



DLA NEWS

ELAMITE AND DRAVIDIAN : A
REASSESSMENT

Filippo Pedron, 2023, PB, Demmy 1/8,
pp. 264, Rs.450/- (US\$ 40/0)

DRAVIDIAN TOWNS IN THE
MAHAVASTU AND MILINDAPANHA
A DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

Bryan G. Levman, 2023, PB, Demmy 1/8,
pp. 152, Rs. 350/- (US\$ 30/-)

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May 2024

A MONTHLY OF DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION OF INDIA

51ST ALL INDIA CONFERENCE OF DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTS

27th to 29th June, 2024

Organized by

Tamil University, Thanjavur, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysuru
Dravidian Linguistic Association of India and
the International School of Dravidian Linguistics, Thiruvananthapuram

The registration for the 51st AICDL is in progress. In order to facilitate active participation of delegates from within and outside the country, the conference is decided to be conducted in the hybrid mode. In the case of online paper presenters considerable reduction in registration fee will be given (for details see p. 2). Interested scholars are requested to register as early as possible so as to ensure accommodation.

For details visit our website www.ijdl.org Link for registration :

<https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSdi0ITDsSdPMcFYtwLOCK36uzaL3BWhlBti1W08g2a72FalDg/viewform>

You can also download the registration form from our website (www.ijdl.org) and send it along with the registration fee to the Secretary, Dravidian Linguistic Association of India, V.I. Subramoniam Memorial ISDL Complex, St. Xavier's College P.O., Thiruvananthapuram - 695 586, Kerala on or before 31st May, 2024. The details of the modes of payment are given in the registration form. The requisite registration fee can be remitted in person, by post or by bank transfer.

Please send the filled-up registration form to the Secretary, Dravidian Linguistic Association of India by post or by e-mail (dlatvm@gmail.com)

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51st AICDL TRAVEL GRANTS

The organizers are unable to provide TA / DA to the participants. Since it is a prestigious conference of linguists, the participants (both teachers and research scholars) may avail of sponsorship from their respective universities. However, if any funding agency provides financial support, T.A. will be given to the special invitees and deserving delegates as per the direction of the funding body.

Also Please note to book the tickets through authorized agencies like IRCTC / Balmer Lawrie.

51st AICDL

CHIEF PATRON : Prof. V. Thiruvalluvan

Vice Chancellor, Tamil University, Thanjavur

ORGANIZING SECRETARY

Prof. S. Kavitha (9488040206)

dlaconferencetu@gmail.com, skavithatamil@gmail.com

**Organizing Committee of DLA at
Thiruvananthapuram**

General Convener : Prof. G.K. Panikkar

Secretaries : Dr. S. Abdul Samed (+91- 9495246269)

Dr. N. Muraleedharan Nair (+91-8301907098)

Registration & Public relations:

Mrs. Greeshma C. (+91- 7012927523, +91- 9188608982)

Please buy and recommend the publications of DLA and ISDL to others. DLA and ISDL publications are available on special discount.

51st AICDL - LIST OF AWARDS

1. **Mrs. Katre Memorial Prize** for M.A. topper in Linguistics
2. **Award for the Best Paper in the Conference**
3. **Prof. K. Anbazhakan Award** for Translation of *Tolkappiyam* in any international language
4. **Award for the Best Monograph on Dravidian Tribes**
5. **Shri. C. Achutha Menon Prize** for the Best Article or Book published on 'Computer and Language'
6. **Dr. George Jacob Award** for the Best Monograph on Dravidian Linguistics in any Indian language other than Dravidian.
7. **Prof. K.M. Venkataramaiah Award** for the Study of Language, Culture and other Linguistics-related Topics.
8. **Dr. Hermann Gundert Endowment Award** for the Best Dictionary, Lexicon or Encyclopaedia on any major Dravidian Language or any Dravidian Tribal Language
9. **The Phonetic Society of India Endowment Award** for a book on Phonetics in general or on Phonetics of any Indian language.
10. **Dr. Panneerselvam & Smt. Thavamani Panneerselvam Award** for the Translation of a Book from Tamil to Kannada or vice versa.
11. **Dr. K.N. Kuppaswamy Award** for a Lecture / Comparative Study of a Grammatical Text of Tamil, Sanskrit, Prakrit or Pali.
12. **Dr. P.C. Ganeshsundaram Award** To a Voice Researcher and to a Machine Translator, in alternate years, by evaluating their published articles or books.
13. **Prof. Susheela P. Upadhyaya Award** for a young researcher below 40 years who has produced a good monograph or Ph.D. research thesis or a good article on any branch of Modern Linguistics,
14. **Shri. C. Subramoniam Memorial Award** for the best book in Medicine in Dravidian on Ayurveda, Siddha or Allopathy.
15. **Telugu Award** (a) For the best book or research article in any study related to Telugu Linguistics, Folklore, Culture and such other related fields published (b) For the best paper in Telugu Linguistics presented in the 51st AICDL.
16. **Colin P. Massica Award** for the best paper in the field of 'India as a Linguistic Area' or 'Pedagogical Linguistics' from among the papers presented in the 51st AICDL.
17. **Vennelakanti Prakasam Award** for the best paper on systematic functional Linguistics (Phonology, Lexicogrammar, Semantics and Pragmatics) from among the papers presented in the 51st AICDL.

