

Genealogical classification of New Indo-Aryan languages and lexicostatistics

Genetic relations among Indo-Aryan languages are still unclear. Existing classifications are often intuitive and do not rest upon rigorous criteria. In the present article an attempt is made to create a classification of New Indo-Aryan languages, based on up-to-date lexicostatistical data. The comparative analysis of the resulting genealogical tree and traditional classifications allows the author to draw conclusions about the most probable genealogy of the Indo-Aryan languages.

Keywords: Indo-Aryan languages, language classification, lexicostatistics, glottochronology.

The Indo-Aryan group is one of the few groups of Indo-European languages, if not the only one, for which no classification based on rigorous genetic criteria has been suggested thus far. The cause of such a situation is neither lack of data, nor even the low level of its historical interpretation, but rather the existence of certain prejudices which are widespread among Indologists. One of them is the belief that real genetic relations between the Indo-Aryan languages cannot be clarified because these languages form a dialect continuum. Such an argument can hardly seem convincing to a comparative linguist, since dialect continuum is by no means a unique phenomenon: it is characteristic of many regions, including those where Indo-European languages are spoken, e.g. the Slavic and Romance-speaking areas. Since genealogical classifications of Slavic and Romance languages do exist, there is no reason to believe that the taxonomy of Indo-Aryan languages cannot be established.

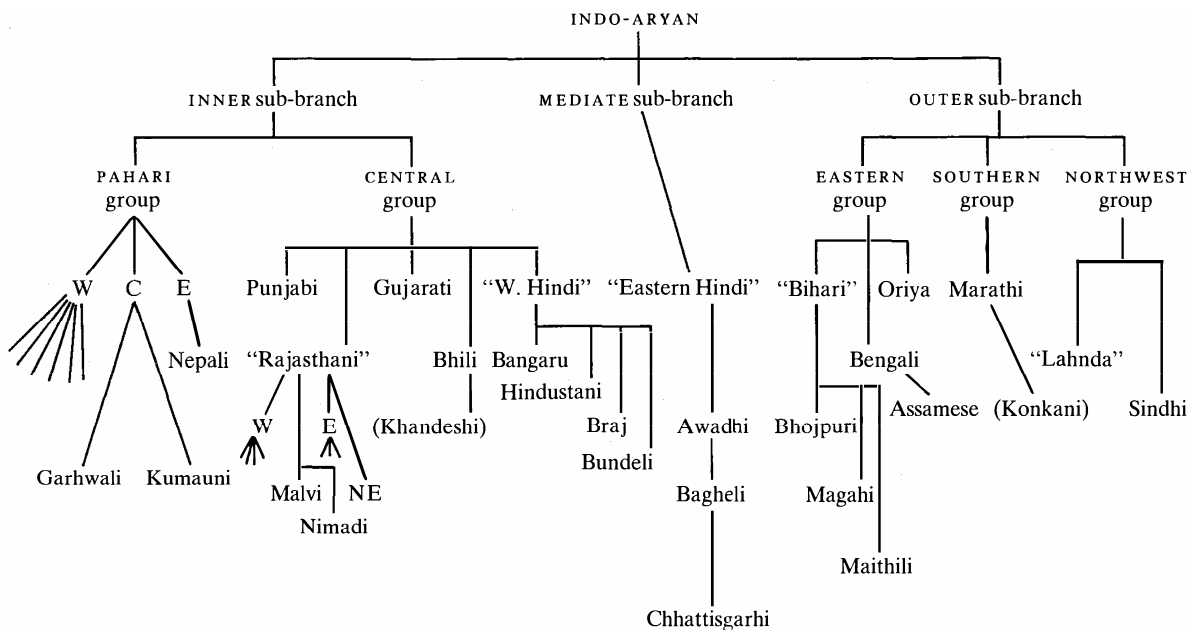
However, this scholarly pessimism does have some grounds. Certain approaches and methods used nowadays in Indological historical linguistics have proven to be inefficient, and without changes in research methodology, significant progress in the genetic classification of the Indo-Aryan languages is hardly possible. This issue will be discussed at some length below.

In the past Indologists had more than once attempted to classify the languages that they studied. In the late 19th and 20th centuries several alternative classifications were suggested. Since some of them still appear in modern Indological publications, I feel it necessary to dwell on them here. The scholar who seems to have been the first one to approach this problem is Rudolf Hoernle. He hypothesized that the Aryans migrated to the Indian subcontinent in two successive waves. The migrants belonging to these waves spoke two different dialects of Old Indo-Aryan, which he called Magadhi and Sauraseni (Hoernle 1880).¹ Magadhi, according to him, was the common ancestor of modern languages spoken in the South and East of the Indo-Aryan speaking area, i.e. of Marathi, Konkani, Bengali, Oriya, and Bihari dialects,² whereas Sauraseni was considered to constitute the protolanguage for the forms of speech current in

¹ These names should not be confused with the identical names of literary Prakrits (Masica 1991: 447).

² Hoernle preferred to group these dialects under the name of Eastern Hindi.

Figure 1. Genealogical classification of Indo-Aryan languages according to G. Grierson (adapted from Masica 1991: 449).



the North and West, i.e. for Nepali, Garhwali, Kumauni, Gujarati, Sindhi, Punjabi including Multani, and Western Hindi including Rajasthani.³ Hoernle was of the opinion that the speakers of “Magadhi” once occupied the entire North India but were later pushed back by “Sauraseni” speakers, and it is for this reason that the languages of the Northwest still possess certain vestigial features that are common with the southeastern languages.

Hoernle’s idea of a two-wave migration was taken over and further developed by George A. Grierson — a British scholar, the main author of the famous “Linguistic Survey of India”. His classification of Indo-Aryan languages included two main subbranches, which he called Inner and Outer, although they did not precisely correspond to Hoernle’s Sauraseni and Magadhi respectively. The main point of divergence between Grierson’s and Hoernle’s models was the position of the languages spoken in the Northwest of the subcontinent, namely Sindhi and the dialects of Western Punjab including Multani.⁴ Grierson preferred to include these forms of speech into the Outer subbranch, i.e. to group them together with Marathi, Konkani and the languages of Eastern India (Grierson 1927). Grierson’s arguments in favor of this point of view will be discussed separately below. Moreover, alongside the main subbranches embracing the bulk of the Indo-Aryan languages, Grierson’s classificatory scheme also featured a third one: it was called Mediate and included certain Hindi dialects, the most important of which is Awadhi.⁵ These dialects, according to Grierson, possessed both “Inner” and “Outer” features. Grierson’s classification is reproduced on Figure 1 in the form of a genealogical tree.

³ To this group Hoernle also added Pashto and Kashmiri, which he reckoned among the Indo-Aryan languages.

⁴ These dialects, spoken in the vast area covering northern and western parts of the present-day Pakistani province of Punjab, were grouped by Grierson under the name of Lahnda. This term is still rather popular among the Indologists.

⁵ The other two are Bagheli and Chhattisgarhi.

As we can see, both Inner and Outer languages are subdivided into further groups, i.e. Pahari,⁶ Central, Eastern, Southern and Northwestern. Grierson gave no clear-cut reasons for the postulation of these groups or the existence of such entities as “Lahnda”, “Western Hindi” or “Rajasthani”. The two main subbranches, however, were established by him on the basis of features which he thought to be diagnostic for classification. The most significant of them are:

- 1) retention of MIA *s* (< OIA *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*) in the Inner languages vs. change of this sibilant into other phonemes in the Outer subbranch;
- 2) loss of the final short vowels in the Inner subbranch vs. their preservation in the Outer languages;
- 3) the use of the suffix *-i-* to form verbal perfect stems in the Inner languages vs. the formation of such stems in the Outer languages with the suffix *-l-*;
- 4) the analytic typology of the Inner languages vs. the synthetic character of the Outer sub-branch.

Upon close examination, none of the above arguments can be considered valid. The loss of final short vowels in a number of Indo-Aryan languages took place in the New Indo-Aryan period and thus has nothing to do with dialectal differences in Old Indo-Aryan. The same holds true for the formation of perfect stems. The use of the suffix *-l-* for such a purpose is a comparatively recent phenomenon; moreover, it is not characteristic of all the Outer languages and is found in some Inner ones (e.g. in Gujarati). The development of Old Indo-Aryan sibilants was totally different in the East and Northwest of the subcontinent. In the East all the three sibilant phonemes have merged into one, i.e. *ś*. This reflex is already attested in the Magadhi Prakrit and found, e.g., in present day Bengali. In almost all the other Indo-Aryan languages, including Northwestern ones, the sibilants merged into *s*,⁷ sometimes with subsequent phonetic changes in certain positions. This means that reconstructing something like a “Common Outer” or “Proto-Outer” development of the Old Indian sibilant system is simply out of the question.

As for the typological argument, it is generally accepted among comparative linguists that such arguments are not relevant for genealogical classification. In addition, Grierson’s statement that all the Outer languages belong to the same synthetic morphological type is not fully correct. In reality, Eastern Indo-Aryan languages possess agglutinative morphology of secondary origin, which developed from the older analytic system as a result of the transformation of function words (e.g. postpositions) into affixes, whereas Northwestern languages are mainly analytic, although sometimes they preserve a few vestiges of old inflection.

Grierson’s arguments were analyzed by the Indian historical linguist and philologist Suniti Kumar Chatterji. In the introduction to his renowned work “Origin and development of the Bengali language” (Chatterji 1926), he managed to convincingly show their invalidity, as well as the incorrectness of the Inner-Outer model. As an alternative, he suggested his own classification, which is in certain respects similar to that of Grierson but without the Inner and Outer sub-branches as separate taxa.⁸ The reality of the Mediate subbranch was also denied. All the dialects that Grierson classified as Mediate were included by Chatterji into the Eastern

⁶ The Pahari group includes Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the sub-Himalayan region stretching from Nepal in the Southeast to the southern areas of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir in the Northwest.

⁷ Exceptions include several Pahari languages and Romany, which distinguish between two sibilants, i.e. *s* and *ś*. The latter reflects both *ś* and *ṣ* of Old Indo-Aryan.

⁸ Chatterji’s classificatory scheme was published in his abovementioned book as a part of the table illustrating the development of Aryan speech in India, see Chatterji 1926: 6.

group. Northwestern, Pahari,⁹ Southern, and Eastern groups were considered on the same taxonomic level. Moreover, Chatterji postulated two more subbranches, namely, Southwestern (including Gujarati and Rajasthani) and a subbranch consisting of Sinhalese and Maldivian (Dhivehi).¹⁰ The list of languages in some groups was somewhat different from the one offered by Grierson. Thus, both Punjabi and Romany were classified with the Northwestern group. The Central subbranch, called Midland by Chatterji, included only the forms of speech traditionally grouped together under the name of Western Hindi, i.e. standard Hindi and Urdu (with Khariboli as their common dialectal basis), Haryanvi, Braj, Kannauji and Bundeli. While working out this classification, Chatterji largely based himself on intuition. Only in relatively rare cases certain historical-phonological isoglosses were taken into account. Among the cited innovations one can mention the merger of the Old Indian sibilants into *ś* in the East or the simplification of the Middle Indo-Aryan geminates followed by compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowels in the majority of New Indo-Aryan languages vs. the absence of such a process in the Northwest, i.e. in Sindhi, Lahnda and Punjabi.

Both Grierson's and Chatterji's schemes can even nowadays be occasionally found in Indological linguistic literature. They coexist with several alternative classifications, which were suggested during the last five decades. The latter, however, differ only slightly from Chatterji's¹¹ and, likewise, remain mainly intuitive.

The 20th century saw great progress in the study of Indo-Aryan historical phonology. In addition to the already mentioned monograph on Bengali by Chatterji, Jules Bloch's book on Marathi (Bloch 1920) and R.L. Turner's works on Gujarati, Sindhi, Romany and Nepali (Turner 1921a; 1921b 1924; 1926; 1931) significantly extended our knowledge of sound change in a number of New Indo-Aryan languages. This research prompted some scholars to suggest a genealogical tree based on historical phonological isoglosses. Soon, however, it became clear that this task is extremely difficult, if not impossible. Isoglosses are sometimes easily detectable, but usually they cannot be brought together into bundles that would be peculiar for a particular language or language group. For example, the above-mentioned compensatory lengthening of short vowels before simplified geminates is characteristic of such languages as Hindi-Urdu, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali and many others, but not of Punjabi, Lahnda or Sindhi. This fact makes it tempting to postulate two groups, one of which would include the three last idioms and the other would include all the rest. According to such a classification, Hindi-Urdu must be declared a language more closely related to Bengali and Gujarati than to Punjabi. But if we take another feature, e.g. the development of the Old Indic sibilants, the picture will be quite different. Bengali, where, as noted above, these phonemes have merged into *ś*, would form a separate group together with Assamese, for which "ś-reflexation" can be traced historically, whereas Hindi-Urdu will find itself closer to Punjabi, Lahnda, Sindhi and Gujarati, where the reflex is *s*. Gujarati, however, is not affected by another isogloss, which is common for many Indo-Aryan languages, namely the lenition of intervocalic *-m-* into *-v-* (sometimes with a further change into *ũ* and nasalization of the preceding vowel). In this respect, Hindi-Urdu shows close affinity to Marathi, Sindhi, Punjabi, Nepali, and Romany but not to Gujarati (cf. Hindi-Urdu *gāv*, Marathi *gāv*, Sindhi *gāu*, Punjabi *girāū*, Nepali *gāū*, Romany *gav*, but Gujarati *gām* 'village' < OIA *grāma-*).

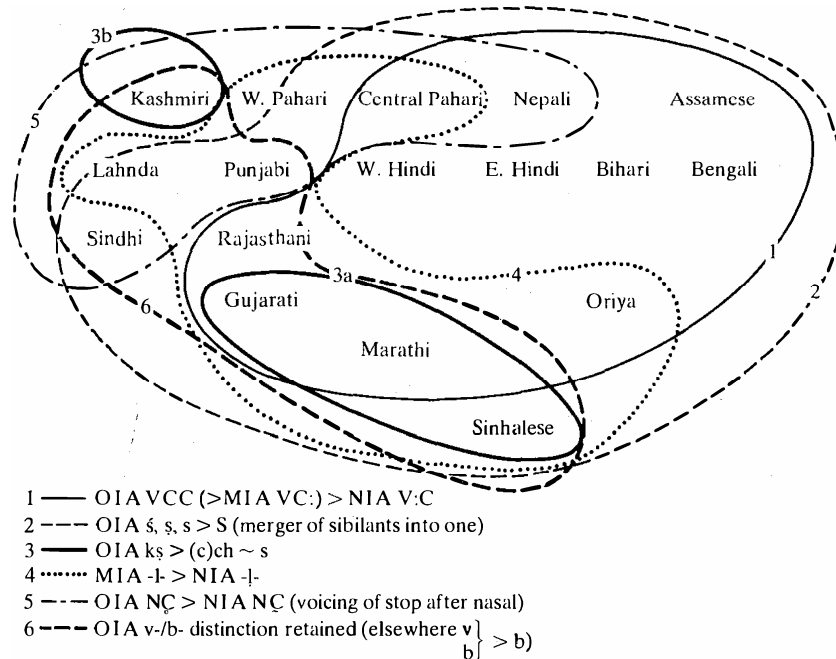
This complex situation, where different historical-phonological isoglosses are in "conflict" with each other, was tackled by Colin Masica in his book (Masica 1991). He analyzed the geographical distribution of six historical phonological features, i.e. compensatory lengthening,

⁹ For Grierson's Pahari languages, Chatterji prefers the term "North" or "Himalayan".

¹⁰ The latter two languages were ignored in Grierson's scheme.

¹¹ These classifications are cited, e.g. by Colin Masica in Masica 1991: 454–456.

Figure 2. The distribution of some basic New Indo-Aryan phonological isoglosses (adapted from Masica 1991: 459).



merger of the three OIA sibilants, OIA $kṣ > (c)ch (> s)$, cerebralization of intervocalic MIA $-l-$, voicing of voiceless stops after nasals, retention of OIA initial $v-$ (elsewhere changed to b). The results of his analysis were presented in the form of the scheme reproduced on Figure 2.

As can be plainly seen, the above data make it hardly possible to postulate a group of languages (i.e. a sub-group of Indo-Aryan) on the basis of more than one isogloss that would be peculiar only for this group, as opposed to all the rest.

There can be no doubt that such a state of things is indeed the result of intensive and long-lasting language contact, which in South Asia was and is still often facilitated by absence of natural barriers. The gradual spread of certain contact-induced phonological features can be traced back to Middle Indo-Aryan. For example, OIA intervocalic stops (other than cerebrals) were dropped in the Maharashtri Prakrit, while still being preserved in Śauraseni. But later on the disappearance of stops in the intervocalic position also affected the Śauraseni area, i.e. the central part of the Indo-Gangetic Plain. It is attested already in Apabhraṃśa, a late Middle Indo-Aryan literary language formed in this very region, and is characteristic of almost all the local New Indo-Aryan forms of speech. The merger of OIA sibilants in many areas of the Indian subcontinent likewise dates back to the Middle Indo-Aryan period. Thus, in the language of Aśoka's inscriptions from most parts of India no distinction was made between the reflexes of OIA s , $ś$ and $ṣ$. This threefold contrast was fully retained only in the inscriptions from the Northwest, which means that in Aśoka's time, i.e. in the 3rd century BC, the isogloss in question did not affect this area. Later, however, the sibilants did merge in the Northwest as well. In the New Indo-Aryan dialects spoken there nowadays the results of this process can be clearly seen (cf. Lahnda *sap(p)* 'snake' < OIA *sarpa-*; *sad(d)* 'call, shout' < OIA *śabda-* 'articulate sound, noise'; *solā* '16' < OIA *ṣoḍaśa*; *ghāh* 'grass' < OIA *ghāsa-* 'food, pasture grass'; *dāh* '10' < OIA *daśa*; *nōh* 'son's wife' < OIA *suśā-*).

