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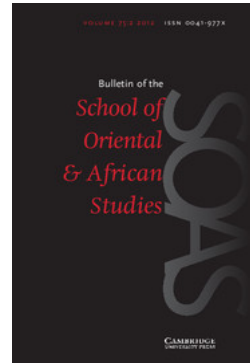
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ALTERNATION OF FINAL VOWEL WITH FINAL DENTAL NASAL OR PLOSIVE IN TIBETAN

By WALTER SIMON

As was pointed out in the 'Addenda' (by A. H. Francke, assisted by W. Simon) to the 1929 reprint of Jäschke's *Tibetan grammar* (pp. 120-1), we observe an alternation of final vowel with final dental nasal or plosive in a number of closely related words. The examples adduced show sometimes a tripartite scheme, a final vowel in the case of verbs, a dental nasal in the case of adjectives, and a dental (voiced) plosive in the case of nouns, as e.g. *dro-ba* 'to be warm', *dron-po* (or *-mo*) 'warm', and *drod* 'heat'. A bipartite pattern, which is in fact more frequent, has also been observed and illustrated by a few examples, such as *za-ba* 'to eat' and *zan* 'food'.

For the more systematic approach attempted here, limited to dictionary entries and omitting therefore examples in *-te*, it has been found necessary to precede the tripartite scheme (list D) by three bipartite lists to represent alternations of final vowel with either *-n* (list A) or *-d* (list B), and to include in a further list (list C) alternations of *-n* with *-d*, most of these latter cases having already appeared in the preceding two lists. Roman figures have been used to mark further subgroups. Mere variants have been indicated by I, clear distinctions in meaning by II, and both these subgroups have been further subdivided.

I have refrained from discussing the question of an original dental fricative (*ḍ*) after the final vowel, lost at a later period, as suggested in the 'Addenda', or alternatively of considering *-n* or *-d* as suffixes. In addition to comparative material a re-examination of the problem will have to take the not infrequent cases into account where we note absence of final *-d* to mark the 'future form' of verbs ending in *-d*, or where presence and absence of final *-d* is used to contrast transitive or intransitive, and active or passive uses of verbs.¹

List A

1. *rku(-ba)* 'to steal, rob' / *rkun(-ma)* 'thief, theft'² (II)
2. *skyi(-ba)* 'to borrow' / *skyin(-pa)* 'loan' (II)
3. *gla* 'wages' / *glan(-pa)* 'to patch,³ to return (as an answer)' (II)
4. *mgo* 'head' / *mgon(-po)* 'master, lord, principal' (IIc)
5. *hgro(-ba)* 'to walk' / *hgron(-po)* 'traveller, guest, foreigner' (II) → B-D
6. *rga(-ba)* 'to be old' / *rgan(-pa)* 'old' (IIb) → B-D

¹ Some cases of the latter kind have already been mentioned by A. Conrady. See p. 45 of his *Indochinesische Causativ-Denominativ-Bildung*, Leipzig, 1896.

² The noun *rkud* adduced in the meaning 'theft' in the 'Addenda' (p. 120), has been omitted in this paper as its meaning clearly needs re-examination. The word occurs several times in a Tun-huang fragment (No. 753 of the *Catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-Huang in the India Office Library* by Louis de La Vallée Poussin, OUP, 1962, p. 236) edited by F. W. Thomas (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, L, 1936, 275-87). In a note (p. 285) Thomas considers the dictionary meaning 'misfortune' inadequate and modifies it to 'penalty', without however mentioning the dictionary to which he is referring. The word has not been included in our Western dictionaries. The Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary by Sumatiratna (*Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum*, VI-VII), Ulan Bator, 1959, I, 83, gives the meaning *bisirel* 'faith, reverence, worship'. A verb *rkud-pa* (*rkud-par hgyur*) occurs in the meaning '[?] to be stolen =] to disappear' in the last sentence of chapter Lxi of the Tibetan version of the *Mahākarmavibhāṅga* (ed. S. Lévi, Paris, 1932, 205), there apparently corresponding to *antardhāsyaṅti* of the (otherwise different) Sanskrit sentence of the chapter (ibid., 50).