**51st AICDL
AWARDS AND PRIZES****Last date of submission of documents
25th May, 2024****SPECIAL LECTURES**

In connection with the 51st AICDL nine special lectures will be arranged during the three days of the conference which will be the highlight of the event. Prominent Linguists will join the conference as speakers.

1. **PROF. V.I. SUBRAMONIAM MEMORIAL LECTURE**
Prof. K. Rangan (Professor (Rtd.) Tamil University, Thanjavur)
2. **PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI MEMORIAL LECTURE**
Prof. K. Karunakaran (Former VC, Tamil University, Thanjavur)
3. **PROF. NAGAMMA REDDY MEMORIAL LECTURE**
Prof. N. Nadaraja Pillai (Emeritus Professor, Robert Caldwell Chair, Tamil University, Thanjavur)
4. **PROF. KARUNASINDHU DAS MEMORIAL LECTURE**
Prof. K. Suryanarayana (Professor, Dept. of Research & Publications, National Sanskrit University, Tirupati)
5. **PROF. S.K. VERMA MEMORIAL LECTURE**
Prof. E. James Daniel (Former Professor of English and Principal, Scott Christian College (Autonomous), Nagercoil)
6. **PROF. A. CHANDRASEKHAR MEMORIAL LECTURE**
Prof. T.B Venugopala Panikkar (Professor of Malayalam (Retd.), University of Calicut)
7. **PROF. CHEKKURI RAMARAO MEMORIAL LECTURE**
Prof. M. Sampath Kumar (Director, Center of Excellence for Studies in Classical Telugu, Dept. of Higher Education, Govt. of India)
8. **PROF. H.M. MAHESWARAIAH MEMORIAL LECTURE**
Prof. C. Ramaswamy (Professor of Kannada and Linguistics (Retd.) Madras University)
9. **PROF. K. MAHADEVA SASTRI MEMORIAL LECTURE**
Prof. P. Kusumakumari (Former VC, Sri Krishnadevaraya University, Ananthapur)

51st AICDL - REGISTRATION FEE DETAILS

The registration fee for the online participants of the 51st AICDL to be held at Tamil University, Thanjavur during 27th-29th June, 2024 is reduced. There is no change in the registration fee for the offline participants. The present rates of registration fees are as follows :

I. ONLINE PARTICIPANTS	
(a) Students & Research Scholars without Fellowships	₹. 1000/-
(b) All others	₹. 1500/-
II. OFFLINE PARTICIPANTS	
(a) Life-members of DLA & Research Scholars with Fellowships	₹.2000/-
(b) Students and Research Scholars without Fellowships	₹.1500/-
(c) Local students	₹.1000/-
(d) Other categories of delegates	₹. 3000/-

- Only offline registrants are eligible for conference kit.
- Online participants will be issued only the soft copy of the certificate.

REGISTRATION FORM
51st AICDLDepartment of Linguistics, Tamil University, Thanjavur
(27-29 June 2024)

Name (Prof./Dr./Mr./Ms.) :

Gender :

Address (Official) :

(Residence) :

Phone :

E-mail :

Life-Member of DLA : YES NO Ph.D. Researcher without
Fellowship, M.A./M.Phil. Student : YES NO Student of the Host University : YES NO Accommodation Needed : YES NO Mode of participation : Online Offline

Mode of journey :

Date & Time of Arrival :

Date & Time of Departure :

Title of the Paper :

Details of Registration Fee :

Mode of Remittance : Date :

