From* the mist of times emerge our earliest Indian texts, the Rgveda (c. 1300 -1000 BCE), composed in the Northwest of the subcontinent, and the Sangam texts (c. 2nd cent. BCE - early CE), composed in the extreme South. They contain valuable materials in archaic Indo-Aryan (Vedic Sanskrit) and in archaic Old Tamil respectively. The former belongs, along with Old Iranian (Avestan of Zarathustra), to the ancient Indo-Iranian subfamily of Indo-European that stretches from Iceland to Assam and Sri Lanka.¹ The latter belongs to the Dravidian family² that is restricted to the subcontinent but may have relatives in Northern Asia (Uralic) and beyond.³

As for the plant names found in these old sources, it must be observed that recent advances in archaeobotany⁴ indicate at least three major nuclei of food production in the subcontinent. They can be briefly characterized as follows.

In the west of the subcontinent, the food producing package was derived from that of the Middle East: winter wheat, goat/sheep, with the Indian addition of the Zebu and water buffalo. Wheat even has a Near Eastern name and it is not the result of local domestication as was sometimes thought; instead it took some 2000 years in the western border regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan before it was acclimatized to Indian climatic conditions.⁵

Second, there was a Lower Gangetic agricultural center with rice and water buffalo (c. 2500 BCE). Agriculture was first established only around 3000 BCE, in spite of what is now sometimes claimed by some local archaeologists.⁶ Indian rice (vrīhi, Oryza indica) is a hybrid of northern Indian wild rice, O. nivāra, and the southern Chinese domesticated variety, O. japonica (as recent genetic research has indicated.⁷

Third, there is a somewhat later upper South Indian center with intensive cattle herding and growing of millets, including an African variety. Around 1800 BCE, it spread southward and also northward into Malwa.

Fourth, there may have been additional indigenous centers of food production,
one in the east (Orissa/Jharkhand), and one in the west (W. Gujarat, S. Rajasthan). Both the earliest Indo-Aryan (often still, but erroneously called “Aryan”) and Old Tamil texts contain names of trees, plants and agricultural products that shed considerable light on the early history of plants in the subcontinent — and of the people who used them. In addition, the testimony of later texts and languages, down to those still contained, but hidden in modern ones will be used.

In this investigation, only some of the most important plant terms can be dealt with, especially those for barley, oats, millet, wheat, and rice, -- some of which have diverse, sometimes surprising origins in all the major 5 linguistic families of the subcontinent — and well beyond.

The largest of them, Indo-European, is represented in the subcontinent by the great Indo-Iranian subfamily that includes Iranian, Nuristani (Kafiri in northeast Afghanistan) and Indo-Aryan («Aryan»). East of Nuristani, there is the IA subfamily of Dardic which exhibits most of the developments seen in the rest of the Indo-Aryan languages. Dardic includes the languages spoken from the borders of Afghanistan to the eastern, Kisthwar dialect of Kashmiri, among others: Kalasha, Khowar, Shina, Kohistani, and Kashmiri.

Dravidian covers all of the south and some parts of Central India as well as the North Dravidian outliers Brahui in Baluchistan, Kurukh in N. Madhya Pradesh, and Malto in S.E. Bihar. The latter three have moved out of Central India into their current homelands only around 1000 CE. Besides the Indo-European and Dravidian families, there also is the Austroasiatic one, represented in India by the Munda languages of central and eastern India, by Khasi in the hills of Meghalaya and by Nicobarese. Another family is Tibeto-Burmese, spoken all over the northern sections of the Himalayan belt including Arunachal Pradesh and in the eastern states of Nagaland, Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura. A fifth family is represented by Burushaski, a remnant language in Hunza (northernmost Pakistan), and finally there is Andamanese. To this, we can add substantial evidence for remnants of lost families (see below).

As for Indo-Aryan, the diverse origin of names for agricultural plants is not really surprising because of the predominantly pastoral interests of the early speakers of Vedic. Differently from the frequently met with IE/IA terms for cattle, milk, horse, etc., agricultural ones such as ‘barley’, ‘ploughing’, etc. are significantly less frequent. Consequently, the multitude of Indo-Aryan words for plants that have come down to us stem from the other language families present then and especially so, from the now lost substrate languages. Linguistic investigation indicates that they covered large stretches of the subcontinent.

Such local (substrate) words can be isolated from Indo-Aryan fairly easily by linguistic observations. They have unusual sounds and word structure, and there usually is a lack of a convincing Indo-European etymology tracing back the word to cognates in other IE

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9 The ancient Iranians (like King Darius, 519 BCE) also called themselves ariya/a’riia.
10 Elfenbein 1987.
12 See Berger 1998.
languages. For example, in Vedic Sanskrit a word like *busa ‘drizzle, chaff'*14 is actually not allowed: it should have been *busa* with a retroflex š (as in Kṛṣṇa or bhāṣa). Indeed, the word is found in the non-IE Burushaski language as *busa* (and in neighboring Iranian languages).15

Many such words stick out immediately like the proverbial sore thumb, just as words with initial ng-, nk- or mf- would do in English (*Nkrumah, Zulu nkosi 'god', Mfume – now an American surname). The same applies to word structure. A Rigvedic name like *Balbūtha* cannot be parsed according to Vedic or Indo-European rules: there is no IE/IA root word *balb-* and no suffix –ūtha. The word goes back to an unknown, lost language of the Greater Panjab, about which more below. Unfortunately, scholarship has not advanced that far in the analysis of Proto-Dravidian, and even less so in Munda, etc. Now, as for the names of these domestic plants and agricultural terms, such as *flour* in Hindi *jau*, there is no consequence for loan words, thus *busa* instead of *busā* (cf. Kuiper 1991).

As for Indo-Aryan, the early evidence can be counterchecked and expanded by attestations in medieval (MIA) and modern (NIA) Indian languages. This is especially useful when studying words that have been ignored in the religious and ritualistic Vedas but that are available in Middle or New Indo-Aryan languages, such as the Buddhist Pāli texts, the various Prākṛts or modern languages like Hindi, etc., as compiled in R.L. Turner’s *Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan languages* (CDIAL). For example, the old agricultural word for *‘flour’* turns up only in some of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, such as āṭā ‘flour’ in Hindi, etc. It goes back to the non-attested Vedic Sanskrit *āṛta ‘flour’,* CDIAK 1338, from *ṛt* ‘to grind.’18

The current investigation also includes the detailed study of agricultural terms (and their sources) in Hindi by C. Masica19 and its use by D. Fuller,20 whose discussion fortunately includes their respective area of origin. For IA, we have the etymological dictionary of Sanskrit by Mayrhofer21 and Turner's *CDIAL.*22 For Dravidian there is the etymological dictionary by Burrow and Emeneau23 – actually just an extensive list of

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14 In the sequel, I frequently neglect (except in direct quotations) the Vedic pitch accents as they are of no consequence for loan words, thus *busa* instead of *busā* (cf. Kuiper 1991).
15 And, as loans in E. Iranian: Sariqoli *bus* and Waxi *bis*, cf. also Munda: Santali *busu’b*, see Pinnow 1959: 93 § 120; cf. *EWA* II 229 sq.; for a possible Munda origin (cf. Sadani *bhusā*) see Osada, *ILJ* 38, 1995.
17 Texts before the first historical documents (Aśokas inscriptions, c. 250 BCE), include the Buddhist canon in Pāli collected c. 250 CE under Aśoka, Pāṇini’s grammar and early commentaries of it (c. 350-150 BCE), the Indian epics (Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa (c. 100 BCE), and a few texts such as the early parts of Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra.
19 Masica1979.
20 Fuller 2006, appendix.
related words-- and the recent reconstruction of Proto-Dravidian by Bh. Krishnamurti.24 The situation is much worse for Munda,25 Burushaski,26 and Tibeto-Burmese.27

One constant problem to be taken into account in the following discussion is that (a) the exact botanical identification of certain plants (especially of the various sorts of millet/sorghum) are not always reliable and (b) that an older designation of a cereal plant may be used for a newly introduced one, as is especially frequent with millets, but which also occurs across species boundaries such as between barley and rice.

To indicate how people felt around 1000-500 BCE, we luckily have some Middle Vedic texts, composed in North India, which name seven or ten important domestic plants (saptā grāmyā oṣadhayah). The 7 plants are: rice, barley, sesame, mung beans, millets, wheat, lentil, other beans, and the pulse Dolichos biflorus,28 and the 10 are: vṛihi rice, Oryza sativa; yāva barley, Hordeum vulgare; tiḷa sesame, Sesamum indicum; māśa mung beans, Phaseolus mungo; āṇu millet, Panicum miliaceum; priyāṅgu millet, Setaria italica (L.), Panicum italicum; godhūna wheat, Triticum aestivum/sativum; masūra lentil, Lens culinaris; khālva beans, Phaseolus radiatus, a variety of Phaseolus mungo = māša(?); khalā-kula Dolichos biflorus L.29 These Vedic lists begin with the food most favorable to the gods (and humans), rice and barley.

Below, in the appendix, plants and their names are ordered according to their geographical origin, their first attestation in texts as well as the place of the texts' composition, so that a fairly detailed picture emerges for the ultimate 'origin' and the first textual attestation in time30 and space31 of Indian plants.

Likewise, in this paper, these data are presented in roughly historical and geographical order, starting in the northwest and west of the subcontinent with our oldest testimony.

§ 1 The Northwest: Rgveda and other Vedic Texts

In this section our earliest texts are used: the Rgveda in archaic Vedic Sanskrit, and also the closely related Old Iranian Avesta of the Zoroastrians, as well as the languages that have descended from Old Iranian, Old Indo-Aryan, and from Nuristani, such as modern Persian, Pashto, Hindi, etc.

A study of the names for domesticated plants indicates that the Rgveda contains just a few words that can be traced back to Indo-Iranian and Indo-European, and that most of the others are of local origin. This is not surprising for a mainly pastoral people such as the Indo-Iranians and Vedic Indo-Aryans.

The small number of inherited Indo-European terms rapidly diminished as the Indo-Aryans and pre-Iranians moved further away from their common home in northern and later in southern Central Asia as well as in the Hindukush area. However, copious residues of Indo-European terms are still found today in the Hindukush-Pamir area, that is in the local Iranian, Nuristani or the northwestern Indo-Aryan Dardic languages.

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27 Benedict 1972.
28 Taиттирия Ṣamhitā 5.2.5.5, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 14.9.3.22.
31 See Witzel 1987.
(Kashmiri, Khowar, Kalasha, etc.). Such terms rapidly and increasingly diminish in number, and finally disappear, in the other Indo-Aryan languages of the subcontinent, beginning with the Panjab.

This, incidentally, is a clear indication that both the names as well as the population that spoke early Vedic came from the northwest – Afghanistan and beyond.\(^3\)

We begin, thus with the IE-derived names of domesticated cereal plants. As indicated, one has to be constantly aware of the frequent shift in meaning from older designations for cereal plants to more recently introduced (or to those that have gained greater importance, such as from ‘grain’ > ‘rice’, or the typical shift in meaning seen in British English corn ‘wheat’ > American English ‘maize’.

§ 1.1. GRAIN, CORN

Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) has two general words for ‘grain, cereals, corn’.\(^3\)

1.1.1. OIA dhānā- ‘corn, grain’ is derived from Proto-Indo-European (PIE) \(^*\)dʰoňňah₂ ‘corn’. It is still found in the Indo-Aryan (Dardic) language Khowar dān ‘parched grain’ and in various Iranian languages.\(^3\) The word and its derivatives are found in virtually all IA languages, if arranged as per R.L. Turner’s\(^3\) usual order of presentation, from west to northwest, Himalayas, then back west along the Gangetic plains, and finally south to Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa and Sri Lanka (CDIAL 6777):


In other words, the term is found all over the general IA area except, inexplicably, in some of the Northwest (Dardic), which may be a feature of lack of collections in the dictionaries or these smaller tongues.

1.1.2. Another word for grain is: PIE \(^*\)sˊsyă, \(^*\)sˊsyom ‘corn’ > OI sasyám ‘grain to be harvested, seeds’, sasá- m. ‘food, herb, grass, seeds’.\(^3\) (CDIAL 13294),\(^3\) found also in

\(^{32}\) The opposite, a spread of these terms out of India, falls prey not just to Occam’s razor: why did only these early, PIE terms survive, and why only outside India? For this pseudo-problem, note the well established linguistic data and conclusions, in: Hock 1999, Witzel 2001, 2005. Such data are habitually disregarded and overlooked, for example by B.B. Lal (2001-2) who neglects the most typical IE tree bhūrja, the birch tree (found only in highland Kashmir above 7000 feet) that has a typical IE name ‘the white one’. The climatic conditions make it impossible for the word to have been exported form the plains of northern India -- unless one goes back to the glacial maximum of the last Ice Age, much too early for any IE language. -- In addition to the birch, the IE word for ‘oak’ may be contained in parkatǐ > ‘ficus infectiora’. (EWA II 194 s.v. plakṣa), and that for ‘willow’ in vetasa > ‘Calamus rotang’ (EWA II 578), if so, then both with change of meaning in the Indian climatic context. As in some cases of crop names (see below), more such IE tree names are retained in E. Iranian and Dardic in the Northwest.

