

THE LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON MALAYĀLAM

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The culture that is embodied in Sanskrit has nurtured the literature of Mal. from the earliest known stages; Sanskrit models have inspired the treatment of topics in Mal. literature; and the language of the *dēvabhāṣā* has also not failed to influence Mal. in degrees that vary with the periods and the texts.

The compositions described by Līl. as *pāṭṭu* (of which *Rāmacaritam* is an instance) contain what Tam. grammarians call *āriya-c-cidaivu* i. e. adaptations of Indo-Aryan words (both Skt. and MIA.), many of which are common to Tamil and these early Mal. compositions. Such adaptations appear to have existed in Tamil from a very early time, since even *Śāṅgam* texts (like *Puṛaṇānūṟu*) do not lack them and since further the Old Tamil grammar, *Tolkāppiyam*, *colladigāram* [in *sūtras* 401 and 402] expressly refers to them :—

vaḍa-c-col kiḷavi vaḍa-v-eḷutt-orī-y-eḷuttoḍu puṇarnda
collāgummē.

cidaindana varinum iyaindana varaiyār.

The early *maṇipravāla* compositions (like *Uṇṇunīlī sandē-śam*) evidence the influence of Skt. in many directions:—popularisation of Skt. sounds, the use of Skt. words as postpositions, and the employment of *Samskr̥tīkṛtabhāṣā* besides *Samskr̥tasamas* and *bhāṣīkṛtasamskr̥ta* forms.

The *Niraṇam Paṇikkars*, while generally employing native forms and constructions some of which were even Tamilistic (partly owing to a respect for tradition and partly on account of the use of regionalisms), freely used *bhāṣīkṛtasamskr̥ta* forms and *samskr̥tasamas*, and sometimes even passages like മര ഭാഷ്യം കണ്ടിരോ *mama bhāryām*, വയം ആലോക്യ *vayam ālōkya*....., അന്യോന്യം തുല്യം നരവീരൻ സുകമരൻ നരസിംഹസമരൻ.

The fifteenth-century *Kṛṣṇagātha*, while steering clear of the extremes of *hypersanskritization* and *hypertamilization* in

grammatical construction, copiously employed borrowings and adaptations from Skt., all of which had been assimilated already in the living speech and many of which have persisted in the language down till today.

The campu prabhandhas of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries revelled in the use of Skt. words and forms. Entire passages sometimes appeared in Skt, while at other times Skt. constructions were mingled with Mal. ones. The Skt. case concord of *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya* was imitated in Mal. constructions; Skt. rules of the government of "cases" were introduced sometimes into Mal. contexts; but the Samskṛtīkṛtabhāṣā characteristic of the earlier *maṇipravālas* was conspicuous by its absence.

Eḷuttasṣan blended the best vocabularial elements of Mal. and Skt., and evolved a style which has remained a good model for learned compositions of the kind popularized by him; but that great god-man did not disdain occasionally to string together Samskṛtasamas like the following (particularly in *Rāmāyaṇam*) with a view to loading every rift of his work with the gold of his spiritual fervour: *uttiṣṭhōttiṣṭha tuṣṭhōham tapasā tē. śrutwā bharadwājanittham samutthāya hastē samādāya sārghyapādyādium, gatwā raghūttama sannidhau. . . .*

Among later compositions, the influence of Skt. (particularly in vocabulary) is prominently active in works like *Iṛupattunāluvr̥ttam Rām. [Eḷuttasṣan's?]*, *Śrīkṛṣṇacaritam maṇipravālam* [attributed to Kuṇjan] and the *Āṭṭakkathas*. The seventeenth or eighteenth century Uṇṇāyi particularly over-weighted his *Naḷacaritam Āṭṭakkatha* with Skt. elements.

The depth of the influence of Skt. on Mal. may be gauged from the fact that, though the fourteenth century Mal. grammar *Līlātilakam* (with a discrimination somewhat exceptional in a period when respect for Skt. constructions almost amounted to an obsession) expressly recognized the fundamental differences between the two linguistic systems (Dravidian and Skt.) and impliedly referred to the need for the special cultivation of Mal. rules and usages for those aspiring to achieve literary distinction in Mal., the feeling persisted in some quarters that the cultivation

of Mal. was but secondary in importance to scholarship in Skt. and that proficiency in Skt. carried with it a presumptive claim to proficiency in Mal.

