Dravidian Origin of Some Verbal roots of Sanskrit

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Dravidian Substratum in Sanskrit

From the time of Mortimer Wheeler's Aryan Invasion theory, the nature of the linguistic contacts between populations of Indo-European speakers who migrated to India and the natives who were assumed to be speakers of Dravidian or Munda languages has been a controversial topic.

Studies of loan words in the earliest strata of Sanskrit were attempted by scholars like Kuiper (1955) and Witzel (1999) in an attempt to form a more definitive picture of these linguistic contacts. These studies have helped us to appreciate the complexity of the problem and have shed light on some of the issues; the conclusions however remain controversial.

Compared to Munda languages, more work has been done on loan word relations between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian. Many scholars have suggested that there is in fact a Dravidian substratum in Sanskrit. Emeneau (1956) points out that the earliest such proposal came from Gundert (1869) who opined that many Indo-Aryan developments 'are due to a borrowing of indigenous speech habits through bilingualism'.

Emeneau himself suggests that the Dravidian functioned as the substratum for the developments in IA through 'much bilingualism and gradual abandonment of Dravidian speech in favour of Indo-Aryan over a long period of time and a great area'. He also points out that we have only the most meagre of evidence in details for this process. Establishing the presence or absence of Dravidian loan words in Sanskrit, especially of the earliest period is crucial to any theory dealing with ancient Indo-European migration into India.

It was Caldwell (1856) who took up this question for the first time. He came up with a list of 32 words in Sanskrit which he traced to Dravidian etyma after a perceptive examination of phonological and semantic correspondences. Gundert (1869) and Kittel (1873) are two other scholars who tried to trace Sanskrit words to Dravidian etyma. Kittel listed over 400 Sanskrit words which he considers as derived from Dravidian. He however, has not been able to offer systematic criteria for identification of Dravidian loan words in Sanskrit. His etymologies have been rightly criticized as being too fanciful. Burrow (1945, 46, 48) has been the notable researcher in this area in the 20th Century. He has preferred Dravidian etymology for over 400 words of Sanskrit.

Though objective criteria were formulated for the identification of Dravidian loan words in Sanskrit from the time of Caldwell, a systematic evaluation of Sanskrit words that lack clear IE etymology was not attempted by the scholars in the field. The Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (Burrow and Emeneau 1984) points out Sanskrit words that are similar in meaning and shape to Dravidian etyma but stops short of making a comment on the direction of borrowing in most instances. The Etymological Dictionary of Sanskrit (Mayrhofer 1992-2001) refers to Dravidian etymology suggested by various scholars for a number of Sanskrit words. The work of Nikita Gurov is cited by

many scholars, but the original has not been translated from Russian. According to Krishnamurthy (1993) Gurov has identified as many as eighty words of Dravidian origin in the Rgveda. Some of these are:

- vaila (sthaana-) 'open space': PD *wayal 'open space, field' [5258]
- kiyaambu 'a waterplant': PD*keyampu(<*kecampu) 'Arumcolacasia, yam' [2004]
- vriś 'finger': PD*wirinc- [5409]
- viilu'stronghold': PD *wiitu 'house, abode, camp' [5393]
- siira 'plough': PD *ceer
- kaaņukaa: PD *kaaņikkay 'gift' [1443]

Another approach to identification of Dravidian loan words in Sanskrit was suggested by Godavarma (Gupathan Nair 1990) as early as 1950. According to him, "...perhaps the best material for investigating the Dravidian element in the Indo-Aryan vocabulary will be furnished by Indo-Aryan reconstructions which have no Indo-European cognates and are explainable in Dravidian." He goes on to compare the IA reconstructions from the Nepali dictionary of Turner (1931) with words in major Dravidian languages and observes that some of them bear striking similarities. His examples are:

**ada* screen: cf: Ta. *ataitta*l enclosing, shutting up, Ka.*ade* to enclose. Shut up; Ma.*ataykkuka* to shut, and *ata* screen. Cf. *veliyata*. Tu. *adepuni* shut.

**ghiri* revolve; cf. Ta. *ka<u>r</u>aŋku* whirl, Ma.; *ka<u>r</u>aŋŋu whirl, <i>Ki<u>r</u>ukkŭ* madness, Te. *gi<u>r</u>unna* circularity; Ka. *giri* and *gira* whirling.

*citra-scattered. Cf. Ta citaru scatter, Te cedaru; Ma. citaru; Ka. kedaru; Tu. kedaruni to break out

*tonda- mouth. Cf. tontai throat, gullet. tollai hole, Ma. tonta, tolla. Ka. tole hole; Tu. donde throat

**poḷḷa*- hollow. Cf. Ta. *poḷḷal* hole or hollow in a tree; Ma. *poḷḷa* hollow; Ka. *poḷḷu* hollowness; Tu. *poḷḷu* empty; Te. *poḷḷu* useless.

*podu- hollow: Cf. Ta. potu opening, cleft; Ka. pote a hole in a tree, podu splitting; Ma-pote a hollow

**mad, mud* to twist; Ta *muțai* braid, plait; Ka. *medaru* to plait as a screen; Ma. *muțaiyuka, mețayuka, moțayuka* to twist, plait; Te. *mudaivadu* to be entwined; Te. *mudepuni* to plait, braid

An important contribution of Caldwell has been to lay down criteria for identifying Dravidian loan words in Sanskrit. Caldwell's main criteria can be summarized as follows:

- (1) The word is not attested in IE languages other than Sanskrit, but is found in every Dravidian dialect
- (2) The word is isolated one in Sanskrit but is surrounded by collateral, related or derived words in Dravidian
- (3) Sanskrit possesses other words expressing the same idea, but Dravidian languages have only one
- (4) The derivation of the term by Sanskrit lexicographers is evidently fanciful or metaphorical, while the signification in Dravidian is radical and physiological

Burrow has also listed four criteria, three of which overlap with those of Caldwell. (1) The Sanskrit word should have no certain or obvious Indo-European etymology

- (2) There should be a wide currency of the etymon in Dravidian with reference to the Indian geographical or social scene
- (3) A word is shown to be Dravidian in origin if it is clearly derived from a Dravidian root
- (4) If the word is found either in the later stages of Sanskrit or in the earliest Tamil texts, its probability of Dravidian origin increases.

