

## ***rJe-blas, pha-los* and Other Compounds with Suffix *-s* in Old Tibetan Texts**

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In alttibetischen Texten ist eine Reihe von Komposita überliefert, die im zweiten Glied ein *s*-Suffix aufweisen. Dieses Suffix kann entweder Kollektivität oder einen resultativen Zustand ausdrücken. Es wird auch zur Ableitung von Abstraktnomen verwendet. Einige dieser Komposita finden sich in späteren Texten nur ohne *-s*. Andere dagegen, besonders jene, die im Zusammenhang mit der Verwaltung des tibetischen Reichs stehen, sind obsolet geworden und ihre Bedeutung ist bisher nicht zufriedenstellend erklärt worden. Hier wird eine Auswahl solcher Komposita auf *-s* vorgestellt und die Funktion des Suffixes wird jeweils erörtert.

Géza Uray once told me (H. Ue.) to pay attention to seemingly ‘non-standard’ spellings, such as *yig-tshans* instead of *yig-tshan*, 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 Sañs-rgyas (1999: 218: “*bya ba’i miñ ’das pa’i sñon ’jug dor na / de dan ’brel ba’i dños po’i miñ du gyur*”). It may be noted that nominal

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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-blas* “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 *rjeblas* was in charge perhaps of paying the army ...<sup>1</sup>

Finally, Takeuchi (1995: 266–7) sums up his own observations concerning the word *rje-blas* 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-blas* ‘official work’ forms a pair with *myi-blas* ‘non-official work’ ... , where *rje* ‘lord’ symbolizing ‘official’ is used in contrast with *myi* ‘person’ symbolizing ‘non-official’. And *myi-blas* must be related to *myi-bla-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-blas* does not seem to be extant.

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<sup>1</sup> Beckwith’s interpretation seems somewhat peculiar since there is no clue whatsoever that the Tibetan army was paid.

In the Mahāvvyutpatti we find *ḥiṅ-blas* – *kṛṣikarmāntaḥ*<sup>2</sup> (Mvy 7065, MvyS 7101), *lag-gi-bla* – *navakarmika*<sup>3</sup> (Mvy 8675, MvyS 8735), and *lag-gi-las* (!) *byed-pa* – *uthānakāraḥ*<sup>4</sup> (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* (*\*puruṣakāraḥ*)<sup>5</sup> along with *ṣiṅ-rta’i-las* (KD 3, 240a4; 240b1: *mi blas dan / ṣiṅ rta’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 ṣiṅ rta’i las bslas pa’o* ‘the service some begged for, was the service of men, the service others begged for, was the service of carts’. The *Madhyamakāvataṛatikā*, for which only the Tibetan translation is extant, has the following entry in the context of discussing possession or property: *dper na ran gi bran dan rgyal po’i blas bḥin 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/kāraḥ* 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).<sup>6</sup> 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 *bzas* below).

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<sup>2</sup> 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 *kṛṣikarmāntaḥ* = ‘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’.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> The term is not attested in the dictionaries.

<sup>5</sup> For the term compare BHSD in different context ‘manly performance’. It is not attested so far as equivalent of Tibetan *mi blas*.

<sup>6</sup> 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’.<sup>7</sup> Stem II *blas* would express the service already rendered, stem III *bla* the services still to be rendered.<sup>8</sup>

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’,<sup>9</sup> 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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<sup>7</sup> 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 *gtoñ*, *btan*, *gtañ*, *thon* ‘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 JÄK as surviving in Ü. The textual attestation “*ma bzuiñ 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’.

<sup>8</sup> 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-bla-las* (37.2) would be ‘the work to be rendered to an ordinary person’.

