

## Dravidian and Altaic “Sheep - Deer - Cattle”

*Jaroslav Vacek*

### 0.

The work on Dravidian and Altaic became more serious with the publications of K. H. Menges (1964, 1977) outlining certain formal and also typological characteristics shared by these languages. My early presentation of some general problems and morphological similarities (Vacek 1978) was partly inspired by K. H. Menges and especially by my practical exposure to Mongolian starting from the middle of the 1970s. Besides a statement on the phonological correspondences (Vacek 1981), my subsequent work mostly dealt with problems of basic vocabulary, especially verbs (Vacek 1981, 1983, 1992 b,c; 1994; 1995, 1996b, 1998, 2000), which represent the most important lexical class, but it also included the kinship terms (Vacek, Lubsangdorji 1994). The early work concentrated mainly on Dravidian and Mongolian and starting with the early 1990s, more and more attention was paid to Manchu-Tungus, which appears to be a particularly fruitful source in comparison with Dravidian, and also Turkic (especially Old Turkic), occasionally Japanese and Finno-Ugrian. Natural phenomena as reflected in the basic vocabulary were sometimes also considered, a systematic study came more recently (2001a,b; 2002). The living nature has been taken up recently in a paper discussing several etymons for “deer - antelope - bull” (Vacek forthcoming), a topic, which the present paper develops further. A more general summary of the problem of long-range comparison of Dravidian was prepared by K. V. Zvelebil (1990, 84ff., and especially 99ff. for Uralian and Altaic; 1991).

Formally the following comparison is based on the first syllable (VC-, CVC-). It reflects the basic phonological correspondences as they were stated in my 1981 paper and further refined in more recent studies, particularly in 1998, 2000 and 2002. Especially relevant in this context is the fuzzy set of correspondences of the cerebral stops, retroflex liquids, dental stops and dental liquids (Nos. 2 and 3 below, and partly No. 4 - dental and cacuminal stops and nasals), for which some material was presented in my recent work.<sup>1</sup> From that point of view there can also be an interrelation between the first four etyma as a whole, whose implications will have to be discussed at a later time. In the context of a great number of quite regular Dravidian and Altaic correspondences established earlier, this irregularity of the relations within the above mentioned “fuzzy set” (together with some other irregularities), seems to imply that the “irregular” development may have been triggered within an early linguistic area (or areas?) possibly somewhere in Central Asia to continue later on the Indian soil (cf. also Zvelebil 1990, p. 99ff., and 1991).

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<sup>1</sup> On the correspondence of Dravidian retroflex liquids to dental or alveolar liquids in Dravidian and Altaic, cf. Vacek 2002, pp. 32, 282ff. Further cf. the idea of spontaneous cerebralization expounded especially by T. Burrow (1971) for IA, which I take to be a more general phenomenon to be encountered in all the languages of the Indian linguistic area (Vacek 1995, 19-20).

The semantic variation obviously reflects the changing natural and economic conditions at an early stage of development of the respective communities and their languages. At first sight the semantic range encountered in the etyma selected for this paper (particularly the great group of formally close words, Nos. 1-4) may seem discouraging. The respective etyma in the DEDR represent an attempt to make a detailed formal and partly also semantic classification of the respective lexical items (e.g. cf. DEDR 1114 and 1123 in No. 3, which are very close to homophony), but the semantic variation cannot be avoided fully (e.g. DEDR 2199 in No. 2, including also “the young”). In some cases the lexemes may have to be split and connected with other etyma (e.g. DEDR 2074 and 2256 in No. 2). One aspect is the alternation of the referent along the range of various types of domestic cattle (bull, ox, cow, etc.) and wild game (deer, antelope, elk, bison, etc.). As for the relation to “small cattle”, viz. sheep and goat, the two formally related groups of words in Nos. 1 and 2 show that the semantic range can be seen as a continuum including various types of large and small cattle. The same may also be observed in No. 5 and its Turkic representations. Generally speaking, the semantic variation seems to confirm what was suggested in connection with the formal variation. Provided that we accept the material presented here (and also previously in Vacek forthcoming),<sup>2</sup> the semantic variation also seems to confirm the possibility of spontaneous development within an ancient linguistic area.