From the last criterion it is evident that Burrow assumes the period of Dravidian-Sanskrit contact to be during the later stages of Sanskrit. This however is not tenable for reasons discussed later. Katre (1944) has laid down three criteria for proving that Indo-Arayn has borrowed from Munda or Dravidian.

- (1) It should be demonstrable that the Indo-Aryan vocable considered is inherently non-Aryan in its characteristic or at least not easily fitting into the genius of Indo-Aryan
- (2) The cognates in Dravidian and Munda are not fortuitous examples but pure Dravidian or Munda elements
- (3) The study of Indo-Aryan loans within Dravidian and Munda fields is essentially a part of this study since borrowing is a mutual fact

Recent Studies

A sparse number of the other available studies on this topic draws from the lists compiled mainly by Caldwell or Burrow, or those in the DED. Though the problem of Dravidian loan words in Sanskrit is of immense linguistic, historical and cultural significance, for a long time after Emeneau, there were no studies in this area either in Dravidian or IE linguistics.

After this infertile period, Gurov (1987) seems to be the first study to take up this problem. Unfortunately, this study in full is not yet available in English or Indian languages. Nair (2013) is the only other major study to have come out in recent times on this topic. It has been argued in this study that there is a possibility that many more words in Sanskrit, than so far thought of can be traced to Dravidian. It has been pointed out that, based on the evidence offered by the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, we can surmise that the Proto-Dravidian or even South-Dravidian have not come under the influence of Sanskrit or IA.

Southworth (2005) identifies only four words in DED which can be suspected to have an IA origin. A general impression that many scholars in the field share is that while Dravidian languages have a large number of Sanskrit borrowings, Sanskrit has only negligibly small number of words that can be clearly shown as Dravidian in origin.

The time frame of this heavy influence of Sanskrit on Dravidian is a crucial factor. The large scale borrowing of Sanskrit words into Dravidian must have taken place after the South Dravidian had split into different languages. The earliest extant text in Dravidian languages, the Tamil grammar Tolkaappiyam (Circa 2nd Century B.C to 2nd Century A.D) has a number of Sanskrit words. As we move to the Sangam literature, the number of Sanskrit loan words can be seen as steadily increasing. Post-Sangam works have still more loan words from Sanskrit.

Based on this pattern we can assume that the influx of Sanskrit words began only a few centuries before Tolkaappiyam. This would mean that etyma with reflexes in all or most of the Dravidian languages, spread across all the subgroups cannot be a loan from Sanskrit or IA. Etyma which are phonologically and semantically close in the two language groups are possibly Dravidian loans in Sanskrit, if there are no reflexes in other Indo-European languages.

A List of Dravidian Origin of Some Verbal Roots of Sanskrit

Nair (2013) has pointed out 65 such words which are not listed by earlier researchers. The present study is aimed at exploring the possibility of Dravidian origin of 40 verb roots of Sanskrit. The words were selected from the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier-Willams (1899) based on phonological and semantic similarities with Dravidian etyma. Except item no 12, other words do not have known cognates in IE. For item no 12 (**chid** to cut off amputate, cut threw, hew, chop, split. **chitti** division) the IE cognates suggested (Lat sciendo, Goth. skieda) seems to be far-fetched compared to the Dravidian forms. The 40 verbs are then compared with entries drawn from the DED to show the possibility of Dravidian origin.

- add- to join. DED 79 *Ta.* atu (-pp-, -tt-) to be next, near, approach, come in contact with, seek protection; to join (*tr.*). *Ma.* atuka (attu) to come into contact, come to be close upon. *Ka.* adar to be united or joined with, arise, come, appear; adasu to join, be joined with, unite with, be near to, associate oneself to. *Kod.* adï- (adïp-, adït-) to approach. *Kui* ada (adi-) to be associated with, joined to, united with, associate with.
- 2. arc to praise, sing, honour, worship. DED 3951 *Ta.* paracu (paraci-) to praise, extol; paravu (paravi-) id., worship, reverence, adore, sing. *Ma.* parikka a vow. *Ko.* parc- (parc-) to pray; parkym (*obl.* parkyt-) vow to a god, prayer. *To.* part- (party-) to pray; arkym (*obl.* arkyt-) vow. *Ka.* parasu to utter a benediction, bless; parake, harake, harike benediction, vow. *Kod.* parake vow. *Tu.* parasů benediction; parakè vow made in trouble, beseeching; harasuni to bless, wish well.
- 3. árpita inserted, fixed, fixed upon, thrown, cast into, placed in or upon. (RV) DED 721 Ta. urai (-pp-, -tt-) to become firm, steadfast, decided (as the mind); uraippu firmness, steadfastness; uruti firmness, strength, certainty, assurance. Ma. urayuka to be firm in; urekka to be firm, fixed, settled; urakkē strongly, firmly, aloud; urappu firmness, stay, support, assurance. Ko. urv- (urd-) to sink into ground or hole of its own weight; (urt-) to press forcibly into hole or ground. Te. orapu steadiness, firmness; steady, firm; uridi firm, strong; firmness, strength; uriya a brave man. Kur. ordnā to support.
- 4. kaţ- to go. DED 1109 *Ta*. 1109 *Ta*. kaţa (-pp-, -nt-) to pass through, traverse, cross, exceed, excel, win, overcome, transgress; go, proceed, pass (as time, water, clouds, etc. *Ma*. kaţakka to pass over, enter, pass out, transgress, surpass. *Ko*. kaŗv- (kaŗd-) to cross (river), come out or leave (house). *To*. kad- (kadQ-) to leave, pass, cross. *Ka*. kade to pass over, transgress, pass, elapse, get through. *Kod*. kada- (kadap-, kadand-) to cross. *Tu*. kadapuni to cross, ford, pass, elapse, surpass. *Te*. kadacu, gadacu, gaducu to pass, elapse.
- 5. kalana effecting, causing, the act of shaking, moving to and fro. DED 1299 *Ta.* kala (-pp-, nt-) to mix (*intr., tr.*), unite in friendship, form friendly or matrimonial alliance with, copulate; kalavu (kalavi-) to mix; kalāvu (kalāvi-) to mix, join together, unite. *Ma.* kalaruka to be mixed, united; mix (*tr.*), mingle (esp. what is dry); kalarcca mixture. *Ko.* kalv- (kald-) to knead, mix (solid in water). *To.* kasf- (kast-) to mix (rice and milk, rice and curry), feed (solid food to child). *Ka.* kali, kale to join (*intr.*), be mixed, come together, meet; kalaka, kalka mixture. *Kod.* kala- (kalap-, kaland-) to knead; kalap kneading. *Tu.* kaladuni to be mixed, kneaded. *Te.* kalayu, kaliyu to join (*intr. tr.*), unite, meet, mix, mingle, copulate. *Kol.* kalay- (kalayt-) to be mixed (liquids, grains); kalp- (kalapt-) to mix (*tr.*). *Nk.* kalay- to mix (*intr.*); kalap- id. (*tr.*). *Go.* (Tr.) kalītānā to meet and embrace, greet; (M.) kāliyānā to meet. *Konda*