Such a situation can be best represented within the framework of Schmidt's wave model. For this reason, many scholars believe that the latter model is the most preferable, if not the

only possible, for the Indo-Aryan group, whereas the tree model is not applicable to it. This pessimism was perhaps most vividly expressed by C. Masica in his previously mentioned book: “We might therefore be well-advised to give up as vain the quest for a final and “correct” NIA historical taxonomy, which no amount of tinkering can achieve, and concentrate instead on working out the history of various features, letting such feature-specific historical groupings emerge as they may, with their overall non-coincidence as testimonial to the complexity of the situation” (Masica 1991: 460). Masica’s practical suggestion was that scholars should confine themselves to drawing isoglosses on the map and postulating zones that they demarcate. Since such zones usually overlap, the term “overlapping genetic zones” was accepted for them. Such a term, however, is patently self-contradictory. ‘Overlapping’ implies that there must be a language or languages belonging to more than one zone, which can never be the case with genetic subdivisions. Moreover, it is well known that areal and genealogical groupings do not always coincide, and for this reason, the use of the term ‘zone’ in the genetic classification does not seem to be correct. Nevertheless, the proposed term became very popular among Indologists, and has even penetrated into some encyclopaedic editions.

It is justified to state that genealogical classification of the Indo-Aryan languages has presently been substituted by the areal one, and that the main reason for this paradigm change is the failure to classify the languages in question on the basis of phonological innovations. It should be noted in this connection that phonological isoglosses, as they are traditionally postulated, are not always unquestionable. Sometimes certain sound changes, which are considered to be common for many languages, in reality coincide only partially. This seems to hold true, e.g., for the simplification of the MIA geminates with compensatory lengthening of the preceding short vowels. In quite a number of Indo-Aryan dialects this development takes place in all words and positions, whereas in standard Hindi-Urdu it apparently affects mainly monosyllabic words. If the number of syllables is more than one, geminates are often retained and the vowel remains short. This hypothetical rule is most likely to be valid when the MIA vowel is *a*: *pakkā* ‘ripe, mature’ < MIA *pakka-* < OIA *pakva-*, cf. Nepali *pāko*, Bengali *paka* (*a* < *ā*), Romany *pako* (*a* < *ā*), Gujarati *pākū* ‘ripe’; *makkhī* ‘fly’ < MIA *makkhiā-* < OIA *makṣikā-*, cf. Nepali, Kumauni *mākho*, Assamese *mākhi*, Gujarati *mākhi*, Romany *makh, maki*; *saccā* ‘true’ < MIA *sacca-* < OIA *satya-* ‘truth’, cf. Nepali, Kumauni *sāco*, Bengali *śāca*, Awadhi *sācu*, Marwari *sāco*, Gujarati *sācū*, Romany *čāčo*; *acchā* ‘good’ < MIA *accha-* ‘clear, transparent, pure, clean’ < OIA *accha-* ‘clear, transparent’, cf. Oriya *āchā*, Kumauni *ācho* ‘good’, Gujarati *āchū* ‘thin, elegant’; *pattā* ‘leaf’ < OIA *pattra-*, MIA *patta-*, cf. Kumauni *pātī* ‘leaves, letter’, Nepali *pāto* ‘page, blade of a knife’, Bengali *pata* ‘leaf, blade’, Awadhi *pātā*, Gujarati *pātū* ‘leaf’; *patthar* ‘stone’ < MIA *patthara-* id. < OIA *prastara-* ‘anything strewn; flat surface; rock, stone’, cf. Awadhi, Kumauni *pāthar*, Bengali, Assamese *pathar*, Konkani *phāttaru* ‘stone’, Marathi *pāthar* ‘flat stone’; *apnā* ‘one’s own’ < MIA *appaṇaya-* < OIA **ātmanaka-*,¹² cf. Kumauni *āpṇo*, Nepali *āpṇu*, Bengali *apṇ*, Gujarati *āpṇū*. Note that new Indo-Aryan disyllables ending in a vowel most probably reflect Old Indian trisyllabic bases enlarged with the suffix *-k*,¹³ i.e. *pakvaka-*, *satyaka-*, *acchaka-*, *patraka-* etc.

Of particular interest are those cases where we find two cognates in Hindi-Urdu, one of which is monosyllabic and the other is di- or trisyllabic. Such cognates always show a divergent phonetic development: *sāt* ‘7’ < MIA *satta* < OIA *sapta* vs. *sattā* ‘aggregate of 7; seven in

¹² See Turner 1966: 51.

¹³ Cf. the above-cited words for ‘fly’, for which the prototype with the suffix *-k* (*makṣikā-*) is attested already in Old Indian. On enlarged noun bases in *-k* see in general (Bloch 1965: 111, 163–165).

cards' < MIA *sattaya-* < NIA *saptaka-*; *hāth* 'hand' < MIA *hattha-* < OIA *hasta-* vs. *hatthā* 'handle' < OIA *hastaka-*; *lāj* 'shame' < MIA, OIA *lajjā-* vs. *nilajā* 'shameless' < MIA *nilajja-* < OIA *nirlajja-*; *kām* 'work, act' < MIA *kamma-* < OIA *karman-* vs. *nikammā* 'idle; useless, good-for-nothing' < MIA **nikkamma-*¹⁴ < OIA *niṣkarman-* 'inactive'.

The phenomenon described here certainly needs further study, because there are some unexplained counterexamples (cf., e.g. *māthā* 'forehead' < MIA *mattha(ya)-* 'head' < OIA *masta(ka)-* 'head, skull'¹⁵), but what can be stated with certainty is that the issue of common historical phonological isoglosses is much more complicated than it might seem upon first sight. Establishing such isoglosses for the Indo-Aryan group is possible only after a detailed and in-depth analysis of all available data. Since such analysis has not always been properly conducted, it is still premature to say that we know the full picture.

This, however, can hardly affect the conclusion that intensive language contact has sometimes made it almost impossible to distinguish between phonological innovations common for a genetic subgroup and contact-driven sound changes. It means that Indo-Aryan languages should not be classified based only (or even mainly) on historical phonology, as was frequently done in the past. But what kind of linguistic data should we then use as criteria for classification? It is tempting to turn to morphology, but, as C. Masica points out in his book, "...morphological criteria conflict just as much as phonological criteria" (Masica 1991: 460). Since syntax is even more prone to radical restructuring due to foreign influence and is, moreover, very similar throughout Indo-Aryan, syntactic data can hardly help us to clarify genetic relations within the Indo-Aryan group. The only domain of language that can provide us with relevant information for genealogical classification appears to be the lexicon.

To the best of my knowledge, no scholar has so far seriously attempted to create a genealogical tree of Indo-Aryan languages based on lexical isoglosses. Such a state of affairs arguably results from insufficient attention paid by many Indologists to the lexical level in general and basic vocabulary in particular. This is rather unfortunate, because the in-depth study of this part of the lexicon actually helps to solve a variety of problems of Indological comparative linguistics, including those of historical phonology, because it is well known that in basic vocabulary the number of loanwords is always limited and genuine phonetic development always predominates. The latter fact also suggests the possibility of using the lexicostatistical method for classifying the Indo-Aryan languages.

The 100-item Swadesh wordlist has on many occasions been successfully used as a sample of basic vocabulary. The greater part of its items is cross-linguistically stable, and cases of phonological change that are characteristic of borrowings from closely related languages are therefore always in a minority within this set. Since the historical phonology of many Indo-Aryan languages has now been studied in sufficient detail, such cases must often be easily detectable, even if one factors in the limitations of our knowledge stated above. It means that the problem of unidentified loanwords in Indo-Aryan wordlists is hardly crucial, and the resulting genealogical tree is unlikely to differ to a great extent from the real picture.

Consequently, in the present article we present an attempt of genealogical classification based on lexicostatistics. The Indo-Aryan lexicostatistical database, prepared by myself,¹⁶

¹⁴ Cf. Pali *nikkamma-*, Prakrit *ṇikkamma-* 'unoccupied' (Turner 1966: 422).

¹⁵ It should also be noted that the compensatory lengthening of MIA *i* and *u* appears not to be confined to monosyllables: *sīdhā* 'straightforward' < MIA, OIA *siddha-* 'perfected'; *sūkhā* 'dry' < MIA *sukkha-* < OIA *śuṣka-*.

¹⁶ I wish to thank Anastasiya Krylova and Eugenia Renkovskaya (Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow) for their help in the preparation of the database and Ilya S. Yakubovich (Moscow State University) for providing me with dictionaries of several New Indo-Aryan languages.

consists of Swadesh lists for 35 languages, namely Hindi-Urdu, Dakhini,¹⁷ Punjabi, Pothohari, Hindko, Gojri, Dogri, Lahnda (Multani), Sindhi, Kutchi, Rajasthani (Marwari), Gujarati, Marathi, Konkani, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Nepali, Sinhalese, Maldivian (Dhivehi), Kotgarhi, Himachali, Kului, Mandeali,¹⁸ Kumauni, Garhwali, Awadhi, Braj, Mewati,¹⁹ Wagdi,²⁰ Banjari, Maithili, Parya, Domaaki (Dumaki), and Romany. Unfortunately, it turned out to be impossible to include Old and Middle Indo-Aryan wordlists in the database, because they are either not securely datable (e.g., Vedic and Pali wordlists) or contain too many lacunae (e.g., wordlists of Aśokan Prakrits). Moreover, certain Middle Indo-Aryan languages, such as literary Prakrits and literary Apabhraṃśas, are to a great extent artificial constructs and do not fully reflect spoken dialects of their time. The wordlists are given in a special appendix after the main text of the article. Before proceeding to the results of the lexicostatistical calculations, it seems necessary to make some remarks concerning synonyms and loanwords.

Since in many cases we know little or nothing either about semantic nuances or frequency of a particular Indo-Aryan word on the list, it is sometimes impossible to determine the main synonym. In such a situation, we suggest that the best solution to the problem of synonymy is apparently to include no more than two synonyms on the list in the case when each of them has cognates in other Indo-Aryan languages. If only one of the synonyms finds etymological parallels within the group, it is technically considered as the main one. Likewise, in those cases where both an inherited word and a loanword are attested for the same Swadesh meaning, only the former is included in the database (since addition or omission of the latter will be irrelevant for the lexicostatistical results anyway).

Loanwords on the lists are for the most part easily identifiable. Usually they are of either Persian or Sanskrit origin. The latter group embraces not only *tatsamas* (borrowings from Sanskrit, preserved more or less unchanged in modern languages), but also the so-called *semi-tatsama* or *ardhatatsama* words, i.e. early Sanskrit loans which have undergone certain phonetic changes (e.g., Punjabi *purakh* ‘man’ < Skr. *puruṣa-*; Dogri, Himachali, Mandeali, Awadhi *barkhā* ‘rain’ < Skr. *varṣā-*). Dravidian loanwords are found chiefly in Sinhalese and Konkani wordlists.²¹ The noun *poṭ* ‘belly’ seems to be a borrowing from Dravidian in Marathi and Konkani (cf. Proto-Dravidian **poṭ* and its reflexes in different Dravidian languages given in (Burrow, Emeneau 1961: 397–398)). Phonetically similar words for ‘belly’ in many other Indo-Aryan languages (Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi, Parya, Gujarati, Bengali *peṭ*, Assamese *pet*, Oriya *peṭa*, Garhwali *pyaṭ*, Romany *perr*) were connected by R.L. Turner with OIA *peṭa-* ‘basket’ (Turner 1966: 475). Although such a semantic development, typologically quite possible,²² could in principle take place spontaneously in Indo-Aryan, it cannot be ruled out either that this change was “catalyzed” by the influence of the abovementioned Dravidian noun.

¹⁷ Dakhini is frequently considered a regional form of Urdu. Actually, it is a group of closely related dialects spoken by the Muslim population of the Deccan plateau in Central and South India, chiefly in the Telangana, Karnataka and Maharashtra states. Its speakers are mostly descendants of immigrants from North India and the Middle East. The lexical material used in my database belongs to the dialect spoken in Northern Karnataka.

¹⁸ Kotgarhi, Himachali, Kului, and Mandeali are spoken in Western Himalaya, mainly in the present-day Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand states of India. They are traditionally included in the Pahari subgroup.

¹⁹ Traditionally classified as a dialect of Rajasthani.

²⁰ A dialect of Bhili.

²¹ Sinhalese seems to have been influenced by Dravidian since very early times. In Konkani the Dravidian lexical stratum is mainly the result of contact between this language and its Southern neighbor Kannada. The Swadesh list for Konkani contains 4 Kannada loanwords, viz. *moḍ* ‘cloud’, *tanthe* ‘egg’, *urūṭ* ‘round’ and *bāl* ‘tail’.

²² As an approximate parallel cf. English *chest*, meaning both ‘box’ and ‘thorax’.

The languages that show the largest number of loans are Domaaki and Romany. In Domaaki there are 27 loanwords belonging to the Swadesh list. This percentage is no doubt abnormally high, but nevertheless quite explicable for a language on the verge of extinction, whose 300 speakers are all bi- or trilingual. The donor language for 19 loans is Shina,²³ the majority language and lingua franca of the area where Domaaki is spoken. The remaining 8 borrowings are of Burushaski origin.²⁴ The Romany Swadesh list²⁵ contains 19 loanwords, which are borrowed from different sources, namely Dardic (*parno* ‘white’²⁶), Burushaski (*ciġno* ‘small’²⁷), Iranian (*por* ‘feather’, *čehran* ‘star’), Armenian (*morči* ‘skin’), Kartvelian (*kišay* ‘sand’²⁸), Greek (*kokalo* ‘bone’, *drom* ‘road’), Slavic (*zeleno* ‘green’, *koreno* ‘root’, *pliv-* ‘swim’), Romanian (*skarča* ‘bark’, *unjiya* ‘nail’, *nuvero* ‘cloud’, *lungo* ‘long’, *mint’a* ‘mountain’, *rotato* ‘round’, *seminca* ‘seed’, *galbeno* ‘yellow’).

The main source of etymologies is R. L. Turner’s comparative dictionary (Turner 1966). Domaaki and Parya etymologies are also taken from Buddruss 1984 and Oranskiy 1977 respectively.

The results of lexicostatistical calculations are given in Table 1.

The genealogical tree constructed by the StarLing system on the basis of the above data is reproduced on Figure 3.

As one can see, the classification represented by this tree differs from earlier classificatory schemes in quite a number of points. Below I list those differences which are, in my opinion, the most important ones.

1. According to the above classification, Indo-Aryan is subdivided into two main sub-branches — one including Sinhalese and Dhivehi (Maldivian), and the other consisting of all the other New Indo-Aryan languages. The most proper names for these subgroups would be “Insular” and “Continental”. The split of Proto-Indo-Aryan dates back to the close of the 2nd millennium B.C.

2. The Continental subgroup includes an outlying branch embracing Marathi and Konkani.

3. Romany turns out to form a common subgroup with Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi and dialects of the sub-Himalayan region, traditionally classified as Pahari (Nepali, Garhwali, Kumauni, Himachali, Kului, Mandeali and Kotgarhi). The closest relative of Romany is Domaaki, as was first hypothesized by D. L. R. Lorimer (1939). The split of “Proto-Hindi-Pahari-Romany” dates

²³ In order to save space, I will not list all the Shina loanwords here, especially since their identification usually presents no difficulty. The only doubtful case is Domaaki *šuno* ‘dog’, which, according to Georg Buddruss, should not be considered a borrowing from Shina because of its irregular inflection (Buddruss 1984: 14). Buddruss’s argument, however, does not seem convincing. The reflexes of Proto-Indo-Iranian **šuan-/šun-*, being widespread in Dardic, are very rare in New Indo-Aryan and almost never used there as the main word for dog, except in a few West Pahari languages, spoken adjacently to the Dardic-speaking area (cf., e.g., Siraji *šunā* ‘dog’). This fact suggests a high probability of borrowing from Dardic into Indo-Aryan. The immediate source for the above-cited Domaaki word may have been some older form of Shina *šū* ‘dog’.

²⁴ These are: *burinč* ‘cloud’, *tigon* ‘egg’, *čumo* ‘fish’, *duwal-* ‘fly’, *jušiqam* ‘green’, *čišā* ‘mountain’, *thop* ‘night’, *yono* ‘seed’.

²⁵ The Romany material reflects the Kalderash dialect, spoken in Romania and Moldova.

²⁶ Cf. Tirahi *parana*, Maiyā *panar*, Kashmiri *pron* (< **paranu*). Turner’s comparison of the Romany word with OIA *pāṇḍu-* (Turner 1966: 454) is doubtful, because it implies irregular phonetic development. The regular reflex of *pāṇḍu-* in Romany would have been **panrro* (cf. *punrro* ‘leg, foot’ < OIA *piṇḍa-* ‘calf of leg’).

