NAHALI

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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CONTENTS

Berger = Hermann Berger, Deutung einiger alter Stammesnamen der Bhil aus der vorarischen Mythologie des Epos und der Purāṇa, *WZKSOA*. III (1959), 34–82.

Bha. = Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya, Field-notes on Nahali, *Ind. Ling.* 17 (1957), 245–258.

DED. = T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford 1961.

DhKu. = Kurku dialect of Dharni (Nimar district), communicated by Prof. Norman H. Zide.

IIJ. = *Indo-Iranian Journal*, The Hague.

LSI. = *Linguistic Survey of India*, compiled and edited by G. A. Grierson, vol. IV (1906), unless otherwise indicated.

NHZ. = Communicated by Prof. Norman H. Zide.

OrN. = *Orientalia Neerlandica*, Leiden 1948.

Pi. = H. J. Pinnow, *Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre der Kharia-Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1959.

PMW. = F. B. J. Kuiper, *Proto-Munda Words*, Verh. d. Kon. Ned. Ak. v. Wet., Afd. Letterk., N.R. LI, No. 3, Amsterdam 1948.

Sha. = Robert Shafer, *Nahālī*, A Linguistic Study in Paleoethnography, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 5, 1940, 346–371.

The Munda languages are indicated by the following sigla:

Bh. = Birhor.
Bhj. = Bhumij.
Bo. = Bondo (= Remo).
Gu (B.) = Gutob of Bastar State.
Ju. = Juang.
Kh. = Kharia.
Ku. = Kurku.
Kw. = Korwa.
Mu. = Mundari.
Nah. = Nahali.
Pa. = Parengi.
Sa. = Santali.
So. = Sora.

I. INTRODUCTION

Up to quite recent times no exact data as to the habitat of the Nahals were known. Most authorities confine themselves to the statement that the Nahals dwell in the Nimar District of Madhya Pradesh and in the Gawilgarh Hills of the Ellichpur District [1]). More exact data deriving from Bhattacharya and (independently) from a local patel of that region I owe to the following communication by Prof. Norman H. Zide: "The Nihals who still speak (some) Nihali are mostly to be found around the village of Temi (or Tembi) in Nimar District. Temi is (going from Amravati to Nimar) just a few miles across the Nimar line, and not much off the main road which goes from Achalpur (Ellichpur) to Burhanpur". Temi can be found on the Ordnance Survey Map 55C (Khandwā). It is situated about 25 miles east of Burhanpur, north-west of the Gawilgarh Hills, and just south of the Tapti River (approximately 21° 23′ N., 76° 37′ E). According to Bhattacharya the estimate of the number of Nahali speakers in the Census Report of 1951 was too high [NHZ.].

In 1861, as an indirect result of the Mutiny and the subsequent reorganization of the administration, the Central Provinces were instituted as a new area under British rule. Up to that time the country inhabited by the Nahals had been totally unexplored. In the first part of January, 1862, James Forsyth, a young captain of the Bengal Staff Corps, started from Jabbalpur for a first exploration of this region, and it is (apart from a brief reference in the Report of the Ethnological Committee, to be cited below) to him that we owe the first exact data on the Nahals. In the *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of British Nimar, District of the Central Provinces, effected by Captain J. Forsyth* (1868–1869), which was published in 1870 at Nagpur, we read in para. 59 (p. 31): "The worst of these plunderers seem to have been the *Nahals*. "Nahals, Bheel, Kolee" is the phrase used generally in old documents for hill plunderers, who are also all included in the term

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[1]) The home of the Nahals as indicated on map 1 of Koppers' work *Die Bhil in Zentralindien* (Vienna 1948), viz. to the east of Chikalda, differs slightly from that on map 5, where their habitat is indicated north and north-east of that town. The Gawilgarh Hills are between Chikalda and Ellichpur, and it is in the area of Chikalda that Koppers found some *Kurku*-speaking Nahals. On Pinnow's map in his *Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre der Kharia-Sprache* they are located north-west of the Kurku area instead of at the south-west border, which would seem more exact. Cf. Bhattacharya, p. 249: "to the West and South-west of the Korku tract".

"Mowassee". The Raja of Jeetgurh and Mohkote has a long account in his genealogy of a treacherous massacre by his ancestor, in the time of Akber, of a whole tribe of the Nahals, in reward for which he got Jeetgurh in Jageer. Indeed they seem to have been inveterate caterans, whom nothing but extermination could put down. They do not now exist as a tribe, but only in scattered families, who are mostly in the position of hereditary watchmen". And in para. 414 (p. 249f.): "The Nahals do not now exist in Nimar as a separate tribe, and are chiefly village servants. They have already been mentioned as at one time forming a dangerous class of hill robbers, and having been subjected to a sort of war of extermination in consequence (para. 59). Little is therefore to be now learnt of their origin. They have no separate language, but talk that of the Korkoos in the wilder parts of the district. They do not eat nor intermarry with any other tribe, being held inferior both to Bheels and Korkoos. I have been unable to learn any peculiarity in their religious observances or habits". Cf. p. 250, footnote 1: "They may be the remains of the race mentioned as *Nalas* in the Mahabharut, whose locality is ascertained to have been near the Vindhya and Riksha (Satpura) mountains (*vide* Professor H. Wilson's translation Vishnu Purana, vol. II, page 171)".

As to the massacre which put an end to the existence of the tribe some particulars are found in Forsyth's interesting book on *The Highlands of Central India, Notes on their Forests and Wild Tribes, Natural History and Sports*, which he must also have written in comparatively early life [2]). They occur in the following passage (2nd ed. London 1872, new ed. 1889, p. 13): "A little tributary of the Táptí river that comes down from the hills of Gávilgarh is still called the "stream of blood", from the massacre in its valley of a whole tribe of Nahals, man, woman, and child, by a body of Arabs in the service of Sindiá". The existence of the Nahals as a separate tribe must accordingly have come to an end shortly after 1800 A.D., during the period of anarchy in the Maratha country (the so-called "time of trouble") which was terminated in 1818. See also the *Imperial Gazetteer*, New ed., vol. XIX, p. 108f.

With regard to the sporadic references to the Nahals in later works there remains some doubt as to how far they are based on renewed investigations, and how far they simply reproduce the data supplied by Forsyth. Thus W. H. P. Driver in an article

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[2]) Forsyth died in London in 1871, aged 33, before the second edition of his book was entirely through the press. A "new edition" of it was published in 1889. As late as 1908 his Settlement Report was "specially mentioned for its excellence" in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, New ed., vol. XIX, p. 116.

entitled *"The Korkus"* (JASBeng. 61, 1892, p. 129f.) writes as follows: "There is also a small tribe of alien origin named 'Nehals', who work as cowherds for the Korkus, and have successfully grafted themselves on them, adopting their language, customs, and beliefs. These Nehals are the remnants of a once numerous tribe that inhabited the Gawalgarh hills, but were broken up and nearly exterminated by Sindia's soldiers. The Korkus, though otherwise mixing freely with the Nehals, will neither marry nor eat with them. These remarks of course only refer to the Korkus of Berar". Nor are they any longer mentioned in other Indian sources accessible to me after the first decade of this century, when there was a firm belief that they were fast dying out. The last reference to the people of the Nahals that is known to me dates from 1908, when the *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. XII, p. 13f. in an account of the Ellichpur District, wrote: "Ethnologically the Korkūs and the Nihāls (1.800) are the most interesting tribes of the District. The Gāwīlgarh hills are the home of both. The former are a tribe of hill and forest men speaking a Mundā dialect; and the latter are a rapidly disappearing tribe, who seem to have held, in comparatively recent times, the position of helots among the Korkūs, though it may be doubted whether they were always subordinate to them". In the recent survey *Hamārī ādim jātiyā̃* by Bhagwandas Kela and Akhil Vinay (Ilahabad 1950) the name of the Nahals does not occur.

THE NAHALI LANGUAGE

The name "Nahals" occurs for the first time in the *The Report of the Ethnological Committee on papers laid before them and upon examination of specimens of aboriginal tribes brought to the Jubbulpore Exhibition of 1866/67* (Nagpore 1868). On p. 9 A. C. Lyall discusses "three denominations which probably belong to subordinate Gond tribes, but about which more information is required", one of which is "Nahil mentioned in the Nimar and Raepore report". Their language is reported to be "Nimaree" (vol. I, p. 115). Next comes captain Forsyth's Report of 1870, where it is stated that "They have no separate language, but talk that of the Korkoos in the wilder parts of the district". Equally definite was Driver in 1892, who reported that the Nahals had adopted the "language, customs and beliefs" of the Korkus (see above for the exact quotation). It is true, in 1880 Campbell had expressed the opinion that the Nahals are "the most savage of the Bhils" (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, XII Khandesh*, p. 91), but this was hardly

meant to have any implications as to the language spoken by the Nahals. For a possible ethnological relation between Nahals and Bhils see Koppers, *Die Bhil in Zentralindien* 11f.; confer also Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India* 12: "The probability, then, is that Nahālī is the remains of the Bhilla language, the speakers of which G. S. Ghurye placed racially in his pre-Dravida type that he considered once to have occupied much of India".

In 1906 the fourth volume of the Linguistic Survey of India brought a sudden change in this situation. It contained (p. 185f.) the first specimens to be published of a curious "mixed form of speech" stated to be spoken by the Nahals of Nimar. This Konow described as being probably "a Munda language of the same kind as Kurku, with an admixture of Dravidian, and finally an Aryan superstructure" (LSI. 185). As to the number of speakers no information was available, as the Nahals had been included under the head of Kūrkū in the local estimates and in the last Census reports. As regards the statement of the Settlement Report of 1870 that the Nahals speak the Korku language, Konow held it probable that this was still the case with many Nahals.

Since the version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son and the Standard Phrases of the Linguistic Survey were, up to 1957, the sole data known about this rather curious language, there was some reason to question their reliability, the more so as the *Imperial Gazetteer* of 1908 showed a marked reserve in its account of the Nahali language. Vol. VII, p. 379 (Berar) contained the information: "Nihālī is a moribund language of uncertain affinities, returned as the mother-tongue of 91 Nihāls, who, however, probably speak Korkū, defining it as Nihālī", and vol. XII, p. 13 stated that "the small and rapidly disappearing tribe of Nihāls formerly spoke a language of their own which is believed, though on insufficient authority, to have exhibited Dravidian affinities. They now speak Korkū, and the Nihali language is probably completely lost". It may be added that Konow, too, expressed a somewhat similar opinion. Cf. LSI. 9: "One dialect, the so-called Nahālī, still preserves traces of a manifold influence. It appears to have originally been a Muṇḍā form of speech, but has come under the influence of Dravidian languages. The result is a mixed dialect which has, in its turn, come under the spell of Aryan tongues, and which will probably ere long become an Aryan language". See also *Anthropos* 3 (1908), 72. The words in which Grierson has summarized Konow's conclusions have often been quoted. "There are many instances", he wrote in the chapter on "General Results" (*Ling. Surv.* I/1 [1927], 28f.), "of tribes which have in historic times abandoned one language to another. A striking example is

afforded by the tribe of Nahāls in the Central Provinces. These people appear to have originally spoken a Muṇḍā language akin to Kūrkū. It came under Dravidian influence and has become a mixed form of speech, half Muṇḍā and half Dravidian. This, in its turn, has fallen under the spell of Aryan tongues, and it is now in a fair way to becoming an Aryan language. If we were to judge by language, a hundred years ago we should have called the tribe Muṇḍā. Ten years ago it was quite possible to claim it as Dravidian, and fifty years hence it would probably be described as an Aryan caste", and again (p. 29): "The Nahāls are probably Muṇḍā by race, but their present speech is almost Dravidian. Their decadent language is a twofold palimpsest. It first began to be superseded by Dravidian, and now it is being superseded by Aryan". The few words which the Amraoti District Gazetteer devotes to the problem fairly agree with those quoted. It remarks that "The Nihals, the drudges of the Korkus, also speak their language. Originally, the Nihals had a distinct language of their own, which is now very rapidly disappearing. Nothing is known as to its affinities, and the few who still speak it do so with such a large admixture of Korku and Marathi words that it has become difficult to obtain any definite knowledge (about it)" [3].

However, in spite of all pessimistic prophesies, Nahali is still spoken. Letters from Indian scholars living in the neighbourhood of the Nahal area state the existence of a separate Nahali dialect, although no exact data could be obtained. In 1939 Wilhelm Koppers had the opportunity to study the Nahals more closely, and although the men with which he came into contact spoke no distinct dialect, his report is interesting enough to reproduce it here (*Internat. Archiv für Ethnographie*, vol. 41, Leiden 1942, p. 149): "Die Monate Januar und Februar 1939 verbrachte ich im Bereiche der Korkus (und Nahals).... Ohne es vorher gewusst zu haben, stiess ich im Chikalda-Gebiet auf Nahal-Gruppen, die dort mit den Korkus in einer Art Symbiose leben. Ihre gewöhnlich etwas kleineren Häuser findet man meistens in der Nähe der einzelnen Korku-Dörfer stehen. Natürlich sprechen die dortigen Nahals die Sprache ihrer "Herren", also das Korku. Selbstredend richtete sich mein Interesse sehr rasch auch auf diese Nahals. Und da formte sich bald die Überzeugung, dass Nahals und Korkus von Haus aus keine näheren Beziehungen zueinander aufzuweisen haben, und dass allem Anschein gemäss die Nahals als die loco ältere Bevölkerung zu betrachten sind. Während die Korkus sich gleich als typische Bodenbauer

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[3] Quoted by T. Burrow, "Sanskrit and the Pre-Aryan Tribes and Languages", *Bulletin of the Ramakrisna Mission Institute of Culture for Febr. 1958* (Transaction No. 19), p. 8.

zu erkennen geben [4]), darf in den Nahals eher ein ursprüngliches Jägervolk gesehen werden. So schienen mir denn auch eher alte Beziehungen zwischen Nahals und Bhils als zwischen Bhils und Korkus gegeben zu sein. Im Zuge dieser Überlegungen entwickelte sich mehr und mehr der Gedanke, dass da nicht-mundaische (und wohl auch nicht-dravidische) Bevölkerungselemente vorliegen könnten". Koppers then mentions Shafer's study (to be mentioned below), which controverts a genetic connexion of Nahali with Munda und Dravidian, and ends with the words: "Mit dem endgültigen Urteil hält er aber noch zurück. Ich habe mein Mögliches getan, damit von dem auch heute noch stellenweise gesprochenen Nahali weitere und bessere Texte gesammelt werden". As far as I know, these texts have not yet been published [5]). About the same time at which Koppers' report appeared, the American scholar Robert Shafer published his new analysis of the linguistic materials of Nahali contained in the Linguistic Survey (*Harv. Journ. As. Stud.* vol. 5, 1941, pp. 346–371). Shafer drew attention to possible etymological correspondences between a number of isolated words of Nahali and words of the same meaning occurring in Himalayan and non-Indian languages [6]), which led him to question the correctness of Konow's theory about the historical development of the language. The general trend of his article was accordingly in full harmony with Kopper's conclusion that, from a cultural point of view, Bhils and Nahals represent remnants of a pre-Dravidian and pre-Munda population of India [7]). In his later work *Ethnography of Ancient India* (Wiesbaden 1954, pp. 10–12) Shafer quotes Nahali along with the Himalayan dialect Kusunda and with Burushaski as representatives of three separate linguistic families beside the three main groups of languages, viz. Aryan, Dravidian, and Munda. Nahali he now takes to be the remains

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[4]) In 1862 Forsyth (who was at that time about 24 years old) seems to have imported the first plough into the Kurku area (see *The Highlands of Central India*, 2nd ed., p. 121, new ed. p. 128f.). Up to that time the sole implement used by the Kurkus had been the axe (p. 96, resp. p. 101). In the beginning of this century the Kurkus of Nimar were stated to be "somewhat more civilised and industrious than their fellow tribesmen of the central Sātpurās. They occupy chiefly the fertile lands in the otherwise depopulated Tāpti valley, are fairly supplied with ploughing and breeding cattle, and raise wheat, gram, and rice by regular tillage. Their villages are built of close bamboo wattle-work, with almost "Swiss-like neatness" (*Imperial Gazetteer*, New Edition, vol. XIX, 1908, 111).

[5]) In a letter dated 25th March, 1950, Professor Wilhelm Koppers referred to Kurku and Nahali materials which he had collected in collaboration with the missionary Father P. Fuchs.

[6]) *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, vol. 41, pp. 141–152; *Die Bhil in Zentralindien* (Vienna, 1948), pp. 11, 24.

[7]) I had arrived at a similar conclusion in 1943. See the note in *Acta Orientalia* 20 (1948), p. 241 n. 1 (written before I knew of Shafer's study).

of the "Bhilla language". This conclusion has since been accepted by several scholars.

Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya has published a more extensive word-list of Nahali in *Ind. Ling.* 17, 1957, pp. 245–258, to show the isolated character of Nahali. Apart from all further conclusions that may be drawn from his materials, they are of the utmost importance in that they confirm that the language is still spoken in some parts of the area (which are not specified in Bhattacharya's article), while at the same time they testify to the relative reliability of the materials that had been published in the Linguistic Survey more than a half-century earlier. Burrow, in his recent article cited above, also takes Nahali as a linguistic piece of evidence for the survival of remainders of pre-Dravidian and pre-Munda cultures in India.

REMNANTS OF PREHISTORIC LANGUAGES?

It is not the object of this paper to contest the fundamental correctness of theories that reckon with the possibility of a "proto-Indic" substratum which may also have left its traces in Dravidian and Munda. However, while fully acknowledging the importance of word-studies such as made by Shafer, it may not be out of place to warn against the danger of unwarranted conclusions. The circumstance that the Nahali names of the parts of the body have no correspondences in Dravidian and Munda is certainly suggestive of the existence of a foreign component in the Nahali language, but does not in itself allow far-reaching conclusions concerning the language as a whole. In the Dardic language Khowar the words γec "eye", ap'ak "mouth", *krem* "back", čamoṭh "finger", iskī „heel" and askār "lungs" and several other names of parts of the body are also of unknown origin [8]), but the Aryan character of Khowar is unquestioned. Groups of foreign lexical elements are also found in many other languages. The possible existence of a number of foreign words in some North-Dravidian and Munda languages, including Kurku and Kolami, was pointed out in IIJ. II, p. 240f. So the real point at issue is not, whether there are many foreign words of unknown origin in Nahali, but whether their occurrence justifies our setting Nahali apart as an isolated language. A second point, which is too readily being lost sight of, is the social position of the Nahals. In 1870 Forsyth, after describing how the

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[8]) Morgenstierne, *Norsk Tidskrift f. Sprogvidenskap* 14 (1947), 6, and in the introduction to Lorimer's *The Burushaski Language*, vol. I, XXI.

aboriginal races had been compelled to retire to the mountains before the Hindu invaders concluded this picture with the following words: "A few remained in the country occupied by the Hindús, chiefly in the position of agricultural serfs, of watchers of the villages against the inroads of their wilder brethren or of wild beast, of hewers of wood, prevented only by the rules of caste from being also their drawers of water. A social status was assigned them below that of all but the outcasts of the other castes, and they were compelled to segregate themselves in humble hovels, beyond the limits of the comfortable houses and homesteads of the superior castes". Now, too little is known about the exact status of the Nahals among the Kurkus to allow fully certain conclusions but the general data supplied by Forsyth in the *Settlement Report*, pp. 249f., and by Driver suggest that their status was not essentially different from that of helots generally. Some confirmation may be found in the words in which Bhatta-charya describes their status (p. 246): "I have seen that the Korku consider the Nahāl to be an inferior section of their tribe. In a Korku folk-tale recorded by us the Nahāl have been characterised as an inferior type of people addicted to vices and cow-killing... The Nahāl now-a-days live mostly in a region that lies contiguous to the West and South-west of the Korku tract. Apart from their connection with the Korku, they also appear to have some relation with the Bhil, for the reason that they are also counted as an inferior section of the Bhil of Khandesh (R. E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I, 1920, p. 174). The Nahāl tract lies in-between those of the Bhil and the Korku. It will be an interesting study to find out the exact relationship of the Nahāl with their two great neighbours. From a study of the Nahāli speech we can only find out the Korku and Kolarian traits in it. But in the absence of any precise knowledge about the original language of the Bhil, it will not be possible at the present stage to ascertain the Bhil element in Nahāli". See also Kopper's account, quoted above (p. 9).

Hence the question arises whether the Nahals may perhaps have had recourse to the same weapon that despised social groups have used all over India, viz. the secret language. The general linguistic problems connected with "argots", and with Indian argots in particular, have been discussed by Grierson in *LSI*. IX, 7ff. Some of such argots have been briefly described by Rev. T. Grahame Bailey. Thus the Qalandar, a nomadic tribe in the Panjab, speak normal Panjabi, but "to disguise their meaning from outsiders they (1) employ secret words, (2) make changes in Panjabi words. These disguises are in daily use and are familiar

to the smallest children" [9]). One of the commonest procedures in changing the words is the introduction of the syllabe -*ip*-, e.g. *khicipnā* for Panj. *khiccṇā* "to pull". Another specimen of such an argot is that of the Mucis of South-East Burdwan (West-Bengal), to which Sukumar Sen has devoted a study in *Ind. Ling.* 16 (1955), pp. 16–20. According to his account "The Mucis form the lowliest and most untouchable caste among the Hindus in West Bengal although as ceremonial drummers they have a definite place in all important religious ceremonies and ritualistic festivals. Being a totally excluded caste they could retain or develop a dialect of their own, which did not differ from the local dialect in grammar but mainly in vocabulary. By using their "code" words they could successfully hide or disguise their activities and behaviours which have been almost entirely different from that of the other people of the land". Sen distinguishes 1) archaic words lost in the standard dialects; 2) descriptive or onomatopoetic words; 3) words of unknown origin and uncertain source. Instances of the second category are, e.g. *cĕckā* "child" (prop. the crying one), *gambuj* "head" (lit. dome), *dhakdhake* "lantern" (lit. burning brightly), and such onomatopoetic words as *phõpāsu* "snake", *memāru* "goat" (but *bhogol* "dog" = Sãsi *bhūkal*!). Among the words of the third category there are some which might be explained as mutilated Santali words, e.g. *ābaṅg* "cold, winter" (cf. Sa. *rabaṅ*, id.), *sulum* "salt" (cf. Sa. Ho etc. *buluṅ*). The word *jhupcero* "rain-cover made of palm-leaves" seems to be connected with Hindi *jhuprī*, *jhoprī* "a hut", Sa. *jhupri*, *jhupṛi* "a shelter made of branches", *chupi*, etc. (see Turner, Nep. Dict. s.v. *jhupro*), although its mode of formation is not clear: insertion of a syllabe -*ce*-? Cf. the insertion of -*t*- in *jorṭā* "two" for Beng. *jorā* "couple" and see the Nahali vocabulary, Nr. 123 *corṭo* "blood". If Sen is right in deriving *chol* "speech, talk" from Beng. *chol* [chɔl] "deceit, trick", the verb *ḍolā* "to speak" may possibly be connected with Sant. *ḍol* "to swindle, cheat". It is interesting to note that in this category we find a great many names of parts of the body, such as "tooth", "hand", "membrum virile", "pubic hair", "pudendum muliebre", "hair on the body", "woman's breasts", "mouth", "belly" (*toblāi*, cf. Santali *laĉ*, Mundari *lai'* [lai'j]?), and words for "urine" and "excreta". The existence of similar argots has also been noted in the field of Munda. Among the Mahilis, speakers of the Santali dialect Mahle, a kind of slang or secret language is stated to be used in which peculiar words and expressions are substituted for common ones [10]). The question may be raised if some of the

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[9]) *Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas*, 267.
[10]) *Bihar District Gazetteer. Santal Parganas*, 2nd ed. (Patna 1938), 82.

Khowar words quoted above may perhaps be due to an analogous procedure of metonymy and mutilation. But apart from this, there remains the fact that often the substitutes of the "secret" language have been taken from some foreign source. Grierson has drawn attention to the fact that in the argots of the Gipsy languages "there is a common base in many of these forms of speech" (*LSI*. XI, 9), that is, the words have been taken from one definite source which is common to all these languages. Thus Khowar *čamoth* "finger" may possibly be connected with the word-group of Nep. *cimoṭnu, cimāṭnu* "to nip, pinch", *cimṭi* "a pinch, as much as can be held between finger and thumb". Similarly the word *yec* "eye" might be connected with Burushaski *yai(c)-, y'i-, ye-ic-* "to appear, seem, be visible", which can hardly be separated from So. *gij-* "to appear", *g'e-* "to look, seem, appear", *da-g'e-* "to peer", Pa. *gi-to see* [11]). In such lexical correspondences between the southern Munda languages and Burushaski we have possibly to do with a very antique linguistic stratum of India.

In the case of Nahali, it is true, there are no certain indications of an analogous origin of the names of parts of the body, etc., which categories are also in Nahali etymologically unexplained. Still it may be useful not to forget that some of the obscure Nahali words may also belong to an argot, and need not necessarily date back to a linguistic pre-history of India. See e.g. Vocabulary, Nr. 475 *ṭevre* "lip". Also *jiki* "eye" may perhaps be a descriptive term (like the Muci word for "head", which properly means "dome"), as it may be connected with such Munda expressions as Sa. *jhiki miki, jiki miki* "splendid, resplendent, shining, radiant; to glare, glitter" (Mundari: "shining with gold, silver or tinsel"). The possible connexion of Nah. *jiki* with Ainu *shiki* (if this must be considered an alternative explanation) is not in itself more plausible, although it can be supported by the possible parallel case of Nah. *āpo* "fire". Nah. *kuguso* "hair" may be a loan-word in *-o*, but the possibility of its being a prefixed form of Mu. (etc.) *gucu* "beard" cannot be rejected a priori.

During the last war, in 1943, the study of Kurku induced me also to analyse the Nahali materials of the Linguistic Survey. The results appeared to differ considerably from Konow's. While the latter, trusting too much perhaps (see p. 8) Forsyth's statement of 1870, regarded it as a dialect of Kurku, which only recently had come under the spell of Dravidian and Aryan (although many Nahals *still* [!] continued to speak Kurku, *LSI*. 185), I was particularly struck by some correspondences with Himalayan languages

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[11]) A different explanation has been suggested by Morgenstierne, *Belvalkar Felicitation Volume*, 2nd section, p. 91.

which, though not numerous, called for some explanation. Since however the scanty materials gathered in the Linguistic Survey did not seem to afford a sufficiently reliable basis for more general conclusions regarding the position of Nahali amidst the languages of India, and since all attempts made after the war to obtain better and more extensive materials on this language remained fruitless, a publication of the provisional results did not seem justified, the less so as Shafer had already most competently pointed out some similarities in the Himalayan languages. It must be admitted that, in spite of Bhattacharya's important lexical contributions, the opportunity for a more profound study is not yet much better at this moment. Still a provisional stock-taking of the data now known may be of some use as a means of determining approximately the position of Nahali among the languages of India.

II. REMARKS ON NAHALI PHONOLOGY

1. *Vowel-length.* As Bha. 246 remarks, "the vowel length is of lesser importance in this speech... A tendency to diphthongise or split up a long vowel can be noticed in Nahāli." This involves that in the case of *e* and *o* there is a clear contrast between long and short vowels. The diphthongization is, indeed, restricted to these vowels; *kiānṭi* "for" by the side of *kānṭi* is no phonological phenomenon (see Vocabulary, Nr. 299 *kiānṭi*). It is found both in initial and in medial position, e.g. *ĭēpṭa* "honey", *ĭērken* "will go" (Bha. *ĭēnken* must be a printer's error), *jŭō* "I", *kŭō-* "to bring". The same tendency towards rising diphthongs is met with in Kurku, e.g. *ē, yē* "seven", *eta, yeta* "more, further", *eto, yeto* "this much, so many", *walen = olen* "went", *wate = ote* "earth, ground", *woṭkhen* (Akola) = *od-ken* "rubbed", *waṭ = od* "to take out", *kwolla = kolla* "scourge, whip", *kwoca = koca* "crooked". It must be observed, however, that this tendency towards rising diphthongs seems to be stronger in Kurku dialects outside Nimar. According to a communication of Prof. Zide, it is, in word-initial position, less pronounced in the Ku. dialect of Dharni (Nimar District): "The only (*y*)*e*- diphthongisation found there was (*y*)*eĭ* 'seven', but **yetoq* was not found along with *etoq*. The only *wa*- (from *wo*-, from *o*-) forms found in DhKu. were in the imperative of the verb 'to give (someone other than the speaker)' *o*-: the only forms found are for third person, and these are *o-ej*, *waa-kiñ*, and *waa-ku*". As for the diphthongization in Nahali, the first component is rather inexactly rendered in the LSI., where *joo* is written for [*jŭō*], *coon* for [*cŭōn*], *ko oē* for [*kŭōy*]. Thus *jo ṭēēkēn* "we will eat" denotes [*ṭĭēken*], and *ṭē-ē* "ate" must be analysed as [*ṭĭē(-y)*].

2. A remarkable feature of the Nahali materials is the interchange between *e* and *a* on the one hand, and between *e* and *i* on the other. Probably two different kinds of *e* are involved but exact data are lacking. According to Bha. 246 "the *a* is a low, fronted sharp vowel which occurs as equivalent to Sk. *a* in most of the non-Aryan speeches of central and southern India".

3. *Elision of Vowels.* In the dialect described by Bhattacharya vowels originally standing in the second syllable of trisyllabic words are sometimes weakened or elided. Cf. *cacŭko* beside *cacak-*, *palcu* (: *pālĭcho* LSI.), but also *kimto-* (LSI.): Ku. *kimato*. Hence *imni-* "to be" (Bha.) may perhaps stand for **ibni* (= *ibini*, LSI.), see

p. 32. Similarly the plural form *kaliṭ-ṭa* "Nahals" may indicate that the singular *kalṭo* stands for **kaliṭ-o*. Does *edŭgo* "fly" represent **eḍag-* or **erag-* (see below sub 8)? A final vowel is optionally dropped in *-n(e)*, suffix of the accusative-genitive, *n(e)* ,,as for (?)", *hoṭ(e)* "not", etc., where *-e* interchanges with *-a*. Cf. also *kamay* (Bha.): *kamāyā* (LSI.), *māṇḍī* (LSI.) for **manḍiy(i)*, etc.

4. *"Checked consonants"*. It is not quite clear how the glottalized final stops of Munda are represented in Nahali. According to Bha. 246 they are less frequent in this language than in Kurku. In the latter language N. H. Zide found the stops *-b*, *-d*, *-j*, and the glottal stop. For Nahali we find the following notations:

-*b*: *aṅgub*, but *cokob'*.
-*d*: only retroflex *-ḍ*, *-ṭ* in *achuḍ-*, *carkaḍ*, *jūḍ*, *ṭugiṭ-i*, perhaps also *paṭ-*. But see Vocabulary, Nr. 62 *bī*, Nr. 79 *bōy*, Nr. 258 *jilṅguij'*.
-*j*: *kaplïj'*, *jilṅguij'*, *murkiṭij'*, but *aṅgluij-* (= Ku. *aṅglu* + *ïj*!); after *o* perhaps *bōy*, if this stands for **boj*. After *e*: *theṇḍey* (: Ku. *tendej*), probably *eṭey*, perhaps also *māney*.
glottal stop: *ṭo-* past tense *ṭokkī* [= **ṭo'i*?] but LSI. *araye*, p.t. [= **ara'i*]. In *aḍek-* there is a final stop. Cf. Vocab., Nrs. 472, 478, 485 [and Addenda!].

5. *Final palatal nasal?* Since there is sometimes a palatal glide before *j* (see below, sub 11), *parayn* may perhaps stand for **paraṅ*, just as *kakheyṅ* must represent **kakheṅ* if the etymology suggested in Vocabulary, Nr. 275 is correct. See further Nr. 343 *lãy*, Nr. 436 *pẽy*, and cf. Pi. 45.

6. *Guttural nasal in intervocalic position.* Many Munda languages change intervocalic *-ṅ-* to *-ṅg-*. In Nahali there is apparently free variation, cf. *iṅi* "us": *iṅgi-n* "our". [In the Dharni dialect of Kurku "the velar nasal is usually *-ṅg-* in medial position; it may be in free variation with *-ṅ-* in the speech of some speakers" NHZ.].

7. *r for ṛ.* In Nahali *r* corresponds to the *ṛ* of Sa.Mu. See Vocabulary, Nr. 206 *haru-* "to bite". In the Kurku dialect described by Drake *ṛ* mostly occurs in loan-words and represents Mar. *ḷ*. In these words Nahali has simply *r*. It thus differs from Kurku as spoken in Nimar. ["Both /r/ and /ṛ/ are found in DhKu. – the latter being the only retroflex phoneme in the dialect. The /ṛ/ is found in non-loan forms, e.g. *niṛ* 'to flee', *oṛ* 'to pull, drag'. There are a few cases of alternation of /r/ and /ṛ/ – i.e. of free variation – in certain forms in the speech of my main informant, but no stems that had /ṛ/ in one allomorph and /r/ in another" NHZ.].

8. *Interchange* r : ḍ. Before a vowel r seems to be pronounced as [ḍ] in the dialect described in the LSI. Perhaps r is in this position a one-tap [r], which may give the impression of a voiced dental or alveolar stop (as in Ceylonese Tamil). Cf. *jēḍē-gā* "is" from *jere-*; *cāḍākkē* "for grazing" beside *carāwkēdini* "is grazing" (Hi. *carānā*); *chokḍā* "bread" (= *chokra, sokṛa* Bha., Mar. *cokhaḷā*); *bhāwḍi* "back" (= *bhavri* Bha.); *khāwḍē* "shoe" (= **khavre*). An analogous case in Bha.'s materials is *eḍe* "go!" beside *er-ka* "(I) am going" (see Vocabulary, Nr. 172 *eḍ-*).

9. *c, ch for s.* In Kurku [tš] and [ts] occur as free variants for [s], cf. *ćita, tsita, sita* "dog", *ćingel, singel* "fire", *ćiṅ, tsiṅ, chiṅ, siṅ* "tree", etc. ["In dialects spoken in the Dharni area — but not those I worked on — [š] occurs as an allophone of /s/ before front vowels /i, e/, e.g. [šendara] for DhKu. [sendara] 'to go, walk'. I have not heard but only know through the literature forms with [ch] and [ts]" NHZ.]. In Nahali *ch* for sibilants occurs initially and medially, e.g. *cheṅga, chiḍu, chikār, chimn-, chocho, chokra, chūi, chunḍuku, mochor, vorcho,* etc.

10. *y > j.* In the dialect represented by the specimen in the LSI. *y* must sometimes have become [j], e.g. *ghalja* from **ghalya* (see Vocabulary, Nr. 193). It is mostly, though not consistently, found in the past tense in *-ya*, e.g. *awalijā, khijijā, manojē,* contrasting with *aṭāyā, golāyā, kamāyā* in the same text. (As for *naṅgāyjān* see the next section, and cf. Vocabulary, Nr. 489). [This is a common feature of Nahali and the Kurku dialect of Dharni. As N. H. Zide observes, word-initial /y/ has become [j] in DhKu., e.g. *jam* "to weep" (: Hoshangabad Ku. *yam*), DhKu *jē* "who" (: Hosh.Ku. *yē*), etc. There are morphemes with alternants having initial [y] and those with initial [j] when following *b, d.*]

11. *Glide before palatal consonants.* The past tense *naṅgāyjān* "became destitute" in LSI. 188 must be analysed as *naṅga-yan.* Apparently a palatal glide is pronounced between *a* and *j*. In the same way *ugaijā* is probably to be taken as **uga-ya* (see Vocabulary, Nr. 489). LSI. has further *leiñjo* for *lēnjo-* (Bha.). Although this glide has not as a rule been noted by Bhattacharya, we may thus explain *ī kāmo bek kamay jere* "this work will not be done" (Bha. 249) as standing for *bek kama jere,* just as *oyja-kama-* "to carry on head" represents Ku. *ojha.* See above, sub 3.

12. *Nah. h and its origin.* In the LSI. initial vowels appear to interchange with initial *h* plus that vowel. In a few cases there may be a real interchange of etymologically different words (see

i-: *hi-*), but a tendency to aspirate initial vowels is also reflected by *heṅgen* : *eṅgen* "me" (Bha. 257, 248). For the origin of Nah. *h* attention may be drawn to *hundar* "to prepare (food)". In view of Gu. *kuṇḍār* "to cook" we should expect **kundar* in Kurku, but the Ku. word is *hundar, hunar* (OrN. 383). A similar case is Ku. *hob* "ashes" [thus also NHZ.]: So. *kúmāb-*, compositional form *kub-*. These exceptions to the general rule (cf. e.g. Konow, LSI. 169, etc., Pi. 198ff.) must be due to borrowing from a language of the Kherwari type. Since it is not certain that Nahali belongs to the languages which have preserved Proto-Munda *q as a guttural stop (*kaṭhla* "armpit" is probably a Ku. loan-word, see Vocab., Nr. 291), *hundar* may perhaps be the Nahali representative of *qundar (?). More likely it is a borrowing from Korwa, since the Korwas "have a legend giving Mahādeo or Pachmarhī hills as their original home" (cf. Imperial Gazetteer XV, 403, Driver, JASBeng. 61, 1892, 128). For *kohaṭ-* = *koṭṭ-* see Nr. 67, for *-āh-* > *-au-* see Nr. 329.

13. In a few Dravidian loan-words sonants seem to be represented by surds. See the Vocabulary, Nr. 361 *mantaminar*, Nr. 379 *moṭho* and cf. also Nr. 385 *nālku*.

REMARK

Owing to the deficiency of the data available it is impossible to give even a rough sketch of the phonemic system. Besides the preceding incidental remarks it may be observed that in the Nahali vowel system there is a tendency (not found in the same degree in Kurku) to eliminate the diphthongs. Cf. *bhavri* (Ku. *bhauri*) "back", and similarly *kāvra, khavre, māv, mavsi, hovṭa,* etc. But the diphthong is written not only in loan-words, e.g. *mauj-, naukar,* but also in *meur* (if this is a monosyllable).

III. REMARKS ON THE MORPHOLOGY

A. Case forms of Substantives

From the materials in the LSI. it was impossible to get an adequate idea of the case-suffixes, but the main outlines have now become clear from Bha.'s brief account (p. 248). The Nahali system is fully independent of that of Kurku, as is apparent from the following synopsis:

	Nahali	Kurku
Nominative	—	—
Accusative	-*n(a)*	} -*ken* (-*ke*, -*kan*, etc.)
Dative	-*ke* (-*ki*, -*ge*)	
Instrumental	-*ki* (-*ke*)	} -*te*, -*ten* (-*aten*)
Ablative	-*kon*	
Genitive	-*n(a)* (= Acc.)	-*a* (-*ka* = Hi. *kā*)
Locative	-*ki* (-*ke*) (= Instr.)	-(*e*)*n*

These lists of morphemes are not meant as a synopsis of "case-endings" in the sense of the Sanskrit grammar, but they allow us to illustrate how some of the fundamental relations are expressed in both languages. In Kherwari no "case"-suffixes did originally occur for the accusative and the dative, which grammatical relations were expressed in the verbal forms. Konow (LSL. 85) notes that in Mundari "the Aryan suffix *kē* begins to be used for the dative and accusative outside the Ranchi District". As for Kurku, "the cases of the direct and indirect object are often left unmarked. Usually, however, the postposition *ken* is added .... There can be little doubt that the use of this postposition is due to Aryan influence" (LSI. 170). The Kurku genitive in -*a*(') is properly an attributive adjective. The Nahali morphemes and their use in the text in LSI. 188 call for some comment.

