

MARTIN PFEIFFER

KURUX

Historical Phonology Reconsidered

With a Reconstruction of
Pre-Kurux-Malto Phonology
and Copious Indo-Aryan
and Munda Etymologies

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RECONSIDERED

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BY

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PREFACE

In his general account of the Dravidian languages Bhadriraju Krishnamurti (2003, p. 502 f.) observed that “[t]he monumental DEDR needs to be revised every twenty years, and the next revision should be around 2004. It is now possible to add reconstruction of root morphemes under each entry.” While there cannot be any doubt that such a periodic revision of DEDR would be highly desirable in principle, the practical feasibility of such a gigantic project must alas be questioned. In all probability DEDR as it stands now will remain the indispensable tool of comparative and historical Dravidian studies for quite some time to come. What should and could be updated under these circumstances are the comparative studies that were written without the benefit of being able to build on the etymological material presented by DEDR: after the year 1984 all such works must be considered as dated. Needless to mention, this applies to my own EKHP of 1972 as well. This is the situation Emeneau had in mind when he wrote (1995, p. 401) with regard to papers on Dravidian comparative linguistics published by Burrow: “It has now of course become evident that since the dictionary collections have made the early papers premature, reworking has become desirable.” The present study is an attempt to take a fresh look at the problems discussed in the first investigation into Kuṛux historical phonology, to tackle several questions that had not been dealt with before, to collect whatever additional relevant etymological material could be located, and to take advantage of more recent studies from the entire field of Indian linguistics.

Berlin, 2018

Martin Pfeiffer

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ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographical abbreviations

1. Periodicals and series

BSO(A)S	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies
IA	Indian Antiquary
IJJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
IJDL	International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics
IL	Indian Linguistics
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JAS	Journal of the Asiatic Society (Bengal)
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
Lg	Language
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society
UCPL	University of California Publications in Linguistics

2. Monographs

Bod.	Bodding 1932-1936
CDIAL	Turner 1966-1985
DBIA	Emeneau/Burrow 1962
DED	Burrow/Emeneau 1961
DEDR	Burrow/Emeneau 1984
DEDS	Burrow/Emeneau 1968
EKHP	Pfeiffer 1972
EM	Hoffmann 1930-1979
EWA	Mayrhofer 1992-2001
LSI	Grierson 1906
MW	Monier-Williams 1899
Pl.	Platts 1884
PMWS	Kuiper 1948
TVB	Krishnamurti 1961
VHLK	Pinnow 1959

Abbreviations of language names

1. Dravidian

<i>ĀKu.</i>	Ālu Kurumba
<i>Baḍ.</i>	Baḍaga
<i>Bel.</i>	Belari
<i>Br.</i>	Brahui
<i>CDr.</i>	Central Dravidian
<i>Dr.</i>	Dravidian
<i>Ga.</i>	Gadba
<i>Go.</i>	Gondi
<i>Ir.</i>	Iruḷa
<i>Ka.</i>	Kannaḍa
<i>Ko.</i>	Kota
<i>Koḍ.</i>	Koḍagu
<i>Kol.</i>	Kolami
<i>Kor.</i>	Koraga
<i>Kuṛ.</i>	Kuṛux
K.	Kisan dial.
M.	Mirdha dial
<i>Kurub.</i>	Beṭṭa Kuruba
<i>Ma.</i>	Malayalam
<i>Malt.</i>	Malto
<i>Maṇḍ.</i>	Maṇḍa
<i>NDR.</i>	North Dravidian
<i>Nk.</i>	Naikṛi
<i>Nk.(Ch.)</i>	Naiki of Chanda
<i>Pa.</i>	Parji
<i>PālKu.</i>	Pālu Kurumba
<i>PDr.</i>	Proto-Dravidian
<i>Pe.</i>	Pengo
<i>PKM</i>	Pre-Kuṛux-Malto
<i>SCDr.</i>	South-Central Dravidian
<i>SDr.</i>	South Dravidian
<i>Ta.</i>	Tamil
<i>Te.</i>	Telugu
<i>To.</i>	Toda
<i>Tu.</i>	Tuḷu

2. Munda and Nahali

<i>As.</i>	Asur
<i>Bh.</i>	Birhor
<i>Bo.</i>	Bonda/Remo
<i>Di.</i>	Didayi/Gta [?]
<i>Gu.</i>	Gutob
<i>Ju.</i>	Juang
<i>Kh.</i>	Kharia
<i>Kṛk.</i>	Koṛaku
<i>Ku.</i>	Korku/Kurku
<i>Mo.</i>	Mowasi
<i>Mu.</i>	Mundari
<i>Nah.</i>	Nahali/Nihali
<i>Par.</i>	Pareng/Parengi/Gorum
<i>Sa.</i>	Santali
<i>So.</i>	Sora

3. Indo-Aryan

<i>A.</i>	Assamese
<i>Ad. Or.</i>	Adiwasi Oriya
<i>Aw.lakh.</i>	Awadhi, Lakhimpuri dial.
<i>B.</i>	Bengali
<i>Bhoj.</i>	Bhojpuri
<i>Bi.</i>	Bihari
<i>De.</i>	Desia (Oriya, Koraput dial.)
<i>G.</i>	Gujarati
<i>H.</i>	Hindi
<i>Ha.</i>	Halbi
<i>IA</i>	Indo-Aryan
<i>Kum.</i>	Kumauni
<i>Kup.</i>	Kupia
<i>M.</i>	Marathi
<i>MIA</i>	Middle Indo-Aryan
<i>Mth.</i>	Maithili
<i>N.</i>	Nepali

<i>NIA</i>	New Indo-Aryan
<i>OIA</i>	Old Indo-Aryan
<i>Or.</i>	Oriya
<i>P.</i>	Panjabi
<i>Pkt.</i>	Prakrit
<i>S.</i>	Sindhi
<i>Sad.</i>	Sadri/Sadani
<i>Si.</i>	Singhalese
<i>Skt.</i>	Sanskrit
<i>U.</i>	Urdu

4. Other languages

<i>Ar.</i>	Arabic
<i>Bal.</i>	Balochi
<i>Kus.</i>	Kusunda
<i>Pers.</i>	Persian
<i>TB</i>	Tibeto-Birman

Sources of etyma and their abbreviations

Dravidian

1. North Dravidian languages

Following DEDR, items taken from the chief authorities for these languages – Grignard 1924a for Kurux, Droese 1884 for Malto and Bray 1934 for Brahui – are quoted without indication of source. Etyma taken from other publications are marked with the following sigilla:

Kurux

Flex	Flex 1874
Hahn	Hahn 1903
Bleses	Bleses 1956
Tiga	Tiga 1958
Trail	Trail 1973
Gordon	Gordon 1976
Kumāra	Kumāra 1981
Ekka	Ekka 1985
Goswami	Goswami 1989
S. Mahapatra	S. Mahapatra 1990
Ahmad	Ahmad et al. 2011

Malto

Das	Das 1973
B. P. Mahapatra	B. P. Mahapatra 1987
Kobayashi	Kobayashi 2012

Brahui

Elfenbein	Elfenbein 1983b
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2. Other Dravidian languages

Most of the items from other Dravidian languages have been quoted from DEDR. A Dr. language for which no printed source was available at the time of the preparation of DEDR is the following:

Badaga

*Hockings/Pilot-Raichoor 1992

All Dravidian etyma not registered in DEDR are marked with ◇.

Non-Dravidian

Here also the chief authority for each language included in one of the following lists is marked with an asterisk. Etyma taken from such publications have no indication of source in the etymological groups.

3. Munda languages and Nahali

The initial source for etymological groups from Munda languages is VHLK, which has been referred to wherever appropriate. In addition, items from Munda languages have been taken from the following publications:

Santali

*Bod. Bodding 1932-1936
Campbell Campbell ³1953

Korku/Kurku

*Nagaraja Nagaraja 1999

Mundari

*EM Hoffmann 1930-1979
Bhaduri Bhaduri 1931

Kharia

*Peterson Peterson 2009
Banerjee Banerjee 1894
Biligiri Biligiri 1965

Ho

*Deeney Deeney 1978
Burrows Burrows 1915

Juang

*S. Mohapatra S. Mohapatra 1991

Birhor

*Roy Roy 1925

Bonda/Remo

*Bhattacharya Bhattacharya 1968

Sora

*Ramamurti Ramamurti 1938

Nahali/Nihali

*Kuiper Kuiper 1962
Mundlay Mundlay 1996

4. Indo-Aryan languages

The chief authority for etyma from Indo-Aryan languages is CDIAL. In addition, IA items have been taken from the following sources:

Hindi/Urdu

*McGregor McGregor 1993
Pl. Platts 1884

Bengali

*Samsad Samsad 2000
Mitra S. C. Mitra 1961

Sadri/Sadani

*Blain Blain 1975
J.-H. Jordan-Horstmann 1969

Adiwasi Oriya

*Gustafsson Gustafsson 1989

Desia

*Kh. Mahapatra Kh. Mahapatra 1985

5. Other languages

Kusunda

*Watters Watters 2006

Persian

*Steingass Steingass 1892

INTRODUCTION

The present study aims at tracing the processes of sound change that have led from the phonemic system of reconstructed Proto-Dravidian to the phonemic system of North-Dravidian Kurux, which is spoken mainly in the Indian state of Jharkhand (for the details of the geographical distribution of Kur. speakers see EKHP, map following p. XVI). Just like that of any other South Asian idiom the vocabulary of Kurux comprises etyma that originate with different language families. So what is of prime importance for a study of Dravidian linguistic prehistory and history is to identify the portion of Kur. vocabulary that can be shown by comparative evidence as belonging to the Dr. stratum of this language and that is the only material the intended investigation can be based on. The Dr. stock provided by DEDR served as indispensable stepping stone for the present study; without it such an enquiry could never have been carried out. Further research yielded several new etyma mainly from Kur. and Malt., to a much lesser degree also from Br. and other Dr. languages. In the process of checking the Kur. and Malt. items, a number of errata in DEDR that had crept in could be corrected with the help of the original sources. All Dr. etyma that had not been included in DEDR were marked with a rhombus (◊). What had to be supplemented as far as possible, however, was not only the stock of Dr. etyma attested in Kur. and Malt. In addition great pains were taken to identify as many non-Dr. etyma as possible that could be of use for determining the ultimate source of a certain word or group of cognates and for setting up new etymological groups which had not been included in DEDR. A great deal of the additional non-Dr. material was gleaned from CDIAL for the IA and from VHLK for the Munda languages. In addition, numerous dictionaries of individual languages were consulted. The setting up of non-Dr. etymologies did reduce the number of Dr. etymological groups that could be posited for Kur. to a certain degree, but this cannot be considered to be a drawback, since the remaining etymologies, which are still numerous enough, could yield more reliable results once non-Dr. etymologies and dubious cases had been eliminated as far as possible.

For the sake of clarity and practicability, the entire material was arranged in etymological groups that are presented in the order adopted in DEDR, so that it will be possible to use the present study alongside this work. In some cases a reshuffling of the groups posited by DEDR has been advisable, though, which led to a number of splits and mergers. In addition, 36 new etymological groups were set up which comprise only items from Kur. and Malt.; these groups are numbered separately and marked with N. The number of etymological groups, modified or otherwise, which

consist of at least one Kur. item and one item from another language, amounts to 863.

The character of the groups presented varies considerably. Actually, 23 different types of etymological groups can be identified, for which the following sigilla have been devised:

Dr. KM

Etyma from Kur. and Malt. plus etyma from one or more of the non-NDr. subfamilies

Dr.

Etyma from Kur. plus etyma from one or more of the non-NDr. subfamilies

KM

Etyma from Kur. and Malt.

(Dr. KM)

Sigilla in brackets indicate that the etyma do point to a common origin, but are too diverse phonetically to permit setting up a reliable reconstruction.

(Dr.) KM

See (Dr. KM).

Dr. (KM)

See (Dr. KM).

(Dr.)

See (Dr. KM).

(KM)

See (Dr. KM).

IA

Etyma of IA origin

IA < Dr.

Etyma of IA origin which ultimately go back to Dr. (reborrowings)

IA < Munda

Etyma of IA origin which ultimately go back to a Munda language

IA < Pers.

Etyma of IA origin which ultimately go back to Persian

IA < Chinese

Etymon of IA origin which ultimately goes back to Chinese

Munda

Etyma of Munda origin

Munda < IA

Etyma of Munda origin which ultimately go back to IA

Munda < IA < Dr.

Etymon of Munda origin which ultimately goes back to Dr. via IA

Munda < IA < Pers.

Etymon of Munda origin which ultimately goes back to Persian via IA

TB

Etymon of Tibeto-Birman origin

areal

Etyma attested in languages from two or more South Asian language families whose ultimate origin cannot be determined

onom.

Onomatopoetic etyma

interj.

Interjection

baby talk

Nursery language

X

Kuṛ. etyma which are unrelated to the other members of the group

The groups that are relevant for the reconstruction of PDr. belong to the types Dr. KM, Dr., and Dr. (KM). Their number amounts to not more than 375, i. e. 43 per cent of the total of etymological groups under consideration. However, this does not mean that all the rest of the material cannot contribute to the historical study of Dravidian. While they do not throw any light on the early history of Dr. phonology, the 198 groups that belong to the types KM and (Dr.) KM in conjunction with the 261 KM groups included in type Dr. KM do permit to study processes of sound change that took place in a more recent period, namely the one that saw the development from Pre-Kuṛux-Malto (PKM) to modern Kuṛux. This means that the material at hand opens up the possibility to reconstruct the phonology not only of PDr., but also of PKM, which has to be posited as the common ancestor of Kuṛ. and Malt. The reconstruction of two proto-languages side by side requires the adoption of two different sets of proto-forms, which have to be distinguished graphically in order to avoid confusion. Therefore PDr. forms are marked with a double asterisk and PKM forms with a single asterisk.

In the majority of cases the comparative evidence permits to assign etymological groups to one type or the other without great difficulty. However, it should not go unmentioned that there are cases in which an unequivocal identification of Dr. etyma is not possible, a state of affairs Emeneau and Burrow commented upon when they wrote (DBIA, p. 3): “In eliminating from DED the material that we judged not purely Dravidian, we found, in fact, many borderline cases.” In the present study, a great part of such cases was assigned to the type termed areal that comprises groups in which possible cognates of Kuṛ. etyma are attested not only in Dr., but also in Munda

and/or IA languages. The overall attitude to assuming PDr. origin of an etymon has been rather conservative, since the intention was to base the analysis as far as possible on reliable etymologies. A special situation obtains in another case: There is a small number of etymological groups which comprise copious cognates from Dr. languages without indication of a non-Dr. source, but which have equally copious parallels in Munda and sometimes even in other Austroasiatic languages, parallels that are phonetically similar enough to suggest a common origin. These groups, which are yet unexplained, have been classified as Dr. for the time being; in addition all available Munda parallels have been listed in the entry.

For the presentation of the etymological groups the following format has been adopted:

DEDR entry number	EKHP entry number	Type of etymological group
-------------------	-------------------	----------------------------

Kur. item(s)

Malt. item(s)

Br. item(s)

Other Dr. items arranged according to subfamilies (SDr., SCDr., CDr.; cf. Steever 1998, p. 1; Bh. Krishnamurti 2003, p. 19)

Items from Munda languages

Items from IA languages

Items from other language families

PKM reconstruction(s)

PDr. reconstruction(s)

References to other etymological groups

Commentary

The items collected for the etymological groups have been reproduced in the present study exactly as they are printed in the published sources. Certain systematic changes have only been made in the transcription of Kur. and Malt etyma.

The main authority on Kur. is Grignard, on whose dictionary Burrow and Emeneau write in DED (p. xix): “Grignard’s transcription is reasonably good, though at times it is difficult to interpret it in anything approaching a phonemic solution.” This situation made it imperative to modify Grignard’s notation in order to bring it as close to a phonemic spelling as possible. In detail the following alterations were made:

The non-syllabic vowels which form the second element of diphthongs are written **y**, **w** (in the sources **e**, **i**, **y** and **o**, **u**, **w** respectively), because structurally they function as consonants (Pinnow 1964, p. 37). Nasality of diphthongs is marked on the syllabic vowel (cf. *ibid.*, p. 38). Furthermore, the contrast between short and long vowel is neutralized before ² (*ibid.*, p. 45); therefore short vowels are written throughout in this position. Similarly, the contrast between short and long vowel is neutralized in word-final position (cf. EKHP, p. 9f.); here also short vowels are written. Before and after nasal consonants the contrast between oral and nasal vowels is neutralized; in these positions oral vowels can be written throughout. The anaptyctic vowels of Kurux (Grignard: “auxiliary vowels”) have no phonemic value (Pinnow 1964, pp. 40 f.), but only serve, as in Mundari, to facilitate the articulation of consonant clusters in certain positions (e.g. **xēx^el** ‘earth’), while they disappear in other positions, e.g. if a morpheme beginning with a vowel follows (the accusative of **xēx^el** is **xēxlan**). These anaptyctic vowels have been retained as written by Grignard, for the position in which they are inserted does not appear to be predictable in all cases. A difficult question is whether long consonants (represented by double consonants in the sources) do contrast with short consonants in the position after short vowels (cf. EKHP, p. 10). A definite answer to this question would require a direct study of the phonology of the spoken language, which cannot be undertaken here. Under these circumstances, the original spelling of the sources is retained in all such cases. The letters **ñ** and **ṇ**, by which Grignard denotes the palatal and the retroflex nasal in the position before homorganic stop, have no phonemic value and are replaced by **n** (EKHP, p. 9). The intervocalic sequence **-ñy-** has been replaced by **-Ŷy-**. As a graphic modification, **kh**, which is used by Hahn and Grignard to denote the voiceless velar fricative, has been replaced by **x**.

The transcription of Malt. adopted by Droese (which has “been taken from the Romanized Hindustani Alphabet”, as he notes on p. 1) does not pose any major problems. Here only three purely graphic modifications have been made: vowel length is indicated not by the acute (**á**), but by the macron (**ā**), **ch** is replaced by **c**, and the voiced uvular fricative is written **ġ** for better readability; Droese employs a **g** with a dot *inside* the loop below the line that is barely discernible.

In addition all verbs are quoted without the Kur. and Malt. infinitive terminations (**-na** and **-e** respectively) in order to throw the comparability of items from these two languages into better relief.