³ From the semantic point of view cf. ex. 3 in *AM*, XVII, 2, 1972, 217.

7. *rgyu(-ba)* 'to go, move, wander' / *rgyun* 'flow, current, stream', *rgyun-du* 'continually' ⁴ (II) → B-D
8. *sgre(-ba)* / *sgren(-mo)* 'naked' (I)
9. *ña* / *ñan(-po)* 'bad' (I)
10. *ño* 'face, countenance' / *mñon(-po)* 'visible, conspicuous' (IIc)
11. *rña(-ba)* 'to mow, cut, reap' / *rñan(-pa)* '[the thing reaped =] reward, fee, hire, wages' (II)
12. *sña* 'before, soon, early' / *sñan* 'formerly, before, *sñon* 'idem' (IIf)
13. *sño* / *sñon* (-bo, -po, -mo) 'blue, green' (I)
14. *gci(-ba)* 'to make water' / *gcin* 'urine' (II) → B-D
15. *c'e(-ba)* / *c'en(-po)* 'great' (I) → B-D
16. *hc'i(-ba)* (< **hśi(-ba)* (*śi(-ba)*) / *šin* (in *šin-sa* 'cemetery', *gśin(-po* or *-mo)* 'dead person') (II) → B-D
17. *nyi(-ma)* 'sun, day' / *nyin(-mo)* 'day' (I)
18. *nye(-ba)* 'to be near; near' / *nyen* (in *nyen-skor*, variant of *nye-skor* 'relative') (I)
19. *snyi(-ba, -bo, -mo)* / *snyin(-po)* 'soft, smooth' (I)
20. *brnya(-ba)* / *brnyan(-pa)* 'to borrow' (I)
21. *mt'o(-ba)* 'to be high; highness; high' / *mt'on(-po)* 'high' (IIh) → B-D
22. *ht'u(-ba)* / *ht'un(-pa)* 'to gather', *ht'un* 'gatherer' (II)
23. *do* '(the equals =) two, a pair, couple' / *don* '(equivalent =) sense, meaning, signification' (IIc) → B-D
24. *dro(-ba)* 'to be warm' / *dron(-po)* ⁵ 'warm' (IIb) → B-D
25. *hdre(-ba)* 'to be mixed with' / *hdren(-ma)* 'mixture, medley' (II)
26. *nu(-ba)* 'to suck' / *snun(-pa)* 'to suckle' (IIa) → B-D
27. *rna(-ba)* 'ear' / *nyan(-pa)* (< **nyran*) ⁶ 'to hear', *snyan(-pa)* 'to praise; glory' (IIe) → B-D
28. *rno(-ba)* (Jäschke: 'literary form') / *rnon(-po)* (Jäschke: 'usual form') 'sharp, acute, edged, pointed' (I)
29. *p'o* 'man, male' / *dpon(-po)* 'master, lord' (IIc)
30. *p'yi* 'behind, after, outside' / *p'yin* (in *p'yin-c'ad* 'later, afterwards, outside') (Ia) → B-D
31. *p'ra(-mo)* 'fine, thin, minute' / *p'ran* 'little, small, trifling' (I) → B-D
32. *bye* (in *bye-brag* 'difference, diversity'), *dbye(-ba)* 'partition, division, section, class' / *dbyen(-pa)* 'difference, dimension, discord, section' (I)
- 33a. *ma* / *man* 'below' (Ia) → B-D
- b. *dma(-ba)* 'to be low' / *dman(-pa)* 'low, little, inferior' (IIb)
34. *rma* 'wound', *rma(-ba)* 'to wound' / *rman(-po)* 'wounded' (IId)
35. *rmu(-ba)* 'dullness, heaviness, fog' / *rmun(-po)* 'dull, heavy, stupid' (IIe)
36. *rmo(-ba)* 'to plough' / *rmon(-pa)* 'act of ploughing' (II) → B-D
37. *smyo(-ba)* 'to be insane, mad' / *smyon(-pa)* 'insane, frantic, mad' (IIb)
38. *btsa(-ba)* 'to bear, bring forth' / *mts'an* 'nephew' ⁷ (II)
39. *rtse(-ba)* / *rtsen(-pa)* 'to play' (I) → B-D

