rJe-blas, pha-llos and Other Compounds
with Suffix -s in Old Tibetan Texts

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Géza Uray once told me (H.Ue.) to pay attention to seemingly ‘non-standard’ spellings, such as yig-tshans instead of yig-tshañ, and not to (mis)take them as errors of the scribe or mere varia lectio. Following his advice, I collected a number of similar compounds during my work for the project ‘Dictionary of Written Tibetan’.

The nominal suffix -s seems to have first met with linguistic interest in an article of W. Simon (1941: 385–388) who also lists several nouns allegedly derived from the verbal root via an original morpheme *sa ‘place’. This etymology does not seem to be well motivated in most of the cases, and it is also somewhat implausible in view of the still productive nominaliser -sa ‘place’ mentioned (p. 388–389). In most cases, the nouns are nothing but abstract action nouns. Tibetan grammarians see this derivation somewhat more pragmatically as drop of the prefix of the ‘past-tense’ form of the verb, e. g. dPa’-ris Saňs-rgyas (1999: 218: “bya ba’i miñ ’das pa’i sňon ’jug dor na / de daň ’brel ba’i dnos po’i miñ du gyur”). It may be noted that nominal

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Chomolangma, Demawend und Kasbek, Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier (2008), 309–334
forms of the so-called ‘past’ stem can likewise have the meaning of an abstract action noun, cf. e.g. bstan(d) pa ‘teaching’.

Philip Denwood (1996) discusses a different suffix -s, operating on simple nouns. Similar to ge- in German Gebirge, Geschwister etc., it expresses a ‘series’, ‘set’, or also a ‘totality’ (p. 97). According to Denwood, this suffix was “no longer productive at the time of the earliest known Tibetan texts” (ibid.). This statement needs some modification, since a similar suffix seems to have been still productive in compounds in Old Tibetan texts.

Not all cases of a final -s seem to be explainable in terms of a collective suffix or in terms of an abstract nominaliser. In some cases, particularly when the second member of the compound is an adjective or a verb root, the suffix seems to be related to the ‘past tense’ or ‘resultative’ suffix, which forms part of the stem formation in Tibetan. In other cases, again, the apparent suffix might be part of the lexeme (or word). The distinction between the first two functions cannot always be drawn with ultimate certitude. In the following we want to present some such compounds from Old Tibetan texts showing final -s – including a few cases that have been discussed over a long period. Their non-suffixed forms are in general not attested in Old Tibetan texts, but some of them are frequently attested in later Tibetan texts.

Concerning the expressions rje-blas and pha-los it seems reasonable to present first their fresh interpretation viz. translation. This will be followed by a review of earlier research, the presentation of the proposed etymology, and finally by attestations of the expression in its context.

rje-bla / rje-blas

- rje-bla (lord + service to be rendered)
- rje-blas lit. ‘duty (or: ‘service’) to the lord’, ‘official duty’, ‘official service’, ‘official work’

The expression is absent in the dictionaries. Much ink has been shed to explain it. Coblin (1991: 63–110), having summarised the previous interpretations, discusses and translates passages from 23 texts. As a result he states (p. 66) with respect to the word rje-blas: “In our view, it can in all known passages be translated as ‘service’ and/or ‘duty.’” As to the
etymology he concludes (p. 67): “For nonce its identification must remain an unsolved problem.” For the following investigation, some of the earlier interpretations are especially interesting, e.g. the fact that according to Richardson (1952:9), Tibetan scholars proposed to take the second syllable of the word as a form of las ‘work’. Stein (1983: 207–8) cites textual attestations of early Tibetan translations from Chinese texts (PT 106, 748, PT 749, PT 986) that are in favour of blas = las and states that rje-blus “désigne une fonction”. Beckwith (1983:2, n. 6) takes a different approach:

Since rje can also be a verb meaning ‘to exchange, barter or trade’ and blas is another spelling for glas . . . which means ‘wage, fee’ . . . one may suppose that the officer known as rje-blus was in charge perhaps of paying the army . . .

Finally, Takeuchi (1995:266–7) sums up his own observations concerning the word rje-blus in Old Tibetan contracts as follows:

a) syntactically it is a noun that functions as direct object of verbs . . ., b) semantically it is a position of official assignment, and may be carried out by officials as well as non-officials. Hence, I consider it as a general term meaning ‘official work, duty’ . . . Though its etymology is not yet very clear, I think rje-blus ‘official work’ forms a pair with myi-blus ‘non-official work’ . . ., where rje ‘lord’ symbolizing ‘official’ is used in contrast with myi ‘person’ symbolizing ‘non-official’. And myi-blus must be related to myi-blas-las in Text 37. Thus, blas may be taken either as a variant form of glas ‘wage’ (Beckwith op. cit.) or as a contracted form of bla-las ‘contract work’.

Takeuchi seems to exclude the possibility of blas being an archaic form of las.

Except for Stein (1983), all above-mentioned authors have only investigated almost exclusively Old Tibetan inscriptions as well as documents issued in the period of Tibetan domination of Central Asia. However, the vast Buddhist literature translated from Sanskrit around this period may also contribute to elucidate the etymology of the word. In the Buddhist literature the expression blas is attested, but the compound rje-blus does not seem to be extant.

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1 Beckwith’s interpretation seems somewhat peculiar since there is no clue whatsoever that the Tibetan army was paid.
In the Mahāvyutpatti we find ẓiṅ-blas – kṛṣīkarmāntah\(^2\) (Mvy 7065, MvyS 7101), lag-gi-bla – navakarmika\(^3\) (Mvy 8675, MvyS 8735), and lag-gi-las (!) byed-pa – uthānakārakah\(^4\) (Mvy 9228, MvyS 9293). The Tibetan rendering of the second term is difficult to interpret, perhaps it means ‘work for/related to hand(s)’.

Further, in connection with monks intending to build a house, we find mi-blas (*puruṣakārakah)\(^5\) along with ẓiṅ-ṛta’i-las (KD 3, 240a4; 240b1: mi blas daṅ / ẓiṅ ṛta’i las sloṅ ba ‘to beg for the service of men and carts’ and 241a5: la la las ni mi blas / la la las ni ẓiṅ ṛta’i las bslaṅs pa’o ‘the service some begged for, was the service of men, the service others begged for, was the service of carts’. The Madhyamakāvatāraṭikā, for which only the Tibetan translation is extant, has the following entry in the context of discussing possession or property: dper na raṅ gi bran daṅ rgyal po’i blas bźin no ‘for example, it is like one’s own bondsmen and the service-men (lit. ‘workmen’) of the king’ (TD 3870: 215b3).

