LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY IN KERALA: THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF MALAYALAM LANGUAGE
(1300 CE TO 1800 CE)

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE
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By
VINCY. C.K

Under the guidance of
Dr. K.N. GANESH

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
KERALA, INDIA**

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DECLARATION

I, **VINCY C.K.**, hereby declare that the thesis '**LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY IN KERALA: THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF MALAYALAM LANGUAGE (1300 CE TO 1800 CE)**' is a bonafide record of research work done by me and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any other degrees.

C.U. Campus   **VINCY C.K**

   .02.2020

Dr. K.N.GANESH
Retd. Professor in History
Department of History
University of Calicut

Certificate

This is to certify that this thesis '**LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY IN KERALA: THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF MALAYALAM LANGUAGE (1300CE TO 1800 CE)**' is a bonafide record of genuine research done by **VINCY C.K.**, under my guidance. No part of the thesis has been submitted before for the award of any degree.

C.U. Campus

.02.2020

Dr. K.N.Ganesh

(Supervising Teacher)

Dr. K. N Ganesh

Professor (Rtd.)

Department of History

University of Calicut

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that thesis entitled, **LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY IN KERALA: THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF MALAYALAM LANGUAGE (1300 CE TO 1800 CE)** submitted for the award of the Doctor of Philosophy in History of the University of Calicut is a record of bonafied research done by Smt. **Vincy C.K,** under my supervision . No part of the thesis has been submitted for the award of any degree before.

The thesis is revised as per the modifications and recommendations reported by the adjudicators and resubmitted soft copy attached is the same as that of the resubmitted revised copy.

Dr. K. N Ganesh

Supervising Teacher

Department of History

University of Calicut

Calicut University

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The social history and linguistic history of Kerala are simultaneously linked with each other. Social changes in the society are also reflected in the linguistic expression of a living community. Language has attained its growth and identity through the long process of socio-cultural interactions of the people. Malayalam language has been going through these kinds of socio-cultural transformations from ancient period up to the present time. Hence, the language has accumulated and borrowed many idioms from other linguistic sources. The regional variations in Malayalam language in different parts of Kerala are also a reflection of this reality.

The term Malayalam initially used to represent the region, not the language. Only later it has acquired the linguistic connotation. The identity of *Malayali* and the identification of Kerala are mutually associated with each other to label the language of this region as Malayalam.

The socio-cultural history of Kerala has played very remarkable role behind the formation of Malayalam as a linguistic identity. Kerala was a part of *Tamizhakam* in ancient periods. Tamil became the dominant language in the entire South India during those days. From *Sangam* works and other material evidence it is evident that the land of *Malai Nadu* came to be ruled by the Cheras. *Pathittupathu* provides vital clues and insights

regarding the political history of this Chera rule. But with the lack of authentic sources historians are not able to reconstruct the objective history of the ancient *Malai Nadu* in its chronological order. However many attempts have been made by the scholars to reconstruct the early history of Kerala from the available sources which have raised major points of discussion and debate.

According to historians, Kerala has acquired a political and linguistic identity during the reign of Perumals, who had established their state in 9th C AD with Mahodayapuram as its capital. According to E. Sreedhara Menon, the history of the second Chera state clearly demonstrates that Kerala was a homogeneous political unit at least for three centuries from 800 to 1102 AD[1]. Kesavan Veluthat also argued that, 'Kerala as an entity distinct from the rest of South India, came to acquire its socio-cultural identity at the beginning of the 9th C AD[2]. MGS Narayanan also stated that; it was under the Chera Perumals of Mahodayapuram that Kerala was united under the umbrella of one political system for the first time. Malayalam emerged and was recognized as a separate language in this period and so did other features that lent Kerala a personality of its own'[3].

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[1] A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2007, p. 111.

[2] Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India,* Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 249.

[3] M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala: Political and Social Conditions of Kerala Under the Cera Perumals of Makotas (AD 800-1124),* Calicut, 1996.

Under Perumal rule the land of Kerala had witnessed tremendous changes in the realm of socio, economic, political and economic sectors. But the argument that, Malayalam became a separate language during this period, has been examined in more detail.

The growth and expansion of agriculture and the surplus production made the economy of perumal empire as more prosperous. According to Kesavan Veluthat, by the close of the 8thC AD, wide areas of land had been brought under the plough for the cultivation of rice and huge chunk of the tribal population was transformed into peasants[4].

According to certain historians, the migration of Brahmins into Kerala became a big turning point in the history of Kerala. *Keralolpathi & Parasurama legend* also explains the origin of Kerala and the event involved the establishment of Perumal Kingdom in Kerala. It is said that the Brahmins were established in their settlements at thirty two *Gramas* in Kerala.

The Brahmanical migration mainly took place from Chalukya-Kadamba areas and Tamil Nadu. EMS Nampoodirippad believed that, with the influence of Brahmanical culture, Kerala became a separate state and *Malayalis* got a separate identity[5].

The polity, society, economy and culture of Perumal empire became reconstructed on the basis of the evidence available from inscriptions from

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[4]   Kesavan Veluthat, *op. cit.,* p. 251.

[5]   EMS, *Keralam Malayalikalude Mathrubhumi*, p. 76.

different parts of Kerala. This was written in *vattezhuthu s*cript mainly attached to temples in various parts of Kerala.

Therefore it is clearly understood that the Brahmins had played a vital role in the administration of Perumal rulers. Perumal had a council of Brahmin ministers in the name of *Nalu-Tali* to assist him in day-to-day administration[6]. The Brahmins had enjoyed both ritual and social privileges under perumal rule. Though the Brahmanical settlements in fertile river areas, they became biggest land-owning groups with the origin of private property. As a result of this they had enjoyed economic privileges by dominating all other unprivileged communities in Kerala. Based on this context, there was an emerging social stratification to which legal and disciplinary organizations was provided by the *Dharmasastra* literature of Brahmins. Inorder to establish these stratification they had enforced the ideology of *Jathi*, and *Varnasrama dharma*.

According to Kesavan Veluthat, 'as most of the lands were under the domain of Brahmanas and Brahmanical corporations, they had enjoyed economic privileges. They were naturally able to command a large number of privileges over the rest of the society[7]. The brahmins and temples could offer many lands by the kings as *Devasvam*and *Brahmasvam* land. Through this brahmins can individually and collectively could earn and enjoy the income

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[6]   *Op. cit.*

[7]   *Ibid.*

from the cultivation by their indirect supervision. By this time numerous temples were constructed by the rulers and became the centres of production process. From inscriptions we get details regarding the distribution and re-distribution of resources among the brahmanical and non-brahmanical communities. But in inscriptions, more preferences were given to Brahmins, as those inscriptions were mainly attached to temple. Mostly inscriptions related to agrarian villages mainly focused on temples by the Brahmana communities.

The inscriptions give the details of the brisk trade conducted between Kerala and West Asian countries. The Reference of *Anchuvannam, manigramam* and other guilds indicates the trading corporation of Jews and Syrian Christians. The *Tarissappalli Copper Plate* and *Jewish Copper plates* give indication regarding the religious toleration followed by the Perumal rulers and local rulers in Kerala.

During perumal reign, many trading centres have functioned here. Port towns of Quilon and Kodungalloor have played as international recognition in Maritime trade. Apart from those economic functions these trade organizations had enjoyed administrative and judicial functions. As a result of these trading contacts, the religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam entered into Kerala. They had great influence on the coastal regions of Kerala.

By the expansion of agriculture tremendous changes were introduced in the realm of society, polity and economy of Kerala upto 12th C AD. Perumal reign came to an end in 12th C AD. After the deterioration of Perumal Kingdom several social and political changes were witnessed in the society. *Jati* got new dimensions in the society. Under this Brahmins enjoyed much superiority while establishing the social hierarchy based on production and agriculture.

With the decline of the Perumal reign, Kerala became the centre of political fragmentation. The local *naduvazhis* under perumal rule declared independence and some of them were more powerful in later centuries. The chief Naduvazhis of Kerala had claimed or connected their ancestry with Perumals either directly or indirectly.

The different *Nadus* that came up in the remains of old kingdom had competed with each other to acquire more territories and greater honour. The small kingdoms and principalities which existed during this period were known as *Swaroopams*. Numerous *Swaroopams* were prevalent in early medieval period. Nediyiruppe Swaroopam, Trippapur Swaroopam, Perumpadappu Swarupam, Tarur Swaroopam, etc. are some examples. Gradually some Swaroopams developed as greater kingdoms by subjugating and defeating the minor powers. Some others voluntarily accepted the over lordship of greater powers in their neighbourhood. Such greater kingdoms are

Kozhikode, Kochi, Kolathunadu, and Venad. These kingdoms were also engaged in mutual struggles and competitions to dominate the entire areas in Kerala.

By this time of *Naduvazhis,* both internal and external trade flourished in Kerala. From *Manipravalam* works we get a clear picture of the internal trading centres or *Angadis*in Kerala. *Vaniks* or traders had played a very remarkable role in exchanges of products from one area to the other. Apart from this, we get evidence regarding active trade relations that existed with Arabs and Chinese. In their travel accounts they stated about the maritime trade contacts existed between them. Quilon became the important core centre of trade. *Mushakavamshakavya* referred to the port towns of Valapattanam, Madayi and Dharmadam. Kodungaloor also played an important role in maritime trade. They were in great demand of products of Kerala especially hill products. In 1341 as a result of Periyar flood the Kondugalloor port declined and a new port named Kochazhi or Kochi emerged. Later Kochi became an important centre of sea trade in Kerala. In North, Calicut played an important role in trade with Arabs. The Islamic culture of North Kerala became the product of these trading relations.

During the period of *Naduvazhis,* the petty chiefs were divided into different categories according to their rank. *The Desavazhis* had the control of a few villages under their supervision. Each *Naduvazhi* and *Desavazhis* had

their own military groups. Professional class or caste of fighters existed during this period. *Nayars, Ezhava* and *Thiyya* communities have played the role of military groups and price fighters. '*Changatham*' existed as the military wing of *sanketam* during those days.

By this time *Nalu Talis* that were dominant under Chera rule had disappeared. Individual Brahmana gramas had formed during this period. Non Brahmanas had their own units in the name of *Tara* and *Kara*. Each *Tara* became dominated by a particular caste and had their own military groups or *Kalari*. They also had worshiped folk deities and conducted festivals to appease their deity. These village communities had formed as a part of expansion of agriculture and cultivation. Under this system *Jatis*got new dimensions and new sub-jatis were formed during this period.

During this phase Non-brahmanical cults and practices get social recognition. The social condition of women in different communities shows the social and moral degradation of the society. The system of *Devadasi* is a clear indication for this. The *Sambandham* custom followed in *Nayar* and Kshatriya families shows that, Brahmins became the visiting husband to their family. In Namboothiri family the elder brother only went through marriage. In order not to divide the property of Namboothiri Brahmin family they had practiced *Sambantham* System. As a part of *Jati* System they imposed untouchability and unseebility among the socially degraded caste groups. At

the same time they exploited them as much as possible. The brahmanic Hindu religion lost its recognition during this phase. At this juncture the Christian missionaries converted many low caste groups to Christianity. In Northern Kerala itself Islam spread in wide range.

With the arrival of European powers, society witnessed far-reaching changes. The powers of Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English competed to establish trade monopoly in Kerala by exploiting the power struggles among the *Naduvazhis*. Finally by the beginning of 19th C, British had established overall political domination over Kerala.

The cultural sphere witnessed many developments from early medieval period to the beginning of 18th C. The introduction of Sanskrit literature made intellectual field under the domain of elite groups. The Manipravalam style, the blending of language with Sanskrit got wide recognition among scholars of elite group only. However, the features of vernacular style can be identified by the early *Manipravalam* works. Due to the work of Cherussery Poonthanam, Ezhuttachan, and Kunjan Nambiar the literature got wide recognition among the non-brahmins of the society. *Grandhavaris* are also useful to understand the languages in Medieval Kerala. *Vanjeri* and *Mathilakam granthavaris* are certain records which giveinformation regarding the language which reflected in records. As these *Granthavaris* were written in prescribed linguistic format, vernacular features are almost absent in it. Apart from this literary tradition, we get many sources

related to oral songs and folk traditions from different parts of Kerala. Along with this, many temple art forms got wide recognition among the different sections in the society.

The genesis of Malayalam language and its growth became the total product of these social, political, economic and cultural events and changes that would result in the perumal period to the end of *Naduvazhi swaroopam.* Malayalam evolved on the basis of the historic evolution and social formation of Kerala. Both indigenous and foreign elements played a remarkable part in its evolutionary stages. The identity of *Malayali* and *Malayali* culture became the total product of these historical processes.

This study is an attempt to trace the origin and growth of Malayalam language in Kerala while analyzing its socio-historical background during 1300 CE to 1800 CE. Numerous studies have been conducted by various linguists in relation with the evolutionary growth of Malayalam language in Kerala. Whole these studies are mainly prepared on the basis of linguistic analysis which mainly concentrated on various inscriptions and other written literary sources in Kerala. Language got its growth as an oral medium also. The changes in social relations and other socio-cultural factors have also played a significant role in the social growth of Malayalam language. Both linguistic growth and social formation of Kerala are the product of the same evolutionary changes that took place from early medieval to the end of *Naduvazhi* period.

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH

This is a socio-cultural study of Malayalam language from 1300 CE to 1800 CE. The main aims and objectives of the study are to trace out the factors which are responsible for the evolution of language, to analyse how did the social changes affect the growth of language, to probe in which period the language was separated from the Tamil language, and finally to investigate the inter-relation of society, culture, language in the formation and growth of Kerala state.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study tries to provide answers for the following questions

· Did there exist a separate dialect named '*Kodum Tamil*' in Kerala?

· Was the language of inscription in medieval Kerala written in Tamil or Malayalam?

· How did the 'language separation' mentioned in '*Leelathilakam*' occur?

· What are the socio-cultural processes of transformation in Kerala regarding the growth of the language?

· How did the various dialectical and literary forms derived from Tamil and Sanskrit consolidate as Malayalam language?

· Does it signify the growth of a Malayali linguistic identity?

HYPOTHESIS

During the age of Cheras and after their disintegration, Kerala haswitnessed major social transformation. This gradually resulted in the growth of an independent linguistic identity in Kerala. The formation of Malayalam language is represented as a coextensive process, which lasted several centuries from the growth of the Chera kingdom to the growth of medieval Naduvazhi Swaroopams.

METHODOLOGY

Methodology used in this study is that of socio-cultural history. A linguistic formation means the formation of a cultural community. The linguistic forms are different in various socio-cultural contexts. This study is an attempt to develop a social history of language by locating various linguistic terms and usages in specific cultural context in which such usages and terms are formed. Linguistic formation of Kerala is interrelated with the cultural formation of the geographical space.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A large number of scholarly works in both English and Malayalam are recorded in relation with the origin and growth of Malayalam language.

'*Kerala Bhasayude Vikasaparinamangal*' written by Elamkulam Kunjanpilla gives detailed information regarding the origin and evolution of

Malayalam language through a historical sketch. He is of the opinion that Malayalam has originated fromthe mixed language of both Tamil and Sanskrit. '*Malayalabhsha Charitram*' of P. Govindapilla gives much information regarding Malayalam language.

T.M. Chummar in his '*Bhashasahitya Charitram*' has laid down the information on the origin of language. According to him, Malayalam got its influence from Tulu, Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. To him, foreigners who landed in port cities of Kodungalloor and Calicut also contributed very much to the Malayalam language. He is also referred that Malayalam got separated from Tamil with the commencement of Kollam era.

'*Bhasha Gaveshanam*' of Dr. Kunjunni Raja presents many data about the language. The book provides the Malayalam words borrowed from Sanskrit and outside. And he has also discussed various linguistic theories on Malayalam language. '*Keraleeyatha Charithramanangal*' of Raghava Varrier is one of the greatest works, which gives information on the evolution of language. According to him, literature and society are deeply connected. Literature is very useful to know about the society of age. He also discussed about the social part of the language formation. P.K. Balakrishnan in his work titled '*Jathivyavasthithiyum Keralacharithravum*' stated that the arrival of Namboothiris into Kerala and the introduction of Sanskrit language are responsible for the evolution of Malayalam language. He has also connected the origin of Jathi with the introduction of Malayalam language.

A. Sreedharamenon in his *'Cultural Heritage of Kerala'* says about the dialectical variations in Malayalam language based on regional, communal, occupational, caste etc. *'Kerala Charitrangal'* of Dr. Naduvattam Gopalakrishnan pointed out the contribution of Malayalam to Tamil literature.

'Keralathinte Innalekal' written by Dr. K.N. Ganesh has given immense information regarding the social growth of Malayalam language in Kerala. According to him both linguistic changes and social changes are inter-connected. So language and society play a crucial role in the social formation.

A comparative grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Language by Robert Caldwell gives valuable insights on Dravidian languages including Malayalam language. According to him Malayalam became the very ancient offshoot of Tamil.

Kerala Bhasha Vijnaneeyam by Dr. K. Godhavarma provides very valuable information on different linguistic theories on Malayalam language. Through the work of *'Bhasha Shastram'*, Vasudeva Bhattathiri gives descriptions on linguistic origin of Malayalam language. *'Bhasha Padanangal'* by C.L. Antony is another useful book, which includes the historical evolution of Malayalam language.

'Malayala Bhasha Charithram EzhuthachanVare Written by K. Retnamma gives more valuable details on Malayalam language through a grammatical analysis. She had used many materials such as inscriptions and medieval literary works for her study.

Dravidian Language: An introduction by Kamil Zvelebil is very useful work on Dravidian languages in South India.

'*The Language of the Gods in the world of Men, Sanskrit Culture and Power in Pre-modern India*' written by Sheldon Pollock provides an over view of the Sanskrit domination over South Indian languages, especially in case of Kannada language. *Madhyakala Keralabhsha* written by Shornur Kartheekeyan gives more linguistic analysis on language of medieval time.

Evolution of Malayalam Morphology authored by L.V. Ramaswamy Aiyer gave a detailed inquiry on the origin of Malayalam language. While analysing the morphological features of Malayalam language, he concluded that Malayalam became derived from early middle Tamil. *Kerala Panineeyam* written by A.R. Raja Rajavarma gives more useful information related to the growth of Malayalam language in Kerala.

Sahithee Sarvasvam written by Vadakkumkoor Raja Raja Varma stated that Malayalam got its origin from Sanskrit. '*Poorva Kerala Bhasha*' by Prabhakara Varier had given detailed sketch on the evolution of Malayalam language. Apart from this, '*Dravidian Studies-Selected Papers*' written by Emeneau, Language of Middle Malayalam written by Puthussery Ramachandran, Bhashacharithram by J. Padmakumari & *Studies on Malayalam Language* by T.B. Venugopala Panicker etc. provide ample material on the origin and growth of Malayalam language in Kerala.

COLLECTION OF SOURCES

In this study, both primary and secondary sources are used. Inorder to trace out the language in early-medieval period, inscriptions are used as main primary source. Other vital primary materials are *Leelathilakam, Achicharthangal, Sandesa Kavyas,* the works of Cherussery, Ezhuthachan, Poonthanam and Kunjan Nambiar. Along with this, various oral songs have been used as the core source. All these resources help to trace and locate the idioms and local usages used by the people in different socio-cultural background or context. Apart from this I have collected useful information from the secondary literature written by both English and Malayalam linguistic scholars. The sources are mainly collected from different libraries namely, Kerala Sahithya Academy, Library of Appan Thampuram at Thrissur, Tamil Department Library of University of Kerala, Department Library of Malayalam and History at Calicut University, Library of Sree Kerala Varma College and I have also visited the manuscript library at Calicut University and Trivandrum.

CHAPTERISATION

The whole thesis divided into seven chapters. The Introductory Chapter deals with the relevance of the study, its objectives, methodology, hypothesis, literature review, sources and chapterisation.

The second chapter *Malayalam Linguistics- Theories and Debates* deals with the theories and debates on Malayalam language. This gives an

overview of different linguistic theories interpreted by both English and Malayalam linguistic scholars to trace the origin and growth of Malayalam language.

The third chapter titled *Tamil and Malayalam: A Study of Inscriptions in Early Medieval Period in Kerala* explores linguistic relationship between Malayalam and Tamil language with special analysis on inscriptions in early medieval period is Kerala stretching from 9th C AD to 12th C AD.

The fourth chapter *Language of Manipravalam* brings out a linguistic study and analysis of *Manipravalam* literature by identifying local usages and idioms from the works of *Achicharithangal & Sandesakavyas.*

The fifth chapter *Language in the Oral Tradition* deals with the linguistic analysis of oral songs in different socio-cultural contexts in Kerala. This helps to trace the local dialects of people in different socio-cultural ambience in different parts of Kerala.

The sixth chapter *Use of Linguistics in Bhakthi Literature and Thullal Works* deals with the socio-linguistic study related to the literary contribution of Cherussery, Ezhuthachan, Poonthanam, and Kunjan Nambiar. The concluding chapter summarizes the major findings of this study.

CHAPTER II

MALAYALAM LINGUISTICS: THEORIES AND DEBATES

There are a number of studies and theories on the origin and growth of Malayalam language. Both foreign and indigenous scholars simultaneously interested to evaluate and develop an authentic theory to trace out the origin of Malayalam language. Most of the studies shows that Malayalam language got its birth either from Tamil, or from Sanskrit and or from *Moola-Dravidagotra.* How can be fixed an authentic period to date the evolutionary growth of a particular language? This is a difficult problem. Because language is a product of a given society, it tends to transform in tandem with the trends in social change. However, so many theories are enumerated by the linguistic scholars to trace out the origin and growth of Malayalam language.

We have no doubt that all South Indian languages belong to Dravidian Linguistic family. It was F.W. Ellis who at first stated that both North-Indian languages and South Indian languages belong to different linguistic family. Prior to this all languages in India were treated as one single family.

In 1856, Robert Caldwell, at first coined the term 'Dravidian' to differentiate South Indian linguistic from North Indian linguistic family. Ten years before him the two terms mostly used for Dravidian as a language

family designation were either 'Dekhan language or simply South Indian dialect or South Indian Vernaculars[1].

Beginning from Caldwell, we have numerous studies on Malayalam language. It was F.W. Ellis who first published a paper on Malayalam language. But he didn't moving to an in depth study on the origin of Malayalam language. Robert Caldwell was the first to present a research oriented argument regarding the origin of language. Then onwards, different perspectives and theories are coming from the linguistic realm favouring and non-favouring him. The main linguistic scholars are Raja Raja Varma, Atoor, Krishnapisharadi, L.V. Ramaswamy Ayyar, K.M. George, Dr. Godavarma, Swaminatha Aiyyer, Elamkulam Kunjanpilla, Uloor, S. Parameswara Aiyyar, Shankaran Nambiar, Shanmugham, Kamil V. Zvelebil, Govindankutty, Narayanapanikkar. Kovunni Nedungadi, and Chelanattu Achuthamenon, etc.

Their theories can be categorized as follows.

1. Theory of Sanskrit Origin (*Samskrithajanya vadham*)

2. Independent Origin Theory (*Swathanthravadham*)

3. Branched Origin (*Upasagha vadham*)

4. Mixed Origin Theory (*Misrabhasha vadham*)

5. Tamil Origin Theory (*Poorva-Thamizhu Malayalavadham*)

6. Theory of Linguistic Transition (*Bhasha samkramanavadham*)

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[1] Kamil, V. Zvelebil, *Dravidian Linguistics: An Introduction, Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture,* Pondicherry, 1990, p. 19.

1. THEORY OF SANSKRIT ORIGIN (*Samskrithajanya vadham*)

The first reference regarding *Keralabhasha* occurs in the text *Leelathilakam*. This text says that *Keralabhasha* got its birth from Sanskrit but the author do not move into a detailed description. From then Kovunni Nedungadi presented a *Vandana-Sloga* on his work entitled '*Kerala Kaumudi'*, where he put down a generalized statement that Malayalam got its origin from Sanskrit. He again added that Malayalam is a combination of *Arya Dravida*[2]. According to K.M. Prabhakara Variar, the statement of Nedungadi is only an opinion, not a theory[3].

Swaminatha Aiyyer, Vadakkumkoor Rajarajavarma, C.V. Vasudevabhattathiri were the very important scholars who lay down theories based on Sanskrit.

While studying Dravidian Linguistics Swaminatha Aiyyer argued that all languages including Malayalam got its birth from Indo-Aryan language family. He also supplemented that the culture in South India became the contribution of Aryans[4].

According to Vadakkumkoor Rajarajavarma, the Metaphors, *Varnamala*, and other grammatical features shows Malayalam have relation to Sanskrit more than Tamil[5]. According to him, Sanskrit was the only language

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[2] Kovunni Nedungadi, *Keralakoumudi*, p. 1-2.

[3] K.M. Prabhakara Varier, *Poorvakerala Bhasha*, Madirassi Sarvakalasala, 1982, p.112.

[4] *Op. Cit.*, K.M. Prabhakara Varier.

[5] *Ibid*.

which has been prevalent in ancient India. From which Sanskrit all other languages got its birth. His perspectives on Origin of Malayalam language expressed in his work '*Sahithee-Sarvaswam*'.

C.V. Vasudevabhattathiri's perspectives on origin of Malayalam are explained through his two eminent works, *'Bashashastram'* and *'Keralapanineeyanthiloode'*. To him, both Sanskrit and Prakrit played very crucial role in the transition of Kannada to Tulu and Tamil to Malayalam. So Tulu and Malayalam are *misrabasha* and Sanskrit played very predominant role for the growth of Malayalam language[6].

Sheldon Pollock who also indicates this Sanskrit domination over regional language.[7] E.M.S.Namboothiripad referred about the relationship between power and language. A dominant language has played very important role in the language evolution of a given society. Dr. N. Sam and also other scholars who accepted that Sanskrit has been played very decisive role in the formation of Malayalam language[8].

The scholars namely Vasudevan Kartha and K. Narayanamenon are openly rejected this theory. And to them, Malayalam has been existed already before the coming of Aryans in India. According to Sheshagiriprabhu Malayalam not coming from Sanskrit and its affinity closed to Prakrit.

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6   N. Sam (Ed.), *Malayala Sahithya Charithram.*

7   Sheldom Pollock, The language the Gods in the World of men, permanent block, published in the USA by the University of California, Berkely, 2007.

8   N. Sam Prajeenalipimathrkakal, Purareghavakuppu, Keralasarkar, P.R.S.

2. INDEPENDENT ORIGIN THEORY (*Swathanthravadham*)

Some scholars argued that Malayalam is an independent branch of *Poorva Dravida* or *Moola Dravida Gotra*. This theory is at first propagated by Atoor Krishna Pisharadi through his work, '*Bhashasahithaycharithram*' and '*Malayala bhashayum sahithyavum*.' Other important exponents are K.M. George & Dr. Godavarma. To Atoor, K.M. George and Dr. Godavarama, Malayalam is as old as Tamil[9]. As like Tamil, Telungu, Kannada Malayalam got its direct origin from *Dravida Gotra*[10].

Godavarma, pointed out that Malayalam was not the evolutionary part of Tamil. The identity of Malayalam, according to him, was evolved out of *Moola Dravida*[11].

K.M.George, while supporting Godavarma add that as like Tamil, Telungu, Kannada, Malayalam has its own identity and tradition[12].

While favouring this theory Chelanattu Achuthamenon said that, the origin and growth of Malayalam language could be traced out from the folk songs or folk tradition. By studying the folk tradition it is understood that Malayalam has no resemblance with Tamil and Sanskrit[13].

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[9] Vasu Devabhattatthiri, Bhashasasthram, p.270
[10] *Ibid*.
[11] Dr. Shornur Karthikeyan, *Madyakala Kerala Bhasha*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, p.2.
[12] K.M. George, Sahityacharitram Prasthanangaliloode.
[13] R. Raghumenon, *Malayalam Basholpathi Vyakaranatmaka Soojika*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 1989.

The scholars including R. Narayanapanikkar, P. Govindapilla, K.N. Gopalapilla, K.Unnikidav also favouring this theory without any doubt.

3. BRANCHED ORIGIN THEORY (*Upasagha vadham*)

Tamil based language origin theory was propounded by Robert Caldwell, P. Govindapilla, A.R. Rajarajavarma, P. Shankaran Nambiar, L.V. Ramaswami Ayyar, and Uloor. According to F.W. Ellis, Malayalam is a dialect or *upabhasha* of Tamil. Jules Block, S.K. Chatterjee were also favouring the argument of Ellis, but does not attempt a detailed analysis. Though there are individual variations in the arguments and opinions, they all go to conclude that Malayalam is branched out from the Tamil.

According to Robert Caldwell, Malayalam is a very ancient offshoot of Tamil[14]. Malayalam claims to be placed next to Tamil in the list of the Dravidian tongues, on account of the peculiarly close relationship to Tamil which it stands[15]. He also added that geographical distinctiveness in the *Nadus* has vital influence over the language formation of a particular region[16].

To A.R. Raja Raja Varma, there are different variants of *KodumTamils* have been prevalent in ancient Tamilakam. The Kodum-Tamil variants of *Kuttam, Kudam, Karkka, Ven & Puzhi* are transmitted into Malayalam

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[14] *Op. Cit*. Robert Cladwell, p. 16.

[15] *Ibid*.

[16] *Ibid.*

language. There are so many causes behind this language transformation. They are Nasal assimilation [*anunaasikaathiprasaram*], Palatalisation [tavargoopamardam], Loss of personal termination [*purushabedhanirasam*], Retention of obsoletes [*khiloopa samgraham*], *and* Mutilation [*angabhangam*][17]. Along with this, geography, cultural differences, and mixing of Arya- Dravida culture also played very decisive role in the evolutionary growth of Malayalam language[18].

Elamkulam Kunjanpilla accepted explanation concerning the transformation of Malayalam language by A.R. Raja Rajavarma except the latter's kodum-tamil oriented theory[19].

According to Prof. P. Shankaran Nambiar Malayalam got its birth from *poorvabhasha* of Tamil. He termed it as '*Muttamil*'. '*Centamil*' and *Kodumtamils* are derived from Muttamil[20]. And again from Kodumtamil Malayalam originated. As like A.R. Raja Rajavarma, Shankaran Nambiar also argued that Malayalam got its birth directly from Kodumtamil.

L.V. Ramaswami Ayyar's views on Origin of Malayalam language expressed on his authentic work '*Evolution of Malayalam Morphology*'.

[17] A.R. Raja Raja Varma, *Kerala Panineeyam*, Sahitya Pravarthaka Sahakarqana Sangam, Kottayam, 1987, p. 46.

[18] *Op. Cit*., K.M. Prabhakara Varier, p. 176.

[19] Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pilla, *Kerala Bhashayude Vikasaparinamangal*, Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangam, Kottayam, p.

[20] Dr. N. Sam (Edited), *Malayala Sahithya Charithram*.