*M.O./D.D./Cheque/in favour of
Treasurer DLA**Bank Transfer**[Account Name = **All India
Conference and Seminar**

Account No. =

336602010006321;Bank = **Union Bank of India;**Branch = **Menamkulam,****THIRUVANANTHAPURAM**IFSC Code = **UBIN0533661**SWIFT Code = **UBININBBKHU]****REGISTRATION FEE:**

Online Participants		
(a) Students & Research Scholars without Fellowships	₹. 1000/-	
(b) All others	₹. 1500/-	
Offline Participants		
	India / Other SAARC countries	Non- SAARC countries
Life-members of DLA & Research Scholars with Fellowships	₹. 2000/-	US\$ 200/-
Students and Research Scholars without Fellowships	₹.1500/-	US\$ 150/-
Local students	₹.1000/-	
Other categories of delegates	₹. 3000/-	US\$ 300/-

☑ Only offline registrants are eligible for conference kit.

☑ Online participants will be issued only the soft copy of the certificate.

* Payment of **registration fee** is to be made to: Secretary-DLA, **51st AICDL**, V.I. Subramoniam Memorial ISDL Complex, St. Xavier's College P.O., Thiruvananthapuram - 695 586.**The application forms for life-membership and institutional membership of the Dravidian Linguistic Association of India and also for the 51st AICDL can be downloaded from www.ijdl.org.**The filled-up registration form should reach the Secretary, Dravidian Linguistic Association of India on or before 24th May, 2024.

Date :

Signature

51ST ALL INDIA CONFERENCE OF DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTS**Chief Patron**

Prof. V. Thiruvalluvan
(Vice-Chancellor, Tamil University)

Patron

Prof. N.P. Unni (President, DLA)
Prof. G.K. Panikkar (Director ISDL)
Prof. K. Karunakaran (Chairman, ISDL),
Prof. Shailendra Mohan (Director, CIIL),
Prof. C. Thyagarajan (Registrar, Tamil University)

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Dr.R.S Murugan, TU
Dr.R. Rajesh, TU
Dr.S. Veeralakshmi, TU
Dr.S. Vijayarajeswari, TU

10TH ALL INDIA CONFERENCE OF LINGUISTICS AND FOLKLORE**3-5 September, 2024**

The Department of Linguistics, Aligarh Muslim University is organizing the 10th All India Conference of Linguistics and Folklore on the topic "Translation Across Cultures in Multilingual India wrt NEP 2020" September 3-5, in collaboration with Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysuru, Punjabi Linguistics Association, Patiala & Ministry of Culture, Government of India. The conference offers a platform for scholars, educators, and policymakers to explore the various aspects of translation in education.

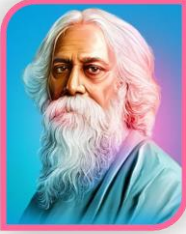
Interested scholars may please send the abstracts on or before 5th August, 2024 at 10aiclf.amu@gmail.com in any of the sub-themes given below :

1. Sociolinguistic Perspectives in Translation 2. Cognitive Processes in Translation 3. Contrastive Linguistics and Translation Studies 4. Corpus Linguistics in Translation Research 5. Pragmatics and Translation 6. Translation and Discourse Analysis 7. Translational Semiotics 8. Multilingual Translation Strategies 9. Translation Ethics and Cultural Sensitivity 10. Machine Translation Advancements 11. Translation for Special Needs Education 12. Translation and Linguistic Rights 13. Translation in Digital Learning Environments 14. Localization in Educational Content 15. Translation and Stylistics 16. Translation Pedagogy and Curriculum Development.

CELEBRATING THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF FOUNDATION

The Department of Linguistics, Banaras Hindu University celebrated its Golden Jubilee of Foundation (1972-2022) on April 22, 2024, at the AB Hall. Guoni Bragson, the Ambassador of Iceland to India, New Delhi, was invited as the Chief Guest on this auspicious occasion. Prof. (Dr.) Porhallur Eyporsson from the University of Iceland, Reykjavik, Iceland, was invited to deliver a talk on "The Birth of Modern Linguistics." Several aspects of Modern Linguistics were explored through this lecture. The event was coordinated by Dr. Abhinav Kumar Mishra, Head of the Department of Linguistics, BHU.