Though the exact meaning of the above Sanskrit equivalents cannot be given in all cases, there is no doubt that by Tibetan bla/s Sanskrit terms like karman/kāraka meaning ‘work’, ‘deed’, ‘service’ and also ‘serviceman’ are rendered. It is noteworthy that already in Mvy we find blas side by side with las (cf. above Mvy 8675 and 9228).\(^6\) Zeisler (2005), on the other hand, shows that a ‘lost’ prefix b- may be fossilised even in contemporary compounds (see also the Ladakhi examples for bzaṅs below).

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\(^2\) The term is translated by PW as ‘Ackerbau’. The Pali form kammanta means ‘work’, ‘occupation’ (PTS Dictionary p. 194). I (H. Ue.) thank Helmut Tauscher, Vienna, for kindly contacting G. Wojtilla, Szeged, a specialist in medieval Indian agriculture, who explained in detail the skt. term, which has a twofold meaning. I quote in short: In the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi by Hemacandra (1088–1172) karmānta = karmabhū ‘cultivated land’, thus kṛṣīkarmāntah = ‘agricultural work’. G. Wojtilla further refers to a “theory of the royal ownership of cultivable land in medieval India”. This corresponds with the meaning of Tib. blas/las ‘duty’ or ‘service’.

\(^3\) Compare BHSD where the alleged meaning ‘repairer of buildings’ is discarded and instead the interpretation “perhaps lit. (one who performs) a new-initiate’s work” is proposed. The term does not seem to be very clear, but it points to a low position among the monks: somebody who has to do manual labour.

\(^4\) The term is not attested in the dictionaries.

\(^5\) For the term compare BHSD in different context ‘manly performance’. It is not attested so far as equivalent of Tibetan miṅlas.

\(^6\) This can also be observed in some of the examples given by Stein (1983).
This clearly points to *blas* as an archaic form for *las*. Even more likely, it constitutes stem II or stem III (the s-less form) of an original verb *gla* (? ~ *glod*), *blas*, *bla ~ gla*, *glos ~ los* ‘render a service in exchange’ which seems to have survived under the form *gla*, *glas*, –, *glos* ‘rent, pay wages’ and under the form *las*, –, –, *los* ‘work’.⁷ Stem II *blas* would express the service already rendered, stem III *bla* the services still to be rendered.⁸

The first element of the compound *rje-blas* still should be discussed. Because of its double meaning *rje* ‘lord’, or *rje, brjes, brje, rjes* ‘exchange, barter’, already referred to by Beckwith (1983: 2, n. 69), the compound *rje-blas* may be analysed as ‘exchange service’, ‘paid service’,⁹ or as ‘service for the lord’. The last meaning seems to be corroborated by the expression *myi-blas* ‘service for (ordinary) people’.

In the textual attestations of *rje-blas*, especially in the Old Tibetan inscriptions where the expression directly refers to the respective *btsan-po*

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⁷ Note that the subscribed *l* is the main consonant, a superscribed *g* - or *b* - thus constitutes a regular prefix. With a hypothetical stem I *glod*, stem III *gla*, and stem IV *los*, the verb would correspond to the strong paradigm 1b as exemplified with the verb *gion, btan, gian, thoṅ* ‘send, give’ in Zeisler (2001). The occurrence of the form *bla* for stem III, may indicate that a process of paradigmatic simplification had already affected this verb. In such a situation it is not uncommon that a differentiation of meaning takes place and that different particular meanings are associated with the earlier and the resulting (alternative) paradigm(s). This may also have happened with the hypothetical stem I *glod*.

A verb *las* is given in TTC and also in CDTD, I. A form *glod* ‘give’ is mentioned by JĀK as surviving in Ü. The textual attestation “*ma bzūṅ ma glod (-par)* without any regard to taking or giving Glr [= Kuznetsov 1966: 144,22]” is not appropriate since it is taken from a Buddhist context and means ‘not to be seized and not to be released’.

⁸ This last meaning seems also to underlie the occurrence of *rin-bla* in the Old Tibetan contracts (Takeuchi 1995: 42.6, 54.2, 55A.9), which might not be ‘upper price’ but the ‘fixed price’, i.e. ‘the price to be given’. And likewise *rje-bla* in 55B.7 might well be ‘(exchange) service to be rendered’, while *myi-blas* (37.2) would be ‘the work to be rendered to an ordinary person’.

⁹ Compare n. 2 above. Interestingly enough, the West Tibetan word for ‘barter, exchange’ is /rjep/, a form which can only be explained if the combination of the element *rje* ‘exchange’ and *blas* ‘(exchange) service’ was very common. The double notion of ‘exchange’ might have paved the way for a semantic re-interpretation of *rje* as ‘lord’ and a secondary compound *myi-blas*. Both compounds might have been the result of a contraction of an originally trisyllabic compound *rje-bla-las* ‘work to be done for the lord’ and the above *myi-bla-las*. Nevertheless, it cannot be precluded that the compound ‘exchange (exchange)-service’ that underlies the West Tibetan verb form was a secondary development when the lords became somewhat less important.
who issued the inscription, its translation by ‘duty (or: service) to the lord’ would seem justified (but ‘duty’ alone would also do). Considering that local authorities in Central Asia are representatives of the lord, this translation would also be possible in the Old Tibetan contracts, though somewhat farfetched and affected. Takeuchi’s choice to translate rje in *rje-blas* by ‘official’ is fitting in every context and has the advantage of a concise rendering of the expression.

Selected textual attestations:¹⁰

- Li/Coblin: inscriptions II E, l. 7: *rje blas dka’* dgu ńamsu blaṅs te ‘in service to his lord he took all sorts of difficult tasks; II S, l. 4: *ńan lam klu khoṅ gis // glo ba ńe ba’i rje blas byas pha* ‘Ñan-lam Klu-khoṅ performed his duties of loyalty to his lord’; inscr. XIII l. 1–2: *lde sman lde’u cuṅ / glo ba ńe ńe sku dañ chab srid la dpheṅ pha’i rje blas dka’* ba byed byed nas ‘lDe-sman lDe’u-cuṅ was very very loyal and has repeatedly performed difficult official services, which were beneficial for our body (i.e. life) and for the state’; inscr. IV l. 18: *rje blas dañ // dpya’ khoṅ ˙nas / rje blas ńams su mi ni / srog la dbab bo* ‘[it is granted to rKon Kar-po:] official duties,¹¹ tribute of cloth,¹² taxes ... shall not be imposed’.