1. *Case of the agent?* In the text the subject case form is as a rule followed by -*n* or -*nē*. Konow (p. 185) concludes that this is apparently "the case of the agent" and he accordingly analyses, e.g., *ētarē ābā-nē ... kīwu pāddī* as "his father-by ... pity was-felt". As is apparent from his words "The use of the case of the agent, and the suffixes by means of which it is formed, are distinctly Aryan", he identified the suffix with Hi. -*ne*. However, it need hardly be observed that Nahali has no "passive" verbal forms. We find indeed side by side *bāchura-n ābā-kē kāynū* "the younger-

by father-to it-was-said" and *ābā apnā naukar-huṅgo kāinī* "father his servants-to said", *ētarēn kāinī* and *ētarē kāinī* "he said", *ābā-nē māṇḍi* and *lānā ... māṇḍi* "the father (resp. the son) said". Shafer (p. 370) considered it "a tenable position" but preferred to analyse *ābā-nē māṇḍi* as" (the) father's saying", which is contradicted by the evidence to be discussed below.

There is a theoretical possibility that the subject is characterized by a special morpheme. In Lhota Naga the form of the subject, when combined with an active transitive verb, is characterized by *-nā*, which also serves to express the function of the ablative (see W. E. Witter, *Outline Grammar of the Lhōtā Nāgā Language*, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 19 and 21, and see Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *IF.* 52 [1934], 11). However, such a grammatical feature is practically unknown in India (except for Parji *-i*) and, besides, the use of *-n* in the text is optional. If we take *-n(e)* as a particle with the meaning "as for" this accounts both for the optional use and for several other cases in which it seems to occur. These cases are classed below in a separate category B.

A. *bācura-n ābā-kē kāynū* "the younger son said to his father".

> *hoytarēn hoytarē hiṅgē dhan-māl aṭāyā* "he divided amongst them his wealth".

> *hoytarēn āndphand-kī din hērē* "he spent (his) days in riotousness".

> *hoytarēn sab uḍātiṅkā-mā* "he squandered all".

> *ētarēn nānikā nānkā bēṭābē* "no one gave him anything" (lit. him-to anyone anything not gave). Perhaps *ētarē* with dative function (without *-ke*, as above in the second quotation) plus *-n*. In Bha.'s dialect this would have been [*eṭeyke (ne) nāni kā nān kā hoṭ be*].

> *popo-cēn ghanē chokdān jērē-kā* "for (?) the belly there is much food". N.B. Food is no agent! The morpheme (?) *-cēn* is not clear. We should expect [*popo-ke ne ghane chokra ne jereka*].

> *ētarē ābā-nē arāyē-ku kiwu pāddī* "his father felt pity from having seen (him)".

> *ētarēn ētarē bhāṅgyāmijār-kū bidarī-nā mirā-kī ulāchī* "he summoned (lit. called-near) one of his servants".

> *ētarēn ēṅgā ābā-nē kāinī* "he said to his father". *Maṇḍi* is construed with an accusative, but *kain-* with a dative. We should expect *aba-ke*, but perhaps this is again a dative without suffix. If so, it stands for [*eṭey (ne) eṭen abake (ne) kainiy*] in Bha.'s dialect.

nē hiyēṅgī rāṇḍi-muṇḍinā paisā ṭē-ē, probably "and he, – harlots ate (his) money". Cf. Korwa: *am beṭā dēkhā kasbin-kū am jīnā jom-cāb-eḍ-ā* "thy son, see! harlots ate thy living".

ābā-nē māṇḍi "father said".

B.   *itān jogomṭa ṭēgadā ētlān chēṅgā-kē ēṅgē pōpō āgankā ṭākogāṭā*, probably "then the swine were eating, with those husks he wished his belly like fire" [*ita ne coggomṭa ṭēka ḍā, eṭla ne chengaki eṭen popo agan kā ṭakoka (thā?)*]. See Vocabulary, 243 *itan*.

jo nē māṇḍi hōtānēkā, perhaps "what you said, that was indeed" [*ho thā ne kā??*].

ētarēn bāsi awārkē "in that small house".

ēṅgēn koṭṭī-n "they beat (p.t.) me" (LSI. 270).

[*khuḍī-nē* "on the feet" see below, p. 24.]

If this explanation is correct, *-n(e)* "as for" has a similar function as Sa. *ge*, *do* (Bodding, Santali Grammar for Beginners 97f., Materials for a Santali Grammar II, 302, Heuman, Grammatisk Studie öfver Santal-Språket 70f.), Mu. *ge*, *do* (Nottrott, Grammatik der Kolh-Sprache 63, Encycl. Mundarica 1073f., 1410). Still, the very frequent use made of it in the text of LSI. (cf. also *kimton* in: *ētarēn kimton aḍāi rupyā jēḍēgā* "the price of that is two rupees and a half", the sole instance in the sentences on p. 274), and the fact that Bhattacharya has not noticed this use in the particular form of Nahali studied by him may raise some doubt. On the other hand, *-n* cannot be merely euphonic because of *-nē*. The origin of *-n(e)* is obscure. If *raṇḍi-muṇḍi na* has rightly been classed in this category, the original form is *na*.

2. *Accusative.* The accusative is often, though not consistently, characterized by a suffix *-na*, *-n*. The instances to be found in the materials of the LSI. (e.g. *dhanmāl-na golāya* "collected (his) property", *bidarī-nā mirākī ulāchi* "(he) called one near him, summoned one", *ētarē-n manojē* "(he) reconciled him", *ētarē-n khūb koṭṭo-bē* "beat him well", etc.) correspond with Bha. 248, who gives *-n*, *-na* as the ending (indeed, *backaren biji āpaeṅ-kama* "do not make the child weep", l.c., must be analysed *backa-re-n*). The analysis of the accusative forms is hampered by the existence of a particle *-nē*, *-n* (if our interpretation is correct), and by the circumstance that the (corrupt?) text-specimens of the LSI. have four instances of suffixed *-n(ē)* in dative and ablative functions.

Cf. *ētarēn ēṅgā ābā-nē kāinī* "he said to his father", *ētarē-n nānikā nāṅkā bēṭā-bē* "to him anyone anything not-gave", *hī rupyā ētarē-n dē-kē* "give this rupee to him", and *hoitī rupyā ētarē-n unnī-bē* "take those rupees from him". Either these forms are simply mistakes, or they represent dat. (abl.) forms without suffix but with the emphatic particle (as I have analysed them in the text, pp. 54, 56), or they are due to a confusion between accusative and dative, as is found in Gondi. Here the accusative suffix *-un* has become the usual characteristic of both cases (LSI. 480), and in the Gondi dialect of Bastar we find e.g. *varu-nu* "to him" (with the accusative suffix) by the side of *goḍḍuku* "to the cattle" (LSI. 529). The LSI. further notes the same confusion in Kurukh (p. 413) and its dialects (Sambhalpur *eṅgā-n ciā* "give me", p. 427, Raigarh State, p. 434), and in Kolami (p. 563). Cf. also Bhattacharya, *Ollari* 21. The fact that in Kurku both cases are characterized by the same suffix *-ken* (or *-ke*, as in Mundari) may also have contributed to this confusion, if confusion there is. If this last explanation is accepted, *ābā-nē* is formally also an accusative, and the accusative suffix would accordingly be *-na*, (> *-ne*), *-n*. Characterization of the accusative form by a special suffix is also met with in other Munda languages (Ku. *-ken*, Kh. *-te*), but *-n*-suffixes are mostly found in Dravidian, e.g. Kolami *-(u)n* (Emeneau 61), Gondi *-nu*, *-un* (LSI. 480), Parji *-n*, *-in*, Kurukh *-(i)n* (Grignard 19), also *-an* (Hahn 12, LSI. 413), and in dialects *-nu* (LSI. 413, 432), *-nā* (Raigarh State, LSI. 434), cf. Telugu *-nu*, *-ni*. These rather vague correspondences (except for Kurukh *-nā*!) do not allow any conclusion regarding the origin of Nahali *-na*, although the Nahali "declension" generally points to foreign models.

3. *Dative.* The commonest form of the suffix is according to Bha. 249 *-ke*, which also occurs some six times in the materials of the LSI. ; *-ki*, though also given by Bha. and occurring once or twice in the LSI. is obviously a rarer variant of it. In the text of the LSI. it is sometimes omitted (*hoytarēn hoytarē hiṅgē dhan-māl aṭāyā* "he divided unto them his living"). Both this form and those in *-n*, *-nē* may be mistakes; the latter may also be due to a confusion of accusative and dative forms (see above). Ambiguous forms are, e.g. *bācē-gītā ... bhāgā dēc-kī yēdī* "the younger son went to a far country", which may be a dative (cf. Nah. *ḍoṅgor-ke erka* "going to the hills", Bha. 249, Ku. *am Khāmlāken śene* "go thou to Khāmlā!" Drake, 166) or a locative, as in *bhitar-kē* "inside", *bāharē-kē* "outside". If there should have been a confusion between accusative and dative forms in the dialect of the LSI. (cf. LSI. 185), an accusative may possibly have been meant in *itarē-kē*

awalkā awalijā "(he) found him good", but more likely it is a locative, just as in *awalkā kuprā ... ētarē-kē pēhēnā-tiṅkā* "a good robe ... put on him".

Neither the LSI, nor Bha. mention other suffixes for the dative. It remains uncertain, therefore, if any weight should attached to *naukarhuṅgo kāini* (no doubt = *naukaron* + *-ko*) "said to the servants", since *pērijo-kū* "of, to a daughter", *pērāṭoṅ-ko* "to, from daughters (!)" beside regular dative forms in *-kē* (LSI. 258) must be mere errors.

The resemblance to the corresponding Dravidian suffix is striking, cf. Gondi *-k*, Kui *-ki*, Kurukh *-gē* (Hahn 12, Grignard 19), also *-kē* (LSI. 412, where influence of Bhojpuri *-kē* is suggested), Telugu *-ki*, *-ku*. Note Ku. *-ke* beside *-ken*, *-khen*, *-kan*, etc.

4. *Instrumental-Locative.* The formal identity of the respective suffixes may be due to a secondary convergence. In Kharia there is one suffix *-te* for the accusative, dative and locative; but locative and instrumental seldom fuse, although Sa. *-then* is the suffix of dative, instrumental and locative. When a form denotes a motion towards a point, the form may also be analysed as a dative, see above. Cf. the use of *-ki* in *mirā-ki* "near", *bāharē-kē* "outside", *chāmā-ki* "before" (: Ku. *mera-n*, *bahara-n*, *samma-n*). After words denoting persons *-ṭhā-kē* is used instead (see Vocabulary 466 *-ṭā-*, and cf. Hoffmann, Mundari Grammar, 52f., and 34f.). The suffix is *-ki* or *-ke* (as in the dative), but in this case Bha. seems to consider *-ki* the primary form. It is then difficult to find any correspondence in Dravidian, for here we find either *-ki* beside *-ku*, *-ko* (Gondi: Koi dialect *kālkiṅ-ki* "on the feet" LSI. 550 : *kalkun-ku*, p. 544; Burgandi, a Tamil dialect spoken in Nimar, *-kē* = *-kō*), or *-kē* as a variant of *-ka* (Parji *kēlul-kē* "on the feet", LSI. 557, against Burrow-Bhattacharya, The Parji Language 30, who give only *-ka* from *-kan*, Tam. *-kaṇ*; cf. in Golari, a Kannada dialect, *-kā*).

In the dialect described in the LSI. there is again an instance of a locative in *-nē* beside one in *-kē*, cf. *ētarēn bāko-kē mūndi do khuḍi-nē khāwḍē uribē* "put on his hand a ring and on his feet shoes". Although in the texts of the LSI. "on (the feet)" is sometimes expressed in a different way from "on (the hand)" (cf. Gondi, LSI. 490, 538, Parji, p. 557) the use of the Gondi suffix (e.g. Go. *kāl-k-nē* "on the feet") seems here of doubtful correctness. Or must it be explained like the forms discussed above, p. 22? In any case, *-na* in *rāṇḍi-muṇḍi-nā paisā ṭēē* is no sufficient ground for the assumption of a locative suffix *-na*, since it hardly means "(he) ate (spent) his money at (= with) the harlots". In the instrumental function we find again, beside *chēṅgā-kē* "with husks" (LSI. 188)

and *dorā-kī* "with ropes" (p. 274), also *ētar*[*n*]*ēn palichorēn khūb lakadīnī koṭṭī* "I have beaten his son with many stripes" (p. 274). In *biyāw ten bāi-rēn chaṅgo jērē* [= *biyawten baire-n chaṅgo jer-i* "by marriage he has become associated to (his) sister"] the original text has been misunderstood (as appears from the omission of *ētarēn*) and a purely Kurku form [*biyāūten*] has been used instead of **biyawki*. Cf. LSI. 258 *bidī pērijo-ṭēn* "from a daughter"!

5. *Ablative.* In Nahali there is a distinct form in *-kon* for this function, while in Kurku the so-called ablative also functions as an instrumental (which Drake omits to note). The LSI. has *-kon*, *-kun*, *-ku* as optional variants, e.g. *kui-kon* "from the well", *hoytarē-ṭā-kun bācuran* "the younger of [lit. from] them", *sabī-kun awal kā* "the best" (cf. Ku. *saboten awal*, Hi. *sab se acchā*), *bhāṅgya-mijār-kū bidarīnā* "one from amongst the servants", *bidī ābā-kū* "from a father" (LSI. 254, cf. 258), etc. Cf. Sa. *bir khon* "from a forest". To Sa. *khon/khoć* (cf. *ṭhen/ṭheć, sen/seć*) correspond the same suffixes in Dhangor, a Koda dialect (LSI. 253), but all remaining Kherwari dialects have *-(e)te*, *-ate*, like Ku.Kh.Ju.So. Cf. *-kun* in Burgandi, a Mundaized Tamil dialect spoken in Nimar (LSI. 343).

6. *Genitive.* In marked contrast with Kherwari, Kurku, Kharia, etc., where the genitive form is in reality an attributive adjective, the Nahali genitive is not formally characterized as an adjective. Just as Hi. *ādmī kā* is used before masculine nouns, *ādmī kī* before feminine ones, etc., so Sa. has *hoṛ-(re)ak' kićrić* "a man's cloth" (inanimate) but *hoṛ-ren koṛa* "a man's boy". The attributive form in *-ak'* is derived from *hoṛ* or its locative *hoṛre*, just as *boge-ak'* "what is good" is derived from *boge* "good". In Kurku *koro-a(')* is used in both cases, hence *koro-a lija* and *koro-a poira*. In Nahali, on the other hand, the suffix of the genitive is identical in form with that of the accusative (as is partly also the case in Parji, see Burrow–Bhattacharya, The Parji Language 19), viz. *-na*, *-n* (Bha. 248). The mere attributive position, however, is sufficient to express this case-relation (as in Kurku and Dravidian), e.g. *addo kajar* "top of the tree" (Bha. 248), *ētarē ābā* "his father", *nēṅgā ābā āwār-kē* "in your father's house", *iṅ kākā pālicho* "the son of my uncle" (see p. 29!). Cf. e.g. Ku. *koro kon* "the Son of man". The suffix *-na* is probably of Dravidian origin, cf. Kolami *-n(ē)*, Gondi *-na*, Burgandi (Tamil dialect spoken in Nimar) *-nē* (LSI. 343), Naiki *-nē*, Parji *-(i)n*, Golari *-n*, Brahui *-nā*.

The Hindi genitive suffix is found in *dhol-kā cālaṅ* "sound of drums"; but in *ēṅgē pōpō āgan-kā ṭāko-gāṭā* "he wished to fill his

belly" the suffix -*kā* is more likely to be explained in a different way, despite the fact that Ku. *taku* takes a genitive (Drake, Grammar, 111). In *nē hiṅgan-bārē mēṇḍhā-n pālīcho nānkatar-hōt-bē* "thou never gavest me a kid" *pālīcho* is an apposition after the accusative, cf. Ku. *mia śiri kon, miyã seri pilla* "one goat, a young".

7. Apart from these suffixes mention may be made of -*gon* "with", which also occurs in Kurku (beside *gelen, saṅgon*). In one or two passages the LSI. seems to write -*ku* for -*gon*. This suffix too is likely to be of Dravidian origin (see Vocabulary 190 *gon*).

8. Fully obscure is *cen* in *popo-cen* "for the belly (?)".

Conclusions. The case suffixes diverge widely from those used in Kurku. Only the dative suffix -*ke* resembles that of Kurku, while the ablative suffix has a correspondence in Sa., Dhangor -*khon* (not found, it seems, in the other Kherwari dialects). All the other suffixes resemble those of the North-Dravidian languages, although a close connexion cannot be made probable in all cases. Note especially the non-Munda character of the genitive. Since Nahali is clearly not a Dravidian language, the correspondences in the system of case suffixes must be due to borrowing. We cannot know, accordingly, how the case relations were expressed in older stages of the language. Some curious irregularities found on p. 258 of the LSI. would therefore deserve our full interest, if we could be sure that these data are correct. Unfortunately, this wordlist (pp. 242, 246, 250 (etc.)–270) seems worse and less reliable than the sentences on p. 274 and the translation of the parable (pp. 188–189). What strikes us on p. 258 is an alteration of the word bases. Cf.

Sing.	Nom.	*māncho* "man"	*pērijo* "daughter"
	Gen.	*māncho*	*pērijo-kū*(!)
	Dat.	*māncho-kē*	*pērijo-kū*
Plur.	Nom.	*mānchā*	*pērijā-ṭā*
	Gen.	*mānchā-ēṭēn*	*pērānān*
	Dat.	*mānchā-thil-kē*	*pērāṭoṅ-ko*
	Abl.	*mānchā-thil-kū*	*pērāṭoṅ-ko*

The contrast of sing. -*o* : plural -*a* might at least seem noteworthy but for Bha.'s statement that the plural of *mancho* is *manṭa*, and the dual *manch-ihlṭel*. Parallel to *kalṭo* "a Nahāl", plur. *kaliṭ-ṭa*, we may suppose beside *pirju* "daughter" a plural form **piriṭṭa* (or something like that). The data of the LSI. must therefore be considered worthless (cf. also LSI. *ābā-ṭā* "fathers", gen. *ābāe-ṭā*, dat. *ābā-ītal-kē*!).

Plural. The plural suffix is -*ṭa*, but in the texts the non-suffixed word base is mostly used, e.g. *ir lānā* "two sons", *lānā āṭāibinī* "how many sons are there?", *ghanē din* "many days", *cēṅgā-kē* "with husks", *khuḍī-nē* "on the feet", *himwat warso* "so many years", *dēśo-bhāi* "with my friends", *ḍorā-kī* "with ropes".

The word base is sometimes altered before -*ṭa*, but the exact nature of this alteration cannot be determined. Bha. 247 gives: *kōl* "woman" : *kōl-ṭa, māv* "horse" : *māv-ṭa,* but *kalṭo* "a Nahāl" : *kaliṭ-ṭa, mancho* "man" : *man-ṭa*. Probably *kalṭo* is due to vowel elision (from **kaliṭ-o*, cf. *cacŭk-o* beside *cacak-*) so that the dropping of the final -*o* before -*ṭa* accounts for *kaliṭ-ṭa, *manch-ṭa > manṭa*. The plural of *palco* "son" (LSI. *pālicho, pāliśo*) may then be supposed to be **palic-ṭa* (> **paliṭṭa*?), but *lānā* is used instead.

There may be some connexion with Gondi -*ṭ* in *immāṭ* "you" (: *immā* "thou"), *mammāṭ* "we" (= *mammā* + *ṭ,* cf. Old Kannada *ām*, Telugu *ēmu, mēmu*, LSI. 481), *tammunī-ṭ* "O brothers!". Since this suffix seems to be isolated in Dravidian, the possibility of a further connexion with Newari -*ta* Pahri dialect -*tõ*, -*te* (see below, p. 47) may be considered. In that case -*ṭa* could be a remnant of a "Proto-Indic" grammatical system (see p. 45). A Dravidian plural ending occurs in *māntā-minār*, see Vocabulary, Nr. 361.

Dual. The proper dual suffix occurring in *iṭ-ṭel* "they two" is also found in substantives, but a commoner form of the suffix is apparently -*ihl-ṭel* or -*hil-ṭel* (Bha. 247). If -*ṭel* is derived from *ṭa* owing to a secondary differentiation, the question arises if the original dual suffix may have been -*ihl* (**-i'l*?), and if **ṭa+ihl > -ṭel* has secondarily been added to forms already sufficiently characterized by -*ihl*. However, no certain analysis is possible. Final -*o* of the singular is again dropped, cf. *kōl* : *kōl-hilṭel, māv* : *māv-ihlṭel*, but *kalṭo* : *kalṭ-ihlṭel, mancho* : *manch-ihlṭel*.

B. PRONOUNS

1. Pronouns of the first and second persons

First person.

	Bha.	LSI.
Nom.	*jō, jŭō*	*jō, joo* (p. 188).
Acc.	*eṅge-n, heṅgen* (Bha. 257)	(*jo-nē*??), *hiṅgan, ēṅgēn*
Dat.	*eṅg-ke*	(*hiṅgan bāri*)
Instr.	—	—
Abl.	*eṅge-kon*	*hiṅgē-thā-kū*
Gen.	*eṅge (eṅga)*	(*h)iṅgē, ēṅgē, iṅ*
Loc.	—	—

Plural (and dual)

Nom.	*māney* (p. 256)	(*hiṅgan!*), *jo*
	ṭyēko (plur. and dual)	
Acc.	*iṅi, iṅginna*	
Gen.	*iṅgi-n, (eṅga)*	*hiṅgan (hiṅgē-ṭhākū)*
	ṭyēko-na (dual)	

Second Person

	Bha.	LSI.
Nom.	*nē*	*nē*
Acc.	*nēne-n*	—
Dat.	*nē-ke*	
Abl.	—	*nē-ṭhā-kū*
Gen.	*nē, nēne*	*nē, nēn, ninē, nēṅgā*

Plural

Nom.	*lā* (du. pl. *nēko, nāko*)	*nākū*
Acc.	*lāla-n*	
Gen.	*lāla*	

The genitives *iṅ, nē, nēne* and *lāla* are merely the basic forms used as attributive adjuncts. As can be seen from the acc. *nēne-n*, the word bases *nē* and *lā* are reduplicated in some oblique cases.

It has long been recognized that *nē* is the Dravidian pronoun *nī* (Burrow-Emeneau, DED., Nr. 3051). Particularly interesting, however, is the genitive form *nēṅgā* in *nēṅgā ābā āwār-kē* "in your father's house"(LSI. 274). This allows us to determine the exact Dravidian source of this pronoun, for such a genitive is found exclusively in Kurukh and Malto. Cf.

	Kurukh	Malto
Nom.	*nīn*	*nīn*
Acc.	*niṅgan*	*niṅgen*
Gen.	*niṅhai* (dial.	*niṅ(-ki)*
	niṅghē, niṅghāe)	

Cf. LSI. 432, 436, 428 and the Kurukh Grammars by Grignard (p. 36) and Hahn (p. 23). Since there are also some Dravidian words in Nahali which seem to be borrowings from Kurukh (e.g. *berko* "cat", see p. 40), we have no reason to question the correctness of the form *nēṅgā*. This allows us to explain also the oblique forms of the pronoun of the 1st person from Dravidian (rather than from Ku. *iṅ*). Cf.:

	Nahali	Kurukh	Malto
Acc.	*eṅgen*	*eṅgan*	*eṅgen*
Gen.	*eṅge*	*eṅhai* (dial. *ēṅghē,*	*eṅ(-ki)*
		eṅghāi, iṅghāe, āṅghāi)	

Grignard and Hahn write *enghai* for *eṅhai* (see LSI. 412!). In this case the situation is much more complex because of Nah. *eṅga*, which is used side by side with *eṅge* (and apparently not only in the plural, as Bha. 248 suggests, cf. *eṅga aba* "my father", p. 249). This may perhaps be an adaptation of the Kurku genitive *iṅa*, *īya* (Bha. 248; but cf. *nēṅgā!*). On the other hand, the form *iṅ* in Nah. *iṅ kākā pālicho* "the son of my uncle" (LSI. 274) is hardly the Ku. form *iṅ* "I" in attributive use. Kurku has abandoned the older Munda usage of suffixed pronouns (e.g. Sa. *kaka-ṅ* "my uncle") and uses the genitive but never, it seems, the non-characterized form *iṅ*. In contrast with Ku. *iṅa kaka* "my uncle", Kurukh has such constructions as *eṅ-kākas-gē* "my uncle's", *eṅ-baṅs-gē* "my father's", *em-bas-gusan* "near (to) my father" (Hahn 83 f., LSI. 293, 414). It seems beyond doubt, therefore, that the system of personal pronouns has been borrowed from Kurukh, although it remains a particular problem of Dravidology why the oblique forms *eṅ-*, *niṅ-* are restricted to the only Dravidian language that is spoken in the Munda area (cf. LSI. 623). *Lā* and *nāko* are not clear.

2. Demonstrative pronouns

In marked contrast with the personal pronouns the demonstrative word bases *i* (*yē*), *ini*, *hi*, *ho*, *hin*, *han*, etc. are all of Munda origin (see the Vocabulary). The general pronoun for "he" is in Bha.'s dialect *eṭey*, dual *iṭ-ṭel*, plural *eṭ-la*. Probably, therefore, *ete-y* has been derived from the attributive form *iṭi* "this" by means of the suffix *-i'j* (Sa. *-ić*, Ku. *-iĵ*, etc.). In the oblique cases the suffix is not always clearly represented, cf. acc. *ete(y)-na*, dat. *eṭey-ke*, gen. *ete-n*, *eṭey-na*. The suffix of the plural *-la* is probably Dravidian, cf. Bha. 247 and Burrow–Bhattacharya, The Parji Language, 12f. (Otherwise Berger 59: *eṭla < *ehlṭa*.)

Non-attributive pronoun forms are also derived from attributive forms by means of *-re* (see Vocabulary s.v. 1 *aba*). Bha. gives *here* "this person" (acc. *here-na*, *here-n*, p. 248). This may in the same way be connected with *hi* (*hī rupyā* "this rupee" LSI. 274, *hi avarki* "in the house" Bha. 251). A parallel formation from *iṭi* is used in the LSI. instead of *eṭey* "he", viz. *ētarē*, *itarē*, which obviously represents **ete-re* beside *ete-y*. In apparently the same meaning the text of LSI. 188f. uses also *hoytarē* "he", a derivative of the attributive form *hoiti* that is found in *hoiti dēckē* "in that country" and in the sentences on p. 274: *hoiti rupyā ētarēn unni-bē* "take those rupees from him". Since *hoy-* is unexplainable, and since Bha. has *hoṭi paraynki* "in the river" (p. 251) we can be

sure that *hoytarē* stands for **hoṭe-re*. For glides between *o* and *ṭ*
see Vocab. Nr. 67. Note *hoytarē-ṭā-kun* "from them" (LSI. 188),
rather the singular form than **howṭa-re-ṭha-kon*. As for *inē* "he"
(LSI. 189), it probably stands for **iney* (= Ku. *inij*).

All these pronominal bases are ultimately derived from *i, ho* by
means of *-ṭi* and *-ni* (cf. Sa. *ạni, hạni, huni*, etc. Khasi *u-ne*, fem.
ka-ne) but some of them are very old. Cf. Malay *ini*. The final *-i*
is dropped before dual and plural suffixes also in other Munda
languages, e.g. Mu. *ini* "that one", dual *in-kiṅ* (Hoffmann, Mundari
Grammar 26), Ku. *ini* "this", du. *in-kiṅ*, plur. *in-kū* (Drake,
Grammar 16). Hence Nah. *eṭey* "he". Du: *iṭ-ṭel*, Plur. *eṭ-la*.

Beside *ētarē(n)* we find, exclusively in the Parable (LSI. 188f.),
also *ēṅgā, ēṅgē, hiṅgē* "his", with special reference to the subject
of the sentence (whereas *ētarēn* is mostly used in the sense of Latin
eius). Cf. *ētarē ēṅgā ābā-ṭhā-kē ēr-kēdinē* "he went to his father",
ētarē-n ēṅgā ābā-nē kāinē "he said to his father", *ēṅgē pōpō āgan-kā
ṭāko-gāṭā*, lit. "he wished his belly being (like) fire(?)", *hoytarēn
hoytarē hiṅgē dhan-māl aṭāyā* "he divided among them his wealth"
(= *ibnijē dhan*). In *hiyēṅgī rāṇḍi-muṇḍīnā paisā ṭē-ē* the gram-
matical analysis is not quite certain, but *hiyēṅgī* (= *hiēṅgi, *hēṅgi*)
is either a nominative ("he") or identical with *hiṅgē*.

The origin of *eṅge* is not clear. Its use runs parallel to that of
eṅge "my", *nēṅgā* "thy", but a corresponding nominative is not
known, unless it is a secondary formation to *ī, ē* "this" (Bha.: *ī
biya-ki* "in this village", *ī kāmo* "this work", *ī mancho* "this man";
LSI.: *yē jākoṭo māu* "this male horse"), in analogy to *nēṅgā*: *nē*.
In this way *hiṅgē* might also be connected with *here*, but a non-
etymological *h* is frequently written in the pronouns (see p. 19).

3. Interrogative pronouns

Nahali *nāni* "who", *nān* "what" have a basic element *nān*, from
which the animate form has been derived by means of *-i'j* (cf.
eṭey). The dative is *nāni-ki* "to whom" (Bha.), the ablative *nāni-
ṭhā-kun* (LSI.). The LSI. gives *nēni* beside *nāni*, and in the very
inaccurate wordlist of p. 254 *nān-ko* "what". The rare represent-
atives of Dravidian *yā-* with initial nasal (Kurukh *nē* "who",
Malto *nere(h)*, Burrow–Emeneau, DED., Nr. 4228, p. 353a) cannot
account for *nān*. As for Parji *nā, nāto* "what", its Proto–Dravidian
origin is doubtful (op. c. 352b) and Nah. *nān-*: Parji *nā-* is paralleled
by Naiki *tāne* : *tā* "what", etc. (see Vocabulary, Nr. 387 *nāni*).
If a Proto-Indic origin has rightly been suggested for *tān-/tā-* (see
IIJ. II, 240), the same explanation might be considered for
nān-/nā-.

For the use of *kā* in *nāni kā* "anyone", cf. Ku. *tōnej kā* "some, certain, any", *yē kā* "anyone" (from *tōnej*, *yē* "who") and e.g. Tamil *ēt-ākilum* "any whatever". By the side of *nān kā* (LSI. 188) the LSI. has *nān katar* in *nē ... nānkatar-hōt-bē* "thou didst not give anything" [= *nē nān kā tar hoṭ be*]. Perhaps *tar* (= "even"?) can be connected with *tari* in the Bhandara dialect of Gondi, where it is added to indefinite pronouns, e.g. *bōrē* "some, anyone" : *bōrē-tari* "someone" (LSI. 510). Cf. also Gondi *cuḍḍur tēri* "even small"?

4. Relative pronouns do not exist in Nahali. For *hiyēṅgī* and *ītān*, which the LSI. translates as such, see the Vocabulary.

Conclusions. Only those forms have been discussed which seem to allow some conclusions. For *jō*, *māney* etc. see the Vocabulary. The main system of the pronouns of the first and second persons has been borrowed from Kurukh, even the construction *iṅ-kākā* "my uncle". The demonstrative pronouns are of Munda origin, but the plural suffix in *eṭ-la* may be Dravidian. For the interrogative pronoun some correspondences may be found in North Dravidian but their ultimate origin seems to be neither in Dravidian, nor in Munda.

C. THE VERBAL SYSTEM

For several reasons no attempt will here be made to compare the Nahali verbal system with those of Munda or Dravidian languages. Firstly, it would be necessary for such a comparison to have a better insight into the Kurku verbal system than can be obtained from the description in Drake's grammar. Although that first attempt to master the complexity of that system was an achievement indeed, its deficiencies become apparent when one starts reading texts. Secondly the Nahali verbal forms in the text specimens of the LSI. (pp. 188f., 274), not to mention the fanciful "conjugation" exemplified on pp. 266, 270, seem quite unreliable and cannot be harmonized with sufficient certainty with Bhattacharya's brief account. Since neither N. H. Zide's first sketch of a more adequate description of the Kurku verb, nor H. J. Pinnow's "Sprachvergleichende Studien zum Verbum in den Mundasprachen", both of which I happen to know by the courtesy of the authors, have so far been published, more definitive conclusions must be postponed till after the publication of these studies and of more extensive Nahali texts. In the following remarks, therefore, only the most general traits of the system will be touched upon.

1. *Verbal bases?* Derivation of specific intransitive bases by

means of *-en-* may be considered in the case of *apa-eṅ-kama-* "to make to weep" : *āpa-* "to weep". See Vocabulary s.v. 490 *ugāen-*. Note *agin-bi-* "to perspire", *hēdjā-* (< *ēr-yā?) "to go".

2. A suffix *-ki* (intransitive *-ke*), which reminds us of Ku. *-ki*, is exclusively used in imperatives: *keṭṭo-ki* "put our fire", *eger-ki* "remove", *ḍeleṅ-ki* "make to drink", *peṭe-ki* "make to sit", *ōla-ke* "be wet". The habitual present of the imperatives ending in *-ki* is formed by means of *kama* (which is unknown in Kurku and apparently an innovation), e.g. *keṭṭo-kama-*.

3. *Traces of personal affixes?* As a result of suffixation of the personal affix to the preceding word (e.g. Sa. *uni-e hijuk'a* "he will come") a secondary prefix has sometimes arisen in Munda. This is what Konow, LSI. 211, has suggested in explanation of Ju. *ma-haṇḍe* "thou goest". The possibility of a prefixation of *e-* might be considered with regard to *ho ēthē* "he was, they were" (cf. *ta, tha* "was"), but the correctness of this form (LSI. 266!) is extremely doubtful. For *ī kāmo bekkamay jere* (inanimate subject!) see rather p. 18 (glide before *j*). No explanation of *ibini* "are" can be attempted. In view of the tendency of Bha.'s dialect towards vowel elision (*palco* for *palicho*) *imni* "to be" is likely to stand for **ibni*. The form *ibini* would be to *bi* (LSI. *jo ibniji bī, nē kā* "whatever property *there is*, [that] is yours") what Ernga *īdā(nā)* is to *dā* "is", but in the latter form Konow assumes loss of the initial vowel. Cf. also Nah. (LSI. 266!) *hoi itankē* "they are" : *hoi tankē* "he is". Hence there are no certain traces of affixation at an earlier stage of the language.

4. The normal form of the copula is *kā*, just as in Kurku. Nahali also agrees with the latter language in using *kā* after adjectives, e.g. *awal kā kuprā* "good cloth", like Ku. *awal kā lija*, id. "Its force", says Drake, Grammar of the Kúrkú Language 12, "is generally emphatic and distinctive, but not seldom its retention or omission makes no appreciable difference in the sense". However, Nahali differs from Kurku in that it apparently also uses *kā* after substantives to form adjectives, like Tamil *-āṇa*. See Vocabulary, Nr. 328 *kharuka*.

5. Verbal bases with, and without, final *-n* occur in Nah. Ku. just as elsewhere. Probably *kā* must be connected with Sa. *kan* (see below). While Kurku has a full form *taka*, Nahali seems to use **tanka* instead (LSI. 262 *hoi tankē*). Inversely Nah. *dā* corresponds to Ku. *dān* (e.g. Nah. *hoytarē ḍhāwā-kīdā* [= *dhavaki dā*] "he was far") but Bhattacharya gives *ḍan*. See Vocabulary, s.v. 143 *ḍan*. While the formal analysis of Ku. *dān* is difficult, *tan-kē* must be connected with Sa. *tahen-kan-*. Cf. Ku. (Muwasi) *ta-khāne*.

6. The suffix of the habitual present and the present imperfect
is according to Bhattacharya *-ka*, but *-ke* also occurs in his
materials, e.g. *backar apa-ka* "the child is weeping" : *poyye aphir-ke*
"the bird is flying". The difference may be merely phonetical.
There are some indications to show that the system is more
intricate. The durative forms in *kadini, kedini* are not registered
by Bhattacharya, who apparently did not find them in his dialect.
Cf. LSI. 189 *nān kādini* "what is going on?", 274 *ḍhotta carāwkēdini*
"cattle is grazing". This is clearly different from *ara-ka ḍani* "had
seen" (Bha. 250). Bha. 250 also gives *peṭe-wa* "will sit" (instead
of **peṭe-ka*), which strongly resembles Kurku (Muwasi) *sene-wa*
"shall go" (= Ku. *sene-ba*). However, *-ba*, the normal suffix in
Kurku, is not met with; we only find *-bi* which forms a verbal
base *aginbi-* "to perspire" (: *agan* "fire"), and *-be* as an imperative
suffix. The form *mērēpā* "(thou) art near" (from *mera*) in LSI. 189
is fully obscure.

7. The suffix of the future tense is *-ken*, e.g. *ara-ken* "will see".
The LSI. however has forms with the termination *-ke*, e.g. *kāynē-kē*
"shall say". These might be identical with *aphir-ke* (= *aphir-ka*),
since the forms in *-ka* also can denote the future event (see Bha. 250).

8. The formation of the past tense is not clear. Bha. gives forms
with *-i, -yi, -ye, -ya*. We can distinguish the following categories:
A. *-ya*. This is clearly a distinct formation. The evidence
comprises only verbal bases with final vowel: *cyō-ya* "urinated",
oṭṭi-ya "pulled out", *ghaṭa-ya* "searched", *icha-ya* "pinched". Here
belong from the LSI. *atāyā* "divided", *sab dhanmālna gholāya*
"collected all his wealth", *jo ... pāp-karm kamāyā* "I did sin",
jo ... ninē cākari kamāyā "I did thy service" (against Bha. 250,
who gives *kamai, kamay*). Many of these forms are derived from
Aryan verbal bases, which may have led Konow to take them as
passive participles ("was divided", etc.), but similar forms are
met with in Kurku, e.g. *dī khendon dījken rājo ghaṭāyāten heen,
makhan ...* "then, having received the kingdom" (St. Luke
19 : 15), *Bhagwān ... rāto śingelā khambāten dīkūken ujalāyā dān*
"The Lord illuminated the night for them with a column of fire",
do Isrāeli konkūken ujalāyā do Misrkūken andarāyā "and for the
sons of Israel he made light, and for the Egyptians he made
darkness".

Here belong from the LSI.: *ugāijā* [= *uga-ya*], meaning?, and
naṅgāyjān "became destitute" [= *naṅga-yan*], cf. Ku. (Muwasi)
juḍā-yan, etc. The formation in *-yan* is not given by Bhattacharya.

B. *-i* after consonants: *beṭṭ-i* "died", *cakhav-i* "swept", *cāvg-i*
"was afraid" (from *cāvgo-*!), *aḍik-i* "was burnt". Also after *-a*:

paḍa-i "killed", *cakha-i* "ascended", *kama-i* "worked" (also *kamay*); from *kamāyā* (LSI.)?

