : \**pīli-nc-* (DED 3440a)

45. Te. *pīku* to pull out, root out, pluck out, Ka. *pīku* Nk. *pīk-* : \**pīkk-* (DED 3457)

46. Te. *būcu* mould, mildew, Tu. *būcu*, *būci*; cf. Ta. *pū(tt)* : \**pūynt-*<sup>80</sup> (DED 3574)

47. Te. *bōki*, *boñki* pot, Ka. *bōki* : \**poñkk-*/\**pōñkk-* (DED 3739)

48. Te. *maḍāka* plough with bullocks complete, Ka. *maḍike* : \**maḍVīkk-* (DED 3806)

49. Tu. *māñka* darkness, Kur. *mākhā*, Mlt. *māqu* : \**māñkk-* (DED 3918)

50. Ka. *mīñtu* to pull up by the roots, tear out or up pull out, raise with the lever; n. an instrument for pulling up or raising, lever, Tu. *mīñtuni*, Te. *mītu*, Ka. *mītu*, Tu. *mītuni*, Te. *mīta*, *mītu* : \**mīñt-*<sup>81</sup> (DED 3979)

<sup>79</sup> Ta. *pāci*, *pācam*, Ma. *pāśi*, To. *po'Ųy*, Tu. *pāśi* : \**pāc-*.

<sup>80</sup> Te. *būdu*, Ta. *pūñcu*, Ka. *būju*, *būie*, Tu. *būju* : \**pūynt-*.

<sup>81</sup> Ta. *mīñtu*, Ma. *mīñtuka* do not belong here.

51. Ko. *minc-* to flash, glitter, be dazzling, lighten, Ka. *miñcu*, Tu. *miñcuni*, *meñcuni*, Te. *mincu*, To. *mic-* : \**min-cc-* (DED 3994)

52. Te. *munta* small pitcher, Kuwi *mūnta*, Kui *mūta* : \**muntt-*<sup>82</sup> (DED 4068)

53. Tu. *murun̄tu*, *nurun̄tu* shrunk, shrivelled, Ka. *murañtu* *murañtu*, *murutu* : \**murVñt̄-* (DED 4075)

54. Te. *bruncu* to kill, Kur. *murcnā* : \**murncc-* (DED 4078)

55. Ka. *muḷiñku*, *muḷuñku*, *muḷ(u)ku* to go or sink under water, become plunged in a liquid, immerse oneself, dive, dip, set as the sun, be ruined, Tu. *murkuni*, Kur. *mulukhnā* : \**muḷVñkk-*<sup>83</sup> (DED 4096)

56. Te. *mēka*, *mēka* goat, Ka. Nk. *mēke*, Go. *mekā* : \**mē(ñ)kk-* (DED 4174)

57. Te. *vaḍāku*, *vañāku* to tremble, shudder, quiver, shake, n. trembling, quivering, shaking, tremble, shudder, quiver, tremor, Ka. *baḷaku*, Tu. *baḷakuni*, Kol. *vaḍk-*, Nk. *vaḍak-* : \**vaḷañkk-* / \**vañañkk-* / \**vaḷañkk-* (DED 4342)

58. Ka. *barañtu*, *beñtu*, *beraḷtu* to dig or scratch with nails or claws, scratch, Te. *baraḷtu* : \**vatañt̄-*<sup>84</sup> (DED 4357)

<sup>82</sup> Ta. *muntai*, *montai*, Ma. *monta*, Ka. *munde* : \**munt-*.

<sup>83</sup> Ka. *muḷugu*, *muḷagu*, *muḷigu*, *muḷuñgu*, *muḷugu*, *muḷagu*, *muḷigu*, Ko *muḷg-*, To. *muḷx-*, Koḍ. *muññ-*, Ta. *muḷuku*, *muñku*, Ma. *muḷukuka*, *muñkuka*, Tu. *muḷuguni*, *muḷuguni*, Te. *munūgu*, *mungu*, Kol. Nk. *muñg-*, Pa. *muḷg-*, Go. *muḷungānā*, Kui *munja*, Kuwi *mūnjali*, Mlt *mulḡe* : \**muḷVñkk-*.

<sup>84</sup> Ta. *vaḷaḷtu* does not belong here.

59. Te. *vampu* to bend, etc.; bend, curve, crookedness; bent, curved, erooked, Kol. *vap-* : \**vampp-* (DED 4371)

60. Ka. *baḷduṅku bardu(ṅ)ku, badu(ṅ)ku* to live, be alive, subsist, make a livelihood, remain alive, revive, return to life, Koḍ. *badīk-*, Tu. *badukuni*, Te. *b(r)aduku*, Kol. *batkip-*, *badk-*, Nk. *badkip-*, Pa. *badk-*, Go. *badaktōr*, Kuwi *batkali*, cf. Ta. *vāḷ* : \**vaḷ-tuṅkk-* (DED 4402)

61. Te. *vinta* strangeness, newness; wonderful, strange, foreign, Go. *wartōl, warttāl, vertāl* guest; cf. Ta. *viruntu* : \**viruntt-*<sup>85</sup> (DED 4442)

62. Tu. *bīmpu* tail, Te. *vīpu* the back, Kol. *viṭp* backbone : \**vīmpp-* (DED 4484)

63. Te. *bīṭa* crack, cleft, split, chink; *bīṭagillu, bīṭaluvāru: bīṭaluvōvu*, Ka. *bīṭe* : \**vīṅṭṭ-* (DED 4502)

64. Tu. *boḷḷenti* white, bright, Ka. *beḷantige, beḷatige* : \**veḷ-Vntt-* (DED 4524)

65. Te. *vēpu* to fry, grill; *vēpuḍu*, Nk. *viṭp-*, Pa. *vēp-* : \**vēmpp-* (DED 4540)

3.16. The following are the items with sequences of nasal plus voiceless plosive, for which no direct cognates are available and we will still reconstruct the NP as \*NPP:-

Ko. *uṅkc* (516), *kanc* (1183a), *ninc* (3043), *miṅṭ* (3997), *maṅṭi* (4074)

To. *oṅc* (69b), *tīṅp* (2639)

<sup>85</sup> Ta. *vintai* is prh. a 1.w. < Te.

Ka. *aņke*, *aņpu* (86), *aļiyantara* (235), *aņpu*, *aņpita* (279)<sup>86</sup>, *iņcu* (364), *kāvaņci*, *kāņciya-hullu*, *kāmaņca*, *kāmaņci* (1244), *kusuņku* (1364), *guņpu*, *gumpu* (1389), *kođanti* (1717), *samantu* (1934a), *tavuņku*, *tavuņkal* (2495), *taļļaņka* (2531), *tūntiri* (2725), *tuntur(i)* (2794), *teņku* (2852), *paļaņcu* (3302), *piņcu* (3452), *peņtma* (3608a)<sup>87</sup>, *pēņkuņi*, *pēņkuļi* (3635), *baļaņku*, *baļuņku* (4349), *biņpu* (4423)

Kođ. *te:m-puļu* (2674b)<sup>88</sup>

Tu. *aļaņtuni* (251), *iņci*, *iņca*, *iņcane*, *iņcene*, *iņcogu* (351a), *eđanku* (381), *iriņti* (466), *uņkelu*, *uņpu* (516), *untuni*, *untāvuni* (608), *ebuļante* (689), *anpini*, *inpini* (737), *obbaņtigi*, *obbaņte* (834a), *kađeņcuni* (957), *karņcuni* (1073a), *kaļļaņti(gè)* (1156), *kereņcuni* (1305), *kiņkuni*, *kiņkuni* (1322), *koņpini*, (1789), *himpuni* (2153), *suyimpuni* (2207), *teđilumeņci* (2271), *dađavante* (2449), *tinpini*, *tinpele* (2670a), *cīntuni* (2672), *teluņtuni*, *teluņtuni*, *teļuņtuni* (2826), *nauntuni*, *naumpuni* (2970), *neyipanti* (2976), *nurumpè* (3076), *pađikenti* (3200), *par(a)ņkuni* (3313), *porņkuni* (3516), *pūņkè* (3574), *morampu* (4093), *molaņku*, *molaņkana* (4093), *musuņtu* (4129), *ēvaņca*, *eņca*, *eņci*, *eņcitti*, *oņci* (4228), *bāđaņkely*, *bāđantely* (4377), *benpini* (4473), *berinškally*, *beraņkally* (4518)

Te. *ađđaņki* (73), *điņku* (426), *dēku*, *đēku* (431), *lēka* (436), *rōkali* (572), *lōkuva* (600), *rompi* (857), *kađāka*, *kađaņka*, *kaņāka* (932), *kaņti* 'of the eye' (973a), *krāl(u)gaņti* a sparkling eyed woman (1136), *geņtena* (977), *gaņtu*, *gaņti* (989), *cēpa* (1050), *varava-cēpa* (4316), *kelāku*, *kelaņku* (1321),

<sup>86</sup> Ka. *aņpu* can perhaps be connected with Ta. *arpu-*, adjective of *aņpu* 'love', and hence can be reconstructed as \**aņpp-l\***aņpp-*.

<sup>87</sup> *peņtana* can be reconstructed as \**peņ(ņu)-ttanam*.

<sup>88</sup> The Ta. cognate for *te m-puļu* can be *tēṭ-puļu* and hence it can be reconstructed as \**tēn-ppuļu*.

*k(r)incu*(1348), *gīku* (1352), *kuppeṇṭa* (1445), *kolāku(vu)* (1518), *kūka* (1551), *kūturū* (1554), *kelaṅku*, *kelāku* (1638), *ceṅka*, *cerāpa* (1655), *koṅku* (1806), *campu*, *campuḍu* (2002), *cikkaṅṭu*, *cikkaṅṭe* (2059), *ciṅka* (2117), *cīku* (2154a), *cumpāta* (2204), *centa* (2312), *t(r)ampi* (2542), *talāku* (2552), *tāpu* (2570), *diṅṭena* (2635), *tīṭa*, *tīṅṭramu* (2670a), *tumparā*, *tumpiḷḷu* (2794), *dōpari*, *dōpiḍi*, *dōpu* (2919), *iōpika*, *iōpu* (2942), *navāta* (2973), *paḍāku* (3193), *p(r)āta* (3296), *palāku* (3299), *pācu*, *p(r)āci* (3341), *punta* (3542), *pūta* (3565), *peṅku* (3597), *cilla-peṅku* (1313), *peṅṭa* (3636), *porāṭu* (3705), *polāti*, *polātuka* (3717), *magāṭimi* (3768), *maḍāta* (3796), *m(r)āku* (3856), *malāpu* (3874), *mūta* (4025), *mumpu*, *bruncu* (4096), *melāta*, *melātuka* (4167), *valāti* (4317), *vancu* (4370), *viyyaṅkurālu* (4476)

Kol. *iṅṭon*, *iṅṭor*, *iṅṭod*, *iṅṭov* (351a), *kink* (1336), *pank-* (3212)

Nk. *kank er* (1209)

Pa. *uṅṭip-* (516), *untip-* (623), *cumṭal* (2204), *cunṭip-* (2263), *mūṅk* (4000)

Ga. (Oll.) *tireṅṭe* (2663)

Go. *uncā* (834d)

Kuwi *munka*, *mūṅkinai* (553), *onpinai* (625), *grāncali* (929), *mānpinai* (3938), *mūnta* (4134)

Kur. *amte* (158), *umpnā* (550), *kiyyantā* (1348), *maīyantā*, *maṅyantā*, *maitantā* (3966), *bācnā* (4565)

Mlt. *manc-nāge* (3818)



3.17. The following forms with a single or double plosive are reconstructed with \*NPP, with the evidence from related language forms with phonetic NB:—

1. Te. *kuṭṭe* anus : cf. Ta. Ma. *kuṇṭi*, Ka. *kuṇḍe* : \**kuṇṭṭ-* (DED 1413)

2. Ma. *kuttiuka* to squat : cf. Ta. *kuntu* : \**kuntt-* (DED 1438)

3. Go. *kurkī*, *karkī* thigh : cf. Ta. *kurāṅku*, Ma. *kuraku* *kuravu*, Ko. *korg*, Te. *kuruvu*, Kol. *kudug*, Koṇḍa *kurgu*, Kui' *kujū*, *kuj(u)gu*, Kuwi *kūdḡ*, Kur. *khosgā*, Mlt. *qosge* : \**kuṭVṅkk-* (DED 1527)

4. Ta. *ceruttal* udder : cf. Ma. *cerunnal* : \**cerunttal* (DED 1632)

5. Ta. *cuṭṭu* point out, show, designate, indicate, have in view, aim at, desire, think, consider, honour; indication, reference, which is intended or designated, honour, Ma. *cuṭṭu*, Ka. *suṭṭu*, *suṭṭumbe*, *cūṭi*, Tu. *cūṭi*, Te. *sūṭi*, Kui *sūṭa*, *sūṭa vanju*, Kuwi *hūṭali*, Pa. *ṭuṭip* : cf. Ma. *cūṇṭuka*, *cūṇṭal*, Tu. *tūṇḍuni*, *tūṇḍelṭ* : \**cunṭṭ-*/\**cūṇṭṭ-* (DED 2187)

6. Ta. *cūṭṭu* to adorn as with garlands, Ma. *cūṭṭikka*, *cūṭṭuka*, *cūṭṭu*, To. *tuṭ*, Pa. *cūṭa* : cf. *cūṇḍ-* : \**cūṇṭṭ-* (DED 2247)

7. Koṇḍa *tup-* to sneeze : cf. Ta. *tumpu*, Ko. *tub-*, To *tüb-*, Tu. *tumbily* : \**tumpp-* (DED 2740)

8. Te. *beḷaku*, *beḷuku* to shine, gleam, glitter; n. brightness, polish, gleam, Ta. *viḷaku*, Ma. *viḷakkuka*, Ko. *veḷk-*, To. *pōḷk-*, Ka. *beḷaku* : cf. Ta. *viḷāṅku*, Ma. *viḷāṅṅuka*, Ko. *veḷg-*, To. *pōḷx-*, Ka. *beṭagu* : \**veḷVṅkk-* (DED 4524)

## 4

## Irregularities

4.1. There are some forms which are irregular in their correspondence. We present below all those problematic forms with double reconstructions:—