In the margin, this paper refers to several Sanskrit words, which may be suspected of having been borrowed from some of the following etyma or from their variant forms.

## 1.

Ta. *koṛi* sheep

Ma. *koṛi* a small kind of sheep

Ko. *kory a:ṛ* sheep (*a:ṛ* goat)

To. *kuṛi* sheep

Ka. *kuṛi, koṛi* sheep, ram

Koç. *koṛi* sheep

Tu *kuṛi* id.

Te. *gore, gorre, gorriya, goriya, gorre, gor(r)iya* id.

Kol. *gore* id.; Nk. *gorre* id.

Go. *gorre* id.; *gore* goat

Koṇḍa *goṛe* id.

Kuwi *gōri, gorri, gore* id.; *gorri* id., sheep [DEDR 2165a]<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> K. E. Koskinen, who offers a number of interesting etymologies in the field of Dravidian, Altaic and Finno-Ugrian (but also a considerable number of etymologies, which are difficult to accept), joins several of the Dravidian etyma listed in No. 2 below, viz. DEDR 2165a, 2256, 1299 into one group (*Dravidian in the Light of Nostratic*, no place, no date, probably 1996, No. 119).

<sup>3</sup> The Ta. word of this etymon is not found in Old Tamil literature. According to the TL (s. v.), it is attested quite late in more recent times. For a possible IA reflection cf. Skt. *kurarī* ewe (Burrow BSOAS 12, 1948, 374; cf. Burrow 1968, p. 195, No. 89). Mayrhofer (KEWA II, 235): vielleicht dravidisch ... Zweifelhaft; later (EWA III, 109) he designates the word as “unklar”. However, a closeness of the two etyma cannot be denied.

cf.

Ma. *korran* ram, boar, tomcat*korri* ewe, female cat, bandicoot?Go. *kodama* female sheep

[DEDR 2170]

Subrahmanyam 1968, p. 152, No. 216

(cf. DEDR 1123, No. 2, below)

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Mo. *xuraγ-a(n)*, *xury-a(n)* lamb

\*

MT.

KURKAN lamb (Evenk.)

MTD I,437<sup>4</sup>(from Mo. *xuraγ-a(n)* according to MTD)

\*

OT.

*kuzi*: lamb

Cl. 681

QOZĪ lamb

OTD s. v.

Uig. *kozy* LammMiddle Turkic *kozy* SchafOsm. etc. *kozu* Lamm

Räs. 285a

Oir. etc. *kuran* RehbockOir. *kuranak* ein zweijähriger Rehbock (from Mo.) Räs. 302b

One group of Turkic words (according to Clauson preserved in most of the Turkic languages) contains an affricate or sibilant, which seems to have some relation to the above lexemes. Its status, however, cannot be exactly determined (because the affricate or voiceless sibilant does not represent the proper correspondence with the respective Mongolian liquid, which should be *z* as above) though the formal and semantic closeness cannot be denied. Cf.

Osm. *koç* ramNE languages *kuça* id.Cl. 592<sup>5</sup>Nog. *koškar* ram<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Evenk. *kōraj*, with variants *kōrai*, *kōren*, *kavur* (goat; MTD I,414) obviously does not belong to this etymon, since its long vowel goes back to the form with intervocalic labial. Cf. also Novikova (1972, p. 128), who derives the Evenki form from Bur. *xuurai* wild goat (from *\*kuγurai*) and further adds Yak. *xoroi*, *xuorai* young deer of one or two years. Novikova calls the relation between the Buriat and Yakut words "accord" or "approximation" (*sblizhenie*). She is wondering (ibid. Note 166) what should be the etymology of these words to explain why it is possible to use the same designation for a young deer and a wild goat. We may theorise that such cases are perhaps not so much a question of etymology as of a semantic shift occurring with the respective designation, which can take place under various "social-economic" conditions. However, the Yakut word probably does not belong to the same etymological nest (cf. No. 2 below).

<sup>5</sup> In other languages the form is expanded to *koçkar*, *koçya:r* etc. (Cl. 592). According to Clauson the word was borrowed into Mongolian as *xuca(n)* ram; uncastrated lamb. According to Novikova (1972, 114, Note 64) the etymology of the base *qoč-*, *qočun-* and of the derivative element *\*-gar* is not clear.

