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From Indian Linguistics, Vol. 14, Part III
January 1954

STUDIES IN THE PARENGI LANGUAGE

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STUDIES IN THE PARENGI LANGUAGE

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1. Parengi is a Kol (or Munda) language of the Southern group spoken by a small tribe of about 10,000 people in the Koraput district of Orissa. Thurston (1909) voiced the popular notion about these people when he wrote that the Parengs are a section of the Porojas of Koraput and that their language is a dialect of Gadba. But the following account will show that Parengi is an independent language, and not a mere dialect of any other speech.

This language was not included in the Linguistic Survey of India. But those few words published in the Munda Section of Vol. IV as specimens of the Gadba language of Vizagapatam Agency, are actually speaking Parengi words. I examined three Pareng villages under the Sembligūra police station during my linguistic tour in the Koraput district in 1951. The language is fast dying out. The bulk of the material recorded here was collected from the *pujari* (priest) of the Boḍenga village and his aged mother.

2. PHONEMES: First of all we will discuss some peculiar phonemes of the Parengi language, which although commonly shared by many Kol languages, particularly of the Southern group, are quite foreign to Old Indo-Aryan. They are the following:

(a) Vowels: (i) short vowel

a: This is a low, open, sharp vowel which may be described as the short form of *ā*. The sound is heard as the first member of the vowel-diphthongs in the English words 'house', 'kite', etc. The corresponding OIA vowel is a low central one, described in Pāṇini and a few Prātiśākhya as *samvṛta*. This short form of *ā* is a common phoneme of the literary Dravidian languages, and is also found in many Dravidian and Kol languages of central India. Some Parengi words having this *a* are:

āin, 'louse'; *aṇoi*, 'domestic fowl'; *kaki*, 'sickle'; *miyam*, 'blood'; *paola*, 'foot'; *reṅra*, 'brinjal'; *dumba*, 'big', 'matured'; etc.

e, o: Short *e* and *o* are two other peculiar non-Aryan sounds which occur as essential sounds having phonemic importance in all the Dravidian and Kol languages of central and south India. Parengi words having short *e* and *o* are:

eṅai, 'how much'; *cyen*, 'sun-shine'; *eniṅ*, 'me'; *er-*, 'to measure'; *eromgi*, 'day-after-tomorrow'; etc. And

kosi, 'too young fruit'; *omṅ*, 'rope hanger'; *oṅi-* 'to forget'; *solo-*, 'to hide oneself'; *ṅori*, 'hive'; etc.

As far as I have seen short *e* and *o* are more frequent in Parengi than the equivalent long sounds which occur mostly in loan-words; e.g. *tēka*, 'triangular fish-net'; *ṅéya*, 'box'; *ṅéti*, 'she-goat'; *sōli*, 'a measure'; *ṅōri*, 'a measure'; *kōṅma*, 'earthen pot for cooking'; etc.

(ii) *Middle vowel*

ò: Middle *ò* is frequently heard in this language, but in most cases it occurs as a result of the raising of open *o* [*a*¹] or the lowering of *o*, due to vowel harmony. The speakers now so often confuse this sound with *o* and *a*¹ that it is difficult to take it to be an essential phoneme of the language. I have therefore ignored this sound and transcribed it as *o* or *a*¹ in this article. Parengi words which are generally pronounced with middle *ò* are:

ka'dòm, 'kadamba flower', 'Nauclea cudamba'; *kusòṅ*, 'dog'; *kòko-*, 'to sit'; *solò*, 'to hid himself'; *kòsim*, 'tortoise'; *zakòr*, 'name of a God who protects the villagers from evil spirits coming from outside the village'; *dodòr*, 'kind of fish-net'; *na'ròk*, 'human excrement'; *ṅa'dòm*, 'palm of hand'; *budaròm*, 'Wednesday'; etc.

Middle *ò* is also found in the two neighbouring Kol speeches, Gadba (Gutob) and Bonḍo. Bonḍo and Gutob still retain middle *è* which their neighbours, the Parengs, seem to have lost now. Sōra has middle *i* and middle *u*, but not the two middle vowels mentioned above occurring in the western Kol languages of the Southern group, namely, Parengi, Gutob and Bonḍo.

(iii) *Open o* [*a*¹]

This is a peculiar non-Aryan and non-Dravidian phoneme that occurs in the Austric and Tibeto-Burman languages. It must have been borrowed from a non-Aryan and non-Dravidian source in the eastern Aryan speeches like Bengali, Oriya and Assamese, where it substitutes the OIA *samvṛta* or central *a* [*a*²]. It is to be noted here

that the short form of \bar{a} is now the more basic Parengi vowel than a^1 which appears mostly in Oriya loan-words. Long a^1 is also recorded in a few words in our material.

(iv) *Diphthongs*

In conformity with the Kol practice of encouraging vowel-clusters, a number of diphthongs and many combinations of independent vowels are found in Parengi. Examples: *ain*, 'louse'; *adia*, 'waist'; *paola*, 'foot'; *garea*, 'metal pitcher'; *tikui*, 'hair'; *dealikin*, 'the month of Kārttika (Oct.-Nov.)'; *lioŋ*, 'lowland used for growing paddy'; *siuna*, 'a kind of tree' (Gmelina arbora); *doaŋ*, 'red'; *tilei*, 'old man'; *boi*, 'one'; *maloi*, 'lampstand'; *ruvai*, 'finger-nail'; *luan*, 'thin rope'; *sailu-*, 'fowl to scratch'; *aroi*, 'fly'; *kuitan*, 'cow'; *garei*, 'chest'; *raŋian bela*, 'ploughing time'; etc.

The introduction of vocalic glides or the turning of a final *-i* of a diphthong into a semi-consonant, is, however, not altogether absent. Thus, *ayuŋ*, *auŋ*, 'mother'; *iya*, 'grand mother'; *zva^1*, *zua*, 'fruit'; *sarlai*, *sarlay*, 'cucumber'; etc.

The remaining vowel sounds found in Parengi are the following common IA phonemes:

\bar{a} , i , \bar{i} , u , \bar{u} , \acute{e} and \bar{o} . All Parengi vowels may be nasalized. Short vowels are more frequently used in it than long ones. Of them the short form of \bar{a} is the most frequent sound.

(b) *Consonants*

The following consonantal peculiarities may be noted:

(i) Absence of aspirated stops both in the native and the borrowed IA words. Some de-aspirated loan-words are: *donu*, 'bow' [Sk. *dhanu*]; *daram*, 'religion' [Sk. *dharma*]; etc. The aspirate *h* is also absent.

(ii) *Glottal stop*: [°]

Examples—*aka°ŋ*, 'elder brother's wife'; *a°l*, 'mortar'; *go°tuŋ*, 'cloth'; *zi°*, 'tooth'; *ta°aŋ-*, 'to pound'; *bi°itur*, 'saliva'; *mū°*, 'mouth'; *ra°no*, 'udder'; *lū°n*, 'car'; *le°*, 'big'; *lobo°*, 'earth'; etc.

In some instances the glottal stop occurs as a substitute for a lost consonant; e.g. *ḍa°*, 'water', cf. Santali *ḍak'*, Gutob *ḍah'*, 'water'; *uba°-kui*, 'hair', *ginal ba°*, 'turbai', cf. *baḥ'*, 'head'; *lobo°*, *loboŋ*, 'earth'; *a°l*, 'mortar', cf. Semang *guul*, 'mortar'; *gā°*, 'to drink', cf. Semang *inangad*, Sakai *ngat*, 'to drink', Sōra *g°a-*, 'id. '; *zi°*, 'tooth',

cf. Malay *gigi*, 'tooth', Semang *mji^olamuin*, 'tooth-ache'; *ḍa^or-*, 'to hear', cf. Malay, *d^ongar*, 'to hear'; Gutob *^oon*, 'son', 'child', appearing in Parengi *taŋ-ōn*, 'cow-calf', cf. Santali *hon*, 'son', 'child'.

(iii) *Checked consonants* [']

Examples—*arub*, 'crab'; *aṛub*, 'milk', 'female breast'; *avav*, 'vegetables'; *unlom*, 'tuber'; *garik*, 'money'; *giljem'kin*, 'the month of Caitra (March-April)'; *zibap*, 'top-knot'; *burob*, 'lung'; *sisil*, 'flesh'; etc.

It is to be noted that in Parengi many more sounds in addition to *k*, *c*, *ʃ*, *t*, *p* are checked, i.e. they do not explode. This is also the case in Sōra. Ramamurti has included *b'*, *d'*, *r'*, *ŋ'*, *ñ'*, *n'*, *ʃ'*, *y'* and *l'* in his list of checked consonants. According to him these sounds are unvoiced.

(iv) Dental affricates are found in addition to palatal stops. Examples: *tsī*, 'finger'; *tsua*, 'parrot'; *zakoṛ*, 'name of a God'; *zaŋ*, 'bone'; etc.

The rest are OIA sounds, namely, *k*, *g*, *ŋ*, *c*, *ʃ*, *t*, *ḍ*, *ʈ*, *d*, *n*, *p*, *b*, *m*, *ɣ*, *r*, *l*, *v* and *s*. Palatal and retroflex nasals (excepting in a few loan words like *kaṇa*, blind man, fem. *kaṇi*, etc.) have not been recorded as independent sounds, but they appear as allophones preceding a palatal and a retroflex phoneme respectively. Thus, *muñzur*, 'peacock'; *poṇḍron*, 'husband'; etc. The velar nasal is the most frequent one among the nasals. It also occurs in the beginning of a word; e.g. *ŋoŋ*, 'darkness'. A good many words belonging to all parts of speech end in *-ŋ* (or *-n*). The dento-labial *v* is very often pronounced as the bilabial fricative (*w*). The only sibilant is dental.

3. FORMATION OF WORDS: Take for example the two monosyllabic bases (i) *-taŋ-* (or *-ʃtaŋ-*) and (ii) *-boŋ-* from which are formed:

(i) *ʃtaŋ-li*, 'bullock', *kui-tan*, 'cow'; *taŋ-ōn*, 'male cow-calf' [cf. Gutob *^oon*, 'son', 'child', Santali *hon*, 'id'.];

(ii) *boŋ-tel*, 'he-buffalo', *ki-boŋ*, 'she-buffalo'; *ari-boŋ*, 'female buffalo-calf' [cf. *ari*, 'egg'.]

There is another Parengi word *i-laŋ*, 'cow-dung', which can be easily explained with the help of Gutob *i*, 'human excrement'. Compare also Bondo *igmè*, 'goat excrement': *g'mè*, 'goat'.

4. PLEONASTIC -ḌI: There is a particle *-ḍi* used optionally with nouns in Parengi. Thus, *uḍubun poṛiŋ-ḍi uḍeinu luru*, 'the bird

was flying yesterday'; *kuḍoṅ-ḍi māṅ lepoṅitai*, 'I will put out fire'; *kuṣoṅ-ḍi aṅoi-ḍi-ḍvan loṅtai*, 'the dog will snap at the fowl'; *kaṅar-ḍi-gi soloru*, 'the thieves hid themselves'; etc. It may be connected with the Sōra demonstrative suffix *-ḍi*. A similar *-ḍe* is found in Juang and *-ḍu* in Kharīa, the meanings of which are not yet clear.

NOUNS

5. *Accusative and Dative cases*: Nouns used as direct and indirect objects are not expressed in the verb in this language. Suffixes or postpositions are used instead to form the accusative and dative of nouns. The Parengi formative for accusative and dative is *ḍva* (or *ḍvan*) which is added to the indirect object; the direct object is left without any suffix. Examples:

seraṅ-ḍva aṅoi tāi, 'give a fowl to the peon'; *buboṅ-ḍva tāk abgā*^o 'give the boy gruel to drink'; etc. *ḍva* (or *ḍvan*) is actually speaking a dat. postposition which means 'for'; cf. *nāy-ḍvan*, 'what for'; *aṅub'-ḍvan levai*, 'I have come for milk'; etc. But it is also used to form the accusative case. Thus, *rumaṅ-ḍvan kula dorru*, 'the tiger took away the cat'; *māṅ gā^oḍu buboṅ-ḍvan abgā*^o, 'having drunk yourself give the boy to drink'; *kuṣoṅḍi aṅoi-ḍi-ḍvan loṅtai*, 'the dog will snap at the fowl'; etc.

This form-word seems to be related to Sōra *ḍ^oṅ* which is also mainly used in the dative. But there is one difference: the Sōra form-word uses the genitive form as the oblique base, while in Parengi *ḍvan* is added directly to the nominative form. In Dēsi Oriya (the local IA dialect of Koraput) *gine* or *ginen* is used in the same sense.

(ii) The other Parengi form-word for the objective case is *ḍe^oentur* or *rentur*. Examples: *rā -ḍe^oentur kaṅḍ-batur letiṅu*, 'I pierced the elephant with arrow'; *guni-ḍe^oentur nōṅ tiṅu*, 'he pierced the girl'; *rumaṅḍi kūtur-rentur darru*, 'the cat caught the mouse'; *jijaka-rentur muṅṅa kuṅḍem tāi*, 'give a handful of paddy to the beggar'; etc.

(iii) Sometimes no postposition is used for the accusative. Thus, *buboṅḍi ablur*, 'console the boy'; *māṅ loboṅ nāy-ḍvan mozumu luru*, 'why are you eating earth'; *nōṅ kuṅḍem tokumu luru*, 'he is sweeping paddy'; *māṅ eniṅ aṅḍi mogarru*, 'you have cut my finger'; *miṅ kuḍoṅḍi lepoṅitai*, 'I will put out fire'; etc.

Objects of conjunctive verbs are invariably left without a form-word. Examples: *kulaḍi legi-ḍu lebutoṅ*, 'having seen the tiger I was

afraid'; *kuytaṅḍi letolayu-ḍu leuyai*, 'having tied the cow I have come'; *kukuḍi dar-ḍu loṅ*, 'lift the pot holding it'; etc.

6. *Instrumental*: The instrumental and sociative case-formative is *ba^aator*. Examples: *taṅya ba^aator aṅal sem*, 'cut fire-wood with axe'; *nōn kādi ba^aator asuṅ jōḍan*, 'he repaired the house with mud'; *loan ba^aator toluḍu tarsai donai*, 'having fastened with rope, pull it and bring'; *kaki ba^aator kinteiai*, 'he cut (grass) with sickle'; *buboṅḍi ba^aator leandinu luru*, 'I am playing with boys'; *ayāṅ ba^aator iyā*, 'go with father'; etc.

Parengi *ba^aator* can be compared with the Sōra instr. case-word *bāte* which denotes 'with', 'by means of', etc. In a few instances the Parengi postposition is found added to a gen. base; e.g. *mīṅnu ba^aator kuṅḍanba iyā*, 'come (lit. go) with me to the forest'.

7. *Ablative*: The postposition for the ablative case is *otur*, added to the nom. stem. Examples: *asuṅ otur taṅai*, 'come out of the house'; *nōn ara otur suṅai*, 'he fell down from the tree'; *kuroṅ otur areṅ iulā*, 'remove the stone from the road'; *mīṅ ḍvan āṭ otur tīṅṅin modorai ki*, 'have you brought tamarind for me from the market?'; *nōn kiṅḍa otur ḍā^o paṅnai luru*, 'he is carrying water on his shoulder from the river'; etc.

There is another postposition *utare*, which is generally used to express comparison. Thus, *māṅnu asuṅ utare mīṅ(nu) asuṅ le^o ḍuku*, 'my house is better than yours'; *mīṅnu guṅ utare māṅ(-nu) guṅi lup^o ḍuku*, 'your daughter is elder than mine'; etc.

8. *Genitive*: Gen. relation is indicated by the addition of *-nu*. Here Parengi differs from Sōra in which language the gen. suffix is *-a²*, a cognate of *-ā* found in most of the Kol languages. Parengi *-nu* is found only in Gutob and Bonḍo, the Kol speeches geographically nearer to it. It may be mentioned here that a similar gen. suffix *-nu*, *-ni* or *-na* is found in most of the Dravidian languages of central India. It is also found in Kannāḍa, Telugu and Brahui. Kurukh, Malto, Tamil and Malayāḷam seem to fall outside the isogloss. Examples of gen. from Parengi: *ara-nu kēnda*, 'branch of tree'; *māma-nu kuytan*, 'father-in-law's cow'; *ḍopa-nu ūtur*, 'pin of leaf-cup'; *gumgum-nu zaṅ*, 'cheek-bones'; *ma^aannu* (or *mān-nu*) *puila*, 'eye-ball'; etc. This *nu* also forms the gen. case of pronouns.

A gen. *-n* is recorded once in the material; e.g. *banḍin sōk*, 'wheel of the cart'; in *taru-b ṅoṅ*, 'cloud-darkness' and *irtu-b danḍi*, 'plough-handle', we have a gen. *-b*. In this language the possessor is

generally placed before the possessed thing. The exceptions will be noted later on (See §12, a, iii).

In the gen. case the two words are often compounded to avoid a gen. formative. Thus *aŋoi-z̄ŋ*, 'foot of hen'; *ara-a'l*, 'wooden mortar'; *aṛub'-d̄i^onu*, 'cream of milk'; *mān-uba^okui*, 'eye-lash'; etc.

9. *Locative*: (i) Among the locative case formatives *-ba* is the most common one. This again seems to be used only in the Parengi-Gutob-Bonḍo group of southern Kol speeches. Examples from Parengi: *boboŋ-d̄i ara-ba d̄ai-ḍu suŋai*, 'while climbing a tree the boy fell down'; *kiṇḍa-d̄i-ba suŋnu leku*, 'he was falling down in the stream'; *kukuba d̄ā^o reŋ*, lit. 'put water in the pot'; *guniḍi riṇaŋ-ba kokom-ḍu danu luru*, 'the girl being perched on the platform, is watching (the field)'; *kukuḍi loboŋ'-d̄i-ba tom*, 'put the pot on the ground'; *ḍoli-d̄i-ba uŋnā*, 'swing on the swing'; etc.

Other loc. formatives are:

(ii) *raṅgan*, 'near', 'to': *m̄iŋ raṅgan oyai*, 'come near me'; *m̄x̄ŋ raṅgan m̄iŋ leuytai*, 'I will go to you'; *nōn raṅgan moruyi*, 'do not go to him'; etc.;

(iii) *aluŋ*, 'in', 'inside': *asuŋ aluŋ ka't̄ ḍuku*, 'there is a cot in the room'; *kiṇḍa aluŋ ayu ḍuku*, 'there is fish in the river'; etc. The word *aluŋ* also means 'armpit';

(iv) *aliŋ*, 'on', 'upon': *nōn k̄urta aliŋ ḍayi*, 'he rode on the horse'; *ara aliŋ*, 'on the tree'; etc.

