

# PROTO-MUNDA WORDS IN SANSKRIT

BY

F. B. J. KUIPER

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cōr-, coṭṭu-, curru- "to steal, grasp, etc.", cūrai "robbery" 14). On the other hand, Tam. toṭuvu "theft" and toṇṭi "stolen article" (Kann. tuḍi, id.) and prob. Nep. thut-thāt "thieving, pilfering" also point to a root *ḍuḍ* (either Drav. or Munda). — Skr. lex. laśa-, m. "gum" (see Turner s.v. lassā), S. lasak' pasak' "sticky", loc phocao "gummy, viscous" : laṭak', jaṭak', laṭkao, leṭkōm, jeṭkōm "to adhere, stick to", leḍ "miry pool", jeṭ jeṭ "sticky, viscid". As for Nep. laspas "contagion", cf. S. las pas, laṭ paṭ "sticky, muddy". — Skr. lex. jhumbarī- "a kind of lute" : tumbī-vīṇā-, id., tumba- "gourd". — Skr. śākinī-, f. "witch" : ḍākinī-, id. (derivation unknown). — Skr. sāka-, n. "eatable herbs" : Pa. ḍāka-, id. (same remark). — Skr. cāṇḍa- "fierce, violent", which Turner, BSOS. 5, 129, Nep. Dict. s.v. cāro, derives from \*candra- on account of Si. caṇḍro "passionate", cannot be separated from Nep. jaṇḍa, jaṇḍo "hot-tempered, fierce" (cf. Hi. jhallā?). We may accordingly compare S. coenda "hot-tempered, irascible, hasty, passionate", corṭha, corcoṭa, etc. "passionate, bad-tempered" : S. ṭheṇṭa, id. — Skr. sāva-, m. "young of an animal", Pkt chāva-, Pa. chāpa-, id. : S. ḍeḍe "dwarfish, small", ṭembe ṭura "small (animals, children)", etc. Root ḍa-wa "stunted, small" (see s.v. tūparā-). — Skr. tu-ṣāra-, m. "frost, rime" : ṭhāra-, id. (Kāty. S'S.) 15). Root ḍa-ḍa, cf. Skr. jaḍa- "cold, cool", S. jaḍwahi, jaḍwas "feeling very cold" : Hi. ṭhaṇḍhā "cold". — Skr. śambala- (sambala-, samḥala-), n. "provisions for a journey" survives in Nep. sāmāl-tumul, id., an echo-word whose last member is connected with Nep. tumaṛi "pack, baggage". Since the last word may be related to S. ṭhamae ṭhukai "baggage, impediments", the question arises, whether the two members of sāmāl-tumul are variants of one and the same word (as is often the case in Munda). Cf. S. sambar, somḡl, somḡol "to provide oneself with, supply, prepare", and perhaps samṭao "to collect, assemble", samṭa sumṭi "taking all along, bag and baggage". Root ṭa-ba or ḍa-ba? — Pa. kirāsa- : Skr. kirāta- (see Kern, Toevoegselen s.v.).

§ 7. Some Sanskrit words require a more detailed treatment. *Khaḍgā-*, m. "rhinoceros" occurs since Maitr. S., Vāj. S. and is in common use in the Class. language (Rām., Caraka, Raghuv., Daśak. 94, 18, etc.). Since Sūsruta there occur variants which show that this word had come to be

14) Cf. also the Santali echo-word luṇṇa chunta!

15) Cf. Nep. jāro "coldness, chill, winter" (< Skr. jāḍya-). Hindi has, beside ṭhār "snow, frost": ṭhīr "extreme cold", ṭhīṭar, ṭhīṭhar, ṭhīṭhīr, ṭhīṭhur "numbedness, torpor, chilliness, cold; frost", ṭhīṭrā, ṭhīṭharā, ṭhīṭhurā "benumbed, torpid, chilled, impotent". Is Skr. śīśira-, m.n. "the cool season, hoar, frost, dew; adj. cool, chilly" (since Ath. S., Kāth. S.) the assimilated variant of Hi. ṭhīṭhīr, just as -ṣāra- is of ṭhāra-? The usual connexion with Old Icel. hēla "frost rime" (< \*ke-kl-on-) presents some difficulties since the assimilation of the vowel of the reduplicated syllable to *ir, ur* of the root syllable is comparatively young. (Ved. *tistirē* : *fastirē*, *tītiruh* : *tātāra*) and does not occur, so far as I see, in nominal stems (cf. *pāpuri-*, *tāturi-*). An original \*śī-śira- or \*śā-śira- is accordingly excluded by the principles of Sanskrit word-formation.

