

Cambridge University Press
0521771110 - The Dravidian Languages
Bhadriraju Krishnamurti
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

The Dravidian languages are spoken by over 200 million people in South Asia and in diaspora communities around the world, and constitute the world's fifth largest language family. It consists of about twenty-six languages in total including Tamil, Malayālam, Kannaḍa and Telugu, as well as over twenty non-literary languages. In this book, Bhadriraju Krishnamurti, one of the most eminent Dravidianists of our time and an Honorary Member of the Linguistic Society of America, provides a comprehensive study of the phonological and grammatical structure of the whole Dravidian family from different aspects. He describes its history and writing system, discusses its structure and typology, and considers its lexicon. Distant and more recent contacts between Dravidian and other language groups are also discussed.

With its comprehensive coverage this book will be welcomed by all students of Dravidian languages and will be of interest to linguists in various branches of the discipline as well as Indologists.

BHADRIRAJU KRISHNAMURTI is a leading linguist in India and one of the world's renowned historical and comparative linguists, specializing in the Dravidian family of languages. He has published over twenty books in English and Telugu and over a hundred research papers. His books include *Telugu Verbal Bases: a Comparative and Descriptive Study* (1961), *Koṇḍa or Kūbi, a Dravidian Language* (1969), *A Grammar of Modern Telugu* (with J. P. L. Gwynn, 1985), *Language, Education and Society* (1998) and *Comparative Dravidian Linguistics: Current Perspectives* (2001).

CAMBRIDGE LANGUAGE SURVEYS

General editors

- P. Austin (*University of Melbourne*)
 J. Bresnan (*Stanford University*)
 B. Comrie (*Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig*)
 W. Dressler (*University of Vienna*)
 C. Ewen (*University of Leiden*)
 R. Lass (*University of Cape Town*)
 D. Lightfoot (*University of Maryland*)
 I. Roberts (*University of Cambridge*)
 S. Romaine (*University of Oxford*)
 N. V. Smith (*University College, London*)

This series offers general accounts of the major language families of the world, with volumes organised either on a purely genetic basis or on a geographical basis, whichever yields the most convenient and intelligible grouping in each case. Each volume compares and contrasts the typological features of the languages it deals with. It also treats the relevant genetic relationships, historical development and sociolinguistic issues arising from their role and use in the world today. The books are intended for linguists from undergraduate level upwards, but no special knowledge of the languages under consideration is assumed. Volumes such as those on Australia and the Amazon Basin are also of wider relevance, as the future of the languages and their speakers raises important social and political issues.

Volumes already published include

- Chinese *Jerry Norman*
 The languages of Japan *Masayoshi Shibatani*
 Pidgins and Creoles (volume I: Theory and structure; volume II: Reference survey) *John A. Holm*
 The Indo-Aryan languages *Colin Masica*
 The Celtic languages *edited by Donald MacAulay*
 The Romance languages *Rebecca Posner*
 The Amazonian languages *edited by R.M.W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald*
 The languages of Native North America *Marianne Mithun*
 The Korean language *Ho-Min Sohn*
 Australian languages *R.M.W. Dixon*

Cambridge University Press
0521771110 - The Dravidian Languages
Bhadriraju Krishnamurti
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

BHADRIRAJU KRISHNAMURTI



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
0521771110 - The Dravidian Languages
Bhadriraju Krishnamurti
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011–4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

<http://www.cambridge.org>

© Bhadriraju Krishnamurti 2003

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2003

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeface Times New Roman 9/13 pt *System* L^AT_EX 2_ε [TB]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 0 521 77111 0 hardback

Cambridge University Press
0521771110 - The Dravidian Languages
Bhadriraju Krishnamurti
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

To M. B. Emeneau, my guru
and to
Henry M. Hoenigswald, my teacher in
historical linguistics

CONTENTS

<i>List of illustrations</i>	page xi
<i>List of tables</i>	xii
<i>Preface</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xviii
<i>Note on transliteration and symbols</i>	xx
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xxiii
1 Introduction	
1.1 The name Dravidian	1
1.2 Dravidians: prehistory and culture	2
1.3 The Dravidian languages as a family	16
1.4 Names of languages, geographical distribution and demographic details	19
1.5 Typological features of the Dravidian languages	27
1.6 Dravidian studies, past and present	30
1.7 Dravidian and Indo-Aryan	35
1.8 Affinity between Dravidian and languages outside India	43
2 Phonology: descriptive	
2.1 Introduction	48
2.2 Vowels	49
2.3 Consonants	52
2.4 Suprasegmental features	58
2.5 Sandhi or morphophonemics	60
Appendix. Phonemic inventories of individual languages	61
3 The writing systems of the major literary languages	
3.1 Origins	78
3.2 Telugu–Kannada script	78