\(^{33}\) Many of the following IE details are taken from Wiczk 2003.

\(^{34}\) Such as Avestan dānā-karš(a)- ‘carrying grains’, Khotanese dāna- ‘grain, corn’, Sogdian ḍ’n ‘grain of cereal’ and note Ir. ḍānā- in the Pamir languages; further attested in a number of other IE languages: Hittite, Luwian, Lithuanian, Latvian; cf. Semitic ḍāḥnu ‘Sorghum vulgare’ and Dravidian ṭiṅ-ay ‘Italian millet.’ Cf. below § 5.1.4.

\(^{35}\) See Turner, CDIAL 6777 dhānā-‘corn, grain (esp. parched grain)’ for details about the various NIA languages including cf. various derived forms: P. dhānā ‘parched grain’; H. gur—dhānī ‘parched wheat and molasses’, etc. and CDIAL 6778 dhānyā ‘pertaining to grain’.

\(^{36}\) Avestan hahiia, hahusu; further Hittite, Celtic > Provençal, Catalanian, Spanish; Gaulish, Welsh,
1.1.4. Importantly, the following old IE words for ‘grain’ are no longer found in IA, but have been retained only in the western/northern arc surrounding the Greater Panjab: *h₂-ad- ‘grain’: Avestan āōu- ‘grain’, Sogdian *d’wk [āduk] ‘corn, grain, cereals,’ and equally so, PIE *grhnóm ‘grain’ > ‘corn’, the origin of English ‘grain.’

§ 1.2. BARLEY

The most typical IE food grain was barley. It ultimately stems, along with wheat, from the Fertile Crescent. Its IE term yéwʰ₁-os may originally just have meant “The Grass” as it is derived from the verbal root *yéwʰ₁ ‘to graze.’ It is also the most widely spread Indo-Aryan term for cereals. In the Veda, originally it was the most common food for humans and gods, later added to by rice. Barley, just like wheat (below), originally stem from the Near East.

 PIE yéwʰ₁-os, -om ‘barley, corn’ > OIA yáva- m. ‘barley’; in Iranian: Avestan yauua- ‘grains’, yauua–ha- ‘pasture’; Ossetic yăw ‘millet’. In the subcontinent, barley is found from Nuristani and Dardic in the northwest all the way south to Sinhala (CDIAL 10431): RV, Pāli, Prakrit; Gypsy - Dardic (Kalasha, Shina, etc.) – Sindhi - Lahnda-Panjabi - W. Pahari - Kumaoni - Nepali - Assamese – Bengali - Bihari - Maithili - Hindi - O. Marwari - Gujarati - Marathi - Sinhala; in some cases the meaning of the word has changed as to include more recently prominent cereal plants.

Breton; note the loan into Eastern Caucasian *sůs V ‘rye’ > Chechen sos ‘oats’, etc.

37 sásá ‘grain, food’ RV. Or. sasa ‘kernel, nutritious part’; A. sah ‘crops’. – The derivative 13295 sasyá ‘grain, fruit’ AV., is found in K. sas ‘beans or peas or lentils, etc. porridge’ B. sása ‘grain, fruit, fleshy part of fruit’, Or. sása ‘kernel, nutritious part’; Old Si. hasa ‘crop’, Si. sas, has, as ‘corn crop’.

38 Also found in Greek and its dialects Mycenaean, Delphian.

39 And in Old Saxon sámo, Old High German samo ‘Same,’ as well as in Old Prussian, Lithuanian, Old Church Slavonic. – However note also the similar Munda terms sī, see § 4. 1.

40 Armenian, Lycian, Gothic, Tocharian. -- *h₂-adhor ‘Triticum dicoccum’; -- Hittite, Armenian < *h₂-ad- ‘grain’.

41 In Pashto zezay ‘grain’; further in Albanian, Latin, Old Irish, Welsh, Gothic, Old English corn, Old High German, Old Norse, Lithuanian Latvian, Old Prussian, Old Church Slavonic, Russian, etc.


43 For details see CDIAL 10431 yāva ‘barley,’ attested from the RV onward. Changes in meaning are seen in European Gy. (eng. germ.) ‘oats’, Nuristani: Kāmvrī javur ‘corn (maize).’ Derivations (with modern reflexes) are the Late Vedic 10072 yāvā ‘consisting of or prepared from barley’ Kātyā Śr., with reflexes in Sindhi and Nepali; the Late Vedic jāvaka- ‘a particular dish of barley’ Gāt.; the early post-Vedic 10439 jāvānī ‘a kind of bad barley’ Pān. com., *Pychotis ajowan’ Suśr. and the Vedic 10438 yavāgā ‘rice-gruel(!)’ TS. -- Further related is the post-Vedic CDIAL 10434 yavandā ‘Andropogon bicolor’ Suśr., found from Lahnda jōdīl ‘oats, a weed like oats’ to N. junyālo, junelo ‘big millet’, H. junhār etc. ‘millet’ and M. jōdhā ‘the grain Holcus sorgum,’ cf. finally 10437 yavākāra ‘barley-shaped’ and derivatives, with meanings ranging from jowār, millet, to sorgum,
The other PIE designations for barley are only preserved in the mountainous arc northwest of the Greater Panjab.

1.2.2. PIE *(h)ālβ̣i ‘barley’ > Iranian *arbusā > Khotanese rrusā, Wakhi arbosī ‘Hordeum’, Pashto ōrbūše ‘barley’; further, found in Greel and Albanian; all derived from < PIE * alḅas ‘white’.

1.2.3 PIE *ḅārs- ‘barley’ > Iranian: Ossetic Digr bor (xwar) ‘millet’; Yazgulam vraxt ‘flour’ < *bhṛṣṭa.44

1.2.4. PIE *gʰ érsd)- or *gʰ rōḍ̣- ‘barley’ > Iranian: Middle Persian jurtāk, zurtāk ‘corn’, Persian zurt, zurd ‘a kind of millet’, dial. jurdā ‘corn’.45

1.2.5. PIE *kaskos ‘barley’ > Iranian *kaska- > Khotanese caska- ‘corn’, Munjan kosk ‘Hordeum’, Šughni čūšč, Rušani čošč ‘barley’ etc., Persian kašk, Armenian.46 Note the unrelated Nuristani words (CDIAL 3112) Kati kāča ‘millet’, Waig, kāc ‘millet’ (see § 2.4.6).

§ 1.3. RYE

Rye is a less respected cereal where people have other choices and then prefer wheat. Such was also the case in the Panjab and consequently the old IE word for ‘rye’ has survived only in the Iranian speaking areas of S. Asia: PIE *rugʰis, *rugʰyos ‘rye’ > Old Iranian *rujika- > E. Iran. Šughni rojž ‘ear of rye or rice’, Wanetsi rōj ğ ‘ear of corn.’47 PIE *rugʰis is, of course, the origin of English ‘rye’.

§ 1.4. OATS

Oats, too, usually is a low-esteem cereal, also used for fodder. Two IE words may have perhaps survived in Vedic Sanskrit.

1.4.1 PIE *kʰop[r] ‘oats’ > OIA šāpa- m. ‘driftwood, drifted reeds’; Iranian: Alan zabar ‘Auena,’ Šughni sip(i)yak ‘a kind of millet’,48 as in English dial. and haver, German Hafer.

barley, or even ‘soft grass of high altitude’ (Pahari). Prehistorically related is 10436 yāvasa- ‘grass’ RV and its derivatives.

44 Further in Greek, Albanian, Latin, Oscan/Umbrician, Old Irish, Old Norse, Old English bere ‘barley’, Old Church Slavonic, Russian; Old Irish, Welsh, Cornish, Breton, Latin; -- cf. Semitic *bur- ‘brr- ‘grain, wheat’ as source or as loan from IE.

45 Also in Greek, Mycenaean, Albanian, Latin hordeum, Germanic *gerstō, Old High German, Dutch.

46 Or in Iranian < *krša-ka-; further Albanian, Tocharian B.

47 In Germanic: Old Norse, Old English ryge, Old Frisian, Old Saxon, Old High German; further: Lithuanian, Old Prussian, Old Russian; - cf. Afroasiatic: Egyptian rdr ‘cereals’, Hausa roogo; and East Caucasian *rəcč ‘a kind of cereal (oats, rye). From Iranian stems Uralic words in Mordvinian, Komi, Udumur.

48 From O. Iranian *sāpar-ku-, Persian sabz ‘vegetable; grass’, Pamir language: Rošani sabč ‘poz of bean’; -- further in Hittite, Greek, Middle Irish, Welsh, Cornish, Middle Breton, Breton, Old Norse, English dial. haver, Old Saxon, Old High German, Lithuanian šāpas ‘stalk, branchlet, splinter.’ Cf. EWA II 629, CDIAL 12387.
1.4.2. PIE *pūrōs, -ōm ‘Triticum compactum’ > Ol pūra- m. ‘cake’ CDIAL 833.49

1.4.3. The neighboring Iranian languages still have another variety: PIE *h₂(a)wīg-i-/śο ‘oats’ > Iranian *avī[z]-sa- > Khotanese hau ‘oats’, Yazgulami wis ‘Avena.’50

§ 1.5. MILLET

There are many varieties of millet and sorghum. It is now clear that the IE speaking people already grew a variety of millet, perhaps broomcorn millet.51 (Other types of millet originated in India, China, and Africa, see § 2.4.)

However the IE words for millet are only found in the Dardic NIA languages in the northwest of the subcontinent (and in Nuristani). They have been lost in the Greater Panjab, where they have been substituted by local (substrate) words.

1.5.1. PIE *h₂yrgʷʰ3 : *h₂yrgʷeno- ‘millet’ > Nuristani *arjana- > Aṣkūn az.ū, Kati awī ‘millet’; Dardic: Pašai aṟīn, Kalaša aṟīn, etc. ‘millet’.52

1.5.2. PIE *melH-i, ʾn-ēs ‘Italian millet’ > Dardic: Khowar blan ‘barley.’53

1.5.3. PIE *k’ers- ‘millet’ is found only in other IE languages,54 however, comparable are: Nuristani (Kānviri) kārī ‘millet’ and Dardic designations of ‘millet’: Kalaša karas, Khowar khūrlā, Phalura kāraṇ, Dameli kārač.55

Another PIE word for ‘millet’ is found only in the Iranian and Nuristani languages surrounding the Greater Panjab in the northwest.

1.5.4. PIE *swahrəh₂ ‘common millet’ > Iranian hwārā- > Alan huvar ‘millet’, Ossetic Dīgor xwar ‘corn, grain, millet’, Iron xor ‘corn, barley Hordeum vulgare’, Sogdian γwːr-

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49 CDIAL 8331 pūra ‘cake’ Rāmāyaṇa, pūrikā ‘cake’ MBh, found from Kashmiri pūru ‘a kind of cake fried in ghee’ to Marathi pūrī. In IE it is seen in Greek, Germanic (Old English, English furze ‘Triticum repens’), Lithuanian, Old Prussian, Church Slavonic, Slovenian, Czech, Russian. Cf. the non-IE Kartvelian (Georgian) p’uri ‘wheat, wheat, corn’ which maybe loaned from Greek.

50 Also in Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Latvian, Old Prussian, Slavic: Russian, etc.

51 See Fuller 2009: 3.

52 O. Iranian *arzana- > Persian arzan, etc. and East Iranian: Pashto ẓdān, Yīdgha yūrzn, Wakhī yūrzn, Khotanese ēyā, ēyasā ‘millet, Panicum miliaceum’; also in Greek, Old Irsh. See CDIAL 636 *arjana- ‘millet’, but cf. CDIAL 95 *aṇunii- ‘millet’, ānu- in Nuristani ārīn etc. ‘millet’, and in Dardic: Kalasha arīn, etc.; see below ānu §2.4.


54 Hitite karas- ‘wheat Triticum dicoccum or Triticum durum’; — Italic: Oscan, Sabine, Latin Ceres ‘goddess of fertility’, Germanic: Old High German, German Hirse, Old Saxon.

55 Note also the similar, but not connected, CDIAL 3112 kāṣa ‘a grass used for mats, Saccharum spontaneum,’ with meanings in Nuristani and IA from ‘(foxtail) millet’, ‘S. spontaneum’, to ‘a species of grass or reed’ and Gujarati kās ‘a kind of white grass’. Turner CDIAL regards the connection of Dardic kārās, kāraṣ ‘millet’ as not clear.
§ 1.6. WHEAT

Wheat was the staple of the Indus Civilization (2600-1900 BCE), however, it is not attested in the RV but only in post-Rgvedic texts, and even then it remains just another cereal, listed way behind barley and the newly adopted rice (see above).

Curiously, it is not an IE or IIr word but an old Near Eastern loan word that has traveled east along with the plant, which was domesticated, like barley, in the Fertile Crescent in Neolithic times. It was first grown in the western piedmont areas of the subcontinent that had perennial rivers and primitive irrigation canals before it spread to the Indus plains. (There are remnants of another, equally ancient designations for wheat/grain in Burushaski.) It is notable that the cultivation of wheat was arrested in the area west of the Indus for several thousand years, and that it spread further east and south only after extensive acclimatization around 2200 BCE.