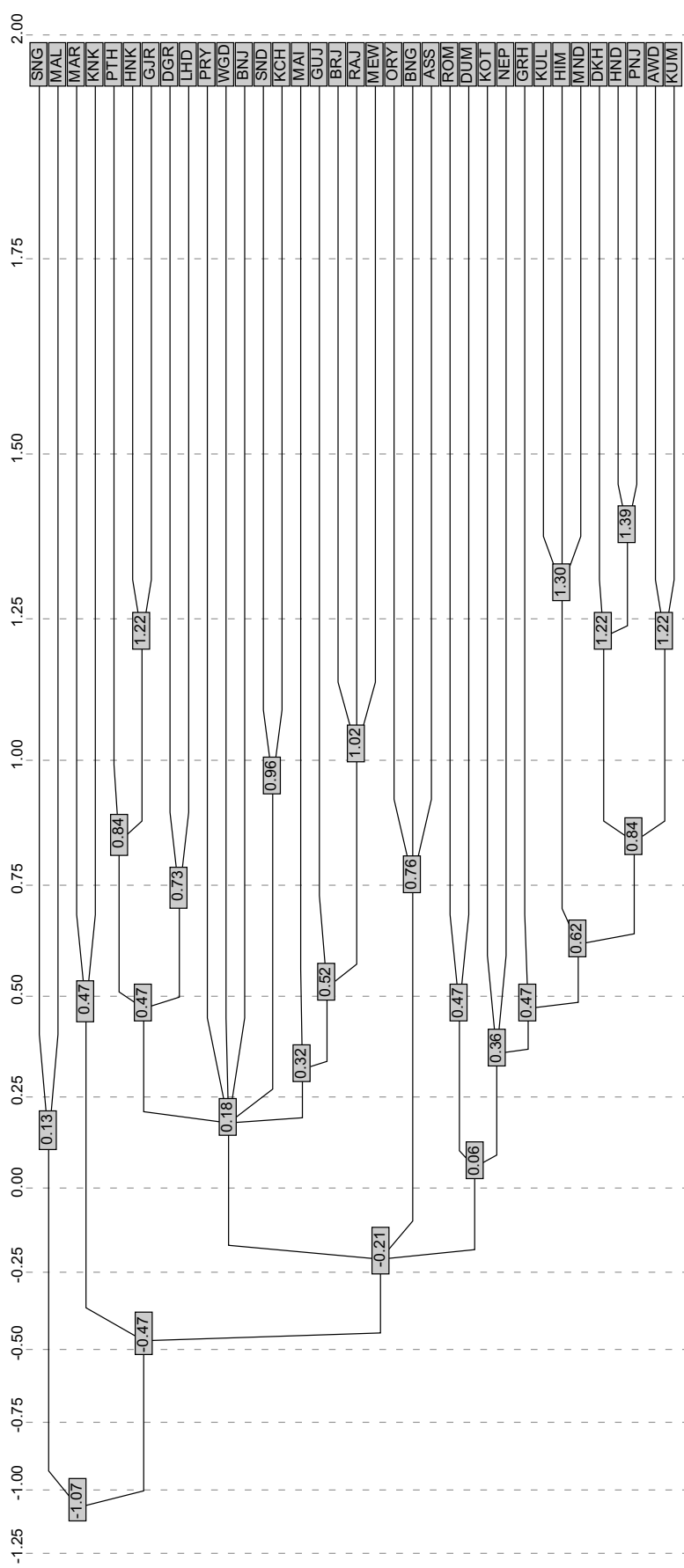
²⁷ On Burushaski loanwords in Romany see Berger 1959.

²⁸ Cf. Georgian, Laz *kviša* ‘sand’. The change *kv* > *k* is regular for genuine Romany words (cf. *kerel* ‘cooks’ < OIA *koṭhati*). It may imply that during a certain period of time the cluster *kv* was proscribed in the language. If the borrowing of the Kartvelian word for ‘sand’ dates back to this period, the loss of *v* in the initial consonantal group is quite explicable.

Table 1. The lexicostatistical matrix of Indo-Aryan languages.

	HND	DKH	PNJ	PTH	HNK	GJR	DGR	LHD	SND	RAJ	GUJ	MAR	BNG	ASS	NEP	SNG	MAL	KOT	HIM	KUL	MND	ORY	AWD	KUM	ROM	KNK	DUM	BRJ	GRH	PRY	MAI	KCH	MEW	WGD	BNJ	
HND		96	97	83	87	91	87	85	81	90	86	67	70	69	78	53	47	82	92	88	91	73	92	90	71	60	74	92	85	89	83	77	97	78	79	
DKH			95	79	84	86	87	85	80	89	84	73	73	73	77	59	53	81	90	88	91	75	93	90	77	64	77	87	83	87	83	78	91	73	81	
PNJ				89	91	93	93	90	84	92	84	68	70	72	76	57	50	80	92	85	91	72	91	89	71	67	72	88	82	93	82	81	94	75	80	
PTH					89	93	86	82	77	80	73	69	66	63	72	50	45	75	86	79	84	69	78	75	68	58	67	77	71	77	75	75	80	64	67	
HNK						95	88	87	82	81	76	67	69	67	70	54	48	77	85	81	85	68	80	78	71	59	71	78	76	83	76	77	82	67	70	
GJR							91	83	81	84	81	69	69	67	74	52	45	79	90	84	91	70	85	82	70	64	69	81	77	86	74	75	86	73	75	
DGR								87	82	84	79	67	68	67	77	55	45	79	91	86	92	69	87	80	69	66	77	81	76	83	81	79	86	70	74	
LHD									84	80	74	63	67	67	69	50	46	76	85	79	85	67	83	78	68	62	68	77	73	80	78	86	83	68	69	
SND										83	79	71	68	67	67	53	50	70	75	78	68	78	75	61	71	67	77	69	74	74	91	81	67	73		
RAJ											90	75	70	70	76	57	50	78	86	86	86	76	90	84	70	72	73	91	78	81	86	91	75	81		
GUJ												78	69	70	75	54	49	74	81	82	85	74	84	78	62	72	67	83	76	76	79	82	88	77	82	
MAR													62	59	64	53	51	62	64	64	69	64	70	64	57	80	65	62	56	60	62	72	69	63	67	
BNG														88	66	56	52	70	69	69	72	86	74	71	59	63	64	69	67	66	78	71	73	59	58	
ASS															71	57	55	72	73	73	86	76	73	63	66	67	67	67	71	68	74	71	60	63		
NEP																53	46	80	78	83	82	74	85	86	73	64	73	72	81	71	78	71	80	68	72	
SNG																	75	52	53	54	55	57	56	56	53	49	59	52	49	58	58	53	55	45	46	
MAL																		48	47	45	48	53	49	53	48	55	47	43	50	49	48	50	42	42		
KOT																			85	84	88	76	85	85	73	56	77	78	79	78	79	73	82	64	69	
HIM																				94	96	74	91	85	72	58	71	85	82	85	81	76	87	73	74	
KUL																					96	74	87	86	71	61	73	81	86	82	77	76	87	69	74	
MND																						75	88	86	72	65	77	84	83	86	82	77	90	73	77	
ORY																					74		77	74	65	63	72	72	72	70	80	72	76	68	63	
AWD																					88	78		95	78	67	79	88	87	83	88	79	91	76	82	
KUM																					86	75	95		77	61	78	84	90	83	86	76	91	71	75	
ROM																					72	65	78	77		54	82	70	75	72	68	64	74	61	60	
KNK																					65	63	67	61	54		60	59	53	59	59	75	66	63	66	
DUM																					77	72	79	78	82	62		72	72	77	76	67	81	61	67	
BRJ																					84	72	88	84	70	59	72		80	82	82	78	92	74	78	
GRH																					83	72	87	90	75	53	72	80		78	79	68	82	66	69	
PRY																					86	70	83	83	72	59	77	82	78		75	76	84	76	74	
MAI																					77	82	80	88	68	59	76	82	79	75		78	82	67	70	
KCH																					76	77	72	79	76	64	75	67	78	68	76	78		77	70	75
MEW																					90	78	91	91	74	67	81	93	83	84	82	78		78	78	
WGD																					73	68	76	71	61	63	61	63	61	66	76	67	70	77	74	
BNJ																					74	77	63	82	75	60	66	67	78	69	74	70	75	78	74	

Figure 3. The genealogical tree of Indo-Aryan languages. Figures in the nodes of the tree denote dates of separation in millennia A.D. (positive numbers) or B.C. (negative numbers), and are the results of glottochronological calculations performed in the StarLing system.



back to the 1st century A.D., and that of “Proto-Romany-Domaaki” to the close of the 5th century A.D. These figures, however, seem to be preliminary. The Swadesh lists of both Romany and Domaaki contain a number of unetymologized words. In the future, when etymologies of such words are established, the percentage of cognates may increase, and the resulting datings may appear to be somewhat younger. It is also worth noting that neither of the two above-mentioned dates should be automatically declared the date of the Gypsy exodus from India. The latter, no doubt, could date back to a later period than the linguistic split. Such a possibility is suggested by the fact that most subbranches of Continental Indo-Aryan diverged (sometimes nearly two millennia back) without mass migration of the speakers outside the subcontinent.

4. Forms of speech traditionally classified as Western Hindi do not actually form a single subgroup. Braj shows close relationship with Marwari and Mewati dialects spoken in Rajasthan, and somewhat more remote with Gujarati. Standard Hindi-Urdu and Dakhini are most closely related to Punjabi.²⁹ As for the Eastern Hindi dialects, their only representative in the database, i.e. Awadhi, is the closest relative of Kumauni.

5. Contrary to the traditional view, there is no reason to suggest a Rajasthani origin for a number of Indo-Aryan languages spoken outside Rajasthan. Thus Gojri,³⁰ classified by Grierson as a form of speech close to the Mewati dialect of Rajasthani, actually does not belong to the same group with the latter, but rather shows a close affinity to Hindko. The Banjari language,³¹ which was also usually considered as a variety of Rajasthani, actually occupies a somewhat independent position within one of the sub-branches of the Continental languages.

6. The above-stated close affinity of Kumauni to Awadhi implies that the Pahari group in the traditional sense does not exist as a genetic subdivision. The West Pahari languages except Kotgarhi (i.e., Himachali, Kului and Mandeali) do, however, form a single subgroup. The split of their ancestral language must have taken place very recently.

On the other hand, our classification does not differ from the earlier ones in those instances where the existence of subgroups is obvious or can be postulated on the basis of early linguistic evidence, as is, e.g., the case of the Eastern subgroup consisting of Oriya, Bengali and Assamese.

It should be emphasized again that the above classificatory scheme is preliminary and thus remains open to further amendments and improvements. It does not pretend to answer each and every question concerning New Indo-Aryan taxonomy. In a number of cases, it raises intriguing problems for further research. Among such problems, the rather close affinity of Maithili to Braj, Rajasthani dialects and Gujarati, as well as the somewhat isolated position of Parya and Garhwali appear to be particularly noteworthy.³² We hope that the present article will be instrumental in stimulating scholarly interest in these (and related) issues of Indo-Aryan comparative linguistics.

²⁹ The pair Hindi-Punjabi shows 97% matches, the highest percentage in the whole database.

³⁰ The language of Gujjars, a Muslim nomadic and semi-nomadic ethnic group dispersed in mountainous areas from Afghan Hindu Kush in the Northwest to the Indian state of Uttarakhand in the Southeast.

³¹ Also called Lamani and Lambadi, spoken by a semi-nomadic community of Banjaras scattered all over Central and Western India.

³² The Garhwali Swadesh list contains a significant number of unetymologized words. This fact may partly account for the relative isolation of the Garhwali language on the genealogical tree shown above. An abnormally low percentage of matches between Maldivian and Continental Indo-Aryan languages may have the same reason.

Appendix: Swadesh wordlists

The data are based on the following sources: HND, PNJ, SND, GUJ, MAR, BNG, SNG — Kogan 2005; DKH — Sibghatulla, Zamin 2000; PTH — a native speaker; HNK — Sultān Sukūn 2002; GJR — Awan 2000; DGR — Gosvāmī 2000; LHD — Saleem, Shah 2005 and Kogan 2005; RAJ — Suthar, Gahlot 1995 and Mukherji et al. 2011; ASS — Neog, Goswami 1987; NEP — Schmidt 1994; MAL — Abdulla, O’Shea 2005; KOT — Hendriksen 1976; HIM — native speakers; KUL — Mahapatra, Padmanabha, Ranganatha 1980; MND — native speakers and Mahapatra, Padmanabha, Ranganatha 1980; ORY — native speakers and Praharaj 1931–1940; AWD — Samīr 1955; KUM, GRH — native speakers and Gireson 1916; ROM — Boretzky 1994; KNK — Thali 1999–2001; DUM — Buddruss 1984 and Lorimer 1939; BRJ, MEW, WGD — Mukherji et al. 2011; PRY — Oranskiy 1977; MAI — Thakur, Jha 2012; KCH — Rohra 1965; BNJ — Ramesh 2010.

Figures in brackets after words refer to numbers of etymologies in the Indo-Aryan etymological database. They also reflect cognacy, words descending from the same OIA root having equal numbers. Negative numbers are assigned to loanwords and lacunae.

1. ALL: HND sab (1), DKH sab (1), PNJ sabh (1), PTH sāre (1), HNK sāre (1), GJR sārā (1), DGR sab (1), LHD sārā (1), SND sabhi (1), RAJ saḡlau (270), GUJ sahu (1), MAR saḡlā (270), BNG šobay (1), ASS xob (1), NEP sabai (1), SNG siyallō (270), MAL emmehā (174), KOT sarō (1), HIM sāre (1), KUL səbh (1), MND sabh (1), ORY sabu (1), AWD sab (1), KUM sap (1), ROM savorre (1), KNK saḡlo (270), DUM butā (-1), BRJ sab (1), GRH sabbi (1), PRY sare (1), MAI sab (1), KCH sab (1), MEW sabe (1), WGD sabu (1), BNJ sārī (1)

1a. ALL: SND samūro (174), SNG muḡu (381) MAL hurihā (522) AWD sagar (270)

2. ASHES: HND rākh (3), DKH rāχ (3), PNJ suāh (111), PTH suhāgā (111) HNK chāi (152), GJR bhass (489), DGR kheh (440), LHD chāi (152), SND rakh (3), RAJ khe (440), GUJ rākh (3), MAR rākh (3), BNG chai (152), ASS sai (152), NEP kharāni (140), SNG aḡu (382), MAL aḡi (382) KOT kheĕ (440), HIM suāh (111), KUL ? (-1), MND swāh (111), ORY pāuñša (567), AWD rākhī (3), KUM saji (488), ROM vušar (140), KNK goboru (606), DUM čhor (140), BRJ rākh (3), GRH chāru (140), PRY čhar (140), MAI chār (140) KCH vānī (653) MEW rakhi (3), WGD pāsī (567), BNJ rāk (3)

2a. ASHES: GJR suhāgo (111), DGR bhass (489), LHD suā (111), SND chāi (152), RAJ rākh (3), KOT chār (140), MND bhās (489), ORY chāra (140), AWD chār (140), KUM chār (140)

3. BARK: HND chāl (4), DKH chiltā (4), PNJ chill (4), PTH chilar (4), HNK chillar (4), GJR chilḡo (4), DGR chilkā (4), LHD chil (4), SND chalu (4), RAJ chilkau (4), GUJ chāl (4), MAR sāl (4), BNG chal (4), ASS bakōli (328), NEP bokro (328), SNG potta (383), MAL thoši (523), KOT chāl (4), HIM chillekar (4), KUL khol (552), MND sātū (561), ORY chāli (4), AWD chāl (4), KUM bakkhal (328), ROM skarča (-1), KNK sāl (4), DUM ? (-2), BRJ chāl (4), GRH bakkal (328), PRY pōst (-1), MAI chāl (4), KCH chall (4), MEW chāl (4), WGD sal (4), BNJ chāmbḡi (667)

3a. BARK: ASS sal (4), ORY bakkala (328), MEW bokalā (328)

4. BELLY: HND peḡ (678), DKH peḡ (678), PNJ peḡ (678), PTH ḡhiḡ (113), HNK ḡhiḡ (113), GJR ḡhiḡ (113), DGR ḡhiḡḡ (113), LHD ḡhiḡḡ (113), SND peḡu (678), RAJ peḡ (678), GUJ peḡ (678), MAR poḡ (-1), BNG peḡ (678), ASS peḡ (678), NEP peḡ (678), SNG baḡa (329), MAL ban’du (329), KOT peḡ (678), HIM peḡ (678), KUL pēḡ (678), MND pēḡ (678), ORY peḡa (678), AWD pēḡ (678),

KUM peṭ (678), ROM perr (678), KNK poṭ (-1), DUM peṭ (678), BRJ peṭ (678), GRH pyaṭ (678), PRY peṭ (678), MAI udar (-1), KCH peṭ (678), MEW peṭ (678), WGD peṭ (678), BNJ peṭ (678)

4a. BELLY: PNJ dhiḍḍ (113), GJR peṭ (678)

5. BIG: HND baṛā (5), DKH baḍā (5), PNJ vaḍḍā (5), PTH baṛā (5), HNK baḍḍā (5), GJR baṛo (5), DGR baḍḍā (5), LHD vaḍḍā (5), SND vaḍ'o (5), RAJ baḍau (5), GUJ moṭo (248), MAR moṭhā (248), BNG bōṛo (5), ASS bōṛ (5), NEP ṭhūlo (358), SNG loku (385), MAL boḍu (669), KOT bōḍḍo (5), HIM baṛā (5), KUL bəḍḍa (5), MND bəḍḍa (5), ORY baḍḍa (5), AWD baṛā (5), KUM baṛo (5), ROM baro (5), KNK v(h)od (5), DUM baḍā (5), BRJ bāṛo (5), GRH baṛū (5), PRY boṛo (5), MAI baṛkā (5), KCH vaḍo (5), MEW baṛo (5), WGD moṭo (248), BNJ moṭo (248)

5a. BIG: RAJ moṭau (248), NEP baṛo (5)

6. BIRD: HND ciṛiyā (6), DKH pakherū (7), PNJ pakkherū (7), PTH pakherū (7), HNK pakhṛū (7), GJR pakherū (7), DGR paīchi (7), LHD pakkhī (7), SND pakhī (7), RAJ pākherū (7), GUJ pākhī (7), MAR pakṣī (-2), BNG pakhi (7), ASS sōrai (6), NEP carā (6), SNG kurullā (-1), MAL dūni (524), KOT cōṛku (6), HIM panchī (7), KUL cīḍu (6), MND pānchi (7), ORY caḍhei (6), AWD ciraī (6), KUM callo (6), ROM čirikli (6), KNK pākko (7), DUM čai (6), BRJ paksī (-1), GRH cakhul (652), PRY kukuṛi (644), MAI ciṛai (6), KCH pakhi (7), MEW ciṛiā (6), WGD huṛo (660), BNJ gargol (668)

6a. BIRD: HND pākhī (7), DKH caṛī (6), DGR ciṛī (6), RAJ ciṛī (6), ASS pōnkhī (7), KOT panchi (7), KUL pānchi (7), MND cīḍu (6), AWD panchī (7), GRH pacche (7), MAI panchī (7), MEW pakherū (7)

