



# PROTO SUMERO DRAVIDIAN

THE COMMON ORIGIN OF SUMERIAN  
AND DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES



A. SATHASIVAM

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An artist's impression of the Sumerian city Uruk (Erech) built by King Gilgamesh beside the River Euphrates.





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by

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AND  
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**Siva Thiagarajah**

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Cover picture show an artist's impression of the Great Ziggurat built by King Ur-Nammu in 2100 BCE, a temple for *Urim*, the Moon God of Ur; and early inscriptions in Sumerian, Tamil, Telugu and Kannada languages.

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## EDITOR'S NOTE

This book contains four pioneering research papers by Prof A. Sathasivam (University of Ceylon and University of California) written between 1964 and 1987 during his stay at the Universities of Pennsylvania and California in the United States and at the University of Ceylon in Sri Lanka investigating and documenting the close relationship between the extinct Sumerian language of Mesopotamia and the extant Dravidian languages of South Asia. From the close resemblance in the vocabulary, comparative phonology, composition and grammatical structure between the Sumerian and the Dravidian languages he came to the conclusion that Sumerian and the Dravidian languages descended from a common ancestral substrate language.

In the first paper *Sumerian - A Dravidian Language* Prof. Sathasivam has provided 501 cognate sets of words from Sumerian which have a similar vocabulary and meaning in some or all of the other nineteen members of the Dravidian language family and on the strength of this arrived at the conclusion that Sumerian belonged to the Dravidian family of languages and proposed it as the twentieth member of the family (at that time only 19 languages were identified as members of the Dravidian family).

It has been pointed out by scholars in linguistics that the determining factor of assigning a language to a particular family of languages is not only the vocabulary and its phonetics but more importantly its structure and the grammatical composition. Grammar is the science which analyses and explains the construction of the sentence. This is the reason why Rev. Robert Caldwell in 1856 produced *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* in order to assign the South Indian and some of the North Indian languages into the Dravidian family of languages on their grammatical concordance.

This induced Prof. Sathasivam to produce his second paper *The Dravidian Origin of Sumerian Writing* where he is analysing some of the grammatical structure and composition to show the similarities between the Sumerian and Dravidian languages. His third and fourth papers concentrates on comparative phonology, the comparative grammatical structure and composition of the sentence in Dravidian and Sumerian languages.

The resemblance between the Dravidian languages and the Sumerian language are found among several aspects including the vocabulary, comparative phonology, composition and grammatical structure. Some of the most important grammatical and phonological features pointed out are:

1. Both Sumerian and Dravidian are agglutinative in structure with a comparable phonological system.
2. Consonant clusters are avoided in the initial position of a word in both.



3. The distinction between voiceless and voiced consonants is not observed in both Dravidian and Sumerian.
4. Both Dravidian and Sumerian do not employ grammatical gender, but recognize a distinction between personal and irrational nouns.
5. Words can be grouped into only two morphological categories: Substantives and verbs.
6. Some case suffixes of Sumerian have their counterparts in Dravidian.
7. Extensive use of participial construction is a feature common to Dravidian and Sumerian.
8. Prof Sathasivam has listed over 500 vocabulary items in Sumerian which has a strong resemblance in words and meanings to some or many of the members of Dravidian. Based on these he frames laws of phonetic correspondences between Sumerian and Dravidian which he traces to a common *proto-Sumero-Dravidian* language. He argues that these correspondences are not due to mere chance but based on a well defined system in their occurrence.
9. Sumerian possesses a phonological system of an early stage of Dravidian. Some of the features of Early Dravidian phonology, such as the absence of short *o* in Brahui can be explained by connecting Dravidian phonology with that of Sumerian which does not possess the short *o*. It would appear that the Sumerian language of the Ur dynastic periods of about 3500 to 2400 B.C. had preserved well its proto-Sumero-Dravidian elements.
10. The vocabulary items of these early Sumerian periods show that these are essentially Dravidian with very few foreign elements. On the basis of such resemblances Prof. Sathasivam makes an effort to reconstruct the Proto Dravidian of 3500 BCE.

He arrives at the conclusion that ***the Dravidian languages of South Asia as well as the ancient Sumerian language of Babylonia descend from a common substrate language.*** On the strength of this argument he considered Sumerian belonged to the Dravidian family of languages. He also named the common ancestral family and its descendants as the ***Kumari Family*** of languages. In this book we have labelled the common ancestral substrate mother language as ***'Proto-Sumero-Dravidian'***.

During the latter half of 1980's Prof. Sathasivam was involved in compiling an *Etymological Dictionary of Sumero-Dravidian or the Kumari Family of Languages*. This was not completed due to his untimely death in 1988.

During the 1980's Prof David McAlpin from the University of Pennsylvania demonstrated that Elamite, another ancient Mesopotamian language of West Asia was also related to the Dravidian language family through their correlation in phonology, lexicon, morphology and grammatical analysis. These two academic works remain the most significant research studies of the twentieth century in Dravidian linguistics since Caldwell's work in the nineteenth century.

**D**uring the turn of this century an unexpected support for a common origin of the ancient Mesopotamian languages Sumerian and Elamite of West Asia and the Dravidian languages of South Asia came through the Y-Chromosome DNA studies of the population geneticist Prof Luca Cavalli - Sforza of Stanford University. He came to the conclusion that the Dravidian languages was brought into South Asia and the Mesopotamian languages into West Asia by the same people who originally occupied a region somewhere to the East of Sumer (?Zagros) and spoke a common dialect.

DNA studies over the last two decades have confirmed that there was an actual migration of people from the region of Khuzistan and Zagros mountains in southern Iran (Ancient Elam) towards the west into Mesopotamia and towards the east to India by land (via the Indus Valley through the Bolan Pass) as well as by the sea during the late Upper Palaeolithic and Early Neolithic times. The Y-Chromosome DNA genetic marker M172 is found among 32 % of the men in Khuzistan, the lowlands of Elam in prehistoric times; 22 % of the Marsh Arabs of Iraq among whom are some of the descendants of the ancient Sumerians; 28% of the Brahui men in Baluchistan, who speak Brahui, a Dravidian language; 11.9% of the men in Pakistan; 11% among the Indo-Aryan speakers of North India and 19% among the Dravidian speakers of Tamil Nadu and Kerala. In South India the distribution of the genetic marker M140, a subclade of M172 is 21% among the upper class Dravidians who form the agricultural farming communities.

In South Asia this genetic group M172 is associated with the ancestral proto-Dravidian speakers and the distribution pattern of this genetic group indicates that the movement of these people began in the Fertile Crescent, moved through Persia (Iran) to Baluchistan, and through Indus Valley into India. The high incidence of this marker in South India suggests another movement via the sea or along the coast during the Ice Age when the sea levels were low and the coastal strips were much wider accounting for its increased prevalence in the far south. For want of a more suitable name, the people who carried this marker in South Asia are now called the 'Proto-Sumero-Elamo Dravidians'. Outside South Asia and West Asia people carrying this genetic marker are found among the Jewish population and in many parts of Central Asia, Europe and North Africa.

An important hypothesis which is gaining acceptance in recent years is the association of the Y-Chromosome genetic marker M172 with the spread of Agriculture from West Asia into South-East Asia. The carriers of this genetic marker was responsible for bringing the knowledge of Irrigated Agriculture from the fertile crescent to Mehrgarh around 8000 BCE, from where it spread to the Indus Valley and from there it spread in two directions towards east into the Gangetic valley and towards south into the Deccan and South India. Another related hypothesis is that the proto-Dravidian languages spread throughout India along with the spread of Agriculture. The fact that all the words in relation to farming, agriculture and plants in the Indian languages have a Dravidian substratum lends credence to this view.

**W**ith this background knowledge of population genetics and human migratory patterns, the work of Prof. Sathasivam attains a much greater significance than previously realised. Unfortunately his work was not published in a book form until now and the typed manuscripts available only in a few libraries were not known to many of the scholars and students pursuing studies in Dravidian linguistics.

Prof Sathasivam's conviction was that the ancestral proto-Sumero-Dravidians migrated from a mountainous homeland called Kumer or Kumari. When they moved and settled in Mesopotamia from their homeland they called their new settlement too 'Kumer' which later became 'Sumer'. When these people arrived either by sea or along the coast and settled in the southernmost tip of India they called their new land 'Kumari', a name which has persisted to this day. In his incomplete unpublished later work 'An Etymological Dictionary of Sumero-Dravidian' (1988) he called them "The Kumari Family of Languages".

The publication of this work has two-fold aim. It will remain a permanent record of a significant research project undertaken during our time. It also will make this study widely available to the young academics and scholars who pursue a study in Dravidian linguistics providing a springboard to delve into further research in this field. What is needed in future is the construction of a *Comparative Grammar of Sumerian and Dravidian Languages* by someone competent in Sumerian and Dravidian grammar to confirm this basic correlation and shift this concept from the realm of hypothesis to be acceptable as an established fact.

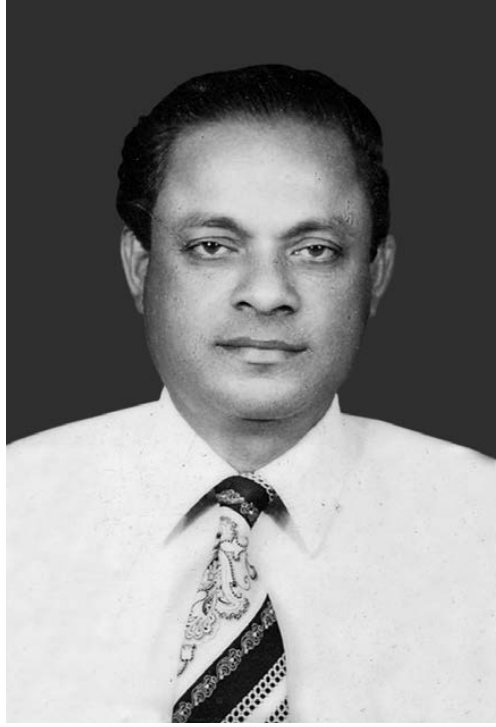
In this respect it is important to note that the Sumerians did not leave behind any grammatical work in relation to their language. The Sumerian grammar composed by Stephen Langdon, Dietz Otto Edzard, Christopher Woods, Jeremy A. Black, Arno Poebel and others are comparatively recent works and they differ from each other in certain respects. This may be due to the fact that Sumerian lexical items exhibit a rich variety of regional and social dialects and as pointed out by Prof Sathasivam himself, the 'deciphered tablets exhibits idiosyncrasies of various types'. Hence it is not always possible to select a standard grammatical form for comparative study.

**W**e are extremely grateful to Mrs. Thirugnaneswary Sathasivam, wife of Prof. Sathasivam and the copyright holder of these papers for granting us permission to bring this out in print and helping out with its publication. It was she who typed the first of these papers more than fifty years ago about a subject which is so relevant today as it was half-a-century ago. We are also thankful to Dr Ponnampalam Ragupathy and Subramaniam Visahan who had helped in the production of this book.

**London**  
**October 2016**

**Siva Thiagarajah**

**A LIFE REMEMBERED:  
A SHORT PROFILE OF PROFESSOR SATHASIVAM**



**Prof. A. Sathasivam who had spent almost a quarter of a century between 1964-1988 with his research on the relationship between the Sumerian and Dravidian languages.**

Sometime during the year 1966, while I was an undergraduate student at the Medical College, Colombo, I heard a talk by Dr Sathasivam delivered at the Colombo Tamil Sangam. On that occasion the subject he spoke was about the Tamil literary classic *Silappathikaram*, its concept and scope and the ingenuity of its author Ilango Adigal, a subject far remote from the linguistic studies which consumed a good part of his later academic research. But what impressed me most was his well dressed imposing appearance and his command of the Tamil language. His demeanour was more like a well-mannered English don rather than a Tamil scholar. That was the only occasion I saw him and that was the image of him I have carried with me to this day. It was only during the year 2000, while I was translating the Sumerian epic, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* into Tamil with the help of Prof Andrew George at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, I realised the full significance of Prof. Sathasivam's life's work in the field of Dravidian linguistics.

Prof Sathasivam came from a learned respectable family in Vaddukoddai, Jaffna. Born in 1926, he had his primary and secondary education at local schools and then sat his Pundit Examination. Having successfully gained his Pundit title

he joined Jaffna College, Vaddukoddai and entered the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya in 1948.

At the University he read Tamil for his Special Arts Degree Course and passed the Final Examination in 1952 securing First Class Honours. During the same year he joined the Department of Tamil as an assistant lecturer and began to work for his Master of Arts degree which he obtained in 1954. In 1954 he proceeded to the Oxford University in United Kingdom to study Modern Linguistics and pursue with his Doctoral research under the guidance of the reputed Dravidian linguist Prof Thomas Burrow. He did his research on the 'Structure of the Tamil Verb' and gained his Oxford D. Phil (known internationally as Ph.D.) degree. He was the first Tamil scholar from Sri Lanka to receive such a high accolade from the Oxford University. In 1965 he became the head of the Department of Tamil, and in 1970 the first Professor of Tamil at the Colombo Campus of the University of Ceylon. During the years 1981-1988 he served as the Professor of Tamil at the University of Peradeniya.

Between the years 1964-1965 he spent time at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of California, Berkley, researching the close relationship between the extinct Sumerian language of Mesopotamia and the extant Dravidian languages of South India, a subject which became his 'academic preoccupation' for the subsequent quarter of a century. During the years 1973-74 he had spent time at the University of Oxford; and in 1985-86 at the Tamil University, Tanjavur, South India.

Prof Sathasivam had presented a number of research papers in Tamil Grammar, Dravidian Linguistics and Sumerian Studies at several International Conferences. He had published several books including *The Structure of the Tamil Verb* (1956) - his Ph.D. thesis; *Karuthurai Kovai* (Tamil, 1959); *Arachi Kaddurai Ezhuthum Murai* (Tamil, 1963); *Sumerian: A Dravidian Language* (1965); *Anthology of Ceylon Tamil Poetry* (Tamil, 1966); *Tamil Mozhi Varalaru* (Tamil, 1966); *A Dictionary of Ceylon Tamil Usage Vols. I-V* (Eng.& Tamil 1973); *Origin and Development of Tamil Words* (Tamil, 1986). The Etymological Dictionary of Sumero-Dravidian words which he was compiling since 1980 was not completed because of his untimely death in 1988, and remain unpublished.

The most significant of all his research is his hypothesis of a common origin of the ancient Mesopotamian language *Sumerian* of West Asia and the *Dravidian* languages of South Asia. He also gave this linguistic family the alternative name, *The Kumari Family of Languages*. The four pioneering papers in this publication are a lasting testament to his painstaking and meticulous research skills and the opening up of new frontiers in Dravidian linguistics.

**Siva Thiagarajah**

**Paper 1**

# **SUMERIAN A DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE**

by  
**A. Sathasivam**

UNIVERSITY OF CEYLON  
AND  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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August 1965







The Early Dynastic Cities of Sumer Courtesy: Feather and Soul Production

## PREFACE

The present monograph embodies part of the fruits of my research carried out in the Universities of Pennsylvania and California during the academic year 1964-65.

For several years I have been engaged in reconstructing the prehistory of the Tamil language using the earliest extant literary records and sources. The reconstructed materials were brought to the University of Pennsylvania and my findings were compared with similar attempts made in the other and better known languages of the Indo-European and Semitic families. Thus, it is almost by accident that I found that the Sumerian language as described in Sumerian grammars possesses almost identical characteristics with those revealed by my reconstruction of Prehistoric Tamil. The enquiry has been broadened and the Comparative Dravidian data are used to identify Sumerian as a Dravidian language. It was rather unexpected to find that the conservative Dravidian dialects have preserved many lexical items of prehistoric origin. The Dravidian cognates compared in this monograph show that the Sumerian language fits in neatly as the twentieth member of the Dravidian family.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not record here the assistance I received from many sources. I am deeply grateful to the authorities of the University of Ceylon, particularly to the Vice-Chancellor Sir Nicholas Attygalle for having provided me with the necessary facilities and encouragement to engage actively in basic research. I also owe a debt of gratitude to the United States Educational Foundation in Ceylon for selecting me for a Fulbright Research Award and to the Conference Board of the Associated Research Councils in Washington for providing every assistance I asked for.

I should also express my thanks to my teachers Prof. Henry M. Hoenigswald, Chairman of the Department of Linguistics and Prof. Leigh Lisker, Professor of Dravidian Linguistics, both of the University of Pennsylvania for my training in the linguistic disciplines. Prof. Murray B. Emeneau, Professor of Sanskrit and General Linguistics at the University of California (Berkeley) has placed me under deep obligation for his manifold assistance in shaping the present monograph. My thanks are also due to my wife Thirugnaneswary for typing the manuscript with care.

It is hardly necessary for me to express my gratitude to my *guru*, Prof. Thomas Burrow of Oxford. I owe him everything.

*A. Sathasivam*

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Connections between Dravidian and various other linguistic families have been proposed from time to time, but Dr. Sathasivam breaks new ground in seeking to relate Dravidian with Sumerian.

The method employed is to compare items in the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* with Sumerian words and some 500 of these have been selected for comparison. Some of the proposed equations look distinctly interesting, which suggests that further research in this direction might be fruitful. If it were to be accepted the theory would be of considerable importance for the prehistory of both Dravidian and Sumerian.

(Sgd.) T. Burrow

# UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS  
BERKELEY 4  
CALIFORNIA  
26 July 1965

## FOREWORD

Dr. Sadasivan's work is a collection of about 500 sets of etyma, in which connections are proposed between Sumerian materials and Dravidian etymological sets (the latter are chiefly drawn from Burrow and Emmaneau's *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*). Attempts to make larger groupings of languages and language families must always be based on such collections, and Dr. Sadasivan's collection is the very useful and laborious preliminary to the critical analysis of this hypothesis that Sumerian and Dravidian are related. The analysis that he has already begun will be waited for with great interest, because of the most interesting historical and prehistorical implications of this hypothesis.

*(Sgd.) M. B. Emeneau*

M. B. Emeneau  
Professor of Sanskrit and  
General Linguistics.

# SUMERIAN: A DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE

## INTRODUCTION

### **Aim and Scope:**

The plan of the present work is to provide the preliminary data necessary to establish my theory that Sumerian is a Dravidian language. The data is in the form of 501 cognate sets of items drawn from some or all of the nineteen Dravidian languages and from Sumerian, the twentieth member of the Dravidian family proposed here. The actual reconstruction of the proto-language will be published in a separate volume.

The Sumerian data has been gathered mainly from the writings of Edmund I. Gordon, Stephen Langdon, George A. Barton and Dynely Prince. It should be noted that care has been taken to present the basic data as they appear in these writings and no attempt has been made either to reinterpret these sources or twist them in order to get what is desired. The Dravidian cognates are drawn chiefly from 'A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary' by T. Burrow and M.B. Emaneau. Thus an attempt has been made in this monograph to place the data on a scientific basis.

Sumerian is an agglutinative language. This factor has been recognised by almost all the Sumerologists<sup>1</sup>. But no attempt has been made in the past to connect Sumerian with Dravidian, also an agglutinative language family. Stephen Langdon apparently felt that Sumerian might one day be connected with some agglutinative language. It may be appropriate here to record the remarks of Dyneley Prince in reviewing Langdon's Sumerian Grammar:

'In his preface he abstains wisely from any attempt to advance theories regarding the linguistic affinities of Sumerian, although he does leave the door partly open for the possible future acceptance of a theory that Sumerian may be connected with some known family of agglutinative languages. He states "-- as a negative result of my studies, I am convinced that it (Sumerian) has no affinity with either the Caucasin, Aryan or semetic groups".'<sup>2</sup>



While no Sumerian scholar has made any serious attempt to connect the ancient Sumerian language with some known family of agglutinative languages, H.R. Hall, the historian in 1912 put forward the theory that the ancient Sumerians bear most resemblance to the Dravidian ethnic type of India (See the next few pages).

Thus, it appears the way has been paved in the past toward the attempt in the present work, and the works to follow in this series, to demonstrate the genetic relationship between Sumerian and the Dravidian languages.

## 1. The Sumerians

The history of the Sumerian people is known only through the interpretation of the records and monuments left by them in Babylonia 4000 years ago. This falls within the province of archaeology. The present writer does not pretend that he can speak with authority on such matters. As the subject matter of the present monograph requires a knowledge of the background of the people who produced the language, it is felt that reproduction of extracts from well known writers on Middle East Archaeology and writing would suffice for the present purpose.

"Sumer, the land which came to be known in classical times as Babylonia consists of the lower half of *Mesopotamia*, roughly identical with modern Iraq from the north of Baghdad to the Persian Gulf. It has an area of approximately 10,000 square miles. The people that inhabited it, the Sumerians, as they came to be known by the third millennium B.C., were endowed with an unusually creative intellect and a venturesome resolute spirit. In spite of the land's natural drawbacks, they turned Sumer into a veritable Garden of Eden and developed what was probably the first high civilization in the history of man."<sup>3</sup>

"Sometimes around the middle of the fourth millennium B.C., a people of unknown ethnic and linguistic affiliation whom we know as the Sumerians entered the southern parts of Mesopotamia and conquered the area from its original inhabitants. From the last centuries of the fourth millennium, they were for 1500 years the

dominant cultural group of the Near East, producing a highly developed literature and leaving behind records and documents of a large and complex system of law, administration, trade and religion.

"At sometime in the first five hundred years of their occupation, the Sumerians began to use the writing which eventually developed into the cuneiform. It is uncertain whether they actually invented it, its ultimate source may have been earlier Semitic inhabitants of the land, or it may have been brought into Mesopotamia from some other place. The problem of its origin is complicated by the fact that the early Sumerian script bears resemblances of undetermined significance to the early linear script of the Elamites, to Egyptian hieroglyphic writing and to Indus Valley script."<sup>4</sup>



**Sumerian Tablet from Uruk c. 3600 BCE showing the early pictographic writing before the development of the Cuneiform.**

---

(Modern archaeological dating places the arrival of Sumerians in Mesopotamia during the sixth millennium BCE. The earliest city-settlement of Mesopotamia was founded in circa. 5400 BCE at *ERIDU* – known to the early marsh Arabs as ‘Tell Abu Sharain’ – meaning mound of the *Father of the Crescent Moon* – is situated close to the Persian Gulf near the mouth of the Euphrates. Eridu was the southernmost of a conglomeration of Sumerian cities that grew around temples. Eridu was originally the home of the God *Enki*, the God of Water, who was believed to have given to all life on Earth. According to Sumerian legend his kingdom was the waters that surround the world and lay below it; and he along with the gods Anu and Enlil ruled the cosmos. In the Sumerian king list Eridu is the name of the city of the first kings. *Ed.*)



**The Proto-Elamite script of 3200 BCE in a tablet from Susa, not yet deciphered. This has a strong resemblance to the Harappan and the early Sumerian pictographic script .**

"Quoting probably some legend of the Sumerians themselves, the Old Testament says that 'the people journeyed from the East and came into the plain of Shinar (Babylon) and dwelt there,' and of recent years excavations so far away to the east as the valley of the Indus River have produced remains of an early civilization which has certain elements in common with what we find in Mesopotamia. The Sumerians believed that they came into the country with their civilization already formed, bringing with them the knowledge of agriculture, of working in metal, of the art of writing — saying 'since then no new inventions have been made' — and if, as our excavations seem to show, there is a good deal of truth in that tradition, then it was not in the Euphrates valley that the arts were born.<sup>5</sup>

"The earliest scenes of their own culture - development had perhaps not been played upon the Babylonian stage at all, but in a different country, away across the Persian mountains to the eastward. The land of Elam, the latter Susiana, where till the end of a non-Semitic nationality of Sumerian culture maintained itself in usual

independence of the dominant Mesopotamian power, was no doubt a stage in their progress. There they left the abiding impress of their civilization, although the Elamites developed their art on a distinct line of their own.

"The ethnic type of the Sumerians so strongly marked in their statues and reliefs, was as different from those of the races which surrounded them as was their language from those of the Semites, Aryans or others; they were decidedly Indian in type ... and it is to this Dravidian ethnic type of India that the ancient Sumerians bears most resemblance, so far as we can judge from his movements. He was very like a southern Hindu of the Dekkan (who still speaks Dravidian languages). And it is by no means improbable that Sumerians were an Indian race which passed, certainly by land, perhaps also by sea, through Persia to the valley of the two rivers. It was in the Indian home (perhaps the Indus Valley) that we suppose for them that their culture developed. There their writing may have been invented, and progressed from a purely pictorial to a simplified and abbreviated form, which afterwards in Babylonia took on its peculiar 'cuneiform' appearance owing to it being written with a square-ended stylus on soft clay. On the way they left the seeds of their culture in Elam. This seems a plausible theory of Sumerian origins."<sup>6</sup>

## 2. History of the Sumerian Language

### Cultural Background

The chief centres of Sumerian culture were the cities of Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Lagesh and Nippur all situated in Southern Babylonia. The Sumerian settlement in Babylonia is generally dated to the period after the floods, i.e. about 4000 B.C.<sup>7</sup> The earliest culture of the Sumerians springs from the sea-coast cities of Eridu and Ur, at the head of the Persian Gulf. Yet their oldest written document, dated 3500 B.C. comes from Uruk.<sup>8</sup>

Sumerian power and influence began to wane with the downfall of Ibi-sin, the last of the Sumerian kings from the Third Dynasty of Ur (2357 B.C.). After this period, the Sumerian throne passed to the Semitic rulers of Isin (2357 - 2132 B.C.). But the Sumerian language continued to be treated as a sacred medium for literary and religious purposes for about three hundred years by the Semitic rulers of Babylonia.

More than 3000 Sumerian tablets have been recovered from the buried cities of Sumerian civilization. Undoubtedly a major portion of these tablets belong to the last period of Sumerian history, especially to the era immediately after the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur when Sumerian was no longer spoken in the palace.

### Literary Periods

With the growth and decline of Sumerian power in Babylonia, their language also had passed through many phases. The 1500 years of Sumerian linguistic development may be divided into the following periods of major linguistic changes.

(1). ***The Archaic Period:*** 3500 - 3000 B.C

The tablets of this early period are pictographic in origin, archaic in character, and are mainly stone inscriptions.

(2). ***The Ur-Dynastic Period:*** 3000 - 2400 B.C.

The tablets of this period of the Three dynasties of Ur are in the main clay tablets written in the Cuneiform (i.e. 'wedge shaped') script developed from the earlier pictographic signs.<sup>9</sup>



The writing is mainly syllabic in character with separate signs for the four vowels.

(3). ***The Sumero-Babylonian Period:*** 2400 - 2000 B.C.

This period covers the dynasties of Isin (2357-2132 B.C.), Larsa and Babylon (2232-1928 B.C.).<sup>10</sup> The characteristics of the Sumerian language during this Sumero-Babylonian Period had changed considerably and much Semitic influence is traced. Many of the Sumerian epics were composed during this period. The writing system shows that the cuneiform script had been fully conventionalized and its pictographic origin had been lost with the passage of time.

The Sumerian language of the Archaic (3500 - 3000 B.C.) and Ur-dynastic (3000 - 2400 B.C.) periods had preserved well its Proto-Dravidian elements. The vocabulary of these earlier periods shows that these are essentially Dravidian, with few, if any, foreign elements in it. The last phase of the Sumerian language exhibits some un-Dravidian characteristics especially in the areas of phonetics and compound-formation.

The entry into Sumerian of elements of Semitic pronunciation may be due to the cosmopolitan population of the main Sumerian cities. According to Leon Legrain, at about 2200 B.C., "at Nippur three-fifths of the inhabitants were Sumerians and two-fifths Semites".<sup>11</sup>

Thus the Sumerian language of Dravidian origin gradually gave way to Semitic Babylonian, leaving its imprints deep in the sands of time.

### 3. Sumerian Alphabet

There are 18 alphabetic characters in the Sumerian language.

**Vowels** (4): a, i, u, e.

Stephen Langdon defines the vowel sounds as follows:

"The script evolved by the Sumerians has the capacity of writing but four vowel sounds, low back **ā**, high back **ū** with labial rounding, mid-palatal **ē** and front palatal **ī**. It is probable that, when a separate vowel sign was employed for any of these vowels, the long vowel was inserted. To express any of these sounds in combination with consonants separate syllabic signs had to be chosen.<sup>12</sup>

There was no contrast in vowel-length in Sumerian.

**Consonants** (14): k, g, **ǵ**, t, d, p, b, m, n, r, l, **š**, s, z.

**š** and **ǵ** are sometimes rendered into 'sh' and 'h' respectively. The phonemic character of these letters is yet to be reconstructed.

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## END NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Arno Poebel: Grammatical Texts, The University Museum, Philadelphia, 1914, p.9
- <sup>2</sup> *AJSL*, Vol. 28 (1911), p.66
- <sup>3</sup> Samuel Noah Kramer: The Sumerians, their History, Culture and Character, The University of Chicago Press, 1963, p.3
- <sup>4</sup> David Diringer: Writing, New York, 1962, p. 35-36
- <sup>5</sup> Leonard Woolley: Ur of the Chaldees, New York, 1930, p. 19-20
- <sup>6</sup> H.R. Hall: The Ancient History of the Near East, London, 1913, p. 172-173.
- <sup>7</sup> Leon Legrain: Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon, The University Museum, Philadelphia, 1926, p.5
- <sup>8</sup> Stuart Piggot: The Chronology of Prehistoric North-West India, *Ancient India*, Vol.I, 1946, p.19
- <sup>9</sup> Geo A. Barton: The origin and Development of Babylonian Writing, Leipzig, 1913, p. xv
- <sup>10</sup> Stephen Langdon: A Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy, Paris, 1911, p.5
- <sup>11</sup> Leon Legrain: Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon, p.4
- <sup>12</sup> Stephen Langdon: A Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy, Paris, 1911, p.33-34.

