

Some Observations on Geiger's Etymological Glossary of the Sinhalese Language

THE Indo-Aryan philologists, particularly those working in New-Indian, owe a deep debt of gratitude to Prof. Wilhelm Geiger for the valuable information he has provided them in his Etymological Glossary of the Sinhalese Language. Seven years have passed since it was published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Ceylon, and it is quite natural that further light should have been thrown on the etymologies given by Prof. Geiger. Although most of his etymologies are quite acceptable, there are some which are not quite convincing and which need further investigation, e.g., *kiyata* and *dathāru-kanavā*. One should be critical in examining the etymologies suggested by Prof. Geiger, so that the valuable researches he had been conducting in Sinhalese may be carried further. It is in that same spirit that the present writer makes a few observations on Geiger's Etymological Glossary, and it must be stated in fairness to Prof. Geiger that even if a few shortcomings are found in his work, they do not detract much from the great value of his Glossary.

Atuṇa (plural and stem-form : *atuṇu*) 'bowel'.

Although Prof. Geiger has equated this word to Pali *antāni*, Sanskrit *antrāṇi*, (Vedic *āntrāṇi*), it may be connected better with P. *antaḡaṇa*.

Aḡirisē, *aḡirisey* without limit or end, entire.

Although P. *aḡariseṣa* and Sk. *aḡariseṣa* to which Geiger traces the above words do not present any phonological difficulty, Sinhalese *a-ḡirisē* and *a-ḡirisey* seem to have been made of *a* (privative) + *ḡirisē* or *ḡirisey* (= P. Sk. *ḡariccheda*). In the oldest Sinhalese exegetical works, as well as in other classics, *ḡirisey* and *ḡirisē* nearly always correspond to P. Sk. *ḡariccheda*. e.g., *uḡabhoga ḡaribhoga baḡḡun ḡirisey* 'the limit or extent of the objects of enjoyment and of (other) articles of use' = P. *uḡabhoga-ḡaribhoga-bhaḡḡānaḡ ḡaricchedo*, Dhampiyā-Aḡuvā-Gāḡapadaya (DhpAGp) 67-18; *saḡ ḡaribhaḡḡa ḡav ḡirisē māḡḡa* 'in the middle of the (area) limited or surrounded by seven encircling ranges of mountains', translation of P. *satta-vīcimajḡhe*, Jātaka-Aḡuvā-Gāḡapadaya (JAGp) 115-23. The Sinhalese verb which often corresponds to *ḡirisē* is *ḡirisīḡḡi* 'limits, defines' (= P. *ḡaricchindati*, Sk. *ḡari* + *śchid*), and the corresponding past participle passive is *ḡirisun* (= P. Sk. *ḡaricchinna*).

Ahanavā, asanavā 'to hear'.

Geiger connects these words with P. *āsuṇāti, āsuṇoti*, Sk. *ā + √śru, ā-śrṇoti*, and says: "We expect as the present stem **ahuna-*, **asuṇa-*. The stem *aha-*, *asa-* is, as Turner s. v. *sunnu* has shown, a new formation from the preterite stem *āhu-*, *āsu-* which is correctly derived from Sk. *āśruta*, according to the proportion *cha- : āhu- = gasa- : gāsu-*". Although the above explanation is quite possible, one might wonder whether the Present Indicative base *asa-* or *aha-* could not have been obtained from the Causative base *asva-*. Thus the Present Indicative 3rd Person Singular verb *asayi* 'he hears' may be an analogical formation from *asvayi* = P. *assāveti*, Sk. *āśrāvayati* (Cf. Chāndogya Upanishad 19). *karavayi : karayi :: maravayi : marayi :: gasvayi : gasayi :: asvayi : asayi*. *Asvayi* meaning 'causes to hear, speaks, preaches' occurs besides *asayi* 'hears' from very early times. Cf. *asva* = P. *sāvaya* (DhpAGp 162-19—10th century).

