

## C025

Gal-oya, Kaḷu-gal-oya, Badulu-oya, Kimbul-vānā-oya

கல்-ஓய, கள-கல்-ஓய, பதுலு-ஓய, கிம்புல்-வானா-ஓய

ගල්-ඔය, කළු-ගල්-ඔය, බදුලු-ඔය, කිඹුල්-වානා-ඔය

1. Gal+oya
2. Kaḷu+gal+oya
3. Badulu+oya
4. Kimbul+vānā+oya

1. The rocky stream.
2. The stream of the granite rocks.
3. The stream sided by Badulu trees.
4. The tawny-coloured stream; or the stream of the Kimbul-tree forest.

**Oya:** (singular), **Oyaval:** (plural) rivulet, stream (Sinhala, Clough); **Oya:** “Gaṅga, Diya-pāra” (Sinhala, Sorata); **Hoya, Hō:** small river, branch of a river, rivulet (Sinhala, Clough); H added in this case; **Ho, Hō:** = “Oya, Gaṅga” (Sinhala, Sorata); **Hoya:** “Gaṅga, Atugaṅgā ek vū teṇa” (Sinhala, Sorata); **Hoyala:** sandy or alluvial deposits of a river, sandy bank; “Gaṅga diyen geṇena ladda, Vella, Veraḷa” (Sinhala, Sorata, Clough); **Ō-kaḍa:** water course, mouth of a river, “Diya-pāra, Mōdara” (Sinhala, Sorata; see Kaḍa 3 in C428); **Oi:** current in the sea, flow, flux, stream, tide (Dhivehi/ Maldivian, DBF, EDMIN); **Oyil:** force or velocity of a river (Tulu, DED 984); **Oyilu:** current, usually of a stream or river (Tulu, M. Bhat); **Oiyali:** (verb) to take away (Kuwi, DED 984); **Oye:** (verb) to take away (Malto, DED 984); **Oy:** (verb) to drag along as a flood, launch as a boat, send forth (Tamil, DED 984); (verb) to flow fast, drag fast; a term meaning to be swift (Tamil, Caṅkam diction, Akanāṇṇūru 68: 17; Kuṟuntokai 79: 3-5); (verb) to carry off (Kannada, DED 984); **Uy:** (verb) to carry, take away, discharge (Tamil, DED 984); to carry off (Kannada, DED 984); to carry, to take away (Parji, Gadba, DED 984); **Uyavai:** forest stream (Tamil, Tivākaram,

5: 48; Cūṭāmaṇi, 11: 160); a creeper in the forest that yields water (Tamil, Caṅkam diction, Malaipaṭukaṭām 136).

**Kaḷugal:** common black granite (Sinhala, Clough); from **Kaḷu+gal:** black coloured stone, “Kaḷupeḥeti gal” (Sinhala, Sorata); **Karuṇ-kal:** common black granite (Tamil, DED 1278+1298). See C287.

**Badulu:** also, **Badulu-ruk, Badulla:** the marking nut tree, *Semecarpus gardneri*, or *Semecarpus anacardium*, of Anacardiaceae family; in *Semecarpus* genus there are 13 species peculiar to the island (Sinhala, Clough); **Badulla:** *Semecarpus gardneri* (Willis, p.22, entry 493); **Maha-badulla:** *Semecarpus subpeltata* (Willis, ibid, entry 487); **Kaḷu-badulla:** *Semecarpus obovata* (Willis, ibid, entry 489); *Semecarpus anacardium* is Cēr, Ceṇ-kottai, Cē-pālam in Tamil (DED 2005), and Bhaḷlāta in Sanskrit (CDIAL 9414); the nut was used by launderers to put identity marks on clothes; the Sinhala term may have come from Badu meaning taking possession on contract.

**Kimbulvānā:** 1. Probably **Kimbul-van, Kimbul:** tawny colour (Sinhala, Clough); tawny

(reddish brown) or compound of red and black, “Piṅguvanpeḥeya hō Dumburupeḥeya” (Sinhala, Sorata); **Kempu**: redness (Kannada, Tulu, Telugu, DED 1931); **Cempu**: copper (Tamil, DED 2775); **Cē, Cem**: redness (Tamil, DED 1931, cognates in 13 Dravidian languages including Brahui); **Van**: colour (Sinhala, Clough); **Varṇa**: appearance, colour (Sanskrit, CDIAL 11338); **Vanai**: (verb) to paint, to form

(Tamil, DED 5327); **2**. Probably, Kimbul-vana: **Kimbul**: an herb, Plumbago rosea (Sinhala, Clough); its flowers are reddish; **Vana**: forest (Sinhala, Clough); see related place names for the relevance of the plant meaning in some place names; **3**. Kimbul also means crocodile in Sinhala. May be related to Kumbhīra in Sanskrit, meaning the same (CDIAL 3317).

*Oya is a common word in Sinhala, meaning a rivulet or stream. But it also comes in the names of some major rivers of the island (see related place names).*

*The verb cognates, Oy, Uy, Oye and Oiyali, listed as Dravidian, could be seen in Tamil, Kannada, Kuwi, Malto, Parji and Gadba (DED 984).*

*Hoya, Ho and Hō are variations of Oya, and in these cases, H is added in front of O. Another related term in Sinhala is Ō-kada.*

*A perusal of the verbs would show that the etymological origin of Oya is related to fast flow and current of a stream (see box).*

*Oi in Dhivehi/ Maldivian, Oyil/ Oyilu in Tulu and Uyavai in old Tamil, meaning a current of stream and forest stream, are the closest noun cognates of Oya.*

*A forest stream gained the term Uyavai in old Tamil, as sudden flood and fast flow are typical of such a stream.*

#### **Oy as a verb in Tamil meaning to pull as the current of a stream:**

“கன்று கால் ஓய்யும் கடுஞ் சுழி நீத்தம்”  
(அகநானூறு 68: 17)

“Kaṇṇu kāl oyyum kaṭuñ cuḷi nittam”  
(Akanāṇūru 68: 17)

The strong whirl current of the (forest stream) flow was dragging the feet of the baby elephant. [The context is description of the current of a forest stream after a heavy rain. The current was dragging the feet of a baby elephant and the tusker (male elephant), and

the female elephants of the herd were probing their trunks to get a grip of the baby.]

#### **Uyavai as forest stream:**

“கலுழியும் உயவையும் முல்லைக் காண்யாறு”  
(பிங்கலம் 5: 48)

“Kaluḷiyum uyavaiyum mullaik Kāṇyāru”  
(Piṅkalam 5: 48)

Kaluḷi (one that rolls stones) and Uyavai (one that flows fast) mean forest stream of the Mullai (forest) tract of land.

**Gal-oya** is found as a river name and place name in Hingurakgoda division of Polonnaruwa district and in Doluwa division of Kandy district. **Gal-oya** is also the name of a river that passes through Ampara district and enters the sea at Nintavūr. The river is called Kallāru in Tamil.

