Tibeto-Mongolica
TIBETO-MONGOLICA

THE TIBETAN LOANWORDS OF MONGUOR
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
ARCHAIC TIBETAN DIALECTS

by

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PREFACE

In the present study I have set myself the aim to treat the question of the Tibetan loanwords of Monguor in the broader context of the Tibetan linguistic history. The idea of this particular approach was outlined by Professor Ligeti in his University lectures on Tibetan linguistic history in the year 1953/1954. His views concerning the basic problems of the history of the Tibetan dialects and his outline of the method and sources of this discipline directed my interest to the loanwords of the archaic Mongolian dialects in the Kan-su — Ch’ing-hai area. He stressed the importance of these loanwords not only in the lectures on Tibetan but also on Mongolian linguistic history where he outlined the Mongolian side of the question. In a series of lectures on Old Tibetan he made also important remarks on the North-Eastern archaic Tibetan dialects. His communications provided me not only with incentive and methodological ideas, but I have received from him constant personal guidance during the entire writing of this work. When I express here my sincere gratitude for his indispensable help, I hope that his scientific-pedagogical labours — which tresspassed so much on his time for his proper scientific work — have not been altogether fruitless.

I am indebted also to my colleague Géza Uray for many of his instructive suggestions.

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A. Róna-Tas
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ABBREVIATIONS

AEk Archaic Amdo, Ekvall, Cultural Relations
AFL Old Tibetan Texts, Thomas, Ancient Folk-Literature
An An-shun-kuan, D'Ollone, Langues, No 40
Bal Balti, Read, Balti Grammar
BalA Balti, Austen, A Vocabulary
BalJ Balti, Jäschke, A Tibetan—English
BalL Balti, Francke—Konow in Linguistic Survey (= Purik)
BalV Balti, Vigne, Travels
BalR Balti, Roerich, Le parler
Ban Banag, Roerich, Le parler
Blo Dictionary of Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jīn, ed. Go, An Eastern Tibetan
Cham Chamdo, Chin P'eng, Ts'ang-yü
ChamN Chamdo, Needham, A Few Dīgārō
ChD Dictionary of Che-tan žabs-drūṅ, Dag-yig
Chog Chog-če, Wen Yu, Phonetic Changes
Chung Chung-tien, Davies, Yün-nan
CsD Dictionary of Csoma, Essay
CT Central Tibetan, Roerich, Textbook
CTB Central Tibetan, Bell, Manual
CTJ Central Tibetan, Jäschke, A Tibetan—English
CTM Central Tibetan, Miller, Segmental
CTR Central Tibetan, Roerich, Le parler
CTW Central Tibetan, Gould-Richardson, Word Book
Das Dictionary of Das, A Tibetan—English
DD Dictionary of Desgodins, Dictionnaire
DerM Derge, Migot, Recherches
DerW Derge, Wen Yu, Studies
Dpa Dpa-ri, Hermanns, Tibetische Diaklete
DpaR Dpa-ri, Roerich, Le parler
DTH Old Tibetan Texts, Bacot—Thomas—Toussaint, Documents
Ek Non-archaic Amdo, Ekvall, Cultural Relations
Gol Golok-Serta, Roerich, Le parler
GRD Dictionary of Chos-kyi Grags-pa, Brda dag
Ha Han-niu, Rosthorn, Vokabularfragment
Hy Hua yi yi yū Sino-Mongolian dictionary of 1389, Lewicki, La langue
JÄD Dictionary of Jäschke, A Tibetan—English
Kan Kan-tzu, Migot, Recherches
KangI K'ang-ting idiom I, Migot, Recherches
KangII  K'ang-ting idiom II, Migot, Recherches
Kha  Khams, Jäschke, A Tibetan—English
KhaJ  Khams, Jäschke, Über die Phonetik
KhaR  Khams, Roerich, Textbook
KhL  Literary Khalkha, Luvsandendev, Mongol oros
Kow  Dictionary of Kowalewski, Dictionnaire
Lad  Ladakh, Miller, Segmental
LadJ  Ladakh, Jäschke, A Tibetan—English
LadR  Ladakh, Roerich, Le parler
LadW  Ladakh, Ramsey, Western Tibet
LhCh  Lhasa, Chin P'eng, Ts'ang-yü
LhL  Lhasa, Sandberg in: Linguistic Survey
LhM  Lhasa, Miller, The Independent and Segmental
LhS  Lhasa, Sedláček, The Tonal System
LhSp  Lhasa, Sprigg, papers see bibliography
LhY  Lhasa, Yü Tao-ch’uan, Love Songs
LMong  Literary Mongolian
LSI  Linguistic Survey of India
LT  Literary Tibetan
M  Monguor, Mostaert, Dictionnaire
Me  Me-li, Bonin, Vocabulaires
Mgr  Monguor
MMo  Middle Mongolian
NEAT  North-Eastern Archaic Tibetan
Nish  Amdo, Nishida, The Numerals
Ord  Ordos, Mostaert, Dictionnaire ordos
OT  Old Tibetan
Pan  Panaka, Rockhill, The Land
PotA  Glosses in the texts of Potanin, Тангутско-Тибетская
Prz  Wordlist of Prževalskij, Монголия
Pur  Purik, Bailey, Linguistic Studies
PurL  Purik, Francke in: Linguistic Survey
PurJ  Purik, Jäschke, A Tibetan—English
RA  Rebkön—Amdowa, Roerich, Le parler
Rna  Rña-ba, Wen Yu, Phonetic Changes
Sa  Sa-stod, Wen Yu, Phonetic Changes
Sch  Monguor, Schröder, Zur Religion
SchD  Dictionary of Schmidt, Tibetisch—Deutsches
SD  Dictionary of Sumatratinna, Bod-hor-kyi
ShY  Shera Yögur, Róna-Tas, Tibetan Loan-words
Si  Amdo, Sibata, A Material
Sung  Sung-p'an, Gill in: Lacouperie, Les langues
Sz  Wordlist of Széchenyi, Keletázsiai
T  Mongolian from Tangkar, Schröder, Zur Religion
Ta  Ta-ch’ien-lu, D’Ollonne, Langues, No 37
Tao  Tao-fu, Migot, Recherches
TLTD  Old Tibetan Texts, Thomas, Tibetan Literary Texts
Tod  Monguor, Todaeva, Монгольские языки
INTRODUCTION

The Monguors, or as they are called by the neighbouring Chinese, T’u-jen, are living in the Hu-chu, Min-ho, Ta-t’ung and T’ung-jen regions of the Ch’ing-hai province, in the Chinese People’s Republic; a few groups of them are scattered over T’ien-chung and the vicinity of Yung-teng and Lin-hia.¹ We find the first references by European travellers to the Monguors in the book of Huc and Gabet. They were followed by many travellers who crossed the territory and mentioned them by the names Dalat, Dolot, Dordo, Tordo, White Mongols or simply Mongols. It is enough if we cite here the names of Przevalskij, Potanin, Rockhill, Tafel, Filchner, Lesdain, Kozlov, Rock, Roerich or Széchenyi. Their research-work and the journeys made by still others have been discussed many times in connection with the Monguors.²

¹ According to official figures for 1953/1954 more than 53,000 Monguors lived in this territory (cf. Todaeva, Монгольские языки p. 9, the full bibliographical data on the works cited in this book can be found on pp. 219—227. below). The geographical situation is defined according to the latest administrative arrangement. An earlier arrangement made in 1930 was described by Rock (The Amnye Machen, pp. 3—23). Good maps can be found in Schram’s book (The Monguors, III, p. 7) and in Schröder’s paper (Zur Religion, p. 6). Min-ho of to-day is the same as San-ch’uan of Potanin and Mostaert (cf. Mostaert, Le dialecte mongour I, p. 145). According to Roerich (Le parler, p. 3) Monguors also live in Reb-kon, e.g. in the village of Señ-ge gžuñ. On the map of Schram Monguors are denoted on the plateau of Nan-shan and on the Eastern slopes of the Nan-shan range and on the right bank of the Huang-ho, around Kuei-te. The name „Mongour” is the pronunciation of the ethnonym „Mongol” in the Narin guor dialect. In the dialects described by Schröder and Todaeva we find Mongol. The Chinese appellation T’u-jen ‘native inhabitant’ is applied only to Mongor in this territory. On the semantical development of the Chinese term cf. Serruys, The Mongols of Kansu, p. 258.

² See Schram, The Monguors I, pp. 23—26, Serruys, The Mongols of Kansu, pp. 217—220, Roerich, Le parler, pp. 1—3, Todaeva, Монгольские языки, pp. 11—19. In these discussions only the name of Széchenyi, a Hungarian traveller is missing. He also crossed the Mongor territory, though he does not mention them specifically among the Mongolian tribes (Széchenyi, I, p.
The Monguors speak an archaic Mongolian language. The earliest specimen of their language was published by Potanin in 1893 (Тангутское — Тибетская окраина, cf. Bibliography p. 223). He was followed by Rockhill in the next year (The Land of the Lamas). The vocabulary No 44 of D'Ollone (Langues), the short word-lists in Tafel's travel-book (Meine Tibetreise) and in the paper of Volpert (T'u-yen) did not add very much new to our knowledge. Only the fundamental studies of De Smedt and Mostaert, their phonology (Le dialecte Monguor I) morphology (Le dialecte Monguor II), and Dictionary (Dictionnaire monguor—français) made further detailed studies possible. These works were based on the Narin guor sub-dialect of Monguor and up to the recent times only the Narin guor material was used in Mongolian philology. In the last years we have obtained new linguistic material also from other dialects of Monguor recorded by Schröder (Zur Religion, and Aus der Volksdichtung), Čingeltei (Dumdadu) and Todaeva (Монгольские языки).

Monguor belongs to the archaic Mongolian languages of the Kan-su — Ch'ing-hai area. On the basis of recent studies\(^3\) we can assign the place of Monguor and its dialects among the archaic Mongolian languages of China as follows:

I. Shera Yögor

1. Material of Potanin
2. K'ang-lung ssu
3. Klaudjek gol
4. Logocha
5. Sahkyz
6. Chung-sa
7. Hsi-ning\(^4\)

II. Monguor

1. Hu-chu or Wu yang-pu (Wei yün-p'u)
   a) Narin-guor
   b) Material of Schröder
   c) Xaltši-gol
   d) Fulan nara (Fulan nura guor)
   e) Tung-kou

LXXXI: hosot, horosz, koit, torgut, khalkha), several times he alludes to them indirectly (Cf. L. Ligeti, A magyar—mongol nyelvhasonlítás történetéhez [On the history of Hungarian—Mongolian comparative linguistics]: Magyar Nyelv 1941, pp. 336—338).

\(^3\) The latest classification based on a study tour made in 1955/1956 was published by Todaeva (Монгольские языки, pp. 7—10), Cf. also the work of Čingeltei (Dumdadu). To this classification I have used further Professor Ligeti's University lectures on the Mongolian dialects.

\(^4\) The Shera Yögor material of Potanin was published in his Тангутское — Тибетская окраина. The K'ang-lung ssu and Klaudjek gol material was
The Mongguor language has drawn the attention of scholars both by its preserved archaic traits and also by the considerable mutations of its inherited Mongolian linguistic structure. Naturally preserved archaisms and developed innovations are traits of a language which can be separated only in the course of scientific investigation; in the living language itself they coexist in competition. Some of the archaic traits of Mongguor have been discussed, but no syste-

recorded by Mannerheim (cf. A Visù). From Logocha, Sahkyz, Chungsa and Hsi-ning Malov has collected some material. The materials of Potanin, Mannerheim and Malov were worked up and edited by Kotwicz (La langue mongole). On the Shera Yögur cf. further my paper Tibetan Loan-words in Shera Yögur.

5 From the centre of the Hu-chu dialect we have material recorded by Potanin (op. cit.) who calls it У-ян-BY and from Tafel (Meine Tibetreise, p. 247), who calls it Wei-yüan bu. On the identity of these place-names see Mostaert, Dictionnaire mongoor—français, p. VI and Todaeva, op. cit., pp. 15—17. From Xaltši-gol we can find a few words and a grammatical description in Todaeva, op. cit., pp. 71—88. From Fulan nara (Todaeva) or Fulan nara guor (Mostaert) we have no material, except some remarks by Todaeva and Mostaert. On Tung-kou I received some information only from a letter written to me by Professor Schröder (27th July 1961). From Min-ho we have some material by Potanin op. cit. with the designation Санъ-чунь, by Rockhill (Diary of a journey, pp. 106—107, 377—379 under the name San-ch’uuan) and by Todaeva (op. cit.). The situation of Volpert’s T’u-yen is not clear. It is originating from the vicinity of Nien-pe. Potanin’s Му-Байшить is now called Ta-t’ung according to Todaeva (op. cit., p. 15).

6 The material collected by Potanin originating from Буанъ was recently completed by Todaeva (op. cit., pp. 107—122) and discussed in Einige Besonderheiten der Paon-Sprache and Бойский язык.

7 Potanin’s Тун-сын material is from the same sub-dialect as the Santa words cited by Mostaert (Dictionnaire mongoor—français) and the Suonapa material of D’Ollone in his vocabulary No 44 (Langues). Recently Todaeva has published a paper (Über die Sprache der Tung-hsiang) and a book (Дуняский язык) on this language. Potanin uses the name Shirongol denoting the Mongguor, the Pao-an and the Tung-hsiang languages together in opposition to the Shera Yögurs and the Oirats. Cf. also Nasunbayar Tungsiang kelen-i temdegel: Studia Mongolica III/3 (1961), pp. 77—92.

8 From Ta-tzŭ — Seruchung we have only a small vocabularily published by D’Ollone (No. 43, in: Langues).
matic study of these archaism as a whole has yet been attempted. The reason for this, probably, lies in the uncertainty concerning the character and origin of the innovations which have to be clearly established before a systematic research into the ancient elements is undertaken. Some scholars have argued that the innovations of Monguor cannot be studied in isolation from the Tibetan environment. The study of the Monguor—Tibetan linguistic relations was hampered, however, by the fact that those Tibetan dialects which are in the neighbourhood of the Monguors are poorly recorded and have a similar position within the other Tibetan dialects as Monguor has within the Mongolian languages.

A study on the influence of a language A on a language B can have, in principle, two different but inseparable aims: the clarification of the present state of the receptor language B by determining the innovations initiated by the donator language A and the investigation of the donator language A with the help of the data preserved by the receptor language B. The present state of research on the Monguor language and on the Tibetan dialects of the neighbourhood would seem to favour making a start with the study directed to the second aim because the Tibetan side of the question is the less known, and without some knowledge of the donator language the first aim can hardly be encompassed. Moreover a study which sets out to clear up the position of the Tibetan dialects of the Kan-su—Ch'ing-hai region offers also an important contribution to Tibetan linguistic history. As will be seen in the section discussing the sources (pp. 19—37) Tibetan dialectology has made advances in recent years in the research of the archaic Tibetan dialects. The examination of Tibetan loanwords in the Monguor language can give this work a strong impetus.

We have then two reasons for regarding the problems connected with the Tibetan loanwords of Monguor as a primary concern for Tibetology. I wish to deal with the Mongolian side of the question in subsequent studies.10

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9 Cf. Mostaert, Le dialecte monguor I, p. 146, Uray, Kelet-Tibet, pp. 5, 18, Schröder, Zur Religion, pp. 15—16, Volksdichtung, p. 18, Sanžeev, Сравнительная грамматика, p. 29, L. Ligeti, Trois notes, pp. 223—228. The importance and the linguistic aspects of this fact was stressed by Professor Ligeti in his University lectures of 1953/54, cf. the Preface.

10 Cf. my papers, Remarks on the Phonology and On Some Finals and a further work which is due to be published in the near future.
In addition to the results that can be gained for Tibetan linguistic history and in turn for Monguor and Mongolian linguistic history, the Monguor—Tibetan linguistic interrelations have a special interest. In the case of the Tibetan influence on Monguor we have to do with the contact of two languages which are structurally very different. The Monguor language is structurally paralleled by other Mongolian languages and in a smaller measure by other Altaic languages, while the Tibetan language and its dialects are of a Sino-Tibetan type. The difference between the structure of Monguor and that of the neighbouring Tibetan dialects is even greater than the difference between the Indo-European and Altaic languages. The old question whether the structure of a language can be influenced by another language was answered in the affirmative a long time ago. The case, however, of two so radically different languages as Monguor and Tibetan, makes it possible to observe the definite process of change in the linguistic structure of a language. The structural similarity was openly or tacitly taken as an argument for genetic affinity, e.g. in the case of the Altaic languages. In the case of Monguor we have to do with a structural transformation which has developed within a relatively short time, five to six hundred years. This transformation is the result of close interethnic connections, and shows surprisingly great convergency with Tibetan phonological structure.

Last but not least we have to mention a well-known fact: the important influence which Tibetan history and culture have exerted on Mongolian. The Tibetan influence on Monguor society, history and culture is a special aspect of these connections. The close interethnic relations brought about a change both in the substructure and the superstructure of Monguor society, and this is reflected in the language. At the same time the Monguors, as we shall see, played an important part in the Tibetan—Mongolian relations as a consequence of their geographical and political situation as well as their linguistic contact with the Tibetans.
I. THE SOURCES

Our Monguor data are from the works of Mostaert and Schröder. The Monguor material published by other authors is very scanty. Their short word-lists are restricted to the basic word-stock and thus contain a minimum of loanwords, further their methods and standards of recording are very different in system and value. For these reasons I have noted them only in some special cases when necessary, but not in the list of Tibetan loanwords (pp. 38—105). The material of the *Dictionnaire monguor—français* of De Smedt—Mostaert (*M*) originates from Alima Xangšar, the valley Naringuor, NE of Hsi-ning. The *Dictionnaire* contains in many cases the Tibetan etymology of the Monguor words. In Schröder’s study on the religion of the Monguors (*Sch*) at the end of the individual chapters we find short word-lists of the most important relevant terminology. Here in many cases the Tibetan origin is indicated, mostly with the annotations of Unkrig. The linguistic material of this study originates mainly from the same persons as the folklore texts of the *Volksdichtung (VMI)*. Schröder’s informant, Tuo Ifula, was born in Tuo-chia some one kilometre away from Chichia-ling in the area of Hu-chu. The family of Tuo Ifula came from Rgu-loţi in the 19th century. The other informant, Guänbo-sózia (Mgon-po skyabs) was born in the village Mula xonitši p’ung, this place is situated at a half-day journey NE of Hsi-ning, near to the monastery Dgon-luń. He learned his folklore repertoire in the T’ien-t’ang-ssū monastery, from his master, who came from the Sgo-maṅ monastery.¹ This lama had an excellent knowledge of

¹ On the famous Dgon-luń (Chin. Erh-ku-lung), also called Yu-ning-ssū monastery see Schröder *Zur Religion*, pp. 254—256, *Volksdichtung*, p. 9, Schram, *The Monguors I*, pp. 25—26, and the note on pp. 210—211 of this study. The T’ien-t’ang-ssū monastery is situated on the left bank of the Ta-t’ung river, at the southern slopes of the Nan-shan, North of Mula xonitši p’ung. Sgo-maṅ is NW of Dgon-luń and is the second important cultural centre of this region. On this monastery see the notes on pp. 210—211 below. Professor Schröder in a letter of 27th July, 1961 writes that the dialect of his informants
Tibetan, and it may be supposed that the texts which he taught Guänbo, or at least part of them, were taken directly from Tibetan sources. Guänbo himself was illiterate. Tuo Ifula and Guänbo dictated their material alternately, correcting each other, therefore it is not possible to separate their respective shares. The paper of Schröder (Zur Religion, pp. 820—871) contains also a short word-list from Tangkar (T) from the lamas of the Tsatsang-ssü and the Fu-hai-ssü monasteries. These monasteries are situated on the left bank of the Hsi-ning river, West from Tangkar. The majority of the lamas living here were of Oirat origin, and came from Tsaidam. The Tibetan loanwords in this word-list are very near to those found in Monguor, and therefore I have included them in a few instances.

is spoken between the Narin-guor valley and the Xaltši-gol (Xardži guor) territory. Both informants lived 1—2 hours horse-route away from Narin-guor and Xardži guor, and 1—1/2 1 hours from each other.

This is very important to bear in mind in working on the Tibetan loanwords of their language. The master of Guänbo was a sprul-sku, a living Buddha. As Schröder writes (Volkssichtung, p. 10) this lama knew the songs and tales by heart and wrote them down in Tibetan script, because the Monguors had no script. This shows that Mongolian writing was not in use in the Monguor monasteries its place being taken by Tibetan writing. This can be observed in a smaller or greater measure in the whole Mongolian territory from the 18th century onwards. Unfortunately the texts of the sprul-sku were burnt and so we do not know whether the texts written down with Tibetan characters were in Tibetan or in Monguor. Schröder writes that it is not impossible that the texts were originally composed in Tibetan. The sprul-sku knew Tibetan as well as Monguor and the translation caused no great problem. The bilingualism of lamas is of another kind as that of lay people. The lamas of the Monguor monasteries have studied in Kumbum, in Labrang or in Central Tibet and know the Tibetan Koine, i.e. Central Tibetan. The lay people, the ordinary Monguors, if they knew Tibetan at all, learned it from their neighbours who spoke one of the NEAT dialects. The fact that the sprul-sku taught folklore-texts to Guänbo makes it highly probable that the Tibetan language from which he translated or adapted his Monguor material was not Central Tibetan but the „lay language” of Amdo.

On Tangkar see Schröder, Zur Religion, p. 870. I would mention among the Oirat traits of this material the presence of the phoneme [ź]. On the Oirats of the Kukunor region cf. Todaeva, Mongolische Dialekte, pp. 141—145, Монгольские языки, pp. 9—19, 22. The place-name figures at Széchenyi as Tunkarr and Tong-kur. Its literary form is Stoñ-khor, or Stoñ-skor in Chinese transcription Tung-ka-erh (Cf. Petech, China and Tibet, p. 165, Schröder, Zur Religion, p. 870), its Monguor name is Dönsguor (M).
Mostaert used two different phonetic transcriptions in his studies on Monguor. In the Phonetics (Le dialecte I) he follows, with minor deviations, the system of Anthropos while in his Dictionnaire and Grammar (Le dialecte II) he works with the Setälä-system with the modifications regular in Mongolian philology. Schröder adopted a simplified transcription for technical reasons. In most cases it causes no trouble to transpose mechanically the data of Schröder into the system of Mostaert’s Dictionnaire and for the sake of uniformity I have taken this course. In those few cases where the mechanical transposing was not self-evident or was problematical I indicated this fact.

Other Mongolian languages are cited only if their evidence throws new light on our problem and not in all cases where we find the Tibetan word represented in them.

The living Tibetan dialects can be devided into two major groups: the archaic and non-archaic dialects. I use the term „archaic” for those Tibetan dialects which do not have pitch as a phonematic suprasegmental feature, and have preserved in a more or less complete form the preradical system of Old Tibetan. The term „non-archaic” denotes those dialects which have a phonematic pitch and have lost the old preradical system.

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5 Schröder does not denote the media spelling of the unaspirated, the aspiration of the tenuis, the palatalization of ts’, s and dz before i and ü, because these are — as a rule — obligatory. An exception is for instance quodzi (M) where before i the dz is not palatalized ñz (cf. No 195 of the List) The cerebrals are denoted as š, dž and tš by Schröder instead of which I transcribed š, dz and ts in the system of Mostaert. I retained the laringal h used by Schröder, which does not occur in Mostaert’s material, but which is a separate phoneme in Schröder’s material. I wish to come back to this matter in a study on the Mongolian side of the question. I changed the ň of Schröder into ñ, the ĝ into ĝ. I kept the final -l on which see Schröder Volksdichtung, p. 17, my paper On Some Finals, pp. 283—289 and pp. 148—149 below of this study.

6 My classification, claims only to be a working hypothesis, cf. Professor Ligeti’s lectures mentioned in the Preface, further the classifications of G. Uray (Kelet Tibet) which was developed later in his review of Hermanns’ Tibetische Dialekte, and the classification of Roerich which was first outlined in his Modern Tibetan Phonetics and then revised in Тибетский язык (cf. my review in Acta Orient. Hung., XIV (1962), pp. 337—340).

7 On the interrelation between pitch and preradical see pp. 187—190 below.
The archaic dialects can be devided into two groups: the North Eastern Archaic Tibetan (NEAT) and the Western Archaic Tibetan (WAT). The NEAT group has two sub-groups. The first has preserved both the nasal and the oral preradicals and the second only the oral preradicals. Both sub-groups can be found in Amdo (Ch’ing-hai and Kan-su) and in Eastern Tibet (Khams; Hsi-k’ang). To the NEAT may be subjoined a group of transitional type in Hsi-k’ang, where some nasal preradicals are preserved in special positions but the pitch is already a functional element.

In the list of Tibetan loanwords I cite all the data known to me from WAT and NEAT. As a representative of the „non-archaic” dialects I cite only one data, if available, from the Central Tibetan or the Lhasa dialect. In the case of the Tibetan dialectal data I leave their transcription uncharged because a mechanical transposing of them is impossible and any „unification” which cannot been made mechanically has the danger to alter the original which may be inaccurate as it is, but which is anyhow more authentic than any „unification” carried out at the desk could be. It is necessary, however, to make a few comments on the transcription systems of the various records of the Tibetan dialects. In the notes to this chapter the reader can find the most indispensable remarks on the peculiarities of these transcriptions.

From the Northern or Amdo branch of NEAT the sub-group of those dialects which preserved both nasal and oral preradicals the following are represented: Dpa-ri (Dpal-ri, Dpa-rus, Xua-ri etc.) according to the work of Hermanns with the sgylpa Dpa

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8 On the geographical situation of Dpa-ri see Hermanns, Tibetische Dialekte, further the ‘Jam-gliṅ rgyas-bṣad (ed. Das, pp. 29—30) where we find the form Dpal-ri. As Uray has pointed out in his review of Hermanns' Tibetische Dialekte, the most problematical of Hermanns' Dpa-ri material is, that he used native grammars the evidence of which he did not separate from his own personal observations which latter, in turn unfortunately, do not satisfy all requirements of modern linguistics. Nevertheless we have to consider Hermanns' paper as important because he called the attention to this most northern and perhaps most archaic dialect of the Tibetan linguistic area. According to Hermanns (op. cit., p. 194) the Dpa-ri tribes came about 1650 from the Kukunor region to the territory situated North of the Ta-t'ung river where they now live in the mountains. In the time of Hermanns they wandered around Mön-gyüan and Tien-ts'ung. According to the map of Roerich (Le parler, p. 4) they live between Ta-t'ung and P'ing-fan. In the classification of Roerich (Тибетский язык, p. 23) they
or according to Roerich (Le parler) as DpaR, Golok (Gol) according to Roerich (Le parler) the wordlists of Széchenyi

are grouped in the northern sub-group of the North-East Amdo group together with Bayin-žuñ, Reb-koñ and Labrang. Uray assigns them to the North-Eastern group (rev. of Hermanns’ Tibetische Dialekte, p. 313). The transcription of Hermanns shows the following peculiarities (before the sign // stands the symbol used by Hermanns, after it the posited phonetic value in the system of this study): k // k; kh // k'; g // g; tʃ // ʃ, tʃ, t; tʃh // tʃ', tʃ; dʒ // dʒ, dʒ, d; t // t; th // t'; d // d; p // p; chw // x̌w, x̌; w // w, y; ch // h, ž, ž, ž; ph // p'; h // h; b // b; z // ts; thz // ts'; ds // dz; ng // ẓ, ng; ny // n; m // m; s // z; ẓ // ẓ; r // r; l // ishlist only single examples illustrating those features which he assumed to be important in the phonetic description of the dialect. From the few words published by Roerich in Le parler one can not judge the relationship between his material and that of Hermanns.

The Golok or Ngolok figures many times on the pages of travel-books. In most of these cases the name Ngolok or in literary Tibetan Mgo-log ‘rebels; those who turned away their head’ denotes only robber and not a specific tribe. Rockhill mentions first the Golok language (The Land of the Lamas p. 361) and writes that their language is more archaic than that of the Panaka (Sbra-nag). In 1931 Roerich published (Modern Tibetan Phonetics) some material from their language and in the same year he addressed the 15th International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistorical Archeology (Les Goloks) on the ethnical character of Golok. He pointed out that the Goloks, who numbered 13 000—15 000 tents are amalgamated from different groups such as Panaka, Nyarong, Khams, Amdo, Hor and other Tibetan groups as well as Mongols from Tsaidam and refugees from other tribes. Their leader in those times was a Mongol from Tsaidam. The main element is of Panaka stock (p. 739). On the language he writes: „Les dialectes Goloks représent des dialectes mâlangész... Actuellement il est à peine possible de considérer la langue golok comme un group linguistique” (p. 741). In his book Le parler he cites material from the so-called Golok Setas (Mgo-log gser-rta), which are a part of the Smad-kyi Mgo-log the Golok of Smad (Mdo-smad, Amdo). This group lives along the NS course of the Huang-ho, on its western bank, south of the Panakas, who themselves live on the shore of the Kukunor lake. Rock (The Amnye Machhen, pp. 123—46) mentions the following Golok tribes: Ri-maṅ, Kaṅ-ser, Kaṅ-rgan, Gcaṅ-skor-ma, Mi'i chaṅ, Ta'u, Chaṅ-sgur, 'Bu-chaṅ and Lus-rde. The Lus-rde tribe had a woman chief. R. A. Stein has collected a Golok legend (cf. Rock, op. cit., pp. 125—128) and Rock published a Golok letter written in literary Tibetan style. On the Golok gser-rta see further A. Guibaut, Ngolo-Setas, Paris, 1947, who mentions those travellers who have met the Goloks. The phonetic value of the transcription of Roerich's Golok material is the same as that of the other dialects in Le parler.
Professor Ligeti was the first who called the attention to Széchenyi's important word-list (cf. Ligeti, *A magyar—mongol nyelvhasonlítás története*, pp. 336—338) which the Hungarian traveller published in the book containing the scientific results of his expedition (*Gróf Széchenyi Béla keletázsiai útjának tudományos eredménye*, also edited in German) (cf. further Uray, *Kelet-Tibet* and his review on *Hermanns, Tibetische Dialekte* and the remarks on Széchenyi's journey by S. Józsa in his dissertation: *Kína és az Osztád—Magyar Monarchia* [China and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy], Budapest (in Hungarian)). Széchenyi collected his material in Hsi-ning, Altin, Kumbum and Tangkar from lamas and interpreters (Széchenyi, op. cit., I, p. X). His vocabulary contains 416 "Tangut" words with their Hungarian equivalents and in some cases with parallel data from Przevalskij and Klaproth, further literary forms according to the English- (or German?) Tibetan index of Jäschke's dictionary. As Professor Ligeti plans to edit this vocabulary so I only give here the most important features of the material which are indispensable for our study. The transcription shows a mixture of Hungarian and German orthography with one and the same sound being transcribed in several ways: LT čhu 'water' // Sz csü, tcsü, cs'hu; LT mi 'man' // Sz mni, mie, mnie. The most important peculiarities are: sz // s; tz // ts, tš; tos // tš; ty, ti, tj // tš, té, t, tš, ts; nj, ny // ň; cs // tš, tó; dz // dz, dž; z // dz, tš; sh // š; kh, x // χ; hr // uvular r; zs // dz, dž; dj // dž; kh // k. The aspiration is not marked in every case: LT čhu 'water' // Sz cs'hu, LT mkar 'town' // Sz khoar, LT than 'plain' // Sz than etc. but: LT khyi 'dog' // Sz tcsi; LT thur 'rein' // Sz türr; LT thag-pa 'rope' // Sz tahoa etc. Some printing errors crept in the vocabulary, e.g. Sz onardu 'hell' must be read ouardu (LT bar-do) though a hypothetical *dmyal-do* could result in a dialectal form close to onardu. The meanings of zunge and mazange translated as 'ugly' and 'good' respectively have to be changed etc. Széchenyi's material is not homogeneous. Judging from his itinerary the material can originate from Banag, Kumbum and Hsi-ning probably also from Dpa-ri.

Przevalskij published his short vocabulary in 1875 (Монголия) and as it can be seen from his maps, his material was collected between the rivers Ta-t'ung and Hsi-ning, that is in the territory of the Monguors. He used a Kazak and a Mongolian interpreter and this twofold interpretation has led to some misunderstanding, for instance, the first member of the word сюб-чень 'ручей' is perhaps the Turkish word sub 'water'. The correct Tibetan form follows in the vocabulary as чю-чень (čhu-čhen). The German edition of the book (*Reisen*) cannot be used because of the many misprints and errors it contains. Przevalskij himself made the following remarks on his transcription: -н pronounced as in French (= n), -мъ „abrupt”, -гъ in initial position laryngeal k-. The aspiration is not marked in every case. The č- is used sometimes for щ-. The r- as preradical is scarcely audible. Length is denoted by two vowels. The cyrillic soft vowels are used to denote palatalization of the preceding consonant. Thus дзяя 'tea' (LT ja) must be transcribed as dža and not dojaja as in the German edition. The trans-
PotB etc.)\textsuperscript{11}, the dictionary of Blo-bzañ bstan-'jin edited by Minoru Go and others (Blo)\textsuperscript{12}, the material from Panaka edited by Rock-

description fluctuates in some cases: LT 'gro 'to go' // Prz джэо (džö), gram-pa 'visage' // Prz дзямба (džamba) and grød-pa 'stomach' // Prz чёрою (tšöbu) perhaps rather from *grød-bu, with secondary voiceless initial.

\textsuperscript{11} Potanin in his Тангутско—Тибетская окраина, vol. II, has published rich folklore material from the Kan-su—Ch’ing-hai region containing many items of Tibetan origin. Though he gives only the Russian translation of the texts, we find in them many Tibetan glosses from local dialects. I wish to work up this important material in a separate study, here I shall only quote those data which are important for Monguor. The chief interpreter of Potanin was Sereng (Che-riñ, cf. op. cit., pp. 16—113 etc.), a Shirongol person, who knew Tibetan well and translated the Tibetan texts for Potanin. In some cases it is not clear whether the Tibetan glosses in Potanin’s Russian translation originate from Sereng or from the Tibetan informants of the texts in question. The texts A, B, C are parts of the Geser epic. The variant A was collected from Ami-salung (Dui, Labrang). Variant B from Dzundui, a Shirongol lama, who did not know Mongolian script but read and wrote Tibetan. Dzundui was a native of San-ch’uan, that is, Min-ho. In variant C collected from an illiterate Tibetan we have both Shirongol and Tibetan glosses. The text D is from Ami Salung, the text E also from him but with the notation: Labrang. The texts F and G are also from Ami Salung, the latter from Dui. H is from Dzundui (San-ch’uan), I from Džuba Tingaseng (Sun-p’an), J from an unnamed Tangut, K from Sereng, L from two lamas one of which was born in Masin. Text M is from Labrang, N from a Tangut lama, O has only the remark that it was collected from the vicinity of Labrang. The first variant of text P is of Shirongol the second of Tangut origin, but told by a Shirongol, the third from a Tangut of San-ch’uan, where again the Shirongol and Tangut glosses are alternate. The texts Q and R are collected from Ami Salung. The Russian transcription of Potanin is almost the same as that of Prževelskij. I used the 1893 edition of the work, the 1950 edition does not contain the folklore texts.

\textsuperscript{12} The dictionary of Blo-bzañ bstan-'jin was first published in 1943. To this edition I had no access. On this edition and the history of the dictionary see the review of R. A. Stein (JA 1955, pp. 387—389). The author was born in T'ung-jen (on this see Rock, op. cit., p. 6) in the vicinity of the Roñ-po dgon-čhen monastery, not far from Labrang. The Roñ-po monastery is situated in Reb-koñ and its chief resides just in the Roñ-po monastery (Roerich, Le parler, p. 5). The material — about 3 000 words — was collected with the help of Rje-beun rin-po-čhe, the abbot of the Labrang monastery. Yamamoto — who also assisted in compiling the second edition, augmented the material with the help of a Čha-har (Rgya-hor) lama. The first edition bears the title: Töbu chibetto-go jiten, Ed. South Manchurian Railway 1943. The revised Japan edition of 1954 by Minoru Go and others (An Eastern Tibetan), follows the system of Bell with the addition of some APhI symbols. It contains many new and artificial words. Some of the transcriptions are
hill (Pan). The following records belong to the sub-group with only oral preredicals: Reb-kong — Amdowa (RA), Banag (Ban) and Wayen (Way) cited according to Roerich (Le parler), the

rather doubtful: the Chinese cerebral ந', is transcribed with khr- (e.g. kon-khram dan-max 'Communist army' Chin. kung-ch' an) while the developments of Tibetan kr, khr, gr, pr etc. are generally preserved in the transcription: brañ-ma 'bee' (LT sbran-ma). This becomes doubtful when we come across e.g. gran-chuñ 'moth', which corresponds to classical sbran-čhuñ. The same is the case with ky, khy, gy- etc. where we find khyi 'dog' (LT khyi) and gyal-ruy 'royal family' (LT rgyal-rigs). The corresponding forms LT py-, phy-, by- seem to be reliable — as far as we can judge from the evidence of the other dialects— see pp. 176—184 below. Dubious is the representation of some preredicals. If we read "den-pa 'truth' (LT bden-pa) we can suppose that the is a development of LT b-, but if we read "gun-ka 'winter' (LT dgun-ka) or se."ni 'the second day' (LT che-gnis) we are entitled to doubt if this is reliable, the more when we have a form "de-lug 'village regulation' with the literary equivalent indicated in the vocabulary as bde-lugs instead of the correct sde-lugs. In some cases we find a 'glottal catch' but in the cases where we should expect such a representation on the basis of the other materials we find a nasal which is also a possible representation: LT 'bras rìce' // Blo "brì, 'brug 'dragon' // Blo nbru, 'dra-'dra 'same' // Blo "dra-

13 Though the title of Rockhill's word-list is „Peculiarities of the Amdowa and Panak'a pronunciation” (The Land of the Lamas, pp. 361—367) the material probably originates only from the Panaka (Sbra-nag) dialect as it can be gathered from the introduction (op. cit., p. 361 and p. 73). The tribes under the name Panaka, Banag, Sbra-nag etc. were already mentioned by Przevalskij (Reisen, p. 331) under the name Kara Tangut (Sbra-nag 'black tents'). Roerich (Modern Tibetan Phonetics, pp. 285—312) mentions them as Pa-nag and assigns them to the Golok group. The Banag material of Le parler seems not to be identical with this. In his Тибетский язык, p. 23 Roerich classifies them as an independent group. The Sbra-nag tribes live on the south shore of the Kukunor and in Tsaidam. Rockhill's transcription follows the system of Lacouperie. In some cases I have doubts whether we have not to do with literary readings, however the whole material is authentically dialectal.

14 The major part of the material indicated by Roerich as Amdowa in Le parler originates from Reb-koń. On Reb-koń see Le parler, pp. 4—6, Rock, The Amnye, p. 28. On the transcription and phonetics of these dialects
short material of Nishida (Nish)\textsuperscript{15} and a few words published by Ekvall (AEk).\textsuperscript{16}

We have some references concerning the non-archaic dialects of Amdo by Hermanns\textsuperscript{17} but short word-lists were compiled only by Ekvall (Ek) and Sibata (Si).\textsuperscript{18}

From the Eastern or Hsi-k'ang branch the following records are known: In the sub-group which has preserved both oral and nasal preradicals we find the so-called „Khams dialect” of Jäschke, which I cite according to his Dictionary (Khā) or his other papers (KhaJ).\textsuperscript{19} a dialect from Tao-fu published by Migot (Tao)\textsuperscript{20} and

\textit{see Le parler}, pp. 15—29. Wayen is the Tibetanized tribe Bayan (Le parler, p. 137, Rock, \textit{The Amnye}, p. 172). On Banag see Note 13, the transcription is the same as that of RA.

\textsuperscript{15} Nishida collected his material from Stag-er nor-bu, a Tibetan native from Ch'ing-hai, in 1954 (\textit{The Numerals}, p. 145).

\textsuperscript{16} Ekvall, \textit{Cultural relations}. His material originates from a sub-tribe Chu-ba (p. 69). The peculiarities of the material and the respective transcriptions of Nishida and Ekvall can be demonstrated by the names of numbers: LT gêg ʼ1ʼ // Nish xiâî, AEk rtšag; LT gnis ʼ2ʼ Nish xñî, AEk rṇî; LT gsum ʼ3ʼ // Nish xsum, AEk rśan; LT bāi ʼ4ʼ // Nish bāî, AEk bśr; LT bna ʼ5ʼ // Nish bâa, AEk hrŋū; LT drug ʼ6ʼ // Nish tĕ'ūq, AEk tlaq; LT bdun ʼ7ʼ // Nish bdūn, AEk bďan; LT bṛgyad ʼ8ʼ // Nish bdźeʔ, AEk bṛsăn; LT dgu ʼ9ʼ // Nish ᵏ⁴ɡु, AEk bgâ; LT bcu ʼ10ʼ // Nish btsu-, AEk bťâ.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Tibetische Dialekte}, pp. 193—194, \textit{Die Nomaden}, pp. 271—272. These are the roṅ-pa or agricultural dialects, while the archaic dialects are the tongue of the nomads or 'brog-pa.

\textsuperscript{18} Ekvall, \textit{op. cit.} and Sibata, \textit{A Material}. For the sake of comparison I again quote the numbers: LT gêg ʼ1ʼ // Ek tʃi:, Si tʃī; LT gnis ʼ2ʼ // Ek ni:, Si ni:; LT gsum ʼ3ʼ // Ek su:, Si sum, son; LT bāi ʼ4ʼ // Ek ʒi:, Si ʤiː; LT bna ʼ5ʼ // Ek ɲa:, Si, ɲa; LT drug ʼ6ʼ // Ek tʃu:, Si tyː; LT bdun ʼ7ʼ // Ek dën(1), Si d'en; LT bṛgyad ʼ8ʼ // Ek tʃa:, Si dʒeː; LT dgu ʼ9ʼ // Ek gu:, Si guː.

\textsuperscript{19} Jäschke does not determine more precisely whence his Khams material originates. Roerich (Тибетский язык, p. 24) considers Khams as a greater entity and subsumes under it the dialects of Chamdo, Brag-yab, Dmar-khams, Derge, Hor-sde-lha and 'Ba-li-thaṅ. Hermanns (\textit{Tibetische Dialekte}, p. 201) distinguishes the following dialects within Khams: Dmar-khams, Derge, Chamdo, Ňa-roṅ, Dza-roṅ, Rgya-roṅ. The latter three -roṅ dialects are of agricultural areas. According to Migot (\textit{Recherches}, p. 438) the dialects of Hsi-k'ang or Khams are the following: Ba-thaṅ, Li-thaṅ (the 'Ba-li-thaṅ of Roerich) Ňa-roṅ, the three Cha-la principalities, Derge, Ling-chung and the five Hor states (Hor sde-lha of Roerich): Kang-sar, Be-ri, Čhran-go, Ma-zir, Dzri-wo. I use here the term Khams in a narrow sense for the dialect denoted as Khams by Jäschke. For the wider units I propose the term Hsi-k'ang (Khams). Roerich (\textit{Textbook}, pp. 170—172) has published texts with
a short word-list from Han-niu recorded by Rosthorn (Ha). To this sub-group belong theoretically two other dialects from Sa-stod (Sa) and Rña-ba (Rna). Unfortunatelley Wen Yu, who published an interesting paper on them, did not cite words from these dialects and gave only the spelling or pronunciation of syllables. Therefore this material is used only in the comparative part and with great caution. The same is the case with the dialect of Chog-che (Chog) which belongs to the sub-group preserving only oral preradicals.

the designation: „Kham’s”. These texts are from a dialect which is not archaic; LT dpon 'master' // KhaR pö; LT bda 'power' // KhaR oη, Kha yveñ; LT bka' 'word' // KhaR kā, Kha vka; LT dpe 'pattern' // KhaR pe, Kha ype-etc. The wordstock and the morphology shows, however, interesting features. As the KhaR is not an archaic dialect I shall not deal with it. In the book Le parler a few words are cited from an archaic Kham’s dialect. Jäschke in his paper Über die Phonetik gives some more detailed data from the Kham’s dialect.

Among the dialects treated in the excellent study of Migot (Recherches) only Tao-fu (Tib. Lta'o, cf. R. A. Stein, Les tribus, p. 40) belongs to the archaic group. In the vicinity of Tao-fu there exists another dialect which seems close to the Chi'ang-Džarong languages. The Tibetan dialect of Tao-fu shows some traces of the influence from the non-Tibetan Tao-fu language. The vowel-system shows a strong labialisation, the finals underwent a nasalization. In the place of the stop + r initials of OT we find stop + spirant + r: LT brag 'rock' // Tao t'r̥on, LT kḥrag 'blood' // Tao t'ru etc.

Vokabularfragmente, pp. 530—531. The other dialects of Wassu, P wang, Pati are not Tibetan dialects only closely related to them. Han-niu is NE from Ta-ch'ien lu. A few examples: LT mgo 'head' // Han "go, LT smu 'nose' // Han sno, OT myig 'eye' // Han mnyi, OT mye 'fire' // Han mnyi, LT bōu '10' // Han pčö.

According to Wen Yu (Phonetic Changes, map) Rña-ba is situated North of Lang-to, East of Sung-p'an. Roerich mentions (Le parler, p. 4) in the vicinity of Sung-p'an such tribes as Rña-wa, Rña-khog (Lña-ba, Lña-khog), which live close to the group Hor-sde lha, which latter he arranges among the Kham’s dialects (Тибетский язык, p. 24 on their geographical situation see Stein, Recherches, p. 175). Sa-stod is North of Li-fan and the same as Ta-ku-ting at the half way between Ta-ch’ien-lu and Sung-p’an. Chog-che was already mentioned by Rockhill (The Land of the Lamas, pp. 344–345, and Rosthorn, Vokabularfragmente, p. 524) as Lcho-g-rtsai, and Cho-tse, it is 150 km SW of Sung-p'an. The transcription follows the APhI system. Because of some errors and misprints Wen Yu has later withdrawn his paper. The same is the situation with the syllabary of Rockhill, who quotes also only syllables read by persons from Ba-thang, Ta-ch’ien-lu, Kan-tů and Jye-kundo. Ba-thañ together with Li-thañ figures as 'Ba-li-thañ in Roerich’s classification (Тибетский язык, p. 24) among
The material of the transitional dialects of Hsi-k’ang has not as a rule, been included in the List of Tibetan Loanwords, but discussed in the comparative parts. Of this group is the material recorded from two persons speaking the dialect of K’ang-ting (Kang I, Kang II) and a word-list from Derge (DerM) recorded by Migot (Recherches). From Derge we have also some data published by Wen Yu (DerW). The dialect of Chamdo is represented by the publications of Chin P’eng (Cham) and Needham (ChamN). To this group belong — though we have no explicit notation of pitch — the vocabularies N° 37 from Ta-ch’ien-lu the dialects of Khams. Both places are situated between Gartok and Ta-ch’ien-lu (Tib. Dar-ree-mdo, see the map of R. A. Stein, Les tribus). Kan-tzū see Note 28. Jyeckundo is the Tibetan Skye-dgu-mdo (cf. Stein, Recent études, p. 97).

K’ang-ting is the same place and dialect as that of Ta-ch’ien-lu. On the transcription of Migot cf. Recherches, pp. 457—472.

Wen Yu in his study (Studies in Tibetan Phonetics) does not cite words from the Derge (Sde-dge) dialects, he makes only phonoetical remarks. According to Wen Yu in the case of the OT cluster nasal preradical + aspirated voiceless radical — in careful pronunciation — a weak „kick off“ is to be heard which is than changed into oral aspiration. The nasal preradicals are preserved before voiced radicals. It is remarkable that the nasal stops in radical position are changed in some cases into spirants. We have parallel features in the material of Roerich and in Monguor, but it is highly doubtful that in such cases the spirant quality is due to a lost preradical s-- as supposed by Wen Yu.

Chin P’eng published (Ts’ang-yü) a comparative study on the Lha-sa, Shigatse and Chamdo (Chab-mdo) dialects. On pp. 43—57 he discusses the phonology of the Chamdo dialect and gives a few examples. The transcription follows the APhI system.

There can be found a word-list from South-Chamdo in the paper of Needham (A few Dīgārō). The material was collected along the road between Sadiya and Rima (the present-day Cha-yu), near to the Burmeese border. For comparison of the transcription I quote the numerals: LT gčig ’1’ // ChamN chêk; LT gnis ’2’ // ChamN nì; LT gsum ’3’ // ChamN sòm; LT bzi ’4’ // ChamN jeu (pronounced as in French); LT bùa ’5’ // ChamN wǎn; LT drug ’6’ // ChamN tròk; LT bdun ’7’ // LT ChamN têng; LT brya ’8’ // ChamN tzi; LT dgu ’9’ // ChamN gǎ; LT bù ’10’ // ChamN chû. Some words with preserved nasal preradicals: LT mda’ ‘arrow’ // ChamN m’dâ, LT mga ’head’ // ChamN n’gâ; LT ’bras ’rice’// ChamN m’brâ śDhang (paddy). In a few cases the oral labial preradical is also preserved: LT bza’ ‘to eat’ // ChamN pa’zâ, LT bria-khân ’femoral bone’ // ChamN plâ’kân ’calf of leg’, cf. also OT mye ’fire’ // ChamN mi, LT bya ’fowl’ // ChamN châ, LT ’o-ma ’milk’ // ChamN wâ’mâ, LT sbrul ’snake’ // ChamN drû.
(Ta) and No 40 from An-shun-kuan (An) both published by D’Ollone (Langues) and the material of Davies recorded in the vicinity of Chung-tien (Chung).

We have numerous wordlists from Hsi-k’ang in which we can find no traces of preradicals — at least not in the words published. Some of them are probably not dialects of Tibetan proper, but only closely related to it. In some cases I quote them, since they have a special importance for the research into the archaic dialects. The most important are as follows: Kan-tzú of Migot (Kan), Tsü-ku of Monbeig (TsuMo), D’Orléans (TsuO) and Desgodins (TsuD), Sung-p’an of Gill (Sung), Me-li of Ta-ch’ien-lu is the same as K’ang-tin cf. Note 23. An-shun-kuan is South of Sung-p’an. In some cases „nomadic“ variant pronunciations or expressions are given. The transcription follows a primitive French system. For comparison I quote the numbers: LT gčig ‘1’ // Ta ki, An tse; LT gniis ‘2’ // Ta gnì, An ni; LT gsum ‘3’ // Ta som, son, An son; LT bźi ‘4’ // Ta je, An hin(?); LT lha ‘5’ // Ta nga, An nga; LT drug ‘6’ // Ta tchou, An tchouk; LT bdun ‘7’ // Ta deun, An den; LT bryjad ‘8’ // Ta dié, An dìe; LT dgu ‘9’ // Ta go, An queu.


Kan-tzú (Tib. Dkar-mjēs) is situated on the left bank of the Yalung (Nag-čhu) river. The transcription is the same as that of Tao and Kang, cf. Note 20.

The material of Monbeig was published first by Liétard in BEFEO IX (1909), pp. 549—572 and then by D’Ollone (Langues, No 36) the transcription of the words did not however remain unchanged. I have used the English edition of Henri d’Orléans’s book translated by H. Bent (From Tonkin). Desgodins published his material in the paper Mots principaux. All the transcriptions follow the French system: LT šiṅ ‘tree’ // Tsuo chigne, LT mig ‘eye’ // Tsuo migue, LT bryjad ‘8’ // Tsuo guié etc. To present a picture of the material and the transcription I quote the numbers: LT gčig ‘1’ // TsuoMo kig, Tsuo kigue, TsuD kig; LT gniis ‘2’ // TsuoMo nī (Liétard), gni (D’Ollone), Tsuo gni (read gni), TsuD gni; LT gsum ‘3’ // TsuoMo sam, Tsuo som, TsuD som; LT bźi ‘4’ // TsuoMo jé, Tsuo je, Tsud jé; LT lha ‘5’ // TsuoMo nga, Tsuo nga, TsuD nga; LT drug ‘6’ // TsuoMo čru (Liétard), tchrou (D’Ollone), Tsuo tchron (read tchrou), TsuD tchrou; LT bdun ‘7’ // TsuoD don (Liétard), deun (D’Ollone), TsuO dun, TsuD din; LT bryjad ‘8’ // TsuoMo
Bonin (Me)\(^{30}\) and a non-archaic „Khams” dialect of Roerich quoted in Textbook (Cf. Note 19 on pp. 27–28).

From the Western archaic dialects (WAT) the main source of my Balti material was Read’s book (Bal).\(^{31}\) I cite further Balti words according to Austen (BalA),\(^{32}\) Vigne (BalV)\(^{33}\) and Jäschke’s
gyé (Lietard), gnié (read guié), gyé (D’Ollone), TsuO guié, TsuD guié; LT dgu ‘9’ // TsuMo go, TsuO gou, TsuD go; LT bêcu ‘10’ // TsuMo kyu (Lietard), kiou, kyou (D’Ollone), TsuO kjou, TsuD kjou. The gn- is only a transcription of a palatalized n- cf. LT īni-ma ‘sun’ // TsuMoOD gına, OT mye ‘fire’ // An gni, gnie, LT īna ‘fish’ // An gmain (= īna yin).

\(^{30}\) The material of Gill was used and cited by Lacouperie (Les langues de la Chine). In the paper of Bonin (Vocabulaires) among Mo-so, Man-tše and other word-lists there is a Hsi-fan vocabulary. For comparison cf. the numbers: LT gčig ‘1’ // Sung ki, Me ti; LT gnis ‘2’ // Sung nye, Me gni; LT gsum ‘3’ // Sung song, Me sōng; LT bţi ‘4’ // Sung hgherh, Me ge; LT bhā ‘5’ // Sung hēa, Me ngoa; LT druq ‘6’ // Sung dru, Me tre; LT bdun ‘7’ // Sung tenit, Me nie, (in tenit the final is not pronounced „as in French”); LT bhrgyad ‘8’ // Sung gye, Me chea; LT dgu ‘9’ // Sung kur, Me gowe. The h- seems to denote some aspiration and not a preradical.

\(^{31}\) Concerning the transcription of Read’s Balti material (Balti Grammar) I have to remark that the voiced stops in final position are in fact voiceless mediae: „b final, stop, short, hardly distinguishable from p”. The dot beneath the letter designates a media voiceless pronunciation in the case b. In the case d and t apparently a retroflex and not a „palatal” articulation as Read supposes (p. 2) is meant. kh is an aspirated k’, while kh is a velar spirant γ which is in preradical position. The ng is a velar nasal ñ, the sh — according to Read — „hard. Keeping tongue against the palate. There may be slight suggestion of „shr”” (p. 2) perhaps s. The b in preradical position is to be interpreted as w. Between the preradical and the radical there cannot be heard any vowel not even in some reduced form. The Shardu sub-dialect of Balti has developed the literary initials guttural stop + r into dental stop + r. Unfortunately the vocabulary does not indicate the Shardu items. The nasal preradicals are lost as in the other WAT dialects, the oral ones are on the way of spirantisation and assimilated in respect of their voiced or voiceless quality to the radical.

\(^{32}\) The Balti material published by Austen (A Vocabulary) is far from being homogeneous. Austen collected it from unspecified places. An important feature of the transcription system is that he denotes the phoneme [a] or one of its variants with the letter u in the value of English but. The length of a vowel is marked by adding an h after the vowel. The vowels heard before preradicals are noteworthy: LT gdon ‘face’ // BalA odkong, LT sman ‘gunpowder’ // BalA ismun, LT rgun ‘grapes’ // BalA ’ujgun, BalV urgun.

\(^{33}\) In the „Bultistan” word-list of Vigne (Travels) we find the same confusion of the letters a and u as in the material of Austen: LT ḍhū ‘water’ // BalV tchū, LT gmam ‘heaven’ // BalV snum but: LT ka-ra ‘sugar’ // BalV karha. In some cases ph is /: LT mar-pho ‘red’ // BalV marfo.
dictionary (BalJ). I have taken the Purik material mainly from the work of Bailey (Pur)\textsuperscript{34} and from Francke as it is contained in the Linguistic Survey of India (Ball and PurL)\textsuperscript{35} as well as from the dictionary of Jäschke (PurJ).\textsuperscript{36} The Ladakh material is principally based on the study of Miller (Lad),\textsuperscript{37} further I quote from the Linguistic Survey (LadL)\textsuperscript{38} and from Roerich's Le parler (LadR). I have also made use of the data indicated as Western Tibetan

\textsuperscript{34}The most important peculiarities of the transcription of Bailey's Purik material (Linguistic Studies) are the following: the vowels a, e, i, o, u are to be pronounced in their Italian value but short. The vowels ā, ē, ī, ū are uttered broader than in English. The u alternates with ū, the ā with o. The transcription of the consonants adopts the system of the JRAS. Double l stands for voiceless l as in Welsh, the g ,,is pronounced very far back in the throat'' its value can be something like the spirant γ. The voiced consonants are medieae in final position (p. 3), cerebral ș is not marked while ď, ĩ and ř are marked with a dot. Ń is pronounced further back than in English, and it disappears in final position while the preceding vowel is nasalized.

\textsuperscript{35}The Purik and Balti material in the Linguistic Survey of India was worked up by Sten Konow mainly on the basis of the material published by Francke. As Shafer has correctly remarked (Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan, p. 7) the Balti material of LSI is a dialect close to Purik, perhaps the Shardu sub-dialect. Therefore BalL has to be taken as Purik material.

\textsuperscript{36}Jäschke's system of transcription in his Dictionary follows the system of Lepsius and is described in his Dictionary, pp. X—XV.

\textsuperscript{37}Miller's important study on the Ladakh dialect (Segmental) contains besides his own Ladakh material a comparative study of WAT with reference to those features which are present in Ladakh. On the basis of the three WAT dialects he reconstructs a Proto-Western-Tibetan and this is compared with the literary Tibetan and with Central Tibetan (CTM) and Lhasa (LhM) collected by him. Miller's study is one of the most important milestones in the field of Tibetan comparative linguistics. Because his study has no direct relation with the NEAT dialects I wish to consider his results later. His transcription needs no comment, except that he uses the symbol ĭ in some of his studies while in others the symbol ĭ for the palatalized ĭ in our system.

\textsuperscript{38}The Ladakh material of LSI is based upon the collections of Ribbach and Francke and originates from the Leh sub-dialect. In the Leh sub-dialect the preradical is ,,guttural'' (cf. LSI, p. 53) which becomes γ-- before guttural radicals and Ă-- before l-. Francke distinguishes within the Ladakh dialect the Leh, Sham and Rong sub-dialects. Only after having closed the manuscript of this book I had access to the dictionary of H. L. Ramsey (Western Tibet). His material seems to show the same peculiarities as that of Francke and Sandberg (cf. LSI).
(WT) in Jäschke’s dictionary. Theoretically the Sham dialect also belongs to WAT but we have not enough material from it.

From the non-archaic dialects I cite in every case only one instance from Central Tibetan according to Roerich’s Textbook (CT) or from the dictionary of Jäschke (CTJ), the Manual of Bell (CTB), the Word Book of Gould and Richardson (CTW), the Linguistic Survey (CTL), the works of Miller (CTM) or from Roerich’s Le parler (CTR). In quoting the Lhasa dialect I always do it according to the study of Miller (Segmental) (LhM) or according to his other studies (see Bibliography, p. 225), in some cases I have used the works of Chin P’eng (Ts’ang yû) whose Lhasa data I quote as LhCh, and the works of Sedláček (Tonal system) (LhS), Yü Tao-ch’üan (Love songs) (LhY) and Sprigg (on his works see the Bibliography) (LhSp).  

39 From the Sham subdialect we have a few data published by Francke (A Language Map and in LSI, p. 521). According to these data the preradical s- and the bilabial element of the initial type: bilabial + y/r were preserved while the initial type guttural + y/r has converged with the dental type.

40 The Central Tibetan and the slightly differing Lhasa dialect are the best documented dialects of the Tibetan linguistic area. At the same time the various transcription systems and in some cases the confusion of the terms „Central Tibetan” and „Lhasa dialect” make comparative studies difficult. The „Lhasa” dialect of Roerich quoted in Le parler is for instance in fact Central Tibetan (our abbr. CTR). In order to exemplify the peculiarities of the various transcriptions used for the two dialects I give here the numbers as transcribed by the several authors (The LhSp data are from a personal communication by Mr. R. K. Sprigg): LT gčig ‘one’ / CT čık, či, CTB či, CTW chik, CTR čik, či, CTL tšg, CTJ bık; LhM tšg, LhY tɕik, LhCh tɕik1 — LT gnis ‘two’ / CT nyi, CTB nyi, CTW nyi, CTR ni, CTM ni, CTL nyi; LhM ni, LhY vi, LhCh nɕ][-2 — LT gsum ‘three’ / CT sum, CTB sum, CTW sum, CTR sum, CTL sum, CTM sum, LhM sum, LhY sum, LhCh sum, LhSp sum — LT bźi / CT ši, CTB sh’i, CTW sh’i, CTR ši, CTM ši, CTL ši, CTJ ši; LhM ši, LhCh œɕ3 — LT lha ‘five’ / CT na, CTB nga, CTW nga, CTR na, CTM na, CTL nga, CTJ na; LhM na, LhCh na1, LhSp na — LT drug ‘six’ / CT truk, CTB truk, CTW truk, CTR t’uk, CTM tɕåg, CTL ṇhuk; LhSp t’ru:, LhM ṇhuk, LhCh tɕu2 — LT bdun ‘seven’ / CT dũ, CTB dũn, CTW dũn, CTR dũ, CTM dũn, CTL dũn; LhSp dũ; LhM thun, LhCh tɕn3, — LT brgyud ‘eight’ / CT g’e, CTB gye, CTW gye, CTR gye, CTM gɐ, CTL gɐ; LhSp je: or gje: LhM lhe, LhCh teɕ3, — LT dgu ‘nine’ / CT gu, CTB gu, CTW gu, CTR gu, CTM gɐ, CTL gu; LhSp go LhM kʰu, LhCh ku — LT bcu ‘ten’ / CT ku, CTB chu, CTW chu, CTR cu, CTM tɕo, CTL chu; LhM tɕo, LhCh tɕu1, LhSp tɕu. As can be seen there are authors who are in complete agree (CT and CTW) and there is one author who uses two different systems in two of his works (CT and CTR), but most of the divergencies can be eliminated.
The literary Tibetan forms are quoted only for the sake of comparison (cf. pp. 106—107 below). The literary Tibetan forms (LT) are given as a rule from the dictionary of Jäschke (JöD) and I cite other dictionaries only if Jäschke does not offer satisfactory explanation. If the data of Jäschke are taken from the Wörterbuch by the collation of the different systems of transcription. Some difficulties, however, remain. For instance the CTL ḏuṅk 'six' has a voiced apico-alveolar radical with aspiration while other CT records show voiceless apico-alveolars without aspiration and LhM has voiceless radical with aspiration and LhCh voiceless radical without aspiration. That we are not confronted with an error or misprint that is sure from the fact that Jäschke—who misses out unfortunately the CT spelling of drug—has e.g. LT drug 'the post' // CTJ ḏag or LT gro 'wheat' // WT do, CTJ ḏo, CTM ṭo, LhSp t'r₂, LhM ṭho etc., that in Jäschke had the same feature as Sandberg, the editor of the CT material of the LSI (= CTL). Dragunov writes (Особенности, pp. 284—289) that in his and Y. R. Chao's records (= LhY) there occur aspirated voiced stops and reconstructions on this basis an OT phːbh opposition. I think that the voiced aspirated data of Sandberg, Jäschke, Dragunov and Chao are due only to a certain inaccuracy of transcription. Jäschke writes (A Short Practical Grammar, p. 1) that ,,in the dialects of Eastern or Chinese Tibet (= Central Tibet R-T) the soft consonants [ga], [da], [ba], [ja], [ja] are pronounced, when occurring as initials, with an aspiration, similar to the Hindi [gha], [dha], [bha], [jha] or indeed so that they often scarcely differ from common English k, t, p, ch''. Sandberg (Handbook, p. 131) remarks ,,wherever GH occurs in these pages it will be best understood (when spoken by Englishmen) if it is sounded merely as k. Thus ghang 'what' may be conveniently pronounced kang. So also DH...". We find differences among the various Lhasa records. This is more evident if we look at the initial type of nasal preradical + voiced stop radical. Sedláček—in whose material I found no numbers unfortunately—has unaspirated voiced radical ('dogs 'to bind' // LhS do?), Miller has aspirated voiceless radical ('mgo 'head' // LhM kho), Yü Tao-chuan and Y. R. Chao unaspirated voiceless ('dam 'reed' // LhY tam) as Chin P'eng (mgar 'smith' // LhCh ka:) while Sprigg has unaspirated voiced ('mgo 'head' // go). If we take the symbol N— as standing for nasal preradical, D— for voiced unaspirated, TH— for voiceless aspirated and T— for voiceless unaspirated we have the following picture in word initial position: LT ND- // LhS D-, LhSp D-, LhM TH-, LhY T-, LhCh T-. In the case of the type oral preradical + voiced stop radical we see the following: Sedláček has unaspirated voiceless (gdags 'bound, (perf.)' // LhS ta?), Chin P'eng (dgu 'nine' // LhCh ku) and Yü Tao-chuan (sdoṅ 'to stand' // LhY ta) the same, while Sprigg unaspirated voiced (sduṅ-bstan- // LhSp duṅe:) and Miller has aspirated voiceless (gdoṅ 'face' // LhM thon). With the above symbols and O— for oral preradicals we can summarize: LT OD- // LhS T-, LhSp D-, LhM TH-, LhY T-, LhCh T-. Roerich in Тибетский язык, p. 47 writes of two kinds of aspiration. Accord-
of Schmidt (*SchD*) this is in every case indicated. Literary Tibetan forms are further cited from the dictionaries of Kőrösi Csoma (*CsD*), Schmidt (*SchD*), Desgodins (*DD*) and Sarat Chandra Das (*Das*). From the Tibeto-Mongolian dictionaries

ing to him zero preradical + voiced radical has a slight aspiration (*don 'meaning' // t'ož*) while nasal preradical + aspirated voiceless has strong aspiration (*miha 'end' // thê*) and nasal or oral preradical + voiced radical is unaspirated voiced (*gdon 'demon (erroneously 'лицо')' // dôn, *'dod-pa 'wish' // dö-pa*) It is not impossible that the two kinds of aspiration mentioned also by Wen Yu (cf. p. 29 above) but not observed e.g. by Sprigg are among the causes of the great variety but it is also possible that we have to do with a complicated instance of the interference of the CT and Lh dialects. Unfortunately I got the book of E. Richter (*Grundlagen*) only after having completed my manuscript and therefore his findings were too late for inclusion or comment in my work. The revival of Tibetan studies in the Soviet Union has posed several problems of the Central Tibetan dialects. Recently two proposals for a Russian transcription of Central Tibetan have been published: M. I. Vorob'eva-Desatovskaja, К вопросу о транслитерации и транскрипции для тибетского языка; and K. Sedláček and B. V. Sемёнов, К вопросу о транслитерации и фонетической транскрипции современного тибетского языка посредством русского алфавита.

41 Professor Ligeti has called the attention to the importance of the fact that besides the material of Kőrösi Csoma Schmidt used some Tibeto-Mongolian dictionaries. These dictionaries are more or less closely connected with the North-Eastern Tibetan linguistic area and therefore their data are of special importance for our study. The dictionaries worked up by Schmidt are: the *ni'-od section of the Miñ-gi rgya-mcho'i rgyab gnon dag-yig čhen-po skad-kyi rgya-mcho'am skad rigs gsal byed *ni-ma čhen-po of 'Bro-ba rabb- byams-pa Kun-dga' rgya-mcho, written in 1718 (Cf. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistische Blockdrucke*, p. 43), the *Bod-kyi brda-yig rtoqs-par sla-ba žesbya-ba bchos thul-gyi žus dag gsun soñ-ba* written by the Ujumuchin kün Mgon-po skyabs in 1722 as a supplement to the Tibetan text-book of the Tibetan school of Peking, of which he was the headmaster (Cf. Laufer, *Skizze*, p. 181, Ligeti: *TP* 1930, p. 124, Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistische Blockdrucke*, pp. 54, 74, Dorji, *Töbed-mongöl dokiyen-u bičig*, p. 24; otherwise R. Shafer, *Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan*, p. 182) and the *Skad-bži šan dbyar-ba'i me-loñ-gi yi-ge* a Manchu-Mongolian-Tibetan-Chinese word-book.

42 The dictionary of French missionaries compiled by Desgodins and revised by Giroudt contains besides the classical stock two other kinds of material, the words of some unilingual Tibetan dictionaries setting side by side the old language (*skad gsar*) and the new (*skad rñin*) and from them a lot of archaic words were taken over. The dictionary also cites dialectal or vulgar material from East Tibet, in the most cases in pseudoclassical form, but with the designation *vulg.*
I have consulted the works of Sumatiratna (SD), Ye-šes Rdo-rje (YD), the Zla-ba'i 'od-snaṅ (ZD). I have to mention here the Mongol—French—Russian dictionary of Kowalewski, who worked through many Tibeto—Mongolian dictionaries while compiling his own and quotes the Tibetan forms in the explanation of the Mongolian words. From the Tibeto—Chinese dictionaries I cite

The title of the work is Bod-hor-gyi brda-yig miṅ chig don gsun gsal-bar byed-ba mun-sel sgron-me bzung-so. In its present form it was compiled in 1877 by Blo-bzaṅ rin-chen who is also known under the name Nontin Rin-chen, Nontin Ratna or Sumatiratna. He was the compiler of a commentary to the Subhāṣitaratnaniḍhi and the 10th chapter of the Bodhisattavatara (Cf. Vladimirov, B. Čantideva, Leningrad 1929, p. V, C. Damdinsuren, Mongolyn uran zochiolyyn tojm I, p. 133, T. Pagba, Mongol chél ziič ērdemtēn Sumadiraṇa (Luvusanrinchēn)-gijn butēliuudijin tobd tojm. Ulan Bator 1958, Dorji, Töbed- mongol dokiyan-u bičig, p. 31) The edition of 1959 was prepared by Rdo-rje (Dorji), Professor of Tibetan at the Ulan Bator University and edited by B. Rinchen. Sumatiratna was only the editor of the Mongolian version of this dictionary which was originally an unilingual Tibetan explanatory dictionary. Hardly anything is known about it, but I have some reasons to suppose that it is in connection with the Miṅ-gi rgya-mcho and that at least some part of its material was compiled by people familiar with the dialects of the Kukunor region. See No. 381 of the List of Tibetan Loanwords and the note to it.

The full title of the book is Bod-skad-kyi brda' gsar rniṅ dka'-ba sog skad-du ka'-li sum-ču'i rim-pas gyan-la pheb-pa'i brda'-yig mkhas-pa rgya'-mcho blo gsal mgul rgyan bsmu bya-ba bzung-so. It was re-edited in Ulan Bator in 1959. This edition was based — as we learn from the introduction of Professor B. Rinchen — on a version written on Russian paper and found in the 6th bag of the Dārgarlan sunun of the Gobi Altai aymag. The exemplar belonged to the library of the late kūn lama of the Dzabkha Tūsė kūn xošān. According to the colophon (p. 597 of the work, cf. also Dorji, Töbed-mongol dokiyan-u bičig, p. 38) among the sources of the work we find the Brda-yig skel-dkar rgya-mcho, the Brda-yig blo-gsal mgrin-sogs btsus miṅ and other works. In the work of Ye-šes rdo-rje (Išidorji) the Mongolian equations of the Tibetan words are transcribed in Tibetan script. Where the reconstruction of the Mongolian word presents no difficulties I give only the meaning in English.

The title of the work is Brda'-yig miṅ don gsal-bar byed-pa'i zla-ba'i 'od-snaṅ bsmu bya-ba bzung-so. It was written in 1838 by the Alasha lha-rnams-pa Nag-dbaṅ bstan-dar (cf. the colophon and Heissig, Die Peking Lamaistische Blockdrucke, pp. 146, 165, Addenda p. 220) who used among others the Sla-ba bsmu-pa'i brda'-yig rgyas-pa published in Urga and perhaps the Ni-'od. My exemplar consists of 139 folios. There exists also a Burjat edition of 107 folios (cf. Dandaron, Описание p. 10).

The list of the sources of Kowalewski can be found on pp. VII—XII of the Dictionnaire. Unfortunately book titles are not given in extenso.
The work was first published in Lhasa as a Tibetan explanatory dictionary in 1949 (Cf. R. A. Stein, Recherches, p. 34 and F. Wilhelm, Ein Beitrag zur tibetischen Lexikographie: CAJ VII (1962) p. 212) and then translated into Chinese, revised and augmented. It is entitled: Dge-bshes Chos-kyi grags-pas brcams-pa'i brda dag min chig gsal-ba b thugs-so. Its author is of Mongolian origin, a lama who studied in Lhasa (cf. Dorji, op. cit., p. 43).

The author of the Dag-yig Thon-mi'i dgoñs-rgyan (Ch’ing-hai 1955) is a Tibetan scholar now living in Hsi-ning, where he also published a work entitled Sñan-nag me-loh-gi spyi-don, Hsi-ning 1957 (cf. J. Kolmaš, Tibetan Literature in China, p. 640). The sources of Dag-yig include the Li ši’i gur-khañ (cf. Dorji, op. cit., p. 40).

