

ANTONIO SORRENTINO

Indo-Aryan Loanwords in the «*Tirukkuraḷ*» *

0. Investigations on the language contact and typological similarity between Indo-Aryan (or Sanskrit) and Dravidian began in the last century (R. Caldwell, F. Kittel, H. Gundert) and were later continued by the studies of scholars such as A. Pillai, R. L. V. Ayer, J. Bloch, A. Master and the more recent works of T. Burrow, M. B. Emeneau, S. K. Chatterji, M. S. Andronov and F. B. J. Kuiper. Some valid contributions to the study of Indo-Aryan loanwords in classical Tamil literature have been given for example by S. Vaidyanathan (1971) and most recently by R. Vijayalakshmy (1981). The present paper deals with Tamil borrowings from IA in the *Tirukkuraḷ* in the light mainly of Burrow's and Emeneau's works ¹.

1.1. *Generalities* ~

Controversial as it is, the date of the *Tirukkuraḷ* ² varies, according to various historians of literature, from the 3rd to the 6th century A. D. or later (cf. Meenakshisundaran 1965a: 47-49) ³ and in Zvelebil's opinion

* I am very grateful to Prof. T. Burrow and Prof. F. B. J. Kuiper for reading the manuscript and for their suggestions and comments. I am also indebted to Prof. A. V. Rossi for his assistance, particularly for the linguistic side. A draft was also sent to Prof M. Andronov.

¹ Our approach is based on the linguistic framework furnished by some 'classical' papers concerning the concept of Indian linguistic area (Emeneau 1956, 1965; Kuiper 1967) and the relationship extant between IA and Dravidian (Andronov 1968).

Abbreviations for languages as follows: IA = Indo-Aryan, Skt. = Sanskrit, Pa. = Pali, Pkt. = Prakrit, Ta. = Tamil. Other abbreviations: *K* = *Tirukkuraḷ*; p.c. = personal communication.

² *Tirukkuraḷ* is a didactic work universally acclaimed as the greatest Tamil classic. It consists of three books (1330 couplets) dealing with duty (*aṟam* = Skt. *dharma*), government (*poruḷ* = Skt. *artha*) and love (*kāma*), the three "goals" of life (Skt. *trivarga*).

³ According to some scholars *K* is anterior to the *Caṅkam* literature and they hold the view, on the evidence of certain sentences, that it may be assigned to the 1st century

the 5th century is probably "the best date that can be suggested" (Zvelebil 1973: 156). This work would date back therefore to the so-called "Post-*Caṅkam* Age" (Jesudasan 1961: 37 ff.), a phase before the period of Bhakti literature in which one may observe the first strong impacts of Sanskritization of South India (Zvelebil, *op. cit.*, p. 8).

Vaḷḷuvar's work is anyhow relatively indebted, as is well known, to Sanskrit didactic literature (e.g. the *Mānavadharmasāstra* and the *Arthasāstra*), particularly as far as the first (*aṛattuppāl*) and the second (*poruṭpāl*) parts go. On the other hand, the influence of Jaina and Buddhistic ethics on the text may be responsible for the presence of some Pali and Prakrit loanwords.

As a matter of fact "in the period of the Jaina ascendancy the Prakrit-speaking people must have come in contact with the Dravidians and given them the Prakrit forms of Sanskrit words" (Anavaratavinayakam Pillai 1919: 94), moreover, in the early centuries of the Christian Era Pali too "must have exerted considerable influence on the vocabulary of Tamil" (*ibid.*). Some Sanskrit words therefore might have entered Tamil through Prakrit and Pali (cf. in *K amaiccu* and *paṭimai*) though we often are not certain of that, for instance, when the treatment by assimilation of some Sanskrit clusters is involved, i.e. /kṣ/ > kk/ and /kṣ/ > /cc/ (cf. in *K accu* and *pakkam*) or /ṣṭ/ > /ṭṭ/ (cf. in *K kōṭṭi*) and /rṇ/ > /ṇṇ/ (cf. in *K vaṇṇam*)⁴. On the other hand, "old commentators point out that the accidental similarity of form in a few words [cf. in *K ulaku* and *kālam*] should not be interpreted as necessarily Pali or Prakrit borrowings from Sanskrit" (Meenakshisundaran 1965b: 171). This is the reason I have chosen to talk about Indo-Aryan rather than Sanskrit loanwords in the *K*⁵.

of the Christian era. Other scholars place this work at the end of the *Caṅkam* period, i.e. about the 5th century. But writers like Vaiyapuri Pillai presume that *K* comes later as in their opinion it contains many ideas found in late Sanskrit works, e.g. *Kāmasūtra* and *Āyurvedic* works (cf. Meenakshisundaran 1965a: 47-49; Arunachalam 1974: 75).

⁴ In A. Pillai's opinion "these changes, although usually found in Prakrit or Pali, may not altogether be due to the influence of either of these. The same laws that operated in the case of Prakrit and Pali might have operated in the Dravidian languages as well" (Anavaratavinayakam Pillai 1919: 130). But Kuiper rightly observes that in this statement two different things are mixed up: sound laws of a historical development in IA and adaptation of foreign words to the phonetic/phonemic system of Tamil (p.c.).