OIA gōdhūma- (with a popular etymology meaning ‘cow smoke!’) is an ultimately Near Eastern name. This is seen as a loan in Hittite kand, O. Egypt. xnd; Afroasiatic *ḥant- ‘a kind of cereal’ > Akkadian ūttatu, Hebr. ḫittā, Arab. ḥintar-; cf. also North Caucasian *henkʷ-/honkʷ- ‘barley,’ and a supposed ‘Anatolian’ *ghond[u]. Comparable with Drav. (Kanada) *gōdi. A further development, east of the Fertile Crescent, was Iranian *gant-um.

The tracks of both loan words differ: the form *gant-um entered via the northern Iranian trade route (Media-Turkmenistan-Margiana/Bactria-Sistan) (while pre-Drav. gōdi...
via the southern route). The Iranian form has also been taken over by the Drav.
newcomer in the region, Brahui with xōlum < IA *γολομ (CDIAL 4287).

When the local pre-Iranian word *gantum entered the Panjab, it inexplicably
changed its initial syllable *gan- to go-, thus *godum: the Pre-Iranian form *gantum
should have resulted in Vedic *gan-tuma or *gan-dhūma. The change from -an- to -o-
is not typical for the Panjab but it found in the very sparsely reconstructable southern
Indus language. The southern (Meluhhan) substrate form *gōdi must have influenced
the northern *gantum/gandum so that the popular etymology go-dhūma 'cow smoke' was
made possible. Notably, as mentioned, the word is not attested in the oldest text, the
Ṛgveda. The change to *godum was perhaps due to a northward expansion, out of Sindh,
of early Dravidian speakers at the end of the Rgvedic period. In the end, IA godhūma
(CDIAL 4287) is found in Vedic and Nuristani and then from Dardic all the way south to
Sinhala.

This word joins a fairly large number of Central Asian words that have been taken
over both by Iranian and Vedic from the Oxus civilization (BMAC) and its
surroundings. Such terms include those for sheaf, seed, ploughshare, lynching pin, well,
canal, yeast, bread, pillar, brick, house, wooden peg, sand, gravel, bowl, spit, axe, club,
cloak, hem, coarse garment, cloth and needle, as well as words for hemp, cannabis and
mustard (and extend into religion as well).

It appears that the greater Hindukush/Pamir area was and is a hotspot of linguistic
diversity, which is also reflected in the names of domesticated plants of the area. We
have IA languages (including Dardic like Kashmiri, Khowar, Kalasha), and west of it the
third branch of Ir (Nuristani), further, the Eastern Iranian languages like the remnants of
Sogdian (Yaghnobi) and Saka (Sariqoli) and the isolate Burushaski. The latter has
yielded some rare loans already in the oldest Indian text, the Ṛgveda: busa 'chaff' (see
above) or kīlāla 'bliestings'), which is in need for more study.

§ 2. THE NORTHWEST: SUBSTRATE WORDS IN INDO-ARYAN PANJAB AND BEYOND

67 Brahui entered the Baluchistan area only about 1000 BCE (Elfenbein 1987), and thus has no Old or
Middle East Iranian loans, but only recent ones from Baluchi, itself a late west Iranian immigrant
language as well.

68 Cf. CDIAL 4020 Skt. (lex.) gandhālu 'fragrant rice', Pashai gandār 'a kind of grain'.

69 See Witzel 1999. A study of the substrates in Sindhi would be welcome in this respect, but has not
even been proposed, except by my friend and collaborator F. Southworth 2006: 151.

70 This influence may be due to a post-Indus period, late Rgvedic Dravidian influx into the Panjab, as
is visible in loan words (Witzel 1999). The precise nature of this influx and influence remains to be
investigated.

71 See Witzel 1999.

72 CDIAL 4287 'wheat' (Yajurveda Śanhuṭas) VS. Pa. gōḍhūma, Gāndhāṛī: NiDoc. goduma, gohomi,
gōma, Pk. gohūma, Gv. gīṣū, gēṣū, gīhu, giu, etc. 'wheat, rye'; -- Nuristani: gōm, gūm, etc. -- Dardic:
gōm, gōm, gūm, gōoṃ, ghōm, Kalasha gīlum, Khowar gōm, etc. K. guyu (← Indic?), S. gēḥū, WPah.
gahū etc., Ku. ḡvā, N. gahū, gau, A. gehū, Or. gahiū, WBI. gohū, Bhōj. Aw. gōḥū, H. gohū, gehū,
gahū, G. gahū, ghâi m., M. gahū, Ko. ganyu; Si. goyama 'growing corn'; cf. also A. gom-dhān
'maize'; B. gom, gam 'wheat', Or. gahama, EBI. gahum, gohūm, Mth. gohūm, gahūm.


74 Also found in Dardic and Nuristani, EWA II 358. See now H. Berger’s detailed dictionary in Berger
1998. Cf. however also Tamil kēḻān 'curd', DEDR 1580.
As indicated, the use of local, indigenous plant names in Indo-Aryan languages is steadily increasing when moving away from the Northwest and into the subcontinent. Apart from the just mentioned Central Asian loanwords in Vedic Sanskrit and the western Asian word for ‘wheat’, there is another strong substrate in the Rgveda. It is a purely local one, representing the lost substrate language of the Greater Panjab. Some 300 words\(^{75}\) in the RV belong to this group. As mentioned earlier, they do not fit IE/IIr patterns.

Many of them stem from the unknown prefixing Indus language(s), and from an equally unknown, generally North Indian substrate (‘Language X,’ as reflected in Hindi, etc.). They are joined, later on, by those from Dravidian which was not present in the Panjab until well after the Indus period, and also those from the Munda languages.

These words span all of local village life, from plant and animal names to the ‘small tradition’ of religion and ritual. They will have constituted the lost language of the northern Indus Civilization and its Neolithic predecessors.\(^{76}\) As they abound in Austroasiatic-like prefixes, I have (somewhat unfortunately) chosen to call it Para-Munda.\(^{77}\) It indeed resembles Munda in its typical use of prefixes (as in English for-give, for-get, be-get, be-head) but it does not overlap with very much as only a few words so far can be shown to have the typical Munda -n- infixes. Further, it has to be noted that the Munda languages have been recorded only over the past 200 years and a gap of some 3000 years of unrecorded developments separates them from the time of the RV. Perhaps we should simply call this language the Kubhā-Vipāś substrate (taken from the Kabul river and the Beas). Its plant names include those of vegetables, cereals, trees and so on. Some of them are treated in the sequel.

The linguistic results can now be correlated with the archaeobotanical study of plants as carried out by Dorian Fuller.\(^{78}\)


\(^{76}\) Ravi phase in the Panjab, early Mehrgarh in Baluchistan, Birrrha/Farmana in Haryana.

\(^{77}\) Even prominent linguists, such as the Dravidianist Krishnamurti (2003) and the Pāṇinian specialist Cardona 2003 have not understood the clearly stated difference between Proto-Munda and Para-Munda and have, accordingly, misrepresented and criticized the evidence, especially with regard to Para-Munda prefixes. This problem will be discussed separately, elsewhere. In contrast, Mayrhofer, EWA, consistently and correctly speaks of a ‘prefixing language’.

\(^{78}\) See his detailed abstract in Fuller 2006, 2009.

\(^{79}\) See the numerous cases listed and discussed in Kuiper 1991.

\section*{§ 2.1. BARLEY}

The indigenous word for barley has one such Para-Munda prefixes. It is attested in Late Vedic as kulmāṣa, which compares with other words in -āṣa, -āśa\(^{79}\) such as māṣa ‘beans’. CDIAL has 3349 kul-māṣa ‘half-ripe barley’ ChU, ‘sour gruel of fruit juice or rice’ Suśr. Pa. kummāṣa ‘junket’; Pk. kummāṣa ‘grain such as beans slightly wetted’; Si. komu ‘junket’. It thus survives today only at the southern end of the subcontinent, in Sinhala, -- which is a typical case for the spread and survival in retreat areas of terms that have been substituted by later ones.

\section*{§ 2.2. WHEAT}

The word for wheat has been treated above (§ 1.6). It is a West Asian loan word (CDIAL
2003, 86
85 'millet', 914 'tsi
84 'navara
83 82 nivari months, 7605 altitudes'; H. Dravidian).
Further: 'panicled millet, god of agriculture', 903

§ 2.4. MILLET

The various types of millet have diverse origins: barnyard millet from China, N. Japan, broomcorn millet from the N. Caucasus, and foxtail millet from Bactria. Tropical millets stem from India and from Africa (sorghum). This has to be taken into account of any discussion of this wide spectrum of dissimilar plants. From China also stem Panicum miliaceum and Setaria italica. However, the Archaic Chinese words have no similarity to the Indian ones, and anyhow, a long stretch of Central Asian lands and the Hindukush separate them from the Indus area.

Other tropical millets such as sorghum, pearl millet, and finger millet came from Africa, and were found in Gujarat by 2200-1700 BCE. Millet was, thus, to some extent, a "new" import at the time of the Late Indus civilization; (cf. below, § 5.1. for Dravidian).

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80 Further: nīvāraka Suśr. Pa. nīvāra 'wild rice'; K. nivar 'a kind of hardy rice growing at high altitudes'; H. nyār m. 'wild rice'; G. navār, namār m. 'rice growing spontaneously'. A derived form is 7605 naivārā 'made of wild rice' TS. B. neyāl 'rice—straw, cord made of rice—straw, straw— rope'.
81 Further: nakara1 a kind of rice. Ma. navira, naviri, nakara a rice that ripens within two or three months, navara; Paspalum frumentaceum (?), Tu. navara a kind of grain; navare 'a kind of rice'. Te. nivari, nivrā 'Oryza.'
82 From IA stems CDIAL 9331 bhaktā 'food' RV., 'meal, food' > modern IA bhāt, etc.
84 Karlgren 1923, no. 543 *liang < *liang 'millet, sorghum', 1095 *,tsi 'common millet', 1051 *,tsi < tsiak 'panicled millet, god of agriculture', 903 *,su' < d'z',juat 'glutinous millet', 135 *siwok 'rice, millet', 914 *,siwo 'glutinous millet.'
Millet was important, especially in the savannah and drier regions, as it can be grown outside the preferred Indus growth period in winter (wheat, barley). In S. Asia its spread more or less coincides with the increasing spread of rice, which has markedly influenced the archaeologically attested emigration of Late Indus people towards the Gangetic plains, and towards Gujarat.

Some of the words for millet, such as anu, priyaṅgu, kaṅku, seem to be interrelated. They will be discussed next. The words anu and priyaṅgu are relatively old, as they occur already in Vedic (Yajurveda Samhitā).

§ 2.4.1. CDIAL 192 anu ‘the grain-plant Panicum miliaceum’ VS. Pk. anu, aŋua, aŋuā ‘a sort of edible grain’; also: 195 *anuni ‘millet.’ Surprisingly both words have been preserved only in the northwestern areas of the subcontinent in Nuristani and Dardic, but have been substituted by other terms elsewhere.

§ 2.4.2. CDIAL 8976 priyaṅgu ‘Panicum italicum’ VS. priyaṅgukā ‘P. italicum’ SāmavBr. Again it has been preserved only at the rims of the subcontinent, in Kashmiri, Marathi and Sindhi, and has been taken over into some Iranian Pamir languages.

Ved. priyaṅgu seems to have been changed by popular etymology, like several other agricultural terms dealt with earlier (godhūma, gōdi). The designations Ved. anu and *anuni (CDIAL 195) point to a contamination or cross of *kaṅgu and *-(k)g)aṅgu and IA anu, thus: kaṅgu : *aŋgu : Ved. anu

§ 2.4.3. However, *kaṅgu is attested with some divergent IA forms, -- always a good indication of varying local substrates: *kaṅkunī, *kaṅgunki, *taṅgunī (CDIAL 2606). Accordingly, a northwestern *kaṅkun, a central-northern *kaṅgun, an eastern north Indian *taṅgun can be reconstructed for the pre-Vedic period.

They are superficially similar to some Drav. and Munda words: Dravidian DE Dr. 1084 kaṅgu (Tam. kaṅku), DE Dr. 1242 kampu ( = Skt. kambū Hemādri), and Proto-Munda *gaŋ(-)gay. These words cannot easily be traced back to a single source. Hindi kaṅgni can be compared with IA *kaṅkunī CDIAL 2606, less so with Tamil kampu and

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88 Phal. anu ‘millet’; Nuristani and Dardic 195 *anuni: Kāmviri ḍu ‘millet’, Kt. awēī, Dm. ʿārin, Kāmviri ʾāne ‘grain for eating ’; Kal. ʿārin, Kho. olīn, etc.; all < *aḍiṅ. Cf. Sh. ḍu ‘Indian millet.’
90 EWA II 190.
91 If it originally contained the substrate prefix *pār- (Kuiper 1991: 42f.), then reinterpreted as *priya+gū ‘dear cow.’
92 Kuiper 1991: 38 on the loss of initial consonant k; note also CDIAL 112 anākāra ‘sprout’ Unš. S. āgūra m. ‘sprout’; L. āṅgurī ‘blade of corn when it first appears’, P. āṅgīrī, unāngūrī, āṅgūrī ‘granulation in a healing sore’; H. ākūr, ṛā m. ‘sprout’, next to *prāṅkūrā (for which see Kuiper 1991 on a substrate prefix *pār-).
94 Note also i-kōṅgō in the language of the Ekonda, (Lakes Tumba and Leopold II area). The same word is shared by their Pygmy neighbors, the Batswa.
Munda *gañ(-)gay. The ultimate source of these words may have had a form such as **kañ-Cə (C indicating an uncertain consonant).