⁴ The semantic link is apparently the idea of a continuous uninterrupted movement, or, in the case of *rgyud* (see below list B, ex. 12), of an extended line. *rgyud* 'tantra' reflects the etymology of Sanskrit *tantra*, meaning 'thread, string, line, warp' and belonging with *tan* 'to extend, spread, stretch'.

⁵ Jäschke refers to *dron-mo* as 'colloquial' in the English edition of his dictionary; in the first (German) edition he notes it as 'vulgar'. *dron-po* occurs in classical Tibetan. See, e.g., J. Nobel, *Suvarnaprabhāsottama-sūtra. II. Wörterbuch*, Leiden, 1950, 103.

⁶ See 'Ear, sharp and hearing—a Tibetan word family', in M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch (ed.), *W. B. Henning memorial volume*, London, 1970, 407.

⁷ See Stuart N. Wolfenden, *Language*, IV, 4, 1928, 279.

40. *ts'a(-ba)* / *ts'an* 'to be hot, warm' (I) → B-D
41. *ts'u* / *ts'un* 'hitherward, on this side' (Ia)
42. *za(-ba)* 'to eat' / *zan* 'food' (II) → B-D
43. *ya* / *yan* 'above' (Ia)
44. *ri(-ba)* 'worth' / *rin* 'price, value' (I)
45. *lo* 'talk, report, rumour, saying' / *lon* 'notice, tidings, message' (I)
46. *su(-ba)* 'to take off, strip' / *sun(-pa)* 'bark, rind, peel, skin' (II)
47. *sra(-ba)* 'hard' / *sran(-pa)* 'to endure, suffer'⁸ (IIe)
48. *gso(-ba)* 'to feed, rear' / *gson(-pa)* 'to live; life'⁹ (IIa)

Explanatory remarks

As explained in the preliminary remarks, pattern I indicates mere variants of a final vowel and vowel + *n*, pattern II marks distinctions in meaning by means of a final *-n*.

Pattern I. The examples marked as I are the following: 8 (*sgre*), 9 (*na*), 13 (*sno*), 15 (*c'e*), 17 (*nyi*), 18 (*nye*), 19 (*snyi*), 20 (*brnya*), 28 (*rmo*), 31 (*p'ra*), 32 (*bye*), 39 (*rtse*), 44 (*ri*), 45 (*lo*).

Pattern Ia. The subgroup Ia consists of four words (Jäschke refers to some of them as 'roots') denoting location in space, *ma* 'below', *ya* 'above', *ts'u* 'this side', and *p'a* 'that side' (the last two reflecting Chinese *bii-tsyi* 彼此), to which *p'yi* 'behind, after, outside' may be added. The variant in *-n* may in these cases go back to an earlier *na* 'in'. In the same way *mgon-po* (list A, no. 4) may possibly go back to **mgo-na po* 'the man at the head'.

Pattern II. In its basic form pattern II is a verb/noun pattern. List A includes the following 15 examples: 1 (*rku*), 2 (*skyi*), 3 (*gla*), 5 (*hgro*), 7 (*rgyu*), 11 (*rna*), 14 (*gci*), 16 (*hc'i*), 18 (*nye*), 22 (*ht'u*), 25 (*hdre*), 36 (*rmo*), 38 (*btsa*), 42 (*za*), 46 (*su*).

The following other patterns have been observed.