⁵ Our knowledge of IA in its oldest stages is confined to the literary languages "of which we know neither the local basis, nor the degree of connection with the vernaculars" (Bloch 1929: 719). Because of a sort of "divorce" between language and culture, the literary medium in ancient India is very stylized (Bloch 1934: 321). Speech forms preserved for us by the literary tradition therefore are mostly not direct linguistic records of the languages actually spoken, "but are faithful pictures of the literary norms

1.2 The number of Indo-Aryan loanwords in the *K* is in any case higher than that found in *Caṅkam* works although they have been listed in various ways. In Pope's *Lexicon and concordance* (Pope 1886), for example, several items were wrongly regarded as Sanskrit in origin and so were some words given in Pillai's list (Vaiyapuri Pillai 1959: 72-73). In his comment on this list Zvelebil rightly observes that many of them "have since been proved, mainly by the labours of Burrow and Emeneau, to be of Dravidian origin" (Zvelebil, *op. cit.*, p. 170). We have in fact to bar from that list items like *amar*, *uru*, *ēmam*, *ōr* etc., but we must add to it some others which were correctly regarded as Skt. loanwords by Pope, yet not listed by Pillai, viz. *aṅṅam*, *āyam*, *karumam*, *taṅṅam*, *taṅam*, *paruvam*, *mattirai* and *varaṅ*.

As I proceeded in the etymological study of the vocabulary of *K*, I came to the conclusion that it would be best to list the words of certain IA origin (List A), but also those which are now considered to be of certain Dravidian origin (although regarded as borrowings by Pope and/or Pillai (List B)) and then also, some doubtful items (List C).

List B includes some words which are also considered as IA words borrowed by Ta. by other scholars like Vaidyanathan (1971), viz. *kuṭi* and *kaṅam*. I consider Ta. *nattam* and *vittu* to belong to the group of "borderline cases" (cf. DBIA, p. 4). I agree also with Burrow's and Emeneau's view that *kuṭi* is a reverse borrowing, like *tukil* and *puluti* (*ibid.*) and that *kaṅam* is one of the native Dravidian etyma "influenced" by IA (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 5). So in accordance with my list the total number of IA loanwords in *K* is 92, fewer than Pillai lists (137). The following observations on phonology, compounds etc. obviously deal only with the items of List A.

2. Phonology

The phonological adjustments of IA loanwords in the *K* I described below conform mostly to the rules stated later by Pavanānti in his *Nannūl*, sūtras 146-150, which deal with Sanskrit (*vaṅamoli*) loans.

stylized and archaic in opposition to them (Katre 1965): 15. According to Kuiper "this is true, but the position of the hieratic language of the oldest Vedas versus the contemporary 'colloquial' is different from, e.g., late Prakrit versus the arising 'vernaculars' (New Indo-Aryan)" (p.c.). As concerns the linguistic situation in Tamilnadu at Tiruval-luvar's time, we observe that Brahmins speaking IA languages certainly lived in ancient Tamilnadu in the *Caṅkam* age (Hart III 1975: 54-55). They "must have been coming from North India for a long time" for Buddhism and Jainism existed in that country some centuries before the *Caṅkam* literature (*ibid.*; cf. also Filliozat 1973: 107 ff.).

In conformity with a tendency found formerly in IA loanwords in inscriptional Tamil (cf. Meenakshisundaran 1965b: 45) which continued later in the loans in Middle Tamil (cf. Vaidyanathan 1967: 430–431), some Tamil morphemes combine with borrowings from IA (cf. Glazov 1967: 132 ff.) i.e. the morpheme {ai}, deriving mostly verbal nouns e.g. *uvamai*, *kārikai*; the morpheme of the nominative {m}; the morpheme being an allomorph of {tu} and producing an oblique form *ttu* is joined with the morpheme deriving pronominalized nouns {ar} in *paṭivattar* > *paṭiva* + *ttu* + *ar*.

From the adjustment of IA loanwords to the phonological system of Tamil homonyms, of course, often result. One example of what Ganesh-sundaram (1958: 66) calls “many–one transformation” is given in *K*, i.e.

Skt. *kṣaṇa*, Pa., Pkt. *khāṇa* > Ta. Kaṇam
Skt., Pa., Pkt. *gaṇa*

The phonemes having as graphic references Sanskrit letters <s>, <ṣ> and <h> do not occur in any position in Old Tamil while the phonemes /r/ and /l/ do not occur initially in Old Tamil, in contrast with the modern language (cf. Glazov 1967: 117 and Ganeshsundaram 1959: 71). Therefore, in the borrowings, a prothetic /a/ comes before Skt. /ra/ and /la/ in the early times (e.g. in *K aracar*) and /i/ later (e.g. in *K ilakkam*) but if /l/ is followed by a back vowel, the prothetic vowel is /u/ (e.g. in *K ulōka*; cf. Meenakshisundaran 1965b: 176–177).

2.1. Phonemic inventories ⁶

Skt. /a ā i ī u ū ṛ ē ai o au k kh g gh c ch j jh ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh t th d dh p ph
b bh ṇ ṇ̄ ṅ n m y r l v ś ṣ s h/

Pa. /a ā i ī u ū e ē o o k kh g gh c ch j jh ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh p ph b bh ṇ ṇ̄ ṅ n
m y r l v s h/

Ta. /a ā i ī u ū e ē ai o o au k c ṭ t p ṇ ṇ̄ ṅ n m y r l v ɻ ɺ ɽ ɿ/

2.2. Correspondences ⁷

a) Vowels ⁸:

Skt. Pa. Pkt. /a/, Ta. /u/ in final position, e.g.

Skt. *akṣa*, Pa, Pkt. *akkha*, Ta. *accu*.

⁶ The present paper is concerned with written materials, hence the problems of the identification of phonemes and allophones and their distribution is not discussed here.

⁷ The term ‘correspondences’ here used does not exclude the possibility of other unknown forms between Skt. and Ta.

⁸ Some of the correspondences of the vowels are due to remorphemisation e.g.