Indeed, the original source of kaṅku- and its derivatives lies in Africa. It is known that African millet was imported into India before 1900 BCE. As expected then, **kañ-Cə and even kaṅgū is reflected in Bantu --itself a latecomer in E. Africa-- where we find Proto-Bantu *kangu and *punγu. Agriculture had spread to the area around 3500-2000 BCE, though the arrival of Bantu speakers in East Africa is later. Even Proto-Bantu *kangu goes back, thus, to an earlier East African substrate.

In short, all major language families of S. Asia have taken over the word from an unknown, East African source, though once it had arrived in India, various local developments in early Dravidian and Munda took over, resulting in the curent forms. A clear difference between northern and eastern/southern forms is visible: PDra. *kämpu is opposed to PMunda *gañgay, while the IA forms stand in between the two.

§ 2.4.4. Further substrate words in Vedic texts include the following, first of all, again, millet, which occurs in two forms, one IA, the other two from a substrate. CDIAL 12667 śyāmāka ‘the millet Paspalum scrobiculatum’ VS. is clearly derived from Vedic śyāma ‘black’, though the reconstructed variant śyāmākka points to a separate origin or development. The words are attested in

Nur. (→ Pashto) - SLPWPahNOBiMthHGMSi

§ 2.4.5. The other word for 'millet, bājra' is from a substrate as well, though already attested in Late Vedic: CDIAL 9201 *bājjara ‘millet’, HŚS varjarī (cf. § 3.2). The

98 Ehret 2002.
101 CDIAL: Pa. sāmāka ‘P. frumentaceum’, Pk. sāmāga, etc. S. sāo: ‘P. frumentaceum and its grass’; WPh. bhāl. sāmāu m. ‘a kind of darkish grass’; N. sāmā ‘a weed among rice’; B. sāmā ‘millet’; Or. svācūlā ‘P. frumentaceum’; Bi., Mth, etc.; H. svāvā, svāwā, sāmā m. ‘P. frumentaceum’; G. sāmo m. ‘inferior kind of self—sown grain’; M. svāvā, sāvā m. ‘P. frumentaceum or milaceum’; Sr. hāmi, amu ‘the grain Paspalum scrobiculatum’; -- further Wg. šāmāk, šāmāk ‘oats’; L. savākk, savāk ‘the grass P. colonum,’ ‘the grain Ophismenus frumentaceus’; P. sāvak ‘P. colonum’, svākk, sāuk, sāuāk ‘wild rice’, soak ‘a kind of millet’; --however, *śyāmākka → Psh. šāmāka, šāmākka; cf. CDIAL 12668 *śyāmākatraṇa ‘straw of a kind of grain’. M. sāvyān ‘straw of Panicum frumentaceum’.
word is attested from the W. Panjab to Maharastra.

LPNBoRBiMthHGM

2.4.6. A special case is CDIAL 3112 kāṣa ‘a grass used for mats, Saccharum spontaneum’; it is found from Late Vedic onward (Kauś. Sūtra, Pa. Pk, etc). EWA I 345 states that its origins are unclear, rejecting earlier Drav. claims. The word is found from Nuristani and Sindhi to Gujarati. However, it can be added that the Nur. form (kāc-), along with Vedic (kāṣa) point to an Indo-Iranian reconstruction *kāc’a-. The word the may be another older, BMAC loan.

Nur.; -- SLPKuNABOOrBiMthHG

§ 2.4.7. The early word CDIAL 5827 tilā ‘Sesamum indicum’ AV., *tilaka, *tilla has been regarded as a Munda word. However, one must not forget the Mesopotamian word for sesame, ellu, whose exact origin (why loss of t-?) and spread to Mesopotamia remain unclear. There is a number of related words in IA (jar-tila ‘wild sesame’, tilvila) that belong to the prefixing language that forms a substrate in early and later Vedic. The word tila is attested from Kashmiri to Sinhala and survives in the modern tel ‘oil’ as well.

KLPWPahKuNABOrOAwBiMthBhojHOMarwGMSi; → Mesopotam.

§ 2.4.7 Hindi kodon, CDIAL 3515 kodrava 'grain eaten by the poor' Mbh., cf. koradiūsa 'idem' Suśr., kodravaka KSS; and cf. DEDR 2163 Tam. kural, Kan. korale, korle; Konda koren 'a grain'.

§ 2.4.8. Finally, there are many words for 'grain' which I leave out here, and there also is maize, newly imported from the Americas just half a millennium ago. It may serve as a good example of how a new crop is assimilated into the Indian linguistic orbit. The designations for 'maize' are found (for IA) in CDIAL 5005a *challi ‘maize,’ 9879 markaka ‘Ardea argala’ and 10434 yavanāla ‘Andropogon bicolor’, cf. Suśr., yōnala; with which compare also Dravidian DEDR 2896 Ta. cōjam, cōjgal ‘maize, great millet, Sorghum vulgare.’

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103 Nur.: Kt. kāc’a ‘millet’, Wg. kāc; S. kāhu ‘S. spontaneum’, *hi ‘a species of grass’; L. kāh f. ‘S. spontaneum’; P. kāh, kāhi ‘S. spontaneum’, kāh ‘a kind of reed’; Ku. kās ‘a kind of grass used for religious purposes’; N. kā ‘S. spontaneum’, A. kāhuwā, B. kās, Or. kāsa, kāśa, kāśa, Bi. Mth. kās, kāśi, OAw. kāṃsa; H. kās m. ‘S. spontaneum’, kās ‘S. spont., the tall grass Imperata spontanea’; G. kās m. ‘a kind of white grass’. -- Connection of Dm. Gaw. kāraz, Sv. kāraž ‘millet’ is not clear, as are Iranian forms in -h-. see EWA I 1345.

104 Kuiper 1955: 157. A. Drav. source (T. Burrow BSOAS xii 142, 380) is, as per Turner CDIAL, less likely.

Apparently all these words have been taken form older designations for cereal plants. The common NIA word *makai* (or similar) is derived from *CDIAL* 9879 *markaka* ‘*Ardea argala*’.\(^\text{107}\)

§ 3. **The Gangetic plains: another nuclear area and “Language X”**

In his 1969 study\(^\text{108}\) C. Masica has investigated the origins of agricultural terms in Hindi and found that some 30% of them are of unknown, «Language X» origin, while only 9.5% are from Drav. and 5.7% from Munda. His result could be broadened considerably if one would take into account the neighboring IA languages, as Franklin Southworth, David Stampe and this author are currently carrying out in our online substrate dictionary (TUFS, Tokyo, in progress, http://www.aa.tufs.ac.jp/sarva/entrance.html\(^\text{109}\)).

However, agricultural terms in Tharu are from IA. The Tharu, an agricultural tribe in the Nepalese and adjoining Indian lowlands at the foothills of the Himalayas, have been long time local residents (and are immune against malaria). They now speak a northern Indo-Aryan language close to Maithili, Bhojpuri and Awadhi. Their language has a voluminous substrate.\(^\text{110}\) The designations for cereals are bājṛa ‘millet’, dhān ‘rice’, makai ‘maize’, gehūm ‘wheat’.

In contrast, the isolated Kusunda language in the hills of Nepal surprisingly has independent terms.\(^\text{111}\) The Kusunda were, until recently, hunter and gatherers who interacted with villagers to acquire cereals. One must wonder from which substrate language they derived their agricultural words, such as khourvi, kührugai ‘wheat’, khaidzi food, cooked rice (cf. khoa-d-i ‘s/he parches grain’). However rāko, rāṅka ‘millet' seems related to Proto-Austroasiatic *rəkwə, Munda ruṅkub for 'rice,' pointing to an earlier Munda occupation of the plains south of Nepal.\(^\text{112}\) The Kusunda even have a native word for the agricultural latecomer, ipən ‘maize', usually called makai in IA. Further research is necessary to elicit more terms from the c. 20 scattered surviving speakers in central and western Nepal.

Some of the Gangetic substrate words have already been discussed as they appear in Vedic texts (§ 1). However, one set of Gangetic substrate words in Vedic, has geminate consonants that are fairly rare in Vedic:\(^\text{113}\) such as seen in pippala ‘fig’ RV : (su-)pispala AV, MS, guggulu ‘bdellion’ AV,PS : gulguulu KS, TS; kakata  PS KSAv. : kakaṭa ‘a bird’ TS, This is echoed in language ‘X’ by a few agricultural substrate words that contain such geminates. As mentioned, one word for cereals is *bājjara* or IA *bājara* ‘millet' *CDIAL* 9201 bājjara, which turns up, slightly Sanskritized in a Late

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\(^\text{107}\) Dardic: Sh. mākāi, K. makāyū etc. S. makāı, mākāı, mākāññī, L. makāī, P. makāi, makāi, mak, Ku. mākāı, N. makai, A. mākāı, B. makai, Or. mākā, Bi. makai, makaiyā, Mth. mākā, H. makkā m., makāī, G. makāī, makai, M. makā; cf. markataka, *markakakaṇa, *markakara-trṇa.

\(^\text{108}\) Masica 1969.

\(^\text{109}\) See upper right screen of: http://www.aa.tufs.ac.jp/sarva/entrance.html; the starred items that Turner *CDIAL* found as non-attested in IA texts form its basis; however, this list has been cleared of all obvious IA words. The residue is expected to be from substrate languages, and also (when indicated) from Drav. and Munda as well as occasionally from Burushaski and Tibeto-Burmesian. Additions from the various etymological dictionaries are in (slow) progress.

\(^\text{110}\) I have carried out a pilot project at the Asia-Africa Institute of the Tokyo University for Foreign Studies (TUFS ) in 2004, but have not yet found the time to edit and publish it.

\(^\text{111}\) Watters 2005.

\(^\text{112}\) Cf. Witzel 1999.

\(^\text{113}\) Especially of the mediae (b, d, g). They are often replaced by two dissimilar consonants (Kuiper 1991: 67).
Vedic text as HŚS: varjarī (§ 2.4.5.) It occurs from Sindhi to Marathi.114 CDIAL 9049 *phapphara ‘buckwheat’ is attested from Panjabi to Marathi.115 Another word for 'buckwheat' may be CDIAL 11313 varata.116

Other examples of Gangetic plant names include: Hindi piplā/pipāḷ < CDIAL 8205 pippala- ‘berry (esp. of Ficus religiosa)’ RV.; pippali ‘berry’ AV., ‘peppercorn, Piper longum’ Rāmāyaṇa, pippali Āpast.117 is now found from Kashmiri to Konkani and Sinhala. Similarly, kāth < Skt. kapittha ‘a tree, Feronia elephantum, wood apple’ CDIAL 2749 (for which cf. also aśva-tīthā), is seen from Nuristani and Dardic to Marathi. Further plants include 1693 udīḍḍa ‘a pulse’, 725 *āḷā ‘name of a tree or plant’, (Morinda citrifolia), 9724 māṭṭara ‘pea’.118 However, 3061 kāravēḷa ‘the gourd Momordica charantia’ is probably derived from Dravidian, and 13482 *suppāra ‘areca nut’ (Kashmiri to Marathi) may be an old word, but the pratice of consuming it with betel leaves is only about 2000 years old in S. Asia, but earlier in S.E. Asia.

§ 3.1. Tibeto-Burmes influence?