1. Tu. *aḷaṅku* ant-eater; *alaṅku* armadillo : Ta. *aḷuṅku*, *aḷuṅku*, *naḷuṅku*, Te. *āḷuga*, *āḷuva*, (B) *āḷuga*, *āḷuva* : \**aḷ-uṅkk-* / \**aḷ-uṅk-* (DED 243)

2. Te. *uṅṭa* round; *cimmir-uṅṭalu*, *cimmul-uṅṭalu* : *uṅḍramu*, Ta. *uṅṭai*, Ma. *uṅṭa*, Ko. *uṅḍ*, To. *uḍy*, Ka. *uṅḍe*, Tu. *uṅḍè* : \**u-ṅṭṭ-* / \**u-ṅṭ-* (DED 571b)

3. Ka. *uṅṭu* that is or exists, existence, existing : Ta. Ma. *uṅṭu*, Koḍ. *uṅḍī*, Tu. Te. *uṅḍu*, Kol. Nk. *uṅḍ-* : \**uṅ-tt-* / \**uṅ-t-* (DED 599)

4. Te. *ẽcu* to harrass, torment, annoy : Ta. *ẽcaru* : \**ẽn-cc-/\*ẽ-c-* (DED 747)

5. Te. *doñku* to dry up, sink, be absorbed, disappear, diminish, shrink, hesitate : Ta. *oñunku*, Ma. *oñunñuka*, Ko. *ođg-*, To. *wĩrg-*, Ka. *uđigisu* : \**oñ-uñkk-/\*oñ-uñk-* (DED 804)

6. Te. *gañțamu* iron style for writing on palmyra leaves : Ta. *kañțam* : \**kañ-țț-am/\*kañ-ț-am* (DED 983)

7. Ko. *kañț-po't* flesh of hind thigh of animal; *kañț-ka'l* calf of leg : Ka. Kod. Te. *kañđa*; cf. Ta. *karañțai-kkāl* : \**kañ-țț-/\*kañ-ț-* (DED 988)

8. Ka. *kañțike* ball of thread : *kañđike*, *kañđu*, Ta. *kañțu*, Te. *kañđe*, *kañđiya* : \**kañ-țț-/\*kañ-ț-* (DED 990)

9. Ka. *kampraņa* a district : Ta. *kampalai*, *kampałar* : \**kam-pp-/\*kam-p-* (DED 1036)

10. Te. *garĩte* spoon, ladle : Ta. *karañți* : \**ker-Vñțț-/\*ker-Vñț-* (DED 1063) (See § 9 Appendix)

11. Te. *kā(n)cu* to bear, produce (as fruit), bring forth, be produced (as fruit), be fruitful : Kur. *khañjnā*, *khañikā*, *khañjpā*, Mlt. *qanje*, *qanjpe* : \**kān-cc-/\*kan-c-* (DED 1219)

12. Te. *gĩțu* to tear, rind : *gĩru*, Ta. *kĩru*, Ma. *kĩruka*, Ko. To. *kĩr*, Tu. *kĩruni* : \**kĩn-țț-/\*kĩ-ț-* (DED 1353)

13. Te. *gĩțu* to wink, as in making a sign or conveying a hint : *gĩrupu*, *gĩrpu*, *gĩruvu*, *gĩrvu*, *gĩlupu*, Ta. *kĩru* : \**kĩn-țț-/\*kĩ-ț-* (DED 1354)

14. Te. *kuñkuḍu* soap-nut tree : Ka. *kuggaṭe*, *kūgaṭe* :  
\**kuñ-kk-*/\**kuñ-k-* (DED 1359)

15. Tu. *kumpi* penis : Ma. *kumpi* : \**kum-pp-*/\**kum-p-*  
(DED 1457)

16. Te. *kruñku*, *guñku*, *gūku* to sink, go down, plunge  
set (as the sun), die; n. a plunge : Ta. *kuñku*, *kurañku*, Ma.  
*kuñkuka*, Ka. *kuñgu*, *kuggu*, *kurgu*, Tu. *kugguni* : \**kur-Vñkk-*/  
\**kur-Vñk-* (DED 1472)

17. Te. *kūtturu-buḍamu* Bryonia scabrella : Ta. *kūturu* :  
\**kūn-tt-*/\**kū-t-* (DED 1579)

18. Kuwi *kūrñkali* to nod with sleep : Tu. *kūraṅgelu* :  
\**kūr-Vñkk-*/\**kūr-Vñk-* (DED 1582)

19. Ka. *kūntu* bending, bent state : Ma. *kūntal* :  
\**kūn-tt-*/\**kūn-t-* (DED 1605)

20. Tu. *keduñkè*, *kedañkè* tip of a bird's wing : Ko.  
*kerñgl*, *kergl* : \**ket-uñkk-*/\**ket-uñk-* (DED 1651)

21. Ko. *jañk* slackness of rope : *jañg-* (rope or waist  
cloth) becomes slack or loose, (handle of tool) is loose, Ka.  
*jañgaḷa* : \**cañ-kk-*/\**cañ-k-* (DED 1883)

22. Kur. *cankhñā* to turn stale (of cooked things, meat  
or vegetables) : Mlt. *cangē*, *cangro* : \**can-kk-*/\**can-k-* (DED  
2000)

23. Kur. *cīcrnā* to blow the nose : *īhrnā*, Mlt. *inje* :  
\**cīn-ce-*/\**cīn-c-* (DED 2153)

24. Kol. *surunt potte* bee : *surund* honey comb, (Kin.) *curund* bee, *curund taṭṭa* honey comb, Pa. *curud*, *curdi* : \**cur-untt-|\*cur unt-* (DED 2215)

25. Go. *yantī*, *ēṭē* crab : Ta. *ṅaṅṭu*, *ṅeṅṭu*, *naṅṭu*, Ma. *ṅaṅṭu*, *naṅṭu*, Ka. *eṅḍra kāyi*, *ēḍi*, Koḍ. *ṅaṅḍī*, *ṅaṅḍrīkē*, Tu. *deṅṅi*, Te. *eṅḍri*, *eṅḍrika*, *eṅḍrakāya*, Pa. *iṅḍi*, Ga. (Oll.), *irid* : \**ṅaṅ-ṭṭ-|\*ṅaṅ-ṭ-*<sup>89</sup> (DED 2362)

26. Ka. *ṭaṅke*, *ḍaṅke* staff, cudgel, etc. : *ḍaṅgi*, *ḍaṅge*, Ma. *ṭaṅkam* : \**ṭaṅ-kk-|\*ṭaṅ-k-* (DED 2400)

27. Te. *taṛāku* to become less, diminish, decrease; n. deficiency, wastage, loss, wear and tear : *targu*, *taṛugu*, *taṛūgu*. *taragu*, *taragari*, Ta. *tarku*, *taravu*, *tarkan*, Ma. *tarku*, *tarkan*, Ko. *targ*, Ka. *taragu* : \**taṭ-aṅkk-|\*taṭ-aṅk-* (DED 2519)

28. Te. *tolāku* to shine, be splendid : Ta. *tuḷaṅku*, Ma. *tuḷaṅṅuka*, Ka. *toḷagu* : \**toḷ-aṅkk-|\*toḷ-aṅk-* (DED 2763)

29. Te. *dūṭu* to butt, push, thrust : Ta. *tūṅṭu*, Ma. *cūṅṭuka*, Ko. *tuṅḍ-*, Ka. *dūḍu*, Koḍ. *duḍ-*, Tu. *dūḍuni* : \**tūṅ-ṭṭ-|\*tūṅ-ṭ-* (DED 2782)

30. Te. *teṅkāya*, *ṭeṅkāya* coco-nut, Ko. *ten kāy* : Ta. *teṅku*, *teṅkam*, *teṅ*, *teṅṅai*, *tēṅkāy*, Ma. *teṅṅu*, *teṅṅaṅkāyi*, *tēṅṅa*, *tēṅṅā*, Ko. *tegy*, To. *tō(g) go'y*, Ka. *teṅgu*, *ṭeṅgu*, *teṅgāy*, Koḍ. *teṅḍī mara*, *teṅge*, Tu. *teṅgu* : \**teṅ-kk-|\*teṅ-k-*<sup>90</sup> (DED 2806)

<sup>89</sup> cf. Ta. *naṭṭuvāykkāli* a kind of scorpion, whose front legs resemble the 'mouth' of the crab, *naṭṭu-* (prob. an adj. of *naṅṭu*) can be equated with Go. *yantī*, *ēṭē* and should be reconstructed as \**ṅaṅṭṭ-*, while Te. *maṅḍra gabba* 'a variety of scorpion' should be reconstructed as \**ṅaṅṭṭ-*.

<sup>90</sup> It is possible that Te. *teṅkāya* is derived from *teṅk(u) + kāy*.

31. Te. *tempu* boldness, daring, enterprise; *tempi* daring, boldness; *tempari* a brave, etc. man : Ta. *tenpu*, *tempu* : \**ten-pp-*/\**ten-p-* (DED 2813)

32. Kur. *nūkhnā*, *nūkhnā* to bow (the head), keep down (the eyes), silence, defeat, put down : Mlt. *nuge* : \**nun-kk-*/\**nūn-kk-*/\**nu-k-* (DED 3084)

33. Tu. *pantyè* small lamp : Ta. Ma. *pantam* : \**pan-tt-*/\**pan-t-* (DED 3238)

34. Te. *banti* a ball to play with, a ball in general : Ta. Ma. *pantu* : \**pan-tt-*/\**pan-t-*<sup>91</sup> (DED 3421)

35. Te. *paṅṭa* produce, crop, fruit, ripening : Ta. *paṅṭam* : \**paṅ-ṭṭ-*/\**paṅ-ṭ-* (DED 3299)

36. Te. *pīcu* the fibrous parts of plants, etc. : Ta. *picir* : \**pīn-cc-*/\**pī-c-* (DED 3402)

37. Tu. *pīṅṭuni* to twist, turn, wring, *puṅṭuni* : *puṅḍiyuni*, Ko. *iṅḍ-*, Ka. Te. *piṅḍu*, Kol. *piṅḍ-*, Nk. *pīṅḍ-* : \**pīṅ-ṭṭ-*/\**pīṅ-ṭ-* (DED 3440a)

38. Tu. *puñca-kaṅḍa* a very good rice field : Ta. *pun-cey*, *puñcai*, Ma. *puñca-kkaṅṭam*, Ka. *puṅaji*, Te. *punja* : \**pun-cc-*/\**pun-c-* (DED 3558)

39. Te. *peñke* an impediment, mischievous person, impudent : Ka. *peñge*, *pegga*, Tu. *peñge*, *peñne* : \**peñ-kk-*/\**peñ-k-* (DED 3893)

40. Te. *maḍāti*, *maḍātuka* woman : Ta. *maṅantai*, Ma. *maṅanta* : \**maṅam-tt-*/\**maṅam-t-* (DED 3798)

<sup>91</sup> It is also possible that Te. voiceless *t* is due to dissimilative influence of the preceding voiced plosive.

41. Ka. *mī(n)tu* eminence, greatness, superiority, excellency, excess, beauty, niceness : Ta. *miṇṭu*, Ko. *miṇḍ-*, Te. *miṇḍa*, Nk. *miṇḍgi* : \**miṇ-tt-*/\**miṇ-t-* (DED 3970)

42. Te. *miṇṭhūḍu* paramour : *miṇḍāḍu*, Ko. *miṇḍṇ*, *muṇḍṇ*, Ka. *miṇḍa*, Kod. *muṇḍē*, Tu. *miṇḍe* : \**miṇ-tt-*/\**miṇ-t-* (DED 3980)

43. Te. *munta māmiḍi* cashew : Ta. Ma. *muntiri* : \**mun-tt-*/\**mun-t-* (DED 4066)

44. Tu. *oṅka* hole of rats, snakes, etc. : Ta. Ma. *vaṅku* : \**vaṅ-kk-*/\**vaṅ-k-* (DED 4262)

4.2. There are also some compounds where two reconstructions are warranted.<sup>92</sup>

1. Te. *m(r)ō-ceyyi* elbow, Ka. *moḷa-kay* : Ta. Ma. *muḷaṅ-kai*, Ko. *mogay*, *mogi*, To. *magoy* : \**moḷam-kkay*/\**moḷam-kay* (DED 4093)

2. Te. *m(r)ō-kālu* knee, Ka. *moḷakāl* ; Kur. *mūkā*, *mūkā*, Mlt. *mūke* : Ta. Ma. *muḷaṅkāl*, Ko. *mogaḷ* : \**muḷam-kkāl*/\**muḷam-kāl* (DED 4093)

3. Ka. *eṇṭattu* eighty, Tu. *eṇṭa* : Ta. *eṇṭatu*, Ko. *embat*, Kod. *ēmbadī*, Te. *enubadi* : \**eṇ-ppat-*/\**eṇ-pat-* (DED 3236)

<sup>92</sup> Examples for variant forms in one and the same language, viz. Tamil are as follows:-

*aka-kkāl* : *akaṅ-kāl* heart of a tree (\**akaṅ-kk-*/\**akaṅ-k-*);  
*kuti-kkāl* : *kutiṅ-kāl* : *kuti-kāl* heel of the foot (\**kutiṅ-kk-*/\**kutiṅ-k-*/\**kuti-k-*).

4.3. Another area where two reconstructions are warranted is in the case of plural suffix. The plural suffix  $-*ka(?)$  is expected to have the shape of  $-ga(?)$  after a nasal in the Telugu-group of languages. Contrary to this, we find in some languages the voiceless plosive after nasal. In such a case, we have to reconstruct the plural suffix as  $-*kka(?)$ .<sup>93</sup>  
 Examples :—

1. Ga. (Oll.) *kaṅkul*, *kankul* eyes, Go. *kank*, Kuwi *kanka* :  
 Ta. Ma. *kaṅka!* :  $*kaṅ-kka(?)$  |  $*kaṅ-ka(?)$  (DED 973a)

2. Koṅḍa *komku* horns, Kuwi *komka* : Ta. Ma. *kompuka!* :  
 $*kompu-kka(?)$  |  $*kompu-ka(?)$  (DED 1759)

3. Koṅḍa *mēsamku* moustache (pl.) : Ta. *mīcaika!* :  
 $*mīcam-kka(?)$  |  $*mīcay-ka(?)$  (DED 3996)

4. Kuwi *mīnka* fish (pl.) : Ta. *mīnka!*, Kui *mīnga* :  
 $*mīn-kka(?)$  |  $*mīn-ka(?)$  (DED 3999)

5. Tu. *eṅkuḷu* we (excl.) : Ta. *yāṅka!*, Ma. *ṅaiṅa!*, Koḍ.  
*eṅga* :  $*ṅam-kka(?)$  |  $*ṅam-ka(?)$  |  $*ṅām-ka(?)$  (DED 4231)

<sup>93</sup> In Tamil,  $-kka!$  is an allomorph of  $-ka!$ . Ex: *puli-ka!* 'tigers', *puḷu-kka!* 'worms'.