C. *-yi*, *-ye* after vowels: *ōla-yi* „became wet", *ara-ye* "saw", *cuṭṭi-yi* "pounded", *ṭiye-ye* "descended".

The forms of the LSI. *māṇḍi* "said" and *pūri* "sent" stand for *mandi-y*, *puri-y*, similarly *ṭē-ē* "ate" [= *ṭ́ē*] for *ṭ́ē-y*. It cannot be decided, if *ōla-yi* really represents a different type of formation from *paḍa-i*, nor if *ara-ye* (thus also LSI. 188) must be set apart from *ōla-yi*. In the LSI. such forms as *ciknī* "heard", and *hundār-ē* "prepared (food)" apparently contain the same suffix *-i/-e*. On the other hand, *mano-jē* "reconciled" no doubt contains *-ya*. For *kāi-nī* "said" [= **kaini-y*] see Vocab., Nr. 270.

9. *Absolutives.* Bha. 252 notes the existence of forms consisting of verbal base + *-ḍo* which are used as absolutives (as in Kurku): *jo ṭyē-ḍo pāṭi* "having eaten I have come". The position of the pronoun in such sentences as *Pāt-kēdinī āwār-barī ādiri hoytarē ḍhol-kā do canānā cālaṅ ciknī*, lit. (according to Konow's analysis) "Coming house-to reached he drums-of and dance-of sound heard", suggests that also verbal forms without *-ḍo* can be syntactically subordinate, but a certain analysis cannot be given. Cf. also *inē pāt sagānī kā awal kā khānā hundar-kāmā* "he coming, all good food preparedst". Case suffixes are added to various bases: [*carav-ke*] "for grazing", [*araye-kon*] "from having seen".

10. *Past tense in -ka?* According to Bha. *-ka* serves only to form the habitual present and present imperfect (which can sometimes denote the future). In the LSI. there occur some few instances of what seems to be a past tense in *-ka*. Probably they must be explained in a different way. See Vocabulary, Nr. 487 *uḍātiṅ-*.

11. *Negative forms.* Just as in Kurku and Kherwari, the negation is, or can function as, a verb. In Nahali the process to which the negation refers, is expressed by the mere verbal base, whereas tense-distinctions, etc. are expressed in the verb of negation. Thus we find:

> present: *beṭe* "there is not, it is not", sometimes changed to *beṭel(a)*, *hey beṭela*, etc. (Bha. 251). Perhaps we must rather distinguish between the negation of existence (Tam. *illai*) and the negation of a process. In view of the apocope of final vowels in the case suffixes (*-nē* > *-n*) *beṭela* is probably the original form of *beṭel*. In LSI. 188 it is written (*jāgā*) *bēṭē-hēlē* "there is no (place)", but it remains uncertain whether this indicates a composition of *beṭe* with Gondi *hille* (see Vocabulary, Nr. 209). A stronger negation of the existence is expressed by *hey beṭel(a)*, with *hey* = Hi. *hai* "is". The tenses are expressed by

beṭe (present), *bek, bik-il* (future), *hoṭ* (without *-il!*), past, while the imperative is expressed by *bij(i)*. The formative elements *-ṭe, -k, -ji* do not occur elsewhere in the verbal system. LSI. has besides *be-ko* "no", apparently the future stem. LSI. 188f. has *hoṭe* (for *hoṭ*) in *ghanē din hoṭē-jīrē*, lit. "many days did not become" (cf. *nān-katar hōt bē* "didst not give anything"), but also *beṭa, beṭe* in the same function, e.g. *nāni kā nān kā beṭā bē* "anybody did not give anything", *bhītar-kē beṭē hēdjā* "did not go inside" (where *hēdjā* must be a verbal base!). It should finally be observed that transitive and causative verbal bases in *kama-*, which take the suffix *-ki* instead of *-kama* in the imperative, have a different suffix *-ka* after *biji*, e.g. *peṭe-ki* "make to sit", *biji peṭe-ka* "do not make to sit" (but LSI. 189: *pēhēnā-tiṅ-kā!*). The same suffix is known in Kurku, e.g. *japu i-ka* "deliver it quickly" (Drake, Grammar 153), *tol-kā-i(j)* "bind him". Its function in the Ku. verbal system is not clear.

Conclusions. As stated above, no attempt will be made to compare the Nahali verbal system generally with those of Dravidian or Munda languages. It may be said, however, that in marked contrast with the system of nominal case-forms the verbal system shows no traces of Dravidian influence. I may be permitted to quote here Pinnow's provisional conclusion that the verbal system of Nahali in all its general characteristics resembles that of *Proto-Munda*. This result would seem to square remarkably well with the conclusion to be drawn from a comparison of the vocabulary. See below, p. 52.

WORD GROUPS

Two instances of what seems to be the word order *determinatum-determinans* occur in LSI., viz. *ējē rāṇḍā* [*ejer aṇḍa*] "bad boy" and *pērij-āṇḍā* [*pirju aṇḍa*] "bad girl". They occur in the corrupt word-list. On the other hand *bāgyā-raṅgo* "sort of servant(s)" may be correct, although it contrasts with the Kurku construction (see Vocabulary s.v. *raṅgo*). The normal word order is found in *bhāgā dēc-kī* "to a distant country", etc. (LSI. 188) and in *ētarēn bāsi awār-kē* "in that small house", etc. (LSI. 274).

IV. THE SOURCES OF THE NAHALI VOCABULARY

When studying the origin of the Nahali words it will be useful to distinguish four different categories:

I. MUNDA WORDS,

i.e. those words which, whether or not originating in Austro-Asiatic, are in common use in one or more of the branches of Munda. These words fall into two groups:

a. Words which Nahali has in common with Kurku. As a result of the close symbiosis between Nahals and Kurkus (which symbiosis apparently cannot be dated earlier than about 1800 A.D.), Nahali has adopted a high percentage of Kurku words, sometimes even completely with the Kurku morphemes (see s.vv. *aṅglu-ij'*, *bommo-ki*, etc.). It does not make any difference in this respect, if these words belong to the ancient Munda vocabulary or have been borrowed from Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, or perhaps some other non-identified language. On the other hand, if an Indo-Aryan word occurs in Kurku and Nahali in different forms, the Nahali word may be supposed to have been borrowed separately — as long as no similar form is found in some Kurku dialect. The fact must stressed, indeed, that statistics based on an inevitably incomplete Kurku wordlist which contains only such words as occur in printed texts, cannot claim a high degree of exactness. Kurku equivalents to the Nahali words, though unknown from these sources, may actually be in use. This is particularly true of the Indo-Aryan loan words, which often occur in different forms in the various dialects.

It should be noted in this connexion that James Forsyth, in his Settlement Report of 1870 (see above, p. 6), stated that the Nahals speak Kurku. Possibly those with whom he had come into contact, or about whom he happened to have some information, really did so. However, as more than a third of the Nahali vocabulary must have been borrowed direct from Kurku, it is also quite conceivable that the large amount of Kurku words in Nahali had given rise to the false impression that Nahals and Kurkus speak the same language. In any case, this statement was no solid base for Konow's inference that in 1870 the Nahals "still" spoke Kurku, and that only after that date Nahali has adopted, first a large number of Dravidian, and still later of Aryan, words. (See above,

p. 8.) This picture of the historical development is certainly incor-
rect. It cannot reasonably be doubted that originally Nahali was
quite different from Kurku, whose strong influence must have
begun to make itself felt only after the extermination of the Nahal
tribe, shortly after 1800 A.D. The fundamental difference between
the basic vocabulary of Nahali and Kurku is too apparent to need
circumstantial demonstration. Cf. e.g. [12]):

eat	Ku. *jom*	Nah. *ṭē-*
drink	*nu*	*ḍelen-*
sit	*śubaṅ*	*peṭe-*
sing	*śiriṅ*	*bāro-*
fall	*boco*	*cerko-*
ascend	*perej*	*cakha-*
ask	*komara*	*bica-*
hear	*anjum*	*cikn-*
be afraid	*higra*	*cāvgo-*
beat	*munda, kuwa*	*koṭṭo-*
kindle	*tiṅ*	*uri-*
weep	*yam*	*āpa-*
axe	*ake*	*cakoṭo*
bamboo	*mad*	*jūḍ*
bee	*nili*, etc.	*maikko*
bird	*tiṭid*	*poyye*
blood	*pacna* [*maṅum*, NHZ.]	*corṭo*
tooth	*tiriṅ*	*meṅge*
boy	*ganḍa, poira*	*ejer*
louse	*siku*	*kepa*
snake	*biṅ*	*kōgo*
stone	*dega*	*cago*
tree	*śiṅ*	*aḍru*
water	*dā*	*joppo*
fire	*śiṅgel*	*āpo*
to-day	*tēṅ*	*bay*
far	*saṅgin*	*dhava*

Since most of the Kurku words are common Munda words, whereas
their Nahali equivalents are quite isolated, this aberrant vocabulary

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[12]) The Kurku words are here given in the spelling of Rev. John Drake.
The divergencies in DhKu. are mostly irrelevant in this respect, except for
maṅum "blood" for *pacna* [DhKu. *pacana*], which had not been recorded
by any of the older authorities. As for *munda : kuwa* Prof. Zide remarks:
DhKu. *mŭdà* "to beat, strike" : *kuaq* "to spank (a child)". For *kuwa[q]*
beside *kuma[q]*, *ma[q]* see Orientalia Neerlandica 385. For *ganḍa* DhKu.
has *poera*, which is also well-known in other dialects. The other DhKu.
equivalents are *subaṅ, siriṅ, aṅum, akhè, mhad, tiṭhìd, biṅ, siṅ, daq, sĭgel,
sagin, teìn* (= *tehiṅ*), *dhega*.

could possibly be explained by the theory that Nahali is essentially an argot, which has introduced a large number of substitutes for the original words, whatever the origin of these substitutes may be (see p. 12). However, such a theory would be inadequate to account for the far more interesting second group of words:

b. Munda words in Nahali, whose absence in Kurku cannot be explained by the deficiencies of our lexical materials or by the theory that they have gone out of use in Kurku. Not all words to be discussed here satisfy the last condition. These words are particularly important for our reconstruction of the historical development of Nahali in that they point to the existence of Munda elements in Nahali, long before it came under the spell of Kurku, while further suggesting the conclusion that these Munda elements cannot with certainty be connected with either the northern (Kherwari) group or with the central and southern (Sora-Gudba) groups of Munda languages. The scanty materials on which we have to base our conclusions do not allow us, in the present state of these studies, to go beyond the ascertainment of possibilities. Only in passing, therefore, reference may be made to a theory, which Verrier Elwin (The Baiga, p. 4) has put forward, of two different settlements of the Munda race, the first of which is represented by the Bhar, Bhuiya, Baiga, and kindred tribes, who have entirely lost their own languages. As far as I can see, linguistic research has not thus far produced any evidence suggestive of such a fundamental bipartition of the Munda family of speech. Attention must be drawn, therefore, to the possibly important implications of the Nah. word *biḍi* "one". Up till now, only forms with initial *b* but without a dental suffix have become known, whereas forms with initial *m* occur with and without that suffix (see Pinnow 264). So the Nah. form represents a type of formation that is not found anywhere else. Other cases that are of special interest in this connexion are Nah. *ṭu-* "to embrace" : Ku. *katu*, id. (prefixed *ḍu/ru* in Kh. *kaṛó'*, So. *kundu*; cf. Khasi *kyntup* : Sa. *haṛup'*, Mu. *hambud'*) and Nah. *ṭē-* "to eat" : *tiñ* in Kherwari. Corresponding forms may have existed, or perhaps even exist, in other Munda languages, but in the present state of our knowledge these words are isolated and might possibly support the theory of a different branch of Munda now extinct except for the remnants in Nahali (see Berger 79). Less important is Nah. *chama-ki*, if this should reflect a non-infixed form *sa-mah* beside *sanamah* in Ku. *samma-n* [13]). Attention may further be drawn

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[13])   As to Ku. *samma-n* (DhKu. *samma-èn*) Prof. Zide remarks that it "is certainly contaminated (if nothing more) by Hi. *sāmne* since both the

to Nah. *hoṇḍar* "rat", which very closely resembles the Proto-Munda form which has been borrowed into Sanskrit as *undara-*, but which can only indirectly be connected with So. *ondreṅ-* (further connexion with Ku. *kone* (sic!), etc. [Pinnow, 180, Berger, 57] is unacceptable); to Nah. *haru* "to bite", although Ho *hua*, id., indirectly proves the existence of **haṛu* at an earlier stage of Kherwari, and although we cannot rule out the possibility that Kurku has had a verb **haru* for *katra-tiṅki* "to gnaw"; to Nah. *baṭam* "thirsty", if related to Ku. *ta-taṅ*, and to *kakheyṅ* "to comb the hair", if related to Ku. *akej*. See also below, p. 51, for Dhimal *ūnkhū* "rice". Of the remaining instances of non-Kurku words of Munda origin the following may be mentioned:

A.   More closely connected with North Munda (Kherwari):
     ara- "to see" : Sa. *arak' orok'* "staring".
     giṭa "younger brother" : Sa. *giḍar gaḍar* "little children"?
     ho-ṭ, ho-ṭe "not" : Sa. *ǫhǫ*, id.
     jakoṭo "male" : Kw. *jhāku*, id.
     mokhne "elbow" : Mu. *mukuṛi* "knee".
     popo "belly" : Mu. *pu'pu'*, Ho *pupū* "abdomen".
     ṭē- "to eat" : Sa. *ǫtiṅ* "to graze".

B.   More closely connected with Central and South Munda:
     arḍu "tree, wood" : So. *ěrā-* (?)
     baddi "bull" : Gu. *bāḍī* "buffalo".
     be- "to give" : Gu. *bē*, id.
     de- "to give" : Ju. *ḍiṅ* (? or = Hi. *denā*?).
     *ēr-, iēr- "to go" : So. *er-, yir-*.
     [*hoṇḍar* "rat" : So. *ondreṅ-*?].
     jere- "to remain" : Ju. *iḍ, iṛ*?
     piy- "to come" : Gu. *pi*, id.
     (aba)-re "(his) father" : Ju. *(ba)-re*.

It need hardly be stressed that the occurrence of a few Austro-Asiatic words in a single Munda language does not justify any conclusions as to its position in the whole group of Munda languages. In spite of the close relations between the various Kherwari dialects we find in some of them remarkable words which seem isolated in Munda, although their Austro-Asiatic origin cannot be questioned. Such an ordinary Kherwari dialect as Korwa, for instance, has preserved the word *bonum* "many", from A.-A. **bĭnum*, cf. Besisi *'nom, nūm, hěnom, h'nom* "many, much". (For

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-mm- and the use of the suffix *-èn* (with the syntax of the constructions in which it is found i.e. Ngen. *samma-èn*, like Hi. *ke* N(oblique) *mě̃* (e.g. Hi. *biic, bagal*, Ko. *biico-èn, bagal-èn*, etc.) are atypical of K. construction." See however also the Nahali vocabulary.

Proto-Munda *ĭ, see Pinnow, 140ff.). The word is not known from any other Munda language (unless Ju. *buluṅa* "many" should be related to it). On the other hand, the circumstance that the non-Kurku elements of the Nahali vocabulary cannot be attributed to any one of the sub-groups would seem to point to the conclusion that the older Munda stratum in Nahali stands somewhat apart from the sub-groups into which Munda is divided. Berger 79 arrived at the same conclusion. It may be added that while numerous Indonesian words have correspondences in Munda, such as Malay *gamit* "beckoning with the fingers" (: Central Sakai *gawet, giwet*, Khasi *khawoit* "to beckon (with the hand)", Sa. *gạvić*, Mu. *gaui', gāwi'j*, Ho *gāui*, Kh. *gou'j*), Malay *ini* "this" (: Ku. *ini*, etc.), Sundanese *aiṅ* "I" (: Mu. *aiṅ*), some others have no correspondences in Munda itself but seem to occur, obviously as loan-words, in other languages of the Indian subcontinent. Thus Purik *bras*, Burushaski, Dumaki *brăs* "rice" may be historically connected with Malay *bĕras*, id. (see *Kirfel-Festschrift* 143, n. 17).

II. Dravidian words

which have not been borrowed by Kurku. Here we must distinguish between:

a.   words which may have been borrowed by Kurku also but of which the Kurku equivalent happens to be unknown so far. Since these words, if they exist at all, cannot be kept apart from the following categories, it is only of theoretical importance to state this possibility.

b.   Dravidian words borrowed by the Nahals from the neighbouring Dravidian languages, viz. Kolami and Gondi, perhaps also Telugu. The date of borrowing cannot be ascertained but there is nothing indicative of a more remote period. They may be comparatively recently adopted loan-words.

c.   Traces of Kurukh influence. Most important among these are the forms of personal pronouns (see above 28), but also some postpositions seem to have been borrowed from this source. An interesting detail is that in some cases the same influence is found in Kurku, e.g. *-gon* "with" in the Akola dialect: *di gon* "with him". Perhaps Kurku has even adopted some pronominal forms. Two 19th century authorities record Ku. *arko* "they" for normal *diku*. This can hardly be connected with Ju. *ar-ki*, plural form of *ara* "he", Kh. *arki*, but is more likely Kurukh *ar* "they" with the Ku. plural suffix added. Probably there is some parallelism with

the Kurukh words found in the argots of the Indian Gipsy tribes, on which Grierson (LSI. XI, 9) observes: "In face of the fact that comparatively many of these parallels [*viz. between the argots and Kurukh*] have been Kuru*kh*, it is perhaps worth while recalling the Kuru*kh* tradition that they have come from the Karnatic and proceeded eastwards along the Narbada, i.e. past the Vindhyas". The only certain fact is that the Kurukhs, now settled among the Munda in Chota Nagpur, have migrated from the Shahabad District of Bihar. Their tradition about an earlier movement up the Narmadā valley may be correct, but the theory of their ultimate South Indian origin is not confirmed by the linguistic evidence, see Burrow, Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture for Febr. 1958 (Transaction No. 19), 6. Hardly acceptable is Ruben's theory of a northern origin, from the Ganges valley (Eisenschmiede und Dämonen in Indien, p. 118). Kurukh traces in Nah., Ku., and the Indian Gipsy languages furnish valuable linguistic evidence of an earlier settlement of Kurukhs in the Narmadā valley.

d. Nah. words also occurring in one or more North-Dravidian languages, and probably borrowed from these, but not belonging to the old stock of Dravidian words. Such words, which sometimes are also found in some Munda languages, are likely to be assigned to an ancient autochthonous linguistic stratum, i.e. to "Proto-Indic". Theoretically the similarities between the Nahali and Dravidian forms admit of different interpretations, viz. X → Dravidian → Nahali, or X → Nahali → Dravidian, or X → Nahali *and* Dravidian. The theoretical necessity of assuming one or more "Proto-Indian" substratum languages has been pointed out by e.g. Burrow, op.c. 6 (cf. The Sanskrit Language 376f.) and the present writer (IIJ. II, 240).

III. Similarities in Himalayan languages

This is no doubt the most puzzling problem, and one on which it is not possible, without a specialist's knowledge of the languages involved, to say anything definite. Since there does exist a problem, which cannot be passed by in silence, the only thing that can be attempted here is to draw attention to some striking similarities and to leave it to specialists in the field of Tibeto-Burman to pass their verdict on the facts to be discussed below. Shafer did not fail to perceive some correspondences between Nahali and these languages but refrained from drawing any conclusion from them. See p. 348: "Despite some apparent correspondences between

Nahālī and Tibeto-Burmic, there is no genetic relationship between the two, unless it can be established that there is such a relationship between Austroasian and Tibeto-Burmic. The apparent correspondences are probably accidental". However, the problem does not concern Nahali alone, and this complicates matters considerably. The same problem recurs when we consider the Gipsy languages, where some words are suggestive of some connexion with their Tibetan equivalents; however, Grierson (LSI. XI, 9) wisely remarks: "We cannot therefore infer that .... the Sāsi have anything to do with the Tibetans even if *bārmī*, wife, could be proved to be identical with Sherpa *permi*, or *cha˜*, water, with Tibetan *chu*". Still, if these words could be shown to be really related, they would require some explanation.

The so-called Himalayan languages are held to belong to the Tibeto-Burman family and to form, together with Bodo and Kuki-Chin, the connecting link between Tibetan proper and Burmese (LSI. III/1, 12). The classification of the various subgroups has been dealt with in Shafer's paper on the "Classification of some Languages of the Himalayas", J. Bihar Res. Soc. 36/3–4 (1950), 192–214. Hodgson has been the first, in the middle of the 19th century, to draw attention to the "complex pronominalization" in some of these languages, which points to "a special connexion" with Munda (see *Essays relating to Indian subjects* I, 403 n. 2, II, 135 n. 1), and Konow accordingly comprised these languages under the head "Complex pronominalized Himalayan languages" as a distinct group, in which several traces of a Munda substratum can be pointed out (LSI. III/1, 273f.). The correctness of this classification has been contested (Shafer, op.c. 192) but what concerns us here is only the theory of a Munda substratum in some areas of the Himalaya. It may be added that according to the map illustrating the position of these languages and Munda (LSI. III/1, opposite p. 273) even now the distance between the most northern point where Santali is spoken and the area of Limbu (a Himalayan language) is not greater than about 130 miles. The geographical position of these languages points to the conclusion that Munda was at one time also spoken in the interjacent Ganges valley before it had to give way to Indo-Aryan. Probably it continued to be spoken in the mountainous areas north and south of the valley until the northern Munda tribes also gave up their own language and adopted Tibeto-Burman dialects. It would not be surprising, therefore, if Munda words could be shown to survive in those dialects.

On closer inspection of the details, however, the problem proves far more intricate. The lexical correspondences between Munda

and Tibeto-Burman are not, indeed, restricted to the borderland
between the two linguistic areas, but in some cases Classical
Tibetan itself is involved. A clear instance is Tib. *snum* "fat,
grease, oil" (Khamti, Laos *nam*, *man*, Tough-thu *nūman*, Tai
namau, *nam*, *man*), equivalents of which are found not only in
Munda (Kherwari *sunum*, Ku. *śunum*, *sunum*), but also in lan-
guages of the Malay Peninsula (Senoi *sĕnum*, Ulu Langat *sinum*,
Central Sakai *sĕnam*). The Munda word stands for **sĭnum* with
regular *u*-umlaut (note Drake's spelling *śunūm* for the Ku. word),
and this reconstructed form corresponds with Senoi *sĕnum*. In a
case like this we need not consider the theory of an East-Asiatic-
Oceanic family of speech (see Kurt Wulff, *Über das Verhältnis des
Malayo-polynesischen zum Indo-chinesischen*, Copenhagen 1942, 40),
since borrowing provides a satisfactory explanation. Still, it is
difficult to determine the exact conditions under which this
borrowing has taken place. It is unfortunate that Berthold Laufer
disregards this category of words in his important study on "Loan-
words in Tibetan" (*T'oung Pao*, XVII [1916–8], 403ff.). However,
though the explanation must be left undecided, it may be suggested
as a reasonable guess that the Austro-Asiatic word, in accordance
with the general tendency of the Southeast Asian languages
towards monosyllabism, became **snum* and was then adopted (via
Burmese?) by the Tibetan speakers. On the other hand, things
seem to be different in the case of the Kherwari-Ku. word *siṅ*
"tree" (Sa. *siṅ aṛak'*, Mu. *siṅ aṛa'*, Ho. *siṅ-a'* "a certain plant or
tree, Bauhinia variegata or purpurea" Kw. *siṅ* "tree", Ku. *ćiṅ*,
tsiṅ, *śiṅ*, *sīnj*) : Mamba *śiṅ-śe*, Abor *esiṅ*, *śiṅ*, Tibetan *śiṅ*. On the
one hand, no Austro-Asiatic correspondences seem to occur in the
Malay Peninsula, on the other we find what seem to be Austro-
Asiatic variant forms with initial dental in Khasi *diṅ* and Palaung
tiṅ, to which again analogous forms correspond in Tibeto-Burman
(e.g. Khimi *theng-kawng*, *thing-kawng*, see Shafer, *BSOAS*. XI, 431).
These facts, incidentally mentioned already in PMW. 7 n. 5, are
hard to explain. It would seem that at some time the speakers of
some Austro-Asiatic languages (including the prototypes of Munda
and Khasi-Palaung) have been in close contact with those of a
group of Tibeto-Burman dialects. Although the interchange *t/ć*,
not uncommon in Austro-Asiatic, might suggest the idea that
tiṅ / śiṅ is an authentical A.-A. word, the fact that it seems to be
unknown outside this area may indicate that it was a foreign word
adopted from Tibeto-Burman or from another, non-identified
source. While the very few possible correspondences with Ainu,
though interesting, are too isolated to allow any conclusion (cf.
Kherwari *seta*, Ku. *ćita*, *tsita*, *sita* "dog" : Ainu *seta*, *sita*; Mu.

sara', Ku. Ho *sara* "baboon, black-faced monkey : Ainu *saro*, Jap. *saru*? [14]); Nah. *āpo* : Ainu *ape, apoi* "fire"; perhaps Nah. *pi-* : Ainu *pai, paiye* "to go") the identity of the Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman words for "tree" cannot reasonably be questioned. However, the only thing we propose to do here is to mention a few instances which to the non-specialist suggest the idea that not only Nahali but also the other (or rather, the genuine) Munda languages have words, correspondences for which can be found in Tibeto-Burman:

Kh. *aloṅ* "song" (apparently isolated in Munda) : Kami *aloṅ*, id. (see JRAS. 1895, 137).

Kh. *aniṅ* "we" : Yakha *āniṅ*, id. Cf. Ku. *aliṅ* (etc.), Vocab. 358.

Ku. *apir* "to fly" [14]) (see Vocabulary, Nr. 23 *aphir*) : Old Tibetan *'p'ir, 'p'ur*, Dhimal *bhir*, id. (see Shafer, *JBRS.* 36, 206).

Mu. *ci* "what", Sa.Kw. *cele* "which, what kind", *cet'* "what" : Chamba Lahuli *chī* "what" (Pahari *celā, cele* "what"; *lā* = interrogative particle).

Ku. *amae* "who" (Betul-dialect; prefix *a-*, as in *antūne*, id. = *tōnej* in Standard dialect?) : Khimi *ami* "who". See Vocabulary 374 *miṅgay*.

Ku. *dā-* "to do, to become" : Lower Kanauri *dā-mu* "to become, happen", Abor-Miri and Dafla *dāk, dā* "to be" (Vocabulary 143 *ḍan*).

Kherw. *gapa*, Ku. *gapaṅ* [14]) "to-morrow" : Bodo *gabon, gabun*, Garo *ganap*.

Ku. *itu* "to teach, learn" (Sa. *eto* "to break in, accustom to work", Mu. *itu* "to teach", *itu-n* "to learn") : Khimi *atu* "to learn". Norton's vocabulary gives also *atu* beside *itu* for Kurku, but this must be an error.

Kh.Mu. *kati'j*, Sa. *kaṭić* "small, little" (cf. also Pi. 86f.) : Taraon *kati* "little".

Kherw.Ku. *laṅka* "far" : Janggali (Almora) *lãkā* (LSI. III/1, 547). Gondi *lak(k), laṅ* (W. Haig, *JASBeng.* 66 [1897], 188) is probably a Munda loan-word.

Kw. *mãe*, Gu. *māy* "he" : Eastern Dafla *ma*, Khimi *āmä* "he, she".

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[14]) DhKu. *saraq* and *aphir* (NHZ.). Prof. Zide further gives the following comment: Ku. *gaphàṅ* "to-morrow", "probably false (?) analogy [viz. as *gap-hàṅ*] with *te-hèṅ* "today", *mi-haṅ* "the day after tomorrow"; Ku. *ithù* "to learn, teach", *ton-ej*: "from the stem *ton* which, perhaps, is from *to/tu + n* meaning "which". The present distinction between *ton-* interrogatives and *jee* and *coj-* is that of the Hindi *kaun saa* "which particular ones (of a specified or understood) group".

Sa. *meta* "to say" : Limbu *met* "to call, to say".

Sa. *reṇgeć*, Mu. *reṅge'*, Bh.Ho *reṅge*, Kw. *raṅga, raṅgej'*, Ku. *raṅgej* "hunger, to be hungry" : Magari (Nepal) *rang-sī-mu* "hungering".

Kw. *rim* "to arise" seems to be isolated in Munda; if *-m* is suffixal (as in Ku. *anjom*, p.t. *anjo-en* "to hear", *jom*, p.t. *jo-en* "to eat") cf. : Gurung *rī* "to arise".

Kh. *yar* "to run away" (Sa. *ńir*, see Pi. 250) : Murmi *yar* "to run".

Ku. *tōnej* "who", *tōnē* "what" (Naiki *tāne*, "Bhili" *tān*, id., see *IIJ*. II, 240) : Chourasya *thāmē* "who, which", *thālo* "where" (LSI. III/1, 370, cf. Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays* I, 189).

Ho *uṭuṭoā* "Adam's apple, gullet, throat" : Dhimal *totoā* (Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays* I, 7).

Also the grammatical morphemes can sometimes be found back in Himalayan languages. In *Acta Orientalia* 20 (1948), 241 n. 1 attention was drawn to the quite irregular plural of Ku. *dada* "(elder)brother": although this word is common in Kherwari and Kharia, the Ku. plural is not *dada-ku* but *dada-co* or *dada-coy* (*ḍaḍa-coy*) [15]). Possibly this might be connected with such plural formations as Balti *atā-chōk*, Sharpa *papa-ṭsho*, Lhoke *ap-ṭsu* "fathers" but, if so, we fail to understand how this abnormal ending has come to be preserved in this single word in Kurku. Similarly the "plural" of *cakhan* "fuel, wood for burning" (which is quite common in Kherwari: Sa. *sahan*, Mu. *sahan, sa-an, sān*, Ho *sān* "firewood, fuel", Turi *śahan* "sticks", perhaps also Kh. *soṇgól*, Ju. *songon* [Pi. 126!]) is stated to be *cakhan-naun* "many pieces of wood, much wood" (Drake, *Grammar* 8: "sometimes attached to inanimate nouns to denote a considerable number or quantity") [15]). The suffix seems to be isolated in Munda but resembles the Khimi plural suffix *nauh* (Shafer, BSOAS. XI, 393). Again, if this should be more than a mere accidental resemblance, we are at a loss how to account for the occurrence of *-naun* in Kurku. In this connexion attention may also be drawn to the Khimi suffix *-te*, used "with nouns or pronouns with which the subject has very close relationship", e.g. (*atusaiteh lä*) *ämä-te* "his (master)", which calls to mind Ku. *aba-te* "his father", Sa. *apa-t*,

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[15]) Prof. Zide writes: "The regular plural of Ku. kinship terms (but only in certain rather unlikely but systematic environments) is *-co* and the dual *-ta-kiṅ*. The suffix *-naùr* occurs with inanimate nouns and means 'etcetera' or 'and the like'; it is probably the same morpheme as that found in *ĭdùr* (= *in-n(a)ùr*), etc., which is a non-singular inanimate noun/adjective meaning 'these'. It is also used as a generalising plural".

etc. If there is any connexion in these cases between Munda and Tibeto-Burman, this is certainly of a different nature from the one suggested by such similarities as Dhimal *ahā mui* "ant" (: Sa. *muć*, Mu.Ho *mui*, Mon *samot*, *khamot*, OrN. 376), *kheki* "fox" (: Sa. *khikṛī*, PMW. 52), *do(-li)* "to see" (: Ku. *do*, *dog-e*, id., see references in Pi. 179), *haiyū* "fish" (: Mu. *hai = ha-ko*, Ku. *ka-ku*, suffix *-ko/-ku*, cf. Khasi *kha*, Palaung *kā*, Sakai, Semang *ka*), the use of *ka* after adjectives (as in Nah. Ku.). They point to a Munda (perhaps even a Kherwari) substratum in this language (but see below, p. 51.)

The special connexions between *Nahali* and the Himalayan languages, to which we shall further confine ourselves, should be considered within the context of these general correspondences. One of the main problems is that of the chronology of the Tibeto-Burman phonetic developments. The possibility of comparatively recent migrations from the Himalaya cannot be ruled out. In the following list also comparisons with Tibeto-Burman generally (and with the Bodo, Naga, and Kachin groups especially) have been included.

1. *aphir-* "to fly" (Ku. *apir*, etc.) : Tibetan (Gtsang) *'p'ir*, Dhimal *bhir*.

2. *bē-* "to give" (also in Gu.) : Pahari, Lepcha *bi*, Newari *bi-u*, Gurung, Murmi, Thaksya *pin*, Bhramu *pi*, Thami, Yakha, Khambu *pi*, Dhimal, Limbu *pi-*; Tibetan: Sharpa *bin*, Dänjongkä *phin*, Lhoke *byin*; North Assam group: Dafla *bik-*, Miri *bī*, Miju Mishmi *pi*; Western Naga: Angami *pi*; Central Naga: Miklai Naga *piyā*; Naga Bodo: Mikir *pī*, *pih*, Empeo *pē*, Arung *pe*, etc.

3. *-bē* (imperative suffix) : in Chutiya, the most archaic dialect of the Bodo group, *-be* may be added optionally, e.g. *lare*, *lari-be* "give thou". Very doubtful, as the morpheme *-be* also occurs in other forms, e.g. *lari-be-m = lare-m* "I gave". See above, p. 33.

4. *bhom-* "to go" (Ku. *bọ*): Digaru Mishmi *bō-*, Chulikata *bā-*, etc., Taraon *bōke*, *bōge* "let us go!" (= Ku. *abuṅ bọ*, id.).

5. *bhai* "with"(?) : Chaudangsi *bhā* "together", *tē-bhā*, *tī-bhā* "together with".

6. *cipo-* "to stand" : Bodo (Garo) *cāp*, Eastern Naga (Namsang) *cap-* (Mōshang Naga) *cāp*, Naga-Bodo *sāp*, *sāb*, *cap*, Naga Kuki (Kwoireng) *cāp*, Kachin *cāp*. In the Himalayan languages only Dhimal *jap*, Mikir *ar-jap*. If Nah. *cipo-* is related to these words its vowel *i* remains unexplained.

7. *cōn, coon* "nose" : Vayu *co'no*, Rai *unu*, Bahing *neu*. Cf. in Naga-Bodo: Arung *mi-nēo*, Empeo *bānēyo* ("his nose").

8. *dhava* "far": North Assam *dyāu, dā*, Dafla *ādǫ*.

9. *piy-* "to come" (Gu. *pi*) : Sunwar *piu*, Rai *piā*, Vayu *phĭ*, Bahing *pĭ-*, Chamba Lahuli *pī* (came). Cf. Naga: Angami *phi, pir*, and in the Bodo group: Boṛo *fai*, Mech *foi*, Lalung *fi*, etc.

10. *pĕy* "head" : Sunwar (Darjeeling) *piyā*, Thulung *bĭu*, Bahing *piya* (LSI. III/1, 256, 345, 411).

11. *popo* "belly" : Ladakhi *phoa*, Gurung, Murmi *pho*, Newari *poätha*, Lepcha *ta-bók*, Limbu *sapōk, sāppōk*, Yakha *phok*, Khambu *bo, boo*. Cf. in North Assam: Dafla *kōpō*, Chulikata *khiapu*, in Central Naga: *tepok, tupuk, tabuk, pok, ōpōk*, in Eastern Naga: *wok*, etc., in Naga-Bodo: *apok, pūk*, etc. An exact analysis of the data is difficult. The Nah. word must first be connected with Mu. *pu'pu'*, Ho *pupu* "abdomen". If this is further connected with So. *kimpuñ-* "belly, stomach, abdomen" (with final nasalization), their relationship to So. *puñ* "to bulge" (Pi. 206) might be considered. On the other hand we find in Pantang, one of the languages of the Malay Peninsula, *māmboñ* "belly", which is said to mean properly "hole" (cf. Skt. *garta-* "hole" > "belly"). In this way So. *kimpuñ* might be connected with Semang *ĕmpoñ* "hole", etc.

12. *poyye* "bird" : Chulikata *pyā*, Digaru Mishmi *mpiā*, Taraon *piya*, Kanauri, Chamba Lahuli, Rangkas *pyā*, Manchaṭi *pᵉya*, Bunan *pᵉa, pya*, etc.

Some possible correspondences are also found in the case of the following pronouns and grammatical suffixes:

13. *jo* "I". Newari (Pahri) *ji*; Rangkas, Darmiya, Chaudangsi, Byangsi *jĭ*, Kusanda *ci* (cf. Naga *iyē, iyā*, etc., Naga-Bodo: *ĭ, āi*, Naga-kuki: *yi, ĭ*?). Doubtful on account of Nah.*ᵛ-o*. According to the LSI. *jo* is also used for the plural "we" (but see Vocab. s.v. *māney*). Since this hardly represents the original state of things, Bodo *jong* "we" must be kept apart.

14. *-ṭa*, plural suffix: Newari *-ta* (Pahri *-tõ, -te*).

15. *aba-ṭha-ke* (*erkedine*) "father-near-to (went)". Similar expressions to denote the movement towards or from persons are found in e.g. Ho *apute-ta-te senok'-yana* (LSI.), *apute-ta-e senoyana* (Translation of St. Luke, 1950) "father-his-to-(he) went", Turi *ap-tai-ta senok'ena-i*, Kw. *apā-tākā torāyō*, etc. : Newari (Pahri) *bā-tha-ka ona* "father-to went" (LSI. III/1, 231).

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IV. WORDS OF UNIDENTIFIED ORIGIN

This category has long attracted the attention of students. It will be discussed below.

Conclusions

Ia. Kurku words: the following items of the Vocabulary are likely to have been borrowed direct from Kurku:

1, 5, 7, 11, 12, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 28, 30, 32, 34, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 60, 62, 64, 70, 72, 76, 83, 85, 86, 87, 89, 91, 96, 100, 103, 115, 122, 132, 133, 134, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 149, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 168, 169, 179, 182, 183, 188, 190, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 200, 213?, 215, 217, 220, 221, 226, 228, 231, 233, 236, 237, 239, 240, 249, 251, 258, 259?, 261, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 272, 274, 276, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 287, 289, 291, 293, 295, 299, 300, 301, 303, 306, 307, 312, 313, 322, 323, 326, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 335, 336, 337, 339, 346, 348, 350, 351, 352, 353, 356, 359, 366, 368, 369, 380, 383, 389, 390, 391, 392, 398, 405, 407, 414, 422, 425, 430, 431, 438, 441, 450, 451, 453, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 463, 464, 467, 471, 474, 476, 478, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 493, 497, 499. The number of Kurku words accordingly amounts to 180 out of a total of 503 items, that is, 36 per cent. of the Nahali vocabulary.

Ib. Munda words deriving from an earlier stratum. The instances certainly or possibly belonging in this category, which have been discussed above, p. 38f., amount to circa 20 items. This stratum, accordingly, has for the most part been overlaid by loan-words from Kurku, Dravidian, and Aryan. Only a few percent of the vocabulary consist of remnants of this earlier state of the language.

