

THE SOURCES OF THE NAHALI VOCABULARY*

by

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

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

a. Words which Nahali has in common with Kurku. As a result of the close symbiosis between Nahals and Kurkus (which symbiosis apparently cannot be dated earlier than about 1800 A.D.), Nahali has adopted a high percentage of Kurku words, sometimes even completely with the Kurku morphemes (e.g. Nah. *aṅglu-ij**, *bommo-ki*, etc.). It does not make any difference, in this respect, if these words belong to the ancient Munda vocabulary or have been borrowed from Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, or perhaps some other non-identified language. On the other hand, if an Indo-Aryan word occurs in Kurku and Nahali in

* The following article was originally conceived as a chapter of a comparative study on Nahali, which however was too long to be included as a whole and which, therefore, has been published elsewhere. [The publication meant is: "Nahali, A Comparative Study", *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederl. Akademie v. Wetensch., Afd. Letterk.*, N.R. 25/5 (1962), pp. 239-352.] For an ample discussion of the etymology of the Nahali words the reader must be referred to that publication. Additional data about the Nimar dialect of Kurku as spoken in Dharni (DhKu.), for which the present writer has to thank most cordially Professor Norman H. Zide have been marked by NHZ. The Kurku words are deliberately reproduced here as they occur in printed texts, as it appeared impossible for the author to transpose these data, the only ones known to him, into a more realistic spelling without a personal knowledge of the spoken language. Sometimes, indeed, the data supplied by Prof. Zide, differ curiously from what might have been expected on comparative grounds. It would be unsafe, therefore, to attempt a phonetic reconstruction on the mere basis of the printed texts and comparative linguistics. For similar reasons the spelling of the *Encyclopaedia Mundarica* has been followed for Mundari words, in spite of its notorious deficiencies. In other respects I have stuck to the orthography introduced by Skrefsrud (e.g. *ñ* for *ṇ*) pending an agreement among Mundologists as to a general transcription system for the Munda (and preferably also for the Dravidian) languages.

different forms, the Nahali word may be supposed to have been borrowed separately – as long as no similar form is found in some Kurku dialect. The fact must be stressed, indeed, that statistics based on an inevitably incomplete Kurku wordlist which contains only such words as occur in printed texts, cannot claim a high degree of exactness. Kurku equivalents to the Nahali words, though unknown from these sources, may actually be in use. This is particularly true of the Indo-Aryan loan-words, which may occur in different forms in the various dialects.

It should be noted in this connexion that James Forsyth, in his *Settlement Report* of 1870 (see “Nahali”, p. 5), stated that the Nahals speak Kurku. Possibly those with whom he had come into contact, or about whom he happened to have some information, really did so. However, as more than a third of the Nahali vocabulary must have been borrowed direct from Kurku, it is also quite conceivable that the large amount of Kurku words in Nahali has given rise to the false impression that Nahals and Kurkus spoke the same language. In any case, this statement was no solid base for Konow’s inference that in 1870 the Nahals “still” spoke Kurku, and that only after that date Nahali has adopted a large number of Dravidian, and still later of Aryan words. (See *LSI*, IV, 185). This picture of the historical development is certainly incorrect. It cannot reasonably be doubted that originally Nahali was quite different from Kurku, whose strong influence must have begun to make itself felt only after the extermination of the Nahal tribe, shortly after 1800 A.D. The fundamental difference between the basic vocabulary of Nahali and Kurku is too apparent to need circumstantial demonstration. Cf. e.g.:¹

eat	Ku. <i>jom</i>	Nah. <i>tē-</i>
drink	<i>nu</i>	<i>ḍelen-</i>
sit	<i>šubañ</i>	<i>peṭe-</i>
sing	<i>širiñ</i>	<i>bāro-</i>
fall	<i>boco</i>	<i>cerko-</i>
ascend	<i>perej</i>	<i>cakha-</i>
ask	<i>komara</i>	<i>bica-</i>
hear	<i>anjum</i>	<i>cikn-</i>

¹ The Kurku words are here given in the spelling of Rev. John Drake. The divergencies in DhKu. are mostly irrelevant in this respect, except for *mañum* “blood” for *pacna* [DhKu. *pacna*], which had not been recorded by any of the older authorities. As for *munda* : *kuwa* Prof. Zide remarks: DhKu. *mūdā* “to beat, strike” : *kuaq* “to spank (a child)”. For *kuwa*[q] beside *kuma*[q], *ma*[q] see *Orientalia Neerlandica*, 385. For *ganḍa* DhKu. has *poera*, which is also well-known in other dialects. The other DhKu. equivalents are *subaṇ*, *siriñ*, *añum*, *akhè*, *mhad*, *tithid*, *biñ*, *siñ*, *daq*, *sigel*, *sagin*, *tein* (= *tehiñ*), *dhega*.

be afraid	<i>higra</i>	<i>cāvgo-</i>
beat	<i>munda, kuwa</i>	<i>koṭṭo-</i>
kindle	<i>tiñ</i>	<i>uri-</i>
weep	<i>yam</i>	<i>āpa-</i>
axe	<i>ake</i>	<i>cakoṭo</i>
bamboo	<i>mad</i>	<i>jūd</i>
bee	<i>nili, etc.</i>	<i>maikko</i>
bird	<i>titid</i>	<i>poyye</i>
blood	<i>pacna</i>	<i>corṭo</i>
tooth	<i>tiriñ</i>	<i>meñge</i>
boy	<i>ganḍa</i>	<i>ejer</i>
louse	<i>siku</i>	<i>kepa</i>
snake	<i>biñ</i>	<i>kōgo</i>
stone	<i>dega</i>	<i>cago</i>
tree	<i>śiñ</i>	<i>aḍru</i>
water	<i>dā</i>	<i>joppo</i>
fire	<i>śiñgel</i>	<i>āpo</i>
to-day	<i>tēñ</i>	<i>bay</i>
far	<i>sañgin</i>	<i>dhava</i>