The influence of Skt. on the Mal. language has made itself felt both in the direction of direct borrowings and adaptations and in that of indirect imitation of Skt. usages and constructions. Further, this influence has varied with the periods and with the texts; some features once current have gone out of vogue today, though others have been permanently assimilated. Again, there are some elements which Mal. has inherited from the parent language, the influence of Skt. here having made itself felt even in the parent stage.

In vocabulary, Skt. words and forms have been borrowed or adapted in large numbers directly. In phonetics and syntax, the influence of Skt., such as it is, has been largely indirect, while in morphology there has also been some direct borrowing or adaptation of Skt. elements.

I shall at first discuss these features under the headings of Phonetics, Morphology, Syntax and Vocabulary and then at the end classify them separately.

II

1. One direction in which the influence of Sanskrit sounds made itself felt in Mal. is in the popularisation of a few non-Dravidian Sanskrit sounds as modifications of Mal. sounds themselves. The sibilants \mathfrak{s} and s , the voiced plosive g initially, the aspirates bh and ch , and the glottal fricative h are all sounds foreign to the Tam.-Mal. group of Dravidian; these sounds, however, occur in some popular words as the modifications (arising from the popularity¹ of Sanskrit sounds in Malabar from an early time) of original native sounds themselves.

(i) \mathfrak{s} :—The use of native l for Skt. \mathfrak{s} in *tadbhavas* like *puruḷan* (for *puruṣa*) was so popular that the converse change

1 Cf. Lil., III, 29, comm. ക്രൈവണ്ണികാനാം തു വ്യവമാരേ കച ചിത് സ്മനം കൃതരക്ഷരജ്യരോദിര്യരതഃ “..... ധടിയൻ” ഇത്യാദൈ.

of *ḷ* to *ṣ* may have been introduced in forms like the following¹:—

ഭോഷൻ bhōṣan, ഭോഷ്കു bhōṣku.—cf. Tam. pōḷkkan 'ill-mannered fellow' occurring in Divyaprabandham, and the Tam. verb pōḷ-'to be cleft, etc.'

വഷളതം vaṣaḷattam.—cf. Tam. vaḷalai; Kann. baḷal 'to fade'.

Colloquial വിമ്മിഷ്ടം vimmiṣṭam.—cf. Tam. vimin-'to weep feelingly', Mal. vimin-id-

(ii) *s*:—*s* is not a native Tam.-Mal. sound in the literary dialect. Mal. instances like മുസ്സടു' mūssadu for mūttadu, വളസം vaḷusam, also vaḷudam 'lie' [cf. Tam. vaḷudu 'lie', vaḷu 'mistake', Mal. vaḷud -to 'slip off'] perhaps show a sound *s* which may have been popularised by Sanskrit-knowing scholars.

(iii) *bh*:—ഭോഷ്കു bhōṣku [see above].

ഐച്ഛം ēbhyam [cf. Tam. ēyppu 'deceit' from ēy-kk-'to deceive'] and ഇച്ഛം iḷibhyam [cf. Tam. iḷippu 'contempt', from iḷi-kk-'to be humiliated'] have -bhyam; perhaps ēyppu, iḷippu were given the pratyaya -ya, and ēppyam and iḷippyam (hypersanskritized into ēbhyam and iḷibhyam) were formed.

വഞ്ചിണം vāñibham [cf. Skt. vāñijjya], and Old Mal. vālibham [Skt. bālya appears in Tam. as vāliyan

1 വിഷ്ണുപിഴാരാടി piṣāraḍi, the name of a sub-caste, the members of which perform hereditary duties in temples.—The term is pronounced differently as pṣāraḍi, pṣārōḍi, piṣārōḍi and paṣāraḍi. Aḍi and aḍigaḷ are used very often in connection with servants of God. For the first constituent, cf. the following "tadbhava" forms of Skt. bhāṭṭāraka 'venerable':—paṭṭārakar 'the deity' [Travanc. Arch. Series, Vol. II, p. 47]; പടാരക പഞ്ചരം paḍārar [Tr. Arch. Series, V, p. 174]; പാറകു paḷārar-kku 'to the deity' [ib., Vol. V, p. 180]. Forms like paḷāra-tiru-aḍi [Tr. Arch. Series, II, p. 174 and p. 204] refer to certain temple officials.

