

PROTO-MUNDA WORDS IN SANSKRIT

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cōr-, *cōttu-*, *cūrru-* "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-thāṭ* "thieving, pilfering" also point to a root *dud* (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", *jeṛ jeṛ* "sticky, viscous". 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" : *dākinī-*, id. (derivation unknown). — Skr. *śāka-*, n. "eatable herbs" : Pa. *dāka-*, id. (same remark). — Skr. *cāṇḍa-* "fierce, violent", which Turner, BSOS. 5, 129, Nep. Dict. s.v. *cāṛo*, derives from **candra-* on account of Si. *cāṇḍro* "passionate", cannot be separated from Nep. *jāṇḍa, jaṇḍo* "hot-tempered, fierce" (cf. Hi. *jhallā?*). We may accordingly compare S. *coenda* "hot-tempered, irascible, hasty, passionate", *cortha, corcoṭa*, etc. "passionate, bad-tempered" : S. *thenṭa*, id. — Skr. *śāva-*, m. "young of an animal", Pkt *chāva-*, Pa. *chāpa-*, id. : S. *debe* "dwarfish, small", *ṭembe turā* "small (animals, children)", etc. Root *da-wa* "stunted, small" (see s.v. *tūparā-*). — Skr. *tu-ṣāra-*, m. "frost, rime" : *ṭhāra-*, id. (Kāty. S'S.)¹⁵⁾. Root *da-ḍa*, cf. Skr. *jāḍa-* "cold, cool", S. *jadwahi, jadwas* "feeling very cold" : Hi. *ṭhanḍhā* "cold". — Skr. *śambala-* (*sambala-*, *śamvala-*), n. "provisions for a journey" survives in Nep. *sāmal-tumul*, id., an echo-word whose last member is connected with Nep. *tumāṛi* "pack, baggage". Since the last word may be related to S. *ṭhamae ṭhukai* "baggage, impediments", the question arises, whether the two members of *sāmal-tumul* are variants of one and the same word (as is often the case in Munda). Cf. S. *sambar, somol, sombol* "to provide oneself with, supply, prepare", and perhaps *samṭao* "to collect, assemble", *samṭa sumṭi* "taking all along, bag and baggage". Root *ṭa-ba* or *da-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 Suśruta there occur variants which show that this word had come to be

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

¹⁵⁾ Cf. Nep. *jāṛo* "coldness, chill, winter" (< Skr. *jāḍya-*). Hindi has, beside *ṭhār* "snow, frost": *ṭhir* "extreme cold", *thītar, thīthar, ṭhīthir, ṭhīthur* "numbedness, torpor, chilliness, cold; frost", *thīṭrā, ṭhīṭharā, ṭhīṭhurā* "benumbed, torpid, chilled, impotent". Is Skr. *śīśīra-*, m.n. "the cool season, hoar, frost, dew; adj. cool, chilly" (since Ath. S., Kāth. S.) the assimilated variant of Hi. *ṭhīthir*, 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. *tīṣṭirē* : *taṣṭirē, tīṣṭirūḥ* : *taṭāra*) and does not occur, so far as I see, in nominal stems (cf. *pāpūri-*, *tātūri-*). An original **śi-śīra-* or **sā-śīra-* is accordingly excluded by the principles of Sanskrit word-formation.

identified with its homonym *khadga-* "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 *gandamṛgamu*, 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 *khadga-* to be a shortened form of **khaḍgaviśāna-* (cf. Ved. *sūcīka-* for *sūcīmukha-*). 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 *śiśuka-*, Pa. *susuka-*, a shortening of *śiśumāra-*).

A new light was shed on this side of the problem by an article of E. Benveniste in "Donum natalicum — Schrijnen", p. 371 ff. He draws attention to the name *xaqračwros* occurring in Aelian, wherefore he proposes to read* *xaqyáčwros* on account of New Persian *kargadān*. The same word occurs in Semitic, cf. [Accadian *kurkizānu*], Arabic *karkaddān*. 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 *khadga-*, "sword", and *phalgú-* "small", *phalgú-* "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. *kāṇṭamītukam*, 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. *gandāra-* (?) with Sakai-Semang *gantir*, *gēntäl*, *sogāntēl* "elephant"¹⁶⁾ is accordingly to be rejected. As for the NIA. forms of the word, Hi. *gēṛā*, *gaiṛā*, Panj. *gaīḍā*, Guj. *gēḍo*, Mar. *gēḍā* (see Turner s.vv. *gaiṛo*, *gaiṇo*) show an interchange *e* : *ai* against a

¹⁶⁾ 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-nda-* 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 **gaṇočhāha-* (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-, maṭaha-*) and the derivative element -oca-, -osa- (cf. S. *laloc, khakosia, lerosiā*, etc. and see p. 118 on *lālāsa-*)¹⁷.

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. **g*, **gh*. Since *z* points to a fricative having been pronounced instead of *q*, we must assume that two different Proto-Munda forms of this word have become known outside of India, viz. **karg/kažan* or **karg/kajan* and **kargadān*, which were prefixed variants of **ga-ṇa*, **ga-nda* and **kaḍ-ga*. In view of Hi. *gēd* "elephant" : *gēdā* "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. *dālhi, dalahi, dal dalahi* "marsh, bog, marshy, boggy", *dalha, dolha, dola, dol dol, dol doli(a)* "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*, *jṛ̥ahi* "a swamp; wet, humid, moist, marshy, swampy" (= *dālhi*), M. *dār̥hā* "a pool or deep place in a river" (?). — Many NIA.

¹⁷) Skr. *ghaṇṭika-*, m. "alligator" is not clear.