- IIa (verb/verb): 26 (*nu*), 48 (*gso*).
 IIb (verb/adjective): 6 (*rga*), 21 (*mt'o*), 24 (*dro*), 33b (*dma*), 37 (*smyo*).
 IIc (noun/noun): 4 (*mgo*), 23 (*do*), 29 (*p'o*).
 IId (noun/adjective): 10 (*no*), 34 (*rma*), 35 (*rmu*).
 IIe (noun/verb): 27 (*rna*).
 IIf (adjective/noun): 45 (*sra*).
 IIg (adverb/adverb): 12 (*sna*).

List B

1. *rke(-ba)* 'lean, meagre' / *rked(-pa)* 'waist'¹⁰ (IIe)
2. *skud(-pa)* 'to besmear, daub' / F. *bsku* (III)
- 3a. *skye* / *skyed* 'growth, increase' (I)
- b. *skyed(-pa)* 'to generate' / *skye(-ba)* 'to be born' (IV)
4. *hk'rid(-pa)* 'to lead' / F. *bkri*¹¹ (III)
5. *hk'rud(-pa)* 'to wash, bathe' / F. *bkru* (III)
6. *bgod(-pa)* 'to divide' / F. *bgo* (III)
7. *bgyid(-pa)* 'to make, do, act' / F. *bgyi* (III)

⁸ From the semantic point of view cf. Latin *durus* 'hard', from which English *endure* is derived.

⁹ cf. *AM*, xix, 1, 1974, p. 96, n. 45.

¹⁰ cf. also *rka* 'small furrow' and *rko-ba* (in Tsang *rkod(-pa)* 'to dig', and, from the semantic point of view, French *tailleur* 'to cut' and *la taille* 'waist'.

¹¹ Jäschke (*Dict.*, 61) places a question mark after *bkri*. Nobel (see p. 52, n. 5) adduces (p. 20) an example for *bkri*. Das in the entry *hk'rid* of his *Dictionary* gives *bkri* erroneously as perfect form instead of future.