According to him, "the application of the fundamental texts reveals beyond the doubt that Malayalam is far more intimately allied to Tamil than to any other Dravidian speech. To him, most of the morphological features are nearest related to those of Early middle Tamil. Many of them are derivable phonetically and historically from Early Middle Tamil[21]. He also laid down so much of evidences to enumerate his argument. All his points reaching to the conclusion that Malayalam got its origin from Early middle Tamil.

4. MIXED ORIGIN THEORY (*Misrabhashavadham*)

This theory is propounded by Elamkulam P.N. Kunjanpilla. To him, migration of Brahmins and their settlements into Kerala was one of the turning points in the transition of language. They used to mix up Sanskrit with the native language. Manipravalam literature was a true result of this. This misrabhasha also reflected in the inscriptions as well. He also concluded the origin of language may be with the rise of Kollam era or just before the Kollam era. The Misrabasha of Tamil and Sanskrit is responsible for the growth of Malayalam language.

The scholars like Gopinanthapilla make criticism on this theory. To him the language got birth from *Kodum Tamil* not *Centamil.* Sukumar Azheekode also refused this theory based on *Misrabhasha*. To both of them, *Manipravalam* language is basically a literary production used by the

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[21] L.V. Ramaswami Ayyar, *Evolution of Malayalam Morphology*, p. 39.

brahmin Nambudiris or elite class in Kerala. Its influence could not be entering into the life of common people in any means.

5. TAMIL ORIGIN THEORY (*Poorva-Thamizhu Malayalavadham*)

Kamil Zvelebil, A. Govindankutti and S.V. Shanmukam are main founders of this theory. Although these linguists have presented different perspectives on language, though their findings and enquiry go to same conclusion.

Kamil V Zvelebil

To Kamil Zvelebil, Malayalam was the western coast dialect of poorva Tamil Malayalam language. His analysis mainly based on linguistic analysis not historical or cultural analysis. His analysis support LV Ramaswamy Ayyar's linguistic analysis. He also said that poorva-dravida has two branches, Tamil Malayalam and Karnatakam**.** From *Poorva Madhyakala* Tamil western coast dialect separated and became an independent language. From this western coast Malayalam of Ninenth and Tenth centuries, lot of changes happened. Languages in the inscriptions also show these kinds of changes.

A. Govindhankutty

Govindhankutty, who also expressed his views on the origin of Malayalam through his paper, '*Poorvatamizh Malayalathilninnum*

Paschimatheera Bhashabedhangalilekk'. He accepted that there existed a *poorvaghatta* for both Malayalam and Tamil and he argued that western coast dialect separated from the *Poorvatheerabhshabedham* before sangam age itself.

S.V. Shanmugham

His views regarding the origin of Malayalam language is expressed in his paper '*Malayalambhashayude Rupeekaranavum Valarchayum*'.

To him *poorvadravida* can be divided into three branches. They are *poorva dakshina dravidam, poorva madhya dravidam, and poorva uthara dravidam*.

To him at first *poorva dakshina dravida* came out from *poorva dravida*. From this the languages named Kodak, Kotha, and thoda are separated. Tamil Malayalam got its separation from at the last stages. This means after a long separation of Kodak, Kotha, and Thoda, Tamil-Malayalam became united for a long years. He also explains the evolutionary changes which happened in the Tamil-Malayalam language. And he concluded that during Sangam periods, *Centamil* existed as the literary language and *poorva Malayalam* have been existed as the oral language. This language got changes in course of time. This means before first century B.C. itself Malayalam got a separate identity from Tamil. Shanmugham's arguments almost support that of Govindhankutti.

6. THEORY OF LINGUISTIC TRANSITION (*Bhashasamkramana vadham*)

This theory is put forward by C.L. Antony. His perspectives on growth of Malayalam language is expressed in his book, '*Sahithya Charithram Prasthanangalilude*' and '*Bhashapadanangal*'. His analysis is based on the languages in the inscriptions. To him Sanskrit is the language of elite and *Centamil* as existed as the language of ruling class. The language of common or pubic was differed from this.

To him, after ninth century AD itself oral language or *Kerala Bhasha* got a separate identity in literature. From then onwards *Kerala Bhasha* possibly mixed with the language of *Centamil*. Its result was the '*pattuprasthanam*'. According to him the period upto Ninenth Century AD as *paratantraghattam* After Ninenth Century AD to Seventeenth Century he termed as *sankramana ghattam*, and till AD Seventeenth Century as *swathantraghattam*.

To him, from Ninenth Century C AD to Seventeenth Century *sankramanaghattam* itself the dominance of Centamil came to be declined and Kerala bhasha got its separate identity during these periods. To him, after the ruin of *Centamil* and Sanskrit dominance, Kerala language got its independence and separation.

All these studies and theories interpreted by the linguistic scholars are mainly based in relation with written materials and literary evidence. Their interpretations of the origin and evolution of Malayalam language is not touched on the spoken discourse of the people in Kerala.

Until Eighteenth Century except *Leelathilakam*, no other grammar work is produced in Malayalam language in Kerala. *Leelathilakam* can't be treated as a grammar work on Malayalam language, but a grammar work on *Manipravalam* language.

Some scholars believed that Malayalam became a part of the *Moola Dravida Bhasha*. But this *Moola Dravida Bhasha* Couldn't discover by the linguistic Academicians. In mixed origin theory Elamkulam Kunjanpilla is stated the origin and evolution of Malayalam language in accordance with the information available from the written documents not oral sources. Sanskrit origin theory can't ever be treated as the theory on the origin and growth of Malayalam language. Sanskrit became never used to be as the spoken dialect of the people in any societies in India in general and Kerala in Particular.

A language can't get its birth on one day. It entered through a numerous evolutionary changes throughout the entire periods in its history. Social evolutionary transformations played vital role in the socio-cultural growth of language through the migrations, trade, conquest, cultural mingling, social mingling etc. These changes also reflected on Malayalam

language as well. Both the social formations of Kerala and linguistic formation are interconnected each other. Both are going through the same part of evolutionary changes and process. So it is difficult to interpret that language got its birth on a particular root-language.

CHAPTER III

TAMIL AND MALAYALAM: A STUDY ON INSCRIPTIONS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD

Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu and Kannada are belonging to Dravidian group of linguistic family. Among these four South Indian languages, Tamil and Malayalam have close affinity from ancient period onwards. Scholars have no unanimity regarding the correlation between two. But, today almost all historians have accepted the relationship between Tamil and Malayalam.

Caldwell, AR Rajarajavarma, LV Ramaswamy Ayyar and Elamkulam are important linguistic scholars who had studied the origin and growth of Malayalam language in relation to Tamil. Some scholars have interpreted that Malayalam was either the daughter or the sister of Tamil language. Modern linguistic scholars stated that Malayalam obtained its origin from "*Poorvabhasha* or poorva *Tamil-Malayalam*. However, Tamil have played a remarkable role in the life and culture of people during ancient period itself.

The study of historical tradition of Kerala commenced with the study of *Tamizhakam*. *Tamizhakam* was referred to denote the present South India during ancient period. The four South Indian states are representing today were part of a single cultural area during those days. Tamil became the language which dominated the entire South India in earliest periods. This ancient

Tamizhakam was ruled by *Muvendars* or three kings, namely Chera, Chola and Pandya. According to Tamil classical works, the tracts in Kerala was under the domain of Chera rulers. *Pathittupattu* of *Ettuthokai* collection had given the names and political history of ancient Cheras. The social, political, economic and cultural histories of *Tamizhakam* were reconstructed on the basis of information available from Sangam works. It is assumed that, the sangam works, namely *Pathittupattu* and *Chilapathikaram* were composed by the poets from Kerala tract. According to Elamkulam, Malayalam separated from Tamil during 8^{th}C onwards[1]. Until the 8th AD, Tamil had continued its dominance in Kerala. According to him there are no differences between the spoken discourses of Kerala and *Pandinadu* up to 800 AD[2].

Tolkapium was regarded to be the earliest Tamil work among Sangam works. This work was written by Tolkapier. This is considered to be the ancient grammar work on Tamil language. According to some historians, Malayalam language has followed Tolkapium grammar to certain extent. To Dr. R. Gopinathan, Malayalam language structure could be found out from Tolkapium. Lots of Malayalam idioms were used in the work of Tolkapium was pointed out to show the importance of Tolkapium in Malayalam[3]. At the same time, some scholars had believed that Tolkapium follows the Sanskrit

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[1] Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pilla, *Sahithyasamgraham*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, p. 7.
[2] *Ibid*., p. 9.
[3] Dr. R. Gopinathan, *Malayalabasha Tholkappiyathil*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandum, 2013, p. 14.

grammar in many ways. Succinctly, Tolkapium is so helpful to understand the ancient form of language in Tamizhakam.

F.W. Ellis firstly stated that the spoken discourse of the people in ancient period was *Centamil*. This statement was also accepted by Elamkulam. But the scholars, namely Burrow and AR Raja Raja Varma believed that Centamil was used for the literacy productions in Tamilakam. According to AR Raja Raja Varma, it was *Kodum Tamil* was used to be for the oral communication of people during those days. To him*, Kodum Tamil* had different variants in South India. The *Kodumtamil* variant in *Malainadu* or Kerala became evolved as Malayalam in later centuries.

Many scholars have opined that the origin and growth of Malayalam language closely connected with Tamil. Jules Block considered Malayalam was the sub-branch of Tamil[4]. To Gundert, Malayalam was a branch of Tamil. But later he stated that both are originated from same *Moola-Dravida Bhasha.* To Bhadriraju Krishnamurthi, Malayalam became the west coast dialect of Tamil till the 9th C AD[5].

According to Robert Caldwell, Malayalam became the ancient offshoot of Tamil. To Venugopala Panicker, Malayalam belongs to Tamil Kodag group of south Dravidian branch of Dravidian family. Tamil is its

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[4] Shule Block, *The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages* (Introduction), P. 14

[5] Badriraju Krishnamurthi, *The Dravidian Language*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p.22.

closest relative[6]. To him, pre-Malayalam was the west-coast dialect of Tamil with a few archive features. It had retained some old Tamil features. It also shared some changes of later stages of old Tamil and middle Tamil[7]. Slowly it evolved some changes independently, which became its defining features. While supporting Caldwell, he said that, thus describing Malayalam as a very ancient offshoot and a much altered off shoot of Tamil is not thoroughly meaningless[8].

According to Dr. B. Gopinadhan Nair, Oral speech of Kerala had witnessed changes from the languages of *Tamizhakam* from AD 9th C. In course of time, west coast dialect was undergone numerous evolutionary changes and gradually this became the language of Kerala[9]. Raghava Varier also discussed the relationship of Tamil and Malayalam. To him, social conditions also played very important role in the origin and growth of Malayalam language from Tamil[10].

Other important source material to analyses the ancient languages are inscriptions. These inscriptions were available from 9th C AD onwards from Kerala. During this period the second Chera Kingdom arose in Kerala. All

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[6] T.B. Venugaopala Panicker, *Studies on Malayalam Language*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 2006, p. 9.

[7] *Ibid*., p. 17

[8] *Ibid*.

[9] Dr. B. Gopinathan Nair, *Malayala Sahitya Charitram*, (Edited by Dr. N. Sam), Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thrissur, p. 89

[10] M.R. Raghava Varier, *Keralaeeyatha Charitra Manangal*, Vallathol Vidya Peedam Sukapuram, p. 181.

this inscriptions were prepared and issued by the rulers and local chieftains. And majority of the inscriptions were attached to temples. These inscriptions were mainly written in *Vattezhuthu* Scripts. Sanskrit forms were written in *Grantha* Script.

According to scholars, the language represented in inscriptions showed the mixture of Tamil, Sanskrit and Malayalam. LV Ramaswamy Ayyar, A.C. Sekhar, Elamkulam Kunjanpilla, Puthussery Ramachandran, K. Retnamma were conducted their studies mainly based on inscriptional evidences. They all believed that inscriptions are more helpful to understand the transitory stage of Malayalam from Tamil.

According to A.C. Sekhar, the analysis of Early Malayalam inscriptions shows that the 12th C of the Christian era marked an important stage in the development of the Malayalam speech. The abandonment of the older *Sandhi* rules and the emergence of new phonological and morphological features during the early old Malayalam period, enabled the Malayalam speech to acquire, by the close of the period, an individuality all its own, which sharply differentiated it from the speech of the neighboring Tamil area[11].

L.V. Ramaswamy Ayyar's studies were mainly related to morphological growth of Malayalam language. His studies were mainly based on early literary texts and early inscriptions. To him, most of the

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[11] A.C. Sekhar, *Evolution of Malayalam*, Poona, Deccan College Dissertation Series, 1983, p. 117.

morphological features are nearest related to those of Early middle Tamil[12].
Early middle-Tamil means the post 5th C Tamil up to 10th C AD. According
to him *Tolkapium Colladigraram* embodies the rules of Old Tamil grammar.
Vira Chozhiam work of 11th C AD and *Nannul* written in the 13th C indicated
middle Tamil[13]. But there are some criticisms are raised by Godavarma on
LV Ramaswamy Ayyar's argument. To him we can't completely identify the
old form of language without supporting evidence[14]. To Unnikidav, the
features of Early Middle Tamil argued by L.V. Ramaswamy Ayyar can be
find out from Old Tamil itself. T.B. Venugopala Panniker also supported the
statement of Unnikidav[15]. L.V. Ramaswamy Ayyar's research was mainly
related to grammatical inspection on Tamil and Malayalam.

According to Elamkulam Kunjanpilla, inscriptions are more important to
understand the form of *Malainattu* Tamil up to 12th C AD[16]. From 1st Century
of Kollam era itself, *Malainattu* Tamil going to be transition to form a particular
language[17]. During 9th C AD, *Malainattu* Tamil gradually distanced from *Pandi
Tamil*. Upto 11th C AD, the laws in *Tolkapium* became continued in *Malainattu*
Tamil. The *Veerachozhiam* written at the 11th C AD indicate the grammar work

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[12] L.V.Ramaswamy Ayyar, *The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 1993, p. 1-2

[13] *Ibid*., p. 18.

[14] Dr. R. Gophinathan, *Malayala Bhasha Tholkappiyathil*, p. 313.

[15] *Ibid*.

[16] Ellamkulam P.N. Kunjanpilla, *Keralabhashayude Vikasaparinamangal, Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangam, Kottayam, 1953,* p. 59.

[17] *Ibid*., p. 15.

of both *Malainadu* and *Pandinadu.* The 13th C Work *Nannul* was probably written to be aimed at the grammar work of *Pandi-Tamil* only[18].

N. Krishnapilla also had discussed about the evolutionary stage of Tamil from Malayalam. To him, the Arya-Brahmana arrival had played crucial role in the evolution of Malayalam language[19]. While accepting Elamkulam Kunjanpilla, he stated that the inscriptions dating from earliest period to 12th C AD shows many linguistic changes in *Malainattu* language which differed to Tamil[20].

According to C.V. Vasudevabhattathiri, inscriptions are very useful to understand the history of Malayalam language. To him, from *Vazhappalli* inscription gives numerous clues regarding the growth of Malayalam language. The *Arya-Dravida* mixture in inscriptions indicates the transitory stage of language in Kerala[21]. While analyzing inscriptions of 10th and 12th C AD, he said that Malayalam became separated from Tamil during 10th and 12th centuries[22]. According to him, *Sanskritization* played vital role in the evolution of language from Tamil[23].To Elamkulam, Malayalam got independence from Tamil with the influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit[24].

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[18] Elamkulam, *Bashayum Sahityavum Nottandukalil*, Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangam, Kottayam, 1965, p. 17.

[19] N. Krishnapilla, *Kairaliyude Katha*, Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangam, National Bookstall, Kottayam, 1982, p. 33.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] C.V. Vasudevabhattathiri, Bhashasasthram, Current Books, Thrissur, 1970, p. 272.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

According to P.V. Velayudan Pilla, the Tamil dominating inscriptions of Kerala shows the influence of Sanskrit as well[25]. His analysis is mainly based on the comparative study of *Vazhapalli* and *Tarispalli* inscriptions.

To E.V.N. Namboothiri, the history of Malayalam language could be constructed from the inscriptions of 9th C AD[26]. To him, geography, history and culture have played important role in the growth and evolution of language. He also believed that Sanskrit had played very crucial role to separate *Kerala Bhasha* from Tamil language[27].

According to Atoor Krishnapisharadi, the inscriptions belong to the early period in Kerala was written in *Centamil*. According to him there is a possibility that *Centamil* was used to be the oral speech of the people during those days. To him, both Tamil and Malayalam are the regional forms of one language[28].

SOCIO-LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS ON INSCRIPTIONS

Social changes have played notable role in the evolution of language in a particular region. The inscriptions belong to 9th C AD to 12th C AD has given numerous vital information regarding the socio-cultural and economic picture of Kerala. This study of inscriptions also helps to reconstruct the changes that

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[24] Elamkulam, *Sahithyasamgraham*, p. 14.

[25] P.V. Velayudhan Pilla; *Madhyakala Malayalam*, National Bookstall, Kottayam, p. 124.

[26] Dr. E.V.N. Namboothiri, *Keralabhasha Charithram*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2002, pp. 15-16.

[27] *Ibid*., p. 31.

[28] Atoor, *A critical survey of Malayalam language and literature*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1927, p. 26.

reflected in the dialect of Kerala during early-medieval epoch. Almost all inscriptions are issued by the Perumal rulers of Kerala. They rose to power during 9th C AD. The engravings of Chera rulers are mainly found in Temples. It shows the relevance of temples in their Socio-economic and cultural life. But along with temples various other factors have played significant role in the socio-economic cultural history of Kerala. These changes overall reflected in the language structure and oral discourse of the people as well.

All languages in the world has borrowed lot of words either directly or indirectly. *Malainattu* dialect of Kerala has borrowed many words. According to Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, there is no pure language in existence. According to him, the blending of a language with other discourses occurred through various means. Domination, religious propagation, trade, culture, travelers, etc. has influenced language in many ways. Through these factors language has borrowed variant phrases[29]. Simultaneously the *Malainattu* dialect was attracted and imitated by the other regional and foreign cultures too. So it is not easy to understand the origin and utility of a particular phrase or idiom with definite chronology. Shortly, it is too difficult to trace out the real root of a term scientifically and objectively.

In Kerala, many factors have played remarkable role in the evolution and growth of Malayalam language. The pre-mentioned domination, religion, trade, culture etc. have contributed very much to the evolution and

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[29] Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, *Bhasha Gaveshanam*, Mangalodayam (Pvt.), Thrissivaperur, 1962.

growth of Malayalam language. *Malainattu* dialect had borrowed numerous words from Prakrit, Tamil, and Sanskrit and from Other North Indian and South-Indian languages in India and vice-versa. The introduction of Sanskrit is more restricted to written language not oral discourse. The Brahmins may be communicated with the people either through Tamil or Prakrit, mixing with oral discourse of the common people. As a part of social dynamics with the result of Brahmanical dominance, certain things are introduced here. But it is limited to only on ritual language, temple culture and worshipping systems.

For long centuries, Kerala was a part of *Tamizhakam*. Tamil language and culture was very dominant in Kerala before and after Kerala became a separate zone with definite political boundaries. In ancient period itself Tamil Brahmi has borrowed numerous idioms from North Indian language tradition, especially from Prakrit. The religious foundation of Budhism and Jainism in South India and Bhakthi movement created favourable atmosphere for the establishment of North Indian tradition here. So of course *Malainattu* region has influenced by this tradition and language through many ways. Rather than Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tamil have played crucial role in the development of Malayalam language in to a particular identity. The studies of inscriptions of 9th C AD to 12th C AD have helped to trace out the leased words from other language tradition from India. The content of inscriptions is mainly dealt with production, distribution, and re-distribution and production relations. But in

overall these inscriptions helps to chart the changes which represented in languages during early medieval phase in Kerala.

Palli[30] is referred in *Trikkakara* and *Tarissapalli* inscriptions. The *Viharas* of Jaina-Buddhists are earliest times were known to be as *'palli'*[31]. *Pallichandam* indicates the gift of lands given to the Jain temples[32]. So *palli* became familiar in Kerala with the effect and spread of Buddhism and Jainism in Kerala.

The term *'Tevidichi'* is given in the *Kilimanur* inscription of 12th C AD[33]. It again indicated the influence of prakrit tradition. In *Kilimanur* inscription, it is stated that '*Tevidichi'* has given two *Nazhi* rice to hold *Thookuvilakke* (lamp) in the Temples[34]. In prakrit *'Achi'* means wife. Later *'Achiyar'* was used to be for *devadasis*[35]. In Jain Prakrit *Ajjiaa* or *Ajja,* means pure lady[36]. In Kannada means elder mother[37].

The *manipravalam* literature of Kerala is also related to the story of *Achis*. *Unniachi Charitham* is a good example for this.

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[30] Palli, *Tarissapalli inscription*.

[31] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *Malayalathile Parakeeya Padangal*, Keralabhasha Institute, 1995, p. 194.

[32] K.A. Nilakandasastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom Histogram*, Swathi Publication, Madras, 1972, p. 71.

[33] *Kilimanur Inscription.*

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *Op. Cit.,* p. 185.

[36] *Ibid*

[37] *Ibid*

Peedikai was mentioned in *Tazhaikadu Palli* inscription of 12th C AD[38]. In prakrit it is known to be as *'peedia'* and in Sanskrit *'peedika'*[39]. It is meant to be as the rooms for the trading activities[40]. Even today we used *Peedika* to name the shops in various localities[41].

The term *'kanji'* is a prakrit word. It is mentioned in prakrit as *'kanji aa'*[42]. In Tamil it is known to be as *kanjhi*[43]. In Kerala, the term may be borrowed from Tamil language. The reference of *Kanji* is visible from *Tazhaikadu Palli* Inscritpion[44].

Again from *Tazhaikadupalli* inscription we have gets reference regarding *Vanikar*[45]. The term *Vanikar or Vaniyar* related to Jaina-Prakrit tradition[46]. We have gets reference regarding *oil vaniyar* and *kalavaniyas* from other inscriptions. Some place names are existed in Kerala in relation to *Vaniya*. Vaniyamkulam ,in Kerala, is a good example. *Vaniyam* is basically related to trade[47].

The phrase '*Kacham*' is stated in numerous inscriptions means decision or permission. From *Trikkakara* inscription of tenth century onwards

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38 Tazhaikadu palli inscription.

39 Dr. P.M. Joseph, *Op. Cit.,* P. 167,

40 *Ibid*.

41 *Ibid*.

42 *Ibid*., p. 180.

43 *Ibid*.

44 Tazhaikadu Palli Inscription.

45 Tazhaikadu Palli Inscription.

46 *Op. Cit.,* P.M. Joseph, p. 167.

47 *Ibid*.

this term changed to *Karumam*[48]. *Ur Kacham* is referred in *Triprangot* inscription[49]. *Kacham pizhacha* is referred in Tripunithura inscription[50]. From Asokan Inscriptions too we have got reference regarding *Kacham*. In prakrit it is used to be as '*Kajja*' means action or responsibility[51].

*Paradaiya*r is used in some of the inscriptions shows the influence of Prakrit. *Paradaiyar* is originated from the Prakrit term *Parisha* means common people assembly. *Parishat* is derived from this term.

The collocation '*Pirakiruthi*' is stated in *Tirunelli* inscription of 11th C AD[23]. In Asokan inscriptions this term used to be as '*Pakiti*', means administration[24]. In Sanskrit it means people representative assembly[52]. There is a possibility that *Pirikiruthi* may be the Sanskrit Talsama of *Pakiti*.

Tali indicated in some engravings shows the significance of Prakrit in Kerala. In Prakrit *Thali* means land[53]. In Kerala *Tali* is remarked for open space surrounded by wall, place, or room. In Kannada *Tali* means food hall or *Ootupura* for Brahmins[54]. *Nediya Tali*[55] and *Naalu Tali*[56] is referred in *Trikkakara* and *Perunna* inscription. *Tali* and *Mukkalvattam* may be two types of temples. *Talis* is fully enclosed temple and *Mukkalvattam* was

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[48] *Trikkakkara Inscriptions Kollam.*

[49] *Triprangot Inscription.*

[50] *Tripunithura Inscription.*

[51] P.M. Joseph, *Op. Cit.,* p. 156.

[52] *Thirunelli Inscriptions.*

[53] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *Op. Cit.,* p. 22.

[54] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *Op. Cit.,* p. 161.

[55] *Trikkakara Inscription.*

[56] *Perunna Inscription.*

partially closed without gates. In Kerala many Shiva-Vishnu temples were renowned in the name of *Tali*.

The term *Viruthi* referred in some inscriptions again shows the influence of Prakrit tradition. The term may be derived from '*Vritthi*' means forms of occupation in prakrit. In Kerala it is used for to refer land given to temple servants in their service to temple.

Chekopani is cited in *Thiruvambadi* inscription[57]. The phrase is related to the prakrit idiom '*shevaka*' means servant[58]. It denoted for servant in prakrit. In Sanskrit *Sevaka* is meant for *Parikarmi*[59]. In Kerala this term is very familiar in relation to *Angam*, the martial art of Kerala. From Northern Ballards we get many hints regarding *Angam* and *Chekavar*.

Various names of *Angadi* is indicated in *Tarissapalli* inscription. It intimated the internal trading transaction centre in a given locality. In Prakrit it is named to be as '*Sanguda*'[60]. In Jain Prakrit it is referred to be as *Sigadana*, means the place which connected to three pathways[61]. In Sanskrit *Srangudakam* means *Naalkavala*[62]. In Tamil *Angadi* is meant for market and Street[63]. In Kannada *Angadi* is again meant for trading centre[64]. So many

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[57] *Thiruvambadi Inscription.*

[58] P.M. Joseph, *Op. Cit.,* p. 162.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] *Ibid.,.* p. 165.

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] *Ibid.*

[63] *Ibid.*

regional markets in the names of *Angadis* are existing in Kerala. But the term may be possible to come from *Kannada* or *Tamil*. *Angadi* is not based in North Indian Tradition.

Naazhi is a very usual phrase in all inscriptions. Naazhi is used to refer for the measurement for rice or paddy. In prakrit, it is stated to *'Naali'*[65]. In Sanskrit, this term referred to be *'Naadi'*[66].

Sandathi or *Chandati* may be a term is origin from Pali or Prakrit. It also used in Sanskrit. It used to a part of lineage society during B.C. Onwards. It also meant for the position occupied by a person.

From *Trikadithanam* inscription we have get reference regarding *Yogi*. *Yogi* means ascetic. In Prakrit it is used to *Jogi*, Tamil referred to *Choki* and in Kannada and Telugu it is mentioned to be *Jogi*[67]. In Sanskrit it is referred to *Yogi*[68].

Rakshabogam or *Irakkabaogam* was expressed in *Trikkakara*, *Mampalli, Kilimanur* and *Avittathoor* inscriptions. In Prakrit it means a kind of tax for security[69]. This term is learned by the *Malainattu* people through the spread of Budha-Jain tradition.

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[64] *Ibid.,* p. 165.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

The term *Swami* used in inscriptions again shows the influence of Sanskrit. *Swami* in Sanskrit means propertied person. *Swami* is also referred in the work named *Arthasastra*.

Apart from this, many other idioms are borrowed from Kerala people from Prakrit tradition. Some of them are *Thadi, Achu , Onam Star, Kadaviar, Kanam, Chattar, Chingam , Thanam, Panayam, Aruli, Koyil*, and all caste names and month names are derived from North Indian language Tradition.

Certain Sanskrit phrases were remarked in inscriptions show the forms of Sanskrit *Talsama* and *Tatbhava*. The Sanskrit language came into use with the effect and impact of Brahmin migration. The writing script of Malayalam or Malayalam literature has borrowed many things from Sanskrit. But it could not make too much result on oral discourse of common people. Some terms are borrowed from Sanskrit as a part of temple culture. Some of them are *thevar*, *yagam*, *nivedyam*, *poothabali*, *prathishta*, *bhattarakar*, *pirammatheyam*, *nirummalyam, namakkaram, sthanam, puthiran, sree pandaram*, *thevaruvukarmmikal, sabha, kalpichathe*, etc. The term *Amrith* is used both in prakrit and Sanskrit . In prakrit it means the condition without death and in Sanskrit means medicine. The term *mathevar* is   not considered to be Sanskrit. It is not mentioned in Vedas. It may be comes through *Puranas*. It may be a colloquial dialect but not absolutely a Sanskrit term. It may have come through Puranic religion.

Colloquial speech of Malayalam was mostly related to Tamil language. The entire South India during ancient times was dominated by the different variants of Tamil language. Spoken discourse of Malayalam had borrowed numerous idioms from Tamil. Some examples are given below.

'Pani makkal' cited in *Vazhappali* and *Thiruvattuvay* records means in Tamil as village servants[70]. Again *Perumakkal* is identified simultaneously from Tamil inscriptions of Kerala. In Tamil it means members of the *sabha* or *mahasabha*[71].

Ur is another Tamil phrase, which became familiar in Kerala during very ancient period itself. Still itself many place-names ending with *Urs* are existed in Kerala[72]. But *gramam* was never used in Kerala during these periods. In Vazhappalli there is a reference of *upagramam,* but not in a sense of a place name. But some of these places came to be known as *Gramam* in very later periods.

Adhikarikal is quoted in *Trikkakkara* and *Tali temple* inscriptions[73]. In Tamil it is meant to be the officer who was appointed by the king with a view to collect the outstanding arrears of temple, assignment of taxes by kings or tolls by merchants for the benefit of a temple[74]. *Adhikarar* and *Adhikari* in Sanskrit means officials or *Nirvahakan* or those who have hold power.

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[70] Nilakanda Shastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, P. 463.
[71] *Ibid*., P. 502.
[72] *Ibid*., p. 78.
[73] *Tali Temple Inscription.*
[74] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri., *op. cit*.

'*Nattar*' became used in Vazhappalli, Parthivapuram and Tali temple inscription. It could be found from the Tamil records means the assembly of the *Nadu*[75]. It is also a body which is distinct from the assembly of the villages *(urgal)*[76].

Urazhama and *Uralar Karazhma* were referred in Kilimanur inscriptions[77] and *Uralan* were mentioned in the *Avittathoor, Mampalli, Thiruvanmandoor* and *Thirunelli* inscriptions. *Karanmai* is used in Parthivapuram, Trikkakara and Mampalli inscriptions. In Tamil *Karanmai* means cultivation or rights of tenancy and land-lordship[78]. According to M.R. Raghava Varier all *paniyals* who directly or indirectly related to production were under or below to *Karalans*[79].

Kudi mentioned in inscriptions again show the influence of Tamil language in Kerala. *Kudis* are mentioned in *Tarissappalli* and *Avittathoor* inscriptions (*nalukudi*, *irandukudi*, *orukudi* in *Tarisappalli*, *orukudi* in *Avittathoor* inscriptions). The Tamil names of *gramams* are usually ended as *mangalam, kudi* and *ur*[80]. *Kudimai* is referred in Tamil inscriptions as *devadana* lands of the gods were taxed with *kudimai*[81].

