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BY

JULES BLOCH

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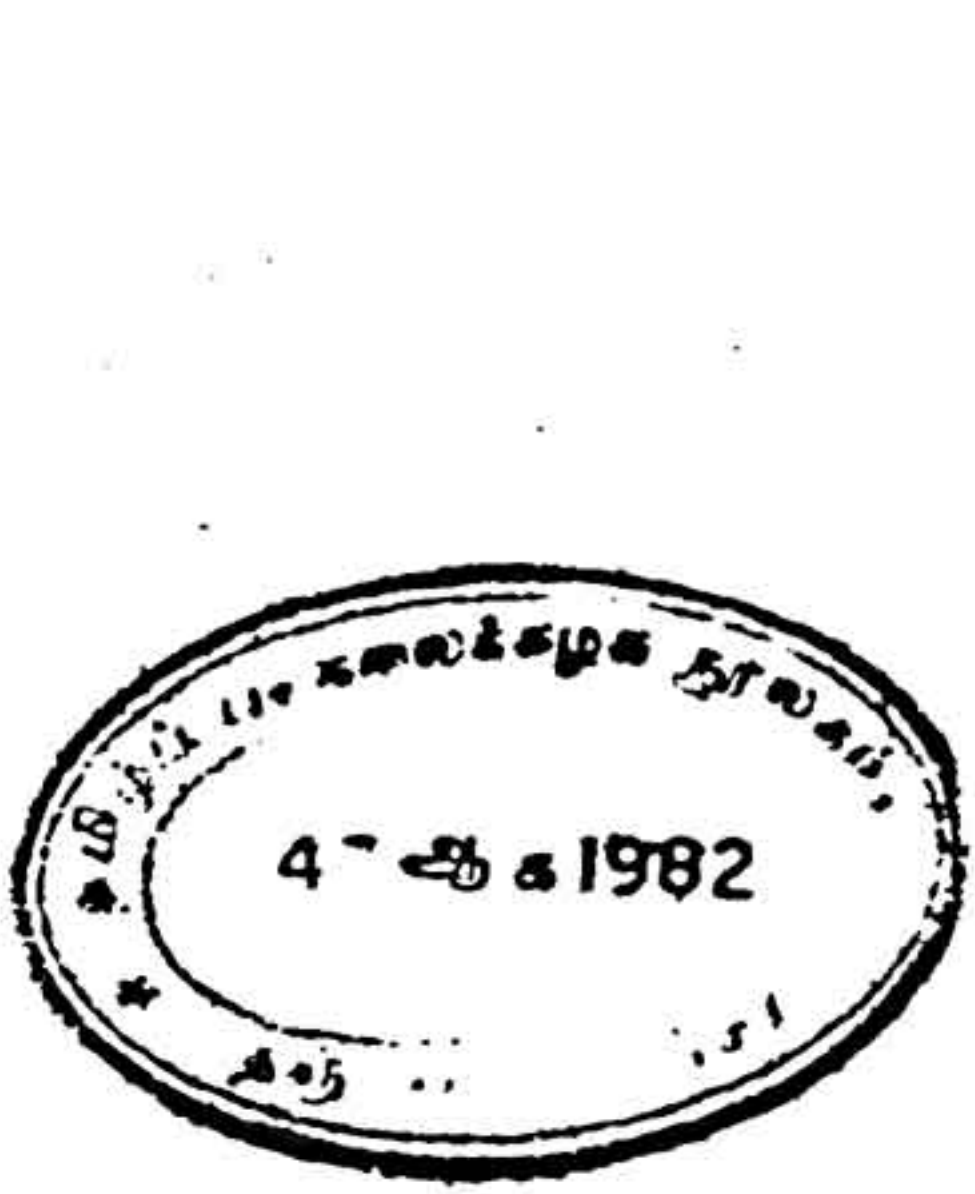

Deccan College Hand-Book Series

3

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BY

JULES BLOCH

DECCAN COLLEGE
Post-graduate and Research Institute
POONA

THE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

BY

JULES BLOCH

Formerly, Director of Studies, École Pratiques des Hautes Études and Professor, Collège de France, Paris.

Authorised Translation from the original French by

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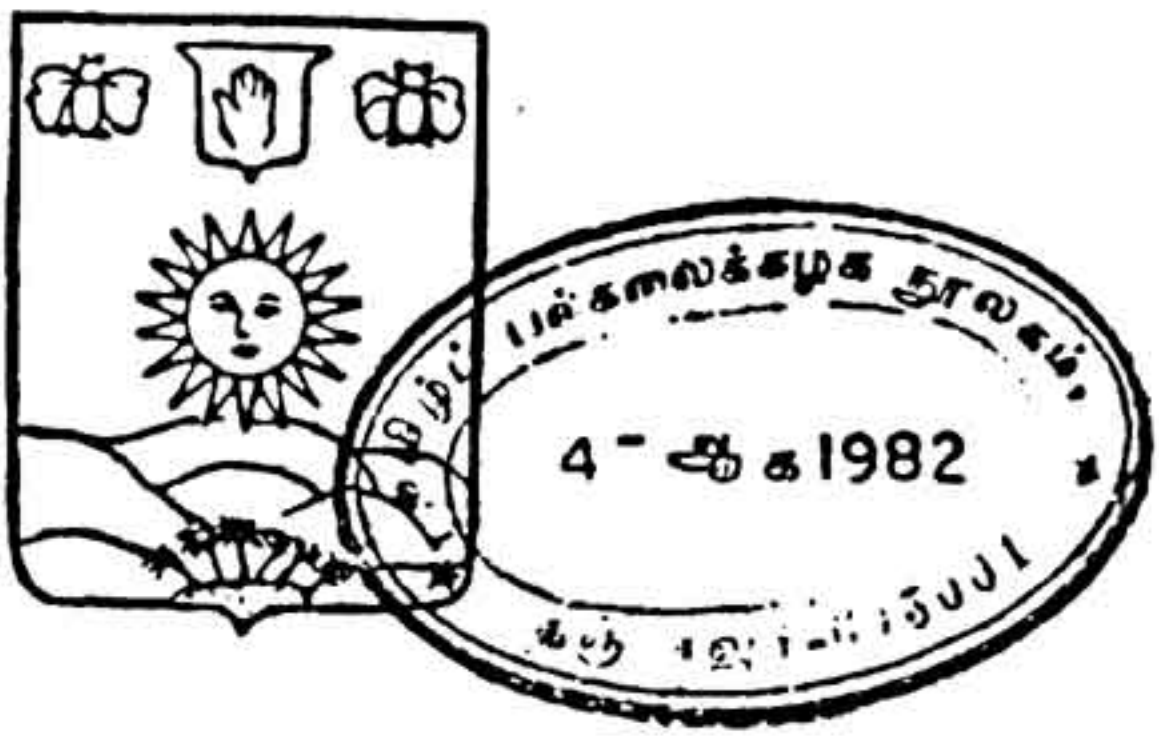

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FOREWORD

It is a matter of great joy and a little sorrow that the English version of Professor Jules BLOCH's "*Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes*" is now being published in the Handbook Series of the Deccan College. This English rendering had the advantage of personal supervision by Prof. BLOCH and was actually received sometime in August 1953. Little did we dream at that time that before the book would be set up in print the Professor would not be with us to rejoice in its appearance.

The Deccan College is deeply grateful to the late Prof. Jules BLOCH for having given us permission to include this rendering as a part of its Handbook Series. Prof. BLOCH was one of the most astute of Linguists produced by France and his contributions have always tended to inspire our scholars to similar achievements. As the author of the first scientific treatise of a Modern Indian Language he led the way and showed the path to a proper description of the historical and comparative method applied to Modern Languages. Similarly, as the author of one of the most succinct treatises on the comparative grammar of Indo-Aryan, he posed a number of very interesting questions which require further investigation. Part of the present work may be considered as a labour in the solution of such problems, for the inter-relationship of Dravidian to Indo-Aryan and *vice versa* was a subject of abiding interest to him. In the absence of an accurate scientific description of the Dravidian languages from the comparative point of view it was hardly to be expected that a comparative grammar of Dravidian could be attempted on lines similar to what has been done in the field of Indo-European studies. We are still far from the goal. Quite a great deal of intensive work still remains to be done both in the descriptive analysis and the historical study of all the important Dravidian

tongues. The present work, it is hoped, will show the way as to how further research is required to be done in order to achieve the goal which was constantly before the mind of Prof. Jules BLOCH. All the linguistic material is available in India and it is up to Indian scholars to qualify themselves for the great task ahead and to achieve a distinction in the field in which India already made notable contributions centuries before the Christian Era. The example of scholars like Prof. Jules BLOCH should prove an inspiration to modern aspirants to the tradition of Pāṇini and Patañjali or of *Tolkappiam*.

The English rendering has been done by Dr. R. G. HARSHE, the Registrar of this Institute. He was trained in Paris among others by Professor BLOCH and the rendering has therefore a ring of authority which has been attested by the original author himself. Dr. HARSHE deserves the thanks not only of this Institute but of all Dravidian scholars for making this short treatise available to Indian scholars.

S. M. K.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

The translation of Professor Bloch's "Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes" needs no apology. Professor Jules Bloch is acknowledged to be one of the foremost linguists of to-day and this latest contribution from his pen to the subject is the only book of its kind, produced since Caldwell (1856), during the course of almost a century.

Linguistics is perhaps the youngest of the sciences to be cultivated at the Indian Universities and we have not yet taken very kindly to it. But the rôle that India is now destined to play, in the near future, among the comity of nations would require that our Universities realise the importance of this science and make a special provision for the scientific study of our regional languages and their varied dialects with substantial aid from Government. The fast dying primitive dialects should be the object of our immediate study lest they soon become irretrievably lost to us.

India is peculiarly fortunate in possessing an inexhaustibly vast store of linguistic material. On the Austro-Asiatic bed-rock are situated the great linguistic divisions of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian groups of languages and their dialects. Indo-Iranian, Tibeto-Chinese, Mongoloid-Burmese and Malaisian groups of languages have beem situated on the borderland and have made frequent inroads in the neighbouring regions. The Muslims had brought with them Arabic and Turkish influences, the Israelites those of Hebrew and the Syriac Christians of the Syriac on the Indian sub-continent. There is thus ample field for research in every branch of linguistics awaiting a period of renaissance by the industry, application and scientific equipment on the part of the Indian scholars.

J. B.

Professor Bloch's Grammatical Structure should be the starting point of our Dravidic studies for some years to come when it should be possible for Indian scholars to write their own text-books after original research in the field.

Linguistic studies have made long strides in Europe and America but a very large bulk of research material in all kinds of languages in which we are interested is available in German and French and unusable by scholars who know English only. The old tradition of making a capital out of these inaccessible sources for parading our borrowed scholarship is not going to help us in our forward march. It is therefore absolutely necessary to translate all the important works on the subject from German and French into English which has become the international language of the exchange of thought among the intellectuals. As the youngest of the nations India badly needs this support for some time.

To indicate the present needs of Linguistics in India it would be necessary to emphasize the importance of undertaking periodically the review of the researches done in the field of Linguistics by competent scholars to enable the young students of this science to judge of the relative merits of all kinds of contributions pouring in from every nook and corner. Critical bibliographies are no doubt very useful but a beginner, for want of a sure guide, is often bewildered when he has to face material possessing varying degree of usefulness and importance. A comprehensive text-book on General Linguistics, incorporating latest researches and dealing with all the aspects of the science, critical bibliographies on important problems in Indian Linguistics, Self-taught Series of Conversational Grammars and even chrestomathies for different languages and workable glossaries are the pre-requisites of any research in the subject. What has already been done by European scholars so far should suffice for the Indians to draw their

inspiration from and to guide their new efforts in the domain of linguistic studies.

In the present work, Prof. Bloch has sketched, in brief outlines, the grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages. It is in no way a final word on the subject and Professor Bloch desired that the students of Dravidian Linguistics should critically examine his hypothesis after collecting further data on the lines suggested and fill in the gaps by their profound study of the subject. It is primarily with this intention that this translation is being published after an insistent demand from scholars of Dravidian Linguistics who did not know French.

The translation was started in 1948 when the Director, Anthropological Survey of the Government of India deputed one of his research assistants, Shri R. C. Nigam to the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, to specialise in Primitive Linguistics, especially Dravidian Morphology. A portion of this work was read out to him in translation and the rest of the work was completed after a lapse of four years towards the end of 1952. This translation has the unique advantage of being critically gone through and corrected wherever necessary by Professor Jules Bloch himself. Inspite of his long illness and extreme weakness he had cheerfully looked into the minutest details and made all the necessary corrections in his own hand. Only it was not possible to verify all the references and copy out the English translation from the original works on grammar used and referred to by him as they were not easily accessible. It is therefore a direct translation of the French original and it is likely that the English idiom might have suffered to some extent in this almost literal translation. If the original sense of the author is clearly conveyed in this effort, its main purpose would be served.

The transliteration adopted by the author has been strictly maintained throughout to avoid confusion.

The short bibliography included in the original work has been maintained as it is, inspite of the suggestion of the author to add some of the latest important books from the 2nd edition of "Les Langues du Monde". A fairly exhaustive bibliography of Dravidian Philology, recording over 800 references, has already been prepared by the present writer which will be published as soon as possible.

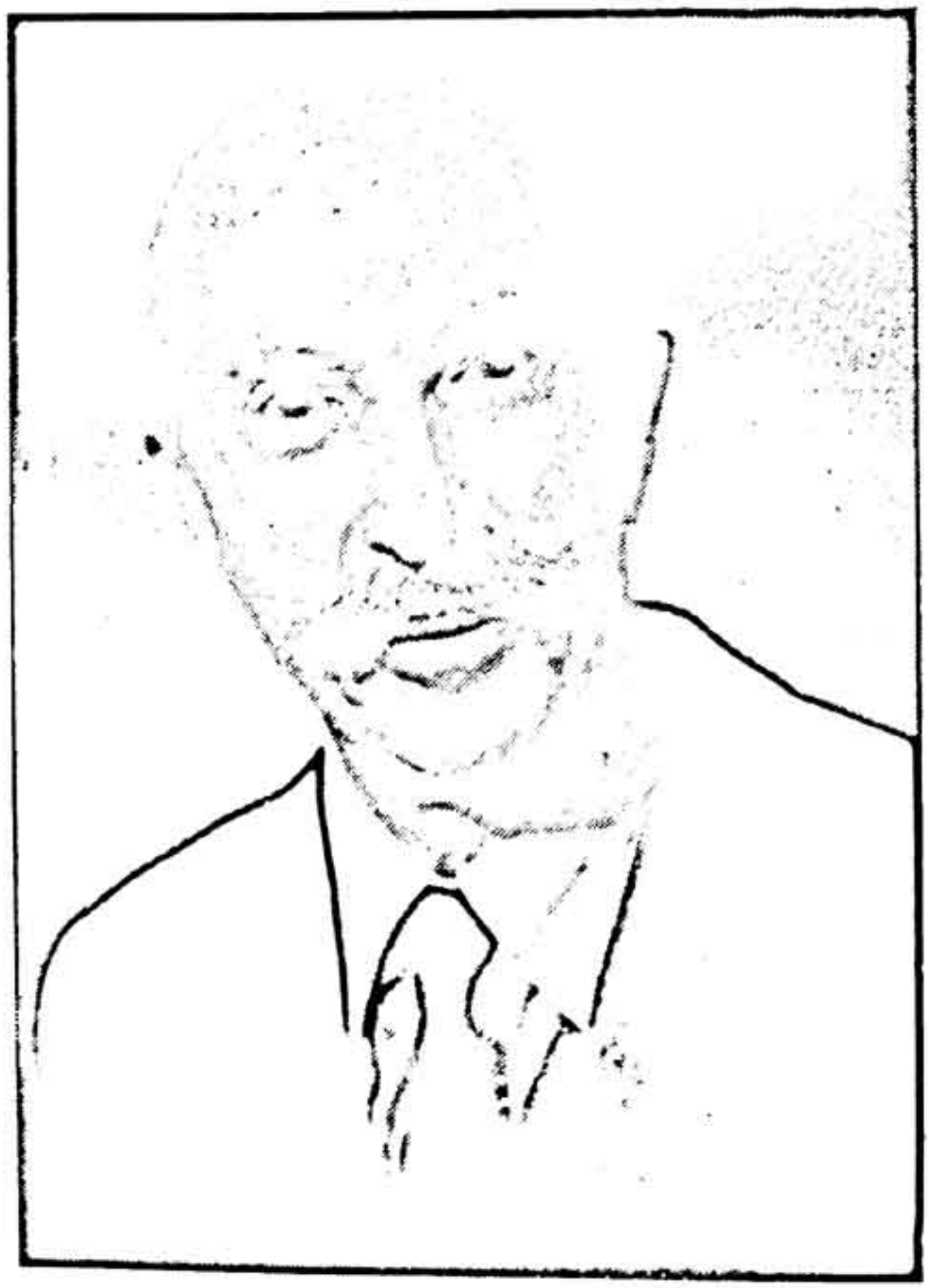
My chief thanks are due to Professor Jules Bloch, not only for the gracious permission which he readily gave me for translating his work into English but for the great pains that he took in correcting my translation during his long illness which eventually carried him away! That this work could not be printed while he was still alive is extremely painful to me. The whole work was finished by August and he died on the 29th November 1953, deeply mourned by all his friends, admirers and students. I could do nothing better than to dedicate this volume to his most cherished memory.

To the generosity of the proprietor of the Maisonneuve, Paris, Professor Bloch's publishers, I am not less indebted. I was greatly relieved of the anxiety of finding out the wherewithall to meet the high costs of printing by the extreme kindness of Dr. S. M. Katre, Director of the Institute, who has included this in the Hand-Book Series of the Institute's publications. Shri P. S. Ganeshsundaram of the Dravidian Philology Department of this Institute and Shri V. I. Subramoniam, formerly a Lecturer in Dravidian Philology at Tinnevelly had kindly gone through the translation and made their own suggestions.

R. G. H.

IN MEMORIAM

JULES BLOCH



JULES BLOCH—[1880-1953]

PROFESSOR JULES BLOCH

Professor Jules Bloch was born on the 1st of May 1880, in Paris, in the central part, near the house in which Professor Sylvain Lévi was born. After completing the Primary Course he was admitted to the Lycée Louis le Grand where he was the recipient of a scholarship.

In 1899, he passed his 'Licence ès Lettres (= B.A.) and joined the École des Hautes Études (A School for Higher Studies) at the University of Paris. He took his first lessons in Sanskrit from Professor A. Foucher, executed his profound studies in Ancient Indian Literature and Culture under Professor Sylvain Lévi and got all his initial linguistic equipment from the most inspiring Professor Antoine Meillet. He thus inherited the best traditions of his eminent *Gurus*.

As early as 1905 he was entrusted with the work of translating Brugmann's "Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen," in which some other scholars also collaborated with a view to bringing out an abridged edition in French under the direction of Prof. A. Meillet and R. Gauthiot. In 1906, he got his Diploma of the École des Hautes Études for his research on *"La phrase nominale en sanscrit"* which was published in the Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.[1] That was followed by another Diploma in Hindi and Tamil from the 'École des Langues Orientales vivantes' (School of Living Oriental Languages). He was then deputed to work at the 'École Française d'Extrême Orient,' at Hanoi in Indo-China.

While he was on his mission to the Extrême Orient (1906-1908) he had the opportunity of visiting India. He stayed at Pondicherry and Karikal in the South and at Chandranagar in the North and utilised his time in acquiring a deeper knowledge of some of the most important living languages of India. More especially, for his Doctoral Thesis, he

1. Vol. XIV. pp. 27-96.

often visited Poona, studied Marathi under Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and V. K. Rajwade and made contacts with most of the distinguished Marathi scholars during that time. In Poona he used to stay with Professor Turnbull of the Deccan College and he gratefully remembered the present of Molesworth's Dictionary of Marathi from Principal Selby. It was very helpful to him in preparing his Thesis for Docteur ès Lettres on "The Formation of the Marathi Language"[2] which he eventually submitted to the University of Paris in 1914. For this work he was awarded the Volney Prize. His Complementary Thesis was a critical edition of Lokaprakāśa[3]—a work attributed to Kṣemendra, entitled "*Un manuel du scribe cachemirien au XVII^e siècle.*"

During the years of World War I, he was called to Military Service for four years (1914-1918) and here he rose from a Sergeant to the rank of a Lieutenant in the Infantry and won his War Cross (Croix de Guerre).

In 1919-1920 he acted in the place of Professor Sylvain Lévi who had gone out to India. After his return in 1920, Jules Bloch was appointed Professor at the 'École des Languages Orientales vivantes' and also Director of Studies at the École des Hautes Études. He was also elected Joint-Secretary of the Société Linguistique (1920-1944). In addition to his duties he also worked as Professor of Sanskrit at the Sorbonne when Professor Foucher had gone on an Archaeological Mission to Afghanistan (1920-1926). In 1937, after the death of Professor Sylvain Lévi, he succeeded him as Professor at Collège de France and continued in office until his retirement in 1951.

Professor Bloch started his scholarly career in 1905 and during the course of nearly 48 years pursued his devoted studies of the different aspects of Indian Linguistics, with oc-

2. Pages, xvi. 432.
3. Page 64.

casional breaks caused by the Great World Wars, and produced more than 1500 pages of solid research. His *'Formation de la langue marathe'* is the basic work for the language and the starting point in the scientific treatment of modern Indian languages. His own Professor, Antoine Meillet, had nothing but praise for his work. In his review in the Bulletin de la Société Linguistique[4] he says:

"The introduction is sober and solid .. Nowhere do we find any lack of material which contributes to the making of the veritable history of the language and nowhere are the available materials less elaborated ..... For explaining Marathi M. Jules Bloch had, in fact, to sketch out the development of the Indian languages from the Vedic to the modern times... Under a modest title which does not promise much, he has constituted, in a short discreet form, the Comparative Grammar of the Aryan languages of India..... His work.... is original from one end to the other and even his incidental indications have a great bearing on the subject. In this work the broad outlines of the development of the languages of India during a period of 2500 years have been fixed... If the author is to be reproached at all for any fault, it would be his dissimulation, under the extreme brevity of his exposition and the negligent and proud discrimination of style denuded of all that is superfluous, the singular compass of his work ... The book is as new as it is rich and his conclusions spring forth from the facts exhibited.

"..The etymological index at every line puts forth important questions. We find in it the allurement of a quantity of unlimited work which will have a lively interest."[5]

His second great work and perhaps his master-piece is *'L'Indo-aryen, du Veda aux temps modernes.'*[6] We have seen above how his interest in this subject had been roused since

4. BSL. No. 66, pp. 59-62.
5. BSL. No. 68, p. 57.
6. Page 335.

the days of *'La formation.'* He continued to work patiently on the subject and in 1929 he delivered the Forlong Lectures at the London University on the subject of "Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology," which were later on developed in his *"L'Indo-Aryen,"* in 1934. With characteristic independence of judgment he has lavishly thrown out his original views throughout this work which has all the qualities of his previous work, viz., epigrammatic style, a mass of material in support of remarks, solid structure, allusions to problems supposed to have been already known, references to the latest but little accessible books,[7] masterly analysis of facts and incidental remarks which deserve further investigation and which have a significant bearing on the subject. All this is a disconcerted reading for the uninitiated but it is a veritable mine of information for those who are interested in the subject, offering food for thought and incitement to further research in the field.

Professor E. Benveniste, in a searching and critical review,[8] remarks: "We have for the first time, in the domain in which it seemed most difficult to realise, the lay-out, broadly conceived and newly executed. The linguists will profit by meditating on this work which is not one of those which exhaust the substance at the first reading."

His third fundamental work is the *"Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes."* It will be enough to quote from another critical review, that of Professor F. B. J. Kuiper of Leiden:[9] "...Not only will all those who are interested in Dravidian linguistics welcome this study which summarizes the conclusions at which the eminent French savant, after a life devoted to the study of Indian languages, has arrived re-

7. Those who had visited his house at Sèvres must have realised his passion for books and how we are required to find out our way through the labyrinth of book-shelves!

8. La Revue Critique, p. 465.

9. Acta Orientalia, 1948, pages 238-252.

garding some of the fundamental problems of Dravidian; students of Indo-European, too, will find in this book, which describes the development of an agglutinative type of language to a semi-inflexional one, interesting parallels to what presumably has been the origin of the Indo-European inflexion. The object of this work is to furnish, with the help of the evidence which has become known from the Northern languages, a more complete picture of the morphological facts and to give more prominence to these languages than Caldwell, who had to base his book mainly on Tamil, had been able to do.[10] ...

"Bloch's exposition of the intricate problems connected with the Dravidian verb is clear and excellent..."[11]

Dr. Jean Filliozat, Bloch's successor at Collège de France as Professor, puts in a nut-shell the important contribution of Jules Bloch to Linguistics in general and to Indian Linguistics in particular, when he says in his inaugural address:[12]

"With M. Jules Bloch, in 1937, Indian Linguistics, in all its scope, entered the curriculum of the Collège de France, with the rigorous method which gives it its tremendous value.... From the first, this method had introduced a prime innovation, the viewing of modern languages on the same level as ancient ones in comparative studies."

A special mention may be made of the linguistic edition of the Inscriptions of Aśoka by Professor Bloch, with translation and critical notes in French (1950). He calls it "a handy pedagogical edition." It however takes note of the work done by specialists in the field, is brought up-to-date and does not fail to point out the important questions which are still obscure.

All the Aśokan Inscriptions are properly classified and studied here in convenient groups, with all the necessary linguistic apparatus, a close translation and critical and explana-

10. P. 239.
11. P. 245.
12. Asia: June, 1953, p. 15.

J. C.

tory notes, the index of the important word-forms, a map of India marking the sites of the Edicts and a very useful bibliography of important works on the subject which are the notable features of the book. It is accompanied by historical and linguistic introductions extending over 88 pages out of the total number of 172 bringing out the salient features of this unique historical record. This 'handy edition' is the model of what a book of this nature should be.

The necessity of such scientifically popular editions of classical texts seems to have lately engaged the attention of the French savants and Professor Bloch had offered to collaborate with Dr. Jean Filliozat and Professor Louis Renou in the publication of Buddhist Canonical Texts in Pali Tipitaka of which only the first fascicule has appeared.

Even a cursory glance at the bibliography of his writings will reveal that during the course of nearly fifty years of his scholarly career he has exclusively devoted himself to the study of Indian Linguistics and has comprehensively dealt with different aspects of the subject right from the Vedic to the modern Indian languages, both of the north and the south, and has made a notable contribution to the subject.

But apart from his great scholarship, Professor Bloch was highly valued for his human qualities. His free and unassuming manners and buoyant cordiality have always inspired confidence and endeared him to the hearts of all those that came into contact with him. He was sympathetic, helpful, and good-humoured. Like the great Sylvain Lévi and Madame Lévi, Professor Bloch and Madame Bloch very warmly received the Indian students in Paris at their home. Professor Bloch was their friend and guide in everything and always watched over their interests with paternal care. His death on the 29th November 1953 was a great blow to all his pupils, friends and admirers and an unfathomable loss to Indian students in Paris who will miss his genial face and good-humoured smile !

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INTRODUCTION

Except for Brahui, isolated in Baluchistan, the languages called Dravidian, occupy a continuous area in the Southern part of India and overstep in the north of Ceylon. They have, in Ceylon, as also on the northern frontier, Indo-Aryan languages for neighbours and in the north-east at the same time Indo-Aryan and Muṇḍa dialects allied to certain languages of Indo-China.

The Dravidian languages are spoken by about 72 millions of individuals, that is to say, a little less than one-fifth of the total population of India (388 millions). Some of these are cultivated; they have some texts since the Middle Ages (Kannaḍa, Telugu), or older still (Tamiḻ); others are without literature and were noted only in the nineteenth century. The former occupy the maritime coasts and the corresponding hinterlands; the latter form groups scattered on the plateau of Baluchistan, in the zone between Hindustan and the Deccan and finally in the small region of the mountains of the South; still it is not certain whether the latter could be connected or not with the neighbouring languages of culture of which they might be the dialects.

Tamoul or Tamiḻ, which is the most well-known, is spoken by some 25 millions of men in the south-east of the Deccan Peninsula (the territorial limit goes from Madras, a bilingual town, to the Nilgiri Mountains and from there to Trivandrum in the Travancore State) and the northern plain in Ceylon. The emigrants carry Tamiḻ to the work-shops of Burma, the bazaars of Indo-China and as far as the plantations of the Fiji Islands or Central Africa; they are numerous at the Reunion and Mauritius Islands. Malayāḷam, the language of about 9 million persons on the Malabar Coast is a dialect separated from Tamiḻ, epigraphically attested since the 10th century.

