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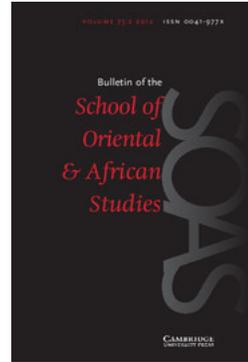
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# TIBETAN GSEB AND COGNATE WORDS

By WALTER SIMON

## I

THE entry *gseb* in Jäschke's Tibetan dictionary,<sup>1</sup> which has been taken over almost without a change into that compiled by Sarat Chandra Das,<sup>2</sup> poses a problem in so far as it differs in an important point from the entries to be found in the dictionaries of A. Csoma de Kőrös,<sup>3</sup> I. J. Schmidt,<sup>4</sup> and that of the Catholic Missionaries of Tibet, generally referred to as Desgodins' dictionary.<sup>5</sup> While all these dictionaries are in agreement on the meaning of 'stallion', which has been listed by J(äschke) under I, the difference occurs in the treatment of *gseb* (alternating with *seb*), listed by J under II. The definitions are as follows :

(i) Csoma :

(a) (p. 296)

*seb*  
*khrod* } s. assemblage, crowd, crew ; heap, pile, rick, stack

*seb lam*  
*gsañ lam* } a short cut, a secret way or road

(b) (p. 38)

*gseb* a heap, pile, crowd, assemblage

(ii) Schmidt :

(a) (p. 596)

*seb* oder *khrod* Menge, Gedränge, ein Haufe, eine Ansammlung ;  
ein Stoss, Schober

*seb lam* ein kurzer Strich, ein heimlicher Weg

*gsañ lam* idem

(b) (p. 612)

*gseb* ein Haufen, eine Ansammlung etc. ; s. *seb*

(iii) Desgodins<sup>6</sup> :

(a) (p. 1023)

*seb, gseb* = *khrod* rassemblement, réunion

*gseb lam* = *gsañ lam* carrefour, route secrète

(b) (p. 1049)

*gseb, seb* troupe, tas, rassemblement

*hkhrgs gseb* réunir ensemble, condenser

<sup>1</sup> H. A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English dictionary*, London, 1881 (reprinted 1934).

<sup>2</sup> *Tibetan-English dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 1309.

<sup>3</sup> *Essay towards a dictionary, Tibetan and English*, Calcutta, 1834.

<sup>4</sup> *Tibetisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg, 1841.

<sup>5</sup> *Dictionnaire tibétain-latin-français par les Missionnaires catholiques du Thibet*, Hongkong, 1899.

<sup>6</sup> I have omitted the Latin definitions.

*groñ gseb* villages dont les maisons sont contigues  
*dmag gseb* armée

(iv) Jäschke (p. 590)

II. also *seb*,

1. the narrow INTERSTICES between persons or things thronged together, hence with *na*, *tu*, and *la*, BETWEEN, AMONG, with *nas* FROM BETWEEN

(1<sup>1</sup>) *khyi mihi gseb la mchoñ* the dog leaps into the midst of the people<sup>2</sup>

(2) *lo-mahi gseb-tu hjog-pa (rGyal-rabs)* to put between leaves

(3) *sprin-gyi gseb-nas lus phyed hthon*<sup>3</sup> (*rGyal-rabs*) half of his body protrudes from between the clouds = rises above, etc.

(4) *groñ-gseb-tu bžugs-pa (Milaraspa)* to sit among the villagers

(5) *khyed-cag-gi gseb-na Meu-dgal bya-bahi bud-med yod-dam?* is there a woman among you named *Meu-dgal?*

*gseb-lam* a secret path, by-way, between rocks or underwood

2. multitude, crowd

*dmag-gseb* army

*nags-gseb*<sup>4</sup> forest

Before elaborating the difference in the treatment of *gseb* by J and the other lexicographers it is necessary to realize that this difference is primarily one between Csoma and J, since Schmidt merely translated Csoma's definitions into German and Desgodins' dictionary appeared later than J's. The difference may be summarized as follows:

- (1) J introduces the new meaning of 'narrow interstices', which he illustrates by as many as five examples.

