

[Text version of database, created 13/11/2016].

Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Gondi-Kui group (Dravidian family).

Languages included: Konda [gku-kon]; Pengo [gku-pen]; Manda [gku-mnd]; Kui [gku-kui]; Kuwi [gku-kuw].

DATA SOURCES

I. General

Burrow & Emeneau 1984 = Burrow, Thomas; Emeneau, M. B. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press. // *The major source of reference on comparative Dravidian etymology, with more than 5000 comparanda. Although the dictionary mainly relies on previously published sources for its materials, it also contains some previously unpublished fieldwork data, most notably on the Gadba and Manda languages.*

II. Konda

Krishnamurti 1969 = Krishnamurti, Bhadriraju. *Koṇḍa or Kūbi: A Dravidian Language (Texts, Grammar, and Vocabulary)*. Hyderabad: Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute. // *An extensive description of Konda Dora, focusing on the Araku valley dialect, and accompanied by a small, but representative glossary.*

III. Pengo

Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970 = Burrow, Thomas; Bhattacharya, S. *The Pengo Language*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. // *The only extensive monograph/data source on the Pengo language, containing a detailed phonological and grammatical sketch, a collection of texts, and a mid-size vocabulary of the language.*

IV. Manda

Reddy 2009 = Reddy, B. Ramakrishna. *Manda-English Dictionary*. Mysore: Central

Institute of Indian Languages. // *A mid-size vocabulary of the Manda language; this is currently the most detailed source on this little-studied language.*

V. Kui

Winfield 1929 = Winfield, W. W. A Vocabulary of the Kui Language (Kui-English). Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press. // *Comprehensive and fairly accurate (for its epoch) dictionary of Kui. Based primarily on the Gumsur-Udayagiri dialect, but with notes on deviating forms in several other dialects (Barma, Phulbani, etc.).*

Maheswaran 2008 = Maheswaran, C. A descriptive grammar of the Kui language. Bangalore: Dravidian University. // *Detailed grammar of Kui, accompanied by illustrative texts and a representative vocabulary. Based primarily on the Balliguda (China Kimedi) dialect.*

Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961 = Burrow, Th.; Bhattacharya, S. Some notes on the Kui dialect as spoken by Kuṭṭia Kandhs of North-East Koraput. **In:** Indo-Iranian Journal, 5, pp. 118-135. // *A short paper describing the authors' field research on the Kuṭṭia dialect of Kui. Does not include a comprehensive grammatical description or any wordlists/vocabularies, but contains a significant amount of lexical material that may be used in etymological comparison.*

VI. Kuwi

Israel 1979 = Israel, M. A grammar of the Kuwi language. Trivandrum: Sangam Printers. // *Detailed grammatical description of the Kuwi language.*

Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963 = Burrow, T.; Bhattacharya, S. Notes on Kuwi with a short vocabulary. **In:** Indo-Iranian Journal, v. 6/3-4, pp. 231-289. // *A description of Kuwi grammar, based on the authors' own fieldwork with several subdialects. Includes a small, but representative vocabulary for Sunkarametta and Parja subdialects of Kuwi.*

NOTES

1. *General.*

I. Konda

The main source of lexical and grammatical information on Konda is Bh. Krishnamurti's monograph on the language [Krishnamurti 1969]. Judging by some elements of the description, as well as a number of lexical discrepancies in the glossary, dialectal variety within Konda is substantial; unfortunately, available data does not allow for the construction of comprehensive lists for more than one dialect, represented by Krishnamurti's informant Bōyi Sombra from Gorṛa Guṛa, Araku valley.

Where they are available, we quote concurrent forms from the Sova dialect, also from [Krishnamurti 1969]; and forms from an unnamed dialect represented in the field notes of Th. Burrow & S. Bhattacharya that they collected in 1956-57 and partially published in the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary [Burrow & Emeneau 1984]. In quite a few cases, Krishnamurti's Sova and Burrow & Bhattacharya's unnamed Konda dialect actually preserve more archaic equivalents for Swadesh meanings (e. g. we count at least 9 lexical discrepancies between Konda proper and Sova Konda, 4 of which are archaisms in Sova), but it is impossible to establish a complete statistical picture because the dialectal data are not systematic.

II. Pengo

The only significant source on data that is available on the Pengo language is the monograph [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970], which contains a detailed grammar sketch, some examples of transcribed and translated texts, and a comprehensive, though, most likely, far from exhaustive vocabulary, along with scattered observations on dialectal varieties (some of which are mentioned in the Notes section of the wordlist).

It should be noted that Pengo is under heavy areal pressure from the "prestigious" Oriya language: quite a few Swadesh meanings are represented in Burrow & Bhattacharya's vocabulary by several equivalents, including an inherited term and one

or more Oriya equivalents. In most such cases, analysis of texts shows that the inherited form is usually the preferred equivalent, while the Oriya term is used in more specialized (e. g. bound idiomatic) contexts. However, this is not a 100%-accurate rule, and in some cases, the Oriya borrowing even turns out to have completely replaced the inherited Dravidian word (e.g. 'rain', 'tooth').

III. Manda

Until recently, the only source of lexical knowledge on Manda was a short lexical set, extracted from the field notes collected by T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya in 1964-66 and subsequently published in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984]. These extracts, however, were tailored specially for etymological purposes, including only those Manda words that had reliable external parallels in other Dravidian languages, and were not suitable for the construction of a proper Swadesh wordlist.

The recent publication of [Reddy 2009], a proper dictionary of the language, finally allows to construct a proper list (including all the replacements with Indo-Aryan borrowings or words without a transparent etymology) and include Manda in the general lexicostatistical matrix for Dravidian languages. The dictionary is not perfect as far as semantic glossing and differentiation of synonymy is concerned; in particular, several Swadesh items on the list are represented by doublets (often consisting of an inherited term and a recent borrowing) without any indication as to which one is the most basic/frequent. It may be hoped, though, that a few semantic errors on the list will not skew the final results too much.

IV. Kui

The Kui language is well represented lexicographically by W. W. Winfield's "classic" dictionary that seems to have been fairly accurate, phonetics-wise, for 1929 (although the quality of semantic glossing is sometimes dubious). Besides that, there is a number of rather scattered sources on numerous Kui dialects that cannot be used for lexicostatistical purposes, but are of serious value for etymological research (e. g. [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961] on the highly divergent Kuṭṭia dialect, which could really be said to represent an "intermediate" stage in the continuum between Kui and

Kuwi).

The only source at our disposition for which an additional 100-item wordlist could be constructed is the Balliguda dialect, recently described and provided with a vocabulary by C. Maheswaran [Maheswaran 2008]. However, lexicostatistical discrepancies between Winfield's Udayagiri dialect and Maheswaran's Balliguda are few and far in between, and what little there is may just as well be ascribed to semantic inaccuracies in glossing as it could be to genuine lexical divergence. Out of caution, we therefore select [Winfield 1929] as our default source for Kui, and list the Balliguda equivalent(s) from [Maheswaran 2008] in the comments section.

V. Kuwi

There is actually an abundance of data on Kuwi, the major problem being that the majority of sources are old and may not necessarily be up to modern standards of phonetic and semantic accuracy. We decided to limit ourselves to but a few sources, largely ignoring the oldest (but still relevant) lexicographical descriptions by A. G. Fitzgerald (1913) and F. Schulze (1911-1913). Instead, our main source for the compilation of a Kuwi wordlist is [Israel 1979], a large grammatical description accompanied with a good selection of folktales and a vocabulary, based on the author's own fieldwork in Saptamaha, on the Deomali hill (with the language variety said to be "the standard dialect of Kuwi"). As a control source, we have used [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963], a paper dealing with two more sub-dialects of Kuwi (Sunkarametta and Parja). Some of the dialects show rather transparent lexical discrepancies; however, on the whole they were judged too insignificant, and the absolute reliability of data too questionable, to allow for a rigorous construction of several different wordlists. We have, therefore, limited ourselves to [Israel 1979] as the primary source, and have relied upon Burrow & Bhattacharya's data for questionable cases where Israel's data alone do not allow to make an unambiguous choice between two or more potential quasi-synonyms.

2. Transcription.

I. Konda

For the most part, no special transliterational actions except for the usual conversion of retroflex notation from the traditional Indologist format into UTS ($\ddot{t} = \underset{\cdot}{t}$, etc.; long vowels $\bar{a}, \bar{e} = a:, e:$, etc.). Palatal affricates c, j are transcribed as palatal $\underset{\cdot}{c}, \underset{\cdot}{j}$.

WARNING: Compared to most other Gondi-Kui languages, Konda has the most complex (and archaic) system of coronal taps and trills. Here we differ from the traditional Indological transcription and convert everything to IPA/UTS, namely:

Phoneme	Krishnamurti 1969, etc.	UTS
Dental tap	$\underset{\cdot}{r}$	$\underset{\cdot}{r}$
Retroflex tap	$\underset{\cdot}{\ddot{r}}$	$\underset{\cdot}{\ddot{r}}$
Alveolar trill (voiced)	$\underset{\cdot}{\underline{r}}$	$\underset{\cdot}{r}$
Alveolar trill (voiceless)	R	$\underset{\cdot}{\underline{r}}$

It is important, therefore, to remember that the simple transcription of r actually corresponds to what is usually transcribed as "alveolar $\underset{\cdot}{r}$ " in the literature.

II. Pengo

No special transliterational actions except for the usual conversion of retroflex notation from the traditional Indologist format into UTS ($\ddot{t} = \underset{\cdot}{t}$, etc.; long vowels $\bar{a}, \bar{e} = a:, e:$, etc.). Palatal affricates c, j are transcribed as palatal $\underset{\cdot}{c}, \underset{\cdot}{j}$.

III. Manda

Reddy's transcription of Manda data needs very little transliterational effort, apart from the standard recoding of retroflex consonants ($\ddot{t} = \underset{\cdot}{t}$, etc.). It should be noted that the phonemes which Reddy transcribes as fricatives s and z in Burrow and Bhattacharya's fieldnotes regularly correspond to palatal affricates c and j (= UTS $\underset{\cdot}{c}, \underset{\cdot}{j}$); this may be a

subdialectal differentiation (the entire Manda-speaking community hardly exceeds 4,000 speakers, but this does not exclude the possibility of minor variations between villages).

IV. Kui-Kuwi

Transliteration conventions for both Winfield's and Maheswaran's data, as well as Israel's data for Kuwi, are generally the same as for Pengo and Manda.

Database compiled by: G. Starostin (last update: November 2016).

1. ALL

Konda *viz-* (1), Pengo *vizu ~ vize* (1), Manda *viza* (1), Kui *gule* (2), Kuwi *bare* (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 406. Cf. specific forms: *viz-er* 'all men', *viz-u ~ viz-i* 'all (3 n.pl.)'. Cf. *ḍo:ru* 'all (people or things)' (Sova dial.).

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 228. Used both in the attributive function and absolutely. Cf. also *ṭaṇne* 'whole, complete, entire; completely' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 208]; *guṛa* 'all' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 204] (< Oriya *gula*); *sapa ~ sabu* 'all' (< Oriya) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 229].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 138. Quoted as *viṣa* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 488]. Cf. also *ele-k* 'all (with reference to animates)', *ela:y* 'all people', *eley* 'all; all people' [Reddy 2009: 19].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 46. Barma dialect: *gula* [ibid.]. Balliguda dialect: *gulle* 'all' [Maheswaran 2008: 365].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 391. Adjective. Meaning glossed as 'every; all'. Cf. also *ṛapa* 'adv. completely; adj. all' [Israel 1979: 407]; textual examples show that *bare* is used much more frequently, although it is difficult to establish precise semantic differences. Sunkarametta: *bare* 'all' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 283].

2. ASHES

Konda *ni:r-u* (1), Pengo *ni:s ~ niz* (1), Manda *darmu* (2), Kui *na:ṛi=du:li* (3), Kuwi *darmb-u* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 382. Plural: *ni: ṛku*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 214. Cf. also *darmu* 'ashes' (dialectal form attested in the Kalahandi District; the authors propose that it was borrowed from Maṇḍa) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 212].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 69. Plural: *darmu-ṛ*. This etymon is listed only as part of the compound *ni:y-darambu* 'ashes' in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 268]; in [Reddy 2009: 79], this compound is listed as *ni:y darambu* 'ashes formed by burning of charcoal'. Cf. also *husu* 'soot, ash' [Reddy 2009: 161].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 83. Literally = 'fire-dust'; the word *du:li* by itself = 'dust' [Winfield 1929: 33]. Balliguda dialect: *na:ḍi=du:lli* [Maheswaran 2008: 372].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 376. Sunkarametta, Parja: *darmb-u* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 279].

3. BARK

Konda *toko* (1), Pengo *pala* (2), Manda *mar=pele* (2), Kui *pala* (2), Kuwi *pala* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 376. Plural: *toko-ṛ*. Polysemy: 'bark of tree / rind (of fruit, vegetable, etc.)'. Cf. *paṛi* 'bark of tree' in Burrow & Bhattacharya's field records [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 357].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 216. Polysemy: 'bark / rind / skin of fruit'. Cf. *ḍilpa* 'chip of wood; bark' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 206].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 113. Plural: *mar=pele-ṛ*. Literally = 'skin of tree'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 89. Plural: *pala-ṛga*. Polysemy: 'bark of tree / skin of fruit / peel'.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 382. Plural: *pala-yā*.

4. BELLY

Konda *poʃ-a* (1), Pengo *po:ʃo* (1), Manda *pu:ʃa* (1), Kui *tu:ʃ-u* (2), Kuwi *tu:ʃ-i* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 390. Plural: *poʃ-en*. Slightly dubious, since the word is only glossed as 'stomach'; however, no alternate word for 'belly' or 'abdomen' is attested. At least one of the textual examples shows that the word is also applicable to the external belly: "After you had eaten, am I to gaze at your mouth or lick your belly (*poʃa*)?" [Krishnamurti 1969: 82].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 219. Distinct from the phonetically similar *buq* 'stomach' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 221].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 94; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 398. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach / pregnancy'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 125. Plural: *tu:ʃ-ka*. Polysemy: 'stomach / abdomen / belly / womb / seat of understanding'. Balliguda dialect: *tu:ʃ-u ~ tu:ʃ-i* 'belly / stomach' [Maheswaran 2008: 350].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 366. Meaning glossed as 'stomach'. Cf. also *banḍi* 'stomach' [Israel 1976: 390]. Sunkarametta, Parja: *banḍi* 'belly' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 283] vs. Sunkarametta: *tuʃi* 'stomach' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 277]. It remains unclear which of these two words is the original 'stomach' and which one is the original 'belly, abdomen'; tentatively, we include the one that is supported by external data (Kui).

5. BIG

Konda *peri* (1), Pengo *gaʒa* (2), Manda *dali* (3), Kui *deri* (4), Kuwi *kaʒa* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 389. Cf. also *gopa* 'great, big' [Krishnamurti 1969: 370].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 203. Meaning glossed as 'big, large'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 69. Meaning glossed as 'big, great, large, huge'. Cf. also *beḍe*, with polysemy: 'great / big / strong' [Reddy 2009: 109]. Cf. also *gaz* 'big' [Reddy 2009: 43]. No clear semantic difference between any of these words.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 28. Meaning glossed as 'large, great, chief, superior, important, extensive, exalted, elder, eldest'; cf. also the derived nominal stems *der-anṣu* 'big man or boy, etc.'; *der-ari* 'big woman or girl, big animal or thing, etc.' [ibid.]. There are at least two competing items: *pa:ʃal* 'large, big, great, huge' [Winfield 1929: 91] and *ro:ʃa* 'big, great, chief' [Winfield 1929: 102]. However, in the Balliguda dialect it is *deri* 'big' [Maheswaran 2008: 347] that is clearly the most basic, the most frequent and possibly the *only* equivalent for this Swadesh meaning. We select the item that is corroborated by both sources as the optimal candidate for inclusion.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 344. Cf. also *ko:ʃa* 'big, huge (house, building, rocks, etc.)' [Israel 1979: 353]. Sunkarametta: *kaʒa* 'big' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 273].

6. BIRD

Konda *poʃi* (1), Pengo *poʃi* (1), Manda *puʃe* (1), Kui *poʃa* (1), Kuwi *poʃa* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 390. Plural: *poʃi-ŋ*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 218.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 91. Plural: *puʃe-ŋ*. Quoted as *puʃi* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 397].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 95. Plural: *poʃa-ŋga*. Balliguda dialect: *poʃa ~ poʃʃa* [Maheswaran 2008: 335].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 387. Plural: *poʃa-yā*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *poʃʃa* 'bird' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 282].

7. BITE

Konda *kaʃ-* (1), Pengo *kap-* (2), Manda *kap* (2), Kui *kas-a* (3), Kuwi *kaç-i-* (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 359. Polysemy: 'to bite / to sting / to feel hunger or thirst'.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 199. Past stem: *kap-t-*. Cf. also *qo-* '(hen) to peck; (snake) to bite' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 210].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 25; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 114. Meaning glossed as 'to bite, to catch with one's mouth (as an animal)'. Cf. also *bri*: 'to bite (as a bird)' [Reddy 2009: 110]; *kuʃ*: 'to bite (as a snake)' [Reddy 2009: 32].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 59. Polysemy: 'to bite / to sting'. Balliguda dialect: *kas-* [Maheswaran 2008: 356].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 344. Sunkarametta: *kaçç-* 'to bite' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 273].