(BB) kali- (-t-) to meet, come together, be mingled; kalp- to mix (*tr.*). *Kuwi* (F.) kalhali, (S.) kalhinai to be mixed, mingle. *Kur.* khalnā to dilute, mix with water or other liquid.

- 6. kuţ-, kuţati to become crooked or curved, bend, curve, curl. DED 2054 (a) Ta. koţu curved, bent, crooked; koţumai crookedness, obliquity; kuţaṅku (kuţaṅki-) to bend (*intr.*); kuţantai curve; kuţavu (kuţavi-) to be crooked, bent, curved. Ma. kōţuka to be crooked, twisted, awry, warp (of wood); kōţţuka to bend (tr.); kōţţam crookedness, distortion. Ka. kuḍu, kuḍa, kuḍi state of being crooked, bent, hooked, or tortuous. Tu. guḍke a crooked man; doṅků, doňku crookedness; crooked, curved, perverse. Te. gōdi-vaḍu to bend. Kui kondori, kondoni bent, winding, zigzag. Kuwi dong- (-it-), dōṅg- (-it-) to be bent, crooked.
- 7. kuţţayati to bruise, crush, pound, strike lightly. DED 1671 *Ta.* kuţţu (kuţţi-) to cuff, strike with the knuckles on the head or temples; *n.* a blow with the knuckles or the fist on the head, cuff. *Ma.* kuţţuka to pound, cuff. *Ko.* kuţ- (kuc-) to pound. *To.* kuţ- (kuţy-) to knock, pound. *Ka.* kuţţu to beat, strike, pound, bruise; *n.* a blow, a pulverized substance; kuţţuvike, kuţţuha beating, etc. *Kod.* kuţţ- (kuţţi-) to pound. *Tu.* kuţţuni to thump, give a blow, strike with the fist, pound, bruise; kuţţu a blow given with the fist. *Kol.* kuţh- (kuţh-) to pound (grain); kudkeng to knock on door. *Nk.* kuţk- to pound, knock. *Pa.* kuţip- (kuţit-) to punch, knock (door). *Konda* guţ- to knock with the fist. *Kui* guţa fist. *Malt.* kuţye to nail, drive in a peg. *Br.* kuţting to pound. DED 2063 *Ta.* koţtu (koţti-) to beat (as a drum, tambourine), hammer, beat. *Ma.* koţtuka to beat so as to produce a sound. *Ko.* koţk- (koţky-) to strike (with small hammer). *To.* kwïţk- (kwïţky-) to tap (on door, something with stick). *Ka.* koţtaņa beating the husk from paddy; koţtuha beating; kudu to beat. *Kod.* koţt- (koţti-) to tap, beat (drum). *Tu.* kodapuni to forge, hammer. *Te.* koţtu to beat, strike, knock. *Pa.* koţt- to strike with axe.
- 8. kel, kelati to shake tremble. DED 1806 kulai (-v-, -nt-) to tremble, shudder, shake, be deranged, upset, thrown into confusion; (-pp-, -tt-) to shake, agitate, disturb, disorganize, scatter, untie, loosen, destroy. *Ma.* kuluňňuka to shake, quake, be agitated; kulukkuka to shake, agitate; kulukkam a shock; kulukku a shaking; kulayuka to jolt, shake, be agitated. *Ko.* kulg- (kulgy-) to shake (*intr.*; diviner, angry man, man with fever), jog up and down (like horse). *Ka.* kuluku, kulaku, kuliku to shake (*tr.*, as a bottle, as the body in dramatic action or in putting on foppish airs, as the voice in singing). *Kod.* kulïŋg- (kulïŋgi-) to shake (*intr.*). *Tu.* kurkuni to shake (*intr.*, as a tree). *Te.* kuluku to move the body in a graceful and affected manner; (K. B. also) move, shake (*tr.*).
- 9. khaṇḍ- to break, divide, destroy; khaṇḍa broken, having chasms, breaks or gaps. DED 1176 Ma. kaṇti gap in a hedge or fence, breach in a wall, mountain pass. Ka. kaṇḍi, kiṇḍi, gaṇḍi chink, hole, opening. Koḍ. kaṇḍi narrow passage (e.g. doorway, mountain pass, hole in a fence). Tu. kaṇḍi, khaṇḍi, gaṇḍi hole, opening, window; kaṇḍeriyuni to make a cut. Te. gaṇḍi, gaṇḍika hole, orifice, breach, gap, lane; gaṇțu to cut, wound; n. cut, wound, notch; gaṇți wound; gaṇḍrincu to cut, divide; gaṇḍrikalu pieces, fragments. Kuwi gundṛa piece; ganḍra trunk of a tree; gandranga rath'nai to cut in pieces; gaṇḍra piece.
- 10. cañc leap, jump, move dangle, be unsteady, shake; cañcala moving to and fro, movable, unsteady. DED 2285 Ka. cangu, cengu to jump, skip, frisk about, caper; n. a jump, etc.; cangane in bounds, friskily, with agility; cigi, jigi to jump. Tu. canga, canganè, cangamanga, cangaimangai a frolic, gambol; hoax, humbug, deceit. Te. cenguna nimbly, agilely, quickly, suddenly, applied to leaping; cenganālu leaping, frisking, gambol, capers; cengu, jangu agility. Nk. cangay- to climb; cangap- to make to climb.

