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## Nepalese Hydronomy

### Towards a History of Settlement in the Himalayas<sup>1</sup>

1.0. The prehistory and the early history of Nepal are largely unknown - certainly, as far as the major part of the country is concerned, because it is not situated closely enough to such early cultural and political centers such as Kapilavastu, or medieval ones such as the Kathmandu Valley, Tibet, Chamba or Jumla. Nor can we expect, except from future extensive archaeological surveys, more information for those areas that have not left us with written documentation.

In this situation, it may be useful to try to elicit more information not only from the "unwritten history" contained in legends etc., but also from language itself, where such information can be found in an "undiluted" state. For changes in language occur, as is well known, mostly unconsciously and over a period of many years and they are, for the greater part, not directly influenced by official policy or by individual habits.

It is well known that place names such as those of streams, rivers, localities, and mountains often are very persistent. This especially applies to names of rivers. In

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1 I am grateful to the organizers of the Franco-German colloquium for their invitation, all the way from a sabbatical in Japan, and for giving me the opportunity to discuss some of the aspects of this paper with colleagues familiar with many areas of Nepal. -- This article was first drafted during a stay at Kathmandu in 1985, and no doubt stimulated by the articles of K. P. Malla (see note 3), which are, in a certain way, a response to my earlier note on the Licchavi capital (*Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 5/6, 1980). -- In the sequel, I print all names *Anglo-Indice*, without diacritics, if I was not sure of their exact pronunciation. Wherever I found diacritics (even the rather limited set of the Anglo-Indian ones of the maps) I include them. The exact value of the vowel *a*, especially, is not always clear; *i* and *u* are short, however, in most languages of Nepal, whatever the 'official' Sanskritizing Nepālī spelling might be.

Europe, for example, where such names have been studied in great detail,<sup>2</sup> river names were found to reflect, quite frequently, the languages spoken before the influx of the Indo-European speaking populations. They thus are older, dependent on the date of the spread of Indo-European languages in the various parts of Europe, than c. 4500 to 2500 B.C.

It would be fascinating to gain a similar vantage point for the prehistory of Nepal. A toponymical study of Nepal is bound to provide some insight into the settlement patterns of the present and past populations of the area. Such an attempt has not yet appeared though some authors<sup>3</sup> have hinted at the desirability of such an undertaking. In the following pages, I will limit myself to the names of the rivers of the Nepalese Himalayas, to hydronymy, as such names seem to be more conservative than those of settlements (and easier to explore than for example those of local fields or mountains.)

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2 See the work of H. Krahe and his school on Old European hydronymy, treating the names of rivers, small streams etc.; see e.g., H. Krahe, *Vorgermanische und Frühgermanische Flussnamenschichten. Mittel zu ihrer Unterscheidung; Die Struktur der alteuropäischen Hydronomie*, Abh. Akad. Mainz 1962; *Unsere ältesten Flussnamen*, Fulda 1964; cf. however, W. P. Schmid, *Alteuropäisch und Indogermanisch*, Akad. Mainz, Jg. 1968, No.6.

3 But note the occasional remarks in: D. Snellgrove, *Himalayan pilgrimage*, London 1961, and note his list of Tibetan names p. 279-284. It was Harka Gurung who actually pointed to the usefulness of a study of place names in his book *Vignettes of Nepal*, Kathmandu 1980, for example p. 26 "The suffix 'Gad' for streams prevalent here extends as far west as Himachal Pradesh and in East up to Riri where the Bari Gad joins the Kali Gandaki"; cf. his list of geographical and toponymical designations in the glossary appended to the book. - For Thakali toponyms, see S. Gauchan and M. Vindig, *Kailash* 5, 1977 p. 97-184; for the Kathmandu Valley, see: K.P. Malla, *Linguistic Archaeology of the Nepal Valley: A preliminary report*, *Kailash* 8, 1-2, 1981, K.P. Malla, *River names in the Nepal Valley: A study in cultural annexation*, *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 10,1-2, 1982-3; -- A large number of place names has now been collected by Kṛṣṇa Prasād Śreṣṭha, *Sthāna-Kośa*, Kathmandu (Nep. Rājakīya Prajñāṣṭhan), VS 2044. Most of them have, however, not been explained beyond their Sanskrit, Newāri, Tibetan and occasional North Indian etymologies.

For a study of place names in the Kathmandu Valley see author, *Studien zur Indo-Iranistik*, vol. 5-6 (Fs. P. Thieme, 1980), p. 311-337 passim; and see the articles by K.P. Malla, *River names* (1982-3), and: *Linguistic Archaeology* (1981). -- For a list of medieval place names of the Valley, see also Gopālarājavamaśāvalī, ed. by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and K.P. Malla, Kathmandu/Wiesbaden 1985, p. 199-203, and Dhanavajra Vajrācārya, *The development of early and medieval settlements in the Kathmandu Valley. A review of the inscriptional evidence*, in: *Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley*, ed. N. Gutschow and A. Michaels, St. Augustin 1987, p. 355-364.

However, except for the Kathmandu Valley, little has been done so far in studying the names of Nepalese rivers and other points of topographical interest. On the other hand, there exist many and elaborate theories about the early inhabitants of the country, founded on legends and a few entries in the various *vamśāvalīs*.

Yet even a brief survey and a first interpretation of the toponymical materials at our disposal opens the possibility to investigate the early strata of populations in and around the Valley. The same can be done for various other areas of the country, after the investigations described above have been carried out.

### 1.1. The West

In the context of the Himalayas there are, however, two disturbing factors, one, the influence of Sanskrit name-giving<sup>4</sup> and secondly, the steady spread of the Nepālī language as a *lingua franca*. Both obscure the original distribution of names. For example, name such as *Nārāyaṇī*, *Kamalā*, *Bāgmati* < Skt. *Vāgmatī*, *Uttār Gaṅgā* (in Dhorpatan) are comparatively late Sanskrit substitutes for often unknown local names. Similarly, the continuing eastward spread of speakers of Nepālī, which has been occurring since the Middle Ages, frequently obliterated, and still continues to efface more and more of the local names.

Apart from this, river names in all of Nepal are formed according to the following general pattern: Where one layer of river names is superimposed on a older one, for example by the movement of Nepālī speakers eastwards in the middle ages, only a "suffix", and mostly that of *kholā*<sup>5</sup>, is added to the old name so that we find names like *Daron-di Kholā*, *Yan-guwa Kholā*. The original Tibeto-Burmese names, before the addition of *kholā* already mean "Daron river" in the Magar and "Yan river" in the Rai language. In other cases, a Nepālī name has obviously supplanted an older one, for example names such as in *Andheri*

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4 See K.P. Malla, River names.

5 For *kholā* see R. L. Turner, Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages (CDIAL), London 1966, no. 3945 *khol* "to open", *khōlla*, *khōḍa*, *khōṛa*: Pashai *khol* "ravine", Panjābī *khol* "cavity, hollow", W. Pahārī *khol* "stream", Hindī *khol* "cavity, cave", Bihārī *khol* "trough", Assamese *kholabā* "to hollow out", Oriyā *kholibā* "to dig". - The word *gāḍ* can perhaps be derived from *gaḍḍa* "hole, pit", Turner, CDIAL 3981 ; see, however, below 3.1.

*Kholā* "dark, gloomy river"<sup>6</sup>, *Khālṭe Kholā* "depressed, gorge river",<sup>7</sup> etc. which can be found in Western as well as in Eastern Nepal. These words, *kholā*, *-di*, *-guwa*, etc. have the function of a kind of "suffix", a determinative supplement that is automatically added to river names, not unlike the English "prefix" *river* in designation such as *River Thames*, *River Nile*, etc.

This diffusion of Nep. *kholā* and of W. Nepālī *gāḍ* is due to the eastward spread of the Nepālī speaking Khaśa/Khas. The whole west of the country, that is the area west of the Bheri, has been Indo-Aryanized thoroughly and early enough (note the Simjā kingdom of the Mallas) as to eliminate most traces of earlier, Tib.-Burm. names (but see below, for some exceptions).

## 1.2. The North

The situation, however, is different in the North, that is in the areas beyond the main range of the Himalayas. This region, has only been mentioned sparingly in this paper: names in this area are "Bhoṭya", in other words, they are based on a South Tibetan dialect.<sup>8</sup> They often follow certain stereotypes, just as the bulk of the Nepalese river names, by adding certain suffixed determinatives such as *-chu*, *tsangpo* (*gtsaṅ.po*), *drangka*, etc. These northern Bhoṭya groups were one of the last population groups to enter Nepal,<sup>9</sup> especially the well-documented Sherpas who came to Eastern Nepal from the North only around 1500 A.D.

The comparatively late Tibetan nomenclature is found as an overlay above some earlier strata, including an older substratum of quite differently formed names (see below: *Langu*, *Manduwa*).

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6 *aṃdhero*, *aṃdhyāro*, *anyāro* "dark, gloomy, unhappy".

7 Nep. *khālṭo*, *khaldo* "hollow, hole, pit, depression; ravine. cf. also Nep. *khālci*, *khālsi*, *kolco*, *kholcā* "valley".

8 See D.L. Snellgrove, *Himalayan Pilgrimage*, Oxford 1961, reprint Delhi 1991

9 See M. Oppitz, *Kailash 2*, 1974, p. 122.

It is surprising to note that in this area Gurung and Tamang names for rivers and streams are relatively absent on our maps. Both languages are closely related to Tibetan and one could assume that these tribes have migrated a little before, or along with, the expansion of Tibetan speakers about the middle of the first millenium. However, they apparently only supplied a few names high up in the ranges of the Himalayas while the areas at the higher altitudes, adjacent to present day Tibet, show only (Southern) Tibetan nomenclature. (See, however, below 6., for the commentary of A. Höfer on this situation).

### 1.3. The South

In the Terai, however, the situation is even more complicated. There has been a large influx of North Indian as well as hill populations of the Nepalese midlands during the past hundred years or so. This immigration intensified after the eradication of malaria and still is continuing due to the increasing pressure of population in the hills. Before that, the area, the notorious malaria infested jungle belt "of 8 *kos*", was sparingly populated by Tharus, Mech, and other tribes. Most river names in the Terai, however, now are Indo-Aryan, i.e. either Sanskrit or they are based on the Indo-Aryan language that is actually spoken in the area, that is from west to east: Awadhī, Bhojpurī, Maithilī, and Bengalī (in the extreme south-eastern corner of Nepal).

### 1.4. The 'Hills'

Even if the areas mentioned so far are largely excluded enough names remain to draw a first map of the designations common in various areas, especially of the middle, 'hilly' (*pahārī*) belt of the country. In this study, I therefore concentrate on the midland hill area between the high Himalayas and the Mahābhārat ran'e where we can find the broadest scale of original, non-Indo-Aryan names.

Even a brief survey which can be based on any large scale map of Nepal results in several larger areas in the hills, with several typical clusters of names. Each of them is characterized by the seemingly endless, stereotype repetition of the *same* type of river names within each cluster.

In fact, one can easily distinguish, in addition to the Tibetan speaking North and the Awadhī/Bhojpuri/Maithilī speaking South, eight or nine distinct areas as characterized by their river names. The westernmost one represents the core of the Nepālī speaking population while the others reflect various Tibeto-Burmese tribes. All these areas will be discussed in some detail, and special attention will be paid to those names which do not fit the general pattern of the particular area under investigation. In a few cases, evidence from early Indian and from medieval Nepalese sources can be compared; this sheds light both on the age of the names as well as on their early forms.

The results of such an investigation are of great interest and suited to start a discussion which I would very much like see to be carried further by specialists of the various Tibeto-Burmese languages spoken in the Himalayas.<sup>10</sup>

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1.5. At this instance, that is before beginning to deal with the bulk of the toponymic material from the hills, it may be useful to add a few more general remarks.

One problem that cannot be overcome easily in any evaluation of the hydronomical evidence from Nepal is the quality of the maps on which such an investigation is necessarily based.

All maps basically are variations of the old British survey maps. In these maps only the short and long vowels are differentiated by macron marks; all other sounds that do not fit the Roman alphabet have been represented by those closest to the Anglo-Indian system. While this creates some problems for Indo-Aryan consonants (e.g. *gāḍ* is spelled *gaḍ*) it is not very problematic for most Tib.-Burm. languages. For these, the missing indication of the quality of certain vowels (*ü* represented by *u*, *ö* by *o* etc.) is more severe, as is, in several languages the absence of the tonal accents. The breathiness that characterizes certain vowels in some of the Tib.-Burm. languages of the Himalayas is often represented by aspirated voiced consonant in our maps and lists.<sup>11</sup> As the

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<sup>10</sup> For lack of competence, I do not attempt, in the following paper, etymologies of Tib.-Burm. river names, except where they seem obvious.

personnel who recorded the names were not accustomed to hearing such Tib.-Burm. sounds they may have misheard quite often. Nevertheless, these problems may be rectified by a thorough study of the name material as it is precisely this kind of mistake, which is by its very nature, regular and discernable.

It is more difficult to deal with another set of problems. How did the recorders of names in the field actually assemble their name material? It must very much have depended on *whom* they asked for the name of a village, a stream, etc. whether they got the general Nepālī name or the local Tibetan, Magar, Gurung, Tamang, Rai etc. name. Many villages, rivers etc. have multiple names, e.g. the *Dhobī Kholā* of Kathmandu, whose Newārī name is *Hijā Khusi* but which also has a "proper" Sanskritized name, *Rudramatī*.

Even a brief study of A. Höfer's comments on the Kathmandu Valley maps and other *Schneider* maps published in Khumbu Himal, or a look into Snellgrove's *Himalayan Pilgrimage, Buddhist Himalayas* and *Four Lamas of Dolpo* shows that a certain system indeed was at work:

1. the local names were transcribed as closely as possible to they could be perceived by a speaker of an Indo-Aryan tongue, thus Tib. *ts* > *c*, *tsh* > *ch*, etc.
2. often a *determinative* such as *gāon* "village", *koṭ* "castle", and of course, *kholā*, etc. was added.
3. in some cases a completely different name was entered stemming from the local non-Tibetan language (of the guides?) or from the accepted *lingua franca* designation based on Nepālī usage.

It is obvious that this "method" led to the miswriting and omission of many local names. While a misrepresentation in Nāgarī-based Roman transcription often can be corrected, and certainly so on the spot, the omission of local names and their substitution by Nepālī ones is not always detectable, unless one carries out extensive research in the field. It then becomes clear, for example, that *Mustāng-bhoṭ* is the partly Nepalized form of local *Lo Mönthang* (*Blo sMon-*

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11 Note that this often coincides with lower tone (cf. Höfer's remarks: aspirated consonant often indicates lower tone in W.Tamang.) This is a feature also found in a reverse way also in Panjābī and Western Pāhārī.

*thang*), or that *Jom(o)son* stands for *Thakāli Jhongsampa* (which speakers of Tibetan understand as *Dzongsarba* (*rDzong gsar-ba*). Other names are altogether changed, such as the Takhāli place names *Kyula* > Nep. *Lete*, *Kobāng* > Nep. *Debisthān*, or are translated such as *Newārī Hijā Khusi* > Nep. *Dhobi Kholā*. M. Aris<sup>12</sup> gives an interesting example from Kutang: Tib. *Serang* (*gSer brang* "golden field" or *gSer thang* "golden fly") has been misunderstood by the Indian survey as *Sringi* (< Skt. *śṛṅgī* "having a horn").

In the manner described above, the recorders of our Anglo-Indian maps may have missed many names which the tribes living at higher altitude use, that is, apart from the Tibetan ones, especially those given by the Gurung and Tamang.<sup>13</sup> This may explain the relative absence of such names on the maps (see below 5.3.).

If only the general *lingua franca* name (in Nepālī) is given, this may severely disturb the evidence of a certain area. Nevertheless, due to the settlement patterns in Nepal which, not unlike those of S. China, are arranged not in contiguous areas but according to altitude levels, we still get a certain amount of good evidence. It is well known that Nepālī speakers usually settle in the valleys where they can have irrigated rice fields, or a little higher, in maize growing country. The (various groups of) earlier inhabitants thus are (successively) pushed up vertically, on to the higher slopes.

This provides for a very much broken settlement pattern which nevertheless, retains enough vestiges of the original spread as to ensure larger areal clusters of the original names. In the case of hydronymy, the older names are mostly retained anyhow, with the addition of *gāḍ* or *kholā*, or the various local determinatives. This kind of "suffixation" results in a quite fragmentary but clear areal picture. Sometimes we even get a longer series of such supplements in one name, such as *Mud-khyun-kholā* (--> *Madi Kholā*, S. of the Lamjung Himāl) with a Gurung and a Nepālī supplement, or *Kyung-ri Kholā* (--> *Modi* --> *Kāli Gaṇḍaki*). In some of these cases, the names on our maps may be due to the mother tongue of the translators employed when the names were collected. For

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12 Report, Contr. Nep. Stud. 2, p. 58.

13 See for example the lists given by Snellgrove, *Himal. Pilgr.*, p. 279-284, or Gauchan & Vindig (see note 3, 8, 50).

example, a Hindī or Nepālī speaking collector may have asked a local Magar person for the name of a river, who gave him a Gurung name, with a Magar hydronymical determinative added in Magarī.

Another set of problems, akin to the last one, is the fact that rivers often carry different names along their courses. The upper reaches of a river may have a name different from that in its lower course, or they may have a still another name for their middle course. Even in a homogeneous, monolingual country like Japan, one and same river can have three names, for example the *Kumano-gawa* in the Kii peninsula, South of Osaka, which is called *To.tsu-gawa* and *Ama.no-gawa* in its upper reaches, or the *Ki* river which is called *Yoshino-gawa* in its upper run. In these cases, the name changes as soon as the river leaves one of the small traditional provinces (*kuni*) and enters another one, thus changing its name practically every time after having passed through a major mountain range.

There are other cases, well-known from various countries, where the headwaters of a stream have different names, such as the Northern German rivers *Werra* and the *Fulda*, which from their confluence onwards are called *Weser*. How far this can go is seen in Southern Germany where two small rivers near Nuremberg, the *Rednitz* and *Pegnitz*, undergo a sort of phonetical *saṅgam* as well and the combined river is then known as *Regnitz*. In Northern India we find the *Bhāgīrathi* and *Alaknandā* (but cf. also *Kalindī*, the name of a tributary of the *Gaṅgā*, Rām. 2.55.4,12,13, and *Maṇḍākinī*) which become the *Gaṅgā*.

In Nepal, a similar phenomenon is that many rivers are called *Bhoṭe Kholā* in their upper courses, as they come from Tibetan speaking territories. The spread of the names *Kosi* (Skt. *Kauśikī*) and *Gaṇḍī*, *Gaṇḍaki* (Skt. *Gaṇḍakī*) is a comparable occurrence. The suffixed determinative *Kosi* and *Gaṇḍī* / *Gaṇḍaki* / *Gaṇḍakī* is added to all major rivers in their respective area, forming the "*Sapta Gaṇḍakī*" and "*Sapta Kauśikī*" rivers, that is: *Bari Gāḍ*, *Kāli Gaṇḍaki*, *Seti Gaṇḍaki*, *Madi Gaṇḍaki*, *Marsyandi*, *Burhi Gaṇḍaki*, *Trisuli Gaṇḍaki* and the *Sun Kosi*, *Tāmba Kosi*, *Likhu Kholā*, *Dudh Kosi*, *Aruṅ Kosi*, *Tamur*.

Even under the present conditions, taking into account all the constraints mentioned so far, the materials collected in the sequel are copious enough to

establish a clear picture of the Tibeto-Burmese hydronomy of Nepal. It will, I believe, speak for itself.<sup>14</sup>

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2.0. If one compares some of the typical designations of rivers in the Nepalese hills that form patterns with the local word for "river" or "stream", a few clusters of river names emerge that have a common suffixed designation. A particular cluster generally agrees with the region of a particular present day population group speaking a common language, or with that of some individual tribe of Nepal.

### 2.1. gāḍ

is the western Nepālī word for 'river, stream' instead of the standard Nepālī word *kholā*. Rivers which nowadays incorporate this word as second part of the compound which forms their name are found in the area west of the Bheri river. A north-eastern outpost is the Suli Gāḍ, a tributary of the Barbung Kholā in Dolpo.

### 2.2. ri

is the Northern Magar (Kham Magar) word for 'river'; hydronomy with this supplement is found in the area east of the Bheri and west of the Kālī Gaṇḍaki/Myandi Kholā; the northern limit of this Magar speaking area is in the along the Jairi, another tributary of the Barbung Kholā.

