भूप दे त्यमुर उत्तर। हे त्यते होत्र हेत्ता हैं त्या हैता त्या त्या त्या त्या त्या त्या है त्य

LANGUAGE CHANGE AND FOSSILISATION OF THE OLD TIBETAN B- PREFIX IN LADAKHI AND BALTI.¹

Bettina Zeisler

यान्तिश्वायविद्यान्ति । वः (वर्षः) क्र्यायविद्यान्ति । वः वर्षः (वर्षः) क्र्यायविद्यान्ति । वः वर्षः (वर्षः) क्रयाः वर्षः वरः



s we learn from Buddhist teachings, nothing is permanent in our world. This is true for the appearance of sentient beings and plants as well as for cultural artefacts, including languages.

¹⁷ Deliberately, I will not follow the classical orthography of *Choskat*, but use a simplified version of *Phalskat*, based on the Leh dialect. Since an ideal script should mirror the sounds of a language (Lobzang Tsewang at the 13th IALS seminar in Kargil 2005), letters will not be written when they are not sounded or have no phonetic impact on other letters (exceptions are made for names, religious and grammatical terms). This means that the grammatical b- prefix of verbs will not be written, and the prefixes m- and h- will only be written when they support a voiced pronunciation (voiced consonants would be pronunced unvoiced otherwise). When a simplified form is used for the first time, traditional spelling will be given in brackets. (As for the title: $\frac{a}{\sqrt{10}}$ corresponds to $\frac{a}{\sqrt{10}}$ to $\frac{a}{\sqrt{10}}$ To Slowing the grammar of the Leh dialect implies that the agent of transitive clauses is marked as a possessor ($\frac{a}{\sqrt{10}}$ instead of $\frac{a}{\sqrt{10}}$). The spelling of other grammatical particles follows the current conventions of *Phalskat* writing.

This spelling style follows as close as possible the linguistic principles that guided those who introduced the Tibetan script. It is thus far more radical than the moderate <code>Phalskat</code> spellings current in Ladakh. This style is meant to facilitate the understanding of the text (one simply has to read it aloud), as well as to provide an example of the manifold possibilities for adjusting the Tibetan script to the needs of the Ladakhi language. Hopefully, it demonstrates that even academic texts can be written in simple <code>Phalskat</code>. Whether it can be a model or not, is ultimately up to the Ladakhi people. Understanding the mental effects that unconventional spellings can have, the author apologises to all those scholars who feel utterly uncomfortable with this text.

In linguistics, /.../ is used for rendering the pronunciation. In the Budik part I will use f...\[instead, whereby I will have to follow the conventions of the Roman script: consonants are to be read as consonants only, in the order they are written. Vowels are indicated by the 'vowel sign' for the vowel 'a' with the appropriate super- and subscripts.

हुबाया व्यन्तामा है क्षेत्रा प्रवृत्ते स्वा (२४८) देवितः (व्येष) हेविता है चित्रे क्षेत्र हिवा विहेश वेदः (fossil) बेर सहेविता क्षेत्र हिवा विहेश वेदः हुबाता ॥

ने स्वाभिन से से स्टार हें का अवे तु अ से खु अ ग्रुप के से से से स्टार प्रेंक अवे तु अ से खु अ ग्रुप के से से से से कि से कि

यरट दे देट दे वेंद पवे खुवा सूर कंट यवे वट ઌઽઌૹૹ૾ઌ૱ૹૣઽૢ र्र.म्या.३सद য়ৢৢৢৢৢৼৢ৻৸ৼ৾৻য়য়৾৻য়য়৻য়য়৻ড়য়৻ড়য়৻ড়য়৽ nunciation) র্মুন অস্তুর স্থ্রুম র্মুর ক্রিইন্ व्यव्यविश्वामात्र ते चेंन स्मन त्रम सुत्र मात्र वेंत्र तेंत्र वेंग वेंग पिर्यास (अपिर्यास) अट रेवेंदे खेंद्रा त्यास्ता। ধীব (ধ্রীঅ) ক্লীব। ক্লাব্রা ক্লাব্রা (skat) क्री:मत:(५थ:म:/५थ:म्ला) विश्वकीमक्षी (spera) र्कें र र रेवा। व्यक्तियाश (ध्रिवाश) वा ह्यः र्रम् (rhta) । सुरः यः र्वियप्यस् लट.र्से.चीउ. र सम्बीचाबी 🌖 (zbyar) j (phrugu) র্ক্সমার্ক্সা **८५:सं.**म्याबरः। বঅ'দ্বীমুর'অ'ব্রিবা'বা' বিম্ঞানী (khrak) म्रीयः (मर्पे) (gri) र्हेरःरः देवा। दे व्याः श्रेंब या वर्षेका गाव के पी यो र्कट या ववा है सूर

The development of the species is documented through imprints of now-extinct beings in the sediments of former lakes or oceans. These imprints are called *fossils*. In the case of flower-like fossils, people in Ladakh talk of 'stone flowers'.

Likewise, the various stages in the development of a language leave their imprints in so-called 'frozen' or 'fossilised' forms, i.e. forms that cannot be formed according to the actual grammatical or phonetic rules, but have been inherited from an earlier stage of the language.

In the following I want to give an example for the reconstruction of the development of West Tibetan, the varieties spoken in Ladakh and Baltistan.

It is commonly accepted that among all modern Tibetan varieties the pronunciation of the Balti and western Ladakhi dialects comes closest to the spelling of the 'original' Tibetan language as documented from the mid 7th century.