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[75] *Ibid*., p. 467.

[76] *Ibid*.

[77] *Kilimanur Inscription*

[78] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 78.

[79] M.R. Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal, *Keralacharithram* ,Vallathol Vidhyapeedam, Sukapuram, 2004.

[80] *Ibid*.

[81] *Ibid*.

The other Tamil terms which are continuously used in inscriptions are *thalai*, *aanai*, *pettudaya*, *irandu*, *arichi*, *viduperu*, *attiper*, *attikuduthan*, *ivay*, *oottam*, *thudangi*, *ontu*, *thengha*, *vitheykalam*, *attaikalam*, *kollapperan*, *pattam*, *idanghazhi*, *parai*, *vilakkaperar*, *cheyyaperar*, *vazhkkai*, *vanthu*, *attathichai*, *thanthai* & *thaye*, etc.

The language which represented in inscriptions is issued by the rulers or local chieftains of Kerala. That is why we are not authentically able to reconstruct the language pattern which used by the common people during these centuries. But these inscriptions are very helpful to understand the certain term or phrases which continuously used by the people during those days. The above mentioned idioms which shows the influence of prakrit, and Tamil in their oral communication rather than Sanskrit.

While analyzing the phrases from inscriptions, it is understood that the some terms are completely disappeared later centuries, for example, *attikodutha, kadaviar, kollaperan, ootam, viduperu,* etc. are invisible during later periods. Some Tamil verbs and subjects are polished to be as *vannu, thudangi, tantha, thala, aana, ari, thenga, idangazhi* etc. very later centuries. *Mukkalvattam*, the synonym to temples were not widely used in later centuries. It completely disappeared after 15th Century onwards, although present in local traditions. The term *Tevidichi* is used even today as a derogatory sense. The meanings of certain terms are completely changed in later

periods. So while examining the languages in inscriptions we have to analyze the evolutionary growth of certain words in a limited extend.

The language which represented in inscriptions shows that so many words are coming from many other languages from South India and North India. According to it this Sanskrit adoption theory to Malayalam language is not true. Many idioms used even today are loaned from Prakrit, paali, Tamil, Kannada and Telugu with regional variations. So Malayalam got its shaping through the intermixing of various languages. As a part of intermixing of various cultures lots of loan words are crept into the ordinary language of common people and Malayalam got its shaping through this inter-mixture.

CHAPTER IV

LANGUAGE OF MANIPRAVALAM

In Kerala, *Manipravalam* Movement arose during the Early Medieval period. According to scholars, *Manipravalam* movement flourished in Kerala due to Aryan migration to South India. According to Emeneau, the Dravidian languages have many Indo-Aryan items borrowed at all periods from Sanskrit, middle Indo-Aryan, and modern Indo-Aryan. 'A macronic mixture of inflected Sanskrit words directly mixed with the native ones was in existence in South Asian and South East Asian languages during period of their history, this is called as the *Manipravalam* in South India'[1]. The Brahmin Migration and their settlement in different parts of Kerala resulted in numerous changes in the socio-economic and cultural spheres in Kerala. According to Elamkulam Kunjanpilla, the *Namboothiris* got cultural economic and religious dominance in Kerala[2] from 11th C AD. The social circumstances were favorable to them to set up their domination in the society. Through temple administration, they have occupied ritual status in the society. The rulers of Kerala gave all kinds of legitimization to the Brahmins. The give and take policy of both Brahmins and rulers helped them to achieve social and economic status in the society. According to Elamkulam Kunjanpilla, as a part of Aryan Brahmin domination, they were able to apply

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[1] T.B. Venugoapala Panicker, *Studies on Malayalam Language*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 2006, p. 52.

[2] Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pilla, *Sahithyasangraham*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, p. 10.

pressure to develop a *misrabhasha,* in order to communicate with the natives of Kerala. In course of time a new literary movement was coming out from this *Misra Bhasha*. This is called to be *Manipravalam*[3]. To Uloor, Brahmin Namboothiris or the elite classes were responsible for the origin of *Manipravalam* movement in Kerala[4]. According to AR Raja Rajavarma, this mixed language was once is domination not only in Malayalam area, but also throughout the Dravidian peninsula[5]. He also argued that all *Manipravalam* poets are *Namboothiris* and the Aryans who were migrated to *Dakshniapatham* established their religious customs and cultural practices. Along with this, there was an influence of their language too[6]. Almost all linguistic historians have believed that, the authors of *Manipravalam* works are *Namboothiri Brahmins*. The arrival of Brahmin Namboothiris in Kerala had resulted for numerous impacts in society: How much this affected to the spoken discourse of the people is the question here to be posed.

The *Manipravalam* movement had its reflexion on tamil literary works as well. But Tamil people discouraged its suzerainty over Tamil literature. In case of *Malainattu* region Manipravalam movement gets more popularity in literary production. They have combined the Sanskrit with the *Malainattu Bhasha* of Tamil. But *Manipravalam* in *malainattu* region is assumed to affect only the elite sections or upper sections of the society. The majority

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[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Uloor, Bhashacampukkal,* p. 26.

[5] AR Raja Rajavarma*,* Kerala Panineeyam, DC Books, Kottayam, p. 37.

[6] *Ibid.*

section might have continued the use of Tamil in their routine life and culture in the society.

The features and attributes of *Manipravalam* are explained in the 14th C Sanskrit work *Leelathilakam*. This is a treatise on two literary movements named *pattu* and *Manipravalam*. *Leelathilakam* defined *Manipravalam* as, "*Bhasha Samskritha Yooga*", which means that *Manipravalam* is the combination of Sanskrit and *Bhasha*. The term *mani* in *Manipravalam* denoted as ruby and *Pravalam* as coral. Both are meant for Sanskrit and *Bhasha*. While indicating *'Bhasha'*, the author meant the language, which prevalented among the people, during those days.

Malayalam linguistic scholars generally considered *Lilathilakam* as an important grammatic and authentic work on Malayalam language. According to LV Ramaswamy Ayyar, *Lilathilakam* has great grammatical and linguistic significance in highlighting the historical evolution of Malayalam language[7]. *Leethilakam* was primarily concerned about the characteristic features of *Manipravalam* literature. From the first part of Lilathilakam itself there is reference regarding '*Keralabhasha*'. Underlying with the statement on *'Keralabhasha'*, Malayalam linguistic scholars generally mentioned it was a great work on Malayalam language.

There are numerous works had been produced in Kerala in relation to *Manipravalam* movement. According to its chronology, *Manipravalam*

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7 LV Ramaswamy Ayyar, *Grammar in Lilathilakam,* Revised edition by Dr. Soumya Baby, p.10.

works are categorized into Early *Manipravalam* and Later *Manipravalam* works. Some important *Manipravalam* works are *Vaishikatantram, Padyaratham*, *Achi Charithangal, Sandesa Kavyas, Chandrolsavam, Ananthapura varnanam,* etc. According to Shornur Karthikeyan, *Manipravalam* works are helps to understand the nature of medieval language in Kerala[8].

Brahmin migration and the introduction of Sanskrit language were important leading factors, which was responsible for the growth of *Manipravalam* literature in Kerala. At the end of 7th C and 8th C AD numerous Aryan penetrations happened in Kerala via Tulunad[9]. The dawn of Kollam era, and the subsequent years presented the most favourable circumstances for the *Namboothiris* to establish their supremacy in Kerala. The dominant position of the *Namboothiris* in the social life of the Kerala and the heritage of Sanskrit, a superior and powerful language, afforded a favourable atmosphere for their language to wield it's away on *Kerala Bhasha*[10].

According to Badriraju Krishnamurthi more than Kannada and Telugu and unlike Tamil, Malayalam has borrowed liberally from Sanskrit not only

[8] Dr. Shornur Karthikjeyan, *Madhyakeralabhasha*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2008.

[9] Elamkulam P.N. Kunjanpilla, Dr. N. Kunjanpilla, *Sahithya Sangraham,* p. 10.

[10] K. Rethnamma, *A Linguistic Study of Early Manipravalam*, Dravidian Linguistic Association, University of Kerala, TVM, 1976, p. 17.

words, but also even inflected words and phrases[11]. According to AR Raja Rajavarma, it was considered as Sanskrit of the Aryans that inspired our language to be free making it from Tamil[12]. Puthussery Ramachandran also stated that the degree and intensity of the borrowing of Sanskrit words into Malayalam was affecting all levels of grammar, idiom, *sandhi* and syntax[13].

The Sanskrit origin theory put forwarded by Swaminatha Aiyyer, Vadakkumkoor Raja Rajavarma and C.V. Vasudeva Bhattathiri argued that Malayalam got its origin directly from Sanskrit. Currently this theory couldn't get much recognition among the linguistic scholars. Sheldon Pollock stated the domination of Sanskrit over regional languages in South India. According to J. Padmakumari, the language of *Malainadu* became revolutionized as Malayalam with the influence of Sanskrit[14].

According to Elamkulam, the spoken discourse of Aryans during those periods was prakrit. They used Sanskrit for educational purposes[15]. But in his work *Kerala Bhashayude vikasa parinamgal*, he stated that, the Brahmins who came to Kerala either used prakrit or Sanskrit for communication[16]. He

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[11] Bhadriraju Krishnamurthi, *The Dravidian Languages*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 22.

[12] A.R. Raja Rajavarma, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[13] Puthussery Ramachandran, *Language of Middle Malayalam*, Dravidian Linguistic Association of India, TVM, 1973, p. 38.

[14] J. Padmakumari, *Bhashacharithram*, Current Books, Thrissur, p. 12.

[15] Elamkulam P.N. Kunanpilla, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[16] Elamkulam P.N. Kunanpilla, *Kerala Bhashayude Vikasaparinamangal* (Ist part), Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangam, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1953, p.31.

was also believed that Sanskrit has played a key role in the origin and growth of Malayalam language. According to A.R. Raja Rajavarma, Sanskrit adoption mainly influenced *Grantha Bhasha* not as oral discourse[17].

According to EMS Namboothiripad, an Arya-Dravida struggle had took place in the entire South India. Under the influence of Brahmanic Culture, Kerala became a separate state and *Malayalis* became a separate community. He further argued that Sanskrit and Centamil never came to be used as spoken discourse of people[18]. And from AD 11th C itself Malayalam became an independent language. He also discussed about the relationship between power and language[19].

According to K. Rethnamma, the decline of Buddhism and Jainism, the re-juvenation of Hinduism under Sri Sankara, the foundation of Hindu temples by Namboothiris, predominance of Namboothiris, in the management of temple administration, gift of vast acres of landed property awarded by the kings and feudal lords and other factors individually and collectively strengthened the power of *Namboothiris* in Kerala during early period[20]. She also added that the *Namboothiris* developed connections with the upper class people among the natives and got into marital relations with them. This paved the way for exchange of ideas, mode of worship, and social customs between

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[17] A.R. Raja Rajavarma, *op. cit.,* p.48.

[18] EMS Nambudiripad, *Nammude Bhasha,* Kerala BhashanstituteI, Trivandrum, 1997, p. 17.

[19] *Ibid*.

[20] K. Rethnamma, *op. cit.,* p. 17.

two races which also influenced their languages. Slowly and steadily *Kerala Bhasha* absorbed into its new fold, words, phrases, usages and even introduced peculiarities of Sanskrit along with its spirit and culture[21].

According to C.L. Antony, even if there is a migration took place, there is a possibility of language evolution and social mingling of different communities. If the migrants come as a big group, there is a possibility to mix-up their mother tongue with native language of people. But, if they come as a small group, their mother tongue was surpassed by native language. If so the Aryans coming as a big group, their spoken dialect should be survive even today[22].

N. Krishnapilla also stated that Malayalam got its origin from the mixed language of Tamil and Sanskrit. He also believed that, the Tamil discourse in Kerala became changed into another new discourse or Malayalam with the pressure from the *Aryan Bhasha*[23].

Brahmin migration into Kerala became one of the turning points in the history of Kerala. The above statements of scholars mostly supported that Sanskrit and the migration of Aryans had played vital role in the growth and evolution of Malayalam language.

There is no kind of available evidences to prove that the spoken discourse of Aryans were Sanskrit. Sanskrit never came to be used as oral

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[21] *Ibid*.

[22] C.L. Antony, *Bhashapadanangal,* Kerala Sahithya Academy, Thrissur, 1989, p. 80.

[23] N.Krishnapilla, *Kairaliyude Katha*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, .

discourse of people. Its presence was explicited mainly in written materials. Both written language and oral language are not same for many centuries. And these *Manipravalam* works were mainly produced by the upper strata of the society. How could we analyze the language of majority section of people, through the works of a minority group? Apart from Aryan migration and Sanskrit, numerous other social factors played an important role in the social evolution of Malayalam language.

As like inscriptions innumerable phrases belonging to Prakrit, Tamil and Sanskrit were used in *Manipravalam* literature. Some of the terms are discussed below.

Thavalam is cited in *Unniachi charitham* means temporary residence[24]. In prakrit it is stated to be as *dhavala* means sitting permanently or not shiver[25]. In Telugu this is to be marked as *thavalumu* (*Idam*) and in Sanskrit as *sthapavar*[26].

Purikam is quoted *Unniachicharitham* was also a term derived from prakrit[27]. In prakrit it is noticed to be *buruga* or *burua* [28].

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[24] Unniachicharitham, *Mughathala Gopalakrishnan Nair* (Translator), Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, p. 19.

[25] Dr. P.M. Joseph, Malayalathile parakeeya padangal, Kerala Bhasha Institute, 1995 p. 159.

[26] *Ibid*.

[27] Unniyachicharitham, p. 15.

[28] *Op. Cit.,* Dr. P.M. Joseph, p. 175

Pulakam (Goosebumps) is again mentioned in *Unniachi Charitham*[29]. In Prakrit, it is quoted to be as *pulava* and Sanskrit as *pulaka*[30].

Mutti (fist) in Unniachi Charitham is denoted for the influence of prakrit in literature[31]. In prakrit it is named as *mud-tti* and in Sanskrit as *mushtt*i.[32]

Kuttam or leprosy is referred in Unniachi Charitham[33]. In Prakrit, it is denoted to be as *kud-tta* and Sanskrit as *kushta*.[34]

Maalika or double storied home is noted in *Unniachi charitham* and *Unniyadi Charitham*[35]. *Ponmalika* is mentioned in *Kokasandesam*[36]. In prakrit, it is indicated to be as *maalikaa*, Sanskrit as *maallaka*, Tamil as *maalikai*, Kannada as *maalige* (Palace) and in Telugu as *maaliga* means building[37].

Pey is mentioned in *Kokasandesam, Unniachi Charitham* and *Ananthapuravarnanam* means madness . This had showed the influence of Tamil and Kannada in Kerala. In Tamil *pey* means devil and in Kannada *pe*

[29] Unniachi Charitham, p. 29

[30] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.,* p. 175.

[31] Unniachi Charitham, p. 48

[32] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.,* p. 176.

[33] Unniachi Charitham, p. 46

[34] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.,* p. 176.

[35] Unnichii Charitham, p. 19/ Unniyadi charithami, p. 115.

[36] Chathanath Achyuthanunni, & Raghavavariar, *Kokasandesam*, Vallathol Vidhyapeedam. Sukapuram, 2007, P. 77.

[37] Dr. P.M. Jospeh, *op. cit.,* p. 176

used to be meant for madness or spirit[38]. *Pey* always became mentioned in old texts means the person does not obey the social codes, rules and social behaviour. Later this meaning changed as madness.

Ittiya or brick is stated in *Unniyadicharitham*[39]. This term also got its origin from prakrit. In prakrit, it is cited as *ittaka*[40]. In Tamil it is indicated to *ittikai*[41]. In Kannada and Telugu as *ittake* and *ittika*[42]. In Sanskrit it is meant *ishtika*[43].

Kache or bodice is illustrated in *Chandrolsavam*, *Ananthapuravarnanam* and *Unniachi Charitham*. In Prakrit it is indicated to be as *Kacha*[44].

Pavizham or coral is cited in both *Unniachi charitham*[45] and *Unniyadi Charitham*[46]. In Prakrit it is mentioned as *pavaala*, in Sanskrit as *prvavaala* and in Telugu as *pavadamu*[47].

Veena is mentioned in *Ananthapuravarnanam, Unniyadi Charitham, Unnineelisansesham* and *Chandrolsavam*. *Veeniya* is again mentioned in Ananthapuravarnanam. This is an instrument used for classical music.

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[38] *Op. Cit.,* Dr. P.M. Joseph, p. 198.

[39] Unniyadi Charitham, p. 101.

[40] *Op. Cit.,* Dr. P.M. Joseph, p. 178.

[41] *Ibid*.

[42] *Ibid*.

[43] *Ibid*.

[44] *Op. Cit.,* Dr. P.M. Joseph, p. 179.

[45] Unniachi Charitham, p. 35.

[46] Unniyadi Charitham, p. 127.

[47] Dr. P.M. Joseph, p. 184.

Veeniya means small *veena*. The term *veeniya* is derived from Jaina prakrit[48]. In prakrit and Sanskrit, it is named to be as *Veena*[49].

The phrase *achan* is noticed from *Unnichirudevi Charitham*[50]. *Achan* means honest . This term is denoted in Christianity as Christian priest. In prakrit it is used to be as *Ajja* means father of father or mother[51] .In Sanskrit it is named to *Arya*[52]. *Achi* is referred in almost all *Manipravalam* works is indicated to be the continuation of this term in medieval period in Kerala.

Thuttan is referred in *Unnichirudevi Charitham*[53]. In Tamil it is indicated to *thuttan*, Kannada as *dhuttu*, in Telugu as *Dhudde*, Jaina Prakrit as *dud-tta* and in Sanskrit as *dhushta*[54].

The term *mahela* is hinted in *Unniyadicharitham* means noble lady[55]. In prakrit it is quoted to be as *mahila*, in Sanskrit as *mahilla* , and Kannada as *mahile*[56]. In Tamil it is used to be coin *makalir*.

Chonakar or *choniyar* is mentioned to be in almost all *Manipravalam* literature in Kerala. This term mentioned to be for to denote Arabs. It also indicated the presence of Arabs in Kerala during early medieval period itself.

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[48] *Ibid*., p. 193.

[49] *Ibid*.

[50] P.V. Krishnan Nair (Translator), Unnichirudevicharitham, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1973, p.24.

[51] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.,* p. 186.

[52] *Ibid*.

[53] Unnichirudevicharitham, p. 64.

[54] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.,* p. 186.

[55] Unniyadicharitham, p. 66.

[56] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.,* p. 186.

In Prakrit it is used to be as *Jona*, in Kannada as *Jonaka* and in Tamil as *Jonakan*[57]. The idiom *turukkar* used in *Manipravalam* literature is also shows the influence of Arabs in Kerala. *Turukka Kash* is quoted in *Unniyadi charitham*[58] and *Turukkachela* is again referred in *Unniyadi Charitham*[59]. In prakrit it is cited to be as *thurk-ka*, Telugu as *thuraka*, and in Sanskrit as *thurushka*[60].

Choni is described in the *Unnichirudevi Charitham* means caste[61]. In pali it is to be noted as *Joni*, In prakrit as *Johni* and in Sanskrit as *Yoni*[62]. In North India it is not used in the sense of *jati* or caste, not a religious name. Later it got a religious colour.

The term *keli* is too derived from Paali itself. It means entertainment. *kelinretham* is mentioned in *Unniyadicharitham*[63]. In Paali and Telugu it is used to be as *Keli*[64]. In Sanskrit it is referred to *kelli*[65].

Dola is mentioned in both *Unniachicharitham* and *Ananathapura varnanam*, means to swing[66]. In Prakrit it is known to be as *doli*, in Telugu as *doly* and in Kannada as *dotu*[67].

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[57] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[58] Unniyadicharitham, p. 32.

[59] *Ibid*.

[60] Dr. P.M. Joseph, p. 30.

[61] Unnichirudevi charitham, p. 65.

[62] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

[63] Unnichirudevi charitham, p. 65.

[64] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

[65] *Ibid*.

[66] Unniachicharitham, p. 40/ Ananthapuranam, p. 41.

[67] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

Marutha indicated in *Unnichirudevicharitham* and *Annathapura varnanam* means devil[68]. In Jaina-Prakrit, it is known as *marudha* and in Sanskrit, it is used to as *mrutha* (means condition of death).

Kellam is stated in *Unniyadi Charitham* means banana tree. In Prakrit it is known to be as *kella* and Sanskrit as *kadhalla* or *kadali*[69].

Nalinam, *nalini*, *naleekam*, *nali* is referred almost all *Manipravalam* works it means lotus. In paali it is used as *nalina*, in Tamil as *nalinam* and *naalikam*. In Sanskrit as *nadina* and *nallika*, in Telugu as *naleeka* and in Kannada as *nalina*[70].

The term *ali* also can be seen in almost all *Manipravalam* literature . In Tamil, Kannada and Telugu the term referred as *ali* itself[71]. In Paali this term stated as *ala* means sting[72]. In Sanskrit it is mentioned as *adin* [73].

Vicha is illustrated in *Unniachi Charitham* and *Ananthapura Varnanam* means *brilliant* and *miracle*[74]. *Vichayppett* is also mentioned in *Unnichirudevi Charitham*[75]. In prakrit it is indicated as *vijja* means knowledge and in Sanskrit as '*Vidhya*'[76].

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[68] *Unnichirudevi charitham*, p. 65/ *Ananthapuravarnanam*, p. 41.

[69] *Unnichirudevi charitham*, p. 31.

[70] *Op. cit.,* Dr. P.M. Joseph, p. 214-215.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] *Unnichirudevi charitham*, p. 77/ *Ananthapuravarnam,* p. 68.

[75] *Unnichirudevi charitham*, p. 4.

[76] K. Ratnamma, *Ananthapuravarnanam: Padavum Padanangalum*. Kerala Bhasha Institute, TVM, 1997, p. 84.

Akkaram or letter is mentioned in *Unniachi Charitham*[77]. In prakrit this terms referred to be as *ak-kara*(non-endless or Lipi)[78]. In Tamil as *akkaram*, Kannada as *ak-kara* or *acchara* and in Telugu as *akkaramu*[79].

*Chattan*³ or student mentioned in inscriptions are continuously used in *Manipravalam* literature as *chatrar* not *Chattan* ³. In prakrit it is cited to be *chatta* and in Sanskrit as *chathra* (student)[80]. *chatrar* can be noticed from *Unniyachi charitham*, *Unnichirudevi Charitham* and *Ananthapura Varnanam*.

Tittam is indicated in *Unniachicharitham*[81]. In Prakrit, it is known to be as *dhid-tta*, in Telugu as *dhittamu, tamil as thittam,*and Sanskrit as *dhrishta* [82].

Puthakam and *pothakam* is mentioned in *Unniachicharitham* means text[83]. Both *pusthakam* and *pothakam* is explained in *Ananthapuravarnanam*[84]. In Kannada this term stated to be *pothage*, Telugu as *pothamu,* paali as *puthaka* and in Sanskrit as *pusthaka*[85].

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[77] *Unniachi charitham*, p. 86.

[78] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.,* p. 203.

[79] *Ibid*.

[80] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.,* p. 203.

[81] *Unniachi charitham,* p. 84.

[82] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.,* p. 203.

[83] *Unniachi charitham,* p. 84.

[84] *Ananthapuravarnanam*, p. 3, p. 22.

[85] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.,* p. 204.

Koniya or *goniya* is referred in both *Unniachi charitham* and *Ananthapuravarnanam* shows the influence of Tulu dialect in Kerala[86]. *Goni* means sack.

Cholam mentioned in *Unniachi charitham* and *Ananthapuravarnanam* is again shows the influence of prakrit in South India[87]. In Prakrit it is used to be as *chavala*, Tamil as *cholam*, Kannada as *jolam* and Telugu as *jonnalu.*[88]

The term *thanda* or sena mentioned in *Unniachicharitham* is may also shows the influence of Prakrit in Kerala[89].

The term *naraayam* is mentioned in *Unnichicharitham* and *Ananthapuravarnanam*[90]. This term also got its origin from Jaina Prakrit. In Jaina Prakrit this term used as *naraaya* means arrow.

Palli is continuously to be used in *Manipravalam* literature, especially in *Unnichirudevi Charitham* and *Ananthapuravarnanam. Gramam* was cited which indicats the village settlement area.

The term *vaniyam* or *vaniyar* is mentioned in almost all *Manipravalam* literary works were also mentioned in earliest inscriptions. Many kinds of *vaniayars* are mentioned in *Manipravalam* works.

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[86] *Unnaichi Charitham*, p. 44/*Ananthapuravarnanam,* p. 22.

[87] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.,* p. 214

[88] *Unniachi charitham*, p. 25.

[89] *Unniachi charitham*, p. 15/*Ananthapuravarnanam,* p. 24.

[90] Dr. P.M. Joseph, *op. cit.,* p. 25.

Both *Tali* and *Mukkalavattam* was stated in *Manipravalam* works for temples. Mukkalvattam is referred in *Kokasandesam* for temple[91]. Kokasandesam belonged to later *Manipravalam* work. *Mukkal Vattam* may have disappeared in Kerala after the 15th C AD. But some Subramanya temple in Kerala, also called to be as *mukkalvattam* even today. *Vattam* means round and *mukkal* means not absolute or complete. But it exact meaning is not known.But it was indicated the apsidal structure of earl*y* temples.

Thengha,mangha which are used in inscriptions are polished to be as *thenga* and *manga* in *Ananthapura Varnanam*. Both *arichi* and *ari* forms could be analyse from *Ananthapuravarnanam*[92]. *Angadi* and *peedia* is referred in *Manipravalam* works shows its continuous importance in medieval Kerala. Along with this many prakrit and Tamil terms which were mentioned in inscriptions are repeatedly stated in *Manipravalam* works. *Kudi, Koyil, aruli, mathevar, kacham, amrith, kon, chekor, bhattar, chattar*, yogi, nattar, *paricha*, *palli* etc. are some examples.

Some other particular Tamil terms which used in *Manipravalam works are chonnava, vela, thental, koonthal, kizhar, petal, thalla, thandam, uyir, thonda, , oli, acham, peche, peshi, panninal, thay, ooyal, paarthal, pinam,*

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[91] Chathanath Achyuthanunni and Raghava Varier, *Kokasandesam*, Vallathol Vidhapeedam, Shukapuram, 2007, p.51.

[92] *Ananthapuravarnanam*, p. 15.

thantha, thambi, elimbe, pozhuthu, vetti, pichar, mannil, pazhi, koduma, maravar, kootaar, anbe, salais, etc.

In addition to it certain Sanskrit Talsama and tadbava forms could be find out from manipravalam works.*Bhavanam, pakkiam, pathiram, vastram, bali, jhanam, bhakthar, vacha, thanam, ushatham, ponakam, pattang, moksham, bhiksha, dhakshina, rakshikuka, pakkam, pradhakshinam, shaga, theertham, putran etc.*

We already mentioned that *Manipravalam* was the mixture of both Sanskrit and language in Kerala. So of course the visibility of Sanskrit and its dominance in literature are continued in Kerala by medieval period, especially among elite class. But in addition to it, many Tamil, kannada, telungu, and prakrit terms which used in the works shows its entering on the oral discourse of the people in Kerala. It could visible especially from early medieval manipravalam works. When we discuss the later *Manipravalam* works the influence of Sanskrit is more visible than the regional phrases.

CHAPTER V

LANGUAGE IN THE ORAL TRADITION

There are so many studies that have been conducted by foreign and indigenous scholars in connection with oral tradition of different communities. It was in the recent years oral tradition or folklore tradition gets remarkable recognition among the linguistic and research scholars. It has played immense role to understand the growth and evolution of spoken discourse of a given locality or region. According to Robert wood, "Memory played a quiet significant role in oral culture from that which it played in literate culture[1]. The very vital feature of oral songs is the representation of 'regional colloquialism'. They have sung their songs in colloquial dialect of a particular area. With regard to the study of Malayalam language as well oral heritage has possessed immense value.

According to S.K. Nair, the Ballads and Folk songs are perhaps the only reliable source to find a truly representative colloquialism of the people to whom they belong. The language of ballads shows that language was almost free from the dominating influence of Sanskrit[2]. The very important feature of folk traditions is that the songs are generally free from the influence and control of Sanskrit. The vernacular representation in the songs

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[1] Robertwood quoted in Walter, J. Ong's *Orality and Literary*, London and New York, p. 19.

[2] Dr. S.K. Nair, & Dr. C.A. Menon (Edited), *Ballads of North Malabar* (Vol. I), p. 2.

is the very important evidence to abandon the arguments produced by the linguistic scholars who have supported the Sanskrit Origin theory of Malayalam language.

According to EMS Namboothiripad, the language which expressed in oral traditions indicating the very influence of Kodumtamil in Kerala. Centamil in Tamizhakam and Sanskrit were never used to be the spoken dialect of the people in their oral communications[3]. Both are textual language of the upper class or educated people. Among the caste hierarchy the lower class people were denied to attain basic education from the society and they were mainly engaged in agriculture and other labours which were controlled by the upper strata. S.K. Nair also argued that, the literary language means nothing but the sophisticated and artificial form of the spoken discourse[4].

Dr. K.M. Prabhakara Varier also has discussed the difference between written language (Varamozhi) and oral language (va-mozhi). To him, region, society, standard of education, age, etc. have contributed changes in the dialect of a particular language[5]. So many factors have played vital role in the language of a given society. P.M. Girish in his work on 'Keralathile Achara Bhasha' has discussed the role of caste in the formation of Malayalam

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[3] E.M.S. Nambudiripad, *Nammude Bhasha* (Mal.), Kerala Bhasha Institute, TVM, p. 24.

[4] SK. Nair & C.A. Menon. *op. cit.*

[5] Dr. K.M. Prabakara Varier, *Bhashavalokanam* (Mal.), Vallathol Vidya Peedam, Shukapuram, 2010, p. 28.

language[6]. All languages in the world have a dynamic nature. Languages are going to be changed according to the changes which reflected in the society. The spoken discourse of Kerala also witnessed changes in their dialects according to their changes in the society as a whole. Through the communications with the different communities and cultures many words are borrowed from different languages by Keralites.

The oral songs in Kerala can be commonly categorized as Northern songs and southern songs. The language which expressed in these songs are basically different in their nature, content and meaning. Tamil influence became more manifest in southern songs when compared with Northern songs. These songs may be sung during the period between $14^{th} – 16^{th}$ Centuries[7]. Northern songs have manifested the influence of Kannada and Tulu language traditions. Apart from this each region has its own dialects. Within a region itself many linguistic versions can be found out on their oral communication. The language spoken by the *parayar, pulayar, vedar*, and tribal groups, etc. shows the many versions of a same language with different slangs.