- 11. cal to be moved, stir, tremble, shake, to move on or forward, proceed. DED 2781 *Ta.* cel (celv-, ce<u>nr</u>-) to go, flow, pass, occur, pass (as coin), be suitable, acceptable, pass away as time. *Ma.* celka to pass through, enter upon, pass on, pass; celuttuka to put in, drive in, make to pass on; cellikka to make to pass in or on. *Ka.* sal (sand-) to enter, engage in; sala entering, a coming to pass, a time; salapu, salavu, salahu to forward, foster, tend, preserve, bring up; salavu entrance, enter upon a course, pass. *Tu.* sanduni to pass as time, pass from this world. *Te.* cellu to pass as time; calupu, salupu to pass (as time), do, perform *Kol.* ser- (*also stems* sa-, se-; *past* sedd-) to go; Kol. ser to go. Nk. ca to go. Pa. cen id. Ga.(Oll.) sen id.
- 12. chid to cut off amputate, cut threw, hew, chop, split. chitti division. (Lat sciendo, Goth. skieda etc are often shown as cognates. However, the Sanskrit form is clearly closer to the Dravidian words). DED 1953 *Ta.* cettu (cetti-) to cut with adze, chisel, pare off; *n.* cutting, chiselling; cetukku (cetukki-) to cut off a surface, pare, shave off, plane, hew with an adze, chisel. *Ma.* cettuka to chip, cut off, pare, plane, clear ground, dig slightly; cettal chipping, planing, etc.; cettu cutting, parings, rind or peel. *Ko.* ket- (kety-) to dig with hoe or some other digging tool. *To.* köt- (köty-) to smooth (plank with adze), dig (earth with hoe). *Ka.* kettu to pare the surface, make thin, chip, scrape or chip off (as grass), dig slightly, engrave, carve; kettike act of chipping, etc.; kettisu to cause to carve or engrave, cause to chip, etc.; kette a chip, paring. *Kod.* kett- (ketti-) to cut (tree, or with large knife or axe); kettigè carving, engraving. *Kor.* kederpu to dig.
- 13. chur to cut off, cut, incise, etch. DED 1564 *Ta.* cirai (-pp-, -tt-) to shave, cut with a sickle; curanțu (curanți-), curanțu (curanți-) to scratch, scrape with fingernail or instrument, erase; curanți, curanți scraper, scrapings. *Ma.* cira shaving; a scraper for coconuts (also cirava); cirekka to shave, scrape; cirakuka, curakuka to grate; ciranțuka, curanțuka to scratch, scrape. *Ko.* kekarv- (kekart-), kekrv- (kekrt-) to scratch lightly (to wake a person), (cattle) paw the ground before fighting. *To.* kerf- (kert-) to scratch. *Ka.* kere to shave, scrape, scratch. *Tu.* kerepuni to scrape, polish; kereñcuni, keranțuni to scratch the ground (as a fowl). *Kol.* kerk- (kerekt-) to shave; kerreŋ to sharpen. *Nk.* ker- to shave. *Pa.* kir-, kirv-, kirc- to scratch. *Kur.* xercnā (xircyas) to rub off, scour. *Malt.* qerce to scrape; qére to shave; qértre to be shaved; *Br.* karghing to shear, crop down, mow down.
- 14. tad- to beat, strike, knock etc. DED 3039 *Ta.* tattu (tatti-) to knock, tap, pat, strike against, dash against, strike, beat, hammer, thresh. *Ma.* tattu a blow, knock; tattuka to tap, dash, hit, strike against, knock. *Ko.* tat- (tac-) to pat, strike, kill. *To.* tot a slap; tot- (toty-) to strike (with hammer). *Ka.* tattu to tap, touch, come close, pat, strike, beat, clap, slap, knock, clap on a thing. *Kod.* tatt- (tatti-) to touch, pat, ward off, strike off. *Tu.* tattāvuni to cause to hit, strike. *Te.* tattu to strike, beat, knock, pat, clap, slap. *Kur.* taṛnā (taṛcas) to flog, lash, whip. *Malt.* tarce to slap.
- 15. tark- to conjecture, suspect, guess, infer, try to discover or asertain, reason or speculate about; to consider as, to reflect, think of. DED 3419 *Ta.* teri (-v-, -nt-) to be seen, perceived, ascertained, become evident, be understood, intelligible, clear, possess the power of sight, be conscious (as of one's guilt); investigate, test, ascertain, inquire, know, understand, select, choose, learn through listening, sift; tērcci examination, investigation, learning, discernment, deliberation, experience. *Ma.* teriyuka to understand, know, choose, examine; tērcca asserting a claim. *Ko.* teyr- (terc-) to choose, divide out or off. *To.* tïry- (tïrs-) to choose, separate. *Kod.*

tiri- (tiriv-, tiriñj-) to come to be known. *Tu.* teriyuni, teripuni to be known, understood, comprehended; understand (with dative). *Br.* cāing (*dial.* tā-, tiā-; *neg.* tipp-, titt, < base *tir-) to understand, know, realize, regard.