**Kaḷu-gal-oya** is the name of a stream as well as a place in Udadumbara division of Kandy district.

**Badulu-oya** is in Kandaketiya division of Badulla district.

**Kimbul-vānā-oya** is in Ibbagamuwa division of Kurunegala district.

## C122

Pol-vatta, Pol-moṭē

பொல்-வத்த, பொல்-மொட்டே

පොල්-වත්ත, පොල්-මොටේ

1. Pol+vatta

2. Pol+moṭē

1. The grove, garden or estate of coconut palms.

2. The multitude of coconut palms.

**Pol 1:** coconut palm, *Cocos nucifera*; “Enam gasa” (Sinhala, Sorata); coconut fruit, its nut; “Ema gasehi geḍiya, Ē geḍiyehi madya” (Sinhala, Sorata); coconut full grown or in its last state and ready for culinary purposes (Sinhala, Clough); **Pol-gaha:** coconut palm (Sinhala, Clough); **Polliṭuvāṇ:** Pol-iṭuvāṇ: coconut, the usage is seen in Vaṇṇi, only while threshing paddy; literally meaning the thing that is laid by coconut palm (Eezham Tamil, threshing ground vocabulary, Mayilaṅkūṭal P. Nadarajan, 2012, p. 56); **Etymology:** from the term for grass family; **Pul:** grass, grass family (Tamil, DED 4300, cognates in 9 Dravidian languages); generic term for plants that are softer inside than outside, as opposed to the generic term Maram, i.e., plants that are harder inside than outside (Tamil, Tolkāppiyam, 27: 86); trees having the attributes of the palm family (Tamil, Tolkāppiyam, 27: 87); bamboo, palmyra palm, coconut palm, etc. (Tamil, MTL, Akanāṇūru, 65: 15; Kallāṭam, 39: 10); **Vaṇ-pul:** palmyra palm, areca-nut palm, coconut palm and bamboo; literally meaning hard grass

(Tamil, Tivākaram, 4: 98); **Pul-maram:** coconut palm; literally meaning grass-tree (Tamil, Kathiraiverpillai); **Taṇa-ruk:** literally meaning grass-tree; trees like coconut, areca nut etc., “Pol puvak ādi gas” (Sinhala, Sorata).

**Pol 2:** big, “Mahat” (Colloquial Sinhala, Sorata); toponymic usage uncertain; **Pollu:** (verb) to swell (Tamil, DED 4563).

**Moṭē:** seems to be meaning a multitude, cluster, or heap (Sinhala placed names); **Etymology 1: Muṭṭa:** heap, multitude, “Goḍa, Rāsiya” (spoken Sinhala, Sorata); **Miṭṭe:** mass, a large number (Kannada, DED 5058); **Etymology 2. Muḷu:** multitude, assemblage, “Gaṇaya, Samūhaya, Rāśiya, Keṭiya” (Sinhala, Sorata; see Mulla 3 in C261 and Mula 3 in C489); **Muḷukka:** to grow thick (Malayalam, DED 4992); **Muḷuppu:** thronged state (Malayalam, DED 4992). Note other place names, Puvak-moṭē and Tal-gas-moṭē.

**Vatta:** means grove, garden, or estate in this context (Sinhala, see column 061).

*Pol meaning coconut palm in Sinhala (Sorata), corresponds to Pul basically meaning grass and grass family of plants such as palmyra palm, coconut palm, areca-nut palm, bamboo etc. in old Tamil/ Dravidian (DED 4300).*

*Note the phrase Taṇa-ruk for coconut palm (literally*

*meaning grass tree) identifying the palm with grass in Sinhala also.*

*Pul meaning grass/ grass family has cognates in 9 Dravidian languages. But the wordform Pol is noticed only in Sinhala.*

**Pul meaning grass family of plants and its definition in old Tamil:**

“புறக் காழனவே புல் என மொழிப  
அகக் காழனவே மரம் என மொழிப”  
(தொல்காப்பியம், 27: 86)

“Purak kālāṇavē pul eṇa molipa  
Akak kālāṇavē maram eṇa molipa”  
(Tolkāppiyam, 27: 86)

Say, Pul means all plants that are hard in the exterior (compared to the interior of the stem). Say, Maram means all plants that are hard in the interior (compared to the exterior of the stem).

**Pul meaning plants having the attributes of palms:**

“தோடே மடலே ஓலை என்றா  
ஏடே இதழே பாளை என்றா  
ஈர்க்கே குலை என நேர்ந்தன பிறவும்  
புல்லொடு வரும் எனச் சொல்லினர் புலவர்”  
(தொல்காப்பியம், 27: 87)

“Tōṭē maṭalē ōlai eṇṛā  
Ēṭē itaḷē pālai eṇṛā

Īrkkē kulai eṇa nērntaṇa piṇavum  
Pulloṭu varum eṇac collīṇar pulavar”  
(Tolkāppiyam, 27: 87)

The learned say that the following terms and more others are applied for the attributes of Pul family (inclusion of palms could be seen from the list): Tōṭu (grass/ palm leaf), Maṭal (palm-leaf stem), Ōlai (palm leaf), Ēṭu (palm leaf), Itaḷ (grass/ palm leaf), Pālai (spathe of palm flower-bunch); Īrkkū: spine of the frond of palm leaf); Kulai (bunch of palm fruits).

**Vaṇ-pul, as hard-grass, meaning coconut palm:**

“புறக் காழ் வன் புல் பெண் மரமாகும்.  
அவைதான் தெரிநிற்பனை கழுக்கு தெங்கு  
மூங்கில்” (திவாகரம், 4: 98)

“Purak kāl vaṇ pul peṇ maramākum.  
Avaitāṇ terikīṇ paṇai kamuku teṅku mūṇkil”  
(Tivākaram, 4: 98)

The ones that are hard in exterior and the hard grasses (Vaṇ-pul) are female trees. They are the palmyra palm, areca-nut palm, coconut palm and bamboo.

**Pol-vatta** comes as a place name in Maharagama division of Colombo district; Divulapitiya division of Gampaha district; Minuwangoda division of Gampaha district; Harispattuwa division of Kandy district; Hatharaliyadda division of Kandy district; Pallepola division of Matale district; Yatawatta

division of Matale district; Ambalangoda division of Galle district; Weligama division of Matara district; Rideegama division of Kurunegala district and in Meegahakivula division of Badulla district.

**Pol-moṭē** is in Tangalle division of Hambantota district and is noted in Matara OIS.

**Some Related Place Names:**

**Pol:**

**Ōvala-Polvatta:** Matale, Matale.

**Pol-aṁbē:** Polgahawela, Kurunegala. 1. Pol-aṁbē: probably shortened from Arāmba: grove (Sinhala, see column 487); 2. Pol-aṁba: a big kind of mango,

“Maha aṁba jātiyak” (Sorata); Pol 2: big, “Mahat” is one meaning for the word Pol (Sinhala, Sorata); Pollu: (verb) to swell (Tamil, DED 4563).

**Pol-attāva:** Dambulla, Matale. Pol+ata+āva: 1. Ata 2 and Ata 3: side, section, wing, neighbourhood;



## C131

Koḷam̐ba, Koḷumpu, Columbo, Colombo

கொளம்ப, கொழும்பு

කොළඹ, කොළඹපු

1. Koḷam̐ba

2. Koḷumpu

3. Columbo

4. Colombo

The harbour.

**Koḷam̐ba 1:** also, **Koḷom̐ba 1:** harbour, port, “Nēvitōṭa, Varāya” (Sinhala, Sorata, Ruvanmal Nighaṇṭuva); seems to be from the root Koḷa/ Koḷu added with Mba suffix (see column 130 on Mba); **Etymology 1:** related to shore, **Koḷudu:** seashore, shore, coast, beach, “Verala” (Sinhala, Sorata); **Kol, Kōl:** bank, shore, bank of a river; “Kūla, Ivura” (Sinhala, Sorata); see column 449; **Etymology 2:** related to coastal point, **Koḷu:** a tip in an island or atoll, extreme point of a thing (Dhivehi/ Maldivian, island names, DBF, EDMIN); **Koḷu:** ploughshare (Tamil, Malayalam, DED 2147, Perumpāṇāruppātai, 199); note the usage Koḷuk-kaṭṭai in Eezham Tamil for an item of snacks pointed on either side;

**Etymology 3:** etymological relationship may be possible with, **Kolamba-paṭṭana:** Sanskrit name of the ancient port town Kollam in Kerala (Indian Epigraphy, Sircar, D.C., p. 269, Indian Antiquary, II, p. 360); **Kolamba:** = Kollam, Quilon (Hobson Jobson); **Columbo:** = Kollam (1330 CE, Letter of Pope John XXII to Christians of Kollam, cited by Hobson Jobson); **Kollam:** seems to be a term meaning harbour in Malayalam, as there are two Kollams in Kerala and both are harbours (Kurakkeṇi-kollam/ Quilon and Panthalayani-kollam/ Quilandy);

probably related to a bay or corner in the coast that is used as a port; **Kolli:** a bay (Tulu, DED 2137); corner (Malayalam, DED 2137); **Kolli, Kolle:** corner, bend, gulf, bay (Kannada, DED 2137); **Kō:** a sharp curvature in the reef that leads inside (Dhivehi/ Maldivian, DBF); **Kulavu:** (verb) to bend, curve; (noun) bend, curve (Tamil, DED 2136, Naṇṇai, 386: 3); **Etymology 4:** note the metathesis possibilities with **Kōvaḷam:** cape, headland, town near a headland (Tamil, MTL); Kōvaḷa > Koḷava > Koḷam̐ba; metathesis possible either way. See C009 on Kōvaḷam; also see C335 on Jambukola-paṭṭana.