Since most of the Kurku words are common Munda words, whereas their Nahali equivalents are quite isolated, this aberrant vocabulary could possibly be explained by the theory that Nahali is essentially an argot, which has introduced a large number of substitutes for the original words, whatever the origin of these substitutes may be. However, such a theory would be inadequate to account for the far more interesting second group of words:

b. Munda words in Nahali, whose absence in Kurku cannot be explained by the deficiencies of our lexical materials or by the theory that they have gone out of use in Kurku. Not all words to be discussed here satisfy the last condition. These words are particularly important for our reconstruction of the historical development of Nahali in that they point to *the existence of Munda elements in Nahali, long before it came under the influence of Kurku*, while further suggesting the conclusion that these Munda elements cannot with certainty be connected with either the northern (Kherwari) group or with the central and southern (Sora-Gudba) groups of the Munda languages. The scanty materials on which we have to base our conclusions do not allow us, in the present state of these studies, to go beyond the ascertainment of possibilities. Only in passing, therefore, reference may be made to a theory, which

Verrier Elwin (*The Baiga*, p. 4) has put forward, of two different settlements of the Munda race, the first of which is represented by the Bhar, Bhuiya, Baiga, and kindred tribes, who have entirely lost their own languages. As far as I can see, linguistic research has not thus far produced any evidence suggestive of such a fundamental bipartition of the Munda family of speech. Attention must be drawn, therefore, to the possibly important implications of the Nah. word *biḍi* "one". Up till now, only forms with initial *b* but without a dental suffix have become known, whereas forms with initial *m* occur with and without that suffix (see Pinnow, 264). So the Nah. form represents a type of formation that is not found anywhere else. Other cases that are of special interest in this connexion are Nah. *ṭu-* "to embrace" : Ku. *katu*, id. (prefixed *ḍu/ru* in Kh. *karó*, So. *kundu*; cf. Khasi *kyntup* : Sa. *ḥarup*, Mu. *hambud*) and Nah. *ṭē-* "to eat" : **tiñ* in Kherwari. Corresponding forms may have existed, or perhaps even exist, in other Munda languages, but in the present state of our knowledge these words are isolated and might possibly support the theory of a different branch of Munda now extinct but for the remnants in Nahali (See also Berger, *WZKSO*, III (1959), 79). Less important is Nah. *chama-ki*, if this should reflect a non-infixed form **sa-mah* beside **sanamah* in Ku. *samma-n*.² Attention may further be drawn to Nah. *honḍar* "rat", which very closely resembles the Proto-Munda form which has been borrowed into Sanskrit as *undara-*, but which can only indirectly be connected with So. *ondreñ* (further connexion with Ku. *kone* (sic!), etc. [Pinnow, *Versuch einer histor. Lautlehre*, 180, Berger, *WZKSO*, III, 57] is unacceptable); to Nah. *haru* "to bite", although Ho *hua*, id., indirectly proves the existence of **haru* at an earlier stage of Kherwari, and although we cannot rule out the possibility that Kurku has had a verb **haru* for *katra-tiñki* "to gnaw"; to Nah. *baṭam* "thirsty", if related to Ku. *ta-taṇ*, and to *kakheyñ* "to comb the hair", if related to Ku. *akej*. See also below, p. 81, for Dhimal *ünkhū* "rice". Of the remaining instances of non-Kurku words of Munda origin the following may be mentioned:

A. More closely connected with Kherwari:

ara- "to see" : Sa. *arak* 'orok' "staring"?

giṭa "younger brother" : Sa. *gidar gadar* "little children"?

ho-t, ho-te "not" : Sa. *qhō*, id.

² As to Ku. *samma-n* (DhKu. *samma-èn*) Prof. Zide remarks that it "is certainly contaminated (if nothing more) by Hi. *sāmne* since both the *-mm-* and the use of the suffix *-èn* (with the syntax of the constructions in which it is found i.e. Ngen. *samma-èn*, like Hi. *ke N* (oblique) *mē* (e.g. Hi. *biic*, *bagal*, Ko. *biico-èn*, *bagal-èn*, etc.) are atypical of K. construction."

jakofo "male" : Kw. *jhāku*, id.
mokhne "elbow" : Mu. *mukuṛi* "knee"
popo "belly" : Mu. *puṛpuṛ*, Ho *pupū* "abdomen".
ṭē- "to eat" : Sa. *ṭiṇ* "to graze"

B. More closely connected with Central and South Munda:

arḍu "tree, wood" : So. *ērā-* (?)
baddi "bull" : Gu. *bāḍi* "buffalo".
be- "to give" : Gu. *bē*, id.
de- "to give" : Ju. *ḍiṇ* (?) or = Hi. *denā*(?).
**ēr-*, *iēr-* "to go" : So. *er-*, *yir-*.
[honḍar "rat" : So. *ondreñ-*? But cf. Mar. *ūdar*, *PMW* 27 !]
jere- "to remain" : Ju. *iḍ*, *iṛ*?
piy- "to come" : Gu. *pi*, id.
(aba)-re "(his) father" : Ju. *(ba)-re*.

It need hardly be stressed that the occurrence of a few Austroasiatic words in a single Munda language does not justify any conclusions as to its position in the whole group of Munda languages. In spite of the close relations between the various Kherwari dialects we find in some of them remarkable words which seem isolated in Munda, although their Austroasiatic origin cannot be questioned. Such an ordinary Kherwari dialect as Korwa has preserved the word *bonum* "many", from A.-A. **binum* cf. Besis *'nom*, *nūm*, *hēnom*, *h'nom* "many, much". (For Proto-Munda **i*, see Pinnow, *Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre*, 140 ff.). The word is not known from any other Munda language (unless Ju. *buluṇa* "many" should be related to it). On the other hand, the circumstance that the non-Kurku elements of the Nahali vocabulary cannot be attributed to any one of the sub-groups would seem to point to the conclusion that the older Munda stratum in Nahali stands somewhat apart from the sub-groups into which Munda is divided. Berger, *WZKSO*, III, 79, arrived at the same conclusion. It may be added that while numerous Indonesian words have correspondences in Munda, such as Malay *gamit* "beckoning with the fingers" (: Central Sakai *gawet*, *giwet*, Khasi *khawoit* "to beckon (with the hand)", Sa. *gavić*, Mu. *gauṛ*?, *gāwiṛj*, Ho *gāui*, Kh. *gouṛj*), Malay *ini* "this" (: Ku. *ini*, etc.), Sundanese *aiñ* "I" (: Mu. *aiñ*), some others have no correspondences in Munda itself but seem to occur, obviously as loan-words, in other languages of the Indian subcontinent. Thus Purik *bras*, Burushaski, Dumaki *brās* "rice" may be historically connected with Malay *bēras*, id. (see *Kirfel-Festschrift*, 143, n. 17).

