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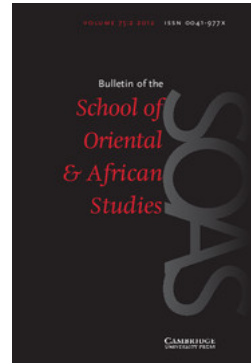
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lotization and palatalization in classical Tibetan

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Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies / Volume 38 / Issue 03 / October 1975, pp 611 - 615

DOI: 10.1017/S0041977X0004814X, Published online: 24 December 2009

Link to this article: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0041977X0004814X

How to cite this article:

Walter Simon (1975). lotization and palatalization in classical Tibetan. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 38, pp 611-615 doi:10.1017/S0041977X0004814X

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describes 'the Āditi, the House (*pastyā-*) with enclosing walls', but this is part of a large problem, and must be seen in the article in *Mithraic studies*, I.

The Old Iranian (Avestan) *hindu-* in the mountain name *Us.handava* (*Yast*, 8.32) may reasonably be interpreted as 'with up-soaring height'. The name survives in the later Zoroastrian literature in Pahlavī as *usind*, *usindam*, *usindum* as the place where Zoroaster's second interview, with Vahman, took place (*Zātspram*, ed. Anklesaria, 23.2).

In the archaic phrase of the Ṛgveda *sāpta sindhavas* and in the Avesta *hapta hindu*, the name may have meant originally 'The Seven High Places'. The Pahlavī commentary explains (without reference to rivers) *ut-š haft-hindūkānīh ēt ku sar-xvatāy haft ast* 'and its being concerned with seven Hindūk is this that it had seven chief autocrats'. In India, however, the interpretation was or became 'the Seven Rivers' of which six names are cited and one is uncertain. There is an elaborate discussion in H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, I, 152-5.

A curious coincidence is the Sumerian use of a phrase *bād imin* 'Seven Enclosed Places' (with *bād* 'town' pictorially written) for a land to the east of Sumer beyond Aratta (which may be west Persia). One will ask whether the Indus people used a phrase 'The Seven High Places' which was passed on to the invading Proto-Indians as *sāpta sindhavas* and to Proto-Iranians in Avestan *hapta hindu*. For *bād imin*, see J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *Indo-Sumerian*, Oxford, 1974, 4-5. Recent discussion of Vedic dates by T. Burrow, *JRAS*, 1973, 2, pp. 123-40, puts this invasion very early.

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IOTIZATION AND PALATALIZATION IN CLASSICAL TIBETAN

When surveying the examples listed below it will be noticed that there are no examples of iotized dental s(tem) i(nitial)s, the likely reason being that after dental s. i. s an original *y* was absorbed in the ensuing process of (full) palatalization. In the case of guttural s. i. s, however, we witness in some cases both the retention of *y* and its absorption by palatalization. This can be illustrated by the presence of such doublets as *skyon-pa* 'to put astride' ~ *gśon-pa* (IIA, ex. 4) or *skyuñ-ka* (< **sklyuñ-ka*) 'jackdaw' ~ *lcuñ-ka* (IIA, ex. 2).

Loss of *l* in the process of iotization, which is to be observed in the last example, has its parallel in the loss of *r* in the process of either iotization or palatalization, *hk'yil-ba* 'to wind, twist' belonging with *hk'ril-ba* 'to wind or coil round' (IA, ex. 5), *nyan-pa* (< **nyran-pa*) 'to hear', belonging with *rna-ba* 'ear' and *rno-ba*, *rnon-po* 'sharp, acute' (IIB, ex. 5),¹ or *bzeñ-ba* 'to raise' being developed from *sgreñ-ba* (< **sgryeñ-ba*) 'idem' (IIA, ex. 11), though exceptions like *rn yog-ma* 'soiled, dirtied, made unclean' by the side of *rnag* 'matter, pus, suppuration' (IIB, ex. 7, also *nyog-pa*), or *rjen-pa*

¹ See 'Ear, sharp and hearing—a Tibetan word family', in M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch (ed.), *W. B. Henning memorial volume* (referred to as *HMV* in notes 29-32), London, 1970, 406-8.