- In a text translated from Chinese: *bdag luṅ ltar ma byas te / rje blas ńams su myi len pa ni / srog la dbab bo* ‘those who have not acted according to my command and do not perform their official duty shall be executed’ (PT 986, l. 60–61).

- In the context of divination (*mo*): *rje blas gsol na gnaṅ* ‘if you ask(ed) for official service, it will be granted’ (AFL VI, l. 93–94 ).

- Old Tibetan contracts: *lo thaṅ skyel du mchī ba la rje blas giṅer mi kums* ‘[if Eng-tse], while going away to transport the annual tribute, fails to fulfil his official duty’ (Takeuchi 1995: 36, l. 5).¹³

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¹⁰ For further attestations s. Coblin 1981.

¹¹ I (H. Ue.) take the opportunity to correct my translation (cf. Uebach 1985:31 ‘öffentliche Ämter’).

¹² This new interpretation of *dpya’* was presented by Kazushi Iwao in a paper read at the 11th IATS Seminar, Bonn, 2006.

¹³ Further attestations in texts 5, 19, 20, 39 and 40.
Compounds with Suffix -s in Old Tibetan Texts

**pha-los**

The alternative possibilities of interpretation are: \( \textit{pha} + \textit{lo} + \textit{s} = \) ‘male adult [lit. father, head of family]’ + ‘year/report’ + collective suffix -s or \( \textit{pha} + \textit{los} = \) ‘male adult’ + \textit{potentialis} form of the verb \textit{las} ‘work’.

The expression is not attested in the dictionaries. Its attestations are so far only found in the Old Tibetan Annals (OTA). In the period covered by the Annals, the \textit{pha-los} took place in intervals of 32 to 38 years. This roughly corresponds to the estimated 30 years per generation. Moreover, the context also shows that the \textit{pha-los} also served as a basis for further administrative measurements regularly recorded in the Annals (Uebach 2003: 22–3). Concerning countries and people like Žañ-žuñ and the ‘A-ža, the \textit{pha-los} was the first step for incorporating them into the Tibetan empire. The word evidently became obsolete after the collapse of the Tibetan empire.

Uray (1972: 27–28 and n. 64), having discarded the previous interpretations of Thomas (1955: 22, 154 ‘enemy’s side, opposite side’), Bacot (1940–1946: 33, 43, 45 ‘les révoltés’, ‘des mutins’, ‘les dissidents’), Tucci (1956: 86 n. 1 ‘census’), and Stein (1963: 328 ‘recensement’), reviews the entries in a detailed way, adding thus considerably to the understanding of the word. In his note 64, he interprets it as ‘registration or review of the heads of the families’, which took place exclusively in the winter term while they were present. There is no doubt that the \textit{pha-los} aimed at registering the population. It is only Uray’s attempt to interpret the expression with the help of the entry \textit{los} = \textit{bden pa} ‘true’; \textit{los yin} = \textit{nes par yin} ‘to be certain, true, sure, firm’ in \textit{brDa dag min tshig gsal ba} of Chos-kyi grags-pa that does not hold.

Almost 35 years elapsed since Uray’s discussion. In the meantime no other investigation was made and moreover, the expression did not get an entry in recently published dictionaries, such as TTC. Therefore, it may be worth undertaking a new attempt of interpretation from a different angle. The compound can be analysed in three ways:

a) \( \textit{pha} + \textit{lo} + \textit{-s}, \) ‘male adult’ + ‘year’ + -s, a noun + noun compound with collective -s suffix. This leads to the interpretation ‘[registration of] the male adults’ age-group’.
b) *pha + los*, a compound of noun + *potentialis* form *los* of the verb *las*, ~ ~, ~ *los* ‘to be able to work’ (or: ‘to be able for service’, ‘able-bodied’). For the *potentialis* function of the so-called imperative stem (cf. Zeisler 2002). This interpretation would refer to ‘[registration of] the male adults able to work (or: for service)’.

c) *pha + lo + -s* suffix, ‘male adult’ + ‘report/saying’ + -s, a noun + noun compound with collective -s suffix. The possible translation would be ‘[registration of] the collected reports of male adults/heads of families’.

This third alternative interpretation is based on JÄK’s third entry, cautiously marked “prob[ably]: talk, report, rumour, saying, added (like *skad*) to the word or sentence to which it belongs”.

This meaning is corroborated by the use of *lo* as a reportive marker in the West Tibetan dialects, namely Ladakhi, Purik, and Balti (cf. Bielmeier 1985:109, “Zweitbericht auf *-lo*” and Zeisler 2004:657: “Reported speech, events that are known from hearsay, or written information are marked with the Quote Marker /lo/ *lo* ‘to say’.”). Jäschke’s note “prob[ably]” may thus be deleted. Moreover, the use of the quote marker *lo* is not restricted to West Tibetan dialects. It is attested also in early Tibetan translations from Sanskrit, e.g. several times in Vasubandhu’s *Abhidharmakośakārikā* where *lo* corresponds to skt. *kila* (cf. Pradhan 1998: p. 3, verse 3, *uditaḥ kilaśaṣṭraḥ* (commented by *kila buddhānābhidharmā uktaḥ*) = TD 4089: 1a5: ‘*di ni ston pas gsuins so lo*’.

Furthermore, Eimer (1979,1:101–103) demonstrates that *lo*, apart from frequently serving as quote marker, also means ‘saying’, ‘report’ in the bKa’-glaṁs literature. In consequence, Eimer points out that the meaning of *lo-rgyus* ‘series of years’ in the sense of ‘history’, ‘annals’, cannot be accepted any longer, but should be corrected into ‘series of sayings’, ‘report’.

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14 I (H. Ue.) thank my colleague Johannes Schneider for his assistance in verifying the Skt. passage.

15 Eimer’s results seem to have escaped the attention of L. van der Kuijip (1996: 42–43), since he continues to translate the term by ‘annals’. However, his remark on the genre of *lo-rgyus* (ibid.), unintentionally confirming Eimer’s notion, is worth mentioning: “... works with this term in their title do not fulfill what is promised by such a rendition, that is to say, they do not at all give a year-by-year account of their subject matter ...”
As to the form of lo, B. Zeisler (2004: 657) states: "/lo/ appears to be a defective verb related to CT lab, St.Imp.: lob ‘to say’, since it is also used in phrases such as /ci lo/? ci lo ‘what did [you/s/he] say?’, immediately after an utterance where the notion of ‘rumour’ or ‘report’ given by JÅK is not really fitting. Cf. also LLV VI: 239.1 slab lo ‘to talk in one’s sleep’ and JÅK lab-lo(b) rgyab and /lap-lopte drul/ ‘walks talking in his/her sleep’.

