

Tribal Languages of Kerala

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Preface

Kerala is the land of some of the interesting tribal languages belonging to the Dravidian family. Unlike the Nilgiri tribes or the Bastar tribes, the numerically small tribal population of Kerala had not come under intense investigations of linguists. It was the late Professor Somasekharan Nair who initiated pioneering studies in this field. During the course of his field work he came across tribal speeches like Malamuthan and Tachanadu Mooppan unknown till then. The field investigations conducted by the students of the Department of Linguistics of the University of Kerala are not known outside academic circles.

The present work aims to provide an introductory sketch of some of the tribal languages of Kerala, especially their interesting linguistic features. A few languages like Paniya have been left out as they have been rather well covered in some books and articles published in Malayalam.

The present work is the outcome of an unfinished project on Tribal Languages of Kerala that the author undertook in the International School of Dravidian Linguistics during 1992-97. A preliminary sketch based on available materials was prepared to kick-start this project. This was extended by material collected through fieldwork in some of the languages. The fieldwork part could not be completed as the priorities in ISDL changed and the author was required to attend to the completion of two volumes of the *Dravidian Encyclopedia* as its Associate Editor.

The sketches of tribal languages done for the project were used for writing articles on tribal languages of Kerala for the third volume of the *Dravidian Encyclopedia*. More material was collected on some of the languages later but the project as envisaged at the beginning could not be finished due to various academic commitments.

The present work is published in the hope that it will not only provide an introduction to these interesting languages, but also kindle the interest of young researchers in this important area where much remains to be done.

The author remembers with great affection and gratitude Professor Somasekharan Nair, whose fervent love for tribal languages and tribal people remains a constant motivation for his students.

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ADIYA

The Adiya (*aṭiya*), a tribe inhabiting Manathody, Trissileri, Tirunelli, Edappadi, Perur, Mathankara, Panamaram, Mutiramala, Vemam and Bavali regions of Wayanad district of Kerala, refer to themselves as *raavuleeru*. The 1971 Census puts their population at 7073. The speech of Adiyas exhibit a number of features that mark it off from Malayalam as well as from the other tribal speeches of the region.

The vowels of Malayalam and Adiya are essentially the same, but the short vowels of Malayalam are frequently replaced by long vowels in the corresponding Adiya word.

Malayalam	Adiya	
<i>akattũ</i>	<i>akaattu</i>	‘inside’
<i>arakkũ</i>	<i>araakku</i>	‘lac’
<i>ulakka</i>	<i>ulaakka</i>	‘pestle’

The short of *a* Malayalam is replaced by long *e* in some words.

<i>akalam</i>	<i>akeela</i>	‘distance’
<i>pakalũ</i>	<i>pakeelu</i>	‘day-time’
<i>kaṭatũ</i>	<i>ka ṭeelu</i>	‘sea’

Perhaps due to Kannada influence, word final *m* of Malayalam is dropped and word final *a* becomes *e* in the corresponding Adiya words.

Malayalam	Adiya	Kannada	
<i>pittam</i>	<i>pitte</i>	<i>pitta</i>	‘jaundice’
<i>iṣtam</i>	<i>iṭṭe</i>	<i>iṣṭa</i>	‘liking’
<i>kaakka</i>	<i>kaakke</i>	<i>kaage</i>	‘crow’
<i>aana</i>	<i>aane</i>	<i>aane</i>	‘elephant’

Word final *-u* of Adiya speech is fully rounded unlike the unrounded *-u* of Malayalam.

<i>kaṇṇũ</i>	<i>kaṇṇu</i>	‘eye’
<i>mukkũu</i>	<i>mukku</i>	‘nose’
<i>cuulũ</i>	<i>cuulu</i>	‘broom’

Adiya speech does not have the lateral *l* phoneme which is replaced by *v*.

<i>kaluttũ</i>	<i>kavuttu</i>	‘neck’
<i>ee<u>l</u></i>	<i>eevu</i>	‘seven’
<i>a<u>l</u>am</i>	<i>aava</i>	‘depth’

v of Malayalam becomes *b* in Adiya.

<i>va ṭi</i>	<i>ba ṭi</i>	‘stick’
<i>vala</i>	<i>bala</i>	‘bangle’
<i>va ṭṭi</i>	<i>ba ṭṭi</i>	‘basket’

Noun: The a-suffix denoting plurality is a highly productive suffix and the most common plural suffix of Adiya. This is found only in a few demonstrative pronouns in Malayalam such as *ava*, *iva*, etc.

The *-kaḷ* plural suffix of Malayalam is replaced by this suffix in Adiya.

<i>puccakaḷ</i>	<i>pucceya</i>	‘cats’
<i>piḷḷakaḷ</i>	<i>pulḷeya</i>	‘children’
<i>paṇiyattikaḷ</i>	<i>paṇiyattiya</i>	‘Paniya Women’

Other than this difference, case, gender and number systems of Adiya are similar to Malayalam with only minor variations.

Pronouns: The pronouns of Adiya exhibit considerable differences from Malayalam.

		Sg.	PL.
I	Nom.	<i>naanu</i>	<i>naanka</i> (Exl.)
	(oblique)	<i>en-</i>	<i>naamu</i> (Incl.)
II	Nom.	<i>nii/niiyu</i>	
	(Oblique)	<i>iñcu</i>	
		<i>ñā- iññu</i>	<i>ñinka</i>
III	Fem.	<i>ooḷu</i>	
		<i>avooḷu</i>	<i>era</i> (Prox.)
		<i>avo</i>	<i>ayira</i> (Dist)
	Non-Fem.	<i>eenu</i>	
		<i>itu</i>	<i>era</i> (Prox.)
		<i>ayinu</i>	<i>ayira</i> (Dist.)
Hon. Sg.	<i>itu</i>	<i>era</i>	
	<i>atu</i>	<i>ayira</i>	

The first person pronouns *naanu* and *naa* are in free variation.

<i>naanu/naa</i>	<i>poyuley</i>	‘I went’
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The case suffixes are added to the base *en-* as in Malayalam.

<i>enra kullili uppula</i>	‘there is salt in my hut’
<i>enaakku beenṭa</i>	‘I don’t want’

Through there are two nominative forms for second person singular viz., *nii* and *niiyu*, the first one is commonly used. Before accusative, the second person singular pronoun is *innu*, before dative it is *na* and at all other places *iñcu* is used.

The second person plural form *niiṅka* is used as honorific singular as well. When used as plural, the post position *okka* (‘all’) is also added.

Eg. *niiṅkaḷokkaayi mubari* ‘all of you come’

This Adiyans address kins through marriage, who are elder to oneself as *niiṅka* and all other kins as *nii*.

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The gender distinction on third person singular pronouns of Adiya is a feature unparalleled in other Dravidian speeches except Paniya. Masculine-non masculine, masculine-feminine-neuter and masculine-feminine are the three types of gender distinction found in Dravidian languages. In Adiya the third person singular pronouns have a feminine-non feminine gender distinction.

<i>eenu akkey (Ma. ivan aaṅkuṭṭi)</i>	‘this –he (is a) boy’
<i>eenu evuttu (Ma. iṭṭ eḷuttū)</i>	‘this (is a) letter’.
<i>ayinu cikkey (Ma. avan aaṅkuṭṭi)</i>	‘that – he (is a) boy’
<i>ayinu evuttu (Ma. atu eluttu)</i>	‘that (is a) letter’
<i>ooḷu (Ma. ival)</i>	‘this – she’
<i>avooḷu (Ma. aval)</i>	‘that – she’

The demonstrative pronouns *atu* and *itu* are not neuter forms in Adiya, contrary to what is obtained in Malayalam. They are used to refer to elder kins respectfully.

<i>atu enṛa appey</i>	‘that (he is) my father’
<i>atu enṛa ammey</i>	‘that (she is) my mother’

But *atu* and *itu* will never be used to refer to kins younger to oneself.

<i>avooḷu enṛa magaḷu</i>	‘she (is) my daughter’
<i>ayinu enṛa magenu</i>	‘he (is) my son’

Adiya has three tenses as in Malayalam.

<i>ṅaanu kaṇṭey</i>	‘I saw’
<i>ṅaanu kaanṅinṛey</i>	‘I am seeing’
<i>ṅaanu kaanṅuvey</i>	‘I will see’

The verbs take personal suffixes unlike in Malayalam.

<i>ṅaanu bandey</i>	‘I came’
<i>ṅaanṅa barivoom</i>	‘we will come’
<i>nii eppoo banṛe?</i>	‘when did you (Sg.) come?’
<i>niiṅka eppoo bandiri?</i>	‘when did you (pl) come?’
<i>penṅu banta</i>	‘the girl came’
<i>ayira bantaaru</i>	‘they came’

Some times the suffixes *-va* or *-ma* is added to the verb to denote the sex of the addressee person.

<i>iṅku baattava</i>	‘come here’ (to a boy)
<i>iṅku baattama</i>	‘come here’ (to a girl)

The suffix *-mi* is added to verbs when speaking to relations through marriage.

<i>appaa koṭuu</i>	‘father, give’
<i>baava koṭumi</i>	‘brother-in-law, give’

The –i suffix also has a similar usage.

appey nii iṅku baa ‘father come here’
baavey niiṅka barii ‘brother-in-law come’

The commonly used negator of Adiya speech is –*kaaṇi*, which is not attested in Malayalam and Tamil.

ii kuḷḷi aarumu kaaṇi ‘there is nobody in this hut’
enaakku katee gottu kaaṇi ‘I don’t know the story’
aakki baruva kaaṇi ‘elder sister has not come’
naanonnum paṭeppa kaaṇi ‘I have not learned anything’

This negative element is added to the verb stem after the verbal participle marker. In these forms tense is not overtly marked but has to be understood from the context of the speech. The –*a* negative commonly found in classical Tamil and Malayalam is also employed by Adiyas.

aa cikkeey oru paṇimu ceyyaa ‘that boy will not do any work’
naanu koṭaa ‘I will not give’
enaakku parraa ‘will not suit me’

Another archaic form preserved in Adiya speech is the verb *uḷa* found only in old Malayalam, common to singular and plural.

saala kuḷḷu uḷa ‘has many houses’
ayinu uṭe uḷa ‘he is here’
enaakku muunṅu pulḷe uḷa ‘I have three children’

Kinship Terms

Father is *appa/appan/appey* and mother is *amma* which, however is only a term of reference. Mother is addressed as *avva*. *accappan/accappey* is father’s father and mother’s father, which is extendable to father’s mother’s sister’s husband. Mother’s mother and father’s mother is *ittiyamma/ittiyamme*. The men belonging to the next ascending generation are *accera* which has its female counterpart *ittiri*. *accera* also means dead ancestors.

Father’s elder brother is *peerappan/peerappey* whose wife is *peeramma/peeramme*. *kuḷiyappan/kuḷiyappey* is father’s younger brother and mother’s younger sister’s husband. *cittappan/cittappey* is also used for the same relationship.

Elder brother is *anṇan/anṇey* which is extended to include both cross cousins and parallel cousins, elder to ego. Elder brother’s wife is referred to as *akki*, which is basically the term to denote elder sister and which can involve parallel and cross-cousins elder to ego. They are addressed as *akkiya*. Younger brother is *ileeyey* and younger sister is *ileevo*. These terms are extended to cross and parallel cousins. Husband is *raaley* and wife is *raatti*. The husband refers to his wife as *kuḷilavaḷu*.

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ARANADAN

The Aranadan (*aranaaṭan*) is a tribe inhabiting the northern parts of Kerala and the nearby areas of Tamil Nadu. *Aranaaṭan*, *araṇṭan* and *eṛanaaṭan* are some of the variant forms of their name which may be connected to Eranadu of Malappuram district, which is believed to be their original homeland. The Aranadans used to inhabit parts of Wayanad district adjacent to Nilambur area and Edakkara, Kavala-mukkatha, Aranadan kaya, Karulai, Eranad the Telppara regions of Malappuram district. The 1981 Census records their population as 95, but the actual population is definitely higher.

The speech of Aranadans show features of northern dialects of Malayalam as well as Kannada.

Nasalization of vowels is an important peculiarity of Aranadan. Eg: *bellē* (*vellam* Ma. 'water') *ñāñ* (*ñaan* Ma. 'I') *kōṭe* (*kuṭam*- Ma. 'waterpot'). This feature is attested in the speech of Paniya and Adiya also.

Lengthening of word medial vowels is another feature exhibited by Aranadan as well as many tribal speeches of the area.

Aranadan	Malayalam	
<i>ulaakke</i>	<i>ulakka</i>	'pestle'
<i>ureelu</i>	<i>ural</i>	'mortar'
<i>avaanu</i>	<i>avan</i>	'he'

Due to Kannada influence the word final *-a* of Malayalam words have changed to *-e* in the corresponding words in Aranadan.

Aranadan	Malayalam	
<i>aame</i>	<i>aama</i>	'tortoise'
<i>erumee</i>	<i>eruma</i>	'buffalo'
<i>talee</i>	<i>tala</i>	'head'

v->b change is another feature brought about by Kannada influence on Aranadan.

Aranadan	Malayalam	
<i>baṇṭi</i>	<i>vaṇṭi</i>	'cart'
<i>baḷe</i>	<i>vale</i>	'net'
<i>cebi</i>	<i>cevi</i>	'ear'

The *i* of Malayalam becomes *y* or *j* in Aranadan.

Aranadan	Malayalam	
<i>Kooyi</i>	<i>kooli</i>	'fowl'
<i>naaji/naayi</i>	<i>naali</i>	'a measure'
<i>puje/puye</i>	<i>pula</i>	'stream'

The geminated form of *r* becomes *cc* in Aranadan.

Aranadan	Malayalam	
<i>occa</i>	<i>or̥a</i>	‘single’
<i>kayaccam</i>	<i>kayar̥ram</i>	‘steep ascent’
<i>necci</i>	<i>ner̥ri</i>	‘forehead’

The first person plural forms do not have inclusive–exclusive difference but *naam* is used when there is a large group of people and *yem* for a small group. The second singular form is *nin* (*n̥inu*.Ka.).

n̥in eppoo pooggaa ‘when do you go?’
n̥in naale baa ‘you come tomorrow’
n̥in kalangate ‘you do not speak’

Unlike Malayalam which uses the plural suffix *-kal* to denote both animate and inanimate nouns, Aranadan employs *-kal* only with animate nouns. The plural forms of inanimate nouns are denoted through the quantitative adjectival form *kure*.

kure maram ‘trees’
kure kallu ‘stones’

Deletion of some case suffixes is a notable feature of Aranadan speech. The dative suffix *-kku* is not used after pronouns.

niina beenoo ‘do you want’
niina pooga ‘you may go’

The genitive is deleted in the following phrases.

nim pajj ‘your cow’
aatu kuuṭu ‘goat’s pen’
tooṭu arike ‘near the channel’

The future tense suffix of Aranadan is *-um*, as in Malayalam, but the past and present tense suffix are different. *-uppe*, *-ippe* and *-ppe* are the past suffixes *-uge*, *-utu* and *atu* are the present suffixes.

