PROTO-MUNDA WORDS IN SANSKRIT

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

In the studies which have hitherto been published on the influence of the Austro-Asiatic languages on Sanskrit the foreign origin of the Sanskrit words was demonstrated mostly with the help of lexical materials taken from Further Indian, and even Indonesian, languages. This fact has given rise to the misconception that the majority of the Austro-Asiatic loanwords in Sanskrit have no etymological connexions in Munda, which, again, was explained by the supposed Uralian origin of the Munda family of speech ¹). In reality, however, the reason why Munda word-materials played such a small part in these studies was mainly the fact that the valuable information which they can furnish cannot be efficiently utilized without a preliminary historical and comparative study of these interesting languages, which indeed have developed into a type of language which is rather different from the original Austro-Asiatic one.

The object of the present study, which deals with the origin of some hundred Sanskrit and Prakrit words, is to show that the Austro-Asiatic source from which these Aryan words have been derived was actually the Proto-Munda branch of Austro-Asiatic. The introduction of the new term Proto-Munda is justified by the fact that, as early as the Vedic period, the Munda languages had departed considerably from the Austro-Asiatic type of language and developed a character of their own brought about by a number of dialectal phonetic changes and the introduction of suffixes in the word-formation. Both phenomena mark the beginning of a process of "Dravidization" of the Munda tongues which has ultimately given them the character of agglutinating languages and has thus contributed to the growth of the Indian linguistic league (Sprachbund). The earlier stages of this development, which are reflected by the Sanskrit loanwords, are here denoted by the general term Proto-Munda.

This book is a ὑστεγόν πρότετον inasmuch as circumstances have led to its separate publication prior to the appearance of "Munda and Proto-Munda", as an appendix to which it was originally conceived and whose conclusions it presupposes. Since the methods here developed may arouse doubts as to their soundness, I wish to emphasize the fact that they are the outcome of a comparative and analytical study of modern Munda. Not before they seemed to be firmly established have I proceeded to apply them to the foreign words of Aryan.

Among the morphological features of Proto-Munda the extensive use of prefixes (which in the modern dialects have ceased to be productive) deserves mention. As for the "sound-laws", they present unexpected

¹) Cf. K. Régamey, Polski Biuletyn Orientalistyczny II (1938), pp. 34. 36.
difficulties of fundamental interest. In the belief that Munda would show the same regularity of phonetic correspondences as found in Indo-European I have been led by the comparison of clearly related words to formulate a number of laws, e.g. the unvoicing of voiced stops, and the change of a cerebral phoneme ( (!((d)))) to (d) ((t)), r, r, l, etc., such variants as S. biggos bgogo \sim pikog pokog “fat” or So. dani \sim rañ “to obstruct” being explained as originating in different dialects. On these theories the following word-studies are still based. After the completion of this book, however, my views regarding the interpretation of the observed correspondence of sounds (the correctness of which is, I venture to think, beyond doubt) have fundamentally changed. The theory of dialect-mixture is, indeed, inadequate to account for the many variants of a word often found in Santali, as it would necessitate the inference that this language has some sixteen different “dialectal” representatives of a, which vary even in one and the same word, e.g., S. dilq dale \sim lidq lade “to totter” (cf. Hi. thot \sim thos \sim Skr. sotha-, etc.). Nor does the comparison with other Austro-Asiatic languages enable us to solve this problem for there we find the same interchange of voiced and unvoiced stops (e.g. Semang deldel \sim Sakai teltl “heel”, Prong doñ \sim Semang anton = M. Kh. botoñ, So. bâtoñ “to fear”) 2) and a similar variation of d, r, l, s (see p. 133 with Add.). The inference that a free variation on a large scale (though within definite limits) was characteristic of Austro-Asiatic is inevitable. I accept, therefore, the explanation suggested by Professor C. C. Berg with regard to similar phenomena in Indonesian, viz. that the Austro-Asiatic consonantal system had a relatively small number of phonemes with a wide range of possible realizations, the following sounds, for instance,

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{d/t/} & \sim \textit{dh/th} \sim \textit{r} \sim \textit{j/c, s} \\
\textit{d/t/} & \sim \textit{dh/th} \sim \textit{t} \sim ^{*}z/^{*}s \sim y \sim l
\end{align*}
\]

originally having constituted one phoneme. On the strength of such suffixed forms as *kabal, *kabar, *kapat, *kaman (presupposing *kabad from ka-ba) 4), which cannot have been inherited from Austro-Asiatic as suffixation seems to have been introduced in Proto-Munda under Dravidian influence, we may infer that in Proto-Munda this phoneme still admitted the same variation, and the frequent occurrence of fully parallel expressions in Santali (e.g. \textit{dgk dgk}: \textit{rok rok}: \textit{sok sok}: “projecting”, \textit{dikog dink}: \textit{liko loko} “to be loose”) is only intelligible if they are one and the same word which allowed a variable pronunciation of the phoneme \textit{d}/\textit{l} until a

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3) Proto-Munda *ñ may be inferred from Skr. māsā-, kalmāsā-, laśva-, liśva-, sāṅga-, śīṅga-, śāṇḍ(h)ā-. As for \textit{h} from \textit{dh} (cf. Hi. hamew p. 19, desi hulhulia p. 69) it is probably of comparatively recent date.

late date). The analogous phenomena in Dravidian (see p. 130) suggest a similar explanation. (Note the equivalence of *t/c* and *m/n* in the alliterating verses of the mōṇaittoṭai-type). On the other hand, the many Munda synonyms with varying initial gutturals, dentals and labials are not, in my opinion, due to sound-variation but to parallelism: they are rhyme-words (e.g., *S. buṭra* : *gutra*, *dunḍa* : *munḍa*, pp. 99, 105, etc.).

Another Proto-Munda phenomenon inherited from prim. Austric is the nasalization and presnasalization of the consonants of a root: Thus *ba-da* (*wa-da*) may become *ba-na*, *ba-na*, *ma-da*, *ma-na*, *ma-na*; similarly *da-da* may occur as *da-n(d)a*, *na-da*, *na-n(d)a* 6). Further may be noted the aspiration of consonants, the change *g/k > h* (e.g., Skr. *Kekaya* : *Haihaya*) 7, the loss of initial *h* (if this was a distinct phoneme at all), the variation *y ~ j* (*c*, *s*) and *w ~ b* (*p*), and the sporadic change of intervocalic *y* and *w* to *h* (cf. Nep. *tuhuro*, p. 75). Some of these phenomena have already been noticed in Indo-Aryan (see Turner, Introduction to his dictionary, p. XV and Festgabe-Jacobi 39, Chatterji 892 and passim).

Since moreover the vowels are largely interchangeable 8, and since the Austro-Asiatic (and Proto-Munda) prefixation has left many traces in the lexical materials of present-day Munda, the derivatives from one and the same root have often widely divergent forms; e.g. Skr. *tunda*- and *caṇcu*- from *da-da*, *veni*-, *kabari*- and *āpiḍa*- from *wa-da*, *jāṅgala*- and Hi. *aṛangā*, *ṭhek* and *roknā* from *da-ga*, Hi. *aṛnā* (7), * hurkā* and Nep. *taghāro* from *ga-ga*, Hi. *jhagṛa*, *aṛang* and S. *etraṅ* from *da-ga*. From the point of view of methodological this is, I think, the chief difficulty of these investigations, as by a purely mechanical application of the "sound-laws" nearly everything can be demonstrated. This fact strongly diminishes the stringency of etymological explanations (which even in other fields of study, as for instance Indo-European linguistics, are so often unconvincing). A careful collection of many cognate Munda words is essential in order to determine the original Munda root, and an equally careful comparison of their meanings is often needed to attain in our results the

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5) The consonantal and vocalic variation is mainly found in word-groups whose meaning is associated with special sensual or emotional ideas, e.g. "fat, swollen, pregnant", "projecting" (see s.vv. *picchā*, *śīkṣā*, *śuṇḍā* and cf. the words relating to what is known as the "castration-complex" of Western man: *danḍā*, *baṅḍā*, *jaṅgala*, *śuṇṭhā*). Words for "hand" (So. *sIr*, Kh. *tI*, S. K. *tI* ~ Besai *tIh*, Sakai *tIh*), "ploughing" (S. M. Kh. *sI* ~ Palaung *thail*, Mon *thoe*), "day" (S. *sI*, M. *sIng*, K. *sIh* ~ Khasi *sIh*, Palaung *shañ-tIh* ~ Khmer *thaIy*, Mon *thaIo*). "oil" (S. M. K. *sunum* ~ Senoi *sèrum*, Tibetan *nūm*), "tree" (S. *sIh*, M. *sIh*, K. *cIh*, tsIh, *sIh*, *sIh* ~ Khasi *dIh*, Palaung *tIh*, and in Tibeto-Burman: Khimi *tIh*, ~ Mamba *sIh-še*, Abor *sIh*, *sIh*, Tibetan *sIh*, etc.) hardly vary at all.

6) For a full phenomenon of this phenomenon see "Munda and Indonesian", an article to be published in "Orientalistische Bijdragen, Herdenkingsbundel van het Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland".


8) The symbol *a* in Proto-Munda roots denotes a variable vowel.
highest possible degree of certainty and to avoid that such etymological studies degenerate into a mere play with formulae. I do not pretend that the following articles fully answer to this standard 9). Nevertheless, as a first attempt at a methodical treatment of these questions they may have some interest in spite of their inevitable shortcomings. Those, to whom such an attempt would appear premature, may be reminded of Hugo Schuchardt's words: "Die Wissenschaft wäre nie vorgeschritten, hätte sie nicht vorgegriffen".

The main conclusions to be drawn from the present word-studies may be briefly summarized as follows: 1) A very considerable amount (say some 40%) of the NIA. vocabulary is borrowed from Munda, either via Sanskrit (and Prakrit), or via Prakrit alone, or directly from Munda. 2) Wide-branched, and seemingly native, word-families of South Dravidian are of Proto-Munda origin. (The existence of isolate Munda words in separate Dravidian languages, as Telugu and the Northern Dravidian dialects, has never been questioned.) 3) In Vedic and later Sanskrit, the words adopted have often been Aryanized, resp. Sanskritized. The criteria applied by the Vedic language were of course most stringent: $d$, $t$, $n$ were not "rein-Arisch" and often became $d$, $t$, $n$; $l$ was changed to $r$, and perhaps $b$ was sometimes changed into $p$ (on the analogy of Pkt. $b = \text{Vedic } p$), see $tūparā$-. The elimination of cerebrals is also found in later Sanskrit (as against Hi. $j$ in younger borrowings), just as the substitution of $r$ for Proto-Munda $r$. 4) As the development of Munda has been slower than that of Aryan, the aspect of many modern Munda words does not apparently differ much from their Proto-Munda original. Hence NIA. words, directly borrowed from Munda, often reflect more faithfully their originals than the Sanskrit words do, cf., e.g., Hi. kubar, kubrā: Skr. kubhra- (S. kubḍhra), Hi. poṭā: Skr. pōta- "young of an animal", Hi. pūthī: Skr. pāta- "buttock", etc. In such cases, the NIA. form of the word points to a more recent borrowing (cf. Nep. tumbo which cannot be derived from Skr. tumba-).

Besides the difficulties pertaining to the Austro-Asiatic prehistory of Munda there is another problem, still more difficult perhaps, which arises from the close interrelations between Mundas and Dravidians extending over at least 4000 years. Since the phonetical developments of both families of speech run strikingly parallel, and since the words which they have adopted from each other, may have come to be treated as native words at a very early date, phonology and morphology do not often afford sufficient criteria to determine the origin of a word or word-group. The problems resulting from this situation perhaps belong to the most complicated which the student of historical and comparative linguistics has to solve. I have not eschewed a discussion of these questions whenever this was essential.

9) I had to write these studies without the aid of many indispensable dictionaries. I particularly regret that those for Marathi (by Molesworth) and Prakrit (by Sheth) and the 'Encyclopaedia Mundarica' were inaccessible to me.
although the solutions here proposed must necessarily be provisional. See, e.g., śūndā-, khadga-, khora-, cipita-, S. topoṇḍ (p. 92), and particularly p. 105 f. Somewhat different are the difficulties arising from the many Munda reborrowings from Aryan. For the purposes of the following studies this question is however of minor importance if the ultimate Munda origin of the words concerned is warranted by phonological or morphological characteristics.

This book necessarily deals only with the influence which Munda has exerted on the other linguistic families of India. This is, however, only one aspect of a wider problem. Many studies from different points of view will be needed before we can arrive at a right evaluation of the rôle which each of these families has played in the genesis of the Indian linguistic league. In view of the intensive interrelations between Dravidian, Munda and Aryan dating from pre-Vedic times even individual etymological questions will often have to be approached from a Pan-Indic point of view if their study is to be fruitful. It is hoped that this work may be helpful to arrive at this all-embracing view of the Indian languages, which is the final goal of these studies.

My sincere thanks are due to Mrs. B. M. Koch-Thomas, who has corrected the English text, to Mr. Alfred Master, who was kind enough to read part of the proof-sheets and to whom I am indebted for some useful suggestions and corrections, and to my pupil Mr. A. P. Kelder, who has undertaken the task of preparing the Index.

Nearly half a century has passed since Professor Uhlenbeck published his etymological dictionary of Sanskrit. Although much has since been done in this field, the majority of the very large number of words there labelled as "unexplained" still await explanation, and many explanations there given require reconsideration. May this little book, dedicated to my venerated guru on the occasion of his 80th birthday, show him that, although the progress made in these studies since 1899 is not perhaps spectacular, still it is hoped that the number of obscure words, even of those which have hitherto defied all attempts at explanation, will gradually be reduced.
ABBREVIATIONS.

Most of the abbreviations used in the present work do not require special notice. The following may be noted:

Bloch = J. Bloch, La formation de la langue marathe, Paris 1919.
Böhtlingk (or pw.) = Otto Böhtlingk, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung, St. Petersburg 1879—1889.
Pischel = R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen (Encyclopaedia I. 8), Strassburg 1900.
Uhlenbeck = C. C. Uhlenbeck, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache, Amsterdam 1898/1899.
Wackernagel = J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, Göttingen (I, 1896; II, 1, 1905; III, 1930).

The Indian languages are denoted by the following symbols:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Munda:</th>
<th>Aryan:</th>
<th>Dravidian:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>So. = Sora (Savara).</td>
<td>Si. = Sindhi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sgh. = Singhalese.</td>
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</table>
1. *arāla-"crooked, bowed, curled (hair)."

In common use since the Epics. As Pali *alāra- shows, it stands for *arāla-. The older form of the word occurs in *arāda-"long-horned" (Maitr. S. 2, 5, 9, p. 59, 17) and in *arāḍita-"having very long horns" (S'at. Br. 4, 5, 5, 5). As for *arādyā Tuitt. S. 5, 6, 21, 1, (ucchritaśṛṅga-Sāy.), for which most authorities assume an adj. *arādyā-. Tarapada Chowdhury, JBORS 17 (1931), 37, n. 2, explains it as a fem. dual of *arāḍī-. The sense of these Vedic words is due to the fact that curved horns are usually long. Inversely, S. daeka "wide-spreading and very long with an upward turn at the end (buffalo's horns)" is a derivative from *da-ya "tall"; cf. laya "having horns standing wide out" where the notion "curved" is not implied. Tarapada Chowdhury's inference that *arāda- as being contrasted with tūparā-"hornless", must simply mean "horned" is not cogent. In the late Yaśastilaka arāla- is incidentally used in the sense "long" (arālakālam, comm.: pracurakālāparyantam, see Schmidt, Nachtr.), which must be an imitation of the Vedic usage.

Cf. S. lađēa, laṛēa "crooked, bent, slanting (tree, stick)", laṛē "slanting, leaning to one side", M. laṛēa "crooked, bent", leḍhā, id., liḍu "to bend" (for *liḍu, cf. S. liṛwa "to bend over, backwards or downwards" from *liḍu-a: leṛwa laṛve, leṛwak' "to incline to one side, reel"); S. laṛa "having horns bending down forwards, having the comb hanging down on one side", M. leṛā "curved (said of horns of animals)". So far as I know, variants with initial r or ḍ do not exist; so we are led to assume a root la-da. But the Vedic language tends to eliminate in the Proto-Munda loan-words such sounds as are considered characteristic of Prakrit and the vulgar forms of speech, cf. Ved. udumbāra- for udumbara-, danda- for *daṇḍa-. In the same way *a-lāḍa- (and *a-lāḍiya-: S. laḍēa?) may have been changed into arāda-. If so, Pali *alāra- must be due to metathesis (although Lüders, Philologia Indica 560, for reasons which he did not mention, held this to be the older form of the word).

If, however, arāda- is a Proto-Munda word we may further connect it with arāṭakt-, which occurs in Ath. S. 4, 37, 6

ajaśṛṅgya arāṭakti tikṣṇaśṛṅgi vy `ṛṣatu.

The Paippalāda variant ajaśṛṅgi rāṭakāṁ, ajaśṛṅgi rāṭaky (cf. Le Roy Carr Barrett, JAOS 48, p. 42) is obviously worthless. Whitney's translation "let the goat-horned arāṭakti, the sharp-horned, push out" is based on the supposition that arāṭakti is a specific name of a herb, whereas the commentator takes it as an epithet (though from his nonsensical interpretation it is evident that he did not know its meaning).

In the later language ajaśṛṅgi is the name of the Odina pinnata. Since in
v. 2 of our hymn it occurs in the vocative in an address to the plant, we must assume that it had already become a specific name as early as the Vedic period. Accordingly arátakí is probably to be taken as an adjectival epithet (see Add.). Now the ajásṛṅgihí is also called viśānin-, viśāniká-, mesāṣṛṅgihí- on account of the shape of the fruit (see Whitney’s and Lanman’s notes on v. 2). For the same reason it is obviously called here “the curved one” or “the curved horn”. An etymological connexion with arála- had already been supposed by BR. The word is of particular interest in that it shows the unvoicing of medial sonants to date back to the Sáhitá-period. A different explanation has been given by Tarapada Chowdhury, op. c., p. 36 ff, who derives aráta- from ará- “spokes”, ala-“sting of the scorpion (or, of an insect in general)”, árā- “awl”, etc., all denoting something pointed. But derivation from Aryan words by means of -ta- (which has hardly been cerebralized through the influence of the neighbouring r- sound) is only met with in later periods of the language. As for ala- (ada-!) see Lüders, Philologia Indica 430: árā- is generally connected with Old High German ála and has r from IE. l.

2. a r g a ḏ a - “obstacle; class. bolt, bar”.

Since S’at. Br. sárgaḍa- (Kā́va rec. sárgala-), see Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 221 f. (who writes argaḍá-). The connexion with Old Engl. reced, Old Saxon rakud “house, palace, temple” (see Uhlenbeck, Walde-Pokorny I, 81) is unacceptable both on account of the semantic difference and because of the suffix -ḍa- which we should then have to assume for a Vedic word. This also excludes a connexion with Ved. āksāḷā- (rechārā-, accharā-, achālā-, atsārā-) “fetter”. The original meaning of the word (which, in the later language, denotes the wooden pin of a door, cf. S’ánkh. Ár. 2, 16 argalaṣaṅke “the pin and bar of the door of a cow-pen”) must have been “hindrance, impediment”, cf. Beng. āgāl “restraint” (āgar “hurdle”). Skr. lex. gaḍa-, ganḍaka- “obstacle” (antarāyaḥ), and buddh. Skr. nirgaḍa- “without impediment, blameless” argue in favour of an analysis ar + gaḍa-. Cf. Pa. ghaṭiyati “is obstructed” (ghaṭikā- “a bolt”? See Kern, Toevvoeselen, I, 130; otherwise PTS Dict.).

The root gaḍ- is actually met with in the following Santali words: gaḍ gaṛao “to detain, restrain, beset, keep”, guḍ guḍaṇ “to beset, detain, restrain”, gur gur “to restrain, deprive of freedom”, perhaps also ganḍ “a cross-ridge”, ganḍ ganḍ “across, transversely”, ganḍe “across, athwart, transverse, at right angles” (cf. Ho gāṇḍi “obstruction, obstacle”), ganaḍe, ganḍe “the cross-bars of a bedstead, the two short bars of a door-frame, etc.” (derivative from *gaḍe?), aṅkō “hindrance, obstruction, obstacle, to check, stop, detain, etc.” (possibly influenced by aṅkō, id., from ḍa-ka). Cf. So. inād “to close (door)”?

The assumption of a root word *gaḍa is supported by Nep. gharo “bar, rod, pole, cross-beam, ridge-pole”, tagāro, taghāro “bar, bolt” (wrongly
Turner s.v.), perhaps also Beng. ṭaṅgaṭ “to bind the feet”, which has been Sanskritized as ḍravaṅkaṭa-, ḍravāṅgaṭa-. m. “Ein Schulterjoch mit drei von jedem Ende herabhängenden Stricken zum Tragen von Lasten” (see Chatterji 887). Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life § 1250, mentions (besides āgal, āgar, agrī, the general names for a wooden bar used for fastening the door) the following local terms: gharkā “a kind of bolt” (in South Munger), hurkā “the bolt of the lock”, and ārkhar “the spar that supports the screen or hurdle used for a door” (South-East Bihar). The first of these words apparently presupposes *gar-ak < *gad-ak, cf. Beng. khirkī “window, back-door” (< Pkt. khḍakkī-. Bloch 319, Chatterji 498). As for the second word (cf. Hi. huruk, hurkā “bar or bolt of a door”, Beng. hurkā, id., Sanskritized huḍukka-, m., id., in the S’abdaratnāvalī), it is clearly a Munda loanword, as S. hurkā “a wooden bar for a door, a shackle, gyve (on the leg of buffaloes), to bar, to shut with a bar” is a derivative from S. hurā = ḍari “to shackle, gyve, to fetter, put in the stocks, chain (the feet), detain”. It presupposes an original *guḍ-uk, parallel to *gad-ak. In S. hurkar “the wooden bar or bolt (of a door), to shut with a bar” two dialectal variants of the same word are combined to form an “echo-word” (which is a very common phenomenon in Santali), unless hurkā has been extended with -r, and has then been interpreted as an echo-word. S. karhar “a kind of gate with movable bars (at the entrance to cattle-sheds)” may be explained in the same way. The third word, viz. ārkhar “the spar that supports the door inside”, may be identified with S. āṛgarā “a cattle-pound, prison, difficulty” (whence Beng. āṛgarā “stables”, which Chatterji 497 records among words of prob. desī origin) on the supposition that the original meaning is “vraja-”. Probably ar- stands for *hār- < kaṛ- < gar- (cf. s.v. akula-); it thus coincides with the Dravidian root ad-, ar- “to obstruct” (cf. Hi. ar “obstruction, bar”, āṛnā “to stop”, etc., Pashto āṛ “hindrance”, see Turner, BSOS 5, 123, Chatterji 497, Burrow, Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 79 f.).

It might seem plausible to regard Skr. āṛgāḍa- as an earlier reflex of the same Proto-Munda word, which now has become āṛgarā in Munda, and has again been borrowed into Aryan as āṛkhar and āṛgarā. There is however another possibility, viz. that ar- is the well-known variant of the prefix a- (cf. kar- : ka-, šar- : ša-, etc.), which is found, e.g., in arbudā- (see s.v. pıkcha-). Our materials do not allow us to decide this question. Note also Skr. lex. varkuṭa-, m. “pin, bolt”, which Wilson quotes from a lexic. work.

In conclusion we may observe that S. hurkā denotes both a bar and a gyve. Hence nigaḍa-, n. “chain for the feet, fetter”, cannot well be separated from argaḍa-. On the other hand, it would seem to belong to the affiliation of śṛṅkhalā- “chain, fetter”, which suggests an original meaning “to bind” rather than “to detain, bar, gyve”. If these two word-families
are ultimately identical, Toda tagârś “chain” would be interesting on account of Nep. tagâro “bolt”. See s.v. śṛṅkhalâ- 1).

3. ākula- “confounded, confused, agitated, anxious, overburdened with, full of”.

This word is still unexplained. The Pet. Dict. tentatively suggested some connexion with kirati, but Hindi kulkulî “restlessness” seems rather to point to Munda origin. On the other hand, Tam. maṅkulam “cloudiness, murkiness; perturbation, confusion of mind” looks like a Munda loan-word which is derived from the same root 2). The question arises, then, whether Pkt. mañlî “disturbance or upsetting of the heart” (ḥṛdayarasocchalanam, Deśīn. 6, 115) is derived from *makulî (with the same prefix as is contained in the Tamil word). In addition, Skr. kalīla- “covered with, full of; confusion, chaos” may be connected with these words.

The common meaning of all these words is “confusion, agitation” which reminds us of So. kalkál “difficult, agitated”. In Santali there are a great many words derived from gaḍ (gal, kal, hal, al) which convey the sense “confused, disorderly”, cf. gaḍ baḍ “confusion, disorder, confused, mixed”, gaḍbaḍao “to put into disorder or confusion, make a mess of”, gaḍbe saḍbe “in disorder, to muddle, confuse”, gaḍ buḍi, gaḍ bōḍ “to confuse, come to no conclusion”, gaḍo saḍo “mixed, mingled, confused, to mix”, gaḍnī saḍnī, id., guḍ guḷau “to make a disturbance, commotion, confusion”, guḍ guḍ “disturbed, hurly-burly”, guḍ mal “noise, tumult, uproar, disturbance, confusion”, guḍ malao “to disturb, disarrange”, galōc salōc, galuc sałuc, galui sałui “confusely”, kalōc baṭok “restlessly, uneasily, to be restless”, lār kharao “to be in a hurry, restless, eager”, hal bal “restless, turbulent, troublesome, meddlesome”, halo balo, id. 3), hul mal “disturbance, riot, uproar, tumult, to make do.”, ulmāl “confusedly, to perplex, confuse”, ulmalaol “to disorder, confuse, stir up, bring into commotion”, alaṭ olot “bewildered, abashed, to confuse, bewilder”, alaṭ bakat “to confuse, bewilder, nonplus”, etc. 4).

Several of the words quoted above are “echo-words” composed of derivatives from gaḍ and baḍ (bal, mal). They have also been adopted

1) Note Nep. pagâro “rope, tether”, which Turner derives from *pragrahaḍa-. The Munda evidence now available however hardly supports its derivation from gaḍā (but cf. Beng. tāgaḍ “to bind the feet”). Its etymology must be left undecided.

2) Not certain, cf. Tam. maṅkul “cloud” and maṅgā- “to become dim, to be perplexed”.

3) In kalo balo “to become loquacious, to get tipsy, talk incoherently” there is contamination with gal “talkative”, M. ukul-bukul “to be uneasy and anxious” is ambiguous, cf. S. ikil sikil, ikī sikī, ikī sikī “restless, troublesome” (root ak- or blending? See below). S. bokol bokol, bokhūl bokhūl, bokgūl bokgūl, bikol bikol “muddy, turbid” are prob. unrelated (cf. Pkt. bahalaḥ). Is the meaning of Skr. vikala- “depressed, sad, unwell”, Hi. bikal “restless, uneasy, troubled” due to contamination with a Proto-Munda word?

4) Cf. Pkt. halābola-, m. “confused noise” (kalakālaḥ, Deśīn. 8, 64).
by some NIA languages, cf. Nep. alamalla "perplexed, troubled, perplexity, trouble", almāl "delay, confusion, perplexity", almalinu "to be confused, puzzled, detained", ulmāl "confusion, chaos", huthāl, hul, hulār "riot, disturbance", galmāl, gomlāl, gomlul "tumult, uproar", Hi. halbal "tumult, commotion, confusion" (also halphal), haṛbāri, "id., uproar, mutiny", haṛbārāṇā "to be agitated", khalbal "confusion, commotion, agitation, tumult", kharb(h)ar, khaṛbara, id., khalbalāṇā (khadbadānā) "to boil, bubble, be agitated, be in a state of commotion" (see Bloch 317). Cf. S. gaṛ baṛ = gaḍ baḍ “confusion, disorder, etc.”. More complicated is the origin of Hi. ghabrāṇā “to be confused, perplexed, agitated”, ghābaṛ, ghābrā “confused” (by the side of gaṛbaṛ “confusion, disorder, tumult”, gaṛbārāṇā “to be confused”). Turner (s.v. ghabrāunu) derives them from *ghabb(h)ara-. This may represent Skr. *gharbhara- (from Proto-Munda gaṛbaṛ), but perhaps we have to do with a contamination of roots, which is peculiar to Munda (see s.vv. kubja- and tumula-), cf. S. gabāḍ, gabdhaao “to be mixed up with”, gabāṛ “mixed, impure”, from gab- (gabuc’ sābac’ “to mix up, make a mess of, confuse”, gabao “to make water muddy”) but influenced by gabḍbaḍ 5).

In some of the derivatives from gab- the sense of “confusion” has developed to that of “tumult, uproar”. The question thus arises whether Skr. kalaha- “strife, quarrel” belongs to this group of words. The Tamil Lexicon gives for kalakam the following meanings: “strife, quarrel, wrangle, altercation, uproar, tumult, insurrection, revolt, rebellion, etc.”. In an early publication (in ZII 8. 241) I have connected it with Greek σκόλαφος “box on the ear”, and W. Schulze, KZ. 45. 288, n. 1, similarly derived it, with some reserve, from *kaladha- and compared Latvian kūda. A more profound study of non-Aryan languages drew my attention to other possible explanations. It is tempting to compare Tam. kala- “to mix, blend, compound”, kalakkut- “to confuse, nonplus”, kalaṅku- “to be stirred up, agitated, to be confused”, kalatai “confusion, tumult, turmoil”, kallal, kalal “disturbance, confusion, tumult”, Tel. kalahgu- “to be in trouble, grief, disorder or confusion”, kalancu- “to put in agitation, make turbid, embarrass”, kalata “trouble, perplexity, dispute, squabble”, kalaka “trouble, perturbation, founness, sin”, kalacu- “to trouble, disconcert, disorder”, etc. Their native Dravidian character is, it seems, beyond doubt 6). If however

5) Among the meanings of Hi. bigaṛ we find “disorder, disarrangement, disturbance, confusion, rebellion, revolt, mutiny” and for bigaṛñā-Platts gives also “to get out of order, be disordered, tossed, disarranged, to quarrel, rebel, revolt”. Cf. Hi. agaṛ bagaṛ “confusion, medley, mess, mixed, confused”, igar digaṛ “disordered, disarranged, spoiled, injured” (: S. agaṛ bagaṛ, agaṛ bīgāṛ, agaṛ digaṛ). The question arises whether bigaṛ-, bagaṛ is also a derivative from gab-; if so, S. sigiṛ bīgiṛ “disordered, disarranged” must be a secondary alteration of sigiṛ bigiṛ “in confusion” (as is often the case with jingles). Contamination of form and meaning plays an important part in such expressions.

6) Tel. galilibi “disorder, confusion” (gal + bol) and galagincu- “to stir, mix, mingle, confuse” must however be Munda loanwords as the Dravidian root seems to have an ancient ḫ (Kann. kalasū, Tulu kala etc.).
Skr. kalaha- were a Dravidian loan, the h would point to Kannada, where intervocalic -pp- has become h (via -p-) about 1000 A.D. (the earliest instances of h occurring in 1004, see A. N. Narasimhia, BSOS 8, 674). Since kalahin- is attested as early as the Chânḍ. Upan. and the Gṛhya-Sūtras (Āṣv. GS., Jaim. GS.) this explanation is apparently excluded. (After this had been written I found that Burrow, BSOAS 11, 133, n. 1, actually derives kalaha- from this Dravidian root, without explaining, however, the origin of Skr. h). For the same reason -ha- cannot be explained as a Prakritism 7). On the other hand, -ha- is a very common suffix in Santali, and most of the Sanskrit and Prakrit words which contain this formative element are likely to be Proto-Munda loanwords (cf. laḍaha-). Hence, like Mar. kal, Nep. kal “quarrel”, kalaha- is probably to be connected with kalila- and ākula-. Note S. gõṇḍogol “tumult, uproar, hubbub, quarrel” (Beng. id.), which is an “echo-word” composed of two different derivatives from ga-ḍa (as is very often the case in Santali), and Kh. kole “to quarrel”. On the other hand, Pkt. halahala-, n. “tumult, curiosity” (tumulaḥ kautikaḥ ca, Deśīn. 8, 74) and Mar. halhāl “restlessness” (Bloch 428) are no “echo-words” in the proper sense of the word, as the two components are not (or only slightly) different. Like Skr. kolāhala-, m. “confused cry, uproar” (< Proto-Munda *kola hala), they corroborate our explanation of kalaha-.

4. āṭopa-, m. “puffing up, pride, self-conceit”.

1. The meaning “puffing up, flatulency” since Mhbb., Suṣr. (cf. phaṭāṭopa- Pañcat.;) the meaning “pride” since Mrcch. The primary sense is “swelling” (“Aufbauschung, Anschwellung”, Pet. Dict.), cf. Nep. tuppinnu “to be puffed up with pride” (contaminated with tuppinnu “to grow to a top”, tuppū “top”). Since Hi. tipôr “vaunting, boasting”, tipass “conceit, pride, haughtiness, arrogance” (Nep. tipôr “pride, conceit, self-glorification”, etc.) point to a non-Aryan origin, it is possible that śōpã-, m. “tumor, sore” (Suṣr., Kathās.) should be separated from śotha-, m. “swelling, tumefaction” (Suṣr., Caraka), with which it is generally connected on the supposition of a common derivation from śa- “to be swollen”.

Āṭopa-, whose initial vowel may be a Proto-Munda prefix (cf. a-ŋgana-, ā-ndolayati), is a derivative from the root ḍa-wa or ḍa-ba “globular, thick, swollen”, derivatives of which are enumerated s.vv. udumbāra-, ḍimā(h)ar- and dāḍima-. Cf. especially S. ūṭaṭu “distended (stomach), visibly pregnant”, ḍum ḍum “having a swollen, protruding stomach”, ḍumkâ “roundish” and ḍhmok “haughtiness, arrogance, conceit, pride”. This explanation is supported by such variants as Hi. ḍimbh “pride, vanity, affectation”, Tam. tempu “physical strength, daring, bravery, arrogance,

7) For the few Pkt. instances (putṭaha-, etc.) see Pischel § 206 and A. Master, BSOAS 11, 299.
pride, energy") 8) (: timili, timmali "a stout, strong woman"), tampam, itampam "pomposity, ostentation", Kann. ḍabbu, ḍamb(h)a, dambha, id. (: dubba "a man with a large belly, a very stout man", doppa "thickness", doppa "thickness, stoutness, coarseness"). Hi. dambhī "deceit, trickery feigning, hypocrisy, pride, haughtiness, arrogance" (cf. dambhī "deceitful, hypocritical, proud, arrogant"). Nep. dambhī "proud") seems accordingly to be a contamination of Skr. dambha- "deceit, fraud, hypocrisy" and a Proto-Munda word. A confirmation of this conclusion is provided by Mar. jambha = Tam. jampam "affectation, overweening pride, pomp, ostentation" (Tel. jambhamu, Kann. jamba, jambha) and, on the other hand, by Hi. ṭīp-ṭāp "ornament, decoration, pomp, show, ostentation, splendour, magnificence", ṭīm-ṭām "dress, show, ostentation" (: thamā "thick, corpulent", dhappu "bulky, fat, corpulent", Nep. ḍhabbu, etc.), dhūm "(noise, bustle, tumult), display, parade, pomp, ado", dhūm-dhām, id., Nep. ṭham-ṭham "strutting, arrogance, display, smartness of appearance", ṭīm-ṭum "display, ostentation, appearances", Mar. ṭām-ṭām "display", tam "proud swelling", tampa "to bluster", Beng. tam "pride", Nep. tamak "conceit, pride, haughtiness" (cf. S. dhāmokā). In view of these words Pkt. mahapphara, m. "pride" (garvā, Desīn. 6, 120) and malampa- "proud, haughty" (garvā, Desīn. 6, 121) may possibly be derived from the same root (prefix ma-?). Cf. also Skr. lex. heramba- "ein auf seinen Heldenmut pochender Mann" (Hemac., Med.; for prefix he- see p. 66) and Hi. hamevon "vanity, arrogance, pride" (with ḍ < dh?).

2. A serious difficulty arises from the fact that many words are contaminations of two or more different words. Skr. āḍambara-, m. is particularly difficult for this reason. It is partly a synonym of āṭopa-, but it has been fused (like Hi. dhūm) with a word meaning "noise" (hence the inexact rendering "lärmvolles Benehmen, Wortschwall", etc. in the Pet. Dict.). The commentaries regard both words as synonymous, e.g., Yasastil. 1, 175, 1 kalaranatīkānicīlayāḍambaram (: comm. āṭopaḥ), Varādambkāparīṇayacampū 52, 8, where the modern comm. renders āṭopaḥ by āḍambaraḥ. Cf. Tam. āḍamparam "pomp and show, ostentation", Tel. āḍambaramu "pomp, grandeur, vain display, abortive arrogance", Kann. āḍambara "ostentation, display, pomp, pride", Hi. āḍambar "noise and bustle, arrogance, pride, ostentation", etc. A similar meaning is sometimes found in the Skr. literature, e.g. Bhāminī-Vilāsa 1, 3 Dhātaḥ kim nu vidhayu visīhām ucito dhārādhārāḍambaraḥ "en un tel moment convient-il, ô Créateur! que le nuage déploie tout cet appareil contre la lune" (Bergaigne), 1, 113 nirguṇo śobhate naiva vipulāḍambaro 'pi nā "Quand

8) These meanings recall Skr. dārpa-, m. "extravagance, petulance, temerity, arrogance" (and, no doubt, Kandarpa-, m. "love, god of love"). It cannot yet be decided whether these words represent *dār-va (cf. carpaṭa-, Pashto drabol, from *dār-va "to press down", p. 58 and cf. Turner s.v. dāpkānu).
il est sans vertus, l'homme ne brille pas (d'un éclat solide), quelque appareil pompeux qu'il déploie'; Gopālakeli 53, 4—5

nirīṣṭā(?) girinirjhara ravisarit tīrāvarāṇāmarā (?)
dhvāntkāntatamākānanabhuv jhilliravālīśayāh,

and 60, 5 pīṭāmarāṇāmarāh, which Caland leaves unexplained in the
index (on p. 16 he tentatively translates "in geel gewaad gekleed (?)"). Cf. the similar expression pravilasapūtāmsuka—(65, 6), and e.g. bhūṣitaṁ
pīṭāvasasā Brahmvāva. Pur. 4, 20, 33. More than a century ago, indeed,
Troyer, in his edition of the Rājatarāṅgīṇī, vol. 1, p. 419 (1840), added
the meaning "vêtement, ornement" to those provided by Wilson and
translated nirāṇambaraśundara- as "beau sans ornement" (Rājat. 2, 125).
His authorities were the pandits of Calcutta. The Pet. Dict. however quotes
this passage in illustration of the meaning "lärnvolles Benehmen, Posaunen"
(vol. V, 1095). However that may be, ādambara- and dāmbara- are more
than once combined with words for "dress", e.g. Kathās. 71, 130
śākṣasūṭrājamātām ṭāpasīveṇaṇāmaraniḥ (vidhayā ... sā), which rather
means "imposing dress" than "Gewirre, Menge, Masse" (Pet. Dict. V,
1456); Vikramāṇakdevac. 3, 76 lūṇṭakaluputanikhalāmbaraṇāṇāṃ ...
purāṇangānāṃ (of Kāṇci, after the plundering).

With Harṣacar. 98, 1. 4 from the bottom (ed. Bombay 1897) priyakathā
eva subhagāḥ kṣaṇālaṁkārāḥ. ādambarah kūṇḍalādiḥ "the talk of their dear
ones forms happy ear-ornaments; rings and the like are but affectation"
(Cowell—Thomas) may be compared Bhātakathāmaṇjarī 18, 14 phalaṁ
rājīyatār etac. cheṣam ādambaranā śriyaḥ. Thomas, JRAS 1899, 509,
suggests a meaning "anointing of body" for Harṣac. 229, 15, and records
dāmbara- "bombastic tone" (sl. 17). A similar contamination of the sense
"bombast, pomp" and "dull sound" is suggested by Somadevasūri's own
commentary on Yaśastil. I, 98, 1 madhurakarukutāṃṇīkurāmbāṇambara-,
viz. ādambāreṇa: ātpoṭatā yabagajītaya vā. But the implication of
"sound" is absent in, e.g., Bhāratamaṇji. 13, 962 ahiṁsā paramo dharmah,
kratuś chādraṇādambarah (display of unsuitable things), 3, 227 adra-
vīdaṃbarho yājñās, 3, 610 draviṇādambaravāyāyaḥ 10) jñātā papaṁmaṇj
kratūn / sarvayaṇajahapalāṁ tīrthān dhīmān ko vā na sevate? The meaning
"splendour" 11) is found, e.g., Varadāmbikāparinaya 28, 6—7 -govrndava-
vedana - niṣyandamaṇa - romantha - bindusandoha - tārakītāmbāṇadamba-
vidambana-catura-sādvaladesān. The Vikramāṇakdevacarita has a rule

9) Caland mistook d for an avagraha owing to their close resemblance in the Leyden
MS. and read ravisarinnāraṇāmarā, which is against the metre. Since nn and tt are
equally possible, I take it to mean "the water of the Yamunā (ravisarit = tapānasūta,
tapanaduhiṭā) is now so low (on account of the heat) as to show the holes of the banks".
For nirīṣṭā the MS. reads nirddiṣṭā.
10) This is obviously the correct reading for āvāpya of the Kāvyamālā edition.
the variant ḍambara-, e.g., 1, 47 prakoṣṭhapṛṣṭhasphurad-indranīlaratnāvalī-kaṇkanadambareṇa, 2, 71 mahāgṛhāṇāṃ pratibimbaṇḍambaraiḥ praṇāmyamāneva, 17, 21 visānaratnapratibimbaṇḍambaraiḥ vibhānti yat-prāṇaṇaśīmīnī lāśikāḥ. In 13, 78 nitambaṇḍambara- the meaning may be somewhat similar to that of ātopa- (the commentaries often render by vistāraḥ). I do not hazard to decide whether (ā)ḍambara- “prapaṇicaḥ” is identical with this word. See Pet. Dict. V, 1456 ("Gewirre, Menge, Masse") and cf. Rāghavapāṇḍav. 12, 17; 4, 37, and 8, 54 sasambhramocchālita-payoḍīḍambaṇḍara- (the comm. renders everywhere “prapaṇicaḥ”) 13, Vikram. 9, 126 ucchalačchikaraṇdambara-, 12, 50 pradarsayantīva tuṣāra-varṣaṁ visārīṇā śiṣkaraṇdambareṇa, 13, 13 grīṣmamahosmaṇḍambare dare, Haracaritacintāmaṇi 9, 239 sarvaṅgaṇetragāhāṣaṇaḥdambaram.

The wide range of meanings of āḍambara- “pomp, ostentation” and its contamination with homonyms renders the interpretation of several passages difficult. Thus, when S’aṅkideva, emerging from the lake, does not see the town of the Vidhyādhāras, he says aho kim etad āścaryamāyādaṁbaramaṛjaṁbhītam (Kathāś. 26, 89). Böhtlingk first took it to mean “Gewirre” (1868) but later he changed this into “Riesenmässigkeit, das Non-plus ultra, die Krone von” (1879). A somewhat similar use of the word occurs in 107, 5 devāvīrbhāvaṁdambaram kṛtvā, where I would suggest to translate “the miracle of the manifestation of the god,” 13. The same acceptance seems possible in the first passage 14. This rendering, which, for the rest, does not differ very much from Böhtlingk’s, is supported by Skr. ḍāmara- “extraordinary, amazing; m. amazement, admiration” (Mālatīm., Gitagov.), lex. ḍamaru- “amazement, surprise” (Trīk.), and by Hi. ācambā, ācambhā “wonder, marvel, astonishment, amazement” (Nep. acamba, acambha. acamma, id., etc.), which obviously represents a dialectal variant of ḍamb- and confirms our supposition that ā- is a Proto-Munda prefix. Skr. camatkāra-, m. ”astonishment, amazement, surprise, wonder” (and, no doubt, “embellishment, ornament”, cf. Gopālalékicandrikā 44, 27.29; 48, 21) 15 bears the same relation to ācambā as ḍāmara- does

13) The exact meaning in the last passage, however is rather “noise”, cf. Vikram. 15, 36 nikaṭaṣṭhitameghaṇḍambaraiḥ suraṅgapaṁ ijva.
14) The translation of Tawney-Penzer, vol. VIII, p. 43 has “the delusion of the appearance of the god”. Speyer, Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara 80, quotes this passage in support of the reading ḍambara- in 100, 44 jaya nijataṇḍavaṁdambaramaṁdhubharanyacitena bhuvanena ..., prapaṇamāna ... gajavādana, but the context rather points to a different word (“drone, din”; otherwise Tawney-Penzer VII, 131: “the crushing weight of thy tumultuous dance”). Different, again, is Bhāratamaṇḍ. 3, 312 Valākānikaśaśubhrāya tāṇḍavādaṁdampasaṛpiṇī where ḍambara- denotes the ḍamaru (see Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography II, 1, 137, 193, etc.); as a matter of fact, the ḍambara- is according to Nīlakaṇṭha (ad Mbh. 7, 82, 4) a kṣudrapaṭṭahāḥ. See further s.v. duṇḍabhi.
15) “Alas! what is this great display of marvellous delusion!” (Tawney-Penzer II, 224).
to ḍambara- (Proto-Munda nasalization, resp. prenasalization). Now it is interesting to note that in Hindi the Skr. loanword means, not only "surprise, astonishment, amazement", but also "show, pomp, grandeur, splendour" (cf. Platts s.v. camatkār); likewise Nep. camatkār means "brilliance, splendour, grandeur". This fact, though rather baffling, tends to show that all these words are derived from the same root (cf. Greek ἀγάμα: ἀγάν: μέγας?).

3. The original sense of Skr. ḍamara-, m. "riot, tumult" (Var. BS.), ḍimba-, "affray, tumult, danger, distress" (Mbh. Manu) is rather "confusion" than "blow". The lexicographers render ḍimba- by viplavāh. I presume, therefore, that it is to be separated from Nep. ḍimbā, ḍimmā "blow, slap" (Turner s.v.), which belongs to the affiliation of Skr. capeṭā-, and that it is connected with the first component of S. ḍamaḍol "confusion, disorder, uproar, disturbance, tumult; restless, confused, distressed". Beng. ḍamāḍol "tumult" is according to Chatterji 495 of deśī origin, and the same may be true of Hi. ḍamāḍol, ḍāwāḍol "unsettled, uneasy, restless, distressed (in mind)". Its type of formation strongly suggests a Munda origin (though the Santali word may possibly be a reborrowing) 16). The meaning of Nep. ḍamāḍol, viz. "shaky, not firm, unsteady, unsettled", may have been influenced (through popular etymology) by bhūdiḍol "earth-quake". For the true cognates of -ḍol, see s.v. tumula-

5. āpiḍa-, m. "crown, garland".

Since Mbhb., Rām. According to Cappeller (Skr. Engl. Dict. s.v.) "lit. head-pressers", which probably is the common view. As a matter of fact, āpiḍa- is once used in the sense of "pressure, squeeze" instead of āpiḍana- (galāpiḍa-. Suṣr.) 17). But the other word was employed in a wider sense, which cannot easily be connected with pīḍ- "to press". Pischel § 122 gives its meaning as "Kranze, Haarflechte", which is confirmed by Pkt. āmelā-, āmoḍa-, moḍa-, m. 18) "mass of twisted hair" (jūṭah, Deśīn. 1, 62: 6, 117). The commentary on 1, 62, it is true, only identifies āmelā- "head-ornament" (šekharah) with Skr. āpiḍa-, in contradistinction to the word with the meaning "jūṭah", which it regards as a deśī-word. As for āmelā-, Pischel § 122 traces its derivation from *āpiḍya- (> *āpiḍḍa-, *āpedḍa-, *āpeda-), cf. Geiger § 11. Hemacandra records an interesting variant āveda-, which recurs in Pa. āvela- "1) turning round, swinging, diffusion, radiation, protuberation (with reference to the rays of the Buddha). 2) a garland or other ornament slung round and worn over the head". Rhys Davids and Stede derive this from ā-vest- (with which

16) See s.v. tumula-
17) Mbhb. 3, 64, 102 B. (= Nala 12, 102 in the longer recension) tarusreśṭham aśokar ... pallavāpīḍītam means no doubt "crowned with twigs", (pallavaīr bhūṣītam Nīl.). Thus rightly Böhlīngk (Caland, Sāvitrī und Nala 124: "dicht bedeckt", from pīḍ-).
18) See Pischel § 238.
ämela- is likewise connected). The Pali word certainly presents some difficulties as it is possible that in its first sense it belongs to āvelita- "turned round, wound, curved" (root vel-, vell-). However that may be, there can be no doubt that in its second meaning it is identical with Pkt āveda-, āmela- and Skr. āpida-.

If, then, these words denote both a garland and a braid of hair, their original meaning is likely to have been "plaiting". This reminds of Hi. bīḍi "the hair twisted or plaited behind, braided hair", which must be a Munda word on account of its dialectal variants mēḍī, mīḍī, etc. (with nasalization of b). Cf. also Hi. bīḍā "bundle, roll, twist of grass", bīḍ, bīra "big bundle, load", benṛa "a turban" = Hi. Nep. pheṛa, etc. The Munda origin of these words cannot, indeed, be questioned, cf. S. bhīṇḍ "a large bundle or burden (tied)"; M. bīra "a bundle of crop", bēṛ "a turban, to wear a turban, to tie on the head" (bēṛṛ ḍ "head-dress, pagri, turban") 19), beṛā ṍ "to tie paddy seedlings together, to tie up the hair", Ho bīra "a big bundle of paddy", benṛa "a pagri or turban". For a full account of this root and its many derivatives see s. vv. menṛha- and kabra-. Skr. āpida- must accordingly contain a Proto-Munda prefix (see, e.g., ātopa-), as it is obviously connected with this word-family. With Pkt. (ā)moda- cf. Pkt. muraṃṇa-, id. (Desīn. 6, 117), phuṇṛa- "keśabandhah" (6, 84) and p. 110 f.

If this be correct, the intricate explanation of the e in Pkt āmela-, etc. (Pischel § 122) is unnecessary as āveda-, āvela- may be taken to be fully identical with āpida-, and the m of āmelā- is a similar instance of Proto-Munda nasalization as, e.g., Hi. dial. mēḍī, mīḍī = bīḍi "braided hair" or Skr. menṛha- = bheṛha- "ram". Pischel § 248, it is true, assumes a dialectal change of pa (via va) to ma: "Der Übergang, der fast ganz auf AMg. beschränkt ist, erklärt sich aus dem Wechsel von ma und va". Pischel's interpretation of the facts can however be shown to be incorrect. His materials clearly comprise two different phenomena, viz.

1) Nasalization of p (> b, v) through a preceding n, e.g. Skr. nipadyate, nipanna- > ṅumajjāi, ṇumāṇṇā-; ājñāpani > āṇamaṇṇi; kuṇapa- > kuṇima-; nipa- > nīma-; Pa. manāpa- > maṇāma-; vaṇipaka > vaṇīmaga-, etc.; in svapna- > siviṇa-, simiṇa- the n follows after the v.

2) Austro-Asiatic nasalization in āmelā-, ṇimeḷa- (see p. 146), cimṛdha- (p. 57), and probably also in viḍima- (= viṭapa-).

6. uḍuṃbāra- a., m., "ficus glomerata", m.n. "its fruit".

In the last sense it is also accented uḍuṃbara- (S’at. Br.). The word is in common use since the Brāhmaṇas. In the later literature it is written uḍumbara-. Böhtlingk considers this an incorrect spelling, whereas Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 173, reckons uḍumbara- among the instances where d has been cerebralized "without any apparent cause" (likewise

19) For the final checked d’ (’r) representing a cerebral, see p. 33 f.
Bloch. Langue marathe 125). The same spelling is however found in Vedic texts, cf. Kāṭh. S. 21, 8 (p. 47, 13) a\textit{udumbar īr bhavanī. īrg vā udumbara. ārjām evāsā apidadhātī. Ancient and modern attempts to explain \textit{udumbāra}- as an IE. word have led to no result, cf. S'at. Br. 7, 4, 1, 39: 7, 5, 1, 22; H. Petersson, IF 34, 229 f. (cf. J. Charpentier, IF 35, 255). See also Bloch 298. The word and the various historical problems connected with it have been discussed at length in Przyluski’s luminous article entitled “Un ancien peuple du Penjab: les Udumbara” (Journ. As. 1926, I, p. 1 ff.). He refers to the fact that the fruits of the \textit{ficus glomerata}, though resembling the figs known in Europe, are ovoid and contain a great quantity of seeds. In both respects they accordingly resemble the gourd (Skr. \textit{tumbā-, tumbī-, tumbuka- “lagenaria vulgaris”), with which Przyluski further connects \textit{goḍumba- “water-melon, Cucumis maderaspatanus, colocynt”} (only in lexicographical works). But the word-family of Skr. \textit{alābā-, lābā-} and several Indonesian words, which the learned author also connects with them, are not likely to have anything to do with them. Instead of such vague speculations it is possible to give a more precise explanation of \textit{udumbāra-} and its cognates. The common characteristic of the fig, the gourd, and the water-melon denoted by \textit{ḍ} \textit{tumb-} must either have been “ovoid, round” or “full of seeds”. Now, modern Kherwari has many derivatives from a root \textit{ḍa-ba “swollen, roundish, etc.”}, e.g., S. \textit{ḍub ḍuba “full, swollen (stomach), tight, stuffed”, ḍub ḍubī “to impregnate, become enceinte”, ḍum “to be pregnant”, ḍumka “roundish, oblong, oval (fruit)”, ḍumkuc “small 21) and oval (fruit, tubers)”, \textit{bīn ḍimbu “cucumis trigonis”, etc., M. dhūmā (dhūmi, f.) “fat and dwarf” 21), dhūmṛa (dhūmṛi, f.) “stout, fat”, dhōmsol “fat”, dhīmsi “a big-bellied woman”, ḍheb ḍhebe, ḍhebrā “big-bellied”. With regard to the variety of the root-vocalism it is interesting to note that some Sanskrit lexicographical works write \textit{goḍimba-} for \textit{goḍumba-} (thus Hemac. and Med.); see also s.v. \textit{ḍim(h)a- 22).}

Przyluski has drawn attention to various myths in the Aryan tradition which testify to a popular belief about the fertility of the colocynt (\textit{lagenaria vulgaris}, Skr. \textit{tumbā-, alābū-}), the pumpkin, and the melon. Thus Sumati, the second wife of king Sāgara of Ayodhyā, gave birth to a gherkin from which 60,000 sons were born: \textit{garbhaṁ (ṁ) tumbāṁ vyājāyata / ṣaśṭiḥ putrasahasrāṇi tumbabhedād viniḥṣṭēḥ, Rām. 1, 38 (39), 17; garbhālābūṁ vyājāyata Mhbh. 3, 106, 19 Bomb. In the latter version the sons are born from the seeds that had to be taken from the fruit. The name of Sāgara’s ancestor, viz. \textit{Ikṣvāku- “gherkin, colocynt”, is probably

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20) The question whether *labu is ultimately an Austro variant of *dabu cannot yet be decided. Cf. however Pkt. \textit{kalaヴァ- “a vessel made out of a gourd” (tumbǐपात्रम Desīn. 2, 12).}

21) Contamination with \textit{da-una “small”}, e.g., M. ṭhepa “short in stature, dwarf” (Skr. \textit{śāva- “young of animal”).

22) A variant of \textit{udumbara-} without prefix \textit{u-} is perhaps Beng. \textit{dumur}. The evidence for aphaeresis is very slight, see Chatterji 313.
due to the same belief about a colocynth being the origin of the dynasty. Przyluski’s supposition that this idea has been adopted from the Proto-Munda population is quite plausible and is now supported by the etymology, which suggests that the Aboriginals associated these fruits, on account of their form, with a pregnant woman; cf. S. जुम् “to be pregnant”: जुक्का “roundish, oblong, oval”. The roundish form (together with the great quantity of seeds, see Przyluski, p. 33, n. 1) must have been considered the most characteristic feature of these fruits. The same holds good for the उदुम्बारा-, the fig. In the Brähmanas the wood of the उदुम्बारा- plays a rather important part and every time its use is explained with the words उर्ग (वं) उदुम्बाराह “verily, the udumbara is (identical with) vigour”. Cf. the above quotation from the Kāṭh. S., and also 12, 13 (p. 175, 16 f.): aūdumbarau yūpo bhavati; devā vai yātrōrjaṁ vyābhajanta tāta udumbāro jāyata, etc. “The sacrificial post is made of udumbara-wood: wherever the Gods distributed the उर्ग- (‘vital power’), there arose the udumbara-”. In Ath.S. 19, 31 an amulet of udumbāra- is held to bestow prosperity (puṣṭi-). The importance attached to the udumbāra- is hardly based on its fruit, which is not very nutritious and only eaten in times of famine (Przyluski, p. 46) 23). We may rather suppose that the prominent position which this tree held in popular belief was due to the ‘vital power’, in which the udumbara- was held to be rich on account of the “fertility” of its fruits. An interesting illustration of it is found in the wedding ceremonials according to the ritual of the Baudhāyanas, which prescribes that the newly-married couple should leave the village on the fifth day after the wedding in order to worship an udumbara-tree and pray to it for offspring (see Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur 68). The use of Udumbara- as a tribal name 24) is obviously due to the totemism prevalent among the Proto-Munda population. Cf. Ikṣvāku- and see s.v. Kuvida-.

Udumbalā- is an epithet of the two dogs of Yama in RS. 10, 14, 12 (Ath.S. 18, 2, 3): uruṇasāv asutpā udumbalau ṣamāsya dātā carato jānāṁ ānu. It is usually translated by “brown” or “copper-coloured” on account of its supposed identity with udumbāra-, the fig-tree, the fruits of which are light-brown (Pet. Dict., Grassmann, Wörterb. zum Rigveda, see Neisser, Zum Wörterb. des RV., s.v.). This is, of course, merely conjectural as the exact meaning of the word is unknown. Sāyaṇa’s explanation (uruβalau, vistiṃabalau) shows that he did not know the word either. Since the dogs are described as being šabalaus “brindled” in v. 10, there is no reason to suppose that udumbalau denotes a colour at all 25). From

23) The value of the udumbara fruit for medicinal purposes seems to have been unknown before the classical period.
25) Hillebrandt, Lieder des RV. 119, and Oldenberg, Religion des Veda 575, n. 3, do not translate it. For later speculations on Ṣabala and Ṣyāmā, see Jaim. Br. 1, 6 (Caland, p. 5 f.)!
the variants *ulumbala- (Taitt. Ār. 6. 3. 2; Āp. Mantrap. 2, 16. 2), *ulumbara- (ulumbarəh sərəmeyo Hir. GS 2, 7. 2), *udumbara- (Paipp. variant of Ath.S. 18, 2, 13)²⁶ we may infer that the original form of the word was *udumbara- (*udumbala-). It is probable, therefore, that it is ultimately identical with the preceding word, its meaning being “fat, obese”. Cf. e.g., S. ḍub ḍubī(ə) “full, swollen (stomach), tight, stuffed”, ḍum “to make (or be) pregnant”, ḍum ḍum “having a swollen, protruding stomach”, dhumā “short and fat, corpulent, fat and lazy (boys, bullocks)”, dhumṣa, dhumṣa, id., dumrə “stout (women)”, domo “to swell, cause a swelling”, ḍobok’, ḍobok’ “stout, fat, obese”, ḍub ḍubu “distended (stomach), visibly pregnant, to impregnante, get an overfull stomach”, ṭhomp “large and round (tubers)”, ṭhom thorok’ “thick, stout and short”, etc.

With a different accent the word occurs in Ath. S. 8, 6, 17

uddharsinaṃ mūnikeśaṃ jambhāyantaḥ marīṃśaṃ
upēṣaṃm udumbalaiṃ tundelām utā śaludam.

These words describe goblins who are supposed to approach pregnant women. The hymn abounds in obscure terms which are either epithets of demons in general, or designations of special classes of them. As for tundelā-. Roth took it as the name of a certain spirit or goblin, whereas Whitney renders it tentatively as “snouted” (= tundika- in stanza 5). Since however tundelā- is rather identical with tundila- “having a prominent navel” (S’āṅkh. GS. 4, 19), it may be regarded as an indication that the popular belief about little pot-bellied demoniacal beings, well-known from the later sculptural art, dates back to the Vedic period. Cf. v. 10 of the same hymn, where kuskilāḥ (= bhatakuskṣagah comm.) are mentioned. The words udumbalaiṃ tundelām may accordingly be translated “big-bellied and with a protruding navel”, which better suits the context than “brown”, as references to the colour of these goblins are rare (cf. kṣṇāḥ in v. 5). It should be added that Ḥiḍimba-, name of a Rākṣasa, is a derivative from the same root (see ḍimb(h)ā-); cf. also kṣmāṇḍa-, kumbhānda-.

Przyluski, p. 34 f., has pointed out that the names of several musical instruments are derived from the words for “colocynth” and similar fruits. Beside lābuki-, f. “a kind of lute” (Hārāvalī), cf. alābuvīṇā- “a lute with the shape of a bottle gourd” (Lāty.), perhaps identical with the Bengali alābu sāraṅgī, to which Przyluski refers. Skr. lex. kolambaka-, m. “der Körper der indischen Laute” may have been derived from a word with the meaning “bulky, bulging, big-bellied”. Cf. Pa. kolamba-, kolamba- “a pot, a vessel in general” (and, with different vowels, kalopi-, kaliopi- “a vessel, basin, pot, basket” from *ka-ḍop-). Pkt kolamba-, m. “a pot, pan” (pitharam, Desīn. 2. 47; to be separated from kollara- id.). Mar. kolabē “a pot with a wide mouth”. Without prefix: Beng. ḍābā, ḍābar

²⁶) Oldenberg, Noten on 10, 14, 12.
"a capacious pot (of metal), a round vessel" (Chatterji 494 suggests derivation from *darvī-), ḍībā, ḍībīyā "a small round box" (Chatterji 495). Hi. ḍabbā "small box, casket", Tam. ṭappā "round box, casket", Hi. jambū, cambū "narrow-necked vessel", etc. The connexion of the last words is however not quite certain on account of Nep. ḍibiyā, which is apparently connected with Skr. cīpīta- (q.v.). If Pa. kalamba-, n., the name of a certain herb or plant, really denotes a bulb or radish (as is suggested by the rendering tālakanda- in some commentaries, see PTS Dict.), it contains the same radical element. Cf. further Pkt lumbī- "cluster" (stabakaḥ Deśīn. 7, 28) and see s.vv. āṭopa-, ḍimb(h)a-, dāḍima-.

7. unḍuru-, m. "mouse".

Cf. undura-, unduru- 27), m. "mouse, rat" (Lexx., Suśr.), undara- (Yaśastil.) undarā-, indūra- (Lexx.). As for -ura- varying with -ura-, see Frisk, Zur Indoiran. and grec. Nomin. 48. Moreover a word kundu-, m., with the same sense is quoted by the S'abdakalpadrum. Like karbu- (: karbura-) 28 it may stand for *kundur which was taken as the nominative of a stem kundu-. All these words accordingly contain the prenasalized root-element -ndur. The interchange of i- and u- in the prefix may be due to a different representation of ē-. Its reflexes are still found in modern Aryan, cf. Mar. ādar (vulgar undīr), Guj. undar "rat", Sgh. undurā contrasting with indur in Hindi and the Eastern languages. Bloch, 89 (cf. p. 297) holds it to be a case of metathesis of i and u (as in the cognates of Skr. bindu- and puṇḍīla-), but the occurrence of indūra- and undura- in Sanskrit points rather to Munda vowel-variation.