The Tamiḻ literature is the richest and the oldest of the Dravidian literatures. At least, three different stages of this

language have been distinguished; the oldest is seen in an already refined literature which is approximately dated about the Christian Era and consists of Court and chivalrous poems of an original type.

Tamiḻ is also the oldest Dravidian language known in Europe. The name "Tamilian" or "Tamulian" was at first given* to the entire family; "Dravidian," chosen by CALDWELL as being more general, is nothing but an ancient form of the same name, known to Sanskrit (Dramiḍa, Draviḍa).

Canara or Kannaḍa is the language of about 11 millions of persons residing in Mysore and the south-west part of the Hyderabad State, as far as Bidar (120 k.m. north-west of Hyderabad); from Bidar to Karwar (on the Western Coast to the south of Goa) it has a common boundary with Marāṭhī and Koṅkaṇī, the Aryan languages, whereas in the east it has, as neighbours Telugu and Tamiḻ both of them Dravidian. Finally, Kannaḍa occupies the coast between Karwar and Mangalore. But this is not the language of the navigators; it remains confined, if not absolutely to its own domain, at least to India in which it counts some isolated colonies; the most important (more than 100,000 persons) is at Madura, in the Tamiḻ country.

Kannaḍa is a Dravidian language of which we possess the oldest dated document—a short inscription of about 450 A.D., wherein Kannaḍa, already learned, is associated with Sanskrit. The literature begins from the 9th century by a work on Rhetorics in which previous writers, bearing Sanskrit names are mentioned.

To the south of the Kannaḍa territory on the west coast is found the region of Tuḷu, spoken by 650,000 persons round about Mangalore. This dialect has obvious affinities with Kannaḍa but direct relationship is controversial. Similarly,

* N.B.—'Tamilian' is an anglicised version and 'Tamoulian' a French version of the original word 'Tamiḻan.'—Translator.

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there is no full information regarding the dialects of the mountains to the north of the Palghat Pass; those of Coorg (Koḍagu: 40,000 persons), as also of the mixed society composed of the Baḍaga agriculturists, the Kōṭa artisans and the Tōḍa shepherds who are not more than 600 and are destined to disappear in the near future.

Telugu (Tenuṅgu, Teliṅga) occupies the eastern coast from the city of Madras, sharing with Tamiḻ, upto the south of Ganjam; there its domain borders on that of Oṛiyā, an Aryan language, mistress of the delta of the Mahānadī. Further west it again encounters another Aryan language namely Marathi. Between the two, it has, for a neighbour, Goṇḍī a Dravidian language, some enclosures of which are found in its own territory. In the west and in the south this territory is bordered by Kannaḍa and Tamiḻ.

Telugu is a Dravidian language which is spoken by the greatest number of persons, more than 26 millions; it throngs outside its territory and even outside India, but to an extent less than Tamiḻ.

The most ancient inscription, known in Telugu, goes back to 633 A.D.; the first writer dates from the 11th century; he is the author of a grammar and the translation of the Mahābhārata, the great Sanskrit poem, which had already been translated a century before in Kannaḍa.

A relation of Telugu, but not bordering upon it, is Kui, spoken by the Ku, also called Khaṇḍ or Khoṇḍ, established on the plateaux dominating the valley of the Mahānadī and numbering about 585,000 souls. This is a dialect without culture, threatened by Oṛiyā which encircles it.

The most celebrated and the most numerous of the populations (1,865,000) forming the northern group of Dravidian is that of the Goṇḍs, a fallen nation, the language of which is giving in more and more, before the civilised languages Marāṭhī, Hindī, Oriyā, lastly Telugu, its southern neighbour. Those

who still speak their mother tongue are distributed in islets scattered in the Central Provinces and the bordering regions; the northernmost lies in the Vindhya Mountains, south of Bhopal. Approaching Goṇḍī are the dialects of the Kolam and the Bhil, spoken in the same regions; they too are threatened with disappearance.

Still more to the north again, it is always in the mountains that one meets with the populations speaking Dravidian. They are adjacent to the Muṇḍa groups: just as Goṇḍī borders on Kurku, on the Mahadeva Mountains, and Kui on Savara in the Eastern Ghats, in Chota-Nagpur Kurukh or Oraon (1,037,000) and in Rajmahal, Malto, which is its dialect (70,000) dividing the country with the principal Muṇḍa group: Muṇḍari, Kharia, Kerva, Santal. These are nevertheless new arrivals here: Kurukh and Maler are the natives of Karnatak and some of their villages have Muṇḍa names. This group of spoken dialects has, at the same time, undergone Muṇḍa influences and a strong Aryan imprint.

Lastly, Brahui spoken in the mountains of Eastern Baluchistan and Sind: Of the 225,000 Braho, returned in the census, 207,000 only use their mother tongue, which has undergone, Iranian and Indo-Aryan influences, chiefly in the vocabulary, so profound that for a long time the Dravidian relationship of Brahui could not be demonstrated.

* * * *

As early as 1856, Robert CALDWELL knew how to determine the great characteristics of the Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian with such sureness that if one were to confine oneself to the essential part of it, it could be said that what has since been done only adds to his work without replacing it. This absence of renewal is undoubtedly one of the causes of the relative effacement of CALDWELL's name in the history of Linguistics. It would be better to consider only the progress made by the comparative studies at this epoch.

BOPP, GRIMM were still living; BENFEY was only older than CALDWELL by five years. MIKLOSICH, his almost exact contemporary, had begun, in 1852, to publish his Slav Grammar; the Celtic Grammar of ZEUSS was quite recent (1853). 1856 is the year of the Lithuanian Grammar of SCHLEICHER the Compendium of which appeared only in 1861. Concerning the languages other than the Indo-European, BLEEK, who had still not submitted anything except his doctoral dissertation (1851), established himself at the Cape; as regards the Far East, von der GABELENTZ had not published his great work till 1862. And it was only in 1861 and 1863 that MAX MÜLLER popularised the science of language in his celebrated lessons. In India itself, CALDWELL was a very early precursor of the first historical essay of TRUMPP on Sindhi (1861) and chiefly the Outlines of BEAMES, "Prelude to the Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India (1872), in which the author formally declares his having been engaged in his work by the example of CALDWELL and having taken him for model.

Since then, great progress has been made regarding the knowledge of the particular languages; the most useful to our design concern the spoken dialects remaining without any culture, for which a certain number of excellent works have appeared but nearly all of them are exclusively practical and very brief, chiefly concerned with the vocabulary. There the comparative vocabulary which CALDWELL asked for in the preface to his second edition (1875) is always lacking. What KITTEL has furnished in his Canarese Dictionary is precious but confined to the great languages of the South and to a great extent subject to correction; the Dictionary of the University of Madras is far from marking a progress in relation to KITTEL. The only addition useful for our information comes from the Brahui vocabulary of D. BRAY in which the languages of the Northern Group are taken into consideration; unfortunately, in all these spoken dialects, and in Brahui first of all, the

foreign contribution, chiefly of Modern Aryan, is considerable and to that extent reduces the Dravidian portion that could be utilised. In this there is a definite loss and for the present any attempt to establish a sure and detailed historical phonetics of the family is not very profitable. And without phonetics, how to reconstitute the history of Morphology?

Not being able to restore, by comparison, the old stage and the development of Dravidian Grammar, the present sketch indeed intends to bring out their characteristics only. Fortunately, a large number of morphemes of the diverse languages would remain identical or similar enough so that one can conclude about their original identity; but often times the functioning alone of the morphemes permits to bring them together, and only the grammatical pattern could be described, proposing on the occasion some imperfect hypothesis on the old aspect of the morphological elements.

My project is therefore more modest than that of CALDWELL, firstly because it does not cover the language as a whole. Moreover no attempt is here made to compare Dravidian with other families. On the other hand, I have not only utilised the facts since obtained concerning the uncultivated tongues but also attributed to these tongues a greater importance. CALDWELL based his work mainly on Tamil, and was justified in doing so, not only on account of opportunity but also by the antiquity of this language and the purity of its ancient aspect. His example has since been generally followed. I have tried to readjust, to a certain extent, the perspective without any other ambition than to furnish to the future Dravidiologists a cadre preparatory to more profound studies and to the linguists, curious to compare various types of languages, the elements of a portrait that has remained characteristic inspite of the inequality and the divergence of the development undergone by several members of the family.


AFGANISTAN
Jaipur
TIBET
Quetta
Multan
INDO
GANGETIC PLAIN
DELHI
Indus R.
Rohri
Hyderabad
Karachi
MTS ARAVALI
Bhopal
Narbada R.
Ganga R.
Patna
Mts. Rajmahal
Chota Nagpur
CALCATTA
Brahmaputra R.
BHUTAN

Karachi
Bhopal
Narbada R.
Mts. MAHADEO
Nagpur
D E C C A N
Godavari R.
BOMBAY
Bidar
Hyderabad
Kolhapur
Krishna R.
GOA
Dharwar
Karwar
Mangalore
Mysore
Mahe
Pondichery
Palghat
Madura
CEYLON
Colombo
Chota Nagpur
CALCUTTA
Ganjam
Vizagapatam
Madras

DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

- Tamil
- Malayālam
- Kannada
- Tulu
- Telugu
- Kui
- Kuruth
- Malto
- Brahui
- Gond

Height

- Fr. 0 to 200 m.
- Fr. 200 to 1000 m.
- Fr. 1000 to 4000 m.
- Fr. 4000 to 7000 m.
- More than 7000 m.

Scale 0 250 500 Km.

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The examples have been borrowed from the above works, from the dictionaries prepared by the authors of these grammars (KITTEL, TRENCH, WINFIELD, D. BRAY), as also from GALLETTI's *Telugu Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, 1935. Besides, for Tamil, the old literature has been explored, particularly, the *PuRam*.

TRANSLITERATION

In the names of languages as also in the forms quoted, *u* is to be read as French *ou*. The French notation has been preserved in the names of Tamil (indigenous form: *Tamiḻ*) and Telugu. *x* & γ indicate the guttural spirants, mute or sonant.

The point below *-m* transcribes the Sanskrit *anusvāra*, sign of the nasality of the preceding vowel; in Kannaḍa the final *-m* has the value of *-n*. The point below marks in addition the cerebralisation of the dental consonants; it has been omitted in the case of *r* in Gond: the transliterations given in this case by the authors consulted are subject to variation and therefore to doubt, and besides, the morphology is not interested in them.

The letter *ḻ* indicates in Tamil a cerebral palatalized sonant spirant the pronunciation of which moreover varies from *l* to *y;* the same letter indicates the corresponding phonemes of the old Kannaḍa and Telugu.

Tamil *R* is the sonant form of a palatalised dental which appears when it is doubled and mute; *R* is confounded in usage with *r*, but *RR* is pronounced *tt*^{r} lightly softened (liquid) or is confounded with *tt*. The corresponding nasal is not distinguished from the dental *n*, the division holds good according to its position in the word: the initial admits *-n* alone, the final *-N.*, besides *N* is obligatory before *R*, the whole being pronounced as *ndr*, *nd*. I have thought it possible to facilitate the reading and to simplify the typography by neglecting the difference which is of no morphological consequence.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL ASPECT OF THE GRAMMAR

A certain number of the formulas which are useful in characterising the Turkish Grammar could be applied to Dravidian. On the subject of this language M. DENY expresses thus: (*Grammaire de la langue turque*, p. 9-13):

"All grammatical variation implies the addition of a suffix. Thus one would not have alternations comparable to those in French: *je viens* (I come), *je vins* (I came)...."

"All the morphology....is founded only on suffixes.."; and by suffix it is necessary to understand at the same time the suffix properly so called, "secondary thematic element which serves to form the derived words and the termination which shows the relation which exists between the words considered as forming part of a sentence."

Very often, phonetics permits different elements of the word to remain unattached to one another so that the constitution of the word is clearly visible: whence "transparence of the morphological system and regularity of the grammar."

We will not follow the authors who wished to recognise in these resemblances of structure indication of a genetic relationship. It will be sufficient for us to characterise the fundamental elements of Dravidian: the noun, the verb, the sentence. The distinction between the noun and the verb is not however sufficient to account for the different kinds of words.

The modern descriptive grammars and the old indigenous grammars concerning the languages of culture already distinguish the verb from the noun in the Dravidian languages.

This distinction is well-founded in reality and even the comparative grammar does accept it, since a large number of forms correspond to each other from one language to the other. However, the analysis permits us to catch a glimpse of a system at the base in which differentiation did not exist. The substantives are even to-day capable of verbal value; and this, not by direct government only, comparable to the Latin type of '*quid tibi* hanc tactio *est* rem'*, but at the same time by the possibility of being accompanied by subjects in the nominative. On the other hand, they admit of a sort of pronominal flexion; now, a noun denoting person, and at the same time capable of admitting a subject and objects, is it truly different from a verb ?

Syntax indeed warns us to give a separate place to the pronominalised nouns, which are a bridge between the substantives and the verbs.

* Word for word: 'quid (why) tibi (for you) hanc (this) tactio (contact) est (is) rem (object): "Why do you touch this object?" Here, '*hanc rem*' being accusative, depends on *tactio*, a noun with the value of a verb.

THE NOUN

CHAPTER II

THE NOUN

Substantives and Pronouns vary in number and have a flexion varying according to cases. The substantives and the demonstrative pronouns vary in gender.

Gender

In the whole family, only Brahui does not recognize gender. This omission is due, as many other peculiarities of this language, to the Iranian surroundings.

In the other languages, the demonstratives, the pronominalised nouns and consequently, as will be seen down below, certain parts of the personal verb can carry the mark of the gender in their non-flexional form which is used as the subject.

The distinction of the genders does not correspond either to the sexual opposition or to that of the animate and the inanimate, nor any more to "classes" dividing objects according to their forms or their qualities. Comparable, on this point, to the system of social castes, the Dravidian system is a hierarchy which is denoted by the native grammarians in a varied manner.

The great languages of the South have three genders; but this division is secondary in relation to the binary division found elsewhere and the native sentiment itself is its testimony. In effect, even though the grammars of Kannaḍa have borrowed from Sanskrit the three-fold division in masculine, feminine and neuter, it is not the same with Tamiḻ and Telugu.

In the Tolkāppiyam, the oldest grammar of Tamiḻ that we have got, the classification of words begins thus: "It is directed that 'superior kind' (or 'noble class' *uyar tiṇei*) indicates the human beings (*makkaḷ*), 'outside class' (*ah-Riṇei*) the remaining." And to the superior class it connects the hermaphrodites (*pēḍi*) and divine beings (*teyvaṁ*, Skr. *daiva*). The grammarians of Telugu divide in the same way by using the Skr. terms *mahat, amahat* "great, non-great". We translate these notions here by "superior, inferior."

The strange mention of the hermaphrodites is perhaps conceived after *napuṃsaka* "non-male" or *klība* "impotent, eunuch," terms indicating the neuter in Sanskrit. What is important is that the superior class itself does not comprehend all human beings; and in fact, in Tamiḻ, for instance, *piḷḷei* "child" is of the inferior category like a word indicating a stone, a bird, or an action. How then will one express the notion of "woman," as opposed to that of "man?" Either by the vocabulary or by special suffixes. For instance, Goṇḍ opposes *turi* "girl" to *tural* "boy," "*seraṇḍal* "younger sister of the wife" to *seraṇḍu* "younger brother of the wife" (cf. *selar* "younger sister"); Tamiḻ, *puḍavi* "seller of wine (fem.)" to *puḍavan*.

The Tolkāppiyam records this distinction : having divided the superior nouns in three groups : masculine singular, feminine singular, plural common to both, it adds, regarding the first two, that the masculine singular has for termination *-n*, the feminine *-ḷ*, whereas the inferior singular ends in *-du* or other forms of the same suffix.

In Telugu, the plural is equally common to both the genders, masculine and feminine. But in the singular the feminine remains attached to the inferior gender : as compared with Tamiḻ *avan* "he," *avaḷ* "she," *adu* "that," Telugu has *vāṇḍu* "he," *adi* "she" and "that;" the same is the

case with the derivative nouns : *mancivāḍu* "good man;" *maṇcidi* "good woman" or "good thing."

So, in these two languages, therefore, it follows that feminine joins the masculine where it is the question of groups; one can imagine that the unification has started with the cases in which mixed groups of men and women are concerned.

In Kui, the assimilation starts from the interior of the flexion; for instance, the type *ajā-ngi* "to the mother," dative of *aja* "mother," is intermediary between *ābaki*, dative of *āba* "father," and *kōru-tingi* (*kōru-ti-ngi*, according to some) dative of *kōru* "buffalo."

In the plural Friend PEREIRA has noted in Kui (p. 17) the exceptional form *kōgaviska*, from *kōg* "little/small", which applies simultaneously to little girls as well as to the little things and little beasts : the sense of the word has favoured here the preservation of a depreciative and endearing nuance which reminds one of the use in modern Indo-Aryan of the feminine for small objects (J. BLOCH. *L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 153).

In Goṇḍ, the joining of the feminine to the inferior is absolute; compare

Gaikī mindsi mattol "the Gaiki[1] was[3] sleeping,[2]" with *Gaīke matta ron* "the wife of the G.[1] was[2] at home[3]" in which the same form of the verb is seen as in

ron valle bar barri matta "the house[1] was[5] upside down.[2-4]"

Even the deities are classed with the inferior category. It is beyond doubt that Goṇḍ has preserved the oldest state.

It is the same in Kurukh so far as the singular is concerned. In the plural *-ar* is the termination common to masc. and fem. in the same manner as in the languages of the South.

But when women speak among themselves (and when in stories, beasts, plants, or things are supposed to speak), they use a plural masc.-fem. in *-ai*. Now, in Kurukh there is no plural for inferior nouns, but the same termination is found again in the inferior of Kui: *ananju* "which man?", *anari* "what?" and "which woman?", *anaru* "which men," *anai* "which things" and also "which women?"

Number

There are two numbers: the singular and the plural.

Only in the case of superior nouns this distinction is constantly expressed by a special termination. Old Tamil, for instance, or Kurukh does not express the plurality in the inferior nouns.

Where the notion of plurality is expressed, it is in the nominative case with the suffix being added to the stem of the singular noun.

This form in its turn receives the same flexion as the singular; the only difference being that the singular can admit two stems, while the stem of the plural is only one and naturally coincides with the nominative case. This is one of the reasons why some are tempted to compare Dravidian with Turkish. At any rate, that is one reason for imagining that a noun in the plural is in reality a noun compounded with another noun in the singular signifying something like a "group". Thus in Kurukh, for instance, inferior nouns, normally without plural, can be combined with *guṭṭhī* "flock" when one wishes to insist on plurality: *ninghai erpā-guṭṭhī* "your houses," *xess-guṭṭhī* "paddy of different kinds" or "paddy and other grains," *cīxnā-guṭṭhī* "varied lamentations (weepings, cries, exclamations, etc.)."

Though the plural has no special case-endings, it is on the other hand susceptible to gender. But the system does not agree with the primitive system of gender; one has not

to deal with the opposition : superior/inferior, but with an opposition : human beings/things, which crosses the first. Let us again take the example of Kurukh. In the singular, the pronoun distinguishes *ās* "he," *ād* "she" and "that;" and in the substantives *kukko-s* "boy" has the masculine pronominal suffix *-s* which is wanting in *mukkā* "woman" as in *eṛpā* "house." But in the plural, except in the case mentioned above, there is on the one side *eṛpā* and on the other *kukko-r, mukka-r.*

This distinction is found again with less certainty elsewhere. In old Tamiḻ, the grammar teaches that *-kaḷ- gaḷ* is the plural suffix of the inferior nouns (*marangaḷ* "trees," *kaigaḷ* "hands;" in reality the old texts do without it. But they agree with the grammarian in using the suffix in *-r* for the superior nouns, at least in the nominative (but voc. *kalanjey kō* "oh king of the potters"): *arasar* "kings, nobles" (sing. *arasan*), *maḷḷar* "soldiers," *vallār* "capable persons," and also (with negative *-ā*) "incapable," *magaḷir* "women" (where *-ir* must be in fact, according to a happy conjecture of VINSON, an ancient vocative, cf. the termination of 2nd pl. of the verbs). This termination exists in certain categories of words and is soon combined with the other, whence *-argaḷ* : *arasargaḷ* "kings," *vāḻvargaḷ* "powerfuls," *ennōrgaḷ* "ours."

In the same way in Kannaḍa we have *arasar* "kings," *striyar* "women," as opposed to *maragaḷ* "trees," *pola(n)-gaḷ* "ponds," *ūrgaḷ* "villages;" *kaḷkaḷ* "countries, lands" and besides, *tandeyar, tandegaḷ* "fathers," *tande-tāyigaḷ* "parents (fathers, mothers)."

Coorg opposes *kuruba,* acc. *kurubara* (old **kurubar,* **kurubarar*) "shepherds" to *guruva,* acc. *guruvaḷa* "priests,"

*Asterisks are used for forms not actually found but reconstructed.

payuva (old *payuvaḷ*), acc. *payuvaḷa* "cows" (the inferiors properly so called have got no plural).

In Telugu also the nouns in *-r* are a small minority: *dēvaru* "gods," *rāyaru* "kings," *alluru* "sons-in-law" (sing. *alluḍu*), *neyyuru* "friends," *kālvaru* "foot-soldiers," *aṭṭiru-* "such (men), similar;" the termination is included in the vocative *tammulār-ā* "oh younger brothers;" but *rājulu* "kings," *tānapatulu* "authority of the place" (Skr. *sthānapati*), *eṇḍulu* "years;" *kolankulu* "ponds," *mrānkulu* "trees," *meRungulu* "lightenings."

Goṇḍ again uses the termination in *-r* corresponding to the singulars in *-l* and applying to the names of social groups and even to some animals, but never to women nor to the other inferior beings:

māmurialōr "fathers-in-law," *vartalōr* "male guests," *arjalōr* "bears." The others have a termination in *-k*: *kai* "hand," pl. *kaik*, *pulli* "tiger," pl. *pulk*, *mal* "peacock," pl. *malk*, *korr* "cock," pl. *kork*, *menj* "egg," pl. *mesk*, *kōr* "horn," pl. *kohk*, *rōn* "house," pl. *rōhk*, *talā* "head," pl. *talahk*, *sēlār* "sister," pl. *sēlāhk*; *kōṇḍā* "buffalo," pl. *kōṇḍāng*.

It may be observed here that Goṇḍ makes its termination of the inferior nouns only with the guttural suffix. Inversely it is seen that Telugu had, besides *-kulu*, *-lu* which it has generalised. In the same way Tuḷu has *-kuḷu*, *-ḷu*. If Telugu were alone, one would easily have imagined that the termination *kulu* > *-lu* was an irregular construction of the termination. But the comparison with Goṇḍ, supported by Kui and Brahui, shows that *-kaḷ*, *-kulu* must have resulted from a plurality of terminations peculiar to the Southern group. The guttural alone is common to the whole family.

Brahui uses this guttural in all cases: *bā* "mouth," pl. *bāk*; *pū* "worm, insect,": *pūk*, *xal* "stone": *xalk*, *xan* "eye": *xank*, *īr* "sister": *īrk* (but *masir* "daughter": *masink*), *hor*

"finger": *hok*. Here again there is pluralism, in the case of human groups: *Bāz xānāsk* "Baz khan and his own people," *bāvaγask* "relations on the father's side" Denys BRAY, p. 41, *arisk* "people" (from *arē* "a person;" is it the first element of the superior Tamiḻ suffix *-ar-g-aḻ*, etc. ?).

-sk is found again in Kui in another context. There are on the one hand the male nearer relatives: *ābaru* "fathers," *āporu* "sons" *dādaru* "elder brothers," but *mrīka* "sons" like *kōrka* "buffaloes" from *kōru; kaka* "hands" from *kaju, mrahka* "trees" from *mrahna, kānga* "fruits" from *kāu, tlāka* "heads" from *tlau*. But for females the termination is *-ska*: *ajaska* "mothers," *mṛauska* "daughters," *mṛekaliska* "women, girls." Is it possible that Kui would give an indication of the history of the plurality of terminations in the case of personal nouns, the plurality having first started in the feminine nouns, intermediary between the other two categories ?

The termination of Kui admits of curious variants:

viḍu-nga āh'kanai gōsaki vādūrē "taking[2] your bows[1] come[4] to the forest[3]; but

uh! viṭṭ-ka āh'kanai gōsaki vādūrē "take then your bows (not your sticks) and come to the forest."

kōḍi-nga-ni pēh'mū "disperse[2] the bulls[1]; but
uh! isingi kōḍi-ska-ni angina "how can we disperse these sacred bulls ?"

Kui, however is a language in which the expressiveness interferes with morphology as well as phonetics, to judge from what F. PERIERA says: p. x and 16.

nāṭṭu kkina "let us found a new village;" but
nāḍu gīna "let us build a village;"

in which one could see a purely phonetical variation in the initial of the verb being added to the morphological difference of the noun.

Besides the terminations examined above, there are some terminations of the inferior plural peculiar to pronouns and derived nouns: On the one hand Kui *-si*, on the other Tamiḷ *-a*, as:

ninava kūRuval, enava kēṇ madi "I am going to tell thee[2] what concerns thee (thy things)[1], listen to[4-5] my (words)[3];" Tamiḷ uses, curiously enough, this termination in the pronominal adjective in agreement with an invariable noun: *avara .... kayam* (their moats). This recalls the use of *-a* as termination of the 3rd inferior plural in the verb; see p. 25 and 56.

CASE

We have seen that the gender and the number intervene in the constitution of the flexional bases. On the other hand, the terminations, properly so called, are the same according as the noun is superior or inferior, in the singular or in the plural.

The arrangement of the thematic morphemes and the flexion, properly so called, vary according to the languages.

In Kurukh, the terminations are attached to the nominative case; stem and word are confounded.

sg. nom.	*kukkos* "boy"	*mukkā* "woman"	*nerr* "serpent"
acc.	*kukōsin*	*mukkan*	*nerr, nerran*
dat.	*kukkosge*	*mukkāge*	*nerrge*
gen.	*kukkosgahi*, etc.	*mukkāgahi*	*nerrgahi*
(voc.	*kukkō*)	(*mukkā*)	(*nerr*)
pl. nom.	*kukkor*	*mukkar*	
acc.	*kukkōrin*	*mukkārin*	

To note two important points concerning the inferior nouns:

1. No special form in the plural.

2. Accusative similar to the nominative when a group (*nerr*) is thought of; the type *nerran* is employed in the case

where an individual or definite individuals are meant. The superior nouns themselves, if they are considered as denoting a class, are treated as inferiors; *āl* "man in general, the sex masculine;" *mukk* or *pell* "woman in general"; *kukkō* "boys in general," acc. *kukkō*, gen. *kukkōgahi*, etc. The superior declinable nouns are in fact derived nouns; *kukkōs* could be translated literally as "one who belongs to the class *kukkō*," *mukkā* "a being who belongs to the class *mukk*."

Let us now consider examples in Goṇḍ. Let us take two nouns, *paddī* "pork," *marrī* "son," with the same ending. Their plurals respectively are *padding* and *mark;* this corresponds to the difference of gender. Here are the two flexions:

sg. nom.	*paddī*	*marrī*
acc. dat.	*paddītun*	*marrin*
(gen.)	*paddītā*	*marrīnā*
pl. nom.	*padding*	*mark*
acc. dat.	*paddīnung*	*markun*
(gen.)	*paddīna*	*marknā*
	paddīngnā	

Hence in the plural the flexion is added directly to the nominative case in the two cases (the variants keep to the phonetical accidents, cf. another inferior noun *rōn* "house," pl. *rōhk*, acc. *rohkun*, gen. *rohknā;* or again *mars* "axe," pl. *marsk*, *marskun*, *marsknā*).

In the singular, as a set off, the "inferior" declension is characterised by adding a suffix *-t-* to the objective and oblique cases; cf. acc. dat. *rōtun*, loc. instr. *rōtē*, abl. *rōtal*, gen. *rōtā*.

The stem thus defined, viz. *paddī-t-*, *rō-t-*, is in fact a form which has the value of object, forming a group with the postpositions, for example, *mars-t lianōl* "in view of an axe," (cf. *bārandā lianōl* "in view of what?"); *varēḍ* (for *varēṛ-t*) *avvēnal* "upto the neck;" it is the same for *-n* of the superior nouns: *marrin-iggātā* "of the son's house," cf. *markun-iggātā* "of the house of the sons." Everything happens then as if

we had two types of declensions with two cases, the nominative case and the objective case, the objective case being governed by terminations or post-positions, consequently by the determinative elements, these elements being actually significant by themselves or not.