<sup>9</sup> Compare n. 2 above. Interestingly enough, the West Tibetan word for ‘barter, exchange’ is /rdʒep/, 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:<sup>10</sup>

- Li/Coblin: inscriptions II E, l. 7: *rje blas dka['] dgu ñamsu blaṅs te* ‘in service to his lord he took all sorts of difficult tasks; II S, l. 4: *ñan lam klu khoṅ gis // glo ba ñe 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 ñe ñe sku daṅ chab srid la dphen 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 daṅ // dpya’ khral . . . myi dbab pa* ‘[it is granted to rKoṅ Kar-po:] official duties,<sup>11</sup> tribute of cloth,<sup>12</sup> taxes . . . shall not be imposed’.
- In a text translated from Chinese: *bdagṅ luṅ ltar ma byas te / rje blas ñams 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 mchṅ ba la rje blas gñer mi kums* ‘[if Eng-tse], while going away to transport the annual tribute, fails to fulfil his official duty’ (Takeuchi 1995: 36, l. 5).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For further attestations s. Coblin 1981.

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

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

<sup>13</sup> Further attestations in texts 5, 19, 20, 39 and 40.

***pha-los***

The alternative possibilities of interpretation are: *pha + lo + s* = ‘male adult [lit. father, head of family]’ + ‘year/report’ + collective suffix *-s* or *pha + los* = ‘male adult’ + *potentialis* form of the verb *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 *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 *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 *Žaṅ-žui* and the *’A-ža*, the *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 *pha-los* aimed at registering the population. It is only Uray’s attempt to interpret the expression with the help of the entry *los = bden pa* ‘true’; *los yin = ñes par yin* ‘to be certain, true, sure, firm’ in *brDa dag miñ 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) *pha + lo + -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 kilaiṣa śāstrā* (commented by *kila buddhenābhidharma uktaḥ*) = TD 4089: 1a5: ‘*dī ni ston pas gsuñs so lo*).<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, Eimer (1979,1: 101–103) demonstrates that *lo*, apart from frequently serving as quote marker, also means ‘saying’, ‘report’ in the bKa’-gdams 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’.<sup>15</sup>

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

<sup>15</sup> Eimer’s results seem to have escaped the attention of L. van der Kuijp (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 JÄK is not really fitting. Cf. also LLV VI: 239.1 *slab lo* ‘to talk in one’s sleep’ and JÄK *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’/<sup>16</sup> ‘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 mañ pho bkug* ‘many male able-bodied adults were convoked for registration’ (I.O. 750, l. 131)
- Year 719, winter: *žañ žuñ dañ mard kyī pha los bkug* ‘the male able-bodied adults of Žañ-žuñ and Mard were convoked for registration’ (I.O. 750, l. 162)
- Year 734, winter: *’a ža’i pha los bgyis* ‘the registration of the male able-bodied adults of the ’A-ža was performed’ (I.O. 750, l. 219)
- Year 743, winter: *pha los gyī byañ bu bor . . . rgod g.yuñ gyī pha los cen po bkug* ‘the wooden tablets for the registration of the male able-bodied

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<sup>16</sup> 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<sup>17</sup> ... 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.yuñ*) was convoked' (I.O.750, l. 243)

- parallel passage in the fragmentary version OTA II, Year 743: *bod yul gyi 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).

### **sku-sruñ / sku-sruñs**

- *sku-sruñ* (resp. body + to guard)
- *sku-sruñs* 'the Guards of the [*btsan-po*'s] body', 'the Guards'<sup>18</sup>

### **Textual attestations:**

- Annals, Year 708: *sku sruñs gyi khram dmar po brtsis* 'the red notch of the Guards was cut [on the tally]' (I.O. 750, l. 116)
- Inscription of sTag-sgra klu-khoñ: *sku sruñs 'phan yul pa'i stoñ dpon du gžan du yañ myi gžug par ... sku sruñs 'pan* (sic!) *yul pa'i stoñ dpon g.yuñ druñ du stsald par gnañ ño ... nam žar gyañ sde sku sruñs su gnañ ba las* 'nobody else shall be appointed thousand-district commander of the 'Phan-yul Guards ... [the office] of thousand-district commander of the '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: *rtsis bži ... sku sruñ* (!) *gi rtsis* 'the four cuttings [of notches] are: ... the cutting [of notches] of the Guards' (lDeKh 256,13 and 269,10).

<sup>17</sup> I (H. Ue.) disagree with Uray's interpretation of *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 *bor* for 'abolished', 'no longer valid'.

<sup>18</sup> These should not be mistaken for personal bodyguards of the *btsan-po*, rather they constitute a military unit (*stoñ bu chuñ*) of about half the size of a thousand-district.