<sup>1</sup> I have numbered the examples, adding at the same time the sources from the German edition of J's dictionary (*Handwörterbuch der tibetischen Sprache*, Gnadau, 1871, p. 614), which have apparently dropped out in the process of preparing the English version. I take this opportunity of mentioning another omission in the English edition. On p. xxi under 'Abbreviations' add: Lt. = *Lhan-thabs*, a medical work, No. 475 of the 'Verzeichnis' by [I. J.] Schmidt [and O. Böhlingk (*Bulletin de la Classe des Sciences historiques, philologiques et politiques de l'Académie Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, IV, 1848, col. 117)]. See now about this work, whose full title begins with *Bdud-rtsi snyiñ-po yan-lag bryad-pa gsañ-ba man-ñag yon-tan rgyud-kyi lhan-thabs*, (and its Mongolian version), i.a. W. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache*, Wiesbaden, 1954, pp. 96, etc., and the notes by J. W. de Jong in his review of the latter work in *T'oung Pao*, XLIII, 1955, 313-4. See also J, *Dictionary*, p. 601, s.v. *lhan-pa*.

<sup>2</sup> This example, which refers to a mad dog, reoccurs s.v. *mchoñ* (p. 166) as *mi-seb-la (mchoñ)* and there is translated as 'among the people'.

<sup>3</sup> The example reoccurs s.v. *sprin* (p. 336).

<sup>4</sup> The compound reoccurs s.v. *nags* (p. 300) where it is translated as 'an intersected forest'. See also below, p. 525, n. 2.

- (2) J retains the meaning of 'crowd', given by Csoma, but omits the meanings of 'assemblage, heap, pile, rick, stack'.
- (3) J retains the example *gseb-lam* with the interesting addition 'between rocks or underwood'.
- (4) J ignores the existence of the synonymous *khrod*.
- (5) In introducing his new meaning, J is apparently unconcerned with the semasiological difficulty he creates when assigning to one and the same word meanings as far apart as 'small interstices' on the one hand and 'multitude, crowd' on the other.

I wish to make the following additional comments :

- ad* (1) Our examination must start with the five examples which J adduces in support of the meaning of 'small interstices'. It would appear that the meanings adduced by Csoma suffice to account for them, viz. the meaning of 'crowd' in the case of exx. 1, 4,<sup>1</sup> and 5, the meaning of 'pile' in the case of ex. 2, and that of 'assemblage' in the case of ex. 3.
- ad* (2) Of the two examples which serve to illustrate the meaning of 'multitude, crowd' and which were retained by J, the second (*nags-gseb*) must at some time have been understood by him as an example belonging to II, 1 since s.v. *nags* he translates this compound as 'intersected forest'.<sup>2</sup>
- ad* (3) The addition is interesting as it clearly underlines the meaning of '(space) between'.
- ad* (4) J defines *khrod* (p. 52) as 'crowd, assemblage, mass, multitude'. Csoma (p. 16) has 'assemblage, crowd; pile, heap; rick, stack, etc.'. Among the examples adduced by J, we find *nags-khrod* 'dense forest' (previously translated by Csoma (p. 77) as 'an assemblage of forest'), and an example (from the *rGyal-rabs*) which is, in fact, very reminiscent of J's examples illustrating the use of *gseb*: *dehi khrod-du lha-gcig hjog-pas* 'placing the princess among their (the girls') company'. J's entry concludes with the very illuminating remark 'In Western Tibet *khrod-pahi*<sup>3</sup> *nañ-na* and *nañ-du* is the usual expression for "among"'.<sup>4</sup>

Both the usage of *khrod* in present-day Western Tibet and the example adduced from the *rGyal-rabs* constitute striking parallels to the usage of *gseb*. There is no doubt that they would have prevented a lexicographer of the calibre of J from introducing his new meaning if he had been aware of their existence.

<sup>1</sup> J evidently understands *groñ-gseb-tu* as short for *groñ-pohi gseb-tu*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 524, n. 4. In the reprint of J's entry in S. C. Das' dictionary *gseb-nags* is translated as 'dense forest'.

<sup>3</sup> I have substituted *khrod-pahi* for the dialectal *t'o-pai*.

<sup>4</sup> cf. also English *among* from O.E. *on gemang*, lit. 'into a crowd'. (See, e.g., H. C. Wyld, *The universal dictionary of the English language*, London, 1932, p. 32.)