10. *GENDER*: (a) The classification of nouns into animate and inanimate is a peculiarity of the Khervari group of the Kol languages. This linguistic trait still exists in Kurku, although the two genders are often confounded in it. But in the intermediary Kol languages, Khaṛia and Juang, and in the Kol languages of the southern group, namely, Sōra, Parengi, Gutob and Bonḍo, there is only one gender, so far as the conjugation, the declension and the demonstratives are concerned.

(b) The question of a classification of Parengi nouns into animate and inanimate, however, comes up when we are to consider the sex of the objects. Inanimate objects like *ara* 'tree', *aṛub* 'milk', etc. are sexless. But every language employs different methods to determine the sex of the 'animate' nouns. The methods adopted in Parengi are the following:

(i) the Austric method of expressing sex with the help of prefixed and suffixed particles can still be traced in a few Parengi words.

We have discussed above the two monosyllabic bases *-taŋ-* (or *-ʃaŋ-*) and *-boŋ-* from which are formed (1) *ʃaŋ-li*, 'bullock', *kuitan*, 'cow', and (2) *boŋ-tel*, 'he-buffalo', *ki-boŋ*, 'she-buffalo'. The prefixed particles *kui-* in *kui-tan* and *ki-* in *ki-boŋ* may be compared with the Khasi fem. prefix *ka-*.

(ii) The most common method of expressing sex of nouns in Parengi and other Kol languages is to add a qualifying word which is generally prefixed. (1) When the object is a *genus commune*, there are two words, one denoting the male and the other the female species. (2) But sometimes the noun itself belongs either to the male or the female order. In that case only one word is there to change the gender. Examples:

(1) *andra* and *jalia* denote male species of non-human animate beings; e.g. *andra kul*, 'tiger'; *jalia muñzur*, 'peacock'; *ayuŋ* and *kuʃkela* are the two words used to form fem. gender of non-human animate nouns; e.g. *ayuŋ kul*, 'tigress'; *kuʃkela muñzur*, 'pea-hen';

(2) *kuson* (m.), 'dog'; *guni kuson*, 'bitch'; *kinmen* (m.), 'goat'; *auŋ kinmen*, 'she-goat'; *aŋoi* (fem.), 'domestic fowl'; *gañza aŋoi*, 'cock'.

(iii) The difference of sex in the case of human beings is generally expressed with the help of different words. Thus, *tilei*, 'old man', *kuila*, 'old woman'; *poŋdron*, 'husband', *karma*, 'wife'; *buboŋ*, *bobon*, 'son'; 'boy', *guni*, 'daughter', 'girl'; *ayan*, 'father', *ayuŋ*, 'mother'; *niniba*, 'father's younger brother', *nini aya*, 'father's younger brother's wife'; *ranya*, 'son-in-law', *konun*, 'daughter-in-law'; *māma*, 'father-in-law', 'mother's brother', *āliŋ*, 'mother-in-law'; etc.

(iv) Fem. *-i*, (i) of IA is also found in some loan words; e.g. *kaŋa*, blind man, *kaŋi* 'blind woman'; *dhaŋra*, 'grown-up boy', *dhaŋri*, 'grown-up girl'; *ʃakrani*, 'a female deity' (cf. Sk. *ʃhākura*, *ʃhākurāṇi*); etc.

II. NUMBER: There is no trace of the dual number and of the inclusive plurals in Parengi. The plural suffix is *-gi* — a cognate form of Kherwari, Kharīa and Juang *-ki* and Sōra *-ji*. Examples of Parengi plural forms:

kaŋar, 'thief', pl. *kaŋar-gi*; *buboŋ*, 'boy' pl. *buboŋ-gi*; etc. But the pl. suffix can be dispensed with in Parengi. When words denoting multitude are used the pl. suffix is absent. Thus *naimar ayu*, 'many fishes'; *sobbu lōk*, 'all men'; *bāg mān*, 'two eyes'; etc.

PRONOUNS

12. *Personal Pronouns*: (a) The personal pronouns are:

	sing.	pl.
1st person	<i>mīŋ</i>	<i>bilŋ, bilŋ</i>
2nd ,,	<i>māŋ</i>	<i>be</i>
3rd ,,	<i>nōn, nōnu</i>	<i>nongi, nongt</i>

(i) A peculiarity about Parengi is that in the declension of its personal pronouns in the 1st and 2nd pers. sing., the acc. prefix *e-*, gen. suffix *-nu* and loc. suffix *-ba* are added to oblique pronominal bases and not to the nom. form of the pronouns. Thus,

	nom.	acc.	gen.	loc.
1st pers. sing.	<i>mīŋ</i>	<i>e-niŋ</i>	<i>niŋ-nu</i>	<i>niŋ-ba</i>
2nd ,,	<i>māŋ</i>	<i>e-nom</i>	<i>nom-nu</i>	<i>nom-ba</i>

In the 1st pers. sing. gen. case *mīŋ-nu* is also used perhaps to avoid confusion with Gutob *niŋ-nu*, 'my'. The rest of the declension of personal pronouns follows the nominal declension.

(ii) Like Gutob and Bonḍo, Parengi forms the acc. case of personal pronouns with the help of a prefix which is *e-* in Parengi and *o-* in Gutob and Bonḍo. In this respect these languages agree with Khasi where the acc. prefix is *ia-*. But the practice of incorporating a pronominal particle to the verb to indicate the pronominal object is also found in Parengi which is a peculiarity of Sōra and the northern Kol languages. It is absent in Gutob and Bonḍo. The pronominal particles used in lieu of the pronominal objects in Parengi are:

1st pers. *-iŋ*

2nd pers. *-om*

The position about the 3rd pers. is not quite clear. In many instances, as will be seen below, the acc. pronominal form is also repeated though the pronominal obj. has already been expressed in the verb. Examples: *māŋ eniŋ mojjell-iŋ*, 'you told me'; *eniŋ lamal modar-iŋ*, 'you cut jokes with me'; *luḥṭa motayt-iŋ ki asu-ṭa motayt-iŋ*, 'will you give me the big one or the small one?'; *uḍubun oyai moru(m), legi-om*, 'yesterday while you were coming, I saw you'; *ḍā^o nuumanu-uṣa moguloŋ-iŋ*, 'you called me when I was bathing'; *eniŋ aḍā^or-iŋ*, 'I was thirty' (lit. thirst 'to me'); *letant-om*, 'I will rub you'; *enom miŋ letantant-om*, 'I rubbed you'; *māŋ eniŋ motantant-iŋ*, 'you rubbed me'; *lesimor-om*, 'I pinched you'; *biyogi enom lesept-om*, 'I will slaughter you tomorrow'; *mīŋ enom leabziŋ-om*, 'I saluted you'; *eniŋ nōn abz-i(ŋ)*, 'he saluted me'; *kulaḍi, bobtoŋ lur-iŋ eniŋ*, 'the tiger was frightening me'; etc.

(iii) Possessive pronouns usually precede the noun ; e.g. *mīṅnu aluṅ*, 'my house'; *nom-nu ayaṅ*, 'your father'; etc. There is, however, one instance on record where a pronominal morpheme having a possessive force has been suffixed to a term of relationship ; e.g. '*ayaṅ-nom' kuroṅ mogi ki iṅku*, 'did you meet 'your-father' on the way or not?'. I can cite two more illustrations from my material where pronominal morphemes have been suffixed to a noun to denote a possessive sense ; e.g. '*mīṅ babniṅ' nāy ḍā^o moru-r-iṅ*, 'why did you pour water on 'my head'; '*mīṅ hab-nom' mīṅ ḍā^o lerutai*, 'I will pour water on 'your head'.'

(b) *Demonstratives*: The demonstrative adjs. are *iṅḍi*, 'this'; *ari*, 'that'; *ō*, 'that far off'. They are used before nouns irrespective of any gender. Thus, *iṅḍi buboṅ*, 'this boy'; *iṅḍi kuṅḍa ravgan ḍuku ki saṅai ḍuku*, 'is this hill near or far off?'; *ari aṅoi donai*, 'bring that fowl'; *ari guni ḍā^o tiṅai luru*, 'that girl is carrying water on her head'; *ō kuṅḍan-nu (?) kula uyai*, 'tiger came from that far off hill'; etc.

Dem. pronouns are formed by adding *-n* to the deictic particles stated above. Thus, *iṅḍin*, 'this one'; *arin*, 'that one'; *ōn*, 'that far off one'. The deictic base *ō-* is also used in Desiya (i.e. the local Oriya dialect).

13. *Adjectives*: In Parengi attributive adjectives precede the noun they qualify ; and whether used attributively or predicatively, adjs. do not change. There are a few words used both as adjs. and verbs ; e.g.

- (1) *asar*, 'dried up' (adj.)
asar-, 'to dry' (intr.)
- (2) *gu^or*, 'ripe' (adj.)
gu^or-, 'to become ripe' (intr.)
- (3) *bugar*, 'broken', 'having a hole' (adj.)
bugar-, 'to be broken' (intr.)

The adjectival forms *bugar* and *asar* are derived from the intr. verbs *buga-*, 'to break' and *asa-*, 'to dry'.

14. *Adverbs*: There is a suffix *-kon* used to form adverbs of quantity from adjs.; e.g. *kukun-kon*, 'a little'; *kukun*, 'little'; *lub-kon*, 'much'; *lub*, *luḥ*, 'big'.

15. *Numerals*: Parengi numerals are: *boi*, 'one'; *bāg*, 'two'; *yāg*, 'three'; *uṅgi*, 'four'; *monloi*, 'five'; *turgi*, 'six'; *gulgi*, 'seven'; *galgi*, 'ten'. All of my informants used Oriya numerals for 'eight' and 'nine'.

VERBS

16. *Personal prefixes*: The most important feature of Parengi conjugation is its employment of prefixes to indicate the person of the subject—a feature not found in other Kol speeches excepting Juang. In Parengi the prefixes are used only in the 1st and 2nd pers. verbal forms. They are:

1st sing. and pl.	<i>le-</i> (or <i>ne-</i>)
2nd sing.	<i>mo-</i>
„	pl. <i>be-</i>

The prefix *mo-* has also been recorded in 2nd pers. pl. verbal forms. Third person is not indicated in the verbs. The pl. suffix *-gi* (or *-gu*) is used to form plurals of 3rd pers. and imperative 2nd pers. only. In other verbal forms number is to be understood from the subject.

17. *Tense particles*: The most important tense particles are *-t* for the present-future, and *-r* for the past. They are generally found in the forms of *-t-iŋ* and *-r-iŋ*, and *-t-om* and *-r-om* in verbs where pronominal objs. of the 1st and the 2nd persons are incorporated. Elsewhere the tense-augments usually appear as *-t-u* and *-r-u* (in some verbs *-t-e* and *-r-e*) in the present-future and past tenses respectively.

Thus, a complete form of a finite verb consists of a personal prefix + verbal base + (in some cases an anaptyctic vowel) + the tense particle + the pronominal objective suffix, or *-u* (*-e*) + in 3rd pers. pl. *-gi* (optionally).

18. *Tables of conjugation*:

- A. Object incorporated
sim-, 'to pinch'

Past tense

1 sing. and pl.	<i>le- sim-u-r-iŋ,</i> <i>le- sim-o-r-om,</i> <i>le- sim-u-r-u,</i>
2 sing.	<i>mo- sim-u-r-iŋ,</i> <i>mo-sim-o-r-om,</i> <i>mo-sim-u-r-u,</i>
pl.	<i>be- sim-u-r-iŋ,</i> <i>be- sim-o-r-om,</i> <i>be- sim-u-r-u,</i>
3 sing.	<i>sim-o-r-u,</i>
pl.	<i>sim-o-r-u- (gi)</i>

Present-Future

1 sing. and pl.	<i>le-sim-u-t-iŋ,</i> <i>le-sim-o-l-om,</i> <i>le-sim-u-t-u</i>
2 sing.	<i>mo-sim-u-t-iŋ,</i> <i>mo-sim-o-l-om,</i> <i>mo-sim-u-t-u</i>
2 pl.	<i>be-sim-u-t-iŋ,</i> <i>be-sim-o-l-om,</i> <i>be-sim-u-t-u</i>
3 sing.	<i>sim-u-t-u</i>
3 pl.	<i>sim-u-t-u-(gi)</i>

B. Object not incorporated

(i) *da-* 'to do'*Past tense*

1 sing.	<i>le-da-r-u</i>	pl. <i>le-da-r-u</i>
2 sing.	<i>mo-da-r-u</i>	pl. <i>be-da-r-u</i>
3 sing.	<i>da-ru</i>	pl. <i>da-r-u-(gi)</i>

Present-Future

1 sing.	<i>le-da-t-u</i>	pl. <i>le-da-t-u</i>
2 sing.	<i>mo-da-t-u</i>	pl. <i>be-da-t-u</i>
3 sing.	<i>da-t-u</i>	pl. <i>da-t-u-(gi)</i>

(ii) *kir-, kin-* 'to die'*Past tense*

1 sing.	<i>le-kir-r-u</i>	pl. <i>le-kir-r-u</i>
2 sing.	<i>mo-kir-r-u</i>	pl. <i>be-kir-r-u</i>
3 sing.	<i>kir-r-u</i>	pl. <i>kir-r-u-(gi)</i>

Present-Future

1 sing.	<i>le-kin-t-u</i>	pl. <i>le-kin-t-u</i>
2 sing.	<i>mo-kin-t-u</i>	pl. <i>be-kin-t-u</i>
3 sing.	<i>kin-t-u</i>	pl. <i>kin-t-u-(gi)</i>

(iii) *gur-* 'to enter'*Past tense*

1 sing.	<i>le-gur-r-e</i>	pl. <i>le-gur-r-e</i>
2 sing.	<i>mo-gur-r-e</i>	pl. <i>be-gur-r-e</i>
3 sing.	<i>gur-r-e</i>	pl. <i>gur-r-e-(gi)</i>

Present-Future

1 sing.	<i>le-gur-t-c</i>	pl. <i>be-gur-t-c</i>
2 sing.	<i>mo-gur-t-c</i>	pl. <i>le-gur-t-c</i>
3 sing.	<i>gur-t-c</i>	pl. <i>gur-t-c-(gi)</i>

19. *A List of Verbs*: I have stated the principal scheme of conjugation in Parengi. The following verbs in our list conform to this pattern:

aḍā⁰-, 'thirst to be felt'; *ab-solo*-, 'to conceal (others)'; *aṅḍin*-, 'to play' (*-re, -te*); *asa*-, 'to dry' (intr.); *iu*-, 'to remove'; *ir*-, 'to jump'; *īr*-, 'to shake (tree, etc.)'; *cr*-, 'to measure (grain, etc.)'; *kir*-, *kin*-, 'to die'; *kunkun*-, 'to sing'; *koko*-, 'to sit'; *gā⁰*-, 'to drink'; *gar*-, 'to cut' (tr.); *gupa*-, 'to make to graze'; *gū*-, 'to plant'; *gur*-, 'to enter'; *zi*-, 'to bind'; *jōḍa*-, 'to plaster', 'to repair'; *ḍa*-, 'to do'; *ḍar*-, 'to laugh'; *ḍay(i)*-, 'to climb'; *ḍī*-, 'to finish' (intr.); *tantan*-, 'to massage some one else'; *tokum*-, 'to collect by sweeping'; *tarsa*-, 'to pull'; *tur*-, 'to cook'; *dor*-, *don*-, 'to take'; *piṅ*-, 'fire to be extinguished'; *ru*-, 'to open (door, etc.)'; *rū*-, 'to pour water'; *laba*-, *laban*-, 'to press'; *lur*-, 'to understand'; *lampen*-, 'to fold'; *sailu*-, 'to scratch'; *sim*-, 'to pinch'; *sep*-, 'to slaughter'; *sur*-, *sud*-, 'to arrive'; etc.

20. *Variations*: Now I will point out a few variations to the above scheme. Some verbs take a past augment other than *-r*:

(i) *zel*- 'to say' and *zāl*- 'to lick', form their past forms with an assimilated *-l*-; e.g. *mīṅ le-zel-l-u*, 'I said'; *māṅ mo-zel-l-iṅ*, 'you told me'; etc. The present-future tenses of these verbs are formed as usual with *-t-u*: *le-zel-t-u*, 'I will say'; *mo-zāl-t-u*, 'you lick'; etc.

(ii) A number of verbs drop the *-r* in the past tense and the *-u* of *-ru* remains. For example, *zum*-, 'to eat': *le-zum-u*, 'I ate'; *kuytan zum-u*, 'the cow grazed'; etc. Other verbs of this type are: *tom*-, 'to put'; *uṅ*-, 'to swing' (impersonal); *tīṅ*-, 'to pierce'; etc.

In the case of *meṅ*- 'to live', *-g*- appears between the verbal base and the past augment *-u*; e.g. *nōṅ meṅ-g-u*, 'he lived'; *nōṅ meṅ-tu*, 'he lives', 'he will live'; etc.

(iii) A number of verbs ending in vowels use *-i* in the past tense; e.g. *gi*- 'to see'; *mīṅ le-gi-i* (or *le-gi-y*), 'I saw'; etc. Other verbs of this group are: *i*- 'to go'; *tai*- (*tay*-), 'to give'; *bai*-, 'to send'; *rentei*-, 'to rub one self'; etc. All these verbs from the present-future tenses as usual with *-tu*.

21. *Other patterns of conjugation*: In conformity with Sōra there is a suffix *-ai* in Parengi which forms verbs indicating motion

towards the speaker. Thus, *i-* 'to go': *i-ai* (or *iyai*) 'to come'; *dor-don-* 'to take': *dor-ai-*, *don-ai-* 'to bring'; similarly *tan-ai-* 'to come out', 'appear'. In a few cases the *-ai* is used with transitive verbs; e.g. *buton-* 'to be frightened': *bobton-ai* 'to frighten'; etc. Two other verbs with the *-ai* suffix are *tiη-ai* 'to carry on one's head' and *paη-ai* 'to carry with the carrying yoke'. This type of verbs has a slightly different scheme of conjugation. They form the past tense with *-ai* and the present-future with *-tai*. Sometimes *-i* is used instead of *-ai* in the past tense (See §20. iii). An example of this type of conjugation:

<i>i-ai-</i> 'to come'		
	<i>Past tense</i>	<i>Present-Future</i>
1 sing.	<i>le-yai-ai</i> , (<i>le-uyai-ay</i> , <i>le-uvai-ay</i> , etc.)	<i>le-yai-tai</i>
2 sing.	<i>mo-yai-ai</i>	<i>mo-yai-tai</i>
3 sing.	<i>iyai-ai</i> , (<i>oyai-ai</i> , etc.)	<i>iyai-tai</i> (<i>oyai-tai</i> , etc.)