Paḷāra-aḍi, paḷāraḍi, paṣāraḍi and popular piṣāraḍi might have been the stages of transformation.

and vāliban] have *ḍh*; the change of *ya* to *va* and then to *pa* has been noted by Pischel for Pkt [Gr., p. 139].

(iv) *g*:—As an initial sound, *g*-is foreign to the Tam.-Mal. group. The Mal. word *gōṣṭhi* 'pranks' 'gestures' appearing from at least the period of Līl. is Sanskritised from native *kōṭṭi* [from *kōḍ* 'to be bent, crooked'] under the influence of Skt. *gōṣṭhi* 'assemblage' and *its* *tadbhava* *kōṭṭi* [cf. Pischel, p. 207] appearing in Tam. and in early Mal.

(v) *cch*:—*അച്ഛൻ* *acchan* [containing the aspirated affricate] is a Prakrit-derived form [which was originally *accan* (cf. Pkt. *ajja*, Pischel, p. 195) existing as such today as a titular appellation, as in Pāliatt-*accan*], in which the simple affricate was replaced by the aspirated affricate.

(vi) *h*:—Words like *മഹൻ* *mahan* [magan 'son'], *വാഹ* *vaha* [വക *vaga* 'share'] are evaluated with the pure glottal fricative by the Nambūdiris.

2. The consonant groups *-tr* and *-pr*¹ are foreign to native Tam.-Mal. words; but Mal. has *etṛa*, *atṛa*, *itṛa* [cf. colloquial Tam. and Old Mal. *ettinai*, *attinai*, *ittinai* from *e-t-tanai*, etc.], and *എമ്പ്രൻ* *emprān* [en-pirān], *തമ്പ്രക്ക* *tambṛakka*.

The use of the group *ḍṛ* in *എട്ടക്ക*² *edṛkk*-, *മുട്ടക്ക* *mudṛkk*-, *കട്ടക്ക* *kadṛkk* [for *എട്ടി* *edīr-kk*, etc.], and of *ṛy* in *എന്യ* *enṛyē* or *എന്യ* *enṛyē* [for *എന്യ* *enṛiyē* from older Ind³ *-y-ē*] is occasionally met with in Mal. writings. *enṛyē* was sometimes wrongly given the form *anyē* as if it had some relation to Sanskrit *anya*.

3. The rules of native sandhi have been allowed from an early time [cf. Līl., III, 29, comment.] for familiar compounds containing Skt. words, as in *candra-kkala*, *ānaśśāstram*, *perige-s-sāram*. The converse rule of employing Sanskrit sandhi for the Dravidian constituents of such compounds has always been felt as exotic and unnatural.

¹ *കെരളപ്രൻ*, *ഇരുതമ്പ്രൻ*, *കാലമ്പ്രൻ*, etc., occurring in *കുടുംബ* *kuṭumb* are colloquialisms current in the mass speech; no Skt. influence need be postulated here.

In purely native contexts, Mal. has stubbornly resisted the encroachment of Sanskrit sandhi rules; instances like യാത്രാക്കി *yātrākki*, ധരണീൽ *dharanīl* [for *dharanīl-y-il*, with the glide] and ഉഴി *uḷi* *indran* [for *uḷi-y-indran*] occurring in *Naiṣadham* campu need not necessarily be traced to Sanskrit influence, in view of the fact that such forms may have risen in native colloquials, as in നോക്കിട്ടു *nōkkīṭṭu* from *nōkki-y-iṭṭu*, ആക്കിട്ടു *ākkiṭṭu* from *ākki-y-iṭṭu*, etc.

4. It is a rule of Tam.-Mal. phonetics that breathed plosives when occurring intervocally become voiced, as they acquire the sonority of the vowels neighbouring them on either side. This rule is true of the Mal. mass-colloquial, but the Sanskrit-educated classes and those who have directly or indirectly come within the ambit of their influence, do not sonatise intervocal plosives to the same extent to which the masses do it [Cf. my paper on this subject in *Indian Antiquary*, Feb. 1929, p. 37]. How far this may have been due to the influence of Skt. is worthy of investigation.

III

1. *Kēraḷa Pāṇinīyam* regards the feminine gender ending *-tti* as a native ending and the other fem. ending *-i* as possibly Sanskrit [p. 149]. Both these endings are associated with the feminine gender of some nouns in Tam. and in *Kannāḍa* also. But the mere fact that south Dravidian languages show these endings need not necessarily point to their having been original in Dravidian.