It is clear that undura- is a borrowing from some native language; thus, e.g., Charpentier, Monde Oriental, vol. 18, p. 23 f., who is unable to trace the source of origin, and Chatterji in 'Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India', Introd. p. XXIV, who compares Khmer kândör (Old Khmer kāntur) "rat". This may be correct, but the direct source of these words is prob. to be found in So. guntūr- "rat", kēntūr- "bat". The bat is often denoted by the same word as the mouse, cf. Bahnar hamet "bat" (Besisi hāpēt, hampēt, sāpēt): Nicob. komet "mouse" and Dutch veer-muis (Germ. Fledermaus), French chauve-souris, Russ. letūčaya myš', etc. If this is correct, the Sanskrit words have a d for t, owing to the tendency to voice prenasalized explosives 29). As for undura-, indūra- etc., they either stand for *kundur, *kēndur with loss of the k (via h) or they contain a prefix ē(n)-. So. on(d)reñ- "rat" is hardly related: on Kui oḍrī "rat, mouse" and Skr. ḍorikā- "musk-rat" I do not venture to pronounce an opinion.

27) Cf. the borrowing Tamil unturu "bandicoot" (in a lex. work).
With regard to So. kēntür “bat” the question arises whether jatū- (Ath. S., Maitr. S., Vāj. S.), jatukā- (Caraka), jatukā-, jatunī- (Lex.) may be derived from *jatū-, *jētūr and thus be connected with So. kēntür. So long as no such word with the prefix jē(n)- has been traced in Munda this remains hypothetical. See also s.v. vātuli-.

8. kajjala-, n., kajjali-, f. “lamp-black, used as ink or a collyrium”.

First occurrence in Suśr., common in Class. Skr.; cf. Pa. kajjala-. No plausible explanation has been given. The PTS Dict. takes it as being “dialectal for kad-jala- from jalati, jval; orig. burning badly or dimly, a dirty brown”. Bloch, BSOS 5, 738, suggests some connexion with Kann. kāḍīge, Tel. kāṭike (from Drav. kar- “black”). Although several of the mod. Hi. forms of this word (kājāl, kajlā, kajli, kajrā, etc.) have been adopted by modern Munda, its ultimate origin seems to be in Proto-Munda. Derivatives from ka-yā “black” (partly mixed up with reborrowings from mod. Aryan) are, e.g. S. koya “black (with dust), smirched”, koya hoṛo, kōya hoṛo “a variety of the paddy plant (grain is black-looking)”, kuya “black smirch (round the mouth), to smirch, smut”, kuīḷa (fem. kuīḷi) “black, dark-skinned”, kuīḷa “charcoal” (Hi. koīḷa, see e.g. kōkīḷa- “charcoal”), kajra “having dark spots on the hump of the head” (Hi. kajrā). It would be tempting to compare Perak Semang sekai (s’koi, pēkoi) “black”, but beside koya “black, smirched” there occurs goyak’ “having a black spot (on the tongue), to blacken, smear oneself on the cheek with soot”, which, again, is a variant of gotak’, id. The last words must accordingly be derived from a root ga-ḍa (d > y and > t > t), unless we should assume a contamination of different words. In any case, these words tend to show that koya and the other words quoted belong to a root with initial g, provided they are connected with goyak’. The remarkable Nep. equivalent of kajjala-, viz. gājāl “lampblack, soot, the black pigment placed round the eyes”, confirms this supposition.

If however our conclusion that ga-yā is a variant of ga-ḍa is correct (which conclusion is based on the assumption that goyak’ and gotak’ are dialectal variants of one and the same word), this result, besides rendering the connexion with Semang Perak sekai rather doubtful, makes the problem much more complicated. S. hēndē, M. hende, K. kēndē “black” are derived from an original *kēndē, cf. Ho hende 30). Nimbar dialect of Kurku kēndē 31). Do they represent a variant with e (by the side of goyak’, koya, and kajj-)? If so, the question arises whether the words for “black”, from which Skr. kāla- is derived, are of Munda or Dravidian origin. Cf., e.g., S. kērea “jet black (animals)”, kāreo, id. (men), a leech (a taboo sub-

31) As a rule, this dialect preserves much more faithfully medial cerebrals than the “Standard dialect”.
stitute forjōk), kāri “black (animals), jet black”, kāridā, kārindān “black, dense, heavy (clouds, also about black and dirty people, buffaloes)” and, on the other hand, Tam. kaṟu “to grow black, darken” (karuppū “blackness, darkness”), kārāi “black colour, hue, tinge”), karu “dark colour”, kāri “charcoal, black pigment for the eye”, karukkal “darkness, cloudiness”, kaṟṇaṅ-kariya “very dark, jet-black”, kāri “blackness, that which is black”, kār “id., cloud”, kāl “blackness”, perh. karuku- “to be scorched, to blacken by fire or sun, to turn brown, become dark, grow dim”, kaṟṟu- “to be scorched, to be sunburnt”, Kann. kāḍu, kantu, kan, kar, kare, kar, kar, kari, karrage, kār, kāru, kāl “blackness, dark-blue colour”, kalgu- “to turn black”, kalṭale “darkness”, kāḍige (Tel. kāṭike) “lampblack, a collyrium prepared from it”, Tel. kara, karra “blackness, stain, dirt”, karaka “black(ness), dark(ness)”, kāru “dark(ness), jetty black(ness)”. There can hardly be any doubt as to the native Dravidian character of these words, and S. kaṟēa and kāri must accordingly be loanwords from Dravidian, like Skr. kāla-, Hi. kālā, kārā, etc. If so, kaṟjala- is to be separated from Kann. kāḍige (see Bloch, BSOS 5, 738)32). On the other hand, Gondi kossō “lampblack” is possibly a Munda loanword. These few remarks only intend to indicate a problem, for which they cannot give a definite solution. This question requires a far more detailed treatment than can be given to it in the present stage of these studies.

9. kaṟṭhā-, m. “throat, neck”.

Since the S’at. Br., but sahākaṅṭhikā- is attested as early as the Ath. S. (10, 9, 15). The suggestion that kaṟṭhā- and kandhara- (class.) have developed form *kaṅṭhra- (Wackernagel, Alting. Gramm. I, 171) is not convincing, the less so since Sanskrit has some other words which point to a root ghaṭ-, kaṭ-, cf. ghāṭi- “nape of the neck, neck” (Suśr., Amara), which survives in Beng. ghar (Pkt. ghāḍa-), and must have had a side-form *gaṭṭa- (presupposed by Panj. gaṭṭā “nape of the neck” and other words quoted by Turner s.v. kāṭh 33). Chatterji, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. XXIV, connected the Bengali word with Skr. gali-, Sakai gloh, gālo, which is hardly correct. The root form kaṭ- occurs in kṛkāta-, n., “joint of the neck” (Ath. S. 9, 7, 1), kakāṭika- “a part of the human occiput” (10, 2, 8 hindhead! Whitney), kṛkāṭika- “joint of the neck” (Suśr.), kṛkāṭaka- “neck” (Vyup.). Perhaps kaḍāṅgli “kaṅṭhāh” (Deš. 2, 15) is also connected with these words. Hemacaṇḍra, it is true, quotes kṛka- “larynx”, hence kṛkāta- might be regarded as a derivative in -āṭa- (thus, e.g., Tarapada Chowdhury, JBORS vol. 17, 1931, p. 38). Kṛka- might then be connected with J. kuṅka, Kh. kōṇko, So. sāṅkā “neck”. S. kaṅkha “edge, brim” (cf. S. totka “occiput, nape of the neck”.

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32) Skr. ajihala- (see s.v. kokila-) leaves no doubt as to its Proto-Munda origin.
33) See also Turner, BSOS. 5, 1, 124.
M. *tutka, tutkā* “back of the neck or head” and Mon *kā* “nape of the neck”, Khmer *ka*, Bahmar *ako*, Stieng *kou* “neck”) 34). On the other hand, many words quoted in lexicographical works are only inferential forms based on an incorrect analysis of existing words (see s.v. khīṅkīra-). It is possible, therefore, that kīṅkīra- and its derivatives contain a prefix kr- (ka-) and belong to the group of kāṇṭhā- and ghaṭā-. We may then compare S. ṣoṭok’ “neck”, M. ṣoṭ “neck, throat” (< ”kot-ok”) and (with nasalization) Sv. ṣot, ṣut “neck”, Stieng ṣun “nape of the neck”, Sakai taṅguṇ (Central Sakai taṅg’n) “neck”, Tembi taṅgōn “nape of the neck”. Kāṇṭhā- cannot be separated from Kann. gaṇṭalū, id. (Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 133) but this word (whether or not connected with Tam. kaluttu, etc.) may be a loanword, as kuṅke “nape of the back” (ibid. 340) evidently is.

10. kānaṇa-·n. “gold”.

Since Șaçu. Br. 4, 6 (see Weber, Omina und Portenta 326). Usually connected with kāṉcana-, n., “gold”, Greek κυρτός “yellow, red”, Old Engl. hunig “honey”, etc. (see Boisacq, Dict. étymol. de la langue grecque, s.v.). Kānaṇa-, however, presents serious difficulties since this explanation is based on the assumption of an IE. word *qonaqō- (thus Walde–Pokorny I, 400, otherwise Petersson, Studien über die idg. Heteroklisie 170 f.). F. Otto Schrader, KZ. 56, 126 n. 2, compares Tam. kanaal “to be hot, to blow (as fire), to boil, burn”, kani “to be red-hot, to glow, ripen”, kāṇali “sun”, etc., which however presuppose a different primary meaning.

Although I am unable to propose a more satisfactory explanation I would draw attention to the fact that lexicographical works mention two other words for gold, which seem to be akin to kānaṇa-, viz. kakanda-, m., and kandala-, m. The first of them is of particular interest as it suggests a Proto-Munda origin of kānaṇa-, which is accordingly to be referred to a root ka-dā or ga-da (ga-da?) 35). The primary sense must have been either “glittering” or “lump”. If the root be ga-da, we may also connect Skr. hāṭaka- “gold” with this group. The traditional derivation from IE. *gheldo-, though not impossible, is anything but convincing. Skr. kāṇcana- is ambiguous.

The native lexicographers derived kānaṇa- from a root kan- “to beam, radiate” (which Böhlingk, Pet. Dict., wrongly rejected for a far more problematic connexion with kāṇṭīyān). This root is mentioned in the Dhāṭupāṭha and occurs in the late classical literature, perhaps for the first time in Uttarārāmacar. 5, 5 (v.l.), see Renou, Jour. As. 1939, p. 397f. Rather than being due to a misinterpretation of kan- “to be satisfied” (RS), it is more likely to have been deduced from kānaṇa- and kāṇti-. If so, it does not furnish any support for our explanation of kānaṇa-. Nor is

34) Cf. also Blagden’s Vocabulary sub N. 26 (Sakai kua’, Semang kua “neck”).
35) Kittel, Kannada-Engl. Dict., Pref. XXV, points to Drav. cini, cinna, cinni “gold”, which may be palatalized variants of kan-.
the obscure word *kanāknaka-* (Ath. S. 10, 4, 22), for which Tarapada Chowdhury, JBORS 17, 1931, 59, suggests a meaning “bright, glistening”, a reliable foundation on which to base any theory.

11. *kabarî-*, f. (*kabara-*, m.) “a braid of hair”.

Only attested in the classical literature, as Amaranuş, Śiṣupālava, Kādambo, 300, 4, Uttarakarēmac. 50, 3, Dharmaśārmābhyudaya, 4, 10, 14; 5, 48, Vikramānikevāc. 12, 46; 15, 4, 18, 62, Kathās. 119, 155, Bhāratamañj. 19, 989, Bhāg. P. (Pet. Dict. II, 181, V, 1271), Gopālakeric. 45, 24; 90, 30, Varadāmikāpanīyāna 136 (v. 113), Brahmavaivartap. 4, 15, 11. 155. 158; 4, 69, 10, etc. But *kabarî-* must have been introduced into Sanskrit at a comparatively early date since Pāṇinī 4, 1, 42 has a rule concerning this word in the sense of keśaveśaḥ (hair-dressing).

*Kabarî-* obviously belongs to a root *bar-* which is also found in *barbara-*(varvara-*) “curly” (Kāth. S. 25, 7), *barbara-* “curly hair” (Hemac., Medinī), Pkt. babbarī “dressing of the hair” (keśaracanā, Desīn. 6, 90), cf. Hi. bābar “a kind of grass (of which a sort of twine is made)”, bābriyā “head of hair (long and uncut)”, babrī “cropped or dressed hair, forelocks, tresses”, Mar. bābar “dishevelled hair” (Bloch 375), Nep. bābāri “long and uncombed hair”. The nasalized form of *bar-* occurs in Pkt. ōṭama-. “a mass of braided hair” (keśacayāh, Desīn. 4, 1).

A Munda root *bar, bâç (wa-ça)* “to wind, twine” must be assumed on account of S. bharbhara-o “to spin round”, baber “string, cord, twine, rope, to make do.”, bhṛtā “a bundle of rope, or string wound into a bundle”, bṛt “a rope of straw” (M. bṛt “a thick rope of straw”), bāro “to wind thread in the figure 8”, bṛṭuwa “to turn round, wheel round, spin round”, bīḍa “a sheaf, bundle, faggot”, M. birā “a bundle of crop”, Ho birā “a big bundle of paddy” (cf. Hi. bīḍ “a bundle of reeds”, bīḍē “a roll of paper, a twist of grass”), S. bhrī “a large bundle of burden (tied)”, M. beṇ “to tie paddy seedlings together, to tie up the hair”. That *kabarî-* stands for *kabarî- may perhaps be inferred from Hi. kābar = kabār “a load or bundle (of grass or firewood, etc.), a heap or collection (of miscellaneous articles), old and broken furniture”. The vowel i, e is also met with in other derivatives from this root, see s.vv. āpīḍa- and meṇḍha-.

Late Skr. davaro-, dorako-, m. “thread, string” (Schmidt, Nachtr., cf. davara-“rajuṇh” Hemac. Unāḍigaṇasūtra, Pkt. davara-“thread” (tāntuḥ Desīn. 5, 35) may possibly stand for *davaro-, cf. Pkt ōṭama- from *va-mara-. But how are we to account for Pkt. dāra-, m. = dora-, m. “kaṭṣiṭram” (Desīn. 5, 38), since Pkt. dora-, dora- is usually connected with davaro- (see Turner, s.v. doru; but cf. ḍonḍā-, p. 131)?

The foregoing explanation of *kabarî- also sheds a new light on Skr. ven-“a braid of hair, hair twisted into a single braid” (since Kāty. S’S). It dates back to the oldest Vedic period for in suvṛṇh (RS 10, 56, 3) Oldenberg has recognized the same word. Although it was not easy to
explain the cerebral in the younger form of the word (Oertel, Gött. Gel. Nachr. 1934, 187, compared pan-: pañ- “to admire”), the Rigvedic form seemed to support the traditional derivation from vā- “to weave”. If, however, venī- is a Proto-Munda word, the n in sūvenī is simply due to the Aryanizing tendency of the Vedic language (cf. Ved. udumbāra-: Class. uñumbara-). If so, venī- must be the original form of the word, in which case it is, together with vīṭīkā- “preparation of the Areca nut enveloped in a leaf of the betel plant”, to be connected with kabarī. See āpīdā-, and cf. Pkt. biṇṭa-, m. “covering of a fruit”, viṇṭai “wraps round”, viṇṭā-, f. “bundle”, etc. (see Turner, s.vv. bir, biro, who rightly assumes a foreign origin and cf. Bh. uin “to twist”, p. 111).

Similarly the derivation of H. baṭnā “to twine, twist, to plait, weave”, Nep. bāṭnu “to twist, entwine, weave, plait”, which Turner connects with Skr. vartāyati “turns”, requires reconsideration. Cf. S. ēdhe beḍhe “to twist, tie round and round, make complicated” (ēc pēcē “to twist and turn”), etc. With j < ṇ: S. baj “to plait, entangle, ravel”, bajhiha “to entangle, hinder” (cf. H. bajhiṇā “to be entangled”, Nep. bajhiṇu “to quarrel, wrangle”, etc. from Skr. badhyate according to Turner, but cf. S. ajbajhao, laj bajhao “to involve, entangle, muddle”, etc.).

Note. As an additional instance of Vedic substitution of a dental sound for a cerebral may be mentioned Ved. bhānati “speaks, tells” as opposed to bhānati “speaks, says, calls” (Hi. bhannā, etc., see Turner s.v. bhannu). The latter verb is confined to the Classical language unless paribhānanti (Jain. Br.) may be regarded as a Vedic instance (see however Oertel, Gött. Nachr. 1934, 188) 30). Pa. bhatṭha- “spoken, said”, which the PTS Dict. connects with bhan- (< *bhaṇ-ta-) may stand for *bhas-ṭa-. A side-form of bhan- occurs in Mar. mhaṇṇē “to speak, say” (whence Gondi, Wun District, mhan-, Naiki mhōṇ). Mhaṇ- is isolated in Indo-Aryan (Bloch 392) unless Dardic (Bashkarik) mān-, man- “to say” is connected (unlikely Morgenstern, Acta Orient. 18, 244). According to Tedesco, Language 19 (1943) 17, n. 72, bh has been assimilated to the following nasal, but m also is found in S. men, M. Ho men “to say, tell”, K. mhen, men, id. (S. meta “to say”). In Mar. mhaṇṇē (partic. mhatī) we have accordingly to do with Proto-Munda nasalization. If however bhan-/mhan- of Proto-Munda origin, we may further compare Ved. vāṇi- “voice” (vanati “sāde”, Dhā tup.), where the cerebral has been preserved in the Rksaṁhitā. From the same root wa-da (cf. So. ber “to speak”?) may further be derived bhāṣate “speaks, says” (since Taith. Br., S’at. Br.) with bhaṣ- standing for *bhāz-. The traditional connexion with Lith. balsas “voice” is not recommendable as balsas is a specific Lithuanian derivative from bal- (Trautmann, Baltisch-Slavisches Wörterb. 25) and Edgerton,

30) Walde-Pokorny II. 124 and 182, separate these verbs and derive bhānati from an IE. original *bha-n-ō, which is against the phonetic laws.
KZ. 46, 177. rightly lays no weight on the suggested relationship with bhāṣate (cf. Uhlenbeck).

Munda words properly signifying “to talk with each other” often assume the sense “to quarrel”, cf. S. ṛpparch (from ṛṛ “to speak”). Bh. gapam (cf. Kh. So. gam “to speak”, S. gam “a folk tale”, M. gap sap “talk”, Nep. gap “talk, conversation”, etc.), M. kāpājī “talk, quarrel” (cf. kāji “to say”), etc. It would seem justifiable, therefore, to derive Skr. bhaṇḍate “reproves, reviles”. Pa. bhaṇḍati (Dhātup. also pāntati) “quarrels, abuses”, (see Turner s.vv. bhāṛ, bhankanu) from the same root. Cf. Skr. bhaṭ- “paribhāṣane”, Dhātup. 1, 817. The derivation of Pkt. bollā “speaks” is doubtful; see Bloch, BSOS 5, 742, who suggests a Dravidian origin.

12. kāmaṭha - “bamboo”.

This word only occurs in the lexicographical work S’abdaraññavāli but it is common in most of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages, cf. H. kāwar, kāwar “a bamboo lath with slings at the end for carrying things in”, Si. kāvāṭi, Mar. kavaḍ “bamboo lath with slings”, Beng. kamaṭha “bow” (Hi. kamitha “a bow, esp. one made of bamboo”), etc. See Bloch, p. 310, Turner, s.v. kāmro.

Turner rightly supposes a non-Aryan origin and compares Skr. (lex.) kambi “shoot of joint of bamboo”, Pkt. kambā, kambi “stick”, Ass. kāmī “a long strip of bamboo”, Guj. kāb “bamboo chip”. If these words were really connected, we should have to assume a root *kamba-/*kama- which could be Dravidian as well as Munda. Pkt. kava- by the side of kavaḍa- “carrying-pole” would indeed point to the conclusion that -tha- is suffixal. Another explanation was proposed by myself (Acta Orient. 16, 296, n. 2), viz. to connect it with S.M. mat’, K. mad “bamboo”. In that case, however, the cerebral th would be due to a phonetic change which is only found in a few Munda dialects. Thus in the Southern dialect of Kurku, which is spoken in Nimar, final t’ has become t, e.g., t'ītī for tītī “bird”; and in Ho (a Kherwari dialect) we find ḍ for t’ owing to the fact that “in pronouncing the dental semi-consonant a greater part of the tongue strikes against the palate than is the case in Santali” (Konow, Ling. Survey IV, 84). These dialectal phenomena, however, which are probably of comparatively recent date, can hardly account for the cerebral in kamaṭha-. On the other hand Skr. karmāra- (Amara, Medinī), karmari- (Rājanighantu) “bamboo” may be quoted in support of our supposition that kamaṭha- contains a prefix ka- (in which case Pkt. kāva- must owe its origin to a wrong analysis of kavaḍa-, as Skr. karka- from karkara- “mirror”, k(h)ikhi- from khāṅkira- “fox”, dundu- from dundubhi- “drum”). If we start from a root word *ma-da, we may further compare Mar. mān “large bamboo”, māṇa, māṅga “long bamboo”, māṇyā “small bamboo”, Nep. māndro “cane mat, large mat made of bamboo”. (Kui māṇi, mārti “bamboo” is obviously a loan-word). When standing in final position the t, like the other
final explosives, has become a checked consonant in Munda; cf. S. dēt’ (and, with infixes, dēret’, dēnet’ dēnet’) “tiny, very small”; ṛṣṭhe “dwarfish, small, stunted, puny, undersized”, etc. (root ḍa-ḍa “short, stunted, small”); M. lad [= *lat’] “bread, to make cakes”37, K. lat’ (lad-ė) “to make cakes”; S. láṭhe “a kind of dough-ball”, Skr. lāḍḍu-, lāḍḍuka- “a kind of cake”; S. let’ let’ “wide outstretched”; lēṣ lēṣ “with legs spread out”, tanda “to straddle, part the legs”, ṭaḍa “a piece of wood used to force open the mouth” (root ḍa-ḍa “wide apart”); *cat’lom in M. cāḍ’lom (cālom), Ho cadlom : S. caṇḍlom (caṇḍbol), Bh. cār bol “tail”. Hence Munda mat’ “bamboo” (S. mat’, K. mad, mat, Nimar dialect mat < *mat’ may be a specific Munda development of *mat.

Initial m of the Austroic languages mostly (if not always) represents a nasalized labial sound. As a matter of fact, Sakai has awāt, awād (Centr. Sak. awōt) “bamboo” and, with nasalization of the final consonant (as in Mar. mān), awān, Semang awen, id. Blagden compares Selung kaoan, id. (= *ka-awan), which contains the same prefix as kamaṇthā-. The question arises whether bānā-, m. (RS), bānā-, m. (Ath. S.) “a reed-shaft, arrow”, vānī- “reed” (RS.), and perhaps vānā- (RS. 4, 24, 9) 38), also belong to this affiliation. The explanation proposed by Przyluski, BSL. 25, 66 ff. (Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India 19 ff.) is unacceptable for morphological reasons. In support of our suggestion we might point to vānīra-, m. “Calamus Rotang” (since Mhbh. Rām.). On the other hand, words for “reed” are often derived from roots conveying the general meaning “to bare, to strip” (Skr. dūla-, naḍa-, bunda-), which would lead us to connect bānā- with the wordfamily of bandā-. But then, the bamboo may also have been named from its leafless shaft. This question must be left undecided. The connexion of Skr. vēṇi-, m., Pa. veḷu- “bamboo-reed” is doubtful on account of Tamil vēntu, vēntu, vēḷam, vēlai, etc. (Cf. also Skr. vētra- : Tam. vetir, etc.).

13. kavaḷa-, m. “a mouthful, bit, morsel”.

Since Mhbh. and Rām. The etymological connexion with Old Engl. hēawān “to beat”, Lith. kauti “to forge” (see Uhlenbeck) is unconvincing. The original form of the word was *kabaḍa-, cf. Pāli kabaḷa-, kabaḷa-, Skr. kabaḍa-, kabaḍa-, kapada- (see Lüders, Philologia Indica 559, Schmidt, Nachtr.) and Tamil kavaḷam, kavaḷam. Geiger 60, it is true, regards v as the original sound from which b has developed, but Pischel and Lüders are no doubt right in assuming an original form with b. This excludes the possibility of comparing Tamil kavvu- “to seize, grasp with eagerness”, kavvuvu- “to seize with mouth, grasp with eagerness, to absorb, engross”, kavar- “to seize, grasp, catch, steal” (cf. also Kurāḷ 100, where

37) Rakhal Das Haldar has M. lad “cake” and lād “bread”. The first form is probably incorrect.
38) See Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth. 12, 226: “Rohr, Somastengel”.
kavirntu has the sense of eating = nukarntatu, tinpatu, comm.); Tel. kaviyu- “to rush upon, fall upon, to catch (as fire)”.

In Santali we meet with a group of words which are obviously native Munda (on account of the various sound-developments) and point to a root *ka-wa* “to grasp”. Thus we find:

with suffix -l-: khabol “a mouthful, a handful” [cf. Beng. khābal “a handful, mouthful, grasp” (by the side of go-kal from go-kavala-) which, although Chatterji, 159, 438, 459, regards it as a development of Skr. kavala-, seems rather to be a younger borrowing from Kherwari]; khabla khabli “to claw deeply, grab, clutch deeply” 39), khablao “to snap, grab, clutch, grip”, khablokh “to swallow, devour”; khabal khabal “pecking, grabbing, bolting (food)”;

with cerebral suffix: khabrao “to grab, clutch (with the claws)”; khabra, khabrāha (khabṛāha) “gluttonous, greedy”, kabra kobra “to pick up quickly” 39), kaptao, kamtao “to grasp, catch, seize with claws”, kaptā kapti “to grip one another, seize, pull one another”;

with palatal suffix: khamca “to snap, snatch, grip, grab, seize a handful, a handful” (cf. Beng. khāmcā), khamca khamci “to seize, grab, snatch, tug or pull at each other”.

All these forms presuppose an original *kabad* (with the normal change of q to l, r, c respectively). Skr. lex. kapaṭ-, f. “two handfuls (a certain measure)” (S’abdaratnāvali) is obviously another variant of this original with unvoicing of b and q. S. habadiq “gluttonous, greedy, insatiable” and khaudq, khaudqha, id., though also presupposing an earlier form *kabad, kawad*, have a specialized meaning, which is also found in some words which are derived direct from the root, e.g. khaud “gluttonous, greedy”, khau khau “greedy, craving for food”, khauka “gluttonous, gormandizing”, khawāia, khaba “glutton”, khabe khab “devouringly (eat)”.

14. kasmala-.

1) “dirty, foul” (Halāy. 4. 42, Dhūrtasamāgama): n. “dirt, filth” (svadehakaśmalāṃ pūti, Ind. Spr.2 1761): = pāpa- (S’abdam. in S’abdakalpadr.).

2) “timid, shy” (see PW. V, 1273, one instance): m.n. “timidity, shyness” (Mhbh., Rām., Bhāratamañjarī 7, 421 etc., Bhāg. P.).

The word is but seldom used as an adjective; only in the sense of “shyness” is it rather common (= viśāda- Nīlak. ad Mhbh. 1, 2, 246 Bomb.).

Kaśmala- is clearly a non-Aryan word and the few attempts made to explain it from IE. (cf. Petersson, Studien z. idg. Heteroklisie 29) may therefore be passed over in silence. Note the á in Tam. kacumālar “dirty, slovely persons”, kacumāli “slut, dirty person” (loanwords). It obviously
is composed of a prefix kaś- and a root mala which is further found in the following words:

śāmala- n. "stain, spot, fault, blemish" (only in Vedic literature, since Ath. S., Taitt. S., etc., and in the Bhāg. P.)

malīmaka- "dirty, impure, grey" (Kāvyā, Kathās.)
māla- n.m. "dirt, impurity"; (since Ath. S., Taitt. S., etc.; once mālā "dirty garments" RS. 10, 136, 2).

malina- "dirty, impure, dark-coloured, grey, black; n. meanness, fault, sin."

(since Mhbb.: quite common).

The last words require some comment since their Indo-European character has not, so far as I know, seriously been questioned. Especially malina-, which is connected either with Greek µέλαν- (IE. *melh₂an-) or with Lithuanian mėlynas "blue" (see the recent discussion by F. Specht, Der Ursprung der indog. Deklination, Göttingen 1944, pp. 110, 119 and Kuhn's Zeits. 65, 200), seemed to prove this beyond question. The ending -ina- however occurs in a number of Proto-Munda loans, as nalinā-, kathinā-. Whether its origin is in Proto-Munda or in Aryan, the philological facts do not allow us in any case to regard it as an old formation as the Veda uses mālavant- instead (in mālavadvāsas-, adj., Taitt. S.). Moreover mala- and malina- do not denote a colour as most of their supposed cognates in other IE. languages do. Māla- cannot, therefore, be separated from kaśmala- and śāmala-.

As for malīmaka- its second element is obviously related to kalmaṣa- and masi-. Uhlenbeck, Kurzgeft. etym. Wb. der ai. Sprache s.v., was accordingly right in referring to māla- and masi- (Incorrect Bloomfield, AJPh. 16, 433, and Renou, Grammaire sanscrite 258). The Proto-Munda word which malīmaka- reflects was an echo-word of the wellknown type, viz. a combination of two synonymous expressions with partial formal congruence. Only the ī is unexpected. Influence of the type sarīspa-?

Whilst all these words only convey the meaning of impurity, kaśmala-shows the sense-development to "timidity", which has hardly any parallel in IE. tongues (Latin sordēs "mourning-dress" is of course a totally different case). In Munda, however, this transition is quite common, cf. S. khad bad "miry, muddy, perplexed, anxious".

The Proto-Munda words reflected by these Sanskrit borrowings are derived from the root ma-la, cf. maḷaḥa "stained, spotted, a little soiled; to stain, corrode, rust"; perhaps malgoṭ- "unclean, dirty colour, discoloured, tarnished" (prob. blended with ma-ga) 40); maḷaṇ maḷiṇaḥ "dirty, soiled (children), sad, dejected"; meḷaṇ maḷiṇaḥ "sad, dejected, miserable"; miḷiṇaḥ "dejected, downcast, sad" (parallel to jirliṇ "depressed" from ḍa-la); kolo molo "dejected, sad, sorrowful, depressed", dolo molo, dholo molo "dull, unwell, out of sorts, depressed". Mundari has ḍulu mulu "sad looking, dejected", ḍholo molo "drowsy".

40) Cf. perhaps Skr. balkaṣa- "impure matters" ("Flocken" Caland, Āp S's 19. 4. 8)?
Skr. *malina-* is not, it seems, used in the sense "dejected"; its metaphorical use in the well known verse of the Hitopadesa pṛyāḥ samā-pannavipattikāle dhiyo ‘pi punsān malinā bhavanti is nearly identical with that of kaluṣa- in buddhau kaluṣabhūtāyām Pañcat. III, śl. 184. But Hindi *malin* means (besides the normal sense "dirty, impure") also "troubled, disturbed (in mind), indisposed, vexed, sad, downcast", which is perhaps due to Munda influence (S. *mulin* "dejected, downcast, sad", on the other hand, seems to have been re borrowed from Aryan). Hindi has also other derivatives from the same Proto-Munda root, which must have been adopted in later times, as *malmalā* "salt, brackish, sad, downcast, depressed", *malbā* "rubbish, dirt, materials of a broken house". These words must be separated from *mal-* in Nep. *alamalla* "perplexed, troubled", for which root see s.vv. *ākula-* and *tumula-. A more remote cognate of *mal-* "dirty, depressed" is perhaps Bahnar *mūl* "verstimm"", for which Schmidt, MKV. 111, proposes an improbable explanation. See further s.v. *bhṛmalā-.*

The diphthong of Hi. *mailā* "dirty" is a vexed problem. It cannot be explained in the same way as the diphthongs in Nep. *dālīthe*, Mar. *maid* (see s.vv. *danḍā-*, *bandā-*), as many disyllabic variants point to *may-ai*, *may-il*, cf. Pkt. *mayala-*, *maila-*, Nep. *mayal* "dirt, dregs", Tel. *maoil* "dirt, foulness, impurity", *mayala* "dirty, foul, unclean, impure" (*maila* "id., dingy, dark-hued, of a grizzled colour, mixed of red, white, yellow, and black"), Tam. *mayilai* "foulness, dirt, ash colour, grey, mixed colour of white and black".

These words are either blendings or, rather, suffixed forms of *may-,* the nasalized variant of *ba-yə*, cf. S. *maila* (=*mayila*), *moila* "dirt, filthy, dirty, filthy, soiled", *damaila* "dirty, soiled", *bajrahi* "slovenly, dirty, slatternly", *b(h)ejrahi* "id., *benjak* serak* "dirty", *bejje bejje* "foul, running, dirty", *bejgelak* "disingusting, bad-looking, dirty", *bhaskar* "ugly, unshapely" (?), *bhāsudgān* "dirty, slovenly", *bhosdoj* "dirty, besmeared (with ashes, dust, etc.)", *bhosndo, bhosndoń, bhoso, bhosoṅga* id., *bhosthora, bostoa, bostoa* "polluted, defiled", *basiq* "dirty", *urum bhusum, uraṅ bhusan* "dusty", *henjlaṅ penjlaṅ* "slovenly, dirty", *hejleq, pejleq* "dirty, untidy", *musrą* "dusty, dirty" (Campbell), *silmoq* "dirty" (contamination with *garsilom?), etc.

In Dravidian we find two groups of words, the one meaning "dirty", the other "black, dim", between which it is difficult to draw a dividing line. The first group is represented by Tam. *mai* "blackness, darkness, collyrium, ink, fault, defect, sin, dirt", *macca, maccu* "blemish, fault", *maccu* "spot, stain, blackness" 42), Kann. *macca, macce, Tel. macca* "a black spot on the skin, a mole, freckle, scar of a wound", Kann. *māsu* "dirt, impurity", Kann. *masi, māsalu*, Tel. *māsi* "dirt", Tel. *māyu* "to

41) See Bloch 391 and Additions XV with bibl., Turner s.v. *mailo*.
42) See F. Otto Schrader, BSOS 8, 759 (with problematical Uralian connexions).
become dirty, be destroyed”, maṣṭu “dirt, sediment”, Kui māsi “filth, dirt, stain, wrong, wrong-doing, sin”, māsa “to make a mistake”, etc. Ramaswami Aiyar, who has studied the Dravidian words for “dim, dark, black” in the ‘Educational Review’ for Aug. 1930, concludes that the base ma- has “been very ancient in Dravidian, if not native in this language-family”. We shall not enter here into a discussion of these words (which perhaps constitute a separate group) and of Skr. maśi-, maṣi- “bone-black, ink”, Tam. maci “ink”, Hi. misī. Nep. misi, missi “tooth-powder, tooth-paste”, S. misi “a powder used for tingeing the teeth a black colour (used by low-caste Hindus)”, M. misi “black tooth-paste”, etc. (cf. Tam. maci- “to mash, reduce to pulp”). But cf. maṣṭu ~ S. boṣṭo!

We cannot however ignore the fact that Skr. kalmāṣa- “spotted, variegated” (bunt, gespropelkt, Pet. Dict.), Vāj. S., Taitt. S., etc.; n. “spot, stain”, kalmāṣi- “a spotted cow”, kalmaṣa-, m. “dirt, stain, sin” (since Rām., Manu), and kilbiṣa-, n. “fault, guilt, sin, offence” (since RS), which have a similar meaning and which must be Proto-Munda loan-words on account of the well-known prefixes kal-, kil-, show a cerebral § 48). As will be pointed out in the Appendix, a cerebral § stands for <Option 1> and cannot be derived from y (as cc in Pkt. macca-, n. “malam”, Deśīn. 6, 111, possibly might be). Since  is has arisen from ɖ, we are thus led to assume a root ma-da (ba-da). As a matter of fact, Santali has several words which must be referred to such a root, cf. bodr “muddy, turbid, dirty, rotten”, bōḍe “muddy, turbid, dirty”, sēḍe bōḍe, sēḍe bōḍe “to make dirty, muddy”, sōḍr bōḍr “dirty, soiled”. sōṛa pōṭa “dirty, grisy, soiled, untidy, unclean, slovenly”, sōṛa pōṭa “hurriedly, slovenly”, losa pōṇḍo “covered with dirt or dust, dirty, dusty”, heraṇ petaṇ “slovenly, dirty, filthy, unclean, disorderly” (cf. hējlec pejlec’ quoted above); nasalized: mar- in maṇga mūṛa “dust-stained, stained, dirty”, māṛgāṭ “dirt, filth, unclean, dirty, soiled” (cf. malgot “unclean, dirty colour”), māṛgāṭhā “dirty, soiled”, murguc’ = muiuguc’ “dirty”. It should be noted that bhosṇdo is a blending of bas- and baṭ-.

It is clear that in accordance with the phonetic laws upon which the present work is based, it is possible to unite the roots mal-, may-, and maṭ-/mad- under a root ba-da “dirty”. Cf. perhaps Mon kha-moit “dirt”. The Munda data do not however allow us to answer the question whether this combination is necessary, nor do they solve the central problem whether these root-variants (if they are so at all) are due to a dialectal ramification of Proto-Munda or rather represent very ancient Austric variants. [See the introductory remarks and note the variation in mur-guc’ ~ muti-guc’, root mar/may, blended with ma-ga].

48) Przyiński already combined kalmasha- and kilbiṣa- in his article entitled “Emprunts anaryens en indo-iranien” (Monde Oriental 28, 1934, 140 ff.), but connected them with Cham bhī “poison”, etc. IE. etymologies have been proposed e.g., by H. Petersson, Studien über die idg. Heteroklisie 146, and Scheffelowitz, KZ. 53, 253 (kilbiṣa-), 258, n. 2 (kalmaṣa-).
15. kāśmaśa-

This word is only once attested in Ath. S. 5, 21, 1 (in a hymn to the war-drum) vidvēṣaṁ kāśmaśaṁ bhayāṁ amitresu ni dadhmasi “mutual hate, confusion, fear, we put into our enemies” (Whitney). The exact meaning of kāśmaśa- is unknown. Roth suggested “Bestürzung” on account of its supposed relationship to kaśmala-, and Whitney remarked that it “is very possibly only a misreading for kaśmala-, as equivalent to which it is here translated”. Although a word-analysis kāśma-śa- is out of the question (see s.v. kaśmala-), the sense assigned to the word may be correct. Like kaśmala-, it must contain the prefix ka-, hence the radical element is maśa-. We have no reason to regard it as a misreading as it is likely that other derivatives from the same root occur in Aryan, cf. Pkt. musahaṁ “agitation of the mind” (manasa ākulatā, Deśīn. 6, 134), which contains the same Proto-Munda suffix -ha- as kalaha-, laḍaha-, etc.

The radical element occurs in S. mocc moccus, mṛṛmoccus “dejected, downcast, sad, feeble”, mas mas, mas masao, mus musqā “indisposed, out of sorts”, M. dhundur musā “dejected, sad”, duru musu “ill, indisposed”, mas masao “indisposed”, mos moso “lazy” (?), which may further be connected with ba-ya “dirty” (see s.v. kaśmala- and note malīmasa-). They must probably be kept apart from mós mósq “silent, reserved (sulky or dejected)”, musuc “quiet, reserved”, mvasac musuc “taciturn, retired, unsociable, to keep oneself aloof”, māsuq “unsociable, indolent, lazy”, mocc moccus “sulky, pouting”, which convey a different meaning and belong to ba-ya “to turn aside, be sulky” (cf. bhen’cok “to suck”, etc.).

If this explanation of kāśmaśa- is correct, its meaning must have been “dejectedness, lack of self-confidence, shyness, timidity”.

16. Pkt. kassā- “mud”.

Cf. Deśīn. 2, 2 kasso tathā kaccharo paṅkaḥ. Bloch, p. 304, compares Skr. kacchara- “dirty”, Hi. kacra- “fragments”, Si. kaciro “bit of vegetables”, etc. (cf. Turner s.vv. kacar and kasar), which may be correct for kaccharo. As for kassa-, Paravastu Venkata Ramanujaswami, in the 2nd ed. of the Deśīnāmamālā, derives it from Dravidian kasa, kasavu, but Tamil kacā, kacavu “a fibrous plant” and Telugu kasavu, kasavu “grass, straw, sweepings” can hardly account for it. We may rather compare K. kāsā “earth, dust, dirt”, S. hasa “soil, earth, land”, M. Ho hāsā “earth, mud, soil”.

17. Skr. lex. kāsū- “illness” (Hemac.).

18. *kuṇṭha*- "blunt, dull".

Since Mhbh. and Rām.; when metaphorically used it means "vexed" (bāspakunṭhakānta- Daśāk. 100. 15—16 Ag.) or "incapable" (with inf., Vikramānkid. 18, 40). The participle *kuṇṭhita*- (same sense) is used since Kālidāsa. Several attempts have been made to explain it as a word of IE. descentance: Franke connected it with Greek *κυλλός* (see Wackernagel, Altn. Gramm. I, 170). Uhlenbeck s.v. regards it as Middle Indian on account of mod. Persian *kund* "blunt", Bal. *kunt* "blunt, coarse, silly", whereas Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 97 briefly indicates a new explanation (from *kṛtā-*. Its Proto-Munda origin is however beyond question on account of several Indo-Aryan words with similar meanings ("short, stunted"), which show the variants *kunto-, kuṭ-, kun-,*, and Proto-Munda prefixes; cf. Pa. *kunṭa-* "stunted, dwarfish", *lakunṭaka- "dwarf", Bashkarik (Dardic) *lakūti "small* (Kshm. *lōkūt*, Pashto lw. *lakute*, etc., see Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 18, 241); Skr. lex. *makunā-, m. "a beardless man, an elephant without tusks, a small elephant", *makunā-, f. "pudendum sine pube". The last words are probably blendings of *kun-* and *mat-* (see *banḍā-*)..

The Proto-Munda root *ga-da* shows the same combination of meanings as *da-da* (see *sunṭhā-, danḍā-*, *wa-da* (see *banḍā-*, etc. viz. "l. stunted, short, small; 2. bare, barren". (As a matter of fact, they may be explained as very early derivatives from an ultimate radical element *da* 44)). The sense "blunt" is met with in S. *maskuṭa "blunt (of soft iron)" 45*, *kōrē, kōrēc*, *kōrēt* "having the edge turned, blunt", *karga "turned edge, crumpled, creased, blunt", *korgo, korgot "blunt, having a turned edge", M. *bhokoto, bhokto "blunt". As for Pa. *kuṇṭha- "cripple", see s.v. khora-.*

To the same word family belongs *kūṭa- "not horned" (used of oxen, etc., since Ath. S.). Some scholars hold it to be identical with *kūṭa- "bone of the forehead, horn" (see Walde-Pokorny, I, 433), but this word actually means "mallet, hammer", see Burrow, Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 92. The same scholar suggests to connect *kūṭa- "not horned" with Tam. *kūlai "that which is short", kūlai-k-kīṭā "tailless he-buffalo", kūlai-k-kompān "an ox with blunt horns", Kann. *kule, kule "stump, stubble" (ibid., p. 95 f.). But cf. S. *gutṛut "hornless, half-grown", gutṛa "short in stature, small, undersized", and, with a Proto-Munda prefix: S. *aṭkura "childless, barren, heirless" 46* etc. Kui *gūṭa "a stump, stumpy, short, dwarfish" and *gūṭi "stumpy, shortened" must accordingly be loanwords, as the Austro-Asiatic origin of the S. words appears from Mon *khuṭ, khūṭ "to be blunt, not pointed", kun "a dwarf, to be hump-backed", which may be connected with Mon *sakut "to cut off, break off, omit,

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44) See "Munda and Indonesian" (to be published in "Orientalistische Bijdragen").
45) Blending of *wa-da* (see *banḍā-*) and *ga-da*.
46) Kui *aṭkura*, id. (from Oriya).
to be cut off, to be scarce", *thakut* "to sever, be severed" (*takut ā "to be cut off, severed") , *tekut* "to cut in lengths or pieces, a piece cut or broken off, fragment", *pekut* "to cheapen", *kut* "to cut off, amputate", S. koṛa "boy", kuṛi "girl" are probably to be derived from this root ("small" > "child", see s.vv. *dīmba-, sunthā-, bandā-, etc.); Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 135, n. 3, suggests a Drav. origin, but cf. p. 50.

This explanation of *kūṭā- is supported by the fact that the synonyms of *kūṭā- are mostly of Proto-Munda origin, cf. tūparā- "hornless" (* M. tūpā, tūmpa "blunt"), Skr. munḍin- "hornless" (* S. munḍra "having his hair shaved"), Pkt maṭṭa- "śṛṅgāhīnaḥ" (* Skr. bandā- "maimed, crippled"), Tam. kūḷai, Kann. kuḷe, kuḷe, are probably borrowings from Munda. See further s.v. *khadga- "sword".

Note. By the side of *matkuna- "beardless man" there is a different word *matkuna-, m. "bug" (since Manu and Suṣr.); cf. Hi. maṁhūn, Guj. mākan, Sgh. makuṇā, id. (and Hi. camokan, camukān "louse, tick", < *carma-matkuna- according to Turner s.v. *makunu), Pj. māṅgū "bed-bug". Both the connexion with Gothic *mapa (Uhlenbeck, recently Specht, Ursprung der idg. Deklination 161) and the etymological explanation proposed by Pisani, ZDMG 97, 1943, 329 (* mrđ- + Gr. ἱώνιον) disregard the variants Skr. lex. kolakuna-, konakuna- "bug" (echowords from a root koṇ/kun), utkuna-, uhkuna-, m. id. (Sgh. ukunā, m., ikiṇi, i. "louse", hence Tam. ukunām "bed-bug"), AMG, dhīṅkuna- (cf. dhāṅkuna-, dhēṅkuna-, m., Deśīn. 4, 14: Mar. ḍhekūṇ, ḍhekūṇ) "bug"47), Skr. kuṇa-, m. "a parasitic insect" (cf. Tel. kʰuṇamu "an insect that is found in timber, and ingraves lines under the bark of a tree", Tam. kuṇu "worm, maggot"), kuṇin- "a sort of hornet" (thus pw.: kuṇi kaṇabah Suṣr.). Hence *matka- "bug", recorded by lexicographical works as the Rājaniḥaṇṭa, must be due to a wrong analysis of *matkuna-.

Although it is clear that the radical element of these words is kun-, its derivation is rather obscure. On the one hand, we find kitiḥba-, m. "bug" (Hemac.), kina-, m. "woodworm" (Hārāv.), perh. connected with Kum. kino "an insect which adheres to the skin of cattle" (cf. Turner s.v. *kiriṇu; their Austro-Asiatic origin is probable on account of Kh. toḥken "bug", Mon sakit, tekit "bug", thekit "a bed-bug", kit, sakit "to bite" (cf. kemit "mosquito"?)). On the other hand, Skr. kuṇa- "a parasitic insect" cannot be separated from ghuna-, m. "wood-worm" (* Saḍv. Br.), ghurghura-, ghurghurghā, ghurghurghā-, id. (lex.), which point to a root guḍ-: this may also be at the base of Nep. ghocnu "to pierce, prick, stab, perforate". The question as to the ultimate origin of guḍ- cannot yet be answered, cf. Tam. koṭṭu- "to sting as a scorpion, a wasp", koṭṭukku "sting of a wasp, hornet, scorpion"; Tel. kuṭṭu- "to prick, bore, pierce, sting", kuṭṭu "a stitch,

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a prick or puncture, piercing’. Kui *kuta “to prick”, etc. Is matkuna- a Dravidian word with a Proto-Munda prefix added, like S. *toponţ (see p. 92)? But cf. S. *atku “a prickly annual”, Malto ātku “thistles” (prob. Munda lw.). Connexion of kanabha-, m. “hornet” (Suśr.) is doubtful.

19. *kubjā “crooked, hump-backed”.

1. First occurrence in Vāj. S., since Mhbh. Rām. in common use. No plausible explanation has been given hitherto. Some scholars derive it from *kubhā < *kubh-ko- on account of kubhrā-, m. “hump-backed bull” (Mātr. S.), while others assume IE. root-variation on a large scale (e.g. Persson, Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung 104, n. 4, and 106, n. 3). Maurice Bloomfield, in a brief note entitled “On the Origin of the so-called Root-Determinatives” (Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc. 24, 1893, XXVII ff.) points out that “Just as kubjā- “hunch-backed” seems to betray in its final sound its congeneric relation to ny-abja- “crooked-back”, so also urubjā-“wide open” is the opposite of kubjā-. We have here a start in the direction of a suffix -ubja-, whose productivity is limited, however, by lack of opportunity” (Similarly Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. II, 1, 12).

Santali has numerous derivatives from a root ka-ba “bent, crooked”, e.g. kabe kobe, id., kaba “stooping” 48), kōb(t)ē, kómē, hómē, hombe “crooked, bent”, kumbēt “an arched, bent piece of bamboo or other suitable stuff, to bend, curve”, hombo “to crouch, hide”, ombo “to bend down on all fours”, K. homba “to bend down, stoop”, etc. The native Munda character of these words appears from the vocalic variation, the change k > h > r, the aspiration k > kh in Pa. Pkt. khujja-, Mar. kujja “dwarfish” (see Turner s.v. kujo), the consonantal interchange b : bh (Skr. kubjā- : kubhrā-), p : b (e.g. Nep. kupre, knbre “a hunchback”, kupro, knbro “hunchbacked, deformed, bent”), and the nasalization (in Nep. kumle, kumle “bent”, kumcín “to be bent”, Pkt. kummi- “bent”). Cf. also Khimi (Burman dialect) kābu “to fall down (prostrately)” 49), which is an Austro-Asiatic loanword like ang “to open the mouth”, sāning “year”.

Many of the Santali derivatives from ka-ba contain an additional element j, e.g. kabja kabjā “crooked, bent”, kobjo “bent, stooping, crooked”. Although word-derivation by means of suffixes must have been rather common in the Proto-Munda of the Yajur-Vedic period (see, e.g., khadjā-, phalgu-), it seems doubtful whether we may regard Proto-Munda

48) Cf. Beng. hāmilā “to be eager, fall down on all fours in eagerness”, humri “a fall on one’s face”, humtrip “push through eagerness, fall face forward” (hāmā “crawl”, Chatterji, 405, 888 f.), obviously contaminations of two different words.
49) See R. Shafer, Khimi Grammar and Vocabulary, BSOAS. 11, 386 ff.
*kubja as a case of suffixation. When trying to analyse the Santali vocabulary we often encounter a particular difficulty: many words appear to contain the characteristics of two (or more) different roots so as to exclude a decision as to their origin. Thus we find S. kāḍbuṛ, kuḍbuṛ "to bow, bend head down", kāḍbuṛ, kāḍbuṛ, kuḍbuṛ, koṭbe, koṛbe, koṛboṇ "bent, crooked", kāḍbuṇ "lanky and bent, tall and stooping" and on the other hand kāṛur, id., kuṛhv, kuṛdhā "hump-backed, short-necked and round-shouldered", kuṃḍuṛu "short-bodied (somewhat hump-backed), to crouch, to roll oneself up", koṛṛṛ "crooked, bent". They may be derived either from ka-ba (with infixed or suffixed ḍ) or from ka-da, a root which conveys the same meaning as ka-ba. In reality they rather represent blendings, in which the two roots have fused. It should be noted that, owing to the extra-ordinarily large number of homonymous roots in Munda, recourse has been had to several expedients in order to distinguish between the homonyms. Thus Munda has made a particular use of the "echo-words" (which are found on the whole area of Austro-Asiatic languages, in Dravidian, etc.) by combining dialectal variants of one and the same word, each of the components thus defining the other.50). The same tendency may account for numerous cases of "blending".

This explanation holds good also for kubjā-, as it cannot be separated from ka-yā, e.g. S. kaya kojo, kojo kojo, kayaṇ kuyuṇ, kuyuṇ kuyuṇ, kaja kojo, kojo kojo, kijā kaje, kojo, kuja "bent, stooping", koṇjṛṛ "crooked, bent", etc.

2. Skr. kubhrā-, m. "humpbacked bull" (Maitr. S. 2, 5, 3) is generally considered an inherited IE. word (see Walde-Pokorny, I, 374, and the other authorities quoted above). But H. kubār = kub "a hump on the back", kubṭā = kubhā "humpbacked", Mar. kubaḍ, kubṭā, Guj. kubṭā, adj. (see Turner s.v. kubro) and Mar. khubār "hump on the back" point to a cerebral. They cannot, of course, be derived from kubhrā- (as is also shown by their different consonants: b for bh, and partly kh for k), but they are independent younger borrowings from (Proto-)Munda. As such, they represent more faithfully the Munda original since they render exactly the Munda r, which in the Vedic language could only be represented by the phoneme r. It will be observed that Munda seems to have but slightly changed since the Vedic period (so far as its phonological aspect is concerned).

It follows that Ved. kubhrā- reflects a Proto-Munda *kubhra, which is identical with S. kubṭā “humpbacked”, quoted above.

3. A similar explanation may be suggested for kābara-, kābari- "the pole of a carriage" (Maitr. S. 2, 1, 11, Kāṭh. S. 10, 5), Pa. kubbara-. In

50) Cf. e.g. K. Wulff, Zs. f. Kolonialsprachen I (1911), 234 for possible Indonesian parallels, and Tedesco, JAOS. 65 (1945) 95, on Indo-Aryan identity-compounds.
older works on Indo-European etymology it was connected with Greek κυβέρναω "to steer", Lithuanian kumbręs "plough-handle", but the Greek word stands for *κυβέρναω (cf. Cyprian κυβερναω) and if any relation between κυμο- and kūbara- exists at all, this cannot be accounted for satisfactorily. R. Fohalle, Mélanges Vendyres 164 f., concludes a discussion of κυβέρναω with the words: "la racine peut être indo-européenne; le mot ne l’est pas" 51. Modern authorities are therefore inclined to separate both words, the more so as the long ū of kūbara- is also an argument against their supposed relationship (see Walde-Pokorny I, 467; "vörläufig unklar" Wackernagel, Altn. Gramm. I, 184). As a matter of fact, Ved. kūbara- is identical with Hi. kūbara "a hump on the back", kūbrā "humpbacked, crooked". (In Shahabad kūbara denotes a crooked beam, see Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life § 1260). Skr. kūbara- is accordingly a dialectal variant of kubhyā-; cf. also Pkt. kudha- "kujah" (Deśīn. II, 36) from *kubhaḍ. As for the meaning of kūbara-, cf. S. kubhē, kumbhē "an arched piece of bamboo", kāṛba, kāṃba, M. kāṛba, Ho kābā, Kh. kārbā "plough-handle" (orig. "crooked", cf. Kui koṭī "plough-handle", from the well-known Drav. root kut- "crooked").

4. Kūrpara-, m. "elbow" (sometimes "knee"). Pa. kappara-, Pkt. kopparam, present some difficulties. Kūrpara- belongs to the Class. language (Sūrār. Bālav., Daśāk. 63, 15 Agashe, Gopālakēlic.). The following are some variants recorded by lexicographers: kaphoni-, kaphaṇi- "elbow", kupaṇi-, id. (Hemac. Uṇādīgaṇaṇaṇaṭra), kapoli- "knee joint"; perhaps kapola-, m. "cheek" (since Rām. Sūrā Śyāśāv.) is connected. There are more instances of one word denoting both the arm and the knee joint, e.g. S. ṭhōṛē "the ankle, the elbow joint, the knee joint". The primary meaning of such words has prob. been "bend", which excludes the connexion of kapola- with kapalā-, n. "shell, potsherid, skull" (Pet. Dict., Solmsen, Beiträge zur griech. Wortforschung 198, PTS. Dict.). It is fairly certain that kūrpara-, kapolī-, etc. are Proto-Munda words 52). As a matter of fact, Tam. kopparam, Tel. kopparamu "elbow" and Tam. kavul, Mal. kavil "cheek, temple of an elephant" 53) may easily be explained as loan-words. It is however hard to decide whether we have to analyse ka-ba + suffix ḍa (or na) or prefix ka(r) + root pa-ḍa, since all the words quoted have a similar element -ḍa- (-na-) in the third syllable; cf. perhaps also Ved. kaphoḍa- (v.l. kaphauḍa-, kapheḍa-, kaphauḍhā-) in Ath. S. 10, 2, 4 ("elbow")? If Bloch 317 is right in connecting kaphaṇi- "elbow" with Pkt. khavaa-, m. "shoulder" (skandhaḥ Deśīn. II, 67). Hi. Pj. khawā "shoulder,

51) As for Lith. kumbręs, its prim. meaning is "protuberance" (cf. e.g. Petersson. Stud. über idg. Heteromelie 75).
52) Impossible is the connexion with O. Pruss. klupatis "knee" (Scheffelowitz, KZ. 53, 257). Burrow, Transact. Philol. Soc. 1945, 96, derives kūrpara- from Dravidian.
53) Ramaswami Aiyyar, Ojhā-Volume 16, questions the derivation of kavul from kapola-
shoulder-blade", Guj. khabho, Mar. khawā "articulation de l'épaule", this point would be decided, but the meaning "shoulder" is rather different (cf. Kann. koppa "shoulder-blade"? Meaning uncertain). Nevertheless, in the absence of decisive materials, it may be suggested as a working hypothesis that the original forms *kū-r-p-śr, *kap-śd (*kap-ol), *kap-on are identical with *kūb-ad (in kūbara-, etc.). The connexion of Skr. kapola-"cheek" is doubtful. It has also been compared to Sakai kapō, Semang käpo, Nicob. tapōa, etc., which excludes the former explanation 54).

20. kuliṅga- "the fork-tailed shrike".

Attested in Mḥbh. 1, 61, 9 Bomb. (1, 55, 8 Poona has a different reading), Vāsavad., Bhāg. Pur.; grhakuliṅga- Suśr., femin. kuliṅī- Bhāg. P., kuliṅgaka- "a certain bird of prey", Caraka. Moreover the form kaliṅga-is recorded by lexicographers and (as a false reading) by Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on Mḥbh. 1, 61, 9. A different sense has kuliṅga-"sparrow" (Bhāvapr., lex.) beside which kuliṅgaka-, kuliṅkaka-, guliṅka- are recorded (lex.). Cf. Pa. kuliṅka-, kuliṅka- "a small bird", Tam. kaliṅkam "sparrow" (lex.).

Schmidt, MKV. 88, while connecting Nikob. kalān "white bellied sea-eagle, Cuncuma lemagaster" with Khmer khleñ, Stieng, klōn "kite", points to Skr. kaliṅga-. It is however very improbable that the Khmer word should have been borrowed from Sanskrit as we find the same word in Khasi, viz. khleñ "kite, eagle", with the "compositional form" līñ which is used for it in certain circumstances 55). It can hardly be doubted that Skr. kuliṅga-, kaliṅga- reflects the Proto-Munda equivalent of the words quoted. The only difficulty lies in the fact that several lexicographical works (Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Hemacandra and Medinī) mention a word kaliṅkā- with the same sense. Since *kaliṅka- can hardly be connected with kuliṅga- it must be a different word (cf. kulkā- "a certain bird" VS. 24, 24, lex. kālkā- "ardea jaculator").

It seems reasonable to derive the name of the people of the Kaliṅgas (who were settled on the Telugu coast from the Kistna to the Mahānādi, see Pargiter, JAS. Beng. 66 [1897], p. 98 f., Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Kling) from the name of this bird, which then must have been the totem of a Proto-Munda tribe living in that country. S. Lévi has already envisaged this possibility in his article in the Journal Asiatique 1923 II (= Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. 100), but prefers to connect kaliṅga-with Tibetan glīṅ, Telugu lāṅka "island". Although the Kaliṅgas dwelt in a region that was rich in islands and where, moreover, the Telugu word may have been in common use, his conclusion is not cogent.

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54) S. K. Chatterji, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. XXII. Kuiper, Acta Or. 16, 304; see also Ramaśwami Aiyyar, Ojā-Vol., p. 15 f. Cf. Bahmar bō, id. (Schmidt, MKV. 86).

S. Lévi (engl. transl. pp. 80 and 100) and Przybyski, J. As. 1926 I, 5 n. 1, further compare bhulínga- which is the name of one of the tribes of the Sálvas, and of a certain bird, cf. bhulínga- (Mann. II, 6a: Tam. pulíkm “sparrow”), bháliṅgaśakuni-, bháliṅgaśakuna- (Mbh. 2, 41, 18 and 44, 27 f., 12, 169, 10). This connexion may be correct, though it should be noticed that the word ku-línga- was in use all over the Austro-Asiatic area, whereas bhu-línga- is isolated. Cf. Mon klaîn “eagle”, Khmer klêñ, Bahnar klaîn “aigle pêcheur”, Semang Bukit kêlân “white-headed eagle”, Tembi klaak<sup>a</sup>, Senoi kê-lâk<sup>a</sup>, Sakai cep kêlak “eagle kite”, Central Sakai klâk “hawk”, klâñ-blo’c “roc, garuda”, cîm-klâk “hawk, eagle”, Achinese klêñ “kite”, Malay lañ (older form hêlân) “eagle, kite”.

21. kuvinda- “weaver”.

A late and rare word, cf. Brahmanaiv. Pur., Kathás. (Pet. D. s.v. kaṁsakāra- and Add. to vol. V), S’āṅkara on Bādar. (pw). Yaśastilaka (Schmidt, Nachtr.); cf. also Sāhityaakaum. 7 (p. 71) deva, tvam asi kuvindaḥ paṭayasi ca guñan pratikṣaṇāṁ citrān, etc. The form kupinda- (Un. 4, 87) points to kubinda- (with unvoicing of b indicating a foreign origin).

In Acta Orient. 16, 305 I have connected kuvinda- with S. bindi “spider” on the supposition that its original sense has been “weaver”. In AO. 17, 315 ff. attention was drawn to Kuwinda- which occurs in the Gopālakelicandrikā as a tribal name (Ābhīrā Yavanaḥ Kuviṇdaśavaraḥ) 56). Its exact form (Kuvinda-, as Caland writes it, or Kubinda-) could not be determined as the Leyden MS. as a rule uses the aṣṭara va for both ba and va. But Kuwinda- also occurs several times in the Bhāratamañjarī as a designation of an aboriginal tribe, cf. 7, 394 S’akān Mūndān Kuviṇdāṃśca (corresponding to Mbhb. 7, 119 where only Kirātas are mentioned, but cf. 7, 121, 14 and 43: Kulinda- ed. Bomb.); 2, 114 Kuviṇḍaviṣayam jītovā (: Mbhb. 2, 26, 1 Kulindaśayag). Whatever may be the correct reading, Kṣemendra’s work confirms the conclusion drawn from the Gopālak. Cf. also the comm. on Sāhityakaum.: kuṃ prthivīṃ vindatīti kuviṇdō rājā jātivīśeṣāḥ tantuvāyaśca.

It has been suggested (AO. 17, 316, n. 1) that the Kuvindas were a caste of weavers with totemistic relations to the spider. But other professional castes could equally claim the spider as their totem. In a study on Orissan ethnology (JBORS. 19, 1933, 333) it is stated that “the Tiyar fisherman has the fishtrap (bājākāṭhi) for his Santak”, whereas “the fishing caste of Keuwaḥ has for its Santak the saringā which is a shuttle for weaving fishing-nets”. In fact, just as the spider catches its prey with the cobweb it has woven, so the fisherman has to use his net. Hence the modern Binds (once mentioned in the Vāj. S. as bainḍā-), a caste of

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56) Stieng bei and Besai bōn are nasalized variants of bīh and cannot accordingly be connected with S. bindi, M. bindaram, Kh. bendi.
fishermen and cultivators\(^{57}\), owe their name to their net (Sāyana bindur jālāṁ tena jīvatīti baindahā!). Similarly jālika- means "fowler" and "spider" (Böhtl.).

A parallel instance is kaulika- "weaver" (Pañc.). kolika-, id. (Yaśastil.). These apparently reflect a word *koḍika-, which is preserved in Tam. kōṭikam "cloth", kōṭikar "weaver". Like kuṇinda-, *koḍika- is connected with a word for "spider", cf. Skr. markaṭa(k)a-, markaṭi-, markaḍikā- "spider", markaṭavāsā- "cobweb", Pa. makkanaṭaka- "spider", makkata(k)a-sutta- "spider's thread", Pkt. makkoda- "spider" (Deśīn. 6, 142), makkoda- "a heap for stringing together by a machine" (ibid., see Turner s.v. mākuro "spider"), kolia- "spider" (2, 65). As for Mar. koṭi "spider" and Śi. korī "weaver, spider", see however A. Master, BSOS. 9, 1009 f.) \(^{58}\).