Tense paradigm of some verbs.

Verb stem		Past	present	future
<i>tinj</i>	‘to eat’	<i>tinuppe</i>	<i>tinjuge</i>	<i>tinjum</i>
<i>keeyu</i>	‘to cry’	<i>keejuppe</i>	<i>keejuge</i>	<i>keejum</i>
<i>ceyyu</i>	‘to do’	<i>ceyyuppe</i>	<i>ceyyuge</i>	<i>ceyyum</i>
<i>poovu</i>	‘to go’	<i>pooyppe</i>	<i>poovuttu</i>	<i>poogum</i>
<i>koll</i>	‘to kill’	<i>konduppe</i>	<i>kondatu</i>	<i>kollum</i>
<i>tall</i>	‘to beat’	<i>talluppe</i>	<i>tallutu</i>	<i>tallum</i>
<i>biyu</i>	‘to fall’	<i>biinduppe</i>	<i>biivitu</i>	<i>biyum</i>
<i>kalang</i>	‘to talk’	<i>kalnguppe</i>	<i>kalangtu</i>	<i>kalangum.</i>

Aranadan speech also has some peculiar vocabulary items such as *ceette* 'housefly', *cadaļenne* 'dandruff', *kummam* 'cold' – (disease), *ceyyane* 'ear-wax', *arccu* 'fin of fishes' and *kummen* 'hunch back'

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BETTA KURUMBA

Kuruma or Kurumba is a large heterogeneous tribe inhabiting principally the Nilgiri area, but spread over adjacent areas in Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnataka. The Kurumbas have three principal subgroups in *Alu/Palu/Halu* Kurumba, Betta Kurumba and *Jenu/Ten* Kurumba (otherwise known as Kattunaika). Urali Kurumba and Mullu Kurumba are also subgroups of Kurumba, but these show greater differences from the other three subgroups.

According to legends, the Kurumbas are descendants of ancient Pallavas who were scattered over Nilgiris, Wayanad and Mysore, after a Cola onslaught in about 7th or 8th century A.D.

The term Kurumar is used to refer to the Kurumbas of Nilgiris, while Kurumba is used to refer to Kurumbas inhabiting the Karnataka State. Some authors hold that Kurumba and Kuruba are two distinct tribes but recent studies show that they do not differ much in language or in culture. 'Bettu' in their language means 'people of the hills'. The major concentrations of Betta Kurumba are in Kargudi, Theppakkadu, Gudalur, Mayar, Devar Solai, Pandalur and Mudumalai in Gudalur taluk of Nilgiri district.

Many authors considered Betta Kurumba as well as other Kurumba speech forms as dialects of Kannada. Thurston considered Mullu Kurumba as a dialects of Malayalam and all other Kurumba speeches as dialects of Kannada. However, Emeneau for the first time suggested that Betta Kurumba was an independent language. Kamil V. Zvelebil in 1972 and U.P Upadhyaya, also in 1972, confirmed the independent status of Betta Kurumba speech. S. Jayapal studied this speech form and descriptive grammar of Betta Kurumbawas submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the Annamalai University in 1978. Jaypal also considers Betta Kurumba as an independent language of the S. Dr. subgroup. He points out some distinctive features in support of his argument.

The more important of them are:

- a. Distinct case suffixes; accusative suffix *-ma*, instrumental suffix *-ooda*, sociative suffix *-beliya*, dative suffix *-ka*, ablative suffixes *-lito* and *-pilito*, locative suffix *-puli*, causative suffix *-inda*, purposive suffix *-kabeyri*
- b. Plural Suffix *-g*
- c. Innovation of the numeral *-enbadu*
- d. Absence of gender distinction in third person pronouns and pronominal suffixes.
- e. Presence of link morph *-p-*
- f. Presence of non-past tense suffix *-ø*
- g. Peculiar morphological construction of negative and various negative suffixes.
- h. Presence of infinitive suffixes.
- i. Relative participle suffix *-u* and verbal participle suffixes *-un,-n,* and *-di*.
- j. Use of different personal suffixes for past and non-past tenses in finite verbs.

Jayapal sets up a separate subgroup within S. Dr. consisting of Betta Kurumba and Kodagu.

Noun

Betta kurumba does not distinguish gender in third person pronouns or in finite verbs. Masculine-feminine distinction is however maintained in some nouns which take gender suffixes.

Masculine	Feminine	
<i>aran</i>	'a man of Brahmin caste'	<i>ajji</i> 'grandmother'
<i>taṭn</i>	'goldsmith'	<i>taṭiti</i> 'goldsmith woman'

The singular forms are unmarked while plural forms are derived by adding the suffixes *-r* or *-g*.

<i>abbi-r</i>	-> <i>abbiru</i>	'mothers'
<i>aal-g</i>	-> <i>algu</i>	'persons'
<i>piliye-g</i>	-> <i>piligu</i>	'tigers'

Other than the nominative form which is unmarked, Betta Kurumba has ten cases. The commonly used accusative suffix is *-e* which is similar to the accusative suffix found in many S.Dr. languages. Betta Kurumba also uses the accusative suffix *-ma* after noun stems ending in *-iye*. This is a case suffix peculiar to Betta Kurumba.

<i>piliya-ma</i>	'tiger (Acc.)'
<i>meriye- ma</i>	'young one of animal (Acc.)'

The instrumental case suffix is *ooḍa*

<i>bumman-ooḍa</i>	'by Bomman'
<i>beriye-ooḍa</i>	'by the stick'

This suffix can in some instances, signify a sociative relation.

<i>naavu adamooḍa niiraaḍni</i>
'I took bath with him'

Dative case has two markers, *-na* and *-ka*; *-na* follows third person singular demonstrative pronouns, place nouns and personal names, while *-ka* occurs in all other places.

<i>ad-na</i>	-> <i>aduna</i>	'him/her/it (Dat.)'
<i>uuṭi-na</i>		'Ooty (Dat.)'
<i>kiri-ka</i>	-> <i>kirka</i>	'house (Dat.)'
<i>agar-ka</i>		'them (Dat.)'

Betta Kurumba has two ablative case markers which do not have reflexes in other Dravidan languages *-pilito* occurs after animate noun stems and personal pronouns; *-lito* occurs after all other stems.

<i>bumma-pilito</i>	'from Bomman'
<i>adani-pilito</i>	'from him/her/it'
<i>mert-lito</i>	'from the tree'
<i>perikaadt-lito</i>	'from the forest'

Genitive case does not have any suffix.

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adan kiiri 'his/her house'
pikki kiiriye 'bird's nest'

One of the Betta Kurumba locative suffixes *-l* is a reflex of *-il* found in many S.Dr. languages while another locative suffix *-pili* has no reflex in other Dravidian languages.

toott-l 'in the garden'
laarit-l 'in the lorry'

-pili follows animate noun stems and personal pronouns.

enni-pili 'with me/in me'
bumman -pili 'with Bomman/in Bomman'

There is a causative case in Betta Kurumba which is expressed through the suffix *-inda*.

en-inda 'because of me'
akan -inda 'because of elder sister'

The purposive relation is expressed through a peculiar case suffix; *-kabeyri* which is not attested in any other speech.

mari-kabeyri 'for the sake of Mari'
yaani-kabeyri 'for the sake of elephant'

Numerals

The basic numerals show a close similarity to the numerals of other S.Dr. languages except for the fact that the numeral for nine is *enbadu*, in contrast to *onpatu* of other S.Dr. languages.

The numeral adjustive forms also show some differences. Numeral adjective form of 'one' is *on-* or *ond-*, that of 'two', *od* or *ord* in most instances.

Pronouns

The third person pronouns do not distinguish for gender. This feature is found only in two other Dravidian languages, viz., Toda and Brahui.

	Singular	Plural
I	<i>navu</i> (oblique base <i>e-</i>)	<i>nay</i> (Incl.) <i>en</i> (Excl.)
II	<i>ni-</i>	<i>nij-</i>
III	<i>ad</i> (Dist.) (he/she/it) <i>id</i> (Prox.) (he/she/it)	<i>agu</i> (Dist.) 'they' <i>igu</i> (Prox.) 'they'

Interrogative pronouns are formed from two bases; *da-* and *e-*.

daru 'who'
edu 'which'

By adding to the interrogative pronouns the suffix *ang*, indefinite pronouns are formed.

<i>ed-ang</i>	->	<i>ed-angu</i>	‘something’
<i>dar-ang</i>	->	<i>da-rangu</i>	‘somebody’

Verb

Unlike literary Dravidian languages which have three tenses, Betta Kurumba distinguishes only two tenses, viz., past and non-past. This is a central Dravidian feature.

The past forms take six different tenses suffixes *-t -d, -nd-, -n-, -c* and *-i*. Each of these suffixes occur with particular group of verbs.

<i>ede-t-i</i>			‘took-I’
<i>ade-t-i</i>			‘closed-I’
<i>erka-d-i</i>			‘swept-I’
<i>ta-nd-o</i>			‘gave-they’
<i>ett-n-i</i>	->	<i>etni</i>	‘tapped-I’
<i>ank-n-i</i>	->	<i>ankuni</i>	‘dried-I’
<i>ett-c-a</i>	->	<i>ettica</i>	‘(one) who tapped’

Non-past is expressed through two suffixes *-p* and *-u* or in some verbs through a suffixless form.

<i>ede-p-iyā</i>			‘will take-I/we’
<i>ede-p-iyō</i>			‘will take-you (Pl.)’
<i>aḍ-u-a</i>	->	<i>aduva</i>	‘will cook he/she’
<i>kiis-u-a</i>	->	<i>kiisuva</i>	‘will sharpen he/she’
<i>kenga-ø-iyi</i>	->	<i>kengavi(yi)</i>	‘will kill-you(sg.)’
<i>nili-ø-u</i>	->	<i>niliyu</i>	‘one who will play’

Intransitive verbs can be grouped into two; the first group can be made transitive by the addition of certain suffixes. The second group cannot be made transitive but can be made causative.

-k, -t, -x and *-p-* are the suffixes used to derive transitive forms from intransitive forms.

<i>amg-k-</i>	->	<i>am-k</i>	‘press’
<i>kal ṅg-k</i>	->	<i>kal-k</i>	‘stir’
<i>ad-t</i>	->	<i>at</i>	‘shake’
<i>od-t</i>	->	<i>ot</i>	‘drive’
<i>oli-x</i>			‘hide’
<i>kay-x</i>			‘boil’
<i>a-p</i>			‘cause to wake up’
<i>uli-p</i>	->	<i>ulp</i>	‘cause to get down’

The infinitive suffixes *-l, -laye* and *ø* express purposive meaning while the suffix *-ka* is used to denote effective and simultaneous meanings.

<i>belki-l-beda</i>			‘(one) need not speak’
<i>belki-l-appa</i>			‘(one) can speak’
<i>od-ϕ-ku</i>	->	<i>oduku</i>	‘may run’
<i>bar-ϕ-ku</i>	->	<i>baruku</i>	‘may come’
<i>kel-laye</i>			‘for (the purpose of) speaking’
<i>ar-ka</i>			‘for (the purpose of) reading/learning’
<i>ad-ka</i>	->	<i>aduka</i>	‘to climb’
			‘to dance’

The negative forms show a number of peculiarities. Durative negative as well as simple negative forms use the suffix *-lpad-* which is followed by the relative participle suffix *-a* in durative negation.

<i>baar-lpad-a</i>	‘(one) who does not come’
	‘(one) who never comes’
<i>tin-lpad-a</i>	‘(one) who does not eat’
	‘(one) who never eats’

Past negative forms take the suffixes *ldid* (in stems followed by relative participle suffix *-a* or the conditional suffix *-ani*) or *-il* (in stems followed by the verbal participle suffix *-di*)

<i>od-ldid-a</i>	‘(one) who did not run’
<i>bar-ldid-a</i>	‘(one) who did not come’
<i>od-il-di</i>	‘without running’
<i>bar-il-di</i>	‘without coming’

Non-past negative forms have one suffix, *-lk*.

<i>kenga-lk-an</i>	‘if (one) will not kill’
<i>nod-lk-an</i>	‘if (one) will not see’

The suffix *-lidapad* is used in negative forms expressing doubt.

<i>nod-lidapad-o</i>	‘they might not have seen’
<i>tin-lidapad-I</i>	‘you might not have eaten’

The negative suffix *-l* is used in all other stems followed by pronominal suffixes.

<i>ba-nd-la-a</i>	‘did not come-he/she/it’
<i>odici-l-u</i>	‘did not run-you (Pl.)’

Participle Forms

Betta Kurumba has two relative participle suffixes, *-a* and *-u*. Of these, *-a* is the common relative participle suffix of Dravidian languages while *-u* is a rather rare form.

<i>ba-nd-a</i>			‘(one) who came’
<i>baar-lpad-a</i>			‘(one) who does not come/ (one) who never comes’
<i>tin-p-u</i>	->	<i>timbu</i>	‘(one) who will eat’

Verbal participles take one of the suffixes *-di, -n* or *-un, -di* follows the negative suffix *il* or the defective verb *-il, -n* follows the past tense suffix *-I* while at all other places *-un* occurs.

<i>il-di</i>			‘without being’
<i>tin-il-di</i>			‘without eating’
<i>ood-i-n</i>	->	<i>oydn</i>	‘having run’
<i>ba-nd-um</i>			‘having come’
<i>neg-dun</i>			‘having jumped’

Modal formations are effected through verbal extensions as in other Dravidian languages. Possibility, probability and permissive meaning are expressed through auxiliary *-ku*.

<i>ood-ku</i>	->	<i>ooduku</i>	‘(one) may run’
<i>nood-ku</i>	->	<i>nooduku</i>	‘(one) may see’

Potential meaning is expressed through the auxiliary *-aappa* added to the infinitive form of the verb.

<i>oodl-aappa</i>	‘(one) can run’
<i>turkul-aappa</i>	‘(one) can twist’

For negative potential meaning, the form *aagalillaa* which is very similar to the Kannada form is used.