### 2.3. di

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14 In the sequel I base myself on the originally British, then Indian and American survey maps and on the more recent 'Schneider' maps of Eastern Nepal and the various Kathmandu Valley maps (Nepal-Kartenwerk der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für vergleichende Hochgebirgsforschung, München: Geo Buch-Verlag Rosental) as well as the maps of a few areas surveyed by the CNRS teams, such as that in the Dhaulagiri area (F.-J.Dobremez), and the Giessen University research group (W. Haffner, U. Müller). -- I use the arrow --> to indicate the river into which the river in question flows.

The Magars living more towards the east and south use a phonetical variant of the same word for "river", *di*.

River names with this supplement are found east of the Myandi Kholā / Kāli Gaṇḍaki, up to the Buṛhi Gaṇḍaki in the east, and up to the Galesti Kholā and the Annapūrṇa Range as the northern limit, and the bend of the Marsyandi towards the west.

East of this follows a central area with mixed types of nomenclature:

#### 2.4. *khu*

is typical of the Kathmandu Valley,<sup>15</sup> and indeed, in Newārī a stream is still called *khu* or *kho* and a streamlet is *khusi*, such as *Hija Khusi = Dhobi kholā* (in Nepālī) or *Rudramatī* in Sanskrit. It should be noted, however, that this designation extends beyond the Valley to its western approaches and far into the East (see below). On the western and northern rims of the Valley, however, there also are some traces of *-di/de, -gu*.

#### 2.5. *-ri, -si, -ku, -ti*.

East of the Kathmandu Valley, up to the Tāmba Kosi and the Likhu Kholā, we find names with the four supplements *-ri, -si, -ku, -ti*. Their distribution forms no obvious pattern. In this area live the Thāmi, Sunwar, and some western Rai. However, during the last hundred years or so, Tamangs have steadily been immigrating into this region from the North.<sup>16</sup>

Further east, between the Liku Kholā and the Arun Kosi the local hydronomy displays variations of the Rai designations for 'river':

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15 See already author, Studien zur Indologie u. Iranistik 5/6, 1980, p. 326 with examples from the Licchavi inscriptions and the present day Kathmandu area.

16 Cf. already Hodgson, Miscellaneous Essays, London 1880, Vol II, p. 192, sqq. referring to the "Mūrmi" in the area near Dūmja on the Rosi and Sun Kosi rivers and further east. - The Thāmi live higher up in the Tama Kosi valley, see D.B.Bista, Peoples of Nepal, Kathmandu 1972, p. 52.

2.6. *-khu, -ku, -gu; -khuwa, -guwa; -wa*

There is a great variation of names in the area between the Likhu Kholā and the Arun Kosi, which is typical of the many dialects of the Rai language. In this area, we find river names formed with supplements meaning "water" or "river" in the various Rai dialects. The words meaning "water" are: *wa, wā, cuwa, cūwa, cūāt, cwa'l, kū, yowa*, etc., and those for 'river': *hongku, kawā, kāwā, gulo, kāku*, etc.

The distribution of the determinative supplements in the Rai area forms no obvious pattern and the "suffix" changes from valley to valley. However, a few clusters of names in *-kuwa, -khuwa* and *-wa* can be observed. The suppletion *-wa* is also found East of the Arun Kosi, on the Upper Tamur River in the area of other Rai tribes, the Lohorung and Yakka.

2.7. The rest of the midland country up to the eastern border where the Lepcha territory begins, is occupied by the Limbu. However, the Limbu word for 'water', *cuā, cwa'l, cwāt* or that for 'river' *cua, wohong*, is not directly reflected in the river names of the East, beyond the Arun.<sup>17</sup>

Otherwise, this is the only contiguous area of Nepal where river names do not have a typical supplement but each river is given its own individual name, without the addition of a local (Limbu) word meaning 'river'. (Only *-wa* is relatively frequent in the areas occupied by the Lohorung and Yakka Rai.)

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2.8. These observations lead to the following general results: There is an enormous area of Magar names reaching from the Bheri to the Burhi Gaṇḍaki, a second cluster with Newārī affinities in and around the Kathmandu Valley, and

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17 The Phedappe Limbu word for water is *cwa'l*, see G. van Driem, A grammar of Limbu, diss. Leiden 1987; note that several Phedappe words contain the root *\*wa* 'water' which does not seem to occur independently in this dialect, but note: A Limbu vocabulary of the Limbu language, by H.W.R. Senior, Kathmandu 1977, who gives *cūāt* (written [chúát]) 'water', *wā-dhārā* (< Skt. *dhārā*) "water-stand", and *yambā cūād* "river", *khāwā* "dried up river bed"; *yoñkhōñ, wahōñ* "stream"; --- *wohong* (= *wahōñ?*) seems to be a compound of *\*wa* 'water' and *hoñ* 'hole', cf. also *kuhoñ* 'hole'.

the large Rai area between the Likhu Kholā and the Arun, in addition to the heavily Indo-Aryanized area of Western Nepal, i.e. the land west of the Bheri which is characterized by the W. Nepālī form *gād*. It will be interesting to investigate the areas with a more mixed nomenclature. Even now, however, a few general statements can be made in the light of the foregoing discussion.

Some tribes, even those found dispersed over a large area, are absent in this scheme of river names, such as the Kusunda who live on the Mahābhārat Range west of the Kathmandu Valley,<sup>18</sup> or the Danuwar<sup>19</sup> who live on it south of the Valley.<sup>20</sup> In the case of the Kusunda, this is perhaps most regrettable as their language, which is said to have no connection with either Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burmese, nor with Muṇḍa<sup>21</sup> and Dravidian, nor with such stray remnants of language families as Burushaski (in Hunza, N. Pakistan) or Nahalī, north-west of Ellichpur in Maharashtra, which shows traces of a lost stratum that precedes, subsequently, a Muṇḍa, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan level.<sup>22</sup> The Kusunda certainly are one of the oldest populations of Nepal and it is therefore an urgent matter to carry out a detailed survey of the remnants of their language and their toponymy.

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18 Now also in Gorkha, Surkhet, etc., see J. Reinhard, *The Ban Rajas, A vanishing Himalayan Tribe*, *Contrib. to Nep. Stud.* 4,1 (1976) p. 1-21, *Aperçu sur les Kusunda, Objets et Mondes*, 9, p. 89-106.

19 = Denwar, Donwar, spoken in Makwanpur District; see Klaus P. and Doris Kuegler, *Danuwar Rai. Phonemic Summary*, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Kathmandu 1974, p.1

20 As well as other Danuwars in the Makwanpur, Chitwan, and Rautahat districts; Hodgson, *Essays II*, p. 202 mentions them south of Dhankuta, near the Thankhudā Nadi.

21 Cf. Shafer, *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*, p. 145, n.3, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 10. - One had supposed a Muṇḍa substratum in some Tib.-Burm. languages of the Himalayas, see S. Konow, *On some facts connected with the Tibeto-Burman dialect spoken in Kanawar*, *ZDMG* 59, 1905, 117-125. This is refuted by P.K. Benedict, *Conspectus*, p. 7, n. 23. Note, nevertheless, that Kusunda represents a stratum earlier than the Tib.-Burm. languages of the area. Note also that there seems to be a non-Tib.-Burm. substratum in Tharu. Finally, one would like to know a little more about the nomadic Raute who speak a Tib.Burm. language (See: D. B. Bista, *Kailash* 4, 1976, p. 317-327; J. Reinhard, *Kailash* 2, (1974), 233- 271); see also Tim. Toba, *A brief introduction to Kusunda*, Kathmandu (Summer Institute of Linguistics) 1971.

22 See F.B.J. Kuiper, *Nahali, A comparative Study*, Amsterdam 1962.

The various cluster areas described above are now taken up in detail as to present some name material and for some additional remarks on factors that disturb the pattern.

### 3. Western Nepal:

3.1. As has been mentioned the western Nepalese rivers bear names with the local supplement *-gāḍ*. The names often are taken from the most typical characteristic of the stream in question: *Tila Gāḍ* "sesame river" is the water course for the irrigation of the fields of the Jumla area; or they indicate their origin: *Giri Gāḍ* "mountain river". The Skt. forms *tila* and *giri* are a feature that indicates the strong Sanskritizing (Hindu and Buddhist) influence under the W. Nepalese Malla (Siṃja) kingdom of the Middle Ages. Other rivers are called in accordance with their color: *Lohare Gāḍ* "the copper brown river" < Skt. *lohara* "copper", cf. Nep. *lohār* < Skt. *lohakāra* "blacksmith". Other typical names are, e.g. Nilgarh Gāḍ, Iswari Gāḍ, Runighat Gāḍ, Surnaya Gāḍ, Loli Gāḍ, Lamuni Gāḍ, Ghatte Gāḍ near Baitadi. -- The word *gāḍ* itself is of uncertain origin. Turner, CDIAL, does not offer a solution, see CDIAL 3981, 3967, 3968, 3979.<sup>23</sup>

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23 : CDIAL no. 3981 \**gaḍḍa* "hole, pit", W. Pahārī *gaḍḍ*, *gaḍḍrī*, *gaḍḍōr* "river", Nep. *gaḍ-tir* "bank of a river", Assam. *gārā* "deep hole", Hindī *gāra* "hole, pit", Singh. *gaḍaya* "ditch", etc.; but cf. also CDIAL 3967 \**gaḍa* "ditch", lex., Pkt. *gaḍa* "hole, Pashai *gaḍu* "dike", Khowar *gōl* "hole, small ravine", Beng. *gaḍ* "ditch" etc. 3968 *gaḍa* "cultivated field", \**gāḍa*: Kum. *gaḍo* "field", N. *garo* "terraced field" ("something dug"); 3979 \**gaḍḍ* "dig, bury" : "cf. *kārta*". -- Vedic *gārta* appears next to *kārta* "hole, pit"; note that Turner derives Guj. *garad*, *garado* "pit, ditch" < \**graḍḍa* < \**garda*? cf. 4050 *gārta*, 4052 *gārda*; 2851 *kārta* "hole", which Turner/Burrow think to be of Dravidian origin. All these variants point, however, into the direction of an old loan even in Vedic, -- see below on Tib.-Burm. names in Vedic, and cf. note 69; --- cf. also Turner's note on 2851 *kartā*!

We can also compare local river names such as *Gaṇḍakī*, which is already mentioned in the Epic: Mahābhārata 2.1062 calls the Videha people in N. Bihar *Gaṇḍakāṃ*. --- The word is also found in the first inscription of Nepal by Mānadeva (464 A.D.) and in Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī 4.546 as *Kāla-Gaṇḍikā*, obviously the modern *Kālī Gaṇḍakī* in Central Nepal. The word *Gaṇḍakī*, Nep. *Gaṇḍī*, *Gaṇḍakī* which itself could be connected with the Muṇḍa word for water: *gad*, *gand* etc., Mundari *gāḍā* 'river', cf. Pinnow, BzN 5, p.4.'

Note also the similar situation for *kholā*: CDIAL 3943 \**khōla* "cavity, hollow", Paś. *khōl* "ravine", Panj. *khol* "cavity, hollow", W. Pah. *khōī* "stream", Nep. *kholo* "small river, valley, etc."; Pāli *kholla* "hollow", Lahnda *khola* "hollow", Or. *khola* "cave", etc.; Khowar *khōī* "cave, hollow", etc. ; but cf.: 3849 \**khalla* "trench, creek, canal": Nep. *khālṭo*, *khaldo* "hollow, hole, pit, depression; ravine," *khalḍo* "valley"; cf. also Nep. *khālci*, *khālsi*, *kholso*, *kholsi*, *kholco*, *kholcā* "valley, ravine, small stream", *kholsa-kholsi* "streams, valleys"; Assam. *khāl* "pit", Beng. *khāl* "trench, canal", etc.; 3946 \**kholla* "cavity" and its variants), Nep. *kholnu* "to open".

3.2. In this area the names based on a local form of Tibetan reach far down southwards as a large part of Nepal in this part lies to the north of the main Himalayan range. The areas of Humal, Mugu etc. have a Tibetan hydronymy, with names such as *Ngyar-Gād*<sup>24</sup>, the *Phalung-Chu* etc.

What is remarkable, however, is that some of the names of these Northern areas seem to indicate a substratum that is neither Tibetan nor Indo-Aryan.

3.3. *Mu-gu*, *Lan-gu*, *Madu-wa*, *Ka-wa* Lungpa instead remind of more eastern types of names such as found in Rai hydronymy, with suffixed determinatives in *-gu*, *-wa* (see 2.6., 8.1-3.).

3.4. Even names such as *Phulung*, *Garpung*, *Barbung* (Tib. spelling *bar.roñ*)<sup>25</sup> rather fall into a more general Tibeto-Burmese pattern than into a Tibetan; cf. also such names as that of the *Arung* (--> *Raptī*)<sup>26</sup>, *Ghustung* (--> *Pelma* --> *Sano Bheri*), *Mailung* (--> *Trisuli*). Cf. also, in the Jomosom area, *Panga*, *Panda*, *Pang*-(kyu), *Yomkim*, *Tangdung* *Kholā*, all flowing into the *Kāli Gaṇḍaki*, and cf. below, for similar names).<sup>27</sup> However, regardless of what the (sometimes rather accidental, secondary) Tibetan orthography for these names may be in each case, some of them may indeed be interpreted as being of Tibetan origin: *Mugu* is written as Tib. *Mu.gum*, *Phulung* could be < Tib. *phu.kluñ* "upper valley", *Garpung* < Tib. *sgar.spuñs* "camp pile/hill"?<sup>28</sup>

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24 Cf. also the Gurung name *Nga-ḍi*, below, 5.3. - Note the secondary overlay by Nepālī "suffix", albeit a W. Nepālī one and not the usual Nepālī *kholā*. This underlines the strong local nature of the "suffixation" process of adding explanatory determinatives.

25 Note also the name of the valley of the upper *Barbung* river, *Tsharbung*.

26 In the sequel I use the arrow --> to indicate the river into which the one on question flows.

27 Cf. *Mailung* in the Tamang area, another name which looks "generally Tib.-Burm." (Cf. below, names such as *Seng*, *Lukum* 4.2., *Mailung* 6., *Lumding*, *Loding*, *Sarrang* (note another *Serang* on the Upper *Burhi Gaṇḍaki*, in the Kutang area, see M. Aris, Contributions to Nepalese Studies 2, p. 56 sqq., cf. above, note 12), *Maulung* 7.

28 Cf. however, Snellgrove's complaint that such names are "intractable, for no Tibetan speaker here is sufficiently educated to give the spelling correctly." (Himalayan Pilgrimage, London 1961, repr. 1981, p. 36, 279 sq.); cf. Four Lamas of Dolpo, I, Oxford 1967, p. 72; C.

3.5. However, a linguistic substratum is perhaps more probable. C. Jest<sup>29</sup> has noticed, on the basis of his anthropological data, that the population of the Dolpo (Tib. *rdol.po*) and Tarap (*rta.rab*) area shows traces of an earlier substratum. Apparently, the area was one of retention, a conservative niche, cut off by the pre-dominant Magar population of this region further south and from other Tib.-Burm. speakers further east.<sup>30</sup> The river names in *-gu* and *-wa* are reminiscent of those in the Rai area. Indeed, some Rai groups have a tradition that they originally have come from Mugu!<sup>31</sup>

3.6. In addition, a few names even in the heartland of the speakers of W. Nepālī (the *-gāḍ* area) indicate a Magar settlement that must have extended much more towards the west before the immigration of the Nepālī speaking Khaśa/Khas in the Middle Ages.<sup>32</sup> Examples are the Maubhe-*ri* river near Baita-*di*, the Jama-*ri* Gāḍ (--> Lali Gāḍ --> Purchaun-*ḍi* Gāḍ --> Chauyani --> Mahākālī).

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Ramble, The Muktinath Yartung: A Tibetan harvest festival in its social and historic context, in: L'Ethnographie vol. LXXXIII, p. 222

29 C. Jest, Dolpo. Communautés de langue tibétaine du Népal, CNRS, Paris 1974; Jest-Dobremez, Manaslu. Hommes et milieux du Népal central 1976.- For the local form of Tibetan names in N. Nepal, see C. Ramble, The Muktinath Yartung, L'Ethnographie 83, p. 222, n.4. -- Note that there is another Tangdung in Assam, now Arunaprachal Pradesh, in the Tawang District, just east of Bhutan); note also that the valley of Dolpo is called Nangkhong/Nangung (*nañ khorī*), cf. *-khu*?

30 Or, as Snellgrove puts it, Four Lamas of Dolpo, I, p. 8 "completely off the beaten track".

31 This sounds more plausible than the usually offered explanation that the Rais have come through the Barakhshetra gorge of the Kosi, from the south, and then split up, penetrating into the various river valleys of the Kirānt (Khambuvan), see Charles McDougal, The Kulunge Rai, Kathmandu 1979, p. 3; cf. also p. 17 sq. on the aboriginal population of the Kulunge area (Hongu valley), the *Rungsiupa*.

32 Cf. Kalhaṇa's accounts of the Khaśa, settling around the rims and approaches of the Valley of Kashmir in the south and west, and see already Manu 10.44. -- Cf. also H. Gurung, Vignettes, p. 30: "The suffix *bang* which means 'level land' in Magar language could be an indication of the past extension of Magar domain as far west as Phalabang" (on the Sarda river, north of the Babai).

Note also that the Magars were apparently known already to the Mahābhārata as *Maga* 6.12.33-34 = *Maṅga* 6.436-7 (Bombay), to the Purāṇas under the name *Maṅgara*,<sup>33</sup> and in a Nepalese copper plate inscription of 1100/1 A.D. as *Maṅvara*.<sup>34</sup>

3.7. The River *Ba-bai*, to the south of the Bheri, may have a Magar name as well: *bəy*, *bəyh* is a Kham Magar word for 'river'.

#### 4. The Magrāt.

4.1. This huge area, mainly settled by the Magar tribe, extends from the Bheri in the west to the Buṛhi Gaṇḍaki in the east and is fairly uniform in its nomenclature: river names invariantly end in *-ri* or *-di*. The names in *-ri* are found in the western part, that is in Kham Magar territory, and those in *-di* in the eastern part.

For curiosity sake, a local name supplied by the Kashmiri historian Kalhaṇa, who wrote in 1149/50 A.D., may be mentioned here. In his *Rājataranṅiṇī*, at 4.531-586, he describes in great detail the expedition of the Kashmiri king Jayapīḍa (c. 752-773 A.D.) to the east. The king of Nepal with whom Jayapīḍa fought was called *Aramuḍi*. No such king is known from W. Malla sources or from the chronicles of the Kathmandu Valley, such as the *Gopalarājavamaśāvalī*.<sup>35</sup> As it happens so often, the author (or already his sources) may have misunderstood a local name.<sup>36</sup> Now it is well known that

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33 Cf. *Kūrma-P.* 49.36; *Viṣṇu-P.* 2.4.69; - For *Maṅgara*, see *Varṇāratnākara* by Jyotirīśvara of Mithilā, in Radhakrishna Choudhary, *Mithila in the Age of Vidyāpati*, Varanasi 1976, p. 138; see also Pant and Sharma, p. 22 note 80.

34 See Mahes Raj Pant and Aishvarya Dhar Sharma, *The two earliest copper plate inscriptions from Nepal*, Kathmandu July 1977 (Nepal Research Centre, *Miscellaneous Papers*, No. 12), p. 7 sq., 21 sq.; - Note that *Maṅvara* is close to *Manga2*, which Grierson gives for Darjeeling, *Survey III*, 1 p. 206

35 *Gopalarājavamaśāvalī*, ed. by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Kamal P. Malla, Kathmandu/Wiesbaden 1985

36 cf. *Rāj.* 3.10 where he confused a teacher's designation, *stonpā*, with the name given to a Stūpa *Lo-stonpā* (= of Leh)

many peoples, also in South Asia, name their kings after the name of the tribe or people they govern. A conspicuous example from early India is that supplied by Pāṇini's grammar, 4.1.175, (5th cent. B.C.) which teaches that the *Kamboja* (in E. Afghanistan) call their king by the same name. Alexander fought, in the eastern Panjab with king *Poros*. This, obviously, is a Greek transcription of the ṛgvedic tribal name *Pūru*. The word underlying the name of king *Abisārēs* (Arrianus, *Anabasis* 4.27.7 etc.), he meets in the same area re-appears in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī under its proper Sanskrit form (Darva)-*abhisāra*, Greek (gen. pl.) *Abissaréōn*, (Arrianus, *Indikā* 4.12). Closer to Nepal, we find, in the Pāli Canon,<sup>37</sup> a king named *Mahākosala*, "the great Kosala", called after his country, *Kosala*.