IIbd. Dravidian words borrowed from the neighbouring North-Dravidian languages, whether belonging to the old stock of Dravidian words or to an unidentified "pre-Dravidian" stratum. From a purely historical point of view these are two different groups but certain criteria for assigning the words to one of these groups are lacking. The following words can with some plausibility be attributed to them:

15, 27, 39, 48?, 78?, 81, 97, 98, 121, 123, 131, 151, 167, 176, 193, 232, 241, (284), 298, 302, 305, 315, 318, 342, 356, 357, 361, 362, 364, 373, 377, 378, 379, 385, 386, 387, 395, 396, 401, 419, 424,

426, 463, 475(?), 488, 496, 499. About 47 items, accordingly, out of the total of 503 items, belong in this category. Percentage: 9 %.

IIc. Kurukh words. Cases in which a Kurukh influence on the Nahali *vocabulary* can plausibly be shown are too rare for being discussed here. Cf. e.g. 58

III. Twelve Nahali words with possible correspondences in Tibeto-Burman have been mentioned above, 46f.

IV. Words of unidentified origin and isolated:

3, 4?, 6, 9, 10, 13, 16, 22, 31, 33, 35, 43, 46, 52, 53, 55, 57, 61, 68, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78?, 79, 80, 92, 94, 99, 101, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 116, 117?, 118, 119, 120, 124, 130, 150, 157, 166, 173, 174, 175, 189?, 197?, 218, 242, 250, 253, 256, 257, 262, 263, 264, 269, 271, 277, 278, 279, 285, 286, 288, 289, 292, 294, 296, 304, 308, 309, 311, 319, 320, 321, 324, 327, 338, 341, 344, 345, 347, 349, 358, 367, 369, 371, 372, 374, 375, 381, 390, 399, 402, 404, 406, 408, 409, 412, 413, 420, 421, 429, 433, 437, 440, 442, 446, 470, 473, 477, 479, 481, 488?, 492, 500, 502.

Among these 123 items there are six for which an etymology proposed may deserve some consideration. The fact must stressed that, even apart from these few cases, such lists as the preceding one necessarily represent a rather subjective choice. The items 488 *uḍi-* "to rub" and 496 *unni-* "to take", for instance, have not been included because Kolami *oḍ-* "to wash, bathe", respectively Parji *uñ-* "to carry, take" seemed just plausible enough as possible sources of origin for the Nah. words not to be considered isolated. This does by no means imply that the present writer regards these etymologies as anything more than reasonable guesses. However the list was to include as far as possible only those words which in the present state of our knowledge must be considered entirely isolated. It may be stated, accordingly, that about 24 per cent. of the Nahali vocabulary has no correspondences whatever in India [16]).

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[16]) Possible traces of substrata of earlier languages in Dravidian, Munda, and Aryan have often been commented upon. Cf. e.g. B. C. Mazumdar, "The Kui of the Kondh People", *Man in India* 12 (1932), 245 ff., W. Koppers, *Die Bhil in Zentralindien* (1948), 25 etc., R. Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India* 10 ff. (where Nahali and Kusunda are taken as the representatives of two additional linguistic families of India besides Burushaski, Dravidian, Munda, and Indo-Aryan), S. Bhattacharya, *Ind. Ling.* 17 (1957), 245 ff. (especially the Nahali names for parts of the body, for important animals and for articles of material culture are significantly aloof, p. 257), T. Burrow, "Sanskrit and the pre-Aryan Tribes and Languages", *Bulletin of the*

Our final conclusion must necessarily be a provisional one. The Kurku and Dravidian words (36 + 9 = 45 %) represent in our opinion the most recent strata of the language. The borrowings from Kurukh date farther back; they have probably been adopted in the same area where the Nahals are still settled to-day. What remains does not yet admit of an exact historical interpretation. There are some faint traces of an older Munda stratum which it seems hard to identify with any of the branches of Munda now extant. There are some rather uncertain indications of a connexion with many sub-groups of Tibeto-Burman and finally there is a large number of words which, if the Nahals represent a proto-Indic population *in situ*, may possibly reflect one of the oldest linguistic strata of India now attainable to research. As for such possible correspondences as Ku. *sita* (etc.) : Ainu *sita* "dog", Nah. *āpo* : Ainu *apoi*, *ape* "fire", they will here be passed by in silence, as it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to decide whether they are anything more than accidental similarities. Only in a few cases we have some occasion to surmise a transformation or a metaphorical use of words, as usual in argots (Vocabulary, Nr. 106 *carko*, Nr. 123 *corṭo*, resp. Nr. 101 *cān*).

In some respects these results differ from Shafer's. He assumed (p. 349) a proto-Nahali (judging by the verbs), which came under the dominating influence, first of Austro-Asiatic, from which it may have adopted at that time most of the vocabulary, and later of Dravidian, from which it adopted, as the result of commercial relations, the numerals for "two" to "four" and a few other words; finally the Nahals came into contact with the Kurkus and the Aryan-speakers of Nimar and adopted many words of all kinds and much of the grammar from one or the other of these dominant groups. Our analysis does not confirm the last conclusion of a profound influence of Kurku and Aryan on Nahali grammar. On the other hand, a study of the nominal case-forms, the system of personal pronouns, and the vocabulary shows the Dravidian influence to have been more profound and of a greater diversity,

Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture for Febr. 1958, Transaction No. 19. See also C. von Fürer–Haimendorf in his Foreword to T. B. Naik, *The Bhils* (Delhi, 1956), p. X: "no group of Bhils speaks any but an Aryan tongue. Attempts to isolate Dravidian elements in present day Bhili dialects have so far been unsuccessful, and it is unlikely that traces of a common non-Aryan substratum will ever be uncovered in present-day Bhili dialects" [Cf. with these words James Forsyth, *The Highlands of Central India* 362, new ed. 375: "the Bheels, ... who, though also extremely wild, have no peculiar language of their own, and never have had, so far as history informs us". For a few Munda words in Bhili, see Naik, p. 236]. See also Chr. von Fürer–Haimendorf, *The Chenchus* (London, 1943), *The Reddis of the Bison Hills* (London, 1945).

as we must distinguish at least two different periods, corresponding to contact with Kurukh speakers and with what we may roughly define as Kolami-Naiki speakers. It must be stressed, however, that Shafer has rightly recognized the existence of an early Austro-Asiatic stratum that is distinct from the later stratum of Kurku words.

The central problem is, accordingly, how we must conceive the relations between that oldest Austro-Asiatic stratum and the other unidentified component of the language. In the light of our present knowledge these components are likely to belong to two different linguistic groups without any historical relationship, but it cannot be stated on purely linguistic grounds, where the "proto-Indian" component originally was at home, and where the fusion between the two components must have taken place. While the large amount of unidentified words, as compared with the low percentage of "early Munda" words in present-day Nahali might suggest the idea that a Proto-Indic speaking population at one time has adopted a certain number of Munda words, the circumstance that that part of the grammatical system which has not undergone a remodelling under Dravidian influence, is Mundic (and perhaps even Proto-Mundic) might rather induce us to assume an early Munda language, which perhaps has come to be used as an argot and as such has adopted a large number of words (verbs as well as nouns) from some foreign, not identifiable source. What seems reasonably certain, in any case, is the existence of two ancient strata, which both have contributed to the genesis of this particular language.

The identity of this Austro-Asiatic (early Munda) component remains an unsolved riddle. Some vague traces of an aberrant type of Austro-Asiatic that was at one time spoken in India, may perhaps also be detected elsewhere. It was pointed out above (p. 46) that some words in Dhimal (spoken near Darjeeling) would seem to suggest a special connexion with Kherwari. Thus Dhimal *haiyū* "fish" (Hodgson) resembles more closely Mu. *hai* than Sa. *hako* or Ku. *kaku*. However, Dhimal *ūnkhū* "chauli, rice" (Hodgson) faces us with a quite different problem. A similar word for "un-husked rice" is only found in Central- and South-Munda, but here it has a prefixed *r*: Kh. *rómku'b*, Ju. *ru(n)kū*, resp. So. *rúnkū-*, Bo.Pa. *ruṅku*, Gu. *rukū* (Pi. 96). Now there would be no occasion to assume any relationship between *ūnkhū* and these words, were it not that the existence of Munda substratum in Dhimal can hardly be denied while on the other hand the *r*-prefix (cf. Khasi *khau*!) is also lacking in some of the cognates of *ruṅku* outside India. Cf. in the Palaung-Wa-group: Mong-Lwe *unko* (as against

Palaung *ra-ko*, etc.); in the Mon-Khmer group: Kuoi *aṅkau* (as against Sué *raṅkao*, etc.); and in the Sakai-group: Krau of Ketiar *uṅ-kuok* (as against Krau of Kuala Tembeling *rĕ-kua'*). See Pi. (l.c.). If we are right in assuming some historical connexion between Dhimal *ūnkhū* and these words, this proves the occurrence in India of Austro-Asiatic words that have not so far been traced in present-day Munda. [17]) Such possible traces are particularly interesting in the light of Verrier Elwin's theory of another wave of Austro-Asiatic immigration, distinct from that with which Kherwari-Kurku and Kharia-Sora are connected (see above, p. 38). If Pinnow's provisional conclusion that the Nahali verbal system derives directly from the Proto-Munda one should prove correct, we might consider the possibility of identifying the early Munda elements in Nahali with that hypothetical branch of Austro-Asiatic which may be called *para-Munda*. In the present state of these studies we can only draw attention to this interesting problem, which deserves a more profound investigation.

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[17]) See also p. 40.

V. THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON

The text of the parable occurring in LSI. IV, 188f. is rather
corrupt and it apparently reflects a different dialect from that
described by Bhattacharya. On the other hand, the latter's brief
grammatical notes do not allow us to get an adequate idea of
the grammatical structure of the language. Therefore, any attempt
to establish a correct text is doomed to failure. The following
interlinear text is only meant to show to what extent we are now
able to account for the text as it stands, and to indicate the most
manifest mistakes in it, which have given rise to some misconceptions in earlier studies of the language. As everywhere else in
this paper *ch* of the LSI. has been transcribed as *c*.

Bidī   māncu-kī īr   lānā   tā.   Hoytarē-ṭā-kun bācura-n
Biḍi   *manco-ke* *ir* *lana* *thā.* *Hoṭere-ṭha-kon bachra(?)-ne*
One man-to   two sons   were.   Them-from   younger

ābā-kē   kāynū,   "yē ābā,   awal māl-kun   iṅgē
aba-ke   *kaini-y*   *"ǐē aba,* *aval mal-kon*   *eṅge*
father-to said   "O father, good property-from   my

hiccā   indē mā".   Bhāṭē hoytarēn   hoytarē   hiṅgē
hicca   *eṅke(?)ma".*   *Bhaṭe hoṭere n(e) hoṭere[ke] [eṭen]*
share   me-to give".   Then   he   them(!)   his

dhan-māl   aṭāyā.   Ghanē din hoṭē-jīrē   bācē-gītā
dhan-mal *aṭa-ya.*   *Ghane din hoṭ jere*   *bachye giṭa*
wealth   divided.   Many days not became   young son

sab   dhan-māl-na   golāya   bhāgā   dēc-kī
sab *dhanmalna*   *gola-ya* *bhaga*   *dec-ki*
all   property   collected, distant country-to

yēdē, hāṭikoyērī   hoytarēn āndphand-kī din   hērē
ǐēdi, haṭiki (?) ǐēdi   *hoṭere n(e) andphand-ki din here*
went, there having gone(?)   he in riotousness   days spent,

ibnijē   dhan   udātiṅkā.   Bhāṭē hoytarēn sab
ibnijē(?)   *dhan* *uṛātiṅka[may](?).* *Bhaṭe hoṭere n(e) sab*
own   property squandered.   Then he   all

udātiṅkā-mā iṭī   dēc-kē   kāl   carkē, hoytarē
uṛatiṅkamay, iṭi dec-ki   kal   cerki, hoṭere
squandered, that country-in famine fell,   he

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naṅgāyjān.   Bhāṭē   ho   hoitī dēc-kē   māntāmīnār-kē
naṅgayan.   *Bhaṭe*   *ho   hoṭi dec-ki*   *mantaminar-ki*
destitute-became.   Then   he that country-in inhabitants-in

bidī māncu-kē awār-kē   ugāyaṅgā.   Hoytarē khēt-kī
biḍi manco-ki   avar-ki   *ugāenka(?).*   *Hoṭere khet-ki*
one man-at house-in   lived.   He field-in

chogumṭā cāḍāk-kē pūrī.   Itān jogomṭa   ṭēgadā
coggomṭa carā(v)-ke puri.   *Ita n(e)   coggomṭa   ṭēka ḍā*
swine grazing-for sent.   Then   swine   eating-were

ētlān chēṅgā-kē   ēṅge   pōpō   āgan-kā   ṭākogāṭā.
eṭla n(e) cheṅga-ki   [*eṭen*]   *popo*   *agan-kā*   *ṭakoka thā(?).*
those husks-with   his   belly   fire-being   wished.

Ētarēn nānikā nānkā bēṭābē.   Bhāṭē ētarē-kē
Eṭere[ke] n(e) nāni kā nān kā [*hoṭ*] *be.*   *Bhaṭe eṭere-ke*
Him-to anyone   anything not gave.   Then him-to

akal pātī do   ētarē kāinī,   "Ēṅgē ābā-kū   ghanē
akal pāṭi ḍo eṭere kainiy,   "*Eṅge   aba-gon*   *ghane*
sense came and   he   said   "My   father-with   many

hāl-kun popo-cēn   ghanē chokḍān   jērē-kā,   jo
halkon popo-[*ke? n(e)*]   *ghane chokra n(e)*   *jere-ka,*   *jo*
servants' belly-(for?)   much   food   is,   I

cāṭ-kū bēṭo-gā.   Jo bēī-kē ēṅgē   ābā-ṭhā-kē   er-gā
caṭo-kon beṭṭoka.   *Jo biken, eṅge*   *aba-ṭha-ke*   *erka,*
hunger-from dying-am.   I shall-arise, my   father-to   shall-go,

ētarē-kē kāynēkē "ē ābā,   joo Bhagwān-bīhoṭ-chāgo nē
eṭereke kainiken "e aba,   *jŭō Bhagvan-bheṭsaṅgo (?) ne*
him-to shall-say "O father,   I God-against   and

ābā sāmnē pāp-karm kamāyā.   Jo nē pālīśoroṅgā
aba samne pap-karm   kamay(a).   *Jo nē   palcu-roṅ-kā*
father before sin   did.   I thy son-like-being

māṇḍī-raṅg jāgā bēṭē hēlē.   Jo nē bhāgyāraṅgo-kī bidī
manḍi-raṅg jaga beṭela   [*Eṅgen*]*nē bhagya-raṅgo-ki biḍi*
to-call-like place not-is.   Me thy servants-like-among one

okībē". Bhāṭē bī   ētarē ēṅgā ābā-ṭhākē ērkēdinē.
okibe". Bhaṭe biy   *eṭere*[*eṭen*] *abaṭhake   erka (ḍani?).*
put". Then having arisen(?), he his   father-to   went.

Hoytarē ḍhāwā-kīdā ētarē   ābā-nē arāyē-ku   kīwu pāddī,
Hoṭere dhavaki ḍā,   eṭere(n) aba ne araye-kon   kivu paḍi,
He far was,   his   father having-seen-from pity felt,

cērgē ērīdkā ṭaī do ṭokkī.   Lānā hoytarēn   māṇḍī,
cergi eri kā ṭui ḍo ṭo'i (?).   Lana hoṭeren   manḍiy
run(-)gone-being embraced and kissed. Son him   said

"ē ābā,   jo Bhagwān-bīhoṭ-chāgo do ābā sāmnē pāp-karm
e aba,   jo Bhagvan-bheṭsango (?) ḍo aba samne pap-karm
O father, I God-against   and father-before sin

kamāyā.   Bhāṭē   jo nē   pālīśoroṅgā   māṇḍī-raṅg jāgā
kamay(a). Bhaṭe   jo ne   palcu-roṅg-kā manḍi-raṅg jaga
did.   Then   I thy   son-like-being to-say-like place

bēṭē-hēlē."   Do ābā apnā naukar-huṅgo kāinī,   "Sabī-kun
beṭela".   Do aba apna naukaron-[ke] kainiy,   "sabi-kon
not is".   And father his servants-to said   "All-from

awalkā kuprā phēr-kē   ētarē-kē pēhēnā-tiṅkā, ētarēn
aval kā kupra pher-ki   eṭere-ki pehena-tiṅki, eṭeren
good-being cloth take-out, him-on dress,   his

bāko-kē mūndī do khuḍī-nē khāwḍē urībē.   Jo ṭēēkēn
boko-ki mundi ḍo khuri[-ki] khavre uribe. [Maney] ṭīeken,
hand-on ring, and foot-on shoe(s) put.   We will-eat,

majā ugāiṅgēn.   Iṅgē pālīcho bēṭṭīrī   jīwatā, harpīdā
maja ugāenken.   Eṅge palco beṭṭi ire(?), jivta; harpi ḍā,
merry will-live.   My son died-was(?),   lives, lost was

ghāṭājīrā".   Bhāṭē   hoytarē   cain-kedinī.
ghaṭa(y?)-jere". Bhaṭe   [hovṭa]   cainka (ḍani ?).
found-is".   Then   they   merry-made.

Ētarēn bhāgā   bēṭā   khēt-kī tā.   Pāt-kēdinī āwār-
Eṭeren bhaga   beṭa   khet-ki thā.   Pāṭ ka(ḍani?) avar
His   elder   son   field-in was. Having come(?)house

barī ādirī hoytarē ḍhol-kā do canānā cālaṅg
bari adiri hoṭere ḍhol-[na?] ḍo canana calaṅ
to reached, he drum(s)-of and dance-of sound

ciknī.   Ētarēn   ētarē bhāṅgyāmijār-kū bidarī-nā
cikni(?). Eṭere n(e) [eṭen] bhagiya-mijar-kon biḍire-na
heard.   He   his servants-amongst-from one

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mirā-kī   ulāchī   bicāwē,   "nān-kādinī?"   Hoytarē
mera-ki   u achi   bicavi,   "nan ka[...?]".   *Hoṭere*
near   called,   asked   "what is-going-on?"   He

kā[d]inī, "nēn dāyarē pātī,   nēn ābā-rē   awal-kā
kainiy,   "nēne ḍayre pāṭi,   nēne abare   aval kā
said,   "Thy younger-brother came,   thy father   good-being

chokḍā hundārē,   itarē-kē awalkā awalijā".   Ētarē
chokra hundari,   eṭere-ki aval kā avaliya".   *Eṭere*
food prepared,   him-in good-being good-(found?). He

khijījā bhītar-kē bēṭē hēdjā.   Itarē-ghāljā   ētarē
khijiya bhitar-ki [hoṭ] eḍya(??). *Eṭere-ghalya* *eṭere*
got-angry, inside not went.   Therefore   his

ābā bāharē-kē pātī   ētarēn   manojē.   Ētarēn ēṅgā
aba bahare-ki pāṭi,   eṭeren   manoya.   *Eṭere n(e) [eṭen]*
father out came,   him   reconciled. He his

ābā-nē kāinī,   "arābē, jo hiṁwat warso   ninē   cākarī
aba-[ke] kainiy, "arabe, jo hĩvat varso   nēne   cakari
father-to said, "see,   I so many years   thy   service

kamāyā,   na jo nē māṇḍī hotānēkā.   Nē
kamay(a),   na jo nē manḍiy hotay (ho thā?) ne ka.   *Nē*
did,   and what you said happened (that was?) indeed.   Thou

hiṅgan-bārē mēṇḍhān   pālīcho   nānkatar-hōt-bē   hiṅgē
eṅgen bare mendhan   palco   nān kā tar hoṭ be   eṅge
me-to   sheep   young   any not gavest   my

dēśo-bhāi   cain-gā.   Nē hiyēṅgī rāṇḍī-muṇḍīnā
deśo-(bhai?) cain-[ke].   *Ne hĩēṅgi(?) randimunḍi na*
friends-(with?) feasting-for(?). And he— harlots

paisā ṭē-ē inē pāt sagā-nīkā   awalkā   khānā
paisa ṭĩēy, iney pāṭ sag[r]ane kā   *aval kā   khana*
money ate —, this-one coming(?), all good   food

hundar-kā-mā".   Ābā-nē   māṇḍī,   "ē pālīcho,   nē iṅgē
hundar-kamay".   *Aba ne   manḍiy,*   *"ē palco,   nē eṅge*
preparedst".   Father   said,   "O son,   thou me

mērēpā, jo ibnijī   bī nē-kā.   Nē cainkā maujkā
mera[ba?], jo ibniji   bi nē kā.   *Nē cainka maujka*
near-(art?), what my-own is, thine is. Thou feasting merry-making

ugāijā, irkēnē   nē bāśīgītā   bēṭṭīrī,   jīwatā;
ugaya,   *irkene*(?) *nē bachye giṭa*   *beṭṭi eri*(?),   *jivta;*
?   ,   because(?) thy younger brother died-(went?), lives;

jo   harpidā,   ghāṭājīrā".
jo(?)   *harpi ḍā,*   *ghaṭa-jere*[?]".
who(?)   lost   was,   found-is".

VI. VOCABULARY

The Nahali words are given in Bhattacharya's spelling. Also the spelling of the words only known from the LSI. has been normalized in the lemmata. The distinction between long and short vowels is disregarded except in those cases where Bhattacharya expressly notes them as long. In quotations from the LSI. however, its spelling is reproduced. Although some difference exists between the idiom of the text specimen (LSI. 188f.), the List of Standard Words (LSI. 242, 246, 250, 254, 258, 262, 266, 270) and the sentences (List II, LSI. 274), these three sources are not specified. When the lemma is followed by the addition (LSI.) the word is exclusively known from one or more of these sources. In all other cases the word is given either by Bhattacharya alone, or by him and the LSI. The addition "Not found in Kurku" (or similar expressions) means that no correspondences occur in the lexicographical materials at my disposal. In the Kurku words vowel length has not been indicated except for some quotations from Drake's grammar and the translations. The glottalized finals of Kurku, which are mere allophones of the stops, have not been noted. For the spelling of Santali words Bodding's Santal Dictionary has been followed. Sora and Kharia words are given in a simplified spelling in accordance with Bodding's system. No attempt has been made to normalize the orthography of Mundari, but Pinnow's exact spelling has beed added in brackets.

NAHALI – ENGLISH

1. *aba, eba, ba* "father". Used with reference to one's own father, e.g. *tyeko-ne aba* "father of us two", *enga aba* "my father", but *eteyna aba-re* "his father", *ho manchona aba-re* "that man's father" like Ku. *ba-te.* — Ku. *aba, ba, bate* (Ku. *-re*, quoted by Bha. 249, misprint for *-te*), Mu. *aba(-ga)*, Ju. *abanji.* A different word in Sa. *apa-t*, Mu. *apu-te*, Kh. *apa*, Gu. *apan* (Pi. 72).

2. *accha* "good". — Not found in Ku. [but DhKu. *accha* with *cch*, found in no other word but the onomatopoetic *acchu* "to sneeze" NHZ.]. Cf. Hi. *acchā.*

3. *achud-* "to hang something". — ?

4. *addo, ardu* "tree, wood". LSI.: *add.* — ? (Cf. So. *ĕrắ-* Pa. *ara-*?).

5. *adai* "two and a half". — Ku. *adai, arhai.* Cf. Hi. *arhāi.*

6. *adek-, adik-* "to burn" (v.i.). — ?

7. *adir-* "to reach". – Ku. *hadir, adir,* "to reach", Sa. *ader* "to introduce, enter, penetrate", Mu.Ho *adẹr,* Kh. *ḍiyar* (Pi. 265).

8. *agan* "fire". – Hi. *agan.* See *āpo.*

9. *aginbi-* "to perspire". – ? If from *agan,* the suffix remains unexplained.

10. *agri-* "to shut". – Perhaps from **argi,* like Ku. *agru* from **argu* (Mu. *arɡu,* etc.). Bha. compares Skt. *argala-* "bolt" (but cf. PMW. 14f.).

11. *aji* "husband's younger sister". – Ku. *aji* "sister-in-law", Sa. *ạji-t* "his younger sister", etc., Semang *ajoi* (Pi. 262).

12. *akal* "sense". – Ku. *akl.* Cf. Ar.Hi. *akl.*

13. *akhaṇḍi* "finger". – ?

14. *an* "other". – [Ku. Hoshangabad *an,* Gondi *an, ani* "and"]. Cf. Hi. *anya.*

15. *anci-* "to select". – Parji *āc-* "to choose, select", Gondi *ācānā.*

16. *anḍa* "bad". – ? (cf. Parji *aḍra,* Kol. *aḍavu* ??).

17. *andphand* "riotous life". – Ku. *luccaphando* stands for Hi. *luccāpan* (but cf. Gu. *phandi* "riotous"). If *-phand* = Aryan *-pan,* the word cannot be derived from *anḍa.*

18. *angarako* "shirt". – ? Bha. compares Skt. *anga-rakṣa-.*

19. *angluij-* "to bathe". Ku. *angul-, angul-ū, anglu-ij* with suffixed object pronoun *-ij* [DhKu. *ãgụlùj, ãgụluj* NHZ.]. For Ku. morphemes in Nah. words see *bommoki, ugāen-.*

20. *angub-* "to yawn". – Ku. *angub,* Sa. *angọp',* Mu. *angob;* Kh. *angọ'bḍ́ạ,* So. *anẻbdā-,* Bo. *ãnub'dā-* (Pi. 78).

21. *anṭi, ānṭi* "for". See *kiānṭi.*

22. *āpa-* "to weep, cry", *āpa-en-kama-* "to make to cry". – ? For *-en-* see s.v. *ugāen-.*

23. *aphir-* "to fly". – Ku. *apir* "to fly away, fail (of money)", DhKu. *aphìr* "to fly" [NHZ.], Sa. *ạpir* "to fly off, escape obliquely", Mu.Ho *apir,* id.; Kh. *pẹnẻr* "wing" (Pi. 362). Cf. Tibetan (Gtsang) *'pʿir* (Standard Tib. *'pʿur*), Dhimal *bhir* "to fly" (Shafer, *J. Bih. Res. Soc.* 36, 1950, 206).

24. *apna* "his (own)" (LSI.). – Ku. *apla, apna.* Cf. Hi. *apnā* and see *ibnije.*

25. *āpo* "fire". – Cf. Indonesian **apuy* (Malay *api*), Ainu *ape, apoi* (? see O. Gjerdman, *Monde Or.* 20 [1926], 41f., 70, 73), Bur. *phu, pfu* ? See Sha. 355, *OrN.* 378, and above, p. 43f.

26. *ara-* "to see". – Sa. *arak' orok'* "gaping, staring", Mu. *arid'* "to gaze, look at" (*PMW.* 109). Not found in Ku. [*arḍu* "tree", see *aḍḍo*].

27. *ārṭhi-* "to make to weep" (Bha.). *Arṭhiki* "make him weep!" (Imper.), *arṭhi-kama-* "to make to weep". – Cf. Parji *arṭip-*, *arṭit-* "to cause to weep or cry", Kolami *ar-*, *ar-t-* "to weep".

28. *aṭa-* "to divide" (LSI.). – Ku. *aṭa, ata, baṭa* "part, portion, piece" = Mar. *vãṭh*; *vãṭṇē* "to distribute, divide" (Hi. *bãṭnā*).

29. *aṭaibini* "how many are there?" (LSI.). Sha. 365 compares *bi* "is", but cf. *ibire* "there is", *imni*. – ? (Cf. Gu. *āḍi* "how much"?). Read *aṭa ibini*? See Nr. 342.

30. *aṭho* "eight" (LSI.). – Ku. *ato-din* "week". Cf. Hi. *āṭh*.

31. *ãṭho* "husband". – ? Bha. compares Ku. *ḍhõṭha* [= *dota, dhoṭa*].

32. *awal* "good" (LSI.). *Awal kā* "is good", *awal-i-* "to find good" (?), *awal-māl* "property". – Ku. *awal*, Ar. Hi. *awwal*.

33. *avar* "house". – Not connected with Ku. *ura*, Sa. *oṛak'*. Note Naiki *āpaḍ, apāṭ*, Naiki of Chanda *ap(p)aṛ* (see IIJ. V, 107a), Kurukh *erpā* (< **eṛṛā* ?).

34. *ay* "mother". *Eṭen ayre-re* "his mother" (probably an error for *ay-re*). – Ku. *aya* [and *ayom* < **ayaṅ*, NHZ.], cf. Kw. *aya*, Sa.Mu. *ayo*, Kolami *ay*. Hardly = Old Prakrit *ayyā-* (Bha. 252); rather a term of the children's language, cf. Old Greek *maĩa* (and *aĩa* "*Mother Earth" > "earth").

35. *ayi* "below". – ?

36. *baba* "father's elder brother, father's sister's husband". – Bha. compares Beng. *baba* "father".

37. *backari* "child" (Bha. 256). But cf. *backar* (p. 250), acc. *backaren* (p. 248). – Read *backa-re* (cf. *palcu-re*) and cf. Mar. *backā*.

38. *bachye* "younger". LSI.: *bācē-gītā, bāśi-gītā* "younger son", also *bācuran* [= **bachye-re ne* or **bachrā ne* ?]. – Mar. *bacyā, baccā* "a young one", or rather Hi. *bacch* "a boy, a child"?. Cf. also Hi. *bachṛā, bachrā, bachrū* "a calf" (> Nah. *bacura*?).

39. *baddi* "bull" (LSI.). – Not found in Ku., but cf. GuB. *bāḍi*, Kolami *barre* "buffalo", Telugu *baṛṛe* "female buffalo".

As for Pkt. *paḍḍa-* (> Qasai *pāḍā*, etc., Sha.), see *Debrunner-Festschrift* 247, n. 23). Cf. *DED.*, Nr. 3208, Berger 45, LSI. XI, 9.

40. *badṛa* "sky". – Ku. *badṛa, badra* "air, cloud, heaven, sky". Cf. Hi. *badrā* "cloud".

41. *bahare* "outside" (LSI.). – Ku. *bahara-n*, Hi. *bāhir, bāhar*.

42. *bai* "elder sister", *bai-re*. – Ku. Kolami, Bhili *bai*. Also in Assamese, Mon (Sha.). See Nr. 128.

43. *bakān-* "to leave, release". – ? [Cannot be connected with Hi. *bacānā* "to rescue, leave, etc.", which would have become **bachāv-*]. Cf. Sa *bạgi*, Mu. *bage*, Kh. *bhagọm*?

[*bako*, see *boko*].

44. *bakra* "a he-goat" (LSI.). – Hi. *bakrā* [Ku. only *bokra* (from Hi. *bokrā*, Mar. *bokaḍ*) and *boṅgora*].

45. *balla* "hill" (LSI.). – Ku. *balla, bala* (cf. Khandesi *baldā*), Kuṇbau *baldā*, LSI. IX/3, 253). Bhili *pēli*, Baori *pēllō* is a different word. Sha. refers to Hi. *bālā* "high, aloft". Note also Tamil *vallai* "hillock, mound".

46. *barḍo* "sickle". – ?

47. *bare, bari* "to, for" (LSI.). – *Āwār barī* "to the house", *hiṅgan bārē* "to me, for me". – Ku. *berẹ, bare* "concerning", probably from Hi. *bar* "on account of". Cf. Mar. *vārĩ* "by means of, for the sake of" (Nepali *bārē mā* "concerning, about", Turner, *Nep. Dict.* 435b).

48. *bāro-* "to sing". – ? If related to Tamil *pāṭu-*, Kolami, Parji *pāḍ-* (Bha. 256, cf. *DED.*, Nr. 3348), note Kurukh *pāṛ-nā*, Malto *pāṛ-e*. But initial surds of Dravidian loan-words are not voiced in Nahali.

49. *basi* "small" (LSI.). – Probably = *bachye*.

50. *baṭam-* in *jappo baṭam-* "to be thirsty". – Cf. Ku. *ta-taṅ*, Sa. *tetaṅ*, Mu.Ho *tetaṅ*, Mon *thaṅ* (Khasi *thaṅ-an* "to hunger"). For *ṅ > m* in final position cf. Ku. *bulum* "salt" (Kherwari *buluṅ*, with nasalization of final *-h*, cf. Bahnar, Stieng, etc. *bŏh*), *gonom* "price" (Sa.Mu. *gọnọ̃*, from *gọṅ* "to give in marriage"), *galam* "to plait, braid" (: Sa.Mu.Ho *galaṅ*, cf. So. *gal*, Pa. *ginal*), *kalam* "to pick" (: Sa. *halaṅ*). But *ba-* is puzzling. Hardly a prefix (cf. Ku. *barab* "to pat", if *ba + rab*: Kui *ṛaba, ṛava* "to pat, rap"??). Connexion dubious.

51. *baṭe, bāṭe* "now". – ? See *bay* and *bhāṭe*.

52. *baṭuko* "mango". – ?

53. *bay* "today". LSI.: *bāāya* [= *ba'ay* or *ba'j*?]. – Connected with *baṭe*?

54. *be-* "to give". *Eṭeyke bebe* "give him". – GuB. *bē* (cf. Belanda *bā*, Jakun *ban*?. See Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, Vocabulary, G 34). Sha. compares Tibeto-Burman *bi*, *byī*, *pi*, *pē*. See p. 46.

55. *bekki-* "to reap". – ?

56. *beko* "no" (LSI.). See *beṭe*.

57. *beri-* "to cut wood". – ?

58. *berko* "cat". LSI.: *berkū*. – Kurukh *berxa*, Malto *berge-θ*, Kannada *bekku* (Sha.).

59. *beṭa* "son". – Not found in Ku. Cf. Hi. *beṭā*.

60. *beṭe* (*beṭe-l, beṭela*) "there is not, it is not". *Eṭey hiṭiki hey beṭela* "he is not here", *hi avarki mancho hey beṭel* "there is no man in the house" (*hey* = Hi. *hai*). See *hele*. From *be* + *-ṭe*, cf. *ho-ṭe*. Older form probably *beṭa* (LSI. 188). This seems to be an inflected verbal form, just like *bek*, *biki-l* which, when combined with a root morpheme, denotes a negative future tense, e.g. *bek kōr* "will not take", *cāṭo bep pāṭo* "hunger will not be felt", *bek kamay jere* "will not be done", *bikil beṭṭo* "will not die, is not dying", *bikil paḍa* "will not kill". This is probably closely related to Ku. *ba-kī* "don't!" (Drake, *Grammar of the Kúrkú Language*, 69, 122), derived from *ba(ṅ)* "not" with the transitive morpheme *-ki* (which in Nahali forms the 2nd pers. imper. of transitive and causative verbs, e.g. *keṭṭo-ki* "put out fire", *eger-ki* "remove", *peṭe-ki* "make to sit", Bha. 251). But for a negative imperative Nahali, unlike Kurku, uses *bi-j(i)*, e.g. *bij anci* "do not select", *bic cāvgo* "do not be afraid", *biji pāṭo* "do not come", *biji iyēr* "do not go" (Bha. 251). See also *beko*. – Ku. *baṅ, ba-ki*, Sa. *ba(ṅ)*, Ho *ba*, Kw. *bai* "not", Mu. *ban-o'* "without, not, to cause to be without" (cf. Sa. *baṇ-uk'* "not to be, not exist").

61. *beṭṭo-* "to die" (LSI.: *bēṭo-*). Past tense *beṭṭ-i* "died" (LSI.: *bēṭṭīrī* "was dead").–Sha. compares Poguli Kashmiri *phaṭ-*.

62. 1. *bī-* "to rise, sun to rise, come out", *bī-kama-* "to turn out". LSI.: *bī* "arising" [= *bi-i* "arose"], *bēī-kē* "having arisen" [but cf. p 54]. – Ku. *bid*, Sa. *bereṭ'*, Mu. Bh. *birid'* (with infix *-ir-*). N.B. No trace of final *-'d* in Nahali!

63. 2. *bi* "is". See *imni*.

64. 3. *bi* "also". *Nē-ke bi cāṭo pāṭi* "you were also hungry".–Ku. *bhi*. Cf. Hi. *bhi*.

65. *bica* "why"; *bica-* "to ask" (LSI.). *Bicāw-ē* "asked". – For
the meaning cf. Mar. *vicārṇẽ* "to ask, enquire after", for
the form Hi. *bicārnā* "to reflect, consider".

66. *biḍum* (m.), *biḍi* (f.n.) "one" (Bha.). But LSI. has *bidi* also
for the masculine gender, e.g. *jo nē bhāgyārango-kī bidi
okībē* "put me as one among thy servants", *bhāṅgyāmijār-
kū bidarī-nā* "one [accusative] of the servants". Since
gender distinction would be anomalous (cf. *irar!*), *biḍ-um*
is perhaps rather a formation like Ku. *mi-kọm* "one only,
single". – Different from Ku. *mia*; an individual represent-
ative of the Munda word for "one". For *b-* cf. So. *ĕboí*,
Pa. *boi*, for the suffix *-'d* cf. Mu. *moyad'*, *miad'*, Sa. *mit'*,
So. *mid-* (in compounds). See Pi. 264 and above, p. 38.

67. *bihoṭ-chago* "against"? (LSI.). *Bhagwān-bihoṭ-chāgo nē ābā
sāmnē* "against God and before my father". The exact
meaning and form of the word(s?) is uncertain. Perhaps
with a glide before retroflex *ṭ* (cf. *kohaṭī = koṭṭi* and see
above, p. 29f.) = Hi. *bheṭ + saṅg* (both = "meeting"). See
chaṅgo.

68. *birṭom* "husband's elder brother, wife's elder sister [?],
father-in-law". Formation like *nāpyom, karyom*. – ? Note
-um in Ho *hapanum* "bride".

69. *bis* "twenty" (LSI.). – Hi. *bīs*. [Note Ku. *isa*, Sa.Mu. *isi*].

70. *biṭil* "sand". – Ku. *bitil*, Mon *petēī* [*btī*]. Cf. Sa. Mu.Ho *gitil*,
id.

71. *biya* "village". – ? (Cf. Berger 59).

72. *biyaw* "marriage" (LSI.). – Ku. *biyau*, Hi. *byāh*.

73. *bokki-* "to bind, to tie something". – ?

74. *boko, bokko* "hand". LSI.: *bako*. – ? Comparison with Jakun
pak, Semang *pāk*, *ta-pak* "to slap", Malay *tapak* "palm,
sole" [Sha. 356] leaves *b-* unexplained.

75. *bologo* "bear". – Not found in Ku. Bha. compares Skt.
bhalluka-, but Turner, *Nep. Dict.* 475b, gives no NIA.
words with *-g-*.

76. *bommoki* "brothers". – Ku. *bumbuki* (St. Mark 12 : 20),
bumbaku (St. Luke 20 : 29); *bhumkuki* in Miss Ramsay's
Vocabulary (Calcutta 1914) must be a printer's error for
bhumbuki. Bha.'s statement that Nah. *bommoki* is a dual
form is in accordance with Miss Ramsay's (Ku. *aliṅ
bhumbuki* "we two brothers"), but contrasts with the use
in the Gospels (*ē bumbukī dān*, resp. *yē būmbākū dān* "there
were seven brethren"). Apparently *-ki* is a variant of the

normal dual suffix in Kurku, viz. *-kiṅ* (Kherwari *-kin*).
The Nahali word must then be the Kurku dual form,
borrowed as an unanalysable unit. Bha.'s suggestion (p.
247: infix *-mo-* : Mu. *boko* "younger brother") disregards
the Ku. word. [N.H. Zide refers to Ku. *būbuluj* "an
umbilical kinsman" (used for cousins as well) and suggests
that Ku. *būbuki* contains the word for "navel". See Nr. 81].