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

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

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

c. Traces of Kurukh influence. Most important among these are the forms of personal pronouns, but also some postpositions seem to have been borrowed from this source. An interesting detail is that in some cases the same influence is found in Kurku, e.g. *-gon* "with" in the Akola dialect *di gon* "with him". Perhaps Kurku has even adopted some pronominal forms. Two 19th century authorities record Ku. *ar-ko* "they" for normal *diku*. This can hardly be connected with Ju. *ar-ki*, plural form of *ara* "he", but is more likely Kurukh *ar* "they" with the Ku. plural suffix added. Probably there is some parallelism with the Kurukh words found in the argots of the Indian Gipsy tribes, on which Grierson (*LSI*, XI, 9) observes: "In face of the fact that comparatively many of these parallels [*viz. between the argots and Kurukh*] have been Kurukh, it is perhaps worth while recalling the Kurukh tradition that they have come from the Karnatic and proceeded eastwards along the Narbada, i.e. past the Vindhya". The sole certain fact is that the Kurukhs, now settled among the Munda in Chota Nagpur, have migrated from the Shahabad District of Bihar. Their tradition about an earlier movement up the Narmadā valley may be correct, but the theory of their ultimate South Indian origin is not confirmed by the linguistic evidence, see Burrow, *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture* for Febr. 1958 (= *Transaction* No. 19), 6. Hardly acceptable is Ruben's theory of a northern origin, from the Ganges valley (see *Eisenschmiede und Dämonen in Indien*, p. 118). Traces of Kurukh in Nah., Ku., and in the Indian Gipsy languages furnish valuable linguistic evidence of an earlier settlement of Kurukhs in the Narmadā valley.

d. Nah. words also occurring in one or more North-Dravidian languages, and probably borrowed from these, but not belonging to the old stock of Dravidian words. Such words, which sometimes are also found in some Munda languages, are likely to be assigned to an ancient autoch-

thonous linguistic stratum, i.e. to "Proto-Indian". Theoretically the similarities between Nahali and these Dravidian forms admit of different interpretations, viz. $X \rightarrow \text{Dravidian} \rightarrow \text{Nahali}$, or $X \rightarrow \text{Nahali} \rightarrow \text{Dravidian}$, or $X \rightarrow \text{Nahali and Dravidian}$. The theoretical necessity of assuming one or more "Proto-Indian" substratum languages has been pointed out by e.g. Burrow, *op. cit.*, 6 (cf. *The Sanskrit Language*, 376 f.) and the present writer, *III*, II, 240.

III. SIMILARITIES IN HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES. This is no doubt the most puzzling problem, and one on which it is not possible, without a specialist's knowledge of the languages involved, to say anything definite. Since there does exist a problem, which cannot be passed by in silence, the only thing that can be attempted here is to draw attention to some striking similarities and to leave it to specialists in the field of Tibeto-Burman to pass their verdict on the facts to be discussed below. Shafer did not fail to perceive some correspondences between Nahali and these languages but refrained from drawing any conclusion from them. See p. 348: "Despite some apparent correspondences between Nahālī and Tibeto-Burmic, there is no genetic relationship between the two, unless it can be established that there is such a relationship between Austroasian and Tibeto-Burmic. The apparent correspondences are probably accidental". However, the problem does not concern Nahali alone, and this complicates matters considerably. The same problem recurs when we consider the Gipsy languages, where some words are suggestive of some connexion with their Tibetan equivalents, but Grierson (*LSI*, XI, 9) wisely remarks: "We cannot therefore infer that . . . the Sāsis have anything to do with the Tibetans even if *bārmī*, wife, could be proved to be identical with Sherpa *permi*, or *chañ*, water, with Tibetan *chhu*". Still, if these words could be shown to be really related, they would require some explanation.

The so-called Himalayan languages are held to belong to the Tibeto-Burman family and to form, together with Bodo and Kuki-Chin, the connecting link between Tibetan proper and Burmese (*LSI*, III/1, 12). The classification of the various sub-groups has been dealt with in Shafer's paper on the "Classification of some Languages of the Himalayas", *J. Bihar Res. Soc.*, 36/3-4 (1950), 192-214. Hodgson has been the first, in the middle of the 19th century, to draw attention to the "complex pronominalization" in some of these languages, which points to "a special connexion" with Munda (see *Essays relating to Indian subjects*, I, 403 n. 2, II, 135 n. 1), and Konow accordingly comprised these languages under the head "Complex pronominalized Himalayan

languages" as a distinct group, in which several traces of a Munda substratum can be pointed out (*LSI*, III/1, 273 f.). The correctness of this classification has been contested (Shafer, *op. cit.*, 192) but what concerns us here is only the theory of a Munda substratum in some areas of the Himalaya. It may be added that according to the map illustrating the position of these languages and Munda (*LSI*, III/1, opposite p. 273) even now the distance between the most northern point where Santali is spoken and the area of Limbu is not greater than about 130 miles. The geographical position of these languages points to the conclusion that Munda was at one time also spoken in the interjacent Ganges valley before it had to give way to Indo-Aryan. Probably it continued to be spoken in the mountainous areas north and south of the valley until the northern Munda area tribes also gave up their own language and adopted Tibeto-Burman dialects. It would not be surprising, therefore, if Munda words could be shown to survive in those dialects.

On closer inspection of the details, however, the problem proves far more intricate. The lexical correspondences between Munda and Tibeto-Burman are not, indeed, restricted to the borderland between the two linguistic areas, but in some cases Classical Tibetan itself is involved. A clear instance is Tib. *snum* "fat, grease, oil" (Khamti, Laos *nam*, *man*, Tough-thu *nūman*, Tai *namau*, *nam*, *man*), equivalents of which are found not only in Munda (Kherwari *sunum*, Ku. *śunum*, *sunum*), but also in languages of the Malay Peninsula (Senoï *sěnum*, Ulu Langat *sinum*, Central Sakai *sěnam*). The Munda word stands for **sinum* with regular *u*-umlaut (note Drake's spelling *śunūm* for the Ku. word), and this reconstructed form corresponds with Senoï *sěnum*. In a case like this one we need not consider the theory of an East-Asiatic-Oceanic family of speech (see Kurt Wulff, *Über das Verhältnis des Malayo-polynesischen zum Indo-chinesischen*, Copenhagen, 1942, 40), since the theory of borrowing provides a satisfactory explanation. Still, it is difficult to determine the exact conditions under which this borrowing has taken place. It is unfortunate that Berthold Laufer disregards this category of words in his important study on "Loan-words in Tibetan" (*T'oung Pao*, XVII [1916-8], 403 ff.). However, though the explanation must be left undecided, it may be suggested as a reasonable guess that the Austroasiatic word, in accordance with the general tendency of the Southeast Asian languages towards monosyllabism, became **snum* and was then adopted by the Tibetan speakers. On the other hand, things seem to be different in the case of the Kherwari-Ku. word *siñ* "tree" (Sa. *siñ arak*', Mu. *siñ aṛa*', Ho *siñ-a*' "a certain plant or tree, Bauhinia variegata or purpurea", Kw. *siñ* "tree"