8. BLACK

Konda *kari* (1), Pengo *kala* (-1), Manda *ka:ʃi-ndi* (2), Kui *ka:li* (-1), Kuwi *ka:ʃ-i:ya* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 360.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 199. Borrowed from Oriya. Cf. also the verbal stem *kahra*: 'to be black', with the adjectival derivative *kahra-ti* 'black' [ibid.]. Analysis of textual evidence in the source shows that *kala* is the preferred equivalent for the neutral meaning 'black' (as opposed to other colors).

Manda: Reddy 2009: 30. Quoted as *kaʃi-ndi* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 139]. Also attested simply as *kaʃi* 'black, dark' [Reddy 2009: 29]. Cf. also *kala* 'black', *kala-guŋɖa* 'black design' [Reddy 2009: 26].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 57. Borrowed from Oriya. Balliguda dialect: *ka:li* 'black, green' [Maheswaran 2008: 357]. Cf. also *gandari* 'black' [Winfield 1929: 39]; *sro:bi*, with polysemy: 'soot / black' (noun and adjective) [Winfield 1929: 114]. We select the equivalent on which Winfield and Maheswaran are in agreement as the primary choice.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 347. Formally derived from the verb *ka:ʃ-i-* 'to be burnt; to become black' [ibid.].

9. BLOOD

Konda *neter* (1), Pengo *neter* (1), Manda *neter* (1), Kui *raka* (-1), Kuwi *neteri ~ netori* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 383. Additional synonym: *nala* 'blood' [Krishnamurti 1969: 380] (semantic distinction unclear).

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 215. Polysemy: 'blood / red'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 80; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 335.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 99. Balliguda dialect: *raka ~ raʔta ~ rakʔa* 'blood, red' [Maheswaran 2008: 383]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *rakaʔa* 'blood' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 124]. Borrowed from Oriya (Indo-Aryan **rakta-* 'blood'). The old Dravidian word for 'blood' is still preserved as Kui *nederi* in the function of a "balance word" [Winfield 1929: 84], but no longer serves as the basic equivalent.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 380. Polysemy: 'blood / red colour'. Cf. also *kasa* 'blood', said to be "used in some areas" [Israel 1979: 346].

Sunkarametta: *kassa* 'blood' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 273], *neteri* 'blood' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 280] (no difference indicated). It seems that *kas(s)a*, a word of unclear origin, tends to replace the original word for 'blood' in some dialectal areas, but we include the inherited term, well attested in our main source.

10. BONE

Konda *qumu* (1), Pengo *pre:-n* (2), Manda *pre:-n* (2), Kui *pre:-nu* (2), Kuwi *pre:-nu* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 372. Plural: *qumu-k*. The older equivalent is preserved in the Sova dialect: sg. *pre:-nu*, pl. *pre:-ku* 'bone, intestines' [Krishnamurti 1969: 391]; quoted as sg. *pepe-n*, pl. *pepe-k* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 391].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 219. Plural: *pre:-ku*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 97; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 391. Plural: *pre:-k*. Polysemy: 'bone / seed'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 96. Plural: *pre:-ka*. Polysemy: 'bone / stone or seed of fruit, kernel / heart of tree'. Balliguda dialect: *pre:-nu* 'bone' [Winfield 1929: 338].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 389. Plural: *pre:-ka*. Polysemy: 'bone / reed'. Cf. also *qum-u* 'bone (large)' [Israel 1979: 369]. Sunkarametta: *pre:-nu* 'bone' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 283].

11. BREAST

Konda *eduram* (1), Pengo *nenzom* (2), Manda *nenza-daki* (2), Kui *daki* (3), Kuwi *hi:pa=daki* (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 355. Plural: *eduram-ku*. Distinct from *pa:lu* 'breast / milk' [Krishnamurti 1969: 386]. Cf. also *bor-a*, pl. *bor:-eŋ* 'chest' [Krishnamurti 1969: 395] (possibly borrowed from Telugu *bor-a* id.). Differently in Burrow & Bhattacharya's field records: *gunḍa* 'chest' [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 155] (see also notes on 'heart'), as well as *ninzam* 'chest' [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 333] - semantic difference between these two stems is unknown.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 215. Also *nenza daki* id. The word *nenza* per se means 'pith of tree' (i. e. < 'heart', although the anatomical meaning is not explicitly attested in the source).

Manda: Reddy 2009: 81. Quoted as *nenza-daki* 'chest' in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 333]. Distinct from *may* '(female) breast, teat' [Reddy 2009: 112] and *du:du* '(female) breast' [Reddy 2009: 73].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 24. Plural: *daki-ŋga*. Meaning glossed as 'breast bone, chest'. Distinct from *sra:ŋgu* 'a breast' (female) [Winfield 1929: 114], attested as *sra:ŋgu* for the Kuṭṭiya dialect [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 125]. Different opposition in the Balliguda dialect: *dakki ~ daki* 'chest, shell, slough' [Maheswaran 2008: 351] vs. *du:ndu* 'breast (female)' [Maheswaran 2008: 27, 349].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 422. First part of this compound is not quite clear. Cf. also *boko* 'chest' [Israel 1979: 395]. Sunkarametta: *hipa-daki*, Parja: *si:pa-daki* 'chest' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 289]. Cf. Parja *du:d-u* 'breast' (female?) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 279].

12. BURN TR.

Konda *er- #* (1), Pengo *ka:d-* (2), Manda *ka:t* (2), Kui *mṛah-pa* (3), Kuwi *hu:d-* (4).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 356. Polysemy: 'to kindle fire / to light, burn'. Possible alternate synonym: *mar-g-* 'to burn' (also marked

as a transitive verb) [Krishnamurti 1969: 396]. Cf. also *vey* 'to be burnt' (intransitive verb) [Krishnamurti 1969: 406]. Several seemingly specialized synonyms are also available: *at̪k-* 'to burn (heaps of hacked forest-wood before starting cultivation), to set fire to' [Krishnamurti 1969: 347]; *sur-* '(meat, etc.) to roast; to burn (incense)' [Krishnamurti 1969: 411].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 200. Used in intransitive and transitive senses alike. Past stem: *ka:t-t- ~ ka:ɽ-t-*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 28. Polysemy: 'to burn / to scorch'. Transitive verb; cf. the intransitive pair *ka:d̪* 'to burn, be burnt' [Reddy 2009: 28; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 134].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 79. Transitive verb; meaning glossed as 'to consume by fire, to burn; n. destruction by fire'. Balliguda dialect: *m̪ɽah-* 'to burn (tr.)' [Maheswaran 2008: 371]. This seems to be a more likely candidate for the basic slot than *kap-pa* 'to cause to burn, to char, scorch' [Winfield 1929: 59], which is a regular transitive formation from *kamb-a* 'to be burned, injured by fire, consumed by fire' [Winfield 1929: 57] and attested as *kap-* 'to scorch' for the Balliguda dialect [Maheswaran 2008: 177]. Should also be distinguished from the intransitive *ri:-va* 'to burn (fire)' [Winfield 1929: 101].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 423. Polysemy: 'to fire (gun etc.) / to burn'. There are at least several additional entries in the source that also feature the meaning 'burn', e. g. *ɽin̪ɽ-i-* 'to burn, flash, blaze' (transitive) [Israel 1979: 408], with an additional causative formation *ɽi:h-* 'to make fire burn, light fire' [ibid.]; cf. also the intransitive verb *ka:d̪-i-* 'to be burnt' [Israel 1979: 346]. Nevertheless, we select *hu:d̪-* as the main entry because it is the only verb whose semantics is well confirmed by a textual example: "so the rajah said, 'put me also (in the hole) and burn me'" [Israel 1979: 273], where the listed imperative form is *hu:d̪-adu*. Cf. Sunkarametta *hu:d̪-* 'to burn, to shoot with gun' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 289].

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Konda *go:r ~ go:r-u* (1), Pengo *pa:ɽi* (2), Manda *gu:r* (1), Kui *uŋgul-i* (-1), Kuwi *go:r-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 370. Plural: *go:r-ku*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 217. Meaning glossed as 'nail (of finger, toe)'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 49; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 55. Plural: *gu:r-ke*. Distinct from *mala*, pl. *mala-ŋ* 'claw' [Reddy 2009: 113].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 126. Plural: *uŋgul-aka*. Balliguda dialect: *uŋgul-i* [Maheswaran 2008: 331]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *uŋgul-i* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 127]. In the latter work, the authors place under doubt Winfield's decision to define this word as a borrowing from Oriya, arguing that the corresponding Indo-Aryan word (Sanskrit *aŋguli-* and its descendants) not only has a different initial vowel, but also has a different meaning ('finger'), and that it makes more sense to compare *uŋgul-i* with the native Dravidian word for 'fingernail' (Tamil *ukir*, etc.). This alternate etymology is, however, untenable, since Tamil *ukir*, etc. corresponds to Kui *go:ra*, pl. *go:ra-ŋga* 'claw, talon, nail' [Winfield 1929: 44] = Balliguda *go:ra* 'claw' [Maheswaran 2008: 365], a word that is still frequently preserved in its original polysemous meaning in many Gondi-Kui languages and dialects but seems to have largely become restricted to '(animal's) claw, (bird's) talon' in Kui proper. In the light of this, it *does* seem reasonable to view *uŋguli* as an Oriya borrowing: the semantic shift 'finger' > 'finger-nail' is trivial and often present in situations where it becomes necessary to separate 'human fingernail' from 'animal claw', and the vocalic change is easily explainable through assimilation (**aŋgul-* > **uŋgul-*).

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 360. Sunkarametta, Parja: *go:r-u*, pl. *go:r-ka* 'nail' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 276].

14. CLOUD

Konda *mosop* (1), Pengo *ba:daɽ* (-1), Manda *ba:da:ɽ* (-1), Kui *muḍeŋgi* (2), Kuwi *ha:gu* (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 400. Plural: *mosop-ku*. Cf. *musur* 'constant rain; cloudiness' [Krishnamurti 1969: 398] (perhaps containing the same root). Cf. also *ba:doɽ* 'clouds' (Sova dialect; borrowed from Oriya) [Krishnamurti 1969: 392].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 220. Polysemy: 'sky / cloud'. Borrowed from Oriya.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 101. Borrowed from Oriya.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 80. Meaning glossed as 'a cloud, the sky'. Balliguda dialect: *mu:qe:ŋgi* 'cloud' [Maheswaran 2008: 369]. Different equivalent in Kuṭṭiya: *ṣaggu* 'cloud' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 133], cognate with Kuwi *ha:gu* 'cloud, sky'.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 420. Sunkarametta, Parja: *ha:gu* 'cloud' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 288].

15. COLD

Konda *pini* (1), Pengo *ṣila* (2), Manda *pini* ~ *peni* # (1), Kui *ṣili* (2), Kuwi *peni* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 386. Cf. also *salay* 'cold, cool' [Krishnamurti 1969: 408].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 207. Meaning glossed as 'cold (of water, *ṣilay ezuy* 'cold water')'. Cf. also *kakar* 'cold (water)' < Oriya [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 200]. Cf. also *pi:ni* 'cold (n.)' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 217], attested only as a noun.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 89. Dubious, since the meaning is only glossed as nominal: 'cold, winter'. However, no separate adjectival stem is attested in the dictionary. Also quoted as *peni* 'cold' in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 360].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 54. Cf. the derived forms: *ṣili in-ba* 'to be cold, cool'; *ṣil-na* 'coldly, coolly' (adv.) [ibid.]. Cf. also *peni* 'cold weather, low temperature', (adjective) 'cold, chilly' [Winfield 1929: 92]; apparently, the main difference is that *ṣili* is applied to objects, whereas *peni* refers to weather. Balliguda dialect: *ṣilli* 'cold' (e. g. *ṣilli siru* 'cold water') [Maheswaran 2008: 353] vs. *peni* ~ *penni* 'cold, winter' [Maheswaran 2008: 353]. Possibly a different equivalent in the Kuṭṭiya dialect: cf. *kakori* 'cold (of water)' in [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 133].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 387. Used both as an adjective ('cold') and as a noun ('coldness'). Cf. Parja: *hile* 'cold' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 289] (it is not specified whether this is an adjective or a noun); Sunkarametta: *peni* 'cold' (noun) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 282]. Additionally, cf. also *hitri* 'cold' [Israel 1979: 421], quoted the same way for the Sunkarametta dialect in [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 288].

16. COME

Konda *va:-* (1), Pengo *va:-* (1), Manda *va:-* (1), Kui *va:-va* (1), Kuwi *va:-* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 405. Past stem: *va:-t-*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 228. Past stem: *va:-t-*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 136; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 476.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 128. Balliguda dialect: *ba:-* [Maheswaran 2008: 189].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 413. Note: *kiŋ-* 'to come' in [Israel 1979: 347] is actually a misprint for 'to *comb*'. Sunkarametta, Parja: *va:-* 'to come' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 287].

17. DIE

Konda *sa:-* (1), Pengo *ha:-* (1), Manda *ha:-* (1), Kui *sa:-va* (1), Kuwi *ha:-* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 408.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 231. Past stem: *ha:-t-*. Polysemy: 'to die / (fire) to go out, be extinguished'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 156; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 213. Cf. also *hiṛis* 'to be dead, to die' [Reddy 2009: 159].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 106. Polysemy: 'to die / to be ill / to suffer'. Balliguda dialect: *sa-* [Maheswaran 2008: 376]. Cf. also the periphrastic construction *aṛi a:va* 'to die' [Winfield 1929: 7], where the first component probably goes back to the old Dravidian root **aṛ-* 'to perish; to destroy'. Cf. also *mru:-va*, glossed in [Winfield 1929: 80] as a 'balance word of *sa:va*' and confirmed in [Maheswaran 2008: 370] as *mru:-* 'to die' in the G.Udayagiri dialect. This latter entry is a rather obvious Indo-Aryan borrowing.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 420. Cf. also *ḍak-* 'to die (often used in a light hearted manner)' [Israel 1979: 367]. Sunkarametta: *ha-* 'to die' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 288].

18. DOG

Konda *nukuṛi* (1), Pengo *nekuṛ* (1), Manda *kusri* (2), Kui *nakuṛ-i* ~ *nahoṛ-i* ~ *nahuṛ-i* (1), Kuwi *nehṛuri* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 390.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 214. Plural: *nekuṛ-iṅ*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 37. Plural: *kusri-ṅ*.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 82, 83. Plural: *nakuṛa-ka* ~ *nakuṛ-ka* ~ *nahoṛ-ka* ~ *nahuṛ-ka* ~ *nah-ka*. Balliguda dialect: *nahu:ḍ-i* [Maheswaran 2008: 372].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 380. Plural: *nehṛuri-ka* ~ *nes-ka*. Sunkarametta: *nihṛuri*, pl. *nes-ka* 'dog' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 280].

19. DRINK

Konda *uṅ-* (1), Pengo *uṅ* (1), Manda *uṅ* ~ *un* (1), Kui *uṅ-ba* (1), Kuwi *uṅ-* # (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 353. Polysemy: 'to drink / to eat' (since *tin-* is glossed as 'to eat solid food', this verb is likely applicable to various semi-liquid or soft substances). Past stem: *ut-*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 196. Past stem: *uṭ-*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 13. Quoted as *un-* (past stem *uḥ-*), with polysemy: 'to drink / to smoke', in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 58].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 126. Polysemy: 'to drink / to partake of food / to smoke tobacco'. Ballaguda dialect: *uṅ-* 'to drink' [Maheswaran 2008: 331]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *uṅ-b-oni* 'to drink' (infinitive) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 131].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 337. Cf. also *goh-*, glossed with polysemy: 'to drink / to smoke' in [Israel 1979: 359]. Sunkarametta: *goh-* 'to drink' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 276]. Judging by the texts in Israel's monograph, it seems that *goh-* (cognate with Kui *goh-pa* 'to swallow') has either already become the new default equivalent for 'to drink' in most Kuwi dialects, or is on the verge of replacing the old verb *uṅ-*. However, the latter is also occasionally encountered in textual examples, and the semantic difference remains unclear. We tentatively include *uṅ-* in the primary slot as a lexicostatistical match with Kui, but it is possible that in the light of future data this may have to be amended in favor of a non-match with *goh-*.

20. DRY

Konda *vaṛ-* (1), Pengo *vaḥ-* (1), Manda *hurke* ~ *hukre* (2), Kui *vas-a* (1), Kuwi *va:y-* (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 404. Intransitive verbal stem: 'to dry (in the sun); to get dried'. Derived forms include *vaṭis-* 'to let dry' (causative) and *vaṭti* 'dried' (adjective).

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 228. Past stem: *vaṭ-ṭ-*. Meaning of this verbal stem is glossed as 'to dry up, wither, become emaciated'; analysis of textual examples shows that this word and its derivatives are commonly used in the meaning 'dry, to become dry' (of smth. wet), as opposed to *suka-* 'to dry up, wither' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 229], meaning 'to become excessively dry, withered' and therefore ineligible for inclusion.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 159, 160. Cf. also the verbal stem *vas* 'to dry up, wither' [Reddy 2009: 136].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 128. Verbal stem: 'to dry, wither; to be dried up, withered, thin, emaciated; n. dryness, leanness'. Balliguda dialect: *bas-* 'to be dry, wither' [Maheswaran 2008: 341]. There seems to be no difference between the neutral semantics of 'dry' and the "negative" semantics of 'dried up' in Kui.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 413. Verbal root: 'to become dry, to wither'.