8. *bgrud(-pa)* 'to husk, shell' / F. *bgru* (III)
- 9a. *hgyed(-pa)* 'to divide' / *hgye(-ba)* 'to be divided' (IV)
- b. *hgyed(-pa)* 'to divide; to fight' / F. *bkye*¹² (III)
10. *hgro(-ba)* 'to walk' / *bgrod* 'walk, gait'¹³ (II) → ACD
11. *rga(-ba)* 'to be old' / *rgad* 'old' (IIb) → ACD; *rgud(-pa)* 'to decline, get weak, frail'
- 12a. *rgyu(-ba)* 'to go, walk, move, wander' / *rgyud* 'string, cord, chain of mountain, thread of tradition'¹⁴ (II) → ACD
- b. *rgyud(-pa)* 'to fasten or file on a string' / F. *brgyu* (III)
13. *ña* 'I' / *ñed* 'we' (IIh)
14. *ñu(-ba)* 'to weep' / *ñud(-mo)* 'a sob' (II)
15. *rñod(-pa)* 'to parch, roast, fry' / F. *brño* ?¹⁵ (III)
16. *sño(-ba)* / *sñod(-pa)*¹⁶ 'to become green' (I)
- 17a. *gci(-ba)* / *gcid(-pa)* 'to make water' (I) → ACD
- b. *gcid(-pa)* 'to make water' / F. *gci* (III)
- 18a. *gcud(-pa)*, *lcud(-pa)* 'to twist' / *hc'u(-ba)* 'to be twisted' (IV)
- b. *gcud(-pa)*, *lcud(-pa)* 'to twist' / F. *gcu*, *leu* (III)
19. *lci(-ba)*, *ljü(-ba)* 'heavy' / *ljid(-pa)* 'heaviness' (IIe)
20. *c'e(-ba)*, *c'en(-po)* 'great' / *c'ed* 'importance', *c'ed-du* 'on account', *mc'ed(-pa)* 'to spread' (IIe) → ACD
21. *mc'i(-ba)* 'to say' / *mc'id* 'talk, discourse, speech' (II)
22. *mnyed(-pa)* 'to rub' / F. *mnye* (III)
23. *lta(-ba)* 'to look' / *ltad(-mo)* 'sight, spectacle' (II)
24. *mt'o(-ba)*¹⁷ 'to be high' / *stod* 'upper, higher, former part of a thing, the upper half' (II); *stod(-pa)* '(to raise =) to praise, commend, laud' (IIa) → ACD
25. *do* 'the equals =) a couple, pair, two' / *dod* 'equivalent' (IIc) → ACD
26. *drol(-ba)* 'to be warm' / *drod* 'warmth, heat' (II) → ACD
27. *bda(-ba)* 'to drive (out), chase' / *hded(-pa)* 'idem' (I)
- 28a. *hdu(-ba)* 'to come together' / *sdud(-pa)* 'to collect' (IV), *mdud(-pa)* 'knot'
- b. *sdud(-pa)* 'to collect' / F. *bsdu* (III)
29. *na(-ba)* 'to be ill, sick' / *nad* 'disease, sickness' (II)
30. *nu(-ba)* 'to suck'¹⁸ / *nud(-pa)* 'to suckle'¹⁹ (IV) → ACD
31. *rna(-ba)* 'ear', *nyan(-pa)* 'to hear', *snyan(-pa)* 'to praise; glory' / *snyad(-pa)* 'to relate, report' (IIa) → ACD
32. *sne(-mo)* 'extremity, end', *snye(-ma)* '(end =) ear of corn' / *snyed* (in *hdi snyed*, *de-snyed* 'extreme quantity =) so much, so many')²⁰ (I)
33. *spyä* / *spyad* (in *spyä(d)-dños* 'implements, things') (I)
34. *p'a* 'father' / *spad*²¹ (in *p'a-spad* 'father and children') (IIh)
35. *p'yi* 'behind, after, outside' / *p'yid(-pa)* 'to retard, prolong, maintain'²² (IIg) → ACD

¹² Nobel (see p. 52, n. 5) notes (p. 37) *bgye* and *dgye*. For a further example of *dgye*, see *Tibetan Tripitaka*, XLIII, 198³ (*dgye-bar brtsams-nas*).

¹³ In the 'Addenda' (loc. cit., p. 121) A. H. Francke cites *grad* 'march' from the *gZer-myig*.

¹⁴ See above, p. 52, n. 4.

¹⁵ *brño* has been conjectured by Jäschke (*Dict.*, 134) instead of Csoma's *brñod* (*Dict.*, 247).

¹⁶ Noted by Csoma (*Dict.*, 321).

¹⁷ cf. below no. 49 (*ma* / *smad-pa*).

¹⁸ cf. above, list A, no. 26.

¹⁹ Western Tibetan, according to Jäschke (*Dict.*, 305).

²⁰ cf. *BSOAS*, xxxviii, 3, 1975, p. 614, no. 10.

²¹ cf. below, no. 48 (*ma* / *smad*).

²² Suggested by Jäschke (*Dict.*, 350).