22. I have given an analysis of almost all the verbs collected by me. There are still some verbs which I have left out for the present. But they are not many. Some of these verbs will be found in the Parengi sentences used in this article as illustrations. In some intr. verbs past tense particle is not used. Thus, *le-buton*, 'I was afraid'. But I do not want to develop this point, because my material on this point and also on what I have said in §21, is inadequate.

23. NEGATIVE VERBS: The neg. particle is *-r-* infix between the personal prefix and the verbal root. Thus, *nīη le-r-dar-r-u*, 'I did not laugh'; *māη enon mo-r-lidar-tu*, 'you will not make him laugh'; etc. In the case of verbs of the 3rd pers., or in cases of verbal forms where the personal prefix has not been used, negative is formed by prefixing *ar-*. Thus, *nōn ar-uyai*, 'he has not come'. Instead of giving paradigms to illustrate the neg. conjugation, I will quote a few more neg. sentences as examples of neg. verbs: *mīη dunom-gi le-r-ji-ru*, 'I did not tie the cows'; *eniη mo-r-san-iη, mīη duktai*, 'do not drive me away, I will stay'; *kuḍon ar-piηi-ru*, 'fire was not extinguished'; *kuḍon-ḍi mo-r-piηai-y*, 'you did not put out fire'; *mīη iḍin-ba le-r-takin-tu*, 'I will not kill it'; *eniη ar-aḍā⁰-iη*, 'I was not feeling thirsty'; *mitan' mīη kurta aliη le-r-ḍayi-tu*, 'today I will not ride on the horse'; *nōngi ar-kun-kun-tu*, 'they do not sing'; etc.

24. CAUSATIVES: Causatives are formed by prefixing *ab-* to the verbs. Thus, *gā^o-*, 'to drink'; *ab-gā^o-*, 'to give to drink'; *solo-* 'to hid oneself': *ab-solo-*, 'to conceal some one else'; *lur-*, 'to understand': *ab-lur-*, 'to make to understand', 'to console'; etc.

In a few dissyllabic roots, the causal formative appears to be infixed between the two syllables; e.g. *buton-*, 'to be afraid': *b-ob-ton-*, 'to frighten'; *buga-*, 'to be broken': *b-ob-oga-*, 'to break'; etc.

There is another causal formation with *ā(v)-*; e.g. *er-* 'to measure': *āv-er-*, 'to make to measure'. It may be compared with the Kurku causative prefix *ā-*.

Other prefixes to form causal verbs are: *li-*; e.g. *dar-*, 'to laugh': *li-dar-*, 'to make to laugh'; *ta-*; e.g. *kir-*, *kin-*, 'to die': *ta-kin-*, 'to kill'; etc.

25. CONDITIONAL VERBS: In order to form conditional verbs, a particle *-den* is suffixed to the root. The neg. of conditional verbs is formed in the usual way stated above. Examples of conditional affirmative and neg. verbs: *māŋ ui-den* (or *mo-ui-den*) *bileŋ leitu*, 'if you go, we will go'; *māŋ ar-ui-den miŋ zi lerui*, 'if you do not go, I will also not go'; *mīŋ legā^o-den aka nōn gā^otu*, 'If I eat he will also eat'; *nōn ar-gā^o-den miŋ le-r-gā^o*, 'if he does not eat I will not eat'; *māŋ mo-zel-den miŋ q^oar-tai*, 'if you say I will hear'; *māŋ mo-r-zel-den*, 'if you do not say'; etc.

We have given above examples of conditional verbs in the present and future tenses only. The conditional past and the corresponding past potential verbal forms are not available in our material. In Sōra a similar conditional suffix (*-den*) is used in all the three tenses, past, present and future; e.g. *aman gū-len-den ittai-bediŋ*, 'if you had invited (him) he would have come'. Gutob and Bondo conditional suffix *-de_v* is also used in all the three tenses under discussion.

26. IMPERFECT OR PROGRESSIVE VERBS: The auxiliary verb used in the present progressive tense is *luru* (*loru*), and ordinarily the personal prefix is added to it. The principal root which forms the first member of the compound ends in *-u* or *-nu* in a number of verbs. Examples: *nōn mila^oan kuŋdem tokum-u luru*, 'he is collecting paddy today'; *nīŋ donai le-luru*, 'I am bringing'; *māŋ donai moluru*, 'you are bringing'; *mīŋ donu le-luru*, 'I am taking'; *māŋ donu moluru*, 'you are taking'; *nōn donu luru*, 'he is taking'; *taŋoŋdi zalu luru*, 'the

calf is licking'; *aŋoi ɖummu luru*, 'the fowl is pecking'; *boŋlel zum-u luru*, 'the buffalo is grazing'; *ɖutom ir-nu luru*, 'the drum is sounding'; *sōk-di kindrein luru*, 'the wheel is revolving'; etc.

In the past progressive tense *leku-* 'to stay', is generally used as the auxiliary verb. Thus, *mīŋ ledorai leku*, 'I was bringing'; *māŋ modorai leku*, 'you were bringing'; *nōn dorai leku*, 'he was bringing'; etc. The auxiliary verb '*luru*' is also used in the past progressive tense. This point is not yet clear to me. For the employment of *luru-*, 'is' and '*leku*', 'to stay' as auxiliary verbs in the present progressive and the past progressive tenses respectively, compare the usage in Desi Oriya; e.g. *mui ānsi-yāse*, 'I am bringing'; *mui ānte roilus* (or *ānillas*), 'I was bringing' (lit. 'I bring-staying').

27. PERFECT TENSE: The real word for the verb 'to be' is, however, *ɖuk-* which has two forms, *ɖuk-* and *ɖukai-*. It is the first one + *-u*, that is used as the auxiliary verb in perfect tense. In the present perfect the principal verb is in the present tense, and in the past perfect it is in the past. Examples: *kinda bori i ɖuku*, lit. 'flood has come to the river'; *buboŋ-ɖi māŋnu asuŋbo uyai-ai ɖuku*, 'the boy had gone to your house'; *mīŋ enon da's baras aman legi-i ɖuku*, 'I had seen you ten years ago'; *māŋ tigay moi y muku* (?), 'where had you gone?'; etc.

The present perfect tense is more often expressed by simple past forms.

28. CONJUNCTIVES: Conjunctive participles are formed by adding *-ɖu* to the root which when ending in a consonant, takes an anaptyctic vowel. When the principal verb is in the past tense, the conjunctive verb is also optionally used in the past. Examples of conjunctive verbs from Parengi: *da's baras le-leku-ɖu leyaiai*, 'having stayed there myself for ten years I came back'; *māŋ mo-gā^o-ɖu buboŋɖuan abgā^o*, 'having taken food yourself give food to the boy'; *kuytan irru-ɖu uyi*, 'having jumped the cow fled'; *guniɖi riŋaŋba kokoru-ɖu danu luru*, 'having been seated on the raised platform the girl is watching (the field)'; *buboŋɖi araba suŋu-ɖu kirru*, 'the boy died having fallen from the tree'; etc.

29. IMPERATIVES: (a) Verbal bases (the fut. base in case there are alternates) are mostly used as the 2nd pers. imperative forms. Thus, *tay*, 'give'; *abgā^o* 'feed'; *reŋ*, 'fill'; *paŋai*, 'carry with carrying yoke'; *liŋai*, 'carry on head'; *lampen*, 'fold'; *ta^o*, 'pound'; *tom*, 'put'; *donai*, 'bring'; *oyai*, 'come'; *tiŋ*, 'pierce'; *sim*, 'pinch'; *zum*, 'drink'; *rū*, 'pour'; *tarsa*, 'pull'; *tur*, 'cook'; *ɖar*, 'laugh'; etc.

A number of verbs add *-ā* (or *ō*) to the base (fut.) to form imperative mood. Thus, *don-ā*, 'take'; *duk-ā*, 'stay'; *γ-ō*, 'go'; *bobog-ā* 'break'; *joγ-ā*, 'repair'; etc.

The verb *iu-*, 'to remove', takes *-lā*, and *koko-*, 'to sit' and *uη-*, 'to swing', take *nā* in the imperative mood; *iu-lā*, 'remove away'; *koko-nā*, 'sit down'; *uη-nā*, 'swing'. There is a vocative or emphatic particle *-dom* added to the imperative verbs; e.g. *γō-dom*, go, oh you, similarly *kokonā-dom*, *uyai-dom*; etc. It can also be used with non-imperative forms; e.g. *mīta^oan taηtai-dom kuṅdem*, 'to day we must pound paddy'.

(b) The pl. suffix *-gi* is generally used with the 2nd pers. imperative forms; *ta^oaη-gi* (or *-gu*), 'you all pound paddy'; *γō-gi*, 'you all go'.

(c) The neg. imperative is formed by prefixing *mor-* which is the neg. form of the 2nd personal prefix (*mo-r*); e.g. *mor-γi*, 'do not go'; *mor-abgā^o*, 'do not feed'; *mor-ta^oaη*, 'do not pound'; *mor-oyai*, 'do not come'; etc.

30. INFINITIVES: (a) Infinitive verbs are formed by adding *-nu* to the base (fut.): *tāk gā^onu oyai duku*, 'he has come to eat boiled rice'; *bileη māη ba^oator korapuṭ gi-nu leuitu*, 'we will go with you to see Koraput'; etc.

(b) The infinitive suffix *-nu* is also added to form participial adjs.; e.g. *bileηu zel-nu same*, 'the story told by us'; *māη motay-e-nu garik*, 'the money you gave'; *mīη letayc-nu garik eniη tay*, 'pay me back the money I gave you'; *aηoi meη-nu luru*, 'the fowl is alive'; etc.

31. VERBAL NOUN: There is only one example of a verbal noun-available in our material; it is *ta^oaηu*: *kuṅdem ta^oaη-u ḍiru*, 'pounding of paddy is finished'; *mīη kuṅdem ta^oaη-u leḍiru*. 'I finished pounding of paddy'.

32. CONCLUSION: I have discussed above the important points of Parengi grammar about which very little was known so long. Doubts have been expressed in many quarters whether the Southern Kol languages still possess sufficient Munda characteristics to be classed as a member of the Kol speech-community which is best represented, according to this school of philologists, by the Kherwari group of languages. It is true that the Southern Kol languages are simpler from the point of view of grammar, but whether we should ascribe the whole of it to Dravidian and Aryan influences is still a moot ques-

tion. A full study of the Southern Kol languages will be fruitful in more than one ways. Firstly, the results of these investigations will enable us to judge the position of the Southern group in the Kol sub-family. We have to decide whether the Southern Kol languages are derived from the same proto-Kol to which Santali and Mundari with their numerous dialects, owe their origin.

Then there is the problem of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages. Schmidt postulated the theory of an 'Austic' family of languages, which was accepted by Sten Konow. But the theory has been challenged by many scholars. The Southern Kol languages may throw some new light on the question of an 'Austic' family of speeches. The southern Kol languages may raise and solve other problems as well, related to Indian languages and culture. I therefore present this short account of a new Kol language of the Southern group, in which I have tried to squeeze in as much material as possible.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very much thankful to Dr. B. S. Guha, the Director, Department of Anthropology, who advised me to undertake the tour in Koraput, made all the necessary arrangements, and took a personal interest in the progress of my work.

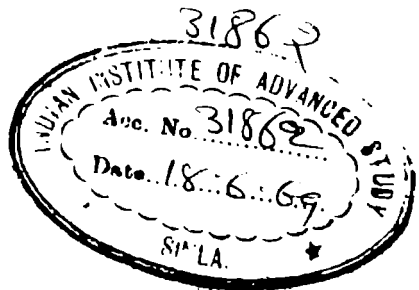
I am very much thankful also to the District Officials of Koraput, who accorded to me all the facilities I asked from them during my stay in Koraput.

I would also record my deep gratitude to Professor T. Burrow of Oxford University and to Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji of Calcutta University for their helpful suggestions.

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Printed by P. C. Chatterjee at THE MODERN ART PRESS,
6, Bentinck Street, Calcutta I.

FIELD-NOTES ON NAHĀLI

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1. In the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, Nahāli has been described as a mixed language having a Munda speech allied to Korku as its base, with borrowed elements from Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. The Munda, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan traits are unmistakable in Nahāli. But if we analyse the inadequate material published in the *Linguistic Survey of India* on this speech, a good number of forms will be found in it which cannot be called Kolarian, Dravidian or Indo-Aryan. Some scholars are therefore not prepared to accept the theory of a Kolarian base for Nahāli and are very much inclined to trace in those unidentified traits the remnants of a lost family of speeches which was spoken in India in pre-historic times. Unfortunately, the nature and extent of this unidentified element in Nahāli could not be ascertained from the insufficient data available on this speech. It was therefore felt that fresh material should be collected on Nahāli to aid a solution to this problem (Robert SHAFER, *Ethnography in Ancient India*, 1954, p. 13 ; T. BURROW, *The Sanskrit Language*, p. 376).

In 1954-55 I undertook a survey of the Kolarian languages under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, which is at present the only Institution in India to offer facilities for the study of obscure tribal tongues. In course of my field-work in the Burhanpur tahsil, Nimar, I luckily came across a few Nahāli-speaking Nahāls through the kind help of Shri Dasarath PATEL of Kanapur village. I studied the speech from those informants for a short time. The main object of this paper is to make available this new material on Nahāli to those scholars who are interested in this problem.

2. According to the Census of 1951, only 1196 persons speak 'Nihali' in the 3 districts of Nimar, Amraoti and Buldana. The Nahāls have been 'mentioned in old documents as hill robbers', and appear to be an ancient ethnic group of Western India, now concentrated in Khandesh. They may be tentatively identified with the ancient tribe called Nāhalka, mentioned in Padma Purāṇa (II. 27, 42-3) as an off-shoot of the Niṣādas, who were 'settled in the hills and forests', and were 'addicted to vices'. It is interesting to note that the Korku and others call these people by the name of Nahāl, but the people themselves use a different nomenclature, viz. Kalṭo, to designate their group.

3. 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 clan-names, collected by us, are: *Kakri* (cucumber), *Jambu* (blackberry), *Bōy* or *Jhara* (grass), *Cokob'* (leaf of tree), *Joppo* (water), *Cicca* (tamarind), *Ṭōṭa* (maize), *Ḍhapri* (bank of river), *Kōlya* (fuel), and *Chocho* (kind of fruit). Most of these clan-names have also been found among the Korku. 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. We are giving below a short account of this speech in the hope that competent persons will analyse the material to find out the different elements contained in it.

4. Nahāli sound-system essentially agrees with that of Korku. The vowel length is of lesser importance in this speech which is a characteristic feature of many Kolarian tongues in contradistinction to Dravidian and old Indo-Aryan. A tendency to diphthongise or split up a long vowel can be noticed in Nahāli. Examples are *kō-* (*kūō-*) 'to bring', *kōr-* (*kūōr-*) 'to take away', *jō* (*jūō*) 'I', *iēpta* 'honey', *iēnken* 'will go', *kāṅṅi* (*kūāṅṅi*) 'for', 'for the sake of', etc. 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. Nasalization of vowels occurs mostly in respect of *ā*, *ē* and *ō*, but is not very frequent. The *Linguistic Survey of India* has given the Nahāli word for 'head' as *peṅg*, but the form collected by us is *pēi*.

5. The variation in the pronunciation of a dental and retroflex *t* and *d* is noticeable in Korku and Nahāli which perhaps indicates the existence of alveolars in those speeches, now disintegrating due to the influence of modern Indo-Aryan; cf. Nahāli *dud*, *ḍuḍ* 'milk', Korku *khiti*, *khīṭi* 'field', etc. Checked consonants are less frequent in this speech than in Korku: Nahāli *jilvguij* 'earthworm'. The glottal stops, heard in many Kolarian speeches, are not found in Nahāli and Korku. The aspirate stops and voiced *h* are pronounced with greater ease in Nahāli, which perhaps indicates that the Dravidian traits to be found in this speech are less fundamental. The only sibilant is dental

in Nahāli. But a sibilant is often changed to palatal affricates *c*, *ch*, two frequent sounds of this speech. Thus, Nahāli *chocho* 'a clan-name': Korku *soso* 'id.'; Nahāli *manco*, *mancho* 'man': Sk. *manuṣya*; Nahāli *vorcho* 'year': Sk. *varṣa*; etc.

6. Consonantal *sandhi* plays an important part in Nahāli. Thus *aḍḍo*, *aḍḍo* 'tree', *jilvguij* 'earthworm' + pl. *ṭa* = *jilvguiṭṭa*. This change is more evident in Nahāli conjugation; for example: *ḍelem-be* 'drink (Imperative)', *biji ḍelen* 'do not drink', *ḍelen-i* 'did not drink', *deleṅka* (or *ḍelenka*) 'is drinking', etc. But Korku is very liberal in permitting clusters made of different types of consonants. Vocalic variations also occur in Nahāli. But there is still much confusion in this matter.

7. The unidentified elements in Nahāli are more visible in the structure and lexical material of this speech. It has 3 numbers, singular, dual and plural, but exclusive and inclusive forms are not distinguished in it. The dual and plural suffixes are added only to animate objects as in Korku, but the suffixes for dual and plural in this speech are *ihtel* (or *hiṭel*, *ṭel*) and *ṭa*, respectively, which come no where near the Kolarian, Dravidian or Indo-Aryan suffixes denoting number. Examples of dual and plural forms from Nahāli:

kōl 'woman', dl. *kōlhilṭel*; *mancho* 'man', dl. *manchihlṭel*; *māv* 'horse', dl. *māvihlṭel*; *kaṭṭo* 'a Nahāl', dl. *kaṭṭihlṭel*, etc. The corresponding pl. forms will be *kōl-ṭa*, *man-ṭa*, *māv-ṭa* and *kaṭṭiṭṭa*.

An *-l* suffix has, however, been recorded forming the pl. of the 3rd person pronoun. Thus, *eṭey* 'he', *iṭṭel* 'they two', *eṭla* 'they'. There is an *-l* pl. suffix found in many Drav. languages.

The first and 2nd person plural (and also dual) forms are *ṭyēko* and *nēko*; cf. *ṭyēko giṭa bommoki* 'we two are brothers', *nēko giṭa bommoki* 'you two are brothers'. This *ko* is obviously the Korku pl. suffix *-ku* found in many other Kolarian speeches. The word *bommoki* is difficult to explain. It may be derived from a Nahāli word whose cognates are found in Korku as *bokeya*, in Juang as *bək*, in Mundari as *boko*, meaning 'younger brother', with an infix *-mo-* denoting dual number; cf. Gadba *būyaṅ* 'brother', *būmiyaṅ* 'two brothers'; *būlon* 'sister', *būmulon* 'two sisters'.