Ku. *ćiñ*, *tsiñ*, *šiñ*, *sīñj*) : Mamba *šiñ-še*, Abor *ešiñ*, *šiñ*, Tibetan *šiñ*. On the one hand, no Austroasiatic correspondences seem to occur in the Malay Peninsula, on the other we find what seem to be Austroasiatic variant forms with initial dental in Khasi *diñ* and Palaung *tīñ*, to which again analogous forms correspond in Tibeto-Burman (e.g. Khimi *theng-kawng*, *thing-kawng*, see Shafer, *BSOAS*, XI, 431). These facts, incidentally mentioned already in *PMW*, 7 n. 5, are hard to explain. It would seem that at some time the speakers of some Austroasiatic languages (including the prototypes of Munda, and Khasi-Palaung) have been in close contact with those of a group of Tibeto-Burman dialects. Although the interchange *t/č*, not uncommon in Austro-Asiatic, might suggest the idea that *tiñ* / *šiñ* was an authentical A.-A. word, the fact that it seems to be unknown outside this area may indicate that it was a foreign word adopted from Tibeto-Burman or from another, non-identified source. While the very few possible correspondences with Ainu, though interesting, are too isolated to allow any conclusion (cf. Kherwari *seta*, Ku. *ćita*, *tsita*, *sita* "dog" : Ainu *seta*, *sita*; Mu. *sara'*, Ho Ku. *sara* "baboon, black-faced monkey"³; Ainu *saro*, Jap. *saru?*; Nah. *āpo* : Ainu *ape*, *apoi* "fire"; perhaps Nah. *pī-* : Ainu *pai*, *paiye* "to go") the identity of the Austroasiatic and Tibeto-Burman words for "tree" cannot reasonably be questioned. However, the only thing I propose to do here is to mention a few instances which to the non-specialist suggest the idea that not only Nahali but also the other (or, the genuine) Munda languages have words, correspondences for which can be found in Tibeto-Burman:

Kh. *aloñ* "song" (apparently isolated in Munda, cf. perhaps Senoi *julakñ*, etc.?) : Kami *aloñ*, id. (see *JRAS*, 1895, 137).

Kh. *aniñ* "we" : Yakha *āniñ* "we". Cf. Ku. *aliñ*, etc.

Ku. *apir* "to fly"³ : Tibetan *ap'ir*, *ap'ur*, Dhimal *bhir*, id. (see Shafer, *JBRs*, 36, 206).

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

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

³ DhKu *saraq* and *aphir* (NHZ.). Prof. Zide further gives the following comment: Ku. *gaphāñ* "to-morrow", "probably false (?) analogy [viz. as *gap-hāñ*] with *te-hēñ* "today", *mi-hāñ* "the day after tomorrow"; Ku. *ithū* "to learn, teach"; *ton-ef* is "from the stem *ton* which, perhaps, is from *to/tu* + *n* meaning "which". The present distinction between *ton-* interrogatives and *jee* and *coj-* is that of the Hindi *kaun saa* "which particular ones (of a specified or understood) group".

- Ku. *dā*- "to do, to become" : Lower Kanauri *dā-mu* "to become, happen", Abor-Miri and Dafla *dāk*, *dā* "to be".
- Kherw. *gapa*, Ku. *gapañ* "to-morrow"⁴ : Bodo *gabon*, *gabun*, Garo *ganap*.
- Ku. *itu* "to teach, learn"⁵ (Sa. *eto* "to break in, accustom to work", Mu. *itu* "to teach", *itu-n* "to learn") : Khimi *atu* "to learn". Norton's vocabulary gives also *atu* beside *itu* for Kurku, but this must be an error.
- Kh. Mu. *kaṭi'j*, Sa. *kaṭiç* "small, little" (cf. also Pi. 86 f.) : Taraon *kati* "little".
- Kherw. Ku. *lañka* "far" : Janggali (Almora) *lākā* (*LSI*, III/1, 547). Gondi *lak(k)*, *lañ* (W. Haig, *JASBeng.*, 66 [1897], 188) is probably a Munda loan-word.
- Kw. *māe*, Gu. *māy* "he" : Eastern Dafla *ma*, Khimi *āmā* "he, she".
- Sa. *meta* "to say" : Limbu *met* "to call, to say".
- Sa. *reṅgeç*, Mu. *reṅge*, Bh. Ho *reṅge*, Kw. *raṅga*, *raṅgej*, Ku. *raṅgej* "hunger, to be hungry" : Magari (Nepal) *rang-sī-mu* "hungering".
- Kw. *rim* "to arise" seems to be isolated in Munda; if *-m* is suffixal, as in Ku. *anjom*, p.t. *anjo-en* "to hear", *jom*, p.t. *jo-en* "to eat", cf. Gurung *rī* "to arise".
- Kh. *yar* "to run away" (Sa. *nūr*, see Pi., 250) : Murmi *yar* "to run".
- Ku. *tōnej* "who", *tōnē* "what"⁶ (Naiki *tāne*, "Bhili" *tān*, id., see *III*, II, 240) : Chourasya *thāmē* "who, which", *thālo* "where" (*LSI*, III/1, 370, cf. Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays* I, 189).
- Ho *uṭuṭoā* "Adam's apple, gullet, throat" : Dhimal *totoā* (Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 7), Kocch *tūtī*.