***yig-tshañ / yig-tshañs***

- *yig-tshañ* (letter/writing + to be complete)
- *yig-tshañs* 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-tshañs* gets an entry only in TTC, where it is paraphrased as: *sñar chos rgyal sroñ btsan gyis blon po rnams la bya dga’ gnañ ba’i yig lam* ‘the way in which in former times the dharma-king Sroñ-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-gtsañ*. In TTC, s. v. *yig-tshañs-drug* ‘the six insignia of rank’ are enumerated.

Unless it is assumed that *yig-gtsañ* is an archaic spelling of *yig-tshañs*,<sup>19</sup> 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-tshañs* in the Old Tibetan texts. There is one instance of *yig-gtsañ* in OTA, Year 699: *glo ba ñe ba yig gtsañ dañ bya sga stsalde* ‘he bestowed loyal person(s) [with]<sup>20</sup> ‘insignia of rank’ (lit.: ‘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 gtsañ 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: *dñul gyi yi ge* ‘certificate of silver rank’ and *dñul 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 snañ bzer ke ke ru’i yi ge stsalde ... žañ rgyal zigs chen po g.yu’i yi ge stsalde ... stoñ rtsan g.yu’i yi ge*

<sup>19</sup> TTC had obviously done so passing over the different spelling in silence. And indeed, *yig gtsañ* ‘pure’, ‘clean letters’ does not make sense.

<sup>20</sup> 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 *Dzan-blun* example given in JĀK: “*bdág-gi lám-rgyags 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 bźer [with] the *ke-ke-ru* certificate ... bestowed Žañ rGyal-zigs chen-po [with] the turquoise certificate ... bestowed sTon-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 bźer zla brtsan ... nor bu riñ po che ’i yi ge stsal to* ‘[He] bestowed great councillor sNañ-bźer zla-brtsan [with] the precious jewel certificate’<sup>21</sup> (PT 1287, l. 384–5).

The only instance of *yig-tshañs* is attested in a 16<sup>th</sup> century historiographic text within the context of the description of state legislation and organisation, e. g.: *yig tshañs drug ... rab gser g.yu gñis ’briñ dñul dañ phra men tha ma zañs 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’-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 (IDeKh 269, 19 and 270, 12).<sup>22</sup>

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.

### **gśog-yug / gśog-yugs**

- *gśog* + *yug* wing (*gśog-pa*, *śog pa*) or paper (*śog-bu*) + unit of measurement for cloth and paper/bolt
- *gśog-yugs* ‘?bundles of paper’

Attested in the funeral rite: *sku gśem mjol bon po rnams kyis / do ma la stsogs te rkañ ’gros gyi rnams gśog 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).

<sup>21</sup> 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’.

<sup>22</sup> 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-riñs* (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)sriñs*), and one may likewise wonder whether the hands in *lag-riñs* and the legs in *rkañ-riñs* 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 *-mañs*

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

### Compounds in *-bzañs*

- *khañ-bzañs* ‘fine house, palace, residence’, in the Rāmāyaṇa: *rnam par rgyal ba ’i khañ bzañs kyi ... (m)tshal* ‘in the ... grove of rNam-par rGyal-ba’s palace’ (D24, B28, E30; de Jong 1989: 89f.)
- *khyi-bzañs* ‘fine dog’, is attested in funeral rites on the occasion of the crossing several mountain passes to gain heaven: *myi bzañs ni ’dzuld te gśegs śig / rta bzañs / ni / mdur te gśeg śig / khyi bzañs dom bzañs ni / ’dral*