21. EAR

Konda *gibi* (1), Pengo *ki-tul* (1), Manda *gi-tul* (1), Kui *kir-u* ~ *kri-u* (2), Kuwi *kriyū* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 368. Plural: *gibi-ṅ*. Cf. the Sova dialect form: *gitoṅi*, pl. *gitoṅi-ṅ* [Krishnamurti 1969: 368]. Cf. also *mork-a*, pl. *mork-eṅ* 'ear; upper part of ear' [Krishnamurti 1969: 400].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 200. Plural: *ki-tul-iṅ*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 44. Plural: *gitul-iṅ*. In [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 179], the Manda equivalent for 'ear' is listed as *giy*, pl. *giy-ke* (same root, but without the suffixal extension).

Kui: Winfield 1929: 62, 67. Plural: *kir-ka* ~ *kri-ka*. Balliguda dialect: *kri-u* ~ *ki-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 361].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 354. Plural: *kri-ka*. Parja: *kiru* 'ear' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 274].

22. EARTH

Konda *bu:mi* (-1), Pengo *ma:ṭi* (-2), Manda *tulve* (1), Kui *vira* ~ *vire* (2), Kuwi *iṭira* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 394. Indo-Aryan borrowing. Cf. *ne:le* 'earth, ground' in Burrow & Bhattacharya's field records [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 252].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 223. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / land, place'. Borrowed from Oriya. Cf. *ṭikla* 'earth, clay' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 206]; *ne:la* 'ground' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 215]; *ne:bes* 'ground' [ibid.]; *medni* 'earth, ground' (< Oriya) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 224].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 64; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 287. Polysemy: 'clay / dust / earth / soil'. Cf. *ne:beh* 'floor, ground, earth' [Reddy 2009: 81].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 130. Meaning glossed as 'earth, soil'. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *viraṭa* 'earth, soil' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 124]. Differently in the Balliguda dialect: *ṭa:ṭa* 'earth, soil, ground' [Maheswaran 2008: 349], but also *bira* 'ground' [Maheswaran 2008: 339]. The former word is probably the same as Kui *ṭa:ṭa* 'land, ground' in [Winfield 1929: 117], but the consonantal correspondences are irregular; cf., perhaps, also Kui *ṭa:ṭa* 'a large wide mouthed earthen-ware pot' [Winfield 1929: 116], said to be borrowed from Oriya. Current textual evidence does not allow us to properly assess whether there is a lexicostatistical difference between Winfield's and Maheswaran's Kui.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 336. Polysemy: 'soil / earth / gravel'. Distinct from *bu:mi* 'land' [Israel 1979: 394]. Sunkarametta: *iṭira*, Parja: *virṭa* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 272]. Cf. also Sunkarametta *bu:mi* 'earth, ground' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 283].

23. EAT

Konda *tin-* (1), Pengo *tin-* (1), Manda *tin* (1), Kui *tin-ba* (1), Kuwi *tin-* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 374. Polysemy: 'to eat (any solid food) / to inhale cigarette or beedi'. The meaning 'to eat soft / liquid food' is expressed by the same word as 'to drink' q.v. Cf. also *re-* 'to eat meat' [Krishnamurti 1969: 402].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 211. Past stem: *ti-ç-* ~ *çi-ç-*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 63; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 284. Past stem: *tiç-*. Meaning glossed as 'to eat, to consume solid food'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 120. Balliguda dialect: *tin-* [Maheswaran 2008: 344].

Kuwi: Past stem *çi-ç-* [Israel 1979: 361] with assimilation to the past tense marker. Cf. also *me:rd-i-* 'to eat, chew (joking expression)' [Israel 1979: 402]. Sunkarametta, Parja: *tin-*, past stem *tiçç-* ~ *çiçç-* 'to eat' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 278].

24. EGG

Konda *guḍu* (-1), Pengo *ro:ṇḍa* (1), Manda *ru:ṇḍa* (1), Kui *to:la* (2), Kuwi *guḍu* (-1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 368. Polysemy: 'eyeball / egg / testicle'. Borrowed from Telugu.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 226.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 128. Plural: *ru:ṇḍa-ṇ*. Quoted as *runḍa* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 64].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 121. Plural: *to:la-ṇga*. Polysemy: 'lump / excrescence / egg'. Balliguda dialect: *to:la* 'egg', but also *baḍḍa* id. [Maheswaran 2008: 341], with unclear distribution (only *baḍḍa* is encountered in textual examples). Still differently in the Kuṭṭiya dialect: sg. *me:ṇṣu*, pl. *me:ṇa-ka* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 128]. This seems to be the most archaic form, not only because of external data (the same basic equivalent for 'egg' in Gondi), but also because the plural form has served as the source of a back-formation in Kui proper: cf. sg. *me:sa*, pl. *me:sa-ka* 'testicle' in [Winfield 1929: 77].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 357. Plural: *guḍu-yā*. Cf. Sunkarametta: *guḍḍu* 'egg' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 276]; according to the authors, this is allegedly a recent borrowing from Telugu. An older equivalent may be *to:la* 'egg' [Israel 1979: 375], plural: *to:la-yā*, cf. also Parja: *to:la* 'egg' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 279]. However, in Israel's texts only the word *guḍu* is encountered.

25. EYE

Konda *kaṇ-ka* (1), Pengo *kaṇ-ga* (1), Manda *kan* ~ *kane* (1), Kui *kan-u* (1), Kuwi *kan-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 359. Plural: *kaṇ-ku*. Cf. also *kaṇ-er* 'tears', *kaṇ-a* 'blind man' etc.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 199. Plural: *kaṇ-ku* ~ *kaṇ-gaṇ*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 24; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 109. Plural: *kan-ke*.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 58. Plural: *kan-ga*. Balliguda dialect: *kaṇṇ-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 356]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: sg. *kan-u*, pl. *kaṇ-ka* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 128].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 344. Plural: *kaṇ-ka*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *kanu*, pl. *kaṇ-ka* 'eye' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 273].

26. FAT N.

Konda *koṛvu* (1), Pengo *koṛva* (1), Manda *kṛuva ~ kṛuvā* (1), Kui *kro:ga* (1), Kuwi *koṛva* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 366. Polysemy: 'fat (of animals) / arrogance'. Distinct from *nu:ne* 'oil' [Krishnamurti 1969: 382].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 202. Derived from the verbal stem *kṛo:-* 'to be fat, to become fat' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 203].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 41, 42. Quoted as *kṛuva*, pl. *kṛuva-ŋ* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 193]. Distinct from *ney ~ ni:* 'oil' [Reddy 2009: 79, 81].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 67. Meaning glossed as 'fat, tallow, suet'. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *kṛo:ga* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 125].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 352. Sunkarametta, Parja: *koṛva* 'fat' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 275]. Distinct from *ni:yū* 'oil' [Israel 1979: 380] (Sunkarametta, Parja: *ni:y-u* 'oil' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 280]).

27. FEATHER

Konda *kel-u* (1), Pengo *kel* (1), Manda *tu:ku* (2), Kui *kel-u #* (1), Kuwi *kel-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 364. Plural: *kel-ku*. Cf. also *bulus*, pl. *bulus-ku*, with polysemy: 'pubic hair / feathers (of bird) / hair (on legs and chest)' [Krishnamurti 1969: 393]. Cf. also *gurgili* 'feather' in Burrow & Bhattacharya's notes [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 180].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 202. Plural: *kel-ku*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 65; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 297. Plural: *tu:ku-ŋ*. Polysemy: 'feather / tail of bird'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 61. Plural: *kel-ka*. The meaning is glossed as 'a large feather', and there is also a dialectal variant *keḍ-u*, pl. *keḍ-ka*, glossed as 'a large feather, quill' [Winfield 1929: 60]. The other candidate for this slot is *bur:i* 'a hair, fur, bristle, feather, wool, whisker' [Winfield 1929: 22]; however, even though the meaning here is more general ('feather' rather than 'large feather'), it seems somewhat *too* general and may, in fact, probably refer to the collective 'down, feathers' rather than the singulative 'feather'. For the moment, until detailed textual evidence is available, we prefer to fill this position with *kel-u*. The entry for the Balliguda dialect is questionable too: *pi:se:ḍi* 'feather' [Maheswaran 2008: 333] corresponds to Winfield's *pi:seri* 'tail feather of a peacock' [Winfield 1929: 93], and the Balliguda entry may very easily reflect an incorrect generalization of the term 'peacock feather' to 'feather' as such. Finally, a completely different entry is attested for the Kuṭṭiya dialect: *ṛuma* 'feather' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 133].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 351. Plural: *kes-ka*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *kel-u*, pl. *kel-ka* '(large) feather' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 274].

28. FIRE

Konda *sis-u* (1), Pengo *na:ṇi* (2), Manda *hic-u* (1) / *iske* (3), Kui *na:ṇi ~ na:ṛi* (2), Kuwi *hiḥ-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 410.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 214.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 158. Reddy 2009: 11. Meaning glossed as 'fire, burning charcoal, burning coal', but glossed simply as 'fire' in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 41]. Interestingly, the word *hicu* 'fire', reflecting the old etymon, is not attested in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984] at all. It is not clear whether this means that in basic usage, *hicu* has already been replaced by *iske* in Manda; for the moment, both terms have to be counted as technical synonyms.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 83. Balliguda dialect: *na:ḍi* [Maheswaran 2008: 372].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 421. Sunkarametta: *hiçç-u* 'fire' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 288]. Also Sunkarametta *naṛni*, Parja *naṛi* 'fire' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 280] (= *naṛni* 'hot coal' in [Israel 1979: 379]).

29. FISH

Konda *moy-a* (1), Pengo *min* (2), Manda *min* (2), Kui *mi:n-u* (2), Kuwi *mi:n-u* ~ *mṛi:n-u* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 400. Plural: *moy-eṇ*. The old word *min*, pl. *min-ga* is still preserved in the dialect represented by Burrow & Bhattacharya's field records [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 436].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 223. Plural: *min-ku*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 117; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 436. Plural: *min-ke*.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 78. Plural: *mi:n-ga*. Balliguda dialect: *mi:n-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 366]. Same paradigm in the Kuṭṭiya dialect [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 128].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 399, 403. Plural: *mṛi-ka*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *mi:n*, pl. *mṛi-ka* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 284].

30. FLY V.

Konda *egri-* (1), Pengo *u:m-* (2), Manda *uq a:* (-1), Kui *pa:nṣ-a* (3), Kuwi *u:mb-i-* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 355. Meaning glossed as 'to fly (as bird)'. Cf. also *i:mb- ~ i:m-* 'to fly, as a bird' (Sova dial.) [Krishnamurti 1969: 353].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 197. Same word as 'to swim' q.v. Past stem: *u:m-t-*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 13. Meaning glossed as 'to fly (as a bird)'. Complex form, consisting of the formally nominal stem *uq* 'flying' and the auxiliary verb *a:* 'to be, become, take place'. The nominal stem itself is a transparent borrowing from Indo-Aryan.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 90. Balliguda dialect: *pa:nṣ-*, with polysemy: 'to fly / to leap' [Maheswaran 2008: 335].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 338. Sunkarametta: *u:mb-* 'to fly' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 272].

31. FOOT

Konda *pa:dam* (1), Pengo *ka:l* (2), Manda *ka:l* (2), Kui *ka:ḍ-u* (2), Kuwi *koḍa* # (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 386. Plural: *pa:dam-ku*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 200. Meaning glossed as 'leg'; the meaning 'foot' is said to be expressed with the idiomatic formation *ka:l pana*, where *pana* = 'foot, sole; footprint' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 216]. However, perusal of textual evidence in the source clearly shows that (*ka:l*) *pana* is, at best, a "marked" (specialized) form, and that normally the simple word *ka:l* is applied to both 'legs' and 'feet' without semantic segmentation, as it does in the majority of other Dravidian languages as well.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 30; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 138. Plural: *ka:l-ke*. Polysemy: 'leg / foot'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 57. Plural: *ka:ḍ-ka*. Polysemy: 'leg / foot'. Balliguda dialect: *ka:ḍ-u* 'leg' [Maheswaran 2008: 357].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 351. Meaning glossed as 'leg'; but cf. also Sunkarametta *koḍḍa* 'leg, foot' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 275], and the more important fact that the only textual examples that specifically refer to 'feet' (e. g. 'webbed feet') in Israel's monograph all feature the word *koḍa* as well. Alternate synonym: *paṛna* [Israel 1979: 382], plural: *paṛna-yā*, meaning glossed as 'sole of foot'. Cf.

Sunkarametta: *paḷna*, pl. *paḷna-ṅa* 'foot' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 280]. Cf. also *ka:l-u* 'leg' (Southern dialect) [Israel 1979: 347]. Cf. also Parja *pa:domi* 'foot' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 281], probably borrowed from Indo-Aryan, distinct from *ka:l-u* 'leg' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 273]. On the whole, a rather complicated situation, exacerbated by few textual examples. Also, despite the phonetic similarity, Kuwi *koḍa* cannot be related to Kui *ka:ḍ-u*.

32. FULL

Konda *ninri-* (1), Pengo *nen̄-* (1), Manda *nenz* (1), Kui *nen̄-a* (1), Kuwi *nen̄-i-* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 381. Verbal stem: 'to be filled, become full'. Cf. the transitive correlate *niḥ* 'to fill up, to thrust in fully'.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 214. Verbal stem: 'to be filled'. Cf. the transitive correlate *neḥ-* 'to fill; to put in, insert' [ibid.].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 81. Verbal stem: 'to be filled, to be inserted, to be sufficient'. In [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 327], only the corresponding transitive stem is attested: *neh-* 'to fill, put in'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 371. Transitive stem: *nes-pa* 'to fill, load' [ibid.]. Balliguda dialect: *nen̄-* 'to be full', *nes-* 'to fill' [Maheswaran 2008: 371]. There is also another term which, upon first sight, looks more eligible: *prusu ~ pruhu* 'full, filled' [Winfield 1929: 97], *prusu inba ~ pruhu inba* 'to be full, filled' [ibid.]. However, it is suspiciously absent from Maheswaran's data for Balliguda. Additionally, Winfield also lists the Oriya borrowing *pu:ri* 'full' [Winfield 1929: 98], which corresponds to the Balliguda constructions *pu:ri a-* 'to be full', *pu:ri gi-* 'to fill' [Maheswaran 2008: 216]. It seems that *prusu ~ pruhu*, lacking Dravidian correlates, is also a derived form from the same Indo-Aryan borrowing. This does not by itself disqualify it as a candidate for the primary slot, provided it has really replaced *nen̄-* in basic usage, but we have no textual confirmations for that. For now, we cautiously retain the original Dravidian word as the basic equivalent.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 380. Verbal root: 'to be filled'. Cf. the corresponding transitive stem: *neh-* 'to fill, to load'. Sunkarametta: *nen̄-* 'to be filled', *neh-* 'to fill' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 280].

33. GIVE

Konda *si:-* (1), Pengo *hi:-* (1), Manda *hi:-* (1), Kui *si:-va* (1), Kuwi *hi:-* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 410.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 231. Past stem: *hi:-t-*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 158; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 225. Polysemy: 'to give / to offer'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 111. Meaning glossed as 'to give, grant, allow; n. the act of giving, bestowal'. There is also a (dialectal? positional?) variant *zi:-va* id., with secondary voicing [Winfield 1929: 54]. Balliguda dialect: *si:-* 'to give' [Maheswaran 2008: 413]. Kuttīya dialect: *hi:-* 'to give' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 132].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 421. Sunkarametta: *hi:-* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 289].

34. GOOD

Konda *negi* (1), Pengo *nek-ri* (1), Manda *nek-ri* (1), Kui *neg-i* (1), Kuwi *nehi ~ nehī* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 383. Cf. also *mansi* 'good', borrowed from Telugu *manci* [Krishnamurti 1969: 396].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 214. Cf. also *bal* 'good' (< Oriya) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 220].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 80. Meaning glossed as 'good, fine, well'. Derived from the verbal stem *neg ~ nek ~ nik* 'to be good' [ibid.]. Quoted as *nek-ran* (masc.), *nek-del* (fem.), *nek-de* (neut.) 'good' in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 333]. Cf. also *bolo* 'good, well' (< Oriya) [Reddy 2009: 110].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 84. Cf. *neg-anʒu* 'a good man or boy', *neg-ari* 'a good woman, girl or thing', etc. [ibid.]. Balliguda dialect: *neg-i ~ negg-i* [Maheswaran 2008: 371]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *neh-i* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 127].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 380. Cf. also *o:ʒ-i-* 'to be beautiful, good' in [Israel 1979: 342]. Sunkarametta: *nehi* 'good' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 280].

35. GREEN

Konda *pasi* (1), Pengo *pazi* (1), Manda *sagava* (-1), Kuwi *hiʔli* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 385. Polysemy: 'green / fresh / tender'.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 216. Polysemy: 'fresh / green (leaf) / unripe (fruit) / cold (water)'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 140. Borrowed from Oriya. Cf. also *ʒi:ani* 'green, fresh (of leaves, etc.)' in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 342], glossed simply as *ʒiya:ni* 'unripe' in [Reddy 2009: 147].