The Important Northern songs are *Tacholi Pattu, Puthooram patte, Badrakaali Patte, Nizhal Kuthupatte, etc. Neelikatha, Amman Katha, Irvaikuttipillapore, Vettumaruthan pore, mathilakathu katha, muvot*

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[6]   P.M. Girish, *Keralathile Achabhasha,* Kerala Bhasha Institute, TVM, 2000, p. 51.

[7]   J. Padmakumari, *Neelikatha*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum,m 1994.

mallankatha and Anchu thampuran pattu etc. are belong to the collections of southern songs. The contents of these songs mainly deals with their rituals, agriculture, production, worship, heroism, labour, art, entertainment, beliefs, food, lineage, culture, dress, festivals etc. The songs can be again able to divided on the basis of caste (*pulluvan patte, kurathipatte,* etc.), labour (*Krishipatte, Njattupatte, Vithukalapatte,* etc.), and instruments (*Koladipattu, villadipattu, Udukkupattu, Nanthunipattu,* etc. Some other important folk songs are *pulapattu, malayar pattu, Edanadanpattu, Kurichiar pattu, Paniyar pattu, vedar pattu, thottam pattukal, poorakalipattu, chavittukali pattu, chaver pattukal, kalyana pattukal, badrakali pattu*, etc.

While studying 'ballads of North Malabar' Chelanat Achyutha Menon stated that the 'historical ballads sound strange to cultivated ears'[8]. It is purely Dravidian, almost uninfluenced by Sanskrit. Most of these songs are mainly dealing with the story narration. He also added that, it is a dialect quite distinct from ordinary written Malayalam and corresponds to the language still spoken by illiterate people[9].

According to Raghava Varier, the songs in Northern Ballads were sung by the paniyars of Malabar[10]. He also discussed about the same pattern of songs which represented in both Northern ballads and southern Ballads. To

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[8] Chelnat Achyuta Menon, *Ballads of North Malabar,* University of Madras, 1956, p. 2.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] M.R. Raghava Varier, *Vadakkan Pattukalude Paniyala,* Vallathol Vidhyapeedam, Shukapuram, 1982, p. 33.

S.K. Nair, the langauge of the ballads contains unsophisticated and crude expressions of the village folk[11]. To Dr. Trivikraman Thambi, the language which expressed in Northern ballad shows the language which is spoken by the people of Kadathanad region[12]. These songs are mainly sung by the people for their self-entertainment and enjoyment. These songs also make a collective harmony and solidarity between different social groups in Kerala. To chelanat Achyutha menon, these songs are generally sung by illiterate people with no sense of textual accuracy. They are only for their emotional appeal[13].

To Indra Deva, the elements of oral tradition of folk literature are closely related to specific sections of the social structure and to particular aspect of social life. The analysis of the oral tradition promises to be even more rewarding as a source of socio-cultural data than the study of literary and classical literature. Sophisticated literature belongs only to the elite who form a small section of the total population and it can be expected to reveal the attitudes, norms and relationships primarily of that stratum of society[14].

According to Cecil J. Sharp, the great collector of English folk songs defines it as, the song created by the common people, distinguishing it from the song popular or otherwise which has been composed by the educated[15].

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[11] S.K. Nair & C.A. Menon, *op. cit.,* p. 3.

[12] Dr. Trivikraman Thambi, *Thekkan Pattukal- Oru Padanam*

[13] *Op. Cit.,* p. 6.

[14] Indra Deva, *Folk Culture and Peasant Society in India,* Rawat Publications, Japan, 1989, p.2

[15] *Op. Cit.,*

To sahablal Srivastava, the oral tradition provides the culture of a region a distinct flavour. The study of folk culture and oral tradition may contribute to our understanding of culture and its functioning in human societies. However it may throw light upon the life cycle and the attitudes of folk toward their own tradition[16]. He also repeats that oral tradition portrays contemporary life; documents traditional behaviour reinforces systems of belief and provides safety values to release pent-up resentments. It throws light on numerous aspects of social organisation and provides clues to an understanding of the interplay culture and personality development. The study of folk literature and oral tradition can help in understanding acculturation, patterning of the relations between culture and personality[17].

Folk-lore studies aids to understand the cultural heritage, social life, class organization and overall the language expression of the people during medieval period. According to Raghavavarier and Rajan Gurukkal, Oral songs helps to understand about the relationship between different social groups, gender status of men and women and social conditions of people[18]. The songs which sung by the people were illiterate and they transmitted these songs from one generation to other in their ordinary folk language. It was in

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[16] Sahab Lal Srivastava, *Folk culture and oral tradition*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1974, p.3.

[17] *Ibid*.

[18] Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal, *Keralacharithram*, Vallthol Vidyapeedam, Shukapuram, 1991, p. 46.

the recent periods itself these songs were collected and published by the scholars of Kerala. And it is not a easy task to collect these songs in their original form and nature. The earliest significant scholars who collected folk songs are included, C.P. Govindapilla, L.K. Anantha Krishna Aiyyer, L.A. Krishna Aiyyer, Pandit Karuppan, Chelnat Achyutha Menon, M.D. Raghavan, T. Balakrishnan, etc. At present many studies were conducted by the research scholars of various fields to study and collect various folk-songs from different parts of Kerala. Though the songs were conveyed through their oral tradition, the period of the songs can't be authentically fix. But it helps to analyze the spoken discourse of the common people around during medieval period in Kerala.

This chapter is an analytical study on certain selective oral songs from the Northern and Southern parts of Kerala. Though the songs represent different phases in the socio cultural history of Kerala, it helps to understand particular linguistic expression used by people during different socio-cultural contexts. The discussed songs are:

1. *Puthooram pattu*

2. *Tacholi pattu*

3. *Neeli Katha*

4. *Iravikuttipilla pore*

5. *Edanadan pattu*

6. *Muvotu mallan katha*

7. *Thottam pattukal*

This *Puthooram pattu*, and *Tacholi pattu* represent ballads in Northern Kerala. *Neeli Katha, Iravikuttipilla pore, Muvotu mallan katha* flourished in Southern Travancore region. *Edanadan pattu* is the linguistic expression of Central Kerala and *Thottam pattukal* represent ritual beliefs of different communities. The Southern songs even today survived in the forms of *'villadichan pattu'* in various temples as a part of their festivals and rituals. *Thottam pattukal* is still following in *kavus* and local regions as a part of *Theyyam* and *Thira*. As these songs 'transmitted from, generation to another through oral tradition, we can't unable to fix the exact date of its composition. But however by identifying the socio-cultural life of the people, we can able to understand the linguistic expression used by the people in specific socio-cultural contexts.

1. PUTHOORAM PATTU

Puthooram pattu can be included in the category of heroic ballads. It provides the heroic history of the legendary hero named Puthooram *Veettile* Valiya Aromal Chekavar. It gives abundant information regarding the society and culture expressed in the Kadathanadu region of Northern Kerala.

The story commences with the struggle of Unnikonar and Unnichandror regarding seniority with immediate death of their uncle. Ultimately the

Naduvazhi has ensured that those who win over Angam could assume the position of seniority. Unnikonar appoints Aringodar as chekon while Unnichandror has chosen Aromal Chekavar of puthooram house as his valiant *chekon*.

The influence of Brahmanic culture and language could be seen in puthooram pattukal. They try to change the folk words to Sanskritized words. The words like 'Kolasree' (Kolathiri), 'Vellasri' (Valluvakonathiri), Nanibhakede (Shame) 'manibhkaede', 'Thamboolam varjikkuka'[19] (refusing to accept betel offered), paradukkham (sorrowful), odangalum dhahanam (cremation) 'Sakhi' (companion), 'Teertham' (holy water), 'Andu Deeksha' (Yearly penance), all these are common Sanskrit words used by them. Along with this, we get the information that, they also followed Brahmanic culture too. 'Andu Deeksha'[20] is an obvious example to this. After the death of their uncle both unikonar and unnichadrar together practiced the custom of 'Andu Deeksha'.

The song also employs many local linguistic usages performed by the society during this time. They used to practice *muravili* or ritual crying to inform others that, that was a house of dead persons. Those lines are,

Penganmar randum muraviliche

Chathoru veedennu ariyikkunnu

---

[19] '*Thamboolam Varjikkuka*' indicates the breaking of relationships.

[20] '*Andu Deeksha*' is a penance observed by the buried person that continued for a year.

Nenjathadichum thozhichum konde

Athu thane kelkkunnu ayilalarum

Odeetum mandeettum vannodungi[21].

The line hints two sisters are crying to inform the neighbours that this is a house where death had occurred .While hearing this ritual of crying the neighbours come into the house very fast.

In another part, they used some interesting phrases during the offering of *Balis*.

Seshichanellum ariyumcholli

vedan pulavinte chakkacholli

vaduka puliyante mangacholli[22].

It eludes to the offering of *Balis* in the names of several plants namely mango, Jackfruit and rice.

The caste system was very rigid during this time. We can analyse this from the conversation of *Vazhunnavar* (a local ruler) and a low caste man[23]. They used the words like *Pana Cherukkan, Kollan Cherukkan* instead of using their name[24]. Now-a-days itself '*chekkan'* is used to be as derogatory in

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[21]   K.V. Achuthanandan, *Vadkkan Pattukal* p. 5.

[22]   *Ibid*., p. 6.

[23]   *Ibid*., p. 13

[24]   Cherukkan or Chekkan they referred for to indicate they were belong to very lowr class community. It is a caste derogatory usage.

Kadathanad region. Unnikonar met *Pana Cherukkan* and inquires the way to find out an efficient *Chekon*. Further he asked the *panan*, where are you going? He answered that he was going to his '*ur*' or nadu. Unnikonar again asked 'what can you get from your *nadu*. *Panan* answered it as:

> *Unnumbol chennalo chorukittum*
>
> *Thekkumbol chennalo ennakittum*
>
> *Chethumbol chennalo kallukittum*
>
> *Athazha chorinu ariyum kittum*
>
> *Sandhyavilakkinu enna kittum*[25].

Here *panan* replies that, he got meals, toddy, rice and oil from his *ur* or *nadu*.

From these lines we can understand that the distributive system that prevailed there. It also gives information that, 'Kallu' or toddy was used by them as a common item for their diet.

Another interesting reference is concerned with their knowledge about the identification of the places. Nature was the main indicator to locate different areas. They associated the appearance of the mountains and hills with the figures of elephants, cock's, pig's and deer's neck. Paddy fields and plantation were also used for their identification.

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[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

Kozhikazhuthan malayarike

Anakkazhuthan malayarike

Pannikkazhuthan malayarike

Avidennu nere vadakkottekk

Pattapzhuthulla kavungin thottam

Kulayunangiya thenguthottam

Karimbana thottam kadannu chennal….

Potherre kettiya thenguthottam[26].

It refers the mountains as the neck of cock, elephant, pig and alike. They also refers to the plantation of coconut tree, arecanut tree and palm tree etc.

These phrases can be seen in various parts of the songs. That means they had no specific idea regarding boundaries.

Their concept on beauty or grace is explained in the song. They were well aware of the different body parts such as hairs, eyes, teeth, colour, etc. They compared it with various things. Today's beauty concepts have no relation with this.

Karirulkotha mudi azhak

Panchami chandranodothanetti

Kunjimugavum kuriyakannum

Thathamma chundum pavizhapallum

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[26] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Kannadikkotha kavilurandum

Aromal thadi arayanmeesa

Shanku kadanja kazhuthazhake

Marathu mampully poomchonangum

Amayodotha puravadive

karirulkotha thuda azhake[27].

It is described that the hair and thigh of Aromal Chekavar was an extreme dark countenance. His forehead was compared to moon, lips to the lips of parrots, teeth related to coral bead, cheek with mirror, neck with conch, and external shape with the appearance of tortoise.

From this description we can understand that Aromal Chekavar was a man of black complexion and he is the ideal person of male beauty. Through the description of kuttimani, we can get knowledge regarding female beauty. Ornamentation plays a decisive role in their beauty concept.

Peelithirimudi kettivachu

Chandran valanja thirunettimelum

Chandamodezhuthiya thodu uriyum

Marvinnazhakiya thalimala

Mavividam thingiya angabhangi

Punnul parichotha poomchonangum

27 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

Neela kavuni pudanjoriyum

Ramayanam kothiya valakal randum….[28]

The following lines describe the woman's beauty. It praises her hair, forehead, etc.

They had good awareness about *Jyothisham* which got represented in various parts, '*kanni rashi'*, '*midhuna rashi'*, '*ashtami vyazham'*, '*shani pizha'*…are indicating this.

Ashtami vyazham sanippizhayum

Sanippizha thante apaharathal

Pettennu veenu marikkum njane

Balikkupandu pizhacha vyazham

Annallo balivadham kazhinju[29].

Another line from the song gives certain interesting description regarding an ideal *chekon, nair, namboothiri* and women. Their concepts regarding these groups are clearly reflected in this song.

Ankam pidichale chekonavoo

Pulasyam aninjale nayaravoo

Poonnulumittale nambooriyavoo

Mangalyam aninjale nariyavoo[30].

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[28] *Ibid.*, p. 45

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

It says that, one who will conduct *Angam* or fight will become a *chekon* while one who wears *poonul* (sacred thread) will become a Brahmin and a women's role is related to marriage and lion-cloth or *kacha* related to Nair.

References regarding the features of house can be understood from the *vadakkan pattukal*.

Nere kizheketu illamane

Nere thekketu variyamane

Nere padinjarum antharveedum

Nere vadakketu veluthedante

Puthuthayi theertha padippurayum

Kummayam thechathil chithraezhuthu

Padippura kayari kadannuchennal

Nadakasalayil chennirangum

Ettukettum nalla ezhutharayum

Nalkettakathunde mullathara[31].

The above lines mention the features of various kinds of settlements in Kerala like *illam, variyam* and the features of houses in Kerala. *Ettukette* and *nalukette* were some of the traditional types of houses maintained by the *Namboothiri* and the ruling families in Kerala.

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[31] *Ibid*., p. 14.

From the above mentioned lines, we can analyse that they followed mixed settlements. The usage of *natakashala* seen at the home of *Veluthedan*[32]. Perhaps they were the groups of professional *Theyyam* players[33]. The reference of *Natakashala*[34] is seen at the house of *chekon* as well.

Next attractive stanza is the conversation between Unniarcha and her mother in law. Unniarcha wanted permission from her mother-in-law and father-in-law to meet her brother Aromal Unni. Mother-in-law said that *Panan Cherukkan* would accompany Unniarcha. Unniarcha replies to the mother-in-law stating the tradition of Puthooram veedu.

> *Appol parayunnu ammayiyamma*
>
> *Panacherukkane thunakondoykko*
>
> *Athuthane kelkkunnu Unniarcha*
>
> *Omana mugham vadi Archakkallo*
>
> *Puthooram veetil pennumgalum*
>
> *Panante koode nadannittilla*[35].

Here Unniarcha replied that the women of puthooram house will never go with the Panan.

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[32] Veluthedans are belongs to the low caste hiearchy. They were professionally washer man community. They are also known as vannan or mannan.

[33] Theyyams are one of the art forms in Northern Kerala.

[34] Natakashala are connected with theatre culture or the place to conduct the art forms.

[35] K.V. Achyuthanandan, *op. cit*., p. 32.

Another interesting feature is that they had in depth knowledge regarding *Parasurama* tradition, *keralolpathi* and the story of *Cheraman Perumal*. Those lines are mentioned below:

Keralmennoru bhoomiyallo

Parasuramante prathishtayale

Gurukshetram thannilum ninnukonde

Gokarnam nokkiyoru banameytu

…………………………………………

Nootiyettu prathishtayum undakkunnu

Nalpathirandu kalari theerthu

Malayalathil brahmanar illanjitte

Paradesathuninnum konduvannu.

……………………………………

Paradeshathuninnum kodannundakki

Nalallo jati pirannundayi

Ceramam Perumalum thampuranum

Ola ezhuthi ayachithallo

…………………………………..

Puthooram veedum kalarithannu

Attipperayi ezhuthithannu

Puthooram padathe kandam nalum

…………………………………....

Ezhavathe rajavum nammalthanne

Malayalam thannile kalariyil

Payattumurakal pathivillanju

Nalloru kurukalum thulunatteennu

Melayma sthanavum vechuporum[36].

These lines indicate the *keralopathi* tradition. According to this the land of Kerala was created by *Parasurama*, stretching from Gokarnam to Kanyakumari. It is said that *Parasurama*, threw his arrow to the sea and due to his supernatural powers the land of Kerala came out of the sea. He made *nootiyettu prathishta* to stabilise the earth. He brought forty two *kalaris* here and also says that the four *'Jathis'* came to Kerala from *Paradesham*. It again pointed out that their ancestors are coming from Ezhupathunadu. Perumal, who wrote a letter to Ezhupathu king and send a *ezhavar*. Perumal, gave them all facilities there. They rendered the position of *Tandayma Sthanam*, *Tazhavazhcha*, Puthooram house, fields, the status of Chekon and *Attiperu* (grants), etc.

From these lines we get plenty of information on '*Nootiyettu pradishta',* forty two *kalaris*, and migration of Brahmins etc. In those days Kerala was also denoted to as Malayalam. It may be a later development that Malayalam treated as a name of language. The term *Paradesam* indicates that

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[36] *Ibid*., p. 26-28.

Kerala was completely independent from Tamilnadu and got a separate border during those days.

The origin of *Jathi* is clearly defined here. Sub castes were also formed along with this. According to those lines the Perumal sended a letter to *Ezhupathu* king. As a result of this, the king had sent '*Ezhavas*' to Kerala. The Perumal welcomed them with high hospitality and rendered them permanent residence here. '*Ezham*' is identified with the present Sreelanka. All these lines indicate the cultural heritage of Puthooram house.

The language used in Puthooram pattu shows early phase of medieval age. The Brahmanic influence and the use of Sanskrit show its encroachments into the life of ordinary people. The certain language expression in these songs shows the influence of *Manipravalam* style.

The features of agrarian economy are clearly felt in Puthooram pattu, which indicates the commencement of a development society. Marital arts just emerged in Puthooram Pattu and *Kalari* became on important institution during later centuries. *Kalari* is a traditional kind of martial arts practiced in medieval society. The price fighters of Angam are known as *Chekon*.

Caste is found as very rigid by this time. The reference of '*Chekken*' and '*Penne*' indicate the derogatory usage of the time. There is also indication regarding the commencement of matriarchy in North Malabar.

This song is mainly composed in the linguistic dialect of common people in the North Malabar region. When compared with the previously referred *Manipravalam* phrases, lots of linguistic changes can be identified in the oral discourse of the people. The term *'Arichi'* disappeared in their oral discourse and it is fully transited as *Ari*. The term '*chekor*' by this time completely associated with the martial art of *Angam*. Regional Tamil and Prakrit dialects mentioned in *Manipravalam* works evolved into another one with certain morphological variations. '*Manghai'* and '*Ennai'* evolved to be as *manga* and *enna*. The term '*Attiper'* continuously used by this time in Northern Kerala. Alongwith this the influence of Sanskrit and Brahmanic culture became visible in their oral tongue. They were practiced the ritual *Andudeeksha*, and used the phrases like *Thamboolam-Varjjikkuka, Odangalum Dahanam, Vellasri, Kollasri, Manibhakede, Nanibhakede*, etc. It indicates the influence of Manipravalam style in their oral culture. As it is explored here, this socio-linguistic evidence, this song may have composed during 16th or 17th C or early medieval period in Kerala.

TACHOLI PATTU

Like *puthooram pattu Thacholi pattu* is another heroic ballad of Northern Kerala. The society, culture, and language represented in Thacholi pattu is different from that which mentioned in the puthooram songs.

Tacholi pattu is chiefly associated with the valiant hero named Tacholi Chandu. This story mainly deals with the preparation of war against chandhu

by Kunji Kongan and Kannan for Kunji Kongi. Kunji Kongan and Kannan become the brother and husband of Kunji Kongi.

In the first part of the song we gets the reference of vadakara *nadu*. Chandu along with Chappan went to vadakara nadu. The ways are referred in this songs which are put down here. Paddy fields, soils, forests, rivers, hills were used as indicators of various borders. There is also reference regarding Talasseri *nadu*.

Thythalidicha chirakadannu

Koottadam padathu vannirangi

Chulliyenenna vanam kadannu

Kalvettukuzhiyum charalparambum

Thayyore malayude valathubhage

Kozikazhuthan mala kayari

Aana mariyan malakayari

Thalasserinadum kadannavarum

Vadakara nattin attam chennu

Kannan puzhayum kadakkunnunde[37].

Bunds, paddy fields, chullian forests, gravel land, Tayyora Mountains are referred as a part of their travelling. They went to Vadakara nadu using those as main indicators. Apart from this shape of mountains, they related

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[37] K.v. Achudanandan, *Vadakkan Pattukal,* p. 67.

with the neck of elephant and cock. At last they reached the Vadakara and Talassery nadu and crossed the river named Kannan.

Chandu goes to Vadakara nadu to collect the delayed taxes from Bappan, the naduvazhi of Vadakara. Bappan was an Arab or Muslim, which is suggested by the term *'Jonar'*. At first Bappan did not care for him. Later he welcomes Chandu with all hospitality, when he understood that he belongs to *Tacholi* family.

> *Kilivalan vettila edukkunnundu*
>
> *Eeran kavunginte pakkeduthu*
>
> *Chappadan nalla pokaleduthu*
>
> *Chankangu neetiya nooreduthu*
>
> *Chunnambu karanavum eduthavanum*

The lines describe the importance of betel chewing. All the ingredients like bettel nut, tobacco, and lime are narrated here[38].

After this, chandu demanded Bappan to give the delayed taxes which could not render after the death of his uncle. Information regarding various kinds of taxes are given here:

> *Muthalum palisa pirikkavenam*
>
> *Veetukooliyum tharikavenam*

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38 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

Jonarthoppi panam tharika venam

Thiyyorkathi panam tharikavenam[39].

The collections of various taxes like Jonarthoppi panam, Tiyyokathi panam are mentioned here. It also refers to the collection of principal and interest and the wage as well.

At this moment a girl passed in front of Bappan's house. Chandu enquired about her whereabouts. Then Bappen described on her appearance.

Manathunenganum pottiveeno

Bhoomiyil ninnenganum mulachuvanno

Enthuniramennu chollentunjan

Kunnathe konnayum poothapole

Vayanadan manjal poothpole

Wayanadan manjal murichapole

Kunnikuru niramennu kandolthonnum[40].

He asks whether she is coming from sky or sprouted from the earth. Further said that, she is like the flower of Cassica fistula, etc.

They make use of the term '*pennu*'[41] as derogatory. The conversation between Bappan and chandu is a clear example for this.

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[39] *Ibid*., p. 68

[40] *Ibid*., p. 69

[41] 'Penne' (woman), here they used in the sense of a inferior word.

A pokum pennathu ethakunnu

Appol parayunnu bappanallo

Pennennu peru vilikkalledo

Kodumala vazhunna kunjikonki

Ezholam ponmala avalkkathundu[42].

…………………………………

Chandu, asked Bappan about kunji kongi, while call her as *pennu* (woman) .Bappan said him not to call her as pennu. She belongs to a wealthy family.

Bappan said about the strength of her brother and husband. Both of them maintained a well efficient army. They also have *madirasi pattalam*[43]. They were efficient in other war techniques as well.

Avalude aangala ariyo ningal

Kodumala vazhunna kunjikonkan

Ponmala mukalirippavanum

Bhoomiyude chode padavettavanum

Ayirathonnolam pattalavum

Madirasi pattalam avarkkathunde

Ola thulunadan kannanallo

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[42] *Ibid*., p. 69.

[43] *Ibid*., p. 69.

Ezholam ponmala ullonanu

Pattalam thanneyum avanundallo[44].

In short it is said that her husband and brother are very strong. They were efficient in their army and maintained *madirasi pattalam.*

There are also references regarding gambling. It comes from our Ithihasa-purana tradition. Chandu and kunji kongi were good at gambling. The features regarding gambling are put down below.

Choothupalaka eduthuvechu

Ponnum karukkal edukunnunde

Choothukaravum niruthi chandu

Choothu karukkalum thallunnude

karukkal thalli kali thudangi[45].

It is described that, they are taking the gambling plank and both of them are gambling. As like this lots of linguistic expressions are found in the song.

While hearing the news of stealing of kongi, kannan and kungan get ready for fight. From this reference we can understand that they saw woman as wealth during those days.

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[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Ibid*., p. 71

Pennine kattoru kallaneeyum

Ennude pennine kattkalla….[46].

The following lines show the emotions and reactions of Kannan. He called chandu as the thief who stole women.

We can analyse an atmosphere of war from this folk song.

Gopuram nalile pattalavum

Madirasi pattalam thirichukunkan

Ayirathonnolam pattalavum

Ambuchutteyyunna ambadikal

Odu chutteyyunna ambadikal

Asthrangal ellam eduthu kannan[47].

It explains the war preparation and army strength of both Kungan and Kannan.

The feature of a modernized society is clearly mentioned in the *Tacholi pattu*. Matriarchy became more expanding during this phase. The women were found as assets during this period.

This song furnishes an atmosphere of war. The terms like *pada, padayottam, pada muzhakkam, madirasi pattalm* all show the hints on

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[46] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[47] *Ibid.,* p. 72.

modernised society. During this phase martial arts became consolidated in Northern Kerala.

The words like *muthal, palisha, kooli, mappila thoppi panam and Tiyyakathipanam* etc. describe the economic condition of the society. They also indicate the expansion and advancement of trade, transactions and the growth of money economy. The reference of *Jonar* indicates the presence of Arabs and their role in trading activities in North-Malabar region.

A consolidated form of Malayalam language could be found from the *Tacholi pattu.* As like *Puthooram Pattu, Tacholi pattu* is free from the influence of Sanskrit and Brahmanic culture. It gives so many hints regarding the linguistic transitions which occurred during later periods in North Malabar region. The term *chanke, peru, chode, chennu, attam, kayari, neetuka, edukkuka, pirikkuka, parayuka, vilikkula*, etc. indicate their local colloquial idioms. The term '*chappaduka*' indicates the Tamil term used for eating. The reference of '*Choothe*' indicates its origin from prakrit or Sanskrit. In prakrit it is used to be as *Jootham* and Sanskrit as *Dyutham*. The term *Thampoolam Varjjikkuka* disappeared from this song and it is referred in simple folk language. The term '*Anai*' used in Tamil changed as *Ana* by this period. All these linguistic evolution signify the composition of these song in early 18th Century.

NEELIKATHA

Neeli is a legendary heroine in the minds of people. Neeli Katha is a ballad regarding the life-story of kalliankattu neeli. It belongs to the collection of *Batha pattu* or *pey* stories in South Travancore region.

The ballad speaks how the evil spirit of Neeli awaited for several years to take revenge against her husband. This event happened in pazhakanalloor. According to J. Padmakumari, It may be a place named 'palukal' in Kanyakumari district near parassala[48].

The tale tells the story of Brahmin (Nambi) of Pazhakanalloor Ammayappan *Kovil* (temple) who became attracted by a *dasi* named Neeli to her home. Her mother advised her to snatch all his properties to her hand. After acquiring the wealth, her mother expelled him during her absence. When she heard about the eviction, Neeli searched for her husband and at last met him near a kalli shrub. Further Neeli reveals her innocent love towards him. But as against this the Brahmin took revenge on Neeli by ruthlessly killing her. Before her death near the Kalli plant, she reminds him the misdeed and injustice he had done to her. Immediately after her death, he stole all her jewels and escaped from there. During this time Neeli's mother send Neelan (her brother) to find out her. He happened to see the pathetic death of his sister and out of shock and deep anguish he himself died at the spot. At last Brahmin also died due to a snake bite while drinking water from the well.

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[48] Prof. J. Padmakumari, *Neeli Katha*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, TVM, 1994, p. 51.

Further Neeli, Neelan and Brahmin were reborn in kaveripoopattanam. Neeli and Neelan were reborn as the kids of chola king in the name of Shoorpanaka and kumbakarnan. Brahmin reborn as a trader with the name of Ananthan.

With the rebirth of Neeli and Neelan chola kingdom have witnessed for lot of wrong signs. The prosperous kaveri poompattanam went to the condition of ruin due to their birth. At last without any way chola king deported them to the forest where Neeli recollected incidents from previous birth and searched for the Brahmin (Anandan) to take revenge on him. At last Ananthan was followed by Neeli and she took revenge by brutally killing him.

The song is presented in the form of storytelling. It renders many information about society, culture and language followed the people of south Travancore region. The Yakshi concept has played a very vital part in their socio-economic life.

The song starts with the lines of;

Mandakathe pukal padaitha

Mayavaramn konda mathave

Chinthakkinankinte vadivazhaki

Theeran melakottulekshi[49].

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49 *Ibid*., p. 62.

Uchikku uchipera

Nettikku nettippera[50].

Here yakshi is addressed as mother or '*mathav*'. These lines indicate that *yakshi* has many super natural powers. This '*Yakshi Amma*' concept still plays a very vital role in their social life and beliefs. '*Uchi*' and '*Netti*' means head and forehead. It may hint in depth worship on *Yakshi* by the people. There is also a reference of *Yakshi* in the name of '*Uchiperakari*'. Some other Yakshi names explained in the songs are *Kannadi Valakari, Choolattukari, Valliyakshi, Yakshi Amma, Ponnaruthal Yakshi* etc.

Some particular place name descriptions are referred in the song are hinted below:

Aadithiyavarmma mannanude

Thirutholil avatharithaye

Athiyooram Aalathooram

Anthirapulam cherumadavum

Thittivella nagakkadum

Cheraulla urathilum

Koothukanda karayalare

Kontum mudicha mathave[51].

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[50] *Ibid*., p. 63.

[51] *Ibid*., p. 65

These lines describe that yakshi was born from the shoulder of Adhitya, the ruler of *Chola* kingdom and she had killed the *karayalar* of various regions namely Athiyur and Alathur. Athiyur and Alathur identified as the region in Tanjavur district. It became the capital of *Chola* kingdom. The reference of snake forest (Naga kadu) and the *Uru* in the name of rat snake indicating their place identification. *Karayalar* may be the guards of village. '*Koothu*' is an art form performed in the temple. The Yakshi had killed all *Karayalar* from these regions. *Karayalar* may be belonging to higher castes groups.

There is so many citations on the system of Devadasi in South Travancore region.

> *Vedimar kuravayida*
>
> *Vesamakal vethiyonai*[52]
>
> *Nattuvanu thathiyumay*[53]
>
> *Thevidikki, thevidisikku*[54].

Here, *ved*i, *vesha makal, thevidikki, thevidissi, nattuvan* indicate the reference of Devadasi system. '*Nattuvan*' became the male member of the Devadasi family. '*Thathi*' is the Sanskrit *tathhava* of '*Dasi*'.

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[52] *Ibid*., p. 69.