identified with its homonym *khaḍga-* "sword", viz. *khaḍgāhva-* (lit. whose name is "sword"), *khaḍgin-* (Suśr., Kādambarī). In Tel. *khaḍgamṛgamu* "rhinoceros" the last word may have been added in explanation of the first, somewhat like the instances mentioned by Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. II, 1, 251 (cf. also *gaṇḍamṛgamu*, id.). Although Wackernagel, op. c. I, 177, suggested a foreign origin, other scholars hold it to be identical with *khaḍgā-* "sword". Cf. Uhlenbeck, who starts from the meaning "horn of the rhinoceros" (lex., prob. deduced from *khaḍgin-*), and Lüders, Festschr. Kuhn 314 (= Philologia Indica 429), who holds *khaḍga-* to be a shortened form of *\*khaḍgaviṣāṇa-* (cf. Ved. *sūcika-* for *sūcī mukha-*). Although any evidence of the supposed older form is wanting, Lüders maintained his view against different explanations in an article written shortly before his death (see ZDMG. 96, 1942, 81, where *khaḍgā-* is quoted as a parallel of *śisuka-*, Pa. *susuka-*, a shortening of *śisumāra-*).

A new light was shed on this side of the problem by an article of E. Benveniste in "Donum natalicium — Schrijnen", p. 371 ff. He draws attention to the name *καργάζωνος* occurring in Aelian, wherefore he proposes to read *\*καργάζωνος* on account of New Persian *kargadān*. The same word occurs in Semitic, cf. [Accadian *kurkizānu*], Arabic *karkaddan*. From these forms he infers a 'Pre-Aryan' word with the consonants *\*khkzn/\*khgdn*, from which he also derives Skr. *khaḍgā-*. Since *kar-* is a very common prefix in Proto-Munda, we are thus led to consider the question whether the origin of this 'Pre-Aryan' word may be in Proto-Munda, its radical element being *kaḍ-*, *gaḍ-*. If so, *kaḍ-* is due to (dialectal) unvoicing, and *khaḍgā-* contains the same guttural suffix as *khaḍga-*, "sword", and *phalgū-* "small", *phalgū-* "reddish", which are other Proto-Munda words of the Vedic language. As a matter of fact, suffixation had become a common feature of Proto-Munda word-formation as early as the Yajurvedic period.

The existence of a Proto-Munda radical element *gaḍ-* (*ga-ḍa*) is proved by another Sanskrit word for rhinoceros, viz. *gaṇḍa-*, m. (Haravijaya, S'ukasaptati), *gaṇḍaka-*, m. (Kādambarī, Yaśastil., Deśin. 7, 89 comm.), *gaṇḍāṅga-*, m. (lex.). The last word is obviously due to popular etymology, *gaṇḍa-* having been taken in the sense of boil. (As for *gaṇḍakamṛga-*, Deśin. 7, 57 comm., Tel. *gaṇḍamṛgamu*, Tam. *kāṇṭāmīrukam*, see above). The correctness of this etymology was advocated by Lüders, ZDMG. 96, 1942, 56, n. 3, who held the proper meaning to be "der mit Beulen versehene". But Khasi *kynda* "rhinoceros", which represents Austro-Asiatic *\*gēnda* furnishes conclusive proof of the Austro-Asiatic origin of *gaṇḍa-*. P. C. Bagchi's connexion of Skr. *gaṇḍāra-* (?) with Sakai-Semang *gantir*, *gēntāl*, *sogāntāl* "elephant"<sup>16</sup> is accordingly to be rejected. As for the NIA. forms of the word, Hi. *gērā*, *gaiṛā*, Panj. *gaiḍā*, Guj. *gēḍo*, Mar. *gēḍā* (see Turner s.vv. *gaiṛo*, *gaiṇo*) show an interchange e : ai against a

<sup>16</sup> See Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, Introd. p. XXVI.

of Sanskrit, which too, is an indication of Proto-Munda origin. Cf. Mar. *maind*, *maid* "lazy, stupid" : Skr. *manda-* (Bloch 75; see p. 102, n. 145).