Itiri, ituru "remaining, surplus, residual".

Geiger traces both these words to P. Sk. *uttara*. Evidently the development he may have had in mind may be *uttara* > *uturu* > *ituru* (through dissimilation) > *itiri* (through assimilation). It is far more likely that *itiri* has developed from *uttari-*, or from *uttariṃ* as Prof. Helmer Smith suggests. § Cf. *kalāta itiriyak kirīmen* 'by doing (to others things) in excess of what has been done (to oneself) = P. *karaṇuttariya-karaṇena*, DhpAGp 27-17; and also *ibid.* 108-15.

Idenavā 'to ripen, mature'.

Prof. Geiger thinks that this word is an inherited form of P. *ijjhati*, Sk. *√rdh—rdhyate*, and compares it with Punjabi *rijjhā* 'to be cooked' and refers to Nepali *rijhinu* in Prof. Turner's Dictionary of the Nepali Language. But *ideyi*, 3rd Sg. Indicative and also its older form *hideyi*, are given in the oldest exegetical works as the Sinhalese equivalents of P. *sijjate*, Sk. *svidyate*. Cf. " *pittha-piṇḍaṃ viya, ātiliyē bahā-lū piṭi-piṇḍak men*, like a lump of flour (or dough) put in a pan; *sijjamāne, tāvena kalhi hevat idena kalhi*, as it was being baked or cooked", JAGp 113-15. The phonological changes in *ideyi* < *hideyi* < *hijeyi* = P. *sijjate*, Sk. *svidyate* seem to be quite natural. If *ideyi* is derived from *ijjhati* as has been done by Prof. Geiger, the initial *h* in *hideyi* has to be explained through

§ In a letter to me.

analogy, and the meaning 'is cooked' has also to be considered an extended meaning, and not the direct one. Thus the latter explanation of the word appears to be more justifiable.

Another possible explanation suggested to me very kindly by both Prof. R. L. Turner and Prof. Jules Bloch is that *ideyi* may be an inherited form from Sk. √*sidh*—*sidhyati* (Passive: *sidhyate*). Although derivatives of √*sidh* are to be found in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars too, in the sense of 'being cooked or prepared', I do not remember any instance where *ideyi* has been connected with √*sidh* in that sense, in any of the early Sinhalese exegetical works which generally preserve the ancient tradition.

*Ira*², *hira*² 'line, streak'.

In explaining the above words, Prof. Geiger connects them, with a mark of interrogation however, with P. Sk. *cīra*, or in the alternative, in accordance with Prof. Helmer Smith, with Sk. √*si*.

Ira in Sinhalese may mean, besides 'sun', etc., either 'a piece, slice, splinter' or 'a crack, line, streak'. Cf. *hiri hiri koṭa* 'having cut into pieces' = P. *hīra-hīram katvā*, JAGp 13-6; *mas-hira*, translation of P. *maṃsa-sūlaṃ*, *ibid.* 195-23; *vāl-hiri-mas* = P. *maṃsa-sūlāni*, *ibid.* 174-4; *pāli hiri* 'cracks' = P. *rājiyo*, *ibid.* 241-6; *soḷos hirak* 'sixteen lines' = P. *soḷasa lekhā*, *ibid.* 44-1. One cannot be certain whether both the latter meanings are developments of one and the same. If so they could be traced to P. *hīra*. Even otherwise, *ira* and *hira* meaning 'peace, slice' may be inherited forms of P. *hīra*.

Is-vāṭiya 'turban' may be explained better through Sk. *Śīrṣa* + *paṭṭikā* than through *śīrṣa* + *paṭṭaka*.

Uṇuhuma, *uṇusuma* 'heat, warmth'.

Prof. Geiger says *uṇuhuma* is probably from **uṇuyama uṇu* + *kama* (= Sk. *uṣṇa* + *karman*), and that the change of *h* to *s* in *uṇusuma* is by false Analogy.

