[Text version of database, created 19/05/2014].

Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Northeast Dravidan group (Dravidian family).

<u>Languages included:</u> Kurux [ned-kur]; Malto [ned-mlt].

DATA SOURCES

I. Kurux

Grignard 1924 = Grignard, A. An Oraon-English Dictionary. New Delhi: Unity Book Service (reprint 1986). // The largest and most authoritative dictionary of the Kurux language, thoroughly illustrated by numerous examples of lexical usage.

Ahmad et al. 2011 = Sayed Ahmad, Amy Kim, Seung Kim, Mridul Sangma. *The Kurux of Bangladesh: A Sociolinguistic Survey*. SIL Electronic Survey Report. // Sociolinguistic survey of several varieties of Kurux, conducted in July 2005. Contains 300-item wordlists for several dialectal varieties of the language, although accuracy of phonetic and semantic notation may be placed under serious doubt.

II. Malto

Droese 1884 = Droese, Ernest. Introduction to the Malto language. Agra: Secundra Orphanage Press. // The earliest, and still quite relevant, grammatical description of Malto, accompanied by a large vocabulary.

Mahapatra 1987 = Mahapatra, B. P. Malto-Hindi-English dictionary. Manasagangotri: Central Institute of Indian Languages. // The most recent Malto dictionary, based on the Malpaharia dialect.

Mahapatra 1979 = Mahapatra, B. P. Malto: An Ethnosemantic Study. Manasagangotri: Central Institute of Indian Languages. // A grammatical description of Malto, concentrating on specific issues such as the nominal classificatory system of the language.

NOTES

I. Kurux

1. General.

As of now, the only large dictionaries for the Kurux language are the ones that have been compiled in the early XXth century by F. Hahn (1903) and A. Grignard (1924). Of those, Grignard's dictionary is inarguably the largest, most accurate and authoritative, and has been used as the primary source of data in T. Burrow & M. B. Emeneau's "Dravidian Etymological Dictionary"; small amounts of data collected by other researchers later on mostly confirm this accuracy.

For comparative purposes, we also include alternate transcriptions of Kurux entries taken from a recent (2005) survey of a SIL team [Ahmad et al. 2011]. The survey was conducted in four locations in Bangladesh (Gabindanagar, Boldipukur, Lohanipara, Dulhapur) as well as one location (Dima) in West Bengal, India. Analysis of the lists reveals significant discrepancies between the Dima subdialect and the others, however: (a) the majority of these discrepancies are externally driven, i. e. are caused by various replacements by borrowing from the neighboring Indo-Aryan languages; (b) in a few cases comparison with Grignard's dictionary makes us suspect that the discrepancies stem from undetected semantic nuances and "quasi-synonimies" rather than genuine basic lexicon replacement. For that reason, we do not include data from the Dima speech variety of Kurux as a separate wordlist, but merely mention it in the footnotes.

2. Transliteration.

Kurux phonology is relatively simple, and A. Grignard's transcription includes very few idiosyncratic particularities that are not specific for typical Dravidologist transcription as a whole. The complete list of transliterated symbols is as follows:

Grignard 1924	UTS
bh	b ^h
С	č
ch	Č ^h
j	ž
th	t ^h
ţ	t
d	đ
ņ	η
ń	n
ŗ	r
kh	k^h
gh	g ^h
<u>k</u> h	x
,	?
$ar{ ext{V}}$	V:
a e o	ă, ĕ, ŏ

The transcription used by the SIL team in [Ahmad et al. 2011] is predictably close to the IPA standard and does not require any special UTS transliteration other than the standard conversions specified in the "UTS transcription guide" (e. g. $f = \check{s}$, etc.). However, it should be noted that:

- (a) the transcription in [Ahmad et al. 2011] is phonetically rather than phonologically oriented; this implies the presence of various additional vocalic qualities, such as v, ε , ι , υ , and v, which we preserve for accuracy, but which generally correspond to simple a, e, i, o, u in Grignard's notation and have no phonemic value; likewise, ι and r are simply positional variants of a single phoneme that Grignard and Hahn always transcribe as r;
- (b) intervocalic geminated consonants are consistently marked in [Ahmad et al. 2011] as combinations of "t + consonant". This is phonologically (and phonetically!) awkward, and we re-convert them back to geminates in our transcription: that is, tk^h = UTS kk^h , td3

= UTS 33, etc.;

(c) surprisingly, the source never graphically distinguishes between short and long vowels, or between dental/alveolar and retroflex consonants, although both of these distinctions are well attested in earlier sources and confirmed by external data in other Dravidian languages. This should be attributed to an inaccuracy on behalf of the SIL team.

II. Malto

1. General.

According to B. P. Mahapatra [1979], modern Malto is represented by three distinct dialects: Malpaharia, Sawriya Paharia, and Kumarbhag. Of these, Malpaharia is the most widely spoken, and quite close to Sawriya, whereas Kumarbhag is distinguished by several peculiarities (such as the phonetic development *q->0-, etc.). Our basic source on Malto is the dictionary [Mahapatra 1987], based primarily on the Malpaharia dialect, but also listing occasional Sawriya and Kumarbhag forms, usually when they have no direct lexical equivalent in Malpaharia.

The complete Swadesh list can only be extracted for Malpaharia (we list some of the dialectal forms in the notes section), but it should be noted that the dictionary is somewhat flawed, showing significant semantic inaccuracy (many of the meanings are glossed in a generalized fashion, leading to an increase in the number of "technical synonyms") and listing numerous Indo-Aryan borrowings that may or may not have penetrated the "basic" sphere of usage, without any textual evidence to allow us to draw our own conclusions.

Consequently, it is important to compare Mahapatra's data, on a consistent basis, with the earlier "classic" Malto dictionary [Droese 1884]. Droese does not specify the particular dialect from which he drew his grammatical description and vocabulary; it is clearly not Kumarbhag, but it does not fully match Mahapatra's Malpaharia or Sawriya, either. In a few cases of lexical choice, Droese's vocabulary is closer to Sawriya (see 'nose', 'small', 'snake', etc.) than to Malpaharia, but it is hard to make a definitive

statement. In any case, the overall number of discrepancies between Droese and Mahapatra is so small (moreover, some of them may be ascribed to inaccuracy on the part of the author rather than true lexical divergence), that it would not make sense to offer two separate wordlists. We rely on [Mahapatra 1987] as our default source and list all of Droese's equivalents in the notes section.

2. Transliteration.

The phonemic system of Malto, just like the one in Kurux, is relatively simple. Below is a complete list of the "idiosyncrasies" of Mahapatra's and Droese's transcriptions and their correlations with the UTS system.

Mahapatra 1987	Droese 1884	UTS
с	ch	Ģ
j	j	3
ñ	<u>n</u>	n
ḍ	d	d
ţ	ţ	t
ŗ	ŗ	ľ
1		l
g	g	γ
ń		ŋ
V:	Ý	V:

Database compiled by: G. Starostin (last additions: May 2014).

1. ALL

Kurux *orm-a:* ~ *horm-a:* (1), Malto *ormi-di* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 548. Used for masculine and feminine objects; the neuter equivalent is *urm-i:* ~ *hurm-i:*. Quoted as *hurmi* ~ *horma* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 52]. For the Dima subdialect, this source lists the form 3 ome 'all' = 3 ama: 'in all; taken all together, in a lump; unitedly, in the same place' [Grignard 1924: 323].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 19. Polysemy: 'much / all'. Quoted as *orme* in [Droese 1884: 73]. Additionally, cf. *goţer* ~ *goţ^hɔ* ~ *goṭakɔ* 'all' [Mahapatra 1987: 44], quoted as *goṭ* in [Droese 1884: 40]; *bager* 'all' [Mahapatra 1987: 91], defined as a "pluralizing particle" in [Droese 1884: 9]. Semantic difference between these equivalents remains obscure.