**Koḷam̐ba 2:** also, **Koḷom̐ba 2:** the tree Adina cordifolia, Nauclea cordifolia, “Koḷomgasa, Kadambavṛkṣaya” (Sinhala, Clough, Sorata); **Kolon:** Adina cordifolia, equated to Mañcal-kaṭampu/ Irāca-muruṅkai in Tamil (Sinhala, Willis, Revised Catalogue 951); etymology either related to its ball-like flowers; **Gōla:** ball (Sanskrit, CDIAL 4321; Kōḷam in Tamil); **Guḷli:** bubble, small round shell (Kannada, DED 1795); or related to **Kaṭampu, Kaṭampam:** common Kadamba (Tamil, DED 1116); **Kadamba, Kalamba:** common Kadamba

(Sanskrit, CDIAL 2710; traced to Dravidian; Ṭ/ḍ/ḷ change).

**Koḷam̐ba 3:** also, **Koḷom̐ba 3:** probably related to **Koḷom̐biya:** species of mango tree (Sinhala, Clough); probably from the shape of its fruit, or probably means leafy mango tree (see columns 334 and 373); note the Eezham Tamil names of two varieties of mangoes in Jaffna, **Karuttak-koḷumpāṇ** (a dark-skinned variety) and **Veḷḷaik-koḷumpāṇ** (a light-skinned variety); may be because of the shape or may be because of Kollam connections; see Etymology 3 in **Koḷam̐ba 1.**

**Koḷam̐ba 4:** family, clan “Kuṭumbaya” (Sinhala, Sorata); from Ṭ/ḷ change, **Kuṭumba:** household, family, clan, lineage, “Pavula, Kulaya” (Sinhala, Sorata); household (Sanskrit, Pali, CDIAL 3233, traced to Dravidian, CDIAL 3232, 3493); nasalization of **Kuṭi:** house,

abode, home, family, lineage (Tamil, DED 1655); see C052.

**Koḷumpu:** Tamil way of writing and pronouncing Colombo (Tamil, MTL, Jaffna Glossary); there are also other Eezham Tamil place names, **Nīr-koḷumpu** (Negombo) and **Koḷumpu-turai** (see related place names). See box on **Koḷam̐ba 1.**

**Columbo:** the Portuguese way of writing Colombo; the Portuguese were the first to build a fort at this harbour (1517 CE, Portuguese historian Gaspar Correa, ii, 521; cited by Hobson Jobson); **Porto de Columbo:** the harbour of Colombo (1553 CE, Portuguese historian, João de Barros, III, ii, cap. i). See boxes on **Koḷam̐ba** and **Koḷumpu.**

**Colombo:** spelling in English. See boxes on **Koḷam̐ba**, **Koḷumpu** and **Columbo.**

**Koḷam̐ba**, **Koḷumpu** and **Columbo** are respectively the Sinhala, Tamil and English ways of writing the name of the capital city in

the island. A division and a district also carry the name of the city.

### Some Related Place Names:

**Koḷumpu:** [Tamil]

**Nīr-koḷumpu:** Tamil name of the place, which in English is called Negombo: Negombo, Gampaha. Negombo comes from **Nīr-koḷumpu**; probably from the place being a harbour with a lake; **Koḷumpu:** harbour (see box on **Koḷam̐ba**); **Nīr:** water. The Sinhala name of the place is **Mīgamuva.**

**Koḷumpu-turai:** Jaffna City, Jaffna. Probably from being a port in the past to cross the Jaffna Lagoon and to reach Kalmuṇai in Maṇṇittalai to take the land route to Colombo; or from its geography, which was seen as **Koḷumpu** (point). Portuguese records note this place as **Colombogam.**

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**Koḷam̐ba 2/ 3/ 4, Koḷombu 2/ 3:**

[Sinhala: coming in inland place names, the word is unrelated to the meaning harbour. The word in the following place names probably means the tree *Adina cordifolia*, or a species of mango tree, or may be related to clan]

**Koḷam̐ba-gama:** Panduwasnuwara West, Kurunegala.

**Koḷam̐bage-āra:** Embilipitiya, Ratnapura.

**Koḷam̐balā-mulla:** Polgahawela, Kurunegala.

**Koḷam̐bēva:** also, **Koḷam̐bēva:** Ayagama, Ratnapura. **Koḷom̐ba-ēva.**

**Koḷam̐bissa:** Deltota, Kandy.

**Koḷombu-gama:** Nivithigala, Ratnapura.

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**Koḷu, Kollu:** [Sinhala, also see Kolē 1 in C449]

**Kollu-piṭiya:** Colombo, Colombo. The place is a coastal suburb of Koḷam̐ba/ Colombo fort; etymology may be related to the etymology of Colombo; see column 131; also, Kollu: horse gram (Sinhala, Sorata); Kol, Koḷḷu: horse gram (Tamil, DED 2153).

**Koḷu-gala:** Hatharaliyadda, Kandy.

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**Kolon:** [as a tree]

**Kolon-galla:** Kegalle, Kegalle.

**Kolon-gas-ṭenna:** Haldummulla, Badulla.

**Kolon-gas-ṭeva:** Rambewa, Anuradhapura.

**Kolon-vinna:** Monaragala, Monaragala.

**Kolon-yāya:** Minipe, Kandy.

**Kolonna:** Kolonna, Ratnapura.

**Koḷonnāva:** Kolonnawa, Colombo.

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### Structure of the Columns

1. Serial number, from C001 to C500.
2. Title placenames in Roman, Tamil and Sinhala scripts. The title names are chosen to show the usage or comparative usage of mostly primary toponymic terms and sometimes secondary toponymic terms.
3. Split of the title placenames into components (shaded box).
4. Meanings for the title placenames (shaded box). Two or more possible meanings to a placename are separated by commas/ semicolons and by using the word or.
5. Etymological study of the terms seen in the placenames. Cross references are given for terms discussed elsewhere. Shaded tags are given for the terms identified for the study.
6. Comments on the etymological study (given in italics). This part accompanies usage examples (section 7) and may not come in all the columns.
7. Usage examples mainly from Tamil sources (shaded box). The earliest available usage examples seen in literature and inscriptions are mostly selected. The original text in Tamil accompanies transliteration in Roman and meaning in English. This section may not come in all the columns. For most of the Sinhala terms, explanations in Sinhala are given in Roman transliteration under section 5.
8. Location of the title placenames, in reference to their divisions and districts as seen in the current administrative records. In some cases, the location is given by citing survey maps.
9. List of other placenames related to the terms discussed in a column. The list comes only for terms discussed for the first time in a column. Shaded tags are given to show the terms for which the list is given. Terms that are not discussed through title placenames are sometimes explained in the list of Related Placenames. Location of a related placename is given by noting the divisional name followed by district name, and sometimes by citing the relevant survey map. In sections 8 and 9, placenames taken up for study are presented in diacritical marks, but the divisional names and district names noting their location are written in the popular way. Identical placenames have only one entry under which the different locations (i.e., divisions and districts) are given, separated by semicolons. Sources for the placenames are noted only when they don't figure in the official administrative list.
10. Further information on some of the toponymic terms is given as Notes at the end of some columns.