8. There are some peculiarities in the declension of Nahāli nouns and pronouns. Many nouns are found to end in *-ō*. Thus, *mancho* 'man', *palco* 'son', *bologo* 'bear', *ḍaṅgo* 'branch of tree', *pāco* 'five', *kāmo* 'work', etc. A similar *-o* is found in Korku; e.g. *koro* 'man', but the pl. is *kor-ku*; *rojo* 'daily', *mēghnātho* or *maiṅnaṭṭo* 'a Korku god identified by some Korku with Meghanātha, son of Rāvaṇa'.

9. The same suffixes are found to be used for the accusative and genitive, and instrumental and locative in the declension of nouns and pronouns in Nahāli. The cases will therefore fall under the following four heads:

Cases	Suffixes used
Acc. and Gen.	-n, -na
Instr. and Loc.	-ki (-ke)
Dat.	-ke (-ki, -ge)
Abl.	-kon

10. The Nahāli word for 1st person sing. is *jō* 'I' which form is found to be used only in the nominative. In other cases *eᵛ* is used which is perhaps related to *iñ*, *iᵛ* 'I', used in many Kolarian languages including Korku. This *eᵛ* and 2nd person sing. *nē* and pl. *lā-* are found to take oblique increments -g, -n and -l, respectively, before taking the case-formatives. Thus, *eᵛ-g-e-n arabe* 'see me', *eṭey nē-n-en araka* 'he sees you (sing.)' *jūō lā-l-a-n araken* 'I will see you (pl.)', etc.

11. The different cases in Nahāli are illustrated below:

(i) *Accusative and Genitive*: -n: *eṭlam peṭeki* 'make them sit' (for the change of -n to -m in *eṭlam* see § 6), *heren cāvgoiki* 'frighten this person', *backaren biji āpaev-kama* 'do not make the child weep', *cōṛtan cekibe* 'catch hold of the thieves', *iṭi manchon maṇḍibe* 'tell this man', etc.

iᵛgi-n avar 'our house', *an maṇṭa-n avar* 'other mens house', *eṭe-n ayreere* 'his mother', *bai-n kokhor* 'sister's fowl', etc.

-na: *eṭey iᵛi mōṭh jen-na araken* 'he will see us three persons', *eṭla iᵛgin-na cāvgo-kamai* 'they frightened us', *here-na kaṭṭokka paḍabe* 'beat this person to death', *nē eṭe-na arṭhiki* 'you make him weep', *jūō eṭey-na avar-kon bē-kamai* 'I turned him out of the house', etc.

kōl-na kupra 'wife's cloth', *eṭey-na kōllere* 'his wife', *tyēko-na aba* 'father of us two', *han nāni-na avar* 'whose house is this?' *ho mancho-na abare* 'that man's father', *eᵛge ḍai-na palcure* 'my elder brother's son', etc.

The genitive -a found in Korku and many other Kolarian languages can also be traced in Nahāli. But it appears that -e is used in the sing. and -a in the pl. in this speech. Thus, *eᵛ-g-e āṭho* 'my husband', *eᵛ-g-a avar* 'our house', *nē-n-e palco* 'your (sing.) son', *lā-l-a kokhor* 'your (pl.) fowl', etc.

A possessive case can also be formed in Nahāli without using a suffix. Thus, *aḍḍo kajar* 'top of the tree', *nē rupya* 'your rupee', etc.

(ii) *Dative*: In Korku *-ke* and *-ken* are used both in acc. and dat. But in Nahāli *-ke* (*-ki*) is found only to form the dative case. Thus, *eᵛ-g-ke ma* 'give me', *eᵛey-ke bebe* 'give him', *eᵛ-g-ke nāᵛ kōyi* 'what have you brought for me?', *nāni-ki beken* 'whom shall I give?', *eᵛ-g-ke cāᵛo pāᵛi* 'I felt hungry, lit. hunger came for me', *nē-ke bi cāᵛo pāᵛi* 'you were also hungry, lit. hunger came for you too', etc.

A stray form has been recorded in our material in which *kiāᵛᵛi* has been used as a postposition to denote a dative idea; e.g. *hin mancho-kiāᵛᵛi nān kōyi* 'what have you brought for this man?'. *Kiāᵛᵛi* or *kāᵛᵛi* is also used to form infinitives of purpose: e.g. *ara-kāᵛᵛi* 'to see', *ᵛyē-kāᵛᵛi* 'to eat', etc.

(iii) *Instrumental and Locative*: *-ki*: *cakoᵛo-ki aᵛᵛo beribe* 'cut wood with axe', *junu-ki cakhabbe* 'sweep with broom', *mochor-ki cuᵛᵛᵛibe* 'pound with pestle', etc.

ī biya-ki kalᵛo beᵛe 'there is no Nahāl in this village', *hin-ki nān jere* 'what has happened at this place?', *aᵛᵛo-kajar-ki* 'on the top of the tree', *gham-ki kupra jeldi paᵛarka* 'cloth will be dried up soon in sunshine', etc.

In *ᵛogor-ke erka* 'going to the hills (for wood)' the implied dative idea ('for wood') is more prominent than the locative sense expressed in 'to the hills'.

(iv) *Ablative*: *-kon*: *aᵛᵛo-kajar-kon* 'from the top of the tree', *hin-kon eger* 'remove from here', etc.

In Hindi *-se* is used both in instr. and abl., which has perhaps influenced the following formation in Nahāli:

eᵛge-kon ī kāmo bekkamay jere 'this work will not be done by me', *ī mancho-kon jereka* 'it will be done by this man'.

12. In many languages in India kinship terms are inflected to show the person of the possessor. This trait has a very wide distribution in India and is found in the Kolarian, Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman languages, and also in Burushaski (see M. B. EMENEAU, "Dravidian Kinship Terms", *Language*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 1953). In some Kolarian languages terms denoting limbs of the body and those denoting articles of material culture are also inflected to show inalienable possession. 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 *eᵛga aba* 'my father', but *eᵛeyna aba-re* 'his father'. The inalienably possessed kinship morpheme for the 3rd person is *-re* in Nahāli and Korku, *-ro* in Juang, *-ᵛe* in Gadba and *ᵛiᵛey*, *-ᵛoi* in Parengi and *-te* in Santali and Mundari. The Nahāli kinship

terms are of a highly classificatory type. Even opposite sexes are sometimes expressed by the same word in this speech.

13. The most important feature of Nahāli conjugation is its simplicity. Verbal ideas are expressed mostly with the help of separate words. Nouns, adjectives and adverbs are not often used as verbs in it as is done in Korku and other Kolarian languages. The number and person of the object and subject are not shown in the verbs in this speech. In this matter Nahāli differs particularly from the Kolarian tongues most of which are noted for their complicated verbal system. A Nahāli verbal form consists only of the base and the tense particle, at times glides or union vowels intervening between them.

14. The following tense particles are used in this speech :

(i) *-ka* — to form Habitual Present and Present Imperfect tenses. Examples are : *ḡhōr bōy ṭye-ka*, *jō chokra ṭye-ka* 'cow eats grass, I eat bread', *eṭey dinaka ara-ka* 'he sees every day', etc.

corṭo dokco-ka 'blood is coming out', *jō ḡḡgorke er-ka* 'I am going to the jungle', *manṭa aḡḡo beri-ka* 'men are cutting wood', *backar apa-ka* 'the child is weeping', *nē cāvgo-ka* 'you are being frightened', etc.

(ii) *-ken* — to form future tense. Examples are : *ara-ken* 'will see', *paḡa-ken* 'will kill', *cakhav-ken* 'will sweep', *ōla-ken* 'will be wet', *cakha-ken* 'will ascend', etc.

The Present and Future tenses are usually distinguished in this speech, although the Present tense particle *-ka* is sometimes used also to form the Future tense. Thus, *jalū-ka* 'will descend', *peṭe-wa* 'will sit', *kama-ka* 'will do work', *ṭye-ka* 'will eat', etc.

(iii) *-i(-y, -yi)* — to form Past tense. Examples: *beṭṭ-i* 'died', *paḡa-i* 'killed', *cakhav-i* 'did sweep', *cakha-i* 'did ascend', *ōla-yi* 'became wet', *cāv-g-i* 'were (was) afraid', *kama-i* 'worked', *cutṭi-yi* 'pounded', *aḡik-i* 'was burnt', etc.

(iv) *-(y)a, -(y)e* — to form Past tense. Examples : *ara-ye* 'saw', *ṭiye-ye* 'descended', *cyō-ya* 'urinated', *oṭṭi-ya* 'pulled out', *ghaṭa-ya* 'searched', *icha-ya* 'pinched', etc.

The Linguistic Survey of India has suggested that *kadine* or *kedine* is a suffix to form Present Definite, which is perhaps wrong. The word *ḡan* is used in this speech, as in Korku, as an auxiliary verb in Past Progressive and Past Perfect : cf. Hindī *thā*. Thus, *ara-ka ḡan* 'was seeing' and *ara-ka-ḡani* 'had seen'.

15. The Korku method of pronominalising the verb to form transitives and causatives are not found in Nahāli. The method of using special affixes to form transitives and causatives which is followed in many Kolarian speeches and also in most of the Dravidian languages, is also not adopted in it. The usual practice to form transitive and causative verbs in Nahāli is to add the root *kama-* 'to do' with the base of the principal verb. The two verbs form one unit which follows the conjugation of the latter. Thus, *cokob paṭar-i* 'leaf dried', but *jō eṅge kōlna kupra paṭarkama-y* 'I dried my wife's cloth'; *joppo raban-ken* 'water will become cool', *eṅey joppo rabankama-ken* 'he will cool water'; *poyye aphir-ke* 'bird is flying', *nē aphirkama-ke (ka)* 'you are making it fly'; *jalū-ya* 'descended', *jō eṭlan jalūkama-y* 'I made them descend'; similarly, *kherikama-* 'to pull', *golakama-* 'to heap', etc.

Sometimes a different word is used to denote a transitive or causative idea. Examples are: *bī-* 'to rise', *ocol-* 'to lift'; *aḍik-* 'to burn (intr.)', *oṭti-* 'to burn (tr.)'; *apa-* 'to weep', *arthikama-* or *apaevkama-* 'to make to weep'; *beṭṭo-* 'to die', *paḍa-* 'to kill', etc.

16. Second person Imperative singular and plural verbs are mostly formed by adding *-be*. Thus, *uri-be* 'kindle (fire)', *ghaṭa-be* 'search', *bī-be* 'rise', *be-be*, 'give', *mer-be* 'play', *cana-be* 'dance', etc. The transitive and causative verbs which are compounded with *kama-* 'to do', are exceptions, for they use *-ki* to the base to form the 2nd person Imperative. Examples are: *keṭṭo-ki* 'put out fire' (future tense, *keṭṭokamaken*), *eger-ki* 'remove' (future tense, *egerkamaken*), *ḍeleṅ-ki* 'make to drink' (fut. tense, *ḍeleṅkamaken*), *peṭe-ki* 'make to sit' (fut. tense, *peṭekamaken*), etc.

The suffixes *-ye* and *-ke* have also been used in a few verbs to form the Imperative. Thus, *ulṭa-ye* 'fall', *ōla-ke* 'be wet'. The 2nd pers. Imperative of *iyēr-* 'to go' is *eḍe*, and that of *pāṭo* 'to come' is *piya*. It is found that in most cases the 2nd pers. Imperative ends in an *-e* which may be related to the Korku Imperative suffix *-e*.

17. The formation of negative verbs has the same variety in Nahāli as is found in many Kolarian speeches, particularly Korku. The negative word in Nahāli is *beṭe* 'there is not' 'it is not', which is sometimes changed to *beṭel*, *beṭela*, *hey beṭela*, etc. Thus, *eṅey hiṭiki hey beṭela* 'he is not here', *hoṭi paraynki jappo beṭela* 'there is no water in the river', *hi avarki mancho hey beṭel* 'there is no man in the house'. The negative of Imperative verbs is formed by using *biji*, *bij bic*, etc., before the base of the verb. Examples: *bic cāvgo* 'do not be afraid', *biji kō* 'do not bring', *biji pāṭo* 'do not come', *biji iyēr* 'do not go'; *bij anci* 'do not select', *bij jalū* 'do not descend', *bij uḍi* 'do not rub', etc. The negative word usually precedes the verbal form: but in one instance it has been found following the verb: *kaṭam biji* 'do not be silent'. Transitive and causative verbs which usually form the affirmative

Imperatives by suffixing *-ko* (see § 16) adds an extra element *-ka* to the root in the negative forms. Thus, *biji peṭe-ka* 'do not make to sit', *biji gola-ka* 'do not heap', *bij jalū-ka* 'do not make to descend', etc. In the remaining verbs the real base of the verb is found to be used.

In forming the negative of past tense *hoṭ*, *hoc*, *hop*, *hoḥ*, etc. are used before the verb. Examples are: *hoṭ paḍa* 'did not kill', *hoc cāvgo* 'was (were) not afraid', *hoḥ kōr* 'did not take', *hop puri* 'did not send', *hoc cakha* 'did not climb up', *hoṭ jalū* 'did not descend', *hoc jalūka* 'did not make to descend', *eṅke cāto hop pāto* 'I did not feel hungry' etc. It appears that consonantal *sandhi* does not always take place in Nahāli.

In the formation of the negative of rest of the simple tenses *bikil*, *bek*, *bac*, etc. are found to precede the verbal base. Thus, *bikil beṭto* 'will not die' 'is not dying', *bikil paḍa* 'will not kill, etc.', *bikil cakhav* 'will not sweep', *cāto bep pāto* 'hunger will not be felt', *bibil koṭto* 'will not beat', *bac cāvgo* 'will not be afraid', *bek kōr* 'will not take', *bikil jalūka* 'will not make to descend', etc.

18. The use of inflected conjunctives is a peculiar feature of many Indian languages. All the Kolarian languages, as far as I have seen, can now form conjunctive participles. But while working on many of them I noticed that the informants sometimes prefer to split up the sentence with a conjunction to avoid a participial formation. It may be a native element of this speech-family which is borne out by the fact that in Korku and Nahāli the conjunctives are formed by adding *-ḍo* which means 'and'; cf. Nahāli *jō tyē-ḍo pāti* 'having eaten I have come'.

19. The search for native elements in Nahāli is generally confined to its lexical material. But the fundamental points of the structure of a speech may also be of some help to us in this matter. I have therefore given above a short summary of Nahāli grammar which, I hope, will be taken into account in determining the real affiliation of this speech. A short vocabulary of Nahāli, collected by us, will now follow.

1. akhandi 'finger' (cf. Sk. *aṅgustha* 'thumb'), 2. aginbi- 'to perspire' (cf. Korku; Sk. *agni* 'fire' 'heat'), 3. agri- 'to shut' (cf. Sk. *argala* 'bolt of door'), 4. aṅgarako 'shirt' (Sk. *aṅga-rakṣa-*): 5. aṅgub- 'to yawn' (Korku; Sa. *aṅgop* 'id.'). 6. aṅluij- 'to bathe', 7. accha 'good' (Hi.), 8. achuḍ- 'to hang something', 9. aji 'husband's younger sister' (Sk.), 10. anci- 'to select', 11. aḍek- 'to burn (intr.)', 12. arḍu, aḍḍo 'tree' (cf. Par. *ara*; Sk. *daru* 'tree'), 13. aṅḍa 'bad', 14. an 'other' (Sk. *anya* 'id.'). 15. apher- 'to fly' (Korku; San. *apir-* 'id.' etc.), 16. apher-kama- 'to make to fly', 17. aba, bā 'father' (occurs in many Drav. and Kolarian languages of central India), 18. ay 'mother' (Sk. *āryā-*), 19. ayi below', 20. ara 'to see', 21. ānti 'for',

22. āpa- 'to weep' 'to cry', 23. āpae᳚kama- 'to make to cry', 24. āpo 'fire', 25. ārṭhi- 'to make to weep', 26. avar 'house' (Sa. *oraḥ*', Mu. *ora*, Korku *ura* 'id.', etc.), 27. āṭho 'husband' (Korku *ḍhōṭha* 'id.'). 28. iyēr-, eḍ- 'to come', 29. iḍga 'here' (Korku), 30. icha- 'to pinch' (Mundari *icha*- 'id.', etc.; cf. Go. *kiccana*, Oll. *kisk-*, Kui *kisa* 'id.', etc.), 31. itiki 'here', 32. iṭṭel 'they two', 33. imni- 'to be', 34. ira- 'to cut with sickle' (Korku, Sa, Mu., etc., *ir*- 'id.'). 35. ir 'two (fem. neut.)', irar 'two (masc.)' (Dravidian—see EMENEAU, *Kolami*, p. 198, vocable No. 302), ir-jen 'two persons' (Sk. *jana* 'person'), 36. ilur 'husband's younger brother' (Korku *ilur*, Mu. *iril* 'id.'). 37. ugaen- 'to remain' 'live', 38. ugar- 'to open' (cf. Sk. *udghāṭana* 'id.'). 39. uḍi- 'to rub' (Korku *ured-* 'id.'). 40. uman 'to measure' (Korku), 41. uri- 'to kindle', 42. uṛa- 'to rise' (cf. Hi. *uṭh-* 'id.'). 43. ulṭa- 'to fall', 44. eger- 'to remove', 45. eḍger 'burning charcoal', 'fire' (Sk. *aḍgāra* 'id.'). 46. eṭe, eṭey 'he', 'that person', 47. eḍūgo 'fly' (Korku *ruku*, Par. *aroi*, Gad. *uroy*, Mu. *roko*, Semang *roai*), 48. er- (iy- 'to go' (Par. *iai-*, So. *iy*, *yir* 'id.')). 49. ocol- 'to lift', 50. oṭi 'that', 51. oṭṭi- 'to pull out' (cf. Ta. *oṭi* 'break off', etc.; see EMENEAU, *ibid.*, p. 227, No. 619), 52. oḍov 'buffalo', 53. oyja- (oyjakama-) 'to carry on head' (Korku), 54. oro millet (Korku), 55. orṭa- 'to return', 56. orṭak- 'to be lost', 57. ovāri 'son's wife', 'younger brother's wife' (cf. Hi. *bouhāri* 'id.'). 58. oṭho 'chin' (Sk. *oṣṭha* 'id.'). 59. ōra 'air', 60. ōla- 'to be wet', 61. ōlakama- 'to make wet', 62. ōhan 'mortar', 63. kakhey᳚- 'to comb hair', 64. kaka 'mother's younger sister's husband', 'father's sister's husband' 'father's younger brother', 65. kaki 'father's younger brother's wife', 66. kakri 'cucumber', 'name of a Nahāl clan', 67. kaggo 'mouth', 68. kajar 'top of something', 69. kaṭan- 'to be silent' (Korku), 70. kaṭṭo- (koṭṭo-) 'to beat' (cf. Mu. *kuṭao* 'id.'). may be a Drav. word: Ta. Ma. Ka. *kottu* 'id.', 71. kaṭham 'tortoise' (Korku; East Beng. *kaṭha* 'id.'). 72. kaṭhla 'armpit' (Korku), 73. kande 'tuber' (Korku; Hi. *kāṇḍā* 'id.'). 74. kapati᳚- 'to tremble' (Hi. *kāpnā* 'id.').; the particle *-tin*, *-tiñ* is also used in Korku and some other Kolarian speeches to verbalise loan-words), 75. kapor 'winnowing basket', 76. kaplij 'butterfly' (Korku), 77. kama- 'to do' (Korku; Hi. *kām* 'work'), 78. karchi pitcher' (cf. Sk. *kalasi* 'id.'). 79. karyom 'elder brother's wife', 80. kalṭo 'a Nahāl person' (there was a tribe in ancient India called *Karkaṭaka*), 81. kalatṭel 'wife's elder brother', 'his wife', 82. kāṅṭi 'for the purpose of', 83. kāmō 'work' (Hi. *kām* 'id.'). 84. kāv 'flesh', 85. kāvra 'crow' (Korku), 86. källen 'egg', 87. kiṭa- 'to winnow' (may be Dravidian), 88. kiyam 'tomorrow' (cf. Mu. *mia᳚* 'day after tomorrow'), 89. kuguso, kuguchyo 'hair', 90. kupra 'cloth' (Hi. *kəṭṭra* 'id.'). 91. kuba- 'to be intoxicated' 92. kura 'unripe', 93. kui 'water well' (Korku; Sk. *kūpa* 'id.'). 94. kūḍu 'bamboo door', 95. keṭṭo-kama- 'to extinguish fire', 96. keḍa- 'to be felt' (?), 97. kepa 'louse', 98. kerchi- 'to itch' 'scratch' (cf. Hi. *khəjulānā* 'to itch'), 99. kelli 'cow calf' (Korku),