Wu t’i ch’ing wen chien or according to its Tibetan title: Rgyal-pos mjad-pa’i skad lha šan sbyar-gyi manju’i skad gsal-ba’i me-loh, republished in Peking, 1957.
II. A LIST OF TIBETAN LOANWORDS IN MONGUOR

1. ṭā // LT -ṭa cf. ṭaṇā, ṭa, -wa, -uo.
2. ṭā // LT -ṭa cf. sзуorā, k'uā, tš'urā, mโปรurā, šiā, rek'ua, -wa.
4. alāŋ (M) 'country' // LT gliṅ | JāD ~ 'id.' — Gol p’a-laṅ (phyi- ~) 'foreigner', Dpa ḥlang, PotA (p. 3) ḡāνγ, ḡāṅg 'Gliṅ, id.', PotC (p. 44) ḡāṅg 'id.' RA ṛLaṅ, Tao ṝloṅ; CTW ling.3
5. alāṅ-wulš’iē (M) 'elephant' // LT glaṅ-po-che | JāD ~ 'id.' — Gol ṛlaṅ-rdza (glaṅ-zla) 'the fifth month', Prz олуну (glaṅ-mo) 'bull (sic)', PotF (p. 199) ḡaṅdar (glaṅ-dar) 'a name', Blo sIan-du- (glaṅ-rji) 'cowherd', sIan-chiṅ 'elephant', RA ṛaḷāṅ, ṛlaṅ, ṛlaṅ-no 'bull', ṛaḷ-no-če 'elephant'; Bal kħaṅpocho 'id.', BalA thlānpocho (read -cho) 'id.', Pur ḍlaṅ 'bull', ḍlaṅpo 'elephant', Lad lanpotshe 'id.'; CTB lang-po-chhe 'id.'.

1 The words contained in this List are arranged according the alphabetical order of Mostaert’s Dictionnaire. The material of Schröder is transcribed into the system of Mostaert. The Monguor item is followed after the sign // by the Literary or Old Tibetan equivalent which does not mean that I suppose it to be the original form of the Monguor word (see pp. 106—107). After the sign | are quoted the most important data of the dictionaries of literary Tibetan. The sign ~ stands for the literary form, the ṭ is used instead of the dialectal form. I quote after the dash the comparative dialectal material, all archaic data known to me, and usually one non-archaic form mostly from CT. All dialectal words are cited in the form found in the sources without being transcribed into a unified transcription. The comparative material of the non-first part of compound words is cited under the separate non-first item, which is marked with a hyphen before the syllable. After the comparative material the most important derivates and expressions are given. In the etymology I have omitted the mention of the frequent Monguor nominal verbal suffix -la/lie/lo on which see Mostaert, Le dialecte monguor II, Grammaire, p. 146 and p. 174 of this study. For the sake of brevity I do not quote as a rule the Tibetan loanwords of other Mongolian dialects, as they form the subject matter of my other studies the first of which is: Tibetan Loan-Words in the Shera Yögur Language: Acta Orient. Hung. XV (1962), pp. 259—271.
6. amṭō // LT "a-mdo, cf. χαμτό.

7. anamana in: "t'ioišewa (M) 'that is the same' // LT "a-na-ma-nan | JāD 'a-na-ma-na' 'id.' (? SchD), GRD "a-na-ma-na 'dra' -ba' am mchuņs-pa (like, the same)', YD "a-na-ma-na 'ab-'a-del(just the same)' — Dpa a na ma na 'very similar, the same', KhL anamana 'id.'.

8. ānie (M) 'grandmother, honorific for elderly women" // LT "a-ne | JāD ~ 'father's sister, aunt; grand-aunt; SehD an old woman', DD ~ 'aunt; honorific for old woman' — PotA (p. 4) Ano 'in a name', RA a-ne 'aunt'; PurL a-nē 'wife', LadL a-nē 'id.'; CTW a-ni 'paternal aunt', CTB a-ne.

9. aravaq (M) 'game' // LT ri-dvags | JāD ~ 'id.' — Blo ri-tag, RA ri-day; BalL ri-daghs 'deer', PurL ri-daghs 'id.'; CT ri-dā — aravaqṣi (M) 'hunter'.

10. aravze (M), aravzī (Sch 31) 'sword (M, Sch), shaman-sword (Sch)' // LT ral-gri | JāD ~ 'id.' — Bal ra-i; CTJ ral-gyi, ra-gyi, CTW re-tri.

11. araūziņŋ (M, Sch 829) 'pole on which is suspended the head and skin of a goat (M), a «stretched goat» (Sch)' // LT ra-rkyaŋ | JāD ra 'goat', rkyoŋ-, brkyaŋ- 'to stretch' cf. arāwu.

12. araça, raça (M), aralag (VMI 182: 28) 'branch' // LT ral-qa | JāD ~ 'id.' (SchD).

13. arami (M), ramī (Sch 22, 76) 'to consecrate, a consecration prayer' // LT rab-gnas | JāD rab-(tu) gnas-(pa) (byed- pa) 'id.' — Tao rap (rab) 'very'; CTB ra-p-ne 'consacration prayer'.

14. aramu (M) 'line, notch' // LT ri-mo | JāD ~ 'drawing, markings' TLTD III ~ 'drawing, line' — RA ri-mo 'image'; CT ri-mo 'id.'.

15. aranda (M) 'reins' // LT sra-mda' | JāD ~ 'id.' — Sz szap 'reins', Blo eab 'bridle-bit', RA šrap 'reins'; Bal strab 'bridle, reins', BalA strāp 'bridle', Pur strāp 'reins', LadJ sram-da 'reins', WT srlab 'bridle'; CT šrap 'id.'.

16. arāŋ (M) 'for nothing, without motivation, vain' // LT raŋ | JāD ~ 'self, spontaneously, barely' — PotI (p. 231) ранчонъ (raŋ-byuŋ) 'self-born', RA raŋ 'personal, himself'; CT raŋ 'self' — arāŋe (M) 'for nothing, vainly'.

17. aran'k'a, ran'k'a (M, Sch 867, VMI 58: 462) 'common' // LT ran-kha | JäD ran-ga-ba 'coarseness, meanness', DD ran-kha 'pell-mell, without order, bad', YD ran-kha... ga 'e-gel (common) - aran'kae (M) 'without definite aim'.

18. arāru, rāru (M) 'fierce, terrible, raging' // LT ra-ro | JäD ~ 'intoxicated, drunk', DD ~ 'drunk; child, stupid' — Blo ra-ro-wa 'intoxication'; Bal rwa ros- 'to be drunk'; CT ra si-wa (ra bži-ba) 'to be drunk'.

19. arāwa, rāwa (M) 'hair' // LT ral-pa | JäD ~ 'long hair, curl, mane', DD ~ 'hair(vulg.)' — Blo ral-wa 'Chinese queue', RA skia-luṅ ra-wa (skra-luṅ ~) 'a part of the head-ornament of the women of Amdo', Tao ralpa 'hair'; Bal ral 'id.', Pur ryel; CTB re-pa 'mane(of lion)'.

20. arāwu, rāwu (M) 'he-goat' // LT ra-bo | JäD ra-pho 'a gelded he-goat' — Gol ra 'id.', ra-ma 'goat', ra-u 'kid', Prz rama 'he-goat', PotF (p. 187) puruṣa (ra-rji) 'herds-girl', Blo ra-ma 'goat' (cf. ra-mo 'female goat'), RA ra, ra-ma, ra-u cf. Gol; Bal rawūq 'goat' BalA rah 'id.', Pur rāskyēs 'id.', PurL rarzi 'shepherd', Lad rama 'goat', LadL ra-po 'he-goat'; CT ra 'goat'.

21. ardog (M) 'wild radish' // LT rdog | JäD ~ 'root' — DpaR ardog 'radish'.

22. arlan (M) 'humidity' // LT rlan | JäD ~ 'id.'.

23. awu (M, VMI 136: 1, 50) 'brother, a polite address of elder men' // LT ~a-bo | JäD ~ = ~a-jo 'an elder brother of a male person' — PotA (p. 4) AbV 'in a name', Blo a-wo 'uncle(maternal)', RA a-wo 'elder brother'.

24. -ba, -bā // LT -pa, cf. laobā, liāmtā, oloñba, domba, sdamba, t'amta, t'omtā, damba, natma, sambā, wimba, smamtā, sambā, sarbā, rambā, ramotbā, sbamta, cf. also -a, -wa, -uə.


26. baqba (M) 'name given to Tibetans' // LT 'phags-pa | JäD ~ 'excellent' — Pan hp'ak-wa 'exalted'.

27. bāndi, wāndi (M) 'disciple of lamas' // LT ban-de | JäD ban-dhe 'Buddhist priest', Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p. 592: ban-de, ban-chun 'pupil, disciple in a monastery' — RA wande 'id.'.


5 The regular correspondence would be *p'aqba or *mp'aqba, but this common name is known to all Mongolian dialects where initial p' does not exist so the word could come through a Mongolian dialect.
28. bän′tse in: 0-räm-bul'sie (M) 'the title of the great-lama of Tashilunpo' // LT pan-ch'en rin-po-che | JäD ~ 'id.' — Blo pan-chin, Ban wan'-č'en, Pan han ch'en; 4 CTW pen-chhen rim-po-chhe.

29. bar-mie (M), warma (VMI 140: 77, 78) 'lotos' // LT pad-ma, padma | JäD ~ 'id.' — PotF (p. 118) bama, Blo ba-ma, Tao poema; CTJ pé-ma, CTW pe-ma, cf. wammasdzia.

30. -ben // LT 'bum, cf. sna-ben, mben.
31. benk'aŋ // LT bum-khan, cf. biŋk'aŋ.
32. -bier // LT -ber — Tao per, cf. semnier.

33. biŋk'aŋ(M), benk'aŋ (Sch 71—79, VMI 158: 2, p. 164) 'a little chapel, in which idols and religious objects are placed, and which one do not wish to keep in the house (it is placed on the side of the village or at a cross-road)' (M); 'chörten-chamber'(Sch) // LT bum-khan | 5D ~ 'Mong. qubing-un ger [house of vases, Golshtinski: камера с водными часами при обсерватории(?)], Chin. hu-she 'id.'; Schröder's informants have connected this word with 'hundred-thousand'; on the drawing published by him there is written in a Mongour hand: 'bum-khan, bum-khan, bem-khan with Tibetan letters. This is a secondary explanation. The word 'bum 'tomb, sepulchre' and bum 'vase' are related?., cf. wumba, -wem.

34. -bo, -bö // LT -po, cf. k'änbo, səbdö, -uo, -u, -wu, -bu.
36. bōula (Sch 649) 'funeral clothes (shoulder shawl) from white material' // LT *bubs-lva | JäD bubs 'an entire piece of cloth rolled up', gos-bubs 'cotton cloth' lva-ba 'a woolen blanket or cloth', YD la-ba 'chen-pe (read -me) (cloth), ur-mu-ge (woolen cloth)' — CTW rophe (bubs) 'roll (of cloth)'.

40. bumbu (M) 'pertaining to the Bon-sect' // LT bon-po | JäD

4 Rockhill remarks that the p'an- pronunciation is thought to be 'Mongolian'. The han- form is a result of a development p > p' > h-

5 Schröder (Sch p. 859) remarks that in Kumbum the urns are called beh-ba. The word has preserved both of its meanings in Mongolian cf. Literary Khalkha bumba 'кувшин, ваза; урна, могильная насыпь, могила, курган', bunchan 'гробница, часовня' (Lusvandёндев, Mongol oros tolj). The double meaning of the word is connected with old urn-burial rites. The pseudo-literary form is not bungqan as Heissig has proposed (Mongolische Handschriften, p. XIV), but bungqan < bungqan < bumbu-khan.
〜'id.' — Blo won-po 'Bon-sect', RA wön-bo, dön-bo 'pertaining to the Bon-sect'; CTR pön-po, pö-po.

41. bulbs (M) 'child' // LT *bu-lo — RA (p. 119) wō-lo 'id.'

42. ṛābğla- (M) 'to worship with ceremonies, to offer' // LT *dad-bul | JāD daḍ- 'to believe', 'bul- 'to give', SD daḍ-pa phul-ba 'sösüg ergüöl (veneration, offer)', cf. dasba.

43. -dag // LT -btags cf. k'adag — Dpa btach-wa 'to bind', RA tay-no 'bound'.

44. -dag // LT -stag, cf. śiādag.

45. -dag // LT -dvags, cf. aravadag.

46. dagmu (M, VMI 42 : 192, 50 : 315, 56 : 432) 'distinct, clear, straight' // LT dag-mo | JāD dag-pa 'clear, pure', DD dag-pa/po/mo 'id.', YD dag-mo 'a-ri-lag-sañ (id.)', — Pan dak-war (dag-par) 'purely', Tao tákpa; Bal daq-phi, WT dag-mo; CTW tak-po — dagmu dagmudé (VMI 42 : 192, 50 : 315, 56 : 432) 'very determined, very precise', dagmune (M) 'distinctly, correctly'.

47. -dam // LT -dam, cf. k'adam.


49. -dān // LT -dan, cf. dzāndān.

50. dānūd tš'i (VMi 146 : 12, 150 : 67, p. 151) 'the holy Law' // LT dam-pa'i čhos | JāD ~ 'id.' — CTW tam 'holy', cf. tš'i.

51. dantsan, dantsien sarq (Sch 829) 'Tempest-god, black-smith god // LT dam-can | JāD ~ 'bound by an oath', Das ~ 'Rdo-rje legs-pa a Tantric deity' — Blo dam-cā 'vow', RA tam-dzē (dam-rjas) 'offer in Tantrism'; CTW ickname.

52. -dān // LT -idan(?) cf. t'urdān.

53. dānśān (M) 'before, in ancient times' // LT *dān-sañ, mdān-san | JāD dān 'the first, the former, earlier', chañ-, sañ 'to be full', mdān-san 'yesterday and(?) to morrow'.

54. dānwu (M, Sch 634) 'the first, the former, earlier, in the past' // LT daṅ-po | JāD ~ 'id.' — Tao toñ-bu; WT t'ān; CTJ dāñ-po, CT (p. 34) tan-po, CTW tān-po — guñ-giño vānwu (goñ-gi daṅ-po) (M) 'in olden times, before', tānwuni na (œ + Mgr gen. -ni, dus) 'the olden times', dzow dānwu (Sch p. 634) (gzo dañ-po) 'the first invitation'.

8 On this word see my remarks in Orients XVII (1964), pp. 239—240. To the name „Śilo“ of Geser cf. also RA (p. 92) šī-łō 'boy', Blo shi-mo 'girl', RA śi-mo 'id.'.

9 The -i of tš'i must be long. Schroeder translates the expression as „Heilige Schriften“ and connects it with LT dpe'i chigs. The parallel sentences corroborate my translation. Cf. No. 712.
55. -lar, -där // LT -dar, cf. śiδar, śiδār, yāŋlar.

56. vāra in: 0 fuου (M) 'liquid taken from churned milk' // LT da-ra | JāD ∼ 'buttermilk', YD da-ra 'a'i-rag', Sz tara 'sour milk', Tao tarwa (dar-ba) 'buttermilk'; BalJ dar-ba, BalA dārba, Pur dārba; CTB tar-ra.

57. vāroδ'iog (M, Sch 56, 59, VMI 156: 53) 'a pole placed in the middle of the court, under the gate, on the top of a mountain etc., and on which prayer-flags are fastened; the prayer-flags (M), mani-pole (pole and flags together)' (Sch) // LT dar-lčog | JāD ∼ 'little flags fixed on houses, piles of stones and the like' — Sz táresuk 'flag', PotE (p. 169) ṭarčuk'pole on which flags with prayers are fastened', max-dar (dmag-dar) 'army flag', RA tar-cọy 'flag'; CTW tar-chok 'id.'.

58. varnaq (Sch 829—30) 'black silk kerchief' // LT dar-nag | JāD dar 'silk', nag 'black' — CTJ dhar-ma-re (dar ma ras) 'neither silk nor cotton', CTW tar 'silk'.

59. varōŋ (M, VMI 56: 430, p. 68, 172: 36) 'still, again, steadily' // LT da-ruŋ | JāD ∼ 'still, still more' — Tao tā 'now'; Bal darong 'now (up to present)', Lad dalo (da-lo) 'this year'; CTB la-rung 'still'.

60. vasba (M) 'religious law, worship' // LT dad-pa | JāD ∼ 'faith, devotedness' — CTB le-pa 'id.' — vasbaδu (M) 'devout', vasbala-'to be devoted'.

61. vē (M) 'yet, still (frequently used in tales at the beginning of sentences)' // LT de | JāD ∼ 'that, that one, such, thus, in the context of a narrative, de is usually employed' — Gol de-rañ (de-rīŋ) 'today', Sz teren 'id.', RA tī (de'i) 'of that (gen. sing.)', tō (de) 'that'; CT te 'id.'.

62. vēgawa (VMI 102: 77, p. 117) 'together, in common with' // LT *de-ka-ba | JāD de-ka/kha 'the very same', SD de-ka 'tère tedūi (the very one), teyimū (so), mön tere (itself)' — Pur de kana 'after that, afterwards'.

63. vēŋsār // LT ldon-gser, cf. dunsar.

64. -der // LT -gter, cf. sēnoa der, χδεη-wēm.

65. in (VMI 88: 14, 96: 27, 104: 118), diē (VMI 96: 20) 'this, that' // LT 'di, de | JāD 'dī 'this', de 'that' — RA di-zo (di-cho) 'those', dō, di 'that', KhJ dī 'that', Pan de 'this', Tao ndi; Bal diring-ber.

10 We have the sentence: buDa deGawa yō 'let us walk together'. The use of two particles (-ka, -ba) is strange but we find similar cases, cf. No 17.
(di-rinya) 'nowadays', di 'this', WT di-riñā 'to-day'; CT di 'this'.

66. di (VMI 112: 308) 'time' // LT dus | JāD ∼ 'id.' — Kh dû, Blo dû, RA ti ñîin-to (dus rgyun-du) 'always', Pan du 'time', Tao doe; CT tû, CTJ dhû, CTW tû, cf. duñ, diesdzum, dierysêm, cf. disar (M) 'id.' // LT dus-char see sar.


68. diagla- (M) 'to fall in drops' // LT gtig- | JāD ∼ 'id.' — Dpa thichbkha (thigs-pa) 'id.'.


70. diësdzum (M), dieryssem (Sch 623) 'the three periods: past, present and future (in metempsychosis)' // LT dus-gsum | JāD ∼ 'id.',11 cf. vi, duñ.

71. diešôsir (M) 'happy, healthy' // LT bde-skyid | JāD ∼ 'happiness, felicity' — CTW de-kyi, cf. udiewu.


73. -dog // LT -duq, cf. tûsûdog.

74. dog (M) 'poison' // LT dug | JāD ∼ 'id.' — Blo dux; BalA tûk; CTW tûk 'id.' — dogdû (M) 'poisonous'.

75. -dog // LT -dag, cf. dondog.

76. -dog // LT -tog, cf. mûdog.

77. -dog // LT -gogs, cf. k'adogla-.

78. doqla- (M), doqluo- (VMI 44: 198, 200), doqlo- (M, VMI 124: 87) 'to pluck off, to tear out with nails, pick', // LT gtog- | JāD ∼ 'to pluck off, gather, crop, tear out (one's hair)' — CTB tok- 'id.' — doqolûdzî- (VMI 98: 44) 'to seize'.

79. domba (M) in: ñôñìñì uoû (M) '(the lama) does not devote himself to praying, does not live according to the religious laws' // LT gtum-pa | JāD gtum-po '(hot) in a more devoted mysticism the power which meditating saints by dint of long continued practice may acquire', YD gtum-po 'canâda (Skrt candâla) — dombatšî (≈ + Mgr. -tš') (M), dombawa (gtum-po-ba) (M) 'a lama, who knows the prayers'.

80. dondog (M), vuûndog (VMI 42: 170, 50: 323, 146: 3) 'affair, case, cause; feast, birthday' // LT don-dag | JāD ∼ 'business, affairs (?SchD)', DD ∼ (vulg.) 'id.', — RA dön-day, don-tay 'sense, signification, affair', CT tû-ta 'meaning', CTB tòn-ta 'affair, business'.

81. -døñ // LT -duñ, cf. oûñdøñ.

82. døñ (M, Sch 46, VMI 32: 26, 27, 56: 433) 'trumpet shell

11 The -rû- in Schröder's entry presumably denotes an uvular r.
white, holy, clean' // LT ḍuṅ | JáD ∼ 'id.' — Blo ḍuṅ 'id.', RA toṅ-kar, tuṅ-kar 'white shell', Tao tooṅ; CTW tungs.

83. -dön // LT -gdon, cf. sāṇḍgmani — Bal gdong 'face', BalA okdong 'id.', Pur rdoṅ, WT doṅ-; CTW dong 'id.'.

84. -dön // LT mduṅ, cf. sviāṇdōṅ — Gol mdoṅ 'lance', Sz tungs 'id.', Blo mduṅ-dar (~-dar) 'little flags on the lance', Tao mdoṅ; CT duṅ.

85. dön-la- in: saurvien döŋlabʒia (Sch 26) 'the shaman is ready (expression denoting the end of the trance)' // LT doṅ | JáD 'doṅ-to go' cf. the expression: śvien ñzuola-.

86. døṇri (M) 'white, spotless' in ⁰ ḱoni 'spotless sheep' // LT duṅ-ru | JáD ∼ 'snow-white horns (tortoise shell white')

87. døṇsar // LT ldön-gser, cf. dunsar.

88. dörzę // LT rdo-rje, cf. duorzę.

89. duān dog // LT don-dag, cf. dondag.

90. dui (M) 'period, world' // LT dūs, cf. vi, vieszum, vierszën. — dāṇwuni dui (M) 'old times' (dāṅ-po + gen. -ni, dus).

91. dünmu (M) 'teapot, little pot' // LT ld ön-mo | JáD ∼ 'id.', YD ldős-mo 'snod (vessel)' — LadJ doṅ-duṣ 'a stane'; CT doṅ-mo 'churn'.

92. dunsar, dønsär, dønsär (M, Sch 40, 76, VMI 156:65, p. 159) 'a little copper cup, in which water is poured and which is put as sacrifice before the idols, little cup for children' // LT ldön-(g)ser cf. dunmu and JáD gser 'gold', gser-gzan 'gilt copper'.

93. duorzę (M), dorzę (Sch 40) 'ritual sceptre of the lamas, thunderbolt-sceptre' // LT rdo-rje | JáD ∼ 'id.' — Gol rdo 'stone', Kha rdo, Sz to-szo (rdo-sol) 'coal', PotA (p. 5) rdo 'stone', PotJ (p. 234), čagdur (phyaq-rdor) 'Vajrapani', Blo 'do 'stone', RA rdo Tao rdo 'stone', dor-'zi 'sceptre'; BalA rdoah, Pur rdo 'stone', Lad rdoa, WT dör-že 'jewel'; CT dorje — duorzęla- (M) 'to hold a sceptre' cf. ręduomben.¹²

94. dzama (M) 'food, nourishment' // LT za-ma | JáD ∼ 'id.' — Blo sa-ma 'id.', cf. -sā.

95. dzān dān (M) dzāndān (VMI 50: 305) 'sandal-tree' // LT can-dan | JáD ∼ 'id.' — PotA (p. 14) zangdān 'id.', Blo ñsan-dan; CTB tser-lun.

¹² Miller (Segmental, p. 351) remarks that the -a of the Bal and Pur word is „obscure”, and postulates an original form *rdva. The only form in favour of Miller’s theory is Seruchung hrata (D’Ollone, Langues, p. 39), but the phonetic value of this is very questionable. The question needs further investigation.
98. *dzʌnmar* (M) 'copper' // LT zaⁿs-dmar | JäD zaⁿs 'copper', dmar 'red', DD zaⁿs = lʌgs dmar 'copper', GRD zaⁿs-dmar 'lʌgs dmar-po (red metal)' — Gol zaⁿ 'copper', Dpa sāng, Sz szanmer 'id.' Blo san-gar (zaⁿs-mgar) 'copper metal-worker', Blo san 'copper', RA san-ma 'copper'; Bal zang 'kettle', BalA zangz 'copper', WT zaⁿ-bu 'kettle'; CT sāŋ 'copper', CTW sāng 'id.'.
99. *dzati* (read dzʌtʰi? dzʌvι?) (Sch 54) 'nutmeg' // LT ja-ti | JäD ~ 'id.' — Tao dza-(ti); CTW dzu-ti.
100. *dzʌ* // LT -ce, cf. lʌnύ, lʌnύ.
101. *dzekteŋ'ʌŋ* (M) 'room for assembly, little chapel in lama-monasteries' // LT ('j)jinc-kʰaⁿ | JäD gzuⁿ-kʰaⁿ 'id.', 'jinc-, bzuⁿ, gzuⁿ 'to hold, support etc.' — Kha ndzeⁿ- 'to hold', RA zin- 'id.' Tao tsoem- 'id.' — cf. -nuzen.
105. Deest.
107. *dzoɔr* (Sch 846) 'demon-torma (religious ceremony)' // LT zor | JäD ~ 'the weapons employed in combating the evil spirits in the gtor-ma', zor-ba 'sickle' — BalA zorbḥ 'sickle'; CTW şor-ra 'id.'
108. *dzʌwa, gzʌwa* (VMI 136: 28, 31, 32, p. 141) '(married, loving) couple' // LT gza-ba | JäD bza-ba rarely gza 'the members of

13 In this case the non-archaic South-East dialects have forms which are close to the Monguor item: Tsʰ-ku djRon 'honey', djRon-na 'fly', An-sun-kuan rhouan 'honey', rhouan-ce 'bee', rrʌŋ-ne 'fly', Ta-chʰ'en-lu djɔŋma 'fly' (D'Ollone, Langues, pp. 75—77), Migot gives sʰraⁿ-bu 'voler' // Tao sʰraⁿbu, KangI sʰraⁿbu, KangII sʰraⁿbə, Kan tʰraⁿbu, DerM sʰraⁿbə evidently the same word. In Cha we find tʰang tʰai, in LhCh tʰan. Cf. also Lepcha bɾjoṅ, Burmese jən, Mongol bɾaŋjɨ (Vladimirov, Арабские словарь, pp. 77—78).
a family, they being conceived as eaters or fellow-boarders, wife, spouse’ – Sz -fsa in stīfsa, -bsza in: tiebsza (skyes-bza) husband’, Prz xcheybsca 'man', Pot za in: Rjche-chsas künsjo (Rje Rgya-bza kon-'cho) 'the wife of the Chinese king', RA jia-za (rgya-bza) 'Chinese princess'; WT za-da (bza-zla) 'wife, partner'; CTW ša-da 'id.'.

109. -gez // LT -grī, cf. araṇge - Gol kiḥ 'knife', Kha di, Sz dji 'id.', Blo ḥ[kra-grī (skra-grī) 'razor', gri 'sword', RA kiḥ, c'ō 'knife', e'irtay (gri-ltag) the back of the knife'; Bal gri 'knife', BalA gri, Pur gri, PurJ gri; CT ḏī 'id.'.

110. ḏgebla- (M) 'to make, to perform' // LT (')grub- | JāD 'grub-' 'to be made' – Blo grub-chin (~-chen) 'saint', RA śrib- 'to arrive somewhere'; CTR drup- ('grub-'), CT ḏrup- (grub-) 'id.' – lānts'iaq (lan-chags ~) (M) 'to commit sin' cf. pzuola-, mozhuo.

111. ḏeg (M) 'leopard' // LT gzig | JāD ~ 'id.' – Gol gzig, Kha gzig, Blo uzung, RA gyiγ, Tao rzoḥ; CTR sik 'id.'.

112. ḏge (M) 'impurity (moral), dirt' // LT zegs | JāD ~ -ma 'id. (SchD)'

113. -ŋzel // LT 'brel, cf. sviempzel.

114. sven'syen (VMI 148: 40, 47, p. 153) 'benevolent' // LT drin-chen | JāD drin-čan, drin-če 'id.' – CTB trin-chhem-po 'id.'

115. Deest.

116. ḏsō (T, Sch 870) 'wheat' // LT gro | JāD ~ 'id.' – Blo gro, Tao gro; Bal khro, BalA kro, Pur krōh, Lad dō, WT dō; CTJ dhō, CT ḏro, CTM ḏo, LhM ḏshō 'id.'

117. -ŋzum // LT 'brum, cf. oṃṇṇzum.

118. pzuolaḥzía in sviendḥn (Sch 25) 'the lance (prophesying) is finished' // LT grub + Mgr -la, + Mgr -bẓia, cf. ḏgebla-, mozhuo, for the expression see ḏnḥla-.

119. -nzi // LT -čha cf. svačžia, nviḥžia, nts'wom-bžia cf. also -tš'ia.

120. -bžia, -bžiā // LT -ja – Gol ča-nō (ja-snod) 'tea-pot', Dpa dja 'tea', Sz csia-run (ja-run) 'kitchen', Prz dzia 'tea', RA ča, Tao čha, tā; Bal cha, BalA chá, Pur cā, Lad lsha; CT ča cf. -tš'ia.15

121. bžiagla- , bziagla- (VMI 179: 10) 'to spread, to grow' // LT ḏag- | JāD ḏag- 'to establish, to fix, found, settle (SchD)' – Tao dza-ja (bde'-ţags) prosperous time; CT ḏak-t'ap (ţags-thab) 'carrying into life'.

15 As is well-known the word is of Chinese origin (cf. Laufer, Loan-words, p. 505), the literary form has voiced initial, the voiceless initial can be of CT origin, or local Chinese.
122. bṣiṅk’ar (M) 'India' // LT *rgya-khar | JäD rgya-dkar 'id.' — PotP (308) जंकर, Blo gya-kar, RA gya-kar, ḥa-yar, ḥa-gar, CT ḥa-gar, ḥa-gā, CTB gya-kar 'id.'.

123. bṣiṇama (M) 'cook' // LT ja-ma | JäD ~ 'a man that prepares the tea in a monastery, tea-cook' — Blo ja-ma 'tea-picker', CTW čha-ma 'tea-maker' cf. -ts'i-a, -bṣiā.

124. bṣiṇama (M) 'window, window-post' // LT dra-ma | JäD dra-ba 'grate, lattice; net, net-work', DD dra-ma 'balustrade, lattice, opening with a net', sgo-dra, sge’u-dra 'door, lattice-window', ZO dra-ma 'čongqu (window)', TsD dra-ma 'skar-khuṅ (id.)', GRD dra-ma 'khaṅ-pa’i skar-khuṅ-gi dra-mig lta-bu (like the window-lattice of the house)', hyperurb: SD khra-ma 'čongqu' YD, ZO, GRD khra-ma 'id.' — RA ṭa-ma 'window, lattice, lattice-window'; CTB thra-ma 'window-lattice'.


126. -bṣiān // LT -rkyān, cf. arānšiān.


128. bṣiṇaṃpoṅ (Sch 868) 'Tibetan grass, Chin. Tsang ts’ao' // OT *lṣan-ṣhon18 | JäD lṣan-khu 'green', snon 'green, plant, herb', Blo can-khu (lṣan-khu) 'green', RA ḥaṅ-k’i (lṣan-khu) 'green', Tao čhon-id.; CTR ḥaṅ-k’u.

129. bṣiṅrōs'iaq (M) 'little purse ornamented with embroidery which is worn by women and in which they put needles and other smaller objects' // LT rkyal + Mgr suff. -s’i-aq < (Mong. -čay dimin.) | JäD rkyal-bu 'small bag' — Blo ḥkyał-va 'leather-bag'; Bal kyelbu 'bag (leather)', Pur kyelba 'leather bag (big)', kyelbu 'id. (small)'; WT kyal, CTB kye-pa.

130. bṣiṅšoe (M) 'what is necessary, what is needed to everyday life: provisions, victuals' // LT rgyaqs + Mgr -śoe | JäD rgyaqs, bṛgyaqs 'id.'.

131. bṣiaw (VMI 154: 20, p. 158) 'ridge of a hill' // LT rgyab |

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16 The aspiration of the k' is unusual; if it is not a mistake it is in any case secondary instead of ḥar.


JäD ~ 'the back part of anything' — Gol ṭjiap 'back', Blo gyab 'id.', RA ḥia-wā (rgyab-la) 'after', Tao rj'ob; Bal rgyabla 'back (place)', Pur rgyap'na 'after (adv.)', rgyaba 'behind', PurL rgyap, LadL rgyap; CTB gyap 'back'.


133. ḏzieṭziā (M) 'tea-feast offered to a lama' // LT rce-ja | JäD ~ 'the best of teas' — RA ḥše-mo (rce-mo) 'top', Tao ṭsi, WT lār-se (la-rce) 'summit of a mountain-pass', CTW tse 'peak, summit' cf. ṭze.

134. ḏżerma (VMI 44: 209, 210) 'hail, rain' // LT ser-ma or zer-ma | JäD ser-ba 'i.', cf. bser, gser, ser-bu 'a fresh, cold breeze', bser-mo 'cold', DD bsr-mo 'cold', SD zer-ma 'usun dusul (drop of water) — Blo ser-ra 'hal', BalA zerburuse, zerburuze 'id.'; CT se-ra 'id.'.

135. ḏziela- // LT ḏag-, cf. ḏziela-.

136. ḏiśūlā, ḏiśvu (M) ḏiśliu (Sch 34) 'bell, little bell' // LT dril-bu | JäD ~ 'id.' — Blo dril-wu 'id.'; BalA tripshil, LadJ ḏiš-sil (driḥ-sil < drī-bu gil) 'id.', CT ṭi-bu.

137. ḏziṅlie- (Sch 628) 'to distill' // LT sǐns | JäD sǐn-bu 'liquor made of mare's milk, tartar arrack (SchD), sǐn-pa 'thin, clear' sẖaṅ-sǐns 'small-beer', YD bṣiṅs 'ne-re-hu (to distill)'.


139. ṭziogmu (M) 'ravine' // LT grog-mo | JäD grog-po 'id.', SD grog-mo 'γau (id.)', YD grog-mo 'chu'i 'obs (water-channel)'.

140. ḏiśvu // LT dril-bu, cf. ḏiśūlā.

141. -ṭdūr // LT ṭgyur, cf. svanūţūr, -nōţūr.

142. far (M) 'worms developing on meat' // LT ṭhar | YD phar-ded 'pu-chā-če ha-re (= bučasi qoruqai, maw worm)', SD phar-'gro 'debkeren yabučči anu meneki (anything which goes leaping; frog)', cf. JäD 'phar- to leap' — Bal habu (phar-bu?) 'insect'.

143. ṭsāṅ // LT bṣaṅs, cf. svzān.

144. ṭsāṅuṇ (VMI 44: 202) 'sacrificial smoke; hundred thousand times great sacrifice' // LT bṣaṅs-bum cf. svzāṅ and JäD 'bum 'one hundred thousand'.

145. ṭsurē // LT byu-ru, cf. śūru.

146. ṭula (M), ṭula- (VMI 156: 65) 'to offer, to sacrifice, to donate (to a lama)' // LT phul- | JäD 'phul- 'to give', DD phul (preat. et imp. vulgo dicitur in omni casu) 'to offer' — Blo phuluva (～ba) 'to present', RA pū- 'to present', fū-wa 'a present', Pan huṅ-ne (phul-nas) 'having given'; CT pū-wa 'to present' — lamar ṭula-
(M) (lha-mar phul-) 'to burn a sacrificial wick', lama cu sér fūla. (M) (bla-ma + Mgr -du, gser, phul-) 'to present money to a lama'.

147. gāṇ, rgaṇ (M) 'might, power' // LT dباn | JāD ∼ 'id.' — Kha γνεν, Pot (p. 44) γνανχν (dbaṅ-chen) 'in a name', Blo ṣnaγ-lax (dbaṅ-lag) 'cactus (popular etym. cf. JāD 'a medicine, said to be prepared from a viscid, aromatic root, shaped like a hand')', TsD ∼ 'ḥsien jen chang (id.)' Blo waŋ-wo čor-wa (dbaṅ-po sør-ba) 'extinct'; Bal an 'force; power', JāD waṅ, vulg 'aṅ 'id.'; WT waṅ tán- 'ro make efforts'; waŋ-č'a 'power', cf. rośṇ, and to the latter Cham woŋ.

148. gāṃmier (M) 'weak, one who does not use his energy' // LT dbaṅ-med | JāD sdo dbaṅ-med-par 'having no strength, not being able to wait', dbaṅ-med-du 'chol-ba 'to make a person powerless' — Bal an-med 'feeble'.

149. gāṃscour (Sch 635) 'a kind of prayer, which is performed during the initiation of the youth, the ceremony of taking over the power, while the youth gets a new name' // dbaṅ-bskur | JāD ∼ 'consecration, inauguration, initiation' — Kha (David-Neel, La vie surhumain etc., Paris 1931, p. 89) angkour, CTW wang kur-'to give blessing'.

150. gānlś'īān (M) 'powerful, noble' // LT dbaṅ-čän | DD bdag dbaṅ-čan 'master of himself' — Bal an chan 'mighty, powerful'; CT waŋ-č'a 'power', CTB wang chhem-po 'mighty'.

151. garā, gara // LT ka-ra, cf. oāra.

152. garūśiān (M) 'wooden rim, curved on the upper part of a pillar' // LT *ka-rgyan or *dbal-rgyan(?) | JāD ka-ba 'pillar, post', rgyan 'ornament, decoration', JāD dbal 'top, summit of a mḥod-rten' — Dpa ka-wa 'pillar', Blo ka 'id.', RA kā (ka-ba) 'id.', Tao ka-ba, CT kā.

153. gawur (Sch 45) 'camphor' // LT ga-bur | DD ga-bur 'id.' (cf. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p. 591) — Blo ga-wur; CTB ka-pur.

154. gza-wa // LT gza-ba, cf. gza-wa.

155. gēnzān (Sch 634—635), rèvzan (VMi 162: 41, 50, p. 165) 'lama-toga, shoulder-dress' // gzān | JāD ∼ 'plaid (esp. W.), DD gzan (vulg E.) 'dress' — Gol γzan 'part of the dress of priests', RA γzen 'id.'; CTR sen, CTW šen, cf. -rbsāiān.

156. gła (VMi 36:85,87 etc, p. 61) aḷā, lāwa (M) 'musk-deer' // LT gla(-ba) | JāD ∼ 'id.' — Prz lāa 'id.', Blo sla-wa; CTB la-wa 'id.', cf. laṣnē.

157. glu, glo, głę (Sch 45, 49, 76, VMi 50: 325) 'Klu-mo, Earth-
158. g discovered in the form of a goddess' temple. LT klu | JäD ~ 'serpent-demon', 'DD ~ 'deus terrae' — PotI (323) улг чжэлбъ (klu rgyal-po) 'the lord of the water', Blo ぐlu-man (klu-sman) 'a sacred medicine', Tao ぐノ ~ ぐlmo さn (VMI 50: 325) (klu-mo cha'n) 'the enlightened K.', ぐlsm an (Sch, loc. laud.) 'Mong. luus-um em'.

158a. -gsoi // LT *gcoogs, cf. snagsog.

159. -gse // LT -gziqs, cf. sùzieraqgse.

160. (q)tš'aian // LT mkhyen, cf. k'ants'ian.

161. quaq (Sch 866) 'danger, harm' // LT kag | JäD kag ma 'mischief, harm, injury' — WT k'aq(s)-po 'hard (to bear), bad'; CT k'ag-po 'difficult'.

162. quax svor (Sch 829) quaqspor (Sch 866) 'gtorma preventing danger' // LT kag-gtor, cf. quaq and svorma.

163. ぐesn (M) ぐisn (VMI 146: 2, 11), ぐesn (M) 'Tibet, Lhasa' // LT dbus-gca'n | JäD ~ 'U and Tsang' — Gol ぐi 'middle', PotA (4), E (168) Гуишуны 'U-Tsang, Tibetan province in which Lhasa is situated', Blo ぐwon-ox (dbus-sog) 'Tibetan paper', RA गवेय-स्ता 'Central Tibet, Tibet', Pan dwu-ne (dbus-nas) 'from the midst'; LadJ 'us'; CTJ ग 'middle', CT Ü-Tsang.

164. guor (M) 'light' // LT 'od | JäD ~ 'id.' — Dpa  olu, Kha ぐod, RA  olu,  olu, Blo 'od-ser ('od-zer) 'ray'; Tao oer; Bal  olu, Pur  olu, LadJ 'od'; CTR ग, CTJ ग CTM ो ~ guordu (M) 'bright'.

165. -ga // LT -ka, cf. t'anga, vegawa.

166. sramz // LT skad-cha, cf. srežiä.

167. gaagula (Sch 45, 49) 'a plant «Mergel»' // LT ka-ko-la | JäD ~ 'a plant bearing a berry the inner part of which is a waxlike and aromatic substance', DD ~ 'amomum medium', Kow ~ 'Mong. dagula, grand cardamone'.

168. gänôziära (VMI 156: 64, p. 159) 'top, ridge of a church' // LT gänji-ra | JäD ~ 'obviously a Sanskrit word, though not in our dictionaries; an architectural ornament, consisting in small turrets or spires along the edge of a flat roof'.


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19 This etymology was proposed by Professor Ligeti, Trois notes, p. 227.

20 Cf. Laufer, Loan-words, p. 453.
170. -oṣṇ // LT -khan, cf. laoṣṇ, nieroṣṇ, k'āṇ.

171. gāṇḍỹo (M) gradation (Sch 34, 35) 'whistle made of the thigh-bone of a young girl who committed suicide' // LT rkañ-duṅ | JāD ~ 'trumpet made of a human thigh-bone' — CTR kant-lung.


173. gāra (M), garā (Sch 68), gara (VM 92 : 31, 110 : 258, 279) 'sugar' // LT ka-ra | JāD ~ 'id.' — Blo ka-ra, Tao kara; Bal bara, BalA hkurra, BalV karha, WT k'ā-ra, CTB ka-ra — gāraṇ̣ ṣ'sugared'.

174. eṛu (Sch 68) 'white' // LT dkar-po | JāD ~ 'id.' — Gol kar-wō, Kha ykar-po, Sz njinker (nīn-dkar) 'at day-light', PotA (p. 5) rapby, PotP (p. 308) ḍkaṛy (ṛgya-dkar) 'India', Blo kar-wo, RA ka-ro, kar-wō, Ban ka-rō, Tao karpu; Bal kār-po, BalA karpo, Pur kārpo, Lad karpo; CTR kar-po, cf. -eṛ, -eṛu, -k'ar.

175. oṭṣien (VM 114: II 9) 'many, a good deal' // LT ga-čhen | JāD ~ 'id.'

176. gsum-pa (Sch 40) 'third' // LT gsum-pa | JāD ~ 'id.' — Gol gsum 'three', Nish xsum, Prz cym, PotA (p. 34) kṣyndo (gsum-mdo) 'third valley', Blo hsum 'three', hsum-pa 'third', RA yśīm, ṣīm 'three', Ban sendtē-ge-sim (ser-bras-dge gsum) 'the three monasteries Sera, Drepung and Ganden', Pan rsum, AEk rṣám; Bal ksüm BalR ḳśim, Pur süm, Lad sum; CTW sum, cf. -ṛṣem, -dzum.

177. gpo in: ḍāṃṣu etc. (Sch 40, 634) 'the first invitation of a lama' // LT gzo | JāD ~ 'to remember, to keep in mind, to be grateful'.


179. oṭloṇba (Sch 40, 634—5) 'a lama of the yellow sect' // LT dge-slon-pa | JāD dge-slon 'mendicant friar' — Blo ge-lun 'bhikṣu', RA ge-loṅ 'monk, in Labrang: friar who left the monastic order'; CT ge-loṅ.22

21 Schröder translates the word as „vornehm, nobel, erhaben”. The parallel lines seem to support my interpretation:

k'oḥgvo furı šdoruṇi ītšiṅa siriṇi šdoruṇi
gatšiṃ nḥzouni bōṭziā bžiṅṇīdö mori hölöna
„Amidst the blue smoke Amidst the white dust Many guests are descending Hundreds of horses are trotting”.

gatšiṃ nḥzuo is Tib. ga-čhen mjo 'many guests'.

22 Lama belonging to the yellow sect would be dge-lugs-pa: *gelugba.
Dge-sloan-ba means literary ‘mendicant friar’.
180. gësnien in ⁰pצwola- (Sch, 634) 'to consacrate sy. as lama' // LT dge-bsön | JāD 樾 'novice, candidate' — Gol ge-wa (dge-wa) 'virtue', Kha ygen-dun (dge-dun) 'clergy', PotF (p. 199) гешу (dge-šes) 'lama', Blo ge-m/pen 'Buddhistic layman', Ban ge-wa 'virtue', RA gendön, gendin 'the Buddhist community'; CT gendün, gendu.


182. -gs // LT -dga', cf. con'sorāwa — Dpa ga- 'to enjoy', Bal rga 'to love', Pur rgā 'id.', LadJ yā- 'to rejoice'; CT gā- 'to like'.

183. oogla- (VMI 102 : 66, p. 116) 'to bend, to bend a bow' // LT gugs- | JāD 'gugs- 'id.' — Bal kuk- 'id.'; CTB kük- (bkuŋ) 'to bend'.


185. -aŋ // LT -kan, cf. nəaŋ, k'ən, əŋ.

186. con'sorāwa (M) 'a little case for idols, a little case for the genealogical tables of a family' // LT kun-dga'-ra-ba | JāD 樾 'library of a monastery' — KhJ kun-ga-ra-wa 'pleasance', Kha kun 'all', Dpa kün (p. 198), PotA кънку (؟ کنکا) 'bag', PotP (pp. 308, 309) гундань (kun-ldan) 'in name', Blo kun-gā-ra-wa 'family Buddhist altar', RA kīn-gā ra-wa 'library', Tao kün 'all'; PurL gun 'all'; CTJ kun 'id.'; CTR kün-gā ra-wa 'library'.

187. oŋsoŋ (Sch 634—5) 'to go in solitude' // LT dgoṅ-soṅ | JāD dgoṅ 'thinking, meditating', 'gro-, soṅ 'to go', DD dgoṅs-pa-la 'jug 'to think, to meditate'.

188. -gol // LT -khu, cf. marou, k'uā. 

189. -go // LT -ko-, cf. oaula.

190. ovaŋbůr (M) 'Kanjur' // LT bka'-gyur | JāD 樾 'id.' — Kha vka 'word, speech', Blo u'kā 'order', ka-n/gyur 'Kanjur', RA kā 'speech', kangvip 'Kanjur', Pan kuanjur, Tao kan-jur; CTR kanjur.

191. ouk'ual (Sch 76) 'black incense' // LT *gu-khal | JāD gu-gul 'Amyris Agallocha, a costly incense, one kind is white, another black', DD gu-gul (vulg.) 'Aqualaria agallocha'.

192. -gum // LT -kum, -gum cf. guºum.

193. ovnüzümb, ovnüzü (M) 'grapes' // LT rgun-brum | JāD 樾 'id.' — Blo rgun-brum; Bal rgun, BalA ûĝun, BalV urgun, Pur rgûn, Lad rgun; CTB gün-brum 'id.'.

23 The semantic development is: 'the court of all pleasure' > 'pleasance' > 'library' > 'place for holy books' > 'altar'.

24 If the transcription of the second syllable is not a mistake it is irregular, cf. Skrt guggula, Mong. tägül (Lauffer, Bird Divination, p. 6, Loan-words, p. 453) 'gum resin from Boswelilia serrata'.

194. Deest.

195. **gordon** (M) 'dress, clothes' // LT *gon-rgyu(s) (?) | JäD gön 'coat, clothes' (SchD), gos 'garment', rgyu 'material, stuff for weaving' — Dpa gön 'dress', RA kön-gö 'id.'; Bal gonchas 'clothes', gonmo 'dress', BalJ gon-ma 'coat', Pur gončas 'to cloth oneself', günkā 'garment', LadJ gön-t'e 'coat'; CT kön-j'u dress'.

196. -guñ // LT -kon, cf. nierguñ — CTB kon-kon 'concave'.

197. guññuo (M) 'in former, ancient times' // LT gön-gi | JäD ~ 'id.' — Gol gön-t'ay (gon-thag) 'plastron', RA kon 'on, above', gön-t'ay 'plastron'; CT gön, kon 'before' — guññuo dāñwu (M) (gon-gi dan-po) 'in ancient times'.

198. guorúiān (M) 'head-ornament worn by shamans' // LT mgo-rgyan | JäD ~ 'head-ornament', cf. ηουίες.

199. gur (M) 'tent' // LT gur | JäD ~ 'id.' — Gol kur, kir, Prz kyrp 'id.', PotC (p. 40) kyr, RA kir; Lad kur, WT gur-bér 'the tent-poles'; CT kur, LhM khūr.


201. guru (M) 'teacher' // LT gu-ru | JäD ~ 'id.'.

202. guṣum (Sch 45) 'saffron' // LT gu-rkum (rgum) | JäD gu-rkum 'id.', DD gu-rkum/gum, ku-rkum 'id.' — Bal gu-r gum, BalA kürkūm.

203. guṣia (T, Sch 870) 'a kind of Tibetan reed' // LT ku-ša | JäD ~ 'Poa cynosuroides, a sort of grass often used in sacred ceremonies', Filchner, Kumbum, p. 88: kuša-Grass.

204. gam (M) 'boots (Tibetan)' // LT lham | JäD ~ 'id.' — Kha lham, Dpa ham (p. 199), Sz ham, Prz xam, Blo xlam, RA ham, Tao rlham; Bal hlam, BalA thlumkūn (lham-mkhan) 'shoemaker', LadJ lam; CTW hlam.

205. Xamdo (M), Amdo (VMI 156 : 72) 'Amdo' // LT "A-mdo — PotL (p. 236) amdo nāvichi ("a-mdo sna-bo-che) 'the man from Amdo with great nose (Congkapa)', Blo a-m/do; CT a-mdo.

205a. xana (M), xāna (VMI 102 : 35) 'all' // LT ha-ni | JäD ~ 'id (SchD)', SD ~ 'bügüde (id.)' — RA ha-ne 'id.'.

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25 The absence of -n- and the second syllable seem to be irregular. One would expect *guronbū. It is also interesting that dz is not palatalised!


206. χανιτ (M), ράνι (M) 'the family of the wife' // OT ρα-myin | JāD ρα-miñ 'relations on the father's side', Kow s.v. τόρκυμ = ρα-miñ 'parents of the wife', YD ρα-miñ 'a-pag 'a-ha (uncle on the father's side)', τόρ-χόμ (the parents of the wife)', ρε-χεγ-ιν 'a-ha (the brother of the father)' SD ρα-miñ τόρκυμ, ekken-ın über-ın eçe-ye-ün törü-ün eteged törküm kememüi (parents-in-law, the side of the wife's own father's lineage called τόρκυμ), myin 'nere (name)', 28 DTH 98 : 21 ρα-myin — Sz hame mamet (ρα-med ma-med) 'orphan', Gol hargen (ρα-rgan) 'father', RA ha-ma (ρα-ma) 'parents'; Bal ρα-yul (ρα-yul) 'native land' WT ρα-naor 'patrimony'; CT ρα-ma 'parents', cf. roe.

207. Deest.

208. χα-ε-ρ-ε (Sch 859) 'urn' // LT gter-bum | JāD gter 'treasure', bum 'bottle, flask' — Blo hter-sar 'new treasure', Tao 'ter'; CTW ter 'treasure', cf. -dei.

209. χαζερ μαλη (Sch 22) 'golden mirror' // LT gser me-loh | JāD gser 'gold', me-loh 'mirror', cf. sær, χερε-ši-en, -sar.


211. χζελί (VMI 38 : 119—120) 'to wish' // LT dgog- | JāD ~ 'to be necessary' CT: to wish' cf. ρζόλε-, ρλοό.

212. χζομό (M) 'tamarisk' // LT om-bu | JāD ~ 'id.'.

213. χζερ-ši-en (Sch 829—30) 'golden drink' poured out in the obo-sacrifice' // LT gser-skyems | JāD ~ 'beer together with grains of corn, as an offering to the gods for the good success of an enterprise, a journey etc., in religious dancing festivals', cf. sær, χζερ mäle, -sar.

214. χςίγγα (T, Sch 869) 'fire-wood' // LT gcig-ka | JāD 'chig-, chig 'to burn', YD gcig 'thu-lig (fire-wood').

215. χαυə | LT dpur, cf. χορ.

216. χαωω (M), χεωω (VMI 146 : 19, 179 : 10) 'military exercises, military knowledge' // LT dpə-bo | JāD dpə-(ba) 'bravery, strength, courage', dpə-bo 'hero', DD dpə-bo 'the bravest of the army' — Blo hā-wo 'mighty warrior', hwā-wā 'braveness', RA pā-ti (dpə-brtul) 'hero', xvā- (dpə-ba) 'braveness'; CTW pa-wo — χαωωτς (M) 'soldier'.

217. χε (Sch 68, VMI 177 : 1) 'parabole, comparison, story' // LT dpe | JāD ~ 'pattern, model', dpe-sgra 'speech', DD ~ 'type.

28 Myin is the OT form of min, it is interesting that SD notes it.
29 We would expect *hamet mamet instead of a *hamamet (pha-ma-med).
form; custom, example', dper brjod 'to speak in parables' — Gol kpe 'proverb', KhaJ, ghpe-wshad (dpe-byad) 'proportion, beauty', Kha ype 'proverb', Blo hœe bri-w(a) (dpe bri-ba) 'draw a plan', RA xœe 'proverb', Pan hué 'example'; Bal khpera (dpe-sgra) 'discourse, news', hrpe bya 'imitate', Pur spēra 'affair, matter', LadJ spe 'pattern', WT (s)pe-ra 'speech'; CTW pe 'example' — χvula (VMI 177 : 1) 'to speak in parable'.

218. χuśǎŋ // LT dbus-gcan, cf. guśṣāŋ.
219. -χu // LT -khebs, cf. nāχu — Blo char-kheb (cha-r-khebs) 'rain-coat', kheb 'cover'; WT k'yebgs; CTJ k'eb.30
221. χuon (Sch 22) 'silk kerchief (in religious ceremonies)' // LT phon (? *dpom) | JáD phon' bunch, wisp, cluster, umbel, tuft, tassel', dar-phon 'a bunch or friing of silk', YD phon 'po-go-dol (cloth), pag-la-ga (a piece of a material or texture'), — Tao phon 'flag'; CT p'ō, quantity (? cf. pē-p'ō, 'a quantity of wool').31
222. χuor (M), χuar (Sch 867) 'form, pattern, printing block (M), form, pattern, drawing (Sch)' // LT ćpar | JáD par 'form, mould', spar (SchD) = par, SD ćpar, spar, 'keb(pattern, printing block)', YD ćpar 'heb (pattern, printing block)', Blo do-hwar (rdol-ćpar) 'slate', hwar- ço (dpar-siñ) 'wooden board'; WT par-rgyab 'print'; CT par — tawni χuar (Sch) (thab + Mgr -ni, ćpar) 'drawing on the fireplace (Maṇḍala)'.32
223. -ia // LT -dbyanäs, cf. -tšia, śdolšia.
224. -irağ // LT -rag, cf. t'angirağ.
225. -k'ā // LT -ka, cf. t'ang'ak, -ga.
226. -k'ā, k'ā // LT -kha, cf. arang'kā, nik'ā, sork'ā, -ga.

30 The phonetic correspondence is not self-evident. The χ- seems to be a secondary Monguor development, but we have also Tibetan parallels: LT skad 'word' // RA he, rkañ 'marrow' // LadJ xañ, LT dud-khuñ 'chimney' // RA dįχ-χuñ.
31 The meaning suggested by Jäschke seems to be the original one, that of CT, if valid, can only be a secondary development.
32 The word was compared with Chinese pan by Laufer (Loan-words, p. 512) which is hardly acceptable, cf. Shafer: JAOS LXXX (1960), pp. 328—329, Simon: BSOAS, XXV (1962), pp. 72—80.) The Tibetan word had originally a preradical d-.
227. k’ā (M) 'quadrangular piece of cloth' // LT kha or khä-ba | JaD kha 'mouth', khä-gan 'quadrate, square' khä-gan-ma 'id., e.g. pieces of cloth so shaped' — Sz kha 'mouth', Prz ka, Blo kha, RA k'a 'mouth, quadrate', Tao kha; Bal kha, 'mouth', Pur khalpaq 'mouth, lip', PurL kha 'mouth', Lad kha, WT k'a; CT k’a.

228. k’anág (M, Sch 52) 'scarf in ceremonies' // LT kha-btags | JaD ~ 'id.' — Sz hata, khata, PotA (p. 4) kätig, Blo kha-tax, RA k’a-tay; CT k’a-tā.

229. k’adam, k’aron (M, VMI 122 : 33) 'wolf' // LT kha-dam | JaD kha 'mouth', dam-pa 'strong', SD kha-dam 'bōke amatu (who has strong mouth), batu üge (strong words), batu aman (strong mouth, speech), GRD kha-dam 'kha srim-po (strongly grasping mouth)' — Prz kádaam 'wolf', Ban k’ä-dam 'id.'.

230. k’arogla- (M) 'to mediate in an affair' // LT kha-gtogs | DD bka’-la gtog-pa 'those who concentrate', GRD kha-gtogs 'Chin. kanshe (concern, consequences, responsibilities)', SD kha-gtogs 'dayariqu (to pass, confront, meet), jariku (chatter), amalaqu (to promise), üge jokis üledkū bolai (to say pleasant words)' — WT di lé-ka dañ ma tog 'do not meddle with that'.

231. k’abziη (M) 'number' // LT kha-grañs | JaD grañs 'id.', DD kha-grañs 'approximative number', Das kha-grañs 'enumeration'.

232. k’ags’iän // LT mkha’-mkhyen, cf. k’ants’iän.

233. k’amba (M), k’änṣa (Sch 45, 46, 867, VMI 44 : 198, 124 : 87, p. 65) 'an aromatic plant' // LT kham-pa | JaD ~ 'Tanacetum tomentosum, a very aromatic plant, frequent in high mountains'.

234. k’amsu (M) k’änbo (Sch 42,870) 'professor, head of a lama-monastery' (M), 'hutuku' (Sch) // LT mkhan-po | JaD ~ 'id.' — Blo thu-nkhwan (thig-mkhan) 'designer', KhJ mtshan-mkhan (mchan-mkhan) 'astrologer', RA k’en-bo, k’em-bo 'professor', Pan kuan-bo 'abbot', Tao khempo, Bal dā phang-khan (mda’ phaṅ-mkhan) archer, BalA shingkūn (śin-mkhan) 'carpenter'; CTW khem-po.


34 This is a Mongolized form, while the following is presumably a Tibetan variant.

35 The -n of k’apan is secondary and due to an initial dental t- of the word which followed it in the text: k’apan t’ieni.

36 A detailed discussion of this plant can be read in VMI, p. 65.
235. **k'amur** (M) 'rings on the bit of bridle with which it is fastened to the halter' // LT *kha-mur* | JäD ~ 'bit (bridle)' (SchD), SD *kha-mur* 'juujai anu qajar-urq-un qoyar yariy-a-dur torvur-san morin-u aman-dur emkuguk-lu temur (bit (bridle), a piece of iron which is fastened to the halter with two rings and placed in the mouth of the horse)'.

236. **k'atš'ian, k'atš'ián** (M) 'omniscient, omnipotent' // LT *mkha'-mkhyen* | JäD *mkha* 'heaven', *mkhyen* 'to know', DD *jigs-rten* mkhyen 'who knows the world'.

237. **k'aŋ, k'ar** // LT *khan*, cf. *zhenk'āŋ, sienk'āŋ* — Gol *k'ang-wa* 'house', Dpa *khang-wa*, Blo *k'ar-wa*, RA *kön-ha*, Tao *khom-ba*; BallL khang-ma, PurL khang-ma, LadL khang-pa, CT *k'ar-pa* 'id.', cf. -gəŋ, -gōŋ.

238. **k'ar** // LT *khar*, cf. *dziák'ar, orru*.

239. **k'ara** (M) 'trough, manger' // LT *kha-ra* | JäD ~ 'id. (SchD)', SD ~ 'morin-u onyuča anu tebsi modu (id., for horses)' 5D *kha-ra* 'onyuča' — Sz *karra* 'stable'.

240. **k'arwa** (M) 'pack-animal' // LT *khal-rt*a | JäD khel 'burden', *rt*a 'horse', SD *khal-rt*a 'ačiyan morin (pack-horse)' — Tao *khol*; CTB *khe* 'pack, burden'.


242. **k'ayāŋ** (M) 'wish' // LT *kha-yaŋ* | JäD *kha* 'mouth', yag 'good', DD *kha* yag-po 'to say good words, to recommend', SD *kha-yaŋ* 'aman kürdün (shasty mouth, who speaks without self-control)', ilegūti ögüleki 'to speak superfluously)' — RA *k'a-jay* 'wish'.

243. **k'u** // LT *khu*, cf. *mark'u*, *k'u*.

244. **k'uā** (M) 'soup, liquid, drinkable drug' // LT *khu-ba* | JäD ~ 'fluid, liquid', SD ~ 'šöl (soup)' — RA *k'o* 'soup', CT *khu-a* — sman *k'uā* (sman *khu-ba*) (M) 'drinkable drug', cf. -ou.

245. **k'ual** // LT *khal*, cf. *guk'ual*.

246. **k'ug** (M) 'cavity' dip' // LT *kho* | JäD ~ 'the interior, the inside', *kho-pa* 'the trunk of the body', SD *kho* 'köndei (cavity, cave, valley)' — Blo *kho-ge* (kho-nad) 'stomach-ache', RA *k'o*
'interior', k'oṅga, k'ok'ga 'stomach'; Bal khoqpa 'heart(fig.); CTR k'oṅ-pa 'stomack'.

247. k'uor // LT -khor, cf. soṅk'uor.

248. k'uorluo // 'khor-lo, cf. ηk'uorluo

249. -la // LT -lha, cf. tšva.la.

250. -la // LT -la, cf. soa ula.

251. -la // LT -lwa, cf. bowla — Sz la 'clothes', Prz loo 'id.', Blo la-wa 'id.'.

252. lansē (M), lawndē (Sch 68, VMI 114 : I : 2, p. 119) 'heap of stones in which a pole with little flags and papers are fastened, especially on mountain passes' // LT lab-ce | JäD ~ 'id.' — lansē sboorlo- (M) (lab-ce stod-) 'to place stone or superstitious objects on a heap of stones', lawndē sva rěntōn (Sch) (lab-ce rta gzhon) 'horse race around the obo'.

253. lafūzi // lab-ce, cf. šambā lafūzi.

254. langs (M) 'cup made of skull' // LT glag-pa | Das ~ (from the old language) = ltag-pa 'upper or back part or side': mgo'i ltag-pa 'the crown or upper part of the head', cf. JäD klad-pa, glad 'head, brain' — Blo slat-pa (glad-pa) 'brain', sła-mar (glad-or glag-dmar) 'bald head', RA lēl-pa 'cup of skull, skull'; Bal khlad-pa 'brain', BalA klātpah 'id.'; CTB le-pa.40

255. langs (M) 'lame hand, paralysis' // LT lag-za | JäD lag-za-čan 'having a lame hand', DD lag-za 'lame hand' — langsāva-(M) 'to be lame, to become lame (of hand)', cf. lasōur, langsī.

256. langs (M) 'towel' // LT lag-phyis | JäD ~ 'id.' — RA langsī 'woman's shawl for covering the head in Bayan'; Bal laqphis 'handkerchief' — langsīna yī- (M) 'to cover the head with a towel', cf. lasōur, langsā.

257. laoān (M) 'pagode, church for worshipping lamaistic deities' // LT lha-khan | Das ~ 'shrine, temple, sanctuary' — Gol lha 'god', Prz cxxā 'id.', PotA (p. 30) lха, PotC (p. 44) lсагань 'chapell', Blo xla 'god', xla-khan 'god-monastery', RA lha-rañ 'temple'; CTR lha-kañ, CTW lla-khang 'id.' — laoān sōurā ci- (M) (lha-khan skor-ba + Mgr ci-) 'circumambulate a pagoda'.

258. lak'negpa (VMI 94 : 49) 'separate, alone' // LT lkog + Mgr -pa (dat.-loc.) | JäD lkog 'secrecy', DD lkog 'secret separate', lkog-du 'secretly, aside' — Tao t'o 'secret'.

40 An OT glag can be connected with ltag through forms as *dlag, *tdag. Glad and glag are perhaps also belonging together.
259. **lama** (M, Sch passim) 'lama' // LT *bla-ma* | JäD ~ 'id.' —
Gol *la-ma*, Ṣla-ma, Kha *wla-ma*, Dpa Ḥla-ma, Blo *ula- chen* (bla-
chen) 'prelate', RA *la-ma*, Tao lama, Ban Ṣla-ma; CT *la-ma*.

260. **lamānštśiēn** (M) 'very good, perfect, excellent' // LT *bla-
ma mkhyen* | JäD (p. 55a) *bla-ma khyed mkhyen.mkhyen* 'it is gen.
added without any connecting word, like our pray or please',
DD (p. 126b) *bla-ma mkhyen* 'oh in fact, this is wonderful; lama
scit! frequ. exclamatio admirationis'.

261. **lama** (M, Sch 38) 'lamp burnt before an idol' // LT *lha-
mar* | JäD *lha* 'god; the image of the god', mar 'butter, oil, lamp'.

262. **lama** (M), lhamo (VMI 50: 317, 320 reading style) 'the
goddess Lhamo' // LT *lha-mo* | JäD ~ 'id.' — PotA (p. 5) Ṣlhamu
'name', PotI (p. 231) *lxamyu* 'a name', Blo *bla-mo* 'goddess', RA *lha-
mo ts'o* (~ mcho) 'a name'; CTW *bla-mo*.

263. **lān** (M) 'lazy, idle' // LT *glen* (?) | JäD ~-*pa* 'id.'
41 cf. liāmbā.

264. **lānštśin** (M) 'the thigh' // LT *brla-*byin | JäD *brra* 'the
thigh', byin 'the calf of the leg', YD *byin-*pa 'gva-ya (thigh)', pul-
čhūn (id.)' SD *brra* 'guy-y (thigh)' — RA *bla* 'id.', Pan *vla* 'id.';
WT *brra-k* (?!) 'groin'; CTW *le-shā* (brra-ṣa) 'the thigh'.

265. **lāntś'iaq** (M), lāntś'iog (VMI 122: 38) 'suffer, calamity as
a punishment for sins committed in a person's former life' // LT
lan-čhags | JäD ~ 'id.' — RA *len-*ja'y 'id.' — lāntś'iaqla- (M) 'to
be punished'.

266. -lān // LT *lham*, cf. śialān.


268. -lān // LT *glang*, — Way *la-ohn* 'bull', RA *glaň*, *glaň-nō,
yālān* 'id.'; Bal Ḥhlang 'ox', BalJ *glaň*; CTR *laň*. — cf. alān-
wulš'ie, walān.

269. **lārma** (M) 'a kind of willow' // LT *glaň-ma* | JäD ~ 'a
large kind of alpine willow' — PotA (p. 30) Ṣama ma goṅduy 'id.',
Blo *glaň-ma* 'id.', RA *glaň-ma* 'id.'; CTR *laň-ma*.

270. **lārwulš'ie** (M) // LT *glaň-po-eše*, cf. alārwulš'ie.

271. **larōn** (M) 'old lama' // LT *bla rgyan* | DD ~ 'old master'
— RA *la-gen*, lagen 'id.'.

272. **larōn** (M) 'the castle of a living Buddha' // LT *bla-bran* | JäD ~ 'resp. for dwelling-room or house of a lama' — Blo *la-b/rañ-

41 This can also be Chinese lan 'lazy, indolent' cf. 282. liāmbā.
kra-ci-n/khyil (~ bkra-sis 'khyil) 'La-pu-lan temple', RA Lawraṅ 'id.', CTW la-brang 'residence of high lama'.


275. lasdzē (VMI 36: 78, 82, 83 etc., p. 61), lārspa (M) 'musk' // LT gla-rci | JāD ~ 'id.' — Blo hla-r/su 'id.'; WT lar-si; CT la-tsi.

276. lasdzē sērāŋ (Sch 622) 'a name (pass-top-castle (? Sch)' // LT la-rce che-rin 'pass-top long-life)' | JāD la-rce 'top of a mountain pass', che-rin cf. serāŋ — WT lar-se 'top of a mountain pass'; CTW la-tse.

277. latšia (M), latšia (Sch 858) 'sealing-wax, seal, the seal of chandlers' // LT la-čha | JāD ~ 'sealing wax' — Bal lachar 'id.', WT la kyi'r 'balls for sealing wax'; CTW la-chha 'sealing wax'.

278. láwa // LT gla-ba, cf. gla.

279. lawvze // LT lab-ce, cf. lasze.

280. lag (M) 'fortune, fate' // LT las | JāD ~ 'destination, effect of action' — Dpa le 'deed', Tao loe; Bal las 'job, work', Pur las, WT f'ìn-le (resp.) 'id.', CTW le-go (las-sgo) 'business'.

281. -lag // LT -las cf. solag.

282. liāmnā (M) 'stupid, imbecile' // LT glen-pa | JāD ~ 'id.' — Blo gle-pa 'fool'; WT len-nag, CTB lem-pa, cf. lān.


284. lila- (M) 'to be in surplus, to be too many. to remain' // LT lus- | JāD ~ 'to be remaining or left' — RA li- 'to remain'; Bal luspo 'balance(remainder)', luspa 'to be left', Pur lā- 'remain', LadJ lus dug- 'to have behind', WT k'a lus-sa mi dug 'snow does not remain', CTW lā-pa 'to be left' — līlaca- (M) caus., līsoa līlana (lās-dka' lus- + Mgr. -la, -na)' the work remained'.

285. līsoa (M, VMI 120: 6, 14, 146: 26), līsoā (VMi 58: 458), līsoā (M), 'work (M, Sch), deed, custom (Sch, M)' // LT las-dka' | JāD las-ka 'action, act, deed, work', dka'-las 'a troublesome work' SD dka'-las 'berke tülès (id.)' — Blo li-h/ka 'occupation', RA lex-ka
(read: le-ʁka) 'work'; Bal las-pa 'active', WT lé-ka ʰo-čê 'to work
CT le-ka — liscala-(M) 'to work', liscalší (M) 'worker'.

286. liši (Sch 45, 48) 'clove' // LT li-ši | JāD ∼ 'id. (CT), cardamom (WT)' — Blo lu-ču 'medical plant (for warming the body)';
CTB li-ši 'clove'.

287. log (M, VMI 34 : 39, 44 : 194, 110 : 232) 'the way of action, method, sort' // LT lugs | JāD ∼ 'way, manner, fashion, mode, method' — Blo max-lux (dmag-lugs) 'army regulation'; Bal lukh ‘circumstance, condition (state)', CTW lug-ngen (lugs-ṇan) 'bad manners' — logdī (M) 'who has a method, a way', logla- (M) 'to come back to his first way of living'.

288. loglog (M) 'corpulent thin and small, squat, assembled in a dense and closed group' // LT log-log | DD log-log 'globule, rond (vulg.)' — Blo ça-lox-lox (ṣa ∼ ∼) 'lump of meat', — loglogna- 'to crouch, to assemble in a close group'.

289. lolon (M) 'young, adult' // LT lo-lan | JāD lo, 'year' lan-cho 'youth' — Tao lor-sar(lo-gsar) 'New Year' Blo lo 'year', RA lo 'id.', Bal lo, Pur lo, Lad lo; CT lo. 'id.' — lolonpi- (M) 'to become young again'.

290. -tön // LT -lun, cf. k’arlon.


293. -tön // LT -lon, cf. mierlon, mälon.

294. löngra (Sch 59, 62, 233) 'fortune-horse (flag)' // LT rluṅ- rta | JāD ∼ 'the airy horse, name of little flags' — Dpa 'lung 'wind', Sz lun, Prz лунь, Blo ḡluṅ, RA ḡluṅ; Bal klung, BalA klung, Pur ḡluṅ-po, Lad tun 'wind'; WT lun-po; CT lung-ta 'wind horse, prayer flag', cf. rlönjag.

295. lorži (M) 'narrative, story' // LT lo-rgyus | JāD ∼ 'id.' — Blo lo-r gyi 'historical', RA lorgi 'legend', CTR lo-yi 'id.' — loržiwa- (M) (lo-rgyus-pa) 'an actor in the marriage ceremonies'.

296. loržiaq (M) 'suddenly, instantaneously' // LT glo-rgyag | JāD glo-bur 'id.', YD glo-rgyag 'ge-ne-de-hu (to come suddenly)', GRD glo-rgyag 'glo-bur-gyi don (something done suddenly)'.

297. luo // LT -lo, cf. k’uorluo, ηk’uorluo.

Footnotes:
43 According to Laufer, Loan-words, pp. 524—526 the first syllable of this word is of Chinese origin and a Tibetan adoption of Chinese lung 'dragon'. This opinion can also be found in Sch p. 62. This is hardly acceptable, cf. Mong. kei morin 'wind-horse'.
298. -ma, -mā // LT -ma, cf. soarma, lāṃma, rṣauṇma, ḍžiāma, svorma, ḍžiāma, ḍžierma, dzama, śiāma, ṣdzawarma, lama, ṣeṃā, svormā.

299. mādog (Sch 76, 858) 'flower, as metaphor: precious stone, shell' // LT me-tog | JāD ~ 'flower' — Gol me-toy, Sz mietak, PotF (p. 188) metik, Blo me-tox, RA me-toj; Bal mindog, BalA mendok (written meudok), Pur menduq, WT men-tog; CT me-to 'id.'.

300. mamu (M) 'sheep' // LT ma-mo | JāD ~ 'ewe, sheep that has lambed (Sch)' — PotA (p. 6) mamy 'id.', Blo ma-mo 'id.'.

301. -mana // LT ma-na, cf. anamana — Pur mana 'never (with neg.).'

302. māṇdzecla- (M) 'to disagree, not correspond' // LT ma 'grig-' | JāD ma 'not', 'grig-pa 'to suit, agree, correspond' — Blo ma-ọń-wa 'future', RA ma zuṅ-wā (ma bzūṅ-ba) 'not to succeed in an affair', Tao man-dro (ma-'gro) 'not to go'; Pur ma 'no, not'; CT ma-dzem-pa (ma 'jems-pa) 'without regard', cf. nözecla-.