77. *bonḍe* "near" (LSI.). – ?

78. *boṭor* "hare". – Cf. Gondi *bhaṭēlyā* (LSI. IV, 521)? Ku. has
the common Munda word, viz. *kuala* (cf. Kherwari *kulai*,
kulae).

79. *bōy* "grass, fodder; a Nahāl clan-name". – Perhaps for *bo'j*?
But cf. Bhili *bōḍ*, id. (LSI. IX/3, 71). Kw. *boi* "wood" has
a different meaning.

80. *buḍu-* "sun, moon to set". – Hi. *būṛnā*, but final *-u* and *ḍ*
of the Nah. word are not explained. [Cf. Ku. *buṛa-* "to
sink"].

81. *bumli* "navel". – Ku. *bombli*, id. from the same source. Note
Tulu *puvalu*, *puvoḷu*, id. (: Tam. *pokkuḷ*, *pōkil*, etc., DED.
Nr. 3652). [For the Kherwari words (Sa.Bh. *bukạ* : Mu.Ho
buṭi : So. *puḍi*) see *IIJ*. II, 240 and Pi. 375.]

82. *bhaga* "big, older", *bhaga-* "to grow". *Bhaga day* "elder
brother", *bhaga may* "father's elder brother's wife, mother's
elder sister". LSI.: *bhāgā dēc* "distant country", *bhāgā-
ḍhāwā* "far". – Cf. Kurukh *bagge* "much, many". [Tel.
baga, Sa. *boge* "well" are semantically divergent.]

83. *bhagiya, bhagya, bhaṅgya* "servant". – Ku. *bhagiya* "servant",
bhagini "maid", Gondi *ban(i)hiyārk* "servants" (LSI. 513).
Cf. Mar. *bhaṅgī* "an individual of a particular low caste,
who are sweepers".

84. *bhai* "with"? (LSI.). *Dēśo bhāi* "with my friends". – The
context requires a postposition, hence comparison with
Hi. *bhāi* (*dēc-bhāi* lit. "brother of the country", Sha. 355)
is ruled out. Perhaps = Kolami *bai* "side"? It is morpho-
logically difficult to connect it with So. *bátte* "with" (Pa.
ba'ator). Note Chaudangsi *bhā* "together" (see p. 46).

85. *bhanja* "sister's son". – Ku. *bhanja* [NHZ.]. Cf. Hi. *bhǎjā*.

86. *bhaṭe* "then" (LSI.). Probably different from *bāṭe* "now". –
Cf. Ku. (Nimar dialect!) *baṭo-n*, Locative of *baṭo*, which
is from Ar.Hi. *bād* "subsequent", just as Ku. *madato* "help"
is from Ar.Hi. *madad*. The final vowel of *bhaṭ-e* then remains
unexplained.

87. *bhavri* "back of the body". LSI.: *bhāwḍi*. – Ku. *bhauri* (with *au* which is regularly rendered by *av* in Nah.). Origin unknown. Note Bhili *boyda* (Naik, *The Bhils* 240).

88. *bheriya-* "to fill (v.i.)", *bheriya-kama-* "to fill (v.t.)". – Cf. Hi. *bharnā*, but formation not quite clear. [Ku. has *bharati-yu*, resp. *bharati-ki* from Hi. *bhartī* "filling".]

89. *bhilla* "kite". – Ku. *bila*.

90. *bhitar-ke* "inside, [down, under]" (LSI.). – Ku. *bhitra*. Cf. Hi. *bhītar*.

91. *bhom-* "to go"? (LSI.). *Bhōm-be* (? or *bhūm-be*? The print in LSI. 274 is not clear) "walk!" – Ku. *bọ* "to go" (= Hi. *calnā*), e.g. *iyã samman bō* "walk before me" (LSI. 274), *abuṅ bọ* "let us go!" (St. Mark 14 : 42). Cf. Digaru Mishmi *bo-*, Shina *bo* (Taraon *bōke*, *bōge* "let us go!").

92. *bhut* "devil" (LSI.). – Hi. *bhūt* [Ku. has *bhuto*].

93. *cacak-kama-* "to heat"; *cacŭko* "hot". – ?

94. *cago* "stone". – ? Not found in Ku. Bha. 254 compares Mu. *ciḍgi*, id., but Mu. *cidgi* [*sic*] means "to stone" (Bhaduri), "to lift up, generally with both hands, some heavy object [a heavy stone or piece of wood] and throw it at somebody in a downward direction" (*Encyclopaedia Mundarica* 807). No connexion with Kurukh *cācā*, Malto *cáce* "stone, rock".

95. *cain-* "to make merry" (LSI.). *Cain-gā* [= *cain-ka.*] – Hi. *cain* "ease, repose, rest", *cain karnā* "to enjoy oneself". [*caini* "before" (LSI.). See *ceyni*].

96. *cakari* "service" (LSI.). – Ku. *cakari*. Cf. Hi. *cākarī*.

97. *cakoṭo, cekoṭo* "axe" (Bha. 249, 254). – ? Cf. Kurukh *caknā* "to sharpen" (*DED.*, Nr. 1878)? Or cf. Telugu *cekku-* "to pare", Kui *sekali* "to scrape (with a hoe)" (*DED.*, Nr. 2266)? Berger 57 compares Burushaski *čak* "axe". For *-ṭo* see Nrs 248 and 279.

98. *cakha-* "to ascend, climb up". – Cf. Kolami *sok-*, Naiki *sokk-*, Parji *cokk-*, id. (*DED.*, Nr. 2319). But *-a-*!

99. *cakhav-* "to sweep". – ?

100. *calaṅ* "sound" (LSI.). – Ku. *cala*; cf. Hi. *cāl* "a tune, an air".

101. *cān* "fish". – ? [Ku. *cade* "a certain kind of fish"]. Note Muci *chān rui* "fish" (lit. *rohit* fish caught in net), S. Sen, *Ind. Ling.* 16, 18.

102. *cana* "dance"; *cana-* "to dance". – ?

103. *candi* "silver" (LSI.). – Ku. *candi*. Cf. Hi. *cãdi*.
     [*car-* "to come" (LSI.) does not exist. See *cerk-*].

104. *cara(v)-* "to graze" (LSI.). *Cāḍākkē* "for grazing" [= *cara(v)-ke*], *carāwkēdinī* "(he) is grazing (cattle)" [= *carav-ka* ...].
     – Ku. *cara-e, caraw-e, caraw-a*. Cf. Hi. *carānā, carāw*.

105. *carkaḍ* "waist". Like Ku. words in *-ḍ* probably for *carka'd*.
     – ? Morphologically cf. Mu. *borkod'*, Ho *borkod*, Bh.
     borokōd "lungs" (: Sa. *bọkọ*, id. and So. *bĕrọ́-*); blending
     or "Streckform"?

106. *carko* "black-faced monkey". – ? [Suffix *-ko*, cf. Mu. *sara'*,
     Ho Ku. *sara* "monkey"??.] See p. 44.

107. *cāṭo* "hunger". LSI.: *cāṭ-kū* "from hunger". – Hi. *cāṭ* "wish,
     longing, keen desire". Otherwise Berger 57 (suffix *-ṭo*).

108. *cāvg(o)-* "to be afraid". *Bac cāvgo* "will not be afraid",
     cāvg-i "was afraid". – ?

109. *ceki-* "to catch hold of, to hold, arrest, catch". – Neither
     the meaning of Hi. *cheknā* "to obstruct, to stop" (Sha.),
     nor that of Drav. *cikk-* "to become entangled, be caught"
     (*DED.*, Nr. 2060) corresponds to that of the Nah. word.
     [*cekoṭo*, see *cakoṭo*.]

110. *cergo-* "to run". LSI.: Imper. *cergo-bē*, Past tense *cērg-ē*. – ?
     If *-go-* is a suffix (cf. *cāvgo-*?), *cergo-* may be analysed as
     **saru+go-* (cf. *cerko-* / *carko-*) and perhaps be connected
     with Ku. *sarub-* "to run". [Possibly **saru-* / **sarub-*? See
     haru- and *ṭu-*.]

111. *cerk(o)-* "to fall". Bha. gives *cerk-* but *cerko-kama-* (like *mer-*
     "to play" but *mero-kama-*); however *cerk-* probably occurs
     only before vowels, e.g. in *cerk-i* "fell", which is found in
     iṭī dēc-kē kāl cark-ē "famine fell in that country" [not:
     "came" (LSI.). Cf. e.g. Ku. *kāḍ kāl bōcōen* (Muwasi *barā
     kāl bacōkan*) "a great famine fell", Koḍa *mārāṅ ākāl
     pọ̄rāyenā*, and e.g. Beldari *dukāl paḍō* (LSI. XI, 24)]. –
     Cf. perhaps Tamil *carukku-* "to slip", Kannada *saraku-* "to
     slip, slide", Malto *jarqe* "to be dropped, fall" (*DED.*,
     Nr. 1950).

112. *ceyni* "previously". LSI.: *caini* "before". – ?

113. *cicca* "tamarind, a Nahāl clan-name". – Ku. *cica*. Cf. Mar.
     cinc (Hi. *cincinī*), Telugu *cinca* = *cinta*, Skt. *ciñcā-* (*PMW.*
     135).

114. *cigam* "ear". – ? [Sha. compares Mongolian *shixaṅ, shikaṅ*,
     etc.]

115. *cikal, sikal* "earth". – Ku.Kol. *cikal* "mud". Cf. Mar.
cikhal, id., and Skt. *cikhalla-, cikhila-, i-cikila-* "mud",
Mar. *cigaḍhāṇa* "muddiness".

116. *cikn-* [?] "to hear" (LSI.). *Cikni* "heard". – ? If *k* sometimes
denotes the glottal stop (? see s.v. *ṭo-*), *ci'n-* might be
connected with Ku. *cina* "to recognize, know" = Hi.
cin(h)nā "to know, recognize, distinguish". [Hardly related
to *cigam* (Sha.). As for Hi. *sikhnā, sīkhnā* "to learn" see
s.v. *sikh-*. Cf. *cim(n)-* and *pehena-(tiṅ-)* with *-n-* of the Indo-
Aryan infinitive.

117. *cipo-* "to stand" (LSI.). *Cipo-bē* (Imper.). – Sha. compares
Naga Tib. Burm. *cāp*, but a more recent borrowing would
seem more likely on account of *-o*. See p. 46.

118. *coggom* "pig". LSI.: *cogum, jogom* "swine". – ? In view of
such words for "swine" as Kanjari *ghurghur* (cf. *DED.*,
Nr. 1381), Ḍom *bhubhur*, Ḍomṛa *bhumbhur* (LSI. XI, 103,
147, 150) we may consider the possibility that *coggom*
originally denoted a sound; cf. Mu. *cakob* "to eat making
a sound as pigs when eating". Hence *coggom* from **cogo'b*?
May be a comparatively recent slang word in its application
to pigs.

119. *cokob'* "leaf of a tree, a Nahāl clan-name". – Bha. suggests
a connexion with Ku. Sa.Mu. *sakom* "leaf", but according
to him the same word does occur in Nahali. See also *pala*.

120. *cōn* "nose". LSI. *coon* is rather **cuōn* than **co'on*. Bha.
246 denies the existence of a glottal stop in Nah. and Ku.
(cf. however N. H. Zide, *Ind. Ling.* 19, 45) but notes "a
tendency to diphthongise or split up a long vowel". – Note
in Nepal: Vayu *co'no* (with "the abrupt tone", cf. Hodgson,
Miscellaneous Essays I, 216 n. 2), Bahing *nö*, Rai *u-nu*,
and see B. Laufer, *T'oung Pao* 17 (1916), 29, Shafer, *J. Bih.
Res. Soc.* 36 (1950), 208; above, p. 47.

121. *copo* "salt". – Gadba Salur *cuppu*, Ollari *sup*, Kolami *sup*,
Naiki *supp*, Parji *cup* (*DED.*, Nr. 2201). The exact source
of the Nah. word cannot be determined. [Ku. has the
common Munda word, viz. *bulum, buluṅ*.]

122. *cōr* "thief". – Ku. *cor*. Cf. Hi. *cor*.

123. *corṭo* "blood". – Cf. Tamil, Malayalam *cōri*, Koḍagu *cōre*
"blood" (*DED.*, Nr. 2353). Suffix *-ṭo* (Berger 57)? Cf.
Muci *jorṭā* "two" from Beng. *jorā* "couple" (see above,
p. 13). [Ku. has *pacna* instead of the common Munda
word (but dialectally *maṅum*, NHZ.)]

124. *cyō-* "to urinate". *Cyō-ya* "urinated". – ?

125. *cuṭṭi-* "to pound". *Cuṭṭiye* "pounded". – ?

126. *chāh* "six" (LSI.). – Hi. *cha*.

127. *chama-ki* "before" (LSI.). *Iṅgē chāmākī bhōmbē* "walk before
     me". – *Chama-ki* is a locative like Ku. *samma-n* (cf. Ku.
     samma-ten (lit. "from before"). Not from Hi. *sāmne*
     "before, in front of" (see Nah. *samne*). A Munda word
     *maṅ occurs in Sa. *m-aṛ-aṅ* "front, before", *samaṅ* "front,
     to place in front of", Mu. *samaṅ, sanamaṅ, sanmaṅ* "front,
     in front of", Ho *maṅ-re, samaraṅ-re, sanmaṅ-re* (with the
     locative suffix *-re*), id., etc. Cf. So. *ĕmaṅ* "at, near". Ku.
     samma- "front" (no longer used as a noun) probably stands
     for **sanma-, *s-an-ama-* (cf. Mu.), an infixed derivative of
     *sama-, which may be connected with Sa. *samaṅ* on the sup-
     position of a root morpheme **mah / *maṅ*. Cf. e.g. So. Kh.*r'ā-*
     "to blossom" : Mon *rāṅ*, id., Bahnar *arāṅ* "flower"; Bahnar
     bih : Ku. *biṅ* "snake"; So. *jálē-, jelē-* "long" : Ju. *jaliṅ*, Mu.
     Bh.Ho *jiliṅ*, etc. (*OrN.* 397). The Nah. word is most likely a
     borrowing from Ku.; it then represents the infixed form,
     with the Nah. locative suffix added. Kurukh *chamhē*
     "before", if derived from Munda, points to a period when
     Kurukh was in contact with Kurku(-Nahali?). See p. 38 n.

128. *chaṅgo* "joined"? (LSI.). *Biyāwten bāi-rē n chaṅgo jērē* "(he)
     is married to his sister" (with the genitive? Cf. Ku. *Yiśu-ka
     saṅgon am bhī dān* "thou also wast with Jesus", but note
     Nah. *ētarēn bāirēn-kū ūncā* "taller than his sister" (LSI.
     274). – Ku. *saṅgo-n* "with", Locative of **saṅgo* = Hi.
     saṅg "along, in company with". Note the Ku. instrumental
     form in *-ten*! See also *bīhoṭ-chāgo*.

129. *chāti* "chest of the body". – Ku. *chati*, Hi.Mar. *chātī*.

130. *che* "yesterday". – Bha. compares Ku. *cho* (unknown to
     me and to Zide). Any connexion with Yakha *āchēn*? Note
     Kurukh *cērō*.

131. *cheṅga* "husks" (LSI.). – Not found in Ku. Cf. Mar. *śēg* "a
     pod", Gondi (Basim dialect) *śēṅgā* (LSI. 502), Bhili *sēgli,
     hĩgē, hẽge, hiṅga, śēgō, śiṅgō, sēṅg, hiṅgo, śiṅg* (LSI. IX/3,
     57, 60, 70, 86, 89, 91, 93, 120, 131), Oḍki (Gipsy language)
     siṅgā (LSI. XI, 34).

132. *cheri* "goat". LSI.: *chiri* "female goat". – Ku. *śiri, siri,
     siṛi (seri), [siṛi NHZ.]*, id., from Mar. *śeli (śeraḍi)*; cf. Hi.
     cheri, etc. and note Vayu *cīli*, Pahari *cālā* (corresponding
     to Pkt. *chelaa-* : *chāla-*, from Skt. *chagala-*). Burushaski

tsīr : Wercikwar *tsigir* seems to be parallel to Hi. *cherī* : *chagrī*. [For Kolami *sir* "female buffalo" see *DED.*, Nr. 2104.]

133. *chiḍu* "wine". — Ku. *śidu, sidho* "liquor, wine". Cf. Skt. *sīdhu-*? Not found in Mar.Hi. Cf. Berger 38, n. 23.

134. *chikār* "hunt". — Ku. *sikar*, Hi. *sikār*.

135. *chim(n)-* "to sew". — Bha. compares Skt. *sīv-*. Perhaps from Mar. *śivṇē*, like Panj. *sīmṇā* from *sīvṇā* (cf. Panj. *siuṇā*). See Turner, *Nep.Dict.* 603b. [Ku. *śu-* apparently for *śiu- = Mar. *śiv-*.]

136. *chocho* "kind of fruit, a Nahāl clan-name". — Ku. *soso*, Sa. Mu.Kh. *soṣọ*, Ho. *soso* "the Marking-nut tree, Semicarpus anacardium Linn. var. cuneifolia". See Pi. 111. A Nah. variant is *soso* (Bha. 257).

137. *chokra, sokṛa* "bread". LSI.: *chokḍā*. — Ku. *tsokra, śokra, sokra* [DhKu. *sokọraq*, NHZ.]. Cf. Mar. *cokhaḷā* "bread, cake".

138. *chũi* "needle". — Ku. *sui* [NHZ.] Cf. Hi. *sũi*.

139. *chunḍuku* "box" (sic Bha. 254. Assimilation or mere error for *chunḍuko*?). — Ku. *sanduko* [*sũduk(k)o*, NHZ.]; from Ar.Hi. *sandūk*.

140. *dada* "elder brother" (LSI.). — Ku.Sa.Mu.Kh. *dada*, Kolami *dādak*, id. See *ḍai*.

141. *ḍaḍi* "beard". — Ku. *dadi* [*daṛì* NHZ.]. Cf. Hi. *dāṛhī*.

142. *ḍai, ḍay* "elder brother, any senior man not much older than the speaker". [LSI.: *daya-re* "younger brother"!.] — Ku. (Amraoti, Nimar) *dhai* "elder brother", Sa. *ḍai* "elder sister", etc. Note Oḍki (Gipsy language) *dhāyḍā* "younger", LSI. XI, 34.

143. *ḍan, ḍani* "was, were". *Ara-ka ḍan* "was seeing", *ara-ka ḍani* "had seen" (Bha. 250). — Very difficult problem. Beside Ku. *da-e, da-ki* "to do" there occurs an intransitive form *da-u* "to become", past tense *da-en, dayen, dawen* "became". If Ku. *dān* "was, were" were a contraction of *daen* in its function of "mot accessoire" (as suggested by Drake, *Grammar* 88, n. 2), the final *-n* of Ku. *dān* would be the Ku. suffix of the past tense. But in some dialects we also find *dā*, cf. Akola *baṅ dā* "was not" (for *baṅ dān*, *Grammar* 89). On the other hand, Ku. (Nimar) *ḍāken ḍān* "was born" (: Muwasi *dā-ken* "were") might suggest the idea of a verbal particle (cf. *dun, du* "was not"). If Nah. *ḍan*

is not a mere borrowing from Ku., it disproves the analysis
of Ku. *dān* as *da-en*. On the other hand, the LSI. text has
dā, e.g. *hoytarē dhāwākī dā* "he was far", *harpī dā* "(he)
was lost". The form *dani* has no equivalent in Ku. where
dān is used also to express "had been" (*Grammar* 90). The
exact analysis of *dan*, *da* "was" remains uncertain. See
p. 32. Cf. So. *dē-* "to become"(?), Lower Kanauri *dā-mu*
"to become, happen" (T. Grahame Bailey, *Linguistic
Studies from the Himalayas* 73), Abor-Miri and Dafla *dāk*,
dā "to be" (LSI. III/1, 596). [Asuri *i-dan* "is" (Konow,
LSI. IV, 173) is not clear to me. Mon *dah* "to become" =
Bahnar *dah* "to sprout".]

144. *daṇḍo* "upper arm". – According to Bha. also in Ku. Cf.
Kolami *danḍa*, Parji *ḍanḍa* (*DED.*, Nr. 2476).

145. *ḍaṅgo* "branch of a tree". – Ku. *dagan* (see *Kirfel-Fest-
schrift* 181) does not correspond exactly. Note also Hi.
ḍõghī, Kui *ḍēga*, etc. (*PMW.* 65).

146. *das* "ten" (LSI.). – Hi. *das*. [Ku. has *gel*, *gelya*.]

147. *de-* "to give" (LSI.). *Hī rupyā ētarēn dēkē* "give this rupee to
him" (LSI. 274, against *bē-bē* "give!", p. 254). – Cf. Palaung
deh and, with final nasalization, Ju. *diṅ* "to give" (cf. *ṭē-*,
chamaki, and OrN. 397). See *indē*. Or rather = Hi. *denā*?

148. *dec* "country" (LSI.). – Ku. *deśo*! Cf. Hi. *des*, *deś*. [Sa. *disom*,
Mu. *disum*, Ho *diśum* are probably earlier borrowings.]

149. *deḍḍa* "frog". – Ku. *dedda* [*deddaq*, NHZ.]. Cf. Pkt. *ḍeḍḍura-
a variant of *daddura-* (= Skt. *dardura-*).

150. *ḍelen-* "to drink". – ?

151. *deśo* "friend" (LSI.). *Dēśo-bhāi* "with my friends". – Not =
dec + Hi. *bhāi* "brother" (Sha.), cf. GuB. *ḍisēl* "friends"
(LSI. IV, 232), perhaps also Kurukh *ḍis* "brother"?

152. *devta* "Sun, God". LSI.: *dēwtā*. – Ku. *devta*, *deota* (NHZ.).
Cf. Hi. *dewtā*.

153. *dia*, *dia* "day". LSI.: *diyā dēwtā* "sun" [= "the deity (of)
the day"]. – Ku. *dia* "day", *dia dia* "daily". Sha. compares
Skt. *divā* [? Hi. *diyā*, *diyā* means "light, lamp", from Skt.
dīpa-].

154. *lin*, *din* "day". *Ḍino-ka* (*dinaka*, Bha. 250) "daily". – Ku.
din, Hi. *din*.

155. *lo* "and". LSI.: *dō*. Used like *ne*. – Ku. *do*, *ḍo*, GuB. *ḍon(g)*,
So. *dō*, Sa. *aḍọ*. Cf. Malto *ado*(<Sa.).

156 *ọba* "bull". – Ku. *doba* "ox, bull, bullock" [*dobaq* "bullock",
NHZ.], Mar. *ḍobaḍ* "female buffalo", Bhili *ḍobe* "cattle"
(LSI. IX/3, 115).

157. *dokco-* "to come out". *Corṭo dokco-ka* "blood is coming out".
 – ? [Note Bhojpuri *dhukdhukā* "to rise and fall".]

158. *ḍoṅga* "a variety of ant of big size". – Ku. *ḍoṅga* "a large black ant", Mar. *ḍõglā* "a species of large ant".

159. *ḍoṅgor* "hill, jungle, forest". – Ku. *ḍoṅgor*. Cf. Hi. Mar. *ḍõgar* "hill, mountain", etc.

160. *ḍora* "rope" (LSI.). – Ku. *ḍora*, Hi. *ḍorā*.

161. *dud, ḍuḍ* "milk" (Bha. 246). – Ku. *dudh*, Hi. *dūdh*. Cf. also Ku. *didom* [*didòm*, Pachmarhi *dudòm*, NHZ.] from Mar. *dedum*.

162. *ḍugi* "red-faced monkey". – Ku. *dhugi* [*ḍugi*, NHZ.] "baboon, a redfaced monkey". Cf. Sakai *dok*, Tembi, Senoi *dok*[n], Stieng *duk*, Bahnar *dŏk*, Chrau *dŏk*, Halang *mödok*, Sedang *dŏ* "monkey". Relation to *ḍugi* not clear.

163. *ḍukri may* "father's sister". – Ku. *dokri, dukri* "old woman, wife"; Hi. *ḍokrī* "old woman" (: Hi.Mar. *ḍokrā* "aged, old").

164. *dhan, dhan-mal* "property, wealth" (LSI.). – Ku. *dhan*, Hi. *dhan*.

165. *dhaṅkar* "shepherd" (LSI.). Read *dhaṅgar* (= "servant, agricultural labourer, shepherd", W. Ruben, *Eisenschmiede und Dämonen in Indien*, 118). – Hi. *dhãgar* "a caste whose business it is to dig wells, tanks, etc.". Cf. Kolami *dhaṅgar* "shepherd", from Mar.

166. *dhapri* "bank of a river, a Nahāl clan-name". – According to Bha. also in Ku. [but Ku. *dhapri*, name of a sept, means properly "ass" according to Drake, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 7, 760].

167. *dhava* "far, distant". LSI.: *ḍhāwā, dhāwā* (the first form both LSI. 188 and 274). *Bhāgā dhāwā* (p. 254, *bh.ḍh.* p. 274) = "very far". *Hoytarē ḍhāwā-kīdā* "he was far" (read: *hoytarē ḍhāwā-ki dā*). – Cf. the so-called "Bhili" dialect of Kolami *dhāu* "far", *dhāvāḍ* "from afar", Kolami *davva* "distant", Naiki *dhāv* "distance", Telugu *davvu* "distance, distant" (*DED.*, Nr. 2540, cf. *Kolami*, p. 263). See further above, p. 47.

168. *dhol* "drum". – Ku. *dhol*, Hi. *dhol*.

169. *dhor* "cow". LSI. *dhottā* "cows", "cattle" (pp. 262, 274) seems to be the plural form **dhor-ṭa* (like Ku. *dhor-ku* "cattle"), but cf. *bidi dhottā* "a cow", *dhattā* "cow" (LSI. 262, 250) and Baori (Lahore) *ēk dhaṭṭō* "a bull". – Ku. *dhor-ku* "cattle". Cf. Hi. Mar. *dhor* "cattle, beast", Kolami *dōr*,

Gondi *ḍhōṛ-k* "cattle" (LSI. 518), also GuB. *dhoraī* "shepherd", etc. Probably connected with Gondi *ṭālī*, Bhili *ṭōlī* "cow" (LSI. IX/3, 9), Bhili *ṭōḍã* "cattle". See Berger 62, 81.

170. *ḍhulla* "dust". – Hi. *dhūl*. [Ku. has *duri*, Mu. *dhuri*, etc.; Kolami *durra* "earth, soil, mud" (but this meaning is expressed by *cikal* in Nah.).]

171. *e, ye* "o!". – Cf. Sa. *e*.

172. *eḍ-, iyēr-* "to go". [Bha. 253 gives both *iyēr-/eḍ-* "to come" and *er- / iyr-* "to go", but both verbs must be identical, and the meaning "to come" is an error]. Imper. *eḍ-e* "go!" (Bha. 251); fut. *ĭērken* (Bha. 246: *iēnken*), past tense *ērid-kā* "went" (LSI.) must perhaps be read *eri ka*. Cf. *ēdē, ēri* "went" LSI. 270.) Since *iyēr-* has a rising diphthong from *ē* (Bha. 246) the root is *ēḍ-/ēr-*, with a vacillation between retroflex (*ēdē* "go!", LSI. 250 = *eḍe*, Bha.) and *r*. Perhaps *r > ḍ* before vowels (see *carav-, chokra, buḍu-*?), as against *jō er-ka* "I am going" (Bha. 250, = *jo ēr-gā* LSI. 270), with free variation between *ēr-* and *iēr-*. – So. *irā-, yir-* "to go" (*er-te* "will go"). Sha. compares Mongolian *ire* "to come". See Pi. 250.

173. *eḍŭgo* "fly". – ? Although *ḍ* may stand for *r* (see *eḍ-*), Ku. *ruku*, Sa. *ro*, So. *ĕrǒy-* (Sha., Pi. 268) cannot be connected with it. Kh. *koṇḍoy* with *ḍ < r* after nasal leaves both *ḍ* and *eg/ek* in Nah. * *eḍgo* (if < *eg-ḍo) unexplained. For th weak vowel -*ŭ*- cf. *cacŭk-o* beside *cacak-*. Kolami, Naiki *edg-* "to drive away" is semantically aberrant, but note Tamil *oluṅku* "big mosquito".

174. *eger-* "to remove (v.i.)", *eger-kama-*, id. (v.t.). – ? Note Kolami, Naiki *edg-* "to drive away".

175. *ejer* "boy" (LSI.). For *ējē rāṇḍā* "bad boy" (beside *pērij-āṇḍā* "bad girl") read *ejer anḍa* (see *anḍa*). – Cannot be connected with Pa. *iṅger*, Gu. *oṅgera ōn* "young man", So. *óṅgēr-* "male being, husband", Kh. *kon-gheṛ* "young man, slave, servant" (Pi. 153f.).

176. *eṅge* "my", *eṅga* "our" (Bha. 248). Bha.'s inference that *eṅga*, as an adaptation of the Ku. genitive *iṅga, iṅa* (from *iṅ* "I") is only used for "our" is not confirmed by his materials (249: *eṅga aba* "my father". Quite different is LSI. *ēṅgē, ēṅgā = iṅgē, hiṅgē* "his", for which Bha. has *eṭe-n, eṭey-na*. See *iṅge*. – Cf. Kurukh *eṅghai* "my, of me" (Hahn, Kurukh Grammar 18), *yeṅghē* (LSI. 433), Malto *eṅg* and see p. 28f.

177. *enger* "burning charcoal" (different from *kolya*). – Not known
from Ku. If direct borrowing from Hi. *ãgrā*, *enger* is an
instance of *a > e* (Berger 39). Note Mu. *engel*, remodelled
after *sengel* "fire", but a similar influence of Ku. *singēl*,
tšingel, *tsingel*, *singal* would have produced **ingel*.
[**ēpṭa*, see *iēpṭa*.]

178. *ete(y)* "he, that person", dual *iṭṭel* "they two", plural *eṭla*
"they" (plural suffix *-la* only here, Bha. 247); *eṭe-n* "his".
LSI.: *ēta-rē* (*ita-rē* 188). The difference between Bha. and
LSI. is due to the use of different suffixes to distinguish the
animate from the inanimate. For the use of *-re* after *eṭe-*
in **eṭe-re* cf. *here* (and see s.v. *aba*). Bha. *eṭey* probably
stands for **eṭe'j* (see *thenḍey*), cf. Ku. *dij* "he, she, it
(animate!)" : *di* "it" (inanimate), *tonej* "which" (animate) :
tone, id. (inanimate), *inij* "this (one)" : *ini* (= Malay *ini*).
[Drake seems to have overlooked the existence of *inij*.]
– See *iṭi*. The nature of the interchange of *e : i* is not clear.

179. *eṭṭhi*, *heṭṭi* "elephant". – Kolami *etti*, Ku. *hethi*, *hathi* [*etthi*
NHZ.]. Cf. Mar. *hatti*, Hi. *hāthī*. For *a > e* see Berger 39.

180. *ethe* "was, were"? (LSI.). *Ēthē* (3rd pers. sing. and plural).
– ? Cf. Bhili *atā* "were" (LSI. IX/3, 15)? See *tā* and p. 32.

181. *gaḍao-* "to bury". – Not used in Ku. Cf. Hi. *gāṛnā*.

182. *gaḍri* "ass". – Ku. *gaḍri*, *gaḍari*, *gidari*, *gideri*. Cf. Mar.
gadhaḍā. [Ku. *gaḍarà* "he-ass", *gidiṛì* "she-ass", NHZ.]

183. *gadha* "ass" (LSI.). – Not found in Ku. Cf. Hi. *gadahā*.

184. *gāra* "cart". – Ku. *gara* "a native cart", Hi. *gāṛā*.

185. *gardan* "neck". – Not found in Ku. Cf. Hi. *gardan*.

186. *geri* "fishing hook". – Ku. *giṛi* [*giṛì* NHZ.] "fish-hook, to
hook a fish". Cf. Mar. *gaḷ* "fish-hook". The Ku.Nah. word
points to a dialectal word **gaḷi*, which is not found in
the lexica. [N.B. Sa. *ger* "to catch fish", Mu. *girā* "net for
catching fish" are not related to *geri*.]

187. *giṭa* "younger brother or sister, wife's younger brother's wife,
etc.". – ? Cf. Sa. *geḍa* "short", *gidạr gadar*, *gidṛạ* (etc.)
"little children"?

188. *gola-* "to collect", *gola-kama-* "to heap". LSI.: *golāya* "col-
lected". – Ku. *gola* "collection, ball; to collect, gather".
Cf. Hi. *gol* "ball, assembly, crowd", *golā* "ball", Mar. *gol*
"an aggregated mass, crowd, herd".

189. *golga* "ear wax". – ? Cannot be connected with Parji *girub*
(: Tamil *kuṟumpi*). Cf. Ku. *gorgoraic* (+ Sa. *ēṟgoṭ'* ?).

190. *gon* "with (associative)". Different from *-kon* (Bha. 254)! –
Ku. *-gon*, *-gan*, id., Kurukh *ganē*, Malto *guni*, Kannada
guṇṭa (Golari *guṇ*, *guṇḍ* "with, to", Appun *guṇ*).

191. *gora kelli* "male calf". – Ku. *gora* "male calf".

192. *goṭhi* "clan". – Not found in Ku. Cf. Hi. *goṭh* "assembly"
or *goṭī* "relation, kindred"?

193. *ghalja* "on account of" (LSI.). Only occurring in *itarē-ghāljā*
"therefore". In the dialect of Bha. this would probably
have been **ghalya*. – Ku. (Nimar dialect!) *ḍi ghalya*, *ini
ghalya* "therefore", *ini ghalya ki* "in order that". [DhKu.
ghalyàq "for, on behalf of", NHZ.]. Not from *ghal-* "to
show", cf. Kui *eanji gali* "for him", *ei geli* "therefore",
gēlu "for the sake of, on account of", Kolami *tā-gāleṅ*
"why" (see *IIJ*. II, 240). Cf. also in the Burgandi dialect
of Tamil *it-galkā* "therefore" (LSI. 346), and note Pašai *ganí*
"for the sake of" : Burushaski *gáne*, Wercikwar *gandi*, id.
(Berger, *IIJ*. IV, 164). Cf. also Kh. *adia gadn* (LSI. 202)?

194. *ghām* "sunshine". – Ku. *gham* (but mostly *ghamo*) "heat,
sultriness". [A much earlier borrowing is probably *gōmōej*,
gōmoij "sun, God", with the personifying suffix-*ij*]. Hi. *ghām*.

195. *ghanē* "many" (LSI.). – Ku. *ghōno-j* seems to be an earlier
borrowing (see s.v. *gham*). Hi. *ghanā* "thick, many,
numerous".

196. *ghaṭa-* "to search". *Ghaṭa-ya* "searched"; LSI.: *ghāṭā-
jīrā* "was found". – Ku. *ghaṭa-*, *ghata-* "to find a way, to
seek", *ghaṭa-en* "found". Apparently an Indo-Aryan word.

197. *ghūrka ed-* "to go for defecation". [Read *eḍ-*.] – ? Sa. *gurić*,
Mu.Ho *guri'* "(fresh) cowdung" from *gur* "to fall" + *ić*
"faeces"? Suffix *-ka* (p. 35)?

198. *ghuṭari* "a deer". – Ku. *ghotari*, *ghotari* [thus also NHZ.],
gotari "red antelope, deer, jungle goat [= *jāṅgal bakrā*]".
From Mar.? Voisey, who was the first to record the Ku.
word, also noted a Ho word *kotharie seleep* [= *kotharī
silib'*], *JASBeng*. 13/1 (1844), 22. Not from Ku. *gotar* (*ot*)
"stony (ground)". See *IIJ*. II, 241. [Prof. Zide rightly
points to Sa. *ghoṭreṭ' jel*, *ghoṭra jel*.]

199. *ha* "alas". – Ku. *hay hay*, Mu. *hayhay*, *haire*, Kherwari *hae*,
hay, Kh. *haere*, etc.

200. *ha*, *han* "this". *Han nāni-na avar*? "Whose house is this?"
(Bha.). – Ku. *han*, *hane*, *handi* [*hāṇḍē*] "that very"
(inanimate), dual *ha-kiṅ*, plural *ha-kun* (animate); Sa. *han*

"see that", *han hana* "that over there", *han hane* "that
there (far off)", *haṇḍe* "there, yonder", Mu. *han* "yonder,
there, at a distance", *han-i* "yonder one" (animate; plur.
han-ko), Kh. *hankaṛ* "that person" (Pi. 153). Cf. Sakai
hana "celui-là" (but this meaning is questioned by Schmidt,
Sprachen der Sakai und Semang, Nr. 22).

201. *hã* "yes". – Ku. *hẽ*, Hi. *hã̃*, etc.

202. ? *halk* "servant" (LSI.). Konow analyses *ēṅgē ābā-kū ghanē
hāl-kun popo-cēn ghanē chokḍā-n jērē kā* "my father-of many
servants-to belly-from much food is", which is hardly
correct. With *hālkun* cf. Nah. *naukarhuṅgo* [= *naukaroṅke*?],
Ku. *naukaron, majuron*. In all these words for "servants" an
Indo-Aryan plural ending *-on* is contained. Sha. is therefore
right in taking *hālku-n popo* as "servants' bellies", but his
equation **hālku* = Hi. *khalk* "people" is not acceptable,
as Nah. *h* never stands for Hi. *kh*. In Bhili we find *hāḷihã̃l,
hāḷiã, hāḷi* for "servants" (LSI. IX/3, 120f., 126, 132).
The Indo-Aryan (?) word **hālk* that apparently is attested
in Nah. *hālk-un* may be related to the Bhili word.

203. *haran* "deer" (LSI.). – Does not occur in Ku. Cf. Hi. *haran*.

204. *harḍo* "turmeric". – Not found in Ku. Cf. Mar. *haḷad* (and
Bihari *hardī*, etc. Turner, *Nep. Dict.* 632a).

205. *harp-* "to lose" (LSI.). *Harpidā* [= *harp-i dā*] "was lost". –
Like Naiki *harpiltēn* (LSI. 573), Ladhadi *hārpī* (p. 639), Gondi
harē vāśi (p. 506) from Mar. *harapṇē* "to be lost, to lose".