After king Jayapīḍa had fought another enemy, called Bhīmasena, "in the eastern region", a battle between the Kashmiri king and the "Nepalese king" *Aramuḍi* took place on the *Kāla-Gaṇḍikā*, the modern *Kāli Gaṇḍaki*. The Kashmiri king was defeated and kept a prisoner in a fortress built high above the bank of the *Kālagaṇḍikā*.<sup>38</sup> The place where the Kashmiri king was kept temporarily<sup>39</sup> is called by Kalhaṇa *aśma-veśman* "stone house". In modern Nepal, there is a *Gulmi* district, situated on the west bank of the *Kāli Gaṇḍaki*; *Gaṇḍigulma* is already known from two documents of 998 and 1165 A.D.<sup>40</sup> and *Gaṇḍigulma-viṣaya*, a district, is mentioned in a Buddhist ms. of 1092/3 A.D.<sup>41</sup> Now, *gulma* means "police station, toll station", and M. R. Pant<sup>42</sup> conjectures that king Aramuḍi's "stone house" is intended here.

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37 See G.P. Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London 1937, repr. 1974; Cf. also (Pāli) *Mahājanaka*, the king of the neighboring country of Videha, called *Janaka* in the Vedic texts.

38 *sa Kālagaṇḍikā-tīrāśrayāty uccāśmaveśmani ninikṣepa Jayāpīḍam āptānāṃ rakṣināṃ kare* 4.546.

39 After having been liberated from this prison, Jayapīḍa marches on to the mythical Strīrajya somewhere in the North of the Himalayas, in Tibet.

40 See L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal (C. 750-1480)*, Rome 1958, no.33, 12, cf. Pant and Sharma, p. 19.

41 See Petech, op. cit, no. 4.

42 Op.cit. p. 20.

We are therefore led to think that *Aramu-ḍi* (or *Ara-moḍi*?<sup>43</sup>) might represent a Magar name for the area this "King of Nepal" had under his reign. If this indeed was the case, a Magar word, probably the name of a river and a region, would be attested already in the 8th century A.D.

4.2. In the Magrāṭ area there are, however, a few exceptions in its otherwise constant hydronymy, such as *Seng* (--> Dogra-ri --> Uttār Gangā --> Sano Bheri), *Pelma*, *Ghustung*, *Lukum* --> Uttār Gangā, *Bhurung* (--> Modi Kholā --> Kāli Gaṇḍaki), *Harpan* (--> Phewa Lake), *Bagar* (--> Thulo Kholā --> Kāli Gaṇḍaki), *Midim* (--> Madi Kholā --> Seti). They seem to agree with the phonetic pattern of the non-Tibetan names found in the Northern areas (see above 3.4.); - cf. also *Sarda* (< Skt. *Śāradā*?), *Sansar Kholā* (--> Kāli Gaṇḍaki < Skt. *Samṣāra*?).

4.3. Exceptionally, the *Ba-ri-gāḍ* (--> Gaṇḍaki near Ri-ri) still has the designation *gāḍ* instead of the more common *kholā* in an area which lies much to the east of the western Nepālī cluster using *-gāḍ*.<sup>44</sup>

## 5. The Eastern Magar land.

5.1. This area is very homogeneous as well and generally has river names ending in *-di* only, for which there are numerous examples.

5.2. An exception are two areas which contribute words for 'river' otherwise known from Eastern Himalayan languages, namely *-ti*. The word, however, is one of the oldest, commonly attested Tib.-Burm. words for 'water', *\*ti(y)*.<sup>45</sup> Examples are:

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43 Cf. 5.3., for the *Mud-khyun*, and *Modi* rivers.

44 Cf. also *Gur Gāḍ* in upper Dhorpatan; cf. Harka Gurung, *Vignettes of Nepal*, p. 26: "The suddix 'Gad' for streams prevalent here extends as far west as Himachal Pradesh and in East up to Riri where the Bari Gad joins the Kali Gandaki".

45 See Benedict, *Conspectus*, p. 55.

- a. Migris-*ti* } both Eastern tributaries of the Northern  
 Ghale-*ti* } Kāli Gaṇḍaki, just south of the Thak area
- b. Ris-*ti* } both eastern tributaries of the Modi Kholā  
 Kales-*ti* } --> Seti  
 Surau-*ti* } --> Seti
- c. Nis-*ti* } a tributary of the Bari Gāḍ --> Kāli Gaṇḍaki
- d. Las-*ti* } a tributary of the Kali Gaṇḍaki, near Baglung

The only other area with river names ending in *-ti* is that of the Sunwars on the Tāmba Kosi (see below, 10.2.). To think of a Sandhi variant form of Magar *di* in these names, due to the preceding voiceless *-s-*, is not likely, as *-ti* also appears in the counter-example Ghale-*ti* where *-ti* occurs after a vowel. The origin of these names remains open for the time being. Prima facie, they look like a old local names, containing the old Tib.-Burm. word for 'water', \**ti(y)*, (cf. below 10.2).

5.3. There are just a few Gurung names that actually can be found on the maps of this area. The Gurung who now occupy the ranges of north of Pokhara seem to have left the earlier Magar names intact: even small rivers high up on the course of the Marsyandi such as *Nga-di* still have Magar designations.<sup>46</sup> One may attempt to explain this in two ways: either the Gurungs living high up on the slopes as shepherds until the last century, were not interested in coining new names for the valley streams and simply took over the local (Magar) names, even without adding their own determinative supplement *kyu/khwon*;<sup>47</sup> or they could indeed not form new names as they had only a relatively limited contact with the population of the lower courses of these rivers, and thus had even less influence on the name giving and certainly could not influence the nomenclature of the maps. Another possibility is, of course, that the persons who collected the names for the maps

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46 Or is *nga* a Gurung word (*ṅa*) with the common Magar suffixed determinative *di*?. The word *ṅa* is found in the Gurung-Nepali / Nepali-Gurung glossary (by D.B.Gurung, J.R.Glover, W.W.Glover, Kathmandu 1976) only with the meaning "I", not "fish", etc.

47 Gurung *kyu* "water" in *kyu jhās* "boat, ship", *kyu jhom̐b* "pour water", *kyu gyu* "liquid", etc. ; cf. *khruḅ* "to wash".

heard them only from local Magar people, and not from the Gurungs who lived at higher altitudes.<sup>48</sup> (Cf. below, 6. for A. Höfer's notes on the similar situation in the Tamang speaking area of the Ānkhu Kholā.)

Gurung designations in the area are:

- *Mud-kyun* Kholā (--> Madi --> Setī)<sup>49</sup>

- *Khyung-ri* Kholā (--> Modi --> Kāli Gaṇḍaki), which is of special interest. In this case, the W. M!gar supplement *-ri* seems to have been added to a Gurung word for 'river', *kyu/khwon*, thus extending the usual system of renaming of rivers in Nepālī to the Magar area as well. The obvious conclusion is that the Nepālī speakers took over a Magar designation which already was based on a local Gurung name, in case is a very simple one: The local people simply called their stream "river".

To be differentiated from these Gurung names are the river names ending in *-kyu* in the Jomosom area, all of which flow into the Kāli Gaṇḍaki. They have the Thakāli determinative *-kyu* "water":

*Dhin-kyu* (S. of Thangbe)

*Kyu* (E. of Jomosom)

*Pang-kyu* (Marpha)

S. Gauchan and M. Vindig<sup>50</sup> have collected the following names in the Tukuche dialect of Thakāli, with some local variants (of the northern villages of Thin, Shyāngtan and Cimtan), and with the standard Nepālī equivalents.

Thakāli:	Nepālī:	Local form (north):
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48 Cf. F.-J. Dobremez, *Carte écologique du Népal, Annapurna- Dhaulagiri*, Paris CNRS 1974.

49 Note: Gurung *mud* for Magar *mo-dī*?

50 S. Gauchan and M. Vindig, *The history of the Takhaali according to Thakaali tradition*, Kailash 5, 1977, p. 97-184; see esp. p.106-107 for river names and pp. 173-176 for the toponymy of the region, also in Nepālī and Tibetan; in the sample given I replace *aa* by *ā*, etc.

Omdo-kyu	Kāli Gaṇḍaki	
Thināng-kyu	Thini Kholā	Khā-kyu
Shyāng-kyu	Shyāng Kholā	Sāl-kyu
Dhumphā-kyu	Dhumphā Kholā	
Pāng-kyu	Mārphā Kholā	
Ghāng-kyu	-	
Dhon-kyu	-	
Hum-kyu	Cim Kholā	
Cimāng-kyu	Cokopāni	
Mhārshyāng-kyu	Thāpā Kholā, Thāro Kholā	
Nimung-kyu	-	
Mhansin-kyu	-	
Tama-kyu	-	
Cindhong-kyu	-	
Lhāng-kyu	Lārjung Kholā	
Dhyushutā-kyu	Ghatte Kholā	
Khal-kyu	-	
Mlāng-kyu	Kālopāni	
Pāngbu-kyu	Chayo Kholā	
Cā-kyu Dhong	Lete Kholā	
Ghaiku-kyu	-	
Hop-kyu	-	
Chārā-kyu	-	

To add a small note on another river name of the Magrāt: *Seti* is, of course, a Nepālī word meaning "white", and thus is a natural name for quickly flowing rivers. It is, indeed, one of the most common designations for rivers anywhere in the world, taken from the appearance of mountain rivers and streams, as opposed to slow moving ones (which often are called black, blue etc.)

Yet, since the *Seti* river flows through the heartland of the Eastern Magar area, and it may very well be the case that an original Magar word \**Se-di*, has been Indo-Aryanized to *seti*.<sup>51</sup> It is notable that the other Gaṇḍaki tributary has an antonym name: it is the *Kāli* Gaṇḍaki or *Kṛṣṇā* Gaṇḍakī, "the black Gaṇḍakī".

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51 Note also the *Seti Beni* Kholā --> Kāli Gaṇḍaki, S. of Baglung, near Bhattichaur.

5.4. The name of this river must have been Sanskritized very early as it occurs already in the Changu Narayan inscription of Mānadeva of A.D. 464, as *Gaṇḍakī*, though it is not clear to which one of the Gaṇḍakīs he refers to. The word is also found in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 4.546 (1149 A.D.) as *Kāla-Gaṇḍikā*, obviously the modern *Kāli Gaṇḍakī* in Central Nepal. As has been pointed out above, *Gaṇḍigulma* is already known from two documents of 998 and 1165 A.D. and *Gaṇḍigulma-viṣaya*, a district, is mentioned in a Buddhist ms. of 1092/3 A.D.; this area probably is the *Gulmi district*, near the confluence of the Bar Gaḍ, *Kāli Gaṇḍakī* near Riri. The shorter form is also preserved in Skt. literature: *Gaṇḍī* Mbh. 2.794, 3.8091, 6.325, 13.7647, *Harivaṃśa* 7736; *Hit.* 14.16, VP. 182.

The longer form *Gaṇḍakī*<sup>52</sup> is preserved in a number of shapes in Skt. texts: *Kāla-Gaṇḍikā*, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 4.546; *Gaṇḍakavatī* = *Gaṇḍakī*, LIA 1.59 N; cf. also *Gaṇḍasāhvayā*, name of a river, Mbh. 3.14320; *Gaḍḍārikā*, name of a quickly flowing river; *Apara-Gaṇḍikāḥ* Mbh. 6.320 and *Pūrvapūrvānu-Gaṇḍikā*, names of localities, Mbh. 6.282.

The interesting point is that the *Gaṇḍakī* river, viz. the *Gaṇḍak* in the Northern Indian plains, is called *Sadānīrā* "always having water" in a Vedic text (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, ŚB). This obviously is an epithet<sup>53</sup> hiding the original name, probably a Muṇḍa word \**Gaṇḍ* or \**Gaṇḍak*'. From ŚB it appears<sup>54</sup> that *Sadānīrā* was the name of the river forming the boundary between the Kuru-Pañcāla and the Kosala-Videha, i.e. Uttar Pradesh and Oudh, viz. between the Kosala and the Videha, i.e. further east, between Oudh and N. Bihar. While the western boundary of this region (Oudh/N.Bihar) thus may have a Muṇḍa name, its eastern boundary, the Kosi river, probably has a Tibeto-Burmese one (see below). The country between these two rivers is called *Kosala* in the same Vedic

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52 It is obviously not based on a word with the Skt. suffix *-kī*, but on a Muṇḍa word form \**gandak*', see below.

53 Interestingly using the Dravidian loan word *nīra*- "water"

54 See author, On the localisation of Vedic texts and schools (Materials on Vedic Śākhās, 7). India and the Ancient world. History, Trade and Culture before A.D. 650. P.H.L. Eggermont Jubilee Volume, ed. by G. Pollet, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 25, Leuven 1987, pp. 173-213

text (ŚB) and *Gaṇḍakāḥ* ("the Gaṇḍaka people") in the Epic. If all of this is correct, we get an inkling of the variety of the early populations in the eastern parts of North India in the Vedic and Epic periods, that is well before the begin of our era, and earlier than the (rather maximizing) lists extracted by Shafer (Ethnogr. of Ancient India) from the Mahābhārata.

The names Nep. *Gaṇḍi*, *Gaṇḍaki* or Skt. *Gaṇḍakī* (Tamang *GRṇḍi*), appear to have a Muṇḍa etymology: the Muṇḍa word for water is *gad*, *gand*; and *\*gaṇḍak*' is one of the Muṇḍa words for 'river'; cf. Ho *gaḍa* "river", Santalī *gāḍa*, see Pinnow, BzN 5.3 sq.<sup>55</sup> One can also compare the name of the Ganges, Skt. *Gaṅgā* found already in the oldest Indian text, the ṛgveda, in a late hymn (10. 75) which may have been composed towards the end of the second millenium B.C.<sup>56</sup> - Compare, finally, Chin. Yangtse-Kiang, Thai etc.: Me-khong, < *\*ghaṅg*(?).

5.5. The question which is of interest here is the following: how far into the Nepalese hills did the settlements of a Muṇḍa speaking people reach? It may be recalled that Muṇḍa influence has been alleged in some of the Nepalese Tib.-Burm. languages, (see above, note 21). On the other hand, the Kusunda living in this area bear witness to an even earlier substratum of languages.<sup>57</sup>

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55 cf. M. Mayrhofer, Etymol. Dict. (KEWA I, 317, cf. III, 692 for *Gāṅgā*; Turner, CDIAL 17a, 211a for *Gaṅgā*). -- Cf. also *Gandhāra*, which may be due to a popular etymology, Skt. *gandha*- "smell"? The original word may very well have been closer to Skt. *gadha* "ford", -- or, of course, to some quite different, aboriginal word; note again the similarity of some Skt. and Muṇḍa or Tib.-Burm. words (see above, 2.1., 3.1. on *gāḍ* and note 23 on *kholā*); cf. also Dhātupada 19.15 *gādati* "to flow", *gaḍa* "ditch", Śabdar. in Śabdakalpadruma, "name of an area", Rājan. sub radice *gaḍalavaṇa*, Śabdakalpadruma. These may reflect an early loan into Sanskrit of a Muṇḍa word *ga(ṅ)d* "to flow/river".

56 Mayrhofer, KEWA I 313 and Turner, CDIAL, p. 17a, 211a. -- Cf. also Eastern Nep. river name *Kankai* in the Terai, which looks like the Tamil form of the name *Gāṅgā* (there are, however, no Dravidians in the area and there are no traces of an earlier Drav. occupation. The Kurukh living there now have been imported as laborers from Central India, where they are known as Oraon, see K.H. Gordon, Phonology of Dhangar-Kurux, Kathmandu 1976. For a different view of early Dravidian settlements in N. India, see R. Shafer, ethnography of India, Wiesbaden 1974 and cf. below, n.76

57 Cf. F.B.J. Kuiper, Nahali, p. 10, with lit.; see already B. H. Hodgson, Comparative vocabulary of the languages of the broken tribes of Nepal, in: Miscellaneous Essays related to

5.6. It is also be noted that one of the tributaries of the Marsyandi is the *Musi* which may be analyzed as *Mu-si*, and cf. *Dhāng-si* (--> *Māri*), is comparable to the eastern river names *Ro-si* and *Ko-si*, *Junbe-si*, east of the Kathmandu Valley (see below, 10.4.).

A few other names in this area deviate from the usual Magar pattern: *Char Kholā* --> *Kāli Gaṇḍaki*; *Rohu Kholā* --> *Kāli Gaṇḍaki*; *Chepe* --> Marsyandi (cf. the name of the Chepang tribe?); *Andhi* --> *Kāli Gaṇḍaki*, which may be a Nepālized form of an older name *\*an-di*; *Kyumnu Kholā* --> *Modi* --> *Kāli Gaṇḍaki*, for which one may compare Chepang *kyu* and Gurung *kyu* 'river'. Note also: *Khu-di*, a village near Pokhara, and *Khu-di* (--> upper Marsyandi), and *Tilak-khu-di* north of Barekot in Jajarkot, with *khu-* which otherwise is found only further eastwards, in the Kathmandu Valley and its surroundings, and in the Sunwar/Rai areas.

## 6. Kathmandu Valley and surroundings; the Tamang area.

The central area of the Nepalese midlands, around Kathmandu, is left out here, for the moment, and will be taken up last in this paper.

It may be mentioned, however, that there is a surprising absence, on the maps, of Tamang (formerly called Murmi) names in the area. They settle north of the Valley and in the areas east and west of it. The Tamangs have been moving south during the last hundred years or so and now settle even on the southern rims of the valley. It has been surmised above that their and the Gurungs' relative late immigration into Nepal is the reason of this lack of Tamang names.

However, I can add some more detailed observations by G. Toffin<sup>58</sup> and those with which A. Höfer has kindly provided me. Toffin describes the upper Ānkhu Khola area as settled by Tamang, with some more recent Gurung settlements, at Khāding, Lapchet, Tira, Chālis. There also are some recent Kami and Newar settlements. A. Höfer's field notes<sup>59</sup> refer to the Western Tamang settling between the Trisuli and the Ānkhu Kholā. Their immigration, he assumes, has probably taken place in mid-18th century.

According to Höfer's observations, the larger rivers in the area indeed do not have Tamang names while the smaller streams do have Tamang designations which, however, are not reflected on the maps due to their insignificance. Höfer thinks that about half of the names of the smaller streams have a clear Tamang etymology, while one quarter is Nepālī and the rest (50% !) is unclear.

The streams and rivers with the supplement *Kholā* in Nepālī have the Tamang supplement *syoñ* "river, streamlet", for example Nep. *Mailung Kholā* = Tamang *Mèluñ Syoñ*.<sup>60</sup> Those which have the Nepālī supplement *Gaṇḍi* receive the

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58 G. Toffin, The peoples of the upper Ānkhu Khola Valley, Contrib. Nep. Stud.3, 1976, p. 34-46; -- Cf. also p.49 (Ph. Arirol, on pastures and ethnic groups in the area: Tamang, Gurung, Ghale).

59 Kindly conveyed to me in his letter of 9-7-1990, and based on notes from the years 1969-1971.

60 I represent the low tone by the grave accent, thus à, è.

Tamang form of this designation, *gèṇḍi*, for example *Bāri Gèṇḍi* = *Buṛhi Gaṇḍaki*. In addition, there are a few non-Tamang names in *-khu* such as *Ān-khu*,<sup>61</sup> *Salān-khu*,<sup>62</sup> *Phalān-khu Kholā*, -- notably the larger rivers in the area.

It should also be noted, that the area of the upper *Ānkhū Kholā* abounds in names of the "general Tib.-Burmese" type mentioned above, 3.4., n. 23, 27, and below, 4.2, 6. For example, there are place names such as *Khading*, *Hindung*, *Tipling*, *Sertung*, *Kim dang*, and immediately east of it, along the western tributaries to the Trisuli such as the Mailung, we find *Gadlang*, *Gholjong*, *Combāgāng*. These areas are now inhabited by Tamang, partly also by Gurung and Ghale.<sup>63</sup>

## 7. The Thāmi, Sunwar and Rai region

In contrast to the more western areas of Nepal, this region is very much fragmented in its hydronomy. This is typical for the division of the Rais into many subtribes which are reflected by as many dialects.

In the west of this area, some names in *-ku* are found:  
*Po-ku*, *Lar-ku*, *Bu-ku*, *Dhikure*<sup>64</sup> --> *Maulung*.