# SUMERIAN: A DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE

## COGNATE SETS

Sumerian lexical items exhibit a rich variety of regional and social dialects. A large number of deciphered tablets show that these are personal records of merchants and priests. As such, they naturally exhibit idiosyncrasies of various types. In the absence of any historical grammar of Sumerian, it is not always possible to select a standard form for comparative study. In the present work, Dravidian cognates or correspondences, given for 501 selected Sumerian forms. Some of these forms show a number of variants and where such variants are considered to be of phonetic interest, they are included in the list.

Though the selection of items is arbitrary, the list is expected to demonstrate the basic principle of the regularity of phonetic change. In the past, Sumerian vowels were treated as of unpredictable and changing nature, much as were those in Assyrian. This erroneous view seems due to too great a semantic approach.

The Proto-Dravidian retentions, such as the kinship terms, numerals, and demonstratives, find a special place in this list of cognate sets. The items are arranged in the following order based in the 18 Sumerian alphabetic characters. The following numbers indicate the initial position of the items.

<b>a</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>u</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>94</b>
<b>i/e</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>k/g, g'</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>176</b>
<b>t/d</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>239</b>
<b>p/b</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>303</b>
<b>m</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>304</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>364</b>
<b>n</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>365</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>383</b>
<b>r</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>402</b>
<b>r</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>403</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>409</b>
<b>š</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>438</b>
<b>s</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>439</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>483</b>
<b>z</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>484</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>501</b>

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TABLE

Su	=	Sumerian
Ta	=	Tamil.
Ma	=	Malayalam.
Ka	=	Kannada.
Ko	=	Kota.
To	=	Toda.
Tu	=	Tulu
Kod	=	Kodagu.
Te	=	Telugu.
Ga	=	Gadba.
Kol	=	Kolami.
Nk	=	Naiki.
Pa	=	Parji.
Go	=	Gondi.
Kon	=	Konda
Kui	=	Kui
Kuw	=	Kuwi
Kur	=	Kurukh
Malt	=	Malto
Br	=	Brahui.

	<b>1 Elder Father</b>	<b>2 Father Elder</b>	<b>3 Parent</b>	<b>4 Mother</b>	<b>5 Mother</b>	<b>6 Mother Woman</b>
Sumerian	ab abba	a ad ad-da	a-a aga-rin	ag	am ama	dav dam
Tamil	appu appan appi	attan attai atti	ai aiyan ayyan	āy tāy tāyār	ammā ammai ammaṅ	avvai tavvai
Malayalam	appu appan		ayyan accan	tayi	amma	
Kannada	apa appa appi	atte ati	aya ayya ajja	āyi tāY	amma ama	avve avva
Kota			ayn	āy	amn	av
Toda			eyi in	toy		af
Tulu	appa	atte	aya ajje	tāyi	amma	abbe
Kodagu	appe		ayye	tāyi	amme	avve
Telugu	appa	atta	aya	tāyi	ama	avva
Gadba		āta		āya		
Kolami			ayyā		amma	
Naiki				ayma	amma	
Parji				iya		avva
Gondi	āpo	ātī		yāyo		awwal awhari
Konda				aya		
Kui	āpo	ata		aia aja ia	ama	
Kuwi	appa	atta		īya	amma	
Kurukh			ajjos	ayō		
Malto			ajji	ayya		
Brahui	bav			ai	ammā	

	<b>7 Suppli- cation</b>	<b>8 Secret</b>	<b>9 Grind</b>	<b>10 Six</b>	<b>11 Ditch</b>	<b>12 Paste</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	a-ra-zu	a-ra-a	ara	aš	aša	asa
Tamil	aṭnku aṭakku aṭakkam	marai marai <u>vu</u>	arai aravu	āru	ār ari akaṛi	ācai aṭṭu
Malayalam	aṭannuka atakkuka aṭakkam	mara maṛ <u>avu</u>	arekka	āru	akir akiḷ akil	
Kota	aṛg- aṛk- aṛkaṭm aṛkm	mar	arv-	ā r	avd- aṭ	asa
Toda	oḍg oṛk- oḍkm	maṛ	are-	o.r	aḍ-	
Kannada	adaṅgu aḍagu aḍaku aḍaka	maṛe maṛ <u>agu</u> maṛ <u>ahu</u> maṛ <u>isu</u>	are ari	āru	agar agur gaṛte agi	asa aṭṭu
Tulu	adēvuni denguni	madep- mare	arep-	āji	agaru	aṇṭu
Kodagu	aḍaka-	mare	ara	a.ri		
Telugu	aḍagu aḍacu ḍagu	maṛ <u>ugu</u> maṛ <u>uvu</u>	rācu	āru	agaḍta	aṇṭu
Kolami	ḍāng		rāk	ār	agul-	aṭ-
Naiki	ḍhāp-					att-
Gondi		makstā makā	aritā	hārum Sārunḡ ārū		
Konda		marg-				As-
Kui	dāpa āṛpa aṭpa		rāga	saj		
Malto	aṛge aṛke	masge			arge	asge
Kurukh		marna		soyyē	arkhnā	assgnā
Kuwi			rāza			assali



	<b>13 Sigh</b>	<b>14 Direct Send</b>	<b>15 Grace</b>	<b>16 Lotus Lily</b>	<b>17 Reed</b>	<b>18 Ocean Tank</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	asir ašer anir	aš ag agi	annu	am	ama	ab
Tamil	aear ayar añar	anuppu	anpu anu aṇi aṇam	āmpal	amai	āvi
Malayalam	asati ayar	anuppu	anpu ampu	Āmpal	ama	āvi
Kannada	asur asar ayil	ampaka	aṇpu	ābal		
Tulu	āsaru			āmbalu		
Telugu	asuru	anupu ampu				

	<b>19 Rule Conquer</b>	<b>20 Crab</b>	<b>21 Weave Net</b>	<b>22 Canal Sluice</b>	<b>23 Strength</b>	<b>24 Cow</b>
Sumerian	al al-tar	al al-lu	a-lan al lal par	al gal	a al	ab
Tamil	āḷ aṅṭai aṅṭar	alavan naḷir ṅaṅṭu naḷḷi	allu vala valai	kāl-	āḷ aṅ	ā an
Malayalam	āḷuka	ṅaṅṭu	vala	-kal		ā ān
Kannada	āḷ aṅḍāri	nalli laḷḷi	allu bale	kāl klive	aḷa aḷavi	ā āvu
Kota	aṅ-	nayḷ	val			a`v
Tulu	ālu	deṅḷji	bale	kālive		
Kodagu	a.l	ṅaṅḍi				
Telugu	ēlu, ēlika	eṅḍri		kāla	aḷavi	āvu
Gondi		ēṭe yantī	ella		lāv	

	<b>25 What Which How, Why</b>	<b>26 Who Whoever</b>	<b>27 I</b>	<b>28 Five</b>	<b>29 Roar</b>	<b>30 Blaze</b>
Sumerian	a- an, ta ana, ta-a ene,tām	aba abi aba-am ebi	a ma, mae ga, gae gin	a ia i	a ar	ar
Tamil	yār, ār ēṇ enn	yār yāvaṇ evan	yān nān	ai aintu	ār arai	aral
Malayalam	yā, ēn entu	yāvan evan	ñān	ai añcu	ārkk- aracu	aral
Kota	ennum	evn	a'n	ay, anj	ār-	arç-
Toda	e-, in	e'o	o'n	uz, uj, oy	o'sf	aş
Kannada	yā, ā en, enna	yāvanu avam	ān nān	ay aydu	ār arcu	aral
Tulu	dā, dāne eñca, vā	ērane	yānu yēnu	ai ainu	ara- ār-	arlu- arate
Telugu	ē, ēmi enta	ēvaḍu ēbiḍa	ēnu nēnu	ay- ē	ārcu aracu	aḍaru
Kolami	e-, enan tāned tand ta'n	em e'v	a*n	ayd aid se-		
Naiki	enan, enṭa, ta tane	ēn	ān			
Parji	āro, na nato	ēd	ān	cē cem	ār-	
Gadba	ēna enādiṇ	ēynd	ān		arg-	
Kodagu	ennm	evn	a'n	ay, anj	a'r	
Gondi	bāh, bāng	bōl ben	anā nāna	saiyung hayyung yeiṅg		
Konda	ēm, ini	ēn	nān			
Kui	an-, ani anaki	ani embai	ānu	singi	ārpa	
Kuwi	ena, eneki	ambasi	nanu, ma		ārnai	
Kurukh	endr	nē, nēnē	ēn			
Malto	ikni indrik	nere	en			
Brahui	ant, arā antai, ama	dēr dē	ī			

	<b>31 Way</b>	<b>32 Foe Enemy</b>	<b>33 Times Turns</b>	<b>34 Praise Exalt</b>	<b>35 Heap Pile</b>	<b>36 Skin</b>
Sumerian	ara	ari ara	ara ari	ar	ar ara	ag
Tamil	ā <u>r</u> u	ari	tāri cari	ār	ār aṭai aṭukku	aṭṭai
Malayalam	āru		sāri		atti	
Kota	a`r				arg-	
Toda	o`r				odg-	
Kannada	aral		sāri sāre		aḍaku aḍḍa	aṭṭe
Tulu			sāri		aṭṭi	aṭṭe
Telugu			sāri		aḍa	aṭṭa

	<b>37 Servant</b>	<b>38 Man Male</b>	<b>39 One</b>	<b>40 Carder of wool</b>	<b>41 Examine Investig- ate</b>	<b>42 Strong</b>
Sumerian	aš	aš	aš	ašlak	aš-teg	ašer
Tamil	āḷ	āḷ āṇ		accu	ārāy	ār ārral
Malayalam	āḷ	āḷ āṇ		accu	ārāy	ārral
Kota	a`l	a`l			a`ryek	
Kannada	āḷ	āḷ āṇ		accu	ārāy	ār āke
Kodagu	a`li	a`ni				
Tulu	āḷu	āḷu		acci	āraisu	
Telugu				accu	ārāyu	āṭu
Kur	āl	āl				
Brahui			asit asi			

	<b>43 Water Watery</b>	<b>44 Ear of corn</b>	<b>45 Hand</b>	<b>46 Spittle Vomit</b>	<b>47 Desire Love</b>	<b>48 Do Make</b>
Sumerian	a, me e, ami	an anu	a	aǵ	aš, aga ag, aka	a ag, ak
Tamil	ām āl		kai	kāru kāl kakku	ār avā akam	āṭu akku ayar
Malayalam	āl		kai	kāru kakku	aṛivu	ākku
Kota			kay	kār	akm	āk
Toda			koy	kak-	arkyn	
Kannada	āl-	kañki kañku	kay kayi	karku kakku	aṛkar arti akkare	
Tulu	āl-		kai	kāru	arka-	
Telugu		ennu vennu	cēyi	kakk-	akkara	
Go	ār	sen	kai	kahe-		
Naiki			kī			ākk-
Ga		cennu	ki			
Kur	amm, a		khekk-			
Malto	amm		qeqe	qagre		

	<b>49 Measure</b>	<b>50 Call Cry</b>	<b>51 Cavity Hole</b>	<b>52 Sky</b>	<b>53 Frost</b>	<b>54 Lute</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	ag aga	ag aka	ab	an ana	asugi	al
Tamil	aḷa	akavu akaval	aḷai	vāṇ	aṛcir aṛcirai	yāṛ
Malayalam	aḷa-	akiru-	aḷa	vāṇ		
Kota	aḷv-		aḷ	Va`nm		
Toda	aḷ-		oḷb	po`n		
Kannada	aḷe			bān bana	aykil	
Tulu	aḷa			bāna		
Telugu	alavi			vāna		
Kur			alp			

	<b>55 Plough</b>	<b>56 One Unanim- ous</b>	<b>57 That Yonder</b>	<b>58 Daylight Heat</b>	<b>59 Pourout Spit</b>	<b>60 Fix Plant</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	ur uru	ur, uru ušu, ru	ur ul	udda u, ud	ug'	ur, uru uš
Tamil	uru uṛavu tunnu	ōr, oṅru oru, oṅnu orum- orru	ū, u utu umbar	uru uruppu		ūru ūru
Malayalam	uṛuka	ōr, onnu oru, orra	u		umir uṛiy-	ūnnu- uru-
Kota	ug- uṛt-	or oḍ	u'n, u'ḷ u'r	ury-	ūs-	u'n- u'v-
Toda	uṣf-	wi'r, wiḍ oš		uf- ut-		u'r
Kannada	uṛ uṛata ukke	ōr, ondu orgu oggu	ū, udu unne ulli	uri urpu urulu	ugi ugur ugar	ūru
Kodagu	u'ḷ-	ori, ondi		uri		u'r-
Tulu	uḍu ura-	or, oṅji oru	undu	uri	ukālu ubbi	ūru- uṅḍ-
Telugu	dunnu dunu dukki	orima oṅḍu oka		uriyu uralu	ummi umiyu ūyu	ūnu ūdu
Kolami	ur-	okko-		ul, uṭ	u's-	
Naiki	ur-	okko			ūs-	
Parji	uṛ-	ok-	ūd, ūr, ut	urj	ucc-, uṛ-	ud-
Gadba	ūḍ-	uk-		urj	ūc, us-	undup-
Gondi	uṛana uḍāna urana	ōr- , undī ond, uṅḍi oko, unca			uc- usk- uṛiy-	ursā-
Konda	ru-	or-, unri		run		urs-
Kui	ruwa	ro	ō, oko	ruta		uha, usa
Kuwi	ruiyali lunai	rō	ū, hū ūmba			ūhali uhinai
Kurukh	uinā ussas ugta	or- ōn ōnd	hū, hūda hūs, hūr	ullā orna	urkh-	ūdnā
Malto	use	ort ond	uthi	ulle orthee	urqe	udu
Brahui			ō, ōd ōng	hush-		



	<b>61 Shear Strip off</b>	<b>62 City</b>	<b>63 Cry</b>	<b>64 Be Create</b>	<b>65 Strength</b>	<b>66 Finger- nail</b>
Sumerian	ur gur kur	ur uru	ul	ur uš	u ur uš	um-bin
Tamil	uri uruvu	ūr	ūli uḷaru ulampu	uru- uḷ uru	uran uruti	
Malayalam	uriyu- uruka	ūr	ūḷi uḷar-	uḷ uṇṭ-	uram	ukir
Kota		u`r	ōḷ	ut-	orp-	u`r
Toda	ušt-	u`r		uṭ-	ūṇ	u`r
Kannada	uricu ore	ūr	ūḷ uli	uḷ uṭṭu	uraṭu uṭṭu	ugur
Kodagu		u`ri	oli	uḷḷ		oy
Tulu		ūru uṇḍ-		uḷḷ puṭṭ-		uguru
Telugu	ūḍ(u)cu	ūru	ūla uliyu	uṇḍu puṭṭu	uridi ukku	gōru
Kolami	uḍp-	u`r		puṭṭ-		go`r
Parji				puṭṭ-		gēri
Gondi				puṭṭ-		gēre
Konda				puṭ-		gōru
Kui	ūg					gōra
Kuwi						gōrū
Kur	urnā	ulkh			buttā	oṛkh
Malto	oṛku	olge				orgu
Brahui						
Malto						
Brahui					ur us	hōr

	<b>67 Loose</b>	<b>68 Flesh</b>	<b>69 Spell Recite</b>	<b>70 Body Trunk</b>	<b>71 Hip</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	u-gu	u-zu	uš	ur	ur	u
Tamil	uku	ū un	uccari urai otu	uṭal utampu	ūtu ukkam	ūn
Malayalam	ūkka	ūppu ūn	urakka otu	uṭalm	ukkam	ūṇ
Kolami	ūc-	u'		orḷ	or	u'd-
Toda	ūc- ux-			wirḷ		u'ṇ
Kannada	ugu		ura ūggu	oḍal oḍambi	uḍi soṇṭa	ūṭa unṇi
Tulu			ūggu ōdu	uḍalu oḍalu	oṇṭa soṇṭa	ūta
Telugu	ūcu		uggadi	oḍalu		
Kui		ūju				
Kuwi		ūjū				

	<b>73 Storm</b>	<b>74 Red Blood</b>	<b>75 Roof House</b>	<b>76 Worm Spider</b>	<b>77 Side Near</b>	<b>78 Dry up</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	u	ug' ur uš	ur	ug' ugu usu	uš us	ud lag
Tamil	ūtu ūtai	kuruti	kūrai	ulu ucu	uri ura-	ular ularu
Malayalam	ūttu	kuruti	kūra	ulumpu	uri	ularuka
Kota	u'd					
Toda						
Kannad	ūdu ūbu					
Tulu	ūdu					
Telugu	ūdu					
Brahui			ura			

	<b>79 Move Ascend</b>	<b>80 Goat Sheep</b>	<b>81 At once</b>	<b>82 Dog</b>	<b>83 Wanting Strength</b>	<b>84 Wall Protection Enclosure</b>
Sumerian	ur	u, uz udu	ud	ur	u-lal	u-bar
Tamil	ūr	utaḷ	uṭan	ucci	uṛal uṛarci	cuvar
Malayalam	ūr		uṭan		uṛaluka	cuvar cumar
Kannada			odan oḍa	ucci	uṛal	
Kota	ucg-					
Toda	usk-					
Kodagu						kevan

	<b>85 Marsh Swamp</b>	<b>86 Drum</b>	<b>87 Mould</b>	<b>88 Dry up Push</b>	<b>89 Cover</b>	<b>90 Light Star</b>
Sumerian	umag'	ub	uṣub	ud	uru	ul
Tamil	umar- umir-	uṭu	ural	utir utaru	uṛai	oḷi
Malayalam	umar-	uṭu-	ural	utir-	uṛa	oḷi
Kannada				udir udaru udur	ore	uḷku uḷuku
Tulu				uduru- udaru	ore	oḷi
Kota					or	
Telugu				udaru uduru	ora	
Parji					ora	
Gadba				udurp-		
Kur					uṭnā	
Malt					uṭe	ullu

	<b>91 Spirit Mood</b>	<b>92 Guard Watch</b>	<b>93 Behold</b>	<b>94 New Moon</b>	<b>95 Speak Speech</b>	<b>96 House</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	ur	ur	u u-di u-dug	u-ša	i, e in, en eme	in e, en eš
Tamil	uṇar	ukk-	utu uto	uvā uvavu	en	il illam
Malayalam	uṇar	ukk-		uvāvu	enn-	il
Kota					in-	
Toda					in-	
Kannada	oṇar	ukk-			en ennu embu imbu	
Kodagu				uṇāv	enn- emb-	ill-
Tulu		ukk-			inp-	illu
Telugu						illu inṭi
Kol					in-, en	ella
Naiki						ella
Parji					en-	il
Gadba					in-	
Gondi					indā-	il
Konda					in-	ilu inḍ
Kui					inba ispa	iḍu
Kuwi					in-	illu
Kurukh						eṛpā
Malto						
Brahui						

	<b>97 Oil Fat</b>	<b>98 Ascent Lift</b>	<b>99 Drag</b>	<b>100 Fire</b>	<b>101 This</b>	<b>102 Two Both</b>
Sumerian	i, ia li ni	il ili el	il	iz, giz giš gir	ir	min (ir) nis
Tamil	iṛutu viṛutu ney	ēl ēru eṛu	iṛu ici	kiccu	i itu īn	min, īr iṇai, iru iraṇṭu
Malayalam	viṛutu ney	eṛu	īṛk-		ī itu	īr, iru raṇṭu
Kota	nay	erv-	iḷv-	tic	i, ī	i'r, eyd
Toda	niy	orḥ-	ixy isf	tic kič	i, il	i'r, e'd im, imu
Kannada	ney nēy	ēṛ ēru erbu ebbu	īṛ iṛ eṛe	kiccu kircu	ī idu itta	īr, eradu iru, eraṛ irme imme
Kodagu	ney	e'ḷ eḷi	i'ḷ	titti	ī illi	ir imma
Tulu	neyi	erpu	iggu-	kittu kiccu	ī	iru raḍḍu
Telugu	neyyi nēyi	lēcu	īḍucu iggu	kittu ciccu	ī īḍa	īr iru
Kol	ney	les-		kis	ī	ir-, indir
Naiki	ney	lēp		kicc	ī	ir- inding
Parji	ney			kic	ī, id	ir, iṛḍu
Gadba	ney			kis kiccu	ī, id	ir, inḍi
Gondi	nī		īsā-	kis	ir, iru	īr-, ranḍ
Konda				sisu	ī	runḍi
Kui	nīju		ḍriṇa	siso	ī, ihti	rī, rīhe
Kuwi	nīyu			hīcu hiṛṛu	ī	rī, ri
Kurukh	neta		īcnā īsna	cicc	īr, īs	irb, eṛ
Malto	nenya		ice	cicu	ir, ih	iwr, -is
Brahui	si	hēf-				irāṭ, ira

	<b>103 God King Goddess</b>	<b>104 Sweet</b>	<b>105 Still</b>	<b>106 Just- now</b>	<b>107 Seize Drag</b>	<b>108 Village City</b>
Sumerian	irreš, ni erreš nir, in nin, im en	gin	inga	i-de	ir	er eri
Tamil	irai iraivan iraivi	in ini	innum	itā ito	īr	cēri
Malayalam	irān rān	inima inpam	ini	itā	īru	cēri
Kota				ily		ke'ry
Toda			inm		iṣf	ke'ry
Kannada	ere ereya erati	in ini irpu	inu innum	ine	īr	kēri
Kodagu			innu	ikka		ke'ri
Tulu		impu		itte		kēri
Telugu	era	incu	īga inka			gēri
Kolami						seer
Naiki						
Parji						
Gadba						
Gondi				idrā		

	<b>109 Liquor</b>	<b>110 Bind</b>	<b>111 Land</b>	<b>112 Fruit</b>	<b>113 Dark Black</b>	<b>114 Bowl</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	ka-ran kaš gaš	kad	kalam kanag	ka garan	kan	kan kam
Tamil	kaḷ	kaṭṭu	kaḷam kaḷari	kāy kaṇi	kār ka <u>ru</u>	kalam
Malayalam	kaḷ kaḷḷu	kaṭṭu keṭṭu	kalam kaḷḷi	kāy kaṇi	kār ka <u>ru</u>	kalam
Kota	kaḷ	kaṭ	kaḷm	ka'y	karp	kalm
Toda		koṭ	koḷ	ko'y	ka <u>r</u>	
Kannada	kal kaḷḷu kallu	kaṭṭu	kaḷa kaṇa	kāy kani	kār ka <u>re</u>	kala
Kodagu	kaḷḷi	keṭṭ	kaḷa	ka'y	kara	kala
Tulu	kali	kaṭṭu	kala	kāyi	kāru	kara
Telugu	kallu	kaṭṭu	kaḷḷamu kalanu	kāyu kaniyu	kāru ka <u>ra</u>	
Kol	kal	kaṭ-	kaḷave	kay-	kārī	
Naiki	kaḷ	kaṭt-	kalave	kāyk-		
Parji		katt- kaḍk-	kali		ker	
Gadba		kaṭ-	kalin		karid	
Gondi	kal kadda	kaṭt-	kaṛā	kāyā	kaṛial kariyal	
Konda	ka <u>ru</u>		ka <u>ran</u>			kala
Kui	kalu		kaḷai	kāu	krumu	kali
Kuwi	kārū kaḍu		kraṇū kaḷōmi	kāiya kam-	kāria kadia	
Kurukh			khall	khanj-	kara-	
Malto			qalu	qaṇje		kale
Brahui	shahd				khar	kalaṇḍ



	<b>115 Soup</b>	<b>116 See Look</b>	<b>117 Eye</b>	<b>118 Gnaw Grind</b>	<b>119 Cut off Reap</b>	<b>120 Limit Boundary</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	kam	gan kin	en	gaz gaza	ǵaš gaz	ǵar
Tamil	kañci	kān ār-	kaṇ	kaccu	ari aru	kaṭai
Malayalam	kaññi	kān ār-	kaṇ		ari- aru-	kaṭa
Kota	kaj-	ka'n ār-	kaṇ		arv-	kaṛ
Toda	koj	ko'ṇ-	koṇ	koc-	ar̥f- ark-	kaḍē-
Kannada	gañji	kān- ar-	kaṇ	karcu kaccu	ari aru	kaḍe gaḍe
Tulu	gañji	kānu- ār-	kaṇṇu	kaccu-	arp-	kaḍe gaḍu
Kodagu	kañji	ka'ṇ	kaṇni		ara-	kaḍe
Telugu	ganji	kaṇu ar-	kanu kannu		aru	kaḍa
Kol		kaṇḍ-	kan	kacc-	ark-	
Naiki		kank-	kan			
Parji		kaṇḍp-	kan	kacc-		kaḍa
Gadba		kaṇḍp-	kaṇ			
Gondi			kan kaṛ	kask- kacc-		
Konda		rēy-	kaṇ			
Kui		ēra	kanu	kasa		
Kuwi		hēnai	kannū	kaca- kazz-		
Kurukh		khannā ērna	khann	khass		
Malto		ere	qanu	qaswe	asye	
Brahui		khan-	khan		harr-	

	<b>121 Growl</b>	<b>122 Throat Neck</b>	<b>123 Red</b>	<b>124 Gnaw Grind</b>	<b>125 Rob</b>	<b>126 Stone Rock</b>
Sumerian	ka-du	kaxu kaxli	gan gam sa	gar	gal	gar gal
Tamil	kattu	kaṛuttu	ce- cem kem-	kaṭi kaṛi	kaḷ kaḷavu	kaḷ
Malayalam		kaṛuttu	cem- cona kem	kaṭi- kaṛu-	kaḷkk- kaḷavu	kaḷ kallu
Kota		kaṛtl	ken	kayṛ-	kaḷv-	kaḷ
Toda			ko-	koṛy-	koḷv-	kaḷ kaḷ
Kannada	kattu	kattu gaṇṭalu gaṇṭlu	ke kem keñci	kaḍi kaṭu kar	kaḷ kaḷvu	kaḷ kallu
Kod			kem ken	kaḍi	kaḷ-	kalli
Tulu		kaṇṭelu	canna genda kem-	kaḍe- kaje-	kaḷavu	kallu
Telugu			kem- cem	kāṭu kaḍi karacu	kalla	kallu
Kolami						
Naiki						
Parji			key			kel
Gadba		gaḍli				kaṇḍ
Gondi					kallā-	
Konda		gaḍli		kaṭ-		kalu
Kui				kāra		
Kuwi				kārali		
Kurukh		khēser	khēso	khārnā kaṭṭna kasna	kharnā khalb	
Malto		qasru	qeso	qare qaṭe	qale	
Brahui		gardan	khīsun			khal

	<b>127 Guard</b>	<b>128 Making</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>130 Rites Customs</b>	<b>131 Ox</b>	<b>132 Heart Breast</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	gar	gar, gag kak kin	kar (dam)kar	garzu	gar	gab
Tamil	kā kāval	kai	kaṭai ankāṭi	kaṭan kaṭam	kālai	
Malayalam	kā- kaval		kaṭa aṅṅāṭi	kaṭan	kāla	karal
Kota	ka`v	kek	anga`dy			karl
Toda	ko`f-	kek	ogody			
Kannada	kā kāhu	geyta keyta	angadi angādi	kaḍa		karuḷ
Kodagu	ka`-	key	aṅgaḍi		kāle	kari
Tulu	kā-	gai- gey-	aṅgaḍi			karalu
Telugu	kācu kāvali		aṅgaḍi			
Kolami	kay-	kak	aṅgaḍi			
Parji	kāp		aṅgoḍ			
Gadba	kāp	key				
Konda		ki-				
Gondi	kēpā-	kīānā				
Naiki			aṅgāri			
Kui	kāt-	kiva giva				
Kuwi	kācali	kīnai				
Kurukh	khāp-					
Malto	qape					
Brahui	khwāf-	kann-			kharas	khad

	<b>133 Wind Storm</b>	<b>134 Be Exist</b>	<b>135 reflect- ion</b>	<b>136 Hasten</b>	<b>137 Add</b>	<b>138 Anus Buttocks</b>
Sumerian	gal gallu	gal	gal	kaš	kud sud	ku
Tamil	kāl kā <u>r</u> ru	kala kali	karutu karuttu ka <u>ṅ</u> -	ka <u>ṭ</u> ka <u>ṭ</u> i-	kū <u>ṭ</u> ku <u>ṭ</u> tu	kun <u>ṭ</u> i kūti
Malayalam	kā <u>r</u> ru		karutu	ka <u>ṭ</u> uk	kū <u>ṭ</u> ku <u>ṭ</u> tu	kun <u>ṭ</u> i kūti
Kota	ka`t		kart		kūr- ku <u>ṭ</u>	
Toda					kūr ku <u>ṭ</u> -	kūey
Kannada			karu	ka <u>ḍ</u> ka <u>ḍ</u> u	kū <u>ḍ</u> ku <u>ṭ</u> a kurisu	kunde gol <u>ḷ</u> e
Kodagu	ka`ti			ka <u>ḍ</u> ip	kū <u>ḍ</u> - ku <u>ṭ</u> -	gol <u>ḷ</u> e
Tulu				ka <u>ḍ</u> ka <u>ḍ</u> u	kū <u>ḍ</u>	kūdi
Telugu		kalu-		ka <u>ḍ</u> ka <u>ḍ</u> u	kū <u>ḍ</u> kurcu	ku <u>ṭ</u> te
Kolami		kal-				
Kuwi		kalg				
Brahui		sal				