304. manie (M) 'the prayer om manie varvnie xön' // LT ma-ni | JāD ~ 'id.' — PotA (p. 18) mani 'chaplet', RA ma-ne k'ān 'temple'; WT má-ni tán- 'to mutter prayers' — manietš'i (M) 'one who recites the manie', manie sguorlo- (M) (ma-ni skor-) 'to circumambulate while praying the manie'.

305. māntś'ia // LT maṅ-ja, cf. māṇḍziā.

306. māṇḍziā (M), māṇuéia, māntś'ia (Sch 41) 'tea offered to the lamas during the ceremonies' // LT maṅ-ja | JāD ~ 'a liberal distribution of tea, Ld' — Gol maṅ-ña (maṅ-pa) 'many', Blo maŋ-wo 'id.', RA maṅ-ño; Bal mang-mo, Pur maṅmo, 'id.', WT maṅ-če 'most people', CT maŋ-po 'many'.


309. marṣu (M), mark'u (T, Sch 869) 'butter' // LT mar-khu | JāD ~ 'melted liquid butter' — Sz marr 'butter', Prz marpr 'id.', Blo mar-me 'oil-lamp', RA mar 'oil', Tao mar; Bal már, BalA karpo marh (dkar-po mar) 'butter', Pur mārh, Lad mar, WT mar-nag 'oil'; CTW mar-khu 'melted butter'.

310. marnag (M) 'cloth with branches like ornaments' // LT dmarnag | JāD ~ 'two threads, one balck, the other red used in magic' — Gol marwo (dmar-po) 'red', Kha (γ)mar-po, Sz laumarù (la-phug dmar-po) 'radish', maro 'red', PotA (p. 5) marbu 'id.', Blo mig-mar (mig-dmar) 'Mars', mar-wo 'red', RA mar-rō, tmar-ro 'id.', Tao
311. mbarla–, msaلجa– (M) 'to conduct affairs, to be able to set himself in order' // LT 'bad- | JāD ~ 'to endeavour, to exert one's self, apply one's self'.

312. mben (M) 'hundred thousand' // LT 'bum | JāD ~ 'id.' - Kha vka-bum (bkā-'bum) 'the hundred thousand precepts', RA bim-tšo (~ -cho) 'hundred thousand'; CTW bum, cf. -ben, -mben.

313. -mbe'n // LT 'bum, cf. -benomben, soumbe'n.

314. mbo (M, Sch 40, 649) 'honorarium, wheat and money given to lamas for their prayers' // LT 'bogs | DD 'bogs-pa 'fee, donation' - CT bo-ma 'contract, rent'.

315. mboq (M) 'mask' // LT 'bag | JāD ~ 'id.' - Tao nba; CTW ba'k 'id.'.

316. -mdo // LT -ndo, cf. Amnô, Xamnô - PotA (p. 34) лунва ксундо (luṅ-ba gsun-mdo) 'valley of three rivers', PotLa (p. 236) amdo, Tao mdu; CTW do-me (mdo-smad) 'Cham-do' (sic!).

317. mdu'wo in: tayin (Sch 622) 'full fifty (girl's name, which refers to a famale who was fifty (tayin) years old when she was born)' // LT 'grub, cf. dze'bla-, dzuola-.


319. mčiön (VMI 166 : 10) 'yak wild yak' // LT 'bron | JāD ~ 'id.' - PotA (p. 33) nžunû, Blo nbron, RA d'rôn, Tao qûron; CTB drông 'id.'.

320. mčiön-la- (VMI 140 : 77, 79) 'to grow, to come up (lotus-flower from the fire, duck-pair from the lotus)' // LT *'grun- | JāD 'khrun- 'to be born; to come up, shoot, sprout, grow of seeds and plants', skrun (!) 'to produce fruits etc.', DD skrun- (old) = 'khrun- (new) - CTB thrung- 'to be born'.


322. -mier // LT -mar, cf. simier.

323. -mier // LT -med, cf. gấnmiér - Sz mepo (med-po) 'poor', met 'no', Prz miť 'id.', Blo met-po 'poor man', RA wič', wič (bud? -myed) 'woman', mel 'not', Tao met, Bal medpa 'absent, except', med 'not', Pur met 'is not', LadL met 'not', WT mèd-k'an 'not being'; CTR mè.

324. mierłoŋ (M), māłön (Sch 22, 31) 'metal-mirror, mirror worn on the chest, metal-plate hung on the girdle for attaching things
to it' // LT me-loṁ | JāD ~ 'mirror, looking glass' — Blo me-loṇ 'a kind of mirror (for religious use)' — xdzër mālōṇ (Sch) (gser me-loṅ) 'golden mirror'.44

326. mōnūo // LT mun-po, cf. mūnūo.
327. mp'ara // LT 'phar-ba, cf. mp'urā.
328. mp'arla- (M) 'to be raised' // LT 'phar- | JāD ~ 'id.' — CTW phar-va.
329. mp'ielie- (M) 'to increase, multiply' // LT 'phel- | JāD ~ 'id.' — RA p'el-war dzel- (phel-bar mjad-) 'to augment', WT sum lan n'yī-la tsam p'el 'how many are two times three?'; CTW phe-
'multiply'.
330. mp'urā (M), mp'ara (VMI 122 : 37) 'a kind of wild dog, which prefers to eat intestines' // LT 'phar-ba | JāD phar-ba, 'phar-ba 'wild dog (barks and commits its ravages like the wolf, yet being afraid of man, Lad)', SD 'phar-ba 'čogebür (jackal)' cf. Salar pure, puři, pury (Tenišev, Salarskij jazyk, p. 52).
331. mp'urla- (M) 'to push, drive' // LT 'phul- | JāD ~ 'id.' — Bal phul- 'to push', WT p'ul-dag/t'ag 'id.'.
332. mp'uru (Sch 829—30) 'ritual dagger' // LT *'phur-bu | JāD phur-bu 'id.' — RA hīr-wo, hīb-ro.45
333. -mts'en (read: mozēn or mts'ēn (?) // LT -mgrin, cf. sbamts'sen.
334. -mu // LT -mi, cf. rōžiāmu, nikā — Blo mu 'man', RA mó 'id.'.
335. -mu // LT -mo, cf. sognu, sōamu, samu, womu, lamu, warmu, dagmu, matu — Gol pu-mo, Sz mo 'female', PotA (p. 5), PotI (p. 231) lha-mo 'name', PotA (p. 4) chu-lam 'rgyal-mo 'name', PotA (p. 6) sāmu (ma-mo) 'sheep', PotA (p. 30) omy (bu-mo) 'girl', RA o-mō; Bal mo 'female', WT mo-kyān 'virgin'; CT mo 'woman'.
336. mūnūo, mōnūo (VMI 80 : 19, 31, p. 86) 'in the evening, when it grows dark, at night' // LT mun-po | JāD ~ 'obscurity, darkness', mun-chu, num-chu 'the dusk of evening' — Sz menage 'dark' (mun-nag-qi). Blo mun-pa 'darkness', mun-nax 'dark night', kmun-nax 'id.'; Bal munma 'cloud (mist)' BalR (Le parler, p. 138) mun-na, WT mun-ch'u 'the dusk of the evening', CTW min-pa(!)

44 The original meaning of the word is 'metal-mirror'. The glass mirror is sēl-sgo and has replaced the former. To the parasitic -r- cf. 386. nīergāṇ.
45 The m- is unexpected in this word, perhaps it is secondary.
'dark, gloom', CTB min-na (mun-nag) 'darkness'.

337. -mur // LT -mur, cf. k'amur.

338. mursuô (M, VMI 80 : 29) 'to be unnecessary' // LT mi dgos | JäD ~ 'useless, noxious', cf. dgos- 'to be necessary' — Blo murs-h/sar (mi-gcaṅ) 'filth', RA (p. 116), mi se-no (mi šes-) 'unknown', RA margo ziṅ (mi dgos šig) 'it is useless', Pan mir-dän (mi-lidan) 'not having'; Bal mi dodpi 'unlawful', Pur mi 'not'; CT mindña (mi-'dra-ba) 'different'.

339. musu (M) 'a cross-breed of a cow and a yak' // LT mjo | JäD ~ 'mongrel-breed of the yak-bull and common cow' — Kha mdzo, Dpa mdso, Prz ḇāke, PotA (p. 37) ḇāgya, Blo ndsō RA dzo, Tao mdzo; Pur zo(h), 'id.', WT brim-dzo ('bri-mjo) 'the hybrid of a common bull and a yak cow'; CT dzo.


345. ṇaṅqyi (M) 'bed-cover, bed-cloth' // LT *ṅal-khebs, *myal-khebs | JäD ṇal- 'to lie down to sleep', ṇal-gos 'counterpane, quilt, blanket (SchD), mal 'site; couch, bed', mal-gos 'bedding, bed-cloth' — Blo ṇal-gōe (ṅal-gos) 'coverlet', Bal ṛło-hṛngyal-la (ḥlo dmyal-la) 'to lie down (on the belly)', Pur nyel- 'to sleep', CTB nye de- (ṅal bsdad-) 'to sleep'.

346. namga (M) 'dirt, stinking' // LT mnam-pa | JäD ~ 'id.'

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46 The CT forms reflect an old min/mun variation, both literary forms are cited by Bell.

47 According to Rockhill the first syllable is to be pronounced as English mere (p. 362).

48 The Monguor word seems not be a direct loan from Tibetan, cf. Salar umuso, San-ch’uan musun (Potanin, Тангутская, p. 421).

49 The original OT form must have been *myal which can be connected with LT mal- and a NEAT ṇal-. We find also a connecting form mṅal (Bell, Manual p. 371). Perhaps we have to connect Bal hrṅyal- with the above where we find instead of the regular LT ṇ- // Bal ṡṅ- an initial ṇṅ-. Cf. also note 30 above.

50 Cf. Pur sn̄um- 'to smell (trans.) (?). The -ṅ- reflects perhaps an -ā-.
347. nämsü (M, Sch 205, 207, VMI 124: 97) 'soul, the life-soul' // LT rnam-ses | JäD ~ 'perfect knowledge, perceptions, soul' — RA rnam-së 'conscience'; CTW nam-she 'the soul'.
348. nānt'ar (M) 'story, legend' // LT rnam-thar | JäD ~ 'id.' — Blo nam-thar 'id.'; CT nam-thar 'id.'.
349. nāryuñ (M) 'the 30th day of the month' // LT nam-gañ | JäD ~ 'the last day of the lunar month on which there is no moon-shine at all (SchD)', cf. nam 'night' and gañ-va 'full' — Prz hámgym 'night' (remark of Sz: it denotes also the last day of the month); CT nañ-kañ 'id.'.
350. nañla- (M) 'to give in grace' // LT gnañ- | JäD ~ 'id.' — Tao nañ-; CT nañ- 'id.'.
351. nāñsā (M) 'breakfast' // LT nañ-za | JäD nañ-mo 'the morning', za 'food, meat, victuals' — Blo nañ-mo 'morning', nañ-ja (nañ-ja) 'morning tea', RA nañ-ma 'morning', — nāñsā saru (M) (〜 char + Mgr -nu) 'in breakfast time'.
352. nar, nav (M), nar (VMI 181: 22) 'sickness' // LT nad | JäD ~ 'id.' — Dpa nāl, Sz nar-pa (nad-pa) 'fever', Blo nał, 'illness', Tao nā (na-ba) 'id.'; Bal nad, WT nād-bu-čan 'weak in health', CTW ne. — narla- (M) 'to be ill'.
353. nārnzvan (M) 'being of the same age' // LT na-zla? na-ladan? | JäD na-zla, ne'u-ladan 'of the same age', DD na-zla 'id.', but: na-ladan 'old', SD ne'u zla . . . ne'u ldañ(!) ni na-zla'am 'na-chod mnam-pa'i chuñ grogs; bañ-a-yin saçayu qani, saçayu nasutu anu adali nasutu buyu (young friends) (qani = zla-bo) of the same age, of similar age — Dpa na 'age', RA na-sō (na-cho) 'age (of animals)'; Blo naso 'age', Pur nāso 'id.', Lad nānyā 'last year', LadL nasso 'age'; CTW na-tshō (na-chod) 'id.', CTR na-so 'id.'.
354. nasa (M) 'disease, pestilence' // LT na-cha | JäD ~ 'disease and pain' — RA na-ts'a 'sickness, pain', Tao na- 'to be sick'; CT na-ts'a 'illness'.
355. nassna (M) 'sick; sick person' // LT nad-pa | JäD ~ 'id.' — Sz narpa 'fever', Blo nał-pa 'illness'; CTW ne-pa — nasbară- (M) 'to become ill', nasbară (M) 'ill person'.

51The words zla 'moon' and ḗla 'mate, companion' are related. The first syllable of the Monguor word is na 'age'. The initial 𝕘- is regularly connected with ünkü- through *ฎ-. The -ɾ- seems to reflect a spirant -ɾ-, or an uvular -ɾ-, cf. 70 Dieyxem. We have to suppose a development: 玥- > ɾz- > ɾdz-.

52cf. 495 -sdzan and p. 129. Perhaps the final -n is of Monguor origin.
356. -nda // LT -mda', cf. aranza. — Gol mda 'arrow', Kha mda, 'id.', Blo mthr-mda 'rein', mda 'arrow', RA dā 'id.', Tao mde; Bal dā, WT skār-dā 'a shooting star'; CT dā-tar, dā-tā 'an arrow with silk pendents', CTB da.

357. ndamlta- (M)'to sink, to go under'// LT 'dam- | JāD 'dam' mud, mire, swamp', 'dam-du byin 'to sink into a swamp', DD byin-byed ep. pro 'dam-pa 'anything in which one sinks', GRD 'dam byin-byed 'jīn-pa'am 'dag-pa'i 'dam myags lta-bu (like the thing which catches what sinks, like putrefaction', YD 'dam byin 'sa-par-da-hu (to sink into mud)52 — Sz tambak ('dam-bag') 'mud'; CT dam-tsoq, CTB dam 'id.'.

358. nān (M) 'quiet, peaceful, solid, docile'// LT mda'n, 'daṅ | cf. JāD 'dān, 'daṅ 'funeral repast (SchD)', SchD mda'n-ba'i gnas 'place of cremation of the dead', SD mda'n-kyi gnas 'qayilyula-yin orun (id.)', mda'n-ba'i gnas 'kēgur qayilaqu yājar (id.)', ZO mda'n bzi gnas 'id.', GRD mda'n-ba'i gnas 'ro srog gnas (id.)', ChD 'dān 'Chin. sang shih (funeral)', 'Chin. sang tsi 'funeral repast'53 — RA daṅ ḫāy- 'to perform funeral ceremonies' — nānla- (M) 'to be calm, to become quiet, to calm down', nānla-caus., urūn ḫ nānlanī 'the country is not quiet', guesūn söhī nānla anam (VMI 177 : 3) 'the beggar cannot live in peace', nānla-taftsia (Sch 649) 'man hat ihn in den Hockersitz gebracht, er ist ins Gleichgewicht gebracht worden'.54

359. nvar (M) nvaré (Sch 34, 35) 'a small drum used by the lamas', (M) 'sand-glass' drum (of two turned up hemisphere)

52 To the semantic development 'mud' > 'to sink' cf. Mong. sibar 'mud', sibarda- 'to sink (into mud)' the same as the explanation of YD, cf. also Mgr. sawar (M), sawarda- (M) with similar semantical development.

53 OT mda'n, mdad 'funeral repast'. We frequently find final -n in the transcription of this important Old Tibetan expression. Where I had opportunity to check the original on microfilm I found in every place -d. Cf. DTH 15 : 36, 16 : 16, 19 : 32 etc., TLTD III 146a, Lalou: JA 1952, line 96, Hoffmann: Nachr. der AdW in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1950, p. 5.

54 Roerich, giving the RA item remarks: 'mda'n est employé ici dans le sens de byams-pa, but byams-pa 'kindness, love' is difficult to connect with 'to perform funeral ceremonies', perhaps we have to think of 'jam-pa (the same pronunciation) 'mild, quiet'. We find the expression 'jam thin-thin 'quiet country' in Bell, Manual p. 60 while in Monguor urūn ḫ nānlanī 'the country is not quiet'. The Monguor word has conserved the original meaning of the Tibetan word, hence mda'n-(du) gtoñ-(ba) 'to put to rest, to bury'. That the Monguor word has also the meaning 'to bury' can be seen from the item of Schröder (Sch 649).
A LIST OF TIBETAN LOANWORDS IN MONGUOR

(Sch) // LT daemon | JäD ~ 'id.'; DD daemon Skrt = Tibetan čān, čān-te'a.55

360. ndog (M) 'colour' // LT mdog | JäD ~ 'id.' — Blo nadox 'id.', WT do; CTB do.

361. ndogon (M, VMI 156 : 64) 'meeting-house for ceremonies, the
great temple of a lama-monastery' // LT du-khan | JäD ~ 'id.' —
Blo 'do-ra ('du-ra) 'dance-hall', ndu-khan 'main building of a
Buddhist temple', RA dīg-yon, dīg-yun 'the temple where they
assemble'; CT du-k'ar 'assembly hall'.

362. ndorla (M) 'to wish, to want; to agree' // LT 'dod- | JäD ~
'id.' — Kha ndod- 'id.', Blo don (read dot) kham ('dod-khams)
'avaricious world'; Bal dod- 'to be cured(?); CT dō- 'to wish'.

363. -(n)dzēn // LT -jin or -bun, cf. spindzēn — Kha ndzen-
'to seize', RA zin-, zon (bun) 'id.'; CTB šim- (zin-) 'id.', cf. also
Goi vzon (bun) 'seized'; Bal zonna 'to seize', BalJ zin-, Pur zūn-,
WT zum- 'id'.56

364. ndzoglo-, ndzogla (M) 'to assemble, to gather' // LT 'jog- |
JäD ~ 'to heap to gather' — lama ndzogladžia (M) 'the lamas are
assembling', sogdu ndzogložia (M) (chog + Mgr -du ~) 'to assemble
for praying'.

365. ndzuomla (Sch 858) 'to be complete' // LT 'jom- | JäD ~
'to be plentiful, to come together' — WT dzom mi dzom 'they do
not agree with each other'; CTW dzom- 'to assemble', dzom-po
'abundant', se-na dzom-po (zas sna 'jom-po) 'many different kinds
of food'.

366. ndzani (M) 'similar' // LT 'dra-ba-ni | JäD 'dra-ba 'similar',
khed (dañ) 'dra-ba ni 'your equals' — Blo ndra-n/dra 'same', RA
qla, qla-mo 'similar, such', Pan dendra vi ('di'-dra'-ba'i) 'this kind',
Tao ndra 'similar'; Bal dra-dra 'equal', dra-na-dra 'exact', Pur
danda 'equal', WT dan-da 'id.', CTR qla-wa, cf. nāžia.

367. ndzegla (M) 'to suit, to be adequate' // LT 'grig- | JäD ~
'id.', cf. māndzegla — Pan drik-ta (sgrig-te) 'arranging'; Bal grik-
to adjust to', grakhpho bya 'to agree', WT ḅig-ḍig 'to be sure'; CTJ
ḍig-pa yin 'I am satisfied', CT ḅi-, ḅi-k 'to suit'.

55 The nd- correspondence of the Tibetan (< Sanskrit) apical ḍ- seems
to be interesting.

56 It is difficult to tell, whether the -n- reflects a final -n of rten or a pre-
radical n- of 'jin. In the first case we also could depart from a rten-gzuṅ
or rten-bzuṅ. From morphological point of view this would be preferable,
but phonetically it is not self-evident.
370. *nüzwu (M) 'guest, visitor' // LT *gru-ba | SD ~ 'geyičid (guests)', YD ~ 'gi'-čhid (id.)' – *nüzwuçaši (M) 'id.'.
372. *nüžiala- (M), *nüziälä- (Sch 634) 'to go on pilgrimage, to worship a deity, to carry an idol, to invite a lama for this purpose' // LT *mölal- | JäD ~ 'to meet, to pay one's respects to, to go on pilgrimage' – CT *fè- 'to meet' – ronombar *nüžiala- (M) (dgon-pa + Mgr -du, mölal) 'to go on pilgrimage to a monastery'.
373. *nüziämä (VMI 124 : 88) *nüziemba (VMI 44 : 201, p. 65, 138 : 58), 'river-shore, bank' // LT *gram-pa | JäD 'gram 'id.', SD čhû'i ... 'gram-gyi gram-pa 'usun-u jiqa(sic)-yin ergi (id.)' – RA *jam-ba 'cheek'; CTB dram.
375. *nüziqien (Sch 68, 71) 'world' // LT *jig-ten | JäD ~ 'id.' – RA *jig-ten k'am (~ khams) 'id.', Tao ržur-tin; CT *jik-te.\(^{57}\)
377. *nüziönlä- // LT *'grun-, cf. möziönlä-.
381. *nia-rëx, niüw-rëä (T, Sch 869) 'tree, the wood of which is used in the white fire-ceremonies, Chin. liu (willow)' // LT *nab-reg, *nab-reçeg | SD šin ... *nab-rib-ma ni yul-skad-la *nab-rug zer-ba 'tabily-a modun anu orun-u kelen-dür tabilyan-a kemekü (the *nab-rib-ma which is called in the common speech *nab-rug).\(^{58}\)

\(^{57}\) Here we have to mention the irregular form *uroq'tänšiään (M) 'id.' which is perhaps a contamination of a vulgar Mongolian *yertengčü (Cf. Kara, Acta Orient. Hung. X (1960), p. 311) and a Tibetan *jig-ten. The Tao item, which has to be segmented ržû-nini probably offers an interesting clue to the question of the origin of the Mongolian < Uighur *yirtinčü.

\(^{58}\) The Tibetan text of SD reads: *nab-rib-ma ni yul skad-la *nab-rug zer-ba. The distinction between tabily-a and tabilyan-a in the Mongolian text is artificial and only a translation of a Tibetan original. This is an interesting example which shows that the dictionary was originally a Tibetan unilingual dictionary which Sumatiratna simply translated into Mongolian. The yul-skad or common speech, local pronunciation, refers to a dialect which was close to T and Blo, and this perhaps helps us to locate the original Tibetan redaction of the dictionary.
YD ṅab-rig... ma 'tha-pil-ga-na mo-do (spirea crenata), GRD ṅab-rig 'glañ-ma lta-bu'i sīn žig (a kind of tree similar to the willow') — Blo pā-b/riṅ 'a kind of oil-tree'.

382. niānš’iōŋ (M), nānś’i (VM 180:18) 'poor, faint' // LT žams-čhuṅ | JāD ~ 'faint, weak; WT poor' — BalL nyamпо yoṭ khan 'servant-like'; nyam-čuŋ-ŋa 'a poor man' — niānš’iōŋ-ra-(M) 'to become poor'.

384. -nie // LT -ne, cf. ānie.

385. nie (T, Sch 870) 'wheat' // LT nas | JāD ~ 'wheat' — Sz ngyi 'barley', PotA (p. 3) nhī 'id.', RA nē, Tao ne; Bal nas, BalA nās, Pur nas, Lad; CT nā, CTW ne.

386. nierāŋ (M) 'kitchen' // OT mye-khāṅ59 | GRD me-khāṅ 'thab-chaṅ (id.)' — Gol ḋīne 'fire', Sz mi, me 'id.' Blo ḋer/do 'flint', me-xa (me-lha) 'fire-god', RA ḋe 'fire', ḋe-yān 'fire-place'; Bal me 'fire', BalA mēk, BalV myh, Pur mē(h), Lad me, WT me; CT me-kʷun (me-khūṅ) 'fire-place'.

387. nierōuŋ (M) 'concave' // OT *myer-kon | JāD mer-mer-po 'oblong, oval', kon 'concave, excavated'.'

388. nierwa (M) 'hell' // LT dmyal-ba | JāD ~ 'id.' — Sz, Prz onardu(?)60 'id.', PotA (p. 37) ḋaḷḇūy, Blo ḋal-wa, Kha mnyal-wa Tao 'mēba; LadJ nyal-wa, WT nyal-wa-can 'poor'; CTN nyel-la 'hell'.

389. nierwā (M) 'the financial head of a monastery' // LT gier-pa | JāD ~ 'farm-steward in convents' — Blo gier-wa 'financial administrator'; CTW nyer-pa 'steward'.

390. nič’ā (M) 'reputation, renown' // OT *myi-kha | JāD mi-kha '(idle) talk of the people, common talk' — Gol ḋūṅḍo 'man', Dpa mnyi, Sz mningo (myi-mgo) 'head', mie, mnie 'man', Prz mni, Blo mu, 'id.', may-ni (dmag-myī) 'soldier', ni-chi-vo (myi čhe-bo) 'great man'; RA ṇo, ni, mō 'man', Ban ṇo 'man', dren-ṇi ('dren-myī) 'conductor', mo 'man' Tao megu (mi-gu) 'dwarf'; Bal mī, BalA mee, BalV mihi, Pur mī, Lad mī; CT mī — cf. -mu.

59 On the parasitic -r- see 324. mierlōŋ. The -a- correspondence of OT -kh- is secondary.
60 In the Russian edition of Prz we find yapn̄ which is regular for LT bar-do. The German edition of 1881 wrongly has chardu. Szêchenyi, quoting one of the Western editions of Przevalskij cites a form onardu which is a misspelling of chardu or ouardou. After this we have to interpret the item onardu in Szêchenyi's own word-list. Though it seems likely that we have to drop this word from Szêchenyi's list it must be admitted that a hypothetical *dmyal-do could develop in to a form close to onardu.
391. -niṣ // OT myiṇ, cf. p’an-iṣ — Dpa mn’iṣ ‘name’, Blo mun, RA niṇ ; Bal ming, Pur miṇ, Lad miṇ, WT miṇ ; CTR miṇ.


395. nor (M) ‘hurt, damage, harm’ // LT gnod | JāD gnod- ‘to hurt, damage, harm’ — WT na-la nod yin ‘he will hurt me’; CT nō-k’e- (gnod skyel-) ‘to harm’, CTW nō-pa ‘evil’ — norla- (M) ‘to cause harm’.

396. -nts’am // LT -mchan, cf. rōziła nts’am.


398. nts’uomžia in: lawozē svolōvzān (Sch 67) ‘votive objects on the obo, weapons put on the obo’ // LT mchon-čha | JāD ~ ‘any pointed or cutting instrument, weapon, arms’ — Blo mtshon-čha ‘id.’, RA tṣ’on-č’a ‘id.’; BalA tsonse ‘point’; CTR tṣ’on-č’a ‘arms’.


61 That we can suppose here an original form ‘cham or ‘chan can be seen from such examples as: ‘chan-, sans ‘to clean’, ‘chab-, chabs, bsabs ‘to repay’, ‘ched-, gsed, bsed ‘to pick’ etc. where we have in præs. ‘ch- and in perf. s- (cf. pp. 126—127 below). On the final -n see 510. sānā // LT bsam-šes. This is only one example which shows that we cannot depart from LT.

400. ntš'iam (M) 'a masked dance of the lamas' // LT 'čham | JäD ـ 'to dance' — Kha nč'am-pa 'id.', PotF (p. 199), PotJ (p. 234) ham 'religious dance', Blo cham 'dance played before the temple', Tao tsham- 'to accord'; CTB chham 'dance'.

401. -ntš'iän // LT -mkhyen, cf. k'äntš'iän.

402. -ntš'iien // LT -mkhyen, cf. lamäntš'iien.

403. ntš'ila- (M) 'to be present somewhere (of deity in an idol, soul in man)' // LT mčhis- | JäD ـ 'to be there, to exist' — ntš'ilaga-(M) caus.

404. ntš'iovluo-, ntš'iovla- (VMI 104: 93, p. 117) 'to cast high as offering, to offer (liquids)' // LT mčhod- | JäD ـ 'to honour, offer; offering, libation' — Blo mchol-khaŋ 'altar in a house', RA ë-ol, ë-o- 'to honour'; WT ë'od-mé 'offering lamp'; ë'ö- 'to offer', cf. ntš'üerla-, ntš'iordiän.

405. ntš'iordiän (M) 'stupa' // LT mčhod-ten | JäD ـ 'id.' — Blo ncho-ten; CTR chhö-ten 'id.' — ntš'iordiännu sourā ɕi- (~ Mgr -du, skor-ba, Mgr ɕi-) (M) 'to circumambulate a stupa'.

406. ntš'üerla- (M) 'to make libation' // LT mčhod-, cf. ntš'iovluo-, ntš'iordiän.

407. nursä (M) 'supper, evening meal' // LT nub-za | JäD nub 'the west, evening', za 'food' — Gol nub 'west', Sz njumo, nödmo (nub-mo) 'night', Blo nub 'west', RA nīb; Bal nubkha, Lad nup; CT nup.

408. nuru (Sch 651) 'the cintāmaṇi' // LT nor-bu | JäD ـ 'jewel, gem' — Blo nor-wu 'id.', RA nor-rō, Ban norrō; Bal nuru 'good', Ball bang-nor 'cattle', Pur nor 'goat', noro 'good', norzan 'property', PurL norbō 'rich', nörō 'good', nor 'cattle', LadL nor 'property'; WT nor 'id.', CTW nor-ȫu.

409. ɲcanā (M) 'ferocious, wild, violent' // LT ɲan-pa | JäD ـ 'bad, wicked, noisome, pernicious' — Blo ɲan-pa 'criminal', RA ɲen 'bad', Tao ḡampa; CT ḡe-lan (ɲan-lans) 'bad habit'.

410. ɲari (M) 'cross-breed of a musu and a common bull' // LT *gar-ru, *ga-ru | JäD 'gar-ba, masc. 'gar-po 'a mixed breed of cattle, of a mjo and a common cow or a bull and a mjo-mo' — WT gar-ru.

412. ηαουλ³ (M) 'name of a Tibetan tribe (mgo-log)' // LT mgo-log, also 'gu-log' in a MS of Derge — Gol go 'head', ευŋgu (chu-mgo) 'source', Kha mgo 'head', Sz mningo (myi-mgo) 'id.', Blo ngo 'head', ρο-lox 'treason', RA go 'head', ευŋgo 'source', AEk ngo-ba 'chief, head', Tao mgo 'head'; Bal go, BalA gō, Pur go 'summit', Lad go 'head', WT go; CT go, cf. Ϛυουρβ.ιαν.


435. 炘k'wuorlo (M), k'worluo (VMI 166:13) 'circle, disk, wheel' // LT 'khor-lo | JāD ~ 'id.' — Blo khor-wa ('khor-la) 'transmigration of the souls', Sz kuər 'door' (cf. sgo-'khor 'hinge of door'), RA k'r-lo 'roll'; Bal khor-khor 'circle'; CTR k'or-lo, cf. -k'wur.

436. 炘k'wuorlo- (M) 'to be useful, adapt, to serve' // LT 'khol- | JāD ~ 'to use as servant' — Kha 工业园-ə 'id.'; Bal kol- 'to employ (things)'.

437. əmba in: ə φυζυ (M) 'holy water used in consecration, purifying' // LT nom-pa | JāD ~ 'to satisfy one's desire by drinking, fig: ɕhɔs-kyi bdud-rcis 'to fill one's self with nectar of doctrine', DD nom-chu 'name of a river (in Chamdo)'.

438. ɕανιŋ // OT pha-myin, cf. ɕαнιŋ.

439. -ra // LT -rab, cf. rira — Blo -rub in ɕi-rub (ɕes-rab); CTW raŋ 'the most excellent'.


441. -rə // LT -ra, cf. ɕorəɾə, sɔŋrə ˈara — Sz ra 'court-yard', Blo ra 'garden'; CTW ra-wa 'fence'.


444. raga // LT ral-ga, cf. araca.

445. ɾaμva (M), rəmva (VMI 58:448) 'row, order, succession (M), sort (Sch)' // LT rim-pa | JāD ~ 'series, succession' — Blo rum-gro (rim-gro) 'regular Buddhistic service'; CTW rim-pa, cf. ɕourɛn.

446. rəmˈlæʃi (M) 'title of great lamas' // LT rin-po-che | JāD ~ 'title of every Lama of a higher class' — PotI (p. 233) джермбучи (ṛje-rin-po-čhe) 'Conkapa', PotF (p. 198) 'jewel', Blo rin-po-che 'precious stone', RA rimbɔ'xe 'a title'; Bal rin mangmo 'dear', Pur rin 'cost', PurL rin-chan 'dear'; CT ɾɛ-po-ɕ'e, CTW rin-po-ɕhe.

447. rami // LT rab-gnas, cf. arami.

63 Cf. R. A. Stein, Recherches, p. 67.
429. -rāṇ // LT -riṇ, cf. serāṇ — Gol de-raṇ (de-riṇ) 'to-day',
    raṇ-wo (riṇ-po) 'long', Sz teren (de-riṇ) 'to-day', erange (riṇ-gi)
    'long', Blo thay ron-thun (thag-riṇ-thun) 'distance', ruṇ-lam 'circu-
    itous way', run-wo 'long', RA kīō-riṇ, cīō-raṇ (gri-riṇ) 'sword',
    raṇ 'long'; Bal thag-ring 'far', ringpo 'length', ringmo 'long', Pur
    riņmo, WT riņ-mo; CTW ring-po 'long'.
430. rānk'a // LT rań-kha, cf. arānk'a.
431. rāru // LT ra-ro, cf. arāru.
432. rāwa // LT ra-l-pa, cf. arāwa.
433. rāwu // LT ra-po, cf. arawu.
434. rbā (M) 'wound, scratch' // LT lba | JāD ~ 'wen, goitre; knots,
    excrescences on trees' — Tao 'ba 'wound'; CTW ba-wa 'goitre'.
435. rboq (M), rēbuq (Sch 838) 'brass cymbal' // LT *rboq | JāD
    'bog-chol, sbug-chol 'id.' — WT sbug-zāl 'large brass'.
437. -rđān // LT -l-dan, cf. t'urdān — Pan mir-dān (mi-l-dan) 'not
    having'.
440. rdoṛṇaṇ in 0 śōzīdze (M) 'old, great tree which is worship-
    ped, holy tree' // LT *rdoṃ-ṛgan | JāD sdoṅ-po 'trunk, stem, tree',
    DD sdoṅ-ṛgan 'old trunk' — Sz tun(g)o 'tree', Blo ṣdoṅ-vo 'trunk',
    Tao stonbu 'id.'; Bal zdo 'trunk (tree)'; CTW dong-pa 'id.'.
441. rdū (M) 'breed of a musu-cow and a yak-bull' // LT rtol |
    JāD ~ 'id.'.
442. -rdzā // LT -rcva, cf. nirṛzā, sσawarma — RA ıtσa-c’a
    (rcva-khral) 'pasture-law'; CTW tsa-kha 'grazing land'.
443. -rdzagla-, -rozarla- (M) 'to destroy, to put out of use' // LT
    gcag- | JāD 'chag-, gcag 'to cause to trickle, squeeze, press out' —
    CT ṭhra tsak'- (khr gcag-) 'to bleed'.
444. -rsgelie- (M) 'to pile up, to gather, collect' // LT rceg- | JāD
    ~ 'id.' — WT ság-; CTW tsek- 'id.'.
445. rdzen (M) 'heap of combustible // LT *rcen, *rjen | JāD rje-

64 The length of the vowel can be due to the monosyllabism or can be the
result of a form lba-ba. The vowel is also long in Kalmuck cf. Ḟa 'geschwollene
wunde Stelle' (Ramstedt, KalmWb., 1935 p. 37a). Ramstedt connects his
word with Jakut bāš. This latter word is also long in Turkmen, cf. L. Ligeti:
JA 1938, p. 187, but the Kalmuck word is a Tibetan loanword and has
nothing to do with the Turkish word.
to tuck up, truss up', *rceg* - 'to pile up', *rceṅ* - 'to tuck up, truss up'.

446. *roži* (M) *rulê* (Sch 45, 47) 'object which is cast away, animal which is abandoned with the aim of getting rid of an evil (silver or other object is also added); ransom (M); objects added, things used in censing (Sch) '<LT *rjas* | JäD ~ 'thing, object, magic agency' RA *tam-dzê* (*dam-rjas*) 'offering in tantrism'; CTW *dze* 'thing'.

447. -*rözi* // LT -rgyus, cf. lorbzi.

448. -*rözi* // LT -rgyas, cf. sanrbozi.

449. -*röziag* // LT -rgyaq, cf. lorbziag.

450. *röžiala nts'am, röžiala nts'am* (Sch 56 – 58, 60) 'case, cover: a part of the mani-tree (cf. the illustration: Sch 56) '<LT *rgyal-mchan* | JäD ~ 'trophy, a kind of decoration of clot, of a cylindrical shape, erected upon a flag-staff or carried on a pole' RA *fiä- (rgyal-)* 'to be victorious'; Bal *rgyal- 'conquer', Pur *rgyal- 'id.', Lad *gyal- 'id.', WT *gyal t'ob* - 'to gain the victory'; CTB *gye- 'to conquer'.

451. *röžiamu* (M) 'Chinese (man)'<LT *rgya-mi* | JäD ~ 'id.' - Blo gya-mu; CT *j'a-mi, CZB gya-mi 'id.'.

452. -*röziän* // LT -rgyan, cf. garb.ian, quorbiän - Blo *mgul-gyan (mgul-rgyan)* 'necklace', Tao -j'en; CT göi-g'e (sgö'i rgyan) 'door ornament'.

453. *röziänpra- (M) 'to elevate, to break out, to project with force' (basic meaning: move away) '<LT *rgyaän- | JäD *rgyaän* 'distance, far', DD *rgyaän- 'to suspend, to extend' - CT *j'an-so t'un-so tan (rgyaän-su thuñas-su gtaän-)* 'to send out scouts to far and nearby places'.

454. *röziē* (M) 'trace, track; border' '<LT *rjes* | JäD ~ 'trace, track, mark left; the hind part of a thing (SchD?)' - Kha *rji 'id.' RA *jë-yo *sti-lo (rjes-kyi rte'u-lo) 'colt following its mother', *zdâ 'after', Tao *stö; Bal kang-rdzes (rkañ-rjes) 'foot-print'; CTB käng-je 'id.' - *röziēni svag* (M) *(rjes + Mgr. -mi + rtags)* 'landmark', cf. *dzie.*

455. *röziévu* (M) 'lord, ruler' '<LT *rje-bo | JäD ~, rje-u 'id.' - PotI (p. 253) дже рембуци (rje rin-po-che) 'Conkapa', PotF (p. 187) хомдки (dpon-rje) 'queen', Tao *rchi; CTW je.

456. *röziie- (M) 'overmaster, conquer, usurp, rob' '<LT *rje-*, cf. *röziievu.*

457. -*röi* // LT -rje, cf. dörbi, lš'üorbi.


459. *röwomben, röwomben* (Sch 78, VMI 84 : 143, p. 87) 'heap of
stones put on a tomb, pyramid-shaped stone-heaps which keep off the demons' // LT rdổ-bum | JäD ~ 'a sacred heap of stones, a man'i', cf. dorźi.

460. rövzan // LT gzan, cf. genzän.

461. röźiala // LT rgyal, cf. röźiala.


463. rēg (M) 'family, lineage, extraction, nature, material' // LT rigs | JäD ~ 'family, lineage, extraction, birth, descent' — Blo ri-r/gyüt (rgigs-rgyud) 'consanguinity', gyal-ruy (rgyal-rgigs) 'royal family', Tao rro; CTW ri 'kind of species'.

464. rēsul (VMI 180: 17)65 'winter' // LT dgun > *recoun × *eoul (uour) < Mong. egül | JäD dgun 'winter' — Dpa rgün, Gol rgün-ka, Sz kunka (dgun-ka), Blo 'gun-kha, RA ḡgin, ġiṅ-ka, Tao ḡunka; Bal (p. 72) rgun, WT ġun-k'ä ; CT ġiṅ-ka.


467. rēk'ua (VMI 179: 10, 182: 28) 'knowledge, lesson, wisdom, craft' // LT *dku-ba | JäD dku-lto 'craft, cunning, trick, stratagem, esp. if under specious pretence one person induces another to do a thing that proves hurtful to him'.

468. -rēān // LT -rgan, cf. laroān, rdōŋroān, yāŋroān — Dpa rgān 'old', Prz prāhmy (rgan-mo) 'woman', Pan rgon-po 'old', RA gen 'great', Blo 'gen-mo 'old woman', ḡen-gon (rgan-?) 'old couple'; WT gan; CTW ga-mu 'old woman', cf. also sōadbō, roe.

469. -rgān // LT -dban, cf. oān, -roōn.

470. roān zür (T, Sch 869) oōnsār (Sch 867) 'spoon used at libation'. // LT dgaŋ gzar | JäD ~ 'id.'.

471. roe in: volō 0 (M) 'the Great Bear' // Mgr volō 'seven' + LT (pha-) rgas or rgyan 'old man' | JäD pha 'father', rgan-pa 'old', rgas-ka 'old age', cf. smin-bdun 'the seven old men, Great Bear', DD

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65 Professor Schröder who was kind enough to check this item on my request communicated on 27th July 1961 that this form was not a misprint, and that it occurred several times in the Mongor texts he would publish sometimes in the future. Professor Schröder tells me further that all his examples are in the genitive: reguni and from this the final -l could have formed by dissimilation. I would prefer a contamination with Mong. egül.
rgan = smin-pa 'old', Mong. dolu yan ebügen 'the seven old men, the Great Bear', SD rgad-po 'ebügen (old man)', Potanin Shiron 2ol (Wu yang pu) dolon 2hargen (Tib. kargen < pha-rgan) 'Great Bear' 66 — Bal rgaspi 'old', Pur rgas khän 'old'; CTR gê-po, cf. sqan b, -rcan.

472. roolie- (M) 'to be necessary'//LT dgos-, cf. roua, ygelie- — Bal rgos- 'to be necessary', Pur rgos- to desire, be necessary'.

473. -rooh //LT -dban, cf. yâr rooh, cäh, rooh.

474. roula- (M) 'to bend, to curve'//LT dgu-m- | JãD 'gum-, bkum, d Kum, khums 'id.', dgu, cf. 'gum, GRD dgu-bya 'nañ-du 'khums (bent inside)' — roulaça-caus.

475. -rou //LT -dkol, cf. ës'urou — Blo hkol- 'boil', RA xkä- 'to cook'; Pur skol- 'boil (cook)', Lad skol- 'id.'; CTR kó- 'id.'.

476. roua, rooum (M) 'to be necessary'//LT dgos | JãD ~ 'id.' — RA go 'necessity'; Bal rgos- 'id.', WT gö-še(s) 'id.', CTJ go 'necessary', CTB gö-pa, cf. roolie-, ygelie-.


478. roumona (M) rêrouna (VMI 148:33) 'monastery'//LT dgon-pa | JãD ~ 'id.' — Pot Rûnûbû-ôngchéy (Roh-po dgon-êhen) 'name of a monastery', Blo u'gon-pa 'monastery', RA xgom-ba, gôn-ba, gomba, Tao k'ompa; Bal gompa 'monastery', CT gom-pa.

479. rouon (M) 'solitary place, hermitage'//LT dgon | JãD ~ 'id.', cf. roumona.

480. rouor (M) 'vulture, bird of prey'//LT rgod | JãD ~ 'id.' — Blo 'got 'id.', RA gol, gôl, xgôl 'eagle'; CTR c'a-gô (bya-rgod) 'id.'.

481. rouorma, rouomna (M) 'mare'//LT rgod-ma | JãD ~ 'id.' — Gol rgod-ma, Sz gozma, Blo u'gon-ma, RA gol-ma, gô -ma, yô -ma; Bal rgonmo 'horse', BalV rgonmah, BalL rgum-ma, BalJ gun-ma, PurL rgumma, ghum-ma, LadL rgot-ma, ghot-ma; CTR gô-ma. 67

482. -rysem //LT -gsum, cf. vierysem särphözi, aqazma, -uzum.

483. -ri //LT -ru, cf. njari, njari, nöiri.

484. -rin //LT -rim, cf. surnin.

485. rira (M), rira (Sch 829, VMI 56:408, 420, p. 67) 'Sumeru

66 Cf. further Shiron 2ol-San ch’uan (Monguor) dolon böhtu. Wu-yang-pu dolon 2motu (dolun hodun), Pao an dolen mygan (Mong. dolon, Tib. mi-2ran 'old man'), Tibetan of Kumbum medun (smin bdun) in Potanin, Tángutsko-tyibetskaya, p. 318, and Gol hargen (pha-rgan) 'father'.

mountain, the centre of the Buddhist cosmogonical system (M, Sch),
mandala, mountain-torma' // LT ri-rab | JäD ～ 'Sumeru' — Gol
rö (ri) 'mountain', Sz ri, Prz ri, Blo ri, RA rö, rö, Tao ri; Bal ri,
BalA rhi, BalV rhi, Pur rö, Lad ri, WT ri-ga; CT ri.

486. rlönyöa (Sch 867) 'kerchief, ventilating fan' // LT rluṅ-g-yab
| JäD ～ 'id.' — CTW lung-yap, cf. lonya.

487. -rö // LT -dro, cf. sirö — Gol na-ro (sNa-dro) 'morning',
Blo na-dro forenoon'; Bal ngima-tro (ni-ma dro) 'mid-day', WT
p'i-ro (phyi-dro) 'evening'.

488. roq (M, VMI 44 : 105) 'direction, side' // LT logs | JäD ～
'id.' — rö rögu (VMI 106 : 149) 'in every direction'.

489. rogrog (M) 'pill, little globule' // LT log-log | DD ～ 'id.' —
rogrog sman (~ ~ sman) 'drug, pill'.

490. -rön // LT rańs, cf. sönjarö.

491. -rön // LT brañ, cf. larön.

492. -rön // LT ruñ, cf. varön.

493. -rön // LT laṅs, cf. urö — Sz laniot (laṅ-yod) 'to stay',
Blo lan-dot-pa (laṅ sdon-pa) 'stand', RA laṅ to be lifted,
stand up'; Bal lang(s)ma 'to rise, to get up', Pur laṅ- 'arise', LadL
lang-te duk- 'stand'. CT laṅ- 'to rise'.68


495. -rsûzan // LT zla (?) cf. narsûzan — Gol k'iordza (khyi-zla)
'the second month of the year', t'dza (zla-ba) 'moon, month', Kha
lda-wa, Dpa da-wa, Sz dáva, Prz -püa in: nampüa (nam-zla) 'year',
phsawaa (zla-ba) 'month', Blo 'da-wa (read 'da-wa?) 'moon', RA
k'ondza (khyi-zla) 'the second month', dzä, t'dza (zla-ba) 'moon,
month', d'wa (Lhasa pronunciation, only in prayers), yaln-rodza
(glaṅ-zla) 'fifth month', Pan da-wa, Tao zla-wa (?? literary form?);
Bal lza 'month', lzod (zla-'od) 'moon',69 BalL lzod, ldzod 'moonlight',
moon', BalA tsok (read tsod), Pur lzaimo 'moon', Lad ldawa, WT
da-k'yr-mo 'disk of the moon'; CT da-wa 'moon, month', mi-nda
(mi-zla) 'man', Lhs (n)da.

496. -sēs, -rēx // LT -rceg, -rug, cf. niāwrsēa, niarēx.

497. Deest.


68 Cf. laṅ 'id.'

69 According to Miller the vocalization of the Bal word is irregular (Segment-
Mental, pp. 351, 360), but here we have to start from zla-'od > zlod as shown
by BalL.
501. ruru, reru (Sch 650) in: mani° 'mani pill' // LT ril-bu | JāD ∼, ril-lu 'small ball, pill' — WT ril-ril, CT ri-ri.\(^{70}\)
502. -sā // LT -za, cf. nāṛsā, nurṣā — Blo sa-khaṇ (za-khaṇ) 'restaurant', RA sa- 'to eat', se- (zas-) 'id.', ze (zas) 'food'; Bal za- 'to eat', BalA zan 'breakfast', Lad za- 'to eat', WT za- 'id.'; CT ṣa-č'e 'food', CTW ša- 'to eat'.
503. -sā // -cha, cf. nasa.
504. salg (M) 'work, occupation, building' // LT sa-las | GRD ∼ sa-daṅ 'dag-pa-sogs-kyi las-ka (work with earth, mud and the like) — CTW sa(?)-le do-le (sa-las rdo-las) 'digging and carrying stone and earth' — salgši (M) 'worker', cf. salš'ia, salš'iōn.
505. sambā (M) szaam (Sch 45) 'roast-flour' // LT rcam-ba | JāD ∼ 'id.' — Sz sztamba 'roasted barley-flour, tsamba', PotA (p. 28) pcamā 'id.', Blo sam-pa 'parched flour', RA rtsam-pa, ṭsam-pa 'roasted barley-flour'; CTR tsam-pa.
506. sambā (M, VMI 38 : 108, p. 62, 181 : 22) 'kind, class, way, form' // LT chan-pa | JāD chan 'series, order, class', GRD chan-pa gčig = chan gčig — samba-yamba (M) 'id.', sambadu 'who has a form, a way'.
507. samb (M) 'meditating' // LT bsam-mno | JāD ∼ 'thinking, wishing' — Blo 'sam-ten (bsam-gtan) 'meditation', sam-lo tayi (bsam-blo btañ) 'think', RA sam- 'thought (verb, past)'; CT sam-pa 'opinion, thought'.
508. samu (VMI 180 : 21) 'niece' // LT cha-mo | JāD ∼ 'id.' — CTB tsha-mo.
509. sāṇdōṃmani (Sch 867—70) 'lion-god' // LT sen-gdon mani, cf. senvi and JāD gdo'n 'face'.
510. sānsū (M) 'tidy, careful' // LT bsam-šes | JāD ∼ 'consciousness', cf. nāṃsū — CTW sam-she me-pa (bsam-šes med-pa) 'not bearing in mind, stupid' — sāṃsūsa-, sāṃsūvaga- (M) 'to put in order'.\(^{71}\)
511. sāṅš'iōn (M) 'attention, care' // LT sems-čhuñ | JāD sems čhuñ-ba 'timid mind', ZO sems-čhuñ 'kinamayai (attentive)' — Blo sem-\(^{*}\)gyur- (sems sgyur-) 'dissuade', Lad sems 'mind'; CTW sem

\(^{70}\) Cf. Filechner, Das Kloster Kumbum, p. 400: rilu.
\(^{71}\) One would expect a *sānsi or *sānsie form. On the -n- see 397. nts'ān, on LT šes // M šū cf. 347. rnam-šes // M nāṃsū.
chhung chhung 'coward' — sānt'siophu (M) 'attentive', nie lissats'i sānt'siopmuva (Mgr nie, las-dka', Mgr -lš'i, sems-čhañ, Mgr -nu + wa) 'this worker is attentive', sānt'siophla 'to be attentive'.

512. sāŋ (M, VMI 50 : 320, 325, Sch 40) 'who became purified by meditation, honorific title given to a great-lama (M), hutuktu, the enlightened (Sch)' // LT sans | JāD saṅ - 'to remove (impurities), to make clean', chaṅ-rgya-bar 'gyur-' 'to become Buddha' — Bal sang-sang 'clear, light' — k'ags'tš'īan sāŋ (M) (mkha mkhyen ~) 'title given to certain living Buddhas'.

513. sāṅ // LT bsan, cf. svañān.
515. -sāṅ // LT -gcaṅ, cf. gugśāñ — Kha gtseṅ-po 'river, the Brahmaputra', LadJ tsāṅ-po 'id.', WT tsaṅ-ma ćo-čè 'euphemism for circumcision', CT tsan-ŋa 'clean', CTW tsang-po 'man of Tsang'.
518. sāṅrūzī (M) sāṅrūzī (Sch 43, 650, VMI 177 : 2) 'one who is purified by meditation, perfect, holy (M), spirit, Boddhisatva (Sch)' // LT saṅs-rgyas | JāD ~ 'id.' — Blo saṅ-ugyi 'Buddha', RA saṅ-gie ; CTR saṅ-g'e 'id.' — sāṅrūzīle- (M) 'to go into hermitage with the aim to be prefect, to wish to be Buddha, to be purified by meditation'.
519. sar (M), sār (VMI 98 : 40) 'time, double-hour' // LT char | JāD ~, cher 'time' — Bal tsharma 'elder'; CTW tshar nga (~ lña) 'five times'.
520. sar (M) 'measure, capacity, quantity, full measure' // LT chad | JāD ~ 'measure, the full measure, the right measure' — Tao tshoe, Bal tshad- 'to be adequate', tsat 'enough', WT t'sad 'size'; CT ts'e 'measure' — sarla- (M) 'to measure, to contest, to fight' (cf. JāD sad- 'to examine', CTW tshe gyañ- (chad-rgyab-) 'to measure'), chuñwu sarla- (M) (dpa'-bo chad-) 'to fight in battle'.
521. sar (M), sār (VMI 181 : 23) 'information, what one hears' // LT chör | JāD chor- 'to perceive, to hear' — Bal tshor chuk- 'to alarm', WT yan-mo t'sor soñ 'it felt light to the touch'; CTW tshor- 'to perceive'.
522. sār (M), sar (VMI 42 : 182, 52 : 334) 'the lower end, foundation, basis (M), root (Sch)' // LT rcał, rcar | JāD rca-ba, rcał, rcar 'id.' — Blo hsa-wa 'root'; WT lar-sa (la-rca) 'the foot of a hill', CTW tsa-wa — sārla- (M) 'to cut off below'.
523. -sar, sār // LT -(g)ser, cf. dbang, sēr, cser'i'en, chzer māloñ.
524. sarna (M) 'root, trunk, origin' // LT read-pa, recar-ba, cf. sār No 522.

525. sarṇā (M) 'fever, typhoid fever' // LT chad-pa | ḴāD ∼ heat, fever' — Blo sa-ne' (cha-nad) 'feverous disease', RA ts'a-dik (cha-sdug) 'heat'; Bal tsatpa 'fever', Pur tshāt 'heat', Lad tsat 'fever', WT t' san-zug 'fever', CT ts'a-wa 'id.'.

526. sasa (M, Sch 76, VMI 160 : 5) 'little clay figures representing Buddha, which are offered to the spirits (M), clay-chorten, clay-globule, tsatsa-globule (Sch)' // LT cha-cha | ḴāD ∼ 'id.'.

527. sa-sena (Sch 76) 'various mountain-earth (in the chorten)' // LT sa-sna | ḴāD sa 'earth', sna 'sort, kind, species' cf. sa's'iāṇ.

528. saš'ia (VMI 84 : 138, p. 87) 'country' // LT sa-čha | ḴāD ∼ 'id.' — RA sa-c'a, CTR sa-c'a 'id.'.

529. saš'iāṇ (Sch 829—30) 'storm-driving' // LT sa-skyoṇ | ḴāD ∼ 'protector of the earth' — Gol sa 'earth', Dpa ssa, Sza szatuk (sa-dug) 'earth', Blo sa-shi (sa-gzi) 'land', sa-lam (sa-lam) 'byland', RA sa 'earth', Tao sa, Bal sa, BalV sāh, Pur sā, Lad sa, WT be-sa 'sand and earth', CT sa 'soil'.

530. sayā (M) 'million' // LT sa-ya | ḴāD ∼ 'id.' — CTW sa-ya.

531. sva (M) 'board, slab, slice, piece' // LT spaṅ | ḴāD ∼ 'board, plank, slab, slate' — Bal spang-leb 'board', LadJ paṅ-daṅ 'bookstand'; CTW pang 'board'.

532. svaṅvog (M) svaṅvog (Sch 849—50, VMI 80 : 21, 28, 182 : 28) 'frog, toad' // LT sbañ + ? | ḴāD sbal-pa/ba 'frog' — Kha zual-wa, Sz zanva, Tao sponpa, Blo bal-wa; Pur zbul-pa; CTW be-pa.72

533. svamva (M) 'doctrine, religious teaching' // LT bstan-pa | ḴāD ∼ 'id.' — RA ṭen- 'to show', CT ṭen- 'id.' sānruži svamva (M) sam-tegyas bstan-pa 'the Buddhist religion'.

534. svānizūr (M) 'the Tanjur' // LT bstan-'gyur | ḴāD ∼ 'id.' — Blo hian-gyur.

535. svāença- (M) 'to be malicious, to hurt sy' // LT sdañ- | ḴāD ∼ 'to be angry, wrathful, to hate, to be inimically disposed' — CTW dang- 'to hate'.

536. svār (M) 'following something, corresponding, after, like' // LT ltar | ḴāD ∼ 'id. order to see, postp. c. a. like, as, after the manner of' — CTW tar.

72 According to Schröder (Sch p. 850) this is sbal-nag. But then we would expect a *snaṅ. In Chamdo (Chin P'eng, Ts'ang yūi, p. 94) we find a sbañ-pa which would give a Monguor *snaṅ. Perhaps *sbal-lpog, cf. sbal 'the soft muscles of the inner hand', lpog 'skin'; -lpog < bpog < Mo. baqa 'frog'?
537. *sdéla* (M) 'to look like, to be similar' // LT lta(s) | JäD lta-, \*ltas 'to look' — RA rta-, \*tta- 'to look', Tao rla-; Bal \*lta-, Pur \*ltā-, WT lta-, CTB ta- 'id.' — *sdélaqā* (M) caus.

538. *spciele* (M) 'to insult, offend' // LT steq- | SD ~ 'üjügürgel (arrogance), nayaduqu (to laugh at), öber-ün beye-ben ergün kündülgekü, terigün-iyer busud-tur qošung üyledkü bolai (to think a lot of himself while mocking another)' — *spcieleqa* caus.

539. *spневā* (M) 'head of a village or clan, officer' // LT sde-pa | JäD ~ 'chief or governor of a district' — Gol \*de-wa 'id.', Blo de-wa 'village', RA de, de-wa, \*de-wa 'village', de-wa 'peasant', CTW de-pa 'a chief, a person in charge of a subdivision' — *spневā nuzogla-* (M) (~ 'jog-') 'to collect the officers of the vicinity'.

540. *sdog* (M) 'affection, grief, pain, trouble' // LT sduq | JäD ~ 'misery, affection, distress' — Sz sztki (sduq-gi) 'bad', RA dīy 'trouble', Pan rduk-rnal (sduq-snāl) 'misery'; CT duk-ča (sduq-čha) 'bad', CTW duk-pa 'to be afflicted, depressed' — *sdogla* (M) 'to be sorrowful about'.

541. *sdon* (M) 'autumn' // LT ston | JäD ~ 'id.' — Gol štön-kā, RA štön, štön-ta, Tao stonkha; Bal ston; CTR tön-ka, ṭōkā.

542. *sdor* (M) *sdod* *sduod* (VMI 34 : 37, p. 61, 156 : 62) 'the upper part, the higher part, roof, uplands' // LT stod | JäD ~ 'id.' — Blo lo-hôtot (lo-stod) 'the beginning of the year', RA ṭot, ṭō 'high'; Bal (p. 83) thonmo 'high', BalA rostūd (ro-stod) 'shoulder', Pur ḫa-hôtot 'up'; CTR tō — *sdorlo-* , *sdorla-* (M), *sdorlo* , *sduodhū* (Sch 68, VMI 114 : 16, 160 : 8) 'to praise, glorify (M), to cast offerings, to cast towards the sky (Sch)'.

543. *sdormā* (M), *sdorma* (Sch 40—41) 'pyramid-shaped little objects made of roasted flour-pap, offered to spirits with the aim of keeping away their malicious influence' // LT gtor-mā | JäD ~ 'strewing-oblitation', Kow gtor-mā Meng torm-a 'offering, presented to the spirits, little pyramids of pap used during the sacrifice' — Blo htor-mā 'food offered to Buddha', RA ṭor-ma 'id.'; CTR tor-ma, — cf. *-sdor*.

544. *sādzə* (M) *dzə* *dzə* *dzə* *sā* (Sch 46, 47, VMI 114 I : 3) 'sacrificial smoke, resin-smoke' // LT bsaṅs | GRD ~ 'ri rce-la bsaṅs gtoṅ lta-bu lha-bsaṅs lta-bu (smoke made on the mountain top, deity-smoke)' — PotA (p. 19) čanī 'smoke of juniper-tree', RA sāṅ 'incense'; CTW sang — *sādzə* (M) 'to fire incense'.

545. *sāzawarma* (M) 'the flower poenea albiflora' // LT rcva pad-ma | JäD pad-rcə 'a medicinal herb', 5D (p. 4775) rcva padma
'Mong. jögiling čeceg, Chin ts'u tieh hua, SD ~ 'čen-e čečeg (poenia)' — Gol ṭṣa 'herb', Sz ṭsa, Prz pu'a 'id.' Blo sa-h/thub (rcva-gtub) 'machine for cutting straw' ṭo-r/ṣa (sho-rcva) 'young grass', sa 'grass', RA ṭṣa, ṭṣa 'herb', Tao 'ṭṣa; Bal hṛtswa 'grass', BalJ, PurJ ṭṛtswa, stswa, Pur shtsoa, Lad ṭṣa, LadJ sa; CT ṭṣa, cf. -ruṣā,²³ bardnie, warma, warmasājīa.

546. sūdzēla—// LT rcig—, cf. sūdzēla—.

547. sūzōṇ (M), ṭużōṇ (VMI 177 : 2) 'order, dispatch, calling of the attention' // LT rjōṅ—, ejōṅ— | JáD rjōṅ— 'to send, to dispatch', YD sjoṅ— 'mor-da-gval-hu (to send sy away)' — sūzōṇso— 'id.', sānṛēʒiṇi xuzōṇ, lamani uauo (saṁs-rgyas, Mgr -ni, bla-ma, Mgr -ni uauo) (VMI 177 : 2) 'the order of the living Buddha — word of the lama', sūzōṇlo—, sūzōṇla— (M) 'to prescribe, to commend, to inform'.

548. -ṣe// LT -ce, cf. lanṣe.


550. sga (M) 'joint, knuckles' // LT chigs | JáD ~ 'id.' — WT t'sig-gur 'hump', CTW tshīk 'joint'.

551. sēṃbier (M) 'long cloak' // LT chem-ber | JáD ~ 'a cloak patched up of many pieces' — Bal tsema 'to sew'; CT tseṃbā (chem-bu-ba) 'tailor'.

552. sēmuk'uo (VMI 160 : 23, 162 : 35) sumuk'uo (M) 'fog, vapour, dust' // LT smug-po | JáD smug-pa for rmugs-pa 'fog (SchD)' — Gol mu-ka 'fog', Prz pmyxa 'cloud', Blo muk-wa 'fog', RA muk'ba, ṭmik 'id.'; CTB muk-pa.

553. sena// LT sna, cf. śīṇ sena, sa sena, snaṣsog.

554. sēṅog, sēṅog ver (Sch 59, 858) 'magic urn, Earth-god urn' // LT sṅaṣ-gṛter, cf. sṅaṇ and ḥvēr-wēm.

555. sēṃzi (M) 'lion' // LT sen-ge | JáD ~ 'id.' — Blo saṅ-ge, RA saṅ-ge 'lion', Dzamlaṅ saṅ-č'en (Jam-glī saṅ-čhen) 'the Great Lion of Dzamlaṅ', Tao senki, Bal sīn-ge; CT sīn-ge, CT seng-ge.

556. serāṇ in: tayin⁰ (Sch 622) 'boy's name indicating that somebody was fifty years (tayin) old when he was born' xalbar serāṇ (Sch 622) 'a name' // LT che-riṅ | JáD che-riṅ-ba 'long life; also a very common name given to both men and women' — KhJ tshe 'time', Gol c'od ts'e-raṅ (khyod che-riṅ) 'to welcome', Blo se-ruṇ 'longevity', Ban tṣē-wa 'life', Pot Cērēt 'a name'; Bal tṣe-ö 'life', CT ts'e-riṅ 'longevity'.

557. sēr (M, VMI 92 : 11, 40 : 140) 'coin (M), money (Sch) // LT

²³ Cf. Laufer, Loan-words, p. 447 rcva padma = Chin mu-ta 'peony'.
558. sêsmel (Sêh 45, 49) 'cardamom' // LT sug-smel | JäD sug-rmel 'a kind of spice, betel, betel-nut(?)', sug-smel 'cardamom (CT)'.

559. sãä (M) 'portion, share' // LT skal | JäD ~ 'id.' — CTB ke-la (skal-la) 'id.'.

560. skala- (M, VMI 120 : 4—5) 'lose weight, to be meagre' // LT *ska- | JäD skam-po 'dry', skem-, bsiks 'to make dry, lean, meagre', DD skam, skam-po bzo/byed/mjad (vulg) 'to dry' — Bal skama 'to dry', Pur skam-'to become dry'.

561. saâm, saân (M) 'meagre, fatless' // LT skam | JäD skam-po 'dry' — Sz kambu 'dry', Blo h'kam-thi (skam-thas) 'lean person', h'kam-po 'dry', RA kam-bo 'id.'; Bal skamphi, skambo 'dried', Pur skambo 'dry', Lad skam-po, LadJ skam-si 'very lean'; CT kam 'dry'.

562. saar, saan (M) 'voice' // LT skad | JäD ~ 'id.' — KhJ skad 'word', Blo ka'-ciy (skad-gci) 'a moment', RA ëkel 'talking', he ta- (skad btab-) 'to cry out'; Bal skat 'language', Pur skat 'voice, voice', Lad skat, WT skad; CTJ ka, CT ke — saarvui (M) 'loud', cf. sœbźiä.


563. saarbźiân (M) 'evening and morning star' // LT skar-čhen | JäD ~ 'id.' — Blo hkar-čhin 'Lucifer'.

564. saarma (M) 'star' // LT skar-ma | JäD ~ 'id.' — Gol ëkar-ma, Sz kárma szkárma, Prz kapama Blo hkar-ma, RA kar-ma, ëkar-ma, Tao skar-ma; Bal skahrma, skarma, skarmah, Pur skarma, Lad skarma; CT kar-ma.

565. sœbźiä, sœbźiä, garzą (M) 'talking, language' // LT skad-čha | JäD ~ 'discourse, conversation' — Gol ëka-č'a, Blo ka'-cha, RA ka-č'a, ëka-č'a; CTJ qa'-č'a, CT ke-č'a 'id.', cf. soar.

566. sou (M) 'image of a deity, statue of Buddha' // LT sku | JäD ~ 'id.' — Blo hku-thox(sku-thog) 'ancestor', RA ëkä, ëkä, ëkô 'appearance, form', Pan rku 'body'; Bal rgo 'body'; CTJ ku, CT ku 'id.'.

74 Cf. Laufer, Loan-words, pp. 459—460: sug-mel, sug-mel, sug-rmel, sug-smel  
75 'small cardamom (Alpina cardamomum), Skrt sūkśmañā'.  
76 The -s- is not a development of the --s of yuñs, but of d-- of dkar.
567. šəumben (M) 'the Kumbum monastery' // LT sku-'bum ²⁶ — Blo ku-n/bun 'Ta-erh-ssü temple', ku-n/bum 'id.', RA škimbīm, Tao škum-boem.

568. šəunbźiä (M) 'the image of Buddha, the picture or statue of a deity' // LT sku-'dra' | JāD ~ 'id.' — Blo hku-n/dra 'portrait', Tao kun-d ра; WT kun-da; CT kunďra 'image'.

569. šəuor, ḡāsəuor (M) 'circle, ring' // LT skor | JāD ~ 'id.' — Blo chi-h/kor (čhu-skor) 'water-mill', RA gor 'circle'; CTB go-kor (sɡo-skor) 'circle' — šəuorlo-, šəuorla- (M) 'to ride round, to circle' ruuomnäni šəuorlo- (dgon-pa, Mgr -ni, skor-) 'to circumambulate a monastery' cf. šəuora, šuurā.

570. šəuora // LT skor-ba, cf. šurā.

571. -səur // LT bskur, cf. qānsəur.


573. šəurā (M), šəuora (Sch 77, 79, 838, VMI 114 I: 11, p. 121) 'procession around a monastery in which the Kanjur and Tanjur are carried (M, Sch), perambulation (Sch)' // LT skor-ba | JāD ~ 'to surround, encircle, to go to move to ride around a thing' — RA ko-ra fja- (skor-ba rgyab-) 'to go round, ʔskor- 'to walk about'; WT si kör- (reis skor-) 'to count', CT kor- 'to surround', cf. šuor, -səur.

574. šəurda- (M) 'to swing a stick and cast with force' // LT sgul-+ Mgr. -na- | JāD ~ 'to move, agitate, put in motion' — Tao kur- ('gul-') 'to move'; Bal gul- 'to move (shake)'; CTB gu-gü ēhe- ('gul-gul byed-) 'to shake'.

575. šuurdian, uurdian (M), səurdien, uurdien (Sch 31, 33) 'magician, soothsayer who is believed to be Buddha, and who is invited

²⁶ Many authors have written on the etymology of the name of the monastery, cf. Filehner, Das Kloster Kumbum, p. 19, Rock, The Amnye, p. 6, Schröder, Zur Religion, p. 7, Tucci, Indo-Tibetica I, p. 82, Stein: JA 1958, pp. 484—485, Schram, The Monguors III, p. 59a, Das, Dict., The majority of the authors — on the basis of the local etymology — connect the name with 'bum '100 000'. But Jäschke in his Dictionary has also sku-'bum 'mausoleum', and Desgodins 'species sepulchri seu potius reliquiarum repositarii in forma turriculae pyramidalis vulgo dictae ēhos-rtən'. The second part of the compound can be connected with our 764. wumba 'bottle' (cf. also 33, bink'an and note 7). The Chinese name of the monastery t'a-er-ssü 'pagoda monastery' also corroborates my opinion that we have here a late survival of the urn-burial rite. According to Schram, the monastery received its name from the stupas built in the memory of the eight lama who were killed in the rebellion of 1723.
to drive off the malicious spirits, some evil or to tell fortunes (M), sword-shaman in opposition with the drum shaman: bö (Sch) // LT sku-rten | JāD 〜 'image of Buddha, visible representation, symbol of divine objects and beings' — Blo ḫku-rṭen 'Buddhist image'.

576. sgrūrin (M), sgrurön (VMI 136 : 18, p. 140) 'religious ceremony aimed at preventing evil' // LT sku-rim | JāD 〜 'solemn sacrificial ceremony, performed on public and private occasions e.g. in cases of disease'.

577. srausig (M) 'a honorific title' // LT sku-ṣogs | JāD 〜 'id.' — RA ḡkīp-qog, ḡkib-qog 'lord', CTR ku-šö. 77

578. smad (VMI 34 : 59, 156 : 52) 'low-land' // LT smad | JāD 〜 'id.' — PotA (p. 3) ma chhan-yik (smad rgya-nag) 'Lower Peking', Blo ḏa-hmat (zla-smad) 'the end of a month', RA me 'low, inferior'; CTR me 'low'.

579. smatbā (M) 'physician' // LT sman-pa | JāD 〜 'id.' — Sz mamba, PotA (p. 18) mambā, Blo hman-pa-wa 'id.'; CTR men-pa — smatbaśi (M) 'id.', smantśi (M) 'id.'.

580. sman (M), sēmān, smān (Sch 45, 49, 76) 'medicine, gunpowder' // LT sman | JāD 〜 'medicine, remedy' — Dpa mān, Sz szmen, Blo man, 'medicine', hman-hla (sman-rta < mentha) 'take off the after-taste of a medicine', RA ḡmen 'medicine', Tao sman; Bal sman, BalA ismum 'gunpowder', Pur sman 'drug', Lad man 'medicine', WT man-la b'a ' (the plant) is used as a medicine'; CTR mā 'medicine' — rocor cma (M) (log-log 〜) 'drug pill'.


582. snaq, snoq (Sch 77) sunoq (M) 'magical formula, exorcism' // LT snags | JāD 〜 'incantation, magical formula' — RA ḡna-yay-nay (snags-nag) 'magician', nokya (snags-pa) 'id.'; CTR ḡnak-pa 'id.', — sunoqa- (M) 'to exorcise', cf. sēnoq.

583. snagssoq (Sch 45, 49) 'various, all sorts of' // LT *sna-gcogs | JāD sna-chogs 'id.' — Blo ser-na (ser-sna) 'stinginess', RA ḡna-ma na-tsoy (sna-ma sna-chogs) 'different, various'; PurL sna 'different'; CTR na-tsō 'various kinds', cf. sena.


585. snoq // LT snags, cf. snaq.

77 According to Roerich (Textbook, p. 190, Le parler, p. 108) the literary form is sku-žabs. We can find the correct etymology in Csom's Dictionary: sku-ṣogs 'side(honorific)', to which pertains a *sku-bbogs form, and with this can be connected the RA item. Sku-žabs 'foot(honorific)' shows a similar formation.
586. sō (T, Sch 870) 'barley' // LT so | JaD so-ba 'coarse, thick-shelled barley' — Blo so-wa 'barley'; CT sō 'parched barley flour'.

587. sog (M, VMI 162 : 44) 'prayers recited together, religious ceremony (M); praying assembly (Sch)' // LT chogs | JaD ~ 'an assemblage' — RA ts'o-y - 'to assemble', Tao tsho 'assembly'; CTW tshok- 'to assemble', CTB tshok 'croud' — sogla- (M) 'to come together for religious ceremony'.

588. Deest.

589. sogdön (M), sogdö in: taṣē (Sch 67) 'heap, obo (M); stone-heap (Sch) // LT *sog-rdo | JaD sog- 'to gather, to heap up', rdo 'stone'.

590. sogmu (M) 'Mongol woman' // LT sog-mo | JaD ~ 'id.' — Gol soyo (sog-po) 'Mongol', Blo sox-xo 'Mongolia', RA sogo 'Mongol', sog-mo 'Mongol woman', CTW sok-po 'Mongol'.

591. sogsoq (M) 'group, crowd, herd' // LT chogs-chogs, cf. sog — sogsoq.ta- (M) 'to flock together'.

592. solk'a // LT gsol-kha, cf. sork'a.

593. sōñ (M) 'trade, market' // LT choṅ | JaD ~, zoṅ 'trade, traffic' — Dpa zhong, Blo sŏn-wa 'id.' sōñ-sox 'goods', RA tš'ọn 'trade'; Bal tson-g-len 'commerce', WT p'ag-ts'ọn 'smuggling trade'; CT tš'ọn 'trade' — sōñ'i (M) 'businessman'.