<i>belkil-aagalillaa</i>	‘(one) cannot speak’
<i>olpicil-aagalillaa</i>	‘(one) cannot cause (someone) to hide’

Prohibitive forms use the modal auxiliary *-beeda* as is the case in Kannada.

<i>oodl-beeda</i>	‘(one) should not/need not run’
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The auxiliary *-nood* is added to the infinite form of the verb to denote an attempted action.

<i>belki-nood-n-I</i>	->	<i>belki-noodni</i>	‘I tried to speak’
		<i>belki-nood iya</i>	‘I will try to speak’

Definiteness of action is signified through definitive aspect formations which can be past definitive or non-past definitive.

The past definitive forms contain past forms of two auxiliaries; *ud* ‘leave’ and *tii* ‘complete’.

<i>tardun-ud-t-l</i>	->	<i>tradutti</i>	‘I have opened’
<i>aaṭicin-ud-ta</i>	->	<i>aaṭicinuṭṭa</i>	‘he/she/it had shaken’

The same auxiliaries are used in non-past definitive forms also.

<i>tardun-ud-iyaa</i>	->	<i>tardunuḍiya</i>	‘I/we will open’
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The auxiliary *ay* ‘to become’ in past tenses is added to the verbal participle form of the verb to denote the complete aspect.

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bandun-aay-taa -> *bandunaacaa* '(one) has come'
ooyɔŋ-aay-taa -> *ooyɔŋaacaa* '(one) has run'

Three durative forms, viz., past, present and future duratives are found in Betta Kurumba. Past and future durative make use of the auxiliary *-ir* while present durative employs the auxiliary *ood*, both meaning 'to be'.

bandun-ir-ɔ-i -> *banduniddi* 'was coming-I'
tindun-ood-a '(is) eating-he/she/it'
bandum-ir-p-iyā 'will be coming-I/we'

By inserting the oblique base of the reflexive pronoun *tan* between the verbal participle form and the auxiliary verb *ir/ood* 'to be', the reflexive aspect is expressed.

ardun-tan-ir-ɔaa -> *arduntanidda* 'he was beating himself'
ardun-tan-oo-ɔ-a 'he is beating himself'

Pronominal Suffixes

Betta Kurumba has two sets of pronominal suffixes; one follows past forms while the other follows non-past forms. Another important feature is the lack of gender distinction in third person.

	Past		Non-past	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
I	<i>i/ee</i>	<i>aa</i>	<i>iyaa</i>	<i>iyaa</i>
II	<i>i</i>	<i>u/aa</i>	<i>iyi</i>	<i>iyō/iyu</i>
III	<i>aa</i>	<i>oo</i>	<i>aa</i>	<i>iyoo</i>

Pronominal suffixes are found after some negative forms also.

bandli 'did not come-I'
bandla 'did not come he/she/it'

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CHOLANAIKKAN

The Cholanaikkans (*coolanaaykkan*) are called the Cavemen of Kerala'. This primitive hill tribe inhabits the forests in the Nilambur Valley of Malappuram district of Kerala. The Cholanaikkan habitations are on the banks of the rivers in this valley. They still live in the rock shelters called *aale*. The people call themselves as Colekkaru (*coolekkaarū*) while others refer to them as *coolanaykkar*. The caves or rock shelters of these people have names and they distinguish between two persons having the same name, by adding their caves name before their proper name. They affix –nu to their names. The existence of this tribe was unknown until the 1971 census. It is only after 1977 that these people began to receive considerable attention at the national level. The total population of this community is 281 In some places they intermingle with Kattunaikkan and Pathinayakkan tribes.

Some linguists consider Cholanaikka language as a distinct Dravidian language in its own right, and the notion they consider the notion that it is an admixture of Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada as erroneous.

An interesting feature of Cholanaikkan speech is the absence of plural markers, which are used in all other Dravidian languages.

ondu mara 'one tree' *eedu mara* 'two trees'

The accusative case marker is *-a*, which sometimes freely varies with *-e* and it occurs after the inflectional increment *-in-*

kūsina/ kūsine 'child'

The instrumental case marker is *-indu*, which freely varies with *-indu*. The *-indu* marker is used more frequently. This is not related to P.Dr. suffixes.

kayttindu 'by knife'

The ablative case is expressed by the marker *-liddu* and it has two variants, viz., *-liddu* and *-ddu*.

alliddu 'from there'
maraliddu 'from the tree'

The genitive case marker is $-\emptyset$ and it freely varies with variant *-e*. This cannot be considered as a reflex of the P.Dr. **-a* or **-atu*. Muralidharan (1988) considers this is an independent innovation in this language.

ennu/ennule 'my'

The locative marker is *-lu* and it has a variant *-kade*. *-lu* occurs only with non-human nouns.

maralu 'on the tree'
ennukade 'with me'

The purposive case is marked by *-gāgi*, which freely varies with *-ga*.

manegāgi 'for the house'
manega 'for the house'

The vocative case is marked by the marker *-ā* and it has three variants viz., *-ā*, *-e* and *-ī*. The first one occurs after nouns ending in *-annu*. And *-ē* occurs after stems ending in *-u* or *-e*, and *-ī* occurs with feminine nouns.

The personal pronouns are the following;

<i>naan<u>u</u></i>	'I'	<i>nānke/nanke</i>	'we'
<i>en</i>	'my'	<i>enke</i>	'our'
<i>nīn<u>u</u></i>	'you'	<i>nīnke/ninke</i>	'you (Pl.)'
<i>taan/tan</i>	'oneself'	<i>tanke/tānke</i>	'themselves'
<i>av<u>u</u></i>	'that-he'	<i>avru</i>	'that-they'
<i>iv<u>u</u></i>	'this-he'	<i>ivru</i>	'this-they'
<i>ave</i>	'that-she'	<i>ive</i>	'this-she'
<i>adu</i>	'that-it'	<i>idu</i>	'this-it'

Generally the personal pronouns agree with those of Malayalam. The interrogative forms of Cholanaikka are listed below;

<i>aanu</i>	'who'	<i>eennei</i>	'how many'
<i>ev<u>u</u></i>	'which man'	<i>eve</i>	'which woman'
<i>edu</i>	'which thing'	<i>evru</i>	'who'
<i>elli</i>	'where'	<i>enda</i>	'what kind'
<i>etteku</i>	'which side'	<i>endu/ētteku</i>	'when /now'
<i>ende</i>	'in which manner'		

The gender system agrees with other S.Dr. languages except Toda. The masculine gender markers *-nu*, and *-anu* can be connected with P. Dr. suffixes.

The feminine gender markers are *-itti*, *-i*, *-e*, *-ci*, *-atti*, *-iti* and *-∅*. The markers *-tti* and *-e* are reconstructed to SDr. Suffixes. *-atti* is attested in all SDr. Languages and telugu. The marker *-cci* is retained by Tamil, Kodagu and Kannada. In other cases, they prefix *gandu* and *ennu* to denote male and female gender respectively.

eṇṇukūsu 'female child'
gaṇḍātu 'male goat'

The future tense marker *-mu* found in this language is not found in any other South Dravidan languages. This is considered as an independent innovation in this language. After future tense markers *-um* and *-mu* there is no *-adu*(personal termination) ending. In all Dravidian languages except Malayalam there is pronominal termination.

Verbal Base+tense marker+personal termination (*va+nt+aann* 'came' in Tamil). However, Muralidharan (1988) points out that in this language, the common pronominal termination –

adu is used for all persons of past and present tenses. The form $-\emptyset$ personal termination, is used for the future tense. This is a special feature of this language.

The negative existential is denoted by the addition of auxiliary *-illa* to the infinitive form of the main verb and verbal noun forms in this language.

baralilla 'won't come'
tinnadilla 'won't eat'

The causative markers *-picc-* and the permissive marker *-aku* are unique features of this language.

noodpiccum 'will cause (someone) to see'
nillaku '(one) may stand'
caadaaku '(one) may jump'

The hortative form is expressed by the marker *-il* as in Kannada.

naḍli 'let (someone) plant'
tereli 'left (someone) open'

Some peculiar lexical items found in this language are given below.

<i>iṅḍreci</i>	'wife'	<i>iidubooyi</i>	'penis'
<i>eme</i>	'frog's croak'	<i>eru</i>	'join'
<i>aviḷikuusu</i>	'twin'	<i>udiletaadi</i>	'moustache'
<i>divvenumkalu</i>	'crescent moon'	<i>cikku</i>	'hiccough'
<i>cinnoonnu</i>	'mole'	<i>karse</i>	'lungs'
<i>cuvale</i>	'earthworm'	<i>kuuṭruseyṭṭi</i>	'dove'
<i>kaanana</i>	'dowry'	<i>kuuyennu</i>	'friend'
<i>goolimara</i>	'banyan tree'	<i>mondu</i>	'rainbow'
<i>niiraadaḷalu</i>	'puberty'		

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IRULA

The Irulas are one of the prominent tribal communities of South India. Their main concentration is in the Nilgiri area but the population in Kerala is also considerable. At present the important areas of inhabitation of certain groups of Irulas are roughly on the slopes and in the valleys of the south western and western parts of the Nilgiri, along the Tamil Nadu-Kerala border. According to 1981 Census, there were 18,698 Irulas (of which 9,445 are male.) in Kerala. They must have migrated from Tamil Nadu long back. Among the Attappaadi tribes of Kerala, Irula comes first. Out of 139 tribal hamlets in Attappaadi, 109 hamlets belong to them. They speak the Irula language, an independent Dravidian language belonging to the Tamil-Malayalam subgroup of south Dravidian. It was considered by Caldwell as only a rude form of Tami. Zvelebil (1982:) lists ten grammatical features to show that the Irula is an independent language.

Noun

The plural markers are *-mu*, *-aru/-ru* and *-ga*. Among these *-ga* is a common plural suffix, *-mn* occurs with pronominal bases and *-aru/-ru* with the stems *av-*, *iv-* and with human substantives. The suffixes are used only as *-m*, *-ar/-r* before a vowel, *-mu*, *-aru/-ru* and *-ga* are used only before a pause. Irula uses an archaic suffix *-iru* also, in addition to the suffixes mentioned here.

<i>naamu</i>	'we'	<i>nimu</i>	'you'
<i>nammu</i>	'us'	<i>avaru</i>	'those persons'
<i>ivaru</i>	'these persons'	<i>aaru</i>	'who'
<i>maaplega</i>	'bridegrooms'	<i>botṭuga</i>	'mountains'
<i>pammuga</i>	'fruits'	<i>aalapoṇḍiru</i>	'husband and wife'

Gender-Number: Irula distinguishes only five categories, viz., masculine singular, feminine singular, epicene plural, neuter singular and neuter plural.

-an, *-ø* and denote masculine suffixes whereas the suffixes like *-aḷ*, *tṭi/ti*, *-atti*, *-itti*, *-acci*, *-icci*, *-ecci*, *-ci*, and *-i* are used to denote the feminine gender.

Case

There are ten cases in Irula: nominative, accusative, instrumental, locative, dative, purposive, sociative, ablative, genitive and vocative.

There is no specific marker for the nominative case. Other case markers are given below:

Accusative *-ne* and *-e*

kuure-ne 'house' (Acc) *maratte* 'tree' (Acc)

Instrumental *-aale*, *ii* and *-ili*

namanaale 'by us' *maratti* 'with the tree'

pammili 'with the fruit'

Sociative *-ōḍe*.

pammōḍe 'with fruit'

Dative *-kk* and *-kke*

avarukku 'to them' *baavikke* 'to the well'

Purposive –*kkaayi*
maṅikkadukkaayi ‘for speaking’
 Ablative -*ilirund* and -*irund*
peenattirundu ‘out of the pen’ *koottagiri-ilirund* ‘from Kottagiri’
 Locative-*i*, -*ili*, -*kke* and -*akke*
aanetti ‘in the elephant’ *uurili* ‘in the village’
pulikke ‘tiger’ *namakke* ‘we’
 Genitive -*a* and *tt*
nama ‘our’ *pammuttu* ‘fruit’s’
 Vocative : Denoted by the lengthening of the final vowel.
kondii ‘oh! Sister-in-law’

Pronouns

Irula pronouns manifest three persons and two numbers.

	Sg.	Pl.
IP.	<i>naa</i>	<i>naamu</i>
II P.	<i>nii</i>	<i>niinu</i>
III P. (Refl.)	<i>taanu</i>	<i>taamu</i>

Remote demonstrative pronouns are:

<i>vaä</i>	‘that-he’	<i>ava</i>	‘that-she’
<i>adu</i>	‘that-it’	<i>avaru</i>	‘those-they(persons)’
<i>aduga/ave</i>	‘those-they (things)’		

Proximate demonstratives are:

<i>ivä</i>	‘this-he’	<i>iva</i>	‘this-she’	<i>idu</i>	‘this-it’
<i>ivaru</i>	‘these-they	<i>iduga/iva</i>	‘these-they (things)’		

There is a specific masculine gender denotation with two forms.

- i) Remote Eg. *amma* ‘that man’
- ii) Proximate Eg. *imma* ‘this man’

Interrogative pronouns are expressed by the morphs *ev-*, *e-*, *a* and, *-em*.

<i>eva</i> ‘which woman’	<i>edu</i>	‘which’
<i>äru</i> ‘who’	<i>emmā</i>	‘which man’

There is one case of indefinite pronoun, viz., *ēdō* ‘something’. There are three morphemes to denote the universal pronouns.

<i>aa -rumu</i>	‘anybody’	<i>e-dumu</i>	‘anything’
<i>ev- ämu</i>	‘any person’.		

Noun stems without modifiers function as modifiers of nouns.

ette kede ‘grandmother story’ *baaviniiru* ‘well water’

Adjectives and Numerals

Irula has six kinds of adjectives, viz.,

Qualitative: Eg. *nalla* ‘good’ *palaya* ‘old’

Quantitative: Eg. *ciṭṭige* ‘little’

Adjectives of colour: Eg. *vella* ‘white’ *kaṇappe* ‘red’

Descriptive: Eg. *cinna* ‘small’

Demonstrative: Eg. *aa* ‘that’ *ii* ‘this’

Interrogative: Eg. *ee* ‘which’

There is only one adjectival marker, viz., *-aana* added to nouns as in Tamil, to form adjectives.

alagaana ‘beautiful’ *acingaana* ‘ugly’

Like Tamil, adjectives from appellative verbs are common.

nalla ‘good’ *pudiya* ‘new’

palaya ‘old’

Like other Dravidian languages, Irula uses nouns and relative participle form of verbs as adjectives.

karuppu ‘black’ *kiṭṭa* ‘bad’

Numerals are similar to those of Tamil.