A SOCIO-CULTURAL, HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE PATHANS OF KERALA, S. Abdul Samed, 2022, PB, Demy 1/8. pp. 104, Rs.130/- (US\$ 13/-) MAPPILA MIGRANTS IN ANDAMANS - A SOCIO-LINGUISTIC STUDY, N. Muraleedharan Nair, 2022, PB, Demy 1/8, pp.225, Rs.260/- (US\$ 26/-). GRAMMAR OF RĀMACARITAM, Naduvattom Gopalakrishnan, 2022, HB, Demy 1/8, pp. 395, Rs.500/- (US\$ 50/-). TAGORE'S GITANJALI, K. Jayakumar, 2022, PB, Demy 1/8, pp.95, Rs. 130/- (US\$ 13/-). ENDANGERED SPEECHES OF IDUKKI IN KERALA, V.R. Prabodhachandran Nayar & K. Velappan, 2021, PB, Demy 1/8, pp. 12+500, Rs. 660/- (US\$ 66/-).



RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATED

The staff and fellows of ISDL and DLA under the auspices of the Bengali Unit celebrated the 163rd birth anniversary of the Great Nobel Laureate, Rabindranath Tagore. A special function was organized in connection with this occasion which was chaired by Prof. G.K. Panikkar, Hon. Director. He praised the glory of this great poet of India and remembered the connection between Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the first president of DLA and Rabindranath Tagore. Mr. Dhruvajyoti Das welcomed the gathering. Dr. S. Abdul Samed, Secretary and Dr. N. Muraleedharan Nair, Treasurer spoke on the occasion. Mr. Arup Pandit proposed the vote of thanks.

AWARD OF DOCTORAL AND POST-DOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS 2024-26

The Central Institute of Classical Tamil is offering Doctoral and Postdoctoral Fellowships to eligible candidates to promote scholarship in Classical Tamil. The Doctoral Fellowship provides Rs. 30,000/- per month for 2 years along with a contingency grant of Rs. 18,000/- per annum. To apply for this fellowship, candidates should be Postgraduate Degree holders in Literature, Linguistics, or allied disciplines such as Anthropology, Sociology, Education, Archaeology, Epigraphy, Musicology, Performing Arts, Folklore, Philosophy, etc., and they should have passed the M.A. degree examination with not less than 55% marks. Candidates belonging to the SC/ST category are eligible for a relaxation of 5 marks. The evidence of Ph.D. registration should be enclosed with the application.

The Post-doctoral Fellowship provides an award of Rs. 50,000/- per month for 2 years along with a contingency grant of Rs. 30,000/- per annum. To apply for this fellowship, applicants must be Ph.D. holders from any university or Institution certified b 2 (F) & 12 (B) by the UGC. Ph.D. Degree holders in Literature, Linguistics, or allied disciplines such as Anthropology, Sociology, Education, Archaeology, Epigraphy, Musicology, Performing Arts, Folklore, Philosophy, etc.

The last date for receiving applications is 31.05.2024. For more details visit the website: www.cict.in.

Arup Pandit

TEACHING BASIC TAMIL TO THE CENSUS OFFICERS

The Central Institute of Classical Tamil organized a two-week workshop "Teaching Basic Tamil to the Census Officers" from May 1st to May 14th, 2024. Dr. K. Jayakumari, Research Officer & Workshop Co-ordinator, delivered the welcome address. Prof. R. Chandrasekaran, Hon. Director, CICT, gave the presidential address. Dr. R. Bhuvaneshwari, Registrar, CICT felicitated the function. Thiru. Sajjansingh R Chavan I.A.S. Hon. Director, Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India delivered the Keynote Address. Thiru. M. Govindarajan, Language expert, CICT, focused on the aim of the workshop and highlighted the importance of learning Tamil as a second language. Dr. M. Susila, Junior Research Officer & Workshop Associate Co-ordinator proposed the vote of thanks.

SAIVA PRAKASA SABHA CELEBRATED THE 140th FOUNDATION DAY

The 140th Foundation Day of Thiruvananthapuram Saiva Prakasa Sabha was celebrated on 14-04-2024 at Saiva Prakasa Sabha Community Hall, Killippalam. Dr. Subbalekshmi who won an award from Indian Society of Pediatric & Preventive Dentist was felicitated on the occasion. The Programme started with the Welcome Address by Sri. M.S. Padmanabhan (Sabha Treasurer). Sabha President Sri. K. Raveendran (IA&AS) Rtd. delivered the Presidential Address. Dr. K. Kuttalam Pillai (Sabha Vice President) presented the history of the Sabha. Sri. R. Murugan, the Chief Guest presented the Awards. The function came to a close with vote of thanks from Sri. S.T. Arasu (Sabha Secretary).