## 5

# A Discussion on the Discrepancy

5.1. Let us present below etyma 3010 as provided in *DED* :

Ta. *nāku* youthfulness, tenderness, juvenility, femininity, female of erumai, marai and per<sub>rr</sub>am, female snail, sea-snail, conch, sapling, female calf, heifer, female fish. Ma. *nāku* n. pr. of women. Ko. *na'g* female buffalo calf between two and three years old. To. *no'x* id. Tu. *nāku* female calf. Pa. *nēva* female pig.

5.2. Of these, Tu. *nāku* does not correspond with the other items. The expected Tulu reflex for intervocalic *-\*k-* is *-g-*, and hence the expected form in Tulu indicating 'female calf' is *\*nāgu*. Tu. *nāku* has to be reconstructed as

\**nākk-*, whereas Ta. *nāku* is traced to \**nāk-*. This inconsistency is explained as follows :— Tu. *nāku* is not a direct cognate for Ta. *nāku*. Sometimes, different derivative or inflexional suffixes are involved in these pairs to create this confusion. Ga. *kaṅkuḷ* : Ta. *kaṅkaḷ* is an example for this discrepancy caused due to the addition of different inflexional suffixs, viz. *-\*kkV!* and *-\*kV!*.

5.3 Another example for this discrepancy is Ta. *caḷippu* : Te. *jalubu* 'catarrh' with two derivative suffixes, viz. *-pp-* and *-p-* (*\*caḷi-pp-|\*caḷi-p-*, DED 1991)

5.4. We present below more examples from the Tamil language, where forms with the same gloss occur, but with different derivative suffixes:

1. *arukku* scarceness : *aruṅku* rareness (*\*ar-uṅkk-|\*ar-uṅk-*, DED 184)
2. *ārṛal* : *āṅṛal* strength (*\*ān-tt-|\*ān-t-*, DED 349)
3. *iruppai* : *irumpai* mahua tree (*\*ir-umpp-|\*ir-ump-*, DED 410)
4. *ūṭṭu* : *uṅṭi* food (*\*uṅ-tt-|\*uṅ-t-*, DED 516)
5. *uttu* to throw away : *untu* to cast away (*\*un-tt- : \*un-t-*, DED 536)
6. *ūrṛu* : *ūṅṛu* prop ; *ūrṛu-kkōl* : *ūṅṛu-kōl* walking stick (*\*ūn-tt- : \*ūn-t-*, DED 650)
7. *oṭṭu* : *oṅṭu* to lurk (*\*oṅ-tt-|\*oṅ-t-*, DED817)

8. *orri* to be united with : *onri* to unite (\**on-tt-|\*on-t-*, DED 834d)
9. *ulappal* : *ulampal* combined noise of many sounds (\**ul-ampp-|\*ul-amp-*, DED 837)
10. *kappi* : *kampu* grain half-ground (\**kam-pp-|\*kam-p-*, DED 1023)
11. *kittu* : *kintu* to hop (\**kin-tt-|\*kin-t-*, DED 1297)
12. *kuppai* : *kumpai* heap (\**kum-pp-|\*kum-p-*, DED 1440, 1449)
13. *kuruttu* : *kuruntu* sprout, tender leaves of a tree, shoots of grain (\**kur-untt-|\*kur-unt-*, DED 1491)
14. *kuḷippu* a hollow : *kuḷumpu* pit (\**kuḷ-impp-|\*kuḷ-imp-*, DED 1511)
15. *kuricci* village in a hilly tract : *kuṛiñci* hilly tract (\**kuṭ-ince-|\*kuṭ-inc-*, DED 1530)
16. *kūppu* : *kūmpu* to close (as a flower) (\**kū-mpp-|\*kū-mp-*, DED 1574)
17. *koṭṭai-y-ilantai* woody-fruited jujube : *koṭṭai* jujube (\**koṇ-ṭṭ-|\*koṇ-ṭ-*, DED 1723)
18. *kottu* : *kontu* to peck (\**kon-tt-|\*kon-t-*, DED 1740)
19. *kottu* : *kontu* cluster of flowers (\**kon-tt-|\*kon-t-*, DED 1741)
20. *cikku* to become entangled : *ciñku* to be caught (\**ciñ-kk-|\*ciñ-k-*, DED 2060)

21. *cikku* to become lean or emaciated : *ciñku* to diminish, wane (\**ciñ-kk-*/\**ciñ-k-*, DED 2065)<sup>94</sup>

22. *uppaḷam* : *umpaḷam* salt-pan (\**um-pp-*/\**um-p-*, DED 2201a)

23. *ceḷippu* : *ceḷimpu* fertility, flourishing condition, etc. (\**keḷ-imp-*/\**keḷ-imp-*, DED 2293)

24. *tappaṭṭam* : *tampaṭṭam* a kind of drum (\**tam-pp-*/\**tam-p-*, see Ma. *tappiṭṭa* : *tammiṭṭam*, Te. *tappaṭṭa* : *tammaṭṭamu*, Ka. *tappaṭṭe*, *taṭṭe* : *tambaṭṭe*, *tammaṭṭe*, *tamaṭṭe*, *tambaṭṭa*, *tammaṭṭa*, Ko. *tabaṭṭk*, Tu. *tambaṭṭa*, *tambaṭṭè*, *tammaṭṭè*, *tambaḍa*, *tamaṭṭè*, *tabiṭṭè*, Nk. *tappa*, *tappaṭṭe*, DED 2510)

25. *tākku* to attack : *tāñku* to strike (\**tāñ-kk-*/\**tāñ-k-*, DED 2570)

26. *tiṇippu* strength : *tiṇimpu* denseness (\**tiṇ-imp-*/\**tiṇ-imp-*, DED 2654)

27. *tirri* : *tiṇri* eatables (\**tin-tt-*/\**tin-t-*, DED 2670a)

28. *tōṭṭi* : *tōṇri*, *toṇṭi* malabar glory lily (\**tōn-tt-*/\**tōn-t-*, DED 2941)

29. *naṭukkal* mental agitation : *naṭuṅkal* dread, fear (\**naṭ-uṅkk-*/\**naṭ-uṅk-*, DED 2960)

30. *nattam*, *nattai*, *nattu* : *nantu*, *nantaṇam* snail (\**nan-tt-*/\**nan-t-*, DED 2965)

<sup>94</sup> DED considers *cikku* as a l.w. < Te.

31. *pakku* fracture : *paṅku* share (\**paṅ-kk-*/\**paṅ-k-*, DED 3154)
32. *piraṭṭai* : *piraṅṭai* square-stalked vine (\**pir-aṅṭṭ-*/\**pir-aṅṭ-*, DED 3433)<sup>95</sup>
33. *piḷaippu* mistake : *piḷampu* wickedness (\**piḷ-ay-mpp-*/\**piḷ-a-mp-*, DED 3443)
34. *pottai* : *pontu* hole (\**pon-tt-*/\**pon-t-*, DED 3646)
35. *makku* : *maṅku* to die, perish (\**maṅ-kk-*/\**maṅ-k-*, DED 3890)
36. *murram* : *munril* courtyard of a house (\**mun-tt-*/\**mun-t-*, DED 4116)
37. *muttai* front : *muntai* in front of (\**mun-tt-*/\**mun-t-*, DED 4119a)
38. *erraikkum* : *enraikkum* for ever (\**yan-tt-*/\**yan-t-*, DED 4228)
39. *varappu* : *varampu* limit (\**var-ampp-*/\**var-amp-*, DED 4301)
40. *varpu* : *vanpu* strength (\**van-pp-*/\**van-p-*, DED 4317)
41. *verri* : *venri* victory (\**ven-tt-*/\**ven-t-*, DED 4522)

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<sup>95</sup> It is also possible that *piraṭṭai* was originally an adjective form of *piraṅṭai* and was later treated as a noun due to false analogy. See § 6.4.1.

5.5. Krishnamurti has refuted P. S. S. Sastri who contests Caldwell's theory of sonantization of medial stops, by stating that Sastri's examples from Telugu and Kannada "do not show anything to prove the preservation of Proto-Dravidian voiceless plosives in medial position, since all such plosives are suffix-consonants" (1961:33). It is good that Krishnamurti approves of Caldwell's statement at least "in a modified form". He has undoubtedly realized the problem involved and answered it by differentiating the consonants as radical and suffixal. He assumes that the 'radical' plosive and 'suffix' plosive behave differently at least in Telugu and Kannada, if not in Tamil and Malayalam.

5.6. As Krishnamurti has pointed out, the radical plosives do not pose any problem to us. It is only the suffix plosives that "lack uniformity in the manner of voicing". We believe that the distinction of radical and suffixal phonological correspondences is unwarranted. We may, on the other hand, consider the difference between the voiced and the voiceless variety of plosives in the Telugu-group of languages as a suffix itself and hence the two forms containing the voiced and voiceless plosives cannot be considered as cognates.

5.7. Some of the Tamil intransitive verbs ending in *-NPu* have their corresponding transitive verbs ending in *-PPu*. (Ex: *kalanku*, v.i. 'to be confused' : *kalakku*, v. t. 'to confuse'.) The form *naṭuṅku*, v.i. 'to shake' has a corresponding transitive in *naṭukku*, v. t. 'to shake'. It is curious that the 'logical' transitive form *naṭukku* is also used in the intransitive sense.<sup>96</sup> This meaning change though rare in Tamil, indicates the possibility of confusion in the grammatical categories, like transitive : intransitive, etc.

<sup>96</sup> *naṭukku*, v. i. 'to shiver, tremble' (See *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. IV, 1963)

5.8. One more example form Tamil for a transitive verb being used in the intransitive sense is *tōrru*. The Tamil intransitive verb *tōnru* 'to be visible' has a corresponding transitive form *tōrru* 'to cause to appear'. But this verb *tōrru* is also used in the sense of 'to be visible', as its corresponding intransitive *tōnru* is used. Other examples are, *tiraṅku* : *tirakku* 'to be crumpled' (DED 2653) and *taṅku* 'to stay' : *takku* 'to come to stay' (DED 2443). Another interesting example is *toṭakku*, v.t 'to begin', which is supposed to be the transitive of *toṭaṅku*. But, in this case, the base form *toṭaṅku* itself happens to be a transitive verb.

5.9. The inflexional base of *-m* ending words in Tamil ends in *-tt* and this *-m* : *-tt* alternation is attested in some other languages also. In Kannada, we expect the inflexional base to end in *-t*, whereas it actually ends in *-d*. Example: *mara* 'tree' : *marad-inda* 'from the tree' (\**maram* : \**marat-*, instead of \**maram* : \**maratt-*).

5.10. The dative case suffix in Tamil after the pronominal base *nina-* 'you sg.' is *-kku*. Thus *ninaṅku* means 'to you'. The corresponding Kannada form is *ninage*, where the dative suffix has a single \**k*, whereas in Tamil it has a double plosive.

5.11. In the case of plural, Tamil has the suffix *-kkaḷ* after the noun *pū* 'flower'. Kannada, however, has *-gaḷu* (\**-kaḷ*) after *hū* 'flower'. We have already seen (§4.3.) a few more examples for this inconsistency in the plural forms. *Ga. kaṅkul*, *Koṇḍa komku*, *mēsamku*, *Kuwi miṅka* and *Tu. eṅkuḷu* are the examples for this. In Tamil, we do not find double plosive in these cases.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>97</sup> For the anomaly of single versus double plosives, see the interesting article by Schubert (1968).

5.12. One more illustration from the verb morphology of Tamil language: The verb *i* 'to give' generally takes *nt* as its past tense marker. But, there are cases where it takes *tt*, instead of *nt*.<sup>98</sup> Another example is the verb *ninai* 'to remember', which takes *tt*, as well as *nt* as its past tense marker.

5.13. Verbs like *kā* 'to guard' in Tamil take *tt* as their past tense marker. In Kannada, we expect such verbs to take *t* to indicate the past tense, whereas we find the voiced dental plosive *d*.

5.14. In Tamil, the infinitive marker is *-a*. When it occurs before a plosive, the latter is invariably doubled. Thus, we get the passive base *kaṭṭa-ppaṭu* 'to be constructed', from the verb *kaṭṭu* 'to construct'. The corresponding Telugu base is *kaṭṭa-baḍu* (and not \**kaṭṭa-paḍu*, as we would expect it to be).

5.15. We may also cite here forms in Tamil like *āṛṛal* : *āṇṛal* 'strength', *ūṛṛu-kkōl* : *ūṇṛu-kōl* 'walking stick', *kottu* : *kontu* 'to peck', *tirri* : *tinri* 'eatables', *nattu* : *nantu* 'snail', *varappu* : *varampu* 'limit', *vaṛpu* : *vaṇpu* 'strength', *veṛri* : *veṇri* 'victory' and a host of others for this inconsistency. (See § 5.4.)

5.16. All these indicate that different suffixes with single or double plosives are involved here, sometimes due to morphological conditioning, and it has nothing to do with phonological correspondence (whether 'radical' or 'suffixal').

5.17. No wonder, then, "there is no uniformity between Telugu and Kannada in voicing : "e.g.....Te.

<sup>98</sup> "i-tt-uvakku m-inpa m-aṛiyar-ko rām-uṭaimai  
vai-tt-iḷakkum vaṅka ṇ-avar" (Tirukkuraḷ 228)



naḍūku to tremble, Ka. naḍugu” and “sometimes Ka. has both the varieties: Te. toḍāgu to commence, Ka. toḍaku, toḍaṅku, toḍagu.” What we are stressing here is that this inconsistency between Telugu : Kannada or within Kannada itself (or between any two languages of the Dravidian group) is not phonological but rather grammatical (i.e. due to confusion of suffixes).