## C353

Eluvāṇ-karai, Paṭuvāṇ-karai, Neḡena-hira, Baṭa-hira

எழுவான்-கரை, படுவான்-கரை, நெகென-ஹிர, பாட-ஹிர

එළුවානේ-කරෙර, පටුවානේ-කරෙර, නැගෙන-හිර, බට-හිර

1. Eluvāṇ-karai/ Eḷu+vāṇ-karai

2. Paṭuvāṇ-karai/ Paṭu+vāṇ-karai

3. Neḡena+hira

4. Baṭa+hira

1. The shore or side of the ascending sun or ascending sky, i.e., the east.

2. The shore or side of the descending sun or descending sky, i.e., the west.

3. (The direction of) the ascending sun, i.e., the east.

4. (The direction of) the descending sun, i.e., the west.

**Eluvāṇ 1:** (noun, verbal noun) the rising one, ascending one; from Eḷu+āṇ; **Eḷu:** (verb) to rise, ascend, appear (Tamil, DED 851); **Āṇ:** attributive suffix (Tamil, see C137 and C184).

**Eluvāṇ 2:** (phrase) Eḷu+vāṇ: the rising sky (Tamil, DED 851+5381); **Eḷu:** (verb) to rise, ascend, appear (Tamil, DED 851); **Vāṇ:** sky (Tamil, DED 5381).

**Paṭuvāṇ 1:** (noun, verbal noun) the setting one, descending one; from Paṭu+āṇ; **Paṭu:** (verb) to set as a heavenly body (Tamil, DED 3852); **Āṇ:** attributive suffix (Tamil, see C137 and C184).

**Paṭuvāṇ 2:** (phrase) Paṭu+vāṇ: the setting sky (Tamil, DED 3852+5381); **Paṭu:** (verb) to set as a heavenly body (Tamil, DED 3852); **Vāṇ:** sky (Tamil, DED 5381).

**Karai:** shore, bank, side, edge (Tamil, DED 1293). See column 343.

**Neḡenahira:** the direction of the rising sun, the east; “Sūryayā pāyana diśāva” (Sinhala, Sorata); Neḡena+hira: see boxes on Neḡena and Hira.

**Neḡena:** (verb) to rise, ascend, “Esevana,

Usvana” (Sinhala, Sorata); **Neḡe:** (verb) to rise, ascend, go upward, jump (Kannada, DED 3730; cognates in 11 Dravidian languages); **Negiyuni:** (verb) to rise, come up (Tulu, DED 3730); **Neggu:** (verb) to lift (Kannada, DED 3730); **Negi:** to lift (Koraga, DED 3730); **Niva:** to rise (Tamil, DED 3730); to rise as the sun (Tamil, Caṅkam diction, Puṛaṇāṇūru, 4: 14); **Niṇ:** to rise (Konda, Pengo, Manda, Kuwi, DED 3665); **Ninga:** to rise, arise (Kui, DED 3665).

**Baṭahira:** the direction of the setting sun, the west; “Hiru beṣa yana diśāva” (Sinhala, Sorata); Baṭa+hira: see boxes on Baṭa and Hira.

**Baṭa 1:** also, **Baṭ, Baṭu:** descending, going down; “Avatīrṇa” (Sinhala, Sorata, inscription, EZ, I, 43, 84, 71, 98, 105); **Paṭu:** (verb) to set as a heavenly body (Tamil, DED 3852; cognates in 14 Dravidian languages); **Paḍu:** (verb) to set as the sun; (noun) setting, the west (Kannada, DED 3852); **Paḍ, Paṭṭ:** (verb) to sink down, (sun) sets (Parji, DED 3852); **Paḍi:** setting sun, west, “Basnāhira” (Sinhala, Sorata).

**Baṭa 2:** a small species of bamboo (Sinhala, see box on Baṭu 3 in C360).



**Hira 1:** also, **Hiri, Hiru, Ira, Iru:** the Sun, “Sūryayā” (Sinhala, Sorata); **Iru:** the Sun (Dhivehi/ Maldivian; DBF); etymology traced

to **Sūra:** the Sun (Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, CDIAL 13574).

*The common Tamil terms Kīlakku and Mēṛku for the directions, the east and the west, are peculiar to Tamil and Malayalam only. They come from the perceivable geography of extreme peninsular India, where the east is low/ down and the west is high/ up. Note how this is contrary to the east and the west being the Sun rising up and setting down. Where this geography is irrelevant or not considered, rising and setting are the basis for recognising the east and the west. Like in Sinhala, Mūḍu (rising, originating) and Paḍu (setting) are the terms for the east and the west in Kannada (DED 5035, 3852).*

*See the note on the directions in Tamil in C343.*

\*\*\*

*Eḷuvāṇkarai and Paṭuvāṇkarai in Eezham Tamil and Neḡenahira and Baṭahira in Sinhala are comparable phrase formations to refer to the east and the west. While Baṭa in Sinhala corresponds to Paṭu in Tamil, the closest cognates for Neḡena in Sinhala are Nege and Negiyuni in Kannada and Tulu. The verb Niva is a comparable cognate in old Tamil (DED 3730, see usage example below).*

\*\*\*

#### **Eḷu meaning rising:**

“குணக்கு எழு திங்கள்” (புறநானூறு, 376: 8)

“Kuṇakku eḷu tiṅkaḷ” (Puraṇānūru, 376: 8)

The moon rising in the east.

#### **Niva as verb meaning to rise as the Sun:**

“மாக்கடல் நிவந்து எழுதரும் செஞ்ஞாயிறு”  
(புறநானூறு, 4: 15)

“Mākaṭal nivantu eḷutarum ceññāyiru”  
(Puraṇānūru, 4: 15)

The red Sun rising and ascending from the great sea.

#### **Paṭu meaning setting:**

“படு கடர் அடைந்த பகுவாய் நெடுவரை”  
(நற்றிணை, 33: 1)

“Paṭu cuṭar aṭainta pakuvāy neṭuvurai”  
(Narriṇai, 33: 1)

The long hill-range of gaping mouth (a saddle of the range) that has been reached by the setting luminary (the Sun in this context).