7. BITE: HND kāt- (8), DKH kāt- (8), PNJ kaṭṭ- (8), PTH laṛ- (153), HNK laṛ- (153), GJR khā- (490), DGR baḍḍh- (493), LHD paṭ- (501), SND caku pāi- (176), RAJ karar (249), GUJ karaḍ- (249), MAR cāv- (271), BNG kamṛa- (296), ASS kamōṛ- (296), NEP ṭok- (114), SNG hapa- (386), MAL daiganna- (550), KOT ṭuk- (114), HIM dānd mār- (550), KUL kāt- (8), MND kāt- (8), ORY kāmur- (296), AWD ? (-1), KUM kāt- (8), ROM dandar- (550), KNK cāb- (271), DUM ṣan- (-3), BRJ kaṭ- (8), GRH kāt- (8), PRY kaṭ- (8), MAI bhamhor- (676), KCH cak- (176), MEW kāt- (8), WGD kaṭ- (8), BNJ cāb- (271)

7a. BITE: HNK cak mār- (176), GJR laṛ- (153) SND d'ārḥ- (177), MAR ḍāsā ghe- (177), SNG vik- (387), HIM khā- (490), MND khā- (490), PRY čak par- (176) KCH viṛ- (654), MEW cabā- (271), BNJ kāt- (8)

8. BLACK: HND kālā (9), DKH kālā (9), PNJ kālā (9), PTH kālā (9), HNK kālā (9), GJR kālo (9), DGR kālā (9), LHD kālā (9), SND kāro (9), RAJ kālau (9), GUJ kālō (9), MAR kālā (9), BNG kalo (9), ASS kōla (9), NEP kālo (9), SNG kaḷu (9), MAL kaḷu (9), KOT kaḷo (9), HIM kālā (9), KUL kālā (9), MND kālā (9), ORY kalā (9), AWD kariā (9), KUM kālo (9), ROM kalo (9), KNK kālē (9), DUM kālā (9), BRJ kāro (9), GRH kālū (9), PRY kalo (9), MAI kāri (9), KCH kāro (9), MEW kālo (9), WGD kālō (9), BNJ kālō (9)

9. BLOOD: HND lahū (10), DKH lhau (10), PNJ lahū (10), PTH lahū (10), HNK rat (115), GJR rat (115) DGR lahu (10), LHD ratt (115) SND ratu (115) RAJ lohī (10), GUJ lohī (10), MAR rakt (-3), BNG rōkto (-1), ASS tez (330), NEP ragat (-1), SNG lē (10), MAL ley (10), KOT lou (10), HIM laū (10), KUL lōhu (10), MND lahū (10), ORY rakta (-1), AWD rakat (-2), KUM lwe (10), ROM rat (115), KNK ragat (-2), DUM rot (115), BRJ lohī (10), GRH loi (10), PRY law (10), MAI lohū (10), KCH ratt (115), MEW khūn (-1), WGD khōn (-1), BNJ loi (10)

9a. BLOOD: PNJ ratt (115), PTH rat (115), HNK lahū (10), DGR ratt (115), KCH lui (10)

10. BONE: HND haḍḍī (11), DKH haḍ (11), PNJ haḍḍī (11), PTH haḍī (11), HNK haḍḍī (11), GJR haḍḍī (11), DGR haḍḍī (11), LHD haḍḍī (11), SND haḍ'o (11), RAJ hāḍ (11), GUJ hāḍkū (11), MAR hāḍ (11), BNG haḥ (11), ASS haḥ (11), NEP hāḍ (11), SNG āṭaya (388), MAL kaṣi (526), KOT haḍḍ (11), HIM āḍ (11), KUL hāḍka (11), MND haḍḍī (11), ORY hāḍa (11), AWD hār (11), KUM hār (11), ROM kokalo (-2), KNK hāḍ (11), DUM hoṭ (11), BRJ haḍḍī (11), GRH hāḍ (11), PRY haḍi (11), MAI haḍḍī (11), KCH haḍo (11), MEW haḍḍī (11), WGD haḍko (11), BNJ haḍkā (11)

11. BREAST: HND chātī (12), DKH chātī (12), PNJ chātī (12), PTH chātī (12), HNK mammā (478), GJR chātī (12), DGR chātī (12), LHD bubbā (154), SND chātī (12), RAJ chātī (12), GUJ chātī (12), MAR chātī (-4), BNG buk (297), ASS buku (297), NEP chātī (12), SNG ḷaya (116), MAL buk (297), KOT cui (141), HIM chātī (12), KUL chātī (12), MND hik (116), ORY chātī (12), AWD chātī (12), KUM chātī (12), ROM kolin (592), KNK hardhen (116), DUM titiro (-4), BRJ chātī (12), GRH ? (-1), PRY hik (116), MAI chātī (12), KCH thaṇ (655), MEW chātī (12), WGD sāti (12), BNJ chātī (12)

11a. BREAST: PNJ hikk (116), DGR hikkṛū (116), SND urahu (178), RAJ bobau (154), MAL uramathi (178), KUL hik (116), MND chātī (12), ORY buku (297)

12. BURN TR.: HND jalā- (13), DKH jāl- (13), PNJ bāl- (13), PTH sār- (117), HNK sār- (117), GJR sār- (117), DGR bāl- (13), LHD bāl- (13), SND sār- (117), RAJ phūk- (505), GUJ bāl- (13), MAR jāl- (13), BNG pora- (298), ASS por- (298), NEP bāl- (13), SNG dava- (217), MAL ada- (217), KOT dzaḷ- (13), HIM bāl- (13), KUL phukh- (505), MND phukh- (505), ORY poṛi- (298), AWD jarā- (13), KUM jal- (13), ROM phabar- (593), KNK jaḷayi- (13), DUM dāi- (-5), BRJ jāl- (13), GRH jagau- (653), PRY jal- (13), MAI jār- (13), KCH bār- (13), MEW jalā- (13), WGD jal- (13), BNJ bāl- (13)

12a. BURN TR.: PNJ sār- (117), bāl- (13), GJR jāl- (13), DGR sār- (117), LHD sār- (117), SND b'ār- (13), RAJ jaḷā- (13), BNG jala- (13), NEP ḍarḥāu- (217), SNG pulussa- (390), KOT d5- (217), MND baḷā- (13), AWD ḍarḥiā- (217), PRY sar бага- (117)

13. NAIL: HND nāḅun (-1), DKH nhũ (14), PNJ nahũ (14), PTH nũ (14), HNK nũh (14), GJR nahũ (14), DGR naũ (14), LHD nũ (14), SND nāhũ (14), RAJ noriyau (14), GUJ nakh (14), MAR nakh (14), BNG nɔkh (14), ASS nɔkh (14), NEP naṇ (14), SNG niyapotta (14), MAL niyafathi (14), KOT nɔš (14), HIM nɔkh (14), KUL nh5š (14), MND nəh (14), ORY nakha (14), AWD nah (14), KUM naṇ (14), ROM unjiya (-3), KNK naṇkuṭ (14), DUM naurā (-6), BRJ nɔh5 (14), GRH nang (14), PRY nuk (-2), MAI nah (14), KCH nō (14), MEW nũh (14), WGD nɔkh (14), BNJ nak (14)

14. CLOUD: HND bādal (15), DKH abhāl (465), PNJ baddal (15), PTH baddal (15), HNK jhaṛ (155), GJR jhaṛ (155), DGR badal (15), LHD baddal (15), SND kakaru (179), RAJ bādḷau (15), GUJ vādḷū (15), MAR ḍhag (272), BNG barid (-2), ASS badɔl (15), NEP bādal (15), SNG valākula (391), MAL vilā (391), KOT badəḷ (15), HIM baddal (15), KUL bādəḷ (15), MND baddal (15), ORY megha (-2), AWD bādar (15), KUM bādal (15), ROM nuvero (-4), KNK moḍ (-3), DUM burinč (-7), BRJ badalore (15), GRH bādal (15), PRY badal (15), MAI bādari (15), KCH vāḍar (15), MEW bādar (15), WGD wādlo (15), BNJ abāl (465)

14a. CLOUD: PTH jhaṛ (155)

15. COLD: HND ṭhaṇḍā (458), DKH ṭhaṇḍā (458), PNJ ṭhaṇḍā (458), PTH ṭhaṇḍā (458), HNK ṭhaṇḍā (458), GJR ṭhaṇḍo (458), DGR ṭhaṇḍā (458), LHD ṭhaḍḍhā (458), SND ṭhadho (458), RAJ

ṭhaṇḍau (458), GUJ ṭhaṇḍū (458), MAR ṭhaṇḍ (458), BNG ṭhaṇḍa (458), ASS thanda (458), NEP ciso (332), SNG sisil (392), MAL fini (528), KOT šillo (218), HIM ṭhaṇḍā (458), KUL ṭhaṇḍa (458), MND ṭhaṇḍa (458), ORY ṭhaṇḍā (458), AWD ṭhaṇḍh (458), KUM ṭhaṇḍo (458), ROM šilalo (218), KNK ṭhaṇḍ (458), DUM šildā (218), BRJ siāro (218), GRH ṭhaṇḍo (458), PRY yaḥ (-3), MAI ṭhār (458), KCH thadho (458), MEW siro (218), WGD ṭaḍu (458), BNJ siḷo (218)
15a COLD: KNK šeḷo (218) MEW ṭhaṇḍho (458)

16. COME: HND ā- (16), DKH ā(v)- (16), PNJ ā- (16), PTH as- (181) HNK (16), GJR ā- (16), DGR au- (16), LHD āv- (16), SND ac- (180) RAJ āv- (16), GUJ av- (16), MAR ye- (180) BNG aš- (301), ASS ah- (301), NEP āu- (16), SNG e- (180), MAL ai- (180) KOT ā- (16), HIM ā- (16), KUL āw- (16), MND āu- (16), ORY ās- (301), AWD ā- (16), KUM ū- (16), ROM av- (16), KNK yo- (180), DUM (16), BRJ ā- (16), GRH ā- (16), PRY a- (16), MAI ā- (16), KCH ac- (180), MEW (16), WGD (16), BNJ ā- (16)

16a. COME: SND āy- (181), MAR ālā- (181), BNG ail- (181), NEP āy- (181), KOT ach- (181), KUL ye- (180), ORY ail- (181), KNK āyil- (181), KCH āy- (181)

17. DIE: HND mar- (17), DKH mar- (17), PNJ mar- (17), PTH mar- (17), HNK mar- (17), GJR mar- (17), DGR mar- (17), LHD mar- (17), SND mar- (17), RAJ mar- (17), GUJ mar- (17), MAR mar- (17), BNG mār- (17), ASS mār- (17), NEP mar- (17), SNG märe- (17), MAL maru- (17), KOT mār- (17), HIM mar- (17), KUL mār- (17), MND mar- (17), ORY mar- (17), AWD mar- (17), KUM mar- (17), ROM mer- (17), KNK mar- (17), DUM mar- (17), BRJ mar- (17), GRH mar- (17), PRY mar- (17), MAI mar- (17), KCH mar- (17), MEW mar- (17), WGD mar- (17), BNJ mar- (17)

18. DOG: HND kuttā (18), DKH kuttā (18), PNJ kuttā (18), PTH kuttā (18), HNK kuttā (18), GJR kuto (18), DGR kuttā (18), LHD kuttā (18), SND kutto (18), RAJ kutau (18), GUJ kutro (18), MAR kutrā (18), BNG kukur (302), ASS kukur (302), NEP kukur (302), SNG ballā (394), MAL baḷu (394), KOT kukkər (302), HIM kuttā (18), KUL kutta (18), MND kutta (18), ORY kukkura (302), AWD kūkur (302), KUM kukur (302), ROM žukel (595), KNK kutro (18), DUM šuno (-8), BRJ kuttā (18), GRH kukur (302), PRY kuto (18), MAI kukkur (302), KCH kauto (18), MEW kutto (18), WGD kutro (18), BNJ kutrā (18)

18a. DOG: MAL kutthā (18)

19. DRINK: HND pī- (19), DKH pī(v)- (19), PNJ pī- (19), PTH pī- (19), HNK pī- (19), GJR pī- (19), DGR pī- (19), LHD pīv- (19), SND pī- (19), RAJ pī- (19), GUJ pi- (19), MAR pi- (19), BNG kha- (303), ASS pi- (19), NEP piu- (19), SNG bo- (19), MAL bo- (19), KOT pī- (19), HIM pī- (19), KUL pī- (19), MND pī- (19), ORY pī- (19), AWD pi- (19), KUM pī- (19), ROM pi- (19), KNK pī- (19), DUM pi- (19), BRJ pī- (19), GRH pya- (19), PRY pi- (19), MAI pī- (19), KCH pī- (19), MEW pī- (19), WGD pī- (19), BNJ pi- (19)

20. DRY: HND sukhā (20), DKH sukkā (20), PNJ sukkā (20), PTH sukkā (20), HNK sukkā (20), GJR suko (20), DGR sukkā (20), LHD sukkā (20), SND sukalu (20), RAJ sūkhou (20), GUJ sukū (20), MAR sukhā (20), BNG šukno (20), ASS xukan (20), NEP sukkho (20), SNG viyaḷi (456), MAL hiki (20), KOT šukkhə (20), HIM sukk(20), KUL ? (-2), MND sukhā (20), ORY sukhila (20), AWD sukhā(20), KUM sukko (20), ROM šuko (20), KNK sukk(h)o (20), DUM sukhā (20), BRJ sukho (20), GRH sukhyū (20), PRY suke (20), MAI sukkhā (20), KCH saukko (20), MEW sūkhā (20), WGD suko (20), BNJ suko (20)

21. EAR: HND kār (21), DKH kār (21), PNJ kann (21), PTH kan (21), HNK kaṇ (21), GJR kaṇ (21), DGR kann (21), LHD kan (21), SND kanu (21), RAJ kār (21), GUJ kār (21), MAR kār (21),

BNG kaṇ (21), ASS kaṇ (21), NEP kān (21), SNG kana (21), MAL kanfaiy (21), KOT kān (21), HIM kān (21), KUL kōn (21), MND kān (21), ORY kāṇa (21), AWD kān (21), KUM kān (21), ROM kan (21), KNK kānu (21), DUM koṇ (21), BRJ kān (21), GRH kān (21), PRY kan (21), MAI kān (21), KCH kann (21), MEW kān (21), WGD kān (21), BNJ kān (21)

22. EARTH: HND dhartī (22), DKH dharat (22), PNJ dhartī (22), PTH miṭṭī (157), HNK dhartī (22), GJR dhartī (22), DGR dhartī (22), LHD bhoē (118), SND dhartī (22), RAJ dhartī (22), GUJ dhartī (22), MAR bhuī (118), BNG maṭi (157), ASS (157), NEP dhartī (22), SNG pasa (396), MAL bin (118), KOT bhuī (118), HIM dhartī (22), KUL dharti (22), MND dhartī (22), ORY māṭi (157), AWD dhartī (22), KUM māṭo (157), ROM phuv (118), KNK bhūyi (118), DUM čhor (623), BRJ dhartī (22), GRH dharti (22), PRY zimīn (-4), MAI māṭi (157), KCH miṭṭī (157), MEW bhūm (118), WGD dhartī (22), BNJ dharti (22)

22a. EARTH: DKH bhū (118), PNJ bhō (118), GJR miṭi (157), MAR māṭi (157), NEP māṭo (157), SNG poḷova (397), KOT maṭṭi (157), MND bhūy (118), AWD bhuī (118), KUM bhī (118), KNK māṭi (157), MEW dharatī (22)

23. EAT: HND khā- (23), DKH khā- (23), PNJ khā- (23), PTH khā- (23), HNK khā- (23), GJR khā- (23), DGR khā- (23), LHD khā- (23), SND khā- (23), RAJ khāv- (23), GUJ khā- (23), MAR khā- (23), BNG kha- (23), ASS kha- (23), NEP khā- (23), SNG ka- (23), MAL ka- (23), KOT khā- (23), HIM khā- (23), KUL khā- (23), MND khā- (23), ORY khā- (23), AWD khā- (23), KUM khā- (23), ROM xa- (23), KNK kha- (23), DUM khā- (23), BRJ khā- (23), GRH khā- (23), PRY kha- (23), MAI khā- (23), KCH khāy- (23), MEW khā- (23), WGD khāy- (23), BNJ khā- (23)

24. EGG: HND aṇḍā (24), DKH aṇḍ(r)ā (24), PNJ aṇḍā (24), PTH aṇḍā (24), HNK aṭṛā (24), GJR āṇṭro (24), DGR aṇḍā (24), LHD āṇā (24), SND āno (24), RAJ aṇḍau (24), GUJ iṇḍū (24), MAR aṇḍē (24), BNG ḍim (304), ASS ḍima (304), NEP aṇḍā (24), SNG aṇḍa (24), MAL bis (398), KOT pinne (442), HIM aṇḍā (24), KUL aṇḍa (24), MND aṇḍa (24), ORY ḍim (304), AWD aṇḍā (24), KUM aṇḍa (24), ROM anro (24), KNK tanthe (-4), DUM tigon (-9), BRJ aṇḍā (24), GRH aṇḍru (24), PRY aṇḍō (24), MAI ḍim (304), KCH iṇō (24), MEW aṇḍā (24), WGD eḍā (24), BNJ iṇḍā (24)

25. EYE: HND ākh (25), DKH ankhī (25), PNJ akkh (25), PTH akh (25), HNK akh (25), GJR akh (25), DGR akkh (25), LHD akkh (25), SND akhi (25), RAJ ākh (25), GUJ ākh (25), MAR ḍolā (274), BNG cokh (305), ASS soku (305), NEP ākhā (25), SNG āsa (25), MAL lō (529), KOT akkh (25), HIM ākh (25), KUL hōkhi (25), MND hākh (25), ORY ākhi (25), AWD ākhi (25), KUM ākho (25), ROM yak(h) (25), KNK doḷo (274), DUM ač (25), BRJ āk (25), GRH ākho (25), PRY ank (25), MAI ākh (25), KCH akh (25), MEW ākh (25), WGD ākh (25), BNJ āngki (25)