It is more likely that *uṇusuma* is a blending of *uṇu* (= P. *uṇha*, Sk. *uṣṇa*) and *usuma* (= Sk. *uṣman*, P. *usumā*, *usmā*). Prof. Helmer Smith is of the same opinion, and he says[§] that blendings of this nature are quite frequent in Sinhalese, and cites as an example how *nam*— + *vand*— > *namañḍi* (*-navā*) 'to bow down, worship, salute'.

Udalu (plural and stem form of *udālla* 'hoe, mattock').

Prof. Geiger derives *udalu* from Pk. P. Sk. *kuddāla*, and cites numerous Modern Indo-Aryan forms all of which have an initial *k*, from Prof. Turner's Nepali Dictionary. The Sinhalese form *kudalu* given by Prof. Turner, s.v. *kodālo*, may be a misprint for *hudalu*, because there is no such form as *kudalu* in Sinhalese, and the only forms found are *udalu* and *hudalu*.

In trying to explain the loss of the initial *k* of *kuddāla*, Prof. Geiger says in his Etymological Glossary: "The dropping of the initial *k* is perhaps caused by a confusion of the two tree-names *uddāla* 'Cassia fistula' and *kuddāla* 'Bauhinia variegata'."

Prof. Helmer Smith seems to be of opinion that *hudalu* owes its existence to popular etymology. He says⁸: "*Kuddāla* is a form where popular etymology—in this case the verb *uddālayati*—may have intervened. 'Learned etymology' also avails itself of *dālayati* (with the useful *kū* 'earth'. e.g., *Sadda-Nīti* 240, 24)".

I am inclined to think that *hudalu* may have been obtained from a compound of *kuddāla* with some preceding word, by separating the *kuddāla* element from the rest. Cf. *keṭi-hudaluwak* 'a blunt mattock', translation of P. *kuṇṭha-kuddālakam*, DhPAGp 100-32. Another instance where an initial *k* has disappeared is *vāni* 'tower, minaret' = P. *kaṇṇikā*, Sk. *karnikā*. Cf. compounds like *miṇi-vāni* = P. *maṇi + kaṇṇikā*, Sk. *maṇi + karnikā*.

Sometimes even without being compounded, the initial letter of a word that is generally retained in that position, may undergo change if that word occurs most often after some other word, and not at the beginning of a sentence. e.g., *vaḷay* 'from' in *bhīnikmanhī vaḷay* 'from the (time of) renunciation = translation of P. *abhīnikk-hamaṇato paṭṭhāya*, DhPAGp 79-20.

vaḷay > *paṭay(a)* = P. *paṭṭhāya*, (Sk. *prasthāya*).

Even in Middle-Indian, one notices numerous forms which have come into existence through wrong separation of words while in combination with others. Cf. *miva*, *viva*, *riva* 'like' = P. Sk. *iva*. See Siddha-Hemacandram, Adhyāya VIII (Hemachandra's Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen, Edited by R. Pischel, 1877) II 182; and *meva* 'indeed' = P. Sk. *eva*.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON GEIGER'S ETYMOLOGICAL GLOSSARY

Ulu (plural and stem form, 'tiles').

In explaining this word Geiger says: "Can perhaps be connected with P. *sudhā* 'cement', Sk. *sudhā* 'brick' if we assume a Prakritic **sudhā* with cerebral, as in *sūdana* 'killing' (Hemacandra IV 106) = Sk. *sūdana*. Cf. Tamil *ōtu*". Although this etymology is not beyond doubt, it is difficult to suggest an explanation which is sufficiently convincing.