100. kokōy 'ant', 101. kokhor 'fowl' 102. kocakama- 'to bend' (tr.), 103. koṭṭu 'to pound' (cf. Hi. *kūṭnā* 'id.'). 104. koṭṭo (see *kaṭṭo-*), 105. kotra (see *niḍirtav koṭra*), 106. kobḍur (Korku; cf. Hi. *kəbutər* 'id.'). 107. kon, kom 'from', 108. kō- 'to bring', 109. kōgo 'snake', 110. kōr- 'to take away', 111. kōl 'woman' 'wife' (cf. Kharia *konsel*, Mu. *kuṛi* 'id.'). 112. kolya 'fuel' 'a Nahāl clan' (Hi. *kōylā* 'charcoal'), 113. khaṇḍa 'shoulder' (Sk. *skandha* 'id.'). 114. khaṇḍa- 'to carry on shoulder', 115. khara 'field', 116. kharuka 'many (animate)', 117. khuri 'leg' (cf. Sk. *khura* 'hoof'; Drav. *kal* 'leg'), 118. kheda- 'to drive cart' (Korku; East Beng. *khæda-* 'to drive'), 119. kherikama- 'to pull', 120. kheriyan 'threshing floor' (Ma. *khəlihān*; Sk. *khala* 'id.'). most probably Drav. loan; see EMENEAU *ibid.*, p. 201, vocable No. 339 *kalave*), 121. khobo 'much' (Hi. *khūb* 'id.'). 122. gaḍao- 'to bury' (Hi. *gārnā* 'id.'). 123. gadri 'ass' (Sk. *gardabha* 'id.'). 124. gaḍan- 'neck' (Hi. *gərdān* 'id.'). 125. gāra 'cart' (Hi), 126. giṭa 'younger brother or sister' 'wife's younger brother's wife', etc., 127. gullu 'name of my Nahāli informant', 128. geri 'fishing hook', 129. goṭhi 'clan' (Sk. *gōṣṭhī* 'id.'). 130. gon 'with (associative)', cf. -kon, 131. gora kelli 'male calf', 132. golakama- 'to heap', 133. golga 'ear-wox', 134. ghaṭa- 'to search' (Korku), 135. ghām 'sunshine' (Korku; Hi.), 136. ghuṭari 'deer', 137. ghūrka ed- 'to go for defeacation' 138. chaka- 'to ascend' 'climb up', 139. cakhakama- 'to make to climb', 140. cakhaw- 'to sweep', 141. cacakkama- 'to heat' (cf. Korku *caṭa* 'hot'), 142. cacūko 'hot', 143. cana 'dance', (cf. Hi. *nācā* 'id.'). 144. cana- 'to dance', 145. carkaḍ 'waist', 146. carko 'black-faced monkey', 147. cago 'stone' (cf. Mu. *ciḍgi* 'id.'). 148. cāto 'hunger', 149. cāto paṭo- 'to be hungry' 'lit. hunger to come', 150. cān 'fish', 151. cāvg- 'to be afraid', 152. cikal, sikal 'earth' (cf. Sk. *cikilah* 'mud' 'mire', Old Beng. : *cikhila* 'id.'). 153. cigam 'ear', 154. cicca 'tamarind' 'a Korku clan' (Korku), 155. cuṭṭi- 'to pound' (see *koṭṭu-*), 156. ceki- 'to hold' 'arrest' 'catch' (cf. Hi. Ma. *chēk-* 'id.'). 157. cekoṭo 'axe', 158. ceyni 'previously', 159. cerk- 'to fall', 160. cerkokama- 'to make to fall', 161. cergo- 'to run', 162. cokob 'leaf of tree' 'a clan' (Korku, San. Mu., Nahāl, etc. *sakom* 'leaf'), 163. coggom 'pig' (Korku *sukri*, San. Mu. *sukri*, Sa. *kəmbun*, Par. *konmon*; Orang *kumokn* 'id.').; Sk. *śūkara* 'id.'). 164. copo 'salt' (a Drav. word; Pj. *cup* 'id.').; for othe etymas see EMENEAU *ibid.* p. 243, vocable 870), 165. corto 'blood', 166. cōn 'nose', 167. cōr 'thief' (Hi. etc.), 168. cyō- 'to urinate', 169. cyōkama- to make to urinate', 170. chāti 'chest' (Korku; Hi.), 171. chikār 'hunt' (Hi. *sikār*, etc., 'id.'). 172. chiḍu 'wine' (Korku *siḍu*; Sk. *śidhu* 'id.'). 173. chim(n)- 'to sew' (cf. Sk. *śiv-* 'id.'). 174. chunduku 'box' (Hi. *sənduk* 'id.'). 175. chūi 'needle' (Hi. *sūi* 'id.'). 176. che 'yesterday' (cf. Kur. *cho*; Sk. *hyah* 'id.'). 177. cheri 'goat' (Korku *siri*; cf. Sk. *chāgala* Beng. *cheli* 'id.'). 178. chokra 'bread' (Korku *so-krā* 'id.'). 179. iappo 'water', 180. jappo batam- 'to be thirsty', 181. jambu 'black-berry' 'a Nahāl clan' (Sk. *jambu* 'id.'). 182. jara 'fever' (Hi. *jāṛā bukhār* 'ma-

larial fever'), 183. jaran 'crab', 184. jari 'root' (Korku; Hi. jəɾ. 'id. '), 185. jalū- 'to descend', 186. jalū kama- 'to make to descend', 187. jaldi 'quickly' (Hi.), 188. jiki 'eye', 189. jiki kapri 'eye-brow', 190. jiki yāto 'tears', 191. jilɔguij' 'earthworm' (Korku jilɔgod' 'id. '), 192. junu 'broom' (Korku; Mu. jono, Sa. jənon, Par. juno 'id. '), 193. jūd 'bamboo' (cf. Korku, etc. māḍ 'id. '), 194. jere- 'to remain', 195. jō 'I' (cf. Burushaski je, ja, Pasto z^a, Newari ji 'id. '), 196. joppo, jappo 'water', 'a Nahāl clan', 197. jhuri 'swing' (Hi. etc. jhula 'id. '), 198. țarsya 'kind of animal called in Ma. etc. țaras, 199. țār- 'to throw' (cf. Hi. ḍālnā), 200. țugiti 'ripe' (past participle), 201. țevre 'lip', 202. țyeko (țeku) 'we two', 203. țiye- (țē-) 'to eat' 'to chew' (may be Drav.; Ta. tiṅ 'id. '; for other etymas see EMENEAU *ibid.*, p. 247, vocable 921), 204. țeya 'wife's brother or sister', 205. țembriya 'tiger', 206. țōța 'maize' 'a Nahāl clan' (cf. Hi. bhuffa), 207. țhagatiɔkama- 'to deceive' (Korku; Hi. thəgānā 'id. '), 208. țhuk- 'to spit' (Hi. thūknā 'id. '), 209. țhekri 'forehead', 210. thenḍey 'moon', 211. ḍaḍi 'beard' (Korku; Hi. dārhi 'id. '), 212. ḍaḍgo 'branch of tree' (Korku; cf. Hi. ḍāḍ 'big stick'), 213. ḍaḍo 'upper arm' (Korku), 214. ḍay, ḍai 'elder brother' (any senior man not much older than the speaker'), 215. ḍia, dia, 'day' (Korku; Sk. divā 'id. '), 216. ḍin, din 'day' (Hi. etc.), 217. ḍinoka 'daily', 218. ḍukri may 'father's sister', 219. ḍugi 'red-faced monkey', 220. ḍuḍ, dud 'milk' (Beng. etc.), 221. ḍeḍḍa 'frog' (Korku), 222. ḍelen- 'to drink', 223. ḍeleɔkama- 'to make to drink', 224. ḍevta 'Sun' (Sk. devatā 'god'), 225. ḍo 'and' (Korku; Kha. Mu. oɾo 'id. '), 226. ḍoḍgor 'forest' (Korku, Ma. etc.), 227. ḍoba 'bull' (Korku), 228. ḍoḍga 'a variety of ant of sig size', 229. ḍhapri 'bank of river', 'a Nahāl clan' (Korku), 230. ḍhulla 'dust' (Sk. dhūli 'id. '), 231. ḍhor 'cow', 232. taḍdur 'rice' 'paddy' (Sk. taḍḍula 'rice'), 233. dhava 'distant', 234. nakko 'nail of finger' (Sk. nakha 'id. '), 235. nāḍgar 'plough' (occurs in most Indian speeches), 236. nāpyom 'mother-in-law' 'husband's, elder sister' 'wife's elder brother's wife', 237. nāko 'you two' (see nē), 238. nāḍ, nān 'what' (may be Drav.; cf. Pj. nāḍ 'why', nāto 'what'), 239. nāni 'who', 240. nāra 'adam's apple' (Korku nāra, 'id. '), 241. nāy 'dog' (Drav. word; Ta. nāy; for other etymas see *The Parji Language* by T. BURROW and S. BHATTACHARYA, p. 178. netta), 242. nālku, nālo 'four' (Drav. word; see EMENEAU *ibid.*, p. 222, vocable 566), 243. nāvay 'why', 244. nitto- 'to enter', 245. niḍir 'white ant' (Korku nindir 'id. '), 246. niḍirtaḍ koṭra 'inside of anthill', 247. nē 'thou' (Drav. word, see EMENEAU *ibid.*, p. 225, vocable 601), 248. pakin 'peacock' (cf. Beng. pekhom 'peacock's tail'), 249. pakoṭo 'bone', 250. pago 'tail', 251. pațar- 'to dry (intr.)'; pațarkama- 'to dry something', 252. paḍa- 'to kill', 253. parayn 'river', 254. parka 'all', 255. palco 'son', 256. paț-, piy- 'to come', 257. paroḍ 'bank of river' (cf. Sk. pāram 'id. '), 258. pala 'leaf' (Korku), 259. pasi-ki 'near' (Hi. pās), 260. pāco 'five' (Hi. etc. pāc 'id. '), 261. pi- (pa-) 'to come', 262. pirju 'daughter' (see palco), 263. puri- 'to send', 264. puch- 'to wipe away' (Hi.

etc. *pōch-* 'id.'). 265. pejikōemkama- 'to drive away', 266. peṭe- 'to sit', 267. peṭekama- 'to make to sit', 268. petek- 'to tear (intr.)', 269. petekkama- 'to tear something', 270. penḍri 'shin of leg', 271. pēy 'head', 272. poyye 'bird', 273. popo 'belly', 274. phuphu 'father's younger sister' (Hi. etc.), 275. phejer 'morning' (Hi. etc.), 276. phor 'fruit' 'mango' (Sk. *phala* 'id.'). 277. bakān- 'to leave' 'release', 278. backari 'child' (Hi. etc. *bacca* 'id.'). 279. baṭam- (see *jappo baṭam-*), 280. baṭuko 'mango', 281. badra 'sky' (Hi. etc. *bādāḷ* 'id.'). 282. baba 'father's elder brother' 'father's sister's husband' (Beng. *baba* 'father'), 283. bai 'elder sister', 284. bachye 'younger', 285. bay 'today', 286. bā, eba 'father', 287. baṭe, bāṭe 'now', 288. barḍo 'sickle', 289. bāro- 'to sing' (Drav. word; Ta. *pāṭu* 'id.').; see EMENEAU *ibid.*, p. 230, vocable 652), 290. bi 'also' (Korku; Hi. *bhī* 'id.'). 291. biṭil 'sand' (Korku; Mu. *giṭil* 'id.'). 292. biḍi 'one (f.n.)' (Mu. *miad*, Par. *boi*, Sa. *miḍ*, San. *mit*, Korku *mia* 'one'), 293. biḍum 'one (m.)', 294. biya 'village', 295. birtom 'husband's elder brother' 'wife's elder sister' 'father-in-law', 296. bī- 'to rise' 'sun to rise' 'to come out', 297. bikama- 'to turn out', 298. buḍu- 'sun, moon to set' (cf. Hi. *būrna* 'id.'). 299. bumli 'navel' (Korku; Mu. *buṭi*. San. *buka* 'id.'). 300. bekki- 'to reap', 301. beṭe 'not', 302. beṭṭo- 'to die', 303. beri- 'to cut wood', 304. berko 'cat', 305. boko, bokko 'arm', 306. bokki- 'to tie something', 307. bokko minjar 'palm of hand', 308. boṭor 'hare', 309. bommoki 'brother' (dl.), 310. bōy 'grass', 'a Nahāl clan', 'fodder', 311. bologo 'bear' (Sk. *bhalluka* 'id.'). 312. bhaga 'big' 'older', 313. bhaga- 'to grow', 314. bhaga day 'elder brother', 315. bhaga may 'father's elder brother's wife' 'mother's elder sister', 316. bhavri 'back of the body', 317. bhanja 'sister's son' (Hi.), 318. bhilla 'kite' (Korku), 319. bheriya- 'to fill (intr.)' (Hi. etc. *bhar-* 'id.'). 320. bheriyakama- 'to fill (tr.)', 321. ma- 'to give', 322. makan 'but' 'even then' (Korku; San. *mankhan* 'id.'). 323. maṅgar 'crocodile' (Korku; Hi. *māgār* 'id.'). 324. maikko 'bee', 325. mancho 'man' pl. manṭa (cf. Sk. *manuṣya*, etc. 'id.'). 326. maṇḍi- 'to speak' (Korku), 327. mavsi 'mother's younger sister' (Hi.), 328. māṭo 'thigh', 329. māṇḍu, māṇḍo 'rain', 330. māney 'we (pl.)', 331. māma 'mother's brother' 'father's younger sister's husband', 332. māni 'mother's brother's wife', 333. māy 'mother' (Hi. *māyī* 'id.'). 334. māv 'horse', 335. miṅgay 'where', 336. mijar 'inside' (see *kajar*), 337. miṇḍi 'evening' 'night', 338. miyan 'how much', 339. murkiṭij 'mosquito', 340. meur 'anthill', 341. mēge 'tooth' 'jaw', 342. mer- 'to play', 343. mera 'near' (Korku), 344. merokama- 'to make to play', 345. mokhne 'elbow' (knee ?), 346. mochor 'pestle' (Sk. *muṣala* 'id.'). 347. monḍa 'heel', 348. mōṭh, mōṭho 'three' (Drav. word; see EMENEAU *ibid.*, p. 219, vocable 551), 349. yēṭṭa 'honey', 350. rabanka 'cold' (Korku), 351. rabankama- 'to cool something' 352. rupya 'rupee' (Hi. etc.), 353. laṅka 'a god worshipped by the Nahāl in the month of *Phālguna* (Feb.-March). The Korku worship Rāvaṇa who, according Hindu mythology, is the King of *Laṅka*. In Korku speech *laṅka* means 'distant place'; e.g. *khaḍ laṅka* 'very

far off', 354. *lāy* 'tongue' (Korku *lāṅ*, Mu. San. Sa. *alab*, Par. Gad. Khar. *lāṅ* 'id.'), 355. *lā* 'you (pl.)', 356. *lāo*- 'to burn', 357. *lēñjo*- 'to draw water', 358. *varcho*- 'year' (Sk. *varṣa* 'id.'), 359. *simburu* 'rheum of nose' (Korku *simṛu*, *semṛu* 'id.'), 360. *sik*- 'to learn' (Hi. *sikhna* 'id.'), 361. *sokṛa* (see *chokra*), 362. *soso* (see *chocho*), 363. *ha, han* 'this' (Korku), 364. *haru*- 'to bite', 365. *harḍo* 'turmeric' (Hi. *hṛḍi*), 366. *hāṭu* 'market' (Sk. *haṭṭa* 'id.'), 367. *hi, i* 'this (dem.)', 368. *hiṭini* 'here', 369. *hinki* 'here', 370. *hiyan* 'this much', 371. *hīm* 'cold' (Sk. *hima* 'id.'), 372. *heṅgen* 'me', 373. *heṭṭi, eṭṭhi* 'elephant' (Sk. *hastī* 'id.'), 374. *hey beṭela* 'there is not', 375. *here* 'this (pron.)', 376. *huṭiki* 'there', 377. *ho* 'he', 378. *honḍar* 'rat', 379. *holoy*- 'to shake' (Hi. *hilānā* 'id.'), 380. *howṭa* (*hou* + pl. *ṭa*) 'they'.