The western tributaries of the Dudh Kosi exhibit a different pattern, one of the few clusters in Nepal of river names without any addition of a word signifying 'water' or 'river'. Such names are:

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61 Should we compare, with Malla 1980, p. 60, the New. children word *ākhu* "water" and New. *ānkhudhā* "water pot with a spout"?

62 Malla, op. cit., wants to understand this as New. "*Salamkhu* < *swa-lam-khu* "three-pronged-river", cf. Hodgson 1874, 63-64." (B.H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal, and Tibet*. London: Trübner, 1874).

63 See G. Toffin, *The peoples of the upper Ankhū Khola valley*, and: Philippe Alirol, *Animal husbandry in the Ganesh Himal region: An essay in ecological synthesis*, in: *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. 3 no. 1, p.34-61.

64 From *\*d(h)i-ku* with Nepālī suffix *-re* ?

Lunding

Loding

Tsading (--> Shisha --> Dudh Kosi)

Sarrang

Pokting (--> Maulung)

Yolung (--> Maulung)

Maulung (cf. Mailung in the Tamang area, another name which looks generally Tib.-Burm.; see above, names such as Phulung, Garpung, Barbung, Arung 3.4, Seng, Lukum 4.2., Mailung 6.). -- cf. also Liding (--> Rawa -> Dudh Kosi)

## 8. The Rai proper (*Khambuvan*)

8.1. It is on the Dudh Kosi that a new type of names ending with the typical Rai<sup>65</sup> "suffix" *-wa* begins to make its appearance:

Ra-*wa* (--> Dudh Kosi), Me-*wa* (--> Dudh Kosi)  
Sogo-*wa* (--> Hunku), Khalami-*wa* (--> Hunku)

Nyambua-chu on the upper Dudh Kosi is found already in Tibetan speaking territory and therefore has the Tib. supplement *-chu*. -- The suffixed determinative *-wa* can be reconstructed as Tib.-Burm. \**r-wa* "rain, water" (Consp. 443)

These observations set the pattern for almost all western tributaries of the Arun Kosi: Directly formed with the supplement *-wa* are, in order of occurrence from north to south:

Is-*wā*  
Kasu-*wā*  
Sis(u)-*wā*  
Ka-*wā* (probably only a dialect form of *kuwa*, see below)

8.2. Most rivers in the area have names which combine the appellative part of the name with another well-known word for water, that is *khū* viz. *ku*. On the right and left banks of the Arun Kosi, we get, from North to South, among a few others, the following names:<sup>66</sup>

	Phung Chu
	Karma Chu   Nakthang-Chu
	Wakang (<-- Piling)
	Bagāng (<-- Lhese, Syāmjung)
Tiju	

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65 Note, however, that *wa* also occurs in Limbu, though apparently not as a separate word but in compounds such as *wā-dhārā*, "water-stand", *yambā cūād* "river", *khāwā* "dried up river bed"; *yoñkhōñ*, *wahōñ* "stream", see above, note 17.

66 On the Anglo-Indian maps the spelling is quite divergent and irregular. We have : *kuā*, *k(h)uwā*, etc.

Chong |  
 Barun | Dīma  
 | Wabāk  
 Kāsu-wā | Māghāng  
 Is-wā |  
 Choyang |  
 Le-khu-wa |  
 | Le-khu-wa  
 (Sang-khu-wā-->) Sis-wā |  
 | Indu-wa  
 Ir-k(h)u-wā -> Cir-ku-wā |  
 Chintalung |  
 Ya-ku-wa |  
 Kha-ku-wa | Hinwān (<-- Sabhāya)  
 Yan-gu-wa --> Na-ku-wa | Pīlu(w)ā  
 | Khen-wa  
 | Legu-wa  
 Mādhuā | Māngme (Mangmaya)  
 A(n)-khu-wa --> |  
 Pi-k(h)u-wa --> Kā-wā |  
 | Mungā  
 | Tamur  
 I-khu |  
 La-ku |

The word *khu* is well known from other parts of Nepal. While its etymology remains unclear<sup>67</sup> its distribution seems to have been influenced by the various words for "water, river" in the Rai-Limbu cluster. The eastern Rai, the Chamling Rai, and some Limbu, at least, have among other designation, *-wa*<sup>68</sup> and the western groups of the Rai have *-ku(ñ)* and compounds of *-ku(ñ)*. Typically, the central Rai have the conglomerate form *-kuwa (kuñwa)*, see

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67 Unless it is indeed connected with Tib.-Burm. \**kluñ*. Note that initial aspirated stops in Himalayish are not well represented in Shafer and Benedict. -- Nothing on *khu* in Benedict and Shafer, as far as I see.

68 See above, note 17 on Phedappe \**wa*.

below, 13.(list). The particular spelling *khu(wa)* etc. seems to be due to the recorders of the place names of the Anglo-Indian maps only.<sup>69</sup>

As part of a river name, *-k(h)u* occurs, outside the Rai area, first of all, in a more western territory, the Kathmandu Valley. Occasionally it appears even in the Magar land, as has been mentioned above: we find *Khu-di*, a village near Pokhara, and *Khu-di* (--> upper Marsyandi), see above 5.6. Himalayan *k(h)u* is, indeed, one of the better known words for 'water' (see below, 13.). However, in Rai territory, it occurs separately, without the extension *-wa*, only in a few isolated river names: *Hin-ku*, *I-khu* (--> Sun Kosi, near the Arun), and in the Likhu area: *Poku*, *Larku*, *Buku* etc. (see below 8.3.).

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69 Strangely, *khuwā* also occurs in Nepālī and Kumaoni: Nep. *khuwā*, *khwā* "small division of a country, district, province"; Kum. *khuwā* "direction, valley". This may point to fact mentioned already several times: some of the words for "river/valley" such as *kholā*, *gāḍ* etc., seem to go back to a pre-Indo-Aryan substrate, though they are widely spread in the various New Indo-Aryan languages of India as well.

8.3. The word frequently appears in a form *without* aspiration. Thus, we find, on the Dudh Kosi:

Hin-*ku* Kan-*ku* (--> Dudh Kosi), De-*ku* (--> Dudh Kosi),  
Shi-*ku* (--> Dudh Kosi)

Hon-*ku*

Ghi-*ku* (--> Rawa)

Shi-*ku* (--> Dudh Kosi)

La-*ku* (-> lower Sun Kosi)

Lar-*ku* (-> Likhu)

Po-*ku* (-> Likhu)

Bu-*ku* (-> Likhu)

A singular deviant form, probably due to local Sandhi, is Hon-*gu*. It will be useful to bear this in mind for an explanation of the central Nepalese river names in *-khu*.

## 9. Limbuvan

9.1. The Rai pattern is continued even east of the Arun. A number of river names there have the same supplement *-wa*, or *-wan*: Me-*wā*, Si-*wā*, Mae-*wā*, Ta-*wā*, In-*wā*, Simbu-(*w*)*a*, Sān-*wān*, all in the catchment area of the Tamur; further: Hin-*wan*, Legu-*wa*, Pilu-*wa*, Nibhu Pu-*wa* (north of Kankai/Ilam), Khen-*wa*. It is obvious that the occurrence of these names is largely congruent with the territory of two Rai tribes, the Lohorung and Yakka.

9.2. The rest of the area east of the Arun, however, shows more inventiveness, and can be compared to the region of very much mixed names in the territories west of the Dudh Kosi and in part of the Magrāṭ.

The name of the Arun itself is not without interest. It looks, *prima facie*, typical Indo-Aryan, a derivative from Sanskrit *aruṇa* 'reddish'. One may think of related formations, the names of the Sun Kosi < Skt. *sona* 'gold', Tam(b)a Kosi

< Skt. *tāmra* 'copper colored', Dudh Kosi < Skt. *dugdha* 'milk', i.e. 'white colored'.

However, the matter may be different altogether: One of the smaller northernmost tributaries of the Arun is called *Barun*. This word, too, looks Indo-Aryan, it could be the Nep. form of Skt. *varuṇa* "Varuṇa", the god of the ocean or of certain other aquatic locations, or from *vāruṇa* "belonging to Varuṇa". However, as the river *Barun* is situated so high up in the Himalayas, in fact in Tibetan speaking territory, a Sanskrit name is highly unlikely. The question therefore rises whether *Barun* does not preserve the older form of the same name which, in the lower reaches of the stream has been given the Sanskritized form *Arun*.<sup>70</sup>

10. At this stage, it is more profitable than before to take a closer look at the area between the Kathmandu Valley and the Likhu Kholā.

10.1. First of all, the western parts of the area exhibit some heavily Sanskritized forms.<sup>71</sup>

*Sindhu* = Skt. "river", "Indus"

--> Rosi --> Sun Kosi

*Indrāvati* = Skt. "connected/belonging to/ with Indra"

--> Rosi --> Sun Kosi; older name *Milam-chi/-chu*<sup>72</sup>

*Carnāvati* = Skt. *carāṇa* "moving, behavior, grazing", cf. the Nep. equivalent *Carenge*

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70 Cf. also another *Barūn* (--> *Kyān* --> Marin Kholā in the Sindhuli area) and such names as *Arung* --> Rapti, cf. also note 27

71 For Indian rivers, see E.W. Hopkins, *The sacred Rivers of India*, in Fs. Crawford Howell Toy, New York (Macmillan) 1912, p. 213-229.

72 K.P. Malla, 1980, p. 60: "The so-called *Indrāvati Kosi*, one of the Seven Kośi rivers, was actually called *Milamchi* or *Milamchu* (*milamha* = The third one) until the A.D. 1840s (Hodgson, 1848: 646, Hodgson 1874: part II : 5)." See also Hodgson II, p. 193 : *Milanchi*; actually, the maps still show this river (falling from the Gosainkund), with its old name *Malemchi* (now obviously derived from the name of the settlement, *Malanchi*, cf. Hodgson II p. 193).

--> Bhote Kosi/Tāmba Kosi  
*Mahādeva* = Skt. "great god", "Śiva"  
 --> Tāmba Kosi  
*Mohabir* < Skt. *mahāvīra* "great hero"  
 --> Khimti  
*Sindur-pa* < Skt. *sindūra* "red (paste)"  
 --> Khimti  
*Gopi* < Skt. *gopī* "cow girl"  
 --> Yarsa --> Bhote Kosi

Most of these names occur on the trade route to Dolakhā and Tibet. It should not be forgotten that Dolakhā (Rājagāma) has been a separate Newar kingdom in the middle ages. It is occasionally mentioned in the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*.<sup>73</sup> The very fact that Dolakhā also has a Sanskrit name points to the strong influence of Sanskritic culture even in this comparatively remote area. Sanskrit or Sanskritized names for many of the local rivers should therefore not surprise.

Apart from these names, the area has a few typical supplements in the designations for rivers:

10.2. The suppletion *-ti* is rare in river names, and is otherwise found only in some pockets of the Magar territory (see above 2.5, 5.2). However, *\*ti(y)* is the old and quite generally attested Tib.-Burm. word for water<sup>74</sup> and its occurrence would not surprise. Yet, there are some indications which may connect the sporadic evidence for *-ti* in the Magrāṭ with that in the area east of the Kathmandu Valley. This is the territory of the Thāmi tribe, who live higher up in the Tāmba Kosi valley.<sup>75</sup> Their language resembles most closely, according to Shafer,<sup>76</sup> the Western Himalayish of the Bodic division of Tibeto-Burmese,

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73 *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*, ed. by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Kamal P. Malla, Kathmandu/Wiesbaden 1985.

74 See Benedict, *Conspectus* no. 55 p. 26; cf. *\*twiy* no. 168, p. 45.

75 D. B. Bista, *Peoples of Nepal*, Kathmandu 1972, p. 52.

76 Shafer, Introduction p. 3 n.1; however, the recent investigations into Sino-Tibetan by S.A. Starostin (see *Rekonstruktsiia drevnekitaiijkoī fonologicheskoi sistemy*, Moscow 1989, and cf. also *Vneshnie svazi iaponskogo iazyka*, Moscow 1990), seem to re-align the Himalayan languages in a different way: He supposes quite a large number of sub-families, and a

(notably the early immigrant Kanauri<sup>77</sup>, etc.). It is thus completely isolated among Central Himalayish (Vayu, Chepang, Magari) and Eastern Himalayish (Rai, Limbu etc.). Indeed, the Thāmi seem to remember a more western origin. They claim to have immigrated from Humla.<sup>78</sup> This is one indication among others (see below, 12.), that there was a west-east flow of population and languages, similar to the much later one of the Nepālī speaking Khas tribe. - Names in *-ti* include:

Khim-*ti* --> Tāmba Kosi

Pala-*ti* --> Khimti

Le-*ti* --> Likhu

Mil-*ti* --> Bhote Kosi = Tāmba Kosi

Dol-*ti* --> Bhote Kosi = Tāmba Kosi, near Dolakha.

This river name seems to be the basis for the name of the town: Do-*lakha* < New. *la*, (*lakha-*) "water", Old New. *lankha*, seems to be a Newārī translation, the "Do(*l*)-river".

10.3. Secondly, in the same area, the supplement *-ri* is found here and there:

Jyan-*ri* --> Rosi

Han-*ri* --> Indrāwati

Chaun-*ri* --> Sun Kosi

Yā-*ri* --> Sorung --> Sun Kosi

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homeland in the foothills of Himalayas for this language family. According to Starostin, the subgroupings are: Tibeto-Burmese (and Karenic), E.Himalayan, Abor, Newari, Kanauri, Gurung, Bodo-Garo, Lepcha, Kachin, Chinese. Starostin's new book apparently contains a new reconstruction of East Himalayan as well; see Vitaly Shevoroshkin, *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures*, Bochum:Brockmeyer 1989, cf. especially V. Shevoroshkin, *Explorations in Language Macro-Families*, Bochum 1989, p. 42-66.

77 For Kanauri, note the presence of early Indo-Aryan loans, which indicate their presence in the area since early times. Are they (including the Zhang-zhung) the original "Kirāta" of the Vedas??

78 See Greta Rana et al., *Dolakh!*, Trecking & sightseeing off the beaten track, Integrated Hill Project, SATA, Kathmandu 1984, p. 13.

*Ji-ri* near the town of Jiri: a toponym obviously taken from the river name.<sup>79</sup>

*Sik-ri* --> Khimti near Jiri

*Sie-ri* --> Tāmba Kosi = Bhote Kosi

*Su-ri* --> Tāmba Kosi

As this originally is not a Magar area which has typical river names in *-ri* (see above, 2.2, 4.), nor do we know of an Eastern Magar settlement here, the river names must be based on local forms in *-ri*, perhaps those of the Thāmi tribe.<sup>80</sup>

Further, on the Sun Kosi, there are some names in *-di*: Note that there is *Wa-di*,<sup>81</sup> near to Lyang, on the Sun Kosi, south of its confluence with the Khimti. This probably is the westernmost occurrence of the Rai word *wa* "water", and interestingly, it is compounded with a form of the Tib.-Burm. word for "water" which looks like the common Magar form, *di* (see above). A little further down the Sun Kosi, after its confluence with the Likhu Kholā, near the village of Cūplū, there is another name ending in *-di*, the *Phe-di Kholā*<sup>82</sup> which flows into the Molang.

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79 Greta Rana et al., p. 28 claim a different origin: "The name of Jiri is actually derived from the sound of wolves in the forests surrounding the village." "Ri" meaning forest and "Ji" meaning jungle noise in the language of the Jirels. The name of the Jirels must have been fashioned after the name of Jiri itself since the ancient Sunwar name was *Lincan*." This looks like a folk etymology, especially when taking into account the river name *Ji-ri*.

80 Unfortunately Thāmi materials are not at my disposal. -- Note that some Thāmi claim to have immigrated from Humla, see Greta Rana, et al., p. 13. This fits with the linguistic classification by Shafer who includes Thāmi among the Western Himalayish languages.

81 See Hodgson, Essays, II p. 194.

82 *Phe-di* can, of course, simply be Nepālī *phedi* "bottom of the hill".

10.4. Most interestingly, there are a few names with the otherwise unattested supplement *-si*:

Ro-*si* flowing down from the eastern slopes of the Kathmandu Valley<sup>83</sup>

Ko-*si* as the name of the several Kosi rivers

Junbe-*si* in the eastern part of the area; note that the river is called Be-ni.

The only form which are comparable is Mu-*si* Kholā, a eastern tributary on the upper Marsyandi, in the Magar territory (see above, 5.6). However, the variant of Newārī *khu* occurring in many names of streams, that is *khu-si*, can be compared, (cf. also, above note 23 Nepālī *kholi/ci*, etc.)

10.5. Now it cannot be doubted that the supplement *-si* found in *Kosi* is very old indeed. The river *Kosi* appears in Sanskrit literature as early as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata under the form *Kauśikī*, where *-ś-* is due to the pressure of Sanskrit phonetical rules that do not allow an *s* to follow *o*, *u* etc. In the Gopālarājavamśāvalī<sup>84</sup> the river is called *Kośakī*.

However, the older form of the name seems to have been preserved as early as in the middle Vedic text Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (c. 6-7th century B.C.), in the name of *Kosala*, the country to the east of Oudh. In this Vedic text, the authenticity of the form of the name with intervocalic *-s-* cannot be doubted. As is well known, the transmission of Vedic texts has been so extra-ordinarily faithful that words, sounds, and even the tonal accents went unchanged for more than 2000 years. We thus have to regard *Kosala*, with its sequence of *-os-*, as a foreign word in Sanskrit.<sup>85</sup>

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83 The *biāsi* of Dumja, however, is the normal Nep. word for a *Doāb*, the land between two rivers; see Hodgson, Essays, Vol. II p. 192.

84 See above note 35.

85 There are indeed a few word with *-s-* following an *o* or *u*, such as *busa*, *tusa* (RV), *musala* "pestle" (AV), *kusitāyī* (MS) *kusīda* (TS), *kusurubinda* (TS), *kusuma/kusumbha* (Manu), *kīsta* (RV). - Note, again, that several words in Indo-Aryan look suspiciously similar to the corresponding Tib.-Burm. ones, cf. above and note 23 on *kholā* etc. Such words are: *kausitā*

But in later Sanskrit, under the pressure of the *ruki* rule, which would require \**Kauṣikā*, \**Kośala*, etc. the names have assumed different forms: *Kauśikī* (cf. also the later forms with the normal development of *ś* > *s* or retention of the older -*s*-: Prakṛt *Kosiyā*, Pāli *Kosikī*,<sup>86</sup> Hindī *Kosī*), *Kośala* (Pāli *Kosala*<sup>87</sup>).

The Vedic word *Kosala* can be explained as follows. There are a number of names of tribes or countries ending in *-la* (viz. *-ra*, almost an allophon form in early Vedic) such as:

*Śākala*<sup>88</sup> (AB), *Śākalya* (ŚB), *Kosala* (ŚB), *-Tosala*<sup>89</sup> (AV-Par., Hariv.), *Valkala* (Mbh.), *Kuntala* (Mbh.), *Kauśala*, *Kerala* (*Patañjali*), *Utkala*, *Mithilā*, *Prasthala*, *Mek(h)ala*, *Kayaṅgalā*; cf. also: *Pañcāla* (KS, MS+), *Nepāla* (AV-Par.).<sup>90</sup>

The rest of the word, *kosa-*, then would have to be explained along the lines of the other Tib.-Burm. river names, especially those ending in *-si* that are found just east of the Kathmandu Valley in Thāmi/Sunwar/Rai territory. Otherwise, it is closest to such Newārī designations as *Khu-si* 'streamlet', and Rai *hongku roksī*<sup>91</sup>. The designation of a streamlet, however, can hardly be the origin of the

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"pool" (MS), *kus-ra* "hollow" :: *kośa* "receptacle, bucket" but cf. Avestan *kusra* "bending". Cf. also RV *kuṣāvā* (name of a river?) RV 4.18.8, Mayrhofer, KEWA 1.245.

86 Jātaka 5.2,5,6; note that Pāli has only one sibilant, *s*.

87 Aṅguttaranikāya 1.213, 4. 252 etc., see G.P. Malalasekara, Dictionary of Pāli proper names, London 1938, repr. 1974, p.695; note that there also is a rock near the Himalaya called *Kosika/Kosiya*, Apadāna 2.381; similarly, *musala* often appears as *muśala* or *muṣala*, etc.