Verb

Irula has only two tenses, viz., past and the non-past, unlike most other South Dravidian languages which have three tenses.

There are four suffixes to denote the past tenses. Suffix *-in* as in *poo-in-iri* (*pooniri*) ‘went-you (Pl.)’

col-in-iri (*conniri*) ‘told-you (Pl.)’

Suffix *-nd-* as in *nel-nd-eem* (*nendeemu*) ‘hanged we’

var-nd-a (*vanda*) ‘one who came’

Suffix *-t-* as in *ked-t-ø* > *keṭṭu* ‘having spoiled’

cax-t-aar > *cattaaru* ‘died-they’

tooret-em > *toor̥reemu* ‘get defeated-we’

Suffix *-d-* as in *cee-d-eemu* > *ceedeemu* ‘worked-we’

Non-past tense is marked by \emptyset .

paakkaamu 'see-we' *adugeemu* 'cook-we'
tingaaru 'eat-they' *colluga* 'tell-she'

Like any other Dravidian language Irula has negation in its morphological structure *-aa* and *-ood-* are the negative suffixes

keekkaade 'without asking'
manikkaade 'without speaking'

The verbs are also negated through periphrastic construction.

varge 'I come' *vargale* 'do not come'
vande 'I come' *vandale* 'did not come'

There are two tenseless-personless negative verbs viz., *ille* and *alla*. The former negates existence and the latter negates accident.

pammu ille 'there is no fruit'
ii pammu vaa pammu all 'this fruit is not a banana'

Unlike Tamil, the negative is found with the past tense as in *vargale* 'come not' *vandale* 'come not' *paakkale* 'look not' and *paattale* 'looked not'. This gives the negative constructions in Irula with the structure verb+past+*-ale*. Only Old Tamil employed some usages like *kanṇṭileen* 'I did not see' *vantileen* 'I did not come', where a similar structure is seen.

Infinitive has two suffixes, viz., *-a* and *aakku*.

paakka 'to see' *naṭakkaakku* 'in order to walk'

Prohibitives have the structure of verb stem+infinitive *-ille*. *manikkaakkille* 'should/must not speak'.

In Irula personal endings are added to the tense morphs without any morphophonemic alternations.

IP.		<i>-e</i>		<i>-oo(Incl.)</i> <i>-eenu (Excl.)</i>
II P.		<i>-a</i>		<i>-iri</i>
III P.	Mas	<i>-a</i>		
	Fem.	<i>-a</i>	Human	<i>-anu/aaru</i>
	Neu. <i>-udu</i>		Non-Human	<i>-ina\</i>

Relative participle is denoted by *-a* and the negative relative participles is marked by the suffix *-aada*. Eg.

vanda 'who came' *paatta* 'who saw'
varga 'who comes' *collugaada* 'who does not/did not tell'

Verbal participle is marked by the suffix *-u*.

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keet̥tu ‘having asked’ *ceedu* ‘having done’

The negative verbal participle is expressed by the suffix *-aade*.

paakkaade ‘without seeing’ *vargaade* ‘without coming’

There are two suffixes, *-ila* and *-idi* to express the permissive.

nadakkila ‘one may walk’ *collugila* ‘one may tell’
uudugidi ‘let someone blow’ *tingidi* ‘let someone eat’

Hortative marker is *-oo* and this is a very peculiar one. Eg.

tingoo ‘let us eat’ *vargoo* ‘let us come’
nallacanne ceegoo ‘let us do (it) well’

The link morph followed by the marker *-oo* described as hortative in Irula is a rare formation, according to Zvelebil (1982 :202).

Certain differences are noticeable from Tamil and other Dravidian languages. For example, in Irula, *vet̥tina katti* ‘knife used for cutting’ cannot be changed as a noun compound *vet̥tu katti* i.e., relative participle construction cannot be reduced to noun compounds. But there are certain similarities also with Tamil and other Dravidian languages. For example, the participial nouns are formed from the relative participle forms. Participial nouns are formed with *-av* followed by the third person number and gender suffixes. Eg.

ceegavaa ‘he who does’ *paattava* ‘he who saw’
vandava ‘she who came’ *vandavaru* ‘they who came’
Similarly *-adu* is added to the neuter singular.
ceedadu ‘that which did’ *vandadu* ‘that which came’

Zvelebil (1982:202) mentions two forms for the optative suffix. They are morphologically conditioned, *-udi* and *-üdi* come after weak verbs and strong verbs respectively.

vargudi ‘lets come’ *kodukküdi* ‘let’s give’

There is a polite imperative form in Irula. The marker is *-mba* added to the suffix *-i* of imperative.

pooyimba ‘please go’ *tinnimba* ‘please eat’

Imperative singular is nothing but the verb stem. Only plural has the marker *-i*.

collu ‘say’ *colli* ‘say-you (Pl.)

There is an injunctive (since it implies suggestion rather than command) marker along with the imperative notion. (*-vi* or *-bi* in singular and *-viri* or *-biri* or *-ppiri* in plural forms)

deppi ‘why don’t you break’?
koduppi ‘why don’t you give’?
deppiri ‘why don’t you (Pl.) give’?

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colluvi 'why don't you say'?

This type of imperative is a peculiarity of Irula verbs.

There are two conditional suffixes in Irula. They are *-aa* and *-aakki*. Both of the suffixes freely vary.

vandaa 'if someone comes'

maṇittaa 'if some speaks'

oḍittaakki 'if someone breaks'

The concessive suffix is *-aalu*.

mā viindaalu 'even if it rains'

Irula temporal marker is *-aatti*.

paakkaatti 'when (x) sees'

But Zvelebil (1982:204) considers non-past stem+*-aadi/adi* (or) *-aatti/atti* and past+*aakki/akki* as different.

colluvin 'why don't you (Pl.) say'?

timbi 'why don't you eat'?

timbiri 'why don't you (Pl.) eat'?

tingadi 'when someone eats'?

vargaatti 'when someone comes'?

Adverb

Adverbs are simple or derived. *ippuyi* 'now', *innemi* 'still', etc., are simple adverbs. When the marker *-aayi* occurs after some of the noun stems like *veve*, *neer*, *rooca* etc., derived adverbs are formed.

veceyaayi 'fast' *truuvaa* 'straight'

aamaari 'like that'

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KAKKALA

The Kakkalas (*kaakkaala*), who are now treated as a Schedules Caste, were in former times, soothsayers and palmists. They are also called as Kuravas. They refer to themselves as Kulava and their language is called *kuluva peccu* (It is significant that another Dravidian nomadic tribe known as *Kaikkaatis* inhabiting parts of Maharashtra also call their speech as *kulu*). The Kakkalas are seen mainly in the Kottayam district, but are found in small numbers in other districts of Kerala. The Kakkalas are now an educationally advanced group with a number of graduates and post graduates among them.

The pronominals show significant differences from Malayalam in form and usage. The third person forms do not distinguish between masculine and feminine but there is a two-fold distinction into human (common gender) and neuter. Third person neuter forms do not distinguish for number; the same form is used for singular as well as plural. In first person plural there is no inclusive-exclusive distinction.

	Singular	Plural
IP.	<i>emmaṇam</i>	<i>ṅaaṅka</i>
II P.	<i>ummaṇam</i>	<i>niṅka</i>
III P. Mas. (Prox.)	<i>iccuvaan</i>	<i>ivaṅga</i>
(Dist.)	<i>accuvaan</i>	<i>avaṅga</i>
Fem. (Prox)	<i>iccuva/iva</i>	<i>ivaṅga</i>
(Dist.)	<i>accuva/ava</i>	<i>avaṅga</i>
Neu. (Prox)	<i>iccire</i>	<i>iccire</i>
(Dist.)	<i>accire</i>	<i>accire</i>

iva and *ava* which are feminine in Kakkala are neuter plural forms in Malayalam.

Numerals

<i>orumaacci</i>	‘one’	<i>irumaacci</i>	‘two’
<i>muumaacci</i>	‘three’	<i>naamaacci</i>	‘four’
<i>aimaacci</i>	‘five’	<i>arumaacci</i>	‘six’
<i>eḷumaacci</i>	‘seven’	<i>tuṭṭu</i>	‘eight’
<i>tommalu</i>	‘nine’	<i>patumaacci</i>	‘ten’

Fractionals

kaamaaḍu ‘one fourth’ *ara kaṅṭa* ‘one half’ *arakaṅṭa kaamaaḍu* ‘three fourth’

Verb

Tense suffixes: The past forms take as many as eleven suffixes. Before third person neuter suffix-*icci*, no tense suffix is added.

<i>palak-icci</i>	‘(it) became old’
<i>paalikkatt-icci</i>	‘(it) burned with high flames’

-ṛ-, -t-, -tt-, -ṭ-, -cc-, -n-, -ṅṅ-, -ṅd-, nc- and -unn are the other tense suffixes:

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<i>per-r-a</i>	→	<i>perra</i>	‘(she) delivered’
<i>eer-r-en</i>	→	<i>eerreen</i>	‘(I)undertook’
<i>ey-t-en</i>	→	<i>eyteen</i>	‘(I) shot’
<i>ney-t-en</i>	→	<i>neyteen</i>	‘(I) weaved’
<i>paa-tt-am</i>	→	<i>paattam</i>	‘(they) sought’
<i>tuu-tt-am</i>	→	<i>tuuttam</i>	‘(they) rubbed’
<i>keet-t-e</i>	→	<i>keette</i>	‘(he) heard’
<i>cut-t-e</i>	→	<i>cutte</i>	‘(he) burned’
<i>piṭi-cc-a</i>	→	<i>piṭicca</i>	‘(she) caught’
<i>toḍa-cc-a</i>	→	<i>toḍacca</i>	‘(she)wiped’
<i>unis i+nn+en</i>	→	<i>unis innen</i>	‘(I) beat’
<i>akicci+nn+en</i>	→	<i>akiccinnen</i>	‘(I) cried’
<i>ta-nd-a</i>	→	<i>tanda</i>	‘(she)gave’
<i>coma-nd-e</i>	→	<i>comande</i>	‘(he) carried’
<i>koḷi-ñc-icci</i>	→	<i>koḷiñccicci</i>	‘(if) fell’
<i>mee-ñc-icci</i>	→	<i>meeññicci</i>	‘(it) grazed’
<i>kalamb-unn-aanḷa</i>	→	<i>kalambunnaaḷa</i>	‘(they) saw’
<i>ooṭ-unn- aaḷa</i>	→	<i>ooṭunnaaḷa</i>	‘(they) ran’

Present tense markers are *-r-*, *-ut-* and *-ir-*.

<i>akicci-r-en</i>	‘(I) am crying’
<i>poo-r-en</i>	‘(I) am going’
<i>neer-ut-e</i>	‘(He) is taking a vow’
<i>tar-ut-e</i>	‘(he) is giving’
<i>tuuṅk-ir-a</i>	‘(she) is sleeping’
<i>elut-ir-a</i>	‘(she) is writing’

Future tense is marked by the suffixes *-v-*, *-um* and *-uv-*.

<i>poo-v-en</i>	‘(I) will go’
<i>akicci-v-en</i>	‘(I) will cry’
<i>nera-kk-um</i>	‘(it) will fill’
<i>viir-kk-um</i>	‘(it) will swell’
<i>caaṭ-uv-en</i>	‘(I) will jump’
<i>kaḷi-kk-uv-en</i>	‘(I) will play’

Negative forms take the suffix *-aatt* in relative participles and *-aat* in verbal participles.

<i>varucc-aatt-a</i>	‘that which will not come’
<i>ooṭ-aatt-a</i>	‘that which will not run’
<i>tuuṅk-aat-e</i>	‘without sleeping’
<i>caaṭ-aat-e</i>	‘without jumping’

The prohibitive forms take the suffix *-aatu.*’

<i>kemm-unn-aatu</i>	‘should not tell’
<i>ooṭ-unn-aatu</i>	‘should not run’

Purposive marker is *attena* (cf. Ma. *aan*).

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<i>kalamb –attena</i>	‘for seeing’
<i>naṭakk-attena</i>	‘for walking’

Imperative singular forms either do not take any suffix or have the *-u* suffix (in Malayalam – *ū* is the imperative marker in both singular and plural forms.)

<i>ari</i>	‘you (Sg) cut’
<i>ara</i>	‘you (Sg.) grind’
<i>kalamb -u</i>	‘you(sg.) see’
<i>kattir -u</i>	‘you (Sg.) burn’

Imperative plural is expressed through two suffixes *-ṅko* and *-uṅko*. *-ṅko* occurs after *-a* and *-u* ending stems: after other stems *-uṅko* occurs.

<i>ara- ṅko</i>	‘you (Pl.) grind’
<i>aṭa- ṅko</i>	‘you (Pl.) close
<i>eṅṅ-uṅko</i>	‘you (Pl.) count’
<i>keer-uṅko</i>	‘You (Pl.) climb’

(*-uṅko* is used in Tamil as a honorific form)

Potential forms are similar to Malayalam. The suffix is *-ām*.

<i>kraaṅṭ-ir-aam</i>	‘can sing’
<i>caaṭ-ir-aam</i>	‘can jump’

Optative suffixes *-ṭṭaa* and *-aṭṭaa* is similar to Malayalam *-aṭṭe*.

<i>varucc-aṭṭaa</i>	‘let (me) come’
<i>ooṭ-aṭṭaa-</i>	‘let (me) run.

Verbal participle forms also resemble Malayalam. *-i* ending stems do not take any marker in participle form.

<i>akkicci</i>	‘having cried’
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Consonant ending stems take *-i* as the participial suffix.

<i>kalamb –i</i>	‘having seen’
<i>caaṭ –i</i>	‘having jumped’

The suffix *-e* occurs after negative marker *-aat* and the suffix *-u* occurs after all other stems.

<i>tuuṅk-aat-e</i>	‘without sleeping’
<i>ooṭ-aat-e</i>	‘without running’
<i>naṭa-ṅd-u</i>	‘having walked’
<i>paatt-u</i>	‘having looked’

Relative participle marker is *-a*.