viii	<i>Contents</i>	
	3.3 Tamil and Malayālam scripts	82
	3.4 Writing in non-literary languages	87
	4 Phonology: historical and comparative	
	4.1 The phonemes of Proto-Dravidian	90
	4.2 Phonotactics	90
	4.3 Proto-Dravidian morphophonemics	93
	4.4 Historical phonology: vowels	98
	4.5 Historical phonology: consonants	119
	4.6 Conclusion	173
	5 Word formation: roots, stems, formatives, derivational suffixes and nominal compounds	
	5.1 Structure of roots and formatives	179
	5.2 Variability of formative suffixes	181
	5.3 Primary derivative suffixes as earlier inflectional suffixes: the hypothesis	182
	5.4 Case studies	184
	5.5 Earlier studies on stem formatives	195
	5.6 Stem formatives in nouns	196
	5.7 Phonological changes in Proto-Dravidian roots	197
	5.8 Derivational suffixes	199
	5.9 Compounds	200
	6 Nominals: nouns, pronouns, numerals and time and place adverbs	
	6.1 Introduction	205
	6.2 Gender and number: identification and definition	205
	6.3 Cases	217
	6.4 Pronouns	243
	6.5 Numerals	258
	6.6 Quantifiers	266
	6.7 Pronominalized nouns	267
	6.8 Conclusion	269
	Appendix: Paradigms of nominal declension	270
	7 The verb	
	7.1 Introduction	277
	7.2 The verbal base	278

<i>Contents</i>	ix
7.3 Intransitive, transitive and causative stems	279
7.4 Tense	291
7.5 Pronominal suffixes (gender–number–person markers)	307
7.6 Finite verbs in the past and non-past	312
7.7 Non-finite verbs: past-stem based	330
7.8 Non-finite verbs: non-past-stem based	338
7.9 Non-finite verbs: the infinitive	341
7.10 Negation in finite and non-finite verbs	348
7.11 Other simple finite verbs (affirmative and negative)	357
7.12 Durative or progressive (in present/past) in some languages of South Dravidian	362
7.13 Serial verbs	365
7.14 Compound verb stems	370
7.15 Complex predicates and auxiliaries	373
8 Adjectives, adverbs and clitics	
8.1 Introduction	388
8.2 Adjectives	388
8.3 Adverbs	406
8.4 Clitics	412
9 Syntax	
9.1 Introduction	420
9.2 Simple sentences	420
9.3 Complex sentences	440
9.4 Compound sentences (coordination)	454
9.5 Minor sentences	457
9.6 Sentence negation	459
9.7 Reflexivity and reciprocity	463
9.8 Anaphora	466
9.9 Conclusion	468
10 Lexicon	
10.1 Introduction	470
10.2 Indo-Aryan loanwords in South Dravidian I and II	470
10.3 Phonological principles governing loanwords from Indo-Aryan	474
10.4 Loanwords from Perso-Arabic sources	478
10.5 Loanwords from western languages: Portuguese and English	478
10.6 Neologisms	479

Cambridge University Press
 0521771110 - The Dravidian Languages
 Bhadriraju Krishnamurti
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

x	<i>Contents</i>	
	10.7 Structured semantic fields	483
	10.8 Strategies of expressives	485
	11 Conclusion: a summary and overview	
	11.1 Introduction	489
	11.2 Earlier attempts at subgrouping the Dravidian languages	489
	11.3 The subgrouping adopted in this book	492
	11.4 The antiquity of Proto-Dravidian and formation of South Dravidian I and II	501
	11.5 Desiderata	502
	<i>Bibliography</i>	504
	<i>Index of reconstructions with glosses</i>	523
	<i>General index</i>	535

ILLUSTRATIONS

Map

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 1.1 Geographical distribution of the Dravidian languages
in South Asia | <i>page 18</i> |
|---|----------------|