88 From *Śākala* in the Panjab, cf. modern Sialkot; cf. also Śaka, Śākya?? -- Apart from the *Sakya*, *Sakka*, *Sākiyā* attested in Pāli (= Skt. *Śaka/Śākya*, N.Iranian Saka) make their appearance into India only much later, after having immigrated first to Seistān (< \**Sākastāna*), from the area north of Iran.

89 The variation *Kosala* : *Tosala* is typical for Muṅḍa, see already Ind. Stud. 3, 169, Levy, JA 203,1, Przyłudski, JA 208, p.23, 40; see Mayrhofer, KEWA I p.274.

90 Cf. also words such as: *jaṅgala*, *jāṅgala* "jungle"; *vīṣala*; *devala* (P.N., KS), *Nārmā-ra*? (RV), *Caṅḍālā*, *Kulāla*, *Mainālā*; cf. also *Karṇālī*, river in W. Nepal, *Gandhā-ri* (RV) / *-ra*, further: *Cumuri*, *Āduri*, *Sobhari*, *mayū-rī* (RV) etc., *tu-ra*, *tug-ra* (RV), *Śambha-ra* (RV), *Mad-ra* (ŚB), etc.

territorial name *Kosala*; one can imagine only that of a large stream, such as the Sarayu/Gogra, or the Gaṇḍakī. Note that in the Mahābhārata the Kosala people are called *Gaṇḍakāḥ* (see above, n.23). Also, the Vedic form has *ko-* and not the equally possible *kho/khu-*. Therefore it is more likely that the word indeed is based on an old Kirāta (i.e. Rai) word *ko/ku*.<sup>92</sup>

The Kirāta, however, are mentioned already in some of the earliest Vedic texts, such as the Atharvaveda and the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, as mountaineers and cave dwellers: *Kīrāta*<sup>93</sup>, *Kilāta*<sup>94</sup>, *Kailāta*<sup>95</sup>, *Kairātika*<sup>96</sup>, cf. also Prakṛt *Cilada*.<sup>97</sup>

We do not know much, of course, about the identity of these mountain tribes, which one should rather place in Himachal Pradesh and perhaps also Western Nepal, in the border areas of the Vedic areas of settlement.<sup>98</sup>

91 See Paryāyavācī śabdakośa, Nepal Rājakīya Prajñā-Pratiṣṭhān, Kathmandu, VS 2030, no. 606, 607.

92 A comparison of the name of the Vedic tribe, the *Kāśi*, found from the Atharvaveda onwards, is to be excluded, however, as it shows *-ś-* as opposed to ŚB *-s-* in *Kosala*, quite part from the different vowel, *-ā-* : *-o-*.

93 *Kirāta*: VS 30.16, VSK 34.3.3; cf. Mayrhofer, KEWA I 211.

94 *Kilāta*: in PB 13.12.5, JB 3.167, ŚB 1.1.4.14 *kilāta-ā/akuli/ī*, the two priests of the Asuras.

95 *Kailātā*: PS 8.2.5a *kailāta prśna upatrṇya babhrau*; should one compare also *Kailāsa* (a mountain, KaṭhB ed. Caland, Versl. 1920 p. 486) : *kilāsa* (an illness), which has its origin in the mountains?

96 *Kairātika*: PS 16.16.4a *Kairātikñ kumārikñ*, ŚS 10.4.14.

97 Kuiper 136, 161; cf. Newārī, frequent change *ky* > *cy*, see also Shafer, Introd. p. 146 (Chaurasya Rai), p. 161 (New. cchem 'house').

98 See author, On the localisation (above, n.54). It is interesting to note that there are a number of names for non-Aryan tribes ending in *-ta* or *-ṭa*, such as *Kīkaṭa* (RV) and *Aratta* (in the Panjab, ŚB, cf. *Aratta* in Mesopotamian records, see author, Early Eastern Iran and the Atharvaveda. Persica IX (1980), pp. 86-128), *Kulūṭa* (Kulu Valley), *Virāṭa* (Berar); -- perhaps one should compare the Scythian plural suffix *-tai* suffix such as in the *Ambautai* ((*K*)*ambautai*?) Ptol. Geogr. 6.18.3 (see Italo Ronca, Ostiran und Zentralasien bei Ptolemaios, Diss. Mainz 1968., p. 121; cf. also *Bulitai*.) - Shafer, Ethnography of India, Wiesbaden 1974, assumed an early and excessively widespread Tib.-Burm. settlement in

The linguistic problem remaining is the *-a-* in *Kosa-la*. However, it can be explained as having been formed in analogy to other tribal or territorial names ending in *-ala / -āla / -ara / -āra*, such as the Vedic words *Śākala, Tosala, Pañcāla, Gandhāra* or the late Vedic and Epic *Tosala, Nepāla, Valkala, Kuntala*. A Vedic form *\*Koṣila / \*Kosila* is unlikely as there are only few words with the suffix *-ila* in early Sanskrit, see Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Gramm.* II 2, p.362 sqq. They are, however, found in later Sanskrit. This proposed explanation of the name *Kosala* should be evaluated in connection with the following item.

10.6. In the area between the Kathmandu Valley and the *Li-khu Kholā* the determinative *-ku* is well distributed, which we have already met with in Rai territory (see above, 2.6, 7.). It is well represented on the northern Dudh Kosi (see above: *Hinku, Hunku, Kanku, Ghiku, Burku, Depku, Shiku, Deku*), and also on the *Li-khu Kholā*, where we find:

*Lar-ku, Po-ku, Bu-ku, Phas-ku --> Carnāvati--> Bhote Kosi.*

In this connection, the question rises whether the modern name of the *Likhu Kholā* is the correct one. One will at once note the difference between the designation of the larger river *Li-khu* and the supplement *-ku* in the names of its tributary rivers. Indeed, in the last century, Hodgson<sup>99</sup> heard the Sunwar, who live in this area, pronounce their word for 'river' as *liku*. This pronunciation fits the local evidence for the designations of other rivers exactly. Unfortunately, the modern word for 'river' in the area seems to be the Nepālī one, *kholā*. River names in *-ku*, however, are found even further to the west. For example, two rivers flowing into the upper Bhote Kholā, north of Barahbise are: *Ca-ku*, and *Jema-ku*.

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Northern India; cf. however now Ilya Peiros: The linguistic situation in Southeast Asia, in: V. Shevoroshkin, *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures*, Bochum: Brockmeyer 1989, p. 66-69, according to whom contact of Tib.-Burm. with Proto-South-Dravidian seems likely.

<sup>99</sup> *Miscellaneous Essays related to Indian Subjects*, Vol. I p. 161 sqq., London 1880; in vol. II, p. 206 sqq., however, he uses the normal form, *Likhū* (written *Likhú*).

This special form of the word for 'river', therefore, is attached to river names between the Sun Kosi and the Arun Kosi, in the whole of the Sunwar, Jirel and Rai territories. It is somewhere in this area that the word *kosi* must have been coined, because *ku/ko*<sup>100</sup> occurs here and *-si* is attested at least in one river name of the same region, in *Ro-si*, cf. also Rai *hongku rok-sī* 'small river'. Interestingly enough, Hodgson noted that the Kuswar, another name for the river tribe of the Kushar or Majhi who live in this area as boatmen, have the Indo-Aryan loan *pāni* for 'water', but *kōsi* for 'river'.<sup>101</sup>

10.7. We do not know much, of course, about the early history of this area, except that already the Licchavi king Mānadeva had made an expedition 'to the east' before 464 A.D. There is an alleged inscription of Aṃśuvarman (of c. 600 A.D.) at Dumjā<sup>102</sup> near the confluence of the Rosi and Sun Kosi, and Dolakhā was a semi-independent kingdom during the middle ages, under its Skt. name *Rājag(r)āma*.

During the last few hundred years at least, the area has been inhabited by Sunwars (on the Tāmba Kosi and Likhu Kosi rivers), and its western part by the little studied Thāmi<sup>103</sup> tribe (with western Himalayish connections) who now are being absorbed by the Tamangs. These have been advancing, as has been noted above, during the last hundred years or so, down from the mountains to

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100 There often is little difference in the pronunciation, cf. the Newārī allophons *kho/khu*, above; *o/u/va* interchange since the old palm leaf documents and already in the Licchavi inscriptions: *śolla-/ śulli-/ śulī-adhikāra*.

101 Which might, of course, have been taken from the name of the Kosi itself; see Hodgson, Misc. Essays, I, p. 165; On the Kuswar and Danuwar. See now, C. Jest, The Kuswar of Chaithali (Central Nepal), Contrib. Nep. Stud. 4, 1977, p. 1-45. In the area Jest studied (near the confluence of the Rosi and Sun Kosi), the Kuswar are called Majhi which includes also the Danuwar and other river people. (For further vivid details on this location, cf. the novel by Śaṅkar Koirālā, Kairinī Ghāṭ, Kathmandu, VS 2018/2033). - According to Jest, The Kuswar proper are found along the Indrāvati, Bhote Kosi, Sun Kosi, Tāmba Kosi and on the Trisuli and its affluents such as the Dhare Kholā.

102 Alleged by by Mohan Khanal, Abhilekha Saṅkalan, Kathmandu VS 2028, p. 1-3; however, already in 1953, D.R. Regmi found the stone "totally damaged" (see: Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal, Delhi 1983, p. 86). The same was told to me in the mid-Seventies by M.R. Pant who had gone there to check it himself.

103 See above, note 16, 75, 80, 103.

the western and eastern rims of the Kathmandu Valley and now settle even South of it, on the Mahābhārat Range.

However, the Gopālarājavamśāvalī (GRV) is of interest here. After giving the list of 32 Kirāta kings who ruled the Kathmandu Valley and its surroundings before the emergence of the Lichavis, the text has a sentence about the Kirātas which has not been understood quite correctly by the translators. The text reads:<sup>104</sup>

*ete dvātriṃsa kirātarājāḥ tamarjjuṇa-kośakī-ṭaṭād bhavā yeḥ*||<sup>105</sup>

Dh. V. Vajrācārya and K. P. Malla translate: "These Kirātas now occupy the land between the Tāmakośī and Arunakośī / *jun kirāta.harū (ahile) tāmakośī ra aruṇakośī.ko bīc.ko bhūbhāg.mā bastachan.*" However, the text neither has "now/*ahile*" nor does it say that the Kirātas live between the two rivers Tāmakośī and Aruṇakośī.

First of all, the sentence is parallel to several others in the early parts of the GRV which sums up lists of kings of a dynasty that has come to its end, see:

*evam aṣṭā gopāla-rājā bhavati* (17b.3)

*ete traya mahiṣapāla-rājā* (17b.5)

*ete dvātriṃsa kirāta-rājāḥ...* (18b.1)

*ete āyaudhyā-nṛpāḥvartta* (19a.5)

*ete vamśāntare mahīpāla gavudeśvara āgate nṛpa* (22b.2)

The sentence thus refers to the Kirāta *kings* and not to the Kirāta *people*, as some scholars understand the line. The second part of the sentence is, of course, a relative clause marked by *ye* referring to the Kirāta kings: *tamarjjuṇa-kośakī-*

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104 Gopālarājavamśāvalī, ed. by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Kamal P. Malla, Kathmandu/Wiesbaden 1985, p. 26 : fol. 18b.1.

105 The ed. has *tamarjjuṇakośakī* (uncorrected in the attached *śuddhipattra*) but the facsimile clearly shows *tamarjjakośakī* with a small *ṇa* superimposed between *rjja* and *ko*; an *-u* seems to have been added between the lower parts of *rjja* and *ko*. This *-u*, however, could also be taken as the mark indicating the inserted letter, as can be seen for similar case on fol. 26a, cf. also fol. 29a.

*ṭaṭād bhavā yeh*|| If we make a very minor correction<sup>106</sup> in the text and read *tāmarjjuṇa-kośakī-ṭaṭodbhavā* \*ye, we can translate "who have/had their origin (*udbhava*) on the bank(s)<sup>107</sup> of the Tāma and Arjuna Kosakī."

If we do take *bhavā* as a separate word,<sup>108</sup> we run into a slight difficulty: it usually is a noun, meaning "birth, origin, existence, prosperity", etc. The

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106 This merely consists in adding another small 'wave', in addition to the one already present in this type of Bhujimo script, on top of the Akṣara *tā*, turning it into *ṭo*.

107 There remains the problem, however, how to translate *ṭaṭād*. Literally, it means nothing more than "from the river bank". It entirely depends on the point of view of the speaker, whether this means east or west of the Kosi rivers. Since it is someone from the Kathmandu Valley who writes this sentence, one would, naturally, understand "(on the other side, eastwards) from the bank of the *tāmarjjuṇa-kośakī* rivers", i.e. east of the two Kosis.

However, if *bhavā* was used with a verb in the past (which is not expressed here while it usually is), it would refer to the *former* area of settlement, i.e. westwards, viewed "from the bank of *tāmarjjuṇa-kośakī* rivers." This has to be excluded as we would expect a past tense verb, see the beginning of GRV with *bhūta-*, *babhūvum* etc., and other participles in *-ta*.

Finally, the use of the ablative in topographical descriptions may be viewed from still another angle. B.Kölver (Documents, p. 17) has shown that *pūrvvatam* in the old land sale and mortgage documents means "east of", (and similarly for other directions), indicating the western boundary of a plot. The same could apply in the sentence from the Gop.Vaṃś. It would then mean "west of the *tāmarjjuṇa-kośakī* rivers". However, it remains doubtful whether the technical terminology of such plot descriptions could have influenced the description as given in the chronicle.

108 The GRV does have one similar sentence in its Sanskrit part, while the Kaiser Vaṃś. does not, as far as I see. GRV 28b5/29a.1 reads:

*tadanantare śrīdeveladevīnā smānīyāt | ... aṣṭalokapālāra, śrījayasthitimalladeva vijayī bhava, vivāham kṛtam...*

This is corrupt even for the general Newārī-based type of Sanskrit used in the chronicle. Read *śrīdeveladevīnā sma - ānīyāt = \*ā-anīyāt*, a contamination of *nayati: ā-anayat* "she led, brought" and absol. *-ānīya?* -- Secondly, *vijayī bhava* can be understood as locative absolute (missing the correct case in *śrījayasthitimalladeva* (which is construed otherwise), or one can take it separately as *vijayī-bhava* as a kind of *cvi*-formation (*\*vijayī kṛ*) "in becoming victorious", which is equally uncertain.

The sentence mentioning the Kirātarājas also is somewhat similar to the earlier statement in GRV (fol. 17a.4) about the immigration of the Gopālas: *Gopāla babhūvum, tata paścāt mālākhātām gogrāmasya āgamena...* "They were the Gopālas. Then, later, by their approach from Mālākhā to(?, of) Gogrāma ..." (This is, basically the translation of Vajracarya, "... *gopāla bhae. tyas pacchi Mālākhā.bāṭa Gogrāma.ko āgamana bhayo*", followed by Malla with the paraphrase: "They (the Gopālas) came from Mālākhā to Gogrāma". -- Nepālī scholars take

sentence then would read: "the origins of whom is from the bank(s) of the Tāma and Arjuṇa Kosakī" which basically is the same as the emendation proposed above, but is quite different from that of Vajracārya and Malla.<sup>109</sup>

The two rivers are to be identified as the Tām(b)ā 'copper colored' < Skt. *tāmra* and the Arjuṇa 'white' i.e. Dudh "milk" Kosī rivers, in the territory of the present day Sunwar and Rai.

Malla takes this sentence as referring to the Rais and Limbus, whose land is commonly called *Kirāṃt* and who, in his and already in Hodgson's opinion, have been "banished" from the Kathmandu Valley.<sup>110</sup> One can indeed refer to the place name *Kirantichāp*, on the Tāma Kosi, near Carange. The whole area east of the Kathmandu Valley, *Kirānt*, is divided into three parts. In Nepālī, they are called, from west to east: *pallo kirānt*, *majh kirānt*, *wolo kirānt*. Hodgson, however, specifically calls<sup>111</sup> only the inhabitants of the area between the Dudh Kosi and the Arun *Kirānti*. - Easternmost Nepal is called *Limbūān*.<sup>112</sup>

The case rests, however, not so much on the later, 19th century chronicles but on the correct interpretation of the GRV clause *tāmarjjuṇa-kośakī-ṭaṭād bhavā yeḥ*. It certainly does not mean "they were living" or "they are living (now)." Note that the translators smuggle in "now" / "*ahile*" to justify their translation.

The Kirāta kings apparently were defeated indeed<sup>113</sup> and succeeded by the Licchavis in the Valley of Nepal, but this does not, of course, mean that the

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*Mālākhā* as an old name of Kīrtipur. Malla also refers to *Gopāla Śreṣṭhas* in the South-West of the Valley and compares such designations with the name of the *Mahiṣapāla*, and his own etymology of *Nepāla*- < Tib.-Burm. \**nepā* "cow / buffalo, cattle man / keeper" (see: Nepala, Archaeology of the Word, Heritage Preservation, Souvenir ed. by Souvenir Committee, PATA Nepal Chapter & Nepal Heritage Society, Nov. 1983, Kathmandu, p. 66).

109 It is perhaps possible to translate "whose prosperity/ wellbeing/settlement is/was on the banks.." - thus coming closer to Vajracārya & Malla's translation.

110 Brian Hodgson, Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. 1, p. 397, London 1880. See the following note.

111 Essays II p. 196.

112 Hodgson, Essays, II p. 196.

local population was killed or left the Valley. Indeed, several strands of humanity seem to have contributed to the Newar people: even the physical appearance of the present day Newars shows various mixtures of Australoid (Veddoid), Mongoloid and Indian (Mediterranean/Caucasian) features.<sup>114</sup> Nor did the people in the Valley change, along with the emergence of the Licchavis in the Valley, their language to some form of Middle Indo-Aryan (Prākṛt), imported from the plains. we can only say so far that the inhabitants, at some unknown time, adopted a form of the Old Newārī language. This must have happened, in any case, well before 983 A.D., the date of the (so far) earliest land grants on palm leaves which contain local names in and influences of contemporary Old Newārī, as well as, somewhat later on, some actual words and sentences in this language.<sup>115</sup>

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113 *atham sūryavamsaprabhāvāt nepāle ki[rāta]rājā nirjjitya | licchavīvaṃsa pravarttateṃ* GRV 19b.2 "Then, due to the power of the solar dynasty, and having defeated the Ki[rāta] kings in Nepal, the Licchavi dynasty began/proceeded (to rule)."

114 Note already Hsüan Chwang's telling description, Buddhist Records of the Western World, book VII, p. 81 "The manners of the people are false and very perfidious. Their temperament is hard and fierce, with little regard to truth and honour. They are unlearned but skillful in the arts; their appearance is ungainly and revolting." Cf. S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, I p.154 "leur corps est laid et leur figure ignoble."

Since Hsüan Chwang never went to Nepal himself, this probably reflects the standard Indian appreciation of the Mongoloid people. Note that *kirāta* means, among other things, "hunchback" in classical Sanskrit, and cf. already the characterization of *Kilāta*- as 'Asura' in early Vedic literature (see note 94).