The complex consonant clusters at the beginning of a syllable are to a great extent retained, thus WrT (Written Tibetan) skad 'language' and dpesgra 'speech' are /skat/ and /spera/ even in Leh. Western Sham has still /rhta/ for WrT rta

[े] क्रिक पर प्रिक्षक्षणा (khanak) केंग्र पर्वेषा। विषय क्रिक क्रिक

[्]र पिकुचामीस्त्रस्थान् विक्रमामीस्त्रः देवायवदीयः अर्ह्यन् द्वेताः श्रृक्तव्ये देवायवदेश्वरः विक्रमास्त्रः विक्रमास्त

रे.बर.र.झर.वर्घर.र.ब्र्या। **८५: ५४:५४:५४:४१** त्रेव वर्षेत्र भार है केंद्र वहवा ची सूर सर केव वर्षर र.ब्रेंगा। दे.बर.श.द्र्यानदः रुग चवः द्रमा धरः वद्रमः भवः द्रमः से सेवः वर्षे स गार है क्रिंद वह्या या बरा हा हा हा हा हा देवे. ধীব:ক্রম: ক্রুঝাঘর বিষ্যামণা Shafer (1950/ 51) অম Bielmeier (2004) দ্বীম (মৃদ্ধিম) गदि दे चुवा र्से वाया ५ स वासुस्र से पेद गेवि गाव वे केंब्र एह्वा वर केंब्र रा शे वेंट सुट दे बट ट श्रीयाञ्चीयोगातियात्रीया देखर नवा है <u>अ</u>द-देव-दायवावायात्रीयायात्रदा क्रेंब यदि वदीय गाय है केंब सुर्यं अर्यं ने त्या है सुर्यं हैर र वेद ग्रामा वेर्ग श्र्याता ।।

दे दर रिश्व योश्वयः श्री सेद में विष्माद है सूर्य दह्या'य'दर'। মা বা ইবাক্তর'খন र्श्वेत्र यदे रूषाया पर नया है বা'ৰহ'। य:नुमाराय:ग्रेंय:हे:देर:ग्रुमा মূব'ৰহ'। लंब-इट-श्र्ट-मन्म रदे:श्रम्भःसः स्या। र्देब:८वा:वी:केव:गेवि:गाब:बै:क्ट्रेब:वह्वा:वा:ब८:१ মহ:ফ্রব:ঝুঝ:ঝ্ব दु.बट.चर. वरः वार्ड येवा विवायग्रारा हे व्येद ग्रावा। **অহ:**বৃষ:বা্ষ্য:মী:ধীর: ব र्गेलागाम में केंब्रिन यह्मा कॅटा या यो यो यो यो यो देश 'horse' (Leh /sta/), /zbyar/ for WrT sbyar 'summer' (Leh /yar/), /phrugu/ for WrT phrugu child' (Leh /thrugu/), while Purik and Balti still have /khrak/ for WrT khrag 'blood' (Leh, Sham /thrak/) and /gri/ for WrT gri 'knife' (Leh, Sham /tri/).

However, this phonetic conservatism is only found with lexemes or the meaning parts of a word, but not with morphemes or the grammatical parts of a word. Thus the Old and Classical Tibetan grammatical prefixes of the verb indicating the temporal relation between an event and the utterance are missing in Balti and Ladakhi as well as in all other Tibetan varieties except the north-eastern ones. Thus, two western scholars (Shafer 1950/51 and Bielmeier 2004) have suggested that 'Western Archaic Tibetan', i.e. Balti, Purik, and western Sham, represents an early stage of Tibetan, where those grammatical prefixes had not yet developed.

The grammatical prefixes, however, must have been in use even in West Tibetan and must have disappeared from the language gradually, not without leaving some traces of their former presence. In many Tibetan varieties the Written Tibetan prefixes that are no longer pronounced word initially can be

[्]रिमा। अट्रायम्बर्गक्षेत्रस्याक्षेत्रस्यात् व्यक्षेत्रम्यात् व्यक्षेत्रम्यात् व्यक्षेत्रम्यात् व्यक्षेत्रम्यात्

[े] चीतः स्नान्य वे र्हेत् वह्ता मी र्शे सन्य स्मान विद्यान स्वर्धे के विद्यान स्वर्धे के विद्यान स्वर्धे के स्वर्धे के विद्यान स्वर्धे के स्वर्

धेर उर्थ र्शेर हे 'भेर गुजा **द्वे**:श्रग्न:स्या। रुव:बेर:बा यासेट उर्गाया क्रवेत उँगा गीरा यम्यम्यातिम्म मे क्रिंत् स्रित् स्रित् गात् है हेरा खुरा **४५:गुजा। बूँब अदै भँ५ गाव है हेथ गा स्वा**ग सुरायदाया। सेवासा **८ अर्थे अर्थ क्रिया है अर्थ हमा अर्थ के क्रिया है अ** शैन्यरायार्चेत्रायारायेन्गातात्रीर्चेतायह्यान्स्ट र्केन:उर्वाःवाः विदार द्वाता। व्यतः केवः विदेवाः द्वेताः ग्रिंश्क्ष्या (compound) वेद र्वगा। वर्चादसमावायात्राम् वर्नाबुदादीः सुवास्त्राना संदे दरः र ्र डख्रे (cu) दरः ्र विष्रे $(\check{s}\underline{i})$ ્રિક્ષુય-વૃષ્ઠો ે (cup-ši) બેંદ દ ્રિલ્યું ને (š<u>i</u>) बट. ્રિલ્યું ને (cu) ક્ય (ક<u>i</u>p-cu) બેંદ'દ বা क्रेंगानेशक्षाक्षाचरत्याक्षेत्रत्वहुवावीःसूर र्देगा। শ্বা (গ্ৰথ) ই কিন্দু বিলা (Shawe 1894 বৃদ্ Koshal 1979: 31)