<sup>6</sup> In *Russko-Nogajskij slovar'*, Moskva 1956, s. v. *baran*.

## 2.

Te. *gorre* in: *kukka-gorre* barking deer, *Cervulus muntjac* (also “jungle sheep”)

*koṇḍa-gorre*, *koṇḍa-gorre* deer, antelope

Kol. *goria* deer, antelope

Go. *gorre* four-horned antelope; *gore* deer [DEDR 2165b]

Kol. *kori* antelope

Pa. *kuri* id.

Ga. *kuruy* deer

Go. *kurs* deer, antelope

Kui *kruhu*, *krusu* barking deer, jungle sheep

Kuwi *kluhu* antelope; *kruhu*, *kurhu* antelope

? Ma. *kūran* hog-deer

Cf. Skt. *kuraṅga*- a species of antelope, antelope or deer in general

[DEDR 1785]<sup>7</sup>

Koṇḍa *kōri* buffalo

Pe. *kuḍru* id.

Maṇḍ. *kuḍru* id.

Kui *kōru* id.

Kuwi *kōḍru*, *kōḍrū*, *gōḍru* id. [DEDR 2256]

Te. *goḍḍu* any beast, a beast

*goḍlu* kine, horned cattle

Go. *goḍ*, *goḍu*, *goḍḍu* cow, cattle

Koṇḍa *goḍu* *goḍra* cattle, etc. [DEDR 2074b]<sup>8</sup>

Kol. *kurra* male calf

Nk. *kurra* id.

Pa. *kurra* id.

Go. *kurra*, *kurrā*, *kuraid.*, bull calf

Koṇḍa *kuṛa* male calf

Kuwi *kurra ḍālu* id. [DEDR 1801]

Ta. *kūli* ox, covering bull

Ko. *gu:ly* bull belonging to a dead man, that is released from work until its death

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Mayrhofer (EWA I,375): *kuluṅgā*- Antelope (Kāth., VS, TS); MS *kulaṅgā*-, AVP (und kl.) *kuruṅgā*- Antelope. Mayrhofer considers the Skt. word to be “Nicht überzeugend erklärt”. The word appears rather early in IA. Mayrhofer further refers to the suggestion of Morgenstierne that Khovar *kuraṅg* light chestnut colour should be referred to the words for “antelope”. Morgenstierne’s interpretation (KEWA III,677) as *\*ku-raṅga*- (of poor colour) is obviously a folk etymology. On the other hand it may be interesting to compare the word with a (rather poorly attested) Dravidian lexeme for “brown” and with several (more consistently attested) Altaic words:

Ta. *kurāl* dim, tawny colour;

Ma. *kurāl*, *kirāl* brown [DEDR 1776]

Mo. *küreng*, *küren*, *kürin* (dark) brown, maroon (esp. of fur); deep violet

?*kürel* bronze

Turkic *küräy* braun; etc. (from Mo.) Räs. 310b

*küzän* Iltis; etc. (parallel with Mo. *küreng*) Räs. 312b

(Cf. also Novikova 1972, p. 118ff. for motivated designations of animals based on colours including also “brown”, *ibid.*, p. 119)

<sup>8</sup> One part of the etymon has the meaning of “barren” (woman, cow etc.). It seems that the general meaning of “cattle” has to be separated from the specific meaning “barren” and connected with the rest of the formal and semantic continuum of this group of etyma.

To. *ku:ly* stud bull  
 Ka. *gūli* bull, esp. a bull allowed to roam at liberty and dedicated to a deity  
 Koḍ. *gu:li* a bull [DEDR 1917]

Te. *kōḍiya, kōḍe* young bull; young, youthful  
 Kol. *kōḍē* bull  
 Nk. *khoye* male calf  
 Koṇḍa *kōḍi* cow  
     *kōre* young bullock  
 Pe. *kōḍi* cow  
 Maṇḍ. *kūḍi* id.  
 Kui *kōḍi* id., ox  
 Kuwi *kōḍi* cow  
     *kajja kōḍi* bull  
     *kōḍi* cow [DEDR 2199]<sup>9</sup>