Out of the three alternative interpretations of the term pha-los, version a) is preferable from the semantic point of view. In general, versions a) and b) might be more convincing. However, the notions of ‘male’/ ‘father’/ ‘head of family’/16 ‘adult’ and ‘year’/ ‘age’/ ‘report’/ ‘able-bodied’/ ‘capable for service’ are inseparably conjured up by the polysemy of each element of the compound. Apparently the compound is more than the sum of its elements and has become a fixed terminus technicus, otherwise the expression pha-los c(h)en-po (s. below, year 743) is hard to explain.

It is not possible to imitate the Tibetan compound and it is difficult to find a translation in which all notions, or as many as possible, become transparent. For the sake of convenience pha-los will be rendered here as ‘[registration of] the male able-bodied adults’.

**Textual attestations in OTA:**

- Year 673, winter: pha los bkug ‘the male able-bodied adults were convoked for registration’ (I.O. 750, l. 8)
- Year 711, winter: pha los maṅ pho bkug ‘many male able-bodied adults were convoked for registration’ (I.O. 750, l. 131)
- Year 719, winter: źan źuṅ daṅ mard kyi pha los bkug ‘the male able-bodied adults of Žan-Żuṅ and Mard were convoked for registration’ (I.O. 750, l. 162)
- Year 734, winter: ’a za’i pha los bgyis ‘the registration of the male able-bodied adults of the ’A-Ża was performed’ (I.O. 750, l. 219)
- Year 743, winter: pha los gyi byaṅ bu bor ... rgod g.yun gyi pha los cen po bkug ‘the wooden tablets for the registration of the male able-bodied

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16 The interpretation of pha in the compound by ‘fathers’ or ‘heads of the families’ (as suggested by Uray, op. cit.) would imply that representatives were convoked whereas the interpretation by ‘male adults’ refers to the presence of the totality of the relevant population.
adults were abolished\textsuperscript{17} ... a great registration of the male able-bodied adults of those obliged to military service (rgod) and of those obliged to non-military service (g.yu\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}) was convoked’ (I.O.750, l. 243)

parallel passage in the fragmentary version OTA II, Year 743: bod yul gyi \textoverline{\textperiodcentered} pha los gyi mgo mdzad ... dgun ... pha los bgyis pa ‘the registration for Tibet of the male able-bodied adults began, ... in winter ... the registration of the male able-bodied adults was performed’ (Br.M.Or. 8212, l. 1–2).

\textit{sku-sru\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}}/\textit{sku-sru\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}s}

\textsuperscript{17} I (H. Ue.) disagree with Uray’s interpretation of \textit{bor} “were laid down” or as “were preliminarily laid down” (op. cit. P. 28–29), because the preparation of wooden tablets seems to be of too minor importance as to be noted in the concise enumeration of the most important events of the Annals. I take \textit{bor} for ‘abolished’, ‘no longer valid’.

\textsuperscript{18} These should not be mistaken for personal bodyguards of the \textit{btsan-po}, rather they constitute a military unit (\textit{sto\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}n bu chu\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}n}) of about half the size of a thousand-district.

\textbf{Textual attestations:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Annals, Year 708: \textit{sku sru\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}s gyi khram dmar po brtsis} ‘the red notch of the Guards was cut [on the tally]’ (I.O. 750, l. 116)
  \item Inscription of sTag-sgra klu-khoi: \textit{sku sru\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}s} ‘\textit{phan yul pa\textacute{i} sto\textacute{n} dpon du g\textacute{\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}}zan du ya\textacute{n} myi g\textacute{\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}}ug par ...} \textit{sku sru\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}s} ‘pan’ (sic!) \textit{yul pa\textacute{i} sto\textacute{n} dpon g.yu\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}n dru\textacute{n} du stsal\textacute{d} par gna\textacute{n} \no ... nam \textacute{\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}}ar gya\textacute{n} sde sku sru\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}s su gna\textacute{n} ba las ‘nobody else shall be appointed thousand-district commander of the \textit{\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}Phan-yul Guards ... [the office] of thousand-district commander of the \textit{\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}Phan-yul Guards is granted eternally ... since the district is also forever granted as [district] of the Guards’ (Li/Coblin inscr. II, North l. 41–42 and 45–49).

In the later historiographic literature, the spelling of the term is s-less throughout. One example provided in the context of the description of legislation and state organisation of the Tibetan empire may suffice: \textit{rtsis b\textacute{\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}}zi ... sku sru\textoverline{\textperiodcentered}n (!) gi rtsis} ‘the four cuttings [of notches] are: ... the cutting [of notches] of the Guards’ (lDeKh 256,13 and 269,10).
**yig-tshaṅ / yig-tshaṅs**

- **yig-tshaṅ** (letter/writing + to be complete)
- **yig-tshaṅs** lit. ‘complete letters/signs’, i.e. [the six] ‘insignia of rank’, e.g. in gold, turquoise, silver etc. which were usually granted together with certificates

Among all the dictionaries, **yig-tshaṅs** gets an entry only in TTC, where it is paraphrased as: *snar chos rgyal sroṅ btsan gyis blon po rnams la bya dga’ gnaṅ ba’i yig lam* ‘the way in which in former times the dharma-king Sroṅ-btsan [sgam-po] bestowed letters of reward to the councillors’. This explanation probably refers to an entry of OTA, Year 699, where, however, the spelling is **yig-gtshan**. In TTC, s.v. **yig-tshaṅs-drug** ‘the six insignia of rank’ are enumerated.

Unless it is assumed that **yig-gtshan** is an archaic spelling of **yig-tshaṅs,** or more precisely: that it provides us with a hitherto unattested stem III of a corresponding agentive verb ‘complete, assemble’, there is no attestation of the collective term **yig-tshaṅs** in the Old Tibetan texts. There is one instance of **yig-gtshan** in OTA, Year 699: *glo ba ņe ba yig gtsan daṅ bya sga stsald* ‘he bestowed loyal person(s) [with]’ ‘pure’, ‘clean letters’) and presents’ (I.O. 750, l. 79) and another one in the fragmentary OTA II, Year 759: *sum ru pal po che yig gtsan stsal* ‘they bestowed a great many persons of the Sum-[pa] Horn [with] insignia of rank’ (Br.M.Or. 8212, l. 35).