206. *haru-* "to bite". – Ho *huā* "to bite" (with regular loss of
ṛ, from **huṛa*, metathesis of **haṛu*), Sa. *hạmbuṛ* "to gnaw,
bite with the front teeth", Mu. *hambuṛ(u), hamuṛ(u)* "to
bite or chew without teeth", which stand for **haṛ̃u'b*.
Fully parallel is Ku. *katu* : Sa. *hạrup'* : Mu. *hambud'* "to
embrace" (see Nr. 480 *ṭu-*). Cf. also Sa.Mu. *họrmọ*, Ho
homo, Kw. *horom* : Ku. *kombar* "body". Since *haru-* cannot
represent **haru'b* (cf. e.g. *aṅgub-*) we must assume two
different forms, viz. **haṛu* and **haṛu'b* "to gnaw", and
likewise **qaṭu* and **qaḍu'b* "to embrace". Since the glot-
talized stops were originally mere allophones of the stops
(e.g. Pi. 248), the possibility of an earlier interchange *w/b*
might be considered (**haṛuw* : **haṛub*), if the occurrence
of final *-uw, -iy* in an early period could be proved. For
the interchange *-u* : *-u'b* see Pi. 377. [N.B. The Ho word
is given as *huā* by Lionel Burrows, but as *huhā'* by Dhani
Ram Bakshi, *A Tutor of the Ho Language* 33. A final
glottal stop would be unexpected.]

207. *haṭiko* "there" ? (LSI.). *Hāṭikoyērī* "there" [= *hāṭiko yērī* "there having gone"? Cf. in Qaṣai, LSI, XI 159]. Probably to be read **haṭiki*, cf. *hiṭi-ki, huṭi-ki* (with the normal locative suffix), but see *be-ko, nān-ko*. From *ha-*.

208. *hāṭu* "market". Probably to be read **hāṭo* (see *chunḍuku, halk*). – Hi. *hāṭ*. [Ku. *hatti* from Hi. *haṭṭi*.]
    [*hēḍ-* in *hēḍjā* "to go" (not "went"!). See p. 35. Not to be connected with Ku. *hej-, hejen, heen* "went", etc.]

209. *hele* = ? (LSI.). For *bēṭē hēlē* "(I) am not" [= *beṭela*, Bha.] must probably be read **beṭele* (or **beṭe'ele*?). Not clear. Note Gondi *hall, hille* "not" (LSI. 499, 484).
    [*heṅgen* "me" (Bha.). See *eṅge*.]

210. *her-* "to spend" (LSI.). *Āndphand-kī din hērē* "spent his days in riotousness". – Mar. *harṇē* "to fail, miss, miscarry"? Hardly = "went" (Sha.).

211. *here* "this (person)". *Heren cāvgoki* "frighten this person". With suffix *-re* (see s.v. *aba*) from *he-*, like LSI. *ēta-rē* from *eṭe-* (see *eṭey*). For *he-* see *hi* (same vowel interchange in *eṭe : iṭi*).

212. *heron* "duck" (LSI.). – ? [Is "duck" an error for "buck"? see *haran*.]

213. *heṭṭi* "elephant". See *eṭṭhi*, and for *a > e* cf. Berger 39. – Ku. *hethi, hathi*, Hi. *hāthī*.

214. *hey beṭel(a)* "is not". – Probably = Hi. *hai* "is".

215. *hi, i* "this" (LSI.: *hē*). *Hiṭi-ki, hiṭi-ni* "here", *hiyan* "this much". See *here*. – Ku. *i-* only in *i-tin* "thus" [cf. *di-tin* "thus (= that-like)"]. Cf. Mu. *i-sin* "to-day", and Ku. *e-to, ye-to* "so many (= this much)".

216. *hicca* "share" (LSI.). – Ku. *hissa*. Cf. Ar.Hi. *hissā*.

217. *hīm* "cold". – Not found in Ku. Cf. Hi. *him*.

217a. *hin* "this", *hin-ki* "at this place". – See *hi*. Cf. Burgandi *hinā* "thus"?
    [*hiṅge* "his" (LSI.). See *eṅge*.]

218. *hĩvat* "so many" (LSI.). Written *hĩmwat*. – Doubtful, if a derivative from *hi* (cf. *hiyan* "this much"). Note Parji *iṅgoṭ, iñot* "this much".

219. *hiyeṅgi* = ? (LSI.). *Nē hiyēṅgi rānḍi-munḍi-nā paisā ṭēē, inē ...* "but who ate his money with [!] harlots, he...". Apparently *hiyeṅgi* is a demonstrative, cf. e.g. Sa. *naị hopọnme... ani ...* "this thy son ...he..." (LSI. 73). Then *hiēṅgi* = **hēṅgi* may be connected with *eṅge* "his". See pp. 22, 30.

220. *ho* "he, that" (but **hou* in *howṭa* "they"). LSI.: *ho, hoi* (p. 262,
266) "he, they". Cf. *hoṭi* "that", e.g. *hoṭi paraynki jappo
beṭela* "there is no water in the [that] river", LSI. *hoiti
dēckē* "in that country" (see *oṭi*). – Ku. *hu-ję* "that very",
hū-en "there", dial. (Amraoti) *āhu koho* "the [that] hill",
āhu gā-ṭen "from the [that] village", Asuri *hũi* "he", Kh.
ho-kaṛ "he, she". A different deixis has Besisi *hõ, nāhǫ,
nahoh, nahũ,* Orang Benua *naho,* Kenaboi *īho'* (?) "this",
but cf. Besisi *hoh, hõ, nahõ,* Kenaboi *hoṅ* "that" (Skeat
and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, sub
T 85).

221. *holoy-* "to shake". – Ku. *holoi,* Sa. *hului,* perhaps also Sa.
hilạk dalak "tremulously, to shake up and down" (cf.
doloe doloe "gently shaking, moving up and down, dang-
ling", etc. See Pi. 97, 267).

222. *honḍar* "rat". – Cf. So. *on(d)rēn̄-.* Uncertain is the relationship
of Kui *oḍri* on account of Kuwi *oṛli, orli* (*DED.,* Nr. 710).
Cf. Skt. *undara-, undaru-, unduru-* "mouse" (*PMW.* 27).

223. *hoṭ* "not" (assimilated *hoc, hok, hop*). LSI. *hōt, hōṭē* (*ghanē
din hoṭē jīrē* "many days became not"). For the suffix *-ṭe*
(*-ṭa*) see *beṭe.* – Sa. *ǫhǫ* "by no means" (emphatic negation).

224. *hotā-* "to become" (? LSI. *jo nē mānḍi hōtā-nē kā* "what you
said has been done"). – Hi. *hotā* functioning as a verbal
base? See *jivta,* Sa. *manta* "to obey", but cf. p. 22.

225. *hoytarē* "he" (LSI.). – See above, p. 29f.
    [*howṭa* "they". See *ho.*]

226. *hundar* "to prepare (food)" (LSI.). – Ku. *hundar* [DhKu.
hũdar, NHZ.], *hunar* (see OrN. 383), Gu. *kunḍar* "to cook".
See p. 19.

227. *huṭiki* "there". – From *hoṭi,* like *hiṭiki* "here" from *(h)iṭi.*

228. *i* "this". See *hi* and *yē.*

229. *ibire* "there is [il y a]". – See *imni.*

230. *ibnije* "own" (only LSI. *ibnijē* "his own", *ibnijī* "my own").
    – From Mar. *apaṇ* "I myself, we ourselves" ? Beside Hi.
    apnā (see Nah. *apna*) there occur Marathi borrowings, e.g.
    Ku. *apusōn* "among ourselves (yourselves, etc.)" from Mar.
    apasãt. But the exact origin of *ibnije* and of Ku. *abua*
    "own" remains obscure.

231. *icha* "to pinch". – Ku. *isa* [*isàq,* NHZ.], Mu.Ho *ica'* "to
    pinch with the nails, to squeeze".

232. *iēpṭa, yēpṭa* "honey". From **ēpṭa* (Bha. 246), with suffix

315

(Berger 57). – Parji *ēp* "honeycomb" (isolated in Dravid-
ian? not registered in *DED*.).

233. *ilur* "husband's younger brother". – Ku. *ilur*, Mu. *iril*, *irul*,
iriul, id., Ho *iril* "husband's sister or brother", Sa. *ervel(-iṅ
koṛa)* "(my) brother-in-law". Metathesis in Ku., just as in
ilar(-ia)" eight": Sa. *irạl*, etc. [Zide points to Nicob. *ilu*.]

234. *imni-* "to be". Bha. does not record inflected forms, but
here may belong LSI. *ibire* "there is [il y a]", *jo ibniji bī*
"what is mine" [= *jo ibnije ibi*?], *lānā āṭāibinī* "how many
sons are there?" [= *aṭa ibini*?]. – ? See p. 32.

235. *inde* ? Only LSI. *indē mā* "give me", but Bha. 249: *eṅgke
mā*, see 1. *ma-*. This is probably the correct form, although
ma might be taken as a particle (see Nr. 348) and *indē*
might be connected with Gu. *indẹ* "give me" (LSI. 232).
However, although *dẹ-* "to give" does exist (see Nr. 147),
indē cannot be explained as a form of it (cf. Sha. 356:
eṅge de ma).

236. *ine* "he" (LSI.). *Nē hiyēṅgī ... ṭēē, inē ...* "but who ...
ate, he ...". Probably simply the Ku. pronoun. – Ku.
ini (dial. *inhi*) "this", animate also *inij* (see *eṭey*); Sa. *ini*
"he there, that very one", Mu. *ini* "he, this one", Bhumij
iniċ "he". Cf. Malay *ini* "this"; Austric *i + -ni*? Cf.
Khasi *u-ne*, *ka-ne* "this", but Sa. *ni hoṛ* "this very man,
this same man", Belanda *ni*, Jakun *nie* "here".

237. *iṅga* "here". Cf. *miṅgay* "where". – Ku. *hiṅga-n*, *hiṅge-n*
"hither, here", *hiṅga-ten* "hence" (: *aṅgan* "towards",
diṅga-n "thither, there", *toṅgan*, *toṅgen* "where"). [But
Zide gives Ku. *ī-ga-en* (i.e. *īgȧn* and likewise *dīgȧn* "there",
hūgȧn "yonder", *tūgȧn* "where".]
[*iṅge*, *hiṅge*, *eṅge* "my" (LSI.). See *eṅge*. Note *iṅgi-n avar*
"our house" (Bha. 248); but *eṅga aba* "my father" (p. 249),
eṅga avar "our house" (p. 248) with Ku. *iṅ-a(')* "my".]

238. *iṅi* "us" (Bha. 248). – From Kurukh *emhai* "our"?

239. *iphil* "star" (LSI.). *Iphiltā* (p. 250) = *iphil-ṭa* (plur.). – Ku.
ipil (Driver: *ifil*, Zide: *iphᵢl*), Sa.Mu.Ho, etc. *ipil*, Senoi
pēlaui, *pĕrlaui*, Sakai *pĕrlohi*, *pēloi*, Semang *puloe*, *pĕluih*
"star", Khmer *phlu'* "daylight", etc. (*PMW*. 71, Pi. 155,
385f.).

240. *ira* "to cut with a sickle". – Ku. *ir* [*ir* / *hir*, NHZ.] "to cut
(grass), to mow", Sa. Mu. Ho *ir* "to cut, reap". The disyl-
labic root of Nah. is remarkable, but may be correct, cf.
Mu. *gira* : Sa. *ger* (see Nr. 186) and Ku. *terae-* : Ho *ter*
"to throw".

241. *irar* "two (Masc.), *ir* (Fem.Ntr.); *ir-jen* "two persons". LSI.:
     īr, *īrā*. Gender distinction (see s.v. *biḍum*) is authentical
     in this Dravidian numeral. – Tam. *iru / īr*, Kannada *iru*,
     ir, *īr*, etc. (*DED.*, Nr. 401).

242. *irkene* "because" (LSI.). *Irkēnē nē bāśigītā bēṭṭiri, jīwatā*
     "because thy younger brother was dead, (and now) lives".
     – Not clear. Sha. assumes a future of *ēr-* "to go". See
     3. *nē* (Nr. 397).

243. *itan* "?" (LSI.). *Itān jogomṭa ṭēgadā, ētlān chēṅgā* ... "which
     the swine were eating, those husks...". As *itān* cannot
     be a relative pronoun, cf. such constructions as Asuri *Niho
     hinī sukrī hēṛē jom-dohola-ā-e, hunī-tē* ... "Then those pigs
     were eating husks, with those ... (LSI. 140), Korwa *Tab
     sukrī-kū jom-kē-ā, hānā hēṛē* ... "Then the swine ate, those
     husks ... (LSI. 152), Kurku *dō sukarī-kū jujum dān, dī
     sāli-ten* ... "and swine were eating, with those husks ...
     (LSI. 174). Hence Nah. *itān* is probably = Ku. *eta*, *eṭa*,
     yeta "more, further, and, then" (Nimar dialect *eṭha meṭen*
     "and then"), cf. Sa. *eṭak'* "other, different, another,
     stranger", Mu. Bh. Ho *eṭa'*, id., Ju. *etā* "then". For *-n*
     see Nr. 397 and p. 22.

244. *itarē* "he" (LSI.). *Itarē ghālja* "therefore", *itarē-kē* "to him".
     The common spelling is *ētarē*, see *eṭey*.

245. *iṭi* "this"; dual *iṭṭel* "they two". *Iṭi manchon maṇḍibe* "tell
     this man". LSI.: *iṭī, iṭē, iṭṭī, hiṭī* "that, he". – Not used
     in Ku. Cf. Sa. *iti* "this, that very moment, at once"? See
     iti-ki.

246. *iṭiki* "here (Bha. 253), Locative of *iṭi*, cf. *hiṭiki, huṭiki, haṭiko*.
     Read: *iṭiki*.

247. *jaga* "worthy" (LSI.). *Nē pāliśo-roṅgā māṇḍi-raṅg jāgā bēṭē
     hēlē* "I am not worthy to be called thy son". – Perhaps =
     Ku.Mar. *jāgā* "place", Hi. *jagah* "room, occasion"? See
     s.v. *raṅgo*.

248. *jakoṭo* "male" (LSI.). *Jākoṭo māu* "horse", *jākoṭo haran* "male
     deer". – Not found in Ku. [*jakru* is a different word]. Cf.
     Kw. *saram jhāku* "male deer". Formation like *pakoṭo*
     (= Kolami *pakkaṭe* : *pakka* "side") and *cakoṭo* (?). Not to
     be connected with Skt. *jakaṭa-, jukaṭa-*, Gipsy *jukel*, etc.,
     Telugu *jāgila* "dog" (Berger 44).

249. *jaldi, jeldi* "quickly". – Ku. *jaldi* "soon". Cf. Hi. *jaldī*.

250. *jalū-* "to descend". – ?

251. *jambu* "blackberry, a Nahāl clan-name". – Ku. *jambu*,
Hi. id.
[*jappo* "water". See *joppo*.]
[*jār* "back of horse" (LSI. 274, Sha. 352) does not exist. For
ētarnēnkā jār-kē "upon its back" read *ētarēn kajārkē*
(*kajar* "top".]

252. *jara* "fever". – Hi. *jar* [Ku. has *rua* instead].

253. *jaran* "crab". – ? [Ku. has *katkom*, cf. Skt. *karkaṭa-*.]

254. *jari* "root". – Hi. *jarī* "root of a medicinal herb" [Ku. *jaṛ*,
jeṛ, from Hi. *jaṛ*].
[*jeldi* "soon", see *jaldi*. For *a* > *e* see Berger 39.]

255. *jen* "person". *Ir jen* "two persons", *ini mōth jen-na* "us three
persons". – Not found in Ku. Hi. *jan*.

256. *jer(e)-* "to remain". *Nān jere* "what has happened?". LSI.:
jēḍē-gā "is", *jērē kā* "is got", *hōṭē jirē* "became not",
perhaps *bēṭṭirī* "was dead" [= *beṭṭi ire*?]. – Unknown in
Ku. Cf. Ju. *iḍ, iṛ* (LSI. 212). But Nah. *jēḍē-* stands for *jērē-*
(see s.v. *eḍ-*). Kolami, Naiki, Parji *er-* "to become" is
unrelated.

257. *jiki* "eye". *Jiki kapri* "eye-brow", *jiki ỹặto* "tears". – Ainu
shik (Sha.: *shiki*)? See further Berger, MüSS. 9, 9 and
above, p. 14.

258. *jilṅguij'* "earthworm"; plural *jilṅguiṭṭa*. – Ku. *jilṅgot*,
jilṅgūt (Bha. *jilṅgoḍ*; DhKu. *jilṅgod* NHZ.). Probably an
old compound **jil-ṅu'd*.

259. [*jivta-*] "to live" (LSI.). *Jīwatā* "lives". – Hi. *jīvtā* (for Hi.
participles functioning as verbal roots, see *hota-*). [Ku.
jita, id. Cf. Ho *jiḍā*, etc.]

260. *jō, juo* "I". LSI.: also "we" (see *māney*). – Hardly functional
weakening of **ajo*, cf. Mar. Bhili *aj*. Cf. Burushaski *je, ja*,
Rangkas *ji, jē* (LSI. III / 1, 481), Newari *ji*, Aka *jö, ze*,
etc. See Sha. 363, Bha. 255, and Pi. 186f.

261. *jo* "what" (relative pronoun), LSI. – Ku. *jo* (rarely used),
Hi. *jo*.
[*jogom*, see *coggom*.]

262. *jopaṭke* "if" (LSI.). – *-ke* = Hi. *ki* "that"? *Jopaṭ-* a loan-
word (cf. Mu. *agarci* from Hi.)? Cf. Beldari *jō-pār* "as far"
(LSI. XI, 30), Sāsi *jekar* "if" (op.l. 190)?

263. *joppo, jappo* "water, a Nahāl clan-name". *Jappo baṭam* "to
be thirsty" (see *baṭam*). LSI.: *jopo, jappo*. – ? [Note Tib.
č'ab, id.]

264. *jūḍ* "bamboo". – ? [NB. Ku. *juḍ* = "root".]

265. *junu* "broom". – Ku. *junu* [*junuq*, NHZ.], Sa. *jọnọk'*, Mu. *jono'*, Bh. *jọnọ*, Kw. *junun*, Kh. *jono'*, So. *jĕnṓ*-; with *n*-infix derived from Sa. *jọk'*, Mu.Ho *jo'* "to sweep" (*OrN.* 394f., Pi. 109).

266. *jhara* "grass, a Nahāl clan-name" (= *bōy*). – Ku. *jhara*, cf. Mar. *jhāḍ* "tree, bush, plant in general", Kum. *jhāṛ* "grass" (Turner, *Nep. Dict.* 232b f.).

267. *jhuri* "swing". – Ku. *jhuri* (*juri, juṛi*) "swing, cradle; to swing", Mar. *jholī* "four-mouthed bag, sling".

268. *ka* "to be" (LSI.). *Jo ibnijī bī, nē kā* "What is my own, is thine". – Ku. *ka*, e.g. *di ura kaḍ ka* "that house is large"; Sa. *kan-* (*ka* + *n*, see Konow, LSI. 173, Bodding, *Materials for a Santali Grammar*, II, 56; 186 n.).

269. *kaggo* "mouth". – Isolated word, but cf. Tib. (etc.) *kha*, and Thami *ū-go* (with prefix *ū-*, LSI. III/1, 280): is *ka* + *go* an identity compound? Sha. compares Kanauri *khāgaṅ*. Note Bodo *khougā* "mouth, beak, bill".

270. *kaini*- "to say" (LSI.). *Kāynē-kē* "shall say", *kāinī* "said" (not *kāi-nī*, LSI. 186, but rather = *kaini-y*). – Ku. *kaàni* "to tell, narrate" (NHZ.), from Hi. *kahānī*. [Not related to So. *kaṅ* = *kay* "to say, tell", cf. Mu.Ho Bhj. *kaji* "word, to say, tell", Kh. *kayọ́m* "to speak", Pi. 78.]

271. *kajar* "top of something". *Aḍḍo kajar* "top of the tree". LSI.: *māu kājār-kī* "on a horse", *ballā kajār-kē* "on the top of the hill". See s.v. *jār*. – ? *-jar* also in *mijar*, which may be accidental.

272. *kaka* "mother's younger sister's husband, father's sister's husband, father's younger brother". – Ku. *kaka*, Sa. *kaka(t)*, Mu.Kw. *kaka*; Hi. *kākā*.

273. *kaki* "father's younger brother's wife". – Sa. *kạki*, Mu. *kaki*; Hi. *kākī*.

274. *kakri* "cucumber, a Nahāl clan-name". – Ku. *kakri* "musk melon". Cf. Hi. *kakṛī* (Berger 45). A different meaning has Mu.Ho *kakru, kakăru* "sweet pumpkin" (cf. Pi. 77).

275. *kakheṅ* "to comb hair". The exact phonetic value of this spelling is uncertain, but *-ey-* probably points to a palatalized consonant (cf. *oyja-, leinjo*, etc.). – In view of Ku. *akej*, Sa. *nạkić*, Mu. Ho *naki'* "a comb", *kakheṅ* may be taken as an instance of final nasalization; cf. Sa. *biṛtuṅ* "to turn the posterior to" : *bituć*, id., *kẹṅ kẹṅ* "to nag" :

khęckhęcao, id. (*OrN*. 397). In Ku. final *ń* has become *n*
(dial. *nj*). For Nah. the interpretation of *kakheyń* as
[*kakhẽy*] is precluded by Bha.'s spelling *pẽy* "head".
Hence [*kakhēń*]?

276. *kal* "famine" (LSI.). – Ku. *kal*, id., Hi. *kāl* "time, calamity,
famine, death" [but Sa. *kal* "fate, misfortune, death", Mu.
kāl "poison" : Sa.Mu. *akal* "famine, scarcity" = Hi. *akāl*
"improper time, drought, famine"].

277. *kalaṭṭel* "wife's elder brother, his wife" (dual?). – ?

278. *kāllen* "egg". – ? [Ku. *atkom*; from Aryan? See *Fs. Kirfel*
164 and Nr. 290.]

279. *kalṭo* "a Nahāl person" (du. *kalṭihlṭel*, plur. *kaliṭṭa*). See Bha.
247, Berger 59). *-ṭo* seems to be a suffix, cf. *corṭo*, *jakoṭo*
(cf. Berger 57). The plural form suggests a word *kaliṭ-o*
(pp. 17, 27). – Bha. 253 refers to Skt. *Karkaṭaka-*, name
of a tribe in ancient India. See also Berger 73.

280. *kama-* "to do, to work". – Ku. *kama* "to do", Hi. *kamānā*
"to work, to earn, etc.".

281. *kamo* "work". – Ku. *kamo* "the work"; Hi. Mar. *kām*.

282. *kaṇḍe* "tuber". – Ku. *kande* "onion"; Hi. *kāndā* "onion",
Mar. *kãdā* "onion, any bulbous or tuberous root". The
final vowel in Ku. and Nah. is not clear.
[*kānṭi*, *kïānṭi* "for the sake of". See *kïānti*.]

283. *kapatiń-* "to tremble". – Ku. *kampa-tiń-yū*, id. (with the
derivational morpheme *-tiń-*, used after Aryan verbal
roots). Hi. *kãpnā*, Mar. *kãpṇẽ*.

284. *kaplij'* "butterfly". – Ku. *kaplij*, *kapilij* "moth, butterfly,
bat, vampire bat" [DhKu. *kaphl̥lij* "butterfly", NHZ.].
Cf. Kann. *gabbilāyi* "bat" (also *kappaḍi*, *kappaṭe*), Tel.
gabbiḍāya, etc. (*DED*. Nr. 1020). [The other Munda
languages have words with "sound-symbolism" of the type
of Latin *papilio*, cf. Mu. *pampala(d)*, Ho *pampal*, Kh.
pampolla', Sa. *pip(i)ṛiąń* (like Parji, Halbi *pilpili*, Hi. *titlī*).]

285. *kapor* "winnowing basket". – ?

286. *kapri*, in *jiki kapri* "eye-brow". – ?

287. *karchi* "pitcher". – Ku. *karsi*, *kharsi* "earthen basin, large
earthen pot, water-pot with a wide neck". Cf. Mar. *kalśī*,
kaḷsī "a small metal vessel".

288. *karyom* "elder brother's wife". Formation like *nāpyom*. – ?
Not known from Ku.

289. *kaṭan-* "to be silent". – ?

290. *katham* "tortoise". According to Bha. also in Ku. He compares
East Bengali *katha*, id. Perhaps an early borrowing from
Skt.? For *kamatha-* > **kamtham* > *katham* cf. *madhuka-* >
Sa. *matkom, kakkata-* > Ku. (etc.) *katkom* "crab", **andaka-*
> Ku. *atkom* "egg", *paryanka-* > Ku. (etc.) *parkom* "bed"
(see *Museum* 64, 212).

291. *kathla* "armpit". – Ku. *katla* [DhKu. *kathàlaq*, NHZ.], Sa.
hatlak', Ho *hatla'*, id., Mu. *hatala'* "the sides of the human
chest".

292. *kāv* "flesh". – ?

293. *kāvra* "crow". – Ku. *kaura* (also *kaua, kauwa*) "raven,
crow". Cf. Parji *kavra*; Mar. from *kāvlā*.

294. *keda-* "to be felt" (?). Meaning apparently not certain (Bha.
253). – ?

295. *kelli* "cow calf". – Ku. *khella* "male calf" [*kella* "male calf",
kelli "female calf" NHZ.]. A different word is Mu. *kera*,
Ho *kera* "buffalo", Mu. *kiri* "a buffalo calf up to 3 years
old".

296. *kepa* "louse". – ?

297. *kerchi-* "to itch, scratch". – The relation to Skt. *kacchū-,
kharju-, kharjū-* is not clear. Cf. Ho *karchu* "flea", Sa.
k(h)asra, Mar. *kharūj, kharcatnē*, etc., Parji *kirc* "to
scratch" (see *kheri-*).

298. *ketto-kama-* "to extinguish, put out (fire)". *Ketto-ki* "put out
fire!". – Kolami *kit / kitt*, see Emeneau, *Kolami* Nr. 396,
DED., Nr. 1614, and cf. *IIJ.* V, 109.

299. *kiānti, kānti* "for, for the sake of, for the purpose of". A
diphthongization *ā* > *iā*, parallel to *ē* > *iē*, *ō* > *uō* (Bha.
246) is plainly impossible. In *ara-kānti* "to see", *tyē-kānti*
"to eat" (infinitives of purpose, Bha. 249) there is rather
a contraction of *ara-ka* (present imperfect) and *anti*. Cf.
Ku. (Akola dialect) *dikāntin* [= *dika antin*] "therefore".
As a postposition after nouns *ānti* "for" (Bha. 252, line 1
from the bottom) is used with the dative suffix *-ke, -ki*,
e.g. *hin manchoki ānti nān kōyi?* "What have you brought
for this man?" (Bha. 249: *mancho-kiānti*). – Ku. *antin,
antin*, id. Also used with verbs, e.g. *hunju antin* "for
playing, in order that they may play" (Drake, *Grammar*
§§ 380, 384), mostly with the genitive, e.g. *dićken sabū-ej-ā
antin* "in order to touch him" (St. Mark 3 : 10). Note
Kurukh *antī, attī* "therefore, because" (Grignard, *Oraon
Grammar* 268).

300. *kimton* "price" (LSI. 274). Probably *kimto n(e)*, see p. 22. – Ku. (Nimar dialect!) *kimato*. [The common word is *mola*.] Ar.Hi. *kimat*. For the elision of *a* see p. 16.

301. *kirsan* "cultivator" (LSI.). – Ku. *kirsan* (dialect of Nimar and Hoshangabad), *kisan*. Cf. Hi.Mar. *kisān* (cf. Turner, *Nep. Dict.* 93b). The Nah. word is hardly a very old loanword (Sha. 354), since modern borrowings direct from Skt. do occur, e.g. Nep. *kirkhi* from Skt. *kṛṣi-*.

302. *kiṭa-* "to winnow". – Kolami *kēd-/kētt-*, Naiki *kēd-*, Parji *kēd-* (dial. *kēḍ-*), Malayalam *cēṟuka* "to winnow", and with intervocalic surd Tel. *cēṭa*, Parji *kēṭi*, *kēṭi*, Ollari *kēṭi*, Gondi *sēṭī*, Malto *kĕṭᵉr* "winnowing basket" (*DED.* Nr. 1679). The exact source is not clear.

303. *kiwu* "pity". LSI.: *ētarē ābā-nē ... kiwu pāddi* "his father felt pity". – Ku. *kiu* (more commonly *kiuna*). Like Gondi *kiv*, *kivā* (LSI. 504, 516) from Mar. *kiv*, *kĩv* "compassion".

304. *kiyam* "to-morrow". – ?

305. *kō-*, *kŭō-* "to bring". LSI.: *ko oē* [= *kŭō-y*] "bought". – ? Cf. Kolami, Naiki *kor-/ko-* "to bring" (*DED.*, Nr. 1788, *IIJ.* V, 110).

306. *kobdur* "pigeon". – Ku. *kubdur*, *kabdur*. Exact relation to Pers.Hi. *kabūtar* not clear. Sa. *kuḍbur potam* "a kind of dove" (also *kurbur potam*) seems to be due to secondary association with *kuḍbur*, *kurbur* (= *kaḍbur*) "to bend head down", cf. *kaḍbuć* "bent, crooked". [Mu. has *dudmul*, *dudŭmul*, Ho *dudmul*, *dudămul* (*JASB.* 40/I, 1870, 106).]

307. *koca-kama-* "to bend" (v.t.). – Ku. *koca* "crooked, to be crooked, bent; *koca-e*, *koca-ki* "to bend". Sa. *koce* "bent to one side, oblique", Mu. Ho *koce* "crooked"; Sa.Mu. *koca* "corner".

308. *kōgo* "snake". – ?

309. *kokõy* "ant". – ?

310. *kokhor* "fowl". – Cf. Gondi *kukkura* "painted partridge", Mu.Ho *kokor* "owl", So. *kukkúr-* "dove"? See Pi. 343.

311. *kōl* "woman, wife" (dual *kōlhiḷṭel* Bha. 247). *Kōl-na kupra* "the wife's cloth", but *eṭey-na kōlle-re* "his wife". Is *kōlle-* the older form of the word? – Cf. perhaps Kolami *kōlama* "wife" (Emeneau, *Kolami* Nr. 423). Sha. compares besides Kashmiri *kŏlay* "wife" [cf. *kōlle-*?]. Note also *kulis* "wife" in the Burgandi dialect of Tamil (LSI. 347), Yerukala *khuliśi*, id. (: Malar *khulsā* "husband" : Sikalgari *khōl* "house", LSI. XI, 9), Kui *kola* "bride, son's (younger brother's) wife".

312. *kōlya* "fuel, Nahāl clan-name". – Ku. *kolya* "charcoal", with metathesis from Hi. *koyalā, koelā* [> Sa. *koela, kuilạ,* Mu. *koila, kuila*].

313. *komba* "cock" (LSI.). – Ku. *komba,* Mar. Standard *kombăḍā,* Konkani *kŏmbŏ* (Sha.).

314. *-kon* "from". – Sa. Dhangor *khon,* see p. 25.

315. *kōr-, kŭōr-* "to take away". – Does not occur in Ku. Cf. Kolami *kor-/ko-* "to bring", *kos-* "to carry away, to take" (*DED.*, Nr. 1788)?

316. *koṭra* "inside". *Niḍirtaṅ koṭra* "inside of the anthill" [= *niḍirṭa-n k.* "hole of the ants"]. – Not found in Ku. Cf. Hi. Mar. *koṭar* "hole in a tree"? Cf. Hi. *koṭhrī* (Mar. *koṭhaḍī*) "small room, cell", Hi. Mar. *koṭhār* "storehouse".

317. *koṭṭo-, kaṭṭo-* "to beat". LSI.: *koṭṭo-/kōhaṭ-.* – Tam.Mal.Tel. *koṭṭu-* "to beat", etc. (*DED.*, Nr. 1718). Bha. also points to Mu. *kuṭao* "to drub, strike violently or thresh soundly with a stick". Sha. compares Hi. *kūṭnā* (see next word).

318. *koṭṭu-* "to pound". Bha. 254 treats it as a different word from 1. *koṭṭo-,* and compares Hi. *kūṭnā* "to macerate, to pound, to pestle, crush, beat, etc.". Cf. Kannaḍa *kuṭṭu-* "to beat, strike, pound, bruise", etc. (*DED.*, Nr. 1391). Probably identical with 1. *koṭṭo-.*

319. *kuba-* "to be intoxicated". – ?

320. *kūḍu* "bamboo door". – ? Cf. Ku. *kuṛ* "wall (of wattle and daub)", Mar. *kūḍ, kuḍan* (Kolami *kuḍan*). For the Nahali word cf. Kui *kuḍu* "wall".

321. *kuguso, kuguchyo* "hair". LSI.: *kuguchī.* – ? Perhaps a disguised form of Sa. *goco,* Mu. Kh. *gucu* "beard, moustache"? For prefixation in argots see Grierson, LSI. XI, 10. Hardly connected with Tailoi *huk-chiṅ* (Sha.).

322. *kui* "water well" (LSI.). – Ku. *kui, kuhi,* Sa. *kũi.* Cf. Hi. *kūā* (*kūī* in Dardic, Turner 102a). The Munda words must be comparatively recent borrowings from some local Aryan dialect.

323. *kupra* "cloth". – Not found in Ku. Cf. Hi. *kapṛā.*

324. *kura* "unripe". – ?

325. *khana* "food" (LSI.). – Not known from Ku. Cf. Hi. *khānā.*

326. *khanḍa* "shoulder; to carry on shoulder". – Ku. *khanda, khãḍõ.* Cf. Hi. *kandhā.*

327. *khara* "field". – Not known from Ku. [Ku. *khara* means "salt, brackish" = Hi. *khārā*]. Cf. Mar. *khaḷ, khaḷẽ* "yard, court"? See *kheriyan.*

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328. *kharuka* "many". Read *kharu ka*, with the "particle" *kā*
which in Kurku is used after adjectives (see Drake, *A
Grammar of the Kúrkú Language* 12). – Ku. *karu, karu*
"herd, crowd, flock, multitude" is a substantive, cf.
karuten "in crowds", *kaḍ karu kurku* "a great multitude"
(St. Mark 3 : 7), lit. "a great many people"; Sa. *khar*
"herd, flock".

329. *khawḍe* "shoe" (LSI.). Correct spelling would be **khavre*. –
Ku. *kaure* (*khaore*), DhKu. *khaòṛei* (NHZ.); rather con-
nected with Bhili *khāhḍē, khāhḍẽ* (LSI. IX/3, 87; 120), *keri*,
Kolami *kēḍ* than with Hi. *kharā̃ū* "wooden shoe, sandal"
(see Turner, *Nep.Dict.* 115a),
For *āh > au > av* see Nr. 72.

330. *kheda-* "to drive a cart". – Ku. *kheda, kheda-ki* "to drive
away", *ke-keda, keda-k-ej-* "to drive oxen". Hi. *khednā*, id.

331. *kheri-kama-* "to pull". – [Ku. *khiṛi* "to pull" NHZ.] Cf.
Kann. *kīṛ-* "to draw or pull out, pluck up or out, uproot,
pull off, rob" etc. (*DED.*, Nr. 1316). For *-i* see *kerchi-*,
khiji-.

332. *kheriyan* "threshing floor". – Ku. *kharyan*, from Mar.
khalihān (Bha. 254 *khəlihān* must be an error; not given
by Molesworth and the Mahārāṣṭr Śabd Koś, but cf. Hi.
khalihān, khalīhān, Bihari *kharihān* Turner 116b f.). Cf.
Ku. *kharin*, id. from Mar. *khalē*, id.

333. *khet* "field" (LSI.). – Hi. *khet*, id. Cf. Ku. *kheti, khiti, khiṭi,
keṭi, kiti* "field" (Hi. Mar. *khetī* "agriculture").

334. *khiji-* "to get angry" (LSI.). – Ku. *khiju-*, e.g. *khiju-ki* "to
provoke", *khiju-en* "got angry". Hi. *khijnā*, Mar. *khijṇẽ*
"to be angry". The Nah. word seems to be a separate
borrowing (Sha. 352 n. 7: "perhaps with the "verbal"
suffix *-e, -ī*"). See *kheri-*. Not related to Sa. *khīs* (Pi. 226).

335. *khobo* "much". LSI.: *khūb* "very, many". – Ku. *khobo, khubo*
(*kubo*), *khob* (*kob*), *khub*. Hi. Mar. *khūb*.

336. *khogir* "saddle". – Ku. Mu. Gu. *khogir*. Hi. Mar. *khogir*.
[*khub*, see *khobo*.]

337. *khuri* "leg". LSI. *khurī, khuḍī* "foot". – Unknown in Ku.
Cf. Mar. *khurī* "forepart of the hoof", *khūr* "hoof, foot (of
couch, etc.)", etc. The meaning "foot" is also found in
Kashmiri, Dardic, West Pahari, see Turner, *Nep. Dict.*
124b.

338. *lā* "you" (plur.). LSI.: *nē* (as in the sing.). – ? See Nr. 396.

339. *lakaḍi* "stripe" (LSI.). Perhaps incorrect spelling for **lakri*.
   – Ku. *lakaṛi* "stick". Mar. *lakaḍī*, Hi. *lakṛī*.

340. *lana* "son, child" (only LSI., cf. *palcho*). – Unknown in
   Ku., but cf. Ho *lãić* "son", Kw. *lãić*, *lāñi* "child" [=
   *laỹi'ỹ ?], Ju. *landa* "son". Sha. 353 compares Daic *lān*
   "grandchild" and Pkt. *laṇha-* "alp, *thoṛā*", Mar. *lahān*
   "little". However the evidence points rather to **land-/*lan-*
   (hence *lān-i'ỹ*). See *PMW*. 163, where Hi. *laũḍā* "boy,
   slave, brat" has been explained as a variant of **laṇḍa*
   (*nḍ > ũḍ*).
   [*laṅ* "tongue". See *lãy*.]

341. *laṅka* "a god worshipped by the Nahāl in the month of
   Phālguna (Febr.–March). The Korku worship Rāvaṇa who,
   according to Hindu mythology, is the King of *Lanka*". – ?
   Hardly connected with Ku. *laṅka* "far, distant". Cf. Skt.
   Laṅkā-.

342. *lāo-* "to burn". – Naiki *lao* "to set fire, to put on (ear-ring),
   to shut (door)", *IIJ*, V, 115. [Not related to Ku. *lolor*
   "hot" (?), Sa.Mu. *lọ* "to burn, scald", *lọlọ* "to heat, hot,
   warm", Bh. *lo'* "to burn", *lolo* "hot, warm", Ho *lo* "to
   burn", *lolo* "hot", etc. Pi. 110. For the Ku. word cf. Ku.
   atār : *atā* "far, distant", *saar* : *saa* "to take" (Sa. *sa*, *sah*
   "to bring out of the way", *saha* "to get out of the way" :
   sahar "to bring out of the way").]

343. *lãy* "tongue". LSI. 246 gives *lāṅg*, which would be identical
   with Ku.Pa.Gu. *lāṅ*, Kh. *laṅ*, So. *ĕlāṅ-*, Sa.Mu.Ju. (etc.)
   alaṅ (see *OrN*. 397, Pi. 71, 333). But *lāṅg* may be due to
   a correction by Konow. – ? Cf. Miju *mblai* (LSI. III/1,
   625), Vayu *lī*, Thami *chi-le* ? But cf. Tibetan *lche*, B.
   Laufer, *T'oung Pao* 17, 49, Shafer, *J. Bih. Res. Soc.* 36,
   214. Note Mu. *lẹ'ỹ* (Pi.), *le'*, Ho *lee* "tongue", but *lãy* rather
   denotes [*laṅ*], see also *pẽi*.