- 16. tiiraya to finish; tiirita finished, settled. tiirņá 'endless'(RV) DED3278 Ta. tīr (-v-, -nt-) to end, vanish, be completed, finished, separate, leave, cause (as pain), go, proceed, be absent, die, perish, be used up, be settled (as a quarrel), become expert; leave, quit, solve; (-pp-, -tt-) to leave, quit, finish, complete. Ma. tīruka to be completed, perfected, be settled, be expiated, be finished, cease. Ko. ti'r- (ti'ry-) to be ended, be settled, finished, cease. To. ti'r- (ti'ry-) to be ended, be settled, finished, settle. Ka. tīr (tīrd-), tīru (tīri-) to be finished, end, be accomplished, be possible to be accomplished, be cured, die, be paid, be settled, decided. Kod. tï'r- to be used up, (work) is finished. Tu. tīruni to be finished, settled. Te. tīru to be finished, completed, concluded, be set right. Kol. ti'r- (ti't-; Kin. tīrt-) (work, food, etc.) is finished; ti'rp- (ti'ript-) to finish (work, food, etc.). Nk. tīr- to be finished; tīrp- to judge; tīrpu judgement.
- 17. tur to hurry, press forwards, to overpower (RV). DED 3340 *Ta*. tura (-pp-,-nt-) to drive as an elephant, beat away as flies, shoot as an arrow, propel, disperse, scatter, direct, urge, encourage, drive in a nail, hammer; turattu (turatti-) to drive away, chase out, scare off as beasts, birds, remove, reject, expel as a servant, pursue as a thief, drive, cause to move fast as bullocks. *Ma*. turattuka to drive. *Ka*. dobbu, dobbu, dabbu, dabbu to shove, push, thrust, throw down from above, put. *Tu*. dobbu pushing, shoving. *Te*. trōcu to push, shove, thrust; trō-paḍu to be pushed or driven; trō-pāţu being pushed or driven. *Nk*. dhobb- to push. *Pa*. turkip- (turkit-) to push, shove. *Ga*. turus key- to push in, shove; turuyp- to push into something. *Go*. roppānā. *Kui* trōpa (trōt-) to press something forward with the fingers, massage. *Kuwi* trō- (-t-) to poke (fire).
- 18. dagh to fall short of (RV), to reach below the regular height; to strike, protect. dangh to keep off. DED 954 *Ta.* oţuńku (oţuńki-) to be restrained, become tranquil, become reduced, grow less, shrink; oţukku (oţukki-) to subjugate, reduce, restrain, subdue, rob. *Ma.* oţuńňuka to come to an end, die (esp. of small-pox); oţukkuka to finish, destroy. *Ko.* org- (orgy-) to be destroyed; ork- (orky-) to reduce (iron) in breadth. *To.* wïdg- (wïdgy-) to be crushed; wïrk- (wïrky-) to crush, beat black and blue. *Ka.* udugu, udagu to subdue, restrain; shrink, shrivel, contract, be bent, decrease, fail, fade, be finished, desist, leave, quit, abandon, stop, remove; udugisu, udagisu to cause to shrink, etc.; lessen (as strength); udukisu to restrain, keep in, tighten, compress, straighten, vex, oppress. *Tu.* oduňgelů, oduňkelů, odkelů, odka the end; oduňgeluni to cease to bear fruit. *Te.* udugu, uduvu to give up, quit, leave, stop, cease, desist from; udupu to remove, efface, wipe away; duňku to be lowered, diminish, be subdue; doňku to dry up, sink, be absorbed, disappear, (K. also) diminish, shrink, hesitate.
- 19. dabh or dambh to hurt, injure, destroy. (RV) DED3075 *Ta.* tappu (tappi-) to strike, beat, kill; tappai a blow. *Ka.* dabbe, debbe, dabbe, debbe a blow, stroke. *Te.* dabbadincu to slap; debba blow, stroke, attack. *Pa.* tapp- to strike, kill; tapor slap. *Ga.* (S.3) debba cut, blow (< Te.). *Go.* (Mu.) tapri a slap. *Konda* tap- to strike, hit. *Kuwi* (F.) tapūr vecali to slap. (Pa. tapor, Go. tapri, Kuwi tapūr < IA; Turner, *CDIAL*, no. 6091.)
- 20. **pish** To crush, bruise, grind, pound, clasped, squeezed, rubbed together. DED**4183** (*a*) *Ta*. **piri** (-v-,-nt-) to squeeze, express, press out with hands. *Ma*. **piriyuka** to wring out, squeeze out.