20. We have made an attempt to show the Kolarian, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian elements in Nahāli vocabulary. Most of the Kolarian words found in this speech agree closely with Korku which unmistakably points out to the intimate connection between these two tongues. The next Kolarian language with which Nahāli has closer lexical parallels is Mundari, and not Santali. It is also interesting to note that the Kolarian words in Nahāli, on the whole, agree more with the western and northern Kolarian speeches, i.e. Korku and the speeches of the Kherwari group. The Nahāli words identified by us as Dravidian are not many. Most of them in phonetic details agree more with their cognates in the central Indian Drav. speeches. For example, Nahāli *copo* 'salt' agrees more with Pj. *cup*, Oll. Kol. Naik. Poya *sup*, Go. *sovar* 'id.', but in the south Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. Te. Sav. have *uppu*, Ko. To. *up*, Koḍ. *uppi* 'id.'. The Indo-Aryan words found in Nahāli have greater agreements with their cognates in Hīndī, Hindusthani and Marathi.

21. Our comparative study of Nahāli words is far from complete. But the main issue, I hope, has been made sufficiently clear that a large number of words of this speech cannot be called Kolarian, Indo-Aryan or Dravidian. The number of such words as shown in our list may be reduced as a result of further deliberations. But the present problem is that a large number of basic words in Nahāli denoting limbs of the body, important animals and articles of material culture, etc. are significantly aloof. Some scholars are therefore inclined to believe that Nahāli originally belonged to a different speech-family which is now extinct, and that these words are remnants of that ancient tongue. It has been posited further that the native elements in Nahāli represent the lost speech of the Bhil 'race'.

22. The problem of race and language in India has not yet been solved. The number of speech-families found in the mainland of this country is four. But the speakers of these languages are classified into different races the number of which is likely to exceed the above number. It is therefore quite plausible that a few more speech-families existed in Indian main-

land in the past. The high percentage of the unidentified elements in Nahāli leaves little doubt that the base of this speech belonged to a family which is now lost.

Abbreviations of names of Languages

- Kolarian* : KK. (Korku), San. (Santali), Mu. (Mundari), Jua. (Juang), Khar. (Kharīa), Sa. (Savara, Saora), Gad. (Gadba), Par. (Parengi), Ḍiḍ. (Ḍiḍey), Bon. (Bonḍa), Nah. (Nahāli), etc. Items from Semang, Sakai, Orang, etc. of Malaya Peninsula have also been quoted.
- Dravidian* : Ta. (Tamil), Te. (Telugu), Ma. (Malayalam), Ka. (Kannada), Tu. (Tulu), To. (Toda), Ko. (Kota), Bad. (Badaga), Koḍ. (Koḍagu), Go. (Gondi), Kol. (Kolami), Naik. (Naiki), Pj. (Parji), Oll. (Ollari), Kon. (Konḍa), Kui (Kui), Kur. (Kurukh), Brah. (Brahui), Drav. (Dravidian), etc.
- Indo-Aryan* : Sk. (Sanskrit), Pkt. (Prakrit), Hi (Hindi, Hindusthani, Urdu), Ma. (Marathi), Beng. (Bengali), etc.



HALBI AND BHATRI OF BASTAR

By

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It is surprising that Halbi and Bhatri have been treated in the *Linguistic Survey of India* as two different speeches affiliated to Marathi and Oṛiya respectively. I have examined these two speeches very carefully. As far as I have seen there is little difference between Halbi and Bhatri. They are mutually intelligible speeches. On the other hand, there is much difference between Halbi and Marathi, Halbi and Chattisgarhi, and Bhatri and Oṛiya. I am therefore very much inclined to believe that Halbi and Bhatri are two dialects of an Indo-Aryan speech that was spoken in Bastar and the neighbouring regions in olden times. If this is admitted that Halbi and Bhatri are closely allied speeches, their relation with Marathi, Chattisgarhi and Oṛiya will automatically become secondary. And if we compare the words and sentences given at the ends of Vol. V, Pt. 2 (Oṛiya and Bhatri), Vol. VI (Chattisgarhi) and Vol. VII (Marathi and Halbi) of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, there can be little doubt that the relation between Halbi and Bhatri is much more closer to one another than is their relation with Chattisgarhi, Oṛiya and Marathi. There are many structural and lexical peculiarities commonly shared by Halbi and Bhatri, which distinguish them from other speeches. The following conjugation, quoted from different volumes of L.S.I., may be compared:

	I am	Thou art	He is	We are
Halbi	<i>mui āsē</i>	<i>tui āsīs</i>	<i>hun āsē</i>	<i>hamī āsū</i>
Bhatri	"	"	"	<i>hamī ācchū</i>
Marathi	<i>mī ahē</i>	<i>tū āhēs</i>	<i>tō āsē</i>	<i>āmhi āhō</i>
Chattisgarhi	<i>mui haū</i>	<i>tāi ahas</i>	<i>wō hai</i>	<i>hamman hān</i>
Oṛiya	<i>mū huē,</i> <i>mu acchi</i>	<i>tū hua,</i> <i>acchu</i>	<i>se huē</i> <i>acchi</i>	<i>ambhēmānē</i> <i>hēū, acchū</i>

	You are	They are
Halbi	<i>tumī āsās</i>	<i>hunī āsat, āsē</i>
Bhatri	<i>tumī acchat</i>	<i>hun āsē</i>
Marathi	<i>tumhī āhā</i>	<i>tē āhēt</i>
Chattisgarhi	<i>tumman hau</i>	<i>wōman haī</i>
Orīya	<i>tumbhēmānē hua,</i> <i>accha</i>	<i>sēmānē huanti,</i> <i>acchanti</i>

It is true that Halbi and Bhatri do not agree in some grammatical points. Thus, Halbi uses the suffix *-un* to form conjunctives, not found in Bhatri. A similar conjunctive suffix derived from Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit *ūna*, *tūna* which are equivalent to Sanskrit *ktvā*, is also used in Marathi. It will be noticed that a *tūna* suffix used to form conjunctives is also found in Paiśācī Prakrit (Prākṛta Prakāśa, 10, 13). Halbi has a peculiar *-d* future which is also not found in Bhatri where the future tense particle is *-b*, used in Orīya, Bengali and other eastern modern Indo-Aryan speeches. It is interesting to note that the Sindhi language has a future tense particle in *-d*, and a genitive suffix in *co*, *tso* similar to Halbi. If such isolated grammatical points are taken into consideration, it will be difficult to arrive at a conclusion on the affiliation of Halbi and Bhatri.

The classification of Halbi and Bhatri has given rise to some controversy. The fact that Halbi and Bhatri have so far defied all attempts for a satisfactory classification, perhaps indicates that their origin lies elsewhere, and not in the Prakrits that have given rise to Marathi, Chattisgarhi and Orīya. These two speeches have been open to external influences for a long time. The Marathi culture has been gradually encroaching upon Bastar from the west and north-west, the Hindi and Chattisgarhi culture from the north and the Orīya culture from the east and north-east. Naturally, some linguistic and cultural traits have been absorbed in the indigenous culture of Bastar from these external sources. But in spite of all these changes, Bastar culture at core is still somewhat distinct from the culture of the neighbouring people. These points have led me to believe that Halbi and Bhatri originated from a regional tribal Indo-Aryan speech, but later on they developed independently.

Of the two groups of people, viz. the Bhatra and the Halba, the former seems to represent a fairly older section of the population of Bastar. There has

not yet been much anthropological work on the Halba people. As far as I have studied them, they do not appear to be very old people of Bastar. (see also the article on 'Halba' in the *Tribes and Castes of C.P. and Berar* by RUSSELL and HIRALAL. They are late immigrants, but it is not clear when and from which direction they entered the plateau of Bastar. Having entered there they got mixed up with the local aboriginal population and made the local Aryan dialect their mother tongue, which later on began to be known as 'Halbi', perhaps due to their privileged position in the State.

The designation Halbi is somewhat misleading, for it creates an impression that it is the original speech of the Halba people. Specimens of the Halba-language were collected from Berar and Bhandara for the *Linguistic Survey of India*, but it was found that the Halba-languages of those places are different from the so-called Halbi of Bastar (L. S. I. VII, pp. 330, 331). We cannot therefore assume without fear of contradiction that Halbi is the original speech of the Halba people of Bastar. It is safer to conclude that the so-called Halbi is the Aryan speech of the tract, which is not only spoken by the Halba people now, but is also the mother tongue of Mahar, Raut and many other people in Bastar. Halbi and Bhatri are sometimes called Bastari, i.e. the language of Bastar, which seems to be a more appropriate nomenclature.

Offprint

NORMAN H. ZIDE (ED.)

STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE
AUSTROASIATIC LINGUISTICS

1966

MOUTON & CO.

LONDON · THE HAGUE · PARIS

SOME MUNDA ETYMOLOGIES

by

S. BHATTACHARYA

Some comparative work on the Munda languages has been done, particularly in the present century, by Schmidt, Konow, Hoffmann, Bodding, Ramamurti, Kuiper, Pinnow, and others. Sixteen Munda languages have been studied so far, besides Nahali.

In this article an attempt has been made to suggest some Munda etymologies, quoting forms mostly from the different Munda languages studied by us. In order to test their relationship with the Austroasiatic languages these Munda forms have been compared with their Austroasiatic parallels as far as possible. Any possible speech-contact with the Dravidians and Indo-Aryans with whom the Munda people are living in symbiosis long since, has also been indicated wherever it has been possible.

The table on p. 29 will show the languages and dialects from which etyma have been collected and the sources of the material used here.

The other works and their abbreviations used in this article are:

1. SB = *Pagan Races of the Malayan Peninsula* by W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, Vol. II, 1906.
- ✓2. Pin. = *Versuch Einer Historischen Lautlehre Der Kharia-Sprache* by H. J. Pinnow, 1959.
3. DED = *A. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* by T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, 1961.
4. Turner = *A Comparative Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language* by R. L. Turner, 1931.
5. LSI = *Linguistic Survey of India* by G. A. Grierson.
- ✓6. PMS = *Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit* by F. B. J. Kuiper, 1948.

Orthography:

The forms have been recorded in narrow phonetic transcription using IPA symbols.

S. No.	Name of language or dialect	Collected from Dist. (State)	Abbreviation used	Sources of material
1	Didey	Koraput (Orissa)	Di.	Collected by the writer in 1955
2	Bonda	Koraput (Orissa)	Bo.	Collected by the writer in 1951 and 1955
3	Gutob (i.e. Munda-speaking Gadba)	Koraput (Orissa) and Srikakulam (Andhra)	Gu.	Collected by the writer in 1951 and 1955
4	Parengi	Koraput (Orissa)	Pa.	As above ¹
5	Sora	Koraput (Orissa)	So.	<i>Sora-English Dictionary</i> by G. V. Ramamurti, 1938
5a	Sora	Koraput (Orissa)	So. (Bhat.)	Collected by the writer in 1955
6	Juang	Keonjhar, Dhenkanal (Orissa)	Ju. (Ke.) Ju. (Dh.)	As above
7	Kharia	Ranchi (Bihar)	Kh.	Collected by the writer in 1954
7a	Kharia	—	Kh. (R.)	<i>The Kharias</i> by S. C. Roy
8	Ho	Singbhum (Bihar)	—	Collected by the writer in 1954
9	Asur	Ranchi (Bihar)	As.	As above
10	Birhor	Ranchi (Bihar)	Bh.	As above
10a	Birhor	—	Bh. (R.)	<i>The Birhor</i> by S. C. Roy
11	Munda	—	Mu.	<i>Encyclopaedia Mundarica</i> by Rev. John Hoffmann, S.J. in collaboration with Rev. Arthur Van Emelen S.J. 1950
11a	Munda	—	Mu. (B.)	<i>Mundari-English Dictionary</i> by M. B. Bhaduri, 1931
12	Santali	—	Sa.	<i>A Santal Dictionary</i> by P. O. Boddington, 1929-1936
13	Koraku	Surguja (M.P.)	Kor.	Collected by the writer in 1959
14	Korwa	Jashpur-Raigarh (M.P.)	Kw.	As above
15	Mowasi	Chhindwara (M.P.)	Mo.	Collected by the writer in 1958
16	Korku	Betul, Amravati and Nimar (M.P.)	Ko.	Collected by the writer in 1955, 1956 and 1957
16a	Korku	—	Ko. (ER.)	<i>A Korku Vocabulary</i>
17	Nahali	Nimar (M.P.)	Nah.	Collected by E. Ramsay in 1955 ²

¹ See the present writer's article on "Studies in Parengi Language", *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. 14, Pt. III, 1954, pp. 43-63. This tribe has been described under the name Parengi-Poroja by E. Thurston (*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, page 209). They are also called Parenga.

² See the writer's article "Field Notes on Nahali", *Indian Linguistics*, 1957.

The symbols /i/ and /ū/ represent very short vowels.

The symbols *k'*, *c'*, *j'*, *p'*, *b'*, etc. denote checked consonants, i.e. pre-glottalized unexploded stops; *i'* and *e'* used in Hoffmann's Munda forms indicate vowels followed by checked consonants.

The symbols *a* and *U* are mean-mid back and lower-high back allophonic vowels, respectively.

The symbol *ʈ* is an alveolar *t*.

1. Di. *hojria* 'air', 'wind', Bo. *uiṛak'* 'id'; cf. Nah. *o:ra* 'id.'

2. Gu. *ojoj*, Ju. *kojɔ*, *kaja* 'air', 'wind', Kh. *kojo* id. Ho. *hojo*, *hojoʔ* 'id.', Mu. *hoəo*, *hojo*, As. *hoj*. Bh. *haja* 'id.', Sa. *hoə* id., *hojɔj* 'gentle breeze', Kor. *hojo* 'air', Kw. *hoj*, *hojo* 'id.', Ko. Mo. *kojo* 'id.'

Note: Other words recorded in this sense are Pa. *imbur* 'id.' which belongs to a different word-group meaning 'sky', 'cloud' which has not been included in this article, and So. *raŋge*, *riŋge*, *ruaŋ-ən*, 'air', *rije-n*, *rin-ən*, *raje-n*, *ray-ən* 'wind', (Bhat.) *rreŋge* 'id.' which perhaps belongs to the word-group Ko. *lanka* 'far' etc., not included here. Besides the above forms, *dhuka* 'id.' has also been recorded in As.

(It is not clear whether the etyma in 1 and 2 above are to be derived from the same Proto-Munda form.)

3. Bo. *gɔʔ* 'axe', Mu. *hake* 'middle-sized axe for cutting wood', Ho *hake* 'axe', Kw. *vake* 'id.', Mo. *ak(h)ej* 'id.', Ko. *akhe* 'id.'

[Cf. SB A-33 Sōmañ *gāk*, *he:g*, etc. 'adge'; etc.; Bahnar *hak* 'to split', Stieng *hak* 'to tear', *jik* 'to cut', etc.].

4. Mu. *kapi* 'hunting axe', Sa. *kəpi* 'battle axe'

[Cf. SB A-194 Ulv Cheres (Sakai) *ka-pak*, etc. 'axe'; see also Pin. 41, p. 74].

5. Ju. *guṭia* 'axe', Kh.(R.) *koŋde*, (Bhat.) *kōṛej*' 'id.', Mu. *koŋde* 'small wood axe', Ho *hofo* 'axe'; cf. Nah. *cekofo* 'axe'.

6. Di. *maloə* 'battle axe', Bo. *maray* 'big axe'

[This seems to be a Dravidian word; cf. DED 3889, Ta. *maṛu* 'axe', 'battle axe', Te. *maccu-katti* 'wood-knife', Go. *mars*, *maras* 'axe', etc.]

7. Di. *taŋgi* 'axe', Bo. *taŋgja* 'id.', As. *taŋga* 'big axe', *taŋgeja* 'small axe', Sa. *teŋgoc* 'small axe', *taŋga* 'axe (large)'.

Also a common IA word; cf. Turner (p. 241) *tā:gi*.

8. Gu. *asu*, *ɔʔsu* 'axe', Pa. *suron*, So. *enjum-ən* 'id.', Ju. *aṛisia* 'big axe'. (It is doubtful if all the four can be treated as cognates).

9. So. *kuma:b-ən*, (contr. *kub-ən*), 'ashes', Ju. *akob* 'id.', Kw. *o:b*, Mo. *hob*, Ko. *hob*, *hop* 'id.'

[Cf. SB A-160 *pahpu*, *habu*, *abo*, *abu*, etc., 'id.']

10. Ho *toroe*, 'ashes', Bh.(R.) *to:re*, Mu.(B.) *toroe*, *to:rej*' 'id.', Sa. *to:ɔc*' 'id., to reduce to ashes'.

11. Di. *ogsə* 'ashes', Gu. *uʔcɔj* (*c = ts*) 'id.'

Note: The Kharia word recorded in our material is *kharom* which is derived from IA.

12. Di. *gugdia* 'back', Bo. *guyay*, Gu. *giʔdan*, *gi:day* 'id.', Pa. *aqum* 'id.', So. *kən-dU:ɣ-ən*, *kindo:ɣ-ən*, (contr. *dUɣ-ən*) 'id.', Kh. *kunqab* 'id.', *kunqam* 'id.', Mu. *kunqam* 'back part of the house', Sa. *kuqəm* 'rear of the house'; (Ke.) *kinənomqe*, *kinəbqə* 'id.' ? Ju. (Dh.). *kenəb*, *kenəm* 'id.' [Cf. SB B-4(a) *krökn*, *krong*, *hörong*, *ködroi*, *krau*, etc., 'back'].

13. Ho, *doja*, *doj* 'id.', As. *dea* Mu. *dea*, *doea* 'id.', Sa. *dea* 'id.', Kw. *dēfi(at)* 'back', Kor. *defii*, 'id.'

14. Kh. *fiin-taj* 'after that' (: *fiin* 'that'), Ko. *tau-en*, *tauten* 'behind', 'after', 'afterwards', Ho *tao-kula* 'kind of fox which follows tiger', Mu. *ta:eom*, *ta:iom* 'after', 'following', 'back', 'behind', Sa. *tajəm*, *taenəm* 'behind', 'after' [Cf. SB A-46 *iəkoh*, *tkuh*, etc. 'back'].

15. Pa. *uruy* 'bamboo', So. *uruy-ən*, *ur-ən*, (Bhat.) *urriy* 'id.', ? Nah. *ju:d*, Ko. *juḏo* 'id.'

[Cf. SB B-29 *hau-ūr*, *aur*, etc. 'bamboo'].

16. Di. *gayfiaʔ* 'bamboo', Bo. *aʔa*, *aʔaʔ*, Gu. *aʔl* (*buʔa*) 'id.', Ju. *aʔə* 'id.'

[Cf. SB B-21 *lēbeh*, *buloh*, etc., 'bamboo'].

17. Kh. *kondəy(g)* 'bamboo', Mu. *fianqua* 'young tender bamboo shoots', Sa. *fianqu* 'an article of food made from the young shoots of bamboo'

[Hoffmann has compared it with Sadri *hanqua*, and Oraon *handhua:*, and Bodding has compared it with De. *ha:nqoja:*; cf. also SB B-31 Bahnar, Jarai *ding*, Selung *kedun*, etc. 'bamboo'].