We may suppose that the *koḍika originally were a tribe which had a spider-totem. In view of Pkt. makkada-bandha- "a chain worn over the shoulder" (Tam. makkattu "waist-band"), the original sense of the root element kat-, koḍ- may be supposed to have been "to twist". If this is correct, the word for "spider" may further be connected with Skr. kaṭa- "a straw mat", kaṭaka- "id., cord, string, bracelet" (see s.v. śṛṅkhalā-).

22. kōkila-, m. "lighted coal" (Lex.).

This word is only recorded in the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa. Cf. Pkt. koilā-, "charcoal" (kāṧṭhāṅgārāh, Deśīn. 2, 49), Hi. Nep. etc. koilā, id. Bloch, p. 316, compares it to Pkt. kouā- "fire of dry cowdung" (karīṣagārīh, Deśīn. 2, 48), and connects these words with Mar. kōḷāṇe "to burn", etc. (Skr. kuḍi- "dāhe"), whereas Chatterji 404 takes it as meaning "cuckoo-coloured". The latter and Turner (s.v. koilā) derive the NIA. words from a Middle Indian original *koilā-.

The Santali word corresponding to Hi. koilā is kūḷā (cf. M. koilā, kuilā, K. kūlyā). Although this is probably an Aryan loanword, it cannot be separated from S. koya, kuyā "black, smirched", kūḷā "black, dark-skinned", and the other words quoted s.v. kajjala-. That words for charcoal have actually been derived from the root ka-ya "black" is shown by Skr. lex. aḷḷha-, m. "charcoal" (Trikāṇḍaśa.), which is obviously a dialectal variant of kajjala- (with loss of initial h < k as in avīla-). Kōkila- is accordingly the Sanskritized form of Pkt. koilā- (from Proto-Munda *ko(y)īla = S. kūḷā), which has been created on the analogy of Pkt. koīla-: Skr. kokila- "cuckoo".

23. khaḍgā-, m. "sword".

1. Since Mhbh., Rām. Neither the connexion with Greek φῶςαυν, nor that with Old Irish claideb "sword" is plausible. On the last word,

\(^{57}\) See Acta Orient. 17, 307 ff.

\(^{58}\) So. kūkkūṭi-yaṁ "spider" is ambiguous on account of its synonym tuttīḍi-yaṁ.
see J. Vendryes, Mélanges de linguistique offerts à M. Ferdinand de Saussure (Paris 1908), pp. 309—321, and H. Pedersen, Vergl. Gramm. der keltischen Sprachen II, 29; as for khadga-, cf. Wackernagel, I, 170, Vendryes 309 f. The origin of khadga- is still obscure and its structure does not confirm the idea that it is inherited from prim. Indo-European. A variant *khandā- (cf. Tam. kanṭam “sword” in the lexicographical work of Piṅgala) has left some traces in NIA., cf. Hi. Beng. khāṛā, Guj. khāḍā, Panj. khanḍā, Mar. khāṭā, Gypsy xanró (see Turner s.v. khārō). Bloch 318 observes that only the first element of these words recalls khadga-, and supposes the nasal to be due to a contamination with the word-family of khand- “to break”. As it seems reasonable to suppose some connexion between this root and the word for “sword”, we shall first have to examine more closely the derivatives from this root.

Skr. khandā- “broken, crippled, defective, not full (moon)” Mhbbh. Rām. etc.; m.n. “break, fragment, piece, part, section (of a book, Ait. Ār., Kena Up.), sickle (of the moon)”, khandaka-, m. “piece, part”, khandikā-, f., id. (Kāś. on Pāṇ. 3, 4, 51; see Schmidt, Nachtr.) are usually connected with kāṇḍa- (see below) and with Lith. skēldēti “to burst” (Fortunatov, Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgesch. 88 with bibl., Pettersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 46 f., 51, 53, Walde-Pokorny I, 436 with bibl.). The inferential form IE. *kolndo- cannot however be correct as there is a variant with g, cf. ganḍa- “section, piece, trunk” (Divyāvad., Kathās.), ganḍikā-, f. “piece” (Divyāvad.). Owing to the false premise that khanda- is an IE. word, no attention has been given to these variants although in the Addenda to the shorter Pet. Dict. (VII, 337) it is expressly stated that ganḍa- is identical with khanda-. Cf. Nep. gṛṇu, gṛṇu “to cut into pieces, kill”. Further derivatives are khanḍayati “breaks or cuts to pieces, divides, dispels, hurts, wounds, destroys, interrupts, violates, etc.”, khanḍila- “a small section” (Mān. GS., Harṣac.), khanḍalaka- “a small piece” (Harṣac.), khanḍiman-, m. “fragmentary state”, lex. khaḍa-, m. “splitting”, and kharvayati (kharvita- Kathās. 51, 1, Gopālakelic. 43, 17). Beside khanḍayati the Dātup. records khunḍayati, khoḍayati (cf. khurati “chedane, khandane, kṣore”).

The various phonetic changes, which these words presuppose, suggest a Proto-Munda, rather than a Dravidian, origin. As a matter of fact, modern Munda has a great many words which must be traced back to a root ga-ḍa “in pieces”, e.g., S. gūṇḍa, gūṇḍa gūṇḍi “fragments, remnants, small bits, to make into do., to grind” (cf. M. gūṇḍa “crumbs”, Mark 7, 28). ganḍa ganḍa “fragments, crumbs, to break into do., to grind small” (cf. Tel. gandarulu “fragments, bits”, a loanword), gūṇḍuc “excrements (in small quantity)”, gīṅḍra “a piece, bit”, kuṭṛa “a fragment, bit, piece, to cut into pieces, divide”, kaṭra kuṭṛa, kuṭṛa kuṭri, kuṭṛa mutṛa “bits, fragments, small pieces, to divide, cut into pieces”, kuṭri kuṭri “in small divisions”, kiṭṛa “fragment, piece, to divide into pieces”, kasti kuṭi “in
pieces, to cut into do.”, khaṇḍa khaṇḍi, khaṇḍa (k)hunḍi “to cut into pieces”, khinḍi hunḍi, khini khudri (hudi, hunḍi) “to tear into pieces”, khaṇḍeś bekrcē “scattered, in small pieces”. K. kūdā, kutkā “piece, bit, crumb”, kūdkā-kī “to break into pieces”. Kh. kūrā “powdered”.

Skr. khaḍga- is formed with the same guttural suffix as, e.g., phalgū- “weak”, phalgū- “reddish”, khaḍgā- “rhinoceros”. This morphological detail excludes an etymological connexion with Tam. kāṭi- “to cut into pieces”, kāṭtu “section, part” (unless these Dravidian words are borrowings from Munda). As for Skr. brgala-, n. “morsel, piece, fragment” (ardhabṛgala-, puroḍāśabrṛgala-, S’at. Br.), its variants vṛkala-, n. (S’at. Br. Kāñv., see Caland, Introduction 55), vṛkala-, m. (Baudhāyana) 59) rather suggest a root wa-ga, than gala- with prefixed br-; cf. perhaps S. bhūṅgar “a block, piece of wood, to cut into pieces”, bhūṅgrau “to cut off, hack, chop”, etc. The supposed connexion with Goth. brikana “to break” (Persson, Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung 36, n. 1) is in any case fictitious.

By the side of khaṇḍi-kr- there occurs a variant kandī-kr “to pound”, which shows the common Munda variation of aspirates and non-aspirates. Hence kandaṇa- “pounding” (Harṣac.) “the thrashing, husking, husk, chaff”, kandaṇi- “mortar” must have the same origin as khaṇḍa-: cf. S. gunḍa gunḍi “to grind”, etc. I venture the supposition that Skr. kāna- “a small grain or single seed; flake, drop, spark, atom, a bit” is also a derivative from this Proto-Munda root. For the semantic development cf. Latin grānum : Skr. jīṛṇā-, and Russ. pšenō : Skr. pšṭā-. This explanation is no doubt preferable to the derivation from IE. “sqel- “to split off” 60). Skr. kalā- “small part” is ambiguous.

2. Proto-Munda ga-da “stunted, short, dwarfish, small, blunt, dull” is a parallel root to da-da (see danḍa-) and wa-da (see banḍā-). As will be pointed out in the discussion of these words, these roots show a striking parallelism both in their semantic development and with respect to morphology. Since neither of these parallel roots means “to cut into pieces”, this root ga-da must be distinct from its homonym discussed above; cf. Skr. kuṇṭha- “blunt, dull” (p. 40 f.), which cannot be derived from a root which means “in pieces”. Parallel to danḍā-, the NIA. languages have some variants of a word for “stick, log”, e.g. Hi. gerī, gerī “stick used in a game”, Nep. gīr “stick”, gīr “log, block of wood”, Kum. gino “block, log”. Cf. Skr. gando-, m. “trunk of a tree” (Divyāvad.). Pa. gandi- “stalk, sugarcane-joint”, and Pkt. gidiā- (to which Turner refers) and see s.v. laguda-. Vedic khigala- seems to be composed of the well-known prefix kṛ-, kar- and gala-: If the meaning “stick” is correct, it may represent the same word, cf. khigaleva visrāsah pātām asmān “like two sticks save us from fall” RS. 2, 39, 4 (thus Roth, Bloom-

59) Schefelowitz, KZ. 53, 261, compares Greek ἃθρις (from ἄρρυμι), but the variation g/k rather suggests a foreign origin.

60) Kaṇati “becomes small” (aṇūḥbāve Nir.) may have been deduced from kāna-.
field, SBE. 42, 340). Tarapada Chowdhury, JBORS. 17, 1931, 67, assumes the same meaning for AS. 3, 9, 3 on account of the Kauś. S. but this hymn is "one of the most perplexing in the AV." (Bloomfield). Fairly certain is however the appurtenance of Skr. *poganda-* "young boy" (apoganda- "boy of 16 years or older" Manu), "deformed in body", (Yaśastila. = "vikalāṇgahī" according to Amara 2, 46, 46. Halāy. Abhidhānaratnamāla 2, 232), and Nep. *pọgaṭā, pọhoṭā* "ears of rice with no grain inside" 61), *phokaṭ* "worthless thing or person". Cf. furthermore the following rare Skr. words with the meaning "dwarfish, stunted": *khaṭa*- (khaṭākhu- = bālamūṣikā, Haravijaya), khaḍara-, khaḍūra- (Yaśastil. comm.), khaṭṭura- (Yaśastil.), khaṭṭara- (Kṣīrasvāmin ad Amara 2, 6, 46), khaṭṭana- "dwarf" (lex.), khaḍḍuka-, khaḍḍāka- "small", and khaṇḍa- in the sense of "crippled, defective", kharvā- "mutilated, crippled, imperfect" (Taitt. S.) 62), "minute, low, vile" (lex.), nikharva-, id. (Hemac., Kṣīrasvāmin l.c.), kharvīta- "dwarffish", kharvī-bhū- "to become small, crippled", kharvati "hrasvībhavati". Instead of the usual derivation from IE. *kolbo- (Greek xoloβός, see Walde-Pokorny I, 436), kharvā- must be traced back to a Proto-Munda original *kaḍu-a.

Cf. S. guṇḍara- "a stump, chip, a maize-cob with the covering leaves removed, child, to strip, chip off, amputate, cut into pieces" (contamination with I ga-da), *gindra-"a piece, bit, small children, to chop, tear off (cloth), to cut into pieces" and *geṭa, geḍma, geḍra, geḍk, geḍmeč, geḍreč* "short, small, puny, stunted, dwarffish", galae "minute, tiny, very small (children)", keṭmer, keṭmeč "short, stunted", gaḍha guṭḥa (gaṛa guṛa) "small, tiny", gaḍma guḍma, gadrač guḍrač, id., keṇḍel, keṇḍleč "short, of small size", K. ganḍā, ganḍā-"boy", S. M. koṛa, Ho koa "boy, young man", S. M. kuri "girl". S. koṛa is a parallel formation to *saṛa (Hi. chorā, Skr. kīṣora-) from da-da and Hi. poṭa, id. from wa-da. Hence Panj. kuri "girl". But Skr. kuṇaka- "a young animal just born" may perhaps be a Drav. word (Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 135 n. 3). A similar contamination as in Skr. khaṇḍa- is also found in S. gaṇḍra guṇḍra-1. small, stunted, puny, to make do: 2. to break into pieces" (cf. gaḍar guṭur "small", gaḍac guḍuč "small, undersized, tripping", etc.).

3. Skr. kāṇḍa-, kāṇḍa-, m.n. (since Ath. S.) "1. section, part, internode (of a plant), chapter (of a book): 2. stalk, stem, switch, cane, arrow" presents serious difficulties. The incidental use in the sense of "mass, multitude" (Gramm., Sīś, Vikramāṅkad.) is probably due to a confusion with khaṇḍa- (s.v. gana-), see Renou, Journ. As. 1939, 386. Bye-forms with g are gaṇḍaka- "having joints", Pali ganḍa- "a stalk, shaft". 1. Kāṇḍa- "internode" is a Dravidian word (in spite of the IE. etymology

61) Also pabatā, pawaṭā, pautā, perhaps from pa + ba-da? Such rhyme-words from parallel roots are rather frequent. For the meaning of phokaṭ cf. dauthe (p. 78).
62) Cf. vikalāṇgas tu pogandaḥ kharvō hrasvāśa ca vāmanah, Amara 2, 6, 46.
proposed by Fortunatov, see Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 170, etc.),
cf. Tamil kän “joint in bamboo or sugar-cane, connection between a bough
or flower and its stem, bamboo”, kāṇu “joint of a bamboo, cane, bamboo,
knuckle, joint of the spine”, Telugu gāṇupu “a joint of the fingers or toes,
or in a sugar-cane, etc.”. In view of Tam. kāṭtu “class, section” it is not
quite certain that the meaning “section, chapter” of the Skr. word is merely
due to a semantic development of “piece, fragment” 2. Kāṇḍa- “stalk,
stem, cane” is prob. a different word (in spite of Tam. kāṇu “cane, bam-
boo”), which is, like Pa. ganaḍa-, id., derived from gaḍa (§ 2, cf. khaṇḍa-
“stalk” in vilvakhaṇḍa Mhbb. 13, 7414 Calc. “einen Stab von V. holz
habend” (?) = bilvādanaḍi Bomb. 13, 159, 14). Tamil kāli- “to cut off,
pare off, prune”, kali “rod, cudgel, staff, stick”, kalai “spiny bamboo,
pole used for propelling boats, sugar-cane, stem of do., shaft of a bamboo”,
Telugu gada “stick, staff, stalk, cane, pole”, etc., may just as well be
Munda loanwords as Tam. taṭi, taṇṭu, id., are (see p. 79).

4. Skr. khaṇḍaka- “sugar-candy” (Rājanighantu), khaṇḍa- (Sāh. D.),
khāṇḍava-, m. (Mhbb. Rām.), “sweet-meats”, which Bloch, p. 318, identifies
with khaṇḍa- “piece” (cf. Mar. khafd “cassure, morceau, sucre”) are prob.
also Dravidian words although their meaning may secondarily have been
influenced by khaṇḍa- “fragments”, cf. khaṇḍa- “Zucker in Sandform”
(Bhāvapr., Kālac.). They cannot be separated from Tam. kāṭtu- “to harden,
condense, coagulate, to swell as a boil, a tumour”, kāṭtu “a boil, abscess,
tumour”, kāṭṭi “clod, lump, concretion, anything hardened, coagulated,
jaggery, coarse palm-sugar; boil, abscess, tumour”, kāṭṭu “clod, lump,
sugar-candy, rock-candy” (which the Tam. Dict. derives from Skr.), kāṇṭil
“candy”, Telugu gada “a lump, clod”, gāḍa “lump, mass or clod, anything
bulbous, boil or ulcer”, Kann. gāḍde, etc. (cf. Skr. ganaḍa- “boil, pimple,
crop”, gada- “excrecence on the body, as goitre, hump, etc.”, ganaḍu-
“pillow”, kanda- “bulbous root, bulb”, kanduka- “playing ball, pillow”,
= lex., Pa. ganaḍa-, id., etc.).

24. khalati- “bald-headed”.

khallita- (S’abdaratnav.), khallita- (Trikāṇḍaśeṣa). Another Yajurvedic
word is kūlva-, ātikūlva- “too bald” (see Vedic Variants II, 267), which
however is an IE. word, cf. Avestan kaurva-, Latin calvus, etc. (e.g.
Walde-Pokorny I, 447). With the last word is generally connected
kālvaṇkṛta- “quite bald” (of the earth, Eggeling, transl. of S’at. Br. 2, 2,
4, 3), which however cannot well be separated from class. Skr. khalvaṭa-
bald” (Bhartṛhari). Specht, Der Ursprung der idg. Deklination 256, holds
the aspirate kh- in khalati- to be due to the “besondere Gefühlbetonung”,
and compares kharvā-, khara-, khaṇḍa- and khora-, names of corporeal
defects.
In reality, all these words, except for -kulva-, are of Proto-Munda origin. Just as a great many derivatives from da-da denote "bare, bald", e.g. duṇḍē, caḍhra, duṇḍhra, caḍen, thunḍga, etc. (see s.v. daṇḍa-), and munḍa- "bald-headed" is derived from va-da (see s.v. bandā-), so khalati-, etc. are derived from ga-da, cf. S. kolo "shaved bare, to shave bare", holat "razor". The a of khalatā- may stand for ō, and n suggests an original *kolo-a (cf. malvā-, phalgu-). The cerebral appears in Skr. lex. khaṇḍa- "a calf with half-grown horns" (Galanos), matkuna- "a beardless man, elephant without tusks", matkunā- "pudendum sine pube". Cf. S. ḫrendr "bare, exhausted", ḫrendkṛt "bare, denuded", ḫrendhra "bare, hairless, featherless" (rhyme-word of ḫrendhra), huttur (K. utur) "bare", khad "bare, leafless", khaḍīa "id., hairless, scabby", khadga "bare, leafless", khaḍhra "bare, leafless, hairless, skin and bones, stripped", khai "to flay, skin, rub off (skin, surface)", ghala ghalao, (Cambh.: khal khalao) "to skin, flay, make bare", khaḍgu "bare, leafless, without branches, without feathers or hairs", etc. Perhaps S. ḫoγo, ḫoγon "to shave" (M. Ho ḫoγo, K. ḫoγo, Kh. ḫoγo) belong to this affililation (y < d). Other words for defects are kānā- "one-eyed" (RS., Ath. S., Taitt. S.), kaḍa-, kalā- "dumb", kanuva- "deaf" (lex. also kalla- and barkara- "deaf", kalya- "deaf-mute"); cf. S. kārā "blind", Ho galā "dumb", S. M. kala "deaf", Root ga-da "stunted, defective" (p. 49 f., cf. Skr. badhirā-, p. 102) which is prob. identical with ga-da "bare" (: Hi. gājā "bald-headed" and see p. 96).

25. khaṅkira- "fox".

Only in lex. works. In addition to this word, the synonyms khikhi- and kikhi- are recorded. The relation khikhi- : khaṅkira- points to a non-Aryan origin. Since Gondi kheṭī, id. is isolated in Dravidian and, accordingly, likely also to be a loan-word (v. Ramaswami Aiyar, Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc. 10, 71), the source of origin of these words must be (Proto-)Munda 63.

Cf. S. khikrī "the Bengal fox, Vulpes Bengalensis" (in the sense "lean, thin, meagre", it is prob. a different word), K. kikrī, kikerī, kēkri, kēktī. The exact source of Hi. khikrī is not clear. The root is apparently *khid, whence the derivatives *khīni-khid, *khi-khid and, with nasalization of the final i, *khīni-khiṇ (in Pkt. khīnhiṇī- "ṣṛgālī", Deśīn. 2, 74). The syllable -ra- in khikira- accordingly forms part of the root (kiṛa- < kiḍa-) and khikhi-, kikhi- must be inferential forms deduced from *khikhira- (as karka- from karkara- "mirror", dundu- from dundubhi- "drum", etc.), unless khikhi- stands for *khikhiyi (y < t, i, cf. p. 134).

26. khorā- "lame, limping" (Kāty, S'S, Lāty., Gaut.).

Also khoṭa- (Gaut. 28, 6, v.l.), khoḍa- (comm. on Yaśastil. II, 202, 4), kunḍa- "crippled, lame" (Mahāvy., see Schm. N.). A derivative is khoraka-.

63) What is keko in Kui keko bilo "fox" (bilo "jackal")? Tuttle's connexion of Gondi kheṭī with Tulu kudike "fox" (Dravidian Developments 22) is hardly correct.
“a certain disease of the feet” (paśuṇāṁ pādarogāḥ, Nīlak. on Mhbh. 12, 283, 53). Grammatical and lexicographical works moreover quote the following forms: kholā—khoḍa- “limping”, khoḍāti, khoḍati, khorati, kholati “limps” (gatiprāghāte, khoṭane, Dhātup.), kunṭhāti “gati-
prāghāte”, kunṭati or kunḍati “vaikalye”, kunḍate “khaṇje”. The last
variants are only recorded by Vopadeva (see Pet. D.): since they are
wanting in the Pāṇīniya Dhātupāṭha, they must have been introduced at
a later date.

Following a suggestion of von Bradke’s several scholars connect kho-
ra-with Greek οὐκάνως (thus Walde-Pokorny II, 538; otherwise Uhlenbeck,
who compares kūrā- “hoof, claw”, and Feist, who connects it with Lat.
claudus), on the assumption that khoḍa- and khoḷa- are irrelevant. But
Pa. kunṭha-, Pkt. khoḍa- “lame”, kunḍayam (khavadiam) “stumbling” (Deśīn.), Mar. khoḍ, Guj. khoḍū, Beng. khoḍā “lame”, Tel. kunṭu-
“to limp, to be lame” show that r stands for a cerebral 64). Since Skr. q never
becomes r (v. Lüders, Phil. Ind. 555) 65), khoḷa- must represent a Proto-
Munda original *khoṛa.
The following Santali derivatives from ko-ḍa all signify “lame, limping”:
kaḍuṇa, kaḍuc’ kaḍuc’e, kaḍac’ kuḍuc’e, kiṇḍec’ koḍec’e, kaḍak’ koḍak’, koḍok’
koḍok’, kaḍukkot’ kaḍukkot’, kuṇa, kaḍguc’e, karat’ koreṭ’, kureṭ’, kordha,
koṛha, kordhet’, kordhet’, khore, khoreṭ’, khorye, khoryeṭ’, khorpa, khorpha,
khērd, khērdok’, haḍac’ huḍuc’e, huṭeṭ, huṛeṭ’ huṛeṭ’, huṛjāṇ, huṛjeṭ’ huṛjeṭ’,
uṛṭaṇ, etc. Pa. kunṭha-, kunṭha- “cripple”, which we have here connected
with khoṛa-, is usually regarded as identical with Skr. Pa. kunṭha- “blunt”
(cf. e.g. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 170). As a matter of fact, the
meaning “cripple” may ultimately be based on a prim. meaning “defective”,
see Turner s.v. kūrinu “to be blunted”.

A different word apparently is Skr. kuṇi- “lame in the arm”. The
restriction to the hand or arm is unequivocal, cf. Mhbh. 12, 33, 7, where
kuṇi- (hastavikālah Nīl.) is opposed to paṅgu- (pāvavikālah), and Kāśkā
on Pāṇ. 2, 3, 20 (pāṇinā kuṇiḥ, v.l. kunṭhāḥ), Pa. kuṇi- “deformed,
paralysed, only of one or both arms (or hands)”, Tam. kuṇi “that which
is lame, a person with a withered hand or useless arm”. The connexion
with Greek νυλλός, though sanctioned by tradition 66), and with the
obscure Vedic epithet kuṇāru- 67) may be passed by in silence. The

64) Leumann, Etym. Wb., and Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 4, rightly
derive khoṛa- from khoḍa-.
65) For the Pkt. instances quoted by Pischel § 241, see Lüders, Philologia Indica 559 f.;
cf. also karaṣṭi, purabheyaṇti, etc. (Pischel § 238 and § 245) and Pa. ekārasa-, erisa-
(Geiger § 43).
66) Thus Fortunatov, accepted by Uhlenbeck, Petersson, Stud. zu Fortunatovs Regel
4, 8, Boisacq. Dict. étym. de la langue grecque, s.v.
67) Roth connected it with kuṇi-; see Neisser, Zum Wörterb. d. RV. II, 60.
original meaning of kuni- (or koṇi-, Lex.) was "distorted, crooked", cf. Pa. kuṇḍa-(danḍaka-) "bent, crooked", kuṇṭha- "bent, lame, blunt, a cripple" 68), kuṇa-, kuṇita- "distorted, bent, crooked, lame". The combination of these meanings, which is but rarely met with in the derivatives from Proto-Munda ga-ḍa (ka-ḍa), e.g. koṇḍeṣc, koṇḍeṣṭe "bent, crooked, twisted (a little)", is very common in Dravidian, cf. Telugu kuṇiṣṭi, kuṇuṣṭu "crooked, crippled, lame, cross", kuṇiṣṭi, kuṇuṣṭu "crookedness, obstacle, impediment", gūṇi, kūṇī "crooked", gūṇidi "a cripple", gāṇu "a hump, a crooked-back, a vessel, pot", kutanuḍu "a deformed cripple, a name of Kuvera", kuṇṭi "lame, crooked", kuṇṭu "lameness, crookedness", Tamil kōṇu- "to be awry, crooked, oblique", kōṇal "wryness, obliquity, deflection, hump, deformity".

Just as the Munda origin of khora- is clearly indicated by the phonetical development k > ḍ, so the native Dravidian character of these words is probable on account of the ablaut u : ō, cf. Tel. gundi "corner" : Tam. kōṭu-, kōn-, kuṇaku- "to be bent or crooked", kōṭu, kōṇ, kuṇaku ḍ "crookedness", kōṭṭam, kōṇam "curve". We must perhaps exclude Tel. kuṇṭu- "to limp, be lame" and kuṇṭagincu- "to limp, halt", which may be borrowings from Munda.

If this conclusion is correct, kuṭa "kaṇṭilye" and kuṭi "vaikalye" (Pischel § 232) are not identical, and in Pa. kuṇṭha- "bent, lame, blunt" the derivatives of a Dravidian and a Proto-Munda root must have been fused.

27. g aṇā-, m. "troop, crowd, flock, number, series, etc."

Since RS. Generally derived from IE. *ger- "to assemble, collect", (Greek ἔγειν, etc.), e.g. Lidén, Studien zur altind. u. vgl. Sprachgesch. 15, Uhlenbeck s.v., Persson, Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung 100, etc.; only Walde-Pokorny I, 590, express some doubt.

From Proto-Munda ga-ḍa "in clusters, numerous", cf. ghaṭā- "multitude, troop" (Varāh. Brh. S., Kathās., etc.), ghaṭayati "brings together, unites", (Suśr., Sāk., Bhaṭṭ.), saṃghaṭayati "assembles, collects" (Kathās., Rājat.), saṃghaṭa- "heaped up", saṃghaṭṭa-, saṃghaṭana-, ghaṭana-, n. "joining, union with", saṃghāṭa-, m. "carpentry" (cf. Mar. sāgād "double-canoe", etc., see J. Bloch, Langue marathe 417, and Turner s.v. sānār), saṃghaṭṭa-gyatati "collects" (Mbh., Rājat.), Pkt. ghaḍī-, ghaḍiagadā- "an assembly" (goṣṭhi, Desin. 2, 105), Pa. ghaṭā-, m.f. "multitude, heap, crowd, dense mass". These words are usually derived from granth- "to tie or string together" (e.g. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 167, Rhys Davids-Stede.

68) Skr. Pa. ahikunḍika- "snake-charmer", the lit. meaning of which is alleged to be "bender", cannot well be separated from ahigunḍika-, ahigunḍika-, the lit. signification of which is hardly "one who is covered with, or wrapped up in, snakes". For the explanation of these words Tel. kuḍimīṭuḍu and Tamil kuḷumī may be of interest, but cf. also Skr. ahīṃḍika-, id. (Vāsavad.)
Pali Dict.), but the technical meaning of granth- is totally absent in ghaṭ- and its derivatives. On the other hand, we also find such variants as Skr. khaṇḍa-, m.n. “number, multitude, group” (Mhbh. etc.), kāṇḍa-, id. (Śiśup. 1, 38, Vikramāṇk. 6, 8), kaṭa-, kaṭyā- (kaḍyā-) “multitude” 69) (Yaśastil.), kaṭaṁi-, f. “army” (Yaśastil.), kaṭaka-, m.n. “an army, caravan, royal camp”, and perhaps gulaκa-, m. kulaka-, n. “multitude”, (the first word in the Sṛīkaṇṭhacaritam, see Schmidt, Nachtr., the second in udbhidyāmāṇarapulakakulaka-, Bhāg. Pur.).

Cf. S. gaḍa gaḍ “very many, numerous, in mixed company”, gaḍa gaḍ “numerous, in a cluster”, gale gale “in company, together”, gad gad “in crowds, numbers, flocks, to flock together”, gan ganao “to crowd, be numerous” (Campbell), gencegence, genecgece “numerous”, gadel “a multitude, crowd, flock, flocked, numerous”, gas gas “very many, a swarm”, gasa gasa “crowded, thronged, packed, close, rubbing against one another” (contamination with gasao “to rub”), gencegence “in crowds, swarming, in a large number”, kal kal “numerous, exceedingly”, haḍ haḍ “a large number”, had had “crowdedly”, etc., Ho ātī “troop, band, crowd”, K. kāṟū, kāṟū “herd, flock” (= S. khar, id.).

Skr. kūḷa-, n. “a herd, flock, swarm, multitude, race, family” (since S’at. Br.) is ambiguous (cf. also Khmer trekūl “race, family”, Mon jakū < *jakūl “race, species”?), but Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 139, is perhaps right in deriving it from Tam. kulū “society, bond, assembly, flock, herd, swarm, shoal”, kuluvu- “to assemble in large numbers, to crowd”, Kui kūḷa “flock, clan, tribe, caste”, etc.; cf. also gāvāṃ kulmi- “herd of cows” (Taitt. S.), which he compares with Tam. kulumu- “to collect, assemble”, and gulma-, m. “a troop or guard of soldiers” (: Kann. gummu, gummi “mass, crowd”). Since both Drav. gud-/kud- and Proto-Munda ga-ḍa seem to be native roots, the situation is rather complicated. An m-suffix is also found in Munda, e.g., S. pōṭma = pōte “potbellied”. Even if the identity of gulma- and Kann. gummu be admitted, there remains the problem of gulaκa-, cf. S. gale gale and Ho ātī.

28. Skr. ghaṭa-, m. “jar, ewer”.

Since Mhbh., Rām., Manu, Suśr. Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 138 n. 1, derives this word from Dravidian *goḍa (Kann. koḍa). Since in the present prelimary state of the study of the Aboriginal words in Sanskrit it is necessary to survey all possible solutions it may be useful to oppose the following explanation to the one already forwarded. Beside ghaṭa-, there occur the following variants: gargara-, m. (Mhbh. 70), gargara-, f. (Lalitav.), gargarī-, “churn, butter-vat, a kind of water-jar”, karkari-, f.

69) On these (and the preceding) words, see also Renou, J.as. 1939, 386. A word kaṭaprana- is inferred from kaṭapraśabdah Deśīn. 2, 13 (Böhtlingk II, 297) but this is rather to be taken as kaṭa-praśabda-.
70) As for Mar. ghāgar see Bloch § 84 (p. 98 f.), who tentatively explains gh by analogy.
"waterjar" (Bhartṛhari), *karkatī*, id. (Schol. ad Amarakośa) and *karaka*-m. "water-pot" (Mhbh., Rām.). These words point to a root *gadh*, a prefixed form of which is found in *bhṛgūra*-m. "water-pot, pitcher". (<*bēr-ñar*, nasalized form of *gar, gadh*). Cf. also Si. *ghāghari*, f. "waterpot" (Turner s.v. *gāgro*) and Skr. lex. *gadщуka*-m. = Nep. *garuwā* "small earthen pot", etc. (see Turner s.v.). Pkt. *khanḍa*-n. "a liquor pot" (*madyabhāṇḍam*). As for *kalāśa*-m. "pot, water-jar" (RS.), its formation is not quite certain (but cf. Skr. *bāliśa*-, etc.).

These words suggest a Proto-Munda origin. Cf. (besides *S. gagra, ghagra, ghara*, which are obviously reborrowings from Aryan) *S. hanḍha* "a large earthenware jar" (>Hi. *ḥāḍā* and *ḥāṭha*, Kh. *ḥirā* "cooking pot").

29. *ghaṭṭayati* (*ghaṭṭate*)

"to stroke, touch, stir, shake, set in motion" (Mhbh., Suśr. and later literature, cf. *mṛdvagnīṇa* *ghaṭṭayan vipacet* "stirring" Suśr.). It is usually regarded as a Prakrit word derived from *ghaṭṭa*- = Skr. *ghṛṣṭa*- (Pet. D., Uhlensebeck). But the Prakrit form of *gharṣati* is *ghasati* "rubs", and its meaning departs rather widely from that of *ghaṭṭayati*.

Cf. *S. ghanṭa* "to stir round or about (in a vessel)", *ghaṇṭur* "to stir about in a pot", M. *gaṇṭi* "to stir with a spoon while cooking", S. *gheola* "to move, stir, make muddy", *heoḍa, heola* "to mix, stir up (with the finger)", M. *Ho hoṇḍa* "to stir while cooking", etc. Root *ga-da* "to stir, muddy, turbid".

Perhaps Skr. lex. *ghanṭa*-m. "a sort of sauce, vegetables made into a pulp with water, turmeric, mustard seeds and capsicums" (Wilson) and *matsyaghaṇṭa*-m. "a fish-dish" belong to this word-group.

30. *cāṭa*- m. "cheat, deceiver, fortune-teller".

Since Yājñav., Paṇcat., etc.; Pkt. *cāḍa*- "deceitful" (*māgāvī* Desīn. 3, 8). Cf. M. *ceṭ, ceṭe, ceṇṭ* "cunning, clever", S. *catur* "vigilant, alert, smart, scheming (with an implication of deceitfulness), to be scheming, deceitful" is however a loanword from Hi. *cātur* (Skr. *cātura*) "clever, able, shrewd, skilful, dexterous", which seems to be a different word, cf. Ho *catur* "cunning, shrewd, sly", Nep. *chatru* "cunning, expert".

Cf. furthermore Skr. *ṣaṭha*- "false, wicked" and *chala*-n. "deceit, pretend, delusion"?

31. *cipita*- "blunted, flattened, flat".

1. Esp. said of the nose, cf. *cipitānaśa*- Varāh. Brh. S. 67, 7, *cipitānasikā* Kathās. 20, 108. Already known to Pāṇini (5, 2, 33), first occurrence in lit. Sanskrit in Var. BS. and Jātakamālā (e.g. 44, 16 *sphuṭitaścītāvīṟupaghoṇa* -). In the Harṣacar. it means "short, of a bag" (*hrasvaḥ*) and "thick, of the lip" (*sthūla iṣallambās ca*), see Thomas, *JRAS*. 1899, 511. When used as a noun, *cipita*-m. denotes the "flattened
rice” (Yaśastil.), cf. lex. civița-, m., cipițaka-, m., cipuța-, m., cipatā-, m. id. (the last word also = “flat-nosed”). Cipiță-kṛ- occurs Kādamba. 227, 5 Pet., Bālarām. Cf. Pa. cipița- “flattened”, Pkt. civița-, civițha-, cimicīha- (see p. 231), id.


Since it is clear that cipița- and carpața- are connected, they must be Proto-Munda words on account of the infixed r in carpața- and the ablaut a: i: u in cipița-, cipița-, cipuța-. To the same conclusion points the fact that the NIA. languages have, beside the regular developments from the Sanskrit words (e.g. Hi. cyārā, Mar. civdā, Nep. ciurā from Pkt. civița-), also words which presuppose a different original (e.g. Panj. capar “flake of sun-dried mud”, Nep. capari “turf, clod of earth”, etc., if really derived from M. Ind. *cāppața-), or which must have been borrowed at a comparatively recent date from a Munda dialect in which the word still preserved the same form which it had many centuries B.C. when it was borrowed as Skr. cipița- (for a similar case, cf. Skr. kubhra-), e.g. Nep. cepo, cepē “flat”, Kshm. ĉepo “flat-nosed”, Or. cepā, cepē “flat”, and Hi. Panj. capā, Mar. cāpāt, cepdā, Nep. capeṭi (etc.), id. See Bloch 329 and Turner s. vv.

Cf. S. cāpi, capi, caiπio “flat-nosed, flat, not rounded wood, to flatten wood”, capiç “flat-nosed”, capi “shallow, with a flat bottom (river, mortar, vessels)”, cepe, chepe “flat, flat-nosed”, cheple, cheplo, cheplōn “low, flat, undersized” (contamination with da-wa “stunted”), chapporae “low, flat, not steep, deficient in height” (Beng. chāppar), chepra, cheporae, chepro, chepko (71), id., carpiç “flat, to make do.”, cōpo “low, not high, hollow”, cēpel, cēple, cēpē, cēpē, cēphē, “flat, flattened, low”, cēpo “flat-nosed, small”, etc., M. cepo, ceped “flat”. K. capara “flat, flat piece, a plain” is an Aryan loanword.

The original meaning of these words must have been “depressed” as they are derived from a root ca-pa (ca-ba, ja-pa) “to press, to squeeze”, cf. S. cipā “to press, afflict, squeeze, make narrow”, sipi “to knead (what is moist), to squeeze”, sipōt “to squeeze in the hand or between both hands”, jhapat, jhapot “to pounce upon and press down” (contamination with the word-family from which Skr. jhampa- is derived), M. sipi “to rub the head” (cf. Hi. cāpānā), M. Ho cipā “to squeeze out with the hand as, e.g. rice beer”, K. cepen “to jam”, and the Munda word for “fist”: S. cuput, M. cipud, Ho cipud, Kh. cepād. Aryan borrowings are, e.g. Skr. cappayati “pounds”, campita-, n. “niṣpīditam”, campana-, n. “saṃmardāḥ”

(71) Cf. Hi. cippak “compressed, flat, shallow”, capaknā “to be compressed, etc.”.
(comm. on Yaśastila.), cāpita- “ākrāntaḥ” (Yaśastila., comm.), cip- “to press” (see Bloch 330), cf. naḍacippatikāṁ cipyamāṇa-, comm. on Bodh- caryā, p. 177 (quoted by Kern, Toevogeselen I, 111), Pa. cippiyamāna- “crushed flat” (Milindap.), Pkt. campa-, cappā “presses” (camp- “to trample down”, cf. campiṇa, v.l. in Jacobi’s ‘Ausgewählte Erzählungen’, p. 81, 7), Hi. capnā “to be compressed, be flattened, crushed or squeezed”, cāpna “to press, squeeze, knead, shampoo” (whence shampoo, see Hobson-Jobson), capaknā “to be pressed flat down or on”, Beng. cāp, cīp, cipā, ciptā “to press” (Chatterji 404, 887), Mar. cāpṇā, cippā, cipṇē, civaṇā “to press” (Bloch 329–331), cībā “flattened”, Guj. cībā, cībā “flat-faced”, Nep. cepnū “to press, squeeze, depress, urge”, cep, cepā “pressure”, chipchipe “shallow”, etc. 72).

The root ca-pa is a dialectal variant of ḍa-wa, cf. S. dabāo “to overcome, press down, suppress, snub, awe” (perh. reborrowing from Hi. dabānā, but cf. dabhōo “to intimidate, check”, tēlpeṇ = cēlpeṇ “shallow, low”, teṃeṭ “shallow”, robot “to press and squeeze with the hand”, limbot “to strangle, throttle, squeeze the cheeks”, M. limbud “to throttle, press down”, lebed “to press down, fill tightly”, remed, rembed “to squeeze, press”, rombed “to seize with the palm and press on the ground” 73), Ho limbud “to catch by the throat, to strangle”, tembe “shallow”, K. dībhī “shallow cooking pot” (= S. chaba “small earthen pot”, M. tūpā, Ho tōpā “a small basket”?). Hence Nep. ḍhepnā “to press against”, dībhī “a small, flat box” 74), thepcō “lowered, depressed, flattened, flat”, Hi. dabānā “to press down”, ṭhappā “a stamp, impression, printing”, ṭiṭ, ṭiṭ-ṭāp “the act of pressing or compressing”, ṭiṇnā “to press, compress, squeeze”, Beng. dhāmsā “to squeeze, beat, press”, thebā “flat-nosed”, tiṭ “to press with the fingers, a point”, tiṇā “to squeeze, press together” (cf. M. thepā “thumb impression”; but S. tiṭ “fingertip”, Ho tiṭ “a thumb impression” are prob. reborrowings) ~ Hi. Beng. Nep. cāhp “stamp, print, impression, seal”, Hi. chāpnā “to stamp, seal, print”, cīpā “to print a cloth”, Lhd. dhābā “a cotton-printer” (see Turner s.v. dhabā), etc. As Turner, BSOS. 5, 123, points out, Pashto drabā “to press down” cannot be a direct borrowing from Indian, because Si. dabāna, Lhd. dhabāna, Kshm. daban, Rom. dāb point to *dabb-, not *darb- or *drabb-. Drabā (if < da-r-ba-) is an interesting parallel to *ca-r-pa (S. ḍār, Skr. caṛpaṭa-).

A derivative from this root is used in modern Munda as a term for the flattened rice, cf. S. taben (taben), id., M. tāben “parboiled paddy beaten

72) Panj. cappā “cover” (see Turner s.v. cepnū) belongs to the affiliation of Nep. jhāpnū “to cover” (q.v.). Hi. cepnā “to stick on, paste on” (Burrow, Transact. Philol. Soc. 1945, 100) should also be kept apart, cf. Beng. lāptā, līptā “to stick on” and S. cepṭṇē, iṃṭṇē, iṃṭnū, sapta, rgeṭ, ṭhema, ṭhubre, etc. “to stick”.
73) If M. cārṇā (cārṇā), ṭārṇā, ṭārvā “sole of the feet” are derived from ḍa-wa “flat”, they must be separated from S. talka, id.
74) Nep. diuri “a small iron pan” < *diura-. Cf. Hi. ṭhṛp.
quite flat, ciurā", Ho tāben "pounded rice, flat rice, churā"; cf. Skr. cīpiṭa-, m., id. In Aryan we find Hi. cāwal, cāwal, cāwar "rice cleared of the husk and not cooked", Beng. căul, Nep. cāmal (<= Old Nep. cāwal), id. and, on the other hand, Beng. tāul, Kshm. tōmul "uncooked rice". Dardic (Torwali) tūnōl. (Bashkarik) talun, Shina tārūn, is a different word as it stands for *tanul < Skr. tanḍula- (Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 18, 253). While Platts derives Hi. cāwal from the same original (similarly Chatterji 517: Beng. căul, tāul < earlier tārula), Turner merely suggests a blending of *cāmala- and tanḍula-. The comparison with Munda shows that *tāmal/*cāmal is derived from da-va "to press, squeeze".

Corresponding Dravidian words are, e.g., Tam. cappu- "to be bent, pressed in, to become flat", cappaṭṭai, cappaṭi, cappal "flatness, anything flat", cappali- "to flatten, to be crushed or jammed", cappalām, cappanam, cammaṇam "the act of sitting flat and cross-legged" (cappalīṭt-iru- "to sit down."), tippi "shallow earthen vessel with a wide mouth", Tel. cāpa "a mat, anything flat to extend" (cāpu "length, extent", cāpu- "to extend"?), cappatha "a fruit (etc.) pressed flat", cappaṭi "plain", cappiḍi "flat, not projecting", Kann. capaṭe, cappate, appate "flatness", cappe "that which is flattened or pressed down", etc. and, with initial nasalization, Tam. nēmitu- "to press, squeeze", Mal. nevinṭu- "to squeeze", Kuvi nabgali "to press down". Cf. Nep. nepot "flat, obtuse-angled, flat-nosed", nepete "flat-nosed" ~ cepto, cepte, id. Since the Drav. words must be Munda loanwords (77), the -m- of Tam. nēmitu-, Kann. amuku- may also be explained as a Munda phenomenon (otherwise Burrow. BSOAS. 11, 353, 605). Cf. Pkt. cimīḍha- (above, p. 23).

2. An entirely different word is Skr. capeṭa-, m. (Divyāv.), Capeṭa-, f. (Pat.), Capeṭi-, f. (Bālar.) "a slap with the open hand"; cf. capaṭa-, v.l. in Amara 2, 6, 2, 35 Schol., and carvan- in the Hārāvali; Pkt. caveḍa-, caviḍa-, caviḍa-, cavela- (Pischel § 238), Hi. Nep. cameṭa, Lhd. Si. camāṭa "slap, blow with the palm of the hand". The addition "with the open hand" in the definitions of the meaning of these words points to an early contamination with the words for "flat", perhaps favoured by such words as Pkt. caveḍi- "cavity (formed by joining the hands)" (karasaṁ-puṭam, sampuṭam ity anye, Deśin. 3, 3), although the derivation of this word is not quite clear. Cf. Tel. capeṭamu "the palm of the hand with the fingers extended", Hi. capeṭ(a) "id., a slap, thump, cuff" (Platts) (78).

75) Cf. Beng. cāpiṭi "squatting position".
76) Hence Skr. kaśipā-, m.n. "mat, pillow" (since Ath. S.) (with Proto-Munda prefix ka-) from *cīpu?
77) Burrow, Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 99 f., explains the Sanskrit words as Dravidian loans.
78) The formation of Skr. lex. alambuṣa-, m. "hand with the fingers extended" is obscure. Perhaps from Proto-Munda *a-lambaṭ (Cf. Nep. lapaṭ)?
The primary sense of the root ɗa-wa, from which these words are derived, is however "a slap, to slap", cf. S. ṭhapa ṭhopo "to slap, rap each other", ṭhapo "to pat", ṭhap thop "to slap, beat with the hands", ṭhapre "to slap, beat slightly, to cuff", ṭhapa "to slap, strike, smite with the flat of the hand (on the head), to hit with the horns", M. ṭhābri, Ḥo ṭapra "to slap", K. tapare "to pat with the hand" (reborrowing?), prob. also K. barāb "to pat" (< *ba-ṭap*). Only a few examples of the many loanwords in Aryan will be mentioned. Cf., e.g., Hi. dhappā "a slap, box thump, blow (with the flat of the hand)". Nep. dāp "pat, slap", Skr. ḍampayate, ḍimbayate "saṅghāte", Nep. ḍimbā, ḍimmā "hard blow with the palm of the hand, slap", Beng. ṭhābrā, ṭhāpṛā, ṭhābṛ, ṭhāp (p)a ṭra "slap" 79), thābā "to slap", Hi. ṭhop "slap", ṭhāp "pat", ṭhapara "slap, cuff" (see Turner s.v. thappar), Hi. āpāt, ṭappār, Nep. āpato, āpato "a slap", Skr. ḍhampā "a blow" (comm. abhigāṭhā; Haravijaya), Nep. ḍhāpāt "slap", Beng. cāpāt "slap" (hardly from *cāpata-, Chatterji 510; cf. p. 346 on cāṛ, id. < *cāpata-), Hi. cēpā "to pat with the hand". Although several of these words suggest some connexion with the flat of the hand, I presume that this is merely due to a contamination, which is extremely frequent in Munda owing to the large number of homonymous roots. A parallel instance is prob. S. sepent "to carry on the flat of the hand (to fall in, lie flat on)". M. Ḥo pipiṁ "to raise up on the palms" ~ S. tevaṁ "to lift up, carry suspended from the hand", K. tivaṁ "to carry", which are hardly derived from ɗa-wa "flat".

Corresponding words in Dravidian are, e.g., Tam. cappāṇi "clapping hands", Tel. cappata "a slap or clap [a fruit (etc.) pressed flat, as a fig]", cappatlu "the clapping of the hands, derision" (cf. Skr. āśphoṭitaṁ Rām. 5. 4. 12, Tilaka: vilāsārtham karāśphālanam, etc.), Kann. cappalisu, tappalisu "to slap, pat", appalisu "to strike against, to flap, slap", etc. and Tam. tappai, Tel. dēbba, Kann. dēbba, dēbba "blow, stroke". See further Burrow, Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945. 99, who explains Skr. capetaḥ as a Dravidian loanword. It may be noted that S. thapre, Hi. thappar, Beng. thābrā, Hi. āpāt, āpār, Nep. āpato, āpato point to a Proto-Munda word *daw-aṭ, which could be regarded as an indication that the phonetic changes ɗ > l, jh, c are posterior to the creation of this suffixed noun. See however the introductory remarks 80).

* 32. jambālā - "mud, clay".  

This word occurs in the Classical literature (Pañcat., Kādamb., Bālar., Rājat.), cf. jambālita- (Schmidt, Nachträge), Pa. jambāla-, jambāli- "a

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80) Burrow (p. 99, n. 1) is probably right in explaining Skr. āśphalayati "strikes with the flat hand" (since Caraka, Hariv., Raghuv.) as a Sanskritization of Pkt. apphālei (cf. apphadia- "struck"). Āśphalayati "tears" (vāsāṃsi Bhāg. P.) is a different word, cf. sphāṭita- "torn" (Var. BS., Hitop.), saṃspālalayatī (Taitt. Ār.).
dirty pool (at entrance to village)

A shorter form jamba-, jamba- is only recorded by Ujjvaladatta.

Several explanations have been proposed, cf. Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgeschichte 85, n. 4 (Old Eng. cwabbe, etc. "pool"). Uhlenbeck s.v. (*jam- "earth" + bāla-, cf. Old Eng. pōl, Lit. balā, OChSl. blato; accepted by Kurylowicz, Mélanges Vendryes 208), Petersson, Studien über die indogerm. Heteroklisis 38 (Arm. cov "sea, lake, basin, reservoir of water"). All these theories must be rejected as they disregard the NIA. forms Hi. jhābar "marshy land, marsh, fen, swamp", Beng. jābābe "an onomatopoetic to denote the idea of stickiness and moisture" (cf. Beng. jābrā, jobjā "smudge, blotch", Chatterji 405, 887, 892), etc., which point to a radical element jāb/jamb.

Cf. S. jawa "to soak, saturate", M. jovī "marshy land", S. jāb jāb, jāb jāba, jāb jōb, jōb jāba, jōbō, jōbōk, jōbok jōbok "wet, moist, damp, drenched", jābo "to dirty, wet, roll in mud or water, be besmeared, bathe", jēbē jēbē, jēbēc jēbēc "muddy, miry, moist", jēbē jōbē "drenched, soaked", jubhi "marshy, swampy, boggy, watery(rice-field)", jhabar jhubur "drenched, soaked, wet through and through", jhak jhubur "drenched, soaked", jāb(a)ha "hollow, moist", jōb(h)ao "to put down (or sink) in mire, water", Kh. M. jōbhi "swampy ground", M. jubhi "mud" (Ho jobe, id.), jubila "a wet field", S. sabja, sabjao "to become wet", subur subar "watery, thin", etc. Nasalized forms are, e.g., S. sēm, sēm sēmə "moist, damp, wet", cf. Nep. sim "marsh, bog, morass", etc. (Beng. sapsapā "to be wet and uncomfortable", Chatterji 891).

The root is ḍa-wa (ja-wa), cf. Ho ḍobē, jobe "mud", K. dubī "marsh" (S. jubhi "marshy"), Kh. tobda "mud" (So. jobbā-, id.), S. ḍub ḍub "to dip, immerse", ṭub ṭub "plunging, getting under the surface, to dip, plunge", topo "to dip, immerse, bathe" (M. tupa "to moisten", Ho tupa "to dip in water", K. tūpā "to wet, get wet"), M. dobe "to dip in water", ḍumbui (Bhaduri), ḍubūṛ (Mark 5, 13) "to immerse in water, to sink", ḍabḍābāo "to be filled with tears", lum "wet", luṭd (= *luw-ot?) "wet, most", S. ḍhōt (≪ *lōw-ot?, see p. 75), id., etc.

Hence Hi. ḍūbnā "to dive, sink, drown, to be immersed; to be inundated, flooded; to sink, set (as the sun)" etc. See Turner s.v. ḍubnu, who assumes a root ḍubba-, metathesis of *budda-. But cf. Hi. ḍabṛā, ḍabṛā, ḍabrā "marshy land, pool, puddle", ḍabār "low ground, where water collects, marsh, swamp, pool, puddle, small pond, etc.", ḍhabar, ḍhabrā "muddy, turbid" : jhābar, id. (cf. juwār, jawār "flood")?; Beng. ḍobā "puddle, small tank" (unlikely Chatterji 405, but cf. 495), ḍub "dipping", ḍubā "to sink" : jābdān "to sit in water or mud". The suffix -d- is also found in Kh. tobā, S. jabolaha (and sabja < ḍabdrā), etc. It is obvious

81) Already suggested by Manindra Bhusan Bhaduri, A Mundari-English Dictionary, Preface IX.
that *ḍub-* is an Austro-Asiatic root, which cannot have arisen through metathesis from *bud-. In Aryan it is used since the MI. period for *majj*- (e.g. *ḍubbantam* "majjantam" Mrch. 264, 15 ed. Parab), cf. also *ḍimplam* "jalapatitam" (Deśīn. 4, 9) 82).

As for Skr. *kardama-* m. "slime, mud" (since Kāty. S'S.), its explanation depends on whether we take *karda*- *kardatā-* (lex.) as really existing words or as inferential forms (which would enable us to connect *dam-* with *ḍub-*) This point must be left undecided.

33. *jāla-* n. "net, web, lattice".

Since Ath. S. It often denotes something which is dense ("zusammenhängende, dichte Menge" Pet. Dikt.), e.g. *dhvānta-jāla.* Daśak. 50, 5—6 Agashe; eventually it has come to mean "multitude" (see Renou, J. As. 1939, 386, n. 1). Since Lidēn, Stud. zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgesch. 3 ff., it is generally connected with *jātā-* f. "matted hair" (see Uhlenbeck-Walde-Pokorny I, 593), although Wackernagel in his review of Lidēn’s book had rightly objected that the *j* of *jātā- is against this derivation (Idg. Forsch. Anzeiger 12, 20) 83). Nevertheless *jāla- and* jātā- are probably connected, cf. Pa. *jātā-* "tangle, braid, plainging, matted hair, tangled branches of trees, the tangle of desire, lust" with Pa. *jāla-* in *tanhājāla-* "the snare of worldly thirst", *kāmājāla-* etc. Since Pkt. *jāla-* shows the same semantic development to "multitude" as the Skr. word (e.g. Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen. index), it is tempting to explain Skr. *chaṭā-*, Pkt. *chaḍā-* "multitude" as variants of *jātā-. This would involve a non-Aryan origin. As a matter of fact, a great many NIA. words point to a Proto-Munda root *ḍa-da* "matted, entangled", e.g.: *Nep. ḍhariyā* "a bamboo fishing net", Ass. *dhāri* "bamboo mat", Beng. *dhārā* "coarse mat, fence of stakes", Pkt. *saṁdaṭṭaya-, saṁdaṭṭa-* "saṁ-lagnam" (Deśīn. 8, 18).


Hi. *laṭā* "entangled, matted, tangled or matted hair", cf. *laṭā-dhārī* "having matted hair, a mendicant or an ascetic with matted hair" = *jaṭā-dhārī; Nep. *laṭṭo* "cluster, lock of hair", *laṭṭīnā* "to become matted or entangled (hair)", *laṭṭaṇānu* "to wrap up, roll round, entangle", *laspašnīnu* "to come into contact with", Kshm. *laṭḥura* "woman’s plaited hair", Si. *liṭa*

82) I take *ḍub-* "to dive or dip" and *dub-* "mud, marsh" as identical. It is however possible that they originally were different but have fused. In any case Nep. *copnu* "to dip, soak, drown", which Turner identifies with *copnu "to stab", is a variant of *dub-*. 83) Bloch, BSO. 5, 741, derives *jaṭā-* and *jūṭa-* from Dravidian. Schefelowtitz, KZ. 53, 267, connects *jāla- with Arm. *calem* "to plait".
"matted hair", Mar. lāt "entanglement, pubic hair", laddā "mattedness of hair"; with nasalization Nep. lanṭhā "engagement, work, trouble, nuisance", and perhaps Skr. kilaṇţa-, m., kilinţa-, m. (lex. kaliṇţa-) "mat".

Skr. dḥpt. jhaṭ-, jat- "to be entangled" (ujjhaṭita- "confused", Rājat.), lex. jhāṭa-, m. "arbour, jungle", Pa. jālaajāṭita- "entangled", Pkt. jāḍi- "inland, set, studded", jhāḍa-, n. "latāgahanam" (Deśīn. 3, 57), Beng. jallā "feeding net for bullocks", Guj. jāṛā "cobweb", Nep. jhīlīi "web-like, webbed", jhul "curtain, mosquito-net", Mar. jhāl "tassel of hair, wicker-wood basket", jhāṭ "matted tress of hair", Nep. jāṭhā "pubic hair", Guj. jhāḷār "wickerwork basket with a border" and many words which Turner derives from *jhāṭa- "sudden movement", as Nep. jhār "small bush, tuft, weed", Ass. zāṛni "thick jungle", Lhd. jhall "jungle", Panj. jhall "reed-bed, thicket", Hi. jhalār "brushwood", Nep. jhor "brushwood, thicket, jungle" (to be separated from Pkt. jhoda- "dead tree", which rather belongs to the family of Skr. śunṭhā-, see p. 149 ff.), Hi. jhunḍ "shrub, bush, underwood, thicket, thick hair, a ragged-looking tree; multitude, crowd", jhūḍ "heap, crowd" (cf. Skr. lex. jatī- "plait of hair"; "multitude"), jhanḍṇā "a lock of hair, foliage of trees", jhanḍūḷā "having thick hair, thick foliage, thick, bushy", jhāṭ, jhūṛ, jhūṛ "shrub, bush, bramble", jhār, jhāṛā "bush, scrub", Mar. jāḷ, id. Cf. Skr. lex. jutīkā-, f. "tuft, bunch", jhunṭa- "shrub, bush" (Paṇcat. Pūrṇabh.), and probably lex. jūṭa-, m. "twisted hair"; Or. caṭa, caṭāi, Hi. caṭāi "mat", Nep. caṭāi "matting" (see Turner s.v.), sāṭa "a cross-piece of bamboo or wood, rafter", Mar. sāṭ(ā) "frame of split bamboo".

Cf. S. dāndhi a tuft of high grass, clump (of bamboo), cluster", dḥāṭ "a kind of coarse high grass, a thicket of hard, strong grass", dhaṇḍa "a covering of bamboo, a small bridge", dhaṇḍi, dhaṇṭi "the bamboo roof of a cart", dūli "the roof of a cart or wagon (made of bamboo)"), caṭa "a mat of bamboo", jāṭi, id. (small), Kh. cāro "a mat of bamboo", jhentu, jhintu "mat of date-leaf", S. jhanṭi "wattle, fence made of branches", jhanṭi "a sieve-like, perforated, full of holes, loosely-woven", jīṅṭri "a watering pot (with holes), loosely-plaited, wickered, a fish trap" (cf. Hi. jhajjhar, jhanjhār, jhanjhṛi), ṛṭuk ṛṭuk, ṛṭup ṛṭrap ṛṭap "through dense jungle, impassably; to entangle, impede", aṭukka "to impede, be entangled", laṭa jhaṛaṇa "entangled, to entangle, entwine, confuse", laṇṭa "a net for catching birds", laṭa phaṇḍa "entangled, entanglement", and a large number of words which mean "having untidy, dishevelled hair" e.g., dandra, dandrī, dandle, darkā dale, darkal markal, dōṇḍo, dāḷpuṇ, dadaṇcam, dāḍurham, dalcaṇ dalcaṇ; cf. darrum sarrum "shaggy, hairy, to have a bristly beard", dunsī punsi "dishevelled" 84).

In view of the last-mentioned words it is tempting to derive Skr. dāḍhikā-, f. "beard" (Manu), Pa. dāṭhi-, Pkt. dāṭhī-, id. from this Proto-Munda

84) S. ṭhaṭra "a mat or screen of bamboo work", ṭoṭi "screen, fence" (Mar. ṭoṭi, K. ṭāṭ) are probably reborrowings from Hindi.
word-family, cf. Ho darca "beard" (S. darka dale "having dishevelled hair"). Hi. jhajh "a long beard". Bloch, BSOS. 5, 741, suggests a connexion with the Dravidian words for "cheek" (Tam. tāṭ, tāṭai, tavaṭai, Kann. davaṭe, Tel. davaṭa), but according to Ramaswami Aiyar, Ojhā-volume p. 15, these words are not native (he suggests an Austroic origin). As for Tam. tāṭi, Kann. dāṭi "beard, chin", they are in R.A.'s opinion possibly a direct adaptation of dāṭhikā-. We may safely assume, accordingly, that dāṭhikā- is derived from Proto-Munda *daṭī and, as such, is a variant of Hi. jhajh.

Bloch 333 and Turner (s.v. jaro "root") identify Skr. jaṭā- "fibrous root" with jaṭā- "matted hair". I am not quite sure that this is correct 85). It should be noted that there is a Proto-Munda root ḍa-ḍa "sticky", numerous derivatives of which occur in Santali (laj-, laṭ-, las-, jaṭ-, jaṭ-, etc.). It would be rash to affirm its identity with ḍa-ḍa "entangled"; S. laṭa pata "sticky, muddy, to be entangled in sticky matter" may be a contamination: on the other hand, though jereṭ "to stick together (eyelids, threads, hair)" may be applied to hair, its meaning is rather different from those of the words quoted above. From this root are derived Hi. laj lajā, līj lījā, luj lujā, lac lācā, las lasā "sticky, viscous", Nep. lassā "glue" (Skr. lex. laṣa-, m. "gun"), līṭo "paste" (Hi. let, id.), lasāyilo, lisyāilo "sticky, muddy, slippery", leto, ledo "sediment" (Hi. let "paste", Ass. let-ket "viscid"). Hence, though Hi. lhes, a variant of les "stickiness, paste" seems to support the traditional derivation from Skr. ślesman- 86), the etymology of Nep. liso "bird-lime", līsinu "to stick, adhere", etc. requires reconsideration.

34. ḍāla-, "branch".

A late word, only occurring in S’ilāṅka’s comm. on the Ācārāṅgasūtra: cf. Pkt. ḍāḷā-, id. 87); ḍāḷī- "sākhā" (Deśin. 4, 9); Hi. ḍāḷā, etc., see Turner s.v. ḍālo "branch, bough". Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgeschichte 80, connects this word with danda-, which he derives from IE. *dela- (Skr. dalati "bursts"). Turner suggests that these words may possibly originate from *dala- "piece split off", cf. Skr. dāra-, m. "splitting", dala-, m. "small shoot", whereas Chatterji 494 diffidently derives them from *dalla- = dru-, dāru-.