<i>kariṅc -ir-a</i>	‘(which) is laughing’
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era-nd-a ‘(which) begged’

Personal Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
I	- <i>en</i> <i>tūñkiren</i> (‘sleep-I’)	<i>a</i> <i>vāyi+cc-a-m</i> ‘read-we’
II	- <i>e</i> <i>tap-unn-e</i> ‘washed-you’	- <i>i</i> <i>tang-ir-i-ya</i> ‘stay-you (Pl.)’
III Mas	- <i>e</i> <i>er-nd-e</i> ‘begged he’	- <i>a</i>
Fem.	- <i>a</i> <i>e_lut-ir-a</i> ‘writes-she’ Neu. - <i>icci</i> (after past tense) <i>pa_lakicci</i> <i>toorricci</i> - <i>i</i> (after present tense markers) <i>kitt-ir-i</i> <i>to_{ḍa}-kk-ir-i</i> - \emptyset (before future tense marker) <i>kitt-um</i> ‘will obtain (it)’ <i>viriy-um</i> ‘will bloom (it)’	- <i>a</i> <i>kuu_{ṭṭ}-unn-a-m-ka</i> ‘increased-they’ ‘become old(it)’ ‘failed (it)’ ‘obtained (it)’ ‘wipes (it)’

Some peculiar lexical items are used in Kakkala.

<i>ayittiṭ</i>	‘to forgot’	<i>talapoṭ</i>	‘to poke’
<i>is īṅk</i>	‘to die’	<i>kaṅ</i>	‘to approach’
<i>cenattukkoṅ</i>	‘to become angry’		
<i>poṭukkan</i>	‘husband’	<i>poṭukkacci</i>	‘wife’
<i>acciru</i>	‘that’	<i>ummaṇam</i>	‘you’
<i>kemm</i>	‘to say’	<i>accuvaan</i>	‘he’
<i>kaavay</i>	‘dog’	<i>vaḷakku</i>	‘news’
<i>ummaṇḍi</i>	‘coffee’, Tea, water	<i>kraanta</i>	‘song’
<i>kaayikkal</i>	‘coconut’	<i>kaḷamb</i>	‘to see’
<i>marikkam</i>	‘meal’	<i>puutta</i>	‘child’
<i>puuccu</i>	‘to go’	<i>polumbu</i>	‘go’
<i>caaṭayam</i>	‘short’	<i>pori</i>	‘house’
<i>unis ī</i>	‘to beat’	<i>is īṅkalu</i>	‘death’

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KANI

The Kanis (*kaani*) of Kerala speak a language which is distinct from the speech of Kanis of nearby Tamil Nadu districts. Major settlements of Kanis of Karala are in Nedumangadu, Neyyattinkara and Kollam of South Kerala. Kulathupuzha, Pattomavu, Kallar, Anappara, Mulayara, Kottur, and Chonambara have numerous Kani settlements. There are two groups of Kanis – Naattukaanis, who inhabit the plains and Malankaanis, who are forest dwellers. The original speech of the Kanis is still preserved by the older generation of forest dwelling Kanis though most of the Kanis living in the plains have switched over to Malayalam. The Kanis of Kerala refer to their speech as *malampaala* (Kanis of Tamilnadu call their speech as *malampaas'ai*.)

The *a* of Malayalam becoming *e* is the most noteworthy feature of the Kani phonology.

Malayalam	Kani	
<i>añcu</i>	<i>eñcu</i>	'five'
<i>aṭuppŭ</i>	<i>eṭuppŭ</i>	'stove'
<i>aniyan</i>	<i>eniyan</i>	'younger brother'
<i>kaḷḷan</i>	<i>keḷḷan</i>	'thief'
<i>maavu</i>	<i>meevu</i>	'mango tree'
<i>maatapraavŭ</i>	<i>meetapraavŭ</i>	'dove'

Tamil Nadu Kanis do not show this feature in their speech, but *a* → *e* change is found in the speech of Mullukkurubas of Wayanad.

v of Malayalam and Tamil Nadu become mostly *m* and rarely, *b*. This change, however, is not consistently maintained in the speech younger generation.

Malayalam	Kani	
<i>vanam</i>	<i>manam</i>	'forest'
<i>veḷutta</i>	<i>meḷutta</i>	'white'
<i>virru</i>	<i>miṭṭu</i>	'sold'
<i>vaalu</i>	<i>baalu</i>	'tail'
<i>velli</i>	<i>belli</i>	'silver'

While the Kanis of Tamil Nadu pronounce words like *nerri* (forehead), *kurri* (wooden peg) as *netti* and *kutti*, the Kanis of Kerala substitute *rr* with *cc* and pronounce these words as *necci* and *kucci*.

l becomes *y* as in Tamil Nadu Kani.

Malayalam	Kani	
<i>kuḷi</i>	<i>kuyi</i>	'pit'
<i>kooḷi</i>	<i>kooyi</i>	'fowl'
<i>kaḷuta</i>	<i>kayuta</i>	'ass'

Kani adds the morphs *-in* or *-n* after all noun stems, except after *-n* ending noun stems.

Malayalam Kani

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<i>aare</i>	<i>aarine</i>	'who (Acc.)'
<i>kooliye</i>	<i>kooyiine</i>	'fowl (Acc.)'
<i>makaḷe</i>	<i>makaḷine</i>	'daughter (Acc.)'

The present tense suffix *-unnu* of Malayalam becomes *-ine* in Kani.

meya peyyine 'it is raining'
(Ma. *mala peyyunnu*)

neearm utikkine 'the sun is rising'

(Ma. *suuryan udikkunnu*)
paayine 'speeds away'
(Ma. *paayunnu*)

Personal terminations are not used in Kani, but a few forms preserve remnants of the old personal terminations.

The *aa* negative suffix, which was common in old Malayalam, and preserved in a few tribal speeches of Kerala like Paniya and Adiya, is found in Kani also.

naṭakkaan parraa 'cannot walk, is not able to walk'
viḷiccaa 'will not call'
ekkarīyaa 'I do not know'

Most of the vocabulary items correspond to Malayalam forms, but a few native words like *eccan* 'elder brother', *ecci* 'elder sister', *ittaakki* 'if not', *uumakkiyaṅṅu* 'tender tuber', *uuruvaalu* 'fenugreek', *eyikuka* 'be destroyed'. *uriñña* 'taste', etc., are also used by the Kanis.

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KURICHIYA

The Kurichiyar are a prominent tribe of Kerala residing in Wayanad and Kannur district. They are believed to be plains people who migrated to the hilly tracks from South Kerala. Kurichiyar fought for Pazhassi Raja, a native king in his revolt against the British East India Company. The Kurichiyar speak a dialect of Malayalam with many phonological peculiarities. Only marginal morphological and syntactic variations from Malayalam are observed in the Kurichiya speech.

Word initial, word medial and word final *a* of Malayalam has *e* in corresponding words of Kurichiya speech.

Malayalam	Kurichiya	
<i>kallu</i>	<i>kellu</i>	‘stone’
<i>maram</i>	<i>meram</i>	‘tree’
<i>tala</i>	<i>tela</i>	‘head’
<i>mala</i>	<i>mela</i>	‘mountain’
<i>aaru</i>	<i>eeru</i>	‘who’
<i>aññaali</i>	<i>eññaali</i>	‘a measure’
<i>aṛiyuka</i>	<i>eṛiyuka</i>	‘to know’
<i>vaḷa</i>	<i>baḷe</i>	‘bangle’
<i>maala</i>	<i>maale</i>	‘necklace’
<i>kappa</i>	<i>kappe</i>	‘tapioca’

The unrounded *u* at word final position has as its corresponding sound in Kurichiya the fully rounded *u* as in *uṅṭu* (Ma. *uṅṭū* ‘copula verb’).

i → *e* change is attested in many Kurichiya words as in many dialects of North Kerala.

Malayalam	Kurichiya	
<i>tina</i>	<i>tene</i>	‘millet’
<i>viṣam</i>	<i>bes’am</i>	‘poison’
<i>viṣamam</i>	<i>bes’amam</i>	‘difficultly’

v becomes *b*

Malayalam	Kurichiya	
<i>vaṭi</i>	<i>baṭi</i>	‘stick’
<i>villu</i>	<i>billu</i>	‘bow’
<i>vellam</i>	<i>bellam</i>	‘water’

i becomes *y* or *v*

Malayalam	Kurichiya	
<i>maḷa</i>	<i>meya</i>	‘rain’
<i>vaḷi</i>	<i>bayi</i>	‘path’
<i>aalam</i>	<i>aayam</i>	‘depth’
<i>kaḷuttū</i>	<i>kavuttu</i>	‘neck’
<i>kaḷuvuka</i>	<i>kavva</i>	‘to wash’

s´ becomes *y* or *c* and *s* becomes *t* in many words.

Malayalam	Kurichiya	
<i>pas´u</i>	<i>payi/pai</i>	‘cow’
<i>našippikkuka</i>	<i>nayippettutuka</i>	‘to destroy’
<i>vis´vaasam</i>	<i>bicvaasam</i>	‘belief’
<i>sams´ayam</i>	<i>tamis´ayam</i>	‘doubt’
<i>satyam</i>	<i>tatyam</i>	‘truth’

Many word-medical consonants are elided.

Malayalam	Kurichiya	
<i>nikuti</i>	<i>nīti</i>	‘tax’
<i>pukayila</i>	<i>poole</i>	‘tobacco’
<i>cakiri</i>	<i>ceeri</i>	‘coconut husk’
<i>evite</i>	<i>oote/eeṭe</i>	‘where?’

ṭṭ is substituted by *rr*

Malayalam	Kurichiya	
<i>paraṅṅiṭṭu</i>	<i>paraṅṅirraaṅṭu</i>	‘after saying’
<i>naṭannittu</i>	<i>naṭannirraaṅṭu</i>	‘after walking’

A peculiar feature of Kurichiya speech is the addition of a *laa* ending to question forms.

peerentelaa (Ma. *peerentaa* ‘what is your name?’)
eṅṅeṅtelaa? (Ma. *atinentaa* ‘so what?’)

Word initial *r* of Malayalam is dropped in the corresponding words of Kurichiya.

Malayalam	Kurichiya	
<i>raavile</i>	<i>aayile</i>	‘in the morning’
<i>raṅṅṭu</i>	<i>aṅṅu</i>	‘two’
<i>raajaavũ</i>	<i>aajaavu</i>	‘king’

-*nn*- clusters of Malayalam has -*nr*- as the corresponding sound in Kurichiya speech.

Malayalam	Kurichiya	
<i>paayunnu</i>	<i>paaynru</i>	‘speeds away’
<i>karayunnu</i>	<i>keraynru</i>	‘is crying’
<i>pookunnatu</i>	<i>poounru</i>	‘that which goes’
<i>paṭhikkunnu</i>	<i>paṭikkinru</i>	‘is studying’

Pronouns

Pronouns of Kurichiya show many phonological variations from Standard Malayalam, in line with the changes observed in North Malayalam dialects. An interesting pronominal form in Kurichiya is the I person inclusive plural *ummaḷũ*.

	Sg.	Pl.
I P.	<i>naa(n)</i>	<i>ñañya</i> <i>ñaalu</i> (Excl.)
	Dat.	<i>ekkü/anakkü</i> <i>ñaakkü</i>
	Gen.	<i>ekkuḷa/ennü</i> <i>ummaḷi</i> (Incl.)
II P.	<i>niññi/iññi</i>	<i>niñya/iñya</i>
III P.	Mas. <i>oon/oolü</i>	
	Fem. <i>oolü</i>	<i>oorü</i>

Past tense forms show an interesting phonological variation from Malayalam in having *i* after palatal consonants, instead of *u*.

Malayalam	Kurichiya	
<i>karaññu</i>	<i>karaññi</i>	‘cried’
<i>paraññu</i>	<i>paraññi</i>	‘said’
<i>veccu</i>	<i>becci</i>	‘placed’
<i>ciriccu</i>	<i>ciricci</i>	‘laughed’
<i>mariccu</i>	<i>mericci</i>	‘died’

Two particles (apparently meaningless), *maata* and *meettü* which are in free variation are frequently added to the end of the sentences.

inneyellam berañam maata
inneyellam berañam meettü ‘all of you should come’

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MALAMUTHAN

The Malamuthans (*malamuttaan*) also known as Malakkar (*malakaar*) are a small tribe inhabiting mainly the hills of Nilambur forest in Malappuram district and Mukkam of Kozhikode district in Kerala. The Malamuthans consider the palins people and other tribes as polluting. There are any number of Malamuthans who still refuse to take the food offered by others.

The Aranandan and Nayadis are supposed to remain outside a sixty feet boundary from the Malamuthan's *ellam* i.e., house. Paniyas and Allar can approach upto 16ft., while Kalladis are allowed to come near six feet. If any outsider transgress the six feet limit, the orthodox Malamuthans burn down their houses. It is perhaps this isolation from other tribes and plains people that has resulted in a number of linguistic peculiarities in their speech.

The replacement of labio-dental *v* by nasal *m* is the most noteworthy phonological feature of Malamuthan speech.

Malayalam	Malamuthan	
<i>varaṭṭe</i>	<i>maratṭe</i>	'let come'
<i>viḷikkum</i>	<i>miḷikkum</i>	'will call'
<i>vaḷa maḷa</i>		'bangle'
<i>viiṭṭu miitṭu</i>		'house'

The same change is observed in the speech of Tachanatu Muppans but it is not as widespread as in Malamuthan speech. This change affects word initial *v* only, word medial *v* is preserved as such or becomes voiced *b* as in:

<i>maavoo</i> (come)	<i>ibalū</i> (these people)
<i>ibaḷu</i> (this-she)	

Word final alveolar *n* of Malayalam becomes *m* or *ŋ* in Malamuthan speech. While *ŋ* is usually pronounced, in more formal speech, *n* replaces *ŋ*. Thus *cekkan* (boy) and *kallan* (thief) of Malayalam becomes *cekkaŋ* and *kallaŋ* and in formal speech *cekkam* and *kallam*.

Word final *m* Malayalam often becomes *n* in their speech.

Malayalam	Malamuthan	
<i>nakham</i>	<i>nakan</i>	'nail'
<i>roomam</i>	<i>rooman</i>	'hair'
<i>paḷam</i>	<i>payan</i>	'banana'
<i>neeram</i>	<i>neeran</i>	'time'

Though Malamuthan speech has *nɾ* clusters as in *anɾoo*, most of the *nɾ* clusters of Malayalam would be pronounced as *n̄j* by the Malamuthans.