Next to the isolated substrates of Tharu and Kusunda, another important factor is Tibeto-Burmese, spoken all along the Himalayan belt; it had some impact on IA vocabulary.119 For example, Tib.-Bur. speakers have left us some names in the eastern Gangetic plains, such as Kosala (Audh), Kausikī (now the Kosi River), perhaps also Kāśi and Kauśāṃbi (now Kosam), that all seem to be based on Tib.-Burm. kuh, ku ‘river.’120

Agricultural terms include: CDIAL 4749 Skt. cāmala or cāvāla ‘husked rice’ and probably also PS sāli ‘rice’.121 The derivatives of cāmala/cāvāla are now found from Sindhi and W. Panjabi to Gujarati.122

SPLWPahKuNAOBBOBiMthBhojHOMarwG

114 CDIAL 9201 *bājāra ‘millet’, see above, § 2.4.5.
115 CDIAL 9049 *phapphara ‘buckwheat’. P. phaprah, phāphrā ‘buckwheat’; WPah. jaun, phāphrā ‘husk of wheat’; Ku. phāprā ‘a kind of buck- wheat growing near the snow-line’; N. A. phāpar ‘buckwheat’; M. phāprī f. ‘a kind of pot-herb.’
116 vbarata ‘seed of safflower’ Gṛhyas., varaṭā lex., but note Dardic: Shina bōrāo f. ‘buckwheat’ (= Bur. bōrā); Bi. barrē, barrē ‘seed of safflower’, H. barrē.
117 Probably of non- Aryan origin EWA II 133; cf. piplu from a similar source?
118 Cf. also CDIAL 13552 sūjjī ‘coarse wheat meal’, *sōjjī, 10837 rōṭha ‘bread’.
120 Witzel 1993.
121 EWA II 632, takes sāli, AV śāri ‘as unclear. CDIAL 4749 deliberates the same non-Aryan origin as tāndūla, K. tomul ‘uncooked rice,’ perhaps having been contaminated, cf. also Dardic tor. tunoli; further: 12415 sāli ‘growing or unhusked rice’ MBh., Pa. sāli, Pk. sāli, Gy. sal, sāli; Nuristani: Ash. salima, Wg. selti, šālmā, Kt. sāli < Kāmīrī sāli, selti, Pr. sīlē; Dardic: sāli ‘growing rice’, sāl, sōle, sāl; Kalasha sāli ‘growing or unhusked rice’, Khowar sāli, etc.; further: S. sārī f. ‘un- husked rice’; A. sāli ‘principal variety of transplanted rice’; B. sāl, sāll ‘a kind of rice’; Or. sāli ‘growing or unhusked rice’, Bi. sārī, H. sāl, G. sāl, sālīy, M. sāl, sālī, Si. hāl, āl.
The question remains whether the word is related to Tib.-Burm. *dz’a ‘to eat’,123 because one has to take into account Dravidian DEDR 2391,124 Ta. *aval etc. ‘usually flat rice’, 2343 Ta. *cama, 226, 268 Ta. *avi (-v-, -nt). As initial consonant can disappear in Tamil, the related words in c-, s- in Gondi etc.,125 may preserve a form closer to *cāmal.

An obvious latecomer is cīṇa ‘the Chinese one’, Panicum miliaceum126 (see. § 2.4). Nevertheless it is found from Dardic all the way east to Bengali, and earlier in Buddhist texts. This serves as an opportune warning not to deduce ancient habitat simply from the attestation and location of modern languages: obviously, the northwestern languages were the first to receive the new variety, via the Silk Road or even earlier, via the Chinese-influenced Kashmiri Neolithic.127 The word has remained restricted to the northern IA languages:

DardSLPWPahBOrBhojH

§ 3.2. Cereal crops plants

§ 3.2.1. The word for barley, CDIAL 12561 śūkaka ‘barley, a bearded kind of wheat’ Epic, lex., Or. sūkā, suḍā ‘a kind of grain and its seed, Panicum frumentaceum, sarsaparilla’ may, however, ultimately be related to Skt. śūcī ‘needle’ as it also designates the ‘aw of grain.’ (EWA III 494).

§ 3.2.2. A classical Skt. word for wheat is CDIAL 11425 valla ‘a kind of wheat’ VarBrS., ‘winnowing corn.’ The double consonant, rare in early Skt.,128 indicates a Gangetic origin (see § 2.4.5). The word is attested from Sindhi and Panjabi to Bihari and Gujarati.129

123 Bahing dz’u; Nagari dz’ya, Lushei śa, Burmese tsā, Garo tsha; Kanaurī za, from TB *dz’a, see Benedict 1972, no. 66, p. 28.
124 2391 Ta. *aval ‘rice obtained from fried paddy by pestling it;’ aval (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to pound in a mortar, crush, cuff, prod;’ avail ‘well-husked rice. Ma. *avil ‘rice bruised and dried;’ avekka ‘to beat rice;’ aval ‘flattened rice obtained from paddy by pestling it.’ Ko. kac av- (avt-) ‘to pestle (millet) second time;’ aky av- (avt-) ‘to pestle (millet) third time.’ To. af- (af-) ‘to pound with light strokes;’ ofil ‘puffed rice.’ Ka. aval ‘pound, beat;’ ’pounding, beating in a mortar;’ (also aval-akki ‘rice bruised and crushed;’ Ko. avil-akki ‘rice fried and each grain pounded flat.’ Tu. abepuni, abeyuni, abecunci ‘to beat or pound rice.’
125 Kol. cavili mortar; Nk. savli, Pa. cavil; cavkol ‘pestle.’ Ga. savul ‘mortar,’ savkol ‘pestle,’ savvul ‘mortar,’ savkolv ‘pestle,’ Go. sahki, sāhki, sahki, cahki, hahki, etc. (cf. 2799 Konḍa sonki, Pe. henki).
129 Pk. valla ‘a kind of grain’, vālī ‘a kind of grain, millet’; S. valī ī ‘heap of reaped ears of corn’; L. valī; Ku. bāl ‘ear of corn’, bālo, bālo ‘crops’; N. bālo ‘ear of corn’, bālī ‘cornfield, crops, harvest’ (bālāhunu ‘to pick off ears of corn’); Bi. bāl ‘ear of wheat’, Mth. bālī; Aw. bālī ‘ear of maize’; H. bālī ī ‘spike of corn’, bālī m. ‘beard of grain (esp. maize)’; OMarw. bālī ī ‘standing crop;’ G. vāl m. ‘a kind of pulse’; cf. 11426 *valla-puṇa ‘grain pod’; valāṭa ‘Phaseolus mungo’ lex.; G. vālīr ‘beans in a pod’, vālōl, or ‘a bean, a kind of vegetable’.
§ 3.2.3. There are several words for rice that are different from \( vr̥hi/*vrjjhi \) (above). CDIAL 2546 \( ōdikā, ōḍī \) ‘wild rice’ lex. appears in Assamese \( uri—dal \) ‘a water grass producing grain like rice’, \( uri—dhān \) ‘wild rice’; and Bengali \( uri, uri—dhān \) ‘wild rice’ has been assumed to come from Munda. \(^{130}\)

However, CDIAL 4020 \( gandhālu \) ‘fragrant rice’ lex. is obviously derived from Skt. \( gandha \) ‘smell’, and \(^{130}\) 14268 \( ñjana \), seen in Kashmiri \( anzou, anzan \) ‘a kind of rice with white grains which is soft and sweet—smelling when cooked,’ has been compared with Md. \( adun, adun \) ‘collyrium’.

The interrelated words for ‘millet’ have been dealt with earlier (§ 2.4.1-3.): CDIAL 2605 \( kaṅku, 3000 *kāṅkuka, kāṅguka. \)

§ 4. MUNDA AND OTHER CENTRAL INDIAN PLANT NAMES

As mentioned, the Munda languages are nowadays spoken in some parts of central and eastern India: N. Munda in the border region of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra (Korku), in Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, N. Orissa, S.E. Bihar and the western parts of Bengal, while Southern Munda is spoken in S. Orissa and N. Andhra, where the Sora (Śabara) are already attested in early Skt. (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 7.18) and in Classical Graeco-Roman texts.

They form one branch of the Austroasiatic family that also includes Khasi, Nicobarese, Mon, Khmer, Vietnamese. This branch is distantly related to the great Austronesian family which is spread most across the globe (next to post-1500 IE), -- that is from its home in Taiwan to Indonesia, Polynesia and Madagascar, in a two-four thousand years old migration achieved with the help of outrigger boats.

The study of the Munda family of languages of central and eastern India is even less advanced than at of IA and Drav., though there has been a recent, extensive update on individual languages.\(^{131}\) However, there still is no etymological dictionary of Munda; for the time being one can still utilize Pinnow’s 1959 extensive discussion of Kharia and Austroasiatic,\(^{132}\) and the online dictionaries by David Stampe.\(^{133}\) It has to be noted that northern Munda (Santali, Mundhari, Korku, etc.) is quite different from the little studied southern Munda languages (Sora, Juang, Remo, Gutob, Gta, etc.). The northern branch has considerably been affected by IA, especially in the vocabulary.

In general, it must be added that the ancient Mundas were culturally much more sophisticated than usually assumed.\(^{134}\) Their homeland has been sought in S.E. Asia or, recently, inside India.\(^{135}\) It has long been shown that the early Munda speakers had words for rice farming.\(^{136}\) While \( japonica \) rice spread out of the Yangtze basin, Oryza \( indica \) is a

\(^{130}\) See discussion in Witzel 1999.


\(^{132}\) Pinnow 1959.

\(^{133}\) David Stampe, online dict.: http://ling.lll.hawaii.edu/austroasiatic cf.

\(^{134}\) Such as e.g., in Parpola1994.


hybrid of a local wild rice.\textsuperscript{137} The linguistic data\textsuperscript{138} support these two areas of origin of cultivated rice: the words for rice in Austronesian do not correspond to words for rice in Austroasiatic.\textsuperscript{139}

\section*{§ 4.1. RICE}

In northern and eastern India, rice cultivation has been said to emerge by the early 3rd millennium\textsuperscript{140} though some earlier dates have recently been given (see above § 0).\textsuperscript{141}

The following words are strongly attested for Proto-Munda (and even for the rest of Austroasiatic):\textsuperscript{142} \textit{baba} ‘paddy’, \textit{gele} ‘ear of paddy’, \textit{jañi} ‘grain seed’, \textit{sii} ‘plow’, \textit{tutu} ‘pestle’, \textit{seel} ‘mortar’, \textit{loyoñ} ‘wet paddy field’, etc. The important words for husked rice and its plant are N. Munda \textit{cauli} etc., S. Munda \textit{ruñkub} etc. (husked); N. Munda \textit{baba} etc., S. Munda \textit{kerōñ}, \textit{kondem} etc. (plant).\textsuperscript{143}

The Proto-Austroasiatic form for husked rice is \textit{*rkaw}.\textsuperscript{144} Obviously, the Kusunda words \textit{rako}, \textit{ruñkwa} ‘millet' (above) are related to the Munda ones, with the usual shift in meaning seen in cereals. The Vedic substrate word \textit{vṛihi}, which must go back to \textit{*vṛiñhi}, subsequently transmitted to Nuristani (Kati) \textit{wṛic}, Pashto, Persian, etc., is somehow related to these forms, and also to Old Japanese \textit{uruchi} (\(<\textit{urutī}, \textit{wurutī}\)), even if the intermediary forms are not clear.\textsuperscript{145}

In addition to the words for husked rice (N. Munda \textit{cauli} etc., S. Munda \textit{ruñkub} etc.) and the rice plant (N. Munda \textit{baba} etc., S. Munda \textit{kerōñ}, \textit{kondem} etc.) we also get several words unrelated to other language families.


\textsuperscript{137} Sato 2004, 2006.
\textsuperscript{138} For Munda plant names and loans into other Indian languages see now Osada 2006.
\textsuperscript{139} Osada 1995: 143 sqq.
\textsuperscript{140} At Chirand; further east at Sarutaru and Daojali, see Allchin & Allchin. The rise of Civilisation in India and Pakistan. Cambridge Univ. Press 1982. See now Hingham, C. Languages and Farming Dispersals: Austroasiatic Languages and Rice Cultivation, In: Bellwood and Renfrew 2002; latest update by Fuller 2009.
\textsuperscript{141} Fuller 2006, 2009.
\textsuperscript{142} Details in Osada 1995: 143 sqq., 185 with related words in other Austroasiatic languages and in Austronesian, all the way to Taiwan.
\textsuperscript{144} Osada 1995: 186. Not yet aware of Osada 1995, etc. I have come to similar conclusions, see Witzel 1999.
\textsuperscript{145} Detailed discussion in Witzel 1999, though still assuming, with then current archaeology, just one locale for the origin of rice, in S. China. Note Austronesian \textit{*beras} and Tibetan \textit{hbras} (also in Burushaski).
discussions of place names in: archaeological and genetic evidence. South given the history of has recently been discovered in S. India, Dravidian languages is almost non-less.

The evidence for plant names in the South of India is of the peninsula, except for the Mun§ 4.1.6 "rice, flattened": Sa. tabēn 'flattened rice'. Mu. tabēn 'flattened rice'.

§ 4.2. Millet. As we have indigenous tropical millets in India, it is not surprising to find Munda words for them, such as Sa. gundli 'millet'. Mu. gundli 'millet'; and for 'millet sp.' Sa. iri 'kind of millet'. Mu. iri 'kind of millet'.