Kui: Not properly attested. Winfield lists a large number of adjectival stems with the meaning 'green', but it is not the primary meaning for any of them, and it is never evident whether his 'green' refers to color or (figuratively) to the state of being unripe. Possibly the best candidate is *ʒibendi* 'green, verdant; n. a species of grass growing in damp and moist places' [Winfield 1929: 54], but cf. also *kesuʔi* 'newly sprouting, green, tender, young' [Winfield 1929: 61]; *ko:ʔu* 'new, green, unripe, immature' [Winfield 1929: 65], *si:di* 'raw, unripe, green, sober' [Winfield 1929: 108]. In the Balliguda dialect, the only word that qualifies for inclusion is *kali*, glossed in [Maheswaran 2008: 357] as 'black, green' - although, naturally, this polysemy raises certain doubts.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 421. Polysemy: 'green / fresh'. The exact same form is listed in the meaning 'unripe' for the Sunkarametta dialect [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 288].

36. HAIR

Konda *zut-u* (1), Pengo *te-mul* (2), Manda *trey* (2), Kui *tla:-mberi* (3), Kuwi *ba:ŋa* (4).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 414. In this dictionary entry, *zut-u* 'hair' is specifically opposed to *kop-u* 'braid of curly hair'. However, on p. 365 of the same source, the meaning of *kop-u* is glossed as 'hair (of men or women)'. Cf. also *kukuʔi* 'hair' in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 149].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 211. The Kalahandi dialectal equivalent is *tre-mul* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 212], indicating that the forms are related to Manda *trey* and go back to a compound formation (**trey-mul*), the second part of which finds an external parallel in Konda *mu:la* 'woman's hair-knot'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 67; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 286.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 121. Plural: *tla:-mber-aka*. Meaning glossed as 'a hair of the head'. Evidently derived from *tlau* 'head' q.v., which is itself glossed by Winfield with polysemy: 'head / hair of the head' [Winfield 1929: 121]. Balliguda dialect: *tla:-merri* [Maheswaran 2008: 347]. Additionally, cf. *bu:ri* 'hair, fur, bristle, feather' [Winfield 1929: 22] (obviously "body hair" rather than "head hair") and *so:ʔa* 'a hair' [Winfield 1929: 113] with unclear semantic specifics (in [Maheswaran 2008: 379], only encountered as part of the complex formation *so:ʔa gadʔi:ŋga* 'beard').

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 392. Plural: *ba:ŋa-ŋga ~ ba:ŋa-yā*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *ba:ŋa*, pl. *ba:ŋa-ŋa* 'hair, feather' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 283].

37. HAND

Konda *kiy-u* (1), Pengo *key* (1), Manda *ki ~ ki:* (1), Kui *kaṣ-u* (1), Kuwi *key-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 362. Plural: *ki-ku*. Sova dialect: sg. *kiv-u*, pl. *ki-ku*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 201. Plural: *key-ku*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 31, 32. Plural: *ki-ke ~ ki:-ke*. The archaic morphophonological variant *kay* is only attested in compound formations [Reddy 2009: 26]. Quoted as *kiy* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 183]. Distinct from *ma:ra* 'arm, wing' [Reddy 2009: 115].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 57. Plural: *ka-ka*. Polysemy: 'arm / hand'. Balliguda dialect: *kaṣ-u ~ kaṣṣ-u ~ kaḡ-u* 'arm' [Maheswaran 2008: 356]. Kutṭiya dialect: sg. *kaṣ-u*, pl. *kes-ka* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 128].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 351. Plural: *kes-ka*. Parja: *kayy-u*, Sunkarametta: *keyy-u* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 273, 274].

38. HEAD

Konda *tal-a* (1), Pengo *kapṛa* (2), Manda *kapṛa* (2), Kui *tla-u* (1), Kuwi *tra:y-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 373. Plural: *tal-ek*. Alternate synonym: *bur-a*, pl. *bur-ek* 'head' [Krishnamurti 1969: 393].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 199. Cf. also *muṇḍa* 'head' (< Oriya) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 223].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 25. Plural: *kapṛa-ṅ*. Cf. *muṇḍe* 'head of an animal' [Reddy 2009: 119], borrowed from Oriya.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 121. Plural: *tla-ka*. Balliguda dialect: *tla-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 346].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 375. Plural: *tra-ka*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *trā:y-u*, pl. *tra-ka* 'head' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 279].

39. HEAR

Konda *ven-* (1), Pengo *ven-* (1), Manda *ven-* (1), Kui *ven-ba* (1), Kuwi *ven-* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 406. Past stem: *ve ʔ*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 228. Past stem: *ve-φ*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 139. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen / to ask / to tell (someone)'. Quoted as *ven-*, past stem *veφ-* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 502] (the meaning 'to ask', according to that source, is expressed by the derived stem *ven-ba-*).

Kui: Winfield 1929: 129. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen / to ask'. Balliguda dialect: *ben-* 'to hear, ask, demand' [Maheswaran 2008: 339].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 414. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen / to ask'. Sunkarametta: *ven-* 'to hear' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 287].

40. HEART

Konda *guṇḍe* (1), Pengo *zibon* (-1), Manda *ṭṇa:ke* (2), Kui *tlo:mba-ḍo:nḍi* (3), Kuwi *bo:ṇḍa* (4).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 417. Same word as 'chest' in Burrow & Bhattacharya's field notes; the equivalent for 'heart' there is the idiomatic expression *gunḍa ka:ya*, literally 'chest fruit' [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 155].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 207. Polysemy: 'life / alive / heart'. Borrowed from Oriya.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 55. Plural: *ṭṭa:ke-ṅ*. Polysemy: 'heart / liver' (however, a separate lexical item also exists in the meaning 'liver' q.v.). Quoted as *ṭṭa:ke-ṅ* 'liver' (plural form) in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 271].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 121. The first part of this compound formation is unclear; the second one = *ḍo:ndi* 'pumpkin' [Winfield 1929: 30]. This seems to be the basic equivalent for 'heart' as an anatomical term; in the figurative meaning ('heart' = 'mind, spirit, life, soul, feelings, seat of affection') the word *ṣe:ḍa* is used instead [Winfield 1929: 52]. In the Balliguda dialect, only the Oriya borrowing *ṣi:u* 'life, heart' is attested [Maheswaran 2008: 353].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 395. Plural: *bo:ṅḍa-yā*. Sunkarametta: *ṣiu* 'heart' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 276] (borrowed from Oriya).

41. HORN

Konda *kom-u* (1), Pengo *komo* (1), Manda *kumu* (1), Kui *ko:ṣ-u* (2), Kuwi *kom-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 365. Plural: *kom-ku*. Cf. *kom-a* 'branch of a tree' [ibid.] with the same root. Cf. also the Indo-Aryan borrowing *siṅgya* 'horn' [Krishnamurti 1969: 409].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 202. Plural: *kop-ku*. Slightly different forms in dialects: Potaguda *kom*, Maidapur *koma*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 34; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 191. Plural: *kumu-ṅ*. Polysemy: 'horn of an animal / branch'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 64. Plural: *ko:s-ka*. Differently in the Balliguda dialect: cf. *si:alli ko:ma* 'horn of deer' [Maheswaran 2008: 373].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 352. Plural: *kom-u-ka*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *komm-u*, pl. *kom-ku* 'horn' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 275]; cf. also Sunkarametta *komma* 'branch of tree' [ibid.].

42. I

Konda *na:-n ~ na:-n-u* (1), Pengo *a:n* (1), Manda *a:n ~ a:ne* (1), Kui *a:n-u* (1), Kuwi *na:n-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 246. Oblique/genitive stem: *na:- ~ na-*. Accusative/dative: *na-ṅi*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 51. More usually encountered in the extended variant: *a:n-eṅ*. Accusative/dative: *naṅgeṅ*, genitive: *na*: [ibid.].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 6; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 468. Accusative: *naṅ*, dative: *naṅka*, genitive: *na*: [Reddy 2009: 75, 76].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 6. Oblique stem: *na:-* (genitive: *na:-i*, etc.) [Winfield 1929: 82-83]. Balliguda dialect: *a:n-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 80]. Kutṭiya dialect: nominative *na:n-u*, genitive *na*:, accusative *na-naḍa* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 129].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 379. Sunkarametta, Parja: *na:n-u* 'I' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 280].

43. KILL

Konda *sa-p-* (1), Pengo *pa:g-* (2), Manda *pa:k ~ pa:g* (2), Kui *sa:-ppa* (1), Kuwi *pay-i-* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 408. Transparent causative stem from *sa-* 'to die' q.v.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 216. Past stem: *pa:k-t-*. Polysemy: 'to strike / to kill / to knock out (fire)'.
Manda: Reddy 2009: 86. Polysemy: 'to slaughter / to kill / to sacrifice animals'. Quoted as *pa:g-* 'to kill' in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 360].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 105. A transparent causative derivative from *sa-* 'to die' q.v. Balliguda dialect: *sa-p-* 'to kill' [Maheswaran 2008: 377]. Cf. also: *mru-p-ka* 'to tear; to murder, kill' [Winfield 1929: 80] (causative from *mru:-va* 'to die'); *vṛaka ve:-pa* 'to strike with might and main, strike forcibly; to kill, murder' [Winfield 1929: 131]; *ḍi-p-ka* 'to kill, slay, murder' (Phulbani dialect) [Winfield 1929: 29]. We select the seemingly most stylistically neutral equivalent as the primary entry.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 382. Polysemy: 'to beat / to kill'. Parja: *pa:y-* 'to strike, kill' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 281].

44. KNEE

Konda *miṛv-a* (1), Pengo *meṇḍa* (2), Manda *meṇḍa* (2), Kui *meṇḍa* (2), Kuwi *meṇḍa* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 397. Plural: *miṛv-eṅ*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 224.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 122. Plural: *meṇḍa-ṅ*. Quoted as *meṇḍe* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 413]. Distinct from *ka:pṭa* 'knee cap' [Reddy 2009: 29].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 76. Plural: *meṇḍa-ṅga*. Balliguda dialect: *meṇḍa* 'knee, shin' [Maheswaran 2008: 367].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 402. Plural: *meṇḍa-yā*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *meṇḍa*, pl. *meṇḍa-ṅa* 'knee' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 285].

45. KNOW

Konda *nes-* (1), Pengo *pun-* (2), Manda *pun-* (2), Kui *pun-ba* (2), Kuwi *pun-* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 383. Polysemy: 'to know / to be capable of'.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 217.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 92; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 384. Meaning glossed as 'to understand, to know as a fact, to find out, to come to know'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 97. Polysemy: 'to know / to understand'. Balliguda dialect: *pun-* [Maheswaran 2008: 336].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 385. Polysemy: 'to know / to understand'. Sunkarametta: *pun-* 'to know' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 281].

46. LEAF

Konda *a:ku* (1), Pengo *a:ki* (1), Manda *a:ki* (1), Kui *a:k-u* (1), Kuwi *a:k-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 350. Plural: *a:ku-ṅ*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 194. Polysemy: 'leaf / page'. Cf. also *patri* 'leaf, leaf-plate' (< Oriya) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 216]; *potor* 'leaf' (< Oriya) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 218].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 5; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 32. Plural: *a:ki-ṅ*.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 4. Plural: *a:k-a*. Polysemy: 'leaf / petal / paper / letter'. Balliguda dialect: *a:k-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 329].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 334. Plural: *a:k-a*. Polysemy: 'leaf / deed / document'.

47. LIE

Konda *gu:r-* (1), Pengo *mag-* (2), Manda *te:r* (3), Kui *ɖo:-pa* (4).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 369. Polysemy: 'to lie down / to sleep, sleep with'. This is the only word with the neutral semantics of 'lying down' attested in Krishnamurti's dictionary.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 222. Past stem: *ma:k-t-*. Meaning glossed as 'to lie, lie down, sleep' (not quite clear whether only the dynamic aspect is referred to or if this includes static 'to be lying' as well).

Manda: Reddy 2009: 66. Meaning glossed as 'to lie down, to relax' (not quite clear whether only the dynamic aspect is referred to or if this includes static 'to be lying' as well). Cf. also *tremb* 'to lie down, to remain' [Reddy 2009: 67], historically derived from the same root with an additional verbal suffix. Quoted as *te:r-* 'to lie, lie down' in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 300].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 31. Meaning glossed as 'to lie down, recline, sleep; n. the act of lying down, sleep'. Balliguda dialect: *ɖo:-* 'to lie down' [Maheswaran 2008: 352]. Cf. also *kur-a* 'to fall over, fall down, tumble; to prostrate oneself, recline, lie down' [Winfield 1929: 69].

Kuwi: Not attested.

48. LIVER

Konda *pit-a* (1), Pengo *tʃa:k-iŋ* (2), Manda *tʃa:ke* (2), Kui *tra:ɖa ~ tla:ɖa* (2), Kuwi *traʔna* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 386. Plural: *pit-eŋ*. Glossed as 'liver (beside the heart; tastes bitter, will be removed while cooking)'.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 212. *Plurale tantum*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 55. Same word as 'heart' q.v. Cf. also *lake*, pl. *lake-ŋ* 'liver' [Reddy 2009: 132].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 121, 123. Plural: *tla:ɖa-ŋga ~ tra:ɖa-ŋga*. Balliguda dialect: *tʃa:ɖa* 'liver' [Maheswaran 2008: 350], phonetically also *tʃa:tʃa* [Maheswaran 2008: 23]. Kutʃiya dialect: *tʃa:ɖa-ŋga* 'liver' (plurale tantum?) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 125].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 375. Plural: *traʔna-yā*. Sunkarametta: *traʔna* 'liver' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 279]. Parja: *ta:[a* 'liver' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 278].

49. LONG

Konda *niri* (1), Pengo *lama* (-1), Manda *lama* (-1), Kui *lamba ~ limba* (-1), Kuwi *lamba* (-1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 381. Polysemy: 'straight / long / tall'.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 227. Borrowed from Oriya. Cf. also *lama-ti*, *lama-lama* id. Additionally, cf. also *ladeya* 'long' [ibid.]; *ɖeŋga* 'long / deep' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 210]. All of these forms seem to be borrowings.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 132. Borrowed from Oriya. Cf. also *deha*, glossed in [Reddy 2009: 74] as 'long (with reference to distance), distant, a far-off place'; however, this description seems to be more of a definition for 'far' q.v. rather than 'long'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 71, 72. Balliguda dialect: *lamba* [Maheswaran 2008: 381]. All forms borrowed from Oriya.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 409. Borrowed from Oriya.

50. LOUSE

Konda *pen-i* (1), Pengo *pen* (1), Manda *pen* (1), Kui *pe:n-u* (1), Kuwi *pe:n-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 389. Plural: *pen-ku*. Quoted as *pe:n-i*, pl. *pe:n-ku* (with a long vowel) in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 394].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 218. Plural: *pen-ku*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 95; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 394. Plural: *pen-ke*.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 92. Plural: *pe:n-ga*. The meaning is glossed by Winfield as 'flea', but no separate equivalent for 'louse' or 'lice' is available in the dictionary. Additionally, for the Balliguda dialect Maheswaran quotes *pe:n-u* 'louse' [Maheswaran 2008: 333]. It is possible that 'flea' and 'louse' have lexically merged in Kui, although such a lack of lexical distinction is typologically rare.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 387. Plural: *pi:e-ka*. Sunkarametta: *pe:n-u*, pl. *pi:e-ka*, Parja: *pe:n-u*, pl. *pe:n-ka* 'louse' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 282].

51. MAN

Pengo *aṅḍr-en* (1), Manda *aṅḍr-en* (1), Kui *mṛeh-enṣu* (2), Kuwi *mṛe:ha* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Unclear. There is no separate word 'man (= male human being)' attested in Krishnamurti's dictionary, and most of the textual examples only refer to forms such as 'this man' or 'that man' (see 'this', 'that'), consisting of a pronominal stem plus a masculine suffix. It is possible that some Indo-Aryan borrowing might serve in contexts such as 'man and woman', but there is no confirmation in available data.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 193. Plural: *aṅḍr-aṅ*. Meaning glossed as 'male person, man'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 2. Plural: *aṅḍr-aṅ*.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 79. Plural: *mṛeh-eṅga*. Polysemy: 'man / boy / husband'. Derived from the adjectival stem *mṛeh-a* 'male' [ibid.]. Balliguda dialect: *mṛeh-enṣu* 'man' [Maheswaran 2008: 54].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 403. Plural: *mṛe:ha-yā*. Polysemy: 'man / husband'.

52. MANY

Konda *ḍaṭam* (1), Pengo *baṣek* (2), Manda *beze:k* (2), Kui *ga:me* # (3), Kuwi *gaḍi* (4).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 371. Adverbial form, glossed as 'too much, many; thickly'. Very rarely encountered in texts, but no better candidate for the required meaning could be located.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 219. Cf. also *ga:tu* 'many' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 204]; *he:ni* 'many (of persons)' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 232].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 109. Meaning glossed as 'much, plenty, great, many'. Quoted as *bezek* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 343]. Cf. also *ga:tu* 'many' [Reddy 2009: 44]; *ane:k* 'many, a large number' (< Oriya) [Reddy 2009: 2]; *agḍa* 'much, more, extra' [Reddy 2009: 1].