- Skt. /ā/, Ta. /ai/ in medial position, e.g.
 Skt. *amātya*, Ta. *amaiccu*.
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. /ā/, Ta. /ai/ in final position, e.g.
 Skt. Pa. *upamā*, Pkt. *uvamā*, Ta. *uvamai*,
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. /i/, Ta. /i/ in final position, e.g.
 Skt. *drōṇī*, Pa. Pkt. *dōṇī*, Ta. *tōṇi*,
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. /ō/, Ta. /a/ in medial position, e.g.
 Skt. Pa. *lōka*, Pkt. *lōga*, Ta. *ulakam*,
- Skt. /ṛ/, Ta. /iṛ/, e.g.
 Skt. *amṛta*, Ta. *amiṛtam*.

b) Consonants:

The treatment of the stops initially includes devoicing:

- Skt. Pa. Pkt. /g/, Ta. /k/, e.g.
 Skt. Pa. Pkt. *gaṇa*, Ta. *kaṇam*,
- Skt. Pa. /d/, Ta. /t/, e.g.
 Skt. Pa. *dūta*, Ta. *tūtu*

and deaspiration:

- Skt. Pa. Pkt. /ch/, Ta. /c/, e.g.
 Skt. Pa. Pkt. *chala*, Ta. *calam*,
- Skt. Pkt. /th/, Ta. /t/, e.g.
 Skt. *gōṣṭhī*, Pkt. *gōṭṭhī*, Ta. *kōṭṭi*⁹.
- In medial position Skt. /j/, Ta. /c/, e.g.
 Skt. *pūjana*, Ta. *pūcaṇai*.

Sibilants:

- Skt. /ś/, Ta. /c/ or is dropped initially, e.g.
 Skt. *śibikā*, Ta. *civikai*,
 Skt. *śulka*, Ta. *ulku*,
- Skt. /ś/, Ta. /c/ or /y/ in medial position, e.g.
 Skt. *āśā*, Ta. *ācai*
 Skt. *dēśa*, Ta. *tēyam*,

Skt. Pa. Pkt. /a/, Ta. /ai/ in final position (Ta. morpheme {ai}, see above § 2.) and Pa. Pkt. /i/, Ta. /i/ in final position. Skt. /a/, Ta. /ai/ in medial position should be dealt as a "purely phonetic influence of palatal cc" (Kuiper, p.c.). Skt. Pa. Pkt. /a/, Ta. /u/ in final position (e.g. Skt. *akṣa*, Pa. Pkt. *akkha*, Ta. *accu*) is not considered among the above correspondences, for in Skt. as well as in Pkt. the so-called stem-form is a theoretical abstraction and according to Kuiper we have here "the substitution of u for a case ending (-o?)" (p.c.).

⁹ Intervocally, as Kuiper observes, "the situation is more complex [...] the real pronunciation [of /t/ in Ta. *cutai*] having been rather [d]. The same is true of the k in Ta. *pākam* (= [pa:γam] or [pa:xam])" (p.c.).

Skt. /ʃ/ is assimilated in the clusters, e.g.

Skt. *lakṣa*, Ta. *ilakkam*

Skt. *gōṣṭhi*, Ta. *kōṭṭi*

Skt. Pa. Pkt. /s/, Ta. /c/ or is dropped initially, e.g.

Skt. Pa. Pkt. *sama*, Ta. *camaṇ*

Skt. Pa. Pkt. *sabhā*, Ta. *avai*.

Skt. /h/ is dropped in initial position, e.g.

Skt. *havis*, Ta. *avi*.

The prothetic vowels /i/ and /u/ occur before /l/, e.g.

Skt. *lakṣa*, Pa. *lakkha*, Ta. *ilakkam*

Skt. Pa. *lōka*, Pkt. *lōga*, Ta. *ulakam*.

Clusters:

Clustes inadmissible in Tamil are dealt with by assimilation, e.g.

Skt. *varṇa*, Ta. *vaṇṇam*

or by svarabbhakti /i/ and /u/, e.g.

Skt. *indra*, Ta. *intiraṇ*

Skt. *parvan*, Ta. *paruvam*;

see also the above treatment of /ʃ/ in clusters.

3. Canonical forms of IA loanwords in K

If one accepts that the assumed monosyllabicity of Proto-Dravidian root morphemes¹⁰ was still felt in the 5th century A.D., one has also to emphasize that the structure of root morphemes of IA origin is considerably different from the structure of properly Tamil root morphemes (cf. Glazov 1967: 114-115):

C V C V	<i>mati</i>
C \bar{V} C V	<i>tūtu</i>
C \bar{V} C V C ¹¹	<i>pīlai</i>

¹⁰ The monosyllabicity of the so-called Dravidian root is only a hypothesis but this assumption enables us to reconstruct Proto-Dravidian forms and it often helps to solve etymological problems (cf. Zvelebil 1967: 94).

¹¹ The vexed question of "diphthongs" in Dravidian languages connects with the debated problem of the phonemic analysis of "diphthongs" *tout court* and their monophonemic or diphenemic interpretation. This problem has been considered by many linguists (e.g. Swadesh, Bloch, Pike etc., cf. Romeo 1968: 55 ff.). Some scholars held the view that a diphthong consists of one phonological unit (e.g. Kurath), while Trubetzkoy e.g. declared that one cannot always distinguish between a simple and a compound phoneme and he classed indeed the Dutch diphthongs formerly as monophonemic, and later as diphenemic (*ibid.*). As concerns the Tamil "diphthongs", according to the Zvelebil's conclusions (Zvelebil 1970: 70 ff) the evidence in the description of Tolkāp-piyam, in inscriptional Tamil and literary Tamil of contrast between /ai/ ~ /ay/, /ai/ ~

C V C C V	<i>nicca(m)</i>
C \bar{V} C C V	<i>kōṭṭi</i>
V C V C V	<i>ulaku</i>
C V C V C V	<i>puruva(m)</i>
C \bar{V} C V C V C	<i>kārikai</i>
V C V C C V	<i>amiḷtu</i>
C V C C V C V	<i>maṅkala(m)</i>
C \bar{V} C V C V C V	<i>nākarika(m)</i>

4. Peculiarity of some occurrences

Some of the IA loanwords found in *K* were first introduced into Tamil (cf. Vaiyapuri Pillai 1962: 51); a list is given below. For this end the *Index des mots de la littérature tamoule ancienne* (I–III, Pondichéry 1967–1970) was also consulted.