Figures

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1.1 Genetic tree of South Asian populations including the
Dravidian-speaking ones | 4 |
| 1.2 Family tree of the Dravidian languages | 21 |
| 4.1 Structure of Proto-Dravidian roots and stems | 92 |
| 4.2 The Pre-Tamil sub-branch of South Dravidian I | 113 |
| 4.3 Reflexes of Proto-Dravidian intervocalic stops | 145 |
| 7.1 Structure of Proto-Dravidian roots and stems (same as 4.1) | 278 |
| 7.2 Functional classification of auxiliary verbs | 374 |
| 11.1 Subgrouping of South Dravidian by Emeneau (1967b) | 490 |
| 11.2a Proto-Dravidian with main branches (alternative 1) | 493 |
| 11.2b Proto-Dravidian with main branches (alternative 2) | 493 |
| 11.3 Shared innovations of South Dravidian I and II | 497 |
| 11.4 South Dravidian I (with the isogloss of F2 overlapping
into Telugu) | 498 |
| 11.5 South Dravidian II (with the isogloss of F26 overlapping into
Parji–Ollari–Gadaba of Central Dravidian) | 499 |
| 11.6 Central Dravidian | 500 |
| 11.7 North Dravidian | 500 |

TABLES

1.1. A sample list of Dravidian borrowings into Middle Indo-Aryan	<i>page</i> 16
3.1a. Evolution of the Telugu–Kannaḍa script from the third century BC to the sixteenth century AD [a–ḍ]	79
3.1b. Evolution of the Telugu–Kannaḍa script from the third century BC to the sixteenth century AD [ḍh–ḷ]	80
3.2a. Primary vowels and consonants of Telugu	81
3.2b. Primary vowels and consonants of Kannaḍa	81
3.3a. Combination of primary consonants with secondary vowels in Telugu	83
3.3b. Combination of primary consonants with secondary vowels in Kannaḍa	84
3.4a. Combination of primary consonants with secondary vowels in Tamil	86
3.4b. Combination of primary consonants with secondary vowels in Malayālam	88
3.5. Combination of primary consonants with secondary consonants for Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayālam	89
4.1. Proto-Dravidian vowels	91
4.2. Proto-Dravidian consonants	91
4.3. Distribution of Proto-Dravidian phonemes	120
4.4. Number of lexical items showing <i>c-/Ø-</i> alternation	124
4.5. Languages showing <i>c-/t-</i> alternation	125
4.6. Languages showing <i>c-/t-/Ø-</i> alternation	125
4.7a. Voicing index (VI) of word-initial stops in South Dravidian I and II for 119 entries	135
4.7b. Voicing index of word-initial stops in Central Dravidian for 119 entries	135

<i>List of tables</i>	xiii
4.7c. Voicing index of word-initial stops in North Dravidian for 119 entries	136
4.7d. Voicing index of word-initial stops in the whole family	136
4.8. Correspondences of Proto-Dravidian *NP and *NPP in Tamil–Malayālam and Telugu–Kannada	171
5.1. Canonical shapes and number of root morphs in Proto-Dravidian	180
6.1. Semantic and formal contrasts in the third-person demonstrative pronouns in different Dravidian languages	208
6.2. Gender and number in South Dravidian I	209
6.3. Gender and number in South Dravidian II minus Telugu and Central Dravidian	209
6.4. Gender and number in Telugu and North Dravidian	210
6.5a. First-person-singular pronouns in the nominative and oblique	244
6.5b. Alternative forms of the first person singular	245
6.5c. First-person-plural pronouns in the nominative and oblique	246
6.5d. Alternative forms of the first person plural (exclusive)	247
6.5e. The first-person-plural (inclusive) forms	247
6.6a. Second-person-singular pronouns in the nominative and oblique	249
6.6b. Second-person-plural forms	250
6.6c. Plural forms in South Dravidian II	251
6.6d. Tamil and Brahui bound plural stems	251
6.6e. Gondi plural stems (construed as singular)	252
6.7a. Reflexive pronoun singular	252
6.7b. Reflexive pronoun plural	253
7.1. Pronominal suffixes (gender–number–person markers) in finite verbs in South Dravidian I	308
7.2. Pronominal suffixes (gender–number–person markers) in finite verbs in South Dravidian II	310
7.3. Pronominal suffixes (gender–number–person markers) in finite verbs in Central Dravidian	311
7.4. Pronominal suffixes (gender–number–person markers) in finite verbs in North Dravidian	312
7.5. Past and non-past finite verbs in Koraga dialects	318
7.6. Tense markers in Gondi dialects (based on Rao 1987b: 233)	322
7.7. Past and non-past finite verbs in Koṇḍa	322
7.8. Past and non-past conjugations in Kui	323
7.9. Past and non-past finite verbs in Kuvi	323
7.10. Past and non-past finite verbs in Pengo	324

