KOĐAGU AND BRAHUI DEVELOPMENTS OF
PROTO-DRAVIDIAN *r

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0. The Proto-Dravidian (PDr.) phoneme *r has been treated in considerable detail by a number of scholars. Most recently, Krishnamurti (1958) produced a treatment ranging over the whole family, Burrow (1968) investigated in very searching and definitive fashion the reflexes in the two North Dravidian (NDr.) languages Kurukh and Malto, and he and S. Bhattacharyya (1963) have discussed the reflexes in Kuwi. Similar searching treatment is still a desideratum for a number of the languages. In this paper the somewhat simple and straightforward situation in Kođagu is presented, and an attempt is made also on the much more difficult situation in Brahui, where this phoneme *r cannot be treated separately from *l, *r, and *r.

A. PDr. *r in Kođagu

1. The commonest development of *r in Kođagu is l; this was stated by Krishnamurti 1958, p. 264, and is the only correspondence given in DED, p. xii. A more exact statement deals with two contexts: (a) intervocalic and (b) preceding other consonants. The intervocalic context is to be divided into two: the sequence *aɾi and all other contexts.1

2. In the general intervocalic occurrence *r > Kođ. l. The instances are:

338 a-la ‘depth’ (*ăram), 426 ili- ‘to descend, get ready’, ilip- ‘to lower’ (*iɾi-), ? a-la- (-p-, -t-) ‘to sit down’ (*iɾay-; see Emeneau 1970, §4.1),

1 For the Kođagu transcription, see especially Emeneau 1967, n. 10. For Tamil and reconstructed Dravidian forms, the transcription is the normal one, which follows closely the graphemics of Tamil rather than the one which I prefer and which I used in the 1967 paper (see §2.1 there); i.e. *t, *tt, *nt are used instead of *d, *t, *nd, and similarly for other places of articulation; such statements as *r + *k > k, *r + *g > gg make better phonological sense than what is actually written here, viz. *r + *kk > k, *r + *k > gg.
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725 ēlid- 'to write' (*erutu-), 772 ē-li 'seven', ēlu-vatī 'seventy' (*ēru, *eru-), 848 olī- 'to halt for the night, dwell' (*ori-; see §3), 1252 ka-li 'a grain' (*kār-; but said to be a Kannada word), 1348 kt-li 'lower, below', kt-1-aṇḍi 'last year' (*kiř-), 1511 koḷa 'flute' (*kural), 1592 ku-li 'cooked rice' (*kūr-), 2223a culī 'leaf shoot' (*cuš-), 3046 nēla 'shade, shadow' (*niṟal), 3296 pade 'old' (*paray), 3381 pā-li 'bad, ruined, lost' (*pār-), 3537 pūlu 'worm' (*puṟu), 3543 pōle 'river' (*puṟory), 3637 pō-li 'basketry box full of edibles, carried by girl of bridegroom's house to bride's house' (*pēr-), 3724 pōlidī 'an auspicious ceremony (including rice-harvest festival)' (*parutu), 3893 ma-ī 'rain' (*maray), 4092 moli 'subject of talk or song' (*moṛi), 4093 moli 'cubit' (*muram), 4402 ba-li 'way of life' (*vār-), 4403 ba-le 'plantain' (*vār-).

A number of 'irregular' verbs, which are given in §4, have *r final in root; this becomes / in intervocalic position, but shows the pre-consonantal development in those forms which have suffixes beginning with a consonant.

In two items *r seems to represent *r. One of them, 4402 barikati 'prosperity', which belongs with *vār-, is clearly a borrowing from Tulu barkatī id., the two forms being the only items in this very long entry with the derivational material -kati'; in Tulu *r is a regular development for *r.

The other item is 2597 ta-r (ta-v/tarv-, ta-and-) 'to descend, (sun) sets', ta-t- 'to lower', which on the basis of obvious semantics were included in the entry *tār-. It is notable that, if the etymology is correct, the simplex is the only verb ending in *r which has -v-, -nd- in the present-future and past stems; otherwise there is -v-, -dd- and -p-, -t- (see the Kođagu verb list in Emeneau 1967, appendix, and the analysis and discussion in §§2.35, 37, 3.13, 14). We should expect *ta-l- (ta-v-, *tadd-). It now seems necessary to look elsewhere, and in fact 2608 provides a phonologically suitable form and suitable semantics: Ma. tāruka 'to sink, decline; become thin, grow cool, droop', tāṟuka 'to let sink or fall, kill', Te. tāru 'to fall away in flesh, become lean, diminish, be reduced; descend, alight'. Both Malayalam and Telugu have the physical meaning 'descend', even though both they and the other languages represented in the entry (Kota, Toda, Kannada, Tulu) favor the metaphorically developed meaning rather than what must be assumed to be the original physical meaning.2

3. The sequence *aṛi becomes Kođ. ay before C or zero, and ayy before

2 Krishnamurti 1961, p. 381, no. 559, has rightly observed that the two stems *tār- and *tār- are connected as derivatives with *r- and *r- of a root *tā-.