Hi. ḍār, ḍāl means "branch, bough, basket (made of twigs, or split bamboo) used to throw up water from ponds, etc."); beside Beng. ḍāl "branch" there occurs ḍālī "basket", and Nep. ḍālo means both "branch,

85) Cf. S. lar "bast or bast fibre", which is in any case connected with the Proto-Munda original of jaṭa- "fibrous root" and see p. 83 on Bashkarik nēr "root": Skr. naḍa-.
86) See recently Tedesco, Language 19 (1943), pp. 7, 11, who compares Hi. lhes with Pkt. lhāsai < sramānte. Cf. rather Nep. lhasinu "to be attached to, stick to", lahaso "attachment".
87) See Lidén, op. c. 80 with n. 6; Turner gives ḍālā-, n.
bough" and "basket (esp. a basket used for storing rice)". In Munda we find S. ḍāṛ "branch, bough", M. ḍār, ḍārā "big branch of a tree", and S. ḍāla "large basket, broad, but with a tapering, not flat bottom, of bamboo, used for feeding cattle" (= Hi. ḍalā), M. ḍalā, Kh. ḍáli "basket". It is not clear which of these words are Aryan loans; the resultant q of S. ḍār points to an original *dqāri, but cf. K. ḍar, So. kēndārā-, ēndārā-, id. (and Kann. ṭōḷu "head branch of a tree")

The original sense of several Dravidian and Munda words for "branch" is "bifurcated", e.g. Tam. kavar "a bifurcated branch", and S. caṅga, caṅgra, caṅra "bough of tree, branch of river, bifurcated, branching off" from the root ḍa-ga "bifurcated, wide apart", cf. cag caga, cīgā cage, cīṅga caṅge, cīhā cahe, etc. "to stride, straddle, part the legs wide, straddlingly", cēg cēgē "wide, with a big mouth, wide apart, asunder", caṅgerae, caṅgerae "having a wide mouth, wide-necked, wide on top (vessels, baskets)", cocōṅgot, cuṅgot, cuṅucuc, "on the hams or haunches" 88). From the same root is derived K. dāgān "branch" (perhaps also dāgā? cf. Luke 13, 19). Kui ḍēgā, Kann. tōṅgē, Hi. ḍōghī "branch of a tree". Nep. coke "fork made by two pieces of wood" are Munda loanwords, perhaps also Skr. lex. laṅkā- "twig".

Beside S. caṅga "branch" we find again caṅgi (Beng. caṅgārī) "a wide shallow basket", which is apparently connected with Ho ṭūṅki, So. ḍāṅkeda- "basket". The meaning of the root, viz. "wide apart, wide open", accounts for its double application to legs and wide baskets. This leads us to suppose that Skr. ḍāla- is similarly derived from the root ḍa-ḍa "wide apart", cf. S. ṭaṇḍa "to straddle, part the legs", M. ṭaṇḍā "to stand with legs apart". It is possible, however, that the homonymous root ḍa-ḍa "short, stunted, bare, lopped" (see s.vv. ḍaṇḍā- and ṣunṭhā-) has also yielded a word for branch, viz. Hi. ṭhāl, ṭhālā "leafy branch (esp. one lopped off)." This word may be identical with Bishshaw, Eastern Suketi, Bilaspuri ḍāl "tree" (J. Gr. Bailey, Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas 199, 216, 247) and further with Skr. ḍaṇḍā-, lex. ḍhaṭī- "small tree" 89). There are no indications, however, that ḍāla- originally has denoted a lopped branch.

35. ḍiṁb (h) a- "egg, child, etc.".

1. Skr. ḍiṁba- means: 1. "egg" (Paṅcarātra, Mālatīm.). 2. "ball" (according to Wilson). 3. "an embryo in its first stage, a pupa of an insect" (lex.). 4. "a new-born child" (lex.). 5. "body" (Sīś.). Its variant ḍiṁbha- is used in nearly the same senses, viz. 1. "egg" (Paṅcar.). 2. "a new-born child, a child, a boy" (Schol. on Sāṅkh. GS., Paṅcar., Hāla,

88) The connexion with Hung. cūcāngi-et- (de Hevesy, Bodding), to which F. Otto Schrader, BSOS. 8, 754, attaches much importance, should accordingly be rejected.
89) Cf. the parallel Rampur, Baghi būṭ "tree" (and Lower Kanauri bōṭaśi, id.) = Hi. būṭ, bōṭ, bōṭā "stalk, stem, stump", from the parallel root ṭuṛ-ḍa (see s.v. bāṇḍā).

The meanings “egg, ball, embryo” point to a primary meaning “globular” 90), cf. also lex. jaladimba- “a double-shelled mussel”, toya-dimba-, toyaṇdimba- “hail”. Cf. du-ba “globular, swollen, large and roundish, lumpy, knotty” in, e.g., S. ḍāb “a lump, clod”, ḍombok “round ball of flour, clod of earth”, ḍhombok “a lump”, ḍhumbāk “a lump, ball (of earth, rice), lump of excrement”, ḍhimbā, ḍhipka “a lump of molasses or iron, earth”, ḍapṭhu, ḍiṭṭhu “large, big and roundish” (cf. ḍopṭho: ḍoṭho “a knot”, contamination of two roots?), ḍumkā “roundish, oblong, oval”, ḍumkua “small and oval” (contamination with ḍa-wa “small”), M. ḍembā, ḍhembā “clod”, Ho ḍimbu “to be in the ear (used of paddy)”.

Many derivatives from this root occur in NIA., e.g. Beng. ḍhebū “lump, coin (stamped bit of copper)”, ḍhibī “axe-iron”, ḍhābā, ḍhibi “mound, hillock” (Chatterji 499, 507). Prefixed derivatives are Skr. lex. goḍimba-, m., goḍumba-, m. “water-melon”, goḍumbā-, f. “Cucumis maderaspatanus, colocynthis”, kurumba-, m. “a species of orange” (see pp. 24, 84). To the same affiliation also belongs the proper name Hiḍimba-: a prefix hi- occurs in several Proto-Munda words as hi-lolayati 91), hi-ndolayati (: āndolayati, dolāyate, see Acta Orient. 16, 204, n. 2), hi-ṛgu-, m. “Asa foetida” (: Mon ngu, id.). In the Bombay-edition of the Mhbh. Hiḍimba is described as being lambaspig lamba-jatharo (1, 152, 3 = 5929 Calc.) which accounts for this name being given to the big-bellied Rākṣasa. Identical with Hiḍimba- is, in my opinion, Heramba-, a name of Gaṇeṣa (Mhbh., Kathās., Lex.), which Bloch, BSOS. 5, 740, confounds with the Dravidian word heramba- “buffalo” (see n. 117). It should be noted that in Pkt. the name Herimba-, m. “Gaṇeṣa” (vināyakah, Deśīn. 8, 72) is distinct from heramba-, m. “buffalo” (8, 76). In sculptural art Gaṇeṣa is represented as a big-bellied person. The prefix he-, a variant of hi-, is also met with in Pkt. he-ramba- “drum” (see p. 86) and in Skr. lex. heramba- “a boastful hero” (p. 19).

The modern equivalents of Skr. śimba-, m., śimbī-, f. “legume, pod” (Suṣr.), śimbī-, f., id. (Mālatīm.), etc. are: Hi. chími “pod, legume, bean, green pease, etc. in the pod”, Beng. chim “bean”, Nep. chimi “pod”, and Nep. simi, sībi, sīb(h)i, Hi. sem, Beng. sim(i), etc., “bean”. The nasalization of b (cf. in Munda: Ho simri “bean”) and the prefixation in Skr. lex.

90) Cf. Kshm. ṭhāl “egg”, Nep. phut “egg, testicle” (see Turner s.v.) and Tam. pinaṭam (< Skr. pinda-) “globular, ball, embryo, foetus”.

91) Unless this is a blending, cf. Kh. hilo dolo “to move to and fro”, S. hilq dolq “swayingly”.
kusimbi-, f. "simbi" (Rājanighanta) are indications of Proto-Munda origin. The bean and the pea are often named from their roundish shape, e.g. M. rāmb(a)ra "a kind of pulse, Phaseolus Roxburihi", Hi. lobiyā, lobhiyā "the cow-pea, vigna catjang (Dolichos sinensis)", which are derived from da-ba "roundish, globular" and barbați (the Sanskrit name of the lobiyā, see Helen M. Johnson, JAOS. 61, 170), māsa- "bean", masūra- "lentil", which belong to ba-da "swollen". Hence simba- is probably a variant of ďimba-, e.g. S. tbuge "knob, bunch, excrecence, tumour", K. tēbe "cob of maize", Hi. Nep. ḍhibhi "nut". Does Ved. simbāta- in the dual vāmAsgēva pūṣaryā simbāta RS. 10, 106, 5 perhaps mean puṣṭah "well-fed"? This hymn contains several Proto-Munda hapax legomena, e.g. turphāri, parpharīkā ~ tartar-, parphar-.  

2. Skr. ďimba-, m. "child, boy" is obviously connected with the prefixed variant Pkt. silimba-, m. "child" (śişah, Deśin. 8, 30). Although the meaning "egg" is sometimes so widened as to comprise also the notion "child" (cf. Tam. karu "foetus, egg, child"), this is unlikely to be the case with ďimba-, which presupposes an original sense "small". Cf. Nep. ďambaru, dammaru "tiger's cub" and, with assimilation of the cerebral, Skr. śāva-, m. "young of an animal" (since Mhbh., Rām. megasāva-). Pa. chāpa-, chāpaka-, Pkt. (AMg.) chāva-, chāvaa-, id. The initial ch is mostly explained as the result of Middle Indian aspiration of s (Pischel § 211, Geiger § 40, Woolner, Introduction to Prakrit p. 11), although Turner s.v. chāvā tentatively traces it back to a different IE. original (*skēyo- beside *kēyo-). On the other hand, the Skr. word is supposed to stand for sāba- (which is, indeed, the spelling in South-Indian MSS., see Böhtlingk, VI, 228) on account of Pa. chāpa-; but the Bombay editions, which as a rule correctly distinguish v and b, have throughout sāva-.  

Many Proto-Munda words for "child, boy, young of an animal" are derived from roots signifying "stunted, short, small" (cf. e.g. Skr. kīsora-, ceta-, bāt-, Hi. bētā). In the same way the words quoted above are derivatives from da-wa "stunted, dwarffish", cf. S. ḍebhe "dwarffish, small", ḍebhe "short, dwarffish, tiny", ḍebhe ḍebhe "exhausted, tired, dwarffish, small, to be stunted", ṭepa ṭepa "small, little" (Campbell), ṭeppo "small, below standard size", ṭeponca "short, of low stature", ṭeponca "low, small, dwarffish, stunted", M. ṭepon "short in stature, a dwarf", ṭərə ṭərə "small", ṭərə, ṭərə ṭərə "blunt" (see s.v. tūparā-), S. ṭembo "small-sized (fruit)", ṭembrot "small, of low size, but plump" (contamination with da-ba "globular"), ṭemel, ṭemnēt "small, little, dwarffish", ṭembe ṭurə "small (animals, children)" (for tuṛa, see p. 150); cepp "small", cepple "flat, low, of small stature" (contamination with the word-group discussed s.v. cipiṭa-), etc. See further s.v. tūparā-.

92) It is not clear which plant is denoted by the name kusimbi-, f. (Suṣr.). 93) As for tuvaraka-, which Suṣruta mentions among the kudhānya-, see Burrow, Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 107.
3. The third meaning of ḍimba-, ḍimbha- is "body". Cf. Pkt. kālimba- "body", although Deśīn. 2, 58, 59 kāliā- kālimba- "body, cloud" might suggest a radical element kal- (kāliā, kālimba- "cloud" from kāla- "black"?): cf. Skr. mecaka- and Tam. kalam "blackness, cloud"). On the other hand, the derivation of kālimba- from ḍimba- is supported by Skr. kaṭebara- (Lüders, Phil. Ind. 549, 557), Buddh. kaṭevara- (Böhtlingk VII, 329, add Jātakam. 45, 18; 211, 3, etc.), ep. kaṭebara-, kaṭevara- (Mbhbh. Calc. Bomb. Poona), kaṭebara- Vāsavad. 154, 15 Gray, Pkt. kaṭevara-, kaḷera- (Pischel §§ 201 and 149) "body". Cf. also Pkt. olimbhā- "upadehikā" (Deśīn. 1, 153). Kaṭebara- and ḍimba- are likely derivatives from dā-ba "globular" (cf. S. ḍhob "form, shape, pattern"); ḍhobha- "big-bellied", Nep. ḍhab, ḍhap "form, shape"; ḍhabbu "big, huge, chubby-cheeked"). Pali kaḷevara- "step in a flight of stairs" admits more than one explanation (cf. Beng. ḍhibi "mound", Panj. ḍhibbā "heap of sand", ḍibha "sandbank, hill", Kann. ḍibba, ḍimbu, ḍiṁmi "eminence, etc."?.

36. ḍuṇḍuḥa-, m. "a certain kind of non-venomous water-snake".

According to the Pet. Dict. "Amphibians, eine Eidechsenart ohne Füsse" (later corrected: "es sind giſtlose Schlangen gemeint" vol. VII, 1747); the smaller Pet. Dict. has again "Eidechsenart ohne Füsse", hence Cappeller "a kind of lizard". In the well-known story of Ruru the ḍuṇḍuḥā is referred to as bhujaga- (Mbhbh. 1, 10, 6.7 edd. Bomb. Poona), although it is said to be a harmless one, cf. 1, 10, 3 anye te bhujagā, brahman, ye daśantaḥa mānauḥ/ṇuṇḍuḥān ahigandhena na tvan hiṃsītum arhasi, and 1, 11, 4 B.P., where the Rṣi is cursed to be henceforth an aviryo bhujanāgāḥ. Likewise Kathās. 14, 84: ahīna te priyā daśtā, vibhinnau cāhiṇḍuṇḍuḥān/ahayagā saviṣīhā sarve, nirvīṣā ḍuṇḍuḥā iti. Hence the ḍuṇḍuḥās are mentioned as being different from serpents in Mbhbh. 2, 69, 35 (South. recension, see Hopkins, Epic Mythology 25), and the vidūṣaka in the Mrčchakaṭikā, when stating with sad resignation that he is not a real brahmin, says jadhā savāṇāgaṁnam majjhe ḍuṇḍuho, tadhā savābhamanāṇam majjhe aham bamhano "no more than the ḍuṇḍuḥā is a (real) serpent, am I a (real) brahmin" (Mrčch. p. 83, 1, 7, ed. Parab). The commentary quotes nirvīṣā ḍuṇḍuḥāḥ smṛtah

The ḍuṇḍuḥā- is a water-snake. In Mbhbh. 7, 156, 175 the battle-field is likened to a river which is called prāśaśaktṛṣṭiṇḍuṇḍuḥā, i.e. of which the snakes are the various missiles. This is confirmed by Pali ḍedṭuḥā(kha)- "een ongiffige waterslang of salamander" (Kern, Toevoegsen op het Pali-Wb. van Childers, I, p. 115: udakadeṭuḥā is var. reading for udakamaṇḍūkabhakkha in the Daddarajātaka), and by the commentary on Ait. Br. 3, 26, 3 (sa sarpo nirdaṁśya abhavat): nirdaṁśi daṁśanāsamarththaḥ ... jalamadhye saṁcarato ṣundubhākhyasya sarpaṇa viṣarāhitavād daṁśanāsāmarththyaṁ nāsti. Böhtlingk suggests that a water-salamander may

94) Cf. Kṣīrasvāmin's comm. on Amara 1, 7, 5 (1, 2, 1, 5): nirviṣā dvimukha 'hiṃ.
be meant. By the side of ḍuṇḍubha- and dundubha- (Ait. Br.) the following variants occur:

*dundubhi- or ḍuṇḍabhi- (the manuscripts vary). Varāh. Brh. S. 53, 17. ḍuṇḍabhi- Suśr. 1, 10, 12, mentioned as a venomous animal!
*dundubha-, Mḥbh. 7, 6905 Calc.

ḍiṇḍīha-, (v.l. ḍiḍiva-) “water-snake” in the lexicon Madanavindanighaṇṭu (see below, line 5 from the bottom).

ḍuḍha-, v.l. ad Amara.

ḍuḍuma- in Mṛcch. p. 90, l. 2 (III, 20), ed. Parab: S’arvilaka boasts on his cleverness and adroitness: in every difficult situation he has an expedient at hand for he is ḍiḍ po rāṭrisu, saṁkateṣu ḍuḍumo, vājī sthale, naur jale, which must mean that in a difficult situation (and in a narrow place) he can escape as easily and as quick as a ḍuḍuma- (either a snake or a salamander; “lizard” according to the Pet. Dict.) Stenzler’s text however reads ḍuḍha- which may be the correct form.

ḍuṇḍu-, f. (Trikāṇḍaṇa) is the sole form without bh in Sanskrit but Hi. has ḍuṇḍ, ḍaṇḍu (beside ḍuṇḍubha, a loanword from Sanskrit) “a kind of lizard without feet, a kind of snake”. As for Beng. ḍhāra, ḍhāra “water-snake”, which Chatterji 507 derives from Skr. dundubhi-, resp. ḍuṇḍabhi-, its initial aspirate (as against Hi. ḍōr, ḍōrā “a kind of lizard, a kind of snake with two heads”) is variously explained (“by transference of aspirate” Chatterji 495, “through aspiration” 498). Obviously these modern words are younger borrowings from Munda, cf.:

S. ḍhōṇḍ (bin’) “a certain water snake, the checkered keelback. Tropidonotus piscator; non-poisonous, but quick to bite if trodden on”. M. Bh. ḍuṇḍu (bin), ḍhōḍ “a kind of snake”, M. ḍōra bin, Bh. dora bin, id. Ho ḍoṇḍā “lizard”, ḍuṇḍu bin “water snake”, K. dindu, denu “water snake”. Cf. further S. ḍuludun, ḍuḷudān, ḍoloḍān (from *duṇḍu + ḍaṇ) “a small non-poisonous snake. Callophis Macellandii”, which in the local Aryan dialect is called hulhulīa (< *huḍhulīa), and S. ḍoḍ ḍoṛan bin “a non-poisonous snake, the grass snake. Coluber Stolatus” (< *huḍ ḍoṛaṇ). With regard to the tale of Ruru it is interesting to note that “The duludun snake is never killed. If any person kills one, snakes will infest his house” (Rev. A. Campbell, JBOCS. I, 1915, 218). Cf. perhaps also S. tutri bin’ “a certain snake, Russell’s earth-snake, Eryx conicus; non venomous”.

As the statement of the Mḥbh. that ḍuṇḍubhas do not bite men may be a poetic licence, we may safely infer that the ḍuṇḍubha- is identical with the ḍhōṇḍ, the checkered keelback. That it is checkered appears from its identification with the rājila- (alagardo jalavvālaḥ samau rājila- ḍuṇḍubhau. Amarakoṣa 1, 7, 5; cf. comm. on Harṣac. p. 225, l. 5, ed. Parab2: rājilo ḍiṇḍībhākhyo nirviṣaḥ sarpaḥ). Since rājila- means “striped” the snakes denoted by that name must have had a variegated skin. Tel. tuṭṭe-purugu “a sort of venomous snake barred black and grey”, Tam. tuntu-(k) kattari “a kind of venomous worm” perhaps contain Munda loanwords (cf. S. tutri bin).
The explanation proposed by H. Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 85 (dundhubha- < IE. *dul-ndo-bho), is exemplary of how Skr. words should not be explained.

37. tāmbūla-, n. “betel”.

Since Var. BS., Hariv. This word has often been discussed and its Austro-Asiatic origin may now be considered an established fact (see the references in Acta Orient. 16, 305). The prim. Austro-Asiatic form of the word must have been *bēlū, cf. Bahnar bōlōu, Alak balu, Kha blu, Palang plū, etc. A corresponding Munda form has not been found hitherto. Przyluski, it is true, connects the Austro-Asiatic word with Khmer mul “round”, mur “to roll”, S. gulu mulu “round, spherical, to roll into a ball”, guṟ muṟiq “spherical, globular, round” (BSL. 24, 1924, 257 f.), but it is not advisable to base any theory on such vague word-comparisons, the less so as these words point to a root bud-, whereas the word for “betel” has throughout l in all Austro-Asiatic languages. Nevertheless it can be proved that tāmbūla- must have been borrowed, not from any Austro-Asiatic dialect spoken in Further India, but from Proto-Munda.

The ā of tāmbūla- has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Przyluski, p. 258, only observes that in the Further Indian languages the u follows after the liquid, whereas in Sanskrit and Pali it precedes it (as is also the case in mur/mul “to roll”). In Acta Orient. 16. 305, I assumed an original *bulū, beside *bēlū, balū, which became bul through loss of the final vowel. The u of tāmbūla- however results from a specific Proto-Munda development. Prim. Austro-Asiatic had, like Austronesian, a phoneme ē (called pēpēt in Indonesian linguistics), which is still preserved in Bahnar, Sakai, Semang, and some other dialects, but has disappeared in Mon and Khmer. In Khasi it is represented by y. In Munda it still survives (to some extent, at least) in Sora, e.g. So. āerū : Central Sakai āerō “deep”. In the other Munda dialects, however, the pēpēt has been umlauted by the following vowel, e.g. K. ghamā, M. gāmā “to rain”: Besisi gēmā, gēmāh (Kh. gims-see below); S. sin’, M. Ho singi “sun, day” : Khasi ni, Palaung sā-naŋī “sun” (prim. Austro-As. *sē-nī 95); S.M.K. sunum “oil” : Senoi sē-num, id.: K. kunum “urine” : Semang kēnum, kēnom, id. It should further be noted that Munda has very often beside the original disyllabic words younger monosyllabic variants, cf. S. sin’, K. sīn (only in siñ-ruŋ’, sīn-ruŋ’ “setting of the sun” > “evening”) as against M. Ho sin’i, Kherwari bir “jungle” : Sakai, Stieng, etc. bri (prim. A.–A. *bērī). Skr. tāṃbūla- accordingly reflects a Proto-Munda original *tā-ṃbūḷ from *ta-ṃbēḷū, a pre-nasalized variant of Lavē mēlu, Stieng mlu. It thus provides us a terminus ante quem for the u-umlaut of the Proto-Munda pēpēt.

95) Variant of *tē-nīi or *tē-nī, cf. Mon tānōa (ñoa), Khmer thǎi, Samre, Pnū thǎi, Prou tangai, Sakai tēn-hi, Sering tēngi.
In this connexion attention may be drawn to Ved. pīlu- in the compound pīlu-mant-, which occurs in the verse

udanavati dyāur avamā pīlumati madhyamā
tṛtyā ha pradyaur iti yāgyām pitāra āsate Ath. S. 18, 2, 48.

"Watery is the lowest heaven, full of stars (?) is called the midmost; the third is called the fore-heaven, in which the Fathers sit" (Whitney). The exact meaning of pīlumatī- is unknown. Whitney's translation is only based on the commentary's rendering grahanakṣatrādāyah. See however Narahari, Annals Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst. 23, 305, who also holds this to be the meaning of the word. Although this obscure word is no reliable foundation for any theory, it may be noted with due reserve that, if the existence of a word pīlu- "star" could be rendered probable on other grounds, it could be explained as a Proto-Munda loanword. The common word for "star" in Khervari (S.M. Ho Kw.) and Kurku is īpil (N., also K., īphil). Some authorities quote somewhat different forms as K. epal (Rakhal Das Haldar, Hunter, Crooke), Kw. epal (Crooke), epil (Driver), pīlu (Rakhal Das Haldar), but their correctness is questionable. These words contain a prefix i-, ē-, and p(h)īl- < *pēlīh < *pēlohi or *pēloih, cf. Senoi pēlau, pēlau, Sakai pēlohi, pēlo, Semang puloe, pēluhi. In pīlu-, which presupposes Proto-M. *pīlu (instead of *pīlī > īpil), the pēpēt, instead of being umlauted, would have become i as in Kharia, cf. Kh. selop "deer" (S.M.K. silip). berod "to rise" (M. birid), biru "hill" (S.M.Bh. Ho buru, So. bēru-), etc.

38. timita- "wet, damp" (Kauṭ.), etc.

The Dhātup. has timyati, timyati "to be wet, damp", tepati "to drip", and lexicographers mention some derivatives from tim- as tema-, temana-. Tarapada Chowdhury's assumption that taimātā- (Ath. S. 5, 13, 6: 18, 4) means "wet, liquid, living in water" is merely conjectural and does not prove the existence of *tema- in the Vedic period. By the side of timyati occurs stimyati "ārdṛībhāve", which is attested in the classical literature. The Pet. Dict. quotes Caurapāṇīcāśikā 21 (ed. Bollensē) tāṁ stimitavastram ivāngalagnām (ārdravasanaam comm.) and Kielhorn in his note on Paṇcat. I, 72 (śl. 29) explains stimitonnatasamaṁcārāh as referring both to jaladāh ("wet, moist") and to sajjanāḥ ("fixed, steady") which, however, is not necessary (see Böhtlingk, Ind. Spr.).

The variation stim- : tim- does not prove the IE. origin of these words. Stimita- "fixed", which is a different word (see Acta Orient. 20, 32 f.) may have influenced tim- (as inversely timita- is sometimes used in the sense of stimita-, l.c.), unless stim- is a Sanskritization of Pkt. *thimmadi = timmadi. In any case Pkt. theva- "a drop, a little" and thippai "to drip", which Pischel, pp. 102 f., 149, derives from Skr. stepati (kṣaṇarārthah, Dhātup. 1, 388) are the original forms, from which the Sanskrit root has been derived.
The Proto-Munda origin is clear on account of the variation -p : -m (Mar. ṭīp “drop, tear”, Hi. ṭīpāṇa “to make drip”, Mar. thēb “drop”, Gujar. uthevo, etc., see Bloch, pp. 339, 350, as opposed to Pali temanām “wetting”, Beng. teman “sauce”, Mar. tevīnē “to dissolve, become moist”, see Turner, s.v. tiun) and the vowel variation in Hi. tipt “sound of dropping, patter or drop (of rain)”, ṭaptaṭapānā “to drop continually, to drip”, ṭabhak, ṭapak “sound of dropping, the dropping”, ṭapākā “continuous dropping, dripping”, ṭipkā “a drop, a spot”, Beng. ṭupā “to drip”, etc.

Cf. S. ṭipk’ “a drop (of rain), to fall in drops” (M. ṭipā), ṭipic’ ṭapak’ “dizzingly, to drizzle”, ṭipic’ ṭipic’ “id. (about drizzling rain)”, ṭipok’ ṭapok’ “dripping, in drops, to trickle, leak”, ṭip tap “one after the other”, ṭapakc’ ṭipic’ “in few drops, to rain in drops”, ṭopok’ (ṭhōpok’?) “to drop, drip, a drop” ṭhōp, id., ṭhōp ṭhōp “in drops, drippingly”, ṭhōp ṭhōp “to drop, drip”, ṭipak’ capak’ “(to fall) in large drops”, etc.

As the initial consonant is a cerebral we may expect to find the regular variants with palatals or sibilant. As a matter of fact, Santali has (beside ṭipic’ ṭipic’ “dizzingly, to drizzle”), jipir jipir, id., sipir sipir, adv. “continued drizzingly”. Similar variants occur in NIA. Thus Nepali has, by the side of ṭap “ear-pendant”, tap-tap “the sound of dripping or throbbing”, ṭapaknu “to drip, drop, trickle”, also jhimi-jhimi “drizzling rain, drizzle”, jhimi jhime “steadily drizzling”, sim-sim, sim-simi “falling in light showers”, cf. Hi. ḣham-ḥham “heavy down-pour”, Mar. ḣhim-ḥhim “softly and lightly (of rain)”, etc.

[Unlike these words for “dizzling, dripping” (to which, it seems, also belong Kui tipi topo inba “to fall drop by drop”, Tam. tumi “rain drops; light, drizzling rain”), timita- (and Pa. temana-, Mar. tevīnē) express the general meaning “moist”. It is doubtful, therefore, that these words should be connected with the first word-family. They rather constitute a different word-group which may be connected with the words discussed on p. 61, s.v. jambāla].

39. tumulā- “tumultuous, confused”; n. “noise, tumult, uproar”.

Since Lāty. S’S, Mbhh. The connexion with Latin tumultus, which dates back to the early days of Indo-European studies (cf. Pott, Etymologische Forschungen, 1st ed., I, 1833, 90) is generally accepted. Like its morphological parallel singultus, however, tumultus is a verbal noun; it stands for *tumel-ta-s and presupposes a verb *tum-el-io, just as sepultūra is derived from the stem of sepelio “I bury”. Sepelio contains a verbal suffix -el- (see H. Pedersen, KZ. 39, 354, W. Schulze, KZ. 41, 335) and is derived from the root sep- (Skr. sāpati). Since *tumel- cannot be an Indo-European root, it must have been derived in the same way from *tum- (cf. Lith. stūmė “to push, shove”, rather than Latin tumeo “I am swollen”, with which Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. s.v. connects it).
As for Skr. tumula- (tumala-, tumura-), it cannot well be derived from the same stem *tum-el- on account of -ula-. Some scholars, it is true, assume a suffix -ulo- (Benveniste, Origines de la formation des mots en indo-européen I, 41) but this does not explain either tumultus (which is a verbal noun), or the Skr. variant tumala- in Mbbh. and Raghuv. (see Pet. Dict.). The reading tumula- is prob. worthless, but Tam. timîlam “great din, noise, tumult” (Tiruvâcakam 29, 4), timil, timîrtam (timitam), id. may also be of interest for the explanation of tumula-. Of particular importance, however, are several NIA. words which suggest a derivation from a root mul-, mal- (cf. Pkt. bamâla- “tumule”, comm. kalâkâlân, Deśîn. 6, 90). These words are Hi. tâlmât “restlessness, fidgetiness, impatience”, talmâlânā “to be restless, agitated, impatient”, Nep. talbal “restlessness”, talbale “restless”, tulbul “unrest, uneasiness”, tulbulâ “restless”, tulbulînu “to be confused, be agitated or uneasy”, tarbar “hastiness, nervousness” (adj. tarbare), etc. The second component of these words, viz. bal/bul, bar (nasalized mal) stands for baḍ, cf. Hi. taṣâ-bharî “haste, hurry, panic”; tarp(h)arânā “to be agitated, to toss about restlessly or uneasily”, caṭpaṭânā, chaṭpaṭânā, id., Nep. caṭṭa-pâṭṭa, caṭ-pâṭ “haste, hurry”, caṭ-paṭânu “to be in a hurry”, chaṭpaṭe “restless, flighty, sprightly”, jhaṭṭa-pâtta, jhaṭ-pâṭ “at once, quickness, hurry”, cuṭ-piṭi “riot, quarrel” and, with final nasalization, chumunâ “restless (of children)”; with l: Guj. laṭpaṭ “restlessness” (see Turner s.v. laṭpaṭinu). It is clear that most of these words are echo-words, the components of which are derived from Proto-Munda roots ḍa-ḍa and ba-ḍa. Other instances are, e.g. Hi. culbul “restlessness, playfulness”, culbulâ, culbulîgâ “restless, fidgety”, Beng. cul-bulâ, cil-bilâ “to be fidgety, to be eager to move away”, tal-balâ “to be shaky and moving”, dal-malâ “to shake and pat” (Chatterji 891) 96), Nep. salbale “constantly moving, restless”, cillébîlli “at sixes and sevens, a state of complete disorder”, laṭhâbajra, laṭhâbadra “state of disorder or mismanagement”.

The proper meaning of these word-groups is “confusion”, cf. So. gêluñ-bôlun “confused”, S. albañ salbañ “confusedly, to confuse”, ailmal “confusion, disorder” 97, andmandao “confusion, to confuse, etc.”, aţdukt mânduk “perplexed, troubled”, asbas “perplexity, bewilderment, etc.”, dalmalao “to shake, agitate, disturb”, târbañ, târûrañ “to drive, hurry on, hasten, urge”, sarphat “to act restless”, curuk bhuṭuk, curul b(h)utur, culûñ bhuṭun “restless, unsteady”, cululîq “unstable, restless, fidgety” (parallel to ulbulîq; perhaps reborrowed from Hi.), chil biñ “restless”, chaṭ paṭ “to be restless, impatient”, chilki bilki, tilki bilki “eagerly,

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96) Mar. tadphad “shock, struggle”, tadphadē “to shake violently” has a similar divergent meaning. But cf. Apabhraśa taḍapṭhaḍaṭ utâṃmayi, âkult bhavati, capālāyate (Bloch 344). Probably there is a contamination of several roots (“hurry”, “to shake”, “disorder”), which can no longer be distinguished. Cf. Nep. jhârnu “to shake off”, etc. 97) The “resultant” a is from au, cf. qaḷa pquaḷa “irregular, in disorder” (blending with an Aryan word? Cf. Beng. âula, which Chatterji 383 derives from Skr. âkula-).
restlessly" (contamination with the root discussed s.v. *lola-*) etc. Echowords derived from *du-du* alone are: ṭhōḷ ṭhōḷ "restless, agitated", ṙoṛo ṛoṛo "impatiently, nervously", ṛoṭo ṛoṭo id., cuṭ cuṭ "to be eager, restless, impatient" (contamination as above), caṛaṅk' caṛaṅk' "restlessly (jump about)". As for ba-du, derivatives from this root also occur in combination with those from ga-du, cf. S. gaḍbaḍ, ṛaṛaṛ, ḥaḷmaḷ, golmaḷ, gul maḷ, etc. (see s.v. *āku-la-*) and Pkt. haḷa-bola-, m. ~ bōla-, m. (kalakalaḥ Deśīn. 8, 64; 6, 90), Tel. galibili "disorder, confusion". Iteration of ba-du- occurs in Skr. bhrāṛhāṛ-bhū "to get in disorder" (Maitr. S.), Old Beng. bhābarī "coquetry", mod. Beng. bhābrāṇa "to get confused", phāpar "confusion" (Chatterji 512, 516). Cf. M. bāmr "delirium, to talk nonsense"?

In tumula- the two words *tul* and *mul* must accordingly have coalesced to one new word. This explanation may seem rather far-fetched from an Indo-European point of view, but in Munda (and in NIA) such blendings occur very frequently. Elsewhere (s.v. *āku-la-*) we have drawn attention to *gaḍaḍ-*, which is a blending of *ga-" and *gaḍaḍ-*. Another instance is, e.g., Hi. ḥaṇaṭṇā "to go quickly, run with all speed" : ḥaṇ and ḥaṇ ṭaṭ "quickness, rapidity". In the case of tumula-, the echo word *tul mul* has probably been blended with *tum-, a derivative from a root da-bo, which may be inferred from Skr. āmaśara- "affray, political riot or disturbance" (see s.v. *ātopa-*) and S. āmaḍoṇol "confusion, disorder, uproar, disturbance, tumult", which is composed of the words āma and dol (from *du-du*, cf. dal-maḷ, ṭhōḷ ṭhōḷ, etc.) 98). Cf. Hi. dhāmā-caukṛī "tumult", Nep. dhunca kra, dhunca kra "uproar, confusion", Beng. dhum-dhām "tumult, pomp" (contamination with a congener of Skr. ādambara-), Nep. dhum "riot, bustle, ado". However, in view of Kshm. tambalun "to be agitated" (dum + bal), a combination dum + mal (> *tumal, *tumul) is also possible.

40. tūparā- "hornless; m. a hornless goat".

A common word in Yajur-Vedic texts (Taitt. S., Kāth. S., Vāj. S., etc.) and in the Atharva Samhitā. It also denotes a sacrificial post without its top, cf. Taitt. Br. 1, 3, 7, 2 ("abgestumpft" Pet. Dict.), Āp. S's. 18, 1, 8 ("ungehörnt" Caland). In the later language tūbara-, tuvara- is used instead, cf. lex. tūvara- "hornless bull, beardless man, eunuch", and, in the Mahābhārata, tūbara-kā- "castrated person, weakening" (as a term of contempt, 5, 160, 64, etc.). For this sense-development cf. paṇḍra- (s.v. banḍā-). It should be noted that tābarā-, tuvara- (which are usually regarded as Middle Indian equivalents of tūpara-) may equally well represent the original form of the word, the p being due either to Proto-Munda unvoicing or to the tendency of the Vedic language to avoid b, which was considered a characteristic of Prakrit (like ṭ, ṇ, etc.).

98) Beng. āmaḍoṇol "tumult" is of deśī origin according to Chatterji 495. See s.v. *ātopa-*. 
The initial ś stands for ṭ, just as in S. tope “short, to cut (off, short),
dock (a horse), tear out the tail”, thopra “low, short brushwood, to cut
low, become stunted”, thepré “small, low, stunted, puny (trees, plants)”,
thastra thopra “small brushwood, to become small, stunted”. The cerebral
is still preserved in M. ṭupā, ṭumpu “blunt”, S. thebłę “low, small, dwarf-
fish, stunted”, and several words for “small” as M. thepā “short in stature,
dwarf”. Cf. further K. tâpâl “sapling”, (<*“small”?), Kh. sumbro “trunk
(of a tree)”, āmpâ āmpē “puny”, Ho tumb-ruk “short”, K. dâmū “to be
blunt”.

Like the synonymous roots ḍa-ḍa and wa-ḍa (see s. v. dândā-, bândā-)
the root ḍa-va may develop the meanings (“cut off, stripped” >) “solitary,
bereft” and, on the other hand. (“cut off” >) “stunted, small, dwarffish”. Cf.
S. thubrã “an old bachelor” (whence Beng. thubbā) and S. târ (t. tâpar)
“orphan(s)”. The last word still preserves the ancient form of the
Proto-Munda word, which has been borrowed as Skr. tâvâra-, tâbara-,
viz. *tuvâ. This word has again been borrowed into Aryan at later
dates. Thus Pkt. tvâvara- may have been taken directly from Munda and
its initial cerebral need not be explained as a phonetic development of
Aryan (see Pischel § 218). A comparatively recent borrowing is apparently
Nep. thuuro “orphan”, which is particularly interesting both on account of
its meaning (which is identical with that of the Kherwari word), and
because of the intervocalic h. In Kherwari, particularly in Santali, inter-
vocalic u and w may be represented by h, e.g., S. lâhâ (M. laâd) “wet,
moist” from the root â-va (see s. v. jambâla-). It is not a priori certain,
therefore, that the h in thuuro results from a phonetic development of
Nepali 99). Other loanwords in Nepali are tûmmi “to be cut off at the
root, to finish”, tûmoče “small, slight, mean” (cf. S. tûmuçi, p. 105!)

Parallel developments are, e.g., Skr. kûtā- “not horned” : kuntha- “blunt”
from ga-ḍa. S. dondo “with very small horns, bent backwards” from
â-ḍa “to shave, cut off”, Skr. mûndin- “hornless” : S. mûndra ñângra “a
hornless bullock”, mûndra “having his hair cropped or shaved”, mûndgoč
“bare, hornless, polled, to shave or cut off” from wa-ḍa. Cf. also the
various meanings of Engl. to poll (“to crop the hair, cut off the top, cut
off horns”)

Kui tupa “short, dwarffish”, tûpri “short”, tûpura “a short man or boy”
are clearly Munda loanwords (cf. M. tûpâ, S. thopra). See further s. v.
ômbya-.

41. ðândâ- m. “stick, staff, pole, cudgel, mace”.

1. Since RS. 7, 33, 6 dândâ ivêd goâjanâsa âsan pûrichinnâ bharatâ
arbhakâsâ “Wie Stecken, mit denen man Ochsen treibt, lagen gebrochen

99) For similar younger borrowings in NIA, beside those dating back to the Old Indian
period, see s. v. kubhra- and cf., e.g., Nep. tumbo “gourd” (which cannot be derived from
Skr. tumba-).
die armens Bharatas" (Hillebrandt). Apart from the metaphorical use of daṇḍa- in the sense of "flag-staff, handle", it also denotes the stalk or stem of a plant (kadali daṇḍa-, iksudanda-, since the Mḥbh., see Pet. Dict.). As such it is comparable with dala-, n., in veṇuḍala- "a bamboo stick" (Manu 8, 299).

Since Schmidt's connexion with Greek δέντρον, δένδρον (on the last word see Stanislaw Szober, Belic'ev Zbornik 347 ff.) encounters serious difficulties (see Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 171, Thumb-Hirt, Handb. des Sanskrit, 91), most authorities now accept the etymology proposed by Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgesch. 80 ff., who derives daṇḍa- from *doḷ-ndo- or *deḷ-ndo- (cf. dalati "bursts, splits"), see e.g. Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 52, 55, Lüders, Philologica Indica 554. It should however be observed that the IE. suffix -ndo- is extremely rare (see my remark in "Die indogermanischen Nasalpräsentia" p. 193, n. 3): anḍa- 100), piṇḍa-, khanda-, pāndu-, and muṇḍa- are in my opinion Proto-Munda words, whereas gaṇḍa- (galla-) "cheek" (see Kittel, Kannada Dict. XV n. 2, XVIII, and cf. Kui gaḍa) and kuṇḍa-, n., "jar, pitcher" (see BSOS. 9, 991) are of Dravidian origin. It would not be surprising, therefore, if daṇḍa- would turn out to be a borrowing from a non-Aryan language, and a direct proof of its foreign origin is furnished by Skr. lex. tuṇḍaka-, m.n. "post, pillar of a house" (Hemac., Med., Trlk.), m. "trunk of a tree" (Hemac., Med.), and raṇḍaka-, m. "barren tree" (S'abdacandrikā).

As a matter of fact, Santali has, by the side of some Aryan loanwords as daṇḍ "fine, mulct, channel, ditch", daṇḍom "fine, mulct, handle, shaft" the following words: daṇṭa "a thick stick, a club" (Campbell; cf. M. daṇṭā = daṇḍa "a stick"), daṭi, daṇṭit, daṇḍit, daṇḍic "stem (of mushrooms, palm-leaves, etc.)", daṇḍit "stick, staff, handle, etc.", daṭhi "the petioles and midribs of a compound leaf after the leaflets have been plucked off; stalks of certain plants, as Indian corn, after the grain has been taken off". Similar forms are found in Aryan, e.g. Hi. daṭ, daṭh, daṭhal, daṭhi "pedicle, petiole, foot-stalk, stem, stalk, culm, straw, stubble", daṭhā, daṭhā "stalk", Nep. daṭh "stalk, stem, stock" (unexplained, see Turner s.v.). Beng. daṭā "stalk", daṭi "pestle, little stick" (according to Chatterji 492 from danḍikā- "through unvoicing of ā"). Particularly interesting is S. daṇḍi 1) stick, staff, handle, rod, shaft, balance-arm" (= Hi. daṭi); 2) "bare stem, stalk". Bodding regards them as two different words. The second word must in any case be a native Munda word on account of its close resemblance to ḍeṇḍe "with short or no tail (birds), dressed in rags (women); to pull out the tail feathers", ḍeṇḍē, ḍeṇḍēt "bare, ragged, with few feathers" (ṛṛṇḍe, ḍṛṇḍe, ḍṛṇḍa, ḍṛṇḍka, ḍṛṇḍka, id.), ḍṛṇḍra "bare, having scanty hair or few branches", M. ḍṛṇḍe "tailless, hairless, leafless". The same application of ḍa-ḍa "to shave" to plants is found in

100) Cf. kurṇḍa- "swollen testicles", and perhaps S. gnd "penis", So. adre "egg".
dundga, dundgar "short-haired, bare, shaven, with branches cut off, to cut short, bare", thandga "having one's hair cut short, having branches cut off, to cut hair short, to cut or break off branches", thundga, thundgar, thundgut "bare, without hair or branches, without horns". In other derivatives the sense has developed to "poor, insufficient", as in dhandkao "to be stripped (like a stalk), destitute, poverty-stricken, needy, utterly, poor", halge dale "destitute, forlorn, straitened, shelterless, to be in want" (in the local Aryan dial. dale khale), tonqa "scarce, insufficient, to deal out stingily, to be in want of, to lack", landha phuciq "destitute, who has no property" (: landha "stubble, left after reaping, of cultivated cereals, etc., utterly poor")

Note the parallel formations with the meaning "bare, shaven, short-haired, without branches or feathers" from da-da and ma-da (see s.v. banda-), as dundga (muntha), dundga (muntha), dundgut (muntha), dundla (muntha), dundra (muntha) and cf. Hi. lund-mund. These instances leave no doubt as to the native Munda character of S. dañdi "bare stem, stalk". Thus the question arises, whether S. dañdi "stick, staff, etc.", although possibly a borrowing from Aryan (cf. Hi. ḍāḍi), may be originally identical with this word. Hi. ḍāḍi and Skr. dañḍa- probably represent two separate borrowings from Munda and Proto-Munda: in view of the general tendency to explain the cerebrals in Prakrit and New Indo-Aryan as results of a later development it should be noted that the modern vernaculars often reflect more faithfully the Munda original than the corresponding Sanskrit word, just as late Sanskrit admits more freely foreign phonemes than the Vedic language does (because classical Sanskrit reflects other social strata and another form of society than Vedic).

Thus the question narrows down to this: was the original meaning of Skr. dañḍa- "stem stripped of leaves"? Several parallel instances show a similar semantic development, e.g.:

IE. *lorg-, *lorgi- "stick, cudgel" : *lerg- "to be smooth", see Walde-Pokorny II, 443.

S. munṭha, munḍhaṅk, munḍhaṭ "a log, block" : munḍra "branchless". Cf. Skr. munḍaka- "tree-trunk, beam" ("ein der Äste beraubter Baum"), Pet. D.). From the same root is derived S. buta "the trunk of a tree up to where the branches begin" (see p. 65, n. 89; p. 98).

S. muṅrēṭ "log" : paṅgāo "to lop"; K. boṅga "club ~ naked" (cf. p. 49).

S. dañ "staff, pole, rod, perch (of bamboo or wood)" [= Hi. ḍāṅ] : degra "small, stunted", deṅga daṅguṅa "who have no children", etc. (see further p. 140).

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101) Cf. Hi. lundā, lanḍ-munḍ, lanḍūrā "tailless, stripped of branches and leaves": latnā "to become poor" (see p. 80).

102) Thus J. Bloch, L'Indo Aryan 58, quotes Nep. ḍāro "beam, rafter": Skr. dañḍa- as an instance of assimilation of initial d to the cerebral.

Skr. lex. ganḍi- “der Stamm eines Baumes von der Wurzel bis zum Anfang der Äste” : ga-da “bare, bald” (cf. pp. 40 ff., 49 f., 51 f. 112 and Tel. gaḍḍi, Pa. gaṭṭikā-). We may conclude, accordingly, that danda- originally denoted the branchless part of the stem of a tree, and, secondly, a stick, stalk or leafless branch. As stated above, many of the modern Aryan equivalents are not descended from the Sanskrit word but have been borrowed at a later date direct from Munda, e.g. Nep. ḍāṅthe, ḍāṅthe “stalky, rough, a leafless stalk, a useless person” (which Turner rightly connects with dāṭh “stalk” ; in modern Munda ḍāṅthe may stand for ḍāṅthe, or else we have to assume the normal vowel variation). Cf. also Panj. ḍōḍṛu “leafless”. — Proto-Munda prefixes are possibly contained in Pkt. pedaṇḍa- “rogue” (e.g. Mṛcch. 57, 5 and 59, 7 ed. Parab) and kodanḍa- “bow”. P. Thieme derives pedaṇḍa- from pretaṇḍa- “eunuch”, whereas S. M. Katre, Ann. BORS. 20, 290, hazards the suggestion that pe- = Pers. bē. It seems to be an obscene abuse: the commentator rendersulptaṇḍakah. Perhaps -danda- here = ṣaṇḍha- “impotent” (p. 80). Like po- in poganḍa- (p. 50), pe- is prob. a Proto-Munda prefix (cf. pelava-). The semantic development of kodanḍa- cannot be traced, but since ko- is a common Proto-Munda prefix (cf. Pa. Pkt. ko-lamba-, p. 26), it is probably connected with danda-. Wackernagel’s explanation (Altind. Gramm. II, 1, 84) is to be rejected.

2. Like ga-da, wa-da, and other synonymous roots, ḍa-da is used in two ways, its derivatives denoting 1) that which is stunted, short, maimed, blunt, small, young, insignificant, and 2) that which is shaved, bare, stripped, leafless, poor, unmarried, barren. The two semantic groups are not, of course, marked off by a sharp dividing-line. Since instances of the first sub-group will be discussed s.v. ṣaṇṭha-, we shall here confine ourselves to a brief survey of the second group. The striking parallelism to the semantic development of ḍa-ga (see s.v. jāṅgala-) should be noted.


2) “to bare a jungle”: S. ṭaṇḍi “bare, a plain, an open field, meadow”, ṭoṇḍan “high ground, dry land, dry and barren”, M. tōraṇ “jungle”, tonān-rāj “forest-country”, M. ḍaṛ, ṭuṇ “upland”, S. jara “to clear land by cutting down trees and brushwood and thereupon setting fire to the place” (contamination with jär-, e.g. jeraṭ “to burn, set fire to”), etc. — Cf. Skr. lex. jhāṭa-, m.n. “forest”, jhasa-, m. “a forest grown with grass, bare

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104) Ho candel is perhaps a blending of *caṇḍel and the root discussed s.v. āṅgala-(p. 140 ff.); cf. also S. caṇḍeć (= ceṇḍeć) “bare”.
land, desert" (cf. jāṅgala- and S. munḍu “jungle, bush, forest, copse”: munḍrā “to shave the hair”), Hi. āḍā “high land not culturable for lack of water, sterile land”, Gondi (Hoshangabad) jārī “jungle”.

3) “to strip off, to pare, to chip”: K. danda “rubbish, small pieces of wood”, S. dūlā dūli, dūlgu “to cut off, to lop, pare off”, dolkao “to peel off, scale off”, jhārao “to pare, chip”, jhārgao “to strip off”, chalkao “to chip, cut off a little, clip, shave off, pare off”, chalāna, id. (possiblyblings of ḍa-da and ḍa-ga), K. cilpa “splinter of wood or chip”, etc. — Cf. Panj. ḍḍrā “leafless”, Skr. lex. raṇḍaka-, id. (according to Turner s.v. ṛaṇaḥ; aphalaratuḥ S’KDr.) Hi. chaṭnā “to be lopped, pared, pruned”, chaṭnā “to clip, pare, lop”; Skr. lex. chaḷi-, f. “bark”, Pa. chaḷi- “bark, bast”, Pkt. chaḷi- “skin, bark”, Hi. cāl, chālā : Si. chila, id., etc. The IE. derivation proposed by Turner (s.v. chaḷā) is accordingly to be rejected, cf. Hi. chaḷnā “to skin, excoriate, peel, pare, bark”, Nep. chilna “to peel”, etc. ~ Pkt. chollai “skins”, Hi. cholnā “to lop, skin, peel, pare”, Beng. chol “rind” (see Turner s.v. cholnu) ~ Hi. chilnā “skin, bark, rind, shell, scale” (see Turner s.v. chilko), with which Skr. śālaka-, m.n. “chip” (since Taitt. S., Kāṭh. S.), n., “scale of a fish” (Vāsav.), “rind, bark” (lex.) and śaḷa-, śaḷaka-, n. “bark” (lex.) are clearly identical. Skr. śīlpa-, n. “decoration, ornament, art, craft” must have a different origin on account of śīḷpā- “many-coloured, variegated” (Maitr. S.). As for śaḷākā- “chip, splinter, stalk, rod”, see Gonda, Acta Orient. 10, 332 ff., Kuiper, ibid. 17, 18, n. 1; taṇḍula-, m. “husked rice” is ambiguous, but cf. tūṣa- “husk” (see s.v. baṇḍā-).

4) “stem stripped of leaves” > “stalk, rod, shaft, staff, arrow”: S. ḍaṇṭa “thick stick”, ṭathē “to beat with a stick” (cf. Tam. taṭi “stick, staff, rod, cane” = taṇṭu, taṇṭam, id.; taṭi “to lop, chop off”, Kann. daṇṭi, taḍi “staff, cudgel”, daṇṭu “stalk”, etc.), ḍol “shaft of an arrow”, jhaṭa “stake, branch, pole”, M. soṭā “stick”, etc. — Cf. Skr. daṇḍa-, Nep. ḍāṭh “stalk, stem”, ḍātri “pole, staff”, etc., tāndro “a dry stalk or straw (esp. of rice)”, Panj. ṭāḍa, ṭāḍhā “dry stalk of bājrā”, Lhd. taṇḍā, id. Skr. dūlā- “arrow” may be inferred from dūlāsa-, m. “bow”, which is only recorded in Wilson’s dictionary (1819) and in the Jaffna Dictionary of Tamil (1842). Böhtlingk strongly doubts the correctness of Wilson’s statement, but dūlā- may perhaps be a desī word on account of S. ḍol “shaft of an arrow” (cf. Kui dūrā “stick, staff, rod”, Tam. tūlam, Tel. dūlamu, Kann. dūla “beam of a house”, Hi. ṭhūṭḥi “small stump, stalk”: ṭhūṭhā “reduced to a stump, having the hand amputated, having its branches lopped, leafless”). Cf. further Beng. nārī “stick” (Chatterji 530; from *laṅḍa?), Nep. jhaṭāro “a small stick, piece of wood: small log to throw at trees in order to bring down fruit down” (~ Or. jhaṭā “dead bough”), Hi. char “shaft, pole, staff, stem, stalk, stubble” (~ Nep. char “bar”, charī “stick, rod, walking-stick”, Mar. saḍ, saḍī “stubble, stalk, splinter”), canḍwā “shaft

105 Cf. Hi. ṭhaṭhānā “to strike, beat”.

PROTO-MUNDA WORDS IN SANSKRIT 79
of a plough-share”; Nep. sōthā “cane” (Kum. soṭo, Panj. soṭhā, soṭṭā, id., Beng. sōṭā, Guj. soṭo “staff”). Although Hi. lāṭha “stick” (< *laṣṭi-, see Turner s.v. lāṭho) is prob. related, its formation is not clear (cf. Skr. yaṣṭi-, m., id.).

Skr. daṇḍa-, daṇḍaka-, m. also denote a “flagstaff on a chariot”. The modern equivalent (Hi. jhanḍa “flagstaff”, Mar. jhēḍa “standard, flag”, etc.) is usually derived from *dhvajadaṇḍa- (thus Turner s.v. jhanḍa) or from jayanta-. Chatterji 479 however proposes to connect it with jhāṛ “tree”. Although M. jhanḍa “pole with a flag attached to it”, S. jhanḍa “flag, standard, to put up a pole with a flag” may be reborrowings from Aryan, the Aryan word itself is clearly a dialectal Munda variant of daṇḍa-. Cf. S. jhaṭa “pole” (perh. Kann. dhāla, dhāla “a large flag’?) and Skr. rūnda- “staff of a balance” (Vāsav., see Gray, p. 211 of his edition).

5) “bare” > “poor”: S. dhāṇḍakāo “to be stripped, destitute, poverty-stricken, utterly poor”, hāla ḍalē “destitute, forlorn, shelterless, to be in want”, ṛona “scarce, insufficient”, lanḍha phuṣṭa “destitute, who has no property”, lāṛ bāṛa “poor” (p. 98), nandan “poor”, M. nandān “poor, weak, powerless” (see pp. 81, 152). — Cf. Pkt. ḍhella-, ṭhalla- “poor” (Desīn. 4, 16.5 106), Nep. tāṭ “reduced to penury” (Guj. nāgo tāṭ “stark naked”), Hi. lāṭnā “to become poor”.

6) “bare” > “having no husband or wife (= unmarried, widow), having no children (= barren), or parents (= orphan)”: S. thāṭ “barren, childless”, M. ṭāṇṭi “barren, past the age of breeding”, ḍīṇḍa “spinster, virgin, unmarried, barren, bachelor”, Ho ḍīṇḍa “unmarried”, Kh. ṭīṇḍa “virgin” (: S. ḍeṇḍe “tailless, half naked”, hāla ḍalē “shelterless”); S. narca “unfertile, barren” (see below). — Cf. Skr. lex. ṣaṇṭha- “unmarried (akṛṭadārah Ujjvalad.),” ṣaṇḍha- (ṣaṇḍha-, ṣaṇḍa-) “impotent, eunuch” and its variant caṇḍa- “circumcised, having no prepulse” (Hi. ṭūḍā, id.): raṇḍā- “widow, slut” is fem. of raṇḍa- “with the skin half separated from the limbs”, see Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 94. Tedesco holds the original sense to have been “a shorn one” and quotes several parallel instances (note also Kann. bōḷi “a head-shaven woman, a widow”). The meaning “widow”, however, may also have developed from “bereft, solitary”, cf. Nep. tutho “a loose-living bachelor”, Panj. lanḍā, lanḍā “tailless, without leaves, without wife and children”, Skr. vaṇṭa- “tailless, unmarried (man)”, Tam. moṭṭai “shaven head, unmarried young man”, Kshm. lanḍur “wifeless” (: Hi. lanḍūra “tailless”). Hi. rāṛa “barren, unproductive, a widower”, Nep. rāro “widower” (Beng. rāṛa “sterile, leafless”) over against rāṛ, rāṛi “widow”. Skr. lex. laṇḍakā- “whore” (laṇḍa- “adulteress”) may be the same word (cf. Kum. rānti, id.), and laṭaka-, ṭṭa-, ṭaṇḍa- “a bad man” are paralleled by Lhd. lanḍa “of bad character”, Panj. lanḍā “a shameless character”, etc. (Tedesco 94a). Cf. Skr. lex. ṣunḍa-, f. “whore”.

Nep. thāṛo “barren, sterile, unproductive (plants, land)”, which cannot

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106) Turner's suggestion (s.v. dhilo) is accordingly to be rejected.
be derived from Skr. starī- “barren cow” on account of ā (Turner s.v.), is rather connected with S. ṭhāṭ (see above). Particularly interesting are Bashkir kšöründ (f. šörind), Palola šöründo “orphan”, which contain a prefix šō- (see p. 119) ~ Bashk. riṇḍ “widow”.

7) “solitary” (cf. S. ṭaṭkaṭ’ ṭhuṭkuṭ’ “left alone”): Hi. charā “separated, solitary, alone” is identical with M. cāṛ rá “bald, baldness”. Cf. further Ass. lutṭuṁ-thuṅtiya “destitute, homeless” (p. 141). Prob. Hi. chuṭṭa “separate, single, bare” (Nep. chuṭto “separated, divided, alone” : chuṭnu “to get loose, to part from”, Skr. lex. chaṭayati “cuts”) also belongs to this word-group. Cf. Pa. chaṭṭeti “to abandon, leave” (hardly < tyakta-, Tedesco p. 97) and the rhyme-words Nep. phuṭṭa, phuṭto (p. 100).

A great many NIA. forms with initial ṛ and l are quoted by Tedesco, p. 94 f. They should be connected with Hi. ḍūda “bullock with one horn”, Panj. dōḍṛa “leafless” (see Turner s.v. ḍūro “maimed”), Nep. ṭhūto “polled, hairless, hornless” (also “stump of a tree” ~ Kh. ḍhuṭu), etc.

3. There are several derivatives from da-da with initial nasal, some of which have already been mentioned above. Cf. S. nandā “impoverished, destitute”, Beng. naṛi “stick” (unless from *laḍī), Middle Beng. nārā, nāṛhā, mod. Beng. nerā “shaven-head” (Chatterji 498, 530). Nep. nātho, Kum. nāto “bachelor” (see above, sub 6); closely related, though belonging to the other semantic sub-group: Hi. nāṭā “short, dwarfish, dwarf, young bull (not yet broken in), vile, depraved” (cf. M. nāṭā “dwarf”), naṭiyā “a short or diminutive man, a bullock of an inferior stock”; cf. Beng. nāṭuyā “profligate”. Mar. nāṭhā “vile” 107), perh. also Nep. nacci “a short but good-looking young woman”, (cf. Beng. nannā “small, tiny”) and Pkt. nandana-, m. “servant” (bhṛtyah Desīn. 4, 19) <”boy” (pp. 99, 152). Hence nanda-, n. “ikṣunipidaṇakāṇḍam” (Deśīn. 4, 45) may be a variant of danda-, although this is merely conjectural. Since the Mh. nārāca-, m. is used in Sanskrit as a term for a certain kind of arrow. Uhlenbeck proposed to connect it with nadā-, m. “reed”. This suggestion was however rejected by Lüders, Philologia Indica 555, because ditch never becomes r in Sanskrit. Since ≥r≥r (r) is a very common sound-change in Proto-Munda, the question arises whether nārāca- may have been adopted from that source. In the Santali dialect studied by Campbell there occurs a word narca “unfertile, exhausted (soil), barren, past the age of breeding (cow)”, a rhyme-word of marca “bare, physically poor, deteriorated, pune, exhausted” (M. mārcā “fallow”). Narca may stand for *nar-aka, a derivative from *nara (cf. Hi. nārā “stubble”), just as marca is derived from wa-da (p. 104 f.) as for -aka-, see pp. 118, 138. Hi. nārā is synonymous with char “stubble”, and S. narca with M. ṭanṭī (vide sub 4 and 6); since initial n and m are mostly the nasalized variants of d/t and w/b/p, nār̥a and narca must also belong to da-da. Skr. nārāca- may accordingly be

107 These words should accordingly be separated from the descendants of Skr. naṣṭa- and nāṭa- (Turner s.v.v. nāṭho and nāṭuwa).
derived, together with S. *narca*, from ḍa-ḍa “bare, stalk, shaft of an arrow” (see above, sub 4). Does the same hold good for *naḍā-*, m. “a species of reed”, with which Uhlenbeck connected it?

*Naḍā-*) is attested since the RS. (*nalāḥ* 8, 1, 33) and is the common form in the Vedic literature, whereas the Classical works (since the Mhbh.) use *nala-* instead; see Lüders, Philologia Indica 555. A variant with ḍ seems to occur in RS. 1, 32, 8 *naḍāṁ nā bhinnām*, which is now generally translated “like a broken reed” (Pischel, Ved. Stud. 1, 183 ff., Oldenberg 108), Geldner, Macdonell, Renou), cf. *naḍāṁ ... bhindānty áśmanā* Ath. S. 6, 138, 5. The adjectives *naḍvānt-* and *naḍvalā-* (Pāṇini and later works) contain a shorter form *naḍ-.* Cf. further *nāḍī-* “tube, pipe, flute, vein, pulse” (since Ath. S., Kāṭh. S., S’at. Br.), *nāḍi-* “vein, artery, any tubular organ of the body”, *nāḷa-*, n., “a hollow stalk, esp. of the lotus, pipe, tube, handle”. As for *nālina-*, cf. *malina- from *mala-.*

If the interpretation of Rigvedic *naḍā-*) is correct, it is only reasonable to suppose that it is identical with *naḍā-*. This was, indeed, the opinion of Ludwig and Pischel, but Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. 1, 173, considered their identity doubtful and the modern works on IE. etymology derive *naḍā-*) from IE. *nardo-*, *nardho-*) (mod. Persian nāl “reed, stalk”, Pashto nāra “stalk of a flower”, Greek νάρδης) and keep it apart from *naḍā-*, which is connected with mod. Persian nai “reed”, Lith. nėndrė, id. (IE. *nedo-*) See W. Geiger, Etymologie und Lautlehre des Afgānischen 17 (183), Persson, Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung 338, 817 n., Walde-Pokorny, Vergl. Wörterb. der idg. Sprachen II, 317 f., 329. The problematical and (from the standpoint of Sanskrit) arbitrary character of this explanation is clear. Variants of the same word with dental and cerebral are not uncommon in Sanskrit (see Wackernagel, l.c.). According to the general view the cerebral must be due to a later phonetic change, parallel to the Prakrit development. It has however been pointed out above (s. vv. *udumbāra- and *kubja-*) that in many Proto-Munda loanwords the cerebral is the original sound, the dental in the Vedic equivalent being due to a tendency of the Vedic language to avoid the cerebral (which was considered a characteristic of the vulgar speech) and to substitute the dental for it. If we should apply the same explanation to *naḍā-*) *naḍā-*) we should have to conclude that the form with ḍ was already used in common speech to such an extent that the tendency to substitute ḍ was unable to assert itself. This would imply, however, that *naḍā-*) is a foreign word like *udumbāra-.* As a matter of fact, for a word for “reed” this assumption would be far from improbable, the more so since *nardo-/*nardho-*) (Walde-Pokorny, II, 317) does not look like a genuine IE. word. (I do not enter into a discussion of Skr. *nalada-*) which Horn, Grundr. der neu-persischen Etym. 237, explains as a Sanskritization of Greek νάρδος, whereas others derive Aram. *nardā* from Sanskrit, νάρδος being a borrowing from Aramaic; Lüders separates *nalada-*) from *naḍā-*)

108) But see also his note on 1, 179, 4.
Among the many Hindi words of Aryan derivation (naṛ, naṟḷa, nār, nāṟa, nāṛi, nāl, nāḷa, nāḷi, etc.) we also meet with some variants with r, as narī, narrival (also dial. naṟṟū, naṟṟū, naṟṟī, naṟṟi) “windpipe, gullet, throat”, which remind of S. naṟṇī, naṟi, id. Notwithstanding the metaphorical sense of the last words it does not appear that they are borrowings from Aryan (as is the case with S. naṛi “pulse”). The nasalization in naṛṇī, it is true, can be due to a quite recent development (such a nasalization occurs even in English loanwords), but naṛi shows the normal Munda change of r to ōoff (possibly the original * naṟṇī. It is not clear how this form could have been borrowed from Aryan.