26. FAT N.: HND carbī (-2), DKH carbī (-1), PNJ carbī (-1), PTH thendā (474), HNK mēj (158), GJR carbī (-1), DGR mīj (158), LHD carbī (-1), SND carbī (-1), RAJ čigtau (220), GUJ carbī (-1), MAR carbī (-5), BNG corbi (-3), ASS sōrbi (-1), NEP boso (361), SNG tela (399), MAL ? (-1), KOT cikṭo (220), HIM carbī (-1), KUL ? (-3), MND miṇj (158), ORY carbī (-3), AWD carbī (-3), KUM baso (361), ROM čiken (220), KNK vos (361), DUM mao (-10), BRJ carbī (-2), GRH bāvāli (654), PRY lant (645), MAI carbī (-2), KCH carbī (-1), MEW carbī (-2), WGD carbī (-2), BNJ maḷāi (670)

26a. FAT N.: KOT mīndz (158)

27. FEATHER: HND pākh (26), DKH pākh (26), PNJ pākh (26), PTH par (-1), HNK kham (119), GJR khamm (119), DGR phāgh (26), LHD par (-2), SND khambh (119), RAJ pākh (26), GUJ pīchū (250), MAR pākh (26), BNG palok (306), ASS pakhi (26), NEP pvākh (26), SNG

pihāṭuva (250), MAL dūnifaiy (250), KOT pankh (26), HIM pākh (26), KUL pankh (26), MND pānkx (26), ORY pālak (306), AWD paṅkh (26), KUM pankh (26), ROM por (-5), KNK pāk (26), DUM ? (-11), BRJ pākh (26), GRH ? (-2), PRY par (-5), MAI picch (250), KCH ? (-2), MEW pankhī (26), WGD pakx (26), BNJ pangkoḍā (26)

27a. FEATHER: PNJ khābh (119), GJR pakkh (26), DGR khambh (119), SND pakkhu (26), GUJ pākh (26), MAR pīs (250)

28. FIRE: HND āg (27), DKH ag (27), PNJ agg (27), PTH ag (27), HNK ag (27), GJR ag (27), DGR agg (27), LHD bhāh (679), SND bāhi (679), RAJ āg (27), GUJ āg (27), MAR āg (27), BNG agun (-4), ASS zui (334), NEP āgo (27), SNG ginna (-2), MAL alifān (531), KOT āg (27), HIM āg (27), KUL āg (27), MND āg (27), ORY niā (673), AWD āgi (27), KUM āgo (27), ROM yag (27), KNK ujo (334), DUM ak (27), BRJ āge (27), GRH āg (27), PRY ak (27), MAI āgi (27), KCH āg (-3), MEW āgi (27), WGD āgi (27), BNJ angār (671)

29. FISH: HND machlī (28), DKH macchī (28), PNJ macchī (28), PTH machlī (28), HNK macchī (28), GJR machī (28), DGR macchī (28), LHD machī (28), SND machī (28), RAJ māchli (28), GUJ māchli (28), MAR māsā (28), BNG mach (28), ASS mas (28), NEP māchā (28), SNG māluvā (-3), MAL mas (28), KOT macchi (28), HIM macchī (28), KUL machli (28), MND macchī (28), ORY mächha (28), AWD macharī (28), KUM mācho (28), ROM mašo (28), KNK māsoḷi (28), DUM čumo (-12), BRJ macchī (28), GRH māchu (28), PRY mači (28), MAI mäch (28), KCH machi (28), MEW macchī (28), WGD machli (28), BNJ mācli (28)

30. FLY V.: HND uṛ- (29), DKH uṛ- (29), PNJ uḍḍ- (29), PTH uḍar- (29), HNK uḍ(ar)- (29), GJR uḍ- (29), DGR uḍḍ- (29), LHD uḍḍ- (29), SND uḍ'ir- (29), RAJ uḍ- (29), GUJ uḍ- (29), MAR uḍ- (29), BNG uṛe ja- (29), ASS ur- (29), NEP uḍ- (29), SNG piyāmba- (401), MAL uduh- (532), KOT ŕeu- (29), HIM uḍ- (29), KUL uḍḍ- (29), MND uḍ- (29), ORY uṛ- (29), AWD uṛ- (29), KUM uṛ- (29), ROM (h)urr- (29), KNK uḍ- (29), DUM duwal- (-13), BRJ uṛ- (29), GRH uṛ- (29), PRY uḍ- (29), MAI uṛ- (29), KCH auḍ- (29), MEW uṛ- (29), WGD uḍ- (29), BNJ waḍ- (29)

31. FOOT: HND pair (30), DKH pāḍ (30), PNJ pair (30), PTH pair (30), HNK pair (30), GJR pair (30), DGR pair (30), LHD pēr (30), SND per (30), RAJ pag (30), GUJ pag (30), MAR pāy (30), BNG pa (30), ASS pau (30), NEP pāu (30), SNG paya (30), MAL faithila (30), KOT pau (30), HIM pair (30), KUL per (30), MND pair (30), ORY pā (30), AWD pag (30), KUM khuṭṭo (587), ROM punrro (596), KNK pāy (30), DUM po (30), BRJ pair (30), GRH khuṭṭu (587), PRY per (30), MAI pa (30), KCH pag (30), MEW pēr (30), WGD pog (30), BNJ pak (30)

32. FULL: HND bharā (31), DKH pūrbhar (31), PNJ bhariyā (31), PTH pūrā (32), HNK pūrā (32), GJR pūro (32), DGR pūrā (32), LHD bhareā (31), SND bhariyalu (31), RAJ pūr (32), GUJ pūrū (32), MAR bharlelē (31), BNG bhōra (31), ASS pur (32), NEP bhari (31), SNG piri (32), MAL furifai (32), KOT bhōro (31), HIM bhareādā (31), KUL bhōru (31), MND bharyā (31), ORY pūra (32), AWD purhar (32), KUM purro (32), ROM pherdo (31), KNK bharti (31), DUM ? (-14), BRJ puriyo (32), GRH bharyū (31), PRY par (31), MAI bharit (31), KCH sajo (656), MEW pūro (32), WGD bhareo (31), BNJ bharo (31)

32a. FULL: HND pūrā (32), DKH pūrā (32), PNJ pūrā (32), PTH bhariyā (31), HNK bhariyā (31), GJR bhariyo (31), DGR bharā (31), LHD pūrā (32), SND pūro (32), RAJ bharpūr (31), GUJ bharpūr (31), MAR purā (32), BNG pura (32), ASS bhōra (31), KOT puro (32), HIM pūrā (32), MND pūra (32), ORY bhari (31), AWD bharā (31), KUM bhariyo (31), GRH pūru (32), KCH bhariyo (31)

33. GIVE: HND de- (33), DKH de(v)- (33), PNJ de- (33), PTH de- (33), HNK de- (33), GJR de- (33), DGR de- (33), LHD dev- (33), SND d'i- (33), RAJ de- (33), GUJ de- (33), MAR de- (33), BNG de- (33), ASS di- (33), NEP di- (33), SNG de- (33), MAL din- (33), KOT de- (33), HIM de- (33), KUL de- (33), MND de- (33), ORY de- (33), AWD de- (33), KUM di- (33), ROM de- (33), KNK di- (33), DUM de- (33), BRJ dew- (33), GRH di- (33), PRY de- (33), MAI de- (33), KCH dev- (33), MEW de- (33), WGD de- (33), BNJ de- (33)

34. GOOD: HND acchā (34), DKH acchā (34), PNJ hachā (34), PTH acchā (34), HNK hacchā (34), GJR acho (34), DGR cangā (120), LHD cangā (120), SND cango (120), RAJ acchau (34), GUJ bhalo (184), MAR cāglā (120), BNG bhalo (184), ASS bhal (184), NEP ramro (362), SNG hoñda (402), MAL rangaļu (533), KOT bhob (184), HIM acchā (34), KUL bhala (184), MND kharā (554), ORY bhala (184), AWD nīk (466), KUM niko (466), ROM lašo (34), KNK cāg (120), DUM šonā (624), BRJ ācho (34), GRH accho (34), PRY hačo (34), MAI nīk (466), KCH cangho (120), MEW bhalo (184), WGD haue (661), BNJ āco (34)

34a. GOOD: DKH nīkā (466), PNJ cangā (120), PTH cangā (120), HNK cangā (120), GJR cango (120), DGR kharā (494), RAJ bhalau (184), NEP bhalo (184), SNG manā (403), KUL khəra (554), MND bhallā (184), AWD acchā (34), KUM ācho (34), GRH bhalu (184)

35. GREEN: HND harā (35), DKH haryā (35), PNJ har(i)ā (35), PTH harā (35), HNK sāvā (160), GJR nīlo (253), DGR saillā (495), LHD sāvā (160), SND sāo (160), RAJ līlau (253), GUJ lilo (253), MAR hirvā (35), BNG šobuj (-5), ASS xeuj (-2), NEP hariyo (35), SNG palāvan (404), MAL fehikulaige (534), KOT hōro (35), HIM arā (35), KUL hōra (35), MND saillā (495), ORY sabujā (-4), AWD hariar (35), KUM hariyo (35), ROM zeleno (-6), KNK pācve (612), DUM jutšiqam (-15), BRJ haro (35), GRH haryū (35), PRY sōz (-6), MAI sabuj (-3), KCH sāo (160), MEW haro (35), WGD haro (35), BNJ haro (35)

35a. GREEN: GJR hariyo (35), RAJ harau (35), MND harā (35)

36. HAIR: HND bāl (36), DKH bāl (36), PNJ vāl (36), PTH bāl (36), HNK bāl (36), GJR bāl (36), DGR kes (185), LHD vāl (36), SND vār (36), RAJ bāl (36), GUJ vāl (36), MAR kēs (185), BNG cul (308), ASS suli (308), NEP bāl (36), SNG kespata (185), MAL isthaši (535), KOT bāl (36), HIM bāl (36), KUL šērāl (36), MND bālḥ (36), ORY cuḷi (308), AWD bār (36), KUM bāl (36), ROM bal (36), KNK kes (185), DUM jāṭ (-16), BRJ bāl (36), GRH bāl (36), PRY bal (36), MAI kes (185), KCH vār (36), MEW bāl (36), WGD wāl (36), BNJ laṭṭā (672)

36a. HAIR: DKH kes (185), SND kes (185), BNG keš (185), KUL cōḍha (308), MND kes (185)

37. HAND: HND hāth (37), DKH hāt (37), PNJ hatth (37), PTH hath (37), HNK hath (37), GJR hath (37), DGR hatth (37), LHD hatth (37), SND hathu (37), RAJ hāth (37), GUJ hāth (37), MAR hāt (37), BNG hat (37), ASS hat (37), NEP hāt (37), SNG ata (37), MAL aiy (37), KOT hatth (37), HIM āth (37), KUL hōth (37), MND hāth (37), ORY hāta (37), AWD hāth (37), KUM hāth (37), ROM vast (37), KNK hāt (37), DUM hat (37), BRJ hāt (37), GRH hāt(h) (37), PRY hat (37), MAI hāth (37), KCH hath (37), MEW hāt (37), WGD at (37), BNJ hāt (37)

38. HEAD: HND sir (38), DKH sir (38), PNJ sir (38), PTH sir (38), HNK sir (38), GJR sir (38), DGR sir (38), LHD sir (38), SND siru (38), RAJ māthau (186), GUJ mātḥū (186), MAR ḍokē (254), BNG matha (186), ASS mur (338), NEP munṭo (338), SNG hisa (38), MAL is (38), KOT mūṇḍ (338), HIM mūṇḍ (338), KUL sir (38), MND sir (38), ORY muṇḍa (338), AWD mūr (338), KUM muṇḍo (338), ROM šero (38), KNK matte (186), DUM šuṭo (38), BRJ mātho (186), GRH muṇḍ (38), PRY sar (38), MAI mātḥ (186), KCH ḍogo (254), MEW mātḥ (186), WGD monḍ (338), BNJ mātō (338)

38a. HEAD: SND matho (186), GUJ ɖokũ (254), BNG šir (38), ASS xir (38), NEP sir (38), KOT šir (38), HIM sir (38), MND mũᅇ (338), AWD kapār (581), KUM sir (38), GRH sir (38), MAI mūr (338), KCH matho (186) MEW sir (38)

39. HEAR: HND sun- (39), DKH sun- (39), PNJ suᅇ- (39), PTH suᅇ- (39), HNK suᅇ- (39), GJR suᅇ- (39), DGR sun- (39), LHD suᅇ- (39), SND b'udh- (187), RAJ suᅇ- (39), GUJ sām̄baᅇ- (255), MAR aik- (275), BNG šon- (39), ASS xun- (39), NEP sun- (39), SNG asa- (39), MAL iv- (39), KOT šuᅇ- (39), HIM suᅇ- (39), KUL šuᅇ- (39), MND suᅇ- (39), ORY šuᅇ- (39), AWD sun- (39), KUM suᅇ- (39), ROM šun- (39), KNK aik- (275), DUM paruj- (-17), BRJ sun- (39), GRH suᅇ- (39), PRY sun- (39), MAI sun- (39), KCH soᅇ- (39), MEW suᅇ- (39), WGD āyak- (275), BNJ sām̄aᅇ- (255)

40. HEART: HND dil (-3), DKH hiyā (161), PNJ dil (-2), PTH kalejā (143), HNK dil (-2), GJR kāljo (143), DGR dil (-1), LHD hā (161), SND hō (161), RAJ hīyau (161), GUJ dil (-2), MAR hRday (-6), BNG rhitpiᅇᅇ (-6), ASS hiya (161), NEP muᅇtu (365), SNG ļaya (161), MAL hīy (161), KOT hiᅇ (161), HIM kāl̄jā (143), KUL dil (-4), MND dil (-1), ORY hrudaya (-5), AWD dil (-4), KUM hiyo (161), ROM ilo (161), KNK kāl̄ij (143), DUM ya (161), BRJ hiruday (-3), GRH jikuru (655), PRY hik (161), MAI hia (161), KCH hīyo (161), MEW hiye (161), WGD dil (-3), BNJ dal (-1)

40a. HEART: RAJ kāl̄jau (143), ASS koliza (143), PRY kilijo (143), MEW kāl̄ejā (143)

41. HORN: HND sīᅇᅇ (40), DKH sing (40), PNJ sīᅇᅇ (40), PTH sing (40), HNK sīᅇᅇ (40), GJR sīᅇᅇ (40), DGR sīᅇᅇ (40), LHD sīᅇᅇ (40), SND sīᅇᅇ (40), RAJ sīg (40), GUJ sīᅇᅇᅇᅇ (40), MAR šīᅇᅇ (40), BNG šīᅇᅇ (40), ASS xīᅇᅇ (40), NEP sīᅇᅇ (40), SNG (h)anga (40), MAL daᅇu (537), KOT šīᅇᅇ (40), HIM sīᅇᅇ (40), KUL sīᅇᅇᅇᅇ (40), MND sīᅇᅇ (40), ORY šīᅇᅇᅇᅇ (40), AWD sīᅇᅇᅇᅇ (40), KUM sīᅇᅇ (40), ROM šīᅇᅇ (40), KNK šīᅇᅇ (40), DUM šīᅇᅇ (40), BRJ sīᅇᅇ (40), GRH sīᅇᅇ (40), PRY šax (-7), MAI sīg (40), KCH sīᅇᅇᅇᅇ (40), MEW sīᅇᅇ (40), WGD hengro (40), BNJ sīᅇᅇᅇᅇ (40)

42. I: HND māi (41), DKH māi (41), PNJ māi (41), PTH māi (41), HNK mē (41), GJR hũ (41), DGR aũ (41), LHD māi (41), SND āũ (41), RAJ hũ (41), GUJ hũ (41), MAR mī (41), BNG ami (309), ASS moi (41), NEP ma (41), SNG mama (41), MAL ma (41), KOT mũ (41), HIM aũ (41), KUL hāw (41), MND hāu (41), ORY mui (41), AWD mahũ (41), KUM mē (41), ROM me (41), KNK āv (41), DUM u (41), BRJ me (41), GRH mi (41), PRY me (41), MAI ham (309), KCH āũ (41), MEW mũ (41), WGD hu (41), BNJ ma (41)

43. KILL: HND mār- (42), DKH mār- (42), PNJ mār- (42), PTH mār- (42), HNK mār- (42), GJR mār- (42), DGR mār- (42), LHD mār- (42), SND mār- (42), RAJ mār- (42), GUJ mār- (42), MAR ᅇhār mār- (42), BNG mere phel- (42), ASS mār- (42), NEP mār- (42), SNG mar- (42), MAL mara- (42), KOT mar- (42), HIM mār- (42), KUL mār- (42), MND mār- (42), ORY mār- (42), AWD mār- (42), KUM mār- (42), ROM mudar- (42), KNK mār- (42), DUM mār- (42), BRJ mār- (42), GRH mār- (42), PRY mar- (42), MAI mār- (42), KCH mār- (42), MEW mār- (42), WGD mār- (42), BNJ mār nāk- (42)

44. KNEE: HND ghuᅇᅇnā (43), DKH guᅇᅇᅇᅇ (122), PNJ goᅇᅇ (122), PTH goᅇᅇ (122), HNK jannũ (144), GJR janũ (144), DGR goᅇᅇᅇᅇ (122), LHD goᅇᅇ (122), SND goᅇ'o (122), RAJ goᅇᅇᅇ (122), GUJ ghũᅇᅇᅇ (122), MAR guᅇᅇᅇᅇ (122), BNG hāᅇtu (225), ASS āᅇᅇᅇ (225), NEP ghunᅇᅇ (43), SNG daᅇᅇ (144), MAL kakũ (538), KOT dzaᅇᅇ (144), HIM jaᅇᅇᅇ (144), KUL jāᅇᅇᅇᅇ (144), MND jāᅇᅇᅇᅇ (144), ORY āᅇᅇᅇ (225), AWD ? (-5), KUM ghũᅇᅇᅇ (43), ROM čang (597), KNK dimbi

(613), DUM kuṭā (-18), BRJ ? (-4), GRH ghūḍu (43), PRY janu (144), MAI ṭhehun (636), KCH gūḍo (122), MEW ghuṭṇo (43), WGD ? (-4), BNJ goḍo (122)

44a. KNEE: HNK guḍḍar (122), DGR jāhnū (144), MND goḍḍā (122)