18. As. *ma:d*, Bh. *mat*, Mu. *mad*, (B.) *ma:d*, *ma:t*, Sa. *mat* 'id.', Kor. *mad* 'bamboo', Kw. *ma:t*, *ma:t*, Ko. *maḏ*, *maḏ*, *mhad*, *ma:t* 'id.' [? Cf. DED 3929: Kur. (Hahn) *ma:s*, Malt. *masu* 'bamboo'].

19. Kh. *kuril* 'young bamboo shoot'

[? Cf. DED 1140: Ma. *kayal*, Pa. *karri*, Kur. *kharra* 'young bamboo shoot'].

20. Bo. *ili* 'liquor', Gu. *ili* 'id.', Pa. *ali*, So. *ali-n* 'id.', *əli:-n*, *ali:-n* 'beer', 'spirits', etc., (Bhat.) *ali* 'liquor', Ho *ili* 'liquor', *ote-ili* 'a part of the Ma:ge-Parab festival when wine is poured in the courtyard', Mu. *ili* 'beer brewed from rice or grain', Kor. *illi* 'id.', Ko. (ER.) *ela*: 'jungle vine'.

21. Kh. *golanj* 'rice-beer', Kw. *gorra* 'liquor', Kor. *jhara* 'rice-beer'.

22. Kw. *kosona* 'rice-beer', Kor. *kosna* 'id.'; cf. 21.

23. Di. *miā* 'blood', Gu. *ijam*, Pa. *mijam*, *mijan* 'id.', So. *mija:m-ən*, *mij-ən*, *maḃa:m-ən*, (Bhat.) *mejəm* 'id.', Ju. (Ke.) *inam*, (Dh.) *na:m*

'id.', Kh. *ijam*, Ko. *majum*, *majom* 'id.', Ho *majom*, As. *majam* Bh. *majam*, Mu. *maëom* 'id.', 'to bleed', Sa. *mājām*, *majam* 'blood', 'to bleed' [Cf. SB B-249: *muhum*, *maham*, *aham*, *ham*, etc. 'blood'].

24. Kw. *balygi(t)* 'blood'
[Cf. SB R-52: *bër-kait*, *bëkait*, *bërkayd*, *phäket*, *b'ket* 'red'].

25. Ko. *pacna*, Mo. *pacna* 'blood'
[Cf. SB B-250: *che-nâh* 'blood'].

Note: Other words recorded are – Nah. *corjo* 'blood' (cf. DED 2353: Ma. *co:ri*, *co:ra* 'id.');

Bo. *boni*; Kor. *raktu*, *lehu* 'id.' (IA).
26. Di. *jica* 'bone', Bo. *siṛsay*, Gu. *sisay* 'id.', Pa. *dz:ay*, So. *ɟa:ɟ-ən* 'id.', Ju. *ejay*, *ɟjay* 'seed', Kh. *jay*, *ja:ɟ* 'bone', Ho *jay* 'bone', 'seed in general', As. *jay*, Bh. *jay* 'bone', Mu. *jay* 'bone', 'seed', 'stone of fruit', Sa. *jay* 'bone', 'kernel of fruit', Kor. *jay* 'bone', Kw. *ja:ɟ(to)* 'id.', Ko. *gor-jay* 'backbone'.

Note: The Nah. word for 'bone' is *pakojo*. IA forms have been recorded only from Ko. *haḏḏa*, *haḏe*, and Mo. *ha:ɟe* 'id.'

[Cf. SB B-336 (b): *ai-eng*, *iaang*, (*jiagng*) *cha'ing*, *siengang*, *hang*, *ngang*, etc. 'bone'].

27. Di. *āija*, *fiā:ja* 'bow', Bo. *vak*, *wak*, *ojaṛ* 'id.', So. (Bhat.) *naya*, Ju. (Ke.) *kakag*, (Dh.) *kaykar*, Kh. *kaṛ* 'id.', Ho *aṛsar*, As. *aṛ* 'id.', Mu. *aṛ* 'id.', *aṛ sar* 'bow and arrow', Sa. *ak* 'bow', *ak sar* 'bow and arrow', Kor. *aṛ* 'bow'

[Cf. SB B-353: *ak*, *a:k*, etc. 'bow'].

28. Di. *sohā* 'arrow', *fiā:* 'arrow-head', Bo. *ṛəm* 'arrow', So. (Bhat.) *aṛm(an)* 'arrow-head', Kh. *kaṃ*, *kom* 'arrow'; cf. 27

[Cf. Pin. 265, p. 130].

Note: IA words have been recorded from the languages not quoted in items 26, 27 and 28.

29. Di. *sūnu*, *sūno* 'broom', Bo. *sunu*, *sunuar* 'id.', *sug-* 'to sweep', Gu. *suna* 'soft broom', Pa. *dzuno* 'id.', So. *jəno:-n* 'broom', Ju. *ɟnɔk*, *jenak*, *jenog* 'id.', *ɟɟɟg-* 'to sweep', Kh. *jononṛ* 'broom', *joṛkaṛ* 'sweeper', Ho *jono* 'broom', *joṛ-* 'to sweep', Mu. *jonɔ* 'broom', *jo* 'to sweep', As. *jonon* 'broom', *joṛ-* 'to sweep', Bh. *jana* 'broom', *jo-* 'to sweep', Sa. *ɟok* 'id.', *ɟnɔk* 'broom', Kor. *jono* 'id.', Kw. *jononṛ* 'id.', *joṛg-* 'to sweep', Mo. *junu*, Ko. *junu* 'id.', *jukṛ-*, (*jukr-*) 'to sweep', Nah. *junu* 'broom'.

30. Di. *gūla:* 'bull', Bo. *gilaj*, *glaj* 'bullock', Gu. *gulaj* 'id.'

[Cf. DED 1597: Ta. *ku:li* 'ox', 'covering bull', Ka. *gu:li* 'bull'].

31. Di. *gīriy*, *giriṛ* 'cat', *turi-riṛ* 'wild cat', *bo-riṛ* 'male cat' Bo. *girem*, *grem*, *grēm* 'cat', Gu. *girem* 'cat', Pa. *ramay*, *ruman*, So. (Bhat.) *rramey* 'id.'

32. Ju. *bilai*, *belej* 'cat', Kh. *bileg*, Ho *bila:j*, As. *bilej*, Kw. *bilua* 'id.', Nah. *berko* 'id.'

[Cf. DED 4520: Ta. *veruku*, Oll. *ve:rig*, etc., 'cat', also DED 3438: Ta. *pilli*, Pa. *biley*; cf. also Turner *billi* 'id.'].]

33. Ho *pusi*, 'cat', Bh. *pusi*, Mu. *pusi*, Sa. *pusi*, Kor. *pusi* 'id.'

(Other words recorded for 'cat' are: Kw. *gunu* 'cat', Ko. Mo. *minu* 'id.', and Sa. *runḍa* 'wild cat'.)

34. Bo. *krimeḷi* 'claw', 'finger nail', Gu. *rumaj* 'claw', 'nail of finger', Pa. *ruvai*, *ruaj* 'id.', Kh. *ramaq*, *ram* 'nail of finger', As. *rama*, Bh. *rama* 'id.', Mu. *rama* 'id.', 'claw', Sa. *rama* 'id.', Kor. *rama tiʔ(t)* 'nail of (his) finger'.

35. Di. *(fi)ambug* 'chaff', Bo. *anab*, Gu. *anab*, *anaʔb* 'id.', ? So. (Bhat.) *kinam* 'id.'

36. Bh. *fiere* 'chaff', Mu. *fiere* 'id.', 'husk of rice', Sa. *fiere* 'husk', 'chaff', Ko. *kere*, *keʔe* 'chaff', Kw. *fiereʔ*, *heʔe* 'skin' (Sa. *fiarta*, etc. 'skin' should not belong here).

37. Gu. *luʔub* 'powder of samel grain', Ho *lupuʔ* 'bran', Mu. *lupud* 'id.', Sa. *lobok* 'husk', 'bran', Kh. (R). *lob-lob pe*: 'evening meal' [Cf. SB B-55: *kēlūpak*, etc. 'bark of tree'.

Note: Other words recorded in this sense are Kh.(R.) *kunḍa* 'husk of rice', *bhu:ra*: 'husk', and Ju. *alopay* 'husk'.

38. (a). Di. *giri* 'chest', Gu. *gire*, Pa. *garei* 'id.'; (b) Ju. *goʔe* 'heart', *ʔoʔoʔa*, *fi:ʔoʔoʔa* 'lung', Kh. *gare* 'lung'; (c) Ho *kuam* 'chest', Bh. *kunduram*, *kūduram*, As. *kuʔam* 'id.', Mu. *kuʔam* 'id.', Kor. *kuʔam*, Kw. *kuʔom(to)* 'id.'

39. So. (Bhat.) *majoy*, Kh. *majoy* 'chest'; cf. Ho *majay*, etc. 'waist'.

40. Bo. *gire*, *gīre* 'liver', Pa. *gare*, So. *ə-gare-n* 'id.', Ju. *goʔeiniʔe* 'my liver', Kh.(R.) *go:ʔe*: 'liver'.

41. Ho *iʔm* 'liver', Mu. *im*, *ifiim*, 'id.', As. *iʔlim* 'liver', 'heart', Bh. *ifiim* 'liver', Sa. *im*, *in* 'id.', Kor. *iʔiy(tu)*, Kw. *iʔim(to)* 'id.'

(Other words recorded in this sense are Ko. *kalija* 'liver', *kehja* 'id.', 'heart', Mo. *kaleja* 'liver' (cf. Hindi).)

42. Di. *gigīa* 'crow', Bo. *gagak*, *gūgak*, Gu. *guga* 'id.', Pa. *kav*, So. *ka:ka:-n* 'id.', Ju.(Ke.) *gūak*, (Dh.) *guanj*, Kh. *kovva* (also *kusar*) 'id.', Ho *kaʔ*, Mu. *ka:ū*, *kaūa*, As. *kovva*, Bh. *kafiu*, Sa. *kəhu* 'id.', Kw. *kava*, Mo. *kafiu*, pl. *-ku*, Ko. *kavʔa* 'id.', Nah. *ka:vra* 'id.'

[Cf. SB C-277: *gagak*, *wūka:g*, *kaek*, etc., 'crow'; cf. also DED 1197, and Turner *ka:g*, p. 84].]

43. Di. *riʔjua* 'daughter's husband', 'younger sister's husband', Bo. *arjū*, 'id.', Gu. *ari:n* 'id.', Pa. *ranja*, *rania* 'id.', 'granddaughter's hus-

band', So. *rəjam-ən* 'younger sister's husband', 'son-in-law', Ju. *aram-* 'daughter's husband', 'younger sister's husband', Kh. *aram, aram kūqu* 'bride-groom', Ho *ara-, aratađi* 'younger sister's husband', 'daughter's husband', Mu. *ara, fion-ara* 'son-in-law', Bh. *ara* 'daughter's husband', 'younger sister's husband', Kw. *ara* 'daughter's husband' (IA *jaway* 'daughter's husband' has been recorded from Ko.).

44. Di. *gūsuʔ, gusu* 'dog', Bo. *gusəʔ*, Gu. *gusə*, Pa. *kusu, kusan, kusəj* 'id.'

[Cf. SB D-143: *chuak, chooh, choh, cho*, etc. 'id.'; also D-146 (a): *asu, asau* 'id.', 'wild dog', 'hunting dog'. In the South Munda languages the more original prefix k/g seems to have been preserved].

45. So (Bhat.) *kin-tsər* 'male dog', *ayaŋ-tsər* 'bitch'. [Cf. SB D-143 (a). *chu-ôr, chor, tschor*, etc. 'dog'. This item may also be connected with the previous one.

46. Ju. *selog', selog'* 'dog', Kh. *soloʔ* 'id.' [Cf. SB D-148: *chelong, chälāu*, etc. 'wild dog'.

47. Ho *seta* 'dog', Mu. *seta*, As. *seta*, Bh. *setta*, Sa. *seta* 'id.', Mo. *sita*, Ko. *siŋa* 'id.'

[Should it be connected with SB D-139: *ood, 'ott*, etc. 'dog'?).

Note: The remaining words are Kor. *kuttu*, pl. *-ku*, Kw. *kutu* 'id.' which are to be connected with Hi. *kutta*: 'id.'; see Turner *kuti*¹, p. 97. The Nah. word for 'dog' is *na:j* which is a Drav. loan, cf. DED 3022: Ta. *na:j* 'dog', etc.

48. Di. *ik'tia* 'cowdung', Bo. *ik'* 'human excrement', *iktay, iʔtay* 'cowdung', *igme* 'goat's excreta', Gu. *iʔcan* 'dung', *iʔtay* 'cowdung', Pa. *i:taŋ* 'cowdung', So. (Bhat.) *asəj* 'dung', *asəjtan* 'cowdung', Ju. *iʔtaŋ, ittay* 'id.', Kh. *iʔ, i:j* 'dung', *iʔk-kolod* 'ear-wax', *iʔthaŋ* 'cowdung', Ho *iʔ* 'dung', 'to defecate'. Mu. *i'* 'dung', 'excrement', (B.) *ij* 'stool', 'to pass stool'; As. *i:k', i:g', iʔ* 'dung', Bh. *i:c, ic* 'dung', *ic-* 'to defecate', Sa. *ic', ij* 'excrement', Kor. *ij* 'excrement', *iju-* 'to defecate', Kw. *i:c* 'excrement', Mo. *i:g', iʔ*, Ko. *ij* 'id.', *ij-|ijk-|iju-* 'to defecate'

[Cf. SB D-114: Mon, etc. *ik, iy, aik, eit* etc. 'dung']

49. Ho *guri* 'cowdung', Mu. (B) *guri*, As. *gurig', guriʔ* 'id.' It may be grouped with the previous item, although the meaning of *gur-* is not clear. *Note:* Another word *bari* 'dung' has been recorded from Ju.; cf SB D-114: Mal. *berak* 'to stool'. In this connection SB D-117: *charäp* 'dirty' may be compared with DED 1986: Pa. *carpi*, Oll. *sarpi*, Go. *saŋa:pi*, etc. 'cowdung'.

50. Gu. *gile* 'ear of corn', So. *gale:-n*, (contr.) *gal-ən* 'id.', 'to put forth ear (as of corn)', Mu. *gele* 'an ear or ears of any kind of grain or grass,

Sa. *gɛɛ* 'an ear of any kind of grain or grass', Ko. *gele* 'ear of corn'.

51. Di. *tri* 'ebony', Bo. *tre, tere*, So. (Bhat.) *teren, tarel* 'id.', *terrel nib* 'id.', Ju. *teren*, Kh. *tiriɛl, tirel* 'id.', Ho *tiril*, Mu.(B.) *tiril*, Sa. *terel*, Kor. *tiril* 'id.'

Note: The other words recorded are Ko. *ɽemru*, Kw. *tū:t*, Sa. *karise*, Pa. *ke:ndu*, Gu. *kendu* 'id.'

52. Di. *ntaʔsiy* 'egg', Bo. *ntoʔsiy, ntasiy* 'id.', *ntabsi* 'nit', Gu. *ɔtob'siy, utUbsiy* 'egg'

[These three Southern Munda languages seem to have preserved the Austroasiatic word for 'egg'; cf. SB E-36: *entab, entab (antab), ntam*, etc., 'egg'. The last part of the Munda words is *siy* 'hen'. So their word for 'egg' actually means 'hen's egg' which they use for food and worship].

53. Ju.(Ke.) *susuter*, (Dh.) *susutero* 'egg', *su-* '(hen) to lay egg'

[Cf. SB E-37.(b): *teror, tɛlor*, etc. 'egg'].

54. Pa. *ari* 'egg', So. *arre, ar-re:-n, adre:-n* 'egg', Kh. *aʔa* 'id.'; Kor. *aŋkom* 'egg, nit, to lay egg', Mo. *aŋkom*, Ko. *aŋkom* 'id.'

55. Ho *jarom* 'egg', 'to lay egg', Bh. *jarom* 'ripe', Mu. *jarom* 'egg', Sa. *jarum* 'over-ripe'

56. Di. *bilikin* 'ripe', *biley-* 'to ripen', Bo. *bulu* 'ripe', Gu. *bulu* 'ripe fruit', *bulu-* 'to ripen', 'hair to become grey', Ju. *bilim-* 'to ripen', *bilim(ɔ)* 'ripe mango', *bilim olak* 'dry leaf', Kh. *beloy* 'ripe', Mu. *bele* 'egg', 'testicle', 'to ripen', As. *bili* 'egg', Bh. *bili* 'nit', Sa. *bele* 'egg', 'testicle', 'to lay egg', 'ripe', 'ripen', 'ripe fruit', etc., Kor. *bili* 'ripe', Kw. *bili* 'egg', *biliku* 'nit', *buluy* 'ripe', Mo. *bili* 'ripe', 'to ripen', Ko. *bili* 'ripe'.

57. Pa. *gur* 'ripe', *guʔur-* 'to become ripe', So. *gʔur-* 'to ripen (fruit, crops)'.

Note: Other words recorded are Nah. *kallen* 'egg', Ho. *mata* 'egg', 'ripe', 'boil to ripen', Bh. *aŋda* 'egg' (cf. Sk. *aŋda* 'egg', etc.).

58. Gu. *ɽroʔ, rofi* 'elephant', Pa. *rʔaʔ*, So. *rʔa:-n* 'id.'

[Cf. SB E-50A and E-40 and Pin. 174, p. 216].

Note: Other words recorded are: Di. *ha:ti*, 'elephant', Bo. *a:ti*, Ju. *a:ti, ha:ti*, Kh. *ha:thi*, Ho *ha:ti*, As. *ha:thi*, Bh. *ha:thi*, Kor. *fiathi*, Kw. *fiathi*, Mo. *ha:ti*, Ko. *eŋthi, fiatti, ha:ti, fiithi* 'id.' (= IA).

59. Di. *aba, (neba, pamba, etc.)* 'father', Bo. *oba, baʔ* 'id.', *baʔɽey* 'his father', Pa. *aba* 'father', *asu aba* 'step father', *nini-ba* 'father's younger brother', *ayay* 'father', So. *ua:-n*, (Bhat.) *va:* 'id.', Ju. *aba:*, *ba:* 'id.', (voc.) *eba:*, As. *baba*, Bh. *aba* 'father', Mo. *ba:*, Ko. *aba* 'id.', *baʔe* 'his father', Nah. *aba, ba:* 'father'.