N. Muraleedharan Nair

INDEX OF BHARATAMALA, R. Saraswathy Kutty Amma, 2021, HB, Demy 1/8, pp.892, Rs.1100/-(US\$ 110/). COLLECTED PAPERS OF LV RAMASWAMI IYER, G.K. Panikkar, K. Rangan & Naduvattom Gopalakrishnan (Eds.) 2021, HB, Demy 1/8, pp.826, Rs. 990/- (US\$ 99/-). INDEX OF EARLY MANIPRAVĀLA WORKS, N. Gopinathan Nair, 2021, PB, Crown 1/4, pp. 1086, Rs. 2240/- (US\$ 224/-). INDEX OF RĀMAKATHAPPĀṬṬU, G. Sulekha, 2021, HB, Demy 1/8, pp. 1742, Rs. 1960/- (US\$ 196/-). BANGLA AND OTHER INDIAN LANGUAGES: LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL RELATIONS, Naduvattom Gopalakrishnan & Dhruvajyoti Das (Eds.), 2021, PB, Demy 1/8, pp. viii + 483, Rs. 600/- (US\$ 60/-). INDIAN STYLISTICS, Desamangalam Ramakrishnan, 2020, PB, Crown 1/4, pp. 8 + 73, Rs. 170/- (US\$ 17/-). MALAYALAM AS A CLASSICAL LANGUAGE, Naduvattom Gopalakrishnan (Ed.), 2020, PB, Crown 1/4, pp. xx+616, Rs. 1250/- (US\$ 125/-). COLLECTED PAPERS OF V.I. SUBRAMONIAM, Naduvattom Gopalakrishnan (Ed.), 2020, HB, Crown 1/4, pp. 6+187, Rs. 450/- (US\$ 45/-). EVOLUTION OF MALAYALAM, Anantaramayyar Chandrasekhar, 2020, PB, Crown 1/4, pp. 8+216, Rs. 450/- (US\$ 45/-). THE DRAVIDIAN CULTURE AND ITS DIFFUSION, T.K. Krishna Menon, 2020, PB, Demy 1/8, pp. 58, Rs. 75/-(US\$ 7.50/-). THE MOTHER GODDESS IN BENGAL AND IN KERALA, T. Madhava Menon, 2020, PB, Demy 1/8, pp. vi + 463, Rs. 600 (US\$ 60/-).

46TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF INDIA (ICOLSI-46)

(Department of Linguistics, University of Kashmir, Srinagar)

October 3-5, 2024

The Department of Linguistics, University of Kashmir is hosting the 46th International Conference of the Linguistic Society of India (ICOLSI-46) in collaboration with the Linguistic Society of India, Pune and Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysuru from the 3rd to 5th of October 2024. The areas of interest include any aspect of theoretical, applied and interdisciplinary linguistics. A special focus of the conference is a symposium on 'Linguistics in 21st century: challenges and opportunities'. Interested scholars may send the abstracts in about 250-300 words in any of the related areas on or before 15th June 2024 to the following mail ID icolsi46.ku@gmail.com with copy to aejaz@uok.edu.in

For details please visit: www.lsi.org.in

S. Abdul Samed

BRAHUI, KURUX AND MALTO*

(Prof. Masato Kobayashi)

1. Introduction

Brahui, along with Kuṛux and Malto, is categorized as North Dravidian a classification first proposed by Denys Bray in 1934 and later by Murray B. Emeneau in 1962. However, David McAlpin's 2003 analysis argued against this subgrouping due to the lack of shared linguistic innovations. The term "northern Dravidian" is used here as a conventional label than for a distinct linguistic branch. Brahui's geographical separation from other Dravidian languages poses a long-standing puzzle in South Asian linguistics, often referred to as "the Brahui problem." While the prevailing theory suggests that Proto-Dravidian speakers migrated from the west to the southern tip of the subcontinent, this linear migration model is considered overly simplistic by some scholars. The movement of populations, including that of Brahui speakers, is often more complex, involving multidirectional migrations rather than a straightforward southward journey. The exact origins and migration routes of Kuṛux, Malto and Brahui speakers remain uncertain.

