

# COGNATES OF TIBETAN RAṂS-PA ('ENTIRE, COMPLETE') WITH GUTTURAL STEM INITIAL

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## I

In his contribution to *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren dedicata*<sup>1</sup> the scholar to whom this short article is dedicated as a small token of admiration and friendship, has directed our attention to certain alternations between the initials of a number of obviously cognate words, such as *hdrul*-ba 'to become putrid, rot', pf. *rul* or *drul*, cp. *rul*-ba 'to rot, get rotten', *hđral*-ba 'to tear to pieces, rend', pf. *ral* or *đral*, cp. *ral* 'rent, cleft', and others, thereby supporting the etymological relationship suggested by him between *riṅ* 'long' and ancient Tibetan *hđriṅ* as occurring in the phrase *glo*-ba *hđriṅ* (which, in accordance with other Tibetan scholars, he defines as 'disloyal').

I had independently and almost at the same time<sup>2</sup> used some of the examples adduced by Professor Li to infer an original initial cluster *\*nr-* and, while listing *riṅ* 'long' and *sriṅ*-ba (< *\*snriṅ*) 'to stretch' among them, pointed out that there did not seem to be any cognates with initial *dr-* (with or without prefixes). Professor Liss convincing etymology, then, fully confirms the suspected cluster, though my conclusion was unfortunately based on a wrong premise, viz. that the group *draṅ*-po 'straight', *sroṅ*-ba, pf. *bsraṅs*, fut. *bsraṅ* 'to straighten', which on semantic grounds I considered cognate to *riṅ* 'long' and *sriṅ*-ba 'to stretch', belonged with *raṅs*-pa, the latter word, owing to a wrong interpretation of a passage of the Tibetan version of the *Karmaṣataka*, believed by me to be synonymous with *draṅ*-po 'straight'.

In a recent article<sup>3</sup> the correct meaning, viz. 'entire, complete, unimpaired' has, I venture to think, been established for *raṅs*-pa, and the verb *raṅ*-ba, as in the phrase *yi*(*d*) *raṅ*-ba 'to rejoice' (literally "mind unimpaired [=perfect]"),

1) Ed. S. Egerod and E. Glahn, Copenhagen, 1959, pp. 55-59, see pp. 58-59.

2) The Reconstruction of original cluster 'Nasal +r' through Tibetan-Chinese word equations (see *Trudy Mezhdunar. Kongressa Vostokovedc*, Vol. V, pp. 163-169).

3) 'Tibetan *nyin-raṅs* and *t'o-raṅs*, (*Asia Major*, N. S., Vol. XII (1966), pp. 179-184). See also 'Tibetan Lexicography and etymological research' (*Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1964, p. 107).

as well as *rañ* 'own, self' (lit. "complete, unimpaired, uncurtailed [=exclusively one's own]") have been suggested as cognates. But before proposing cognates of *rañ-pa* with a guttural stem-initial I wish to return to the type of examples quoted by both Professor Li and myself. While Professor Li, in accordance with some scholars, suspected the *h-* prefix (?) to represent some sort of a nasal and as such to be directly responsible for the dental stop (in like manner as we witness an epenthetic *d* in Greek *andros* < *anros*), I had always regarded the *h* (also called *a-c'uñ*) as a laryngeal fricative<sup>4</sup> and explained its modificatory role when occurring as a prefix, as due to the change-over from laryngeal to oral articulation. As far as the latter articulation is concerned, we owe to Professor Li the important statement, made more than 30 years ago<sup>5</sup>, that the *h-* prefix "before continuants or fricatives (*s*, *z*, *sh*, and *tsh*) always causes the insertion of a stop consonant"<sup>6</sup>. Extending this statement to nasal articulation, though in historical times *h* does not occur before nasals, it would therefore be possible to explain the transition of a cluster *nr-* prefixed by *h-* to *hnr-* in a similar way. It seems, however, that the transition from nasal to oral articulation which results in an homorganic stop does not depend on the presence of an *h-* prefix nor, for that matter of any other prefix. In addition to the examples adduced by Professor Li and myself which allow of an alternative explanation by assuming an original cluster *nr-*, I proposed<sup>7</sup> an original cluster *ñr-* for *reñ* 'stiff' (which it was to possible to confirm by the synonymous Chinese cognate 凝 *ning*, archaic *ngieng*<sup>8</sup>, referring in addition to the obviously related verbs *hgreñ-ba* 'to stand', its causative *sgreñ-ba* 'to erect', and its derivative by means of 'ablaut' *hgroñ-ba* 'to die' (lit. 'to stiffen').