	<b>139 Sip Drink</b>	<b>140 Neck Throat</b>	<b>141 Write Sketch</b>	<b>142 Pound Crush</b>	<b>143 Adore Worship</b>	<b>144 Horse</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	ku gu	gu gud	gur gur	kum gum	gub gum	kur
Tamil	kuṭi	kural	kuṛi	kummu kumai	kūppu kumpiṭu	kutirai
Malayalam	kuṭi	kural	kuṛi	kummu kuma	kūppu kump-	kutira
Kota	kuṛy		kur		kub- kumiṭe	kudyr
Toda	kuḍt		kuṛy	kum	kub- kūḍ-	
Kannada	kuḍi	koral koraḷ	kuri guri	kummu gummu	kumbu	kudire kudure
Tulu	kuḍ	kurelu	guri			kudure
Kodagu	kuḍi	kora	kuri gurti	kumm		kudire
Telugu	kuḍu-		guṛutu	kummu gummu		kudira gurramu
Kolami						gurram
Naiki						ghurram
Parji						gurrol
Gondi				kurum		
Kuwi						gūrumi
Brahui						huli sur-

	<b>145 Mount- ain</b>	<b>146 Cry</b>	<b>147 Lord</b>	<b>148 Food</b>	<b>149 Ox</b>	<b>150 Crane Bird</b>
Sumerian	kur	gu gug	ku	kur	gu gud	kur-gi
Tamil	kur- kunru	kū kūvu	kō kon	kūr̥	kūli	kuruku kokku
Malayalam	kunnu kuru	kūvu kuku-	kō kon	kūr̥		kuriyan kuru
Kota				ku'	gūly	
Toda	kud̥s	ku'x-		ku'		košk
Kannada	koṇḍa	kū kūgu		kūr̥		kokku
Kodagu	kundi	ku' -		ku'li		
Tulu	guḍḍe	kugu		kūru kuḷu		korngu
Telugu	koṇḍa	kūka kūyu		kuḍu	kōḍē	-kuru kokkera
Kolami		kūg-			kōḍē	koṅga
Naiki		kūg-				
Parji	kondi	kūy	kōc		kōṇḍa	kulur kokkal
Gadba		gūy	kōsu		kondē	kokkāle
Konda		kūk				kuluri
Gondi	kuṛu	kūss-			kōnda	koruku
Kui	sōru	kūpka			kōdi	kuluri kohko
Kuwi	hōru				kōdi	kongi
Malto		kukre				
Brahui						-khuūr

	<b>151 House</b>	<b>152 Nest</b>	<b>153 Stab Slay</b>	<b>154 Water- Jar</b>	<b>155 Hollow</b>	<b>156 Cut</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	gul	gud	gud kud	kud	guš kud	gur kur
Tamil	kuṭi kuṭil	kūṭu	kuttu	kuṭam kuṭuvai	kuṭai kuṛi kuyil	kuṛai kurru
Malayalam	kuṭi kuṭil	kūṭu	kuttu	kuṭam kuṭuva	kuṛa kuṛi	kure-
Kota	kuṛl guṛy	gu`ṛ	kut- gud-	korm	korl	korv-
Toda	kus kuṛy	ku`ḍ	kud-	kurky	kudy kuṣ	kwarf- kwic-
Kannada	guḍi guḍil	gūḍu	kuttu guddu	koḍa kuḍike	koḍe goḍagu	kore koreau
Kodagu	kuḍi	gu`ḍi	kutt-	kuḍike	kol-	
Tulu	guḍi	gūḍu	kuttu-	kuḍki guḍke	kuḍe guri	kudu-
Telugu	guḍi guḍise	gūḍu	guddu	kuḍaka guḍaka	kōku kukki	
Kolami	guḍī					
Parji	guḍi	gūḍa			kuṛub	kud-
Gadba	guḍi	gūḍe			kuṛup	
Gondi		gūḍā				
Konda			gut-			
Kui	guḍi	kīṛe-	kuta		krāu	krāpa
Kuwi		kūda	kutti-		graiyu	
Kurukh	kuṛyā				khodrā	
Malto	kuṛya		gutye			
Brahui	kuḍi		khutt-			



	<b>157 Stoop</b>	<b>158 Below Bottom</b>	<b>159 Cut Dig</b>	<b>160 Turn- back</b>	<b>161 Pig</b>	<b>162 Foot</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	gun	ki ki-ta	kin-da	gi nigi nigin	kiš	gir
Tamil	kūn kūnu	kīr kīta-	kiṇṭu keṇṭu	tiru-	kēr-	kāl
Malayalam	kūnu- kūni	kīr kīru	kiṇṭu	tiri		kāl
Kota	ku'n-	ki'-	kej-	tiry-		ka'l
Toda	ku'n	ki'-	koḍ-	tiry-		ko'l
Kannada	kūn gūnu	kīr kīr keḷa		tiri tiru		kāl
Kodagu		ki'- ki'da		tir-		ka'li
Tulu	gūnu	kīlu kīḍu	ceṇḍ-	tir-		kāru
Telugu	gūnu kunuku	krī kinda	ceṇḍu	tiri		giṭṭa kālu
Kol	gog-			tirg-		geṭṭa
Parji	kokor-	kiṛi				gēṭa kēl
Naiki				tirg-		geṭṭa
Gadba						kāl
Gondi			kiḍḍi			kāl
Konda						kāl
Kui	kon-					kādu
Kuwi						koḍḍa
Kurukh	khōng	kiyyā kita		kirnā tirnā	kiss	kheḍḍ
Malto	qonqe		kinḍe	kire	kisu	qeḍu
Brahui		kī- kē-				

	<b>163 Ear</b>	<b>164 Mon- goose</b>	<b>165 Little Child</b>	<b>166 Tree</b>	<b>167 Bind Join</b>	<b>168 Store- room</b>
Sumerian	giš ge gel	kilim	gi gin gen	gi ge giš geš	gir kiš keš	kir
Tamil	kātu	kīri	cīr- cīru		kiṭṭu kiṭai	kitanku kiṭṭanki
Malayalam	kātu	kīri	cīru ceru		kiṭṭi kiṭa	kiṭannu
Kota	keyv		kir	gīrv		
Toda	kify-	kīri	kin kīr	kiḍf	kiṭ-	
Kannada	kivi kimi		kīru kīrdu kittu	giḍa giḍu	kiṭṭu giṭṭu giṭu kidu	giṭṭanki
Kodagu	kevin	ki`ri	kirke kiṇṇe	giḍa	kiṭṭ-	
Tulu	kebi		kinni kiri	giḍa	kiṭṭu giṭṭa	
Telugu			cīru krepu			giḍḍangi
Kolami	kev		kīke			
Parji	kekol		kike			
Naiki	kev					
Gadba						
Gondi	kawi kev					
Konda						
Kui	kīru	kīrp-				
Kuwi	kīriyū	kīraṇḍu				
Kurukh	khebdā					
Malto	qethwu					
Brahui	khaf-					

	<b>169 Giddy</b>	<b>170 Bolt</b>	<b>171 Give- way Perish</b>	<b>172 Multi- tude</b>	<b>173 Hear</b>	<b>174 Hair</b>
Sumerian	gig gib	gil	gil	kiš kil kin	geš	kiš
Tamil	kiru-	kīl kīlam	kīl kiri	kiḷai	kēḷ	
Malayalam	kiru-	kīlam	kiri			
Kota		ki`l	kirt	keḷ	ke`l-	
Toda		ki`s	kišf	keḷ	ke`l-	
Kannada	giri giru	kīl kīlu	kīr kittu			
Kodagu		ki`li				
Tulu	giri	kīlu kīḷu	kile-		kēḷ-	
Telugu	gira girru-	kīlu				
Kolami					kel-	
Naiki					keyil- kēl-	
Kui				klām		kelu keḷu
Gondi					kēnj-	kelku

	<b>175 Scor- pion</b>	<b>176 Wing</b>	<b>177 Aid Help</b>	<b>178 Strike Hammer</b>	<b>179 Rub</b>	<b>180 Leave Abandon</b>
Sumerian	gir	gir tir	daġ taġ tab, dab sag	taġ tag tab	tag	tag
Tamil			tā tar- taru	taṭṭu tallu	taṭavu taṭa-	taḷḷu
Malayalam			tā tār- tar-	taṭṭu tallu	taṭavu	taḷḷu-
Kota		ker-	ta' ta'r-	taṭ-	taṛk	taḷ-
Toda		tergy	ta- taš to'r	toṭ	tōḍ-	toḷ
Kannada			tā tār- tar	taṭṭu taṭu	taṭavu taḷuku	taḷḷu
Kodagu		terake	ta' tar-	taṭṭ	tavḍ-	
Tulu		ked	tar-	taṭṭav-	talpu-	taḷḷu tallu
Telugu			tē tēr- teccu	taṭṭu taṭṭincu	taḍavu tavuḍu	talgu
Kolami	tiṭor					
Naiki	kiṭor tiṭor					
Gondi			taṛā tatt-		dalsānā	
Konda			tā-			
Kui			tapa tat-			
Kuwi			tāc- tāt-			
Kurukh				taṛnā		
Malto				taṛce		

	<b>181 Bright Shine</b>	<b>182 Bind Weave</b>	<b>183 Walk Stretch</b>	<b>184 Touch Seize</b>	<b>185 Strike Crush</b>	<b>186 Bright Glitter</b>
Sumerian	dag dal dam	teg	da, dag dab deb	tag tab dab	tag tab	dag
Tamil	taḷa- taḷukku	taḷai	tāṇṭu tāvu tavar	tākku tai-va-	tākku	taka-
Malayalam		taḷa	tāṇṭu	tākku-	tākku	
Kota	taṇ-		da ṭ-	ta `k-		dag
Toda			to ṭ-	to `k-		
Kannada	taḷa talku	taḷ taḷli daḷe	dāṭu tāṇṭu	tagalu taguḷ	tāku tāgu	dagg-
Kod		taḷe daḷe				
Tulu	taḷa-	tale taḷli	daṇṭu	tagar-	tākuni	daga dagga
Telugu	taḷa taḷuku	talagu	dāṭu	tagulu tavalu	tāku tāpu	daga-
Kolami			da `t			
Parji			tāk-			
Gadba			tāk-			
Naiki						
Gondi			tākā-			
Konda						
Kui			tāka			
Kuwi			tāka- taki			
Kurukh				taknā takrnā		
Malto				take		

	<b>187 Abide Rest</b>	<b>188 Cut Strike</b>	<b>189 Head Hair</b>	<b>190 Fitting Suitable</b>	<b>191 Burn Blaze</b>	<b>192 Spread- out Wide</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	dag tag teg ten	dar tar	daib	te	dar tar dal	dal
Tamil	tañku takku	tari taṭi	talai	taku takku	taṛal taṇal	
Malayalam	tañnal tañcu-	tari taṭi	tala	taku		
Kota	taṅg-	tayr- tarc-	tal			
Toda	tok-		tal taṣ	takoo		
Kannada	taṅgu dakku	tari tare	tale tala	tagu takku		
Kodagu		tari	tale	takka		
Tulu	dak-	tariṭu taja	tare	takka		
Telugu	dakku ḍakku	taṛugu targu	tala	tagu tavu	tanuku	
Kolami	tak-	targ- tavv-	tal		tari-	tāḍ-
Parji			tel		tar-	
Gadba			tal		taṛ-	
Naiki	tak-	targ- tavv-	tal			tāṛ
Gondi	tagg-	taṛā- tarr-	talā		tarmī taḍmi	tarā-
Konda			tala			
Kui		taṛā- taht-	talau			
Kuwi			trāju			
Kurukh		tārnā				tār-
Malto		tare	tali			taṛ-
Brahui		taṛ-				

	<b>193 Thrust with horn</b>	<b>194 Ram He-goat</b>	<b>195 Bind Twist</b>	<b>196 Egg</b>	<b>197 Great Strong</b>	<b>198 Weak</b>
Sumerian	dag sag	dar	dar	dar	dad	tar
Tamil	takar	takar	tar taru	karu	taṭa taṭi	taḷar taḷarvu
Malayalam	takaru takark-	takar-	tara tarukka	karu	taṭa taṭi	taḷar-
Kota	tav-			karv	daṭ	taḷar
Toda			tar			
Kannada		tagar tagaru	tari taru	tatti tetti	daṭṭa daḍḍa	
Tulu		tagaru ṭagaru	tara-	tetti	daṭa	taḷa- daḷa-
Kodagu						taḷe
Telugu		tagaru	tarupu		dāṭa ḍaḍa	
Kuwi			dari			

	<b>199 Plan Plate</b>	<b>200 Bran Coarse- flour</b>	<b>201 Side</b>	<b>202 Move Walk</b>	<b>203 Accum- ulate</b>	<b>204 God Moon</b>
Sumerian	dal	dabin	da, ta	di di-di	dirig	di-gir din-gir dimmer
Tamil	taṛi takari taṭṭu	taviṭu	taṭṭu	tiri	tiraḷ tirakku	tinkaḷ
Malayalam	taṛi taṭṭu	taviṭu		tiri	tiraḷ tiratṭu	tinkaḷ
Kota	taṭ			tirk-	terṇ-	tigḷ
Toda	taṭ					tigil
Kannada	taṭṭe	tavuḍu	taṭṭu	tiri	tera teralu	tingaḷ
Kodagu	taṭṭu			tiri		tinga
Tulu	taṭṭu	tauḍu		tir-	tirlu	tingoḷu
Telugu	taṭṭa	tavḍi	taṭṭu	trimm-	teralu	
Kuwi		tavuḍu				



	<b>205 Touch Seize</b>	<b>206 Revive Reform</b>	<b>207 Speak Slander</b>	<b>208 Finish End</b>	<b>209 Touch Take</b>	<b>210 Die</b>
Sumerian	diġ dig tig	ti ti-i tin	di duttu dittu	til	ti tig teb tib	tig dig
Tamil	tīṅṅu tīṅṅu	tiruntu tiruttu	tiṅṅu	tīr	tekku tev tevvu	
Malayalam	tīṅṅu	tiruttu-		tīr-		
Kota	ti'ṅṅ-	tirt-		tī'r-	tev	
Toda	ti't	tid-		tī'r		
Kannada	tīḍu	tirdu tiddu	tiṅṅu	tīr	tege tegu	tege tegu
Kodagu	ti'ṅṅ-	tidd-		tī'r		
Tulu		tiddu-		tīr-	teguni teppuni	tekk-
Telugu		diddu	tiṅṅu	tīru	tigiya tivu tivvu	tegu
Kol					tiv-	tik-
Naiki					tivv-	tikk-

	<b>211 Grow up</b>	<b>212 Torch Flame</b>	<b>213 Neck</b>	<b>214 Judge- ment</b>	<b>215 Strong Powerful</b>	<b>216 Sleep</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	dig dib dim	di de	tig	di din dim-ma	tin	dug
Tamil	timir	tī	cekil	tīr tirmānam	tiṅ tiṅtu tiṅi	tūnku tūkkam
Malayalam	timitu-	tī		tīru tirmma	tiṅ	tūñṅu tūkkam
Kota		ti'y-		ti'rp ti'rma		tu'g-
Toda		ti'y-		ti'rc- ti'rmo		tu'x-
Kannada		tī	tegal	tīra tīrmāna	tiṅṅa tiṅḍu	tūgu tūnku
Kod						tu'g-
Tulu		tū sū		tīrpu tīrmāna	diṅḍu diṅḍe	tugaḍi tūng-
Telugu	timuru tivuru	tiṅ-		tīru tīrpu	tinuku	tūgu
Kolami				tīr-		
Konda				tīr-		dūṅ-
Naiki						
Parji						
Gadba						tūṅ
Gondi						
Kui						drūnga
Kuwi						tūngali
Kuruk						tungul
Malto					tinge	tumgle
Brahui						tugh tungān

	<b>217 Sleep</b>	<b>218 Cloth</b>	<b>219 Parts of dress</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>221 Assem- ble Be full</b>	<b>222 Totality Crowd</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	tu tuš	tu te tug tub	tun	dug dub tub	du dug dub	du dur tur
Tamil	tuñcu tuyil	tūcu tukil tuyil	tuṇi	tuppu tuppāl	tumpai turuppu tuvanru	turu turuval
Malayalam	tuñcu tuyil		tuṇi	tuppu tuppāl	turumpu	turu turuku
Kota	tugūr-		tuṇy		tub- tumṇ	turg-
Toda			tuṇy	tuf-		
Kannada	sundu	dukula dugula		tū tūpu	tumbu	turu turaku
Kod			tuṇi	tupp-	dumb-	
Tulu					tuppe tumbu-	
Telugu				tupu- tuppu		
Konda						
Parji	tuñ					tutt- tuyp-
Gadba	tuñ					
Gondi	hunjā					
Kui	sunja			sūpa		
Kuwi	hūnja			hūpali		
Kurukh				tuppnā tuppāl-		tubnā
Malto				tupe tulgpe		
Brahui				tūf-		truj-

	<b>223 Butt- ocks Thigh</b>	<b>224 Turn- back Return</b>	<b>225 Open</b>	<b>226 Open</b>	<b>227 Set free</b>	<b>228 Touch Seize</b>
Sumerian	dur tur tuš	tur	tuḡ sig	taḡ tab	tuḡ	du tug tuk
Tamil	tuṭai	tiri tirumpu	tira tura-		tura	tuṭakku tuṭar toṭu
Malayalam	tuṭa	titi tirumpu	tirakka turavu			tutav- toṭu-
Kota		tirg-	terv-			torv-
Toda	twaṛ	tirk-	ter-		twaṛ-	twad-
Kannada	toḍe	tiri tirigu	tera teravu		tore	toḍu todu
Kod	toḍe	tir-	tora			toḍ-
Tulu	toḍe	tirp-	tera-		torev-	toṭṭu-
Telugu	tuṅṭi toḍa	tiri tirugu	tera		toragu toragu	toṭṭu toḍu
Parji						toḍ-
Kol	duṭ	tirg-				
Naiki		tirg				
Gondi		tirītā		taritā-		tōrhāna
Konda					turh-	
Malt			tisge			tore
Kur		tīrnā	tisig-			turṣ- torṣ-
Kui		tihpa		dari	tuhpa	
Kuwi	tuntu	tipali			tussali	
Brahui			turing-			tōn-

	<b>229 Tremble</b>	<b>230 Enter Push in</b>	<b>231 Little</b>	<b>232 Bore Dig</b>	<b>233 Rub</b>	<b>234 Fly Bee</b>
Sumerian	tuku tub	tu tur turra	tur tul	ṭul dun	dub sub	tum
Tamil	tuṭi tuḷ- tuvaḷ	turu	turumpu	tura tuḷai	tuṭai	tumpi
Malayalam	tuti- tuḷa-	tūru-	turumpu	tura- tuḷayu-	tuṭekka	tumpi
Kota		turg-		toyḷ-		tib
Toda	tūl			tuḷy-		tuby
Kannada	dūḍi tuḷu	tūru- tūrubu		turi turuvu	toḍe	tumbi dumbi
Tulu	tu duḍuku		turumpu	turip- doḷp-	tuḍe	tumbi
Telugu	duḍuku tonāku	tūru dūru-		turumu tolcu	tuḍucu	tumm-
Kod						tumbi
Kol		turs-				
Parji			turri			dumdi
Gadba			tur			
Gondi		dursānā		tull-		
Konda			turh-			
Kui				trupka tuspa		
Kurukh		turdnā tukknā		tūrnā		tumbā tumbil
Malto		tuke		ture		tumbe

	<b>235 Hollow</b>	<b>236 Plenty</b>	<b>237 Front Top</b>	<b>238 Lip</b>	<b>239 Pig</b>	<b>240 Spread</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	dun tun	tug	dub	tun	dun	par bar
Tamil	tūmpu toṅṅi	tuku	yuti	tuṅi		pāru pār para prava paṅar
Malayalam	tūmpu	tuka				para- paṅar
Kota				tue		pard-
Toda						par
Kannada	tūbu tumbu		tudi	tuṅi		pare paraḍu perepu
Kodagu						para
Tulu	tūmb-		tudi	duḍi		para- paḍar
Telugu	tūmu doṅḍi	tokku	tudi tuda			pāru para para-
Kolami					turre	
Parji	tum				turra	parp-
Naiki					turre	
Gondi				ṭoṭe toḍḍi		parī- parh-
Konda						
Kui				ṭōḍa		prah-
Kuwi						pressa-
Malto	tumbrā tunḡa			toro		

	<b>241 Spread</b>	<b>242 Bird</b>	<b>243 Cuse to appear</b>	<b>244 Split Break- off</b>	<b>245 Order</b>	<b>246 Say Chant</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	bar par	pa pag	pa-e	pad bad bar	pa pad	pad
Tamil	pā pāy pav pam	pāru paral parai paravai	pāṭu paṭai paṭu	pāri- pari pari	paṇi paṇipp-	pāṭu parai paṇṇ-
Malayalam	pāy pākk-	para parava	pāṭu paṭe-	pari- pari	paṇi-	pāṭuka parayuv-
Kota	pa't	paraṇ	paṛ-	pary payṛ-		pa'rv-
Toda	po't	pōr-	poṛ-	paṛy-	poṇt	po'r- po't-
Kannada	pāsu	para-	pāḍu paḍe paḍu	pari	panavu	pāḍu- paridu
Kod			paḍ-	pari		pa'd- pare
Tulu	pāy-	parika	paḍe-	pari-	paṇpi-	pareñc-
Telugu			pāḍu parucu	pariyu peruku	panucu pampu	pāḍu
Kolami			paḍ	part-	pank-	pāḍ-
Naiki			paṛ		pank-	pāṛ
Parji			paḍ-	parng-		pāḍ-
Gadba			par-	pay- payk-		pār paṭe
Gondi						pārā-
Konda				paja		pār
Kui	pāspa				paṇḍa	
Kuwi	pass-				panda-	pāca
Kurukh				parkh-		pār
Malto				parge		pāre
Brahui					pān pār-	pān

	<b>247 Balsam Gum</b>	<b>248 Panther Snake</b>	<b>249 Remote past</b>	<b>250 Tiger Leopard</b>	<b>251 Pupil (Eye)</b>	<b>252 See</b>
Sumerian	bar	bar	bar	ur-barra bar	bar	pa, pad bad bar
Tamil	pacai payin	pāntal pāmpu	paṇṭu para paraṃmai	uṇuvai vari puli	pāvai	pār
Malayalam	paca paya	pāmpu	paṇṭu para	puli	pāva	pār-
Kota	pac	pa'b	pay- payd	puj		
Toda		po'b	pa- paw	uly pusy		
Kannada	pagil banke bonke	pāvu	para pare	puli	pāpe	pār
Kod		pa'mbi	paṇḍi paḷe			
Tulu	paya pase	hāvu	para paratu	pili	pāpe	pār
Telugu	banka	pāmu	prā pāta	duvvu puli	pāpa	pāru
Kol	banka	pa'm		duva perpul		
Naiki	bakka	pām		pul		
Parji	bāk	bam		ḍuvul		
Gadba		bām		perpul berbullū		
Gondi				duwwal puliyaḷ		
Konda						
Kui			prādi			
Kuwi			prāi			
Kurukh	paī		paccā			
Malto	pathge		pace			



	<b>253 Food- ration</b>	<b>254 Tank Reservoir</b>	<b>255 Abode Shrine</b>	<b>256 Plump Stout</b>	<b>257 Shine</b>	<b>258 Dis- cover</b>
Sumerian	pad	pa	pan bar bara	peš	par	pad
Tamil	paṭi	paṭu maṭu	pāri palli paḷli	pār paru	paḷa-	pār
Malayalam	paṭi	paṭu maṭu		paru	paḷa-	paratu-
Kota	paṛy	maṛv			par	
Toda	poṛy		poly			
Kannada	paḍi	maḍu maḍa	paḷli		pare paḷa-	
Kod		padi	paḷli			baraj-
Tulu	paḍi		paḷli	pariya		paradu-
Telugu	paḍi	paḍe maḍugu	palli		parāgu paḷa	pākul paragu-
Kui					pari	par-
Kuwi				pada-		para-
Br						paṭṭ-

	<b>259 Town City</b>	<b>260 Half</b>	<b>261 Half</b>	<b>262 Part Division</b>	<b>263 Bridge</b>	<b>264 Axe</b>
Sumerian	bar	bar maš	bar	bar ba	bar	bal
Tamil	pāti pātam	pāti	arai	pāl pa	pālam	maru
Malayalam	pāti paṭakam	pāti	ara	pāl	pālam	maru
Kota		pa'dy	ar	pa'lm	pa'lm	maṛt
Toda		po'dy	ar	pa'lm	pa'lm	mošt
Kannada	pādi		ara	pāl	pāla	marcu maccu
Kod	pādi			pa'li	pa'la	matti
Tulu			are	pālu		maḍu
Telugu	pāḍu		ara	pāla		maccu
Parji				pēla		maḍi

	<b>265 Bright- ness Glittering</b>	<b>266 Prayer</b>	<b>267 Bound- ary</b>	<b>268 Side Proxi- mity</b>	<b>269 Enclo- sure</b>	<b>270 Bright- stone</b>
Sumerian	barbar	bar	bar	bar	ba-run	bar-gal
Tamil	paḷapaḷa paḷirpaḷir	paravu paracu	varai varippu varampu	vāram pānku	vaḷai vaḷaiivu	veṇ-kal
Malayalam	paḷapaḷa	parikka	varampu varu	vāram pānku	vaḷekka vaḷappu	veṇ- kallu
Kota		parc- park-	var	vayr	vaḷe-	
Toda		part- park-			paḷ	
Kannada	paḷak	parasu parake	bara bare vare	vāra bari baḍi	baḷasu	
Kodagu		parake		bari	baḷ-	bonge- kallu
Tulu		parake parasu	barabu bare	bari badi	baḷe balepuni balayu	boḷ- kallu
Telugu	paḷapala		varuju	bari vada		

	<b>271 Wall</b>	<b>272 Slander</b>	<b>273 Earthen vessel</b>	<b>274 Stone Rock</b>	<b>275 Peak Cliff</b>	<b>276 Enclo- sure Womb</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	bar bad	bal	ba ba-eš ban-niš ban	bar	bar barag	šug-bar bar
Tamil	matil	paṛi paṛippu	pānai pāṇā	pārai paral	varai	pacumpai -pai
Malayalam	matil	paṛi	pāna pāni	pāra paral		payimpa -pai
Kota		paḷc	pa'ny	paṛ!		
Toda		pa'k-				
Kannada	madil	paṛi	bāne bāna bāni	paral paraḷ	par	pasube pasumbe basuru
Kodagu		paḷi paḷe	pa'ni	pāre para	bare	
Tulu	madilu madulu		pāṇi pāṇe	pāde parelu		pasumbe basuru
Telugu	maduru magulu					
Gondi		pāska				
Parji						

***For Enclosure/Wall: See Column 84***

	<b>277 Name</b>	<b>278 Rod Sceptre</b>	<b>279 Change Cross- over</b>	<b>280 Strong</b>	<b>281 Writing</b>	<b>282 Off- spring</b>
Sumerian	pa pad	pa pad	bal bala	bal	bar	pa
Tamil	peyar pēr	vaṭi	māru māru	val valu valaṇ	vari varai	pārppu
Malayalam	peyar pēr	vaṭi	māru mārram	val valu	vara vari	pārppu
Kota	pe`r		ma`r- ma`t-	val	varv- var	
Toda	po`r		mo`r	paly	par	
Kannada	pesar	baḍi baḍe	māru	bal bali	bare bari	pāpa
Kodagu	peda		ma`t	bala	bare	
Tulu		baḍu	mārdū	bala	bare-	
Telugu	pēru	baḍi baḍita	māru	valanu baliyu	vrāyu vrata	pāpa
Kolami	pe`r	baḍya				
Naiki	pēr					
Parji	pidir	bariya			varc-	pāp
Gadba	pidir					pāp
Gondi	paṛōl pediri			wallē	vara-	
Konda		baḍga				
Kui	paḍa		māska		vrīsta	
Kuwi		badga	māska	braiyū blaju-	brinai	
Kurukh	pinj-			balē		
Malto	pinje			balē		
Brahui	pin			balun		

	<b>283 Hole Cavity</b>	<b>284 Pull Pluck</b>	<b>285 Vessel Bowel</b>	<b>286 District Land</b>	<b>287 Carve Bore</b>	<b>288 Land- measure</b>
Sumerian	bur buru	bu bur	bur bu-gin	bu-lug puluk	bu-lug	bur
Tamil	purru purram purai	pūy puy	puṭṭi puṭṭil	pūṛil pulavu pulam	poli polivu poḷḷu	puṭṭi
Malayalam	purru pura	poriyu-	puṭṭil	pulam	pularu- poli	
Kota	puḷ		poṭy			
Toda	wit-		puṭy			
Kannada	puttu huttu pore		burade buddi buṭṭi puṭṭi	pola	poḷḷu	
Kodagu	putti	pori			poli	
Tulu	puñca	porpu	burude buṭṭi putti	pula	poliyu-	
Telugu	puṭṭa punta	puccu	burra buddi puṭi	polamu	poḍucu	puṭṭi
Kolami	puṭṭa	pus-		polam		
Naiki	puṭṭa	pus-				
Parji	putkal puṭṭa	pucc- puyk-		polub		
Gadba	puṭkal	pusk- pucc-		polub pollub		
Gondi	putti	puck-				
Konda	purhī		purhka			
Kui	pusi					
Kuwi	pūci pūnja					
Kurukh	puttā	pudug-				
Malto	pute	puce				