On the other hand, many of the NIA. words which are usually connected with Skr. naṛā- are used in senses which clearly betray their derivation from āṛ-āṛa, cf. Ass. naṟā “stubble” (nāl “stalk”) 109), Kshm. naḷ “stalk” (: naḷ “reed”), Hi. naḷ “bamboo-joint”, Mar. naṇē “to clear a field of stubble”, naḷ “lotus-stalk”, Or. naṟa “rice-straw”. See Turner s.v. naḷ. These words point to an original meaning “bare, leafless” (see above, sub 4 and 2), from which also the meaning “reed” may have developed.

Perhaps Skr. mṛnḷa-, n. “lotus-root or fibre” (since Mhbh., Rām.) can furnish the definitive proof of the Proto-Munda origin of naṛā-. Pali has muḷḷa-, muḷḷi- “stalk of a lotus”, which Geiger § 43 regards as the Middle Indian equivalent of mṛnḷa-. The evidence for the change ṇ > ō is however extremely slight (as for veḷu-, see p. 34): on the other hand, Vedic muḷḷi-, f. (or muḷḷi-?) ”edible root of lotus” is evidently the same word (PTS. Dict., Tarapada Chowdhury, JBROS. 17, 1931, 46). If so, we have probably to do with two Proto-Munda variants *mṛṛ-ṇala and *mu-ṇḍala. It should be noted that in some Dardic dialects there occurs a word for “root”, which seems to be closely related, e.g. Bashkarik nṛ, Palola nāṛi, Gawar Bati nāṛ. We may accordingly conclude with a reasonable degree of certainty that naṛā- is a nasalized variant of dāṇḍā- and consequently of Proto-Munda origin.

42. dāḍima- m. “the pomegranate tree” (n. its fruit).

Since Mhbh., Rām., Suśr. Also dāḷima- (Amaruś., cf. Pa. dāḷima-). dāḍimba- (Trik., comm. of Maḥēśvara on Amara 2, 4, 64), cf. Hi. dāṛim, dāḷim 110). Lüders, Philologia Indica 556, regards dāḍima- as a Prakrit word and derives it from Pkt. dāṭhā- (Pa. dāṭhā-) “tooth”, the original form having been *dāḍhimant-. This explanation would be plausible but for the variant dāḍimba- (cf. Or. dāṛimba, dāḷimba, Hi. dāṛimba, Mar. dāḷīb), which this theory fails to account for. Bağchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, Introd. p. XXVIII, suggested an Austro-Asiatic derivation, which however is unacceptable (Malay buah “fruit”).

109) See above on Hi. nāṛa “stubble” : Skr. nāṛača.-
110) For loanwords in Indonesian see Lafeber, Vergelijkende Klankleer van het Niasisch I. 96. who also points to Hebrew rimmon, Coptic erman, etc.
The pomegranate, whose many seeds so strongly suggest the idea of fertility is usually denoted by names meaning "round, protuberant, pregnant", e.g. Skr. lex. pinda, n. (Trik.), Pkt. pinda, "dādimam" (Deśīn. 6, 48) : Skr. pinda- "a round mass, lump, globe, ball, knob", pindikā- "a round swelling or protuberance", and Tam. kāla-muḷ from kāla- "to crowd, be full, be abundant". Note that the Tam. word also denotes the Cardamom-plant (= Skr. bahulā-). As for dādimam, dādīmba, its radical element is dīmba, cf. dīm, m. "egg", lex. go-dīmba, go-dīm-ba- "water melon", godumbā, f. "Cucumis maderaspatanus, colocynth" (comm. on Caraka), lex. kurumba- "a certain kind of orange". See pp. 24, 66, cf. Kh. dīmba- "cucumis", tumbā- "pumpkin", Ho dambau "custard apple".

Another derivative from the same root is Skr. jambīra, m. "citron tree" (n. its fruit), Suśr., Bhāg. Pur. The lexicographers record many variants, e.g. jambhīra-, jambhara-, jambhala-, jambha-, jambhin- (the last of which is due to popular etymology); see Turner s.v. jimar. It owes this name to its roundish shape (cf. Ho simri "bean") and, probably, to its "fertility" (cf. the synonyms bī japūra, phalapūra). A synonym of jambīra is Skr. lex. nibbū, nimbūka, m. "citron tree" (Rājanighantu), cf. nimbikaphala-pānika, m. "lemonade" (Bhāvaprakāsa). The origin of this plant has been amply discussed by several American scholars to whose articles I may refer for particulars and bibliography. H. W. Glidden presumes its original habitat to have been the Eastern Himalaya (p. 393), accordingly an ancient Austro-Asiatic area, but does not hazard to explain its name (p. 396). As the plant and its name have spread over a vast area it is hardly possible to trace the origin of the name and to elucidate the relations between the variants found in India and Indonesia, e.g. 1) Hi. nibū, Or. nembu, Panj. nimbei, Mar. nibū, Nep. nibu 2) Nep. nibu, nibu, Beng. nebu 3) Nep. Kum. nimuwa, Ass. nemu, Hi. nimū, limū (see Turner s.v. nibu); cf. S. lemba, M. lemba (So. lenbā- is a loanword according to Ramamurti, Engl. Sora Dictionary). Whatever may be the origin of Malay limau, Jav. limo, the Austro-Asiatic character of nibu-/nimbu-/nimu-is clear and there can be little doubt that these forms are nasalized variants of dīmba-/dīmba-. Cf. lex. limpāka-, m. id.

Skr. jambū, f. "rose apple tree, Eugenia Jambolana" (since Mhbb.) is apparently a derivative from the same root.

43. dundubhi-, m. "drum".

Since the RS., in common use throughout the Sanskrit literature. As it

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112) The derivation of nimbu-, name of the Azadirachta Indica (Ht. nīm) is unknown. The explanation proposed by Johansson, Etymologie und Wortgeschichte 34, Charpentier, ZDMG. 73, 140 ff. (<ni-amra-) is hardly correct.

113) Also dundabhi-, e.g. dundabhyaś ca mahāsvanāḥ, Mhbb. 7, 82, 4 Bomb.
looks like an onomatopoea (Uhlenbeck, Wackernagel II, 1, 9), its etymology has not been the object of discussion. The shorter form dundu- recorded by the S'ābdaratnāvalī suggests a formation dundu-bhi-. The following words, however, will show that the radical element of dundubhi- is dubh-. The shorter form must accordingly be due to an incorrect analysis of the word by late lexicographers, parallel instances of which are given elsewhere (see s.vv. khīṅkira-, mukura-, etc.).

Dunduma- is not attested but its existence may be inferred from dundubher dundumāgitam, Uttarārām. 6, 2 (not recorded in the Pet. Dictionaries and Schmidt, Nachträge); cf. dundama- (S'ābdaratnāvalī). -dum- is the nasalized variant of -dubh-.

Dinda-, m.n. "a kind of drum" (Mhbb., Rām., Hariv., Mrch., Hitop., Vikramāṇka. jayadindima- 6, 11; 8, 15, etc.). In Rām. 5, 10, 44 it is mentioned as different from āḍambara- (in 45); likewise Mhbb. 9, 46, 58. As the dinda- is beaten on the occasion of proclamations (Mrch Parab 254, 2; 259, 2; 267, 8 etc., udghośadindima- Kathās. 91, 23) it is sometimes considered a synonym of ghosaṇa-, cf. the commentary on Daśāk. 138, 3 tadvaśināmāghośaṇaḥ, which renders ghosaṇaḥ as dindaṇaḥ. The feminine dinda- is sometimes met with (Hariv.). Besides this concrete accception of the word, dinda- is also used to denote a humming sound, esp. of elephants, e.g. Vikramāṇka. -dantindimah 15, 1, ripuṣāraṇa-dindaśadmadhvani- 15, 20, abhramubhujānaga-dindaśadmadhvāna- 5, 63; cf. Kādamb. 63, 5 Pet. mukha-dindaśadmadhvani-janitapṛitiḥ “delighting in making a humming sound with the mouth” (said of a young boy who imitates an elephant) 114). In Vikram. 13, 66 (spoken to a cloud) tvadṛyadadhvanidindaśarin vina the dull rumbling sound of the thunder seems to be meant. As an adjective it is used according to Böhlingk in Kādamb. 26, 13 Pet. abhigaṇḍa-dindaśanām madhulihām, although Miss Ridding’s translation “the bees, who ought to be the drums on the elephant’s front bones” seems possible. However, the abstract noun in jaladvipaṇām madadindimatvam Vikr. 9, 124, suggests an adjectival use of dinda-. Pa. ddaṇḍima-, dinda-, dinda- means only “a kind of kettle-drum”, similarly Hi. dinda- "a kind of small drum or tabor", dindaṇ (“= ḍamṛu, see below). Wackernagel II, 1, 9 reckons dinda- among the words of probably onomatopoeic origin.

tumbukin- “a kind of drum” (Böhlingk).

āḍambara-, m. “drum, noise, sound”, since āḍambaraghātā-, m. “drummer”, Vāj. S. 30, 19; cf. S'at. Br. 14, 8, 12, 1 (accented āḍambara-, whereas the grammaticians give āḍambāra- or āḍambāra-: Śāyana takes it as yathā āḍambarasya); Mhbb. 7, 82, 4 (kṣudrapatahaḥ Nīl.), 7, 72, 11 (tūryaravaḥ Nīl.), 9, 46, 58, Rām. 5, 10, 45 (in the last two passages together with

114) Similarly Tam. parai-y-āṭi-, parai-y-āraɪ- “to publish by beat of drum”.

115) Miss Ridding’s translation (p. 54) “full of joy at the sound of the bell held in his mouth” is hardly correct.
\( \text{dīṇḍima-} \). Wackernagel I, 177: "mit Verdacht fremden Ursprungs". 116)

\( \text{λαμβάρα-} \) "a kind of drum" (Brh. Ār. Up.), corresponding to (ā)\( \text{ḍambarā-} \) in the S'at. Br., may be compared to Pa. \( \text{āḷambā-, āḷambāra-, āḷambāra-} \), the Middle Indian form of \( \text{āḍambara-} \). But the Vedic word may as well represent a Proto-Munda variant of \( \text{ḍamb-} \), cf. also \( \text{lambāpaṭaḥa-} \) (Harsa-car.), lex. \( \text{lampāpaṭaha-} \) (= pratipattipatahaḥ, ṭaṭṭaṭa?), and \( \text{lambate, lambhate, rambate "sabde"} \).

Pkt. \( \text{heramba-} \), m., id. (= \( \text{dīṇḍimaḥ} \) Deśīn. 8, 76) contains the same root variant as the preceding word and the Proto-Munda prefix \( \text{he-} \), \( \text{hi-} \) (cf. \( \text{hiṅgu-, Hiṭimba-, hindolayati, etc.} \) 117).

\( \text{ḍimbima-} \) (= \( \text{dīṇḍima-} \)), Harsa-car. 219. 14. Cf. \( \text{ḍimba-} \) "a humming-top" (Naiṣ.), the name of which refers rather to the sound produced by it than to its roundish form (cf. \( \text{ḍimba-} \)).

\( \text{ḍamaru-} \) m. "a kind of drum" (Rājat., Prabodhac.).

\( \text{ḍamarin-} \), do. (Bhāg. P.), cf. Hi. \( \text{ḍamru} \) (ḍamrin) "a tabor or small drum shaped like an hour-glass (held in one hand and beaten with the fingers), anything shaped like an hour-glass", Mar. \( \text{ḍamru} \). Is this drum thus named on account of its shape? This is the opinion of Przybuski J. As. 1926, I, 34 f., who observes that it "ressemble à un sablier, c'est-à-dire à une gourde à deux renflements qu'on aurait coupée de manière à ne conserver deux hémisphères". He therefore connects its name with \( \text{tumba-, udumbara-} \) (q.v.). On the other hand \( \text{ḍamaru-} \) cannot easily be separated from the verb \( \text{ḍamati} \) with which it is combined in \( \text{ḍamaḍ-ḍamaru-ḍāṅkṛtiḥ} \), Prabodh. 55, 6 etc. Cf. Turner s.vv. \( \text{ḍamaru, ḍampho, ḍaph} \).

Pali \( \text{duḍrabhi-} \) "a kettle-drum" occurs a few times beside, or as a variant reading of, \( \text{duṇḍubhi-} \). It possibly stands for \( *\text{dur-dabhī-} \), cf. \( \text{daddabha-} \) "a heavy indistinct noise, thud" (Jāt. III, 76), \( \text{daddabhāyati} \) "to make a heavy noise, to thud" (Jāt. III, 77). The last words are to be referred to a root \( \text{ḍabh} \), cf. \( \text{ḍabhakkāṁ} \) (indecl.) "a certain noise of falling fruit" (Jāt. III, 77). As a variant reading of \( \text{ḍabhakkāṁ} \) is handed down the form \( \text{duḍabha-} \), and for \( \text{daddabha-} \) a variant \( \text{duḍabhayasa}ḍa \)-occurs. Rhys Davids and Stede regard the last word as a Sanskrit gloss (= \( \text{duṇḍubhyasa}ḍa \)), but then \( \text{duḍ-} \) cannot be correct. I think the various forms clearly point to the existence of prefixed words \( *\text{dur-dabha-}, *\text{dar-dabha-} \) by the side of \( \text{ḍabh(akka-)} \). Hence \( \text{duḍrabhi-} \) may easily be explained as a case of metathesis.

All the words quoted may be referred to a common root \( \text{ḍa-} \), which appears as \( \text{duḥb-} \) (\( \text{duṇ-duḥbhi-} \)), \( \text{ḍum-} \) (\( \text{duṇ-duṃga}ṭita-} \), \( \text{ḍamb-} \) (\( \text{aḍambara-} \), \( \text{ḍimb-} \) (\( \text{ḍimbima-} \)), \( \text{ḍam-} \) (\( \text{ḍamaru-} \), \( \text{ḍamarin-} \)), \( \text{ḍim-} \) (\( \text{ḍin-dima-} \)). And this very root we find in modern Munda, cf. S. \( \text{ḍbōḍ} \), \( \text{ḍbōḍ dḥbōḍ} \), \( \text{ḍhboḍ dḥbōḍ} \) "dull,

116) Kittel’s suggestion (\( \text{āḍambara-} \) < Drav. \( *\text{āḍum vare, Tam. paṭai "drum", see Ind. Ant. 1, 237} \) is of course unacceptable.

117) Heramba- "buffalo" (Mālatf.m.) is a Drav. word, see Kittel, Ind. Ant. 1, 239. Gundert, ZDMG. 23, 519, Caldwell, Compar. Gramm., 2nd ed., p. 464, Bloch, BSOS. 5, 740, Ramaswami Aiyar, JAHRS. 10 (1937) 62.
flat in sound (kettle-drum and ḍhol)"; ṭōbhōṛ ṭōbhōṛ, adv. "dull" (sound of drum), ḍaba ḍubu "the sound of continual drumming, to drum confusedly", ḍebe ḍebe "the sound of the kettle-drum", ḍubu, ḍubu "to drum at (when outcasting)"; ḍubu ḍubu, ḍubu ḍubu "the sound of the kettle-drum when constantly beaten, rolling, drumming; to beat the drum"; ḍuban ḍuban, luban luban, adv. (the sound of the kettle-drum); ḍhabuṇ ḍhabuṇ, do. of the big kettle-drum, the ḍamaura; ḍhombak ḍhombak "with the sound of drums (ḍhol)"; ḍamana "a big drum (prob. the same as the following)"; ḍamaura, ḍamaua, ḍamā ṭamak "a very large kind of drum (no longer seen in the Santal Parganas)"; ṭamak "a kettle-drum" (prob. reborrowed from Hi. ṭāmak), ṭumak "the dancing-drum", M. dumān, Ho dumān "drum", M. damua "a kettle-drum", ḍhāplā "a kind of drum, tambourine", K. dubru "hewed drum", timki "drum (skin on earthen vessel)", ḍhapo "tambourine", So. dēb "to beat a drum".

Tam. tuṭumai, Tel. tuḍumu, Kann. tuḍubu "a kind of drum", Kann. tapaṭe "tambourine", and Panj. ḍibidiṭ "smal tambourine", Nep. ḍibdibe "a toy drum made of clay", ḍamphu "a small drum or tambourine" are loanwords from Munda.

S. ḍodom ḍodom "the sound of drumming the ḍhol" (onomatopoeic according to Bodding), and ḍodom ḍodom "the sound of Doms drumming when arriving at a village", the latter of which is obviously connected with S. ḍom, must be variants of the same word. S. ḍom denotes "a certain low Hindu caste, individual of that caste. They are small agriculturists and musicians (drummers)" = Hi. ḍom, ḍomb, Skr. ḍomba-. Pkt. ḍumba- ("śvapacaḥ", Deśīn. 4, 11). Since ḍodom ḍodom is on the other hand connected with ḍudumjak "a kind of dance (referring to the beating of the kettle-drum, ṭamak)", the Dombas must have been named from their drums, like the Pariahs (Tam. paraiyān from parai "drum"). Przybulski's suggestion that the name of the Dombas is ultimately derived from that of the gourd (J. As. 1926, I, 35) should be corrected in this sense. To his article reference may be made for further particulars.

44. pāṅgu- "lame".

Since Ath. V. Pariś. and Mhbb.; also pāṅguka-, pāṅgula-, cf. Pa. Pkt. pāṅgu-, Pa. pāṅgula-. There are many variants which may be classed according to their initial consonant:

initial v-: Skr. vaṅku- "going crookedly" (?), Pkt. vaṅga- "mutilated", Kshm. woṅg- "lame", perhaps Mar. vāg "douleur sourde (à la suite d'une confusion)" (which Bloch 404 derives from Skr. vyaṅga-), Panj. viṅgā "crooked";

initial b-, bh-: Rom. bango "bent, lame", Kum. bāno "crooked", Nep. bāngo "crooked, bent, twisted, perverse", Panj. biṅgā, viṅgā "crooked";
Hi. bākā “crooked”, Beng. bānkuro “short, hunch-backed”\(^{118}\), beṅgā “left-hand”; Skr. bhaṅga- “lameness, curve, crooked path”, bhaṅgura- “curled, wrinkled” (contaminated with a derivative from bhaṅj-), Hi. Lhd. bheṅgā “squint-eyed”, Beng. bheṅgurā “crippled”, Ass. bheṅgurā “crooked”;

initial p-, ph-: Skr. lex. phakka- “a cripple”, Pa. pakka-, id., Hi. paṅgā “crooked, deformed” (beside pāgu, pāg(u)lā “lame, deformed, crippled”), Mar. pāg, pāgū, pāglā “lame, maimed, deformed”, etc. Hi. pāgā, pīgā “thin, weak, delicate, tender”, Si. pāgo “weak” seem to belong to a different word-group.

The Proto-Munda origin of these words is apparent from the ablaut a: e: i: o and the variation p : b : bh. Cf. S. paṅg “to twist, distort, misrepresent”, pāk “to twist, twine, turn, pervert”, bākṛa “perverse, insincere, unscrupulous, crooked”, bakṛ “to pervert”, dhāṅkuc’ bāṅkuc’ “crooked, lame, limping”, bāk’beṅkṛk “crooked, winding, tortuous”, makṛ “wrong, left (cf. above Beng. beṅgā “left-hand”), perverse, awry, awkwardly”, M. pākṛ “one having a deformed leg”. Since these words point to a root ba-ka, Skr. pāgu- probably represents a Proto-Munda original *pa-ṛu. The connexion of Skr. maṅku- “trotting, reeling” and vakra- “crooked” (Ath. S.) is doubtful.

45. paṭaḥa-, m.n. “a kettledrum”.

In the epics and the class. lit. (see Pet. D., and cf. prayāṇa-paṭaha-, Harsacar. 203, ed. Parab, Vikramāṇk. 18, 106); Pa. paṭha- “a kettledrum, war-drum”. Beside this word there occurs paṇava- “a kind of drum” (cp., Mṛcch.), sometimes as v.l., as Paṇcat. 1, 15, 25 Bomb. (Edgerton: paṇava-), and in Pali (see Rhys Davids and Stede). The derivation from pranava- (Böhlingk, Uhlenbeck) is hardly correct. There must have been some difference between the two kinds of drum, cf. Tamil paṇavam “a small single-headed drum” : paṭakam “drum of the akamulavu class, small drum, tabor, kettle-drum, war-drum”.

With suffix -ha- (cf. kalaha-, maṭha-, etc.) from paṭ/paṇ-. On account of maddh-, maddhuka-, maṭṭa- (names of drums) the root may originally have been ba-ḍa (wa-ḍa). Since this nasalization points to Proto-Munda, Tamil paṇi. paṭai “drum” are perhaps Munda lws. Cf. S. bhōṭ bhōṭ “with a pattering sound (as of falling hail)”, paṭ paṭ, paṭ paṭao “to crackle, patter”, paṭas paṭas, paṭas putus “with successive sounds (firewood being broken, falling hail-stones, etc.)”. paṭes paṭes “with sharp cracking, clicking, crackling sounds”, paṭak’ paṭak’ “snappishly, rattlingly”, bhud bhud “with a pattering, thudding sound (as mangoes continually falling down, hail)”, bhad bhad, id. (cf. H. bhādbhadāṇ “to make a sound by striking two bodies together, strike repeatedly”), bid bid “with a

\(^{118}\) Chatterji, Journ. Greater India Soc. III, 1936, 48 f., compares Sakai bēṁ-koŋ “crooked”, Semang beŋko “curvature”, botko “hunchbacked” (Blagden’s Vocabul. B 177) but these words are identical with Malay beŋko.
pattering sound (of people heard running at night)")", bidīr bidīr "the drumming of rin'jā", bhidiś bhidiś "the sound of the dancing-drum, when beating a certain time (rin'jā, karam dancing)", phetāṛ phetāṛ, phetāṛ phetāṛ "a certain kind of drumming", bhetaṛ dūbaṇ, hetar dūbaṇ "the sound of dancing-drums and kettle-drums" (onomatop. according to Bodding), etc.

46. pataṅga-. m. "grasshopper".

Beside pataṅga- "flying, bird" (RS., Ath. S.) there occurs since the S’at. Br. a word pataṅga-, m., which denotes several insects, esp. grasshopper, butterfly or moth. In Pali the word is exclusively used for the grasshopper: the Pa. word has a cerebral (pataṅga-), which Bloch, BSOS. 5, 739, explains through Dravidian influence (Tel. padu “falling”) 119). The PTS. Dict., however, points to Skr. lex. phaṭāṅga- f. “cricket” (S’abdacandrikā) and assumes that this word has been influenced by pataga-. As a matter of fact, the modern Aryan languages have interesting words for “grasshopper” which cannot be derived from the Skr. root pat- “to fly”, cf. Ass. phariṅ “any winged insect”, Nep. phaṭyāṅro, phateṅro “grasshopper, cricket”, Beng. pharin, Hi. patiṅga, phatiṅga, phaṅgaṅga “grasshopper”.

The same initial aspirate recurs in the Skr. root phal- which is not recorded (apart from phal- “gatau”) in the Petersb. Dictionaries and in Schmidt’s Nachträge. Böhtlingk quotes one instance of ut-phal- “aufspringen” (Bālar, 16, 39) s.v. phal- “to burst”. A second instance occurs in Kathās. 108, 132 utphalan “bouncing up”, where Brockhaus’s text is corrupt (see Speyer, Studies about the Kathās. 82, 144). As an additional example may be quoted Vikramāṇkad. 16, 39

śvā nirgataḥ kanakasṛṅkhalayaḥ sahaiva
kopaṇ nirīkṣya viśato gahane vārāhān
ruddhas tayā viṭapikāṇṭakākīlakesu
sūkrandakaṇṭhakuharo muhur utpaphāla.

The noun phāla- is recorded from Vikram. 13, 77, utphāla- from Kathās. 26, 20. Add kṛṭphālam (patanti) Vikram. 17, 59. Cf. Hi. phālna “to spring”, Nep. phāl “leap, jump”. The corresponding verb in Nep. is however, not phālna (which means “to throw out, displace”), but phādnu “to jump, caper”, (cf. Hi. phādnā, Beng. phādā, Kum. phādnā, Mar. phādnē “to leap”), which points to a root pad-. A similar root occurs in words meaning “kick”, e.g., Pkt. pattharā-, padḍālā-, padḍūa- “kick” (caraṅghāṭāḥ, Deśīn. 6, 8). A comparison of Munda words tends to show that these word-groups are connected, the original meaning being that of a quick, spasmodic movement (which also accounts for Hi. phāṭphaṭānā

119) According to the Abhidhānappadīpikā it has t when denoting a bird. See Geiger § 42 (vaṭaṁśa-, of unknown origin, is no evidence for a development t > t).
"to move convulsively", Guj. phadphadhivu "to flutter", Nep. pharpaharau nu "to twitch, flutter, flap", etc.): cf.

M. p(h)āda. Ho padā. K. pandā "to kick", S. phanda "to kick backwards", phadgal "to kick out", phadrak "to kick, move the limbs spasmodically", phanthil, phentor, phencet "to fly off, rebound, spring up or back" (M. p(h)āndil "to spurt out, to fly off"), phente phere "jumping about" (contaminated with a word meaning "twisting", see s.v. mendha-), perel perel "with jumps, leaps, bounds", pedel pedel "quickly, jumping along", pidga "to gambol, run about, twist, jerk", piriak' piriak' "to make spasmodic movements with the legs or arms", pidgić "to pinch, sting, start up, to be startled, kick" (e.g. duhaqe jokhec' gaiye pidgić'ena "while they were milking her the cow kicked"), pidic', id., pidråk' pidråk' "with a sudden movement of arms and legs, to make such movements, to kick, hit out", padak' padak', padgak' padgak' "bounding, jumping along", padnuec' "to run away, flee". If biṣ biṣ "hurriedly, to run about" and bidría bidrić "hurriedly, fast" are connected, the root is ba-ḍa. Cf. kharpatao, khar barao "to be restive, jump and prance, fidget", khaṭ pat(a) "restless, noisy, at variance". There may be contamination of different word-families but it is hardly possible to draw a dividing-line between them. As for the meaning "to flutter" (Nep. pharpaharau nu "to twitch, flutter, flap", phatphathau nu "to struggle, flap about, flutter") cf. S. phada phud "to flap, flutter", phad phad "with a do. sound", phar phar "to flutter, rush".

47.  p u n k h a - , m. "the lowest (feathered) part of an arrow".

Since Mhbb. Rām. The same sense is given for Tam. puṇkam, whereas the Pet. Dict. defines it more exactly as denoting: "der unterste, mit der Sehne in Berührung kommende Theil des Pfeils, in dem der Schaft und die Federn stecken". Cf. Pa. poṅkhaṇupoṅkham "arrow after arrow, constantly". Bloch 371 suggests a connexion with Mar. poğh "extrémité d'une ligne, d'une rangée", which is not, however, quite clear. Charpentier, ZDMG. 73, 130 f., derived puṅkha- from *pukkha- and compared puccha-(unacceptable)\(^{120}\). In a recent publication (Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 110) Burrow explains it as a Dravidian loanword on account of Tam. puluku "arrowhead", Kann. piluku, pilku "the lower part of an arrow which comes in contact with the bowstring and contains the feathers and shaft". If so, puṅkha- would be based on a Dravidian form with the liquid assimilated.

Cf. however S. phōk "the notch of an arrow for receiving the bow-string, the notch at the top of a post, to cut a notch", phōṅkē "with openings in walls, with gaps, holes", phāk "a gap, an opening, breach, chasm" (possibly a reborrowing, cf. Hi. phāk "cut, opening, aperture in fruit, etc."),

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\(^{120}\) Turner s.v. puṅkha suggests some connexion with Pkt. paṅkha- < pakṣa- "wing, feather".

48. puṇḍārīka-, n. “the white lotus”.

Since RS. 10, 142, 8 in common use (see Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index I. 526). From *puṇḍarī-, cf. puṇḍari-sraja “a wreath of lotus leaves” (TS., TBr.), and puṇḍarya-, puṇḍarya-, n. (\(\text{[= prapuṇḍarīka-}\)) “a certain herb used as a remedy against eye-diseases”.

The primary sense must have been “white” (see below). This leads us to suppose a connexion with puṇḍā- (since S’at. Br.), puṇḍura- (since Suśruta, Varāh. Brh. S.) “whitish, yellow, white, pale”. Pkt. padḍa- “white”. Weber connected these words with palitá- “grey” (Greek πολιός, etc.), which was accepted by Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergleich. Sprachgesch. 90, Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I. 170, Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 54, etc. Although this explanation has become something like a dogma (e.g. Specht, Der Ursprung der idg. Deklination 117) \(\text{[122]}\), its problematical character is obvious when we compare Pkt. padḍa-. IE. formations *pēl-do- and *pēl-ndo- (which one would have to posit in explanation of padḍa- and puṇḍā-) are mere theoretical constructions. There is hardly one of the word-explanations, for which Lidén assumed the suffix -ndo-, -ndo-, which stands a closer examination. Pkt. padḍa- rather points to a Dravidian or Proto-Munda origin of puṇḍā-.

Cf. S. ponḍ “white”, ponde “a common nickname of Santal girls who are very light-coloured when small”, ponde ak “a whitish variety of the sugar-cane”, Mahle pōṇḍ, M. Ho pōnda, Bh. pōndē, Kw. pūndī “white”; S. pendra, penḍraha “grey-eyed, white-eyed”, pander (f. panderi) “having light-coloured, greyish eyes” (Campbell: “having a white skin”). M. penḍra “greyish buffalo”, Ho pāndaī “white pumpkin”, perhaps also S. porsa, phorsa “greyish, reddish-white” (but see s.v. phalgū- “reddish”), and pōtqhaṅ “whitish, greyish, dirty-grey”, pālkui “fair, light-coloured (hair), pale (leaves)”. Note that polso “dim, hazy” (cf. popolhot’, etc.)

\(\text{[121]}\) Against Chatterji 405 (who compares phāp “swelling”, phāpōl “empty”) and Turner 411 (Nep. phoko “blister, boil, ulcer, tumour” is rather related to S. bākā “navel”, see p. 155, n. 58).

\(\text{[122]}\) Otherwise but quite improbable Thieme, ZDMG. 93 (1939) 136.
is also used in the sense of "whitish, not quite white". S. pāṇḍu and pāṇḍuṇa (also pāṇḍra?) are re borrowings from Hindi.

K. pulum and J. pīlē "white" contain *puḍ- and *pīd- (cf. S. pendra), unless pīlē is an Aryan loan-word. The NIA. forms of the word for "yellow" (H. pīlā, etc.) are not clear (see Turner, s.v. pahēlo), but the Skr. word pīta- "yellow" (since Grī. S. and Upan.) resembles the Munda words so much that the question arises, if it may perhaps stand for *pīda- (with early decerebralization and unvoicing). The derivation of pīta- is not known but there is at least one point which seems to indicate a foreign origin, viz. pittā, n. "the bile" (since Ath. S., VS., S'at. Br.), likewise of unknown origin. In view of Dutch gal "bile" : geel "yellow", Engl. gall : yellow, Greek γόλος : γολοῦς, it may be connected with pīta-, but then both i : t and t : tt suggest a foreign origin (which may be Proto-Munda).

Punḍra, n. "mark on the forehead" (lex. punḍa-, m.) is probably a Dravidian word, cf. Tam. potṭu, Tel. Kann. botṭu "a round mark (red, white or black) worn on the forehead, dot, spot, mark", Tam. pulli "mark, dot, speck, etc.", pori "spot, dot, point". If this supposition is correct, S. topondi "mark made by goad, esp. on buffaloes" (Campbell) must be a Dravidian loanword with secondary prefixation.

49. pelava- "tender, delicate (flowers, shoots, members)".

Since Suśr. and Kālidāsa. A non-Aryan word (but Telugu pēlavamu "soft, weak, easy, sapless" is an Aryan loan-word). Unacceptable Uhlenbeck: pelava- from *palyava-. A suffix -va- is but rarely added to foreign words (in malvā- "foolish, silly" and similar instances we have probably to do with words originally ending in -u-, to which -a was added, hence *maḍu-a-: see for this word p. 104). On the other hand, a suffix pe-, variant of the well-known prefix pa- (par-, pan-), occurs in some Proto-Munda words, as pedanda- (see s.v. daṇḍa-); cf. bhe- beside ba- (see s.v. bakura-), and me- beside ma- (cf. mekhala, see s.v. śrīkhalā). If however pelava- contains the same prefix pe-, the root word lava- may be compared with S. lewa "supple, pliant, flexible, soft", which is used of sticks, branches and of the human body, just as pelava-.

Other derivatives from la-wa are, e.g., S. lib lib "soft, mellow, saturated", M. Ho lebe "soft", S. labur labur "soft, softened, pulpy", labur "soft, pliant, slack, supple, overripe", leber leber "soft, tender, thin", libir libir "soft, mellow, pulpy", lōbhor "slack, soft", labur "soft, boggy", libor "soft, tender", M. leber leber, libur lubur "very soft and overripe", S. lib libur = lib lib, libra "slack, too pliant", lē勃rē "soft, tender, slack", lībara labes "soft, tender, ripe (fruit)", labas lubus "soft, fat, plump", and many other words as labak' lubuk', lābit', lōbhē, lubui, lēpē pejē, lepēs, lēpōt', lēpōt', lapotean, lapra.
50. phalgū - "reddish".

A word of the Yajur-Veda (TS., KS., VS.), cf. phalguna- "reddish, red" (TS., VS., = arjuna- in the other recension). Derivative: phalguna-, etc. Usually connected with visphuluṅga- (since S'at. Br.), sphuluṅga- (since Mbbh.) “spark of fire” (cf. visphuluṅgaka-, RS.), and with Lett. spulguot "to glitter, sparkle", Arm. phail (from *spheli-) "sparkle, lustre, splendour". See e.g. Johansson, IF. 2, 44, Brugmann, Grundriss I2, 510, Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 218, Uhlenbeck, s.v., Fick I4, 149, Walde-Pokorny II, 679, etc. The meaning "reddish" is not, however, favourable to a connexion with words for "spark".

The Yajur-Veda has several Proto-Munda words with suffix -ga- or -gu-, e.g. khadga-, m. "rhinoceros", phalgu- "minute, weak" (cf. also khaḍga- "sword"). S. podgoce "reddish, pale red, reddish-brown" suggests a similar explanation for our word phalgu-. The guttural is suffixal. cf. podgoct "pale (red)". Since podgoce must stand for *podgoce on account of porsa "reddish-white (fowls)", phorsa "greyish, reddish-white", the l of phalgu- represents the cerebral (as in phalgu- "minute", see p. 100).

This cerebral is still preserved in pāṭala- "pale-red; m. pale-red colour, redness" (since Kauś, Kālidā, Varāh. Brh. S.), also name of the tree Bignonia Suaveolens (since the epics). Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgesch. 90, compared Skr. hāṭaka- "gold" (which is connected with Old Church Slav. zlato, IE. *gholto-), and connected pāṭala- with pāṇḍu- "pale, white" (123). This last word is however rather a Proto-Munda word (see s.v. punḍariṅka-); hence the original *pel-to- (assumed by Lidén) lacks any support. On the other hand, the sense of pāṭala- suggests a connexion with phalgu-. As for pallavita- "reddened" (Vāsav., see Schmidt, Nachtr.) I do not hazard any opinion.

51. bākurā-.

RS. 1, 117, 21 cd (to the Āśvin) runs as follows: abhī dāsyum bākurēna dhāmantorū jyōtīś cakrathar āryāya "inden ihr ... mit dem Bakura den Dasyu anblieset, habt ihr weites Licht für den Arier bereitet" (Geldner).

It is disputed which precise meaning the word conveys: according to the indigenous tradition "thunderbolt, lightning"; Roth prefers "a kind of war-trumpet" (on account of bākurā-), Geldner: "etwas, woraus ein Schlauch gefertigt wird". But bākurā- 9, 1, 8

tāṁ tīṁ hinvanty agrūvo
dhāmantī bākurāṁ dītim

"Die unvermählten entsenden ihn; sie blasen den tönenden Schlauch" (Hillebrandt, Lieder des RV.), on which Geldner's explanation is based, need not be a vṛddhi-derivative (see below). From the parallelism between

123) Similarly e.g. Walde-Pokorny II, 53.
1, 117, 21 and 9, 1, 8, it is evident that bākura- and bākura- (ṛddh-) must convey approximately the same sense, the proper meaning of both words being something like "resounding", while the first word is used as a substantive. As a matter of fact, the forms bekura- ("voice, sound" according to Naigh., cf. bekura nāmāsi, Pañcav. Br. 1, 3, 1) and bekūrī-nākṣatrāṇy apsarāsō bekūrīyā nāma, Taitt. S., Kāth. S., Lāty., bhēkūrīyā Vāj. Sāṁh., bhākūrīyā S'at. Br.) prove that b-, b(h)ā-, b(h)e- are Proto-Munda prefixes 124).

Now we find in Santali bhākura bhākura "the call of a leopard" (which in Boddington's opinion is an onomatopoea), bhāṅkur bhāṅkur "do., about the sound of a tight string when strung, of a buṣaṅ or bahlā when played", hākura "to bray, growl (donkeys, leopards)", M. hukur "a low moan or growl, the cry of a buffalo". Although the vague character of such terms renders it impossible to furnish a conclusive proof it seems likely that the radical syllable kur- of bākura- etc., is identical with the root element of bhākura, etc.,

Note also Pali bakkula- "a demon, uttering horrible cries, a form assumed by the Yakkha Ajakalāpaka, to terrify the Buddha". It has been explained as corresponding to Skr. vyākula- or as an error for pākula-. Its meaning leads us rather to derive it from *bar-kur-a- and to connect it with the above mentioned words. But as this word is only once attested (Udāna 5) no theory can be founded on it.

52. bāḍīśa-, m.n. "hook, esp. fish-hook".

Attested since Mbbh., Râm. (e.g. 3, 51, 28; 68, 14), cf. S'āk. 114, 2 (ed. Pischel1), Bhāratamaṇḍ. 1, 125, Brhatkathāmaṇḍ. 18, 153. In Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa it denotes a hook-shaped surgical instrument. Instead of bāḍīśa- (which is the oldest form, see Lüders, Philol. Indica 549) we also meet with the variants vāḍīśa- (see Pet. D.), biliśa- (Suparnādhy. 17, 2 125), bāḍīśa- (Vikramāṇk. 12, 63), valiśa- (Lex., cf. Tamil vaṭiṣam, veṭiṣam for paṭiṣam), lex. valiṣī- (-i-), vadiṣī-, vāriṣī- (Hi. vaṛiṣī!).

The vocalic interchange a : ā : i suggests a Proto-Munda origin: Proto-Mundas and Dravidians, were, indeed, the fisherfolk of ancient India. The modern Munda words (S. bāṛsi, M. bāṛsi, bānsi), however, are clearly Aryan loanwords. Judging from such parallels as Pa. vaṅka- "crooked, a hook, a fish-hook", Tamil tūṇṭu "fish-hook" (: toṭi "curve, bend", tōṭṭi "elephant hook or goad, hook, clasp") the original meaning of the word has probably been "crooked". Bāḍīśa- is accordingly to be separated

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124) Frisk, Zur indoir. und griech. Nominalbildung 33, wrongly analyses bāk-ura-
from san-ḍiša- "tongs" 126). Since the suffix -iša- also occurs in other loan- words, as for instance in bāliša- "young, not full-grown, childish" 127), baḍ- may be derived from the Proto-Munda root ba-ḍa- "crooked", cf. S. bhaḍeça, bhaḍę “with crooked foot, bandy-legged, bow-legged”, bhaḍęt “knock-kneed, limping”, paṭwęt “crooked, perverse, etc.”, antęt paṇṭęt “crooked, winding”, paṭęa “crooked, disobliging” (e.g. paṭęa tēṅga “a crooked stick”), paṇṭęt “to interlace, plait, put across”, paṇṭęt, peṇṭęt “miserly, stingy” (like paṭwęt’), peṭa “perverse, crooked”, peṭer “twisted, turned”, piṭia paṭe “zig-zag, wrigglings”, piṭi “to coil up, curly”, piṭuṇa paṭwę “crooked, bent, zig-zag”. See also s.v. menḍa-.

Note Skr. palāva- “fishing hook” (Vāsavad. 138, 3), perhaps from paḍuṇa? (cf. paṭwęt’, piṭuṇa paṭwę).

53. baṇḍa- “maimed, mutilated, crippled”.

1. A word of the Vedic language (Ath. S., Sāṅkh. S’S., Lāṭy., Āp. S’S.), especially used with reference to the hands (chinnaḥastakaḥ, hastādiwajitaḥ lex.); according to the commentaries it also means “impotent”. Cf. āvanda-(ābanda-) “not tailless” (Eggeling, transl. of S’at. Br. 3, 3, 1, 16).

No satisfactory explanation has thus far been given. Johansson, KZ. 36, 371 (cf. Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatos Regeln 70) derived it from

126) Skr. sanḍiša-, m. “tongs” is only recorded by the Sabdakalpadruma and is generally regarded as a corruption of sanḍiḥaśa- (see Pet. Dict.). In view of Kui dīśa “tongs, pincers”, however, we cannot reject a priori the possibility of a Proto-Munda word *sa-ṇḍiś- having existed alongside of sanḍiḥaśa- (which may have ousted it in the printed texts); Pa. sanḍiša- would then represent the variant das- (cf. Beng. sārasi. Hi. sāṛṣṭ, whence S. sanḍasi, sāṛasi, sṛasi. M. sandasi “a blacksmith’s pair of tongs, pincers”), and both may stand for dīṭ- das-, cf. S. daṭq, daṭqm (M. daṭo) “claw of a crab, to pinch, grip”, daṭkop “to pinch, nip”, daṭop “to seize with the toes”, dietom “the claws of a crab, to clutch, pinch, nip”, riḍṭ, riḍṭop, riḍṭkop, radop “to pinch, nib” (root da-da). Only critical text-editions can decide the question whether or not sanḍiša- has really existed.

127) Bāla- “young, not full-grown, childish, ignorant”, m. “child, boy, fool” (since Chand. Up., Sāṅkh. GS.) and bāliša- (adj.), id. (since Nir., Mbbh.) do not look like inherited IE words. Neither can the connection with Russ. balouvat’ (Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, 182, Uhlenbeck), nor that with balbalā-kr- or with bāla- “strength” (Walde-Pokorny II, 106, resp. 111) or with baṅkāya-, O. Ch. Sl. bolën (Scheftelowitz, ZII, 6, 113, KZ. 53, 250) carries conviction. Cf. S. bale “tender, fresh, young, infantile”, M. ālẹ họn “infant, youth”, bōle hōpon “very small children”, Ho bāle “early, young”, perhaps So. ḫeṃl “child, lad” (? cf. voc. ḫeṃ). Bodding compares S. bale to Semang bale’ “young, fine, thin, slender, little, small” (Blagden’s list, Y 40), which, indeed, bears a striking resemblance to it. Skr. bāla- (and Tam. vaḷu “youth, that which is tender or young?”) may be derived from this word which is, on the other hand, to be separated from S. bęḷen’ bęḷen’ “tender, delicate, very soft’, bęḷęçe’, bęḷęṃ, bęḷęṃ “tender, soft (about babies, some two three months old)”. These words are connected with bęḷęče ‘weak, tender, young, inexperienced’, bęḷęče. pęḷęče “small with a big belly”, bęḷęče “stunted, small, insignificant”, bāndha “young man” (Campb.), bāndha bāndhi “stumpy, short” (root uṇ-đa, see further s.v. bāndha). Cf. also So. bōlef “tender, young.”
*balnda- (root *beld- “to push, maim”), which was criticized by Persson, Beiträge zur ind. Wortforschung 266, n. 3. Scheftelowitz, KZ. 53, 251, proposes a similar explanation (*valnda- : Lat. vello). These theories disregard the fact that there is a class. Skr. word panḍa- , m. “eunuch”, which Böhltmgk (Pet. D.), Wackernagel I, 116, and Uhlenbeck connect with bandā-. Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 1945, 86 n. 30, separates both words and explains bandā- as a Middle Indian variant of vṛddhā- “cut”. It seems doubtful, however, whether panḍa- can be easily dismissed with. The IE. etymology proposed by Petersson (see op. c. 56), viz. connexion with Lat. pello, Old Engl. anñilt “anvil” (root *pel-d- “to beat”), is anything but plausible, as it is based on Forestov’s obsolete theory. The relation panḍa- : bandā- rather confirms Wackernagel’s opinion (based on the sole phoneme b) that bandā- is a foreign word (op. c. 184).

There are however more indications of a foreign origin. The following words point to an original meaning “defective”: Skr. vaṇṭha- “tailless” (Gaut.), “unmarried, an unmarried man” (Hemac., Med.); cf. Pkt. vaṇṭha- “unmarried” (akṛtaviśāhah, Deśīn. 7, 83). Skr. lex. vaṇṭha- “crippled, maimed, unmarried” (Hemac., Med.), cf. Pa. vaṭṭa- “cripple” 1281, vaṇṭha- “well-formed, (breast of woman)” 1291; Skr.dhpa. vaṇṭhata “ekacaryāyām” (wrongly Gundert, ZDMG. 23, 522: Tam. onru “one”), varthara- “mandah, mūrkhāh” (lex.), vanḍhya- (Pa. vanḍha-) “barren, sterile, fruitless, useless, wanting, destitute of” (abandha- Kālid., avandhya- “not fruitless, successful”), and, on the other hand, Pa. bhaṇḍu- “bald-headed, close shaven”, Pkt. bhaṇḍu- “tonsure, shaving”, bhaṇḍa- “decapitated” (chinnamūrdhā Deśīn. 6, 100 and 109 resp.). The same double semantic development from “short” to “bare, shaven” on the one hand, and to “stunted, blunt, defective, barren, etc.” “on the other, is also met with in derivatives from the roots ga-da (see s.v. kuṇṭha-), ḍa-da (see s.v. ḍaṇḍa-, ṣunṭha-) and ḍa-uva (see s.v. ṭiṣṭāra-) 1301. Cf. also Hi. bāḍa “maimed, crippled, docked, tailless”, Skr. bhadrā-kr- “to shave”, madrā-kr- “to sheaf”, Mar. bhāḍarnē “to shave, shear”, etc. (see further Tedesco, p. 90 f.).

The aspiration (in bhaṇḍ-, bhadr-), and the nasization (in madrā-, in addition to which many instances will be mentioned below) suggest a Proto-Munda origin, although they do not afford a conclusive proof: in Dravidian an initial v may also become m 1311 and the change m > v also occurs. A further indication of foreign origin is the surd in pāṇḍaka- (Kāṭh. S.), pāṇḍaga- (Ath. S.) 1321, pāṇḍa-, pāṇḍra- (Sāh. D.).

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128) Corrupt for vaṇṭha- according to the PTS. Dict.
129) Unlikely PTS. Dict. s.v. vaṇṭha- “stalk”.
130) Vāṭhri- “emasculated, unmarried” (RS) is usually connected with ṭōḍiḥ- rōḍiḥ xoḍiḥ “but the IE. character of the Greek word is not quite certain on account of the variants ṭōḍiḥ, ṭōḍiḥ and ṭōḍiḥ. Nevertheless vāṭhri- is hardly connected with bandā-, badhirā- (see below).
131) Ramaswami Aiyar, Educational Review, June 1930, p. 5 f. (off-print), Burrow, BSOAS, 11, 351 f.
132) For -ga- see Wackernagel I, 117 and Oldenberg ad RS. 1, 116, 1 (ārbhaga-).
pandraka- (Sāh. D., Märk. Pur.); cf. pandraka- (miswritten as yandruka-in Kap. S.), pandu- (lex.) “eunuch”. Pali has pandaka- “eunuch, weakling”, and according to some authorities Pkt. penda- (Deśīn. 6, 53) also means “eunuch”. In addition to the bibliography quoted above it should be noted that Burrow recently connected panda- with the Dravidian word for “woman” (Tam. pen, penṭu, etc.), see Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 109. But “woman” and “eunuch” are different notions: as for Tam. peti, pettu “hermaphrodite”, Tel. pedi “eunuch, hermaphrodite”, it is not quite certain that they are native Dravidian words as Tel. pede “a beardless man” is in all probability a Munda loanword (see p. 104) 133).

In other words the ɔ has been unvoiced and appears as t, c. This, together with the ablaut a: e: o/u, is a further indication of foreign origin. The vocalism points to Proto-Munda, rather than to Dravidian. Burrow, it is true, quotes some instances of a fluctuation between a, i and u in radical syllables of Dravidian words (Transactions 103, 108, etc.); it remains to be seen how many of them are native Dravidian words. The following are a few Aryan words derived from the same root as banda-: Skr. būṭakarna- (Paṇcat. Purṇabh. 134, 26: būṭa- “cut, rent, torn”) 134). Si. buto “ear-crop, without ears, wanting horns or tail, incomplete, short”, Panj. būra- “having the ears cut off, having no ears”, Guj. butho “reduced to a stump, blunt”. Hi. būcā “crop-eared” (cf. Nep. buco, bucco “deformed, mutilated, earless, noseless, tailless, tuskless, etc.”), Beng. bōcā “noseless”, etc.), bhotā, bōṭā, bōṭhā, bōṭhrā “blunt, dull”, būṭ “spring, stalk, stem; small, diminutive, stumpy”, bōṭ, bōṭā “stalk, stem, stump, finger”, Beng. bōṭa “foot-stalk of leaf or flower” (which Chatterji 356, 491 derives from *vṛṇṭa- (< vṛnta-); Hi. bhetu, bheti “stalk, stem”, peṛ “trunk of a tree, stubble”, per “tree, plant, shrub”. The meaning “stalk, stem” has developed from “stripped, leafless” (see s.v. danḍa-). For further examples of bod- I refer to Tedesco, p. 86 and 96 f., from whose materials I only quote Pkt. bodā- “mudita-mastakah” (Sheth), voda- “chinnakarnah” (Hāla), Mar. bodnē “to shave, fleece”, būḍa “bare, naked, void, wanting the usual ornament or accompaniment, hornless”. Cf. also Si. budo “toothless”, Hi. būrā, borā, baurhā, baulā, id. and see in general Turner s.v. bhutte.

Munda has a large number of derivatives from wa-da “short, blunt, stunted, bare, etc.”, cf. S. banda “docked, with stumpy tail” (perhaps reborrowing from Hi. bāḍa), bāḍia “with shortened tail, to cut off, etc.” (M. bāṇḍā, Ho. bāṇḍi “tailless”), bāḷṭi “a castrated pig”, (Ho. baidā “castrated”), bāḍar “dwarf, dwarffish, of small stature”, borā (M. borā).

133] Javanese wanda, “hermaphrodite”, Madurese bandhu(h), Nias mandru “barren” are highly interesting but I must leave it to competent judges to elucidate their relations to pand)a- (if there are any). Lafarber’s remarks (Klankler van het Niassisch, p. 95 with n. 1) do not carry conviction (for the Indian explanation of the name Pāṇḍu- cf. Mbhh. I, 100, 17 Poona ed.).

borda “blunt, to lose its edge”, bhoṭko, bhoṭro “blunt, dull”, boro “blunt, without teeth”, buṭa “the foot or base of a tree, the stem below the branches, trunk” (Ho buṭā “the trunk of a tree, a stump”), buṭra “short, dwarffish”, butür “short (of ears)”, podea “small, insignificant, useless”, ārruṇḍēt “little wretch, greenhorn”, ārruṇḍak “small, insignificant”, ārruṇḍe “stunted, crippled, small” (ārruṇḍe < da-da), ārruṇḍe “stunted, small, insignificant”, peḍgo “dwarffish, short”, buca “crop-eared, with neck partly broken off; to break off, cut off, crop”, M. buca “broken, defective” (cf. Beng. bocā), etc. The meaning “bare” is found in S. bānduc “bānduc”, bhandāl bhundul “with scanty clothing, naked”, bhundā (f. bhundli) “who has no girdle round the loins, unsightly, naked, improperly clad”, pōṭar pōṭar “bare, denuded”, pōṭak “to strip, peel off, rub off, break”, lāruṇc bārcuc, lāruṇc pāṭuc “naked, shamelessly”, etc. The last expressions are, like ārruṇḍēt etc., combinations of da-da and wa-da (see also p. 80).

2. Among the derivatives from da-da “short, stripped, bare” we find, by the side of āndēa, āndēka “bare, scantily clothed” etc., also āndēkāo “to be stripped, destitute, utterly poor”, hāle daḷe “destitute, forlorn, shelterless, to be in want”, tōṇa “scarce, insufficient”, lānda phucia, lar bāreqa “destitute, poor, indigent” (da-da + wa-da!). The same semantic development is found in derivatives from wa-da. Cf. beside Pkt. thalla-, ḍhella- “poor” (da-da) the rhyme-word phella-, id. (daridrah, Dēṣīn. 6, 85) from wa-da (cf. Mar. phel “empty pod”). Such parallel formations and rhyme-words derived from two different roots are a specific Munda phenomenon (see below). Cf. also Pa. potṭha- (v.l. poṭha-) “poor, indigent” and S. baḍhō “to lack, want, be too poorly”.

A parallel to daṇḍa- “pole, staff” (from da-da) is possibly Hi. baḷa “beam, pole, boat-hook”, cf. balti “rafter, pole, prop, the pole or bamboo with which a boat is propelled”, baṛer “beam, rafter” ~ Pkt. bali “post, pillar” (sthāna, Dēṣīn. 6, 95). The meaning “stalk, cane, reed” may further develop to “arrow”, cf. S. dōḷ “shaft of an arrow” ( > Skr. dūla-?), Skr. nāraca- (see p. 81), and kānda-, m.n. “stalk, stem; cane, arrow” (p. 50). Hence Rigvedic būndā-, m. “arrow” may be an “Aryanized” form (like udumbāra-, udumbāla-, nādā-, suven-) of a Proto-Munda word *bunda (from wa-da). Tedesco, Language 22, 1946, 190, rightly connects it with munḍa-, but the derivation from vṛdh- and the various sound-laws which it necessitates, are unacceptable. See further s.v. kamaṭha-.

Hi. chīnlā “to peel, pare, skin, excoriate”, chāl “skin, rind, peel, bark” belong to a group of derivatives from da-da (p. 79); cf. K. sāli “husks, bark, peel” ( ~ Mar. sāl), Gondi cāla, ciliya “husks”, Ladhadi sāl “husks”, etc. In the same way we may derive the following words from wa-da: Skr. busa-, n. “chaff” (Kuṣ, Suṣ.), buṣa-, busa-, buṣa- (lex.), Pa. bhusa- “chaff of corn”, Hi. bhus, bhūs, bhūsā, Mar. bhūs, Rom. phus, etc. (see Bloch 380). S. busa, buṣa “husk, chaff, bran, refuse” is a borrowing from Hi. but cf. poṭak “to strip, peel off, rub off, break”. Ho
porā “to skin”. Johansson’s explanation of Pa. bhūsa- (from bhraś-, KZ. 36, 356) is to be rejected. The aspiration in Pa. bhūsa- (Geiger § 40) is sufficiently explained by the Proto-Munda origin 138), just as in the case of Pa. tūsa-: Skr. tūṣa-, m. “the husk or chaff of grain” (since Ath. S.), which is again a rhyme-word of būsa-, derived from ṛa-ṛa. Like Guj. photṛa “chaff” 138) and Mar. phel “empty pod”, Tam. poṭṭu and Kann. poṭṭu, hoṭṭu “chaff, husk” are prob. Munda loanwords.

A very common semantic development, which is found in derivatives from all Munda roots with the meaning “stunted, short”, is: “small” > “child, boy” > “servant” (cf. Skr. kīṣara-, cēta-, etc. from ṛa-ṛa). Thus we find in Santali: Ṛedɡo “dwarfish, short” ~ bēṭkēc “weak, tender, young, inexperienced”; butṛa “short, dwarfish” ~ butru, butur “a child”; bandā “young man” (Campb.), a rhyme-word of K. gaṇḍā, gaṇḍa “boy” (p. 50), just as butṛa is of S. guṛa, id. Many derivatives occur in Aryan, e.g.:

with initial b: Skr. baṭu-, m. “lad, fellow, boy, a young Brahman” (since Mhbb., see Pet. D. V., 1642) 137), voṭa- (poṭa-) “female servant” (< *gir). Halāy., Pkt. boḍa- “young man” (tarunā ity anye, Desīn. 6, 96), vodраha-(bodraha-) 138), voraccha-, id. (7, 80), valla-, m. “child” (śīṣa, 7, 31), Nep. bhunu “very small, insignificant” (cf. Beng. tuṇī “little girl” from ṛa-ṛa), bhure “small, young”, bhuro “a small boy”, burce “dwarfish, shortish, dwarf”, burco “dwarf”. — With a different vowel: Hi. beṭā “son, boy, child, a form of address used by faqīrs towards their celās or disciples”, a Munda rhyme-word of *cēta; cf. Pkt. cēḍa-, cilla- “bālāḥ”, Mar. cēḍa “son”, Hi. cēlā “servant, slave, pupil, disciple” (Skr. cēta-, cētaka- “servant”) and S. cenḍa, tenḍa “young” : cetra “dwarffish”. Hence Chatterji’s suggestion (pp. 328, 491: *beṭṭa- < vetra, cf. vaṁśa- ) is to be rejected. See Turner s.v. beṭo. With initial aspirate: Pkt. bheṭī- “female servant” (ceṭī, Desīn. 6, 110); but bhutṭiṇa- “servant” (bṛtyaḥ 6, 106) is ambiguous (from a Proto-Munda echo-word *but-ṭun, cf. Beng. tuṇi?), cf. vanṭha- (akṛta-viśaḥ ... khaṇḍo ... bṛtyaḥ ca 7, 83);

with ṛ: Pkt. ṛhidā-, m. “dwarf” (vāmanāḥ Desīn. 6, 84), paṭo-, m. “boy” (bālāḥ 6, 9), peṇḍaa-, m. “young man” (tarunāḥ, saṇḍhāḥ 6, 53), identical with peṇḍa-, n. “khaṇḍami” (6, 81); Nep. phuco “small, small boy”, phucii “small boy”, phuci “small girl” (: Ass. phusun “worthless”, cf. S. phucii “small, little”, phucia “small-buttocked”). Skr. pota-, potaka-, m. “young of an animal or plant” is a comparatively young word 139). Hence it is very doubtful that it represents an ancient IE. variant of putrā-, Av. puṭra-, as the manuals of IE. linguistics usually assume (e.g. Walde–

135) Cf. Pa. khujja- < Skr. kubja-.
136) See also Turner s.v. phoso.
137) Wackernagel I, 184 rightly assumes a foreign origin. Cf. S. bṛtu- “servant”? (Erroneous connexion with Old Church Slav. bol by Schefelowitz, KZ. 53, 250 f.).
138) For the Munda suffix -ha-, see kalaḥa-, gaṇotsaḥa-, laṭaḥa-, maṭaḥa-.
139) It is still rare in Rām. (mrgapotaka- 3, 61, 5 Bomb.), and Mhbb. (śalapota-). Schmidt, Nachtr., gives pota- “small child, babe” (Yaśastil).
Pokorny II, 76, Specht, Der Ursprung der idg. Deklination 206, 220: Lett. putns "bird", etc.). Wackernagel, Sitz. ber. Preuss. Akad. 1918, 391 n., explains pota- as a Middle Indian form of putra-. It cannot, however, be separated from poṭaka-, m. "servant" (schol. on Kātyā. S'S.), poṭa-, voṭa- "female servant" (Hemac., Halāy.), "hermaphrodite" (Harṣac.). Moreover, the meaning "young plant" points rather to a word with the general meaning "small". Now Hindi has, besides poā "a nursling of any animal, plant" and pot, which are derived (resp. borrowed) from the Skr. word ¹⁴⁰), also poṭā "the young of an animal, an unfledged bird, young children", which is in my opinion a direct borrowing from Munda (cf. the parallel instance Skr. pūta- : Hi. pūṭh, puṭṭhā "buttock"). Pa. piliaka- "young of an animal" is ambiguous: either with Pkt. phīḍa- from wa-da, or a Drav. loanword (Tam. pilḷai, Kann. pille), unless the Drav. words are also of Proto-Munda origin (see p. 106);

with initial m: Hi. morā ḍa "a shaveling, dial. a boy", Bilaspuri munḍā "boy", etc. But maḍuśikā- "a dwarfish girl, unfit for marriage" (Āp. GS., vv. ll., mat-, maṇḍ-, maḍh-, maṇḍh-) is hardly connected.

In this connexion we may draw attention to an ancient word for "small", viz. phalgū- "minute, weak" (since Vāj. S.), phalgūvā- "small, weak" (RS. 4, 5, 14). Pa. phēggī- "worthless, inferior wood". Neither the connexion with Greek φηλιγόνιον: ἄντενει, ληγεί, nor that with spūṛj- (see Fick I 150) is acceptable. Moreover, the cases in which an initial aspirated surd can with certainty be traced back to prim. Indo-European are extremely rare. Like its homonym phalgū- "reddish", phalgū- "minute" stands for *phaḍ-gu and is connected with S. peḍḍo "dwarfish, short", beṭkēč "weak, tender, young, inexperienced" (note the same guttural suffix; cf. also khad-gā- "rhinoceros").

Among the derivatives from qa-da there are some which mean "solitary". It is doubtful, therefore, if Nep. phūṭte- "separate, alone" should be derived from Pkt. phīṭṭai "falls, is broken" (Turner s.v.) and, accordingly, be separated from Nep. phūṭta "separate", phuṭṭo "alone, separate, apart", phurkaro "separate, odd, extra". See below Skr. chamāṇḍa- "solitary person" and cf. the echo-word Nep. chuṭṭo-puṭṭo "divided up, separated" (qa-da + wa-da, see p. 81).

Skr. kavandha-, kābandha-, m.n., "headless trunk" occurs since the younger Vedic prose, see Renou, J. As. 1939, 390 f.: cf. adj. kāvandha- (S'īś.), Pa. kavandha- "the (headless) trunk of the body endowed with the power of motion; a headless dwarf, whose head has been crushed down into his body", Pkt. kamandha- (Pischel § 250) and Tam. kavamtam "headless body, demon, stump of a tree". See Wackernagel II, 1, 84 and Charpentier, Monde Or. 18, 13 (Kirste, SB. Wien. Ak. 132, 1895, p. 32, compares kavandha- with Gr. Καβάνθα). Renou holds this word to be identical with Ved. kābandha- "barrel, cask" ("belly" Ath. S.). I strongly

¹⁴⁰) See Turner s.v. pothi.
doubt that we have to do with one and the same word, the meaning ”trunk” being a further development of ”belly”; the meaning ”stump of a tree” in Tamil and its synonym ruṇḍa-, which is a Proto-Munda word, point in a different direction and suggest an original sense ”stunted”. Kābandha- will accordingly contain the Proto-Munda prefix ka- and the ”Aryanized” form of Pkt. bhaṇḍa- ”decapitated”.  