Konda **pirs**- to squeeze, wring. Kui **prihpa** (priht-) to squeeze out, strip off. Kur. **pīxnā** to press. DED 4135 Ta. **picai** (-v-,-nt-) to work with the thumb and fingers in mixing, knead, squeeze or mash between the palms, crush and separate as kernels of grain from the ear, rub or apply on the skin. Ma. **piśiţu** husks of fruits, oilcake; **piśukku** the remains of expressed coconuts. Ko. **pick-** (picky-) to squeeze, pinch. Ka. **pisuku** to squeeze, press as a fruit, knead. Tu. **piskuni**, **pīsuni** to squeeze, press. Kor. **pijaŋki** to crush. Te. **pisuku** to squeeze, press, knead. Nk. **pijg**- to knead. Pa. **pīk-** to crush. Ga. (Oll.) **piskolp**- (piskolt-) to squeeze. Go. **piskānā** to knead flour; **pisk-** to squeeze, press, knead. Pe. **pīc**- (pīcc-) to squeeze, milk. Mand. **pīc-** to milk. Kui **pīc-** to press, squeeze, milk. Kuwi **pīc-** to press out, wring, milk. Kur. **picka'ānā** to press and bruise, flatten by crushing.

- 21. puț- To clasp, fold, envelop in, puța fold, pocket, hollow space, slit, concavity. a cloth worn over the privities, cup or basket or vessel made of leaves, envelope or wrapping of any substance. DED 4263 *Ta.* puțțil quiver, sheath, basket, winnow. *Ma.* puțțil thick mat serving as receptacle or covering of the body. *Ka.* puțți, buțți, buțți basket; puḍike, puḍuke id., a case. *Tu.* puțți small round basket; puḍayi, puḍāyi, buțți basket. *Te.* puți flower-basket; puțika, puțika, puțike, puțtike small basket; puți circular basket-boat covered with leather. *Ga.* buțțu basket. *Go.* buțul basket with lid. *Konda* buți a small basket. *Kui* puți large basket. *Kuwi* pūtka basket (larger); puțka small basket.
- 22. puțț- to be small DED 4259 *Ta.* poți that which is small, a little child; poțiyan boy; insignificant person. *Ka.* puțța, puțți, puța smallness, shortness, littleness; small, etc. *Tu.* puțța small, little, diminutive; puțțu small, chubby. *Te.* poțți, poți short, dwarfish; a dwarf. *Pa.* pițit little. *Ga.* puțți small. *Go.* puțți short. *Kui* boțoli short, thickset, stumpy. *Kuwi* pōțila, pōțila a short man, a dwarf. *Kur.* puḍḍā short (not tall), too short; puḍḍnā to be too small or too short for.
- 23. praśans to proclaim, declare, praise, laud, extol, urge on, stimulate, to approve, esteem, value. (explained as pra + śans) DED 3951 *Ta.* paracu (paraci-) to praise, extol; paravu (paravi-) id., worship, reverence, adore, sing; paraval praising, worshipping. *Ma.* parikka a vow. *Ko.* parc- (parc-) to pray; parkym (*obl.* parkyt-) vow to a god, prayer. *To.* part- (party-) to pray. *Ka.* parasu to utter a benediction, bless; parake, harake, harike benediction, vow. *Kod.* parake vow. *Tu.* parasů benediction; parakè vow made in trouble.
- 24. pric to mix, mingle, put together, unite, join. DED 4541 *Ta.* poru (-v-,-t-) to join (*tr.*) unite, combine, reach, extend; poruntu (porunti-) to agree, consent, be suitable, come into close contact, occur; combine with, reach, approach, cohabit with; poruttu (porutti-) to fit, adapt, prepare, cause to agree, reconcile, join together, unite; *Ma.* porunnuka to be joined, agree, suit together; poruttam suitableness, accord. *Ka.* pore to be joined, be put or attached to, join, come near; *n.* joining, union, nearness, vicinity, side; pordu, poddu, pondu, hondu, ondu to be or come in contact, unite, join, approach, enter, fit agree, obtain, attain, reach. *Kod.* pond-(pondi-) to be suited to, agree with. *Tu.* porduni to approach, be attached, be accessible, sociable, be in harmony, be reconciled. *Te.* porayu to occur, feel, get, obtain; *n.* fitness, friendship, obtaining, joining, union. *Pa.* porc- to get, hit. *Ga.* (S.) porc- to be found; porc- to be got, obtained.
- 25. **peņ-** embrace DED 4160 (*b*) *Ta*. **puņai** (-pp-,-tt-) to unite, tie; *n*. fetters, pledge, security, surety; **puņaical, puņaiyal** joining together; **puņar** (-v-,-nt-) to join, unite, copulate, associate with. *Ma*. **puṇaruka** to embrace, be joined. *Ka*. **poṇar** to be joined or united, couple, grapple

with (an enemy). *Tu.* **paṇakè** pairing together with a rope, as cattle; **poṇake** a pair, couple. *Te.* **ponaru** unite. DED 4160 (*a*) *Ta.* **piṇai** (-v-,-nt-) to entwine (*intr.*), unite, copulate; tie, fasten, clasp each other's hands as in dancing; (-pp-,-tt-) to link, unite, tie, fasten, clasp hands, etc.