This distinction of the superior and the inferior is wanting in old Kannaḍa and in it the oblique is differentiated only in a unique type of inferior nouns :

sg. nom.	*arasaṃ (-an)* "king"	*ūr (u)* "village"	*maraṃ* "tree"
acc.	*arasanaṃ* (*dēvan-anu*, xii c.)	*ūraṃ (-n)*	*maraṇaṃ*
gen.	*arasanā*	*ūra, ūrina*	*marada*
(but in comp.	*arasadharma*)		
instr.	*arasaniṃ*	*ūriṃ*	*maradiṃ*
abl.	*arasaninda, -inde*	*ūrinde, -indaṃ*	*maradinda*
dat.	*arasange*	*ūrge, ūrige.*	*marak (k) e*

Here one will note : the presence of a flexion in the accusative of the two categories; the use of the morpheme *-in-*; finally, in the latter category, that of the inferior nouns with a stem ending in *-a-*, the presence of a dental (voiced! cf. in Tuḷu *pūta* "of flower," *kurita* "of sheep," *marata* "of tree," but *marduda* "of medicine," *mejida* "of table") in the genitive and the instrumental. This last case is nevertheless imperfectly defined by the name of instrumental, since it serves to form the locative by the addition of the post-position *oḷ* "in" : *marad-in-oḷ* can be translated only as "in the interior of the tree;" *-in* is in reality a suffix of oblique showing the adnominal relation giving to the word the value of a genitive. It is explained differently, but to no purpose, *māvin ele* "leaf of mango" as opposed to *māvina mara* "tree of mangoes."

In Tamiḻ are found again these two values of *-in* : *vēṭkey-in* "by desire," *kaḷḷ-in* "by the wine," *muga-tt-in* "from the face," but *puRav-in allal* "the distress of the pigeon." In fact,

if *-in* has a genitive value it is because it can play the simple rôle of morpheme of oblique : *tī-y-in-āl* "by the fire," *kāla-in-āl* "in time," *marattin uyarattei kuReikkum* "he lessens the height of the tree;" it has to be translated as an ablative in *kaḍalin peridu* "great(er) than the sea."

On the other hand *-t-*, which we have seen above serving to constitute the oblique, can be used for expressing more definite meanings :

vāna-tt-u (from *vānam*) *vanappu* "beauty of the sky," *nāṭṭu* (from* *nāḍ-tu*) *porunan* "king of the land;" on the other hand *kalattu* (from *kalam* "in a plate," *ulagattu* (from *ulagam*) "in the world;" but with the termination or post-position : *nilattukku* "for the soil," *taleippaḍāga-tt-uḷ* "at Taleipaḍāgam."

The stem of oblique seems to be progressively differentiated; in ancient times *-in* has only the value of a termination, *-t-* is not constantly used : *kaḷiRRu miséi* "on the elephant," (*kaliRu*)," but *nila(m) miséī* "on the soil." The most frequent use is to preserve the nominative as the basis of the objective cases : *vāy-il* "at the door," *vāy-ān* "by the mouth," *varisei-kku* "for the honour;" and also in the derived sexed nouns which will be seen later on.

In Kui the elements *-t-* and *-in* are found combined in the declension of the primary inferior nouns. But here the genitive coïncides with the nominative : in other words, the nominative case enters without any modification in the group.

sg. nom. gen.	*āba* "father, of father,"	*kōru* "buffalo, of buffalo"
acc.	*ābai*	*kōrutini*
dat.	*ābaki*	*kōrutingi*
comitative	*ābake*	
pl. nom.	*ābaru*	*kōrka*
gen.	*ābari*	*kōrka*
acc.	*ābarii*	*kōrkatini*
dat.	*ābariki*	*kōrkatingi*
comit.	*ābarike*	

In the derived nouns there is an oblique-genitive characterised by *-i*, further *-ni* in the masculine-feminie, *-a* in the inferior gender (where it has also the value of accusative).

Let us consider the derivatives from the indeclinable "adjective" *negi* "good";

sg. nom.	*neganju* "good man,"	*negari* "good women,"	*negari* "good thing."
gen.	*negani*	*negarini*	*negara*
acc.	*neganii*	*negarinii*	*negara*
dat.	*neganiki*	*negaringi*	*negaratingi*
pl. nom.	*negar(u)*	*negai*	*negai*
gen.	*negari*	*negaskani*	*negaa*
	negarii	*negaskanii*	*negaa*
	negariki	*negaskangi*	*negaatingi*

It will be seen that in the feminine the nominatives have the characteristics of the inferior class, whereas the other cases have the flexion of the superior class. Cf. the partial assimilation in the radical nouns, p. 6.

Telugu uses the same morphemes, but differently. The genitive, basis of all the cases except the nominative case, is obtained by one of the vowels *-a* or *-i* when it is not similar to the nominative; but *-a* is preferably used in the plural.

Sg. nom.	*ūru* "village"	*mrānu* "tree"	*telika* "sesame"	*biḍḍa* "infant"
gen.	*ūri*	*mrāni*	*teliki*	*biḍḍa*
dat.	*ūriki*	*mrāniki(n)*		*biḍḍalaku.*

In the plural nom. *biḍḍalu*, gen. *biḍḍala*, dat. *biḍḍalaku*, acc. *biḍḍalanu.*

But we have in the singular also: *vāyi* "mouth," gen. *vāta(n)*. In Tuḷu *-d-a* in the singular is opposed to *-e* of the plural.

The suffix *i* can be combined with *t-*; whence:

rāyi "stone" gen. *rāti*
nēyi "ghee" gen. *nēti* dat. *nētiki.*

and in consequence of phonetical accidents:

ēRu "river" gen. *ēṭi*
illu "house" gen. *iṇṭi* dat. *iṇṭiki*

It is combined also with *-n*:

tammu(ṇ)ḍu "younger brother," gen. *tammuni* along with *tammuḍi.*

(In the same way in the accusative sg. *tammuni,* but here it must be the usual nasal of this case, cf. *biḍḍanu* and in the plural *tammulanu*).

-n- with *-a* is found in the nouns borrowed from the Sanskrit: *lōkamuna, maṭhamuna, Malayamuna,* whence dat. *Kārtikēyunaku* (epigraphical); and in the verbal noun of the type *rāvaḍamu* "arrival;" *rāvaḍanaku, rāvaḍamunaku* "for coming." It is to be noted that here the distinction between superior and inferior nouns vanishes, except in the nom. sg. masc. which has got enlargement from the pronominal (demonstrative) origin.

In Brahui, stem and word are almost identical. But *-n-* is found in the termination of the negative singular:

sg. nom. *xarās* "bull"
gen. *xarāsnā*
dat. *xarāse*
abl. *xaraāsān*

This *-nā is* probably derived from *-un* which acts as adjectival suffix. Or is *-un* to be classed with Tamiḻ *-ōn* = *avan,* etc.? That is less probable, the latter being reserved for human males, cf. Goṇḍ *-ōl, -ul.*

This genitive can however be constructed as substantive and receive the new terminations:

dā huc lāγar e, ka-nā bāva-nā-fk pazzor o "This[1] camel[2] is[4] lean,[3] those of the father[6] of me[5] are[8] fat.[7]"

As to the morpheme *-t-*, it supplies all the cases of the plural except the nominative: *xarāsk* "bulls," gen. *xarast-ā*, dat. *xarāst-e*, abl. *xarasteān*, etc. There is nothing to put forth as the reason thereof as the Iranian plurals in *-t* are wanting in Eastern Iranian.

We have thus come to recognise a system in which, in the two numbers, a unique flexion is added to the noun, either under its form of the nominative case or extended to cases other than the nominative case, by a suffix which is generally constituted by *t*, *n*, *i* or *a*, sometimes combined. The fiexioned stem (the word itself or enlarged) is the same when used in combined groups.

This leads us to ask ourselves whether the terminations are not there at all or do not go back to second terms of the compounds? In other words, are they not independent postposed words? Secondly, being given that some of the enlargements mentioned below do also function as significant terminations one could put the same question in that connection. This is undemonstrable in the case of the enlargements and of a certain number of terminations; but there are other cases in which the independent word is recognised. If in Kannaḍa, for example, *ke*, suffix of the dative, has no separate existence, *uḷ*, suffix of the locative, is a well-known word meaning "interior" (Ta. *uḷ*, Tel. *lō*); *alli*, another suffix having the same meaning, exists in the sense of "there"; this is an inflected form of *al* "this place." The first case is that of the terminations with grammatical value, accusative, dative, genitive; the second, that of the terminations with concrete value like that of the locative and often of the ablative.

So, it is clear why even in a given language the presence of a flexional element should not be necessary. Consider Ta. *in*: Ta. *pāmbin-ei* acc. "the serpent" specifies a statement of object

which *pāmbei* and *pāmbu* were adequate to specify; *kūḻ-iR-ku* "for the soup" is equal to *kūḻ-ku;* a grammarian distinguishes from the point of view of the meaning but considers as equivalent from the point of view of the form *iR-kaṇ* "in the house" (*il* "house"), *ūr-kaṇ* "out of the village" and on the otherhand *kāṭṭ-in-kaṇ* "near the forest."

Inversely this element can appear in the composition properly so called; just as in Tamiḻ along with *nīr oḍu* "by means of the water" we have *mara-tt-in oḍu* "by the tree," the same way along with *sen-kāl-nārei* "heron[3] with the red[1] claws[2]" or *mālei-veṇ kudei* "white[2] parasol[3] with a garland,[1]" we have *si-Rapp-in angāḍi* "bazaar of magnificence" or "magnificent", *maḍamā-nōkk-in viRaliyar* "girls with innocent look." It will be remembered that in Brahui *-un* and its enlargement *-nā* (cf. Tam. *-in-adu*) are conceived as adjectives; compare again the enlargement of the type of the Goṇḍ *bārandā lainol* "in view of what?" constructed on the oblique **bāṛan-t-*.

The original independence of the flexional elements is seen in the facts like this one: let us take Tamiḻ *oru* "one", whence *oru-v-ar* "the ones/some", *oruvar-um* "the ones whatever, all"; Kurukh forms with the same elements, but by inserting before the termination the emphatic particle *m* corresponding to the Tam. *-um*, *or-m-ār* "all."

The postposition value comes forth clearly in Kurukh where the termination appears only once after two nouns having the same function and forming a group:

namhai purkhā-Abrahama-s "our ancestor Abraham;" (Kurukh) *pacō-pacgi-r-gahi maṇḍi ōndan* "I eat[3] the rice[2] of the (*-r* mark of plural) old (m.) and old (f.) of my parents.[1]" In Brahui also, the termination is applied only to the last name of a group.

One would be tempted to conclude from this division that the paradigms of our grammarians, modelled on the Sanskrit grammar, reinforced by the Latin, are misleading and that

only the grammatical cases ought to be counted in the declension. Conclusion incorrect: if it is true that the terminations having a real value, are, in fact, of unlimited number, since so many words of current usage are constructed in the same manner, it remains, on the other hand, that the grammatical terminations are constructed exactly in the same way as the terminations with a real value. There is therefore only one fundamental flexion: that of the oblique case, marked or not marked in relation to the nominative case. This being the case, we should note the frequent concordances between the material elements being used in the flexion.

We have seen in the examples given above the use of *-n* for the accusative. It is to be noted that this term is true only in the proportion in which there exists a dative properly so called; but in Goṇḍ the dative and the accusative have the same termination:

an-mars-t-un banē-kītan "I have made an axe (*mars*);" *kōrkun tattā-tōnā* "I bring hens (*korr*);" *niva selan dana tindale siki* "thou wilt give[5] some corn[3] to eat[4] to thy[1] sister (*selā*)[2]."

In the previous examples cited, the termination is applied to the nouns from things; this would rather favour a translation by an indirect case. Let us add that in old Telugu *-n* is added optionally to the normal termination of the dative: *mrāni-ki-n* "to the tree." Besides, in Goṇḍ itself, are to be seen the uses which would accord rather with a genitive or with an oblique: *markun karrum* "near the sons (*mar-*)." This is perhaps an indication of the original value of this nasal *-n* of accusative, which, it will be remembered, characterises also the obliques.

In any case this mixed accusative-dative value in Goṇḍ warrants bringing together directly the terminations of the two languages which do not use the nasal: Tam. acc. *-ei* and Brahui acc. dat. *-e* (*kanā dūe hales* "take[1] my[3] hand[2];" *śahre*

illā "he leaves the village;" *onā hīt ki kane pārē, ēṛē....kanē karēm bass* "his word of advice which to me he said, there.. to me has been useful"); undoubtedly, it is also in Kui acc. *-i* (*āba-i* "father," *aja-ni-i* "mother," *koru-tin-i* "buffalo;" for the phonetics cf. Ta. *avei* "those things," Te. *avi*, Kui *āvi*).

The dative with guttural Ta. *ku*, Ka. *ke*, Te. *ku* (*n*), Kur. *-ge* (and gen. *-gahi*?), Brah. *ki*, ought therefore to have a more indirect value; this is what is noted by BRAY for Brahui; (§ 39) he translates it by "for, for the sake of" and points it out (§ 58) under the name of dative of interest:

i tēnā bāva-ki dā ḍaγāre dasēṭ
"I[1] have sown[7] this[5] land[6] for[4] my[2] father[3]."

One is tempted to split up the locative postpositions of old Tamiḻ *kāl* and *kaṇ* into *k* plus *āl* which is also used with the same value (is this the same as Ka. *al* mentioned above?) and *aṇ*, suffix of direction in Tamiḻ (*avaṇ* "there," *naḍuvaṇ* "in the midst") and in Kannaḍa (*puḍuvaṇgē* "to the West"), rather than look for in them the words *kāl* and *kaṇ* respectively meaning "foot, leg" and "eye," as is generally done.

Between the terminations properly so called and the distinct words placed after as Tel. *cētan* "with the hand" whence "thanks to," Ta. *uḍéiya* "who possesses" (relative participle) serving as genitive, *koṇḍu* "having taken" used as Hindi *lekar* with instrumental, one finds intermediates, for instance, Ta. *ōḍu* "with," cf. Kan. *oḍam* "company, union," Tel. *tōḍu* "company" and *tōḍa*, *tō* "with;" some have suggested that Tuḷu *ṭa* be connected here, to which must then be joined Brahui *-aṭ* "by," *-aṭī* "in."

One could push further this list and multiply hypotheses; it is a matter of lexicology and etymology. What matters most is to note the relative independence of the flexional elements and the universality of the principle of grouping the words in composition.

CHAPTER III

PRONOUNS

Pronouns variable in Gender

The demonstratives and the interrogative are essentially constituted by a monosyllable, characterised by the vowel, preceding directly (at any rate without flexion) the noun which they denote as they are epithets. By taking nominal terminations they can be used as substantives; they are then capable of varying in gender.

In attaching themselves to nominal stems, the demonstratives have furnished in different Dravidian languages the means of making the gender of the substantive vary.

The demonstrative stems are, in general, in the order of remoteness from the subject : *i- u- a-*. The interrogative is less uniform; *e-* or *ya-*, seems to be the old stem.

The three demonstrative stems are attested in four languages :

Tamiḻ and Kannaḍa *iḍu* "this;" *udu* "that;" *adu* "that yonder."

Kurukh	*id*	*kūd*	*ād*
Brahui	*ī, e (d)*	*o (d)*	*dā (d)*

Ex. Kurukh : *ī paddā-nū* "in this village here"; *hū mukkar* "these women," *ā deota-n* "this god" (acc.), *ekā mukkar* "which women?"

The intermediary degree has been lost in the course of the history of Tamiḻ and Kannaḍa. It is wanting in Telugu (*idi, adi*), Coorg (*idu, adu*), Tuḷu (*ī ā*), Goṇḍ (*id, ad*).

Kui alone has four degrees in the order *i, e, a, o*: *ĩ vaḍinga* "these stones here," *õ koḍi* "that cow yonder," *ianju eanju* "here is the man in question."

As it is seen from the examples above, these stems are placed directly and without any change before the word to which they are connected. It is the same in Telugu:

ī pustakamulu "these books," *iyy oṭṭu* "this curse; *ā rōz-un-ē* "that day exactly," *yē nūtivi* (from *nūyi*) "from which well?"

And in Goṇḍ:

appor "then, in that case" cf. Tam. *a-ppoḻudu* "at that moment;" *bappor* "when?"

On these stems have been formed not only the varied phrases, but also numerous derived stems which agree in part and are constructed adjectively, that is to say, in the first terms of the compounds or absolutely, as adverbs. Ex:

Kan. *anitu* "as much," (Skr. *tāvat*), Ta. *aneittu,*

Ta. *attanei* "as much;" cf. Kan. *tanaka,* Tel. *danaka* "upto that measure, until," Kan. *tani* "plenitude," Tel. *tanar-* "to expand, to be full,"

Kan. *aṣṭu* "that much" (cf. *eraḍ-āṣṭu* "twice as much), Kui *ase* "as great," *āsoli* "as numerous,"

Kan. *antu* "thus," Kur. *antī* "thus, then," whence Tel. Kan. *anta,* Tel. Tam. *anda* "that,"

Ta. *angu* "there," Go. *"aggā* "there," *angā* "then," Ka. *āga* "then."

Te. Ka. *andu,* Ta. *anRu* "there" (in Tel. *andu* serves as postposition of locative).

Corresponding to these words there exist words of the same formation beginning with *i-* for the object brought together, *e-* for the interrogative.

From these pronominal bases are derived the pronouns properly so called, susceptible to gender, except in Brahui. The terminations are the same as those of the nouns, but there are some variants in what concerns the suffixes of the oblique cases and even the radical.

Let us take Kannaḍa. To express "that, he," we have in the old language, on the one hand, the masc. fem. group :

sg.	nom.	*avaṃ* "he"	*avaḷ* "she"
	acc.	*avanaṃ*	*avaḷaṃ*
	instr.	*avaniṃ*	*avaḷiṃ*
	gen.	*avana*	*avaḷa*

Pl. nom. *avar, avargaḷ* (masc. also *avandir,* fem. also *avaḷdir*), acc. *avaraṃ avargaḷam,* etc.,

It appears that the plural is then common to the two superior genders. The termination in *-ar* is found again in Tamiḻ, in Telugu (in *vāru* "they"—masc. fem.), in Kui (*aaru*), in Kurukh (*ōr, ōrk,* masculine only).

On the other hand the inferior :

nom.	sg.	*adu* "that"	plur.	*avu*
	acc.	*adaṃ, adāṃ*		*avaṃ*
	instr.	*adaRiṃ*		*avaRiṃ*
	gen.	*adaRa*		*avaRa*

Here we have two interesting facts : the presence of a special morpheme in the oblique, *R,* and the alternation : sing, *ad-,* plur. *av-*.

1. This morpheme R is found in Tamiḻ. While the oblique of sing. *adu* "that" is *adan* (dat. *adaRku*) corresponding to Kui *adan,* Goṇḍ *addēn,* Tel. *dān,* the oblique plural is *avaRRu* which goes back to * *avaRtu,* as for example, *āRRu,* obl. sg. of *āRu* "river," goes back to **āRtu*.

In Kui, *āri* "she" has for genitive *āraṛini* (the genitive of the inferior would be *āra*) which at first sight seems to be

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contrary to *negarini* genitive of *negari* "good woman." In fact, as Ramaswami Aiyar has shown, *Alveolar plosives*, p. 18, (Winfield, p. 44, is wrong), we have to do here with the same complex of suffixes which is also used for the postposition of the accusative, namely, *-tini* : the first *-ti-* is used independently in Telugu, and it is found in Kui itself for the neuter, see above; as for *-ni*, one can recall also *ti-n-gi* postposition of dative. The cerebral of *ārarini* is explained by the combination r + t; cf. the opposition *kōru* "buffalo," *kōḍi* "she-buffalo, cow."

In the same manner in Telugu the oblique of *vā-* "he" is *vāḍi*.

One does not know whether the termination of genitive plural in Goṇḍ *-ōr*, should be connected here, as it is common to all the genders and numbers of all pronouns, personal as well as demonstrative.

2. The plural is in Tamiḻ *avei*, Te. *avi*, Kui *āvi*, Go. *au*; in Kannaḍa *ave* has taken the verbal value of "these are," plural of *ade* "it is, there is." There is also in Tamiḻ one exceptional form, recalling the adjective indicated on p. 12 and agreeing with the corresponding verbal termination, included in the archaic exclamations *uva-kkāṇ* "look out!", *iva-kkāṇ* "ah!", correctly, "look at these things" (the commentaries translate "there, now"). In Tuḷu, on the contrary, *ava* is singular (gen. *eita*, pl. *eikuḷu*); but this does not create a difficulty, looking to the ancient absence of plural for the inferior gender.

The stem *av-* of the inferior plural is identical with that of the masc.-fem. Considering the probably secondary appearance of the plural in the inferior nouns, one can admit that there is here transferring of the superior series to the inferior series (inversely in Yerukala of Rajahmundry, *ad* "he", according to Macdonald and Cain). The remarkable point

is that this transporting would probably go back to the common language.

In any case the personal stem *av-* is confirmed by other languages: Coorg *avu* "he," fem. *ava*, Tel. *vā(ṇ)ḍu* "he," (for the phonetics cf. *dāni* gen. abl. of *adi* "that"). The insertion of *-f-* between vowel and termination in the Brahui plural *ē-f-k* perhaps rests on the same suffix also. Who knows whether the surdity even is not primitive?

As for Goṇḍ *ōl* "he" (cf. *ēl* with reference to Tam. Kan. *iva-*, Tel. *vī-*) it could also rest on the stem *u-*; but the inferior *ad* militates in favour of **ava*.

There are other enlargements still: masc. Coorg *āye* (fem. *āḷu*); Tel. *āyana;* Kan *ātanu;* Tel. *ataḍu, atagāḍu.*

The terminations of the nominative sg. masc.-fem. are less uniform than those of the inferior.

Sg. masc.

Tam.	*avaṇ*	Old Kan.	pl. *avar.*
Tel.	*vā(ṇ)ḍu*	*avaṃ,*	*vāru, vāralu, vāṇḍru*
Kui.	*uanju*		*aaru*
Tuḷu	*āye*		*āru*
Go.	*ōl*		*ār*
Kur.	*ā-s*		*ōr*

Cf. Brahui *-as* postposed definite article, naturally indifferent to the gender.

Sg. fem. as being different from the neuter:

Ta. Kan. *avaḷ,* Tuḷu *āḷu,* Coorg *ava,* Tel. *āyake,* Kan. *āke,* Tel. *āme āpe;* cf. in the interrogative, Tel. *evate* "which (woman)?"

The forms independent of the interrogative are generally constituted on the base *e-*.

Nevertheless, in the sg. and pl. masc. fem., Tamiḷ has *yār, yāar* (also *ār*) and Kannaḍa *ār,* obl. *yā-*. Brahui equally

has *arā* "which?" with reference to *dēr* "who?"; Tuḷu has *dā, dāne* "what?" The initial dental in these latter forms does not create difficulty; it comes evidently from the demonstrative (*i*)*d*-. But the vowel *ā* is difficult to explain. Should we suppose that the loss is due to an old division of the vowels among genders or cases? Must we recall the opposition in Tamiḻ of nom. *yān*, obl. *en*- in the pronoun of the first person singular?

On the other hand, one can connect without difficulty Coorg *yēvu*, Tel. *yēru* and Brahui *d-ēr* along with *dē* "who?", besides, Old. Kan. and Ta. *ēn* "what, why?", Kan. *ēn* (obl. *ēta*-) "which," Ta. *enna*, Coorg *yennu*, Kui *ani*, Kurukh *nē* "what?", Tuḷu -*nā* "is it that?", lastly Tam. Tel. *enda* "which," Kur. *endr, endrad* "what," along with *ekā* "which," Brahui *ant*(*a*) "what," *antei* "why?" (cf. Tam. *ennadu, endu*). Tel. *ēmi* "what," the second expression of Kui *em-bai*, Goṇḍ *bol* "who," *bā* "what," Tuḷu *vā, vovu* "which" are unsatisfactorily explained; cf. Tuḷu *imbe* "he"? (Perhaps *emba* < *ēn* + the demonstrative (*a*)*va*-).

Along with these forms there exist the forms variable in gender: masc. Ta. *yēvan*, Kan. *yāvan*, Tel. *evvaṇḍu*, Kui *ananju estanju;* inferior Tam. Kan. *yāvadu, yēdu*, Tel. *ēdi*, etc.

The indefinite is formed on the interrogative by adding to it:

1. A particle of doubt.

Tel. -*ō*: *mī pēr evarō ceppaṇḍi* "say[4], (which) what[3] (can be) your[1] name[2]?", cf. *mī p'ēr evaru* "(which) what (is) your name?" Similarly, along with *yevaḍu* "who?"; *yevaḍō akkaḍa kūrcunnādu* "someone is seated there;" *edi* "which?", *eḍō* "any whatever;" *ēmi* "what?" *ēmō* "some thing, perhaps;" *adi yēmo kāni* "whatever that be."

In the same sense, but with a verbal form, Kui *āteka* "if it is" (from *ā-* "to become, to be" and the conditional particle *-eka*): *imbei āteka ī vespa ahne* "who[1] (ever) that be[2] (who) (will persist) will believe[5] this[3] word[4];" *ana āteka veseka-ve* "what (ever) that be which one would hear."

Similarly, Tel. *ayana, ainā* of *ay-* "to become": *eppuḍ-ayanā* "ever".

2. A particle signifying "even".

It is the same case with *ve* which follows the verb in the last Kui sentence just quoted. Another example:

imbai-ve iskūli-tangi vaja siḍ "whoever[1] has not[4] come[3] to the school[2]."

Tamiḻ *-um* Kannaḍa *-am, -um, -u* Kurukh *-im* are used in the same way.

Kurukh, on *nēk* "who," *endr* 'what":

āsgahi katthan nīk-im pattācā "has some one[3], believed[4] his[1] story[3]?"

nēk'ān-im tingkai "has thou said it to any one?"

ningan endr'ād-im tingyas "has he said some thing to thee (*ningan*)?"

Kannaḍa:

bhūtaladoḻ ār-g-am adhikam "superior[3] to any one, does not matter to whom[2], on earth[1]."

yāru alli? -yārū illa "somebody here? none.

avanige adaRa viṣayakke ēn-ū gott' illa "to him of that thing some knowledge lacks, he does not know anything of that."

Tamiḻ:

yāvarkk-um sāyal ninadu "thy[3] grace[2] (is) for all[1]."

In Goṇḍ, *-ē, -ai* have the same original sense and the same use:

bōl-ē vaiānul "(if) some one comes," *badd-ē rang-e* "in some manner," *bapporē* "sometimes," (*bappor* "when?"). The original sense is seen in *raṇṭ-e* (*raṇḍ* "both"), *or-ē* "himself, the same," *īhūn-ē* "exactly alike, all alike."

That is again the case with Tuḷu *-lā*: *ī-lā* "thou also," *yēr-lā* "anybody."

The agreement with the Aryan will be noticed: Skr. *kaś cit, kaś ca,* class, *ko'pi,* Old Persian *kaściy,* Av. *kaściṭ, yō cišca.* The Aryan usage goes back to Indo-European (for example, Latin *quis que;* on the other hand, the presence of the idiom in Kurukh, in which, considering the date in which it is noted, one would expect only the influence of Hindi *ko-ī,* precludes us from thinking of an old effect of Indo-Aryan.

Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns vary in number but not in gender. One peculiarity to be noted concerning the first person is that there are in the pronoun (and in the verb also) two kinds of plural according to our comprehending the interlocutor (inclusive plural: "we and thou or you") or not (exclusive plural: we, not including thou"). Those alone that are ignorant of this distinction are the Brahui, subjected to exterior influences, and the modern Kannaḍa, but the old texts of Kannaḍa preserve its trace (Gai, *Bull. Deccan Res. Inst.* I, 1940, p. 411).

Here are the forms:

1st person singular:

Tam.	*yān*	obl.	*en-*
Tuḷu	*yānu*	„	*yen-*
O. Kan.	*āṃ (ān)*	„	*en-* (mod. *nānu, nan*)
Kui	*ānu*	„	*nā-*
Goṇḍ	*anā*	„	*nā-*
Tel.	*ēnu*	„	*nā-*
Kur.	*ēn*	„	*en-*
Brah.	*ī*	„	*kan-*

The Brahui nominative stands alone; one would gladly recognise in it the approximate demonstrative, generally *i* in Dravidian, if precisely *i* did not lack in the series of demonstratives in Brahui; now, in Northern Baluchi *ī* is at the same time both demonstrative and enclitical pronoun of the first person. Such a borrowing would not be unexpected. It is equally possible that *ēn*, shrunk to *ē*, had been assimilated with *nī* of the second person. At any rate, the initial *k-* of the oblique is mysterious.