594. sōñ // LT -soṅ, cf. oṃsōñ — BalA tson 'to go', BalA lok-sa song 'get away', BalV song 'to go', Pur soṅ 'went', LadL song 'went'; CTW song- 'to have gone'.

595. sōŋrā (M) 'market-place' // LT choṅ-ra | DD ~ 'id.' — Gol tš'ọn-ra 'id.', Blo sŏn-ra 'storage', RA tš'ọn-ra 'market', CTR tš'ọn-ra.

596. sōṅwā (M) 'merchant' // LT choṅ-pa | JaD ~ 'id.' — Blo sŏn-wa-pi (choṅ-pa-myi) 'tradesman', Bal tsongpa 'id.', BalA tson-g-pa; CT tš'ọn-pa 'id.' — sōṅwā'i (M) 'id.'.

597. sor in o wuwa (M) 'measureless, abundant, vigorous' // LT chod + Mgr uoū (privative suff.) | JaD chod-med 'intemperate, immoderate, impudent' — Tao tshu 'mesure'; WT nor t'sod 'big part of the money'; CT tš'ō-mē (chod-med) 'immoderate'.

598. sork'a (M), golsk'a, solk'a (Sch 23) 'prayer' // LT gsol-kha | JaD ~ 'id. (SchD)' — RA so- 'to pray', Tao 'sol-ja (gsol-ja) 'tea (polite)', Blo soł-wa tab- (gsol-ba btab-) 'praise'.

599. soso (M) 'little tight, loose, full of holes' // LT so-so | JaD ~

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78 Roerich, Textbook, p. 201, gives as literary form gsol-ba 'food', cf. CTJ sol-wa že- 'to eat', but this is hardly acceptable.
distinct, separate; singly' — WT na-so-so (sna ~ ~) 'diverse'; CT so-so 'each', CTW so-so 'different, asunder' — sosodi- (M) 'to be loose, to become loose', sosorö- (M) 'to become loose'.

600. sumba (M) 'pine-tree' // LT som-pa | JāD som 'id.'.
602. sunðøi (M) 'fast' // LT smyuñ-gnas | JāD ~ 'id.' — WT nyun-ne; CTB nyung-ne 'id.'
603. suru in: xara (M) 'black henbane (M: jusquiiame(?)), Chin. hsiang ts'ai' // LT su-lu | SD ~ 'da-li nag-po (black Rhododendron, qara dali), GRD ~ 'Chin. yün-hsiang (rue)' — BalV suri 'apricots (?).'
604. -sã // LT -ža, cf. lḁg̥a — CTW šha-vo 'a lame man'.
605. šag (M) 'little pieces, small fragments (of broken seeds given to animals)' // LT šag | JāD čhag 'dry fodder for horses and other animals, as hay, barley etc.' cf. čhag- bšags, bšag, šog 'to cleave, to split', šag in: šag-ter-gas 'it broke, it burst asunder (SchD)' šag-ma 'pebble (more precisely: broken stone)' SD šag-ma 'qayirmay, qayurmaya anu arbai-yin tedüken üčüken čilayun (pebble, stones little as barley seeds), šag 'seyijikü, miqa-yi iraja-rajü činaqu (to cut flesh into pieces for cooking)' — šagla- (M) 'to cut in pieces, to break'.
606. sīla- (M) 'to lay down on the earth, to plaster floor, to arrange a place' // LT žal- | JāD žal-ba, žal, ža-la 'clay, lime-floor, cement of a floor, plastering, rough cast', šal-ba 'stone-pavement' — Sz sîla 'pebble'; Lad ža-la 'floor'; CT šë-la 'clay-mud'.
607. samlã laʃizi (VMI 178 : 5) 'butterfly' // LT *phyem-pa

79 Laufer, Loan-words, p. 514 su-ru-phan, sur-phan 'red pepper'.
80 Cf. Monguor t'øñi bagã ša-la-(M) 'to split stone'.
81 It is difficult to decide whether the word is of Mongolian or Tibetan origin. The original meaning of the word is 'clay, the floor or wall plastered with clay'. The word has in literary Mongolian only the form šala which seems to indicate that it is a loanword. This is also corroborated by the dialects: BurL šal 'floor, place where the hearth stands', KhU šal 'floor, also wooden floor of the yurt', Dariganga šal 'the place plastered with clay around the hearth, floor', Ord šala 'wall'.
82 Schröder translates the word samba as 'Insektenflügel' in the sentence: samba laʃdžini tä'ičan si̊deré alaʃdza, sar čariñzan yilínê niur dalçëni 'Wenn der Falter im weissen Reif seine Flügel verliert, so verkauft, wer sich Flügel
lab-ce | JáD phy-e-ma lab 'id.', SD phy-e-ma-leb 'id.' — Blo se-ma-leb, RA sa-ma lab-tse; WT p'e-ma leb-tse, CTB chhen-drem-ma (phye-'dreb-ma) 'id.'.

608. sambalâŋ (M) 'paradise, where the souls attain in the course of their metempsychosis' // LT *sam bha gliṅ | JáD sam-bha-la 'a fabulous country in the northwest of Tibet, fancied to be the paradise' — samba swu (M) 'a large image of Buddha painted on silk and kept in the monasteries to be put out for veneration on the 6th day of the 6th month.

609. sarvāṇ (M) 'jealousy' // LT čhags-sdâṅ | JáD ~ 'id.' — CTW chha-dang 'id.' — sarvāṇa- (M) 'to be jealous'.

610. swa (Sch 68) 'horse' // LT rta | JáD ~ 'id.' — Gol rta, Kha rta, Sz szta, Prz praa, PotA (p. 6) praa, Blo hta, RA rta, ṭa, ṭa, Way ṭa, Ban ṭa, Pan sta, Tao ṭa; Bal hṛta, Ball rṣā, BalA stā, BalV shtā, Pur sṭa, PurL rṣā, Lad ṭa, LadL sta; CT ṭa, cf. -rta, lōṅda, svaṁtsēṅ.

611. spoŋ (M, VMI 100 : 15) 'sign, token, omen' // LT rtags | JáD ~ 'id.' — Blo gya-rtags (rgya-rtags) 'mark'; Bal hṛtak, LadJ tags-pa, WT taq-zi 'id.'; CT tā 'id.' — spoṅa- (M) 'to sign'.

612. svamtsēn (read svamdzēn, svamťēn?) (Sch 867) 'Horse-god' // LT rta-mgrin | JáD ~ 'id.' — PotM (p. 241) Тамчин-чойжкал (Rta-mgrim čhos-rgyal).

613. sviān (M), svien (Sch 31) 'red or yellow piece of cloth put on the idol as a sign of veneration, or placed on men or animals consecrating them to spirits or to guard their life (M), consecrated spear decorated with ribbons, the ribbons themselves, but only after the sacrifice and after they are taken off from the spear' (Sch) // LT rten | JáD ~ 'receptacle; gift; symbol, seat of deity', DD ~ 'present offered as support of a request' — Blo ṣdun-ḥten (gduṅ-ṛten) 'tower for sacred bones'; WT sem ten 'token'; CTW ten, cf. -viñ, -rviṅ.

614. sviāndoŋ (M), sviendoŋ (Sch 23) 'a stick with a red piece of cloth fastened to it, and which is used in magic (M), magic spear (Sch)' // LT rten-mduṅ, cf. sviān and JáD mduṅ 'spear'.

wachsen lässt, sein ganzes Gesicht'. According to Schröder ladjž is the Monguor word ladjži 'leaf'. I would suggest the following translation: "The butterfly is killed by the white frost; who grows wings, loses his face" that is: he who becomes haughty comes off badly. Cf. TsûMo che ma ké lo, An shiama latzi 'id.' D'Ollone, Langues, p. 76.
615. śpielie- (M) 'to work on stone, to break stone' // LT rde-|
JāD rdo 'stone, rde'u, rde, rdel-po 'a little stone' — śpieliega- (M)
caus.

616. śviem dzel (Sch 233, VMI 86 : 145, p. 89) 'fortune' // LT
rten-brel | JāD ~ 'the connection between cause and effect, the
auspices' — Pan ten-brel 'cause and effect'; CT temdre 'festive
occasion, auspicious', CTW tem-dre 'auspice, omen'.

617. śviem // LT rten, cf. śviān.

618. śviendōn // LT rten-mdūn, cf. śviāndōn.

619. śvienduvēn (Sch 22, 24) 'spear-fortune-teller' // LT rten-jin,
cf. śviān and JāD 'jin- 'to take hold of'.

620. śviengkān (Sch 22) 'chapel, church' // LT rten-khaṅ, cf. śviān
and JāD khaṅ 'house'.

621. ṛdor // LT std, cf. sdor.

622. ṣdor // LT -gtor, cf. ṣuṣdor, ṣdor, sdomā.


624. ṣdormu (VMI 114:322 p. 119) 'feast, banquet' // LT
rdo-mo | JāD sdor, rdor 'that which gives relish to food, seasoning,
meat, spice', SD sdor 'jodang (soup), qaliya (mixture), qoliyasun
(blend, different kinds of food, dessert) — CTW she-dor (bžes-sdor)
'meat put in broth'.

625. ṣdolśia (VMI pp. 114, 119)
33 'laudatory song' // LT std-
dbyaṅs | JāD ~ 'id.' — Bal stodkha bya 'to praise', WT tod- 'id.';
CTB tō-ra tang- (stod-ra btaṅ-) 'id.', cf. -tš'ia.

626. ṣduod // LT std, cf. sdor.

627. ṣdzam // LT rcam, cf. samba.

628. ṣdzāṅ // LT bsaṅs, cf. zdāṃ.

629. ṣdze // LT -rce, cf. lasnē, bžiebžia.

630. ṣdzē // LT -rci, cf. lasuze — WT si gyab- (rci rgyab-) 'to
colour'; CTW tsi 'paint', cf. -rdsza.

631. ṣdzēgla-, (VMI 84 : 143, p. 88, 112 : 303, 114 : 14) 'to build
up, to heap' // LT rcig- | JāD ~ 'id.' — Blo sux- 'to build'; Pur
shtsik- 'id.', rtsikpa 'wall', Lad ērtsikpa 'wall'; CTW tsik- 'to build',

632. ṣdzi (M) 'powder' // LT rjas | JāD me-rjas, rjas 'gun-powder',
GRD rjas 'nor dnos-po thams-ča-daṅ sman-rjas-daṅ me-mdā'i rjas
(necessary things, medicine-powder, gun-powder) — CTW dze
'gun powder'.

33 We would expect a form like *ṣpodya. From -dy- an affricate has
developed secondarily, the voiceless pronunciation is secondary.
633. šeō, šer (M) 'spring' // LT dpayid | JāD ~ 'id.' — Gol ṭe-id-ka (dpayid-k'a) 'id.', Kha ḏiḥ, Blo ḏshi-t-kha, RA sīl-k'a, Tao ḏom(?) ; Bal (p. 72) khphitu, LadJ (s)pīd, WT pīd-k'a ; CTR e-i-ka.

634. sölön (Sch 628) 'chopped paste' // LT *phye-loṅ | JāD phyne 'flour, dust', loṅ-loṅ 'being in pieces, in fragments' — Blo she-khaṅ (phye-khaṅ) 'corn chanaler', Tao pšir 'flour'; Bal nas-phe (nas-phye) 'flour (barley)', Pur baqphé 'flour', WT p'e 'id.' ; CTR chhe 'dust', cf. siemier.

635. -šęŋ // LT -ṣiṅ, cf. yāmsęŋ.

636. sgmā (M, VMI 100 : 7) 'afterbirth, placenta' // LT ša-ma | JāD ~ 'id.' — Blo ča-ma ; Bal shama ; CTR sha-ma.

637. sęnlie- (M), sęnlie- (Sch 68) 'to consecrate, to offer' // LT bzeṅ- | JāD ~ 'to raise, erect, set up an image, temple, to found, endow, give books to monasteries etc.' — RA ž'āṅ- (bžaṅs-.) 'to raise himself', WT nyi-van žaṅs (nid-dban bžaṅs) 'are you risen?'; CTR šeng- 'to build (hon.).'

638. sér // LT dpayid, cf. šeō.


640. šamnu (VMI 178 : 9) 'difficult' // LT dka'-mo | JāD dka' rarely dka'-mo 'id.' — Blo hka 'pain', kā-mo 'valuable', Pan rka 'difficult'; CTR kā-lē k'ak-po (dka'-las khag-po) 'difficult' — šamnuva (VMI 42 : 187, 189, 58 : 449) 'difficult (predicative).'

641. šeăn (M) 'morrow' // LT rkaṅ | JāD ~ 'id.', rkaṅ-pa 'foot' — Gol škaṅ-go (rkaṅ-mgo) 'foot', Kha rkeṅ-pa, Dpa r'kang-wa, Sz szkunga, Prz kūnaa 'id.', kān̪ (rkaṅ-mthil) 'sole', Blo ṭkang-wa 'leg', ṭkaṅ-mar 'morrow', RA ṭkaṅ-go (rkaṅ-mgo) 'foot', ṭkōṅ-wa, ṭkohna, ṭkohna 'id.', Tao koṅ-pa ; Bal kanga, BalA kūṅ-ma, Pur kaṅma, 'foot', Pur shkaṅ 'shin', PurL rkaṅ-ma 'foot', Lad kaŋpa 'id.', LadJ skaṅ, xaṅ 'morrow'; CTR kaṅ-pa 'foot', cf. gānṇōŋ.

642. saṅprōŋ // LT rkaṅ-duṅ, cf. gānṇōŋ.

643. sašaś (VMI 160 : 20, 162 : 32, p. 165) 'the huang-li bird, bullfinch, oriole(?)' // LT *ske-(g)ser | JāD ske 'neck, throat', gser 'gold', ser-po 'yellow' 5D (p. 4176) Tib. ser-bya, 'Mong. altan yur-yuudai (a sort of song-bird).' — Gol

⁴⁴ Cf. KhL altan guruldaŋj 'colovei', gurul 'fāzan', Ord. gurulpa, gur žul 'faisan'; L Mongolia yuryul, Hy yuryul.
"be, tke 'neck', Blo hke, RA tke; BalA zgema-zingma 'neck'; CTB be 'id'.

644. suguo (M), sōua (Sch 67, VMI 44 : 196, 50 : 316, 124 : 85, p. 64) 'the cypress-tree (M, Sch), originally cypress, but in NE Ch'ing-hai thuya (Sch) // LT sug-pa | JāD ~ 'the high cypress-like juniper tree, the pencil-cedar (Juniperus excelsa)', rgya-sug 'squa-moss, a low shrub similar to our Juniperus communis, but a passage of Stg. shows that its fruits are eaten like peas or rice', SD ~ 'mayilasu (cypress), arča (juniper)' — PotA (pp. 4, 19) shikha 'juniper', Blo ḡux-wa 'oak-tree', gya-ḡux 'juniper', Tao ṣūpa; Bal ṣuqpa 'cypress; fire tree'; CTW shuk-pa 'juniper' — suguo araga (M), sōua aralag (Sch) // ral-ga 'cypress-branch', suguona-, suguono- (M) 'to cense with cypress'.

645. šbzī (M), šbzi (VMI 42 : 161, 48 : 272, 138 : 37), 'the middle, the midst' // LT dkyil | Jād ~ 'id.' — Kha ỹkhyil, RA ḏk'i-na, ḏži-na (dkyil-na) 'in the middle'; Tao ṣʔkil, Bal skil-la 'amidst', Bal skilpo 'middle', Pur ṣkṣil; WT kyil; CT ỹi-la (dkyil-la) 'among'.

646. -šbzia (Sch 622) // LT skyabs, cf. warmašbzia — Blo ḏkyab-sol (skyab-chol) 'surrender', Ban ṣṬab-re-sa (skyabs-re-sa) 'guard', WT skyab.

647. -šbzia // LT rgya, cf. yāŋšbzia.

648. šbzīagnā (M) 'the only one' // LT gŏig-na | JāD gŏig 'one' — Khaḥ chig-na 'one-in', Gol ỹgīg 'one', Nish xfī, Prz ỹcik<y, Blo ḏciy, RA ỹgīg, ỹciy, ỹgy, Tao ḏgĭg, Pan chik AEK rtąg; Bal chik, BalA chik, Pur cik, Lad chik, CT Ỹik-ći (cf. p. 33 above).

649. šbzīalag in fuuē (Sch 52) 'coil of hair' // LT skra+Mgr -laq< Mong. ỹi(y) (suffix expressing roundness) | JāD skra 'the hair' — Gol ṣra, Kha ṣra, Sz sztia, Prz ỹu<y, Blo ḏbra, RA ḏkă, Tao ṣra, Bal skagăr (skra dkar) 'white hair', Pur skră Lad ỹa 'hair', LadL skra, LadJ ṣra-lō, WT ỹra; CT ṣa, CT ṣra.


651. šbziāṛq (M) 'broken, split' // LT ḥṭad-qi | JāD ḥṭod-, bṣad, ḏḥad 'to cut, to break' and the gen. suffix -qi, which serves as suffix forming attributives (on this see pp. 172—173.) — RA ḏṭo-, ḏal 'to cut', čel 'cut (past)'; Bal čat- 'to cut', WT čād; CTR čē-, cf. -šbziōr.
652. šöziaröŋ (VMI 58: 444, p. 68) 'East' // LT *skya-raṅs cf. šöziierañ — Blo hky-a-rañ 'early morning'.

653. šöziäwā (M), šöziëwa, šöziäwa (VMI 112: 304, 124: 98, 127) 'rebirth' // LT skye-bo | JáD ~ 'id.' — PotA (p. 28) Санира-рач. (Sañ-ladan ra-stykes) 'the name of Gesar's father', Sz stịfša, tiebsza (skyes-pa or skyes-bza) 'husband', Prz хчэіба (skyes-pa) 'man', Blo hkyel-löden (skyes-ladan) 'human race', RA škie-va 'birth'; Bal skyä-sa (skye-sa) 'birth-place', skyä 'to be born', Pur skyie-Lad skye-, WT skye- 'to be born, reborn'; CT ke-, CTB kye-.

654. šöziëlie- (M) 'to multiply, to be numerous, to prosper, to extend' // LT *sgrel- | JáD sgre- 'to multiply', sgri- 'id.' — WT (s)ril- 'id.'.

655. šöziëraqšë (M) 'Aryapala, the Nidü-ber üjeği of the Mongols' // LT spyan-ras-gzigs | Das ~ 'the 4th dhyani bodhisatva Avalokitešvara, Mong. Nidüber Üdzechchi' — CTJ ban-re-zig, čen-re-sig, ten-re-si, CT c'e-gi- (spyan-gzigs-) 'to look'.


657. šözik'ur (Sch 59, 77, 869) 'Mañšala-drawing, the middle circle, the circular nest of the mañš-tree' // LT dkyil-khor | JáD ~ 'circle, circumference, a certain mystical figure', Das ~ 'mañšala' — Pan dchil-k'or 'circle', cf. šözi.

658. -šöziër // LT -gōd, cf. t'aoššöziër.

659. šöziir (M) 'happiness, peace, good health; prosperous, peaceful' // LT skyid | JáD skyid-pa 'id.' — CT k'i-pa 'pleasent', cf. šöziirnu, šöziinu, nieššöziir.


662. šöziün (M) 'cause, reason, motive, circumstance, the motive of fear' // LT rgyu-rkyen86 | JáD rgyu 'cause, reason, motive', rgyu-dañ-rkyen 'cause and effect', rgyu-rkyen 'connection, meaning, signification' — CTB gyu-kyen 'id.'.

663. -ši // LT -ši, cf. liši.

85 Cf. JáD raṅs in place of WT reṅs in: tho-raṅs 'morning', ŋin-raṅs 'id.'
86 We would expect a Monguor *šöžübsdzen. The Monguor-form seems to be a result of haplogy.
664. -si // LT -phyis, cf. lagsi — Blo kha-p/shi (kha-phyis) 'handkerchief'; WT na-p'i (sna-phyis) 'id.'; CT na-c'i, CTB napchhi 'id.'.

665. sja (M) 'stag' // LT sja-ba | JāD ā, sja-ba 'id.' — Prz uaa 'id.', Blo ca 'deer', ca-wa 'female(?) deer', RA sar'anka (sa-rkyan) 'deer and kulan'; BalL shā 'deer', Pur sha(h) 'ibex', PurL shā 'deer', LadL sa-ba 'id.'; CT sā 'stag'.

666. sja (M) 'joker, jester, elfish' // LT sags-(pa) | JāD sags 'joke, jest'.


668. sja-vag (M) 'ropes fastened to the saddle, with the help of which mat or cloth is held' // LT *sja-stag | SD sa-thag, sa-d-thag 'janvya (id.)', JāD *sa-stag 'id.' (rta'i) sam-lu btags-pa 'a pack, a bundle fastened to the saddle behind the rider (Lad)' — LadJ sa-stag-la k'ol- 'tie it up!' — sja-vagla- (M) 'to attach to the saddle with the help of the ə'.

669. sja-vār (M) 'flag, banner' // LT phyar-dar | JāD ā 'id.' — RA sar- ('phyar-') 'to hoist'; LadJ č'as-la, WT čar-la 'to hang up', CTB čar chhar- 'to hoist a flag'.

670. sja-gla- (Sch 649) 'to die(of a lama)' // LT *gšags- | JāD gšags- 'to go away, to die (of saints, kings)' — Bal sags- 'id.'.

671. sja-lan in ə gyunse (M) 'boots of deer's hide' // LT sa-ba lham85 cf. sja and yan.

672. sja-gso (M) 'head of a lama-monastery' // LT phyag-mjod | JāD ā 'treasurer of kings or in large monasteries' — Kha č'ag (phyag) 'hand' PotJ (p. 234) čagdurb (phyag-rdor) 'Mong. Očirpani' Blo shax-dam (phyag-dam) 'seal', shay-bri (phyag-bris) 'written document', sha-m/dsot (phyag-mjod) 'financial adviso to Buddhist lama of highest rank in a monastery', RA šay, šeg (phyag) 'hand', Tao čha, 'id', Pan shyak-ts'alo (phyag-'chal-to) 'saluted', BalJ p'yaq bya- 'to salute', Pur phyāqpa 'arm', WT č'ag; CT č'a 'hand'.

673. sja-r, sier (M), siel (VMI 94 : 38 p. 97) 'glass, mirror-glass' // LT šel | JāD ā 'crystal, glass' — Blo čel-miy (čel-mig) 'spectacles', čel 'glass', Tao sō; CTW she.

674. sja-rma (M) 'row, line' // LT šar-mar | JāD ā 'strip(SchD)' — CT šar-c'a (šar-kyag) 'straight' — sja-rma-la- (M) 'to put in row'.

85 Cf. JāD 'phyi-', 'phyid- 'to wipe'.
86 The -η is secondary for -m on the influence of the following ə-.
675. śiwar (Sch 40) 'a sort of silk scarf («Redehada»)'/ // LT šis-dar | JāD śis 'good luck, fortune', dar 'silk' — CTW shi-pa 'good luck'.

676. simier (M), simier (Sch 40) 'food and drink which is offered to a visitor (who is obliged in politeness not to taste it), offering given to the deities of the firstlings of the earth (M); tsamba-cup with butter slices(Sch)'/ // LT phyemar | JāD ~ 'fluor roasted with melted butter, sweetened with sugar', GRD~ 'phye-ma ream-pa-daň mar gnis (flour tsamba and butter)' — CTW chhe-ma 'barley flour mixed with butter', cf. selň — simierlie- (M) 'to sacrifice š., to burn a corpse', siemiersga- (M) 'to let offer š., to let bury somebody'.


678. šiewa (M) 'the parents of the husband or wife' // LT bšes-pa | JāD gñen-bšes 'a relation, relative', YD bšes 'sa-daň (parents)', SD bšes-pa 'amaray sadun (friend)' CTW ge-we she-nyen (dge-ba'i bšes-gñen) 'spiritual friend'.

679. šila // LT ėus-, cf. šula-.


681. šiň sena (Sch 76) 'wood, various woods' // LT šiň sna | JāD šiň 'tree, wood', sna 'diverse' — Gol šan-to (šiň-tog) 'fruit', Prz šanţ 'forest', miň-shanţ (me'i šiň) 'wood', Blo çun-uzo (šiň-bzo) 'carpenter', çon 'tree', RA šan 'tree', si-tog (šiň-tog) 'fruit'; Bal shing 'wood', BalA shingkün (šiň-mkhan) 'carpenter', Pur šiňkhan 'id.', WT šiň 'wood'.; CT šiň 'id.'.

682. -šiŋ // LT -šiň, cf. yämsen.

683. -sioq // LT -šogs, cf. soušiog — Tao r'go-ši (bka'-šog) 'decree'.

684. širó, šuró (M, VMI 40 : 129) 'the middle of the afternoon' // LT phyi-dro, phyi-ro | JāD phyi-dro 'the later part of the afternoon', phyi-ro 'evening', GRD phyi-dro=phyi-ro 'niñ dguñ yol-ba'i dus (the afternoon)' — Kha č'i 'behind', Blo da-wa-shi-ma (zla-ba phyi-ma) 'next month', shri-dro 'afternoon', RA širó 'in the evening', Tao phö- (in: phyi-rol-pa 'non-Buddhist'); Bal piro 'late afternoon', phirol (phyi-rol) 'outside', WT p'i-ro 'evening', CTW chhi-tro.

685. -šu // LT -šes, cf. nämsü, sänšü — PotF (p. 199) rešiu (dge-šes) 'lama', Blo či-rub (šes-rab) 'wisdom', RA (p. 116) ūo . . . mi še- (ño... mi šes-) 'unknown', še- 'to know', Tao šö-; Bal shes medkhan 'ignorant', shes 'knowledge', Pur shes- 'to understand', WT či še 'who can tell(-know)'; CT šë-, CTW she-.

686. šüeru (M) 'one who speaks openly and frankly' // LT zer-po,
cf. śušelra — WT zër p'o-g-'dan 'speaking in an uncivil or offensive manner'.

687. śušelra-, śušelo- (M) 'to say, to tell' // LT zer- | JāD ∼ (seldom 'jer-') 'to say' — RA ze-, zer- 'to speak', Tao zer-; Bal zer-
' to say', zehr- 'to speak', Pur zer-, 'to say', CT ser-, še- 'to say, to
call' — soebźia śušelra (M) (skad-čhas) 'to talk'.

688. śula-(M), šila- (Sch 22) 'to address sy of higher rank, to
request' // LT žu(s) - | JāD ∼ 'id.' — Kha žu-, Blo Ĭen-shi (sī-an-žu)
'petition', Tao žoe-; Bal ju-phul- 'to request', LadL zhus-pa 'request-
ed', WT žu zēr- 'to make one's compliments', žu-wa pul- 'to make
a request'; CT šu-(žu-), perf. šū-(žus-) 'to ask'.


690. šuru (M), jsurē (Sch 858), wsirē (76) 'coral' // LT byi-ru,
byu-ru | JāD ∼ 'id.' — Blo si-ru; Lad tšuru; CTB chi-ru.89

691. t'ab, t'aw (Sch 650, 866) 'fireplace; place for cremating
a corpse' // LT thab | JāD ∼ 'fire-place, hearth' — Gol t'ap-ka,
Sz tabka, Prz ӈ часкабь (lěagths-hab), Blo thab-kha 'id.', heč-
thab (lěagths-hab) 'id.', RA t'ab-ka, t'ap-ka, Tao thap; Bal thab, Pur thap,
WT t'ab-ka; CTR t'ap

692. t'agshōzior (M) 'sure, determined, fix; certain' // LT thag-
eg'o | JāD ∼- 'to decide, resolve; to be sure, certain' — Blo
thag-chot 'decision'; WT t'ag-čad mi k'yud I have no right to decide
on that point'; CT t'a-o- 'to fix' — t'agshōziorla- (M) 'to become sure'.

693. t'amba (M) 'dry' // LT than-pa | JāD ∼ 'dry weather, heat,
drought'.

694. t'aŋ (M, VMI 44 : 199, 122 : 25, 136 : 2) 'plain' // LT than | JāD ∼ 'id.' — Kha t'en, Sz than, Blo than, RA 'an; Bal
thang 'desert, wilderness', BalV thung 'plain', WT t'aŋ-ka; CTR
t'ān.

695. t'ar'ga (M), t'ar'k'ā (VMI 168 : 3, 13) 'painted picture, roll'
// LT than-ka | JāD ∼ 'image, painting' — RA t'aŋ-ka, Tao than;
Bal rang tang- 'to paint', WT sku-t'aŋ 'image (resp.).'

696. t'ar'zrag (M), t'ar'zērag (Sch 67, VMI 50 : 311) 'pine' // LT
than-rag | JāD ∼ 'cedar (?) SchD', than-šin 'fire, pine', SD than-rag

89 Cf. Laufer, Loan-words, p. 465. Miller, Segmental, pp. 354—355
supposes the Ladakh form to be the result of assimilation. We find byu-ru
already in OT (TLTD III, p. 160b). Cf. also Kitai širu, šuru (Laufer, loc.
laud.). The LMong. bširu, širu show East Tibetan origin, the same as
Kalmuck šėru, šir and Moso šo-lo.
'quși inu narasun-u ner, öndür soytaluyasan, yekemsüg sayiqan, šilmuusun quși (*quși, name of a kind of pine, tall and straight, great, beautiful, with acicular leaves, quși — poe cynosuroides*) — Blo *thar-*çoö (*thauñ-šin*) 'the pine’, RA *t′auñ-sañ* (*thauñ-šin*) 'cedar, pine’; CTR *t′auñ-šin*. — *t′awööwa aralas* (Sch) (～～ral-ga) 'pine-branch’.

697. -’ar // LT -thar, cf. nänt’ar.

698. *t′äröziag* (M), *t′aśözia* (VMI 112 : 300) 'the ashes of a burnt corpse’ // LT *thal + Mgr -röziag* | JäD *thal* 'dust, ashes,’ thal-čhen 'ashes of the dead’ — Dpa *thal-wa* 'ashes’, Sz *tha* 'dust’, Blo *thal-wa* 'ashes’; Bal *thal-tsir* 'ashes(dust)’, CTW the 'id.’.

699. *t′arla-* (M) 'to survive a danger, an epidemic etc.’ // LT *thar-* | JäD ～ 'to become free, to go through’ — CTB *thar-ra čhe* (thar-bar byed-) 'to free’ — *t′armar* (M) 'who have survived (man or animal)’.

700. *t′aśözia* (VMI 112 : 300) // LT *thal-skya*, cf. *t′äröziag*.

701. -’i (ti?) // LT -ti, cf. dzati.

702. *t′ieslie-* (M) 'to eat one’s fill, to drink one’s fill’ // LT *theb-* | JäD *t′heb-* 'to have too much(?SchD), *theb*, them ‘full’, them ‘to be full, to be sufficient’, DD *t′heb-* 'to be superfluous’.

703. *t′og* (M, VMI 44 : 212) 'lightning, thunder-bolt’ // LT *thog* | JäD ～ 'thunder-bolt’ — Sz *tog*, Prz *токъ*, PotA (p.7) *тогъ; CTB *tho*.

704. *t′omba* (M) 'foolish, idiotic’ // LT *thom-pa* | JäD *thom(s)-, *thom(s)-* 'to be dim, dull’ — WT *nyid t′om* -‘to slumber’ — *t′ombari* (M) 'to be or to become stupid’.

705. *t′ombo* (T, Sch 869) 'spoon (for liquid butter)’ // LT *thom-bu* | JäD ～ 'a large spoon, a ladle’ — Sz *tumba*.

706. *t′oö* (M) in: *t′ööna* 'before three days’ (cf. Mgr *t′ööna* 'before yesterday’) // LT *thon* | JäD *thon-pa, ra-thon* 'ram and he-goat one year old’, *thon-pa* i lo 'years between childhood and manhood, juvenile years’, SD *thon-po* 'ider (of full years)’, *thon-cher* 'silüge ba silügein qonin anu qoni törgüseger qoyar nasu kürügisen-ü er-e silüge ba em-e-yi silügein kemegsen bolai (male and female sheep of three years, a sheep which has reached its second year is called if it is a male silüge, (thon-pa), if a female silügein (cher-mo)) // — Blo *thon-va* 'sheep (three years old)’.

707. *t′orla-*, *t′orlo-* (M) 'to get, to obtain,’ // LT *thob-* | JäD ～ 'id.’ — Blo *thob-, RA* *t′ob-* 'obtain’; Bal *thoba*, Pur *thop-, LadL *thob*, WT *‘ob-; CTR *‘op-*.

708. *t′ur* (M) 'cakes made of dried milk, sugar, grapes etc.’ // LT
thud | JāD ～ 'cheese made of buttermilk or of butter and milk', 'o-thod' milk-cheese made of curd or of milk coagulated with runnet' — Dpa thūt 'sweets'; CT tū 'cheese'.

709. Ậurvān (M) 'that which goes down, slope, side' // LT *thur-
Idan | JāD thur 'a declivity; prob. only adverbially: down', thur-lam 'a down-hill road', DD thur 'dip' — Blo thur 'downhill road', RA t'ir-ra (thur-la) 'down, down from a mountain', Tao thur 'descending'; Bal thuru 'down', BalV turu 'beneath', Pur thūr 'down', LadL thur 'id'; CTB thur 'down-hill' — Ậurvānžēbzi (M) 'uphill on a declivity'.

710. -tś'e // LT -čhen, cf. bānts'eq, -tš'ien, -bziān, -tš'iān.

711. -tšān (tśān?) // LT -ča, cf. bānts'ān.

712. tśi'oo (VMI 146: 12, p. 151) in: dānbē 'the Buddhist religion' // LT dam-pa'i čhos | JāD ～ 'id.' — Kha č'o 'religion', KhaR čöl, Dpa chō, PotM (p. 241) чойжал (čhos-rgyal) 'name', Blo chi 'religious law', RA č'o 'religion, Pan ch'u (čhos-pa) 'law', Tao čhā, Bal chhos 'religion', Lad tšhos, WT č'o; CTJ č'ō, CT č'ō, cf. tś'orāzi.

713. tśia, tśiā // LT -čha, cf., salš'ia, latš'iā.

714. tśiā (M) 'tea' // LT ja | JāD ～ 'id.' — Gol ča-no (ja-snöd) 'tea-pot', Sz csiarun (ja-rūn) 'kitchen', RA ča 'tea', cf. -bzia, bźiāma.

715. tśia // LT -dbyāns, cf. spuš'ia — Blo lu-yan (glu-
-dbyams) 'musical rhythm', yan-yix (dbyan-yig) 'notes of musical rhythm', Pan ryang 'song'; WT yan-zu 'bow for violin'; CTW yang 'song'.

716. tśia // LT -ja, cf. mānlš'ia.

717. tśiab, tśiaw (Sæh 48) 'libation, originally water-l.' // LT čhab | JāD ～ 'resp. for čhu 'water' — Blo yon-chab 'water offered to Buddha'; CT č'ap 'water (hon.)'.

718. tśiāna (VMI 56: 429, p. 68) 'difference' // LT khyad-pa
| JāD ～ 'id.' — Dpa tchat par (khyad-par) 'id.'; Bal khyed-chi (khyad-či) 'id.'; WT k'yard; CT k'e-pā 'id.'.

719. tśiag // LT -čhaqs, cf. lānts'iaq.

720. tśiagla- (M, VMI 32: 2, pp. 24, 60) 'to create, to form (M); to curdle(milk), to come into being' // LT khyags- | JāD 'khyag(s)-

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The -i is presumably long, cf. No 50.

Schröder translates this word as 'Überraschungen', but he gives the correct etymology on p. 68.
to freeze, to coagulate; to feel cold — Gol či'ay-po 'cold', Prz xa'ca (khyags-pa) 'frost', RA či'ay 'cold', Tao ṅg'ī 'id.'; Pur khyāq-, khyeq- 'be cold', WT k'yaq-sa raŋ 'I feel cold'; CTR ti'ag-pa (read: ti'ag-pa?) 'cold'.

721. tši'an // LT -mkhyen, cf. k'än-lšiän.

723. lšiari, lšiare (VMI 136 : 18, p. 140) 'we two' // LT čha-ru, čha-re | JāD čha 'a pair(SchD)', SD čha-re 'qosiya (read: qosiya)ad the two'), čha-ru 'quošan (the two-of-us) — CTB chha 'pair'.
724. tšie, -tš'e // LT -che, cf. alāṃvuśiē, rāmuśiē — Sz csi 'great', PotLa (p. 236) nāvuci (sna-bo che) 'who has a great nose', RA c'e-po 'great'; Bal chhogo 'big'. Pur chopo, chō, cho 'big', chūpo (c sometimes apical) 'great', LadJ c'e-wa, WT c'e; CT c'e.
726. tšien // LT -skyem, cf. ḍserls'ien — WT(?) skyems-'dañ 'brandry'.
727. tši'en // LT -can, cf. dānls'ien, ḍzenls'ien, tšiän.
728. lš'ila (Sch 67) 'Mother-dog (in the Mongour myth) // LT khyi-lha | JāD khyi 'dog', lha 'god' — Gol či'ö 'dog', Sz tsi, tsie 'id.', Prz čče, PotA (p. 6) čka (khyi-ka) 'dog', Blo khyi-dug (khyi-dug) 'poison of dog', RA k'ū, či'ō 'dog', Tao čhi, ti 'id.' Bal khi, BalA khih, BalL khyi, Pur khi, PurL khyi, LadL khyi; CTR k'i'i, č'i'.
729. lš'imsān (M) lš'indzān (VMI 114 : 12) 'family, household, the goods of a household (M), clan (Sch)' // LT khyim-chan | JāD ā 'family of a house, household' — Blo khyim-san 'family', RA k'īm-t'sa'n 'id.'.
730. lš'imsig (M) 'neighbour, neighbouring household' // LT khyim-mches | JāD ā 'id.' — CT k'īm-t'sē.
731. tš'ioq // LT -chog, cf. tš'ülš'ioq.
732. tš'isn (M, VMI 34 : 60) 'the Garudi bird' // LT khyuṅ | JāD ā 'id.' — PotN (p. 298) chung 'id.'.

92 The two meanings 'to create' and 'to coagulate' are connected by the metaphor of the coagulating milk-ocean conceived as the way of the formation of the world.
733. -ts'iön // LT -chuñ, cf. niänl's'iön, sãnl's'iön — KhJ chhung-ma 'wife', Gol č'on-č'on (read č'on-č'on) (chuñ-chuñ) 'little', Sz csunga 'child', csun 'little', Blo chunj-wa 'little', RA č'un-č'un 'little'; Bal chhunchi 'little', BalA tibichung 'little finger', Pur tshunke 'small', LadL chhung-žo 'young', WT č'un-se; CTR č'un-č'un 'little'.

734. -ts'iön // LT -skyon, cf. sal's'iön — RA č'o-č'kion (chos-skyon) 'Protector of Law'; CT ts'ön-t'u č'e- (skyon mtha' byed-) 'to look after'.

735. lš'itš'iog (M) 'prayer for the deceased' // LT *čhi-čhog JäD 'čhi- 'to die, death', čhog for čho-ga 'the way of method of doing a thing esp. used of magic performances', bon-čhog 'the ceremony of the Bonpos' — RA č'ibday ('čhi-bdag) 'the Lord of Death'.

736. lš'ūdog (M) 'cascade, torrent' // LT čhu-dug | JäD ~ 'the stupifying power ascribed to certain rivers, current' — Gol č'un-gu (chu-mgo) 'source', č'o 'water', Sz mugcsü (mig-čhu) 'tears', tso, cs'hu 'water', csüka (čhu-ka) 'river', Prz čüo-čen (čhu-čen) 'river', čüo 'water', Blo chi 'water, river; RA č'i, č'o 'water, river' Tao čhoe; Bal čhu 'water', BalA chüo 'water', Ball čhü, Pur shü, chü, Lad tshu, WT č'u; CTR č'u — lš'ūdogla- 'to run down'.

737. lš'ūrōzí (Sch 42) 'hutuktu' // LT čhos-rje | JäD ~ 'lord of the faith' — CT č'o-g'e (chos-rgyal), cf. -ts'i.

738. lš'ūrā (M, Sch 40) 'a kind of cheese prepared from butter-milk' // LT čhor-ba | JäD ~ 'id.' — RA č'i-ra; LadJ č'ur p'e (čhor-phye); CT č'ur-ra33, CTR č'ur-ra 'id.'.

739. lš'ūrguo (M) 'boiling water' // LT *čhu-dkol, *čhu-skol | JäD čhu 'water', skol- 'to boil', GRD čhu-bskol 'shui fei (boiling water)' — Blo chi-khol (čhu-khol) 'hot spring', chi-khol-ma 'boiled water', RA č'o k'uma (čhu khol-ma) 'boiling water'; CT č'u k'ol-ma 'id.'.


742. uyewu nightly (VMI 84:138, p. 87) 'peace, happiness' // LT bde-ba + Mgr -rje | JäD ~ 'id.' — RA de-mö jin-nä (bde-mö yin-nam) 'how are you?'; WT ma de-mo 'splendid indeed'; CT de-po 'well, good', de-wa 'prosperity', cf. diešbžir.

According to Roerich, Textbook, p. 178 the LT form would be phyur-ba. This is a hyperurban form. Cf. Acta Orient. Hung. XV, p. 266.
743. uṇud (VMI p. 78) 'the evil' // LT bdud | JāD ~ 'id.' — Blo tu-rsu (bdud-rci) 'very delicious and rich diet (more correctly: the drink of gods, nectar)', RA ṃdīl 'demon, evil spirits'; LadL rdūt; CTR dū.

744. ulō (M) 'ability, disposition, craft; an imagined scheme for performing an affair' // LT blo | JāD ~ 'mind, the intellectual power in man, disposition' — Blo elo-la mu-n/bab- (blo-la mi ’bab- ) 'dislike'; CTW lo 'mind'.

745. Deest.


747. urō (M), uruo (VMI 84 : 141, 98 : 63, 112 : 295) 'dead body, corpse' // LT *bro | JāD ro 'id.' — RA ro; Bal ro; CTW ro 'id.'.

748. urorōŋ (M) 'spirit that occupies the dead body' // LT rō-lāns | JāD ~ 'id.', cf. urō.

749. -wa, -wā // LT -pa, cf. arāwa, niwa, nieва, nierva, swewā, šiewā, -ba, -a, -wo.


751. wadām (Sch 33) 'double-edged sword, shamans' sword' // LT ba-dan | JāD ~ 'also šes-rab rał-grī, cf. Schiefner: spa-dam94, ZO ba-dan 'banjād95, 5D (pp. 1066—67)ba-dan 'Mong. ildū (sword 96, cf. also YD dpa’-dam 'se-lem(sword)', GRD dpa’-dam 'ral-grī(id.)', ChD dpa’-dam 'chien (a double edged sword)'.97

752. wadmaštžia (Sch 622) 'offered to the Lotus (name)' // LT pad-ma skyab, cf. borhnie, warma, sdozawarma and LT skyabs 'protection, cf. -štžia, šžištzuu.

753. -wag // -*bag(?), LT lpag(?), cf. sbāwag.

754. walaŋ (M) 'domestic cattle' // LT ba-glaŋ | JāD ~ 'ox, bull' — Gol wa 'cow, cattle', RA wa-laŋ 'id.', Tao pa 'cow'; Pur

94 Jäschke writes, JāD p. 363a: ‘stated to be a kind of dagger, set upright, a semblance of which often attends apparitions of the gods; thus the signification of ‘sword’ given by Sch(midt) seems to be justified, and also Schiefner refers to it under spa-dam; I never met with it in B(ook language) in that sense’.

95 A kind of torturing instrument.

96 The following kinds of ba-dan are mentioned: ba-dan žur-ma, mjod-gi ba-dan, gchod-pa'i ba-dan, ba-dan rał-skor, ba-dan šuñ-nu.

bstan 'bull, cow', Lad palaṅ 'cow', LadL balang, WT ba-lan ts'ogs 'like an ox, stupid'; CTW palaṅ, cf. alaṅwulš'ie.  
755. wänä // LT ban-de, cf. bänä.

756. war (VMI 34 : 48, p. 61, 160 : 4) 'the middle, the country of the middle' // LT bar | JāD ~ 'intermediate space' — Blo war naŋ (bar-snaŋ) 'space', RA war-kap-gö (bar-skabs-gi) 'mean-times', Bal bar-la 'among', Pur bär 'middle', WT bär-pa 'the middle one'; CT par-la 'between', CTW par 'interval of time or space' — guoli varlanö (VMI 160 : 4, 13, 22 etc.) (Mgr gol + Mgr -i, bar-la, Mgr -nö) 'in the direction of the middle course of the river'.

757. warma // LT pad-ma, cf. barmiie.

758. warmu (M) 'Tibetan woman,' // LT bod-mo | DD ~ 'id.' — Kha wöd 'Tibet', Dpa wö, 'id.', Blo wo-pa (bod-pa) 'Tibetan', wo' 'Tibet', RA wöl, wöl, o, ōl 'Tibet', Tao pu 'id.'; Bal Bodh-yul 'Tibet'; CT pö.

759. wölşiŋna (M) 'in abundance' // LT ban-che(n) + Mgr. -pa | JāD ban-che 'immoderate quantity, tolerably many'.

760. -wём // LT -bum, cf. ḥeṃwём, wumba, biŋk'än.

761. womu (M) 'girl, young girl, maiden' // LT bu-mo | JāD ~ vulg. also bo-mo 'daughter, girl' — Gol pu-mo, Kha wo-mo 'id.', Sz omo 'woman', PotA omy 'girl', Blo wu-mo, RA o-mö, Tao poemo; Bal bön-gö, BalF bō-ngō, BalA bhū-mo, BalV bunuh, Pur bomö, LadL bo-mo; CTR pu-mo.

762. wsira // LT byi-ru, cf. širu.

763. -wu // LT -po cf. arāwū, alāŋwulš'ie, rūžiewu, awu, -u, -uo, -wu, -bo.

764. wumba, wumbā (Sch 36, 40) 'bottle for holy water' // LT bum-pa | JāD ~ 'bottle, flask', YD bem-pa 'sa-par sab (clay vessel)' Gol wōm 'vase', Dpa bōm-pa, RA wōm-ba, Blo wom-ba; CTR bum-pa, CTW pum, cf. biŋk'äŋ, -wём.


768. yamšēŋ, yiweisŋ, ziewsŋ (T, Sch 869) 'holy wood, which is put into fire' // LT yam-šin | Das sbyin sreg-gi yam šin 'first wood necessary for the offering', SD ~ 'takil-un modun (id.)'.

769. yāŋ (M) 'again' // LT yaŋ | JāD ~ 'id.' — Dpa yang, Kha yeñ, Tao yaŋ; Bal yang, Pur yaŋ; CTW yang.

**Cf. Orients XVII (1964), p. 239**

771. yāṇpar (Sch 53) 'silken scarf on the arrow; blessed arrow' // LT *g-yaṅ-dar | JāD g-yaṅ 'happiness, blessing' dar 'silk', cf. yāṃsāžia.99

772. yāṇraṇ (M) 'honest, unimpeachable' // LT *yaṅ-rgan | JāD yaṅ 'again, formative of exaggeration100', rgan 'old' — cf. yaṇ.

773. yāṇsoar (M, Sch 858) 'white mustard (M), (yellow) rape (Sch)' // LT yūns-dkar | JāD ~ 'white mustard' — Blo yun-hkar 'id.'.

774. yāṃsāžia (Sch 52) 'blessed arrow' // LT g-yaṅ-rgya | JāD g-yaṅ 'happiness, blessing', rgya 'sign, token' — Blo ṣyan-lux (g-yaṅ-lug) 'good sheep', ṣyan 'happiness' RA ṣian-giγ- 'to bless'; WT yaṅ-k'ug 'a calling forth of blessing'; CTW yang 'prosperity', cf. yāṇpar.

775. yūr (M, VMI 180 : 17) 'summer' // LT dbyar | JāD ~ 'summer' — Gol yi'ar-ka (dbyar-ka) 'id.', Kha weyer, Sz järka, Blo er-kha, yer, RA gi'ar, giar-ka, Tao čhoer; Bal gbyar; CT yar-ka.

776. yāṃrūn (M) 'eloquent' // LT ṣag-dbaṅ | JāD ~ 'id.'101

777. yārla- (M) 'to lend, to borrow' // LT g-yar- | JāD ~ 'id.' — WT yar-po tāṅ- 'to lend a thing'; CTW yar- 'to borrow' — yārla-ga- (M) caus.

778. yārni (M) 'prayers recited in summer for several days for a good harvest' // LT dbyar-gnas | DD ~ 'fast of summer' — CTW yar-ne 'the solitary summer fasting of the monks'.

779. yārnu (VMI 90 : 49, p. 92) 'hoarse' // LT nar-po | JāD nar-nar-po 'id.', gre-ba nar-ba 'a hoarse throat', SD nar-po 'quarkirayči (id.).'

780. yārnu, yūrnu, yuro (VMI 182 : 27), yoro (M) 'sound voice' // LT na-ro | JāD ~ 'loud voice, a cry' — Bal ngwa 'to cry' — yorom (M) 'loud', yorola- (M) 'to cry'.

781. yūsnuor // LT skor, cf. ssnuor.

99 The word for 'blessed arrow' is g-yaṅ-mda' or mda'-dar (cf. Hoffmann, Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion, p. 184), the Mongor term is a contraction.

100 Cf. rce 'point', yaṅ rce 'the highest point', mes-po 'grandfather' yaṅ mes-po 'great-grandfather'.

101 The word is very common in names of the 17th—18th centuries. Its Mongolian form is Agvan or Agvang with the disappearance of the initial ṣ-.
782. -pagination--LT yam-šiṅ, cf. yāmsen.
783. -pagination--LT dbyol | JāD byol-, pf. byol (fut. and praes. in CT) dbyol 'to give or make way' — WT jol- 'id.'
784. -pagination--LT ṇa-ro, cf. yāruo.
785. -pagination--LT dāul(?) | JāD ~ 'silver' — Gol ṭnū 'silver', Kha ynul, Sz gnū, Blo ṭnul, RA ṭnū, ṭnū, Tao rōel; Bal khmul, BalA khmul, BalL shmul, Pur shmul, Lad mul, LadL shmul, mul, WT ṭnul; CT ṭnū.
786. -pagination--LT ṇa-ro, cf. yāruo.
787. -pagination--LT yul | JāD ~ 'id.' — Dpa yul, yu, yā, Blo yil, RA jū, Tao yūl; Bal yul, Pur yul, LadL yul, WT yul; CT yūl, yā.102
788. -pagination--LT ṇa-ro, cf. yāruo.
790. -pagination--LT yam-šiṅ, cf. yiewsīṇ.

102 The final -r is unexpected in the material of Schröder, but he was so kind as to check this item and wrote in a letter of 27th July 1961 that it was not a misprint. The word occurs only in oblique forms: yūrdē, yūrni etc. It is not without interest, to observe that this word crops up in CT with a palatalized final -l.
III. COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY

In this chapter I shall be discussing the phonology of the Tibetan loanwords in relation to the structure of the Tibetan language. The phonological structure of the loanwords is naturally influenced by the structure of the receptor language, in our case by Monguor, but Monguor has also undergone changes due to the substantial influx of foreign elements. Thus we have more than one reason to start from the Tibetan side. The phonemic structure of Tibetan is a relatively unexplored field. Naturally we cannot speak of a homogeneous, uniform structure relevant to all the dialects and all the periods of the linguistic history. Dealing with a great variety of dialects and with a relatively long period of contacts between Monguor and Tibetan, the most suitable procedure seemed to be to choose a historical point of departure. Therefore I arranged the material according to the structure of the Old Tibetan language hypothetically assuming that all the present-day dialects, as well as the literary language, can be defined in terms of Old Tibetan. This is not assuming, however, — and I have to stress this at this point — that all the present Tibetan dialects and the literary language can be genetically connected with Old Tibetan which in its turn can hardly have been a homogeneous language but was split up — as Professor Ligeti pointed out in his lectures — into various dialects as early as the 6th—8th centuries. The structure of OT is reflected in the texts found in Tun-huang, the Tarim basin and in Central Tibet, but it must also be added that the classical or literary language — with some, mostly orthographical, modifications — also reflects the same phonemic situation. When I say that the form of a word, as realized by the Tibetan letters of an OT or LT text, reflects the phonemic structure of OT I do not imply that it is identical with it. Every system of writing is only able to fix the structure of the language in a greater or less measure, and this is also true of Tibetan orthography which was taken over from a language of a different structure with only slight modifications. Therefore we have to separate orthography and phonology. This
important idea was long ago recognized in other fields of linguistics, but has not been applied or applied consistently in former Tibetan linguistic studies. We frequently read of phonetical correspondences of Tibetan "prefixes" and also of "superscribed letters". Uray has duly pointed out (Kelet-Tibet, p. 17) that this terminology, taken over by European scholars, goes back to the Tibetan native grammars where it is orthographical and not phonetical or phonemical. Uray suggested the use of the old orthographical terminology with new, phonemical content, and this is more or less consistently the usage adopted by European scholars.

To avoid any confusion, I would propose further to use a threefold terminology according to the phonemical, morphological and orthographical structure. The terms would thus define the position of the elements within the structure of the syllable.

**Phonemical structure:**

- preradical (C--)
- radical (C-)
- postradical (-C-)
- syllabic vowel (-V-)
- final (-C)
- postfinal (--C)

**morphological structure:**

- prefix
- stem
- suffix

**orthographical structure:**

- prescribed vowel
- superscribed postscribed
- radical post-postscribed
- subscribed

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1 See e.g. the title of Wen Yu's paper: *Phonetic Changes of the Superadded Letters [!] in Eastern Tibetan Dialects* (Studia Serica 1946, pp. 1–22) or Durr (*Morphologie*, p. 16): "Du point de vue de la formation, on y distingue cinq élément bien tranchés: le radical, le vocalisation de la radicale, les préfixes, les lettre suscrites [!], les suffixes". Similar uncertainty can be met with in Sedláček's paper (*Tonal System*, p. 186): "the voiceless aspirated consonants in LST (Lhasa Spoken Tibetan) include: . . . the voiced consonants of the Old Written Tibetan prefixed or having no superscribed letter before their word-root . . .", Migot writes (*Recherches*, p. 448): "le r souscrit est muet dans tout le Si-k' ang . . ." etc.

2 At an earlier stage we have to reckon with the problem of infixes. Durr (*Morphologie*), Miller (*The Tibeto—Burman Infix System*) and others have recently dealt with the question. I have no space here to discuss details, I would only remark that the picture is complicated by a phonetic development, which has to be separated from the morphological one.
Thus the s-- of LT sgruṇs 'tale' is a preradical from a phonemic point of view, a prefix morphologically and a superscribed letter orthographically, the g- is a radical phonemically and orthographically, -ɾ- is phonemically a postradical and orthographically a subscripted, -u- is the syllabic vowel subscripted to the sgr- ligature, - hô is a final and a postscripted, -s is a postfinal which is orthographically a post-postscripted and morphologically a suffix.

The structure of a Tibetan syllable can be devided into six segments or positions one of which must be obligatorily filled by a vowel while the other five can be filled either by consonant or zero.3

The development of an OT phoneme is influenced in the first place by its position within the structure of the syllable. Therefore I shall discuss the representations of the OT phonemes according to their intrasyllabic positions and so I shall deal with the consonants separately according to their five possible positions within the syllable.

In the second place the intersyllabic position also exerts some influence on the history of the separate phonemes. A Tibetan word may consist of one or two, rarely, of more syllables. The history of a Tibetan phoneme of a polysyllabic word is not necessarily the same as that of a monosyllabic one. A preradical in syllable-initial position can occur either in word-initial or in word-middle position. The history of such a preradical is not the same in both cases. The preradical b-- of LT bži 'four' is represented by zero in CTR śi but we find -p- in LT ru-bži 'frame' // CT rupśi. Therefore — in the cases where I had enough material — I have dealt with the word-initial and word-middle positions separately.

In the third place the history of an OT phoneme is also influenced by the assimilatory and dissimilatory influences of its phonetical environment. From a descriptive point of view this results only in conditioned variants, but these variants can develop into phonemic differences. The sounds s and z in Pur sprin 'cloud' and zbrul 'snake' are not phonemes because s-- can appear only before voiceless and z-- only before voiced radicals. At the same time s and z in

3 We have also a pre-preradical position, for instance, in the case of LT bsgruṇs 'to have mixed'. This pre-preradical is rarely preserved in the Tibetan dialects; LT brjun 'lie' // Kha vrdzun, Pur rdzun; LT brgyad 'eight' // Kha vrgyad, BalJ vrgyad. In this position only b--- occurs and since we have found no trace of it in Mongguo I shall not discuss it.
Purik sā 'earth' and zā- 'to eat' are phonemes. In the first case we are confronted with developments of one OT phoneme [s], in the second with two OT phonemes [s]: [z]. It is clear that the difference of the two types are based on the position of the respective sounds and not on their phonetic value or their historical antecedents. In this case position (preradical : radical) and enviroment (preconsonantal : prevocalic) are interchangeable and therefore a positional analysis would be sufficient. But this is not valid in every case. In the NEAT dialects we find two sounds γ and χ which are usually not phonemes but only variants: LT dmag 'army' // RA γmay, χmay. In an earlier system γ-- in preradical position was preserved only before voiced radicals and χ-- developed before voiceless ones: LT dbus 'middle' // dialTib *γbê, LT dpe 'pattern' // dialTib *χpe (cf. Gol hpe). On this level γ-- + voiced and χ-- + voiceless stop are only conditioned variants. But later on both b- and p- radicals developed into a semivowel u: *γbê > RA γwê (= γûê) 'middle' *χpe > RA χue 'pattern'. Here we find γ-- + semivowel and χ-- + semivowel opposition and γ-- and χ-- became phonemes. What were at an earlier stage two phonetic variants of one phoneme have split at a later stage into two separate phonemes. Therefore I shall try to discuss all phonetic environmental combinations which appear important for the history of the phoneme in question.

In the comparative part — for the sake of brevity — I quote only a minimum of examples but indicate in the notes the current numbers of all items which pertain to the same category. The translations of the words are abridged.

THE CONSONANTS IN RADICAL POSITION

1. Oral plosives in radical position with zero postradical

OT p-

a) is represented by b- in every position: LT pan-čhen 'a title' // Mgr bânts’e;⁴ LT spañ 'Lord' // Mgr sva;

⁴ Cf. also No 29. If there is no other indication the example is taken from Mostaert's material. Where I have additional or other examples I indicate the sources (see abbreviations pp. 9—11).
b) \( w- \) (\( y- \)) after zero preradical: LT *pad-ma* 'lotos' // Mgr *warma* (VMI);\(^5\) after preradical \( d- \): LT *dpae* 'model' // Mgr *χυς* 'parabole' (Sch);\(^6\)

c) zero in particle: LT *ναν-па* 'bad' // Mgr *γαναν*.

**OT t-**

a) \( t \)- in every position: LT *me-tog* 'flower' // Mgr *mādog* (Sch);\(^7\) LT *gtor-ma* 'pyramid' // Mgr *s dorma* (M), *s dorma* (Sch); LT *gtor-bum* 'urn' // Mgr *γδερ-νεμ* (Sch); LT *gtog-* 'to pluck off' // Mgr *dōla-*;\(^8\) LT *stod* 'the upper part' // Mgr *s dorm* (M), *s dorm* (VMI);\(^9\) LT *lla-* 'to look like' // Mgr *svela-,*\(^10\) LT *rtol* 'yak-breed' // Mgr *rlū*; LT *rrta* 'horse' // Mgr *s lā* (Sch);\(^11\) LT *kha-btgas* 'spearf' // Mgr *k'ādna* (M, Sch); LT *khal rta* 'pack-animal' // Mgr *k'ārda,*\(^12\) LT *ša-stag* 'ropes' // Mgr *šiānaq*; LT *lunū-rta* 'airy horse' // Mgr *lōnsa*; LT *'fjig-ṛten* 'world' // Mgr *nīziqge* (Sch);

b) \( ḫt\)- in one case in the material of Schröder: LT *stod* 'the upper part' // Mgr *svnuod* (Sch).

**OT k-**

a) \( k \)- in every position: LT *ka-ra* 'sugar' // Mgr *gāra,*\(^13\) LT *skad* 'voice' // Mgr *s ear, saad,*\(^14\) LT *ske-gser* 'a bird' // Mgr *šaesär* (VMI); LT *dka'-mo* 'difficult' // Mgr *samu* (VMI); LT *dkar-po* 'white' // Mgr *s ara* (Sch); LT *rkan* 'marrow' // Mgr *šan,*\(^15\) LT *dbań-bskur* 'prayer' // Mgr *gānsaur* (Sch);\(^16\) LT *yuins-dkar* 'mustard' // Mgr *yānsvar* (M, Sch);

b) \( q\)- only in Schröder’s material: LT *ka-ra* 'sugar' // Mgr *garā, garā* (Sch, VMI);

c) by \( qv\)- in Mastaert’s and \( gv\)- in Schröder’s material: LT *skor* 'circle' // Mgr *swor,*\(^17\) LT *bkas'-gyur* 'Kanjur' // Mgr *quānbszur*; LT *kag* 'danger' // Mgr *guag* (Sch);\(^18\)

d) \( k\)- in some cases: LT *dku-ba* 'craft' // Mgr *rēk'-ua* (VMI); LT *rgya-dkar* 'India' // Mgr *bziāk'ar*; LT *lkog-du* 'secretly' // Mgr *lak'ua* (VMI).

\(^{5}\) 545, 749, 752, 757. \(^{6}\) 212, 216, 220, 221 (?), 222 \(^{7}\) 99(?). \(^{8}\) 64, 68, 541. \\
\(^{9}\) 538, 541. \(^{10}\) 536. \(^{11}\) 611, 613, 614, 616, 619, 620. \(^{12}\) 405, 575. \(^{13}\) 167, 186, 203. \(^{14}\) 559—561, 565—569, 575—577. \(^{15}\) 171. \(^{16}\) 274. \(^{17}\) 573. \(^{18}\) 161.
OT $p^\prime$-

a) $p^\prime$- in every position: OT *pha-myin* 'the family of the wife' // Mgr *pa-nil*; LT *phul* - 'to increase' // Mgr *mp'ilie*;

b) $\mathfrak{z}$- in word-initial position, after zero preradical: OT *pha-myin* 'the family of the wife' // Mgr *na-nil*;\(^{10}\)

c) $f$- in word-initial position, after zero preradical: LT *phul* - 'to give' // Mgr *fuła* (M), *fuła* (VMI).\(^{20}\)

OT $t^\prime$-

a) $t^\prime$- in every position: LT *thob* - 'to get' // Mgr *t'orla*;\(^{21}\) LT *nam-thar* 'story' // Mgr *nāntar*.

OT $k^\prime$-

a) $k^\prime$- in every position: LT *kha* 'quadrangular' // Mgr *k'ā*;\(^{22}\) LT *mikhan-po* 'professor' // Mgr *kambu*;\(^{23}\) LT *jin-kha* 'room for assembly' // Mgr *dzen'k'an*;\(^{24}\)

b) $k^\prime$-: LT *khog* 'cavity' // Mgr *k'og*; LT *khor-lo* 'circle' // Mgr *k'orlo* (M), *k'orluo* (VMI);\(^{25}\) LT *gu-khal* 'incense' // Mgr *guk'ual* (Sch); LT *dkyiyl-khor* // Mgr *shin'k'or* (Sch);

c) $\mathfrak{z}$- in second syllable, after vocalic final: LT *lha-kha* 'temple' // Mgr *lazān*;\(^{26}\)

OT $b$-

a) in every position, except after preradical $d-$, by $b$-: LT *bon-po* 'pertaining to Bon' // Mgr *numnu*;\(^{27}\) LT *shal-(pa)* 'frog' // Mgr *snawog* (M), *snawog* (Sch, VMI); LT *lba* 'goitre' // Mgr *rab* 'wound'; LT *rbog* 'cymbal' // Mgr *rbo* (M); LT *bum* '100 000' // Mgr *mven*;\(^{28}\) LT *chem-ber* 'cloack' // Mgr *semvies*;\(^{29}\) LT *bsa’-bum* 'sacrificial smoke' // Mgr *gsān*n (VMI);\(^{30}\)

b) $b^\prime$-: LT *rbog* 'cymbal' // Mgr *rēbʊog* (Sch);

\(^{10}\) 221(?)  
\(^{20}\) 142.  
\(^{21}\) 691—696, 698—700, 702—709.  
\(^{22}\) 228—233, 235 239—242.  
\(^{23}\) 236, 241.  
\(^{24}\) 33, 620, 695.  
\(^{25}\) 416.  
\(^{26}\) 361, 695.  
\(^{27}\) 27, 33, 36, 41.  
\(^{28}\) 311, 314, 315.  
\(^{29}\) 24, 34, 35, 38, 42.  
\(^{30}\) 459, 567.
c) \textit{w-} (\textit{u-}) after zero preradical: LT \textit{ba-glaṅ} ‘cattle’ // Mgr \textit{walān};\textsuperscript{31} LT \textit{gla-ba} ‘musk-deer’ // Mgr \textit{lāwa};\textsuperscript{32} and after preradical \textit{d-}: LT \textit{dbus-gcaṅ} ‘Tibet’ // Mgr \textit{quṛsān} (M), \textit{quāsān} (VMI), \textit{quṛsān} (M);\textsuperscript{33} d) zero after \textit{d-} preradical: LT \textit{dvaṅ} ‘might’ // Mgr \textit{gān};\textsuperscript{33}

\textbf{OT \textit{d}-}


b) \textit{dv-}: LT \textit{dus} ‘period’ // Mgr \textit{nu}; LT \textit{rdo’-bum} ‘heap of stones’ // Mgr \textit{rdoṅmog} (Sch, VMI); LT \textit{rdo-rje} ‘sceptre’ // Mgr \textit{duordzi}.

The Literary Tibetan apical \textit{d-} is represented by \textit{nd-}: LT \textit{ga-ru} ‘drum’ // Mgr \textit{ndari} (M, Sch).

\textbf{OT \textit{g}-}


b) \textit{g-} only in Schröder’s material: LT \textit{ga-bur} ‘camphor’ // Mgr \textit{gawur} (Sch); LT \textit{dgos-} ‘to wish’ // Mgr \textit{ψeλi}e (VMI);

\textsuperscript{31} 27, 29, 751, 756, 758, 759, 761, 764.  \textsuperscript{32} 153, 208, 532(?), 750.  \textsuperscript{33} 148, 149, 150, 152(?).  \textsuperscript{34} 42, 46, 50, 51, 53(?), 54, 56—62, 64, 65, 70, 74, 80, 82, 85.  \textsuperscript{35} 742.  \textsuperscript{36} 535, 539.  \textsuperscript{37} 358.  \textsuperscript{38} 358, 361, 362.  \textsuperscript{39} 80, 95, 669, 675, 736, 771, 751.  \textsuperscript{40} 15, 614.  \textsuperscript{41} 168, 175, 191, 197, 201, 202.  \textsuperscript{42} 470, 472, 474, 476.  \textsuperscript{43} 180, 187.
The main regularities are: 1. The voiceless aspirated stops are regularly represented by an aspirated stop in Monguor. 2. The unaspirated voiceless and the unaspirated voiced stops both have an unaspirated voiceless media representation irrespective of their inter- and intrasyllabic position. 3. In the bilabial series we can observe a tendency for spirantization ($b > w$ (y-) and $f$, $x$-), which is stronger after zero and $d$-- preradicals. 4. In each category we sporadically find an $y$-glide mainly before -o-. 5. In the guttural series we find, irrespective of the vocalic character of the word, a post-mediopalatal $a$-. Rarely and only in Schröder's material we find also a deep-velar $g$-, this latter also in front-vocalic stems.

In the same cases in the Tibetan dialects we find the following: 1. The voiceless aspirated stops are represented by voiceless aspirated stops in every dialect. 2. The unaspirated voiceless stops have an unaspirated voiceless representation in every dialect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OT</th>
<th>Monguor</th>
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<th>Monguor</th>
<th>OT</th>
<th>Monguor</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$p$-</td>
<td>$B$-, $w$-, (y-), zero</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>$D$-, $D^{#}$-</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>$g$-, $g^{#}$-, g-, k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$p^{'a}$-</td>
<td>$p^{'a}$-, f-, x-</td>
<td>t'-</td>
<td>t'-</td>
<td>k'-</td>
<td>k'-, k'^{#}, g-</td>
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<tr>
<td>b-</td>
<td>$B$-, o-, y-, $B^{#}$-</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>$D$-, $D^{#}$-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>$g$-, $g^{#}$, g-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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44 476, 479, 481.
45 LT kha-(ba) 'snow' // Dpa. kha-wa, Bal kha, Lad kha (not the equivalent of gān as supposed by Miller, Segmental, p. 350 (cf. note 48), LT khaň-pa 'house' // Gol k’aň-ma; LT thaň 'plain' // Sz than, Kha t’eň, Tao than; LT kha 'mouth' // Blo kha, RA k’a, Tao kha, Bal kha, Pur khá, Lad kha, CT k’a; LT theg-pa 'coach' // Pan t’e-wa etc. In some word-lists the notations lack the marking of aspiration but this may be due to the inaccurate description: LT kha-šva 'deer' // Prz kama, LT kha mouth' // Prz ka, LT thag-pa 'rope' // Sz taha etc.
46 It is an open question whether OT had originally unaspirated voiceless stops in word-initial position after zero preradical. Examples for LT unaspirated voiceless consonants after zero preradical: LT ka-ba 'pole' // Dpa
the representation of the unaspirated voiced stops is unaspirated voiced stop \((g, d, b)\) in every position in the archaic dialects. In the non-archaic dialects we find — as a rule — unaspirated voiced stops only after OT preradicals, while after OT zero preradical there is an unaspirated voiceless \((k, t, p)\) representation. The latter feature can also be sporadically observed in some of the archaic dialects. The Lhasa dialect has in place of OT voiced stops aspirated unaspirated stops in every position \((k', t', p')\).\(^{48}\) In some NEAT dialects we can observe a spirant representation of the bilabial stops.\(^{49}\) 4. An \(\acute{u}\)-glide is present in Pan, Way, Sz and Blo,\(^{50}\) a similar feature of these dialects and RA is of another origin.\(^{51}\) The deep-velar \(g\) is unknown in the Tibetan dialects.

\(^{48}\) Voiced representations with zero preradical: LT gaṅ-ba 'full' // Dpa gang-wa; LT goṅ-thag 'plastron' // Gol, RA goṅ-t'ay; LT du-ba 'tabae' // Prz gōa; LT goṅ-(mo) 'the middle/finger' // Blo goṅ-mo, RA goṅ; LT goṣ 'dress' // Pan gi; LT dus 'time' // Kha dgy, Blo dū, Pan du, Tao doe; LT de-rin 'to-day' // Bal dirin, Pur dirin, Lad derin; After preradicals: LT mgo 'head' // Gol go, Kha mgo, Sz -ngo, Blo ngo, RA go, Tao mgo, Bal go, Pur gō, Lad gō, WT go. Voiceless after zero preradical: LT gur 'tent' // Gol kwr, Prz kyrp, Pot kyp, RA kır, Lad kür, CT kür; LT gansa 'ice' // Gol kaṅ, RA kaw, CTJ ghāṅ, CTM khāṅ; LT dud 'smoke' // Sz tu; LT ga'u 'box' // Tao ka-go. In CT we find after zero preradical unaspirated voiced stops: LT gaṅ 'which' // CT kan; LT dar 'silk' // CT tar; LT bag-leh 'braid' // CT pa-te, but after preradicals voiced: LT sgan 'time' // CT gaŋ; LT bəag-po 'lord' // CT dak-po; LT bul 'to offer' // CT bū- etc. In some cases however we find the voiced character retained where LT shows no preradical: LT ga'u 'box' // CT gau; LT goṅ 'before' // CT goŋ, kəŋ. In the Lhasa dialect we find aspirated unaspirated stops in every position: LT gur 'tent' // Lhm khūr; LT dgu 'nine' 'nine' // Lhm khū; LT mgo 'head' // Lhm khő; LT godn 'face' // Lhm thəŋ (cf. also pp. 33—35 note 40 and pp. 188—189).

\(^{49}\) Cf. pp. 176—184 below.

\(^{50}\) LT bka'-gyur 'Kanjur' // Pan k'uanjur; LT mkhan-po 'abbot' // Pan k'uanbo; LT bkag 'having forbade' // Pan k'uak; LT khaṅ 'house' // Sz kua; LT mkhar 'town' // Sz khaor; LT yig-mkhan 'seise' // Blo yū-h/which; LT mkhar-gsel (gsil) 'spear' // Blo khotar-sel; LT bkal 'having hung' // Blo kəal; OT mnyi-mgo 'head (of man)' || Prz mny-goy.

\(^{51}\) We meet this feature only after final -g and in place of p/b- of the particle: LT 'ug-pa 'owl' // RA ākya; LT jag-pa 'robbery' // RA jokya; LT mnyogs-pa
Thus it can be concluded that the convergence of the two unaspirated series is due to the Monguor phonemic system. The spirantization of the bilabial is of Tibetan origin. Though the ɣ-glide is present in the neighbouring Tibetan dialects it can be met with in some Mongolian dialects too which were not exposed to Tibetan influence. Therefore we cannot rule out here the working of a regional tendency independent of Tibetan proper. We shall see later (pp. 129, 135—137) that the deep-velar ɣ- is regular corresponding phoneme to the Tibetan spirant ɣ-. Therefore the ɣ- representations of OT k- and ɣ- are irregular — if not a mistake in notation. The voiced representation of OT k’- in intrasyllabic and intervocalic position has parallel forms in Tibetan, thus here we are reckon with a possible Tibetan origin.

2. Oral plosives with -y- postradical

OT py-

a) is represented by Ḋzi-: LT spyan-ras-gziqs 'Aryapala' // Mgr ḍdzieragṣ;
b) ɣ-: LT dp’yid 'spring' // Mgr ɣed.