Also the grammatical morphemes can sometimes be found back in Himalayan languages. In *Acta Orientalia*, 20 (1948), 241 n. 1 attention was drawn to the quite irregular plural of Ku. *dada* "(elder) brother": although this word is common in Kherwari and Kharia, the Ku. plural is not **dada-ku* but *dada-co* or *dada-coy* (*ḍaḍa-coy*).⁷ Possibly this might be connected with such plural formations as Balti *atā-chōk*, Sharpa *papa-*

⁴ See fn. 3.

⁵ See fn. 3.

⁶ See fn. 3.

⁷ Prof. Zide has the following comment: "The regular plural of Ku. kinship terms (but only in certain rather unlikely but systematic environments) is *-co* and the dual *-ta-kiñ*. The suffix *-nūr* occurs with inanimate nouns and means "etcetera" or "and the like"; it is probably the same morpheme as that found in *idūr* (= *in-n(a)ūr*), etc. which is a non-singular inanimate noun/adjective meaning "these". It is also used as a generalising plural".

tsho, Lhoke *ap-tsu* "fathers" but, if so, one fails to understand how this abnormal ending has come to be preserved in this single word in Kurku. Similarly the "plural" of *cakhan* "fuel, wood for burning" (which is quite common in Kherwari: Sa. *sahan*, Mu. *sahan*, *sa-an*, *sān*, Ho *sān* "firewood, fuel", Turi *śahan* "sticks", perhaps also Kh. *soṅgol*, Ju. *songon* [Pi. 126!]) is stated to be *cakhan-naun* "many pieces of wood, much wood" (Drake, *Grammar*, 8: "sometimes attached to inanimate nouns to denote a considerable number or quantity").⁸ The suffix seems to be isolated in Munda but resembles the Khimi plural suffix *nauh* (Shafer, *BSOAS*, XI, 393). Again, if this should be more than just an accidental resemblance, it is impossible to account for the occurrence of *-naun* in Kurku. In this connexion attention may also be drawn to the Khimi suffix *-te*, used "with nouns or pronouns with which the subject has very close relationship", e.g. (*atusaitēh lā*) *āmā-te* "his (master)", which calls to mind Ku. *aba-te* "his father", Sa. *apa-t*, etc. If there is any connexion in these cases between Munda and Tibeto-Burman, this is certainly of a different nature from the one suggested by such similarities as Dhimal *ahā mui* "ant" (: Sa. *muć*, Mu. Ho *mui*, Mon *samot*, *khamot*, *OrN.*, 376), *halāng mūt* *kheki* "fox" (: Sa. *khikrī*, *PMW*, 52), *do(-li)* "to see" (: Ku. *do*, *dog-e*, id., see references in Pi. 179), *haiyū* "fish" (: Mu. *hai* = *ha-ko*, Ku. *ka-ku*, suffix *-ko/-ku*, cf. Khasi *kha*, Palaung *kā*, Sakai, Semang *ka*), the use of *ka* after adjectives (as in Ku.-Nah.). They point to a Munda (perhaps even a Kherwari) substratum in this language (but see below p. 81).

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

1. *aphir* "to fly" (Ku. *apir*, etc.) : Tibetan (Gtsang) *ap'ir*, Dhimal *bhir*.
2. *bē* "to give" (also in Gu.) : Pahari, Lepcha *bi*, Newari *bi-u*, Gurung, Murmi, Thaksya *pīn*, Bhramu, Thami, Yakha, Khambu *pī*, Dhimal, Limbu *pī*; Tibetan: Sharpa *bin* Dānjongkā *phīn*, Lhoke *byin*; North Assam group: Daffa *bik*-, Miri *bī*, Miju Mishmi *pī*; Western Naga: Angami *pī*; Central Naga: Miklai Naga *piyā*; Naga Bodo: Mikir *pī*, *pīh*, Empeo *pē*, Arung *pe*, etc.

⁸ See fn. 8.

3. *-bē* (Imperative suffix) : in Chutiya, the most archaic dialect of the Bodo group, *-be* may be added optionally, e.g. *lare*, *lari-be* "give thou". Very doubtful, as the morpheme *-be* also occurs in other forms, e.g. *lari-be-m* = *lare-m* "I gave".
4. *bhom*- "to go" (Ku. *bq*) : Digaru Mishmi *bō-*, Chulikata *bā-*, etc., Taraon *bōke*, *bōge* "let us go!" (= Ku. *abuñ bq*, id.).
5. *bhai* "with" (?) : Chaudangsi *bhā* "together", *tē-bhā*, *tī-bhā* "together with".
6. *cipo-* "to stand" : Bodo (Garo) *cāp*, Eastern Naga (Namsang) *cap-* (Mōshang Naga) *cāp*, Naga-Bodo *sāp*, *sāb*, *cap*, Naga Kuki (Kwoi-reng) *cāp*, Kachin *cāp*. In the Himalayan languages only Dhimal *jap*, Mikir *ar-jap*. If Nah. *cipo-* is related to these words its vowel *i* remains unexplained.
7. *cōn*, *coon* "nose" : Vayu *co'no*, Rai *unu*, Bahing *neu*. Cf. in Naga-Bodo: Arung *mī-nēo*, Empeo *bānēyo* ("his nose").
8. *dhava* "far" : North Assam *dyāu*, *dā*, Dafla *āḍo*.
9. *piy-* "to come" (Gu. *pi*) : Sunwar *piu*, Rai *piā*, Vayu *phī*, Bahing *pī-*, Chamba Lahuli *pī* (came). Cf. Naga: Angami *phi*, *pīr*, and in the Bodo group: Boṛo *fai*, Mech *foi*, Lalung *fī*, etc.
10. *pěy* "head" : Sunwar (Darjeeling) *piyā*, Thulung *bīu*, Bahing *pīya* (LSI, III/1, 256, 345, 411).
11. *popo* "belly" : Ladakhi *phoa*, Gurung, Murmi *pho*, Newari *poātha*, Lepcha *ta-bók*, Limbu *sapōk*, *sāppōk*, Yakha *phok*, Khambu *bo*, *boo*. Cf. in North Assam: Dafla *kōpō*, Chulikata *khiapu*, in Central Naga: *tepok*, *tupuk*, *tabuk*, *pok*, *ōpōk*, in Eastern Naga: *wok*, etc., in Naga-Bodo: *apok*, *pūk*, etc. An exact analysis of the data is difficult. The Nah. word must first be connected with Mu. *pu'pu'*, Ho *pupū* "abdomen". If this is further connected with So. *kimpun-* "belly, stomach, abdomen" (with final nasalization), their relationship to So. *puñ* "to bulge" (Pinnow, *Versuch* ..., 206), might be considered. On the other hand we find in Pantang, one of the languages of the Malay Peninsula, *māmbōñ* "belly", which is said to mean properly "hole" (cf. Skt. *garta-* "hole" > "belly"). In this way So. *kimpun* might be connected with Semang *ēmpoñ* "hole", etc.
12. *poyye* "bird" : Chulikata *pyā*, Digaru Mishmi *mpiā*, Taraon *piya*, Kanauri, Chamba Lahuli, Rangkas *pyā*, Manchaṭi *pēya*, Bunan *pēa*, *pya*, etc.