In fact, we may safely assume that this was not the case and that at that time J had not seen Csoma's definitions either. Evidence to this effect is provided by the entries *khrod* and *gseb* in J's lithographed *Romanized Tibetan and English dictionary* of 1866.<sup>1</sup> The entry *khrod* (*thod*) consists merely of the meanings 'multitude, crowd; great number'. On the other hand, the entry *gseb* reads as follows:

*seb* I (*g*)*seb* the interstices between the individuals of a multitude of persons or things. *-lam*, byway between rocks or trees; *-na* among, between: *na* (*nas*), from among

II *gseb* a male horse or camel

A comparison of this first draft of the entry *gseb* in 1866 with its final form in J's dictionary of 1881 justifies the assumption that J arrived at his meaning of 'interstices' at an early stage of his lexicographical work, wrongly deducing it from such combinations with *gseb* as *gseb-na* 'between' and *gseb-nas* 'from among', unaware of other usages of *gseb*, and independently of Csoma. Consultation, at a later stage, of Csoma's dictionary induced him merely to make a short addition in both the German edition of 1871 and the English edition of 1881, where he limited himself to the meanings of 'multitude, crowd' (or, for that matter, 'Haufe, Menge') listed under II, 2. When doing so, he was apparently also unaware of the semasiological difficulty he was thereby creating and furthermore overlooked the fact that of the two examples in the English edition,<sup>2</sup> viz. *dmag-gseb* and *nags-gseb*, the latter had been explained by him under *nags* as 'intersected forest', a definition which clearly recalls the 'interstices'. So the parallelism between *gseb* and *khrod* was bound to escape J, nor can he have been aware at that time of the dialectal usage of *khrod*, mentioned in the 1881 version of his dictionary.

*ad* (5) While it is important to note the serious semasiological difficulty created by introducing the meaning of 'small interstices', it is equally important to stress the qualification which J adds to this meaning, viz. 'between persons or things *thronged together*',<sup>3</sup> and the inference he draws therefrom, viz. 'hence with *na*, *tu*, and *la* between, among, with *nas* from between'. It is easy to see that 'the state of being close together or thronged together' is a common characteristic of whatever constitutes 'an assemblage, a crowd, a crew, a heap, a pile, a rick, a stack', to repeat Csoma's definitions of *gseb*, and, as has been pointed out under *ad* (1), the examples adduced by J to illustrate the meanings of 'between, among' and 'from between' can just as well be accounted for by accepting Csoma's meanings, as by proposing the meaning of 'small interstices' postulated by J.

<sup>1</sup> Kyelang in British Lahoul, 1866, pp. 132 and 103.

<sup>2</sup> The German edition has only *dmag-gseb*, the meaning of which J queries: 'Heer (?)'.

<sup>3</sup> The italics are mine.

In the light of the preceding discussion it would therefore seem justifiable to abandon this latter meaning, but before doing so we must consider the examples given by two Tibetan scholars who, evidently under the influence of J, have assigned to *gseb* similar meanings (II). It will also be necessary to adduce a number of further examples to illustrate the usage of *gseb* (III).

## II

The two meanings in question are 'space between' and 'narrow interspace'. The former ('Zwischenraum') is given by A. Grünwedel in his glossary to his *Legenden des Na-ro-pa*,<sup>1</sup> the latter by F. W. Thomas in the glossary which constitutes Part III of his *Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*.<sup>2</sup>

Of Grünwedel's two examples the first, listed here as No. 6, recalls No. 4, speaking as it does of a 'crowd of children', the second (No. 7) shows *gseb* as synonymous with Tibetan *phuñ-po* 'heap', which usually occurs in combination with *me* 'fire' to render Sanskrit *agniskandha*<sup>3</sup>:

(6) . . . *byis-pa-rnams-kyi bseb-tu bzugs-nas* (. . . befand er sich mitten unter den Kindern (p. 137)).

(7) *the-tshom med-par mehi bseb-tu rgyañs hphyoñs* (= *mchoñs*) *pas* (und sprang ohne Bedenken mit ausgebreiteten Beinen mitten in das Feuer (p. 102)).

The two passages referred to by F. W. Thomas<sup>4</sup> are practically identical. They describe the emission of rays 'from the juncture of the brows':

(8) . . . *smin-mtshams-kyi gseb-nas de-bz'in-gsëgs-pa'hi hod-zer-rnams byuñ-ño* (from the juncture of his brows came forth the lights called 'Tathāgata-form').