5.18. The following etyma is a good illustration for this confusion:-

Te. *ḍuṅku* to be lowered, diminish, be subdued (all intr.);  
 Ta. *oṭuṅku* : *oṭukku*, Ma. *oṭuṅṅuka* : *oṭukkuka*, Ko. *oṭg-* :  
*oṭk-*, To. *wīḍg-* : *wīṭk-*, Ka. *uḍugisu*, *uḍukisu* (both tr. in  
 Ka.) : \**oṭuṅkk-* (DED 804)

It is worth-mentioning here that Te. *ḍuṅku* is etymologically, i.e. formally ‘transitive’ and semantically, i.e. according to its content ‘intransitive’.

## 6

## Application in Morphological Analysis

Having established a new set of correspondences and reconstructed it as \**NPP*, we can now extend it to the inflexional and derivational morphology of the Dravidian languages.

### 6.1. Intransitive vs. Transitive

6.1.1. The Tamil 'transitive'<sup>99</sup> verb *kalakku* 'make something turbid', on the basis of the above reconstruction will be

<sup>99</sup> The native grammar uses the term *pira-vinai* ('inducive act') for this 'transitive verb' and the former is more suitable than the latter.

morphophonemicized as \**kalaŋkk-*. (The final *-u* after the plosive is non-significant.) The corresponding 'intransitive' (*taŋ-viŋai*) form is \**kalaŋk-* (Ta. *kalaŋku*). The additional item *-k* is the 'transitive' marker. This is supported by *āk-* 'to be(come)': *ākk-* 'to cause to be, to make'. On the evidence of the other plosive endings, we can designate the transitive as *X*.

6.1.2. Krishnamurti holds the same opinion in this regard even though he phrases it differently (1961:184).

"Thus in Ta., Ma., and Kui, etc., an alternation between NP and PP or between B and P is associated with an alternation between intransitive and transitive. In these cases, a covert allomorph of a transitive morpheme is involved which sometimes is represented by an overt alternant, viz. *t* or *p*, e.g., Kui *puh-* to get wet : *puh-p-* to make wet, but *ni-ŋg-* to rise : *ni-k-* to raise, where *-ŋg-X- > -k-* (*X* = covert allomorph of the transitive morpheme)"

6.1.3. With regard to the analysis of 'intransitive' and 'transitive' verbs, Krishnamurti (1961:157) says this :—

"Many times an alternation of *-NP/-PP* is associated with an alternation between intransitive and transitive forms, etc..... Since most of the languages have allomorphs for the formation of transitives but not for that of intransitives (i.e., a dental, palatal or labial stop), it may be assumed that historically NP sequences are earlier than their corresponding PP ones, when these sequences are related as intransitive and transitive"

6.1.4. Since Krishnamurti considers the *NP* sequences as earlier than their corresponding *PP* ones, we can assume that

the *PP* sequence is morphophonemically *NPP*. We have now an overt morpheme to indicate 'transitive' at least at the morphophonemic level, (viz. *P*), which is simply added to its corresponding intransitive base which ends in *-NP*.

The following are the examples from Tamil:—

1. *acaṅku* to stir; move, shake : *acakku* to shake (tr.)  
(\**acaṅk-* : \**acaṅk-k-*, *DED* 39)
2. *amiḷ(ntu)* to sink : *amiḷttu* to cause to sink, etc.  
(\**amiḷ(nt)-* : \**amiḷnt-t-*, *DED* 141)
3. *araṅku* to suffer, be destroyed : *arakku* cause trouble to, etc. (\**araṅk-* : \**araṅk-k-* *DED* 191)
4. *aḷuntu* to become pressed, etc. : *aḷuttu* to press down, etc. (\**aḷunt-* : *aḷunt-t-*, *DED* 244)
5. *iṅaṅku* to consent, etc. : *iṅakku* to cause to agree, etc.  
(\**iṅaṅk-* : \**iṅaṅk-k-*, *DED* 387)
6. *iyaṅku* to move, stir, etc. : *iyakku* to cause to go, etc.  
(\**iyank-* : \**iyaṅk-k-*, *DED* 397)
7. *iṛaṅku* to descend, etc. : *iṛakku* to lower, etc. (\**iṛaṅk-* : \**iṛaṅk-k-*, *DED* 439)
8. *iṅṭu* to gather, come together, etc. : *iṅṭtu* to collect, hoard, etc. (\**iṅṭ-* : \**iṅṭ-t-*, *DED* 458)
9. *uṛaṅku* to sleep : *uṛakku* to put to sleep (\**uṛaṅk-* : \**uṛaṅk-k-*, *DED* 606)
10. *ūṅku* to swing (intr.) : *ūkkku* to swing (tr.) (\**ūṅk-* : \**ūṅk-k-*, *DED* 629)

11. *eḷu(mpu)* to rise : *eḷuppu* to cause or help to rise  
 (\**eḷu(mp)-* : \**eḷump-p-*, DED 723a)
12. *otuṅku* to get out of the way : *otukku* to cause to get out of the way (\**otuṅk-* : \**otuṅk-k-*, DED 821b)
13. *kacaṅku*, *kayaṅku* to be squeezed : *kacakku*, *kayakku* to squeeze, etc. (\**kacaṅk-* : \**kacaṅk-k-*, DED 915)
14. *kacaṅku* to be displeased, hurt in mind : *kacakku* to harrass, annoy (\**kacaṅk-* : \**kacaṅk-k-*, DED 1047)
15. *kaṛaṅku* to whirl : *kaṛakku* to spin (as yarn)  
 (\**kataṅk-* : \**kataṅk-k-*, DED 1168)
16. *kuluṅku* to be shaken : *kulukku* to shake up and down (\**kuluṅk-* : \**kuluṅk-k-*, DED 1501)
17. *kuḷampu* to become confused : *kuḷappu* to confuse  
 (\**kuḷamp-* : \**kuḷamp-p-*, DED 1510)
18. *koḷuntu* to be kindled : *koḷuttu* to kindle (\**koḷunt-* ; \**koḷunt-t-*, DED 1794)
19. *neruṅku* to be pressed : *nerukku* to press hard  
 (\**neruṅk-* : \**neruṅk-k-*, DED 2387)
20. *tiruntu* to be improved : *tiruttu* to correct (\**tirunt-* : \**tirunt-t-*, DED 2659)
21. *tōṅṟu* to be visible : *tōṅṟu* to cause to appear, (also) to be visible (\**tōṅṟ-* : \**tōṅṟ-t-*, DED 2942)
22. *nacuṅku* to be smashed : *nacukku* to press (\**nacuṅk-* : \**nacuṅk-k-*, DED 2949)
23. *nirampu* to become full : *nirappu* to fill (\**niramp-* : \**niramp-p-*, DED 3041)

24. *nuruñku, noruñku* to be crushed : *nurukku, norukku* to crush (\**nuṛuñk-*, \**noṛuñk-* : \**nuṛuñk-k-*, \**noṛuñk-k-*, DED 3089)

25. *neruñku* to be near : *nerukku* to set thick (\**neruñk-* : \**neruñk-k-*, DED 3124)

26. *patuñku* to hide : *patukku* to hide (tr.) (\**patuñk-* : \**patuñk-k-*, DED 3233)

27. *para(mpu)* to spread (intr.) : *parappu* to spread (tr.) (\**para(mp)-* : \**paramp-p-*, DED 3255)

28. *paḷa(ñ)ku* to be used, to practice : *paḷakku* to train (\**paḷa(ñ)k-* : \**paḷa(ñ)k-k-*, DED 3296)

29. *pituñku* to protrude : *pitukku* to press out (\**pituñk-* : \**pituñk-k-*, DED 3426)

30. *puḷuñku* to be steamed : *puḷukku* to boil (paddy) (\**puḷuñk-* : \**puḷuñk-k-*, DED 3540)

31. *poruntu* to agree : *poruttu* to fit (\**porunt-* : \**porunt-t-*, DED 3709)

32. *mayañku* to be confused : *mayakku* to confuse (\**mayañk-* : \**mayañk-k-*, DED 3852)

33. *malañku* to be agitated : *malakku* to bewilder (\**malañk-* : \**malañk-k-*, DED 3876)

34. *maḷu(ñ)ku* to be(come) blunt : *maḷukku* to blunt (\**maḷu(ñ)k-* : \**maḷu(ñ)k-k-*, DED 3890)

35. *muruñku* to perish : *murukku* to destroy (\**muruñk-* : \**muruñk-k-*, DED 4078)

36. *vaṇañku* to bend (intr.) : *vaṇakku* to bend (tr.) (\**vaṇañk-* : \**vaṇañk-k-*, DED 4281)

## 6.2. Noun formation

6.2.1. We have already seen that some 'transitive' verbs in Tamil are formed by adding a homorganic plosive to the intransitive base which ends in a plosive. In some instances, this (newly formed) 'transitive' base itself functions as a derivative noun.<sup>100</sup> Examples :—

1. *atuñku* to be stuffed in, compressed : *atukku* to press with fingers (as a ripe fruit or boil), etc. : n. state of being pressed in (as of parts of a vessel) (\**atuñk-k-*, DED 114)

2. *kuḷampu* to become confused : *kuḷappu* to confuse : n. state of mixing (\**kuḷamp-p-*, DED 1510)

3. *neruñku* to be pressed : *nerukku* to press hard : n. narrowness (\**neruñk-k-*, DED 2387)

4. *tuyañku* to be exhausted : *tuyakku* to slacken : n. fatigue (\**tuyañk-k-*, DED 2895)

5. *muṭaṅku* to be hindered : *muṭakku* to hinder : n. hindrance (\**muṭaṅk-k-*, DED 4042)

6. *vaḷaṅku* to be in use, move : *vaḷakku* to cause to go : n. moving (\**vaḷaṅk-k-*, DED 4330)

7. *vetumpu* to be partially withered : *vetuppu* to warm : n. warmth (\**vetump-p-*, DED 4540)

8. *ūṅru* to be fixed : *ūṅru* prop (\**ūṅṅ-t-*, DED 650)

9. *tīṅtu* to touch : *tīṅtu* touching (\**tīṅṅ-t-*, DED 2680)

<sup>100</sup> There are also cases where the 'intransitive' form itself functions as the derivative noun. Examples: *kaṛaṅku* to whirl : n. whirling, gyration, kite (*kaṛakku* to spin as yarn) (DED 1168); *ūṅru* to be fixed : n. prop (*ūṅru* prop) (DED 650).

10. *viḷuṅku* to gulp : *viḷukku* a gulp (\**viḷuṅk-k-*, DED 3985)

11. *vitumpu* to desire : *vituppu* desire (\**vitump-p-*, DED 4424)

12. *vitumpu* to tremble : *vituppu* trembling (\**vitump-p-*, DED 4425)

13. *virumpu* to wish : *viruppu* wish (\**virump-p-*, DED 4443)

14. *viḷampu* to say : *viḷappu* saying (\**viḷamp-p-*, DED 4460)

6.2.2. Derivative nouns are also formed by adding a homorganic plosive plus the suffix *-am* to the intransitive base which ends in a plosive :

1. *kiḷampu* to rise in air or water : *kiḷappu* to raise; n. raising, rising : *kiḷappam* rising, swelling (\**kiḷamp-p-am*, DED 1317)

2. *muḷaṅku* to roar : *muḷakku* to sound; n. sound : *muḷakkam* roar (\**muḷaṅk-k-am*, DED 4092)

3. *aṅcu* to fear, dread; n. fear, terror; *accu* : *accam* fear, dread, terror (\**aṅc-ċ-am*, DED 51)

4. *aḷuṅku* to suffer, etc. ; *aḷukku* envy : *aḷukkam* concern (\**aḷuṅk-k-am*, DED 234)



5. *eñcu* to remain, etc. ; *eccu* defect : *eccam* remainder, etc. (\**enc-c-am*, DED 666)<sup>101</sup>

6. *ōñku* to grow, rise high, etc. ; *ōkku* to raise : *ōkkam* height (\**ōñk-k-am*, DED 870)<sup>102</sup>

7. *tavañku* to be hindered ; *tavakku* sense of shame : *tavakkam* hindrance (\**tavañk-k-am*, DED 2533)<sup>103</sup>

8. *arumpu* to bud ; n. a. bud : *aruppam* germ of a grain of paddy (\**arump-p-am*, DED 187)

9. *ēñku* to pine etc. ; *ēkkam* despondency (\**ēñk-k-am*, DED 745)

10. *oḷu(ñ)ku* to be in regular order : *oḷukkam* acting according to established rules (\**oḷu(ñ)k-k-am*, DED 850)

11. *tuvañku*, *tuvakku* to begin, enter upon : *tuvakkam* beginning (\**tuvañk-k-am*, DED 2754)

12. *nantu* to increase : *nattam* growth (\**nant-t-am*, DED 2968)

13. *pulampu* to wail; n. lament : *pulappam* lamentation (\**pulamp-p-am*, DED 3530)

14. *pirañku* to be great : *pirakkam* loftiness (\**pirañk-k-am*, DED 3624)

<sup>101</sup> *eccil* 'saliva, spittle, anything defiled, etc.' is to be reconstructed as \**enc-c-il*.

<sup>102</sup> It is interesting to note that the 'transitive' verb *ōkku* has variants in *ōppu* 'to raise' and *ōccu* 'to raise in order to strike'. We are tempted to reconstruct \**ōNPP-* for this verb.

<sup>103</sup> In general, the *-am* suffix denoting a derivative noun is added only after the final plosive of the verbal base is doubled. There is, however, an exception to this rule in Tamil, thus yielding *tavañkam* 'sorrow, grief', in addition to *tavakkam*.