xiv	<i>List of tables</i>	
	7.11. Past and non-past finite verbs in Maṇḍa	324
	7.12. Past and non-past finite verbs in Kolami	325
	7.13. Past and non-past finite verbs in Naiki	325
	7.14. Past and non-past finite verbs in Parji	327
	7.15. Past and non-past finite verbs in Ollari	327
	7.16. Past and non-past finite verbs in Gadaba	328
	7.17. Past and non-past finite verbs in Kuṛux	329
	7.18. Past and non-past finite verbs in Malto	329
	7.19a. Infinitive markers in South Dravidian I	346
	7.19b. Infinitive markers in South Dravidian II	346
	7.19c. Infinitive markers in Central Dravidian	347
	7.19d. Infinitive markers in North Dravidian	348
	7.20a. Historical derivation of Koṇḍa negative past	368
	7.20b. Historical derivation of Pengo present perfect	368
	11.1a. Subgrouping supported by phonological features	494
	11.1b. Subgrouping supported by morphological features of nominals	495
	11.1c. Subgrouping supported by morphological features of verbs	496
	11.1d. Subgrouping supported by morphosyntactic features of adjectives, adverbs, clitics and syntax	496

PREFACE

This volume is the result of two years of concentrated reading, reflection and writing, from September 1999 to October 2001, with many years of research and study prior to it. This work differs somewhat in focus and scope from the other volumes in the Cambridge Language Surveys series. My focus is on historical and comparative aspects of the Dravidian languages, although I have not altogether neglected descriptive and typological ones. There have been several descriptive studies of the Dravidian languages, though they are not comprehensive, for instance, Andronov's *Dravidian Languages* (1970) and, more recently, *The Dravidian Languages* (1998) edited by Sanford B. Steever. The second book is more substantial, although it covers only ten out of twenty-six or so known Dravidian languages; it has two chapters each devoted to Tamil and Telugu, representing old and modern varieties. Caldwell's pioneering work of 1856 (revised in 1875 and 1919, reprinted 1956, 1961) has remained the solitary model in the field for nearly a century. Jules Bloch's *Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes* (1946; English translation by R. G. Harshe 1954) has a descriptive title, but a comparative focus; it deals with specific problems of morphology based on data of newly studied languages like Gondi, Kui, Kurux, Malto, Brahui etc. Zvelebil's survey monograph of 1990 is a broad sketch (156 pages) of major issues in phonology and morphology up to that period. It has a useful summary for the kind of interest that scholars outside hardcore linguistics have in comparative Dravidian studies, under the titles 'Dravidian and Harappan', 'Dravidian and Ural Altaic', 'Dravidian and Elamite' and 'Dravidian and Japanese', although these topics take up half of the volume.

Research and publication in Dravidian studies during the twentieth century was concerned mostly with problems of comparative phonology and we are now fairly certain about the phonological system of Proto-Dravidian and how it has developed in individual languages. The publication of the monumental *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (1961, 2nd revised edition 1984) by T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau as well as R. L. Turner's *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (1966) has both promoted and facilitated studies in comparative phonology (see my survey articles 1969b, 1980, 2001b). There were, however, several articles on different aspects of morphology

by a wide range of scholars: L. V. Ramswami Aiyar, M. B. Emeneau, Bh. Krishnamurti, K. V. Zvelebil, P. S. Subrahmanyam, S. B. Steever, etc. but much remains to be done. There were only two publications covering comparative morphology: *Dravidian Verb Morphology: a Comparative Study* by P. S. Subrahmanyam (1971) and *Dravidian Nouns: a Comparative Study* by S. V. Shanmugam (1971a). These works are quite comprehensive but they are the first of their kind in the field. There has not been much study and discussion of these monographs during the past three decades. These books have been my primary sources for comparative data on noun and verb morphology, although I have not always accepted their reconstructions or conclusions. Then came Steever's groundbreaking work on serial verbs (1988, 1993), which has widened our understanding of composite verbs, mainly in South Dravidian II, but I have reservations on some of his proposals and reconstructions. The Chomskyan revolution has attracted many young linguists into looking at their own language data from a generative-transformational point of view. In the second half of the twentieth century, the Linguistics Departments in India could not get many young scholars interested either in fieldwork and study of new, unexplored languages, or in historical and comparative linguistics.

Emeneau's *Kota Texts* (1944–6) was the major work after the publication of volume IV: *Muṇḍā and Dravidian Languages* in 1906 by George Grierson as part of the Linguistic Survey of India. A number of new languages of central India were studied and described by T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya (1953: Parji, 1970: Pengo; notes on Kui–Kuvi 1961, 1963). Bhattacharya published sketches of Ollari (1957) and Naiki (1961). Emeneau's Kolami (1955b), Krishnamurti's Koṇḍa (1969a), Israel's Kuvi (1979) and Bhaskararao's Koṇekor Gadaba (1980) have added to the enrichment of our knowledge of the Dravidian languages of central India. They also provided us with an opportunity to look at the problem of subgrouping of the Dravidian languages afresh.