2. ASHES

Kurux čind (1), Malto orme (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 140. Quoted as čindi ~ čind in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 48].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 20; Droese 1884: 74.

3. BARK

Kurux $orŏk \sim orok \sim orox$ (1), Malto $bokla \sim bokola$ (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 548.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 100. Cf. also çale 'skin, bark, peel' [Mahapatra 1987: 48], glossed only as 'rind, peel' in [Droese 1884: 19].

4. BELLY

Kurux *ku:l* (1), Malto *puṛa* # (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 389. Polysemy: 'belly, abdomen / stomach / womb / bosom'.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 87. Glossed as 'belly, bowels' in [Droese 1884: 83]. Additional synonyms: *koço* 'belly' [Mahapatra 1987: 37], glossed as 'the belly, the womb' in [Droese 1884: 54]; *çawr-du* 'abdomen, entrails' [Mahapatra 1987: 48], glossed as *çawru* 'the entrails' in [Droese 1884: 21]; *dawqe* 'abdomen' [Mahapatra 1987: 64; Droese 1884: 31]. Dictionary and textual evidence do not suffice to properly establish the default basic equivalent for the required semantics of 'belly'.

5. BIG

Kurux ko:ha: (1), Malto be:do (2).

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 378. Polysemy: 'great, big / haughty, pompous / unusual in degree / long, continued / important, weighty'. Quoted as *koha* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 52].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 99. Quoted as *bedo* 'large, great' in [Droese 1884: 14]. Additional synonym: *ka:pe* [Mahapatra 1987: 31] (no equivalent in [Droese 1884]).

6. BIRD

Kurux *oːṛ-aː* (1), Malto *puʒ-du* (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 547. Quoted as *oṛa* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 43]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 86. Quoted as *puʒu* in [Droese 1884: 83].

7. BITE

Kurux parăm-na: (1), Malto koh- (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 564. Cf.: *nerr ort mukkan parmya:* "a snake bit a woman"; *alla: engan parma: bedda:lagya:, kaţikuna: polla:* "the dog very nearly bit me". Secondary synonym: *habka?a:-na:* 'to bite; to bite off' [Grignard 1924: 283] (also said of a snake). Quoted as *vl:v purmiya* for the Dima subdialect in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 49] (where *vl:v* = 'dog' q.v.). For the other subdialects in the same source the default equivalent for 'bite' is listed as *čab* = *čab-na:* 'to crush, or tear to pieces, between the molar teeth; to chew, to masticate; to eat at leisure, to nibble' in [Grignard 1924: 116]. Most likely, the basic semantics 'to chew, gnaw' was mistaken here for 'to bite'.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 39. Past tense stem: *ko-ta-*. Not attested in [Droese 1884]. Cf. *qa:r-* 'to bite off, to scrape with teeth' [Mahapatra 1987: 23], quoted as *qa:r-e* 'to bite off' in [Droese 1884: 86]. Cf. also *kalk-e* 'to bite off' in [Droese 1884: 49].

8. BLACK

Kurux mo:xa:-ro: (1), Malto mary-ro (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 494. Cf. the verbal stem: mox-r-a:r-na: 'to become black, to be black' [ibid.]. Quoted as $moxaro \sim mok^h v ro$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 54].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 104. Adjectival derivative from *maγγ*- 'to be black' [Mahapatra 1987: 104]. Quoted as *maγγ-ro* in [Droese 1884: 63]. Cf. also *kusli* 'black' [Mahapatra 1987: 35], not attested in [Droese 1884].

9. BLOOD

Kurux $x\tilde{e}$:s (1), Malto qe:s-du (1).

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 423. Polysemy: 'blood / consanguinity / anger'. Cf. $x\tilde{e}$:s-o 'red' q.v., occasionally functioning in the nominal meaning 'blood' as well. Quoted as $x\tilde{e}$ \$50 ~ xe50 o xe50 in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 45]; for the Dima subdialect, this source lists the form lehu (= Hindi lahu:, etc.).

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 25. Derived from qesso 'red' q.v. Quoted as qessu in [Droese 1884: 88].

10. BONE

Kurux xo:čol (1), Malto qo¢l-du (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 426. Quoted as $ko\check{c}^hol \sim xo\check{c}ol$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 45]. Cf. also mudqa; glossed as 'obsolete word, meaning bone' and said to be preserved only in two compounds ($ka_lma:-mudqa$: 'back bone' and xe:ser-mudqa: 'nape of the neck') [Grignard 1924: 496].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 25. Quoted as qoçlu in [Droese 1884: 88].

11. BREAST

Kurux $e\tilde{o}$:x (1), Malto buku (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 235. Meaning glossed as 'thorax; chest'. Distinct from *dudh*'i: 'milk; breast (female)' [Grignard 1924: 194]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 97. Meaning glossed as 'chest'. Quoted as *buku* 'the breast, the bosom' in [Droese 1884: 18]. Distinct from *quçu* 'breast, nipple' [Mahapatra 1987: 51]; *dudi* 'milk, sap, udder, breast' [Mahapatra 1987: 75] = *du:de* 'milk' [Droese 1884: 30], cf. also *dudu* 'the paps, the udder' [ibid.] (all of these latter forms borrowed from Hindi).

12. BURN TR.

Kurux *ol-ŏd-na*: (1), Malto *qos-* (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 540. Meaning glossed as 'to set fire to, to ignite; to light a fire, a lamp etc.; to scorch, to brand, to burn superficially'. Formally, this is a causative formation from *o:l-na*: 'to be on fire, to burn (intr.)' [ibid.]. Quoted as *oldo* 'to burn' in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 50]. Partial synonyms include *dag-na*: 'to light, set fire to; to set on fire; to burn (with hot iron)' [Grignard 1924: 170] and *bass-na*: 'to consume to ashes; to destroy by fire' [Grignard 1924: 65]. It is not easy to determine the most suitable equivalent; for the moment, we choose the only variant that is represented in both sources.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 26. It is not explicitly stated whether the verb is transitive or intransitive; in [Droese 1884: 89], the verb is listed as *qos-e* 'to be burnt, to burn'.

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Kurux orŏx (1), Malto org-du (1).

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 548. Polysemy: 'nail / toe / claw'. Transcribe3d as orox ~ orok^h in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 45].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 19. Quoted as *oryu* 'the finger nails' in [Droese 1884: 73].

14. CLOUD

Kurux bada:l-i: (-1), Malto badl-i (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Gringard 1924: 47. Quoted as *badali* ~ *padali* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 38]. Transparent borrowing from Indo-Aryan (cf. Hindi *ba:dal*, etc.). Different in the Dima subdialect: *babri* [ibid.] (etymology unclear).

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 92. Quoted as *badel-i* in [Droese 1884: 9]. See notes on Kurux for the source of borrowing. Alternate synonym: *gudro* 'cloud' [Mahapatra 1987: 43], not attested in [Droese 1884].

15. COLD

Kurux ki:r-na: (1), Malto ki:we (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 375. Verbal stem: 'to be cold / to be chilly / to cool down'. Applied to weather as well as objects, cf. *ki:r-na: amm* 'cold water'. Quoted as *kir-na* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 54]. For the Dima subdialect, the same source lists the form *kenem* (etymology unclear).

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 33; Droese 1884: 54. Meaning in both sources glossed as 'cool, cold'. Cf. also *tare* 'cold, freezing' [Mahapatra 1987: 60], not attested in [Droese 1884]. Distinct from *panye* 'cold (n.)' [Mahapatra 1987: 82].

16. COME

Kurux *bar-na*: (1), Malto *bar-* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 63. Quoted as bar ~ ber in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 48].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 92. Quoted as bar-e in [Droese 1884: 12].