4.1. IA loanwords occurring only in *K*

kaḥcu 1037

tulai 986

nākarikam 580

pākkiam 1141

pīlai 658, *pīlikkum* 843, *pīlippatu* 1217

pūcanai 18

varaṅ 24.

4.2. "Hybrid" compounds (IA + Ta) occurring only in *K*

ulkuḥporuḷ 756 = *ulku* + *poruḷ* "royal revenue"

kāmakkaṭumṇaḷ 1134, 1167 = *kāma* + *kaṭum* + *ṇaḷ* "hard stream of love"

kāmakkalaṅ 605 = *kāma* + *kalaṅ* "love's vessel"

kārikainirttu 777 = *kārikai* + *nirttu* "the ornament is thus"

kuṇanalam 982 = *kuṇam* + *nalām* "attribute goodness"

niccanirappu 53 = *niccam* + *nirappu* "perpetual poverty"

nuṇṇavai 726 = *nuṇ* + *avai* "assembly of the sagacious men"

matinalam 915 = *mati* + *nalām* "esteem goodness"

matinuṭṭam 636 = *mati* + *nuṭṭam* "esteem subtlety"

matippin 898 = *mati* + *pin* "if...esteem"

maṇattipam 661 = *maṇam* + *tiṭṭam* "firmness of mind"

maṇanalam 457, 458, 459 = *maṇam* + *nalām* "goodness of mind"

vallavai 721 = *val* + *avai* "assembly of the learned men"

[ay/, /au/ ~ /av/ shows that they are to be considered in their Proto-Dravidian reconstruction *ay and *av "as sequences of V + C rather than V + V" (Zvelebil 1970: 71).

5. Lists

5.1. List A (Indo-Aryan loanwords)¹²

Indo-Aryan loanwords:

- akaram* "the letter 'a'" 1.
aikaṇam "courtyard" 720.
accu "axle" 475.
antam "end, limit" 563.
amarar "immortals, gods" 121.
amiḷtam "nectar" 11, *amiḷtu* 63.
amaiccu "minister" 381.
araṅku "square" 401.
aracar "kings" (pl. of *aracaṅ*) 381.
araṅ "fort" 381.
avi "oblation" 259.
avaī "assembly" 332, *avaiyam* 67.
aṇṇam "swan" 1120.
aṇiccam 'a sensitive plant' 90.
ākulam "confusion" 34.
ācāram "right conduct" 1075.
ācai "wish" 266.
āṇi "nail" 667.
āti "beginning" 1.
āyam "profit, gain" 933.
āyiram "a thousand" 259.
intiraṅ "the god Indra" 25.
ilakkam "mark" 627.
ulakam "world" 11.
ulaku "world" 1.
- Skt. *akāra* id.
Skt. Pa. *aṅgaṇa* id. CDIAL 118, DED 30.
Now regarded as IA by Burrow (p.c.).
Skt. *akṣa*, Pa. Pkt. *akkha* id. DBIA 7.
Skt. *anta*, Pkt. *aṇṇa* id., CDIAL 347.
Skt. Pa. Pkt. *amara* "immortal, god",
CDIAL 556.
Skt. *amṛta* id., CDIAL 571.
Skt. *amātya*, Pa. Pkt. *amaicca* id., CDIAL
561.
Skt. Pa. *raṅga* id., CDIAL 10561, DED
166. "Included in DED since we still
felt some uncertainty" (DBIA p. 4). At
present Burrow regards it as IA (p.c.).
Skt. *rājan* "king", DED 167, CDIAL
10679.
Skt. *śaraṇa* "shelter", *araṇa* "refuge".
DBIA 19, CDIAL 12326.
Skt. *havis* id., CDIAL 14019.
Skt. Pa. Pkt. *sabhā* id., CDIAL 16167.
Skt. Pa. Pkt. *haṇṣa* id., CDIAL 13937.
Skt. *anītya* id.
Skt. Pa. *ākula* "confused", CDIAL
1012.
Skt. Pa. *ācāra* id., CDIAL 1071.
Skt. *āsā*, Pa. Pkt. *āsā* id., CDIAL 1456.
Skt. Pa. *āṇi* "linch-pin", CDIAL 1110.
DED 295. Burrow now regards it
as IA (p.c.).
Skt. Pa. *ādi* id., CDIAL 1152.
Skt. Pa. Pkt. *āya* "income", CDIAL
1283.
Skt. *sahasram* id., CDIAL 13380, DED
309 and DBIA p. 4.
Skt. *indra* id., CDIAL 1572.
Skt. *lakṣa* Pa. *lakkha* id., CDIAL 10881.
Skt. Pa. *lōka*, Pkt. *lōga* id. DBIA 52.
CDIAL 11119.
Skt. *uloka* id., DBIA 52, KEWA s.v.

¹² In all lists the figure after the gloss denotes the line number. Only the first occurrence of the loanword is recorded. The items are arranged in the order of the Tamil alphabet and the transliteration of Tamil follows the usage of the *Tamil Lexicon* (6 Vols. and Supplement, Madras 1924-1936). Identical meanings are indicated by "id."