§ 4.2 Nahali

The c. 24 % substrate found in the Nahali (Nihali) language of Central India has many words for plants (and animals) that cannot be linked to IA, Drav. or Munda. A few prominent ones (including some imported plants) include the following words.\footnote{146 From Mundlay 2006. See: http://www.aslip.org.}

āndij 'root like sweet potato', baḍāgo 'guava' (cf. 9125 bādara— n. 'fruit of the jujube tree?'), baru 'mulberry' (cf. various trees CDIAL 5872), butu 'kind of grass', bhed(a)rā 'potato' (!), būy 'grass, fodder' (cf. DEDR 4535, grasses), dotako 'edible root', dhāwrā 'gum tree', dhongārī 'type of grass', gugudo 'edible root', hardo 'tumeric', jirīṅgā 'tomato'(!), jodwu/jūd 'bamboo', jhāpon 'mushroom', khila 'parched rice', khude 'gourd', lubā 'incense', malkā 'pea (pod)', māyko 'mahua tree' (cf. DEDR 4772?), ōhan 'mortar (with pestle)', orō 'millet, jawar' (cf. § 3.2.3 ōḍī 'wild rice'?), phelīyā 'groundnut', phendrā 'vine', raymonyā 'wild thorny bush', rīhā 'soap nut', sokorā 'bread', sīdu 'mahua wine', sundu 'pod for beans', chāgā 'variety of thorny grass', chepiyā 'variety of grass', chunco 'a vegetable', chundu 'bean' (cf. CDIAL 4856?), tamako'o 'tomato'(!), tūmku 'tobacco'(!), tāndur 'rice, cooked rice', tō 'ear (of corn)'. Nahali gele 'maize' is from Korku, gōhū 'wheat' from IA, and many other common plants are loanwords from Munda, Drav. or IA.

§ 5. DRAVIDIAN

The evidence for plant names in the South of India is similarly difficult to describe. Most of the peninsula, except for the Munda languages, is or was covered by Dravidian languages. However, these too families have not been studied as extensively as the IE (Indo-Aryan) languages of the subcontinent. We have comparatively less tools, and they are less well developed than the IA ones. Worse, the study of substrates in the area of Dravidian languages is almost non-existent.\footnote{147 For an early attempt see Zvelebil, K. 1970, 1990 on a Nilgiri substrate, cf. Witzel 1999, and the discussions of place names in: Ramachandran and Nachimuthu 1987.} Interestingly, an Australian substrate\footnote{148 Blažek 2006. For a substrate in the Nilgiris, Zvelebil 1970, 1990: 64, 68 sqq; Witzel 1999.} has recently been discovered in S. India, -- something we would have expected anyhow, given the history of human settlement 'Out of Africa,' and the subsequent peopling of South Asia, Southeast Asia and Australia. This has by now been confirmed both by archaeological and genetic evidence.
The Comparative (etymological) Dravidian dictionary by Burrow and Emeneau (DEDR, 1984)\textsuperscript{149} is more of a somewhat disparate collection of data instead of a truly etymological dictionary that explains all parts of a word (root, stem, ending) under one head word, as has been done in the IA dictionary of Mayrhofer (1986-2000).\textsuperscript{150} A new version of DEDR with Proto-Dravidian etymological identifications and word analysis has been envisioned for 2004,\textsuperscript{151} but it has not yet emerged. We can glean some data from Krishnamurti’s book on the reconstruction of Proto-Dravidian.\textsuperscript{152}

However, there are wide error bars in Krishnamurti’s data. As in all reconstructions, the time frame of protolanguage is not one of 10 or even a 100 years span but it can cover much more, just as even ‘current’ English includes the antiquated forms of Shakespeare just as well as current slang. For example, reconstructed Vulgar Latin will have an ‘emperor,’ who before Caesar Augustus was just a temporary supreme army commander (and, thus, in Classical Latin). In the same way, Krishnamurti’s reconstruction of Proto-Dravidian surprisingly has kings, palaces, forts, moats and cities,\textsuperscript{153}-- all of which does not fit the archeaeology of South India before 1000 BCE, when just pastoral and small agricultural village communities existed. Proto-Drav. is to be assumed for a much earlier period, well before his reconstruction of iron *cir-umpu (DEDR 2552)\textsuperscript{154} that is first attested archaeologically at c. 1200 BCE (Hallur, Karnataka).

Instead, Krishnamurti offers some very vague dating only,\textsuperscript{155} based on the antiquity of Proto-Drav. versus its reconstructed daughter languages Proto-South Drav. I and II and on some references to Drav. words in Vedic (in a post-1000 BCE text): the split of South Drav. I and II «could precede the period of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa by at least four to five centuries, i.e. around the eleventh century BCE…» Surprisingly, Krishnamurti denies\textsuperscript{156}--without giving any reasons-- the reconstruction of cultural terms in three subsequent stages discussed by F. Southworth.\textsuperscript{157}

Secondly, it must be observed that these agricultural terms are often heavily biased towards the literary South Dravidian languages (Tamil-Malayalam, Telugu, Kanada, Tulu), but are not all-Dravidian (including northern languages such as Gondi, Kurukh, Brahu, etc.). This bias leads to reconstructing merely a period (South Dravidian I and II) that is much later than Proto-Drav., which is assumed to have existed around 4000 BCE by Zvelebil, and well before the second millennium BCE, or rather in mid-third millennium BCE by Southworth.

All of the above is crucial when evaluating Drav. plant names. Some apparently wiedespread terms may be much later than Proto-Drav. and may reflect only the languages of the southern tip of the subcontinent.

\textsuperscript{149} DEDR: Burrow, T. and M.B. Emeneau 1984.
\textsuperscript{150} EWA: Mayrhofer 1986-2000.
\textsuperscript{151} Krishnamurti 2003: 502.
\textsuperscript{152} Krishnamurti 2003. For a detailed list of Proto-Drav. words (flora, fauna, agriculture, etc, see Southworth 2005: 257-281; cf. p. 79, and 2006: 134-141.
\textsuperscript{153} In his draft, he even had an ‘emperor’(!); see now Krishnamurti 2003: 7 sq., p. 15.
\textsuperscript{154} Krishnamurti 2003: 10.
\textsuperscript{155} Krishnamurti 2003: 501 sq.
\textsuperscript{156} Krishnamurti 2003: 15 n. 16.
In general, technical terms related to agriculture include (as per Krishnamurti 2003: 8 sqq) the reconstructed words for ploughing *uz DEDR 688, yoked plough *čēr 2815, dry and wet cultivation *pan- ‘cultivated land’ 3891; *pun ‘dry land’ 4337; *pol-am ‘field’ 4303; *kaζ- ‘wet field’; *way- 5258, rice seedlings for transplantation ṇātu 2919, etc.

Among other flora (Krishnamurti 2003: 12) may be mentioned: black pepper *mil-āku 4867, cardamom *ēl-ā 907, which Krishnamurto says «seem native . . . at least in south India.» The words for banana are *wāζ-a 5373, ar-ṇṭṭī 205. They are of great interest as the plantain is a plant that ultimately stems for New Guinea; it was spread westward by sea trade early, so that it is archaeologically attested as far as in W. Africa by 500 BCE. Its original eastern term is derived, via Indonesia, all the way from the place of origin, as reflected in IA: CDIAL 2712 kadala, kadali ‘the banana plant Musa sapientum’, MBh. Suśr, and *kadali.158 In addition to *wāζ-a 5373, ar-ṇṭṭī 205, there is a handful of Drav. words for the plantain/banana, but they do not overlap with IA kadal-/$kētak$.

Another interesting word is that for sugar cane, *kar-umpu 1288, *cet-ākk 2795. The Drav. words are quite different from *tu- in Austroasiatic and in Tibeto-Burmes (Newari): DEDR 387 Ta. ālai, 1414 Ta. kaṇṇal, 2795 Ka. ceruku sugarcane, 4916 Ta. muṇci.

The «early attested» (Krishnamurti 2003) word for ‘ginger’, however, goes back only to a Middle Indo-Aryan singivera or S. Dravidian form: the Greek loanword ziggiberis, pronounced [tsingiberis]159 is ultimately related to S. Drav. *ciṅki-wēr (wēr ‘root’), Tam., Mal. *ciṅci- > Pāli singivera (artificially reconstituted as Skt. ṣrṅavera, EWA III 495).

The the areca nut $a$-ay-kkāy DEDR 88, is reconstructed by Krishnamurti for Proto-Drav. This may well be so, however, the use of betel leaves together with areca is a later development and only about 2000 years old.

The Drav. word for areca, $a$-ay-kkāy, does not fit the northern substrate words seen in Indo-Aryan: CDIAL 13482 *suppāra, 3440 kṛmuṇa, 4219 guvāka, guvāka, 5400 jhōḍa ‘betel-nut tree’, 5776 tāmbūla ‘betel, betel leaf’ Suśr.160 9213 *bāru ‘betel leaf’,161 12046 vīṭ, all of which go back to local northern substrate languages or were imported from S.E. Asia along with the practice.

§ 5.1. MILLET

As indicated, there are many types of millets. As far as South India is concerned, we have indigenous tropical millets but also an early import from China and Africa (before 1900 BCE). This must be taken into account when evaluating the Dravidian terms.


159 However, attested only from the Hellenistic period onward.

160 From Austroasiatic, see KEWA I 1495 with literature. The use of areca with the betel leaf is derived from S.E. Asia, see Madhi 1998,

161 From AustroAsiatic: J. Przyluski BSL xxiv 257.
From China stem *Panicum miliaceum* and *Setaria italica*, while sorghum, pearl millet and finger millet came from Africa. Some of the earliest African crops are found in Gujarat in the Late Harappan period (2200-1700 BCE), while some of them had spread to the South by 1600-1500. This import will account for some of the loanwords for ‘millet’ in IA and Drav. that accompanied the spread of the plant.

On the other hand, as multiple evidence shows, names for different types of millet can be exchanged for more recently acquired crops and this occurs even for different species such as ‘corn’ (wheat) and maize. South Asia has many such examples. It remains unclear for the time being, therefore, which of the old Drav. terms for millets indicated which variety.

Krishnamurti (2003) lists only the Proto-Drav. words *ār/ ar-ak, DEDR 812* (Tam. *irāki*, Kan. *rāgi*, Tel. *ērugu*, etc.) and *kot- thermo* (4, not found in DEDR). However, Burrow/Emeneau (1984) list 46 items related to millet, some of which just refer to part of it, to grinding etc. The actual terms are listed below; their respective dates need to be investigated further.

*DEDR 812* *ar/ar-ak* seems to be related to 379 Ka. *ārike* the Indian millet, *Panicum italicum*. There also is a vague similarity with *DEDR 525* Ta. *iruiku* great millet (Sorghum vulgare); *iṇati* Italian millet (*Setaria italica*), black Italian millet (*Panicum indicum*), Ma. *iruṇu* a kind of maize. Cf. 812 Ko. *Eri*, and Proto-Austroasiatic *rkev*, Munda *ruṅkub* etc., Vedic *vṛhi*. Ultimately, given the early attestation of various millets, these words may be loan words that made it into the various Drav. languages at various times and from different substrates preceding the spread of Dravidian.


§ 5.1.2. *DEDR 2163* Ta. *kural* Italian millet, etc. Cf. the Munda words *kuru*, etc. (§ 4.1.5.)

§ 5.1.3. *DEDR 286* Ta. *cōlam, cōppal* maize, great millet, *Sorghum vulgare*, etc.

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164 Further: *hāraka, hāraku* *Paspalum scrobiculatum* Lin., Te. *āruka, āruga*, *ārike, āriga* *P. scrobiculatum* (P. *frumentaceum*); *āllu* (pl.) *P. scrobiculatum*. Go. *ārk Setaria italica*; Pe. *āruka* (pl.) a species of millet; Kui *ārka*, *Kari ārgu* (pl. *āruka*) *Panicum italicum*.
166 For the probably oldest traceable substrate, Proto-Australian, see Blažek 2006.
§ 5.1.4. DEDR 3265 Ta. tīgai Italian millet, Setaria italica; wild Bermuda grass, Panicum burmannii; little millet (= cāmaī); paddy-field grass, P. fluitans, etc. 170

§ 5.1.5. DEDR 3712 Ta. nuvañai black Italian millet, etc. 171

§ 5.1.6. DEDR 5260 Ta. varaku common millet, Paspalum scrobiculatum; poor man's millet, P. crussgalli. 172

§ 5.2. RICE

Rice has been discussed earlier as far as IA and Munda are concerned (§ 2.3, 4.1). As mentioned, Krishnamurti 174 lists three reconstructed Proto-Drav. words for 'rice': (paddy) *kāl-i DEDR 1906, *nel 3743, *war-iñc 5265, and adds words for dry and wet fields (2891, 4337), transplanted seedlings 2919, etc. He notes the relatively early attestation as a loanword in Greek oryza (however, only from Alexander's historians, c. 300 BCE onward), and derives it from Proto-Drav. *war-iñci, Tamil, Mal., Tel. wari, etc., (not from Tamil arisi < *ariki; 173 cf., however, Austronesian *beras, Tibetan ḫbras and Skt. vrīhī < *vrīhi).

As a difference is always made in Asia between words designating cooked rice and uncooked rice (or rice still on the stalk), it is important to note that at least the literary languages of the South have words for 'cooked rice, thick porridge' kūz 1911, *amp-ali 174, and gruel *kaṅc-i 1104.

The three ancient, Proto-Drav. words for rice reconstructed by Krishnamurti are the following.

§ 5.2.1 *kāl-i DEDR 1906, which is in fact found in some central Indian Drav. languages: Konda kūli 'paddy' Pe. kūli, Mand. kūli, Kui kūdi 'grain, paddy, seed.' Kuwi kūli 'paddy', and these are perhaps to be compared with Ta. kālam 'grains, esp. of 18 kinds, viz. nel, pul,' etc. However, North Dravidian Br. xōlum wheat is loaned from Skt. godhūma.