'fast' // RA ḍok’ya cf. also LT lphags-pa 'hide, leather' // Blo wax-xag’a; LT adig-pa 'scorpion' // Blo dux-xwa; LT nag-po 'black' // Blo nax-xag’a; LT khag-po 'spoon' // Blo khax-xwo; LT skrag-pa 'frightened' // Pan drak-hua cf. Note 11 on p. 170; LT lag 'hand' // Sz lahoa; LT thag-pa 'rope' // Sz tahoa; LT msgog-pa 'onion' // Sz kohoa. We come across this type also in Monguor: LT dug-pa 'cypress' // Mgr ggu’a, but more frequent is the -no representation (cf. pp. 170 and No 746).

Cf. A. Mostaert: Le dialecte des Mongols, p. 866, Mostaert, Le dialecte mongol I, pp. 156, 157, J. Nagy: A Contribution, pp. 277—280, L. Ligeti: Trois notes, pp. 223—224. In the cases of ɣu-, ɣu-, ḍu- etc. quoted in this chapter the ɣ-glide is to be connected etymologically with the preceding consonant. In Monguor this has naturally the same diphthongal realization as in the cases where ɣ is a result of OT p-/b- or MMo diphthong. Etymologically then we have to segment: Mgr sɣu|oɣ | (LT skor 'circle'), Mgr ɣ[ɣ]|[ɣ]|[ɣ]|[ɣ]| [ɣ]|[ɣ]| (LT dbus-gcan 'Tibet'), Mgr k’[ui]|p|[i]|n (MMo kiitum 'cold'), Mgr n[ɣ]|[ɣ]|[ɣ]| (MMo noqai 'dog'), though in respect of the synchronic spoken language we have in all the above cases an ɣ diphthong. For this reason I deal with the ɣ-glides, which are combined with the articulation of the consonants, in the chapter concerned with the consonants.

LT lha-khañ 'temple' // Pot lsaagan, RA lha-yûn; LT 'du-khañ 'meeting-house' // RA dëg-yûn.
OT ky-

a) ḏži- in every position: LT dkyil 'middle' // Mgr ṣhāī; LT skye-ba 'rebirth' // Mgr ṣhāiwa (M), šóžewa (VMI); LT rkyal 'bag' // Mgr ṭżiār(ṭžiaq); LT bde-skjid 'happiness' // Mgr diešžiir; LT ra-rkyan 'stretched goat' // Mgr arabžiāŋ (M, Sch).

OT p'y-

a) ṣ-: LT *phye-loṅ 'chopped paste' // Mgr ṣelōŋ (Sch);
b) ši-: LT phyen-mar 'flour with butter' // Mgr šiemier (M), šimier (Sch); LT lag-phyis 'towel' // Mgr lagši.

OT k'y-

a) lśi-: LT khyi-lha 'dog-goddess' // Mgr lś'ila (Sch), LT bla-ma mkhyen 'exclamation' // Mgr lamāntš'ien.

OT by-

a) ḏži-: LT *brla'-byin 'thigh' // Mgr lānbźin;
b) wši-, fśi- and śi-: LT byi-ru, byu-ru 'coral' // Mgr wširé, fšuré (Sch), śšuré (M).

OT gy-

a) in every position ḏži-: LT rgya-naq 'China' // Mgr rēbźianaq (VMI); LT rgya-dkar 'India' // Mgr bźiākár; LT lo-rgyus 'story' // Mgr lorźi; LT bka'-gyur 'Kanjur' // Mgr guānbźür.

The oral plosives with -y- postradical have the following representations:

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54 657. 55 650, 652, 656, 659, 661.
56 In two examples (213, 529) we have a -ši- representation in the second syllable. Both examples come from Schröder's material and seem to be irregular.
59 The representations of LT dby- see OT y- (p. 130).
60 450, 451, 453. 61 130, 131. 62 152, 198, 296, 518.
The main regularities are here: 1. Both the bilabial and the guttural plosives with -y- have a palatalised affricate representation where the two unaspirated pairs (py- and by-, ky- and gy-) have converged into a voiceless unaspirated media in Monguor (tsi-). 2. The aspirated voiceless guttural has aspirated voiceless affricate representation. 3. In the bilabial series we find spirant representations either apical (s-) or palatal (s̯-). In the voiced category we find the bilabial retained as a bilabial spirant (f̱s-, w̱s-). 4. The affricates and the palatalized s- have an i-glide in every position except before -ä- where an original łu- became -â-.63

Examining the same features in the Tibetan dialects we have to separate the bilabial and the guttural series. 1. In the guttural series we find two types of representations: a) affricate (tš-, tš̱-, dž-) sometimes with a strong palatalization (tš̱- etc.) or also with an i-glide (tši-) and b) a palatalized stop, which is either guttural (k-, ḵ-, ɣ-) or dental (t-, ḏ-), sometimes with an i-glide (ḵi- etc.).64

63 Before i the glide ĭ has been contracted (iš > i). As we shall see later OT s is represented by -ie-. After the palatalized affricates the triphong ĭie has developed into ie. In all cases the i-glide pertains etymologically to the consonant in the same way as the u-glide (cf. note 52, p. 115 above).

64 LT kyan-po 'straight' // Dpa tjang-wo; LT khyad-pa 'difference' // Dpa tekar-par; LT gyad 'athlete' // Dpa djat; LT 'gyur- 'to change' // Dpa djür; LT khyed-čag 'you' (plur.) // Gol k'ie-ča-qa; LT khyi 'dog' // Gol k'io, ɺ"o; LT brgya-tham-pa '100' // Gol ʃia-t'am-pa; LT brgyad '8' // Gol wgiad; LT 'khyga-pa 'frost' // Gol ʃi'ay-po; LT khyod 'you' // Gol ʃi'io; LT kyan 'straight' // Kha kyan; LT khuyu 'flock' // Kha k'yo, LT brgyad '8' // Kha vrgyad; LT 'rgyug- 'to run' // Sz sōjuk; LT khyer-ba ʃog 'take away!' // Sz cēhrasok; LT khyi 'dog' // Sz sōj; LT rgyu-ma 'intestines' // Sz dzëma; LT skyes-pa 'man, husband' // Sz stefs, tiebsa; LT khyas-pa 'frost' // Prz xabca; LT khyi 'dog' // Prz ſeč; LT skyes-pa 'man' // Prz xchetsa; LT rgyu-nag 'intestines' // Prz ʃonok, LT brgya '100' // Prz rde; LT khyi 'dog' // Blo khyi; LT khyim 'house' // Blo khyim, LT rkhyal-pa 'bag' // Blo khyal-wa; LT rgyal-ba 'victory' // Blo gyal-wa; LT brgyad '8' // Blo vgyet; LT dkyul-khor 'circle' // Pan dchil-k'or; LT bskyod 'moved' // Pan rshyot, kyet; LT bgyis 'done' //
in Pan we find the loss of the stop. The representations of the aspi-
rated *k'y*- show a stronger tendency of developing into affricates
than the non-aspirated *ky*- and *gy*- do. 2. The bilabial series has
spirant representations in some NEAT dialects (Dpa, Blo, RA,
Kha, Sz, Prz, Pan, Ban, Tao), with or without the preserved
bilabial, while they have the same representations as the gutturals
in some other cases. 3. The voiced and voiceless character of the
palatalized stops and affricates are realized under the same rules
as the representations of the stops (cf. p. 114 above).

Pan b́ýe; LT b́ŕgya-b́a '100th' // Pan rgya-wa, rya-wa; LT bka'-gyur 'Kanjur' // Pan kwan jur; LT sgyur-ma 'illusion' // Pan rgyi-ma; LT rgyun 'continual' // Pan ryn; LT kyaṅ 'straight' // Tao thō; LT dkyil 'middle' // Tao ch̃i, t̃i; LT khyon 'you' // Tao ti; LT 'khyaṅs 'frost' // Tao n̄k̄i; LT gyon 'to place' // Tao fun; LT gyo-g-po 'curved' // Tao k̄po; LT bgyad '8' // Tao r̄e; LT rgyab 'back' // Tao r̄j̄ob; LT rkyan 'wild horse' // RA r̄k̄ñā; LT dkyil 'middle' // RA x̄k̄i; LT skye-ba 'birth' // RA sk̄e-wa; LT gyon- 'to dress' // RA k̄on-, ē-ōn-; LT khyaṅ 'house' // RA k̄īm; LT khyi 'dog' // RA k̄ī'ō, ē'ō; LT bgyad '8' // RA gīl; LT bgya '100' // RA r̄ḡa; LT gyod 'quarrel' // RA č̄īol; LT rgya-dkar 'India' // RA j̄a-gar; LT rgyus-pa 'tendon' // RA j̄īr̄ka; LT khyaṅs-nams 'you (plur.)' // Ban k̄s̄a-nam; LT kyaṅ 'straight' // Kang I, II taṅ, kaṅ (I), taṅ (II); LT dkyil 'middle' // Kang I–II t̄i; LT rkaṅ 'wild horse' // Kang I t̄ō, Kang II kaṅ, t̄aṅ; LT khyi 'dog' // Kang či; LT khyaṅ 'you' // Kang I čh̄o, Kang II čh̄ot; LT 'khyags 'frost' // Kang I k̄h̄ak, Kang II čhak; LT gyon- 'to dress' // Kang I t̄ōn, čh̄ön-, Kang II t̄ōn; LT bka'-gyur 'Kanjur' // Kang I kan-jur, Kang II kan-jür; LT rgyab 'back' // Kang I j̄a; Kang II j̄ap; LT rgyud 'tendon' // Kang I j̄ō; Kang II j̄opot; LT dkyil 'middle' // DerM t̄el; LT rgyaṅ 'wild horse' // DerM t̄ōn; LT khyi 'dog' // DerM čh̄i; LT khyaṅ 'you' // DerM čh̄o; LT 'khyag 'frost' // DerM n̄č̄hak; LT gyon- 'to dress' // DerM t̄en.; LT bka'-gyur 'Kanjur' // DerM kan-jur; LT rgyab 'back' // DerM j̄ap, j̄ō; LTdkyil 'middle' // Cham taṅ (p. 48); LT rgyal-po 'king' // Cham tse-a-po '(loc. laud.)' LT khyi 'dog' // Cham tse-a (p. 49); LT bgyad '8' // Cham d̄ze; LT 'gyus 'to move' // Cham n̄deña (loc. laud.); LT mgyogs 'speed' // Cham tseg- (p. 56); LT skyur- 'to cast away' // Bal sk̄yur-; LT rgyab 'back' // Bal rgyab; LT rkyal-bu 'little bag' // Bal kyal-bu; LT 'gyur- 'to become' // Bal gya; LT skye-ba 'birth-place' // Bal sky-a; LT khyi 'dog' // Bal k̄h; LT dkyil-pa 'middle' // Bal sk̄īpo; LT bgyug- 'to run' // Bal bgyuk-; LT dkyil 'middle' // Pur sk̄k̄il; LT skye- 'to be born' // Pur sk̄ȳe; LT bgyad '8' // Pur rgya; LT bgya '100' // Pur rgya; LT khyi 'dog' // Pur k̄h; LT rgyal-ba 'good' // Pur rgya-leba; LT rgya-mcho 'ocean' // Pur rgyam-tso; LT khyi 'dog' // Lad k̄hi, LT skye- 'to be born' // Lad skye-; LT rgyal- 'to be victorious' // Lad glyal; LT bgyad '8' // Lad rgyat.

65 The representations of the OT bilabials are dealt with on pp. 176—184 below.
From what has been said we can conclude that the affricate representations of Monguor are of Tibetan origin. We cannot decide whether the donator dialects had originally palatalized stops or affricates, both of which would have converged in Monguor. The convergence of the two unaspirated phonemes are due to the Monguor phonetical basis. The spirant representations are of Tibetan origin.

3. Oral plosives with -r- prostradical

OT kr-

a) is represented by berra: LT skra 'hair' // Mgr bźia(lag).

OT pr-

a) jź#: LT 'phrug 'cotton cloth' // Mgr nts'uoη.

OT br-

a) bźi-: LT 'brun 'yak' // Mgr mźiη (VMI);
b) pr#: LT rgun'brum 'grapes' // Mgr wunpum;
c) dz#: LT sbran-ma 'bee' // Mgr dzηna.66

OT dr-

a) bźi-: LT dril-bu 'bell' // Mgr bźilä;67 LT skur'dra 'image' // Mgr səunśtiη;
b) pr#: LT drin-čhen 'benevolent' // Mgr nʒentš'ien (VMI, 114); LT 'dra-ba-mi 'similar' // Mgr nʒäni.68

OT gr-

a) bźi- in every position: LT grog-mo 'ravine' // Mgr bʒioqmü; LT sgrul- 'to multiply' // Mgr bźielie-; LT 'gram-pa 'river-bank' // Mgr

66 We find -r- retained in the second syllable after vocalic word-end:
LT na-bran 'castle' // Mgr larη cf. RA lawraη, Ordos lawraη.
67 124. 68 We find -r- in 684.
nūžiemba, nūžiāmbe (VMI); LT *gruḥ- 'to grow' // Mgr mbāiōŋla-(VMI); LT ral-gri 'sword' // Mgr araṅži (Sch);\textsuperscript{69}

b)пресс: LT gro 'wheat' // Mgr ṅgō (T, Sch); LT 'grig-' 'to suit' // Mgr ṅʒuola-;\textsuperscript{70} LT 'grub-' 'to perform' // Mgr ṅʒuola- (Sch), ṅʒebla- (110); LT ral-gri 'sword' // Mgr araṅje; LT ma-'grig- 'not to fit' // Mgr māṅŋeola-;

c)пресс: LT 'grub 'to perform' // Mgr mʊzo (Sch).\textsuperscript{71}

The picture is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OT</th>
<th>Monguor</th>
<th>OT</th>
<th>Monguor</th>
<th>OT</th>
<th>Monguor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kr-</td>
<td>ḅži-</td>
<td>pr-</td>
<td>no example</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ɾ-</td>
<td>no example</td>
<td>p'ɾ-</td>
<td>ṭʂ'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gr-</td>
<td>ḅži-, ṅʐ-, ṅz-</td>
<td>br-</td>
<td>ḅži-, ṅʐ-, ṅz-</td>
<td>dr-</td>
<td>ḅži-, ṅʐ-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We find a double representation: a) palatalized alveo-palatal affricate and b) apical or non-palatalized alveolar affricate. The unaspirated have converged as in the preceding categories.

In the NEAT dialects we find the same or similar representation. In one group of words we find apical stop + r (tɾ- etc.) which we meet with in Gol, RA, Tao, and apical stop (ɾ- etc.) in Kha, while in some other dialects only stop + r is denoted, and the stop is either dental also in the guttural series (tɾ- etc.) as in Dpa and Pan or in the guttural series the guttural is preserved before the r (kr- etc.). In Tao we also find a spirant element sporadically between the stop and the r- (tɾ-r- etc.).\textsuperscript{72} In another group of words

\textsuperscript{69} 231. \textsuperscript{70} 369, 370.

\textsuperscript{71} We find ɾ' in LT sṛin-bu ṅal-'gro 'worm' // Mgr surnbunagri where the final -l of ṅal disappeared and thus -ɾ'- getting into intervocalic position was retained.

\textsuperscript{72} LT drel 'mule' // RA, Gol ṭṛ; LT drug '6' // RA ṭṛig, Gol ḏṛuk; LT dredmoṅ 'brown bear' // RA ṭṛe-moṅ, Gol ḏṛed-mo; LT sgra 'voice' // Kha ḏra; LT skra 'hair' // Kha ṣṭra; LT gri 'knife' // Kha ḍi; LT graṅ-ba 'cold' // Dpa drang-va; LT krad-pa 'shoe' // Dpa trat-pa; LT drug '6' // Dpa ḏṛuch, Blo ḏru; LT brag 'rock' // Blo brax; LT bri-mo 'female yak' // Blo bři-mo; LT groṅ 'town' // Blo groñ; LT grol 'free' // Pan ḏrol; LT 'brug-sgra 'thunder' // Pan ḏruk-дра; LT sgra'i 'voice (gen.)' // Pan ḏɾi; LT skru- 'to wash' //
we find an alveolo-palatal affricate (tš- etc.) in Gol, RA, Pot, Prz, Sz, Pan. Sporadically we find also other representations. In Bal and Pur we find the OT situation unchanged, in Lad the plosive element is dental also in the guttural series, in the material of Miller even apical alveolar plosive and apical affricate, this latter in the aspirated category. Jäschke sometimes denotes r- in WT and Lad, in the case of unaspirated plosives but as a rule we find apical alveolar stop in all categories. In CT and Lh we have the representations tr-, tʰ-, t- and tʂ- according to the system of transcription used by the respective authors. The voiced and voiceless character respectively is under the same rule as in the categories of pure plosives (cf. pp. 113—114).

From this we can conclude that the double representation in Monguor does not reflect dialectal or chronological differences in the donator Tibetan dialects because both features are present at the same time and sometimes in the same word in the same Tibetan dialects. The Monguor had originally neither apical alveolar stop

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Tao skru-; LT gri 'knife' // Tao gri; LT grogs-po 'friend' // Tao gropo (literary form); LT dgra 'enemy' // Tao tsha; LT skru-dra 'image' // Tao kun-dra; LT phru-gu 'child' // Tao tsha-gu; LT skra 'hair' // Tao tsha.

72 This is more frequent with aspirated radicals, the same phenomenon as with postradical -y-. LT khrag 'blood' // Gol čay, RA čʰay, Prz čač, Sz čač; LT 'gro 'to go' // Gol čʰo, jo-, RA jio-, j'o; LT sgruṅs 'legend' // RA žiǔ, jʰa; LT dgra 'enemy' // RA žia; LT gri 'knife' // RA čʰo, čʰ, Sz dji; LT skra 'hair' // Prz xia, Sz sṭia; LT 'gram-pa 'cheeks' // Prz dṣam-ba; LT khri stan 'throne, seat' // Pan chiri-tan; LT sgral- 'to cut' // Pan jāl-.; LT sgrugs-po 'friend' // Pan jok-va.

73 LT sbrul 'snake' // Sz erpi, Gol erwū, RA rū cf. Bal gbul, Pur zbrul, Lad rul, CTB drū, CTR (p. 43) dṛū. We have to start out from an OT *dbrul or *ybul hence *dbul > ybul > rbul and sbrul, cf. p. 183.

74 LT 'bras 'rice' // Bal bras, Pur brās, Lad ḍas; LT drug '6' // Bal truk, Pur ṭuk; Lad ḍuk; LT khrag 'blood' // Bal khraq, Pur khraq, Lad ḍšak; LT phrug 'child' // Bal phru, Pur phru, Lad ḍṣu[gu].

75 LT skra 'hair' // WT sra; LT sgra-bs 'famous' // WT rag-ban; LT ḍrug- 'to stir' // WT ḍrug; LT sgril- 'to wind' // WT (s)rīl-; LT sgruṅs 'legend' // LadJ sruṅs; LT sgra-ba 'spunk' // WT śrā-wa.

76 LT gran-ba 'cold' // WT daṅ-mo; LT khrims 'law' // WT tʰim; LT dpral 'forehead' // WT tal-wa; LT phrog- 'to rob' // WT tʰog-; LT brel- 'to cohere' // WT ḍel-.

77 Cf. LT drug on p. 33 note 40.

78 LT dgra 'enemy' // RA čra, žia; LT sgrug- 'to call' // RA ḍro-, jʰor-. According to Roerich the cerebral representations are of Central Tibetan
nor alveolar affricate neither tr-, dr- etc. in word initial position. The Tibetan alveolar-palatal affricates and their palatalized variants had their counterparts in Monguor as ʈʂ-, ʈʂʰ- and ʰʐ-. Thus an original Tibetan stop + r (either apical or not), and either dental or guttural could result in an alveolo-palatal affricate in Monguor by way of substitution or could develop into a new alveolar affricate phoneme either apical or not in the Monguor phonological system.

4. Nasals in radical position

**OT m-**

a) is represented by m- in every position: LT mar-khu 'butter' // marou (M), mark'u (T, Sch);⁸⁰ LT dmar-nag 'cloth with red and black ornament' // Mgr marnaq; LT sman 'medicine' // Mgr sman (M), smän (Sch);³¹ LT smug-pa 'frog' // Mgr sêmuk'uo (VMI); LT dбаn-med 'weak' // Mgr ɠanmier;⁸² LT ʐaṅ-dmar 'copper' // Mgr νzāŋmar; LT sug-smel 'cardamome' // Mgr sēsmiel.

**OT n-**

a) n- in every position: LT nad 'sickness' // Mgr nar (M, VMI);³² LT gnod 'hurt' // Mgr nor;³⁴ LT mnam-pa 'dirt' // Mgr namba; LT sna-gcogs 'various' // Mgr sngasg; LT rnam-šes 'soul' // Mgr nämsa; LT dar-nag 'black silk' // Mgr varnak;³⁵ LT snyun-gnas 'fast' // Mgr sunōṇi.

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origin (Le parler, p. 23) but this seems to be very doubtful. I would remark here that the two types dental + r and alveo-palatal affricate are phonetically very close to each other. We have something very similar in English. Jespersen remarks: "... tried, drove sometimes come to resemble chide, Jove in sound" (Essentials of English Grammar, London 1933, pp. 39—40).

³² 7, 235, 298, 335, 451. 509, 678,
³³ 349, 353—355, 385, 407, 408. ³⁴ 351.
³⁵ 7, 8, 303, 304, 310, 366.
⁸² In intersyllabic positions, after b and m: LT rab-gnas 'prayer' // Mgr aramĩ, LT bsam-mno 'meditating' // Mgr samõ.
THE CONSONANTS IN RADICAL POSITION

OT η-

a) ηα-: LT ṇan-pa 'bad' // Mgr ηοανα 'wild';
b) n-: LT nur-ba 'duck' // Mgr niura (VMI); LT snags 'magical formula' // Mgr snag, sēnoq (Sch);
c) γ-: LT nar-po 'horse' // Mgr yāruo (VMI);\(^{37}\) LT dāul 'silver' // Mgr yū 'metall disk';
d) zero: LT nom-pa 'holy water' // Mgr omba.\(^{38}\)

OT my-

a) before every vowel, in every position by nī-: OT myi-kha 'common talk' // Mgr nik'ā 'renown'; OT mye-khaṅ 'kitchen' // Mgr niero'an;\(^{39}\) LT dmyal-ba 'hell' // Mgr nierwa; OT pha-myin 'the family of the wife' // Mgr γανη, p'ανη;
b) n-: LT Smyui-gnas 'fast' // Mgr sunəŋni.

OT n-

a) nī-: LT ŋams-chuṅ 'poor' // Mgr niun's'ioŋ; LT guis-pa 'second' // Mgr niwa, niwa (Sch);\(^{40}\) LT dge-bsi'en 'novice' // Mgr aésni'en (Sch);
b) n-: LT *ṅal-khebs 'bed-cover' // Mgr năxui; LT srim-bu ṅal'gro 'worm' // Mgr sumbunagri.

We find the following representations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OT</th>
<th>Monguor</th>
<th>OT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>my-</td>
<td>nī-, n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>nī-, n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η-</td>
<td>ηα-, γ-, zero</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Tibetan dialects the initial OT m- and n- are everywhere preserved.

\(^{37}\) 776, 780.
\(^{38}\) In intersyllabic position: LT ḫan-snon 'green, plant' // Mgr ḫiāŋgəŋ.
\(^{39}\) 387. \(^{40}\) 389.
The \( \eta \)- is also preserved in most of the cases in all the dialects, but we sporadically find also other representations: Pan \( \eta \cdot \),\(^{91} \) Pan \( \eta \cdot \),\(^{92} \) y.\(^{93} \) Sz and Prz \( \eta \cdot \),\(^{94} \) Blo y.\(^{95} \) WT \( \eta \cdot \),\(^{96} \) Bal, Pur \( \gamma \)- and Lad voiceless \( \eta \cdot \),\(^{97} \) and Bal, Pur and Lad \( m \cdot \),\(^{98} \) and CT zero,\(^{99} \) the same as in the Tibetan loanwords of the other Mongolian dialects.\(^{100} \) We come nearer to the solution of this complicated question if we bear in mind Roerich’s remark of RA, where the \( \eta \)- occurs in initial position: "spirant nasale post-linguale, prononcé avec un fort accent" (Le parler, p. 24). The spirant character of this consonant was also observed by Wen Yu\(^{101} \) and this can be valid also for those dialects where it was not noted by the investigators.

OT had \( my \)- before all vowels while the orthography of the literary language shows a situation where the postradical \( -y \)- was replaced by zero before \( -i \)- and \( -e \)-.\(^{102} \) In the NEAT dialects we have a direct continuation of the OT situation while WAT and the non-archaic dialects reflect in this case the situation of LT. In place of OT \( my \)- Dpa, Gol, Sz, Prz and Ha have \( m\^{n} \)-, Blo, RA, Ban and Chung \( n \cdot \),\(^{103} \) while the dialects of South-Amdo have developed a

\(^{91} \) LT s\( \text{n} \)ar ‘formerly’ // Pan r\( \text{n} \)ar.
\(^{92} \) LT d\( \text{n} \)os-po ‘reality’ // Pan r\( \text{n} \)y\( \text{d} \)-po.
\(^{93} \) LT m\( \text{h} \)a ‘migrant’ // Pan m\( \text{u} \)a, LT m\( \text{h} \)on ‘evident’ // Pan won.
\(^{94} \) LT r\( \text{h} \)ogs-mo ‘mane’ // Sz r\( \text{n} \)ug\( \text{m} \)a; LT r\( \text{h} \)a-mo ‘tail’ // Sz h\( \text{r} \)nam\( \text{u} \)a; LT r\( \text{h} \)a ‘drum’ // Sz n\( \text{a} \); LT r\( \text{h} \)a-mun ‘camel’ // Prz n\( \text{a} \)my\( \text{n} \)a; LT \( \text{n} \)o ‘face’ // Prz h\( \text{h} \)oo; LT l\( \text{h} \)a ‘5’ // Prz p\( \text{h} \)a.
\(^{95} \) LT lo-n\( \text{h} \)a ‘bad year (for harvest)’ // Blo lo-yen.
\(^{96} \) LT s\( \text{k} \)as ‘pillow’ // WT nye; LT k\( \text{a} \)r- ‘forepart’ // WT nyar.
\(^{97} \) LT l\( \text{h} \)a ‘6’ // Bal g\( \text{a} \), Pur g\( \text{a} \), Lad ya.
\(^{98} \) LT d\( \text{m} \)ul ‘silver’ // Bal kh\( \text{m} \)ul, Pur sh\( \text{m} \)ul, Lad mul.
\(^{99} \) LT r\( \text{h} \)a-m\( \text{o} \) ‘camel’ // CT a-m\( \text{o} \).
\(^{100} \) For instance in names LT \( \text{n} \)ag-d\( \text{b} \)a\( \text{n} \) // Khalkha A\( \text{g} \)van (Bira, Mongolian tibeto-tyvanichia istoricheskaya literatura, p. 9); LT s\( \text{k} \)hags-\( \text{r} \)am-pa ‘a title’ // Khalkha agramba (cf. C. Damdinsur\( \text{u} \)n: Mongol h\( \text{e} \)l\( \text{e} \)nd orson, p. 62). The initial \( \eta \)- is disappearing also in the neighbouring Chinese dialects.
\(^{101} \) ‘In other words, they contain a breath nasal as a first part and a voice nasal as the second. In speedy cases the second part is usually omitted, so they become simple breath nasals’ (Studies, p. 66). Wen Yu connects this feature with an aspirated s‘- preradical, but this is not convincing.
\(^{102} \) It has to be stressed here that OT had both series: \( my \) (\( a \), e, i, u, o) and \( m \) (\( a \), e, i, u, o) of which \( my \)- and \( myi \)- have disappeared in LT. Thus not every LT \( me \)- or \( mi \)- goes back to OT \( my \)- and \( myi \)- (cf. pp. 192—195 below).
\(^{103} \) OT \( myi \) ‘man’ // Dpa \( m\^{n}yi \), Gol \( m\^{n}\hat{\text{m}}\)o, Sz \( m\^{n}i\)ec, \( m\^{n}e \), Prz \( m\^{n}i \) Blo \( -\hat{\text{n}}i \) (in \( m\^{n}v \)-vi, OT \( d\^{n}\text{m}ag\)-\( m\^{n}yi \) ‘soldier’), RA \( n\hat{\text{i}} \), \( \hat{n\hat{\text{o}} \); Chung \( n\hat{\text{a}} \); OT \( my\cdot g \)- ‘to
non-palatalized n- (Roerich, Le parler, pp. 7, 25). In Kha OT myi- and mye- seems to be represented by mi- and me- but mya-, myo-, and myu- by mi'-; in Tao we find mi- and me- in place of OT myi- and mye- but nha-, no-, nu- in place of OT mya-, myo-, myu. In the WAT and the non-archaic dialects there are mi- and me- in place of OT myi- and mye-, but nha-, no-, nu- in place of mya-, myo- and myu-. In Bal and Pur ni- has developed sometimes into n-, in Bal also into ۱-.  

5. Affricates in radical position

OT ṭs-

a) is represented by nz- in every position: LT can-dan 'sandal-tree' // Mgr dzän-dan; LT gcag- 'to destroy' // Mgr rdzaela; LT
taste' // Dpa mmyq-; OT myĩn 'name' // Dpa mniang; OT myig (< *dmyig) 'eye' // Gol ṭē, Prz ńiık, RA ṭē, ṭīŋ, Chung nie, Ha mmyi; OT mye 'fire' // Gol ṭē, Blo mē, RA mē, Chung nya, Ha mmyi; OT rmyed 'crupper of saddle' // Gol ṭēnd; OT myig-tdaq 'throat' // Sz mjetak; OT 'a-myes 'grandfather' // Sz amni; OT yab-myes 'ancestor' // Sz jamnieh; OT rmyig-tdaq 'hoof' // Prz rnyćjak; OT rmyi-lam 'dream' // RA ńó-lam. In some cases, as variantes, we find m- in place of OT my- also in the above discussed dialects: OT myi 'man' // Blo mu, RA mō; OT myĩn 'name' // Blo mny; OT myig 'eye' // Sz mek, mukk, Blo mix; OT mye 'fire' // Sz me, mi, Prz mihn, Blo me. OT had also me- and mi- and likewise the archaic dialects: OT me(n)-tdq 'flower' // Sz metak, Blo me-tox, RA me-toy, Chung me-du; OT med 'not' // Sz met, Prz mih, Blo met, RA met'; OT mi 'not' // Pan mirdan (mi-lidan) 'not having', RA m-go (mi-dgos) 'not necessary'.

104 OT rmyig-pa 'hoof' // Kha rmi-pa, Tao xmipa; OT dmyal-ba 'hell' // Kha mmyal-wa; OT snyon-pa 'insane' // Kha snyon-pa, Tao smoemba; OT myig 'eye' // Tao mi; OT my"

u 'dwarf' // Tao megā; OT mya-ńu 'misery' // Tao niā-ńān; OT dmyal-ba 'hell' // Tao ṭheba.

105 OT myi 'man' // Bal mi, Pur mi, Lad mi, CTM, Lhm mi; OT mye 'fire' // Bal me, Pur me(h), Lad me, CTM, Lhm mē; OT myig 'eye' // Bal mik, Pur mik', Lad mīk, CTM, Lhm mig; OT rmyi-lam 'dream' // Bal ngilam, Pur nilam, Lad rmilam, nyilam, WT rmi-lam, CTR mi-lam; OT dmyal-ba 'hell' // LadJ nyal-wa, WT nyal-wa-ban 'poor', CTB nyel-la; OT snyon-pa 'insane' // LadJ nyon-pa, OT *myal- 'to lie' // Bal hrīgyal- (< *dmyal-) cf. Pur nyel-, WT ńal-, but: OT smya-ra 'beard' // Bal smag-ra, Pur smārā, WT sma-ra.
rvva pad-ma 'poenia' // Mgr svzawarma;\textsuperscript{106} LT rceg- 'to pile up' // Mgr rvzgolie;\textsuperscript{107} LT rcam-pa 'roast-flour' // Mgr svzam (Sch); LT lab-ce 'heap of stones' // Mgr lawdzi (Sch, VMI);\textsuperscript{108} LT gla-rci 'musk' // Mgr lašnəe (VMI), lārsuzə (M);\textsuperscript{109}

b) s-: LT gcig-ka 'fire-wood' // Mgr qsiṣqa (T, Sch); LT rerar 'root' // Mgr sār, sār (VMI, M);\textsuperscript{110} lab-ce 'heap of stones' // Mgr lawse; LT dbus-gcarn 'Tibet' // Mgr guēsān (M), guāsān (VMI); LT *sna-gcogs 'various' // Mgr snagsog.

c) rarely, as a secondary development bži-: LT rce-ja 'tea-offer' // Mgr bźiebźiāa.

OT ts'-

a) ts'- only after nasal preradicals: LT mchon-čha 'weapons' // Mgr nts'wombźia;\textsuperscript{111}

b) in all other cases s-: LT chon 'trade' // Mgr sōn;\textsuperscript{112} LT khyim-chan 'family' // Mgr tšimsān;\textsuperscript{113} LT khyim-mches 'neighbour' // LT tšimsğ.\textsuperscript{114}

OT dz-

a) dz- in every position: LT ja-ti 'nutmeg' // Mgr dzəti (Sch); LT rjas 'powder' // Mgr šuzi; LT rjas 'thing, object' // Mgr rzši; LT rjon- 'to dispatch' // Mgr svzōn (M), vuzōn (VMI); LT 'jog- 'to heap together' // Mgr nvozolo.\textsuperscript{115}

OT tš-

a) in every position by bži-: LT gcig-na 'the one' // Mgr šōzıagnā;\textsuperscript{116} LT dban-čan 'powerful' // Mgr gāns'ziän; LT thag-čod 'sure' // Mgr tagbziör; LT dar-čog 'flag' // Mgr darbțiog (M, Sch, VMI).

OT tši-

a) tši- in every position: LT chu-dug 'current' // Mgr tšiudog;\textsuperscript{117}

\textsuperscript{106} 631 also gdz-. \textsuperscript{107} 445. \textsuperscript{108} 607. \textsuperscript{109} 392. \textsuperscript{110} 505. \textsuperscript{111} 397.
\textsuperscript{112} 506, 508, 519, 520, 521, 525, 526, 550, 556, 587, 591, 596, 597.
\textsuperscript{113} VMI tšiₜdzən is secondary.
\textsuperscript{114} Perhaps through khyim-ches.
\textsuperscript{115} 365. \textsuperscript{116} 651.
\textsuperscript{117} 712, 717, 723, 735, 737, 738, 739.
LT mchod- 'to offer' // Mgr ɲš/iovlu- (VMI);\textsuperscript{118} LT 'čham 'dance' // Mgr ɲš/iam; LT glaŋ-po-čhe 'elephant' // Mgr alāñwutš/ie.\textsuperscript{119}
b) btiː in second syllable as a secondary development: LT dpe-čha 'book' // Mgr ɣuič/iia;\textsuperscript{120}
c) cerebrals as secondary development: LT čhags-sdañ 'jealousy' // Mgr ɣardan; LT pan-čhen 'a title' // Mgr pānʃ/e.

OT dź-

a) btiː in every position: LT ja-ma 'cook' // Mgr ɓzi/ma; LT jhak-ston 'green' // Mgr báĩŋoŋ 'grass' (Sch); LT rʃes // Mgr ropa,\textsuperscript{121} LT mjal- 'to go on pilgrimage' // Mgr nb̥iāa- (M, Sch); LT 'jig-rten 'world' // Mgr nb̥iŋvi (Sch); LT maŋ-ja 'tea-offer' // Mgr mănʒia (M), mănɓia (Sch);\textsuperscript{122} rdo-rje 'sceptre' // Mgr moro,\textsuperscript{123}

As can be seen the affricates have a regular affricate representation in Monguor. The two unaspirated have also converged as in the case of the oral plosives. In the alveolar series there can also be observed a spirant representation which is frequent after zero pre-radical in initial position.\textsuperscript{124}

In the Tibetan dialects we find as a rule the same situation as in OT, combined with voiceless character of the representations of the OT voiced as in the case of the plosives. There are spirant representations in place of OT alveolar affricates sporadically in Blo, Pot, Prz and RA.\textsuperscript{125}

From all this we can conclude, that both the affricate and the spirant representations are directly reflections of the situation in the donator dialects.

\textsuperscript{118} 403, 405, 406. \textsuperscript{119} 175, 265, 277, 382, 511, 528, 735.
\textsuperscript{120} 398. \textsuperscript{121} 455, 456. \textsuperscript{122} 133. \textsuperscript{123} 737.
\textsuperscript{124} It is a well-known fact that some LT verb stems with alveolar affricate radicals of the present tense have spirant radical in the past tense: 'chāb-'to pay back', pf. chab or bṣab, fut. bṣab, imp. chob, 'chān-'to remove impurities', pf. (b)ans etc. It is hard to decide whether we have to take an s-radical or a ch-radical as starting points in OT (cf. Li Fang-kuei, Certain Phonetic Influences, p. 147).
\textsuperscript{125} LT cha-bu 'grandson' // Blo sa-wo; LT che-rin 'long life' // Blo se-rin, Pot sersi (name); LT chog '(Buddhist) assembly' // Blo sog; LT chog 'cow' // Prz sork, RA sog 'domestic animal'; LT chur yon 'to come back' // RA str-rin jor-.
6. Spirants in radical position

OT s-

a) is represented by s- in every position: LT sa-las 'earth-work' // Mgr salā;\(^\text{126}\) LT bsangs 'sacrificial smoke' // Mgr sān (Sch, VMI);\(^\text{127}\) LT gsol-kha 'prayer' // Mgr gsolk'a, solk'a (Sch), sork'a (M);\(^\text{128}\) LT gserskyems 'golden drink' // Mgr χserlšien (Sch); LT ldon-(g)ser ' «golden» (= copper) cup' // Mgr dunsar, dōnšar, děnsar (M, Sch);\(^\text{129}\)

b) dz- only after preradicals: LT bsangs 'sacrificial smoke' // Mgr suzān (M), dzān, suzāh, dzān (Sch, VMI); LT gsum-pa 'third' // Mgr gzānma (Sch); LT gser 'gold' // Mgr χdzer (Sch); LT dus-gsum 'the three periods' // Mgr diesdzum;\(^\text{130}\)

OT š-

a) ši- in every position: LT ša-ba, šva-ba 'stag' // Mgr šiā;\(^\text{131}\) LT bšes-pa 'parents of the husbands wife' // Mgr šiewa; LT *gšags- 'gone away' // Mgr šiagla- 'has died' (Sch); LT ku-ša 'reed' // Mgr oukia (T, Sch).\(^\text{132}\)

b) ș-: LT šug-pa 'cypress' // Mgr sućuo (M), soća (Sch, VMI);\(^\text{133}\) LT yam-šiń 'wood for offering' // Mgr yōmšen (T, Sch).\(^\text{134}\)

OT h.\(^\text{135}\)

a) ŋ- in every position: LT ha-ni 'all' // Mgr ċana (M), ċāna (VMI); LT lham 'boots' // Mgr Ȓam.

b) the OT lh- > hl- is represented by l-: LT lha-khaṅ 'temple' // Mgr lasān;\(^\text{136}\) LT khyi-lha 'dog-deity' // Mgr lš'ila.

\(^{126}\) 509, 511, 512, 518, 527—530, 555, 586, 589, 590, 599, 600, 603.

\(^{127}\) 507, 510. \(^{128}\) 557. \(^{129}\) 70.

\(^{130}\) In two cases (134, 137) we find ň-, but this is secondary from dz-.

\(^{131}\) 668, 671, 673, 675, 681.

\(^{132}\) 347, 510 (ṅū < šū < šes), 577, 768. \(^{133}\) 608, 634.

\(^{134}\) But also yiewšen.

\(^{135}\) It is uncertain whether this phoneme was a guttural or a laryngeal spirant in OT.

\(^{136}\) 261, 262.
THE CONSONANTS IN RADICAL POSITION

OT z-

a) ðzː: LT zawns-dmar 'copper' // Mgr nzɐŋmar,¹³⁷ LT gzan 'dress' // Mgr nɐŋn (Sch), rɐŋsan (VMI);¹³⁸
b) ðzː: LT zor 'sickle, demon-torma' // Mgr nzuor;
c) ðzː: LT zeqs 'dirt' // Mgr pɐeq; LT gzig 'leopard' // Mgr pɐeq;
LT gza'-ba 'couple' // Mgr qɐzawa, ɐzawa (VMI);
d) ðː: LT zer- 'to say' // Mgr ɐuerla-;¹³⁹
e) ðː only in second syllable: LT nub-za 'supper' // Mgr nursa;¹⁴⁰
LT spyan-ras-gzigs 'Aryapala' // Mgr sɐziɐraqsgɐ.

A special case is the cluster zː ~ lz, for which we have only one uncertain example in intrasyllabic position: LT na-zla(?), na-ldan(?) 'of the same age' // Mgr nɐɾsdzan.¹⁴¹

OT ž-

a) źː: LT žug(s)- 'to request' // Mgr sɐla- (M), sɪla-(Sch);
b) żː: LT žal- 'to plaster' // Mgr sɐla-; LT bžɐn- 'to offer' // Mgr sɐnlie-(M), sɐnlie-(Sch); LT lag-ža 'lame hand' // Mgr lagəsə.

OT *γ-¹⁴²

a) γː: LT 'od 'light' // Mgr ɐuor;
b) xː: LT 'om-bu 'tamarisk' // Mgr xɐmbu.¹⁴³

¹³⁷ 94. ¹³⁸ 177. ¹³⁹ 686. ¹⁴⁰ 351.
¹⁴¹ Perhaps from *na-lzan > *nəɾdzan, or the final -n is of Monguor origin(!). In this case ðzː would correspond to zː which is regular.
¹⁴² In Acta Orient. Hung. (XIV) 1962, pp. 338—340 I have put forward some reasons for regarding the sound transcribed by 'a-čhun in LT to be a voiced spirant in radical position at the OT level. To this I would add here that to the voiceless series sː, źː, hː (γː) must belong the voiced series zː, žː and *γː. The 'a-čhun takes just the place of a hypothetical *γː in the traditional alphabet. Just as in the whole series of spirants here too we can observe a secondary loss of the voiced character. On the other hand I have to point out that the LT 'a-čhun has a voiced spirant value also in the so-called diphthongs of the diminutive (-bu > -u; on this suffix see Uray, A Tibetan Diminutive Suffix, pp. 183—219). LT thɐ'u 'seal' // LhY (p. 70) tewy, tewu; LT sprɐ'u 'monkey' // KhaJ šte-rʃ, DerM tɐ-re-wu; LT gɐ'u 'box' // Kha ga-ʃo, Tao ka-go, RA kɐwʊ, kawo; LT mi'u 'dwarf' // Tao megu etc. It is an open question when if at all this voiced spirant have a nasal character.
¹⁴³ The place-name Amdo is generally written with 'a-čhen. But perhaps the form Mgr XamDö (205) goes back to a form with an initial 'a-čhun?
OT y- and dby- > y-

a) in every position by y-: LT yan ‘again’ // Mgr yan;\(^{144}\) LT *g-yan-dar ‘blessed silk[on arrow]’ // Mgr yan-par;\(^{145}\) LT dbyar ‘summer’ // Mgr yar;\(^{146}\) LT sa-ya ‘million’ // Mgr say;\(^{147}\) LT rluh-g-yab ‘ventilating fan’ // Mgr rlönyäa (Sch).

OT sr-

a) s-: LT srin-bu näl’gro ‘worm’ // Mgr sumbunagri;
b) r-: LT srb-mda’ ‘reins’ // Mgr aranwa.

The picture is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OT</th>
<th>Monguor</th>
<th>OT</th>
<th>Monguor</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>s-, DZ-</td>
<td>z-</td>
<td>s-, DZ, DZ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δ-</td>
<td>δ̣-, ̣-</td>
<td>̣-</td>
<td>̣-, ̣-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h-</td>
<td>̣-</td>
<td>*γ-</td>
<td>̣-, ̣-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y-</td>
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<td>y-</td>
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</table>

The WAT dialects have preserved the OT s-, z-, δ-, ̣-, h- and y-. In the NEAT dialects the voiced spirant z- became voiceless.\(^{148}\) In RA, Gol and Ban we find also voiced representations of z- and ̣- but the latter is strongly palatalized.\(^{149}\) The representation of OT

\(^{144}\) 768, 772, 773, 782, 787. \(^{145}\) 774, 777.
\(^{146}\) In the case of the cluster dby- the y- became a radical consonant after the b > zero development: *γby- > γby- > γy- > y- cf. also 778, 783.
\(^{147}\) 242.
\(^{149}\) LT baŋ ‘good’ // RA zah; LT qzig ‘leopard’ // RA qzig, Gol qzig; LT qzig ‘to see’ // RA ziyor, Ban ḡzig; LT zor ‘day’ // RA z’ag; LT bəzq ‘to lay’ // RA z’ag-; LT bzi ‘4’ // RA ži, Blo qṣi; LT bəzq- ‘to ride’ // RA z’on-, sόn-. But: LT ḡiŋ-las ‘agriculture’ // RA ḡiŋ-lē.
§ is also strongly palatalized in RA.\textsuperscript{150} In other transcriptions there is not made difference between §- and ̶-. In CT ̶- and z- have voiceless character.\textsuperscript{151}

The metathesis of the cluster lh- is well-known in every dialect. The loss of l- and preservation of the spirant in the word lham is known from Dpa, Sz, Prz, RA (cf. 204).

The representation of LT zl- is in Gol, RA rdz-, Prz rts- and rdz-, Bal and Pur lz- (all are reflections of an *lz-); Kha ld-, Dpa, Sz, Blo, Pan, WT and CT d- (these reflect an *ld-) (cf. 495).\textsuperscript{152}

The OT *γ is regularly represented by γ- in RA, Gol, Kha and Prz.\textsuperscript{153} We find in the most cases zero in Dpa, Blo, Sz and Pan, but before the OT diphthong -uya- the γ- is preserved in Dpa, Blo, RA. Sz has r- which is probably only an inaccurate denotation for γ-.

Tao has aspiration, aspiration and r- and rw-.\textsuperscript{154} Bal and Pur have zero and y-. From Ladakh 'Jäschke denotes ', Miller has no example, WT has y-, Kang, Kan, Der have zero and w-, Chamdo voiced h- and w-. In Central Tibetan we find w-, y- and zero with low pitch.\textsuperscript{155}

\textsuperscript{150} Denoted with §-: ,,sifflant sourde, pre-dentale dorsale, perque souvent comme un § palatalisé’’ (Roerich, Le parler, p. 25), while ̶-: ,,spirant sourde pré-linguale chuintante’’.

\textsuperscript{151} LT za:nas 'copper' // CT ga:n; LT za-čhas 'food' // CT ga-e:e; LT bži '4' // §; LT gzan-pa 'other' // CT ̶e-pa.

\textsuperscript{152} Tao zl- seems to be literary. CT sku-zla 'husband' // CT kunda. The n- can be found in Chung: ndo-wa 'moon'.

\textsuperscript{153} As cited on p. 24 above the Cyrillic letter r denotes h in Przevalskij’s material. But in the given case it is not quite impossible that here too we have to do with a voiced spirant γ-.

\textsuperscript{154} Migot writes (Recherches, p. 445): '”[a]’ spirante laringale sonore. Dans le Si-k’ang, ce son à peine perceptible, se caractérise par un abaissement du voile du palais qui reste relevé dans la prononciation du [”a]. Il est souvent marqué par une légère aspiration, mais peut aussi se transformer en la roulée [r], la semivoyelle [w] ou l’association des deux”. According to him (op. cit., p. 420) this aspiration is ”faible, légèrement nasale”.

\textsuperscript{155} LT ’o-ma ‘milk’ // RA o-ma, Gol yo-ma, Prz roma, Kha yo-ma, Sz oma, Bal oma, CT yo-ma; LT ’od ‘light’ // Kha yod, RA o:t, Blo o:t, Tao ’oor, Cha o:t; Bal øt, Pur øt, LadJ ’od, CTR ø, CTJ o:o, CTM ø, LhK hø; LT ’ug-pa ‘owl’ // RA ākva, Kha yug-pa, Blo uk-va, Tao ’ro-pa, Cha ẖ( ā-w)ug3-pa, DerM akupa, Bal uppa; LT ’ur ‘noise’ // RA āur, KangI wur, KangII ’oor, Tao ’ur, Kan ’ur, DerM wurr, LhK wur3; LT ’obs ‘ditch’ // Kha yobs, Tao ’røb, LT ’ar-po ‘wrath’ // Kha yar-po, Tao ’r’arpu, DerM warpo, LT ’i-gi ‘there’ // Sz ẑi; LT ’os- ‘to be worthy’ // Pan eu’, Tao rwot-, KangI woot-, KangII œes-, Kan ẑi, DerM ẑi; LT ’ab- ‘to bark’ // Tao ’op-, LT ’og ‘beneath’ // BalJ yog, WT yog, Pur yog, CT ’og, CTJ wag, LhK hø3; LT.’oh- ‘to come’
On OT sr- see below p. 193.

The phonemic inventory of Mongour had neither .indent nor z.\textsuperscript{156} From the fact that OT z- is represented in Mongour by s- and by the voiced affricates dz- and p\textsuperscript{z}-, we can assume that the donator dialects had also voiced z-, because if the donator dialects had only had voiceless s-, this would have resulted invariably in Mongour s-.

In those cases where OT z- is represented in Mongour by s- we cannot decide whether the voiceless character is due to a Mongour substitution or to a development which had come about in the Tibetan dialects. The case is difficult with the Mongour dz- representation of OT z-. This could be simply a substitution, but we find dz- in Pan\textsuperscript{157} and in the case of zl \sim lz we find the affricate also in other dialects, thus Mongour nz- in this case can be of Tibetan origin. OT \textsuperscript{z}- has only voiceless representation. Both the palatalized s- and the apical s- equivalents are of Tibetan origin. Mongour had originally both voiceless laryngeal and guttural spirants in word initial position. From the fact that OT h- is represented by x- we can suppose that the donator dialects had a guttural spirant.\textsuperscript{158}

In the case of an original Tibetan voiced spirant *\textsuperscript{y}- Mongour had two possibilities. Either it retained its voiced character and then it is represented by the deep-velar g-, or it had preserved the spirant character and then it substituted x- for it. We have examples for these alternatives.

7. Liquids in radical position

OT l-

\textsuperscript{a} is represented by l- in every position: LT las-dka' 'work' //

\textsuperscript{156} z is present among the citations of Tangkar (T), but this is due to Oirat influence.

\textsuperscript{157} LT gsugs 'form' // Pan rdzuk.

\textsuperscript{158} Roerich denotes h- and adds: "spirant guttural sourse" (Le parler, p. 23).
THE CONSONANTS IN RADICAL POSITION

Mr. liesa (M, VMI);¹⁵⁹ LT glag-pa 'skull' // Mr. logba;¹⁶⁰ LT gla 'musk deer' // Mr. gla (VMI), alá, lawa (M);¹⁶¹ LT klu 'serpent-demon' // Mr. glu (Sch, VMI); LT bla-ma 'lama' // Mr. lama;¹⁶² LT blo 'mind' // Mr. uló 'ability'; LT *hrla'-byin 'the tigh' // Mr. lánčin; LT rlu-n-rla 'airy' horse' // Mr. lónsda (Sch); LT rlu-n-g-yab 'fan' // Mr. rlónyáa (Sch); LT rlan 'humidity' // Mr. arlan; LT ka-ko-la 'a plant' // Mr. caowula (Sch);¹⁶³ LT ba-glañ 'cattle' // Mr. wañ; LT dge-slon-pa 'friar' // Mr. sélóns 'a lama of the yellow sect';

b) lt⁰: LT 'khor-lo 'circle' // Mr. ḱuorluo (M), ḱuorluo (VMI);

c) ro: LT logis 'side' // Mr. roq (M, VMI);¹⁶⁴ LT ro-lañs 'corps-spirit' // Mr. wórón.¹⁶⁵

OT r-

a) r- is every position: LT ri-rab 'Sumeru' // Mr. ríra(M), ríra (Sch, VMI);¹⁶⁶ LT phyi-dro (ro) 'mid of the afternoon' // Mr. óro, óro (M, VMI);

b) in some cases a prothetic vowel depending on the stemvowel alternates with zero: LT ra-bo 'he-goat' // Mr. arówu, rówu;¹⁶⁷ LT ro 'corps' // Mr. uró.¹⁶⁸

c) sporadically we find r⁰: before -o-: LT ro 'corps' // Mr. uruo (VMI); LT na-ro 'sound voice' // Mr. yáruo (VMI).

In all the Tibetan dialects we find l- and r- respectively.

Monguor had originally neither l- nor r- in word initial position. The Mongolian languages usually insert a prothetic vowel before the r- of a loanword¹⁶⁹, which must have originally been the normal procedure also in Monguor. The Tibetan dialects have vowel

¹⁵⁹ 252, 255, 256, 265, 274, 276, 277, 280, 284, 286, 287, 288, 289, 295, 607
¹⁶⁰ 263, 269, 270, 275, 282, 296.
¹⁶⁷ 566, 576, 595, 652, 655, 656, 690, 696, 780.
¹⁶⁸ 9—14, 16—19. ¹⁶⁹ bro(?) 748.
prothesis before preradical (cf. pp. 31, 41, 138), but the prothesis before radical is extremely rare. Thus we can conclude that this type of prothesis is of Mongu origin.

THE CONSONANTS IN PRERADICAL POSITION

1. Oral consonants in preradical position

OT\textsuperscript{171} b--

a) is represented by u: LT bduino 'the evil' // Mgr uvudu;\textsuperscript{171a}

b) f--: LT bsañs 'sacrificial smoke' // Mgr fbzān (Sch, VMI), fśān (VMI);

In the Tibetan dialects we find b-- in Kha, Prz, Pan and occasionally in Dpa, Gol, Kha, RA, Blo, Ban, Pan and Bal, χ-- in Pan, r-- in Tao; in Bal we find w-- before voiced and p-- before voiceless radicals, in Pur r-- and z-- but only in numerals where their presence is due to analogy.\textsuperscript{172}

As a general rule the preradicals — also the following — are preserved mostly in monosyllabic words. The preradical is preserved in the second syllable if the first ends in vowel also in the non-archaic dialects.\textsuperscript{173}

\textsuperscript{170} LT riŋ-gi 'long' // Sz erangge. Rarely we find n-- in place of b--: LT da-lta 'now' // CT tandà; LT khyi-sla 'dog month' // RA k'ondza (< *khyi-lza); LT myi-sla 'companion' // CT mi-nda (< *mi-lza).

\textsuperscript{171} Cf. pp. 106—107 and note 39 on p. 186.

\textsuperscript{171a} 742, 744, 747 (?).

\textsuperscript{172} LT bçu 'ten' // Kha bçu, vçu, Dpa utju, Gol ψçu, Blo řcu, Tao Ḳçu, Bal ṣphchu, Pur šçu — RA ĝi, Prz ŭo, Si Ŧi, KangI ĝu, KangII ţo, Kan ĝu, DerM ŭo, LadJ ĕu, CT ĕu; LT buži 'four' // Prz ōkë, Gol ṣži, Kha vže, Blo vži, Bal ţi, Pur ṣbži, PurL ṣḥi, sbzh - RA ži, KangI ži, KangII ži, Tao že, Kan ži, Lad ži, CTM ži; LT bkr-a-sis 'happiness' // Kha bluši; LT bgyis 'having done' // Pan bjiye; LT bzuñ 'having seized' // Gol žzoñ (p. 135), LT blá-ma 'lamba' // Gol žla-ma, Ban žla-ma, Dpa žla-ma, Blo žla - RA la-ma, Tao lama, CT la-ma; LT bka 'saying, word' // Kha ṣka, Blo ṣkā, Tao rje; LT brjun 'lie' // Kha vrdzu; LT blyn 'minister' // RA ṣlón; LT brcis 'to twist' // Blo ţdsi--; LT bšad- 'to speak' // Blo ṣarat, Bal phšk-t--; LT bṣad 'having killed' // Ban ṣsed; LT blosa- 'thigh' // Pan vla, RA vla; LT bgo- 'to dress' // Tao ṣku; LT bdrag-po 'lord' // Tao rdāpu; LT bzo 'work' // Bal bzo. In Bal b-- before d-- is w-- (Read, Balti, p. 3).

\textsuperscript{173} LT skyes-bza 'husband' // Sz stiśa (if not <skyes-pa); LT ču-bži '14' // CT čupsi; LT ču-bdun '17' // CT čubdù, rarely nasal: LT na-bza 'dress' // CTW nam-sa.
The Monguor u- reflects an u or y of the Tibetan dialects, the f- had likewise similar predecessors.

OT d/g-.174

a) g- mostly before primary or secondary spirants and b-: LT gsoi-kha 'prayer' // Mgr gsoilit'a; LT dbus-gcen 'Tibet' // Mgr gcun;175 LT spyan-ras-gzigs 'Aryapala' // Mgr stzigeragsz; b) r- mostly before non-labial stops: LT dgon-pa 'monastery' // Mgr rôngma (M), rôngomba (VMI);176 LT čhu-dkol 'boiling water' // Mgr čâu-dâu;177
c) s- before non-labial and non-palatal stops and affricates, by ċ- before palatal or palatalized consonants: LT gtor-ma 'offering' // Mgr sormā; LT gčig-na 'the one' // Mgr słoiaqna; LT dkyil 'middle' // Mgr słoja; LT yuns-dkar 'white mustard' // Mgr yəngsar (M, Sch);178
d) s- before non-labial and non-palatalized radicals only in the material of Schröder: LT gtor-ma 'offering' // Mgr sorma (Sch);179 LT kag-gtor 'offer, preventing danger' // Mgr guayšdor(Sch);
e) χ- before radical p- in every case and sometimes before other radicals: LT dpa-bo 'bravery' // Mgr χuawu;180 LT dgos- 'to wish' // Mgr χelie-(VMI).181

The Tibetan background is the following: Dpa has γ, r and χ,182 Gol γ, r and x in one case h- before p183; Kha in every position γ (also before g-) only before p- we find χ184, in Blo γ, χ and some other

174 The d- and g- were only positional variants in OT. Cf. note on p. 187.
175 108, 147—150, 152(?), 155, 156, 162, 176, 177.
176 155, 464, 467, 470, 472, 474, 476, 479. 177 70, 338. 178 657.
182 LT g-yag 'yak' // Dpa chyach; LT dpal 'glory' // Dpa chval; LT dben 'truth' // Dpa chuam; LT dguin 'winter' // Dpa rgin; LT gna'-ba 'antelope' // Dpa rna-va.
183 LT gčig 'l' // Gol γčig; LT gnas-skor 'pilgrimage' // Gol γner-kor; LT gčig 'leopard' // Gol γčig; LT dmaq 'soldier' // Gol γmaq; LT gzu 'bow' // Gol gžu; LT gsum '3' // Gol γsum; LT g-γyas 'right side' // Gol γi; LT dbus 'U' // Gol γul; LT dγyar 'summer' // Gol γiar; LT dgu '9' // Gol rgu; LT dγul 'silver' // Gol rni; LT dpon 'commander' // Gol rjon; LT dpyid 'spring' // Gol rγid; LT dpe 'parabole' // Gol ḫpe.
184 LT γčes 'precious' // Kha γči; LT gtm 'discourse' // Kha γtam; LT gdu 'bone' // Kha γdu; LT gnañ- 'to bestow' // Kha γneñ-; LT gceñ- 'to ask' // Kha γtceñ-; LT gzu 'bow' // Kha γo; LT gčig 'leopard' // Kha γčig;
representations (cf. the remarks on pp. 25—26)\textsuperscript{185}, Sz γ, r (also hr) and vocalic\textsuperscript{186}, Prz r, χ and vocalic representations\textsuperscript{187}, RA γ, r, χ\textsuperscript{188}, Ban γ, χ\textsuperscript{189}, Pan h (= χ?) and r\textsuperscript{190}, Tao has r as the chief representation\textsuperscript{191},

\textsuperscript{185} LT g-yog 'to cover' // Kha (γ)yog, gšer 'moisture' // Kha γšer; LT gser 'gold' // Kha γšer; LT dkar- 'white' // Kha ykar; LT dkyil 'middle' // Kha ykyil; LT dgu '9' // Kha ygo; LT dgpa 'enemy' // Kha γala; LT dñul 'silver' // Kha ynul; LT dpe- 'form, pattern' // Kha γpe-, LT dbaḥ 'might' // Kha γweñ, LT dmar 'red' // Kha (γ)mar; LT dpyid 'spring' // Kha xšid.

\textsuperscript{186} LT glañ 'ox' // Blo stañ; LT gnaša-šin 'after after tomorrow' // Blo snañ-šin; LT gžon- 'young' // Blo tšon; LT gzigs 'leopard' // Blo uzux; LT gdun 'corpse' // Blo edun; LT dgu '9' // Blo ugu; LT dgun 'winter' // Blo xguń; LT dbjanš 'song' // Blo xyan; LT gla 'musk' // Blo hla; LT gšeg '1' // Blo hoty; LT gna 'antelope' // Blo hña; LT gris '2' // Blo hši; LT gšan 'secret' // Blo hsañ; LT gṣam 'discourse' // Blo htem; LT dka 'pain' // Blo hša; LT dpä 'bravery' // Blo hā; LT dpyid 'spring' // Blo hšiñ; LT gšid 'dream' // Blo rši; LT dgur- 'hunch' // Blo xar; LT gšu 'bow' // Blo xši.

\textsuperscript{187} LT gša 'neck' // Sz anya; LT gšo 'lungs' // Sz olu; LT glad- 'marrow' // Sz alapa; LT gšeb 'stallion' // Sz hszep; LT dñul 'silver' // Sz gšiñ; LT gšid- 'to sleep' // Sz renidja.

\textsuperscript{188} LT gnam 'heaven' // Prz onam; LT glañ 'bull' // Prz ony(my); LT gna 'antelope' // Prz pña 'kuku-jama'; LT gšid- 'to sleep' // Prz pniñ; LT dgu '9' // Prz prio; LT gša 'neck' // Prz xña.

\textsuperscript{189} LT dkon-ñog 'treasure' // RA ṣakomőv; LT dkyil 'middle' // RA ṣkǐ; LT gšod- 'to cut' // RA ṣkô; LT gšeg '1' // RA ṣkî; LT gša 'neck' // RA ṣk̪a; LT gñor- 'offering' // RA ṣtor-ṃa; LT gñug- 'parasol' // RA ṣk̪g; LT gnam 'heaven' // RA ṣnam, ṣnam; LT dman 'low' // RA ṣma; LT gšar-bu 'new' // RA ṣsa-riñ 'brave'; LT dpon 'commander' // RA ṣyon; LT g-gag 'yak' // RA ṣgag; LT glañ 'cattle' // RA ṣalañ, ṣlañ; LT dñus 'Ū' // RA ṣeñ; LT gñis '2' // RA ṣiñ; LT gšu 'bow' // RA ṣžo; LT gzn 'plaid' // RA ṣen; LT gšeb 'lie' // RA ṣšio; LT gšer 'gold' // RA ṣer; LT dñul 'silver' // RA ṣñu, ṣñu.

\textsuperscript{189} LT dkon-ñog 'treasure' // Ban ḫkon-č'oy; LT gzigs- 'to see' // Ban ḫziñ-.
As a general rule, \( \gamma \) occurs in WAT only before voiced, \( \chi \) before voiceless radicals. Another important feature is that we have no \( s \) representation in NEAT and that all representations — including \( r \) — are spirantal with the exception of the vocalic ones.

The source of Monguor \( q \)-- is a voiced spirant Tibetan \( \gamma \). Since Monguor has both deep-velar \( g \) and post-mediopalatal \( q \) it is obvious that the first was chosen to substitute a phoneme which is alien to the Monguor phonemic system. The \( r \) reflects a Tibetan \( r \). More complicated is the situation with the Monguor \( s \) an \( s \) representations. Since we find in NEAT dialects no \( s \) developments of OT \( d/g \)-- though \( s \) is present in stems with other OT preradicals — we have to suppose that Monguor \( s \), its positional variant \( q \) and its dialectal variant \( s \) reflect another Tibetan phoneme. This can be only \( \chi \) which has developed through \( \chi \) to \( s \), \( q \) and \( s \) respectively or simply was substituted by them. The fact that we have also \( \chi \) in this position does not contradict this supposition, because it occurs either before OT \( p \)-- (where \( p \)-- has developed into \( u \)) or it is present in Schröder's material in words which seem to be of a newer group of loanwords. In such cases as OT \( dgos \)-- 'to be necessary'/ Mgr \( r\ddot{o}d\dot{l}ie \)-- (M), \( xgelie \)--(VM) it is clear that \( r\ddot{e}d \)-- is relatively older then \( \gamma \) (cf. Bal \( rgos \)--, CTB \( g\ddot{o} \)--. The \( \chi \) before \( p \)-- is paralleled with \( \gamma \) before \( b \).
There is no vocalic representation in Mongguor, but we find a sonant r or a semi-vowel between r and the radical.

**OT r--**

a) r- before every radical in every position: LT rgyal-mchan 'trophy' // Mgr rôngziala nts'am, röhziala nts'am (Sch);\(^{197}\) LT rdo-rje 'sceptre' // Mgr nuorôzi (M), vorôzi (Sch);\(^{198}\)

b) ar- in the first syllable: LT rdog 'radish' // Mgr ardog;\(^{199}\)

c) s- before non-palatal or non-palatalized radicals in every position: LT rta 'horse' // Mgr śpā (Sch);\(^{200}\) LT rluṅ-rta 'airy horse' // Mgr lŏŋśva (Sch);\(^{201}\)

d) ś- before palatal or palatalized radicals: LT ḍ-yaṅ-rgya 'blessed arrow' // Mgr yaṅśbzi(Sch).\(^{202}\)

In the archaic Tibetan dialects we can observe the following: Dpa r and ar\(^{203}\), Gol r, ś\(^{204}\), Kha r\(^{205}\), Blo r and other representations\(^{206}\), Sz r, s and ś\(^{207}\), Prz r\(^{208}\), RA r, ś and also γ and χ\(^{209}\), Way

\(^{197}\) 435, 440, 441, 445, 446, 451, 453, 454, 455, 456, 459, 462, 471, 481.
\(^{198}\) 152, 198, 240, 271, 276, 295, 296, 392, 405, 440, 518, 575, 737, 772.
\(^{199}\) 22.
\(^{200}\) 275, 276 in one case -rs-: 275.
\(^{201}\) 662 (?). Dubious in 547 is s- and χ-...
\(^{202}\) LT rkañ-pa 'leg' // Dpa ṛkang-wa; LT rdog 'radish' // DpaR ardog.
\(^{203}\) LT ṛgad-po 'old man' // Gol ṛga-ho; LT rta 'horse' // Gol rta; LTṛdo 'stone' // Gol ṛdo; LT ṛna 'ear' // Gol ṛna; LT ṛcva 'grass' // Gol ṛtsa; LT rkañ 'leg, marrow' // Gol ṛkañ.
\(^{204}\) LT ṛkañ 'leg' // Kha ṛkañ; LT ṛgad-po 'old man' // Kha ṛgad-po; LT ṛna 'drum' // Kha ṛna; LT ṛniñ-pa 'old' // Kha ṛniñ-pa; LT ṛta 'horse' // Kha ṛta; LT ṛdo 'stone' // Kha ṛdo.
\(^{205}\) LT ṛgad 'eagle' // Blo ṛgod; LT ṛna 'ear' // Blo ṛna; LT ṛlon-pa 'wet' // Blo ṛlon-pa; LT ṛmon-po 'sharp' // Blo ṛnom-po; LT ṛtul-po 'dull' // Blo ṛtul-wa; LT ṛmug- 'to bite' // Blo ṛmux; LT ṛkañ-pa 'leg' // Blo ṛkun; LT ṛta 'horse' // Blo ṛta; LT ṛgya-mcho 'sea' // Blo ṛgya-mṭo; LT ṛdo 'stone' // Blo ṛdo; LT ṛgog 'muddy water' // Blo ṛgjo-wa; LT ṛnag 'syphilis' // Blo ṛnax (sic).
\(^{206}\) LT ṛna 'ba 'ear' // Sz ṛna-wa; LT ṛdog-skus 'staircase' // Sz ṛdurkii; LT ṛcva 'grass' // Sz ṛtsa 'straw', but: ṛtsa 'grass'; LT ṛkañ-pa 'leg' // Sz ṛkunγa; LT ṛta 'horse' // Sz ṛtsa; LT ṛdo 'stone' // Sz ṛtsa; LT ṛta 'vein' // Sz ṛtsa.
\(^{207}\) LT ṛmugs-pa 'fog' // Prz ṛmyxaa; LT ṛcva 'grass' // Prz ṛua; LT ṛta 'horse' // Prz ṛua; LT ṛgand 'wedge' // Prz ṛguna; LT ṛgan-mo 'old woman, wife' // Prz ṛgana; LT ṛna 'ear' // Prz ṛna.
\(^{208}\) LT ṛkan 'leg' // RA ṛkha, ṛkha-ha; LT ṛkan 'palate' // RA ṛkan; LT brgya 'hundred' // Ra ṛgia-; LT ṛna-moñ 'camel' // RA ṛña-moñ; LT ṛta 'horse'
THE CONSONANTS IN PRERADICAL POSITION

\[s^{219}, \text{Ban} r^{211}, \text{Pan} r, s^{212}, \text{Tao} r, s \text{ and } s^{213}, \text{Chog} s \text{ and } s^{214}, \text{Rna} r, s \text{ and } \chi^{215}, \text{Sa} \bar{R} \text{ and } r,^{216} \text{BalA, BalV} r \text{ with vocalic prothesis}, \text{Bal} r, s \text{ and } h^{217}, \text{Pur} r, \tilde{r}, s \text{ and } s^{218}, \text{Lad} r \text{ and voiceless } r^{219}.\]

The main correspondence is \( r \). The \( s, \bar{s}, \tilde{s} \) etc. are rare. It is important to remark that e.g. \( rta 'horse' \) has \( r \) in Gol, Kha, Prz, Ra, Ban, Bal, PurL and Lad while \( s \) in Sz, RA, Pan, BalAV, Pur, LadL and \( \chi \) in RA. This means that the same word has two or even — in the case of RA — three variants in some dialects.

Monguor \( r \) and \( ar \) go back to Tibetan \( r \); \( s \) to \( s \) or \( \bar{s} \). The \( s \) can reflect an \( s \) or a \( \chi \) as shown above.