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

13. *jo* "I". Newari (Pahri) *ji*; Rangkas, Darmiya, Chaudangsi, Byangsi *jī*, Kusanda *ci* (cf. Naga *iyē*, *iyā*, etc., Naga-Bodo: *ī*, *āi*, Naga-Kuki *yi*, *ī*?). Doubtful on account of Nah. *-o*. According to the *LSI* *jo* is also used for the plural "we" (for which Bhattacharya gives *māney*). Since this hardly represents the original state of things, Bodo *jong* "we" must be kept apart.
14. *-ta*, plural suffix: Newari *-ta* (Pahri *-tō*, *-te*).
15. *aba-ṭha-ke* (*erkedine*) "father-near-to (went)". Similar expressions to denote the movement towards or from persons are found in e.g. Ho *apute-ta-te senok'-yana* (*LSI*), *apute-ta-e senoyana* (*Translation of St. Luke*, 1950) "father-his-to-(he) went", Turi *ap-tai-ta senok'ena-i*, Kw. *apā-tākā torāyō*, etc. : Newari (Pahri) *bā-ṭha-ka ona* "father-to went" (*LSI*, III/1, 231).

IV. WORDS OF AN UNIDENTIFIED ORIGIN. This category has long attracted the attention of students. It will be discussed below.

CONCLUSIONS

Ia. Kurku words: the following items are likely to have been borrowed direct from Kurku: (*Munda*)

aba, *eba*, *ba* "father"

aḍai "two and a half"

adir- "to reach"

aji "husband's younger sister"

akal "sense"

aṅluij- "to bathe" (R) *g l e' i* 'swim'

aṅgub- "to yawn"

aṅṭi, *ānti* "for"

aphir- "to fly" (R) *p ā r*

apna "his own"

aṭa- "to divide"

aṭho "eight" (R) *t b h a m*

aval "good"

ay "mother"

baḍṛa "sky"

bahare "outside"

bai "elder sister"

bakra "he-goat"

balla "hill"

bare, bari "to, for"

beṭe (beṭe-l, beṭela) "there is not, it is not"

bi- "to rise, sun to rise, come out"

bi "also"

biṭil "sand"

biyaw "marriage"

bommoki "brothers"

bhagiya, bhagya, bhaṅgya "servant"

bhanja "sister's son"

bhaṭe "then"

bhavri "back of the body"

bhilla "kite"

bhom- "to go"?

cakari "service"

calan "sound"

candi "silver"

cikal, sikal "earth"

cōr "thief"

cheri "goat"

chiḍu "wine"

chikār "hunt"

chocho "kind of fruit, a Nahāl clan-name"

chokra, sokṛa "bread"

chui "needle"

chunḍuku "box"

dada "elder brother"

ḍaḍi "beard"

ḍai, ḍay "elder brother, any senior man not much older than the speaker"

ḍan, ḍani "was, were"

ḍanḍo "upper arm"

ḍeḍḍa "frog"

ḍia, dia "day"

ḍin, dino "day"

ḍo "and"

ḍoba "bull"

ḍoṅga "a variety of ant of big size"

ḍoṅgor "hill, jungle, forest"

ḍora "rope"

dud, ḍuḍ "milk"

(R) + uh 'breast'

- dugi* "red faced monkey" (R) dōk 'monkey'
dukri may "father's sister"
dhan, dhan-mal "property, wealth"
dhol "drum"
dhor "cow"
eṭṭhi, heṭṭi "elephant"
gaḍri "ass"
gadha "ass"
gola- "to collect"
gon "with (associative)"
ghalja "on account of"
ghām "sunshine"
ghanē "many"
ghaṭa- "to search"
ghuṭari "a deer"
ha "alas"
ha, han "this"
(heṭṭi "elephant", see *eṭṭhi*).
hi, i "this"
hīm "cold" PIE *ghēms 'winter' ?
ho "he"
holoy- "to shake"
hundar "to prepare (food)"
i "this"
icha "to pinch"
ilur "husband's younger brother"
ine "he" (iḥ) nēh
iṅga "here"
iphil "star"
ira "to cut with a sickle"
jaldi, jeldi "quickly"
jambu "blackberry, a Nahāl clan-name"
jilṅuij "earthworm"
jivta- "to live" < skt.
jo "what"
junu "broom"
jhara "grass, a Nahāl clan-name"
jhuri "swing"
ka "to be"
kaini- "to say" (R) Khan

kaka "mother's younger sister's husband, father's sister's husband,
father's younger brother"

kakri "cucumber, a Nahāl clan-name"

kal "famine"

kama- "to do, to work" < s k t.

kamo "work"

kande "tuber"

kapatiñ- "to tremble"

kaplij "butterfly"

karchi "pitcher"

kaṭham "tortoise" (R) *kaṭam* 'uro'?

kaṭhla "armpit"

kāvra "crow"

kelli "cow calf"

kīāñṭi, kāñṭi "for, for the sake of, for the purpose of"

kimton "price"

kirsan "cultivator"

kīwu "pity"

kobḍur "pigeon"

koca-kama- "to bend"

kōlya "fuel, Nahāl clan-name"

komba "cock"

kui "water well"

kupra "cloth" < s k t. *karpaśa* 'cotton'

khaṇḍa "shoulder; to carry on shoulder"

kharuka "many"

khaṇḍe "shoe"

kheda- "to drive a cart" (R) *gīt* 'drive'

kheri-kama- "to pull"

kheriyan "threshing floor"

khobo "much"

khogir "saddle"

khuri "leg"

lakaḍi "stripe"

lokhaṇḍo "iron"

ma, particle (?)