[53] *Ibid*., p. 83.

[54] *Ibid*., p. 73.

The song gives a lot of elaborate evidence regarding trade and trading activities.

Pattanathe than purantha

Aananthan chettiyavan

Pazhayuru thannathile

Panamtheda pokayile[55].

Pattanam is an urban trading centre. '*chetti*' is a name for mercantile group. They have played a very vital role in the internal trading transactions in medieval period. 'Money' referred in the song indicates the growth of money economy. Some other instances that indicate wealth are;

Nattamulla nambi ivan

Namukkumorum thyvarallo

Kirupayudan kasipanam

Kelatha nee makale[56].

In other part it cites as:

Panathe alli madiyilittan[57].

It signifies the importance of money in their life. '*Kashi panam*' is a kind of money used for transactions. Another interesting usage in the song is:

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[55] *Ibid.*

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[57] *Ibid.*

Kasikku poyvittu vasikku vangalam

Kappalum vythidalam[58]

It again indicates their self-concern regarding making of wealth.

In another stanza, it says that:

Pattanathe vittvanum

Parathesam poy nadanthal

'*Paradesham*' and '*Swadesham*' concept became developed during these phase. It signifies a common culture that is different from other states that were formed during that period.

From the song we get hints about the owner (*Udama*) and servant (*Adima*) concept.

Kovilulla udamayi ellam

Kolliyittum than koduthan

Kavilulla udamayi ellam

Kalavandum than koduthal[59].

The owner in temple and *kavu* may be as indicated to be a God. And the people were considered to be as the servants of God.

Adiyangal cheruppamallo

Unkalthirunamam valuppamalle

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[58] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

It again indicates the same concept.

As these words are used in the sense of service to the temple, it also provides some clues regarding the social atmosphere of the time. The concept of owner and servant was seen as the feudal and capitalist product. It also indicates the social stratification based on caste and class in the society.

There is also description regarding pregnancy.

Moontana masathile

Muthuniram meniyanal

Nalana masathile

Nalla alumpazham meniyanal

Anchana masanthile

Aravayarum palananal[60].

The description of pregnancy and its various stages are beautifully manifested in Neelikatha- which shows the particular linguistic usages used by the people during those days.

This song renders information regarding the significance of Yakshi concept in the imagination of the people. The people had faith over these kinds of mythical characters in their daily life. The story conveys a lot of social messages to the people. It reminds the philosophy of Karma. Which

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[60] *Ibid*., pp. 85-86.

means good deeds or actions contribute to happier rebirths where as bad deeds will lead to unpleasant karmas.

Various names of *Yakshis* are mentioned in the songs namely *uchiperakkari, kannadi valakari, chodattukari, valliyakshi, yakshi amma, ponnaruthal yakshi,* etc. Even today yakshi has been represented as a symbol of goodness and prosperity.

The *'Dasi'* illustrated in the story reveals the prevalence of *Devadasi* system in South Travancore region. The terms like '*Veshai Makal'*, *'Tevidikki', kottuvedimar,* and *Natuvan* are hints or evidences for the devadasi system which had been prevailed.

Uravar and *uravar sabha*, mentioned in the song, indicate the brahmanical dominance during those periods. Both Neeli and Ananthan have articulated their complaints before this *Uravar Sabha*. The uravar sabha had played as a remarkable role in the society in terms of ensuring justice.

The indication of *Mappila, chandalan, thalayalimar* (security men of gramas), *pulavar, vannan, chothirikal* (astrologer), *Nambi, karaiyalar, chetti, chakkalathi, vellatti, Idayar konar*, etc. show the different social sections and their social roles in the society. The terms like boat, *vanik, vanikesan* indicates the importance of trade and commerce. We have also got descriptions on chola capital kaveripoom pattanam and its prosperity.

As other ballads of south travancore region, *Neeli katha* also marked the linguistic expression of both Tamil and Malayalam. Certain Sanskrit idioms like *mathav, sakshi, brahmavidhi, barthav, chathiram* (sasthram), *poosakal* (pooja), *dasi and puthi* (intelligence), etc. can also be found from the song.

More than Malayalam, Tamil became dominant in their linguistic expressions. It was due to the result of a mixed culture followed by the people in these regions as a part of particular geographical set up and social mingling in southern regions of Kerala. As like Northern Ballads local Malayalam expressions comparatively very rare in *Neelikatha*. The Tamil phrases like *mannan, ur, kontu, vangalam, vythidalam*, etc. are used in this song. *chetti* expressed in the song hints the influence of prakrit. In Prakrit it is used to be as *sett-ti* and in Sanskrit as *sreshti*. The usage of *Adiyangal* and *Thirunamam* quotes the ritual language of people. Certain Sanskrit idioms used in the song are *Sakshi, Brahmavidhi, Chathiram* (*Shastram*), *Poosakal* (*Pooja*), *Dasi, Puthi* (*Budhi*), etc. It indicates the people in Southern regions were familiar with these phrases and *Yakshi* worship have played prominent role in their daily routine life. The reference of *Thevidikki* and *Thevidissi* indicates the prevalence of Devadasi system in South Kerala. The phrase '*Achi*' absented in the song also indicates its irrelevance by this time. The reference of '*Paradesham*' shows the geographical separation of Kerala with Tamil Nadu. It indicates the growth and development of a common *Malayali*

culture in the southern part of South-Travancore region. The reference of trade, money and towns all indicates the formation of a developed society. From this above mentioned evidence, this song may compose during the later phase of medieval society.

IRAVIKUTTI PILLA PORE

This is another heroic ballad from southern parts of Kerala. The tale of the song is based on a historic war conducted between Venad ruler and Madurai Naikkars during 17th C AD at kaniyakulam. So, this is also came to be known as *Kaniyakulam pore*. The story commence with the description of Venad ruler.

> *Pandupol vanchivendar*
>
> *Panpudan kalkkulathil*
>
> *Underkomenai potty*
>
> *Avaniyandirukkum nalil*[61].

Vanchi venthar means vanchi king. Venthar is a Tamil term for king. Kalkulam referred to be as the headquarters of the king. It is identified with the place named Padmanabhapuram. *'Panpu'* means merit. *'Andar koman'* is meant to be as Mahavishnu, the family deity of Venad rulers. *'Avaniyanduka'* indicates, to rule over the kingdom. It was said that the Venad ruler who reigned Travancore with establishing their headquarters at Kalkulam.

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[61] Dr. Thikkurishi Gangadharan, Iravi Kuttipilla pore, p.3.

Ettuveetil Pillais were the minister of Venad ruler. Iravikuttipilla became one among them. Thirumala Naikkar had sent his military troops under the leadership of Rama Payyan. The troops or the army became narrated as,

Vanthapadyude peruppamellam

Mannavane chollatholayathu

Munthichilay ramanudan porutha

Mukil vellachenai irukkinayo?

Vinthai tiruppathicharam thottu

Mikka vadacheri mattumpadai

Thanthipadaiyode kuthirai padai

Thakkakalalum paranthu nirkka[62].

The messenger informed to the vanchi king about the strength of the army. Rama Payyan's army was arranged from Thiruppathisaram to Vadassery region with strong infantry, cavalry and elephantry. '*Thanthi*' or '*Dandhi*' means elephant. This was described that the army arrangements of Rama Payyan became as strong as the *Vanarapada* arranged by Sreeraman to fight against Ravana. Here the war atmosphere is connected to be the *ithihasa-purana* themes.

The Venad army became led by Iravikutti Pilla. The war finally ended with the heroic death of Iravikuttipilla. The story gives much information on

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[62] *Ibid*., p. 3.

social consciousness of people in Southern Travancore region. The people were so concern about astronomy, fate, dream and augury.

The mother of Iravi has watched a horrible dream in her night sleep. So she forbade his son for his decision towards participation on war. The lines are;

Mallarum thinpuchathen

Mathavum Ethucholvar

Ellarum padaikkaka

Ezhuntharuli varathukku

Pollathakariyam kan

Porventha nettiravu

Vallathe kanavukanden

Varum palankakal eppadiyo[63].

Here mother shows her nervous or anxiety about the results of the war. She further continues;

En makane enniravi

Intupadai pokavendam

Kanva viny pollathu

Kanavukanda choppanam kel[64].

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[63] *Ibid.*, P. 7.

[64] *Ibid.*

Then she explains her dream;

> *Vathukkal neerazhi*
>
> *Varambidinthu vizhavum kanden*
>
> *…………………………………*
>
> *Mothithalai chaythu*
>
> *Muravili konditavum*
>
> *Alamaram muttode*
>
> *Aadinakandum vizhunthitavum*
>
> *………………………………….*
>
> *Vinthayulla nambiyarkku*
>
> *Viralazhi murinthidavum*
>
> *……………………………..*
>
> *Tharventher ezhuntharula*
>
> *Chuntharam cher kombirandum*
>
> *Thunda mida kanden nan*
>
> *…………………………*
>
> *Thiralahai kuttamittu*
>
> *Chinkam pattikollakanden*
>
> *Oru puliyai attuthiral*
>
> *Orunkipatty kolla kanden*[65].

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[65] *Ibid.*

During her dream she saw many wrong signs. She explained each dream as one by one. *Muravili*, fall of tree, blood, killing etc. indicates bad signs. But Iravi did not deviate from his stern decision. He replied that;

> *Thayare, varum amma*
>
> *Thaduthumozhi chollathai*
>
> *Enkethan ponalum*
>
> *Ezhuthinavithi thappathu*
>
> *Ankirunthal varavinai*
>
> *Inkiruthal varatho*
>
> *Varavidhi enkirunthal*
>
> *Vanthidum kan, mathave*[66].

He called mother as both *'Thayar'* and *'Amma'*. From this line manifested his believe over fate *'Vara vidhi'* means the coming fate. *'Vara'* and *'Pora'* are two local colloquial opposing idioms used by the people.

As without no result, the mother had sent his wife for the same purpose. She also saw a nightmare and communicates those with her husband.

> *Nettiravu panchanaimel*
>
> *Nitthiramay urankiyile*
>
> *Parthirukka chaniyan vanthu*
>
> *Parthavai kodupokakkanden*[67].

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[66] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[67] *Ibid.*

In astrology *Shani* or *Saturn* is a planet. She saw Saturn in her dream. A person under the influence of Saturn has to work hard in his life. So she discourages Iravi to take part in war. She further said that;

Kandakana athanayum

Kavala pollathu

Pollathe kanavukanden

Pokavendam neerpadaikku[68].

But Iravi not change from his decision. He says that;

Ezhukadalukkappurathe

Irumburaykkul Irunthalum

Yamanarutharude Alvanthal

Illy ental povarkalo?

Kallarayum kattivethu

Kallaraykkul irunthalum

Kalanude aal vanthal

Kandilen enthal povarkalo[69].

Here he again expressed his positive attitude towards his fate. *Yaman*, the God of death has already fixed the date and time of his death. If the death is fixed, no one can save from that fate. And he further added that

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[68] *Ibid*., p. 13.

[69] *Ibid*., p. 14.

Paadupettalum ennal mudiyathu

Pynthodi chollakkolamal povaro?

Naduvazhum arasarthan kalpanai[70].

'*Painthodi*' means wife. He said that he can't move from his determination. This is the order form the king.

After this, he was witnessed for many negative signs for his travel. Some of the lines are cited below;

Kattam Ingane Alleyo! Lakshanam

Kandethellam pizhay entum palliye

Thotta nalla kuripalam pollathu

chopaiyaka thirunba neeradinar[71].

Lizard is a sign of what might happen in the future. After bathing he happens to touch the Lizard and again go for bathing.

Araithu koduvantha chirukinnilchandanam

Adithu kamuzhathinar polave keezhveezh

Manathil chila peedaikal

Vythallo pillayum[72].

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[70] *Ibid*.

[71] *Ibid*.

[72] *Ibid*., p. 15.

Here his sandal plate lay from his hand which again indicates wrong signs.

Nannaythodiravikkoottyppillai

Nallathor amirthunnum padikkaka

Munnedutha amirthathu thannile

Mullaipoomalarpole thalainarum[73].

'*Amrithunnum*' means having food. '*Mullaipoomalarpole Talainarum*' indicates grey hair. He got grey hair while he having food hints wrong signs.

Nadannuthan theurveethiyile vara

Nalla vethiyan ethirvanthu thontinan

Azhukannan virakodu valliyum

Anpinal kathi kayyilidukkiye

Muzhukikondu uruliyum arichiyum

Mukiyamale oru kayyil neeyyumay

Ethiril vantha marayonekkandapin

Ethuvanthu vidiyumo marayonekkandapin

Ethuvanthu vidiyumo en param[74].

Here wet firewood, Iron knife, one Brahmanan etc. identified to be as augury signs.

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[73] *Ibid*., p. 18.

[74] *Ibid*.

The believes over Jyothisha or astrology has evident from the dialogue of Iravi's mother.

Pakkanalum pakainalum pollathe

Paviyone! Padaikkintu pokathe[75].

'*Pakkanal*' means the birth star of the month. '*Pakainal*' indicates the three, five, and seventh star after birth star. It is not good for him. So she restricts Iravi to take part in war.

All these incidents hint their faith over augury signs, dream, fate, astrology, etc.

After all these incidents the song has given vivid explanation regarding the war. Iravi's preparation for battles illustrated as;

Poonthalir kachaimeethil aninthudan

Thachiyode mudukkay nala pani

Chandiramalai pathakkam palavakai

…………………………………….

Paniya mapakaranankalumittudan

Parappullayurumal aninthanar[76].

He wore bodice (kacha), war dresses; and ornaments with the help of his servant (*Dasi*). He wore his weapons and made ready for war. While

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[75] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[76] *Ibid.*

receiving the permission from the king he leaves from there. It is mentioned to be as;

Kannippadai nadathi kalalidai cheruma-

kkaman karuppuvillukku eytha kanayepole

Ponthitta udaivalum puilthol parichayumay

Porarachar valiravi thekkukkottai vachal vittar[77].

Here Iravi is personified as young *Kama* God by the court ladies. His appearance is connected with *Kamadeva*. '*Vachal*' means door.

The song has given extensive account on war.

Thiruthinar vadukar kalal chirappudan nettikaithu

Parathiral thuliyakki padai kattinirkkum neram

Varuthamay malayam chenai

Maattanai kandapothu

Urathiyal villay eythu osayal

Vedikal vythar

…………………

Vythare vediyangumingumay

Valiyathokkudan kaivedi[78].

…………………………

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[77] *Ibid*., p. 30.

[78] *Ibid*., p. 38.

The term '*Malayam Senai'* here may identify to be as the troops of Kerala. It is a clear statement on the separate individuality of Kerala from Tamil regions. There are also remarks about shoot (*vedi*) and rifle from the song.

Then the song has described the heroic attack of Iravikuttipilla.

Vettupattavar keezhe madiyave

Veethiyo entevar alarivizhunthida

Chattai nalla thalaippavum attida

Thalayum tholum marupadi vettinar

………………………..

Thalum chenniyum tholum thunippada

Chattai nalla thalaippavum Attitta

Thalamanu thannil maravar madiyave

Thattazhinthare aavi thalarnnudan[79].

He killed the troops of maravar. He chops their heads and shoulder and continues the war.

Vazhai nallathadaipole pillayum

Vara vara kuthirayi ekkinaar

Kalu nalu mukameedum attida

Kandakanda thichaikalum chuttida

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79 *Ibid*., p. 41.

He slaughtered the horse cavalry of enemies and cut it out the hands and legs of horses like cut down the Banana tree.

The song has given reference of *kappa panam* and *pazhakachu*.

Chentunadu padaiveedu thannile

Cheranalla thuraikalundenkilo

Pandumullathor kappapanathile

Pazhankachu kidayathu kanume[80].

'Pazha kachu', means old money or old mites indicate debts .chentu nadu means *chendapada house*. It may be the family name of Iravi. He challenged the Thirumala Naikkar that not to render their old tax and money.

From these lines it is evident that the Venad rulers had payed taxes to the madurais Naiks. The non-payment of taxes was the main cause for the attack by Madurai Naiks. The reference of '*Iraikooli*' mentioned in the song indicates the land without tax.

We have got the indicators of '*Ravuttars*' from the army troop of Madurai Naiks. They played very remarkable role in the war.

Koramakave ravuthanmarellam

Kuthirai chera irakkipporuthare[81].

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[80] *Ibid*., p. 42.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Ravuthar was Muslim community from south India. This community also known to be as *Turukkars* . They came to South India around 12th C. They played a vital part in South Indian troops.

From the story, we have get reference on their caste consciousness.

> *Ayyuril pallarellam*
>
> *Iyyuril parayarellam*
>
> *Theendathe chathiyalle*
>
> *Thirumudiye thottare*[82].

Pallar may be the untouchable caste in Pandi Nadu. *Parayar* is also a, low caste group in Kerala. '*Thirumudi*' means the 'sacred hair' of Iravi. From this Stanza it is clearly manifested that the system of untouchability.

The term *Malayali* is referred in the song hints the consolidation of *Malayali culture* and *Malayali identity*. It is referred to be as

> *Ethireri chentepothu maravar ethu cholvar*
>
> *Eppodiyum malayali intuchathicheyvan*.

It is described about the concept on *Malayali* by Maravar. Cheating of *Malayali* in any means is discussed here.

Messenger has played important part in this song. The information's on war became communicated through messenger.

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82 *Ibid*., p. 56.

Intha cheythikkullole ezhuthiye

Irama payynukka koduthu vittar[83].

Thirunthave olathanne chentu

Ramapayyan kayyil

Porunthave koduthanottan

'*Ottan'* here referred to be as the common name for messenger. Various messages were passed by this informer before and after the war.

The *Viruthi* land became referred in the last part of the song as a part of reward to the Kali Nair by the King. It is described as;

Irukala nilamothuvum chavetty viruthiyaka….[84]

'*Chavetti viruthi'* may be the kind of land grant given to the heroic persons. It indicates the continuous relevance of land grant system.

The ballad gives details in concern with power competitions, Jealsy and conspiracy among the ministers of Venad. The Venad army became led by Irvaikkuttipilla. No other ministers were didn't participated in the war. The reference of '*Ettuveetil padai pandaram'* indicates the temporary army of Venad kingdom. The rulers may be collected their help when indeed necessity. The eight houses had the hereditary right to acquire ministerial position.

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[83] *Ibid.*, p.5.

[84] *Ibid.*, P. 77

Kalkulam was the first capital of Venad rulers. The term 'vanchi' is continuously referred in the song indicates its old heritage. In early period vanchi became the captial of chera rulers. It indicates the South Travancore areas are included in the territorial limit of Vanchi Nadu. Kalkulam at present located in Kanyakumari ditrict. The reference of Neelakandaswami temple resided at Kalkulam shows the family deity of Iravikuttipilla. It is one of the twelve shivalaya temple where practiced 'Shivalaya Ottam'. The other important places indicated in the song are Thovala, Udayagiri, Puliyur Kurichi, Kaniyakulam, Thiruvidaikodu, Thirupathisaram, Parashala, Mangali, Amaravilai, Uthiyangod, Neyyatinkara and Panakudi. These places are now located in Neyyatinkara Taluks and Kanyakumari districts. Along with this we have get reference on places named Karamana, Pappanamkode, Karakkamandapam, Nemam, Penganur and Anthiyurkad, the places near to Trivandrum city.

No exact mention regarding the name of Venad ruler who reigns during the time of the war. There is only the reference of *Cheraman* and *Ilavarachan*. There are hints on *Soma Kula* which indicates rulers were belonging to lunar family. On the basis of other corroborative evidence, the war became occurred during the reign of Ravivarma Kulashekara.

The ballad reveals about the people's faith over fate and dream. Both mother and wife of Iravi have seen a horrible dream during their sleep. And

they restrict him to take part in war. Iravi also witnessed for many augury signs. But he was not deviated from his decision. Augury signs are working as a fact of right or wrong. People had consciousness over these kind of believes in their daily routine life. They also kept believe over astrology.

From the song we have get reference on *Malayalar, Malayali* and *Kerala pada*. It indicates the consolidation of Malayalam language and the social formation of Kerala. The identity of *Malayalar* became the product of common Malayali culture.

The reference of '*pada*' (army)*, vedi* (shoot)*,* and *rifle* gives the indication on war. The caste based untouchability became so established in society. We have get reference of land grant system followed by the Venad rulers by this time. The reference of '*Kappa panam*' (tax) indicates the taxation system followed by the rulers. The term *'Iraikooli'* also referred in the song indicates the land without tax. From all this evidence this song may composed during 18th C AD.

The song has given much information regarding the local colloquial words used by the people of South Travancore region. According to Dr. Thikurshi Gangadharan, this colloquialism could be identified from the *Nadar* community of South Travancore region[85]. As like *Neelikatha*, the same pattern of linguistic expression is used in Iravikuttipillapore. The

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[85] *Op. cit*., P. 14.

idioms of *Vendar, Mannnavar, Padai, Cholvar, Eppadi, Chingam, Thayar, Vara, Kana, Vanthal, Anai, Pynthodi, Arasar, Povaro, Talai, Ange*, etc. indicates the influence of Tamil is their linguistic discourse. The term *Kalpana* and *Amirthunnuka* indicates the ritual language followed by the people. Apart from this certain Sanskrit phrases also mentioned in the songs, such as *Phalangal, Vidhi, Lakshanam*, *Peedaikal*, are certain examples. The phrase *'malayali'* used in the song indicates the evolution and growth of a common *Malayali* culture and its formation by this time. The usage of *vedi, padai, thokku,* etc. all indicates the beginning of modern era. Though they followed a mixed culture in their language and social life, the identity of a *Malayali* became evolved by this time in their socio-cultural life of the people. It could be evident from this song.

EDANADAN PATTU

Edanandan pattu is a story telling song from Central Kerala. The song is mainly centred on the Kuttanadu region of Kerala. These songs are aid to reconstruct the socio-cultural and linguistic tradition of Central Kerala. Through this we can able to understand the spoken discourse and the social life of the people.

The story which begins with the description of two Nair *Tharavadu's* named *Thekkelam Kootu* and *Vadakkelam kootu.* The '*Kaimals'* of *Thekkelam Kootu* were experts in martial arts. *Karuthakkanmar* of *Vadekkelam kootu* had

the status of kingship. They had invited kaimals of *vadakkelam* family to render training and practice in martial arts to their sons and nephews. As a part of ritual manners, they have given all hospitality to Kaimal, along with a lady servant.

By this time niece of kaimal became pregnant by koothampilli menakan. When heard this news kaimal killed his niece to protect the pride of his family. Inorder to console his mother, he planned to bring his pragnand servant to his home. On the way she would die while giving birth to a son. Kaimal called his name as Edanadan. He conducted his birth rituals and given him all proper education.

By this time Menakan happen to know the death of his partner. With the help of his friend Koyil they planned to revenge kaimal. Without asking the permssion from kaimal, they have started farming on his land. As heard this kaimal went to Ezhuvanthuruthu to ask *pattam* or rent from them. Where, he was ruthlessly killed by them. Edanadan happened to know the unpity death of his father. He planned to revenge them at last.

Edanadan pattu gives much lingusitic evidence regarding the oral langauge of kuttanadu people. The account of place names, society, economy etc. renders particular linguistic usages used by the pepole.

The place Ezhuvanthurthe is described as;

Ezhupunnakkad ezhuvanthuruthe

Chera polanjalumethatha kade

Kakambadannalumethatha kade

Kuriyalu kuthichaluvethatha kade

Ezhupunnakkade ezhuvanthuruthe[86].

Ezhuvanthuruthe here described to be as big forest. It is very hard to reach that place. The rat, snake and crow (*kakan*) cannot easy to touch that forest. It may be a particular linguistic expression used by the people.

The society which represented in the song indicates the very prevalence of caste system. Caste played a very crucial role in their socio-economic life. The concept of *untouchability* and *unapproachability* became so rigid by this time. Some lines regarding their caste consciousness is quoted here.

Menakan kulikkunnadiyile vellam

Keezhpottezhukiyum vannale penne

Aa nadiya nammalu kulikkukayilla

Chathi koranjavane menakanavane

Menakante santhathiyivide vazhukayum venda[87].

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[86] K.R. Sajitha (Ed.), Edanandan pattu, *Tharathamyapadana Sangam*, 1997, Current Books, Kottayam, p. 68.

[87] *Ibid*., p. 44.

Bathing water from the river itself, here indicated to be as polluting one by the upper caste group.

In another context, we have got clear indication regarding untouchability.

> *Velan polayante tharayilum chenne*
>
> *Theendavathi dhoore chennunikkunnathonde*
>
> *……………………………………..*
>
> *Njandiyenam thondiyenam thotrtunnathilla*
>
> *Chakkaledacherinum thottunnathille*
>
> *Nankandamuthuvanem thottunnathille*
>
> *Njan chevarakkaran chankarane thottunnathille*
>
> *Njan kumba kudvayaran maplachangathi*
>
> *maplachangatheenem thottunnathille….*[88]

The above mentioned lines render abundant knowledge on the social set up of *Jathi* and its working in the society. The term '*Teendavathi'* indicates for untouchability. '*Njhandi'* and '*Tondi'* may use to be as derogatory diction. Each low caste community had their own locality in the name of '*Thara'*. *Pulayan* again represented as low caste group. '*Mappila changathi'* indicates the presence of Muslim community. Mappila Muslims also became the part of caste system during this time. '*Thottunnathilla'*

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[88] *Ibid*., p. 124.

signifies the purity and pollution based on food. The custom of '*Jathi mariyada*' became practiced during those days. Those lines are;

> *Njangade jathikkoru maryadayonde*
>
> *Jathimaryada cheyyanam thamare*[89].

'*Tamare*' may be the particular local usage used by the people. Caste based rituals and customs were followed during those time. It played very vital role to stabilize the caste system in established form. The reference of '*Achara Mariyada*' also indicates the above point.

Likes other oral songs, many particular linguistic expression expressed in the different part of the song. Certain examples are;

> *Injaveli panchaveli kettichavare*
>
> *Kaithakadakaitha veli kettichavare*
>
> *Mukkannan karaveli kettichavare*[90].

These are describtion about different kinds of fence (*veli*). The fence of plants like '*kaita, 'Incha', 'Kara'* is stated here. It constructed to safeguard the enemy attack from Edanadan.

The different kinds of swords are described below:

> *Edanadaneganum koodi vannittundenkil*
>
> *Kalukuthiyenganum kerivannuvenkil*

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[89] *Ibid*., p. 95

[90] *Ibid*., p. 94.

Kalurappan valu panicheyyichittunde

Mutukittenganum koodi kerivannuvenkil

Muthukaruppanvalu panicheyyichittunde

Kaikuthiyenganum kerivannuvenkil

Kaiyaruppan valu panicheyyichittonde

Nenjukuthiyenganum kerivannuvenkil

Nenjuruppan valu panicheyyichittunde

Thalakuthiyenganum kerivannuvecha

Thalayaruppan valu pani cheyyichittonde

Nakkukuthiyenganum kerivannannum vacha

Nakkaruppan valu panicheyyichittundo[91].

Here the Menakan and his team are awaited to restrict the attack of Edanadan. They made much preparation for to resist the attack of him. They makes lots of variety of swords named '*kaluruppan*', '*muthu karuppan*', '*kaiyyaruppan*', '*nenjurappan*', '*talayaruppan*', & '*Nakkaruppan*'. Each sword here described and connected to indicate the different kinds of attack of Edanadan.

The fighting is manifested in the song as sportively.

Irunnu kalicheyavan eerayiram konne

Avan muttittuvettiyavan eerayiram konne

---

[91] *Ibid*., p. 95.

Nadannu kalicheyavan nalayiram konne

Thalum thakarayum ariyum kanakke[92].

These lines indicate their involvement in war. *'Talum Takarayum'* hints here their local usage to describe the war. In another context it is expressed be as,

Kanmade kaiveetti kathakaliche

Kanmade manavatti njurukkiyavare[93].

From the song we have get reference on '*chaver'*.

Chaverinayitterangithirichale eda

Pennennuvondoyedo mannennuvondo

Theendennuvondo theendakkulavennude[94].

Chavers are suicide fighters did everything to avenge their death. Here *chaver* is meant to be as war. It is stated that there is no concern and sentiment over family and caste when going to participate in war. The lines hint their self-concern on their life and death.

As their life mainly depended on agriculture, we have got plenty of reference on agriculture. The people of Kuttanadu have used '*kari'* instead of paddy field. The phrases, '*chennankari', 'ramankari', 'kainakari', 'mitrakari', 'karivetti', 'kadum kariyum'* indicates its regular usage by the people.

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[92] *Ibid.,* p. 85.

[93] *Ibid.,* p. 86

[94] *Ibid.,* p. 124

As the region became surrounded by backwaters, it played significant part in their daily-routine life. There is also reference regarding boat-roaming.

'Kavala kaliche vallam kuthiyavare

Moovala mooliche vallam kuthiyavare[95].

Their believes are over augury also expressed in the song.

Thengayum veenapalam cheriyallayenne

Balikkuttithanathe thengayum veene

Alnasham varuve arthanasom varume[96].

Fall of coconut here indicated to be as wrong sign. And it is said that the result should not good. This was contributed to the loss of wealth and people.

The system of economic exchange continued during that time. There is a reference of toddy for paddy.

Kettalum kekkanamente kaliyammathalle

Nellinum kallu tharanmeyamme[97],

Here toddy is asked to a lady named 'kaliyamma'. It indicates Toddy became a common diet among the common life of the people.

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[95] *Ibid.,* p. 46.

[96] *Ibid.,* p. 62.

[97] *Ibid.,* p. 63.

In another part we have get reference on some particular linguistic expression used by the people. Edanadan said that

"Neyyide mahatham njan kanichillenkil

Chorinte mahatham kanikkacheyyum"[98].

Here he expresses his love and sentiments towards his father. He remembers about the feeding of food by his father. His revenge against Menakan is expressed in this part.

Edanadan pattu gives plenty of information on social life of the people. The system of kalari became so established form. The rigidity of caste system became so explicit in the song. The reference of *Ezha panikkan, velan*, *Mappila, Tattan, Mannan, Kaimal*, etc. indicates different social group in the society. Agriculture played a very significant role in their socio-economic life. The idioms*, kandam, kanam, Kari, pattam*, etc. indicates the terms related to cultivation. There is also reference regarding various kinds of paddy crops used by the people. The term '*sambantham'* indicates the prevalence of matriarchy system. There is no indication regarding money economy. At the same time we have get hints of economic exchange followed by the people during that time. The reference of *Angadi* indicates the internal economic exchange centre.