(< **gyren-pa*) 'naked' by the side of *sgren-mo* 'idem' (IIA, ex. 12) have to be borne in mind.

In a similar way we observe retention of *l* in the case of *lcud-pa* (< **sklyud-pa*) 'to twist' belonging with *skud* (< **sklud*) 'thread'.²

The occurrence of *y* after *m-* has not been illustrated here as it constitutes a prominent feature of pre-classical Tibetan. The two exceptions (IB, exx. 2 and 3) should, however, be noted. A number of examples of the presence of an original *y* after *m-* (as in *myi*, *myig*, *myiñ*, *mye*, etc.), which has subsequently been lost in classical Tibetan, can be gleaned, e.g., from the Tibetan vocabulary included in part III of F. W. Thomas's *Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1955, see pp. 165-6).

An isolated case is presented by ex. 3 of IIA where the reduction of an original initial cluster **skny-* to *sky-* has been suggested for *skyuñ-ba* 'to diminish' to account for its belonging with the three variants for 'little' *cuñ*, *c'uñ*, and *nyuñ*. In conclusion of these preliminary remarks it may be pointed out that in a general way voicedness or voicelessness appears to have been retained in the process of iotization and palatalization.

I. Iotization

A. Guttural s. i. s

1. *keg(-ma)* (= *kag-ma*) 'mischief, harm, injury' ~ *skyeg* 'misfortune'.³
2. *rkañ(pa)* '(stretcher =) 'leg, foot' ~ *rkañ(-ba)* 'to stretch, extend, stretch forth'.⁴
3. *skem(-pa)* 'dry, dried up' ~ *skyem(-pa)* 'to be thirsty', *skyems* 'thirst'.⁵
4. *mk'an* 'affix denoting one who knows a thing thoroughly' ~ *mk'yen(-pa)* 'to know'.
5. *hk'ril(-ba)* 'to wind or coil round' ~ *hk'yil(-ba)* 'to wind, twist'.⁶
6. *gon(-pa)* 'to put on (clothes, etc.)' ~ *gyon(-pa)* 'idem'.⁷
7. *dga(-ba)*⁸ 'to rejoice' ~ *dgyes(-pa)* '(resp.) idem'.
8. *hges(-pa)* 'to split, cleave, divide' ~ *hgyed(-pa)* 'to divide, scatter'.⁹

² Concerning the simplification of *skl-* or *skr-* to *sk-* see 'Loss of *l* or *r*', *BSOAS*, xxxvii, 2, 1974, 44-5.

³ Note the difference in meaning between the two words taken over by Jäschke from Csoma's dictionary, but ignored by him.

⁴ *rgya* 'extent, width, size', *rgyañ* 'far', and *rgyañ-ma* 'distance' are further cognates.

⁵ cf. also *skam-pa* or *rkam-pa* 'to desire, long for'.

⁶ cf. also *gril* 'roll', *sgril-ba* 'to wind or wrap round', *hgril-ba* 'to be twisted or wrapped round', *ril-po* 'round' and *skyl-ba* 'to bend'; note also the loss of *r* in the latter word, owing to iotization.

⁷ cf. also the etymon *gos* 'garment, dress' of *gon-pa*, and the further derivative *skyon-pa* 'to put astride' (from *gyon-pa*) and its palatalized form *gson-pa* 'to put astride', as well as *zon-pa* 'to mount' and *bzon-pa* 'riding beast, carriage'. See also IIA, ex. 4, and n. 12.

⁸ *mgu-ba* (with vowel alternation) is a further cognate.

⁹ The 'perfect' form of *hgyed-pa* is *bgyes* (< **bgyeds*), so an earlier **hgeds* may be assumed for *hges-pa*, which is the causative of *hgas-pa*. *skyed-pa* 'to generate, procreate, produce, form, cause' and *skye-ba* 'to be born' may perhaps be further cognates.