45. KNOW: HND jān- (44), DKH jān- (44), PNJ jān- (44), PTH jān- (44), HNK jān- (44), GJR jān- (44), DGR jān- (44), LHD jān- (44), SND jān- (44), RAJ jān- (44), GUJ jān- (44), MAR jān- (44), BNG jan- (44), ASS zan- (44), NEP jān- (44), SNG dan- (44), MAL danna- (44), KOT dzañ- (44), HIM jān- (44), KUL jān- (44), MND jān- (44), ORY jān- (44), AWD jān- (44), KUM jār- (44), ROM žan- (44), KNK jān- (44), DUM ? (-19), BRJ jān- (44), GRH jañ- (44), PRY samj- (662), MAI jān- (44),

KCH jān- (44), MEW jān- (44), WGD jan- (44), BNJ jañ- (44)

46. LEAF: HND pattā (45), DKH pattā (45), PNJ pattar (45), PTH pattā (45), HNK pattar (45), GJR patar (45), DGR pattar (45), LHD pātar (45), SND panu (189), RAJ pattau (45), GUJ pāḍrū (189), MAR pān (189), BNG pata (45), ASS pat (45), NEP pāt (45), SNG pata (45), MAL faiy (45), KOT pāč (45), HIM pattā (45), KUL pōttrə (45), MND pattar (45), ORY patra (-6), AWD pātā (45), KUM pāt (45), ROM patrin (45), KNK pān (189), DUM poṭ (-20), BRJ pattī (45), GRH pathala (45), PRY barg (-8), MAI pāt (45), KCH pann (189), MEW pattā (45), WGD patto (45), BNJ pālo (570)

46a. LEAF: RAJ pānrau (189), GUJ pataru (45), KNK pāllo (570)

47. LIE: HND leṭ- (46), DKH paṛ- (47), PNJ leṭ- (46), PTH leṭ- (46), HNK lamā ho- (479), GJR lamū ho- (479), DGR leṭ- (46), LHD leṭ- (46), SND leṭ- (46), RAJ loṭ- (508), GUJ leṭ- (46), MAR nij- (277), BNG šue thak- (310), ASS pari thok- (47), NEP leṭi rah- (46), SNG hansivī hiṭin- (407), MAL doguhed- (408), KOT pōṛ- (47), HIM leṭ- (46), KUL leṭ- (46), MND lambā pai- (47), ORY šo- (310), AWD paūrḥ- (582), KUM paṛ- (47), ROM pašlo- (278), KNK āḍ poḍ- (47) DUM jek- (-21), BRJ leṭ- (46), GRH paṛ- (47), PRY paṛ- (47), MAI leṭ- (46), KCH leṭ- (46), MEW leṭ- (46), WGD so- (310), BNJ āḍo paḍ- (47)

47a. LIE: HND paṛ- (47), PNJ lamme pai- (47), HNK pe- (47), GJR pe- (47), LHD pē- (47), SND pav- (47), RAJ paṛ- (47), GUJ paḍ- (47), MAR pasarlelē as- (278), NEP sut- (310), SNG digāvī hiṭin- (408), MAL oiy- (310), KOT leṭ- (46), KUL lōmme pōw- (47), MND leṭ- (46), MEW so- (310)

48. LIVER: HND kalejā (48), DKH kalejā (48), PNJ kalejā (48), PTH jigar (-2), HNK jigrā (-3), GJR kāljo (48), DGR kalejā (48), LHD kalejī (48), SND jero (190), RAJ kāljau (48), GUJ kalejā (48), MAR yakRt (-7), BNG jōkrit (-7), ASS zōkrit (-3), NEP kalejo (48), SNG akmāva (410), MAL mey (539), KOT kaldzo (-1), HIM kāljā (48), KUL kālja (48), MND kāljā (48), ORY kalijā (48), AWD karej (48), KUM phyātto (588), ROM buko (496), KNK kālij (48), DUM kaulā (625), BRJ haṇḍe (631), GRH ? (-3), PRY kiliji (48), MAI yakRt (-4), KCH jigar (-4), MEW gurdā (-3), WGD kaljā (48), BNJ koljo (48)

49. LONG: HND lambā (49), DKH lāmbā (49), PNJ lammā (49), PTH lammā (49), HNK lammā (49), GJR lamū (49), DGR lammā (49), LHD lambā (49), SND ḍigho (191), RAJ lambau (49), GUJ lāmbū (49), MAR lāb (49), BNG lōmba (49), ASS dighol (191), NEP lamo (49), SNG dik (191), MAL digu (191), KOT lambō (49), HIM lambā (49), KUL lōmma (49), MND lambā (49), ORY lambā (49), AWD lambā (49), KUM lambo (49), ROM lungo (-7), KNK ḍig (191), DUM jīgā (-22), BRJ lambo (49), GRH lambu (49), PRY lamo (49), MAI lambā (49), KCH lamo (49), MEW lambo (49), WGD lambo (49), BNJ lāmbō (49)

49a. LONG: SND lambo (49), ASS lōmba (49)

50. LOUSE: HND jũ (50), DKH jũ (50), PNJ jũ (50), PTH jũā (50), HNK jũ (50), GJR jũ (50), DGR jũ (50), LHD juā (50), SND jũa (50), RAJ jũ (50), GUJ jũ (50), MAR ū (50), BNG ukuṇ (311), ASS okoṇi (311), NEP jumrā (50), SNG ukuṇā (311), MAL ukunu (311), KOT jũ (50), HIM jũ (50), KUL jũ (50), MND jũ (50), ORY ukuṇi (311), AWD juā (50), KUM jũo (50), ROM žuv (50), KNK ū (50), DUM jũya (50), BRJ jũl (50), GRH jũ (50), PRY jũ (50), MAI jũ (50), KCH jũ (50), MEW jũ (50), WGD jũ (50), BNJ jũ (50)

51. MAN: HND mard (-4), DKH purus (123), PNJ purakh (-3), PTH jaṇā (162), HNK jaṇā (162), GJR janū (162), DGR mardmāhnū (192), LHD murs (123), SND māṇuhū (192), RAJ māṭi (509), GUJ bhāyḍo (256), MAR puruṣ (-8), BNG manuṣ (192), ASS munih (192), NEP logne-manche (192), SNG pirimiyā (411), MAL firihen (123), KOT mōrd (-2), HIM lok (480), KUL mōrd (-5), MND mard (-2), ORY puruṣa (-7), AWD mansedhū (192), KUM meis (192), ROM murš (123), KNK manišu (192), DUM maniš (192), BRJ ādmī (-5), GRH ādmi (-4), PRY anmi (-9), MAI purukh (-5), KCH māṛū (192), MEW māṇas (192), WGD admī (-5), BNJ māṭi (509)

51a. MAN: BNJ māṇas (192)

52. MANY: HND bahut (51), DKH bhaut (51), PNJ bahut (51), PTH bahũ (51), HNK muc (481), GJR muc (481), DGR matā (497), LHD bahū (51), SND ghaṇā (193), RAJ ghaṇau (193), GUJ ghano (193), MAR phār (280), BNG bōhu (51), ASS bōhuto (51), NEP dherai (367), SNG bohō (51), MAL baivaru (51), KOT bōto (51), HIM bot (51), KUL bōhu (51), MND bahut (51), ORY bahuta (51), AWD bahut (51), KUM bhaut (51), ROM but (51), KNK anek (-5), DUM buṭ (51), BRJ bhaut (51), GRH bahut (51), PRY bot (51), MAI bahut (51), KCH baurā (51), MEW bhot (51), WGD ghanā (193), BNJ ghaṇo (193)

52a. MANY: HNK bahũ (51), GUJ bahu (51), MAL gina (193), MND mate (497), KCH ghaṇo (193)

53. MEAT: HND gošt (-5), DKH mās (124), PNJ mās (124), PTH mās (124), HNK mās (124), GJR mās (124), DGR mās (124), LHD gošt (-3), SND māsu (124), RAJ mās (124), GUJ mās (124), MAR mās (124), BNG mākšō (124), ASS mōngḥ (124), NEP māsu (124), SNG mas (124), MAL mas (124), KOT mas (124), HIM mās (124), KUL mās (124), MND mās (124), ORY māsēsa (124), AWD māsu (124), KUM māsu (124), ROM mas (124), KNK mās (124), DUM mos (124), BRJ mās (124), GRH sikār (-5), PRY gōš (-10), MAI mās (124), KCH mas (124), MEW mās (124), WGD sīsī (662), BNJ mās (124)

54. MOON: HND cād (52), DKH cād (52), PNJ cann (52), PTH can (52), HNK can (52), GJR can (52), DGR cann (52), LHD candar (52), SND caṇḍu (52), RAJ candau (52), GUJ cādo (52), MAR cād (52), BNG cand (52), ASS zon (340), NEP jūn (340), SNG haṇda (52), MAL handu (52), KOT dzūṇ (340), HIM candramā (-2), KUL joṭh (340), MND candarmā (-3), ORY candramā (-8), AWD candā (52), KUM candā (52), ROM šonuto (340), KNK candru (52), DUM čonč (52), BRJ candā (52), GRH jūn (340), PRY čan (52), MAI candā (52), KCH candhar (52), MEW cād (52), WGD san (52), BNJ cāndā (52)

54a. MOON: KUM jūn (340)

55. MOUNTAIN: HND pahār (53), DKH p(ah)ār (53), PNJ pahār (53), PTH pahārī (53), HNK pahār (53), GJR pahār (53), DGR phār (53), LHD pahār (53), SND paharu (53), RAJ pahār (53), GUJ pahād (53), MAR pahād (53), BNG pahaṛ (53), ASS pahar (53), NEP pahād (53), SNG kanda (-4), MAL farubada (-2), KOT pār (53), HIM pār (53), KUL pahād (53), MND pār (53), ORY parbata (-9), AWD pahār (53), KUM pahār (53), ROM mint'a (-8), KNK parvatu (-6),

DUM čhišā (-23), BRJ pahār (53), GRH pār (53), PRY paṛ (53), MAI parvat (-6), KCH pahārī (53), MEW pahār (53), WGD māro (663), BNJ pād (53)

56. MOUTH: HND mūh (54), DKH mū (54), PNJ mūh (54), PTH mūh (54), HNK mūh (54), GJR mū (54), DGR mū (54), LHD mūh (54), SND mūhū (54), RAJ mūh (54), GUJ mhō (54), MAR tōḍ (281), BNG mukh (54), ASS mukh (54), NEP mukh (54), SNG muva (54), MAL anga (540), KOT mū (54), HIM mū (54), KUL mūh (54), MND mū (54), ORY muhā (54), AWD muh (54), KUM mukh (54), ROM muy (54), KNK tōḍ (281), DUM kašā (626), BRJ mūhṭe (54), GRH gicco (657), PRY mo (54), MAI muh (54), KCH mō (54), MEW mūh (54), WGD muṇḍo (54), BNJ muṇḍo (54)

57. NAME: HND nām (55), DKH nāō (55), PNJ nā (55), PTH nā (55), HNK nā (55), GJR nā (55), DGR nā (55), LHD nā (55), SND nālo (55), RAJ nāv (55), GUJ nām (55), MAR nāv (55), BNG nam (55), ASS nam (55), NEP nāū (55), SNG nama (55), MAL nan (55), KOT naū (55), HIM nāū (55), KUL nā (55), MND nā (55), ORY nāma (55), AWD nāu (55), KUM nou (55), ROM nav (55), KNK nāv (55), DUM nom (55), BRJ nām (55), GRH nau (55), PRY na (55), MAI nām (55), KCH nālo (55), MEW nāv (55), WGD nām (55), BNJ nām (55)

58. NECK: HND galā (56), DKH galā (56), PNJ galā (56), PTH dhaun (125), HNK galā (56), GJR gaḷ (56), DGR dhaun (125), LHD giccī (196), SND g'icī (196), RAJ nār (514), GUJ ḍokī (258), MAR mān (229), BNG gōla (56), ASS gōl (56), NEP galām (56), SNG gela (312), MAL karu (413), KOT keṛi (228), HIM kyārī (228), KUL kyāḍi (228), MND kaiṛi (228), ORY beka (674), AWD gaṭai (197), KUM ghāṭi (312), ROM korr (599), KNK gaḷo (56), DUM koṭā (599), BRJ nāri (514), GRH dhaun (125), PRY gardan (-11), MAI dhonā (125), KCH giccī (196), MEW galo (56), WGD gābro (664), BNJ galā (56)

58a. NECK: PNJ dhaun (125), HNK gāṭā (197), GJR gāto (197), DGR gāṭā (197), SND g'āto (197), RAJ dhūn (125), GUJ galcī (56), MAR gaḷā (56), BNG ghar (312), NEP ghāṭi (312), SNG kara (413), KOT gōḷ (56), KUL gōḷa (56), MND gōḷ (56), AWD gar (56), KUM galo (56), GRH gaḷā (56), MAI ghār (312), KCH niṛi (514), BNJ naḷḍi (514)

59. NEW: HND nayā (57), DKH navā (57), PNJ navā (57), PTH navā (57), HNK navvā (57), GJR nawū (57), DGR namā (57), LHD navā (57), SND naō (57), RAJ navau (57), GUJ navū (57), MAR navā (57), BNG nāv (57), ASS nō (57),

NEP nayā (57), SNG nava (57), MAL au (541), KOT nauwō (57), HIM navā (57), KUL nāwwā (57), MND navā (57), ORY nuā (57), AWD naykā (57), KUM nayo (57), ROM nevo (57), KNK nave (57), DUM namā (57), BRJ nayo (57), GRH nayū (57), PRY navo (57), MAI nab (57), KCH naū (57), MEW nawā (57), WGD navo (57), BNJ nawo (57)

59a. NEW: SNG alut (541)

60. NIGHT: HND rāt (58), DKH rāt (58), PNJ rāt (58), PTH rāt (58), HNK rāt (58), GJR rāt (58), DGR rāt (58), LHD rāt (58), SND rāti (58), RAJ rāt (58), GUJ rāt (58), MAR rāt (58), BNG rat (58), ASS rati (58), NEP rāt (58), SNG rāya (58), MAL reyganḍu (58), KOT rāč (58), HIM rattī (58), KUL rāt (58), MND rāt (58), ORY rāti (58), AWD rāti (58), KUM rāt (58), ROM rat (58), KNK rāti (58), DUM thop (-24), BRJ rāt (58), GRH rāt (58), PRY rat (58), MAI rāti (58), KCH rāt (58), MEW rāt (58), WGD rat (58), BNJ rāt (58)

61. NOSE: HND nāk (59), DKH nāk (59), PNJ nakk (59), PTH nak (59), HNK nak (59), GJR nak (59), DGR nakk (59), LHD nakk (59), SND naku (59), RAJ nāk (59), GUJ nāk (59), MAR nāk (59), BNG nak (59), ASS nak (59), NEP nāk (59), SNG nahaya (59), MAL neyfaiy (59), KOT nāk

(59), HIM nāk (59), KUL nāk (59), MND nāk (59), ORY nāka (59), AWD nāki (59), KUM nāk (59), ROM nak (59), KNK nāk (59), DUM nok (59), BRJ nāk (59), GRH nāk (59), PRY nak (59), MAI nāk (59), KCH nakk (59), MEW nāk (59), WGD nakoṛo (59), BNJ nāk (59)

62. NOT: HND na (60), DKH nakko (60), PNJ nā (60), PTH na (60), HNK nā (60), GJR na (60), DGR nā (60), LHD na (60), SND na (60), RAJ nā (60), GUJ nā (60), MAR na (60), BNG na (60), ASS na (60), NEP na (60), SNG nā (60), MAL nu (60), KOT na (60), HIM na (60), KUL nāy (60), MND na (60), ORY nā (60), AWD nāhī (60), KUM nē (60), ROM na (60), KNK nhāyī (60), DUM ni (60), BRJ nāye (60), GRH na (60), PRY na (60), MAI nahi (60), KCH na (60), MEW ni (60), WGD nā (60), BNJ ni (60)

63. ONE: HND ek (61), DKH yek (61), PNJ ik (61), PTH hik (61), HNK hik (61), GJR ek (61), DGR ikk (61), LHD ek (61), SND hiku (61), RAJ (h)ik (61), GUJ ek (61), MAR ek (61), BNG ek (61), ASS ek (61), NEP ek (61), SNG eka (61), MAL ekeh (61), KOT ēk (61), HIM ek (61), KUL yek (61), MND ek (61), ORY eka (61), AWD yak (61), KUM ek (61), ROM (y)ek (61), KNK ek (61), DUM ek (61), BRJ ek (61), GRH ek (61), PRY yek (61), MAI ek (61), KCH hikṛo (61), MEW ek (61), WGD ek (61), BNJ ek (61)

64. PERSON: HND janā (163), DKH janā (163), PNJ jaṇā (163), PTH ādmī (-3), HNK lok (461), GJR jaṇū (163), DGR māhnū (126), LHD bandā (-4), SND jaṇo (163), RAJ jaṇau (163), GUJ māṇas (126), MAR māṇūs (126), BNG manuś (126), ASS manuh (126), NEP mānis (126), 126 SNG minihā (126), MAL mēhā (126), KOT dzəṇo (163), HIM māṇū (126), KUL mhāṇu (126), MND māṇu (126), ORY maṇiša (126), AWD manaī (126), KUM jaṇ (163), ROM manuś (126), KNK maniśu (126), DUM maniś (126), BRJ mānus (126), GRH maṇāli (126), PRY jaṇo (163), MAI manukh (-7), KCH māṛū (126), MEW ādamī (-4), WGD lak (461), BNJ jaṇā (163)

64a. PERSON: DKH mānūs (126), DGR janā (163), RAJ māṇas (126), BNG lok (461), KOT maṇčh (126), MND jaṇā (163), KUM meīs (126), GRH jaṇ (163), BNJ māṇas (126)