17. DIE

Kurux k^h e:?e-na: (1), Malto key- (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 419. Past stem: $ke-\check{c}\check{c}-as$. Polysemy: 'to die / to stop / to go astray / to fall out of use'. Quoted as $k^h\varepsilon$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 51].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 36. Past stem: ke- φa -. Cf. also ka-gl- 'to die' [Mahapatra 1987: 27], derived from the same root. Both variants attested as key-e [Droese 1884: 53], ka-gl-e [Droese 1884: 49] in the earlier source.

18. DOG

Kurux all-a: (1), Malto al-e (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 17. Quoted as al:a ~ vl:v in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 42].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 6; Droese 1884: 3. Cf. also $ku\varphi o$ 'dog' [Mahapatra 1987: 33], also quoted in [Droese 1884: 56] with the meaning 'a dog, a term of abuse'.

19. DRINK

Kurux *o:n-na:* (1), Malto *o:n-* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 544 (for some unexplainable reason, the word lacks its own entry in the dictionary, but is frequently encountered in others, e. g. under the causative entry o:n-ta?a:-na: 'to give a meal; to make drink'). Polysemy: 'to drink / to eat (cooked rice)', as opposed to mo:x-na: 'to eat (anything but cooked rice)' q.v. Quoted as on in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 49].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 21. Polysemy: 'drink / smoke'. Past tense: on-qa-. Quoted as o:n-e, 3rd p. past tense onq-a in [Droese 1884: 72].

20. DRY

Kurux *xay-ka*: (1), Malto *qa*:*y*- (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 417. Participial form from xaxy-na: 'to lose moisture; to dry up'. Quoted as $xay-ka \sim xay-k\varepsilon \sim xa\varepsilon-ka$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 54]; for the Dima subdialect, the same source lists the Indo-Aryan borrowing suk^hvl instead.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 23. Verbal root: 'to dry'. Quoted as *qa:y-e* 'to become dry, to wither, to become lean, to fade' in [Droese 1884: 86]. Additionally, cf. *bat-* 'to dry (intr.)' [Mahapatra 1987: 92], quoted as *bat-e*, 3rd p. past tense *bat-a* 'to expose to heat for drying purposes', 3rd p. past tense *bat-y-a* 'to dry up (as water)' in [Droese 1884: 13].

21. EAR

Kurux xebd-a: (1), Malto qeðw-du (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 417. Quoted as *xεbda* ~ *k*^hεbdν in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 44].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 24. Quoted as $qe\theta wu$ in [Droese 1884: 88].

22. EARTH

Kurux $xa\check{3}\check{3}$ (1), Malto $qa\bar{3}$ -du (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 402. Polysemy: 'earth / mould / clay / mud'. Semantically distinct from *xe:xel* 'ground (the earth we tread on)' [Grignard 1924: 420]. Quoted as *xa*ξξε in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 38].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 22. Quoted as *qaʒu* in [Droese 1884: 84]. Polysemy: 'earth / mud'. Cf. *qeːql-du* 'earth / ground', quoted as *qeːqlu* 'the earth, the world; land' in [Droese 1884: 87] (same semantic differentiation between the two words as in Kurux).

23. EAT

Kurux *mo:x-na:* (1), Malto *moq-* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 494. Meaning glossed as 'to eat (anything except cooked rice)' (applied, e. g., to parched rice; curry; meat; chewed tobacco). For the meaning 'to eat (cooked rice)' see under 'drink'. In [Ahmad et al. 2011: 49], only *on* is listed in the meaning 'to eat'. Although the default equivalent for the semantically neutral 'to consume' in Kurux, judging by textual examples, is clearly *o:n-*, we still choose *mo:x-* as the primary equivalent here, because contexts like 'eating and drinking' are formed in Kurux out of the opposition between *o:n-* and *mo:x-*.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 109. Quoted as *mo:q-e* 'to eat (as meat or fruit)' in [Droese 1884: 65]; distinct from *min-e* 'to eat (as bread), to graze, to browse, to feed on straw' [Droese 1884: 65].

24. EGG

Kurux bi: (-1), Malto qer=pa:ndu (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 79. Quoted as *bi* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 43]. Borrowed from Indo-Aryan; see 'seed' for additional details. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 24. The first component = *qe:r-du* 'fowl, chicken' [Mahapatra 1987: 25]. Not attested in [Droese 1884].

25. EYE

Kurux xann (1), Malto qa:n-du (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 407. Polysemy: 'eye / eye of tuber'. Quoted as $xan:\varepsilon \sim xan \sim k^h en$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 44]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 23. Quoted as qanu in [Droese 1884: 85].

26. FAT N.

Kurux *nēːt-aː* (1), Malto *nep-a* (1).

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 525. Meaning glossed as 'grease, fat, lard'. Quoted as *nɛta* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 45]. For multiple subdialects, the same source also lists the Indo-Aryan (ultimately Iranian) borrowing *čarbi* ~ *čarbi* as the equivalent.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 79. Quoted as nepya 'the fat of animal' in [Droese 1884: 70].

27. FEATHER

Kurux $pen\check{c}^ho$: (-1), Malto paka (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 572. Polysemy: 'feather / tail of arrow / gill'. Borrowed from Indo-Aryan (cf. Gujarati ρῖτἤτῦ, etc.). **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 80. Polysemy: 'feather / fur'. Quoted as *paki* 'feathers, plumes, hair' in [Droese 1884: 75].

28. FIRE

Kurux čičč (1), Malto çiç-du (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 136. Quoted as čiči ~ č^hič^h ~ čič^hi in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 48].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 49. Quoted as çiçu in [Droese 1884: 22].

29. FISH

Kurux inž-o: (1), Malto mi:n-du (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 316. Quoted as *inšo* ~ *inšo* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 43].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 105. Quoted as mi:nu in [Droese 1884: 65]. Cf. also ma:k-du 'meat, fish' [Mahapatra 1987: 104].

30. FLY V.

Kurux *urhya:-r-na*: (-1), Malto *urar-~ udiyar-* (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 695. Polysemy: 'to fly off, to fly (of birds) / to fly off (of chaff)' / to lose flavour, to get vapid'. A productive reflexive/passive formation from $u_l hyala:-na$: 'to raise up, to make or let fly into the wind' [ibid.]. Quoted as uria-r in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 48]. All of these forms ultimately stem from Indo-Aryan sources (cf. Hindi u_l - 'to fly', etc.).

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 12, 13. Quoted as udyar-e 'to fly, to vanish' in [Droese 1884: 106].

31. FOOT

Kurux xedd (1), Malto qed-du (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 418. Polysemy: 'foot / leg / step'. Quoted as $x \in td \in E$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 45]. For the Gabindanagar subdialect, this source lists gurxi 'foot' = gurxi: 'heel' [Grignard 1924: 270].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 24. Meaning glossed as 'leg', but cf. qequ 'the legs, the feet' in [Droese 1884: 87].

32. FULL

Kurux ni:nd-na: (1), Malto pura (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 529. Verbal stem: 'to be filled; to fill by occupying'. Cf. also the transitive equivalent: *nind-na*: 'to fill' (with short vowel). Quoted as *nind* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 53].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 87. Also *bara-pura* id. [Mahapatra 1987: 93]. In [Droese 1884: 83], only the verbal forms are attested: *pu:ra-re* 'to be fulfilled', *pu:ra-t-re* 'to complete, to fulfil'. Cf. the old etymological equivalent: *nind-e* 'to fill', *nind-γr-e* 'to be filled' in [Droese 1884: 70].

33. GIVE

Kurux či?i-na: (1), Malto çiy- (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 138. Quoted as *či* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 51].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 50. Past stem: *çi-ça-*. Quoted as *çiy-e* 'to give away' in [Droese 1884: 24]. Cf. also *qaţ-* 'to give (to me/us)' [Mahapatra 1987: 22; Droese 1884: 86].