While *ga-ṇḍa-* represents a "prenasalized" form of the root *ga-ḍa*, the nasalized variant *ga-ṇa* occurs in *gaṇotsāha-*, m. "rhinoceros" (Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa). As it cannot possibly be a compound of the Sanskrit words *gaṇa-* and *utsāha-*, we may suppose that it is a Sanskritization of \**gaṇochāha-* (cf. Skr. *utsuka-* for \**ucchuka-*, from *icchā-*, Wackernagel-Debrunner, KZ. 67, 1942, 155 f.). This form contains the wellknown Proto-Munda suffix *-(a)ha* (cf. *kalaha-*, *laḍaha-*, *maḥaha-*) and the derivative element *-oca-*, *-osa-* (cf. S. *laloc*, *khakosia*, *lērosiā*, etc. and see p. 118 on *lālasa-*)<sup>17</sup>.

The question remains to be answered how the Iranian and Semitic forms of this word are to be accounted for. As has been pointed above, they contain a Proto-Munda prefix *kar-* and a suffixal element *-n*, which may also be of Proto-Munda origin. The interchange of *k* and *g* further shows that they represent two different dialectal forms. To the same conclusion points the difference between Old Iranian \**kargazān*, [Accad. *kurkizānu*] (with *z*) and mod. Persian *kargadān* (with *d*), which cannot of course be paralleled with the wellknown cases where Avestan *z* and Old Persian *d* represent IE. \**ǵ*, \**ǵh*. Since *z* points to a fricative having been pronounced instead of *ḍ*, we must assume that two different Proto-Munda forms of this word have become known outside of India, viz. \**karg/kaṣan* or \**karg/kajan* and \**kargaḍān*, which were prefixed variants of \**ga-ṇa*, \**ga-ṇḍa* and \**khaḍ-ga*. In view of Hi. *gēd* "elephant" : *gēḍā* "rhinoceros" (cf. Bēlandas of Kuala Langat *gōsēl* "elephant" : Sakai *gu-sil* "rhinoceros") Skr. *gaja-*, m. may possibly be connected.

§ 8. By the side of the ancient words for "water", viz. *āp-*, f., *udān-* (*udakā-*), n., *vāri-*, n., and *salilā-*, n., the epics introduce a new word *jala-*, n. Other new words, viz. *toya-*, n., *nīra-*, n., and perhaps *ambu-*, n., have already been explained as Dravidian loanwords, see Bloch, BSOS. 5, 739. The correctness of the IE. derivations proposed for *jala-* (which is usually connected with *galati* "drips", see Uhlenbeck, Walde-Pokorny I, 690; otherwise Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 219: Lat. *gelu*), seems therefore doubtful. As a matter of fact, most authorities admit this possibility with some diffidence ("wahrscheinlich" Uhlenbeck, "vielleicht" W.-P.). Hence it seems justifiable to draw attention to a different possible explanation.

Beside S. *ḍalhi*, *dalahi*, *dal dalahi* "marsh, bog, marshy, boggy", *dalha*, *dolha*, *dola*, *dol dol*, *dol doli*(*ḍ*) "marshy, boggy" (M. *dal dal*, "marsh, swampy ground"), *thal thal* "deep mud", *thala* "marsh, marshy" there occur variants with *j*, cf. S. *jola* "a very shallow lake, a sheet of water" and, with *r* for *l*, *jaṛhi* "a swamp; wet, humid, moist, marshy, swampy" (= *ḍalhi*), M. *dārḥā* "a pool or deep place in a river"(?) — Many NIA.

<sup>17</sup>) Skr. *ghaṇṭika-*, m. "alligator" is not clear.