Tolkāppiyam colladigāram [163] mentions *i* but not *tti*, *cci* (though Old Tam. did have them); but *Vīracōḷiyam* mentions the latter too. The gender distinctions in Dravidian (associated closely with number) are fundamentally denoted by (a)n [masc. sing.], (a) [fem. sing.], (a)du [“irrational” sing.], (a)r [masc and fem. pl.] and a [“irrational” plural].

tti, *cci*, etc., and *i* are in the nature of regular suffixes. *i* exists in Sanskrit, while *itthi* is a Prakrit form [Pischel's *Gr.*, p. 112] of Skt. *strī*. It is quite possible that the Dravidian use of both *tti* and *i* may have been due to IA influence at an early stage.

2. The ending *kāra* in forms like *vē'a-k-kāran*, *kūṭṭugār* was originally adapted from Skt. *kāra* appearing in compounds like *kumbha-kārah* 'maker of pots', etc.

kāra [or *gāra*] occurs in Kannaḍa: *kāra*, *gāra*, see Śabda-*maṇidarpaṇa sūtra*, 198.

3. (i) Among postpositional words in Mal., the following are from Skt.

പ്രതി *prati* as in സുഗ്രീവരാജ്യംപ്രതി പോയ് *ṣugrīva rājyam prati* 'towards the land of Sugrīva', and in the following Old Mal. instances with the meaning of *kuṛiccu* or *patti*:—നമ്മെ പ്രതി ഉള്ളിൽ കനിവുണ്ടായ് *namme prati* [Kaṇṇaśś. *Rām.*, *Kiṣkindh.*, 88], വിഷ്ണുവിനെ പ്രതി *viṣṇuvine prati* [Bhāg. *bhāṣ.* *gadyam*, I, p. 26].

വിഷയം *viṣayam*, നിമിത്തം *nimittam*, മൂലം *mūlam*, ഹേതു *hētu* പൂർവ്വം *pūrvam*, അർത്ഥം *artham* are some of the other forms used as "loose" postpositions (with varying degrees of frequency) in Mal.

4. (i) Among verb-forms, the direct borrowing of morphological elements has been very rare, being perhaps limited to forms in literary constructions like ചെയ്യുംവിധേ *ceyyum vidhau*, നടക്കുംമേയം *naḍakkum daśāyam* and to verbal bases like രക്ഷിക്ക *rakṣikk*, -യാചിക്ക *yācikk* (which latter, it may be observed are vocabularial rather than morphological).

(ii) So far as indirect imitation is concerned, the question how far the fact that Mal. puts the verbal nouns of the type of *വരിക*, *എഴുക* to more extensive and varied uses than Tamil [see my *EMM*, p. 87] was primarily inspired by the use of different kinds of derivative nouns in Skt. is worthy of investigation.

(iii) I might mention here that the use of constructions like (അസൂരനെ മേവകൾ) കൊന്നുകൾകൊല്ല *kon'n'ukaḷaga ceydu* [BhBh, I, p. 41] when appearing in past tense forms, remind one of the periphrastic perfect of Skt. of the type of *īd-ām cakrē*. I do not know how far Skt. influence may have been active here; if there was influence at all, it must first have operated in past tense forms of Mal. and afterwards by analogy been transferred in Mal. to other tenses.

In this connection, I may note that the use of *cey-* (in constructions like the following) to wind up, as it were, a series of

actions expressed by the verbal nouns with -ga or -kka is absent in Tamil, while very frequent in Mal.:—വാദ്യങ്ങൾ കൊട്ടുകയും ഗീതങ്ങൾ പാടുകയും ചെയ്തു koṭṭuga-y-um,....pāḍuga-y-um ceydu.

These parallelisms in respect of verbal constructions, however, require to be further investigated before any definite postulate can be laid down regarding Skt. influence.

IV

1. (i) The use of Skt. grammatical gender (instead of native 'natural gender') in viṣeṣaṇas as in the following was certainly due to the influence of Skt.:—സൽഗുണമായ നൽപ്രജകൾ salguṇa-mār-āya n'alpprajagaḷ [praḷā is fem. in Skt., and so salguṇa-mār, the feminine, is used in the viṣeṣaṇa], പുണ്യകളായ നാനാകഥകൾ puṇya-gaḷ-āya kathagaḷ [kathā in Skt. is grammatically feminine, and so puṇyagaḷāya is used], മധുരകളായ വ്യാജവാക്കുകൾ madhura-gaḷ-āya vākkugaḷ. Bhāg. Bhāṣā has many instances: പരയായിരിക്കുന്ന തതിയെ; നാനാപ്രകാരകളായിരിക്കുന്ന വാക്കുകൾ; എനിക്കു സദിരയായിരിക്കുന്നഭായ്; മുക്തിയോടുതുല്യയായിരിക്കുന്ന ഭക്തി, etc.