क्र्यं अपुक्रमा मुड्डमा द्वीमा क्र्यं अप्यक्षमा मुड्डमा क्रियं अपुक्रमा मुड्डमा क्रयं मा क्रयं अपुक्रमा में क्रयं मा मुड्डमा क्रयं मा मा मुड्डमा क्रयं मा मुड्डमा मुड

heard at syllable boundaries and thus in bound word forms, provided the preceding syllable ends in a vowel. This 'revitalisation' of mute lexical prefixes was first observed in Central Tibetan compound forms of numbers, e.g. WrT bcu '10' and WrT bži '4' pronounced as /cū/ and /ši/become /cūpši/ '14' and /šipcu/ '40'. This feature can also be observed in the Ladakhi dialects (cf. Koshal 1979: 31).

Besides in compound numbers, the Written Tibetan nasal prefixes *m*- and *h*-, which have become mute in word initial position, can frequently be heard at syllable boundaries of compounds in Ladakhi (Shawe 1894; Koshal 1979: 32). Similarly the mute *b*- prefix can be heard at syllable boundaries of compounds (Shawe 1894; he gives only one example).

In the course of time, the prefix h- (originally a voiced velar fricative) was pronounced as an unspecified, often homorganic nasal $(/\eta - /, /n - /, or /m /)$. In most cases, the nasal prefixes m- and h- originally had a purely lexical function, while the b- prefix can be found in half of all instances as an originally lexical prefix and in the other half as an originally grammatical prefix. All prefixes shifted their position and became attached to the preceding syllable as if they were suffixes. In the following I will present a

र्वेमा। ।। ५धेमःब। (सूक्षःक्षेटःदेधेवः अह्ताः अवःम्बिताकाः अटःचे।)

selection of examples (for all abbreviations see end of article):

Lexicalised nasal prefix (र्द्र प्रामी क्षेत्र में व्यामा के के क्षेत्र पहुना का क्ष्मा वा)

- স্ত্রান্ত kha-**m**chu 'beak, bill': RAM, HAM, HML, CEM, LEH, LEH2 /kha**m**-chu/, SAS, DOM, ACH, GARK, ARA, BAL (SPR) /kha**m**-cu/.
- কুমেল্ chu-mgo, lit. 'head of water':
 GYA, SAS /chuŋ-go/, HML, KHAL, LEH /chum-go/ 'beginning of water (first wave)', LEH also 'land at the beginning of a river, near the mountain'; DOM /chuŋ-go/ 'beginning of water (first wave)' in contrast to /chum-go (khor)/ '(place around) the beginning of a river'; SHA /chugo/ ~ /chuŋ-go/, GARK /chum-go/ 'land at the beginning of a river' (also used as a loan in Brokskat) in contrast to /chugo/ 'beginning of the water'; ACH /chum-go/ 'beginning of the water, beginning of the water'; BAL (SPR) /chugo/ 'first fields to receive water supply'.
- 黃溪河 chu-mjug 'end of the water':
 HML, SHA, KHAL, DOM, ACH, ARA /chum-juk/ 'remaining part of the water', ACH also 'end of a canal'; LEH /chun-juk/, GARK /chum-žuk/ 'land at the lower part of the river' (also as a loan in Brokskat), DOM /chum-juk khor/ 'place around the end of a river'.
- ฐารัฐ chu-ḥdzom 'confluence':
 GYA, DOM, ARA /chun-dzom/, but SHA, LEH /chudzom/, GARK /chudzoms/.

- টুম্ব্রে rdzu-ḥphrul 'magic, supernatural': RAM /zum-thrul/, SAS /rzum-trhül/, KHAL (Kesar) /rdzuphrül/ ~ /dzutrhül/ ~ /rzum-phrül/ ~ /dzum-trhül/, DOM /rdzum-phrül/, GARK /rdzum-trhül/; but HAM /dzuthrul/ ~ /rdzuthrul/, GYA /dzutrül/, SHA, CEM /zutrül/, LEH /zothrül/, ARA /rdzuthrül/.
- ๆ วุร รัล-ทุ้bu 'maggot': HML, GYA, GARK /ša**m**-bu/, SHA /ça**m**-bu/; but HAM /šabu/, LEH, SAS, KHAL, DOM /šabutsik/.
- พาวสารา รล-ทุญนใ 'earthquake': Shawe (1894: 14) /sam-gul/ ~ /saŋ-gul/, RAM, HAM, SAS, DOM /sam-gul/, GYA, SHA, CEM, LEH, LEH2, ARA /saŋ-gul/; but GARK, BAL (SPR) /sagul/.
- মার্ক্রামা sa-mtshams 'border, frontier': RAM, GYA, CEM, HML, SHA, ARA /san-tsam/, LEH, SAS, DOM /san-tshams/, HAM, LEH2 /sam-tshams/.