- ulku* "tax" 756.
- uvamai* "comparison" 7.
- kaḥcu* "a weight, a fourth of an ounce" 1037.
- kaṇam* "moment" 29.
- kaṇam* "class, troop" 720.
- kantu* "branch" 507.
- karumam* "act" 266.
- kāmam* "desire, lust" 605.
- kāmaṇ* "the god of love" 1197.
- kāraṇam* "cause" 270.
- kārikai* "woman, lady" 571.
- kālam* "time" 102, *kālai* 937 id.
- kuṇam* "quality, attribute" 29.
- kulam* "family" 956.
- kōḷi* "ten million, a crore" 337.
- kōḷṭi* "assembly" 401.
- camāṇ* "level" 118.
- calam* "deceit" 660.
- civikai* "palanquin" 37.
- cutai* "nectar, lime" 714.
- cūtar* 932. See *cūtu*
- cūtu* "gambling" 931.
- taṇṭam* "punishment" 567.
- tavam* "austerity, penance" 19.
- tāṇam* "gift" 19.
- tiru* "prosperity; the foddess of fortune (Lakshmi)" 168.
- tulai* "balance" 986.
- tūtu* "messenger" 681.
- teyyam* "god, divine power" 43.
- tēyam* "country" 753.
- Skt. *śulka* "price, value", Pa. *suika*, Pkt. *sukka*, *suṅka*, *suṅga* "tax", CDIAL 12543.
- Skt. Pa. *upamā*, Pkt. *uvamā* id., CDIAL 2203.
- Skt. *karṣa* "a weight of gold or silver". According to Kuiper "rṣ > ḥe would be strange (one would expect *karuṭu or karulu or something like that). *kaḥcu* must stand for Pkt. **kassa*, which alone accounts for both *ḥ* and *c*" (p.c.).
- Skt. *kṣaṇa*, Pa. Pkt. *khaṇa* id., CDIAL 3642.
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. *gaṇa* id., CDIAL 3988.
- Skt. *skandha*, Pa. *khandha*, Pkt. *kham-dha* id., CDIAL 13627.
- Skt. *karman* id., DBIA 79, CDIAL 2892.
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. *kāma* id., CDIAL 3042.
- Skt. *kāma* id.
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. *kāraṇa* id., CDIAL 3057.
- Skt. *kārikā* "a female dancer".
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. *kāla* id., DBIA 97, CDIAL 3084.
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. *guṇa* id., CDIAL 4190.
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. *kula* id., DBIA 110, CDIAL 3330.
- Skt. *kōḷi*, Pa. Pkt. *kōḷi* id., DBIA 122, CDIAL 3498.
- Skt. *gōṣṭhi*, Pkt. *gōṣṭhi* id., CDIAL 4339.
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. *sama* id., CDIAL 13173.
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. *chala* id., CDIAL 5001.
- Skt. *śibikā*, *śivikā*, Pa. *sivikā* id., CDIAL 12474.
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. *sudhā* id., CDIAL 13471.
- Skt. *dyūta*, Pa. *jūta* id., DBIA 172, CDIAL 6608.
- Skt. *daṇḍa* id., CDIAL 6128.
- Skt. *tapas*, Pkt. *tava* id., CDIAL 5674.
- Skt. Pa. *dāna*, Pkt. *dāna* id., CDIAL 6265.
- Skt. *śrī*, Pa. Pkt. *sirī* id., DBIA 21, CDIAL 12708.
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. *tulā* id., DBIA 214, CDIAL 5886.
- Skt. Pa. *dūta* id., CDIAL 6488.
- Skt. *daiva* id., DBIA 219, CDIAL 6569.
- Skt. *dēśa*, Pa. Pkt. *dēsa* id., CDIAL 6547.

- tēvar* "gods" 1073.
- tōṇi* "boat" 1068.
- nākam* "snake" 763.
nākarikam "urbanity" 580.
- nāmam* "name" 360.
nāvāy "ship" 496.
nīccam "perpetuity" 532.
- pakavaṇ* "the Supreme Being" 1.
pakkam "side" 620.
- paṭām* "cloth" 1087.
- paṭivattar* "ascetics" < *paṭivam* "image, idol" 586.
paṇṭam "utensils, goods" 475.
patam "way" 548.
paruvam "period" 218.
paḷiṅku "crystal" 706.
- pākam* "portion" 1092.
pākkīyam "happiness, fortune" 1141.
pāvam "sin" 146.
- pīḷikkum* 843. See *pīlai*.
pīlai "pain" 658.
- puruvam* "eye-brow" 1086.
- pūcaṇai* "worship" 18.
- pūtaṅkal* "elements" (pl. of *pūtam*) 271.
maṅkalam "auspiciousness, happiness", 60.
maṇi "gem" 1273.
- mati* "esteem" 636.
mantiri "minister" 639.
maṇyam "mind" 34.
māṭu "prosperity, gold" 400.
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. *dēva* "god", DBIA 219, CDIAL 6523.
Skt. *drōṇi*, Pa. Pkt. *dōṇi* id., DBIA 220, CDIAL 6641.
Skt. Pa. *nāga* id., CDIAL 7039.
Skt. Pa. *nāgarika* "civic, urbane", CDIAL 7043.
Skt. Pa. *nāman* id., CDIAL 7067.
Skt. Pa. *nāvā* id., CDIAL 7081.
Skt. *nitya*, Pa. Pkt. *nīcca* "perpetual, constant", CDIAL 7190.
Skt. *bhagavan* id.
Skt. *paḷṣa*, Pa. Pkt. *pakkha* id., DBIA 23, CDIAL 7627.
Skt. Pa. *paṭa*. Pkt. *paḍa* id., DBIA 240, CDIAL 7692.
Skt. *pratimā*, Pa. *paṭimā*, Pkr. *paḍimā* id., CDIAL 8585.
Skt. Pa. *bhaṇḍa* id., CDIAL 9440.
Skt. Pa. *patha* id., CDIAL 7743.
Skt. *parvan* id.
Skt. *sphaṭika*, Pa. *phaḷika* id., DBIA 258, CDIAL 13818.
Skt. Pa. Pkt. *bhāga* id., CDIAL 9430.
Skt. Pa. *bhāgya* id., CDIAL 9434.
Skt. Pa. *pāpa*, Pkt. *pāva* id., DBIA 266, CDIAL 8092.
- Skt. *piḍā*, Pa. *piḷā*, Pkt. *piḍā*, *piḷā* id., CDIAL 8227.
Skt. *bhrū* id.; dual number *bhruvau*; in compounds *bhruva*, CDIAL 9688.
Skt. *pūjana* id. < *pūj-* "to honour worship", DBIA 274, CDIAL 8317.
Skt. *bhūta* id., CDIAL 9552.
Skt. Pa. *maṅgala* id., CDIAL 9706.
- Skt. Pa. Pkt. *maṇi* id., DED 3823, CDIAL 9731. Now considered to be IA by Burrow (p.c.).
Skt. Pa. *mati* id., DBIA 284.
Skt. *mantrin* id., CDIAL 9338.
Skt. *manas*, Pkt. *maṇa* id., CDIAL 9822.
Skt. *māṣa* "a particular weight of gold", CDIAL 10098. According to Burrow it can be derived from Skt. "though the phonetic substitution is rather unusual" (p.c.). Kuiper shares Burrow's opinion: "As far I can see, before Sk. *s* and *ṣ* were adopted as foreign