OT \( s \)--

a) \( s \)- before non palatalized radicals: LT \( sdaṅ- 'to be angry' \)

\[\text{RA} \ rta, \tilde{\text{ta}}, \tilde{\text{ta}}; \text{LT} \ rdo 'stone' // \text{RA} \ do; \text{LT} \ rma-\text{chu} 'Huang-ho' // \text{RA} \ \text{ma-50}; \text{LT} \ rjön 'fortress' // \text{RA} \ rdzon; \text{LT} \ rgun 'grapes' // \text{RA} \ \tilde{\text{g}}\text{in}; \text{LT} \ rgyn-\text{rgyān} 'drops' // \text{RA} \ \tilde{j}\text{ia}\text{n}-\text{stāh}; \text{LT} \ rmgyi-lam 'dream' // \text{RA} \ \tilde{\text{g}}\text{nī}-lam; \text{LT} \ rma-'ear' // \text{RA} \ \tilde{\text{g}}\text{na}; \text{LT} \ rlun 'wind' // \text{RA} \ \tilde{\text{g}}\text{un}; \text{LT} \ rmaṅs 'sterility' // \text{RA} \ \tilde{\text{mān}}, \text{rmaṅ}; \text{LT} \ blta 'thigh' // \text{RA} \ \tilde{\text{g}}\text{la}.\]

\[\text{RA} \ rta 'horse' // \text{Way} \ \tilde{\text{ta}}.\]

\[\text{RA} \ rta 'horse' // \text{Ban} \ rta.\]

\[\text{LT} \ rgi-\text{bu} 'pond' // \text{Pan} \ rdjung-wu; \text{LT} \ rgan-po 'old man' // \text{Pan} \ rgan-po; \text{LT} \ gm-\text{po}, \text{LT} \ rgyu-phul 'sorcery' // \text{Pan} \ rdjum-chul; \text{LT} \ rgun 'constantly' // \text{Pan} \ rgun; \text{LT} \ rta 'horse' // \text{Pan} \ sta.\]

\[\text{LT} \ rkān 'palate' // \text{Tao} \ \tilde{s}kō; \text{LT} \ rkhyān 'wild horse' // \text{Tao} \ \tilde{s}kōn; \text{LT} \ \text{rgyod-po} 'old man' // \text{Tao} \ \tilde{\text{g}}\text{öp}; \text{LT} \ \text{rgyal} 'to be victorious' // \text{Tao} \ \tilde{\text{g}}\text{jē}; \text{LT} \ \text{rgis 'lord'} // \text{Tao} \ \text{rchi}; \text{LT} \ \text{rges 'trace'} // \text{Tao} \ \tilde{s}\text{tō}; \text{LT} \ \text{rce 'top'} // \text{Tao} \ \text{rtsi}.\]

\[\text{LT} \ r- \text{before: } \text{g}, \text{n}, \text{j}, \text{m}, \text{n}, \text{d}, \text{n}, \text{b}, \text{m}, \text{j}; \text{g- before: } \text{k}, \text{t}, \text{c}, \text{m}.\]

\[\text{LT} \ \text{rgom-} 'mare' // \text{Bal} \ \text{rgoonma}; \text{LT} \ \text{rdō 'stone'} // \text{BalAV} \ \text{rdo}; \text{LT} \ \text{rgun 'grapes'} // \text{Bal} \ \text{rgun}, \text{BalV} \ \text{rgun}; \text{LT} \ \text{rgjøn 'pond'} // \text{Bal} \ \text{rdzing}; \text{LT} \ \text{rgyab 'back (wards)'} // \text{Bal} \ \text{rgyab}; \text{LT} \ \text{rma-} \text{mōn 'camel'} // \text{Bal} \ \text{\text{ś}nōg-ō}; \text{LT} \ \text{rma-'ear'} // \text{Bal} \ \text{sna}; \text{LT} \ \text{rta 'horse'} // \text{Bal} \ \text{hrta}, \text{BalA \ \text{stāh}, BalV} \ \text{\text{ś}tāh}, \text{Bal\text{L} \ \text{sta}; \text{LT} \ \text{\text{r}mig-pa 'horseshoe'} // \text{Bal} \ \text{hrnīkpa}; \text{LT} \ \text{\text{r}eva 'grass'} // \text{Bal} \ \text{hrts\text{w}a.}\]

\[\text{LT} \ \text{rgun 'grapes'} // \text{Pur} \ \text{\text{r}gūn}; \text{LT} \ \text{rdō-(ba) 'stone'} // \text{Pur \ r\text{đō}; \text{LT} \ \text{rgya-molo 'sea'} // \text{Pur} \ \text{rgyamto 'river(?)}; \text{LT} \ \text{\text{r}eqig-pa 'wall'} // \text{Pur} \ \text{\text{r}tsīkpa}; \text{LT} \ \text{rta 'horse'} // \text{Pur} \ \text{\text{ś}tā}; \text{LT} \ \text{\text{r}cē 'to dance'} // \text{Pur} \ \text{\text{ś}tē}; \text{LT} \ \text{rma-boñ 'camel'} // \text{Pur} \ \text{\text{ś}h\text{n}ā-boñ}; \text{LT} \ \text{rma-'ear'} // \text{Pur} \ \text{\text{ś}h\text{n}ā}; \text{LT} \ \text{\text{r}eqig 'to build'} // \text{Pur} \ \text{\text{ś}t\text{s}īk-}.\]

\[\text{LT} \ \text{rgun 'grapes'} // \text{Lad} \ \text{\text{r}gūn}; \text{LT} \ \text{rta 'horse'} // \text{Lad} \ \text{\text{r}tā}, \text{LadL \ \text{sta}; \text{LT} \ \text{\text{r}eva 'grass'} // \text{Lad} \ \text{\text{r}tsa}; \text{LT} \ \text{rdō 'stone'} // \text{Lad} \ \text{rdō}, \text{LT} \ \text{\text{r}dūn 'to beat'} // \text{Lad} \ \text{\text{r}dun-}.\]
to be angry' // Mgr svāṇa-;²²⁰ LT lag-skor 'hand-mill' // Mgr lasur;²²¹
b) ŝ- before palatalized radicals: LT skyabs-mgon 'a title' // Mgr šbāțāṇsuo;²²² LT bde-skyid 'happiness' // Mgr diešñžir 'happy';
c) s- only in the material of Schröder: LT stod 'the upper part' // Mgr sdo('[dod], sduod (VM).²²³

In the Tibetan archaic dialects we find the following: Dpa s²²⁴, Gol s, ŝ, r, ar,²²⁵ Prz s, χ, r,²²⁶ Sz s, χ, ŝ, r,²²⁷ Kha s, ŝ, z,²²⁸ Blo χ and other representations,²²⁹ RA s, χ, γ,²³⁰ Way s, χ,²³¹ Ban

²²⁰ 531—534, 538—541, 542, 547, 553, 554, 559—569, 573—580, 582, 583.
²²¹ 149, 180, 558.
²²² 601, 602, 649, 652—656, 659, 661.
²²³ 532, 624, 643 r- in second syllable (?): 609.
²²⁴ LT stag 'tiger' // Dpa stach.
²²⁵ LT ske 'neck' // Gol _scene, _xe; LT skad 'voice' // Gol _κa; LT skra 'hair' // Gol _stα; LT s nin 'heart' // Gol _ναν; LT sta-re 'axe' // Gol _ta-ri; LT sna 'nose' // Gol _na; LT sga 'saddle' // Gol _τα; LT stag 'tiger' // Gol _τα; LT smon-lam 'prayer' // Gol _rον-lam; LT sinon 'blue' // Gol _θον.
²²⁶ LT sna 'nose' // Prz xnaa; LT skra 'hair' // Prz xun; LT skyes-pa 'husband' // Prz xheñJosh; LT s nin 'heart' // Prz rhiñ; LT rta-sga 'horse-saddle' // Prz ptra (read: prapra).
²²⁷ LT sna 'nose' // Sz szna; LT s nin 'heart' // Sz sniang; LT skra 'hair' // Sz sztia; LT sman 'drug' // Sz szen; LT s nin 'heart' // Sz kning; LT snabs 'nucleus' // Sz shnap 'cold (illness)'; LT sdo- 'to sit' // Sz rdot.
²²⁸ LT skom 'thirst' // Kha sgo; LT sgo 'door' // Kha sgo; LT snoon-po 'blue' // Kha snoon-po; LT s nin 'heart' // Kha snyn; LT stag 'tiger' // Kha sna; LT sna 'nose' // Kha sna; LT sna 'hair' // Kha sgo; LT sman 'drug' // Kha sman; LT skra 'hair' // Kha stra; LT spoyod- 'to make' // Kha ʌvod; LT spreu 'monkey' // Kha _re-γ; LT smra- 'to say' // Kha ʌna; LT sgra 'voice' // Kha zdra, LT sbal-ba 'frog' // Kha zual-wa; LT shyar- 'to have fixed' // Kha zuar-.
²²⁹ LT skam 'dry' // Blo hkm; LT skra 'hair' // Blo hkras, LT skya 'gray' // Blo hckya; LT sgra 'voice' // Blo hgra; LT sman 'drug' // Blo _h-man; LT sna 'nose' // Blo hna; LT s nin 'heart' // Blo hnu; LT spoyod- 'to make' // Blo hpyot; LT spany-khu 'wolf' // Blo hjar-khu; LT sgo 'door' // Blojgo; LT spom- 'fat' // Blo upom; LT sbyin- 'to give' // Blo ubyan-; LT spab-ba 'remaining' // Blo 'pa-wa; LT sdo- 'to collect' // Blo 'du-.
²³⁰ LT skad 'voice, speech' // RA _ke; LT skra 'hair' // RA _ka; LT skyes-'to be born' // RA _ke-; LT snoon 'blue' // RA _ton; LT spany-khu 'wolf' // RA _xan-kis; LT s nin 'heart' // RA _xun; LT ston 'autumn' // RA _ton; LT sna 'nose' // RA _na; LT smon-lam 'prayer' // RA _mo-lam; LT sga 'saddle' // RA _ga.
²³¹ LT skabs-su 'in the defence of' // Way _kab; LT spany-khu 'wolf' // Way _xan-gu; LT s nin 'heart' // Way _xun.
THE CONSONANTS IN PRERADICAL POSITION

232, Pan s, r, Tao s, Chog s, z, Rna g, r, Sa s, z,
Bal s, z, r, Pur s, z, Lad s.

On this variegated picture I shall comment later (pp. 184—186),
here I would only point out that s and z are alternants before
voiceless and voiced radicals respectively.

The Monguor s (ʂ, ʂ) reflects a Tibetan s or ʂ and even in some
cases ɣi. It is interesting, that we find no r in Monguor.

OT l--

a) l--: LT lkog 'secrecy' // Mgr lak'gpa 'separate';
LT ša-lham 'boots of deer leather' // Mgr šiälanj;

b) r--: LT lба 'goitre' // Mgr rrна 'wound', perhaps 495.

In the archaic Tibetan dialects: Dpa l, Gol γ s, ʂ, r, Kha l,

232 LT spre'u 'monkey' // Ban ʂti; LT skyabs 'defence' // Ban ʂgiab.
233 LT skyön 'fault' // Pan schyong (value: stsön or rather stšon); LT skyu 'body' // Pan rku; LT sgyu-ma 'illusion' // Pan rjü-ma; LT sna 'nose' // Pan rna; LT sgyön 'having meditated' // rgom; LT sńar 'formerly' // Pan rnar.
234 LT skar-ma 'star' // Tao 以习近平; LT skra 'hair' // Tao šra; LT sgo 'door' // Tao sgo; LT sńon-po 'blue' // Tao šnumba; LT sdoñ-po 'trunk' // Tao šnumbu; LT snod 'vessel' // Tao snum.
236 s-- before k-, ʂ-, t-, n-, p-, m-, c-; z-- before g-, d-, b-.
237 ɣ-- before k-, ʂ-, m; r-- before g-, ʂ-, d-, b-; s-- before t-, c-; Φ-- before p-.

237 s-- before k-, ʂ-, t-, n-, p-, m-, c-; z-- before g-, d-, b-.
238 LT sman 'drug' // Bal sman; LT sńiñ 'heart' // Bal sning; LT ston 'autumn' // Bal ston; LT srab 'stirrup' // Bal trab; LT sgo 'door' // Bal zgo; LT šbugs 'bassoon' // Bal zbugpa; LT sbas- 'to forget' // Bal zbas-; LT sgam 'box' // rgam.
240 LT skar-ma 'star' // Lad skarma; LT skye- 'to give birth' // Lad skye-; LT šag 'tiger' // Lad stak; LT skol- 'to boil' // Lad skol.
257, 261, 288.
231 LT lčag 'iron' // Dpa tıach.
232 LT lčags 'iron' // Gol ʐčag, γčag; LT le 'tongue' // Gol ʐče; LT lña '5'
// Gol rña.
232 LT lña '6' // Kha lña; LT lcañ-ma 'willow' // Kha lčen-ma; LT lña-khu 'green' // Kha lčen-k'u; LT ldag- 'to lick' // Kha ldag-; LT ldam-mo 'spectacle' // Kha ldam-mo.
Blo χ and other representations\(^{245}\), Sz s, \(^{s246}\), Prz χ, \(^{r247}\), RA z, \(^{r248}\), Pan \(^{r249}\), Tao \(^{r250}\), Chog l and \(^{l251}\), Rna r, χ, s, Φ and \(^{l252}\), Sa \(^{l253}\), Bal h\(^{l254}\), Pur l\(^{l255}\), Lad \(^{l256}\). Before h- also the non-archaic dialects have preserved l- through metathesis (lh- > hl- > l).\(^{257}\)

The representations of lz- see on p. 131.

Monguor l-- and r-- are reflexes of Tibetan dialectal l and r.

Concluding this section on the oral preradicals I would note that neither in Monguor nor in the archaic Tibetan dialects can we find any difference between the representations of these preradicals in the first and the second syllable. In the non-archaic dialects all these preradicals are represented by zero, but in a few cases they are preserved in the second syllable if the first ends in vowel.

In such cases we find usually dialectal r in place of OT d-/-g-, r-- and s--; and dialectal b in place of OT b--. Sometimes there is a nasal in place of OT l--.\(^{258}\)

\(^{245}\) LT lcags 'iron' // Blo hceax; LT lce 'tongue' // Blo hce; LT ltas 'sign' // Blo hít; LT lto 'stomach' // Blo hto; LT lcān-ma 'willow' // Blo ṣćan-ma; LT ldoñ-ru 'a drug' // Blo ṣdoñ-ri; LT ldom 'spider' // Blo ndom (in ndom-tax 'cobweb').

\(^{246}\) LT lce 'tongue' // Sz sztiē; LT lbag 'whip' // Sz sztiak; LT lcags 'iron' // Sz stiak.

\(^{247}\) LT lcags-thabs 'iron-fireplace' // Prz xCBántáb; LT lce 'tongue' // Prz xiba; LT lh̀a '5' // Prz pha.

\(^{248}\) LT lce 'tongue' // RA ḡce; LT lcags 'iron' // RA ḡčag; LT lta- 'to see' // RA rta-; rta-; LT lcam 'stake' // RA ḡcam; LT lh̀a '5' // RA ḡna.

\(^{249}\) LT lta- 'to see' // Pan rta-; LT ltar 'similar' // Pan rtar.

\(^{250}\) LT lh̀a '5' // Tao rha; LT lta-bu 'similar' // Tao rta-bu; LT lkog 'secret' /Tao tko.

\(^{251}\) l-- before k-, g-, h-, c-, f-, t-, d-, p-, b--; t-- before h-.

\(^{252}\) r-- before g-, h-, f-, d-, b--; c-- before k-; g- before c-, t-; \(\Phi\)-- before p-, t-- before h-.

\(^{253}\) l-- before k-, c-, t-, p-, h-, f--before g-, h-, f-, d-, b-.

\(^{254}\) LT lcags 'iron' // Bal hčeq; LT lce 'tongue' // hčeq; LT lto 'stomach' // Bal hlwa; LT lta- 'to see' // hlta.

\(^{255}\) LT lce 'tongue' // Pur lce(h); LT lta- 'to see' // Pur lh̀a; LT lfo-ba 'stomach' // Pur lh̀a; l is like Welsh ll.

\(^{256}\) LT lce 'tongue' // Lad lh̀se; LT lcags 'iron' // Lad lh̀aks.

\(^{257}\) Cf. LT lh̀a 'god' // CT lhà; LT lh̀ag 'more' // CT lhak; LT lho 'south' // CT lhò, the denotation of this cluster is not however uniform, we find hl-,

lh-,

l- denotation for the same word in the same dialects by different authors.

\(^{258}\) Cf. LT sku-gdal 'to fall' // CTM k̀urdab; LT bču-dgu '9' // CT (p,36)

čgu; LT Sid-dge // CT Derge; LT rńo-bzo-pa 'shoe-maker' // CT ēnopṣ̀; LT šwa-bzo-pa 'hat maker' // CT šapṣ̀; LT kha-brdun gtn- 'to scold' // CT
3. Nasal consonants in preradical position

OT 'a--

a) \( \eta \) - before gutturals: LT 'khor-lo 'circle' // Mgr \( \eta k’uorlo \);\(^{259}\) LT dkyil-'khor 'manḍala' // LT šbžin’kor (Sch);

b) \( n \) - before primary or secondary dentals: LT 'du-khañ 'meeting-house' // Mgr nbusñ (M, SMI);\(^{260}\) LT bka’-’gyur 'Kanjur' // Mgr mwaññutür;\(^{261}\)

c) \( m \) - before labials: LT 'phul- 'to push' // Mgr mp'urala-;\(^{262}\) LT rdo'-bum 'heap of stones' // Mgr rënuomen(Sch, VMI).\(^{263}\)

In the archaic Tibetan dialects the situation is the following: Kha \( \eta \) before gutturals, \( n \) before dentals, \( m \) before labials,\(^{264}\) Sz \( n \) before dentals,\(^{265}\) Gol \( m \) also before dentals,\(^{266}\) Pan \( h \),\(^{267}\) Blo \( n \) and other representations,\(^{268}\) Tao \( n \) also before gutturals and labials, sometimes \( r \),\(^{269}\) in Rna and Sa \( n \) before every radical, in An \( n \) before

\( k’abduñ tan-; \) LT bū-bū ‘14’ // CT čupši; LT bū-bun ‘17’ // CT čudū; LT dgu-bū ‘90’ // CT gupču; LT da-la ‘now’ // CTB tan-da; LhS t’a-nغو; LT phyog-ide ‘key’ // CT tchang-de (Bacot, Grammaire, p. 81); LT ‘bras-łon ‘Sikkim’ // LhS dz’en,dz’u (p. 185); the same can be observed in the archaic dialects: LT rta-sga ‘saddle’ // Sz sztarga; Prz pr(a)pra; LT sa-stan ‘mat’ // Sz sztwhn; LT khri-stan ‘throne’ // Pan chir-tan; LT kha-sdīq ‘oral sin’ // Ban c’urdiy; LT ji-skad ‘so’ // Pan jir-kad; LT ma-dpe ‘copy’ // LadJ ma-spe Lehui ma-rpe; LT čhag-sgo ‘stripe’ // CT ē’argo, cf. Miller, Morphologically, pp. 466–460, Notes, pp. 284–291; Ulving, Umlaut, pp. 75–80.

\(^{259}\) 410, 416, 417
\(^{260}\) 367, 368, 364, 366, 367, 373, 375, 377, 397, 400.
\(^{261}\) 193, 264, 302, 534, 568, 616, 619, 634.
\(^{262}\) 311, 312, 314, 328, 330, 332.
\(^{263}\) 567. In a few, cases we find \( m \)- before dentals in the material of Schröder:
\(^{264}\) 317, 320, 612, cf. also 339.
\(^{266}\) LT ‘di ‘here’ // Sz endi.
\(^{267}\) LT ‘brug ‘lightning’ // Gol ntrug; LT ‘bri ‘yak’ // Gol ntrīe.
\(^{268}\) LT ‘phags-pa ‘exalted’ // Pan kp’ak-va; LT ‘byaług ‘clean’ // Pan hjyang, ayang.
\(^{269}\) LT ‘dra- ‘to be similar’ // Blo ndra-; LT ‘gul- ‘to move’ // Blo ngul-; LT ‘dom ‘spider’ // Blo ndom; LT ‘du- ‘to gather’ // Blo ndu-; LT ‘bu ‘insect’ // Blo nbu, but we find also other representations sporadically.
\(^{269}\) LT ‘khyags ‘cold, frost’ // Tao ñ’ei; LT ‘gro- ‘to go’ // Tao ndro-; LT ‘thag ‘to bind’ // Tao nthak-; LT ‘di ‘this’ // Tao ndi; LT ‘bag ‘mask’ // Tao nda; LT ‘brun ‘wild yak’ // Tao nd’ron.
Blo χ and other representations\textsuperscript{245}, Sz ș, \textsuperscript{246} Prz χ, \textsuperscript{247} RA χ, \textsuperscript{248} Pan r, \textsuperscript{249} Tao r\textsuperscript{250}, Chog l and l, \textsuperscript{251} Rna r, χ, s, Φ and l,\textsuperscript{252} Sa l, l,\textsuperscript{253} Bal h\textsuperscript{254}, Pur l\textsuperscript{255}, Lad l\textsuperscript{256}. Before h- also the non-archaic dialects have preserved \textsuperscript{l} through metathesis (lh- \textgreater h- \textgreater l).\textsuperscript{257}

The representations of l- see on p. 131.

Mongour l- and r- are reflexes of Tibetan dialectal \textsuperscript{l} and r.

Concluding this section on the oral preradicals I would note that neither in Mongour nor in the archaic Tibetan dialects can we find any difference between the representations of these preradicals in the first and the second syllable. In the non-archaic dialects all these preradicals are represented by zero, but in a few cases they are preserved in the second syllable if the first ends in vowel. In such cases we find usually dialectal r in place of OT d-/g-, r- and s-; and dialectal b in place of OT b-. Sometimes there is a nasal in place of OT l-.\textsuperscript{258}

\textsuperscript{245} LT lęogs 'iron' // Blo hеаз; LT lęe 'tongue' // Blo hее; LT lтas 'sign' // Blo hлй; LT lто 'stomach' // Blo hто; LT lęй-h-mа 'willow' // Blo ыeй-mа; LT ldon-ru 'a drug' // Blo ыдон-рi; LT lдом 'spider' // Blo ndом (in ndом-tаz 'cоhweb').

\textsuperscript{246} LT lęe 'tongue' // Sz stiек; LT lęag 'whip' // Sz stиаk; LT lęags 'iron' // Sz stиaк.

\textsuperscript{247} LT lęags-thabs 'iron-fireplace' // Prz шиаktaab; LT lęe 'tongue' // Prz шиа; LT lша '5' // Prz pпа.

\textsuperscript{248} LT lęe 'tongue' // RA хе; LT lęags 'iron' // RA хeаг; LT lта- 'to see' // RA rта-, rтa-; LT leam 'stake' // RA хeam; LT lна '5' // RA rна.

\textsuperscript{249} LT lтa- 'to see' // Pan rта-; LT lтar 'similar' // Pan rтар.

\textsuperscript{250} LT lша '5' // Tao rшла; LT lта-bu 'similar' // Tao rта-bu; LT lкоg 'secret' // Tao rко.

251 l- before k-, g-, ș-, ț-, t-, d-, p-, b%; l- before h-.

252 r- before g-, ș-, ț-, d-, b%; ș- before k-; ș- before ć, t-, ă- before p-, ț- before h-.

253 l- before k-, ș-, t-, p-, h-, ț- before g-, ș-, ț-, d-, b-.

\textsuperscript{254} LT lęags 'iron' // Bal хлах; LT lęe 'tongue' // хле; LT lто 'stomach' // Bal hitwa; LT lта- 'to see' // hita.

\textsuperscript{255} LT lęe 'tongue' // Pur lлe(h); LT лта- 'to see' // Pur lлtha; LT lто-bа 'stomach' // Pur lтоа, l is like Welsh ll.

\textsuperscript{256} LT lęe 'tongue' // Lad lše; LT lęags 'iron' // Lad lšaks.

\textsuperscript{257} Cf. LT lта 'god' // CT lха; LT lбаг 'more' // CT lбак, LT lко 'south' // CT lko, the denotation of this cluster is not however uniform, we find hl-, hl-, l- denotation for the same word in the same dialects by different authors.

\textsuperscript{258} Cf. LT sku-gdag 'to fall' // CTM kǔrдab; LT бcu-dгу '9' // CT (p.36) ʤurgu; LT Sдe-dge // CT Derge; LT рио-bзо-pа 'shoe-maker' // CT sорэо; LT зуa-bзо-pа 'hat maker' // CT șapэо; LT kха-brдun гтоh 'to scold' // CT
2. Nasal consonants in preradical position

OT 'a--

a) ṇ- before gutturals: LT 'khor-lo 'circle' // Mgr ṇk'worlo; 259 LT ḏqyil-'khor 'manḍala' // LT šőţîŋk'wor (Sch);

b) n- before primary or secondary dentals: LT 'du-khaŋ 'meeting-house' // Mgr nʊsʊŋ (M, SMI); 260 LT bka'-gyur 'Kanjur' // Mgr bvaṇāvṛtṝ;

c) m- before labials: LT 'phul- 'to push' // Mgr mpu'rula-; 262 LT rdo-bum 'heap of stones' // Mgr rṇuomben (Sch, VMI). 263

In the archaic Tibetan dialects the situation is the following:
Kha ṇ before gutturals, n before dentals, 264 Sz n before dentals, 265 Gol m also before dentals, 266 Pan h, 267 Blo n and other representations, 268 Tao n also before gutturals and labials, sometimes r, 269 in Rna and Sa n before every radical, in An n before

Pāduṇ taŋ; LT bчув-bži '14' // CT čupši; LT bчув-bdun '17' // CT čubdų; LT ḏqь-bçu '90' // CT gupçu; LT da-lta 'now' // CTB tan-da; Lḥṣ t-a-na; LT phug-ldê 'key' // CT tchang-de (Bacot, Grammaire, p. 81); LT 'bras-lṣon 'Sikkim' // Lḥṣ dzęn,dzę (p. 185); the same can be observed in the archaic dialects: LT rta-sgā 'saddle' // Sz sztarga; Prz pr(a)pra; LT sa-stan 'mat' // Sa sartṣen; LT khri-stan 'throne' // Pan chir-tan; LT kha-sdg 'oral sin' // Ban kardiy; LT ji-skad 'so' // Pan jir-kad; LT ma-dpe 'copy' // Ladj ma-spe

Pāduṇ taŋ; LT bчув-bži '14' // CT čupši; LT bчув-bdun '17' // CT čubdų; LT ḏqь-bçu '90' // CT gupçu; LT da-lta 'now' // CTB tan-da; Lḥṣ t-a-na; LT phug-ldê 'key' // CT tchang-de (Bacot, Grammaire, p. 81); LT 'bras-lṣon 'Sikkim' // Lḥṣ dzęn,dzę (p. 185); the same can be observed in the archaic dialects: LT rta-sgā 'saddle' // Sz sztarga; Prz pr(a)pra; LT sa-stan 'mat' // Sa sartṣen; LT khri-stan 'throne' // Pan chir-tan; LT kha-sdg 'oral sin' // Ban kardiy; LT ji-skad 'so' // Pan jir-kad; LT ma-dpe 'copy' // Ladj ma-spe

In addition, as stated previously, in the archaic dialects: LT ḏqь-bçu '90' // CT gupçu; LT da-lta 'now' // CTB tan-da; Lḥṣ t-a-na; LT phug-ldê 'key' // CT tchang-de (Bacot, Grammaire, p. 81); LT 'bras-lṣon 'Sikkim' // Lḥṣ dzęn,dzę (p. 185); the same can be observed in the archaic dialects: LT rta-sgā 'saddle' // Sz sztarga; Prz pr(a)pra; LT sa-stan 'mat' // Sa sartṣen; LT khri-stan 'throne' // Pan chir-tan; LT kha-sdg 'oral sin' // Ban kardiy; LT ji-skad 'so' // Pan jir-kad; LT ma-dpe 'copy' // Ladj ma-spe

In a few, cases we find m- before dentals in the material of Schröder:

LT 'khol- 'to boil' // Kha ŋk'ol'; LT 'gul- 'to shake' // Kha ŋgul-; LT 'ḥag- 'to bind' // Kha ṇt'ag-; LT 'dod- 'to wish' // Kha ndod-; LT 'jin- 'to seize' // Kha ndzen-; LT 'bab- 'to fall' // Kha mbab-.

LT 'di 'here' // Sz endi.

LT 'bruŋ 'lightning' // Göl nṝdṛug; LT 'bri 'yak' // Göl ṇdṛe.

ILT 'phags-pa 'exalted' // Pan ḫp'ak-wa; LT 'byaṅ 'clean' // Pan ḫyang, oyang.

ILT 'dra- 'to be similar' // Blo ndra-; LT 'gul- 'to move' // Blo ngul-; LT 'dom- 'spider' // Blo ndom; LT 'du- 'to gather' // Blo ndu-; LT 'bu 'insect' // Blo nbu, but we find also other representations sporadically.

ILT 'khyag 'cold, frost' // Tao ḫi; LT 'gro- 'to go' // Tao ndro-; LT 'ṭag 'to bind' // Tao nṭak-; LT 'di 'this' // Tao ndi-; LT 'bag 'mask' // Tao nbő; LT 'brōn 'wild yak' // Tao ndʒroṅ.
dentals, \( m \) before labials, in Ta, KangI—II, DerM \( n \) before every radical,\(^{270}\) DerW and Cham \( \eta \) before gutturals, \( n \) before dentals, \( m \) before labials and apical \( \eta \) before apicales, but zero before aspirated radicles.

OT \( m \) --

a) \( \eta \)- before gutturals: LT \textit{mgo-log} 'name of a tribe' // Mgr \( \eta \textit{auliq} \); LT \textit{skyabs-mgon} 'title' // Mgr \( \dot{s}\dot{\textbf{o}}\textit{ziar}\textbf{\check{\text{n}}} \).

b) \( n \)- before primary and secondary dentals: LT \textit{mdog} 'colour' // Mgr \( \textit{ndog} \); LT \textit{srab-mdag} 'reins' // Mgr \( \textit{aranza}.\(^{271}\)

In Kha we find only \( m \) before every radical,\(^{272}\) in Sz \( m \) and \( n,\(^{273}\) in Dpa only \( m,\(^{274}\) in Gol only \( m,\(^{275}\) in Prz \( m \) and \( n,\(^{276}\) in Pan \( m,\(^{277}\) in Tao as a rule \( m \), but also \( n,\(^{278}\) in Rna before gutturals zero, in other positions \( m \), in Sa only \( m \) in every position. Blo has \( m, n \) and other representations,\(^{279}\) in KangI—II we find \( m, \) in DerM \( n,\(^{280}\) in DerW and Cham \( \eta \) before gutturals, \( n \) before dentals, apical \( \eta \) before apical, but zero before aspirated.

\(^{270}\) LT '\textit{khyags} 'cold' // DerM \( \textit{nchak} \); LT 'ga 'some' // KangI—II \( \textit{ngd}\), DerM \( \textit{ngal} \); LT 'gro- 'to go' // KangI—II, DerM \( \textit{ndgro} \); LT 'chat-' 'to agree' // DerM \( \textit{nchom}; \) LT 'jam- 'soft' // DerM \( \textit{ndzampo} \); LT 'thag- 'to bind' // KangI—II \( \textit{nchak}; \) DerM \( \textit{mkopa} \); LT '\textit{khyug} 'flash' // An n'tehou; LT 'ja 'rainbow', // Ta \( \textit{ndiu}.\)

\(^{271}\) Initial position: 369, 372, 398, 403—406, word-middle position: 236, 260, 450, 614. The \( m \)- is preserved in the word \textit{Ambdo}, \textit{Xampdo}.

\(^{272}\) LT \( \textit{mgo} 'head' // Kha \( \textit{mgo}; \) LT \( \textit{mkhar} 'town' // Kha \( \textit{mk}ar; \) LT \( \textit{mgro} 'feast' // Kha \( \textit{mdon}; \) LT \( \textit{mchin-pa 'liver' // Kha \( \textit{مه'ن-پا}; \) LT \( \textit{mda} 'arrow' // Kha \( \textit{mda}.\)

\(^{273}\) LT \( \textit{mjog-gu 'finger'} // Sz \( \textit{mzugu}; \) LT \( \textit{myi-mdog} 'head' // Sz \( \textit{mningo}.\)

\(^{274}\) LT \( \textit{mjo 'yak'} // Dpa \( \textit{mdso}; \) LT \( \textit{mda} 'arrow' // Dpa \( \textit{mda}.\)

\(^{275}\) LT \( \textit{mda} 'arrow' // Gol \( \textit{mda}; \) LT \( \textit{mdu\check{n} 'spear' // Gol \( \textit{mdon}; \) LT \( \textit{mjog-gu 'finger' // Gol \( \textit{mdzo-gu}; \) LT \( \textit{mcho 'sea'} // Gol (p. 155) \textit{m\check{g}o-o}.\)

\(^{276}\) LT \( \textit{mjo 'yak'} // Prz \( \textit{m\check{\text{c}}}\check{\text{c}}; \) LT \( \textit{mjog-gu 'finger' // Prz \( \textit{m\check{\text{z}}ytr\dot{\text{e}}.\)

\(^{277}\) LT \( \textit{mtha\check{\text{y}}-yas 'endless' // Pan \( \textit{mta-ye}.\)

\(^{278}\) LT \( \textit{mdu\check{n} 'spear' // Tao \( \textit{mdon}; \) LT \( \textit{mdo 'valley' // Tao \( \textit{mdu}; \) LT \( \textit{mgo 'head' // Tao \( \textit{mgo}; \) but LT \( \textit{mgor 'feast' // Tao \( \textit{ndron}.\)

\(^{279}\) LT \( \textit{mcho 'lake' // Blo \( \textit{mszo}; \) LT \( \textit{mda} 'arrow' // Blo \( \textit{mda}; \) LT \( \textit{mdog 'colour' // Blo \( \textit{mdox}; \) LT \( \textit{mtha\check{\text{y}} 'end' // Blo \( \textit{m\check{h}}\check{\text{a}}; \) LT \( \textit{mkhar 'town' // Blo \( \textit{kh\check{h}}\check{\text{ar.}}\)

\(^{280}\) LT \( \textit{mgo 'head' // DerM \( \textit{ngo}; \) LT \( \textit{mje 'leprous' // KangI—II \( \textit{mdze}, \) DerM \( \textit{ndze}; \) LT \( \textit{mjo 'yak' // KangI\textit{II mdzo}, \) DerM \( \textit{ndzo}.\)
The two nasal preradicals are preserved as *n* and *m* in the second syllable also in the non-archaic dialects.\(^{281}\)

As can be seen OT ’*a*-- and *m*-- have converged in Monguor as in many Tibetan dialects. In the OT dialect reflected by LT this process had already begun. This is evident from the fact that we frequently find ’*a*-- and *m*-- interchanging in the same word and we find before labials only ’*a*--. In some other archaic Tibetan dialects, on the other hand, *m*-- had not yet been assimilated. We cannot tell whether, and, if so, in which cases does the assimilation of the nasal preradicals to the radical, reflect a Tibetan feature.

**THE CONSONANTS IN FINAL POSITION**

1. **Oral consonants in final position**

   OT -\(b\)

   a) is represented by -\(b\) and its variant -\(w\) in every position: LT chob 'water' // Mgr \(ts'\)iab, \(ts'\)iaw (Sch),\(^{282}\) LT lab-ce 'heap of stones' // Mgr laseg (M), lawnze (Sch);\(^{283}\)

   b) zero in word-final position: LT ri-rab 'Sumeru' // Mgr rira,\(^{284}\) and before nasals in intersyllabic position: LT srab-mdarı 'reins' // Mgr aranda;\(^{285}\)

   c) -r: LT thob- 'to obtain' // Mgr t'orla-; LT nub-za 'supper' // Mgr nusaha.\(^{286}\)

In the Tibetan dialects we find usually -\(b\)^{287} which is denoted

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\(^{281}\) LT cha-yog 'confidence' // CT č'anjo; LT 'di-dra 'such' // CT diŋ\(t\)re;

LT rdo-mchon 'colour made of stone' // CT domts'ö-; LT dud-gro 'animal' //
CT dün\(d\)ru; LT rjas-mdel 'ammunition' // CT dzende; LT mjal-phrad 'meeting'
// CT jen\(t\)re; LT rgyu-mchon 'cause' // CT j'um-ts'ö; LT bka'-'jin 'receipt' //
CT kandzin; LT bka'-gyur 'Kanjur' // CTR Kanj'ur; LT dpal-byor 'progress'
// CT panj'or.

\(^{282}\) 110, 131, 691, 702 in two cases -o is recorded: 118, 317.

\(^{283}\) 36, 381 in one case -f is recorded: 607.

\(^{284}\) 345.\(^{285}\) 13, 381, 650.

\(^{286}\) In one case -o: 486.

\(^{287}\) Cf. Roerich, Le parler, p. 19: "en position finale, la labiale sonore \(b\) a
la tendance à passer, en amdowa, à labiale sourde \(p\) comme dans les dialectes du Tibet Central", Read writes: "\(b\) final hardly distinguishable from
\(ph\)" (Balti Grammar, p. 1).
mostly by -b or -p. Sometimes we find also zero and spirant. Mongor reflects a tendency of spirantization and perhaps with this is connected the representation with -r.

OT -g

a) -a only after primary or secondary i and e: LT mgog-log 'a tribe' // Mgr gaulis; LT sdeg- 'to insult' // Mgr sinjeolie,

b) -g after primary or secondary a and o: LT khoq 'cavity' // Mgr k'uoq; LT lag-za 'lame hand' // Mgr lagqaa;

c) zero only before postfinal --s in some cases: LT *sag-pa 'joker' // Mgr siq; in word-middle position also before s-- of the second syllable: LT lag-skor 'handmill' // Mgr lasour.

258 LT 'bab- 'to fall' // Dpa bap-; LT lab-lob 'folk tale' // Dpa lap-top; LT rlabs 'wave' // Dpa rlap; LT phebs- 'to come' // Dpa hep; LT rygab 'back' // Gol rjup; LT thab-ka 'fireplace' // Gol t'ap-ka; LT nub 'West' // Gol nub; LT bslab 'having taught' // Kha vslab; LT 'bab- 'to fall' // Kha mlab; LT thabs 'opportunity' // Kha t'ab; LT tib-pul 'tea-pot' // Kha teb-rel; LT nub 'West' // Blo nub; LT rygab 'back' // Blo gyaq; LT thob- 'to get' // Blo thob-; LT gseb 'stallion' // Sz hrszep; LT sbrab 'stirrup' // Sz szap; LT thab-ka 'fireplace' // Sz tabka;

259 LT lags-thab 'iron fireplace' // Frz chakta; LT gokhreb 'helmet' // RA ko-t'ap, -ê'ap; LT 'chib- 'to ride' // RA ê'ib-, ê'ip; LT thob- 'to get' // RA t'ab-, t'ub-, also t'ix-; LT slab-dpon 'teacher' // Pan lob-huon; LT sakyha thub-pa 'Sakyamuni' // Pan Shakha t'upa; LT rygab 'back' // Tao rj'ob; LT sblob-pa 'teaching' // Tao slob; LT chibs 'horse' // Tao chip; LT thab 'fireplace' // Tao thap; LT chab 'representing something' // Tao tshap; LT nub 'West' // Bal nubkha; LT sbrab 'stirrup' // Bal sbrab; LT thob 'to get' // Bal thob; LT khab 'needle' // Bal khab; LT 'bab- 'to fall' // Bal bab-; LT sbrab 'stirrup' // Pur strap; LT khab 'needle' // Pur khab; LT nub 'West' // Ld nup; LT nub 'West' // CTM, LhM nub; LT sbrab 'stirrup' // CT t'ap; LT thob- 'to get' // CT t'op-; LT khab 'needle' // CT k'ap; LT bab- 'to fall' // CTJ bab-.

259 LT nub-ma 'West, evening' // Sz njumo, nödmo.

260 LT thub 'power' // RA t'ix.


262 -u- is represented by -o- or -a- before -q.


264 26, 46, 139, 214, 258, 288, 360, 489, 589, 590, 591, 644, 648, 694, irregular are: 375, 644, in one case (443) we have a variant with -r.

265 314, 655. 266 558, 609, 672 (before nasal), irregular are: 242, 552.
In the Tibetan dialects we find the following: Dpa -γ or -χ,297 Gol -κ, -γ, -γ,298 Kha -γ,299 Blo -χ, -γ, zero,300 Sz -κ, -χ,301 Prz -κ,302 RA -γ, -γ, zero,303 Ban -γ,304 Way -γ,305 Pan -κ,306 In Tao, besides the general -r, we find also -γ, -κ, -η and zero,307 Bal has -κ,308 Pur -κ,309 Lad -κ,310 CT -γ, -κ and rarely zero.311

Generally we find an alternation of a stop and spirant, which latter has a tendency to disappear. This tendency is stronger

297 LT bag-ma 'bride' // Dpa wach-ma; LT thag-pa 'rope' // Dpa tchach-wa; LT g-yag 'yak' // Dpa chyach; LT phyogs 'side' // Dpa pchoch; LT grogs 'friend' // Dpa roch; LT drug '6' // Dpa druch; LT brag 'rock' // Dpa brach; LT slog 'to cause to go back' // Dpa hluch-; LT bdags 'iron' // Dpa ltjach.
298 OT myig 'eye' // Gol yik; LT stag 'tiger' // Gol tag; LT drug '6' // Gol drek; LT lug 'sheep' // Gol lug; LT 'brug 'lightning' // Gol wdrug; LT g-yag 'yak' // Gol yay.
299 LT zag 'day' // Kha zag; LT 'ug-pa 'owl' // Kha yug-pa; LT khrag 'blood' // Kha t'ag.
300 LT 'brug 'lightning' // Blo brux; LT mdog 'colour' // Blo adox; LT mig 'eye' // Blo miz; LT geq '1' // Blo heiq; LT drug '9' // Blo dru.
301 LT mig 'eye' // Sz mukk, mek; LT lag-pa 'hand' // Sz lahoa; LT bdags 'iron' // Sz szik; LT lug 'sheep' // Sz lug; LT sgu 'louse' // Sz sikk; LT sggop-pa 'onion' // Sz kohoa.
302 LT thog 'lightning' // Prz tok'; LT lug 'sheep' // Prz loh'; LT zog, sbog 'cattle' // Prz cok'; LT sggop-pa 'furcoat' // Prz puóxa.
303 LT g-yag 'yak' // RA γay; LT brag 'rock' // RA t'ay, t'ag; LT sbra-nag 'Banag' // RA ba-nay; OT myig 'eye' // RA t'ik, t'ik, yik, t'ik, yik; LT sgu 'instrument for boring' // RA bit; LT *pugs-mo 'knee' // RA wóx-mo.
304 LT dbon-méthog 'treasure' // Ban zkon-e'y; LT kha-stig 'oral sin' // Ban k'ardiy; LT mgo-nag 'black head' // Ban go-nay.
305 LT phug-ron 'pigeon' // Way hug-ram.
306 LT 'jog 'have placed' // Pan jok; LT skrag 'have frightened' // Pan drak; LT dbag 'forbidden' // Pan kuak; LT khrag 'blood' // Pan chak.
307 LT nhog-ma 'mane' // Tao t'ôk-xia; LT dag-pa 'pure' // Tao takpa; LT thag 'to smash' // Tao t'hak'; LT kug 'cross' // Tao kur; LT gdugs 'parasol' // Tao tur; LT phug-pa 'cave' // Tao phoerpia; LT thog 'roof' // Tao thop (t'hop-pa); LT glags 'opportunity' // Tao rlo; LT brag 'rock' // Tao t'é; LT geq 'leopard' // Tao rlo; LT dbag-pa 'lord' // Tao rlapa; LT lag-pa 'hand' // Tao lapa; LT dmar 'soldier' // Tao rma.
308 LT nag-po 'black' // Bal nakpo; LT mig 'eye' // Bal mik; LT drug '9' // Bal truk.
310 LT nag-po 'black' // Lad nak-po; LT mig 'eye' // Lad mik; LT drug '9' // Lad duk.
311 LT nag 'black' // CTM, LhM nág-po; LT mig 'eye' // CTM, LhM mig, LT drug '9' // CTM tág, LhM tshug.
before postfinal -s. The way of disappearance is well shown by LT kag // Mgr guaq, LT kag-gtor // Mgr guaxvör. Monguor -q is present only in words with back vowels and is a Mongol feature. It is not impossible that in such cases the spirantization is more advanced.

OT -l

a) -l in the material of Schröder: LT šel 'glass' // Mgr šiel (VMI);312
LT gsol-kha 'prayer' // Mgr sölk'ā (Soh);313
b) -r in the material of Mostaert: LT šel 'glass' // Mgr šier (M);314
LT gsol-kha 'prayer' // Mgr sörk'ā (M);315
c) zero, generally with secondary lengthening of the preceding vowel: LT skal 'portion' // Mgr saṇ̃;316 LT khal-rtä 'pack-animal' // Mgr k'ārña,317 length is rarely unmarked at the end of a word,318 the absence of length is more frequent in word-middle position.319

In the archaic Tibetan dialects we find: Dpa -l, zero and in one case -s,320 Gol zero,321 Kha -l,322 Blo -l,323 Sz zero,324 Prz zero,325 RA - and zero,326 Tao -l, -r and zero, rarely -n,327 Pan -l and

312 191, 558, 616. 313 136, 450.
314 331, 416, 674, in one word Schröder has also -r: 787 (cf. note 102 on p.105).
315 129, 136, 388.
316 19, 146, 373, 441, 645, 654, 783, 785. 317 345, 532.
318 146, 329, 645, 739, cf. also the chapter on the vowels.
319 19, 12, 501, 532, 657, cf. also the chapter on the vowels.
320 LT gal 'important' // Dpa gal; LT til 'sesame' // Dpa til; LT dpal 'glory' // Dpa chwal; LT yul 'country' // Dpa yül, yā (p. 200); LT chil 'fat' // Dpa chis (This can be interpreted as ts'i).
321 LT dṇul 'silver' // Gol rṇā; LT drel 'mule' // Gol ṭri; LT sbrul 'snake' // Gol erwū (< *gbul).
322 LT bat 'wool' // Kha wal; LT chil 'fat' // Kha t'sel; LT sbal-pa 'frog' // Kha zuwal-wa.
323 LT ral-ba 'pigtail, hair' // Blo ral-wa; LT rkañ-mthil 'sole' // Blo hkañ-thil; LT šel 'glass' // Blo çel; LT til 'sesame' // Blo til.
324 LT mkñal-ma 'kidney' // Sz kima; LT bal 'wool' // Sz oa, LT *gbul 'snake' // Sz erpi; LT dṇul 'silver' // Sz gnū; LT nāl- 'to lie' // Sz ngyi-a.
325 LT nāl- 'to lie' // Prz nār.
326 LT dkyiIL 'middle' // RA ṭk'i; LT kha-bdal 'exercise' // RA k'abdā; LT chil 'fat' // RA tsi; LT dṇul 'silver' // RA rṇū; LT dṇul 'poverty' // RA yōl'; LT drel 'mule' // RA ṭri; LT Bal 'Nepal' // RA wal, vel'; LT sbrul 'snake' // RA rū.
327 LT dkyil 'middle' // Tao ḍk'il; LT gral 'row' // Tao gröl; LT dṇul 'silver' // Tao rṇoel; LT 'gul- 'to move' // Tao kür'; LT nāl- 'to be tired' // Tao kür'; LT sbal-pa 'frog' // Tao sponpa; LT rgyal- 'to be victorious' // Tao rje-; LT mthil basis, sole' // Tao thi; LT scol- 'to give' // Tao stšoc-.
zero, Bal -l, Pur -l, Lad -l. In CT we have zero. In Gol, Sz, CT and sometimes in RA and Tao, the palatalization of the preceding vowel, in Gol, RA and CT also lengthening are noted.

The final MMO -l has various representations in the various Mongguo dialects. The -r of Mostaert is a nonrolled, one-tap -r. This has developed under the influence of a palatalized Tibetan -l (cf. RA). The zero and the length of the preceding vowel is of Tibetan origin.

OT -d

a) -d which is in free variation with -r: LT skad 'voice' // Mgr sqad, sqar; LT rgod-ma 'mare' // Mgr rauo'ma, rauorma, in some cases only one variant is noted, Schröder has mostly -d, Mostaert -r.

b) -s only before particle -pa: LT dad-pa 'faith' // Mgr nasba;
c) zero as secondary development in word-middle position: LT skad-cha 'discourse' // Mgr sge-dištä (< sge-dištä). The alternation can be observed also in some archaic Tibetan.

-329 207 329 LT jam-dpal 'name of a god' // Ban jam-hual; LT sgral- 'to cut' // Pan jat-; LT rten-brel 'cause-effect' // Pan ten-brel; LT rgyal-po 'king' // Pan yaro; LT rgyal- 'to be victorious' // Pan yal-.
-330 209 330 797 207 330 LT drul 'silver' // Bal khmuł; LT *gbul 'snake' // Bal gbul; LT rgyal- 'to be victorious' // Bal rgyal-.
-331 207 331 797 207 331 LT sbrul 'snake' // Pur smul; LT sbrul 'snake' // Pur zbrul; LT skol- 'to boil' // Pur skol-; LT rgyal- 'to be victorious' // Pur rgyal-.

The alternation can be observed also in some archaic Tibetan.

-332 207 San Ch'uan—Min-ho: -l, -l', -r, -r', Wu-yang-pu—Hu-chu: -l, -l', Schröder: -l, Narin guor non rolled, one-tap -r. For further details and the discussion of the Mongguo finals -r, -l, -d see my paper: On Some Finals etc.

-333 209 333 797 209 333 207 333 797 207 333 148, 352 (VMI), 362, 395, 480, 522, 524, 525, 597, 651, 692, 758 in one case we have -rd-: 29, in one case an alternation -r- ~ -g-: 311.

-334 207 335 42, 405.
dialects: Dpa -l and -r,340 RA -l, -r and zero,341 Ban -l, -d and zero,342 Sz -r, -t, -z and zero,343 Tao -r, -l and -d, rarely also nasal.344 In Gol,345 Kha, Blo, Prz and Pan346 there is only -l or -d recorded (-v). In Bal,347 Pur348 and Lad349 there is only -t, in CT zero.350

The palatalization of the preceding vowel can be observed in Dpa, Tao and CT. Disappearance is more frequent in word-middle position.

340 LT nad 'illness' // Dpa nāl; LT 'od 'light' // Dpa ől; LT thud 'sweets' // Dpa tišt; LT bod 'Tibet' // Dpa wöt; LT dud-pa 'smoke' // Dpa düt-pa.
341 LT khyed 'you' // RA k'ie; LT rgod 'eagle' // RA goł; LT rgod-ma 'mare' // RA goł-ma; LT bod 'Tibet' // RA wọf; LT khyed-cho 'you (plur.)' // RA č'ọ-dō; LT mchod- 'to offer', // RA č'ol-, č'or; LT skad-čha 'talk' // RA č'ka-č'a; LT bud-med 'girl', woman // RA wirmel (< bu-mdam); LT thod-l'éq 'headdress' // RA t'or-čoy (here the -r represents l- and not -d, the word is perhaps connected with Mo. toyurčay 'id.').
342 LT khyed-čarons 'you (plur.)' // Ban k'ie-nam; LT bar-čād 'calamity' // Ban war-č'eł; LT yid 'soul' // Ban jī; LT bsad 'killed' // Ban şed.
343 LT thod-pa 'forehead' // Sz topa, topa; LT ro-stod 'back' // Sz rosztot; LT klad-pa 'marrow' // Sz alapa; LT nad-pa 'illness' // Sz narpa; LT sd-ma 'broom' // Sz dudma; LT rgod-ma 'mare' // Sz gozma; LT med 'not' // Sz met.
344 LT khyod 'you' // Tao khör; LT rgod-po 'old man' // Tao rgorpo; LT čād-pa 'punishment' // Tao chōpa (read: čhōpa); LT lṭad-mo 'spectacles' // Tao rtam; LT nad 'illness' // Tao nā; LT gnād 'principle' // Tao rne; LT spyođ- 'to make' // Tao sp'od; LT bstad 'having sat down' // Tao stod; LT phud 'first' // Tao phoel; LT dpyid 'spring' // Tao rōn.
345 LT brgyad '8' // Gol ʒ'褂; OT rmyed 'crupper' // Gol ʒ'rid; LT dpyid 'spring' // Gol ʒ'rid.
346 LT bod 'Tibet' // Kha wod; LT 'od 'light' // Kha yod; LT lṭad-mo 'spectacles' // Kha lṭad-mo; LT dpyid 'spring' // Kha x'āid; LT brgyad '8' // Blo rgyet; LT dpyid 'spring' // Blo hshit; LT srod 'evening' // Blo ọt; LT bud 'manure' // Blo lut; LT phyugs-dred 'bear' // Prz ȍjkųdʒętęł; LT bud-med // Prz źęmxątęł; LT stod-pa 'forehead' // Prz topa; LT yod 'it is' // Prz jėtęł; LT ju-skad 'so, such' // Pan jir-kad; LT nōd-ma 'itself' // Pan nỳt; LT bek'yod 'having moved' // Pan ryoṭ; LT geug-phud 'curl' // Pan tsuk-lut.
347 LT brgyad '8' // Bal bgyad; LT skad 'voice' // Bal skat; LT tud 'manure' // Bal lut.
348 LT brgyad '8' // Pur rgyāt; LT tud 'manure' // Pur lūt; LT 'od 'light' // Pur ot.
349 LT brgyad '8' // Lad rgyat; LT skad 'voice' // Lad skat; LT tud 'manure' // Lad lut.
350 LT brgyad '8' // CTM dę; LhM ुह; LT skad 'voice' // CTM ke, LhM ke; LT tud 'manure' // CTM, LhM lū.
The Monguor -D ~ -r variation reflects a Tibetan -D ~ -r, -l variation,\textsuperscript{351} the Monguor -s is perhaps a reflection of a Tibetan -z (cf. Sz).

OT -r

a) -r in every position: LT skor 'circle' // Mgr sngor;\textsuperscript{352} LT dkar-po 'white' // Mgrقار.\textsuperscript{353} In some cases the preceding vowel became long,\textsuperscript{354} in other cases palatalized.\textsuperscript{355} The OT -r is preserved in all Tibetan dialects\textsuperscript{356} and the Monguor -r reflects a Tibetan -r.

OT -s

a) zero in every position while the preceding vowel usually became long: LT lag-phyes 'kerchief' // Mgr lagši;\textsuperscript{357} LT dus-gsum 'the three periods' // Mgr dūesdzum (< dūē-sdzum).\textsuperscript{358} Length is not in every case marked.\textsuperscript{359}

\textsuperscript{351} Cf. my remarks in: On Some Finals etc.
\textsuperscript{352} 42, 98, 107, 122, 142, 149, 161, 199, 222, 235, 261, 328, 348, 521, 551, 637, 669, 676, 687, 756, 771, 773.
\textsuperscript{353} 57, 58, 208, 209, 213, 241, 309, 310, 330, 332, 387, 389, 393, 408, 410, 616, 624, 543, 563, 564, 674, 686, 687, 738, 779.
\textsuperscript{354} 552, 556, 557, 675, cf. pp. below.
\textsuperscript{355} 190, 470, 519, 775, 777, 778, 779, 787 — in the most cases after palatal or palatalized radicals (cf. pp. 157, 162 below).
\textsuperscript{356} LT gyur- 'to change' // Dpa djür-; LT hor-pa 'hawk' // Dpa chor-pa; LT mgar- 'sweet' // Dpa mngar; LT dkar-po 'white' // Gol kar-wo; LT gur 'tent' // Gol kör; LT gser 'gold' // Gol ϑser, Kha ϑser; LT sbyar 'fastened' // Kha suar; LT ar-po 'angry' // Kha ϑar-po; LT bar-chad 'calamity' // Ban war-se; LT skar 'formerly' // Pan rnar; LT ltar 'similar' // Pan rtar; LT bor- 'to burn' // Pan bar.; LT dkar-po 'white' // Tao kar-pu; LT skar-ma 'star' // Tao kar-ma; LT gter 'treasure' // Tao rtser; LT dur 'tomb' // Tao doel; LT od-zer 'light' // Blo ot-ser; LT dbyar-ka 'summer' // Blo er-ke; LT nam-thar 'story' // Blo nam-thar; LT khu-chur 'fist' // Sz kusurr; LT thur 'halter' // Sz tür; LT mar 'butter' // Sz marr; LT dar 'ice' // Sz terr; LT gur 'tent' // Frz καρβ, LT mar 'butter' // Prz marr; LT dbyar 'summer' // RA yar; LT nor 'wealth' // RA nor; LT gur 'tent' // RA kör; LT mar 'butter' // Bal mar, Pur märk, Lad mar, CTM, LhM mär; LT dmăr-po 'red' // Bal märpo, Pur märpo, Lad marpo, CTM, LhM mápö, märpo; LT skăr-ma 'star' // Bal skar-ma, Pur skärma, Lad skarma, CTM, LhM karma.
\textsuperscript{357} 13, 90, 280, 284, 338, 403, 446, 454, 472, 476, 504, 730. \textsuperscript{358} 162, 285.
\textsuperscript{359} 13, 66, 211, 295, 385, 518, 602 and 70, 162, 285, 392, 678 cf. also pp. 158, 160, 162, 164, 166 on the vowels.
In the NEAT dialects we find zero everywhere,\(^{360}\) while in the WAT dialects the final -s is preserved.\(^{361}\) In Sz, Prz and RA we can observe a metathesis.\(^{362}\) The preceding back vowels are long and palatalized in NEAT, the front vowels long. The palatalization and lengthening is also present in CT.\(^{363}\)

The fact that we find no final OT -s preserved in Monguor is important for the chronology of this final.\(^{364}\)

The OT oral finals have the following representations:

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<tr>
<th>OT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-b</td>
<td>-b, -r</td>
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<td>-g</td>
<td>-g, (-q), -r</td>
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\(^{360}\) LT čhos 'religion' // Dpa chö; LT lus 'body' // Dpa lü; LT dbus 'Ü' // Gol γut; LT g-yas 'left' // Gol ɣi; LT gnis '2' // Gol ñi; LT ras 'cloth' // Gol rê; LT rus-pa 'bone' // Gol ru-pa; LT khas 'mouth (instr.)' // Kha kê; LT ris 'drawing' // Kha ri; LT dus 'time' // Kha dü; LT gos 'dress' // Kha gû; LT yab-nyes 'ancestor' // Sz jamniek; LT nas 'barley' // Sz nyî; LT smras-pa 'to say' // Pan rmá; LT čhos-pa 'religion' // Pan ch'ua; LT jus 'having asked' // Pan dzu; LT gos 'dress' // Pan gû; LT thos 'having heard' // Pan thû; LT dus 'time' // Pan du; LT 'os- proper' // Pan eu; LT dûos-po 'reality' // Pan rnyö-po; LT čhi-smos 'why speak of' // Pan chi rmé; LT gos 'dress' // RA γû; LT dbus 'U' // RA γû; LT čhos 'law' // RA ēô; LT gnis '2' // γû; LT nas 'barley' // RA nê; LT las-dka 'work' // RA le-ṣka (read le-xka); LT gnis '2' // Blo ḷû; LT dus 'time' // Blo dü; LT gos 'dress' // Blo -gûe; LT ras 'cloth' // Blo ri; LT gus-pa 'stomach' // Way su-pa; LT khas-dman 'poor' // Tao khô-roman; LT khrus 'bathing' // Tao ṣêri; LT gos 'dress' // Tao ko; LT čhos 'law' // Tao chû; LT khos-pa 'having asked' // Tao khor-va; LT gus 'place' // Tao rnoî.

\(^{361}\) LT nas 'barley' // Bal nas, Pur nás, Lad nas; LT gnis 'two' // Bal nûis, Pur nyis, Lad nyis; LT čhos 'law' // Bal chhos, Lad tôhos; LT rus-pa 'bone' // Bal rus-pa, Pur rûs-pa.

\(^{362}\) LT gus-pa 'stomach' // Sz szupsza; LT rus-pa 'bone' // Sz rupsza; LT kha-ṣpu 'moustache' // RA k'apî, Sz karszû (kabszu), Prz kôbsû; LT skyes-pa 'man' // Prz xeñûca, Sz tiebsza.

\(^{363}\) Cf. the chapter on the vowels, pp. 157—166 below.

\(^{364}\) Cf. On Some Finals, p. 290. I would add here, that in a few cases we find -s in Monguor in place of OT -d.
As a general rule we can summarize that Monguor has voiceless mediae, r and zero representations of the OT oral finals. These representations reflect at the same time a tendency of loss of the Tibetan finals through spirantization (stop > spirant > zero).

2. Nasal consonants in final position

OT -n

a) is represented by -n in every position: LT dgon 'solitude' // Mgr ɲwun,365 LT don-dag 'matter' // Mgr don-doq,366 while the preceding a becomes frequently -ä-: LT can-dan 'sandal-tree' // Mgr dsaṅtān (M), dzān-dan (VMI);367

b) -m mostly before labials: LT dgon-pa 'monastery' // Mgr rnowma;368
c) -η before gutturals: LT 'jīn-khan 'room for assembly' // Mgr neŋk'an;
d) zero before nasal preradicals of the second syllable: LT rtan-'brel 'the auspices' // Mgr sviemzgel (Sch, VMI)369 'fortune'.

The final -n is preserved in all the archaic Tibetan dialects. The palatalization of the preceding vowel and the -m development before labial is also general. In CT we find usually -n (-m) and palatalization, while Roerich records also nasalized vowel and zero final.370

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368 234, 282, 426, 430, 506, 533, 579, 601, 693, before other consonants or zero: 398, 450, 763.
369 In some cases it is difficult to tell whether the nasal reflects the final -n or the nasal preradical of the following syllable: 614, 616, 619, 634 in other positions: 471, 650, 759.
370 LT rgyan 'old' // Dpa rgyin; LT dgon 'winter' // Dpa ɲglin; LT dben 'solitude' // Dpa chwām; LT g-yon 'left' // Gol ɲōn; LT dgon-ka 'winter' // Gol rgyin-ka; LT bdan '7' // Gol din; LT gzan 'clothes' // Gol γzan; LT kun 'all' // Kha kun; LT yin- 'to be there' // Kha yen; LT sman 'drug' // Kha ḥman; LT dkon-mchog 'treasure' // Ban dkon-č'og; LT skyabs-mgon 'defender' // Ban ʒkham-gon; LT 'dren-myi 'leader' // Bandren-nī; LT phugron 'pigeon' // Way hug-rum; LT khri-stan 'throne' // Pan chir-tan; LT rgyan-pa 'old' // Pan rgi-po; LT rgyun 'continual' // Pan rgyun; LT dben 'solitude' // Pan wen; LT kun 'all' // Tao kiün; LT rkan 'palatum' // Tao rhen; LT khron-pa 'spring(water)' // Tao ḥrūn-pa; LT mgon 'feast' // Tao
OT -η

a) In every position -η, while the preceding vowel is nasalized. The nasalization is however not consistently denoted: LT rkaṅ 'marrow' // Mgr səaŋ;\(^{371}\) LT rkaṅ-duṅ 'whistle made of thigh-bone' // Mgr ṣaŋ-po (M), ṣaŋ-po (Sch).\(^{372}\) Before -η the OT u is represented by ə,\(^{373}\) the i mostly by ə.\(^{374}\) Sometimes a is represented by ə.\(^{375}\)

b) -n as a secondary development before dentals, -l and -s: LT sen-don 'lionhead' // Mgr sân-don- (Sch);\(^{376}\)

c) Zero: LT spha 'board' // Mgr sba.

In the Tibetan dialects we find as a rule -η, in T ao also -m and zero.\(^{377}\)


\(^{373}\) Cf. p. 162 below.

\(^{374}\) Cf. p. 164 below.

\(^{375}\) Cf. p. 158 below.

\(^{376}\) 91, 92, 137, 306, 637.

\(^{377}\) LT gah-ba 'full' // Dpa gang-wa; LT pan-ba 'bosom' // Dpa pang-wa; LT chaṅ 'beer' // Dpa tchang; LT saṅs 'copper' // Dpa sang; LT laṅs 'lifted' // Dpa lang; LT gīṅ 'country' // Dpa hlang; LT stīṅ 'heart' // Gol stnaŋ; LT braṅ 'chest' // Gol praŋ; LT mdaṅ 'yesterday' // Gol dan; LT mduṅ 'spear' // Gol mdoṅ; LT žiṅ 'earth' // Gol saṅ, saṅ; LT śiṅ 'tree' // Gol saṅ; LT thaṅ 'plain' // Kha thun; LT yaṅ 'again' // Kha yen; LT sīṅ 'heart' // Kha snaṅ; LT dbaṅ 'power' // Kha yweŋ; LT rkaṅ-pa 'leg' // RA rko-n, xko-n; LT gliṅ 'country' // RA ylan; LT sgruṅ 'story' // Ra ḫiun; LT sgoṅ-ha 'egg' // RA guṅ-ha; LT spyaṅ-ku 'wolf' // Way ḫaṅ-ğu; LT stīṅ 'heart' // Way stnaŋ; LT rkaṅ 'leg' // Tao rko-pa; LT gah 'which' // Tao koh; LT gliṅ 'country' // Tao rloṅ; LT mduṅ 'spear' // Tao mdoṅ; LT khuṅ 'hole' // Tao khom; LT gcah-po 'pure' // Tao tso-po; LT rluṅ 'wind' // Blo slun; LT byaṅ 'North' // Blo shaŋ; LT thaṅ 'plain' // Blo than; LT stīṅ 'heart' // Blo
OT -m

a) -m on word-end: LT lham 'boots' // Mgr γam.\(^{379}\) In word-middle position -m is preserved generally before b- and s-: LT mnam-pa 'dirt' // Mgr namba;\(^{379}\)

b) -n: LT 'bum 'hundred thousand' // Mgr mnem;\(^{380}\) LT rnam-thar 'legend' // Mgr nam-tar;\(^{381}\)

c) -η before gutturals: LT nam-gaη 'last day of the month' // Mgr nηamη.\(^{382}\)

In some cases a becomes ä or e.\(^{383}\) In a few cases also u and i are represented by ä or e before -m.\(^{384}\)

The -m is preserved in all the Tibetan dialects. The palatalization of the preceding vowel is to be observed in Dpa and Gol.\(^{385}\)

\(^{378}\) 193, 202, 208, 229, 357, 365, 400, 561.


\(^{380}\) 144, 193, 213, 229, 312, 397, 459, 474, 567, 576.

\(^{381}\) 50, 51, 233, 348, 382, 510, 511.

\(^{382}\) 561.\(^{383}\) Cf. p. 157 below.

\(^{384}\) LT bum-pa 'jar' // Dpa bôm-pa; LT dom 'bear' // Gol tom; LT snum 'oil' // Gol snum; LT bum 'jar' // Gol wôm; LT smon-lam 'prayer' // Gol xmo-lam; LT lham 'boots' // Kha lham; LT skom 'thirst' // Kha skom; LT gnam 'heaven' // Kha gnam; LT lcam 'pole, stick' // RA xčam; LT jam-pa 'soft' // RA jam; LT gram-pa 'cheek' // RA jiam-pa; LT dom '-to measure' // RA tom; LT ldem-me 'which is balanced' // RA xde-me; LT ldem-me 'soft' // RA xdem-me; LT snum 'oil' // RA xñim; LT kha-dam 'wolf' // Ban k'a-dam; LT lam 'way' // Ban lam; LT gsum '3' // Pan rmsum; LT jam-dpal 'name of a god' // Pan jam-hual; LT sgoms 'having meditated' // Pan ryom; LT kh्रims 'usage' // Tao gßrom; LT 'hem-' 'to agree' // Tao tsham; LT bodom '-to bind' // Tao sodm; LT gnam 'heaven' // Blo hnam; LT gsum '3' // Blo hsum; LT khṣim 'house' // Blo khyim; LT lham 'boots' // Sz ham; LT gnam 'heaven' // Sz nam, Prz ham; LT lam 'way' // Prz lam; LT chu-sram 'beaver' // Prz chœramps; LT kha-dam 'wolf' // Prz kalam; LT lham 'boots' // Prz ham; LT gnam 'heaven' // Bal kḥnam; Pur nam, Lad nam, CTM, LhM nám; LT gsum '3' // Bal kṣum, Pur süm, Lad sum, CTM, LhM sīm; LT skam-po 'dry' // Bal skambo, Pur skam-bo, Lad skampo, CTM, LhM kām-pō.

\(^{385}\) Cf. notes 407, 408, 428, 429, 455, 456 pp. 158—193 below.
The nasal finals show the following distribution:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OT</th>
<th>Monguor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n, -ŋ, -m zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-n, -ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-n, -ŋ, -m zero</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can observe a tendency of assimilation and ultimate disappearance.

THE CONSONANTS IN POSTFINAL POSITION

OT --s

a) is represented only by zero: LT kha-btqos 'kerchief' // Mgr k'a'daq;{386} LT sems-čhun 'attention' // Mgr sānš'iọŋ. Sometimes the preceding consonant disappears and the vowel — if on word-end — is lengthened.{389}

The OT --s has disappeared in the NEAT dialects{390} but is pre-

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{386} As some authors have pointed out (Wolfenden, Outlines, p. 19, Snellgrove: BSOAS XVI (1954), p. 199) according to the orthographic rules of Tibetan the postfinal --s can only follow such finals after which postfinal --d cannot be written. This may be perhaps an indication that at an earlier stage there existed only one postfinal, cf. LT 'khyer-' 'to carry away' // N Lad (JāD p. 60b) k'yers, CsD khyer-to < *khyerd-to.

{387} 9, 112, 137, 183, 230, 231, 265, 544, 577, 582, 583, 611, 655, 670, 720.

{388} 773.

{389} 314, 345, 655, 666 short in word-middle: 130, 609.

{390} LT zaíš 'copper' // Dpa sang; LT laíš 'having lifted' // Dpa lang; LT phygos 'side' // Dpa phoch; LT grogs 'friend' // Dpa roch; LT gaíš 'ice' // Gol kah 'snow'; LT lčáqs 'iron' // Gol pcag; LT khyags 'frost' // Gol č'ay; LT lpags 'leather, skin' // Gol špak; LT nags 'forest' // Kha nāg; LT čhībs 'riding horse' // Kha e'iŏ; LT thams-chad 'all' // Kha t'am-čad; LT snabs 'mucus' // Sz shnap 'cold (illnes)'; LT yngs-ma 'widow' // Sz jüxama; LT nags 'forest' // Sz nach; LT rmngs-pa 'fog' // Prz nyxaa; LT gaíš 'ice' // Prz kēn̄ 'snow'; LT phyggs-dret 'bear' // Prz ćorődőčet; LT 'phags-pa 'exalted' // Pan hp'ak-wa; LT sgoms 'having meditated' // Pan rgyom; LT dbyaíš 'song' // Pan rgyang; LT nags 'forest' // Blo nax; LT zaíš 'copper' // Blo saŋ; LT khebs 'cover' // Blo kheb; LT gaíš 'ice' // RA kah 'snow'; LT glags 'eagle' // RA yāš; LT khams 'Khams' // RA k'am; LT phes- 'to go' // RA keb-; LT khyed-rams 'you(plur.)' // Ban k'ie-nam; LT thams-chad-po 'all' // Ban t'am-č'ē-po; LT gizq 'to see' // Ban źig-; LT laíš-pa 'steamer' // Tao loŋpa; LT rig član' // Tao rro; LT grogs 'friend' // Tao rā.
served in the WAT dialects. For the disappearance of the preceding consonant we have examples from Gol, Sz and Pan, further from CT where the lengthening of the preceding vowel is also well observable.

The OT postfinal --d is preserved neither in the Tibetan loanwords of Monguor nor in any of the Tibetan dialects.

THE VOWELS

OT a

a) is represented by a in every position except before -η: LT rta 'horse' // Mgr sda (Sch); LT kha-btags 'kerchief' // Mgr k'arag; LT dag-mo 'pure' // Mgr daqmu; 394

b) a (e) before -n and -m: LT ban-de 'priest' // Mgr bëndi; 395 before -r: LT dbyar 'summer' // Mgr yär; 396 in a few cases before other consonants; 397 after palatalized consonants: LT la-čha scaling-wax' // Mgr laš'iü; 398

391 LT lpa-s-pa 'leather, skin' // Bal bakhspa; Lad pakspa; LT l'eqs 'iron' // Bal kłącz, Lad tšaks; LT zañs 'copper' // Bal zang; LT skoms 'thirsty' // Bal skoms 'to be thirsty'; LT thur babs 'to fall down' // Pur thurbaps; LT chigs 'knuckle' // Pur (kañ) tshiks 'ankle'.

392 LT grols-pa 'friend' // Gol ro-k' a; LT rmugs-pa 'fog' // Gol mu-ka; LT kha-btags 'kerchief' // khata; LT mi 'fibs- 'to be not afraid' // Pan mins-; LT nags 'forest' // CT from Ü(JáD) nā; LT rigs 'clan' // CT from Ü ri; LT legs 'well' // CT from Ü lē.

393 Cf. Uray (Adta Orient. Hung. IV (1955), pp. 309–310) who queried whether the Dpa forms röld 'seitlich', śind 'sehr viel' etc. are examples of --d preserved, or as Hermanns supposes (Tibetische Dialekte, p. 198), containing reflexes of the terminative -du. I would only add that these forms seem to be of literary origin, since RA has the terminative suffixes: -gō/gó (*gu). On OT --d // dialectal --s cf. note 386 above.


396 470, 619, 676, 776–780.

397 Before -g, a: 486, 582, before -η < m: 349.

c) by primaryKey (iē, ʰi etc.) before -s: LT las 'deed', las-dka' 'work' // Mgr l̥s, līsса (M, VMI), līsса (VMI).  

d) ā before -η: LT daṅ-po 'first' // Mgr dāŋnu.;  

e) ā in primary or secondary open syllable, more frequently in monosyllabic words: LT kha 'quadrangular' // Mgr kʰā;  

LT šags-(pa) 'joker' // Mgr sīā;  

before -r: LT rear 'root' // Mgr sār, if the ā is long it does not become ā after palatalized consonants: LT dra-ma 'window' // Mgr būziāma, but: LT ja-ma 'tea-cook' // Mgr užiāma.  

f) o sometimes before -g: LT 'bag' 'mask' // Mgr mboq;  

ā before -η: LT sbraṅ-ma 'bee' // Mgr dzonņa.  

The OT a in open syllables is preserved in all the Tibetan dialects. In closed syllables we find the following picture: Dpa generally a; but before -n and -l: ā, Gol a; before -n: ē, Kha a; before -gs: ā, before -s: ē, before -n, -r: e, Blo a; before -d, -n and after palatalized consonants frequently ē, before -s: i, Sz a;  

399 13, 392, 446, 504, 518, 537, 602, 778.  

400 5, 11, 16, 53, 98, 128, 144, 147—150, 162, 171, 231, 242, 257, 269, 306, 349, 351, 358, 386, 453, 469, 512, 518, 535, 544, 609, 620, 641, 650, 656, 671, 672, 694, 729, 754, 769, 772, 774. The nasality is not denoted by Schröder because of its obligatory character, and is only mentioned by him in the introduction („Die Nasale sind ā, ē, ē, ā. Sie kommen meist in Verbindung mit ā vor, weshalb sie diakritisch nicht besonders gekennzeichnet wurden”, VMI, p. 18), in these cases I have indicated the nasality. In Mostaert's material nasality is not marked in: 17, 33, 101, 671, 696, 696.  

401 In such cases it is uncertain whether we have to do with a contraction: kha-ba > kʰā.  


403 536, 675, 698 before nasals: 709, 751.  

404 220, 565.  

405 554, 582.  

406 272, 289, 361, 748, 776, a few other cases: o 222, 780, u, ū: 780, ʰi: 29.  

407 In the case of the vowels I quote only those dialectal items which deviate from OT. LT rgyan 'old' // Dpa rgān; LT nad 'illness' // Dpa nāl.  

408 LT spyin-kü 'wolf' // Gol øyou-kō; LT sga-stan 'saddle cover' // Gol gasţen; LT pha-rgyan 'father' // Gol harpen; LT ma-rgyan 'mother' // Gol margen.  

409 LT thān 'plain' // Kha tʰē; LT yān 'again' // Kha yen; LT kha 'mouth (instr.)' // Kha kʰē; LT nags 'forest' // Kha nāg; LT rkañ-pa 'leg' // Kha rke-h-pa; LT dbyar 'summer' // Kha wyer.  