- 26. barhaņa tearing or pulling out. from brih or vrih to tear, pluck, root up. DED 4027 *Ta.* pari (-pp-,-tt-) to pluck, crop, pick off with twist, weed, eradicate, pull out (as an arrow), take by force, rob, destroy. *Ma.* pari pulling, tearing off; pariyuka to get loose, come off, tear, be scratched. *Ko.* payr- (parc-) to break by pulling both ends. *To.* pary- (parc-) to pluck forcibly, (string) breaks. *Ka.* pari to break off (as fruits, etc. from a tree), tear asunder, tear, rend, cut asunder, cut off, sever, cut; be torn asunder, be torn, etc.; *n.* tearing, etc.; parivu tearing. *Kod.* pari- (parip- paric-) to pluck. *Tu.* parańkuni, parkuni to pluck out; parpuni to pluck, pull out (as roots, grass, etc.).
- 27. bādh to press, force, drive away, repel, remove. to force asunder, to harass, trouble, grieve, vex, be pressed, be acted upon, to press hard, hem in, confine, striking, knocking against. (RV) DED 3911 *Ta.* pati (-v-, -nt-) to be imprinted, indented, be depressed, sunk, be low-lying (as land), sink in, penetrate, be absorbed (as the mind); insert, inlay, pave; (-pp-,-tt-) to imprint, stamp, infix, insert, inlay, excavate, plant *n*. penetration; patipu imprinting, indentation; pativu impression, depression, permanence, custom, sapling. *Ma.* pati being fixed in, pressed down; patikka to impress, fasten on; patiyuka to be impressed, be pressed down. *Malt.* pature to take root.
- 28. bil (or vil connected to bid) to split, cleave, break, bila A cave, hole, pit, opening. (RV) DED 5432 *Ta.* vil (vilv- vint-) to open out, expand, unfold as a blossom, crack, split; burst, be at variance, become clear, be separated from; vilkai leaving; villal separation, unfolding as of a flower; vilavu (vilavi-) to split, burst asunder; *n.* cleft, crack. *Ma.* villuka to burst open, crack, break; villal hollow, rent; villu crack, aperture; viluruka to split, open. *Tu.* bulluni, bulluni a sore or wound to enlarge; crack, slit; bullāvuni to enlarge a sore, etc., split, make a crack; buluni to be open. *Pa.* velŋg- to spread (sore, etc.); velkip- (velkit-) to spread (*tr.*), expand.
- 29. maţhaya to build, erect. DED 4797 *Ma*. māţuka to build, construct; māţţam making. *Ko*. ma•ţm (*obl*. ma•ţt-) fashion of doing things, action, wonderful thing. *Ka*. māţu to do, make, perform, accomplish, cause, effect, prepare, manufacture, construct, build, execute, cultivate as a field. *Kod*. ma•ţ- (ma•di-) to do.
- 30. murch or muurch to become solid, thicken, congeal, assume shape or substance or consistency, expand, increase, grow. DED 5011 *Ta*. murai (-pp-, -tt-) to become stiff, hard; muraippu stiffness (as of a corpse). *Ma*. murukuka to be coagulated, become stiff. DED 5017 *Ta*. murru (murri-) to become mature, ripen, be fully grown, be advanced in age, abound, increase, become hardened as the core of a tree. *Ma*. murru entireness; murruka to grow ripe, entire, perfect; murra wholly, entirely. *Ko*. mut- (muty-) to become ripe, become mature or advanced in age.
- 31. lip to smear, besmear, anoint with. (RV) DED 246 *Ta.* alampu (alampi-) to wash, rinse; alacu (alaci-) to rinse; alaicu (alaici-) to wash, rinse. *Ma.* alakkuka to wash clothes by beating; alakku washing; alampuka to shake clothes in water. *To.* asp- (aspy-) to clean. *Ka.* alambu, alumbu, alabu, alubu to rinse, wash; ale to wash; alasu to shake or agitate in water (as a cloth, vegetables, etc., for cleansing). *Tu.* alambuni to wash; alumbuni, lumbuni to plunge, wash, rinse. *Te.* alamu to smear, wash; alãdu to smear, daub, apply; aluku to smear the floor of a

house or a mud wall, etc. with macerated cowdung. *Kui.* **akali** rinsing. DED**505** *Ta.* **iruku** (iruki-) to daub, smear, rub over (as mortar); **irai** (-v-, -nt-) to rub against (as the shoots of the bamboo tree); (-pp-, -tt-) to rub so as to be dissolved (as a pill in honey or milk), daub, paint, draw; iricu (irici-) to smear, plaster, spread over. *Ma.* **iruka** to daub, rub, soil; **irunnuka** to be soiled; **irukkuka** to solder, make dirty; **irukkam** rubbing, polish; **irayuka** to rub (as two branches). *Ka.* **eravu** to rub, rub off or out, stroke gently; **ercu, eccu** to smear.