- māttirai* "measure" 406.
māyam "illusion" 918.
māṇam "honour" 384.
- yāmam* "midnight" 1136.
vañcam "deception" 271.
- vaṇṇam* "colour, quality" 561.
varaṇ "boon, excellency" 24.
- vāṇikam* "merchandise, commerce" 120.
- vātam* "disputation, argument" 685.
vittakar "wise men" (pl. of *vittakan*) 235.
- phonemes, the Tamil phonemes *t* and *ʃ* were used as substitutes for Skt. *s* and *ṣ* in loanwords. *māṭu* seems to me a borrowing from Skt." (p.c.).
 Skt. *mātrā* id., CDIAL 10023.
 Skt. Pa. Pkt. *māyā* id., CDIAL 10060.
 Skt. Pa. *māna*, Pkt. *māṇa* id., CDIAL 10040.
 Skt. Pa. *yāma* "a night watch of three hours", CDIAL 10467.
 Skt. (*vañc-* "to move"), caus. *vañcayati*, **te* "to deceive", Pa. *vañcana* "deception", CDIAL 11208.
 Skt. *varṇa*, Pa. Pkt. *vaṇṇa* id., DBIA 320, CDIAL 11338.
 Skt. Pkt. *vara* "boon", *varam* "better than", Pa. *vara* "best", CDIAL 11308.
 Skt. *vaṇik-* (in compounds for *vanij-*) "trade, trader", CDIAL 11230.
 "Morpheme *-ikam* substitute?" (Kui-per, p.c.).
 Skt. Pa. *vāda* id., CDIAL 11246.
 Skt. Pa. *vittaka* "famous by learning".

5.2. List B (*Delenda*)

- aḥku* "to be reduced" 175 < Skt. "aḥ" (Pope), DED 2.
añar "laziness" 1086 < Skt. "aḥas" (Pope), DED 41.
aṭaṅku, *aṭakku* "to be restrained, to control" 130, 121, DED 56. But it was "inadvertently separated from DED 676" (DBIA, p. 4).
aṭi "foot" 636, DED 63.
amar "to acquiesce in, to harmonize with" 814, DED 137.
avalam "sorrow" 1072 < Skt. "a + bala" (Pope), DED 225.
aḷu "to weep" 555. "Comp. Skt. *aśru*" (Pope), DED 240.
icai "word, fame" 231, DED 398.
iṭukkaṇ "suffering" 612. "Compare S. *dukh*" (Pope), DED 378.
imai "to twinkle" 775; cf. Skt. *śmil-* id., DED 2097.
iyai "to join" 576. "Comp. Skt. *yā*" (Pope), DED 399.
irā "night" 1168, DED 2102.
uṛu "to suffer" 498, DED 608.
ēmam "bewilderment" 306, DED 760.
ēr "plough" 14, DED 2313.
ōtu "to recite the Vedas" 834. "S. *vad*" (Pope), DED 886.
kaṇicci "axe" 1259; cf. Skt. Pa. *kaṇaya* "a kind of spear", DED 979.
 "Wahrscheinlich aus dem Dravidischen" (Kewa s.v.).