36. *p'ra(-mo)* 'thin, fine, minute' / *p'rad* 'particle' (IIe) → ACD
 37. *hp'yi(-ba)* / *hp'yid(-pa)* 'to wipe, blot out' (I)
 38. *hp're(-ba)* 'to incline, lean against' / (*h*)*p'red* 'across, oblique' (IIb)
 39. *byed(-pa)* 'to make' / F. *bya* (III)
 40. *bro(-ba)* 'to taste' / *brod* 'taste' (II)
 41. *blu(-ba)* 'to buy off, ransom, redeem' / *blud(-pa)*²³ 'release, ransom, redemption' (II)
 42. *hbud(-pa)* 'to blow' / F. *dbu* (III) \\
 43a. *hbyed(-pa)* 'to open' (trans.) / *hbye(-ba)* 'to open' (intrans.) (IV)
 b. *hbyed(-pa)* 'to open' (trans.) / F. *dbye* (III)
 44. *hbru(-ba)*²⁴ / *hbrud(-pa)* 'to dig' (I)
 45. *sbed(-pa)* 'to hide' / F. *sba* (and *sba(-ba)* 'privy parts') (III)
 46a. *sbru(-ba)* / *sbrud(-pa)* 'to stir; to knead' (I)
 b. *sbrud(-pa)* 'to stir; to knead' / F. *sbru* (III)
 47. *sbre* / *sbred* 'steppe fox, corsac'²⁵ (I)
 48. *ma* 'mother' / *smad*²⁶ (in *ma-smad* 'mother and children' and *bu-smad* 'wife and children') (IIh)
 49. *ma* 'below' / *smad(-pa)*,²⁷ *smod(-pa)* 'to blame' (IIg) → ACD
 50. *rmo(-ba)* / *rmod(-pa)* 'to plough' (I) → ACD
 51. *gtsod (bitsod)* / *gtso* 'Tibetan antelope' (I)
 52. *rtsa* / *rtsad* 'root' (I)
 53a. *rtse(-ba)* / *rtsed(-pa)* 'to play' (I) → ACD
 b. *rtse(-ba)* 'to play' / *rtsed* 'play' (II)
 54a. *ts'a(-ba)* 'hot' / *hts'od(-pa)*, *hts'ed(-pa)* 'to cook' (IIg) → ACD
 b. *hts'od(-pa)* 'to cook' / F. *tso* (III)
 55. *za(-ba)* 'to eat' / *zad* (< *hdzad(-pa)*) 'to be consumed, spent' (IIa) → ACD
 56. *yi* / *yid* 'soul, mind' (I)
 57. *re* / *red* 'to be' (I)
 58. *lu(-ba)* 'to throw up phlegm' / *lud(-ma)* 'phlegm' (II)
 59. *si(-ba)* 'to die' / *sid*, *gsid(-ma)* 'funeral repast' (II) → ACD
 60. *si* (in *si-sgra* 'whistle') / *sid* (in *sid-sgra* 'idem') (I)

Explanatory remarks

To patterns I and II (with its subgroups), which have been used as in list A, patterns III and IV have been added. Pattern III refers to the cases, already mentioned in the preliminary remarks, where we note absence of final *d* marking (often with the addition of a *b*-prefix) the 'future form' of verbs ending in *-d*,²⁸ and pattern IV refers to cases where presence and absence of final *-d* is used to contrast transitive or intransitive and active or passive (or causative) uses of verbs.

Pattern I (variants): 3a (*skye*), 16 (*sno*), 17a (*gci*), 19 (*lci*, *lji*), 27 (*bda*),

²³ Variant of *glud* 'idem' and related to *glan-pa* and *lhan-pa* 'to patch'. Cf. also above list A, no. 3, and p. 51, n. 3.

²⁴ Also *hdru/hdrud*.

²⁵ Professor C. R. Bawden kindly refers me to the entry *kirsa* in Kowalewski's *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, III, 1849, 2553, where the Tibetan equivalent *sbre* has been adduced, as well as Manchu *kirsa*. For the latter word the Latin name listed by Professor Jerry Norman in his *Manchu-English dictionary*, Taipei, 1967, is '*Cynaloxep corsac* (Linnaeus)'.

²⁶ cf. above, no. 34, *p'a* and *spad*.

²⁷ cf. above, no. 24, *mt'o-ba* and *stod-pa*.

²⁸ As a special case, not to be included in this list, the future form *bco* of *hc'os-pa* 'to make, prepare, build' must be mentioned, which may go back to an earlier **hc'ods-pa*.