§ 5.2.2. *nel DEDR 3743: Ta. nel 'rice, paddy, grain of paddy,' etc. 176

maize,' jona, jōnnang 'jowar,' jōnā 'maize,' jannā, jandra 'jowar', Kuwi kā'wa 'jōna millet.' Similar words in IA, see CDIAL 10434 yavanāla, see above. (Andropogon sorghum Brot. = Holcus sorghum Linn. = S. vulgare Pers.).

170 Ma. tīna 'P. italicum.' Ko. ten 'ear (of any grain),' Ka. tene 'a spike, ear of corn;' tene-giḍa Italian millet, P. italicum.(S. italica Beauv. = P. italicum Linn.)

171 Ka. navañē, navañi 'a small grain, the Italian millet or panic seed, Panicum italicum.'

172 Ma. varaku 'P. frumentaceum; a grass Panicum,' Ka. baraga, baragu 'P. frumentaceum; Italian millet; a kind of hill grass of which writing pens are made.' Te. varaga, varuva 'Panicum milaceum.'

DEDR compares Mar. barag 'millet, P. milaceum,' Skt. varuka- 'a kind of inferior grain.' (Paspalum scrobiculatum Linn. = P. frumentaceum Rottb.). -- Cf. (v)ari 'rice', above § 5.2.3.


175 Krishnamurti 2003:5.

176 Ma. nel 'rice (as growing), rice in the husk, paddy,' Ko. nel 'paddy, unhusked rice,' nel aky 'husked rice,' To. nēr rice (in songs), nejšky rice (see ašky, s.v. 215 Ta. ari). Ka. nel, nellu 'paddy, rice in its husk, rice as growing, a grain of paddy,' Koḍ. nellī 'rice, paddy,' Te. nellārū n. pr. a town.
§ 5.2.3 *war-iñc DEDR 5265: Ta. vari 'paddy,' etc.\textsuperscript{177} These words are similar to the S.E Asian ones and their history needs elucidation.\textsuperscript{178} Maybe the following word is connected: 5287 Ta. valci 'paddy, husked rice, boiled rice, food,' Ma. varru 'grain of boiled rice from which the water is strained off,' Te. vaddu 'unhusked rice, paddy,' Kol. val 'grain of unhusked rice,' Nk. val 'paddy', valku (pl.) 'paddy, rice.'

However, Burrow/Emeneau (1984) also discuss the following words.

§ 5.2.4. DEDR 215 Ta. ari 'rice, paddy, ear of paddy;' arici 'rice without husk, any husked grain,' etc.\textsuperscript{179}

§ 5.2.5. DEDR 3614 Ta. navarai 'a kind of paddy;' nakarai 'a kind of rice,' etc.\textsuperscript{180} To be compared is Skt. nivāra 'wild rice' (CDIAL 7571, see § 2.3.) This word is attested from a relatively early Vedic period onward, the Yajurveda Samhitās.

§ 5.2.6. Some central Indian Drav. languages have an additional word: DEDR 4639 Ga. mājik rice; manjiŋ unhusked rice, etc.\textsuperscript{181}

§ 5.2.7. Finally, a few more designations for ‘boiled rice’ may be added from Burrow/Emeneau:
DEDR 4860 Ta. mitavai 'boiled rice, porridge, gruel, preparation of dhal;' miti 'food mixed with ghee;' vitavai 'boiled rice, gruel;' metukku 'boiled rice'; Te. meduku, metuku 'a grain of boiled rice; boiled rice'; Ga. metkul 'cooked rice' (< Te.)
DEDR 3982 Ta. parukkai, poruku 'single grain of boiled rice;' perukkal 'rice'; poruku 'boiled rice,' etc.\textsuperscript{182} DEDR 5186 Pe. lay 'boiled rice,' Manḍ. lay, Kuwi lahi; lāhī boilled manḍeṇya grain.
DEDR 2391 Ta. aval rice obtained from fried paddy by pestling it; aval (-pp-, -tt-) 'to pound in a mortar, crush, cuff, prod;'\textsuperscript{183} (see however § 3.1.) the words are not

\textsuperscript{177} Ma. vari 'a wild-growing rice with rough beards,' Te. vari 'paddy,' Pa. verci, Ga. varsil, varcil, vars/varci; vars pūru 'rice straw' (see 4225). Go. wanji 'rice, both growing and in the grain,' vanji 'paddy,' vanji 'rice, seed,' venji perek 'rice' (see 3982), vanji 'paddy.' -- Note Austronesian forms like wari, (Witzel 1999) and cf. 5287 Ta. valci.

\textsuperscript{178} Discussion in Witzel 1999, Southworth 2005.

\textsuperscript{179} Ma. ari 'grain of rice freed from chaff, seed, grain,' (Kauṭ.) arici 'rice,' Ko. aky 'grain of any grain food when husked,' To. ašky 'rice,' neššky (cf. s.v. 3753 Ta. nel), Ka. aki 'rice deprived of its husk, grain that resembles rice,' Ko. aki 'husked rice,' Tu. ari 'rice freed from husk, any small grain,' aki 'rice, corn,' argi 'rice?'; Te. ari by 'a sweetmeat made of rice, flour, and jaggery.' Cf. DEDR 3829 Ko. pack, To. počišky.—See discussion above § 5.2.

\textsuperscript{180} Further: Ma. navira, navirī, nakara 'a rice that ripens within two or three months,' navara, Paspalum frumentaceum (?). Tu. navara 'a kind of grain,' navare 'a kind of rice,' Te. nivari, nivvari 'Orzya.'

\textsuperscript{181} nongre manjiŋ 'broken pieces of rice after pounding,' Konda manzi (pl. -k) 'husked rice,' Pe. manji (cf. 3982 preyi), Kuwi manji, 'raw rice, rice without husk, husked rice, a grain of rice; manjiŋ 'husked rice,' Kur. mājig 'seed in general.' Cf. Go. wanji, s.v. 5265 Ta. vari

\textsuperscript{182} Te. prālu 'rice,' Nk. perku 'husked rice,' Pa. perku (pl. perkul), Go. parēk 'husked rice, kutkī, etc.; parek 'husked (of rice),' paraik, paraik, perek 'husked rice,' pare, pariku 'rice,' parem (pl. parek) 'grain (of rice, etc.),' Konda per(a) (pl. perku) 'husked rice,' Pe. preyi, Manḍ. preyi, Ku ḫru 'rice,' husked paddy,' prāma 'a grain of boiled rice,' kōruvau, kōruvau 'flaked rice.'

\textsuperscript{183} avaiyar well-husked rice, Ma. avil 'rice bruised and dried,' avēkkā 'to beat rice,' aval 'flattened rice obtained from paddy by pestling it,' Ko. kac av-(avt-) 'to pestle (millet) second time,' aky av-(avt-) 'to pestle (millet) third time,' To. af-(af-) 'to pound with light strokes,' ofil 'puffed rice,' Ka. aval 'pound, beat, pounding, beating in a mortar,' (also aval-akki) 'rice bruised and crushed,' Koöl. avil-
connected by Burrow-Emeneau) with rice but rather, *DEDR* 268 with boiling; Ta. avi (-v-, -nt-) ‘to be boiled, cooked by boiling or steaming, swelter; (-pp-, -tt-) (which includes boiling rice).

§ 5.3. BARLEY

Not unsurprisingly, this plant is attested only sparsely, at high altitude levels of the Nilgiris, in Toda and in Kota. *DEDR* 1106 Ko. kaj barley. To. koj (cf. Pkt. gajja). It is not listed in Krishnamurti 2003.

§ 5.4. WHEAT

As discussed above (§ 1.6), the Drav. word for ‘wheat’ (*gōdi*) arrived in S. Asia, along with the plant, before the Indus period via the southern Iranian route (Elam - Tepe Yahya - Bampür- Sindh). It has resulted in the reconstructed southern Indus term (‘Meluhhan’) *gōdi*-t-, which is retained in Drav. *gōdi*. The pre-Iranian *gantum* must have become *go-tum* or *go-dum* in Sindh. Just as in IA, the Drav. word reflects a popular etymology185 of the unfamiliar plant: *godum*: from *kō-tumpai*, ‘low red plant’ in PDrav. stage 3, at c. 1000 BCE.186 Significantly, there are no Proto-Drav. or old, indigenous words for ‘wheat’ in Dravidian – they could not be as the plant as been introduced fairly late in linguistic history.

§ 5.5. GRAIN

A general word for ‘grain’ (or ‘kernel’) *DEDR* 4153 is found in some languages, such as central Indian Gondi and Parji and Malayalam in the South. It is not listed in Krishnamurti 2003.

§ 6. Summary and Outlook

We can detect several ancient centers of food production in India: the west (Indus civilization, including Haryana and W. Gujarat), the Gangetic plains and the South, each one with its own peculiar package of plants and domestic animals. The linguistic data, gleaned for the most ancient texts (Veda, Sangam) agree with this scenario. They actually

akki ‘rice fried and each grain pounded flat,’ Tu. abepuni, abeyuni, abecunci ‘to beat or pound rice,’ Kol. cavli ‘mortal,’ Nk. Savli, Nk. Savli, Pa. cavil, cavkol (pl. cav- kocil) ‘pestle,’ Ga. savul ‘mortal,’ savkol ‘pestle,’ savvul ‘pestle?’ Go. sahki, sāhki, sahki, cahki, hahki, ahki, a’ki, ahk (or with 2799 Konda sonki, Pe. henki). Cf. CDIAL 4749 *cāmala, cāvala* ‘husked rice.’


185 Cf. Southworth, F. C. Linguistic Archaeology of South Asia. London and New York: Routledge 2005: 80, 198. However, wheat is found in S. India after 2200 BCE. The various Elamite, Sumerian, etc. loans into Drav. will have to be compared.


187 See *DEDR* 3334: Tam. tumpai etc. ‘nettle, weed.’ The exact development from *tumpai > -di is not clear; at this late date kōtumpai could even be based on Ved. godhūma.
further improve and refine the picture, as they allow to go well beyond the ancient texts and access the earlier periods preceding them.

Behind the Late Bronze Age data of the Rgveda we can thus detect an ancient population that already possessed its own indigenous agricultural terms. We can connect this substrate with the preceding agricultural communities of the Indus Civilization (2600-1900), and even with its predecessors (c. 6000-2600 BCE), both of which had adopted the typical W. Asian wheat/cattle/caprid package.

The same procedure applies to the Gangetic plains as depicted in the later Vedic texts (c. 1000-500 BCE), and as still indicated by modern IA languages such as Hindi, etc. An earlier Gangetic substrate emerges that has peculiar agricultural terms corresponding to its specialized rice/buffalo package (c. 3000/2500 BCE).

The case for the South is again similar: the Dravidian languages indicate a southern package of food production (millet/cattle), especially when making use of reconstructed Proto-Dravidian. This early form differs considerably from the data of the later, iron-age stage of the southernmost languages (Tamil-Malayalam), with developed millet/rice agriculture and saw emerging state formation.

As is obvious, much of the relevant data are still obscured by the evidence hidden in the little studied substrates of the IA, Drav. and Munda languages. Much more work by linguists has to be done to see progress in the evaluation of the culture of these early periods. For a beginning, one may consult the online substrate dictionary (in progress), SARVA.

Second, many details need to be elucidated through close cooperation between linguists and archaeo-botanists. Unfortunately, strict procedures in dealing with flora (and fauna) in archaeological excavations in the subcontinent have been employed only fairly recently, and earlier reports cannot be trusted with regard to the (scanty) collections and identifications of plant and animal remains. We need substantive and representative regional collections for comparisons in order to achieve substantial progress.

Remembering such great early summaries as the 17th century Hortus Malabaricus for Kerala, or the --still useful ones – such as Brandis’ on Indian trees, we also have to compare other early textual materials. Much is still hidden in the largely unpublished and untranslated texts on Vṛkṣa Āyurveda, which actually deal not just with trees but also with agriculture in general. This includes, for example, such unexpected methods of fertilization of trees by fish residue. Some of these Ayurveda texts contain elaborate pictures of the plants described. I have seen one such beautifully illustrated book in private possession (Ayurveda Society of Naradevi, Kathmandu) that had detailed descriptions in a multitude of Indian languages, or I have once come across a collation of agricultural data of many hundreds of Sanskrit pages, made for the Union Government, already in 1979.

Third, we urgently need regional surveys of smaller languages and dialects, especially of remnant languages like Kusunda, Tharu, Bhili, Nihali, Toda (and also of Andamanese, Shompen, Vedda) as to gain a clearer picture of the early stages of food production in India, -- especially for areas that do not have old literatures (such as Central India). This

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189 Reede tot Drakestein 2003; Brandis 1906.
190 Or, for example the illustrated manuscript of the Kitab al-Hashaish, in the Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna, no. HL 2189, see: Vijnānavidhi. Manuscript Treasures of India. New Delhi: National Mission for Manuscripts 2007: 62 (in Arabic, and occasionally, in Greek).
has then to be expanded by the study of substrate words in the literary languages and in the extant vocabularies of all Indian languages – a task barely begun outside IA. Otherwise, we remain boxed in, for our earliest data, between those from the extreme Northwest (Ṛgveda) and the extreme South (Sangam), at 1000 and 200 BCE respectively, and have to extrapolate for the rest of the subcontinent.