- te gśeg sig* ‘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 bzañs ni rta bzañs* ‘a fine man [on] a fine horse’ (PT 1287, l. 162).
- ***rta-bzañs*** ‘fine horse’, in OTC: *myi bzañs ni rta bzañs* ‘a fine man [on] a fine horse’ (PT 1287, l. 162); s. also above, s. v. *khyi-bzañs*.
  - ***dom-bzañs*** ‘fine bear’, s. above s. v. *khyi-bzañs*.
  - ***myi-bzañs*** ‘fine man’, s. above s. v. *khyi-bzañs*.
  - ***span-bzañs*** ‘fine meadow’, in the final fragments of OTC, apparently a fare-well song: ... *ħgres su ni span bzañs nas / ma sriñ 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-bzañs*** ‘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 bzañs ’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-bzañs*** ‘fine horn’, attestation in a description of a *mdzo*: *ru bzañs ni g.yu’i ru* ‘the fine horn, it is a horn of turquoise’ (PT 1068, l. 117)
  - ***rol-bzañs*** ‘fine musical instruments’, attested in a funeral rite: *rol bzañs rta rgyan can* ‘fine musical instruments with ornaments showing horses’ (PT 1042, l. 37 and 130)

#### Place names in **-bzañs**

- ***cu-bzañs*** ‘good water’, epithet in the name of a place in rMa-grom: Yo-ti cu-bzañs (I.O. 750, l. 96)
- ***gtañ-bzañs*** ‘fine pit’, ‘fine depression’, n. of a place in rGya (PT 1285, l. 1134)
- ***gtan-bzañs*** variant spelling of *gtañ-bzañs* (PT 1285, l. 1117)
- ***luñ-bzañs*** ‘fine valley’ (PT 1285, l. 2148)

#### Attestation of **bzañs** 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

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.<sup>23</sup>

- DOM /khibzaŋ(s)/ *khyi-bzañ(s)* ‘good dog’
- DOM /ʃhubzaŋ(s)/ *chu-bzañ(s)* ‘water running smoothly (not causing harm)’
- KHAL /rhta(b)zaŋs/ *rta-bzañs*, DOM /rhtabzaŋ(s)/ *rta-bzañ(s)* ‘a good horse (running smoothly, healthy, friendly)’
- KHAL /ba(b)zaŋs/ *ba-bzañs* ‘friendly cow, rich in milk’, DOM /bazaŋs/ ~ /babzaŋ(s)/ *ba-bzañ(s)* ‘cow rich in milk’
- KHAL /mi(b)zaŋs/, DOM /mibzaŋ(s)/, GARK /mib-zaŋs/ *mi-bzañ(s)* ‘good-hearted person’, KHAL also ‘clean’
- SAS /rhtsabzaŋs/, KHAL /rhtsoabzaŋs/, DOM /rhtsoa(b)zaŋ(s)/ *rtswa-bzañ(s)* ‘good quality or plenty of grass (high up in the mountains)’
- DOM /obzaŋ(s)/ *o-bzañ(s)* ‘good milk’
- DOM /ri(b)zaŋ(s)/ *ri-bzañ(s)* ‘good mountain (rich in grass and water, easy to climb)’, GARK /rizzaŋs/ *ri-bzañs* ‘mountain rich in grass, high mountain’
- Preservation only in the genitive case:  
 all Ladakhi, Kesar songs: /phabzaŋse gokhaŋ/ *pha-bzañs-si go-khañ* ‘the house of a good, noble father’; in contrast to SAS (songs) /phabzaŋ/ *pha-bzañ* ‘belonging to a good ancestor’, KHAL (also normal speech) /pha(b)zaŋ/ ‘good, noble father’; similarly all Ladakhi, Kesar songs: /mabzaŋse gokhaŋ/ *ma-bzañs-si go-khañ* ‘the house of a good, noble mother’; in contrast to SAS (songs) /mabzaŋ/ *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/

### 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,

<sup>23</sup> 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.

### ***rdo-riñ/rdo-riñs***

- *rdo-riñ* (stone + long)
- *rdo-riñs* ‘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: *rdo riñs 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: *rdo riñs 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: *rdo riñs la bris*; PT 16 34a1: *rdo riñs btsugs te*).