Malayalam	Malamuthan	
<i>enɾe</i>	<i>eñja</i>	'my'
<i>ninɾe</i>	<i>niñja</i>	'your'

The doubled alveolar sounds of Malayalam become palatal in their speech.

nerri necci 'forhead'
paarra paaca 'cockroach'
kurri kucci 'peg'

-y insertion after the word initial vowels is another change observed in Malamuthan. Thus *ari* 'rice' becomes *ayri*, *nari* 'fox' becomes '*nayri*' *vari* 'row' becomes '*mayri*' and *kuru* 'seed' becomes '*kuyri*'. The -y sound in such words are fully pronounced. The lateral *l* of Malayalam becomes *y* in some words (*mala*(rain) → *maya. pula* (stream) → *puya*), and -*yj* in some other words (*kuli* (hole) → *kuyj;pulu* (worm) → *puyju*, and rarely -*v* (*kaluttu* (neck) *kavuttu*)

The -*yy* and *s* of Malayalam are also sometimes replaced by -*yj* in Malamuthan. (*kayyu* (hand) → *kayju miis'a* (moustache) → *miyja*)

The pronouns of Malamuthan speech are similar to those found in northern dialects of Malayalam but the case forms of pronouns are peculiar.

<i>oon</i> (Ma. <i>avan</i>) 'he'	<i>ool</i> (Ma. <i>aval</i>) 'she'
	<i>oolu</i> (Ma. <i>avar</i>) 'they'
<i>iban</i> (Ma. <i>ivan</i>) 'he'	<i>ibalu</i> (Ma. <i>ival</i>) 'she'
	<i>ibalu</i> (Ma. <i>ivar</i>) 'they'

oonja (Ma. *avanre* 'he' (Gen.)), *ibanja* (Ma. *ivanre* 'he' (Gen.)), *eñja* (Ma. *enre* 'my') *eñña* (Ma. *enne* I (Acc.)), *eññootu* (Ma. *ennootu* 'to me' (Soc.)) etc. are some of the case forms of pronouns.

The demonstratives *aa* and *ii* become *ayya* and *iyya* in the speech of this tribe. They also have a peculiar demonstrative -*nee* to denote far remote objects. Thus they have three categories of third person demonstratives, such as *itu*, *atu* and *neetu*; *ibalu*, *oolu* and *neebalu*.

The case suffixes of Malamuthan speech and Malayalam are essentially same but there are morphological differences, especially in the link morphs. Whereas in Malayalam the interrogative base -*aarũ* takes the accusative case suffix -*e* directly, Malamuthan speech makes use of the link morph -*in*, thus Malayalam *aare* 'who (Acc.)' becomes '*aarine*'. In some genitive forms, Malamuthan does not use a link morph whereas Malayalam uses it. Thus; *penñinre* (of the girl) becomes '*penñuṭa*' and *muukkinre* (of the nose) becomes '*muukkuṭa*'. The most important peculiarity of Malamuthan case forms is the -*ca* suffix denoting genitive relation.

<i>iñca</i> (Ma. <i>enre</i>) 'my'	
<i>makaca</i> (Ma. <i>makanre</i>)	'son's'
<i>kannica</i> (Ma. <i>kanninre</i>)	'eye's'

The Malamuthan speech has a peculiar past tense suffix "-*uttu*" which is found in Paniya also.

<i>uuttuttoo</i> (Ma. <i>uuti</i>)	'blew'
<i>ketuttuttoo</i> (Ma. <i>ketti</i>)	'tied'
<i>keeruttuttoo</i> (Ma. <i>keeri</i>)	'climbed'

Malamuthan does not have any equivalent for the negative *alla* of Malayalam and both *alla* and *illa* of Malayalam have *illa* as their equivalent in Malamuthan.

Malamuthan	Malayalam	
<i>oonillaanroo</i>	<i>avanalla</i>	'not he'
<i>oojillaanroo</i>	<i>avqalalla</i>	'not she'

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MALADEVA/VEDA

The culture and speech forms of the people who are known by the names Veda/Malaveda/Vettuvar differ greatly. It has not been possible to ascertain whether all these people belong to the same tribe. It is possible that some of these groups have nothing in common except the name, as linguistic peculiarities of some speech forms suggest.

The data collected from Pathanamthitta in South Kerala in 1977 (Radhakrishnan Nair, S, Kumari Nirmala B, Thankachi R, 1977) represents a speech form which shows great difference from Malayalam. This shows a number of morphological peculiarities and large number of lexical items not attested in Malayalam or Tamil. This speech deserves to be classified as an independent language belonging to the S.Dr. sub group of the Dravidian family.

The data collected from seven Malaveda settlements in Kollam district by Hyrunnisa Beegam (1991) show that the speech of Malavedas of this area have only marginal differences from Malayalam, in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis; in fact the differences is far less than what is obtained between northern and southern dialects of Malayalam.

The speech and culture of the people known under the name Veda/Malaveda has to be intensely investigated to find out intergroup relations. The Malavedas are considered to be closely related to Ulladans and Malappandarams; the former are considered to be their brothers. The total population of Vedas according to the 1981 Census is 2,435. Kottayam district has a Malavedan population of 599. In Trivandrum district where Malavedans are found in Nedumangad and Neyyattinkara taluks, their population is 404. Kollam districts has 1,090 and Pathanamthitta district has 1090 Malaveda population.

Phonology

The phonemic system is very close to that of Malayalam with the exception that Veda does not have voiced and aspirated stops that have come into literary Malayalam due to Indo-Aryan influences.

Pronouns

The first person singular pronoun is *ñaanu* in nominative. Other cases are added to the base *en-* as in *ennaaru* 'I(Dat)', *enru* 'my'.

In first person plural forms there is no inclusive-exclusive differentiation, *ñaanu* is used for both. Case forms are added to the base *om*; *ommaaru* 'we (Dat)'. The nominative form of second person singular is *iyyu*; oblique base is *iññu*; *iññaaru* 'you (Dat)'. Second person plural form is *iiru* in nominative and *imm-* before other cases; *immaaru* 'you (Dat)'.
imm-

Third person forms are; third person masculine singular *avaru* masculine plural: *avaru*; feminine singular *atuvu*; feminine plural *avaru*. Neuter singular is *attu* and plural is *avvu*. Third person Mas. Singular and plural proximate forms is *veeru*. Feminine proximate forms are *ituvu* (Sg.) and *veeru* (Pl.). The neuter proximate forms is *ivvu*. The third person proximate forms beginning in *a* are distant. The feminine singular is also derived from the

base *at* which is in fact, a neuter base. This points to the fact that the language might have had a masculine-non masculine gender division in the early stage.

Noun

Gender markers are the same as in Malayalam. Masculine forms take – *aan* or –*an* while feminine forms take *atti*, –*aṭṭi*, –*cci* etc.

<i>tampuraan</i>	‘respectable person’
<i>mutian</i>	‘grand father’
<i>areyatti</i>	‘fisher woman’
<i>ñukkatti</i>	‘old woman’

Case: These are two accusative suffixes –*avu* and –*a*.

<i>tokkaliyavu</i>	‘dog (Acc.)’	<i>imma</i>	‘you (Acc.)’
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Dative forms are – *aaru* and –*e* (It is interesting to note that –*e* is accusative case marker in Ma. Ta. etc.)

<i>ennaaru</i>	‘I(Dat.)’	<i>enne</i>	‘I Dat.’
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These forms are in free variation.

–*uṭe*, –*eṭe*, *iṭe*, –*aṭe* and –*ṭe* are the genitive case markers:

<i>avarīṭe</i>	‘their’	<i>kilāni-ite</i>	‘of the sister’
<i>mele-eṭe</i>	‘of moutain’	<i>iññ-aṭe</i>	‘of you’
<i>atuv-uṭe</i>	‘of her’	<i>tokkali-ṭe</i>	‘of the dog’

Locative forms take the suffixes *u/ ē* or –*ilu/ ī* which are in free variation, or –*ikkam*, –*akkam* –*ukkam*.

<i>kilāni-ilu</i>	→ <i>kilānii</i>	‘in sister’
<i>peru- eelu</i>	→ <i>pere</i>	‘in house’
<i>kayy-ikkam</i>		‘in hand’
<i>coluṅk-akkam</i>		‘in head’
<i>atuv-ukkam</i>		‘in her’

Numerals: The numerals from one to six are closer to Tamil. Seven is similar to that of Malayalam. Some numerals have a peculiar –*avu* ending.

<i>onṛu</i>	‘one’
<i>reeṭu</i>	‘two’
<i>muuru</i>	‘three’ (<i>muppatavu</i> ‘thirty’)
<i>naalu</i>	‘four’ (<i>naalpatavu</i> ‘forty’)
	(<i>naanūuravu</i> ‘four hundred’)
<i>añcu</i>	‘five’ (<i>onpatavu</i> ‘fifty’)
	(<i>aññūuravu</i> ‘five hundred’)
<i>aaru</i>	‘six’ (<i>aṛupatavu</i> ‘sixty’)
	(<i>aṛnūuravu</i> ‘six hundred’)

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		(<i>aaraakkiram</i> ‘six thousand’)
<i>eelu</i>	‘seven’	(<i>elupatavu</i> ‘seventy’)
		(<i>elunuuravu</i> ‘seven hundred’)
<i>eṭtu</i>	‘eight’	(<i>enpatavu</i> ‘eighty’)
		(<i>enṇuuravu</i> ‘eight hundred’)
<i>ompatavu</i>	‘nine’	(<i>tonṇuuravu</i> ‘ninety’)
<i>pattavu</i>	‘ten’	(<i>irupatu</i> ‘twenty’)

Verb

The past forms take the following tense suffixes; *ñc*, *-cc-*, *-tt-*, *-t-*, *-t-*.

<i>ceñceen</i>	‘I did’	<i>naṭanteen</i>	‘I walked’
<i>varicceen</i>	‘I came’	<i>marantēn</i>	‘I forgot’

Present tense forms have two tense suffixes *-tta* and *-ta*;

<i>caṭṭaveen</i>	‘I speak’	<i>pookutaveen</i>	‘I go’
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Future tense is marked through the suffixes *-pp-*, *-pa-* and *-a-*.

<i>timpa</i>	‘will eat’	<i>uri-ppoorin</i>	‘you will not eat’	
<i>cali -pp-</i>	<i>oorin</i>	‘you will not speak’	<i>viiv-a</i>	‘will fall’

The relative participles have, in addition to the *a* suffix (found in Malayalam), three other suffixes, viz., *-een* *-an* and *-e*.

<i>variccan</i>	‘come (which)’	<i>varaatta</i>	‘did not come (which)’
<i>varitteen</i>	‘coming (which)’	<i>ceyaatte</i>	‘not doing (which)’

The negative participle forms take *-aatt* or *-att-* suffixes.

<i>naakuvaata</i>	‘not laughing’	<i>naakuvatte</i>	‘not laughing’
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In imperative singular forms, the verb stem is used without any suffix, or with the *-u-* suffix.

<i>vera</i>	‘come (you)’	<i>pooku</i>	‘go’
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Imperative plural forms take the suffixes *-mi-* or *-miiru*.

<i>varami</i>	‘you (Pl.) come’	<i>varamiiru</i>	‘you (Pl.) come’
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Personal Terminations

	Sg.	Pl.	
I	<i>een</i>	<i>oom</i>	
II	<i>eeni,eni</i>	<i>eniiru</i>	
II	(Mas.) <i>aa, aaru</i>	<i>ee, eeru</i>	
III	(Fem.) <i>aa, aatu</i>		
	(Neu.) <i>a, aatu</i>	<i>aavu, eena, ena</i>	

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Permissive mood is expressed by the suffix-*kiṭu*
varikiṭu 'let come'
optative marker is -*kaṭṭe*.
maṇṭukaṭṭe 'let him run'

Purposive forms take -*parṛu*.
kaamparṛu 'for seeing'

Potential forms have -*kaam* (cf. Ma.- *aam*)
kikaam 'let us go'

Verbal participles have two suffixes, -*u* and -*ee*
naakku 'having laughed'
varaatee 'not having come'

Conditional is marked by *aanṭe*
uṇṭaanṭe 'while drinking'

Veda speech also has a copula verb in *aata* which is unattested in other languages, but could be related to the Malayalam forms -*aak*, *aan*, etc.

avaru caliccantu kaṭṭaata 'what he said is a lie'
avarite peeru kooran enṛaata 'his name is Koran'

Interrogative forms take -*ee* suffix.
atuvu varutavee? 'is she coming?'
omme calikkaamee? 'can we talk?'

The interrogative pronoun *eviṭe* of Malayalam has as its corresponding form in Veda *eenṭe*.

avaru eenṭe vattave? 'where does they live?'
iyyu eente kayteeni? 'where are you going?'

Affirmative questions use the form *eelaa* (cf. Ma. *allee?illee?*)

avaru keesavaraataa eelaa? 'he is Kesavan, is he not?'
avaru kaliyanrave eelaa? 'they will go, will they not?'
-*alle* and *ille* are negative forms.
atuvu enṛa makaḷalle 'she is not my daughter'
eneeru penaaya ille 'I don't have a pen'

Veda speech has some peculiar lexical items not found in any other languages of the family.

<i>allu</i>	'whole'	<i>nekuva</i>	'fox'
<i>nuuli</i>	'underground stem'	<i>meeri</i>	'rain' (cf. <i>maari</i> of Ma.)
<i>kilani</i>	'sister'	<i>tokkali</i>	'dog'
<i>naakuvu</i>	'hen'	<i>coluṅk</i>	'head'
<i>tera-</i>	'to give'	<i>vati-</i>	'to lie'
<i>keṛivu-</i>	'to annoy'	<i>tali</i>	'to beat' (cf. <i>tall</i> of Ma.)
<i>elikin</i>	'yesterday'	<i>raat-</i>	'to bring'

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<i>kaaly-</i>	'to eat'	<i>pleetu</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>koñicilu</i>	'money'	<i>kayt</i>	to go'
<i>calitt</i>	'to say'	<i>centave</i>	'ant'
<i>tollupeṭṭi</i>	'match box'	<i>takiṭu</i>	'egg'
<i>ñagilu</i>	'stomach'	<i>kaarappan</i>	'blood'
<i>tugaḷu</i>	'dust'	<i>keṭṭantu</i>	'ear'
<i>kaattu</i>	'distance'	<i>canuppu</i>	'small amount'
<i>maluk</i>	'fish'	<i>pottari</i>	'feet'
<i>cidava</i>	'good'	<i>colī</i>	'snake'
<i>kadave</i>	'mouth'	<i>tonku</i>	'neck'
<i>torālu</i>	'stone'	<i>pommayavu</i>	'breast'
<i>kilāni</i>	'sister'	<i>animbu</i>	'sugar'
<i>tollu</i>	'fire'	<i>uulappu</i>	'bad'

The Vedas have their own terms to refer to the various castes and tribes.