344. *lege* "up" (LSI.). – ? Ku. *lien* (Nimar dialect *lēn* [*liṅ* "on,
   above" NHZ.]) may be a locative of **li*, with which *lege*
   cannot be connected. Cf. perhaps So. *lēṅ-ĕn*, Ju. *aliṅ-ta*
   "on"?

345. *lēnjo-* "to draw water". LSI.: *leiṅjo* (for *ei* see p. 18). –
   Either from Kui *lanj-*, *ṛanj-* "to bale water with hands",
   or connected with Gu. *lenō* "to lift up, raise" (from **lēnyo* ?
   > Nah. *lēnjo*?). Any connexion with Sharpa (Darjeeling)
   liṅ "to draw" (LSI. III/1, 175) is for semantical and
   phonetical reasons unlikely. Berger's suggestion (p. 64)

that Skt. *aliñjara* (Mhbh.), *alañjara-* (lex.) "a small earthen
water jar" is derived from it, should be noted [Skt.
udañjara- Kaut. is a blending of *alañjara-* and *udañcana-*].
Sha.'s suggestion (p. 354) that *-jo* in *lēnjo* is the compo-
sitional shortening of *joppo* "water" offers another possi-
bility of connecting *lēnjo* with Gu. *lenō*. The connexion of
lēṅ- with Kh. *lęṅ* "to flow, to fly", Sa. *liṅgi, liṅji* "to flow
gently, to trickle, run", Mu.Ho Bh. *liṅgi* "to flow" (Pi.
333) is not plausible from a semantic point of view.

346. *lokhando* "iron" (LSI.). – Ku. *lo-khando* (*lo, loh, loha*). Cf.
Mar. *lokhãd* "iron".

347. 1. *ma-* "to give". *Eṅgke ma* "give me" (Bha. 256, 249). See
Nr. 235. – ?

348. 2. *ma*, particle (?). To be assumed if *indē* (in *indē ma* LSI.
188) is "give"; but see Nr. 235 and for *udatinkā-mā,
hundar-kā-mā* see Nr. 487. So a Nah. word corresponding
to Ku. *ma* (particle used "in commanding either a male or
a female", Drake, *Grammar* 124) Sa. *ma*, Mu. *ma, mad'*,
So. *ma* does not seem to exist.

349. *maikko* "bee". – ? Unknown in Ku. Probably a loanword
(cf. Pkt. *maia-* "intoxicated"?). [It hardly contains the
suffix *-ku* (Sa. *-ko*), which is added to animal names, e.g.
Ku. *kaku* (Sa. *hako*, Mu.Bh.Ho *haku*): Palaung *kā* (etc.)
"fish", Mu. *siku* "louse" : Sa. *se*, Sa. *b(h)uku* "ant" : So.
ěbŭ-, Ku. *ruku* "fly" (Mu.Ho *roko*) : Sa. *rǫ.*]

350. *maja* "merry". LSI.: *Jo ṭēēkēn majā ugāiṅgēn* "We will eat,
merry will be". – Ku. *maja* "taste, well-being", cf. e.g.
Mu. *maja* "nice, pleasant (especially to the taste), to take
pleasure in something". Also in Naiki (Sha.). Pers. Hi.
mazā "taste, relish, pleasure". See also *mauj*.

351. *makan* "but, even then". – Ku. *makhan, makan*, (?*maka*)
"then, thereupon, therefore, again". Suffix *-khan*, cf. Sa.
męnkhan "but, if, when", *ęnkhan, ęnkhać* "then, in that
case, then only, after that" (cf. *ęn* "that particular, that
one"). In spite of *-khać*, *-khan* may be identical with Hi.
khan "moment, while" (Bodding, *Materials for a Santali
Grammar* II, 263 n.), cf. Kw. *jakhan* "when", *takhan*
"then" (: Beng. *e-khan, ta-khan* "then", Skt. *yatkṣaṇa-,
tatkṣaṇa-*). Ku.Nah. *ma-* is probably a pronominal element,
cf. Ku. *mē-tin, me-ten, mē-tan* "but, still" : *de-ten, de-n*
"there". [N.B. Bodding's analysis of *męnkhan* as "if said,
when saying so" (*A Santali Grammar for Beginners* § 188)

is doubtful; cf. Sa. *menek, menek* "but". The parallelism with *enkhan* points rather to a pronominal stem *men-* = Ku. *me-*.]

352. *mal* "property" (LSI.: in *dhanmāl*). – Ku. *mal*, Ar.Hi. *māl*.

353. *māma* "mother's brother, father's younger sister's husband". – Ku. *mama* "uncle, father's sister's husband" (*mamu* "uncle, mother's brother" = Bh. *mamu*, Hi. *māmū*), Sa. *mama* "mother's brother", Hi. *māmā*, Tam. *māman*, id., etc. See Turner, *Nep. Dict.* 504b, *DED.*, Nr. 3945.

354. *māmi* "mother's brother's wife". – Hi. *māmi*.

355. *mancho, manco* "man"; plural *man-ṭa*. LSI.: *māncho, māncu*, plural *mānchā* (!). – Does not occur in Ku. Cf. Beldari *mānsā*, Bhili *mānso, manus, mānas*, etc. (LSI. XI, 30, IX/3, 51, 142), Bodo *manshi*. Direct borrowing from Hi. *mānus, mānas* would not explain the irregular plural. Note Parji *mañja*, Southern dialect *mañña*. For Nah. *ch* cf. *vorcho* "year" (: Ku. *orso, orasso*, Hi. *varṣ*) and *mochor*. The divergence between the dual *manch-ihlṭel* and the plural *manṭa* is puzzling. See p. 27.

356. *maṇḍi-* "to speak" (with accusative). *Iṭi manchon maṇḍibe* "tell this man!" LSI.: *māṇḍi-* "to say". – Ku. *mandi*, *maṇḍi* "to speak, say". Cf. Gondi *māṇḍi* "word" (with perseveration of the nasalization from **māḍi*, cf. Tel. *māṭa*, Tam. *māṭṭu*, Kann. *māṭu* "word"). [Ku. *mhen*, Sa. *men*, Mu. Ho *men* "to say, utter, tell" are unrelated.]

357. *māṇḍu, māṇḍo* "rain". – Isolated in Munda (Sakai *mani* must be kept apart). Perhaps a Dravidian loan-word? Cf. Kann. *mañju* "dew, fog, coldness", Kolami *manc* "mist", Parji *mañ(j)* "mist, dew", *mēndir* "dew", Kuwi *manẓu* [*ẓ = c*], id. (*DED.*, Nr. 3792).

358. *māney* "we" (plur.). LSI.: *jo* (as in the sing.). Perhaps there is some dialectal difference between LSI. and Bha. See *lā* "you". – Isolated. Note however *āni, kāni* in Tibeto-Burman (*ṅā-ni* in Murmi). Yākhā *āniṅ* (beside *kāni*) recurs in Kharia. Since possible cognates of *jo* "I" are found in the same languages some connexion of *māney* with *ṅā-ni*, etc. seems possible. Or prefix *ma-*, as in Khasi *ma-ṅi*, emphatical form of *ṅi* "we"? Hence = **ma-ṅe'j*?

359. *maṅgar* "crocodile". – Ku. *maṅgar* "alligator". Like Sa. *maṅgar* "alligator, Crocodilus palustris" with nasalization owing to the initial nasal (*OrN.* 384) from Hi. *magar*. Cf. Mu. *mandukam < madukam*.

360. *mano-* "to entreat". LSI.: *manojē* "entreated" (= **mano-ya*, see *ugā-*). The exact meaning (St. Luke 15 : 28) is rather "appeased, reconciled". – Not found in Ku. Cf. Hi. *manānā* "to appease, persuade, soothe, conciliate".

361. *mantaminar* "inhabitants". LSI.: *hoitī dēckē māntāmīnār-kē bidī māncu-kē awār-kē* "in the house of one man of the inhabitants of that country". – Does not exist in Ku. For *manta-* cf. the corresponding Gondi word *mandānavārērk* "inhabitants", from *mandānā* "to remain, live" (LSI. 489). In the other dialects the dental is lacking (Parji *men*, Ollari Kurukh *man-*, etc., *DED.*, Nr. 3914), so that *manta-* is most likely a Gondi loanword. The suffixal element *-mīnār* seems to be the Ku. suffix *-min-ku* (plur.; singular *-min-ij*, but mostly *-ita-ij*), but with a Dravidian plural ending added. The ultimate origin of *-min-* is not clear. N.B. Sa. *menak'* "to be" is apparently a borrowing from Malto *mene* "to be" (*DED.*, Nr. 3914).

362. *māṭo* "thigh". – ? Cf. Naiki *māṇḍi* (*IIJ.* V, 114), Bhili *māṇḍi* (LSI. IX/3, 100) from Mar. *mǎḍī*.

363. *mauj-* "merry". LSI.: *mauj-kā* "to make merry" [? see *ugāen-*]. – Not found in Ku. From Ar.Hi. *mauj*, cf. *mauj karnā*.

364. *māv* "horse" (dual *māv-ihlṭel*, plur. *māv-ṭa*). LSI.: *māw*, *mā*. – Unknown in Ku. Cf. Tel. *māvu* "horse" (but Gondi *mau*, *māv* "sambar", cf. Emeneau *Kolami* Nr. 2205, *DED.*, Nr. 3917). Note *ma* "horse" in Tai, Ahom, Khāmti, Laos, Shān; cf. Lahu (Shan States) *müan*, *maw* "horse".

365. *mavsi* "mother's younger sister". – Unknown in Ku. Cf. Hi. *mausī*.

366. *māy* "mother" (LSI. id.). – Ku. *mai*, *māy*, Sa. *mae*, Mahle *māe*, Mu. *mai*; cf. Hi. *māī*.

367. *menge* "tooth, jaw". Bha. *menge* is probably a mistake for *menge*, cf. LSI. *mēngē* and see *raban*. –• Isolated. If connected with Sakai *lĕmoing*, Central Sakai *lĕmūiṅ*, Semang *lamoing* (thus also Sha.), the final vowel must be a suffix. Sha. further compares Khmer *thméñ* (*dhméñ*) and Burushaski *i-mih* [Lorimer I, 44 gives *-mɛ*, which Berger, *MüSS.* 9, 16 connects with Basque (**a-me-m >*) *agin*]. If Austro-Asiatic, *menge* might also stand for **menge'* (from **mengek*). Note Mon *ñeak*, id.

368. *menḍha* "sheep" (only LSI.). – Ku. *menḍha*, id. from Hi. *mēḍhā* "ram".

369. *mer-* "to play", *mero-kama-* "to make to play" (cf. *cerk(o)-*).
Mer-be "play!". – Not found in Ku.

370. *mera* "near" (LSI.: *mērē, mirā-kī* [with locative suffix]. *Nē mērē-pā* "thou art near"). – Ku. *mera* (e.g. *inya mera tsuri* "the knife I have", *popa-khe mera sene-anda-ken* "he began to go near the hole"), *mera-n* "near, about" (with locative suffix), *mera-ten* (with abl. suffix, Drake, *Grammar* 154). Also in Kolami, e.g. *māle mēra* (or: *mēra-n̐*) *vatten* "he came near the hill", *māle mērat andan* "he is near the hill"; and in Naiki, e.g. *aunu āpaḍ-mērān vatten* "he came near the house" (Emeneau, *Kolami* 125, LSI. 573f., *IIJ*. V, 115a). Probably from Mar. *meḷā* "assembly, company, band". See *IIJ*. II, 241 (where the statement about the "Bhili" dialect should be deleted).

371. *meur* "anthill". – ? Not found in Ku.

372. *mijar* "inside". Like *kajar* (to which Bha. refers) this is a noun, cf. *bokko minjar* [sic] "palm of the hand", LSI.: *ētarē bhāṅgyāmijār-kū bidarī* [= *bhaṅgya mijarkon biḍi-re*] "one from amongst his servants". *Minjar* may have secondary nasalization owing to the initial nasal. – ? Unknown in Ku. Note Bhili *majhār* "into" (LSI. IX/3, 143).

373. *mindi* "evening, night". LSI.: *mindī dēwtā* "moon". – Not found in Ku. To be kept apart from Sa. *ninḍa*, Mu. Ho *nida* "night". If *mindi* stands for **midi* (owing to the initial nasal, cf. *maṅgar, minjar*), it might be connected with Kui *miḍuni (miḍuri)* "evening". Secondary nasalization as in Kui *manḍi / māṭi* "brass bowl", *maṅguri / mahuri* "twilight" is not recorded for *miḍuni*.

374. *miṅgay* "where". Cf. *iṅga* "here" from *i-*. Hence derived from a pronominal stem *mi-* "who?". – Kaikaḍi (Tamil dialect) *midād* "what" (LSI. 334, 337) and Burgandi *mi* "what" (LSI. 346) seem to be isolated. As for Ku. *amae* "who", Mu. *ci-mae* "why", Pa. *bōyi* "who", cf. Halang *pŏmoi, pŏmai*, Sakai *ma', āmai* "who" (Central Sakai *mō*, *mā* "what"), etc. Neither these words, nor Bodo *ma* "what", *manǫ'* "why" can easily be connected with *mi-*. But cf. Khimi *ami* "who" and see the next word.

375. *miyan* "how much". From *mi-* (Nr. 374), cf. *hiyan* (Nr. 215).

376. *mochor* "pestle". – Individual borrowing (not used in Ku.), probably from Mar. *musaḷ* (with regular *r* for *ḷ*, as in Ku.). Need not be an old loan-word (Berger 38, who derives it from Skt. *muśala-, musala-*), see *mancho, vorcho / warso*, etc.

377. *mokhne* "elbow (knee?)". – Ku.Mu.Ho *muka*, Sa. *moka* "cubit", Mu. *moka* "a measure", *mukũṛi*, Ho *mukui* "knee", and in Dravidian Kurukh *mūka*, *mŭkā*, Kolami *movka* "elbow", Malto *muki* "cubit", *muke* "knee", which are borrowings from Munda or, like the Munda words, loan-words from an older linguistic family. See *IIJ*. II, 241. Mu. *mukũṛi* may stand for *mukuṇḍi, which would be the closest cognate of Nah. *mokhne* (from *mukuni?).

378. *monḍa* "heel". – Not used in Ku.

379. *mōṭh*, *mōṭho* "three". – Not used in Ku. Borrowed from Dravidian, but exact source not clear. With devoicing (? see Nrs 361, 385) from Tel. *mūḍu* or Gondi *muḍu*? See *DED.*, Nr. 4147.

380. *mundi* "ring" (only LSI.). From *mudi (cf. *maṅgar*, *mindi*). – Ku. *mundi*, from Mar. *mudī* (see Turner, *Nep. Dict.* 514b). An earlier borrowing (from Pkt. *muddā-*? See *IIJ*. II, 238f.) in Sa. *mundạm*, Mu. *mudam*, *mundam*, Ho *mundam*. Cf. Kui *mudi*.

381. *murkiṭij'* "mosquito". – ? Formation like *kaplij'*?

382. *na* "and" (LSI.). See 2. *nē*. – Ku. (Muwasi dialect) *no*, Golari *anā*, Burgandi *nā*, etc.

383. *nakko* "nail of finger". – Ku. *nakho*. Cf. Hi. Mar. *nakh*.

384. *nāko* "you two". LSI.: *nākū*. See *nēko* and *lā*.

385. *nālku*, *nālo* "four". LSI.: *nālo*. – Not used in Ku. Cf. Kann. *nālku*, *nāluku*, resp. *nālu* (*DED.*, Nr. 3024) or rather Tel. *nālugu* (with devoicing of *g*)? Cf. Naiki *nāluk*, *nālu*.

386. *nān* (*nāṅ*) "what?". *Nāṅ* (Bha.) is probably a mere sandhi variant, cf. *eṅke nāṅ kōyi*? "What have you brought for me?". – Unknown in Ku. Bha. compares Parji *naṅ* "why", *nā*, *nāto* "what", but their Dravidian origin is dubious (*DED.*, Nr. 4228, p. 352b). Possibly from an old proto-Indic substratum, like *tān-*? See the next word.

387. *nāni* "who?" (LSI.: *nānī*, *nēnī*, id.); *nāni-kā* "anyone", *nān-kā* "anything" (LSI.: *nanka-tar*, id.). Probably from *nān* + *-i'j* (cf. *eṭey*). – Parallel formations derived from *tā*, *tān* in Ku. *tōn-ej* "who", *tōnej kā* "anyone". Cf. Kolami *tāṅ*, *tānuṅ* "why", *tāned* (plur. *tānev*) "what" ("Bhili" dialect *tān* "what"), Naiki *tā*, *tāne* "what". See *IIJ*. II, 240.

388. *naṅga-* "destitute; to become do." (LSI.). *Naṅgāyjan* "became destitute" [= *naṅga-ya(n)*, see *ugāen-*]. – Ku. *naṅga* "naked", Hi. *naṅgā*.

389. *naṅgar* "plough". – Ku. *naṅgar*. Cf. Mar. *nãgar*.

390. *nāpyom* "mother-in-law, husband's elder sister, wife's elder brother's wife". For the formation cf. *birṭom, karyom*. – ? Cf. Parji *navol* "father's sister's daughter"??

391. *nāṛa* "Adam's apple". – Ku. *nāṛa*, id. (according to Bha.). Hi. *nāṛ* "neck", etc.

392. *naukar* "servant" (LSI.). *Apnā naukarhuṅgo kainī* "he said to his servants" [= *naukaron-ke*, dative? Cf. *ābākē kāynū* "said to his father", *jo ētarēkē kāynēkē* "I shall say to him", LSI. 188]. – Ku. *naukar* (plural *naukarōn-tan* "to his servants" LSI. 184, similarly Muwasi *majurōn* "servants" LSI. 183). Hi *naukar*. See *halk*.

393. *nāvay* "why". Suffix *-vay*? Note *hivat*. – See *nān*.

394. *nav* "nine" (LSI.). – Not used in Ku. Cf. Hi. *nau, nav*.

395. *nāy* "dog". – Gondi *nāī* (Kolami, Naiki *āte*). Does not occur in Telugu.

396. 1. *nē* "thou", dual *nēko, nāko* "you two". Genitive *nē, nēne* (LSI. *nē, ninē*), besides *nēṅgā* (LSI. 274). – Dravidian, but the details are still obscure. The nominative (absolute case) corresponds rather to Kolami, Naiki *nīv* (*DED.*, Nr. 3051) than to Kurukh, Malto *nīn*, but the genitive *nēṅgā* can only be connected with Kurukh *niṅhai*, dial. *niṅghē*, *niṅghāe* (LSI. 432, 436, 428). Cf. Malto *niṅ(-ki)*. The vowel of the dual form would be aberrant, if *nāku* (LSI. 242) would be the older form of *nēko* (*ā > ē*, Berger 39). Bha. has both *nāko* (p. 255) and *nēko* (p. 247). The origin of *nā-* is not clear. Cf. *lā-* (< *nā-*?).
[2. *nē* "and" (LSI.). See *na* and cf. Oḍki, Bhili *nē* (LSI. XI, 34, IX/3, 50). But Nah. *ne* may be due to a specific Nahali development, see Berger 39.

397. 3. *-nē, -n*, emphatic particle? If our suggestion is correct (see p. 21f.), it occurs not only after nouns (see e.g. *kimto-n*), but also after adverbs (see *ita-n*) and after verbs, e.g. *jo nē māṇḍī, hōtā nē kā* "what you said, was indeed happening" (?). Cf. *irkene* ?

398. *niḍir* "white ant". – Ku. *nindir*, Sa. *ṅindir*, Mu. *nindir*, Mu.Ho *nidir*, Kh. *ṭo'bḍir* (*OrN.* 384, Pi. 87).
[*niḍirtaṅ koṭra* "inside of anthill" (= *niḍirṭa-n*!). See *koṭra*.]

399. *nitto-* "to enter". – ? Unknown in Ku.

400. *o* "was, were" (LSI.). Only in the 1st and 2nd persons sing. (LSI. 266)?. – Hi. *huā, hue*?

401. *ocol* "to lift". – Unknown in Ku. Cf. Naiki *uclip-*, id. (*IIJ*. V, 108a). Apparently isolated in Dravidian.

402. *oḍov* "buffalo". – ? From **voḍov*? Any connexion with Parji *baṛav* (plur. *baṛal, baṛacil*) "bullock"?

403. *ōhan* "mortar". – Perhaps an individual borrowing direct from Pkt. *ohala-*? Such forms, which stand apart from the normal development of Skt. *ulūkhala-* (etc.) are rare (Turner, *Nep. Dict.* 61a). Ku. has *okhli*, from Hi. *ūkhlī* (cf. Mar. *ukhḷī*). Cf. Sa. *ukhuṛ* (Desi *ukhul*, Bodding), Kh. *ukhṛi*.

404. *oki-* "to put" (LSI.). *Okī-bē* "put! apoint!". – Unknown in Ku.

405. *ōla-* "to be wet", *ōla-kama-* "to make wet". – Ku. *ola* "moist earth, swampy ground, moisture" ["to be wet" NHZ.], Sa. *olhan* "moisture, humidity, moist, damp (mostly about earth), humid", *olaheṭ* "damp, moist (ground, place)", *olāt* "moist, damp, cool (place)". Ultimately from Indo-Aryan? Cf. Pkt. *ulla-, olla-*, Hi. *ol* "wet, damp" (from **udra-*? Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* § 111). A different word is Sa. *oda* "moist, wet, damp, wet", Mu. *oda, oda-moda*, Hi. *odā*, id. Cf. Tamil *ōtam* "moisture, dampness", etc. (*DED.*, Nr. 882).

406. *ōra* "air". – ? Unknown in Ku.

407. *oro* "millet. – Ku. *oro* "grain, seed". From Mar. *varo* "kind of grass, grain". [Not related to Sa. *hoṛo*, Mu. *huṛu*, Kh. *horu* "paddy, unhusked rice", So. *sárō-* "rice", Mon *srõ*, Khmer *sruv*, etc. See further Pi. 122, 171.]

408. *orṭa-* "to return". – ? Unknown in Ku.

409. *orṭak-* "to be lost". – ? Unknown in Ku.

410. *ōṭho* "chin". – Apparently a direct borrowing from Mar. *oṭh* (cf. Hi. *õṭh*). Ku. *ota*, id. suggests an Indo-Aryan original **oṭhā*.

411. *oṭi* "that". See *hoṭi* (s.v. *ho*). Same word (see p. 18)?

412. 1. *oṭṭi-* "to pull out". – ? Tamil *oṭi-* "to break off" (Bha.) is semantically aberrant (*DED.*, Nr. 799). If from **or-ṭi-* (cf. *arḍu > aḍḍo* "tree") a connexion with Ku. *or*, Sa. *or*, Mu. Ho *or* "to pull, drag" might be considered, but "root-extensions" by means of *-ṭi* seem to be unknown in Munda. Sa.Mu.Bh. *oḍon* "to bring out" must be kept apart.

413. 2. *oṭṭi-* "to burn (v.t.)", Bha. 251. – ?

414. *oyja-, oyja-kama-* "to carry on head". – Ku. *ojha* "a load;

to carry, be heavy", *ojha-ē, ojha-ki* "to carry". From Mar.
ojhẽ "a load, burden" (cf. Guj. *ojho*, Hi. *bojh, bojhnā*,
Turner, *Nep. Dict.* 461a). Cf. Parji *bōja* "load". For *-yj-*
see p. 18.

415. *ovāri* "son's wife, younger brother's wife". – Not found in
Ku. Bha. compares Hi. *bouhārī*, id. [?].

416. *pacas* "fifty" (LSI.). – Ku. *pacaso*. Cf. Hi. *pacās*.

417. *pachla, pachal-ki* "behind" (LSI.). – Not used in Ku. Cf.
Hi. *pachilā, pāchal*.

418. *pāco* "five". LSI.: *pāncō*. – Ku. *panco* "multitude" (St. Luke
23 : 1)? Hi. *pãc*.

419. *pad-* "to feel" (LSI.). *Kīwu pāddī* "felt pity". – Cf. Tam.
paṭu- "to suffer" (e.g. *paya-ppaṭu-* "to fear"), Tel. *paḍu-*,
Kolami *paḍ-* (see Emeneau, *Kolami* Nr. 624). Thus also Sha.

420. *paḍa-* "to kill". *Here-na kaṭṭokka paḍa-be* "beat this person
to death" (Bha. 248, see *koṭṭo-*). – ? Unknown in Ku.

421. *pago* "tail". – ? Unknown in Ku.

422. *paisa* "money" (LSI.). – Ku. *paisa*. Cf. Hi. *paisā*.

423. *pakin* "peacock". – Unknown in Ku. Apparently an Indo-Aryan
loanword, but neither this form, nor this particular meaning
can be found in Hi. or Mar. Bha. points to Beng. *pekhōm*
"peacock's tail". Kolami has *paksin* "female bird" (: *paksiak*
"male bird"). Note also Naiki *pika* "feather, peacock's
tail" (*IIJ.* V, 112b). Old borrowing from Pkt. *pakkhiṇa-*
"bird", or recent borrowing from a local dialect?

424. *pakoṭo* "bone". – Unknown in Ku. Apparently borrowed
directly from Kolami *pakkaṭe* "rib" (: *pakkā* "side", Tel.
pakka, id. from Indo-Aryan). See *IIJ.* II, 239. Berger 57
assumes a Nahali suffix *-ṭo* in this word. (See Nr. 248).

425. *pala* "leaf". – The relations between Aryan and Munda
words are rather intricate. Mar. *pālā* "leaves, tufts of
leaves, foliage", Singhalese *palā* "greens, vegetables", Panj.
pallhī "green leaves of grass" have been connected with
Skt. *pallava-* "sprout, bud" (Turner, *Nep. Dict.* 377b). But
Sa. *palha* "leaf, get leaves", Mu. *palhao* "sprouting of new
leaves after the branch of a tree has been cut" belong to
an Austro-Asiatic word-family (*Kirfel-Festschrift* 144, Pi.
75). The same word seems to exist in Ku. exclusively in
ara pala (*ara para*, where it has become a mere jingle,
Drake, *Grammar* 183 n. 1), a combination of *ara* (Sa.
arak' "vegetables") and *pala* (Sa. *palha*). So Mar. *pālā, pālẽ*

"leaves, foliage", *olẽ pālẽ* "green food (grass leaves for cattle)", *(bhāji)pālā* "begetables", are possibly borrowings from Ku. Cf. also Hi. *ālā pālā* "leaves of different trees", apparently a jingle of **pālā* = Sa. *palha*. Consequently teh Nah. word is most likely a reborrowing from Mar., but it may represent the old Munda word which occurs in Ku. *ara pala*.

426. *palco, palcu* "son". *Enge ḍai-na palcu-re* "my elder brother's son". LSI.: *pālicho, pāliśo, pālicho-rē* "son, young of an animal". – Unknown in Ku. Apparently a loan-word with *-o* added. A variant with *ḍ* occurs in some neighbouring Dravidian dialects: Kolami *paḍas* "son, boy", Parji *paḍic* "boy", Tel. *paḍac-uḍu* (*DED.;* Nr. 3177). The Nah. word points to a variant **palic*, perhaps a "pre-Dravidian" word.

427. *panḍhar* "white" (LSI.). – Not used in Ku. Cf. Sa. *panḍra* "having light-coloured, greyish eyes" (Campbell: "having a white skin, greyish in colour"), Mu. *panḍra* "redness of man's hair" (also used with reference to a buffalo's hair, like Sa. *panḍri bitkil* "a buffalo cow with greyish body"), etc., Naiki *panḍran* "white". From Indo-Aryan, cf. Hi. *pãḍar*.

428. *pāp-karm* "sin" (LSI.). – Hi. do. [Ku. *papo*, id.].

429. *parayn* "river". Represents probably the Nah. pronunciation of **paran*. – ?

430. *parka* "all". No doubt to be read *par kā*, with the same verbal "particle" *kā* that occurs in *sagani ka, kharu ka*, Ku. *sabo kā*. – Ku. *par* "complete, completely, across" [*par* "all", *par-kaq* "all (emphatic)" NHZ.]. Cf. Hi. *pār*.

431. *paron* "bank of a river". – No doubt a mere sandhi varians of *parom* (like *nãn* for *nān*, see also *raban*). Meaning at indicated is probably not quite correct. – Ku. *parum*, Sa *parọm*, Mu. *parom* "across", Ku. *Yardana parumten* "from beyond Jordan" (St. Mark 3 : 8). An early borrowing from Old or Middle Indian *pāra-* (see in general R. B. Sarat Chandra Roy, *JBORS.* IX (1923) 376ff. and *IIJ.* II, 238f.). [Possibly however *paron* is to Ku. *parum*, what Bhili *daterun* (Koppers, *Die Bhil in Zentralindien* 81) is to Ku. *datrum* (Sa. *datrọm*, Mu.Ho *datrom*).]

432. *pasi-ki* "near". With Locative suffix, as in *mirā-ki*, id. (see *mera*), *kajar-ki* "up", *dhava-ki* "far". Aryan loanword for *mera* (but see s.v.). – Does not occur in Ku. Cf. Mar. *pāsī* "near, nigh, close to".

433. *paṭ-/piy-* "to come" (p.t. *pāṭi*). The 2nd pers. Imperative
is *piya*. Bha. 251, 254 gives *pāṭo-* "to come", *biji pāṭo*
"do not come", LSI. 188f. *pāṭi* "came" (etc.), 274 *pāṭ-ī*.
The evidence available does not allow a clear analysis.
Bha. 255 also gives *pi-/pa-* "to come", but *paṭ-* is hardly to
be analysed as *pa* + *-ṭa*. Nor can it be = Hi. *pātā* "reaching,
meeting with" (see *hota*, *jivta*). Sha. compares Naga Tibeto-
Burman *pat*, *-pat*, *-bat* "to walk", Khasi *phet* "to run", and
Tibeto-Burman *pī*, Semang *pē* (Sakai *bēi*) "to come" [Khasi
poy "to arrive"?]. Cf. also Gu. *pi-* "to come".

434. *paṭar-* "to dry (v.i.), *paṭar-kama-* "to dry something". – ?
Not used in Ku.

435. *pehena-tiṅ-(kama-?)* "to dress" (LSI.). Imper. *pēhēnātiṅkā*
[= *pehenatiṅ-ki*?]. – Not found in Ku. Cf. Hi. *pahinnā*,
pahannā "to put on, wear".

436. *pē̃i*, *pē̃y* "head" (Bha. 246, 250). LSI.: *peṅ*. – Cf. perhaps
Bahing *pīya*, Sunwar (Darjeeling) *piyā*, id. (above, p. 47)
if Bha.'s spelling really excludes a pronunciation [peṅ].
See Bha. 246 (§ 4), and cf. *kakheyṅ*. On the other hand, *lāy*
"tongue" (: LSI. *lāṅ*) would seem to represent a secondary
development. Starting from *peṅ*, Sha. compares Khamuk
kam-poṅ, Burmese *cham-paṅ* "hair of the head".

437. *pejikoem-kama-* "to drive away". Formation like *apaeṅ-*
kama- "to make to weep" (Bha. 251). The suffix *-en-* may
have denoted a certain state, see *ugaen-*. Perhaps, there-
fore, **pejiko-* had an transitive meaning, e.g. "to go
away"? – ? Probably a loanword.

438. *pendri* "shin of leg". – Ku. *pendri*, *pindri*, *pandari* "calf of
the leg, leg below the knee". Cf. Hi. *pindrā*, *pindrī*, *pēḍurī*
"the shin, calf of the leg".

439. *peṭe-* "to sit". *Peṭe-wa* "will sit" (Bha. 250; read *peṭe-ka*? Cf.
Kurku, Muwasi dialect *iṅ sene-wā* "I shall go" (: Standard
dialect *iṅ śene-bā*), LSI. 183. – Perhaps a "proto-Indian"
root, cf. Skt. *pīṭha-*, n. "chair, seat, bench" (which was at
an early date borrowed into Munda, cf. Ku. *pitom*), unless
the primary meaning was "platform". Cf. Skt. *piṇḍikā-*
"bench for lying on", Oriya *piṇḍā*, Sa. *piṇḍa* "a raised
veranda", *piṇḍha* "ridge, raised border between rice-
fields" (see Turner, *Nep. Dict.* 382a, 379a).

440. *petek-* "to tear (v.i.)", *petek-kama-* "to tear something". –
Not used in Ku. Cf. Sa. *peṭeć* "to break off with the finger,
nip off, snip off", Mu. *peṭe'* "to break off a twig or small
branch", Turi *peṭe'j* (LSI. 133)? See however Pi. 101.

441. *pin* "but" (LSI.). – Ku. *phini, pan*, Kw. *phin* "again",
Gondi *pan, paṇ*. From Mar. *paṇ* "also, even, but".

442. *pirju* "daughter". LSI.: *pērijo*, plur. *pērijā-ṭā* (Genitive
pērānān "of daughters", Ablative *pērā-ṭoṅ-ko* "to, from
daughters"). For the elision in Bha.'s dialect cf. *palco* (for
palicho). Elision of final *-o* in LSI. *pērijāṇḍā* "bad girl"
[= *pirju aṇḍa*]. – Unknown in Ku. No connexion with
Gondi *pēḍi* "girl" (LSI. 540), see *DED.*, Nr. 3248 (*pedi*
"girl" : *pedā* "child", cf. Tam. *paiyaṉ*), nor with Parji
parna "girl, bride".

443. *popo* "belly". LSI.: do. – Ku. has the common Munda word
lāij, but cf. Mu. *pu'pu'* "the abdomen between the navel
and the scrotum", Ho *pupū* "abdomen" (Dhani Ram
Bakshi, *A Tutor of the Ho Language* 23), So. *kĕmpuṅ-,
kimpuṅ-* "belly, stomach, abdomen" (Pi. 207). Possibly to
be connected with Murmi *pho*, Lepcha *tabok*, Limbu *sapok*,
Kadu *pou^k* (*BSOS.* I, 16), Khasi *khypoh*, Khmer *pôḥ*, etc.
See p. 47 and B. Laufer, *T'oung Pao* 17, 51.

444. *poyye* "bird". LSI. *poyatā* [= *poyye-ṭa*, plural]. – Ku. has
titit (see further Pi. 160). Cf. Chulikata (Tayong Mishmi)
pyā, Digaru Mishmi *mpiā*, Taraon *piya*, Kanauri *pyā*
(LSI. III/1, 157). See p. 47 and cf. B. Laufer, *T'oung Pao*
17, 38 on these words. Sha. 353 compares Sho *păyo*.

445. *puch-* "to wipe away". – Not used in Ku. Cf. Hi. *pôchnā*.

446. *puri-* "to send". LSI.: *pūr-ī* "sent" (cf. *māṇḍī* "said"). – ?

447. *phejer* "morning". – Ku. *phajer* [Akola dialect *biḍi-phajer*
"morning-time", lit. "time of getting up", from Akola
biḍ = bid "to arise"? Rather like Rajasthani *baḍi phajar*
"early morning" (LSI. IX/2, 302). Cf. the parallel expres-
sion Ku. *baṛe pata* "very early in the morning" (St. Mark
1 : 35, 16 : 2, 9), from Mar. *pahāṭa*] and Hi. *phajar* "early
morning, dawn".

448. *pher-* "to take out" (LSI.). *Phēr-kē* "taking out". – Not used
in Ku. Cf. Hi. *phernā* "to turn inside out".

449. *phor* "fruit, mango". – Not used in Ku.? For Mar. *phal* >
phor, cf. Mar. *bal* "strength" > Ku. **bor* in *boḅor* "strong".

450. *phuphu* "father's younger sister". – Ku. *phupu* "father's
sister", Mu. *phuphu*, id., Hi. *phūphū*, etc. (Turner, *Nep.
Dict.* 408a; no OIA. and MIA. correspondences!). Ultimate
origin? Cf. Bhili *phoī, phuī* (*Turner Vol.* I, 200).

451. *rabaṅ* (?) "cold". Bha. 256, 251 has the forms *rabanka* "cold"
[= *rabaṅ kā*!], *rabankama*- "to cool something", and *joppo
raban-ken* "water will become cool". Everywhere, accord-
ingly, *raban* is followed by *k*. Since *n* is normally assimilated
in this position (e.g. *deleṅka* = *delenka* "is drinking", Bha.
247), the usual pronunciation must be *rabaṅ-ka*, etc., which
Bha. may have interpreted as the sandhi-variant of *raban.
   – Ku. Sa.Mu.Ho *rabaṅ* "cold" [Hence Muci *ābaṅ* "cold,
winter"? See p. 13]. With *b*-infix derived from *raṅ*, cf.
Ku. *raṅ* "to be cold, shiver", Kh. *raṅga* "cold, to feel cold",
So. *ránā*- "cold, chill" and, with *t*-infix, Sa.Mu.Ho *ratań*
"hoar-frost, snow". See further Pi. 224, 329 (Khmer
rongéa, etc.).
   [*raṇḍa* "boy" (Sha.) does not exist. See *ejer*.]

452. *raṇḍi-muṇḍi* "harlot" (LSI.). – Hi. *raṇḍi-muṇḍī* "harlot,
   prostitute". [Ku. *raṇḍi japai, raṇḍo japai* = "widow";
   Zide: *rando* "widow, prostitute".]

453. *raṅgo* (*raṅg, roṅg*?) "kind" (LSI.). *Bhāgyā-raṅgo-kī bidī* "one
   among the sorts of servants" (= "as a servant"). The
   appositional use of nouns before *raṅgo* is peculiar to
   Nahali, as against Ku. *sabbo roṅgo rogo ḍo sabbo roṅgo kasūkū*
   "all sorts of diseases and illnesses". In *jo nē pāliśo-roṅgā
   māṇḍi-raṅg jāgā bēṭē hēlē* "I am not worthy to be called
   thy son" we may interpret *pāliśo-roṅgā* as "like thy son"
   (cf. Kw. *amreni(ć) hopon leka iṅ do na lage*, LSI. 158), but
   the final -*a* of *roṅga* (as against Ku. *roṅgo, raṅgo*) would
   be anomalous. Possibly, however, it is an inexact spelling
   for *pāliśo-roṅg kā* (cf. *ughāiṅgā* s.v. *ugāen*-). After a verbal
   form the same word seems to occur in *māṇḍi-raṅg*, lit. "I
   am not a case (?) (or, there is no place) like being called
   sort of son of you" (cf. Sa. *nutumok' lekan-ḍo baṅkaniṅ*,
   Bh. *kahiok' leka banaiṅa*, etc.). – Ku. *raṅgo, roṅgo, reṅgo*
   "quality, pattern, kind, sort, colour". Cf. Hi. *raṅg*.

454. -*re*. See *kōlle-re, aba-re, palcu-re, he-re*. Cf. Bha. 249: In
   Nahāli and also in Korku the kinship terms are inflected,
   but these terms take the suffix only when they stand in
   relation to a 3rd person. Thus Nahāli *eṅga aba* "my father",
   but *eṭeyna aba-re* "his father". Note -*ren* in *bairen*, LSI.,
   274. – Ku. has *aba*, but *ba-te*. For -*re* Bha. refers to Ju.
   -*ro*, Gu. -*de*, Parengi -*ḍoi*; Sa.Mu. have a similar suffix as
   Ku. The divergence between Nah. and Ku. should be noted.