A small percentage of the Kur. and Malt. etyma comes from dialects that exhibit other phonetic peculiarities than the varieties described by Grignard and Droese respectively. While it seemed desirable to include in the entries whatever dialect material could be collected, it is obvious that the historical reconstruction intended here can only be based on one variety of the language under discussion at a time, as

the processes of sound change that have operated on the past stages of a language would require a separate analysis for each dialect. So the two phonemic systems presented below can only lay claim to be valid for Kurux as recorded by Grignard and for Malto as recorded by Droese respectively.

Kurux phonemic system

Vowels

oral	i		u		ī		ū
		e	o			ē	ō
		a				ā	
nasal	ĩ		ũ		ĩ̃		ũ̃
		ẽ	õ			ẽ̃	õ̃
		ã				ã̃	

Consonants

²	k	c	ṭ	t	p	voiceless stops
	g	j	ḍ	d	b	voiced stops
	ŋ		n	m		nasals
	h	x				voiceless fricatives
			s			voiceless sibilant
			l			lateral
			ɾ			flap
			r			trill
	y		w			semivowels

To these the sequences of stops (except for ²) and **ɾ** plus **h** must be added; they figure as simple phonemes.

The phonemic system presented here differs to a certain extent from the one devised in EKHP (p. 8). The main issue is that it does not show the vowels **ə** and **ə̃**. These two phonemes are characteristic of the language on which Tiga's dictionary

(1958) is based, and they are also present in the language investigated by Pinnow (1964, p. 33). The Kur. specimens presented by Bhat (1969/70) likewise show both ə and ā. On the other hand, the majority of Kur. sources, above all the works of Grignard and Hahn, do not distinguish a/ā and ə/ā, but invariably write a/ā. In particular, the Kur. phonemic system presented by Ekka (who is a native speaker of Kur. himself) in his *Kūrux Phonetic Reader* (1985, pp. 131 f.) comprises only a and ā, but neither ə nor ā. So the question is whether this is a result of imperfect hearing on the side of the investigators, as Pinnow (1964, p. 35) tends to assume, or whether this is a matter of two phonemically divergent varieties of a language. A hint in the latter direction is already provided by Pinnow himself when he reports (ibid.) that one of his Kurux informants did not distinguish a and ə and spoke a throughout, while the contrast between the two phonemes was clearly audible in the speech of her father. What is apt to clinch the argument is an observation made by Gordon (1976, p. 9), who writes: “The development of /ə/ in Kurux must be recent since, whereas all dialects of Kurux I have any acquaintance with show the umlaut change from e to i and from o to u, only some of the Ranchi dialects show the change from a to ə.” So it is assumed here that Grignard and the other authors who wrote a/ā were right in doing so and that it is correct not to include ə and ā in the Kur. phonemic system that is to be valid for the variety of Kur. described by Grignard, because these vowel phonemes did not occur in the language their studies were based on.

A graphic modification was made in the notation of vowel length, which is not indicated here by a sequence of two short vowels (aa etc.) as in EKHP (p. 8 and passim), but by the macron (ā etc.). This is the transcription adopted in most Kur. sources, and it is also used for the overwhelming majority of Dr. languages in DEDR. It is not conducive to clarity and therefore not desirable to multiply transcription conventions without necessity.

Malto phonemic system

Vowels

i	u	ĩ	ũ
e	o	ē	ō
a	ā		

Consonants

q	k	c	ṭ	t	p	voiceless stops
g	j	ḍ	d	b		voiced stops
[ṇ]		n	m			nasals
h						voiceless fricative
ḡ		[th]				voiced fricatives
		s				voiceless sibilant
			l			lateral
		ɾ				flap
		r				trill
y		w				semivowels

According to M. Kobayashi (2012, p. 14), “Malto is a very diverse language. Since the Paharia villages or hamlets are on hilly tracts and are often separated by lowland Santhal villages, the language differs from village to village, and it would be more accurate to consider Malto a continuum of dialects than a unitary language.” For the most part the graphemes adopted by Droese (1884, p. 1) can be interpreted phonologically without difficulty (which makes it hard to understand why Burrow and Emeneau wrote in DED [p. xix] that Droese’s “transcription is almost certainly rather far off at times”). However, there are two cases for which the explanations given by Droese are insufficient. The first character that does not permit a straightforward phonological interpretation is **ṇ**. On page 1 of his “Introduction” Droese does not give a direct description of the sound transcribed thus, but only lists this character among those about which he remarks that they “resemble in sound their corresponding characters in the Roman Hindustání Alphabet”. This would suggest that **ṇ** is supposed to mark the nasalization of the preceding vowel; cf. spellings like **menṇ** ‘in’ or **kahánṇ** ‘where’ (The Student’s Romanised Practical Dictionary Hindustání-English and English-Hindustání ⁷1952). But on p. ii of the vocabulary Droese states that **ṇ** is pronounced like “*ng* in *king*”, which would mean that it is realized as a velar nasal. Probably Droese’s **ṇ** is as ambiguous as anusvāra in

Hindi can be (cf. McGregor ²1986 [1988], pp. xxviii f.), being employed to denote *both* the nasalization of the preceding vowel and the velar nasal. With regard to the phonemic status of nasal vowels no direct statement can be made on the basis of the information given by Droese. Das (1973, p. 10) does not mention any nasal vowels, nor does B. P. Mahapatra (1987, p. 19). However, M. Kobayashi (2012, p. 18) holds that “all short vowels, and at least /a:/ and /o:/ among the long vowels, have phonemic nasalized counterparts”. So it has probably to be assumed that vowel nasality is one of the features that are distributed unevenly among the Malt. dialects. It may be mentioned in passing that Bh. Krishnamurti’s speculation to the effect that Malt. **ṇ** “appears to be a palatal nasal [ɲ]” (2003, p. XXI) has no basis whatsoever. The second doubtful character adopted by Droese is **th**, which he describes as “a lightly sounded English sharp th”, which may or may not be understood as a voiceless dental fricative, a phonological interpretation that is explicitly given by Das (1973, p. 14: “apico-dental voiceless fricative”). This is a description B. P. Mahapatra (1979, p. 28) finds “rather surprising, for even in the Sauria dialect of Malto, on which Das’s description is based, the sound in question is invariably a voiced fricative”. However, Kobayashi/Tirkey (2006, p. 2) state that “Malto final /d/ is pronounced either as an interdental voiced fricative, an interdental voiceless fricative or as a dental stop”. And Kobayashi (2012, p. 17) remarks that “**ḍ** has been treated as an independent phoneme, but its status as such is questionable”. Under these circumstances, no modification of the spelling of the Malt. etyma has been ventured with regard to **ṇ** and **th** - their phonemic status in the language described by Droese must remain doubtful.

Proto-Dravidian phonemic system (EKHP, pp. 11 f.)

Vowels, inventory

**i	**u	**ī	**ū
**e	**o	**ē	**ō
**a		**ā	

Vowels, distribution

Initial

**a-	**e-	**o-	**i-	**u-	**ā-	**ē-	**ō-	**ī-	**ū-
-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

Medial

**a-	**e-	**o-	**i-	**u-	**ā-	**ē-	**ō-	**ī-	**ū-
-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

Consonants, inventory

**k	**c	**ṭ	**ṭ	**t	**p	stops
	**ṇ		**n	**m		nasals
	**ḷ	**l				laterals
	**ṛ		**r			trills
	**y			**w		semivowels

Consonants, distribution

Initial

**k-	**c-		**t-	**p-	stops
			**n-	**m-	nasals
	**y-			**v-	semivowels

Medial

**k-	**c-	**ṭ-	**ṭ-	**t-		stops (lenis)
**kk-	**cc-	**ṭṭ-	**ṭṭ-	**tt-	**pp-	stops (fortis)
**nk-	**nc-	**nṭ-	**nṭ-	**nt-	**mp-	stops (prenasalized)
		**ṇ-		**n-	**m-	nasals
		**ḷ-	**l-			laterals
		**ṛ-		**r-		trills
	**y-				**v-	semivowels

Final

	**ṇ		**n	**m	nasals
	**ḷ	**l			laterals
	**ṛ		**r		trills
**y					semivowel

Pre-Kuṛux-Malto phonemic system

Vowels

*i		*u	*ī		*ū
	*e	*o		*ē	*ō
		*a			*ā

Consonants

*q	*k	*c	*ṭ	*t	*p	voiceless stops
*G	*g	*j	*ḍ	*d	*b	voiced stops
*h						voiceless fricative
				*s		voiceless sibilant
	*ŋ			*n	*m	nasals
				*l		lateral
			*ṛ			flap
				*r		trill
		*y			*w	semivowels

ETYMOLOGICAL GROUPS

DEDR 11 EKHP III 2

Dr. KM

arx- (arxyas) to dig; (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **arh-** to make furrow.

Malt. **arġ-** (arġa) to dig.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **akar** to excavate, dig out; **ār** to dig; **āri** to dig deep. *Ma.* **akaruka**, **akiruka** to dig out. *Ko.* **av-** to dig hole with tool. *To.* **aḍ-** to dig. *Ka.* **agar**, **agur** id. *Tu.* **agaru**, **agalū** ditch, trench. /SCDR./ *Te.* **agaḍta** ditch, moat. /CDR./ *Kol.* **agul-** to dig. *Nk. (Ch.)* **agul-/agl-** id. *Ga. (S.)* **aḍg-**, (P.) **aṛg-** id.