Interestingly enough, the single specific ‘certificates (*yi ge*) of rank’ which form the group of the six insignia of rank are attested, e.g. in the inscriptions: *dṇul gyi yi ge* ‘certificate of silver rank’ and *dṇul gyi yi ge chen po* ‘the great certificate of silver rank’ (Li/Coblin, inscr. II, North, l. 34 and 37); in the fragmentary OTA II, Year 764: *blon che snaṅ bzer ke ke ru’i yi ge stsalde ... zan rgyal zigs chen po g.yu’i yi ge stsalde ... ston rtsan g.yu’i yi ge*

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19 TTC had obviously done so passing over the different spelling in silence. And indeed, **yig gtsan** ‘pure’, ‘clean letters’ does not make sense.
20 Cf. Uray (1960: 50). Apparently in these two passages, both receiver and thing transferred are in the absolutive. One may perhaps reckon with a compound, or a conventionally dropped genitive marker with the function ‘for’. Cf. also the *Dzaṅ-blun* example given in JAK: “*bdag-gi lăm-rgyas stsol-cig* ‘pray, give me provisions (provender) for the journey’ “, more literally, ‘give provisions for me/ my provisions for the road’.
stsal te ‘[He] bestowed great councillor sNañ bzer [with] the ke-ke-ru certificate . . . bestowed Žañ rGyal-zigs chen-po [with] the turquoise certificate . . . bestowed sToñ-rtsan [with] the turquoise certificate’ (Br.M.Or. 8212, l. 58–61); in the Old Tibetan chronicle (OTC): bu tsha gañ ruñ ba gchig / gser gyi yi ge myi chad par stsal par bka’ ‘The [btsan-po’s] order to always [lit. ‘uninterruptedly’], bestow one of [his, i.e. dByi-tshab’s] offspring [with] a golden certificate’ (PT 1287, l. 265) and: blon che snañ bzer zla brtsan . . . nor bu rin po che ‘i yi ge stsal to ‘[He] bestowed great councillor sNañ-bzer zla-brtsan [with] the precious jewel certificate’21 (PT 1287, l. 384–5).

The only instance of yig-tshañ is attested in a 16th century historiographic text within the context of the description of state legislation and organisation, e. g.: yig tshains drug . . . rab gser g.yu gñis ‘brin diul dañ phra men tha ma zains yig lcag yig ste drug ‘As for the six insignia, the two highest, gold and turquoise, the middle, silver and phra-men, the inferior copper sign, iron sign, [these] make up six’ (dPa’i-bo 21a3–4). In contrast, the s-less form yig-tshañ appears in a historiographic text written about 300 years earlier in the same context (lDeKh 269, 19 and 270, 12).22

The s-less form yig-tshañ has survived to the day, but its meaning is different. It denotes the chancellery of the Tibetan government, and also offices in general.

**gšog-yug/gšog-yugs**

– gšog + yug wing (gšog-pa, ṣog pa) or paper (ḥog-bu) + unit of measurement for cloth and paper/bolt
– gšog-yugs ‘?bundles of paper’

Attested in the funeral rite: sku gšem mjol bon po rnams kyis / do ma la stsogs te rkañ ‘groṣ gyi rnams gšog yugs kyis gdab ‘the sacrificer(s), the mjol-Bon-po(s) beat(s) the do-ma horse and the other pack animals with bolts of paper’ (PT 1042, l. 48; cf. the different interpretation of Lalou 1953: 353).

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21 This entry refers to the same person who in the preceding citation of the Annals was granted a ke-ke-ru certificate. ke-ke-ru renders skt. karketana ‘cat’s-eye’.
22 The reason for this variation may stem from an author’s carelessness as well as from erroneous copying of manuscripts.
Use of the resultative suffix -s in compounds with adjectivals

A great number of compounds showing an additional final -s have an adjectival as second element. In Tibetan only derived adjectivals behave as nominals, whereas monosyllabic adjectivals behave as verbs and thus often show a second stem with the resultative suffix -s in Old Tibetan. The resultative meaning is perhaps not always intuitive, particularly a rdo-rinis (see below) did not grow long by itself (and if it was made to be a long stone it should have been called *rdo-(b)sriṅs), and one may likewise wonder whether the hands in lag-rinis and the legs in rkaṅ-rinis are described as ‘having grown long’ or a simply ‘being long’. But the literal meaning ‘having become long’ seems to describe a general property of objects and could perhaps be equated with the English derivative morpheme -ish or -y, thus ‘long-ish’ or ‘length-y’. The same holds for all other cases, which will be given in the order of the Tibetan alphabet.

Compounds and place names in -maṅs

- dmyig-maṅs lit. ‘having many eyes/squares’, n. of a [board] game, attested in the funeral rite: dmyig maṅs / rol mo cha ... ril gtaṅ du mchi ‘o dmyig-maṅs [boards], musical instruments ... will go into the round pit’ (PT 1042, l. 103); myig maṅs gra chig kyaṅ zła la rtse na / rgyal ‘When playing myig-maṅs, whether with an enemy or a friend, [he, sPuṅ-zad Zu-ce] always won’ (PT 1287 l. 97).
- ņa-maṅs lit. ‘having many fishes’, n. of a grove, attested in OTA, Year 671: dgun ņa maṅs tshal du gšegs ‘in winter he went to ņa maṅs tshal’ (PT 1288, l. 51).

Compounds in -bzaṅs

- khaṅ-bzaṅs ‘fine house, palace, residence’, in the Rāmāyaṇa: rnam par rgyal ba ’i khaṅ bzaṅs kyi ... (m)tshal ‘in the ... grove of rNam-par rGyal-ba’s palace’ (D24, B28, E30; de Jong 1989: 89f.)
- khyi-bzaṅs ‘fine dog’, is attested in funeral rites on the occasion of the crossing several mountain passes to gain heaven: myi bzaṅs ni ’dzuld te gšegs šig / rta bzaṅs / ni / mdur te gšeg šig / khyi bzaṅs dom bzaṅs ni / ’dral
te gšeg šig ‘Fine man, having slipped out, go! Fine horse, having been consecrated [for the funeral rite? or: sacrificed, buried?], go! Fine dog, fine bear, having been cut open, go!’ (PT 1134, ll. 216 and 236). In OTC: myi bzańs ni rta bzański ‘a fine man [on] a fine horse’ (PT 1287, l. 162).

- rta-bzański ‘fine horse’, in OTC: myi bzański ni rta bzański ‘a fine man [on] a fine horse’ (PT 1287, l. 162); s. also above, s. v. khyi-bzański.