410 LT sgra-skad 'voice' // Blo gra-k/ket; LT mig-nad 'eye disease' // Blo miy-net; LT bhrgyad '8' // Kha vgyet; LT sga-sman 'a drug' // Blo nḥ-h-men; LT zla-mchan 'menstruation' // Blo da-mtshen; LT rgyan-mo 'old woman' // Blo 'genmo; LT lo-han 'bad harvest' // Blo lo-yen; LT ras 'cloth' // Blo ri; LT 'bras 'rice' // Blo nбри; LT gnas 'place' // Blo hni-, ne.
before -l: i, before -s: ai, i, before -n: e, RA a; before -n, -d: e, before -s: e or i, Pan a; before -s, -n: ā, in Tao the vocalism shows a marked divergency because of the several secondary finals. Some features which seem to have a bearing on our material: generally a; before n-: o, before -g: ā, before -d, l, r and -n: oe, ō and e, after palatalized consonants: i, Bal, Pur, Lad a, CT a; before -gś, -r: ā, before -n: e, before -s, -l, -d: e; in monosyllabic words: ā.

We can observe two general tendencies: the palatalization before some finals and lengthening before disappearing finals, and the combination of the two tendencies. All these can be found in Mongour. Only the nasalization before -η is not denoted in the Tibetan dialects (but of. CT before -n). This is too common an acoustic feature, to make any statement about its dialectal origin.

411 LT mkhol-ma 'kidney' // Sz kima; LT sman 'drug' // Sz szmen; LT was 'son' // Sz siai; LT rdog-skas 'staircase, ladder' // Sz rdurki; LT nas 'barley' // Sz nji; LT rkan-pa 'leg' // Sz szkunga.

412 LT rkan 'palatum' // RA rken; LT mkhan-po 'master' // RA k'en-bo; LT han 'bad' // RA hën; LT skad 'voice' // RA śkel; LT bgyad 's' // RA grč; LT gnas 'place' // RA γnē; LT nas 'barley' // RA nē; LT ras 'cloth' // RA rē; LT ras-dkar 'tent' // RA rī-kar; LT las-dka 'work' // RA lex-ka(read to-ku); LT sras-mo 'daughter' // RA śi-mo.

413 LT emras- 'to say' // Pan rmā; LT phul-nas 'having given' // Pan hul-nē; LT mi-ladan 'not having' // Pan mir-dān; LT mtha-yas 'endless' // Pan ml'a-yē.

414 LT nag-po 'black' // Tao nāpa; LT phag 'pig' // Tao phā; LT žag 'a day' // Tao žā; LT bād 'moisture' // Tao pōe; LT yal- 'to disappear' // Tao yel-; LT lbyar 'summer' // Tao ēhoer; LT phan- 'to be useful, profitable' // Tao pheem; LT nag 'talk' // Tao tōe; LT rdag-po 'old man' // Tao rgyopa; LT chad-pa 'punishment' // Tao čōpa; LT rkan 'palatum' // Tao ēkō; LT khal 'burden' // Tao khō; LT khrag 'blood' // Tao dču; LT nal 'to be tired' // Tao nūr-; LT gzan-pa 'other' // Tao tēn-pa; LT mkhan-po 'master' // Tao khempo; LT rgyan 'ornament' // Tao jèn; LT čal 'face' // Tao žel; LT yar 'above' // Tao yer; LT khyag-pa 'frost' // Tao nk'i; LT 'jam-po' 'soft' // Tao dzimpo; LT thab 'fireplace' // Tao th'p; LT nags 'forest' // Tao nā.

415 Cf. Miller, Segmental, p. 357.

416 LT spyan 'eye' // CT cē; LT rgan 'old' // CT gē, LT mkhan-po 'master' // CT kē-po; LT chags 'iron' // CT čā, čak; LT chags- 'to become' // CT čā-; LT žags- 'to perform' // CT jā-; LT bār- 'to visit' // CT čā-, čar-; LT khar-yol 'cup' // CT kā-yō; LT phar 'there' // CT p'ā; LT -bās 'with' // CT čē; LT bras 'rice' // CT drē; LT rgyas-pa 'great' // CT gē-pa; LT rgyal-po 'king' // CT gē-pö; LT mjal- 'to meet' // CT jē; LT gal-chē 'šos 'very important' // CT bē-cē dā; LT bgyad 's' // CT gē; LT skal 'voice' // CT ke; LT nad-khan 'hospital' // CT nē-kān; LT ka-(ba) 'pillar' // CT kā; LT gla-(ba) 'musk' // CT lā; LT ka-(ba) 'deer' // CT čā.
a) in every position by o except before -ŋ: LT phy-rio 'the mid of the afternoon' // Mgr śiro;\(^{417}\) LT rdo-rje 'ritual sceptre' // Mgr nor-ži (Sch), nuor-bi (M);\(^{418}\) LT rdo-g 'radish' // Mgr ar-dog;\(^{419}\) ő before -ŋ: LT 'doṅ- 'to go' // Mgr doṅ-la-;\(^{420}\)

b) ő on word end in primary or secondary open syllables: LT gro 'wheat' // Mgr =plt,\(^{421}\) before -r and -l disappearing or not: LT dbyol- 'to make way' // Mgr Yöla- 'to stop';\(^{422}\)

c) u because of assimilation: LT nor-bu 'jewel' // Mgr nuru;\(^{423}\) and in some other cases;\(^{424}\)

e) e (ɛ, ă) as a secondary development before -n, -s, -r: LT don-dog 'affair' // Mgr duñdoq (VMl), don-dog (M).\(^{425}\)

The Tibetan dialects have in open syllable generally o which is in a few cases long.\(^{426}\) Rarely we find u.\(^{427}\) In closed syllables the situation is the following: Dpa o; before -d, -s: ő;\(^{428}\) Gol o, before -n: ő;\(^{429}\) Kha o; before -s: ő;\(^{430}\) Blo o; before -s: oe, ui, i;\(^{431}\) Sz o; before

\(^{417}\) 177, 415, 672, 780.
\(^{418}\) 198, 289, 295, 296.
\(^{420}\) 92, 128, 179, 187, 197, 209, 289, 319, 440, 509, 529, 547, 593, 595, 596, 634, 706.
\(^{422}\) 692.
\(^{423}\) 40, 91, 339.
\(^{424}\) 18, 92, 167, 258, 274, 412, 441, 573, 600.
\(^{425}\) 92, 211, 406 a special case: 41, a, ā: 521, 758, i: 601, 712.
\(^{426}\) LT rno-bu 'sharp' // RA Ḫnō-wa; LT o-na 'suitable, good' // RA o-na; LT bu-mo 'girl' // RA o-mō; LT rdo-sol 'coal' // Sz tōsz; LT 'gro- 'to go' // Sz dzō-; LT mcho 'lake' // Prz mōo; LT ho 'face' // Prz mōo; LT so 'tooth' // Prz cōo; LT 'gro- 'to go' // Prz nōkō; LT lo 'year' // Pur lō; LT na-cho 'ago' // Pur nasō; LT kho 'he' // Pur kho.
\(^{427}\) LT čhu-mgo 'source(water)' // Gol čuṅgu.
\(^{428}\) LT bod 'Tibet' // Dpa wō; LT 'od 'light' // Dpa ol; LT čhos 'law' // Dpa chō.
\(^{429}\) LT g-yon 'left' // Gol yōn; LT sōn-po 'blue' // Gol žōn-po.
\(^{430}\) LT čhos 'cut' (imp.) // Kha kō; LT čhos 'law' // Kha čō.
\(^{431}\) LT stod-gos 'upper garment' // Blo hōt-gō; LT nō-s-ma 'true' // Blo Ḫe-ma; LT sōs-dkar 'white burning offer' // Blo pī-kar; LT čhos 'law' // Blo či; LT čao-thos 'who is heeding the doctrine' // Blo pān-thā.
ae, e, η: u, RA o; before -d: o and ø, before -n: ø, before -s: e, eu, au, ø, before -l: ø, after gutturals ȳ, Pan o; before -s: e, eu, au, ø, before -l: ø, after nasals and disappearing finals u, ȳ, Bal, Pur and Lad o, CT o, before -r, -gs: ø, before -s, -d: ø, before -l: ø, before -n: ø.

The tendencies are the same as with OT a: palatalization (o > ø) before some finals which is recorded differently (ø, oe, i, ȳ etc.) and lengthening, further the combination of both.

Monguor o, ø and e reflect Tibetan developments, the nasalization is possibly a general feature.

The u developments have also Tibetan equivalents and an o ~ u alternation is also reflected by LT.

OT u

a) u in primary and secondary open syllables, before -m, -n and liquids: LT sku 'body, image' / Mgr sav; LT sku-'dra 'image of

132 LT rdog-skas 'staircase, ladder' / Sz rdurki; LT grod-pa 'stomach' / Sz tiḻpu; LT don-chu 'well' / Sz tuncsi; LT riog-ma 'mane' / Sz rmugma,

133 LT bon-po 'bon-priest' / RA wön-bo; LT rgyod-ma 'mare' / gol-ma. gol-ma; LT ston 'autumn' / RA Roboto; LT gro 'advise' / RA 'kiš; LT chos 'law' / RA øš; LT gos 'dress' / RA şø; LT sgrol- 'to deliver' / RA žtrold- (etc).

134 LT chos-pa 'law' / Pan ch'ua; LT gos 'dress' / Pan gü; LT či-smos 'why speak of' / chi rmé; LT 'os 'proper' / Pan eu; LT dongs-po 'reality' / Pan rmog-po.

135 LT yod- 'to be' / Tao yul-; LT khyod 'you' / Tao khör; LT chos 'law' / Tao chu; LT kron-po 'source' / Tao ӿ nourpa; LT skom 'thirst' / Tao skum; LT ston-po 'blue' / Tao shunbo; LT bod 'Tibet' / Tao pu; LT bor-'to cast' / Tao pur.

136 Cf. Miller, Segmental, p. 357. 

137 LT brgya-dpon 'commander of hundred' / CT j'a-pa; LT blon-po 'minister' / CTR lás-pa; LT khyon-nas 'not at all (with neg)' / CT ø-ø-ne; LT bogs-ma 'rent' / CT bø-ma; LT phyogs-nas- 'from somewhere' / CT ø-ø-ne; LT rogs-keyed- 'to help' / CT rö-ø-e; LT jo-(bo) 'lord' / CT ø; LT sgrod-pa 'habit' / CT ø-ø-pa; LT method- 'to offer' / CT ø; LT 'dod- 'to wish' / CT dø-; LT chos 'law' / CT ø; LT nos-la 'into something' / CT ø-ø-la; LT 'os-tho- 'to vote' / CT ø-ø-ta; LT gsal-ja 'tea(honorific)' / sø-ø-ja; LT erol 'usage' / CT sø; LT 'gor- 'to spend time' / CT gø-; LT 'byor- 'to arrive' / CT jor-

138 LT thom-bu, thum-bu 'ladder'; LT 'jug- 'to put into', LT 'jog- 'to put'; LT thug- 'to hit'; LT thogs- 'to strike'; LT thur-mgo, thor-mgo 'halter'; LT 'u-čag, 'o-čag 'we' etc.
Buddha' // Mgr sounbūia; LT śu-g-pa 'cypress' // Mgr yuguo; LT gu-ṛkum 'saffron' // Mgr awaum; LT gur 'tent' // Mgr aur;\(^439\)
b) ū after palatalized consonants and -y: LT bka'-gyur 'Kanjur' // Mgr awūnūri; LT yul 'country' // Mgr yūr (VMI);\(^440\)
c) o before final -g and before or after bilabials: LT dug 'poison' // Mgr dog;\(^441\) LT bu-mo 'girl' // Mgr womu;\(^442\)
d) ō before -ŋ: LT da-rūn 'still' // Mgr darōŋ;\(^443\)
e) in the words bum and 'bum: LT baṅs'-bum 'sacrificial smoke' // Mgr taşnben (VMI); LT bum-khaṅ 'chapel' // Mgr bengk'ang (Sch, VMI), b Nichols'ang (M);\(^444\)
f) i (ē) before -s: LT lus- 'to be left' // Mgr līla--;\(^445\) and i (ē, ē) after r-: LT čha-ru 'a pair' // Mgr lšiari, lšiariē (VMI).\(^446\)

Among the NEAT dialects OT u is not preserved in open syllables in Kha where we find ō sometimes there is o\(^448\) in Gol, i\(^449\) in Blo. In Sz\(^450\) and Prz\(^451\) we find ū, in RA i and ō,\(^452\) in Pan u and ū.\(^453\)

With the exception of RA it is difficult to find out in what


\(^{440}\) 534, 662, 688, 689, 736, 738, 739.

\(^{441}\) 183, 287, 399, 540, 736.


\(^{444}\) 208, 312, 459, 567, see also 110 and 176. Cf. LT ben 'jug'.

\(^{445}\) 66, 70, 90, 162, 195, 295, 688.

\(^{446}\) 86, 359, 410, 690; before -r; 393.

\(^{447}\) LT bu-mo 'girl' // Kha wg-mo; LT kyu 't' // Kha kyo; LT khyu 'flock' // Kha k'yy; LT phru-gu 'child' // Kha ʔg-ŋ; LT dgu '9' // Kha ɣɣ; LT bgu-to meet' // Kha sg; but LT bgu '10' // Kha dvu.

\(^{448}\) LT čhu 'water' // Gol ʔo; cf. LT khyi 'dog' // Gol ʔ'ō.

\(^{449}\) LT čhu 'water' // Blo či; LT mču-tho 'bee sting' // Blo ch-tho; LT gru 'boat' // Blo gri.

\(^{450}\) LT kha-epu 'moustache' // Sz karszū; LT rgyu-ma 'intestines' // Sz dzūma; LT ma-mču 'lower lip' // Sz mantzū; LT čhu 'water' // Sz tsetū; LT gru-ba 'boat' // Sz tse; LT mu-zi 'sulphur' // Sz müdɵ.

\(^{451}\) LT čhu 'water' // Prz ucio; LT ću '10' // Prz wio.-

\(^{452}\) LT sku 'body' // RA tki, tkō; LT gru 'corner' // RA ēi, ē'ō; LT dgu '9' // RA gi; LT ḍu '10' // RA ē; LT sru-mo 'aunt' // RA si-mo; LT ru 'wing' // RA ri; LT rgyu 'matter' // RA fiō 'wealth'; LT bu 'boy' // RA wō; LT gū 'bow' // RA yō, ūō; LT glu 'song' // RA lō.

\(^{453}\) LT sgyu-ma 'illusion' // Pan ryū-ma; LT bu gčig 'one child' // Pan vu chik.
measure if at all is the palatalization due to the preceding consonants. WAT and CT have u.\(^{454}\)

In closed syllables: Dpa u; before -s, -d, -r, -l, -n: ü, after t: ū,\(^{455}\) Gol u; before nasals: o,\(^{456}\) in Kha u; before -n: ü, before -s: ü, before -l, -m: ō,\(^{457}\) in Blo u; before -r, -s: ü, i and ui, before -g, -d, -n, -m: ü,\(^{458}\) in Sz u; before -d, -g, -r, -l: ü,\(^{459}\) in Prz u; before -r: i, before -g, -n: ü,\(^{460}\) in RA only i; before -s: ë, ë, before -l: û; before -l < -d, -l: o, ò,\(^{461}\) Pan u; before -s: ü,\(^{462}\) Tao u; before disappearing finals and nasals: û, oe, õ,\(^{463}\) Bal, Pur and Lad u,\(^{464}\) CT u; before -d, -l, -s: ü, before -n: û, before -g: û.\(^{465}\)

\(^{454}\) Cf. Miller, Segmental, p. 357.

\(^{455}\) LT *hus 'body' // Dpa li; LT *bum-pa 'jar' // Dpa böm-pa; LT *dud-pa 'smoke' // Dpa düt-wa; LT *gyur- 'to change' // Dpa djür; LT yul 'country' // Dpa yul; LT *sprul- 'to transform' // Dpa *ptrül; LT *rgun 'grapes' // Dpa rgin.

\(^{456}\) LT *kun 'all' // Kha kun; LT gus 'reverence' // Kha gū; LT dbul-po 'poor' // Kha guol-po; LT btum- 'to twist around' // Kha bōm, but: LT bdun "t" // Kha vduūn.

\(^{457}\) LT *dus 'time' // Blo dü; LT *rus-pa 'bone' // Blo ri-pa; LT skyur-ba 'sour' // Blo kkyur-wa; LT *pugs-mo 'knee' // Blo wui-mo; LT nus-pa 'ability' // Blo nui-wa; LT khrag-rgyun 'bleeding' // Blo khray-rgin; LT gū-rgyud 'bow-string' // Blo ghi-r/gyūt; LT grum-pa 'badger' // Blo grūm-pa.

\(^{458}\) LT *bud-med 'girl' // Sz ueznam, ozmat; LT yugs-mo 'widow' // Sz jiuxama; LT thur 'halter' // Sz tūr; LT lug-rji 'herdsman' // Sz lūgūzdee; LT *gbul 'snake' // Sz erpi; LT dbul 'silver' // Sz gnū; LT shon-po 'blue' // Sz nungo.

\(^{459}\) LT *gur, 'tent' // Prz kapp; LT lug 'sheep' // Prz liuk; LT phugu-rig 'dread' 'bear' // Prz bṣogdēxyē; LT bdun "t" // Prz dzeh; LT drug '6' // Prz čokkē.

\(^{460}\) LT drug '6' // RA *tīg; LT kun 'all' // RA kīn; LT gur 'tent' // RA kir; LT skud-pa 'yarn' // RA ḥkī-pa; LT khrus 'washing' // RA ṭī; LT wuus-'having cried' // RA Ṽū; LT phul- 'to give' // RA fū-; LT dbul 'silver' // RA fū; LT sbrul 'snake' // RA rū; LT dbus 'Ţ' // RA ṣe; LT bész- 'to sigh' // RA ves; LT dbul 'poor' // RA ves.

\(^{461}\) LT *thus 'heard' // Pan tū, and LT gus 'dress' // Pan gū are misprints for thūs and gos, LT *dus 'time' // Pan du (pronounced as French du 'of').

\(^{462}\) LT *mduu 'speak' // Tao mdo; LT gduu- 'to long for' // Tao mdo; LT khun 'hole' // Tao khom; LT yul 'country' // Tao yül; LT khrus- 'to wash' // Tao ţrū, but khrus- 'washing' // Tao ţrī; LT dhuul 'silver' // Tao ṭoel; LT dur 'tomb' // Tao doel; LT bdun "t" // Tao rdōen; LT phug-pa 'hole' // Tao snoepa; LT rum 'womb' // Tao roem; LT gus-pa 'reverence' // Tao kōpa, LT phug-pa 'rich' // Tao pōpa.

\(^{463}\) Cf. Miller, Segmental, p. 357.

\(^{464}\) LT bdun "t" // CT dū; LT mthun-pa 'to agree' // CT tū; LT bōd-len 'severe fast' // CT čū-lē; LT bryyud-la 'about' // CT jīu-ja; LT rud-",gro
As a general feature we can observe that OT ū has a tendency in the NEAT dialects to become opener (o) and fronted (ŭ, ū, i), independently of the finals. The tendency of palatalization is strengthened by the influence of the finals. Length can be observed before -l, palatalization and lengthening combined before -s.

All the Monguor features mentioned above have their counterparts in Tibetan with the exception of the nasalization before -η, Gol furthermore has here an opener o.

OT ū

a) ū in every position: LT lī-ši 'clove' // Mgr liši;\textsuperscript{466} LT bde-skyid 'happiness' // Mgr dyesbšizir;\textsuperscript{466a}

b) ū before final -s and -l (the length is however not marked in every case): LT dkyil 'middle' // Mgr šbži (M), šbži (VMI);\textsuperscript{467}

c) ā (a,ā) before -η and -m: LT glijn 'country' // Mgr alāη;\textsuperscript{468}

d) ę (ě,ē) after dz-,  by-, s-, s- and r-: LT ral-gri 'sword' // Mgr arapše (M), arabži (Sch);\textsuperscript{469}

e) ū in some special cases: LT mi-dgos 'not necessary' // Mgr muruû.\textsuperscript{470}

OT ū is preserved in the Tibetan dialects. In some cases in open syllables we find in RA ī, ō or e,\textsuperscript{471} in Gol ō or e,\textsuperscript{472} in Sz e, ō,\textsuperscript{473}

\textsuperscript{466} 10, 65, 99, 390, 485, 684, 690, 728.
\textsuperscript{466a} 137, 206, 214, 375, 576, 657, 659, 661, 681, 729, 730, 768.
\textsuperscript{467} 136, 256, 394, 403, 675 also in open syllables: 485, 735.
\textsuperscript{468} 276, 425, 426, 556, 608 secondary assimilation: 9, 14, 68, 205a, 648.

\textsuperscript{470} 137, 501, 601, 684 in two cases ie. 304, 394.

\textsuperscript{471} LT khri 'throne' // RA ṭrī; LT dri 'smell' // RA ḍrī; LT 'di' 'this' // RA ḍii; LT ri 'mountain' // RA ṭi, rō; LT gri 'knife' // RA kīo, ēi, ē'ō; LT khyi 'dog' // RA ē'ō; OT myi 'man' // RA ŋi; LT bzi '4' // RA ŋi; LT 'bri 'yak' // RA dūrī, ḍre; LT phyi-ba 'marmot' // RA ŋe; LT phyi-dro 'evening' // RA šī-rū.

\textsuperscript{472} LT ri 'mountain' // Gol rō; LT gri 'knife' // Gol kīo; LT phyi 'marmot' // Gol šōo, p'īo; OT myi 'man' // Gol ŋōo; LT 'bri 'yak' // Gol ṭe.
in Prz ö, u. 474 In closed syllables: Dpa i; before -η: a, 475 Gol i; before -g: i, before ň: a, 476 Kha i; before -n, -l, -r, -m, -ń: e, before -s: ɨ, 477 Blo i; before -n: u, ę, before -m: u, ă, before -s: ɨ, 478 Sz i; before -g: u, e, before nasals a, e, 479 Prz i; before nasals a, 480 RA i only after OT postradical -y-, generally i; before -l, -s: ɨ, before nasals a, 481 Way before -ń, -g: ɨ, 482 Pan before -η sometimes ą, before -g: e, 483 Tao i, mostly after palatal or palatalized consonants; before -ń: o, other nasals ő, ŋ, oe, in a few cases e, 484 Bal, Pur and Lad ɨ, 485 CT i; before -gs, -l, -s: i, before -n: ě. 486

474 LT k̩hi 'dog'// Prz у́ч; LT r̩ji-ma 'eyelash'// Prz ́дз́у́ма; LT b̩ži 'a'// Prz b̩эк. The Cyrillic è can perhaps be interpreted here as ö.

475 LT g̩iîn 'country'// Dpa b̩l̩ng.

477 OT myriq 'eye'// Gol γ̩ήίκ; LT gzigs 'leopard'// Gol gzı̙̄g; LT s̩ı̙̄n 'heart'// Gol ʃ̩а́н; LT ž̩în 'earth'// Gol ʃ̩а, ʃ̩ан; LT s̩ī̙n 'tree'// Gol ʃ̩а;

478 LT py̯̆g̩iîn 'foreign country'// Gol p̩a-lă̯н.

477 LT s̩ī̙n 'day'// Kha ɲ̩е̯Й; LT ch̩i̯l 'fat'// Kha t̩сел; LT y̩i̯n 'to be'// Kha y̩е̯Й; LT r̩is 'form'// Kha р̩и; LT ky̯̆r-ky̯̆r 'round'// Kha ky̯̆р-ky̯̆р;

478 LT khrims 'law'// Kha t̩ем; LT s̩ı̙̄n 'heart'// Kha ɲ̩е̯Й; LT m̩荼̯̆n 'depth'// Kha (m̩)и̯n; LT jin̩- 'to grasp'// Kha м̩д̩цен.

478 LT g̩ni̯s '2'// Blo h̩и̯; LT ž̩în 'earth'// Blo ш̩ун; LT thag-r̩i̯n 'far'//

478 LT thay-r̩ŭ̯n; LT thag-r̩i̯n-thŭ̯n 'distance'// Blo thay-r̩ŭ̯n-thŭ̯n; LT s̩ı̙̄n 'heart'// Blo h̩ун; LT m̩и̯н-po 'brother'// Blo м̩ен-во; LT s̩ī̙n 'tree'// Blo ё̯н; LT khrims 'law'// Blo khrum, khrум.-

479 LT mig 'eye'// Sz мъкк, мък; LT s̩ı̙̄n 'heart'// Sz кн̩н̩г, сн̩н̩г; LT de-r̩и̯н 'today'// Sz т̩ерън; LT ž̩im-po 'sweet'// Sz съмъб.
In connection with Monguor the most notable feature is the presence of a before -ŋ or other nasals in Dpa, Gol, Sz, Prz and Rah (perhaps Kha e and Blo a are also related). There is also a tendency of i becoming ä, ö, which is reflected perhaps by Monguor e, but this can also be a secondary development in Monguor.

**OT e**

a) ie (iä) in every position: LT "a-ne 'aunt'/ Mgr änie;\(^{487}\) LT rje-bo 'lord'/ Mgr röziewu;\(^{488}\) LT šel 'glass'/ Mgr šiär, šier;\(^{489}\)

b) ië sometimes in open syllables and before -s: (length however is not marked in every case): LT rjes 'trace'/ Mgr rözüe;\(^{490}\)

c) e (ë, ä or i): LT lab-ce 'heap of stones'/ Mgr lañse (M), lawdze (Sch).\(^{491}\)

The Tibetan dialects have generally e in open syllables, but we find in some cases also i in Blo,\(^{492}\) Sz,\(^{493}\) Prz,\(^{494}\) Bal.\(^{495}\) In the closed syllables the picture is the following: Dpa e,\(^{496}\) Gol e; after palatalized consonants sometimes i,\(^{497}\) Kha e; before -s: i,\(^{498}\) Blo e; after palatalized consonants sometimes i, before s: i,\(^{499}\) Sz e; after pal-

\(^{487}\) 65, 426, 615.

\(^{488}\) 71, 133, 324, 386, 539, 653, 656, 666, 742.


\(^{490}\) 6, 545, 678.

\(^{491}\) 27, 28, 62, 92, 93, 112, 180, 208, 209, 213, 217, 263, 276, 299, 324, 381, 444, 445, 455, 509, 510, 511, 551, 555, 556, 607, 616(e), 634, 637, 643(e), 737, long: 61, 179, 220, 345, 557; ä before -s: 347, 510.

\(^{492}\) LT rin-po-che 'title'/ Blo rin-po-chi.

\(^{493}\) LT chê 'great'/ Sz csi; LT me 'fire'/ Sz mi; LT phyë-ma 'sand'/ Sz sima; LT me-tog 'flower'/ Sz mietak.

\(^{494}\) LT me 'fire'/ Prz MIN.

\(^{495}\) OT men-tog 'flower'/ Bal mindoq; LT me 'fire'/ BalV myh.

\(^{496}\) Sometimes ä: LT dhën 'solitude'/ Dpa chwăm.

\(^{497}\) LT rnyêd 'crupper'/ Gol t'uid; LT sen-mo 'finger nail'/ Gol sin-mo (read sin-mo ?).

\(^{498}\) LT des 'this (instr.)'/ Kha dä.

\(^{499}\) LT chên 'great'/ Blo chin; LT dres-ma 'a bird'/ Blo drî-ma; LT šes-rab 'wisdom'/ Blo či-rub.
atalized consonants and before -s, -d: i, Prz e; before -s: ei, before -n, -d: i, RA e, Tao e; after palatalized consonants i, before nasals, -d, -r, -s: e and ő, after labials oe, Bal, Pur and Lad e, CT e; before -l, -s, -r and -gs: ĕ, before -n: e.

Both the Tibetan dialects and Mongguor contain a closed [ê]. There is also a Mongguor e > ie development, mostly in cases where we find an alternation e ~ i in other Mongolian dialects. Thus the Tibetan closed ĕ ~ i has been retained or replaced in Mongguor by ie.

OT ya

a) a: LT ri-dvags 'game' // Mgr aravad, 506
b) ā: LT gnas-rca 'place with grass' // Mgr nirvā, nirvā. 507

Both representations can be found in the archaic Tibetan dialects:
Prz a, ā, ő, Sz a, Blo a, RA a, Gol a, Tao ā, Bal ya, Pur ğa, ā, Lad a, CT a, ā, however, it is not clear whether length is due to the OT diphthongue or to contraction of the stem and -ba (šya-ba > šaya > šaša) or to greater emphasis on monosyllabic words. 509

506 LT red 'auxiliary verb' // Sz rit; LT med 'not' // Sz mû; LT skyes-pa 'man, husband' // Sz stîbsa, tiebsa.
507 LT skyes-pa 'man, husband' // Prz xçëysză; LT sen-mo 'finger nail' // Prz цинъыш; LT red (auxiliary verb) // Prz рипэ; LT med 'not' // Prz митъ.

Before -s long: LT rfes-kiyi rte'u-lo 'colt, following the mare' // RA jê-pó xî-lo.

508 LT khyed 'you' // Tao čhî, t'i; LT gches-pa 'favorite' // Tao rçeipa; LT des-pa 'noble' // Tao ti; LT gser 'gold' // Tao rsi; LT chen-po 'great' // Tao shëmbu; LT gser 'treasure' // Tao rter; LT sen-'ge 'lion' // Tao sehki; LT gems- 'to become accustomed' // Tao kôm-; LT rfes 'trace' // Tao štö; LT şes- 'to know' // Tao şö; LT pheb- 'to go' // Tao phoe; LT dben-pa 'solitude' // Tao rdovwa.

509 Cf. Miller, Segmental, p. 357.
510 LT 'bel-po 'many' // CT bé-po; LT 'brel- 'to be busy' // CT tœ-; LT rfes-la 'after' // CT jë-la; LT skyes- 'to give birth' // CT kër; LT nes-pa 'sure' // CT nj-pa; LT mi-ser 'peasant' // CT më-së; LT 'cher-po 'difficult, complicated' // CT tsê-po; LT thegs- 'to go forth' // CT tê-.

367 655 length due to contraction?: šva-ba > šiâ?

507 LT lva 'dress' // Prz lôo, Sz la, Blo la-va; LT rcva 'grass' // Prz puâ, RA taşa, Gol ṭsa, Sz ṭsa, Blo sa, rça, Tao ṭsa, Bal ṭrṣwa, BalJ, PurJ ṭrṣwa, attna, Pur shîtsa, Lad ṭrsa, CT tsa; LT šva 'deer' // Prz maa, Blo ça, RA ša, Ball shâ, Pur sha(h); PurL shâ, LadL šá, CT ša; LT ri-dvags 'game' // Blo ri-tsz, RA ri-day, BalF ri-daâghs, PurL ri-daâghs, CT ri-dâ.

I would remark here that in one case we have LT a'i; LT dam-pa'i čho 'the holy Law' // Mgr dûnBê tê'i(VMI).
In summing up the results of this chapter on the vowels we can state that the OT vowels are as a rule preserved in Monguor and the articulation is influenced by the finals (palatalization, nasalization, length) and by the palatal element of the radical (palatalization). The OT o tends to become opener while the OT e has reflexes in closed ē.
IV. SOME REMARKS ON THE FORMATIVES

There is an extensive literature dealing with the form and function of the formative elements of the Tibetan language. Most of the studies take as their common point of departure the structure of the Tibetan language — but in their approach they are based on the grammatical pattern of languages other than Tibetan. The Tibetan grammarians themselves, relying on Sanskrit predecessors work with categories alien to the Tibetan language. In this respect it is not without interest to see how the formative elements of the Tibetan language are treated by a linguistic community whose language has an entirely different structure from Tibetan.

It is quite natural that the speakers of a language should primarily take over from another language those elements for which a need is felt in their own. Therefore grammatical elements are borrowed less frequently and when they are only in cases where the function is either not comprehended or not paralleled in the adopting language. Only after prolonged coexistence do such grammatical elements find their way through a large mass of loans into the receptor language which had had its own native corresponding forms. Thus a brief survey of the formative elements in the Tibetan loanwords of Monguor may help to reveal their original function — as understood by a non-Tibetan linguistic community — and may also serve to give some indication to the extent and depth of contact.

Since the system of prefixes is entirely alien to the original structure of Monguor, they are taken over unmodified (on the phoneticals side see pp. 134—145 above), because they are felt an integral part of the stem.
1. Tibetan particles

OT -pa/ba

a) is represented by -ba after -g, -d, -n, -m: LT stan-pa 'doctrine' // Mgr sxamba,1 after secondary -r: LT rcad-pa or rcar-ba 'root' // Mgr sarba,2 sometimes we find -bă: LT thom-pa 'foolish' // Mgr t’omba,3

b) -wa after primary or secondary vocalic word-end, -η, -r, and -l: LT gza’-ba 'wife' // Mgr dzawa 'couple'; LT bšes-pa 'parents-in-law' // Mgr šiewa; LT ñur-ba 'duck' // Mgr nirwa (VMI);4 sometimes by -wa: LT sde-pa 'chief' // Mgr swiewā,5

c) -ā after vocalic word-end and -r: LT skor-ba 'procession' // Mgr sxurā (M), sxuora (Sch); LT gla-ba 'musk' // Mgr alā.6

OT -po/bo

a) -bu after -n: LT bon-po 'pertaining to Bon' // Mgr bumbu,7

b) -wu after -η and vocalic word-end: LT rje-bo 'lord' // Mgr rūziewu; LT glań-po čhe 'elephant' // Mgr alānqulš’ie.8

c) -uo: LT smug-po 'fog' // Mgr sımuk’uo.9

According to the sandhi rules of the orthography LT -pa can follow -g, -d, -n, -b, -m, -s and ba follows -n, -r, -l and vocalic word-end. This is generally to be observed in all the Tibetan dialects10 and in the Tibetan loanwords of Mongguo where -pa/po is replaced by -ba/bu and -ba/bo by -wa/wu. The disappearance of the spirant w- through semi-vowel y is present in some NEAT dialects such as Blo, RA, Sz and Pan.11 On the -u of OT -po/bo see below.

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2 In one special case we have -ba after -η: 179.
3 282, 525, 579, 607, 764.
4 19, 62, 186, 370, 388, 394, 653.
5 596, 653 after secondary -r: 389.
6 244, 330, 366, 467, 665, 738, in one case after -n: 409.
7 234, in one case in Schröder's material we have -bō: 349.
8 20, 23.
9 336, 779 in one case by -u: 174, in one case by -o: 369.
10 I do not deal here with the -ma/no equivalents of LT -pa/po in WAT.
11 Cf. note 51 on pp. 114—115 above further: LT mkhas-pa 'learned' // Pan k’ua; LT zag-pa 'sorrow' // Pan zak-hua, and LT rdo-ba 'stone' // BalA rdoah, Pur rdoa, Lad rdoa (< *rdva?).
OT -ma

a) in every position by -ma: LT rgod-ma 'mare' // Mgr rnuorma.\(^\text{12}\)

OT -mo

a) in every position by -mu: LT lha-mo 'goddess' // Mgr lamu.\(^\text{13}\)

OT -ma is preserved in every Tibetan dialect. We find in place of OT -mo dialectal -mu, in place of OT po/-bo dialectical sporadically in Pot, Sz, Prz, Tao\(^\text{14}\) -pu/-bu. The u representation of OT o is without exception only in Monguor.

OT -ka/kha/ga

a) -ga/ğa: LT ral-ga 'branch' // Mgr araça; LT than-ka 'picture' // // Mgr ˈtʰaŋɡə.\(^\text{15}\)

As far as the function of these particles is concerned we can state that they are never present in verb stems only in substantives, adjectives and adverbs. The infinitive of the Tibetan verb — as in many languages — is nominal and it is never borrowed in the case of our loanwords. With few exceptions\(^\text{16}\) the particle is only joined to monosyllabic words.

Among the main functions of -pa/ba I would mention the nominalizing of verb stems LT ston-, bstan 'to teach', ston-pa 'doctrine' // Mgr smanba; the forming of nouns from other nouns, especially denoting occupations: LT sman 'drug', sman-pa 'physician // Mgr smanba; the forming of ordinal numerals: LT gnis 'two', gnis-pa 'second' // Mgr ˈniwa. It occurs in words which can be interpreted as substantives and/or adjectives. Here the particle serves as determinator: LT mnem-ba 'dirt, dirty' // Mgr mnamba, LT de-ka 'the very same' // Mgr dza/wa (VMI).

\(^{13}\) 46, 300, 508, 590, 640, 758, 761.
\(^{14}\) Cf. No. 335, LT grod-po 'belly' // Sz tjudpu, Prz q∅tby; LT glaŋ-po 'bull' // Prz oəmmy; LT rgar-mo 'old woman, wife(honorific)' // Prz prammy; LT skam-po 'dry' // Sz kambu; LT dkar-po 'white' // Tao karpu; LT tʃen-po 'great' // Tao tʃemdu; LT bdag-po 'master' // Tao rdāpu; LT lungs-mo 'clean' // Tao lamu.
\(^{15}\) VMI tˈanŋkˈa seems to be a literary reading, cf. further 62, 214.
\(^{16}\) 62, 186, 545.
The particle *-po/-bo serves for forming names of male occupation
names of male animals etc. (see the examples cited above).
The particle *-ma/-mo is frequent in names of females or female
animals: LT sog-mo 'Mongol woman' // Mgr sogmu, LT rbod-ma
'mare' // Mgr ruwuroma and in names of plants: LT glaṅ-ma 'willow'
// Mgr lāṛma, in other cases it is the determinant: LT ša-ma 'plac-
enta' // Mgr ʂemā.

2. Tibetan word-formative suffixes

OT -čan (possessive)

a) is represented by -lš’iän: LT dbau-čan 'powerful' // Mgr
gāṛš’iän.

OT -ldan (possessive)

a) -(r)dän: LT thur-ldan 'which has a side, slope' // Mgr t’urdbän.

OT -med (privative)

a) -mier: LT dbau-med 'powerless' // Mgr ẓarṃier. This suffix
is replaced by Mgr uṛu (< Mong. ũgei): LT chod-med 'having
no measure' // Mgr soruṣuā.

OT -bu (diminutive)

a) -bu after -m, -n, -l: LT 'om-bu 'tamarisk' // Mgr ẓombu;\(^{17}\)
b) -bo: LT thom-bu 'laddle' // Mgr t’ombo;
c) -u: LT nor-bu 'jewel' // Mgr nuru.\(^ {18}\)
This suffix is replaced by Mgr -[s]žiaq (< Mong. -čaγ):
LT rkyal-bu 'little bag' // Mgr šźiārsźiaq.

3. The genitive case

From the declensional suffixes only the sign of the genitive case
found its way into Mongguor. We have such expressions: dānbē
tlš’ini surēna (VMI 146 : 12) 'he will be sent) to learn the holy
doctrine'; dānbē lš’ini surçaṇa (VMI 150 : 67) '(he) learnt the

\(^{17}\) 136, 596, 601.

\(^{18}\) 136.
holy doctrine', rānuśīni gāzīera (VMI 160:66) 'there is the place of the holy doctrine' or ṣuṃṣuño vāṇu 'in former times'. In all of these cases the genitive (OT-*i, -gi) is figuring in an attributive structure (cf. LT rta'i // RA rta-yō, LT *a-ma'i // Blu a-ma-gi). The frequent occurrence of the genitive in attributive constructions led to the development of a phenomena where adjectives are abstracted by the speakers together with the genitive suffix. This can be found in Sz, Blu, RA\textsuperscript{19} and perhaps also in other dialects. In one case we find this preserved in Monguor: LT gčad-gi 'broken' // Mgr ʂöziṛa\textsuperscript{22}

4. Tibetan word stems with Monguor denominal verb-formatives.

Mgr -da/die/\textit{di}

This suffix has the main function in Monguor to form verbs from adjectives\textsuperscript{20} and is joined to Tibetan stems which are, or are felt, adjectives: LT lo-lañ 'young' // Mgr loloŋdi- 'to become(again)young'\textsuperscript{21} LT lag-za 'lame(hand)' // Mgr laasāna- 'to be lame, to become lame (from hand)'. In one case it is added to substantive: LT šug-pa 'cypress' // Mgr šuŋuona- 'to cense with cypress'. This latter function can also be found in Monguor.\textsuperscript{22}

Mgr -ra/ro/re/rie

This suffix serves both with Monguor and Tibetan adjectives to form inchoative verbs:\textsuperscript{23} LT so-so 'separate' // Mgr sosoro- 'to become loose (at once)'.\textsuperscript{24}

Mgr -ʂa (< rʂa)

The Monguor factitive suffix -ʂa\textsuperscript{25} (with dissimilation after

\textsuperscript{19} LT lki 'heavy' // Sz cși\textit{gi}; LT yan 'light' // Sz jangi; LT riṅ 'long' // Sz ęngi; LT ma-bañ 'ugly' // Sz mazange, Blu me-b/zañ-gi; LT bzañ 'good' // Blu zaŋ-gu; LT srīd-pa 'common' // RA sīl-pē; LT rgyal-po 'king' // RA jia-wu 'royal'.

\textsuperscript{20} Cf. Mostaert, \textit{Le dialecte II}, pp. 146–147, e.g. Monguor alaŋ 'pied', alaqpi- 'to be or to become pied'.

\textsuperscript{21} 288, 453, 599.

\textsuperscript{22} Cf. Mgr funi 'smoke', funipie- 'to cense'. In one case we find only verb stem: LT spul- 'to move' // Mgr spurma- 'to swing a stick'.

\textsuperscript{23} Cf. Mostaert, \textit{Le dialecte II}, p. 147.

\textsuperscript{24} 355, 382, 704.

final -r) is used as such with Tibetan stems too: LT *phye-mar//siemier* 'food offering (in burial ceremonies)', Mgr *siemiersga-* 'to have sy. offer $', to have sy. buried'.

Mgr -la/lo/lie

In all the remaining cases Monguor uses the denominal verb-formative suffix -la/lo/lie (< Mong. -la/le) to form verbs from Tibetan stems.

This suffix is used with Tibetan nominal stems: LT *las-dka* 'work'//Mgr *lisgala-* 'to work'; LT *dad-pa* 'devotion'//Mgr *das-bala-* 'to be devoted'.

The same denominal suffix is used with Tibetan verbal stems: LT *'grig-* 'to suit, to agree'//Mgr *napgela-* 'to suit', also with negative: LT *ma 'grig-* 'to disagree'//Mgr *mangpela-* 'to disagree', in compounds: LT *kha gtoqs-* 'to interfer, to meddle with'//Mgr *k'apgela-* to mediate in an affair'.

Monguor uses Tibetan verb stems neither without Monguor formative suffixes nor with deverbal suffixes. From this it is clear, that the so called 'verbal stems' have nominal character for the Monguor speaker.

5. Tibetan word stems with Monguor denominal noun-formatives

The most frequent are:

Mgr -pu/pē

with the sense 'possessing, having a number of'. We find this

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16 93, 217, 265, 287, 358, 395, 456, 511, 518, 522, 540, 542, 591, 606, 609, 611, 615, 668, 674, 676, 780.


Monguor suffix\textsuperscript{29} joined to Tibetan nouns: LT *chan-pa* 'order' // Mgr *samba* 'form, way', *sambadu* 'who has a form, way'.\textsuperscript{30}

Mgr -\textsuperscript{t}s\textsuperscript{i}

is the nomen actoris suffix of Monguor:\textsuperscript{31} LT *sa-las* 'earth work' // Mgr *salš\textsuperscript{s}i* 'worker'.\textsuperscript{32} It has sometimes a function similar to OT -pa which it replaces: LT *sman* 'drug', *sman-pa* 'physician' // Mgr *smanš\textsuperscript{s}i*, but also *smamsalš\textsuperscript{s}i*.\textsuperscript{33}

6. Tibetan word stems with Monguor adverbial suffix

Mgr -\textsuperscript{ge}\textsuperscript{34}

LT *dag-mo* 'clear' // Mgr *dagmuge* 'distinctly, correctly'.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{29} Cf. Mostaert, *Le dialecte II*, pp. 83—84 -\textsuperscript{Du} < Mong. -\textsuperscript{tu/ti}, -\textsuperscript{tš} < Mong. -\textsuperscript{la/si}.

\textsuperscript{30} 46, 60, 74, 173, 287, 511, 562, 780.

\textsuperscript{31} Cf. Mostaert, *Le dialecte II*, p. 84.

\textsuperscript{32} 9, 79, 216, 593.

\textsuperscript{33} 355, 370, 596.

\textsuperscript{34} Cf. Mostaert, *Le dialecte II*, pp. 55—56.

\textsuperscript{35} 16, 17 and 130(?).
V. ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TIBETAN DIALECTS

After having drawn a brief sketch of the phonology of the Tibetan loanwords in Monguor and of the archaic Tibetan dialects what remains is to outline the chronological and dialectal connections among them. To do this we have to have a clear picture of the development and distribution of the several dialectal phenomena. There are two groups of linguistic facts which are relevant to such a comparative and historical sketch: the evidence of the historical sources and the evidence of the present-day dialects. Concerning the historical sources I would in the first place refer to the conclusions to be drawn from a linguistic study of the Old and Middle Tibetan literary monuments, the various foreign transcriptions of Tibetan and Tibetan transcriptions of foreign languages, early loanwords in the neighbouring languages etc. Although some important preliminary work has been done in this field, present research is only at its very beginning and so it would be hazardous to base our work on them. Professor Ligeti’s lectures, referred to in the Preface, have put the question in a proper perspective and in some of his unpublished works he gives attention to important details. For these reasons I have restricted myself to drawing a few conclusions from a comparison of the present-day dialects. This does not mean that I suppose that the historical development of a language can be reconstructed only in the light of the comparative method, but I hope that such a comparative work may be helpful for the evaluation of the historical material. It is essential for our purpose to deal not with isolated phonemes but structural units.

THE SPIRANTIZATION OF THE BILABIALS

Though some authors called the attention to the occurrence of spirant representations of some OT labial stops¹ no attempt has

been made to discuss the spirantization of all labials in all positions and so the right conclusions have not been possible to draw in every instance.  

OT $p$-

a) is represented by $w$ ($\mu$, $\beta$) in Gol, Sz, Blo, RA, Ban and Mgr, ShY; by $h$- in Pan; by zero in RA and Sz before labial vowels;  
b) by $p$- in Dpa, Tao, Kang, Der, Cham, Bal, Pur, Lad, CT; by $b$- in Prz, by $b$- in Mgr.

OT $dp$-

a) is represented by $\chi\mu$- in Dpa, Gol, Blo, Pan, RA and Mgr, ShY, further by $\chi$- before labial vowels in RA, Pot, Blo, by $w$ in Tao;  
b) by $\gamma p$-, $rp$-, $\chi p$- or $sp$- in Kha, Rna, Sa, Tao, Bal, Pur, Lad; by $p$- in Kang, Der, Cham and CT.

OT $sp$-

a) is represented by $sp$- or $\chi p$- in Blo, RA, Kha, Chog, Rna, Sa, Bal, Pur; by $sb$- in Mgr; by $p$- in KangII, Der, Cham and CT; by $b$- in KangI. Tao $rb$- reflects an earlier $\gamma p$.  

*In the following I gave the phonemic interpretation of the various transcriptions but retain the original transcription in the words cited in the notes. Rna, Sa and Sog have only syllables (cf. p. 28).

* LT pus-mo, *pugs-mo 'knee' // Gol wi-$\text{g}$-mo, Sz urmo, ormo, Blo wui-mo, RA wix-mo, ix-mo, Cham py mo (p. 97), Bal bukhmo, Pur puksmo, CTW pi-mo;  
  LT (i)pags-pa 'skin' // RA wok'ya, Tao gewa, KangI-$\Pi$ pâk'spa, Der pema,  
  Lad pag-pa, CTM pâg, LhM pâg, cf. also 28, 29, 545, 749, 757.

* LT dpal 'glory' // Dpa chwal, Pan hual, Tao r$p$al, KangI pe, KangII pe',  
  DerM pel;  
  LT dpam-po 'chief' // Gol xt'on, Pot xom'gy (A, 23), Blo hon-po,  
  Pan -huon, RA xt'on, Tao woempo, Kang pömpo, DerM pepo, CTW pöm-po;  
  LT dpun 'army' // RA xu$\text{h}$, Tao r$p$un, KangI pu$\text{n}$, KangII poh, DerM pe$n$,  
  CTR pu$n$, cf. 216, 217, 220 (Cham pe lcha), 221(1), 222.

* LT s$\text{p}$u 'hair' // Kha sp$\text{p}$, Tao rboe (< *$\gamma$p$\text{u}$), KangI bu, KangII poe,  
  DerM pu, Cham p$\text{p}$, CT pu;  
  LT spom-po 'great' // Blo 'pom-po, upom-po;  
  LT spos-(dkar) 'white' // Blo pui-kar, RA tx$p$;  
  LT spo- 'to move  
  ag-' // Blo b$\text{p}$o-, Pur spo-, CTW po-;  
  LT s$\text{p}$un 'weft' // Bal s$\text{p}$un;  
  LT spur- 'to fly (vt)' // Pur spur, cf. 531 (Chung pong-liu).
OT *p*-

a) is represented by h- in Gol, Dpa, Sz, Prz, RA, Pan, Way and ShY, by z- in Mgr; by f- before labial vowels in RA and Mgr;

b) by *p*- in Dpa, Blo, Kha, Tao, Kang, Der, Chung, Cham, Bal, Pur, CT and rarely in RA and Mgr.⁶

OT *'p'*-

a) is represented by mp*- or p*- in Blo, RA, Kha, Rna, Sa, Tao, Kang, Der, Cham, Pur, CT and Mgr.⁷

OT b-

a) is represented by w(y-, β-) in Dpa, Gol, Sz, Blo, Pan, RA, Way, Ban and Mgr; by zero before labial vowels in Sz, Prz, Pot, RA;

b) by b- in Dpa, Cham, Bal, Pur and by b- in Mgr; by p- in Gol, Tao, Kang, Der, Cham, Lad and CT.⁸

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⁶ LT phebs-'to come'// Dpa hep-, Kha p'eb-, RA heb-; LT phan- 'to spare'// Dpa phang-; LT phag 'pig'// Gol hag, Blo phax, RA hag, Tao phâ, Kang phak, DerM phâ, Chung p'a, CT p'ak-pa; LT pho-rog 'raven'// RA horoy, Gol horog, Sz horuk, Pot (C, 42) norox, CTM horog; LT pho 'male'// Gol ho, Sz ho, Blo pho, RA ho, CTW pho; LT (mi-)phuñ-po 'body'// Sz minhungo, Blo phun-wo; LT la-phug dmar-po 'red radish'// Sz laumaru; LT phur-gon, phug-ron 'pigeon'// Sz hugron, RA hîg-, p'îy-, Way hug-rum, Bal phurgon; LT phug 'cave'// Pan huk; LT phos-na 'if he died'// Pan hu-na; LT phu-bo 'elder brother'// RA fû; LT phu-nu 'brothers'// BalJ p'o-no, Pur phono, CT p'u-nu; LT pho-gear 'young man'// Cham (p. 47) pho-sa.; cf. 142, 146, 206, 221(7).

⁷ LT 'phur- 'to fly'// Kha mp'ur-, Blo phûr-, RA p'ir-, Tao phoer-, Kang phoe-, DerM phu-, Pur phur-, CTW phur-; LT 'phel- 'to increase'// RA p'e-, CTW phe-; LT 'phag- 'to rise'// Cham (p. 90) pha, cf. 239.

⁸ LT bod 'Tibet'// Dpa wôt, Kha wod, Blo wot, RA waf, of, Tao pu, KangI pô, KangII pöt, DerM pô, Chung pô, CTR pô; LT bum-pa 'bottle'// Dpa bóm-pa, Gol wóm, RA wóm-ba, CTR bum-pa; LT bag-ma 'bride'// Dpa wach-ma, Blo way-ma, Bal bag-ma, CTW wák-ma; LT bu 'son'// Cham bô; LT ba-mo 'hoar-frost'// Cham bo/pa mo (p. 62); LT *b*um-dam 'woman'// Sz üzmât, Prz ērhmât; LT bal 'wool'// Kha wul, Sz oa, Tao poel, Kang pel, DerM pal; LT bon- (bu) 'donkey'// Sz on-, oon-, Prz on-, Pur bonbu, Lad pøhбу, CT pøn-yû, LhM phûn-khû; LT bar-čhad 'danger'// Ban war-čêl; LT bu-lon 'debt'// Bal bulon ef. 27, 29, 33, 36, 40, 41, 751, 756, 758, 759, 761 (KangI pûmô, KangII pûmô, DerM pûmô).
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OT ḍb-

a) is represented by ḡu- or ħu- in Dpa, Pan, Blo, RA, Kha, Rña and Mgr, ShY, by w- in Pan, Sa, KangII, Der, Cham; before labial vowels by ḡ- or ħ- (that is b > zero) in Gol, Pot, RA; by zero in Kang, Der and CT;

b) by ṛb- or ṛ- in Tao, KangI (in the latter only before non-labial vowels).⁹

OT 'b-

a) is represented by mb-, nb- or b- in Blo, Pan, RA, Kha, Rña, Sa, Tao, Kang, Der, Cham, CT and Mgr.¹⁰

OT ḍpy-

a) is represented by ḡë- (ḡe- etc.) or ḡ-(ḡ-, ḡ-, ḡ-) in Blo, RA, Kha and Mgr;

b) by ḡṭś- or ṛś- in Gol, Kang, Der, Cham and CT;

c) by ṛp-, ḡp- or ṛ- in Bal, Lad and WT before -i-.¹¹

OT spy-

a) is represented by pḡ- in Dpa, by ḡu- in Kha, Gol;

b) by ḡṭś- or ḡḍź- or ṛś in Sz, Blo, Way, RA, Kang, Der, Cham, Mgr and CT;

c) by spy- or ḡpy- in Blo and Tao, in Bal before -a-.¹²

⁹ LT ḍben 'solitude' // Dpa chwām, Kha ḡwen-, Pan wen (= hwÁn as English when), Tao ṛboe wa, KangI behap, KangII wenpa, DerM wenp, CT en; LT ḍbul 'poverty' // Kha ḡugl, Pan wul, RA ṛoł, Tao ṛboem-, Kang 'ul-, DerM u-, CTM ḡu-; LT (a)bugs 'breath' // Kha wug, Blo wug, Tao ṛboñ, KangI ḡu, KangII ḡuk, DerM ḡuk, LhS ḡu?, cf. 147 (Cham ḡə), 148, 149, 150, 152(1), 162.

¹⁰ LT ḍ 'bab- 'to fall' // Kha mba-, RA bab-, CTW ḡap- (bab-); LT ḍ 'insect' // Blo ḡbu, Cham mbd (p. 90), CTW bu; LT 'bar- 'to burn' // Pan ḍar-, CTW bar-; LT 'bod- 'to call' // RA bol-, cf. 144, 311, 312, 314, 315 (KangI ḡba, KangII ḡbāk, DerM ḡba), 459, 567.

¹¹ Only one example before -i- cf. 633, KangI ḡi, KangII ḡi/i, DerM ġ, Cham tý (p. 80).

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TIBETAN DIALECTS

OT  \( p^r y \)-

a) is represented by \( p^r \) in Dpa, by \( p^s, b^s, f^s \) or \( s (s\text{-etc.}) \) in Gol, Sz, Prz, Pan, RA, Blo, Ban, Tao, Der, Chung and Mgr, ShY;

b) by \( t^s \)- in Pot, Kha, Kang, Cham, WT and CT;

c) by \( p^r y \)- before \( a, o, u \) and \( p^r \)- before \( i, e \) in Bal, Pur and rarely in Gol and Tao.\(^{13}\)

OT  \( 'p^r y \)-

a) is represented by \( s \) in Blo and RA;

b) by \( nts^s \)-, or \( t^s \)- in Kha, Kang, Der and CT;

c) by \( p^r y \) in Tao.\(^{14}\)

OT by-

a) is represented by \( b^s \) or \( b'y \)- in Dpa, by \( b^s, p^s, w^s, f^s \) or \( s (s\text{-}) \) in Gol, Pan, Kha, Sz, Pot, Prz, Blo, RA, Der, Chung, An and Mgr, ShY;

b) by \( pt^s, t^s \) or \( d^z \)- in Pan(?), Tao, Kang, Cham, Lad and CT;

c) by \( by \)- before \( a, o, u \) and \( b \)- before \( i, e \) in Bal, Pur (but Pur \( bye-ma 'desert' \)), rarely in Tao.\(^{15}\)


\(^{14}\)LT 'phyi- 'to be late' // Kha nč'i-, Blo shī-; LT 'phyor- 'to lift' // RA sōr-; LT 'phyon- 'to hang down' // Tao phyon-, Kang rčhan-, DerM čohn-.

\(^{15}\)bya-(mo) '(female) bird, hen' // Dpa bhčamo, Gol fśa(=fśa), RA ša-mo, Sz samo, Pot (A, 5) šia, Blo s̃ha-mo, (on Kha wś- cf. LSI II, Pt 1. p. 37), Tao pā, Kang tā/bā, Der śa, An sī (< bye'u), Bal bya, Pur bīa, Lad tā, CTM tśā, LhM tśā; LT bya-ba 'rat' // Gol jśo, RA śī, Tao ṣiwa, KangI śiwa, KangII śiwa/čiwa, DerM śiwa; LT byan 'North' // Gol jśan, RA śān, Blo shan (Pao an śjan(g)), Cham čoŋ (p. 66), Lad tšan, CTM tšan (sic read tā-), LhM tshān (read tś'ā-), CTB čang; LT byama-pa 'love' // RA samba, Pan chhaam-pa or suam-pa; LT bya-ba 'ten million' // Prz śla, Tao pēe-ba, KangI čeva, KangII čewa/čewa, DerM ś'ewa; LT bye-ma 'sand' // Cham čema,
THE SPIRANTIZATION OF THE BILABIALS

OT dby-

a) is represented by γγ-, ry- or y- in Gol, Pan, RA, Sz, Blo, Kang, Der, Cham, CT and Mgr; by wy- in Kham;
b) by ṭʂ- in Tao and Cham; by ḍz- in Pan;
c) by ḡby-, zby- before a, o, u in Bal, Pur.16

OT sby-

a) is represented by ฐ- in Kha;
b) by וץ- in Der, Cham, by ǳ- in Kang, CT;
c) by sby-, zby-, by- in Blo, in Bal before a, o, u and in Tao by py-.17

OT spr-

a) is represented by ptr-, ṇtr-, ṇhr-(str-), tr-, tʰ-, t- in: Dpa, Ban, Kha, Pan, Tao, CT;
b) by ȳr-, tʃr-, tʃ- in Kang, Der, Cham, LhM;
c) by sp-, ṇr- in RA, Pur; rarely (vulg.) p- in CTW;
d) by ȳ (s < sr < spr) in RA, Lad.18

OT pʰr-

a) is represented by ptʰr-, tʰ-, tʰr- in Dpa, Kha, CT;
b) by ȳr- in Tao, Kang; by tʃ- in Cham, CT and Lad; by ṭʂ- in Der;

Chung sbyen-wa, Pur bye-ma, CT che; Pan psyang 'clean' can be interpreted from a form byan while hyjang, ayang from 'byan; cf. 690, Róna-Tas, Tibetan Loan-words in Shera Yögar, p. 265.

16 LT dbye- 'to divide' // Pan dje-, CTW ye-; LT dbyaṅs 'song' // Pan ryang, Blo ḍyan, CTW yang; LT dbyug- 'to cast' // RA ḍig-, Cham ḍu-; LT dbyar-pa 'poplar' // Bal ḍher-pa, Pur ḍhyerpa, Pur J sbyar-pa, cf. 775 (KangI yar, KangII yer, DerM yal, Cham ja-ka), 776.

17 LT sbyar- 'to fasten (past)' // Kha zuar-, Tao spherd-, Kang yar-, DerM jär-; LT sbyin- 'to give' // Blo ubyin-, CTW jìn-; LT sbyaṅ- 'to practice' // Cham zon (sbyon, p. 76), Bal zbyang-, CTW jong (sbyon).

18 LT sprul- 'to transform' // Dpa ptra-, Blo ḍhrul-, RA sil-, sel-, CTW tril-; LT spre'u 'monkey' // Kha śre-yg, RA ḍpī, Ban ḍpī, Blo hpréa, Tao ċpre-u, KangI За-γ, KangII śre-oe, DerM śre-wu, Cham tše-wu, Pur spērī, CTW pe'u; LT sprin 'cloud' // Blo ḍhrin, RA ċin, Pan drin, Tao strūm, KangI źren, KangII śren, DerM trim, Cham ḍu (sic, p. 76), Pur sprin, Lad sin, CTM tim-pa, CTW trim, LhM tšim-pa.
c) by $p$ - in vulg. CTM.\textsuperscript{19}

OT 'p'\textit{r}.

a) is represented by $\text{nt}'\text{r}$-, $\text{t}'\text{r}$- or $\text{tr}$- in RA, CT;

b) by $\text{t}s'$- in Kang, by $\text{tšr}$- in Tao and Der, by $\text{nl}'\text{s}'$, $\text{tš}'$- in Cham and Mgr.\textsuperscript{20}

OT 'br-

a) is represented by $\text{bd}'\text{r}$-, $\text{t}'\text{r}$-, $\text{d}'\text{r}$-, $\text{t}$- in Dpa, Ra, Kha, Der;

b) by $\text{d}'\text{r}$-, $\text{t}'\text{r}$- in Tao, Kang, Der, by $\text{tš}$- in Cham, by $\text{tš}'$- in LhM, by $\text{p}'\text{z}$- in Mgr-;

c) by $\text{ptš}$- in Sz, Prz;

d) by $\text{br}$-, $\text{pr}$- in Gol, Blo, Tao, Bal and Pur.\textsuperscript{21}

OT 'br-

a) is represented by $\text{mdr}$-, $\text{ndr}$-, $\text{d}'\text{r}$-, $\text{d}$- in Gol, Pan, RA, Der, Lad and CT;

b) by $\text{zd}'\text{r}$-, $\text{dz}'\text{r}$-, $\text{tš}'$- in Tao, Kang, by $\text{dz}$- in Cham; by $\text{p}'\text{z}$- in Mgr;

c) by $\text{nbr}$-, $\text{br}$- in Blo, Bal and Pur.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{19} LT phru-gu, phrug 'child' // Dpa phrug-gu, Kha $\text{t}'\text{u}-\text{go}$, Sz $\text{cseuk}$, Blo phrug-gu, Tao $\text{t}\text{r}$-ru-, Kang $\text{t}'\text{ru}$-, DerM $\text{chu}$, Lad $\text{t}\text{ugu}$ (but $\text{tshuk}$), Pur $\text{phru}$, Bal phru, CTM $\text{thu}-\text{gu}$, $\text{thug}$ (vulg $\text{pù}-\text{gu}$), LhM $\text{tshu}-\text{khù}$, $\text{tshù}$, LhK toha $\text{phu}$ (< bya-phru); LT 'phra-ka 'thin' // Cham $\text{tshu}-\text{ka}$ (p. 68); LT 'od-phro 'light' // Pan od-cho; LT phred 'across' // Bal phred; LT phrin 'message' // Bal phrin.

\textsuperscript{20} LT 'phrod- 'to have been delivered' // Kha $\text{n}'\text{d}_\text{od}$-, Tao $\text{čhrum}$-, KangI $\text{t}'\text{ro}$-, KangII nd'\text{ro}$-, DerM $\text{čhrö}$-, CTW thrö-; LT 'phrul-maṅ 'delusion' // Blo phrul-naṅ; LT 'phrog- 'to remove' // RA $\text{t}'\text{ro}$; LT 'phren-ma 'rosary' // Cham tšen-ma, cf. 3 99.

\textsuperscript{21} LT brag 'rock' // Dpa brdража, Blo brax, RA $\text{t}'\text{rag}$, Tao $\text{dzroṅ}$, KangI dzra, KangII $\text{t}'\text{roq}$, DerM tro, Cham tṣa? (p. 68), Bal brag-, CTW trak; LT braṅ 'cheat' // Gol praṇ, Kha dān, Prz $\text{čhan}$, Sz pesan, RA praṇ, Tao praṇ, KangI dzran, KangII $\text{t}'\text{ran}$, DerM dzroṅ, Bal braṅ, Pur braṅ, CTW trang; LT bri(s)- 'to write' // Blo brī-, RA $\text{t}'\text{ri}$-, Bal rbya-(?), Pur zbrī- (< sbrī), Lad $\text{di}$-, CTW tri-, CTM $\text{t}'\text{i}$-, LhM $\text{tsh}_\text{ā}$-, cf. 193.

\textsuperscript{22} LT 'brug 'thunder' // Gol nd'$\text{t}$ug, Blo 'brux, Pan druk, RA $\text{druk}$, Lad $\text{d}_{\text{uk}}$, BalJ blug; LT 'bri(-mjo) 'yak (hybrid) ' // Gol nd're, Blo bri-mo, RA dre, Tao ndšri-, KangI dzšri-, KangII $\text{t}'\text{ri}$-, DerM ndri-; LT 'bras 'rice' // Blo nbru, RA $\text{d}_{\text{r}}$, Tao ndzre, KangI dzre, KangII āre, DerM ndre, Bal bras, Pur bras, Lad $\text{d}_{\text{as}}$, CTW dre, CTM dè, LhM tshè; LT 'brad- 'to scratch' // Pur brap; LT 'bron 'wild yak' // RA āroṅ, Tao ndzroṅ, KangI dzroṅ, KangII āroṅ, DerM ndroṅ, Cham dzon, cf. 193.
The spirantization of the bilabials 183

OT sbr-

Three words belonging here (sbran- 'honey, bee etc.', sbra 'tent', sbrul 'snake') have different developments. The latter was in OT *γbrul > LT sbrul. We find developments *γbr > γb > rw > r- and *γbr- > zbr- > sbr- > br- > dr- and other representations of br-. Also in the other two words there is a br- ~ b- alternation.23

For a few consonant groups I have not enough material at my disposal.24

On the basis of the above we can formulate some conclusions. There is a well observable tendency in Tibetan of the spirantization of the labial stops in radical position. The spirantization takes place in two ways: through γ and through h. The former is present in non-aspirated, the latter in aspirated labials. Both tend to disappear, and this tendency is stronger before labial vowels.

We meet a different behaviour of the labials in pure radical position and before the postradicals -γ- and -γ-. In the latter case the radical labial stop becomes a secondary preradical (cf. p. 192) and then develops as the preradicals (cf. pp. 134—135) but the spirantization in the radical stage is also well observable (cf. 110, 112).

The tendency of spirantization is more advanced with zero preradical and with preradical d/g--, while less advanced after preradical s-- and nasal preradical.

The tendency is not affecting the WAT dialects (with the exception of a very few cases), and is at work in a different measure in NEAT, the transitional and central dialects.

Concerning the distribution of the various realizations of the tendency for spirantization we can observe the following groups: 1. In the OT clusters 'pγr-, 'br- the labial stop disappeared in all CT, transitional and NEAT dialects; 2 in the OT clusters spr-, pγr-, br- the labial stop disappeared in all CT, transitional and NEAT dialects with exception of Dpa, Sz and Prz; 3 in the OT cluster dby- the labial stop disappeared in all CT, transitional and NEAT dialects with the exception of Kha, while -γ- is retained in all of them with the exception of Tao; 4. in the OT cluster db- the labial

23 LT sbrul 'snake' (*γbrul) // RA rū, Sz erwū, Gol erwū, Bal gbul, Pur sbrul, Lad rul, CTW dru, CTM ḍū, LhM ṭphū; LT sbra 'tent' (*γbra) // RA ba-. Ban ra (but cf. the name Ba-nag < Sbra-nag), Bal rba, Pur zbră, cf. 104 and note 13 on p. 46.

24 Cf. LT 'byan 'clean' // Pan hjąang, ayang, psyang and 434, 435.
stop disappeared before labial vowels in CT and the transitional dialects\textsuperscript{25}, while it is at the spirant stage in NEAT\textsuperscript{26} with the exception of Tao where \(b\)- is retained; before non-labial vowels the spirant representations are preserved in CT, the transitional and NEAT dialects with the exception of Tao and in some cases in Kang; 5. in the OT clusters \(dpy\)-, \(p'y\)-, \(by\)- the labial stop is preserved only in Dpa, Pan, Prz and in some cases in Tao, it is spirant in Gol; we find \(\delta\)- in place of OT \(-y\)- in the Amdo sub-group and in some cases in Kha, Der, Chung and Tao; 6. in place of OT \(p\)-, \(b\)-, \(p\)- and in the case of \(dp\)- the labial stop became spirant in the Amdo sub-group of NEAT where it is disappearing before labial vowels in some cases; 7. In the OT clusters \(sp\)-, '\(p'\)-, '\(b\)- the labial stop is preserved in all CT, transitional and NEAT dialects.

The sequence of the cases 1—7 shows at the same time the relative chronology of the distribution of the realizations of the general tendency.

\textbf{THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRERADICALS}

Contrary to I. J. Schmidt, who thought that the preradicals are late and secondary developments in Tibetan orthography, already Jäschke pointed out that the orthography in this case has preserved an old stage of the Tibetan language.\textsuperscript{27} Since Jäschke many scholars have dealt with the question mainly from the morphological point of view, but important statements have also been made concerning the phonology of the preradicals.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{25}In the materials of Migot (Kang, DerM), Jäschke (CTJ) and Miller (CTM) we find an aspiration, incursion or glottal stop before the labial vowel in these positions but this is the development of the preradical \(d\)-.

\textsuperscript{26}With a few exceptions cf. e.g. LT \(dbus\) 'middle' // RA \(γv\), but LT \(dbl\) 'poverty' // RA \(γol\).

\textsuperscript{27}Jäschke, \textit{Über das tibetanische Lautsystem} (1860), pp. 257—278. Five years later he reported with surprise that in Purik and North Ladak illiterate people pronounce some preradicals (\textit{Note on the Pronunciation} etc., p. 92). Ščerbatskoy in a little known paper in 1907 (\textit{Определители корней}, p. 644) quoting Buriat lamas and A. N. Kaznakov, who made a journey in Eastern Tibet in 1902, reported that the preradicals are pronounced in some places, a fact to which he attached importance.

\textsuperscript{28}I have not the place here to give an entire bibliography of the question but cf. R. Shafer, \textit{Prefixes in Tibeto-Burmic}, pp. 45—50 and Uray, \textit{Kelet-Tibet} and \textit{Acta Orient. Hung.} IV (1955).
On the basis of these works and the material discussed above on pp. 134—145 some new conclusions can be drawn. First of all we have to separate the history of the nasal and oral preradicals.

The history of the oral preradicals is one of their disappearance through spirantization and their gradual convergence. The process can be outlined as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{OT } b-- & \quad \Rightarrow b \geq f, y \geq \chi \geq \text{zero}^{29} \\
\text{OT } d/g-- & \quad \Rightarrow \gamma \geq r \geq s \geq \delta \geq \chi \geq \text{zero}^{30} \\
\text{OT } r-- & \quad \Rightarrow r \geq s \geq \delta \geq \chi \geq \text{zero}^{31} \\
\text{OT } l-- & \quad \Rightarrow r \geq s \geq \delta \geq \chi \geq \text{zero}^{32} \\
\text{OT } s-- & \quad \Rightarrow s \geq \delta \geq \chi \geq \text{zero}^{33}
\end{align*}
\]

With the exception of the OT preradical \( b-- \), which is preserved as a stop in some of the archaic dialects, every OT oral preradical — including \( r-- \) (cf. p. 137) — has only spirant representations in the Tibetan archaic dialects. The voiced-voiceless character of the spirant depends on the following radical. This is reflected in some of the archaic dialects\(^{34}\), and where it is not recorded we can suppose that — at least in some of these cases — we have to do with an existing but unrecorded peculiarity. The fact that in the most abundantly recorded RA we find \( \chi-- \) in place of each OT preradical clearly shows its secondary character.

\(^{29}\) We find \( b-- \) in: Kha, Prz, Pan, Bal and rarely Tao; \( f-- \) or \( y-- \) in Dpa, Gol, Kha, RA, Blo, Ban, Pan and Bal; \( \chi-- \) in Pan, Tao and Pur cf. pp. 134—135.

\(^{30}\) We find \( \gamma-- \) in: Dpa, Gol, Kha, Blo, Sz, RA, Ban, Sa, Rna, Bal; \( r-- \) in Dpa, Gol, Sz, Prz, RA, Pan, Tao, Rna, Sa, Bal, Pur, Lad; \( s-- \) in: Lad; \( \delta-- \) in: Pur; \( \chi-- \) in: Dpa, Gol, Kha, Blo, Prz, RA, Ban, Pan, Rna, Sa, Bal, cf. pp. 135—138.

\(^{31}\) We find \( r-- \) in: Dpa, Gol, Kha, Blo, Sz, Prz, RA, Ban, Pan, Tao, Chog, Rna, Sa, Bal, Pur, Lad; \( s-- \) in: Sz, Pan; \( \delta-- (\delta--) \) in: Gol, Sz, RA, Tao, Chog, Rna, Bal, Pur; \( \chi-- \) in: Blo, RA, Rna cf. pp. 138—139.

\(^{32}\) We find \( l-- \) in: Dpa, Kha, Chog, Rna, Sa, Bal, Pur, Lad; \( r-- \) in: Gol Prz, RA, Pan, Tao, Rna; \( s-- \) in: Gol, Sz, Rna; \( \delta-- \) in: Gol, Sz, cf. pp. 141—142.

\(^{33}\) We find \( s-- \) in: Dpa, Gol, Prz, Sz, Kha, Pan, Tao, Chog, Sa, Bal, Pur, Lad; \( \delta-- (\delta--) \) in: Gol, Sz, Kha, RA, Way, Tao, Rna; \( \chi-- \) in: Prz, Sz, Blo, Kha, RA, Way, Ban, Rna. cf. pp. 140—141.