Morphologically relevant nasal (নুষানাধুমানী খীবাৰ্গ্নিমান্ত্ৰী খূঁর বেহুনামান্ত্রী বা

- ম্বেইর kha-ḥdon 'by heart': HAM, GYA, SHA, CEM, LEH, LEH2 /khan-don/, ACH, GARK (heard), ARA /kham-don/; cf. DOM /kham-don/ 'morning prayer (performed without looking into the text)'.
- ઑવિં mgo-ḥkhor 'head-turning, dizziness':

 HAM /gokhor/ ~ /gom-khor/ 'dizziness, confusion'; RAM /gom-khor/ 'accident'; GYA /γokhor/ ~ /γom-khor/, CEM /gokhor/ ~ /gom-khor/, IGU, LEH, LEH2, SAS, DOM, ACH, GARK /gom-khor/, TUR /goŋ-khor/ 'dizziness, confusion'; ARA /gom-khor/ 'puzzling, unclear'; SHA /gom-khor/ 'dizzy' in contrast to /gokhor/ 'confusing'.
- ସ୍ୱ୍ୟୁଟ୍ ḥdra-ḥdra 'equal': RAM, HAM, GYA, SHA, CEM, LEH, LEH2, SAS, KHAL (Kesar), DOM, PUR (Bailey 1920: 37), CIK-He, GARK, ARA /dran-dra/, but BAL (SPR) /dradra/.
- ¥aær rdo-ḥchaŋ 'stone: HAM /dom-caŋ/ ~ /rdom-caŋ/, GYA (old people's speech) /dom-cha/ 'stone', SHA /dum-ca/, LEH /dom-caŋ/, SAS /rdom-chaŋ/ ~ /rdoam-chaŋ/, DOM /rdoam-chaŋ/, ACH, ARA /rdom-chaŋ/

'carriable stone' (cf. JÄK /dom-chan/ rdo-ḥchan 'a stone of such a size as may be grasped by the hand' and the OT/CT verb ḥchan | bcans | bcan | chon(s) 'to keep in one's hand').

Lexicalised labial prefix (र्द्द प्राप्ता मी सेव में विष्य माद है सूँद पहुना पा)

- รากุราบัส bkaḥ-bkyon 'undesirable order, scolding (hon)': Shawe (1894: 13) /kap-kyon/ (cf. also JÄK), HAM /ka-kyon/ ~ /kap-syon/ (?), CEM /kap-kyon salce/ 'criticise (hon)'; GYA, STOK (Kesar), SAS, DOM, ACH /kap-kyon/ 'critics (hon)', LEH /kap-kyon/ 'advice of an oracle (hon)'; SHA, ARA /kap-kyon/ 'critics, advice (hon)'.
- [ARA /kheb-zaŋ 'profit':

 HAM, LEH /kheb-zaŋ/ 'profit', IGU /khe/ or /khep-saŋ/ 'profit';

 GYA /kheb-zaŋ/ 'very cheep', SAS, DOM, ACH /kheb-zaŋ/ 'cheep';

 ARA /kheb-zaŋ/ 'cheep, benefit'; LEH2 /kheb-zaŋ/ 'serves you right'.
- สุรดิ gru-bži 'square':
 HAM /trub-ži/, GYA /trup-ži/, IGU /truži/ ~ /trub-ži/, CEM /trup-ži/, LEH2 /trup-ži/ ~ /trub-ži/, STOK (Kesar song) /tru-lub-ži/, i.e. /trub-ži/, SHA, LEH, SAS, DOM, ACH, ARA /trub-ži/ 'square'; GARK /trup-ži/ ~ /trub-ži/ 'brick-like stone'.6
- รุวร์ว rŋa-btsaḥ 'havest' (cf. JÄK btsaḥ 'bring forth'): GYS, SHA, CEM, LEH /ŋap-sa/, SAS, DOM, ACH, TUR, GARK /rhŋap-tsa/, ARA, Kargil (according to GARK) /rhŋap-sa/.
- র্বিন্ধ্রাম'(নক্রম') ḥo-bgyal (-brgyal) 'difficulty, trouble (hon)': HAM, SHA, CEM, LEH, LEH2, SAS, KHAL, DOM, ACH, ARA /ob-gyal/, GYA /fiob-gyal/, LLV র্বিক্রম' ḥob-rgyal.
- ইংস্ট্র' re-bži 'frame of a door or window': HAM, HRD /reb-ži/, GYA, IGU, CEM, SAS, DOM, ACH, GARK, ARA /rib-ži/ 'frame of a door or window' (ARA only rarely used) .
- รุ๊วจั๊ก *ha-bgod '(loud or wild) laughter': ⁷
 RAM /hab-γot/ 'laughter'; GYA /hav-got/ 'loud laughter, heartily';
 SHA /hab-got/, LEH /hab-got/ ~ /hav-got/, SAS /hav-rgot/

⁶ The realisation as /pž/ is most probably due to the elicitation context, in normal speech

there should be voicedness assimilation either as /bz// or as /ps//. The 'correct' spelling would be 555// hargod or 55// hadgod (JÄK), but the spelling bgod seems to be attested for the simple word 'laughter', cf. TETT. The asterisk * is used here for a hypothetical or reconstructed form, but according to linguistic conventions it will also be used in the following for forms that are not used.

'laughter'; DOM /hab-rgot/ 'loud, aggressive laughter (not coming from the heart)', ACH /hav-rgot/ 'senseless laughter'; TUR /hav-got/ 'laughter that does not come from the heart', LLV 55 hab-rgod 'wild laughter'; but GARK heard /har-gotcas/ 'lough'.