- dom-bzański ‘fine bear’, s. above s. v. khyi-bzański.

- myi-bzański ‘fine man’, s. above s. v. khyi-bzański.

- spañ-bzański ‘fine meadow’, in the final fragments of OTC, apparently a fare-well song: ... hgres su ni spañ bzański nas / ma sriń ni sdug gis bskyal ‘... away from the fine meadows [which are apt] for the rolling [of horses], as for mother and sister, sorrow will accompany/will have accompanied them’ (PT 1287, l. 528)

- spu-bzański ‘fine hair’, or ‘fine coat’, attested in a legend of origin of the mdzo, in the description of her beauty: spu ni ji’i spu spu bzański ’ol te ’ol / na dkar po ’ol te ’ol ‘her hair, what a hair, a fine hair; when it flows down, it flows down [a] white [mass]’ (PT 1289, l. 302)

- ru-bzański ‘fine horn’, attestation in a description of a mdzo: ru bzański ni g.yu’i ru ‘the fine horn, it is a horn of turquoise’ (PT 1068, l. 117)

- rol-bzański ‘fine musical instruments’, attested in a funeral rite: rol bzański rta rgyan can ‘fine musical instruments with ornaments showing horses’ (PT 1042, l. 37 and 130)

**Place names in -bzański**

- cu-bzański ‘good water’, epithet in the name of a place in rMa-grom: Yo-ṭi cu-bzański (I.O. 750, l. 96)

- gtań-bzański ‘fine pit’, ‘fine depression’, n. of a place in rGya (PT 1285, l. 1134)

- gtań-bzański variant spelling of gtań-bzański (PT 1285, l. 1117)

- luń-bzański ‘fine valley’ (PT 1285, l. 2148)

**Attestation of bzański in Ladakhi compounds**

The final -s was certainly a reality in spoken Old Tibetan. Similar expressions referring to all kind of entities are still preserved in the Shamskat
Compounds with Suffix -s in Old Tibetan Texts

dialects of Lower Ladakh. The list given below is certainly not exhaustive, since the compounds were elicited for another feature, namely the preservation of prefix b- after an open syllable. Interestingly enough, many of these (cow, grass, milk, mountain, father and mother) are not attested in the above-cited Old Tibetan materials, which shows that they must have remained quite productive.\(^{23}\)

- **DOM** /kibzaŋ(s)/  \textit{khyi-bzañ(s)} ‘good dog’
- **DOM** /gubzaŋ(s)/  \textit{chu-bzañ(s)} ‘water running smoothly (not causing harm)’
- **KHAL** /rhtabzaŋ(s)/  \textit{rta-bzañ(s)} ‘a good horse (running smoothly, healthy, friendly)’
- **KHAL** /ba(b)zaŋ(s)/  \textit{ba-bzañ(s)} ‘friendly cow, rich in milk’, **DOM** /bazaŋ(s)/  \textit{bba-bzañ(s)} ‘cow rich in milk’
- **KHAL** /mi(b)zaŋ/, **DOM** /mibzaŋ(s)/, **GARK** /mib-zañ(s)/  \textit{mi-bzañ(s)} ‘good-hearted person’, **KHAL** also ‘clean’
- **SAS** /rhtoabzaŋ/, **KHAL** /rhtoabzaŋ/, **DOM** /rhtoabzaŋ(s)/  \textit{rswa-bzañ(s)} ‘good quality or plenty of grass (high up in the mountains)’
- **DOM** /obzaŋ(s)/  \textit{’o-bzañ(s)} ‘good milk’
- **DOM** /ri(b)zaŋ(s)/  \textit{ri-bzañ(s)} ‘good mountain (rich in grass and water, easy to climb)’, **GARK** /riyaŋ(s)/  \textit{ri-bzañ(s)} ‘mountain rich in grass, high mountain’
- Preservation only in the genitive case:
  all Ladakhi, Kesar songs:  /phabzañse gokhaŋ/  \textit{pha-bzañ-si go-khañ} ‘the house of a good, noble father’; in contrast to **SAS** (songs) /phbzaŋ/  \textit{pha-bzañ} ‘belonging to a good ancestor’, **KHAL** (also normal speech) /pha(b)zaŋ/  ‘good, noble father’; similarly all Ladakhi, Kesar songs:  /mabzañse gokhaŋ/  \textit{ma-bzañ-si go-khañ} ‘the house of a good, noble mother’; in contrast to **SAS** (songs) /mabzaŋ/  \textit{ma-bzañ} ‘belonging to a good ancestor’, **KHAL** (also normal speech) /ma(b)zaŋ/  ‘good, noble mother’; the normal genitive would be */pha(b)zaŋi/ and */ma(b)zaŋi/

\textbf{Compounds in -riñs}

As in the other cases, the suffix -s has a predominantly resultative meaning. But in the case of hands and legs, a collective reading is not precluded,

\(^{23}\)The following abbreviations are used: **DOM**: Domkhar, **GARK**: Garkhon, a Shina-speaking village with Purik as second language, **KHAL**: Khalatse, **SAS**: Saspol.
since it is always a pair of hands and a pair of legs that have the particular property.

**rado-riṅ/*rado-riṅs**
- *rado-riṅ* (stone + long)
- *rado-riṅs* ‘longish stone’, i.e. a stone-stele usually bearing an inscription.
- The expression is frequently referred to in the inscriptions on the respective stele itself (cf. Li/Coblin: inscription I W l. 11: *rado riṅs la bris pa* ‘written on the stone-stele’; similar: I E ll. 4, 65, 67, 68, 70; II N l. 3; V l. 10; VI l. 12; VII W l. 31; VII E ll. 39, 43; VIII l. 3; IX, 28; VII l. 27: *rado riṅs btsugs nas* ‘a stone-stele was set up’. It is also attested in the so-called ‘Prayers of De-ga g.yu-tshal’ (PT 16 25b3 and I.O. 751 40b3: *rado riṅs la bris;* PT 16 34a1: *rado riṅs btsugs te*).

In later texts the s-less spelling *rado-riṅ* is prevailing. However, it is worth noting that the quadrilingual inscriptions in Peking dated 1753 and 1761 read *rado-reṅs* (v. Franz 1984: 44 and plate 18, l. 2; 81, l. 1 and plate 21; 135 and plate 25)).