Kol. *ku:ṭe* cow  
 Nk. *khūṭe, kūṭe* id. [DEDR 1886]

Pa. *guḍva* nilgai  
 Go. *koḍal (māv)* a kind of deer  
     *khōḍḍa māv* blue bull  
     *guriya māv* nilgai  
 Ga. *guri goḍ* bison  
 Koṇḍa *gura* bison [DEDR 1664]  
 Pe. *koṭra*<sup>1</sup> antelope Burrow, Bhattacharya 1970, p. 202<sup>10</sup>  
 Kur. *koṭrā* deer (of the size of a goat) Bleses, 1956, p. 49

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Mo. *γura* roebuck; wild goat<sup>11</sup>  
     *xotul(i)* two-year-old marmot; young deer

\*

MT.  
 KUREJKA deer (wild male, spring and summer designation; Evenk.) MTD I,436  
 KULČEj deer (wild, not subjecting itself to be captured; Evenk.) MTD I,429  
 KULAHAJ bison (Evenk., from Yakut. *kulasai* bison) MTD I,428  
 ?KULKUN'A deer (with fork-branching antlers inclining backwards; Evenk.) MTD I,428<sup>12</sup>  
 GURGU wild beast (wild animal covered by hair; Ma.) MTD I,173  
     (from Mo. *görügesü(n)* according to MTD, cf. No. 3 below)

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OT.  
 QUTUZ I noble deer, maral (?) OTD s. v.  
 QUTUR I id.  
 kotuz yak Cl. 608 (cf. also No. 3)

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Skt. *gotā* Kuh (EWA III, 164), which Mayrhofer relates to *gāv-*.

<sup>10</sup> Burrow and Bhattacharya consider the word to be from Oriya, but compare the phonetic shape and the meaning of the word in the context of this series of etyma. Could this and the following Kurukh word represent a borrowing of an originally Dravidian word from Oriya?

<sup>11</sup> According to Novikova (1972, p. 128, Note 163 quoting Poppe), the etymology of this Mongolian lexeme is not clear.

<sup>12</sup> I am unable to determine whether this term can have an etymology explaining the specified physical features of the animal and therefore I keep the word with a question mark.

*kotuzluð* er a man who owns wild cattle (i.e. yaks) Cl. 608

Yakut. *kulasai* bison

MTD I,428

*xoroi, xuorai* young deer of one or two years Novikova 1972, p. 128

### 3.

Ta. *kaṭavu, kaṭā, kaṭāy* male of sheep or goat, he-buffalo

*kiṭā* buffalo, bull, ram

*kiṭāy* male of sheep

*kaṭāri, kiṭāri* heifer, young cow that has not calved

*kaṭamai* female of the goat<sup>13</sup>

Ma. *kaṭā, kiṭā, kiṭāvu* male of cattle, young and vigorous; child, young person

*kaṭacci* heifer, young cow, calf

*kiṭāri* a cow-calf, heifer; female buffalo

Ko. *kaṭc na:g* buffalo calf between two and three years

*kaṭc kurl* cow calf between two and three years

Ka. *kaḍasu* young cow or buffalo that has not yet calved

Koḍ. *kaḍici* id.

Tu. *gaḍasu* id.

Te. *krēpu* calf (or with 1594 Ta. *ciṛu*)

Go. *kāyā* young buffalo

Koṇḍa *grālu* calf

Kui *grāḍu, drāḍu* id.

*gāṛo* a bullock or buffalo not trained to the plough

*kṛai* young female buffalo or goat

Kuwi *ḍālu, dālu* calf

Kur. *kaṛā* young male buffalo

*kaṛī* young female buffalo

*karrū, kaḍrū* buffalo calf (male or female)

Br. *xarās* bull, bullock

*xar* ram

Cf. CDIAL, No. 2645 \**kaṭṭa*- (also Skt. *kaṭāha*- a young female buffalo whose horns are just appearing) and No. 2658 \**kaḍḍa*-<sup>14</sup>

[DEDR 1123]

Ta. *kaṭamā, kaṭamāṅ* bison

*kaṭamai, kaṭampai* elk

Ma. *kaṭamān* elk, fallow deer

Ka. *kaḍave, kaḍava, kaḍaba, kaḍabe, kaḍavu, kaḍaha* elk; Indian stag, *Rusa aristotelis*