6.2.3. The addition of a (homorganic) plosive plus *-am* to a verbal base ending in a plosive to form a derivative noun is not restricted to Tamil alone. It is almost a Proto-Dravidian feature, for which we present the meagre data that is available :

1. Ka. *tō(ṇ)ṭa* garden, Te. *tōṭa*, Ga.(S) *tōṇṭa*, Kuwi *tōnta*, Ta. Ma. *tōṭṭam*, Ko. *toṭm*, To. *twīṭm*, Koḍ. *toṭa*, Tu. *tōṭa*, Kui *ṭuṭa* : cf. Ka. *tōḍu* bail out water, Te. *tōḍu* to draw up, Ga. (S) *tōṇḍ-*, Ta. *tōṇṭu*, Ma. *tōṇṭuka*, Ko. *toḍ-*, To. *twīṭ-*, Koḍ. *toḍ-*, Tu. *tōḍuni*, Pa.(S) *ṭōḍ-* to draw water from well (\**tōṇṭ-t-am* < \**tōṇṭ-*; DED 2927)

2. Te. *ūta*, *ūtam* prop, support, Ta. Ma. *ūrṛam*, Ka. *ūta* : cf. Te. *ūnu* to serve as a support, Ta. *ūrṛu*, Ma. *ūnnuka*, Ka. *ūrṛu* (\**ūrṛ-t-am* < \**ūrṛ-*, DED 650)

3. Te. *īta* swimming; *ītakāḍu*, Ta. *nīttam*, *nīccu*, Ma. *nīttam* : cf. Te. *īdu* to swim, Ta. *nīntu*, Ma. *nīntuka* (\**nīnt-t-am* < \**nīnt-*, DED 3054)

4. Te. *ponta* nearness; near; *pontamu* friendship, Ta. Ma. *poruttam*, Tu. *pontana* : cf. Te. *pondu*, Ta. *poruntu*, Ma. *porunnuka*, Tu. *poruni* (\**porunt-t-am* < \**porunt-*, DED 3709)

5. Te. *maḍāka* fold, plait, Ta. Ma. *maṭakkam*, To. *moṛk*, Ka. *maḍike*, Koḍ. *maḍakī* : cf. Te. *maḍāgu* be folded, Ta. *maṭaṅku*, Ma. *maṭaṅnuka*, To. *moṛx-*, Ka. *maṭagu* (\**maṭaṅk-k-am* < \**maṭaṅk-*, DED 3796)

6. Te. *vīka* valour, courage, enthusiasm, pride; Ta. Ma. *vīkkam* : cf. Te. *vīgu* be swollen with pride; Ta. *vīṅku*, Ma. *vīṅnuka* (\**vīṅk-k-am* < \**vīṅk-*, DED 4477a)

7. Ka. *bē(n)ṭa* longings, sexual passion, amorous pastime, Ta. *vēṭṭam* : cf. Ka. *bēḍu* to desire, Ta. *vēṇṭu* (\**vēṇṭ-ṭ-am* < \**vēṇṭ-*, DED 4548)

6.2.4. In some cases, Telugu has *-uva* as a suffix corresponding to the Tamil suffix *-am*.

1. Te. *kalākuva*, *kalāka* confusion, trouble, turbidness, Ta. Ma. *kalakkam* : cf. Te. *kalāgu* to be in confusion, trouble, be turbid, Ta. *kalaṅku*, Ma. *kalaṅṅuka* (\**kalaṅk-k-am* < \**kalaṅk-*, DED 1096).

2. Te. *aḍākuva* humility, modesty, submissiveness, Ta. Ma. *aḍakkam*, Ko. *aṛkm*, To. *oḍkm*, Ka. Koḍ. *aḍaka* : cf. Te. *aḍāgu* to be humbled, Ta. *aṭaṅku*, Ma. *aṭaṅṅuka*, Ko. *aṛg-*, To. *oḍg-*, Ka. *aḍaṅgu* (\**aṭaṅk-k-am* < \**aṭaṅk-*, DED 56a)

3. Ta. *aṇākuva* humility, modesty, submissiveness, Ta. *aṇukkam*, Ka. Tu. *aṇaka* : cf. Te. *aṇāgu* to submit, Ta. *aṇaṅku*, *aṇuṅku*, Ka. *aṇagu* (\**aṇaṅk-k-am* < \**aṇaṅk-*, DED 56b)

4. Te. *penākuva* a struggle, fight, wrangle, dispute, Ta. Ma. *piṇakkam*, *piṇakku* : cf. Te. *penāgu* to struggle, Ta. *piṇaṅku*, Ma. *piṇaṅṅuka* (\**piṇaṅk-k-am* < \**piṇaṅk-*, DED 3423a)

6.2.5. Sometimes suffixes other than *-am* occur after the homorganic plosive. Examples:—

1. Ka. *tēṅki* mass, multitude, Ta. *tēkkam*, Tu. *tēkè* : cf. Ta. *tēṅku* to be abundant (\**tēṅk-k-ay* | \**tēṅk-k-am* < \**tēṅk-*, DED 2843)

2. Tu. *oḍuṅkely*, *oḍkely*, *oḍuṅgely*, the end, Ta. *oṭukkam*, *oṭuṅkal*, Ma. *oṭukkam* : cf. Tu. *oḍuṅgeluni* to cease to bear fruit, Ta. *oṭuṅku*, Ma. *oṭuṅṅuka* (\**oṭuṅk-k-al* < \**oṭuṅk-*, DED 804)

### 6.3. Compound formation

6.3.1. In Tamil, the final *-NP(u)* of a noun becomes *-PP(u)*, when the noun happens to be the first member of a 'noun qualifier + noun' compound. The formation of this 'noun qualifier' can now be interpreted as 'Noun base + (Homorganic) Plosive'. Examples :—

1. *anpu* : *arpu* love (\**anp-p-*, DED 279)
2. *irumpu* : *iruppu-* iron (\**irump-p-*, DED 411)
3. *enpu* : *erpu-* bone (\**enp-p-*, DED 714)
4. *kuraṅku* : *kurakku-* monkey (\**kuraṅk-k-*, DED 1473)
5. *naṅcu* : *naccu-* poison (\**nanc-c-*, DED 2955)
6. *pāmpu* : *pāppu-* snake (\**pāmp-p-*, DED 3361)
7. *maruntu* : *maruttu-* medicine (\**marunt-t-*), *maruttu-* practice of medicine (\**marunt-t-uvam*, DED 3863)

6.3.2. The first member of the Tamil compound *nākkupūcci* 'round worm' and of Malayalam (*nākkupāmpu* 'earth worm' (DED 2367) can be connected with Ta. *nāṅkū!* 'earth worm' and Ma. *ṅāṅṅūl* id. and can be reconstructed as \**ṅāṅk-k-*. Tu. *nakkuru* 'earth worm' also belongs here. In the same way, the first member of Ta. *turuppu-kkūṭu* 'unwinnowed heap of grain' (DED 2749) can be compared with Ma. *turumpu* 'heap of threshed grain' and be reconstructed as \**turump-p-*.

6.3.3. Sometimes the noun qualifier is formed by adding to the noun base a homorganic plosive plus the suffix *-am*. Examples :—

1. *aṭampu* : *aṭappam*- hare leaf (\**aṭamp-p-am*, DED 59)
2. *karumpu* : *karuppam*- sugarcane (\**karump-p-am*, DED 1083)
3. *pirampu* : *pirappam* rattan (\**piramp-p-am*, DED 3434)
4. *vēmpu* : *vēppam*- margosa (\**vēmp-p-am*), cf. Ma. *vēmpu* : *vēppu*, Ko. *ve'p marm*, Te. *vēmu* : *vēpa*, Kuwi *wēpa* DED 4551)

6.3.4. Ta. *murunkai* 'Indian horse-radish tree' becomes *murukkam* when it occurs as the first member of a compound. It can be reconstructed as \**muruṅk-k-am* (DED 4085).

6.3.5. Te. *ambu*, *ammu* 'arrow' in compounds becomes *ampa-* as in *ampa-kāḍu* 'archer' (DED 150). It can be reconstructed as \**amp-p-a(m)*. (cf. Ta. *appu-kkaṭṭu* 'a sheath of arrows' <\**amp-p-*.) There is a plural form in Telugu for this noun, viz. *ampara*, which should also be reconstructed with \**NPP*.

6.3.6. A similar change takes place in the case of the Telugu word with the gloss 'iron', where *inumu* 'iron' (\**irump-*) becomes *inupa* (\**irump-p-a(m)*), e.g. *inupa peṭṭe* 'iron box'.

6.3.7. The oblique form of *cēdu* 'bitterness' (\**kaynt-*) in Telugu is *cēti* (\**kaynt-t-*) (DED 1047). The following are further examples from Kannada and Kota :—

1. Ka. *kanti* a cow that has calved, Ta. *kar̄r-ā*, Ma. *kar̄ru* obl. of *kan̄ru* 'calf' : cf. Ka. *kar̄u* calf, Ta. *kan̄ru*, Ma. *kannu* (\**kan̄t-t-*, DED 1187)

2. Ko. *koṅṭ gi'r* rainbow : cf. *koṅḍ* a bend (\**kōṅṭ-t-*, DED 1709b)

#### 6.4. Single, double, triple, etc.

6.4.1. Items denoting 'single, double, triple, etc.' are formed by adding a homorganic plosive + \**ay* to the numeral 'one, two, three, etc.' respectively. Examples :—

1. Ka. *oṅṭi* single, alone; *oṅṭiga*, *oṅṭigitti*, Ta. *oṅṭai* (= *or̄rai*), To. *waṭy*, Tu. *oṅṭi*, *oṅṭige*, Te. *oṅṭi*, *oṅṭari*, *oṅṭarikamu*, *oṅṭikāḍu*, *ōṅṭarīḍu*, *oṅṭarikāḍu*, *oṅṭarikatte*, Kur. *oṅṭā* : cf. Ka. *ondu* one, Ta. *on̄ru*, To. *wīḍ*, Tu. *oñji*, Te. *oṅḍu* Kur. *ōnd* (\**ont-t-ay*, DED 834c)

2. Te. *reṅṭa* two ways or courses; *reṅṭai* double, *reṅṭi* twice as much, Go. *raṅṭē* both, Ta. *iraṅṭai*, *iraṅṭi*, *iraṅṭu*, Ma. *iraṅṭa*, *iraṅṭi*, To. *iṅṭy* : cf. Te. *reṅḍu* two, Go. *raṅḍ*, Ta. *iraṅṭu*, Ma. *raṅṭu*, To. *eḍ* (\**iraṅṭ-t-ay*, DED 401)

3. Ta. *mūṅṭray* triple : cf. *mūṅṭru* three (\**mūṅṭ-t-ay*, DED 4147)

6.4.2. The same type of change takes place when Tamil words like *an̄ru* 'that day' *in̄ru* 'today' and *yāṅṭu* 'year' become oblique bases. Examples :—

1. *an̄ru* that day : *ar̄rai* of that day (\**an̄t-t-ay*, DED 1)

2. *in̄ru* today : *ir̄rai* (\**in̄t-t-ay*, DED 351b)

3. *(y)āṅṭu* year : *(y)āṅṭai* (obl.) (\**yāṅṭ-t-ay*). The gloss 'every year' is expressed by *āṅṭ-āṅṭu* < \**yāṅṭ-t-* (DED 4230)

6.4.3. The oblique forms of Telugu *illu* 'house', *kannu* 'eye', etc. are *iṅṭi*, *kaṅṭi*, etc., respectively. The latter forms will be reconstructed as *\*iṅṭt-* and *\*kaṅṭt-*, etc. respectively. This will warrant the assumption of the occurrence of *\*iṅṭ-* and *\*kaṅṭ-*, etc. in pre-historic times as the nominative bases meaning 'house', 'eye', etc.

### 6.5. The inflexional increment *attu*

6.5.1. As Caldwell (1956:265) says, "All Tamil nouns which end in *am*.....reject *am* in the oblique cases in the singular, and take *att-u* instead; and it is to this increment that the various case-signs are suffixed.....When the increment *attu* is not followed by any sign of case, but by another noun.....it has ordinarily the force either of the genitive or of an adjective, sometimes that of a locative." Even though traditionally this increment is called *attu*, it is really *tt* and it occurs after words ending in *-am*. When double plosives follow *m*, the nasal gets lost, in order to avoid a three consonant cluster like *NPP*. Thus,

*maram + tt + il* → *mara-tt-il* 'in the tree'

*kuḷam + ttu mīṅ* → *kuḷa-ttu mīṅ* 'fish in the tank'

This treatment considers the increment an additive morpheme, whereas generally *attu* was considered a replacive morpheme, which was supposed to replace *-am*.

6.5.2. It is worth-mentioning here that another way of forming the inflexion is by means of doubling the final plosive *-t* or *-r*. Thus, from *kāṭ(u)* 'jungle' is formed *kāṭṭ-il* 'in the jungle', and from *ār(u)* 'river' *ārṛ-il* 'in the river'. (If the *-t* or *-r* is the final consonant of a single short syllable [ (C)  $\check{V}C$  ], no change takes place.)

6.5.3. All other nouns, i.e. except those ending in  $-m$  and in  $-t/-r$  (as specified above) have no different inflexional base.

6.5.4. Because of the predictability that  $tt$  occurs after  $-m$  ending bases and  $t$  and  $r$  after  $-t$  ending and  $-r$  ending bases respectively (though with some restrictions), we can consider all these three variants as allomorphs of one and the same increment. Now  $tt$  will be the morpheme and the three variants its allomorphs. Thus,

$$k\bar{a}t + tt \rightarrow k\bar{a}t-tt \rightarrow k\bar{a}t-t^{-104}$$

$$\bar{a}r + tt \rightarrow \bar{a}r-r_r \rightarrow \bar{a}r-r-$$

$$maram + tt \rightarrow mara-tt-$$

### 6.6. Dative case suffix

In Tamil classics, the increment  $tt$  is some times avoided and the case-sign is added directly to the crude base. Thus instead of *kaya-tt-ukku* 'to the depth', *kaya-kku* is used in *Civaka-cintāmaṇi*. *maṇa-kku* is another dative form (as used in *Kambarāmāyaṇam*), which is to be derived from *maṇam* 'mind'. Since the native grammars cite *ku* as the dative suffix, *kayakku* and *maṇakku* are generally derived from *kayam + ku* and *maṇam + ku* respectively. But *kayam + ku* and *maṇam + ku* will only yield *\*kayaṅku* and *\*maṇaṅku* respectively and not *kayakku* and *maṇakku*. We therefore derive these forms from *\*kayam + kku* and *\*maṇam + kku* respectively with  $-kku$  as the dative suffix. (The nasal

<sup>104</sup> Three consonant clusters other than

$\left\{ \begin{matrix} y \\ r \\ t \end{matrix} \right\} \left\{ \begin{matrix} P \\ N \end{matrix} \right\} \{P\}$  are avoided in Tamil.



disappears before double plosive.) We can, in the same way, derive *atar̥ku* 'to it', *avar̥r̥ir̥ku* 'to them', *er̥ku* 'to me', *nir̥ku* 'to you', *avar̥ku* 'to him', etc. from \**at-an-kku*, \**avar̥r̥-in-kku*, \**en-kku*, \**nin-kku*, \**avan-kku*, etc.