<i>conṛi</i>	'Ullada tribe'	<i>meekkiṭi</i>	'Nair'
<i>veñcaḷi</i>	'Ezhava'	<i>poḷḷutala</i>	'Brahmin'
<i>colḷi</i>	'Muslim'	<i>kaatalu</i>	'Carpenter'
<i>koṛkkoru</i>	'barber'		

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MANNAN

Mannan (*mannaan*) is a tribe confined to Kerala. Major habitations of Mannans are Thodupuzha, Devikolam, Udambanchola and Peerumede taluks in Idukki district of Kerala. The Mannas claim that their original habitation was in Madurai, from where they migrated to Kerala. According to the 1991 Census, their population is 42,221.

The speech of Mannans is closely related to Malayalam, and can be considered, a dialect of Malayalam. It shows a number of phonological changes from Malayalam. It lacks personal terminations, but does not make use of the copula verb. Some lexical items of Mannan speech are unattested in Malayalam as well as in other tribal speeches of the area.

Phonology

The vowel phonemes are similar to those of Malayalam. Compared to Malayalam, Mannan speech lacks the consonant phonemes \underline{l} , \tilde{n} and η . Alveolar nasal \underline{n} is absent. The most notable feature of Mannan phonology is the conversion of \underline{l} of Malayalam and other S.Dr. languages into *c*.

Malayalam	Mannan	
<i>ma\underline{l}a</i>	<i>maca</i>	'rain'
<i>pa\underline{l}am</i>	<i>pacam</i>	'fruit'
<i>ee\underline{l}u</i>	<i>eecu</i>	'seven'
<i>koo\underline{l}i</i>	<i>kooci</i>	'fowl'

-*st*- and -*t*- of Malayalam also have *c* as their counter part in Mannan speech, in some words.

Malayalam	Mannan	
<i>meestiri</i>	<i>meecciri</i>	'mason'
<i>kotuk\tilde{u}</i>	<i>kocuk\tilde{u}</i>	'mosquito'

Word medial *j*, *v* and \mathcal{S} of Malayalam become *y* in many words.

<i>puujaari</i>	<i>puuyaari</i>	'temple priest'
<i>koovil</i>	<i>kooyil</i>	'temple'
<i>masi</i>	<i>mayi</i>	'ink'

rr becoming *tt* is another important phonological change attested in Mannan.

Malayalam	Mannan	
<i>kaar\underline{r}u</i>	<i>kaattu</i>	'wind'
<i>per\underline{r}u</i>	<i>pettu</i>	'delivered'
<i>mur\underline{r}am</i>	<i>muttam</i>	'courtyard'

\mathcal{S} and *h* of Malayalam become *k* in Mannan.

Malayalam	Mannan	
<i>var\mathcal{S}am</i>	<i>varikam</i>	'year'

simham *cimukam* 'lion'
sahaayam *cakaayam* 'help'

p, k and *ph* of Malayalam are converted to *v*.

Malayalam	Mannan	
<i>parippu</i>	<i>varippu</i>	'grain/seed'
<i>kapham</i>	<i>kavam</i>	'phlegm'
<i>mutuku</i>	<i>mutuvu</i>	'back'

nn clusters occurring between short vowels are substituted by *nn̩* while those occurring after long vowels are substituted by *n̩*

Malayalam	Mannan	
<i>panni</i>	<i>pan̩ni</i>	'pig'
<i>onnu</i>	<i>on̩nu</i>	'one'
<i>muunnu</i>	<i>muun̩nu</i>	'three'

Word final *l* of Malayalam is invariably dropped in Mannan.

Malayalam	Mannan	
<i>makkaḷ</i>	<i>makka</i>	'children'
<i>makaḷ</i>	<i>maka</i>	'daughter'
<i>tinkaḷ</i>	<i>tinka</i>	'moon'

In many words, word initial *c/s* sounds found in the corresponding Malayalam words are dropped.

Malayalam	Mannan	
<i>suuci</i>	<i>uuyi</i>	'needle'
<i>ciraku</i>	<i>uraku</i>	'wing'

Consonant clusters are substituted by syllables derived by inserting vowels between the cluster elements.

<i>praani</i>	<i>puraani</i>	'insects'
<i>priyam</i>	<i>puriyam</i>	'affection'

Noun

The *-laam* plural suffix which occurs after kinship terms is a peculiar feature of Mannan speech.

<i>appa-laam</i>	'fathers'
<i>colla-laam</i>	'younger brothers'
<i>peeṭṭa-laam</i>	'brothers-in-law'
<i>acca-laam</i>	'elder brothers'

Another plural marker *kaat-u* is attested after a few nouns.

kuñci-kaat-u ‘children’ *teenka-kaat-u* ‘coconuts’
atu-kaat-u ‘those’ *kal-kaat-u* ‘stones’

This form is not attested in other Dravidian languages. This could be related to the usual Dravidian plural suffix *-kaḷ*.

Though Mannan employs the accusative suffix *-e* found in Malayalam also, more often accusative as well as dative is signified through the suffix *-kku*.

en-akk-u aṭiccu ‘beat me’
maratt-ukk-u veṭṭi ‘cut the tree’ (Acc.)
avan-ukk-u talli ‘beat him’
puun-ee-kk-u ‘to the cat’
nin-akk-u ‘to you’ (Dat.)
avaḷ-ukk-u ‘to her’

Pronouns

	Sg.	Pl.	
I P.	<i>een</i>	<i>eṅka (Excl.)</i> <i>naṅka (Incl.)</i>	
II P.	<i>nii</i>	<i>niṅka</i>	

Demonstrative pronouns

Dist	Mas	<i>avan</i>	
	Fem.	<i>avaḷu</i>	<i>ava</i>
	Neu.	<i>atu</i>	
Prox	Mas.	<i>ivan</i>	
	Fem.	<i>ivaḷu</i>	<i>iva</i>
	Neu.	<i>itu</i>	

Verb

The tense suffixes show phonological differences from the corresponding suffixes of Malayalam. *-nnu* denoting present tense in Malayalam becomes *-nu* in Mannan.

poo-nu ‘goes’ *kol-nu* ‘kills’
cuṭ-u-nu ‘bakes’ *iṭ-inu* ‘puts’
var-inu ‘comes’

The past negative suffix is *aa* before verbal participles, unlike in Malayalam, where it is *-aat*.

var-aa-pooyi ‘having not come, went’
kaaṅ-aa-pooyi ‘having not seen, went’

In non-past negative verbs, *-aat* and *-att* occur as the negative suffix.

kaaṅ-aat-e ‘without seeing’ *pook-aatt-u* ‘will not go’
pook-aat-u ‘do not go’ *kaaṅ-aat-u* ‘will not see’
cirri-kk-aat-u ‘do not laugh’

There is no copula verb in Mannan, unlike in Malayalam.

itu een pookina kuura 'this is the house where I am going'
ninaṭṭu vantatu en makanu 'the one who came yesterday is my son'

Like Malayalam, Mannan also does not have personal terminations.

amma vantu 'mother came'
makanu vantu 'son came'
koocci vantu 'fowl came'

Vocabulary

Mannan speech shows a large number of peculiar lexical items, not found in other languages of the area.

<i>ippiṭe</i>	'calling a girl'	<i>icca</i>	'calling a bor'
<i>iḷaya vaṭṭam</i>	'leader of youngsters'	<i>iiṭu</i>	'weight'
<i>ekaram</i>	'branch of a tree'	<i>ecpiṭi</i>	plenty
<i>naccataan</i>	'a type of rat'	<i>attee</i>	'an expression of surprise,
<i>akappa</i>	'winnowing fan'	<i>aanam</i>	'curry'
<i>olli</i>	'emaciated person'	<i>utaṭu</i>	'lip, beak'
<i>uḷa</i>	'feather'	<i>uḷantaari</i>	'young man'
<i>ulantaaricci</i>	'young woman'	<i>paṭṭippuli</i>	'fox'
<i>pani</i>	'fog'	<i>paali</i>	'bush'
<i>tapparu</i>	'rest'	<i>tookku</i>	'tail'
<i>turaṃ</i>	'bravery'	<i>cimpu</i>	'petal'
<i>cimp</i>	'to carry on head'	<i>ceeti</i>	'news'
<i>akkan</i>	sediment of oil'	<i>kunnaṭi</i>	'arm pit'
<i>karinkaṇa</i>	'millipede'	<i>kaalmontu</i>	'feet'
<i>koyyan</i>	'parrot'	<i>kunayan</i>	'boy'
<i>kunacci</i>	'girl'	<i>kunṇi</i>	'dragon fly'
<i>kuuvilaan</i>	'cuckoo'	<i>miṭa</i>	'wall'
<i>meppu</i>	'shoulder'	<i>meṭṭa</i>	'step'

Some of the kinship terms are also unique.

<i>coḷḷan</i>	Father's elder /younger brother's son (younger to the addressee.) Mother's elder /younger brother's daughter (younger to the addressee)
<i>coḷḷi</i>	Father's elder/younger brother's daughter (younger to the addressee) Mother's elder/younger sister's daughter (younger to the addressee)
<i>peettan</i>	fathers elder/younger sister's son (elder to the addressee) Mother's elder /younger brother's son (elder to the addressee)

<i>peetti</i>	father's elder/younger sister's daughter (elder to the addressee) Mother's elder /younger brother's daughter (elder to the addressee)
<i>maṭayan</i>	fathers elder/younger sister's son (younger to the addressee) Mother's elder /younger brother's son (younger to the addressee)
<i>maaḷa</i>	father's elder/younger sister's daughter (younger to the addressee) Mother's elder /younger brother's daughter (younger to the addressee)
<i>kaṟuttamma</i>	Mother's younger brother's wife. Mother-in-law

Though most of the Mannans have adopted fashionable names of the plains people, a few people, bear their traditional names like *ilunki*, *ilunkan*, *acaki*, *acakan*, *ariyan*, *ariyaalu*, *pericci*, *periyān*, *pancan*, *pancaanṭi*, *parayan*, *palicci*, *palyan*, *paappu*, *paappan*, *ponnaayi*, *ponnaayan*, *cinavan*, *cakki*, *cakkan*, *kaṇṭaru*, *karuppi*, *kaatiyal*, *kompī*, *kompan*, *kuppi*, *kuppan*, *naacci*, *naayan*, *viiru* etc.

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MUDUGA

The Mudugas (*muḍuga*) are a forest tribe found in Attapady region of Wayanad district of Kerala. Their settlements are close to the Bhavani river. They are believed to have immigrated to the Attapady region before the 15th century A.D. from Coimbatore district. Their speech, however, is closer to Kannada, than to Tamil. Majority of the vocabulary items are similar to Malayalam, while influence of Kannada and Tulu are also noticeable, with some items peculiar to Muduga. According to N. Rajendran, who studied the Muduga speech in detail for the first time, Muduga is not a dialect of Tamil, Malayalam or Kannada. He lists the following features of Muduga to substantiate his claim.

- a. First person plural exclusive pronoun *emma*
- b. Second person plural pronoun *nimma*
- c. Causative markers *-icc-* and *-cc-*
- d. Negative marker *-at-*
- e. Imperative plural markers *-yi* and *-iri*
- f. Purposive marker *-ya* and *iya*
- g. Optative marker *-aata*
- h. Conditional markers *-alu*, *aatte*, *-aatti*, and *kaatti*
- i. Accusative case marker *-aṇa*
- j. Genitive case marker *-u*
- k. First person plural inclusive and exclusive markers and
- l. Second person plural marker *-eeru*.

Phonology

The vowel system Muduga is very much similar to that of Malayalam. Consonant phonemes are less in number compared to Malayalam. Like Mannan and some other tribal speeches, Muduga lacks palatal and velar and dental nasals (*ñ*, *ŋ* and *n*) respectively and the fricative continuant (*l*). Unlike Mannan, Muduga possesses voiced stops.

The *a* ending words of Malayalam will have *e* ending in most of the corresponding Muduga words. This feature shows Muduga's close connection with Kannada.

Malayalam	Muduga	
<i>aṭaykka</i>	<i>aṭekke</i>	'arecanut'
<i>aṭṭa</i>	<i>aṭṭe</i>	'leech'
<i>orṛa</i>	<i>orṛe</i>	'single'

This change affects word medial *a* also in few words.

<i>karayaama</i>	<i>kaareeme</i>	'turtle'
<i>narakam</i>	<i>neraka</i>	'hell'

Most of the *-n* and *-m* endings of Malayalam are dropped in the corresponding Muduga words.

Malayalam	Muduga	
<i>appan</i>	<i>appe</i>	'father'

<i>appam</i>	<i>appa</i>	‘rice-cake’
<i>aṅṅan</i>	<i>aṅṅe</i>	‘elder brother’

l becoming *g* is frequent change in Muduga, but *l* is substituted by *v*, *l* and *y* also.
Malayalam Muduga

<i>maḷa</i>	<i>maga</i>	‘rain’
<i>vaala</i>	<i>baaga</i>	‘plantain’
<i>paḷam</i>	<i>paga</i>	‘fruit’
<i>kaḷutti</i>	<i>kavuttu</i>	‘neck’
<i>koḷuppu</i>	<i>koḷuppu</i>	‘fat’
<i>kooḷi</i>	<i>kooyi</i>	‘fowl’

r becomes *ṛ* in many words

Malayalam	Muduga	
<i>avaru</i>	<i>avaru</i>	‘they’
<i>uruḷa</i>	<i>uṛuḷe</i>	‘a ball of something /lump’
<i>irupatu</i>	<i>iṛuvatu</i>	‘twenty’

-*nn* clusters of Malayalam have -*nṛ* in corresponding Muduga words.

Malayalam	Muduga	
<i>innū</i>	<i>inṛu</i>	‘today’
<i>kannū</i>	<i>kanṛu</i>	‘calf’

The *p* → *h* or *v* → *b* change found in Malayalam- Kannada is not attested in Muduga.

Noun

The accusative suffix -*aṅa* which occurs after pronouns is peculiar to Muduga.

<i>ennaṅa</i>	‘I (Acc.)’
<i>emmaṅa</i>	‘We (Excl.) (Acc.)’
<i>nammaṅa</i>	‘We (Incl.) (Acc.)’
<i>ninnaṅa</i>	‘You (Sg.) (Acc.)’
<i>nimmaṅa</i>	‘You (Pl.) (Acc.)’