	<b>289 Water River</b>	<b>290 Yoke Entwine</b>	<b>291 Burst Rend</b>	<b>292 Divide Severe</b>	<b>293 Scatter Spread</b>	<b>294 House</b>
Sumerian	bur pur	bir	bir	bir	bir	biṭ bit
Tamil	punal punai	piri puri piṇai pinnu	pīru piri pirivu	piḷ piḷa	viru virivu	vīṭu viṭuti
Malayalam	puṛa puṇal punal	piri puri piṇa pinnu	pīru piri	piḷa peli-	viru	vīṭu viṭuti
Kota	pey	piry pury piṇ	pi'r- piry	piḷ		viṛ-
Toda	pāw	piṇ	piry-	piḷ	piry-	
Kannada	ponal poṛe	puri peṇe	hiri	piḷigu hiḷgu	biri bircu biccū	bīḍu biḍavu
Kodagu	poḷe	biri- piri	piri		biri-	bu'ḍi
Tulu		piri puri		pulevu	biriyu- bicc-	bīḍu buḍu
Telugu		piri puri pena pēḍu	pridu-	prēlu	viriyu viccu vippu-	vīḍu
Kolami				pēl-		
Naiki						
Parji		pinna		piḷ-	virng-	
Gondi			piṛā	piṛā-		
Kui		prīpa	prīva	pling-	bring-	
Kurukh					berrnā	
Brahui		pirgh- pinn-	pirgh-			biṭ-

	<b>295 Anus Buttock</b>	<b>296 Speak</b>	<b>297 Great Stout</b>	<b>298 Increase Conceive</b>	<b>299 Child Son</b>	<b>300 Shine Blaze</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	bid	bi, be bi-i bid	biš piš peš	biš piš peš	bila bir	bi bir bil, pil
Tamil	pīru pūru	viḷ viḷampu viḷi pēcu-	pēr peru periya	pīra peru perukku	pillai	viḷ vilank- pirank-
Malayalam	pūru puram	viḷamp- viḷi pēcu-	pēr periya	pīra peru	pillā	viḷaṅn-
Kota		pe'c-	pe	perv-		velg-
Toda		pily-	pe pex-	perp	peḷ	poḷ-
Kannada	pīre	pēr perike	pēr, per pedda	per	pillā pilla	biḷa beḷa beḷar
Kodagu			peri-	per-		boli
Tulu		pērme bul	peri	ped- pedd-	pille pulli	belagu- bili
Telugu	piridu pīra pūḍā	viḷamp- pilucu prēlu	pēru pedda peccu	peṭṭu	pilla	velugu beḷaku
Kolami	pirra		perg-	peṭ	pilla	vel-
Naiki	pirra		perg-	peṭṭ	pilla	
Parji			peru berto	ped-		vil-
Gadba			per- berit			vil-
Gondi	pēṅḍā		biri- pīrrā		pilā	wēr- ver-
Konda			per-			
Kui			beri			
Kurukh		pērp pēsṅā				birnā bile-
Malto						bil- biḍye
Brahui			piri-		pillō-	

	<b>301 Box Chest</b>	<b>302 Catch Fish</b>	<b>303 Fail Err</b>	<b>304 Vegeta- tion</b>	<b>305 Off- spring Kid</b>	<b>306 Male Son</b>
Sumerian	pin pisan	peš peš-de	pil-la pel-la	ma	maš	ma maš
Tamil	peṭṭi peṭṭakam	piṭi	piṛai piṛakku piṛampu picaku	maram	maṛi	maka makan
Malayalam	peṭṭi peṭṭakam	piṭi	piṛa piṛekka	maram	mari	makan
Kota		piṛc-	peck	marm	mayr	mog
Toda	poṭy	iḍy-		me ṇ	mary	mox
Kannada	peṭṭi peṭṭige	piḍi		mara	maṛi	maga
Kodagu	poṭṭi	puḍi		mara		mo`ven
Tulu	peṭṭige	piḍi- puḍ-		mara	mari	mage
Telugu	peṭṭe	piḍ-		mānu	maṛaka	maga magadu
Kolami		piḍ-	piṛs-	māk	māg	magvan
Naiki				māk		
Parji	peṭeya	piḍk-		meri		mayid
Gadba				mar		maga
Gondi		piḍa-		maṛā	marrī	
Konda				maran		
Kui				marahnu	maro	
Kuwi				marnu	miresi	
Kurukh				mann		
Malto				manu		mage
Brahui					mār masir	



	<b>307 Deer Antelope</b>	<b>308 Rub Anoint</b>	<b>309 Be Exist</b>	<b>310 Shine</b>	<b>311 Do Build</b>	<b>312 Put Place</b>
Sumerian	maš	mar me	mar mal me	maš	ma mar mal	mar
Tamil	mā mān marai	maṛi meṛuku mettu	man <u>nu</u>	meruku	maṇṇu manai vanai	māṭṭu
Malayalam	mān	meṛuku	mannu-		māṭuka manayu	māṭṭuka
Kota	ma'v	mek- met-			ma' r- ma' ṭm	
Toda	mo'f	mošk-			mo' ḍ-	
Kannada	mare	mettu-		mere merugu	māḍu mārke bān	
Kodagu					ma' d-	
Tulu		mettu		mere-	māḍa- maḷp-	
Telugu	manu-	m(r)egu mettu	manu maniki	meracu merugu	mādi malcu	māṭu
Kolami	māg	me' g- met-		merp-		
Naiki		mēgh- mett-		merp-		
Parji	māv	mae- mett-	men	marp- med		
Gadba			man-	merc-		
Gondi	māu mav	maṛhu- māca-	mandā			
Konda			man-			
Kui	māju	mrāṇḍa	manba			
Kuwi			mannai	merpu		
Kurukh	māk		mannā	merkh		
Malto	maku		mene			
Brahui		mash- mir-	mann-			

	<b>313 Building House</b>	<b>314 Cart Chariot</b>	<b>315 Sorcery Bewitch</b>	<b>316 Cattle</b>	<b>317 Boat Ship</b>	<b>318 Other Two</b>
Sumerian	ma mal	mar	mar maš	maš	ma	man
Tamil	māṭam maṇai	vanṭi vanṭil panṭi	māṭṭu makiṭi	māṭu	maram mañci	ma <u>ru</u> ma <u>r</u> rai
Malayalam	māṭam maṇai	vanṭi vanṭil	māṭṭu	māṭu	mañci vañci	ma <u>ru</u> ma <u>r</u> ru
Kota	man-	vaṇḍy		ma ṛ		mar
Toda	man	poḍy	mo'to-			ma <u>r</u>
Kannada	māda maḷa mane	baṇḍi	māṭa moḍi		mañji	ma <u>ru</u> mattu mala
Kodagu	ma'di mane					mari
Tulu	māḍu mane	baṇḍi bhaṇḍi	māṭa mōḍi		mañji	maru
Telugu	māḍugu	baṇḍi				ma <u>ru</u> malu
Kolami						mari

	<b>319 Sun-God King</b>	<b>320 Fra- grance</b>	<b>321 Snow Dew</b>	<b>322 Shower Rain</b>	<b>323 Perish</b>	<b>324 Perish</b>
Sumerian	man	man	mam	mam	ma	mal
Tamil	maṅ maṅṅan	maṅam maṅru	mañcu	maṅai	māy	māḷ maṭku
Malayalam	mannan	maṅam maṅakk	mañṅu	maṅṅa	māyu	
Kota			manj	may	ma'yṃ	
Toda			moz	maṣ-	mo'z-	
Kannada	maneya		mañju	maṅe-	māy māñju	māḷ māṅ
Kod			mañji	maḷe	ma'yan	
Tulu			maindu	mary- maḷe	māyu-	māṅāv mānāv
Telugu	manniya manne		mancu		māyu	mālu manuvu
Kol			manc			

	<b>325 Fat Strong</b>	<b>326 Vision dream</b>	<b>327 A weight</b>	<b>328 Dis- tress</b>	<b>329 Friend- ship</b>	<b>330 Wear- out</b>
Sumerian	maš	maš mamu mami	ma mana	mag	mala	ma
Tamil	matar matan matāli	maya- maca- mamm	mā	malai malanku	mālimi	mārku māruku manku
Malayalam	madam madali	maya-	mā	malekka		mārku mannu
Kota						mag-
Kannad	masaka masagu	mayamu maccu mamala		mallari mallani		maru maggu manku
Tulu	madaku	maikuni				margu
Telugu	masagu	maik- maidu		malayu-		mraggu maggu
Gadba	madinu					marḥh
Kurukh				melg-		

	<b>331 Hill Mountain</b>	<b>332 Be full</b>	<b>333 Chew Nibble</b>	<b>334 Water</b>	<b>335 Net Loom</b>	<b>336 Great Mighty</b>
Sumerian	mad nad, lad	mal	ma	me	maġ	ma mag
Tamil	malai	mal mali	mel melku	māri	māṭṭu makkam	mā māṇ mal
Malayalam	mala	malka malika	mellu-	māri	māṭṭu makkam	mā māṇpu
Kota	mal		mek			
Toda	maṣ	maṣṇ	maḷk			
Kannada	male	male malya	malaku mel		magga	
Tulu	male	malla			magga	
Telugu	mala	malayu	mekku		māṭu magga	mānu
Gadba	māre					
Brahui	mash					

	<b>337 Kindle- fire</b>	<b>338 Back</b>	<b>339 Rage</b>	<b>340 Burn roast</b>	<b>341 Call Utter</b>	<b>342 Dark</b>
Sumerian	ma	mur	mur	mu mur mun	mu mun	mug mud
Tamil	māṭṭu maṭu maṇtu	mutuku	muṇi muṇivu muṇai	muṛulu muṛuk- muḷi	mural muṛank- moṛi	mūṭam
Malayalam		mutu	muniyu	muḷi	muraḷu- murannu moriyu-	mūṭal
Kota	ma ṭ-				moṛv	
Toda	mo ṭ			muḷy	miḷ	
Kannada			muni munisu	muru-	moral moṛagu	mōḍa
Kod					moḷi	
Tulu			munipu	murlu muri-		mūḍa
Telugu	māḍu maṇḍu	muḍḍi mucca	munuku mura-		mrōgu	mōḍamu-
Kol		mulke			muḍ-	
Naiki		mulke			muṛ-	
Parji		muṭus				
Gadba						
Gondi	maṛgā- māsa-	muṛcul murcur	mung-			
Konda		muṭam				
Kui		muḍre musali				muḍe-
Kuwi		mūr				
Malto						
Brahui		mukh				

	<b>343 Adore</b>	<b>344 Beginning Front</b>	<b>345 Three</b>	<b>346 Face</b>	<b>347 Top</b>	<b>348 Be- getter</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	mu mug	mun	muš peš eš	muš	muğ	muğ
Tamil		mun	mū mū <u>n</u> ru murr	mukam mukappu mūñci	muṭi	mūri mūṭu
Malayalam		mun	mū mū <u>n</u> nu	mukam mūccu	muṭi	mūri
Kota	mug-	mun-	mu' mu' <u>n</u> d	mucl	mury	mu'ry
Toda		mudk	mu' <u>d</u>	mu'n mix	mury	
Kannada	murgu morgu	mun	mu mu <u>k</u> mu <u>ru</u>	mūti musuḍu moga	muḍi	muri
Kod		mun-	mu'	mu'di		
Tulu		mun	mūji mutt-	mugaṇu musuṇu	muḍi	
Telugu	mokku	muni	mū mū <u>ḍu</u>	mogamu	muḍi	
Kol		mut	mu' <u>n</u> - mug-	mu'ti mokam	muḍi	
Naiki	mokk	mund	mūn-	mūti mokam		
Parji	moṛk- muṛd-	mund	mūdu muy	mokom		
Gadba	mulk-		mū <u>n</u> ḍ			
Gondi	mursā- morkā-	mun-	muḍu muhk			mu <u>rri</u>
Konda			mū-			
Kui	mrōnga		munji			
Kuwi				mūmbu		
Kurukh			mūnd			
Malto	murgre	mundi				
Brahui		mon	mu <u>ṣ</u> mu <u>si</u>		muṭ <u>tu</u> -	

	<b>349 Beget Originate</b>	<b>350 Bear Bring- forth</b>	<b>351 Shut in</b>	<b>352 Sprout</b>	<b>353 Perfect Full</b>	<b>354 Foot Stem</b>
Sumerian	mud	mud	mud	mu mulu	mulu	mu mul
Tamil	mūṭu	mukir̥	mūṭu muy	muḷai	muṛu muṛumai	mutal
Malayalam	mūṭu	mukir̥	mūṭuka	mula muḷekka	muṛu muṛutu	
Kota			uc-			
Toda			muc-	miḷ		
Kannada	mūḍu	mugi muguḷ	mūḍ- musuku muccu	moḷe molake		modal
Kod			mucc-			
Tulu	mūḍu	muguru	muccu-	mule	murka	modelu
Telugu	mūḍu		mūyu muccu	molaka		modalu
Kol			mun-			modal
Naiki			mus-			modhal
Parji			muy-			model
Gadba			mūy-			
Gondi			muṛhu mucc-	moṛiyā		
Konda						
Kui		mogo	mūsa			
Kuwi			mūca			
Kurukh			mucc- mundh-			
Malto			muce musg-			
Brahui			must			



	<b>355 God Youth</b>	<b>356 Cord</b>	<b>357 Sight Seek</b>	<b>358 Vessel Jug</b>	<b>359 Throat Neck</b>	<b>360 Darkness Black</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	mur <u>u</u>	muk	mulu	mud	mili mele	mi
Tamil	muruku muruka <u>ṅ</u>	murarci	miṛi viṛi	muṭṭi	miṭaru	mā māi mācu māl
Malayalam	murukan		miṛi-	muṭṭi	miṭaru miṭila	māl mai
Kota					miṛ	
Toda					miṛ	moy-
Kannada					meṭre	masi
Kod						masi
Tulu	murku	muraje		muṭṭi		maji mā
Telugu					meḍa	masi māgu
Parji						
Gondi					veḍer veḍorī veḍaga	
Konda	murli					
Kui						
Kuwi						
Kurukh					melkhā	mais mākh-
Malto					melqe	maq-
Brahui					likh	

	<b>361 Dust</b>	<b>362 Flash</b>	<b>363 Bright Shine</b>	<b>364 Strong Powerful</b>	<b>365 Drink Lick</b>	<b>366 Swallow Chew</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	mil miš	mir	miš	mer	nag	nam
Tamil	mācu mā	miṅ miṅunku		miḷir miṭal miṇṭu	nakku	ār
Malayalam	mācu	minnu- minni		meṟukk- miṭa	nakkuka	
Kota	ma'c	minc-		miṇḍ-	nak-	
Toda		mic-			nok	
Kannada	mācu	miṇa minu	misugu	miḷir miḍuku	nakku nekku	agi namalu nemaru
Kod	ma'j	minn-			nakk-	
Tulu	māsu	miṇi-		meli-	nakku-	aggi- naum-
Telugu	māsi	miṇuku miḍugu minuku	misa- misimi		nāku	namalu
Kol					na'k-	
Naiki					nāk-	
Parji		minnal			nēk-	
Gadba					nāk-	
Gondi	māc	mirsa- mirka miḍs-			nākā-	
Konda					nāk-	
Kui	māsi				nāka	
Kuwi	māh-				nākali	
Kurukh		bīnkō				
Malto		biṇḍ-				

	<b>367 District Territory</b>	<b>368 Four</b>	<b>369 Prince Ruler Sun-God</b>	<b>370 Bitch Dog</b>	<b>371 Winged- insect Fly</b>	<b>372 Foam Bubble</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	nag nang nam	na (bu) na (bi) lam lim ninda	nagiru nergal ningirsi nimgir nigir	nig lig nik	uḡ num	uḡ
Tamil	nāṭu	nāl nālu	nāyiru ñāyiru	nāi ñāli ñamali ñeḷḷai	nuḷampu nullal nilampi	nurai
Malayalam	nāṭu	nāl	nāyaru ñāyiru	nāy	nurampu	nura
Kota	na`ṛ	na`ng nar		na`y		
Toda	no`ṛ	no`	no`r	no`y		
Kannada	nāḍu	nā nāl	nēsaṛu	nāy nayi	nusi noraju noṇa	nore urku
Kod	na`di	na`		na`y		nere
Tulu	nāḍu	nālu	nesaru	nāyi		nure urk-
Telugu	nāḍu	nālugu			nusuma	nurugu nuccillu
Kol		na`liṇ		a`te	nulle	
Naiki		naliṇ		āte		
Parji		nāluk		netta	nurṇi	
Gadba		nālig		nēte nette		
Gondi	nār	nalung		nai ney	nullē nule	
Konda	nār	nālgi				
Kui	nāju	nālgi				urpa
Kuwi	nāju naiyū					ūrhalī
Kurukh		nākh naib		allā		
Malto			niru	ale		ture
Brahui						(h)uring

	<b>373 Seed Sesamum</b>	<b>374 Stand</b>	<b>375 Shine</b>	<b>376 Flesh</b>	<b>377 Grow up</b>	<b>378 Supreme Perfect</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	numun	nitaġ	nigin	niġ	nir	nir
Tamil	nū nūvu	nil nilai niru-	nikar nikar̥	niṇam	nīl nīn nītu	nirai nirai <u>vu</u>
Malayalam		nilkka nila		niṇam	nīlu nīr nītu	nira nir <u>avu</u>
Kota		nil- nin-		ni'g	ni'r- ni'n-	nerv-
Toda				neṇa	ni'r- ni't-	ner-
Kannada		nil nilu	niga nigi negar		nīl nīḍu	nere-
Kod		nill-			ni'd- ni't-	nere
Tulu		nil-	nigāsu	nina	nītu- nīḍu-	neriyu-
Telugu	nū- nūvu nuvvu	nilucu nilaka	niga-		nīlu	nerayu niṇḍa
Kol	nū nuvvu	il-				ninḍ-
Naiki	nū nuvv	il-				ninḍ-
Parji	nu nuvul	nilp- nitip-				
Gadba		nil-				
Gondi	nung	nitana nittāna nilāna				ninḍā-
Konda						ninr-
Kui		nisa-			ḍrīnja	nehpa
Kuwi		nīcali				nenja-
Kurukh		ilnā				nind
Malto		ile				ninde

	<b>379 Be high Be erect</b>	<b>380 Fly</b>	<b>381 Fire</b>	<b>382 Earth</b>	<b>383 Male</b>	<b>384 Noise</b>
Sumerian	nim	nim	ne de di	nil lil	ni-tag	ra-ag
Tamil	ika niva nimir	ī	neruppu	nilam	iralai	aṛai
Malayalam	nika nīru nivir	īcca	nerippu ñerippu	nilam		
Kota	ig-	i'p	nep	nelm		
Toda	ix-	i'py	nep	neln		
Kannada	nigur nimir			nela	erale erale	aracu aṛicu rampa
Kod				nela		
Tulu	nim- niga-			nela	erale	ramba
Telugu	nigudu nivudu	īga	nippu		irri leti	aṛacu rajju rampu rampu
Kol	negay-	ni'ṅga	nipp-			raz- ramp-
Naiki	negay-	niṅga				
Parji	nikip-		nir-	nendil		
Gadba			nirik-			
Gondi		ī vis	nirwa-			
Konda	nik- nin	vīja				
Kui	ninga	ī viha	drē			ṛaspa
Kuwi	ning-	vīha				
Kurukh		ī	niyur			
Malto		ī			iralu	
Brahui		hīlh				

	<b>385 Bleat Bark</b>	<b>386 Woman</b>	<b>387 Liquor</b>	<b>388 Grant Dedicate</b>	<b>389 Engrave Hammer</b>	<b>390 Over- whelm</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	zu-ra-aġ	rag	rag	ru a-ru	ru na-ru	raġ
Tamil	kurai	ari	ari	aruḷ	aru narukku	nirai nira
Malayalam	kura	aru-	ari	aruḷ	aru narukku	nira nira
Kannad	kure				aru	nerē
Tulu	kora-	arag-				
Telugu				arulu	rakku aru narukku	nera
Brahui	khurruk					

	<b>391 Run- away</b>	<b>392 Run Haste</b>	<b>393 Remove Separate</b>	<b>394 Inferior Low</b>	<b>395 Throw</b>	<b>396 Gnash Rub</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	ru	ri	ri rig	ru ġu-ru ġur-rum	ru šub	ra rad ra-aġ
Tamil	pāru	pari	pari pari	ku <u>ru</u> ku <u>rum</u> ku <u>rai</u>	u <u>ru</u> u <u>rubu</u>	
Malayalam	pāru	pari	pari- pari	ku <u>rutu</u> ku <u>rayu</u>		
Kannad	pāru	pari		ku <u>ru</u> ku <u>rucu</u> gu <u>ccu</u>		
Telugu	pāru		pari-	ku <u>ru</u> ku <u>ruca</u>	r <u>ū</u> vu r <u>uvvu</u> r <u>uppu</u>	rā <u>cu</u> rā <u>pu</u> rā <u>pu</u>
Kol					ruv- rusi	rāk-
Kui						rāga rāpka
Kuwi						rāza

	<b>397 Throw</b>	<b>398 Spirit Demon</b>	<b>399 Seize Flunder</b>	<b>400 One</b>	<b>401 Remove</b>	<b>402 Hammer</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	ra	rab	ra ri	ru	ri rig	ru ri
Tel	rālu ralpu		remmu			ruttu rubbu
Kol	rāl- rap-	rāng-				rub-
Gondi						ro-
Naiki	rāl-					rō-
Konda			rel			
Kui		ṛānja	jel-	ro rohe	ṛuha ṛuhpa	rūga rūsa
Kuwi			rejali rennai rezza	ro rondi		rūba-

	<b>403 No Not</b>	<b>404 Fat Strong</b>	<b>405 Mix Join</b>	<b>406 Spread Scatter</b>	<b>407 Wash Clean</b>	<b>408 Wash Clean</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	la	lel lib lig	lag	lal	laḡ lag	luḡ lug
Tamil					alaicu	kaṛuvu
Malayalam					alakku	kaṛuku-
Kannad					alabu	
Telugu	lē lēḍu lēka lēni	lāvu	lāyu		alamu	kadugu
Kol		lāv				
Parji		lāv				
Gondi		lāv				
Kui				lānja		
Kuwi				lanzi-		

	<b>409 Shout Sing</b>	<b>410 Announce Proclaim</b>	<b>411 Smear</b>	<b>412 Abun- dant</b>	<b>413 Rain</b>	<b>414 Low Lower</b>
Sumerian	lil ka li	ša sa	šar	šar	šag	šag
Tamil	kali	cā <u>r</u> ru	cā <u>t</u> tu	cāl ca <u>n</u> r-	callu cā <u>r</u> al	cāy cāy <u>v</u> u
Malayalam		cā <u>r</u> ru		cā <u>l</u> a	cā <u>r</u> uku cā <u>r</u> ruka	cāy- cāy <u>a</u> l
Kota		ca' r-		ca' g-		
Kannad		sā <u>r</u> u sā <u>r</u> uha	savaru	sāl sā <u>k</u> u	callu cale jā <u>r</u> u	
Kod					cell-	
Tulu		sā <u>r</u> iyu-	sadike	sā <u>k</u> u	call-	cācu-
Telugu		cā <u>t</u> u cā <u>t</u> incu	carumu camuru cā <u>d</u> u javaru	cā <u>l</u> u cā <u>l</u> a	callu jallu	
Kol				sāl-		
Parji					cal-	
Gadba					jall-	
Gondi						
Kui						
Kuwi				hāl-	zall-	



	<b>415 Cut off Split</b>	<b>416 Hunger</b>	<b>417 Sharp- point</b>	<b>418 Splend- dour</b>	<b>419 Intelli- gent Shrewd</b>	<b>420 Do Make</b>
Sumerian	šab	šagar	šar	šar sar	šam	ša sag
Tamil			cakkai	cāy cāyal	catur catir	cey ceyal
Malayalam				cāy	catur-	ceyka ceyal
Kota	cavr-		cek	ca`yu		
Kannada	sava-		cakke sakke		caduru ceduru	
Kod				ca`y		
Tulu	sele		cakke cekke		cadupu	
Telugu	selagu celagu	ākali			cadur- caduv-	cēyu cēta
Kol		cākol	sek cergu			
Parji	car					
Gadba						
Gondi	sarrā					
Kui		saki				
Kuwi		hakki				
Kurukh	calkh- carr-					
Malto	calge care					
Brahui	cal-					

	<b>421 Inside Heart</b>	<b>422 Happi- ness</b>	<b>423 Quick Haste</b>	<b>424 Buy</b>	<b>425 Virgin- land for cultivation</b>	<b>426 Blaze Shine</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	ša šag	šag-ga	šar sar	šam sam	šumer	šur sur
Tamil	cēku cēkam	cakkan- tam cakka- tṭam	carakka caratṭ-	vānku vānkal	kumari	cuṭar cuṭu cuṭṭu
Malayalam				vānnu		cuṭu cuṭṭu
Kota			carat			cu`r
Toda						
Kannada	cēgu cēge	cakkan- da	sarakk- saras-		kumari	sūdu suḍu soḍar
Tulu			caccara		kumeru	suḍu suḍaru
Telugu	cēga cēva	jakkali-	saraga			suḍu suḍiyu
Kod						cuḍ-
Kol						cuṛ
Gondi						surr-
Kuwi						hūda

	<b>281A Write</b>	<b>267A Boundary</b>	<b>142A Strike Crush</b>	<b>143A Worship</b>		
<b>Sumerian</b>	šar sar gar bar	gar bar	šum kum gum	šub sub gub gum		
Tamil	vari varai	karai varai	kumai kummu	kump-		
Malayalam	vara vare-	kara varu	kuma kummu	kump-		
Kota	varv-	kar var	kum-	kub-		
Toda	par-	kar	kum-	kub-		
Kannada	bare bari	kare bare vare	kummu gummu	kumbu		
Tulu	bari-	kare barabu				
Telugu	vrāyu	kara varuju	kummu gummu guppu			

	<b>427 Garment</b>	<b>428 Pierce</b>	<b>429 Wisdom</b>	<b>430 Pure Bright</b>	<b>431 Chew Taste</b>	<b>432 Distress Affliction</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	šucub	šu	šu	šub sub	šu-su	šur sur
Tamil	cunku	cūl cūral cūrral	cūr curcci cuṭci	cokucu cokku	cuvai	cūr
Malayalam		cūluka		cokkam conku	cuva cuvekka	cūr
Kota						
Toda						
Kannada	cungu jungu	curcu cuccu	cūpu	soga- cokka		
Kod						
Tulu		cuccu-	sūke	soga- cokka		
Telugu	cuṅgulu cuṅgu	coccu cora-	cūḍiki	sogasu cokka-		
Kol	june	sōng-				
Naiki		sōn-				
Parji		cōng				
Gadba		sōng-				
Gondi		sōri-				
Kui		sōrpa				
Kuwi	hūcali	hōḍga				
Malto	cuc- cuye-					

	<b>433 Clean Wipe</b>	<b>434 Channel Flow</b>	<b>435 Copper</b>	<b>436 Bad Evil</b>	<b>437 Paste</b>	<b>438 Ear</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	šib ze-er	šita	šen šun si	šes	šim	ši
Tamil	cī cīy cīvu	cilu-	cempu	ceṭi		cevi
Malayalam			cempu	ceṭi		cevi ceppi
Toda				sīdy		
Kota		cilk-		ceyṛ		
Kannada	cīpari		cembu	seragu	cigil jigil jibbu	
Kod	cīpe		cembi			
Tulu			cembu	seṭṭi		
Telugu	cīputu cīkili	ciḷuku cinka	cembu	ceḍu seragu	jigata cikka	cevi
Kol		silka				
Naiki		silka				
Parji	cēpid	cilva		ciṭ-		
Gadba	sēp- cēp-			siṭ		
Gondi	saiyā	silka				
Konda	sipa-					
Kui	sēpa					
Kuwi	hepali herpori					
Kurukh	cicnā					
Malto	cice					

	<b>439 Move Advance</b>	<b>440 Perform- well</b>	<b>441 Roast</b>	<b>442 Whip Goad</b>	<b>443 Sand</b>	<b>444 Cord Thread</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	sag	sa	sa	sal	saġar	sa sad, ša
Tamil	cāy	camai	camai	cātti caṭṭai	caral caral caralāi	caratu
Malayalam		camayu	camekka	caṭṭa	caral	caratu
Kota	ca'g-			ja'ṭ		carḍ
Kannad	sāgu sāga	sama samaru save		caṭi		
Tulu	sāguni				carate	
Telugu	cāgu sāgu	savara		jāṭi		
Kol		savaril		sa'ṭ		

	<b>445 Plants Shrubs</b>	<b>446 Grow Thrive</b>	<b>447 Drive Chase</b>	<b>448 Red</b>	<b>449 Head</b>	<b>450 Thrust Stretch</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	sar sir	sar ser	sar	sa	sag	sag
Tamil	ceṭi	ceṭi ceṭippu		ce- cey	cenni	cātu campu
Malayalam	ceṭi	ceṭu ceṭikka		ce- cekk-	cenni cekila	catuka
Kannad	ceṭṭu			ca- ce-		sāgu jagisu
Tulu				canna		cacu-
Telugu	ceṭṭu			cem	cekku cenka	cagu sagu
Kol	seṭṭ					
Naiki	seṭṭ					
Parji		cand-	carp-			
Gadba		sand	sarp-			
Gondi						saha-
Kui						sahpa
Kuwi						hah-
Kur						catch
Malto						caṣle