34. GOOD

Kurux *koːṛeː* (1), Malto *moʒa* (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 381. Polysemy: 'in good health / healed, cured / in happiness, in peace / friendly, kind / honest, correct, fair / civilized'. For semantics, cf.: a:s kore:s ka: gandas "is he a good man, or a bad one?" [Grignard 1924: 250]. Quoted as kore ~ korem in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 54]. Additionally, cf. b*hala: 'good, kind; well done; nicely, properly' [Grignard 1924: 102], quoted as b*halo 'good' in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 54]. This latter word is a transparent Indo-Aryan borrowing.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 109. Probably the same word as *maʒa* 'pleasant, good' [Droese 1884: 61], borrowed from Hindi. Cf. also *neku-te* [Mahapatra 1987: 79].

35. GREEN

Kurux harya:r (-1), Malto qen-min-a (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 290. Quoted as *haciar* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 55]. Transparent Indo-Aryan borrowing (cf. Marathi *hirva:*, Nepali *hariyo*, etc.).

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 24. Cf. in [Droese 1884: 87]: qe:n-e 'raw, green, unripe', qe:n-qazro 'green'.

36. HAIR

Kurux čuţţi: (1), Malto ta:li (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 156. Meaning glossed as 'hair (of man or animal); bristles, mane', with textual examples clearly showing no distinction between "head hair" and "body hair". Quoted as *čut:i* ~ *čuti* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 44]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 68. Quoted as *tali* 'hair of the head' in [Droese 1884: 98].

37. HAND

Kurux $xekk^h$ -a: (1), Malto qeq-u (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 419. Polysemy: 'hand / arm / cubit / possession / act, operation'. Quoted as $xetk^ha \sim xetk^h\epsilon$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 44].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 24. Quoted as qeq-e 'the hand' in [Droese 1884: 87].

38. HEAD

Kurux kukk (1), Malto kuk-du (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 388. Polysemy: 'head / unit / extremity / mother-tuber'. Quoted as $kvk:u \sim kuk^h$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 44]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 33. Quoted as kuku in [Droese 1884: 56].

39. HEAR

Kurux men-na: (1), Malto men-e (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 488. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen / to obey / to question'. Quoted as $m\varepsilon n \sim mn$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 49]. **Malto:** Droese 1884: 64. Polysemy: 'to hear / to ask' (the meanings 'to be or become / to grow, to be produced' refer to a

homonymous root). For some reason, not attested in [Mahapatra 1987].

40. HEART

Kurux buk-a: (1), Malto konda (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 98. Secondary synonym: 3iya: 'soul / mind / heart, seat of energy' [Grignard 1924: 332].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 37; Droese 1884: 55. Cf. also the phonologically strange word *amtol?e* [Mahapatra 1987: 4], not attested in [Droese 1884].

41. HORN

Kurux marăg (1), Malto marg-du (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 482. Polysemy: 'horn, antler / natural ardour, spirit'. Quoted as maraŋ ~ mæræk 'horn (of buffalo)' in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 43].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 103. Quoted as margu 'horns' in [Droese 1884: 63].

42. I

Kurux *e:n* (1), Malto *e:n* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 229. Oblique stem: en-g- (genitive eng^hay , accusative engan, etc.). Quoted as εn in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 55]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1979: 75; Droese 1884: 34. Oblique stem: $e\eta$ -.

43. KILL

Kurux piţ-na: (1), Malto piţ- (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 574. Quoted as pit in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 51].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 85. Quoted as pif-e in [Droese 1884: 80]. Polysemy: 'to kill / to put out' (fire, presumably).

44. KNEE

Kurux $mu:k-a: \sim m\tilde{u}:k-a:$ (1), Malto mu:k-e (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 498. Polysemy: 'knee / elbow'. Quoted as *muka* ~ *mukε* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 45]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 107; Droese 1884: 66.

45. KNOW

Kurux *ax-na*: (1), Malto *a:g-* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 13. Polysemy: 'to know / to feel, experience'. Quoted as ax in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 49].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 9. Past stem: *aq-a-*. Polysemy: 'to know / to guess'. Quoted as *a:γ-e* 'to know, to understand' in [Droese 1884: 2].

46. LEAF

Kurux atx-a: (1), Malto a:ty-e (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 40. Polysemy: 'leaf / sort of plate, made of sewn up leaves'. Quoted as $atxa \sim vtk^h v \sim vtxv$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 40].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 8; Droese 1884: 7. Polysemy: 'leaf / palm of hand'.

47. LIE

Kurux *bed-r-na*: (1), Malto *ko:d-* (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 70. Meaning glossed as 'to lay oneself on the ground, to lie down'. Quoted as $b\varepsilon q_{-7}$ -o 'to lie down' in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 48] (-r- is a productive reflexive verbal suffix). There seems to be no lexical difference between the static 'be lying' or the dynamic 'lie down'; cf., however, the secondary synonym $\check{c}u:t$ -na:, glossed in [Grignard 1924: 156] as 'to lie down; to lay oneself down, to go to sleep', and also listed in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 48], in the form $\check{c}ut$, as the default equivalent for the Dima subdialect. The latter word seems to be more tightly bound to idiomatic expressions, such as 'to lie down on the side, on the stomach, on the back etc.', but this is not entirely certain; further analysis of textual evidence is necessary to figure out the proper semantic distribution.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 39. Polysemy: 'to lie down / to be'. Quoted as *ko:d-e* 'to lie down, to lie with, to lie ill' in [Droese 1884: 54]. No attested distinction between dynamic 'lie down' and static 'lie'.

48. LIVER

Malto *çeðro* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Not attested.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 54. Quoted as $\varphi e\theta ro$ in [Droese 1884: 22].

49. LONG

Kurux dig^ha : (-1), Malto $dig\gamma$ -o (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 186. Polysemy: 'long / tall'. Quoted as dig^ha in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 52]. Transparent Indo-Aryan borrowing (cf. Sanskrit $di:rg^ha$ -, etc.). For the Dima subdialect, the latter source lists lamti 'long', borrowed from an alternate source (Indo-Aryan *lamba 'long').

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 74. Borrowing from the same Indo-Aryan source as in Kurux. Quoted as *digaq-o* 'long, tall' in [Droese 1884: 29]. Cf. also *lembra* 'long' [Mahapatra 1987: 113], not attested in [Droese 1884].

50. LOUSE

Kurux pē:n (1), Malto pe:n-du (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 572. Distinct from a[hua: 'the louse of dogs and cattle; tick' [Grignard 1924: 41].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 88. Quoted as pe:nu in [Droese 1884: 79].

51. MAN

Kurux $me:t \sim m\tilde{e}:t$ (1), Malto murs-e (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 490. Polysemy: 'adult man / lover / husband'. Quoted as $m\varepsilon t$ in [Grignard et al. 2011: 45]. According to the same source, the Dima subdialect equivalent for 'man' is $ku\varepsilon uk^h = k\tilde{u}_{1}\tilde{u}x$ 'Oraon (Kurux)' [Grignard 1924: 393].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 107; Droese 1884: 67. The word *male* is also consistently glossed as 'man' [Mahapatra 1987: 104; Droese 1884: 61], but examples show that it is rather applicable to the general meaning of 'person' q.v.

52. MANY

Kurux bagge: ~ baggi: (1), Malto ga:re (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 50. Quoted as *boge* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 52]. Synonym: d^her 'much, many; frequently happening, common' [Grignard 1924: 206], quoted as der in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 52].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 41; Droese 1884: 38. Cf. also onek 'many' [Mahapatra 1987: 18].

53. MEAT

Kurux *ahṛ-a*: (1), Malto *ma:k-du* (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 8. Polysemy: 'flesh, meat / pulp of fruits'. Quoted as *ahara* ~ *ehere* ~ *ahera* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 41]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 104. Polysemy: 'meat / fish'. Quoted as *ma:ku* 'flesh, meat; a stag' in [Droese 1884: 61].