In later texts the *s*-less spelling *rdo-riñ* is prevailing. However, it is worth noting that the quadrilingual inscriptions in Peking dated 1753 and 1761 read *rdo-reñs* (v. Franz 1984: 44 and plate 18, l. 2; 81, l. 1 and plate 21; 135 and plate 25).<sup>24</sup>

### ***lag-riñ/lag-riñs***

- *lag-riñ* (arm/hand + long)
- *lag-riñs* ‘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-riñs (LLV 164.9, 184.12, 185.13) or Khya-ba Lag-riñs (LLV 166.2, 235.5)<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> In the plate the (mis)spelling *rdo-reñs* is clearly visible. The reason why v. Franz (op. cit. p. 55) excluded a misspelling and insists to interpret it as ‘harder Stein’ remains in the dark. It is evident that the space for the superscribed vowel signs for ‘i’ in *riñs* and for ‘o’ in *rdo* 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.

<sup>25</sup> *Khyab-pa Lag-riñ(s)* is also the name of a demon king of rKoñ-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:<sup>26</sup> *ma bla cud ki rgyal gśegs na smya bo lag riñs rgyal du gśegs* ‘if Ma-bla cud-ki is in the *rgyal*<sup>27</sup> [as a body ? or: as a sacrifice ?], sMya-bo Lag-riñs will go into [or: will die in] the *rgyal*’ (PT 1136, l. 4); in the Ladakhi Kesar epic: *lag pa riñ mo ’khur mkhan žig skye chen / de la lag lag riñs btag dgos* ‘One [child] with long arms will be born. To him [you] shall give [the name] Arm-Long-arm(s)’ (LLV 13. 1–2).

### ***rkañ-riñ / rkañ-riñs***

- *rkañ-riñ* (leg/foot + long)
- *rkañ-riñs* ‘Long-legs’, epithet of a person

Textual attestation in the context of a funeral rite: *bus ba ñan pa ’ga* (for: ’ga’) *žig rkañ riñs te skyes na / khyed kyi žam ’briñ ’dab tu / riñ ba’i ni srab mda’ ’dzin pa’am / thuñ ba’i ba’i*<sup>28</sup> *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: *rkañ pa riñ mo ’khur mkhan žig skye chen / de la rkañ rkañ riñs 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).

### ***gzañ(s)-riñ / gzañ(s)-riñs***

- *gzañ(s)-riñ* (spike/edge + long)
- *gzañ(s)-riñs* ‘longish spike’ (or edge), epithet of a pick axe; epithet of a weaving tool

Textual attestation: *g.yu’i sta gzañ riñs* ‘the turquoise axe having a longish spike’ (AFL IV, 131); (?)*ma’i lag na thag zañs gzañs riñs khyer te pu rkañ pa*

<sup>26</sup> Only the last three lines of it are extant.

<sup>27</sup> *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 *gśegs* is ‘to go’ or: ‘to die’, *gśeg/s-ka* ‘sacrifice’. Perhaps *rgyal gśegs* and *rgyal du gśegs* 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 gśegs*, there follows *rabs rdzogso*, the ‘legend of origin is finished’.

<sup>28</sup> *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 *-riñs*

- ***gliñ-riñs*** ‘longish island’, Gliñ-riñs, n. of a place in sKyī (I.O. 750 ll. 61 and 103)
- ***gña’-riñs*** ‘longish neck’, *mkhar* gÑa’-riñs, n. of a castle (PT 1285 l. 2134); Chu-bya gña’-riñs (lit. ‘water-bird with longish neck’) n. of a place in sKyī-ro ljañ-sñon (PT 1285, l. 1173)
- ***sna-riñs*** ‘longish nose [of a mountain]’, sÑa-riñs, n. of a place in sÑiñ-druñ (PT 1288, l. 34)
- ***ru-riñs*** ‘longish horn’, Ru-riñs, n. of a place (I.O. 750, l. 24)
- ***roñ-riñs*** ‘longish steep river valley’, n. of a valley: Tiñ-srab roñ-riñs (PT 1287, l. 53)
- ***luñ-riñs*** ‘longish valley’, Luñ-riñs, 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-tshoñ/mjal-tshoñs***

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

#### – ***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’.

- *zñ-snams* “farming”; Index and p. 278: “*zñ snams*”; cf. p. 277, text 40, l. 6
- *gñen-tshoñs* “a marriage through sale”; Index and p. 163; cf. text 7, l. 2
- *yug-rinñs* “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: *manñ*, *tshañ*, *bzañ*, *riñ*, all of which end in the final *-ñ*. 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-sruñs*) or may change the verb stem into an abstract noun (cf. *rje-blas*).