3. Besides Skr. madrā-kr- and Hi. morā quoted above there are many more words with initial nasalization in Aryan. Thus Skr. maṭaha- ”little, poor” (Yaśastil.), Pkt. maḍahaṃ ”small” (laghu Deśīn. 6, 117) are apparently related to, e.g., Nep. phuco ”small” and Pkt. phella- ”poor” (pp. 99, 98; Pa. atimāṭhaha- ”short” is of doubtful spelling and meaning). The suffix -ha- is a certain indication of Proto-Munda origin.  
Marathi has, beside maṭgā ”too small” (cf. S. peḍgā, Skr. phailgu-), also māṭkula- ”small”, which seems to contain a suffix-ulā (Bloch 381 does not discuss either the guttural or -ulā). On the other hand, Skr. lex. matkuna-, m. ”a beardless man, an elephant without tusks, a small elephant” 141, matkunā- ”pudendum sine pube” (see s.v. kunṭha- ”blunt, dull”) look like being derivatives from kuṭ-/kun- with prefix mat-. In reality, both will be combinations of mat- (root wa-da) and kun/kul- (root ga-da). Cf. Pkt. maṭta- ”hornless” (ṣṛṇgaviḥṇah Deśīn. 6, 112) 142 and Hi. mārā, māriyā ”weak, lean, thin, poor, worthless, trifling, mean, low” (a morphological parallel to nārā ”stumble” from da-da).  
In several Munda word-families we meet with a semantic development from ”defective, blunt” to ”lazy, stupid”, e.g. from da-da: M. ḍono, S. thoto, ṭoga, loro ”stupid, idiotic” (cf. Pa. dandha- ~ Nep. ṭañtha, id.). Hence S. bhondo ”inefficacious, slow”, bhōṅḍa bhōṅglaha ”slothful, fat and lazy” (contamination with ba-da and ba-ga ”fat”), bōḍ bōḍo ”lazy, idle” 143, bhoto ”stupid, ignorant,” bhucuṛ ”ignorant, stupid, loafing about”, bhoto ”blunt, dull, dull-witted”, bhoco ”stupid, foolish”, M. bāṅṭha- ”stupid, dull” and Hi. bhorā, bhōlā ”silly, stupid”, Nep. bhucuṛak ”ignorant, foolish, wild” (: Ass. bhosoko ”stumpy”) are clearly derived from wa-da ”blunt” 144.

141) See Turner s.v. makunu, id. (but matkuna- ”bug” is a different word, see p. 41 f.) and Hobson-Jobson s.v. muckna.  
142) From Tam. moṭṭai ”hornless” according to P.V. Ramanujaswami, Deśīnāmamālā Introd. 8 and Glossary. But see p. 103 f.  
143) S. ḍono ”foolish, stupid” is again a rhyme-word of M Ho ḍono ”fool, foolish, stupid, ignorant” (cf. bhondo ”blunt”, Camph.). In S. loro boto, id. derivatives from both roots are combined. Cf. also Hi. ṭhos ”dense, dull, obtuse” which bears the same relation to Hi. ṭhōṭ ”dense, obtuse, stupid” as, e.g., Nep. ḍhoso ”stalk remaining in the ground, stubble” does to Nep. ḍhoto ”stump” (Hi. ḍthosā and Lh. ḍhuṭṭh are prob. ”penis-words”, like those which Tedesco discusses in his paper). With initial assimilation: Skr. lex. śoṭha- ”alasaḥ, mūrkhaḥ, dhūrtah, niçah” and possibly jadā- ”apathetic, stupid, idiotic”, if orig. different from jadā- ”cold, cool”(?).  
144) Many words for ”foolish” derived from wa-da are recorded by Turner s.v. bhutte ”blunt”. Only a few examples are here quoted.
Pkt. *maṭṭha* - and *marāla* - mean "lazy" (alasaḥ, Deśīn. 6, 112). As for *maṭṭha* - , the editor of the Deśīn., Paravastu Venkata Ramanujaswami, does not decide between derivation from Skr. *mṛṣṭa* - (thus Turner s.v. *māθho* "slow") or Drav. *maḍḍi* (= Tel. Kann. *maḍḍi* "stupid, dull, awkward person", see K. Amrita Row, Ind. Ant. 46, 35). But Kshm. *mōṭha* "dull", Ass. *māθ* "blunt, slow", Panj. *maṭṭhā* "blunt", Si. *maṭho* "dull, weak" leave no doubt as to their Munda origin: cf. especially Or. *māθhuā*: S. *māθhuā, māθõ* "dull, lazy", *māṇḍhuā* "impotent, dull", *māṣuā* "indolent, lazy, impotent". For Skr. lex. *vaṭhāra* - Ujjvaladatta gives the meaning "mūrkhāḥ" whereas Trikāṇḍāsēṣa and Hemac. render "śaṭhāḥ": besides Trik. provides the meaning *mandaḥ* "lazy". Is *manda*- itself connected with *bandā*-? Fick and Uhlenbeck compared OChSl. *moditi* "cunctari", *modiṇā* "tardus" but the nasalization of these words is secondary, the variant *moditi* representing the original form of the word (Vondrák, Slavische Grammatik I, 153, van Wijk, Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache I, 142 and cf. Miklosich, Etym. Wörterb. der slav. Sprachen 1886, p. 206). The connexion with *manda* -, still upheld in Walde–Pokorny II, 305 ff., is accordingly to be abandoned. It should be added that the meaning of *manda*- is "dull, inert, weak, small, little, slow, lazy, tardy, stupid" (since Mḥbh. Rām.), and that there exists a variant *manthara* -, id., which is either separated from *manda* - (Walde–Pokorny, l.c.) or connected with it on the assumption of a root *men*- (cf. Uhlenbeck s.v., Kuiper, Die indoger. Nasalpräsentia 141, n. 6). Since *manda* - and *manthara*- have no clear cognates in Indo-European, the connexion with *bandā*-, which allows us to account both for their form and their meaning, offers the most satisfactory solution. The decerebralization may reflect a dialectal development of Munda. Different is the case of *badhirā*- "deaf" (since the RS.). This word, too, is without IE. cognates (see Walde–Pokorny II, 190). Since the general meaning "defective" (Turner s.v. *bhutte* "blunt") can apply to all sorts of defects (cf. *kaḍā-, kala*- "dumb", *kaṇva*- "deaf", *kaṇā*- "one-eyed" from *ga-da*), *badhirā*- may be a derivative from *wa-da*, with substitution of the dental for the cerebral as in many Rigvedic words. This explanation, merely hypothetical in itself, finds some support in the occurrence of Hi. *bahiḷa*, Nep. *bailo* "barren, sterile (esp. of cattle)" by the side of Hi. *bahirā*, Nep. *bairo* "deaf, inattentive". This variant suggests that *badhirā*- originally had a wider sense (which was preserved in the dialect from which *badhila* - originates). Cf. also Kann. *hoṭṭa* "a deaf man": *hoṭṭu*, *poṭṭu* "chaff, husk" (= Skr. *busa*-, see above).

4. The most difficult word-group is no doubt Skr. *munda*- "shaved, bald, hornless, lopped (tree), pointless: bald-head" (since Mḥbh., Rām., Yājñav., Var. BS.), *muniḍin*- "shaven-headed" (Mḥbh., Hariv.), *muniḍaka*-

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146) Additional data, which confirm this explanation, are the diphthong in Mar. *maid* (a Munda phenomenon), the meaning of Sgh. *manda* "small" and Nep. *matthar* "dim, dull, dark" (rhyme-word of Hi. *latṭha* "slow, lazy").
m. "trunk or stem of a tree" (Vyāsa). munḍayaṭi "shaves" (Pāṇ. etc.). The fundamental problem, already apparent in the case of Pkt. matṭha- (see n. 142), is: how is the existence of two parallel word-families in Dravidian and Munda to be accounted for? Munḍa- is usually derived from IE. *mel-d-, cf. Gr. ἀμφυδόν (thus Fortunatov and Bühler, see Wackernagel I, 167, Uhlenbeck, Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 5, 54), which was only slightly modified by Lidén. Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgeschichte 88 f: mel- "to cut", cf. Russ. molit’ (but cf. Wüst, Indisch 94, Walde-Pokorny II, 87: munḍa- lit. "attritus", from mel- "to rub"). Recently, however, two different theories have been forwarded. Thieme, ZDMG. 93 (1939) 135, derives munḍa- from *mṛnṣṭa- (on the supposition of a very doubtful phonetic law) and connects it with paṇḍita-, whereas Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 1945, 82—98, devotes a very detailed study to this word and its cognates, which he derives from Skr. vṛddha- "cut". Przyluski, on the other hand, connected munḍa- with S. munḍa, etc., Pkt. bhāṇḍu- and other words with initial b (some of them being of doubtful connexion with this word-family, e.g. Malay butak), see BSL. 30 (1930) 199. In a previous paper of his, Tedesco had rejected this explanation as far as munḍa- is concerned and declared the Santali correspondents to be loans (Language 19, 1943, 16, n. 71). In his later study he accordingly ignores the problem of the Munda words (see p. 83, n. 15). Still, the chief difficulty lies, not in the supposed phonetic developments of Aryan, but in the relation between Munda and Dravidian.

Apart from such apparent loanwords as Tam. munṭam "bald head, skull, headless trunk, naked person", Tel. munḍamu "the head cut off from the neck, a shaven pate, a bald head, the trunk of a lopped tree", munḍuṭu "monk", etc., we find e.g.:

with vowel o: Tam. mottai "bald head, shaven head, bluntness, as of a knife, stupidity, dullness, complete barreness, unmarried young man" (cf. above Skr. vaṇṭha-), mott-ampu "blunt arrow", mottai-maram "barren, unyielding tree, tree completely stripped of its fruits, leaves, etc.", monṇaḥ "bald-headed person", monṇai "baldness, bluntness", monṇaiyaṇṇaḥ "dullard, idiot", mottu, id., mōlai "hornless or dehorned cattle, anything defective, stump, block, stupidity", mōlaimai, mōṭu "stupidity", mōṭan "fool, blockhead", māli "defect of limb, deformity", etc.: Tel. monḍi "stubborn, obstinate, maimed, defective, imperfect, bare, lopped", munḍu "stubborn, obstinate, maimed, crippled", monḍemu "a stump, trunk of a body after the head is lopped off, a separate member" (cf. Skr. kābandha-), mōṭa "dull, stupid, simple", mōṭu, "id., a stump, block, trunk", mōḍu "a stump of a tree", mōḍuṭu "blunt, not sharp, dull, stupid, stubborn, a block, stump, mass, blockhead"; Kann. mōṭu "the state of being short, stumpy, maimed; stump of a tree, stubble", mōḍuṭu "bluntness, stupidity"; etc. There are some variants with initial n, e.g. Tam. nonṭu- "to be lame, limp, hobble", nonṭi "a lame person or creature" (: monṭi "lame"). Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 333,
609, holds that before o and u an initial n could become m in Dravidian. This may perhaps be correct in the case of some of the other instances (although it is often rather difficult to decide which sound is the original one) but the circumstance that n- is here only found in words with following -nd- suggests that, in this case at least, we have rather to do with delabialization. Moreover many variants with initial labial occur, e.g. Tam. pōtu “baldness, shaven condition”, potṭal “baldness, barren tract, waste land”, Kann. bōtu “bald, the state of being shaved, a bare, leafless, treeless state”, bōli “a head-shaven woman, a widow”, bōdi “a toothless state”, bōdi “a toothless woman, one who is bare, or destitute of hairs, or of horns”, boṭṭa “stump” (from Mar.). Tel. bōda, bōdi “bald, bare, hornless, cropt, tuskless” (cf. potṭi “short, small in size”, Tam. potṭuku “smallness”, potī “anything small”? ). Kui buṭuli “short, of a small stature”, būndi “cut short, cropped”, etc.; with vowel a: Tam. maḷi- “to shave (the head)”, maḷu “blunt, bald, bare”, maḷuku- “to become blunt”, maṭi- “to be turned, as an edge or a point”, maṭivu- “to blunt”, maṇṭu “fool”, maṇṇai “bluntness, ignorant, stupid person”, maṇai “blunt instrument, bluntness”, maṇaiyāṇ “dull person, blunt weapon”, etc.; Tel. maṭṭamu “small, scanty”, maḍḍi “fool, dull, stupid, akward”, maḍṭa “a stupid rustic”, etc.; Kann. maḍḍi “stupid, dull, awkward person”, maṭa “stupidity, ignorance”, maṭṭa “shortness, smallness”. Cf. Skr. maḷvā- (< *maḍu-a, cf. S. maṭha, maṭṭa, “dull, lazy”, maṣḍa “indolent, lazy, impotent”) 146) and maṣa- “foolish”. With initial p/b: Kann. baṭa, baṭṭa “barrenness, voidness”, Tel. baḍi “slight, petty”, baḍugu “poor, lean”, paḍucu “young”, paṭṭi “child”, Tam. paṛuki “shortness, stuntedness”.

It would serve no purpose to add more examples. It may however be noted that also words with i, e occur, e.g. Tel. pēḍi “a hermaphrodit, impotent man”, pēḍevāḍu “a smirk-faced beardless man, a hermaphrodite”, pēḍa “poor, indigent, slender, lean, thin, scanty”, picca “madness, folly”, piccaγāvunḍe “foolish, mad, short, deficient in measure or weight”, picci “mad, foolish, silly, fruitless, vain”, piccugunṭu “a cripple, a lame man”, bīḍu “waste, base, low, barren land”, pīḍa “poor, scanty, lean, small”, pīla “poor, scanty, short, lean”, bēla “simple, ignorant”, Kann. pelava “lame man, cripple”, bcle “a barren woman”, piccu “shortness, smallness”, picce “shortness, deficiency in measure or weight” ( : puṭṭa “smallness, littleness, etc.”), etc.

In Santali we find, beside the words with initial w, b, p quoted above, e.g. medoraṅ, mendoṅeṅ, mendoṅeṅ “beardless, to shave away the beard”, māṛā “clean-shaven”, moedon, moīdon, mon’don “bare, bald”, marca “bare, physically poor, deteriorated, puny” (from mar-aca, cf. dial.

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146) Otherwise Schefterowitz, KZ. 53, 267 (Av. mruta-, Gr. ἀμφίος) with bibl.
narca, id. = Skr. nārāca-, see p. 81); māṇḍhūṇā “impotent, dull”\(^{147}\), māsuq “indolent, lazy, impotent”, which point to a word *maḍu, represented by maṭho, maṭhuṇā “dull, lazy”, and mīṭā “brimless, rimless (of vessels having no outstanding lip)”; murchaṇā “to cut off, cut round and off the top or end, to dress end by paring” (M. murchaṇa “to cut off”), So. mūṭṭā-sī “stump of a hand”, etc. Note the parallelism between munḍhāṇa “blunt”, munḍga, munḍguc, munḍgut (munḍgo, mūrgo, mūrguc, munḍgo, mūrgo, mūrgut), munḍla, munḍra, munḍruc, etc. “close-clipped, polled, branchless, hornless, bare (tree), to cut short, to bare, etc.” and dundā, dundga, dundguc, dundgut, dundra, id. (from ḍa-ḍa). Other instances of this morphological parallelism, which is a characteristic feature of Munda, have been pointed out above. — A prefixed derivative is, it seems, S. tāmuti “to cut off the top of paddy (or other crops) before the general harvest, to eat a little before do.”, cf. M. tāmuti “untrained, inexperienced” (lit. blunt?). But the same “prefix” is possibly contained in Skr. lex. chamanḍa-, m. “fatherless child, a man who is alone in the world, without relatives”, chemanḍa- “fatherless child” and in Skr. lex. samāru- (Amara), samāra- (Hemac.), camāru- (both) “deer”. The first word may be compared to Skr. lex. vanṭha- “unmarried”, vanṭhate “ekacaryāyām, to go alone”, Si. vaṇḍho “a bachelor or widower without family”. Particularly interesting is Hi. murhā “orphan”, since Proto-Munda words for “orphan” are often derived from roots with the meaning “stripped, bare”, cf. S. tuṭ Nep. tuṭuro, id. (see p. 75). As for camāru-, etc., we may compare Pkt. munḍa- “a female deer” (mrghi, Deśīn. 6, 133), Nep. muruli “female deer, doe” (: murulo “hornless, hairless, bald”), and further Skr. ruru-, Greek xeμάς “hind” ~ Skr. sāma- “hornless”\(^{148}\) (which are, no doubt, likewise connected with Dutch hamel “castrated ram”, Old Engl. homol “maimed”, homelian “to mutilate”, Old Frisian hemma, id., Goth. hamfs “maimed”). In view of these words tāmuti must possibly be explained as a blending of ḍa-wa (> tām-) and wa-ḍa (> -mut).

The striking parallelism of the Dravidian and Munda word-families cannot reasonably be assigned to a mere chance coincidence. If Burrow’s assumption of a Dravidian ablaut a : i : u is correct, the vocalism does not allow us to decide the origin of these words. As for the nasalization, it is, I think, strongly suggestive of Proto-Munda origin but since there are instances of initial v having become m in Dravidian, the Dravidian words could be accounted for by assuming a double development, viz. v > m, and v > b (> p); even the prefixation found in some Munda words affords no conclusive proof as the word-group must have passed from one of the two families of speech into the other at a very early date. Still the various facts suggest a derivation from Proto-Munda wa-ḍa, the most important indication being the far-going parallelism which exists between the

\(^{147}\) Rhyme-word of ḍaṇḍhūṇā “lazy, sluggish, indolent” from ḍa-ḍa.

\(^{148}\) See Lüders, Philologia Indica 591 ff.
derivatives from ḍa-ḍa and wa-ḍa. Since there is some reason to suppose that such parallel roots as ga-ḍa, ḍa-ḍa, wa-ḍa are ultimately prefixed formations which contain the same word-kernel -ḍa\(^{149}\), and since cognates of ḍa-ḍa seem to exist in Mon-Khmer (see s.v. ṣuṇṭhā: cf. also Semang bēlūt, Panγan Ulu Aring mēlīd, Bahnar lōt “blunt”\(^{150}\)), we must conclude that wa-ḍa is also a native Austro-Asiatic root\(^{151}\).

This conclusion is obviously of fundamental interest. The possibility that the South Dravidian languages contain Proto-Munda words has not seriously been considered hitherto: Ramaswami Aiyar mentions only one instance of a possible “Austrie” word adopted by South Dravidian (Tam. tavakkai, etc. “frog”, see Ojhā-Volume, p. 16, n. 1)\(^{152}\). If however our conclusion is correct (and many similar cases discussed in this book tend to show that it is so), we must reckon with the possibility that even such seemingly native words as Tam. pilai, Tel. pille, Kann. pilē, etc. “small, petty, child, young of an animal” are ultimately of foreign origin. It further corroborates the conclusion drawn from the occurrence of non-Aryan proper names in the Rigveda, that the Proto-Munda population must in former times have occupied an important and powerful position (see Acta Or. 17, 309). I am convinced, indeed, that a considerable part of the South Dravidian vocabulary is of Proto-Munda origin, just as is the case with Middle Indian and the modern Aryan vernaculars. It should be borne in mind that, since the earliest works of the Tamil literature are now generally assigned to the first centuries of our era, the testimony of these texts is worthless in this respect: some two thousands years (or more) of prehistoric intercourse between Proto-Dravidians and Proto-Mundas must have elapsed before the beginnings of the Saṅgam literature. On the other hand, some Dravidian words have, no doubt, been borrowed by the Munda languages. This influence has been particularly strong in the Southern dialects (Sora) and in the mixed dialect Nahali. Kurku, too, has a number of Dravidian words which do not occur in Kherwari. In these cases we have apparently to do with comparatively recent borrowings of each of the separate Munda dialects. It remains to be seen, if there is also a common stratum of Dravidian loanwords dating back to an earlier period.

5. For the NIA. equivalents I may refer to Turner s.v. muro, and to Tedesco’s paper. They show many interesting meanings which are un-

\(^{149}\) See “Munda and Indonesian” (cf. p. 40, n. 44).

\(^{150}\) Similarly Mon kut, sakut “to cut”, kun “dwarf” may be connected with Proto-Munda gu-ḍa.

\(^{151}\) The following Mon words may possibly be connected with wa-ḍa: samot “to be small, young, a little one, a babe, a child” (samot “ant” is a different word, cf. Malay sēmat, S. muc‘, So. mūdā‘), wut “young woman, virgin”, lemēn “crippled, a cripple”. See further s.v. kamatha-.

\(^{152}\) Burrow, BSOAS, 11, 597, admits the possibility of a very early Proto-Munda influence dating back to the period before Proto-Dravidian split up into the various languages.
known in Sanskrit and confirm our explanation, e.g. Hī. munḍā “shaven, not pointed”, murla “toothless”, murla “orphan”, and muthrā “blunt, dull, silly, foolish" (: Nep. matthar “slow, dim, dull”). The last word alone is sufficient to show the inadequacy of Tesdeo’s theory. Skr. bhāṇḍila-“barber” (S’KDr.) is prob. a rhyme-word of Skr. canḍila-, id. (see p. 78).

54. būdbuda-. m. “a bubble (in water, or in general)”.

This word occurs in the epics and the class. literature; it also denotes an embryo of five days (Nir. 14, 6, etc.). Most authorities consider it an onomatopoea, see Pet. Dict., Wackernagel I. 182, Uhlenbeck (but see Persson. Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung 352 f.): it is then compared with similar formations as Greek βούβαλς, νουφάλης, Latin bulbā, Lith. bužbula, bužbula, Pol. bąbel, Czech. boubel, bublina, Dan. boble, Engl. bubble, etc. See Walde–Pokorny II. 114 ff. and, for the Baltic and Slavonic words, Trautmann, Balt. Slav. Wörterbuch 39.

An analysis of the Indian data, however, points to the conclusion that būdbuda- stands for *būḍbuda-. cf. Pa. būbula-, būbula-jaka-, būbula-pota-, pōtha-, Pkt. bulambulā (Deśin. 6. 95). Hī. buḍbura, buḍbula, bažalā, buža, “a bubble”, Tel. būḍa “a bubble, the disease called rupture 153), Kann. buda “a sound in imitation of that produced by a vessel, etc., when immersed into water”. The Pkt. form is particularly interesting as it seems to represent a Proto-Munda formation *buda buda. But Skr. buḍabuḍa-, an “onomatopoeic” word, of a vessel sinking down in water (Hem. Par. 12, 91) may belong to bude- “to sink down”.


Skr. barbura-, n., bubura-, m. (Naigh. 1, 12) “water” are possibly derived from a root baʃ-/-baʃ-, cf. lex. bādara-, n. id., Hem. (the connexion with Greek βάδας “mud, mire” should no doubt be given up). Like So. e-bu-bu- “foam”, however, they are probably unrelated to būdbuda-.

55. bhrmalā-.

The word bhṛmalā- occurs only once in a hymn to the Earth of the Atharva-Veda (12, 1, 46):

yās te sarpō vṛścikas tṛṣṭādaṃśmā
hemantājadbho bhṛmalō gūhā śāge, etc.

153) Tel. būḍa is a contamination of two different words, the second being identical with Kann. bude, Tam. putṭa “swollen testicle” (see further s.v. piccha-). Tel. būḍa “bubble”, however, has no equivalent in Tamil and is likely to be a more recent Munda loanword.
The Paipalāda text has bhramalo (for parallel instances with ra for r, see Vedic Variants, II, 305 f.). The commentary of Sāyaṇa is wanting for this passage. Roth (Pet. Dict.) derived it, together with bhṛma- “Verirrung”, from the root bhram- and conjectured a meaning “stunted, torpid” from the context. This translation has been accepted by most scholars, as Bloomfield, Henry, and Whitney. The last renders the verse as follows: “What stinging harsh-biting serpent of thine lies in secret, winter-harmed, torpid (?) ... (let that, crawling, not crawl upon us)”. But the supposed relationship to bhṛma- (accepted by Wackernagel I, 71) is fallacious as the real sense of the last word seems rather to be “der rasch sich Tummelnede” (Oldenberg, Noten, ad 7, 1, 22). A similar meaning has been assumed for bhṛmalā- by Ludwig, viz. “der rasch sich hin und her Schlagelnde” but this interpretation, which is merely based on a problematical etymology, is hardly correct. Tarapada Chowdhury, it is true, identifies bhṛmalā- with bhramara- on account of the variant reading bhramala- of the Paipalāda text and Keśava’s commentary on the Kausika Sūtra, which renders it bhramaracah. He accordingly translates the Ath. Vedic verse as follows: “The serpent, the scorpion, the harsh-biting (mosquito), the bee of thee, that, pressed by winter lie in concealment; whatever worm, being lively, O earth, stirs up in the early rainy season, let that crawling not crawl on to us, favour us with that which is propitious”. See JBORS. 17 (1931), p. 87 f.

Keśava’s interpretation, which is based on the assumption of an asyndeton (sarpā-, vṛṣcika-, trṣṭādāṁśman-, and bhṛmalā- denoting in his opinion different animals) is open to doubt. Moreover, as the passage refers to crawling animals (cf. tān nāh sārpan mūparṣpad), bees are not the animals which one would expect to be meant here. On the other hand, the vacillation between bhṛ- and bhra- (if any weight is to be laid on this variant reading at all) is found in several words of Proto-Munda origin, as in bhrkuṭi- and bhrakuṭi-, bhrkuṁśa- and bhrakuṁśa-, see Acta Orientalia 16, 295 ff. The morphological aspect of bhṛmalā- suggests a similar origin for this word, in which case bhṛ- may be regarded as a prefix, whereas -mala- then must be connected with S. dholo ṁolo “dull, unwell, out of sorts”, M. dholo molo “drowsy”, and the other words quoted s.v. kaśmala-. This explanation leads us to assign to bhṛmalā- nearly the same sense as Roth assumed, viz. “drowsy, stunned”.

The morphological analysis of Proto-Munda words leaves however so much room for different interpretations as to make an attempt to explain Sanskrit words of unknown meaning a hazardous enterprise. There is however one fact which justifies the foregoing attempt at an explanation of bhṛmalā-, and which seems to confirm Roth’s suggestion as to its meaning, viz. Nepali bhimal “unconscious, fainting, fit”, which is evidently the same word. Its occurrence in Nepali proves that bhṛmalā- belongs to those Atharva-Vedic words of a more popular character which the Vedic language has in common with the modern vernaculars (see Turner, Nep.
Dict., Pref. p. VII and Introduction, p. XV). Tarapada Chowdhury's interpretation is accordingly to be rejected. As a matter of fact, whoever reads the passage with an unprejudiced mind will, I think, accept the common view as being most natural, viz. that tṛṣṭādamśma, hemantājabdho and bhrimalo are epithets of the sarpō vṛścikah. From the fact (referred to by Tarapada Chowdhury, p. 88) that tṛpradaṁśin- occurs elsewhere as an epithet of maśāka-, the mosquito, it does not follow that tṛṣṭādamśma here denotes the same insect (as Kesava took it to be). We may rather conclude that here too it is merely an epithet.

56. mukura-, m. “a mirror”.

Only in the class. language. Lexicographical works quote also makura-, maṅkura-, karkara-, karphara-, and karka-. The last word may be an inferential form, deduced from karkara-, cf. dundu- “drum”, inferred from dundubhi-, khikhī “fox” from *khikhira- (see khikhira-), etc. As for karphara-, it is no doubt a misreading for karkara- owing to the close resemblance of the aksaraṇas pha and ka. Cf. further Pkt. maūra- (from *makura-, Pischel §123).

Unlike mukula- “bud” (which is a derivative from the Dravidian root mug-, muk-), mukura- has no similarities in Dravidian. On the other hand, the vowel-variation in mukura- : makura- and the synonym karkara-, which points to a root kar-, kur-, are indications of Proto-Munda origin. The meaning of the root kur- must then have been “to see”, cf. Skr. ādarśa-, Greek ἀντιμετωπεῖν, Latin speculum, Russian зеркалó (: sozercáť “to contemplate”), Engl. looking-glass, etc.

The root kar- is found in S. kare dhare, kare dhare “staring, fixedly (look)”. Hence, in qrit kurit “to look round, stare about, gape, glance rapidly around”, the second word is no more jingle of qrit’ (which is connected with ṛṇ ṛṇdhī “to look carefully, watch, scrutinize”, arak’orok’ “gaping, staring”, M. ārid “to gaze, look at”, N. arā “to see”) but is a derivative of the same root kar-, kur-.

57. menḍā (h) a-. m. “ram”.

A late word, only recorded (with many variants) in lex. works. Besides menḍha- (Halāy.) we find menḍhaka- (Hemac.), menḍa- (Rājanih.), menḍhra-, and forms without nasal: meḍhra- (Amara), meḍhra- (Trik.), meṭha- (S’abdārthakalpataru), cf. Hi. meṭhā; Pa. meṇḍa-, Pkt. meḍḍha-, meṇḍha-, mṛṇḍha-, meṇḍa-, fem. also meṇṭhī-. An etymological connexion between menḍha- and its synonym bheda- (Hemac.), bhedra- (Trik.) has been suggested by Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, Introd. p. XXVI (1929) and Przyluski, BSL. 30 (1930), 200. The latter quotes some examples of this Munda nasalization. Tedesco,

154) The adj. bhainḍaka- (Rājanih.) presupposes a variant *bhend-. 
Language 19 (1943), 15 f. however rejects the idea of a Munda origin and explains *bhedā- as a younger Aryan development from *mhedā-. Since however the internal nasalization and the variation dh : d : th strongly suggest a foreign origin, the alternation bh : m must be taken as an indication of (Proto-)Munda origin. Any doubt as to this origin is removed by a variant which has been left out of consideration in the previous discussions of mendā-, viz. Hi. mejhukā “ram”, which shows the common Munda development of dh > jh. 155).

Besides Hi. mēḍhā, mēḍhā, mēḍhā, etc. “ram”, Platts gives mēḍā “a he-goat with curling horns”, midō “a she-goat with do.”. This recalls Pa. mend- “koṭille” (to be crooked), which must be a loanword from Proto-Munda, cf. M. mendā “curved and pointed towards the head (said of horns of animals)”, merhāo “to twist, wind”. Ho mendā (dirīt) “(horns) bent down” (see JBORS. 2, 354), S. megha, megha “twisted backwards (horns of a buffalo), having horns twisted backwards (buffaloes)”, meghao, meghao, mōrhao “to wind round, wrap round, roll up, entwine itself”, merao “to twist the strands of a rope”, megho “having horns twisted backwards (buffalo)”.  

A Proto-Munda root wa-dā “to wind thread, to turn round, to wind into a bundle” must be assumed on account of S. bhurh “a bundle of rope or string wound into a bundle, to wind do.”, bōṛ (M. bōṛ) “a rope of straw, to make do.”, bheṛtaṁ “to turn round”, bherwaṁ “to turn round, wheel round, spin round” (lengthened form from *bheru, *bhedu), peṭa “crooked, to pervert, twist, warp”, peṭe “to twist, turn, writhe, wind, screw”, phṛṇṭe, pōṭe “dislocated, twisted out of position”, phṛṇṭe phṛṇe “to writhe and twist”, piur “a roll of carded cotton, to twist thread into a point, to roll up”. M. pento “to twist, twist and break”, piuri “rolls of cotton to be spun into thread”. Ho pere “to twist the tail”. These words remind us of Hi. phirnā “to turn” (of doubtful derivation, see Bloch 373 and Additions p. XII, Turner s.v. phirnu). Guj. phavā “to turn, return” (Turner s.v. pharkanu). Their meaning is however somewhat different from that of the Munda words. Other Munda derivatives from this root are S. bidwa, bidhu “cross-grained, crooked, twisted”, badhọṛ, badhoriya, bēḍhọṛ, bēḍhori (a) “crooked, cross-grained, perverse (wood, persons)”, bedha bidhi “cross-grained, crooked, twisted, entwined” etc. (see s.v. badiṣa-). With these Munda words are probably connected Central Sakai wēt, uē “to twist”, Bahmar uīn “crooked, to bend” Mon wēn “bent”, kawēn “to curl”, bōn “to twist, to braid”, etc. (cf. veṇ-, p. 32). The root-form wa-na also occurs in Munda, cf. Bh. uin “to twist” (JBORS. 2, 463), S. un “to twine, twist, plait, curl up” (where the final n has regularly been palatalized by the preceding i, and the diphthong ui has

155) Like mejhukā, the other variants must have been borrowed at various dates from different Proto-Munda dialects. No conclusion can therefore be drawn from the distribution of the variants in the NIA. languages.
been contracted into a single vowel according to the general rule that diphthongs do not stand in a closed syllable, see Bodding. Materials for a Santali Grammar I § 109), Ho ʻa ti “to twist (into rope)”, Kh. un “to twist”. A prenasalized variant wa-ṇḍa occurs in S. bhiṇḍ “a large bundle or burden (tied)” (: M. bīrā “a bundle of crop”, Ho bīrā “a big bundle of paddy”), whereas ma-ṇḍa is represented by S. kōrēa moṭēa “to wrap up, roll up, make up into a bundle” (: poṭom “a wrapper, cover, to wrap up, cover, envelop”).


Equally numerous are the loanwords in Dravidian, e.g. Tam. poṭi “pack, bundle, load”, poṭṭanam “small bundle, parcel” (: Sgh. poṭṭaṇiyya “bundle”), Tel. boddu “a rick or bundle of grass”, poduga “a parcel or packet fastened in leaves”, pottara, potaka “a pack or bundle of leaves”, poṭam, poṭnamu “packet, pack, bundle, little bag”, Kann. poṭṭana, id., pođe “quiver, bundle” (: mūḍige “quiver”?), moṭe “leather bag, bundle, load”, etc. Is Tam. maṛi, Tulu mari “ram” also a loanword?

Since maṇḍa denotes the curved horns of any animal, it may be applied to both sheep and goats, in accordance with the Dravidian use of denoting these animals by a general term (Tam. āṭu, etc.). Hence the contrast between M. miṇḍi “a sheep, one having shaggy hairs” and Hi. miḍi “a she-goat”. S. merom (M. Bh. Ho. merom) and J. mera “goat” may belong to the same affiliation and K. bherki “the fourhorned antelope, barking

156) Pkt. maṇṭa-, v.l. of maṇca- “bandhaḥ” (Deśīn. 6, 111), may be of interest for the explanation of maṇṭira-, n. “chain, fetter” (Skr. ’anklet’). But cf. Skr. hiṇṭra-, m. (wrongly Bloch 381).
deer" (Gondi id.) is possibly also connected. On the other hand, So. kim-
mēd- seems to be an onomatopoea, cf. kim-mēd-ēn mēd gāme “the goat
cimina- “ram, hog” and gāmenī- “she-goat” are ambiguous (the latter
word is explained as standing for *grāma-enī-).

See further s.vv. āpīḍa- and kabaṛī-.

58. l a g u ḍ a - , m. “a club, cudgel”.

Since Mhbb. and Manu in common use in literature. Much rarer is
lakuta- (Āpast. Sr. S., Caraka, cf. lakutin- Rām.), which is generally
regarded as the older form of the word (e.g., Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm.
I, 117) and connected with Latin lacertus “upper arm”. Although this
etymology is accepted by most scholars the meanings of both words are
widely different. Walde–Pokorny, II, 420, assume a primary meaning “ein
zum Schlagen verwendeter Schenkelknochen”, which is however quite
hypothetical. A different explanation has been propounded by Przyluski,
BSL. 24, 121 f. (Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. 12), who
derived the meaning “stick” from “membrum virile” and compared lāṅgūla-
and līṅga-. But līṅga- is no Proto-Munda word, and lāṅgūla- probably
contains a prefix la- (like lāṅgala- “plough”).

Pkt. lakkuda- (see Turner s.v. lauro) points to a foreign origin, so la-
guḍa- may be a Proto-Munda word. Since Santali has a word guḍṇa “a
short club or cudgel” it is tempting, then, to analyse la-guḍa- (with the
same prefix la- as lāṅgala-, etc.). Bodding connects guḍṇa with guḍṁa
“oblong and round”. This may be correct but on the other hand the notion
“short” which guḍṇa implies points rather to the root ga-ḍa “short, stunted”,
cf. gāndra gundra “small, stunted, puny”, gandke “log, stump of wood
(large and thick)”, etc. (see s.v. khāḍga- “sword”, and for the semantic
relations see s.v. daṇḍā-). It is mostly impossible to decide whether the
notion “round, globular” or “short” is predominant in a word for “club”.
Thus M. ṭempā “a short stick for driving cattle, having a knob at one end”
may be connected with M. ṭeṇpā “short in stature, a dwarf” 157), but the
last restriction points to an association with such words as M. ḍhebe-ḍhebe.
ḍhebra “big-bellied”, ḍhimsi “a big-bellied woman”. Often a similar
contamination of notions will have taken place as in M. ḍemkā “dwarf
and big-bellied”.

With this restriction we may connect laguḍa-, lakuta- with Pali kunṭa-
“stunted, dwarfish”, laukuta-ka- “dwarf”, Bashkarik lukuṭ “small” (p. 40).
But Skr. lex. potagala- “a kind of reed” (Amarā, Hemac., Medinī),
< wa-ḍa (S. poṭak “to peel off”, p. 98; cf. vāṇī- “reed”, p. 34) + ga-ḍa
(S. ghal ghalao “to skin”, p. 52!).

157) Root ḍa-ḍa “short, stunted”, etc. (hence Pali chava- “vile, low, miserable,
wretched”).
59. laṅga - “lame”

Comm. on Kātyā. S’S. 22, 3, 19; “l ameness” Asvavaidy. Cf. laṅgati “gatau” Nir. 6, 26 (“khaṅje” Vopadeva); laṅgin-, liṅgika-, liṅgita-, n. “l ameness” (Asvavaidy.), ati-laṅgati “limps” (ibid.), Hī. lāgar, laṅgā “l ame”.

An Indo-European etymology has been given by Liden, Studien zur altind. und vergleichenden Sprachgesch. 46, who compares Germ. link, Swed. linke “to limp, hobble”, Latin linguère “to be weak”, etc. Most scholars seem to have accepted this explanation. cf. Persson, Beiträge z. indog. Wortforschung 131 ff., Wackernagel, Idg. Forsch. Anzeiger 12, p. 21, Walde–Pokorny, Vergl. Wörterb. II. 713 (who however express some doubt as to the relationship of laṅga- to those words).

Variants with i are liṅgita-, occurring thrice in the Asvavaidyaka (pw. VII, 371) and probably liṅgati “gatau” (Dhātup. 5, 48) (cf. laṅgati and laṅkhati “gatau”, 5, 25), Beng. leṅgā, neṅgā “to limp” (Chatterji 889). As the ablaut suggests a Proto-Munda origin, we may compare the following Santali words: lokṛṇ “crooked, bent, injured, hurt, deformed”, lokṛṇ, lūkür, lūkṛṇ, luṅkṛṇ “maimed, injured, broken (hand or feet)”, lokṛṇ, lokṛṇ, lūkür “hobbling, limping”, lokṛṇ “a bend, bent, curved (branch)”, lūkür “bent and stiff”, lokeva, lokheva “crooked, bent, not straight”, lākṛṇ “to bend, receive a curved or angular shape, to fall from weak knees”, lākṛṇ “to bend, walk bending one leg, weak-kneed”, lākur “weak, powerless, lame, shattered”, lākaev lūkṛṇ “weak-legged, tottering, rickety”, lākar lūkur “weak, frail, shaky, nervous, to shake, tremble”, laṅgar luṅgur “weak, stiff (e.g. on account of rheumatism), feeble, strengthless”.

We shall not enter upon a discussion as to whether these words properly belong to two different roots (“crooked” and “weak”). It may only be pointed out that the sense “crooked” often implies “l ameness” (see the discussion of kunī- s.v. khora-) and that the words quoted are obviously connected with others which have initial d, d, cf. ḍeṅkṛṇ ḍeṅkṛṇ “weak, feeble, shaking”, ḍakaev ḍukuṇ “to become old and weak, shake (from weakness), totter”, ḍakaev ḍakaev “crooked, lame, limpingly”, etc. We are thus led to assume one or two roots ḍa-kā, laṅgar luṅgur and Skr. lāṅga- thus representing the nasalized variant ḍa-ṇa. The form laṅkhati is particularly interesting but the general interpretation “gatau” does not allow us to base further speculations on it. See further Turner s.v. laṅdoro.

60. lampaṭa - “covetous, greedy for, esp. licentious”.

Cf. stṛisu lampaṭaḥ, strilampatāḥ, parasrīlampaṭaḥ, but also bhogalampaṭaḥ (see the Pet. Dict.). Similarly Hī. lampaṭ “covetous, greedy, lustful, addicted to licentious pleasures, lascivious, lecherous, dissolute, false, lying”. From Proto-Munda, cf. Skr. lex. limpaṭa- “den Mädchen nachgehend”.

8
With prefix la- from root ba-da, cf. S. lamọt, lamọt “playful, lascivious, licentious, shameless, levy, frivolity”, and baṭu, baṭuṣa, baṭwa “loose, lascivious, licentious, dissolute, wanton”, bhaṇḍ, bhaṇḍu, bhaṇḍin, bhaṇḍin (158), bhaṇḍ bhaṇḍin barbāṇḍ, barmanḍ, bhaṇḍ mara, id., M. lompoṭā “licentious”. Bar-, bhaṇḍ, mara and -maṇḍ are various derivatives from the same root. Such variants are often combined in Munda “echo-words”. The variant lampāka- (Hemac., Medini) suggests that the Indian grammarians regarded lampaṭa- as a derivative from *lampa-, since words in -ṭa- have sometimes a pejorative meaning (see Renou, J. As. 1937, 272, on kulaṭa-, vācāta-); the suffix -āka- is added to several late words of foreign origin, e.g. khudāka- (fem. khudākā-) “small”. The same lexica quote barbaṭi-, f. “whore”, which suggests a Proto-Munda origin (cf. S. barbāṇḍ). It is probably derived from the same root.

61. lalāti “sports, dallies, plays, coruscates, fawns (dog)”; caus. lalāyati “causes to sport, caresses, fondles, cherishes, loves” (since the epics). Pali laḍ- “to dally, sport, sing” points to *lad-, cf. in the Pāṇinean Dhātupāṭha laḍa- “vilāse”, lāḍa- (lāḍayati) “upasevāyam”; the latter form is also taught by Candragomin (Renou, Études de grammaire sanscrit e 78), while upalāḍayati Divyāv. 114. 26; 503, 9 reflects Pali upalāḷeti “caresses, coaxes, fondles, wins over”. Lüders, Philologia Indica 555 f., is accordingly right in positing a root laḍ-. It may be added that laḍant- is very common in Kṣemendra’s works, cf. Bhāratamaṇḍarī 3, 1799; 13, 1222; 19, 897; Bhākathāmāṇḍarī 9 II 55. 316. 648. Laḍita- occurs, e.g., Bhāratam. 3, 773, but the common form is laḷita- (1, 768; 3, 846, 1864, etc.). Vilaḍita- is quoted from Śrīk. 5, 9. Since the derivations which have been proposed are based on the assumption of a root laḷ-, they are no longer discussible [Fick: Germ. lallen, see Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, 219; Uhlenbeck: Russ. lel’egat’ (cf. Berneker, Slav. etym. Wb. 700), rejected by Lüders, l.c.; Wackernagel, p. 222: laḍ- perhaps from laḷ-; only Benfey started from laḍ-, see Lüders]. In the following we shall distinguish between I. laḍ- “to fondle, love”, and II. laḍ- “to dally”.

It has long been observed that Skr. laṭaḥa- and laṭabha- (159) “nice, pretty” are Sanskritizations of Pkt. laḍaḥa- “pleasing, agreeable”, but the origin of the last word was unknown (Wackernagel, I, p. LIII with n. 5). It clearly is a derivative from I. laḍ- with the characteristic Proto-Munda suffix -ha (cf. kalaha-, paṭaḥa-, maṭaha-, etc.): cf. the unsuffixed form in Pkt. latṭha- “attached to another woman, lovely, charming, speaking sweetly” (anyāsaktah, manoharaḥ, priyaṁvadah, Deśin. 7. 26). Pa.

158) The last word means “fat, lazy and licentious” (contamination with ba-da “fat” and the root discussed s.v. baṇḍa-, cf. bṛḍ bṛḍ “lazy, idle”).

159) Laṭabha- frequently occurs in the Vikramāditya. (see Ṛ, and add 8, 86; 12, 66); laṭaḥa- is once attested in a commentary (Ṛ) and occurs in the Yaśastil. (Schmidt. Nachtr.), laṭaḥa- in Kādamb. 241, 13 Pet., etc. (see Pet. D. and Böhtlingk).
laṭṭhaka- "beautiful, lovely". The surd in laṭṭha- and the vowel variation in Pkt. liṭṭia- "pleasing, agreeable" (cāṭuh, Deśīn. 7, 22) point to a Proto-Munda origin; cf. perhaps also Pkt. lolanṭīa-, id., which may contain a prefix lo- and the nasalized root form laṇṭ-. The NIA. congener suggests different originals, cf. Hi. lāḍa “beloved (woman or daughter), pet”, lāḍā “beloved, pet, darling, tenderly nurtured”, lāḍ, lāṛ “affection, tenderness, coaxing, caressing, blandishment (and: sport, play)”, laḍlā, laṛlā “darling, tenderly nurtured, petted, spoilt (child)”, Si. lāḍlo “beloved”, lāḍa, Panj. lāḍā “fiancé”, Panj. lāḍ “love” (which Bloch 398 wrongly connects with Skr. Pkt. laḍḍū- “cake”) 160), and Hi. laṭṭī, laṭṭu “enamoured, in love, dizzy”, Nep. laṭṭu, laṣṭa “enraptured, enamoured, mad for”, lolo-poto “flattery, compliment”, lalo-pato id., Guj. laṭho “paramour”.

Beside these words there are some words with initial palatal, e.g. Skr. caṭu- “courtesy, flirtation” (Hemac., Med., Trik.) 161), caṭuṭa- “courteous” (S’antiś., Gītagov.), catura- “charming, pleasing” (Raghuvs.), cāṭu-, m.n. “courtesy, flattery, politeness” (Rtus., Paṇcat., etc.): with palatalized t: Skr. lex. caṇcāla-, m. “lover” (Hemac., Med.), if this word is connected with Hi. coclā “endearing arts and expressions, playfulness, fondling, dalliance, blandishment, coquetry”, Mar. coclā “caress, coquetry”, etc. (Bloch 332). If these words are ultimately connected with laḍ-, laṭ-, we should have to posit a Proto-Munda root qa-qa-. Although the evidence now available does not admit a decision, this hypothesis would become more plausible if variants with initial j- could be shown to exist. Such a word is perhaps Skr. jāra-, m. “paramour, lover, friend” (since the RS.), which in the older literature is also used in a not unfavourable sense. Shina, Kshm., Western Pahari (Bhadrawahi dial.) yār and Si. jār point to an original *yāra- (see Turner s.v. jār). Derivation from *qaḍa may be suggested as a possible explanation.

In any case we may compare S. alaṛ “fondling, petting, spoilt, petted, to fondle, dandle, etc.”, alaṛ dulāṛ, id., alaṛtā “accustomed to be petted, etc. who wants to be fondled”, dulāṛ “love, affection, to love, caress, fondle”, dulāṛ, dulāṛt(a) “beloved, dear, petted”, dulāṛo “loving, beloved”. M. dulāṛ “to love, darling, dear”. The correctness of M. alā dulā “dear, beloved” is doubtful, since the radical element is -laṛ 162). Hi. dulāṛ “fondness, love, affection”, Nep. dulāṛ “dalliance, love-making, love” are clearly Munda loanwords and need not, therefore, be derived from *dulla-kāra- (as Turner suggests). The Nep. word shows contamination of the two homonymous roots (cf. Nep. lāṛ “dalliance, amorous play” : lāre “fondling, caressing, pet, darling”).

160) As for laḍḍu-, see s.v. kamaṭha-.
161) Cf. Mar. cāṛ “desire, affection”, Si. cāṛi “desire”, Panj. cāṛ “predilection” (see Bloch 328 f.).
162) Cf. Bhaduri, Addenda. Perhaps a loanword from Ho?
Skr. II laď-, lat- "to dally, sport" seems to be a different root, although secondary contamination is often found: Pali however distinguishes between litā, litā "play, sport, dalliance" (used together with viḷāsa-) and litā "grace, ease, charm, adroitness" (always applied to the Buddha). The second word may also account for Skr. akṛṣṭalitā-, Raghuv. 6, 1 (= grhītasaubhāgya-, Mallinātha) 163). Coomaraswamy's identification of Pa. litā and litā (JAOS, 61, 98 ff.) is not sufficiently founded. Note also Pa. lālana- "swaying, dalliance, sport", which is different from Skr. lālana-, n. "caress", and Hi. lat "playful, wanton, coquetish", latak "coquetry". Variants with assimilated cerebral show similar meanings, e.g. Skr. lasati "dallies, sports", lāsayaati "causes to dance", laśva-, līṣva-, m. "dancer"; cf. laṭva-, m. "jaṭivīṣeṣāḥ" (= netuyā "dancing boy") and lat- "bālye" with unvoicing of ɾ. To this root belong Hi. allaṛ, allaṛḥ "childish", Mar. alḥad, etc., Nep. allare "childish, bovish, irresponsible, a youth".

62. loraṭati "vilocane".

Only recorded by the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi. Root ṣar, cf. S. ṣandar onḍor "staring vacantly, to look about, stare with wide open eyes", onḍor onḍor, āndor onḍor, onḍor onḍor, id., āndir kundir "staringly, to stare, gaze, gape, be confounded", kare ṣhare, kare ṣhareṣ "staring, fixedly", ṣhare ṣhareṣ "staringly, with eyes fixed", ṣhoro ṣhoro "staringly, to stare", matar mutur "to gaze, look round", mutur mutur "staringly, with eyes fixed", So. tur-tur "to watch".

On the other hand there are some words which point to a root laď, as M. lodo "to look on whistfully while others are eating, to look out for something hidden from view", S. lóṛgo, lóṛgot, lóṛgot "staring, gaping, gazing, stupid", londo londo "staringly, glaringly, to stare with wide-open eyes", londo londo "staring, etc." londo londo "staring, one who has big eyes", etc. M. loro "to see without being seen, to lie in wait of, keep watch over one's coming", Ho loro "to look out for" may be connected with them.

Still other words contain a radical element ral, as S. rolo rolo "steadfastly (look, peer)", morol morol "staringly, intently, with eyes riveted on", merol "to look at yearningly, long for" (?), jaral jaral "with staring, flashing eyes" (contamination with jaral jaral "glowing"), jaral jurul "staringly (look)", jorol jorol, jurul jurul "fixedly, to eye, peep at, peer at", M. gurul gurul "to look with a fixed stare", So. oröl "to watch".

The roots ṣar, laď/lar, and ral are apparently dialectal variants, which presuppose a root ṣa-du "to stare". Cf. Mon pelon, telon "to stare".

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163] The IE. etymology proposed for Skr. litā- "play" (< *lītā, cf. Lat. lūdus; see von Bracke, KZ. 28, 1887, 298, n. 1 and Wackernagel I, 219, 222, 275) is unsatisfactory. See also Coomaraswamy, p. 99 (root *ṛ-).
63. lola—“greedy, eager, longing for”.

Since Var. BS. and Kālidāsa, cf. Megh. 61 krīḍalola- (: krīḍāsaktah, pramatta ity arthaḥ, Mallin.), 100 (103) lolaḥ kathayitum (: lálasah, Mallin.); cf. Amara lolaḥ cala-satṛṣṇayoh. Derivatives: lolika-“lustful, lascivious” (Kuṭṭanīm.), lolatā-“voluptuousness” (Suṣr.), “desire, longing” (Sāh. D.), lolībhāva-“desire” (comm. Yaṣastil.), laultya-“greediness, eagerness”. Lola- is usually connected with lulu- and regarded as an onomatopoea (see Uhlenbeck, Walde-Pokorny, Vgl. Wb. II, 376).

A verse of Yādava’s (quoted by Mallinātha ad Megh. 100) mentions the following synonyms:

lulupololubhololo
lálasolampaṭopici).

According to Wackernagel’s plausible explanation, however, lolupa-
“ardently longing for, desirous of” (Mhhb., Rām., Suṣr.) is derived from a nom. sing. *lolup (stem lolubh-), which excludes a connexion with lola-
(see Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad. Wiss. 1918, 381, n. 1). The latter word reminds us, however, of the Skr. root Lal- “ipsāyām”, cf. Pa. lal- “icchā”. The distinction which the later Dhātupātha makes between lāḍ- “vilāse, upasvāyām” and lall- “ipsāyām” is rejected by Kṣirasvāmin and Puruṣa-kāra on account of the identity of ċ and l (ḍalayor ekatoṭ), see Lüders, Philologia Indica 555. As a matter of fact, there are several indications pointing to a root lāḍ-, e.g., Pkt. leḍukha- “covetous, greedy”, Pa. lōla-(in dhanaloḷa-), and probably even Skr. lasati “desires, longs for, strives after” which is generally explained as a reduplicated present *la-laṣati and connected with Greek ἱλαῖομαι, Latin lascīōs, etc. This connexion, however, though sanctioned by a long tradition (see A. F. Pott, Etymologische Forschungen I, 1833, 271), is open to serious doubts. The root las- in the Greek and Latin word (cf. also Goth. lustus, Eng. lust) is likely to represent IE. *hūṣ- on account of Old Ch. Slav. laskati, Ruthen. lāṣyj (IE. *lehs-). The loss of the consonantal h after reduplication might, it is true, be paralleled with dadmāḥ, etc., but any direct evidence for the existence of a Sanskrit root las- is wanting 164). On the other hand, the assumption of a Proto-Munda root lāḍ- may also account for Ass. luturā “sensual” (wrongly Turner s.v. luto). Nep. lucca “profligate, rogue, blackguard”, Or. loccā “profligate, lewd”, Hi. lucca “a dissolute fellow” and Skr. lex. lūṣabha-, m. “elephant in rut” (Ujjvalad.), which cannot be separated from Dhtp. lōṭati, lōḍati, roḍati “unmade”. The derivation from ṭṣabha- (Wackernagel, I, 22; cf. Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 96), which presupposes a very doubtful sound development, is also unacceptable on account of the semantic difference. Lus- is a variant of laṣ- (laṣati).

There are some NIA. words which suggest that the initial l, too, is

164) As for lasati, cf. Wackernagel I, 238; for dadmāḥ see however “India antiqua” 206.
a variant of \( \text{d} \), e.g. Hi. *cui* "longing, craving, eagerness, lustfulness", *culi* "lewd, libidinous, man", *culhārā* "wanton, lustful, lascivious", *codā, id., coj* "eagerness, fondness", *cot* "desire, wish, aim". Similar variants with *c* were found to exist beside *lalati* (q.v.). They necessarily introduce an element of uncertainty into these studies, the results of which would doubtless be more convincing if we should let these forms out of consideration. We cannot, however, ignore this more problematical side of the question, the less so as the same problem recurs in Munda. Cf. S. *lalao, lola* "to starve, long for, hunger for", *lala lāli* "id., hungering for, hankering for", *lalkao, lalka lālikī, id., lalca* (M. *lalcā*) "covetous, envious", *lalācī* "desire, greed, lust, to covet, lust after" (= Hi. *lālac*, Beng. *lalac*), *lalâci, lalâcīa, lâlācisā* "covetous, greedy", *likā = lalkā; likā likī* "to cause to long for, to coax, to long for", *luluqī (lulwāqu, lulhān)* "to wheedle, coax, beguile"; *loro loro* "greedily, hastily, to be eager to eat", *locor* "craving, appetite", *lar larao* "to be eager", *lar khārao* "to be fidgety, eager". Variants pointing to an ultimate root *ḍa-ḍa* are, e.g., *thar thurā* "to be eager, desirous, solicitous", *thar tharao* "to be intent on, anxious about", *thar mare* "eagerly, impatiently", *tilki bilki, chilki bilki* "eagerly, restless" (cf. *likā likī*; contamination with *ḍa-ḍa* "impatiently, restless, unsteady", cf. *likā lōko, lōro tho̧ro, loto tho̧ro, culur bulur, culbuliag, etc.*), *cut cut* "craving, longing for, to be eager, greedy, restless, impatient".

Since there can be little doubt as to the Proto-Munda origin of these words (note the ablaut *a: o*), the Hindi equivalents *lakak* "eager desire", *lalaknā, lalakcnā, lalsānā, laliyānā, lilānā, līlānā* "to long for, covet", *lallo* "desire" (cf. Pkt *lalān* "eagerly") must be borrowings.

The question thus arises whether the common view that Skr. *lālasa*- "ardently desirous of" (since Mhbh., Rām.) is an intensive formation of *lās-* is correct. The assumption of this root is based on this word and *lāsati* only. In Santali and Hindi *lālas-*, it is a mere variant of *lālac-*, which must be the older form as only *c* > *s* is possible. Accordingly, Skr. *lālasa-* must either contain a suffixal element *-as* - (cf. S. *khaṅgsā* "frail, weak" : Hi. *khñkñh* "weak": *leghsīq* "frail, weak" : *legh pēṅç, legh thērc* "dead tired, feeble") or it is a reduplicated formation (for *lā-lādā-*) The parallelism of Hi. *lalak* argues in favour of the first supposition.

64. *vātu lī* - "a certain kind of vampire".

Platts, in his Hindūstānī Dictionary, derives the Hindi word *bādur* "flying fox, bat" from Skr. *vātu lī-* "a certain kind of vampire" which is only attested in the lexical work Hārāvalī. Beng. *bādud* however shows the Hindi *r* to stand for *d*, which suggests the possibility of a Munda origin. As a matter of fact, we find in several Munda dialects a word for "bat" which contains the radical element *dūḍ* (tūḍ); cf.: Santali *bardūrāc* "bat".
Mundari bārduriad, bārdulud (Bhaduri, A Mundari-English Dictionary).

bārdulid' (Rakhal Das Halder, JASBeng. 40, 1871, p. 65). [bhadli, bhādur, from Hindi].

Ho bāduri, in chūta bardwi (Ball, JASBeng. 40, p. 107), which stands for *bāduri(c') with the regular loss of c in Ho.

bāduri (L. Burrows, Ho Grammar 151, cf. JBORS. 5, 255) "flying fox", which seems to be due to metathesis (for *bāduri).

Kurku gudur "vampire bat, a flying fox".

Sora āntur- "bat" (cf. K. tiru "bat").

As for the last word, it has been pointed out above (s.v. undura-) that So. āntur- may as well be connected with So. guntur- "rat". Both groups of words (those for "bath" and for "mouse, rat") may even be ultimately allied but there is no evidence thus far that the words for "mouse" originally had a d for r. Moreover the proper sense of dāq in the words quoted above seems to be "to flutter" on account of M. bārdulud "flying ant" (cf. Dutch viedermuis : fladderer, Russian letušaja mys'). The connexion with S. dūrūc "to tilt a vessel, to spill", suggested by Bodding, is not acceptable since dūrūc is used only about a pot, etc., containing some liquid.

S. K. Chatterji, in Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. XXI has proposed an explanation of Beng. bāduq by connecting it with Semang kawet, etc., which induced Ramaswami Aiyar, JBORS. 16, 324—326, to consider the question of the origin of the various Dravidian and Munda words for "bat". It will be clear, I think, that H. bādur and Beng. bāduq are derived from a Munda form *bā(r)dūq, while the modern Kherwari dialects have lengthened forms with the suffixes -uc', -ic' (?), -ut', -it', -iat'.

As Skr. vātuli- is likely to be etymologically connected with H. bādur, it must represent a Sanskritization of Pkt. *bāduli, which again stands for *bā(r)dulic' (or *bā(r)dulit', see p. 120, n. 165).

Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. vātuli-, rightly point to tarutulikā (v.l. tarudulikā) which is recorded by the Hārāvali as a word for "vampire". It may reflect a Proto-Munda word *tēr-tūdīc, *tēr-dūdīc', the prefix having been changed through popular etymology. Cf. Bashkarīk šuṭūtar "small bat" with a prefix šu- (as in šorūnda, p. 80, Skr. sutintiḍi-?, p. 135) and perhaps Skr. lex. titīla-, m. "bat".

As for jatū- "bat", see undura-.

65. ṣa kūnti-?, m. "bird".

Twice in the RS., then imitated in the Kāvyā poetry (Bālar., Uttararām., S'ā.) Hence the diminutive sakuntikā- (RS.1, Vāj. S., Mḥbh.)? But the masculine sakuntakā- (RS. Khila, Vāj. S., Mḥbh.) is hardly due to false analogy as we find also šakūnta- (Ath. S., Mḥbh., šakunṭala-, Bhāg. P.) and šakunā- (RS.12, Ath. S., YV., Brāhma., Ēpicas, Yājñav., Suśr., Varāh.
Bṛh. S., Rājat.). Only the last word and šakūni- (RS.3, Ath. S., Kāth. S., Brāhm., Upan., Epics, Class. lit.) have been in common use throughout all the periods of Sanskrit literature.

The etymology of šakūnti- etc. has often been discussed but no satisfactory explanation has yet been given. Fick, Vergl. Wörterb. der indo-germ. Sprachen, I4 (1890) 45, 425 compares Greek κῦνος, Latin (ci)cōnia “swan” and Church Slav. sokol’s “falcon”, the primary meaning being “hanging, hovering” (: šāṅkatēl). But κῦνος is hardly an Indo-European word. The connexion with Skr. śocati (κῦνος being the ‘white’ animal), though accepted by several authorities (Boisacq, Walde–Pokorny) is characteristic of an obsolete method of etymologizing. As for cīcōnia, it may belong to cano. Thus there remains the connexion of šakūni- with sokol’s which is already found in Miklosich’s Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum (1865). Miklosich rejected it later on in his Etym. Wörterb. der slavischen Sprachen (1886) but in Uhlenbeck’s etymological Sanskrit dictionary it returns, although with some doubts on the author’s part. In his turn Uhlenbeck abandoned the etymology in Paul and Braune’s ‘Beiträge’, vol. 35, p. 171, where sokol’s and Lith. sākalas are derived from a hypothetical root *seqς “to shine” (for similar conjectures of other scholars see Walde–Pokorny, Vergl. Wb. I, 456). After having twice been abandoned by its advocates the same theory reappears in Walde–Pokorny. We now await Pokorny’s conversion.

The main difficulty of šakūni-, šakūnti- is of course the peculiar word-formation. I do not know of any attempt to explain it, nor have I seen it acknowledged that a difficulty exists. Osthoff, Etym. Parerga 246, discusses IE. animal names in -no-, among which šakūna- occurs, but he wisely omits to mention the existence of śakūnta- in this connexion. Specht, Der Ursprung der idg. Deklin. 222, it is true, quotes many IE. names of birds with suffixal t, but is śakūnti- an IE. word?

A Proto-Munda root *tit’ underlies the following words for “bird”:
1) with prefix ti-: Kw. tīti, K. ṭīṭi (ṭīṭi’); cf. So. titid- in the language of children.
2) with prefix kon-: Kh. kontheid, konted (konter), J. konter, So. ontid’.

The last words point to a Proto-Munda word *ku-ntī’, a variant of which was *ku-nit’ (see Introduction). We may reasonably suppose, therefore, that śakūnti- and śakūni- reflect these Proto-Munda words augmented by a new prefix ša-. The checked t’165) has disappeared so that the words have become inflected according to the i-declension of Sanskrit. S’akūnta- and šakūnā- must then be innovations of Sanskrit, the source of which is not quite clear.

165) The checked k’ is represented by k in Skr. lex. bhūka-, m.n. “hole”: S. bhuk’ and in Mandākini-, if my suggestion that it is derived from dak’ “water” is correct (Acta Orient. 17, 17 ff). In NIA. the checked consonants in loanwords as a rule become surds. It should however be noted that the case of t’ after a front vowel is different from k’ after back vowels. Cf. also vātulī- < *bārdulic’t’ (p. 119).
S'akuna- was also the name of a people or tribe. In Mhbb. 7, 20, 11 B. they are mentioned together with the Gándhārâh. Probably S'akuni-, the well-known uncle of the Kaurava princes and king of Gandhâra, also bears a tribal name. In any case the name betrays the existence of a Proto-Munda population in the extreme North-Western part of India whose name was probably derived (like most names of Proto-Munda tribes) from the tribal totem, whatever kind of bird may have been designated by that name \(^{100}\). If so, the name of the people of the Kuntis may possibly be identified with Kh. konted.