65. RAIN: HND mēh (62), DKH barsāt (127), PNJ mīh (62), PTH baddal (127), HNK baddal (127), GJR badal (127), DGR barkhā (-2), LHD mīh (62), SND mīhu (62), RAJ meh (62), GUJ varsād (127), MAR pāūs (127), BNG badal (127), ASS bərcəkhə (127), NEP jharī (369), SNG vāssa (127), MAL vārey (127), KOT pāṇī (447), HIM barkhā (-3), KUL gāś (663), MND barkhā (-4), ORY barša (-10), AWD barkhā (-4), KUM me (62), ROM beršind (127), KNK pāvsu (127), DUM orp (661), BRJ meg (62), GRH barkhā (-6), PRY mi (62), MAI barkhā (-8), KCH meh (62), MEW meh (62), WGD mehā (62), BNJ pāṇi (447)

65a. RAIN: DKH mhyūn (62), HNK mīh (62), GJR mīh (62), SND vas (127), KCH varsād (127)

66. RED: HND lāl (63), DKH lāl (63), PNJ lāl (63), PTH sūā (475), HNK rattā (128), GJR rato (128), DGR lāl (63), LHD rattā (128), SND lālu (63), RAJ rātau (128), GUJ lāl (63), MAR tābḍā (282), BNG lal (63), ASS rəṅga (128), NEP rāto (128), SNG ratu (128), MAL raiy (128), KOT ratto (128), HIM lāl (63), KUL lāl (63), MND lāl (63), ORY lāl (63), AWD lāl (63), KUM lāl (63), ROM lolo (63), KNK tābḍe (282), DUM loyā (63), BRJ lāl (63), GRH lāl (63), PRY lal (63), MAI lāl (63), KCH ratto (128), MEW lāl (63), WGD lāl (63), BNJ rātḍo (128)

66a. RED: DKH ratlā (128), PNJ rattā (128), HNK lāl (63), GJR lāl (63), LHD lāl (63), SND rato (128), RAJ lāl (63), GUJ rātū (128), ASS lal (63), KOT lāl (63), MAI rāt (128)

67. ROAD: HND saṛak (64), DKH bāt (164), PNJ saṛak (64), PTH saṛak (64), HNK šīṛak (64), GJR saṛak (64), DGR batt (164), LHD vāt (164), SND saṛak (64), RAJ saṛak (64), GUJ saḍak (64),

MAR sađak (64), BNG p̄oth (-8), ASS bađ (164), NEP b̄ađo (164), SNG maga (415), MAL magu (415), KOT b̄at (164), HIM b̄at (164), KUL b̄ott (164), MND peynda (448), ORY řaraka (64), AWD b̄at (164), KUM b̄ađo (164), ROM drom (-9), KNK m̄argu (-7), DUM pan̄a (-25), BRJ sařak (64), GRH b̄ađu (164), PRY ra (-12), MAI path (-9), KCH v̄ađ (164), MEW sařak (64), WGD w̄ađ (164), BNJ w̄ađ (164)

67a. ROAD: KOT p̄eđđ (448)

68. ROOT: HND jař (65), DKH jař (65), PNJ jař (65), PTH jař (65), HNK jařh (65), GJR jař (65), DGR jařh (65), LHD jařř (65), SND jařu (65), RAJ jař (65), GUJ m̄uļ (259), MAR m̄uļ (259), BNG řik̄oř (313), ASS xipa (343), NEP jařa (65), SNG mula (259), MAL m̄o (259), KOT dz̄ořh (65), HIM jař (65), KUL j̄el̄ađa (65), MND jađ (65), ORY m̄uļa (259), AWD jari (65), KUM jař (65), ROM koreno (-10), KNK m̄uļ (259), DUM moli (-26), BRJ jař (65), GRH jař (65), PRY rešo (-13), MAI jaři (65), KCH ? (-5), MEW jař (65), WGD m̄ur (259), BNJ jađ (65)

68a. ROOT: GUJ jađ (65), MEW m̄ul (259)

69. ROUND: HND gol (66), DKH gol (66), PNJ gol (66), PTH gol (66), HNK gol (66), GJR gol (66), DGR gol (66), LHD gol (66), SND golu (66), RAJ goļ (66), GUJ gol (66), MAR gol (66), BNG gol (66), ASS gol (66), NEP b̄ađuło (283), SNG vađa (283), MAL vah (283), KOT ḡoļ (66), HIM gol (66), KUL ḡoļ (66), MND ḡoļ (66), ORY gola (66), AWD gol (66), KUM golo (66), ROM rotato (-11), KNK ur̄uđ (-8), DUM ? (-27), BRJ gol (66), GRH gulgađo (66), PRY ? (-14), MAI gol (66), KCH gird (-6), MEW ? (-5), WGD ? (-6), BNJ gol (66)

69a. ROUND: MAR v̄ađuļa (283)

70. SAND: HND ret (67), DKH b̄al̄u (68), PNJ ret (67), PTH ret (67), HNK ret (67), GJR ret (67), DGR ret̄a (67), LHD ret (67), SND ret̄i (67), RAJ b̄al̄u (68), GUJ ret̄i (67), MAR ret̄i (67), BNG bali (68), ASS bali (68), NEP ret (67), SNG v̄ali (67), MAL veli (68), KOT baļu (68), HIM ball̄u (68), KUL r̄et (67), MND ball̄u (68), ORY b̄ali (68), AWD b̄ar̄u (68), KUM balw̄a (68), ROM kiřay (-12), KNK rev (67), DUM b̄ali (68), BRJ b̄al̄u (68), GRH b̄alo (68), PRY ? (-15), MAI b̄al̄u (68), KCH ? (-7), MEW b̄al̄u (68), WGD ret (67), BNJ retu (67)

70a. SAND: HND b̄al̄u (68), PNJ b̄al̄u (68), SND v̄ar̄i (68), RAJ ret (67), GUJ v̄alu (68), MAR v̄al̄u (68), NEP b̄aluv̄a (68), HIM ret (67), MND ret (67), AWD ret (67), MEW ret (67)

71. SAY: HND kah- (69), DKH ka- (69), PNJ kah- (69), PTH ākh- (468), HNK āχ- (468), GJR keh- (69), DGR ākh- (468), LHD ākh- (468), SND al- (166), RAJ kah- (69), GUJ kah- (69), MAR mhañ- (231), BNG k̄oh- (69), ASS k̄o- (69), NEP bhan- (231), SNG kiya- (69), MAL buna- (231), KOT kiu- (69), HIM bol- (70), KUL b̄oļ- (70), MND b̄oļ- (70), ORY kah- (69), AWD kah- (69), KUM k̄u- (69), ROM phen- (231), KNK mh̄añ- (231), DUM mun- (231), BRJ keh- (69), GRH bval- (70), PRY ke- (69), MAI kah- (69), KCH co- (657), MEW kah- (69), WGD kah- (69), BNJ ke- (69)

71a. SAY: HND bol- (70), DKH bol- (70), PNJ ākh- (468), PTH bol- (70), HNK bol- (70), GJR bol- (70), DGR bol- (70), LHD bol- (70), SND b'ol- (70), RAJ bol- (70), GUJ bol- (70), MAR bol- (70), BNG b̄oļ- (70), ASS bol- (70), NEP bol- (70), MAL kiya- (69), KOT bol- (70), ORY bol- (70), AWD bol- (70), KUM bol- (70), MAI bol- (70), KCH bol- (70)

72. SEE: HND dekh- (71), DKH dekh- (71), PNJ dekh- (71), PTH tak- (476), HNK dex̄- (71), GJR dekh- (71), DGR dikkh- (71), LHD đekh- (71), SND d'is- (129), RAJ dekh- (71), GUJ dekh- (71), MAR p̄ah- (198), BNG dekh- (71), ASS dekh- (71), NEP dekh- (71), SNG daki- (71), MAL duř- (129), KOT dekh- (71), HIM dekh- (71), KUL d̄ekh- (71), MND dekh- (71), ORY dekh- (71),

AWD dekh- (71), KUM dekh- (71), ROM dikh- (71), KNK paļe- (617), DUM dekh- (71), BRJ dek- (71), GRH dekh- (71), PRY dekh- (71), MAI dekh- (71), KCH đis- (129), MEW dekh- (71), WGD dekh- (71), BNJ dek- (71)

72a. SEE: PNJ diṭh- (129), HNK diṭṭh- (129), GJR diṭṭh- (129), DGR diṭṭh- (129), LHD diṭṭh- (129), SND pas- (198), RAJ diṭh- (129), GUJ diṭh- (129), MAL deke- (71), KNK diṣ- (129), BNJ diṭ- (129)

73. SEED: HND bij (72), DKH biḡ (72), PNJ bi (72), PTH bi (72), HNK bi (72), GJR bij (72), DGR bi (72), LHD bij (72), SND b'iju (72), RAJ bij (72), GUJ bi (72), MAR bi (72), BNG bij (72), ASS biz (72), NEP biū (72), SNG biḡaya (-5), MAL oh (543), KOT bidz (72), HIM bij (72), KUL bejja (72), MND biū (72), ORY bija (72), AWD biyā (72), KUM byū (72), ROM seminca (-13), KNK bi (72), DUM yono (-28), BRJ bij (72), GRH bij (72), PRY ? (-16), MAI bij (72), KCH bijj (72), MEW bihan (72), WGD ? (-7), BNJ bijā (72)

74. SIT: HND baiṭh- (73), DKH baiṭ(h)- (73), PNJ baiṭh- (73), PTH beh- (73), HNK baiṭh- (73), GJR bais- (73), DGR beh- (73), LHD beh- (73), SND vih- (73), RAJ baiṭh- (73), GUJ bes- (73), MAR bas- (73), BNG boš- (73), ASS boh- (73), NEP basi rah- (73), SNG iṇḡagan hiṭi- (418), MAL inn- (418), KOT beš- (73), HIM baiṭh- (73), KUL bešš- (73), MND beyṭh- (73), ORY baš- (73), AWD baiṭh- (73), KUM beiṭh- (73), ROM beš- (73), KNK bais- (73), DUM beš- (73), BRJ beṭh- (73), GRH baiṭh- (73), PRY beṭ- (73), MAI baiṭh- (73), KCH ve- (73), MEW beṭh- (73), WGD way- (73), BNJ bes- (73)

75. SKIN: HND camṛi (74), DKH camṛi (74), PNJ camṛi (74), PTH camṛi (74), HNK camṛā (74), GJR camṛi (74), DGR camm (74), LHD camṛi (74), SND camṛi (74), RAJ khāl (75), GUJ camḡi (74), MAR camḡi (74), BNG camṛa (74), ASS sal (348), NEP chālā (348), SNG hama (74), MAL han (74), KOT camṛi (74), HIM camṛi (74), KUL camḡi (74), MND khāl (75), ORY camarā (74), AWD khāl (75), KUM khāl (75), ROM morči (-14), KNK cām (74), DUM čom (74), BRJ cam (74), GRH camṛi (74), PRY pōst (-17), MAI camṛā (74), KCH camṛi (74), MEW khāl (75), WGD samḡi (74), BNJ khālḡi (75)

75a. SKIN: HND khāl (75), DKH khararī (75), PNJ khall (75), DGR khall (75), LHD khal (75), SND khal (75), RAJ cāmṛi (74), GUJ khāl (75), MAR kātḡi (284), KUL khōlḡi (75), MND cāmṛi (74), AWD camṛā (74), KUM cām (74), KNK sālī (348), MAI khāl (75)

76. SLEEP: HND so- (76), DKH so- (76), PNJ so- (76), PTH seh- (76), HNK sē- (76), GJR so- (76), DGR sau- (76), LHD summ- (76), SND sumh- (76), RAJ sūv- (76), GUJ su- (76), MAR nij- (285), BNG ghuma- (314), ASS xo- (76), NEP sut- (76), SNG nid- (199), MAL nid- (199), KOT sut- (76), HIM sut- (76), KUL so- (76), MND sau- (76), ORY šo- (76), AWD so- (76), KUM nīn kar- (199), ROM so- (76), KNK nīd- (199), DUM so- (76), BRJ sow- (76), GRH sī- (76), PRY so- (76), MAI sut- (76), KCH sum- (76), MEW so- (76), WGD so- (76), BNJ so- (76)

76a. SLEEP: SND niṇḡ' kar- (199), NEP nidau- (199), KUM sit- (76)

77. SMALL: HND choṭā (77), DKH lhorā (470), PNJ choṭā (77), PTH nikkā (130), HNK nikkā (130), GJR nikko (130), DGR lauhkā (470), LHD nikkā (130), SND naṇḡho (200), RAJ nain (261), GUJ nānū (261), MAR lahān (261), BNG choṭṭ (77), ASS xoru (349), NEP sāno (261), SNG kuḡā (420), MAL kuḡa (420), KOT choṭṭ (77), HIM nikkājā (130), KUL choṭṭa (77), MND halkā (565), ORY choṭa (77), AWD choṭ (77), KUM nāno (261), ROM ciḡno (-15), KNK sān (261), DUM čunā (-29), BRJ choṭṭo (77), GRH chvaṭṭu (77), PRY nuko (130), MAI choṭ (77), KCH niṇḡho (200), MEW choṭo (77), WGD nendḡho (200), BNJ nānkyā (261)

77a. SMALL: DKH choṭā (77), PNJ nikkā (130), HNK choṭā (77), GJR choṭo (77), DGR nikkā (130), LHD choṭā (77), SND choṭo (77), RAJ choṭau (77), HIM choṭā (77), AWD nanhakā (261), KUM choṭo (77), MAI nānh (261)

78. SMOKE: HND dhuā (78), DKH dhuvā (78), PNJ dhūā (78), PTH dhūā (78), HNK dhūvā (78), GJR dhūā (78), DGR dhū (78), LHD dhū (78), SND dūhō (78), RAJ dhūārau (78), GUJ dhumādo (78), MAR dhūr (78), BNG dhōva (78), ASS dhōva (78), NEP dhuvā (78), SNG duma (78), MAL dun (78), KOT dhū (78), HIM dhūā (78), KUL dhūwā (78), MND dhū (78), ORY dhūā (78), AWD dhuwā (78), KUM dhuo (78), ROM thuv (78), KNK dhuv(o)ru (78), DUM dum (78), BRJ dhūo (78), GRH dhuā (78), PRY tōva (78), MAI dhuā (78), KCH dhūo (78), MEW dhūā (78), WGD dūā (78), BNJ ? (-2)

79. STAND: HND kharā ho- (79), DKH khar- (79), PNJ khalo- (79), PTH khal- (79), HNK khal- (79), GJR khaḷ- (79), DGR kharo- (79), LHD khar- (79), SND bīh- (201), RAJ ūbh- (262), GUJ ubhū rah- (262), MAR khaḍā as- (79), BNG dāra- (315), ASS thiyoi thok- (350), NEP ubhi- (262), SNG nāgiṭa hiṭi- (350), MAL theduve hur- (350), KOT khar- (79), HIM khar- (79), KUL khaḍ- (79), MND khar- (79), ORY thiā he- (350), AWD thārh ho- (516), KUM thar- (516), ROM terd- (516), KNK ubbī- (262), DUM cak hut- (-30), BRJ thāre ho- (514), GRH thādu ho- (514), PRY kalo ho- (79), MAI thārh bhe- (514), KCH aubhū- (262), MEW kharo ho- (79), WGD ub- (262), BNJ hubar- (262)

79a. STAND: HNK uṭh- (350), RAJ thāḍau hov- (516), GUJ khaḍū rah- (79), MAR ubhā rāh- (262)

80. STAR: HND tārā (80), DKH tārā (80), PNJ tārā (80), PTH tārā (80), HNK tārā (80), GJR tāro (80), DGR tārā (80), LHD tārā (80), SND tāro (80), RAJ tārau (80), GUJ tāro (80), MAR tārā (80), BNG tara (80), ASS tara (80), NEP tārā (80), SNG taruva (80), MAL thari (80), KOT taro (80), HIM tārā (80), KUL tāra (80), MND tārā (80), ORY tārā (80), AWD taraī (80), KUM tāro (80), ROM čehran (-16), KNK nakṣatr (-9), DUM tāro (80), BRJ tāre (80), GRH gainu (658), PRY taro (80), MAI tārā (80), KCH tāro (80), MEW taraī (80), WGD tāro (80), BNJ tārā (80)

81. STONE: HND patthar (81), DKH pāthar (81), PNJ patthar (81), PTH baṭṭā (167), HNK baṭā (167), GJR baṭo (167), DGR baṭṭā (167), LHD patthar (81), SND pattharu (81), RAJ bhāṭau (167), GUJ patthar (81), MAR dagaḍ (286), BNG pathor (81), ASS xil (351), NEP ḍhungo (371), SNG gala (-6), MAL hila (351), KOT ḍhol (451), HIM pāthar (81), KUL pāthar (81), MND pāthar (81), ORY pathara (81), AWD pathrā (81), KUM ḍhuṇo (371), ROM barr (167), KNK patthoru (81), DUM boṭ (167), BRJ patthar (81), GRH ḍhūgu (371), PRY patar (81), MAI pāhan (677), KCH pathrī (81), MEW pāthar (81), WGD patthar (81), BNJ bhāṭā (167)

81a. STONE: HNK gaṭṭā (483), GJR pathar (81), DGR patthar (81), RAJ pātharau (81), ASS pathor (81), KUM pāthar (81), MEW bhaṭṭo (167), BNJ pattar (81)

82. SUN: HND sūraj (82), DKH sūrīj (82), PNJ sūraj (82), PTH dīhū (168), HNK dī (168), GJR dī (168), DGR sūraj (82), LHD sijjh (82), SND siju (82), RAJ sūraj (82), GUJ sūraj (82), MAR sūrya (-9), BNG šurjo (-9), ASS beli (352), NEP ghām (236), SNG ira (82), MAL iru (82), KOT dhero (168), HIM sūraj (82), KUL surjo (82), MND sūraj (82), ORY sūrya (-11), AWD suruj (82), KUM sūraj (82), ROM kham (236), KNK sūryu (-10), DUM to (628), BRJ sūraj (82), GRH ghām (236), PRY tup (646), MAI surūj (82), KCH sūraj (82), MEW sūraj (82), WGD dārobāwsi (168), BNJ dādo (168)