- katam* "wrath" 130, DED 997.
- kaḷam, kaḷaṇ* "field" 1224, 730; cf. Skt. Pa. Pkt. *khala* "threshing floor", DED 1160.
- kaluḷum* "weep" 1173; cf. Skt. *kalaha* "strife, quarrel", *kaluṣa* "turbid", DED 1096.
- kaḷakam* "gaming table" 935, DED 1132.
- kaṇam* "weight" 1081; cf. Skt. Pa. Pkt. *ghana* "compact, dense", DED 1181.
- kāṭu* "forest" 742; cf. Skt. *kāṣṭha* "wood", Pa. Pkt. *kaṭṭha* id., DED 1206. Nowadays according to Burrow it is to be considered a "native Dravidian word" (p.c.).
- kāṇam* "forest" 772; cf. Skt. *kāṇana* id., Pa. *kānana* "glade in a forest", Pkt. *kāṇana* "forest", DED 1194. "Wohl dravidisch" (KEWA s.v.).
- kuṭaṅkar* "hut" 890; cf. Skt. *kuṭuṅgaka* "household". See *kuṭi*.
- kuṭi* "hut" 171; cf. Skt. *kūṭa, kūṭi*, Pa. *kuṭi*, Pkt. *kuḍi* id., DED 1379. "Aus dem Dravidischen" (KEWA s.v.).
- kuṭumpam* "family" 1029; cf. Skt. *kuṭumpa* "household", Pa. *kuṭumpa* "family", Pkt. *kuḍumba, ḍaṃba* id. See *kuṭi*.
- kuvalai* "waterlily" 1114; cf. Skt. *kuvalaya, kuvala, kuvela* id., DED 1574.
- kūr* "sh.arp" 599, DED 1578.
- kēni* "well" 396 < Skt. "khan, khani" (Pope), DED 1663.
- kokku* "heron" 490; Skt. Pa. *kaṅka* id., DED 1767. "Mit starker Versippung im Dravidischen Ta. *kokku*, Tel. *koṅga*, Ku. *koṅgi* etc. daher Entlehnung aus dem Ai. wohl unmöglich" (KEWA s.v.).
- kōṭṭam* "bent, crookedness (as of mind)" 119; cf. Skt. Pa. *kuṭila*, Pkt. *kuḍila* id., DED 1709.
- kōmāṇ* "king" 25. According to Pope from Sanskrit, DED 1810.
- citai* "to destroy" 578 < Skt. "chhida" (Pope), DED 2083.
- ciṇai* "flower bud" 1203 < Skt. "jan" (Pope), DED 2134.
- cīr* "prosperity" 499 < Skt. "śrī" (Pope), DED 2157.
- takar* "ram" 486; cf. Mar. *tagar* id., DED 2430.
- tāmarai* "lotus" 1103; cf. Skt. Pkt. *tāmarasa* id. DED 2583. "Wohl dravidisch" (KEWA s.v.).
- tiṅmai* "strength" 54, DED 2634.
- tukil* "dress, cloth" 1087; cf. Skt. *dukūla* "a kind of plant, fine cloth made of the inner bark of this plant", Pa. Pkt. *dukūla* "a particular kind of fine cloth", DED 2687.
- toṭi* "bracelet" and by metonymy "woman" 911, DEDS 2867.
- tōṭṭi* "goad" 24, DED 2925.
- tōl* "shoulder, arm" 149, DED 2940.
- nattam* "advantage, gain" 235, DED 2968; cf. Skt. *nanda* "joy".

- natyam* "benefit, gain" 860, DED 2977.
- nīr* "water" 13; cf. Skt. *nīra* id., DED 3057. "Ein früh erkanntes LW aus dem Dravidischen" (KEWA s.v.).
- nutuppēm* "suppressing" 1148, DED 2964.
- pakuti* "portion, tribute" 111, DED 3154.
- pati* "place" 1015. A Sanskrit loanword according to Pope, DEDES 3232 "town, village".
- payan*, *paḷam* "fruit" 2, 1120; cf. Skt. Pa. Pkt. *phala* id., DED 3299.
- paḷli* "room" 840; cf. Skt. *paḷli*, Pkt. *palli* "hut, house", DED 3309. "Wahrscheinlich dravidisch" (KEWA s.v.).
- pāvai* "image" 1123, DED 3379.
- puttēḷ* "god" 213, DED 351.
- puḷuti* "dust" 1037; cf. Skt. *bhūti* "ashes", DED 3541. According to Pope < Skt. *prthvī* "earth", but in Burrow's opinion this words "cannot possibly be derived from *prthvī* as Pope suggested", and he regards it as "native Dravidian" (d.c.). Kuiper is of the same opinion (p.c.).
- pēḷi*. "hermaphrodite" 614; Skt. *poṭā* id., DED 3631.
- pētai* "naive woman" 1085, DED 3634.
- pēy* "demon" 565, DED 3635.
- maṭamai* "folly" 89; cf. Pkt. *maṭṭha* "lazy, stupid", DED 3798.
- maṭalai* "pillar" 449, DED 3837.
- mati* "moon" 782. Pope regards it as a Sanskrit loanword, DED 3839.
- mayanku* "to be confused" 348. Sanskrit origin according to Pope, DED 3852.
- mayir* "hair" 964, DED 3854.
- mayil* "peacock" 1081; cf. Skt. Pa. *mayūra* id., DED 3793. "Die dravidische Sippe [...] ist niches nicht von *mayūra* zu trennen" (KEWA s.v.).
- maruntu* "medicine, remedy" 968, DED 3863. According to Pope "a corruption" of *amiḷtam* (see List A). Burrow: "[It] is a native Dravidian word and is widely represented throughout the languages of the Dravidian family" (p.c.).
- mā* "great" 68, DED 3923.
- mālai* "evening" 1135. "Comp. Skt. *mālā*" (Pope), DED 3918.
- mīṇ* "fish" 931; cf. Skt. *mīna*, Pkt. *mīṇa* id., DED 3999.
- mukam* "face" 90; cf. Skt. Pa. *mukha* "mouth", DED 4003.
- vaḷai* "bracelet" 1157; cf. Skt. Pa. Pkt. *valaya* id., DED 4348.
- valli* "creeper" 1304; cf. Skt. Pa. Pkt. *valli* id. DED 4351. "Die Sippe von tamil, mal *valli*, han. *balli*, [...] schwerlich aus dem Arischen entlehnt sein kann" (KEWA s.v.).

vittu "seed" 24. According to Pope it is derived from Sanskrit. DED 4428.

vēlai "dart" 1221, DED 4555.

5.3. List C (Doubtful items)

avam "nothingness" 266 < Skt. *ava*, a prefix to verbs, "off, away" or *abhāva* "non existence"? "The etymology of *avam* "nothingness" is obscure to me and the proposed connections with Skt. *ava* or *abhāva* are uncertain" (Burrow, p.c.). Kuiper agrees with Burrow (p.c.).

uru, *uruvu* "form, type" 261, 267. DED 566; cf. Skt. Pa. *rūpa* id., Pkt. *rūva*, *rūa* "beauty". Kuiper: "Tolkāppiyam has *urupu* and *uruvu*. There seems to have a tendency to avoid /uvu/. Note *aht' uṭampu* (K 943) for *atu-v-uṭampu*. Hence *uruvu* > *uru*?" (p.c.).