115 Also, there are such Newārī endings as *.ṭom*, *.yā* in the early parts of the GRV, called  $V_2$ , which still is written in Skt., but already under heavy New. influence, for example in the following sentences: *samvat 219 māgha kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī mālanakṣatra yarham yethobahāra varapāla bhāro.ṭom nāyaka nepāla.yā vikṣāta mahāprabhūtaṃ ubhayarājyakula udharaṇa dhāraṇasamarthaṃ || asta varṣā 87 ||*. "On Māgha, kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī mālanakṣatra, NS 219 Nāyaka Varapāla Bhāro of Yarham (Lalitapura, Pāṭan), Yetho Bahāra (Vihāra), a well-known (*\*vikhyāta*) person of Nepal, and a very influential man, capable of destroying or preserving both the royal houses (of Nepal) died at the age of 87." -- I suspect (cf. my paper "On Indian historical writing" in *Minami Ajia*, Tokyo 1991) that these sections, as they stand now, go back to the time of their composition, i.e. Śivadeva's time, around 1100 A.D. -- At the same time the first sentence in Newārī recorded so far occurs in the land grants, see H. Śākya and B. Kölver, *Documents*, in 1152 A.D., see note 126 ). -- Note that this period, King Śivadeva's time, seems to have been a one of considerable change: he issued new coins (see Kölver, *Documents*), new formulas appear in the grants (using *Lalitabrumā* for Patan), etc. He probably found a new location for his palace in the North-West of Patan, and it seems to be Śivadeva, hardly his father, who founded the Patan Agnihotra (see author, *forthc.*); cf. the article on Śivadeva by Dh. B. Bajracharya in *Contrib. to Nep. Stud.*

We do not yet know whether the Tib.-Burm. place names in the Kathmandu Valley, as found in Licchavi time inscriptions, represent an archaic form of Newārī earlier than that of the land sale documents or whether they stem from the language of the "Kirāta."<sup>116</sup> Therefore the GRV sentence on the Kirāta kings, quoted above, though coming from a source written down only at the end of the fourteenth century, is crucial for our understanding of the early history of the Valley.<sup>117</sup>

10.8 Just like the place names of the Licchavi inscriptions (see immediately), the names of the Kirāta kings, as given by the GRV, provide a hint about their obviously their Tib.-Burm. language, its the phonetical shape and syllabary structure. GRV f. 17b.5-18b.1 contains materials on the following Kirāta kings:

*Elam, Pelam, Melam, Caṃmiṃ, Dhaskem, Valuṃca, Huṃtim, Huramā, Tuske, Prasaphuṃ, Pavam, Dāstī, Camba, Kaṃkam, Svananda, Phukom, Śiṃghu, Julam, Lukam, Thoram, Thuko, Varmma, Guṃjam, Puska, Tyapami, Mugamam, Śasarū, Guṃṇam, Khimbuṃ, Girijam, Khurāṃja, Khigu.*

While some names seem to be Sanskritized forms<sup>118</sup> (*Sva-nanda, Varmma, Girija?*), the rest looks Tib.-Burmese. Note the initial cluster *pr*, and the internal clusters *sk*, *st*, and the frequent syllable final *-m / -ṃ*. These features agree with the phonetical shape and the syllabary structure of the place names recorded in the Licchavi inscriptions.<sup>119</sup>

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116 See below, 11.1. ff. and note 113, 117 . Dh.V. Vajracārya, Settlements, (see above, n. 3) p. 358 straightforwardly takes the names of Licchavi time settlements as stemming "from the Kirātī language" but thinks that "the meaning of these words has not been established by scientific research".

117 And until archaeology will present a clearer picture, of course. -- The Kirāta are, of course, once mentioned in a Licchavi time inscription, but in a very fragmentary context, see Hanuman Dhoka inscr. in: D.R. Regmi, Inscr. of Ancient Nepal, New Delhi 1983, Vol. I, p.85.

118 Note that the recent excavations indicate, at least, Kuṣāṇa time settlements with strong S. Asian influences; cf. Dh.V. Vajracārya, Settlements, (see above, n. 3).

However, the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Licchavis preserve place names in a perhaps still somewhat older, archaic form<sup>120</sup> which is characterized by a large numbers of *initial* clusters (*Cr-*, etc.), for example in *jñātikhr̥ṇ* (read [gyā<sup>o</sup>?]), *prañpriñ*, *pr̥tibru*, *proñjñambu*, *brādul*, *bremguṃco*, *sthāru-draṅga*. On the other hand, resonants in second position, such as *Cy*, *Cr*, *Cv*, are not very common, other than *-r-*, and *Cv* as in *gvalam̐* [golam̐]:<sup>121</sup> Note that *o/u*, *u/ū/o* sometimes interchange, e.g. in: *śolla* / *śullī* / *śulī*-*adhikāra*, *Japtikhū*, *Huḍikhū*, *Laṃkhu-laṃ*, *Vihliñ-kho-srotam̐*,<sup>122</sup> etc.

Secondly, there are even more internal clusters, found at the syllable boundaries, such as *-jñā-* [gya?], *-pc-*, *-pt-*, *-pś-*, *-lpr-*, *-rl-*, *-st-*, *-spr-* in: *proñjñambu*, *kompro-yambī*, *māpcok*, *japti-khū*, *ripśiñko*, *jolpriñ*, *gorlaṃ*, *testuñ*, *hmaspriñ*; further, various combinations involving nasals, such as *prañpriñ*,

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119 Note, however, that in this sample, most of the clusters occur at the boundary of two syllables, and only rarely at the beginning of a word. In this respect they resemble the sample, given below, n. 120 sq., of names from the documents of 983 A.D. sq. In modern New. syllable final consonants have virtually disappeared.

120 A remote possibility is that even the Licchavi inscriptions present the place names in a pre-Licchavi (i.e. pre-'Kirāta') form. Indeed, they seem to differ in phonetic shape from 'Kirāta' terms such as *śolla/śullī/śulī*-(*adhikāra*, see preceding note) - but not from that of the names of the Kirāta kings (recorded much later in the GRV ms.)! Normally, however, one assumes that the Licchavi inscriptions preserve the place names of the Kathmandu Valley in a pre-Licchavi form, i.e. in 'Kirāta' language, -- unless this 'Kirāta' was identical with a local language which already was identical with early Newārī. Which one of the three possibilities mentioned applies, has to be investigated in greater detail, cf. below. -- Note the many variant spellings of local names in the inscriptions, such as *-khu/khū/kho*, *Cva/Co,Cu*, *priñ/pr̥ñ*, *Sāmbhapura* / *Śāmbhapura*, *Uttāṇe* :: *Uḍane-huśa*, see already StII 5/6 p.327 n. 60, 69, 72, 74, 75, 87.--

121 Later pronounced *gola*, cf. already the last Licchavi inscription before the introduction of Nepal Samvat, 876 A.D. which as *gvalaka* (Bajracharya No., 190), and cf. the medieval writings *gvalam̐*, *gvalam*, *gvalvam̐*, etc. in GRV, and *-gola*, *-gla* in inscriptions and documents: e.g. *Mānigla* < *mānigolaka*, see Umā-Maheśvara inscr. near Ko Bahal, Patan NS 307, in Regmi, Med. Nepal III No. XIX p. 9, see author, StII 5-7, p. 315 n. 29-31.

122 See StII 5/6 p. 327.

*breṃguṃco*, and occasional double consonants such as in *prayaṅṅikhā, bhumbhukkikā*-.<sup>123</sup>

(In addition, there are, of course, aspirated resonants such as *mh*, written *[hm]* as in *hmaspriṅ, hmupriṅ, hrīmko, hnaguṃ*, -- sounds which survive in modern Newārī.)

Some other words, however, such as the personal name *Kedumbāṭa*, or the Kirāta terms of government offices such as the *śolla-/śulli-/śulī*-,<sup>124</sup> *kuthera-*, *liṅgvāl-*, and *māpcok-adhikāra*, all mentioned in the Licchavi inscriptions<sup>125</sup> hardly show these special features (such as *Cr-*), probably by chance, as we have only a very limited corpus here.

The Licchavi inscriptions and the names of the Kirāta kings, as given by the GRV only at the end of the 14th century, thus basically agree in their still rather complicated syllabary structure. But already the names found in the first post-Licchavi documents, that is the newly discovered<sup>126</sup> land sale and mortgage documents on palm leaf, the oldest of which is dated 983 A.D., contain names in a much more modern form. The complicated initial clusters and even the internal clusters at the syllable boundaries have been simplified (except those few surviving types<sup>127</sup> *Cy, Cr, Cv*, those involving *h*: *hy, hr, hv*, and except, of course, those in learned Sanskrit words).

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123 This, too, is hardly possible in Modern Newārī, except for combinations with preceding *-m/ṃ-*.

124 Note again, the uncertainty, even at this early period between *o/(va)/u/ū* (e.g. *śolla/śulli/śulī-adhikāra*), (cf. n. 154 ) a feature so typical for later Newārī. Such peculiarities are often retained over long periods, cf., for example, the case of proto-Indian retroflex sounds which spread, in increasing frequency, not only to early Vedic Sanskrit but even to a fairly recent immigrant language, Baluchi.

125 See Dh. B. Bajracārya, *Licchavi kāla.kā abhilekh*, p.127 sqq.; cf. also the names of mountains (*-co(k)*), mountain passes, etc.

126 See edition and translation by B. Kölver and H. Śākya, *Documents from the Rudravarṇa-Mahāvihāra, Paṭan, St. Augustin 1985*.

127 Not all of which are attested in the documents but re-appear in later inscriptions and in the GRV.

Thus, we find in some of the earliest documents:<sup>128</sup> *Sātī-gvalaka-*, *Vonduĩ-nāma-* (a special case as the word is quote by *nāma*), *Yaṃ-gvala-*, *Hañkhā-ṭollaka* NS 159, *Tyagvalaka-*, *No-gvalaka-*, *Māñi-*, *Māñi-gvalaka* NS 185 (p. 103 sqq.), and in the mortgages: *No-gvala-*, *Yaluvi-* NS 103, *Te-gvalaka-* NS 121, *Yusedem-* NS 159, *Duĩvaṃhmaṃ*, *-ñanādul-* NS 189, *No-gvalka-*, *Kasavati-*, *Yulvī Vinai*, *Kāmojana*, *Brahma-pucoṃ* NS 189 (p. 187 sqq.).

It appears that initial clusters are no longer attested, other than the ones still allowed in modern Newārī in the conventional writings such as Cv [Co] , Cy [Ce] (see, though in internal position, due to noun composition: *No-gvala(-ka)* NS 185, 189, etc., *Jyamā-khyela* NS 272.)

At the syllable boundaries, too, only a few combinations occur, mainly syllable final nasal resonants (*ñ*, *ñ̃*, *n*, *m*, *ṃ*), combinations of resonant and *h*, *Vonduĩ* NS 159, *Vaṃpuhlaṃ* 262, *Teṃla* 193, and occasional double resonants such as in the personal name *Hallu* NS 193. -- Two exceptions are the family name *Yulvī Vinai* 189, and *Bhañkhoccheṃ* NS 262 (for *bhañña-<sup>o</sup>?*).

Final consonants found in the older documents are the resonants *ñ*, *n*, *m*, *ṃ*, *l̃*, *ĩ*, as far as visible from the compound names. In actual word final position we find only *-ṃ*, *-ñ*, *-ĩ* : *Pakoccheṃ* NS 294, (note that *-ṃ* of *-cheṃ* frequently is not written), *Mayalaṃ* 261, *Vaṃpuhlaṃ* 262, *Thasiñ* 211, *Duĩ* 189 *Vonduĩ-nāma* 159.

For the development of these features it is important to observe two parallel features in Old Newārī:

a. there is a strong tendency to simplify clusters in word initial and even in syllable initial position: thus *pranālī* (Licch. inscr.) > *panālī* (Kaiser Vaṃś. p. 7); and

b. there seems to be a strong stress accent which effects syncope of longer words: thus *pala* (a unit of coins) is also written *pla*, *pra* (Kölver-Śākya, Docum., p. 85); *paṇa* "money" is also written *pna* p. 42. Cf. also the common

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128 See the lists Kölver, Documents, p. 95 ssq. and also in personal names, p. 89 sqq.

writing - *gla* in the documents, in word such as *Mānigla* < *mānigolaka*<sup>129</sup> or: *Yeglatyāgla* Kölver, Documents, NS 456.

The situation is quite similar in the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*, which was written a few hundred years later; the evidence from its many place names and personal names<sup>130</sup> indicates the following. Initial clusters are no longer found, other than the ones allowed in modern *Newārī* (*hy, hn, hm*, etc.), and those of conventional "spelling" such as *Cv* [*Co*] , *Cy* [*Ce*]: *Thvkvāṭh, Jhvāṃpāna, Pvananti, Thyami, Hnola* [nhola].

At the syllable boundaries, only a few combinations occur, mainly involving syllable final nasal resonants (*ṅ, ṇ, n, m, ṃ*), and occasional double resonant, such as in *Bhuṅgukacha, Meṅguhi, Yendeceṅceta, Menāṅṅnuṅhi, Yāṭumbahāra, Bhoṃta; Sellakvāṭh*.

Final consonants found are the resonants *ṃ*, and (as far as indicated in the body of the text by *halanta, virāma*) *-m*, e.g. in *-ṭom*,; other finals are not clearly marked but can perhaps be deduced from their composition with *-kvāṭ*, *-bahīri, -cheṃ, -sthān, -pura, -vihāra*, etc. (i.e. *ṅ, n, m, r, l?*).

These peculiarities of medieval *Newārī* features thus continue the development, already noticed in the Licchavi inscriptions, of a gradual disappearance of final stops: as in *-co* :: *cokh-parā*,<sup>131</sup> probably via final implosive consonant. The final stage is reached, as is well known, only during the last few centuries, when the final consonant was lost, though it was still heard by *Nepālī* speakers when they took over the words from *Newārī*, as for example in the *Nep.* loan word *jhyāl* "window" or in the Patan toponym (*Nep.*) *Nugal* < *New. Nugaḥ* < *Old New. Nogvala, Nogola, Nogala* (see Documents)<sup>132</sup>

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129 *Umā-Maheśvara* inscr. near *Ko Bahal*, Patan NS 307, see Regmi, *Med.Nepal* III No. XIX p. 9

130 See ed. *GVR*, p. 191 sqq, 199 sqq.

131 Interestingly, final *-k* must still have been pronounced in the middle ages (taken from a different dialect?) as it has been taken over into *Nepālī*, e.g. *Jama-cok, Pul-cok* etc. It is d/ubtful whether *Nepālī* speakers could or would pick out the correct stems from the forms as declined in *Newārī* sentences.

132 Kölver, Documents from the *Rudravarna-Mahāvihāra*, p. 96, cf. *StII* 5/6 p. 315.

In modern Newārī the syllable final consonants (other than nasals) have virtually disappeared. There are but a few examples, such as *lapte* "leaf". Likewise, in modern Newārī only a limited number word initial clusters are common: such as *mh*, *lh*, and the clusters with *-y-* and *-w-*.<sup>133</sup> This makes much of medieval and certainly most of modern Newārī a language of open syllables, not unlike Japanese.

To return to the Licchavi inscriptions: a closer study of the toponymy and of personal names (see below 12.2) may lead, in the manner indicated above, to a decision of the question whether speakers of Archaic Newārī were present in the Valley already during Licchavi time. The forms of the words we find in these inscriptions, for example *(mā-)kho-priṅ*<sup>134</sup>, definitely differ even from the oldest attested Newārī. The persistence of various consonant clusters (*st*, *pr*, *spr*, mentioned above) and of postconsonant resonants such as *-r-* indicates, at best, a very early form of Newārī, if not another Tib.-Burm. language altogether. Note that such consonant clusters are very rare in medieval and certainly modern Newārī (other than in Sanskrit loans). K. P. Malla has explained some of such place names as being of Newārī origin (but see below, 12.2).

In any case, from 983 A.D. onwards, the Newārī forms of place names and names of persons<sup>135</sup>, and even some occasional words or phrases in early Newārī<sup>136</sup> are

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133 See K.P. Malla, *The Newar Language: A working outline*, Institute for the study of languages and cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo 1985, p. 14.

134 See B. Kölver, *Aspects of Nepalese culture: Ancient inscriptions and modern yatras*. Proceedings of the First Symposium of Nepali and German Sanskritists, 1978, Kathmandu 1978, p. 157-172, on the probable segmentation of such names, and cf. author, StII 5/6.

135 Note that these already have the medieval form, without the complicated consonant clusters (especially at the beginning of a syllable), met with in Licchavi inscriptions (except those few surviving types mentioned in n. 119 and at the boundaries of compounds, and of course, in Sanskrit words).

136 For example NS 272 = 1152 A.D., Kölver p. 202: *daṃko lāko na hi vu hoyu madu vu jurom | devaka-rājika maju valaṃ*.

in evidence: They are found in the recently discovered mortgage documents,<sup>137</sup> in manuscript colophons, and in the - mostly still unpublished - post-Licchavi inscriptions. We find, for example, *Khvapa* for Licchavi *Khoprñ*, *Khṛpuñ* with a clear development of *r/ri > o/u*.<sup>138</sup>

10.9. The preceding discussion allows to draw the preliminary conclusion (a) that either there has been an immigration of Newārī speakers<sup>139</sup> after c. 750 A.D., the date of the last Licchavi inscriptions, or (b) that Archaic Newārī, as perhaps found in Licchavi time place names, underwent a series of quick phonetical changes during the one or two centuries preceding the first attested Newārī forms in the mortgage documents. Obviously, the new pronunciation was introduced into the documents, following a phonematic spelling, after the

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137 B. Kölver and H. Śākya, Documents. -- A few manuscript colophons are earlier; the earliest dated MSS. in Nepal go back to 810 A.D. -- For colophons see D.R.Regmi, Medieval Nepal, and L. Petech, Medieval history of Nepal, Rome, 1984 -- For ñhākuri and Malla time inscriptions, see Regmi, Med. Nepal, vol. III, Calcutta 1966 and the various journals, such as Pūrṇimā.

138 One may even posit an immigration of the Newars (cf. n.139 ) at the end of the Licchavi period. Could this be connected with the establishment of the Nepal Samvat in 879 A.D. and with the repeated unrest due to the Tibetan expansion in the 7th and 8th centuries? cf. Gop. Rāj.Vaṃś. fol. 23a.2 *taṭpaścāt Bhoṭarājena <m>āyātīm, Nepalamaṇḍale rājya karoti || rājā śrīvasantadeva varṣa 27 tena cākumbhīṭatapratyanta niṣkaṇṭaka rājya karoti ||* Note the deviant sentence in the Kaiser Vaṃś.: *tena puna Bhoṭāntapratyanta niṣkaṇṭakaṃ rājyaṃ karo[ti]* (GRV p. 215) which makes more sense than Vajrācārya's and Malla's "up to the banks of (the river?) Cākumbhī". -- For the linguistic position of Newārī between Tibetan and Burmese see Shafer, Introd., p. 158. --

For the spellings, see cf. n. 120, 152 and already StII 5/6 p. 327 n. 74: *Khvapvaṃ* Gop.Vaṃś 37a.4 sqq., *Khvapo* 56a.2 sqq., *Khvapo* Gop.Vaṃś. fol. 56 (NS 494) and fol. 59 (NS 500)- The inscriptions and Thyasaphus have *Khvapa* or *Khapva* and the modern form is *Khvapa*. -- cf. already StII 5/6 p. 327, n.74 - Note that the variation in spelling attests a pronunciation of [khəpə] or [khɔpɔ] for this early period, cf. already StII 5/6, p. 328 n. 75 and cf. above, note 120.

139 For a recent discussion on the origins of the Newars see V.S Doherty, Notes on the origin of the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal, in: Himalayan Anthropology, The Indo-Tibetan Interface, ed. J.F. Fisher, The Hague 1978, p. 433-445, esp. 438-440. - If Starostin (see above, n.76) should prove to be correct with his assumption of a Tibeto-Burmese homeland in the foothills of the Himalaya, one may have to reconsider some of the proposals, made in this paper, on waves of immigration.

downfall of the Licchavis. This problem, however, can only be mentioned here and is in need of a detailed investigation.<sup>140</sup> -- (cf. below 12.2.)

When trying to identify the source languages of Licchavi time topography one should, in view of the possible historical developments mentioned above, take a close look at the Sunwar and western Rai languages and perhaps also compare the little studied Thāmi language.<sup>141</sup> Note also that the linguistic position of Newārī within Tibeto-Burmese and its Himalayish section is not yet determined well.<sup>142</sup>

Whatever the outcome may be, one should not forget that already the second oldest Indian text, the Atharvaveda, of c. 1100 B.C., knows of the Kirātas. These tribes hardly are those reported as living in the Kathmandu Valley before the Licchavis, as the Atharvaveda, whether in its Śaunaka or its Paippalāda version, did not yet know of this area.<sup>143</sup> It is likely, as has been pointed out above, that the name was first given to a more western Himalayan tribe, in the Himachal Pradesh area, and was later, with the extension of the geographical horizon of the Vedic people, transferred to their more eastern Himalayan neighbors.<sup>144</sup> Another possibility is to suppose a steady eastward movement of the Kirāta<sup>3</sup> from an area in Himachal Pradesh towards the Kathmandu Valley. This possibility indeed exists, as was indicated above (3.3.): The Mugu and neighboring regions have some names which are of Rai type, and the modern Rai as well as the Thāmi sometimes claim that they migrated from that area towards their present habitat.

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140 See already author, StII 5/6, p. 311-337.

141 Which is not possible for me at this instance, due to lack of materials.

142 P. K. Benedict, *Sino-Tibetan, A conspectus*, Cambridge 1972, p. 5.

143 The easternmost peoples known to these texts are the Kāśi viz. Aṅgas. The Kāśi lived in the area of present day Benares, Skt. Kāśī or Varāṇāsī; the Aṅgas inhabited the area of the great E-S bend of the Ganges, near Bhagalpur / Sahībganj.