During 1960–85, the Department of Linguistics of Annamalai University brought out many studies on comparative aspects of Dravidian as well as descriptions of individual languages of southern India, namely Irula, Toda, Kota, Koḍagu etc. Dieter B. Kapp has a voluminous study of the grammar and vocabulary of Ālu Kuṛumba Nāyaⁿ (1984a). Emeneau's comprehensive grammar and texts of Toda came out in 1984. B. P. Mahapatra presented a modern description of Malto (1979). The founding of the *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* in 1972 by V. I. Subramoniam of Kerala University has provided an organ for publication of research on Dravidian linguistics. It is a bi-annual and is issued regularly, although on an austere budget. It does require improvement in quality of production. There have been several unpublished dissertations on different tribal languages at universities and institutes, Indian and foreign, some of which are not easily accessible, for instance, Diffloth's Irula, Garman's Koḍagu, Andrea's Muria Gondi, Ekka's Kuṛux, and Pilot-Raichoor's Baḍaga. Some significant dissertations on a comparative study of South Dravidian II and Central Dravidian were produced at

Cambridge University Press
0521771110 - The Dravidian Languages
Bhadriraju Krishnamurti
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Preface

xvii

Osmania University in the 1980s, especially Sumati (1982), Suvarchala (1984) and G. U. Rao (1987b).

We see that, in the latter half of the twentieth century, many new Dravidian languages have come to light and there has also been considerable research on the major literary languages. Therefore, the time is ripe to take a look at the structural, typological and historical linkages relating different Dravidian languages. T. Burrow, while writing a foreword to my *Koṇḍa or Kūbi, a Dravidian Language* (1969a), says: ‘The book provides a solid basis for comparative Dravidian studies. The time is approaching when a serious attempt at a comparative grammar of Dravidian can be made, and pioneering works of this kind will make this achievement possible’ (p. xvii). I do not claim this book to be a comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages, but it does, I hope, lay the foundation for such a comprehensive work in the future.

I dedicate this book, a lifetime labour of love, to my teacher, mentor and Guru (since 1955), M. B. Emeneau, the leading living Indologist and a renowned authority on comparative Dravidian, and to my teacher in historical linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania and my well-wisher, ever since, Henry M. Hoenigswald, whose scholarly contribution, I consider, has brought scientific rigour to the field of historical and comparative linguistics.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is my pleasure and privilege to acknowledge the help and support that I have received from many institutions and individuals during the past two years. First of all, I must thank Katherina Brett, Commissioning Editor, Language and Linguistics, Cambridge University Press, for inviting me to write this book. She has graciously put up with the delays in submitting the final typescript.

I am grateful to the Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, and its Faculty of the School of Historical Studies, for awarding me a Membership of the Institute for the year 1999–2000. During that period I was able to complete chapters 1 to 5 of the book. The intellectual ambience of the Institute, access to the libraries of Princeton University and of the University of Pennsylvania and the availability of my former teacher Henry M. Hoenigswald and my friend George Cardona for frequent consultation – all these strengthened my self-confidence and facilitated my work at Princeton.

I was awarded a Fellowship for the fall semester of 2000 at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (CASBS), Stanford, where I spent four months, September to December 2000, and could complete chapter 6 and write most of chapter 7, the longest in the book. Neil Smelser, the Director of the Center, and Robert Scott, the Associate Director, were very considerate and gracious in awarding me a Fellowship there, when I approached them for support to continue my project. I thank the Ford Foundation (Grant #1000-0287) for providing financial support, which made my stay at the Center possible.