9. *rgal(-ba)* 'to step or pass over, to ford, cross' ~ *rgyal(ba)* 'to be victorious', *brgyal(-ba)* 'to faint'.¹⁰

B. Labial s. i.s¹¹

1. *dben* 'difference, disunion'¹²; solitude, loneliness' ~ *dbyen(-pa)* 'difference, dissension, discord, schism'.¹³
2. *moñs* (in *nyon-moñs-pa* 'misery, trouble')¹⁴ ~ *myoñ(-ba)* 'to taste, experience, suffer'.
3. *sman* 'medicinal herb, drug, medicine, etc.' ~ *smyon* '(drugged =) insane, frantic, mad', *smyo(-ba)* 'to be insane, mad'.

II. Palatalization

A. Guttural s. i.s

1. *skud(-pa)* (< **sklud-pa*¹⁵) 'thread' ~ *lcud(-pa)* (< **clud-pa*), *gcud(-pa)* 'to turn, twist, twine'.
2. *skyuñ* (in *skyuñ-ka*, < **sklyuñ-ka*¹⁶) 'jackdaw' ~ *lcuñ-ka* 'idem'.
3. *skyuñ(-ba)* (< **sknyuñ-ba*¹⁷) 'to diminish' ~ *cuiñ*, *c'uñ*, *nyuñ* 'little'.
4. *skyon-pa* 'to put astride' ~ *gśon(-pa)* 'idem'.¹⁸
5. *gad(-mo)* 'laughter'¹⁹, *b(r)gad(-pa)* 'to laugh, smile' ~ *bžad(-pa)*, *gžad(-pa)* 'to laugh, smile'.
6. *gab(-pa)* 'to hide'²⁰ ~ *hjab(pa)* 'to sneak'.
7. *(d)guñ* 'middle' ~ *gžuiñ* 'idem'.
8. *mgal* 'jaw, jawbone' ~ *žal* '(resp.) mouth, face'.²¹
9. *hgel(-ba)* 'to load' ~ *hjal(-ba)* 'to weigh'.
10. *rgud(pa)* 'to decline, get frail'²² ~ *rjud(pa)* 'idem'.²³
11. *sgreñ(-ba)* 'to raise, erect'²⁴ ~ *bžeñ(-ba)* '(resp.) idem'.
12. *sgren(-mo)* 'naked' ~ *rjen(-pa)* 'idem'.

¹⁰ From the semantic point of view cf. Latin *superare* for *rgyal-ba* and German 'hinüber sein' for *brgyal-ba*.

¹¹ Concerning the iotized *m-* in pre-classical Tibetan see above, p. 612.

¹² This meaning does not occur in Jäschke's dictionary, but has been listed (with an example) by Das.

¹³ Further cognates are *bye* in *bye-brag* 'difference, diversity', *hbye-ba* 'to open, divide, separate', and *hbyed-pa* 'to open, separate, keep asunder'.

¹⁴ cf. the phrase *nyon ma moñs-sam* 'had you to experience any hardship?', ex. 5 of IIB, and p. 614, n. 28.

¹⁵ See *BSOAS*, xxxvii, 2, 1974, 444, IIA(a).

¹⁶ See *BSOAS*, *ibid.*, 444, IIA(b).

¹⁷ See *BSOAS*, *ibid.*, p. 444, n. 13.

¹⁸ See *BSOAS*, *ibid.*, p. 445, n. 15. *zon-pa* 'to mount' and *bžon-pa* 'riding beast, carriage' are palatalized derivatives of *gyon-pa* 'to put on, wear'. See also above IA, ex. 6, and p. 612, n. 5.

¹⁹ *dgod-pa*, *rgod-pa* 'to laugh', as well as *dga-ba*, *dgyes-pa*, and *mgu-ba* 'to rejoice' are further cognates. cf. *AM*, xix, 1, 1974, 87 (IA, 5) and 93 (IVA, 4).

²⁰ cf. also *hgebs-pa* 'to cover, protect, disguise'.

²¹ cf. also *mjal-ba* 'to meet'.

²² cf. also *rga* 'old' and *AM*, *loc. cit.*, 93 (IVA, 6).

²³ Also *rdzud-pa*.

²⁴ *reñ* 'stiff', *hgreñ-ba* 'to stand', *hgroñ-ba* '(resp.) to die', and *ro* 'body' are further cognates.