Kui: A wide variety of potential equivalents with the meaning 'many, much' are attested in Winfield's data: cf. *deha* 'many, more, most, much, very, mostly, greatly' [Winfield 1929: 27]; *ga:me* 'much, many, excessive, very, exceedingly, excessively' [Winfield 1929: 39]; *ma:ro-ṅgi* 'much, many, extensive, excessive' [Winfield 1929: 75]. Also in the Phulbani area: *agal* 'many, much' [Winfield 1929: 2];

qreha 'many, more, large, much' [Winfield 1929: 31]; *ṣa:ti* 'many, much, great, large, extensive' [Winfield 1929: 52]. Without significant textual evidence, it is impossible to determine the most adequate equivalent, so we provisionally choose *ga:me* as the one form that has the best external correlates, and is also attested in the Balliguda dialect, albeit in the comparative meaning: *ga:me* 'more' [Maheswaran 2008: 363]. Maheswaran lists the Balliguda equivalent for 'many' as *e-se* [Maheswaran 2008: 252], but it corresponds to Winfield's *e-se* 'that much, so much, so large, so many, as much, as large, as many' [Winfield 1929: 37] and clearly has an additional relative semantic component.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 355. Cf. also *gaḍu* 'plenty' [ibid.].

53. MEAT

Konda *kaṇḍ-a* (1), Pengo *ṣey* (2), Manda *u:η* (3), Kui *u:ṣ-u* (3), Kuwi *u:y-u* (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 359. Meaning glossed as 'meat, flesh, muscle'. Plural: *kaṇḍ-eη*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 208. Meaning glossed as 'flesh, muscle'. Additionally, cf. also *mos* 'flesh, meat' (< Oriya) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 224]. Both of these forms are used in texts, but the borrowed term *mos* seems to be confined to bound expressions ('dried meat', etc.), although the evidence is restricted to just a small handful of examples and is not conclusive.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 16. Plural: *u:η-ke* ~ *u:η-ge*. Meaning glossed as 'flesh, meat'. Quoted as *u:ηge* (plural form) in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 71]. Cf. *kaṇḍ^ha* 'a piece of meat, flesh' [Reddy 2009: 24].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 126. Plural: *u:ηga*. Meaning glossed as 'flesh, meat, fleshy part of fruit'. Balliguda dialect: *u:ṣ-u* 'flesh' [Maheswaran 2008: 16].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 339. Plural: *u:ηga*. Meaning glossed as 'flesh, meat'. Sunkarametta, Parja: *u:y-u*, pl. *u:ηga* 'flesh' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 272].

54. MOON

Konda *nel-a* (1), Pengo *le:nṣ* (1), Manda *le:nz* (1), Kui *ḍa:nṣ-u* (1), Kuwi *le:nṣ-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 383. Plural: *nel-eη* ('months'). The Sova dialect form is *le:nzu* ~ *le:nzi* 'moon', pl. *le:s-ku* 'months' [Krishnamurti 1969: 404], representing an alternate morphological form of the same root (< **n^hl-e:nṣ-*). Considering that the simple form *nela*, of all Gondi-Kui languages, is only found in certain dialects of Konda, it is not excluded that *nela* is a recent reborrowing from Telugu, and only the Sova dialect preserves the original morphologically extended form of Proto-Gondi-Kui.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 227. Plural: *le:ḡ-ku*. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 135. Plural: *le:s-ke*. Polysemy: 'moon / month' (although the meaning 'month' can also be expressed by the Oriya borrowing *mah* ~ *ma:so* [Reddy 2009: 113, 116]). Quoted as *le:nṣ* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 335].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 25. Plural: *ḍa:s-ka*. Polysemy: 'moon / month / season / period / occasion / point of time / kernel of mango stone'. Balliguda dialect: *ḡa:nṣ-u* 'moon, month' [Maheswaran 2008: 384].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 411. Plural: *le:s-ka*. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Sunkarametta, Parja: *le:nṣ-u*, pl. *le:s-ka* 'moon, month' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 286].

55. MOUNTAIN

Konda *goron* (1), Pengo *ma:ṛi* (2), Manda *ḍu:ηga* (3), Kui *so:r-u* (4), Kuwi *ho:r-u* (4).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 370. Meaning glossed as 'hill, mountain; a forest on a hill'. The Sova dialect form is *gro:n ~ gro:n-u* id. [ibid.].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 223. Cf. also various borrowings from Oriya: *ḍoṅṛi* 'mountain' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 210], *parbat* 'mountain' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 216].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 58. Plural: *ḍu:ṅga-ṅ*. Cf. *paha:ḍ* 'mountain, highland' [Reddy 2009: 86], borrowed from Oriya. Cf. also *ma:ṛi* 'forest, mountain, hill' [Reddy 2009: 115].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 113. Plural: *so:r-ka*. Balliguda dialect: *so:r-u* 'hillock, hill' [Maheswaran 2008: 378].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 425. Plural: *ho:r-u-ka*. Additionally, cf. also *ma:ṛi*, pl. *ma:ṛi-yā* 'mountain' [Israel 1979: 399]. Sunkarametta, Parja: *ho:r-u* 'mountain' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 289].

56. MOUTH

Konda *vey-u* (1), Pengo *vey* (1), Manda *va:y* (1), Kui *suḍa* (2), Kuwi *gu:ti* (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 406. Plural: *vey-ku*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 229. Plural: *vey-ku*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 137. Plural: *va:y-ke*. Quoted as *vay* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 484].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 115. Plural: *suḍa-ṅga*. Polysemy: 'mouth / beak / brim'. Balliguda dialect: *suḍa* 'mouth / beak' [Maheswaran 2008: 379]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *suḍa* 'mouth' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 120] (the authors note that regularly *h-* would be expected in Kuṭṭiya, and note this form as belonging to the Northern subdialect, although they do not explicitly list the form **huḍa*; same situation with 'neck' q.v.). Another synonym for Kuṭṭiya is *guti* 'mouth' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 133], cognate with the common Kuwi word for 'mouth' and obviously more archaic in this meaning; it is, however, unclear whether it is *suḍa* or *guti* that is the more frequent and neutral equivalent for the Swadesh meaning in Kuṭṭiya.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 358. Plural: *gu:ti-yā*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *guti* 'mouth' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 276].

57. NAME

Konda *pe:r ~ pe:r-u* (1), Pengo *to:r* (1), Manda *da:r* (1), Kui *paḍa* (1), Kuwi *do:r-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 389. Plural: *pe:r-ku*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 212. Plural: *to:r-ku*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 70. Plural: *da:r-ke*. Quoted as *dar* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 389].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 88. Plural: *paḍa-ṅga*. Balliguda dialect: *pada* [Maheswaran 2008: 334].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 378. Plural: *do:r-ka*. Sunkarametta: *ḍo:r-u* 'name' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 278].

58. NECK

Konda *meṛ-a* (1), Pengo *foṭra* (2), Manda *ḍu:ṭra* (2), Kui *se:rki* # (3), Kuwi *herki* (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 399. Plural: *meṭ-eṭ*. Cf. Sova dialect: *kutu* 'neck' [Krishnamurti 1969: 362].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 209. Cf. also *hak* 'neck' (a form that seems to be generally used in compounds only: *hak-na:ṛa* 'throat', *hak-maṇi* 'Adam's apple') [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 230].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 58; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 258. Plural: *ḍu:ṭra-ṇ*.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 108. Plural: *serki-ṇga*. Glossed as 'the back of the neck'; absent in Maheswaran's data on the Balliguda dialect, but cf. in the Kuṭṭiya dialect: *serki* 'neck' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 120] (the authors note that regularly *h-* would be expected in Kuṭṭiya, and note this form as belonging to the Northern subdialect, although they do not explicitly list the form **herki*; same situation with 'mouth' q.v.). There are at least two other candidates for this position: (a) *nipi*, also semantically glossed as 'the back of the neck' [Winfield 1929: 85], but in the Balliguda dialect corresponding to *nipi* 'shoulder, dew lap' [Maheswaran 2008: 371]; external parallels in Kuwi, all with the meaning 'shoulder' (in Kuṭṭiya Kui, *nippi* is also glossed as 'shoulder' in [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 134], seem to suggest that 'neck' or even 'back of the neck' is the result of inaccurate semantic glossing on Winfield's part; (b) *ḍo:ka*, semantically glossed as 'the throat, front part of the neck' [Winfield 1929: 30], and corresponding to *ḍo:ka* 'throat, neck' in the Balliguda dialect [Maheswaran 2008: 352]. This would rather seem to be the perfect equivalent for 'throat'. Nevertheless, advanced fieldwork is required to clear up the situation in different dialects and see whether there are some real, as opposed to inadequately described, usage discrepancies between them. Since the form *serki* in Kuṭṭiya is simply translated as 'neck' by Burrow & Bhattacharya, we currently cling to this circumstance and list Winfield's *serki* as the most basic equivalent for the required Swadesh meaning.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 423. Plural: *herki-yā*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *herki* 'neck' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 289].

59. NEW

Konda *kota* (-1), Pengo *pu:n* (1), Manda *pu:n* (1), Kui *pu:n-i* (1), Kuwi *pu?n-i* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 365. Borrowed from Telugu *kotta* id. The old equivalent for 'new' is still preserved in the Sova dialect: *pu:ni* [Krishnamurti 1969: 388].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 218.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 94; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 378. Cf. also *kṛug* 'fresh, new, tender' [Reddy 2009: 42].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 98. Polysemy: 'new / fresh / newly arrived'. Balliguda dialect: *pu:n-i* 'new' [Maheswaran 2008: 337].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 127. Sunkarametta: *pu:ni* 'new' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 281].

60. NIGHT

Konda *rey-u* (1), Pengo *na:ṇa* (2), Manda *na:ṇa* ~ *na:ṇaṇ* ~ *na:la* (2), Kui *na:ḍaṇgi* ~ *ḍa:ṇgi* (2), Kuwi *lāʔa* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 403. Plural: *rey-ku*. Cf. in the Sova dialect: *na:ṛa* 'night' [Krishnamurti 1969: 381]; *mili* 'evening, night' [Krishnamurti 1969: 397].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 214. Cf. also *ra:ti* 'night' (< Oriya).

Manda: Reddy 2009: 77. Quoted as *na:lan* 'darkness, night' in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 320]. Also *ra:ti* id. [Reddy 2009: 125].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 23, 82. Balliguda dialect: *naḍa:ṇgi* [Maheswaran 2008: 372]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *ḍa:ṇaṇa* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 125].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 409. Adverbial and nominal form. Sunkarametta: *laʔaṇa*, Parja *laʔa* 'night' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 286]. Cf. also the form *ne:keri*, with the meaning glossed as 'night (single)', in [Israel 1979: 380], and Sunkarametta: *ne:keri* 'night' in [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 280].

61. NOSE

Konda *mu:nzi* (1), Pengo *munjel* (2), Manda *munjel* (2), Kui *munjel-i* (2), Kuwi *munjel-i* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 399. Plural: *mu:nzi-ŋ*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 223.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 118; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 454. Plural: *munjel-inj*. Polysemy: 'nose / beak'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 81. Plural: *munjel-aka*. Balliguda dialect: *mu:ŋje:l-i* [Maheswaran 2008: 370]. Kutṭiya dialect: *munji* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 134].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 400. Plural: *munjeli-ka*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *munjeli* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 284].

62. NOT

Konda *=ʔe- / =ʔ-* (1), Pengo *=va-* (2), Manda *=va-* (2), Kui *=a:-* (3), Kuwi *=ʔa- / =ʔo-* (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 288-289. The most basic expression of verbal negation in Konda is by means of a morpheme that is defined as *-ʔ-* by Krishnamurti, but since it also gives an "e-coloring" to many of the following personal markers (e. g. 1st p. sg. affirmative: *-a*, 1st p. sg. negative: *-ʔe*), it is more preferable to analyze it, even on the synchronic level, as original *-ʔe-* with vocalic fusion between *-e-* and the initial vowel of the following person marker. Cf. also the negative verb *sil-* 'to be not' [ibid.], whose usage is largely restricted to indicating location (as in *va:nr-u inro sil-en* 'he is not home').

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 72. Negative marker suffixed to verbal root.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 135. Negative marker suffixed to verbal root.

Kui: Maheswaran 2008: 150. This is the main negative marker in verbal stems, occasionally contracted to just *=ʔ-* before vowels.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 162. Verbal suffix. The two allomorphs are in complementary distribution (*=ʔo-* occurs in non-past negative finite verbs; *=ʔa-* occurs in all other formations).

63. ONE

Konda *or-* (1), Pengo *ro* (1), Manda *ru ~ ro* (1), Kui *ro* (1), Kuwi *ro*: (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 358. Bound root; cf. *or-en* 'one man', *or-neŋq* 'one day', *or-su* 'once'. The neuter gender form is *u-nri ~ u-nre* [Krishnamurti 1969: 353], originally contracted from **or-n ǃ*. Cf. also *e:k* 'one', borrowed from Oriya, and acting as a synonym in certain situations of counting [Krishnamurti 1969: 357]. Another loanword, this time from Telugu, is *oko*, found in certain compound forms [Krishnamurti 1969: 357].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 48. Simple adjectival form; the extended suffixal variant is *ro-nʒ(e)*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 127, 129; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 95. Cf. also *ru-ŋd̪i* 'one (referring to non-human entities)' [Reddy 2009: 127].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 101. Numeral and adjective (also in the meaning 'a certain, another'). Cf. the extended suffixal forms: *ro-anʒu* 'one man', *ro-nʒe* 'one woman / thing' [Winfield 1929: 101, 102]. Balliguda dialect: *ro:ʔ* 'one' (adj.), *ro-ŋd̪e* 'one, single' (n., adj.) [Maheswaran 2008: 383]. Kutṭiya dialect: *ro* (adj.), *ro-ʒonʒi* 'one man', *ro-nʒi* 'one (non-masc.)' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 129-130].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 407. Derived form: *ro-ṇḍi* 'one' (object or person). Cf. also *eka* 'one' [Israel 1979: 339], borrowed from Indo-Aryan. Sunkarametta, Parja: *ro* 'one'; Sunkarametta *ro?-osi* 'one man', *ro-ndi* 'one (non-masc.)' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 285].

64. PERSON

Konda *naruṇ* ~ *naruṇḍ* (-1), Pengo *nar* (-1), Manda *aṇḍr-en* (1), Kuwi *ma:neyi* (-1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 380. Meaning glossed as 'man (as opposed to gods)'. Transparent Indo-Aryan borrowing. Cf. also *lo:ku* 'person; persons, people' [Krishnamurti 1969: 404], also identifiable as an Indo-Aryan word.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 213. Meaning glossed as 'man, human'. Borrowed from Oriya.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 2. Plural: *aṇḍr-aṇ*. Same word as 'man' (apparently, there is no lexical difference between 'human' and 'male human' in Manda).

Kui: Not properly attested. In many cases, the meaning 'person' is simply expressed by the masculine animate suffix *-aṇḍu* [Winfield 1929: 6]. The autonomous meaning 'human being' (as opposed to 'male human being' or 'female human being') is not recorded in available texts or dictionaries.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 399. Borrowed from Indo-Aryan. Cf. the collective plural form *no:ro* ~ *noro* 'people' [Israel 1979: 381]. Cf. also *lo:ku* 'person (human being)' [Israel 1979: 411].

65. RAIN

Konda *pir-u* (1), Pengo *barha* (-1), Manda *pi:* ~ *pi:yu* ~ *piye* (1), Kui *piḥ-u* (1), Kuwi *pi:y-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 387. Plural: *piḥku*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 220. Most likely derived from the Indo-Aryan borrowing *baras* ~ *barhu* 'year' q.v.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 89, 90. Plural: *pi-ke*. Quoted as *piy* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 372].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 92. Balliguda dialect: *piḥ-u* ~ *piḥḥ-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 332].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 385. Plural: *pi:s-ka*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *piy-u* 'rain' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 281].

66. RED

Konda *era* (1), Pengo *neter* (2), Manda *hendur* (3), Kui *rata* (-1), Kuwi *gadga* (4).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 356.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 215. Cf. also *rata* 'red' (< Oriya) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 225].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 162. Also *hendur-ni* id. [Reddy 2009: 163]. Cf. also *neter:runḡ* 'the red colour' [Reddy 2009: 80] (*neter* = 'blood' q.v.).

Kui: Winfield 1929: 100. Borrowed from Oriya. Cf. the related borrowing *raka* 'blood' q.v. Balliguda dialect: *raka* ~ *ra?ta* ~ *rak?a* 'blood, red' [Maheswaran 2008: 383].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 355.

67. ROAD

Konda *sar-i* (1), Pengo *hazi* (1), Manda *pene* (2), Kui *pa:her-i* (3), Kuwi *zi:yu* (4).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 408. Plural: *saɾku*. Meaning glossed as 'way, path'.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 230. Polysemy: 'way / road / path'. Cf. also *haɾak* 'road' (< Oriya) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 230].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 95. Meaning glossed as 'path, way'. Cf. *parla* id. [Reddy 2009: 85].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 89. Meaning glossed as 'path, track, road'. Cf. also the Oriya (ultimately English) borrowing *ru:tu* 'road, high-road' [Winfield 1929: 103]. This word is also attested in the Balliguda dialect: *ru:tu* 'road' [Maheswaran 2008: 384].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 363. Plural: *zi:yu-yā ~ zi:ηga*. Meaning glossed as 'path'. Cf. also *zi:ru*, pl. *zi:ru-yā ~ zi:ru-ka* 'path' [ibid.]; both forms are actually variants of the same original root. Cf. the same phonetic difference in: Sunkarametta *zi:y-u*, Parja: *zi:r-u* 'road, path, way' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 277]. Additional synonym: *pa:heri* 'road' [Israel 1979: 384] (this seems to be a more formal and specialized term). Sunkarametta: *pa:her-i* 'road, path' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 281].