For the oblique **en-* can be used. The old direct case, is it **ēn* or **ān?* The first being possibly analogical, one would rather be inclined for the second. As to the initial of Tuḷu, one would consider it as secondary and arising from the oblique, if the notation *ye-* in Tuḷu oblique had not been phonetical rather than phonological (in Tamiḻ also and else where initial *e-* is pronounced ye-) and the explanation would not be valuable at any rate for Tamiḻ in which *yān* is the archaic form, supplanted later by *nān*, then *nān*. In this there is an obscure phonetical fact: Tamiḻ hesitates between *ār* and *yār* "who", between *ānei* and *yānei* "elephant" (Tel. *enuka*), *āṇḍu* and *yāṇḍu* "year" (Tel. *eṇḍu*); there is *yādu* "what" as opposed to *edu*. So in Tamiḻ *yā-* functions in certain cases as the lengthening of *e-*. On the other

hand, one has noted in Kalittogei facing *ñ-āy* (*ñ* from **nī*) "thy mother," *y-āy* "my mother," in which one could see the proximate demonstrative (rather than a form of the personal pronoun, for *i*, as one would see below, is the vowel characteristic of the pronoun of the second person); the initial of *yāṉ* could come from there.

1st person plural:

Exclusive	Inclusive
(Old Tam. *yām/em-*)	*nām/nam-*
,, Tel. *ēmu/mā-*	*manamu/ma-*
Kui *āmu/mā-*	*āju/mā-*
O. Kan. *em* (I ex.)*/em-*	(*nāvu/nam-*
Kur. *ēm/em-*	*nām/nam-*
Tuḷu. *yenkulu*	*nama*
Goṇḍ *ammaṭ* (encl. *-am*)*/ma-*	*apul/aplō*

Tuḷu has in the inclusive form combined the termination of the nominal plural with the old form; Tamiḻ has used the same termination, but in adapting it to the inclusive form: *nāṅgaḷ* (and also Malayalam). The oldest grammar [Tolkāppiam] notes the co-existence of *yām* and *nām* without indicating any difference in their use; the archaic texts are of little help; but the very fact that there are two words and that *nām* should exactly have remained inclusive, enables us to affirm that Tamiḻ is originally in accord with the rest of the family. Only Goṇḍ has a new form for the inclusive: *aplō* (cf. Santāl *abo*, Mundarī *abu*, Korku *abung*?). And only Brahui has one form alone, that of the old inclusive: *nan*. In the same way it is the inclusive that the modern Kannaḍa has generalised: *nāvu* (other details, LSI, I ii, Comparative Vocabulary, No. 17, p. 33).

2nd person, singular :

		Subject	oblique
Tel.		*īvu, nīvu*	*nī-*
Kui		*īnu*	*nī-*
Tuḷu		*ī*	*nin-*
Go.	*immā*; encl.	*-nī, -tī, -ī*	*nī-*
Tam.		*nī*	*nin-*
Kan.		*niṃ*	*nin-*
Kur.		*nīn*	*nin-*
Brah.		*nī*	*n-*

2nd person, plural :

Kan.		*nīvu*	*nim-*
Tam.		*īr, nīyir*	*num-*
Tel.		*īr, mīru*	*mī-*
Kui		*īru* (Kuvi *mimbu*)	*mī-*
Goṇḍ		*immuṭ* (encl. *-it*)	*mī-*
Bhil	(LSI, p. 566)	*nīr*	*im-*
Kur.		*nīm*	*nim-*
Brah.		*num*	*num-*

In oblique cases, the opposition sing. *-n*, plu. *-m* recalls that of the first person pronoun, obl. *-en*, *-em*. As to the preceding vowel it is generally *i*. But the testimony of *num* in Tamiḻ and Brahui at the same time is strong, unless one considers the vowel as rounded off under the influence of the final; the form in any case would be old enough to have provoked the double creation in Tamiḻ, in the face of *num* and *um*, *num* and *un*, attested later than *nin*. Tamiḻ termination of the imperative plural *-min*, Kan. *-in* testifies in favour of *-i-*.

In direct cases the vowel i is undoubtedly possible ! And the plural, everywhere when it has not been modified under the influence of the oblique, is the nominal plural of the

personal nouns. But the initial nasal puts forth a serious question. If it is admitted that the forms like Tuḷu sing. ī, Goṇḍ encl. -ī, Tamiḻ-Telugu-Kui plural īr cannot be explained in the same manner as the forms with initial *n-*, one is led to ask oneself as to wherefrom this *n-* comes, chiefly if one remembers that it figures in the first person inclusive **nam* "we with you "or, just as well, if not better, "you with us."

To see these things in an abstract manner, *n-* appears as a particle (not identifiable; there is no demonstrative of this type) expressing the present group other than "me (and mine)". In any case this *n-* is detachable, as Tamiḻ offers the forms like *iru-v-īr* "you two," *oruv-īr* "one of you," *ell-īr-um* "you all," in comparison with *ell-ār-um* "they all"; and the verbal forms, in the proportion in which they are modelled on the pronouns, testify everywhere in favour of **i*, **ir*.

One finds again the same opposition *n* : *m* in a word which the entire Dravidian has preserved and signifying *ipse* "self" in all persons and numbers ("myself, ourselves, thyself..themselves") and consequently often respectful "them," or "you":

Tam. Kan. Kur. *tān*, Tel. Tuḷu, Coorg, Kui *tānu*, Goṇḍ *tanā*, Brah. *tēn*.

The radical is short in the oblique cases in Tam. Kan. Tel. Coorg, Kurukh. The plural is *tām* in Tam. Tel. Kan. Kur., to which should be added Goṇḍ *tammā* (gen. *tammōr;* in sing. gen. *tānwōr*); the demonstrative or the nominal form has been introduced in Tuḷu (*tan(u)kuḷu*), in Coorg (*tanga*) and in Kui (*tāru*, inferior fem. *tāi*). Brahui alone has only one stem and declines it as any other noun, indeed as an adjective in the Indo-European sense; besides, in it the nominative is unused except in the expression *tēn pa tēn* "among ourselves, yourselves, themselves"; ex.:

Nāibe tēne xalk "he struck[3] the representative[1] himself[2]."

ī tene biṭiva hucc-ān "I[1] will throw[3] myself[2] down the camel[4]."

dā dayār numā tenā "does this land belong to you (yourself)?"

iray tēnki dabo "you yourself[2] take[3] the nourishment[1]."

Kurukh, on the contrary, has preserved the ancient state:

ās tān ennē manjas "he[1] himself[2] has done[4] in this way[3]."

ār tānti barcar "they[4] have come[3] of themselves[2]."

tan-ghai xekkhan mējxas "he (of himself)[1] has trampled[3] on the hand[2]."

tanghai xekkhā-nū ho'onā "to take[3] in (one's own[1]) hand[2]."

PRONOMINALISED NOUNS

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A type of derivation unequally distributed in the Dravidian family but characteristic of it, is the attaching to the primary nouns (eventually under their oblique form) of terminations borrowed from the personal or demontrative pronouns; in the latter case it follows that the nouns become susceptible to a variability in gender which makes them similar to our adjectives. The semantic connection between the derivative and the simple is a general relation which can be of possession as well as attribution.

The formal detail is not entirely explicable; but the system is clear.

In Goṇḍ it is what TRENCH calls enclitic forms of the pronouns affixed to the predicates, adding that the Goṇḍs like them excessively. Ex. :

anā koitu-nā āndan "I[1] am[3] (Goṇḍ—I) Goṇḍ[2]."

immā chuḍḍō-nī andī "thou[1] art[3] (young-thou) young[2]."

immā bō-nī "(who-thou) who[2] (art) thou[1]?"

immaṭ bōr-īṭ "who are you?"

immā bēnd-ī "where art thou?"

immā bōn-ōr marrī andī "thou[1] art[4] the son[3] (that of whom) of whom[2]?"

The enclitic is attached to a declined form :

ammaṭ vartāl-ōr-ām "we are guests."

koitōr bāt-ōr-īṭ "what kind of[1] Goṇḍs[1] are you?"

rō-t-ul-hai "he is[2] at home[1]" (*rōt* oblique of *rōn* "house").

In Kurukh the formation seems to be less free. But we have, for example:

ēn kūṛux-an, ēn kūṛuxni-n "I am a (masc. fem.) Kurukh."

ām pāph-am "we (are) sinners."

nīn eṛpa-ntā urba-i "art thou the master (form not pronominalised *urba-s*) of the house?"

nīn ek-ā ort-ī "who art thou" (fem. "thou what one")?

īd laṇḍī katthad "this is an ineffectual speech."

īr ingyō-em-bar "these are my parents (*eng-āyo* "my mother" **em-ba-* "my father"; termination common to the group).[1]

Derivative from a form having a postposition:

īd endr xōcol? āl-gahi-d "what is this bone? Human" (*gahi* "of," *āl* "man").

Kannaḍa has not made a great development in what are called the "appellative nouns"; there remains nothing of them except the nouns of number: *orvan, orvaḷ* "a man," "a woman," etc.; the old tongue normally forms the derivatives of the type *iniyan, iniyaḷ* (from *ini* "charm") "charming man, charming woman;" *inidaṃ nuḍikava* "saying agreeable things;" and with personal pronouns: *magaḷa maganeṃ* "I (am) the son of the daughter;" *peṇḍati-yeṃ* "I (am) the wife."

1. The uniform naming of the termination for a group is normal in Kurukh. Here it results in a similarity with the *dvandva* of Sanskrit, without there being any room, let it be understood, for seeing in it a borrowing from that language. The Goṇḍ still has a more archaïc form of it at the base, consisting of expressing the name only of a single term of the group, but after adding the number *two* declined: *marrī-trur* "son the two (son and father)", *pōrār* (or *pōrāl*) *trur* step-mother the two (the step-mother and the daughter-in-law)."

Kui does not use similar derivatives except those of the demonstrative type, enlarging nouns (the originals of which have the value of adjectives) or pronouns such as those that give them a variability in gender:

tōṛenju "friend," *tōṛali* "a female friend."

neganju "good man;" *negari* "good woman, good thing."

ananju "what man?" *anari* "what woman" or "what"?

naanju "my man, mine;" *nandi* "mine" (fem.), my thing."

It is in Tamiḻ that the system is better attested, chiefly in the old poetry:

uravōn "heroes," (*uravu* "force").

maḍavan, maḍōn "imbecile," (*maḍam, maḍan* "folly").

iḻeiyavan "young man" (*iḻei* "youth"), plu. *iḻeiyar* "servants," fem. *iḻeiyāḻ* "younger".

āRRal-uḍeiyōr "possessors of force, heroes.'

aḍiyēn "myself (at your) feet, myself (your) slaṿe"; *aḍiyem* "we (your) slaves."

piRan "other man, stranger," *piRaḻ* "other woman;" *piRar* "strangers," *piRidu* (Kan. *peRatu*) "other thing," *piRa* (Kan. *peRavu*), "others things." On pronouns: *numan* "your partisan," *nummōr* "your rivals," *ninava* "thy things"; *tamadu* "what belongs to self, property." On compounds: *noy-il-an* "who is without (*il*) suffering (*nōy*)"; *muḍi-mel-an* "who has the crown (*muḍi*) upon (*mel*), crowned." It is thus that *-adu*, originally "that," has come to serve as morpheme of relation accompanying the inferior nouns: *ireivan-adu aḍiyiṇei* "the pair of feet (thing) of God."

The construction is often difficult to make out, because the usage of the nominal sentence permits the translation of

these forms by nouns or by verbs (and it will be seen below that this is of great consequence). It is chiefly the case with the personal pronouns.

yānei..yam uḍeiyam "we[2] (are) possessors[3] (that is to say, "we have") of elephants[1]."

vali....uḍeiyōi "thou hast[2] the power[1]."

kaḷiRRu misei-y-ōn "he who is on, *or* he is on[2] the male elephant[1]."

tēRal-ei "thou seest clearly."

tūduv-am "we have a message (*tūḍu*)".

The forms of the second persons, in the texts, are easily translated also by the vocatives; and it is in fact the vocative use which undoubtedly explains the irregular nominative *magaḷ-ir* "daughters" (from *magaḷ* fem. of *magan* "son"; the expected termination is *-ar*, cf. p. 9). But the words like *iruvīr* "you two," *oruvīr* "one of you," *ellīr-um* "you all," Kui *īru roateru* "you—one of you.."where the base is in no way verbal, are topical. The presence of a verb sometimes enables the sure recognition of the nominal character of the "appellative":

uḍeiy-ēm ā "being[2] our possession[1], if we possess."

kaḷiRR-in-ir āyinum....tēr-iṉ-ir āyinum "even though you have male elephants....chariots" (*ayiṉ-um* "even in case of existing;" note the derivation on oblique stems and in particular with reference to *kaḷiRu* on an oblique stem with double suffix *-t-in-*).

In the same way with the negative "verb" which, to speak the truth, is only a noun of the same kind:

peṇḍir-ēm-allēm "we are not (we-) women." Compare *aRavei āyin* "if thou art virtuous," and *aRavei allei āyin* "if thou art not virtuous."

These pronominalised nouns are susceptible to declension :

dēvar-īr-ei pugaḻndu "having praised you—God," (*-ar* termination of personal plural, with honorific value; *-īr* 2nd pers. plu.; *-ei* termination of accusative); *perum-pūn-ēn-ukku* "to[4] me[3] (who have a) great[1] ornament[2]."

It is then the question of nouns. But when the primary basic noun expresses an action admitting objective case, there intervenes the possibility for a noun to have an objective case, and firstly a subject in the nominative.

This is seen in Tamiḻ before the nouns of action :

nīy-īng' idu sey-al "tu ibi id factio", "thou dost this here" (translated by the commentary *nī ivviḍattu i-ccāmareiyei vīsudal* "thou[1] here[2] this fan (acc.)[3] action of having put in motion[4]").

nām varal-ā "can we come?"; or again *nīr taḻaṅg-al vēṇḍa* "you (nom.) emotion there must not be, it must not move you."

This explains the constructions with *ām* "it is possible" (that is to say, "that will be"): *nī pōgal-ām* "thou action-of-going will be, thou canst go."

Similarly, in Kannaḍa :

nīvu idannu māḍa bahudu "you (nom.) this to do is permitted"; *nīvu ī padavannu anēkasāri kēḷira bēku* "you this word often hear must : you ought to hear this word often."

And in Telugu :

mīru ā uttaramu vrāyaḍamu mancidi kādu "you (nom) this letter to write a good thing is not; "*nēnu veḷḷaḍam takkava*" I to go little, I go there little."

These enlarged nouns, variable in gender, are found in this way capable of apposition with other words and consequently analogous to our adjectives. But there are no adjectives, properly so called, in Dravidian * ; their rôle is normally maintained :

1. by the composition; only the sense distinguishes the relation morphologically equivalent of Tam. *talei-nōvu* "head-ache" and *talei-nāḷ* "first day," or of Tam. *veṇ-ṇey* "white grease, ghee," and Goṇḍ *pāl-nī* "grease of milk, ghee;"

2. by the use of the forms attached to the verbs, impersonal and invariable, which are, in fact, of nominal origin and indeed are included in the preceding case : Tam. *periya-*. See further below.

Kurukh has adjectives, it is said (Grignard, 184); but an important restriction shows that it is not exactly the case; in fact the adjective accords only when it follows the noun which it qualifies; placed before, it is according to the rule, invariable. So, there are nothing but nouns in apposition :

paddāntar ōrmar "the villagers all" (on *ōrmar* see p. 16).
ēn katthan urmin tengon "I[1] will tell[4] the entire[3] story[2]."
In the same way in Goṇḍ :
ōr doggāl-ōr-mattōr "they were great (men)."
navā dekṛing sargāhk ātāng "my clothes were (the things) torn."

*A. Master (JRAS., 1949, p. 106) and T. Burrow (BSOAS, XII/1 p. 253) have objected to this statement in their reviews of this work. But J. Bloch says: "Adjectives are nouns inflected in case and gender in congruence with other nouns." And he further adds: "This implies a good lesson in general linguistics. Both have thought as Englishmen, viz., using a language where the epithet is not inflected (good man/men, woman/women/things); they have forgotten about Latin and Sanskrit ....But I, as a Frenchman, am aware of the distinction."—Translator.

But Goṇḍ admits also of the agreement of the preposed adjective :

ad mau parōng-parōng kohk-wāre mattā "this[1] deer[2] was provided (from Hindi *wālā*, but preceded by the noun in plural : *kohk* from *kōr*) with[5] very big[3] horns[4]."

Even Kannaḍa, the grammar of which has not, like that of Goṇḍ, undergone a great Aryan influence, alongside propositions like *avaḷ oḷḷidaḷ* "she (is) good," *avu pariavu* "these things (are) great" (properly "a good woman, great things") admits, with the order inversed, of groups like *iniyaḷ kādale* "sweet beloved," *inidu pāl* "sweet milk," *iniyava viṣayasukham* "the sweet sensual pleasures" (where the substantive remaining unchanged, the adjective takes the mark of the plural).

A much more important consequence results from the double fact already indicated that the pronominal nouns can be constructed as predicates and that they admit of having both subject and object; so that they are exactly equivalent to verbs since then. Those are what they call appellative verbs, or conjugated nouns, and in Tamiḻ grammar, *kuRippu-vinei* signal verbs or verbs of notion, as opposed to *teri-ni lei-vinei*, explicit verbs, inasmuch as they only evoke the notion at the base, without noting time like the seconds category !

To the examples already given one can add :

Tel. *sēvakul-amu* "we are servants."

Kui *ānu kūentenu* "I am Kui;" *āmu kūinganamu* "we are Kui;" *iaru kūinga* "they are Kui.

(WINFIELD brings in here a "hortative appellative" which contains in reality the verb "to be" *ak-*, cf. p. 97 the conditional in *-eka* and p. 99 the causal particle *aki*),

And in Tamiḻ:

vāna-varambanei nī "thou[3] hast for limit[2] the sky[1]" (*-ei* termination of 2nd sg.).

nallei .... nilam "thou art good, O Earth."

nāḍanei nī "thou[2] art the master of the kingdom[1]" (*nāḍu* "country").

nīr-vār-kaṇṇ-ēm "we have the eyes (*kaṇ*) streaming with water (*nīr*)" (*ēm* termination of 1st plu.).

oḷitta tupp-in-ei "thou hast a hidden superiority (oblique stem").

isei veiyōy "thou desirest[2] the glory[1]."

āvam puRattei "thou hast the bow at the back."

These sentences can be conceived as the compounds "(of) glory desire-thou," "bow on the back (*pu-Ra-tt*) thou." But there is no occasion for doubt when the complement is separated:

yānei .... yām uḍeiyam "the elephant ... we have."

vali .... uḍeiyōy "thou hast the pówer."

In the above examples, the only difference of principle between the verb of notion and the appellative noun depends on the presence or absence of temporal suffixes.

Now these suffixes are susceptible to be inserted in the nouns: thus in Tam. *uy-ndan-an* "he who has survived," *māy-ndan-al* "she who has disappeared," in Kan. *dānam bēḍ-id-aṃ* "he who demanded[2] a present[1]."

And it happens in Tamiḻ that in their turn these nouns with temporal suffixes which are veritable verbs at the same

time as the nouns of agent, are susceptible to flexion: *sey-d-ēn-ukku* "to me who has done" (*sey-d-ēn* from the root *sey-* "I have done"), *pō-n-ēn-ei aḍittān* "he struck[2] me who was going[1]," (*pō-n-ēn*, from the root *pō*, "I was going").

In Kui and in Telugu the temporal value rests on the derivation from the 'relative participles'.

Kui. From *vāni* "who will come," *vāti* "who has come", are derived *vānanju* "the man who will come," *vānari* "the woman or the thing which will come;" *vātanju* "the man who has come," etc.—One gets other temporal values in constructing the absolutive with the relative participles of the verb *man-* "to be": *vāi-mani* "who is[2] being come[1]," whence "*vāi mananju*" "the man who comes," etc.; *ē vaski-manaskangi prānga sikamu* "to these[1] women cooking (*vaja*)[2] one gives[4] the rice[3]."

Telugu. Relative participles: *cēstunnu* "who is doing," *cēsina* "who has done," *cēsē* "who generally does." From that, masc. *cēstunna-vāḍu, cēsinavāḍu,* etc.; and constructed on *cēsē*:

nīvu vēmi pani cēsēvaḍuvu "what[2] work[3] dost[4] thou[1] ?"

Example of oblique case, in an old inscription: *dēni salpinavāniki* "to the maintainer[2] (*salp-ina* "who has maintained") (of) this[1]."

There being no morphological sign of any distinction of voice in the verbs, the appellative noun in the inferior gender signifies not only "she does, that does" but also "the action of doing" or "of being done." Whence in Telugu:

āyana vaccēdi mīku veṭlā telisinadi ? "how[4] his (lit. "he")[1] coming[2] to you[3] was known[5] ? "

mīru vaccinadi andariki telisinadi "everybody knew (to all[3] is known[4]) that you had come (you[1] the fact of having come[2])."

So, one sees how these verbal nouns provide equivalents to the personal forms and the infinitives.

It is the same in Kannaḍa: *māḍuvavanu* "he who does" or "what I do, thou dost," etc.; *māḍuvudu* "that which does, that which did, the action of doing;" *māḍid(u)du* "he who has done, that which is done, has been done, having done;"

nīvū māḍiddu ēnu "what hast thou done?" *nanna maganu ōduvudannu kalitu-koḷḷutāne* "my son[1-2] learns[4] to read[3] (acc.)."

The same constructions in Tamiḻ but the formation starts from the temporal stems of the personal verb: from *sey* "to do" we have *seygiRavan, seydavan, seybavan* "he who does, has done, will do" *seygiRadu* "what does, is done, the act of doing" and also "that does;" *irakkuvar* "the beseeching ones"; *vaḻipādu seyivarkku* "to those who practise the cult" (Inscr. of Kuram, about 650 A.D.); *māyndanaḷ* "the dead woman," *peRRadu* "that which has been acquired," *kūRivadu* "what has been said," *varuvadu* "what will come," *koḷvadu* "the murder."

In Tuḷu the infinitive is the basis: *kēṇuni* "to hear," *keṇḍini* "to have heard;" henle *kēṇunāye, kēṇunāḷu* "he or she who hears, "*kenunavu*" "the act of hearing," *kēṇḍināye* "he who has heard."

Things are less clear in the North.

In Goṇḍ, KONOW (LSI, p. 483) gives nouns of agent constructed on participles: *kīātā* "making," *kīātōr* "who does," *kītā* "done, having done;" *kītār* "he who has done," *kīē* "in doing;" *kīēr* "he who does." TRENCH does not give these

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forms. In a specimen, p. 518, one sees the trace of the Hindi suffix *-wālā* "relating to, provided with": *mandan-varerk* "the inhabitants," *ukkārkiyevarena* "of those that render service."

In Kurukh, on the 'aorist' participle in *-u* is constructed a noun of animate agent: *iṛbus* "the sacrificing," *likh'us* "the writer;" *gadhā biddus ejjras* "the ass is awakened."

In Brahui (§267) certain nouns coïncide with the stem of the past, *tiss* "generosity," *pirēs* "swelling."

Even in the South the formations are various and come at least in part from independent rearrangements.

Anyhow the method of derivation is common to the entire family and has a double importance: it gives a morphological base to the nominal gender and it furnishes a transition between the noun and the verb.

THE VERB

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CHAPTER V

THE VERB

I. Personal Verb

i. *Flexion*

On the whole the personal forms of the verb have, like the pronominalised nouns, terminations closely resembling the pronouns. It follows that the third persons vary in gender.

It would be expedient to examine the arrangement of the system in different languages.

In Gonḍ, verb and pronoun are very similar.

		Pronoun	Verbal terminations
sing.	1	*anā*, obl. *nā*	*-ā, ān, ōn*
	2	*immā*, obl. *nī*	*ī*
	3 m.	*ōl*, inf. *ad*	m. *ōl, ur;* inf. zero.
pl.	1 excl.	*ammaṭ*, obl. *mā*	*-ām, -ōm*
	incl.	*aplō*	*-aṭ*
	2	*immaṭ*, obl. *mī*	*īṭ*
	3 m.	*or*, inf. *au*	m. *ōr, -ur;* inf., *āng, -ong, ung.*

In the inferior 3rd per. plu. the termination is, not of the demonstrative, but that, more properly nominal, of *bārāng* "what things? what?" (cf. *bōl* "who?"), *chauvāng* "children," *nālung* "four" : *chauvāng rōt-āng* "the children are at home." The only difference remains in the first person inclusive of the plural, where the subject is expressed by a word of nominal morphology (oblique *aplōt*); the termination resembles at the same time the 1st per. exclusive plural of the pronoun and the 2nd per. pl. of the verb. It is found again in Kurukh.

Here is the Kurukh paradigm :

		Pronoun	Verb
sing.	1	*ēn,*	m. *an,* inf. (i.e. fem.) *-ēn, -n*
	2	*nīn*	m. *-ai,* inf. (i.e. fem.) *-ī*
	3 m	*ās,* inf. *ād, īd*	m. *-as,* inf. *-ā, -ī*
plur.	1 excl.	*ēm*	*-am*
	incl-	*nām*	*-at*
	2	*nīm*	*-ar*
	3 m	*abṛar,* inf. *abṛā, abrad*	m. *-ar*

No more than in the nouns does there exist inferior plural. HAHN gives for the 2nd and 3rd plu. a termination *-ai,* which is in reality, according to GRIGNARD, p. 180, the nominal and verbal termination equivalent to *-ar* in the language of the women : *ekā ekā jāt ṅū mukkai-im uinai, mētai eṛpā nū ra' anai* "in[4] certain (one-one[1-2]) tribes[3] women[5] work[4], men[7] remain[10] at[9] home[8]."

A woman speaking of herself or a man speaking to a woman uses again a particular form of the inferior gender. See p. 8 above.

A third language, namely the Kui, which belongs to, the northern group, makes out in the verb the first persons with inclusive and exclusive plurals; the origin of the termination is unknown. Here is the paradigm of *ko-* "to pluck, to collect according to WINFIELD, p. 71 :

		Present	Past
sg.	1	*ānu kōi*	*ānu kōte*
	2	*īnu kōdi*	*īnu kōti*
	3 m.	*ianju kōnenju*	*ianju kōtenju*
	inf.	*īri kōne*	*īri kōte*
pl.	1 excl.	*āmu kōnamu*	*āmu kōtamu*
	incl.	*āju kōnasu*	*āju kōtasu*
	2 *iru*	*kōderu*	*īru kōteru*
	3 m.	*iaru kōneru*	*iaru kōteru*
	inf.	*īvi konu*	*īvi kōtu*

The relation of the pronoun to the verb is not direct, but is recognised if one consults the other languages; the assimilation of the 2nd plural with the 3rd, already observed in Kurukh, will be found again elsewhere also. The termination of 2nd sg. of the present (and perhaps equally of the past: *kōti* for * *kōt-di*) has its parallel in Tamiḻ and Telugu. The absence of termination in the 3rd inferior plu. is normal, it is that of the sing, which creates difficulty: if *-enju* is contracted from *eanju* "he," * *e*, confirmed by Tel. *-en* (in the past, as opposed to *-un* of the present), does not seem to be isolated: the inferior form of the pronoun is *ēri*.

The absence of gender in Brahui renders the paradigm in it much more simple; here are the terminations of the eventual:

	Sing.	Plur.
1	*-iv*	*-in*
2	*-is*	*-ire*
3	*-e*	*-ir*

The 3rd sg. reproduces the demonstrative *e, ed.* In the pl. 2nd *-ire*, 3rd *-ir* recall the pronominal terminations, seen above, p. 52, whereas the pronouns vary: 2nd *num*, 3rd *efk* (cf. Tam. *avei* + *k* of the plural?). In the 1st pl., has *-in* admitted final *-m* of the earlier epoch? The two first persons of the singular present the most serious problem: i) *-iv* (pronoun *i*), 2) *-is* (pronoun *ni*) are only understood if it is admitted that they are of Aryan origin, and considering the *-s* of the 2nd person, of Indian origin; on the other hand, among the Indo-Aryan languages of the West, only the European Gypsy furnishes, at the same time, the terminations in question (*kamav* "I love," *kames* "thou lovest;" see J. Bloch, Indo-Aryan, *JRAS.*, 1946, p. 199 ff). In the verb "to be," the termination of the 1st pers. sg. seems to be lacking: *ī uṭ* "I am" in contrast to *ni us* "thou art," *od e* "he is." Not less obscure is the negative conjugation:

i tixpar "I may not place" (negative sign *-a*, suffix of present *-p-*), *ni tixpēs*, *o tixp*. On *-r* of 1st person, see Bray, Vocabulary.

In the plural, the first two persons are regular; the 3rd (*ofk tixpas*) again is unexpected; Bray connects *-sk*, termination of nominal plural: in this case it must be admitted that this group has lost its final at the end of the sentence which is the normal place of the verb.