**Eḷuvāṇ-karai** is the name of the tract of land east of the Batticaloa Lagoon in Batticaloa district.

**Neḡena-hira** often comes in Sinhala place names to mark the eastern part of any place, as in Dehivala Neḡenahira.

**Paṭuvāṇ-karai** is the name of the tract of land west of the Batticaloa Lagoon in Batticaloa district.

**Baṭa-hira** often comes in Sinhala place names to mark the western part of any place, as in Dehivala Baṭahira.

### **Some Related Place Names:**

**Baṭuva, Boṭuva:** [as descent]

**Pe-boṭuva:** Nivithigala, Ratnapura.

\*\*\*

**Baṁbara-boṭu-kanda-gama:** Balangoda MS.

**Baṁbara-boṭuva:** Ratnapura, Ratnapura.

**Baṭa:** [see C360 for related place names]

\*\*\*

**Baṁbara-boṭuvegē-kanda:** Balangoda MS.

**Lena-baṭuva:** Matara MS. The descent having a cave.

## C429

### Kaḍavata, Mātara Four Gravets

கடவு[த்]த

කඩවත

1. Kaḍa+vata

2. Matara Four Gravets

1. The security post at the boundary of the territory or at the city entrance to pass through.

2. The Matara city area coming within the border-posts of the four directions.

**Kaḍavata:** a fortified watch house at the entrance of a city or at the borders of a territory; city gate, entrance of a way, “Paḷātaka sīmāvehi hō nagaradvārayehi prākārādiyen āvaraṇaya kaḷa murageya, Nuvara toraṭuva, Mārgadvāraya” (Sinhala, Sorata); post or station, Gravet (Sinhala, Clough); = **Gravet:** watch house on the boundaries (a colonial term coming from Kaḍavata in Sinhala, Codrington); **Kaḍa+vata:** literally meaning an entrance passage or entrance post or entrance fortification; **Kaḍa:** entrance, way, path, road, “Doratuva, Mārgaya” (Sinhala, Sorata, see Kaḍa 3 and Kaḍa 4 in C428); **Kaṭa:** (verb) to pass through, traverse, transgress, cross, go, proceed (Tamil, DED 1109, Akanāṇūru, 137: 3); cognates in 18 Dravidian languages including Brahui; **Kaṭavu:** way, path, direction (Tamil, DED 1109); a place name suffix meaning a pass (place names of Tamil Nadu and Kerala); **Kaṭavai:** way, passing over (Tamil, DED 1109); a post, spot, locality, barrier or a small settlement to pass through on the way (Eezham Tamil place names, see column 175); **Vata 1:** from **Vat:** area or site of a house, “Gebima, Vatta, Vāstuva”, (Sinhala, Sorata, see Vatta 1 in column 061 ); **Vatu:** place, site, “Iḍama” (Sinhala, Sorata, see column 061); **Vata 2:** from **Vat:** road, way, “Pathaya” (Sinhala,

Sorata); **Maha-vat:** highway, “Mahā-pathaya, Mahā-mārgaya” (Sinhala Sorata); **Patha:** path (Sanskrit, CDIAL 7743); **Vartman:** track of a wheel, path (Sanskrit, CDIAL 11366); **Vata 3:** probably coming from **Vati:** enclosure or fortification made of hedge stakes, “Iṇi siṭuvā bēndi āvaraṇaya”, (Sinhala, Sorata); may be related to Vata 1 or to **Vat:** round, “Vaṭakuru” (Sinhala, Sorata). See columns, 175 and 434.

**Gravet:** watch house on the boundaries (colonial English word adopting Dutch and Portuguese usages but originally coming from Kaḍavata in Sinhala; Glossary of Native Foreign and Anglicized Words Commonly Used in Ceylon, Codrington, H.W., 1924); **Garaveto:** Kaḍavata rendered into Portuguese; **Gravetten:** Dutch version of Garaveto; **Four Gravets:** city precincts within the boundaries of the four sides, a term coming from British times to mean an inner city in the sense of treating it as a separate administrative division; literally meaning the four boundary posts, or gates; i.e., the city within the boundary posts or gates of the four directions (see related place names).

**Mātara:** name of a city in Southern Province (see column 048).

*Kaḍavata in Sinhala means a security post at a border or at a city entrance. It also means a city gate or an entrance post on the way to pass through.*

*Gravet in the English usage of the island has originally come from Kaḍavata in Sinhala and has passed through the terms Garaveto used by the Portuguese and Gravetten used by the Dutch. However, unlike the toponymic use*

*of Kaḍavata seen in the context of any border post, the usage of Gravet is mostly seen in the context of cities. Four Gravets means the precincts of a city, especially the inner city, within the limits of the four sides or gates of the four directions.*

*On the etymology of the phrase Kaḍavata, see box on that term above and the other columns cited in the box.*

**Kaḍavata** comes as a place name in Naula division of Matale district and in Wennapuwa division of Puttalam district.

**Matara Four Gravets** is the name of the Matara City division in Matara district.

### Some Related Place Names:

#### **Kaḍavata:**

**Kaḍavat Raṁbêva:** Medawachchiya, Anuradhapura. Raṁbêva is a place. Kaḍavat-Raṁbêva is Raṁbêva at the boundary post area.

**Kaḍavat-gama:** Yatinuwara, Kandy.

**Kaḍavat-kama:** Medawachchiya, Anuradhapura.

**Kaḍavat-kōralē:** Medawachchiya, Anuradhapura (Medawachchiya OIS). The border-post division; Kōralē: division.

**Kaḍavat-maḍuva:** Welikanda, Polonnaruwa. Maḍu in this context means a shed.

**Kaṭavatta-maṭu:** at the border of Polonnaruwa and Batticaloa districts (Vākaneri OIS). See Kaḍavat-maḍuva.

**Kaḍavattē-bēndi-mulla:** Minneriya, Polonnaruwa OIS.

\*\*\*

#### **Gravets:**

**Galle Four Gravets:** Galle Four Gravets, Galle.

**Kandy Four Gravets:** Kandy Four Gravets, Kandy.

**Trincomalee Town and Gravets:** Trincomalee Town and Gravets, Trincomalee.

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#### **Kaṭavattai:** [Tamil]

**Kaṭavattai:** Pulōli East, Vadamaradchi North, Jaffna (Gazette, 31-08-2017).

\*\*\*

### Eezham Tamil and Sinhala Place Names

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## C439

Enḍērā-mulla, Iṭaik-kāṭu, Eḷuvā-piṭiya

என்டேர-முல்ல, இடைக்காடு, எலுவா-பிட்டுய

එඬේර-මුල්ල, ඉට්ටෙක්-කාටු, එළුවා-පිටිය

1. Enḍērā+mulla

2. Iṭai+kāṭu

3. Eḷuvā+piṭiya

1. The corner or locality of cattle-herders.

2. The jungle of cattle-herders.

3. The raised-ground-plain or grassland to graze goats.

**Enḍērā**: also, **Enḍēru**: herdsman, shepherd, keeper (Sinhala, Clough); **Enḍērā**: keeper of cows, buffalos etc., “Gomahiṣādīn rakinnā” (Sinhala, Sorata); **Eḷu-enḍēra**: keeper of goats, “Eḷuvan reka balāgannā” (Sinhala, Sorata);

**Etymology 1**: **Anṭar**: shepherds (Tamil, Malayalam, DED 125); cowherds, shepherds (Tamil, Akanāṇṭūru, 59: 5; Kuṟuntokai, 117: 3; 210: 1); a clan name (Tamil, Patirruppattu, 88: 9); **Anṭar-makan**: a son of the cattle-herding community, the name of a Caṅkam poet (Tamil, Kuṟuntokai, 345; Puṟaṇāṇṭūru, 346); **Anṭar-makalīr**: women of cattle herders (Tamil, Akanāṇṭūru, 59: 5); **Iṇṭar**: shepherds (Tamil, DED 125); **Iṇṭaik-kulam**: community of cattle herders (Tamil, Periyālvār, 1: 5); **Etymology 2**: probably nasalized form of Eḍēru seen in colloquial Dravidian; **Iṭai**: the herdsman caste (Tamil, DED 450); **Iṭaiyar**: men of the herdsman caste (Tamil, DED 450); see box on Iṭai 1; **Etymology 3**: **Ēḍū**: goat (Tulu, DED 5152); **Ēḍika**: goat (Telugu, DED 5152); **Yāṭu**, **Āṭu**: goat, sheep (Tamil, DED 5152; cognates in 16 Dravidian languages); **Ēḍa**: a kind of sheep (Sanskrit, traced to Dravidian, CDIAL 2512). See column 032.

**Enḍaru 2**: the term means the castor-oilseed plant but may be a variation of Enḍēru in some

place names; see box above on Enḍērā and see Enḍaru 1 and 2 in C259.

**Iṭai 1**: the herdsman caste (Tamil, DED 450, Kuṟuntokai, 221: 3-4); prefix to place names connected to cattle-herding or to settlements of cattle herders (Tamil, names of Caṅkam poets; Akanāṇṭūru, 139; Puṟaṇāṇṭūru, 76); **Iṭaiyar**: men of the herdsman caste inhabiting the sylvan (Mullai) tract of land (Tamil, DED 450); **Anṭar**, **Iṇṭar**: shepherds (Tamil, DED 125; see box on Enḍērā); **Etymology** probably related to **Yāṭu**, **Āṭu**: goat, sheep (Tamil, DED 5152; cognates in 16 Dravidian languages including Brahui).

**Iṭai 2**: middle in space or time (Tamil, DED 448; cognates in 7 Dravidian languages); (verb) to make room (Tamil, DED 446).