68. ROOT

Pengo *ci:ra* (1), Manda *hi:ra* (1), Kui *si:r-u* (1), Kuwi *hi:r-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Not attested in Konda proper; cf. *vel-a*, pl. *vel-eη* 'root' (Sunkrapuɽ dialect) [Krishnamurti 1969: 406].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 206. Polysemy: 'root / vein'. Cf. also *ku:ηi* 'root, tuber' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 201].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 159. Plural: *hi:ra-η*.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 110. Plural: *si:r-ka*. Balliguda dialect: *si:r-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 375].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 422. Plural: *hi:r-u-ka*. Polysemy: 'vein / root'. Sunkarametta, Parja: *hi:r-u*, pl. *hi:r-ka* 'root, vein' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 289].

69. ROUND

Pengo *gu:ɾa* (1), Manda *gu:ɾa-ti* (1), Kui *glu:-va* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Not attested.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 204. Also *gu:ɾa-ti* id.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 49. Cf. also *gu:ɽa:ti* 'rounded' [Reddy 2009: 48].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 42. Adjectival stem: 'round, cylindrical, spherical, globular'. Cf. also: *gongoli* 'round, spherical' [Winfield 1929: 43]; *gunderi ~ gunduri ~ gunɽeri* 'round, circular' [Winfield 1929: 47]

Kuwi: Not attested. Cf., perhaps, *gurnɽitayi* 'one which was round' [Israel 1979: 357] (?).

70. SAND

Konda *iska* (1), Pengo *baliya* (-1), Manda *baliya* (-1), Kui *ba:lu* (-1), Kuwi *ba?li* (-1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 353.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 220. Borrowed from Oriya. A special "ritual" form *ba:li* is also attested in idiomatic expressions [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 220].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 100. Borrowed from Oriya.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 10; Maheswaran 2008: 342. Borrowed from Oriya. Cf. also *srogu* 'rough surface; coarse sand or pebbles' [Winfield 1929: 114]. Cf. also in the Phulbani subdialect: *vilu* 'sand, dust' [Winfield 1929: 130].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 391. Also *balʔ-uri* id. Borrowed from Oriya. Sunkarametta: *balʔuri*, Parja: *ba:liʔi* 'sand' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 283].

71. SAY

Konda *in-* (1), Pengo *in-* (1), Manda *in* (1), Kui *in-ba* (1), Kuwi *in-* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 352. Past stem: *iʔ*. Meaning glossed as 'to say, speak; so and so'.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 195. Meaning glossed as 'to speak, say'. Past stem: *i-ʕ-*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 9; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 84. Polysemy: 'to say / to tell / to ask / to think / to question'. Past stem: *i-ʕ-*.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 49. Meaning glossed as 'to be articulate; to say, speak; n. articulation, saying, speaking'. Distinct from *ves-pa* 'to say, speak, tell; n. saying, speech, word' [Winfield 1929: 130], which seems a better equivalent for the basic meaning 'to speak' or 'to tell (smth.)'. Balliguda dialect: *in-* 'to say' [Maheswaran 2008: 324] vs. *bes-* 'to speak, tell' [Maheswaran 2008: 340]. The Kutṭiya form *ves-teʔe* 'I said' in [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 130] is probably to be understood as 'I told / I spoke'.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 336. Sunkarametta: *in-*, past stem *iʕʕ-* 'to say' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 272]. Cf. also *veh-* 'to say' in the Sunkarametta dialect; this form is listed in the meaning 'to tell' in [Israel 1979: 414] and, on the whole, seems less eligible for inclusion (see notes on the same dichotomy in Kui).

72. SEE

Konda *suʔ-* ~ *su:ŋ-* (1), Pengo *huʔ-* (1), Manda *huʔ-* (1), Kui *su:ʔ-a* (1), Kuwi *meh-* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 411. Past stem: *suʔ-t-*. Polysemy: 'to see / to look at'.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 232. Past stem: *huʔ-t-*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 160; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 238. Polysemy: 'to see / to look / to observe'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 116. Kutṭiya dialect: *huʔ-oni* 'to see' (infinitive) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 131]. It is interesting that this verb is not at all mentioned for the Balliguda dialect, where the basic equivalent for 'to see', both in the dictionary and according to textual examples, seems to be *meh-*, glossed as 'to see' in [Maheswaran 2008: 410], but as 'to look (at)' throughout the grammar. In Winfield's dictionary, *meh-pa* is glossed as 'to look, see, observe, perceive, give attention to' [Winfield 1929: 76]. Historically, it is clearly *suʔ-* that reflects the original basic verb 'to see', but it seems that in some dialects of Kui it is currently being replaced by or neutralized with *meh-* 'to look' (the same process is independently active in some dialects of Kuwi as well).

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 402. Sunkarametta: *meh-* 'to see' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 285]. Cf. also *he:ŋ-* 'to see; to look carefully' [Israel 1979: 424].

73. SEED

Konda *ginz-a* (1), Pengo *biyan* (-1), Manda *biyan* (-1), Kui *bihen-i* (-1), Kuwi *biça* (-1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 368. Plural: *ginz-erj*. Cf. also sg. *vit-u*, pl. *vit-ku* 'seed (for sowing)' [Krishnamurti 1969: 405] (derived from *vit-* 'to sow /seed/').

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 221. Borrowed from Oriya. Cf. also *bi:çi* id. (also borrowed from Oriya) [ibid.].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 104. Meaning glossed as 'seeds, grains meant for sowing' (< Oriya). Cf. also *pre:n* 'bone / seed' [Reddy 2009: 97]; *ta:ku* 'the stone or seed of a fruit' [Reddy 2009: 51].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 14. Plural: *bihen-anğa*. Borrowed from Oriya. Balliguda dialect: *bihen-i* [Maheswaran 2008: 339].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 392. Plural: *biça-yā*. Borrowed from Oriya. Sunkarametta: *biçça* 'seed' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 283].

74. SIT

Konda *bas-* (1), Pengo *kuç-* (2), Manda *kus* ~ *kuh* (2), Kui *kopk-a* (3), Kuwi *kug-i-* (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 392. Polysemy: 'to sit / to start, be about to'. Past stem: *bas-t-*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 200. Past stem: *kuç-ç-*. Polysemy: 'to sit / to settle on'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 37. Quoted as *kuh-* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 173].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 65. Metathesis from **kok-p-a*. Polysemy: 'to sit / sit down / sit on / settle down / subside'. Balliguda dialect: *kok-* 'to sit down' [Maheswaran 2008: 358].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 348. Sunkarametta: *kug-*, Parja: *kog-* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 274].

75. SKIN

Konda *to:l-u* (1), Pengo *to:l* (1), Manda *pele* (2), Kui *panđa* (3), Kuwi *to:l-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 376. Meaning glossed as 'skin (of animals)'.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 212. Plural: *to:l-ku*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 96; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 357. Polysemy: 'skin / hide / bark (of tree)'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 90. Plural: *panđa-ηga*. Balliguda dialect: *panđa* 'skin, hide'.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 375. Plural: *to:l-ka*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *to:l-u*, pl. *to:l-ka* 'skin, hide'.

76. SLEEP

Konda *gu:r-* (1), Pengo *hunz-* (2), Manda *hunz-* (2), Kui *sunz-a* (2), Kuwi *hunz-i-* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 369. Same word as 'to lie' q.v.; its basic usage in the meaning 'sleep' is well confirmed by numerous text examples in Krishnamurti's monograph. The Sova dialect form is *sus-* [Krishnamurti 1969: 411]; likewise, the dialect represented by

Burrow & Bhattacharya's field records also preserves the more archaic stem: *sunz-* 'to sleep' [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 287].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 231. Past stem: *hunç-*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 160. Quoted as *hunz-* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 287].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 116. Balliguda dialect: *sunz-* [Maheswaran 2008: 379].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 422. Additional synonyms: (a) *ður-i-* [Israel 1979: 369], with the meaning glossed as 'to sleep, lie down to sleep'; (b) *ɽa:ŋg-i-* 'to sleep' [Israel 1979: 407]. Semantic differences between all three items are unclear, but only *hunz-i-* has a transparent Kui-Kuwi and Common Gondwan etymology. Sunkarametta: *hunz-* 'to sleep' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 289].

77. SMALL

Konda *izri* (1), Pengo *haru* (2), Manda *haru* (2), Kui *kog-i* (3), Kuwi *içi* (4).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 353. Cf. also *koko* 'small; little (of rice, etc. mainly pertaining to quantity)' [Krishnamurti 1969: 364], and its derivative *kog-ri* 'younger; small' [ibid.].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 230. Cf. also *içki* ~ *içke* 'little, small, tiny' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 195].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 155. Cf. also *u:ŋa* 'small' [Reddy 2009: 16].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 63. Also *kog-eri* id. Cf. also the related verbal stem *ko:g-a* 'to become small; to be less, smaller' and nominal stems *kog-anzu* 'small man, boy'; *kog-ari* 'small woman, girl' [ibid.]. Balliguda dialect: *kogg-i* 'small' [Maheswaran 2008: 135].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 335. Cf. the emphatic form: *içi*: 'very small, very little', also *iç-ayyi* 'very very small'. Additional synonyms: *u:ŋa* 'small, little' [Israel 1979: 338]; *eç-ayyi* 'little, small' [Israel 1979: 339]. Sunkarametta: *içi* 'small' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 272].

78. SMOKE

Konda *go:yi* (1), Pengo *koy* ~ *kōy* (1), Manda *kuyyā* (1), Kui *dua-li* (-1), Kuwi *bo:yĩ* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 370. Meaning glossed as 'smoke (from kitchen, not of cigar, etc.)'. Cf. *pogo* 'smoke (of cigar, etc.)' [Krishnamurti 1969: 390].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 202.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 35. Cf. also *duy* ~ *duyyā* [Reddy 2009: 72], borrowed from Oriya.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 33. This seems to be derived from *dua* 'tobacco', borrowed from Oriya [ibid.]. Cf. also *kuhula* 'smoke' in the Barma dialect [Winfield 1929: 68]. No equivalent attested in Maheswaran's Balliguda dialect. The old Dravidian word for 'smoke' may, however, still be preserved in the Kuṭṭiya dialect: *po:kari* 'smoke' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 133].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 395. Sunkarametta: *bōyi* 'smoke' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 283].

79. STAND

Konda *nil-* (1), Pengo *nil-* (1), Manda *nil* (1), Kui *ni-sa* (1), Kuwi *ni?- ~ li?-* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 382. Past stem: *ni-ʔ*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 214. Past stem: *nil-t-*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 78. Meaning glossed both as static ('to stand') and dynamic ('to stand up, to get up'). An alternate

morphophonological variant is *li-* (< **nli-*) 'to get up, to stand' [Reddy 2009: 133]. Only the second variant, glossed as *li-* 'to stand', is listed in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 325].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 85. Meaning glossed as 'to stand, stand still; to be set; n. the act of standing still'. Balliguda dialect: *ni-s-* 'to stand still' [Maheswaran 2008: 371].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 379. Meaning glossed as 'to stand up'. Sunkarametta: *ni?*- 'to stand' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 280].

80. STAR

Konda *suk-a* # (1), Pengo *huka* (1), Manda *huke:r* (1), Kui *suka* (1), Kuwi *huka* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 411. Plural: *suk-eŋ*. The word is marked as reflecting the Sova dialect, but no different equivalent is given for Konda proper, and the word clearly goes back to Proto-Gondi-Kui (see cognates in Pengo, etc.), so we tentatively include it in the main list.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 231. Plural: *huka-ŋ* ~ *huk-er-aŋ* ~ *huk-er-iŋ*. Cf. also collective pl. *zilmiliŋ* 'stars' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 207].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 159. Plural: *huke:r-iŋ*. Quoted as *huker-iŋ* 'stars' in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 229].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 115. Plural: *suka-ŋga*. Balliguda: *suka* [Maheswaran 2008: 379].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 422. Plural: *huka-yā*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *hukka* 'star' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 289].

81. STONE

Konda *paŋku* (1), Pengo *kal* (2), Manda *kal* (2), Kui *vali* ~ *vađi* (3), Kuwi *vali* (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 384. Plural: *paŋku-ŋ*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 199. Plural: *kal-ku*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 26. Plural: *kal-ke*. Meaning glossed as 'a stone, a pebble'. Additional synonym: *pa:de* [Reddy 2009: 87], plural: *pa:de-ŋ*. Cf. *hatra* 'a rock' [Reddy 2009: 153].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 127. Plural: *vali-ŋga* ~ *vađi-ŋga*. Meaning glossed as 'stone, rock, boulder'. Balliguda dialect: *bađđi* 'stone' [Maheswaran 2008: 341]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *vali* 'stone' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 121].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 412. Plural: *val-ka*. For the Rayagada dialect, Israel notes preservation of the old root *kalu*, pl. *kalu-ka* 'stone' [Israel 1979: 346]. Sunkarametta, Parja: *valli*, pl. *val-ka* 'stone' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 287].

82. SUN

Konda *podu* (1), Pengo *ve:ra* (2), Manda *ve:ra* (2), Kui *ve:la* (2), Kuwi *ve:ra* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 390. Cf. also *ve:la*, with polysemy: 'sun / time' [Krishnamurti 1969: 407] (Sova dialect variant: *ve:ra*).

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 229. Polysemy: 'sun / time'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 140. Polysemy: 'sun / time / period / daytime / season'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 129. Polysemy: 'sun / time / hour / occasion / season'. Balliguda dialect: *be:la* 'moment, time' [Maheswaran 2008: 340], but the meaning 'sun' comes out in compounds, e.g. *be:la pe:nu* 'sun deity', etc.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 414. Polysemy: 'sun / age'. Sunkarametta, Parja: *veṛa* 'sun' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 287]. Additionally, cf. also *ga:ma* [Israel 1979: 356], with polysemy: 'sun / perspiration'.

83. SWIM

Konda *po:ηgray a:-* (1), Pengo *u:m-* (2), Manda *va:rki ki* (3), Kui *krah-a ~ kreh-a* (4), Kuwi *po:r-* (5).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 390. Compound verb with what seems to be an original nominal derivative from **po:η-* 'to flow' carrying the main lexical meaning.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 197. Same word as 'to fly' q.v. Past stem: *u:m-t-*. Cf. also *keṛa*: 'to swim (of fishes)' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 202], not applicable to people.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 137. Also *va:rke ki* id.; formed from the nominal stem *va:rki* 'swimming' with the aid of the auxiliary verb *ki* 'to do'. Cf. also *hi:ndi*, glossed in [Reddy 2009: 158] as a nominal stem with the meaning 'swimming'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 66. Polysemy: 'to swim / to move with arms stretched out as when dancing'. Balliguda dialect: *krah-* 'to throw the arms about, swim' [Maheswaran 2008: 362].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 388. The additional meaning 'to seek out information, enquire' probably reflects a homonym rather than polysemy.

84. TAIL

Konda *to:k-a* (1), Pengo *niηgun* (2), Manda *ne:ηgun* (2), Kui *ḍre:nḍ-u* (2), Kuwi *leηuṇi* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 376. Plural: *to:k-eη*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 214.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 81. Plural: *ne:ηgun-iη*. Quoted as *neηgun* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 470].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 32. Plural: *ḍre:t-ka*. This word has numerous variants: cf. also *ḍre:ηgon-i*, pl. *ḍre:ηgon-aka*; *ḍre:ηgun-i*, pl. *ḍre:ηgun-aka*; *ḍre:ol-i*, pl. *ḍre:ol-aka*; *ḍre:onṣ-i*, pl. *ḍre:onṣ-aka* id. [ibid.]; also *ḍre:l-u* (Phulbani subdialect) id. [Winfield 1929: 31]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *ḍe:ḍr-u*, pl. *ḍre:t-ku* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 127]. Not found in the Balliguda dialect, where the Oriya borrowing *lenṣa* for 'tail' is listed instead [Maheswaran 2008: 381] = *lenṣa* 'hairs of tail; hairs of eyelashes; tuft of hair; mane' [Winfield 1929: 71].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 410. Plural: *leηuṇi-ka*. Sunkarametta: *leηuṇi* 'tail' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 286].

85. THAT₁

Konda *a-* (1), Pengo *e:* (1), Manda *e:* (1), Kui *e:* (1), Kuwi *e:* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 231, 347. Bound root: cf. complete forms such as *a-di* 'that one' (3rd non-masc. sg.), *a-vi* 'those' (3rd non-masc. pl.), *a-tal* 'that side', etc. The same root is implicitly present in forms where the synchronic root is *va:-*: *va:-nru* 'that man' < **a-va-n* *uva:-ru* 'those men' < **a-va-ru* (with apocopation of the word-initial vowel, typical of Gondi-Kui languages in many phonetic contexts). Since the historical root in these forms is a zero allomorph of **a-*, we do not include it separately on the list.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 53. Attributive form. The full, gender-based forms are: *e-van* (masc. sg.), *e-del* (fem. sg.), *e-di*

(neut. sg.), *e-var* (masc. pl.), *e-vek* (fem. pl.), *e-van* (neut. pl.).