Consideration of the Northern group already suffices to show that the correspondence of the verb to the pronoun is not perfect, and chiefly it does not offer a parallelism such as one could admit a community of forms at the origin. This impression will be confirmed by the Southern group which is from the very first characterised by the absence of inclusive first persons in the verb.

It is in Telugu that the coïncidence is the best marked :

	Pronoun	Verb
sg.	1 *ēnu*	*-n, -nu*
	2 *īvu, nīvu*	*-vu* and *-vi*
	3 *vāḍu*, infer. *adi*	*-ḍu*, infer. *-di*, but also *-un, -ne,*
pl.	1 *ēmu*	*-mu*
	2 *īru*	*-ru*
	3 *vāru*, infer. *avi*	*-ru*, infer. *-vu -vi* or zero

What is important to note is that it is the endings of the pronouns, under the forms that they assume in Telugu, and not the ancient and significant portion of these pronouns which constitute the terminations.*

* For the special case of the preterite see pp. 70-71.

Let us now consider Kannaḍa.

In the 3rd persons the correspondence is perfect:

sg.	m.	*-aṃ*	fem.	*aḷ* inf. *-adu*
pl.		*-ar*		*-ar* inf. *-avu, uvu*

The terminations of the inferior coïncide with the pronoun integrally. In the other genders they reproduce its terminations, cf. *avan* "he," *avaḷ* "she," *avar* "they" (masc. fem.).

In the first persons the verbal terminations coïncide with the pronominal obliques:

sg.	*-eṃ, -enu*	pl.	*-eṃ, -evu*

The second persons differ widely.

In the plural *-ir* which contradicts the pronoun *nim* can be explained as in Brahui by a more ancient form *īr* that Tamiḻ Telugu and Kui have preserved, see p. 32.

But it is difficult to connect Kan. 2nd sg. *-ay*, not only with the Kan. pronoun *nī*, but even with **ī* attested by Tuḷu *ī*, Tel. *ivu* and indirectly Kui *inu*. Kan. *ī* exists only as a modern form succeeding *-e*, itself successor of *-ay*. Now Kan. *-ay* is supported by Tam. *-ai* (today pronounced *-ei*), whence derive undoubtedly Korava, Kaikadi, Burgandi *-ā*, and parallelly Tuḷu *-a*, Coorg *-iya*. As to Kurukh masc. *-ai* in opposition to the inf. *(d)i*, *(k)ī*, it is possible that it should be analogical to the other masculine forms, particularly in the plural, so that one would not dare to affirm their antiquity.

Tuḷu is near to Kannaḍa:

sg.	1	*-e* (neg. *-i*)	pl.	*-a*
	2	*-a*		*-aru*
	3	*-e, -alu, -u*		*-eru, -a*

As regards 3rd sg. m. *-e*, see above. The vowels of the 2nd and 3rd pl. masc. are not those of the pronouns, but those of the corresponding terminations of the singular in Tuḷu

itself. Therefore here again the system has been recently elaborated.

Tamiḻ is also of a similar type:

sg.	1	*-ān, -en*	pl.	*-am -em*
	2	*-aī (-ei)*		*-i*
	3	*-an, -aḷ,* inf. *-du*		*-ar,* inf. *-a*

In the 2nd sing., besides *-ai, -ay,* one comes across also *-di* with passive or imperative value. This last form is constructed on a nominal stem in *-d(u)*; the suffix is therefore really *-i*.

No parallel interpretation seems to be there for *-ai* unless one sees in it a pronominal connection with the infinitive in *-a*, capable of admitting imperative value (Go. Kur. *-ā;* Kan. *-a;* Tamiḻ optatives in *-a, -iya, -ga*); this use would explain the specialisation in the 2nd person. Note that *-di* which is used for imperative (*seydi* "do," *taṇidi* "soften") is equally a suffix of the noun of action: *num seydi* is explained by *numadu seigei* "your conduct." Cf. p. 83.

One would be tempted to admit also a pronominal origin for the termination *-a* of inferior plural: *vāḷ* "the swords" (note the absence of any mark of the plural) .... *paṭṭanu* "have suffered" .... *pōnRana* "have reproduced, imitated" ...; *tāḷ* ... *tōnRuva* "the shields will appear," Cf. p. 12.

But the same termination in the future is common to the two genders: *porudum enba* "we shall fight, they say" (Comm. *solluvar*); *nalla illa āguba* "the good ones will not exist (Comm. *āguvan*); cf. *alla* "no" common to all genders.

Other forms again are found in old Tamiḻ, for which the explanation does not hold good. It is significant that precisely the most ancient stage of the language should furnish the greatest number of divergences between verb and pronoun.

There is first a termination of 1st sg. *-al*, constantly attached to the suffix of the future (exceptionally with the past tense): *kēṭ-p-al* "I shall listen," *vāḻ-v-al* "I shall live." This is evidently a suffix of nouns of action, the same which is attached sometimes to the root itself (*pāḍal* "song," *iRal* "ruin," *peyal* "rain"), sometimes to the root extended by a suffix with dental (of past? but for example *ādal* "manner of being, conduct, "*peyardal* "change"). One can imagine that this termination has been eliminated in the course of history at the same time because it lacked any characteristic of the person and because of the possible ambiguity with negative *-al*.

Not properly characterized from the point of view of the person are the derivatives in *-gu, -du* (see down below). Tamiḻ gives them a plural of first person in *-gum, -dum*: *seḻludum varudi* "let us go, come!" One could imagine here an adaptation to the normal terminations in *-am, -em*, or to imagine that it is a first adaptation, less complete, to the pronoun of 1st person. But in Tamiḻ itself *-um*, coming directly after the root, gives to the verb the value of 3rd person, either of the singular or of the singular if applied to a superior being (*avan iyum* "he will give," *keḍudi varum* "misfortune will come") or of the inferior plural (*vīyum uyir tava pala* "a great[3] number of[2] lives[4] will perish[1]"). On the other hand Kannaḍa equally employs *-gu, -ku* and *-guḿ, -kum* for all third persons, without definite temporal value. And one is tempted to see in *-gum -kum* not an authentic 1st person plural, but a suffix of substantive, connected with the verbal first persons, on account of its form; Tamiḻ itself uses the form in *-gum* as relative future participle (see p. 86).

The derivative in *-um* is perhaps the basic form to which according to the constant processus are added the personal terminations of the present in Parji, Goṇḍī dialect of Bastar (*LIS*, iv p. 555): *yer-m-ed* "he comes," *pokemer* "they speak."

A suffix *-m* is used again in the termination of imperative in ancient Tamiḻ: sg. *-m*, *pl. -min* (cf. Kannaḍa and Malayaḷam *-in*); Toḍa has a suffix of the imperative *-mā* and Kui has an "optative particle" *-ma* postposed (which Santal has, it seems, borrowed). One does not know whether it is necessary to connect with this group the terminations of the Goṇḍ prohibitive, 2nd s. *-mā*, pl. *-māṛ -māṭ;* one is tempted to see therein our *m-* followed by negative *a*, but that renders the interpretation of the prohibitive particle *mani, mini* difficult.

Another rare termination of imperative-optative can be recalled; we find side by side: *Paṇṇan vāḻiya !* "let P. prosper;" *nī vāḻiya ! nin tandei-tāy vāḻiyar* "prosper, and may thy parents prosper." This *-r* is not, in spite of the appearance, the termination of the plural: RAMASWAMI, p. 772, notes *vāḻiyar yān* "may I. prosper!" the pronoun is here in the 1st person which shows the non-verbal character of the termination, and in the 1st singular, which excludes the use of an honorific plural.

As to the *-a* of the optative in *-iya* cited here, it is found again in the optative in *-ga*, (holding good for several persons) and outside Tamiḻ, not ony in Malayalam as courteous imperative of 2nd person, but also in Kannaḍa: imperative sg. *-ga* (pl. *-iṃ*), Tuḷu sg. *-ge*, pl. *-ga; -a* is equally the mark of the imperative in Kurukh and in Goṇḍ. Lastly, the Kui hortative *-ka* must probably be connected here. These are actually the terminations of infinitive, see p. 80.

That is enough to show on the one hand that the terminations of the pronominal type are not the only ones in Tamiḻ; and on the other hand that the archaic terminations are in reality nominal, sometimes in the oblique case (*a*, *-in*). These terminations, which could be called provisional, have been eliminated in the course of history, without doubt, precisely because they did not form a sytsem.

One apparent objection to this manner of looking at things appertains to the history of Malayaḷam. This language, which is, it would be remembered, a dialect separated from Tamiḻ in the mediaeval epoch, has progressively lost all the personal terminations. One would therefore be tempted to think that it is the flexional system and not its absence which is original. It would then remain to be explained as to why the system is so varied in forms from one language to the other; such as it is observed, it cannot go back to a unique original. To suppose that a prehistoric flexional system had been replaced in its elements, separately in the internal system of each language, in parallel fashion, would have the advantage of accounting for certain difficulties, like the disagreement between noun and verb in the 2nd sg.; but this would be one more hypothesis and undemonstrable.

It therefore seems in the end that the flexional system of the pronominal type had developed secondarily. It follows the usage of the verbal nouns capable of pronominal subjects in the nominative. One finds numerous enough examples of it in the old Tamiḻ poetry; to the examples already mentioned, the following may be added, taken from the PuRam :

Yān piRakku "I shall be born;" and without pronoun, the person being established only by the context, *varaRk-ē* "I will come" (*-ē* of emphasis); *Kāṇgu vandū* "I shall see having come;" *selgu oḷigu* "go away thou..... cease."; *illōḷ.. "selǫ" ena viḍum* the lady[2], saying[3] "Go! sends (him) away;" *peRRu* (commented by *peRRān* and *peRRāḷ* "he, she obtained."

It is to be noted that the pronoun is not necessarily expressed; and on the other hand the order of words is not rigid : this renders the posterior fixation of pronominal elements after the verb possible.

The question which consequently presents itself is this : why has the flexional system with pronominal type taken the

extention which we see in all the languages of the family ? To this question there is no answer at present.

In such a case, one is tempted to look for a substratum. Now here is how BODDING speaks of Santal (*Materials for a Santali Grammar*, II, p. 164): "If the subject is animate, it is always marked by a pronoun suffixed to the verb or to the word which preceded the verb. When the subject is a pronoun, it is repeated under its suffix form, after the verb...."

"If the subject is inanimate, there is no pronoun subject to represent it."

Suffixation equally in Kharia, but not necessarily when the subject is a personal pronoun (LSI, IV, p. 195). On the other hand, the pronominal suffixes are not properly recognised in Gadaba of Bastar (p. 232) and wanting in Juang (p. 211); they are occasionally met with in Savara (p. 220; cf. RAMAMURTI, *A Manual of the So:ra: language*, tables p. 128 ff.; the finals, as far as they vary, do not recall the pronouns).

It seems then that the Muṇḍa furnishes not a substratum, but a parallel.

A case of possible Muṇḍa influence is met with in Kui where a 'particle of transition' *-a-*, neg. *-ara-* or *-aja-*, inserted between temporal stem and termination, specifies a direct or indirect object of 1st or 2nd person (which ought not to be the person of the subject): "the dog will bite you": *nakuṛi kasane* (and not *kasine* "will bite"); "my[3] friend[4] gave[6] me[5] this[1] dress[2]": *ĩ sinda nãi tõṛenja nãngi sĩatenju* (and not *sĩtenju*).—The infixation of the pronouns of object is normal in Santālī and Muṇḍarī; but not in Kharia, Juang, and Gadaba; in Savara, RAMAMURTI, p. 43, speaks of an incorporation which concerns the nouns as well as the pronouns, and which could be interpreted as a special case of order of independent words.

At any rate the case of Kui is special, since the infixed pronouns of Santālī and Muṇḍarī; are admitted for all the persons and without restriction of use.

ii. *Verbal Stems*

Since a noun, by the fact that it expresses not a thing but an action, is susceptible to have subject, object and personal flexion, the only properly verbal morphological characteristic, will have to be sought in the form of the stems. And in fact certain suffixes specify the action expressed by the word, either in what concerns certain modalities of the action or the tense.

There is no other thematic variation except the one that is due to these suffixes.

A notable exception is that of the verb Tam. *var-*, Kan. *bar-* "to come," imper. Tam. *vā-*, Kan. *bā-*, absolutive Tam. *vandu*, Kan. *bandu*, to which correspond in Brahui infinitive *banning*, imper. *ba* and *bar;* in Goṇḍ, as opposed to the imper. *varā* the stem of the preterite is *vāt-*; cf. again Kui *vā-* contrasting with Tel. *vaccu*, causal *rāvincu* (the primitive form is therefore * *vrā-*). In a verb of the same form and analogous meaning, we have Tam., Kan. *tar-* "to bring," imper. *tā*, abs. *tandu*. Similar cases in Brahui are, as far as one could see, analogous; the thing is clear in particular for infin. *kanning* from *kar-* "to do," Indo-Aryan word; probable in regard to *danning* "carry away," in which one can suspect Indo-Aryan *dhar*. We are here confronted with phonetical facts anterior to the very recent epoch in which Brahui has been noticed.[1]

In Kurukh *kā-nā* "to go," has for imperative *kalā* and for stem of past *ker-*. In Brahui *kā-* provides the present and the imperative for *hin-* "to go;" the 'particle' *-ka-* of Kui, indicating that the action of going has preceded that of the verb

1. In an article which has reached me at this moment in paging stage (*Language*, 21, p. 184 ff.) MR. EMENEAU proposes to explain this double stem by the "suffixes of transition" comparable to those of Kui (see p. 60) marking an object in the 1st or 2nd person; originally *-a-* had been positive suffix, *-ar-* negative.

(WINSFIELD, 111), is the same verb used in a complex form; *ānu mah-ka-te* "I have been seeing" (*-e* is termination, *t* suffix off the past). Perhaps, Tel. *kā-* "to become" is again the same word. Outside Kurukh, nothing explains the different aspects which are taken by this root.

Non-temporal Stems.

Not only is there only one kind of terminations, but the stems themselves mark neither the voice nor especially the mood.

Kurukh possesses a verb of medio-passive sense, with suffix *-r-* : *ordnā* "to support with a stick," *ordrnā* "to parry a blow;" *esnā* "to break," *esrnā* "to be broken;" *kamnā* "to do," *kamrnā* "is being built," Shall we connect Telugu *calla-* "fresh," *callār* "to refresh oneself?" Brahui has a passive-deponent with suffix -ing, Tulu. a middle term with a suffix -en- without visible relationship.

The only constant opposition of stems is that which distinguishes the active or causal verb from the simple verb, neuter or transitive. The suffixes which mark these modalities are only partially the same in several languages—at least our knowledge of the phonetic history of the diverse languages does not permit us to connect them.

Old Tamiḻ has a suffix with mute dental :

vāḻ- "to prosper"	*vāḻtt-* "to bless"
ōḍ- "to run"	*ōṭṭ-* "to conduct, to steer a boat," etc.
agal- "to increase grow"	*agaRR-* "to extend"
sel- "to enter"	*selutt-* "to cause to enter"
uḍ- "to dress oneself"	*uḍutt-* "to dress, to cover"
tin- "to eat"	*tiRR-* "to nourish."

A suffix with guttural:

tog- "to meet" *togukk-* "to reunite"
to which must perhaps be added
ning- "to stop, to cease" *nīkk-* "to cause to cease."

Lastly a suffix with labial, or labial followed by *i*:
kaḷi- "to pass away (the time)"
kaḷippu- "to cause to pass (not necessarily the time)"
pōr- "To wear, to cover"
pōrpi- "to cause to dress."

The labial suffix, frequent in modern times, is rare enough in the old texts.

The multiplicity of the suffixes hardly renders very likely that their specialisation should be very old. However, the suffixes with labial and dental are clearly found elsewhere.

Telugu has several formulae in addition to the labial: On the one hand, suffixation of *c* (of dental origin ? down below, p. 69) eventually preceded by a nasal:

amaru "to adjust oneself" *amarcu* "to adjust, to prepare"
aḍangu "to yield" *aḍancu* "to humble, suppress"
tegu "to be cut" *tencu* "to divide"
alugu "to be in anger" *alugincu* "to irritate"
ekku "to climb" *ekkincu* "to raise, to lift up"

(but with the intensive sense: *tānku* "to touch," *tāncu* "to kick").

On the other hand suffixation of labial:

nilcu "to stay" *nilvu* "to place" (here Tamiḷ has *niRuttu*, from * *niRt* coming from **nilt-*)
pāyu "to leave" *pāvu* "to separate" (along with *pācu* "to remove")
lēcu "to rise" *lēpu* "to rouse."
eḍagu "to be broken" *eḍapu* "to break"
mē- "to graze" *mēpu* "to cause to graze, to feed"

and with the vowel *i* following the labial :

iccu "to give"	*ippincu* "to cause to give"
trāgu "to drink"	*trāvincu* "to cause to drink"
vaccu "to come"	*rāvincu, rappincu* "to summon."

Kannaḍa uses -*is*-, -c- after liquid or after vowel preceded by liquid or by voiced cerebral; but also the labial : *tirupu* "to whirl round", as opposed to *tiru* (*gu*) "to go round;" mod. *ebbu* "to raise," in contrast with *eḷ*- "to rise."

Tulu recognises *mugipu* "to terminate" from *mugiyu* "to cease," *oripu* "to keep, to guard" from *oriyu* "to remain," but on the other hand *ettu* "to raise," from *ēru, lakkavu* "to raise" from *lakku, kaḍapavu* "to cause to pass" from *kaḍapu, topavu* and *tojavu* "to ride, to climb" from *tovu, toju.*

Kui has the labial exclusively :

aḍ- "to join"	caus. *āṭp*-
uṇ- "to drink"	*uṭp*-
aj- "to be frightened"	*asp*-
tōnj- "to appear"	*tōsp*-
kānd- "to be hot"	*kāsp*-
lumb- "to be extinguished"	*lupp*-
ēg- "to be open"	*ēpk*- (from **ēkp*-)
ning- "to rise"	*nipk*-

Brahui has a labial but preceded and not followed by -*i*- :

bār- "to become dry"	*bārif* "to dry"
xul- "to be afraid"	*xulif*- "to frighten"
kun- "to eat"	*kunif*- "to nourish some one, to give something to eat."

Moreover, it is found without, vowel :

kah- "to die," *kasp*- "to kill;" and *harf*- *hef*- "to lift up," causal of the verb preserved in Tam., Kan. *eR*- or *eḷ*- quoted above.

Kurukh uses the suffix with dental:

ēk- "to go"	*ēkt-* "to cause to go"
ōn- "to drink"	*ōnd-* "to cause to drink"
ax- "to know"	*axta'a-* "to inform."

Malto has *-tr-* or *-tt-* (LSI. p. 450).

And Goṇḍ a group containing a dental:

hur- "to see"	*hurst-* "to show"
mei- "to graze"	*meht-* "to cause to graze"
und- "to drink"	*uht-* "to give to drink"
tind- "to eat"	*tikt-* "to nourish"
kī- "to do"	*kīst-* "to cause to do."

The most current suffixes are therefore those with dental mute and labial mute.

It is convenient to note that those are at the same time the suffixes of nominal derivation which count among the most frequent in the great languages of the South in which derivation has been studied very little. Nothing therefore prevents us from seeing nominal formations in the transitive-causal bases. But the demonstration remains to be made.

The Negative[1]

In Dravidian, words expressing the negation are not lacking. But excepting the case of loan words or imitation of Aryan (Brahui, Kurukh, certain Goṇḍ dialects) they are not adverbs —there are no adverbs in Dravidian— but verbs or verbal substantives; "not to exist, to be missing," or "not to be (this or that)" are expressed by verbs of the same nature as "to be impossible, to be incapable, to be forbidden." These verbs or verbal substantives are combined with the words containing the negative idea: Tam. *maram illei* "there is no

1. Cf. *BSL.* xxxvi, 155-162.

tree," *kaṇḍ-ilēn* "having seen I am not, I have not seen;" Kan. *nīvu koḍuvad-illa* "you the necessity of giving is not there, you future-giving there -is- not;" Tel. *nēnu koṭṭa-lēḍu* "I have not beaten," *koṭṭaḍamu lēḍu* "the beating is not, I will not beat."

This concerns vocabulary. But, besides, Dravidian has at its disposal a purely morphological means of expressing the negation; it is the intercalation of a vowel, generally *a* (sometimes reduced to zero) between radical and termination :

Telugu : 1. *cēy-a-nu* "I do not do," 2. *cēy-a-vu* "thou dost not do," 3. *cēyaṇḍu* "he does not do," *cēyadu* "that does not do," etc.

Goṇḍ : 1. *guh-ō-n* "I do not take, will not take, have not taken," 2. *guh-u-ī*, 3. m. *guhōl*, inf. *guhō*, etc. (Goṇḍ optionally adds *hal-* that is to say the radical of the verb "not to be," cf. Tam., Kan. *-al*, Brahui *all-*).

In Tamiḷ *-a* characterises the inferior 3rd sg. : *seyyā* "this does not do," *naḍavā* "this will not walk;" modern *kūḍ-ādu* "it must not," *teriyādu* "this is not known." And in certain participles and derived nouns : *seyy-āda* "without doing," *seyy-ā-mei* impossibility of doing." But in the personal verb, *-a-*, in contact with the terminational vowel, has disappeared; the result is that the negative verb is characterised only in relation to the positive by the absence of the temporal suffix : *kāṇ-b-ēn* "I will see," *kāṇ-ḍ-ēṉ* "I have seen," but *kāṇ-ēṉ* "I do not, will not, did not see;" *aRiy-ār* "they will not know."

It is the same in Kannaḍa : *nōḍ-eṃ* "I do not see;" *nōḍ-ay* "thou dost not see," etc.

The vowel is seen clearly in Brahui; it is preceded by an unexplained suffix *-p-* : *bisik* "he cooks," *bispak* "he does not cook, will not cook; *tixin* "we put," *tixpan* "we do not put, will not put;" *arēt* "I exist;" *affaṭ* "I am not" (*aff-* from **arp-*);

and this last verb being combined with a temporal stem : *tit-avaṭ* "I have not given," in contrast with *tiss-uṭ* "I have given." By this round about way indeed Brahui introduces the notion of tense in the negative verb.

Kui equally has created a negative past : *tākitin* "thou hast walked," *tāka-ti* "thou hast not walked." Here the vowel is regularly preceded by a glottal stop. When the temporal suffix is lacking, the sense is that of the future; but here as in Tamiḻ the vowel disappears, and there remains only the glottal stop : *tak'enu* "I will not walk." It is possible that the glottal stop should be the remnant of an old consonantal articulation that has completely disappeared elsewhere and having formed with the vowel a verb in negative sense becomes auxiliary.

At any rate the result is that in Tamiḻ and in Kannaḍa the negation is expressed in a manner to be confounded with the affirmation. In these languages, in fact, there is no formal difference between a pronominalised noun and a negative verb : *kāṇēn* may signify, on principle, "I have eyes" as also "I do not see." So, it is not extraordinary that the negative formation should tend to reduce itself.

Temporal Suffixes. -

It is by the variability in tenses that the personal verb distinguishes itself from the pronominal nouns, perhaps incapable of expressing time by their formation. This variability belongs to the alternation, in the interior of each language, of suffix following the radical and preceding the termination.

We will on principle consider here only the simple verbs.

A priori, the normal or zero tense, in the verbs as in the pronominal nouns, is a present expressing event or habit; one can therefore expect to find a present with no infix, as opposed

to the past and future tenses which are provided with a distinctive mark. That happens; but the need of noting a present in action has been the cause of new formations generally complex. The most clear and the most current suffixes are therefore those of the past and the future.

Past.

The most frequent suffix, but not the only one, is a dental mute.

Goṇḍ :

Imper. *guhā* "take!"	pret. *guhtān* "I have taken"
varā "come!"	*vātān* "I have come"
tin "eat!" (*tind-*)	*tittān* "I have eaten"

Kui: The present is without suffix. Vocalic radicals:

kō- "to pluck"	*kōte* "I have plucked
vā- "to come"	*vāte* "I have come"

After consonant :

tāk- "to walk"	*tak-it-e* "I have walked"
nog- "to wash"	*nogde* "I have washed"
aṭ- "to cause to boil"	*aṭite, aṭṭe* "I have caused to boil"
uṇ- "to drink"	*uṭe* "I have drunk"
sōl- "to enter" (from **sōḷ-*? cf. causal *sōṛp-*)	*soṭe* "I have entered".

But after *n* or *l* :

tin- "to eat"	*tise* "I have eaten"
iṅ- "to tell, to say"	*ise* "I have told, said"
jel- "to draw, to pull"	*jese* "I have drawn, pulled"
sal- "to go"	*sase* "I have gone."

Does this -*s*- result from the contact of *lt nt* (cf. causal *isp-* from *in-*) ?

A similar question presents itself for Kurukh. Here the situation is complicated enough. There is in certain verbs a suffix -*k*- which appears only in the first two persons :

Thus from *urkhnā* "to go out":

	sg.	inf.	pl.
1 masc.	*urkh-kan*	*urkh'an* or	*urkhkam* (incl. *urkhat*)
2 "	*urkhkai*	" *urkhkī*	*urkhat*
3 "	*urkhas*	" *urkhā*	*urkhar*

Similarly, for example, *es-* "to break": m. sg. 1st *eskan*, 3rd *es'as*, and certain verbs in which the vocalic terminations are always preceded by *y*: "he has said" *an-y-as;* "she has said," *anyā* "I have said," m. *ankan*, f. *anyan*.

In a large number of verbs *-k-* is preceded by *c*: *bar-c-k-an* "I have come," *bar-c'-an* "I (fem.) "I have come," *bar-c-as* "he has come;" and because of the contact with *n*: *nan-j-kan*, *nan-j-as* from *nan-* "to prepare, to make."

What has been the ancient phonetical form of this palatal? One would be tempted to think of a dental, cf. p. 62. The change from dental to palatal and to sibilant are not lacking in the diverse languages; to quote only one example, Kui and Kurukh *poj-* "to envelop" corresponds to Kan. *pode* and *pose*, Tam. *pudei* "bundle", Brahui *putūl* "bag." Even in Goṇḍ itself, along with the suffix *-t-*, clear in the personal forms, is found in the absolutive *vāsī guhcī tinjī*. But the facts are too intricate to venture to conclude anything.

A mute dental sonorised by contact will explain well in Kurukh: *oṇḍ-* from *ōn-* "to drink," *eḍḍ-* from *eṛ-* "to call," *xaḍḍ-* from *xaṛ-* "to steal;" and from *pes-* "to gather" (cf. Tam. *peR-* "to obtain"?) the preterite *pett-;* but from *es-* "to break" (Tam. *i-R-* or *aR-*) *as-* "to anoint", the preterites are *ess-; xass-*. It therefore becomes possible that there should be at least two suffixes in Kurukh and in Kui: the one dental, the other palatal or sibilant.

Brahui presents a similar problem; it has four morphemes for the past, two vocalics, plus *-k-* and *-s-* or *-is-* :

On the one hand

xal- "to beat"	*xalk-*
bin- "to hear"	*bing-*

On the other

tin- "to give"	*tiss-*
man- "to become"	*mass-*
pir- "to swell"	*piris-*
xul- "to be afraid"	*xulis-*

One finds therein a sibilant which can go back to a dental : cf. *pus-kun* new, Kan. *posa* as opposed to Tam. *pudu; must* before, *musko* "ancestral" opposed to *mutkan* "old," Tam. Kan. Tel. *mud-*.

The interpretation of the sibilant by an ancient dental can also be corroborated by the opposition of *tiss-uṭ* "I have given," *tit-avaṭ* "I have not given."

There are in Telugu two suffixes with dental : the voiced one which serves to make the tense indefinite (*bhaviṣyattaddharma*, modern example : *koṭṭudunu* "I shall beat," etc.), the other, mute, which forms the 'present' participle (*keṭṭutu* "going out") which is at the base of the habitual present *koṭṭutānu* and of the complex present *koṭṭut-unnānu*. The past in the participle is marked by *-i* : *koṭṭi* "having beaten." "It seems that the suffix *-t-* of the present has been added to this participle for forming the preterite, whence *koṭṭitini*. But the flexion is not regular.

1. The third person is without suffix, as is the case in Kurukh. Moreover, it has a special termination in the singular (for the three genders; besides, it will be remembered that originally the inferior plural is not distinguished from the singular), namely, *-en* (*aiyen* "he, she, that has been"), modern *-enu*. It is opposed to *-un* (*u*) of the present which

incites to recognize therein a compound: 1. pronominal termination *-*e* (pronoun preserved in Kui, see p. 23), 2. a substantive verb *un-* which terminates the present and serves to form other compounds, see p. 72, 96.

2. The two first persons, though actually well-marked, have not perhaps been so always. In Mediaeval Telugu the termination can be lacking in singular: *vacciti* or *vaccitini* "I have come (fem. and masc.); *cēsiti* or *cēsitivi* "thou hast come (fem. masc.)".