B. Dental s. i.s

1. *t'abs* (in *t'abs-gcig-tu* 'together') ~ *c'abs*²⁵ in *c'abs-gcig-tu* 'idem'.
2. *t'ar(-ba)*²⁶ 'to become free, to be saved, get through, be able to pass', *stor(-ba)* 'to be lost, to perish, to go astray' ~ *hc'or(-ba)* 'to escape, slip, steal away'.
3. *hdam* 'mud, mire, swamp' ~ *hjim(-pa)* 'mud, clay, loam'.
4. *ldag(-pa)* 'to lick' ~ *ljags* ' (resp.) tongue'.²⁷
5. (*g*)*non(-pa)* 'to press, oppress, suppress' ~ *nyon*²⁸ in *nyon-moñs-pa* 'misery, trouble', *nyen-pa* 'to be pained, pinched, pressed hard, to toil, drudge'.
6. *rna(-ba)* 'ear', *rno(-ba)*, *rnon(-po)* 'sharp' ~ *snyan* ' (resp.) ear', *nyan(-pa)* 'to hear'.²⁹
7. *rnag*³⁰ 'matter, pus, suppuration' ~ *nyog(-pa)*, *rnyog(-ma)* 'soiled, dirtied, made unclean'.
8. *rnam*³¹ 'piece', *rnam*s 'sign of plural' ~ *mnyam(-pa)* 'like, alike, equal', *snyom(s) (-pa)* 'to level, equalize'.
9. *rnal(-ma)*³² 'rest' ~ *nyal(-ba)* 'to lie down, to sleep'; *snyol(ba)* 'to lay down, to bed', *mnyel(-ba)* ' (resp.) 'to get tired'.
10. *sne(-mo)* 'extremity, end', *sna* 'nose' ~ *snye(-ma)* ' (end =) ear of corn', *snyed* (in *hdi-snyed*, *de-snyed* ' (extreme quantity =) so much, so many'.
11. *rtse* 'top'³³ ~ *rje* ' (man at the top =) lord, master'.
12. *hdzugs(-pa)*, *zug(-pa)* 'to prick or stick into, to plant' ~ *hjüg(-pa)* 'to put into, infuse, inject'.
13. *hdzed(-pa)* 'to hold out or forth' ~ *mjed(-pa)* ' (holding out =) suffering, enduring, bearing patiently'.³⁴
14. *zab(-pa)* 'to be deep, deep, depth' ~ *zabs* 'bottom (of a lake, vessel), lower end, under (in cpds.)'.
15. *gzigs(-pa)* ' (resp.) to see (through)' ~ *gzig(-pa)* 'to examine, search, try'.
16. *sul* 'furrow, channel, groove' ~ *šul* 'track, rut, furrow'.³⁵
17. *gsal(-ba)* 'to be bright, clear' ~ *bšal(-ba)* 'to wash'.³⁶

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²⁵ While *t'abs* 'opportunity, chance' belongs with *stabs* 'mode, manner, way', *t'ob-pa* 'to obtain', etc., see *AM*, loc. cit., 94 (IVC, 1) and 99 (XC, 2); the occurrence of *c'abs* seems to be limited to the above phrase.

²⁶ About other cognates see *AM*, loc. cit., 91 (IIIC, 2) and 96 (VIC, 1).

²⁷ *lce*, the common word for 'tongue', also belongs here.

²⁸ cf. above IB, ex. 2, and p. 613, n. 14.

²⁹ *snyan-pa* 'renown, glory, fame', *snyad* 'malicious or false accusation', and *snyad-pa* 'to relate, report' are further cognates. See also *HMV* (see above, p. 611, n. 1), 406-8.

³⁰ cf. *HMV*, 406-8.

³¹ cf. *HMV*, 406-8.

³² cf. *HMV*, 406-8.

³³ See also *AM*, loc. cit., 95 (VA, 4, and VIB, 2).

³⁴ See also *AM*, loc. cit., p. 92, n. 26.

³⁵ See also *AM*, loc. cit., 99 (XB, 2).

³⁶ See also *AM*, loc. cit., 88 (IC, 8). *šel-ba* 'crystal, glass' is a further cognate.



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