54. MOON

Kurux čando: (-1), Malto çando (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 126. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Quoted as čando ~ č^hend in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 38]. Transparent borrowing from Indo-Aryan.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 49. Quoted as *ça:ndo* in [Droese 1884: 19]. Additional synonym: *bilp-du* 'moon' [Mahapatra 1987: 97], quoted as *bilpu* in [Droese 1884: 16]. Distinct from *kando* 'full moon' [Mahapatra 1987: 31].

55. MOUNTAIN

Kurux part-a: (1), Malto pahri (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 565. Quoted as *pareta* ~ *parta* in [Grignard et al. 2011: 38]. For the Dulhapur subdialect, the latter source lists the Indo-Aryan borrowing *pahar* as the default equivalent.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 84. Meaning glossed as 'hill'. Quoted as *pahare* 'a hill, a mountain' in [Droese 1884: 75]. Transparent borrowing from Hindi *paha:r* id.

56. MOUTH

Kurux bai: (1), Malto toro (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 52. Polysemy: 'mouth / aperture of a vessel / mouthful'. Quoted as $bvi \sim bai$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 44]. The same source also lists $gal:\varepsilon$ as a potential synonym in several dialects; however, this word is listed as galle: 'cheek / mouthful' in [Grignard 1924: 249] and is clearly ineligible for the basic slot 'mouth'.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 72; Droese 1884: 101. Cf. also adulte 'mouth', a form quoted for the Sawriya dialect in [Mahapatra 1987: 2].

57. NAME

Kurux na:me: (-1), Malto na:mi (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 514. Transparent Indo-Aryan borrowing. Quoted as *namε* ~ *nem* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 46]. Cf. the verb *piŋǯ-na*: 'to impose a name, to give an appellation to' [Grignard 1924: 573], reflecting the original Dravidian term for the meaning 'name'.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 78; Droese 1884: 68. Transparent Indo-Aryan borrowing. Cf. the verb *pipt*³- 'to give name' [Mahapatra 1987: 85], reflecting the original Dravidian term for the meaning 'name'.

58. NECK

Kurux xe:sĕr (1), Malto qasr-du (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 423. Polysemy: 'neck / shoulders'. Quoted as *xεšεr* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 44]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 23. Quoted as *qasru* in [Droese 1884: 86].

59. NEW

Kurux *pun-a*: (1), Malto *pu:n-e* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 580. Quoted as puna ~ punv in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 54].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 87. Quoted as pun-e in [Droese 1884: 83]. Additionally, cf. loya 'new' [Mahapatra 1987: 114].

60. NIGHT

Kurux ma:x-a: (1), Malto ma:q-du (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 474. Cf. the corresponding verb: *ma:x-na:* 'to grow dark; to be overtaken by night' [ibid.]. Quoted as *maxa* ~ *mexeb* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 39].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 104. Quoted as *ma:qu* in [Droese 1884: 62]. Cf. also the Indo-Aryan borrowing *ra:ti* 'night' [Mahapatra 1987: 110], not attested in [Droese 1884].

61. NOSE

Kurux muĩ: (1), Malto muso (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 497. Quoted as *muhi* ~ $m\tilde{u}\tilde{i}$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 44]. Cf. $m\tilde{u}hi$ 'face' [Grignard 1924: 497], indicating possible contamination of two phonetically and semantically similar items (especially in Ahmad et al.'s notation).

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 107. Listed with polysemy: 'snot, snivel / nose' in [Droese 1884: 68]. Cf. also *mupu* 'nose', a form quoted for the Sawriya dialect in [Mahapatra 1987: 106]; it is listed as the default equivalent for 'nose' in [Droese 1884: 67].

62. NOT

Kurux $mal \sim mala$: (1), Malto =mal- (1) / =la- \sim =le- (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 474. Emphatic stressed form: *mal?a:*. All these are auxiliary negative morphemes, formed from the basic verb *mal-na:* 'not to be' (e. g. *e:n k^hristan mal-d-an* 'I am not a Christian', etc.) [Grignard 1924: 476].

Malto: Mahapatra 1979: 165. This is the basic negative morpheme in the present indicative tense, formed from an original negative verb *mal*-. Cf. *mala* 'no, not' [Droese 1884: 61]. Mahapatra 1979: 165. This is the basic negative morpheme for the past and future indicative tenses. Choice of the vowel depends on the following person marker (Mahapatra: "-*le*- occurs only before the person markers with front vowels and *y*, -*la*- occurs elsewhere").

63. ONE

Kurux *o:-nd* ~ *o:-n* (1), Malto *e:ke* (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 541. Meaning glossed as 'one full, one whole, one entire'. This is the default form of the numeral for inanimate objects. The animate equivalent ('one man or woman' is o-r-ot [Grignard 1924: 549]. Quoted as onte o ond o othan 'one' in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 51]. According to Grignard's dictionary, the sphere of usage of these words is somewhat limited; for instance, in enumerating the natural series of units the Indo-Aryan borrowing e:o is used instead [Grignard 1924: 216].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 16. Quoted as *e:k* in [Droese 1884: 21]. Transparent borrowing from Indo-Aryan. The old Dravidian numeral, according to Mahapatra's data, is mainly preserved in the function of a nominal classifier: *or-tu* ~ *or-t* 'one (classifier for human beings)' [Mahapatra 1987: 19]. Cf. the inherited form *or-t* 'one' in [Droese 1884: 73] ("adjectively employed"; the borrowed form *e:k* is quoted as a cardinal number, "used in counting").

64. PERSON

Kurux *a:l-as* (1), Malto *mal-e* (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 15. Polysemy: 'adult male person / husband / friend, companion / servant'. However, textual examples show that the same word may denote an abstract 'person' in general as well. The word itself is derived from the simpler form *a:l*, whose semantics is glossed as 'adult male, husband, servant etc. (in the abstract); mankind, the human race' [ibid.]. Quoted as *al* 'person' in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 45].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 104; Droese 1884: 61.

65. RAIN

Kurux \check{ce} :p (1), Malto \mathfrak{z} a \mathfrak{r} e (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 135. Quoted as $\check{c}\varepsilon b \sim \check{c}\varepsilon p \sim \check{c}\tilde{\varepsilon}p$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 38].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 56. Quoted as 3ara in [Droese 1884: 45].

66. RED

Kurux $x\tilde{e}$:s-o (1), Malto qe:s-o (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 423. Derived from $x\tilde{e}s$ 'blood' q.v. It should be noted that in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 55], this word is not quoted; instead, the authors list the Indo-Aryan borrowing *lal* 'red' for all subdialects of Kurux.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 25; Droese 1884: 88.

67. ROAD

Kurux *dahre:* (-1), Malto *pa:w-du* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 172. Polysemy: 'track, path / road / distance / means / manner of proceeding'. Quoted as *dahare* ~ *dəhere* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 48]. This seems to be a recent replacement of the older word *pa:b* 'road / journey' [Grignard 1924: 552], now mostly used in idiomatic expressions or the figurative sense ('way of the Lord', etc.).

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 85. Polysemy: 'road / path'. Quoted as pawu 'way, path, road' in [Droese 1884: 79]. Cf. also sarke 'road' [Mahapatra 1987: 115].

68. ROOT

Kurux *pa:d-a:* (1), Malto *pa:ð-e* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 554. Quoted as pada ~ pedər in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 40].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 85. Quoted as $pa:\theta$ -e in [Droese 1884: 78]. Additionally, cf. peqe 'root' [Mahapatra 1987: 88]; bande 'root' [Mahapatra 1987: 92; Droese 1884: 11]; mu:li 'root' [Mahapatra 1987: 108; Droese 1884: 66]. Semantic difference between all these words remains unclear; provisionally, we fill the main slot with the only word that has an exact parallel in Kurux and, consequently, represents the optimal candidate for Proto-North Dravidian 'root'.