PKM: ***arG-**

PDr.: ****akVr-** / ****akVr-**; ****arVkV-**

DEDR 15 EKHP A) ..., B) I 6

A) IA

B) IA

A) **akhua**, (Tiga) ◇ **akhuva** seed-bud, sprout.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **akai** to flourish, sprout. *Ma.* **akekka** to bud; **avekka** to sprout. *Ka.* **age** seedling, sprout. *Koḍ.* **age** paddy seedling. *Tu.* **agge** the shoot of a branch.

Mu. **akua** eyes of a tuber; to cause to germinate. *Kh.* **akhuwa**, **okhuwa** to make something sprout; to sprout (*intr.*).

H. **aṁkhuā** sprout, shoot. *Sad.* **akhuvā hovek** to germinate. CDIAL 23: *Skt.* **akṣa-** eye (*lex.*). *H.* **ākḥ**, **ākhuā** sprout in the joint of sugar cane. *A.* **ākhi** eye, knot in bamboo, etc.

A connection of the SDr. etyma with Kuṛ. **akhua** is unlikely for phonetic reasons.

B) **akrār-**, (Tiga) ◇ **əkrār-** to germinate, sprout.

Sa. **aṅkur** sprout, germ; to cause to germinate.

H. **aṁkurnā** to sprout, shoot. *Sad.* **auṅkarek** to germinate. *Ad. Or.* **aṅkorbar** id. *De.* **ākər-** to sprout, gape. CDIAL 109: *Skt.* **aṅkura-** sprout. *Pali* **aṅkura-** id. *Pkt.* **aṁkura-** id. *B.* **ākur** id. *Mth.* **ākur** id. *H.* **ākurā** id.

DEDR 17 EKHP IV 1

KM

ax- (axcas, akkhas) to know, experience, mistake for; (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **aha-** to be aware of.

Malt. **āġ-** (aqqa) to know, understand.

PKM: *aġ- / *āġ-

DEDR 18 EKHP IV 2

KM

axr- (axras) to warm oneself (by the fire, in the sun).

Malt. **awġ-** (awġya) to expose to the heat of the sun or fire; **awġr-** (awġra) to bask in the sun, warm oneself at a fire.

PKM: *aġr- / *abġr-

DEDR 31 EKHP 463

Dr.

aṅgl-, aṅgla²- (aṅglas, aṅglācas) to weep loudly.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **aṅkalāy** to lament, grieve. *Ma.* **aṅkalāykka** id. *Ko.* **aṅgla·pm** desire, liking. *Ka.* **aṅgal** to grieve, be afflicted. *Tu.* **aṅkalappu, aṅkalāpa** covetousness.

/SCDR./ *Te.* **aṅgalārucu** to grieve, lament.

PDr.: **ankVl-

DEDR 34 EKHP 444

Munda

aṅgal aṅgal with one's mouth open (in surprise), (Kumāra) frightened; **aṅgl-**, **aṅgla²-** (aṅglas, aṅglācas) to gape, open the mouth wide; (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **aṅl-** to open one's mouth.

Malt. **aṅḡl-** (aṅḡlya) to gape.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **aṅkā** to open the mouth. *Tu.* **aṅgāvuni** to yawn, gape, open the mouth.
/SCDR./ *Go.* (G.) **aṅil-/aṅl-** to open mouth; (Ma.) **aṅgal** gaping, yawning; (M.) **āṅlānā** to yawn; (Mu.) **aṅg-/aliṅ-** to open (mouth). *Mand.* **aṅlā-** id. *Kui* **angalanga** with mouth agape. *Kuwi* (F.) **angalacali** to gape; (Su.) **aṅgala²-** id.
/CDR./ *Kol.* **aṅgasi** a yawn. *Nk.* **aṅgāsi** id. *Pa.* **aṅalp-** to gape, open the mouth wide.

Sa. **aṅgoṇ** to gape, yawn. *Mu.* **aṅgoḥ** to yawn. *Bh.* **āṅōḥ** mouth-hole. *Ku.* **angu:p** to yawn. *Kh.* **aṅabḍa²-**, **aṅgaḍa²** to yawn; **aṅ** to yawn, open the mouth. *Ju.* **aṅ atəm** id. *So.* **aṅ-tam-**, **an-tam** (Ramamurti 1933: **a:ṅ-tam-**) to open the mouth (**tam-ən** mouth; cf. **t²o:d-ən** id.); **aṅ-eḥ-da:-**, **aṅ-eḥ-m-da:-** (Ramamurti 1933: **aḥ-eḥ-b-da:-**, **aḥ-eḥ-m-da:-**) to yawn. VHLK, p. 78, no. 68: *Bo.* **a:ṅubda:** id. *Gu.* **a:bda:**, **aṅgo:diya:** id. - - - *Palaung* **a:ṅ** to open mouth. *Besisi of Sepang* **aṅ** to gape. Shorto 2006, p. 174, no. 484: *Khasi* **ang** to open, crack.

Nah. **aṅgub-** to yawn.

Sad. **aṅglā pharek** id.

DEDR 37 EKHP 1067

Dr. KM

asr- (asryas) to tremble; (Hahn) ◇ **ass-** to cause to vibrate; ◇ **assr-** to tremble, quake, vibrate; (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **asrna asrna** trembling.

Malt. ◇ **asr asr ān-** to hesitate; (B. P. Mahapatra) ◇ **asr asr** haltingly, shakingly.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **acaṅku** to stir, move, shake; **acai** to move, stir, go away. *Ka.* **asi** to move, shake, tremble; **asu** quickness, haste; **asumbu** to cause to move about, shake.
/SCDR./ *Te.* **asiy-āḍu** to move, tremble, hang as a pendulum.

PKM: ***asr-**

PDr.: ****acV-**; ****acVr-**

DEDR 43 EKHP 453

Dr. KM

assg- (assgyas), (Hahn) ◇ **asag-**, ◇ **asg²-** to adhere, stick, hold to or together.

Malt. **asg-** (asgya) to stick; **asg̃-** (asga) to paste on, make of two things one.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **acai** to join with (*tr.*), tie, bind. /SCDR./ *Konḍa* **as-** to stick to, remain stable (in a village).

PKM: ***asg-**

PDr.: ****acV-**; ****acVkV-**

DEDR 45 EKHP IV 3

KM

acc, (Hahn) ◇ **ac** thorn.

Malt. **acu** id.

PKM: ***ac(u)**

DEDR 50 EKHP I 1

IA

ajjos, (Hahn) ◇ **āja** paternal grandfather; (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **ajjō** grandfather; (Grignard) **ajji**, (Hahn) ◇ **ajgi** grandmother; (Hahn) **āji** paternal grandmother.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **accan** father. *Ma.* **accan** father, lord. *Ko.* **aj ayn** very old man; **aj av** very old woman. *Ka.* **acci** mother; **ajja** grandfather; **ajji** grandmother. *Koḍ.* **ajjē** grandfather. *Tu.* **ajje** id; **ajji** grandmother. /SCDR./ *Manḍ.* **aji** father's mother. /CDR./ *Nk.* **ājak-jaran** grandfather.

Sa. **aji** grandmother. *Mu.* **aja** vocative of address to paternal and maternal grandfathers and grand-uncles; **aji** grandmother. *Bh.* **āji** grandmother. *Kh.* **aja** paternal grandfather; **aji** paternal grandmother. *Ju.* (S. Bhattacharya 1970, p. 453 f.) **aja** father's father.

H. **ājā**, (Pl. also) **ajā** paternal grandfather. *Sad.* **ajā** grandfather; **aji** grandmother; (J.-H.) **ājā** father's father; **āji** father's mother. *B.* **ājā** maternal grandfather; **āji** maternal grandmother. CDIAL 1348: *Skt.* **āryaka-** respectable man, grandfather. *Pali* **ayyaka-** grandfather. *Pkt.* **ajjaga-** id; **ajjiā-** grandmother. *Or.* **ajā** mother's father.

DEDR 52 EKHP IV 11

(KM)

assglāra, (Hahn) **asag'laṛa**, (Bleses) **assglāra** a caterpillar found on the sāl-tree leaves (its contact causes swelling and fever), (Hahn also) a shrub, the fruit of which is covered with hairs which also cause swelling; burdock.

Malt. **asgalo** a caterpillar the touch of whose hair causes painful irritation; (B. P. Mahapatra) ◇ **esglare** caterpillar.

DEDR 59 EKHP 1155

Munda

aṛxa any leguminous plant or eatable greens; (Hahn) ◇ **aṛxa** herbs, vegetables, greens; (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **aṛha** green vegetables; ◇ **aṛa** curry.

Malt. ◇ **aṛage** curry made of meat, fish, or vegetable, (B. P. Mahapatra) curry.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **aṭaku** greens, edible leaves; **aṭai** leaf, betel leaf, greens. *Ma.* **aṭa** leaf, betel.

Sa. **aṛa**² vegetables, potherbs. *Mu.* **aṛa**² the generic term for any eatable leaves of either cultivated vegetables or of self-sown plants. *Ho* **ā**² herb, edible leaf. *Bh.* **āṛā** vegetable. *Ku.* **ara** leafy vegetable. *Kh.* **aṛay** grass. *Ju.* **ṭlak** leaf. Cf. VHLK, p. 131 f., no. 274.