### 6.7. Adjectives from nasal ending nouns

6.7.1. 'Fruit basket' is expressed in Tamil by the compound *paḷak-kūtai*. Ta. *paḷam* means 'fruit'. The compound can now be derived from \**paḷam + k + kūtai*, where the additional plosive will be the adjective marker. (cf. *kōḷi-c-caṇtai* 'cock fight', *tuṇai-p-pērācīriyar* 'associate professor', etc.) The compound *poḷ-kuvai* 'heap of gold' can now be derived from \**poṇ-k-kuvai*. (Ta. *poṇ* indicates 'gold'.)

6.7.2. In Telugu, final *-am(u)* becomes *-ap(u)* in order to convert nouns into adjectives. Thus, form *andamu* 'beauty' is formed *andapu* 'beautiful'. We can reconstruct *andapu* as \**antam-pp-*. It is curious to note that, in addition to *andapu* the form *andampu* (with a nasal) also occurs in Telugu with the gloss 'beautiful'.

### 6.8. Noun + paṭu compounds

The verb *paṭu* 'to experience' is annexed to nouns denoting quality or condition. When it is thus added as an auxiliary verb, the initial plosive *p* gets doubled (Ex: Ta. *ācai-p-paṭu* 'to desire' : *ācai* 'desire'). When the nouns end in *-m* as in *veṭkam* 'shyness, shame', *cantōṣam* 'pleasure', etc., the compounds are *veṭkap-paṭu* 'be shy, be ashamed', *cantōṣap-paṭu* 'be pleased', etc. Tamil *cantōṣap-paṭu*, the Telugu equivalent for which is *santōsa-paḍu* can now be derived from \**cantōṣam-p-paṭu*.

6.9. Telugu verbs ending in *-incu*

6.9.1. The Telugu causal form *marapincu* 'to cause to forget' is supposed to consist of the causative suffix *-pincu*. The corresponding Tamil verb is *marappi(kka)*, with the infinitive marker *-kka*. The Tamil causative suffix in this case is *-ppi*. We assume that Ta. *-ppi* and Te. *pincu* are identical. The real causative suffix in this case is only *-ppi* in Tamil and *-pi* in Telugu, which we will reconstruct as *\*-ppi*. The remaining element in Telugu, viz. *-nc* is to be associated with the Tamil infinitive marker *-kk(a)* or the past tense marker *-tt*. This part is now reconstructed as *\*-nPP-*.<sup>105</sup> Telugu *-pincu* is thus to be derived from *\*-ppinPP-*.

6.9.2. It is only in the 'Strong' verbs<sup>106</sup> that Tamil has *-ppi* as the causative suffix. Elsewhere it has *-vi*. Thus 'to cause to write' is expressed in Tamil by the verb *varai-vi(kka)*. In Telugu, the *v* is missing and the verb is *vrāy-incu*, with an *incu* suffix, which we will reconstruct as *\*varay-vinPP-* < *\*varay-pinPP-*.

6.9.3. The Kannada equivalent for the Telugu *-incu* suffix is *-isu*. Ex: Te. *kaṭṭ-incu* : Ka. *kaṭṭ-isu* 'to cause (somebody) to build'. Kannada causative suffix *-isu* (in the classical dialect *-icu*)<sup>107</sup> is evidently identical with the Telugu suffix *-incu*. Telugu : Kannada *-incu* : *-isu (-icu)* correspondence will also be reconstructed as *\*inPP-*.

<sup>105</sup> The symbol *P* here stands for a palatal, velar or dental plosive. It is impossible at this stage to specify the point of articulation. According to Caldwell (1956:458), the *c* or *nc* of the Telugu is "as certainly a formative as the *kk* of the Tamil."

<sup>106</sup> 114. 'Strong' verbs are those which take *pp* in the future tense, *-tt* in the past and *-kka* as the infinitive marker in Tamil.

<sup>107</sup> Caldwell 1956:459.

6.9.4. We should also make mention of another *-incu* suffix prevalent in the Telugu language, which is only a verbal derivative. In Telugu *jayincu* 'to conquer', a verb borrowed from Sanskrit with the addition of the derivative suffix *-incu*, the root is *jay-*. To this Kannada adds the *-isu* suffix and Tamil *-i* to make it a verbal base in the respective languages. Derivative verbs are formed from native noun roots also. Thus, we derive the verb *kātali(kka)* 'to love' in Tamil from the noun *kātal* 'love'. Whichever verb is derived thus by adding an *-i* suffix in Tamil invariably takes *-tt* suffix in the past tense and *-kka* to indicate the infinitive. We will now reconstruct this derivative suffix as *\*inPP-* [Ta. *-i(kka)*, Te. *-incu*, Ka. *-isu*]. The Telugu derivative verb *jayincu* 'to conquer' (Ka. *jayisu*, Ta. *jeyi(kka)*) can be reconstructed as *\*jay-inPP-*.

6.9.5. Tamil verbs can be classified into a few conjugations mostly on the basis of the past tense marker it takes. The suffix variants are *t*, *nt*, *in*, *tt*, etc. Of these, most numerous verbs belong to the *tt* conjugation. (It is also interesting to note that a majority of these *tt* verbs end in *-i*.)<sup>108</sup> Therefore, whenever Tamil creates a verb by derivation or borrows from Sanskrit, the derived verb invariably belongs to the *tt* conjugation. In all these cases, the derivative suffix *-i* is added to the native noun root or the Sanskrit root, except when the root ends in *-i*.

6.9.6. The following are the Telugu derivative verbs ending in *-incu* :

1. *aggalincu* to increase, Ka. *aggaliṣu*, *aggaliṣu* : *\*akkaḷ-inPP-* (DED 28)

<sup>108</sup> See Raghava Iyengar 1958, Appendix.

2. *ālakincu* to hear, listen to or attend to, give ear to, Ka. *ālay(i)su* : \**ālak-inPP-* (DED 326)

3. *āvalincu* to yawn, gape, Ka. *ākaḷisu*, Koḍ. *a vaḷic-* : \**āvaḷ-inPP-* (DED 333)

4. *āvulincu* to yawn, gape, Ka. *ākuḷisu*, *āguḷisu*, To. *o'pūḷy-* (*o'pūḷc-*) : \**āvul-inPP-* (DED 333)

5. *āvincu* to cook by steam or vapour, Ta. *āvi(kka)* : \**āvi-nPP-* (DED 334)

6. *reṭṭincu* to double, Ta. *iraṭṭi(kka)* : \**iraṭṭ-inPP-* (DED 401)

7. *edirincu*, *edurucu* to oppose, resist, act against, face, encounter, Ka. *idirisu*, *edarisu*, *edirisu*, *edurisu*, *idircu* : \**etir-inPP-* (DED 680)

8. *e(c)carincu*, *eccarikincu* to remind, call attention to, caution, Ka. *eccarisu*, Ta. *eccari(kka)* : \**eccar-inPP-* (DED 723b)

9. *ōkarincu*, *ōkilincu* to retch, Ta. *ōkkāḷi(kka)*, *ōṅkāri(kka)*, *ōṅkāḷi(kka)* : \**ōṅkkar-inPP-*/\**ōṅkār-inPP-* (DED 866)

10. *gaddincu* to rebuke, scold, check, brow beat, Ka. *gaddisu* : \**katt-inPP-* (DED 1000)

11. *gumāyincu* to spread, as an agreeable odour, Ka. *gumāyisu* : \**kumāy-inPP-* (DED 1045b)

12. *kaḷavaḷincu* to be perplexed, anxious, Ka. *kaḷavaḷisu* : \**kaḷavaḷ-inPP-* (DED 1099)

13. *krikkirincu* to be crowded, dense, thick set or close set, occupy fully, leave no space, Ka. *kikkarisu* : \**k(r)ikkaṭ-*  
*inPP-* (DED 1267)

14. *kuppincu* to bring the feet together or take firm footing, holding in the breath, when about to jump, Ka. *kuppisu* : \**kupp-inPP-* (DED 1444)

15. *kēkarincu* to hawk in spitting, Ka. *kēkarisu* : \**kēkar-*  
*inPP-* (DED 1657)

16. *kokkarincu* to mock, ridicule; shout, cluck, Ka. *kokkarisu*, Ta. *kokkari(kka)* : \**kokkar-inPP-* (DED 1688)

17. *saḍincu* to pound, beat, Ka. *jaḍisu* : \**caṭ-inPP-*  
(DED 1894)

18. *capparincu* to smack, suck with a noise, Ka. *capparisu* :  
\**cappar-inPP-* (DED 1927)

19. *cappaṭincu* to clap, slap; (K) *capparincu* to pat, stroke with the hand, Ka. *cappaḷisu* : \**cappaṭ-inPP-* (DED 1928a)

20. *appaḷincu* to slap, touch, tap, strike gently with the open hand, smear, apply, Ka. *appaḷisu*, Ta. *appḷi(kka)* :  
\**appaḷ-inPP-* (DED 1928a)

21. *jallincu* to sift, Ka. *jallisu*, Ta. *cali(kka)* : \**cal-inPP-*  
(DED 1959)

22. *ciṭlincu* to break, snap, crack, burst, etc., Ka. *ciṭlisu* :  
\**ciṭl-inPP-* (DED 2071)

23. *sēkarincu* to save, collect, amass, obtain, procure, Ta. *cēkari(kka)* : \**cēkar-inPP-* (DED 2301)

24. *tālincu* to season, Ka. *tāḷisu*, Ta. *tāḷi(kka)* : \**tāḷ-*  
*inPP-* (DED 2604)

25. *tuṅḍincu* to cut, sever, Ka. *tuṅḍisu*, Ta. *tuṅḍi(kka)* :  
\**tuṅḍ-**inPP-* (DED 2712)

26. *nulincu* to twist, Ka. *nūlisu* : \**nul-**inPP-* / \**nūl-**inPP-*  
(DED 3087)

27. *murincu* to turn (tr.), Ka. *murucu* : \**mur-**inPP-*  
(DED 4080)

28. *mūdalincu* to remind, prove, ascertain, Ka. *mūdalisu*,  
Ta. *mūṭali(kka)* : \**mūṭal-**inPP-* (DED 4136)

29. *mōharincu* to array (tr.), prepare for battle, Ka.  
*mōharisu* : \**mōkar-**inPP-* (DED 4225)

30. *vēsarincu* to trouble, Ka. *bēsaṛisu* : \**vēcaṭ-**inPP-*  
(DED 4544)

6.9.7. The following are the causative verbs in Telugu,  
ending in *-incu* :

1. *aṅḍincu* to place in contact, Ka. *aṅḍisu* (DED 69b)

2. *ēraparincu*, *ēraparacu* to arrange, settle, establish, Ta.  
*ēraputtu*, Ma. *ērpeṭuttuka*, Ko. *e'rapṛt-*, Ka. *ērapḍisu* (DED  
766)

3. *oppagincu* to cause to consent or agree, cause to admit,  
Ta. *oppuvi(kka)*, Ka. *oppayisu* (DED 781)

4. *oppincu* to cause to consent or agree, cause to admit, Ta. *oppi(kka)*, Ka. *oppisu*, Ko. *opc-*, To. *upc-*, *ufc-*, Pa. *opip-* (*opit-*) (DED 781)

5. *ōḍincu*, *ōrcu* to defeat, Ka. *ōḍisu* (DED 877)

6. *karāgincu*, *karācu* to melt (tr.) dissolve, liquefy, Ka. *karagisu*, *karigisu*, *kargisu* (DED 1086)

7. *jaṅkincu* to frighten, intimidate, Ka. *jaṅkisu* (DED 1882)

8. *amarincu*, *amar(u)cu* to prepare, make ready, adjust, arrange, provide, Ka. *amarisu*, *amarcu* (DED 1934b)

9. *sāgincu* to conduct, carry on, proceed with, continue, Ka. *sāgisu* (DED 2006)

10. *cāṭincu* to proclaim, declare, make known to the public, publish by beat of drum, tom-tom, Ka. *sāṛisu* (DED 2052)

11. *tappincu* to extricate, free, save, remove, Ka. *tappisu*, Ta. *tappi(kka)* (DED 2498)

12. *taggincu* to decrease (tr.), reduce, diminish, lower, bring down, Ka. *taggisu* (DED 2597)

13. *tolāgincu* to remove, free one from, Ka. *tolagisu* (DED 2900)

14. *nēyincu* to cause to be woven, get woven, Ka. *nēyisu* (DED 3103)

15. *pilipincu* to send for, invite, call, Ta. *viḷippi(kka)* (DED 3447)

16. *puṭṭincu* to create, generate, produce, Ka. *puṭṭisu*, *huṭṭisu* (DED 3501)

17. *poṅgincu* to boil (tr.), please, flatter, puff up, coax, Ka. *poṅgisu* (DED 3658)

18. *maṛapincu* to cause to forget, Ta. *maṛappi(kka)* (DED 3897)

19. *māyincu* to destroy, annihilate, do away with, Ka. *māyisu* (DED 3946)

20. *mugincu* to finish, complete, end, terminate, conclude, Ka. *mugisu* (DED 4005)

21. *muṭṭincu* to make or cause to touch, Ka. *muṭṭisu* (DED 4043)

22. *molapincu* to sprout, grow, Ta. *muḷaippi(kka)* (DED 4100)

23. *maṭṭincu* to cause to be trodden or trampled, Ka. *meṭṭisu* (DED 4150)

24. *meṛayincu* to make known, disclose, Ka. *meṛayisu* (DED 4163)

25. *mēpincu* to cause to tend cattle while grazing, Ta. *mēyppi(kka)* (DED 4179)

26. *vrāyincu* to cause to be written, Ta. *varaivi(kka)* Ka. *baresu* (DED 4304)