The regional linguistic expressions were mentioned in the song indicates the oral linguistic transition and evolution which occurred during the medieval

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[98] *Ibid*., p. 83

society in Central Kerala. The '*Achi*' denoted in *Manipravalam* works here used to indicates women or Nair ladies. The term *Sadhathi* used in Manipravalam literature continuously used as in the sense of same meaning. The phrases '*pakee palajanam*', *Aluvadiyarum, Vachetham, Tunthiri, Kandam, Unnuka, Kali, Vellam, and Kari* indicates usual usage among the life of the people. *Tondan* used in *Manipravalam* works transmitted as *Tondi* as a meaning of useless. The usage of *Tenga* and *manga* denotes its complete evolution from Tamil phrase *Tengai* and *Mangai*. Instead of *Tanni*, they used *vellam* for water. The reference of *Achara maryada* and *Jathi-maryada* denotes Brahmanical caste rituals and its influence on common people. Other Sanskrit idioms are *Thanavum manavum, chuchroosha (Susroosha), Dakshina, Tripaadam, Japam, Tambichu (Stambichu)*, etc. The reference of *pattam* and *kanam* indicates its continuous usage in from early period to medieval time in Kerala. The indication on barter system mentioned in the song hints information regarding the prevalence of agrarian economy in the kuttanadu region. By these social and lingusitic features, the song may be the product of medieval period.

MUVOTU MALLAN KATHA

Muvotu Mallan Katha is a ballad from South Travancore. It is included in the category of *Vatha pattu* or *Batha pattu* or *pey* stories. Today these songs are performed in the temples as *villadichan pattu*. The story gives the material evidence regarding the working of myth over the realistic life of the people in Southern Kerala.

This song exhibits the story of two brothers (*kuruppu*) and their arch enmity towards their maternal uncles regarding proprietary rights. *Kurupu* was an honorary title conferred by the kings of the local provinces in relation to their occupational functions related with martial art, funeral rites etc.

The story which reveals that, their maternal uncle had negated them to direct agricultural activities in their ancestral property. As a result, they planned to destruct and kill their maternal uncle and their family by using *Devathas*. They searched for *Devathas*. At last they got *Devatha* from the house of *paraya* community. Lastly the *Devathas* had destructed the entire Nadus and humanbeings.

The song has given lot of linguistic expression used by the people in the South Travancore region. The song commence with the lines of

> *Mandakathe pukal padayitha mayavaram*
>
> > *konda thamburanum*
>
> *chinthayikkinangkinte vazhivazhaka theeran*
>
> > *moovottumallan thamburan.*[99]

These same lines indicated in the beginning of *Neelikatha* as well. Both songs are related to *pey* stories and both are flourished in the southern part of South Travancore region. It is a clear example to know about the one linguistic expression followed by the people of South Travancore region. This same kind of linguistic expression can see in other lines as well.

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[99] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Makizhnthuthulli vilayadi vaye adiyenkar cheruppamallo

Unkal thirunamam valippamallo[100]

As like *Neelikatha*, *Muvotu Mallan katha* further explains number of Devathas.

Moovottumallanode moovayikkara chavundiyum

Thettikkottomallanode malanmoorthivathayumo

Malanmoorthi vathayode pirammamoorthi vathayumo

Attumadan thamburanode Attilakshi. Ammayume

Mutharamma mathavume…..[101]

They worshipped many Devathas and Yakshis. These Devathas have played vital role in their social customs and reliefs. They worshipped *Chamundi, Thettikottumallan, Malanmurthi vatha, Brahmamurthi vatha, Attumadan Thampuran, Muttaramma etc*. *'Vatha'* means *pey*. This *Yakshi* have given the concept of mother by the people.

The economic condition and troubles faced by the Kuruppu family became explained in the song as;

Kallarayil panavummilla

Kazhanjiyathil nellumilla

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[100] *Ibid*

[101] *Ibid*.

Uduppano mundumilla

Ummano nellumilla[102]

It indicates their pathetic economic condition. They have no money in their hand. '*Kazhanchiyam*' indicates '*Nelpura*' or grannary. Again said No paddy for food and no dress for wore. '*Umman*' means to have food. It is a local linguistic expression.

Their economic debts expressed in the song as

Moovayiram panam mudakkam

Munnooru kotta nellumudakkam

Nellum kadam theerthittila panam kadam theerthittilla[103].

They had the debts of *Muvayiram panam* (Three thousand money) and debts over paddy. *Munoorukotta* may be a measurement for paddy. *Mudakkam* means debt. It indicates information regarding agrarian economy which prevalented during those days in Southern Kerala.

After, in order to solve their economic problem they started cultivation without asking permission from the uncles. The uncles maltreated them. And they said that;

Ammavanmmarethuvale poruppanopayamilla

Poruppano poruthiyunde pularuvano sankadamonde

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[102] *Ibid*., p.50.

[103] *Ibid*., p. 50

Olichu ninnoliyambeythal melum melum pazikalonde

Ullodumanam ariyathe thevathavitte ozhikkavenam[104]

Here expressing their hostility towards their uncles. They planned to kill them while using *Devathas*. *Poruppan upayamilla* is a local term to '*not forgive*'. *Pazhi* means revenge.

Thus they planned to search *Devathas*. Before their travel they called their mother and given the responsibility of home. They informed mother that they going to brought buffalo for their cultivation. Those lines are

Pettoramma mathave vilichavarthe parayutharam

Kalakonduvannallathe verorutharariyaruthe

Njangal varumazhakum veetil sooksham venamallo

Pulayadima parayadima adichukettikkalayaruthe

Pennum pille santhathiye kaduketti kalayaruthe

Aadumadukannukali sookshichu kollukavenam[105].

It again indicates their local linguistic expression. Here they demanded mother to take care of family, ladies, children and cattle. The term '*parayadima*' '*pulayadima*' indicates the caste based anarchies in the society. The term '*sandhathi*' became repeatedly used by this time. '*Susham*' means 'care'. It may be Sanskrit tatbhava of '*Sukshmam*'.

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[104] *Ibid*., p.58.

[105] *Ibid*., p. 58.

They go to the houses of *mannan kudi* and *paraya kudi* to purchase Devatha. They wanted powerful *Vatha* or *Yakshi*.

Aanakollum vatha venam

Kuthirakollum vatha venam

Mayyalooru mannanukudi thannile pokvenam

Avan pakkalundukanum Athichayappetta thevathamare.[106]

They wanted the *Devatha* with a power to kill elephant and horse. *Mannan 'kudi'* indicated to be as the house of *Mannan*. The term *kudi* referred in the inscriptions as *Irandu kudi, Nalu kudi,* etc. Its meaning was entirely changed by this time.

Furhther they went to the house of *Chadaya Kaniyan Parayan* and asked his Devatha.

Neevachu aandirikkum nintethoru thevanmare

Nilppathoru thevanmare njangalkku tharukavenam

Moonnachupanam tharuvan mukkazhanchu pontharuvam

Kayyil pidippan valtharuvam vittuduppan mundutharuvam[107].

They offered many gifts to *parayan*. Money, gold, dress, sword etc. '*Moonachu panam'* and '*mukkazhachu pon'* indicated the gifts of money and Gold by the kuruppu brothers. But they won't get powerful Devatha from

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[106] *Ibid*., p. 60.

[107] *Ibid*., p.61.

there. They further moving to the house of *Kaniyan parayan kudi* and given the same offer to him. Where they got mighty Devatha and became happy.

However they brought Devathas from lower caste community, their caste consciousness became so explicit in the song.

Kelkkayente anucha chetta onnu cholla kelkkayenne

Palladima parayadima theendinamal vannavarane

Mungiye kulikkavenam enno ente anuja chetta[108].

Here they discussed about bathing. They called the lower cast group as their slave. So, the *jenmi-kudiyan* system was established by this time. *Pallar* and *Parayar* became untouchable caste in the society. From Iravikuttipilla pore, the mother as well worried about the touching of Iravi's hair by *pallar* and *parayan*. It shows the caste rigidity in the society.

Later parayan adviced Kurupu to take care of *Devatha* very carefully.

Thevatha kondupoyalelle kudiyiruthiyallathe

Pennum pillavayikkum kanji ningalume kudikkaruthe

Nadayil pizhakkaruthe kidappil pizhakkaruthe

Varikkchakke kalavupoyal thevathavittum chodhikkame

Vazhakkula kalavupoyal thevathavittum chodichukollum

Manja inchi kalavupoyal thevathavittum chothichukollum[109].

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[108] *Ibid.*, p.65

[109] *Ibid.*, p.76

'*Kudiyiruthuka*' means to fix Devatha in the home while conducting all rituals. Until after only their family would have food. They also care in their walk and sleep. If the banana, Jackfruit, and ginger stole the Devatha will take care. These items were regarded to be as asset by the people.

On the way to their home, the bag that covered the Devatha has broken.

> *Pemarappu pottichello kootathode thevathanmar*
>
> *Moovottumallanumo kalangi vilichukondo*
>
> *Kootamitta thevathanmar orupole koodiyallo*
>
> *Perukankka thirandapole kottathode koodivar*
>
> *Vazhachavala madamathellam orupole mudikkutharam*
>
> *Pottimare kollutharam aayimare kollutharam*
>
> *Pennupilla chinthathiye orupole kollutharam*
>
> *Antha ooril alukale onnozhiya konnodukki*[110].

The whole *Nadus* were destructed by a group of Devathas after broken the bag or'Pey Marappu. They destroyed the *pottis* (Brahmins), *vazhala madam*, the ladies and their children. The members of whole *nadu* were killed by the Devathas. '*Perumkakkathiranduka*' (a group of crows) related to the group of Devathas.

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[110] *Ibid*., p.77

After reaching home mother also advised them that;

Vallatha thevathaye

Ningalthanum konduvannu

Thanthathi mudiyumallo

Tharavadu mudinjupokum

It is said that the *Devathai* would destroy their *Tharavadu* and the whole generation.

This kinds of *pey* stories played significant role in the life and culture of the people. It is explicited that *Devathas* have played remarkable role in their belief systems and culture. The certain community of lower caste have worshipped and appeased Devathas for their family and generation. This concept of *Devatha* also connected to their socio-economic life and agricultural activities as well. Many *Devathas* are mentioned in the songs such as *Chamundi, Yakshi, Bairavi, Mutharamma* etc. The exchange of Devathas for money and other things indicate its social relevance in the society. People kept it as a economic asset of their family and community.

However the system of caste and caste rigidity became continuously followed by this time. The evidence of money economy was clearly expressed in the song. Another important feature is, there is clear cut evidence regarding the breaking of matriarchal system and growth of Patriarchal Societies in South Travancore region. The enmity between

Kuruppu's and their maternal uncles became the base of this story. The revenge through *Devatha* may be a common believes kept by the people by this time. Today, the Devatha worship or *Yakshi Amman* worship have played very vital role in their daily social life, especially in south Travancore regions.

As like the *Neelikatha* and *Iravikuttipilla pore*, the stories in Muvotu Mallan were also located in Southern part of South Travancore area. It helps to trace out the linguistic evolution from the Tamil language to Malayalam. Apart from certain Tamil idioms the influence of Malayalam became more dominant in this song. *Veede, kalave, taruka, kadam, kuli, kallara, udukkuka, mudakkam, theerkuka, poruthi, maanam, ozhikkuka, jhangal, vartha*, etc. are certain examples. The term '*konte*' used in Neelikatha changed to as *kolluka*. *Ur* continuously used by this time. *Sandhathi* and *Pazhi* became a part of regular usage of the people by this time. *Anai* referred in the Iravikuttipilla pore evolved to be as *Ana*. The usage of '*Chetta*' indicates the Sanskrit or Prakrit influence of *Jeshta* and *jet-tta*. Sanskrit idioms were almost rare in this song. The places mentioned in the songs like Paluka ur Mottamude*,* Jhalikonam, Anamugham, etc. also referred in earliest works. The term *kudi* mentioned in the earlier works and inscriptions here changed to be the residential areas of lower caste people. By all these socio-linguistic evidence this song may composed in very later part of 18th C.

THOTTAM PATTUKAL

Thottam pattukal are the other category of oral songs which sang as a part of *Theyyattam* and *Thirayattam*, a ritual art form performed by the lower caste community in Kerala.

The aims of these songs are to impart Bhakthi among the people and to appease their gods and goddess to gain goodness and prosperity to their family. These art form generally performed by the lower caste groups, such as *Vannan, Pulayar, Velar, Panar* and *Malayar*.

This art performed by the person is identified by the people as the representation of God or goddess. It is conducted at the ritual places like *kavu, palliyara, kottam* and *mundya*. It is believed that this art form and songs have developed as a part of *Kavu* and tree worship. According to M.V. Vishnu Namboothiri, the term *thottam* may be the Sanskrit tatbhava of '*Strotra*'[111].

These songs give information on the origin of *Devatha*, its power, travels, and also its myth and legend. Apart from the story of Devathas and gods, *thottam* songs of ancestors and heroic persons became maintained by different communities in Kerala.

The language which expressed in *Thottam pattukal* indicates different linguistic colloquialism used by the people in Kerala. The period which

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[111] M.V. Vishnu Namboothiri, *Thottam Pattukal*, National Book Stall Kottayam, p. 16.

composed the song will also affect the linguistic expression of *Thottam pattukal*. Though the almost stories in the song touched with the *Ithihasapuranas*, the intrusion of Sanskrit tathava and talsama words find out from certain songs. However certain songs have kept a folk style of linguistic expression in their songs. According to M.V. Vishnu Namoothiri, *Thottam Pattukal* represented for different variants of linguistic expression. From the song identified the influence of Tulu-Kannada, Tamil, Manipravalm style and pure Malayalam linguistic expression[112].

THOTTAM SONG FROM NORTHERN KERALA

1. Baali Thottam

Baali Thottam is performed by the *vannan* community of Northern Kerala. It is said that, with the death of Baali by Rama, he had attained Moksha .Then Baali had reached Vaduvankotta. And it is believed that the places named Morazha, Kurunthozha and Vadukka Kovval had the presence of Baali. The content shows the people had given a regional identity to the mythical character Baali.

The song begin as

Punchanelkathrkothi pooncholathorumpara

nnanchathe varum thathe, chenjamme vari kari-

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[112] *Ibid*., p.14

kathiri madiyathe panchasarayum palum

nenjude sugam varumaru njan tharunnundu

panjamapapam pokum bhagaval kathakalal

ethanum cheruthariyikkenjame ennodippol

ethume madiyathe cholluvanenkil kelppin.[113]

These lines indicate the influence of *killipattu prasthanam* of Ezhuttachan. Here the story became described by the parrot. It is a mere imitation of *Kilipattu* of Ezhuthachan. It is also evident that Ezhuthachan's Ramayanam will also followed by the *vannan* community. The lines from the Baali thottam hints the consolidated form of Malayalam language.

The war became referred to be as

Othayathil pidipettum thazhukiyum

Othiyum thettiyum mariyum thangalil

Thandayum thandayum thammilurasiyum

Kanda maramaramkondu thallidunnu

Kunnum malayum poricherinjeedunnu

Kunnikku tholkkayillennu cholleedunnu.

'*Othayam*' means boxer war (*Mushtiyudham*) '*Othi*' means 'to fight'. It explains the war between Baali and Sugreeva. These lines also express

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[113] MV Vishnu Namboothiri, *Utharakeralthile thottampattukal*, Kerala Sahitya Academy,Thrissur 2000 , p.23.

Malayalam linguistic expression. These same lines of linguistic expression could find out from Ezhuthachan's *Ramayanan*.

> *Naduvazhum ningal kaduvazhum njangal*
>
> *Manushaveeranmar ningalakunnathum*
>
> *Vanarajathikal njangalakunnathum*
>
> *Nalla panam ponnu rathnavum ningalkku*
>
> *Nalla thalirila, kaykani njangalkk*
>
> *Nalla nallorallo ningade baryamar*
>
> *Nannallyottume njangade baryamar.*

Here the Baali express the racial difference between 'Vanara' and 'Manushya' kula. These lines and the phrases are clearly manifested in Malayalam language.

While analyzing this, the song is completely free from the hold of Sanskrit and Tamil. On account of this linguistic expression, this song may compose during very later period.

2. Bhagavathi Thottam

Bhagavathi thottam was also performed by Vannan community. This song is to appease Goddess, it starts with a *stuthi*.

> *Athiyaravu thinkalum ganga mudiyil*
>
> *Poondorappan makananamukhavan vaymakalum krishnan*

Chithamathil nithyam thunacheythu thelivoden navil

Chemme pukazhunna kuladaivame sthuthikkunnu.

The lines indicate their respect towards, family deity. The phrases *'Chitham', 'Sthuthi', 'Nithyam'* indicate Sanskrit influence.

Goddess fight against Vallasuran became described as

Ishtamodu vattamudiyum vellekirum navum

Eeranjiri moonnu karangalum mughamorettu

Vattakayum valum valanja nanthakavumenthi

Ashtasidu mamma kanankalum chuzhalayappol

Vettithakarthu vallasurante karalirachi

Vegam kanangalkkangarinjerinju kolval

'*Velle Kirum*' means vella or white *Damstram*. '*Ashtasidu*' is the Sanskrit phrase of *Attahasam*. The lines explained the features of Goddess with round hairs, white Damshtra, three hands and eight faces.

These lines from the *Bhagavathi Thottam* indicate the influence of both Sanskrit and local phrases. The influence of *manipravalam* clearly expressed in it.

3. Moovalam Kuzhichamundi Thottam

It is another thottam from Northern Kerala. It is performed by *Malayalar* community. The *thottam* starts with the lines of

Keralamengum kelimikachoru

Komalaroopini chamundeeswari

Kevalamingoru swaroopamenikk

Vazhakkam venamathennu ninichu.[114]

The lines give description regarding Goddess *Chamundi*. The term '*Keralam*' referred in the song indicates this song composed after the formation of Kerala. The language also hints clear indication regarding the expression of Malayalam language. Further lines also render indication regarding consolidated form of Malayalam language.

Udayapurathaka manpinathanthri

Unday vanna vazhakkamithappol

Edamanavazhum thanthrikkethum

Undayilla vazhakkamithottum

Here the language changed to be as simple Malayalam.

4. Ayyappan Thottam

Ayyppan Thottam became performed by *velar* community in Northern Kerala. As different from the above mentioned songs, *Ayyappan Thottam* expressed on regional folk linguistic style. Some examples are given below:

Kuli kazhippanay ponamennitto

Azhakkal moozhakkenna mudikkucharthiyo

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[114] *Ibid.*, p.99

Athidum thattunnamma vaka varunno

Vakayidum thattunnamma vakavarunno

Manjalidum thattunnamme manjal varunno

It indicates regional folk language used by the *velar* community. The influence of Sanskrit is fully absent in this lines. It indicates the Bathing preparation of padi kuttiyamma by using oil, vaka (a plant), and turmeric.

This regional colloquialism continued in further lines. After bathing, mother got Ayyappa from the river. And said;

Enthukondu mey valarthavendu

Aanappal koduthitto ponmakanamey valarthend

Aanappal koduthittu mey valarthiyal

Aanamugham vekkum chandam vekkum

Kuthirappal koduthittu mey valarthiyal

Kuthiramugam vekkum ottam vekkum.[115]

It is said that if she have given elephant milk to his son, he got elephant face and beauty. If given horse milk, he attained the horse power and face. It renders their concept regarding beauty and shape.

This linguistic expression continuously followed in *Ayyappa Thottam.* These songs are free from the influence of Sanskrit. And these same

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[115] *Ibid.*, p.116.

linguistic expressions also present in *Muthappan Thottam* and *Chonnamma Thottam* as differently.

5. Karikurikkal Thottam

this is another *thottam* of *pulayar* practiced in Northern Kerala. It is the story of pulayar goddess Madayi Karikurukkal. The song starts with

Vayenam vayenam thaivame

Athiyum vayenam anthavum vayenam

Athiyil vechullariyayum vayenam

Anthathil vecha vilakkayum vayenam

The term '*vayenam*' means '*vazhuka*'. '*Adhi*' means origin and '*Antham*' denote end. This denotes their local linguistic phrases. This expression continues in entire lines.

Thanam polika tharayalum vayenam

Tharayuminalla thirumannalam vayenam

'*Thanam*' means '*stanam*' or position. '*Tara*' indicates the '*Tara kootangal*' maintained by various communities. '*Mannalam*' means '*mandalam*'. It indicates the goddess presence on all these areas. The term '*Aada*' (there) is repeatedly used in the song indicates its importance in regional communication.

Aada peeda mittadum bhagavathy thonnunnu

Aada muthara poonda kalachamundi thonnunnu

Aada thengayeriyan balikkallu thonnunnu

Aada koyiyarukkan kollapurathonnunnu

Aada chendayadikkan cherumaryaru thonnunnu

Aada thalamadikkal nangyaru thonnunnu.

Nangiar denoted to be as the Wife of *Chakiar*. '*Marar*' is a *ambalavasi* caste and temple musicians. '*Koyi*' means cock. These lines indicate their local colloquial styles. It gives descriptions on ritual beliefs.

6. Kunjikoran Teyya Thottam

It is a *thottam* song of heroic man Kunjikoran. He has born in *Tiyya* community and expert in Angam. This song hints about the heroic death of Koran in the war. The lines start as

Kelpathundo ningalente mathammappo

Enikkoru padakk moorthamundu

Kunjangalath padakku poovano moorthomundu

Aari makane ninakku koottum changathom

Mukkuvanum mooyonum koottu changathom

Moortham means *muhoortham*. It gives reference on '*pada*' or fighting. He was accompanying with mukkuvan and muyyon. *Aari* means *Aare* (or who). It again indicates the regional linguistic expression used in northern Kerala by *Mavilar* community. It also expressed in a folk style of northern Kerala.

Each *thottam* songs discussed in these parts are expressed in different linguistic expressions. *Baali Thottam* expressed in pure Malayalam language. *Varum, ithiri, madi, sukam, jhan, tharuka, pokum, ethanum, kelppin, maaruka, ninghal, jhangal, cholluka*, etc. are certain examples. The same pattern of language expression could be found out from *Moovolam Kurichi Chamundi Thottam*. The reference of *Keralam* indicated in the song hints its composition during very later time. *Ayyappan Thottam* became expressed in folk language of common people. Oral colloquials phrases like *vaaruka, povuka, valarthuka, vekkuka, mey, ottam, athidum thattuka, kazhippan* etc. are some examples. The influence of Sanskrit became manifested in the *Bhagavathi thottam. Sthuthi, karam, ashtasidu* (*attahasam*) *Nithyam* etc. are certain examples. *Karikurikkal Thottam* and *Kunjikoran Theyya Thottam* as well expressed in regional folk style. The terms like *Aada, Arukuka, Thonunna, Vayenam* (*Vazhuka*), etc. are examples for local colloquial dialects. By analysis of these songs, certain songs were composed in very later periods. The linguistic expression of Bhagavathi thottam has influenced the style of *Manipravala*. Certain other songs composed in regional folk style of people. However these songs are used only for ritual purposes, language is dedan here.

These oral songs have rendered valuable information on the growth and evolution of Malayalam language in Kerala. As these songs were composed in different socio-cultural spaces and times, regional variations

became reflected in their local dialects. The influence of Tulu-Kannada in Northern Ballads and Tamil influence explicated in southern ballads show the differences in their socio-cultural relations and interactions with other communities. As these songs are composed by common people, the influence of manipravalam became absent in it. Except thottam pattu, all other songs are composed in a story telling format. It was passing through the imagination of common people in the society. Through these stories telling line Malayalam language got its growth and development. As thottam songs are used for ritual practices language is dedan here.

CHAPTER VI

USE OF LINGUISTICS IN BHAKTHI LITERATURE AND THULLAL WORKS

Cherusseri Namboothri, Thunjath Ramanujan Ezhuthachan, Poonthanam Namboothiri and Kunjan Nambiar are hailed as the prominent figures of the modern Malayalam literary movement in Kerala. Though these poets lived in different periods in Kerala, their contributions have marked a landmark in the study of Malayalam language and literature.

From late medieval to the beginning of modern Era, the society of Kerala witnessed complex social changes and challenges. These changes were also reflected in the realm of culture and intellectual field. The production and composition of Malayalam literature became its one of its positive results.

The whole medieval society has been marked as the age of *Naduvazhi* rule in Kerala. Under their reign a minor section of elite community enjoyed all kinds of socio-economic and political privileges in the society. Under these socio-economic and political conditions common people had suffered enormous problems and troubles, especially from their over-lords. The social degradation contributed by Brahmanic Hinduism also created the social anarchy in the society.

Like Bhakthi movement in North India, South Indian Bhakthi movements have played decisive role in uplifting Hindu society. The Bhakthi poets have believed and realised that salvation could be attained only through the means of *Bhakthi*. For these purpose they have used regional or vernacular languages to impart Bhakthi among common masses. In Kerala the important spokesmen of medieval Bhakathi movement were Cherussery, Ezhuthachan and Poonthanam.

For these poets, Bhakthi movement was not only a device to spread bhakthi ideals among the society, but also a device to socially uplift the existing communities in the society. They attacked caste system and other social systems which prevailed in the society. Through the *Tullal* performance Kunchan Nambiar also makes social awareness and raises questions towards existing social systems and customs. The common language used by these poets was basically the social product of the time.

During this phase, the socio-cultural sphere was independently dominated by the Brahmin Namboothiris. As Poonthanam and Cherussery belonged to Brahmin community, they were altogether dissatisfied with the corrupted and luxurious life followed by them. While cohabiting with Nair and Kshatriya families, they have led immoral life in the society. As they were the ritual authority in the society, they have enjoyed considerable social and economic privileges in the society.

Under caste system, the situation of lower caste became so pathetic. The introduction of untouchability and unapprochability made the people's life pitiable. The *Bhakthi* movement have spread on this particular social condition. These Bhakthi ideals have touched the peoples mind, especially among the non-brahmanical community. They give importance to equality, human values and moral ethics.

While they had scholarly knowledge in Sanskrit, they give no more preference to it in to their literary composition. As like other scholarly poets of the time, they did not follow *manipravalam* style in their literature. Instead of this they have given more significance to common vernacular or regional discourse. Folk forms used by Cherussery and oral discourse used by Nambiar are evident example to this. Ezhuthachan and Poonthanam have also followed this rhythm of folk form in their literature. The growth and development of press also played vital role in popularizing this common language among the common mass of the society.

Though the theme is taken from the *Ithihasa puranas* and *Bhagavatham* stories, they could almost successfully lift it from the hold of Sanskrit. They aimed to regain the human pride and dignity through elevating the human and moral ideals. As the *manipravalam* compositions are related to *Ganika* stories, they aimed to uplift the society in socially.

These poets realized that myth has something to do in the real life of the people. They compared the imaginary society in the myth to the real life

in the present. They find out that the society which was reflected in myth became so privileged and honored than the present society. Thus they aimed to purify the real society as a society of ideal one by imparting the values of love, kindness, truth etc. Through this mythical society they found Rama and Krishna as the sole ideal personality in the society and put them as the sole protector of the society. The influence of *Vedantha* philosophy also was reflected in the composition of Bhakthi poets. Nambiar also used *Thullal* as a social device to fight against the social anarchies. Their contributions have played remarkable role in the growth of Malayalam literary language in Kerala. It also helps to find out the local Malayalam forms and phrases used by the people during different socio-cultural contexts.

CHERUSSERI NAMBOOTHIRI

Cherusseri Namboothiri is a well-known Malayalam poet who lived in the period of 15th C AD. There is no exact information on his biography. According to P. Govindapilla, he was born in the Cherussery *illam* of Vadakara in North Kerala[1]. He was adorned the court of Udaya Varman of Kolathunadu. It was due to his advice, he had written the famous work *'Krishnagatha'*.

This Kavya is written in pure Malayalam language. According to scholars his style of presentation became influenced by the folk songs of

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[1] Dr. P. Govindapilla, *Malayala Bhasha Charitram*, Sahitya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangam, Kottayam, 1960, p. 61.

Northern Kerala. Many local words used in Northern tongue shows its unique place in Malayalam language and poetry.

Numerous scholarly studies have conducted by linguistic scholars on Cherussery's contribution on Malayalam language and literature. According to Dr. N. Mukundan, his songs followed the rhythm of folk songs in Northern Kerala[2]. To K. Rethnamma, the linguistic expression used in the song denoted, it is free from the hold of *Manipravalam* and *pattu* literature[3]. According to Vasudeva Bhattathiri, when compared with the work of Ezhuthachan, his work not at all showed the influence of Sanskrit[4].

Krishnagatha has render lot of linguistic evidence on folk language and common language used by the people during that time. Certain examples are mentioned below:

Samsaramokshathil karanamayatho

Vyragyamennallo chollikelkkoo

Ennathuthanne varuthi ninneeduvan

Innithuthanne njan nirmmikkunnu

Bodhamillathe njanethume vallathe

Gathayay chollunna bashayayi

(*Krishnolpathi*)

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[2] Dr. N. Mukundan, *Gatha*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 1981.

[3] K. Rethnamma, *Malayala Bhasha Charithram Ezhuthachan vare*, p. 254.

[4] Vasudeva Bhattathiri, *Bhasha Sastram*, p. 31.

'Language' here indicated to be as the language of common people. He wrote this song mainly to impart Bhakthi among non-brahmins. He translated the story of Krishna into a local linguistic discourse. And he did not care about others regarding their interpretation on his writings.

> *Sajjanam kandithu nindicharenkilo*
>
> *Ijjanathinnoru haniyenthe*
>
> *Nindhyamallathathu nindhikkayillava*
>
> *rennoru nirnaya mundenikkum.*
>
> *Dhurjjanam vannithu nindhicharenkilo*
>
> *Ijjanathinendu haniyullu*
>
> *Dhurjjanam vannathil nindye cheykile,*
>
> *Sajjanam chennu cherukkumallo.*
>
> (*Krishnolpathi*)

Here *Sajjana* means virtuous people. If *Durjana* (non-virtuous people) finds out any defaults in the songs *Sajjana* will restrict them. And he also added that the virtuous people have the right to neglect those who do not maintain the standard.

The *Sajjana* is indicated as the meritorious people in the society. *Durjana* represented the opposite group and especially belong to upper class community. The writer has extensively used this terms in various parts of the song. From this song he indirectly mentioned about the nature of Naduvazhis or kings in Kerala. Those lines are;

'Dhushtarayulloru mannavarellarum

Otterepponnu pirakkayale,

Anthamillathoru bharam konderunna

Santhapampoondu thalarnnu menmel

Dhenuvay chennu virinjanodella njan

Vedhanayothinal katharayay

Kashtarayulloru dhushtare srishticha

Thotterippokunnu thampurane!

(*Krishnolpathi*)

The medieval period has been marked as the Naduvazhi rule in all over Kerala. Under their reign the society has witnessed lots of social challenges.

The representation of Devaki in the song hints lot of ideas regarding medieval Kerala women. The medieval Kerala male society did not show any kindness towards women. They even killed them for to preserve their dignity and honour in the society. In *Edanadan* song Kaimal killed her niece to save the dignity of his *Tharavadu*. In *Krishnolpathi* Kamsan planned to kill Devaki to save his own life. Then Vasudevar said that

Shankayum kaivittu penkolacheykayo

Mangalanaya nin velayippol?