On the whole, perhaps, the old Telugu had not the flexion.

Kui is very similar to Telugu. In the 1st sg. *-e* does not correspond to *-i* of the present; is it the participle which is used in 3rd sg. neuter or the termination which is found in the negative *-'enu?* In the 3rd sg. one finds *-e* and probably even *-en* of Telugu; the 3rd infer. pl. is the participle itself (*kōtu*) at least the one which is at the base of the relative past participle (*kōti*).

Kannaḍa, like Telugu, has the mute and the voiced dental, and it makes use of them both for the past (as regards the participle, see KITTEL, § 154 & ff.). At least it has made use of *-t-* of yore; KITTEL quotes (p. 139) *biṭṭom* (from *biḍ -i-*) "we have left," *biṭṭar* "they have left," *iṭṭor* (from *i*) "they have given." But the normal formation, apparently equally old (*paḍedār* "they have obtained," *baredoṃ* "we have written), is in *-d-* (*nuḍi-d-ay* "thou hast said," etc.). The flexion is regular.

In Tamiḻ, the most frequent suffix which, moreover, on account of the phonetical circumstances gives varied results, is the mute dental:

kātt-	from	*kā-*	"to keep, to protect."
viṭṭ-	„	*viḍu-*	"to leave"
peRR-	„	*peR-*	"to obtain"
uṇḍ-	„	*uṇ-*	"to eat"
kēṭṭ-	„	*kēḷ-*	"to hear"
seyd-	„	*sey-*	"to make, to do"

Here comes in the 2nd sg. of the type *vinavu-di* "thou hast asked," see p. 56.

There is besides an element *-an-* which is not found alone but accompanying a stem already marked as past: *paṭ-ṭ-an-an* "he has perished," *uṇ-ḍ-an-am* "we have eaten."

In certain cases, the suffix is preceded by a nasal: *aḻ-nd-an-a* "he has perished," *iru-nd-ēn* "I have established myself," *va-nd-an-am* "we have come." We have perhaps to recognize here a compound verb, the second term of which would be *undu* understood as particle by the grammarians and in which Sivaraja PILLAI recognises an ancient verb "to be" (it would therefore be necessary to separate in Tamiḻ *ir-und-ēn* "I have been settling down."). This verb, is it the same as Goṇḍ *udd-* "to be seated," or Kannaḍa *-utt-* (see below), or both of them? At any rate one is justified in connecting Telugu *-unn-*, clearly a verb "to be" which serves to form the present (*vastu* "coming," *vastunnānu* "I come"), and on the other hand, Tel. *-un-*, noted above, lastly Brahui *-un-* which serves to form the perfect in compounding itself with a stem of the past: *xal-k-un-uṭ* (*uṭ* "I am") "I have beaten," *bass-un-uṭ* (from *bar-*) "I have come," *max-an-uṭ* "I have laughed," Cf. p. 96.

It is necessary again to connect the types Kan. *nint-* (Tam. *ninR-*) from *nil-* "to stay, to remain," Coorg *naḍa-nd-e* (Tam. *naḍandēn*) "I have walked," Goṇḍ *guh(a)nd-ul* "he has taken." Note also in Kurukh in the 3rd pl. only *urkh-n-ar* "they go out."

It is not certain whether the Coorg type *māḍune* "I, have done," which co-exists with the type *oḍete* "I have broken" contains the parallel with Tam. *-an-* or *-und-*.

Tamiḻ possesses a second suffix of the past, and that is *-in-*. It seems to be less developed in the old language rather than in the modern epoch; it is not however lacking: *kalang-in-ēn*

"I have been afflicted," *nōkkinan* "he looked" (which to speak the truth in its context Pur. 17, verse 30, would be better translated by a future), *āy-in-a* "it has become, there were (plur.)." The same suffix serves to constitute in Telugu the most common preterite of to-day: *vacc-in-ānu* "I have come," *a-in-ānu* "I have become."

Is this suffix too an independent verbal radical? That would explain that in Kui it characterises a present-future: *tāk-in-enju* "he walks, will walk" (as opposed to the past *tākitenju*). As to Malto 2nd sg. *bandene bandeni* "thou wilt draw" (*LSI*, 453) it is too isolated both geographically and in the Malto paradigm itself to allow drawing any conclusion therefrom.

Tuḷu generally uses the suffix *-t-* with its variants, which serves to form the past: *maḷpune* "I make," *maḷe* "I made;" *kēṇuve* "I hear," *kēṇḍe* "I heard;" similarly, from the defective verb *uppu-* "to be," *itte* "I was" (from * *ir-*); from *bar-* "to come," *batte* "I came." But there exists also a vocalic suffix, for ex., in the verbs with radical ending in *-r*: *buriye* "I fell," cf. *būrude* "I have fallen." This form is evidently formed on the participle *būri* "fallen." It is opposed to the other by a nuance of meaning. Compare *pariye* "I drank, I was drinking"; *parte* "I have drunk"; *tuye* "I saw," *tūte* "I have seen."

Besides Telugu *-e-* of the 3rd sg. seen above, there is no other clear vocalic suffix except in Brahūi, where *-a-*, and *-e-* compete with *-k-* and *-s-*; the base thus formed does not exist independently in the language; but it is used, as in the case of a participle, in combination with the verb to be: *i tix-a-t* "I have placed."

Future.

Two series of suffixes, perhaps three, are found in several languages.

1. In Goṇḍ, mute gutturals in the first two persons (of the singular as well as plural):

guh-kā, guh-k-ān "I will take;" *guh-k-ī-* "thou will take." *guh-kām, guh-k-ōm* "We shall take:" *guh-k-īṭ* "you will take." (Compare the paradigm of the past, p. 68).

The use as imperative of the forms of 2nd person authorises bringing together, with BRAY, the Kurukh *urkh-kē* "thou wilt go out, you will go out, kindly go out (sing. and plural)," (but in the language of Women *urkhe*); in the 'strengthened imperative' of Brahui *bin-ak* "listen," *tōr-ak* "hold," which is shown (Vocab. p. 51), the vowel *-a* does not explain itself at the first sight; one thinks of the Baluci infinitive in *-ag* (*varag* "to eat"), old *-*ak*. In any case the relative participle of the future, which seems at the first sight to contain the same *-k* attached to the suffix *-o-* of the future, (*bi-nok* "who hears," cf. *bino-ī* who must hear, wish to hear) strongly resembles the Baluci verbal adjective (*var-ōk* "great eater," *jan-ōk* "protector," cf. GEIGER, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* I, 237*).

Old Tamiḻ also uses the guttural, but in the first persons only and without termination in the singular: *piRakku* "I shall be born," *kāṇgu* "I shall see," *engō* (commentary *enbēn*) "I shall say," *pāḍu-gam* "we shall sing." The base with guttural can be enlarged by the normal suffix *-v-* and thence can go out from the 1st person: *koḍukkuvēṉ* "I will give," *śeyguven* "I will do," *aRiguvan* "I shall know," *moḻiguvam* (cf. 1st sg. *moḻival*) "we shall say," but also *peyarguvei* "thou shalt go away," *peRuguvir* "you will get," *irakkuvar* "they will entreat," *aRiguvar* "they will know."

It is also in the 1st person that Toḍa employs the same suffix: *ariken* "we shall know," *kanken* "we shall see" (RIVERS, *The Toḍas*, p. 260, cf. 160, 175, 291); EMENEAU, *New*

Indian Antiquary, 1938, p. 114, gives an example of volontative future *'kay-k-in* "I shall do."

But Koṭa makes use of it for the 3rd person (CALDWELL, 3rd ed. 495). And it is in the third persons of the two numbers and for all tenses that old Kannaḍa employs *-kuṃ, -guṇ* (Middle Kan. *-ku, -gu*); and with the emphatic particle *-ke, -ge*, often for the imperative of 3rd person (KITTEL, p. 146, 149).

All these are manifestly based on a nominal base.

2. The characteristic articulation of the future is the labial. It occurs under the form of the consonant *p* or *v* and, in the northern languages, that of the vowel *o*.

Tamiḻ: *moḻi vuḻa* "I shall say," *iḍuven* "I shall throw," *tuḻavuvāḷ* "she will investigate," *tuRappar* "they will abandon," *kāṇbām* "we shall see," *āba* and *āguba* "they will be."

Kannaḍa: *kuḍuvem* "I shall give," *tinbeṃ* "I shall eat," *tarpeṃ tappeṃ* "I shall bring," *pōpeṃ* along with *poguvem* "I shall go," *āppeṃ* and *āpeṃ* along with *āguvem* "I shall be," *aRiveṃ* "I shall know."

Tuḷu equally employs *p* and *v*. Koṭa and Coorg construct a part of their presents on *p* in the first two persons.

In Middle Kannaḍa the group *-uva-*, in the futures, is susceptible to become *-o-*: *tiragonu* for *tiraguvanu*. The same development explains undoubtedly the vocalic forms of the Northern languages known only in recent times.

Kurukh has only the vocalic form: *urkh-ō-n* "I shall go out," *urkh-ō-i* "thou shalt go out;" the third person is nominal: masc. *urkhos*, infer. *urkhō*.

In Brahui we find *-p-* in the negative verb and *-ō-* in the probable future: *bimp-ar* "I do not wish" or "I cannot hear" (*bin-*; here *-a-* is the index of the negative; cf. in the past

bin-tav-aṭ "I did not listen"); *bin-o-ṭ* "I shall probably hear," *tix-o-e* "he will probably place."

Kui does not use this formation in the personal flexion but it has in its present participles two types characterised respectively by a guttural and a labial; besides *kōi* (from *kō-*) "plucking, gathering," it has *iṭ-ki* "placing," *meh-pi* "seeing."

3. The Kannaḍa eventual in *-dap-* admits a suffix *-d-*. This is found in Tamiḻ in the specialised forms of the first two persons. 1st pl. *-dum* and according to the *Tolkāppiyam* sg. *-du-* and 2nd sg. *-di* pl. *-dir*. VINSON assures that these are in reality preterites, because *-d-* characterises the past elsewhere. But Tamiḻ forms in *-di* are used as imperative; and on the other hand, besides the tense in *-dap-*, old Kannaḍa possesses a sort of indeclinable imperative which is evidently a noun, on which the personal forms are made: *īvudu* "(thy, your) giving (is requested)." RAMASWAMI (*Malayalam morphology*, 74) connects the familiar Tamiḻ usage of *seyvadu*. And Telugu has an indefinite future (*bhaviṣyat-taddharma*) of type 1. *koṭṭudunu*, pl. *-mu*, 2. *-vu*, pl. *-ru*, the base of which is used anciently with 2nd sg.: *agudu* along with *aguduvu;* 1st sg. *agudun*, pl. *agudum;* 2nd and 3rd pl. *cēyuduru;* but the suffix is lacking in 3rd sing. of type *agun(u)*, *cēyun(u)*.

We are therefore concerned here with a form undifferentiated at the beginning as to the sense. One is tempted to recall the forms with mute dental of Kannaḍa— language in which the suffixes in *-t-* and *-d-* are normally equivalent— in the verb "to be": *uṇṭu* "it is" (signifying also "existing" and "existence"); Tamiḻ *uṇḍu* "there is (cf. Brahui *uṭ* "I am"), and Tam. *undu* and its correspondents quoted above, p. 72.

Present.

This tense is, as has been indicated above, the least characterised of all. On principle, a zero sign is sufficient for it,

in opposition to the other tenses; but from the fact that this 'present' combines the sense of eventuality and reality, each language has been obliged to create for itself a contrivance to mark more particularly the real present as opposed to the real past, and in a less measure to the future.

Brahui is the only language which directly forms a present on the verbal root; and this present is precisely an eventual: *i bin-iv* "I may hear," *numēt-ire* "you may give." To specify the tense as present-future, it adds to this form a particle *-a*: *biniv-a* "I hear, I will hear," this particle also serves to make an imperfect from the preterite: *bassuṭ* "I came" (*uṭ* "I am"), *bassuṭa* "I was coming." This particle to that extent depends so little upon the verb that it is repeated before it: *i na-a dev-a* "I take you," *i-a kav-a* "I will go." It must be a borrowing from Indo-Aryan, see p. 53. One would be wrong in thinking of the 'categorical' *a* of Santāl. This Muṇḍa language in fact is spoken far off from Brahui territory and there *-a-* is an infix.

Elsewhere, radical presents are found only in special cases, particlarly in the verbs which serve as auxiliaries: Tel. *kal-* "to be" *gal-* " to be able," *paḍ-* "to feel;" Kurukh *arg-* "not to have yet," Brahui *uṭ* "I am,"—to which are added the auxiliaries without independent life such as Tel. **unn-*, Tam. **kiR-*, "to be" and **a-* "not to be;" these auxiliaries, and others of which one is led to suspect the presence precisely on account of the variety of formations, serve to form in particular the positive presents in the diverse languages.

Considering all the temporal suffixes, and setting apart auxiliaries which are suspected among them, there remain simple formations: past *-t-* or *-in-* and *-an-*, future *-k-* (exceptionally with the value of past in Kurukh) or *-p-*. Now, the former are recognised as suffixes of the oblique cases, that is to say, cases denoting indeed a connection with the subject.

The latter count among the suffixes of the substantive derivation most current in the languages, in which derivation is alive and quite observable, namely those of the South. It is more over curious that *-k-* should be in the declension the morpheme of the dative, and *-p-* that of the causal in the conjugation: both of them express an external transfer. The past would then rest respectively on expression of a dependence upon the subject and the future would express a movement of a centrifugal nature proceeding from the subject.[1] In any case, it seems certain that these temporal suffixes are also, and probably at the start, nominal suffixes, forming either the derived nouns or the terms of obliques.

The personal Dravidian verb therefore appears as a structure still badly differentiated and incompletely arranged, chiefly in those languages which have not been cultivated. And this accounts for the fact that in a given tense of a given language uniformity of the suffix may not have been realised.

1. I take the liberty, as an exception, to refer here to a double observation made on a very different language. A. SOMMERFELT, *La Langue et la Société* (Oslo, 1938), thus defines the value of the two Aranta suffixes:

P. 84: 'The root *ka* (*ga*) signifies at the same time "to cut," and "that which is cut, point, head ...." Under this extremely concrete form Aranta expresses what we render by a partitive genitive ..... At the same time, this *ka* corresponds to a determinate aspect of the Indo-European verbs, form which we have to translate in the Western European languages by a preterite.'

P. 97: 'This *tja/tji* means "to belong to"....*tji-na* seems to mark a special affective position of the speaker regarding the action; this formation may therefore be compared to the forms of the subjunctive or the optative in the Indo-European languages (but it has a sense much more concrete than these latter forms). Examples: *ta ga-tj-na* "I shall, cut" (KEMP), *ilina nala inkara naritjina*, word for word, "we two, here, immortals, we wish to be."

Concerning *-na*, cf. *atna-na* "to the man," quoted on p. 54, with the explanations p. 81 and ff.

Thus in Goṇḍ, the suffix of the future is *-k-* in the 1st and 2nd persons (*tindākā* "I shall eat," *tindākī* "thou shalt eat"), —but *-n-* in the 3rd (*tindānul* "he will eat"); this in the singular and the plural.

In Kurukh, *k* of the future and the preterite is lacking in the 3rd persons; *-d-* of the habitual present is lacking in the inferior 3rd sg. (*urḳhdas* "he goes out," *urkhī* "she goes out") and it is *-n-* again which characterises the 3rd of the plural (*urkhnar* "they -masc. fem. -go out"). In Malto *-n-* appears also in the 2nd sg. and plural.

Lastly, in the present-future of Kui the suffix is zero in the 1st sg., *-d-* in the 2nd sg. and plural, *-n-* in the 3rd pers. sg. and plur. and in the 1st of the plural (*-n-* appears, however, at the 1st sg. in the group with *-aki* "because": *tākin-aki* "because I walk," "in opposition to *tākü* "I walk;" Kui at the same time *vāi* and *vāini* "I come.")

There are some coïncidences in these facts; it seems difficult to deduce any rule from them. It is striking that they are present in the most uncultivated languages (keeping aside Brahui which, as it is seen, has formed a system for itself by taking recourse to the Aryan).

II. Non-personal Forms of the Verb.

Susceptible to have subject and objects these forms are of three kinds:

1. The infinitives which play a rôle of substantive. They can be declinable.

2. The relative participles, sort of indeclinable adjectives immediately preceding a noun of the principal clause.

3. The absolutives, often called participles, which constitute a proposition connected only by the sense with the

principal clause; they express a stage or a circumstance of action defined in the principal clause.

Infinitive and Relative Participle

On principle, in the languages in which nouns expressing an action are susceptible to have subject and object, one does not expect to find a specialised form as support of the verbal idea. Nevertheless, there is, on the whole, a certain unity of formation of the Dravidian family: almost everywhere, the termination, following directly the radical, is *-a*.

Tamiḻ: *kāṇa vammin* "come to see," *vara sollu* "tell to come," *irukka sonnēn* "I have told to remain," *maṇal niReya peymin* "rain to fill the sand," *parisilarkk' arungalam nalga.. v-āgu (m) nin-kai* "thy[6] hand[7] (is) made[5] for applying yourself[4] to distribute[3] the jewels[2] to the solicitors of gifts[1]."

Kannaḍa: *nīvu oḷage bara bahudu* "you inside to come is possible = you can enter."

To speak the truth, Kannaḍa more willingly makes use of a derived noun in *-al* (suffix current in Tamiḻ also, for example, *seyal* action"): in *uṇal baluttu* "to eat good thing, it is good (to) eat," the infinitive is subject or apposition; in *uṇal samayam* "(it is) the time (of) eating," it is first term of the compound; in *uṇal bandaṃ* "he came to eat," it is direct object. They also use indirect object: *nānu ūrige hōgalikke bēku* "I (nom.) to the village to go is necessary, I must go to the village."

Telugu: *āḍa nērcinadi* "she learned to dance;" *paḍa pōtini* "I was going to fall;" and with an auxiliary *paḍa goṭṭ-uṭa* "to strike (so hard as to make one) to fall/to knock down." The form is declinable: *sēy-uṭalu* "the actions;" *vacc-uṭaku jaḍisi* "fearing to learn (dat.)."

Telugu presents a question from the etymological point of view. Before vowel the termination is not *-a* but *an*: *ataḍu*

ā pani cēyan ārambhicināḍu "he has commenced[5] to do[4] this[2] work[3]." Now *-an* is the normal termination of the infinitive in old Telugu; here is an epigraphical example of the VIII century :

vevana ūRlu nilpinam puṇyambu "the merit of establishing a thousand villages" (*nilpinam* for *nilpinan* by assimilation at the beginning of the following word).

One cannot admit here the adjunction to the termination *-a* of *-um* "same," the normal sandhi would give *-avun.*

Old Telugu seems to have sketched a temporal system : besides *cēyan* and *cēyandan, cēsinan* appears to be a past constructed furthermore on the relative participle.

At present, the most current form of infinitive is a noun declinable in *-adamu* : *ataḍu pōvaḍamu nāku tēliyadu* "he to come to me was unknown = I was ignorant of his coming; *ī pani cēyaḍanaku nāku tīrubaḍi lēdu* "this work to do to me leisure lacks."

Goṇḍ : Infinitive in *-ā* : *tindā hal puṭṭō* "To eat no (thing) is there." One could say also : *tindāle* (*tindālā* at Chanda, according to PATWARDHAN) or *tindālesk; -le* is a suffix of dative borrowed from the eastern forms of Marāṭhī; *-lā* is the common form of Marāṭhī; does *-sk* contain the Dravidian termination of dative, lost in the current use of Goṇḍ ?

There is also an infinitive in *-nā; aggā handānā varītātōnā* "I am afraid[3] to go[2] there[1]." In compound : *handānā sarri* "way (along which one is able) to go." Note that the subject is put in the genitive : *aṛā handānā* "their departure." This suffix *-nā* is without doubt borrowed from Hindi. Cf. *H. denā* (to give), *jānā "to go."*

Kurukh. Here also the Aryan form has spread: *barnā cān* "the year[2] to come[1];" *ās ujjnā rahcāo* "he was to live, he lived;" *ī-rājī-nū ujjnā malā kālo* "to live[2] in this country[1] will

not[3] go[4]." In the accusative: *cicc-gahi mōjxā co'ona-n ɪ̄ryar* "they saw[5] go up[4] the smoke[3] of[2] fire[1];" in the ablative: *cicc ci'inanti munddh* "before setting fire;" in the locative: *adi-gahi mētas ujjnum ra'adas* "of her the husband in life remains;" *muccnum kāldan* "on closing (the door) I go."

But Kurukh also uses a neuter noun in *-ā* which coïncides with the inferior 3rd pers. sg. of the preterite: *ōnā ra'akē* "remain eating;" *tembā kālālagyas* "he went begging;" *amm bar'āge koṛnar* "they prepare the field[3] the water[1] for coming[2] (= in order that water should penetrate into it)."

Kui. Infinitive in *-a*. (Another in *-oṇḍi*, obscure).

Coorg. Dative infinitive: *māḍuvaku* "for making."

Remain apart:

Tuḷu, which distinguishes on the one hand two affected nouns having temporal mark: *maḷpuni* "to do" (*umpuni* "meal"), *maḷtini* "to have done," nouns which often replace the personal forms; on the other hand, a special infinitive expressing purpose: *ā bēle maḷpere batte* "I have come[4] to do[3] this[1] work[2];" this form, however, is susceptible to receive the termination of dative: *āvaregu* "for becoming," *amperegu* "for making."

Malto employs a substantive in the accusative: *band -e* "to draw," cf. *manθ* "tree" acc. *mane*.

Lastly, Brahui has an infinitive in *-ing*. This form is unexplained; does it not contain the old termination of the dative? The same ending is found in the adverbs of direction, for example, *ēng* "there;" cf. Tam. *aṅgu*. Whatever that be, the construction can be that of a noun or of a verb: *duśmannā* (gen.) or *duśmane* (acc.) *xalling juvān e* "to strike[2] the enemy[1] is[4] good[3];" *kanā īlum rāhi manning-aṭi ass* "my[1] brother[2] was[5] on (the point of) being[4] on voyage[3]."

The most simple way of understanding the principal formation of infinitive is to see in it a derived substantive in *-a*. And in fact Kannaḍa *naḍa* signifies "march, promenade," Tel. Kan. *māṭa* "work, business." But this termination does not exist in the substantives in Tamiḻ, one can only recognize it in the vocatives of the enlarged masculine nouns, like *poRuna* "king!"; *maga* "son,"; the corresponding substantive suffix in Tamiḻ seems to be *-ei* (old *-ai*): Kan. *nila* "standing straight, frame of the door," *Tam. nilei; Tel. vella* "white-wash/lime," Tam. *viḻḻei* "whiteness, milk of lime." This correspondence explains immediately that the Sanskrit nouns in *-ā* should be rendered in Tamiḻ by the nouns in *-ei*. It must depend upon a phonetical fact of the sentence.

If a form made with a temporal suffix, followed by *-a*, can also be considered as a substantive, one wonders whether the exceptional termination in Tamiḻ of 2nd sg. *-e, -āy* (ancient **-ăi*) like that of Kan. *-ay, -e, -i* and of Goṇḍ *-ai* is not that of a normally constructed appellative noun. See pp. 55-56.

One consequence of very great importance is this: if the infinitive is a substantive, one must expect to find it used absolutely, with imperative sense; and it is the case in Kannaḍa (*kuḍa* "to give" and "give!"). The same suffix *-a* furnishes the imperative 2nd sg. in Kurukh and in Goṇḍ, an imperative and infinitive in Brahui. We find it in Tamiḻ usable in all persons: *yān inmei uRa* "may I fall in misery!" Tamiḻ uses chiefly the stem in guttural with the value of future, employed without anything in the 1st person singular, as we have seen on p. 74 but capable of being as good as the imperative: *selg(u)* "go!" whence, for example, *vāḻiya* "prosper!" *kāṇga yām* "we[2] would wish to see[1]". This form furnishes the polite imperative of 2nd pl. in Malayaḷam. The only difference between these forms and the normal infinitive is that they are constructed on derived stems.

Other consequence: if *-a* or *-ā* is the original form, there would be no difficulty to recognize in the "indeclinable abjectives" in *-a* of the three great languages of the South, the same substantives employed as first terms of groups: in the face of Kan. *pedda* "greatness," Tel. *pedda* preceding a noun means "of greatness" therefore "great," in the same way, as opposed to Kan. *nalla* "goodness," Tam. *nalla* means "good;" *valiya*, translated above as infinitive, means also "powerful;" Besides the opposition *nal*: *nalla*, *vel*: **veḷḷa* can also be explained as the opposition of the simple to the oblique, see pp. 16-18.

Similarly in Kui, one will easily translate *uṇba sidṛu* by "water to drink, drinking water, drinkable water."

This being granted, it follows that if an adjective of this kind, constructed on a root or a verbal stem, admits of subject and object like every verbal noun, the result will be a complex "adjective," a veritable clause connected with the substantive which follows it. Owing to the necessity in many cases, of translating that in our languages by a relative clause, this use has been called "relative participle."

What differentiates it from the infinitive from the formal point of view is that it is generally constructed on a temporal stem. But this is not absolutely necessary. For example in Tamiḻ:

yāṉ tara ivarei koḷ "take[4] these[3] (that) I[1] offer thee[2]."

The relation between this participle and the noun on which it depends, on the one hand and the terms of the proposition established on this participle on the other, are indeterminate in form and have to be translated in various ways: Tamiḻ: *nilan ēndiya visumbu .... vaḷi taleiyiya ti* "the sky[3] *which* covers[2] the earth[1]....) the fire[6] *which* the wind[4] causes to increase[5]."

uvagei īnRa ñanRin-um peridu "her joy[1] is greater[4] than even the day[3] *on which* she gave birth[2] to him."

kay iRu piṇi-koṇḍa maṇi "'bell[3] attached[2] to a cord.[1]"

māynda pinRei "the day after his death."

Kannaḍa: *kalta pāṭham* "lesson learnt," *āḍida polaṃ* "place where they played," *māḍada key* "uncultivated field," *poḍeva bhēri* "drum which one strikes."

Telugu: *mī kumāruḍu vrāsina uttaramu cadivinānu* "I have read[5] the letter[4] that your[1] son[2] has written[3]."

āyana veḷḷina ūru yēdi "which[4] (is) the village[3] to which he[1] went[2]," *nēnu pulini caṃpina tupāki* "the musket[4] (with which) I[1] have killed[3] the tiger[2]," *nēnu ceppina pani cēyaka, ceppani pani cēsināva* "not having done[4] the work[3] which I had told[1-2], thou hast done[7] the work[6] not told[5]."

Kurukh: *mulxkā pokhārī* "the lake in which he plunged." —Here there is an apparent meeting with the inferior past participle (which is at the base of the first two persons of the preterite, see p. 68); but the construction, which is not appositional, is clear. In the same way: *likhickā kāgad* "a written paper," but *idin likhickā kukkos* "the boy[3] who has written[2] this[1]," *taikā pabīd'us* "the sent messenger," but *engan-taikā gollas* "the master[3] who has sent[2] me[1]."

The formation in *-a* is extensive chiefly in the past. When one has to express the present or the future, or better still to say when no precise tense is to be expressed, certain languages have recourse to a form without temporal suffix, and resting apparently on the use with the root followed by a simple element of emphasis.

Telugu: *mīru rēpu veḷḷ-ē grāmamu pēr ēmi* "what[6] is the name[5] of the village[4] to which you[1] will go[3] to-morrow[2] ?," exactly: "you to-morrow to go-precisely village, name

what ?" *nēnu tin-ē annamu tellanidi* "the rice[3] that I[1] usually eat[2] is white[4]."

Tamiḻ: *mu-ttī viḷakkil tuñj-um .... Imayam* "The Himālaya[4] where (the young fawns) sleep[3] in the light[2] of the three fires[1];" *iru pal paḍukkum nin vāḷ* "thy[4] sabre[5] which will throw (me on the ground[3] in two[1] parts[2];" *pōgum poḻudu* "(at the) moment of going;" *muḻungum murasu* "resounding drum."

As long as one is not clear about the exchanges between dental and labial nasals at the end of the words, it is doubtful whether it is possible to connect the present participle of Telugu like *agucun* "being," *cēyucun* "doing," and the participles or absolutives of the Kannaḍa in *-utuṃ*. It is opportune chiefly to remember that Tam. *-um* is in a verb termination of 3rd person: *kūum* "the country cries," *sellum* "(the king) will go," *vīyum* (lives) will perish;" one could therefore see in it a nominal formation: *peRal kūḍum* "one will be able[2] to obtain[1]," originally meaning "there is a possibility[2] of obtaining[1]." Lastly, *-um* is often translated by our adjectives: *karum* "hard," *arum* like *ariya* "difficult," etc. The parallelism with *-a* is therefore strong.