27. *viḍipincu* to get or see released, cause to be liberated, extricate, Ta. *viṭuvi(kka)* (DED 4419)



28. *veligincu* to light, Ka. *beḷagisu* (DED 4524)

29. *vēgincu* to fry, grill, Ka. *bēgisu* (DED 4540)

6.9.8. The following are the Telugu forms ending in *-incu* (both derivative as well as causative), for which no etyma is provided :

*aṅṅincu* (86), *alayincu* (200), *addincu* (244), *āgincu* (286), *āḍincu* (290), *iṅkinu* (364), *enayincu* (387), *uḍikincu* (504), *ubbincu* (573b), *ettincu* (681), *eriyincu* (694), *ōḍincu* (799), *uḍikincu* (804), *kaṭṭincu* (961), *kaligincu* (1093), *kuṭṭincu* (1392), *jarigincu* (1950), *navvincu* (2944), *neggincu* (3029), *egayincu*, *egirincu* (3091), *palikincu* (3212), *paṇḍincu* (3299), *paṭṭincu* (3320), *pondincu* (3709), *maṭṭagincu* (3812), *maṇḍincu* (3829), *muṭṭincu* (4143), *bratikincu* (4402), *visikincu*, *visigincu* (4414), *bedarincu* (4425)

*anipincu* (737), *kaṛapincu* (1091), *kaṇipincu* (1209), *kūrpincu* (1562), *gelipincu* (1641), *jaḍipincu* (1895), *tinipincu* (2670a), *noppincu* (3143), *mānipincu* (3943), *muripincu* (4111a), *meṛapincu* (4163), *balipincu* (4317), *vinipincu* (4472), *veṛapincu* (4518)

*kellagincu* (1321), *truḷḷagincu* (2767), *bōrlagincu*, *bōragincu* (3753), *muṭṭagincu* (4143)

*aḍalincu* (65), *aḍḍagincu* (73), *alamaṅincu* (200), *ālinu* (326), *āraṅincu*, *ārāṅincu* (344), *igilincu* (357), *iṛiyincu* (447), *uṅkinu* (477), *onarincu* (499), *uddincu* (534), *uravaḍincu* (559),

*ubbarincu* (573b), *ũkincu*, *uikincu* (627), *ekkirincu* (654),  
*ekkuđincu* (655), *eggincu* (663), *eligincu*, *elũgincu*,  
*elũgiccu* (711), *ōragincu* (896), *kadiyincu* (1009), *kamalincu*  
 (1120), *kĩlincu* (1346), *kudincu* (1363), *kuñugincu* (1408),  
*kodalincu* (1418), *guddalincu* (1432), *kru!lagincu* (1514),  
*geñtincu* (1618), *kēkarincu* (1658), *krēñincu* (1672), *koncincu*  
 (1806), *andagincu* (1921), *cappuđincu* (1926), *savarañincu*,  
*savarincu*, *savarucu* (1934a), *samayincu* (1935), *ciṭikarincu*  
 (2072), *cemmagincu* (2093), *sogiyincu* (2320), *tagilincu* (2434),  
*taniyincu* (2473), *tamakincu* (2505), *tallađincu* (2531),  
*travvaṭincu* (2547), *tāṭincu* (2576), *tulakincu* (2763), *tolakarincu*  
 (2764), *nigārinicu* (3027), *niggincu* (3029), *pañgaṭincu* (3160),  
*palukarincu* (3212), *palavincu*, *palavarincu*, *paluvarincu* (3212),  
*pantagincu* (3239), *piḍikilincu* (3412), *pukkilincu* (3484),  
*puḍisilincu* (3492), *boñkincu* (3651), *poḍamincu* (3668), *poḍigincu*  
 (3670), *bobbarincu* (3699), *puruđincu* (3708), *pōhañincu* (3745),  
*bōḍincu* (3761), *mađincu* (3825), *meppincu* (3865), *mellađincu*  
 (3871), *miḍikincu*, *miṇakarincu* (3969), *miṭṭincu* (3972)  
*mummarincu* (4069), *mōkarincu*, *mōkaṛincu* (4093), *muṛakaṭ-*  
*incu*, (4112), *mudarakincu*, *mudalakincu* (4136), *vālāyincu*  
 (4396), *beggalincu* (4494), *vekkasincu* (4495), *vembađincu*  
 (4518), *velayincu* (4524), *velupalincu* (4526), *vēgincu* (4570)

*alavarincu*, *ala-vaṛucu* (212), *ēmārinicu*, *ēmaṛucu*, *ēmārcu*,  
 (760), *ērincu*, *ēṛcu* (774), *ērparincu*, *ērpaṛacu* (774), *kudirincu*,  
*kudurcu* (1421), *igirincu*, *igur(u)cu*, *ivirincu*, *ivur(u)cu*  
 (2054), *dor(a)lincu*, *dor(a)lucu* (2211), *nogilincu*, *nogulucu*  
 (3143), *por(a)lincu*, *poral(u)cu* (3516), *maguđincu*, *maguḍ(u)cu*  
 (3769), *migilincu*, *migul(u)cu* (3962), *munigincu*, *munucu*  
 (4096), *medalincu*, *medal(u)cu* to move, stir, put in motion  
 (4155), *vadalincu*, *vadal(u)cu* (4287), *bigincu*, *bigucu* (4411),  
*velavarincu*, *velavarucu* (4526), *velārinicu*, *velār(u)cu* (4526)

6.10. Telugu verbs ending in *-cu*

Some of the Telugu transitive verbs ending in *-cu* (which is preceded by nasalization) are to be reconstructed with *\*-ntt*. Examples :-

1. *kā̃cu* to heat, warm, boil : Ta. *kāyccu*, Ma. *kāccuka*, Ko. *kãc-*, To. *kõc-* Ka. *kāsu*, *kāyisu* : *\*kāy-ntt-/\*kāy-inPP-* (DED 1219)

2. *tolācu* to remove : Ta. *tolaiccu* : *\*tolay-ntt-* (DED 2900)

3. *tō̃cu* to sink (tr.), battle, dip in : Ta. *tōy(tt)*, Ko. *tõc-*, To. *twī̃c-* : *\*tōy-ntt-* (DED 2933)

4. *penācu* to twist, twist together : Ta. *piṇaiccu* : *\*piṇay-ntt-* (DED 3423 a)

5. *maḍācu*, *maḍūcu*, *maṇūcu*. *maṇācu* to fold, plait, double, bend, turn in : Ka. *maḍisu*, *maḍacu*, *maḍasu*, Ta. *maṭi(tt)* : *\*maṭi-ntt-* (DED 3796)

6. *vēcu* to fry, grill, oppress, persecute : Ka. *bēsu* : *\*vēy-ntt-* (DED 4540)

6.11. Telugu noun forms ending in *-impu*

6.11.1. Telugu *tālimpu* 'seasoning, a seasoned curry' is derivable from *tālin̄cu*. In Tamil, the corresponding noun form is *tāḷippu* and it is derivable from *tāḷi(kka)*. Te. *tālimpu* : Ta. *tāḷippu* (DED 2604) can be reconstructed as *\*tāḷimpp-*. In the same way, Te. *reṭṭimpu* : Ta. *iraṭṭippu* can be reconstructed as *\*iraṭṭimpp-*. [The verbs involved are Te. *reṭṭincu* : Ta. *iraṭṭi(kka)*].

6.11.2. The following are further etymologies :

1. Kur. *pũp*, *pũmp* flower, film on the eye : Ta. *pũppu*, To. *puḥ*, Pa. *pũp-*, Ga. (Oll.) *pũp-*, Kui *pũpa* : \**pũ-mpp-* (DED 3564)

2. Te. *pũpu* attempt, endeavour : Ta. *pũṇippu* decision, resolve : \**pũ(ṇi)mpp-* (DED 3577)

6.11.3. The following are further examples for Telugu nouns ending in *-impu*, which are to be reconstructed as ending in \**-impp-* :-

*ubbarimpu* (573b), *jakkaḷimpu* (1871), *saḍimpu*, *saḍimpulu* (1894), *andagimpu* (1921), *savarimpu* (1934a), *cāṭimpu* (2052), *taggimpu* (2597), *tulakimpu* (2763), *truḷḷagimpu* (2767), *nigārimpu* (3027), *palavarimpu* (3212), *paṭṭimpu* (3320), *bōḍimpu* (3761), *mugimpu* (4005), *mūdalimpu* (4136), *bigimpu* (4411), *bedarimpu* (4425), *vēgimpu* (4570)

## 6.12. Telugu noun forms ending in *-inta*

6.12.1 Another noun form in Telugu derived from a verb ending in *-incu* is that which has the suffix *-inta*. Example : *eccarinta* 'attention, care, caution, a hint, warning' (DED 723b). This can profitably be compared with Ta. *eccarittal*. Now, we can reconstruct Te. *eccarinta* : Ta. *eccarittal* as \**eccarintta(l)*.

6.12.2. The following are further examples for Telugu nouns ending in *-inta* which are to be reconstructed as ending in *-\*intta(l)* :-

*e(k)kirinta* (654), *ōkarinta*, *ōkilinta* (866), *kruḷḷaginta* (1514), *kēkarinta* (1657, 1658), *cakkiliginta* (1875), *appaḷ-*

*inta* (1928 b), *savarinta* (1934 a), *cāgilinta* (2007), *ciṭikarinta* (2072), *sōlinta* (2354), *truḷḷinta* (2767), *palavarinta* (3212), *piḍikilinta* (3412), *bobbarinta* (3699)

6.12.3. The following Telugu noun forms ending in *-ta* can be compared with their corresponding Tamil forms :

1. *alāta* fatigue, exhaustion, grief, pain : Ta. *alaiccal* : \**alayntta(l)* (DED 200)

2. *korāta* deficiency, Ka. *korā(n)te* : Ta. *kuraiccal* : \**korayntta(l)* (DED 1537)

3. *kūta* a cry, shout : Ta. *kūccal* : \**kū(y)ntta(l)* (DED 1551)

4. *nōta* performing a meritorious act : Ta. *nōṛṛal* : \**nōntta(l)*<sup>109</sup> (DED 3147)

5. *mēta* grazing, feeding, eating, fodder, feed, forage, pasture : Ta. *mēyttal*, *mēyccal*, Ma. *mēccal* : \**mēyntta(l)* (DED 4179)

6.12.4. The following are Telugu forms (with derivative - *~cu*, - *~pu*, - *~ta*) for which corresponding forms in the other languages are lacking. They will, however, be reconstructed with the suffixes -\**nPP-*, -\**mpp-*, \**-ntta(l)* respectively:-

*aḍācu*, *aḍacu*, *ḍācu*, *ḍācu*, *dācu* (56a), *aṇācu* (56b), *dancu*, *ḍancu* (67), *alācu* (200), *lācu* (256), *ācu* (286), *ḍincu*, *dincu* (426), *lōcu* (600), *encu* (678), *rēcu*, *ṛēcu* (776), *krācu* (1086),

<sup>109</sup> Ta. *nōṛṛal* does not belong here.

*kalācu* (1096), *kācu* (1209) *koncu* (1806), *cincu* (2056), *tencu* (2526), *cot-tencu* (2285), *mola-tencu* (4100), *vaga-dencu*(4257), *vi-tencu* (4479), *t(r)uncu* (2707, 2743, 2829), *tolācu* (2908), *tōcu* (2942), *nalācu* (2987), *noncu* (3143), *nōcu* (3147), *pōcu* (3760), *maḍācu* (3803), *malācu* (3874, 3876, 3879, 3895), *melācu* (3989), *muḍūcu*, *muṇūcu* (4028), *muḍūcu* (4030), *vācu* (4297), *vancu*, *vāncu* (4371), *vācu* (4383)

*ḍimpu*, *dimpu* (426), *rēpu* (776), *cimpu* (*cimpi*) (2056), *t(r)empu* (2829), *pempu* (3615), *malāpu* (3958), *vāpu* (*vāpiri*) (4297)

*kalāta* (1096), *kolāta* (1517), *nēta* (*nēta-kāḍu*, *nētari*, *nēta-purugu*) (3103), *pōta* (3648), *mrōta* (4076, 4092), *mōta* (4211), *vrāta* (*vrāta-kāḍu*) (4304), *vrēta* (4571)

## 7

# Qualitative versus Quantitative Differences in Dravidian Phonology

7.1. Dravidian reconstructions so far have taken into account a single versus germinate contrast  $|P:PP|$  among plosives. It is also possible to interpret this difference as that of voiced versus voiceless, or properly 'lenis' versus 'fortis'  $\|P:B\|$ . If this interpretation is accepted, the recognized PDr. phoneme (sequence)s  $|*P, *NP$  and  $*PP|$  will be translated as  $\|*B, *NB$  and  $*P\|$  (and this would apply to Tamil, Malayalam phonology also). The advantage of this interpretation is that all the reflex languages, including Tamil, Malayalam will show  $NB$  as a reflex for PDr.  $*NP$ .

7.2. Our reconstruction  $/*NPP/$  will now be interpreted as  $||*NP||$ <sup>110</sup>. Its reflex in most of the Telugu-group of languages will be *NP* (orthographically also *NP*) and in Tamil, Malayalam *P* (orthographically *PP*), involving loss of preceding nasal.

7.3. We would now consider the advantages of the earlier method of reconstruction over the latter. According to the earlier method, there will be a 'single' versus 'geminate' distinction among all the consonants, except *y*, *r*, *l* (which are probably semi-vowels). The plosives should also come under this exception in the second method, which will leave a hole in the pattern.

7.4. When it is possible to have clusters like 'Nasal + Plosive', 'Resonant + Plosive' and 'Non-homorganic Plosive + Plosive', one wonders as to why it should be impossible to have a cluster of 'Homorganic Plosive + Plosive' type.

7.5. By preferring the 'lenis' : 'fortis' contrast ignoring the single vs. geminate difference, we are only multiplying the number of phonemes in the phonemic inventory, which is unwarranted. It is also interesting to note that there is no contrast between 'lenis' and 'fortis' in the initial position to treat them as significant items.