*kaḍiti, gaṇaje* a kind of deer or elk

*kaḍE* stag

Koḍ. *kaḍamē* sambur

Tu. *kaḍama* stag, elk

Te. *kaḍāti, kaṇāti* musk deer

*kaḍāju, kaḍiti, kaṇāju, kaṇiti* nilgao, a species of antelope

<sup>13</sup> TL has *kaṭamai*<sup>2</sup> ewe (Tol. Po. 619); as for TL *kaṭamai*<sup>3</sup> elk, cf. DEDR 1114 below. The latter occurs e.g. in Kuru. 392,4 (cf. also Krishnambal 1974, s. v.). Cf. Go. *kodama* female sheep (No. 1 above).

<sup>14</sup> In EWA (III,48) Mayrhofer mentions the possibility of a connection with this Dravidian etymon ("Vielleicht dravidisch"). Further cf. Skt. *kadalī* eine Antilopen-Art (EWA III,54: "Nicht klar." "Verwandschaft mit Farbwörtern wie *kādrū*- ist nicht auszuschließen.")

*gaḍi, gali* junger Stier (EWA III,150: "Unklar"; KEWA I,316: "unklar und fremder Herkunft verdächtig")

?*gaḍḍārikā*<sup>1</sup>, *gaḍḍārikā* ein der Herde vorangehendes Mutterschaf; Pkt. *gaḍḍārī* goat, ewe (EWA III,150: "Unklar"). For the form of the last two words cf. also Skt. *kurārī*, Note 3 above.

- kaṇuju* sambur deer  
 Kol. *kaḍas* id.  
 Nk. *kaṛas* id.  
 Kur. *kāārsā, kārsā* male of the bādō-deer [DEDR 1114]
- Ta. *kālai* steer, bull, ox  
 Ma. *kāla* bull, bullock  
 Koḍ. *ka:le* bul which is leader of the herd [DEDR 1502]
- Ir. *kē:le, ko:le, kō:le* barking deer  
 ĀlKu. *kē:yi* id.  
 Ko. *ke:y* wild goat (?)  
 [ To. *kō:g* barking deer  
 Koḍ. *ke:mē* id. ]<sup>15</sup> [DEDR 2016]
- Cf. OTa. *kārān* buffalo (1x Aka. 46,1; cf. Subramanian s. v.)  
 female buffalo (2x Kuṛu. 181,3; 261,3; cf. Krishnambal s. v.)  
 (Sangam total 5x; Lehman, Malten s. v.) [not in DEDR]
- and  
 Ta. *kāli* herd of cows, cow  
 Ma. *kāli* cow, cattle; she-buffalo [s.v. DEDR 1479, Ta. *kāl* leg, foot]
- \*
- Mo. *görügesü(n)* wild herbivorous animal, game, beast; antelope (Kh. *görüös*)  
 (cf. also Go. *kurs* in DEDR 1785; No. 2 above)
- The rounded vowel in the first syllable of this Mongolian word corresponds to front vowels in Dravidian (cf. Vacek 1996b, 333; further cf. also No. 2 above) and the lexeme corresponds to one part of the above Dravidian words with front vowels.
- \*
- MT.  
*KĀTER* deer (Evenk.) MTD I,385
- KALIR* elk (wooden representation of the spirit helping the Shaman; Evenk.) MTD I,367
- KÖRBĒ* bull, bull of deer (Evenk., Even., Neg., Orok.) MTD I,414  
 (cf. also No. 2?)
- ?*KELDENE* deer with antlers of uneven length MTD I,446<sup>16</sup>
- GILGE* deer (Evenk., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud.) MTD I,150
- GILDUKA* domestic deer (Evenk., Even., Neg.) MTD I,150

<sup>15</sup> The last two words may be only loosely related with the rest of the etymon. Phonetically related lexemes (intervocalic velars and labials) may be found in Kur. *gaor, gawar* buffalo (Bleses, 1956, p. 29, s. v. buffalo) or MT: *XĒKE* deer (half-blooded) (Orok.) MTD I, 480.