The construction of the relative participle exists in Kui, but the form is that of the absolutive:

ō vāi mani lāa ī paiṭ gine "this having come being woman this work will do;" (the woman who has come will do the work).

Besides, the subject is no more in the nominative:
īri nāi ḍosa masi baha "this of me to sleep having been (is) the place; (this is the place where I slept).

Tuḷu and Coorg equally know the construction but use a material which is irregular enough. As for Goṇḍ and Brahui, they have no trace of it. However, whereas this construction is lost in the contact with Indo-Aryan, certain Indo-Aryan languages have been influenced by it, see *BSL.*, xxxiii, 2.

Absolutive.

Whereas the infinitive and the relative participle, when they are not used absolutively, necessarily determine a word of the sentence, the absolutive (often called past participle or gerund), which cannot constitute a totally independent proposition, does not, as a set off, form part of the principal proposition. One can - and it is not an accident - describe it in the same terms in which one describes the *ktvā* of Sanskrit: "The absolutive is properly a stereotyped case form .... with fixed value, which is employed either absolutely or as determination, on the predicative occasion, of a verb with a personal form ..... In the normal use, the absolutive has the value of an active participle, which marks an anterior or simultaneous action with the action of the principal verb and accomplished by the same agent...." (RENOU, *Gramm. sanscrite*, 128-9).

From the formal point of view, the three languages of the South agree with one another in employing the suffixes *-tu* (*-du*) and *-i*.

Kannaḍa: *aRitu* and *aRidu* "knowing," *kaḷdu* "having stolen," *niltu* "standing;" *uṇḍ' oRagidaṃ* "having eaten he slept;" *begidu kaṭṭidaṃ* "having put together he bound it," or "he bound it tightly," *naḍedu bandaṃ* "he came having walked" or "walking," that is to say "on foot;" *aRiyad-ē keṭṭaṃ* "not having known (root *aRi;* *-a-* negative) precisely (*-ē*) that is to say, "for want of knowing he has perished."

With grammatical subject different from the subject of the principal proposition: *pāvu kacci .... arasanu sattamu* "the serpent having bitten (him), the king died;" *priyaḷaṃ kaṇḍu sukham ādudu* "having seen the dear one the joy was produced."

Tamiḻ: *seydu* "having done, doing; *koydu* "plucking," *nīngi* "ceasing," *selutti* "throwing."

Telugu: *koṭṭutu, koṭṭi* "striking," *cēstu, cēsi* "doing;" with the two suffixes combined: *uṇḍi* "having been." The participal in *-tu* is preferably reserved for the present (and serves to form the personal present in combination with an auxiliary). This specialisation is known also to Kannaḍa which expresses the contemporaneity by *-ute, -utuṃ*, that is to say, by the forms with emphasis (*-e, -uṃ*,"even") of the normal suffix: *aḷutuṃ* "weeping," *isute* "throwing."

Kui: Suffix in *-i*, chiefly in the descriptive repetitions or in group: *mīḍaka degī saseru* "the children running went away;" *lāa vāi manne* "the girl coming is, comes."

It is undoubtedly the form which is included in the causal particle **-aki* which must be the archaic absolutive of **ak-* "to be" (ordinarily *ā-i*): *ānu tākinaki* "because I will walk," *ānu tākitaki* "because I have walked."

The usual "perfect participle" is described as in *-a*, but, constantly followed by the particle of manner *-nai*:

kṛādi vīa-nai eanju degitenju "having killed[2] the tiger[1] he[3] made good his escape[4]."

ṭeki ḍūsa-nai lāa vāi-manne "carrying on the head[2] a pot[1] the girl[3] comes[4-5]."

Here the first term is the infinitive; the overlapping between the two forms does not surprise; it is verified in *Indo-'Aryan* (RENOU *MSL.* 23,390), it is found in Tamiḻ: *maṇaḻ ni-Reya peymin* "rain[3] (up to) filling[2] the sand[1]" can also mean "in filling the sand;" *vāḻ valam tara maRupaṭṭana* "the swords[1] are stained[4] for giving[3] the victory[2]" or "in giving the victory;" *maḻei peyya kuḻam niReindadu* "the rain falling, the pond has been filled;" *ñayiRu paḍa avan vandan* "(at the) sun-set, he has come."

Goṇḍ. Suffix *-sī* and its phonetical variants.

vāsī "having come," *tinjī* "having eaten," *guhcī* "having taken." The sense is the concomitance as well as precedence:

undi	*pulyāl*	*phasra-māsī*	*suncī*	*mattā*
"a	tiger	lying	asleep	was"

(According to S. B. PATWARDHAN *First Goṇḍī Manual*, p. 17, 23, *-si* marks the past, *-sik* the present).

The sibilant is probably a variant of the dental, see p. 68.

Goṇḍ possesses, in addition, "present participles" formed on the infinitive and on the stem of the past participle. The first, of the type *vānā-ke* "coming," has quite an appearance of being modelled on the Hindi type *karke;* one meets with at Hoshangabad (*LSI.* p. 497) *hattate* "going" which reminds one of Hindi *karte;* the borrowing might have been facilitated by the existence in Goṇḍ of the suffix of nominal locative in *-e*: *ron* "house," obl. *rot-*, *rote* "in the house," *nire* "last year."

The absolutive in *-si* is often followed by a particle *-kun* which ought to be connected with *-ke; -un* is the normal termination of the accusative-dative, see p. 13.

The types *vāsoke* "coming" and chiefly *vāsore* "coming" are more difficult to interpret; *-o-* figures in the personal perfect *vātōnā* "I have come," *vātōl* "he has come," and, with the auxiliary, *vaittōnā* "I am coming." Cf. *tind-ātōnā* "I am eating."

Brahui. One finds the sibilant in the presence of *-i*, but here *i* precedes the consonant, as in the case of the causal suffix (*-ip-*, elsewhere *-pi-* see p. 64): *bin-is-a* "hearing," *nane śikar karisaaṭ nan tamma* "the night[4] fell[5] while we[1] did[3] (*-aṭ* is (a suffix of instrumental) the chase[2]."

In Kurukh is it different; in the intensive repetitions it specially makes use of the pure verbal radical, which immediately reminds one of the Hindi type *karkar* "having done;" should we admit a direct influence, or a loss of the final *-i*, precisely as in Hindi ? Elsewhere Kurukh uses particles.

The entire mass of clear forms is indeed constituted by the suffixes *-tu* and *-i*. One remembers that these are the terminations of oblique; in the same way Skr. *-tvā* and *-tya* which have the same value, have the instrumental endings; the forms themselves have not, let it be clearly understood, any relation.

III.—Compound Verbs and Auxiliaries

Reduced to its essential elements, the Dravidian verb is a rough and poor construction. The divers languages have enriched it to some extent by various combinations introducing shades of aspect and tenses, but generally without resulting in complete systems. The details are mainly a matter of phraseology and etymology; it is however convenient to note some cases, the more so, as they can be used as a basis for the explanation of the apparently simple forms.

Let us take in Tel. the verb *pō-* "to go." The grammars class it among the auxiliaries, giving the terminative sense or of possibility; but *paḍa pōtini* which is directly translated "I was going to fall," or *ā pani ceḍi pōtunnadi* "this[1] affair[2] is going[4] (to be) ruined[3]," are clear expressions in which *pō-* is not in any way grammaticalised. In the same way *vāḍu cacci pōyināḍu* "he being dead has gone, he is dead," is a simple idiom.

In the same language the verb *vaccu-* "to come" gives a sense of possibility or obligation, cf. French "il revient, il convient" (he returns, it suits): *nīvu veḷḷa vaccunu* "thou to go it comes, thou canst go"; *ā māṭalu vina vaccinadi* "these words to hearing came, became audible;" here one sees an equivalence with our passive. The same verb can bring out a continuative sense: *aṭlu cēyucu vaccinānu* "thus doing I have come, I have always done like this." (Galletti compares the Italian *vengo facendo*).

More interesting is *vēyu-* "to throw;" it marks the idea of carrying out an action to the end, and eventually with intensity: *vrāsi vēyu* "having written to throw, to finish writting (one's accounts);" *tini vēyu* "to devour" as opposed to *tinu* "to eat." The Dravidian languages, and even as we know the Indo-Aryan languages, use this contrivance to express what other languages express by the indeclinable annexes, for example, English *eat up, cut off*. Tamiḻ uses, as also Telugu, the word *vai-* "to put."

Similarly, Tam. *viḍu-* "to leave," Kan. *biḍu-* have the meaning of "permitting." But along with this meaning Tamiḻ *viḍu-* can, combining itself with the root of the principal verb, furnish an equivalent of the causal: *koṭṭu viṭṭān* "he has got engraved," *cey viṭṭān* "he has caused to be done." One will compare the German *lassen*. Old Tamiḻ has likewise employed *ī-* "to give," that is to say "to permit;" *tar-* "to bring." These verbs have gradually lost their sense and often add nothing to the meaning of the principal word.

Let us come back to Telugu. The verb *konu-* "to take" gives to the principal verb a value of middle voice: *illu kaṭṭināru* "they have constructed a house," but *illu kaṭṭu konnāru* "constructing a house they have taken, they have constructed for themselves a house;" *kālu virucu konnāḍu* "he has got his leg broken." "But this distinction," says GALLETTI, "is not aways made "and *-konuṭa* is often added to the verb as a matter of course, without changing the meaning." It is equally the case for the corresponding word *koḻ-* in Tamiḻ.

In Telugu again, as in Tamiḻ and Kannaḍa, the verb *paḍu-* "to fall, to happen, to bear" furnishes an equivalent of the passive: Tel. *ā māṭalu vina baḍḍadi* (for *paḍḍadi*, constant sonorisation in Telugu in the groups; in regard to the sense, cf. *vaccinadi* quoted higher up), "the words were heard; "Kan. *ennin pēḷal* (or *pēḷe*) *paṭṭudu* "by me saying was produced, was said;" Tam. *vīḍu kaṭṭa paḍum* "the house will be constructed."

In ancient Tamiḻ this turn seems to be absent; the most ancient example which can be quoted is from an anthology where already some of the latest forms are met with, and again this example would be disputable : *Kalitt.* 2·29, 3·83 *kai paḍukka paṭṭāy ciRumi nī* "thou[5] has been[3] caught,[1-2] young girl[4]" would be analysed also as : "thou[5] hast found thyself[3] falling[2] in the hands.[1]"

Even the current use of *paḍu*, not more than any other auxiliary, does not warrant to infer the existence of a regular "passive;" its sense remains independent, and recently SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI has taken up again the humerous observation of CALDWELL that *nān nanRāy sāppiḍa paṭṭavan* does not signify "I have been well eaten," but "I[1] usually[4] eat[3] well[2]."

When one changes the ground the usages will equally change. But not completely : in Kurukh, the verb "to go" *kā-* has the same uses as in Telugu and Tamiḻ.

First the durative value : on the one hand, with the emphatic locative of the infinitive : *eṛpā kamrun-m kālaggī* "the house[1] goes on[3] constructing[2], the house is still being built; on the other hand, with the present participle : *mal xaṛdar kālā mani* "gone[3] in losing patience[2] not[1] is (good)[4], one must never be discouraged." Then, with two verbs in apposition, the completive sense : *keccā kerā* "she passed away," *xandras keras* "he got asleep."

If one considers, on the other hand, the verb "to give" in Kurukh, one will find for it the same usage as in Tamiḻ : *engan kālā ciccas* "he let me go, he has permitted me to go." But in the same use one will also find *ba'anā* whence the first sense "to say" is lost; *bacchrnā* "to escape;" *bacchā-ba-'abā* "to save," originally "to tell to escape;" one is here very near to a causal.

On the other hand, *ci'inā* "to give" can furnish a formula of mild imperative when it is constructed with the present

participle : *likh'ar ci'ā* "writing give, please write." On the other hand, "conjugated and following a conjugated verb also it indicates," says GRIGNARD, "that the act in question is complete, decisive and even arbitrary : *hebra'ā ci'ā* "throw it away (and have done with it)." *cūtiyas ciccas* "he has retired to rest, he is asleep (I will not go to disturb him)."

In Kui, *sī-* "to give" often has another value : joined to the infinitive, following the perfect participle of a main verb, it indicates that the action is done on behalf of another: *eani gēlu īnu kōḍinga ḍūsa jimu* (for *simu;* sonorisation in group, as in Telugu), "you drive[5] the bullocks[6] for him[3-4] to their[1] place[2]." On the other hand, following a past participle it may become almost expletive : *eanju ide vessa jinenju* "he[1] is going[4] to speak[3] now[2], he will speak now."

In Brahui the verbs *kā-* and *hin-* "to go" and *bar-* "to come," following a gerund, indicate the frequent or continuous action and at the same time intensity :

(i) With the absolutive : *narrisa kaik* "running he goes," that is to say "he is always running away" or "he persists in flight;" *ā parisa bassunuṭ* "I have said times without number or I never ceased to say."

(ii) When coupled with another conjugated verb it has an intensive meaning, as in Kurukh : *o kunēk kāik* "he will eat will go, he will eat;" *num xalkure hināre* "you have beaten have come, you have thrashed soundly."

It is natural that the verbs "to be, to become, to remain" should enter in our list.

In Brahui it is *man-* : *ī halling-a marēva* "I am to take", that is to say, either "I can be caught" or "I shall be caught;" *kanning matdu* "It was not done" therefore either "it could not be done" or "it has not been done" (compare with the verb *man-* alone, here in the negative : *dā kārēm kanā dūān*

mafak "this[1] work[2] by my[3] hand[4] is not[5], cannot be done by me"). For the sense of obligation, one can compare Kui *ē kṛāḍi tini vīva āne* "there will be a shooting that tiger: that tiger ought to be shot."

The same verb *man-* in Kui properly signifies "to exist, to remain;" it enters into the temporal system having defined the notion of durative present but actual. That is to say: Following a present participle it describes happenings that are actually going on in the present: *ānu lākīi* "I will sacrifice," but *ānu lākai mai* "I am sacrificing;" *vāi manne* "she comes;" *āmu māi nāju tani iḍu roṇḍa ḍēspi manamu* "we[1] are[8] building[7] a[6] house[5] in[4] our[3] village[2]." If *man-* is in the past, one gets an imperfect: *kahe kūinga mrīmi gaṇḍi mūspi-maseru* "formerly, the Kui in sacrifice the men would bury (that is to say, performed human sacrifices)." And if the principal verb is not a present participle but a perfect participle, one obtains a resultative: *īnu koksa manji* "thou art sitting down," *ānu ēraṛingi sīā mai* "I have given to her;" and from this form, in its turn, with the past of *man-*, may be drawn out a preterite of the perfect: *īnu koksa masi* "thou wast sitting down," *eanju vāja siḍatenju* "he had not come."

Kurukh uses *rah-* "to remain," *Hindi* word, for the compound tenses of the past: *urkhkan* "I went out," but *urkhkan ra'adan* "I have gone out" *urkhkan rahackan* "I had gone out," *urkhkan ra'on* "I will have gone out." This system is contrary to that of the present, constituted with another Hindi word, *lag-* "to be attached, to be present, to last": *urkhā lagdan* "I am going out," *urkhā lakkan* "I was going out." But the two systems which are contrasting in the Latin fashion, are not constituted in the same way: in the present, the verb at the base is in the infinitive, whereas in the past there is apposition of the conjugated verb and the auxiliary "to be" equally conjugated. This construction of which we have seen above from examples in Kurukh and in Brahui, is parallel to that

of the 'adjective' declined like the noun when it follows it (because that itself is a noun, see p. 42), whereas when it precedes, it is the first term of the compound: *ēn katthan urmin tengon* "I[1] will tell[4] the complete[3] story[2]."

Tamiḻ has also constructed for itself a system of perfect with *iru-* "to be" associated with the absolutive: *paḍitt' iruk-kiRēn* "I am having studied, I have studied;" *paḍitt' irundēn* "I had studied," *paḍitt' iṛuppēn* "I shall have studied." One would be tempted to recognise a parallel system of present constituted with the suffix (appeared in the Mediaeval times) *-kiR- -giR-* of which we have just seen an example in the forms of the verb *iru-* "to be." The most ancient form of the suffix, *-kinR-* appears in the inferior gender, that is to say, in one of the participial nouns of which we have seen that they have been the point of departure for the personal flexions:

peṇṇ-uruvu oru tiRan āginRu "(a) feminine form[1] is[4] on one[2] side[3]."

The verb in question exists independently, it seems, in the scattered dialects of the nomadic tribes of the North: in Kaikāḍi of Sholapur: *kiri* "I am" and in Burgaṇḍī of the region of Indore: *sire* "I am," *cir* or *sir* "he is," *cirū* "they are;" employed as auxiliary it gives to the principal verb the sense of future: Kaikāḍī *hogri* "I will go," *edkiri* "I will raise," *ikari* "I shall be;" Burgaṇḍī: *aḍikrā* "thou wilt beat this in the face of the presents Kaik. *hōgākī*, Burg. *pugā-kē* "I go," apparently constructed with **āk-* "to become."

The same verb *ā-* furnishes a present to the Goṇḍ. The simple stem of the infinitive, without flexion, would be sufficient to express it: *bēgā handā* "where to go, where art thou going?," *bārāng bārāng tindā* "what what to eat, whatever he eats." But from *tind-*, for example, one extracts *tind ātōnī* "thou eatest" which contains *ātōnī*, perfect of *aiānā* "to be."

It is also a verb "to be" which the suffix of Telugu present *-unn-* associates with the present participle : complex relative participle *agucunna* "becoming," *anucunna* "saying," indicative *agucunnayavi* "we are," *ceyucunnavāṇḍu* "he who does," *ceyucunnavāṇḍan* "I do;" modern *koṭṭutunnānu* "I beat." The verb exists independently : *unnadi* "it is," *unna* "real," *unnavāṇḍu* "he who remains," *ataḍu inkā caḍuvatūnē unnāḍu.* "He is still reading." It is found, as we have seen, p. 72 in Brahui where it is used as suffix and is connected without doubt with Tam. **undu.* This word is wrongly connected with *Tel. uṇḍu* "to remain, to be," Tam. *uṇḍu,* Kan. *uṇṭu* "there is," Brahui *uṭ* "I am," which depends, it seems, on the radical *uḷ* "interior; to be inside."

The suffix of old Kannaḍa *-tap-, -dap-* (*keḷdapem* "I hear," cf. p. 76) has for Mediaeval substitute *-dah-;* modern Kannaḍa uses -(*a*)h-; the form of old Kannaḍa ought therefore to be analysed thus : first the dental of the participle, then a form with labial suffix, the normal value of which is the future of the verb **ā̄-*, once again.

One would be tempted again to imagine in other suffixes the auxiliaries, but the demonstration would be impossible or fragile.

THE SENTENCE

CHAPTER VI

THE SENTENCE

The Dravidian sentence is simple; the words of which it is made are in part not functionally differentiated; the radical in it is intangible. Besides, the flexional marks can be deficient. For example, the noun, such as it is, can be subject or direct object, or first term of the compound; it can also function as predicate. One and the same form of the pronoun can be subject or object of a noun. The verb may be deficient in personal terminations. The signs of the grammatical connections are indeed relatively rare, if one were to compare these languages with other languages in which most of the words necessarily possess the mark of their function.

As a set off, the order of the words is significant. It is not obligatory; but in principle, the determinant precedes the determined; the object precedes the governing word, the subject precedes the predicate. Eventually the order alone is sufficient to mark the relations.

Besides, the sentence does not only combine words; it happens in fact constantly that several words join themselves in groups, which are themselves treated as words; introducing thereby a relative complexity into the sentence.

The Group

The groups can be classed according as they are formed with nouns or verbs.

I. — *Group of Nouns.*

The coherence of the group is often marked by the phonetic liaison of the terms, notably in Telugu and Kannaḍa, equally from the fact that they have only one flexional mark :

(a) Kan. *eḷe veṇ* "young woman" (*veṇ* for *peṇ*),
paṇe gaṭṭu "forehead band (*kaṭṭu*),"
Kur. *ḍalī ḍhibā* "price of the bride" (*ḍalī*),
urmī tarā "from all (*urmī*) sides,"
ayang-lang-guṭhyar "(*guṭhi*, see p. 8) mother and father, parents in general."

(b) Go. *mark miāhk* "sons and daughters," with *-k* of plural in the two words; but *mai chauvang* "mother and children" with single termination.

The groups are of two kinds: either the terms are on the same plan and are added up; or there exists between them a relation of dependence.

A. — Groups of apposed terms

I. There exists at least one old particle of co-ordination, which binds words (or groups) and not phrases; it is a post-posed element, generally repeated, the value of which with an isolated element is "also,"/even": Tam. *-um*, Kan. *-uṃ*, Kur. *-m*, Brah. *-um*, to which it is perhaps necessary to add Tel. *-nu* and Go. *-nē*.

This particle can be wanting; its absence denotes even a stronger connection between words of similar syntactical rôle. The nouns in this case concern the objects of similar or opposed nature and the expression can take a global sense.

Go. *mai-mansāl*, Kur. *mukkā-mēt* "woman and man (the couple)."

Kur. *ayang-bang* "mother and father, parents,"

ing-yō em-bās "my mother (*ayō*) and my father, my parents,"

devān mosōḍī "minister and menials, officials."

Kur. *bāī-muī*, "mouth and nose, and face;" cf. Brahui *bāmus* "nose".

A particular case is that of the intensive or distributive repetition.

Kur. *kūbi-gahi kūṭi-kūṭī-nū ukkar-rahcar* "they were seated[3] on the very[2] brim of the well[1]."

eṛpāgahi kōṛā kōṛā nū "in every corner of the house."

Kan. *kēri-kēri* "in all the streets,"

tuḷil tuḷil "magnificent courage."

This method is applicable to all the classes of words; its rôle is all the more important because there are no iterative verbs, distributive pronouns, and as there are no adjectives, there are no comparatives and superlative at all. It is therefore the substitute of a great part of our grammar.

The elements are readily chosen for their assonance or rhythmic equivalence; this last is what Kui calls *ṛāppa*.

Kui. *kēta nēḍa* "low land and high land, cultivable land" on which one can form the derivative *kētanēḍagaṭenju* "peasant."

mīḍa bōḍa "children and infants, a family."

sīla pōru "disputes and quarrels."

Kan. *naṇṭar' iṣṭaru* "relations and friends,"

makkaḷu maRigaḷu "children and little ones," *āṭa pāṭalu* "sports and songs, games."

The synonymic repetition is a formula of a group, which is in the system, a formula old enough to have served as model to the groups in which only one of the elements is significant, the other being an assonant formation the only value of which is in expressiveness. These are the echo words.

Kan. *haṇṇu hampalu* "varied fruits (*hannu*)."

The second term frequently has a strong tendency to start with a guttural:

Kan. *piṭil giṭil* "fiddles and other instruments."

veiṭvāś gīṭvāś "white-wash and the like."

viRagu kiRagu "fire-wood etc."

mēsei kīsei "the table, etc."

In Telugu this has a depreciative sense (see GALLETTI, s.v. *gī-*),

dēvaḍavu givaḍavu "whether you are a god or a goose," *anna ginna* "bother your brother (*anna*)."

In Goṇḍ there is a rhythmic balancing without echo:

yēr-phul "water, etc." *rōn-gin* "house, etc."

2. On the contrary, apposition, that is to say concomitance of two nouns in asyndeton, furnished with the same flexion, is rare. It is rendered useless, on the one hand by the indefinite possibility of creating compounds, possibility which is sometimes extended up to the pronouns:

Kur. *ēn kukkon-ge pacgi-gahi* "to me child, to the child that I am; *nin pacgiyīgahi* "of thee old man" (*ēn, nān* have here the nominative form *pacciyī*).

On the otherhand, by using (it must be said, optionally) the relative participle:

Tel. *mī tāta ayina Rāmayya* "Ramayya who is[3] your[1] grand-father[2]."

Kan. *Rāmanu emba dēvaru* "the god called Rāma,"

cikkavanu āda huḍuganu "a boy[3] who is[2] a little one[1] (masc.)," along with the compound *cikkahuḍuganu* "a small boy."

Gōvindan āna nānu "myself, Govinda,"

śubha (v)-āda mātu "favourable word,"

hīge māḍuvudakke siddha (v)āg-iddhāne "I am[4] ready[3] to do[2] thus[1]."

When the apposition presents itself, it can be considered as a repetition:

Kui. *eariki, tāṛa paṇḍa masariki, rājenju kētanēḍa sītenju* "To them[1], (to) his[2] envoys[3-4] the king[5] gave[7] lands[6]."

It is thus that Goṇḍ (see p. 43) has come to create semblances of the adjectives:

Go. *mappāl-massōd-ol manwal* "the flat-nosed man, the man with a flat nose."

or doggālor mattōr they[1] were[3] great[2] (in reality "great persons").

tānā kaiāng iccong iccong aitang "its[1] fruits[2] are[5] so big[3-4]."

The fact is more general with numerals with substantive value.

The cardinals (there are no ordinals) have in fact two aspects: the one radical, treated "adjectively" that is to say indeclinable; the other is a derivative noun:

Brahui *musiṭṭān asiṭ asìṭ huśār e* "of the three[1], one[2] is[4] wise[3]," contrasting with *muṣi rūpiyā* "three rupees."

Now there is a tendency, more or less strong according to the languages, to use the substantive series in both cases for the small numbers.

In Kui it is especially so when the numeral follows the word to which it is connected; one has therefore to deal again here with a form of appositional group:

ro mrahnu tini katitenju "he[3] cut down[4] one tree[2], "but

dēganga rīṇḍe lengitu "two[2] branches[1] (branches-two things) broke[3]."

rō dīna tani deri sōru roṇḍe mase "in[3] a[1] certain country[2] there was[7] a[6] great[4] mountain[5] (great mountain-a thing)."

rōṇḍe, rīṇḍe are the inferior forms of *roanju* "a man," *riaru* "two men."

In the same way in Kannaḍa, along with *ōr* "one," *ir* "two," there are derived and indeclinable forms:

avaru obbaranna-obbaru hage māḍidaru "they[1] a certain number of them[3], to certain others[2] made[5] hate[4], they hated each other."

ivugaḷu ondakka-ondu uppuvud-illa "these things[1], the one[3] with the other[2] do not agree[4]."

The nominal use strictly justifies itself in:

id' ondanna-ē māḍuttēne "I make[3] that[1] thing simply unique[2], I make only one thing."

Less happy in:

dinav' ondakke ār āṇe kūli sikkitu "for a day (day-for one)[1-2], (of) six[3] (radical form) annas[4], salary[5] was[6] obtained."

Not at all in:

ondu pustaka "one-thing book, a book."

Similarly, in Tamiḻ *iruvar* "two persons" can be replaced by *iraṇḍu peyar*, properly, "two things-person(s)."

At the same time the order apparently loses its fixity: CALDWELL notes that instead of *nāl erudu* "four oxen" one can say *nang erudu* and also *erudu nāngu* which literally

means to say a "quartet of bulls," more precisely still "four-things[2] of (consisting of) bull(s)[1]." This construction is undoubtedly, at the basis, of the change of function of the substantive forms.

The absence of accord between the nouns in apposition goes with the absence of agreement with the objects of the verbs, meaning "to say, to do, to think."

Tam, *tan maganei ṣānRōn ene kuṭṭa tāy* "the mother[6] calling[4] her[1] son (acc.)[2] wise (nom.).[3]"

Go, *ana moidur kavena* "I[1] will make[3] (him) my husband[2]" (*moidur*, pronominalised form, in the volume of 1921; but in his grammar of 1919, Ch. TRENCH gives *moidō* as indeterminate form).

Kur. *āsin* (acc.) *bēl* or *bēlas* (nom.) not *bēlan* (accus.) *kamcar* "they him[1] made[3] king[2]."

āsin timbū (or *timbus*) *ba'anarki* "him having taken for a beggar (nom.)."

Here again the numeral makes exception:

ā khaddāsin otxāsīn-im ambyar-ciccar "they abandoned[4] this[1] child[2] (man) alone[3]" (*otxar* masc. pronominalised noun derived from *otx* "alone"; *-im* particle of emphasis).

ā bēlāsin darā bīṛin irbarīn-im mokkhā ciccā "(the monster) devoured[6-7] the[1] king[2] and[3] the queen[4] the two persons[5]."

And with the numeral, the word meaning 'all':

paddantar ōrmar "all the villagers,"

ōrmā mukkar "all the women,"

urmī aḍḍõ "all the oxen,"

("*ōrmā*," says GRIGNARD, p. 184, "is the only adjective of two terminations the second of which *urmī* is exclusively neuter.")

ēn katthan urmin tengon "I shall tell the whole story."

B.—Groups Expressing the Dependence.