- *-ñ*: 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, *rkañ 'gros*, will be discussed elsewhere)<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>th</sup> 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-tshañs*. 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<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> H. Uebach: “Donation of cattle for a Buddhist monastery? Notes on Tibetan *rkang-'gro/'gros*”, to appear.

<sup>30</sup> For lack of space, only one instance each will be indicated.

**Compounds in *-sruñs*:** *sgo-* ~ (KD 1/4, 180a3), *btson-* ~ (KD 1/4, 215b3).<sup>31</sup>

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

**Compounds in *-bzañs*:** *skal-* ~ (KD 1/2, 226b3), *khañ-* ~ (KD 1, 6a1), *rgyal-* ~ (KD 49 237b6), *chu-* ~ (KD 3, 113a6), *mche-* ~ (KD 1/2, 222b6), *rita-* ~ (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), *bžin-* ~ (KD 1, 43a3), *lag-* ~ (KD 1, 94a2).

**Compounds in *-riñs*:** *khron-* ~ (KD 60, 133a1), *rgyañ-* ~ (KD 1/3, 288b6), *mchu-* ~ (KD 1, 74a5), *lto-* ~ (KD 12, 23a3), *stod-* ~ (KD 1, 9b3), *gdun-* ~ (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-riñs* ‘longish pillar’ [cf. WTS s. v. *ka-riñ/ka-riñs*], cf. also the examples from the ‘parrot story’ in the bKa’-gdams glegs-bam: *bran-bzañs* ‘good servant’ besides *khañ-bzañs* ‘residence’ (in the oldest version fol. 264v, l. 1, 266v, l. 5; changed into *bran-bzañ*, *khañ-bzañ*, in all three later versions, cf. Herrmann 1983: 41, 82, n. 97; 44, 83, n. 212), *mig-mañs* ‘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-riñs* ‘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.

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<sup>31</sup> Further we regularly find KD *'od-sruñ*, but TD *'od-sruñs*.

## References

- AF Asiatische Forschungen, Wiesbaden  
 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 Plts. 592–595, s. Spanien et Imaeda, 1979  
 CDTD s. Bielmeier, in preparation  
 dPa'bo s. Lokesh Chandra  
 I.O. 750 Plts. 581–591, s. Spanien et Imaeda, 1979  
 I.O. 751 Plts. 13–19, s. Spanien et Imaeda, 1978  
 JA Journal Asiatique, Paris  
 JÄK s. Jäschke  
 KD Kanjur, sDe-dge edition  
 KD 1/1–4 'Dul-ba'i -gzi, s. Ui etc.  
 KD 3/1–2 Dul-ba rnam-par 'byed-pa, s. Ui etc.  
 KD 12 'Phags-pa śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa brgyad-stoñ-pa, s. Ui etc.  
 KD 49 'Phags-pa 'od-dpag-med-kyi bkod-pa źes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo, s. Ui etc.  
 KD 62 'Phags-pa yul-'khor skyoñ-gis źus-pa źes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo, s. Ui etc.  
 KD 95 'Phags-pa rgya-cher rol-pa źes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo, s. Ui etc.  
 lDeKh s. mKhas-pa lDe'u  
 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 Plts. 7–13, s. Spanien et Imaeda 1978  
 PT 126 Plts. 134–136, s. Spanien et Imaeda 1978  
 PT 986 Plts. 292–296, s. Spanien et Imaeda 1978  
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 PT 1287 Plts. 557–577, s. Spanien et Imaeda 1979  
 PT 1288 Plts. 579–580, s. Spanien et Imaeda 1979  
 PT 1289 Plts. 596–599, s. Spanien et Imaeda 1979  
 PTS s. Childers  
 PW s. Böhrtlingk and Roth  
 SCD s. Sarat Chandra Das

TLTD	s. Thomas 1951–1955
TD	Tanjur, sDe-dge edition
TD 3870	s. Ui etc.
TD 4089	s. Ui etc.
TTC	s. Zhang Yisun
WSTB	Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde
WTS	Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache s. Franke

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