A similar sentence (with a number of variants) has been included in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*<sup>5</sup>:

(9) *dbu'hi gtsug-tor gseb-nas hod-zer byuñ-nas*.

Its Sanskrit equivalent *uṣṇīṣa-vivarāntarād raśmīr niścāratī* would permit the reconstruction *bhrū-vivarāntarād*<sup>6</sup> if the original language of the 'Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā' was, in fact, Sanskrit.<sup>7</sup> While *vivarāntarād* confirms the meaning of 'from between' for *gseb-nas* it does not, of course, invalidate the

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig, 1933, p. 232, s.v. *bseb*. *bseb-tu* 'dazwischen hinein'.

<sup>2</sup> London, 1955, p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., *Mahāvvyutpatti* (Sakaki), No. 224. A further example occurs in the Tibetan translation of the passage *sacet te mahaty agni-skandhe prapateyuh* in the beginning of chapter xxiv of the *Saddharmapundarīka-Sūtra*: *gal-te mehi phuñ-po chen-por lhuñ-naññ* (Narthang Kanjur, *mDo, Ja*, 255B<sup>7</sup>). See also below ex. No. 10.

<sup>4</sup> loc. cit., Part I, 1935, pp. 182 and 248 (Narthang Kanjur, *mDo, Pa*, p. 342A<sup>1</sup> and 408B<sup>2-3</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> loc. cit., No. 6293, see also Nos. 6301 and 6346.

<sup>6</sup> cf. also *Saddharmapundarīka* (ed. by U. Wogihara and C. Tsuchida, Tokyo, 1934, p. 4, ll. 18-19): *bhrūvivarāntarād ūrñakośād ekā raśmīr niścāratī*. Narthang Kanjur, *mDo, Ja*, p. 14A<sup>2-3</sup>: *smin-mtshams-kyi bar-gyi mdzod-spu-nas hod-zer gcig* (3) *byuñ-nas*.

<sup>7</sup> See, about this question, Thomas, loc. cit., I, p. 141.

meanings of ' assemblage ', etc., for *gseb* nor permit the mechanical equating of *gseb* with *vivara*.<sup>1</sup> In ex. 8 *gseb* seems to stress the density of the brows, as it were ' from within the density of the juncture of the brows '.

## III

Before passing on to cognate words it will be necessary to illustrate the meaning of *gseb* by further examples. The combination with *me* ' fire ', which we witnessed in ex. 7, occurs, e.g., also in the Commentary to the *Subhāṣitaratna-nidhi* by dMar-sTon Chos-rGyal, which is entitled *Legs-par bśad-pa rin-po-chehi gter mdzod* <sup>2</sup> :

(10) *mehi gseb-na gnas-pa* (p. 68B<sup>1</sup>).

(11) *mehi gseb-tu mchoñs-te śiho* (p. 67A<sup>4</sup>; p. 70B<sup>2</sup>: *me-gsebs-tu . . .*).

The combination with *nags* ' forest ' <sup>3</sup> occurs in the same text on p. 68A<sup>6</sup> in relation to a hermit living ' in the thickness ' of a forest :

(12) *nags-kyi gseb-na gnas-paḥi drañ-sroñ*.

The story about a bat installing itself in (lit. entering) ' the thickness ' of the plumage of a vulture shows a combination with *spu* ' hair, plumage ' :

(13) *pha-wañ-gis rgod-poḥi spu-gseb-du žugs-te* (p. 66A<sup>1</sup>).

The combination with *sprin* (in ' the thickness ' of the clouds) occurs in the ' Avadāna de l'oiseau Nilakantha ' in a sentence almost identical with J's example 3 :

(14) . . . *lhahi bu dkar-po lus-phyed sprin-gseb-tu nub-ciñ, lus phyed hthon-pa žig* (. . . le fils d'un dieu, une moitié du corps dans les nages, l'autre moitié émergeant) <sup>4</sup>.

*gseb* occurs, furthermore, in combination with *tshal* ' wood, grove ', a synonym of *nags* ' forest ', with which it can also be combined (*nags-tshal*). The meaning of *gseb* has also been understood as ' thickness ' by L. Feer, who translates <sup>5</sup>

(15) *ltañ-brañ-gi tshal gseb-tu* (Narthang Kanjur, *mDul, Ka*, 188A<sup>4</sup>, and also *Ka*, p. 43B<sup>4</sup>)

as ' dans l'épaisse forêt de Yasti ' (= Yaṣṭivana, Latṭhivana).