The ethnonym *kuṛux* for Kuṛux speakers, related to the Tamil word for 'west' (*kuṭakku*) according to *DEDR*, suggests a western connection, though its specific reference is unclear. A notable link to western India for

Kuṛux speakers is their consumption of rice flour roti, known as *chirkā asmā*, which closely resembles the Maharashtrian *ghāvan*. This contrasts with Malto speakers, who show no sign of historical ties to western regions. The hypothesis is that Kuṛux speakers might have migrated through western India, while Malto speakers remained more easterly in the Deccan before settling in the Rajmahal Hills. However, the lack of a written tradition and the rapid change of cultural practices like cuisine make it difficult to fully trace these migratory and cultural connections.

The Brahui language, primarily spoken in Balochistan, (Pakistan), is used by over three million people as a first or second language, with speakers also in Sindh, Iran's Sistan-Baluchestan, and Afghanistan. While most of Balochistan's population speak Balochi, a West Iranian language, Brahui is prevalent in areas like the Kalat and Mastung Districts of the Kalat Division, where it serves as a lingua franca for all ethnic groups. Many Brahui speakers identify as "Baloch," though some prefer "Brahui." Traditionally, Brahui speakers have led a nomadic pastoralist lifestyle, herding sheep and goats across vast semiarid lands, a unique trait among Dravidian-speaking communities. Their diet includes dairy, barbecue, rice and stone-baked wheat bread. Brahui dialects vary by region and are categorized into Sarawan

- Abridged version of the online lecture delivered by Prof. Masato Kobayashi on 06th January, 2024 organized by the International School of Dravidian Linguistics, Thiruvananthapuram

(Highland), Jhalawan (Lowland), and Rakhshan, with further variations among tribes and between settled and nomadic Brahuis.

Brahui's grammar and vocabulary significantly differ from other Dravidian languages due to its geographical isolation and extensive contact with Iranian languages like Balochi. This interaction has led to substantial lexical borrowing, including basic terms and functional words, reflecting a long history of close contact. Key examples include *kucak* 'dog' and *daryāb* 'river' and borrowings like the agentive suffix *-ok* and various conjunctions.

However, beneath its surface divergence, Brahui retains elements indicative of its Dravidian roots, evident in both its lexicon and grammatical structure. Words like *nī* 'you', *pāl* 'milk', and *irat* 'two' align with Dravidian cognates. Morphologically, Brahui's use of non-past and past suffixes in negation, *-p* and *-t*, mirrors (albeit inversely) the affirmative suffixes in South Dravidian languages. Since such pairs are not expected to develop independently, this parallelism underscores the Dravidian lineage of Brahui.

In contrast, Brahui and Kuṛux-Malto do not share so many features or etyma as one would expect from their geographical location in the north of the subcontinent. For example, Kuṛux and Malto have replaced the 'milk' word with Indo-Aryan *dudhī* and *dudi*, and similarly the 'water' word too, whereas Brahui retain Dravidian words for these items. The plural marker of Brahui is *-k*, while it is *-r* in Kuṛux and Malto. In contrast, there are only a handful of lexical items exclusively shared by these three languages, such as Brahui *bē*, Kuṛux *bēk* and Malto *bēku* 'salt'.

2. Gradient aspiration

Brahui's phonemic system exhibits a unique three-way contrast in aspiration across its dialects, with variations including stable aspiration, variable aspiration, and stable unaspiration. For example, in the Rakhshan dialect, there is no aspiration, while the Jhalawan dialect features many aspirated stops, and the Sarawan dialect has some. This contrasts with Malto, which lacks aspirated phonemes, whereas Kuṛux includes them in both inherited and borrowed words. Additionally, Kuṛux occasionally exhibits aspirated sounds where

Malto or Brahui do not, and even within Kuṛux, there are stylistic variants involving aspiration, such as in *boṅg-ā* \approx *b^hoṅg-ā* 'run', where the aspirated form appears in songs.

This phonetic feature suggests a historical linguistic process where Kuṛux, having been in closer contact with Indo-Aryan languages, adopted aspirated stops from borrowed words and then extended this feature to native Dravidian vocabulary, a trend still evolving. Brahui dialects mirror this distribution, with the Rakhshan dialect showing no aspiration similar to Malto, the Sarawan dialect having stably aspirated stops mainly in loanwords, and the Jhalawan dialect, akin to Kuṛux, featuring phonemic aspirated stops in both borrowed and native words. This pattern indicates a broader phenomenon within the Dravidian language family, where languages like Naikṛi also possess aspirated stops, suggesting a possible parallel development influenced by contact with Indo-Aryan languages.