[? Cf. SB F-40; it may be a form influenced by IA].

60. Gu. *apuy, apoŋ* 'father', Kh. *apa*, 'id.', Ho *apu*, Mu. *apu* 'id.',

voc. *aba*, Sa. *apa*, *apu* 'father', Kor. *ap-*, etc., Kw. *apa-*, etc. 'id.'

[Cf. SB F-44 (a, b): *bapa*, *pa*, *apa*, etc.; cf. also DED 133: Ta. *appaṅ*, Te. *appa* 'father'].

61. Di. *gṛa*: 'kind of big rat', Bo. *gṛap* 'kind of rat', Ho. *guru* 'field-rat', Mu. *guḍu*, *guru* 'common Indian field-rat', Bh. *guru* 'field-rat', Sa. *goḍo* 'rat', Kw. *guḍu* 'kind of rat', Ko.(ER.) *godai* 'mouse'; ? Kor. *siṛio* 'kind of rat'.

62. Bo. *urey* 'rat', 'mongoose', So. *on(d)rey-ən*, *rey-ən* 'rat', Ju. *koṛey*, *kṛey* 'rat', *taṛo koṛey* 'field rat', ? Nah. *honḍar* 'rat'.

63. Gu. *kitir* 'field rat', Pa. *kūtur* 'id.', So. *guntur-ən* 'rat', (Bhat.) *guttur* 'field rat'.

64. Kh. *kone* 'rat', Mu. *siuni*, Sa. *hən* 'id.'

[For items 61-64 cf. SB R-33: *kadong*, *kadeg*, *kane*, *kni*, *gni*, *könē*, *kondor*, etc. I have treated them separately to show their difference in phonetic details].

65. Gu. *kuṭaj* 'big mouse', Pa. *kaṭi* 'kind of rat', Ho *kaṭia* 'big house rat', Mu. *kaṭea* (also used in Sadri) 'rat'.

66. Ho *cuṭu* 'rat', Bh. *cuṭu*, Kor. *cuṭu*, Kw. *cuṭu* 'id.'

67. Di. *hōra* 'house rat', Bo. *oraj* 'kind of big mouse', Kor. *soṛo* 'kind of rat'.

68. Gu. *kisaj* 'rat', Pa. *kosai* 'id.'

69. Mo. *puci*, Ko. *puci* 'rat'.

70. (a) So. (Bhat.) *somula* 'mongoose', Ho *comble* 'id.'; (b) So. *kum-bul-ən*, *taṅkum-ən*, *gato-kum-ən* 'rat', (Bhat.) *kumbul*.

[Cf. DED 2202: Pa. *cumbri* 'musk-rat', etc.

Note: Other forms recorded are: Di. *yga*: 'mongoose', Pa. *karkan* 'garga rat', So. *santuy-ən*, *tember-ən* 'rat', Mu. *cūria* 'rat', Kor. *togo* 'mongoose'.

71. Di. *fiarə*, *a:ro* 'fish', Bo. *aḍoy*, *aṛoy*, *anḍoy*, *aṛ*, Gu. *a:ḍoy* 'id.', So. *ə-do:d-ən*, Ju. *karəy*, *karoy*, Kh. *kaḍoy*, *kaḍom* 'id.'

[Cf. SB F-144: *kadḥ* 'to fish'].

72. Ho *haku*, *hai*, pl. *-ko* 'fish', Mu. *hai*, *haku* 'id.', As. *haku*, Bh. *haku*, Sa. *hako*, pl. *-ko* 'id.', Kor. *haku*, pl. *-ku*, Kw. *haku*, pl. *-ku*, Mo. *kaku*, Ko. *kaku*; Nah. *ca:n* 'id.'

[Cf. SB F-138 (a): *kaa*, *ka* (*kak*), *ka* (*ca*), *kha:*, (*kāa*), etc. 'fish'; cf. also DED 1050: Kol. *kaye*, Pa. *key*; etc. 'fish'.

73. Pa. *aju* 'fish', So. *əjo:-n*, (Bhat.) *ajə*, *ajə* 'id.', *jajal jə* 'kind of fish'. [Cf. SB F-134: *ai* 'fish'].

74. Bo. *gira* 'kind of fish-net', Gu. *gira* 'id.', *ginir* 'fish-net', Pa. *gira* 'kind of fish-net', So. *ger-* 'to catch fish', Kh. *gira* 'kind of fish-net', Ho *gari* 'cage', Mu. *gira*, *gari*, *ganari* 'a small round net for catching small

fry', 'to catch fish with a gira', *ger-* 'to nibble', Sa. *gəniəri* 'kind of fish-net', *ger* 'to bite', Kor. *gira* 'fish-trap', Ko. *giri* 'kind of fish-net', *gaq-* 'to catch fish', *giři* fish-hook, *giř-*, *giřit-* 'to fish with hook', Nah. *geri* 'fishing hook'. [Cf. 71 above: *kadō* 'to fish']

75. Di. *ndre* 'fly', Bo. *ajuy*, *ajəy*, Gu. *uroj*, *urej* 'id.', Pa. *aro:i*, So. *ə-ro:j-ən*, *ə-ro:j-ən*, (Bhat.) *arai* 'id.', Ju.(Dh.) *guner*, (Ke.) *guņer*, *gunid'*, *gunit'* 'id.', Kh. *konđoj* 'id.', Ho *roko*, Mu. *roko*, pl. *-ko*, As. *roʔ*, Sa. *rə* 'id.', Kor. *roʔo*, pl. *-ku*, Kw. *roʔo*, pl. *-ku*, Mo. *ruku*, Ko. *ruku* 'id.', Nah. *eđūgo* 'id.'

[Cf. SB F-199: *roai*, *roi*, *raui*, *ruđi*, *róy*, *roi*, *ruēi*, *ruēi*, *ruđi*, *yu:i* 'fly'].

76. Di. *gisej*, *gisij* 'fowl', Bo. *gisij* 'id.', *ḡpsij* 'chicken', Gu. *gissij* 'fowl', Pa. *ajoi* 'id.', So. *kən-si:m-ən*, *si:m-ən*, *i:m-ən* 'domestic fowl', (Bhat.) *kantsim* 'fowl', Ju.(Dh.) *səŋkaj*, (Ke.) *siŋkoj*, *seŋkoj*, *soŋkaj* 'id.', Kh. *siŋkoj* 'id.', Ho *sim*, Mu. *sim*, As. *sim*, Bh. *sim*, Sa. *sim* 'id.', Kor. *sim*, Ko. *sim* 'id.'

[Cf. SB B-216: *chap*, *cheepⁿ*, *chim*, *chibm* 'bird', *kăchim*, *găchē*, *chēm*, *sum*, etc. 'id.']; cf. also Vedda *cappi*, *sappi* 'bird'.

Note: The Nah. word recorded for 'fowl' is *kokhor*.

77. Di. *giři* 'frog', Bo. *giře*, Gu. *gidb* 'id.', So. *kindUd-ən*, contr. *dUd-ən*, (Bhat.) *kandud'ən* 'id.', Kh. *kenđod'*, Ko. *qedđa*, Nah. *qedđa* 'id.' [? Cf. Sk. *dardura* 'frog'].

78. Ho *coke* 'frog', Bh. *cokke*, Mu. *coke* 'id.'

79. Sa. *rəkək* 'a small snail', 'periwinkle', Kor. *rokeij*, pl. *-ku* 'frog'. Note: Other words recorded to mean 'frog' are: Pa. *mendki* 'frog', Ju. *đukur* 'id.'

80. Bo. *guloy* 'gentleman', Gu. *guloy* 'id.', 'stranger', Pa. *gorum* 'tribal name of the Parengs', So. *go:dən* 'officer's rank' Ju. *gořoy* (*đo*) 'topmost part', 'tip', Ho *gořom* 'parent's father', Mu. *gořom* 'company', 'the state of being accompanied for protection on a dangerous road', Sa. *gəřom* 'namesake', 'grandfather', 'grandson', etc.

81. So. *gamən-ən*, contr. *gam-ən* 'rich man', 'headman', Ko. *gomna* 'friend'.

82. Di. *gImi*, *gimi* 'goat', Bo. *gime*. Gu. *gime* 'id.', Pa. *kinmen*, So. *kimmed-ən*, etc., (Bhat.) *kimme* 'id.', Ju. *merom*, Kh. *meroy* 'id.', Ho *merom*, Mu. *merom*, As. *meram*, *merom*, Bh. *meram*, Sa. *merəm* 'id.', Kor. *merom*, Kw. *merom* 'id.', Ko. *meme* 'goat' (when called endearingly). [? Cf. Sk. *meŋđhra*, *meŋđha* 'ram'; Turner *meřo*, p 518. ? cf. also SB G-53A: *bēbek*, *bē*, *beh*, *beih*, etc. 'goat']

83. Kw. *cheri* 'goat', Mo. *seri*, pl. *-ko* 'id.', Ko. *siri* 'she-goat', (ER.) *kiri* 'jungle goat', Nah. *cheri* 'goat' (= IA).

84. Bo. *iṛlei* 'grandchild', Gu. *ileṛei*, Pa. *iley*, So. *ulley* 'id.'
 85. Sa. *korar* 'grandchild', Kor. *kuṛi-* 'grandchildren', Ko. *kurar*,
kular 'id.', *kurar-jai* 'grand-daughter'.

86. Ho *ja* 'grandchild'.

[Cf. SB G-78: *ya* 'grandchild']

87. Di. *fiare*, *are* 'hailstone', So. *ṛe:l-da:-n* 'id.', (Bhat.) *arel* 'id.', Ju.
oṛen 'id.', *ṛṛeiṅ*, *rṛṛeiṅ* 'hailstorm', Kh. *aṛel* 'hailstone', Ho *aril*, Mu. *aril*
 'id.', Sa. *arel* 'id.', 'to hail', Kor. *aril*, Kw. *aril* 'id.'

[? Cf. DED 320: Ka. *a:ri-kal*; etc. 'hailstone']

88. Gu. *kara pakan* 'hailstone', Mo. *gara*, Ko. *gara*, *ga:ra*, *gara*, *ga:ra*
 'id.'

[Cf. Ollari, Naiki and Kolami *ga:r* 'hailstone', cf. also Sk. *karaka* 'id.',
 Marathi *ga:r* 'id.', Koraput dialect of Oriya *ka:ra pakhna* 'id.'].]

89. Di. *ug'bo*, *ugboṇ* 'hair of head', Bo. *ugbək*, *uṛbək*, Gu. *igboṇp*, *igbo*
 'id.', Pa. *ubaṛkoi*, *tikui* 'id.', So. *uṛu:-n* 'id.', 'hair-like fibres in tubers',
 (Bhat.) *uṇ* 'hair', *upur* 'hair on the body', Ho *ub*, *uṇb* 'hair', Mu.(B.) *ub*
 'id.', As. *uṇp*, *u:p*, Bh. *u:p* 'id.', Sa. *up*, *ub* 'id.', 'wool', Kor. *u:b* 'hair', Kw.
u:b 'hair', *up* (*to*) 'hair (of head)', Ko. *ḥub*, *kapra ḥub* 'id.'

[? Cf. SB H-1: *sog*, *suk*, *sok*, *sak-kui*, *sok*, *sāk*, *sōh*, *tók*, etc. 'hair', 'hair
 of head']

Note: Other forms recorded are: So. *kuru:-n* 'hair of the head', Ju.
junṭa 'hair', 'feather', *īri junṭa* 'hair on the body', Kh. *ului* 'hair', *soṇlui*
 'coiffure', *cufte* 'pigtail', Nah. *kuguso*, *kuguchyo* 'hair', Mo. *cu:ṭi* 'hair'.

90. Di. *gūlug*, *guluk* 'hare', Bo. *glu*, *gulu*, *guluṇ* 'id.', 'an animal
 locally called *ka:ṛa:*', Gu. *gili* 'id.', Ho *kulaj* 'hare', Mu. *kulaē* 'id.',
punḍi kulaē 'white hare', Sa. *kuləi* 'hare', Kor. *kulafii*, pl. *-ku* 'id.', Mo.
kujali, Ko. *kva:li(j')* 'id.'

91. So. *pander-ən*, (Bhat.) *panḍer* 'hare', Ju. *ṛṛṇṇ*, Kh. *poṛṇṇ*, Nah.
boṛor 'id.'

[Cf. Mu. *punḍi kulaē* 'white hare' in 90].

Note: The other form recorded is So. *tur-day-ən* 'hare'.

92. Di. *kurtla* 'horse', Gu. *kirta*, Pa. *kurta*, So. *kudta:-n*, *kurta:-n*
 (Bhat.) *kurta* 'id.'

[Cf. SB H-137: *kuda*, etc. 'horse'; also Tibetan *rta*, *ta* 'id.'; see also *Sora-
 English Dictionary* by G. V. Ramamurti, p. xxvi.]

93. (a) Bo. *goṛa* 'horse', Ju. *goṛa*, Kh. *ghoṛa*, Kor. *ghoṛa*, pl. *-ku*, Kw.
ghoṛa, 'id.'; (b) Mo. *ghoṛgi* 'horse', Ko. *ghoṛgi*, *ghuṛgi*, *ghoṛga* 'id.'

[Cf. Turner *ghoṛa*; also LSI, I, Pt. II, p. 104-5].

94. Ho *sadom*, *sadəm* 'horse', Mu. *sadom* 'pony', 'horse', Bh. *sadom*,
 'horse', Sa. *sadəm* 'id.'

[? Cf. Pin. 70, p. 78].

95. Nah. *ma:v* 'horse'.

[Cf. *LSI*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 104-5: Man languages *ma*, etc. 'horse'].

96. Di. *kri:so?* 'to be hungry', Bo. *kuḍu, kuṛu* 'hunger', 'to be hungry', Gu. *kuḍu* 'hunger'.

[? Cf. *DED* 1081: Ta. *karuppu* 'famine', Te. *karuvu*, etc. 'id.' Go. *karu*, etc. 'hunger'; also *DED* 1350: Kur *kira*, Malt. *kire* 'hunger'].

97. Ho *reyge-* 'to be hungry', Mu. *reyge* 'hunger', Bh. *rengec* 'id.', 'to be hungry', Sa. *reygec* 'want', 'hunger', etc., *rangeij* 'to be hungry', Mo. *rangei* 'hunger', Ko. *rangeij* 'id.'

98. So. *doləij-ən*, contr. *dol-ən* 'hunger', Ju. *tilaj* 'to be hungry', *tilaj-* 'id.'

Note: The other forms recorded are: Kh. *be:to?d* 'hunger', 'hungry' and Nah. *ca:ʔo* 'hunger'.

99. Di. *urūve* 'husband's younger brother', *iliboj* 'husband's younger sister', Bo. *ere* 'husband's younger brother', Gu. *erel* 'id.' Pa. *ilil* 'husband's younger brother'; 'husband's younger sister', 'wife's younger brother', 'wife's younger sister', So. *ərer-sij-ən* 'husband's younger brother' *erər-sij-ən* 'wife's brother', *əli-boi* 'husband's younger sister', *erel-boi*, 'wife's younger sister', Ju.(Ke.) *iṅibə-*, (Dh.) *iṅimujje*, etc. 'husband's younger brother', Ho *iril* 'husband's younger brother', 'husband's younger sister', Mu. *iril, irul, iriul* 'husband's younger brother', 'husband's younger sister', Sa. *erel* 'younger brother or sister of husband or wife' (= ? *era* + *el*, suggested by Bodding), Kor. *irvil* 'husband's younger brother', Ko. *ilur* 'husband's younger brother', Nah. *ilur* 'id.'

100. Ho *med* 'iron', Mu. *meṛed*, *meṛed*, *meṛed* 'id.', As. *merhet* 'id.', Sa. *mēṛfiṛi* 'id.'

[? Cf. SB R-57: *merah* 'red'].

101. Gu. *ason, aṣon* 'iron', Ju. *kajoj* 'iron-smith'.

102. Bo. *lua* 'iron', So. *lua:ḡ-ən, la:ḡ-ən* 'id.', Ju. *lua* 'ploughshare', Kh. *luay* 'iron', 'ploughshare'; also Mo. *lo:fia* 'iron'.

[Cf. Man *lia*, etc. 'iron' in *LSI*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 76-77; cf. also Sk. *lofia, laufia* 'red', 'copper', 'iron', etc.].

Note: The other form recorded is Pa. *umal* 'iron'.

103. Di. *ntir* 'leaf-cup-pin', Bo. *ntur*, Gu. *kitral*, Pa. *ūtur* 'id.'

104 (a) Ho *cari* 'leaf-cup-pin', Mu. *cari?* 'bamboo pin', As. *cari* 'leaf-cup-pin', Bh. *cari* 'id.', Sa. *carec* 'a pin of dry hard straw or wood'; (b) Kor. *silik* 'chip of wood', Kw. *silik*, Ko. *silika* 'id.'

[Cf. Parji *cilurka* 'chips of wood'; Hoffmann has stated that *cari* is also used by the Oraons to mean 'leaf cup pin'].

Note: Other words recorded are: Ju. *jurun* 'leaf-cup pin', 'thorn' and Kh. *ponḍoq* 'leaf-cup pin'.

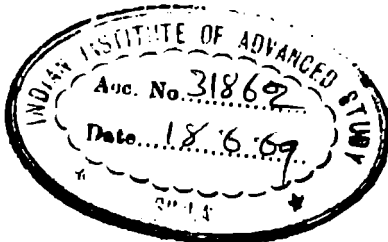
105. Di. *ḍhā* 'younger', 'small', Bo. *iḥikon* 'a small bit', *uḥi* 'something', 'a piece', 'bit', 'a little', Gu. *iḥig* 'small', *iḥi goḥa* 'the small one', So. *ariḍ* 'small', 'little', Gu. *aḥapḥ* 'little', Ho *ḥuḥiy* 'small', 'a little quantity', Mu. *ḥuḥiy*, *ḥuḍiy* 'small', 'little', 'few', *ḥuḥi*, *ḥuḍi* 'id.'; intensive forms: *ḥuḍuḥi*, *ḥuḥuḥi*, *ḥuḍuḥiy* 'very small', etc. As. *ḥuḍiy* 'small', *ḥuḍiyi* 'younger brother', Bh. *ḥuḍiy* 'young', Sa. *ḥuḍiy* 'small', 'little', 'young', *tin uḍic*, *tin uḍi ḥoḥ* 'a few people', Kw. *ḥuḍiy* 'small'.

106. Pa. *asu* 'small', So. *asui*, *asu-n* 'id.', Ju. *ḥoḥ* 'little later', Kh. *ichlaykon* 'a little'.

INDEX OF ENGLISH MEANINGS

(The numbers indicate the numbers of the etymological items)

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