82a. SUN: ASS xuruz (82), MND dhairā (168), GRH sūraj (82), BNJ suriyā (82)

83. SWIM: HND tair- (83), DKH tir- (83), PNJ tar- (83), PTH tar- (83), HNK tar- (83), GJR tar- (83), DGR tar- (83), LHD tar- (83), SND tar- (83), RAJ tir- (83), GUJ tar- (83), MAR poh- (287), BNG šātor de- (83), ASS xātor- (83), NEP tar- (83), SNG pīna- (421), MAL fath- (545), KOT tæer- (83), HIM tar- (83), KUL tōr- (83), MND tar- (83), ORY pahār- (83), AWD pāvar- (83), KUM teir- (83), ROM pliv- (-17), KNK paū- (287), DUM ? (-31), BRJ ter- (83), GRH tar- (83), PRY ? (-18), MAI tair- (83), KCH tar- (83), MEW tar- (83), WGD pōhow- (287), BNJ tar- (83)

83a. SWIM: MAR tar- (83)

84. TAIL: HND pūch (84), DKH dum (-2), PNJ pucch (84), PTH pucchā (84), HNK pūchā (84), GJR pūchā (84), DGR pucch (84), LHD pucchā (84), SND puch (84), RAJ pūchrau (84), GUJ puchdū (84), MAR šēpūṭ (288), BNG langul (317), ASS negur (317), NEP pucchā (84), SNG naguṭa (317), MAL nagō (317), KOT pundzhə (84), HIM pūch (84), KUL phunjiṭ (84), MND pūch (84), ORY languḷa (317), AWD pūchi (84), KUM punch (84), ROM pori (601), KNK bāl (-11), DUM čipoy (288), BRJ pūc (84), GRH pucharu (84), PRY dum (-19), MAI pūch (84), KCH pucch (84), MEW pōch (84), WGD pochri (84), BNJ puncdi (84)

84a. TAIL: MAI lāgarī (317)

85. THAT: HND vah (85), DKH (v)o (85), PNJ o (85), PTH oh (85), HNK o (85), GJR vo (85), DGR oh (85), LHD o (85), SND hū (85), RAJ (v)o (85), GUJ te (203), MAR to (203), BNG o (85), ASS xi (353), NEP u (85), SNG ō(ka) (85), MAL e (289), KOT so (353), HIM se (353), KUL sō (353), MND sē (353), ORY se (353), AWD u (85), KUM u (85), ROM (k)odo (85), KNK then (203), DUM hei (289), BRJ bū (85), GRH vu (85), PRY u (85), MAI ū (85), KCH hū (85), MEW wo (85), WGD o (85), BNJ u (85)

85a. THAT: DKH ti- (203), SND ta (203), RAJ tikau (203), MAR jo (289), BNG ta- (203), ASS teō (203), NEP tyo (203), SNG ē(ka) (289), HIM vo (85), KUL te- (203), MND te- (203), ORY tāhā (203), MAI soi (353), KCH ta (203)

86. THIS: HND yah (86), DKH (y)e (86), PNJ e (86), PTH eh (86), HNK e (86), GJR yo (86), DGR eh (86), LHD e (86), SND hī (86), RAJ yau (86), GUJ ā (265), MAR hā (265), BNG e (86), ASS i (86), NEP yo (86), SNG mē(ka) (86), MAL mi (86), KOT jō (86), HIM yeh (86), KUL ye (86), MND e (86), ORY ehā (86), AWD yai (86), KUM yo (86), ROM kado (602), KNK he(ṅ) (86), DUM tahei (86), BRJ ī (86), GRH yū (86), PRY ya (86), MAI ī (86), KCH hī (86), MEW i (86), WGD to (665), BNJ i (86)

86a. THIS: ROM -le- (86)

87. THOU: HND tū (87), DKH tū (87), PNJ tū (87), PTH tū (87), HNK tū (87), GJR tū (87), DGR tū (87), LHD tū (87), SND tū (87), RAJ tū (87), GUJ tū (87), MAR tū (87), BNG tumi (87), ASS tū (87), 87 NEP tā (87), SNG tō (87), MAL thiya (87), KOT tū (87), HIM tū (87), KUL tū (87), MND tū (87), ORY tume (87), AWD tū (87), KUM tē (87), ROM tu (87), KNK tu (87), DUM tu (87), BRJ tu (87), GRH tū (87), PRY tu (87), MAI tū (87), KCH tū (87), MEW tu (87), WGD tu (87), BNJ tū (87)

88. TONGUE: HND jībh (88), DKH jīb(h) (88), PNJ jībh (88), PTH jīv (88), HNK jībh (88), GJR jībh (88), DGR jībbh (88), LHD jībbh (88), SND j'ībh (88), RAJ jībh (88), GUJ jībh (88), MAR jībh (88), BNG jīb (88), ASS zibha (88), NEP jibro (88), SNG diva (88), MAL dō (88), KOT dzibbh (88), HIM jīb (88), KUL jībh (88), MND jībh (88), ORY jibha (88), AWD jībhi (88), KUM jibo (88), ROM čhib (88), KNK jīb(h) (88), DUM jībā (88), BRJ jībh (88), GRH jīb (88), PRY jip (88), MAI jībh (88), KCH jībbh (88), MEW jībh (88), WGD jab (88), BNJ jībh (88)

89. TOOTH: HND dāt (89), DKH dāt (89), PNJ dand (89), PTH dand (89), HNK dand (89), GJR dand (89), DGR dand (89), LHD dand (89), SND d'andu (89), RAJ dāt (89), GUJ dāt (89), MAR dāt (89), BNG dāt (89), ASS dāt (89), NEP dāt (89), SNG data (89), MAL daiy (89), KOT dānd (89), HIM dānd (89), KUL dānd (89), MND dānd (89), ORY dānta (89), AWD dāt (89), KUM dāt (89), ROM dand (89), KNK dāt(u) (89), DUM don (89), BRJ dāto (89), GRH dāt (89), PRY dan (89), MAI dāt (89), KCH dandh (89), MEW dāt (89), WGD dāt (89), BNJ dānt (89)

90.TREE: HND peṛ (90), DKH rūk (131), PNJ rukkh (131), PTH būṭā (373), HNK būṭā (373), GJR būṭo (373), DGR būṭhā (373), LHD vaṇ (169), SND vaṇu (169), RAJ rūkh (131), GUJ jhād (266), MAR jhād (266), BNG gach (318), ASS gəs (318), NEP rukh (131), SNG gaha (318), MAL gahā (318), KOT pēṛ (90), HIM dāl (373), KUL buṭṭa (373), MND dāl (373), ORY gaccha (318), AWD rūkh (131), KUM rukh (131), ROM kašt (603), KNK rūku (131), DUM tom (-32), BRJ peṛ (90), GRH dāl (373), PRY daraxṭ (-20), MAI gāch (318), KCH vaṇ (169), MEW rukh (131), WGD peṛ (90), BNJ jhād (266)

90a. TREE: DGR rukkh (131), NEP boṭ (373), SNG ruka (131), KOT buṭṭi (373), KUM boṭ (373), KNK jhād (266), KCH jhār (266)

91. TWO: HND do (91), DKH do (91), PNJ do (91), PTH do (91), HNK do (91), GJR do (91), DGR do (91), LHD dū (91), SND b'a (91), RAJ be (91), GUJ be (91), MAR don (91), BNG dui (91), ASS dui (91), NEP duī (91), SNG deka (91), MAL dey (91), KOT dui (91), HIM do (91), KUL duy (91), MND do (91), ORY dui (91), AWD dui (91), KUM dwi (91), ROM duy (91), KNK doni (91), DUM dui (91), BRJ dui (91), GRH dvī (91), PRY do (91), MAI dui (91), KCH b_a (91), MEW do (91), WGD be (91), BNJ dī (91)

92. WALK (GO): HND jā- (92), DKH jā(v)- (92), PNJ jā- (92), PTH gas- (93), HNK jul- (484), GJR ga- (93), DGR jā- (92), LHD vanj- (204), SND vañ- (204), RAJ jā- (92), GUJ jā- (92), MAR jā- (92), BNG ja- (92), ASS za- (92), NEP jā- (92), SNG ya- (92), MAL dā- (92), KOT řeu- (459), HIM jā- (92), KUL jā- (92), MND jā- (92), ORY jī- (92), AWD jā- (92), KUM jā- (92), ROM ža- (92), KNK vas- (204), DUM jā- (92), BRJ jā- (92), GRH jā- (92), PRY ja- (92), MAI jā- (92), KCH vin- (204), MEW jā- (92), WGD jā- (92), BNJ jā- (92)

92a. WALK (GO): HND ga- (93), DKH ga- (93), PNJ ge- (93), HNK ga- (93), GJR jā- (92), DGR ge- (93), RAJ ga- (93), MAR gel- (93), BNG gel- (93), ASS gal- (93), NEP ga- (93), SNG gi- (93), MAL g- (93), HIM ga- (93), KUL gə- (93), MND ge- (93), ORY gal- (93), KUM ga- (93), ROM gel- (93), DUM gi- (93), BRJ ga- (93), GRH ga- (93), PRY gi- (93), MAI ge- (93), MEW ga- (93), WGD ga- (93), BNJ g- (93)

93. WARM: HND garm (-6), DKH tattā (170), PNJ kosā (133), PTH tattā (170), HNK tattā (170), GJR tato (170), DGR tattā (170), LHD tattā (170), SND koso (133), RAJ ūnau (133), GUJ ūnū (133), MAR ūn (133), BNG gəɾəm (-10), ASS umi (133), NEP tāto (170), SNG uṇu (133), MAL hōnu (133), KOT netto (170), HIM tattā (170), KUL totta (170), MND tātā (170), ORY ušuma (-12), AWD garam (-7), KUM tāto (170), ROM tato (170), KNK hūn (133), DUM tatā (170), BRJ chiṭṭaiyo (632), GRH tātu (170), PRY garm (-21), MAI tāt (170), KCH koso (133), MEW tātā (170), WGD ōno (133), BNJ garam (-3)

93a. WARM: HNK kosā (133), GJR koso (133), SND tato (170), RAJ tātau (170)

94. WATER: HND pānī (94), DKH pānī (94), PNJ pānī (94), PTH pānī (94), HNK pānī (94), GJR pānī (94), DGR pānī (94), LHD pānī (94), SND pānī (94), RAJ pānī (94), GUJ pānī (94), MAR pānī (94), BNG jəl (319), ASS pani (94), NEP pānī (94), SNG pān (94), MAL fen (94), KOT pānī

(94), HIM pāṇi (94), KUL pāṇi (94), MND pāṇi (94), ORY pāṇi (94), AWD pāṇi (94), KUM pāṇi (94), ROM pay (94), KNK udak (-12), DUM pāṇi (94), BRJ pāṇi (94), GRH pāṇi (94), PRY paṇi (94), MAI pāṇi (94), KCH pāṇi (94), MEW pāṇi (94), WGD pāṇi (94), BNJ pāṇi (94)
94a. WATER: ASS zəl (319), KCH jar (319)

95. WE: HND ham (95), DKH hame (95), PNJ asī (95), PTH assā (95), HNK asī (95), GJR ham (95), DGR as (95), LHD assā (95), SND asī (95), RAJ mhe (95), GUJ ame (95), MAR āmhī (95), BNG amra (95), ASS ami (95), NEP hāmī (95), SNG api (95), MAL aharumen (95), KOT hamme (95), HIM ase (95), KUL assē (95), MND asē (95), ORY āme (95), AWD ham (95), KUM ham (95), ROM ame(n) (95), KNK āmmī (95), DUM ame (95), BRJ hum (95), GRH ham (95), PRY ham (95), MAI ham sab (95), KCH asī (95), MEW ham (95), WGD hamu (95), BNJ ham (95)

96. WHAT: HND kyā (96), DKH kyā (96), PNJ kī (96), PTH keh (96), HNK ke (96), GJR ke (96), DGR keh (96), LHD kyā (96), SND kahiṛo (96), RAJ kāi (96), GUJ šū (96), MAR kāy (96), BNG ki (96), ASS kih (96), NEP ke (96), SNG mokada (96), MAL kēkey (96), KOT kε (96), HIM kyā (96), KUL kī (96), MND kyā (96), ORY kana (96), AWD kā (96), KUM kī (96), ROM so (96), KNK kasane (96), DUM kisek (96), BRJ kae (96), GRH kyā (96), PRY ka (96), MAI kī (96), KCH kuro (96), MEW kā (96), WGD kae (96), BNJ kāi (96)

97. WHITE: HND ciṭṭā (97), DKH ujlā (98), PNJ ciṭṭā (97), PTH ciṭṭā (97), HNK ciṭṭā (97), GJR ciṭo (97), DGR ciṭṭā (97), LHD ciṭṭā (97), SND accho (205), RAJ dhoḷau (267), GUJ dholū (267), MAR pādhrā (290), BNG dhɔbɔl (267), ASS bɔga (134), NEP seto (375), SNG sudu (428), MAL hudu (428), KOT šuklɔ (452), HIM ciṭṭā (97), KUL šetta (375), MND ciṭṭā (97), ORY dhalā (267), AWD ujar (98), KUM seto (375), ROM parno (-18), KNK dhawe (267), DUM šukulā (452), BRJ dhulo (267), GRH saphed (-7), PRY bago (134), MAI ujar (98), KCH acho (205), MEW dhawaṛo (267), WGD doḷo (267), BNJ dhoḷo (267)

97a. WHITE: HND ujlā (98), DKH pādū (290), PNJ baggā (134), HNK gorā (485), SND bago (134), ASS dhɔwɔl (267), SNG āli (375), KUM sukilo (452), MAI dhaval (267), KCH dhauro (267)

98. WHO: HND kaun (99), DKH kon (99), PNJ kauṇ (99), PTH kuṇ (99), HNK koṇ (99), GJR koṇ (99), DGR kun (99), LHD koṇ (99), SND keru (99), RAJ kuṇ (99), GUJ koṇ (99), MAR koṇ (99), BNG ke (99), ASS kon (99), NEP ko (99), SNG kavuda (99), MAL kāku (99), KOT kuṇ (99), HIM kuṇ (99), KUL kūṇ (99), MND kūṇ (99), ORY kie (99), AWD ko (99), KUM ko (99), ROM kon (99), KNK koṇ (99), DUM koṇo (99), BRJ kōn (99), GRH ko (99), PRY koṇ (99), MAI kon (99), KCH ker (99), MEW koṇ (99), WGD kun (99), BNJ kuṇ (99)

99. WOMAN: HND aurat (-7), DKH tiyā (135), PNJ tivī (135), PTH jaṇāṇī (-4), HNK trīmat (135), GJR janī (491), DGR janāṇī (-3), LHD tremit (135), SND nāri (206), RAJ lugāi (472), GUJ baiḍī (268), MAR bāyko (268), BNG meye (321), ASS tirota (135), NEP svāsnīmanche (244), SNG gāṇī (429), MAL anhenmēhā (244), KOT chēuṛi (453), HIM tīmī (135), KUL beṭṭəḍi (557), MND janāṇ (-5), ORY bāilī (268), AWD joy (471), KUM seṇmeis (244), ROM žuvli (471), KNK bāil- (268), DUM joi (471), BRJ lugāi (472), GRH janāṇī (-8), PRY ran (136), MAI tia (135), KCH bāyṛī (-8), MEW berbānī (268), WGD buirī (268), BNJ bāi (268)

99a. WOMAN: DKH joī (471), PNJ rann (136), ORY māi (321), AWD tiy (135), ROM manušni (244), KNK manišī (244)

100. YELLOW: HND pīlā (100), DKH pīlā (100), PNJ pīlā (100), PTH pīlā (100), HNK pīlā (100), GJR pīlo (100), DGR pīlā (100), LHD pīlā (100), SND pīlo (100), RAJ pīlau (100), GUJ pīlū (100),

MAR pīvḷā (100), BNG hḷbde (322), ASS halḷdhiya (322), NEP pahēlo (100), SNG kaha (431), MAL rēndōkula (546), KOT piūḷ (100), HIM pīlā (100), KUL piwḷa (100), MND piuḷā (100), ORY haḷadiā (322), AWD piyar (100), KUM pīlo (100), ROM galbeno (–19), KNK haḷduve (322), DUM haližžā (–33), BRJ pīlo (100), GRH pingḷu (659), PRY zard (–22), MAI pīyar (100), KCH pīro (100), MEW piyaro (100), WGD halojjo (322), BNJ piḷo (100)

Abbreviations for languages and dialects

ASS – Assamese	HNK – Hindko	NEP – Nepali
AWD – Awadhi	KCH – Kutchi	NIA – New Indo-Aryan
BNG – Bengali	KNK – Konkani	OIA – Old Indo-Aryan
BNJ – Banjari	KOT – Kotgarhi	ORY – Oriya
BRJ – Braj	KUL – Kului	PNJ – Punjabi
DGR – Dogri	KUM – Kumauni	PTH – Pothohari
DKH – Dakhini	LHD – Lahnda (Multani)	PRY – Parya
DUM – Dumaki (Domaaki)	MAI – Maithili	RAJ – Rajasthani (Marwari)
GJR – Gojri	MAL – Maldivian (Dhivehi)	ROM – Romany
GRH – Garhwali	MAR – Marathi	SND – Sindhi
GUJ – Gujarati	MEW – Mewati	SNG – Sin(g)halese
HIM – Himachali	MIA – Middle Indo-Aryan	WGD – Wagdi
HND – Hindi-Urdu	MND – Mandeali	

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А. И. Коган. Генеалогическая классификация индо-арийских языков и лексикостатистика.

Генетические отношения индоарийских языков до сих пор остаются неясными. Существующие классификации зачастую носят интуитивный характер и не основываются на надежных сравнительно-исторических критериях. В статье делается попытка классификации новоиндийских языков по обновленным лексикостатистическим данным. Сопоставление полученного в итоге родословного древа с традиционными классификационными схемами позволило автору сделать ряд выводов относительно наиболее вероятной таксономии языков индоарийской группы.

Ключевые слова: индоарийские языки, генеалогическая классификация языков, лексикостатистика, глоттохронология.