	<b>451 Pour out Sprinkle</b>	<b>452 Lip Beak</b>	<b>453 Flesh</b>	<b>454 Pluck Separate</b>	<b>455 Carry</b>	<b>456 Confuse</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	su, sur	su	su	suġ	sur	suġ
Tamil	curai cori	cuṅṅu cuṅṅu		cūr cukir	cuma	cural curru
Malayalam	cura	cuṅṅu		cūru	cuma	cural
Kannad	suri surivu	cuṅḍu		sugi		suri suttu
Tulu	sōru					suḷi-
Telugu					cumm-	suḍi-
Parji	cōrp-	conḍ				
Gadba	cōr- sōrp					
Konda	sō-					
Kui		suda				
Kurukh	curkh-			cokh-		
Malt	curge			coge		
Brahui	curr-	sunt	sū			

	<b>457 Braids Chignon Hair</b>	<b>458 Spin</b>	<b>459 Writhe</b>	<b>460 Decision Vow</b>	<b>461 Hole Cavity</b>	<b>462 Light</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	suġur	sur	sur	sul	sug	sud sug
Tamil	curul curuḷai curiyal	cural curaru	curi	cūḷ	curi	cuṭar
Malayalam	curuḷ curiyal			curar-	curi	
Kota	curṭ-					
Kannad	suruli suruḷe			sūruḷ		soḍar soḍaru
Tulu				sūlu		cūṭe

	<b>463 Lustrous Gem</b>	<b>464 Seize Cave in</b>	<b>465 Weak Feeble</b>	<b>466 Split Tear</b>	<b>467 Peel Split Break</b>	<b>468 Dark</b>
Sumerian	sud-am	sig	sig	sir sib	sil sila zil , zir	sig
Tamil	cūṭakam cuṭā	cikku cinku	cikal cikku cinku		cilu	
Malayalam		cikku		cīntu-		
Kota		cik-			cilv- cil	
Kannad	sūḍaga sūḍiga	sikku sigu sirku silku		sigi sigisu sigur sību	citli- sil silu	
Kodagu		cikk-	cikk-			
Tulu	cūḍaga	sikku- silku-	cirku	sigur-	cilku- silu cilu	
Telugu	sūḍigama	cikku	cikku	cīru cirugu simpu	citlu cilu	cīkaṭi
Kolami		sik-				cīkaṭ cīkaṭi
Parji		cirng- cirk-	cing-	cīk- ciṅg-	citt- cilk-	cikoḍ
Gadba					sit-	sikaṭ
Gondi		jirk- hilk-	sīrā-	sind-		sikaṭi sīkaṭi
Kui		sehpa sindu		siki siri		
Kuwi		sikku cikku		sīp-		
Konda						sikaṭi
Kurukh				cīr		
Brahui				cīr		



	<b>469 Be born Sprout</b>	<b>470 Give</b>	<b>471 Whistle Scream</b>	<b>472 Straight</b>	<b>473 Smell</b>	<b>474 He-goat</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	sig	si sid zi sum	sir	si-di	sim šim	sig siḫḫa
Tamil			cīṛ	ce- cevvu cem-		ceccai
Malayalam			cīḷ ciḷ	cevvu cemmu		
Kannada	cigi cigur		sīḷ cīḷ siḷḷu	sey cey	siṇḍu	
Kodagu					ciṇḍi	
Tulu	ciguru siguru				jiḍḍu	
Telugu	ciguru civuru					
Kolami		sī-				
Naiki		sī-				
Parji		cī-				
Gadba		sī-				
Gondi		sīā hiyā				
Konda		sī-				
Kui		sīva jīva				
Kuwi		hīali				
Kurukh	ciga cigi	ci				
Malto		ciye				

	<b>475 Throw Butt</b>	<b>476 Melody</b>	<b>477 Bright</b>	<b>478 small</b>	<b>479 Reduce</b>	<b>480 Garment</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	si sig sim	sir	si sig	sig	sir	sig
Tamil		cīr	civa cē	cikka	cī <u>r</u> cī <u>r</u>	cīrai cīlai
Malayalam				cikki-	cī <u>r</u> cē <u>r</u>	cīla sila
Kota				cik-		
Kannad	cimmu			ciga cikka ciku		sīre
Kodagu				cikk-	cerye	
Tulu				cikka		sīre
Telugu	cimmu			ciki-		cīra
Telugu					ci <u>r</u>	

	<b>481 Rush Fly</b>	<b>482 Light</b>	<b>483 Blow</b>	<b>484 Stone</b>	<b>485 Shine Clean</b>	<b>486 Heights</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	sid	sir šir šer	sig siḫ	za zalag	zal zalag	zag
Tamil		ceṭi	civir cīntu cintu	calli		
Malayalam			cīntu cīrru			
Kota						
Kannad	sidi siḍisu	siḍil	sīn-	jalli		jagati
Tulu	seḍi	seḍilu		calli		jagali
Kodagu			hīnt-			
Telugu			cīdu sīvir-	jalli	jaggu	jagati jagile
Kolami						
Parji				jalub	jag-	
Kurukh				cācā		
Malt				cace		

	<b>487 Run Flow</b>	<b>488 Run Slip</b>	<b>489 Side</b>	<b>490 Strength</b>	<b>491 Scratch</b>	<b>492 Breath</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	za- <u>g</u> a za <u>g</u> za <u>l</u>	za <u>g</u>	za <u>g</u>	za <u>g</u>	ze	Zi
Tamil	ca <u>r</u> u	ca <u>r</u> i	cā <u>r</u> cā <u>r</u> al	cē <u>k</u> u	cī	
Malayalam	ca <u>r</u> u <u>k</u> a	ca <u>r</u> iyu-	cā <u>r</u> a			
Kota		ja <u>r</u> v-	cā <u>r</u> y			
Kannad	ja <u>r</u> u	sa <u>r</u> i ja <u>r</u> i	sā <u>r</u> sa <u>r</u> e	cē <u>g</u> u cē <u>g</u> e	cī <u>r</u> u ci <u>v</u> aru	suy sū <u>y</u> sū <u>l</u> u
Tulu	ja <u>r</u> u-	sa <u>r</u> aku ja <u>r</u> iyu-				suy <u>y</u> u tuy <u>i</u> lu
Kod	ja <u>r</u> -		cā <u>c</u> e			
Telugu	ja <u>r</u> u	ja <u>r</u> agu		cē <u>g</u> a cē <u>v</u> a	cī <u>r</u> u	
Kolami		ja <u>r</u> ā <u>g</u> -				
Kuwi		za <u>r</u> gi-				
Malto		ja <u>r</u> q <u>e</u>				

	<b>493 Know Wisdom</b>	<b>494 Gold</b>	<b>495 Scrape</b>	<b>496 Squeeze</b>	<b>497 Sweet</b>	<b>498 Cater- pillar</b>
<b>Sumerian</b>	zu	zu	ze-er	zi	ze-eb	zan zi-bin
Tamil	cūṛ	cinnam	cī , cīy cīvu	cīṅṅu ciminṅu		
Malayalam			cīka cīvukka	cīṅṅu		
Kannad	cūpu	cinna	cīvu cīvvu siba <u>ru</u> siva <u>ru</u>	cimuṅu	savi save samvi	ja <u>ri</u> jirle ji <u>ri</u> li
Tulu	hūpi-	cinna		cimu-	sabi savi tabi	
Telugu	cū	cinni-	civvu sivv-		cavi savvi	je <u>ri</u> je <u>ri</u>
Naiki			sivv-			
Parji						je <u>ri</u>
Gondi						ti <u>ri</u> l
Konda						ts <u>erri</u>

	<b>499 Anger</b>	<b>500 Suppress</b>	<b>501 Good</b>			
<b>Sumerian</b>	zi zig	zib	zib			
Tamil	cī <u>ru</u> cira <u>ṛ</u> ce <u>ru</u>	citai citaivu	cī <u>r</u> cī <u>ra</u>			
Malayalam			cī <u>r</u> cī <u>ru</u>			
Kannad		cidaku ciduku				
Telugu	ci <u>rra</u>					
Telugu		cituku ciduku				
Malto		cithge				

# THE DRAVIDIAN ORIGIN OF SUMERIAN WRITING

by

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April 1966





The Early Dynastic Cities of Sumer Courtesy: Feather and Soul Production



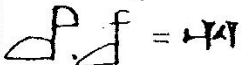
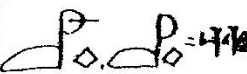
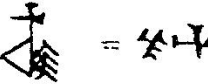
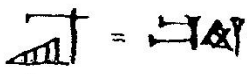


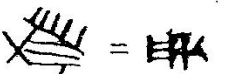


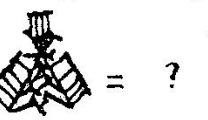
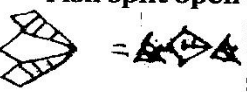

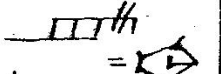
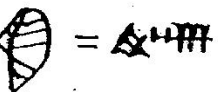



## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

<i>B</i>	=	Brunnow, Rudolph, E. :A classical list of all simple and compound Idiographs, Leyden. 1899.
<i>Br</i>	=	Brahui.
<i>CS</i>	=	<i>Chinese and Sumerian.</i>
<i>DED.</i>	=	<i>Dravidian Etymological Dictionary</i>
<i>Ga</i>	=	Gadba.
<i>Go</i>	=	Gondi.
<i>Ka</i>	=	Kannada.
<i>Ko</i>	=	Kota.
<i>Kod</i>	=	Kodagu.
<i>Kol</i>	=	Kolami.
<i>Kur</i>	=	Kurukh
<i>M</i>	=	Meissner. Bruno. Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme.
<i>Ma</i>	=	Malayalam.
<i>Malt</i>	=	Malto.
<i>Nk</i>	=	Naiki.
<i>ODBW</i>	=	<i>Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing.</i>
<i>Pa</i>	=	Parji.
<i>SBSL</i>	=	<i>Sumero-Babylonian Sign List.</i>
<i>SGC</i>	=	<i>Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy.</i>
<i>Ta</i>	=	Tamil.
<i>Te</i>	=	Telugu.
<i>To</i>	=	Toda.
<i>Tot. Porul.</i>	=	<i>Tolkappiyam Poruḷatikāram.</i>
<i>Tu</i>	=	Tuḷu

Titles in italics refer to published works cited in the text. A bibliography appears at the end of the paper.

FRONTISPIECE

C					
Birds and Parts of Birds					
	No.	Pl.	Chick emerging from egg	No.	Pl.
	85	21			
	86	22		80	20
	83	21	Bird eating grain		
	88	23		326	86
		156			
	128	31	A Wing		
				311	81
D					
Fishes and Parts of Fishes					
	No.	Pl.	Fish in an enclosure	No.	Pl.
	525	132			
	303	78		473	118
	94	25	Fish's mouth eating something?		
		157			
Fish split open				?	
	363	95		565	140
E					
Insects					
A locust, bee & a larva	No.	Pl.		No.	Pl.
				390	100
	364a	169		355	93
	387	99			

From George A Bartons's *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing* p.177

# THE DRAVIDIAN ORIGIN OF SUMERIAN WRITING

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 THE OBJECT

The object of the present paper is to establish that:

- (a) The Dravidian languages of Greater India as well as the ancient Sumerian language of Babylonia descend from a common language (about 4000 B.C.).
- (b) The early Sumerian vocabulary, both of the Archaic (3500- 3000 B.C.) and the Pre-Gudean (3000-2400 B.C.) periods is Proto-Dravidian.
- (c) Phonetic and semantic values attributed to the same Sumerian sign, sound-value, or word in the early Sumerian language (3500-2400 B.C.) may also be attributed to the Dravidian cognates.

### 1.2 SUMERIAN

The term 'SUMERIAN' is derived from šumer < Kumer meaning 'land', 'cultivated land'. Originally, it probably designated the region around the city of Nippur in Southern Babylonia and in later times it was used for the entire country from the Persian Gulf to Babylon.<sup>1</sup> With sumer may be compared item No. 1448 in the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (DED)*.

TAMIL (*Ta.*) — Kumari: 'cultivation in hills'.

KANNADA (*Ka.*) — Kumari : 'a piece of ground in a jungle'.

TULU (*Tu.*) — Kumēru: 'a waste land cleared for cultivation'.

Probably the Tulu meaning 'a waste land cleared for cultivation' represents the original significance of the term. Compare the Semitic loan-word šumēru<sup>2</sup> with Tulu Kumeru; the former is a palatalized form (K > š) of the latter.

Thus the term 'šumer' originally denoted 'the waste lands cleared for cultivation' and extended its meaning to refer to the people who inhabited the lands of Southern Mesopotamia. The language spoken by the people of šumer is called 'Sumerian' (šumerian).

### 1.3 DECIPHERMENT OF SUMERIAN

Unlike the Indus script, the Sumerian script had been deciphered accurately during the course of the latter half of the 19th Century. "The decipherment of Sumerian actually came about through the decipherment of Semitic Akkadian, known in earlier days as Assyrian or Babylonian, which like Sumerian, is written in cuneiform script."<sup>3</sup> The discovery- of the trilingual inscriptions of King Darius, written in Akkadian, Elamite and old Persian about 700 B.C., made it possible to render the phonetic and semantic values of the cuneiform script with thorough accuracy.

Sumerian as a distinct language from Akkadian had not been treated until 1868. In that year, Jules Oppert correctly named the non-Semitic people who invented the cuneiform script and their language as 'Sumerian', basing his conclusions on the title 'King of Sumer and Akkad' found in the inscriptions of some of the early rulers.<sup>4</sup> The period 1869-1940 marked the unearthing of Sumerian inscriptions in Southern Babylonia, and up to now more than 3000 clay tablets have been unearthed under the sandy mounds in the modern state of Iraq. Some of the stone inscriptions of the earliest Uruk period (3500 B.C.) are still undeciphered.

#### 1.4 SUMERIAN WRITING

The oldest written documents of the Sumerian people come from the city of Uruk and are dated about 3500 B.C.<sup>5</sup> The following observations of Stephen Langdon as regards the Archaic Sumerian writing are of great interest:

"In the Jemdet Nasr\* tablets we possess the earliest large collection of tablets made by the people who invented the originally pictographic script used by the Sumerian people. As to the racial character of the people who invented the Sumerian script, as it appears in the earliest known stage of development on the Jemdet Nasr tablets, and on a certain few archaic stone tablets of the same period from Nippur, Kish and other unknown sites. I express the opinion that they are Sumerian. In any case the language of these texts is Sumerian, although the grammar is in such a primitive state that the verbal system of Sumerian had not yet been attained. The signs have the same sense as in the later Sumerian texts.

A good many new signs, unknown in later Sumerian, are present in this archaic script, and some of them are identical with signs of the Indus valley script."<sup>6</sup>

The Sumerian pictographic script of the archaic period ran from right to left as in the case of the Indus script, and the pictographs stand upright and in a natural position.<sup>7</sup> These characteristics are seen on the earliest of all known survivals of writing the pictographic stone tablet of Kish. Later Sumerian writing clearly shows the script turned 90 degrees to the left. This was done to facilitate rapid writing from left to right, whereas the original pictographs were written from right to left in perpendicular position.<sup>8</sup>

#### 1.5. SUMERIAN SCRIPT

The earliest known Sumerian script of the Uruk period (3500 B.C.) is **pictographic**. These pictographic scripts are rude outlines of physical objects of the natural world such as sun, moon, stars, mountains, water, trees, reeds, man and his bodily organs, birds, fishes and other animals as well as artificial products of human activity such as houses, nets, knives, bows, vessels and

\* This site is situated 17 miles North-east of Kish.

implements of various kinds.<sup>9</sup> Sentences in the earliest period were formed by arranging these pictures of objects one above the other in perpendicular columns. Approximately nine hundred different symbols were recorded in the earliest stage of the Uruk period.<sup>10</sup>

This, the earliest known stage of Sumerian writing is called 'logo-graphy' or word-writing. The earliest word-signs were limited to the expression of numerals, objects and personal names.<sup>11</sup> The main drawback in this system of writing is its inability to express many parts of speech and grammatical forms. However, the intended meaning was understood through the 'context of situation'.<sup>12</sup>

The second stage of Sumerian writing is called **ideography**. Originally only concrete words were expressed through pictures, such as a sheep by a picture of a sheep, or the sun by a picture of the sun. But soon ideas associated with particular pictures were also expressed through those pictures. For example, in the secondary stage a picture of the sun represented the words 'bright', 'white' and later also 'day'. Two pictures of women facing each other stood for the expression 'quarrel'. Similarly ideas were expressed also by combining pictures in whole or in part.

The third stage of the Sumerian writing is known as the **syllabic** stage. During the Pre-Gudean period of Sumerian linguistic history (3000-2400 B.C.) original ideograms were conventionalized by the addition of few strokes to express phonetic complements. The script became cuneiform (from Latin *cuneus* 'wedge' and *forma* 'shape') or wedge shaped as it was written in clay. The following are the three main types of the Sumerian syllables:

- (1) VC (vowel + consonant)
- (2) CV (consonant + vowel)
- (3) CVC (consonant + vowel + consonant)

Separate signs were used in Sumerian for the vowels (V).

In this syllabic system of orthography the vowel is as unchanging as the consonant, a feature that distinguishes the Sumerian language from Semitic languages in which the stable element is the consonant, while the vowel is extremely variable.

The Sumerian Syllabary and the systems derived from it consist of signs which usually represent monosyllables ending in a vowel or a consonant, more rarely disyllables of the same structure. The following 18 characters are derivable from the Sumerian syllables:

vowels: 4: a, u, i, and e.

consonants: 14: k, g, ġ, : t, d, p, b, m, n, r; l; š; s; z.

## 1.6 SUMERIAN PHONETICS AND PHONEMICS

**Vowels:** Stephen Langdon defines the four Sumerian vowel sounds as follows:

“The script evolved by the Sumerians has the capacity of writing but four vowel sounds low back ā, high back u with labial rounding, mid-palatal ē and front palatal ī. It is probable that when a separate vowel sign was employed for any of these vowels, the long vowel was intended. To express any of these sounds in combination with consonants separate syllabic signs had to be chosen.”<sup>13</sup>

There was no contrast in vowel-length in Sumerian. The main feature of the history of Sumerian language is seen in the change of back vowels into mid-palatal and front palatal.

Exx: a > e/i  
u > i/e

Scribes of the later periods usually write 'e' for V and vice versa.

**Consonants:** It is difficult to characterise the Sumerian consonants in modern linguistic terminology. What E. Norris had said of the cuneiform script of the Behistun Inscriptions may be partly applicable to Sumerian as well. He says:

"In one or two points of phonography this alphabet resembles that used by the Tamils: there is no distinction made between the surd and sonant consonants at the beginning of a word, and in the middle of a word the same consonant must have been pronounced as a sonant when single and a surd when double."<sup>14</sup>

Thus /p/ {  $\begin{matrix} \text{b} \\ \text{p} \end{matrix}$  } , /t/ {  $\begin{matrix} \text{d} \\ \text{t} \end{matrix}$  } , /k/ {  $\begin{matrix} \text{g} \\ \text{k} \end{matrix}$  }

The language possesses at least three cerebral consonants in word-final position: These are d(d) r(r), and (l).<sup>15</sup> g and š are peculiar Sumerian consonants and some times inaccurately rendered by h and sh respectively.

## 2. SUMERIAN AND COMPARATIVE DRAVIDIAN

**Data:** In this section an attempt is made to compare the phonetic and semantic values of fourteen Sumerian signs with Dravidian cognates. There were about 366 Sumerian signs in use during the Pre-Gudian periods of Sumerian linguistic history. Some of these signs have preserved their earliest version, i.e. rude pictures of objects. The following fourteen signs selected for detailed analysis may be considered as representative of the entire signs.

An important feature of the Sumerian writing is "polyphony", that is, that one and the same sign could stand for more than one sound or value. There is no way of testing this "polyphony" nature of the primitive Dravidian writing, as no Dravidian language has preserved any records prior to 3rd century b.c. But the data assembled below shows that the same writing system was in operation during the earliest period of Dravidian linguistic history. The Sumerian language became a dead language by about 1800 b.c., consequently, unlike the living languages of the family, Sumerian had not changed since then.

The Sumerian signs and values presented here are drawn from the pages of *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing (ODBW)* by George A. Barton, and bear the serial numbers of the signs in that work. The following signs are selected for analysis: Signs Nos. 244; 281; 322; 131; 351; 88; 364a; 149; 180; 182; 37; 80; 387 and 531. The Dravidian items are drawn from *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (DED)* by T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau and the item numbers refer to the serial numbers in that work.

### 2.2 Sign No. 244: The original picture represented a net, plus a motif for spread out

*Sum:* par — spread out (B. 5531); tear down (M. 3872). par — a net (B. 5532). bara — spread out (B. 5534); extend (M. 3873).

(1) *Sum:* Par — a net.

*Ta:* valai — net; *DED*. 4326. *Ma:* vala — net; *Ko:* val; *To:* pal.

*Ka:* bale — *Kod:* bale; *Tu:* bale.

Among the Dravidian languages Toda alone has preserved the initial p; cf. *Sum:* par with *To:* pal 'a net', par > pal.

(2) *Sum:* par, bara — spread out; extend.

*Ta:* para — spread; expand; extend *DED*: 3255. par — expanse; paru — spread; *Ma:* parakka — to spread; *Ko:* part; *To:* par.

*Ka:* pare; *Kod:* para; *Tu:* parapuni; *Te:* paravu, paru.

*Go:* parhānā.

It is likely the primitive root of the form pār — 'spread', 'extend' is pā — 'spread', 'expanse', a form still in use in Tamil.

(3) *Sum:* par — tear down.

*Ta:* pari — cut asunder, separate; break off; *DED.* 3267.

*Tu:* paripuni — to tear; rend; parte — tear; *Te:* pariyu.

*Kol:* part; *Pa:* parng; *Kui:* paja; *Kur:* para; *Malt:* parge.

*Ta:* pari — torn apart; *DED.* 3317. *Ma:* pari — tearing off.

*Ka:* pari — tear asunder.

*Sum:* par — 'tear down' is represented in the other Dravidian languages by pari / pari. The phonetic values par / bara of the same sign No. 244 clearly prove that there was hardly any difference between p/b in the parent tongue. The same may be said of k/g and t/d. Therefore the terms for net par / pal / bal and val may be said of regional or dialectal varieties.

That fact that par means 'spread out' and 'teardown' and both these meanings are expressed by the same sign prove that there was only one system of writing for the entire family during the primitive period.

### 2.3 Sign No. 281: The sign is a picture of a house.

E. — house (B. 6238).

bid — house (Bītu in Akkadian).

According to Mercer<sup>16</sup> the phonetic values for the pictogram —house are bit/'t, pit and e. Then four forms bid/bit/bit and pit are recorded as variants.

*Sum:* bid /bit /biṭ/ pit — house.

*Ta:* vītu — house, habitation, abode, *DED* 4419. *Ma:*

vīṭu — house: *Ka:* biḏu; *Kod:* bu'ḏi; *Tu:* biḏu, būḏu.

It is important to note that Sumerian orthography possesses a special character ṭ as seen in biṭ — house, cf. *Sum:*bid/biṭ with *Sum:* Ud/ *Ta:* uṭan 'at once' d > t (Ud/Uṭan).

### 2.4 Sign No. 322: The sign is clearly a series of mountain peaks.

*Sum:* kur — mountain (M. 7396),

kur — earth; land (B. 7392); country (B. 7394), kur — horse (M. 5359).

(1) *Sum:* kur — mountain; land; country.

*Ta:* kuru — hill; mountain, *DED,* 1548. *Ma* kuru hill.

*To:* kuds — large rock; *Ka:* konda — hill; *Kod:* kundi — mountain.

*Go:* kuru — hill; *Ta:* kuriñci — hilly tract; *DED.* 1530,

kuricci — village in the hilly tract; *Ma:* kuricci —

hill country. Original kur develops into kur-/ kur-/ kuru/and kund-;

r > r̄ > r̄ / n̄ r̄. / nd.      r > d̄ s̄

The semantic values 'earth' and 'land' are derived from the original 'hilly tract' as seen in *Ta:* kuriccci — 'village in the hilly tract'.



(2) *Sum*: kur — horse.

*Ta*: kutirai — horse *DED*. 1423; *Ma*: kutirat *Ka*: kudyr.

*Ka*: kudire; *Kod*: kudire; *Tu*: kudure, *Te*: kudira, gurramu.

*Kol*: gurranu *Nk*: 'gfaurram; *Pa*: gurrol; *Konda*: gurram.

*Kuwi*: gūrumi, gurrom.

kur has the following variants in the Dravidian languages:

kur > kut-/kud-/gur-/gur/gūr/ghur-,

The following observations of C. J. Ball has relevance for the Dravidian languages also:

kúr (from Gur) — horse, written phonetically with last character (kur — mountain; hill, land, country, inhabited place). (*CS*. p. 96.)

If kur develops from Gur, as Ball suggests, then the *Ts-Kol-Nk-Pa-Konda-Kuwi* group of the central Dravidian languages have preserved the earlier form with initial g-. Barton records the value 'mad' also for this mountain sign (*ODBW*. p. 167): compare mad with *Go*: matta — mountain, *DED*. 4151. *Kol*: meṭṭā — hill: met — mountain; *Nk*: mett — hill, mountain.

The archaic character of the sign shows that the picture is really a hilly tract. It is interesting to note that the same sign denotes both the mountain and the horse. The horse was considered a mountain animal. The fact that there are no mountains in Babylonia and the horse was not indigenous to that country suggests that the term 'kur meaning mountain and horse, may have been brought by the Sumerian settlers from their place of origin. (Ball. *CS*. p. xi.)

## 2.5 Sign No. 131: The original picture represented a head surmounted by a cap of some sort.

*Sum*: muḡ— top (B. 3667).

*Ta*: muṭi — crown of head; top as of mountain *DED*. 4030.

*Ma*: muṭi — top knot; hair of head. *Ko*: mury — hair, knot.

*To*: mury — beautifully shaped top. *Ka*: muḍi — braid of hair.

*Kol*: muḍi — knot; *Br*: muttukh — knot.

Tamil has retained the original significance of the pictogram, i.e. 'crown of head' and 'top'.

ḡ develops into ṛ, ṭ and ḍ. cf. *Sum*: taḡ — strike; *Ta*: taṭṭu; *DED*: 2466; *Ka*: tāṭu, *Kur*: taṛnā. *Malt*: taṛce.

## 2.6 Sign No. 351: The original picture represented a two-handled jar or jug.

*Sum*: mud — a kind of vessel or jug (B. 8192; M. 6111).

*Ta*: muṭṭi — small earthen pot. *DED*. 4040, *Ma*; muṭṭi — a vessel.

*Tu*: muṭṭi — earthen pot.

The Sumerian word-final d is represented in the other Dravidian languages by ṭ, ṭṭ, ṛ or ḍ: exx.

*Sum:* kad --- bind; *Ta:* kaṭṭu; *Ko:* kat; *Sum:* kud — add.  
*Ta:* kūṭu. kūttu; *Ko:* kūṛ-, kūṭ; *Ka:* Kūḍu.

**2.7 Sign No. 88: (See the pictographic script on frontispiece) The picture represents a bird sitting on an egg, or a bird and an egg, i.e. a nesting bird.**

(1)*Sum:* mud — bear (B. 2273); bear, of children (B. 2274).  
mud — enclosure; womb(?) (B. 2280).  
mud — some sexual word (B. 2275).  
mud — kin, family (B. 2276).  
mud — be impetuous; strong (B. 2279).  
mud — fright, terror (M. 1300); fear, be angry (B. 2272).

*Sum:* mud—some sexual word

*Ta:* muṭṭai — egg; *DED.* 4048; *Ma:* muṭṭa — egg:

*Ko:* moṭ; *To:* muṭy.

*Ka:* moṭṭe; *Kod:* muṭṭe — egg; testis.

It is important to note that none of the Sumerian values directly refer to 'egg', whereas the pictogram clearly shows an egg. Does this indicate that the Sumerian language has lost the original significance of the term 'mud'?

(2)*Sum:* mud — enclosure.  
mud—shut in (Ball. C.S. p.107).  
muru — enclosure (M. 4794), sign No. 296.  
*Ta:* mūṭu — shut in; enclose, *DED.* 4132; *Ma:* mūṭuka — to be covered; mūṭa — foetus born with a covering;  
*Go:* muṛḥu — to cover up. In Sumerian 'mud' and 'niuru' are synonyms. Cf.  
*Sum:* muru with *Go:* muṛḥu.  
*Sum:* mud/muru — enclosure; shut in.  
*Ta:* murru — to surround; *Ma:* murruka; *Ko:* mut; *Ka:* muttu — to enclose; encompass; shut in; *Tu:* muttuni — encompass.  
*Te:* muṭṭu — urround.

d/r >tt/ṭṭ/ṛṛ

(3)*Sum:* mud — strong.  
*Ta:* murru — become hardened; murruḥ — strength, *DED.* 4117,  
*Ma:* murruka.— grow perfect; *To:* mut — become strong.

d > t/rr.

(4) *Sum*: mud — kin; family.

*Ta*: murai — relationship by blood, *DED*, 4115; *Ko*: moyr — relationship between kin; *To*: mīr — relationship by blood or marriage; *Tu*: mude — consanguinity; *Konda*: mur — kinsman. Compare *Sum*: mud/muru — 'shut in', 'enclose' with *Sum*: mud,

*Konda*: mur — kin. kinsman; *Tu*: mude.