DEDR 63 EKHP 4

Dr. KM

aṛk- (aṛkyas) to knead, shampoo.

Malt. **aṛg-**, **aṛges-** (aṛga, aṛgesya) to press down, close an opening by pressing a heavy object against; **aṛk-** (aṛkya) to thrust or wedge in.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **aṭaṅku** to submit, be subdued; **aṭakku** to control, repress, hide. *Ma.* **aṭaṅṅuka** to be pressed down, enclosed; **aṭakkuka** to press down, subdue. *Ko.* **aṛg-** to stop, be obedient; **aṛk-** to cause to stop. *To.* **oḍg-** to be quiet, find sleeping accommodation in a crowded place; **oṛk-** to subdue, give sleeping accommodation in a crowded place. *Ka.* **aḍaṅgu**, **aḍagu** to hide, be concealed, disappear; **aḍaku** to press, press into narrower compass, subdue. /SCDR./ *Te.* **aḍāgu**, **aḍagu** to yield, submit; **aḍācu**, **aḍacu** to suppress, humble.

PKM: ***aṛk-**

PDr.: ****aṭVkkV-** / ****aṭVkkV-** / ****aṭVnkV-**

DEDR 75 EKHP ...

Dr.

aṛi earthen waterpot.

/SDR./ *Ka.* (Gowda) **aḍigera** a pot. *Tu.* **aḍḍyara** earthen jar or pot. /SCDR./ *Te.* **aṭika** small earthen pot with a large mouth. *Go.* (Tr.) **aṭkā** earthen pot used for cooking; (G. Mu. Ma. S.) **aṛka** cooking pot; (Pat.) **adka** [i.e. **aṛka**] id. /CDR./ *Nk.* (*Ch.*) **aṛka** earthen pot.

Ju. **aṭika** earthen pot.

PDr.: **aṭV; **aṭVkv / **aṭVkkV

DEDR 83 EKHP 1138

Dr. KM

aḍ- (aḍcas/aḍḍas), (Hahn also) ◇ **aṛ-** to furnish (a drum) with skin, cover it with leather, (birds or bees) construct a nest or honeycomb, stop stubbornly where one is.

Malt. **aṛar-** (aṛarya) to be hindered; **aṛatr-** to hinder, check.

Br. **aḍ** sheltered; shelter, protection; **aḍ kann-** to halt, stop; **aṛ** obstacle, obstruction; **aṛi** obstacle, obstruction; **āṛ** shelter.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **aṭai** to shut, close, obstruct. *Ma.* **aṭayuka** to be shut, be enclosed; **aṭekka** to shut, obstruct. *Ko.* **aṛv-** to become blocked by an obstacle. *To.* **aṛf-** to shut. *Ka.* **aḍe** to be enclosed, barred; **aḍa**, **aḍḍa**, **aḍḍā**, **aḍḍe** state of being across or in the way. *Koḍ.* **aḍe-** (gap) is stopped. *Tu.* **aḍepuni**, **aḍevuni**, **aḍeṅguni** to shut, close. /SCDR./ *Te.* **aḍucu-konu** to become obstructed or choked, be stopped; **aḍḍamu** obstacle, hindrance. *Go.* (*Ch.*) **aḍḍam**, (*Ma.*) **aḍam** obstruction. *Koṇḍa* **aṛk-** to conceal; **aḍi-** to stop, intercept. *Pe.* **aḍgel** in the way, intervening. *Kuwi* (S.) **aḍḍe ānai** to resist; **addu ānai/kīnai** to obviate. /CDR./ *Pa.* **aḍḍom** obstacle, obstruction.

Sa. **aḍ** shelter, cover, hiding-place; to shelter, screen, hide. *Mu.* **āṛa** screen; **aṛa** stop, hindrance. *Kh.* **a²ḍe** to stand firm, block someone's way.

De. **aṛ-** to hinder, ward off. CDIAL 187: *Skt.* ***aḍ-** to obstruct, stop. *H.* **aṛnā**, **arnā** to come to a stop. *M.* **aḍṇē** to be stopped; **aḍ** obstruction. CDIAL 188: *Skt.* ***aḍḍ-** to obstruct, stop. *N.* **āṛ** cover, shelter; **aṛinu** to stop, halt. *Or.* **āṛibā** to ward off. *H.* **āṛ** interruption, covering.

PKM.: ***aḍ-** / ***aḍr-**

PDr.: **aṭV-

There has been frequent borrowing of words derived from this Dr. root in Munda as well as in IA languages; a neat distinction between inherited etyma and reborrows cannot be made for the Kur. items.

DEDR 91 EKHP IV 5

KM

arxa spleen.

Malt. **aṛḡu** id.

PKM: ***aṛG-a/u**

DEDR 93 EKHP 531

areal

aṭṭa raised platform, scaffold, loft in house.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **aṭṭam** terraced roof, upper story. *Ma.* **aṭṭam** roof used as a store-room, scaffold on four poles. *Ko.* **aṭṭ** loft, attic. *To.* **oṭm** place for firewood made of cords tied from side rafters to roof. *Ka.* **aṭṭa** upper loft in a house. *Koḍ.* **aṭṭa** loft. *Tu.* **aṭṭa** upper loft. /SCDR./ *Te.* **aṭuka** loft under the roof of a house. /CDR./ *Pa.* **aṭu** attic room.

Sa. **aṭa** watch-house, hiding-place (for shooting). *Mu.* **aṭa** a place to lie or sit in wait for game.

De. **āṭu** attic room, loft under the roof. *H.* **aṭā** an upper room. CDIAL 180: *Skt.* **aṭṭa-** tower, watchtower. *Pali* **aṭṭa-** watch tower, platform. *Pkt.* **aṭṭa-** watchtower, room on roof.

Cf. Burrow 1969, p. 277, for uncertainty whether these etyma are IA or Dr. in origin.

DEDR 102 EKHP 536

KM

aṭṭ- (aṭṭyas) to spread out upon the ground something folded or rolled up, construct, make.

Malt. **aṭ-** (aṭya) to spread (as bedding), create.

PKM: ***aṭ-**

DEDR 108 EKHP IV 4

KM

aḍr- to twist back one's limbs or bend the body inward (as under threat of a blow), (Hahn) to bend the back.

Malt. **aḍr-** (aḍrya) to strut.

PKM: ***aḍr-**

DEDR 120 EKHP 374

Dr. KM

ārs- (ārsyas) to reach, arrive at, come; (Kisan dial., Goswami) **ars-** to reach, attend.

Malt. **anrs-** to arrive.

Br. **haninging** to copulate (of human beings).

/SDR./ *Ta.* **anai** to approach, come near, come in contact with, copulate with; **an̥tu** to approach, take refuge in. *Ma.* **anayuka** to approach, arrive; **an̥tuka**, **an̥nuka**, **an̥puka** to approach. *Ko.* **an̥d-** to be in same place with, approach. *Ka.* **ane**, **ani** to come near, come in contact, embrace; **an̥tu** to come or be in contact with, touch, embrace; **an̥tis̥u** to place in contact; **an̥dis̥u** to go near, approach. *Koḍ.* **an̥da** side. *Tu.* **an̥epuni** to come in contact. /SCDR./ *Te.* **an̥āgu** to mix or mingle freely; **an̥tincu** to unite, join. *Kuwi* (S.) **andinai** to join, meet; (Isr.) **an̥d-** to mix (*intr.*).

PKM: ***and̥s-**

PDr.: ****an̥V-**; ****an̥t̥V-**; ****an̥t̥VcV-**

DEDR 126 EKHP I 2

IA

ḁthu mango stone.

Malt. **ḁti** stone or seed of a fruit.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **an̥ti-kkoṭṭai** cashew-nut. *Ma.* **an̥ti** kernel, stone of mango, etc., nut, scrotum. *Koḍ.* **mḁnge ḁn̥di** mango stone. *Tu.* **an̥di** kernel of mangoes, etc.

Mu. **ḁthu**, **ḁtu** mango stone. *Ho* **ḁtu** the seed of a mango or *ambara* fruit.

H. **ān̥thī** kernel, pip. *Sad.* **ḁ̄thū** mango seed. *B.* **ḁ̄n̥ti** the stone of a fruit. CDIAL 955: *Skt.* **ḁṣ̥ti-** kernel of fruit. *Pali* **ḁṭṭhi-** stone of fruit. *Pkt.* **ḁṭṭhi-** id. CDIAL 958: *Skt.* **ḁṣ̥thi-** (*lex.*) kernel.

DEDR 134 EKHP IV 7

KM

adar [i.e. **ad^ar**] the waste of pounded rice, broken grains.

Malt. **adru** broken grain.

PKM: ***adr(u)**

DEDR 141 EKHP IV 6

KM

atxa (so Hahn, Tiga, Bleses, Kumāra; Grignard's **aṭxa** is probably erroneous) leaf, blade, (Grignard also) plate made of sewn-up leaves; (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **atha** leaf.

Malt. **ātge** leaf, palm of the hand.

PKM: ***atGa** / ***ātGa**

DEDR 145 EKHP 579

Dr. KM

att- (attyas) to clothe oneself in, put on; (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **at-** to put on, wear.

Malt. **at-** (atya) id.