\(^{34}\) Cf. LT bsad- ’to speak’ // Bal phbshat-; LT bzo ’work’ // Bal bzo; LT cu-bzi ’14’ // CT ču-pi; LT cu-bdun ’17’ // CT čubdū; LT dpyid ’spring’ // Gol 2-phid; LT gzigs ’leopard’ // Gol yzig (but yčig ’one’); LT spu ’hair’ // Kha spu; LT sbar-ba ’frog’ // Kha zual-ua, Pur zbal; LT skad ’voice’ // Pur skät; LT sga ’saddle’ // Pur zgā; LT skar-ma ’star’ // Bal skarma; LT sgo ’door’ // Bal zgo; LT gsaṅ ’secret’ // Bal khsang; LT *gjur ’edge’ // Bal gzur and Chog, Sa.
The actual realization of the OT preradicals — that is the stage of its spirantization — depends among others on the mono- or polysyllabism of the words. The advance of the spirantization or even the loss of the preradical is more frequent in word compositions than in monosyllabic words.

The realization of the OT preradicals depends also on the incidence of stress. It is not without interest that e.g. LT *rtä 'horse' is represented in the vocabulary of Roerich as *rtä, *ṭa and *ṭa but in the texts we find only *ṭa.  

The form *rtä is to be found in the paradigm (Le parler, pp. 33, 35) which is perhaps due to its isolated pronunciation when not affected by sentence stress.

Literary Tibetan evidences an advanced stage of spirantization. This is clear e.g. from those examples where we find on place of LT s-- in some dialects r--, or even γ--. In these cases the archaic dialects have preserved an earlier stage than reflected in LT, or in other words, every LT preradical may correspond to the same OT preradical or to any other OT preradical which is at an earlier stage of spirantization. LT s-- can reflect OT d/g--, r--, l-- or s--, LT r-- can reflect OT d/g--, OT r-- and so on.  

As we have seen (e.g. pp. 142–143) CT has preserved many archaic traits. Among them we find e.g. OT r-- preserved in CT where LT has already s-- in second syllable after vowel. This feature is present in the archaic dialects too (cf. p. 143).

LT shows that the preradicals denoted with the letters d-- and


36 LT sga 'saddle' // Gol rga, Prz.-pra, RA rga; LTstag 'tiger' // Gol rtag; LTsdod 'to sit' // Sz rdot-; LTsku 'body' // Pan rku; LT sgam 'box' // Bal rgam etc. There is also an s--/r-- alteration in LT which reflects the same process: LT rtab-, stab- 'to be in a hurry'; LT rtuṅ-, stuṅ- 'to shorten'; LT sdor-, rdor- 'spice'; LT rdoṅ-, sdoṅ- 'to unite'. In some of these cases the form with r-- may equally be a hyperurban form.

37 OT *ybrul, LT sbrul see Note 23 on p. 182.

38 LT rmaṅs 'sterility' // RA ymaṅ, rmaṅ. Here too we find parallel forms in LT e.g. rmi-lam 'dream' and gād-lam cf. Note 66 on p. 194.

39 The picture is made rather complicated by the hyperurban forms of LT which in this case have nothing to do with OT. It is also confused by the dialectal phenomena of the various classical dictionaries. This is the reason why I usually quote LT forms. The reconstruction of the OT forms only can be carried out when the lexical stock of the Old Tibetan texts and all the archaic Tibetan dialects have been systematically investigated.
were only positional variants. In the archaic dialects there is no indication of a stage at which these two preradicals should have been separate phonemes.

The disappearance of the nasal preradicals took place through their assimilation to the following radical. This tendency works in different dialects in different measure according to the quality of the radicals. The process began already in the dialect reflected by LT where, before labial radicals, only one nasal preradical occurs (cf. p. 145).

The disappearance of the nasal preradicals before the aspirated radicals had begun earlier than before the non-aspirated. This can be seen in some transitional dialects (e.g. Der, Cham) where we find nasal preradicals only before non-aspirated radicals.

The distribution of the representations of the OT preradicals is the following: 1. The OT oral and nasal preradicals are preserved in all NEAT dialects with the exception of Ban, RA, Way and Chog; 2. only the oral preradicals are preserved in Ban, RA, Way, Chog, Bal, Pur and Lad; 3. only the nasal preradicals are preserved in the transitional dialects; 4. oral and nasal preradicals are preserved in second syllable after vowels in all the dialects including CT.

Instead of the preradical system we find the pitch-system in the non-archaic dialects. Already Jäschke pointed out the basic characteristics of the Tibetan tonal system. In the subsequent literature some confusion arose since pitch and tone was not separated or separated consistently. Chao (Love songs, p. 27) and Miller (Writing, p. 2) distinguished the pitch as a phonemic quality from tone, the first of which is the level of intonation, the second the sinking-rising or the change of the relative level of intonation. In the light of the recent studies by Miller, Ching P'eng, Sprigg and Sedláček we can form a more detailed idea of the connection between the OT preradical and radical system and the pitch system of modern Tibetan. We find the following categories:

---

40 According to the rules of LT orthography d- can occur only before the radicals p-, k-, b-, g-, m- and g- before the rest of radicals. The absence of d/g- before OT dz- and dz- show a pre-OT *dy-, *γdy- which is absent from LT while gy-, dgy- is present.

41 Cf. A Tibetan—English Dictionary, p. XIII.

FIRST CATEGORY

1. Stop and affricate radicals\(^{43}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LT</th>
<th>praradicals</th>
<th>Central Tibetan praradicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( t ) [h]</td>
<td>( t ) [h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( th )</td>
<td>( t' ) [h]</td>
<td>( t' ) [h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( d )</td>
<td>( t' ) [1]</td>
<td>( t' ) [1]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Spirant radicals\(^{46}\)

<table>
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<th>praradicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( š )</td>
<td>( š ) [h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ž )</td>
<td>( ž ) [1]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECOND CATEGORY

3. Spirant radicals\(^{47}\)

<table>
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<th>praradicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( y )</td>
<td>( y ) [1]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Nasal radicals\(^{48}\)

<table>
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<th>praradicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( n ) [1]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Liquid radicals\(^{49}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LT</th>
<th>praradicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( l )</td>
<td>( l ) [1]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{43}\) Here \( t, th, d \) represent also \( k, kh, g; p, ph, b; č, čh, ř; c, ch, ř.\)
\(^{44}\) [h] = high pitch, [1] = low pitch.
\(^{45}\) According to Miller. Y. R. Chao, Kin P’eng and Sedláček have \( t \) [1], cf. note 40 on pp. 33—35.
\(^{46}\) According to Miller. Sedláček and Sprigg have \( d \) [1], Y. R. Chao and Kin P’eng \( t \) [1], cf. note 40 on pp. 33—35.
\(^{47}\) Also for \( s, z.\)
\(^{48}\) Also for \( k.\)
\(^{49}\) Also for \( m.\) but \( m.\) cannot be preceded by nasal praradical.
\(^{49}\) Also for \( r.\)
From the historical point of view in the first category the pitch depends on the voiced-voiceless character of the OT radical,50 in the second on the presence or absence of the preradical. To the second category belong those phonemes which had no voiced: voiceless pairs.51 This alone shows the important role of the preradical system in the formation of the pitch system.

From the synchronic point of view in the first category we find in CT the opposition t[l]: t[h] while we do not find t'[l]: t'[h] and d[l]: d[h]. In LhM we find t'[l]: t'[h] but not t[l]: t[h] and d[l]: d[h]. In the records of Sprigg, Chao, Kin and Sedláček we find t'[l]: t'[h] and t[l]: t[h] but never d[l]: d[h]. The absence of the d[l]: d[h] opposition in all records clearly shows that the pitch system — as a distinctive phonemic feature — came into being where the voiced character of the radical was lost and replaced by another phonemic quality. CT shows at the same time that the pitch is an exclusive distinctive phonemic characteristic only in one group: OT zero + d > CT t[l]: t[h] < OT oral + t.52 In all other groups it works in combination with aspiration — non-aspiration (t'[h]: t[l]) or with voiced — voiceless (t'[h]: d[l]) or with both (t'[h]: d[l]). Since the loss of the voiced character of the type OT zero + d > CT t[l] can be only due to the absence of preradicals (cf. preradical + d > CT d[l]) it is clear that in this category too the preradical system had its influence on the development of the pitch system. Some interesting features of the modern Tibetan

50 This is an evidence that at least in the group of stops, affricates and in one group of the spirants the basic phonemic opposition in OT was voiced: voiceless and not aspirated: unaspirated. If we presume that the voiceless, unaspirated | t | did not occur originally after zero preradical — and I have good reason to suppose this — then we can reduce the OT phoneme groups to two main series: zero + th, oral + t, nasal + th and zero + d, oral + d, nasal + d. In this connection it is not without interest to remark that the basic phonemic opposition in Monguor is aspirated voiceless tenuis: unaspirated voiceless media (t' : d). On the phonemic basis of Monguor Tibetan t and d have converged and are substituted by Monguor d- while Tibetan t’- remained t’-.

51 Theoretically we can suppose that there existed in the second category a voiceless: voiced opposition too and y¹ (voiced) occurs only with zero and y² (voiceless) only with oral preradicals. But in this case too the dominant role of the preradical is evident.

52 On zero + t see note 50 above.
pitch system, which can be explained only by the OT preradical system corroborate this view.\textsuperscript{53}

In the modern Tibetan dialects we find no indication of the quality of the OT preradicals\textsuperscript{54} (e.g. ldaṅ - 'to rise' and sdaṅ - 'to be angry') both have resulted equally in CT in "dan\textsuperscript{1}[1].\textsuperscript{55} This seems to refer to the last stage of the development of the preradicals where all of them converged, and indicates that in the case of the non-archaic dialects too we have the same process which is observable in the archaic dialects.

\textsuperscript{53} LT zl- has its equivalent in CT d- [1]. According to the type 5 in the second category radical l- with oral preradical would result in l- [h]. If we start from a form with d- we would expect t [1] in CT, according to type 1 of the first category. The d [1] can be the result only of a form ld- or nd- (cf. CT mi-nda etc.). The OT cluster dby- corresponds to CT y [h]. The radical b- with an oral preradical would result, according to type 1 of the first category, in b- [1]. If we start from a form y- this would result in y [1] according to type 3 of the second category. The only possible form which results in y [h] in CT is γγγ-. As we have seen above (p. 81) dby- is represented by γγγ- in some archaic dialects and LT reflects this in some "irregular forms" (cf. LT dbgyi, g-yi 'lynx', LT dbyug, g-yug - 'to swing'). LT db- would result in b- [1] in CT according to type 1 of the first category. In fact we find w- [h] or γ- [1]. If we start from b- we would expect p- [1], if we start from w- this would result, according to type 3 of the second category, in w- [1]. The only form which can result in w- [h] is γw-. As we have seen this is the initial cluster in this category in the archaic dialects (LT dbus // γw- etc.). The γ [1] can only result from a γw- > γ- > γ-, and thus we have another argument that the γ- is the continuation of OT γ- and an additional evidence for the history of the 'a-čḥuṅ' above p. 129. Naturally the pitch-system could have been in existence simultaneously with the OT preradical system. Pelliot (Quelques transcriptions, p. 24) expressed the opinion that the pitch-system is an old Sino-Tibetan peculiarity. This seems to be supported by the fact that the high and low pitch connected with the voiced or voiceless character of the radicals was present in Ancient Chinese (cf. Karlgren, Analytic Dictionary etc., pp. 7–8, Sedláček, Tonal System, p. 183). The prosodic aspects of the question were dealt with by Tőkei: Acta Orient. Hung. VI (1956), pp. 56–57, Acta Orient. Hung. VII (1957), p. 79.

\textsuperscript{54} In the material published by Sedláček (Tonal system) type 1 of the first category has t [1] in the voiced series after oral preradical and d [1] after nasal preradical. Here the voiced character of the original voiced radical is retained only after OT nasal preradicals. This is reminiscent of the transitional dialects where nasal preradicals are still preserved, and indicate that the nasal preradicals disappeared later then the oral ones.

\textsuperscript{55} For more examples see Gould-Richardson, Tibetan Syllables.
The representations of the OT postradicals -\( y \)- and -\( r \)- were discussed in detail above (cf. pp. 115—122, 123 130). Here I would only mention the conclusions which can be drawn from confronting the history of the two series.

In place of OT -\( y \)- we find: 1. \( Y \); 2. \( X \) (symbol used for the phoneme denoted in Dpa by \( ch \) in this position. In certain cases it can be a -\( y \)-); 3. \( \dot{S} \) (for \( \dot{s}, s, \dot{s} \) etc.); \( T\dot{S} \) (for \( t\dot{s}, t\dot{s}, t\dot{s}, t \), etc. and their corresponding voiced and aspirated forms); 5. \( \dot{N} \); 6. ZERO.

In place of OT -\( r \)- we find- 1. \( R \); 2. \( TR \) (for \( tr, tr, t \) etc. and their corresponding voiceless and aspirated forms); 3. \( T\dot{S} \) (see above); 4. ZERO.

In some of the dialects the labial radical or its development is preserved before the representation of the postradical. This feature sheds new light on the controversial question of the postradicals: 56

\textbf{OT} \( spy \)- // Dpa \( p\dot{z} \)-;
\textbf{OT} \( p'y \)- // Gol \( f\dot{s} \)-, Prz \( b\dot{s} \)-, Tao \( p\dot{s} \)-;
\textbf{OT} \( by \)- // Dpa \( p\dot{z} \)-, Pan \( p\dot{s} \)-, Kha \( w\dot{s} \), Tao \( pt\dot{s} \), Mgr \( w\dot{s} \)-, \( f\dot{s} \)-.

The same can be observed in the non-archaic dialects where in the second syllable — after vocalic final of the first syllable — both the radical and the postradical were preserved: 57 LT \textit{snaphys} 'handkerchief' // CTB \textit{nap-chi} (cf. LT \textit{kha-phys} 'id.' // Bl\( o \textit{kha-pshi} \), LT \textit{zla-phyped} 'half-month' // CT (p. 43) \textit{dap\'e} 'e', LT \textit{rma-bya} 'peafowl' // CTJ \textit{mahja}, LT \textit{bya-by\'u} 'birds' // CT \textit{\'ap\'s}''i, LT \textit{\'abs-phyi(s)} 'servant' // \textit{\'ap\'s}'i etc. In one case the guttural stop is preserved in Pan: LT \textit{\'akya} \textit{thub-pa} 'Sakyamuni' // Pan \textit{shakcha t\'uba}.

We find the same feature with OT -\( r \)-:

\textbf{OT} \( spr \)- // Dpa \( pt\dot{r} \)-;
\textbf{OT} \( p'r \)- // Dpa \( pt\dot{r} \)-;
\textbf{OT} \( br \)- // Dpa \( bd\dot{r} \), Sz \( pt\dot{s} \), Prz \( pt\dot{s} \).

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57 G. Uray was so kind as to call my attention to this type. To the preserved preradical in similar position cf. LT \textit{rdo-bzo-ba} 'mason' // CT \textit{dopso} ; LT \textit{ru\-b\'zi} 'frame' // \textit{rup\'si} ; LT \textit{mgo-br\'nogs} 'difficulty' // CT \textit{gop\'ny\'o} ; LT \textit{kha-
\textit{brdun} gto\'n} 'to scold' // CT \textit{k\'ab\'dun tan-} etc. For other preradicals I refer to the type LT \textit{bka\'gyur} 'Kanjur'.
In non-archaic dialects in second syllable after vocalic final of the first syllable: LT *lho-brag 'Southern Rock, a place name' // CTM *lobd-tag, LT *bya-phrug 'little bird' // LhCh *tc.a-pi-su.

From these examples we can draw some important conclusions: 1. The present-day representations which are to be found in the place of the OT clusters radical +y/r are structurally the continuations of the postradicals. 2. The development of the postradicals was strongly influenced by the character of the radical (voiced, aspirated, oral qualities). 3. A structural change can be observed: the postradicals became radicals the radicals preradicals. 4. These secondary preradicals are preserved or disappeared under the same conditions as the primary ones.58

These conclusions can be corroborated by additional evidence. G. Uray has called the attention (Kelet-Tibet, p. 20) to the fact, that we have to include into the investigation of the postradicals the representations of OT my- but he had not enough material to discuss the question in detail. As has been demonstrated above (p. 124) OT had my- before every vowel. In its place we find in every case mi- in Gol, Dpa, Prz and Ha while ni- in Blo, RA, Ban and Chung. The other dialects have ni- only before a, o, u. The original nasal stop radical m- has been preserved only in those dialects where the nasal preradical is preserved, a clear proof of the shift radical > preradical before -y-. It is also clear that the nasal character of the representation of OT -y- is due to the original nasal radical since we find y > ni development only in this position.

The Š representations can be found only after labial radicals and have developed through a ʃ which is well observable in Dpa. In those cases where the labial stop radical disappeared in a relatively early period the y > Š development did not take place: LT dbṣ(y)(= qby) > y+t+y- > y+y- > y-. This is also proof of the second-

58 On the secondary radicals cf. Uray, Kelet-Tibet, p. 18. Naturally the secondary character is only relative and was realized in different forms in the several groups at several periods. Durr (Morphologie, pp. 130–131) cites many pairs of words where primary and secondary -y- and -r- radicals are in correspondence. In such cases as LT dbruñ 'little' and thuñ 'short, little piece', ēchos 'doctrine' and thos- 'to hear' etc. the tš- can be secondary from an earlier *thy-. Since -y- does not occur in LT after t-, th-, d- a loss of -y- similar to that of the labials, can be supposed here.
ary radical position of \( y \) since \( gy- \) (g radical and y postradical) became \( dž- \). The \( Y \) is also preserved in Pan after guttural stops where this guttural stop disappeared: LT \( sgyu-ma \) 'illusion' // Pan \( ryū-ma \), LT \( rgyal-po \) 'king' // Pan \( yaro \), LT \( rgyal-mchan \) 'trophy' // Pan \( ryan-ts'an \). Here the radical \( g- \) disappeared earlier than \( -y- \) became \( dž- \).\(^{50}\) The distribution of the various TS and TR representations of OT \(-r-\) is governed by the radical and changes according to the separate developments of the respective dialects. It is clear, however, that the \( r > TR \) development is not due to the plosive character of the preceding radical since we find this development after spirant radicals too: LT \( sr- \) // Bal \( str- \), Pur \( str- \), Kha \( str- \), CT \( tfr- \), CTW \( tr- \) etc.\(^{60}\) If we find on place of LT \( spr- \) // Kha \( štr- \), Tao \( str- \), CTW \( tr- \) etc.\(^{61}\) with the regular loss of the labial radical, it is clear that we have to do with a convergent development, and the \(-s-\) of Bal, Pur and Kha \( str < sr- \) are preradicals and \( tr- \) radicals in a synchronic system as in the case of Tao \( str < spr- \). Where we find in place of OT \( sr- \) dialectal \(-s-\) a metathesis took place \( (sr- > rs-) \) with loss of \(-r-\) as a secondary preradical, which is preserved in Tao \( r$s-\).\(^{62}\) A link between the TS and TR series is Tao \( tʃr- \), cf. LhM \( tʃʃ- \).

The voiced or voiceless and the aspirated character of the TS and TR developments fall under the same rules as the radicals. Here too we find secondary loss of voice and secondary aspiration, cf. LT \( bris- \) 'to write' // Lad \( dʒi- \), CTM \( ti \), LhM \( tʃhʃ- \), as in LT \( de-rin \) 'today' // Lad \( derin \), CTM \( tʃerin \), LhM \( therin \).

The ZERO representation is connected with the preceding oral or nasal labial stop radicals. The distribution is the following:

\(^{50}\) Perhaps here we have to take into account Mgr \( yürila- \) (M) 'to change' (LT \( sgyur- \) 'id.') which I have not dealt with in the list of loanwords, cf. LT \( dbyaš- \) 'song' // Pan \( ryaŋ < *gyaŋ \), LT \( rgyun \) 'continual' // Pan \( ryun \), LT \( brgya-ba \) '100th' // Pan \( rgya-wa \), \( rya-wa \).

\(^{60}\) LT \( srim \) 'worm' // Blo \( sin- \), CTW \( sin- \), Mgr \( sum- \) and Bal \( strin- \); LT \( srab-mdla \) 'reins' // Sz \( szab- \), Blo \( oba-\) and RA \( šrap \), Bal \( strab, Pur \) \( strap \), LadJ \( sram-da \), WT \( strab- \), CT \( tʃap \), Mgr \( aranda \).

\(^{61}\) LT \( spré-u \) 'monkey' // Kha \( štre-yʃ \), Tao \( spré-u \), CTW \( pe'u \); LT spring 'cloud' // Tao \( strüm \), CTW \( trim- \) while Dpa \( ptril \) (LT \( sprul- \) 'to transform') preserved the bilabial too.

\(^{62}\) LT \( sreb- \) 'to burn' // Tao \( rsoe- \).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OT</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>CT</th>
<th>WAT</th>
<th>NEAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>by- (i, e)</td>
<td>by-</td>
<td>tš-</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>ptš-, tš; wš- š.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by-(a, o, u)</td>
<td>by-</td>
<td>tš-</td>
<td>by-</td>
<td>ptš-, tš; wš-, š.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my- (i, e)</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>mni-, n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my-(a, o, u)</td>
<td>my-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>mni-, n-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CT is clearly a direct continuation of the situation reflected by LT while NEAT is closest to OT. WAT has preserved some features of OT but developed in another way. There is a well observable tendency for the loss of the postradical -y-. We find this in LT and CT only in the case of OT my-(i, e) in WAT also in the case of by-(i, e) and in the case of gy-(i). The loss of the palatal -y- before front vowels is paralleled by the loss of the labial spirant before labial vowels in the NEAT and CT dialects.

The loss of -y- occurred also in some cases where the i and e are secondary showing that this tendency is still at work in some of the Tibetan dialects. In some words we find the loss of -y- also before other vowels: LT spyod- 'to do' // Kha šwod-, LT sbyar 'having affixed' // Kha zuar. Sporadically we find a loss of -r-: OT p'r- //

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63 The corresponding forms in the WAT are not clear: LT ņal-, *myal- 'to lie' // Bal khṛ̤gyal-, Pur nyel- 'to sleep', WT ņal-; LT smya-ra 'beard' // Bal smagra, Pur smyārā, WT sma-ra. To Bal ṅgy- cf. perhaps LT ņal- 'to lie' // Sz nγjia.

64 LT khýi 'dog' // Bal khī, Pur ṇhi, Lad khýi; LT dkýil 'middle' // Bal skil, Pur skil; LT eqýid-pa 'knee' // Bal gat, Pur zgima.

65 Cf. the type LT bod 'Tibet' // RA wol, ol; LT boi-bu 'donkey' // Sz on-, Pre oh-; LT dbus 'middle' // Gol yuj, Pot ryū, LadJ'us, CTJ 'ū; LT dbal 'poverty' // Kang 'ul, DerM u-, CTM ṭu- etc.

66 We encounter side by side forms in CT as ne- 'to lie' and me- 'bed, place for lying on'. In LT we find ņal- and mal- respectively, but both can be traced back to an OT form *myal and -e- in CT is secondary under the influence of -l. The forms mńal and mnal connecting the LT and CT items can be found in the written language too (cf. Bell, Manual, p. 371, JāD). From an OT form *myar-myar 'oblong' LT nar-nar, CT ne-ne and LT mar-mar can be interpreted in the same way. The LT forms rmi-lam 'dream' and gńid-lam 'id.' and perhaps dmngs 'to fancy', OT dmyngs (TLTD III, p. 166), myi-lam (AFL, p. 180) are also belonging together, cf. RA ḡni-lam, Blo πi-lam, Bal ḡnilam, Pur nǐlām, Lad rmi-lam, nyi-lam, WT rmi-lam. Perhaps also mna 'vow' and gńa-bo 'witness' are of the same type.
CTMvulg p-(cf. p. 182), OT spr-// RA χρ-, Pur sp-, CTW p- (cf. p. 181) and the development of sbr- shows the loss of -r- with combination of metathesis (cf. p. 183).

Thus the development of the OT postradicals can be characterized by their affrication (TŠ, TR) or their assibilation (š) or their nasalization (ň) and by the change of their position (postradical > radical). The following table shows those representations of the postradicals where the OT situation was changed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OT</th>
<th>K + Y</th>
<th>P + Y</th>
<th>M + Y</th>
<th>K + R</th>
<th>P + R</th>
<th>T + R</th>
<th>S + R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dialects</td>
<td>K + TŠ</td>
<td>P + TŠ</td>
<td>M + Ŵ</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>P + TR</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>S + TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TŠ</td>
<td>TŠ</td>
<td>Ŵ</td>
<td>TŠ</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>TŠ</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P + Ŵ</td>
<td>M + ZERO</td>
<td></td>
<td>P + TŠ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P + ZERO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

with the symbols K for gutturals, P for labials, M for nasals, T for dentals, S for sibilants and TŠ, TR, Ŵ as above.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VOWEL-SYSTEM AND THE FINALS

In OT, LT and in some of the archaic dialects the following finals occur: -b, -g, -l, -s, -d, -r, -n, -ŋ, -m, that is, the same consonants which occurred as preradicals in OT. Some finals are disappearing in the dialects (cf. pp. 145—156).

OT -b, -m, -ŋ and -r are preserved in all the dialects.

OT -n is preserved in all the dialects, only Roerich denotes a nasalized vowel and zero final in CT.

OT -g is preserved generally in all dialects, but we also find spirant representations in Dpa, Gol, Blo, Sz, RA, Ban and occasionally zero in Blo and CT.

OT -l is preserved in the majority of the dialects but occasionally we find spirant in Dpa and frequently zero in Dpa, Gol, Sz, Prz, RA, Tao and Pan, and zero in every case in CT.

OT -d is preserved in the majority of the archaic dialects, but we find -l and -r in Dpa, RA, Ban, Sz, Tao, in CT it is in every case zero.
OT -s is preserved only in WAT.

From the above it is clear that first OT -s began to disappear, after, or parallel with, the separation of WAT and the other dialects, but before, or parallel with, the separation of NEAT, transitory and CT dialects. The final -d and -l disappeared while converging through a spirant stage. This is reflected in the records by -l' and -r. The -g disappeared through -γ and -χ.

The disappearence of the finals would have caused an amount of homophonic words if together with the loss of the finals there would not have occurred a change in the vowel-system. This change is present in its complete form only in CT where we find the following (V = vowel):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{OT } -V + s & \rightarrow \text{CT } \overline{V} + \text{zero} \\
\text{OT } -V + d & \rightarrow \text{CT } \overline{V} + \text{zero} \\
\text{OT } -V + l & \rightarrow \text{CT } \overline{V} + \text{zero} \\
\text{OT } -V + n & \rightarrow \text{CT } \tilde{V} + \text{zero} \\
\text{OT } -V + g & \rightarrow \text{CT } V + \text{zero}^{67}
\end{align*}
\]

In place of the finals palatalization, length and nasalization of the vowels have developed.

Only traces of the new system can be met with in the NEAT dialects. The length before OT -l is present in Dpa, RA and Mgr, the palatalization and length before OT -s is noted in Dpa, Kha, RA, the palatalization before OT -d is to be found in RA and Mgr. Changes in the quality of the vowel before the OT final -n are recorded in Dpa, Gol, Kha, Sz and RA. In some other cases it is uncertain whether we are not confronted with inaccurate records only.

It is clear that while the pitch system is connected with the preradical-radical system of the OT, the tone-system depends on the OT finals. But since the investigations concerning this important feature have not achieved up till now satisfactory results we have to await further studies.

Summing up our conclusions we can state that the development of the modern Tibetan dialects show the disappearence of the OT stops through spirantization in preradical and in some cases in

\(^{67}\) Cf. Roerich, Тибетский язык, pp. 42—53, Miller, Writing, pp. 14—15. The nasality before LT -n is denoted by Roerich, but not in CTB, CTW and CTM. LhS notes nasality before -η.
radical and final positions. In place of the disappeared consonantal elements pitch, new vowel quality and tone have developed. In the archaic dialects this process is in progress. There is a close contact among the CT, transitional and NEAT dialects. A special feature of the latter is the spirantization of the labial radicals. The NEAT dialects are connected with the non-archaic dialects by the development of the OT -y- and -r- and by the disappearance of the OT finals. On the other hand some NEAT dialects together with the transitional dialects have preserved the nasal radicals, while they are lost in WAT and in a group of NEAT.
VI. THE ORIGIN OF THE LOANWORDS

It is a well-known fact that when a word enters another language it is accommodated to the phonetic system of the receptor language. Before attempting to reconstruct the phonemic peculiarities of the loanwords in their original Tibetan form we have to remove their Monguor peculiarities, that is we have to show where Monguor have substituted new phonemes for the ones alien to it. This will be evident if we collate the phonemic stock of Monguor and those of the neighbouring Tibetan dialects. But the Tibetan dialects themselves underwent a change and Monguor itself developed under the influence of Tibetan. This complicated interrelation of changes can be well observed in the following table\(^1\) which shows that each Monguor phoneme in the first column may take its origin from any of the phonemes in the second column in the positions specified, and can correspond to any OT phoneme listed in the third column in the positions indicated. The new Monguor phonemes are provided with asterisk.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monguor</th>
<th>Dialectal Tibetan</th>
<th>Old Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>([p^*])</td>
<td>(p^*)</td>
<td>(p^*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([t^*])</td>
<td>(t^*)</td>
<td>(t^*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([k^*])</td>
<td>(k^*)</td>
<td>(k^*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([b])</td>
<td>(p-, b-, -b, -n)</td>
<td>(p-, b-, -b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([d])</td>
<td>(t-, d-, -d, -d)</td>
<td>(t-, d-, -d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([\sigma]^2)</td>
<td>(k-, g-, -g)</td>
<td>(k-, g-, -g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([\rho]^3)</td>
<td>(\gamma-, \gamma-, -g, -\gamma)</td>
<td>(d/g-; \gamma- (=LT 'a-); -g)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) In the column of dialectal Tibetan mostly I noted the sounds of the best attested dialect RA, but in the notes I list the extant variants in the other dialects. Some secondary developments of Mgr are not noted.

\(^2\) In final position only after \(i\) and \(e\).

\(^3\) Mgr \(g\) corresponds rarely to Tib. \(k\), \(g\) in Schröder's material but this seems to be either inaccurate recording or secondary development.
Mongour < Dialectal Tibetan < Old Tibetan

| [*tsʰ*]   | tsʰ-       | tsʰ-       |
| [tʃʰ]     | tʃʰ- 4     | tʃʰ-, (kʰ)y- |
| [*sʰ*]    | sʰ- r5     | (pʰ)r-     |
| [*dz]     | ts-, dz-, z- | ts-, dz-, z- |
| [bʒ]      | tʃ-, bʒ- 6 | tʃ-, bʒ-, (p/b/g)y-, (k/b/d/g)r- |
| [*dz]     | tr-, ɔr-, z- | (b/d/g)r-, z- |
| [m] 8     | m--; m-, -m | 'a--; m-, -m |
| [n] 9     | n--, m--; n-, η-, n-, -m, -n 'a--, m--; n-, η-, n-, (m)y-; -n, -m |
| [ŋ] 10    | η--, n--, m--; η--; -η | 'a--, m--; η--; -η |
| [*w]      | w--; w-, -b, -b | b--; b-, p-, -b |
| [*f]      | f--; f-     | b--; pʰ-    |
| [s]       | s--, ɔs--; s-, z- | d/g--; s--; ts-, tsʰ-, s-, z-, ɔs- |
| [*ʃ]      | ʃ--, ɔs--; ʃ-, ʒ- | d/g--; ʃs-, r--; ʃ- |
| [d] 11    | s--, ɔs--; s--; ʃ-, ʒ- | d/g--; ʃs-, (pʰ/b)y-, ʃ-, ʒ- |
| [y]       | y--; η- 12   | y-, (db)y-, η- |
| [*χ]      | ɔs--; h-, ɔχ | d/g--; pʰ-, h-, ɔL‘a--; -g |
| [l]       | l--; l--; l13 | l--; l--; l- |
| [r]       | r--; r--; l--; l, -γ | d/g--; r--; l--; r, (s)r--; -l, -r, -d |
| zero      | b--; d/g--; r--; l--; s--; 'a--; m--; b-, η--; -b, -l, -s; --s, --d |

As can be seen Mongour has developed eight new consonantal phonemes. 14 Three of them [χ], [ʃ] and [w] could be indigenous of Schröder.

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4 Variants in case of OT (kʰ)y- : ɔ-, ɔk-, ɔʃ-, ɔʃi-, ʃ- etc.
5 Variants in case of OT (pʰ)r- : tʰr, ʃʰr, ʃʰ-, tʰ- etc.
6 Variants as under note 4 and their voiced counterparts.
7 Variants : tr-, t r-, ɔs-, ʃ- and their voiced counterparts.
8 Mgr m-- only before labials, exceptionally before dentals in the material.
9 Mgr n-- only before dentals.
10 Mgr η-- only before gutturals.
11 Mgr ʃ- and ʃ- are conditional variants.
12 In the Tibetan dialects spirant.
13 In some dialects -l or even -z, -ɔ(?).
14 The ninth ɔ occurs only in Chinese loanwords.
Monguor developments, but in fact only \( \chi \) is of Mongolian origin.\(^{15}\) Seven new phonemes developed only for meeting the needs of the Tibetan loanwords. Only dialectal Tibetan \( z \) and \( \ddot{z} \) have no counterparts in Monguor. Tibetan \( \ddot{n} \)- is in fact present in Monguor as \( n\dot{\ddot{i}} \). Though there is a Monguor equivalent of dialectal Tibetan \( \chi \) we find also \( s\)-- substituted in place of OT \( d/g\)-- > dial. Tib \( \chi \)--.

Before I try to determine the whence and when of the borrowing I have to refer to some difficulties. The first is a result of the absence of historical data on Monguor and NEAT. Some peculiarities are only different stages of a common tendency, that means that synchronic and diachronic features coincide. If we find LT \( dgos\)- 'to wish' // Mgr \( ro\ddot{d}li\)ie- this can be reconstructed as dialectal Tibetan \( rg\ddot{o} \)- or \( rg\ddot{\ddot{o}} \). This could be borrowed from a dialect which has now \( r\)-- in place of OT \( d/g\)-- but also from a dialect which has now \( \chi \)-- in the same position, but had equally \( r\)-- in an earlier period. Mgr \( \chi g\ddot{e}li\)ie- 'id.' can be reconstructed as dialectal \( \ddot{x}g\ddot{o} \)- and can be a loan from a dialect which has \( \chi \)-- in place of OT \( d/g\)--. The two forms can be borrowed simultaneously from two dialects or from one dialect but at different periods. Further both forms can be borrowed from one dialect at the same time where and when \( r\)-- and \( \chi \)-- are in alternation.

Another difficulty has the different structure of Monguor and Tibetan. LT \( d\ddot{by}ar \) 'summer' // Mgr \( y\ddot{ar} \) may be a borrowing of a dialectal form like Gol \( \ddot{y}\ddot{ar} \) or Kha \( w\ddot{yar} \) since \( y\)-- or \( w\)-- would have been omitted because Monguor had originally no \( gy\)-- or \( wy\)--clusters,\(^{16}\) but it can also originate from a form like Blo \( yer \).

A third difficulty is caused by the substitutions of Monguor. Dialectal Tibetan \( dr\text{-}, d\ddot{r}\text{-}, d\ddot{z}\text{-}, o \) and \( \ddot{o} \), \( t \) and \( d \) etc have converged in Monguor and we cannot decide their original character. The inaccurate records also hamper our work. The absence of a certain

\(^{15}\) Mgr \( \chi \) seems to be older than the Tibetan-Monguor connections. We have no example of Tibetan \( k\text{'---} \) > Mgr \( \chi \). This can be due also to the prepalatal articulation of the Tibetan phoneme since MMO \( k\text{'---} \) is preserved and only \( k\text{'---} \) has developed into \( \chi \). On the history of Mongolian \( k\text{'---} \) cf. L. Ligeti, Les anciens éléments mongols dans le Mandchou : Acta Orient. Hung. X (1960), pp. 243—247. On the secondary character of Mgr \( f\text{--} \) cf. L. Ligeti, Notes sur le vocabulaire mongol d'Istanbul : Acta Orient. Hung. XVI (1963), p. 142. On the Tibetan influence cf. my Remarks on the Phonology, pp. 266—267.

\(^{16}\) Cf. LMong. \( b\ddot{e}ri \) 'bride' // Mgr \( b\ddot{e}ri > yer\ddot{e} \), LMong \( e\ddot{b\ddot{u}}\ddot{s}\ddot{i}n \) 'grass' // Mgr \( w\ddot{se} \), \( \ddot{b}\ddot{i}\ddot{se} > y\ddot{se} \), LMong \( e\ddot{b}er \) 'horn' > *(e)\ddot{b}ier > Mgr \( u\ddot{y}er \).
feature in a record does not necessarily mean the absence of the peculiarity in the dialect itself.

Thus we have to restrict ourselves to unambiguous peculiarities such as the parallel forms tṣag and ṣag // LT phyag 'hand', since Mongour ḥā (γσο) can be connected only with ṣag because Mongour has both phonemes tṣ and ṣ - (ṣ-) in initial position.

In all the cases where WAT has preserved an earlier stage of development than NEAT Mongour reflects the situation of NEAT. Among these peculiarities the most important is the absence of the final and postfinal s. Mongour has s in final position in words of Mongour origin17 and we have no single loanword where OT -s or --s would be preserved. This means that the loanwords of Mongour are later than the disappearance of the final -s and postfinal --s in the Tibetan dialects, and naturally later than the separation of the WAT and the other dialects.

On the other hand the most important special feature of NEAT, the spirantization of the bilabial stops, is present in the Tibetan loanwords of Mongour and so we have not only chronological and geographical but also linguistic reasons for connecting them.

The presence of the nasal preradicals in the loanwords indicate that we have to exclude Ban, Way, RA18 from the possible donator dialects — at least their present stage. Kha and Tao along with the other Hsi-k’ang dialects have also to be excluded for geographical and linguistic reasons.19 Sz, Pot, Prz and Blo are not homogeneous and so we have to leave them out of consideration too. From the remaining Gol, Pan and Dpa, specially Gol has some features which are different from the Tibetan original, reflected by Mongour, however, it has most of its peculiarities in common with Mongour20

17 Cf. L Mong bōs 'linen' // Mgr bōs, L Mong ḟes 'copper' // Mgr bźi̯as, L Mong iunis- 'to smell badly' // Mgr junis- etc., see also On Some Finals, p. 290 and LT dad-pa 'faith' // Mgr 60 dasba.

18 Naturally also Nish and AEk but here the material is insufficient enough to decide the question, cf. p. 27.


Of the common peculiarities of Dpa, Pan and Mgr I shall review here only those from which conclusions can be drawn concerning the separation of the two dialects and the relative chronology of the loanwords:

1. OT d/γ- is represented by γ- in Dpa and ζ- in Mgr while not in Pan, at the same time we find r- and χ- in all three.

2. OT r- is represented by s- in Pan and σ(ς)- in Mgr but not in Dpa, while we find r- in all three.

3. OT l- is represented by r- in Pan and Mgr but not in Dpa while we find l- in all three.

4. OT p- and b- are preserved in some cases in Dpa and represented as b- in Mgr, while we find spirantization in all three.

5. OT p- is preserved sometimes in Dpa and Mgr while we find h- in Dpa and Pan and χ- in Mgr.

6. OT p- and b- are preserved in Dpa before OT -r- while not in Mgr and Pan.

7. OT p- is preserved before OT -y- > ʂ(ς)- in Dpa while not in Mgr and Pan.

8. OT by- is represented by bʂ- in Dpa, by pʂ- in Pan and wʂ- in Mgr while we find rarely tʂ- in Pan and ʂ- in Mgr.

9. OT -r- has representations in Pan: tʂ-, dʐ- etc. and in Mgr ñž- but not in Dpa, while we find tr, dr etc. in Dpa and Pan and ʐ- and ž- in Mgr.\textsuperscript{21}

10. OT η- is at the spirant stage in Pan and Mgr while the stop articulation is preserved in all three.

11. We find and η glide after stop radicals in Pan and Mgr but not in Dpa.

12. OT -ı- before final -η is preserved in Pan and Mgr in some cases while we find -a- in Dpa, Pan and -a- in Mgr.

13. OT u after radical b- is represented by ọ in Dpa and o in Mgr while u is preserved in Pan and Mgr.

14. OT -d is represented by -l in Dpa and one-tap -r in Mgr while we find -t in Dpa and Pan and -d in Mgr.\textsuperscript{22}

It is clear that only the criteria Nos 8, 10, 11, 13 and 14 can be used to separate the two dialectal influences, since the other can be

\textsuperscript{21} In this case Mgr ñž- may be an earlier substitution for dialectal Tibetan ʂ- while ʐ- and ž- could have developed later.

\textsuperscript{22} We find OT my// Dpa mňš-, Mgr ňš-. Unfortunately we have no example from Pan. OT -γ is -γ or χ in Dpa and -k in Pan but Mgr -γ/-γ can substitute both. Mgr -r can only substitute -γ but we have only one isolated example.
due also to chronological differences or to the phonetic peculiarities of Monguor.

Dpa and Pan are both neighbours of Monguor. Pan is SW and Dpa NE of the territory now inhabited by the Monguors. According to Hermanns (Tibetische Dialekte, p. 194) the Dpa-ri tribe moved about 1650 from its original above around Lake Kukunor towards P'ing fan escaping from the raids of the Mongolian Oirats. Thus Pan and Dpa had been in closer contact prior to the mid 17th century.
VII. HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The Monguor language reflects close and steady contacts between the Monguors and the neighbouring Tibetans. When did their contact begin? What was the nature of their relations? What periods can be established?

It would go far beyond the limits of this book to answer all these questions by a detailed study of the history and social structure of the Monguors. I would only try to outline those most important connections which had a direct bearing on the reception of the Tibetan loanwords and discuss how these contacts are reflected in the semantics of the Monguor word-stock.

In the time of the Han dynasty the Ch’iang tribes lived in the territory east of Lake Kukunor. In the T’ang period these Ch’iang people where considered by the Chinese, as the predecessors of the Tibetans. Modern research has in fact established their Tibetan affinity.¹

In the 3rd century A. D. the T’u-yü-huns, a people of Mongolian origin, moved to this region.² They came into contact with the Ch’iang tribes. When in the early 7th century the Central Tibetan Empire — founded in the valleys of the tributaries of the Brahmaputra — extended its power over Turkestan and the region of Kukunor it came into contact with the T’u-yü-huns whom they called ’A-ža.³ After two hundred years of alternately belligerent and


² The history of the research concerning the T’u-yü-hun language (Shiratori, Lauffer, Rockhill, Waddel, Francke, Pelliot, Thomas) was summarized by Professor Ligeti (Tibeti források, p. 90). Some recent publications have been published by Hambis (Note sur les *Tuyuyun), Bacot (Reconnaissance), Clauson (A propos du manuscrit Pelliot Tibetan 1283, and in AM 1960, pp. 118—119), Lalou (Notes), Carrol (Account of the T’u-yü-hun).

³ The key-text of the T’u-yü-hun—’A-ža identity (MS Pelliot No 2762) has been recently published in Pelliot’s Histoire ancienne, p. 143. The Tibetan
peaceful relations the 'A-ža—T'u-yü-hun tribes were gradually absorbed by the Tibetans.⁴

At the same time the Tibetan central government organized the local tribes of Amdo, extended its power over them and sent there its army and administrators. For a long time, however, the separate status of Amdo was preserved within the Tibetan Empire.⁵

After the collapse of the Central Tibetan State in 841 the administrative ties were loosened between Amdo and the central region. In 842 an independent Tibetan principality was founded around

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⁴ According to the Old Tibetan and Chinese sources the 'A-ža were subdued shortly after 630 (Bacot—Thomas—Toussaint, *Documents*, p. 111: 11–12, Pelliot, *Histoire*, pp. 3–4). They are first mentioned in the Annals of the year 659 (Bacot etc. *Documents*, p. 14: 16). This passage refers to a long military expedition of the minister Ston-ran which ended in 666 (ibid 14: 28) the 'A-ža were newly subdued and a part of them fled to the Chinese. In 689 the 'A-ža chief married a Tibetan princess (ibid 17: 6). Military expeditions are reported from later times too. Thirty years later the 'A-ža prince is called ,,nephew'' ('bon = dbon) in the Annals (ibid 24: 3–4 cf. also 63: 10–11). On the 'Ol inscription of 764 a new military expedition to the 'A-ža territory is mentioned which took place before the downfall of Chang-an in 762 (Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts*, Southern Inscription, 11: 30–31). In the Karchung inscription of Khri-ide sron-bean (ruled 799–817) the Dbon 'A-ža prince is mentioned as a leading figure in the Tibetan administration. The T'u-yü-huns are mentioned in the T'ang-shu referring to the years 842 and 849 (Pelliot, *Histoire*, pp. 134, 137). On the position of the 'A-žas within the Tibetan Empire see Uray, *Lehnfurstentümer*, pp. 205–210.

⁵ Amdo is called Mdo-smad in the early Tibetan sources. It appears first in the Annals for 653. Mdo-smad had a separate assembly which met twice a year, in winter and in summer (Mdo-smad-gyi ędun/dbyar 'dun) parallel with the great State Assembly. The first mention of the separate Mdo-smad assembly is from 692, the last from 763, the last year in the Annals (cf. Bacot—Thomas—Toussaint, *Documents*, pp. 13: 19–20, 17: 23–25, 60: 11, 56–57). According to a Ch'ing-hai chronicle (Rock, *Amnye*, p. 30) the Tibetan occupied Ming-ho, the centre of the present Monguor territory in 762. This is the year of the capture of Ch'ang-an. We have to suppose that the Tibetans appeared earlier on the southern slopes of the Nan-shan. In the Sgra-sbyor bam-po gnis-pa (cf. Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien*, pp. 238–240) in a passage relating to 814 (on this see Tucci, *Tombs*, pp. 14–16) the separate army of Stod-smad is mentioned.
Hsi-ning⁶ not far from the region where in the same decade the Uighur state of Kan-chou began its independent history.⁷ This local Tibetan state became a refuge for the emigrants escaping from the anti-Buddhist persecution in central Tibet.⁸

The Chinese absorbed the little Tibetan state within a few decades, but in 1008 an alleged descendant of the late kings of Lhasa came from the Turfan region and founded a new state which fought in alliance with the Chinese against the rising new Tangut Empire but later joined the Tanguts in their struggles against the Chinese.⁹

In the first half of the 13th century the Mongols of Chinggis Khan appeared in this region which opened a new period.

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⁶ A local Tibetan general proclaimed himself independent and started a war against the representative of the central power. This little state was absorbed in 866 by the Chinese (cf. Pelliot, Histoire, pp. 134—140, Schram, The Monguors III, p. 10b).

⁷ After the defeat of the Uighur Empire in 840 by the Kirghiz attack, one part of the Uighurs fled to Kan-chou. On the details and bibliography see Kotwicz, La langue Mongole, pp. 437—440, and Hamilton, Les Ouighours, p. 21.

⁸ According to the later Tibetan tradition three wise Tibetans (Bod-kyi mkhas-pa gsun) fled from Central Tibet to Western Tibet and from there to North-Eastern Tibet (cf. Deb-ther sgon-po, ed. Roerich, The Blue Annals, p. 62). According to Roerich in Dpa-ri(!) there is an inscription on which the names of the three men are recorded. These accounts suggest a greater migration. The minister who received the three monks or more precisely supported their followers was born in Beon-kha Bde-khams, North of the present Hsien-hua. This place is connected in the early Tibetan sources with the 'A-za (cf. Lalou, Notes, p. 207). He learned among the Tanguts in Mi-nag (on this see Stein, Mi-nag, Recherches and Tribus and the discussion of Stein and Ligeti in the Actes du XXI Congrès International des Orientalistes (1948), Paris 1949, pp. 266—267). He is called in the later Tibetan literature Dgons rab-gsal, Dge-rab-gsal or simply Bla-chan (cf. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, pp. 83, 97, 557, Petech: TP XLVI, p. 475, Stein, Recherches, pp. 230—239). According to the 'Jam-glin rgyas-bshad his tomb was Southwest of Dgon-lun (Cf. Das, A Brief Account, p. 29, Wylie, The Geography of Tibet, p. 110). Bla-chan and his centre was one of the starting points of the so called „second conversion“ of Tibet.

⁹ According to the Sung-shê the name of the famous king was Chio-ssû-lo or Chieh-ssû-lo (Rgyal-sras?) and he lived from 997—1065. His person was connected by Potanin and Damdinsuren with Geser. He asked for an Uighur wife in 1007 but was refused. The whole story of Chio-ssû-lo and the fate of his state is discussed in detail by R. A. Stein, Recherches pp. 144—145, 230—235, cf. also Schram, The Monguors III, pp. 12b—13a, 19b—20b.
The population which Chinggis Khan’s Mongols found here was of a very mixed origin. Ch’iang tribes, remains of the central Tibetan administration and army, emigrants from central Tibet, nomadic Tibetan tribes, who moved from the great Tibetan plateau (Byan-than) lived here together with Turkish and Tangut tribes and perhaps also with the absorbed but not wholly vanished T’u-yü-hun population, not to speak of other Central Asian elements and early Chinese immigrants.\footnote{Since the population of the central regions of Tibet came from NE Tibet the migration took place from NE Tibet $\rightarrow$ Central Tibet $\rightarrow$ NE Tibet. But the migration of the Tibetan tribes must have been a lot more complicated, cf. my remarks in Acta Orient. Hung. VII (1957), pp. 320--325, and OLZ LIX (1964), cols 199--202. As is well-known the Tanguts spoke a language related to Tibetan. They invaded the Tibetan kingdom of Amdo in 1035.}

Although already Tafel expressed the opinion\footnote{A. Tafel, Meine Tibetreise, I, pp. 247--249.} that the Monguors were of T’u-yü-hun origin and this hypothesis seemed to be corroborated by local tradition and the strange archaism of the Monguor language, both the linguistic study of Monguor\footnote{I quote here only Mostaert (Le parler I, passim), Ramstedt (Einführung in die altaiische Sprachwissenschaft I, Helsinki 1957, p. 29), Sändig (Сравнительная грамматика, p. 29), Poppe (Stand und Aufgabe der Mongolistik: ZDMG 100 (1950), p. 76, Introduction, pp. 16--17, Vergleichende Grammatik, pp. 1--2) and Ligeti (Trois notes, pp. 223--224).} and the research into the local and central Chinese historical sources\footnote{The most important publications on the historical sources relating to the Monguors are the works of Schram (The Monguors I--III) and Serruys (The Mongols of Kansu). Schram has examined the Hsi-ning fu hsin-chih, the Kan-su hsien t'ung-chih and the chronicles of the Monguor clans, among them that of the Lu clan. Serruys published much useful material contained in the central Chinese sources, among them the Ming shih-lu. Important local Chinese sources were used by Rock (Amnye).} pointed to the unanimous conclusion that the Monguors were descendants of the Mongols of Chinggis Khan. Naturally this does not mean that we have exclude the possibility of the presence of some T’u-yü-hun elements in Monguor. We have a few hundred words in Monguor which cannot be explained — by our present state of knowledge — from Middle Mongolian, Tibetan or Chinese. Some of them are of Turkish origin\footnote{Not only Uighur (cf. Note 7 on p. 206) but also Öngüt (Pelliot, Cités ‘iens) and Sha-to tribes (Schram, The Monguors III, p. 108) appeared in this territory. The immigration of the Uighurs continued in the 14th century as} others may be of Tangut or Ch’iang
origin but it is not impossible that further investigations will prove the T’u-yü-hun origin of some of these words.

Anyhow in 1227, when Sübö’etei occupied Hsi-ning, the pre-history of the Mongol-Tibetan contacts ended and the properly so called Monguor-Tibetan relations began.

The local and central Chinese sources offer clear evidence that the Mongolian population was settled in the vicinity of Hsi-ning in the Yüan-period and some of the clans of the present Monguors — according their genealogies — trace back their lineage to historically known persons of the Yüan Empire.

The overthrow of the Yüan dynasty in 1368 opened a new phase in the history of the Monguors. They did not join the other Mongols who were retreating to Central Asia, but joined the new Ming


15 During the early Yüan-period the territory belonged to Chang-chi descendant of the family of Chinggis Khan (Schram, The Monguors III, p. 21a). In 1303 Ch’u Pei is mentioned as the prince of Hsi-ning, in 1329 Suleiman had the title (Schram, op. cit., p. 23a). In the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 it is mentioned that prince Hindu of Uighur origin was posthumously given the title of Hsi-ning wang (Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362, p. 31). In 1291 and 1297 the Siba’uči tribe is mentioned here (Serruys, op. cit., pp. 245—294, on the Siba’uči tribe see Cleaves: The Mongolian Documents, p. 82 with further bibliography). Further we know of two chiliarchies of the Onggirats and Merkits and of other groups living in Kan-su (Serruys, op. cit., pp. 246—248). Hsi-ning was also the starting point of the raids of the Mongols against Tibet e.g. in 1238—1239 and 1251 (cf. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, pp. 11, 19, Roerich, Монголо-тibetskie отношения в XIII и XIV вв., pp. 336).

16 The chiefs of the Monguor Lu clan trace back their lineage to Kölgen, the sixth son of Chinggis Khan (Schram, The Monguors III, pp. 72a—73b). Among the present clans of the Monguors the following are of Mongolian origin: in Hsi-ning: Ch’i, Wang, in Nien-pei: Ch’i, Chao, Ah, Kan, Chou, Hsin, La (the clan names were given them later by the Chinese, Schram, The Monguors I, p. 31a—32b, II, 26a—27a, also Serruys, op. cit.).
dynasty and were settled in their present territory.\textsuperscript{17} From this
time on they served as border-guards. A glance at the map of
Schram (\textit{The Monguors} I, p. 3) makes clear the strategic importance
of the settlement of the Monguors, living outside the Great Wall,
near to the gate of Lan-chou. They became loyal and faithful
defenders of their new lords against the Mongol and Tibetan tribes,
who made renewed incursions at this key-point of the Chinese
defences.\textsuperscript{18}

After the downfall of the Ming dynasty the leaders of the Monguors
were among the first to declare their loyalty to the new Manchu
rulers.\textsuperscript{19} They kept their function as border-guards and at the same
time took part in the military expeditions of the Manchus against
the Mongols and helped in the "pacification" of the Tibetans of the
Kukunor—Hsi-ning region.\textsuperscript{20}

The Monguors came into contact with Buddhism as early as the
Yüan period. We know from the local Annals (Schram, \textit{The Mon-
guors} II, pp. 16b—17a, 21b—26b) that Buddhist monasteries were
built during the Ming-period. The famous monastery of Dgon-luṅ
was founded in 1604 (Schram, \textit{The Monguors} II, p. 26b). But the
role of Buddhism among the Monguors changed radically under
the Ch'ing dynasty, who used Buddhism as effective means to
extend his power over the Tibetans and Mongols.\textsuperscript{21} The Monguors
were to play a conspicuous role in this policy not only on account
of their geographical and strategical position and time-tested
loyalty but also because of their ethnical and linguistic position.

\textsuperscript{17} The Ch'ī clan of Hsi-ning submitted in 1368 to the Chinese, in 1370 the
Chao followed them. The other seven Mongol clans joined the Chinese in

\textsuperscript{18} The military activities of the Monguors are described in detail in the
works of Schram and Serruys referred to above.

\textsuperscript{19} The leaders of the Ch'ī and Li clans were the first to submit to the
Manchus in 1645 and the other Monguor clans followed them within a few
months. In 1646 they were already fighting in the Manchu army.

\textsuperscript{20} In 1696/97 they fought in the valley of the river Kerülen against Galdan
khan (Schram, \textit{The Monguors} III, pp. 55a—56b) on further details see the
works cited of Schram and Serruys.

\textsuperscript{21} I would here refer only to the works of Petech (\textit{China and Tibet}),
Schulemann (\textit{Geschichte}, cf. the review of Petech: \textit{TP} 1958, pp. 465—483),
Roerich (Монголо-тибетские отношения в XVI и начале XVII в.) and
Heissig (\textit{Die Pekingler lamaistische Blockdrucke, Die Familien-}) where
further bibliography of this period can be found.
And in fact we find among the leading Buddhist personalities of those times many people who were of Monguor origin or at least were born and worked in the territory inhabited by the Monguors. The two famous lčaṅ-skya hutuktu Nag-dbaṅ blo-bzaṅ čhos-lDaṅ and Rol-pa’i Rdo-rje, the thu-bkvan hutuktu, among them Nag-dbaṅ čhos-kyi rgya-mcho, the well-known historiographer Sum-pa mkhan-po and others were born and worked for a long time in the Monguor territory.

Among the most influential monasteries of the Manchu-period we find the Monguor monasteries of Dgon-luṅ and Sgo-maṅ which

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22 Sagaster (Nag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ, pp. 113, 197) quotes the Čindamani-yin erike according to which the name of the father of Nag-dbaṅ blo-bzaṅ čhos-lDāṅ was Jang-i hor, in the Tibetan autobiography Čaṅ ye (or yi) bkar and in the Mongolian version Jang ye (yi) har. Sagaster connects this name with the Chinese family name Chang. I would prefer Lčaṅ. If the reading hor is correct than he must have been of Uighur origin. He was born near Dgon-luṅ in the valley of Lčaṅ-skya. His mother had the Tibetan name of Thar-mo-mcho. On the current state of research concerning this important figure see Sagaster op. cit., pp. 106—107 and Vostrikov, Tibeńska historia literatura, pp. 212, 255, 310. I would call the attention to the fact that among Nag-dbaṅ blo-bzaṅ čhos-lDāṅ’s preincarnations Bla-čhen is also enumerated (Sagaster, op. cit., p. 166, Note 8 above). He lived from 1642 till 1714.


24 According to a local tradition he was born in the Monguor Li clan who lived in the Narin valley (Schram, The Monguors I, p. 27a). On his life cf. Schram, The Monguors II, p. 31b, Schröder, Anthropos 1953, p. 256, Schulemann, Geschichte, p. 301, Heissig, Die Pekinger lamaistische Blockdrucke, pp. 138, 163, Damdinsuren, Исторические, pp. 21—22. The following thu-bkvan Blo-bzaṅ čhos-kyi nī-ma (1737—1802) was also an important figure (Vostrikov, op. cit., p. 269). Cf. Mgr tʰoṅghan (M).

25 On his life (1704—1788) and works see S. Ch. Das, The Life of Sum-pa Khan-po, Schram, The Monguors II, pp. 32a—33a, Damdinsuren, op. cit., pp. 169, 184, Vostrikov, op. cit., index.

26 I would mention here only Smin-grol bean-po nom-un han, Rgyal-sras sprul-sku Blo-bzaṅ bstan-’jin, Rgyal-sras don-yod čhos-kyi rgya-mcho, the list can be easily enlarged. Many of the lamas who assisted in the edition of the Mongolian Kanjur and Tanjur were of Monguor origin.

27 On the role and history of these monasteries cf. Schram, The Monguors II, pp. 26b—37b. There is a Tibetan work on the history of the Dgon-luṅ monastery written by the thu-bkvan hutuktu Blo-bzaṅ čhos-kyi nī-ma
were not only the seats of high ranking lamas and centres of vivid religious and political activities but also centres of an expanding network of smaller monasteries. In Peking there was a monastery for the Monguor lamas living in the capital, the Sung-chu ssū, which played an important role in the religious and political life of that period.

It is clear from this brief outline that the Tibetan-Monguor relations originated in the 13th century. According to the local sources the Tibetan population around Hsi-ning surrendered to the Ming dynasty together with the Monguors. But the struggle of the Tibetan tribes against the Chinese around Lake Kukunor continued and the leaders of the Monguor clans helped the Chinese in subduing them. We have records from as early as 1375 relating, that a wife of the head of the Monguor clan — later called Lu — subdued some Tibetan groups and was given in reward special grants by the Emperor. Similar events are on record from this time on till the middle of the 18th century. A not unimportant part of

under the title: Bṣad-sgrub bstan-pa'i 'byun gnas ḍhos sde ḍchen-po Dgon-luṅ byams-pa giṅ-qi dkar-čhaq Dpyod-ladan yid-dbaṅ 'gugs-pa'i pho-na edited in 1775. Another important Tibetan source of the history of Dgon-luṅ is the Deb-ther rgya-mcho or 'A-mdo ḍhos-'byun written by Brag-dgon žabs-draṅ Dkon-mchog bstan-pa rab-rgyas in 1865 (cf. Vostrikov, op. cit., pp. 16, 133, 281). In both works rich material can be found for the history of the other monasteries of the Monguor territory.

The most important were the Hsien-mi ssū, Than-rim-pa, Byaṅ-ṣhub ḍhos-bzan, Rgyab-ri, Bṣad-sgrub. Between 1604 and 1723 more than forty monasteries were built in the Monguor territory (Schram, The Monguors II pp. 32a—34a).

This monastery was founded by Rol-pa'i rdö-rje in 1724 and was originally a dependency of Dgon-luṅ. On this monastery see Schröder: Anthropos 1953, p. 257. There is an interesting controversy between Vladimirov, Weller and Heissig (cf. Die Pekinger lamaistische Blockdrucke, pp. 87—88) on the question whether the Urad-un Bilig-un dalai, the author of the famous word-book Li-ši' gur-khaṅ was the chief of this monastery or not.

See Serruys, op. cit., pp. 231, 245. The Tibetan names were very common in those days among the Mongols and the Uighurs, so it is difficult to tell in particular cases whether a person was of Tibetan or of some other origin.


The Tibetan Pa-sa tribe was „pacified” by the Monguors in 1448, 1457, 1463 and 1464, the Can-ca tribe in 1530, 1541, 1553, 1590, the Hung-mao, La-ca and Ko-ca tribes in 1557, 1568, 1569, 1580, 1585, 1587, 1589, 1590, the Erh-chia and La-pu-er tribes in 1550, 1557, 1572, 1590, the Lun-po and Su-korni tribes in 1591, the Hsie Erh-so tribe in 1723 etc. In the great revolt of
these Tibetan groups were enrolled in the Monguor clan-system, they intermarried and maintained close economic ties. This is also reflected in the wedding ceremonies, the folklore, the material culture and the religion of the Monguors and Tibetans.

As I have noted in the Introduction the peculiar character of the Monguor language is due to the archaic traits it preserved, its individual development deviating from that of the other Mongolian languages and its transformation effected by the impact of the Tibetan environment. This special linguistic position came about as a result of the loss of historical contacts with the Mongols and of the intermingling with the Tibetans. The separation of the Monguors from the rest of the Mongols took place after their settlement as border-guards against the nomad Mongols and parallel with the changes that occurred in their economic life.

1723 Mongols, Tibetans and Monguors took part together with the monks of the Monguor lamaseries. Dgon-lun was ruined by the Chinese. But the leaders of the Monguor clans assisted the Manchu Emperors to crush the revolt (Schram, The Monguors III, pp. 58a—60a), and the Lu t'u-ssu received (e.g. after 1723) thirteen Tibetan villages which belonged formerly to a Mongol chief of Kukunor. These thirteen villages numbered 2365 persons (Schram, The Monguors I, p. 33a).

32 According to a census recorded in the local Annals about 42 732 Tibetans lived in the sub-prefecture of Hsi-ning (Schram, The Monguors I, p. 216). In the time of Schram there lived 20 Tibetan families in the Narin valley (from where Moestaert's material originates) and 100 families, who already spoke Monguor, but wore their Tibetan dresses, all belonged to the Monguor Li clan. In the Monguor Ch'i clan 72 Tibetan families spoke Monguor. The Tibetans who were given in 1723 to the Lu chief (cf. Note 32 above) seem to have been distributed among the Li and Ch'i clans (Schram, The Monguors I, p. 51a—b).

34 On the wedding ceremonies of the Monguors see Schram, The Monguors I, pp. 81—109, Le mariage, Schröder, Einige Hochzeitslieder. See also Schröder, Über die Chia Fundse.

35 The Tibetan influence is evident in most of the texts published in Ausr der Volksdichtung I of Schröder. The next volume will contain the Monguor Geser Khan epic which is likewise of Tibetan origin.

36 Besides objects of daily life especially the clothes and the head-dresses show strong Tibetan influence. (Cf. Schröder, The Monguors I, pp. 118—125) Mgr ṭhādāmu niudar 'Chinese head-dress' (Tib. rgya-mi see No 451), Huari niudar (Tib. dpa-ri 'name of the Dpa-ri tribe). It is interesting that even the 'Mongol' head-dress has a Tibetan name: Soq-mo niudar (Tib. sog-mo 'Mongolian woman').

37 Schröder, Zur Religion, Das Herbst-Dankopfer, Schram, The Monguors II.
Why did the Monguors turned against their relatives? It can be supposed with reason that the Mongols who came to the Hsi-ning area under the Yüan dinasty were nomands. But as I have pointed out elsewhere agriculture was not wholly unknown to the nomad Mongols. The special economic and geographical conditions in the Kan-su—Ch'ing hai area were favourable to intensive agriculture. There are various pieces of evidence from the Yüan period that flourished around Hsi-ning an advanced form of corn-production. The Chinese population was then insignificant. It was among the first measures of the Ming Emperors to order the former Yüan Mongols to till the lands around Hsi-ning and this would have not been feasible unless the Monguors had had some experience in farming. There is Monguor tradition which holds that they brought agriculture to their present home-land (Tafel, Meine Tibetreise, p. 247)

Schram states that the Monguor farming techniques have developed in contact with Chinese civilization and that the Monguors first used the farming implements of the Chinese (Schram, The Monguors I, p 111a). It is indisputable that Monguor agriculture has become what it is now under the indirect and direct influence of the Chinese. But the linguistic study of the terminology of Monguor farming shows clearly that it is of Mongolian and not Chinese or Tibetan origin, since almost all agricultural terms are Mongolians. Schram himself admits that the Monguor farming customs are not Chinese in origin (The Monguors I, pp 11a—12a).

38 Some Data on the Agriculture, pp. 443—469.
39 Marco Polo tells of the abundance of corn in Hsi-ning. In 1274 and 1268 granary offices were established in Hsi-ning and land taxes were imposed (Schram, The Monguors III, p. 22a).
40 According to the Annals of Hsi-ning only 440 Chinese families were counted in the census of 1573. Chinese immigration on a larger scale only began after the crushing of the revolt of 1723.
41 For instance 48 Mongol families were granted permission to settle in the Nan-shan mountains in 1447 and every of them received 50 mou of land to cultivate. On further data see Serruys, op. cit., pp. 292—300, Schram, The Monguors III, pp. 22a—47b.
42 This is not the place to give all the details here and so I can only summarize what I intend to treat in a separate paper. The most important plant names are of Mongolian origin (ğbē 'barley', t'arā 'corn', būdi 'wheat', t'udurča 'rice', luosa 'hemp', furie 'seed' etc.), the plough and its parts have a pure Mongolian terminology (nžiāse 'plough', t'orguē 'sole', t'imur 'share', t'siįi 'handle', sumu 'beam'). The Mongolian origin of the Monguor agri-
The Monguors who became in a more or less degree settled already in the Yüan period, and had developed an economy of a relatively high productivity were not interested in leaving their position and to join the retreating Mongols and to revert to a nomadic way of life. The leaders of the Monguor clans surrendered to the new lords who in turn helped them to strengthen their authority over the farmers and nomads of their territory.

It is not accidental that practically no terms connected with farming can be found among the Tibetan loanwords of Monguor. Although Tibetan groups in other parts of Amdo produce corn as an important part of their economy, the neighbouring Tibetan tribes were originally nomads, and those families who took up farming learnt it from the Monguors.

More complicated is the terminology of animal husbandry. The terminology of yak-keeping is of Tibetan origin. The basic stock of the other terms of pastoral economy is of Mongolian origin, some Tibetan words, however, have crept into this part of the Monguor vocabulary. Also trade with the Tibetans brought some new words into the Monguor language.

If we try to classify the 480 or so independent Tibetan loanwords of our list we find that almost half of them are Buddhist terms. In some cases it is difficult, if not impossible, to tell whether a word is of Buddhist origin or not. In such cases as 123. bžiäma 'cook' it is clear that the term belongs to the sphere of monastic life. 160 guag 'danger, harm' is also a special Buddhist term as can

culture becomes the more striking if one reads the interesting folklore text published by Schröder (VMI, pp. 159–163). This is a series of versified riddles. There are objects and activities which seem to be Buddhist (building of chortens, forming teatsas etc.) but they are in reality the various work phases of farming. The whole Buddhist terminology in the text is of Tibetan origin and the whole terminology of agriculture is of Mongolian except for the name of the harrow which is Chinese. The agriculture in Ch'ing-hai is dealt with by J. Trippner, Ackerdüngung in der Provinz Ch'ing-hai, Herrmanns, Die Nomaden, pp. 258–272 and Schram, The Monguors I, pp. 111a–112b.

43 The words dzo 'wheat', nie 'wheat', sō 'barley' are all from Tangkar. In the Monguor territory bādi, t'arā and gê are common.
45 Cf. Nos 319, 339, 410, 441.
47 Cf. Nos 277, 557, 593, 595, 596.
be seen from the next item. 95 dzän-dän 'sandal tree' came also through Buddhist channels. In some cases the context helped to establish the Buddhist origin of a Tibetan particular loanword. I have been able to ascertain about 180 words as belonging to the sphere of Buddhism but it is very probable that out of those 184 words which I could not classify into definite semantical groups and which now seem to belong to the terms of the everyday life, a great many will turn out to be as Buddhist terms if we have more Monguor texts at our disposal.

The overwhelming majority of Buddhist terms in our list of loanwords is due in some measure to the fact that I partly collected them from Schröder's paper on the Monguor religion and from his folklore texts which evidence a clear Buddhist influence. In Mostaert's dictionary we find almost the same proportion. It is obvious that further investigations will disclose new layers of the Monguor lexical stock and we expect to gain a clearer picture from Todaeva's forthcoming publication of the distribution of the semantical groups of the Tibetan loanwords in Monguor.

But there can be no doubt that the bulk of the loanwords in Monguor owe their existence to the marked role played by Buddhism. Tibetan and Monguor lamas lived together in the Monguor monasteries, Monguor priest learned in other Tibetan monasteries, in Kumbum, Labrang and in central Tibet. Lamas of lower rank lived among the people, taught them the doctrine and took part in their everyday life. From the fact that the Buddhist activities grew stronger from the beginning of the 18th century it can be concluded that the mass of these loanwords were borrowed subsequent to this time. This seems to coincide with the appearence of the Dpa-ri tribe among the Monguors towards the end of the 17th century.

The second, less numerous category of the loanwords — about 44 words\textsuperscript{49} — denote female activities: food, clothing, house and house-keeping, and belong to family life and kinship terminology. This is understandable from the matrimonial connections between the Tibetan and Monguor ethnic groups. The Tibetan women brought their objects, beliefs and customs into the Monguor family and the Tibetan terms denoting them were accepted by the Monguors.

The remaining words denote the physical environment and are mainly geographical terms, words for the flora and fauna.\textsuperscript{50} When the Mongols came to settle in a new place they got acquainted with the objects of the new environment.


CONCLUSION

Summing up the results of my investigations following conclusions emerge:

The majority of the Tibetan loanwords of Mongou are borrowed from the archaic Tibetan dialects which seem to be near to or identical with the Panaka material recorded by Rockhill and the Dpa-ri or Xua-ri material edited by Hermanns. These archaic Tibetan dialects belong to the Amdo branch of the North Eastern Archaic Tibetan group and more closely fall into a subgroup characterized by the retention of both the oral and the nasal preradicals. The spirantization of the Old Tibetan labial stops in radical position has reached an advanced stage in them. The spirantization and gradual convergence of the preradicals are already under way, some finals are on the point of disappearing while the vowel-system reveals an incipient change in the wake of the disappearing finals. The postfinals have already vanished. The change in the archaic dialects discussed evidence a trend towards a type of linguistic structure similar to that of the non-archaic dialects. Naturally the materialization of this tendency depends on a variety of complex linguistic and historical conditions differing from one dialect to another and at the present time only a few of these conditions can be cleared up satisfactorily.

The loanwords discussed cannot be older than the 14th century but we have reasons to believe that their bulk was borrowed posterior to the 16th century. We can set up some criteria by which to separate the Panaka and Dpa-ri words. In other cases we have to make allowance for the influence of some other archaic Tibetan dialects.

The isolation of Mongou from the non-archaic Mongolian languages and its close symbiosis with the neighbouring Tibetan dialects have made it possible the taking over of a great mass of Tibetan loanwords which was to cause a deep-going change in the phonemic structure of Mongou.¹

¹ On the changes of the structure of Mongou see pp. 109—168 of the present study and my papers Remarks and On Some Finals. The measure of change
This change affected the Monguor syllable-structure too.

The specific linguistic position of Monguor is the outcome of the historical development of the Monguor society. They became farmers, were settled as border-guards of the Chinese Empire and subsequently played an important part in the spreading of Tibetan Lamaism. Semantically the Monguor vocabulary reflects this historical and social background.

Naturally the Tibetan influence on the Monguor language was only one in many causes resulting in the present state of the Monguor language. The comparative study of Monguor and the other archaic Mongolian languages and dialects will help towards writing a comprehensive history of the Monguor language.

At the same time the Tibetan loanwords of Monguor provide us with an important material for the history of the Tibetan language, which together with the results of the investigation of the Tibetan dialects and the historical sources of the Tibetan language give a basis for the writing of a historical grammar of Tibetan. Concerning the history of the Tibetan language we can conclude that the spirantization of the oral consonants in preradical, radical and final positions was the main factor to which is due the change of its phonemic structure. Assimilation played an important role too. We can observe a change of the syllabic structure of Tibetan in which the nasal preradicals followed another way than the oral ones. Some postradicals became radicals and radicals took the place of preradicals. The postradicals became palatalized spirants or affricates, attremulants or apical stops. The pitch, replacing the preradicals, became a phonemic factor and changes in the vowel system and tone took over the functions of the vanishing finals.

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is a result of the frequency of the loanwords in the language. This is not the place to give here the results of my token-sign investigations of Monguor. The scantiness of the lexical material causes a considerable measure of error. I would only refer to the fact that in an average prose folklore text published by Schröder the frequency of the Tibetan loanwords is about 6% while in a verse text it is about 8%. Since we have no texts recording the common speech these figures must be treated with great caution.
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