69. ROUND

Malto *go:le* (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Not attested.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 45. Transparent borrowing from Indo-Aryan (Hindi gol 'round', etc.). Additionally, cf. logya 'globular,

round' [Mahapatra 1987: 114].

70. SAND

Kurux čalkur (1), Malto ba:lu (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 123. Quoted as *čalkul* ~ *č^helkul* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 39]. The same source also lists *balu* as a dialectal synonym; cf. *bali*: 'iron-ore (a black ferruginous sand yielding good iron)' [Grignard 1924: 55].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 95. Quoted as ba:le in [Droese 1884: 10]. Borrowed from Indo-Aryan (cf. Hindi ba:lu: 'sand', etc.).

71. SAY

Kurux *a:n-na:* (1), Malto *a:n-* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 26. Polysemy: 'to say / to tell / to invite / to salute as / to point out, designate'.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 8. Meaning glossed as 'to tell, to say, to speak'. Quoted as a:n-e 'to think, say or do thus' in [Droese 1884: 4].

72. SEE

Kurux *e:r-na:* (1), Malto *tund-* (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 238. Polysemy: 'to see / to look / to look after / to examine, to try'. Quoted as εr in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 48]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 61. Quoted as tunde 'to see, to look' in [Droese 1884: 106]. The more archaic equivalent, tunde 'to see', is only listed for the Sawriya dialect of Malto in [Mahapatra 1987: 8]; quoted as tunde 'to see, to behold, to observe' in [Droese 1884: 35].

73. SEED

Kurux bi: ~ bihn-i: (-1), Malto bi:çi (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 78, 81. Polysemy: 'seed (of plants) / stone (of fruits) / egg / testicles'. Quoted as *bihini* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 41], also as *biči* for the Gabindanagar dialect. All of these forms represent various local borrowings from Indo-Aryan *biša 'seed' (Hindi biš, Bengali biš, Marathi bīš, etc.). Additionally, cf. mānšiš: 'seed, in gen.' [Grignard 1924: 479]; this is a word of Dravidian origin, but joint evidence of several sources shows that it has most likely lost its basic usage in present day Kurux.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 97; Droese 1884: 15. See notes on Kurux for the Indo-Aryan origins of this word. In [Droese 1884: 15], the alternate synonym *biheni* 'seed' is also quoted, reflecting the same borrowed root.

74. SIT

Kurux *okk-na*: (1), Malto *ok-* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 539. Polysemy: 'to sit down, to seat oneself / to hold a session, to be convened / to come to a standstill, deadlock / to remain in position / to agree with, tally together / to reside, live'. Quoted as *ok* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 48].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 17. Polysemy: 'to sit / to be situated / to be'. Quoted as ok-e, 3rd p. past tense ok-y-a in [Droese 1884: 72].

75. SKIN

Kurux čapţ-a: (-1), Malto çambe (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 128. Polysemy: 'skin / hide / leather / leather-string used as amulet'. Quoted as *čapta* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 45]. Most likely borrowed from Indo-Aryan (Bengali *čamτa*, etc.) with subsequent phonetic change; the Dima subdialect, according to [Ahmad et al. 2011: 45], still preserves the archaic pronunciation *č*^homri.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 47. Cf. also *çale* 'skin, bark, pell' [Mahapatra 1987: 48]; *çoglo* 'skin, husk, peel' [Mahapatra 1987: 54]. It is not clear which one of these items is the default equivalent for 'human skin'. Cf. *çame* 'the skin' [Droese 1884: 19]; *çale* 'rind, peel' [Droese 1884: 19]; *çeglo* 'the shell (of fruit)' [Droese 1884: 19]. Since only the first of these three words is glossed as 'skin' in [Droese 1884], we provisionally select it as the main equivalent for this meaning in Malto.

76. SLEEP

Kurux *xand-r-na*: (1), Malto *qand-r-* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 406. Polysemy: 'to sleep / to die (fig.) / to be negligent'. The suffix -r- is a standard reflexive morpheme. Quoted as *xandro* ~ *kendre* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 49].

Malto: Droese 1884: 85 (qand-r-e, 3rd p. past tense qand-r-y-a). For some reason, the word is not attested in [Mahapatra 1987].

77. SMALL

Kurux sanni: (1), Malto kudri # (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 614. Polysemy: 'small / young / humble / despondent'. Quoted as $\check{s}an:i \sim san:i$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 52]. Cf. also $bu\check{c}u$ 'small, little (of young children only)' [Grignard 1924: 96]. In [Ahmad et al. 2011: 52], cf. also $\check{c}uk:v$ 'small' (Dima subdialect) and $\check{c}^hot\varepsilon$ 'small' (several other subdialects); the latter is a transparent Indo-Aryan borrowing (cf. Hindi $\check{c}^hota:$, etc.).

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 34. Apparently derived from *kudi* 'broken pieces of grain', *kudru* 'broken pieces of sifted grain' [Droese 1884: 56], an Indo-Aryan borrowing. Cf. also several alternate candidates: *çude* 'small, young' [Mahapatra 1987: 52], quoted in the meaning 'the younger' in [Droese 1884: 25]; *ʒoko* 'small, little' (Sawriya dialect) [Mahapatra 1987: 58], quoted as *ʒoka* 'little, small, a few' in [Droese 1884: 47]; *ţipo* 'small, tiny' [Mahapatra 1987: 60], quoted as *ţipo* ~ *ţiptyo* 'short built, dwarfish' in [Droese 1884: 105]; *puţka* 'small' [Mahapatra 1987: 86], probably the same word as *puţka* 'gooseberry; a kind of small wild berry' in [Droese 1884: 84]. Available

textual evidence does not allow to choose a definitive equivalent for the required meaning.

78. SMOKE

Kurux $mo: \S x-a: \sim mo: sg-a: (1)$, Malto $mo: \gamma-e (1)$.

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 493, 495. Secondary synonym: $d^hu\eta gya$: [Grignard 1924: 213]. This is the only equivalent for the meaning 'smoke' to be found in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 48] as well: $du\eta ga \sim du\eta gu \sim d^hu\eta giye$ id.; it is a rather transparent borrowing from Indo-Aryan (cf. Hindi $d^hu\tilde{a}$;, etc.). However, most of the textual examples in Grignard's dictionary confirm that $mor\tilde{s}x$ -a: is the more basic and frequently used variant of the two (or, at least, was that way in the early XXth century).

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 110. Formally derived from the verbal root *mo:γ*- 'to smoke'. Quoted as *moγ-e* 'smoke (n.), to emit smoke' in [Droese 1884: 65].

79. STAND

Kurux *i*₃-*na*: (1), Malto *i*:*l*- (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 312. Meaning glossed as 'to be stationary in an upright position; to rise up to one's feet; to stand on end; to cease from progress, to stop, halt, pause; to maintain a fixed or steady attitude'. Quoted as *išu* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 48]. Cf. from the same root, but without morphological fusion: *il-d-na*: 'to erect, to set up' [Grignard 1924: 313] (causative formation); *il-na*: 'to get up, to rise to one's feet' [Grignard 1924: 314].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 11. Past stem (with fusion): *i-3a-*. Polysemy: 'to stand / to be'. Quoted as *il-e*, 3rd p. past stem *i-3a* in [Droese 1884: 42].

80. STAR

Kurux bi:nk-o: (1), Malto bi:nk-e (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 85. Quoted as *bink-o* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 38]. In the Dima subdialect, the word *tergen* is also attested in the meaning 'star' [ibid.]; this is an Indo-Aryan borrowing (cf. Bengali *tara*, *tarka*).

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 97. Quoted as bi:ndk-e in [Droese 1884: 16].