The sociative suffix is -*ooṭe* (-*ooṭū* in Malayalam).

<i>avanooṭe</i>	‘with him’
<i>ennooṭe</i>	‘with me’

The genitive suffixes -*u*, -*tu* and -*utu* also show variation from Malayalam and Kannada.

<i>ennu</i>	‘my’	<i>ninnu</i>	‘your’
<i>maletu</i>	‘of the mountain’	<i>avaḷtu</i>	‘of her’
<i>ammutu</i>	‘of us’		

The locative suffix -*kku* is also a peculiar feature of Muduga speech.

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<i>kaṭekku</i>	‘at the shop’
<i>kuurekku</i>	‘at the hut’
<i>vaanikku</i>	‘at the river’

Pronouns

In general, the pronouns are closer to Kannada.

	Sg.	Pl.	
I P.	<i>naanu</i>	<i>emma</i> (Excl.)	Obl. <i>-em-</i> (Obl. En-) <i>namma</i> (Incl.) (Obl. <i>nam-</i>)
II P.	<i>nii</i>	<i>nimma</i>	(Obl. <i>nin</i>) (Obl. <i>nim</i>)

Demonstratives

		Sg.	Pl.	
			(Obl.)	
Prox.	Mas	<i>ive</i>	<i>ivar</i>	} <i>ivaru</i>
	Fem.	<i>iva</i>	<i>ivaḷ</i>	
	Neu.	<i>itu</i>	<i>itu</i>	
Dist.	Mas	<i>ave</i>	<i>avan</i>	} <i>avaru</i>
	Fem.	<i>ava</i>	<i>avaḷ</i>	
	Neu.	<i>atu</i>	<i>atu</i>	

Verb

Transitive and causative suffixes of Muduga are different from those of Malayalam *ḷ*, *d*, *t*, and *tt* are the transitive suffixes.

<i>aaṭ-ḷ-ura</i>	→ <i>aaṭara</i>	‘(she) made to dance’
<i>kaaṇ-d-ura</i>	→ <i>kaaṭṭra</i>	‘(she) will make to see’
<i>niṅg-ṭ-ina</i>	→ <i>niikkina</i>	‘(she) made to move’
<i>keṭu-tt-ina</i>	→ <i>keṭuttina</i>	‘she made to put out’

Causative suffixes are *-acc* and *-icc*

<i>kuṭi-cc-ina</i>	‘(she) caused to drink’
<i>nine-cc-ina</i>	‘(she) caused to think’
<i>ooṭ-icc-ina</i>	‘(she) caused to run’
<i>eer-icc-ina</i>	‘(she) made to cause to climb’

Majority of the tense suffixes of Muduga are different from those of Malayalam as well as Kannada.

Present tense suffixes are *-ϕ-*, *-ur-*, and *-r-*

<i>aṭi-kk-ϕ-a</i>	(she) beats’
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<i>tura-kk-ø- a</i>	'(she) opens'
<i>viḷaṭ-ur-a</i>	'(she) plays'
<i>kutt-ur-a</i>	'(she) stabs'
<i>poo-r-a</i>	'(she) goes'

Future tense suffixes are *-v-* and *-uv-*

<i>poo-v-a</i>	'(she) will go'
<i>cey-v-a</i>	'(she) will do'
<i>noot-uv-a</i>	'(she) will look'
<i>coll-uv-a</i>	'(she) will say'

Of the past suffixes *-tt-*, and *-nd-* are peculiar to Muduga.

<i>paṛi-tt-a</i>	'(she) plucked'
<i>oḷe-tt-a</i>	'(she) called'
<i>aḷe-nd-a</i>	'(she) measured'
<i>va-nd-a</i>	'(she) came'

Purposive forms take *-iya* or *-ya* suffix.

<i>nootiya</i>	'for seeing'
<i>oḷekkiya</i>	'for calling'
<i>eṛiya</i>	'for throwing'
<i>tiniya</i>	'for eating'

Imperative singular forms are unmarked while imperative plural forms take the suffixes *-yi*, *ri* or *iri*.

<i>poo</i>	'(You Sg.) Go'
<i>aṭi</i>	'(You Sg.) beat'
<i>taayi</i>	'(You Pl.) give'
<i>vaayi</i>	'(You Pl.) come'
<i>vaayiri</i>	'(You Pl.) read'
<i>nineri</i>	'(You Pl.) think'
<i>viḷaatiri</i>	'(You Pl.) play'
<i>eḷutiri</i>	'(You Pl.) write'

Potential suffix is *-ila* (*-aam* in Malayalam)

<i>nootila</i>	'can see'
<i>tinila</i>	'can eat'

The optative forms take the suffixes *-aata*

<i>paṭaata</i>	'let me/ sing'
<i>varaata</i>	'may (I) come'

Obligatory forms take the suffix *-utoo* after consonant ending stems and *-too* after vowel ending stems.

<i>nootutoo</i>	'should look'
<i>aṭikkutoo</i>	'should beat'
<i>pootoo</i>	'should go'

Two conditional forms, one using the suffix *-aatte* and the other *-aat̥i* are peculiar features of Muduga.

<i>vandaatte</i>	‘even if comes’
<i>poonaatte</i>	‘even if goes’
<i>kaaṇaati</i>	‘when saw, while seeing’
<i>collaati</i>	‘when said, while saying’

Personal Suffixes

	Sg.	Pl.
I P.	<i>-e-</i>	(before plural marker <i>-m</i>) <i>-ee-</i> (before plural marker <i>-r</i>)
II P.	<i>e-</i>	<i>-ee-</i>
III P. mas.	<i>-e</i>	<i>r</i>
Fem.	<i>-a</i>	
Non-gender	\emptyset , <i>-t-</i>	<i>-m, r</i>

<i>var-uv-e</i>	‘will come-I’
<i>noot̥-in-e</i>	‘looked -I’
<i>var-uv-aa-m-u</i>	‘will come we (Excl.)’
<i>paat̥-ur-aa-m-u</i>	‘sing we (Excl.)’
<i>var-uv-ee-r-u</i>	‘will come we (Incl.)’
<i>poo-r-ee-r-u</i>	‘go-we(Incl.)’
<i>va-nd-e</i>	‘come-you (Sg.)’
<i>poo-r-e</i>	‘go-you(Sg.)’
<i>cey-t-ee-r-u</i>	‘did-you(pl.)’
<i>paat̥-uv-ee-r-u</i>	‘will sing-you(Pl.)’
<i>va-nd-e</i>	‘came-he’
<i>oot̥-ur-e</i>	‘runs-he’
<i>ta-nd-a</i>	‘gave-she’
<i>poo-r-a</i>	‘goes-she’
<i>poo-n-aa-r-u</i>	‘went-they’
<i>oot̥-ur-aa-r-u</i>	‘run-they’
<i>poo-r-a-t-u</i>	‘goes-it’
<i>va-nd-aa-m-u</i>	‘came-we(Exl.)’
<i>poo-v-ee-r-u</i>	‘will go we(Exl.)’

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MULLU KURUMBA

The Mullu Kurumbas, a sub group of Kurumbas are found in the Wayanad district of Kerala, and the adjacent Nilgiri district of Tamil Nadu. Gudalur taluk of Nilgiri district has ten Mullu Kurumba settlements- Kappaala, Netunkootu, Nerivalappu, Oonimuula, Kaappukkunnu, Patikkeri, Kalliccaalu, Maatakkunnu, Konnaatu and Teyiyakunni. Betta Kurumba, Kattu Naicka and Paniya tribes also inhabit these areas. It is estimated that the Mullu Kurumba population of Wayanad district is more than that of Nilgiris. According to Mullu Kurumbas, they are Veetavar(hunters) and Mullu Kurumba is a name created by Nairs of Wayanad. Mullu means 'thorn' and according to legends the name was given by the king of Kottayam, according to whom, they were troublesome, like thorns.

The present day Mullu Kurumbas depend on agriculture more than on hunting fishing, etc., for their livelihood.

Malayalam is the major contact language of the region and all Mullu Kurumbas speak Malayalam also, and some of them can speak Tamil as well. While Thurston and Aiyappan consider Mullu Kurumba as a dialect of Malayalam, the 1961 census treats Mullu Kurumba as a separate language. Robert Sathya Joseph (1982) who studied the Mullu Kurumba speech of Nilgiris treats Mullu Kurumba as an independent language. He says that 'though many modern Malayalam elements are found in the speech of Mullu Kurumbas, the Mullu Kurumbas preserve earlier and independent innovations in many aspects'.

Noun

The gender and number systems do not show marked variation from those of Malayalam. The most common masculine suffix is *-en* (Ma. *-an*)

alak-en 'handsome man'
mutt-en 'old man'

Feminine forms *-atti*, *-i*, *aaṭṭi*, *-aḷu* and *-oolu* are also reflexes of the feminine suffixes of Tamil and Malayalam.

piṅṅ-atti 'widow' *mutt-i* 'old woman'
kutum-aaṭṭi 'wife' *mak-aḷu* 'daughter'
paṅi-kkaar-atti 'maid servant'

The same plural suffixes, *-maar* and *-kaḷ* used in Malayalam are found in Mullu Kurumba.

mutt-en-maar-u 'old men'
panni-kaḷ 'pigs'

Case suffixes show only marginal differences from Malayalam.

	Malayalam	Mullu Kurumba
Nominative	unmarked	unmarked
Accusative	suffix <i>-e</i>	suffix <i>-e</i>

en-e 'I' (Acc.)

Instrumental	suffix- <i>aal</i> <i>kattiyaal</i>	suffix- <i>aalu</i> <i>katti-aalu</i> by the knife'
Dative	suffixes – <i>kki</i> , – <i>nu</i> <i>siitaykku</i> 'to Sita' <i>raamanu</i> to Raman'	suffixes – <i>akku</i> , – <i>kku</i> , <i>ukku</i> <i>namakku</i> 'to us' <i>talaykku</i> 'to the head' <i>eṅṅalukku</i> 'to us'
Genitive	suffix – <i>nre</i> , – <i>uṭe</i> <i>raamanre</i> Raman's <i>siitayute</i> 'Sita's'	suffix – <i>e</i> <i>avanu –e</i> → <i>avane</i> 'his' <i>avaḷu-e</i> → <i>avaḷe</i> 'her'
Locative	suffixes – <i>attu</i> , – <i>il</i> <i>oriṭattu</i> 'at a place' <i>talayil</i> 'in the head'	suffixes – <i>atti</i> , – <i>li</i> , – <i>li-lu</i> <i>en –atti</i> 'in me' <i>kani-li</i> 'in the trap' <i>atu-lu</i> 'in that'
Ablative	Post position – <i>nnu</i> after locative suffix <i>marattil ninnu</i> 'from the tree'	The suffix – <i>nu</i> is added after locative suffixes <i>en-attinu</i> 'from the trap'
Directive	Suffix – <i>kka</i> after oblique Stem <i>puratteeku</i> towards outside'	suffix <i>ee</i> <i>kku</i> after locative case <i>kaaṭṭuleekku</i> towards forest'
Pronouns		
	Sg.	Pl.
I P.	<i>naanu</i> <i>en-</i> before other cases.	<i>nammal</i> (Incl.) <i>ṅaṅṅal</i> (Excl.)
II P.	<i>niyyu</i> Oblique base <i>nin-</i>	<i>nunṅal</i>
III P. Mas.	<i>ivanu</i> (Prox.) <i>avanu</i> (Dist.)	<i>ivaru/ivicca</i> (Prox.) <i>avaru/avicca</i> (Dist.)
Fem.	<i>ivaḷu</i> (Prox.) <i>avaḷu</i> (Dist.)	
Neut.	<i>itu</i> (Prox.) <i>atu</i> (dist.)	<i>itukaḷ</i> (Prox) <i>atukaḷ</i> (Dist).

The *v*-base found in first person dative forms and the third person plural forms *ivicca/avicca* which are in free variation with *ivaru/avaru* are the important variations from Malayalam, *itukaḷ* and *atukaḷ* are also not usually used in Malayalam. Interrogative pronouns, as in Malayalam, are derived from the bases *ee* or *e*.

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<i>eeven</i>	'who-he'	<i>eevalu</i>	'who-she'
<i>eetu</i>	'which'	<i>entu</i>	'what'

Numerals show minor phonological differences from those of Malayalam.

Verb

Like the literary Dravidian languages, Mullu kurumba has a three way tense distinction. Past forms in general resemble Tamil.

<i>ninneen</i>	'stood-I'	<i>eṭutteen</i>	'took-I'
<i>enṇiyaan</i>	'counted-he'	<i>toṭṭaan</i>	'touched-he'

Present tense suffixes *-unu* and *-inu* are similar to *-unnu* of Malayalam.

<i>puḷi-inu</i>	'(is)squeezing'	<i>tupp-unu</i>	'(is) spitting'
<i>pate-inu</i>	'(is)saying'	<i>cooṭṭ-unu</i>	'(is)kicking'

Of the two future tense suffixes of Mullu Kurumba *-un* is similar to the Malayalam form *-um* and *-p-* is similar to the Tamil form.

<i>tullun</i>	'will jump-it'
<i>cukkun</i>	'will shrink-it'
<i>cooṭṭu-p-en</i> → <i>coṭṭuven</i>	'will kick-I'
<i>koy-p-en</i> → <i>koyven</i>	'will harvest-I'

Participles

Relative participle marker is *-a* as in Malayalam.

<i>paay-nt-a</i> → <i>paañña</i>	'who/which ran'
<i>tullu-i-a</i> → <i>tulliya</i>	'who/which jumped'

Verbal participles resemble Malayalam markers, but tense or negative markers are added to the verbal base.

<i>pey-i</i> → <i>peyyi</i>	'having gone'
<i>naṭa-ntu</i> → <i>naṭannu</i>	'having walked'

Pronominal Suffixes

Pronominal suffixes of Mullu Kurumba bear a close resemblance Tamil.

	Sg.	Pl.
I P.	<i>-en</i>	<i>-on</i>
II P.	<i>-e</i>	<i>-uutu</i>
III P. (Mas)	<i>-aan/an/ven</i>	<i>aaru/aatu/aru/atu/ecca</i>
(Fem.)	<i>-aaḷu/-aḷu/ooḷu/vaḷu</i>	
(Neu.)	unmarked (\emptyset)	unmarked (\emptyset)

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