maja "merry"

maṇan "but, even then"

mal "property"

mama "mother's brother, father's younger sister's husband"

- maṇḍi* "to speak"
maṅgar "crocodile"
māy "mother"
meṇḍha "sheep"
mera "near"
mundi "ring"
nakko "nail of finger"
naṅgar "plough" < SKT. *aṅgaḷa*
nāpyom "mother-in-law, husband's elder sister, wife's elder brother's wife"
nāṛa "Adam's apple"
naukar "servant"
niḍir "white ant"
ōla- "to be wet"
oro "millet"
oyja-, oyja-kama- "to carry on head"
paisa "money"
pala "leaf" (12) *hala*
parka "all"
paron "bank of a river"
peṇḍri "shin of leg"
pin "but"
phuphu "father's younger sister"
rabaṇ (?) "cold"
raṅgo (*raṅg, roṅg?*) "kind"
rupya "rupee"
sab "all"
sadi "hundred" SKT. *śatam*
saga "all"
samne "before"
simburu "rheum of the nose"
sona "gold"
ṭako- "to wish, desire"
ṭarsya "kind of animal called in Mar. etc. *taṛas*"
ṭembriya "tiger"
ṭēya "wife's brother or sister"
ṭo- "to kiss"
ṭhagatiṇ-kama- "to deceive"
ṭhekri "forehead"
ṭhenḍey "moon"

ṭhuk- "to spit" (R) *chuk*
ūca, unca "tall, high"
ulṭa- "to fall"
unṭu "camel"
uri- "to put on, dress"

The number of Kurku words accordingly amounts to 180 out of a total of 503 items, that is 36 per cent of the Nahali vocabulary known to us.

Ib. Munda words deriving from an earlier stratum. The instances certainly or possibly belonging to this category, which have been discussed above, p. 60, amount to circa 20 items. This stratum, accordingly, has for the most part been overlaid by loan-words from Kurku, Dravidian, and Aryan. Only a small percentage of the vocabulary consist of remnants of this earlier state of the language. 4%

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

anci- "to select"
ārṭhi- "to make to weep"
baddi "bull"
bāro- "to sing"?
boṭor "hare"? (v n) + *hō*² (ichm) + *hoh*
bumli "navel"
cakoṭo, cekoṭo "axe"
cakha- "to ascend; climb up"
copo "salt"
corṭo "blood"
cheṅga "husks"
deṣo "friend"
dhava "far, distant"
eṅge "my"
ghalja "on account of"
īṇṇṇa, yēṇṇa "honey"
irar "two (Masc.)"

(kaplij' "butterfly", via Ku.!)
 keṭṭo-kama- "to extinguish, put out (fire)"
 kiṭa- "to winnow"
 kō-, kǔō- "to bring"
 kōr-, kǔōr- "to take away"
 koṭṭu- "to pound"
 lāo- "to burn"
 (mandi- "to speak", via Kurku)
 māṇḍu, māṇḍo "rain"
 mantaminar "inhabitants"
 māṭo "thigh"
 māv "horse" < *chines* ?
 miṇḍi "evening, night"
 mokhne "elbow (knee?)" [?]
 monḍa "heel" (Kann. maḍa, DED 3800)
 mōṭh, mōṭho "three"
 nālku, nālo "four"
 nān (nāṇ) "what?"
 nāni "who?"
 nāy "dog"
 nē "thou"
 ocol- "to lift"
 pad- "to feel"
 pakoṭo "bone"
 palco, palcu "son"
 (simburu "rheum of the nose", via Kurku)
 ṭevre "lip" (?)
 uḍi- "to rub"
 unni- "to take"
 (uri- "to put on, to dress", via Kurku)

About 44 items, accordingly, out of the total of 503 items belong to this category. Percentage: 9%.

IIc. Kurukh words. Cases in which a Kurukh influence on the Nahali vocabulary can plausibly be shown are too rare for being discussed here. Cf. e.g. *berko* "cat" (Kurukh *berxa*), *aṇṭi* "for (from Kur. *antī* "because"?).

III. Twelve Nahali words with possible correspondences in Tibeto-Burman have been mentioned above, p. 67 ff.

IV. Words of unidentified origin and isolated:

- achuḍ*- "to hang something"
aḍḍo, arḍu "tree, wood"
aḍek-, aḍik- "to burn"
aginbi- "to perspire"
agri- "to shut"
akhandi "finger"
anḍa "bad"
āpa- "to cry, weep"
āṭho "husband"
avar "house"
ayi "below"
bakān- "to leave, release"
barḍo "sickle"
baṭuko "mango"
bay "today"
bekki "to reap"
beri- "to cut wood"
beṭṭo- "to die"
birṭom "husband's elder brother, wife's elder sister (?), father-in-law"
bokki- "to bind, to tie something"
boko, bokko "hand"
bologo "bear"
bonḍe "near"
boṭor "hare" (?)
bōy "grass, fodder; a Nahāl clan-name"
cacūko "hot"
cago "stone"
cakhav- "to sweep"
cān "fish" *Ṃp akan*
cana- "to dance"
carkaḍ "waist"
carko "black-faced monkey"
cāṭo "hunger"
cāvg(o)- "to be afraid"
ceki- "to catch hold of, to hold, arrest, catch"
cergo- "to run"
ceyni "previously"
cigam "ear"

- cikn-* (?) "to hear"
cipo- "to stand"
coggom "pig"
cokob' "leaf of a tree, a Nahāl clan-name"
cōn "nose" (?)
cyō- "to urinate"
che "yesterday"
ḍelen- "to drink"
dokco- "to come out"
ḍhapri "bank of a river, a Nahāl clan-name"
eḍūgo "fly"
eger- "to remove (v.i.)"
ejer "boy"
golga "ear wax" (?)
ghūrka ed- "to go for defecation" (?)
hīvat "so many"
irkene "because"
jalū- "to descend"
jaran "crab"
jer(e)- "to remain"
jiki "eye"
jopaṭke "if"
joppo, jappo "water, a Nahāl clan-name"
jūḍ "bamboo"
kaggo "mouth"
kajar "top of something"
kalaṭṭel "wife's elder brother, his wife"
kāllen "egg"
kalṭo "a Nahāl person"
kapor "winnowing basket"
kapri, in *jiki kapri* "eye-brow"
karyom "elder brother's wife"
kaṭan- "to be silent"
kāv "flesh"
keḍa- "to be felt" (?)
kepa "louse"
kiyam "to-morrow"
kōgo "snake"
kokōy "ant"
kōl "woman, wife"

kuba- "to be intoxicated"

kūḍu "bamboo door"

kuguso, kuguchyo "hair"

kura "unripe"

khara "field"

lā "you"

lañka "a god worshipped by the Nahal in the month of Phalguna (Febr.-March)"

lege "up"

lēnjo- "to draw water"

ma- "to give"

maikko "bee"

māney "we"

meñge "tooth, jaw"

mēr- "to play"

meur "anthill"

mījar "inside"

mīngay "where"

miyan "how much"

murkiṭij "mosquito"

nāpyom "mother-in-law, husband's elder sister, wife's elder brother's wife"

nitto- "to enter"

oḍov "buffalo"

oki- "to put"