Manda: Reddy 2009: 20. Meaning glossed as 'that, those, a distal demonstrative (with reference to non-visible persons, animals, objects or events)'. Attested only in bound stems in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 75]: *e-van* 'he, that man', pl. *e-var*; *e-del* 'she, that woman', etc. Cf. also *de*: id. [Reddy 2009: 74] (with a fossilized prefix?).

Kui: Winfield 1929: 34. According to Winfield's description, there are altogether *four* degrees of deixis in Kui, showing a straightforward correlation between the phonetic qualities of the root vowel and the degree of separation from the speaker, where **i* 'this (here)' is the closest equivalent, **o* 'that (yonder)' is the most far removed equivalent, and **e* and **a* represent participants/objects in between. In the Balliguda dialect, the system became simplified: **a* fell out of use altogether, and **e* and **o* switched places (**o* became "intermediate" and **e* became "remote", in a shift very similar to Manda). For the root morpheme *e(:)*, Winfield's commentary is: "Denoting that which is not far away. Used by itself as a demonstrative adjective or compounded with gender and number suffixes to form demonstrative pronouns". Cf. further: *e-anʒu* 'that man or boy, he', pl. *e-arʒu*; *e-di* 'that woman or girl or thing; she, it, that'; *e-i* 'that thing, that, it', pl. *e-vi*; [Winfield 1929: 34-35]. Balliguda dialect: *e* 'that (remote)', *e-a:nʒu* 'he (remote)', *e-a:ru* 'they (masc., remote)', *e-bi* ~ *e-bo* 'they (non-masc., remote)', *e-di* ~ *e-ri* 'she/it (remote)', *e-ra* ~ *e-ʔa* 'that (adj.)' [Maheswaran 2008: 325-327].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 82, 128. Intermediate degree of deixis ('that'). Demonstrative adjective, also used as basis for the formation of demonstrative/3rd p. personal pronouns: *e-vasi* 'he, that man'; *e-vari* 'they, those men'; *e-di* 'she, it, that woman, that thing'; *e-vi* 'they, those women, those things'. There also exists an "emphatic" version of the same pronoun, extended by means of an ("expressive?") laryngeal prothesis: *he*: 'that yonder, that a greater distance', with all the corresponding derivatives (*he-vasi*, etc.).

85. THAT₂

Pengo *a:* (2), Manda *u:* (3), Kui *a:* (2), Kuwi *u:* (3).

References and notes:

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 53. Attributive form. The full, gender-based forms are: *a-van* (masc. sg.), *a-del* (fem. sg.), *a-di* (neut. sg.), *a-var* (masc. pl.), *a-vek* (fem. pl.), *a-van* (neut. pl.). The semantic difference between the bases *a-* and *e-* is left unexplained in the source. We may surmise that one of them is 'that (far away)' and the other one is 'that (intermediate)', and, based on external data, even hypothesize that the former meaning is expressed by *a:* and the latter by *e:*, but this is uncertain.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 16. Meaning glossed as 'that, those (with reference to visible persons, entities or events), remote demonstrative'. Curiously enough, not attested in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 1. Winfield: "Denoting that which is at a short distance away. Used by itself as a demonstrative adjective, or compounded with gender and number suffixes as a demonstrative pronoun". Cf. further: *a-anʒu* 'that man or boy, he', pl. *a-arʒu*; *a-ari* 'that woman or girl, she; that thing, it, that', pl. *a-vi* [Winfield 1929: 1]. This pronoun and its derivatives seem to have fallen out of use in the Balliguda dialect, since no mention of them is seen in [Maheswaran 2008].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 82, 128. Remote degree of deixis ('that over there'). Demonstrative adjective, also used as basis for the formation of demonstrative/3rd p. personal pronouns: *u-vasi* 'the man over there'; *u-vari* 'the men over there'; *u-di* 'the woman/thing over there'; *u-vi* 'the women/things over there'. There also exists an "emphatic" version of the same pronoun, extended by means of an ("expressive?") laryngeal prothesis: *hu*: 'that yonder, that a greater distance', with all the corresponding derivatives (*hu-vasi*, etc.). Additionally, fossilized traces of the old deictic root **a-* are seen in a few bound forms, such as *a-tala* 'that side' [Israel 1979: 331].

85. THAT₃

Kui *o:* (3).

References and notes:

Kui: Winfield 1929: 86. Winfield: "A demonstrative denoting that which is some distance or far away". Cf. further: *o-anʒu* 'that man,

that man yonder, he', pl. *o:-aru*; *o:-ri* ~ (Phulbani subdialect) *o:-di* 'that, she, it', pl. *o:-vi* [Winfield 1929: 86-88]. Balliguda dialect: *o:-anɔu* 'he (interm.)', *o:-aru* 'they (masc., interm.)', *o:-bi* ~ *o:-bo* 'they (non-masc., interm.)', *o:-di* ~ *o:-ri* 'she/it (interm.)' [Maheswaran 2008: 330].

86. THIS

Konda *i:-* (1), Pengo *i:* (1), Manda *i:* (1), Kui *i:* (1), Kuwi *i:* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 232, 351. Bound root: cf. complete forms such as *i:-di* 'this one' (3rd non-masc. sg.), *i:-vi* 'these' (3rd non-masc. pl.), *i:-tal* 'this side', etc. The same root is implicitly present in forms where the synchronic root is *ve:-*: *ve:-nru* 'this man' < **i:-va-n* *ɥve:-ru* 'these men' < **i:-va-ru* (with progressive vocalic assimilation and apocopation of the word-initial vowel, typical of Gondi-Kui languages in many phonetic contexts). Since the historical root in these forms is a zero allomorph of **i:-*, we do not include it separately on the list.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 53. Attributive form. The full, gender-based forms are: *i:-van* (masc. sg.), *i:-del* (fem. sg.), *i:-di* (neut. sg.), *i:-var* (masc. pl.), *i:-vek* (fem. pl.), *i:-vanɥ* (neut. pl.).

Manda: Reddy 2009: 12; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 40. Meaning glossed as 'this, a proximate demonstrative'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 48. Winfield: "Used by itself as a demonstrative adjective, or compounded with gender and number suffixes to form demonstrative pronouns". Cf. further: *i:-anɔu* 'this man or boy, he', pl. *i:-aru*; *i:-ri* 'this woman or girl or thing, this, she, it', pl. *i:-vi*; *i:-a* 'this one (accusative case)' [Winfield 1929: 48-49]. Balliguda dialect: *i:* 'this', *i:-anɔu* 'he (prox.)', *i:-aru* 'they (masc., prox.)', *i:-bi* ~ *i:-bo* 'they (non-masc., prox.)', *i:-di* ~ *i:-ri* (she/it (prox.)), *i:-ra* ~ *i:-ra* 'this (adj.)' [Maheswaran 2008: 324-325]. Kuttīya dialect: *i:-d-* 'this' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 129].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 82, 128. Demonstrative adjective, also used as basis for the formation of demonstrative/3rd p. personal pronouns: *i:-vasi* 'he, this man'; *i:-vari* 'they, those men'; *i:-di* 'she, it, this woman, this thing'; *i:-vi* 'they, those women, those things'.

87. THOU

Konda *ni:-n* ~ *ni:-n-u* (1), Pengo *e:n* (1), Manda *i:n* (1), Kui *i:n-u* (1), Kuwi *ni:n-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 246. Oblique/genitive stem: *ni:-* ~ *ni:-*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 51. More usually encountered in the extended variant: *e:n-eɥ*. Accusative/dative: *ninɥeɥ*, genitive: *ni:* [ibid.].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 12; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 327. Cf. *im* 'you (pl.)' [ibid.]. Dative: *ninɥa* [Reddy 2009: 78].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 49. Oblique stem: *ni:-* (genitive: *ni:*, etc.) [Winfield 1929: 84]. Balliguda dialect: *i:n-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 80]. Kuttīya dialect: nominative *ni:n-u*, genitive *ni:*, accusative *ni-naʔa* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 129].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 380. Sunkarametta, Parja: *ni:n-u* 'thou' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 280].

88. TONGUE

Konda *na:lik-a* (1), Pengo *vendul* (2), Manda *vendu:l* (2), Kui *vanɥos-i* (2), Kuwi *vendori* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 3781. Plural: *na:lik-eɥ*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 229.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 139. Plural: *vendu:l-iŋ*. Quoted as *vendul* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 497].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 128. Plural: *vanġos-aka*. Balliguda dialect: *banġo:s-i* [Maheswaran 2008: 341]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *vanġos-i ~ vanġus* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 127].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 414. Plural: *vendori-ka*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *vendori* 'tongue' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 287].

89. TOOTH

Konda *pal-u* (1), Pengo *ṭaḍa* (-1), Manda *pal* (1), Kui *pal-u ~ paḍ-u* (1), Kuwi *pal-a* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 385. Plural: *pal-ku*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 208. Borrowed from Indo-Aryan.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 85; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 355. Plural: *pal-ke*. Meaning glossed as 'tooth, fang'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 88. Plural: *pal-ka ~ paṭ-ka*. Balliguda dialect: *paḍḍ-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 334].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 382. Plural: *pal-ka*. Sunkarametta, Parja: *pall-u* 'tooth' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 281].

90. TREE

Konda *mara-n* (1), Pengo *mar* (1), Manda *mar* (1), Kui *mrah-nu* (1), Kuwi *mar-nu* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 396. Oblique stem: *mara-t-*. Plural: *mara-k*. The Sova dialect form is sg. *mra-nu*, pl. *mra-ku* id. [Krishnamurti 1969: 400].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 222. Plural: *mar-ku*. Cf. also *ga:ç* 'tree' (borrowed from Oriya) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 204].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 113; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 416. Plural: *mar-ke*.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 79. Plural: *mrah-ka*. Balliguda dialect: *mrah-a:nu ~ mrah-o:nḍi ~ mra:nnu ~ mrah-a:nu ~ mrah-a*, pl. *mrah-ka ~ mrah-a:ŋga ~ mrah-o:nṭ-ka* [Maheswaran 2008: 50, 370]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *mra:nu* 'tree' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 127].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 397. Plural: *mar-ka*. Sunkarametta: *mar-nu*, pl. *mar-ka*, Parja: *mar-a* 'tree' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 284].

91. TWO

Konda *riṭ- ~ ri-* (1), Pengo *ri* (1), Manda *ri* (1), Kui *ri:* (1), Kuwi *ri:* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 401. Cf. specific forms: *riṭ-er* 'two men'; *riṭ-eṭ* 'we two (incl.)'; *ri-za* 'twice', etc. Another variant of the same stem is found in *ru-ŋḍi* 'two' (neutral). Additionally, the Indo-Aryan borrowing *duy ~ duy-i* 'two' "occurs only in folk tales" [Krishnamurti 1969: 378].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 49. Cf. also the extended suffixal variants: feminine *ri-nḍ-ek*, neuter *ri-nḍ-aŋ*. The Indo-Aryan borrowing *dui* 'two' is mostly used "in combinations with higher numerals" [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 213].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 126; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 46. Cf. also *ri-ŋḍi* 'two' (referring to non-human entities) [Reddy 2009: 127]. Apparently, the Indo-Aryan word *duy* may also be used in certain contexts [Reddy 2009: 71].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 100. Cf. the extended suffixal forms: *ri:aru* 'two men', *ri:nḍe ~ ri:nḍi* 'two women / things' [Winfield 1929: 100,

101]. Balliguda dialect: *ri?* 'two' (adj.), *ri-ṅḍi* 'two, double' (n., adj.) [Maheswaran 2008: 382]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *ri* (adj.), *ri-ṅer ~ ri-ṅari* 'two men', *ri-ṅḍi* 'two (non-masc.)' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 129-130].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 405. Derived forms: *ri-ṅari* 'two men, people'; *ri-ṅḍi* 'two (fem. or neutral)'. [ibid.]. Cf. also the Indo-Aryan equivalent *du:yi* [Israel 1979: 377].

92. WALK (GO)

Konda *son-* (1), Pengo *hal-* (1), Manda *hal-* ~ *sal-* (1), Kui *sal-ba* (1), Kuwi *hal-* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 413. Past stem: *so ṅ*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 230. Past stem: *ha-ḡ*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 141, 155. Meaning glossed as 'to go, to move away'. This form is said to be restricted to 1st person future tense only; the other suppletive variant (historically formed from the same root) is *san* 'to move, to go, to proceed' [Reddy 2009: 140]. Quoted as *hal-*, past stem: *ha-ḡ* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 242].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 105. Meaning glossed as 'to go, depart'. Imperative: *sa* 'go!' [Winfield 1929: 104]. Balliguda dialect: *sal-* [Maheswaran 2008: 376].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 420. Morphological variants: *hal-* ~ *han-* ~ *ha-*. Sunkarametta: *hal-* 'to go' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 288].

93. WARM (HOT)

Konda *ves-ni* (1), Pengo *ked-* (2), Manda *veh-en* (1), Kui *veh-pa* (1), Kuwi *ve:h-* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 407. Meaning glossed as 'hot' (adj.).

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 201. Verbal stem: 'to be heated, to become hot'. Apparently no lexical distinction between the meanings 'warm' and 'hot'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 139; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 503. Meaning glossed as 'hot'; adjectival derivate from the verbal stem *veh* 'to be hot'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 129. Verbal stem: 'to be hot (liquids, cooked food)'. Balliguda dialect: *beh-* 'to be hot (liquids, food, etc.)' [Maheswaran 2008: 406]. Additionally, cf. *ka:nd-a* 'to be hot' [Winfield 1929: 58] = Balliguda *ka:nd-* id. [Maheswaran 2008: 357]. The exact difference between the spheres of application of these two stems remain unclear. Also, neither of the two sources distinguishes properly between the ideas of 'hot' and 'warm'.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 414. Verbal stem. Meaning glossed as 'to become hot'. Sunkarametta: *veh-* 'to be hot' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 287].

94. WATER

Konda *e:ru* (1), Pengo *e:z* (1), Manda *e:y* ~ *e:y-u* (1), Kui *siḍru* ~ *siru* (2), Kuwi *e:y-u* (1).

References and notes:

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 198. Plural: *e:z-uṅ* (the word is generally used as a *plurale tantum*; the singular form is only found in the idiomatic expression *e:z i:ba-* 'to bathe').

Manda: Reddy 2009: 21. *Plurale tantum*. Quoted as *ey* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 468].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 108, 110. Balliguda dialect: *siru ~ siru* [Maheswaran 2008: 374]. This word seems to be a recent innovation, because the Kuṭṭiya dialect still preserves the original Gondi-Kui word for 'water': *e:zu* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 135], and also because the old word is still preserved in Kui compound formations, in the form *esu*, e. g. *esu ko:ru* 'hippopotamus', *esu penu* 'god of the marsh', etc. [Winfield 1929: 38].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 341. Sunkarametta, Parja: *e:y-u* 'water' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 272].

95. WE₁

Konda *ma:p ~ ma:p-u* (1), Pengo *a:p* (1), Manda *a:m ~ a:me* (1), Kui *a:m-u* (1), Kuwi *ma:mb-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 246. Exclusive form. Oblique/genitive stem: *ma:- ~ ma-*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 51. Exclusive form. More usually encountered in the extended variant: *a:p-eŋ*. Accusative/dative: *maŋgeŋ*, genitive: *ma* [ibid.].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 7; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 468. No difference between inclusive and exclusive forms. Accusative: *m-aŋ*, dative: *m-aŋ-ka* [Reddy 2009: 111].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 5. Exclusive form. Oblique stem: *ma:-* (genitive: *ma:-i*, etc.) [Winfield 1929: 73-74]. Balliguda dialect: *a:m-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 80]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: nominative *ma:m-u*, genitive *ma*: [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 129].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 398. Exclusive form. Sunkarametta, Parja: *ma:mb-u* 'we' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 284].

95. WE

Konda *ma:t ~ ma:t-u* (2), Pengo *a:s* (3), Kui *a:z-u* (3), Kuwi *ma:ro* (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 246. Inclusive form. Oblique/genitive stem: *ma:- ~ ma-*.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 51. Inclusive form. More usually encountered in the extended variant: *a:h-eŋ* (with regular development **-s- > -h-* in the intervocalic position, although the variant *a:s-eŋ*, levelled by analogy with *a:s*, is also attested). Paradigmatic forms (accusative, genitive) for this pronoun are the same as for the exclusive variety.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 3. Inclusive form. Oblique stem: *ma:-* (same as with the exclusive pronoun) [Winfield 1929: 73-74]. Balliguda dialect: *a:z-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 80]. No special inclusive form recorded for the Kuṭṭiya dialect.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 399. Inclusive form.