/SDr./ *Ta.* **attu** to unite (as two or more parts), make to fit in with one another. *Ka.* **atuku**, **atiku**, **aduku** to be joined, united, or soldered, cling together. /SCDr./ *Te.* **attu** to be attached or joined. *Go.* (Ko.) **adk-** to tie (knot, etc.). *Konḍa* **atki-** to attach, join (any broken part). /CDr./ *Ga.* (S.³) **atkap-** to mend, join.

PKM: ***at-**

PDr.: ****attV-**; ****attVkkV-**

DEDR 171 EKHP ...

X

ems- (emsas), ◇ **ēws-** to let touch; to allow (oneself or one's food) to be defiled by someone of a different caste; (Hahn) ◇ **ēws-** to bring in touch with, to touch; **emsr-**, ◇ **ēwsr-** to touch, come in contact with, defile (by touch, unlawful relations, etc.); (Hahn) ◇ **ēws-** to bring oneself in touch with, to touch.

/SDr./ *Ka.* (Gowda) **amE** purification after childbirth. *Tu.* **amè** ceremonial impurity or defilement in case of birth.

A relationship of the Kur. etyma with the SDr. items is unlikely for phonetic as well as semantic reasons.

DEDR 174 EKHP ...

Dr.

amḍi, amṛi, ambṛi water in which rice has been cooked; (Hahn) ◇ **ambri** rice water, gruel; ◇ **amri** (Dhangar dial., Nepal, Trail 1973, p. 63) rice broth, (S. Mahapatra) gruel.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **ampali** porridge. *Ka.* **ambali, ambakaḷa, ambila, ambuli, amli** pap or porridge. *Baḍ.* ◇ **ambali**, ◇ **ambili** gruel. *Tu.* **ambuli** pap or gruel of rāgi or rice. /SCDR./ *Te.* **ambali, ambakaḷamu** porridge. *Go.* (Y.) **ambil** gruel. *Konḍa* **ambeli** porridge. *Kuwi* (Isr.) **ambeli** id. /CDR./ *Kol.* (Kin.) **amba** cooked rice. *Nk.* **ambal** boiled rice.

PDr.: **ampVli / **ampVḷi; **ampVṭi

DEDR 180 EKHP ...

Dr.

umbāxār- to walk on hands and knees.

/SDR./ *Ka.* **ambegālu, ambagālu, ambugālu** the hands and knees placed on the ground for crawling; (Coorg) **ambāḷu** to crawl. *Tu.* **ambekāru** crawling on hands and feet. /SCDR./ *Te.* (Merolu) **ambāḍu** to crawl.

PDr.: **ampVkāl- / **ampVkār-

Cf. DEDR 641, *Kui* **umung uta** ‘to fall prostrate’.

Kur. *a- > u- under the influence of semantically related **umb’a** ‘with the face turned downward’ (DEDR 641).

DEDR 187 EKHP A 935

Dr. KM

em- (emcas) to take a bath, be covered all over (with sweat, blood); **emta²-** to bathe (a child, an animal), to wash from head to foot; **amm** water, urine, dropsy; (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **ammu** water; (Dhangar dial., Nepal, Trail 1973, p. 19) ◇ **ām** id.

Malt. **amu** water; **am-amr-** (am-amrya) to water (as the mouth); **amy-** to bathe (oneself); **amt-** (amtya) to bathe (another).

/SDR./ *Ta.* **am, ām** water.

PKM: *am(u)

PDr.: **am / **ām

Kur. *a- > e- in **em-** is not clear. Originally PDr. **ya-?

DEDR 196 (b) EKHP ...

interj.

ayo, ayo ge excl. of pain or surprise, (Hahn) mother! (also an interjection denoting pain or grief).

Malt. **aya, ayyi, ayyu** O my! (wonder, joy, woe).

/SDR./ *Ta.* **aiya** excl. of wonder, of pity; **aiyō** id. *Ma.* **ayyā** interj. of derision; **ayyō**, **ayyayyō** interj. of pain, grief. *Ko.* **aya** excl. of surprise or grief. *To.* **eya** excl. of surprise. *Ka.* **ayyō, ayyayyō, ayyayyē** interj. expr. grief, astonishment, compassion. *Tu.* **ayyō, ayyayyō** interj. of grief, annoyance. /SCDR./ *Te.* **ayyo, ayyō, ayyayō** interj. denoting sorrow, lamentation.

Cf. DEDR 364, *Ta.* **āy** ‘mother’.

DEDR 222 EKHP ...

Dr.

arbar-parbar, (Tiga) ◇ **ərbar-pərbar** neighbours, friends and acquaintances.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **aruku** to approach; vicinity, neighbourhood. *Ma.* **ariku** border, edge, neighbourhood. *Ka.* **aragu, arigu, arugu** vicinity, border. *Tu.* **aru, arugu** brim, edge. /SCDR./ *Te.* **aru** nearness.

Ad. Or. **aṛisa poṛisa lok** neighbours.

PDr.: ****arVkV- / **arVvV-**

Kuṛ. **ə** may have originated in **pərbar** < ***paribar** < *H.* **parivār** ‘family’, where the sound change **a** > **ə** had been triggered by **-i-** in the following syllable and then spread to the first element for the sake of phonetic parallelism.

DEDR 231 EKHP IV 8

KM

arg- (argyas) to climb, mount an animal, rise (as sun, moon, stars); (argas) to make climb, lift, haul up.

Malt. **arg-** (argya) to climb.

PKM: ***arg-**

DEDR 235 EKHP ...

Dr. KM

ell- (illyas) to be night-blind, (Hahn also) to be very dark.

Malt. ◇ **ēl-** to miss, go astray.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **al** night, darkness, evening; **alku** night, afternoon; **el, elli** night; (*lex.*) **yālam** id. *Ma.* **al, allu** darkness, night.

PKM: ***el-** / ***ēl-**

PDr.: ****yal-**

DEDR 236 EKHP A) ..., B) I 30

A) IA

B) Munda

A) **alga** redundant, superfluous, loose (earth), sluggish, without energy; (Hahn)

◇ **alghi** (*adv.*) lightly, easily.

Malt. ◇ **alga** (B. P. Mahapatra) easy, light.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **ala** to suffer, be in distress; **alañku** to be agitated in mind, troubled; **alai** to be harassed, wander in weariness. *Ma.* **alaññuka, alukka** to be worn out, grow lean; **alasuka** to be tired. *Ko.* **alv-** to become wearied by walking or searching. *Ka.* **ala, alapu, alavu, alasike** fatigue, weariness. *Tu.* **alasuni, alajuni** to be fatigued, vexed, suffer griping pain. /SCDR./ *Te.* **alayu** to be tired, be disgusted; **alāgu** to be displeased, take offence, grieve; **alakuva, alapu, alayika** fatigue. *Kui* **alāri** fatigue, distress from fatigue. /CDR./ *Kol.* **alay-** to become tired.

Sa. **alga** loose, easy, simple, unimportant; to make loose, etc. *Mu.* **alga** easy, simple, ordinary, common; **alga, algaō** to loosen, disjoin, separate. *Ho* **alga** to loosen. *Ju.* **ṛḷg** to alight (as bird).

H. **algā** separate. *Sad.* **alge, alag, algā** id. *B.* **ālgā** unbound, loose, lax. *De.* **ṛlga** different, separate. CDIAL 700: *Skt.* **alagna-** unconnected. *Pali* **alagga-** not joined. *Or.* **alaga** separate.

A connection of Kur. **alga** with the SDr., SCDr. and CDr. etyma cannot be assumed for phonetic as well as semantic reasons.

B) layakoya moving or walking listlessly; **laykoy^or-** to move the limbs in a negligent fashion; **◊ lakay-lokoyr-** id.

Sa. **laya loyo** stoopingly, moving slowly; to move slowly. *Mu.* **laěa-koěa** weak, without strength. *Ho* **lakui²-tarui²** to walk slowly dragging one's feet. *Ku.* **laṛaluru** to fall down (due to weakness). *Kh.* **loyo** to become tired. *Bo.* **lakar-** to be tired. *So.* **lai-ed-** to stoop (**ed-** to roll [*intr.*]); **koi-, koj-** to roll-, to be rolled.

Nah. (Mundlay) **lawā** to be tired.

DEDR 240 EKHP ...

Dr.

alra²-, (Tiga) **◊ əlra²-** to clean grains from minor rubbish by shaking gently with the hand; **alrār-** (grains mixed with straw bits, etc.) to undergo the process of cleaning, to be restless, agitated.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **alañku** to move, shake, swing; **alai** to wave, shake, move (as a reflection in water). *Ma.* **alukka, alaṇṇuka** to shake. *Ko.* **alg-** to shake (*intr.*). *To.* **alx-** id. *Ka.* **alaku, alagu, aluṅgu** to move about, shake. *Tu.* **alañkuni, alaṅguni** to shake (*tr.*).
/SCDR./ *Te.* **ala** a wave, surge; **allalāḍu, allāḍu** to move, shake; **allārucu** to shake (*tr.*).

PDr.: ****alVkv- / **alVkkV- / ** alVnkV-; **alVr-**

DEDR 254 IV 9

KM

alkh- (alkhyas) to laugh, laugh at, mock, seduce; **alkhānakhr-** to laugh together, have unlawful intercourse; (D. N. S. Bhat 1969/70, p. 219) **◊ alx-** to laugh.