81. STONE

Kurux $pak^h n$ -a: (1), Malto $\varphi apri$ (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 559. Quoted as $pak^hna \sim pak^hena$ in [Grignard et al. 2011: 39]. Secondary synonym: ča:ča: 'stone, pebble, rock' [Grignard 1924: 116]. Difference between the two words is not clear, but pak^hna : is encountered far more frequently in textual

examples (including contexts that deal with throwing stones, etc.), so the other term must be more specific, perhaps generally referring to a 'large boulder' or 'work-stone' (inconclusive).

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 44. Cf. also *goga* 'large stone' [Mahapatra 1987: 44]. In [Droese 1884: 18], only the form *çarç-e* 'stone' is attested, but it is not listed in [Mahapatra 1987] at all; it may be suspected that, just as in Kurukh, the old word for 'stone' is gradually being or has already been completely replaced in Malto by a more recent equivalent.

82. SUN

Kurux *bi:r-i:* (1), Malto *be:r-du* (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 88. Transparently derived from the verb $bi\gamma$ - 'to be hot' [Grignard 1924: 89]. Quoted as $bi\gamma \sim bi\gamma i$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 38].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 100. Quoted as be:ru in [Droese 1884: 15].

83. SWIM

Kurux *o:g-na:* (1), Malto *o:g-* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 537. Past stem: *u:g-y-as*. Quoted as *ug* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 48]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 20. Quoted as *o:g-e*, 3rd p. past tense *o:g-y-a* in [Droese 1884: 72].

84. TAIL

Kurux *xol-a*: (1), Malto *qo:l-i* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 429. Quoted as xola in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 42].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 26. Quoted as qol-i (with short vowel) in [Droese 1884: 88].

85. THAT

Kurux a: (1) / hu: (2), Malto a:- (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 1. Deictic adjective, indicating remoteness. Cf. the nominal paradigm: *a*:-*s* 'this man', *a*:-*r* ~ *a*-*byar* 'these persons', *a*:-*d* 'this woman or thing', *a*-*bya*: 'these things'. In [Ahmad et al. 2011: 55], only the substantivated forms *a*-*d* 'this thing', *a*-*bya* 'those things' are listed. Grignard 1924: 304. Deictic adjective, indicating an object that is intermediate between the speaker and the listener. Cf. the nominal paradigm: *hu*:-*s* 'that man', *hu*:-*r* ~ *hu*-*byar* 'those persons', *hu*:-*d* 'this woman or thing', *hu*-*bya*: 'these things'. Not attested in [Ahmad et al. 2011].

Malto: Mahapatra 1979: 76. The basic forms for the remote demonstrative pronoun are: a:-h (masc.), a:-d (non-masc.), a:-r (plural).

Quoted as, respectively, a:-h, $a:-\theta$, a:-r in [Droese 1884: 31].

86. THIS

Kurux *i:* (1), Malto *i:*- (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 309. Deictic adjective. Cf. the nominal paradigm: i:-s 'this man', $i:-r \sim i-b\gamma ar$ 'these persons', i:-d 'this woman or thing', $i-b\gamma a$ 'these things'. In [Ahmad et al. 2011: 55], only the substantivated forms i-d 'this thing', $i-b\gamma a \sim i-b\gamma e \sim i-b\gamma e$ 'these things' are listed.

Malto: Mahapatra 1979: 76. The basic forms for the proximate demonstrative pronoun are: *i:-h* (masc.), *i:-d* (non-masc.), *i:-r* (plural). Quoted as, respectively, *i:-h*, *i:-θ*, *i:-r* in [Droese 1884: 31].

87. THOU

Kurux ni:n (1), Malto ni:n (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 529. Oblique stem: *niη-g-* (accusative *niŋgan*, etc.). Quoted as *nin* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 55]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1979: 75; Droese 1884: 70. Oblique stem: *niη-*.

88. TONGUE

Kurux tatx-a: (1), Malto tart-e (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 649. Polysemy: 'tongue / fore-edge of the winnowing basket'. Quoted as *tatxa* ~ *terxe* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 44].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 68; Droese 1884: 99.

89. TOOTH

Kurux pall (1), Malto pa:l-du (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 559. Polysemy: 'tooth / power, fortune (fig.)'. Quoted as *pal:ε* ~ *pvl* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 44]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 84. Quoted as *palu* 'the teeth' (with short vowel) in [Droese 1884: 76].

90. TREE

Kurux mann (1), Malto man-du (1).

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 480. Polysemy: 'tree / heavy wooden pestle used in unhusking and pounding rice'. Quoted as *man:e* ~ *men* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 40].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 103. The simple form *man* functions as a classifier for trees [ibid.]. Quoted as *manu* 'a tree' in [Droese 1884: 62].

91. TWO

Kurux e:- $nd \sim \tilde{e}$:- γ (1), Malto du:ye (-1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 235. Meaning glossed as 'numeral adj., commonly used only with names of animals and things; two'. The corresponding equivalent for animate objects (people) is ir-b [Grignard 1924: 317]; both forms historically contain the same root (*ir-) but are formally suppletive on the synchronic level. It should be noted that in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 52], the only equivalent for the meaning 'two' is the Indo-Aryan borrowing $dwi \sim du$, also listed in [Grignard 1924: 195] as $du: \sim dui$:. As in the case with 'one', it looks like the original Dravidian numeral is being gradually replaced in Kurux by its Indo-Aryan equivalent. However, at least in Grignard's time, as can be seen from the textual examples, the process was far from being complete, and it seems methodologically correct to include the original terms in the main slot.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 75. Transparent borrowing from Indo-Aryan. The old Dravidian numeral, according to Mahapatra's data, is mainly preserved in bound functions: e. g. *ir-wer* 'two persons, classifier for human beings' [Mahapatra 1987: 10]. In [Droese 1884: 18, 21], a similar distinction is drawn between the inherited "adjectively employed" form *iwr* and the borrowed "cardinal used in counting" *du*:.

92. WALK (GO)

Kurux *ka:-na:* (1), Malto *e:k-* (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 358. The root has a quasi-suppletive structure: cf. past stem kar-as, future stem

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 16. Quoted as *e:k-e* 'to go, to move' in [Droese 1884: 33]. The verb *ka:l-* 'to go, to come to' is listed for the Sawriya dialect [Mahapatra 1987: 32]; however, in [Droese 1884: 49] *ka:l-e* is simply listed with the meaning 'to go, to come to' (no past tense).

93. WARM (HOT)

Kurux *kur-na*: (1), Malto *kur-ni* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 394. Verbal stem: 'to grow warm, to become hot, to be heated'; cf. *kuṛna: amm* 'hot water'. Apparently, no principal lexical difference between 'warm' and 'hot'.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 35; Droese 1884: 57. Meaning glossed as 'hot, warm' (e. g. of a cooking pot) in both sources.

94. WATER

Kurux amm (1), Malto am-du (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 19. Polysemy: 'water / urine'. Quoted as *ammε* ~ *vm* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 38]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1987: 4. Quoted as *amu* in [Droese 1884: 4].

95. WE₁

Kurux *e:m* (1), Malto *e:m* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 228. Exclusive form. Oblique stem: *em*-. Quoted as *em* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 55]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1979: 75; Droese 1884: 34. Exclusive form. Oblique stem: *em*-.

95. WE₂

Kurux na:m (2), Malto na:m (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 514. Inclusive form. Oblique stem: *nam*-. Quoted as *nam* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 55]. **Malto:** Mahapatra 1979: 75; Droese 1884: 68. Inclusive form. Oblique stem: *nam*-.

96. WHAT

Kurux endĕr (1), Malto indr (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 230. Used both in adjectival and nominal functions. Quoted as εndr -a in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 55] = εndr -a: (an expanded, possibly emphatic, form of the same pronoun) in [Grignard 1924: 231]. For the Dima subdialect, Ahmad et al. list $nekv_i$ as the proper equivalent for 'what?'; this seems to be the same form as ne:- $kkay \sim ne:$ -xay, the genitive form of 'who?', i. e. 'whose?', in [Grignard 1924: 521], and there is sufficient reason to suggest an error in the records.