**Eḷuvā**: goat (Sinhala, Clough); **Eḷu**: goat, sheep (Sinhala, Clough); **Ēḷakam**: ram, male goat (Tamil, Caṅkam diction, Paṭṭiṇappālai, 141; Perumpāṇāruppāṭai, 326); **Ēḷaka**: ram, wild goat (Pali, CDIAL 2512); **Ēḷa**: ram (Prakrit, CDIAL 2512); **Ēḍaka**: a sheep or goat (Sanskrit, etymology traced to Dravidian, CDIAL 2512); **Ēḍū**: goat (Tulu, DED 5152); **Ēḍika**: goat (Telugu, DED 5152); **Yāṭu**, **Āṭu**: goat, sheep (Tamil, DED 5152; cognates in 16 Dravidian



languages including Brahui); note the Ḍ/ Ṭ/ Ḷ/ Ḹ changes; see Eḷuvai in C032.

**Mulla:** corner, locality (Sinhala, see C261).

**Kāṭu:** forest, jungle, thicket, (Tamil, see C149).

**Piṭiya:** raised-ground-plain, grassland (Sinhala, see column 163).

*Eṇḍērā in Sinhala and Aṇṭar, Iṇṭar and Iṭai in Tamil/ Dravidian, meaning cattle herders in general, seem to have originally come from goat/ sheep herding and from terms related to goat/ sheep. See relevant boxes above. Also*

*note the etymological distinction between the term Iṭaiyar and another term Āyar, the latter specifically meaning cowherds (from Ā, Āṇ: cow, she-buffalo; Tamil, DED 334).*

#### Aṇṭar as cattle herders:

“அண்டர் பல் ஆ பயந்த நெய்”  
(குறுந்தொகை, 210: 1-2)

“Aṇṭar pal ā payanta ney”  
(Kuruntokai, 210: 1-2)

The yield of ghee from the many cows of Aṇṭar.

“அண்டர் கயிறு அரி எருது”  
(குறுந்தொகை, 117: 3-4)

“Aṇṭar kayiru ari erutu”  
(Kuruntokai, 117: 3-4)

The bull that breaks off from the rope binding set by Aṇṭar.

#### Iṇṭar as cattle herders:

“அகரர் இராக்கதரை இண்டைக் குலத்தை  
எடுத்துக் களைந்த இருடிகேசன்”  
(பெரியாழ்வார் திருமொழி, 1: 5)

“Acurar irākkatarai iṇṭaik kulattai eṭuttuk  
kaḷainta iruṭikēcaṇ” (Periyālvār Tirumōḷi. 1: 5)

Krishna who took birth in the cattle-herding caste and destroyed demons and monsters.

\*\*\*

#### Iṭai meaning the community of shepherds:

“பாலொடு வந்து கூழொடு பெயரும் ஆடுடை  
இடை மகன்” (குறுந்தொகை, 221: 3-4)

“Pāloṭu vantu kūḷoṭu peyarum āṭuṭai iṭai  
makaṇ” (Kuruntokai, 221: 3-4)

The man of the Iṭai community having goats, who comes with milk and goes with food (barter milk for food items).

#### Iṭaiyaṇ as a community identity:

“இடையன் நெடுங் கிரனார்” (அகநானூறு 166)

“Iṭaiyaṇ neṭuṇ kīraṇār” (Akanāṇūru 166)

The tall Kīraṇ of the cattle-herding community: name of a Caṅkam poet.

#### Early example of Iṭaik-kāṭu as a place name:

“இடைக்காடனார்” (அகநானூறு, 139)

“Iṭaikkāṭaṇār” (Akanāṇūru, 139)

The name of a Caṅkam poet hailing from the village Iṭaik-kāṭu.

\*\*\*

#### Ēḷakam meaning male goat:

“ஞமலி...ஏழகத் தகரொடு உகனும் முன்றில்”  
(பட்டினப்பாலை, 140-141)

“Ūmali...ēḷakat takaroṭu ukaḷum muṇṇil”  
(Paṭṭiṇappālai, 140-141)

The yard where a dog would play with a ram.

\*\*\*

**Eñḍēra-mulla** is a place in Mahara division of Gampaha district. There is another Eñḍēra-mulla noted in Galle Metric Sheet.

**Iṭaik-kāṭu** is in Valikamam East division of

Jaffna district. A locality in this place, having some ruins and a pond, is still visited by cattle herders for performing Poṅkal ritual (cooking and offering milk rice) to fulfil vows (Balasundaram, 2002, p. 125).

### Some Related Place Names

#### **Eñḍērā:**

**Eñḍēra-gala:** Sigiriya, Matale (Paranavitana, IC, I, p. xv).

**Eñḍēra-goḍa:** Galle MS.

\* \* \*

**Eñḍaru:** [the term means castor-oil-seed plant, but if it is a variation of Eñḍēru, it may mean the herdsmen community]

**Eñḍaru-eṭa-mulla:** Ampara district (Rukam OIS).

**Eñḍaru-teṇna:** Harispattuwa, Kandy.

\* \* \*

#### **Iṭai:**

**Iṭaik-kāṭu:** Puthukkudiyiruppu, Mullaiththeevu;

Oddusuddan, Mullaiththeevu. Means middle in these contexts.

**Iṭaik-kuḷam:** Batticaloa OIS.

**Iṭaik-kuricci:** Varāṇi, Thenmaradchi, Jaffna (Point Pedro OIS).

**Iṭaip-piṭṭi:** Karainagar, Jaffna.

**Iṭaiyaṇ-kuḷam:** Vaṅkālai, Mannar (Mantai OIS).

\* \* \*

#### **Eḷu, Eḷuvā:**

**Eḷu-vila:** Panadura, Kalutara.

**Eḷuvā-pola:** Kuliyapitiya West, Kurunegala.

**Eluvāna:** Dehiovita, Kegalle. Āna: place, forest.

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Table I

## Primary Toponymic Terms

*[Basic toponymic terms and components, which mostly come as suffixes in the Eezham Tamil and Sinhala placenames]*

**A 1:** C088; T; adjectival suffix or empty morpheme (Cāriyai) for conjunction; TG.

**Ā 1:** C088; T; adjectival suffix or empty morpheme (Cāriyai) for conjunction; TI, TG.

**A 2:** C088; T; genitive case suffix; TG.

**Ā 2:** C088; T; genitive case suffix; TI.

**Ā 3:** C297; S; new; see Secondary Terms.

**Ā 4:** C174, C338; S; boundary, limit, landmark; DED 366, 2544; CDIAL 13435, 13436; see Āva.

**Acci 1:** C121; S; see Āṭci; DED 5157.

**Aḍapu:** C169; S; from Aḍappa: neighbourhood; DED 79.

**Aḍavi:** C011; S; forest; CDIAL 177; DED 84.

**Addara:** C286; S; end, extremity, side, border; CDIAL 347.

**Aḍiya:** C178; S; locality, place, neighbourhood, surroundings, see Aṭi; DED 72.

**Aḍukku 1:** M; S; pile, heap of things placed one upon another; DED 80.

**Aḍuva:** M; S; small, half, part, portion; CDIAL 643.

**Agā:** C477; S; 1. End, front, extremity; 2. Great depth; 3. Rock; 4. Part, portion; 5. house.

**Agaliya:** C172; S; ditch, trench, moat for the protection of a fort etc.; DED 11.

**Agāra 1:** C408; S; dale or valley, a depression in the land in which water flows in wet weather, a low ground between high grounds; DED 11.