One may wonder whether *ulu* cannot be an inherited form of P. *iṭṭahakā*, Sk. *iṣṭakā*. Although -*ṭṭh*- of Middle-Indian changes into -*ṭh*- in early mediaeval Sinhalese, and subsequently to -*t*-, sometimes that -*t*- seems to develop further into -*ṭ*-. e.g., Sk. *ucchiṣṭa*, P. *ucchiṭṭha* = *ujulu*, *ujul* DhpAGp 186-4, *iñjul*, *indul*; Sk. *kapittha*, P. *kavitṭha* = *givulu*, *givul* 'wood-apple'; Sk. *kusṭhin*, P. *kutṭhi* = *kili* 'leper' DhpAGp 218-18 (Cf. *kuḷi-rov* 'leprosy', translation of P. *kutṭha-roga*, *ibid.* 181-30); P. *paṭṭhāya* (Sk. *prasthāya*) = *paṭay*, -*vaḷay* 'from' DhpAGp 79-20. It must be admitted that the changes of : *ṭṭh* > *ṭh*, *t* > *ṭ* and of *cch* > *j* are both quite unusual. Cf. also Sk. *a-kṛcchra*, P. *a-kiccha* = *a-kij* 'without difficulty, easy' DhpAGp 107-8; P. *saṃvacchara* (Sk. *saṃvatsara*) = *havajara* (EpZ III 251-3), *havaraja*, *havuruju*, *havuruḍu*, *avuruḍu* 'year'.

Kakaḷa, *kakulu*, *kākulu* 'rough, severe'.

Prof. Geiger says that the above words seem to be blendings of P. *kakkasa*, Sk. *karkaṣa* and P. Sk. *kaṭuka*. But the first two words can be explained better through P. *kakkhaḷa*, and the latter probably through Pk. **kakkhilla* as has been suggested by Prof. Helmer Smith. §

Divuranavā 'to swear, take an oath'.

Prof. Geiger looks upon this word as a combination of *divi* + *uranavā* "literally: 'to absorb an oath'". But there is no such expression in Sinhalese, and *divuranavā* is in all probability a verb formed from *divi* or *divu* (= Sk. *divya* 'oath') by adding (*ka*)*ranavā* 'to do' to it. Cf. *vapurānavā* 'to sow' = *vapa* + (*ka*)*ranavā* 'literally: to do the sowing'; *kāmburanavā* 'to do (menial) work' = *kama* (Sk. *karman*) + *karanavā*; *vamāranavā* 'to vomit' = *vama* + (*ka*)*ranavā*; *vadāranavā* 'to say' = *vada* (P. *vācā*, Sk. *vāk*) + (*ka*)*ranavā*; *hadāranavā* 'to recite, learn' = P. *sajjhāyaṃ*, Sk. *svādhyāyaṃ* + *ṣkr*; (Cf. *mulu-vā hājārum* 'reciting in a body', translation of P. *geṇa-sajjhāyaṃ* DhpAGp 101-12).

Dō, dōhō, (dohō), particle expressing doubt or uncertainty.

The explanation given by Prof. Geiger for this word is: “? < **dāhu* = P. *udāhu*, Sk. *utavā, utāho*”. But it seems to be more plausible to look upon *dō* as a contraction of *do-hō* or *dō-hō* which is a combination of *da* + *hō* (= P. Sk. *ca* + *uta*).

Nāvata ‘again’.

The explanation given by Prof. Geiger that *nāvata* = *nava* + *ata* is very fanciful and is quite untenable. The older forms of it, *nāvāta* and *nāvātū* (= P. *nivattiya*) fully corroborate the suggestion that has been made by Mr. Julius De Lanerolle and quoted by Prof. Geiger himself.

Piṇisa ‘for, for the purpose of, through, on account of’.

Prof. Geiger thinks that *piṇisa* < Middle-Indian **paṇissāya* (Sk. *pra-ṇi* + √*śri*). The form he has reconstructed, viz., **paṇissāya*, should give rise more regularly to *piṇisā*. It is quite likely that *piṇisa* = P. *paṭicca*. For *ṭ > ḷ > ṇ* Cf. *puṇusvayi* = P. *paṭicchāpeti* DhPAGp 71-29; *piṇisvī* = P. *paṭicchāpesi* *ibid.* 159-29; *saṇisayi* = P. *samṇicchati*, *ibid.* 99-6.