**lag-riṅ/*lag-riṅs**
- *lag-riṅ* (arm/hand + long)
- *lag-riṅs* ‘Long-arms’, epithet of a *bdud* or ‘dre’ [demon]; in the Ladakhi Kesar epic, epithet of a *bdud* [demon], with the name Khyab-pa Lag-riṅs (LLV 164.9, 184.12, 185.13) or Khya-ba Lag-riṅs (LLV 166.2, 235.5)

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24 In the plate the (mis)spelling *rado-reṅs* is clearly visible. The reason why v. Franz (op. cit. p. 55) excluded a misspelling and insists to interpret it as ‘harter Stein’ remains in the dark. It is evident that the space for the superscribed vowel signs for ‘i’ in *riṅs* and for ‘o’ in *rado* in these inscriptions is too narrow and that the inward curve of the vowel sign ‘i’ could only have been done in crossing the vowel sign ‘o’. Such carving, however, is tricky because stone easily splits.

25 Khyab-pa Lag-riṅ(s) is also the name of a demon king of rKoṅ-po, the live-long opponent of gSen-rab Mi-bo. The s-form of the name is preserved in the gZer-myig, cf. Hoffmann (1950: 140). He also appears in certain legends concerning the origin of the world, cf. Karmay (1986: 118, 129).
Textual attestations in the context of a legend of origin:26 ma bla cud ki rgyal gséggs na smya bo lag riṅs rgyal du gséggs ‘if Ma-bla cud-ki is in the rgyal27 [as a body? or: as a sacrifice?], sMya-bo Lag-riṅs will go into [or: will die in] the rgyal’ (PT 1136, l. 4); in the Ladakhi Kesar epic: lag pa riṅ mo ’khor mkhan žig skye chen / de la lag lag riṅs btags dgos ‘One [child] with long arms will be born. To him [you] shall give [the name] Arm-Long-arm(s)’ (LLV 13. 1–2).

rkaṅ-riṅ/rkaṅ-riṅs

- rkaṅ-riṅ (leg/foot + long)
- rkaṅ-riṅs ‘Long-legs’, epithet of a person

Textual attestation in the context of a funeral rite: bus ba ŋan pa ’ga (for: ‘ga’) žig rkaṅ riṅs te skyes na / khyed kyi žam ’briṅ ’dab tu / riṅ ba’i ni srab mda’ ’dzin pa’am / thuṅ ba’i ba’i28 ni . . . ‘if [to us humble people] humble boys having long legs would be born, if [the legs] are long, would they be admitted in your retinue as holder of the stirrups, if [the legs] are short . . . ?’ (PT 126, l. 152–153); in the Ladakhi Kesar epic: rkaṅ pa riṅ mo ’khor mkhan žig skye chen / de la rkaṅ rkaṅ riṅs btags dgos ‘One [child] with long legs will be born. To him [you] shall give [the name] Leg-Long-leg(s)” (LLV 13. 2–4).

gzaṅ(s)-riṅ/gzaṅ(s)-riṅs

- gzaṅ(s)-riṅ (spike/edge + long)
- gzaṅ(s)-riṅs ‘longish spike’ (or edge), epithet of a pick axe; epithet of a weaving tool

Textual attestation: g.yu’i sta gzaṅ riṅs ‘the turquoise axe having a longish spike’ (AFL IV, 131); (?)ma’i lag na thag zaṅs gzaṅs riṅs khyer te pu rkaṅ pa

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26 Only the last three lines of it are extant.

27 rgyal according to R. A. Stein (1971: p. 494 and n. 44) is one of the ‘constructions’ made in the funeral rite. The sentence is difficult to interpret, since gséggs is ‘to go’ or: ‘to die’, gséggs-ka ‘sacrifice’. Perhaps rgyal gséggs and rgyal du gséggs may be simply ‘to die’ or ‘to die as a sacrifice’, because in l. 6 of the same text, immediately after a number of beings are said rgyal du gséggs, there follows rabs rdzogso, the ‘legend of origin is finished’.

28 ba’i is to be deleted, because it is obviously repeated by error at the turn of the line.
**gchago** ‘the tapestry beater having longish spikes, carried in the hand of the mother, shall break her son’s leg’ (PT 1194, l. 31).

**Place names in -riṅs**

- **gliṅ-riṅs** ‘longish island’, Gliṅ-riṅs, n. of a place in sKyi (I.O. 750 ll. 61 and 103)
- **gña ’-riṅs** ‘longish neck’, mkhar gNa’-riṅs, n. of a castle (PT 1285 l. 2134); Chu-bya gni’-riṅs (lit. ‘water-bird with longish neck’) n. of a place in sKyi-ro ljaṅ-sñon (PT 1285, l. 1173)
- **sna-riṅs** ‘longish nose [of a mountain]’, sNa-riṅs, n. of a place in sNiṅ-druṅ (PT 1288, l. 34)
- **ru-riṅs** ‘longish horn’, Ru-riṅs, n. of a place (I.O. 750, l. 24)
- **roṅ-riṅs** ‘longish steep river valley’, n. of a valley: Tiṅ-srab roṅ-riṅs (PT 1287, l. 53)
- **luṅ-riṅs** ‘longish valley’, Luṅ-riṅs, n. of a place in rGyas (I.O. 750, l. 29)

**Compounds with suffix -s from Old Tibetan contracts**

It is worth mentioning that apart from the already above quoted rje-blas/ myi-blas some other compounds with collective suffix -s are attested in the study of T. Takeuchi 1995 on the Old Tibetan contracts from Central Asia. The author has discussed the meaning of these compounds each, in the index, however, the following two terms are given for unknown reasons without the suffix -s.

- **mjal-tshoṅ/mjal-tshoṅs**
  Index and p. 143: “mjal-tshoṅ trade, buying and selling”; cf. p. 139, text 1, l. 9: “mjal-tshoṅs (mjal + tshoṅ)”.

- **yal-zug/yal-zugs**
  Index yal-zug; p. 143–144: “yal zugs . . . seems to mean ‘forfeiture or penalty [for breach of contract]’ . . . Zug . . . ‘pain, torment’ . . . yal-zugs ‘penalty and pain’”; cf. p. 139, text 1, l. 11: “yal zugs”.