Morphologically relevant labial (নুষানাধুরারী খীবার্গারা সার ই র্ভুর্ অনুনানা)

- মার্ন্স্ম mgo-bskor 'turning so the head': RAM, HAM, Shawe (1894: 14), LEH, SAS, KHAL, DOM, ACH, ARA, TUR, DRS /gop-skor/, GYS /yop-kor/, SHA /gohor/ ~ /gop-hor/, GARK /gup-skor/ 'deceit', plus /taŋ/ 'deceive'.
- རྡོ་ངང་ chu-btsos 'barley or wheat flour of boiled grain':
 HAM /chup-tsos/, HML, GYA, IGU, SHA, CEM /chup-tse/, DOM /chup-tsos/ 'mixture of roasted barley and the left-over from chan (/baŋma/)', LEH /chip-tsos/ 'fried grain that has been washed and left for sprouting'; GARK /chip-tsos/ 'fried food'; DRS /chup-tsos(i kholak)/ 'barley soaked in water, roasted when half dry, and ground into flour', 'pap made out of this flour', SAS, KHAL, ACH, ARA /chup-tsos/ 'anything boiled in water', HRD /chup-tsos/ 'dried vegetable put into boiling water (in order to get rid of insects etc.)'.
- ক্র্মেন্/ন্মীন্ chu-bsiŋ/-bsig 'letting sink, settle (for separation)': DRS /chup-sik/; DOM /chusiŋ/ ~ /chup-siŋ/, but SHA /chusik/ ~ /chusip/, GYS /chusiŋ/.
- ຈັກສັສ: /ຈັສສະ ກັດ-btshon * ~ -btson 'shopping, trade, commerce':

 HAM, LEH, LEH2, DOM, ACH /ñop-tshon/, GYA, SHA /ñop-tson/,
 CEM /ñop-tson/, SAS /ñop-tshons/ 'shopping'; ARA /ñop-tshon/
 'trade'; but GARK /ñotshon/ 'shopping'.
- ই(ন্) মন্তবাৰ rdo(ba)-bcags '(artificially) broken stone':
 GYA /dop-cak/ ~ /doap-cak/, LEH /dop-caks/, SAS, DOMb, ACH,
 GARK /rdoap-caks/, ARA /rdop-cak/ TUR /rdop-cak/ 'those who
 break the stones for the houses'; but HML /ðoacak/, SHA /doacak/
 'broken stone'; SAS, ACH, GARK, ARA /rdoa cakhan/, HRD /rdoacak/, DRS /rdoa cakpa/ 'stone breaker'.
- ¥¬ã5¬ rdo-bchot, 'able to cut stones' (name of Kesar's sword):
 GYA (Kesar songs) /dop-chot/~/doap-chot/ or /dop-chose raldri/,
 SAS /rai rdop-cat/, /rai rdop-chot/, KHAL (Kesar) /rdop-cot/,
 DOMb /rdop-chot/, GARK (Kesar) /rdop-cotme ragi/ 'able to cut

⁸ Such spellings are known from Old Tibetan.

- stones'; but SHA (in Kesar story) /dochot/, STOK (Kesar) /docotme raldri/, cf. LLV £557 rdochod.
- ৰ্ক্ (ম্)ম্ব্রি rdo(ba)-bded 'stoning, persecution in order to stone': GYS /dop-tet/, SAS, DOM, ACH, GARK /rdoab-det/; ARA /rdop-tet/ 'chasing somebody by throwing stones' (DRS could think of /rdoap-tet/, but is not sure whether this is not from the Kargil dialect); but SHA /dotet/, LEH /doatet/.
- ইম্মের্ক্সম rdoba-brtsigs 'stacking, staple of stones, built of stones':
 GYS /dop-sik/ ~ /doap-sik/, DOM /rdoar-tsiks/ ~ /rdoap-rhtsiks/,
 GARK /rdoap-rhtsiks/, ARA /rdortsik/ ~ /rdop-rhtsik/; but HML
 /ðoasik/, SHA /dorsik/, LEH /doartsik/, HRD /rdoarhtsik/, SAS,
 ACH, DRS /rdoarhtsiks/ (but, according to DRS, possibly with /-p-/
 in the Batalik area or Ciktan).
- ইনেমন্ (নিনমন্) mi-bsad (khi-bsad):

 GYA /mip-sat (khip-sat)/ ~ /misat (khisat)/ 'habitual murderer' in contrast to /misat (khisat)/ 'murderer'; 'g SKY, ACH /mip-sat/ 'one who has killed, murder', GARK /mip-sat(pa)/ ~ /mip-sot(pa)/ mi-bsod(pa), DRS /mip-sat/ 'murderer, killer'; but LAD (RAM) /misat/ 'murder'; SHA, LEH, SAS, DOM, HRD, ARA /misat/ 'murderer, killer'; TUR /misat khisat/ 'killing, trouble making'.
- = ราฐร./¬าฐร. za-bthuŋ ~ za-btuŋ 'food':
 RAM, BAL (SPR) /zap-thuŋ/, 'food management, catering'; GYA,
 SAS, DOM /zap-thuŋ/ 'eating and drinking', LEH2 heard /zap-tuŋ/;
 but HAM (bzaḥbtuŋ), HML, SHA, LEH, GARK, HRD, TUR /zathuŋ/.
- স্ক্রান্থ bzo-**b**lta 'appearance': HAM (bzolta), GYA, SHA, CEM /zop-ta/, LEH, DOM /zos-ta/ ~ /zop-

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⁹ Originally, the first meaning was given only in the form with -b-.

sta/; but LEH2, SAS, CIK-He, GARK, HRD, DRS, TUR /zos-ta/, ARA /zo-sta/~/zos-ta/'appearance'.