Polāmbanavā ‘to instigate, impel, urge, tempt’.

Although Prof. Geiger has traced this word to Sk. *pra* + √*labh*, *pralambhayati* ‘cheats, deceives’, P. *palambheti*, it seems to be more likely that the word has had its origin in P. *palobheti*, Sk. *pralobhayati* ‘allures, entices’.

Ma “enclitic particle emphasizing the preceding word”.

Prof. Geiger states that *ma* has had its origin in Sk. *eva* = Pk. *ea*, P. *eva*, *-yeva*, *’va*, and that *v* and *m* alternate in Sinhalese. Thus according to him, the intervocalic *v* in *eva* has changed to *m* and *eva* has given rise to *ema* and ultimately *ma*. But the older forms of *ma*, found in early Sinhalese literature and lithic records point out to a different line of development, although it is from the same word *eva*. *Ma* < *mā* < *me* (DhPAGp 43-18, 220-32) < *mē* (DhPAGp 62-10, 133-15), *mevu* (DhPAGp 6-18, 10-7) < *meva* (DhPAGp 4-6, 7). Although the Dhampiyā-Aṭuvā-Gāṭapadaya preserves several of the above forms as archaic survivals, *meva* is really Prakritic and is found, as was pointed out to me by Dr. S. Paranavitana, in some unpublished inscriptions of Kaniṭṭhatissa at Nelugala, dating back to the 3rd century A.D. e.g., *Teranaṭa Meva* ‘to the Theras themselves’; *Viharahi Meva* ‘in the monastery itself’.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON GEIGER'S ETYMOLOGICAL GLOSSARY

Meva seems to have arisen from Old and Middle-Indian *eva* through wrong division of it while in combination with a preceding word—particularly a word ending in Anusvāra. *Mevu* < *eva* finds a parallel in *miva*, *riva*, *viva* < *iva*. See Hemacandram, Adhyāya VIII (Ed. R. Pischel, 1877) II 182. Even in Pāli one comes across uses like :

“ Yato yato hīmsamano nivattati
tato tato sammati *meva* dukkham”

(Dhammapada XXVI 8).

Prof. Jules Bloch and Prof. R. L. Turner have kindly pointed out to me the Prakrit forms *emeva* (Pischel: Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen §149) and Aśokan *hemeva* (= *evameva*), which suggest another possibility of the development of the above-mentioned emphatic particles in Sinhalese. Those two Prakrit forms should also be examined in the light of the various forms like : *meva*, *mev*, *mē*, *me*, etc. found in Sinhalese.

Sanaha ‘bathing’.

In explaining this word, Prof. Geiger says : “ Perhaps from a Sk. **siṣṇāsā* from the desiderative *siṣṇāsati* of √*snā*”. I am inclined to think that *sanaha*(*yi*) comes from the Intensive *sāsnāti* of the same root √*snā*.

Sāri-saranavā ‘to walk about, wander about’.

Although Prof. Geiger looks upon it as a development of the ‘Intensive stem **carīcar-* of Sk. √*car*’, it can be explained better through P. *cārikaṃ carati*. Prof. Helmer Smith also agrees with the latter view. In old Sinhalese exegetical works, this *sāri* is always associated with P. *cārikā*. See DhpaGp 155-19, 226-8.

*Hō*¹ ‘either, or’.

Prof. Geiger connects this word with Pk. *ahavā*, P. Sk. *athavā*. I wonder whether *hō* is not a development of P. Sk. *uta*, with *h* as an augment. For *u-a* > *o-o* > *ō* see Sk. *tuṣa*, P. *thusa* > *toho*, *tō* ‘chaff’ ; P. Sk. *asuka* > **asoo* > *asō* ‘such and such’ ; P. Sk. *bahuka* > **bahoo* > *bohō* ‘many, numerous’.

D. E. HETTIARATCHI