32 (*snye*), 33 (*spya*), 37 (*hp'yi*), 44 (*hbru*), 46a (*sbru*), 47 (*sbre*), 50 (*rmo*), 51 (*gtsod*), 52 (*rtsa*), 53a (*rtse*), 56 (*yi*), 57 (*re*), 60 (*si*).

Pattern II (verb/noun): 10 (*hgro*), 14 (*riu*), 21 (*mc'i*), 23 (*lta*), 24 (*mt'o*), 26 (*dro*), 29 (*na*), 40 (*bro*), 41 (*blu*), 53b (*rtse*), 58 (*lu*), 59 (*si*).

IIa (verb/verb): 28a (*nyan*), 55 (*za*).

IIb (verb/adjective or adverb): 11 (*rga*), 38 (*hp're*).

IIc (noun/noun): 25 (*do*).

IId (noun/adjective): ———.

IIe (adjective/noun): 1 (*rke*), 20 (*c'e*), 36 (*p'ra*).

IIf (adverb/adverb): ———.

IIg (adverb/verb): 35 (*p'yi*), 49 (*ma*).

IIh (other changes): plural: 13 (*na*); s-prefix: 34 (*p'a*), 48 (*ma*).

Pattern III: 2 (*skud*), 4 (*hk'rid*), 5 (*hk'rud*), 6 (*bgod*), 7 (*bgyid*), 8 (*bgrud*), 9b (*hgyed*), 12b (*rgyud*), 15? (*riod*), 17b (*gcid*), 18 (*gcut*, *lcud*), 22 (*mnyed*), 28b (*sdud*), 39 (*byed*), 42 (*hbud*), 43b (*hbyed*), 45 (*sbed*), 46b (*sbrud*), 54b (*hts'od*).

Pattern IV: 3b (*skyed*), 9a (*hgyed*), 18a (*gcut*, *lcud*), 28a (*hdu*), 30 (*nu*), 43 (*hbyed*).

List C

1. *hgron* (A 5) / *bgrud* (B 10)
2. *rgan* (A 6) / *rgad* (B 11)
3. *rgyun* (A 7) / *rgyud* (B 12)
4. *gcin* (A 14) / *gcid* (B 17)
5. *c'en* (A 15) / *c'ed* (B 20)
- *6. *snyan(-pa)* / *snyad(-pa)*²⁹
7. *mt'on* (A 21) / *stod* (B 24)
- *8. *ht'an(-pa)* 'firmness' / *ht'ad(-pa)* 'idem'³⁰
9. *don* (A 23) / *dod* (B 25)
10. *dron* (A 24) / *drod* (B 26)
11. *snun* (A 26) / *nud* (B 30)
12. *p'yin* (A 30) / *p'yiid* (B 35)
13. *p'ran* (A 31) / *p'rad* (B 36)
14. *dbyen* (A 32) / *hbyed* (B 43)
15. *dman* (A 33b) / *smad* (B 49)
16. *rmon* (A 36) / *rmod* (B 50)
17. *rtsen* (A 39) / *rtsed* (B 53)
18. *ts'an* (A 40) / *hts'od* (B 54)
19. *zan* (A 42) / *zad* (B 55)
- *20. *yun* 'time' / *yud* 'very small portion of time, moment'
- *21. *san* 'difference, distinction' / *sad* '(distinguishing mark =) mark of punctuation'
- *22. *san(-pa)* 'butcher' / *gsed(-ma)* 'executioner, hangman'; *gsod(-pa)*, perf. *bsad* 'to kill'
23. (*g*)*sin* (A 16) / (*g*)*siid* (B 59)
- *24. *sran(-bu)* / *srad(-bu)* 'thread'³¹
- *25. *sran(-ma)* / *srad(-ma)* 'peas, beans, lentils'
- *26. *lhan* 'together', *lhan(-pa)* 'to join, patch'³² / *lhad* 'alloy'

²⁹ cf. *BSOAS*, xxxviii, 3, 1975, p. 614, ex. II B 6 and n. 29.