66. S'ârkâra-, f. “gravel, grit”.

Since Ath. S., Taitt. S., Taitt. Br., S'ât. Br., in common use throughout the Sanskrit literature; also “coarse brown sugar” (Harîv., Suśr., Varâh. Brh. S., etc.): sârkâra- “consisting of gravel or grit”, m. “pebble” (S’at. Br., Kâty. S’S., Kauś.). A Sanskritization of the corresponding Pkt form of this word is met with in sâkvarâh = prastarasâkalâni, comm. on Kâm. Nîtis 4, 53, which is rather a misprint for *sâkkarâh than for sârkârah (as the Pet. Dict. assumes). It has been connected with Greek χορδάλη “pebble on the sea-shore, shore, strand” (Fick, Vergl. Wörterb. 14 46, 425, Walde-Pokorny I, 463; rightly questioned by F. Muller, Griechsch Woor- denboek s.v., and Frisk, Zur indoir. und griech. Nominalbildung 36): unacceptable because χορδάλη (since Euripides) is a Greek derivative from χορδή. On the other hand, the assumption of a suffix -kara- for tâskara-, pûśkara-, puśkala-, etc. (Pisani, Riv. degli Studi Orient. 18 (1939), 102) is based on an incorrect analysis of words which are certainly not of IE. origin.

S'ârkâra- does not survive, it seems, in modern Aryan. Instead of it we find descendants from Skr. karkara-, m.n. “stone, limestone, especially the nodule found in Bengal under the name of kankar” (see Schmidt, Nachtr.). Cf. Pkt. kakkarâ-, m.: Hi. kaṅkar, kâkar “a nodule of limestone, limestone (of a coarse kind found in many parts of India, and used in making lime, roads, etc.); stone, gravel, pebble”, kâkrâ “a nodule or piece of kakar, a pebble, a stone”, kâkrî “id., a small round stone or pebble; gravel; a small lump (of sugar, or salt, etc.).” See Turner s.v. and cf. Tam. kaṅkar, Tel. kaṅkara, Kann. kaṅkare “gravel”.

S'ârkârâ- and karkara- show a similar variation of prefixes as, e.g. šarkota-, and karkota-. The radical element which they have in common is accordingly -kar-, cf. Skr. karaka- “hail stone” (Kâlid., lex.), kara-, id. (lex.), and in Munda: S. mutkuri “small stones like gravel”, moṭkori “small

\(^{100}\) As several scholars seem to attach some value to Sâyaña's rendering of the word as kapini̋jala- “a kind of partridge” (Grassmann, Wb., Osthoff, i.e., Walde-Pokorny), it may be noted that Sâyaña renders everywhere paścin- except for 2, 42, 1, 3 and 2, 43, 1, 2, 3 (where kapini̋jala- is due to Brh. Dev. 4, 93, see Geldner) and 10, 16, 6 (kâkâkhyah!).
gravelly stones, gravel (but not of quartz or white stone like kakṛ), ṁ. moṭkuri "gravel", gur guru "gravel", K. gargadda “pebbles”. Kh. gargar "gravel". (S. kakṛ, kanḍṛ, K. kāker, id. are Aryan loans). If these words are rightly combined, the root is gav- or gal-.</p>

The use of šarkarā- in the sense of "sugar" dates back to about the beginning of our era and is accordingly much younger than its application to "gravel". Nevertheless, in spite of such parallels as S. bāli guru "crystalized raw sugar" (: bāli "iron stone sand, iron ore"), Malay gula pasir "powdered sugar" (: pasir "sand"), it is doubtful that the meaning "sugar" is due to a semantic development of Sanskrit. Przyluski, Mém. Soc. Ling. 22, 208 ff. (not repeated in Pre-Aryan and Pre-Draavidian in India) was the first to point to some interesting similarities of Skr. šarkarā-, Pa. sakkharā-, Pkt. sakkara- "sugar" in Mon kaw, Khmer skar, Stieng sōkor, Črau škor, čkor. Since Meillet considered šarkarā- "gravel" a genuine IE. word, Przyluski suggested that *sakkara- "sugar" had been borrowed from some Austro-Asiatic dialect and, after having been identified with Pkt. sakkara- "gravel", had been Sanskritized to šarkarā-. I cannot propose a more plausible solution. It may only be observed that šarkarā- should rather be connected with Mon sakrē, thekrē "sugar" than with kaw, although -krē against -kor in the other languages is remarkable. These words point to the possibility that Proto-Munda also had a word *ṣērkara (a) "sugar", but the materials now available do not allow us to decide whether this word, if it has existed at all, was identical with the word for "gravel".

67. śēnkhalā- “chain, fetter”.

A word of the classical language (sometimes śēnkhalā-). According to lexicographical works it also denotes a man’s girdle (cf. Lat. torques). Some scholars therefore suppose some connexion with mēkhalā- “girdle” and try to explain them as being words of IE. descendance. see Walde-Pokorny I, 409, II, 241 (hence Renou, Grammaire sanscrite 259: suffix -khalā-). On the other hand, the obscure word śēkā- (Kath. Up. 1, 16: 2, 3) has been connected with it. It is sometimes translated “necklace” or “garland” (cf. S’aṅk.: šabdavatī ratnamāyī mālā) cf. Deussen, Sechzig Upan. 269. Otto, Die Katha Upan. 29, Hume, The thirteen principal Upanishads 344, 346 n. 1, Rawson, The Katha-Upanishad 70. But many other renderings have been suggested, as "luxus, voluptas" (Kern, on account of šēṅgāra-), "way" (S’aṅk., Pet. D., which Zupitza, KZ. 36, 1900, 58, account with sraṅk- "gatau", Lith. slinkti "to sneak", etc.), "bag, pouch" (Roth, accepted by Böthlingk-Garbe, Chrestom. 399), "slough, pool" (Whitney, Transactions of the Am. Phil. Assoc. 21, 1890, 95), "un involuto mantra" (Maryla Falk, II mito psicologico 422). The interpretation of the two passages (one of which is probably an interpolation) is too
uncertain to allow any conclusion. The Middle Indian correspondences of śṛṅkhalā- are: Pa. saṅkhalā-, Pkt. saṅkhalā-, sīṅkhalā, saṅkhalā-(saṅkalīyā-), see Pischel, Gramm. d. Pkt. Spr. § 213. For the modern Aryan forms see Turner, s.v. sāṅlo.

As a loanword it also occurs in Dravidian and Munda languages. Tamil caṅkili, Malayalam caṅkala, have probably been borrowed from Prakrit. As for S. sikṭi, M. sikṭi (Bhaduri), sikṭi (Rakhal Das Haldar, JASB. 40, 49), sīkṭi (Mark. 5, 3), Ho sikki, sikri their Aryan origin is less certain, the less so since Sora has sikkēdi-. By the side of Hi. sikṛi "a small chain", it is true, the local dialects of Bihar have such forms as sikkaṛ, sīkṣaṛ, sīkṛa, and sikṛi, see Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life § 107. On the other hand, such local words are often borrowings from modern Munda (cf. harkā and prob. arkhar, discussed s.v. argada-). So. sikkēdi- is also dubious (Munda *si-kaḍi or rather from Oriya sikuli on account of the final ṭ). K. sākṛi, sakaṛi, sakaḍi (beside saṅko, sīko) have the normal ṭ for Mar. ṭ (cf. Mar. sākhtt).

Whatever may be the exact relation between S. sikṛi and Biharī sikṛi, they point in any case to a cerebral. A confirmation is to be found in two Sanskrit words for "girdle" quoted in the Medinīkośa, viz. śākaraṛ and śākvarī (the latter no doubt miswritten for *sakkaṛi), which reflect a Proto-Munda form *sar-kaṛ-(i). Since Skr. śṛṅkhalā has an ancient l (cf. Pali saṅkhalā), it must have been adopted from a Proto-Munda dialect where ṭ had become l and reflect an original *sēr-ṅkala.

As for mekhalā-, the analysis me + khalā is perhaps supported by Tamil kalai "woman's girdle consisting of seven strands of jewels". The Tamil Lexicon, it is true, derives it from Skr. mekhālā but possibly it represents the root word *kalā or *galā. However that may be, the prefix me- is a variant of the common prefix ma-, mar- (cf. s.v. bākura-) 167. It is tempting, then, to compare the Pkt. makkadaśandha-, n. "a chain ornament worn across over the left and under the right shoulder" (śṛṅkhalārūpaṁ grībāharanaṁ savyāpasavyam yajnopavitākāram, Deśīn. 6, 127). While mekhalā- (since Ath. S., Taït. S.) must have been adopted, like śṛṅkhalā-, from a Proto-Munda dialect where ṭ had become l, makkadā- still preserves the original cerebral. That it is composed of a prefixal syllable mar- and a root kaḍ- may be inferred from khāḍī-, m. (RS), lex. khaḍ(at)i- m. "ornament worn round the arms and legs", khaḍukā-, khaḍḍukā- "pādadāśi". Cf. furthermore Skr. kaṭaka-(Pkt. kaḍaya-) "cord. string, bracelet", kaṇkana-, n. "ringshaped ornament, bracelet", Beng. kāṛu "bracelet", etc. The connexion of śṛṅkhalā- with Old Icel. hlekkr "chain", Old Engl. hlence "armour" and Lat. clingere "cingere" 168) is accordingly to be rejected.

167) Thus mecaka- "dark blue, black" (since Mhbb.) may be connected with Mon mecōk, lecōk, lemcōk "black". Otherwise Candravṛti (from mac-, see Renou, Études de gramm. scr. 125) and Uhlenbeck, Paul and Braune's 'Beiträge' 26, 303 (Lat. micāre, Dutch meeuw).

168) Johansson, Paul and Braune's "Beiträge" 14, 298 f., Zupitza KZ. 36, 58, etc.
Class. Skr. *nigada-*, n., “chain for the feet, fetter” (also *nigala-*, e.g., Daśakum. 122, 19; 125, 2 Agashe, and pp. 161, 162 Godbole in contra-distinction to Agashe) has a meaning similar to śrīkhalā. Pischel, Sitz. Berl. Akad. 1903, 728 (in a discussion of *vagadabhī*) points to the fact that in Mahāvastu 2, 100, 3 and Lalitavist. 318, 2 *nirgada-* is used for *nirargaṇa-* “ohne Hindernis, tadellos”; since *gada-*, *gaṇaka-* is said to mean “obstacle” (antarāgyaḥ), Pischel connects *nigada-* (Pali *nigala-*, Pkt. *nīla-*) with these words (cf. *gaḍ-* “āvarane” Dhātup.); see also Johansson, Etymologie und Wortgeschichte 9 (with bibl.). Therefore Charpentier’s view (from *ni-grto- = nīnaddha-, ZDMG. 73, 150) is improbable. Since several Proto-Munda words are prefixed with *nī-,* *nigada-* may be a Proto-Munda word. The proper meaning of *gada-* must then have been “to bind” (cf. *bandha-* “chain, tether, bondage”). See also s.v. *argaṇa-*. The derivation of *aṅgada-*, n., “bracelet worn on the upper arm” (since the Rām.) is doubtful. Seeing that most of the names for bracelets and similar ornaments are foreign words (*kaṭaka-*, *kēyāra-*, *nūpara-,* etc.) it is unlikely to be composed of *aṅga-* and *dā-* (“to bind”). Tamil *anukatam* also signifies “serpent” and “falsehood, abuse”; if these three meanings belong to one and the same word, its original sense must have been “twisting, bending” (cf. *kūṭila-*, *kūṭilagāmin-*) Otherwise it might perhaps represent Proto-Munda *aṅgaṇa* (from *aṅgαda-*. In this case, as in many others, the great number of possible phonetic changes in Proto-Munda enables us to combine words of a rather different aspect but diminishes at the same time the stringency of the demonstration. But the assumption of a root *gaḍ-* “to bind” is supported by Skr. lex. *gala-*, Hi. *gaḷ(a)* “noose, snare” and Sant. *gali-,* id. (cf. perhaps *gaṛi surī* “to bundle up, huddle up”). Scheftelowitz’s connexion (ZII 2, 269) of *gala-* with *gālma-,* m., “shrub, bush”, Old Ch. Slav. *gol’* “branch”, Alb. *g’al’m* “rope” does not recommend itself. On the other hand, S. *hāṛi* “to fetter, chain” may belong to the same root. In view of *hāṛi* the question arises whether Skr. *hāra-,* m., “a necklace, string or garland of pearls” (Hi. *hār, hārā* “garland”, Beng. *hār* “necklace”, Nep. *hāri* “garland, necklace of coins set in rows”, etc.) is really identical with *hāra-* “charming” as is generally supposed. However that may be, the meanings of śrīkhalā, *kaṭaka-* and *nigada-* are so closely related (cf. Tam. *caṅkili* 168) For the Pkt. forms, see Pischel § 240; for the NIA. equivalents see Turner s.v. nel. Bloch 150. 170) Cf. *nibīda-* (p. 148), *na-* in Pa. *naṅgala-,* S. *nagel* (see s.v. *hala-*) and in Pkt. *nagāli-,* *naṅgali-* “kacchaphāḥ” (Deśin. 4, 20) : Skr. lex. *duṭi-,* *duṭi-,* *daṭi-*, etc. (see Wackernagel I. 222), Nep. *ṭoṭari* “tortoise”. The following Skr. words are prob. Proto-Munda loanwords: *nicumpana-* (RS, see Oldenberg, Rel. des Veda 399 n. 3 and Noten ad 8, 93, 22), *nipuna-* (cf. Pkt. *chappanpana-* “clever”, S. *sarphaṭikā*, id. ?), *nikurumba-* “multitude”. Note also *nīkharva-* “dwarfish” (Hemac., Kṣirasvāmin ad Amara 2, 6, 46) = *kharva-,* id. (see s.v. *khαdga-*).
“chain, link, chain-ornament of gold, inset with diamonds, hand-cuffs, fetters”) that it is not unreasonable to assume their relationship. See further s.v. argada-^171).

68. šṛṅgāra-, m. “fine dress, etc.”

This word conveys rather different meanings, viz. 1) adj. “fine, beautiful” (vesa- Mbbh., vakra- Rām.); m. “ornament, fine dress” (Pañcat., Kathās., etc.). 2) “love, sexual passion” (Rām., Kālid., etc.). In NIA. languages only the first word seems to survive, see Turner s.v. siñār “decoration”. It is generally derived from šṛṅga-, n. “horn” (Pet. Dict., Uhlenbeck, Frisk, Zur indoir. und griech. Nominalbildung 41), which however finds no support in its meaning. Like šṛṅkhalā-, šṛṅgāra- is a Proto-Munda loanword but, while in the first word Šṛ- is a prefix, it here forms part of the root. The meanings “ornament” and “passion” belong to two different words, which will be discussed separately.

As for 1. šṛṅgāra- “fine, fine dress”, we may compare the following Santali derivatives from a root da-ka or da-ga, which, however, are partly contaminated with words meaning “shining, brilliant”, and partly with a word-group with the sense “to grow luxuriantly, strapping, well-fed”: cakmak “splendid, fine, beautiful, to show oneself off”, cakmakao “to be ready adorned, make fine-looking”, cakel makel “to show oneself off, strapping”, cahak mahak, cōhōk mōhōk “smart, decking oneself in one’s finery”, to show oneself off, deck oneself”, cahak cōhōk “who decks oneself, shows oneself off, smart”, cōhōk “fresh, bright, graceful, beautiful”, cōkōn “to dress oneself finely”, cikan cōkōn, cikōn cōkōn “finely dressed, decked, smart, well-fed”, cēlkōt cōkōt cēlkōt “finely, decked and tidied” [cīgōc cīgōc “elegantly, lightly (dance)??], chak mak, cōkō mōk, chak makāo “fine, shining, to make fine, deck oneself out”, chak mākiā “finely attired or dressed, decorated, adorned, elegant, glittering; to tidy oneself up”, chakel makel, chaker maker “well-made, handsome, graceful, elegant”, cīk cīk (cīk cīk, etc.) “polished, shining, to tidy oneself up (put on one’s finery, to wash and oil oneself)”, jīk mīk, jīkī mīkī “fine, shining, resplendent”^172); to adorn oneself”, jīṅgūr “ear-ornament” (Campbell), sēkē sēkē, sēkē dōkē, sēkē mēkē “covered with ornaments, to adorn”, dīgī mīgī “beaming, shining, with splendour and pomp, to show oneself jubilant”, tēk tēk “the whole (arm, neck) full of ornaments”. Cf. Nep. jhakkalo “showy, fashionable”, jhakmale “showy, foppish”, jhak-jhak, jhakā-jhak

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^171) Toda tagārs “chain” (Pope) < *tagāl and Hi. tagā “a gold and silver chain, worn round the waist, a girdle, zone” have curious parallels in the Philippines: Tagalog. Bisaya talikala. Tag. tanikala “chain” (which according to Kern are loanwords from Sanskrit, see Adriani. Sangireesche Spraakkunst 154). I must leave it to competent judges to decide if these words are connected at all.

^172) Cf. Nep. jhaka maka “shining, bright”, jag mag “to glare, shine” (Hi. jagmag “dazzling light, glitter”, etc.).
"splendour, grandeur", perh. also Skr. lex. cañga- "nice", cf. So. laṅgā "beautiful".

In digi migi and tek ṭekē the original cerebral has been preserved, cf. also (sekē) ḍokē. Although Skr. śṛṅgāra- may represent a Proto-Munda word *sē-r-ṇ(g)ar or *sē-r-ṇ(g)or 173) (with an r infixed between the two parts of the root), it is, in view of its comparatively late appearance in Sanskrit literature, not excluded that śṛṅgāra- is a Sanskritization of Pa. Pkt. siṅgāra- (on the analogy of the correspondence Pa. Pkt. siṅga- : Skr. śṛṅga- "horn", Pkt. sīṅkhalā- : Skr. śṛṅkhalā- "chain"). In that case Proto-Munda *śīṅgar or *śīṅgor would be a dialectal variant of S. līṅgor lōṅgor "finely dressed, to make a show of oneself, frivolously".

2. śṛṅgāra- "love" is likewise derived from a root ḍa-ka or ḍa-ga, cf. S. līṅgor lōṅgor "frivolously" (contaminated, like some of the following words, with a derivative from the first root, see above). lōṅgor lōṅgor "merry, jovial, jolly, foppish, dandified, licentious, frivolous", lōṅgra "sensual, licentious, lustful, shameless, unchaste" (cf. Hi. laṅgar "a dissolute fellow, libertine, rake", luṅgāra, luṅgāra "dissolute, profigate, lewd, lecherous"), laṅ caṅgiā "gay, jolly, a dandy, top", (cf. M. lāṅ caṅgiā "foppish, dissolute"), lōṅkōk "jolly, sportive, showing oneself off", cok caṅdal "libidinous, lustful". The same remark, as made above on account of 1. śṛṅgāra-, applies to this word. While no theory can be based on śṛṅgām hi manmāthdībdhēdāh Sāh. Darp. (see Pet. Dict.), the variant with i actually occurs in śīṅga-, m. "libertine, rake" (Yaśastil.), which is hardly a misprint for śīḍga- (Hemac., Med.), cf. śaṅga-, m. (Śīś.), nāraṅga-, m. (Hemac., Med.: prefix nā-, cf. p. 124, n. 170), laṅga-, m. (= śīḍga-, Hemac., Med.), tāṅkara- (Trik.) "libertine, rake", lāṅkā- "slut" (Hemac., Med., Viśvā, Tam. caṅkālara "lustful persons, as prostitutes". Śīḍga- accordingly contains an infix -d-, inserted between the two parts of the root ḍa-ga. I do not hazard to pronounce an opinion on Hi. dhaṅgga, dhaṅgā, dhaṅgrā "paramour, lover".

69. ḍambā-, ḍambhā-, humbha- "bellowing of a cow".

By the side of ḍambhā (since Mhbh. Rām.) a variant hambā occurs in Hariv. and Rājat. (see Pet. Dict.). The denominative verb ḍambhāyate is once attested in ḍambhāyamānā Mhbh. 1, 6670 Calc. = 1, 165, 22 Poona, where the Poona text records some interesting variant readings as humb-, humph-, and harīv-. Similar variants are given for ḍambhāravaghanaśvanā 1, 165, 32 Poona, viz. hambā-, humbā-, humphā-. The Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa (and modern editions based on it, as the Madras edition of 1933) read humbārava- in Rām. 1, 54, 18 and 1, 55, 2 (hambārava- von Schlegel). As the variation a : u is suggestive of foreign origin, the

173) For Skr. a representing Proto-Munda o, g. see s.v. hambā.
explanation of *hambhā* as an onomatopoea (Uhlenbeck s.v.) cannot be accepted without further inquiry. Now T. Burrow, Transactions of the Philological Society 1945, 80, points to the fact that the Dravidian short o is normally replaced in Sanskrit loanwords by short a. The same holds good for Proto-Munda words. We may therefore compare S. *homba,* *hombe,* Omb. *omba* "to low (cows, bullocks)". In the Kherwari dialects of Munda we often find variants with, and without, initial h. This is mostly due to a dialectal loss of h, although for some instances the possibility of secondary aspiration of the initial vowel is not excluded. In any case the loss of h must date back to a comparatively early period since some Sanskrit loanwords represent Proto-Munda words without ancient h. As *āvila* "turbid" (Mhbb., Rām., Suśr., Kālid., etc.), cf. S. *kevēl beṇêl < kevēl bēkēl* "turbid, muddy", *huvel bukel* "reddish (colour of stagnant, iron-oxidized water)" (but heola "to stir up, mix by stirring", heola *hivli* "to mix up, make muddy, turbid" are rather connected with *heola*, id., *heṇḍēl, heṇḍēl bēkēl*, id.)

70. *hala-, m. "plough".*

Since Mhbb., Rām. (*hāla-, Med., *hali- Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*); also used as a weapon (like *läṅgala-, kalāṅgala-, etc.). It has been connected with Arm. *jlem* "I plough", Old Eng. *giełm* "sheaf" (Hübßchmann, Uhlenbeck, Niedermann) or with Arm. *jol* "pole, stick", Lith. *žuolis* "trunk of a tree" (Scheftelowitz, Petersson), see Walde–Pokorny I, 629 (add Scheftelowitz, KZ, 53, 268) and Feist, Etym. Wörterb. der got. Sprache s.v. *gilba*.

Walde–Pokorny emphasize the problematical character of these explanations, none of which is quite convincing (cf. J. Bloch, BSOS. 8, 411). It may therefore be useful to draw attention to a possible Proto-Munda derivation.

Skr. *läṅgala-, n. "plough"* is a derivative from a root *kal- or gal-, cf. Khasi *lynkhor < *lēnkol, id. 177*. The Sanskrit word accordingly represents a Proto-Munda *lä-ñal (cf. la-kuṭa-) or rather *nā-ñal (cf. Pa. *naṅgala-*, Mar. *nāgar, etc. 178).* The Dravidian words (Tam. *nāncil, Tel. nāgal, Kann. nēgal, Gondi nāṅgēl, Kui nāṅgeli), some of which presuppose an original *nā-ñil or *nāñēl, cannot have been borrowed from Sanskrit (as J. Bloch, l.c., apparently assumes) but must reflect a Proto-Munda variant

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174) For a similar phenomenon in Tulu see Ramaswami Aiyar, Ind. Ant. 69 (1930), 200. Kann. *ambā, Tel. ambhā* are loanwords, either from Munda or from Aryan (Kittel, Kann. Engl. Dict., Preface XLIIL derived *hambā* from Dravidian).

175) Skr. lex. *ajjhalā-: kajjala- is late, Skr. alābu-: Pkt. *kalavū- not quite certain.

176) With *beṇêl* may be connected Pkt *bahala-, n. "mud" (parakhā).

177) See Przyluski, BSL. 24, 118–124 = Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian 8 ff. (cf. Kuiper, Acta Orient. 16, 307 f.). Przyluski writes *ka-lynkor, but ka is probably the Khasi "article". Final *-l becomes -r in Khasi.

178) Cf. Skr. *anyaṇā- "woman, female" < *a-nya = Kon-tu akan, Bahnar akān, Khmer *kan (Kuiper, Acta Or. 16, 203 ff.).
of "nā-ṇāl. The modern Munda equivalents are: S. nahəl "plough", M. nāel (Bhaduri), naial (Hoffmann), naial (Rakhal Das Haldar) "wooden frame of the plough", Ho nail "plough". Bloch regards these, too, as Aryan loanwords, probably because Przyluski's paper suggests the idea that lãŋgala- has been borrowed from some Austro-Asiatic language outside of India. Since however the h in Kherwari (and, to a lesser extent, in Kurku and the other branches of Munda) very often stands for k, modern Kherwari represents the unnasalized variant of "nā-ṇēl, viz. "nā-kēl. It is possible that Skr. hala- is the same root-word without the prefix. Although there are no morphological indications of a foreign origin, its relatively late occurrence perhaps argues in favour of this explanation. 

179) Burrow, BSOAS, 11, 615, derives the Skr. word from Dravidian.  
180) Note Lāhala- "S'abaraviśeṣah" (Hemacandra, Vararuci), the name of an aboriginal tribe. Since Lāṅgala- is also the name of a tribe, Lāhala- may be the prefixed form of hala- (≡ S. nahəl). If so, the tribe may possibly have adopted the name of its santak or emblem. But the occurrence of such other names as Lahaḍa-, Lahara-, and Dāhala-warns us against rash conclusions.
APPENDIX.

Excursus on the Proto-Munda change of cerebrals to $y$, palatals and sibilants.

§ 1. While most of the phonetic changes enumerated in the introductory remarks of the present study were already known from variants occurring in NIA. languages (although their source had not yet been ascertained) 1), the assimilation of cerebrals has hardly been noticed 2). Since this development will possibly meet with some disbelief, a more detailed discussion of this phenomenon may perhaps be of some use. In illustration of the Proto-Munda facts attention may be drawn to a parallel development in Dravidian. Any attempt to explain the details of the striking parallelism which can be observed between the Proto-Dravidian and the Proto-Munda phonetic development would be premature, although the facts suggest the idea that the tendency towards a convergent development which ultimately resulted in the growth of an Indian linguistic league must date back to a very early (partly pre-Vedic) period 3). If the Proto-Munda change $d > y$, $j$ would turn out to be an inheritance from the Austro-Asiatic stage (see below, § 4), the parallel Dravidian development might possibly be due to Proto-Munda influence.

In explanation of this phenomenon it should firstly be pointed out that Tamil has a fricative sound $l$ whose phonetic value may approximately be denoted by the symbol $\tilde{z}$. In the modern pronunciation of Tamil this sound is partly weakened to $y$ (particularly in the region of Madras), whereas in the South it has coincided with the phoneme $l$. This development is not, however, restricted to modern dialects of Tamil. Many doublets in the common language show it to date back to an early period of the language. Thus K. V. Subbaya, A Primer of Dravidian Phonology 31, quotes in illustration of the Tamil change $l > y$: $mâlku- > mây \text{ "to die".}$ Now $mây$- occurs as early as the Kural, and a variant $mâl$-, id. is attested in the Tiruvâcakam (9th century?). The last word, however, need not have developed from $^*mâl$-. It is a methodical error, in my opinion, to assign to the prim. Dravidian language distinct phonemes $l, l$, etc., as most authorities do (e.g. Subbaya, p. 30 ff.) 4). As a matter of fact, this is obviously based on the erroneous supposition that Tamil reflects the

1) See Turner, Introduction to his Nepali Dictionary, p. XV.
2) For the scarce remarks known to me, see below, p. 156. These explanations of the phenomenon are in my opinion incorrect.
3) Cf. also Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 597.
4) If these phonemes existed in the parent language at all, their modern distribution (e.g. in Tamil) does not correspond to the original state of things.
original state of things so that divergencies in other Drav. languages should
be explained as secondary developments. In reality, however, we have
rather to do with a single phoneme, which may be represented in various
ways (viz. as d, l, t, r, y) in one and the same language: no more than
the Munda languages, indeed, do the Dravidian forms of speech represent
a pure, homogeneous dialect (owing, no doubt, to the particular geo-
graphical and social conditions prevailing in India). The following are a
few examples of this interchange, mainly taken from Tamil: micai
"elevated place, eminence": mēṭu, id., mitai, mēṭai "platform". —
coli- "to strip off, peel off": toli- "to strip off, husk". — cör-, culal-
(cuṅai-, cuṅāṅku-): "to droop, faint, languish": toy, id. (toygal
"fainting"), tolai- "to be exhausted, defeated, perish", tuṅcu- "to droop,
perish", tulṅku- "to droop", — cuvvu- "to eat enjoy": tuvvu-, id.
— cori "to rain" (cōri, cōnai "rain"): tuḷi "rain(ing)", tuvaram, id.
— Kann. jubaṭa: Tam. tuvar "stringy" (Skr. tuvara-). — Tam. cuṇṇi,
Tel. cuḷi: Kann. tuṇṇe "penis". — [As has been observed in the Intro-
duction this interchange must be the result of a free variation within the
limits of a phoneme, cf. Kann. tāṭu, tāntu "hole" ~ toṛe, tole, tōli, id. ~
lotta, "a hollow, pit" (Tel. loḍdi, lōya, id., loṭṭa "hollow"), loṭṭe "emptiness,
hollowness" ~ jaḷḷu, id. ~ Tam. cotṭai "cavity" (lex. cūći "hole", cf. Pkt.
tuḍi, Tam. tonṭi "stolen article" ~ Kann. dōcu "to rob, plunder" ~ Tam.
cotṭu- "to steal". Several of these word-groups may be of Proto-Munda
135 with Add.) but the numerous Dravidian variants have hardly been
borrowed as such. I now regard the cerebrals and the dentals as (originally
"extra-phonematic") variants of the same (alveolar?) phoneme, other
variants of which were j, c, s, t, r, l, l, l, etc.]

§ 2. It has been pointed out above that the change l > c dates back to
at least the middle of first millennium A.D. (Kurā). Vedic loanwords
however show the same phenomenon some thousand years earlier. For the
Yajurvedic word kavaś- "gaping, opening wide (of doors, thighs)
" is no
doubt related to Tam. kavaṭa "branch of a tree, forked branch, fork of
the legs" (cf. Tel. kavaṭa), kavaṭṭi "space between the thighs", kavaṛ-
"to branch off, to fork, bifurcated", kavaｒ "bifurcated branch (of trees,
river)", etc. The nom. plur. is partly written kavaṣāḥ (Maitr. S., Vāj. S.),
partly kavāyāḥ (Kāṭh. S., also in some mss. of Taṭt. S.), which, rather
than being graphic (thus Vedic Variants II § 877), reflects the double
development of Drav. l. It may be added that Skr. kapāṭa- is not the older
form of kavaṭa- "door, doornanel" (thus Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm.
I, XLVIII) but a Sanskritized variant of it: and the IE. etymological
explanations proposed for Skr. gavāṅkā-, gavāṅika-, "the groins" (cf. e.g.
Charpentier, KZ. 46. 44 ff.) are very dubious on account of Telugu
gavani, gavini, gavidi "city-gate". Another instance of Skr. ṣ representing
Drav. I is kalaṣa- "muddy, turbid" (since Mhbb.): Tam. kalul- "to become turbid", kalul "muddiness" (cf. kalaṅku- "to be stirred up, confused", etc.). But Skr. lex. māsa- "blockhead" : malva- "foolish", though it may be compared to Tam. mattai "stupid fellow", maṭaiyaṅ "blockhead", maṭaṅ "ignorant person", manṭu "fool", manṇai, id., is rather of Proto-Munda origin (see s.v. bandā-, p. 102, 104). In initial position we often find c for š: thus Skr. cunṭi- (lex. cunṭa-, cunḍhi-), cunḍya-, cūrī- (lex. cūḍa-, cūḍaka-, cūṭaka-) "a well", lex. śuṣi-, f. "hole, pit", Hi. cogyā, etc. may be connected with Tam. töl-, töl-, tōlai-, tōtu-, tōtu-, tūruw- "to bore, dig, excavate, scoop out", tūlai, tolaï, tollai, tołku, toṇi, tuñ. tuḷaṇai "hole, pit", toṭṭi "water-trough, tub, cistern, reservoir", cotṭai "excavation, cavity", curai "hollowness, cavity", cūṅgal "scooping out". S. sund, sut', M. Ho. suḍ, id. must then be Drav. loanwords 5). The question arises whether Hi. jurnā "to be joined" (Skr. lex. juṭati, juḍati "binds", see Turner s.vv. jurnu, juṭnu) may be related to Skr. dora-, m.n., ḍora-, n., dora- (Yaśastil), doraka-, n. "string" (Turner s.vv. ḍoḍo, dorī, ḍor), all being derived from Drav. *ḍuḍ, cf. Tam. toṭu, toṭar-, toṭakku-, toṛgu-, tuṇu-, tōṣu- "to join, attach, etc.", tōṭu "collection, assemblage", tuṇai "partner, companion, pair, couple", cūṭi "bundle of leaves" (cf. Hi. jūṭi "a bundle of sugar-cane", jorṭi "partner, consort, pair, couple", etc.). Skr. Pkt. dora- is usually connected with Skr. Pkt. davaṭa-, m. "thread" 6) (root war-, wa-du, see s.v. kabaṭi-), but cf. Skr. ḍoṇḍā- in schol. on Hāla 174 7): ḍuṇḍubhasābdo ḍoṇḍāyaṁ vartate. ḍoṇḍa (sic) mālāviśeśo loke prasiddha eva.

§ 3. The interchange of dentals (cerebrals) and sibilants in Dravidian is a much disputed problem. Pope assumed s > t for Toda; on the other hand, cf. Caldwell, Comp. Gramm. 2nd ed. (1875) 52: Tam. t, d > c (peritu > pericu): similarly Subbaya, op. c. (1909), p. 25 (cf. p. 30: Gondi d > j, nāḍu > nāju; pp. 31, 33 f.: l > y, ūr > y, e.g. Tam. pulūti "dust" : Tulu poye, Tam. kuli "pit" : Tel. goyya, Tam. kīṭu "to scratch" : Tel. gīya). At the same time, however, he assumes s > t (p. 40: Tulu sappu, tappu "mistake", also Tam. vācal "door" > Mal. vādi). Ramaswami Aiyar, who at first refused to accept t, d > c (Educational Review, Madras, Jan. 1932, p. 3 off-print), later admitted the correspondence Kann. s : Tam. c, t, d (e.g. Kann. sī : Tam. tī "sweet", Kann. esal : Tam. ital "petal"; (see Educ. Rev., Febr. 1939, p. 1 f., March 1939, p. 2.) Similarly Tuttle, Dravidian Developments 10. Bloch, Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes (1946) accepts t, d > s for some cases (pp. 48, 53 ff., cf. p. 69 on Gondi-śi, -jī, in accordance with Caldwell 397). Burrow however takes the opposite view: he regards the sibilants (palatais) as original sounds, which have partly become South-Drav. ī through rhota-


cism (Kui ājā “to become cool”, āspa “to make cold” > Tam. Mal. Kann. Tel. āru “to grow cool”, BSOAS. 11, 346), and partly yield t in South Dravidian (e.g. Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 118) 8). On the other hand the comparison with Samoyede words leads him to assume original affricates (t)ts and nts/nd, which have become tt and nt/nḍ respectively (pp. 342, 344). The assumption of a variation ķ ~ l ~ j, y renders these theories superfluous 9).

It should be added that this theory may also shed a new light on the problem of the relations between Drav. c(s) and y (see Ramaswami Aiyar, Journ. Orient. Res. 6, 1932, 11—21, and cf. Mervart, Grammatika tamīlskogo razgovornogo jazyka 48). Thus Kann. pesar and Tam. peyar “name” may be derived from *piser ~ *pitar: palatalization through preceding i (Tuttle, Drav. Developments 14, 18) cannot explain the majority of the instances. Similarly perhaps Tam. vay-iṛu (vay-iṅ). Kann. bas-iṛ, bas-uṛ, Tulu baṇji “belly” from *vad-/vand- (cf. Kui bandī? But see Add. to p. 145).

§ 4. A similar phonetic development has taken place in Proto-Munda. We are however hardly justified in ascribing to Proto-Munda the phoneme l of Tamil since any indication of its former existence in Munda is wanting. On the other hand, the cerebral r, which must at one time have been common to all Proto-Munda dialects, might as well account for the change of the cerebral sound to y, j, c, s, as similar developments of r are rather frequent. Dravidian examples have been quoted above, although Subbaya’s explanation is not beyond doubt. Jespersen, Language 244, mentions some instances, belonging to women’s speech, from French (chaire > chaise), Norwegian, and Chukchi. As an additional example we may refer to Mingrelian, where, e.g., p’ira “ready” (> *pijja) has become p’iča, see A. Dirr, Einführung in die kaukasischen Sprachen 90 10). In assuming a change of r to j, etc., we stand on a firm ground since r has been inherited from Austro-Asiatic, cf. S. hāram, M. Bh. hārām: Khasi rım, Mon tarém “old”; S. ṝor, M. ḝoro (K. kŏr) “man” : Khasi b-rītu “human being”; S. ḍoro “unhusked rice” (So. sārō- “paddy”) : Khasi soh-rītu, Mon srō, Khmer srāv, srōv [srōv], Sakai cāroī.

The inference to be drawn from these examples, viz. that Mon-Khmer

8) Thus he derives Tam. pītāi “a tuff or bundle of hair” from *pičci (BSOAS. 11, 348) although Tam. plī “peacock’s feather” points rather to an original *pič- (> Skr. piccha-), n. “peacock’s tail”). Cf. also op. c., p. 338 f.
9) Cf. Emeneau’s recent discussion of the development of l to a voiceless alveolar sibilant (s) in Toda (Univ. in California Publ. in Class. Philol., vol. 12, 1943, p. 259, n. 27). This s is a different phoneme from the post-dental sibilant.
10) Cf. also Semang yumpāt “grass” for Malay rumput, and yūpa “silver” for rūpa in many Himalayan dialects of the Tibeto-Burmese family (Linguistic Survey of India, III, 1, passim).
and Khasi must at one time have had two different phonemes (τ and ρ) raises a number of questions which cannot be sufficiently answered as yet. Thus we may hazard the suggestion that τ is identical with the uvular r-sound which is ascribed to primitive Indonesian. But for a comprehensive examination of the problem of the existence of cerebrals in the whole field of Austro-Asiatic languages the time has not yet come. It is not improbable that several of the developments of d, t, which we here ascribe to Proto-Munda, will later turn out to date back to a far earlier period (which would account to some extent for the very intricate character of the phonetical correspondences, which are not sufficiently explained by the assumption of dialectal variations in Munda alone). Some interesting facts, at any rate, suggest the idea that Mon-Khmer τ (< τ) may alternate with t (< t). Cf. Mon ṭep “to wink”: pharēp, id., khrep “to twinkle, wink”, kharip, pemrip “twinkle”, themrēp mot “twinkling of an eye”, Khasi khap-rip “to twinkle, wink”, Stieng rip “to shut the eyes” 11). Munda has, by the side of S. rip ripi “to twitch” (M. ripi ripi “to wink”), ripit “to wink with the eyes, to blink” (M. rāpūd “twinkling of an eye”, Ho āpūd “to wink, blink”), variants with j, e.g. S. jipā “to blink, close the eyes”, jipit “to close one eye”, jepit “to shut the eyes, sleep, die” (M. Ho K. Kh. jāpūd “to shut the eyes”). Hence the conclusion that an inherited τ has become j in Proto-Munda may be tempting. But then, Santali has also lip lip “to tremble, quiver, twinkle”, which suggests that either the changes d > r, l, j are specific developments of Munda alone, or rather, that all these variants have been inherited from an earlier (Austro-Asiatic or Austric) stage of the language. (Cf. Semang, Malay kēli “to wink”, Mal. kējap “a wink”). Although I am not qualified to decide this question, attention may be drawn to such cases as S. rūn rūn “clear and transparent”, rūnū rūnū “transparent, clear”, tuṅ tuṅ, id. (Central Sakai ōn “clear, limpid”): Mon leŋ “to be clear or bright”, sung “to be clear, limpid, serene, calm”; or So. jēra-. Central Sakai jēro, Bahnar jūru, Stieng jōruh, Mon jēroh “deep” : Mon soh “to be deep, a chasm, a gulf”, suh, myū “to be deep”, temyū “deep”, lemyū, leyū, peyū “depth” 12). It must be left to specialists to decide whether such traces of the changes d > l, j, y do exist in Mon-Khmer (and Indonesian). We shall here confine ourselves to the quotation of some Munda examples.

§ 5. d > y: S. ṭhōya “hollowed, empty; to eat (worms)”, dhotya, dhotya “to eat (worms)”, thuiąk’ “an empty cocoon”, thōerak’ “to hollow

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11) Schmidt leaves this problem unsolved for Mon-Khmer (see e.g. Mon-Khmer-Völker 92, Grundz. Lautl. Khasi-Spr. 739).

11a) Another instance of τ < d is Khasi shīn-tus “mouth” : Semang te-nud, So. tōd-, Paren tōt, etc. (see below s.v. sunđa-).

11b) Cf. Nep. jhimjhimāun “to wink”, jhimko “a wink”, cim “closing the eyes, blink” (noun), cimcim “blinking”, Hi. jhapkī “a wink, blink, twinkle”.

12) See also below, p. 135, on the nasalization of j, c. s < d, t.


Initial c, s: cenda : tenda “not quite full-grown” (da-da, see below sunthha-). — conga : thongga “pipe, tube” (cf. Hi. cogha, etc., see Turner

33 As for Beng. gera “squint-eyed” (Chatterji 490) see below, p. 156.
s.v. cúgo and cf. ḍhuṇro “tube, funnel”, Bashkarik ḍoṇ “hole”). — *ramcam “standing out”, M. rombā combā “many-branched” (both from ḍa-wa “bifurcated, wide apart”). — *ṣmegc “small” : ṇemel, id., ḍemec “shallow” (ḍa-wa “low, flat”, cf. ḍeble, Ho tembe “shallow”, Nep. thepco “lowered, flattened”, etc. see ciπita-). — spā sogy “trickling down” : dhīq ḍhogy, tiq tɒq “leaking”. — sīpī sīrīn : tīpī tiṇi, tīpīn “tinkling”. — The circumstance that the nasalized form of j, c, s (< ḍ) is n’ just as is the case with ancient palatals, suggests a pre-Munda origin of the assimilated cerebrals; e.g. S. n’ōhōṭ “to graze, barely touch” : čhōṭ, ṛōhōṭ “to touch with one’s foot in passing” (cf. K. kōkọ “to stumble against”).

§ 6. Many Aryan words are to be explained in this way. Thus Skr. jhijhī-, jhinjhi- “cricket”, by the side of jhāḷa-, jhallikā, jhīll-, jhilleri-, jhillikā-, jhirī-, jhirikā-, jhirukā-, (Pkt. jhārua-), cillī-, cill(l)ikā-, cillakā-, cīrī-, cīrīkā-, cīrukā- (and caṇcaḷi-?), point to an original *jiḍi or *diḍi. Cf. M. tete “cricket” (Rakhal Das Haldar). Pkt. teḍḍa-, Hi. tiddā “grasshopper”, tiḍḍi, tiḍḍi, tiḍḍi “locust”, Kann. jitti, citte “id., grasshopper”. — Skr. cincā- “tamarind” has many variants, e.g. cincinți, caṇḍa-, tinitida-, tinitidī-, tinitidikā-, tinitidīka-, tinitili-, tinitilkā, and, with a Proto-Munda prefix, sutinitidā-, sutinitidī-. Cf. also Skr. lex. cuṇcurī-, cuṇculi- “a play with tamarind seeds”. Pali has tinitinți-, tinitidikā-, tinitilikā-; cf. Old Beng. tentulī, mod. Beng. tētul, etc. See Wackernagel, Alting. Gramm. I, 222, Geiger, Pali 60. Chatterji 483. The radical element is tid (tid-, tín-), cf. Telugu cinta with only the first cerebral assimilated (as in Skr. caṇḍa-). Modern Munda has also reduplicated forms, cf. Kh. tenkon, So. tittin-. (In “A Manual of the Sora Language” Ramamurti writes tittin-ên, p. 72, or tittin-ên, p. 77, whereas both dictionaries give tittī-n, as though the word were tittī-. There can be little doubt as to the correctness of the former form). — Skr. ḍayana= ḍallaka- “hammock for carrying objects in” stands for *ḍaṇḍa-, cf. S. ḍhaluḍ ḍhaluḍ “with an up and down motion”, etc., and cf. dolā-, dolikā- “swing, cradle”, jholikā- “cradle (?)” (see Schmidt, Nachträg s.v.), Nep. jholuṅgo “a swinging cradle”. — Skr. ni-miṣ- “to close the eyes”, Pkt. miṅcana- “closing of the eyes”, Hi. miṅmā “to close” : Panj. mīṭnā, Mar. miṇnē, id., Skr. mīl- (since RS.; with Proto-Munda l which explains the absence of l in Aryan, see Lüders, Philol. Indica 551). The original meaning is prob. “(to press) close together” (see Turner s.v. micnu “to press, squeeze, crowd”). — Skr. lex. lūṣati, loṣa(ya)ti “steals” : lūṇṭụyaṭi, lūṇḍa(ya)ti, rūnṭhati, rūnṭati, id. Root lʊd- or ḍud-, cf. S. locka, locro, locan luciṅ, lacaṅ locaṅ “pirfering, thievish”, lara cūnta “snatching away, to grab away”, lara lusu, lara lucr “prone to steal” (lucā = Hi. luccā “thievish”). A variant of locra is S. cocra, which however seems to be derived from S. cor = Skr. cora- “thief”. As for the last word, the details are far from clear. Cora- stands for *cōrā- < *cōḍā- (cf. Hi. cōṭṭā, Nep. cōṭṭo), which cannot be separated from Tamil cōl-.
cōr-. cōṭṭu-, cūṟu- "to steal, grasp, etc.", cūṟai "robbery" 14). On the other hand, Tam. tōṭuva "theft" and tonṭi "stolen article" (Kann. tuḍi, id.) and prob. Nep. thut-thāt "thieving, pilfering" also point to a root āūd (either Drav. or Munda). — Skr. lex. laśa-, m. "gum" (see Turner s.v. lassā), S. lasak' pasak' "sticky", lōc phocao "gummy, viscous" : lāṭak', jāṭak', lāṭkao, lēṭkom, jēṭkōm "to adhere, stick to", lēd "miry pool", jēṭ jēṭ "sticky, viscid". As for Nep. laspas "contagion", cf. S. las pas, lāṭ pat "sticky, muddy". — Skr. lex. jhumbā- "a kind of lute" : tumbī-vīnā-, id., tumba- "gourd". — Skr. śākinī-, f. "witch" : ḍākinī-, id. (derivation unknown). — Skr. śāka-, 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. āṅḍro "passionate"). cannot be separated from Nep. jaṇḍa, jaṇḍo "hot-tempered, fierce" (cf. Hi. jhālā). We may accordingly compare S. coenda "hot-tempered, irascible, hasty, passionate", cōrta, cōrōta, etc. "passionate, bad-tempered" : S. ṭheṇṭa, id. — Skr. śāva-, m. "young of an animal", Pkt chāva-, Pa. chāpa-, id. : S. ḍēbe "dwarfish, small", ṭēṃbe ṭurā "small (animals, children)", etc. Root ḍa-st "stunted, small" (see s.v. tūparā-). — Skr. tuṣāra-, m. "frost, rime" : ṭhāra-, id. (Kāty. S'S.) 15). Root ḍa-dā, cf. Skr. jaḍa- "cold, cool", S. jaḍwahi, jaḍwas "feeling very cold" : Hi. ṭhaṇḍhā "cold". — Skr. sambala- (sambala-, saṃvāla-), n. "provisions for a journey" survives in Nep. sāmal-tumul, id., an echo-word whose last member is connected with Nep. tumari "pack, baggage". Since the last word may be related to S. thamae 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, sāṃgol, sāṃgol "to provide oneself with, supply, prepare", and perhaps samṭao "to collect, assemble", samṭa samṭi "taking all along, bag and baggage". Root ṭa-ba or ḍa-ba? — Pa. kirāśa- : Skr. kirāta- (see Kern, Toevoegselen s.v.).

§ 7. Some Sanskrit words require a more detailed treatment. Kha d g ā-, m. "rhinoceros" occurs since Maitr. S., Vāj. S. and is in common use in the Class. language (Rām., Caraka, Rāg. Vī., Daśāk. 94, 18, etc.). Since Suśruta there occur variants which show that this word had come to be

14) Cf. also the Santalı echo-word lārā chuntā!

15) Cf. Nep. jāro "coldness, chill, winter" (< Skr. jāḍya-). Hindi has, beside ṭhār "snow, frost": thir "extreme cold", thīṭar, thīṭhar, thīṭhir, thīṭhur "numbedness, torpor, chilliness, cold, frost", thīṭra, thīṭhāra, thīṭhāra "benumbed, torpid, chilled, impotent". Is Skr. sīṣrā-, m.n. "the cool season, hoar, frost, dew; adj. cool, chilly" (since Ath. S., Kāth. S.) the assimilated variant of Hi. thīṭhīr, just as -ṣāra- is of ṭhāra-? The usual connexion with Old Icel. hēla "frost rime" (< *ke-il-on-) presents some difficulties since the assimilation of the vowel of the reduplicated syllable to i, ur of the root syllable is comparatively young (Ved. ṭiṣṭirā : tāṣṭitērā, tāṭirā : tāṭara) and does not occur, so far as I see, in nominal stems (cf. pāpurā-, tātūrī-). An original *śi-śīra- or *sā-śīra- is accordingly excluded by the principles of Sanskrit word-formation.
identified with its homonym khaḍga- "sword", viz. khaḍgāhua- (lit. whose name is "sword"), khaḍgin- (Suś., 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 ganḍamṛgamu, 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 *khaḍgaviśāṇa- (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 kṣaṇḍācavoroc occurring in Aelian, wherefore he proposes to read kṣaṇḍācavoroc on account of New Persian kargoan. The same word occurs in Semitic, cf. [Accadian kurkizānu]. Arabic karkadden. From these forms he infers a 'Pre-Aryan' word with the consonants *khkzn/*khqdzn, 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 kado-, gado-. If so, kado- is due to (dialectal) unvoicing, and khaḍgā- contains the same guttural suffix as khaḍgā- "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 gado- (ga-da) is proved by another Sanskrit word for rhinoceros, viz. gaṇḍa-, m. (Haravijaya, S'ukasaptati), gaṇḍaka-, m. (Kādambarī, Yaṣastil., Deśīn. 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-, Deśīn. 7, 57 comm., Tel. gaṇḍamṛgamu, Tam. kāṇṭāmirukam, 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-Śemang gantir, gēntāl, sogāntēl "elephant" 16) is accordingly to be rejected. As for the NIA. forms of the word, Hi. gēra, gaiṛa, Panj. gaiḍa, Guj. gēdo, Mar. gēḍa (see Turner s.vv. gaiṭro, gaino) 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-du, the nasalized variant ga-na occurs in ganotsa-as, m. "rhinoceros" (Trikanda-sesha). As it cannot possibly be a compound of the Sanskrit words gan- and utsa-as, we may suppose that it is a Sanskritization of *ganochtaha- (cf. Skr. utsuka- for *ucchuka-, from iccha-, Wackernagel-Debrunner, KZ. 67, 1942, 155 f.). This form contains the wellknown Proto-Munda suffix -(a)ha (cf. kalaha-, ladhaha-, mataha-) and the derivative element -oca-, -osa- (cf. S. laloc, khakosia, lergosia, etc. and see p. 118 on lalasa-).

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 *kargazan, [Accad. kurkizn] (with z) and mod. Persian kargadan (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/kazan or *karg/kajan and *kargadan, which were prefixed variants of *ga-na, *ga-nda and *khard-ga. In view of Hi. gêdê "elephant": gêdê "rhinoceros" (cf. Bélandas of Kuala Lantag gôsêl "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., udân-(udakâ-), n., vâri-, n., and salîlâ-, n., the epics introduce a new word jala-n. Other new words, viz. toya-, n., nîra-, 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, Alhind. 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. dalhi, dalahi, dal dalahi "marsh, bog, marshy, boggy", dalha, dolha, dola, dol дол (a) "marshy, boggy" (M. dal dal, "marsh, swampy ground"), that that "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, jarhi "a swamp; wet, humid, moist, marshy, swampy" (= dalhi), M. dârhâ "a pool or deep place in a river"(?). — Many NIA.

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

The meanings of Hi. jāla “pond” and Beng. jāla “marsh” (which are usually derived from Skr. jala-, see Turner s.v. jalā) deserve notice, although they can be due to secondary influence of such Munda words as S. jola. Hence, even if their derivation from jala- should be correct, they do not prove an original meaning “marsh” for the Sanskrit word, which, indeed, is used since the oldest texts (Epics) in the general sense of “water”. On the other hand, Hi. tarī shows how a word for “marsh” may come to denote “water” in opposition to “dry land”. In the pre-Epic period the Sanskrit rhyme-words jalam and sthalam may perhaps have developed their opposite meanings along the same line. Other Skr. words which may possibly belong to this word-family are kulāla- “water”, taḍgāra-, n. “pond” (cf. Hi. jhādā) 19), kāsāra-, m. “pond lake” (cf. perh. Pkt. kaccharta-, m. “mud” Desīn. 2, 2) and Nep. sim’sār “bog, morass” (Nep. sim “marsh, bog” belongs to the word-group discussed s.v. jambāla-) 20). Frisk’s assumption of a suffix -ra- in kāsāra- (cf. Zur indoiran. und griech. Nominalbildung 41) is unfounded.

§ 9. Skr. lex. jaṅgāla-, m. “dyke” (Jaṭādhara in S’abdakalpadr.), cf. Beng. jaṅgāl (connexion with Nep. jāhār “ford” improbable). From ḍa-ka “to obstruct” (cf. rotha-, m. from rudh-): S. ḍhan “to cause to stick, obstruct”, ṭaṅgao “to stop, hinder, obstruct”, jaṅge “obstacle”, So. daṅ, raṅ “to withhold, prevent, obstruct”, S. ḍhek, ṭhek, ḍhek ḍhok, ḍhek ḍhok,
tek jhok, atok, roktok, etc. “impediment, obstacle, hindrance”. Cf. also Pkt. tanka- m. “bank, shore” (ta tam, Desin. 4, 14), Kann. cekkusu- “to stop, arrest, prevent”, Nep. cheknu “to hinder”, Hi. dha kar “hedge, fence”, achara “obstruction, obstacle, impediment” (with prefix a-) and see Turner s.v. arkanu (to be separated from arinu “to stop, halt”, see above, s.v. arga da-).

§ 10. The original meaning of jana gala- a., adj. (Manu, Yajja, SuSr., Var. BS.), ja ngala-, m. (also adj., Pan. Lex.) “arid (land), desert, sparsely grown with trees” seems to have been “a clearing in a forest”, cf. perh. Pkt. jang- “pasture land”, (gocarabhumih, Desin. 3, 40), and S. jhakar katha (jhangal katha) “forest with clearings here and there, to cut openings in the forest”. H. Petersson, Studien über die indogermanische Heteroklisie 258, 89, connected it with Lith. zagaras “dry branch”, but the parallelism of the derivatives from Proto-Munda da-ga (see s.v. dan-da-) points rather to Proto-Munda da-ga “bare, stripped” (and “stunted, short”, as in the roots discussed s.vv. kuntha-, sutha-/dan-da- and bandha-). Cf.:  

1) “to cut off”: S. tingra ṛ “to cut off (top or branches)”, Ho canga “to pluck maize cobs” (cf. candel “bald”).

2) “clearing in the forest”, see above. (S. dangal “highland, dry”, Beng. tanah, teñr “highland”, Hi. doñgar, etc. rather belong to the same word-family as sikha-, see below; Hi. jha kar, jhunga “bramble, brushwood” prob. from ja-ga “entangled”, cf. Nep. jagato, jha kro). S. tikur “open, bare, treeless, wide”, tikuri(a) “open, dry”, M. tikura “a piece of upland surrounded by lowlands” are ambiguous (cf. da-ga “wide open”).

3) (stem stripped of leaves >) “stalk, rod”: So. ejan- “dry stalk”, S. dan “staff, pole, rod” and Hi. dan “stick, club, high land”; Hi. danka “a drum-stick” 21), dha gā “cudgel, walking-stick”, thenga “a small club, stick”, Pkt. han kara-, m. “withered tree” (suskataruḥ, Desin. 3, 54), Hi. jhakar, jhakara “leafless branch, a tree with bare branches, a leafless tree”, jangra “the haulm or stalk of autumnal crops”, Nep. dāklo “stalk, stem, stock”, dina “a small stick used for driving animals”, ṭano, ṭago “rod, measuring rod, fishing rod”, perh. also la khinu “to be pruned, to be trimmed” (< *la kṣ- according to Turner).

4) (bare, deprived of >) “poor”: S. tho ṭho “very poor, empty”, reng ear “poor, hungry”, diŋgar “poor, low, indigent, beggarly” (perh. reborrowing from Hi. di gar), lañta “naked, featherless, stripped of everything” (possibly influenced by Hi. naṅṭa). — Cf. Skr. raṅka-, m. “beggar, wretch” (Malatim., Prabodh.). Hi. rākha and Pkt. roṅkāra-, rogha sa-, (Desin. 7, 11) id. The suffixes of the Pkt. words may both be variants of -at, which occurs in reqtiṣā, Nep. jhaṅkaṭ (see sub 7, and cf. also

21) But cf. Turner s.v. dan ka.
S. ceṅgor, M. diṅgā, etc.). Nep. sikre “poorly, weak, leafless”, sikro “sickly, poorly, weak”, and sikute, sikate “sickly, weak, thin” no doubt also belong to this word-group. Cf. Pkt sigga- “tired” (śrāntah Deśīn. 8, 28), siṅgam “lean, emaciated” (kṛṣam 8, 28).

5) (bare, stripped >) “unmarried, having no children”: S. ṇaṅguṭ “unmarried, bachelor, barren, unfertilized (trees)”, ḍeṅga ṇaṅguṭ “who have no children as yet”, M. dāṅgṛā, dhāṅgṛā “unmarried, boy, servant” (see under 6).


8) “hornless” > “deer, antelope” : S. jhaṅkar “axis maculatus, the spotted deer”. — Cf. Hi. jhākh “stag, elk, deer”, jhāk(h) ār, jhāk(h)ār, jhākhaṛā “a leafless tree, a stag, an elk” (so called from the resemblance of its horns to a leafless tree, Platts). Words which mean “hornless” may in various ways come to denote a species of deer, cf. Nep. muṛuli, mūruli “female deer, doe, a woman with a shaved head” (fem. of muṛulo, mūrulo “hornless, shaven, bald”). We may accordingly also compare Skr. raṅku-, m. “a species of deer, the spotted deer, the axis” (Vāsavad.), which then bears the same relation to raṅka- “beggar” as Skr. rār-, m. “a kind of deer” does to Pkt. rora- “raṅkaḥ” (Deśīn.) 23). Goraṅku-, m. “a naked man” (nagnah Hemac.) is doubtful, see Pet. Dict.

22) Hi. diṅgar “a rogue, cheat” is perhaps a different word, cf. Skr. lex. jagala- “deceitful” (Hemac., Med.), Hi ṭhagā “to cheat, deceive”, ḍhōg “fraud, deceit”, Nep. chakinu “to be deceived” : S. ṭhak, ṭhakṣa. Ho cākaḍ “to cheat”. See however Turner s.v. diṅgar.
23) Nöldeke compared raṅku- with Pers. raṅg “Bergschaf” (see P. Horn, Neupers. Etym. 139) but, like most other words for “antelope”, raṅku-, which is a word of the late Skr. literature, will be a loanword.
Among the derivatives from ḍa-ḍa parallels are found to each of these eight semantic sub-groups. e.g. 1) S. ḍharao “to strip off”; 2) S. ṭandi “to clear, bare (jungle)”, an open field]; 3) S. ḍandi “bare stem, stalk, staff”, ḍhaṭa “stake, branch, pole”; 4) S. ḍhandkao “to be stripped, to be utterly poor” (cf. Pkt. ḍhalla-, ḍhella- “poor”); 5) S. ṭhāṭ “barren, childless”, M. dīṇḍa “virgin, unmarried, barren”, Kh. dīṃḍa “virgin”, etc. 6) Hi. chara “separated, solitary, alone”; 7) see below s.v. sunāṭha.-; 8) Skr. ṛuru- “deer”. See further s.v. ḍandā.-

§ 11. Skr. ḍhampā- m.f. “jump” (Hitop., Rājat., Kathās. 61, 91; 103, 8; 115, 68, cf. Speyer, Studies about the Kths. 80), ḍhampati, ḍhampayati “leaps” (see Schmidt. Nachtr.); the lexicographical works moreover quote ḍhampāka-, ḍhampin- “monkey”. Variants are: campana-, n. “leap” (Pañcad.), lampha- “a leap, spring, jump” (S’abdakalpad., which also gives ulamphana-, pralamphana-), cf. W. Beng. lāph “leap”, Hi. lapakā, Nep. lapkanu “to leap up”. S. K. Chatterji, Journ. Greater India Soc. III. 1936, 49 24), proposes to connect lampha-, āph with Nep. lāppā “wrestling” and Malay lompat, which cannot be correct, as the root is apparently ḍa-ba, cf. Hi. āhap “a spring”, Nep. lapkanu “to jump, skip”, Hi. tāppā “to jump”, ṭappā “a spring, leap, jump”, Beng. tāp “jumping, stamping of foot”, Sant. lept “to skip”, etc. Rather than with Mar. jhapjhap (see Bloch 337), these words are connected with S. dhancuk’ marte, dhancul marte “with a leap, a spring, a bound”, dūbha ḍu “to spring, issue, as water from a spring”. Note: S. jhpāṭ, jhapṭ, capṭ, “to pounce upon and press down” is influenced by ḍa-ba “to press” (see p. 57). Hence Nep. jhamṭanu “to spring upon, assault”, jhaptanu “to seize, to pounce upon”.

§ 12. Skr. picchā-. f. “calf of the leg” has recently been connected with Tulu potṭe, Telugu pikka, Kui pota, Gondi photari, Malto bagptoṭi, id., and further with Uralian words as Finnish pohkea, pohje, id., Ostyak pec “thigh”, etc. (see Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 347). The comparison with Uralian is based on the supposition that Tulu potṭe etc. are native Dravidian words. On the other hand, Skr. picchā- must be identical with picchā-, f. “lump, mass, heap, multitude” (Caraka, see Pet. Dict. VII. 1771); cf. such parallel instances as pindikā-, f. “a round swelling or protuberance, esp. a fleshy one” (Suśr., Yāśāv.), dual “the calves of the legs”, Nep. pīrulo, Bashkarik pīn, pin (< pindā-) “calf of the leg”, Pashto yārāi, id.: yārāi “coarse bread” (see Turner, BSOS. 5, 122). If, however, the original meaning of picchā-is “lump”, it cannot reasonably be separated from pindā-, m. “a round mass, lump, globe, ball, knob” (since RS., Taitt. S.), pindāka-, m. “fleshy protuberances” (Harsac.), pīḍākā-, f. “a small boil or pimple” (Suśr.), pitaka-, m.n., pitakā-, f. “boil, blister” (Var. BS., 24) See also “The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language” p. 480 on Beng. jhāp, “jump, plunge”.
Rājat.), lex. biṭakā, m.f.n., id. (Rājanigh.) 25), Pa. pīlakā, f. a small boil, pustle, pimple; a knob (of a sword)”. Picchā must accordingly stand for *piṭā, cf. Pkt. pacchi- “piṭkā” (Deś. 6, 1).

Many variants suggest a foreign origin of this group of words. Thus we find, with u, o for i, e.g. Skr. pulāka-, m. “lump of rice”, lex. poṭika-, m. “boil, blister”, Pkt. puḍaiām, puṇḍaiām, by the side of puṇḍalaiām, puṇḍabālaiām, perullī (and pinḍaliām, comm.) “made into a lump” (pīṇḍi-kṛtam, Deś. 6, 54); and, with initial b, bh: Pa. bhenḍu-, bhenḍuka- “ball, knob, cupola, round tower”. Hi. bhīṇḍ, bhīṇḍā “round ball or mass, lump, block”, bhelā, bhelī “a ball or lump”, Mar. bhelī “lump”: (Pa. peḷa-, id., Hi. perā “a ball or lump of leavened dough” 26), per, peḍ “ball, lump”). Hi. baṛī “small lumps of pulse, small balls of charcoal”, etc. They clearly point to a radical element *bi-ḍa, *bu-ḍa, *ba-ḍa. The IE. derivations proposed for pīṇḍa- are accordingly to be rejected 27).