144 This procedure is well known from other areas. The name of the *Kambojas* in Vedic Afghanistan was transferred to the South-East Asian *Kamboja/Kampuchea*, *Kaliṅga* to the *Karen* in Burma, *Triliṅga* to *Telaing* in Burma, *Campā* to *Cham* in Vietnam; or cf. the name of the *Veneti* > *Wenden*, *Winden* = Slavic peoples as the eastern neighbors of Germanic speaking peoples, and those of the *Welsch*, *Welch*, *Wallon*, etc. to their western neighbors (whether Celtic, French or Italian speaking.)

10.10. If one could indeed take the statement of the Gopālarājavamṣāvalī as indicating a movement of the Kirāta (kings), a few names in the area could still bear witness to this: A tributary of the Tāmba Kosi has the Rai supplement in *-wa*, such as in Sanga-*wa* or Kirdu-*wa*. In the area of the Bhote Kosi (near Dolakhā) - Khimti - Likhu Kholā there are a number of names in *-wa*, however, mostly those of villages (which, nevertheless, may have got their names from a local streamlet): Soktu-*wa*, Majhu-*wa*, Tanu-*wa*. In such cases, however, it will be better, for the time being, to exercise caution, until the population of these villages is either known or could be interviewed for the meanings of the streams and for eventual alternative names.

## 11. Kathmandu Valley

11.1. Finally, the hydronymy of the Kathmandu Valley<sup>145</sup> and its surroundings can be viewed in its proper proportion. The most common names for rivers and streams or streamlets in the Valley are those ending in *-khu*, such as *Na-khu*, *Bal-khu*, *Sāmā-khu*, *Tu-khu*, *Ga-khu Khusi*,<sup>146</sup> or east of Patan: *Lu Khusi*, *Tyeta Khusi*, east of Bhaktapur: *Mu Khusi*, and west of Kathmandu: *Bhacha Khusi*. K.P. Malla,<sup>147</sup> in his 1982 article, supplies the following list, *passim*:

Nwa-khu > Bāgmati<sup>148</sup> [already mentioned in Changu  
inscr. of Śivadeva as *Vāgvatī*]

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145 See author, StII 5/6 (1980), 311-337; K.P. Malla, River names (1982-3), and: Linguistic Archaeology (1981), see above, n. 3.

146 See already StII 5/6 p. 326-327, see note 3.

147 See K.P. Malla, River names (1982-3), and: Linguistic Archaeology (1981), see above, n. 3.

148 Malla (1980, 62) compares *Nwa-khu* (mouth-river or murmuring river) Newārī *nwa-wā-ye* "to speak, nwa-sil-e "to wash one's mouth" with *Bāgmati* < Skt. *Vāgmati* "(river) having speech".

- Khāsyāñ-khu > Hanumante  
 Tu-khu > Ikṣumati  
 Sāṃ-khu > Maṇimati [Changu inscr. of Śivadeva]<sup>149</sup>  
 La-khu > Dhanāvati  
 Bal-khu > Ratnāvati [or Kīrtipur Kholā]  
 Bhacā-khu > Bhadramati  
 Teṃ-khu > Tekhu  
 Hijā-khu(si) > Rudramati [or Dhobī Kholā]

The word *khu*, though rare, does also exist separately in Newārī as designation of a stream. Already the Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī, fol.61b.2, has it in the spelling *kho*: *kho vañāv* "after having gone to the river", The confusion of the spellings cons. + *va / o / u* in Newārī MSS, however, is well known.<sup>150</sup> - Cf. also *khvapvā* "rain (water) and hail" Gop. 44a.4.

In modern Newārī the word survives as *khu* "streamlet, creak" which T.L. Manandhar, in his dictionary, derives from Old New. *khwa*, and as *khusi* "river" < Old New. *khosi*. Cf. also, from Manandhar: *khwa haada* "confluence of two rivers in Bhaktapur Hanuman Ghāṭ"; *Nakhu-ho*, the confluence of the rivers Nakhu and Bagmati at Cobhar; *kho-sithae* "on the edge, bank of a river" < O. New. *sitha-sa* (*si, sitha* "edge, border of garment, path by the side of a road"). Interestingly, the word also occurs in another spelling, as *ko* "river" in the

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149 Cf. StII 5/6 p. 327 n. 71.

150 See above, note 100, StII 5/6 p. 327 n. 74.

Amarakośa,<sup>151</sup> for the lack of aspiration, however, note the variation *kh/k* in the royal name *Anekha-malla* for correct *Aneka-*.<sup>152</sup>

11.2. Similarly, in the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*, we also find place names with the same range of variation in writing aspirated and unaspirated occlusive and either *o* or *u*:

Bhīm-*ko* 61.b.4; 62a.3, a place name

Muḥim-*kho* 51b.3, a place name

Saṅkhalaṅ-*khu* 45b.4, a place name<sup>153</sup>

The word even occurs, as has been mentioned above, in some Licchavi inscriptions as part of river names, and in the name of a village obviously based on that of a stream:

Cūllaṃ-*khu* Licchavi inscr., ed. Dh.B.Bajracharya p. 590<sup>154</sup>

Theṅ-*khu* p.515.14, cf. modern Teko

Japti-*khū* a small river near Kathmandu, p. 566 sq.<sup>155</sup>

Huḍi-*khū* a small river near Kathmandu, p. 567 sq.

Pi-*khu*-grāma p.427.19<sup>156</sup>, but cf. also:

Vihliṅ-*kho*-srotaṃ<sup>157</sup> a river near Chāṅgu Nārāyaṅ, p. 234,<sup>158</sup>

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151 Indirectly referred to by Malla (1982, 60) with this statement: "A Sanskrit-Newārī lexicon, date NS 501 (A.D> 1380), gives *kho* (sic!) as a gloss for Sanskrit *nadī*."

152 Cf. also *sarkhār*, *dhokha* in GRV. This evidence reminds of the unsettled history of initial voiceless stops in the Himalayish section of Tib.-Burm. Does medieval Newārī have several dialects or substrate languages?

153 Or divide Saṅkha-laṅkhu? cf. the place name *San-khu*.

154 Cf. *Śolla-adhikāra*?? - cf. the similar office designation, derived from a place name as well, *Liṅ-gval-adhikāra*, cf. StII 5/6 p. 315 n. 31.

155 For a discussion of their location see author, StII 5/6.

156 Cf., however, also *Ya-ku*, p. 576.

157 In the Changu Narayan Inscr. of Śivadeva I, (Gnoli 34, Dh.B. Bajracharya p. 58, line 22).

Ripśiñ-ko-setu a river near Chāṃḡu Nārāyaṇ, p. 234.

11.3. However, the area of river names in *-khu* is not congruent with that of Newār settlement, neither today, nor - as far as it can be seen from the inscriptions - in the Middle Ages. In the neighborhood of the Valley, several river names in *-khu* are found:

Li-*khu* Kholā north of the Valley, --> Tadi Kholā- Trisuli  
 Ān-*khu* Kholā north of the Valley, --> Burhī Gaṇḍaki  
 Mal-*khu* west of the valley, near the road to Pokhara  
 Bel-*khu* west of the valley, near the road to Pokhara  
 Salān-*khu* Kholā  
 Phalān-*khu* Kholā

Belkhu is situated at a distance of some 60 km west of the Valley. Furthermore, even high up in the Trisuli valley, one can find place names such as Bar-*khu*, now located in Tamang territory. It is questionable, and needs inspection on the spot, whether all these names can be ascribed to Newārī settlements or influence.

It must also be remembered that forms in *-khu* even are found in Magar territory<sup>159</sup>, where we have place names such as *Khu-di*, perhaps a combination of an old place name meaning "river" with the typical Magar supplement *-di*. The supplement is well attested in Rai territory and is also occasionally found in the Sunwar area.<sup>160</sup>

11.4. What is surprising, however, is not so much the occurrence of the supplement *-khu* in the area north of the Valley (*Li-khu*, *Ān-khu*) but the variety of designations for rivers that we find there: there are in traces of other systems of river names in this region.

158 For a discussion see author, StII 5/6, p. 327.

159 *Khu-di*, a village near Pokhara, and *Khu-di* (--> upper Marsyandi), cf. above, 8.2.

160 Of course, it can be argued that *khu* is just another old word Tib.-Burm. such as *\*ti(y)*.



*Ta-di* --> Likhu --> Triśūlī, which resembles a Magar name;  
*Phalan-gu* --> Trisuli, which looks like a Central Rai name;  
*Han-ku* a village west of *Bhar-khu* with a Sunwar/Rai supplement;  
*Len-de* a stream high up in Langtang, on the Tibetan border, which  
 can perhaps pass for a Magar designation in *-di*.

This very diverse, but closely packed evidence north of the Valley tends to indicate an originally close settlement of various tribes rather than a "colonial" spread of a single name type over larger areas, as found in most parts of Nepal, especially in the Magar speaking territories. The concurrence of names in *-khu*, *ku* and *gu* in the area adjacent to the Kathmandu Valley may indicate an early settlement by a number of linguistically diverse Rai tribes, having various forms of the word for "river". The same supplements are now found with various Rai tribes in the *Kirānt* lands. However, the closely packed evidence in the area north of the Valley would point to an earlier settlement here and a subsequent spread eastwards to the new, more spacious territories in the *Kirānt*. If so, it is possible that these various dialects developed already in the general area of the Kathmandu Valley and its surroundings.

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## 12. Evaluation:

12.1. How this and the other evidence collected above, can be explained historically is difficult to assess at this instance. One possibility is to posit a gradual eastward spread of certain tribes, similar to the recent and continuing eastward spread of Nepālī speakers ever since the time of the Malla kingdom of West Nepal. In that case, the Magars would have left a few traces even in westernmost Nepal such as *Baita-di*, *Maubhe-ri*, (see above, 3.6.).

Similarly, the clusters or river names ending in *-ti* / *-de* found in the north and the center of the Magar area could point to the remnants of an earlier Sunwar (or perhaps also a Thāmi, Chepang<sup>161</sup> population). Of course, since *-ti* is an old

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161 The Chepang now live on the higher slopes of the Mahābhārat range, in the southern Dhading, western Makwanpur, northern Chitwan and southern Gorkha districts, see D.B. Bista, *Peoples of Nepal*, Kathmandu 1972, p.99.

Tib.-Burm. word, it could just as well be a remnant of an older, non-specific Tib.-Burm. designation, which cannot be attributed to a particular tribe.

12.2. The names in *-khu* attested since Licchavi times in inscriptions as well as those in *-gu* in and near the Kathmandu Valley would then be an indication of an earlier Sunwar/Rai occupation. This can be substantiated to some extent by the statement of the Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī, quoted above, which perhaps indicates an eastward movement of the Kirātas, just as in the traditions reported by the Rai and Thāmi.

Of course, the Kathmandu Valley names in *-khu* could represent, as has been pointed out above, 10.7., n. 67, a very early form of Newārī as well, as the word *khu* is attested in the Old New. of the Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī. However, even in that case, one may deliberate whether the designation *khu* has not been taken over, along with the river names, from the earlier, "Kirāta" stratum of population in the Valley, and has been detached as a separate word in transparent compounds such as *Bel-khu*, etc.

Such cases are not unknown. I only remind of German *Alb*<sup>162</sup> (*Schwäbische, Fränkische Alb*, and *Alpen*, the general term for the Southern Mountains, the Alps, found also in French *Alpes*, Italian and Rumanian *Alpi*); similarly, the Germanic word *\*hafa*<sup>163</sup> which is used in several geographical designations in Eastern Germany/Poland has been taken over from a pre-Germanic substratum. A similar case in India is the word *gaṅgā*, most probably of pre-Indo-Aryan origin (see above) which can now be used as designation for many rivers.<sup>164</sup> (The opposite case is seen in English *river-*, *mount-*, or *-ville* which has been taken over from Norman French and now designates rivers, mountains and towns in all English speaking countries.)

In many cases, the words that make out part of the local topography, which now appear in Newārī and are already found in Licchavi inscriptions simply can be either archaisms or loans even from a pre-Tib.-Burm. substratum. This is

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162 Cf. Latin *albus, alba* "white" : these are chalk mountains, like the Swiss Jura, their southern continuation.

163 German *Haff* "lagune at the mouth of a river"; cf. Swedish *hav* "sea".

164 Cf. also other words for "river/water", such as *toya* and *nīra* which have pre-Indo-Aryan origins.

rather the normal case in any area, taken at random. Thus a name such a *London* or *Leiden*, both in Germanic speaking countries, go back, via Latin *Lugdunum* to a Celtic word meaning the "town of the god Lug";<sup>165</sup> or the Slavic (Bulgarian) designation for the Danube, *Dunav*, can be traced back via Latin *Danubius* to a North Iranian (Scythian) river name that also is found in Russian / Ukrainian *Don*, *Dnestr*, *Dnepr*; or the Arabic name of the Lebanese town Saīdā recaptures the biblical Sidon.

It is in this context that we have to try to understand the situation of the topographical terms of the Kathmandu Valley. Apparently, Malla (1981, p.17) has misunderstood my brief remarks on the local toponymy<sup>166</sup> contained in an article on the location of the Licchavi time capital of Nepal. I wrote (note that the portion not quoted by Malla is given in [] brackets):

"[... we can only say that they are local names, belonging to some unknown language. It may be early Newari, which otherwise is attested only in the 14th century <add: now from 893/1152 A.D. onwards>. They may also belong to an older substratum which preceded the immigration of the Newars, the date of which is unknown.<sup>167</sup> It is therefore too early to decide to which language these names belong. The chronicles speak of an earlier *Kirāta* kingdom in the Valley, and the Hanuman Dhoka inscription actually mentions them.] The syllabary structure of the many names of localities and persons mentioned in the Licchavi inscriptions does not conform with that of early Newārī, but we do not know, of course, whether the structure of Newārī had changed considerably or not between the 8th and the 14th centuries. [This is a possibility as many of the names show sound shifts (allophones) and even words which are to be found in Newari, too. < cf. also p.332 n.90.<sup>168</sup>> On the other hand,

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165 Therefore, there is no connection, as one might initially be led to think, with the equally frequent suffixed (Germanic) determinative *-town*, *-ton*.

166 Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik 5/6 (Fs. P. Thieme), p. 326-327.

167 Cf. above, n. 139.

168 Where I compared *-bu-*, *dol/dul*, *co(kh)*, *gal* of the Licchavi inscriptions with with mod. New.; cf. also p. 334 n. 94.

toponymy and especially hydronymy usually reflect very old strata, languages which may have disappeared since long.]"

I expressively did not exclude that the inscriptions capture an early form of Newārī, but as should be quite clear from the preceding sections (10.8-9.), this must not necessarily be the case. Especially so, since we now have access to much earlier texts in Old Newārī than those available at the time, such as the Hitopadeśa, Amarakośa,<sup>169</sup> the Malla time inscriptions, etc. The much earlier palmleaf land sale and mortgage documents edited by B. Kölver and H. Śākya, attest forms of Newārī for a period from 983 A.D. onwards. However, this language is not materially different from the Old Newārī of early Malla time. For example, the grammatical elements *ma-du,jurom* (= *julo*), etc. are found right from 983 A.D. onwards; cf. also *.sa*, *.yā*, etc.<sup>170</sup> The syllabary structure of these early Newārī words, too, is already that of the medieval Old Newārī, and differs considerably even from the form that the toponymical words in the late Licchavi inscriptions take.

For example, Licchavi *Khṛpuṅ/Khopṛṅ*<sup>171</sup> is already found as *Khvapam*, *Khvapo*,<sup>172</sup> *Khopva/Khvapa*. Even if the manner of writing place names in the Licchavi inscriptions was traditional - a claim that cannot be made with much certainty-- the sudden change<sup>173</sup> surprises by which 8th century spellings such

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169 See K. P. Malla, *Classical Newari Literature: A Sketch*, Kathmandu 1982, p. 35.

170 See also in the text of the Gop.Vaṃś., Samvat 219: *bhāro.ṭom*.

171 *Khopṛṅ-grāma* in the Śivaliṅga Inscr. at Deopatan, [Śaka] Samvat 399 = 476 A.D., cf. *Mākho-dulum* in the Kumhale Tol inscr. and *Khṛpuṅ-grāma* in the Tulachem Tol inscr. of [Śaka] Samvat 516 = 584 A.D.

172 *Khvapvam* Gop.Vaṃś. 37k.4 sqq., *Khvapo* 56k.2 sqq. (replacing the Bhaktapura, Bhaktagrāma --including the Tripura palace-- of the earlier parts of the text (V<sub>1</sub>)). Note that the more modern spelling *Khvapo* occurs only in the latest parts of the Gop.Vaṃś on fol. 56 (NS 494) and fol. 59 (NS 500), indicating a shift in the orthography at the time and bearing witness, incidentally, to the way the Vaṃśavalī was compiled on the basis of older sources. -- The inscriptions and Thyasaphus have *Khvapa* or *Khapva* and the modern form is *Khvapa*. -- cf. already StII 5/6 p. 327. n.74.

173 Note the many variant spellings of local names in the Licchavi inscriptions, such as *-khu/khū/kho*, *Cva/Co*, *Cu*, *priṅ/prṅ*, *Sāmbhapura/Sāmbhapura*, see already StII 5/6 p.327 n.

as *Gullataṅga-grāma* (modern *Guita* in E.Patan), appear as Old Newārī *Gusaṭalo(-nāmā°)*<sup>174</sup> of the inscriptions and sale documents, about two or three hundred years later. One can, of course, argue that Newārī changed exactly during this period of political (and presumably social) change, which saw the end of the Licchavi dynasty and varying degrees of political influence by the Tibetan kingdom in the affairs of the Valley. But it is also possible that the speakers of Newārī immigrated into the Valley precisely at this moment.

These facts alone thus cannot decide the matter, and Malla (1981, 17) therefore is wrong when he simply asserts: "Many of the roots and suffixes<sup>175</sup> that we have identified in the data are still in use in modern Newārī<sup>176</sup> ... in the same sense... we can safely postulate that the source language of *most* of these nominals is proto-Newārī." To maintain such a stance in other, well researched areas, would mean that nouns such as *mount*, *river*, and bound nouns in forms such as *-ville*, *-(Win)-chester*, or *(Lon)-don* are English (Germanic) and not Norman French, Latin, Celtic words, or that *Danuv* is Bulgarian (Slavic) and not ultimately derived from Northern Iranian.

The provisional conclusion, delineated above, is just one of the possible scenarios, just as I indicated in my earlier note of 1980, - and it was nothing more than a brief remark since in that context, I could not enter into a longer discussion, such as the one presented here.

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69, 72., 74, 75, 87.-- (These are, it is true, also features of medieval Newārī, but they may as well represent the sound system of the local substratum which has influenced, as is often the case, the subsequent Newārī!).

174 *Gusaṭalo-nāmarampo(?) vihāra...* in an inscription, on an image of Dīpaṅkara at *Guita Bahil*, Patan, see D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, vol. III, p. 11, no. XXI; for *Gullaṅga-grāma* see Dh.B.Bajracharya, *Licchavi Kāla.ko Abhilekha*, p.496, (an inscr. from Yāga-Bahāl in Patan).

175 By which he means the constituent parts of place names, such as *-co* etc., and not, as would be required to decide the case, grammatical elements.

176 This is what I already demonstrated in StII 5/6 (1980), (*passim*, see esp. p. 332,n. 90) for such words as *khu*, *co*, *bu*, *dul*, *gvala*; but I was careful not to claim that the ultimate *origin* of these words necessarily must be Newārī, as Malla does; cf. also Dh.V. Vajracārya, *Settlements*, (see above, n. 3) p. 358 who thinks that "the meaning of these words has not been established by scientific research)."

A firm solution would be reached if we could (a) show that some of the constituent parts of the Licchavi place names have demonstrably Proto-Tibeto-Burmese etymologies that are attested outside Newārī (which Malla has not done; a clear case is *\*ti*, perhaps also *co*, *ko*),<sup>177</sup> and better even, if (b) that these Proto-Tib.-Burm. words have a particular shape that is *only* found in later Newārī and that these phonetic developments are not found in the other Tib.-Burmese languages of the Himalayas (as for example in New. *la/lakh* 'water'? - But cf. Danuwar *la-ri*, Sunwar *li-ku*).

Not being a specialist of Tib.-Burmese, I cannot, of course, vouch for the completeness of my investigation. (The Nepalese toponyms need a special investigation which takes into account the evidence from the Licchavi inscriptions, the colophons of early MSS and mortgage documents, as well as other medieval inscriptions and manuscripts, the Gopālarājavamśāvalī, old Newārī sources such as the Amarakośa of Māṇikyā, etc.).