<sup>16</sup> Could this word be a designation motivated by the physical property of the animal? There are lexemes of the same phonetic shape implying "breaking" (*KELTE-* to break away, MTD I,446) or "crooked" (*KELTEKE* crooked, curved, MTD I,447) in MT.

Note that the MT. lexemes display the same variation of intervocalic consonants (dental stops and liquids) and vowels (front and back) as the Dravidian etyma (except the retroflex liquids and cacuminal stops, for which cf. Note 1 above).

\*

?OT.

*katir* mule Cl. 604

#### 4.

Ka. *gōnde* bull, ox

Te. *gōda* ox

Kol. *kondā* bull; *kōnda* bullock

Nk. *kōnda* bullock

Pa. *kōnda* bison

Ga. *kōnde* cow; *kōndē* bullock

Go. *kōṇḍā*, *kōnda* bullock, ox [DEDR 2216]<sup>17</sup>

Kuwi *goṇḍa* bison Israel, 1979, p. 359

Pe. *gaṇḍa*<sup>1</sup> bison Burrow, Bhattachara 1970, p. 203

? Kur. *gūṇḍi* heifer Bleses 1956, p. 82

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Mo. *xandaṅi* elk, sort of moose<sup>18</sup>

\*

MT.

*KĒNDE* deer (harnessed) (Even.) MTD I,448<sup>19</sup>

*KANDAĠĀ* elk MTD I,372<sup>20</sup>

Evenk. id.

Ma. *qandax,an* elk (male)

\*

TURKIC

Dol. *kāntār* wildes Rentier Stachowski 1998, p. 147

<sup>17</sup> There is another Dravidian etymon, which may be related with this group of words, viz.

Te. *gēde* a she-buffalo; Konḍa *geyda* id.; Kuwi *gedde* id. (DEDR 2000). Cf. also the following MT. word.

<sup>18</sup> For a specification of possible motivations of this Mongolian word, cf. Novikova 1972, p. 126, Note 149.

<sup>19</sup> Besides the purely Altaic etymologies, there seems to be a good parallel in Finno-Ugrian, also displaying a front vowel in some variants. Koskinen (p. 51, No. 123; cf. above Note 2) finds a Finno-Ugrian etymology for DEDR 2216:

FU *kunta*<sup>2</sup> wildes Rentier (wild reindeer) (cf. Rédei, 1988, p. 206 for further variants including a front vowel in the first syllable reminding of the MT. form, and also an intervocalic liquid besides an intervocalic dental).

<sup>20</sup> Though MTD does not say so (the dictionary only refers to the above Mongolian form for comparison), the MT. word may be either a borrowing from Mongolian or it may have been influenced by Mongolian. The previous Even. word may be the only testimony of a real MT. etymon.



With the above exception, Turkic does not seem to possess a proper parallel with the above etymon. A formally identical word has a meaning, which may be difficult to accept as a parallel, viz.:

*kunduz* beaver Cl. 635 (for more examples cf. Räs. 301a)  
*QUNDUIZ* id. OTD s. v.

Note also the Te. word without nasal in DEDR 2216 and compare it with OT.  
*kotuz* yak (Cl. 608; cf. No. 2 above).

## 5.

Ta. *takar* sheep, ram, goat, male of certain animals

Ma. *takaran* huge, powerful as a man, bear, etc.

Ka. *tagar*, *tagaru*, *tagara*, *tegaru* ram

Tu. *tagaru*, *tagaru* id.

Te. *tagaramu*, *tagaru* id. [DEDR 3000]<sup>21</sup>

Go. *daḡga:ri*: male sambar Subrahmanyam, 1968, p. 204, No. 692

OTa. *takar* is attested in Sangam literature with a total of six occurrences (Lehman, Malten 1992, s. v.), in other words the lexeme is attested two thousand years back.