³⁰ Csoma, *Dict.*, 191.

³¹ Das's entry (*Dict.*, 1287) is *srad-bu* in Tibetan script, followed by *sran-bu* in transcription. The obvious Chinese cognate of *sran-bu* is *hsien* 綫, Karlgren, *Grammata Serica* 155 r, *sjan* 'idem'.

³² See above, p. 55, n. 23.

Explanatory remarks

As mentioned in the preliminary remarks, most items of the above list have already been included in lists A or B. Special interest attaches therefore to the asterisked examples which illustrate apparently the existence of an alternation final nasal and final dental plosive, i.e. without, in some cases, members of the word family ending in a final vowel.

List D

1. *hgro* (A 5, B 10) / *hgron* (A 5, C 1) / *bgrod* (B 10, C 1)
2. *rga* (A 6, B 11) / *rgan* (A 6, C 2) / *rgad* (B 11, C 2)
3. *rgyu* (A 7, B 12) / *rgyun* (A 7, C 3) / *rgyud* (B 12, C 3)
4. *gci* (A 14, B 17) / *gcin* (A 14, C 4) / *gcid* (B 17, C 4)
5. *c'e* (A 15, B 20) / *c'en* (A 15, C 5) / *c'ed* (B 20, C 5)
6. *hc'i*, *si* (A 16, B 59) / *(g)sin* (A 16, C 23) / *(g)sid* (B 59, C 23)
7. *mt'o* (A 21, B 23) / *mt'on* (A 21, C 7) / *stod* (B 24, C 7)
8. *do* (A 23, B 25) / *don* (A 23, C 9) / *dod* (B 25, C 9)
9. *dro* (A 24, B 26) / *dron* (A 24, C 10) / *drod* (B 26, C 10)
10. *nu* (A 26, B 30) / *snun* (A 26, C 11) / *nud* (B 30, C 11)
11. *rna* (A 27, B 31) / *snyan* (A 27, C 6) / *snyad* (B 31, C 6)
12. *p'yi* (A 30, B 32) / *p'yin* (A 30, C 12) / *p'yid* (B 35, C 12)
13. *p'ra* (A 31, B 36) / *p'ran* (A 31, C 13) / *p'rad* (B 36, C 13)
14. *ma*, *dma* (A 33, B 49) / *dman* (A 33, C 15) / *smad* (B 49, C 15)
15. *rmo* (A 36, B 50) / *rmon* (A 36, C 16) / *rmod* (B 50, C 16)
16. *rtse* (A 39, B 53) / *rtsen* (A 39, C 17) / *rtsed* (B 53, C 17)
17. *ts'a* (A 40, B 54) / *ts'an* (A 40, C 18) / *hts'od* (B 54, C 18)
18. *za* (A 42, B 55) / *zan* (A 42, C 19) / *zad* (B 55, C 19)

Explanatory remarks

The tripartite scheme of list D has been arrived at by combining relevant examples of lists A–C, which therefore may be considered as in fact incomplete when presented under the three bipartite schemes. List D clearly shows that the pattern set out in the 'Addenda' and mentioned in the preliminary remarks, according to which a final vowel indicates a verb, a final dental nasal an adjective, and a final dental plosive a noun, is merely one of several possible patterns.

Addendum

Two further examples of alternation, to be inserted between nos. 1 and 2, and nos. 49 and 50 of list B, must be mentioned.

- (a) *skad* 'speech, words, talk, news' / *skan* in *re skan* 'how say' (perhaps = 'do you (does he) mean to say . . .') (II). (The proposed meaning of *skan* is tentative, cf. also *BSOAS*, xxxi, 3, 1968, 560–1.)
- (b) *rma(-ba)* 'to ask' / *rma(-pa)* 'wonderful' (IIb) (cf. English 'to wonder' in the meaning 'to be desirous to know').