Malto: Mahapatra 1979: 79. Quoted as indru in [Droese 1884: 34].

97. WHITE

Kurux pandru: (-1), Malto ʒinp-ro (1).

References and notes:

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Kurux: Grignard 1924: 561. Quoted as *pandcu* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 55]. Borrowed from Indo-Aryan (cf. Marathi *pa:ndu* 'white', etc.). For the Dima subdialect, Ahmad et al. quote the form *sedv* 'white' < Bengali *šada* id.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 57. Adjectival derivative from *ʒinp-* 'to be white, to glitter' [ibid.]. Quoted as *ʒinp-e* 'to be clear, to be bright, to be white', *ʒinp-ro* 'bright, white' in [Droese 1884: 46]. Cf. also *dud-li* 'white' [Mahapatra 1987: 75]; *bog-li* 'white' [Mahapatra 1987: 100]; neither of the two words is attested in [Droese 1884].

98. WHO

Kurux *ne:* (1), Malto *ne:-d* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 521. Used as interrogative 'who?' or relative 'who'. Quoted as $n\varepsilon$ in [Ahmad et al. 56: 2011]. For the Dima subdialect, this latter source lists the form is = i:s 'he, she, it' in [Grignard 1924: 319]; this looks like a mistake, unless this demonstrative pronoun has actually acquired interrogative functions in this particular subdialect.

Malto: Mahapatra 1979: 79. Oblique stem: $ne-k \sim ne-kki$. Alternate synonym: ike 'who? which?' [ibid.]; according to Mahapatra, the latter pronoun tends to be replacing the former. Quoted as ne:-reh (masc.), $ne:-\theta \sim ne:-ri\theta$ (fem.) 'who?' in [Droese 1884: 70].

99. WOMAN

Kurux mukk-a: (1), Malto pel-du (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 498. Polysemy: 'woman / marriageable girl / wife'. Quoted as *muk:v* ~ *muk:a* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 45]. According to the same source, the Dima subdialect equivalent for the meaning 'woman' is *vl:i* = *a:li:* 'woman, esp. when grown to adult years; wife' [Grignard 1924: 16]. Textual examples from Grignard's dictionary show, however, that the basic opposition 'man: woman' in Kurux is regularly expressed as *a:l* vs. *mukka:*.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 89. Quoted as *pel-i* in [Droese 1884: 79]. Distinct from *budya* 'wife, woman' [Mahapatra 1987: 97]. Additionally, cf. also *mal-ni* 'woman' [Mahapatra 1987: 104].

100. YELLOW

Kurux ba:lk-a: (1), Malto ba:lk-o (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 55. Polysemy: 'turmeric / yellow'. Used both in nominal and adjectival functions. Quoted as *balk-a* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 56].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 95; Droese 1884: 10.

101. FAR

Kurux $ge\check{c}\check{c}^h$ -a: (1), Malto $ge\varphi$ -e (1).

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 257. Quoted as $g\varepsilon \check{c}v \sim g\varepsilon \check{c}\check{c}^h a$ in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 54].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 43. Quoted as geçe ~ geçi in [Droese 1884: 38].

102. HEAVY

Kurux ott^h -a: (1), Malto ot-e (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 550. Polysemy: 'burden / heavy / difficult / important, decisive'. Quoted as ot^ha in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 52]. For the Dima subdialect, the latter source lists an alternate form: $o\check{z}\check{z}\check{e}$ (etymology unclear).

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 18; Droese 1884: 74.

103. NEAR

Kurux *hedde-nta*: (1), Malto *atg-e* (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 292. Adjectival derivate from the adverb *hedde*: 'near, close to; close by' [ibid.]. Quoted as *hεd:ε ~ hidi* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 54].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 2. Quoted as atg-e ~ atg-i 'near, close' in [Droese 1884: 7]. Cf. also kite 'near, close by' [Mahapatra 1987: 32].

104. SALT

Kurux *be:k* (1), Malto *be:k-du* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 72. Quoted as *bεk* ~ *be k* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 41].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 99. Quoted as be:ku in [Droese 1884: 14].

105. SHORT

Kurux *pudd-a*: (1), Malto *a:pr-e* # (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 579. Meaning glossed as 'short, not tall'; applied, however, to "ropes" as well as "people".

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 8. Meaning glossed as 'short, less, young, little'. Only listed, however, in the meaning 'small, little' in [Droese 1884: 5]. Additionally, cf. also *ça:po* 'low, short' [Mahapatra 1987: 49] (= *ça:po* 'small of stature' in [Droese 1884: 20]); *toqto* 'short, near' [Mahapatra 1987: 71] (= *toq-ro* 'broken or ending' in [Droese 1884: 101]). Dubious.

106. SNAKE

Kurux nerr (1), Malto boda (2).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 525. Quoted as *nεrε* ~ *nεr* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 42].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 101. Glossed as *boda* 'a snake of the larger kind' in [Droese 1884: 17]. The word *neru* 'snake' is listed only for the Sawriya dialect [Mahapatra 1987: 79]; it is quoted as *neru* 'a snake' in [Droese 1884: 70].

107. THIN

Kurux *saruw-a*: (-1), Malto *pat-li* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 618. Polysemy: 'thin / narrow / shrill'. Quoted as *sacuha* ~ *šacua* ~ *šacua* in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 52]. Borrowed from Bengali (*šɔru* 'narrow').

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 82. Cf. also *mehi* 'fine, thin' [Mahapatra 1987: 108], quoted as *mehiŋ* 'fine, thin' in [Droese 1884: 64] (borrowed from Hindi).

108. WIND

Kurux *ta:k-a:* (1), Malto *ta:k-e* (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 638. Polysemy: 'air / wind'. Quoted as taka ~ tege in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 38].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 68; Droese 1884: 98. Polysemy: 'air / wind'. Cf. also awa 'wind, air' [Mahapatra 1987: 6], borrowed from Indo-Aryan.

109. WORM

Kurux lend-a: (1), Malto lend-e (1).

References and notes:

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 459. Meaning glossed as 'any worm of lengthened form; earth-worm, intestinal parasite, etc.'. Distinct from *počgo:* 'any small worm, caterpillar or fleshy larve, esp. of beetle' [Grignard 1924: 575].

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 113; Droese 1884: 60. Meaning glossed as 'earthworm' in both sources. Distinct from *poka* 'worm, bug' [Mahapatra 1987: 88] and *pocr-du* 'worm, caterpillar' [Mahapatra 1987: 89], quoted as *poçru* id. in [Droese 1884: 81].

110. YEAR

Kurux ča:n (1), Malto sa:l-e (-1).

Kurux: Grignard 1924: 124. Secondary synonym: $ba\check{c}\check{c}^har$ id. [Grignard 1924: 46]. The form $\check{c}a:n$, as can be seen from numerous textual attestations, is more frequent (and "basic") than $ba\check{c}\check{c}^har$. However, in [Ahmad et al. 2011: 39], only $ba\check{c}\check{c}^har$ is listed for most of the sub-dialects; additionally, sel 'year' is listed for the Dima sub-dialect. Both $ba\check{c}\check{c}^har$ and sel are transparent borrowings (the former from Indo-Aryan, the second ultimately from an Iranian source); the etymology of $\check{c}a:n$ is not clear.

Malto: Mahapatra 1987: 117. Transparent Indo-Aryan borrowing. Cf. also 30:ge 'year, long time' [Mahapatra 1987: 59] = 'period, season' [Droese 1884: 47]; baçri [Mahapatra 1987: 91] = baçeri 'year' [Droese 1884: 8] (another Indo-Aryan borrowing).