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Mo. *teke* wild goat, ibex (*Capra siberica*); uncastrated goat<sup>22</sup>

?*taki* wild horse, *Equus przewalskii*

*daḡaḡ-a(n) 2.*, *daḡ-a(n)* colt between one and two years

*toki 2.* full-grown elk

*tuḡul* calf less than a year old

\*

MT.<sup>23</sup>

TÖKĪ elk MTD II,191-192<sup>24</sup>

Evenk. *tōkī*, *tovekī*, *tōki* id., great bear

Sol., Even., Neg., Oroch., Olcha, Orok, Nan. - all with a long vowel

<sup>21</sup> ?Kuwi *duba gori* a type of sheep Israel, 1979, p. 377

For *gori* cf. No. 1 above; the meaning of *duba* cannot be established at the moment, but the form may be related with this etymon and the further Altaic forms below. The phrase may also be a coordinate pair of the dvandva type (cf. J. Vacek, On Semantic Reduplication in Indian Languages, ArOr 57, 4, 347-358).

<sup>22</sup> Koskinen (p. 57, No. 157; cf. above Note 2) connects Ta. *takar* (DEDR 3000) with Mo. *degelen* coat, and Mo. *zegeren* antelope; however, the latter goes better with Ka. *jinke* antelope, etc. (DEDR 2504, cf. Vacek forthcoming, No. 3).

<sup>23</sup> The MT. examples display a full scale of forms, with the intervocalic consonant variation, including intervocalic labials and velars (also velar nasals), which was shown in my earlier work, e.g. Vacek 2000 passim, and 2002 passim.

<sup>24</sup> The long vowel here may be a result of contraction of intervocalic velar (cf. the second Evenki form and above Note 4). In that case the word would have to be reconsidered for this etymology. But the intervocalic labial may also fit the picture as a parallel with the respective Turkic forms below, only followed by a different suffix.

Ma. <i>tox,o</i> elk (grown up)	
?TAKI wild horse (Ma.)	MTD II,153
TEXE I he-goat (Sol., Ma. < Mo.)	MTD II,230
TlɣER deer (taboo) (Evenk.)	MTD II,185
TIPAYA male elk (Oroch.)	MTD II,185
DEVJE I moschus ( <i>Moschus Moschiferus</i> L.) (Evenk.)	MTD I,228
?TUKUČĚN calf (of elk)	MTD II,210
Evenk. id. etc. (Sol., Even., Ma.)	

\*

OT.

TEKÄ

*teke*., with variants: *tekke*, *deke*: he-goat Cl. 477

*tokli*: a lamb (older than *kozi*: but younger than *ko:j*) Cl. 469

?*tüge*: a (half-grown) calf Cl. 478

Chuv. *taka* ram, sheep Egorov 1964, p. 227 (cf. also Novikova 1972, 128)  
etc. in a number of Turkic languages

But there is a Turkic lexeme with intervocalic labial, which is the accepted parallel of the Mongolian intervocalic velar,<sup>25</sup> viz.

*tavar* originally "livestock" Cl. 442

Clauson further adds that the word was later used in the sense "animate property" and subsequently it also meant just "goods", a sense which was borrowed with the word into Mongolian *tavar/tabar* merchandise, goods; property, chattels, and also into Russian as *tovar*<sup>26</sup> merchandise, goods, wares.

TABAR, TAVAR possession, merchandise OTD s. vv.

Some Turkic languages, however, have preserved the original meaning, e.g.

Turkic *davar* cattle, live stock; herd of sheep

Kirghiz *tubar* ripe female of an animal

Kumyk *tubar* cattle

Turkmen *davar* id.

OT. *tuvarči* herdsman (according to Gabain; OTD or Cl. do not seem to have the word)

etc. Egorov 1964, p. 227

<sup>25</sup> For examples of Mo. intervocalic velar and Turkic intervocalic labial cf. Vacek, forthcoming, Note 14. Some of the words also have potential Dravidian parallels. Further cf. e.g.