(5) *Sum*: mud — be frightened, be angry.

*Ta*: murukku — be angry; murai — haughty; *Ko*: murk — sulk. *To*: mur (murq) — to become angry; *Ka*: muruku — arrogance; *Tu*: murtāpa — haughtiness; *Kui*: mursa — be regardless of danger.

These values express the original significance of the pictograph. Haughtiness and anger are the characteristics of a nesting bird.

(6) *Sum*: mud — bear, bear of children.

*Ta*: mūtu — origin, *DED*. 4133; *Ka*: mudu — originate, be produced; be born, come into existence; *Tu*: mūduni — be born,

## 2.8 Sign No. 364a: (See the pictographic script on frontispiece) The picture is that of a grasshopper.

*Sum*: mul — vermin, grasshoppers of the field (M. 6534). mus — insect, fly (M. 6537)

sur — insect, fly (M. 6535)

sur — hole (M. 6536)

sur — dwelling (M. 6541)

sur' — call, cry, (M. 6543)

kaz — cut, tear (M. 6540)

As Barton points out, the phonetic values of this sign are the following (a) mul/mus, (b) sur, and (c) kaz.

(1) *Sum*: mul — vermin, grasshopper,

muš — insect, fly.

Mud — a kind of fly, cognate muš — green wood-fly, (M. 6537). (Ball. CS. p. 107.)

*To:* muṭṣṣṇ — grasshopper, *DED.* 3974; *Ko:* miṭṭl— locust; *Ka:* miḍice, miducu — grasshopper; *Tu:* moṇṭe — grasshopper; *Te:* miḍuta — grasshopper;  
*Kol:* mitte; *Pa:*mitaka; *Ta:* vittil — locust; *Ma:* vittil, vettil — grasshopper, locust.

Only Sumerian and Toda retain the primitive form with the medial vowel U, Cf. *Sum:* mus/mtid/mul with *To:* muṭṣṣṇ. In the other Dravidian languages u > i. Cf. *Sum:* mul with *Ko:* miṭṭl. This implies that the vowel of the proto-Dravidian form is an umlaut (u).

(2) *Sum:* sur — insect; fly.

*Ta:* curumpu — bee; drone, fly. *DED.* 2215; *Kol:* curund — bee; *Nk:* surund;

*Pa:* curud; curdi — bee.

Cf. *Sum:* sur > *Ta:* curumpu — fly; *Sum:* Sir > *Ta:* virumpu — desire.

(3) *Sum:* sur — hole.

*Ta:* curi — hole. *DED.* 2212; *Ma:* curi — hole.

S > C.

(4) *Sum:* kaz — cut; tear.

*Ta:* kaccu — bite, *DED.* 920; *To:* koc — kaccu. karcu;

*Tu:* kaccuni.

*Kol:* kacc; *Pa:* kacc; *Go:* kas; *-Kui:* kasa; *Kuwi:* kacali; kazzinai (z = c) *Kur:* kassna; *Malt:* qaswe — nip off; Compare *Sum:* kaz with *Kuwi:* kazzinai.

kaz > kaz.

## 2.9 Sign No. 149: The sign is a picture of three stars.

*Sum:* mul — a star (B. 3855)

mulu — bright; shining (B. 3856)

mulu — sight; aspect (M. 2522)

mulu — seek (M. 2523)

mulu — perfect (M. 2529)

mulu — sprout; twig (M. 2535)

mulu — an expression applied to the heavens (M. 2540)

mulu — a sandal (M. 2536)

mulu — foot (M. 2537)

mulu — glow (M. 2534).

This sign provides certain clues for the reconstruction of the phonetic changes that occurred in the individual languages of the family.

(1) *Sum*: mulu — perfect.

*Ta*: muṛu — all; whole; muṛumai — perfection, *DED*. 4095; *Ma*: muṛu — whole.

*Tu*: murka — full, PDr: root appears to be mur (*Tu*: murka)  
mur > mulu in *Sum*.

mur > muṛu in *Ta*. & *Ma*.

mur > murka in *Tu*.

(2) *Sum*: mulu — sprout.

*Ta*: mulai — sprout; shoot. *DED*. 4100; *Ma*: mula;  
*To*: mīl, mil.

*Ka*: moje; *Tu*: muḷiyuni; *Te*: moḷaka; *Go*: moṛiyānā — to sprout.  
Probably the *Go*: form mor — is closer to the PDr. mur.

(3) *Sum*: mulu — glow.

*Ta*: muḷi — be scorched; bum, *DED*. 4099. muḷ — to  
kindle; catch fire; stirred up. *DED*. 4143; *Ma*: muḷi *To*: mūly.

In Tamil 'mulari' means both lotus and fire; i.e. muḷ > muḷai — sprout,  
lotus; mul > muḷi — glow as fever or fire, muḷari — fire.

(4) *sum*: mulu — sight; aspect; seek; bright; shining.

*Ta*: miṛi, viṛi — gaze, shine; *Ma*: miṛikka — to look  
at: cast looks; miṛi — eye.

Apparently mur > mir > miṛ > miṛi > viṛi.

Cf. *Sum*: mulu — sprout; *To*: mil.

Cf. *Ta*: muṛunku > miṛunku > viṛunku — to swallow.

Cf. *Sum*: mul — grasshopper; *To*: muṭṣṇ;

*Ko*: miṭḷ; *Ta*: — *Ma*: viṭṭil.

(5) *Sum*: mul — a star; mulu — bright: shining.

*Go*: miṛko, miḍkos — star. *DED*. 3994; mirsalnā, miṛkānā.  
miḍstānā — 'to flash: *Te*: miḍugu. miṇugu — to glitter.

*Tu*: miṇuku, minukuni — to shine: *Ka*: miṇa, mini — shining.

*To*: mi.n — star; mic-(mic-) — to flash; *Ko*: mi'n — star; mine —  
glitter; *Ta*: mīṇ — star; miṇ — flash; glitter.

mur > mir > miṛ > miḍ.

*Go*: forms mir-/mir-/miḍ — are interesting.

Cf. *Sum*: mul/ muṣ/ mud — grasshopper. *To*: muṭṣṇ;

*Ko*: miṭḷ.

u > i.

- (6) *Sum:* mulu — sky; heaven; mulu — bright; shining.  
*Ta:* meruku — glitter: lustre, *DED.* 4163; *Ka:* mirugu — shine;  
 miru/mere — shine. *Tu:* mereyuni — to shine; *Te:* merugu — shine.  
*Kol:* merp; *Nk* merp; *Pa:* med; *Ga:* mere; *Kur:* merkhā — sky,  
 heaven.

mur > mir > mer.

For u > e cf:

- Sum:* tu, tug. tuk, tukul. te — cloth.  
*Ta:* tukil.

For tu > te cf:

- Sum:* muqa — goat, (M. 8375); sign No. 496.  
*Ka:* mēke — she-goat, *DED.* 4174; *Te:* mēka — goat.  
*Kol:* me'ke — goat; *Ga:* mēge: *Go:* mekā.

For r > l cf:

- Sum:* mili, mele — throat, neck.  
*Kur:* melkkā. *DED.* 4168; *Malt:* melqe  
*Ta:* miṭaru, *DED.* 3971; *Ma:* miṭila; *Ko:* miṛ.  
*To:* mīṛ; *Ka:* metre; *Te:* meḍa.

PDr. mur > miṛ in *Ko*, *To* etc. The analysis of this sign shows that u > i > e was a feature of the primitive Dravidian and also establish the regularity of phonetic change.

## 2.10 Sign No. 180: The sign originally pictured a section of the stalk of a plant split apart.

- Sum:* tuḡ — open, of the mouth (M. 3013)  
 du. tuḡ — split, tear asunder, (M. 3015). (B. 4488)  
 du — press, with the hand, (M. 3018)  
 du. tuḡ — be abundant, abundance (M. 3000)  
 du — turn, of eyes. (M. 3009)  
 du — lift up, of eyes. (B. 4484)

(1) *Sum:* tuḡ — open.

- Ta:* tīra — to open, turappu — a key. *DED.* 2667; *Ma:* turakkā — open; *Ko:* terv-; *To:* ter-; *Ka:* tere; *Kod:* tora-; *Te:* tera; *Kur:* tisigna; *Malt:* tisge; *Br:* tuṛing-.  
 tug > tuṛ- > tuṛa > tīra > teṛa; tuḡ > tura > tora.

Historically u > i is earlier than u > o. Sumerian retention of the form tug clearly proves that the PDr. vowel was u pronounced u.

u > i > e

u > o

Compare the other form for 'open'. *Sum*: taġ, tab — open:

*Go*: taritānā. *DED*. 2667; *Kui*: dari.

(2)*Sum*: du, tuġ — be abundant, abundance.

*Ta*: tuku — gather in a mass, *DED*. 2861; *Ma*: tuka — sum, whole amount, collection; *Ta*: tuu — full; press or crowd, *DED*. 2770.

*Ma*: tuu — a heap; *Ko*: turg-; turk — to push through; *Ka*: tuugal — mass; tukku — to crowd; *Te*: tuute heap; *Ta*: lira) — abound, grow thick; *DED*.2654; *Ma*: tiral — mass; *Ko*: teru — become plump; *Ka*: tera — a mass; *Tu*: tirl — a mass; *Te*: teralu to abound.

It is interesting to note that tuġ — to open, to abound develops in *Te*: as tera — open; teralu — to abound.

u > e.

*Sum*: tug and *Ko*: turg, show remarkable agreement in phonetic details. The development of dialectal variants of the original form tug may be traced as follows:

(a) tuġ > tur/ tur-

(b) tuġ > tir-/ ter/ ter-

(c) tuġ > turg-/ turk-> tuk-

cf: *Sum*: tuġ — to be abundant, with

*Sum*: tuk — to be abundant (M. 8626. B. 11239) sign No. 515.

*Ta*: *Ma*: tuku — abound; gather in a mass.

(3)*Sum*: du — turn.

*Ta*: tiri — turn, *DED*. 2655; *Ma*: tin — turn; *Ko*: tirg-: tirk-.

*To*: tirx; tirk-; *Ka*: tiri; *Kod*: tir-; *Tu*: tirig-; *Te*: tiri.

*Kol*: tirg-; *Nk*: tirg-; *Go*: tiritana; *Kui*: tihpa; *Kur*: tīrnā.

Barton did not record a form tuġ meaning 'turn', but the majority of the Dravidian languages indicate the existence of such a form; du > tug > tirg. Even on analogy of the Sumerian forms du, tug — abundant, tug can be reconstructed from du — to turn.

(4) *Sum*: du, tuḡ — split; tear asunder.

teṛi — to burst asunder, split; break, cut *DED*. 2829, 2830.

*Ma*: teṛikka — to cut off; *Ka*: tiṛi — to cut; *Te*: t(r)egu — tear, cut.

It is interesting to note the change *Sum*: tuḡ > *Te*: t(r)egu.

(5) *Sum*: du — press, with the hand.

*Ta*: tuṭakku — to catch hold of. tie: totu — to touch, *DED*. 2865 and 2703; *Ko*: torv — to put arms around.

*Ka*: tuḏu — to join; put on: tuṭakku — grasp; *Kur*: tuṛsg — to touch; *Sum*: du (tug); *Kur*: tuṛsg-.

### 2.11 Sign No. 182: The original picture was a doubled arrow. This suggested co-operation, help, aid, etc.

*Sum*: daḡ, taḡ — help, assist (M. 3055)

help, aid <B. 4536)

gather, combine (B. 4535)

tread, march (B. 4538)

haste (B. 4539).

(1) *Sum*: daḡ, taḡ — help, assist, aid.

*Ta*: taru, tār, tā — to give, bring, *DED*. 2526.

*Ma*: taru, tār, tā — give, bring.

*Ko*: ta`r-, ta\ taḏ-, take-.

*To*: to`r- ta\ taš- take-.

*Ka*: tar-, tār, tā-, take-; *Kod*: tar-, ta' — to give.

*Go*: tattānā-; tarā — to bring.

In Sumerian taḡ — 'assist', 'aid' is used in all the persons, as such, has no restricted sense as *Ta*: tā/ tār/ taru etc. are used in the 1st. and 2nd persons.

(2) *shw*: daḡ, taḡ — gather, combine.

*Ta*: taṛu — embrace; join; copulate, *DED*. 2543.

*Ma*: taṛukuka — hold fast, embrace; *Ko*: take — to carry in arms.

*Ka*: taṛke-, takke — an embrace; tarbu — embrace: amount of wood. *Kod*: tabb — to embrace; *Tu*: tark — to jump; leap over.

Compare *Sum*: taḡ with *Ka*: tāgu. Historically tāgu is earlier than tāvu; tāgu > tāvu; g > v (b).

*Sum*: tag/*To*: ta 'give' may be compared with *Sum*: maḡ/ *Ta*: mā 'great' (Sign No. 56).



## 2.12 Sign No. 17: The sign is a picture of 'water in the mouth'.

*Sum:* nag — sip (B. 870); drink (B. 872)

gu — beverage (B. 871). (1) *Sum:*  
nag — sip; drink.

*Ta:* nakku — to lick, *DED.* 2945; *Ma:* nakkuka — lick:  
*Ko:* nak-.

*To:* nok-; *Ka:* nakku; *Kod:* nakk-; *Tu:* nakkuni; *Te:* nāku.

*Kol:* na`k-; *Nk:* nāk-; *fti:* nek-; *Gtf:* nak-; *Go:* nākānā.

*Konda:* nāk-; *Kiti:* nāka; *Kiwi:* nākali.

Sumerian word-final -g develops into -k- in word medial position -g > -k-

(2) *Sum:* gu — beverage; drink.

*la:* kuti — to drink; n — beverage, *DEO.* 1378, *Ma:*  
kuti — to drink.

*Ko:* kuṛy; *To:* kuṛt-; *Ka:* kuṛi; *Kod:* kuṛi; *Tu:*  
kuṛcuni; *Te:* kuṛucu.

g > k.

## 2.13 Sign No. 80: (See the pictographic script on frontispiece) Picture of a young bird in process of being hatched from an egg.

*Sum:* maš (ires- No. 32)

bir (AV. Syl. 78)

a kid; (B. 2030)

lamb; young child (B. 2025)

cattle (B. 2026)

young; offspring (B. 2027).

sprout; offspring (B. 2028).

(1) *Sum:* maš — a kid, lamb, young child; cattle; young; off-  
spring, sprout.

*Ta:* maṛi — young of sheep, *DED.* 3901; *Ma:* maṛi —  
offspring, the young of animals; *Ko:* mayr — young of  
animals.

*To:* maṛy — young of animals and birds; *Ka:* maṛi —  
the young of any animal; a young child, a shoot:  
sapling.

*Tu:* m̄ari — a young animal; *Te:* maraka — a kid:  
*Co:* marrī — son.  
*Br:* mār — son; boy, lad; mat — he-goat (Bray, Brahui, p. 203).

The original significance of the pictograph namely 'young of birds' still survives in Toda. All the semantic ranges of the Sumerian form *mas* are found in the various languages of the family.

For  $s > r$ , cf. *Sum:* muš — 'three'; *Ka:* mūr̄u.

(2) *Sum:* bir — offspring, child, young of any animal; bila — son, offspring; child, young (Ball. *CS.* p. 82).

*Ta:* piḷlai — child, son, youth, daughter, young of many animals;  
*Ka:* piḷle, pilla — child, young of any animal

*Tu:* piḷle — child, baby; *Te:* pilla — child, baby; young of any animal; *Koi:* pilla — baby; *Go:* pila — child, young of an animal.

Compare *Sum:* bir/bila with *Go:* pilā; bila > pilā.

For bir/pilā-. cf. *Sum:* bir — rend, tear, cut (B. 8095) Sign No. 342.

*Ta:* piri/piḷ/pila — tear, cut *DED.* 3455 and 3446.

The meaning of the pictograph is given by Barton as 'chick emerging from egg' — from which all the other meanings developed. It is important to note that the ancient grammarian Tolkappiyar gives the meaning 'young of birds' for the term *pillai*' (TW. *Pond.* 559). Compare *Te:* piṭṭa — bird; *Kol:* piṭṭe — young bird, chick; *Go:* piṭe, piṭṭe.

bir > piṭe, piṭṭe — 'chick'.

## 2.14 Sign No. 387: (See the pictographic script on frontispiece) Picture of a two-winged insect.

*Sum:* turn — (sa vi. 11) — a fly (B.9030). num — fly, nim — fly; high (B. 9016)

turn (also read num. nim). flies, winged insects. (Ball. *CS.* p. 141). nim. num. turn (Mercer. *SBSL.* p. 6.)

(1) *Sum:* mm — a fly.

*Ta:* tumpi — bee; dragon-fly. *DED.* 2731; *Ma:* tumpi — bee; dragon.

*Ko:* tib; *To:* tuby; *Ka:* tumbi. tumbe; *Kod.* tumbi;

*Tu:* tumbi.

*Pa:* dund; *Kur:* tumba; *Malt:* tumbe.

(2) *Sum*: num — a fly.

*Ta*: nuḷampu, nuḷlal — gnat, eye-fly, mosquito, *DED*. 3077.

*Ma*: nuṛampu; *Ka*: nusi, nola — a fly, insect; noraju — gnat; an eye-fly; *Te*: nusuma; *Kol*: nulle; *Pa*: nuṛñi; *Go*: nullē.

*Malt*: nuto.

Probably nur (*Pa*: nuṛñi) is the original of num 'fly', nur > num.

For r > m

cf. *Sum*: tur, turn — thigh, waist.

*Ta*: tuṭai; *To*: twaṛ.

cf. *Sum*: nam — province, district (B. 2099); Sign No. 85.

*Ta*: nāṭu; *Ko*: na'r; *Go*: nār.

'r' usually changes into a nasal 'n' or 'm' in word-final position in Sumerian.

cf. *Sum*: kan — dark, black; *Ta*: kār. karu.

*Sum*: kurun — blood; *Ta*: kuruti.

(3) *Sum*: nim — fly.

*Kol*: ni'nga — fly; *Nk*: nīnga — fly, *DED*. 453; -ga of nīnga is a suffix, nīm + ga = nīnga.

(4) *Sum*: nim — high, be high.

*Ta*: nimlr — to grow tall; *DED*. 2382, 3033.

niva — to rise high; *Ka*: nimir — grow high; *Konda*: nin — to rise;

*Kui*: nīnga — to rise.

(5) *Sum*: turn — abundance.

*Ta*: tumpai — assembly; crowd, *DED*. 2739; *Ka*: tombe — multitude.

*Ko*: tumn — full; *Ka*: tumbu — abound; *Kod*: dumb — to become full.

Compare *Sum*: turn — 'a fly', 'abundance' with *Ta*: tumpi — fly;

tumpai — abundance.

## 2.15 Sign No. 531: The sign is a picture of a hog,

*Sum*: kiš — some quadruped, a hog; (B. 11937) pis — a hog.

(1) *Sum*: kiš — a hog.

kiš — a swine, hog, pig. (Ball *CS*. p. 93.)

*Kur*: kiss — pig. *DED*. 1275; *Malt*: kisu — pig:

*Ta*: kēṛal — pig.

The root of kiš/kiss/kisu/kēr — is probably kīr > kil/kīr — to dig. Digging the ground is the characteristic of this animal.

For kiš/kēr —

cf. *Sum*: kiš — hair of the head.

*Go*: kelk — hair.

*Kui*: kelu, kedu.

cf. *Sum*: kiš/kil/kin — multitude.

*Ta*: kilai — host; multitude.

(2) *Sum*: piš — pig.

piš (biš: from an older baš?);

a wild boar; vid — kiš — the other value of the character (Assyrian — loan word piazu — swine, hog seems to be a trilit imitation of baz = bas) (Ball. CS. p. 119).

*Kuwi*: pazzi (z = j); pajji — pig. *DED*. 3326; *Kui*: paji.

*Ta*: panri, vanri; *Ma*: panni; *Ko*: paj; *Ka*: pandi;

*Kod*: pandi.

*Tit*: panji; *Te*: Pandi; *Pa*: pend; *Ca*: paṇḍ; *Go*: paddi.

*Konda*: panri.

It is likely that the original form was baš — baž, as Barton suggests. Baš/baz > pazzi in *Kttwi*: The change of the back vowel 'a' to the front vowel 'i' (paz > pis) was due to the phonetic habits of the Semitic people, and this feature is generally observed in the Sumerian language of the Post-Gudean period (2400-1800 B.C.).

### 3. THE PARENT LANGUAGE

#### 3.1 SUMERIAN AND PROTO-DRAVIDIAN

Is Sumerian a Pre-Dravidian language? This question will naturally be raised by students of Indo-European linguistics familiar with Hittite records. Hittite is generally considered a Pre-Indo-European language as it shows certain un-Indo-European characteristics that are not reconstructable for the family as a whole. On the other hand, Archaic Sumerian as seen in the Pre-Gudean records does not show any un-Dravidian characteristics. From what has been shown in section 2 above, it is clear that both Sumerians and Dravidians spoke the same language and probably lived in some mountainous region for a long time before being separated from each other. The importance of the Archaic Sumerian language lies in the fact that it has preserved the earliest literary records of the family. A comparison of the vocabulary of that language with that of the Dravidian languages shows that the phonetic habits of those who spoke them were essentially the same. Therefore, it is easier to conclude that Archaic Sumerian had retained many features of the parent language which in varying degrees are shared by the spoken languages of the family.

#### 3.2 PROTO-DRAVIDIAN CHARACTERISTICS

The following, it is submitted, are some of the main characteristics of the parent or proto-language:

- **Vowels:** Originally a three vowel system prevailed in the proto-language. The four Sumerian vowels — a, u, i and e may be reduced into a, u, and i. The back vowels a and u were extensively used in the earliest period of Sumerian linguistic history. There was no contrast in vowel length in Sumerian. This feature may be reconstructed for the parent language. Cf. *Sum*: mud; *Ta*: mūṭu, muṭṭai etc. (see 2.7). An unlauded vowel u should be reconstructed for the parent language (see 2.8; 2.10 etc.).
- **Consonants:** No distinction was made between the surd and sonant consonants either in word-initial or final position in the parent language. Compare the Dravidian cognates for 'cloth'.

**Sign No. 481 b:** A garment (It was a cloth with two stripes across it).

*Sum*: tu. tug — garment (B. 10551); tuk — garment; tukul — garment; tugini — garment (M. 3305) Sign No. 204. *Ta*: tukil, tuyil — fine cloth. *DED.* 2687; *Ma*: tukil, tuyil — fine cloth; *Ka*: dukula, dugula — fine cloth.

The primary root of the Sumerian forms *tu*, *tug*, *tuk*, *tukul* and *tugini* is undoubtedly 'tu'. This primary root 'tu' develops into 'tug' and 'tuk' in Archaic Sumerian and 'tugini' and 'tukul' in the post-Gudean period of the Sumerian language. These illustrations clearly show that the medial -k-/g in the Dravidian languages was once a final consonant in the parent language, as seen in the Archaic Sumerian records. There was no phonemic opposition between k/g, t/d and p/b.

Kannada d- in word-initial position (*dukula*) is not accidental. Sumerian illustrations are many to show that there existed no distinction between the surd t- and sonant d- in word-initial position, exx:

**Sign No. 427:**

*Sum:* *dun* — a kind of garment (B. 9881).

*Ta:* *tun̄i* — cloth; *Ma:* *tun̄i* — cloth; *Ko:* *tun̄y* — cloth; *Kod:* *tun̄i* — cloth.

For the Sumerian d- (*dun*), the Dravidian languages show t- (*tuni*). The initial k/g variant may be seen from the following illustration:

**Sign No. 101:** Sign originally represented a loin cloth.

*Sum:* *gad* — garment; cloth.

*Ta:* *kantai* — loin cloth, *DED.* 991; *Te:* *kanduva*; upper garment.

*Kol:* *khandva* — cloth; *kandva* — garment; *Nk:* *khanda* — garment.

*Pa:* *ganda* — garment; *Ga:* *garnda* — garment.

In these illustrations Sumerian g- is represented by g- / kh- and k-in .

Thus the distinction 'k/g, t/'d. and p/b in the various languages of the family was originally of phonetic and not of phonemic nature. This feature is reconstructed for the parent language.

(3) **Agglutination:** Sumerian is an agglutinative language and recognized as such by almost all the Sumerologists.<sup>17</sup> Thus it differs in its fundamentals from the Indo-European and the Semitic languages.

The agglutinative principles in operation during the Pre-Gudean period of the Sumerian linguistic history were the same as those in Dravidian. The Archaic Sumerian was a language of simple roots often of monosyllabic structure. As Langdon points out, the grammar was in such a primitive state that the verbal system of later Sumerian had not yet been attained (see 1.4).

It is clear that there was no barrier between morphological and syntactic structures in the parent language.

Examine the following examples:

*Sum:* a-ra-zu "supplication" (Langdon, *SGCP*. 203).

*Ta:* aṭanku "supplication" aṭakku.

*Ma:* aṭannuka; aṭakkuka.

*Ko-* arg, - ark-

*Ka:* aḍangu. aḍaku, aḍagu, aḍacu.

*Te;* aḍagu, aḍacu.

*Malt:* arge.

a-ra-zu in Sumerian is a compound of three primary roots: a- 'in', 'inside', ra- 'go\ 'get in', ku > zu — 'towards', 'direction'. Thus a-ra-zu means 'get inside', 'be obedient', 'be submissive' etc,

The Kannada forms aḍaku & aḍacu are the cognates of the Sumerian form arazu (a-ra-zu). The original r (ra) changes into t/d/r in the various languages of the family.

The fact that the order of the three words a- ra- zu is retained in the secondary roots of almost all the languages of the Dravidian family is a clear proof of their former unity in the distant past.

### 3.3 THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE PARENT LANGUAGE

The classification of Archaic Sumerian as a Dravidian language has just begun. In the present state of Sumero-Dravidian studies, it is too early to inquire into the original home of the parent or proto-language. However, a few tentative hints are offered below to guide further research in this field:

- (1) The Sumerians were not an indigenous race inhabiting the Babylonian plains. They were immigrants. The evidence of archaeology shows that Proto-Euphrateans or Ubaidians were the original inhabitants of southern Babylonia.<sup>18</sup> Sumerians conquered the aborigines and established their kingdom first in the sea coast cities of the Persian Gulf.
- (2) Sumerian traditions as enshrined in the Old Testament reveal that they journeyed from the East and emigrated into Babylonia. The following remarks of Sir Leonard Woolley are of interest:

"Quoting probably some legend of the Sumerians themselves the Old Testament says that 'the people journeyed from the East and came into the plain of *Shinar* (which is Babylon) and dwelt there', and of recent years excavations so far away to the East as the Valley of the Indus river have produced remains of an early civilization which has certain elements in common with what we find in Mesopotamia. The Sumerians believed that they came into the country with their

civilization already formed, bringing with them the knowledge of agriculture, of working in metal, of the art of writing 'since then' said they 'no new inventions have been made'."19

- (3) H. R. Hall goes farther than Sir Leonard Woolley and identifies the Sumerian skulls as that of the Dravidian. Says he:

"and it is to this Dravidian ethnic type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance, so far as we can judge from his monuments. He was very like a southern Hindu of the Dekkan (who still speaks Dravidian languages). And it is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian race which passed, certainly by land, perhaps also by sea, through Persia to the valley of the Two Rivers. It was in the Indian home (perhaps the Indus valley) that we suppose for them that their culture developed. There their writing may have been invented and progressed from a purely pictorial to a simplified and abbreviated form, which afterwards in Babylonia took on its peculiar 'cuneiform' appearance owing to its being written with a square-ended stilus on soft clay."20

- (4) The similarity between the undeciphered script of the Indus Valley and the partially deciphered Archaic Sumerian script of the Jemdet Nasr sites, clearly points to the unity of both the scripts at a date about 3500 b.c. (see 1.4).
- (5) The fact that the Semitic influence found in the Post-Gudean period (2400-1800 B.C.) of the Sumerian language is entirely absent in the Dravidian languages of India shows that the Indian Dravidians were the native inhabitants of their own country. It is to be noted that Brahui shows some features of the language of the Post-Gudean period. Therefore, it may be concluded that there existed a closer unity between the later Sumerian language and Brahui than between the former and the other Dravidian languages which had been cut off from the Sumero-Brahui group at an early date.
- (6) The phonetic and the semantic values attributed to the early Sumerian signs, sound-values or words are also attributed to their Dravidian cognates. This points to the strong unity that existed in the parent language before its disintegration into various dialects.
- (7) Taking into consideration the evidence of the archaeology and legends of Sumer, the script, the system of writing, and the vocabulary of her language, it is probable that the Indian Dravidians moved towards Babylonia and Asia Minor at a date prior to 3500 B.C.



## END NOTES

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# **AFFINITIES BETWEEN DRAVIDIAN AND SUMERIAN**

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# AFFINITIES BETWEEN DRAVIDIAN AND SUMERIAN

1. The Sumerians and their language.
2. Sumerian and Comparative Dravidian Phonology.
  - A. Sumerian Vowels.
  - B. Sumerian Consonants.
3. The Dravidian Development.

## The Sumerians and their Language.

- 1.1 There are three well-known language families of agglutinative structure known to history. These are Sumerian, Ugro-Finnish and Dravidian. Attempts have been made earlier to connect the ancient Sumerian language with the Ugro-Finnish group without success.<sup>1</sup> The linguistic affinities between Sumerian and Dravidian have not been the subject of any paper known to the author.