7.6. Corresponding to PDr.  $||*B||$ , there will be only one reflex in Tamil, Malayalam (orthographically *P*), whereas the Telugu-group of languages possess two reflexes, initially *P* and elsewhere *B* (in the present system of writing which is for all practical purposes phonemic). The defect, thus, in the

<sup>110</sup> Single slashes are used for the current method of analysis and description, whereas double lines are used for the suggested new method.



second method is that it does not say anything about the innate nature of the Dravidian languages, i.e. the law of convertibility of surds and sonants.<sup>111</sup> If there was a clear contrast between 'lenis' and 'fortis' consonants, there was no need to convert the voiceless plosives of Indo-Aryan into voiced ones. Telugu, however, bears evidence for Sanskrit *catur-* 'four' becoming *cadaramu* 'square'<sup>112</sup> Also Skt. *ratha* 'chariot' becomes *aradamu* in Old Telugu. We may also cite here the tendency in some dialects of Telugu to pronounce the word *ika* 'hereafter' as *iha*.

7.7. Another disadvantage in the second method is explained below.

7.7.1. Transitives are formed in Telugu by the addition of the suffix *-cu*. The following are the examples :—

<i>kūlu</i> 'to fall down'	: <i>kūl(u)cu</i> 'to cause to fall'	(1587)
<i>manu</i> 'to live'	: <i>manucu</i> 'to protect, revive'	(3914)
<i>ceḍu</i> 'to be spoiled'	: <i>ceḥucu, ceḥacu</i> 'to spoil'	(1614)
<i>paḍu</i> 'to suffer'	: <i>paḥucu, paḥacu</i> 'to cause to suffer'	(3191) <sup>113</sup>

<sup>111</sup> We may quote Andronov (1968:3) here: "Some features of similarity between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian have been repeatedly pointed out by various scholars. They have been noted both in the phonology and in the morphology and syntax of all the Indo-Aryan languages. Thus, in phonology such features include the development of retroflex consonants, characteristic of Dravidian, the simplification of consonant clusters in accordance with phonetic laws, similar to those found in Old Dravidian, *frequent voicing, spirantization and omission of single intervocalic stops, which is also characteristic of old Dravidian*" (Italics ours).

<sup>112</sup> See item 138 in Emeneau and Burrow 1962.

<sup>113</sup> The Tamil transitive for *||paḍu||* is *||paḍutu||*.

Just like Telugu, Tamil also has an overt marker to indicate the transitive, viz.  $\| -t \|$ . It is interesting to note that in Kui also an overt marker, viz.  $-t$  or  $-p$  is used for this purpose, Kui *puh-* 'to get wet' : *puh-p-* 'to make wet'. Since Telugu has  $-c$ , Tamil  $\| -t \|$  and Kui  $-t$  or  $-p$ , we can consider the overt marker as some kind of 'fortis' plosive and designate it as  $\| P \|$ .

7.8. In Tamil, Malayalam, Kui, etc. the alternation between a voiced and the corresponding voiceless plosive is associated with an alternation between intransitive and transitive. In these cases, a covert allomorph of a transitive morpheme is involved, which is only a distinctive feature, viz. fortis. Examples from Tamil :—

$\  \bar{a}r_u \ $ 'to grow cold'	:	$\  \bar{a}t_u \ $ 'to cool'	( 346)
$\  \bar{a}d_u \ $ 'to move'	:	$\  \bar{a}t_u \ $ 'to shake'	( 290)
$\  \bar{o}d_u \ $ 'to run'	:	$\  \bar{o}t_u \ $ 'to drive'	( 877)
$\  k\bar{u}d_u \ $ 'to come together'	:	$\  k\bar{u}t_u \ $ 'to unite'	(1562)

In all these cases, Telugu does not convert the lenis plosives into fortis ones but just adds the  $-cu$  ( $\| * -P \|$ ) suffix.

Examples :—

$\bar{a}r(u) : \bar{a}r-cu$

$\bar{a}d(u) : \bar{a}r-cu^{114}$

$\bar{o}d(u) : \bar{o}r-cu$

$k\bar{u}d(u) : k\bar{u}r-cu$

Since there is already an overt allomorph to indicate the transitive, viz.  $\| * -P \|$  in many of the languages, we can

<sup>114</sup> In Telugu,  $d_c$  cluster becomes  $rc$  in these cases.

consider the covert allomorph, viz. 'fortisness' as merely a manifestation of this  $\|\ast\text{-}P\|$ . We will interpret the transitive forms in Tamil as follows :—

$\ \bar{a}\underline{t}(u)\ $	$\ \bar{a}\underline{r}\text{-}P\ $
$\ \bar{a}\underline{\dot{t}}(u)\ $	$\ \bar{a}\underline{\dot{d}}\text{-}P\ $
$\ \bar{o}\underline{\dot{t}}(u)\ $	$\ \bar{o}\underline{\dot{d}}\text{-}P\ $
$\ k\bar{u}\underline{\dot{t}}(u)\ $	$\ k\bar{u}\underline{\dot{d}}\text{-}P\ $

7.9. The following Tamil forms having alternation between  $\|NB\|$  :  $\|P\|$  are intransitives and transitives, respectively :—

$\ tirundu\ $	'to be correct'	:	$\ tirutu\ $	'to correct'	(2659)
$\ maḍaṅgu\ $	'to be folded'	:	$\ maḍaku\ $	'to fold'	(3796)
$\ tirumbu\ $	'to turn'	:	$\ tirupu\ $	'to turn (tr.)'	(2655)
$\ t\bar{o}\underline{n}\underline{r}u\ $	'to appear'	:	$\ t\bar{o}\underline{\dot{t}}u\ $	'to show'	(2942)
$\ iṅḍu\ $	'to come together'	:	$\ i\dot{t}u\ $	'to collect'	(458)

The above transitives can now be interpreted as follows :—

$\ tirut(u)\ $	$\ tirund\text{-}P\ $
$\ maḍak(u)\ $	$\ maḍaṅg\text{-}P\ $
$\ tirup(u)\ $	$\ tirumb\text{-}P\ $
$\ t\bar{o}\underline{\dot{t}}(u)\ $	$\ t\bar{o}\underline{n}\underline{r}\text{-}P\ $
$\ i\dot{t}(u)\ $	$\ iṅḍ\text{-}P\ $

It is interesting to note that the above reconstruction warrants a nasal followed by double plosive.

7.10. Moreover, according to the second method  $\|*NP\|$  becomes  $\|P\|$  in Tamil, Malayalam, dropping the preceding nasal. If this is true, all *NP* sequences borrowed from Indo-Aryan should become  $\|P\|$  in these languages. But Sanskrit *NP* invariably becomes  $\|NB\|$  in Tamil, Malayalam.

7.11. We therefore prefer the single : geminate contrast to lenis : fortis difference and because of this the reconstruction  $\|*NPP\|$  is preferred to  $\|*NP\|$ .

## 8

### The Advantages of the New Law

8.1. The main advantage of the discovery of this new law, viz. (Te., etc.) *NP* : (Ta. Ma.) *PP* : \**NPP* is that it explains many forms that have previously been obscure.

8.2. Krishnamurti (1961:345, Etym. Index 378) opines that the nasalization [̃] in the Telugu word *gī̃tu* is "unlikely because of derivation < \**kīt̃t̃*-". Here is a strong case for the new correspondence between Telugu : Tamil and also the reconstruction \**NPP*. Telugu *gī̃tu* can now be reconstructed as \**kīnt̃t̃*-, which obviously accounts for the nasalization [̃] (as found in this word occurring in the Telugu classic *Dvipadahariścandrōpākhyānamu*) whose very existence Krishnamurti seems to dispute with. Thus the existence of

nasalization in *gītu* can be justified only with the help of our new phonological correspondence.

8.3. *DED* item 3o08 has two groupings, the latter of which, viz. 3608(b) gives the etyma for Ta. *peṭṭai* 'female of animals and birds, woman, girl'. The Telugu form *peṭṭi* which is given in 3608(a) should really belong here. *peṭṭi* fits in with our correspondence and can be reconstructed as \**peṭ-tt-*.

8.4. The new law (*NP : PP < \*NPP*) also paves the way for the establishment of Caldwell's famous theory of the convertibility of surds and sonants in Dravidian, which some scholars seem to dispute with.

8.5. Another advantage with the new law is that it can sort out Ta. *oṇṭi* 'single' (834c), *koṅcam* 'little' (1695), *vintai* 'strangeness' (4442), *ampakam* 'leave, permission' (278), *kaṇṭālam* 'pack-saddle' (987), *ṭoṅku* 'crookedness' (2418), *kōnti* 'monkey' (1473), etc. as loan-words. Of these, *oṇri* is borrowed from Te. *oṇṭi*, whose regular correspondence in Ta. should be *oṇṇ-*. It is worth mentioning here that *oṇṭi* occurs very late in Tamil and is uncommon in the Southern dialects, which are far away from the Telugu region. Ta. *koṅcam* may also be a borrowing from Te. *koṅcemu*, whose regular correspondence in Ta. is *koc-*. Ta. *vintai* is yet another borrowing from Telugu where the form *vinta* occurs, which is to be reconstructed as \**viruntt-*. (Cf. Ta. *viruntu* newness). For the remaining forms, viz. *ampakam*, *kaṇṭālam*, *kōnti*, and *ṭoṅku*, see §§ 2.2.4, 3.14.21, 3.14.50 and 3.15.13 respectively.

## 9

### Appendix

#### An Anthropological Note on the 'Ladle'

9.1. We quote *DED* 1063 for the etymology of the Tamil word denoting 'ladle' :—

“1063 Ta. *karaṇṭi* spoon or ladle. Ma. *karaṇṭi* spoon. Te. *garīṭe* spoon, ladle.”

We now add to this the other Telugu form *geṇṭe*. Te. *garīṭe*, *geṇṭe* will have to be reconstructed with *\*ṇṭṭ*, whereas the Ta. Ma. forms contain *\*ṇṭ* alone. The direct

equivalent for Te. *garīṭe*, *geṇṭe* should be that which contains a *ṭṭ* in Ta. Ma.<sup>115</sup> *DED* 2101 offers a good cognate for Te. *garīṭe*, *geṇṭe*. We quote :—

“2101 Ta. *ciraṭṭai* coco-nut shell, begging bowl. Ma. *ciraṭṭa* coco-nut shell, chiefly the lower half; *ciraṭṭi* the upper half of a coco-nut shell. Koḍ. *cerate* coco-nut shell.”

9.2. The reconstruction for Te. *garīṭe* : Ta. *ciraṭṭai* will be *\*kerVṇṭṭ-*. In early times ‘ladle’ was prepared in Tamil Nadu, or probably in the whole of South India, with a coco-nut shell to which a long handle was attached through the shell’s ‘eye’s (*kaṇ*). Te. *garīṭe* is thus etymologically and anthropologically connected with the coco-nut shell, even though this word is used in modern times only to denote a metal ladle.

9.3. The terms used to denote a ladle made of coco-nut shell or of wood (with a scoop in it like a coco-nut shell) are provided in *DED* 7 :—

“7 Ta. *akappai*, *āppai* ladle, large spoon with long handle, usually of coco-nut shell. Ma. *akappān*, *āppa* ladle. Ka. *agape*, *āpe*, *hāpe* scoop or ladle, made of coco-nut shell or of wood. Te. *agapa*, *abaka* ladle, spoon, scoop made of coco-nut shell.”

This set of cognates should be connected with Ta. *akaḷ* ‘to dig out’, *āḷ* ‘to dig’, Ko. *av-* ‘to dig hole’, To. *aḷ-* ‘to dig’, Ka. *agaḷ* ‘to dig’, Kol. *agul-* ‘to dig’, etc

<sup>115</sup> Ta. Ma. *karaṇṭi* does not fit in with our correspondence and hence can be considered as involving a different derivative suffix or as a loan-word.



9.4. The 'metallic ladle' (*karaṇṭi*) has replaced the 'wooden ladle or the one made of coco-nut shell' (*akappai*) among relatively sophisticated circles, whereas the latter is still used by the most unsophisticated or tribal people. It is interesting to note that even among the sophisticated circles, *akappai* is used on certain religious feasts. The following are the meaning developments of the two words *garīṭe* and *agapa* :—

	Etymological meaning		Actual meaning
<i>garīṭe</i>	'coco-nut shell'	→	'metal ladle'
<i>agapa</i>	'a scoop in wood'	→	'ladle made of coco-nut shell or wood'

9.5. The distinction in Malayalam between *ciraṭṭa* and *ciraṭṭi*, viz. the lower half and the upper half of a coco-nut shell throws some light on the etymology of the Te. word *garīṭe*. It is only one half of the coco-nut shell which can be used to make a ladle. It is worth mentioning that Malayalam has the compounds *ciraṭṭa-kayyil* and *ciraṭṭa-tavi* which mean 'ladle made of coconut shell', while the words *kayyil* and *tavi* by themselves mean the same thing.

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# Errata

Page	Error	Correction
5, fn.3, l.2	vii, viii	xii, xiii
11, No.14, l.1	Ko. <i>kaṅky</i>	Ko. <i>kaṅky</i>
17, §3.7, l.3	Voiceless plosives	Non-initial voiceless plosives
22, No.23, l.1	Ka. <i>oti</i>	Ka. <i>ōti</i>
23, No.29, l.4	Kui <i>giōpka</i>	Kui <i>glōpka</i>
23, No.31, l.1	Ka. <i>kācu</i> , <i>kāci</i>	Ka. <i>kācu</i> , Tu. <i>kācu</i> , <i>kāci</i>
33, No.120, l.1	Ta.	Tu.
34, No.128, l.2	Ma. <i>vatañṅikka</i>	Ma. <i>vatañṅuka</i>
40, No.40, l.2	strategm	stratagem
44, No.6, l.1	Ko.	Ka.
58, No.39, l.3	3893	3593
60, No.4, l.1	<i>minka</i>	<i>minka</i>
67, §5.8, l.1	form	from
79, No.3, l.1	Ta.	Te.
81, §6.3.4, l.3	can be be	can be
82, No.1, l.2	obl. of <i>kaṅru</i>	obl. of <i>kannu</i>
84, fn.104, l.2	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} y \\ r \\ ! \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} y \\ r \\ ! \end{array} \right\}$
88, No.9, l.1	Ta. <i>ōkkā!(kka)</i>	Ta. <i>ōkkā!i(kka)</i>
92, No.22, l.1	to sprout	to cause to sprout
95, No.3, l.1	battle	bathe

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