**Agāra 2:** C408; S; feeder of a tank; see Agāra 1.

**Agāra 3:** C408; S; house; CDIAL 52.

**Agrahēra:** C223; S; a Nindagam village given to Brahmins; TI, CDIAL 68.

**Ai:** C339; T; a morpheme used in ending words; TG.

**Akam:** C003; T; inside, house, place, agricultural tract; DED 7.

**Akkara 1:** C344; S; the opposite shore or side, see Akkarai 1; DED 1+1298.

**Akkara 2:** C344; S; from acre in English.

Table V

## Sinhala and Eezham Tamil Toponymic Terms Having Close Dravidian Cognates Other Than Tamil

### Primary Toponymic Terms [Sinhala]

**Ā 4:** C174, C338; S: limits, boundary = **Āya**, **Āyate**: Kannada and Telugu respectively; DED 366

**Aḍappa:** C169; S; neighbourhood = **Aṭuppam**, **Aṭuppu**: Malayalam; DED 79.

**Aṅga 3:** C035; S; a strip of land bordering a paddy field = **Añcu**, **Ancu**: Kannada and Telugu respectively; DED 57.

**Asna:** C460; S; near = **Assgnā**: Kurux; DED 43.

**Aṭāla:** C089; S; watchtower = **Aṭṭalu**, **Aṭu**, **Aṭṭa**, **Aṭṭā**, **Aṭṭava**: respectively, Tulu, Parji, Kodagu/Kannada, Telugu; DED 93, 79, 80, 102, CDIAL 180 notes non-Aryan etymology.

**Āva:** C338; S; a locational suffix meaning place; **Ā** (limits)+va = **Āya**: Kannada; DED 366.

**Baḍa 1:** C315; S; adjacency, side = **Puḍe**: Tulu; DED 4255.

**Baḍa 3:** C315; S; belly, protuberance, spur, embankment = **Baṇḍi**: Kuwi; DED 3898.

**Bemma:** C473; S; embankment, dam, building, binding = **Bomma**: Telugu; DED 4530.

**Bokka 1:** C174; S. hollow ground = **Bokka**, **Bogga**, **Boṅku**, **Bokku**, **Pokka**: respectively, Telugu, Naikri, Kolami, Tulu, Tulu, Kolami; DED 4452.

**Bokka 4:** C174; S; uninhabited place = **Boṅku**: Tulu, DED 4452.

**Daḷu 1:** C297; S; bud, young shoots of leaves = **Taḷi**, **Dāl**: respectively, Kannada, Kuwi; DED 3131.

**Dam̐ba 2:** C252; S; rock, hill = **Dimmi**, **Dibba**, **Dippu**: Kannada; DED 3229, DED 3239.

**Dara 1:** C435; S; ground, land = **Taṛi**, **Tor̐iy**, **Toṛey**, **Toṛi**: Gondi; DED 3283.

**Dara 3:** C435; S; hole in the ground, cavern = **Tār**, **Travvu**: respectively, Gondi, Telugu; DED 3122.

**Doḷa 1:** C369; S; hill stream = **Dora**, **Ḍōḍa**, **Toḍi**, **Tōḍu**, **Tōḍa**, **Tōṭu**: respectively, Gondi, Gondi, Kodagu, Kannada/Tulu, Koraga, Malayalam.

**Dora:** C465; S; door, gate, entrance = **Dūru**,



Table VII

## Indo-Aryan in Eezham Tamil Placenames

*[Terms identified as Indo-Aryan and found mostly in their Taṛcama form in Eezham Tamil placenames are listed here]*

### Primary terms:

**Ālai 3:** C004; T; stable, shed; CDIAL 12414.

**Āṇai 3:** C137; ET; place, suffix usage, see Tāṇai; CDIAL 13753.

**Attuḷu:** C286; ET; probably meaning inside or interior place; CDIAL 356.

**Āvaṇam 1:** C257; T; market, bazaar, street; CDIAL 1191.

**Āvi:** C015; T; pond, tank; CDIAL 11529.

**Āyam:** C472; T; income, revenue, tax; TI, CDIAL 1283.

**Cālai 2:** C457; T; hall, shed; CDIAL 12414.

**Caṅkamam:** C085; T; river mouth or confluence of rivers; Samgama; MW; CDIAL 12847.

**Caṇṇati:** M; T; also, Caṇṇiti, Canniti: temple; TI; from Sam-nidhi (MW).

**Canti:** C442; T; the crossroads, junction of three or more roads; CDIAL 12913.

**Cāṭṭi 3:** C110; ET; meadow, pastureland; CDIAL 12387.

**Cāvaṭi:** C472; T; inn, choultry, public building in a village, police station, customs station; CDIAL 4629.

**Cīmā:** C113; ET; limits, a landholding of defined boundaries; CDIAL 13435, 13436, DED 2544.

**Cīmai 2:** C113; T; boundary; CDIAL 13435, 13436, DED 2544.

**Cuṅkam:** C472; T; duty on goods, customs, toll; TI; CDIAL 12543.

**Irākkā:** C346; ET; guard post, security post, check post, also a guard, keeper; TI; CDIAL 10545, 10546, 10547, 10551.

**Kam 1:** C003; ET; village; CDIAL 4368.

**Kāmam:** C003; ET; village; CDIAL 4368.

**Kaṅkai:** C349; T; river Ganges, river in general, temple pond or tank; CDIAL 3942.

**Kirāmam:** C003; T; village; CDIAL 4368.

**Maṅkai:** C092; T; shortened form of Maṅkalam; TI; CDIAL 9706.

## Table XVI Flora

**Aba:** C334; S; mustard, *Brassica juncea*; DED 921.

**Accu 3:** C037; T; a shrub or small tree, *Grewia populifolia*, *Grewia tenax*.

**Adun:** C036; S; a tree, *Terminalia arjuna*, "Kumbuk-gasa".

**Agiri:** C383; S; Aguru: trees, such as Eṭēriya, Insalu, Muruṅga etc.

**Ahu:** C196; S; a tree, *Morinda citrifolia* and *Morinda tinctoria*, name from its fruit; CDIAL 1025.

**Akara 2:** C485; S; sprout, small plants, young shoots of leaves; CDIAL 109.

**Akatti:** C041; T; a leguminous tree, *Sesbania grandiflora*; see Katuru; DED 5.

**Akuru 3:** C485; S; young shoots of leaves; CDIAL 109.

**Āl:** C056; T; banyan tree, *Ficus benghalensis*, *Ficus indica*; name from its hanging roots; DED 382, 2912.

**Ala:** C334; S; also, Ala-kola: yam; CDIAL 1388.

**Ālai 6:** C004; ET; banyan tree, Batticaloa usage; see Āl.

**Alampai:** C018; ET; Alampal, Kiññā-alampal: a shrub used in hedges; name from its use in hedges; DED 237.

**Alinci:** C195; S; a tree, *Alangium lamarckii*; Ruk-aṅguṇa; see Aļiñcil; DED 280.

**Aļiñcil:** C195; T; a thorny tree of bright red fruits, *Alangium lamarckii*; DED 280.

**Allai 1:** C060; ET; a kind of yam obtained from a coastal creeper, *Dioscorea pentaphylla*; CDIAL 1388; DED 5316.

**Alli:** C005; T; a kind of water lily, *Nymphaea lotus*; DED 256.

**Aļu 2:** C427; S; a plant prefix, probably, Aļugas: *Alpinia alughas*, *Alpinia allughas*.

**Aļubō:** C153; S; a tree, *Eugenia sylvestris*.

**Amari:** C402; ET; = Avuri, indigo, *Indigofera tinctoria*; DED 269, 361, 264, 391.

**Amba 1:** C373; S; mango; CDIAL 1268.

**Āmpal:** C018; T; a water lily, *Nymphaea lotus*; DED 362.

**Amu:** C021; S; a millet, *Paspalum scrobiculatum*; CDIAL 12667.

Table XXIV

## Social and Professional Identities

**Ācāri:** C469; S/ T; blacksmith; CDIAL 1072.

**Accaṇ:** C168; T; father, lord; DED 50.

**Āci 1:** C176; T; title of village guards; TI.

**Aḍappan:** C139; S; Muslim chief; DED 79.

**Adikāri:** C160; S; a chief official, chief minister, or judge of the superior court in the Kandian times; a high-ranking native official in the colonial times; CDIAL 249 + 2779; CDIAL 249 + 3058.