In the case of an original cluster *nr-* it is possible to quote a transition to *br-* both without and with prefixation of *h*. *Bro* 'dance' < *mro*, corresponding to Chinese 舞 *wu*, archaic *mio*<sup>9</sup> recalls the development of Greek *brotos* < *mbrotos*. On the other hand, we observe *hbrog* '(summer) pasture' < *hmrog*, corresponding to Chinese 牧 *mu*, archaic *mîôk*<sup>10</sup>

4). See *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. X (1940-42), p. 967 and note 1.

5). 'Certain Phonetic Influences of the Tibetan Prefixes upon the Root Initials' (*Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, 1933, pp. 147-148)

6). *Studia Serica*, p. 58

7). See the paper quoted in note 2. See also Asia Major, N.S., Vol. I (1949/50), p. 14, n. 2, Where, under reference to Chinese 隅 (ancient and archaic *ngi'u*) an original cluster\* *ñr* was suggested for the two donblets *ru/rva* and *gru/grva*

8). KARLGREN, *G(rammata) S(erica) R(ecensa)*, Stockholm, 1957, no. 956h.

9). *ibid.*, no. 103g,

## II

The cognates with guttural stem initials which I wish to adduce presuppose an original initial cluster *nr-*. They can be observed without prefixes and with the prefixes *h-* and *b-*:

(1). *hgrañs-pa* 'satiated, replete, full', to which *lto* 'stomach' may be added making the semantic relation 'stomach complete' even more obvious. *lto-hgrañs-pa*, translating Skr. *paripūrṇagātra*<sup>11</sup>, thus forms a parallel to *nyin-rañs*, translating Skr. *dinānta*, the 'end of the day' as 'day complete' and *to-rañs*, translating Skr. *pañcama prahara*, the fifth (and last) striking (of the bell or gong) as 'hammer complete'.<sup>12</sup>

(2). *hgrañ-ba*, pf. *hgrans*,<sup>13</sup> 'to satisfy with food, to satiate'. The existence of *hgrañ-ba* side by side with *hgrañs-pa* recalls that of *rañ-ba* side by side with *rañs-pa*

(3). *grañs* 'number', *grañ-ba* 'to count, judge, consider', *grañ* 'perhaps' (lit. 'I reckon'), *bgrañ-ba* pf. *bgrans*, 'to count' may be considered together. *grañs* 'number' is obviously seen as the 'entirety' or 'total' of things or persons to be counted, and the 'counting' as 'making complete', thereby ascertaining that no one or nothing is missing<sup>14</sup> from a group of individuals, a herd of animals, a sum of money or a set of things so that they are in fact 'complete'.

The cognates of *rañs-pa* listed above may serve as further proof that it is justifiable to suspect Tibetan initial *r-* as being the remainder of an original initial cluster '*Nasal+r*'.

10). KARLGREN. g. S. R., no. 1037a

11). See J. NOBEL *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra*, Leiden, 1950, Vol. 2, p. 37

12). See the first article quoted in note 3.

13). The assumed cluster *nr-* would determine the spelling variants *hdrañ*, *hdrañs* as secondary.

14). As a reflection of this idea in literature I noted, e. g., the line on the number of starlets: "Gott der Herr hat sie gezählet, dass ihm auch nicht eines fehlet" (God the Lord has counted them that he should not find even one of them missing) from the well known German song "Weisst Du wieviel Sternlein stehen / An dem blauen Himmelszelt" by W. HEY, 1790-1854 (*Noch Fünfzig Fabel'n*, "Gott weiss", 1836).

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