- ব্র্মের্বাম ho-btsags 'milk-sieve': GYS /hop-tsak/, SAS, KHAL, DOM, ACH, TUR /op-tsaks/; but SHA /hotsak/, LEH /om-tsaks/, GARK /utshaks/, ARA /otsak/, DRS /otsaks/.
- প্রমার্ট্রমা ša-btsos 'boiled meat (inner organs)': GYA /šab-tse/; SAS, DOM, ACH (not sure), ARA (not very common) /šap-tsos/ 'boiled meat'; but SHA /çatse/, LEH, HRD /šatsos/ 'boiled meat, meat ready to be eaten'.
- จฺาลัธัะฺนา/ฉรัธฺาฺนา ša-btshonpa ~ ša-btsonpa: RAM, HAM /šap-tshonpa/ 'meat seller, butcher'; GYS /šaptsonkan/, SHA /cap-tsonba/, CEM /cap-tson/, LEH, ARA /šaptsonpa/, LEH2 /šap-tshon/, SAS, DOM, ACH, HRD /šap-tsonspa/, GARK /šap-tsons/, DRS (possibly borrowed from Kargil) /šaptsons(pa)/, TUR /šap-tshons/; ACH, DRS /šap-tshon/ 'trade in meat'.....

রীমদ্রেরির্মেশেরমা। দ্রেরি(দেব্দাদী) খুঝা | Many people would state that सुन्देवन्द्रे व्याचेर्यस्या। देवन्छारीयः थे हो रदे दर र ने व्या वेर ये नमें शा बेरदा बेसेयसम्बद्धते केंग्रेयस्य वह्या कर बेसूर केर र सहर र सब केंग्रियों दे:ब्रमार्क्रेयायाम्मा। द्वे:बेर्यया क्रेंशासून देश्वर र क्रिंब यह्या यदीश हे वैब बा धेर गाम में हो र चरेन चरे हो र वेन हें (व्या)। द्वःश्रयःयःस्या। ॥

WC:481:345.2.42.2.1 বাঅ'দ্রীঝ'অঝ' মীর্ট্রানা(verb) ব্র্মিন্থর শ্লুদ্র বর্ষক র্মা (initial voiced consonant) ঐ্ব্ৰা ব্যামান্ত্ৰীয়া (negation word) ঝব্দা ঝবিদ্ধিন্দ্ৰভূব वह्यातःशवार्धाववेदःदार्वेगा। वरःक्र्याशावदः। वॅद्रायावगाळॅगाअवे हैटाटाओ दे दे बुगाळॅंरारा र्वा (mi) ब्रह्म (dra) सुन्

the feature described is found in their home dialect, but that it should not be there in the 'real' language. The reason given is that monks do not pronounce prefixes when reading religious texts. I would think, however, that if prefixes are written in Classical Tibetan, their pronunciation would, in fact, constitute the only 'true' language.

The nasal prefix *h*- also occurs frequently in negated verb forms when the initial is voiced, e.g. /mi/ + /dra/ (WrT hdra) 'similar' > /min-dra/ 'not similar, special', /ma/ + /but/ (WrT hbud) 'fall' > /mam-but/ 'did not fall'. With respect to the negation particle mi, this feature can be found in the central Tibetan, as well as in all Ladakhi dialects.

बिर्धीय-५२४५ (min-dra) थेंद द वेंगा ्रिया (ma) वटः चिष्णु हे (but) शुः व। चिष्णु विष्णु (mam-but) भेटः द वेता॥ भूतः भूत्र विष्णु (mam-but) भेटः द वेता॥ भूतः भूत्र विष्णु विष् र्बेव यह्याय अर ये थेया हे अर केंश सूर है वर र र्बे्द्र वहुवा से द गाद दे वा सा से केंद्र वा वी से द गें वा वा

বधेर:द। ক্র.জ্.১৬৬৫ ক্রম্মির প্রা श्रेव: (न्पर) गाम है गो सम में मुस्स (श्रुर्य) है।

With respect to the negation particle ma, it seems to be restricted to the western Sham dialects. In some of these dialects the nasal prefix was generalised and appears before all voiced initials, whether the verb had an original nasal prefix or not (cf. Zeisler 2004: 612, isogloss 10). Cf. the following examples from the Kesar epic, as recorded in Khalsi 1996.