Malt. **alq-** id.

PKM: ***alq-**

DEDR 255 EKHP 760

Dr.

alkhra, **◊ arkhra**, **◊ arkhṛa**, (Ekka, p. 50) **◊ arkhra** parched rice.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **alaku** grains of paddy, ear of paddy or other grain. /SCDR./ *Kui* **algu** rice obtained from paddy without boiling it.

PDr.: ****alVkv / **alVkkV**

DEDR 261 EKHP IV 10

KM

all- (allya) to become clear (of liquids left undisturbed).

Malt. **āl-** (ālya) to get clear (as water when left undisturbed).

PKM: ***al-** / ***āl-**

DEDR 276 EKHP 773

Dr.

aṅg- (Hahn) to feel pain in the soles of the feet from walking on a rough road.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **aṛal** to burn, glow; **aṛarru** to burn (*tr.*), heat; **aṛuṅku** to suffer, be in distress. *Ma.* **aṛaluka** to burn (as a wound, the eye from pepper); **aṛarruka** to burn as with pepper, afflict. *Ka.* **aṛal** to grieve, be afflicted; **aṛkaja**, **akkaja** envy, jealousy. *Tu.* **arluni** to burn, blaze, smart. /SCDR./ *Te.* **aḍalu** to grieve, be sorry.

PDr.: ****aṛVl-**; ****aṛVkkV-** / ****aṛVnkV-**

Cf. DEDR 408, Kur. **ān-** 'to cause pain by being pressed against the skin (as gravel on the road)'.

DEDR 288 EKHP A 544

Dr.

and- (andca) to spread throughout, be felt, tasted in every portion of the mass prepared (of spices and ferments).

/SCDR./ *Konḍa* **al-** (tongue) to get the taste of. *Pe.* **and-** (taste) comes out, is perceived. *Manḍ.* **and-** (taste, e.g. of salt) to pervade food, be perceived. /CDR./ *Pa.* **aṛj-** (flavour of something) is perceived (particularly salt).

PDr.: ****aṭV-** / ****anṭV-**; ****al-**; ****aṛ-**

DEDR 290 EKHP ...

IA

lap- (lapca) (Hahn) to measure with the hollow of the hand; **lapp** a handful; (Grignard) **laph** the quantity of grains, etc. that one can hold upon the flat of the hand, the fingers being very slightly curved upward.

Malt. **lāpe** a measure, as much as is contained in two hands put together; **lāpy-** (lāpca) to measure out with two hands put together.

Br. ◇ **lap** handful.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **al** handful, anything contained within the hollow of the hand; **allu** to take up in the hollow of the hand. *Ma.* **alluka** to take up with the hollow of the hand.

Sa. (Campbell) **laṣ**, **laṣlaṣ** to catch with both hands. *Mu.* **lāp**, **lāpo** an open hand full. *Bh.* **lāp** handful. *Kh.* **laph** id.; (Biligiri) **lāph** id.

H. **lap** a handful, (Pl.) the space formed in the palm of the hand when closed (so as to hold anything); a handful; as much as can be held in both palms joined together. *Sad.* **lāph** open handful. CDIAL 10940: *Skt.* ***lappa-** slap. *S.* **lapa** handful. *L.* **lapp** id. *P.* **lapp** id.

A relationship of the NDr. etyma with the SDr. items is unlikely for phonetic reasons.

DEDR 308 EKHP A) 693, B) ...

A) Dr.

B) Munda

A) **al^ap** hollow place underground, cavern.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **alai** anthill, hole in the ground, hollow in tree, cave. *Ma.* **ala** hole in trees, in the ground; **allāppu** hollow, hole. *Kurub.* **ale** hole. *Ko.* **al** cave. *To.* **olb** animal's den, cave. /SCDR./ *Te.* **lāga** hole, burrow.

PDr.: ****alV**; ****alVppV** / ****alVmpV**

B) **lāta**, (Dhangar dial., Nepal, Trail, p. 55) ◇ **lāṭa** hole, cavity, den.

Sa. **lat** by-place, recess (in the forest). *Mu.* **lata** cave, den of wild animals. *Ho* **lata** den. *Bh.* **lat** cave. *Kh.* **lata**, **latra** hole, cave. *Bo.* **lagla²k** id. Cf. VHLK, p. 72, no. 20.

Sad. **latā**, **latrā** hole (as rat-hole).

DEDR 320 EKHP 1052

Dr.

ass- (assyas) to beat, play on or sound (any stringed or percussion instrument).

/SDR./ *Ta.* **arai** to slap, beat (as a drum), hammer. *Ma.* **arayuka** to beat hard.

PDr.: **aṭV-; **aṭVyV-

DEDR 329 EKHP 732

Dr. KM

amb- (ambyas) to let go, set free, send away, give up.

Malt. **amb-** (ambya) to leave off, forsake.

Br. **hamping** to load up, start, depart.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **anuppu** to send, accompany one a little way out of respect. *Ma.*

anuppuka to send. /SCDR./ *Te.* **anucu, ancu, anupu, ampu** to send.

PKM: *amb-

PDr.: **anVvV- / **anVppV-

DEDR 334 EKHP 362

Dr. KM

ōy cow, (Ekka, p. 32) cow, ox; (Hahn) ◇ **oye** cow; (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **ɔyu** cattle.

Malt. **ōyu** cow, ox.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **ā, āṇ** female of ox, sambur, and buffalo. *Ma.* **ā, ān** cow. *Ko.* **aṽ** id. *Ka.*

ā, āvu id. /SCDR./ *Te.* **āvu** id.

PKM: *ōy(u)

PDr.: **ā

DEDR 341 EKHP 491

Dr.

āc- (ācyas) to turn out thin; **āca** thin, attenuated, reduced in strength.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **ācu** minuteness, fineness, acuteness; **āy** to diminish, be reduced; **acai** to be slender, flexible, diminish; **ayir** subtlety, fineness. *Ma.* **aśu** thin, slender; **ayir**, **ayiram** iron dust. *Ka.* **asi, asa** thinness, leanness. /SCDR./ *Te.* **asadu** small, slender.

PDr.: **ācV- / **āccV-

DEDR 363 EKHP III 4

KM

ād- (ādcas) to recognize by feeling with the fingers, know by touch.

Malt. **ād-** (adya) to select, discriminate, judge.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **āy** to search, examine, select. *Ma.* **āyka** to select, cull, gather. *Ko.* **a'y-** to pick up, pluck. *Ka.* **āy, āyi** to collect, gather, select. *Koḍ.* **a'y-** to choose. *Tu.* **āyuni** to select, choose. /SCDR./ *Go.* (Tr. S-R. Mu. Ma.) **āc-** id. *Konḍa* (BB) **ās-** id. *Kui* **āska** to separate from, choose, weed out. /CDR./ *Kol.* **āseng** to sort, choose. *Nk. (Ch.)* **āy-** to winnow with sideways motion. *Pa.* **āc-** to choose, select. *Ga.* (P.) **ayl-** to sift; (S.³) **ās-** to choose.

PKM: ***ād-**

A relationship of the Kuṛ. and Malt. etyma with the other Dr. items is doubtful for phonetic reasons.

DEDR 364 EKHP A) 82, B) I 5

A) Dr. KM

B) Munda

A) ayo mother.

Malt. **ayya** my mother; (Kobayashi) ◇ **aya** mother; ◇ **ayo** id.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **āy, āyi, yāy, nāy** mother. *Ma.* **ācci** mother, grandmother; **tāyi** mother. *To.* **to'y** id. (in songs). *Ka.* **āyi, tāy, tāyi, tāye** id. *Tu.* **tāyi** id. /SCDR./ *Go.* (Tr.) **yāyāl, (M) yāyo, (Mu.) ayal, (G.) iyāl** id. *Pe.* **aya, iya** id. *Manḍ.* **aya** id. *Kui* **aia, aiali, aja, ia, ija, ijali** mother, woman. *Kuwi* (F.) **iya** mother; (S.) **iya** mother, woman. /CDR./ *Kol.* **ay** (? **a'y**) mother. *Ga.* (Oll.) **āya** id.; (S.) **āya** id.

Nah. **ay, (Mundlay) āy** mother.

Sad. **āyo** mother. *B.* **āi** id. *Ad. Or.* **aia** id. *De.* **aya** id. CDIAL 997: *Skt.* ***āi-** mother, aunt. *A.* **āi** mother, smallpox. *G.* **āi** mother, grandmother. *M.* **āi** mother, term of endearment for an infant.

PKM: ***ayo**

PDr.: ****āy**

Cf. DEDR 196 (b), *Ta.* **aiya** 'excl. of wonder, of pity'.

B) ayaŋg, (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **ayaŋ** mother (without explicit reference to the children).

Sa. eŋga mother. *Mu.* eŋga id.; *voc.* eaŋ, aëaŋ. *Ho* engga mother. *Bh.* engga female (animal). *So.* iya:ŋ-ən, ya:ŋ-ən (Ramamurti 1933: ia'ŋ-ən, ya'ŋ-ən) mother. *Bo.* yɔŋ, iyoŋ id. *Di.* (S. Bhattacharya 1970, p. 447) iyaŋ id. VHLK, p. 223, no. K 204: *Gu.* i:oŋ, iyo:ŋ mother. *Par.* ayya:ŋ id.