I conclude, therefore, with an appeal to botanists\textsuperscript{191} (and zoologists)\textsuperscript{192} to join forces with archaeologists, geneticists, linguists and textual scholars to exchange data and discuss them in collaborative fashion.\textsuperscript{193} Only then real progress will be possible.

\textsuperscript{191} See however, already the paper, 40 years ago, 1967-68, by Vishnu Mittre, which is characterized as: “Vishnu Mittre looks into dating mechanism, environmental archaeology, and palaeontology in relation to archaeology and recommends a closer collaboration.”

\textsuperscript{192} Not treated here, but similarly promising.

\textsuperscript{193} Such as at our yearly Harvard Round Tables: 
### Abbreviations for common language names
(listed in the etymological dictionaries in this order)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indo-Aryan</th>
<th>Dravidian</th>
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<tr>
<td>&lt;Nur.</td>
<td>Nuristani</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dard.</td>
<td>Dardic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gy</td>
<td>Gypsy</td>
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<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
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<td>L</td>
<td>Lahnda</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Panjabi</td>
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<tr>
<td>WPah</td>
<td>W. Pahari</td>
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<tr>
<td>Garh</td>
<td>Gahrwali</td>
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<td>Ku</td>
<td>Kumauni</td>
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<td>N</td>
<td>Nepali</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Assamese</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
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<td>Or</td>
<td>Oriya</td>
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<td>Bi</td>
<td>Bihari</td>
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<td>Mth</td>
<td>Maithili</td>
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<td>Bhoj</td>
<td>Bhojpuri</td>
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<td>Aw</td>
<td>Awadhi</td>
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<td>Hindi</td>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>Ko</td>
<td>Konkani</td>
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<tr>
<td>Si</td>
<td>Singhalese</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Other common abbreviations

- **AV**  Atharvaveda Samhitā
- **CDIAL** Turner, Comparative Dictionary of the IA languages
- **DEDR** Burrow and Emeneau, Dravidian etymological Dictionary
- **Drav.** Dravidian
- **EJVS** Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies
- **EWA** Mayrhofer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen
- **IE** Indo-European
- **IA** Indo-Aryan
- **IIJ** Indo-Iranian Journal
- **Irr** Indo-Iranian
- **KS** Kaṭha Saṃhitā of the YV
- **lex.** = found in dictionaries only
- **MIA** Middle Indo-Aryan
- **Mbh.** Mahābhārata
- **MS** Maitrāyani Saṃhitā of the YV
- **NIA** New Indo-Aryan
- **O.** old
- **Pa.** Pali
- **PIE** Proto-Indo-European
- **Pkt.** Prakrit
- **R(ām).** Rāmāyaṇa
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Note on Appendix I

The appendix contains a list of the oldest attested words for Indian agricultural plants, as found in the Vedas (c. 1500-500 BCE). The list is arranged in a twofold way: (1) area of origin of the plant in question; (2) inside these groups, according to age of attestation. We have to distinguish 5 levels (Witzel 1997): 1.1. Ṛgveda - 1.2. Mantra texts (Atharvaveda, Yajurveda) - 1.3. Yajurveda Sanhitā prose texts (MS, KS, TS) -- 1.4. Brāhmaṇa texts proper, including earliest Upaniṣads and Āranyakas -- 1.5. Late Vedic (Sūtras); -- post-Vedic, in other Old Indo-Aryan OIA texts: Epics, Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA), Classical Sanskrit, New Indo-Aryan (NIA).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English term</th>
<th>English term</th>
<th>Old Indo-Aryan term</th>
<th>Attestation level of texts: 1.1-5, or post-Vedic; area or composition</th>
<th>Origin: Language family or individual Language</th>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>Discussion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>yáva</td>
<td>1.1 = RV: Greater Panjab</td>
<td>Indo-Eur. Gr. zeiai, Lith. javai, Hitt. ewa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I 405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plough</td>
<td>lángula</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Munda or N.E. (Witzel 1999) For Near Eastern connections, see Blažek &amp; Boisson 1991</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I 477 clear,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To sow</td>
<td>vap ‘scatter’</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Ilr. (O. Avest. vi-uuap); cf.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>EWA 504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>To plough</td>
<td>(yavam) kṛṣ ‘to plough ([for] grain)’</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Hitt. huuapp? I r.: Avest. yao-karṣṭi, etc., yauunanam kars; &lt; IE *kwels</td>
<td>EWA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>furrow</td>
<td>*sā/sī // sītā ‘furrow’</td>
<td></td>
<td>IA *sā/saH? &lt; *seh₂ ‘throw’? EWA II 725 (sāyaka ‘a thrown object, arrow’; cf. IE *seh(y) ‘to sow’</td>
<td>EWA 731</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>godhūma</td>
<td>T.2 AV+ KS, TS Central northern India; (E.Panjab: KS)</td>
<td>Loan &lt; Near East, via N. Iran (Witzel 1999)</td>
<td>I 499; foreign word; popul. etymc (‘cow smoke’)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lentil, Lens culinaris Med</td>
<td>masāra/másura</td>
<td>T.2/3 KS, TS (U.P.)</td>
<td>Local word?</td>
<td>II 335 Unclear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flax / lin seed</td>
<td>atasā brushwood; atasī lin seed</td>
<td>T.1 Suśruta</td>
<td>Meanings unclear in RV</td>
<td>I 57 Unclear</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S. ASIAN origin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>Vṛiḥi</td>
<td>T.2 AV/PS (in U.P./ Haryana &amp; Delhi)</td>
<td>Local? -- see Witzel 1999: &lt;*vṛiḥi; &lt;&gt; Drav. (v)ar(ī)ki, varīci etc.: &gt; Greek oryza</td>
<td>II 597 MPers: Pashto (pl.),</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>śāli PS: śāri- AV</td>
<td>T.2 AV,PS C.N.India</td>
<td>Benedict, Conspicetus 28, #</td>
<td>II 632</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plant Name</td>
<td>English Name</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Source</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mung Vigna radiata</td>
<td>mudgá</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>N. India</td>
<td>CDIAL 10198</td>
<td>any conn. with câmala?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaseolus mungo L. var. radiatus = Phaseolus Roxburghii</td>
<td>māśa</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>AV C.N.India</td>
<td>CDIAL 10097</td>
<td>Local</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mung: Vigna radiata</td>
<td>mudgá</td>
<td>1.2 YV N. India</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cf. RV name: Mudga-la 1.1.:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolichos biflorus L., a twining vine</td>
<td>khalá-kula</td>
<td>1.4 Up.</td>
<td>1.5 KauśS N. India</td>
<td></td>
<td>Local?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phaseolus mungo L. var. radiatus = Phaseolus Roxburghii</td>
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<td>1.2 AV C.N.India</td>
<td>CDIAL 10097</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dolichos biflorus L., a twining vine</td>
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<td>1.4 Up.</td>
<td>1.5 KauśS N. India</td>
<td></td>
<td>Local?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton (Gossypium sp.)</td>
<td>Ved.*karpāsa 'made of cotton'</td>
<td>Sūtras</td>
<td>Local, typical Austro-As. like prefix (kar-; as in jar-tila: tila)</td>
<td>Cf. Mesopotamian kapazum; &gt; Gr. karposos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cotton (Gossypium sp.)</td>
<td>Ved.*karpāsa 'made of cotton'</td>
<td>Sūtras</td>
<td>Local, typical Austro-As. like prefix (kar-; as in jar-tila: tila)</td>
<td>Cf. Mesopotamian kapazum; &gt; Gr. karposos</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar cane</td>
<td>ikṣu</td>
<td>1.2 AV+ C.N.India</td>
<td>Local word in several dialect forms: ikṣu, *ukṣu, *rīkṣu, *akṣu &lt; ṛkṣu?</td>
<td>Cf. RV +; name: Ikṣvāku; class. ikṣvāku 'bitter gourd, Citrillus colocynthis'; AAs. H. Berger WZKS 3,73 sqq</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar cane</td>
<td>ikṣu</td>
<td>1.2 AV+ C.N.India</td>
<td>Local word in several dialect forms: ikṣu, *ukṣu, *rīkṣu, *akṣu &lt; ṛkṣu?</td>
<td>Cf. RV +; name: Ikṣvāku; class. ikṣvāku 'bitter gourd, Citrillus colocynthis'; AAs. H. Berger WZKS 3,73 sqq</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sugar)</td>
<td>śarkarā 'pebbles'</td>
<td>1.2. AV+</td>
<td>Later: Class. Skt. 'sugar'</td>
<td>~ Greek krokalē ?; AAs. prefix šar-?</td>
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<td>priyāngu priyāngukā</td>
<td>1.2/3</td>
<td>1.4 Br.</td>
<td>See Witzel , 1999: Popular etym. for (Drav.) kaṅgu, etc.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>C.N.India varī :: *bājjara</td>
<td>1.5 HSS C.N.India</td>
<td>CDIAL 9201 Panj. bājrā etc.</td>
<td>*bājara, *bājjara</td>
<td>III 45: clear</td>
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<td><strong>Millet</strong></td>
<td><strong>SW ASIAN origin</strong></td>
<td><strong>Chickpea</strong></td>
<td>cana(ka) Mbh, Susr.</td>
<td>CDIAL 4579 Pali, Pkt., NIA</td>
<td>III 17 uncle:</td>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>Grass pea</strong></td>
<td>*k(h)ēsārī &lt;&gt; kēsārī ‘hair, filament’ YV, cf. kesānī ‘a plant’ KausS.</td>
<td>CDIAL 3925 *k(h)ēsārī; *kēsārī only &gt; Hindi; not in Skt.</td>
<td>&lt;&gt; Cf. ke CDIA 3475 ‘mane’ (keśa)</td>
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<td><strong>Pea</strong></td>
<td>*mattara</td>
<td>CDIAL 9724 Only NIA!</td>
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<td><strong>Foxtail millet</strong></td>
<td>kaṅgu</td>
<td>Brhatasamhitā, 550 CE</td>
<td>Cf. Bantu: *kóngō, *pungu; MW 1999: cf. priyāṅgu, anū</td>
<td>PMu. *hoxxy is too different; ditto Drav. DEDR 1242 kampu, 2163 kura, …</td>
<td>III 43 Foreign word?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Urd : vigna mungo</strong></td>
<td>*uḍidda ‘a pulse’</td>
<td>Pkt. uḍida</td>
<td>Pkt. uḍida CDIAL 1693; cf. uḍidda CDIAL 14302, Mar. uḍid, Hindi ur(a)d</td>
<td>*uḍidda &lt; Tam. ur.untu ‘black gram, phaseolus mungo’, Kan. urdu, DEDR 690</td>
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<td>Item</td>
<td>Word(s)</td>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>Cucumber</td>
<td>kṣīraka</td>
<td>Lex. only</td>
<td>CDIAL: NIA 3667, 3698, 3703</td>
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<td>Drav. origin of kārellā ‘black spear’ ~ kāṇḍīra</td>
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<td>Bitter gourd</td>
<td>kāravella, *kārella ‘Momordica charantia’</td>
<td>Suśruta</td>
<td>CDIAL 3061 Pali kāravella, Pkt. kāriyalla;-kārellaya, etc.</td>
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<td>Ivy gourd</td>
<td>kunduru ‘Boswellia thurifera, its raisin’ (incense tree);</td>
<td>Brhat Samhitā, 550 CE; kundurukā Suśruta</td>
<td>CDIAL 3298 kunda ‘raisin’ kāndurukā ‘Boswellia thurifera’ MIA, NIA</td>
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<td>kunduru &lt; Iranian? -- kunduru ~ mukunda ‘raisin of Bosw.’ &lt; Austro-As.?</td>
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<td>Luffa/sponge gourd</td>
<td>*tōri ‘gourd’</td>
<td>*tubara?</td>
<td>CDIAL 5977; Possibly &lt; *tubara/tumba</td>
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<td>Found in Northern NIA: Panj. tōri, etc.</td>
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<td>Okra</td>
<td>bhīṇḍā ‘vegetable Abelmoschus esculentus’</td>
<td>Pañcatantra</td>
<td>CDIAL 9492; NIA</td>
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<td>III 56 expl.’</td>
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<td>Bread</td>
<td>*roṭṭa</td>
<td>rotikā Bhagavat-Purāṇa</td>
<td>CDIAL 10837 Pkt. roṭṭa ‘rice flour’ Deśināmālā; roṭṭaga, ruṭṭa ‘bread’</td>
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<td>Cf. *roǐc, CDIAL 10836 ’to crush, grind’, Pkt. roṁcaǐ</td>
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<td>Areca nut (add.)</td>
<td>*suppāra</td>
<td>NIA only</td>
<td>CDIAL 13482, Hindi supāri</td>
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<td>III 41: Conne roṭ ‘to beat’ ; Pkt. r</td>
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