Negation marker mi (বনানার্ক্রনারী)

- /miŋ-gor/ ম'বের্ম্ম mi-ḥgor '(I) will not be late'
- /min-duk/~/minuk/ ইবেন্ন্ mi-ḥdug 'is not (there, visual experience)'
- /mi**m**-ba/ ਕੈ*ਕੜਾ mi-***ḥ**ba (< ਕੈ'ੜ੍ਹਾ mibya) '(I) will not do'
- /min-dzemskhancik/ মীন্ট্রমান্ত্র উবা mi-ḥdzemskhancig 'one that is not avoiding'

Negation marker ma (বনাবার্ট্রবারা)

- /maŋ-gat/ ম'*বেল্ড্' ma-*ḥgad (< ম'র্ল্ড্' madgad) 'didn't like'
- /maŋ-gaŋsok/ ম'*বেল্ন র্ক্লা ma-*ḥgaŋtshug (< ম'ল্ন্ন magaŋ) 'was not
- /man-jiks/ ম'বেইন্ম' ma-hjigs 'was not afraid'
- /man-drik/ ম'ব্মীমা ma-ḥgrig 'was not right'
- /man-drupa/ ম'ব্যুব্'ম' ma-ḥgrubpa 'not having accomplished'
- /man-drülba/ ঝ'ব্যুঝ'ন' ma-ḥgrulba 'not walking'
- /ma**m**-but/ ฺลฺ ฺฉฺรฺรฺ *ma-*hbud 'did not fall'
- /ma**m**-bana/ ম'*বেনৰ ma-*ḥbana (< ম'হ্ৰ mabya) 'if (you) will not do'
- /mam-borskhantsokle/ ब्राय्वें रुखायाः ma-ḥborskhantshugle 'was not put down'

वैः ब्रदः वयाया केया यो हिदः ब्रः श्रृंबः वह्रया वः ब्रावः व । By contrast the grammatical प्रस्त देशा । प्रदेश प्रस्त देशा । प्रदेश प्रस्त देशा । प्रदेश प्रस्त प्रस्ति प्रस्त प्रस्ति प्रस्ति प्रस्ति प्रस्ति प्रस्ति प्रस्ति प्रम्ति प्रस्ति प्र

One should know that in the pression for prohibition has

ই'অম'র্ম'র্ম'র্ম *नुषाशःशः*श्चनःनेःबनःनःनःश्वःमदेःकेंग ্রিজেকজ ় (macha!)৷ (matan!) র্মথারা দ্বী-ঘানার বি ি রাজ্যবার্জিম (mason!)। ্রিজদর্জাই (maton!) র্যাথা মর্বায়া ผิมเคลาพรา(จพรา) มิารูตั้โพา ধীব [রাজ্যমার্জির] (masot!) রামার্ডমার দ্বের্মমা বহ' বিজ্ঞানমজাদী (map-sot!) অহ রিজম্মজিরজার (map-sodan!) র্যারের वै.चवै.सूट.वचैट.गाव.बै.चेर.चें.खव.20 थ्यश्चर्यः (यायस्यः) द्वेताः स्ट्रीः स्याः ता। রুম্ (map-sot!) ब्रेस्यार परि बेर बेंडिया डेया थें हो हो हो उद्दया नदी सुर हाह हा র্ক্রমান বিষয়ের জ্বানী (macok!) *মজ্ম-ড্রজ্যা (*map-cok!) बेरऱ्यः अंदेंगा িমজেউজিন (macot!) *মজ্ম-রজ্মি \ (*map-cot!) ্রিজদুর্জ্ম (ma-top!) *মজ্ঞথ-দর্জিঘ ়ী (*map-top!) িমজাইম] (macos!) 🚉 *মজ্ম-র্থুম (*map-cos!) 🚉 यदः (बाब्यमुर्छोत्रे (mašot!) *মজ্ম-পর্জান \ (*map-šot!) মর র র্ভিন্ন মের র্রিগা

been assimilated to the expression of command, while in all other Tibetan varieties, the command form cannot be used for prohibitions. Instead, the present stem has to be used, thus the regular Ladakhi prohibition is /macha!/ (WrT macha) 'don't go' or /matan!/ (WrT mabtan < OT magton) 'don't give', whereas in Purik and Balti it is /mason/ (WrT mason) or /maton!/ (WrT mabton < OT mathon).

But when the bilingual Aryans of Dah speak the Ciktan Purik dialect, they not only say /masot!/ 'don't kill', they even say /map-sot!/ or /map-sodan!/ (WrT mabsod < OT masod). Surprising as this pronunciation may be, the verb /sat/ 'kill' is apparently the only verb where the prefix remains. It does not appear with the verbs /cak/ 'break': /macok/; /cat/ 'cut': /macot/, /tap/ 'throw': /matop/, /co/ 'construct': /macos/, and /šat/ 'tell': /mašot/.

One may argue that a single expression is not enough for the reconstruction of language development. But as in evolutionary biology, we must be content with what we find in the sediments of language history. When reconstructing the evolution of animals, we cannot always hope to find plenty of skeletons, we are quite lucky if we find a single bone. As fragmentary as the

²⁰ डेवा क व सम्बद्धा है सूका गुना।

ডমী'ক্র'র'র'(१९५४) মহাই।। डैगार्थिये वे ये राज्य ર્ફ્રેક અવે 5શ્વરા કો ફો મવે धर र्धे से द गुमा सेवा वर दें। এব বি শ্বুবা ডব উঁবাঝ উঁব। ट्रेंद्रेगाःस्कागा र्दे हेश अट र्ये र्वेच उरु से च फट की ट्वेंरा र्थे 'श्रेथ डेगा डेगा थे चेंच दा नरें) इब चेंद द बेंगा। देवै:धेव:५म:रू:बेर:बें: প্র-ব্যার্ড শ্রু খেন র্যান মব ये'वे'ये5'वदरा स्वापन्दे स्था क्रियाया स्वा त्रातार्भेदायहगायदरा या या **अन्त्राक्षक्षेत्रुनन्देवस्य मेळि हे देव** ٩٤٠١