DEDR 371 EKHP ...

Dr.

ārci goad, pointed end of goad, (Hahn) point of a lance or stick; (Grignard) ◇ **archi** spur (on a cock's legs).

/SDR./ *Ta.* ār sharpness, pointedness; **āрмаi** keenness, sharpness. *Ma.* ār chip, splinter (as of bamboo); **āru** splinter.

PDr.: **ār; **ārVccV

DEDR 384 EKHP 1074

Munda

āli hailstone; (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **ali** hail.

Malt. **ali** hail.

/SDR./ *Ta.* āli raindrops, hail; **āl** water, flood; **ālam** water, ocean, rain; **ālaŋ-kat̪ti** hail. *Ma.* āli, āli-pparam hail; **āl** water; **ālam** water, sea, rain. *Ka.* āli-kal, āle-kallu hailstone. *Koḍ.* a'li, āli-ka'y hail. *Tu.* āli-kallu, āli-parndu hailstone.

Sa. arel hail. *Mu.* aril id.; (Bhaduri) āṛil id. *Ho* aril hailstones. *Ku.* gara hailstone. *Kh.* arel, aṛel hail(stone). *Ju.* ɔlen hail. *So.* are:l-ən, re:l-ən (Ramamurti 1933: are'l-ən, are'l-da:-n) hailstone (da:-n contr. of d'a:-n water). *Bo.* are, areḍa²k hail. *Di.* (S. Bhattacharya 1966, p. 38) hare, are hailstone. *Par.* (Trail 1973, p. 55) areng ḍa², aril ḍa² hail. VHLK, p. 119, no. 225: *Par.* are:l hailstone. *Gu.* bire:l, bre:l id.

S. Bhattacharya 1966, p. 38, refers to DED with query.

At first sight the Dr. items look like an absolutely straightforward etymological group. When they are compared with the etyma from the Munda languages, however, there is every reason to believe that they are borrowings (with loss of the second vowel and elision of -r- before -l-). If this was an isolated instance, one might suspect this to be a case of accidental similarity, but this possibility is ruled out by the fact that there is another etymological group which shows a parallel phonetic development: Kur. **tēla** 'ebony tree', *Sa.* **terel** 'id.' (DEDR 3463).

DEDR 392 EKHP 86

Dr. KM

awla²-, (Bleses) ◇ **aola²-**, (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **aula-** to yawn.

Malt. **āwol-** (āwolya), (B. P. Mahapatra) ◇ **āwl-** id.

Br. **āvāning** id.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **āvi** to gape, yawn. *Ma.* **āvi iṭ-** to yawn. *Ko.* **a·vaj** a yawn. *To.* **o·püṭy-** to yawn. *Ka.* **ākaḷisu, ākuḷisu, āguḷisu** to yawn, gape. *Baḍ.* ◇ **a:vi ettu** to yawn. *Koḍ.* **a·vaḷic-** id. *Tu.* **āvaḷu** a yawn; **āv-iḍ-** to yawn. *Kor.* (M.) **āvaḷsu** id. /SCDR./ *Te.* **āvalincu, āvulincu** id. *Go.* (Ko.) **āvi** a yawn. /CDR./ *Pa.* **ām-, āv-** to yawn. *Ga.* (Oll.) **ām-** id.; (S.²) **āmḱ-** id.; (S.³) **āmḱ-** id.

PKM: ***āwl-**

PDr.: ****āvV-; **āvVl-**

DEDR 395 EKHP IV 12

KM

ābda unbleached, unscaled (of rice), (Hahn) raw, as uncooked rice; (Kisan dial., Goswami) ◇ **ɔbda** raw rice.

Malt. **āthwa** raw, not boiled.

PKM: ***ābda / *ādba**

DEDR 399 EKHP 91

Dr. KM

āl adult male, husband, servant; **ālas** an adult male person.

Malt. **āl-urq-** (āl-urqa) to grow up to maturity (**urq-** to come out, DEDR 668).

/SDR./ *Ta.* **āl** man, husband, servant; **ālān** husband; **āṇ** male, manliness, courage. *Ma.* **āl** a person, able person, servant; **āṇ** male. *Ko.* **a·ḷ** man, servant, husband. *To.* **o·ḷ** man, Toda. *Ka.* **āl** servant, soldier, a grown person in general; **āl, āṇ** male. *Baḍ.* ◇ **a:**, ◇ **a:ḷu** man. *Koḍ.* **a·ḷi** servant; **a·ṇi, a·ṇ a·ḷi** man, male. *Tu.* **ālḷu** person, labourer; **āṇḷu** *adj.* male.

PKM: ***āl**

PDr.: ****āl**

DEDR 404 EKHP 83

Dr.

arta²- to spread out in the sun for drying; (Hahn) ◇ **ārta**²- to spread.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **āru** to cool, grow cold, heal (as a wound); **ārru** to cool (*tr.*), assuage, appease, dry (*tr.*). *Ma.* **āruka** to be extinguished, grow cool, be allayed, dry up, heal; **ārrika** to cool, allay, calm, dry (*tr.*). *Ko.* **a'r-** to become cool, (dew) dries, (wound) heals; **a'rc-** to make (liquid) cool, make to dry in heat. *To.* **o'r-** (hot water) cools, to become dry by heating; **o't-** to dry in heat (*tr.*). *Ka.* **ār**, **āru** to be extinguished, grow cool, be calmed. *Koḍ.* **a'r-** (stream, cloth) dries up; **a't-** to dry (*tr.*). *Tu.* **ārūni** to grow or be cool, grow or be dry. /SCDR./ *Te.* **āru** to be extinguished, cool, be calmed, become dry, heal; **ārucu**, **ārucu**, **ārupu** to cool (*tr.*), appease, extinguish, dry (*tr.*). /CDR./ *Kol.* **a'r-** to become dry. *Nk.* **ār-** id. *Nk. (Ch.)* **ār-** to be dried, be emaciated.

Mu. **artaṅ** the reflected light of sun or moon. *Ho* **artañ** to bring near to a fire, e. g. to dry out wet clothes. *So.* **jer-** to put in the sun, to dry.

Nah. (Mundlay) **urātiṅ** to spread.

PDr. ****ātV-**

DEDR 408 EKHP III 5

X

ān- (ānca) to cause pain by being pressed against the skin (as gravel on the road); ◇ **anga** [N.B. not **-ṅ-**] very painful ecchymosis in the foot.

Malt. **āṇreṭ-** (āṇreṭya) to lean or rest on pillows.

/SDR./ *Ta.* **āṇam** support; **āṇi** id., basis. *Ma.* **āṇam** support. *Ka.* **ān**, **ānu** to be upheld, rest on, lean against. *Tu.* **ānipuni** to make lean. /SCDR./ *Te.* **ānu** to lean, recline, be a support.

A relationship of Kur. **ān-** with the SDr. and SCDr. etyma is unlikely because of the semantic difference, while a connection of the other Dr. words with the Malt. item is quite probable. The connection with Kur. **anga** was pointed out by Burrow 1973, p. 685.

Cf. DEDR 276, Kur. **ang-** 'to feel pain in the soles of the feet from walking on a rough road'.

DEDR 418 EKHP 437

Dr. KM

ijⁱg- (ijgas) to show the teeth.

Malt. igj- (igjya) to grin, reproach, (B. P. Mahapatra) to bare teeth.

/SCDR./ *Te. igul(u)cu, igilincu, ivul(u)cu* to grin, show the teeth. /CDR./ *Pa. ikp-* to grin.

PKM: ***igj-**

PDr.: ****ikVIVcV-**

DEDR 419 EKHP IV 21

Dr. KM

ĩwkh- (ĩwkhya), (Hahn) \diamond **iwn^hkh-**, \diamond **ẽwkh-**, (Kisan dial., Goswami) \diamond **enkh-**, \diamond **inkha-** to cough.

Malt. inq- id.; **inq-pūce** hiccough.

Br. hicking to hiccough.

/SCDR./ *Te. iñkuva* a sigh. *Go. (Ma.) inka* a belch; (LuS.) **inkawata** hiccough.

PKM: ***imq-** / ***inq-**

PDr.: ****inVkkV-**

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Munda

isun^g, (Dhangar dial., Nepal, Trail, p. 67) \diamond **isum**, (S. Mahapatra) \diamond **isun^g**, (Kisan dial., Goswami) \diamond **esun^g**, \diamond **issun^g** oil; (S. Mahapatra) \diamond **isun^g isun^g** greasy.

Malt. is^gnu, (Kobayashi) \diamond **isa^gnu** oil.

Sa. sunum oil. *Mu. sunum, sunun^g* id. *Ho sunum* id. *Bh. sūnum* id. *Ku. sunum* id. *Ju. ɕjɔn* id. *Bo. su², su²ũ, su²ŋ* id. Cf. VHLK, p. 93, no. 119.

The connection with *Sa. sunum* was pointed out by Berger 1977, p. 521. Cf. also Kuiper 1966, p. 64, who cites Tibetan **snum** ‘fat, grease, oil’ as a probable borrowing from an Austroasiatic source.

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KM

isⁱg- (isgya) to open in long slits, crack.

Malt. isg- (isgya) to be well parched (as grain), be cracked (as the skin).

PKM: ***isg-**