While I was at Princeton, I was delighted to receive an invitation from R. M. W. (Bob) Dixon, Director of the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology (RCLT), La Trobe University, Australia, to spend six months at the Centre as a Visiting Fellow in 2001 and finish my book-writing there. I considered it a privilege and readily accepted the invitation. Bob Dixon, whom I have known for over twenty-seven years, has been my friend, philosopher and guide throughout this project, from reading the book-proposal submitted to Cambridge University Press in 1998 to reading, thoroughly and critically, the complete typescript of this volume. I do not have adequate words to thank him, not

only for his keen interest in the successful completion of this book by inviting me here but also for his many insightful and valuable comments to improve the organization and quality of this volume. After writing the unfinished part of chapter 7, I added four more chapters, 8, 9, 10 and 11, revised all other chapters, and put them all into book form during my fellowship period at La Trobe University. I express my sincere thanks to Alexandra Y. (Sasha) Aikhenvald, Associate Director of the RCLT, who has thoroughly read the whole typescript and made many perceptive comments, which I gratefully acknowledge. The Centre is a meeting place of several young researchers in linguistics and some senior Fellows, with whom I could usefully interact. It has been an ideal place for me to continue my project and complete it successfully. I thank the Vice-Chancellor for making my stay at La Trobe University possible. I also thank Gilah Leder, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, of which RCLT is a constituent, for making me a Fellow of the IAS and providing us with housing on the campus.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Bernard Comrie (one of the General Editors, Cambridge Language Surveys), who has kindly read through the whole book and sent me his valuable comments promptly. I have no doubt that the structure and quality of this monograph owe a lot to his insightful remarks and encouragement. I gratefully acknowledge William Bright for his suggestions on the draft book-plan of this volume.

During the past two years, I have requested a number of scholars to read different chapters of the book for comments and I thank them by name for their gracious acceptance of my request and for many useful suggestions and comments: Henry M. Hoenigswald (chapters 1, 2, 4), George Cardona (chapters 1, 2, 4), Jane Grimshaw (chapters 6, 9), Merritt Ruhlen (chapter 1), Paul Kiparsky (chapter 4), G. U. Rao (chapter 6), Andrew Ingram (chapter 7), Brian Joseph (chapters 2, 4), Sanford B. Steever (chapters 7, 8, 9), Hilary Chappel (chapters 5, 6), K. A. Jayaseelan (chapter 9). Thanks are due to Ms Priti Samyukta for the artwork in tables 3.1a and 3.1b. M. B. Emeneau read chapter 4 on historical phonology and suggested improvements, which I gratefully acknowledge. For any flaws and deficiencies still remaining I take the responsibility.

Last, but not least, I must thank my wife, Syamala, for her positive and supportive role during the two long years of my *tapas* 'penance'.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND SYMBOLS

Transliteration

The citation forms from different languages are phonemic for all the literary languages, and for Toda, Kota, Koḍagu of South Dravidian, Koṇḍa and Pengo of South-Central Dravidian, Kolami, Parji, Ollari and Konḍekor Gadaba of Central Dravidian, and Malto (Mahapatra) of North Dravidian. For the rest of the languages, the forms are apparently written in a ‘broad transcription’ bordering on truly phonemic representation, in some cases, e.g. Israel’s Kuvi and Bray’s Brahui. Some are not reliable, like the transliteration of different Gondi dialects described by various administrators and missionaries, e.g. Kuvi (F), (S) and Droese’s Malto. In general, the plan of Burrow and Emeneau in copying the spellings as they occurred in different sources in citing cognates in *DEDR* is followed, except for two important changes, i.e. (1) and (2) below; (3) to (9) explain the symbols which do not differ from the ones also used in *DEDR*.

(1) Long vowels are marked with different diacritics in *DEDR* (copied as they were in source materials). Here they are normalized by the use of a macron over the vowel, e.g. ā, ī, ū, ē, ō; with unlauded vowels i, e, ü, ö, ī, ē, ā, ū. Phonetic vowel-length is sometimes indicated by [ː].

(2) Retroflex consonants are indicated by a subdot: stops ṭ, ḍ, nasal ṇ, lateral ḷ, flap ṛ, sibilant ṣ, and frictionless continuant or approximant ʒ. This last one replaces a number of symbols used in the literature since Caldwell’s time (1856), namely ṛ, ḷ, ḷ, ʒ, ṛ; the last symbol is used by *DEDR*. Old Tamil āytam [ː] is marked by [h]. For the reconstructed stages of Proto-Dravidian or other proto-stages, I have used [w] to represent the bilabial semivowel consistently, and not [v]. I consider the Proto-Dravidian semivowel to be a bilabial. Similarly I preferred for Telugu /w/ instead of /v/. It must be noted that in no Dravidian language do [w] and [v] contrast.

(3) Alveolars are marked by a subscript bar where they are distinguished from dentals which do not carry any diacritic: dentals t, d, n, alveolars ṭ, ḍ, ṇ; in the literary languages of south India, alveolar [ḍ] became a voiced alveolar trill, marked [ṛ]. Normally only [n] without a diacritic is used if dental–alveolar contrast is not present, as in Proto-Dravidian. Both Old and Modern Tamil distinguish the two nasals in orthography because of a few contrasts in Old Tamil; these are indicated as [n] dental and [ṇ] alveolar.