ōra "air"

orṭa- "to return"

orṭak- "to be lost"

oṭṭi- "to pull out"

oṭṭi- "to burn (v.t.)"

paḍa- "to kill"

pago "tail"

parayn "river"

paṭ-/piy- "to come"

pejikoem-kama- "to drive away"

petek- "to tear (v.i.)"

pirju "daughter"

puri- "to send"

ṭār- "to throw"

ṭēku "we two"

ṭiye- "to descend"

ṭōṭa "maize, a Nahāl clan-name"

ṭugiṭi "ripe"

uḍi- "to rub"?

ulach- "to call"

uri- "to kindle (fire)"

yāṭo, in *jiki yāṭo* "tears"

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

The final conclusion must necessarily be a provisional one. The Kurku and Dravidian words (36 + 9 = 45%) represent in my opinion the most recent strata of the language. The borrowings from Kurukh date farther back; they have probably been adopted in the same area where the Nahals are still settled today. What remains does not yet admit of an exact historical interpretation. There are some faint traces of an older Munda stratum (circa 4%) which it seems hard to identify with any of the branches of Munda now extant. There are some rather uncertain indications of a connexion with many sub-groups of Tibeto-Burman and finally there is a large number of words (24%) which, if the Nahals represent a proto-Indian population *in situ*, may possibly reflect one of the oldest linguistic strata of India now attainable to research. As for such possible correspondences as Ku. *sita* (etc.) : Ainu *sita* "dog", Nah. *āpo* : Ainu *apoi*, *ape* "fire", they will here be passed by in silence, as it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to decide whether they are anything more than accidental similarities. Only in a few cases there is some occasion to surmise a transformation, or a metaphorical use, of words as usual in argots.

In some respects these results differ from Shafer's. He assumed (p. 349) a proto-Nahali (judging by the verbs), which came under the dominating influence, first of Austroasiatic, from which it may have adopted at that time most of the vocabulary, and later of Dravidian, from which it adopted, as the result of commercial relations, the numerals for "two" to "four" and a few other words; finally the Nahals are supposed to have come into contact with the Kurkus and the Aryan-speakers of Nimar and to have adopted many words of all kinds and much of the grammar from one or the other of these dominant groups. My analysis does not confirm the last conclusion of a profound influence of Kurku and Aryan on Nahali grammar. On the other hand, a study of the nominal case-forms, the system of personal pronouns, and the vocabulary shows the Dravidian influence to have been more profound and of a greater diversity, as we must distinguish at least two different periods, corresponding to a contact with Kurukh speakers and with what we may roughly define as Kolami-Naiki speakers. It must be stressed, however, that Shafer has rightly recognized the existence of an early Austroasiatic stratum that is distinct from the later stratum of Kurku words.

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

The identity of this Austroasiatic (early Munda) component remains an unsolved riddle. Some vague traces of an aberrant type of Austroasiatic that was at one time spoken in India, may perhaps also be detected

elsewhere. It was pointed out above (p. 67) that some words in Dhimal (spoken near Darjeeling) would seem to suggest a special connexion with Kherwari. Thus Dhimal *haiyū* "fish" (Hodgson) resembles more closely Mu. *hai* than Sa. *hako* or Ku. *kaku*. However, Dhimal *ūnkhū* "chauli, rice" (Hodgson) faces us with a quite different problem. A similar word for "unhusked rice" is only found in Central and South Munda, but here it has a prefixed *r*: Kh. *rómku'b*, Ju. *ru(ñ)kū*, resp. So. *rúñkū*-, Re. Pa. *runku*, Gu. *rukū*. (Pinnow, *Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre der Kharia Sprache*, 96). Now there would be no occasion to assume any relationship between *ūnkhū* and these words, were it not that the existence of a Munda substratum in Dhimal can hardly be denied, while on the other hand the *r*-prefix (cf. Khasi *khau*!) is also lacking in some of the cognates of *runku* outside India. Cf. in the Palaung-Wa-group: Mong-Lwe *unko* (as against Palaung *ra-ko*, etc.); in the Mon-Khmer group: Kuoï *añkau* (as against Sué *rañkao*, etc.); and in the Sakai-group: Krau of Ketiar *uñ-kuok* (as against Krau of Kuala Tembeling *rě-kua*). See Pinnow, l.c. If I am right in assuming some historical connexion between Dhimal *ūnkhū* and these words, this proves the occurrence in India of Austroasiatic words that have not so far been traced in present-day Munda. Such possible traces are particularly interesting in the light of Verrier Elwin's theory of another wave of Austroasiatic immigration, distinct from that with which Kherwari-Kurku and Kharia-Sora are connected (see above, p. 59). If Pinnow's provisional conclusion that the Nahali verbal system derives directly from the Proto-Munda one should prove correct, we might consider the possibility of identifying the early Munda elements in Nahali with that hypothetical branch of Austroasiatic which may be called *para-Munda*. In the present state of these studies no more can be done than just drawing attention to this interesting problem, which deserves a more profound investigation.

Some abbreviations used:

- LSI: Grierson (-Konow), *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. IV (1906).
 "Nahali": "Nahali, A Comparative Study", *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, N.R., 25/5 (1962), pp. 239-352.
 OrN.: *Orientalia Neerlandica* (Leiden, 1948).
 Pi, Pinnow: H. J. Pinnow, *Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre der Kharia-Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1959).
 Shafer: Robert Shafer, "Nahali, A Linguistic Study in Paleoethnography", *Harv. J. of As. Stud.*, 5 (1940), pp. 346-371.