96. WHAT

Konda *aye-* (1), Pengo *in-a* (1), Manda *in-a* (1), Kui *an-a ~ an-i* (1), Kuwi *a:ni ~ e:ni* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 232. Complete paradigm of the interrogative pronoun 'who, what': *aye-n* '3rd masc. sg.', *aye-r* '3rd masc. pl.', *aye-d* '3rd non-masc. sg.', *aye-k* '3rd non-masc. pl.'.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 55. Formed from the general interrogative stem *in-* (cf. also 'who'); used in adjectival (*in-a to:r* 'what name?') as well as nominal (*in-a kideŋ* 'to do what?') functions.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 9; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 467. Formed from the general interrogative stem *in-* (cf. also 'who').

Kui: Winfield 1929: 5, 6. Balliguda dialect: *ann-a* ~ *ann-i* [Maheswaran 2008: 328]. Cf. Kutṭiya dialect: *in-i* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 129].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 87.

97. WHITE

Konda *telan-i* ~ *telan-di* (1), Pengo *ṛin̄z-* (2), Manda *ṛun̄g-ini* (2), Kui *lo:ŋgi* (3), Kuwi *kum-ŋḍi* # (4).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 376. Derived from the adverbial form *telan* 'whitishly', which is itself derived from the verbal stem *teli-* 'to be known'. Cf. also *oṛini* ~ *oṛini-ka* 'white, bright' in Burrow & Bhattacharya's field records [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 98].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 226. Verbal stem: 'to be white, bright'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 130; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 500. Cf. the verbal stem: *ṛinz* 'to be white' [ibid.], quoted as *ṛin̄z-* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 500].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 72. Meaning glossed as 'white, fair'. Balliguda dialect: *lo:ŋgi* 'white' [Maheswaran 2008: 382].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 350. Another possible equivalent is *dabla* ~ *dubla* 'white' [Israel 1979: 375, 377]. Cf. also *op-* 'to become white', *op-i ki-* 'to make white or clean' in [Israel 1979: 342]; *ṛoŋg-i-* 'to be white; to be light skinned' in [Israel 1979: 408]; *ṛin̄z-i-* 'to burn, flash, blaze; to be white' in [Israel 1979: 408]. Sunkarametta: *dobla* 'white' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 279]. On the whole, a very confusing situation with this color term.

98. WHO

Konda *aye-* (1), Pengo *in-en* (1), Manda *in-an* (1), Kui *i-mbae* ~ *i-mbai* (1), Kuwi *a-mba-* ~ *e-mba-* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 232. Complete paradigm of the interrogative pronoun 'who, what': *aye-n* '3rd masc. sg.', *aye-r* '3rd masc. pl.', *aye-d* '3rd non-masc. sg.', *aye-k* '3rd non-masc. pl.'.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 55. Masc. sg. form; the more commonly used form is masc. pl. *in-er*. Cf. also *in-del* 'who (fem. sg.)', *in-dek* 'who (fem. pl.)'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 10, 11; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 467. Formed from the general interrogative stem *in-* (cf. also 'what'). Masc. sg. form. Cf. also *in-del* 'who (fem. sg.)', *in-ar* 'who (masc. pl.)', *in-ahin* 'who (fem. pl.)'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 1336. Also *e-mbai* id. [Winfield 1929: 36]; *o-mbai* id. [Winfield 1929: 87]; *u-mbai* id. [Winfield 1929: 126]. Balliguda dialect: *i-mba:i* 'who' [Maheswaran 2008: 324], *a-mba:i* 'who' [Maheswaran 2008: 327]. The forms with initial *a-*, *o-*, *u-*, etc., are most likely the results of contamination with the various stems of demonstrative pronouns, which was triggered by the phonetic merger of the original interrogative stem **ya-* with the original demonstrative stem **i-*, upon which the suffixal morpheme *-mba-* became, in some dialects, the main carrier of the animate interrogative meaning, and the root morpheme became understood as expressing deixis (thus, 'who over here?', 'who over there?', etc.). Etymologically, however, it is the vowel **i* that carries the original interrogative meaning. Should be distinguished from the interrogative adjective *est-* 'which?' (*est-an̄zu* 'which man or boy?', *est-ari* 'which woman or girl or thing?', etc.) [Winfield 1929: 38].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 86. The full paradigm is as follows: masc. sg. *a-mba-ṛasi*, masc. pl. *a-mba-ṛari*, non-masc. sg. *a-mba-yi*, non-masc. pl. *a-mba-ṛi*. The main monovocalic interrogative morpheme *a-* is in free variation with the equally frequent *e-* (thus, *e-mba-ṛasi*, etc.) and the somewhat less frequent *i-* (*i-mba-ṛasi*, etc.). The origin of this strange variation is probably the same as in Kui (see notes on Kui *i-mbae*).

99. WOMAN

Pengo *a:ɽ* (1), Manda *a:ɽ* (1), Kui *a:sa* (1), Kuwi *a:ɕa-ma:ŋga* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Unclear. Just like in the case of 'man', most of the textual examples only refer to forms such as 'this woman' or 'that woman' (see 'this', 'that'), consisting of a pronominal stem plus a feminine suffix. Cf., however, the special form *ayma* 'woman' (Sova dialect) [Krishnamurti 1969: 349]. In any case, distinct from *a:ɽu ~ a:lu* 'wife' [Krishnamurti 1969: 351].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 195. Plural: *a:ɕ-ku*. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Cf. also *kogle* 'woman' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 202].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 8. Plural: *a:s-ke*. Quoted as *a:ɽ*, pl. *a:ɕ-ke* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 37].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 7. Plural: *āsa-ska ~ āsa-saka*. Polysemy: 'woman / female'. Balliguda dialect: *a:sa* (also *a:sa mi:ɖa*, *a:sa-maŋga* id., where *mi:ɖa* = 'child, offspring') [Maheswaran 2008: 329]. Kutṭiya dialect: pl. *a:ɕa-ska* [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 120]. Another equivalent is *mɽeh-ali* 'woman, girl, wife' [Winfield 1929: 79], formed from the adjectival stem *mɽeh-a* 'male' (sic!) and paradigmatically opposed to *mɽeh-enɖu* 'man, boy, husband' q.v. = Balliguda *mɽeh-ali* 'woman' [Maheswaran 2008: 54]. This lexeme is clearly an innovation, formed by analogy with 'man' with the aid of a productive feminine suffix, and it seems to be in the state of replacing the original *a:sa*, but it is not entirely clear from available textual evidence if the replacement has already relegated *a:sa* to the status of a lexical archaism or not quite yet.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 334. Plural: *a:ɕa-ma:ska*. Polysemy: 'female / woman'. The second part of the compound is *ma:ŋga* 'daughter' [Israel 1979: 398]. Distinct from *a:ya*, pl. *a:ya-ska ~ a:ya-sika* 'woman, wife' [Israel 1979: 334], *i:ya* 'woman, mother' [Israel 1979: 337]; also from *a:ɽi*, pl. *a:ɽi-ska* 'woman, wife' [Israel 1979: 335].

100. YELLOW

Konda *pasin* # (1), Pengo *ge:r-ka* (2), Manda *koyra* (3), Kui *sɽi:ŋga* (4), Kuwi *hi:ŋg-eri* (4).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 385. Dubious; the word *pasi-ŋ* (clearly related to *pasi* 'green, fresh, tender') is only glossed as the noun 'turmeric' in the dictionary. However, on p. 95 it is encountered as a color term, opposed to 'black' and 'red' ("She spread a piece of black cloth, a piece of red cloth and a piece of yellow cloth"), which is a serious argument for considering this as a possible equivalent for 'yellow' in Konda.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 205. Meaning glossed as 'turmeric; yellow'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 41. Cf. also *merke-rung* 'yellow color' [Reddy 2009: 123], derived from *merke* 'turmeric, saffron' [ibid.].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 114. Meaning glossed as 'the colour of turmeric, saffron, yellow'. Phulbani subdialect: *si:ŋga* id. [Winfield 1929: 109]. Balliguda dialect: *sɽi:ŋga ~ si:ŋga* 'turmeric, yellow' [Maheswaran 2008: 381].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 422. Adjectival stem, derived from *hi:ŋga* 'turmeric' [Israel 1979: 421]. Sunkarametta, Parja: *hi:ŋga* 'turmeric' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 289].

101. FAR

Konda *du:ram* (-1), Pengo *de:ha* (1), Manda *deha* (1), Kui *seko* (2), Kuwi *heko ~ hego* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 378. Meaning glossed as 'distance' (noun and adverb); the word is frequently encountered in texts in the adverbial meaning 'far (away)'. Transparent borrowing from Indo-Aryan.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 213. Meaning glossed as 'long, far, distant'.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 74. Meaning glossed as 'long (with reference to distance), distant, a far-off place'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 107. Adjective and adverb: 'distant, far, far away'. Balliguda dialect: *seko* 'far' [Maheswaran 2008: 375]. The adjective *duru*, borrowed from Oriya, may also be used in the meaning 'distant, far' [Winfield 1929: 34].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 423. Adverb and noun: 'far, distance'. Sunkarametta: *hekko* 'distant' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 289].

102. HEAVY

Pengo *pik-* (1), Manda *pik* (1), Kui *pig-u* (1), Kuwi *pik-* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Not attested.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 217. Verbal stem. Past stem: *pik-t-*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 89; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 366.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 92. Derived from the verbal stem *pi:g-a* 'to be heavy' (the latter also functions as the noun 'heaviness'). Balliguda dialect: *pi:g-* 'to be heavy' [Maheswaran 2008: 333]. Kuṭṭiya dialect: *pikk-* 'to be heavy' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1961: 134].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 384. Verbal root: 'to be heavy'. Cf. also *bo:za* 'heavy' [Israel 1979: 395] (unclear etymology).

103. NEAR

Konda *ḍagru* (1), Pengo *laga-ŋ* (-1), Manda *ḍakita* (1), Kui *aḥu* (2).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 371. Noun and adverb ('near, nearness').

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 227. Borrowed from Oriya. Cf. also *lagaḥ* id., *laga-lagi* 'near the time of' [ibid.].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 55. Adverb: 'near, nearby, in the vicinity of'.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 8. Adjective; meaning glossed as 'near, at a short distance'. Balliguda dialect: *aḥu* 'near' [Maheswaran 2008: 327].

Kuwi: Not attested in our main source. Cf. Sunkarametta *ḍagre* 'near' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 277]; also Sunkarametta *dariti* 'near' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 279].

104. SALT

Konda *so:r-u* (1), Pengo *ho:r* (1), Manda *za:r* (1), Kui *sa:r-u* (1), Kuwi *ha:r-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 413.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 233.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 146. Plural: *za:r-ke*. Quoted as *za:r* in [Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 232].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 106. Balliguda dialect: *sa:r-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 377].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 420. Sunkarametta: *ha:r-u* 'salt' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 288].

105. SHORT

Konda *kuri* (1), Pengo *guhu* ~ *gus-pa* (2), Manda *gulpa* (2), Kuwi *tupla* (3).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 363.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 204.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 47. Cf. *panvati* 'short' (literally 'not tall', derived from *panti* 'tall, high' with a negative affix) [Reddy 2009: 84].

Kui: Impossible to determine the correct equivalent: there is a wide variety of adjectives with the meaning 'short' in Winfield's dictionary, but not a single one of them hints at being the most basic/neutral/primary equivalent for the required meaning. Cf. *boṭoli* ~ *buṭuli* 'short, thickset, stumpy' [Winfield 1929: 18, 23]; *gape:ri* 'short, stunted, dwarfish' [Winfield 1929: 39]; *gu:ṭa* 'stumpy, short, dwarfish' [Winfield 1929: 47]; *ṭa:rperi* 'short, stunted, dwarfish' [Winfield 1929: 118]; *ṭupa* 'short, dwarfish', *ṭup-ri* 'short' [Winfield 1929: 124].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 366.

106. SNAKE

Konda *saras* ~ *saras-u* (1), Pengo *ra:ḡ* (1), Manda *treh* ~ *trehe* (1), Kui *sra:s-u* (1), Kuwi *ra:ḡ-u* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 408. Plural: *saras-ku*. The Sova dialect form is *sra:s-u*, pl. *sra:s-ku* [Krishnamurti 1969: 413].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 225. Plural: *ra:ḡ-ku*.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 67; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 208. Plural: *treh-ke*.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 114. Plural: *sra:s-ka*. Balliguda dialect: *sra:s-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 380].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 404. Plural: *ra:s-ka*.

107. THIN

Manda *pa:ta:ṛ* (-1), Kui *zi:ḡa* ~ *zi:la* (2), Kuwi *pa:ṭar-a* (-1).

References and notes:

Konda: Not attested. Cf., perhaps, *palsa* 'thin (of liquid)' [Krishnamurti 1969: 385], sometimes glossed simply as 'thin' in the book, but it is unclear if it applies to anything other than liquids.

Pengo: Not attested.

Manda: Reddy 2009: 87. Transparent Indo-Aryan borrowing (cf. Hindi *patla*, etc.).

Kui: Winfield 1929: 54. Meaning glossed as 'thin, fine'. Cf. in the Balliguda dialect: *zid-ra gaṭara* 'thin garment' [Maheswaran 2008: 383]. Cf. also *ṭi:ṭeli* ~ *ṭi:ṭeri* 'thin, slender' [Winfield 1929: 121].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 383. Meaning glossed as 'thin (paper, cloth, etc.)'. Borrowing from the same Indo-Aryan source as the Manda word q.v.

108. WIND

Konda *ga:li* (1), Pengo *ṛoy* (2), Manda *ṛiy* (2), Kui *vil-u* ~ *vli-u* (2), Kuwi *ga:li* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 367. Polysemy: 'wind / air'.

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 227. Cf. also *duka* 'wind, breeze' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 213]; *batas* 'wind' (< Oriya) [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 219].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 130; Burrow & Emeneau 1984: 480. Cf. also *du:ka* 'air, wind' [Reddy 2009: 72].

Kui: Winfield 1929: 130, 131. Polysemy: 'wind / air'. Balliguda dialect: *bli:-u* 'air / wind' [Maheswaran 2008: 343].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 356. Polysemy: 'wind / air'. Sunkarametta, Parja: *ga:li* 'wind' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 275] (according to the authors, borrowed from Telugu; but this is not an absolute certainty).

109. WORM

Konda *piṛ-vu* (1), Pengo *keṣva* (-1), Manda *ke:sva* (-1), Kui *pṛi-u* ~ *pṛi:-u* (1), Kuwi *pṛiy-uli* (1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 387. Plural: *piṛ-ku*. The Sova dialect variant is sg. *pṛi-yu*, pl. *piṛ-ku* [Krishnamurti 1969: 391].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 201. Meaning glossed as 'earthworm'. Borrowed from Oriya. Distinct from the inherited form *pṛi*: 'worm / insect' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 219].

Manda: Reddy 2009: 40. Plural: *ke:sva-ṅ*. Meaning glossed as 'earthworm'. Borrowed from Oriya.

Kui: Winfield 1929: 97. Plural: *pṛi-ka*. Polysemy: 'wingless insect; worm, maggot'. There is no indication in Winfield's dictionary that the meaning 'earthworm' may be expressed by a different root. In the Balliguda dialect, the word *pṛi-u* is glossed as 'worm, insect' [Maheswaran 2008: 338], and the meaning 'earthworm' is rendered with the idiomatic expression *kaṭa pṛi-u* [Maheswaran 2008: 357], where *kaṭa* probably = *kaṭa* 'peg, short bar, bolt, hook' [Winfield 1929: 59], i.e. = 'hook-worm' (as bait). This also confirms the idea that *pṛi-u* may be regarded as the primary equivalent for both the general 'worm' (incl. maggots, etc.) and the more specific 'earthworm'.

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 389. Plural: *pṛiy-uli-ka* ~ *pṛi-ka*. Cf. also *lodoṅa* 'earth worm' [Israel 1979: 411], a word of unclear origin and status. Sunkarametta: *pṛiy-uli*, pl. *pṛi-ka* 'worm' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 283].

110. YEAR

Konda *samasram* (-1), Pengo *baras* ~ *barhu* (-1), Manda *barhe* (-1), Kui *basari* (-1), Kuwi *barsa* (-1).

References and notes:

Konda: Krishnamurti 1969: 408. Plural: *samasram-ku*. Borrowed from Indo-Aryan (cf. Sanskrit *saṃvatsara-*). The old Dravidian word for 'year' is still preserved as a bound morpheme in such compounds as *nir-unḍ* 'last year', *iy-onḍ* 'this year', etc. Additionally, the word *paṇṭa* 'crop' may also be used in the meaning 'year', usually in the plural number, e. g. *ruṇḍi paṇṭeṅ* 'two years' [Krishnamurti 1969: 384].

Pengo: Burrow & Bhattacharya 1970: 220. Borrowed from Indo-Aryan (cf. Hindi *baras*, etc.).

Manda: Reddy 2009: 99. Transparent borrowing from Indo-Aryan (cf. Hindi *baras*, etc.).

Kui: Winfield 1929: 11. Borrowed from Oriya. Balliguda dialect: *basari* [Maheswaran 2008: 341]. The old Dravidian word for 'year' is still preserved in adverbial compounds: *ṛ=anḍu* 'last year' [Winfield 1929: 99], *ṛ=onḍu* 'the year before last' [Winfield 1929: 102].

Kuwi: Israel 1979: 391. Transparent borrowing from Indo-Aryan (cf. Hindi *baras*, etc.). Sunkarametta, Parja: *barsa* 'year' [Burrow & Bhattacharya 1963: 283].