(4) The velar nasal is represented by two symbols [ŋ] for the literary languages Koḍagu and Tuḷu, where it is conventionally used, and [ɲ] in the case of the other non-literary languages of South Dravidian II and Central Dravidian; [ɲ̃] is a palatal nasal.

(5) In the Nilgiri languages: [ī] = high back unrounded vowel (it is also used to represent the word-final enunciative vowel in Tamil, Koḍagu and Tuḷu), [ü] = high front rounded vowel, [ë] = mid central unrounded vowel, [ö] = mid central rounded vowel; Tuḷu [è] = [æ] higher low front unrounded vowel. In Toda c = [ts], z, = [dz], č = [tʃ], j = [tʃ̣]; θ = voiceless dental fricative, x = voiceless velar fricative; ʈ and ʈ̣ are voiceless laterals of alveolar and retroflex series, respectively; among the sibilants s, z are alveolar, š, ž are alveolo-palatal and ś, ź are retroflex.

(6) [ʔ] marks a glottal stop in South Dravidian II; Gondi -rr is of uncertain phonetic value; it could be either a geminated flap or an alveolar trill -r- contrasting with flap -r-. Kuvi (S) ẓ = [ts], cḥ = [č̣]. We do not know how to interpret Fitzgerald's word-initial vw-. In the Hill-Maṛia dialect of Gondi [ṛ] represents a uvular r corresponding to South Dravidian [-ṛ-] or Proto-Dravidian *ṛ. In Koṇḍa the voiceless alveolar trill is transcribed [R].

(7) Kuṛux and Brahui kh = [x] voiceless uvular fricative; Malto q = [q] voiceless uvular stop; the corresponding voiced ones are written gh = [ɣ] and g̣, respectively. What is written as [ɲ] in Malto by Droese appears to be a palatal nasal [ɲ̃].

(8) The name of the language which used to be spelt Kurukh has been changed here to the way it is pronounced [Kuṛux].

(9) Whenever a phonetic representation of a cited form is given within [], I have followed a combination of IPA symbols with established Roman types used in Indological publications. For instance, IPA uses a diacritic for dental stops and leaves alveolars unmarked, whereas in Dravidian a subscript bar is used for alveolars and the dentals are left unmarked because phonemically /n/ goes with dental stops in South Asian languages, in most of which dental and alveolar stops do not contrast.

(10) Sometimes the verbs are given in the entries with their infinitive morphs, Ma. -ka/-kka, Tu. -uni/-pini, -vuni/-puni, Go. -ānā, Kui -pa/-ba/-va, Kuvi (F) -ali, (S) -nai/-inai, Kuṛ. -ānā, Malt. -e. While studying the comparative etyma these elements have to be eliminated. The form in parentheses cited after a verb root in any language is the past stem of the root, unless stated otherwise, e.g. Ta. cel- (cen-ṛ-) 'to go'.

Symbols

- Marks etymological or morphological break
- # Marks the beginning or end of a word or any free form
- * Precedes a hypothetical form reconstructed for a proto-stage. In synchronic description it stands for an ungrammatical expression
- ** A form reconstructed on the basis of reconstructed forms (represents greater time-depth)

xxii	<i>Note on transliteration and symbols</i>
/ /	Enclose phonemic transcription
[]	Enclose phonetic transcription; morpheme-by-morpheme glossing of text; the entry no. of <i>DEDR</i> ; other uses as indicated in the text
< >	Enclose orthographic representation
[X	Following environment X
X]	Preceding environment X
+	Morpheme boundary
A > B/_C	A is historically replaced by B in the environment of a following C
A >> B	A is morphologically replaced by B
B, D	Symbolize a voiced stop
L	A sonorant including nasals
N	A nasal homorganic with a following stop
P, T	Symbolize a voiceless stop
R	A liquid (trill, lateral, approximant)
V ⁿ	Nasalized vowel = \tilde{V}
X ~ Y	X alternates with Y, or X varies with Y
X < Y	X is historically derived from Y
X > Y	Y is historically derived from X
X → Y	X becomes, or is replaced by, Y (descriptively)
X/Y	X or Y

ABBREVIATIONS

Books (details in bibliography)