To return to the areas neighboring the Valley, the possible or even probable case of an earlier habitat of the Rai in Central and Western Nepal can be supported, as has been indicated above (3.2., 3.5.), by further evidence from the Dolpo and Mugu areas. The occurrence of the supplement *-wa* in Dolpo (cf. also the village *Murwa* in the Phoksumdo area), *Mandu-wa*, *U-wā* (-->Lungri --> Māri), *Tek-wa* (--> Bari Gāḍ) if taken together with the north-western names in *-gu* such as *Mu-gu*, *Lan-gu* could point to a much older, more western

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177 *-co* "hill, mountain top", mod. New *cwa*, *cwak-* (cf. Nep. form *-cok*); in Licch. inscr. *-co*, but also *cokh-parā* "hill (crossing) tax"; cf. Kaike *chwang*, Khaling 'cong (= *coṅ*, with high pitch), Limbu *joṅ* (see A.Hale, Clause Sentence and Discourse Patterns, in selected languages of Nepal, IV, Norman 1973, p. 134 no.50); but note also *cuk* "mountain range" in Gilyak, a non-Sino-Tibetan language of East Asia, see Vitaly Shevoroshkin: Reconstructing Languages and Cultures, Bochum:Brockmeyer 1989, p. 69; -- *-bu* "land"; O.New. *bu/bru*, Licch. inscr. *bu/bru*; cf. Tamang *pū*, Limbu *pyāñji?* -- *-gaa* '\*village'? cf. Mod. New. "classifier for round objects; part of Kathmandu"; O.New. *gvala(m)*, as in the name of Deopatan, etc., (Licch.) Inscr. *gvala*, *gvalam*, post-Licch. inscr. *gola-ka* = *grhamaṇḍala* / *cakal*, but cf. Skt. *gola(ka)*, "ball, globe"; perhaps cognate with Tib.Burm. (Consp. 444) *\*r-wa* / *\*g-wa*; cf. 91 *\*wal* "round"; --- *ko* 'slope', *kwa*, *kwaā* 'down'; *pā-kā* "slope of a hill"; cf. Tamang *kyāhmpā* (= *kyāmpā*, with level low tone), Thakāli 'koh-plen (= *kó-plen*), Khaling 'khotū? (= *khótū*, with high pitch), see Hale, Clause, p. 134 n. 53); - for *khu/khū* see below, 13., list of Tib.-Burm. words.

location of the Rai tribes than the one postulated in Licchavi times for the Kathmandu Valley (*before* the Newār immigration).<sup>178</sup>

Finally, the forms in *-di/-de* north of the Kathmandu Valley could be attributed, if not to a Magar then perhaps to an earlier Tib.-Burm. substrate (cf. the Kachin, Dimasa forms)<sup>179</sup>

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12.3. The preceding deliberations are preliminary and must, for the time being, remain little more than speculation leading to some probable or, at least, to some possible explanations. Only a thorough comparison of all the available place names, including those of settlements, mountains, as well as of fields, pastures and gardens (which are much more difficult to collect) could substantiate the thesis proposed above. Our dictionaries and other materials do not allow me to go beyond these suggestions at t(is moment.

The next step clearly falls outside my competence: detailed knowledge of the various Tib.-Burm. languages and dialects involved is essential. I have therefore avoided to present, as far as possible or advisable at this stage, etymologies of individual place names. Also, a check on the spot is necessary of most of the river names and other place names collected in this paper. One has to make sure that they have been recorded correctly and whether they were given by the present population or, if not, whether they are remnants from one or more earlier strata.

At this moment, the preliminary results of the above deliberations on the hydronymy and the early settlement of the Nepalese Himalayas, as well as on the early movements of tribes speaking a particular language can be summed up as follows.

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178 Cf. above, n. 134.

179 See Benedict, *Conspectus* no. 168, p. 45 n. 149.

#### 12.4. Western Nepal

- possible old stratum represented by the Kusunda, (cf. also the presence of the nomadic, though Tib.-Burm. speaking Raute<sup>180</sup> nomads); some Muṇḍa traces? (*Gaṇḍi*, *Gaṇḍakī*, attested since the Mahābhārata, and in Nepal since 464 A.D.).
- an older substratum of Tib.-Burm. names (-*ti*), cf. 2.5, 5.2, 10.2.; if these belong to the "*Kirāta*" then this could have been already in Atharvavedic times (c. 1100 B.C.); cf. also names looking "generally Tib.-Burm." such as: *Seng*, *Arung*, etc. see 3.4, 4.2., 6., 7. One may think of an earlier presence of the Thāmi, (who claim to have come from Humla), as the easternmost representative of Western Himalayish, or of the Chepang/Hayu of Central Himalayish.
- a possible Rai<sup>181</sup> (or Sunwar?) substratum in Mu-*gu*, etc., and in the Magar area, represented by -*khu* names (5.6., 8.2, n.79), and a subsequent movement towards the Kathmandu Valley and beyond, to present day *Kirānt*.<sup>182</sup>
- a Magar colonization in all of W. and Central Nepal, the Magrāt area, with names in -*ri* and -*dī*, extending from the W. border perhaps as far as the Ta-*dī*, N. of Kathmandu; cf. the *Maṅga*, *Maṅg(v)ara* of the Mahābhārata and the inscriptions.
- a Khas overlay in W. Nepal of speakers of W. Nepālī (*gād* area), taking place in the middle ages, before c.1200 A.D.; Khaśa are attested in Manu (c. 200 B.C. / 200 A.D.) and on the rims of the Kashmir Valley (mentioned by the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, thus well before 1149/50 A.D.)
- In the Northern areas, immigration of the Gurungs,(together or a little earlier than the Tibetan expansion, about the middle of the first millenium A.D.?),

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180 Dor Bahadur Bista, Encounter with the Raute: The last hunting nomads of Nepal, Kailash 4, 1976, p. 317-327; Bista supplies a Swadesh list of their vocabulary (p. 322) which clearly shows that it belongs, other than Kusunda, to the Tib.-Burm. family.-- See also: J. Reinhard, The Raute, Kailash 2, (1974), 233- 271.

181 Note the legends about their origin in this area, see above n. 30 and cf. 10.9; 12.2, 3.2, 3.5.

182 See above, note 31.

forming an overlay of an older Tib.-Burm. group in Mugu, Dolpo, Tarap (3.4.,5.6). The time of the Thakāli migration is unclear so far.

#### 12.5. Central Nepal:

- An early substrate of Muṇḍa(?) or some other language. (The various substrates in Newārī and other Tib.-Burm. languages have to be investigated in detail, cf. n. 21).
- an early Tib.-Burm. substrate (cf. Danuwar, Chepang, Vayu and Thāmi, Bhramu *-ti*, and cf. 10.2.).
- the "Kirāta" level (= Rai, Sunwar?) with names in *-khu*, and also with *-gu*, *-ku* north of the Valley (10.6.). If Vedic Skt. *Kosala* is based on a Rai word (cf. n. 98), this tribe would be attested in this general area already by c. 600/700 B.C.; cf. Pāli *Kosikī* (c.300 B.C.).
- the Newar immigration,<sup>183</sup> at a still unknown time, perhaps in the (early) Licchavi period, but in any case before 983 A.D. (mortgage documents). Note that the exact linguistic position of Newārī within Tib.-Burm. still is uncertain.<sup>184</sup>
- later, the immigration of the Tamangs ("Murmi"), who still are spreading southwards now.
- the medieval Khas immigration, at first into the hilly rims of the Valley, but by the middle of the 17th century reaching into the Valley itself (Rāñī Pokharī inscr.).

#### 12.6. E.Nepal:

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183 see above n. 138, 139.

184 See the Summary by Tej R. Kansakar, *Newari Language: A Conspectus*, *Contrib. to Nep. Stud.*, 8 (1981) p. 1-18; cf. now Starostin, see above n. 76.

- an early Muṇḍa substratum?<sup>185</sup> Cf. also the legends of the Kulunge Rai about the earlier settlers of the Hongu valley, the *Rungsiupa*.<sup>186</sup>
- immigration of the Thāmi and Bhramu, probably from Western Nepal, perhaps from Humla.<sup>187</sup> Note their close link with Western Himalayish (Kanauri, etc.).
- the Sunwar and Rai immigration, probably from Western and Central Nepal.<sup>188</sup> Note again *Kosala* in Vedic, c. 600/700 B.C.
- immigration of the Sherpas, from E. Tibet, about 1500 A.D., into Solu and Khumbu, partly displacing Rai settlers.
- a late Khas immigration, mostly along the lower valleys, reaching Darjeeling and Sikkim already in the last century, and continuing eastwards into Bhutan and Assam until recent times.

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185 Note that the Muṇḍa languages Satar and Santali are actually spoken in the extreme south-east of Nepal.

186 See above, note 30.

187 See above, note 80 and cf. note 76 for a different view of the Tib.-Burm. homeland (S.A. Starostin).

188 See above, 3.3; note 31.

### 12.7. The South:

- an early Muṇḍa substratum (*Gaṇḍaki*, etc.).
- the Tharus with their various Tib.-Burm. (and other?) substrates and a late Indo-Aryan superstrate.
- modern immigration from India (Awadhī, Bhojpurī, Maithilī speakers) and from the hills (various tribes, with Nepālī as *lingua franca*).<sup>189</sup>

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189 See G. Chand, C.R. Roy, N.M. Tuladhar and Subhadra Subba, *Studies in Bilingualism in Nepal*, Kathmandu 1975

13. LIST of designations for "river" in Nepal:

Italicized words (and those from the Rai and Limbu dialects) are from Hodgson, Miscellaneous Essays related to Indian Subjects, Vol. I p. 161 sqq., London 1880, p. 164 sqq., 171 sqq., p.1 sqq. (vowel lengths are normalized: *ā* for *á* etc.; --- the words in parenthesis ( ) are from publications of the Summer Institute of Linguistics; others, from etc.; further materials on Rai and Limbu dialects are from W. Winter, Linguistic Survey of Nepal, prepubl. draft 1985. -- The phonetically not quite representative Dict. of the Royal Nepal. Acad. (In addition those in the three columns on the right of the following table, are from this dictionary). In some cases, actual pronunciation is indicated by [ ].

	`WATER'	`RIVER'	`steep hill	`stream'	`stream'
		stream'			
Nepālī	pāni	kholo/ā kholca, kholsi	khahare (kholo,	kulo	muhān  kholso)
Thāru	<u>pāni</u>	<u>khola</u>		kulavā	moharā
Kūsūnda <sup>190</sup>	<u>tāng</u> , <i>tān</i>	<u>gimme</u> konā			

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Tib.-Burm. 55 \*ti(y), 127 \*kluñ  
(Benedict) 168 \*twiy

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190 See Hodgson, Essays on the Languages, Literatures and Religion of Nepal and Tibet, London 1874, II p. 45 sqq. = JASB XVII, II, 1848, p. 650 sqq.; Shafer, Ethnography of India, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 10 sqq.; see now cf. also Tim Toba, A brief introduction to Kusunda, Kathmandu (Summer Institute of Linguistics) 1971; J. Reinhard, Contrib. to Nep.Stud. 4,1 (1976) p. 1-21, esp. p. 15, and a Swadesh word list, p. 19-21; see also: Objets et Mondes, 9, p. 89-106; - cf. also C.J.F.S. Forbes, Affinities of the dialects of the Chepang and Kusundah tribes of Nepal with those of the hill tracts of Arracan, Journal of the Royal Asiat. Soc. 9 (new Ser.) 1877, p. 421-424.

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Tibetan<sup>191</sup> chu, chab kluñ, chu-kluñ

Sherpa [chú]<sup>192</sup> [cañbu gerpu] [cañbu]  
( 'chuq) (cangbu gerpu) (cangbu)

Kaike<sup>193</sup> [ñyu] [chāñpu] [syoñ] [syoñ]  
(Tyu) (chāngpu) (song) (syong)

Gurung kyu [kyú]<sup>194</sup> kyu, khwon khari kuli monā  
(kyuq) [gā~ngyu] (syo)  
(gā:ngyu)  
|

Tamang<sup>195</sup> kwi [kʂ] kwi, syoñ syoñ, kulā kyūi mohan  
(Murmi) ('ki) [kanti]<sup>196</sup> khahare (syong)  
(kahnti) [ka<sup>h</sup>re?]

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191 For South(-Western) Tibetan, see, e.g. R. Bielmeier, A preliminary survey of the dialect of Mustang, JNRC 8, 1988, p. 31-37

192 I give a transcription derived from the somewhat cumbersome spelling, due to the restrictions of the typewriter keys, in: A. Hale, Clause, sentence and Discourse Pattern in selected Languages of Nepal, Part IV, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Norman, 1973, p. 24, 55: 'chuq.

193 James F. Fisher, A vocabulary of the Kaike language, Summer Institute, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, March 1971; also called Tarali Kham, spoken in 3 villages in Dolpa District

194 Accented forms are given in [ ] brackets, transformed from the listings (given in ( ) parenthesis) according to A. Hale, Clause, Sentence and Discourse Pattern in selected Languages of Nepal, Part IV, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Norman, 1973, (p. 55, Hale: kyuq).

195 Cf. M. Mazandon in Kailash 6, 1978, p. 158.

196 With breathy pronunciation: *kahnti*, Hale p. 137.

Thākāli<sup>197</sup> kyu (omto kyu) (kāhng kyu)  
(kyu) Omdo kyu =

Kāli Gaṇḍaki

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Kanauri ti  
Manchati ti

Thāmi<sup>198</sup> pāng-ku

Bhrāmū<sup>199</sup> ā-wā gū-dūl

Raute<sup>200</sup> ti

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Magar<sup>201</sup> di kwi, khwon khahare kulo muhān  
(di) [gaṇḍāk] (kholā)  
(ganDāk)

Kham ri, [rih]‘ bəy, khola bəy  
Magar ('ri:h) (bayhri) bəyri (bayh)  
bəgar (dry river)

Cepāng<sup>202</sup> ti kyu, goro gagar (ti?.kholā) śira

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197 S. Gauchan and M. Vindig, The history of the Takhaali according to Thakaali tradition, Kailash 5, 1977, p. 97-184, see esp. p.106-107 for river names and pp. 173-176 for the toponymy of the region, also in Nepālī and Tibetan.

198 According to Grierson, Ling. Survey of India vol. III.1, p. 408 sqq. He records Thāmi as heard in Darjeeling. For notes on the Thāmi, see above, n. 16, 75, 80, 103, 118, 141.

199 Cf. also Grierson, III,1 p. 400 sqq.; the Bhrāmu live in the Tarai, see Hogson, Misc. Essays, I, p. 161 sqq.

200 Dor Bahadur Bista, Encounter with the Raute: The last hunting nomads of Nepal, Kailash 4, 1976, p. 317-327; J. Reinhard, The Raute, Kailash 2 (1974), 233- 271.

201 See Grierson, Survey III,1 p. 206 ff. : Magarī.

202 See D.B. Bista, Peoples of Nepal, Kathmandu 1972, p.98 sqq.



Sunwar<sup>209</sup> pan-khu, ti li-ku,      bagara kulā nepu  
 [bākku]      (kholā)      (kholā)  
 (bā:kku)  
 māḱ<sup>210</sup>  
 pa-ku

Jirel<sup>211</sup> [chūi]      [chulām]      [ṭhāṅka] [ṭhāṅkā]  
 ('cyhuq)      (cyhulumq)      ('Thāṅkā) ('Thāṅkā)

Rai      ku, wa, ka-wa ku, kuñ,      hoṅku-rokki kulo ḍolām  
 pwa-ku      yowa, gulo  
 cu-wa, ca-wa hoṅkoma

----  
 Bāhing-      *pwā-ku*      *gūlo*  
 gyā      *bwā-ku*  
 pa-ku

----  
 Chou-      *kā-kū*      *gūlo*  
 ras'ya      ka-kuñ

----  
 Thulung-      *kū*      *kūrkū*  
 g'ya<sup>212</sup>      ku

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209 Grierson, Survey II,1 p.198. "They say that they came originally from Simungarh near Bara Chhatri in Western Nepal."

210 Grierson, Survey III,1, p. 258 for Darjeeling Sunwar.

211 Esther Strahm and Anita Maibaum, A vocabulary of the Jirel language, Summer Institute, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Nov. 1971; the entry has 'cyhuq for "water" but the other related words show that a typing mistake is involved and \*'cyhu[i]q must be meant in my transcription: ' = high level tone > ā, etc.; ...q = high falling tone > à etc. ; the mistake is carried on through to the dictionary contained in vol. IV of Clause, Sentence and Discourse Patterns, thus: \*'cyhu[i]q = chūi, 'cyhulumq = chulām, 'Thangka = ṭhāṅka, 'Thāṅkā = ṭhāṅkā.

212 See now, N.J. Allen, Sketch of Thulung grammar, (China-Japan Program, East Asia Papers no. 6) Cornell Univ., Ithaca 1975 (includes a glossary of 1600 words).

Khaling<sup>213</sup> *kū* *yō*, *kā-wā*  
(ku) [yó] ('yo) *káwa* [kāwa] *káwa* [kāwa]  
*kuñ* ('kawa) ('kawa)

----

Dūmi *kū* *rū*  
*koñ-ku*

Rodong = *wā* < \**r-wa*<sup>g214</sup> *wā hwāi*  
Chamling *wa*

----

Dūngmāli *chāh'-wa* *hong-ma*  
*cak-wa*

----

Sāngpāng *wā* *hokoma*  
*kān-wā* *hongkoma*  
*kuñ-wa*

Ku- *kāū* *yo wā*  
*lūng'ya* *kuñ-wa*

Nāchhe- *ka a wā* *hūng kwāma*  
*rēng* *kuñ-wa* *hūng kōma*

Bālāli *kung-wā* *hong'-ma*

----

Lōhōrōng *yo-wā* *yū-wa, hong'-ma*  
*yoñ-wa* *dīhongma*

----

Yākha *māng chūwa* *hong'ma*  
*mañ-cwak*

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213 Sueyoshi and Ingrid Toba, A vocabulary of the Khaling language, Summer Institute, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, August 1972; Khaling is spoken by c. 12,000 people in the Solu and Khotang District. It has phonemic tones, high and low). ' = high tone > in my transcription *á* etc.

214 Benedict, *Conspectus* 443.

Rūng- *chāwā* *hongkū*  
chhēnbūng

Wāling *chāwā* *hong'ma*

Lāmbi- *chū-wā* *wāyā*  
cchōng *wēt*

Ching- *chū wā* *wāhōh'ma*  
tāngya *cwak*

---

Limbu *cwak,* *yakhuñ, wohoñ* *hoñkhoñ vājika vabun*  
*wa-*

<Senior's *cūāt* *yambā cūād* *yoñkhōñ, wahōñ*  
Diction.>

Phedappe *cwa', \*wa*  
Limbu

---

Lepcha *uñ, oñ* *kyoñ, oñkyoñ* *khyoñ uñkrūl uñrām*

Dhimal<sup>215</sup> ci ci rāghā  
chī chī mhoika chī

Bodo dōi dōi, dōi gēdēt dōisā

Kachin ti kruñ "valley"  
mædi "moist"  
mædit "to wet"

Burmese ~  
khyuín [chaí]  
Shang ti  
Kanburi-  
Lawa ti  
Nung thi

-----  
Thai nām kloñ  
da<sup>216</sup>

Ahom nam ta

(S. China)  
Sui nam  
Mak nam  
(Hainan)  
Be nam  
Li nam

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Cham krauñ  
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Chinese<sup>217</sup> \*d<sup>i</sup>at 1190 \*kãng 350 \*gi<sup>w</sup>eng 286

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215 See Hodgson, Misc. Essays, p. 115: "do not exceed 15,000 souls, ... in the Saul forest between the Konki and Dhorla or Torsha, mixed with the Bodo".

216 'river side', Shafer, Introd., p. 470.

217 The numbers refer to B. Karlgren, Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese, Paris 1923.

'clear water' (in: Yangtze- 'rivulet'  
Kiang)

\*<sub>g</sub><sup>w</sup>@ng 117

'deep water' \*<sub>k</sub>àu 310 \*kiek 329,  
'river bank'

\*<sub>kieu</sub> 222

'to water' \*<sub>k</sub>ung' 469  
'hollow'

\*<sub>t</sub>'<sup>i</sup>wan 1261

'mountain stream'

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