- 32. lii/ laya to melt, liquify, dissolve. DED 250 Ma. aliyuka to melt, dissolve (as salt, heart); alikka, aliyikka to melt. Kod. ali- (aliv-, aliñj-) to dissolve (intr.); (alip-, alic-) to dissolve (tr.). Tu. aliyuni to dissolve, decay. Lexicographers have often suggested that the Dravidian terms are derived from lay- in Skt. The etymology of the Dr. terms is however clear from the cognates in DED 277 Ta. ari (-v-, -nt-) to perish, be ruined, decay, be mutilated, fail, be defeated, suffer, be used up; (-pp-, -tt-) to destroy, spend, ruin, damage, efface, bring to a close. Ma. ariyuka to be destroyed, spent, sold, become loose, untied; arekka to loosen, slacken. Ko. alc- (alc-) to be erased; erase; alyv destruction. To. ody- (ods-) (money) is spent. Ka. ari to be ruined, be destroyed, perish, decay, disappear, die; to ruin. Tu. arpuni to efface, waste, obliterate; alipuni, alipuni to perish, die, be destroyed, be ruined; aliyuni to perish, die, become extinct.
- 33. lul to move to and fro, roll about, stir. DED 1003 *Ta.* olku (olki-) to shake, move, wave; ulukku (ulukki-) to shake (*tr.*, as a tree), tremble (as in an earthquake); uluppu (uluppi-) to shake off, cause to shed (as fruit or leaves from a tree). *Ma.* ulayuka to be agitated, shake, become loose, slack, tired; ulekkuka to agitate, crumple (paper, clothes, etc.), destroy; ulaccal, ulavu agitation; ulakkam shake, shudder; ulaňňuka to shake (*intr.*), be shocked; ulasuka to swing, shake, move. *Ka.* ole to swing (*intr.*), wave, shake, tremble, move, move in a swinging manner, hang or bend to one side; shake (*tr.*), etc., bend; *n.* act of swinging, etc.; olapu moving the body in a foppish manner; olahu swinging to and fro, a swing. *Kod.* oli- (oliv-, oliñj-) (fruit) drops from tree in large quantities; (olip-, olic-) to beat (fruit) from tree. *Tu.* uliyuni to tremble; olůňguni to move in a circle or to and fro. *Te.* uliyu, (K. also) nuliyu to move, shake; ulucu to brandish, wave, shake; olayu to swing, shake, move.
- 34. vará (root vri) enviorning, enclosing, circumferance. varaka a cloak, cloth, the cover or awning of a boat. DED 5264 *Ta.* vari (-v-, -nt-) to bind, tie, fasten, cover; (-pp-, -tt-) id., fix as the reapers of a tiled roof; *n.* tie, bondage; variccal, variccu reeper of a roof, transverse lath. *Ma.* variyuka to tie a network of strings, wire, bind tightly. *Ir.* bärī roof. *ĀlKu.* bari thatched roof. *Ko.* varj- (varj-) to wrap, wind; vayr roof. *To.* pary roof of hut. *Tu.* bariyuni to encase a bottle, jar, etc. in a kind of network.
- 35. vardh to cut, divide, shear, cut off. DED 5363(a) Ta. vāru (vāri-) to trim, as a palmyra leaf to write on. Ma. vāruka (vārnt-), vāruka (vāri-) to cut lengthwise, trim a palmleaf, cut meat into strips. Ko. vav- (vavd-) to cut into strips. Ka. bār to make creepers of leather, cut leather lengthwise or in strips. Tu. bāruni to cut, chip, trim. Te. vāru to chip off the edges of palmleaves, scrape off. Kol. vark- (varakt-) to saw. Go. rācānā to strip or peel (stick, tree, cucumber). Kui vrapka to cut open and disclose contents. Kuwi vārva a strip of meat.
- 36. **valana** turning, moving around in circle DED 5313 *Ta.* **valai** (-**v**-, -**nt**-) to surround, hover around, walk around, move about (as foetus in the womb); (-**pp**-, -**tt**-) to surround (*tr.*). *Ma.* **valayuka** to surround; **valekka** to enclose. *Ko.* **valc** (**valc**-) to walk in a circle, make round.

Ka. **balasu** to go in a circle or round. *Tu.* **balepuni** to enclose, surround, besiege. *Te.* **balayu** to surround, (K. also) besiege; **valayu** to turn around (*intr.*).

- 37. vidhā (explained as vi + dhaa) to distribute, apportion, grant, bestow, to furnish, supply, procure, to spread, diffuse. DED5400 *Ta.* vitir (-pp-, -tt-) to scatter, throw about, sprinkle. *Ma.* vitaruka to scatter, strew (as seed). *Ko.* vid- (vidy-) to throw (water in a handful). *Ka.* bidir(u) to be scattered or spread about; scatter about, spread about, throw about. *Te.* viduru, vidulu to fall or drop upon, be scattered; vidur(u)cu, vidrucu, vidul(u)cu to cause to fall or drop down, shake off, scatter; vidalincu to shake off, beat off, dust; *n.* vidalimpu. *Go.* vidarkānā, bidarkānā to scatter. *Konda* vidli- (-t-) to spill. *Kui* vīti scattered, dispersed. *Kur.* bidṛa'ānā to scatter about in disorder, spread all over; *refl. or pass.* bidṛārnā. *Malt.* biḍrare to be dispersed; biḍretre to- disperse.
- 38. vir to split, break into pieces, tear open, divide asunder. DED 5411 *Ta.* viri (-v-, -nt-) split, crack, burst asunder; virical split, crack. *Ma.* viriccal split, gap. *To.* pïry- (pïrs-) (hair) is parted. *Ka.* biri to burst open, be rent asunder; *n.* bursting, opening, fissure crack; biriku, biruku, biruvu cleft, fissure. *Tu.* biriyuni to split, crack, burst (*intr.*); birkuni to scatter, disperse. *Te.* viriyu blow, break, burst, be loosened.
- 39. vīj, vyaj to fan, viijana, vyajana fanning, a fan DED 5450 Ta. vīcu (vīci-) to throw, fling (as a weapon), cast (as a net), flap (as wings), swing (as the arm), fan, wave, flourish (as a sword). Ma. vīcuka to fan, cast (nets); vīcci fan. Ko. To. pi·s- (pi·sy-) to swing (arm). Ka. bīsu, bisu to swing, turn around, whirl, wave, brandish, fan, throw as a net, blow as the wind. Kod. bi-j-(bi·ji-), to wave (tr.); (wind) blows, (tree, cloth) waves. Tu. bījuni to swing, blow as the wind; bījāta waving, swinging, fanning, brandishing; bījāduni, bījāvuni to brandish, fan, wave, swing out, fling. Te. vicu to blow as the wind; wave (tr.). Konda visir (-t-) to throw off or away, fling; vīvani а fan. Kui vīnja (vīnji-) to blow. fan.
- 40. vridh to increase, augment, strengthen, to grow, grow up, increase, be extended or filled, become stronger or longer or thrive, prosper, thrive. DED 5411 *Ta.* viri (-v-, -nt-) to expand, spread out, open, unfold; (-pp-, -tt-) to cause to expand, unfold, untie, loosen; *n.* expanse, fullness; virivu expansion, breadth, width. *Ma.* viriyuka to expand, open, blow (of flowers), be hatched; viri what is expanded; virivu expansion, breadth; virikka to expand (*tr.*), spread, hatch. *Ka.* biri to burst open, be rent asunder, expand, open, blossom. *Kod.* biri- (biriv-, biriñj-) to open (jackfruit (birip-, biric-) to spread (leaves, blanket). *Tu.* birkuni to scatter, disperse. *Te.* viriyu to open (*intr.*), expand; virivi, virividi extent, width.

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