455. *rupya* "rupee". – Ku. *rupya, rupae*; Hi. *rupyā*.

456. *sab* "all" (LSI.). Also *sabī*, probably = Hi. *sab hī*. But cf. *bhaṭ-e*. – Ku. *sab, sabo, sabbo, śobo*; Hi. *sab*.

457. *sadi* "hundred" (LSI.). – Ku. *sadi*. Cf. Pers. Hi. *sad* "hundred", *sadī* "century, centenary".

458. *saga* "all" (LSI.). *Sagā-ni kā* "all" (accusative). For *kā* cf. Nah. *par ka, kharu ka* and e.g. Ku. *sabo ka din* "always", *sabo ka jagah* "everywhere". – Ku. *sagaṛa* "whole" (*sagaṛa dia* "all day long"), from Mar. *saglā*. Cf. Hi. *sagrā* "all, entire, whole". Nah. *saga* is probably a mere error for **sagra*.

458a. [*sakom* "leaf"? From Bha. 254 we must infer that beside Nah. *cokob* there exists also *sakom*. – Ku. *śakom, sakom*, Sa.Mu.Ho Kw. *sakam*, id.]

459. *samne* "before" (LSI.). – Ku. (Hoshangabad) *samhne*. Cf. Hi. *sām(h)ne*. Different from *chama-ki*!

460. *sanu* "younger brother" (LSI. 246). A synonym is used LSI. 189 (*bāśīgītā*). – Sha. 353 compares both Ku. *sani* (*śani*) "small, young" and Eur. Gipsy *sano* "fine, small", Kumaoni *syāno* "childish", Sindhi *sanho* "fine, minute". Cf. Pali *saṇha-*, Skt. *ślakṣṇa-*. Borrowings from the same source are So. *sánnā-* "small, young", Ju. *sāna*, id., Telugu *sanna* "lean", Kurukh *sanno* "younger son", Kannada *śāṇa*. The appurtenance of Ku. *śani* to this group is not however beyond doubt because of its final vowel and of *capani-ku* (*capani-kū*), which may be the collective noun of *śani* (*śanī*). Cf. Mu. *hopon-ko* "a number of children" : *hon* "child", Sa. *hapṛam-ko* "the ancestors" : *haṛam* "old". Perhaps the origin of *śanī* is different from that of Nah. *sānu* [= *sān* + *-o*, from Mar. *sān* "small"].

461. *sato* "seven" (LSI.). – Not found in Ku. Cf. Hi. *sāt*.

462. *sik-* "to learn". See also s.v. *cikn-*. – Not found in Ku. Cf. Hi. *sīkhnā*.

463. *simburu* "rheum of the nose". – Ku. *simṛu, semṛu* (according to Bha.). Kolami *cīmuṛ, simūḍ*, id. (cf. *cīmu* = Kann. *kīmu, kīvu* "pus", etc. Tam. *cī*, id. *DED*. Nr. 1337). Note the *-u* added to a Dravidian loan-word.
[*sokṛa*, see *chokra*.]

464. *sona* "gold" (LSI.). – Ku. *sona*, Hi. *sonā*.
[*soso*, see *chocho*.]

465. *tā* "was, were" (LSI.). *Bidī māncukī ir lānā tā* "a man had two sons". *Ētarēn bhāgā bēṭā khēṭkē tā* "His elder son was

in the field". LSI. 266 has *hō ēthē* [= *hoe thē*?] "he was, they were [?]" instead. – Unknown in Ku. Probably = Hi. *thā*. See *ethe*.

466. *-ṭā, -ṭhā*, suffix to which the case suffixes are added, only used with nouns (pronouns) denoting living beings (only LSI.). *Hoytarē-ṭā-kun* "from them", *dukāndār-ṭhā-ku* "from a shopkeeper", *ēṅgē ābā-ṭhā-kī* "to my father". – Not used in Ku., common in Kherwari, e.g. Ho *apu-iṅ-ta-re* "with my father", *apu-iṅ-ta-te* "to my father". See p. 47.

467. *ṭako-* "to wish, desire" (LSI.). *Ṭāko-gāṭā* "wished". – Ku. *taku*, id. Cf. So. *tĕkud, takkud'* "to decide, settle a dispute"?

468. *tanḍur* "rice, paddy". – Not found in Ku. Cf. Mar. *tãḍūḷ*. The absence of a final *-o* suggests that it is still a foreign word in Nah.

469. *tankē* "is". Only LSI. 262, 266 *hoi tan-kē* "he is", *hoi ītan-kē* "they are" (contrasting with *jo kā* "I am, we are", *nē kā* "thou art, you are"). The same divergence of the 3rd person sing. and plur. recurs in the past tense. The correctness of these forms is very doubtful. – Ku. *taka* "to be" is composed of **tā + kā*, cf. Sa. *tahẽ-kana-*, "was, were" (*tahẹn* "to stay, remain"), Mu. *tai-kena-* "was, were" (Mu. Ho *tain* "to stay, remain", Mu. *tai(n)-ici* "to make to be"). This analysis of Ku. *ta-ka* would lead us to expect Nah. **tā-kā* or **tan-kā*. The latter form would be more closely related to Kherwari *tahẹn* than to Ku. *ta-*. N.B. LSI. 266 has also Ku. (Amraoti) *tākē* "to be" for *taka* (*takha, ṭākā, ṭākhā*, Muwasi dialect *ta-khāne*), which is also likely to be an error.

470. *ṭār-* "to throw". – Doubtful, if there is any relationship to Ku. *terae-* "to throw down", Ho *ter* "to throw a stone", Sa. *teraṅ* "to throw an arrow upwards in a curve" [Ku. *terae* probably contains a suffixed object-pronoun, cf. Ku. *tarpai, terpāe : tarpa, ṭerpa, ṭerpa* "to cast forth, cast out, throw away, reject"].

471. *ṭarsya* "kind of animal called in Mar. etc. *taras*". – Ku. *tarsa* "hyena", Mar. *taras*, id. (Skt. *tarakṣu-*) Ku. and Nah. point to a word **tarsā*, which cannot be traced in Mar.

472. *ṭē, ṭyē-, ṭiyē-* "to eat, chew". Past tense (LSI.) *tē-ē* "ate" (for *ṭiē-y*, like *māṇḍi*, "said" for *maṇḍi-y*, *pūrī* "sent" for *puri-y*). – Sa. *ạtiṅ*, Mu. Ho *atiṅ* "to graze" is an ancient causative of the well-known type (cf. e.g. Sa. *ajọ*, Mu. Ho *ajom* "to feed" : *jo(m)* "to eat") and presupposes a verb

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*tiń "to graze, eat". With this verb Nah. ṭē- may be connected on the supposition of a root *tēh- or *tēk-. For the final nasalization in *tiń see *OrN.* 397 and cf. e.g. So. jálē- "long" : Mu. jiliń, id.; So. kĕrē- "to forget" : Sa. hiṛiń, id.; Palaung deh "to give" : Ju. diń, id. (see further s.v. *chamaki*). The existence of this root is warranted by the occurrence of tik-, ṭig- in some Gipsy languages, e.g. Ḍom ṭignā (tigun, tikunē, LSI. XI, 147, 150), which cannot be derived from Dravidian tiṇ- "to eat" (as Grierson, LSI. XI, 9 suggested) on account of the guttural. Nor can the Dravidian root (*DED.*, Nr. 2670) account for Nah. ṭē- (Sha.). If, on the strength of Ḍom ṭignā, the root is reconstructed as *tik- (> *ti'-) the past tense might be expected to be *tēkki (see ṭo-), but cf. ara-ye "saw" from ara- (Sa. arak'). The Nah. word may originally have been a coarse argot term ("to graze") but in it, like in ṭu-, Nahali preserves an ancient Munda word which is not known so far from any other Munda language. The relationship of Kh. aráń (Pi. 150) is problematical.

473. ṭēku "we two". Also ṭyēko (Bha. 247, 255). Also used as plural form (LSI. 262, 266 has jo "we"). Ṭyēko giṭa bommoki "we two are brothers", ṭyēko-na aba "father of us two". Bha. 247 suggests that -ko may be the Kherwari plural suffix -ko, but 1) we should then expect the Ku. suffix -ku 2) the only case in which borrowing of a Ku. case suffix may be considered is the dual bommoki, so that -ki would have been more natural also for "we two". 3) the personal pronouns have not as a rule plural suffixes in Munda. On the other hand, -ko denotes the dual in nēko "you two" : nē "thou". Whatever the origin of the suffix, this parallel perhaps points to a singular pronoun *ṭē "I".

474. ṭembriya "tiger". – Ku. temriya "cheetah". Perhaps a taboo substitute, as the word for "tiger" often is. Cf. Tel. tempari "a brave, bold, daring (etc.) man" (: Tamil tempu "physical strength", *DED.*, Nr. 2813)?.

475. ṭevre "lip". – Mar. ṭavḷī "forepart of the skull". Cf. Kolami tevri "kneecap". [Ku. has lelewe, which seems also to be a substitute for the Munda word, cf. Sa. luṭi, etc., Pi. 168.]

476. ṭēya "wife's brother or sister". – Ku. tēya, tiya brother-in-law by wife", Sa. teńa- "elder sister's husband" (teńaea "a man and his wife's younger brother or sister", Mu. teńja "junior brother-in-law or sister-in-law" (Hoffmann, *Mun*-

dari Grammar 6), *teṅjaṅ* "elder sister's husband" (Bhaduri),
Ho *tēyã,* id., *tẽā hon, teṅa hon* "brother-in-law".

477. *ṭiye-* "to descend". *Ṭiye-ye* "descended". – ?

478. *ṭo-* "to kiss" (LSI.). *Ṭokkī* "kissed". – Ku. *ṭo, ṭo-ki* (past
tense *ṭo-ke, ṭo-ken-ej*); *ṭoṭo, toto* "a kiss, to kiss". Onomato-
poea like Sa. *cọk',* id., Mu. *ca'co',* jingle denoting the
smacking sounds of repeated kissing, *co'* "to kiss" (Kagate
dialect of Tibetan *chok* "kiss"), etc. Cf. Sa. *ṭọk' ṭọk'* "to
make a clicking or smacking sound with the tongue (when
driving bullocks)", *ṭak' ṭak',* id. Sha. compares *tok-* in Jad
Tibetan (cf. *chok*). As Ku. *ṭo* no doubt stands for *ṭo'* [*ṭoq-*,
NHZ.], the form *ṭoke* of the past tense has to be interpreted
as *ṭo'-ke*. The corresponding Nah. form *ṭokkī* then presents
a problem, since *ṭok-kī* (LSI. 186) is ruled out. It can
apparently only be analysed as *ṭokk-ī*, in other words *kk*
must denote the glottal stop. Now Bha. 246 states that
glottal stops "are not found in Nahāli and Korku", and
the analogical extension of the Ku. "genitive" formation
of the type *dā* "water": *dāg-ā* (from *da'*: *da'-a'*) to such
words as *hōriya* "parrot" : *horiyag-a* would seem to sug-
gest the conclusion that final *a* in *da* and *horiya* is not
much different now. See however N. H. Zide, *Turner
Jubilee,* Volume I, 45 (who also notes a glottal stop in
kasu' "pain", where it is not etymologically justified).
However that may be, Nah. *ṭokk-ī* seems to allow no other
interpretation but as *ṭo'-i*. See p. 17. [but cf. p. 114!].

479. *ṭōṭa* "maize, a Nahāl clan-name". – ? [Ku. has *makai*.]

480. *ṭu-* "to embrace" (LSI.). Past tense *ṭuī* "embraced" (without
a trace of a glottal stop! See *ṭo-*). – Next cognates are Ku.
katu, id. (*dić dīkūken kātū-ke-kū-ten* "he, having embraced
them", St. Mark 10 : 16), So. *kundu,* id. They may be
traced back to **ṭu / *qaṭu / *qanḍu*. With interchange *ṛ/ḍ*
(see Pi. 342) and with final *-'b* (see s.v. *haru!*): Khasi
kyntup, Sa. *haṛup',* id., with prenasalization **hanḍu'b* >
Mu. *hambud',* Ho *hambud,* id. Cf. also Kh. *kaṛó',* id. To be
kept apart from Sa. *haṛup'* "to cover" (See Pi. 153, 176,
198, 342: Bahnar *krôp* "tenir embrassé"). Cf. Sa. *haṛu-ạ!*

481. *ṭugiṭi* "ripe" (past participle). Hence *ṭugiṭ-* "to ripen"? – ?
Unknown in Ku.

482. *ṭhagatiṅ-kama-* "to deceive". – Ku. *ta-tagatiṅ-ki, ṭa-ṭagatiṅ-ki,*
id. Cf. Hi. *ṭhagnā* (Mar. *ṭhaknẽ*), and see Turner, *Nep. Dict.*
248b.

483. *thekri* "forehead". — Ku. *tikri*, id. Cf. Mar. *ṭikā, ṭiklā, ṭiklī* "mark on the forehead", Sa. *ṭikạ, ṭiklạ ṭikli*, Hi. *ṭiklī*, etc.

484. *thenḍey* "moon". — Ku. *tendej, tende, ṭenḍe* "bright; moon" (= *tendej gomoej*, lit. "bright god"); [Dh.Ku. *thẽdej* "to shine (of the moon)", NHZ.]; Sa. *ṭerḍeć* "moonlight, to shine (moon)", Mu. *tetij'*, Ho *teti* "moonlight". Cf. Semang *tati'* "light"?

485. *thuk-* "to spit". — Hi. *thūknā* (cf. Naiki *thukap-*). Ku. *bej* = Sa. *beć*, etc. [but also *thuq-*, NHZ.].

486. *ūca, unca* "tall, high" (LSI. 262, 274). — Ku. *ūca, unca,* id., *unca-ki* "to exalt". Cf. Hi. *ū̃cā*.

487. *uḍātiṅ-* (± *kama-*) "to spend" (LSI.). *Hoytarēn ... ibnijē dhan uḍātiṅkā. Bhāṭē hoytarēn sab uḍātiṅkā-mā, iṭī dēc-kē kāl carkē...* "He spent his own property. Then — he spent all — famine came in that country". As far as we may draw any inference from the two instances mentioned by Bha., Aryan verbs composed with *-tiṅ-* are used in intransitive meaning, but add *-kama-* if the meaning is transitive. Cf. Nah. *kapa-tiṅ-* (Ku. *kampa-tiṅ-yū*) "to tremble", as against *thaga-tiṅ-kama-* (Ku. *ta-taga-tiṅ-ki*). See *pehena-tiṅ-*. It is clear that *sab uḍatiṅkā-mā* [Konow: "all spent-in"] stands for *sab uḍatiṅ-kamay* (cf. also *awalkā khānā hundar-kā-mā*, for *hundar-kamay* "(thou) preparedst good food", beside *pāp-karm kamāyā* "(I) did sin". The past tense *jalūkamay* is also recorded by Bha. 251. Cf. LSI. *māṇḍī* for **maṇḍiy* "said", *pūrī* for **puriy* "sent"). If our conclusion that the meaning of *uḍātiṅ-* requires composition with *-kama-*, is correct, the first form *uḍātiṅkā* must also stand for *uḍātiṅkamay*. It should be noted that none of the other instances of a habitual past tense in *-ka* to which Konow (LSI. 186) refers, is correct. Such a habitual past tense, not mentioned by Bha. 250, could only be based on *ugāyaṅgā* "lived", if correctly analysed as *ugāen-ka* (see *ugāen-*). Perhaps *uḍātiṅkā* may be explained by semi-haplography in the (Devanagari?) original (*uḍātiṅkā < mā > - bhāṭē*). See p. 114. From Hi. *uṛānā* "to squander" rather than from Mar. *uḍavṇẽ*. Hence with *ḍ* for *r* (p. 18) and etymologically identical with Nr. 498.

488. *uḍi-* "to rub". — Kolami *oḍ-* (*oṛ-*) "to wash, bathe" (Emeneau, *Kolami*, Nr. 608)? The Nah. word cannot be connected with Ku. *od* (Akola *woṭkhen* "rubbed"), Mu. *ōd'* "to rub the body with water" (Bahnar *ot* "to rub, file"),

nor with Mar. *uṭnẽ* "to rub, scour, scrub" (Kolami *uṭipeṅ* "to rub, wash", Emeneau, Nr. 2349). [The common Ku. word is *urud* "to rub, scour, scrub, wash (teeth), clean by scrubbing" = Sa. *urut'*, Malay *urut*.]

489. *uga-* "to be fit" (? LSI.). *Nē maujkā ugāijā* "it was fit for you to make merry". Past tense, like *naṅgāyjan* "became destitute" [= *naṅga-yan*], *khijijā* "got angry" [= *khiji-ya*], which correspond to the formation in *-ya* in Bha.'s dialect, e.g. *oṭṭi-ya* "pulled out", *ghaṭa-ya* "searched", *icha-ya* "pinched" (Bha. 250). Accordingly *ugaijā* stands for **uga-ya*, but the meaning of this past tense is not clear. Sha.: "rather *could live*"? See the next word.

490. *ugāen-* "to remain, live". Cf. the Habitual Present in LSI. 274 *ēṅgē ābā ētarēn bāsī awārkē ughāiṅgā* "my father lives in that small house" [= *ugāen-ka*], the Future in LSI. 189 *jo tēēkēn majā ugāiṅgēn* "we will eat, will be merry" [= *ugāen-ken*]. For the assimilation of *n* before *k*, cf. *ḍeleṅka*, Bha. 247. In LSI. 188 *bidī māncukē awārkē ugāyaṅgā* "lived in the house of a man" the form [= *ugāen-ka*] seems to be used as a Habitual Past tense. However, this usage is not mentioned by Bha. 250, and of the three instances to which Konow (LSI. 186) refers, two are based upon an incorrect analysis, while the third, *uḍātiṅ-kā* "spent, was spending", remains doubtful, because it may be a mistake for *uḍātiṅ-kama(y)*. Morphologically *ugāen-* may contain the same verbal suffix that occurs in *apa-eṅ-kama-* "to make to weep" (and *pejiko-em-kama-* "to drive away"?). Cf. the "reflexive" suffix" *-(e)n* in Mu. *um-en* "to bathe" (: *um* "to wash"), *aṛgu-n* "to come down, descend" (: *aṛgu* "to let down"), *ruṛu-n* "to rest" (: *ruṛu* "to let rest"), *itu-n* "to learn" (: *itu* "to teach") and Ku. *teṅg-en* "to stand" (Mu. *tiṅgu-n* : *tiṅgu*), *ruku-n* "to nod" (: Sa.Mu. Ho *ruku* "to shake"), *sū-ki-n* "to smell" (**su-ki* : Sa. *ṣo*, So. *s'o*, like Mu.Ho *ḍu-ki* "to urinate" : Mu. *ḍoḍo*, Sa. *aḍo*, Mu.Bh. *aṛu*). On the strength of this analysis it would be possible to connect *nē mauj kā ugaya* (see *uga-*) with *jo ... majā ugāiṅgēn* "we will live merrily". For *mauj kā*, cf. *kharu ka*, etc. But the exact shade of meaning of *uga-ya* in contrast with *ugāen-* remains uncertain. — For the reflexive stems in *-(e)n-* see Hoffmann, *Mundari Grammar* 167.

491. *ugar-* "to open". — Hi. *ughārnā*, id. [Ku. *ujgarten* "openly", St. Mark 1 : 45, 8 : 32; contamination with Hi. *ujāgar*?].

492. *ulach-* "to call" (LSI.). *Ulách-ī* "called". – ? Unknown in Kurku.

493. *ulṭa-* "to fall". – Ku. *ulṭa* "upside down, to overturn". Cf. Hi. *ulaṭnā* "to be topsyturvy, capsize, etc.".

494. *uman* "to measure". – Ku. *umna* "a measure, number", *umna-e* "to count", etc. In Ku. the Hi. word *unmān* "measure of size or quantity, estimate, volume" has become **unmnā > umna* (metathesis and dissimilation). Nah. preserves the older form of the Ku. word (with secondary assimilation *nm > mm*) or it represents a separate borrowing.

495. *umar* "age" (LSI.). – Ku. *umar, umber.* Cf. Ar.Hi. *umr.*

496. *unni-* "to take" (LSI.). *Hoytī rupyā ētarēn unnībē* "take those rupees from him" (p. 274). – ? Note Parji *uñ-, uy-* "to carry, take".

497. *unṭu* "camel" (LSI. 250: *unṭuṭā* !). – Ku. *ūṭ, ūṭo, ūnṭo,* Kherwari *ũṭ,* etc. Cf. Hi. *ũ̃ṭ.*

498. *uṛa-* "to rise". – Not used in Ku. Cf. Hi. *uṛnā* "to fly, soar, leap", *uṛānā* "to cause to fly".

499. 1. *uri-* "to put on, dress" (LSI.). *Urī-bē* "put on!". – Ku. *uri* "to dress, put on clothes, be dressed, wear" (p.t. *urien, uriyen, uriwen*). Cf. Kolami *ūr-* "to wind on (waistcloth, belt), put on (clothes)", Naiki *ūr-* "to wear", Golari *uḍ-, uṛ-,* Kannada *uḍu-,* Tamil *uṭu-,* etc. See Emeneau, *Kolami,* Nr. 985, *DED.,* Nr. 502. Note especially the Burgandi dialect of Tamil *ūri-,* Badaga *hori* (LSI. 346, 404). [Both Hi. *oṛhnā* "to cover the body with something, to put on" (Sha.) and Sa.Bh. *horok'* "to put on, wear" (Mu. *horo', soro'* "to slip, fit into", Kolhe *soro'*) must be kept apart.]

500. 2. *uri-* "to kindle (fire)". *Uri-be* "kindle!" (Bha. 251, 253). – ? Unknown in Ku.

501. *vorcho* "year" (Bha. 247, 257). LSI.: *warso.* – Hi. *varṣ, varaṣ.* [Ku. *orasso, oraso, oroso, orso,* from Mar.]

502. *yãṭo,* in *jiki yãṭo* "tears". – Berger 57 suggests that *-ṭo* may be a plural suffix (= *-ṭa*) and compares *ã-* in *jiki-y ãṭo*) with Khasi *ūm,* Palaung *ōm* "water". Although this is in all likelihood the meaning of *yãṭo,* the etymology is not plausible on account of the different vowels and the

meaning: in Munda *um* means "to bathe" and *da'* is used for "water". [Zide suggests a possible connexion with Ku. *yam* "to weep".]

503. 1. *ye* "this". (LSI. 274 *yē jākoṭo māu* "this horse"). — See *i*.
[2. *yē* "O!" (LSI.). See *ē*.]
[*yēdē* "went" (LSI.). See *eḍ-*.]

account, on − of, *ghalja*
Adam's apple, *nāṛa*
afraid, to be −, *cāvg(o)-*
against, *bihoṭ-chago* ?
age, *umar*
air, *ōra*
alas, *hā*
all, *sab, sabi, saga, par ka*
also, *bi*
am not (see *hele*)
and, *do, na, ne*
angry, to get −, *khiji-*
ant, *ḍoṅga, kokõy*; (white ant) *niḍir*
anthill, *meur*; inside the −, *niḍirtaṅ koṭra*
any, *nān ka, nān ka tar*
anyone, *nāni ka*
anything, *nān ka (tar)*
appease, *mano-*
arise, *bī-*
arm (upper −), *ḍanḍo*
armpit, *kaṭhla*
arrest, *ceki-*
ask, *bica-*
ascend, *cakha-*
ass, *gadha, gaḍri*
aunt, *ḍukri may, kaki, māmi, mavsi, phuphu*
axe, *cakoṭo, cekoṭo*

back, *bhavri*
bad, *anḍa*
bamboo, *jūḍ*; (− door), *kūḍu*
bank (of river), *ḍhapri, paroṅ*
basket, (winnowing −), *kapor*
bathe, *aṅgluij'*
be, *imni, jere* (cf. *ibire, ka, ta, hota, tanke*)

bear, *bologo*
beard, *ḍaḍi*
beat, *koṭṭo*
because, *irkene* ?
become, *hota-, jere-*
bee, *maikko*
before, *chama-ki, samne* (previously) *ceyni*
behind, *pachla, pachal ka*
belly, *popo*
below, *ayi*
bend, *koca-kama-*
big, *bhaga*
bird, *poyye*
bite, *haru-*
blackberry, *jambu*
blood, *corṭo*
bone, *pakoṭo*
box, *chunḍuku*
boy, *ejer, bace-giṭa*
branch (of tree), *ḍaṅgo*
bread, *chokra, sokṛa*
bring, *kō-, kuō-*
broom, *junu*
brother (elder −), *dada, ḍai(re)*; (younger −); *sanu, giṭa*; (brothers) *bommoki*
brother-in-law, *ilur, kalaṭṭel, birṭom, tẽya*
buffalo, *oḍov*
bull, *baddi, ḍoba*
burn (v.i.) *aḍek-, aḍik-*; (v.t.) *oṭṭi-*; (?) *lāo-*
bury, *gaḍao-*
but, *pin, makan*
butterfly, *kaplij'*
buy (see bring)

calf (of cow), *kelli*

call, *ulach-*
camel, *untu*
carry (on shoulder) *khanda-*; (on head) *oyja-*
cart, *gāra*
cat, *berko*
cattle, see *dhor*
charcoal, *kōlya*; (burning –), *enger*
chest, *chāti*
child, *lana, backari*
chin, *ōtho*
clan, *gothi*
climb, *cakha-*
cloth, *kupra*
cock, *komba*
cold, *hīm, raban* (*ṅ*)
collect, *gola-*
comb (to – hair), *kakheyṅ*
come, *pat-/piy-*, [*ed-/iyēr-*];
come out, *dokco-*
country, *dec*
cow, *dhor*; (– calf), *kelli*
crab, *jaran*
crocodile, *maṅgar*
crow, *kavra*
cry, *āpa-*
cucumber, *kakri*
cultivator, *kirsan*
cut (wood) *beri-*; (with a sickle) *ira-*

dance, *cana-*
daughter, *pirju*
daughter-in-law, *ovāri*
day, *dia, din*
deceive, *thaga-tiṅ-*
deer, *haran, ghutari*
defaecation (to go for –) *ghūrka ed-*
descend, *jalū-, tiye-*
desire (to), *tako-*
destitute, *naṅga*

devil, *bhut*
die, *betto-*
distant, *dhava* (*bhaga*?)
divide, *ata-*
do, *kama-*
dog, *nāy*
door (bamboo –) *kūdu*
down, see *bhitar-ke*
draw (water) *lēnjo-*
dress (v.t.) *pēhēna-tiṅ-, uri-*
drink, *delen-*
drive (cart) *kheda-*; (– away) *pejikoem-kama-*
drum, *dhol*
dry (to dry, v.i.) *patar-*;(v.t.) *patar-kama-*
duck, *heron*
dust, *dhulla*

ear, *cigam*
ear-wax, *golga*
earth, *cikal, sikal*
earthworm, *jilṅguij'*
eat, *tē-, tyē-*
egg, *kāllen*
eight, *atho*
elbow, *mokhne*
elder (son, etc.) *bhaga*
elephant, *etthi, hetti*
embrace, *tu-*
enter, *nitto-*
even then, *makan*
evening, *mindi*
extinguish, *ketto-kama-*
eye, *jiki*
eye-brow, *jiki kapri*

fall, *cerk(o)-, ulta-*
famine, *kal*
far, *dhava*
father, *aba, ba*
father-in-law, *birtom*
feast (to –) *cain-*
feel, *pad-*; (to be felt ?) *keda-*

fever, *jara*
field, *khet, khara*
fifty, *pacas*
fill, *bheriya-kama-*
find; (to be found) *ghaṭa-*
finger, *akhaṇḍi*
fire, *āpo, agan*
fish, *cān*
fishing hook, *geri*
fit (to be −) *uga-*?
five, *pãco*
flesh, *kāv*
fly (v.i.), *aphir-*
fly (n.), *eḍŭgo*
food, *khana* (see bread)
foot, *khuri*
for, *bare*
forehead, *ṭhekri*
four, *nālo, nālku*
fowl, *kokhor*
friend(s), *deśo*
frog, *ḍeḍḍa*
from, *-kon*
fruit, *phor*
fuel, *kōlya*

girl, *pirju*
give, *be-, de-*(?), *ma-*
    go, *ēḍ-/iyēr-, bho(m)-*
goat (he-goat) *bakra*; (female
    −) *cheri*
god, *devta, Bhagwan*
gold, *sona*
· good, *accha, awal*
grass, *bōy, jhara*
graze (v.t.) *cara(w)-*
grow, *bhaga-*

hair, *kuguchyo, kuguso*
hand, *bok(k)o*
hang, *achuḍ-*
hare, *boṭor*
harlot, *raṇḍi-muṇḍi*

he, *eṭe(y), eta-re, ita-re, ho, hoyta-
    re, ine*
head, *pẽy*
hear, *cikn-*
heat (v.t.), *cacak-kama-*
heel, *monḍa*
he-goat, *bakra*
here, *iṅga*; (from −) *hiṭi-kun*
high, *uca, unca*
hill, *balla, ḍoṅgor*
his, *eṭeyna, etare(n), eṅga, eṅge,
    iṅge, hiṅge*
hold (catch hold of) *ceki-*
honey, *iēpṭa, yēpṭa*
hook (fishing −) *geri*
horse, *māv*
hot, *cacŭko*
house, *avar*
how (old), *yē* [?]
how many, *aṭa(i)* [?]
how much, *mīyan*
hundred, *sadi*
hunger, *cāṭo*
hunt, *chikār*
husband, *ãṭho*
husks, *cheṅga*
hyena, *tarsya*

I, *jō, jŭō*
if, *jopaṭke* [?]
inhabitants, *manṭaminar*
inside, *mijar (minjar), bhitarke*;
    see *koṭra*
intoxicated (to be −) *kuba*
iron, *lokhanḍo*
is, *bi, ibire, kā, tankē*
itch, *kerchi*

joined, *chaṅgo-* [?]

kill, *paḍa-*
kind (n.), *raṅgo*
kindle, *uri-*

kiss, *ṭo-*
kite, *bhilla*

leaf, *cokob, pala*
learn, *sīk-*
leg, *khuri*
lift, *ocol-*
like (of the kind of) *raṅgo*
lip, *ṭevre*
live, *ugāen-, jivta-*
lose, *harp-*; to be lost, *orṭak-*
louse, *kepa*

maize, *ṭōṭā*
male, *jakoṭo*; male calf, *gora kelli*
man, *manc(h)o*
mango, *baṭuko, phor*
many, *ghane, kharu ka*; (very
   −), *khub, khobo*
market, *hāṭu*
marking-nut tree, *chocho, soso*
marriage, *biyaw*
measure, *uman*
merry (to make −), *cain-*; *mauj,
   majā*
milk, *ḍuḍ, dud*
millet, *oro*
money, *paisa*
monkey (black-faced) *carko*;
   (red-faced) *ḍugi*
moon, *mindi devta, thenḍey*
morning, *phejer*
mortar, *ōhan*
mosquito, *murkiṭij'*
mother, *māy*
mother-in-law, *nāpyom*
mouth, *kaggo*
much, *khobo*
my, *eṅge, eṅga*, etc.

Nahāl, *kalṭo*
nail (of finger), *nakko*
navel, *bumli*

near, *bonḍe, mera, pasi-ki*
neck, *garḍan*
needle, *chũi*
nephew, *bhanja*
night, *minḍi*
nine, *nav*
no, *beko*
nose, *cõn*
not, *beṭe*; (with imperative) *biji*;
   (with past tense) *hoṭ*
now, *bāṭe*

O! *ē, yē*
older, *bhaga*
on, *kajar-ki*
one, *biḍum* (m.), *biḍi* (f.ntr.)
open (v.t.), *ugar-*
other, *an*
out(side), *bahare*
own, *apna, ibniji*

paddy, *tanḍur*
peacock, *pakin*
person, *jen*
perspire, *aginbi-*
pestle, *mochor*
pig, *coggom*
pigeon, *kobḍur*
pinch (v.t.) *icha-*
pitcher, *karchi*
pity, *kiwu*
play, *mer(o)-*
plough (n.), *naṅgar*
pound, *cuṭṭi-, koṭṭi-*
prepare (food), *hundar-*
previously, *ceyni*
price, *kimto(-n)*
property, *dhan, dhanmal, awal-
   mal*
pull, *kheri-kama-*; pull out, *oṭṭi-*
put, *oki-*
put on (clothes), *uri-, pehena-
   tiṅ-(kama?)*
put out (fire), *keṭṭo-kama-*

quickly, *jaldi, jeldi*

rain, *māṇḍu, māṇḍo*
rat, *hoṇḍar*
reach, *adir-*
reap, *bekki-*
remain, *jere-, ugāen-*
remove, *eger-*
return, *orṭa-*
rheum (of the nose), *simburu*
rice, *taṇḍur*
ring, *mundi*
ripe, *ṭugiṭi*
rise, *bī-, uṛa-*
riotousness, *andphand*
river, *parayn*
root, *jari*
rope, *ḍora*
rub, *uḍi-*
run, *cergo-*
rupee, *rupya*

sake, (for the — of), *ghalja, ānti, -ānṭi*
saddle, *khogir*
salt, *copo*
sand, *biṭil*
say, *kai(n)-, maṇḍi-*
scratch, *kerchi-*
search, *ghaṭa-*
see, *ara-*
select (v.t.), *anci-*
send, *puri-*
sense, *akal*
servant, *bhagiya, naukar, halk* [?]
service, *cakari*
set (sun, moon), *buḍu-*
seven, *sato*
sew, *chim(n)-*
shake, *holoy-*
share, *hicca*
sheep, *meṇḍha*
shepherd, *dhaṅkar*

shin, *peṇḍri*
shirt, *aṅgarako*
shoe, *khavḍe* [*khavre*]
shoulder, *khaṇḍa*
shut, *agri-*
sickle, *barḍo*
silent, *kaṭan*
silver, *candi*
sin, *papkarm*
sing, *bāro-*
sister, *bai(re)*
sister-in-law, *aji, karyom, ṭẽya*
sit, *peṭe-*
six, *chah*
sky, *badṛa*
small, *basi* [?]
snake, *kōgo*
so many, *hĩvat*
son, *beṭa, lana, palco, palcu*
sound (n.), *calaṅ*
speak, *maṇḍi-*
spend, *her-, uḍa-tiṅ-(kama?)*
spit, *ṭhuk-*
stand, *cipo-*
star, *iphil*
stone, *cago*
stripe, *lakaḍi*
sun, *diya devta*
sunshine, *ghām*
sweep, *cakhav-*
swine, *coggom*
swing, *jhuri*

tail, *pago*
take, *unni-*; (— away) *kōr, kuōr-*; (— out) *pher-*
tall, *uca*
tamarind, *cicca*
tear (v.i.) *petek-*; (v.t.) *petek-kama-*
tears, *jiki yā̃ṭo*
ten, *das*
that, *(h)oṭi*
then, *bhaṭe*

there, *huṭiki*

therefore, *itare ghalja*

they, *hovṭa, eṭla*

thigh, *māṭo*

thirsty, (to be −) *joppo baṭam-*

this, *ha(n), (h)i, iṭi*; (this one) *here*

this much, *hiyan*

those, *eṭla*

thou, *nē*

three, *moṭho*

threshing floor, *kheriyan*

throw, *ṭār-*

thy, *nē, nēne*

tie (v.t.) *bokki-*

tiger, *tembriya*

to, *bari, -ke*

to-day, *bay*

to-morrow, *kiyam*

tongue, *lãy*

tooth, *meṅge*

top, *kajar*

tortoise, *kaṭham*

tree, *arḍu, aḍḍo*

tremble, *kapa-tiṅ-*

tuber, *kanḍe*

turmeric, *harḍo*

twenty, *bīs*

two, *ir, irar*

two and a half, *aḍai*

uncle, *kaka, baba, māma*

under, see *bhitarke*

unripe, *kura*

up, *lege*

upon, *kajarki*

urinate, *cyō-*

very, *khobo*

village, *biya*

waist, *carkaḍ*

walk, *paṭ(o)-*

want, *ṭako-*

was, *o, ethe, ta*

water, *joppo*

we, *māney*

wealth, *dhanmal*

weep, *āpa-, arṭhi-*

well (n.), *kui*

wet (to be −), *ōla-*

what (relative pronoun), *jo*

what (interrogative pronoun) *nān*

where, *miṅgay*

white, *pandhar*

who (interrogative pronoun) *nāni*

why, *nāvay, bica*

wife, *kōl*

wine, *chiḍu*

winnow, *kiṭa-*

winnowing basket, *kapor*

wipe, *puch-*

wish, *ṭako-*

with, *gon, [bhai?]*

woman, *kōl*

wood, *arḍu, aḍḍo*

work (n.), *kāmo*

worm, *jilṅguij'*

worthy, see *jaga*

yawn, *aṅgub*

year, *vorcho*

yes, *hã̄*

yesterday, *che*

you, *nē*; (plural) *lā*; (you two) *nāko*

young, *bachye*; (− of an animal) *palcu*

your, *nē, nēne, nēṅaa*

ADDENDA

P.   5: Their name is *Kaliṭṭa* in Nah., *Goẽraku* in Ku. [Bha.].

P. 12: The Nahals referred to in Enthoven's work as "the most savage of the Bhils" are found on the north side of the Satpuras, in the neighbourhood of the towns of Balvadi, Palasner and Sindva, some 100 miles west of the Nahals of Nimar. As for the Indian argots, there is an interesting account of a *Gaunersprache* in Ceylon in an article by W. Geiger, *Indian Historical Quarterly* XI (1925), 514.

P. 42: On "pronominalization" in Tibeto-Burman see also E. J. A. Henderson, *BSOAS.* XX (1957), 323; on the classification of the pronominalized languages see also R. Shafer, *BSOAS.* XV (1953), 356.

P. 43: For the "East Himalayish" cognates of Tib. *śiṅ* "tree, wood" see Shafer, *op.c.*, 367.

P. 48: Add Nrs. 2 and 152.

P. 76: Nr. 215: Add LSI. *hīṭīkun* "from here".
Nr. 217a: Add *hinkon* "from here" (Bha. 249).

Pp. 103 and 17: *ṭokki* must be the Kurku form *ṭo'ke* with adaptation of final *-e* to the Nah., termination *-i* (although Bhattacharya did not find any glottal stop in the Western dialects of Kurku).

P. 103: Nr. 480: Non-suffixed **haṛu* possibly occurs in Sa. *haṛu-a* "sticks put on the neck of cattle" [lit. "embracing"?]. Beside Sa. *haṛup'* note also Sa. *hambut'* "to fold in one's arms, take to one's bosom, cover with one's body".

P. 104: Nr. 487 *uḍātiṅ-kā :* It should be noted that forms with *-ka* instead of *-kama* do occur according to Bha. 252, but only after the negativ verb, e.g. *hoc jalūka* "did not make to descend" (*jalū-kama-* "to make to descend"). The apparently incorrect use in *ibnijē dhan uḍātinkā* (for *uṛatiṅkamay*) may be due to a confusion with *hoṭ uṛatiṅka*. •A different case is *ērīdkā* (p. 55) as *er-i* is characterized as a preterite, while *ka* is here perhaps an auxiliary verb. Cf. *hōtā-nē-kā* (pp. 22, 56, 77)?