The first noun determines or qualifies the second.

The relation of the two terms can be morphologically pointed out, particularly by the oblique or by the genitive:

Tam. *kāṭṭu panRi* "pig of the forest, wild."

Kan. *himada pradeśa* "region of snow," reproduces the Skr. *himapradeś*

hitada upadeśa "advice of good, useful," Skr. *hitopadeśa,*

eḷeya māvu like *eḷe-māvu* "raw mango."

Kui. *mṛeheni ēlu* "the mind of the man, human understanding," *lāveni ḍeli* "time of young man, youth."

Kur. *xōcolgahi sanjgī* "urn for the bones,"

engahi kamckā eṛpā "a house made by me,"

oṇṭa xebdā-gahi soṇḍe "deaf by one ear,"

kankgahi ghoṛō "horse of wood, wooden horse."

sonāgahi cuṭṭī "a golden hair."

Go. *nāvā talā targtā* "my head aches,"

Br. *dūna nā mās* "bottom of the well."

It will be remembered that the causal terminations are, at least partially, words the construction of which is the same as described here.

The group is just normally constituted without the flexional sign; one has then to deal with compounds:

Go. *nār paddī* "pig of the village, domestic."

Kan. *kāḍu* (along with *kāḍa*) *handi* "pig of the forest, wild."
huccu kelasa "act of folly."

Tel. *isuka nēla* "sandy land,"
gurramu sāla "horse stable."

Kui. *mrahnu ḍēga* "branch of tree,"
vaḍi vira, kur. *cācā xall* "rocky land."

Kur. *xess kudhā* "heap of paddy."

Br. *maś-mās* "foot of the mountain" (cf. *dūnanā mās* quoted above).

Kan. Tam. *kaṇṇīr*, Go. *kānēr*, Brah. *xaṛink* (plural, cf. *masink* plural of *masiṛ* "girls, daughters." Note the cerebral which is due to *sandhi*, Kan. Tam. *kaṇ* + *nīr* Br. *xar* + *dink*): "waters of the eyes, tears."

The relation is not necessarily of genitive:

Kur. *kirnā amm* "water of being cold, cold water,"
kurṇā amm "water of being hot, hot water,"
barnā candō "month to come, the next month,"

xẽs kicrī "blood(y) cloth," *arkhī amm* arrak-water, spirituous drink."

Tam. *sen kāl nārei* "heron (with) red claws,"
malar mārbu "breast (in) bloom, beautiful."

This shows how a noun placed before another takes the value of adjective and why the grammars teach that the preposed adjective is invariable: for, it is a substantive, appearing sometimes in an oblique case, sometimes in an indeterminate case, which coïncides with the nominative case.

Kan. *eḷe makkaḷ* "young children" has as its first member *eḷe* "youth"; and *kivuḍu-nāyi* "deaf dog, *kivuḍu* "deafness." Besides, *cikka* "small" is perhaps the oblique of *cīku* "small-

ness" but it should be noted also that it is formed like *agala* "width."

That is why the nouns and the pronominalised participles in the neuter can be used according to the grammarians, with genitive or adjective. Let us take in Kan. *ini* "sweetness"; one gets from it *ini paṇ* "sweet fruit-ripe" *ini mātu* "agreeable words." The derivative *inidu* means "sweet thing" in a special use equivalent to *amurdu* (Skr. *amṛtam*) "ambrosia;" like *iniyaṃ* signifies "the dear, the husband". "Now, *inidupāl* properly "milk (which is) a sweet thing," signifies "sugared milk." That is one of the 33 words of this type which Kannaḍa declines as veritable adjectives: *iniyaḷ kādale* "sweet beloved."

Tam. *paḍei-y-adu yānei-yeī ageRRinān* "he has chased[3] the elephants[2] (forming part) of the army[1]."

kōṭṭadu nuniyei kkuReittān "he cut[3] the end[2] of the trunk[1]."

Kur. *kerkā cān* "last year."

(Compare: *emphai rahackā paddā* "the village[3] of our[1] past residence[2]" *engan taikā gollas* "the master[3] who has sent[2] us[1]").

Every binary group being able to be construed as a simple word, it results therefrom what are called adjectives, comparable to the Sanskrit *bahuvrīhi*:

Kur. kuilā baran "coal-coloured, coal-black."

mainā kukk pello "maina-headed girl, a girl with smoothly combed hair."

amm-ujjū "living[2] in the water[1], aquatic,"

and notably the "participles":

xadd ra'ū ālī "woman[3] having[2] children[1]."

xadd malkā ālī "childless woman."

osgā tur(u)ckā lātā "holes[3] made[2] by a rat or by rats[1],"

lakṛā dharckā ālas "man[3] carried away[2] by a tiger,[1]"

lakṛā engrkā ālas "man[3] saved[2] from a tiger[1]."

Also with postposition:

em tar-tā ālar "men of our side (*tarā* "direction)."

ī paddā-tā ālar "men of this village."

It goes without saying that a group being treated as a simple noun, the group can be extended indefinitely in principle; and the learned poetry has abundantly used this liberty.

Tam. *aru viḍar siru neri* "narrow way of the steep cleft."

vali migu veguḷi "anger[3] increased[2] by violence[1]."

peridu akkum tan maganei "his[3] son (acc.)[4] becoming[2] great thing (growing bigger)[1]."

pūn kaṇ magaḷir punei nalan sideikkum "destroying[6] the virtue[5], ornament[4] of the girls[3] with blooming[1] eyes[2]."

Lastly, playing on the indistinction between nominal and verbal root:

nel vilei kaḷani paḍu puḷ ōppunar "who drive away[6] the birds[5] descended[4] in the fields[3] in which the rice[1] grows[2]."

II.——*Verbal Groups.*

The verbal groups consist in the union of verbs either with nouns or with other verbs.

In the first case it is the question of phrases in which the noun is shown in a naked state and in which is formed, more or less directly, a global sense, this noun being eventually capable of having a direct object.

For example, in Tamiḷ, with *kai* "hand": kai *kāṭṭu* "to show the hands, to gesticulate," *kai kuvi* "to join the hands,

to salute," *kai vara* "to come to the hand, to be obtained," *kai viḍu* "to let go the hand or from the hand, to abandon."

Brahui: *aḍ kan-* "to make shelter, to stop;" *aḍ tin-* "to give shelter, to place under protection."

Kurukh: *cotor manjnā* "to be mud, muddy;" *ninghai kicrī cotor manjā* "thy clothes are dirty;" *enghai kicrin* (acc.) *cotor manjkai* "thou hast been[4] dirt[3] (thou hast soiled) my[1] coat[2];" *ortosin ex nannā* "make shade for some one;" *ortosin ohmā nannā* "to make the praise of some one."

The examples are numerous chiefly with the verbs "to be" and "to make." At bottom it is the question of facts concerning vocabulary.

It is the same when the group consists of two verbs, identical or possibly with similar meaning, being added, the result being either an expressive intensity or a shade of meaning:

Repetition: Kur. *aḍḍo ūxan ērā ērā ekātārā malā kerā* "the buffaloes the darkness seeing-seeing on any side whatever did not move away," "the buffaloes, seeing nothing but darkness on every side did not move away."

Kui: *mīdaka degi degi saseru* "the children running went away."

Phrases:

Kur.: *tussanā bekkhnā* "to sob convulsively."

ēṛā bekkhnā "suffocate in the manner of the goats, to be strangled, to hang onself."

errnā xettnā "to sweep and shake, to clean to the bottom.

ērnā minkhnā "to look and close the eyes, to look foolish; *benjnā cunjnā* "to hit and batter; undertake the marriage of the child."

In Kurukh, both the verbs may be inflected:

ās ī punā nalakh karnē urmin xindyas piṭyas "in view of[5] this[2] new[3] work[4] he[1] bought[7]-killed[8] (that is to say, down to the smallest articles) all[6] (acc.)." It is the construction of the verbs more or less grammaticalised and the auxiliaries:

piṭṭras keras "he was killed-gone,"

ḍhibā cicckas kuddas "he gives[1] -goes[3] money,"

kīṛā manjkam kādam "we have become[2] -go[3] poor[1], we are becoming poor."

It is however seen here, by the real translation which would be "he goes giving," "we go to become," that the principal verb is the second. Those are really pronominalised participles and this is apparent from the conjugation of the auxiliary which cannot be put in the same time: *urkhkan ra'adan* "I remain (am) out;" *urkhkan rahackan* "I have remained out, I had gone out;" *urkhkan ra'an* "I will be out;" cf. p. 94.

Much more general and more important from the point of view of the structure of the sentence is the relation of a verb and an absolutive.

Kurukh: *ho'ar* (*or hoc*) *barnā* "taking (having taken) to come, to bring;" cf. Hindi: *le ānā.*

beddar (*bedd*) *uynā* "procuring to put by; to secure,"

ēn kālā bēnd'on "I shall begin to go, I will go first,"

ās ge kālā tukkī "it pushes him to go, he has a mind to go."

Frequentative and reciprocal are obtained by prefixing the absolutive or middle voice radical of any verb to *nakhrnā,* implying dispersion or severance.

laur nakhrnā "to repeat beating, to strike repeatedly, to strike right and left; or exchange strokes."

Goṇḍ: *rohci simṭ* "having sent give: send,"

si simṭ "giving give,"

tinjī yētānung "(the birds) eating will take, will eat up,"

dorsi vati "thou hast come tired."

This is frequent chiefly with the verb "to be":

arsī hattul "falling he was, he falls,"

māṛsī hat "it is finished,"

marengsi hat "it is forgotten,"

hanji mandakat "having gone, we shall stay."

A great number of these idioms are similar to those of Hindi; for example, *āsī handānā*, Hindi *ho janā;* CH. TRENCH thinks them to be imitations. The question is more complicated because this sort of a phrase is of a general use in Dravidian. The grammars list a certain number of verbs with which it is the most frequent, for example: Tam. Kan. *koḷ*, Tel. *kon* "to take;" Tam. *viḍu*, Kan. *biḍu* "to leave, let go;" Kan. *iḍu*, Tel. *vey*, Tam. *pōḍu* "to place." Kan. *bar*, Tam. *var*, Tel. *vacc* "to come." The verbs bring shades of meaning with them, more or less perceptible, of which some have a grammatical value, such as we have seen on p. 90 and ff.

All these peculiarities depend fundamentally on the vocabulary. But they are interesting as they show how a sentence with rudimentary construction can express the relation which in other languages are expressed by more complicated grammatical contrivances. It will be convenient to examine from the same point of view the constitution of the proposition.

THE PROPOSITION

The sentence is variable in dimension and form. It can consist of a single word, which is not necessarily a verb; the verb "to be" in particular can be missing.

Goṇḍ. *varaṭ hikke. mikun jokkaka. posaṭ* "come here; I will kill you wait," *nīvā battī paṛol* "what[2] (is) thy[1] name[3]?" *nāvōḷ* "(it is) mine."

Setting aside these simple cases, and neglecting the accessory words, vocatives, different participles, we shall examine here the more developed sentences in which the grammatical elements and the groups studied so far play their part.

The sentence only admits of two kinds of propositions: the principal, which contains the predicate, and that which rests on the absolutive and which could be called suspensive. Inside each of these two kinds of proposition, the rules stated above for the group hold good. For that matter, group and proposition are of the same nature. Therefore, on principle, the determinant precedes the determinate: by virtue of this, the subject and the object or objects precede the verb. The noun is preceded by its compliments, the relative participle (itself preceded, eventually by the whole: subject-objects which follow in its train) and the words with the rôle of adjective. The infinitive subject is at the head, the infinitive depending upon a verb before this verb and itself preceded by the whole, which in such a case accompanies it. As to the absolutive, its value of circumstantial compliment will normally make it to be placed before the compliments of the principal verb, inasmuch as these compliments do not depend, at the same time, on the absolutive itself, in which case it forms a group with the principal verb.

The essential difference between the principal and suspensive proposition is that this last alone is by definition always verbal.

When the principal consists of the verb and the subject, there is agreement between these two words. It is the only case of necessary agreement; it is due to the fact, as we have seen, that the verb in personal forms is normally at the out-

set a pronominalised substantive. But this sort of apposition does not depend on the fact that the form of the substantive should determine that of the verb in the sense in which to understand that the subject governs the verbal form. It is enough to conceive of it in remembering that a "subject," noun or pronoun, can determine a non-inflected form while remaining in the nominative; the "nominative case" is therefore properly a case of reference, the form not marked by a special casual affix. That is why we translate it by a nominative before a personal verb but by an oblique case before another noun.

It will perhaps be good to show by some new examples, taken almost at random, the usage that the Dravidian sentence makes of the grammatical contrivances described upto now.

Goṇḍ: *phir ad- ai marka nauṛan kamli mucc-uhc-ikun turi tural or paṭang varsoṛe nar kalistator* "then that self-same night the bride (acc.) with a cover having wrapped (past absol.) girls and boys the songs singing (present absol.) the village salute."

Kurukh: *nād aiyā ār-in sattā ullā arā măxā tan-gayā uiyā-lagyā, arā ār-ge okkā-ge nerran kaṇḍō kam'ar ciā-lagyā*: "the demon there them seven days and nights with herself kept and to them to sit (verbal noun) serpent (acc., sg. or plu.) (as) seat making (absolutive) (them) gave."

Kui: *āmu peḍo-ṛaī sōru nāmba-nanga deri gossa tangi sōlja-naika krāḍi-tini ḍaṇḍe vīanai dehane reha ṛai oṭe vṛē-tamu*: "we with difficulty mountain to climb great forest towards after entering (infin.) tiger (acc.;) quickly having fired at (absol.) much joy with backward we returned."

gule dīna mehpa-tangi ēra-kangaṛi-gaṭaru sōru-tini nām-biteru "all the country to see (infin.) the scouts on the mountain climbed."

māngi mehpa—ḍaṇḍe kogaru ḍegiteru "to us to see (infin)—immediately (as soon as they saw us) the boys ran away."

Kannaḍa: *tāvu intha mātugaḷanu āḍa bāradu* "you (subj.) similar words to utter (infin.) is not proper."

avaralli obbanige hādiyalli bidd-iruva haṇada cīlavu śikkitu....avarannu nōḍi cīla-śikkavanu sōbatiyavanige anuttāne: "among them to the one on the way having fallen (absol.) finding himself (relative part.) a purse of money was found at him looking (absol.) he who had found (pronominalised derivative of the verb) to his companion said."

Tamiḻ: *ni i-ppōdu mūccei aḍakki-koṇḍu settavanei pōla kiḍandāl unnei pārttu nī settāy enR-eṇṇikoṇḍu* "thou (at) this moment, keeping up thy breath (acc.) retaining-holding like a corpse as ("to resemble" infin.) by the fact of being laid up, —if thou liest down (instr. of the neuter verbal noun of the past)—seeing thee (absol.) (that) thou art dead having said, understood taking (absol.)—saying to himself."

kaṭṭiya valeiyei aviḻttu suruṭṭi vēR ôr iḍattil vaikka pōvān: "who holds thee (relative part.) the net (acc.) having unknit (absol.) and rolled (absol.) another one in a place (elsewhere) (thee) to put aside (infin.) he will go."

Poetical example (puRam 127·73):

suveikk' inid' āgiya kuyyuḍei aḍisil piRakk ī-inRi tam vayiR arutti urei- sāl ōngu pugaḻ orīiya murasa- keḻu selvar nagar pōlādē: "to the taste which is sweet (rel. part.) tasteful nourishment to others to give not being (absol.)—without giving—their belly filling (absol.) by speech to spread high glory renouncing in drums abundant of the prosperous the palace does not resemble (that of Ayi)."

"Quite different, the palace full of drums of the rich who fill their belly to the brim without offering to others savoury

and delectable meals and deprive themselves of the high glory which speech spreads."

THE SENTENCE

There is only one type of sentence. The interrogation is expressed by a positive sentence introduced by an interrogative word (who, how much, etc.) or followed by one of the particles of doubt mentioned on p. 27. But every particle is missing in the languages of the North in which the intonation alone indicates the sense:

Brahui: *dūśae xanisa* "thou seest the serpent?"

iray kumpar, miś pakkiv (if) I do not eat bread, shall I eat dirt?"

Kurukh: *nīn tang'ā ayon īrkai* "thou[1] hast seen[4] thy[2] mother[3]?"

ning dāsin tayoi kā ning jōxasin "thou wilt send thy elder brother or (*kā*) thy (domestic) servant?"

Kui here again occupies an intermediate position; speaking of this stage it makes use of a formula borrowed from the Aryan (Bg. *ki nā* "or rather no?").

kṛāḍi tini gorṭenju gina "did he[2] hit[3] the tiger[1] or not[4]?"

It is in utilising the means described above that the Dravidian languages express relations which to us imply grammatical subordination. We have already seen some examples of these; here are some others, taken firstly from Kui:

The intention is brought out by the asyndeton and a pronoun of recall:

isingi olinga sōljanai jeolaka tiṇba mū'o, "how the bears having entered sorghum of eating will not be capable?"

ērariki īnu negi arṛa mānda gisi nehmu "for those things thou good a hedge strong having been built." "Build up a good solid fence so that bears cannot get in and eat up the corn."

The cause combined by a participle with a particle *aki*, which is no other than an absolutive of the verb "to be".

jōṛi dehane gāḍa āi manaki, imbaive ēra grāpa mū'e : "the river very deep being because is (is so deep that) any one it to cross is not capable."

eanju aji jēḍa gaṭanju ā taki nāḍangi ōṛeki trēba kūtenju : "to him fear soul (having) because being the night outside to go he refused." (He refused to move outside at night because he was a coward).

Or more simply by the interrogation and its reply :

īnu anaṛiki vāti inji-vestamu "thou for what (thou art) hast thou come ? saying-say (it):" (Tell me why you came).

The same verb "to say" *in-* equally furnishes a formula the equivalent of which is found elsewhere in other languages :

ānu ē nāju tangi sase anaṛiki iseka embangi meṭka dīna gāṛi vāi manu inju ānu sodi pāṭe; "I to this village I went; why if one asks, towards this place some peacocks every day coming are this saying I received information:" (Because I received the news that some peacocks were coming there everyday).

One would note the second use of the verb *in-* "to say" in the absolutive in this sentence : it encloses a textual quotation. It not only applies to the words but also to the thoughts.

maha peskii inji koganju gossa-tangi sasenju : "the mangoes I will pluck so saying (to himself) the boy to the wood went." (The boy went to the forest to pluck mangoes).

pēṛinga ḍehkanai nāi iḍu tangi ōmu inji ānu eanii veste. "the boxes to carry to my house carry having said I to him said." (I asked him to carry the boxes to my house).

īnu dāṭa gaṭati inji āmu punji manamu "thou art strong (so) saying (to us) we knowing are." (We know that thou art strong).

This is the normal process in the southern group of languages to express what corresponds to our indirect interrogation.

Thanks to the use of these divers ways and other similar means the literary languages have become capable of a high degree of complexity. The learned style over indulges in it and does not avoid being clumsy; at any rate it gains in clarity as compared with what is seen, for instance, in the old Tamiḷ poetry, where on the contrary, cascades of word-roots abound not being differentiated as to their function and even their grammatical class.

The languages of the North have solved the problem in a different way. For instance, the relative participle enjoys a less important rôle in them; as a set off they make use of a procedure intended for the familiar use, that is interrogation:

Kui: *ani ēlu vespa ānu pui, ēra mīngi grāppa dahpi manjai* "what wisdom to say I know? that (acc.) to thee to teach seeking I am (*-ja-*) suffix of transition, see p. 60.

WINFIELD notes that this usage though rare as yet is in progress.

Goṇḍ: *khōlite hanjikun badaḍkāte māl irsimātōnā*, had *aḍkā nākun ōrtal distu* "from the room having gone in which pot the treasure I was keeping? this pot to me broken appeared." (On entering the room I found that the earthen pot containing the treasure had been broken).

It is in Kurukh that the usage seems to be most current:

em bas gusan ēōdā lassiyar ra'anar ārgusan baggī onnā mōxnā engernā lekh'ā ra'i arā ēn kīṛā-tī kheā-lagdan: "my father with whom how many servants are at their houses plenty to drink, to eat to the point of being too much is and myself with hunger I am going to die."

baugī nū endrā rahcā, adin urmin occas "in the basket what (that which) was, that all he took."

The new rôle is well-marked by the fact that the interrogative proposition with the relative use can follow the principal:

asan ortosin xakkhoi, nē ningā ḍahre tengō ci'ō "there a man thou wilt meet who to thee the way will tell will give."

This in fact, is probably less due to an inversion of construction than to a contraction of an old asyndeton.
"Thou wilt meet a man. Who? He will tell thee the way."

Another case of similar contraction would be formed in Kurukh by the conjunctions of co-ordination:

pānbaṭan bēlas em'ā keras darā modhras pāṛki mōxnan thor-nū parmī darā tangdage malā hu'i: "the box of betel (acc.) the king to the bath went and forgot." "The pigeon the food in its beak bites and to its own does not carry."

The direct word for word does not in fact supply: "the king forgot his box of betel while going to the bath," or "the pigeon does not bring the food to its young ones by holding it in its beak." GRIGNARD sees in this a beginning of subordination; these are rather apposed groups and considered together, as Kurukh furnishes other types of them (p. 38, 94), but separated by the conjunction of co-ordination. At least, it is like this formally; it may perhaps be necessary to make allowance for the linguistic sentiment of the observer.

In Brahui, on the contrary, inasmuch as there is no question of short and inarticulate phrases these are the borrowed elements which supply the means of çonnection. Brahui, for example, disposes of a relative participle. But an equivalent of our phrase "the camel on which I rode was old," is obtained by the simple asyndeton:

ham-ō mahri-ai ī swār assuṭ pīr assaka "on the very camel I rider was, old (it) was."

Besides, Brahui makes abundant use of *ki* which has come into it both from Persian as well as from Hindustani and it uses it with the same variety as the languages that supplied it with this instrument:

nī kane daunā saxtīnā vaxt-āi ki kārēm batavēs pēn ci vaxt kane kārēma barēsa? "thou to me similar distress of in times if in assistance thou did not come, other what moment to my assistance wilt come thou?" (If you were of no use to me when the times were bad, when are you likely to be?"— (but taking up again this example in his vocabulary under *saxtī* D. BRAY gives it without *ki*: *saxtīnā vaxtāi kana kārēm batavēs*).

nanā vatanaṭī antas ki pāḻhanām kāre ē kul zaifanā dūṭi ē "in our country a what (all that) which with the milk is to be made all of woman in (the) hand is." ("In our country, everything to do with milk is in the hands of the womenfolk").

ōnā kīt ki kane parē, ērē hiningtō kanē karēm ban "his saying that to me he has said (the advice that he had given to me) there arriving to me useful is come."

pēnanā mulkanā bādśāiān tēnā mulkanā piṇḍing jwān e "unknown on a people royalty of his own people to beg and better is (good) (proverb)." *kasarāi nane śikār karisavaṭ nan tammā*, "On the way to us while hunting the night fell."

It is seen that the syntax of Brahui is not less profoundly disturbed than its lexicon; it is the morphological structure which, in spite of the innovations, best preserve the Dravidian character. Goṇḍ also has borrowed from Hindi conjunctions and even the relative pronoun so that by a paradox which shows clearly the capacity of resistance of the cultivated languages, these uncultivated languages alone have at their disposal today means allowing the sentence to be articulated.

If then we remember what has been said, from the formal point of view as also from the functional point of view, of the absolutives on which are supported the suspensive propositions, the typically Dravidian sentence can be defined, even under its complicated aspects, as finally being constituted by only one proposition. The latter operates by successive inclusions in which the fragments are all treated in accordance with the same double principle which governs the sentence as it governs the group of words and even the constitution of the word; principle which can be enunciated thus : the semantic determination precedes, the morphological determination follows.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Taking into consideration the differences which undoubtedly depend on the in-equality of their degree of culture and the influence of languages of other types, the Dravidian languages have, on the whole, an easily recognisable uniform aspect. This aspect in particular differs from that of the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages in spite of some remarkable concordances chiefly with the modern form of the latter.

Concerning the formation of the words, the dominant characteristic is that the morphemes added to the roots are all suffixes, the prefixation and the infixation (one exception, p. 60) are missing.

The proposition does not admit, in principle, adjectives having agreement; it includes only nouns and verbs.

The classification which corresponds to our genders opposes the 'superior' to the 'inferior,' broadly the reasonable to the non-reasonable (distinction which differs from that of the animate and the inanimate); it admits secondarily of the notation of the sexes. This is a primitive sort of classification. As regards number, the aspect is what philologists are inclined to consider as evolved: in fact, it admits only of the singular and the plural whereas even in India there had been in Indo-Aryan and there is even to-day in Muṇḍa a dual number.

The nominal flexion in its most ancient aspect is poor. The noun, as it is, is capable of several functions; the special values can be obtained by the suffixation of the morphemes

of the oblique and secondarily of the postposed independent words: a system greatly similar to that of modern Indo-Aryan, in which it is recent. The plural is marked by the annexation of words carrying the idea of "group;" but even this is not necessary for the nouns of the inferior class, in which number still remains in great measure undifferentiated.

In the verb, the flexional elements form an inadequately balanced system, in which the ancient indistinction of the verb and the noun is still visible. The tense is strongly marked, at least in the opposition of the Past and the Present-Future. Nothing in the verb denotes voice, mood or aspect; but it seems that one could at the same time see in the verb as well as in the noun the trace of a primitive category of the direction in regard to this subject.

The system indeed offers, at the same time, the signs of archaisms and of relative modernity. This ambiguous equilibrium made up of the primitive and other evolved traits has perhaps contributed to the facility of contacts with other groups of languages. On the one hand, the dialects without culture in the North, become disintegrated under the influence of the Indo-Aryan and Iranian. On the other hand, a cultivated language like Kannaḍa resists Marāṭhī on the frontier and does not yield the ground, except little by little, and even to some extent penetrates into Marathi itself; Tamiḻ has encroached upon the territory of Sinhalese and has influenced it. One is therefore justified in suspecting that certain details of the grammar and the style of Indo-Aryan, even ancient, are due to the Dravidian influence; that appears to be evident, for example, in the case of the absolutive. In regard to the long compounds of which the Sanskrit literature has made such an excessive use (as opposed to the modern usage), one can ask whether the sentence with successive inclusions and with unique agreement of the Dravidian, has not furnished at least a psychological model; but the demonstration

is difficult, for though the oldest examples of this style are found in the old Tamil anthologies, these anthologies furnish, on the other hand, proofs of the Brahmanical influence and could as well have been inspired by the Sanskrit models lost to us.

Lastly, if one looks outside India, by the polysyllabism of its roots, by the absence of prefixes and infixes, by its flexion, Dravidian separates itself, not only from the languages of the Far East, but also from Muṇḍa which finds its kith and kin in Indo-China. This would lend support to the hypothesis which is indeed the most current, namely, that the Dravidian has been imported from the West, like Indo-European.

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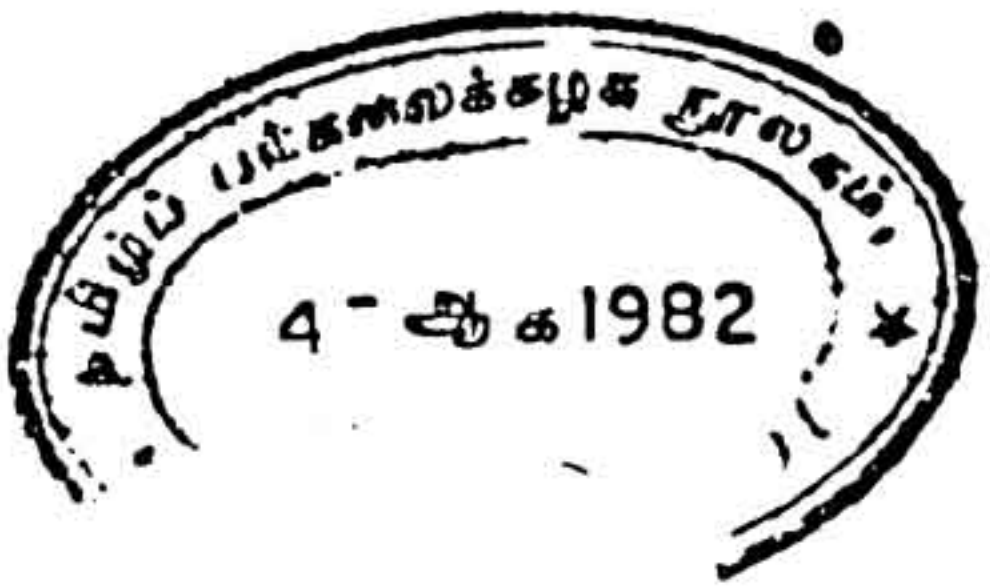

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