havari "chowrie" 969. DED 1115; cf. Skt. *kavara*, *kabara*, *kavari*, *kabari* id. "Vielleicht dravidisch" (KEWA s.v.). "*kavara* etc.: borrowing from Drav. would seem natural but: Skt. *kavara* is an inaccurate spelling for *kabara* (and *kavari* for *kabari*). This might be explained from Kannada, but on the other hand Ka. *kavara*, *kabara* can be (and look like being) loanwords from Skt. So the *b* of Skt. must first be accounted for, before Drav. origin can be considered certain" (Kuiper, p.c.).

kavul "cheek" 678. DED 1124; cf. Skt. *kapola* id. "Nicht ganz erklärt [...] weniger wahrscheinlich ist dravidische Herkunft" (KEWA s.v.). "It could be explained from Drav. if there existed a Drav. word *kapāl* (*kapōl*?), but Tam. *kavul*, Mal. *kaviḷ* are isolated in Drav. and are probably borrowings from Skt. (! then remains a difficulty)" Kuiper, p.c.).

parattan "profligate" 1311 < Skt. *paradārin* "adulterer"? According to Vaidyanathan this item is from Skt. *para* "another" + (*upa*) *stha* "to wait upon, to serve" (Vaidyanathan 1971: 112). Burrow regards it as a "native word" (p.c.).

muttam "pearl" 1113. DED 4062; cf. Skt. *muktā*, pa. Pkt. *muttā* id. According to Mayrhofer *muktā* is a Sanskritization of *muttā* (KEWA s.v.). Kuiper in this connection declares: "All depends on whether Tam. *muttu* etc. is an authentic Drav. word or not [...] it is possibly one of those cases in which it is difficult to decide whether the (ultimate) origin is Dravidian or not" (p.c.). Then he wonders: "Where were the pearl-fishers? Possibly only in South India and Ceylon?" (*ibid*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dictionaries

- CDIAL = R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London 1966.
- DBIA = M. B. Emeneau - T. Burrow, *Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1962.
- DED = T. Burrow - B. M. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford 1961.
- DEDS = id., *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary Supplement*, Oxford 1968.
- KEWA = M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, I-IV, Heidelberg 1956-1980.

Books and articles

- Anavaratavinayakam Pillai 1919 = S. Anavaratavinayalam Pillai, *The Sanskritic Element in the Vocabularies of the Dravidian Languages*, in «Dravidian Studies» I-III; repr. in *Dravidic Studies* ed. by M. Collins, Madras 1974, pp. 81-167.
- Andronov 1968 = M. Andronov, *Two Lectures on the Historicity of Language Families*, Annamalainagar.
- Arunachalam 1974 = M. Arunachalam, *An Introduction to the History of Tamil Literature*, Tiruchitrambalam.
- Bloch 1929 = J. Bloch, *Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology*, in «BSOS» 5, pp. 719-756.
- Bloch 1934 = J. Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen du Veda aux temps modernes*, Paris.
- Emeneau 1956 = M. B. Emeneau, *India as a linguistic area*, in «Language» 32, pp. 3-16.
- Emeneau 1965 = M. B. Emeneau, *India and Historical Grammar*, Annamalainagar.
- Filliozat 1973 = J. Filliozat, *Tamil and Sanskrit*, in *Proceed of the Third Int. Conf. Seminar of Tamil Studies 1970*, Pondichéry, pp. 107-110.
- Ganeshsundaran 1958 = P. C. Ganeshsundaran and S. Vaidyanathan, *An Evaluation of Sanskrit loan-words in Tamil from the point of view of Nannūl*, in «Indian Linguistics» 19, pp. 63-70.
- Glasov 1967 = Yu. Ya. Glasov, *Morphemic Analysis of the Language of Tirukkural*, in K. Zvelebil, Yu. Glasov and M. Andronov, *Introduction to the Historical Grammar of the Tamil Language*, Moscow.
- Hart III 1975 = G. L. Hart III, *The Poems of Ancient Tamil. Their milieu and their Sanskrit counterpart*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London.
- Jesudasan 1961 = C. Jesudasan and H. Jesudasan, *A History of Tamil Literature*, Calcutta.
- Katre 1965 = S. M. Katre, *Some Problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan*, Poona.
- Kuiper 1967 = F. B. J. Kuiper, *The Genesis of a Linguistic Area*, in «Indo-Iranian Journal» 10, pp. 81-102.
- Meenakshisundaran 1965a = T. P. Meenakshisundaran, *A History of Tamil Literature*, Annamalainagar.
- Meenakshisundaran 1965b = T. P. Meenakshisundaran, *A History of Tamil Language*, Poona.
- Pope 1886 = G. U. Pope, *The "Sacred" Kural of Tiruvalluva-Nayanar*, Oxford; repr. Delhi, 1980.

- Romeo 1968 = L. Romeo, *The Economy of Diphthongization in Early Romance*, The Hague-Paris.
- Vaidyanathan 1967 = S. Vaidyanathan, *Indo-Aryan Loanwords in Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, in «JAOS» 87, pp. 430-434.
- Vaidyanathan 1971 = S. Vaidyanathan, *Indo-Aryan Loanwords in Old Tamil*, Madras.
- Vaiyapuri Pillai 1959 = S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *Tamil cūṭar maṇikaḷ*, Madras.
- Vaiyapuri Pillai 1962 = S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *Kāviya kālam*, Madras.
- Vijayalakshmy 1981 = R. Vijayalakshmy, *A Study of Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, Ahmedabad.
- Zvelebil 1967 = K. Zvelebil, *The Language of Peruṅkuṇṇūr Kīḷār*, in K. Zvelebil, Yu. Glasov and M. Andronov, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-109.
- Zvelebil 1970 = K. Zvelebil, *Comparative Dravidian Phonology*, The Hague-Paris.
- Zvelebil 1973 = K. Zvelebil, *The Smile of Murugan. Old Tamil Literatur of South India*, Leiden.