<i>CDIAL</i>	<i>A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages</i> , R. L. Turner (1966)
<i>CDL</i>	<i>Comparative Dravidian Linguistics</i> , Bh. Krishnamurti (2001a)
<i>DBIA</i>	<i>Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan</i> , M. B. Emeneau and T. Burrow (1962)
<i>DCP</i>	<i>Dravidian Comparative Phonology</i> , P. S. Subrahmanyam (1983)
<i>DED</i>	<i>A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary</i> , T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau (1961)
<i>DEDR</i>	<i>A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary</i> , T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau (revised edition 1984)
<i>DNM</i>	<i>Deśināmamālā</i> (Prakrit dictionary), M. Banerjee (1931)
<i>DVM</i>	<i>Dravidian Verb Morphology</i> , P. S. Subrahmanyam (1971)
<i>LSI</i>	<i>Linguistic Survey of India, vol. IV</i> , George Grierson (1906)
<i>TVB</i>	<i>Telugu Verbal Bases</i> , Bh. Krishnamurti (1961)

Journals

<i>AO</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální</i>
<i>BDCRI</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute</i>
<i>BSO(A)S</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>
<i>IJ</i>	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
<i>IJDL</i>	<i>International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics</i>
<i>IL</i>	<i>Indian Linguistics</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JOR</i>	<i>Journal of Oriental Research</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Tamil Studies</i>
<i>PAPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
<i>QJMS</i>	<i>Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society</i>

xxiv	<i>Abbreviations</i>
<i>SII</i>	<i>South Indian Inscriptions</i>
<i>TC</i>	<i>Tamil Culture</i>
<i>TPS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>

Series

UCPL	University of California Publications in Linguistics
------	--

Literary texts (Tamil)

Aiñk.	Aiñkuṟunūru
Cil.	Cilappatikāram
KT	Kuṟuntokai
Narr.	Narr̥iṇai
Pat.	Patir̥rupattu
PN	Puranānūru
Tolk.	Tolkāppiyam

Languages

ĀKu.	Ālu Kuṟumba
Bal.	Balochi
Br.	Brahui
CD	Central Dravidian
Eng.	English
Gad.	(Koṇḍekor) Gadaba
Go.	Gondi
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
Ir.	Iruḷa
Ka.	Kannaḍa
Koṇḍa	–
Koḍ.	Koḍagu
Ko.	Kota
Kol.	Kolami
Kui	–
Kuṟ.	Kuṟumba
Kuṟ.	Kuṟux
Kuvi	–
Ma.	Malayālam
Malt.	Malto
Mandā	–

Abbreviations

xxv

ND	North Dravidian
Nk. (Ch.)	Naiki (Chanda)
Nk.	Naiki/Naikṛi
Oll.	Ollari
Pa.	Parji
Pali	–
PD	Proto-Dravidian
Pe.	Pengo
Pers.	Persian
Pkt.	Prakrit(s)
PKu.	Pāl Kurumba
SCD	South-Central Dravidian (same as SD II)
SD I	South Dravidian I
SD II	South Dravidian II
Skt.	Sanskrit
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
To.	Toda
Tu.	Tuḷu
Ur.	Urdu

General

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
A	Subject of a transitive sentence
abl	ablative
adj	adjective
adjl	adjectival
AdjP	Adjectival Phrase
adv	adverb
advl	adverbial
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase
aux	auxiliary
caus	causative
cent	century
cl	clitic
class	classifier
com	comitative

xxvi	<i>Abbreviations</i>
comp	complement
conc	concessive
cond	conditional
conj	conjunction
coor	coordinator
dat	dative
dial	dialectal
dis	distal
dur	durative
emph	emphatic (particle)
ety.	etymological group serially numbered in the text of a chapter
excl	exclusive
f	feminine
fut	future
gen	genitive
h/hum	human
hon	honorific
imper	imperative
incl	inclusive
inf	infinitive
instr	instrumental
intr	intransitive
irreg	irregular
loc	locative
lw	loanword
m	masculine
M	Middle
Mdn	Modern
n	noun
neg	negative
neu.	neuter
n-h	non-human
n-m	non-masculine
noml	nominal
NP	Noun Phrase
n-past	non-past
num	numeral
O	Old (before language names); Object
obl	oblique

Abbreviations

xxvii

PE	personal ending
perf	perfective (tense/aspect)
pers	person
pl	plural
pol	polite
poss	possessive
pp	postposition
PP	Postpositional Phrase
ppl	perfective participle
pres	present
proh	prohibitive
prox	proximal
Pst	Past
S	Sentence; Subject of an intransitive sentence
sg	singular
soc	sociative
subj	subject
tr	transitive
v.i.	verb intransitive
Vst	Verb stem
v.t.	verb transitive