**Ainuṛruvar:** C082; T; a medieval merchant guild; DED 2826.

**Akampatiyār:** C018; T; palace guards, a category of soldiers, palace service caste, agricultural community in later times; MTL, Sorata, DED 7+72.

**Aliyār:** C049; ET; a Muslim name.

**Amarakōn:** C261; S; family name; from the title of a warlord, military chief.

**Amicci:** C120; T; forced labour, unpaid labour; TI; DED 159, 161.

**Ampaṭṭaṇ:** C084; T; barber; MTL; in old usages, physician, surgeon; TI.

**Añcaṇam:** C138; T; probably, Añcuvaṇṇam, a Muslim merchant guild; TI.

**Andanan:** C228; S; Brahmin; DED 148; see Antaṇaṇ.

**Āṇḍi:** C020; S; a non-Brahmin Saiva mendicant; DED 356; see Āṇṭi.

**Aṅgurukāra:** C261; S; charcoal maker; CDIAL 125.

**Āṇṭāṇ:** C120; T; lord, master; DED 5157.

**Antaṇaṇ:** C223; T; Brahmin; DED 148.

**Āṇṭi:** C020; T; a non-Brahmin Saiva mendicant; DED 356.

**Appu:** C061; S; head servant, respectful term for a servant of a high family, a boy of a high household; DED 156a.

**Appullannā:** C409; S; washerman, launderer; DED 157.

**Aracar:** C077; T; king; DED 201.

**Āracci:** C228; S; a petty village official, officer of the rank of sergeant in the native militia of the colonial times; TI; DED 377, 368, 363.

**Atapattu:** C036; S; an official, bodyguard; CDIAL 14024 + 7733.

**Aṭappaṇ 1:** C139; T; an honorific appellation among fishermen, headman of a boat of pearl divers, tax-collector of coastal folk; DED 79.

# Observations

## 01. Southern South Asia Region

Significant affinities have been noticed in the toponyms of the Southern South Asia region, i.e., Peninsular India, the island of Lanka/ Ilankai and the Maldivian archipelago.

In the present study, the Maldivian toponymic usages also have been brought in for comparison and discussion wherever relevant. Examples: Pārai/ Paraya/ Paru/ Faru (rock, reef; C214), Puṭṭi/ Piṭṭi/ Piṭi/ Puṭi/ Fuṭṭā/ Huṭṭā/ Fushi/ Fuśi (sandbank, islet; C037), Vil/ Villu/ Vila/ Vilu/ Vili (pond, deep part of a lagoon; C010), Kal/ Gal/ Gali/ Gā (stone, rock; C046).

The toponymic terms of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands are not covered for comparison in this study, but they may perhaps have relevance to the prehistoric substratum that is discussed in Observations 09.

## 02. Toponymic Usage

As in the case of usages peculiar to inscriptions, toponymic terms also often have special shades of meanings which are seldom or not at all found explained in literature, lexicons and in standard dictionaries. Deduction through a collective study of a multitude of usage examples only is helpful in fixing the exact shade of meaning in such cases.

Eezham Tamil examples: Tōlai (grove; C074), Mōṭṭai (natural pond; C057), Karaicci (coastal saline land; C106); grammar of endings such as Nāṭṭi (a place where something was planted; C197), Kutti (a place where some animal was killed;



Yet there could be several mistakes needing correction and the note of 'probability' is very liberally used in many instances in this study.

## **05. The Archaeology of Toponymy**

In a way, place names are like fossils in Archaeology.

Embedded with the traces of the language, culture, society, knowledge systems, politics and inner aspirations of the peoples of their times, the toponym fossils survive to this day even though the memories associated with them might have been buried, and the meanings and significances of them are lost to the peoples of today.

Like stratigraphy in Geology, or like the layers of fossils, settlements and artifacts in Archaeology, the toponyms and toponymic terms also have their own layers of origins, sequences, overlaps etc.

Comparable to handling evidence in Archaeology, toponyms could be collected, classified, decoded, dated and analysed historically and structurally to bring out a wealth of information and perception about the world in general and life in particular.

Apart from the potentiality of applying Archaeological and Epigraphical methodology in Toponymy, the latter's findings could always be corroborated with the former.

This is the Archaeology of Toponymy.

(example: Paḷu-kāmam, C003). This means the adaptation or replacement process was very old.

In Observations 07, an attempt is made with the help of toponyms to identify the various layers that played roles in the language replacement and overlap processes.

### 07. Possible Linguistic Layers:

[The layers and examples may chronologically overlap]

- I. Prehistoric/ Vedda/ Austro-Asiatic/ Munda. Toponymic examples: Lañkā/ Ilañkai (C144); Initial H as in Heḷa (C142).
- II. Proto Dravidian/ Proto Sinhala or Eḷu 1/ Proto Eezham Tamil. Toponymic examples: Vil/ Vila (C010), Cēṇai/ Hēna 1 (C021), Kumpuru (C221), Puṭṭi/ Piṭṭi/ Piṭi (C037, C163).
- III. Early Dravidian/ Early Sinhala or Eḷu 2/ Early Eezham Tamil. Toponymic examples: Paṭṭiṇam/ Paṭuna, Toṭa/ Tōṭṭai (C166), Paḷli (C058), Kal/ Gala (C024, C046).
- IV. Prakritized Indo-Aryan/ Sinhala Prakrit or Eḷu 3/ Dravidian Prakrit or Eezham Tamil Prakrit. Toponymic examples: Gama/ Kāmam (C003, C036), Āvi (C015), Vata/ Vattai (C084).
- V. Pali-ized Indo-Aryan/ Pali-Sinhala or Eḷu 4/ Pali-Eezham Tamil. Toponymic examples: Leṇa (C400), Vihāra, Araka (C346), Ārāma/ Aramba/ Aṁba 2 (C487, C373).
- VI. Heḷa Bhāṣā/ Eḷu Sinhala or Eḷu 5. Toponymic examples: Terms seen in Sīgiri graffiti and early Sinhala inscriptions; Maḍu 1 (C140), Kuḷi/ Kulī (C007).

- VII. Later Sinhala/ Later Eezham Tamil. Toponymic examples: Muttetṭu (C313), Paṛṛu/ Pattu (C401), Kōraḷa/ Kōraḷai (C209).
- VIII. Sanskritic Indo-Aryan/ Sanskrit-influenced Sinhala/ Sanskrit-influenced Eezham Tamil. Toponymic examples: Śrī (C081), Kirāmam (C003), Nagaraya replacing Nuvara/ Naruva/ Noruva in Sinhala (C071).
- IX. Pre-colonial, Extra-South Asian. Toponymic examples: Cōṇakar/ Yōnaka (C229), Tuvakku (C184), Miṇārai (C056), Cāvakar (C039), Cammāṇ/ Hambān (C008).
- X. South Asian, Late Pre-colonial and Colonial. Toponymic examples: Kōri (C056), Rēvu/ Rēgu (C472), Kaccēri (C497).
- XI. Colonial 1. Colonial > South Asia; Toponymic examples: Aluppānti (C472), Rēṇḍa (C472), Akkara 2 (C344).
- XII. Colonial 2. South Asia > Colonial; Baṅgalā/ Vaṅkalā (C061); Gravets (C429), Pettah (C366).
- XIII. Recent 1. Religious identities, political personalities; Toponymic examples: see C230.
- XIV. Recent 2. Re-introduction of terms for prestige; Toponymic examples: Pura/ Puram (C230); Nakar/ Nagaraya (C071).
- XV. Recent 3. Sinhalicisation (Puḷiyaṅ-kuḷam > Puliyaṅ-kulama, C065) and Tamilisation (Baṇḍāra-vela > Paṇṭāra-vaḷai, C100) in recent times.