Vaux and Samuels's 2005 study on the Eastern Armenian stop system suggests that an unmarked two-way stop system typically contrasts aspirated and unaspirated stops, with aspirated stops possibly being the default due to ease of production. They argue that unaspirated stops require starting phonation within 30ms after stop release, whereas any longer gap is perceived as aspiration. This perspective might explain the prevalence and phonemicization of aspirated stops in languages like Brahui and Kuṛux as part of a natural, cross-linguistic development, where aspirated stops become more common due to their relative ease of articulation.

3. Malto converbs

When a language changes, the usual direction is a change towards simplification. However, in some cases languages change so that they become more complex. Peter Trudgill called such change "complexification." When we see Dravidian languages, one of the prominent characteristics is the existence of conjunctive participles, which signal actions prior to that of the main clause. Brahui has no conjunctive participles. There is a gerund formed with the suffix *-isa*, which denotes concurrent actions, but there is no equivalent of conjunctive participles signaling prior actions.



On the other hand, Kuṛux and Malto have conjunctive participles denoting anterior actions. While Kuṛux has only one form for all persons, numbers and genders, that is “verb base + the suffix *-ar*”, Malto has two conjunctive participles, one which does not show agreement, and the other which agrees with the subject of the main clause in person, number and gender. According to my count of the spoken narrative corpus, there are 980 agreeing conjunctive participles and 183 unagreeing conjunctive participles in *-ko*. While the subjects of the agreeing conjunctive participles are the same as those of the main clauses in most examples, the subjects of the unagreeing conjunctive participle in *-ko* are different in most cases.

In some languages of the world, there are morphological markers signaling that the subjects of two clauses are different. This phenomenon is called ‘switch reference’ and many languages in the Americas and Australia have it. Malto converbs might also be counted as a switch reference system. Outside South Asia, the Kolyma Yukaghir language in Eastern Siberia has switch reference suffixes.

In Kolyma Yukaghir, the switch reference suffix *-ke* which shows agreement with the subject is used only when the subject of the converb clause is different from that of the main clause unlike Malto; and when the subjects of the converb clause and the main clause are the same, another converb suffix *-t*, which does not show agreement, is used. This is exactly the opposite of Malto, in which the agreeing conjunctive participle suffix is used only when the subjects of the participial clause and the main clause are the same. From a functional point of view, it makes more sense that the conjunctive participle suffix shows agreement when the subject changes as in Kolyma Yukaghir, but the conjunctive participle of Malto redundantly agrees with the subject, even though the subject remains the same as in the main clause.

Interestingly, Kuṛux also has a morphologically similar participle, formed from the past stem and *-k* just like the agreeing converb of Malto. That participle occurs in the periphrastic perfect of Kuṛux as in this example. In present-day Kuṛux, the *-kā* participle agrees with the subject only in gender. But according to Grignard (1924), which is a description written a

century ago, this *-kā* participle still agreed with the subject in gender, number and person, like Malto converb. Moreover, the *-kā* participle of Kuṛux also functions as a converb, as this example from Grignard, *dhībā cicc-kas kudd-das* {money give-PTCP.3SG.M walk.around-PRS.3SG.M} “He walks about giving away money.” Since the agreeing converb of Malto and the *-kā* participle of Kuṛux are exact cognates, I reconstructed *-kā* as the perfective verbal adjective in Proto-Kuṛux-Malto (Kobayashi 2022, *IJDL* 51).

Interestingly, the South-Central Dravidian language Pengo has an adjective suffix *-aka*, and this suffix is also used to form participial nouns, showing close parallelism with Kuṛux past forms like *bar-c-ka-n*, which is formed with the *-kā* suffix and an agreement suffix.

Based on these facts, I made a scenario as the following. In Proto-Kuṛux-Malto, perfective participles were formed with the suffix *-kā*. Proto-Kuṛux-Malto shared this suffix with South-Central Dravidian. Adjectives including participles could be used as predicates without a copula in Proto-Kuṛux-Malto, as it is still the case in Malto. And when the *-kā* participles were used as predicates, it took agreement suffixes, as Malto still does. In Malto, this perfective participle developed into a conjunctive participle, redundantly maintaining the agreement with the subject. In Kuṛux, it formed periphrastic perfect tense with the copula verb. This *-kā* participle further developed into past finite verbs in Kuṛux and in the Northern dialect of Malto.

(To be continued....)

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