The question remains to be answered whether pīṇḍa- and its congener are Dravidian or Proto-Munda loanwords. On account of the primary meaning “fleshy swelling” pīṇḍa- and its modern equivalents may denote several parts of the body. Thus Kumaoni pinnī means “thigh”; cf. also Nep. philo “the fleshy part of the thigh and buttocks”, which is an independent borrowing from the same foreign source. Now the Torwali and Bashkarik word for “thigh” is māndal (Kshm. māndul), which corresponds to Shina pal. paṭhālo. Kandia paṭhālu (Acta Orient. 18, 244). Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 8, 306, questions the derivation from Skr. maṇḍala- and points to Panj. pinnī, Palola pinnī “calf of the leg”, which would, indeed, provide the most natural explanation. Since the m- cannot be due to assimilation, the question arises whether it may represent the Munda nasalization of u/b/p. It should be noted that Dardic and Kashmiri preserve several interesting Munda relics which are not known from other NIA. languages, e.g. Bashk. šorūṇḍ, Palola šorungdo “orphan” (see s.v. daṇḍā-), Bashk. čuput, čiput “full” (?) Bashk. dūt, Torw. dūt “lip” (see s.v. suṇḍā-), Bashk. lōkut, Kshm. lōkut “small” (see s.v. kuntha-). On the other hand, variants of pīṇḍa- with initial m- also occur in Sanskrit, e.g. in moṭaka-, m.n. “globule, pill” (: poṭika- “boil”) and in a word for “gourd”.

The gourd is denoted by several Proto-Munda words which properly mean “round and thick”, e.g. tumba-, m. “a kind of long gourd” (from ḍa-bu “globular”). Thus Skr. lex. pinni-, f. means “bottle gourd” (alābu-), and Hi. peṭhā “a kind of gourd” is apparently a modern borrowing from

25) Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 354, explains pīṭaka- as a Dravidian word but ignores the existence of a variant with b-.

26) “Connection with Skr. pīṇḍah is not clear” (Turner s.v. perā).

27) Pīṇḍa- has been connected with pīd- (Grassmann), with Old. Engl. flint (see Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. 1, 170 with bibl., but cf. Güntert, Labyrinth 22, on this word), with Lat. pulis (Liddén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgesch. 87, cf. Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 2nd ed., s.vv. pila and puls), with Skr. pīś- (PTS. Dict.), and with pīś- (< *pīṇḍa-, Thieme, ZDMG 93, 1939, 133 f.).
the same source from which Skr. lex. pi ta n kārī-, pi ta n kokī- “colocynth” have been taken 28). As a matter of fact, Skr. lex. pe tālū-, pe tā kāndaka-, m. “a tuberous plant” (; lex. pīndālū-, pīndākanda-, id.) show that pe t- is an ancient variant of pīnd-. (cf. Pa. pela-, Hi. bhelā, pe ṝ, quoted above). Now, Skr. kuṣmāṇḍa-, m. “pumpkin, gourd”, which is clearly a Proto- Munda word with prefix ku-, has the following modern equivalents: a) with m-: Beng. kumarā, Hi. kamṛhā, Sgh. koma ṇu. b) with bh/p: Pa. Pkt. kumbhāṇḍa-, Nep. kubhīṇḍo, kupīṇḍo. The last word is obviously a direct borrowing from Munda, with the variant prefix ku- (cf. Pkt. kūhanḍa-, kohānda- from *ku- bhanḍa-) and the rootword bhīṇḍ-/pīnd-. Since ku- pīṇḍo “a particular kind of long gourd” is obviously related to Skr. pīndi- “bottle gourd”, it follows that pīṇḍa- and picchā- are Proto-Munda words. The native character of Tulu poṭte, etc. is accordingly rather doubtful. Note also Hi. Mar. phūṭ, Beng. Nep. phūṭ (Sanskritized sphaṭi-, lex.) “melon”, and Skr. lex. bhaṭa- “colocynth” (Beng. bhaṭī “ball, egg-fruit”): cīrückti- “cucumber” (Paṅcat.), cārücka-, m., id. (lex.), cīrückiṭā- “gourd” (lex.). No connexion with Old Engl. hwerfette (Uhlenbeck).

Skr. kuṣmāṇḍa- (Yājñav., Bhāg. P., Kathās.), kuṣmāṇḍa- is also the name of a group of demoniacal beings; cf., e.g., in the śravakaparā of the Vetālā tales: Yakṣaṇetālikākuṣmāṇḍaḍākinīrākṣasādayaḥ (Kathās. 99, 29). In Buddh. Skr. kumbhaṇḍa- (= Pa. kumbhaṇḍa-, m. “a class of fairies or genii associated with Yakhas, Rakkhasas and Asuras”) is used instead, which the Pet. Dict. explains as a compound of kumbha- and āṇḍa-. Both names probably denote pot-bellied beings like the Yakṣas. Cf. udumbālā-, epithet of goblins in the Ath. S., and Hīḍimba-, name of a Rākṣasa (see p. 66), which bear the same relation to tumbā-, m. “gourd” as kuṣmāṇḍa- does to kuṣmāṇḍa-, m. “gourd”.

As has been shown above (s.v. śimba-), words for “bean, pulse” are sometimes derived from roots with the general meaning “globular, thick, roundish”. The following words seem to be derived from the same root as pīṇḍa-, picchā-:

with baṭ-: Skr. lex. barbaṭa-, m. barbaṭī-, f. “vigna catjang” (Dolichos sinensis, cf. Helen M. Johnson. JAOS. 61, 170), Nep. bori “a partic. kind of bean”, Hi. bāṭ “chick-pea”.


with maś-: Skr. maśa-, m. “bean” (since Ath. S., Vāj. S., Kāth. S.), Hi. mās, id., Nep. mās “lentil”. With the same suffix as found in Hi. maṭar: Skr. maśūra-, m. “lentil, Lens esculata” (Roxb. Cicer lens) (since

28) Cf. Hi. kubaṭ : Skr. kubha-. (p. 43), Nep. tūhuro (p. 75), tumbo, etc.
Vāj. S.), cf. Hi. masūr, masūrā, masūrī “a kind of pulse or lentil, Ervum
hirsutum or Cicer lens”, Nep. musuro, etc. The original meaning “swollen”
accounts for Pa. masuraka- “bolster” (cf. masāraka- “a kind of couch”) 29).
Hi. peṭ “belly, stomach” is usually derived from *peṭṭa- = Skr. peṭa-
pitaka- “basket” (see Platts, Turner s.v. peṭ, etc.). Taken in itself, this
is quite possible. The existence, however, of Pkt. poṭṭa-, n. “belly”
(udaram Desn. 6, 60), Mar. poṭ. id. suggests that the relations between
peṭ and peṭa- are not so simple as this explanation presupposes. Bloch 371
derives Mar. poṭ from Skr. puṣṭa-; whereas Turner connects it with Nep.
potti “bulb”. Skr. puṣṭa-, m. and modern words for “bundle” 30). There
can be little doubt, however, as to the Munda origin of Mar. poṭ, cf. S. poṭa
“stomach, belly” (Hi. poṭā): poṭe, poṭeṭ, peṭeṭ, beṭeṭ “big-bellied”.
Ho puti “to have a swollen stomach”, etc., and numerous other words as
S. bīḍo bīḍo, bhiḍo bhiḍo “fat, corpulent”, bīṇḍiḷ bīṇḍiḷ. bhanḍa
bhoṇḍa (etc.), id., dármọt, dármọt “sturdy, robust” (ḍa-ḍa + bu-ḍa).
The original meaning is “swollen”. cf. S. poṭe “to bulge, to form within
the sheath (paddy, etc.)”, poṭkel “to bud (the breasts)”, bēṅkar bēṅdaṁ
“swollen, puffed up, to swell up, become distended”. If, however, Mar.
poṭ is a Munda loanword, Hi. peṭ “belly”, peṭal “big-bellied” must be
derived from the same source. Nasalized variants are, e.g., Hi. moṭ, moṭā,
moṭal “fat, plump, stout, corpulent” (see Turner s.v. moṭo) 31): Nep.
bhūre (bhūṭu?) “big-bellied”. It follows that the whole wordgroup of Tam.
pottai “anything large or bulky” (pottaiyaṇ “stout man”), motu, mottai
“bigness, bulkiness”, motti “protuberance, swelling”, Kann. poṭṭe, bojje
“belly, paunch”, poḍe “belly, pregnancy, pregnant ear of corn” (cf. Tam.
potti “ear of grain in sheath”), bojju “pot-bellied”: mōḍu “boil, tumor”,
mudde “roundish mass, ball, roundish lump” must be of Munda origin.
As for peṭa-, etc. “basket”, it cannot be decided whether its original
meaning was “bulging” or “plaited”. This group shows the same variation
of e and o as the word for “belly”, e.g., Tam. peṭṭi, poṭṭi “box”. Some
instances suggest a connexion with the words for “bundle”, e.g. Kann.
moṭṭe “a leather bag, a bundle, load”: poṭṭi, butti “basket made of cane, bamboo
or palmyra leaves”. On the other hand, Hi. meṭ, meṭā “earthen water-pot,
jar, pitcher”, mīṭ, mīṭā “pitcher, cup” perhaps point to a primary sense
“roundish” 32). Equally obscure are Skr. samudga-, m. “small round box”

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29) Cf. Kann. mūḍe, mūḍave “pillow, cushion” (: mudde “roundish mass, ball, lump”)
Pa. cumbatā-, cumbataka- “pillow” is ambiguous: like M. rāṁbārā, rāṁbā “a kind of
pulse, Phaseolus Roxburghii”, it may either contain a prefix (cum-, rāṁ-) and the root
baṇḍa, or a root da-.da (see dimba-) and a suffixal element -af (-af, -ar).
30) See for these words s.v. mendha-.
31) Sgh. moṭa “blunt” is a different word. It belongs, like the corresponding Dravidian
words, to the affiliation of baṇḍa-.
32) Cf. such parallel instances as Pa. kolamba- “pot, vessel”. (=*ko-ḍamba-), Hi.
ḍibīya “a tiny box or casket”, dubbā “a small kind of water-pot”, ḍabri “an earthen
water vessel, cup, bowl”, dabbā, ḍibbā “a round wooden box, casket”, etc., from Munda
ḍa-ba “roundish” (see udumbāra-, ḍimba-, āḍambara-, etc.).
(Rām., Suśr., Yājñav.), "round form of a temple" (Var. BS.), Pa. samugga- (v.l. sumugga-, see Geiger, p. 46 f.) "box, basket" 33).

The last word leads us to consider the question, if Skr. mudga-, m. "kidney bean, 'black gram', Phaseolus radiatus Linn." (Pa. mugga-, id., Nep. mūṅ, mūg "lentil") may be connected with māṣa-, m. "kidney-bean, 'black gram', Phaseolus mungo Linn." 34). Many Santali words for "fat" contain a "suffixed" g (which is probably due to a blending of ba-ḍa and ba-ga "fat"), e.g. badgot, bodgū, badgae bodgū, bhīṅḍgū bhīṅḍgū, bōṅḍkōl, etc. "exceedingly fat, strapping". Both species of the Phaseolus are closely related, and mugga- and māṣa- are usually combined in the Pali texts (see PTS. Dict.) 35). Variants with ā, it is true, are wanting (Hi. moth "Phaseolus aconitifolius" is from Skr. makuṣṭha-, id.), but cf. garmāt-, f. "bean" and bud- in arbuda-, m.n. "long, round mass, foetus in the 2nd month after conception, swelling, tumour, polypus" (Nir., Suśr., Yājñav.), Pa. abbudha- "tumour, cancer, sore, foetus, etc.", which are clearly Proto-Munda words (prefix ar-). Ved. āruba- (in the youngest manḍalas arbudā-; later also arbudha-, arvudha-, e.g. Bhāratamañj. 3, 616) is probably the same word. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, XXII, acknowledges its foreign origin, but it is not clear what its primary meaning was. Konow, The Aryan Gods of the Mitani People 25 ff., holds the Mount Abu to be meant in all Rigvedic passages, "the isolated Arbuda mountain being appropriately designated as a tumour of the earth" (p. 29). See also Hillebrandt, ZII. 3, 14 f. (a mountain in Kashmir?). As it was probably believed to represent the primordial hill, the abode of the serpent Vṛtra, the serpent demon Arbuda- (S'at. Br.) must have been named from the mountain.

The primary meaning of ba-ḍa was "swollen, (fleshy) protuberance", which accounts for M. Ho buti "navel" (Tel. boḍḍu, id., Nep. Beng. bhūri "abdomen, belly") and Skr. poṭika-, m. "boil", Hi. phoskā "blister" 36), as well as for Pkt. velā-, nimela-, nimela- "gums" (danta-māṁsam Deśīn. 7, 74, resp. 4, 30) 37), Nep. philo "the fleshy part of the

33) In the Sat. Br. occurs arkasamudgāu (Pet. D. "Hülse einer Pflanzenfrucht", Böhl.: "Knospenspitze"), which however hardly supports the derivation from sam-ud-gam- (Patañjali. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 181): according to Sāyaṇa it denotes two opened "lip-parts" at the top of the Arka-pod (Eggeling a.l.). The word is probably composed of a prefix sa-, su- (cf. su-raṅgā-, sā-raṅga-, Acta Orient, 17, p. 30 ff., 310) and a root word mudga-. But, while the meanings given in the Pet. D. suggest an original sense "roundish", the Mitākṣarā derives it from mudga- "piddānam" (cf. also Tel. samudgamu "a casket, a covered box", Kann. samudga, id.).

34) See Helen M. Johnson, JAOS. 61, 168.


36) Cf. Ho pūsri (pūsri) "pimple". Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 354, derives the Hi. word from Dravidian.

37) Unlike Pischel § 122 (< *nipīḍga-); ni- is a Proto-Munda prefix. see p. 124, n. Cf. perhaps Skr. pupputā-, m. "Anschwellung an Gaumen und Zahnhöflein" (pupputā-"Blähung", pupphusa-, phupphasa-, phupphasa-, Pa. paphāsa- "lungs").

From the same root are obviously derived Skr. vāṭ-, f., vāṭaka-, vāṭṭaka-, m., vāṭakā-, vāṭikā-, f. “a small lump, pellet, pill” (Lex. vadā-, f., id., vatin- “circular, globular”), Pa. vāṭaka- “a small ball or thickening, bulb, tuber”, vattī- “lump, ball” (or < *vṛtti-?), vathara- “bulky, gross” (Buddh. Skr. id.), varaka- “the bean Phaeolus trilobus”. Cf. Hi. bārā, bārī “lump of pulse”, Nep. bari “pellet, pill”, etc., and S. buri “small balls, pill”, M. buri “cakes made of pulse”. Possibly Hi. bārā, Nep. bāro, Mar. vāḍ, etc. “big, large, important” have the same origin, the Aryan word mahān having been supplanted by a vulgar word for “thick”. Note especially Torwali bār “thick, fat”. The modern word is usually derived from Skr. lex. vaḍra-, cf. Pkt. vaḍḍa- “mahān” (Deśīn. 7, 29) 41), which however may be Proto-Munda loanwords, cf. Skr. ulbaṇa- “massy, thick, big, huge, full of” (with prefix ul-), Skr. Pa. vathara- “bulky” and Pkt. vidḍāra- “expanse, extension” (abhogah Deśīn. 7, 90, cf. Skr. lex. pāṭa-, m., pīṇḍa-, id.), bodara- “pṛthuḥ” (6, 96), and pedhāla-, pejjāla- “vīpalah, vartulah” (Deśīn. 6, 7), which Pischel § 122 rightly combines with pīṇḍa-; Nep. phāḍīlo “capacious, large”, Beng. phār “circumference” (< phanda-?), pār “huge, ungainly, ugly” (< pānda-? Chatt. 496, 365). Only a more detailed investigation could decide this question. Nor can I enter into a discussion of such ambiguous words as puṇja-, m. “heap, lump, mass.

38) Unlikely Turner s.v. (< *spijalla-?).

39) Cf. the parallel instance Skr. poṭa- : Hi. poṭa- “young of an animal” (see p. 100).

40) As for pela-, see Schmidt, Nachträge s.v. — The original meaning of S. bele, M. Ho. bili, K. bili, Kh. belom, G. bullo “to ripen” may have been “to swell” (Konow, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1906, 234, compares Khmer ple, Bahmar, Stien plei “fruit”).

41) Cf. Bloch 405, Turner s.v. baro; otherwise Chatterji 496 (bārā < *vāṭa < vṛta-), Paravastu Venkata Ramanujaswami in his edition of the Deśīnāmamālā, Introd. p. 8 and Glossary 76 (vadda- from Tel. oḍḍu) and Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 1945, 88, 91 f. (< vrddha-).
multitude” (cf. lex. pañjala- “a bulbous plant”), lex. pola-, m. “mass, multitude”, paṭal-, n., paṭalī-, f. “heap, mass, multitude”, sput- (Pa. phoṭa-, phoṭaka- “swelling, boil, blister”), puta-, phaṭā-, phaṇa-, etc.

It should however be observed that Nep. bhelā “crowd” is to be separated from Hi. bhelā “lump” as it belongs to a root bid- “to be crowded”, cf. Hi. bhīr “multitude, crowd, throng”, bhīrṇā “to draw near, come together, close to”, Si. bhīrṇu “to meet” : mīrṇu “to crowd, throng” 42), etc., Skr. nibida- “thick, dense, close, tight, full of” 43), and S. ibīl “dense, thick, crowded, standing close together”, pēṭe pēṭe “crowded, crammed, to fill over-full”, reṭe reṭe, reṇe reṇe “crowded, thronged, closely together”, So. bīdā- “herd, flock”, Mon bet, sabet “to be crowded, close together”. Cf. Skr. pēṭa(ka)-, m. “crowd” (Yaśastil.) and see p. 135 (ni-miṣ-).

§ 13. S’ikkhā-, l. “top, point, summit, end; tuft or braid of hair, a peacock’s crest; flame, ray of light” (S’at. Br., etc.), sikhantā-, m. “tuft of hair or a peacock’s tail” (Taitt. Samh., Taitt. Br., S’at. Br., etc.), sikhara-, m.n. “peak, top, summit” (S’āṅkh. Br., Mhbh., Rām., etc.), sekharā-, m. “peak, point, summit, head, crest, garland, diadem” (Kathās., etc.). No plausible IE. derivation is known, see Uhlenbeck and Walde-Pokorny I. 455. The root element is sikh-, sekh-. Lassen, Ind. Altertumsk. I, 538, held Tamil tōkai “peacock” (Mal. tōge, etc.; hence Hebrew tukkī “peacock”, see lastly Gray, Foundations of Language 387) to be a Southern form of Skr. sikhin- but neither its form nor its meaning (“feather, plumage, tail of an animal, woman’s hair, anything hanging down”) indicate an Aryan origin. As for the Proto-Munda formative element -anḍ, cf. S. jhūl-anḍ “thicket”: jhūr, jhor, jhōnd, id. S’ikkhara- and sekharā- either contain the variant -ār < -anḍ (cf. S. cik-ār “polished, glossy”: cik cik, id.) or -ār < -aḍ 44), cf. Mar. tehakaḍ, tehkaḍ, Gij. tehki, tehkrā, tegrā “heap, mound, hillock, rising ground, declivity of a hill”, Nep. tākuro, tākuri “top of a hill, summit”, qhikuro “mound, heap”, Kshm. sāngur “a steep hill” (hardly connected with Nep. sāguro “narrow”). Pkt. tekkara-, n. “sthalam” (Deśīn. 4. 3) is ambiguous (cf. p. 140).

The root ḍa-ga “high” occurs in several Munda words, as S. ḍoga, ḍogal “top”, M. coga “the pointed stalk of any plant left after having been cut” (unless related to the word-family of jāṅgala- see above); cf. Beng. cokhā “pointed”. This root is probably identical with ḍa-ga “projecting, protruding”, cf. S. ḍok ḍokō “very long, projecting” (according to Campbell also ḍak ḍaka “long, tall, high, projecting”), rak rakā “stretched out, standing up or out” 45), ṛok ṛokō “high, lofty, sticking out”, rakḍā, ṛakudaṇ, ṛakṭaṇ (combinations of two variants of this

44) Unlikely Frisk, Zur indoiran. und griech. Nominalbildung 38 (IE. -ro-).
45) Contaminated with (or derived from?) ḍa-ga “wide apart”.
root) “high, tall, lanky, etc.”, सेक सेके “standing out (in front)”, सोक सोको “sticking out, projecting”; nasalized forms are, e.g., ღღ, ღღ, ღღ “tall, lanky”, ღღ “id., top, above, aloft”, perhaps So, ღღ “hill”. Cf. Mon ketu “a point of land, a cape or a promontory”?

Other Indo-Aryan derivatives from this root are, e.g., Pkt rokkani “horned” (scratch, Desin. 7, 16), Skr. tuγga-, m. “height, eminence, mountain; adj. high, lofty, sublime” (since M̥hbb., R̥m.), tāṅka-, m. “peak” (M̥hbb., R̥m.), Hi. ḍag “top”, and probably Hi. ḍhōga “rump, buttock, hip” 46). ღṅ(ḥ) “buttocks, posteriors” (Pkt. dukkha-, id.), sāṅga “protuberance, hump, clitoris”, which show a similar semantic development as S. ღί, ղे “buttocks, rump”, ḍuке “hip” (duṅgi, doṅga “to carry on the hip” = ღते, ḍtē). Beng. ღί “tuft of hair, top-knot, queue”, formally identical with S. ღί, has developed a similar meaning as Skr. cudā (see below, p. 154). As for Skr. cikura-, m. “hair, *mountain” (lex. cikura-, cihura-) 47), see however Turner s.v. ciuri. The widespread word-group Pkt. ḍuṅgara-, m. “mountain (sailla, Desin. 4, 11), Hi. ḍoγar, ḍoɡar “hill”, Beng. ḍaṅga, ḍaṅ, ḍaṅgrā, ḍeṅgrā “high land” (Desi ḍoṅga “high land, high”, see Chatterji 179, 405, 489), Nep. ḍuṅgar, ḍaṅpur “heap” seems to be also derived from this root, rather than from ḍa-ga “to bare the jungle” (see p. 140).

§ 14. Skr. śuṇṭ ḍa ḍa - denotes certain bulls and cows in the Yajurveda (Taitt. S., Maitr. S., Kāṭha. S. etc.). Although some commentaries take it as meaning “white”, it is now generally translated “small”, e.g. ĀpS’S. 10, 22, 6 śuṇṭhā “a small Kuh” (Caland; alpakāya-, comm.). Hence śuṇṭhākārna- (Vaj. S., Maitr. S.), which Mahādhara renders “short-eared”, is a synonym of late Skr. bāṭakarna- (see s.v. bāṇḍa-). S’uṇṭhā- is a derivative from Proto-Munda ḍa-da “1. stunted, short, defective; 2. bare”: this root is synonymous with the roots ḍa-wa (see s.v. tāparā-), wa-da (see s.v. bāṇḍa-) and ga-da (see s.v. kunṭhā-), which show the same combination of meanings. We shall here confine ourselves to the first meaning, the second being treated s.v. doṇḍa-. Mon-Khmer cognates are, e.g., Mon dot “to be young, to be small”, khmon “abridged, brief”, thamnon “to be short, brief”, prob. tōn “to mince, chop” (and yut “to be less, diminished”?). Only a few instances will be quoted:

Initial ḍ (d):

S. ḍuḍa “short, too short”, ḍuluk ḍukur “short, small, not properly developed”, dhuluc ḍhupuc “small, puny” (dhupuc from ḍa-wa). M. ḍuṭu

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47) To be separated from ḍhakura- “hair” (= “sprout”). Hopkins, Epic. Mythol. 24, suggests connexion with Lat. cirrus, whereas Pischel, Gramm. 149, derives Magadhi cihura- from *cikhura- < *cikura- (IE. *ker-, *sker-). Neither theory carries conviction. Cf. also Bloch, BSOS. 5, 741 (Drav. lw.), Schefelowitz, ZII. 2, 271 (σχαννος).
"stump of a tree", đēgej' "dwarf", đaṭa đhuṭa "stumps of trees". — 
Cf. H. đūḍā "bullock with one horn", Nep. đūro, đūre "maimed, deformed, 
having lost a limb", đūrulo "maimed, armless, stump, wrist", đhote "simple-
minded, shallow-minded", đalle "dwarffish" (contaminated with đalle 
"rounded"), đallī "a dwarffish woman", etc.

Initial t (t): 
S. ṭhuṭa "short, maimed, shortened", ṭutī "a blunt arrow" (M. ṭutī, 
ṭote, id.), ṭotok', ṭotbok' "short, worn", ṭuṭkā "short, to lop off", ṭetka 
"lean and small", ṭhaṭkā ṭhuṭkut' "roots and stumps", ṭhaṭka ṭhuṭkā 
"short, stunted", ṭhuṭkuc' "bare, short", ṭeṇḍa "not quite full-grown", 
ṭeṇṭa "worn small or short", ṭuṇṭa (ṭunṭa) "maimed in a limb", 
ṭuṇḍgā "bare, without hair or branches, cropped bare, without horns", 
ṭuṇ "little, small, stunted", ṭuṇi, ṭoṇa "to cut into short lengths", 
ṭurā "stunted, crippled, small", ṭeṇk' "dwarffish", toret' "to be under-
sized", ṭuṛkā "dwarffish, dwarf": M. ṭuṇṭā "leprous, leprosy", Ho 
ṭuikā "dwarf" (< *tuṛi-kā or *tuy-kā), cf. Ho ṭoṭā "naked". — Cf. Skr. 
lex. ṭuṇṭuka- "small" (Med., Trik.), Pa. ṭuṇṭa- "with mutilated hands", 
Pkt. ṭuṇṭha-, m.n. "stump", Nep. ṭuṭo "a stump of a tree or maize, 
pulled, hornless, hairless", Hi. ṭuṇṭa, ṭuṇḍa, ṭoṭhā, ṭoṭā "having the hand 
(arm) amputated", ṭuṭhā "id., having its branches lopped and leafless", 
ḥotar, ḍotṛā "blunt", ḍotā "id., blunt arrow", ṭuṇḍ, ṭuḍī, ṭoṇḍī "a hand 
or branch that has been cut off, stump of a branch, or arm, etc.", ṭuṭhī 
"small stump, stalk", ṭuṇī "very little, very small", Hi. ṭuṭ(h). Beng. Mar. 
ṭoṭ "stump", Beng. ṭuṇī "little one, a little girl", Hi. thoṛā "small" (the 
derivation from *stoka-da- is hardly correct), Nep. thoṛo "half-burnt log 
of wood", thur "dry branch" (cf. Pkt. thuda-, n. "treetrunk"), thoso 
"stubble", etc. Hi. ṭetṭā "an undersized horse, pony" may be connected 
with S. ṭaṭkā ṭhuṭkā "short, stunted", ṭaṭṭra "emaciated, lean, only skin 
and bones". Hence Pkt. tāra-, m. "a horse of inferior quality" (adham-
turanāṅga Desīn. 4, 2). Skr. lex. tāra-, ṭaṭ "horse" (Hemac., Med.), Mar. 
ṭāṛ "mauvais cheval, rosse" probably reflect Proto-Munda variants with 
ṛ <ṛ <ṛ, cf. S. ṛaṛac' ṛuṇuc' "very small (animals, children)", ṛeṛc' tiṭuc', 
id., ṛiṇa "a dwarf, small-sized". When the modern and the Sanskrit forms 
of a word represent different (dialectal) variants of the same (Proto-
Munda) original, the NIA. form often helps us to elucidate the Sanskrit 
word (see kubhrā-). Since the original meaning of Pkt. ṭuṇa-, m. "horse" 
(aśvaḥ Desīn. 5, 29) is unknown, it cannot be decided whether it is 
identical with S. ṭuṇ "little, small, stunted", etc.

Initial r: 
S. riṇḍi, reṭhēa, reṭhī, reṭhma "small, under-sized, stunted", etc. — 
Skr. lex. ranḍa- "mutilated, maimed", ranḍa-, adj. "mutilated" m. "a 
cripple, a mere trunk" (e.g. Yaśastil. 1, 595, 4, comm. kabandha-), in
Pkt. also “a severed head” (Jacobi, Ausgew. Erzählungen 7, 33 and 36. cf. J. J. Meyer, Hindu Tales 27, n. 1). Hopkins, Epic Mythology 20, who defines it as “a mangled headless corpse, a late equivalent of the epic kabandha-, a torso which dances on the battle-field”, seems to connect it with bhārunda-., bherunda- (see also Charpentier, Suparṇasage 357) 48). For further particulars and the NIA. forms see the ample discussion of this word by Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 94, whose derivation from *vṛddhā- is however unacceptable. Cf. esp. Lhd. roḍa “hornless” (=: Pj. roḍā “shaven”). Kshm. roṇu “having a deformed arm”, Nep. runu “tiny, very small”, etc. — Skr. rāru-, m. “a kind of deer” (since Vāj. S.) is probably to be derived from the same root in view of such parallel instances as Skr. camūr-., Nep. mūruli, Skr. rāṅku- (p. 141); like Pkt. rora- “beggar”, it rather belongs to ḍa-ṇa “bare”.

Initial l:

S. letra “little (child, etc.), small and lean”, lutil “deformed, crippled, stunted”, leṭroku, leṭoγ, leṭpiṭa “emaciated, puny, stunted” (piṭ- from wu-ṇa, see baṇḍa-), lęḍe poṭ “small”, leđa “too short”, laṇḍha “stubble of cereals”, M. leṛhā “lame, defective”. — Cf. Hi. lundā “tailless, bob-tailed, docked”, laṇḍūrā, laṇḍorā, “id.; stripped of branches and leaves”; lūlā “lame, crippled, maimed, without hands”, lunj (ā “without hands (and feet), lame (of hands, feet), crippled”, lāḍa “short, scant, tail-cropped”, lāḍ mūḍ “tailless and bald, bare, stripped”, Pj. laṇḍa “short”., Nep. līro “tailless, having the tail cut off, worthless”, lulo “maimed, crippled”, luto “small weakly boy”, lure “lean fellow”, Ass. laramā “stunted in growth”, etc. (Nep. lūrīna “to be deprived of leaves”, Pj. laṇḍa “without leaves, without wife and children”, Ass. laṭhā “leafless, wifelass”, etc. belong to the sub-group with the meaning “bare”). See Tedesco, op. c. 94 f. Cf. Beng. nulā “handleless” (Chatterji 530), either dissimilated (for *tulā), or with Proto-Munda nasalization (like nari “stick” etc., see daṇḍa-).

48) A different word is, in any case, bherunda- “a kind of beast of prey” (Saddharmap.), bhurundaka- (Lalitavist., fox according to the Tibetan translation), and probably bhurunda- Mhbb. 3, 173, 48 Bomb., which is mentioned together with śālavrka- “hyena”. With these words may be connected Pkt. bherunda- “tiger” (citrakaḥ Deśīn. 6, 108), and bhurundā- “jackal” (śivā, 6. 101), Pa. bherangdaka- “jackal”. The original acceptance of these words cannot however be ascertained. S. runḍa and M. runḍa mean “a wild cat”, and the Santali word is used in the forest as a taboo substitute for kal “tiger” and tārup “leopard” (cf. also the use of S. raṇḍop’ pusi “pinching cat” for “tiger, leopard” in the forest, when the proper name is avoided). The use of nari “jackal” for puli “tiger” in Malayalam dialects (see Ramaswami Aiyar, Journ. Andhra Histor. Res. Soc. 10, 62) may be due to a similar cause; cf. also So. godūā-kid- “hyena” : kid-, kina “tiger”. But was the original meaning “cat” or “jackal”? — According to the legendary tradition the birds had two heads (cf. Deśīn. 6, 108 bhoruda-, m. “a fabulous bird with two heads” Paravastu Venkata Ramanušaswami which recalls the duṇḍubha, which according to later lexicographers is a nirviṣo dvimukho ‘hīh. The question arises whether both names are derived from duṇḍ- “defect”, but we are unable to decide this question.
Initial c, s:

S. chọṭe "small, insignificant", chōṇḍa "young", chōṇḍa "boy", Kw. cōrī "child" (< *condl* or *condi*), etc. — Skr. kisorā, m. "colt, young animal" (since Ath. S.), with prefix ki-, cf. Hi. chichōrā "childish, insignificant": chōrā "boy", Nep. choro "boy, son" (and Kum. chorh "orphan boy", Rom. corr "poor, orphan", etc., where the second meaning "bare, stripped" predominates): Hi. chut, chotā, Nep. choto "small, short, mean, inferior" (cf. S. chọṭe); Pkt. culla-, m. "child, servant" (śiṣṭu, dāṣṭu, Deśīn. 3, 22) and cola-, m. "dwarf" (vaṃsahā 3, 18). Besides Skr. sunṭha-, cf. Buddh. Skr. cūḍa- "small, insignificant" (Mahāy., Divyāvadā = Pa. culla-, cūḍa- "small, minor"), and cunati, cunda, cūḍayati "alpīḥhāve" (Dhātup.), perhaps also cunati, cunṭa(ya)ti, cūḍayati "to cut off" 49). But here, as in the case of sunṭa- (see below) and munḍa-, a difficulty arises from the fact that a homonymous root exists in Dravidian, cf. Tam. cunṭu "littleness, smallness, trifle", cotti (costi) "laueness, deformity", coḷḷai "defect, ruined, emaciated", tāl "anything small", tūr "stump of a tree", tuṭi "littleness", tuṭṭuvam "little, insignificant thing". Since the Austro-Asiatic descendence of ḍa-ḍa cannot well be questioned (cf. the Mon words quoted above) we must assume that the Tamil words are borrowings from Proto-Munda. Cf. Kann. tunḍu "maimed", etc.

Besides chọṭe, chōṇḍa, etc., Santali has a group of words with e, cf. ceda- "small, puny, dwarfish, boyish", cera "stumpy, stunted, puny", cētra "dwarfish, stunted", cenda, tenda "young, not quite full-grown" (cf. lenda "small, young", and cēda, ceda, cētra, cēḍa, etc. "bald on the crown of the head", Ho cera "bald") 50). As a loanword it occurs in Skr. ceṭa-, m. (Mrchh., Sāh. D.), ceṭaka-, m. (Bharṭhr., Hitop., etc.) "male servant", ceṭi-, f. "female servant" (Rām., Sāk., etc.), lex. ceḍa-, ceḍī-, etc. Like ḍīṅga-, m. "servant" it presupposes an original meaning "boy", cf. Pa. ceṭa- "servant, boy", Pkt. ceda-, m., ceṭa- "bālaḥ" (Deśīn. 3, 10), Mar. ceḍa "son", ceḍ "young woman", cedrī "little child" (see Turner s.v. celo). As for Hi. Mar. (etc.) cēla "disciple", Bloch 331 f. separates it from Skr. ceṭa- and connects it with Kann. cillara, cillu, cīru "smallness", Tam. cīḷa "a few": but according to Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 123, cīḷ- is from kil-, which excludes in his opinion Bloch's explanation (ibid. n. 1). Hi. cēla is no doubt connected with Skr. ceṭa-. Cf. Hi. beṭa (s.v. bandh-).

A nasalized derivative from ḍa-ḍa "bare, stripped" is S. nandan "impoverty, destitute" (either na-nada + n or nan + dan). It is possible, therefore, that Pkt. nandaṇa-, m. "servant" (Deśīn. 4, 19) is a similar derivative from ḍa-ḍa "small, child, servant".

§ 15. Skr. suṇḍā-, f. "trunk of an elephant" (since Mbhb.): tunḍa-

49) But cf. Tam. tuṇṭi- "to cut, sever", tuṇṭam "piece, fragment".
50) M. cēṇḍā "a young male or female of 13 or 14 years of age, just before puberty".
n. “beak, snout, trunk, mouth, face, point” (since Taitt. Ār., cf. tāndika-“snouted” Ath. S. 8, 6, 5). Bloch, BSL. 25, 18 f. (= Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian 56) derives tunda- from Dravidian (cf. Tam. tunți “beak”, Gondi todoṭi, todoṭi “mouth, face”, Malto topo- “mouth”, which was however questioned by Ramaswami Aiyar on account of the isolated character of these words (and their cognates) in Dravidian (see Congratulatory volume offered to G. H. Ojha, p. 16, n. 2, and p. 17) 51). Neither śunḍa-, nor the NIA. equivalents (which point to *ṭhornṭa-, *ṭhonda-, *ṭudda-, *ṭotṭa-, etc., see Turner) allow us to decide whether these words are of Dravidian or Proto-Munda origin. Of particular interest is however the NIA. word-group corresponding to Skr. caṇcu- “beak”, cf. Mar. coc. cač, tōc, Lhd. cūnji, Si. cūjī, cóta, Beng. cót, Guj. tōc (see Turner s.v. cuco). Bloch, Langue marathe 170, held these words to be influenced by those for “lip” (Mar. òth, Beng. òḥ, etc.) but they are perfectly clear if we assume an original *dunḍa- (“danda, cf. Guj. càć”). The varying treatment of o in such cases as Beng. cót, Guj. tōc is paralleled by similar irregularities in the development of o to r and l (see s.v. lōrāgati).

The basic meaning of this word-family is “protruding, projecting”, cf. Tam. cuṇṭu “lower lip”, conṭu “blubber lip”, Skr. utunuṭīta- “prominent”, tuṇḍila-, tuṇḍibha- “having a prominent navel”, tuṇḍila- “pot-bellied”, Nep. tuṭi “spout”, etc. Now Munda has a large number of words which point to a root đa-da with the same sense, cf.:

“protruding”: S. lot ṭoṭo “to swell (lip)”, lōc lōco “protruding (underlip)”, sót sóto “protruding, sticking out”, soṭa “protruding (teeth)”, siṭkoc “having do.”, suī suī “to pour, to be enceinte” (: dūi dūi, p. 134!); cuṭuṇṭ “protruding, standing out (posterior)” is ambiguous on account of bituc “to turn the posterior”, binḍuc “to thrust out the underlip” (root đa-yā). Cf. Nep. cussa “pointed, protruding”, Kann. caṇcu “projecting ledge”.

“point”: S. toḍa “the point of the wooden plough”, tuṇḍi “the front end of the shafts of a cart” (reborrowing from Aryan?), Kh. tuigol “point, to point out”; S. cui cui “peaked, spiry, pointed”, cuilq “point, pointed, to sharpen” (and many other words as coelə, suilə, coega, soega, coemor, etc.). Ho cuṭkāe “tip, top, peak, point, brim of a vessel” and probably cuṇḍul (M. cuṇḍul, K. cuṇḍil) “to point with the finger” (cf. Kh. tuigol and Engl. to point; are Tam. cuṭṭu-, Kann. suttu-. Kui sūṭa “to point with the finger” Munda loanwords?). — Cf. Skr. tunda- “point” in ayastunḍa-, dhūstunḍa- (Bālarām.), and tunḍe in the comm. on Baudh. KS. 6, 25, rendering cubute “die Spiten der beiden Havirdhānakarren”, Hi. ṭorā “eaves”, Nep. turo “the point of a plough-share”. Skr. sūcikā-“elephant’s trunk” is ambiguous.

“top”: S. tui (< *ṭuy) “top, pinnacle”, ḍhoj “top (of a tree)”, cōṭ

51) Highly improbable are the IE. derivations from tud- (Uhlenbeck) or *tunda- (Thieme, ZDMG 93, 137).
"top, firmament", condro "peak, highest point", M. cuṭi "the point or top of anything" (cf. Ho cuṭkāe "top"). Cf. Nep. culi "top, summit", etc.

"end": M. tuṇḍu' (Bhaduri), tuṇḍu (Rakhal Das Haldar) "end, edge", Ho tuṇḍu "end" (cf. Tam. tuṭi, Kann. Tulu, Tel. tuṭi "end").

"tuft of hair": S. duci "tuft of feathers or hair", doçoṭe "comb of a cock", perhaps tuilq "lock of hair left on the crown of the head" (cf. tuś "top"; contaminated with tuilq "to make bare")? M. cuṭā (cuṭā-ub') "tuft of hair on the crown of the head", Bh. curcutia, id., Ho cinḍi "hair-ornament". — Hence Skr. cūḍā "top, tuft of hair on the crown of the head", Pa. cūḷa- "crest, cock's comb"; the original meaning is preserved in Skr. cūḍa-, coca-, m. "protuberance on a sacrificial brick" (since S'at. Br., Taitt. S., cf. Skr. cūḷa- "point", cūḷikā- "crest, summit, comb of a cock", Pa. cūḷa- "protuberance", Ass. sulā "projection on a wooden sandal"); Pkt. chinḍa-, n. "cūḍa chattram dhūpayaṇtram ca" (Deś. 3, 35, v.l. chīḍa-, chinḍa-, etc.), chenḍā- "śikhā navamālikā ca" (ibid. 3, 39), chilli- "śikhā" (3, 27), caḍa-, m., cóṭi-, f. "śikhā" (3, 1). The IE. etymologies proposed for cūḍā- (e.g. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 169, Scheffelowitz, ZDMG. 59, 692, cf. Bartholome, Zum altiran. Wörterb. 125) are obviously incorrect but the Dravidian equivalents (e.g. Tam. cūḷi, cūṭam, cūṭu, cūḷi, cūṭṭu "crown, crest, comb") present serious difficulties. Kittel and Bloch derived the Skr. word from Dravidian 52 but the Drav. words may be early borrowings from Proto-Munda (see below).


"lip": with ṭoṭ ṭoṭa "to swell (lip)"; loc lōḷa "protruding (underlip)", suī suī "to pour" are connected Ho loco "lip, elephant's trunk, pig's snout", M. läco, lockor "lip", Kh. lucur "lip", S. luṭi "lip, mouth, outlet (for letting liquids out)". Cf. the Dravidian words for "lip": Kuvi lūḍa, Kui tōḍa, tōṇḍa, Kann. tuṭi, Tam. tuṭi, Mal. cūṇḍu. Several of these words are not in common use (see Ramaswami Aiyar, op. c. 17, who considers the possibility of derivation from tuṇḍa- and sūṇḍa-); they are prob. Munda loanwords. Initial d appears in Tulu duḍi, id., and in Himalayan languages, as Dardic (Torwali dūṭ, Dameli, Bashkarik dūṭ, Palola dhūṭ "lip") and a Khambu dialect of Tibetan (Chouras' dūḷi "mouth", Ling. Surv. III, 1, 345). They must be independent borrowings (unless we should have to assume voicing of initial plosives). T. Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 337, derives Kann. tuṭi "lip" from *tur-ti, which he (like Schrader, BSO. 8, 756) compares with Finnish turpa "snout, muzzle" etc., while he connects Mal. cūṇḍu "beak, bill, lips" with Finn. suu "os, ostium" etc. But So. tōḍ-, tūḍ- "mouth, snout" (infixed tāmūḍ-, surviving in the compositional form tam-

52) See particularly Ramaswami Aiyar, op. c. 12 f.
cf. Kh. tamod, tomod, J. tamar, Remo, GB. tummō, id.) 53) is an Austro-Asiatic word, cf. Khasi shin-tur “mouth”, and with nasalized initial: Ulu Indau nut “mouth”, Semang tē-nut “mouth, lip, snout of animals”, Semang lā-nud, Ulu Tembeling ke-nut, Orang Hutan of northern Johore s-nut “mouth”. Tam. nuŋai, nuŋi (Mal. nunu) “point, tip, end” (which Burrow, p. 333, connects with Finn. nenä “Nase, Ende, Spitze”) may represent a similar nasalized form of this root.

“nose”: Nep. thutunu “nose, snout”.


“chin”: Hi. ṭhūr(h)i, ṭhūḍḍ(h)i, Beng. thūṭ(h)i, thōṭ(h)i, thūṭi, thūṭu, thūṭni, Ass. thutarī, etc. (see Turner, s.vv. ṭhūro2 and thutunu). Cf. Skr. lex. joḍa-“chin” 58).

If the original meaning of Skr. caṇḍu-, cuṇḍu-, caṇa- “famous, re-knowned” was “prominent”, they represent the prenasalized and nasalized forms of this root (da-ṇḍa and ḍa-ṇa).

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53) S. thuti “mouth” is perhaps a reborrowing from Aryan; but cf. Pareng tōt.
54) The connexion of Skr. cūṭa-, m., cūṭi-, f. “anus” is doubtful, cf. also Tam. cūṭu “anus, buttocks, pudendum muliebre”, cūr “anus”.
55) Otherwise Ramaswami Aiyar, op. c. 18, who derives poṭ from Dravidian.
56) The IE derivation proposed for this word (*tu-m-do- root *teu-, see Walde-Pokorny I, 708) fails to account for tuṇḍilīha-.
57) Semang (Plus River Valley), dūt “navel” is probably related; if so, it corroborates our assumption that the initial consonant was a sonant. Mon ponglē (pong lāt Halliday) “navel” may possibly have t < d (see above, p. 133). If however Semang lās, id. would also belong to the same group, we should have to assume s < d also in Further Indian languages. Only a detailed examination of the materials could decide this question.
§ 16. Of the overwhelming number of NIA instances only a very few seem to have been noticed hitherto. Chatterji 482 f. points to an interchange between palatals, cerebrals and dentals by the side of a (rather problematical) interchange between palatals and gutturals. On p. 506 he tries to account for similar cases by assuming a change $j > d$, whereas Tedesco, Language 19, 15, assumes $j > ā$ 69). Since many instances have been discussed on the preceding pages, only a few additional examples will be quoted.


Hi. jāgar “the thigh and the leg, leg” is connected with Hi. tāg, tāg “the leg from the hip to the foot, a share”, tāgri, ṭāgri “leg, thigh”, Beng. tān, ṭhen “leg”, teṅgri “leg of meat” (Chatterji, Origin and Developm. 482, 493). Cf. Skr. lex. ḍaṅka-, m.n. (Hem. Med. Trk.), ḍaṅkā-, f., ḍaṅga-, m.n. (Hem. Med.). Pkt. ḍaṅka-, n. “jāṅghā” (Deśīn. 4, 7). From ḍa-kā or ḍa-ga “wide apart”, e.g., S. ḍa ḍa “wide-spreading”, laṅ laṅ “with legs wide apart, wide open”, ḍak ḍak “open, wide, extensive”, ḍeṅg ḍeṅ “to part the legs wide”, ciṅga cage, ciṅgā caṅge, cōṅ cōṅ “with legs wide apart”, caṅ caṅ “straddling, expanded”, caṅga “bifurcated, branching off, branch, bough”. Cf. on the one hand Hi. ḍoḡhi “branch of a tree”, Nep. coke “fork made by two pieces of wood”, on the other Nep. ṭukrugga “in the position of squatting” (S. cōṅ cōṅ “on one’s hams”), Kann. jaṅge “a stride”.

69) Similarly the PTS. Dict. s.v. ḍaṅka- assumes $s < ḍ$ on account of Skr. śaṅka-, cf. Bloch 116.
60) Thus Chatterji; see however Turner s.v. teño.
Hi. *jhaṛṛa* “wrangling, quarrel” (for the equivalents in other NIA. languages see Turner s.v. *jhaṛṛa*) has some interesting variants, cf. dial. *jhaṛṛa*, id. (cf. Skr. *jhakaṭaka*-., *jhaṭaka*-., Schmidt, Nachtr.), and *jhak, jhak-jhak, ḷhik-ḥik* “wrangling, altercation, dispute”. Similarly Beng. *jhaṛṛa*, *jhaṛṛa* “quarrel” : *baka-jhaka* “to reprimand, rebuke, speak sharp words”, cf. Pkt. *jhaṛṛa*-., *jhiṅkhia*- (and *uijhiṅkia*-, comm.), n. “reproach, censure” (vacanṭyam, Desān. 3, 55). See Chatterji 478. The original meaning of *jhaṛṛa* is accordingly rather “dispute” than “fighting” (as presupposed by Turner’s connexion with Mar. *jhaṛṛaṭīṇē* “to seize violently, collide”). Cf. root *da-ga* : S. *dhaṛṛa, dхаṛṛa dhaṛṛi* “to rebuke, revile, quarrel”, *tāṅṛṛa, tāṅṛṛa* “to reproach, upbraid, chide”, *tṛṛen* “to snap at, chide angrily”, *tṛṛec* *t̄a gum, t̄egec tegec* “to snap at, insult”, *ṛṛegn* *ṛṛegn* “quarrelling, to quarrel, wrangle”, *ṛṛegn* *ṛṛegn* “snappishly, to scold”, *ṛṛeq̄ pa t̄o* “at variance, to chatter, dispute, quarrel”, *raga rati* “quarrel(ling), to quarrel”, *rarga jhaṛṛa* “a quarrel, to quarrel, wrangle”, *rāṇga raṇgi* “to have a fierce quarrel”, *rāṇgāo* “to become furious, raged”, *laq* “a quarrel, animosity”, *ruhēt* “to scold, censure, abuse, rebuke”, *lege lōre* “id., to quarrel”, *lakṛ ṭhecaṇ “quarrels, dissensions”, *lakṭha, lokṭha, lekṛtha, lau̱a laq̄ta, lau̱a lokṭha, lok(l)ḥ(a) (etc.)”, id., and, according to Campbell, *jṛigra jigri* “to quarrel, wrangle”. With prefix e- : *erāṇ* in S. *erāṇi* “snappish, irascible, to snub, speak angrily to”, M. Ho *erāṇ* “to abuse, chastise, quarrel, scold” (epeṇ “quarrel, dispute, bad terms”), K. *āraṇ “to abuse” (āparāṇ “to quarrel”). Cf. So. *tuṅkā-* “to abuse, scold, use indecent words”, Hi. *aṛaṇ* “quarrelsome”.


Nep. *jḥāpnu “to cover”, which is derived from Skr. *jhampta*- “to cover” (Yaśastil.) has the following variants: *chāpnu “to cover”, chapnu “to cover, hide, wrap in”, dḥāpnu “to cover”. Cf. S. *dambrao “to cover, spread over, be clouded”, dābāo “to cover, spread over”, *jhampa, jhompa “to cover up, block, implicate” (Hi. *jhpṇā, jhmānṇa*), jhāpr “to wrap up, cover, put a cloth on”, ṭōpar “covering, to blindfold”, ḫaṇup “to cover by putting something over”, So. rub “to cover, put the lid on”, *dab “to cover, obstruct, put a dam” (yum “to cover the body with a cloth, the house with a thatch”?), etc. From the same root are derived Hi. *ṭap “covering”, ṭop, ṭopā, ṭopī “hat, cap” (see Turner s.v. *ṭop*), and S.M. ṭupri, id. The Further Indian languages have equivalents
with initial \( t \), e.g. Sakai \( \text{tup} \), \( kātop \) “to shut, cover” (Malay \( \text{tutup} \), \( \text{katup} \) “shut”). Khasi \( \text{tep} \). Mon \( \text{tuip} \), Stieng \( \text{tap} \) “to bury” (cf. S.M. \( \text{topa} \) “a grave, to bury, to cover over”, Hi. \( \text{topnā} \), \( \text{topnā} \) “to cover with earth, to bury”); with \( r \), e.g. Mon \( \text{krop} \), \( \text{krup} \) “to cover, conceal”, Stieng \( \text{grup} \), id. (cf. So. \( \text{rub} \), K. \( \text{ka-rūp} \), M. Ho \( \text{hā-rub} \)), and with \( d \), e.g., Mon \( \text{kedop} \) “to close, shut” (cf. So. \( \text{dub} \) “to shut, cover”); with \( s \), e.g. Khasi \( \text{sop} \) “to cover, to thatch”, perhaps Central Sakai \( \text{cop} \) “to bury” (but see Blagden’s Vocabulary, D. 108).
ADDENDA.

References are to pages and their four parts (a-d).

nayup "sunset", S. [M. Ho] agup "evening". With a different vowel: S. kadam kadam, galam galam "in the dark, at night" ~ Sakai klem "night", Malay kēlam "dark", malam "evening, night", gēlap "dark", etc.). In Mon there is a regular interchange of initial t(h) and s. Other instances are: Semang yoh ~ Besisi rgh "bough of a tree", Semang Kedah hijāb ~ hērōb "to know"; Old Javanese cucuk ~ Batak tuh tuk, Bisaya tok tok "beak" (WulfL, Über das Verhältnis des Mal-Polynesischen zum Indo-Chinesischen 56 f.); in Indonesian there is a frequent interchange of t/s (e.g.Malay putar ~ pusar "to turn") and of d/r (Old Jav. dān ~ rań, cf. also R. A. Kern, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederl. Indië, vol. 102, 327). — 134a: Cf. Nep. dhodro, dhotro "hollow", Ass. dhondo "hollow of a tree". Guj. jóto "pipe, throat", Skr. susāra-, susīra-, Pkt. jhāsira- "full of holes" (Pischel § 211): see above p. 130 for Drav. cognates. Cf. S. dhodea, dhodra, dhodeq, dhodeyō, nhōde(y)q "hollow", dhqdro, dhqdroq "full of holes, holey", dhndge, dognθer, dognθe, dognθepθak "a hollow, cave, den". A rhymeword of dander is Skr. kandara-, m.n. "cave, glen" (Mhbb. Rām.); not composed of kam + dara- (Pott, Etym. Forsch. I, 1833, 166. Benfey, Pet. D., Wackernagel II. I, 85, Charpentier, Monde Or. 18, 1924, 13.), cf. kūkundara-, n. Suwar, kakundara- Yājñ, lex. kūkundara-, n. "the cavities of the loins", kotara-, m.n. "hole in a tree", perh. lex. kūkula-, n. "a hole, ditch, filled with stakes" ~ S. konthā "a cave, hollow", khondalak "a hole in the ground, ditch, full of holes", khqgerq-thōt "ditch, cavity", khqguy "a hollow in a tree", Ho kukuru "a hollow tree", etc. (Cf. Ved. kāta- "depth, hole"). As for lex. kandara- ankūshāṇ, cf. S. kōndge "crooked, bent", etc. — 135b: Erroneous explanations by Wackernagel, II. I, 9 (jiñhītī- an onomatopoea), Pischel §§ 211, 326 (jhūrūr- jharu- from Skr. sarv- bestāyayi- or kṣār-.), and Pisani, Geolinguistica e IndoEuropeo § 206 (Lat. grillus). Cf. Skr. lex. śītī- "locust" ~ Hi. trītī. id. — 135c: Apte quotes Skr. cintītī-. — 135d: Cf. Bahmar, Churu bit, Jarai pit "to close the eyes" — ibidem: Pkt. thānū- thīfē (hardly from as(t)ārōpī, Pischel § 129) is no doubt connected with Tam. tonți, etc. (p. 130). Mon klōt "to steal", kamlōt, polēt thīfē suggest an Austro-Asiatic origin of lanthūgati. If so, the Drav. words must be loanwords. — 136d: Kīrāta- (lex. kilītā- "dwarf") may be a Drav. word on account of Pkt. cīlāda-; palatalization of k is, it seems, unknown in Munda (except for such cases as ś ič "excrement" ~ Bahmar ik, ic, Halang ek). Cf. also alakta-, m., lākṣā-, f. "red lack" < *lakṭa ~ S. lāthi "lack insect", lāhī (M. lāhī) "wristlet made of lac"? — 137b: As Professor F. M. Th. Bohl kindly informs me, Accadian kurkkānu means "pig". He refers to Br. Meissner, Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch, II no. 33, p. 39 f. (= Oriental Inst. of the University of Chicago, Assyriol, Studies No. 4, 1932), and to B. Landsberger, Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien (Abh. Sachs. Akad. d. Wiss. XXII/VI, 1934), p. 101. — 139a: Add Skr. lex. talā-, talakā-, n. "pond", Mar. talē "tank". — 140b: Cf. So. jān- lō- "waste land, village" (< *"clearing")? Shina rūn, Burushaski rūn "open jungle with few trees, open grazing ground on hills" may be of Munda origin, cf. Khasi thun-rūn "naked" and the parallel Nep. phāṅga-phāṅga "naked, denuded, esp. land denuded of trees". — 140c: Add K. dēṅgā "log". — 140d: Add. S. dhokra "poor, indigent". — 142a: Kh. cōkā "skin of a fruit" (Tam. tokku) ~ Beng. chol "rind" (p. 79) and N. čēnīgā, Gondi čēnīgā "huska" ~ tuṣā, busa- (p. 98 f.). Cf. Mon. thanok, sanok "skin, shell" from sōk "to peel, to skin". — 142b: Cf. Tam. tavu- "to leap, spring", tavu- "to jump up, skip", Kann. avuṇisuu "to jump" (if < *sauvai-). The Munda evidence (add M. lāphu̯a- "a species of bird that hops about") is not sufficient to decide between Munda or Drav. origin. — 143d: Johansson, Zll. 3 (1925), 234 rightly connects piṅga- with pāṅga-, phāṅga-, etc., but still upholds the IE. origin. Note piṅga-: piṅγāka-, m.n. "oil-cake" = bhāṅga- : Pa. bhāṅaka- "a jar" (see below). Erroneous etymologies of piṅγāka- : Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Wortforschung 87 f., Johansson, op. c. 233. — 144a: kōhnāḍa- < *kumhānda-? (Pischel § 127). S. koṅhāṇa- "species of pumpkin; scrotum" is perhaps a Pkt. loanword. — 144b: If kūśmā- (Vāj., S., Kāţ, S.), kūśmā- (Maitr. S.) are the older forms of kūśmāṇḍa- (Wackernagel I, 225) this explanation cannot be upheld. Their meaning is however not certain. — 144c: K. barbattī "pulse" (from Aryan)!}
ADDENDA

— 144d: Hi. mītā "lentil" — 145b: Skr. poṭalita- "kuṭma-līṭāḥ" (Yaśastil.), cf. S. poṭkoc, poṭkoy. Kh. poṭki "to germinate, shoot" (S. poṭra "big-bellied", Kh. poṭrī "pregnant", S. poṭī "to swell"), So pēl "to swell, grow in bulk (seeds)", Tel. poṭṭi-karuku "a bulging ear of corn, a swelling pod, ready to burst". — 145c: Another word for "belly" is Skr. lex. phaṇḍa-, m., phaṇḍa-, n. (Lijyvaladatta to Unāḍis. 1, 113), which Lūders, Kuhn’s Zeits. 42, 1909, 204 (Phil. Ind. 188) rightly connects with phaṭa-, phaṇa-, phaṭa- & phaṭa- "expanded hood of a serpent" (Johansen’s paper entitled "Die Sanskrit-Wz. und phaṭa-", ZII. 3, 1925, 212–234, is worthless). Cf. 1) with a Sgh. baḍa "belly" (Kui bandi, Tulu baṇjī, Tam. vaṇṭi, paṇṭi, see p. 132) ~ Skr. bhaṇḍa-, n. "vessel, pot, box", Pa. bhaṇaka- "jar" (cf. kābandha-, p. 100!) and perh. kamaṇḍalu-, m. "water-pot used by ascetics" (lex. kamaṇṭha-, m., id.; cf. non-prefixed Hi. meḷā ~ Beng. peḷa "earthen pot, pail"). Ramaswami Aiyar, Ōjā-volume 18, derives phaṇḍa- from Dravidian. 2) with u. o. e.g. Nep. bhūrī "belly" ~ bhurko "an earthen jar" (cf. Tel. bojja = poṭṭa, Kann. boje "belly" ~ Tel. bojdu "round, globular", Kann. boṭṭu "a round thing", buddhi, buddu "roundness", etc.). Cf. the words for "navel" in Tel. boddu, Kann. budde = M. Ho buti, So. pūḍi- and "teat" (Pkt. boṇḍa-, boṇṭana-, n., Mar. bōḍ, Beng. bāṭ, bōṭā). A difficult word is Pa. bondi- "body", Pkt. bondi- "form, face, body", which cannot be kept apart from Tam. ponti, Tel. Kann. bondi "body" (cf. Tam. pontai, putai, poti, puri, id., potai "anything bulky, body"). While K. Amrita Row, Ind. Ant. 46, 35, and P. V. Ramanujaswami, Dēśaṇāmālapī II, 65, derive the Pkt. word from Dravidian, Lūders, Phil. Ind. 567 f., points to the Skr. equivalent vṛṇḍi- in the Mahāvastu. If this is really identical with vṛṇḍa-, n. "multitude, host" (which was known in the Vedic period, see Lūders 568), it is unlikely to be a Sanskritization of bondi- and must rather represent Pr. M. *u-ərd-nīda (infix -ər-, cf. truṭ-, vruṭ-, perhaps saranda- = sāndha- "lizard", śrīṇāra-, p. 126), cf. lex. varamaṇa-, m. "multitude, pimple, heap of grass" (Mrch. 7, 4, cf. Morgensterne, op. c. 28), varamakah- = m. "round of earth; round, capacious". — With phaṇḍa- Lūders also connects phaṇa-, m. "scum, froth" (Taitt. Br.) and phāla-, n. "fruit". But phaṇa- (buddhi. Skr. phāni- "molasses"), which cannot be separated from maṇḍa- "foam, froth, scum, cream", Nep. phājī, Mar. phējā, Kafirī (Ashkun dial.) pērē, id., may belong to a different word-group (cf. S. phēj, phēgī "foam, froth"). Skr. phēna- (since RS., late Skr. phēna-), Wackernagel I, 194, Pa. Pkt. phēna-) is ambiguous, cf. Old Church Slav. pēng, Lith. spąinė, Osset. ēng (Wackernagel I, 120). — 147a: Skr. pēla-, m. "testicle" ~ phala-, n., id. (Epics, Sufr., see Lūders, Phil. Ind. 189) ~ Nep. phal. id. ~ Tulu bbītu. Tam. pitiukku, id., S. piṭi "swelling of the glands as in mumps", So. pēl "to swell, grow in bulk (seeds)", etc. The last word suggests identity of phala- with phala-, n. "fruit" (since RS.), see also above (ad 145b). Dravidian origin (Gundert, ZDMG. 23, 519, Caldwell, Comp. Gramm., 2nd ed. 484, A. Master, BSOS. 11, 301) was questioned by Kittel, Kann.-Engl. Dict., Preface XXIV, Bloch. BSL. 25, 17, BSOS. 5, 740, for the literature on this word see Johansson, ZII. 3, 232, Kuiper, Acta Orient. 16, 305, n. 2. — 149a: Pkt. rokkā "horned", cf. M. rukkâ "pointing straight forward (of horns of animals)". — 150b: Skr. toṭa- "small, little" (Apte)?. — 151b: With leṭra (ceṭra), leṇḍa (cendra, teṭḍa) "small, young", leṇḍa tutiṇa "small, the youngest one, poor, destitute", etc. cf. Ho Kw. ḫőč (<*lā-nil-č, cf. KwEرغa lāši), N. lānā, J. landa "child" and, no doubt, Hi. laudā "boy" (see p. 78 on Nep. dautilhe), laṛkā "boy, son" (Beng. leṛkā, etc.: S. leṛkṛ "youngster, lad, child"), to be separated from Panj. ladīkā "spoiled child" (Turner s.v. larko), see p. 115. — 152c: Nep. cikkt, cikkal "small children" is an identity-compound (Pkt. cilla- and cf. K. gandha "boy", pp. 50, 99), cf. cillī, f. "having children". — 152d: Hi. nanā "small"? (cf. Turner s.vv. nāṇi "baby", sāṇu "small"). — 153c: Nep. cose "with protruding lips", coos "point, edge, corner"; Kann. tōṭtu "point, nipple". — 155a: Tam. mungai "point, sharpened end, cape" < mungai? — 155b: Kh. suṛu "navel". — 156a: Add Beames, Compar. Gramm. of the Mod. Aryan Languages of India 1 (1872) 210 ff. (palatals > dentals or cerebrals). — 156b: Nep. dhoknu "to bow" = So. duṇī. Kh. hindū "to stoop" (Javanese doko, ḍēku, Malay tunduk, id.). — 156d: Hi. ḍag, Nep. ḍeg, ḍek "pace, step".
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