The aim of the present paper study is to frame laws of phonetic correspondences of Sumerian and Dravidian vocabulary and establish that these correspondences are not matters of mere chance but there is some system in their occurrence. It is evident that Sumerian possesses a phonological system of an early stage of Dravidian. No attempt is made in this paper to compare the grammatical or structural correspondences as the available data in Sumerian itself does not show any uniformity in the morphological and syntactic structures of Archaic Sumerian (3500 B.C.) and the language of the post-classical period (2000-1800 B.C.). "The grammar of the language of the Archaic pictographic Inscriptions from Jemdet Nasr is in such a primitive state that the verbal system of Sumerian had not yet been attained. The signs have the same sense as in the later Sumerian texts."<sup>2</sup>

- 1.2 The affinity between Sumerian and Dravidian ethnic type has been the subject of a theory by H.R. Hall. He states:  
The ethnic type of the Sumerians, so strongly marked in their statues and reliefs, was as different from those of the races which surrounded them as was their language from those of the Semites, Aryans or others; they were decidedly Indian in type.....and it is to this Dravidian ethnic

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<sup>1</sup> Bobula, ida Miriam: Sumerian Affiliations, Washington, 1951, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> S. Langdon: 'The indus Script' in Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization by John Marshall, Vol II, 1931, London, p. 453

type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance, so far as we can judge from his monuments. He was very likely a southern Hindu of the Dekkan (who still speaks Dravidian languages). And it is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian race which passed, certainly by land, perhaps also by sea, through Persia to the valley of the Two Rivers. It was in the Indian home (perhaps the Indus valley) that we suppose for them that their culture developed. There their writing may have been invented and progressed from a purely pictorial to a simplified and abbreviated form- which afterwards in Babylonia took on its peculiar "cuneiform" appearance owing to its being written with a square-ended stilus on soft clay. On the way they left the seeds of their culture in Elam. This seems a plausible theory of Sumerian origins.<sup>3</sup>

This theory of H. R. Hall finds support in the numerous linguistic correspondences of words denoting physical and cultural anthropology.

1.3 The history of the Sumerian people is known only through the interpretation of the

records and monuments left by them in Babylonia 4000 years ago. Until 1850 no one suspected the unearthing of thousands of clay tablets and stone inscriptions left behind under the sandy mounds of Southern Babylonia by these people who probably built the first high civilization in the history of man. In 1850, Edward Hincks, the Irish pioneer of Near Eastern Archeology, first expressed the belief that the Semitic people were preceded in Mesopotamia by another people who invented the cuneiform system of writing. Basing his argument on the fact that in the Semitic languages the stable element is the consonant while the vowel is extremely variable, he said that it seemed unnatural the Semites should invent a syllabic system of orthography in which the vowel seemed to be as unchanging as the consonant. The distinction between soft and hard palatals and dentals is a significant feature of the Semitic languages, the cuneiform syllabary did not express this distinction. The great majority of the syllabic values for cuneiform signs seemed to go back to words or elements for which no Semitic equivalent could be found. Therefore he argued, the cuneiform system of writing was invented by some non-Semitic people who had preceded the Semites in Babylonia.<sup>4</sup> In 1869 Jules Oppert declared that these people and their language should be called Sumerian, basing his conclusions on the title "King of Sumer and Akkad" found in the inscriptions of some of the early rulers.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> H.R. Hall: The Ancient History of the Near East, London 1913, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> On the Language and mode of writing of the ancient Assyrians; Report of the 20th meeting of the British association for the advance of Science held in Edinburgh, London, 1850.

<sup>5</sup> Samuel Noah Kramer: The Sumerians, Their history, culture and character, Chicago 1963, p.21.

A century of excavations in the ancient Sumerian cities of Ur, Eridu, Erech, Kish, Lagash, Nippur etc had unearthed numerous clay tablets and stone inscriptions, statues and steles.

The subject matter of these Sumerian documents vary; some are literary texts; others are administrative, economic and legal in character, consisting of inventories of all types and sizes, promissory notes and receipts, deeds of sales, marriage contracts, wills and court decisions. These documents also contain place names, names of deities and persons. A few Sumerian Grammatical Texts also have come down to us.

1.4 The linguistic history of Sumerian may be divided into the following periods:

**1. The Archaic Period: 3500-3000 B.C.**

The tablets of this early period are pictographic in origin archaic in character. The pictographic Inscriptions from Jemdet Nasr and the pictographic stone tablets of Kish may be said to belong to this period. These are not fully deciphered yet. According to Langdon, "though the language of these texts is Sumerian, the grammar is in such a primitive state that the verbal system of Sumerian had not yet been attained."

**2. The Ur-Dynastic Period: 3000-2400 B.C.**

The tablets of the period of the Three Dynasties of Ur are in the main clay tablets written in the cuneiform (that is, 'wedge-shaped') script developed from the earlier pictographic signs.<sup>6</sup> The writing is mainly syllabic in character with separate signs for the four vowels a, i, e, and u.

**3. The Sumero-Babylonian Period: 2400-2000 B.C.**

This period covers the Dynasties of Isin (2357-2132 B.C), Larsa and Babylon (2232-1928 B.C).<sup>7</sup> The characteristics of the Sumerian language during this Sumero-Babylonian period had changed considerably and much Semitic influence is traced. Many of the Sumerian epics were composed during this period. The writing system shows that the cuneiform script had been fully conventionalized and its pictographic origin had been lost with the passage of time.

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<sup>6</sup> Geo. A. Barton, *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*, Leipzig, 1913, p. XV.

<sup>7</sup> Stephen Langdon, *A Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy*, Paris, 1911, p. 5.



The Sumerian language of the Archaic (3500-3000 B.C) and Ur-dynastic (3000-2400 B.C) periods had preserved well its Proto-Dravidian elements. The vocabulary of these earlier periods shows that these are essentially Dravidian, with few, if any, foreign element in it. The last phase of the Sumerian language exhibits some un-Dravidian characteristics especially in the verbal structure. The entry into Sumerian of elements of Semitic pronunciation may be due to the cosmopolitan population of the main Sumerian cities.

Sumerian continued to be the language of Royalty and living literary vehicle till about 2100 B.C after which it became the 'church language' of the Semitic priests and disappeared altogether from use by about 1800 B.C.

- 1.5: The Sumerian language, as come down to us today, represents the language of written documents. It is not a single standard uniform language. The records come from different places and widely separated times – Archaic Sumerian was more distant in time from Neo-Babylonian Sumerian. The documents record a number of variants for each linguistic forms in usage. Barton lists 366 signs with 507 variants for the Archaic period but 342 signs with 190 variants for the latest period of Sumerian history. It is evident that with the standardization of linguistic forms in usage, the variants disappeared altogether. In the study of a dead language, it is not always easy to differentiate the variant from the standard form, especially in Sumerian it is most difficult as the written records were the works of Semitic scribes. One should bear in mind the following words of warning given by S. N. Kramer:

Sumerian is studied and analyzed as if it were a written mass of unspoken words which the scribe treated as his particular domain; he added vowels or removed them, assimilated them or allowed them to remain unchanged, wrote or neglected to write consonants, without any regard to the living, spoken language.

What makes it so difficult for the student to rid himself of this misguided and misleading approach is the fact that the basis for the decipherment of Sumerian rests largely upon the works of Semitic scribes who themselves treated Sumerian as a dead, literary tongue, and who were no longer aware of the finer nuances, grammatical and phonetic, which had governed the living language, and who, moreover, for pedagogic reasons, found it practical to neglect some of them.

A clear recognition of the distinction between the Sumerian's pronunciation of Sumerian and the Semite's pronunciation of that language is of crucial importance.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> S. N. Kramer, 'Studies in Sumerian Phonetics'

Archiv Orientalni, Vol VIII, No I, May 1936. p. 21 & 25.

- 1.6: The Sumerian language as represented in the Cuneiform system of writing consists, according to Delitzsch, eighteen alphabets.<sup>9</sup> These are: a, i, e, u; b, p; g, k; d, t; l, r; m, n, g; z, s, s.

The vowels: Stephen Langdon in his Sumerian Grammar defines the four vowels thus:

The script evolved by the Sumerians has the capacity of writing but four vowel sounds, low back a, high back u with labial rounding, mid-palatal e and front palatal i. It is probable that, when a separate vowel sign was employed for any of these vowels, the long vowel was intended. To express any of these sounds in combination with consonants separate, syllabic signs had to be chosen.<sup>10</sup>

There was no contrast in vowel-length in Sumerian. The four vowel sounds derived from the cuneiform signs may be reduced to three vowel phonemes. a, i/e and u. There is no situation where a meaning hinges on the differentiation of i and e as separate vowel phonemes. Despite the possible phonetic difference between these two varieties of high front vowel characterized by the conventional transliteration of cuneiform signs with i and e, there was no phonemic distinction between them. At any event, no case of minimal contrast is available and there is evidence of fluctuation between the two.

The consonants: The fourteen consonants b, p; g, k; d, t; l, r; m, n, g; z, s; s may be reduced to about ten phonemes. There was no case of minimal contrast among the three series of stops b/p; g/k; d/t and the sibilants s/z.

The phonemic character of these letters is yet to be reconstructed.

- 1.7: Sumerian roots are monosyllabic in character. Ex:

V     a 'I' 'in' 'father' Ta. yān Ka.ān 'I'  
      e 'house' Ta. il  
      u 'roar' 'create' Ta. u 'roar'

VC    ad 'father' Ta. attan  
      as 'desire' Ta. acai  
      el 'bright' Ta. el

CV    gu 'a cry' 'a call' Ta. kū  
      ba 'half' Ta. pati

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<sup>9</sup> Dynelley Prince, Review of Delitzsch's Sumerisches Glossar, AJSL, Vol XXX, p. 161.

<sup>10</sup> ibid footnote 7: p. 33-34.

CVC kud – ‘cut into two’ ‘kill’ Ta. kuttu  
 kur ‘mountain’ Ta. kuriñci  
 tuk ‘cloth’ ‘garment’ Ta. tukil  
 tum ‘a fly’ Ta. tumpi

Bisyllabic words are few in number.

VCV ara ‘grind’ Ta. arai  
 aka ‘cry’ ‘howl’ Ta. akavu  
 uru ‘city’ Ta. ur, uru

CVCV buru ‘hole’ Ta. purru

CVCVC kurun ‘blood’ ‘red’ Ta. kuruti  
 Nitag ‘stand’ Go. nitana Ta. nil

1.8: The structure of the Sumerian language has been defined thus:

Sumerian is an agglutinative language; its most characteristic feature, therefore, is that it strings together, by simple juxtaposition, a number of words intended by the speaker to convey a certain idea. Each such chain of words is governed by a chief idea to which all the other words joined to it stand in the relation of modifiers. There are, on the whole, only two classes of words which can govern such a chain, namely, substantives and words conveying a verbal idea.<sup>11</sup>

Ex: a – na ‘how’ ‘what’ Br. ant Ta. enna  
 a – ba ‘whoever’ ‘whom’ Ta. evar  
 kin-da ‘dig’ Ta. kintu  
 ka – du ‘to cry’ ‘growl’ Ta. kattu  
 kud – da – ag.a ‘tax’ Ta. kuttakai  
 a – ra – zu ‘supplication’ ‘submission’ Ka. adacu, aḡagu  
Ta. aṭakka

In the field of grammar, Sumerian like Dravidian has no grammatical gender, but recognizes a distinction between the Personal and the Irrational. No Sumerian word begins with two consonants as in Tamil.

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<sup>11</sup>Arno Poebel, Grammatical Texts, Philadelphia, 1914, p. 9

# Sumerian and Comparative Dravidian Phonology\*

## A. Sumerian Vowels.

### 2. 1: Sum. a; Dr. a/ā

#### Initial.

Sum. al 'to rule; conquer'. DED. 341. Ta. āl 'to rule'

Ma. āluka. Ka. al Kod. ā l- Tu. ālu

Sum. ab 'cow'. DED. 283. Ko. a.v Ka. avu, Te. āvu. Ta. ā, ān

Sum. ab 'cow'. DED. 312. Ta. ar 'shout, roar'. Ma. ār-

Ko. a. r. Ka. ar Kod. ara- Tu. ar-- Te. Arcu Pa. ar-- Kui. ar.

Sum. a—ra—za 'supplication, submission'. DED. 56 Ka. adagu, adaku, adacu, Te. Adagu, adacu Ta. aṭaṅku, aṭakku – to submit be subdued' Ko. aṛḡ—Kui. āṛpa Malt. Aṛḡe, aṛke.

Sum. ab/ab—ba 'edler, father' DED. 133. Ta. appu, appan – father. Ma. appan Ka. apa, appa Tu. appa. etc.

Sum. am/ama 'mother' DED. 154. Ka. ama, amma 'mother' Te. Ama, amma Ta. ammā Kol. Ammā, Br. ammā.

### 2. 2: Medial.

Sum. kad 'bind, tie' DED 961. Ta. kaṭṭu 'to tie bind'.

Ma. kaṭṭu. Ko. kaṭ – Ka. kaṭṭu Te. kaṭṭu Kol. kaṭ—

Pa. kaḍk—kaṭṭ—

Sum. kalam, 'Land, country,' DED. 1160. Ta. kaḷam, kaḷan 'place; open space; threshing floor, battle field' Ma. kalam

Ka. kaḷa Tu. kala Kur. khall – field, piece of land suitable for tillage.

Sum. pad, bad, bar—'see' DED. 3366. Ta. par 'see, look at'

Ma. par—Ka. pār Tu. para Te. pāruva.

### 2. 3: Final

Sum. ara 'grind' DED. 191. Kod. ara 'grind' Ta. aria Ma. arekka

Ka. are Ko. arv—

Sum. ama 'reed' DED. 144. Ma. ama 'a reed'. Ta. amai

Sum. inga 'still' DED. 351. Te. inka, ika, iḡa 'still farther', 'hereafter', 'henceforth.'

Ta. innum

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\* The Sumerian words cited in the following pages are chiefly drawn from

1) Geo. A. Barton, The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing, heipzig. 1913.

2) Edmond. I. Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, the University Musewn, Philadelphia, 1959.

3) Stephen Langdon, A Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy, Paris, 1911.

The Dravidian words are drawn from T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau, A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary. Oxford, 1961.

2. 4: Sum. u, Dr. u/u

Initial

Sum. ur, uru 'city' DED. 643. Ta. ūr – 'village town, city'  
Ma. ūr Ko. u. r. To. u. r Ka. ūr Kod. u. ri Tu. ūru Te. ūru  
Kol. u.r. Nk. ūr  
Sum. ur, uru, ušu, 'one' DED. 834. Konda. unri 'one',  
Go. undī, undi Ta. or, oru, onru, Ma. or, oru Ko. or, od  
To. wir, os Ka. or, orgu, Tu. or, oru  
Sum ur, uru, uš – 'fix, plant' DED. 650. Ka. ūru 'fix'  
Kod. u.r- Tu. ūruni Ta. ūnru Ma. unnuka Te. ūnu  
Kui. uha, usa

2. 5: Medial

Sum. gud 'nest' DED.1563. Ka. gūdu 'nest' Kod. gu.di Tu. gūdu  
Te. gūdu Pa. gūda Ga. gūde Go. gūdā Kuwi. kūda Ta. kūtu  
Ma. kūtu. Ko. gu.r To. ku.d  
Sum. kud, gud 'stab, slay' DED. 1429. Ta. kuttu 'stab, bore'  
Ma. kuttuka Ko. kut- To. Kut- Kod. kutt- Konda. gut-  
Kui. kuta Br. khutting  
Sum. kur 'horse. DED. 1423. Ta. kutirai 'horse'. Ma. kutira  
Ko. kudyr Ka. kudire, kudire Kod. kudire Te. kudira, gurramu  
Kol. gurram Nk. ghurram Konda. gurram Kuwi. gūrumi  
Sum. kurun, gurun 'blood; red' DED. 1489 Ta. kuruti 'blood, red' Ma. Kuruti

2. 6: Final

Sum. buru 'hole, cavity' DED. 3556. Ta. purru 'hole, anthill'  
Ma. purru Ka. puttu, putta Kod. putti Te. putta Kol. puṭṭa  
Nk. puṭṭa Go. Puttī Konda. puṛhi Kui. pusi, Kuwi. pūci  
Kur. puttā Malt. pute  
Sum. Mulu- 'perfect' full' DED. 4095. Ta. mūru 'all, entire', murumai 'perfection',  
Ma. muru Tu. murka.  
Sum. uzu 'flesh. DED.626. Kui. ūju 'flesh' Kuwi. ūyū  
Ta. u, un, Ko. u

2. 7: Sum. i/e; Dr. i/ī; e/ē

Initial

Sum. ir 'this' DED.351 Kur. ir-īs 'this man'- Malt. 'ir, ih  
Ta. ī, itu, in, Ka. i, ī.  
Sum. ir 'seize, drag' DED. 461 Ta. ir 'to drag, pull, draw',  
Ma. iruka Ka. ir, Pa. irp- Ga. ir-  
Sum. iress, eres 'God, Goddess, king DED.448. Ta. irai  
'Supreme god, king; iraiavan, iraiivi Ma. irān Ka. ere, ereya  
Te. era

2. 8: Medial

Sum. kil, gil, giš 'bolt, bar' DED. 1346. Ta. kīl, kīlakam  
'bolt' Ma. kīlam Ko. ki.l Ka. kīl, kīlu, kīla Tu. kīlu, kīlu Te. kīlu  
Sum. kis 'pig' DED. 1275. Kur. kiss 'pig' Malt. kisu Ta. kēr.al  
Sum. biṭ, bit 'house' DED, 4419. Ka. biḍu 'house, abode'

Kod. bu.đi Tu. biđu, būđu Ta. vītu Ma. vītu Ko.viř- Te.vīđu

Sum. mili, mele ‘throat, neck’ DED. 3971, 4168 Kur. melkhā ‘throat, neck’ Malt. melqe Ta. miřaru Ma. miřaru Ko. miř To. mir Ka. meřre Te. međa  
Sum. Geś ‘hear’ DED. 1677. Ta. kēl ‘to hear’ Ma. kēlkkā  
Ko.ke.l- Ka. kēl Kod. ke-l- Tu. keņuni Kui kelpa Go. kēnjānā

2. 9: Final

Sum. ari, ara – ‘Foe, enemy’ Ta. ari – enemy.

Sum. i-de ‘just now’ DED. 351. Tu. itte ‘just now’ Ta. itā, ito

Ma. itā Go. idrā Ko. ily Ka. ine

Sum. kaxli ‘throat, neck’ DED. 1151. Ta. karuttu ‘neck, throat’

Ma. karuttu Ko. karł Ga. gađli Konda. gađli

### **B. Sumerian Consonants.**

2. 10: K/g/g

Initial.

Sum. kum/gum ‘pound, crush’ DED. 1536 Ta. kummu ‘to pound in a mortar’

kumi ‘over pund’ kumai ‘to beat or pund’. Ma. kummu

Ko. kum- To.kum- Ka.kummu, gummu, Te. kummu, gummu

Kod. kumm- Go. kurumānā

Sum. kis/keś/gir ‘bind, join’ DED. 1287. Ta. kiřtu ‘to draw near, tie, bind Ma.

kiřa To. kiř- Ka. kiřtu, giřtu, giřu

Kod. kiř- Tu. kiřta, giřta Te. kiřtu, giřtu

Sum. gun ‘stoop, bend’ DED. 1605 Ta.kūn ‘bend, curve; ‘kūnu- ‘bend down’ Ma.

kūnuka Ko.ku.n- To.ku.n Ka. kūn, kūnu, gūnu

Tu.gūnu, Te.gūnu.

Sum. gar ‘boundary, limit’ DED. 929. Ta.katai ‘end, limit, boundary’ Ma. gađu

Ko. Kar To. kađo Ka. kađe, gađa, gađi

Kod. kade Te. kađa, gađuvu Kur.kařna Malt. kaře

2. 11. Medial

Sum. u-gu ‘loose.’ DED.480 Ka. ugu ‘to become loose. Ta. uku

Ma. ukka Ko. u.c- Te.ūcu Pa. uy- uv-

Sum. digir, dingir ‘God’ DED. 2626. Ta. tinkal. ‘moon’ (god).

Ma. tinkal Ko. tigł- To. tigił Ka. tingal Kod. tinga ‘month’.

Tu. tingolu

Sum. sugur ‘Braids, chignon (hair) DED. 2211. Ta. curiyal, curul, curuļai ‘curl (as hair) Ma. curuļ Ko. curř- Ka. surku ‘to contract’ surul- Tu. suruņtuni Te. surugu ‘shrink’

Sum. aka ‘cry, howl’ DED. 11. Ta. akavu ‘call, summon, ‘sound.

Ma. akiruuka ‘to roar, bellow

2. 12: Final

Sum. tug, tuk 'garment, cloth' DED. 2687. Ta. tukil, tuyil 'fine cloth' Ma. tukil, tuyil Ka. dukula, dugula.

Sum. muḡ 'top' DED. 4030, Ta. muṭi 'top as of mountain, knot'

Ma. muṭi Ko. mury To. mury Ka. muḍi Te. muḍi Kol. mudi Br. muṭṭukh.

Sum. nag 'drink, lick' DED. 2945 Ta. nakku 'to lick' Ma. nakkuka

Ko. nak- Ka. nakku, Kod. nakk- Tu. nakkuni, Te. nāku Kol. na.k

Nk. nak- Kui. nāka

2. 13: t/d

Initial

Sum. tur/tuš/dur 'buttocks, thigh' DED. 2704. Ta. tuṭai, toṭai

'thigh' Ma. tuṭa To. twar Ka. toḍe Kod. toḍe Tu. tuḍe

Kol. dut. Kuwi. tuntu

Sum. ti/tig/teg/dig/dig/tib 'touch, take' DED. 2804 Ta. tekku

'to receive, take' tevvu-to get, take. Tev. tevvu, tevu 'taking'

Ka. tege, tegu, tegi Tu. teguni, deppuni Te. tigiyyu, tigusu, tiviyu, tivvu, tivu, tīyu,

Kol. tiv Nk. tivv-

Sum. tig/dig 'die' DED. 2802. Ka. tege, tegi, tegu 'to put out' extinguish' Tu.

tekkuni Te. tegu 'to die' Kol. tik- Nk. tikk-

2. 14: Medial

Sum. ad/ad-da 'father, elder' DED. 121. Ta. attan 'father, elder'

Sum. nitag 'stand' DED. 3043. Go. nittānā, nitana, nitānā, nilānā 'to set up' 'to make to stand'. Kui. nisa 'to stand'

Ta. nil, niṛuvu Ka. nil, nilu

Sum. di/di-di 'move, walk' DED. 2655. Ta. tiri 'wander about, move' Ma. tiri Ka.

tiri Te. tirugu Go. tiritānā

2. 15: Final

Sum. ud 'at once' DED. 798. Ta. uṭaṇ 'at once' Ma. uṭan Ka. oḍan, oḍam, oḍa 'as soon as'.

Sum. mud 'shut in' DED. 4132. Ta. mūṭu 'to cover, shut in'

Ma. muṭuka Ka. mūḍige 'a quiver Go. muṛhuttānā 'to cover up'.

Sum. dad 'great, strong' DED. 2449. Ta. taṭa, taṭam, taṭa 'greatness, largeness'

tati 'become stout' Ma. taṭa, taṭi

Ko. daṭ Ka. daṭṭa, daḍḍa Tu. daṭa Te. daṭṭamu. Kui. daṭa 'strength' strong

Sum. kud 'cut into two; kill destroy, DED Ta. kurai 'to cut'

Ma. kurekka To. kwarf- Ka. koṛe, koṛi Tu. kudupuni Pa. kud-kuḍ-

2. 16: p/b

Initial

Sum. par/bar/bara 'spread out' DED. 3255. Ta. para 'to spread'; paravu, pār

'expanse', Ma. parakka, Ko. pard- To. par Ka. pare

Kod. para- Tu. parapuni Te. parapu Go. parhana Kui. prahpa

Sum. bar 'town, city' DED. 3347. Ta. pāṭi 'town, city, hamlet'

Ma. pāti Ka. pādi Kod. pa.di Te. pādu  
Sum. pad ‘food ration’ DED. 3187. Ta. pati ‘fixed daily allowance for food’ Ma.  
paṭi Ko. pary, To. pory Ka. paḍi Tu. paḍi  
Te. paḍi ‘a measure of capacity’.

2. 17: Medial

Sum. ubar ‘enclosure, wall’ DED. 1644. Ta. cuvar ‘wall’  
Ma. cuvar, cumar  
Sum. aba/abi/ebi ‘who, whoever. DED. 4228. Ka. āve ‘who’ Ta. yāvaṅ  
evan, ēvan. Te. evaḍu, ēbiḍa, evi Koḷ. e.v.  
Sum. nabu/nabi ‘four’ DED. 3024, Kur. naib ‘four’ nākh ‘four things’  
Ta. nāl, nālu, nānku. Kui. nālgi  
Comp. Sum. Daib. ‘head’ Ta. talai Tu. tare  
Sum. dabīn ‘course-flour, bran’ DED. 2537 Ta. taviṭu ‘bran’  
Ma. taviṭu Ka. tavuḍu Kod. tavḍi Tu. tauḍu Te. tavuḍu

2. 18: Final

Sum. dug/dub/tub ‘throw out, spit’ DED. 2725 Ta. tuppū ‘to spit’  
Ma. tuppuka. To. tuf in- Ka. tūpu Kod. tupp- Te. tupukku  
Kur. tuppṇā Malt. tupe, tupgle. ‘spittle’ Kui. sūpa,  
Kuvi. hūpali.  
Sum. sir/sib ‘split, tear’ DED. 1343, 2140. Ta. cīy ‘cut down’; ci ‘to scrape’, cīvu  
‘scrape off’ Ma. cīka/cīvuka Ka. cīvu/civvu ‘to cut htin’, peel’. sigur, sibaṛu,  
sivaṛu – rind. Te. civvu.  
Sum. gub/gum ‘worship, adore’ DED. 1458 & 1574. Ta. kump-iṭu ‘worship’ Ma.  
kump-iṭuka. Ko. kub-ir To. kub-iḍ Ka. kumbu  
Ta. kuppū ‘join hands as in worship’ Ma. kuppuka

2. 19. m

Initial  
Sum. mur ‘back, back side’ DED. 4058. Ta. mutuju ‘back’  
Ma. mutu/mutuku Pa. mutus Go. muṛcul, muṛcur Konda. muṭam  
Kui. musali Kuwi. muressi ‘back bone’  
Sum. mulu ‘sprout’ DED. 4100. Ta. muḷai ‘sprout as shoots’  
Ma. mula To. mil Ka. moḷe Tu. muḷiyuni, muḷe Te. molaka.  
Go. moṛiyana ‘to sprout’  
Sum. maś ‘cattle’ DED. 3932. Ta. māṭu ‘ox, cattle’ Ma. māṭu  
Ko. ma.ṛ

2. 20: Medial

Sum. umaḡ ‘marsh, swamp’ DED. 3932. Ta. umari, umiri ‘marsh samphire. Ma.  
umari  
Sum. numun – ‘seed, sesamum’ DED. 3081. Ta. nūvu ‘sesamum’  
Te. nūvu, nuvvu ‘gingily seed’, Koḷ. nuvvū Nk. nuvv- Pa. nuvul.  
Go. nung  
Sum. ama ‘wild ox’. Ta. āmā ‘wild cow’ etc.



2. 21: Final

Sum. tum ‘Fly, bee’ DED. 2731. Ta. tumpi ‘bee, fly’ Ma. tumpi  
Ko. tib To. tuby Ka. tumbi, tumbe, dumbi Kod. tumbi Tu. tumbi  
Te. tummeda. Pa. dumdi Kur. tumbā, tumbil Malt. tumbe.  
Sum. kam ‘soup’ DED. 927 Ta. kañci ‘rice-water’ Ma. kaññi ‘rice-gruel’ Ko. kaj  
Ka. ganji Kod. kañji Tu. ganji Te. ganji  
Sum. sim ‘throw, butt’ DED. 2099. Ka. cimmu ‘butt, gush out’  
Te. cimmu ‘to throw’

2. 22. n

Initial

Sum. nim ‘Fly’ DED. 453. Kol. ni.nga ‘Fly’ Nk. nīnga-‘Fly’  
Ta. ī Te. īga  
Sum. nim ‘be high – DED. 2382. Ta. nimir/nimir ‘stand upright, grow tall’ Ma.  
nivir, Ka. nimir Tu. nimuruni Te. niguḍu, nivuḍu  
Pa. nikip.  
Sum. nam ‘swallow’ ‘chew’ DED. 2970. Ka. namalu ‘to chew’  
Tu. nauntuni. Te. namalu.