(1) Mo. *tayala-* to desire, love, find pleasure in something, be pleased etc.; OT. *tapla*: to be pleased (Cl. 440); cf. Tu. *tabakuni* to desire, wish, covet; etc. (DEDR 3077); cf. also Te. *tagulu*, *tavulu* wish, desire, (attachment, interest) (s. v. DEDR 3004) and Ta. *takai* love, affection, kindness etc., etc. (s. v. DEDR 3005)

(2) Mo. *sigür* broom, whisk broom; OT. *sipir-* to sweep (Cl. 791); cf. also Ta. *cī-* to sweep off etc., Ka. *cipari* broom, Pa. *cēpid* broom; etc. (DEDR 2599)

(3) Mo. *aγur* 1 ab. breath, *aγušgi(n)* lungs; OT. *öpke* lungs (Cl. 9); cf. Ta. *āvi* to sigh; breath, sigh (DEDR 393); Kui *ūkuři* breath, respiration; etc. (s. v. DEDR 741)

<sup>26</sup> Cf. also M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, IV, Moskva 1973, s. v. *továr* I merchandise, (horned) cattle (borrowed from Uigur). The word is also attested in Old Church Slavonic and in other Slavonic languages (see V. Machek, *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého*, Prague 1971, p. 684), including Czech *tovar* goods, merchandise. The original meaning of "cattle" is preserved e.g. in Ukrainian (merchandise, cattle). The Russian designation of "comrade" in the political sense - *tovarišč* - is also derived from this etymon.

Chagatai, Osm. *tavar* Haustiere, das Vieh, haupts. die Schafe Räs. 451b  
 Turkm. *tüve* heifer Cl. 478 (s. v. *tüge*; cf. above)

Further cf.

Jakut *tāba* deer, stag Räs. 451a (referring to Mo. *toki*; MT. *tōki* etc. cf. above)  
 Dol. *taba* Rentier Stachowski 1998, p. 226<sup>27</sup>

and

NE, NC, NW Turkic *yabaða* etc. colt from newly born to two-year-old Cl. 874<sup>28</sup>

By the same logic it would seem quite probable that the Turkic forms with intervocalic velar should be considered as borrowed from Mongolian.<sup>29</sup>

In conclusion we should say that the above lexemes reflect an important feature of the environmental biosphere of early human society. In that context it would be only natural that these lexemes should copy flexibly the conditions of the natural surroundings and that they would adapt to the eventually changing referents (types of animals in the changing natural conditions, new types of biospheres to which the respective communities or their parts moved at certain points of time). We can only generally envisage the respective natural conditions, which at present are represented by the fauna of tropical India at one margin of the territory and by the fauna of the frosty North at the other margin.

<sup>27</sup> The last two words, however, may also be referred to a series of words with “front vowels”, mostly meaning “camel” in Altaic, but cf. the Finnish word below:

Uig. etc. *tābū* Kamel, etc., etc., Mo. *temege(n)* camel, Finnish *teva*, *tevana* Elch, Elentier, Rentier (sic!) (Räs. 468a; for FU further cf. Rédei, p. 522). Further cf. the form OT. *tevey* camel (Cl. 447-8, expressing doubt about the “original form of this word”).

Further cf. Novikova’s summary of the problems around “camel” in Altaic (Novikova 1972, p. 110-11 and Note 33; referring also to the paper by K. H. Menges in UJ XV, 1935, 517-840).

<sup>28</sup> Initial *y-* in Turkic often corresponds to initial dental stop in Mongolian. Clauson etymologises this word from a root meaning “matted hair, or wool”, and thus connects the word with Mo. *dayaki* snarl, tangle; combings of hair; shedding of hair etc. Räs. 187b-188a, s. v. Osm. *japak* ein noch suagendes Füllen, etc., refers the word to Mo. *dayaγ-a(n)* and distinguishes it from Chag., Osm. *japak* Vliess, Wolle etc., which he compares with Mo. *dayaki* as above. The interpretation of Räsänen is obviously to be preferred to that of Clauson.

<sup>29</sup> This may not be acceptable to all specialists in Altaic linguistics, but cf. Poppe’s discussion of Altaic intervocalic *\*-p-*, *\*-b-* and their reflection in Mongolian, Old Turkic and other Altaic languages (Poppe 1960, p. 46ff.).

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<sup>30</sup> The abbreviations of languages used here are those commonly used in the respective branches of Altaic and Dravidian and may be found in the quoted dictionaries. The lexical material is mainly drawn from these dictionaries. All the dictionaries are quoted in the end of the listed etyma. For Mongolian the only source is Lessing's dictionary, in which the words are easy to locate, and thus it does not have to be specifically quoted. A few more lexemes are added for Dravidian and Turkic from sources listed further below.

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