Bhedhamundennathil kevalam pennalla

Sodhariyalloyee narithanum

Velikazhinjulloruthsavamalloyi-

kkalavumennathumorthu kan nee;

Brathavay ninnathum mathavay ninnathum

thathanay ninnathum neethanathre.

Neeyozhinjarumillasrayam kelival-

kkadharicheeduvan bhojanadha. (*krishnolpathi*)

Here Kamsan presented as someone with no respect towards relationships. '*Veli*' denoted as marriage particularly practiced by Brahmins. Here Devaki is presented as a Brahmin lady by Cherussery. In most of the Brahmin families women have no role and they were sidelined in their community.

The author provides sufficient information about '*Vanibham*' or trade in his work. It gives information on medieval trade in Kerala.

Vanibham cheyyunna vyshynumumbil

Kachathe kondupoykkatti ninnangathil (*Swarggarohanam*)

The term '*theenduka*' referred in the song hints the untouchability existed in the medieval period. But here it used in a different context.

Ninmugham thannilumundennum nirnnayam

Ennittu theendollayennu cholli

Poykayil chennu kulichingu porukil

Vykathe njangale theendinalum

Pinneyum njangale vannu nee theendukil

Vallayma kinchil ninakkundame-

Vendathe njan vedinjeedin mathare-

theendinayallow nee chennu chemme

Ennude charthu porolla nee chennu chemme

ninnodum kopikkum kannan pinne

(*Akrura Doothyam*)

The term '*Theenduka*' is related to purity and pollution by this time. In *Kamsa Salgathi*, this term again got mentioned.

Keezhpettupoyoru narithannneram

Melpettu vaypodu pongininnal

Kannanetheendina punyam kondanneram

Vinnal kareruvanennapole (Kamsa Salgathi)

The Vulgar descriptions are openly presented by Cherussery and *Krishnagatha* carries many such instances.

Chalathalarnnoru maninithannude

Balaporkonka thalodipinne

Melathil ninnoru romalithannude

Moolathe thedunna kai undayo (*Rasakreeda*)

The descriptions regarding different types of cloths mentioned in *Rasa Kreeda* gives their consciousness regarding dress.

Kankiyayulloru chelayecharthinal

Kanthi ninkkettamundu thozhi!

Vellayayulloru chelayudukkile

Ullasamulluthenikku chollam

Kandikkan chelayuduthu nadakkilo

Pandum porunna ninakkuthozhi!

Kayyezhuthanchela payyave kankillo

Ayyoyennullathil thoannum thozhi

Komappattakilo njaninnuduppathu

Komalamakilo randumundo

Ennude chollinkal nilkkunnuthakilo

Ponnezhuthan chela vendathippol

Kasthoorikkandanki neeyinnu charthinal

Otthoru kanthiyundennu cholla

<div align="center">(Rasakreeda)</div>

Many types of cloths mentioned in the songs indicates the awareness of people regarding their dress sense. It also signifies the presence of *chettis* in Kerala. *Chettis* are the indigenous merchant group of Kerala.

This Kavya renders insights on the philosophy of Karma.

Kuttiye kananazhunnorammathan

Mattiluzhlunna karmmamellam

Thannude thannudeyaya falangale

Onnu kandonnu muthirnnu thavoo.

An expression of a village woman is manifested in the portrayal of Rugmini when she heard about her groom.

Naradaningane chennoru nerathu

Narikal mouliyam balika than

Bhoothalam thannil varachu chamachulla

Rekhakalenninal melle melle

Comical description of a king while seeing Rughmini is expressed to be as

Veenayum vayichum ninnoru mannavan

Manini vannthu kanda neram

Veenangu poyoru veenaye kanathe

Paanikondonginanangumingum.

The conversation between Yaman and Krishnan quoted to be as

Ennude lokathu vannullorarume

Pinne madangumarilla pande

Innathu venamennangunnu cholkilo

Chonnathu njangale kettukollam

(Gurudhakshina)

The reference regarding the tax named '*Polikanam*' is mentioned in *Krishnolpathi*.

Devakiyakunna jaayavum thanumayi

Povathinnayi thudangunneram

Ulpannamodanay nilporu devakan

Nalpolikkanavum nalki nan than

(*Krishnolpathi*)

Another folk linguistic expression is

Chadayi vannannadhanavnenkilum

Chadayi vanneela meni thannil

Odayi vannu nurunginanenkilum

Odayi vanneela kollunneram

(*Ulooghala Bandhanam*)

Similar to this numerous local linguistic expressions can be found out from *Krishnagatha*. It also shows a literary deviation from the *Manipravalam* literature to Malayalam language. The phrases, *karanam, cholluka, kelkua, ninneeduka, shanga, kevalam, kola, vela, vendathe, kopikkua, talaruka, taloduka,* etc. hints local Malayalam linguistic idioms used by him. *Onguka, chadayi, odayi*, etc. are some folk usages used by him. It indicates its uniqueness from other literary works. Here he has given the regional features to the Lord Krishna by using local colloquial language. He used the term

'*Samsaram*' to indicate the imbalanced life of human beings. But in Tamil it is used to indicate the wife. Later *Samsaram* regularly used in oral tongue of Malayalam to signify the dialogue. The phrase '*mannan*' was used for king. The term '*Rajav*' may not have derived by this time. Certain Sanskrit idioms like *Brathav, boothalam, phalangal, hani, dushtar*, etc. could be seen in the song. But its influence became very rare in the song. It signifies the evolutionary growth of Malayalam language from the hold of Sanskrit and *Manipravala.*

The fifteenth century Kerala Society became marked for lots of social unrest. The caste system, Brahmanical domination and the rule of Naduvazhis had created social inequalities in the society. He enormously criticized the rulers for their inefficiency and their mis-rule. He referred common people in various parts as *Malokar*, *Lokar and Janangal,* which shows the importance given to them by him. The term '*Sajjana*' may also indicate the common people. The term '*Durjanna*' means the group with the characteristics of '*Durguna*'. It may be the elite class in the society. The political struggles, competitions, moral degradation and caste untouchability led the society in to the condition of social turmoil.

It was in this background, he used *Bhakthi* to uplift the people into right path. Instead of Sanskrit, he used Malayalam folk language to convey these stories to the common people. It was on this socially backward

situation, a common culture of *Malayali* gradually evolved in Kerala. Due to their writings, all people's were incorporated to one part of society. And a common consciousness emerged between them will later paved the way for *Malayali* culture and Malayalam language in Kerala.

TUNCHATHU RAMANUJAN EZHUTHACHAN

Tunchathu Ezhuthachan is a well-known Malayalam *Vaishnava* Bhakthi poet who lived in the age of 16th C AD. We have no exact material evidence on his biographical history. It is believed that he was born in Trikandiyur near Tirur and exact location now identified as Tunjan Parambu.

His most remarkable contribution is the translation of Hindu epics of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharatha* in to Malayalam language. As for his contribution he is regarded as the father of modern Malayalam language. It is assumed that *Bhagavatham, Harinama Keerthanam, Shivapuranam, Devi Mahatyamyam, and Irupathinalu Vritham* were written by Ezhuthachan. However, his most important work considered to be as *Adhyathma ramayanam Kilippattu* and *Bharatham*.

Ezhuthachan follows story-telling method as a narrative technique; the story narrated by a bird. He might have adopted this tradition from Tamil songs or Sanskrit-Manipravalam Sandesa Kavyas. In Ramayana, he has advised the bird to sing the story of Rama.

Sreeramanamam padivanna pynkilippenne!

Sreeramacharitham nee cholleedu madiyathe

Sarika paithal thanum vandhichu vandynmare

Sreeramasmrithiyode paranju thudanginal (*Balakandam*)

Ezhuthachan's *Ramayanam* got its growth and recognition in homely atmosphere, not in temples. It sang by the people as a part of their *Namajapa* in the home. This *Namajapa* starts with

Sreerama! Rama! Rama! Sreeramachandra! Jaya

Sreerama! Rama! Rama! Sreeramabadhra! Jaya

Sreerama! Rama! Rama! Seethabhirama! Rama

Sreerama! Rama! Rama! Lokabirama! Jaya

Sreerama! Rama! Rama! Ravananthaka! Rama!

Sreerama! Mama hridhi ramathamrama! Rama! (*Balakandam*)

The murmuring of name Rama will lead people into right path. Ramayana reveals the story of both God and man. Though the story represented as a myth, it renders numerous philosophical doctrines regarding the real life in the society. The incarnation of Rama indicates the person to fight against the *Adharma's* in the society. He was represented as an ideal person of every human being. His love, attachment, care, responsibility and sincerity towards his parents, wife, brothers, and subjects provide a moral ethical code to the human beings. It ultimately led people to acquire salvation in their life and to forget their problem in life.

The language which expressed in *Ramayanam* shows the Sanskritized form of Malayalam language. The linguistic expressions used by Cherussery and Poonthanam are so different from this. As they were all lived in medieval period, Ezhuthachan have showed a different attitude towards the existing social systems. While Poonthanam and Nambiar ridicule Brahmins, Ezhuthachan respects them.

> *Karanabhoothanmaram brahmanarude chara-*
>
> *narunambujaleenapamsu sanchaya mama*
>
> *chethodharppanathinte malinyamellam theerthu*
>
> *shodhana cheytheeduvarovolam vandhikkunnen* (*Balakandam*)

Here while paying tributes to God, he expects blessings from Brahamins. It indicates the recognition of Brahmanical domination by him. He wrote *Ramayanam* for Non-Brahmins in the society. When compared with the other songs social indications are very rare in his work. It gives too much importance to *Bhakthi* and philosophy. From the first part itself, the *Bhakhi* & philosophy are explicit in the song. The aim of *Ramayana* mentioned to be as

> *Sreeramayanam, pura virincha virachitham*
>
> *Noorukodi granthamundi, llathu bhoomithannil*
>
> *Ramanamathe japichoru kattalan munnam*
>
> *Mamuni pravaranay vannathukandu dhatha*

Bhoomiyilulla janthukkalkku moksharthamithi

Sreemaharamayanam chamaykkennurul cheythu

Veenapaniniyupadesichu Ramayanam

Vaniyum valmeekithan navinmel vaneetinal (*Balakandam*)

Through a myth of forest dweller he explained the goal of Ramayana. It was composed to gain *Moksha* for all human beings in the earth. All human beings ultimate aim in their life is to gain salvation in their life. The *Vedantha* philosophies, *Upanishad* philosophies and all religious texts render different versions regarding how to achieve moksha in life.

The debate of Uma Maheswara provides knowledge regarding Parvathy's Bhakthi towards Lord Shiva. It is also represented as the Bhakthi of a wife towards her husband. This type of concept had worked in medieval age especially among Brahmin families.

Kailasachale suryakodeesobithe vima-

lalaye rathnapeede samvishta dhyannfishtam

Falalochanam munisidha devadhisevam

Neelalohitham nijabartharam viseswram

Vandichu vamotsange vazhunna bhagavati

Sundari hymavathi chodichu bhaktiyode.

The respects towards a man by a woman is recognized to be as a good quality by the society. The concept of *stree dharma*, *pathivratha dharma*, and

wifehood had constructed by the *Brahmanical patriarchy* according to these bases. The concept of these ideologies has mentioned in various other parts.

> *Nadha! Pathivrathyam dharmapathni nja-*
>
> *nadharavumilla mattenikkarume*
>
> *Ethume dholshavumilla dhayanidhe!*
>
> *padhasusrushavratham mudakkamay me*
>
> *ninnude sannidha santhatham vaneedu-*
>
> *menne mattarkkanum peedichu koodumo?*
>
> <div align="right">(*Ayodhyakandam*)</div>

The 'paada susrusha vratham' indicated in the lines signifies the *pathivratha dharma. The pathivratha dharma* and *stree dharma* will be continued till the death of her life. This should be strictly enforced in Brahmin families.

> *Vallathum moolafalajalaharangal*
>
> *Valla bochishtamenikkamrthopamam*
>
> *Bharthavu thannodukoode nadakkumbo-*
>
> *lethrayum koortha moorthulla kallumullum* (*Ayodhyakandam*)

In another part

> *Ramaneyozhinju njan mattoru purushane*
>
> *Ramapadangalane theendukayillayalle*

The term '*teenduka*' is related to purity and pollution. This idea is related to the system of untouchability existed in medieval Kerala. The system of *Mannapedi* and *Pulapedi* is also related to this context. The mere touching by another man is noted as the contamination of *pathyvrithya dharma*.

The reference to '*Heena Jathi*' could be seen in the dialogue between Rama and Shabari.

> *Sreepadham kandukolvan malgurubhoothanmaram*
>
> *Thapasanmarkkupolum yogam vanneelayallo*
>
> *Jnanamillatha heenajathiyululla mooda*
>
> *Njanithottumadhikariniyallayallo*
>
> *Vangmanovishayamallathoru bhavadhrupam*
>
> *Kanmanumavakasam vannathu mahabagyam.* (*Aranyakandam*)

'*Heena Jathi*' means out caste. It again reminds the caste rigidity and untouchability existed during the medieval period. And they were regarded as ignorant group in the society. In reply Rama said that

> *Purushasthree jatinamasramadhikalalla*
>
> *Karanam mama bhajanathinu jagathraye*
>
> *Bhakthiyennozhinju mattille karanamethum*
>
> *Mukthi vanneeduvanumilla mattethumonnum*
>
> *Theerathasnanadhi thapodhana vedandhyayana-*

kshethropavasayagadhyakhilatharmmngalal

Onninaloruthanam kandukittukayilla-

Yenne malbhakthiyozhinjonnu kondoru nalum (*Arnyakandam*)

Bhakthi means direct devotion to God. Ezhuthachan has not encouraged temple oriented Bhakthi culture. That is why Ramayanam attained more popularity in domestic atmosphere. Here Rama replied that devoted Bhakthi is more valuable than temple worship, holy tour and scholarly knowledge in Veda.

When compared to other literary works, the reference to common people was very rare in *Ramayanam*. '*Paura janam*' referred in some parts signifies not the common people in the society. *Paura janam'* here indicated to be as the Brahminical group.The reference of 'Sajjana' and 'Durjjanna' indicated *in 'Kishkindhakandam'*. Both Cherussery and Nambiar also used the same term in different socio-cultural contexts.

Apathuvannadutheedunna kalathu nerathu

Sobikkayilledo sajjanabhashitham

Dhurjanathekkurichulla viswasavum

Sajjanathodu vipareethabhavavum

Devadvijakuladharma vidheshavum

Poorvabandukkalil vachoruvyravum

Vardhichu vardhichu vamsanasathinu

Karthrthvavum thanikkayi vannukoodume (*Kishkindakandam*)

The usage of *Durjana* and *Sajjana* indicates two contradictory terms between '*Trivarnikar*' and common people. '*Durjana*' indicated for common people. The reference of *Nattar*, *Nadu*, *Kadu* and *Nagaram* also indicated in certain parts.

Nattilirikkum prajakale peedichu

Kaattilakki chamacheedinan kashmalan (*Yudhakandam*)

Nattarmughathu nokkathe chamanjithu

Koottame kollikkumenna bayathinal (*Arnyaparvam*)

Nadum nagaravum pathniyumennude

Veedum pirinju dhukhichirikkunnu njan (*Kishkindhakandam*)

The protection of Seeta by Rama and Lakshmana reminds the female protection always lies in the hands of males. Women can't go self-independently in the society without the permission of their men. This kind of reference also narrated in Nambiar's *thullal* works very comically.

Munnil nee nadakkenam vazhiye vydehiyum

Pinnale njanum nadanneeduvan gathabayam

Jeevantmaparamathmakkalkku madhyasthayakum

Deviyam mahamayasakthiyennathupole

Aavayormadhye nadanneedukavenam seetha-

Deviyumennaloru bheethiyundayvara.

The description of *Karma* philosophy narrated in *Ayodhya Kandam* of Ramayana.

Thanthan nirantharam cheyyunna karmmangal

Thanthananubavicheedukenne varoo (*Ayodhya Kandam*)

These types of philosophies also expressed by Poonthanam in his works. *Karma* has played an important role in each person's life. The base of Buddha philosophy is also related to *Karma*. These kinds of thinking have brought self-realisation in the minds of people.

The war between Baali-Sugreeva gives description on war atmosphere in Kerala. It is narrated to be as

Kettiyum kalkkai parasparam thadanam

Thattiyum muttukondum thala thangalil

Kottiyumettam pidichu kadichum-

ngoottathil veenu purandu murandumul

cheettam kalarnnu nagam kondu manthiyum

chadipathikkayum koode uthikkayum

madikkazhikkayum vadiviyarkkayum

madivilikkayum kopichadukkayum

(*Kishkindhakandam*)

The guest appearance of Brahmins considered to be as virtue by the society and when meets sage Narada, Raman tells that,

Pandu njan cheythoru punyafalodhayam

Kondu kanmanavakasavum vannitu

Pundari koruvaputhra mahamune

Ennude vamsavum janmavum rajyavu-

minnu visudhamay vannu thaponidhe

(*Ayodhyakandam*)

The rulers and *Naduvazhis* had given many privileges to Brahmins in the society. The land granted to Brahmins in the form of *Devaswam* and *Brahmasvam* strengthened their ritual authority in the society. Their blessings are considered to be more auspicious by the society during medieval period. Ezhuthachan also recognized and respected their authority in the society.

The literary composition of *Ramayana* has influenced the living phase of Ezhuthachan. He was lived in the medieval Age of Sixteenth Century. It was the phase of *Naduvazhi* age in Kerala. By this time caste system became so established and deep rooted in Kerala. Ezhuthachan like other scholars did not dare to challenge the social evils in the society. Against this he accepted the *Brahmanical patriarchy* and caste system in Kerala. But Ramayana got much attention from domestic atmosphere not in a temple premises. And he has written this Kavya especially for Non-Brahmins in the society. People who sang this song as a part of their *Namajapa* believed that the same gives security from the evil spirits and *Durdevathas* of the darkness. He believed that direction to God will bring salvation for the people. As written for this his ultimate aim was to bring Bhakthi among peoples life and bring them to

good path; in order to make awareness regarding *dharma* against *Adharmas*. So more than social part, it gives much preference to Bhakthi and philosophy.

The linguistic expression used in this *Bhakthi kavya* is free from the oral tradition of people. It is written in prescribed literary format. The influence of Sanskrit is also explicit in it along with Malayalam. But at the same time many regular usages like *paaduka, cholluka, madiyathe, thudanguka, kettuka, manthuka, munnam, ennude, vanithu, cheythoru, maadi vilikkuka, thanikkay, nadakkuka, nirantharam,* etc. can be seen in the song. Through translating *Ramayanam* from Sanskrit, he lifted it from the hold of Brahmanical community or elite class. He also borrowed and used Sanskrit words to his literature. But later on these literary expressions became the base of Malayalam literature. The term like *vichitram, vratham, vamsham, aharam, parasparam, viswaswam, vishudham*, etc. later incorporated into Malayalam language and literature. The absence of Tamil dialects indicates the evolutionary growth of Malayalam language and Malayalam literature by this time in Kerala.

POONTHANAM NAMBOOTHIRI

Poonthanam Namboothiri is a well-known *Bhakthi* or devotional poet who lived in the period of 17th C AD. He was born in poonthanam *illam* of Kizhatoor in the old Valluvanadu Taluq. No further details regarding his personal life and career.

It is believed that he was authored around Twenty two works. Most of these works written to be as devotional poems praising Lord Krishna. He was an ardent devottee in Guruvayur temple. His most renowned works are *Sree Krishna Karnamrutham, Santhana Gopalam,* and *Jnaanappana. 'Jnanapana'* has been treated as the unique work in Malayalam language and literature. The basic theme of *Jnanapana* is taken from the *Vedic* or *Upanishadic* philosophy, but rendered in simple Malayalam language. His loving devotion of Lord Krishna clearly expressed in the song.

This work 'Jnanapana' delivers definite picture of human society of his life-time. The social situation of 17th C Kerala became clearly expressed in this fabulous work. This song is portrayed in simple Malayalam language. Some common linguistic expressions are cited below

> *Innaleyolamenthannarinjeela*
>
> *Inni naleyumenthannarinjeela*
>
> *Innikkanda thadikkuvinashavu-*
>
> *minna neramennathu marinjeela*
>
> *Kandukandangirikkum janangale*
>
> *Kandillennu varuthunnathum bhavan*
>
> *Malikamukaleriya mannante*
>
> *Tholil marappangakkunnathum bhavan*[5].

---

[5] Prof. P. Soman, *Poonthanam Padavum Padanavum*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 1991, p. 67.

His realisation on age is clearly manifested from these lines. It has rendered some social message to the human beings. It is said that we won't be able to predict what happened in today and tomorrow. Life does not move according to our calculations. '*Tadi*' here meant for body. No one can predict our death and the moment we got fired in the funeral pyre. And he concluded that it is in the hands of God (or *Bhavan*). All these lines are expressed in pure Malayalam linguistic discourse.

> *Kandalottariyunnu chilarithu*
>
> *Kondalum thiriya chilarkkethume*
>
> *Kandathonnume sathyamallennathu*
>
> *Mumbe kandittariunnithu chilar*
>
> *Manujathiyil thanne palavidham*
>
> *Manassinnu visheshanamundorkkanam*[6].

It is another example for his simple linguistic expression. Here he reveals the different nature of human beings in their mind, shape and features. And he said that certain individuals have realized their actual realities and some of them never understand the truth in their life.

Further he portrayed the social and moral degradation of elite class.

> *Sthanamanangal chollilkalahichu*
>
> *Nanamkettu nadakkunnithu chilar*

---

[6] *Ibid*., p.

Madhamathsaram chindhichu chindhichu

Mathi kettu nadakkunnithu chilar

Chanchalakshimar veedukalil pukku

Kunchiramanayadunnithu chilar

Kolakangalil sevakarayitt

Kolam ketti njeliyunnithu chilar

Santhi cheyuthu pularthuvanayittu

Sandhyayolam nadakkunnithu chilar.[7]

'*Chanchalakshi*' and '*kunjiraman*' may be satirical usage used by him to denote the morally degraded group. '*Kolakam*' means *kovilakam*. '*Madhamalsaram*' indicates for tight competitions.

It is described that certain individuals are only interested to gain political privileges, status and social recognition from the society. They are not interested to do virtuous activities. They try to capture recognition on any means, some individuals always thinking about competitions. They compete each other to receive social and political privileges in the society. Through these lines he indicates the social life of the elite class in the current society.

He further described certain persons who lived in the *Kovilakams* and courts as the sycophants of rulers. He also described the social condition of *Shanthis* in the temples. He again cited as;

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7   *Ibid*., pp. 74-75.

Ammaykkum punrachanum baryaykkum

Unmanapolum kodukkunnilla chilar

Agnisakshiniyayoru pathniye

Swapnathilpolum kanunnilla chilar[8].

'*Unman*' here denoted for food. It is quoted that certain individuals even don't care their father and mother. They don't think about their wife on their dream. It indicates the condition of family life among the Brahmanical community.

Arthamethre valareyundayalum

Thripthiyakamanassinnorukalam

Pathukittukil noorumathiyennum

Sathamakil sahasram mathiyennum[9]

'*Artham*' means wealth or money. It explains human beings attitudes towards making more money. It is said that if he get ten, then he needed hundred. And his greed has no ends. These lines indicate common linguistic usages used by the people during those days. He also said that;

Chathupomneram vasthramethupolum

Othidakondupovanorutharkkum[10]

---

8   *Ibid.*, p. 75.

9   *Ibid.*, p. 76

10 *Ibid.*

Realities on life clearly represented in the above lines. He also quoted that

Koodiyalla pirakkunna nerathum

Koodiyalla marikkunna nerathum

Madhyeyingane kanuna nerathu

Mathsarikkunnathenthinum nam vritha?[11]

His philosophy on life explicitly mentioned from the lines. Human beings are born as lonely and they die too in the same manner. Then he asks, why do they compete each other to acquire money and power? Similar to this, lots of philosophical questions have raised by Poonthanam through his work.

Further he discuss about human births.

Ethra janmam prayasappettikkalam

Athravannu pirannu sukrthathal

Ethra janmam malathil kazhinjathum

Ehtra janmangal mannil kazhinjathum

Ethra janmam marangalay ninnathum

Ethra janmam arichu nadannathum

Ethra janmam mrigangal pasukkalay

Athuvannittivannam labichoru

Marthyajanmathinmunpe kazhichu nam[12].

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[11] *Ibid*., p.78

[12] *Ibid*., p. 74.

He was thinking about the various rebirths which happened in human beings life-cycle. He said that human beings life passed through various stages in soil, stand as tree, live as animal, etc.

He has also discussed the impacts of *karma* in human beings life.

Narajathiyil vannu pirannittu

Sooktham cheythu melpottu poyavar

Sukicheedunnu sathyalokatholam

Salkarmam kondu melpottu poyavar[13]

Dhuritham cheythucheythavar pinneppoy

Narakangalil vevvere vazhunnu,

Chandakarmangal cheytavar chakumbol

chandalakulathil pirakkunnu[14].

Nripan chathu krimiyayi pirakkunnu

Eecha chathoru krimiyayi pirakkunnu

Iswarante vilasangalingane

…………………………………..[15]

Here he differentiates the importance of Karmas in everybody's life. He also believed in life after death concept. He also had faith in hell and

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[13] *Ibid*., p. 76

[14] *Ibid*., p. 70

[15] *Ibid*., p. 71

heaven concept. The impact of karmas has comprehensively discussed by him. As he was born in a Brahmin family he was utterly against the social privileges enjoyed by the Brahmins. In certain contexts he criticized them harshly and satirically. One example is,

Brahmanyam kondu kunthichu kunthichu

Brahmavumenikkovvayennum chilar

Arthashakku viruthuvilippippan

Agnihothradhi cheyyunnithu chilar[16].

'*Kunthichu kunthichu*' may be a special usage used by him to tease the Brahmins. It is also used in *thullal* works. In these lines he simply quoted that *Yagas*, conducted by Brahmins, were not to gain *punyas* or merits, but to acquire more money.

This song became the byproduct of the social background existed during those days in Kerala. From 15th C AD itself the reign of *Naduvazhi-Jenmis*, and caste system became very predominant in Kerala. It has continued during 17th C AD in full-fledged form. Under *Jenmi* system both Brahmin and Nair community had enjoyed economic privileges over other castes in the society. The custom of *Sambandam* became the product of their corroboration. However all members in the Brahmanical community were not *Jenmis*. The economically underprivileged Brahmins had denied social

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[16] *Ibid*., p. 75.

privileges in the society. As Poonthanam belonged to Brahmin caste, he was against the social inequalities and social problems created by his own community. He was against the extravagant life led by the elite class in the society.

He wrote *Jhanapana* as a part of this social realization. He thought that only *Bhakthi*, people could attain salvation and virtue. He was also against the luxurious and money oriented selfish life of the people. More than a *kavya*, it stands as a moral code and philosophy for the living society. Through this *kavya*, his overall aim was the purification of society by imparting Bhakthi values and social realities in the minds of the people.

Like Cherussery, Poonthanam wrote *Jnanappana* in simple Malayalam dialect. It has much similarity with the oral language of people. The phrases *sevakar* and *maalika* used in *Manipravalam* works continued to be used by this time. The term '*Artham*' used in oral songs for wealth also indicated by *Poonthanam*. The phrase *Umman* or *Unman* used in the Northern dialects. *Kunthichu kunthichu*, *marappe*, *kolam*, *Nanam*, *jheliyuka*, etc. are certain examples for local idioms. The term '*kolakam*' satirically used to indicate the Kovilakams of Kerala. The 'Thadi' used in inscriptions has acquired the meaning of both timber and body by this time. He used '*mannan*' to indicate god. Thus his linguistic expression helps to analyze the linguistic evolution which occurred both in Malayalam language and literature.

KUNJAN NAMBIAR

Kunjan Nambiar is another renowned Malayalam poet and satirist who lived in the age of Eighteenth Century. He was born in Kalakath Bhavanam of killikurishi mangalam in Palakkad district. It was Nambiar who have introduced the art form called *Thullal* in Kerala. This expressed in oral discourse which was prevalent in central Travancore regions. His Thullal works are categorized in to *ottan thullal, parayan thullal* and *sheethangan thullal*. It is said that his *thullal* art form have many similarities with the song style *(pattu sheel)* which used in Tamils[17]. His other significant works are *Nalacharitham Kilipattu, Pancha Tantram- kilippattu, Chanakya Sootram Kilipattu, Chanakya Sootram Kilipattu, Shivapuranam Kilipattu, Sabha Pravesham*, and *Vishnugeetha Hamsapattu*, etc.

Nambiar was adorned by many court kings, especially the king of Chembakassery and Travancore kings. Each *Stuthi* in the song praising a *Naduvazhi* shows his loyalty towards them. At the same time he has criticized corrupted social system which became prevalent during the Naduvazhi period. He presented *Thullal* as in the form of story line. The stories represented in *pey kathas* (pey stories) and *Ithihasa puranas* were the part of his main theme. He said that

> *Kathathanne chollunnathukondu*
>
> *Kathane kowthukamilla chilarkku*

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[17] *Malayalakavitha Sahithya Charithram*, p. 3.

Kathakalilingane palathum parayum

Athukondarkum paribhavamaruthe

He used stories as a tool to transform the present society. He connected the themes and characters of stories to the present social condition. The oral dialect which used by him was a social product of the time.

Though he had academic knowledge on Sanskrit, he diplomatically selected local Malayalam dialect to communicate his ideas with his audience. His audience were the non-brahmanical community in the society. Both literate and illiterate groups are included in this audience. In *Keechakavadham thullal* he cited that.

Sheshiyilla badajjanangal dharichida kadusamskritham

Bhashayay parayamathil chila dhookshanam varumenkilum

<div align="right">(Keechakavadham Thullal)</div>

Here '*Bhada Janangal'* denoted as common people. It simple tells that Sanskrit can't understand by the common people.

In *Sabha pravesham* he described that,

Sajjanathinu samskrithakavikalkka kowthukamenkilum

Dhurjjanathinathinkaloru rasameshukillathukaranam

Badajanangalde sabayilulloru padayanikkihacheruvan

vadaviyennoru charukeralabhashathannechitham varoo…

<div align="right">(Sabha Pravesham)</div>

'Kerala Bhasha' here indicated to be as Malayalam language. He wrote many Sanskrit Kavyas for *Sat Jana* (literate elite class). He presented *Thullal* for *'Dur Jana'* (common people). He used Malayalam language for this *durjana*. While using the language of majority, he had a definite aim. He aimed to revive the society by realizing the social situation of time to the common folk. His attack was against the elite group in the society especially Brahmins, Nairs, corrupted rulers, bureaucrats, etc. They led very luxurious and lavish life-styles while exploiting the common people in the society. Certain examples are given below

> *Ezhupathettu vayassu thikanjoru*
>
> *Kizhava brahmananitha pokunnu*
>
> *Koduveyil thattichutta kashandiyil*
>
> *Orupidi nellal malare porikkam.*
>
> (*Sathayaswaymvaram*)

Here he teased a Brahmin while he is going to the food hall (*Ootupura*) of the Ambalapuzha temple.