2. 23: Medial

Sum. an/ana/ene ‘what, how’. DED. 4228 Br. ant ‘what’ ; arā, arād ‘which Kui. An  
‘what’ ananju, anaru ‘what man’ adj. ani. Ta. yā, ēn, enna, ennai ‘why’ ‘what’ Ka.  
yā, ā, ēn, enna.  
Sum. kin-da ‘cut, dig’ DED. 1290. Ta. kiṇṭu ‘dig up’ Ma. kiṇṭuka  
Te. ceṇḍu ‘to cut’ Go. kiḍḍī Malt. kin’de  
Sum. an/anu ‘ear of corn’ DED. 2300 Te. ennu, vennu ‘an ear of corn’ Kol. cen.  
Nk. sen Pa. cen Ga. cennu Go. sen

2. 24: Final

Sum. gan/gam ‘red’ DED. 1607. Ko. ken ‘red’ Ka. ke; kem Kod. kem-  
Tu. kem-, canna Ta. cem, cev- Ma. ce, cem Te. cem; ke-kem-  
Sum. dun ‘dig, of the earth’. DED. 2927. Ta. tōṇṭu ‘to dig, bore’, toṭu ‘to dig’. Ma.  
toṇṭuka Ko. to.ḍ- To. twir- Ka. tōḍu  
Kod. to.d- Tu. toduni, tuda ‘bored’ Te. tod- Ga. toṇḍ  
Sum. tun ‘lip’ DED. 2193; 2698. Ta. tuti ‘lip’ Ko. tuc Ka. tuti  
Tu. duḍi Kui. toda. Malt. toro Ta. cuṇṭu, coṇṭu ‘bill, lower lip’  
Ma. cuntu Ka. cuṇḍu Kui. Suḍa.  
Sum. kan ‘black’, be dark’ DED. 1073, 1253, 1175 Ta. kār, kār, karu, karu ‘black,  
dark’ Ma. kār, karu Ko. kar, katal, ka. r  
Ka. kār, kār, kāḍu, kare

2. 25: r

Initial

Sum. ru 'one. DED. 834. Kui. ro, rohe 'one' Kuwi. ro, rondi 'one'

Sum. ru 'throw' DED. 617. Te. ruvvu, ruvvu, rūppu, ruvu 'to throw, fling, toss' Kol.

ruv-

'to throw'

Sum. ra/ra-ag 'noise' DED. 269 & 4237 Ka. race 'noisy'

Te. rajju Kol. raz- Kui. raspa.

Sum. ra/rad/ra-ag 'gnash, rub' DED. 191. Te. rācu, rācu 'to tub'; rāju 'to be rubbed'

Kol. rāk- Kui. rāga Kuwi. rāza

2. 26: Medial

Sum. ru/a-ru 'grant, dedicate' DED. 190. Ta. aruḷ 'grant, bestow'

Ma. aruḷ Ko. arḷ Te. arulu

Sum. ur/uṛu 'to plough' DED/ 592. Ta. uru 'to plough, dig up'

Ma. uṛuga To. usf- Ka. uṛ Kod. u. l Tu. uḍuni Kol. ur- Nk. ur-

Pa. uṛ- Ga. uḍ- Go. uṛana, uḍana Kur. uinā/uynā Malt. use

Sum. bur/buru 'land measure' DED. 3499. Ta. puṭṭi 'measure of capacity', 'land

measure' (8 to 11 ½ acres) Te. puṭṭi

2. 27. Final

Sum. kur 'mountain. DED. 1530 & 1548 Ta. kuṛinci 'hilly tract.

Ma. kuṛu 'hill'. Kod. kundi, Go. kuṛu 'hill'

Sum. dar/tar/dal 'burn, blaze' DED. 2542. Kol. tari- 'to glow'

Nk. tar-Pa. tar- Go. tarmi Ta. taṛal, taṇal Ka. taṇalu, Te. tanuku

Sum. mur/mun; burn, roast' DED. 4099. Ta. muḷi 'to dry, burn'

Ma. muḷi To. muḷy

2. 28. l

Initial

Sum. la 'no, not' DED. 2106. Te. lē- 'be not' ledu 'no, none', lēni 'absent'

Sum. lag 'mix, join' DED. 253. Te. lāyu 'approach'

2. 29. Medial

Sum. pil-la/pel-la 'fail, err' DED 3443. Ta. piṛai 'fail, to do wrong' Ma. piṛa Kol.

piṛs-

Sum. kilim 'mongoose' DED. 1344. Ta. kīri 'mongoose' Ma. kīri

Ka. kīri Kod. ki.ri Kui. kirpeni Kuwi. krāndu

Sum. bir/bila 'child, son' DED. 3449. Ta. piḷḷai 'child, son, youth' Ma. pilla Ka.

pille, pilla, pilla Tu. pille Te. pilla

Kol. pilla Nk. pilla Go. pila Kur. pellō

2. 30: Final

Sum. gal 'be, exist' DED. 1093. Ta. kala 'come into being' kali 'come into being' Te.

kalugu 'be, exist' Kol. kal Kuwi. kalg-

Sum. kil/kin/kiš 'multitude' DED. 1678. Ta. kiḷai 'to multiply, flock'. kēl, 'kindred'

To. kel Ka. keḷe, geḷe, geṇe 'union'

Sum. mul/muš ‘grasshopper, insect, fly’ DED. 3974 To. mutsn ‘grasshopper’ Ko. mitl ‘locust’ Ka. miḍice, miḍite ‘grasshopper, locust’ Tu. moṅṅe Te. miḍuta Kol. miṭṭe Pa. miṭaka Ta. viṭṭil

2. 31: š

Initial

Sum. šar ‘smear’ DED. 2021; 1947. Te. carumu ‘to smear’ Ka. savaru Ta. cāttu Tu. sādike Te. cadu ‘to rub into’.

Sum. šur/sur ‘distress, affliction’ DED. 2250. Ta. cūr ‘affliction’ Ma. cūr ‘affliction’.

Sum. ša/šag ‘heart, inside’ DED. 2302 Ka. cēgu, cēgu ‘heart or core of a tree; essence’. Te. cēga, ceva Ta. cēkam

2. 32. Medial.

Sum. uḡ/uḡu/ušu ‘worm, spider’ DED. 602. Ta. ucu ‘wood worm’ ulu ‘wood worm’ Ma. uḷumpu ‘grain-moth’

Sum. ur/uru/usu/us-um ‘one, alone’ DED. 834. Ta. ōr, oru, onru ‘one’

2. 33: Final

Sum. aš ‘six’ DED. 2051. Ta. āru ‘six’ Ma. āru Ko.a.r To.o.r Ka. āru Kod. a.ri Tu. āji Te. āru Kol. ār Go. sārung, harung, aru Kui. sajgi

Sum. muš ‘three’ DED. 4147. Br. musit ‘three’ musī ‘three times’

Ka. mūru Tu. mūji Te. mūḍu Ga. mūnd. Kui. munji Ta. mūṅru Ma. mūnnu

Sum. kaš/gaš ‘liquor’ DED. 1158. Ta. kaḷ ‘toddy; intoxication’

Ma. kaḷ, kaḷlu Ko. kaḷ Ka. kaḷ, kaḷlu, kallu Kod. kaḷli Tu. kali

Te. kallu Kol. kal Nk. kaḷ Go. kal (kadda) Konda. karu Kui. kala Kuwi. kārū, kādu

Sum. kuš ‘be fat’ DED. 1784. Ta. koṛu ‘to be fat’ koruppu ‘fat’

Ma. koṛu To. kwaḷp Ka. korvu, korbu Tu. komme Kol. koru Nk. koru

Pa. kor- Go. korvinj, kurwinj, kōsēla Kui. krōga Kuwi. korowa.

2. 34. s/z

Initial

Sum. sig ‘seize, cave in’ DED. 2060. Ta. cikku ‘be caught; ensnared. Ma. cikku Ko. cik- To. tik-sik- Ka. sikku, sigu, sirku, silku Kod. cikk- Tu. Sikkuni, tikkuni Te. cikku Kol. sik-

Pa. cirng- Kui. sehpa, Kuwi. sikkū

Sum. sig ‘short, small, thin. DED. 2057. Ta. cikka ‘in brief’

Ma. Cikkini ‘young, small’ Ka. cikka, ciga ‘little, small, young, cīku ‘smallness Kod. cikk- Tu. cikka Te. cikiciki

Sum. sil/zil/zir ‘peel, split, break’ DED. 2114. Ta. cilu ‘to open; split’ Ko. cilv.

Sum. zag ‘to run; slip’ DED. 1950. Kuwi. zarginai ‘to occur’

Ta. cari ‘to slip away’ Ma. cariyuka. Ko. jarv- Ka. sari/jari, jaragu.saraku Tu. saraku Te. jaragu. Kol. jarāg. Malt. jarge.

2. 35: Medial

Sum. asa/aza 'to paste' DED. 43. Ta. acai 'to join with' Ka. asa  
Kuwi. assali Kur. assgnā Malt. asge 'to paste on'.  
Sum. gaz/gaza 'gnaw, grind'. DED. 920 Kuwi. kazzinai, kacali 'to bite, sting'  
Ta. kaccu, Ka. kaccu, karcu, Tu. kaccuni  
Kol. kacc- Pa. kacc- Ga. kas- Kacc- Go. kaskana Kui. kasa  
Kur. khassna Malt. qaswe  
Sum. uzu 'flesh' DED. 626. Kui. ūju 'flesh, meat' Kuwi. ūyū Ta. ū, ūn

2. 36. Final

Sum. iz/giz/gis/gir 'fire' DED. 1272. Kuwi. hizzu, hīcū; fire'  
Ta. kiccu To. kic, kič Ka. kiccu, kircu Tu. Kittu, kiccu, kicci  
Te. ciccu Kol. kis Nk. kick Pa kic Ga. kis, kiccu Go. kis  
Konda. sisu Kur. cicc Malt. cicu.  
Sum. kus 'sprout' DED. 1491. 1439. Ta. kuruttu, kuruntu 'sprout'  
Ma. kuruttu, kurunnu 'sprout, shoot' Ka. kurube Kui. gunda  
Kur. kundna Malt. kunde.

## The Dravidian Development

3. 1. Reconstruction of the PDr. Phonemic system.

Dr. Bh. Krishnamurti reconstructs the following phonemes for PDr.<sup>12</sup>

<u>Consonants</u>	<u>Vowels</u>
p t ṭ ṭ c k	i u
z	
m n ɳ ñ	e o
l ɭ	a
r	
w y	

This reconstruction is based on the data provided by the 22 Dravidian languages spoken in India. Tamil has preserved the earliest literary records going back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. At any rate, the Proto-Dravidian language of about 1000 B.C. may be said to have had a phonemic system much closure to the reconstructed one. The new data brought in by the addition of Sumerian materials makes it possible now to reconstruct the Proto Dravidian language of about 3500 B.C. As the Archaic Sumerian records of kish and Jemdet Nasr have been dated to the period 3500-3000 B.C. (see 1-4-1), we have now before us the earliest literary records of the world to reconstruct the parent Dravidian language of about 3500 B.C.

### 3.2 The parent language:

Sumerologists generally agree that Babylonia was originally inhabited by a tribe called 'ubaid' and the archeological remains show that immediately after the Floods (ie about 4100 B.C) a people of unknown ethnic and linguistic affiliation whom now we know as the Sumerians entered the southern parts of Mesopotamia and conquered the area from its original inhabitants.<sup>13</sup> The following words employed by them to name their new settlements indicate the nature of linguistic affiliation. They were known as the people of Sumer (Kumari) and they named their country of settlement as 'Kalam' (Ta. Kalam), their capital city as ur (Ta. ur), their river as 'Bura' – Sumerian name for Euphrates – (Ma. pura –river. Ta. punal), their mountains as 'Kur' (Ta. Kurinci), their God as 'Dingir' (Ta. tinkal To. tigel – moon God), their war god as 'Muru' (Ta. Murukan). They called their father and mother ad. (Ta. attan) ab or ab-ba (Ta. appan) and ama (Ta. amma) respectively. The names of their domestic animals are: Ur 'dog' (Ta. ucci), Mas 'cattle' (Ta. matu), dag 'ram' (Ta. takar), Kur 'horse' (Ta. Kutirai),

kis 'pig' (Kur. Kiss Malt. kisu, Ta. keral). They called their house Bid (Ta. vitu, Ka. bidu), their cloth Tuk or Tug (Ta. tukil). They counted the first six numerals as their parents did: ur, uru, usu ru, 'one' (Ta. Or, oru, onru), man (Ta. maru) or min. ir (Ta. iru) 'two'; mus 'three' (Br. musi), nabu 'four' (Kur: naib), a, ia, 'five' (Ta. and as 'six' (Ta. aru) (Ta. nal)

These and other numerous correspondences indicate that the people of the Kumari region in the Pandya Kingdom of South India immigrated to the Persian Gulf and settled there. However, we are not in a position to connect the latest phase of the Sumerian language with Dravidian as the word order and the verbal system, had changed considerably owing to the influence of Semitic Akkadian in Babylonia. Therefore, we have to reconstruct the characteristics of the parent Dravidian language of the pre-separation period of the two main wings namely Indo-Dravidian (1Dr.) and Sumero-Dravidian (SubDr.).

### 3.3 Relative chronology of the different stages of Development in early Dravidian (3500-1000 B.C.)

The following factors are taken into consideration in discussing the relative chronology of the evolution of the phonemic system in early Dravidian.

1. The fundamental vowels in Dravidian are a, i, and u.
2. The evolution of the five vowel system a, i, u, e, and o.
3. The evolution of phonemic contrast of length in the five vowel system.
4. The voiceless character of the stops.
5. The evolution of the cerebral or retroflex consonants.

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<sup>12</sup> Proto-Dravidian \*z 'Indian Linguistics, Turner Jubilee volume I, 1958, p. 259.

<sup>13</sup> David Diringer, Writing, New York, p. 35-36.

### 3. 4. PDr. Vowel system

The five vowel system of a, e, i, u and o reconstructed for the Proto-Indo-Dravidian (P 1 Dr.) of about 1000 B.C. contains an O sound not found in the Proto-Sumero-Dravidian (PSUDr.) of about 3000 B.C. The Brahui vowel system forms an ideal bridge between the PSuDr. and the PIDr. Systems for Brahui has no short o. Emeneau tries to explain this discrepancy by citing a number of etymologies to prove the PDr. \*): Br. (1) o, (2) u, (3) a<sup>14</sup> which theory seems incorrect through Sumerian evidences. The following are some of the evidence given by Emeneau; under section 2.25 he cites two examples for PDr. \*o: Br. a.

1. DED. 834 asit 'one (entity)); asi 'one' (adj.): \*oru (\*\* oru). onru, orru.
2. DED. 1772. khall 'to strike, kill, fire (gun), throw: \*kol – to kill. (In foot note he says: This Brahui verb has such a wide range of meanings that it seems very probable that it is to be interpreted as a merger of several PDr. Verbs. The meaning 'to lift (cattle) seems to look to DED. 1156, which includes verbs all the way from Ta. kal 'to steal, rob' to Malt. qale. id.)

Sumerian records show two sets of numerals for 'one'. These are ur, uru, ušum, ru 'one' found in the Archaic period and aš 'one' found universally in the latest period of Sumerian history. (sign No.1)<sup>15</sup>. Therefore it is clear that the Archaic Sumerian forms ur, uru, ru are the PDr. Forms for numeral 'one'. The initial u is retained in konda unri and Go. Undi and changes to O/O in the other languages. Therefore Brahui asi/asit one' is to be derived from the Sumerian form as 'one'. PDr. \*O cannot be reconstructed in this instance. Similarly the other derivation Br khall 'to strike, kill'. PDr. Kol 'to kill' cannot be established as correct etymology. The following evidences in Sumerian records permit us to derive Br. khall 'to kill' from Sum. Gal 'to kill' 'destroy)

#### **Sum. Sign. No. 87.**

Gal	'dwell'
Gal	'kill, destroy'
Gal	'lift up'
Gal	'open'
	seize, snatch
Gal	'set'
Gal	'be warlike, powerful'

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<sup>14</sup> M. B. Emeneau, Brahui and Dravidian comparative Grammar, University of California Press, 1962, p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> Geo. A. Barton, The Origin of Development of Babylonian Writing, Leipzig, 1913, p. 1.

### Sum. Sign. No 381

Gul 'destroy'  
Gul 'plunder; rob'  
'destroy; throw down'.

The same Sumerian sign gives the meaning 'lift up', therefore kol<gul 'to destroy'. In this instance two no evidence of reconstruction of PDr. \*O is involved.

Under section 2.24. PDr. \*O: Br. U Emeneau cites Ka. Tegal 'shoulder' and says that "the forms of with e may be evidence for \*O." This theory cannot be accepted as correct since the Sumerian records give the meaning 'shoulder, 'neck' for that form tig. Therefore Sum. tig> Kan. Tegal. Therefore there is no evidence for PDr. O. similarly under section 2.26 PDr. O: Br. O Emeneau cites DED. O this, that' kui. O 'that at the greatest distance), But Sum ur, ul 'that 'yonder' and Ta. u, utu, umpar 'that, ata distance' may be taken to represent the PDr. u.

It is clear from these evidences that PDr. U develops into \*O in the Dravidian languages including Brahui, an offshoot of Sumerian. Sumerian has no representation for O in its alphabet phoneme different from u by about 1500 B.C. Similarly e developed into a separate phoneme different from i. In Sumerian the difference between i and e is only phonetic and not phonemic. (see 1.6) Therefore the evolution of e as a different phoneme from I may be said to have taken place at the end of the Sumerian period ie about 2000 B.C. What remains from the fundamental vowels reconstructable for the parent language are a, i, and u.

3. 5. Direction of vowel change: In the following diagram arrows indicate the direction of

Vowel changes.

The First shift  
3000-2000 B.C.

i -----<----- u

e -----<----- a

The Second shift  
2000-1000 B.C.

I            u

e            o

a

During the period of the First shift the back vowels a and u were fronted and during the period of the Second shift high vowels were lowered. One illustration may be sufficient to explain this change.

Sum. tug 'to open'  
Ta tira 'to open'  
 turappu'akey'  
Ma. turakka 'to open'  
Ko. terv - 'to open'  
To. terv - 'to open'  
Ka. tere - 'to open'  
Kod. tora - 'to open'  
Te. tera 'open'  
Kur. tisigna 'to open'  
Malt. tisge 'to lift'  
Br. turing - 'to undo'

Sum. tag 'to open'  
 tab  
Go. taritana 'open'  
Kui. dari- 'to be opened'

Though DED 2667 list all these items together under tira, the Go and the Kui items are separated here as the Sumerian records show another form tag, tab 'to open'. The PDr. \*u is retained unchanged in Sumerian (tug), Malayalam (turakka) and Brahui (turing). According to the rules of the First shift u>i in Tamil (tira), Kur (tisigna) and in Malt (tisge). During the period of the Second shift, u>o in Kod (tora), i>e in Ko. (terv- To (terv), Ka (tere) and Te. (tera).

### 3.6 PDr. Stop phonemes

The Sumerian syllabic system of writing yields three stop phonemes K(g), t(d) and p(b). There is general agreement among the Sumerologists that these stops are voiceless in character. The Semitic scribes rendered the value of the Sumerian signs indiscriminately either by k or g, t or d and p or b. Compare the forms tu, tug, tuk meaning 'cloth' or 'garment'; aga, aka, love', 'desire' and kas, gas, 'toddy' 'liquor'. In these illustrations k and g simply represent the same sound. It is not certain as to why there should be two alphabetic characters to denote the same sound. It appears that these phonological problems are inherent in the very nature of the Cuneiform medium and its rendering into phonemic characters.

The authors of the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary were right in expressing the view that the inventory of Tamil phonemes probably corresponds very closely to that of the PDr. phonemes<sup>16</sup>. It is true that the Kannada and Telugu words with voiced stops initially have no corresponding cognates in Tamil; but this character should not be attributed to the parent language. While Sumerian and Tamil retain this characteristic of their parent language, Kannada, Telugu and other languages of the family developed secondary voicing in word initial position at a date earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.

<sup>16</sup> T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau 'A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, Oxford 1961.



### 3.7 PDr. Cerebral consonants.

The cuneiform system of writing makes no distinction between the dentals, alveolars and cerebrals or retroflexes. Stephen Langdon in his Sumerian Grammar (p.40) says: "The language possesses at least three cerebral consonants in word-final position; these are; d(d), r(r), and l(l)." We may add š to this list of cerebrals. The following illustrations may show characteristics of these cerebrals :

Sum. mul/muš 'grasshopper'  
To muḍṣn 'grasshopper;  
Sum mili/mele 'throat' 'neck' Kur. mulkhē  
Malt. melqe Ta. miṭaru Ko. mir Te.meḍa  
Sum kil/kie 'multitude' Ta. kiłai  
Sum ges 'hear' Ta. kel  
Sum kaš/gaš 'toddy', 'Liquor' Ta. Kał Ka.Kał Tu. Kali  
Te. Kallu Nk. Kał

l and s in addition to l yield also r (z). Ex.

#### **Sum. Sign No. 149**

Mulu 'sight' 'aspect' 'seek' Ta. muṛi/viṛi  
Mulu 'perfect' Ta. muṛu. muṛumai  
Mulu 'sprout' Ta. mułai  
Mulu 'foot' Ta. mutal. Ma. muram

Sum. r (r) also yields r̄ (z)

Sum. ur/uru 'to plough' Ta.uṛu Ma.uṛuga.

To. uṣf- Kod. u.ł-Tu. u duni Kol. ur-

Pa uṛ- Go. uṛana Malt.use.

For evidence of cerebral d in word final position, Kid 'pinch off' Ta. Killu; mud 'enclose' Ta. mutu; kad 'to tie' Ta. Kattu. The Sumerian language was rich with cerebral consonants. It appears that by about 2500 B.C, the language was in possession of at least four cerebral sounds expressed through the cuneiform characters r, l, d and s. Parallel development should have taken place in the Dravidian language of Indian by about this date.

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# STUDIES IN SUMERO-DRAVIDIAN PHONOLOGY

by

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# STUDIES IN SUMERO-DRAVIDIAN PHONOLOGY

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### SUMERIAN

Sumerian is an extinct agglutinative language spoken in Mesopotamia, from Babylon to the Gulf of Persia from at least 4000 B.C. till about 2000 B.C. Dravidian is an agglutinative family of languages numbering about 22, spoken mainly in the South, Central and parts of Northern India and also in the mountains of Eastern Baluchistan and North-East Sri Lanka. These languages are Tamil, Malayalam, Kota Toda, Kannadam Kodagu, Tulu, Telugu, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadba, Ollari, Pengo, Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuwi, Kurukh, Malto and Brahui. **Sumero-Dravidian** is a the new name applied to this group of agglutinative languages which combines into a single word various linguistic elements, each of which has a distinct fixed connotation and a separate existence.

Sumerian languages are known to the world only through the excavated cuneiform inscriptions numbering more than 2000. These inscriptions are ideographic writings without phonetic signs for grammatical elements; it means that the identification of the language beyond the written records is not evident. Sumerian writing never attempted to render the language phonetically correct, exactly as it was spoken.

In this phonological analysis Sumerian and Dravidian languages are compared. It should be remembered that Sumerian became a dead language by about 2000 B.C. and it was treated as a foreign language from 2000 B.C.-1600 B.C. But the Dravidian languages with the exception of Tamil, are all modern languages and some are recorded languages of recent years. A comparative study should take into consideration the time gap in the development of these two language groups.

“The script evolved by the Sumerians has the capacity of writing but four vowel sounds, low back a, high back u with labial rounding, mid palatal e and front palatal i. It is probable that when a separate vowel sign was employed for any of these vowels, the long vowel was intended”. These four vowels a, e, i and u indicate no phonemic distinction of length between the short and long. These are k, g, t, d, p, b, m, n, r, l, s, z.

	Labials	Coronal			Dorsal		Laryngals
		Cerebral	Alveolar	Dental	Palatal	Velar	
<b><u>Explosive</u></b>							
a) surd	p			t		k	
b) sonant	b			d		g	
<b><u>Spirant</u></b>							
a) surd			s		s		h(?)
b) sonant		l	z		z	h(?)	
		r	r		j	g	
			l				
<b>Nasal</b>	m	l		n	n	ng	

Stephen Langdon reconstructs the following consonants for the Sumerian spoken speech. These are not recorded in the written alphabet.

Palatal nasal n

Velar nasal ng

Laryngal; Spirant surd, h

Cerebral: Sonants, l, r

These phonemes developed during the Neo-Sumerian period (2200 E.C-1600 B.C) as the original alphabet was constructed much earlier - 2800 B.C.

The following remarks of Marie-Louise Thomsen about Sumerian Phonetics is worthy of note:<sup>1</sup>

“The Sumerian phonetic system, as it is traditionally understood is almost identical to that of Akkadian. Since our informations about the pronunciation of Sumerian come from Akkadian sources, this fact is probably the main reason for the seeming conformity with the Akkadian phonological system. The Sumerian writing does not represent a phonetically correct rendering of the language, and it is therefore hardly possible to reconstruct an adequate phonological system of Sumerian.”

“However, as Sumerian became a foreign language to the scribes the need for a more elaborate writing grew, and full writings of endings like the prominal suffixes as well as the insertion of pronominal prefixes in the finite verbal forms are characteristics of these texts.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marie-Louise Thomsen: The Sumerian Language, Copenhagen, 1984, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Marie-Louise Thomsen: The Sumerian Language, Copenhagen, 1984, p. 23

“Moreover, mainly for orthographic reasons, we know very little about the Old Sumerian grammar, and, therefore, in many cases we are able to understand the Os texts only when comparing with the later grammatical constructions. On the otherhand, the Sumerian grammar as it is available in the more comprehensive post-Sumerian textual material is somewhat heterogeneous and partly contradictory, and Akkadian influence can be demonstrated. Since in practice we know very little about the original Sumerian language in its older stages.

“What makes it so difficult for the student to rid himself of this misguided and misleading approach is the fact that the basis for the decipherment of Sumerian rests largely upon the works of Semitic scribes who themselves treated Sumerian as a dead, literary tongue, and who were no longer aware of the finer nuances, grammatical and phonetic, which had governed the living language, and who moreover, for pedagogic reasons found it practical to neglect some of them..... The present day student of Sumerian must bear this truth in mind with an almost conscious persistence; only then will he be able to realize the exact relationship between the conventionalized Sumerian orthography and the sounds of the living language which it represents.<sup>3</sup>

What is attempted so far is to show that the Sumerian inscriptions so far deciphered belong to the neo-Sumerian period (B.C. 2200- B.C. 1600) where Akkadian phonetic influence seem very great whereas the Archaic Sumerian records are partly not deciphered and what has been deciphered come down to us are real Sumerian records.

### DRAVIDIAN

Caldwell's publication of 'A comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of languages in 1856 stimulated many scholars to get deeper into this new family of languages. Caldwell treated only 12 languages exclusive of the Brahui language known at that time. Field work in India by Professors Burrow, Emeneau and Battacharya brought the recording of 10 more languages in 1950s. These 22 languages were grouped into three ie. South Dravidian, Central Dravidian and North Dravidian.

Publication of the Brahui language by Denys Bray, Part I in 1909 and Part II & III in 1934 has opened new vistas in the field of Dravidian Linguistics. Professor Emeneau who has taken to the study of Brahui not very seriously thought that major portion of the Brahui Vocabulary is extra-Dravidian. A deeper

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<sup>3</sup> S.N.Kramer: Studies in Sumerian Phonetics, *Archiv Orientalni*, Vol VIII No. 1, 1936, p.22.



occupying a place between the hard series and the soft series. The early loan words from Sanskrit have l substituted for s, Ex. celam sesa, remainder.

In Sumerian word final position PDr. z (r / l) is represented by š Sum. kiš 'pig' DED 1275 Kur Kiss: pig Malt. kisu but Ta kēr al: pig Sum. Kaš liquor DED 1158 Ta. kal toddy Ma. Kal Ko kal Ka kal Kod kalli Tu kali Te kallu Kol kal Nk kal Go kal Konda karu Kui kalu Kuwi karu

Problem (2) Kannada, Telugu and some other Dravidian languages possess voiced consonants in the word initial position k g t d p b: This has drawn the attention of many scholars regarding the late origin of voicing in some languages. Professor burrow argues that there is no voicing in the primitive Dravidian words and what is seen is some languages in secondary voicing. He says: "Tamil alone among the Dravidian languages represents the state of affairs in the parent language in this matter. Telugu and Kanarese have for reasons that are obscure in most instances introduced secondary voicing into primitive Dravidian words. At the same time a large percentage of words beginning with the voiced stops in these languages are of extra-Dravidian origin. We must assume the existence of some substrate language to account for these, and, in fact, for the existence of initial sonants at all.<sup>5</sup>

Similar statement has been made regarding the opposition 'voiced: voiceless' in Sumerian. The conventional transliterations show a distinction between voiced and voiceless stops in Sumerian b, d, g : p, t, k. But now it is disputed whether this distinction actually existed in Sumerian.

First of all the earliest Akkadian system of writing does not distinguish b, d, g and p, t, k and it is most probable that the Akkadians borrowed this custom from the Sumerians. This means that Sumerian originally does not have the opposition voiced : voiceless.<sup>6</sup>

Identical statements have been made by Dravidian and Sumerian scholars. Regarding the opposition voiced: voiceless in the Sumero-Dravidian family it requires exhaustive analysis of the problems involved.

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<sup>5</sup> T.Burrow: Dravidian Studies - 1: Notes on convertibility of surds and sonants, BSOS IX 1937-39 Annamalai, Collected Papers on Dravidian Linguistics 1968, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Marie-Louise Thomsen: The Sumerian Language, Copenhagen, 1984, p.43.







This book contains four pioneering research papers by Prof A. Sathasivam written between 1964 and 1987, during his academic career at the University of Ceylon and University of California. The papers investigate and document the close relationship between the extinct Sumerian language of Mesopotamia and the extant Dravidian languages of South Asia. From the close resemblance in vocabulary, comparative phonology, composition and grammatical structure between Sumerian and Dravidian he came to the conclusion that these languages descended from a common substratum.

This is one of the most important studies of the twentieth century in Dravidian linguistics. Current genetic studies point to demographic migrations arriving from West Asia to South Asia along with the advent of Agriculture. The strong scientific evidence re-enforces Prof Sathasivam's hypothesis adding greater significance to his views than hitherto realised.

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