(ii) The use of the plural in the viṣeṣaṇas (with forms of āg) in the following instances from Bhāg. bhāṣā is also Skt.-influenced since (cf. Kēr. Pāṇ., p. 335) the genius of Dravidian is against it:—അതിപ്രിയങ്ങളാകുന്ന വിഷയങ്ങളെ; നാനാപ്രകാരങ്ങളായിരിക്കുന്ന ആയുധങ്ങളും, etc.

2. The Skt. concord of "case"-ending between viṣeṣana and viṣeṣya is imitated in Mal.¹ constructions in the campus and occasionally in some other works also, though the principle is exotic in Mal.:—

Uṇṇunīṣandēsam shows instances of this concord in the "second case" in 1, 37; 1, 46; and in other passages like വണ്ടിൻനീക്കടയനെ, പരനെ, വാമരനിന്നു മെയ് പാതിയോനെ, അരനെ, പാമ്പാക്കിയോനെ, കണ്ടുപോവാൻ തരമവിടെ, കണ്ടിയുർ തമ്പിരാനെ. An instance from Bhāg. Bhāṣā, [1, p. 2] is the following:—അധികമയെ, ഭഗവാൻമുഖത്തുനിന്നു പുറപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ഹരിശമോളത്തെ. For other instances, see my EMM, p. 119.

¹ The Tamil bhaktas of the Early Middle Tam. period also some times employed this second case concord:—Appar's അരിയരനെ അന്തൻർ അപിരനെയാരനെ തേനെ പ്പുരേലെ വേരാതനുള്ളല്ലം പിറവാന്മാരേ.

3. The following are instances exemplifying the influence of Skt. rules of the government of "cases" by verbs:—

(a) "Second" case.—

(i) ഗ്രാമത്തെ ആവസിക്കുക grāmatte āvasikk-, തേരിനെ അധിവസിക്കുക tērine adhivasikk [Bhāg. Bhāṣā, 2] are imitations of Skt. constructions. Līl. expressly condemns them in II, 11, comm.

(ii) Imitations of the use of the accusative of time, like ദിവസത്തെ നിൽക്കാൻ divasatte n'ind'ān, are also condemned by Līl.:—"e" ityasya nirvartya vikārya prāpyātmakam karmārthah; natu kāladdhāntyanta samyōgādikam.—

Accusatives of time and place based on Skt. models exist in Kann. [see Śabdamaṇḍarp. 128]: upavāsadin trirātramanirdam; mū gavudamam naḍedam.

The accusative of place, condemned by Līl., is only very rarely met with in Mal. texts.

For Tamil, Tol. col., 72 prescribes the second case in connection with cel-'to go to', while sūtra 86 allows the seventh case also; but instances like neṟiyai-c-cenṟān, aramanaiyai-c-cenṟān are indeed very rare in the Śaṅgam texts which do show illustrations like vīḍu cel-without inflexional terminations. cel-'to go to', 'to reach, enter' may very well be conceived as a transitive verb, as distinguished from pō-'to go'; but cel-never governs accusatives in Mal., except rarely in Sanskrit-influenced texts.

(iii) A few Skt. verbs like duh 'to milk', brū 'to speak', pṛcch 'to ask', śās 'to instruct', yāc 'to beg' take two accusatives.

Cf. the following in Mal:—

അഭിമതങ്ങളെ വസിക്കുന്ന പ്രാർത്ഥിച്ച abhimataṅṅale vasiṟthane pṛārthiccū.

കൃഷ്ണൻ അർജ്ജുനനെ ഗീതയെ ഉപദേശിച്ച arjjunane gītaye upadēśiccū.

പശുവെ പാലെ കറക്കുന്നു paṣuve pāle karakkun'n'u [from Bala-prabōdham]

Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tam. have literary instances of this type and there is reason to think that Skt. may have inspired these constructions.

Tam. paṣuvai pālai-k-kaṟandan; Tel. āvunu pālu pitikenu.