He didn't like the presence of *Pattar* or Tamil Brahmins in the society. He called them as *'Paradeshi'* (Outside group). He described them as ;

> *Kittiyathonnum mathiyavilla*
>
> *Pattanmarikkathu bhodhikkenam*
>
> *Hadabaduva viduvindukanakko*

podedamethekkurikiri sadham

Ingane pisaki vilambichangane

Chingan pazhavum thyrum kootty

Chalupileyakki seshippichathu

Valuvalevari vithachuthirichum

Pappadavum pazhavum pancharayu-

mappolthannoru mundinkkettiyi-

dathekayyileduthum kondu pu-

rathekkangu purappettudane

<div align="right">(Rugmini Swayamvaram)</div>

These lines are expressed in common oral discourse. '*Chalupile*' and '*Valuvalevari*' are clear examples for this folk discourse. It narrates the food habits of *Pattar* community and their form of eating food. Here he used satire to harass Tamil Brahmins in the society.

Pattanmarodu vasthrameduthal

Pottanmariha tholkkayullu

Ettupanam vilayullathinavar

Pathinettupanam vilavechukodukkum

<div align="right">(Pradhosha Mahathmyam)</div>

'*Pattar*' appears here as traders or '*chettis*'. He satirically explains their trading activities and profit oriented life.

Following Brahmins he has criticized Nair castes

Nayanmarekondoru falami-

llayudhamullavarthanne churukkam

Kallukudippanallathonninu

Kollaruthathoru jalanmarerum

Thadiyanmarivar veetilasesham

Madiyanmar chilarodiyanmarum

Kudiyanmarivarenthinukollam

(*Kiratham Ottanthullal*)

Here he expresses the condition of Nairs in a comical expression, and they were characterized as a worst group in the society without any kind of virtue.

Nadukal thorum nayanmarude

Veedukal kandalariyam nripanude

Kedukal koodathulloru sambal

Proudikalellamadhikamanonjam

(*Pradhosha Mahatmyam*)

The Nair are acted as the sycophants of *Naduvazhis*. They had attained much privileges and positions from the *Naduvazhis*. Nambiar criticized the immoral life followed by them.

The male domination over women was a well-established form in *Naduvazhi* age.

> *Bharthaventhu paranjennalathu*
>
> *Bharyajanamudane kelkkanam*
>
> *Gunadhoshangal vicharikkenda*
>
> *Gurujanamonnu niyogikkumbol*
>
> (*Seelavathichartham*)

There are also references to the fact that males are not obliged to obey their wifes during the period.

> *Achikku dhasyapravrithi cheyyunnavan*
>
> *Kochikku poyangu thoppiyitteedanam*
>
> (*Kalyana Sougathikam*)

> *Koyikkal poykkazhchakal kanman*
>
> *Sthayikkar chilarundennakil*
>
> *Poyikanduvaramennalathi-*
>
> *nayikkondoru purushan venam*
>
> (*Rugmini Swayamvaram*)

It again indicates the dependency on males by females.

The childhood of Lord Krishna is explained through a very simple linguistic expression.

Kannan chirattayil poozhi nirachittu

Kannuthulachanguyarthipidikkayum

Mannupozhiyunna kandu rasikkayum

Mannil karamkondu neelevarakkayum

Kochukaram randum pothippodithannil

Poochakkaranam marinjukalikkayum

Mechathil nalloru poozhichorundakki

Kochungal kellam vilambikodukkayum

It reminds the childhood life of *Malayalis* in Kerala.

The society represented by Nambiar shows the mingling of various other socio-religious groups. Apart from *Tamil Brahmins, Konginis, Gosayis, Telugar, Arabs, Nasranis,* etc. were represented in his works. They were all accommodated in the Kerala culture. Certain examples are;

Kottaranmuri paandikkavanikal

Pattanithukil poomundukalum

Pettennokkeyazhichu nirathi

Chettikaloruvaka konkinijathikal

(*Rugmini Swayamvaram*)

Thinginamodhathodu telungu rajyavum puthu

Moulgalyan telungubrahmananayichamanjappol

Manini telungu brahminiyayi nadakondal

……………………………………

Manasam thelinjashu thelungubrahmanan chonnal

Illisnanam adiybahu hallihulla hudhama mundo

Pinne melle purappettu konkanarajyavum puthu

Konkanachiyodu konkanante griham puthu

Konkaniyumavar thammil koodiyangu orudhinam

konkanbhashayil thanne parayunnu palavakku

…………………………………………

(Nalayanicharitham)

From this it is clearly expressed that the influence or cultural mixing of Telugu and Kongini in Kerala region. They were coming to Kerala as *Chettis*. The use of Kongini and Telungu indicates his knowledge in these languages. It also indicates his audience were included all groups, apart from Malayalis.

The *Nasranis* (Christians) and *Jonakars* (Arabs) were also incorporated in the society.

Pattanikal pala kuthirakkarum

Kottappadiyil kavalkkarum

Kattalanmar mukko parishakal

Kottakkaranmarum palavaka

Nasranikalum Jonakar

Hasradhikamiha vannedenam

(*Ghoshayathra*)

The military arrangements of Dwarakapuri did find a place in the story and the *Nasranis* and *Jonakar* indicates their active presence in Eighteenth Century.

The influence of westerners and the western styles of adoption are narrated in his works.

Lanthakuzhalum tholileduthoru

Kunthakkaraniyittu thudangi

Kappirennoru bhasha paranju

Kalasaloredathangu thudangi

(*Nalacharitham*)

'*Kaphir'* may be the military language of foreigners.

Lantha parankiyuminkiriyesum

Bandhuvathaminiyarachanmarkkum

(*Nalacharitham*)

The presence of Portuguese Dutch and English were mentioned here. It indicates their influence in South Kerala.

The description of *Angadis* and the commodities in markets were described by Nambiar as;

Angaditheruvil chennariyum

thengamulakam vazhaykkayum

nayanmarkkiha chorukoduppa-

nayathinulla padharthmasesham

viravodukondu varenamathinna-

yirunnooru janam poyeedenam

(*Ghoshayathra*)

He had a definite concept regarding an ideal state and society while examining the state rule in *Uladkude Perumal* story, he cited that,

Dhurmmadhamilla dhookshnamilla

dhurmmughamulla janangalumilla

Kalmashamilla kasmalarilla

karmmangalkkoru badhakalilla

(*Ghoshayathra*)

Here he indicates his imagination on ideal society where all are living in happiness without inequalities, corruption etc.

The narration of the place during the travel by Flamingo to Kundinapuri is explained as

Nadukal kandu veedukal kandoo

Koodukal kandu kodukal kandoo

chadukal kandoo podukal kandoo

chodukal kandoo veedukal kandoo

Veedukalil pala nayanmarude

Moodatha kondoru ghosham kandu

(*Nalacharitham*)

The same linguistic expression is used in *Ghosha Yathra* with slight difference. The travels by *Kauravar* is quoted as

Veedukalum palanadukalum pala

thodukalum palakodukalum pala

kadukalum palamadukalum mala-

moodukalum malarvadikalum pala-

padavamodu kadannu kadannava-

radalakannu thakarthu thimirthuma

hadavi pukkugamikkunneram

(*Ghoshayathra*)

All these linguistic expression are used in the linguistic style of common people. Through the presentation of a imaginary mythical society he picturised the stark realities in the human beings life. The incidents and characters have brought a regional style in his narration. The formation of *Malayali* culture and the consolidation of Malayalam language could be drawn from his narration. Certain examples are;

Malayan vannihanokkunneram

kalayallivanoru valiyoru thadiyan

malayalathile manushanoruvan

(*Ghoshayathra*)

malayalathum paradeshathum

thalayum pokki nadappan mela

(*Rugmini Swyamvaram*)

Malayalam paradesangalilum

(*Kiratham*)

All these lines indicate the consolidated form of common *Malayali* culture and Malayalam identity in their social life and language. The term *'paradesham'* is a clear indication for this. The very important peculiarity of Thullal stories are, they were expressed in oral folk language. The reference of proverbs used in Thullal works has rendered significant examples for these. Certain proverbs are cited below.

1. *Mullappombodiyettukidakkum*

   Kallinumundoru sourabhyam

   (*Kiratham*)

2. *Gathikettal puli pullumthinnum*

   (*Sathya Swayamvaram*)

3. *Kattukozhikkenthu Samkranthi*

   (*Harinee Swayamvaram*)

4. *Kanakam moolam kaminimoolam*

   Kalaham palavidhamulakil sulabham

   (*Kiratham*)

5. *Aadinnariyumo Angadivanibham*

   (*Ghanapathi Prathal*)

6. *Ambranalppam Kattubujicha*

   Lambalavasikalokke kakkum

   (*Syamanthakam*)

7. *Kayyil kittiya kanakmupekshi*

   cheeyam kolvanichikkunnu

   (*Nalacharitham*)

8. *Ashanaksharamonnu pizhachal*

   Anpathonnu pizhakkum sikshyanu

   (*Seelavathicharithram*)

9. *Panamullavaneppattil varuthan*

   Panicheyyunnathu parthiva dharmam

   (*Ghoshayathra*)

10. *Kandalariyathulla Jnangal*

    Kondalariyam kaliyallarasa

    (*Ghoshayathra*)

All these proverbs render lots of social messages to human beings. All these are expressed in local linguistic discourse by Nambiar. Apart from this various local idioms were manifested in his entire stories. Some of the terms

are *vakkanam* (quarel), *idam* (place), *pooshana kootuka* (to make conflict), *tholla* (throat or mouth), *kuluth chore* (old rice), *kidukidanne* (sudden), *pakidi* (theft), *ariyum koppum* (necessary commodities), *petta piriyuka* (to separate), *chadu padanennoru* (quickly), *kaikkanam* (bribe), *chandi* (nothing worthy of anything), *eluthalla* (not easy), *maruthala* (enemy), *thondan* (coward), *kootar* (relative), *akkam* (efficiency), *eera* (anger), etc. The phrases *bada janangal, bharya janam,* and *guru janam* used to refer those groups in the society. He used *sajjanam* and *durjanam* to indicate elite class and common people in the society. This same words oppositely used by Cherussery in his work Krishnagatha. The term *Achi* used by this time for wife, especially women in Nair families. The term *Amirthethe'* disappeared by this time from the upper class community, and instead *chore* began to be used by them. *Angadi* and *vanibham* continuously used by this time. The Tamil dialect *pizhai* became changed to *pizha* with derogatory diction. *Thondan* used in *Manipravalam* works for age old became used by this time for coward. '*Kizhavan*' became used by the people to indicate age-old persons. The term Sabha continuously used by this time for assembly. *chalupile, valuevale, jalanmar, madiyanmar, kudiyanmar, poocha keranam*, etc. indicates the local linguistic usage of the time. Thus *thullal* works helps to know about the linguistic evolution from medieval to modern. This linguistic expression symbolises the consolidation of *Malayali* culture and Malayalam language in Kerala.

The space of *Thullal's* was not temples, but the open spaces near to temples or festival fields. The audience was non-Brahmins especially the

common people. That is why he used popular language to communicate with his audience. As his audience was common people he used stories to convey his message to the mind of people. The society of Eighteenth Century had witnessed much social turmoil. It is clearly expressed in his stories. He always raised criticism against the immoral or inhuman life followed by the upper class community in the society. The socially and morally degraded social set up totally shocked him. He used satire to tease the upper class especially the Brahmins and Nairs in the society. The social condition of the *Naduvazhi* age clearly manifested in his work. Trade, Taxation, agriculture, money economy, caste system, social inequalities etc. very comically described by him. The stories used in the *Thullal* were a social tool to raise his dissatisfaction against the society. According to Dr. K.N. Ganesh, *Thullal* represents fundamentally two different societies. One society was the imaginary society represented in *Ithihasa puranas* and the second is the real society[18]. Nambiar, connects the imaginary society with the real world. Though the Travancore rulers had established centralized rule and social reforms, the society which witnessed for lots of social troubles was continuously mentioned in his works. His Thullal and his linguistic expression are the social devices to make awareness among the people towards the realistic situation of the time. And it was also a product of *Naduvazhi* rule in the society.

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[18] Dr.K.N.Ganesh, *Kunjan Nambiar Vakkum Samoohavum*, Vallthol Vidhyapeedam, Sukapuram, 1996.

The *Naduvazhi* Age and the Brahmanical domination over Kerala have contributed lots of social chaos in Medieval Kerala, especially after Fifteenth Century AD. It was on this background Bhakthi movement have flourished in Kerala. The literary contribution of Cherussery, Poonthanam, Ezhuthachan, and Kunjan Nambiar became the very important reflection of this social-turmoil which existed in the society. The caste inequalities, the luxurious life of elite class, moral degradation all created a sense of opposition against the upper class community, especially against Brahmins. It was openly expressed by Poonthanam in *Jnanapana* and Nambiar in his *Thullal* works.

This period also witnessed for literary transition from *Manipravalam* to Malayalam language. As the common people have no knowledge on Sanskrit, they translated the Ithihasa- Purana stories into *pattu* style of presentation. From *Krishnagatha, Jnanapana,* and *Thullal* works we can find about the local Malayalam-linguistic expression. Ezhuthachan also wrote his Kavya in a Sanskritized *pattu* style. Their literary contributions have created profound influence on Non-Brahmanical community to make awareness regarding the social realities on life. The social contents which indicated in their songs also help to analyse the formation of common Malayali culture and Malayali identity by this time.

The growth and development of trade and agriculture, caste relations, *Jathi-Jenmi* feudal relations, growth of regional art forms and rituals among

non-Brahmins helped to form a Common *Malayali* culture in Kerala. The interactions of other social communities from outside Kerala also make a sense of difference in the mind of the people. Along with the changes, new groups will be also incorporated in to the society. All these helped to create a common *Malayali* identity in Kerala. From Eighteenth Century itself a consolidated form of *Malayali* culture and identity formed in their social life, culture and language in Kerala. It became evident from the *Thullal* works of Kunjan Nambiar.

CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

Many linguistic theories and studies have produced in relation with the origin and evolution of Malayalam language in Kerala. The prominent theories are, Sanskrit origin theory, Branched origin theory, Mixed origin theory, Independent origin theory, Tamil origin theory, and Theory of linguistic transition. These theories mainly interpreted on accordance with the linguistic transition in literary or written sources, not oral sources. Language got its growth and development with the socio-cultural changes as a part of historical process which have taken place in a particular region or society. The evolutionary growth of Malayalam language should only be found out through the study of socio-historical background from early medieval period to the beginning of modern age. Rather than written sources, oral sources are more useful to analyse the oral growth of Malayalam language in Kerala. It helps to understand the growth of language in various socio-cultural contexts and spaces. The common understanding that a language would attain its birth and identity from other particular language is not fully acceptable. To a certain extent, the influence of another language would be reflected in Malayalam language as a result of socio-cultural relations and interactions by the different social groups in Kerala.

In ancient period Kerala became an important part of Tamizhakam. During those days *Malai Nadu* existed as a mere geographical expression

with no recognized boundaries. It is believed that Kerala acquired its political identity with the foundation of Perumal rule in Kerala. But its linguistic identity continued to be the local dialect of Tamil or Kodum Tamil. The socio-cultural-historical transition took place during Perumal Kingdom had its impact on linguistic identity of Kerala. As a result of trade, migration, religion and other cultural factors many new words are crept into the indigenous dialectical discourse of *malai Natu* region. The language which manifested in inscriptions has rendered appropriate information on this. Apart from Tamil, the influence of Prakrit, Paali, Kannada and Telugu are evident from the documents. The influence of Sanskrit is comparatively rare by this period. Certain terms of these have continued its impact in later centuries. At the same time some idioms are disappeared and meaning is entirely changed. The Tamil phrases used in the inscriptions later evolved to be as simple idioms along with slight grammatical and morphological changes. This could be analyzed from the literary works as well.

Manipravalam was a literary movement flourished in early medieval period in Kerala. Its grammatical features, characteristics and poetic style became mentioned in the 14th C Sanskrit work '*Leelathilakam*'. The '*Bhasha*' mentioned in *Leelathilakam* is considered to be the language in Kerala. Linguistic scholars have considered it as the first grammar work on Malayalam language. However, more than 'language' it described the grammatical component in Manipravalam language. While analysing early

Manipravalam works we could identify numerous regional phrases used in *Malai Nadu* dialect. This means that the very influence of Tamil continued to be active in the oral discourse of people during this time. Along with Tamil, the local phrases used in Prakrit, Paali, Kannada, Tulu, and Telungu are visible from the literary works. The early *Manipravalam* works of *Unnichirudevi Charitham, Unniachi Charitham, Unniyadi Charitham, Ananthapuravarnam* gives vivid example for this. But when coming to the later Manipravalam works, the influence of Sanskrit became more dominant than the regional dialect. These North Indian tradition and linguistic tradition of South Indian states became the part of cultural contacts existed between the *Malai Nadu* region with them.

An absolute structure of language could be discovered from the oral sources rather than the literary written tradition. Oral songs of various communities have survived today as a part of their socio-cultural traditions and religious beliefs. Certain songs discussed by this study are categorized into as Northern Ballads *(Puthooram Pattu and Tacholi Pattu)*, Southern Ballads (*Neelikatha, Muvotu mallan Katha and Iravikuttipilla Pore*), and ballad from Central Kerala *(Edanadan Pattu)*, and ritual songs (*Thottam Pattukal*). As *Thottam pattu* is used for ritual purpose, the language does not find growth. Except Thottam songs all other songs presented in story telling method. Story has played significant role in the imagination of people. Malayalam got its growth through this story oriented oral songs. By analysing

these different oral songs we can notice the regional variations of local dialect. It indicates the dynamic nature of language in different localities. The Tulu-Kannada influence in Northern ballads and Tamil influence represented in Southern songs signify the differences in their socio-cultural relations maintained by the people with other communities or their neighbouring areas. This influence is still continued in the interior or border areas of Southern and Northern parts of Kerala. The difference in linguistic slang is a part of its particular geographic conditions and social relations of the people. The imitation of western style and language still reflected in the Malayali culture and language are also the product of this socio-cultural changes and relations.

Malayalam language was the outcome of *Malayali* cultural identity which had been formed between medieval periods to the beginning of modern age in Kerala. The literary transition from *Manipravalam* to Malayalam language by the *Bhakthi* poets and Kunjan Nambiar is a byproduct of this identity formation in Kerala. More than literary works, their works have evolved in the background of socio-political upheavals which have taken place in the medieval society. By rendering bhakthi ideals and moral codes they wanted to uplift the society. The caste-system, *Jathi-Jenmi* relations, luxurious life of *Naduvazhis*, *Brahmins* and *Nairs*; Social and Moral degradation etc. all created social chaos in the society. Thus they wanted to change the condition of society by imparting good ideals. By translating the *Ithihasa-purana* and *Bhagavatham* stories they conveyed the

picture of an ideal society in the eyes of people. As these works were written in Malayalam, these works have got much recognition from the Non-brahmanic community in the society. Through the *Thullal* art, Nambiar has openly criticized the upper caste community in the society. Poonthanam through his work *Jnanapana* provides a philosophy of life by portraying the stark realities in life. The formation and growth of a *Malayali* cultural identity have evolved by this time through different phases of Naduvazhi rule in Kerala. These socio- political and cultural changes reflect in the works of Nambiar. The reference of *'paradeshi'* indicates the separateness of people of Kerala from other states. By this period a common identity evolved and it has manifested in their social life, culture and language. Its consolidated result was the *Malayalai* identity and the Malayalam linguistic formation in Kerala.

Language is a given product of society. Its growth and evolution should be analysed with a focus on the social-interactions and socio-cultural relations maintained by the people in various socio-cultural contexts. Malayalam language is as well the consolidated outcome of evolutionary social changes from the Perumal rule to the end of Naduvazhi ages in Kerala. So we could conclude that the evolution of Malayalam language and the social formation of Kerala are closely related and interconnected.

Glossary-1

Textual Word	Prakrit/Paali	Tamil	Sanskrit	Telugu	Kannada	Telugu
Palli	*Palli* (Jain Buddhist viharas)					
Tevidichi (Devadasi)	*Achi* (wife) *Ajjiaa* or *Ajja* (Pure lady)					
Peedikai (Rooms for trade or shops)	*Peeida*		*Peedika*			
Kanji (Poridge)	*Kanji aa*			*Kanji*		
Kacham (Decision or permission)	*Kajja* (Action or responsibility)					
Paradaiyar (From it Parishat Originates)	*Parisha* (Common peoples assembles)					
Pirakiruthi	*Pakiti* (administration)		*Prakrethi* (representative assembly)			
Tali (Open space surrounded by wall)	*Thali* (land)					
Viruthi (land given to temple servants in their service to temple)	*Vrithi* (Forms of occupation)					

Textual Word	Prakrit/Paali	Tamil	Sanskrit	Telugu	Kannada	Telugu
Chekopini (related to Angam)	*Shevaka* (Servant)		*Sevaka* (Parikarmi)			
Angadi (Internal trading centre)	*Sigadana* (Place connected to 3 path ways)		*Srangudakam* (Naal Kavala)	*Angadi* (Market or Street)	*Angadi* (Trading centre)	
Naazhi (Measurement for rice)	*Naali*		*Naadi*			
Yogi (ascentic)	*Jogi*	*Choki*	*Yogi*		*Jogi*	
Rakshabogam or *Irakkabogam*	*Rakshabogam* (tax for security)					
Thavalam (temporary residence)	*dhavala* (Sit in permanently) or not shiver		*Stavar*	*Thavalamu* (Space)		
Purikam (Eyebrow)	*Buruga* or *Burua*					
Pulakam	Pulava		*Pulaka*			
Mutti (fist)	*Mud-tti*		*Mushti*			
Malika (double storied home)	*Mallikaa*	*Maalikai*	*Maalaka*	*Maaliga*	*Maalige*	
Pey (madness)		*pey* (devil)			*'pe* (madness or spirit)	

Textual Word	Prakrit/Paali	Tamil	Sanskrit	Telugu	Kannada	Telugu
Ittiya (brick)	*Ittaka*	*Ittikai*	*Ishtika*	*Ittaka*	*Ittake*	
Kache (bodice)	*Kachcha*					
Pavizham (Coral)	*Pavaala*		*Pravaala*	*Pavada mu*		
Veena	*Veeniya*		*Veena*			
Achan (honest)	*Ajja* (father or father of mother)		*Arya*			
Narayam (writing style)	*Naraya* (Arrow)					
Thuttan (Cruel)	*Dud-tta*	*Thuttan*	*dhushtta*	*dhudde*	*dhuttu*	
Mahela (noble lady)	*Mahila*	*makalir*	*Mahila*		*Mahile*	
Chonakar (Arabs)	*Jona*	*Jonakan*			*Jonaka*	
Thurukkar (Arabs)	*Turuk-ka*		*Thurushka*	*Thuraka*		
Choni (Caste)	*Joni* (Paali) *Johni* (prakrit)		*Yoni*			
Keli	*Keli* (Paali)		*Kelli*	*Keli*		
Dola (Swing)	*Doli*			*Dolli*	*Dotu*	
Marutha (Devil)	*Marudha*		*Mrutha* (Condition of Death)			
Kellam (Banana Tree)	*Kella*		*Kadala or Kadalee*			
Nalinam (Lotus)	*Nalina* (Paali)	*Nalinam*	*Nadina*		*Nalina*	

Textual Word	Prakrit/Paali	Tamil	Sanskrit	Telugu	Kannada	Telugu
Ali (Sting)	*Ala* (Paali)	*Ali*	*Adin*	*Ali*	*Ali*	
Vicha (Knowledge)	*Vijja*	*Vichai*	*Vidhya*			
Akkaram (letter)	*Ak-kara* (endless or lipi)	*Akkaram*	*Akshara*	*Akkaramu*	*Ak-kara or Acchara*	
Chattan (Student)	*Chatta*		*Chatra*			
Thittam (definite)	*Dhid-tta*	*thittam*	*Dreshta*	*Dhittamu*		
Puthakam or *Pothakam*	*Puthaka* (Paali)		*Pushthaka*	*Pothamu*	*potheke*	
Koniya or *Goniya* (Sack)						*Goni*
kuttam(leprocy)	*Kud-tta*		*kushta*			
chetti(trading group)	*Sett-ti*		*sreshti*			
chettan(brother)	Jet-tta		*jeshta*			
choothe(gambling)	*jootha*		*dutha*			
cholam	*chavala*	*cholam*		*jonnalu*	*jolam*	

Glossary -2

aada	- there
acham	- fear
achara maryada & jathimaryada	- caste oriented rituals
acharam	- custom
achu	- a coin
adhikarar	- an official
aharam	- food
aluvadiyarum	- servants
amrith	- immortal or medicine
amruthethu	- term denoting the food of higher castes
anai	- elephant
anbe	- love
anchuvannam	- semi-independent trading corporation
angabhangam	- mutilation
angadi	- market
angam	- martial art
anunaasikaatiprasaram	- nasal assimilation
arichi	- rice
ariyum koppum	- necessary commodities
arukkuka	- to cut
ashtasidu (attahasam)	- scream
attai kalam	- total measurement jar
attikuduthan	- to give
attiper	- absolute transaction
bada janangal	- common people
bali	- performance of obsequies for the souls of departed forefathers

bhakshikkuka	- eat
bhakthar-	- devotees
bhakthi	- devotion
bharathav	- husband
bharya	- wife
bhiksha	- begging
boothalam	- land
brahmadeyam	- land donated to brahmins
brahmaswam	- land held by the brahmin jenmis
brathav	- brother
buddhi	- intellect
centamil	- literary Tamil
cerikkal	- land belonging to naduvazhis and the perumal.
chattar	- student
checkor	- warriors
chetta	- brother
chetti	- the name of an indigenous merchant group
chingam	- lion
cholluka	- to recite
chonakar	- Muslims
desam	- territorial division or locality
desavazhi	- local chieftain
devaswam	- property of the temple
dushtar	- cruel
eera	- anger
elimbe	- born
eluthalla	- not easy
garbham	- embryo/conception
gopuram	- tower
haani	- loss

idangazhi	- measurement
illam	- house of Kerala brahmins/settlement location
irandu	- two
ivai	- this
janam	- people
janmi	- one who holds janmam land
jathi	- caste
jenmi	- the customary term used for land-lords in Kerala.
jhanam	- knowledge
jhangal	- we
kaalam	- time
kacham	- agreement or pact
kadam	- debt
kadaviyar	- should what is required
kaikkanam	- bribe
kala vaniyan	- potter
kalari	- martial art
kali	- play
kanam	- mortgage or lease
karalar	- tenants of temple lands
karam	- hand
karanmai	- tenancy right
kari	- cultivable area
kasu	- a coin
kavu	- a small Hindu shrine in a grove
kavya	- a book of poems
keerthi	- fame
kelppin	- to hear
khiloopa samgraham	- retention of obsoletes

kidukidanne	- sudden
kiz-shanthi	- the assistant priest
kolla peran	- to do
kolluka	- to kill
kon	- king
konte	- to kill
koonthal	- hair
kovil	- temple
kovilakam	- palace
koyil	- an administrative unit
kudiyan	- tenant
kuli	- bath
kuluthe chore	- old rice
kuti	- space/occupational groups
kuttar	- relative
lipi	- script
malai	- hill
manigramam	- trading corporation of merchants
mannan	- king or god
mannil	- land
mappila	- Muslim
marumakkathayam	- matrilineal system of inheritance
mey	- body
moksham	- salvation
mukthi	- moksha
nadu	- an administrative unit
naduvazhi	- chief of a region or ruling chief
nagaram	- a trade settlement area
nambi	- brahmin
nazhi	- a cubic measure

ninda	- reproach
ningal	- you
oli	- elegance
onte	- one
ooyal	- to swing
ottam	- run
ottan	- messenger
paaduka	- to sing
pakee palajanam	- many people
pakidi	- theft
pakiyam	- luck
panam	- a coin
panninal	- to do
paradesi	- foreigner
parai	- a measurement
parasparam	- to each other
pathiram	- paper
pativrata	- she who loyal to her husband.
pattam	- rent
pattang	- truth
peche	- dialogue
peeda	- suffering
peedika	- shop
peeditha	- she who was troubled
penne	- woman
penne	- women
peshi	- communicate
phalangal	- result
pon	- gold
ponakam (bojanam)	- food

pooshana kootuka	- to make conflict
pora	- to go
pradhakshinam	- procession
puja	- worship
purayidam	- compound site
purushabhedaniraasam	- loss of personal terminaton
putran	- son
raksha	- protection
rakshabogam	- protection fee
rakshikkuka	- save
sabha	- assembly
salai	- educational institution attached to temples
sambandham	- liaisons of junior nambudiris sons with kshatriya/ ambalavasi/ nair women.
sandesha kavya	- poem in the form of message.
sandhi	- morphophonemics
shaka	- branch
stanavum manavum	- status and position
stuthi	- praise
stuti	- eulogy
svapnam	- dream
svarasamvarnam	- contraction of vowel
swarupam	- a family of ruling class whose political authority was organized on the basis of the order of seniority.
tadbhavam	- forms borrowed as such
talai	- head
tantri	- officiating priest
taravad	- a joint family unit
tavargoopamardam	- palatalisation

tental	- wind
thalla	- mother
thambi	- brother
thanam (stanam)	- position
thandam	- fines
thanni	- water
thantai	- father
thantha	- father
thay	- mother
theertham	- water received as prasadam
thenga	- coconut
tholla	- throat or mouth
thondan	- age old
thonunna	- to think
thudangi	- beginning
thunthiri	- rumours
tripaadam	- holy foot
turukkar	- Muslims
unapproachability	- pollution by approach
unman	- to have food
unseability	- pollution by sight
untouchability	- pollution by touch
ur	- settlement area
uralar	- trustees of the temple
uyir	- life
vaara	- to come
vaaruka	- to collect
vacha	- word
vachetham	- word
vakkanam	-quarrel

vamozhi	- spoken language
vamsam	- family/race
vamsham	- lineage
vanibham	- trade
vaniyan	- trader
vannan	- washer man
vanthu	- to come
varamozhi	- written language
varier	- temple servant
varnam	- phoneme
vastram	- dress
vatteluttu	- a form of writing
vayenam (vazhuka)	- to exist
vazhkai	- life
vela	- labour
vellam	- water
vetti	- victory
vichitram	- strange
viduperu	- rental
viruthi	- lands given as service tenure for servants of temples and chiefs.
vishudham	- holy
vithaikalam	- measurement jar
yogi	- ascetic

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