लट उर्जुया सेट हैं ही र है अहमा है दीया (हैं अ ड्या) वर्षेट टार्बेगा। वर्षो सम्मेन्य मेन्द्र व्य द्वारा शे सुद दे बद द सूर्व वह्वा व पद केंश <u>भ्र</u>द-दे-क्रियायात्य-तर्यायते-द्रयात्य-गीत्य-गाय-त्येय वै'बर'त्रश'र्रेर'यवे'बर'र'वे'र्बेब'वहग चर्त्रियाने भरान् यू चर्त्रे नुषाया भराञ्जूया क्रेंगा वा ग्रिंथ है देव ग्रामा रदे:श्रम्भःसः स्या। धेव:५:वृ:चवे:५४:क्वेंग:की:अर्वेवि:वेव:अदि:क्सू५:के लट:श्रुव:क्रॅग्नायट:स्वट: ५'ख्र'नदे'त्रा'क्रेंन्।वार्डेन्।ना'न्तुनारा'येट'रुरा'रे মুদ্ (aspiration) র্থুমন্ট মৌদ শার র্থমিন শ্রুমা। ने बे तुषा देरायवे बरारायुषो युषोव ना सुना बरा वन्यायवै:न्यायोधियःग्रियागात्वे स्थूदावह्यापविः श्चर येर गाय र्थेट है। भ्रुत्य केंग या र्थेन वह्या र्थेन हें से हे से न यान र्थेन यागी। ५:रूट क्रेंब संगियाग्रव वे क्रेंब वहवानवे हेश हैवा हैवा में खुर हो चे प्रामा। ।।

present evidence might be, by comparing it cautiously with the *b*- prefix in nominal compounds and the nasal prefix in negation and compounds, we can safely assume, that the *b*-prefix once was a reality in the dialects of Ladakh and Baltistan.

The particular example of the Aryan-Purik prohibition also allows us to draw the following conclusion: in most verbs with a b- prefix in the past stem in Old Tibetan, this prefix must have been over-generalised and used for the present stem as well as for the imperative stem. Since the b- prefix is incompatible with aspiration, the initial of the imperative stem lost its aspiration. The same happened to a few aspirated present tense forms, while voiced present tense forms became unvoiced, due to the prefix.

After some time, the prefix gradually became silent, but was kept in fixed expressions (such as compounds), commands and the corresponding prohibitions. Then the prefix disappeared from the plain command, but remained for a while in the prohibition before being dropped there as well. As the Arvans of Dah use the Ciktan Purik dialect only as a second language, they might not always have been following the development of the Ciktan dialect proper. For this reason the fossilised b- prefix survived up to our days.

I would be very happy if any one who has heard the use of the *b*- prefix after negation in his or her home dialect or is even still using it him- or herself would contact me by e-mail:

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PRONUNCIATION GUIDE (IPA = International Phonological Alphabeth)

γ (IPA) gh (voiced velar fricative)

ŋ (IPA) ng (velar nasal)

c Indian style 'ch', IPA tʃ (non-aspirated alveo-palatal fricative) ch Indian style 'chh', IPA tʃ (aspirated alveo-palatal fricative)

 \tilde{n} ny, IPA \tilde{n} (alveo-palatal nasal) δ (IPA) dh (voiced dental fricative)

ž zh, IPA 3 (voiced postalveolar fricative) š sh, IPA ∫ (unvoiced postalveolar fricative)

ç (IPA) hy (unvoiced palatal fricative)

ABBREVIATIONS

1. DIALECTS AND INFORMANTS

ACH Achinathang: Skarma Namthak

ARA Aranu: Tsering Youdon

BAL Balti, unspecific CEM Cemre: Padma Dohar

CIK-He Ciktan, (Hermann n.d.) CT Classical Tibetan (choskat)

DOM Domkhar: Tsewang Tharchin (a) and Thrinlas Chosphel (b)

DRS Dras: Dr. Saleem Mir

GARK Garkoon: Stanzin Angmo GYA Gya Sasoma: Tshomo Mingyur

HML Hameling: Tsering Angmo

HRD Hardas: Archo Saida

IGU Igoo: Padma Dorje (through Rincen Dolkar)

LAD (Central) Ladakhi, unspecific

LEH Leh town, adjacent villages: Thrinlas Wangmo and various interlocutors

LEH2 Leh, migrant's second generation: Rincen Dolkar

LLV Francke (1905-41), Khalsi

KHAL Khalsi, narrator and main interlocutor: meme Tondup Tsering

KPL Khapulu (Read 1934)

PUR Purik, unspecific

OT Old Tibetan (imperial period)
SAS Saspol: Phuntsok Dolma
SHA Shara: Thukche Dolma
SKY Skvurbucan: Tashi

STOK Stok, narrator (Kesar story, recorded 1996): Phuntsok Paljor

TUR Turtuk: Abdul Qayoum

WrT Written Tibetan (including *Phalskat* and hypothetical forms).

I would like to thank all of the above-mentioned informants and narrators. Special thanks go to: *meme* Stanzin Chosphel from Dah, narrator of the Kesar story (1996), where I found the prohibition form /map-sat/; to Roland Bielmeier whose remarks at the 12th Colloquium of the IALS, Leh, 21-26th July 2003 set me on the track; to Gelong Konchok Pande who improved the spoken version; and to Rebecca Norman for all her comments and help.

2. DICTIONARIES:

HAM Hamid 1998 RAM Ramsey 1890 JÄK Jäschke 1881 SPR Sprigg 2002

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