In my (H.Ue.) view, yal-zugs may be taken for a ‘combined penalty of paying a fine and enduring a corporeal punishment’.
– žiṅ-snams “farming”; Index and p. 278: “žiṅ snams”; cf. p. 277, text 40, l. 6
– gṇen-tshōṅs “a marriage through sale”; Index and p. 163; cf. text 7, l. 2
– yug-rins “long bolt” [of paper/cloth]; Index and p. 182: cf. text 13, l. 1

Summing up, the suffix -s is seen operating in great majority on compounds which as their second element have adjectivals: maṅ, tshaṅ, bzaṅ, riṅ, all of which end in the final -ṅ. In most, if not all of these cases, the suffix -s has a resultative meaning. Combinations with other finals and with nouns or verbs are comparatively infrequent, and in the case of nominal elements, the suffix -s apparently has a collective meaning, whereas in the case of verbal elements, the suffix may either convey a collective meaning (cf. sku-sruṅs) or may change the verb stem into an abstract noun (cf. rje-blas).

– -ṅi: 29 cases; 26 adjectivals and 3 verbs
– -m: 1 case
– -g: 2 cases
– vowel: 3 cases (actually, in this paper only two cases are mentioned, a third one, rkaṅ ’gros, will be discussed elsewhere)\(^{29}\)

Among the three compounds in a vowel, two are verbs (’gro, bla/s), and in the case of pha-los, lo might be a verb root as well as a noun. The second elements ending in -g and -m are nouns.

Finally it should be emphasised that the texts in which the compounds with suffix -s are found are relatively old. The texts are either inscriptions in stone or texts lying ‘buried’ until they were discovered in the beginning of the 20\(^{th}\) century. Though they do show orthographical instability, errors because of repeated later copying might be excluded. Orthographical instability does not affect or refer to the compounds in -s, with the single exception of yig-tshāṅs. In all textual references they are constantly showing -s, and their s-less form is not attested in the Old Tibetan texts.

This is also valid for a great number of compounds in -s attested in the canonical literature translated from Sanskrit in the early 9\(^{th}\) century.\(^{30}\)


\(^{30}\) For lack of space, only one instance each will be indicated.
Compounds in -sruṅs: sgo- ~ (KD 1/4, 180a3), btson- ~ (KD 1/4, 215b3).

Compounds in -maṅs: rkaṅ- ~ (KD 3, 87b4), chu- ~ (KD 1/2, 162b4), rdo- ~ (KD 1/2, 273a1), mig- ~ (KD 62, 245b6), so- ~ (KD 3/2, 249a7).

Compounds in -bzaṅs: skal- ~ (KD 1/2, 226b3), khaṅ- ~ (KD 1, 6a1), rgyal- ~ (KD 49 237b6), chu- ~ (KD 3, 113a6), mche- ~ (KD 1/2, 222b6), rta- ~ (KD 1/2, 122b2), thags- ~ (KD 3/2, 249a5), dab- ~ (KD 1, 95b6), sde- ~ (KD 1/2, 234b1), nor- ~ (KD 1/2, 169b6), blo- ~ (KD 1/4, 97a6), mig- ~ (KD 1/2, 227a3), mtshan- ~ (KD 3, 89b1), bźin- ~ (KD 1, 43a3), lag- ~ (KD 1, 94a2).

Compounds in -riṅs: khron- ~ (KD 60, 133a1), rgyaṅ- ~ (KD 1/3, 288b6), mchu- ~ (KD 1, 74a5), lto- ~ (KD 12, 23a3), stod- ~ (KD 1, 9b3), gduṅs- ~ (KD 1/2, 184b3), phan- ~ (KD 1, 229a6), yun- ~ (KD 1/3, 12b5), sen- ~ (KD 1, 13b5), lhan- ~ (KD 1/3, 119b6).

It can be concluded that the form in -s actually reflects the facts of the spoken language (partially still preserved in the Shamskat dialects of Ladakh) and therefore the suffixed -s should by no means be emended or dropped for reasons of alleged ‘correct’ or ‘uniform’ spelling. This is not only true for compounds in Old Tibetan texts; in later texts, as well, compounds unknown in the Old Tibetan documents are attested, e.g. ka-riṅs ‘longish pillar’ [cf. WTS s.v. ka-riṅ/ka-riṅs], cf. also the examples from the ‘parrot story’ in the bKa’-gdamgs glegs-bam: bran-bzaṅs ‘good servant’ besides khan-bzaṅs ‘residence’ (in the oldest version fol. 264v, l. 1, 266v, l. 5; changed into bran-bzaṅ, khan-bzaṅ, in all three later versions, cf. Herrmann 1983: 41, 82, n. 97; 44, 83, n. 212), mig-maṅs ‘having many eyes’, epithet of a demon (ibid., p. 46f., fol. 267v, ll. 3 and 4; kept in all versions) or n. of a [board] game (p. 57, fol. 272v, ll. 6 and 7; kept in all versions), and nam-riṅs ‘long night’ (p. 70, fol. 277r, l. 2; kept in two later versions, cf. 87, n. 549), all showing that the suffix -s continued to operate on compounds for quite some time.

31 Further we regularly find KD ‘od- srůṅ, but TD ‘od- srůṅs.
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AFL  s. Thomas 1957
AOH  Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
BEFEO  Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient
BHSD  s. Edgerton
Br.M. Or. 8212  Phts. 592–595, s. Spanien et Imaeda, 1979
CDTD  s. Bielmeier, in preparation
dPa’-bo  s. Lokesh Chandra
I.O. 750  Phts. 581–591, s. Spanien et Imaeda, 1979
I.O. 751  Phts. 13–19, s. Spanien et Imaeda, 1978
JA  Journal Asiatique, Paris
JAK  s. Jäschke
KD  Kanjur, sDe-dge edition
KD 1/1–4  ’Dul-ba’i -gī, s. Ui etc.
KD 3/1–2  Dul-ba rmam-par ‘byed-pa, s. Ui etc.
KD 12  ’Phags-pa sRas-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa brgyad-stoñ-pa, s. Ui etc.
KD 49  ’Phags-pa ’oD-dpag-med-kyi bkod-pa žes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-po’i mdo, s. Ui etc.
KD 62  ’Phags-pa yul-khor skyoñ-gis žus-pa žes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-po’i mdo, s. Ui etc.
KD 95  ’Phags-pa rgya-cher rol-pa žes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-po’i mdo, s. Ui etc.
Li/Coblin  s. Li and Coblin
LLV  s. Francke
Mvy  Mahāvyutpatti, s. Ishihama and Fukuda
MvyS  Mahāvyutpatti, s. Sakaki
PIATS  Proceedings of the International Association for Tibetan Studies
PT 16  Phts. 7–13, s. Spanien et Imaeda 1978
PT 126  Phts. 134-136, s. Spanien et Imaeda 1978
PT 986  Phts. 292–296, s. Spanien et Imaeda 1978
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PT 1068  Phts. 373-377, s. Spanien et Imaeda 1979
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