Apart from two similar passages which show *tshal-gseb* in combination with *ral-* (for *ras-*) *bal-can*,<sup>6</sup> which translates Karpāsika,<sup>7</sup> and *śar-pa*,<sup>8</sup> which refers to Yaṣṭi,<sup>9</sup> the following passage, which gives a transcription of Karpāsika,

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 529, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> No. 40890 of the Tibetan Collection in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. No place, no date, 104 pp.

<sup>3</sup> cf. above, p. 525, the translation by J of *nags-khrod* as ' dense forest ' ; see also p. 525, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Bacot, *La vie de Marpa*, Paris, 1937, pp. 113 and 70.

<sup>5</sup> *Fragments extraits du Kandjour, traduits du tibétain* (Annales du Musée Guimet, Vol. v, 1883), p. 98 ; see also *ibid.*, pp. 10 and 42, and notes 2 and 5 on p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> *mDul, Ka*, 43B<sup>4</sup> : *ral-bal-can-gyi tshal-gseb-tu gśegs-nas*. See Feer, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> See Feer, *loc. cit.*, p. 42, and n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *mDul, Cha*, 100D<sup>7</sup> ; *śar-paḥi tshal-gseb-tu gśegs-nas*.

<sup>9</sup> See Feer, p. 42 and n. 5. Feer translates ' dans l'épaisse forêt de l'Est ' and remarks (n. 5) ' Dans les livres pâlis elle est appelée la forêt de Yaṣṭi '. Earlier, in his *Études bouddhiques*, II, 1875, p. 68, n. 1, he translated the passage ' dans le jardin abondamment planté de l'Est '.

or rather of a form corresponding to Pali Kappāsiya,<sup>1</sup> is of special interest in so far as *gseb*, at least in some variants of the passage, occurs by itself, i.e. not preceded by *tshal*, in the meaning of *tshal-gseb*, and would therefore seem to justify the addition of the meaning of 'thicket' to Csoma's definitions of *gseb*. In view of the Pali form Kappāsiya-vanasaṇḍa the Sanskrit word corresponding to *gseb* is likely to have been *ṣaṇḍa* (*khaṇḍa*), which on its part is also rendered by *khrod*.<sup>2</sup> The suggested meaning of 'thicket' would allow us to explain the compound *gseb-lam* as 'path through a thicket', which meaning would be quite in agreement with J's definition<sup>3</sup> as far as 'underwood' is concerned.

The passage occurs in chapter xxvii of the Tibetan version of the *Vinaya-vibhaṅga*. Both the Narthang print of the Kanjur and the MS Kanjur of the British Museum show the following reading :

*mDul, Cha*, p. 100B<sup>4</sup> (B.M. MS, *mDul, Kha*, p. 105B<sup>6</sup>)

(16) *Kar-ba-siḥi gseb-tu gsegs-nas*.

The Derge print has *Kar-pa-siḥi tshal-gseb-tu* (*mDul, Cha*, p. 68B<sup>1</sup>), whereas the Lhasa Kanjur shows again *gseb-tu* instead of *tshal-gseb-tu*. However, instead of *Kar-ba-siḥi*, the latter print has *Vā-ra-nā-siḥi* (*mDul, Cha*, p. 95A<sup>5</sup>). The reading of the Peking Kanjur<sup>4</sup> is *Kar-ba-siḥi tshal-gseb-tu* (Vol. *Je*, p. 63A<sup>6</sup>).

Example 16 concludes the list of additional examples.

I regret, I am unable to offer an example from actual texts of the compound *hkhriḡs-gseb*, which has been included in Desgodins' dictionary.<sup>5</sup> As is evident from the meaning of 'to assemble, to condense', attributed to the compound, we are dealing here with a (causative) verb *gseb* meaning 'to bring about the state of being close together'. As such the verb *gseb* would in fact be similar in meaning to *gsob-pa* (see below, Section IV, No. II (a) 1) 'to fill out or up' (to throng). The existence of such a verb also throws light on the two compounds which illustrate the meaning of 'stallion', viz. *rta-gseb* and *rṅa-gseb* (male

<sup>1</sup> cf. G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli proper names*, II, London, 1938, p. 772.

<sup>2</sup> cf. *Mahāvīyūtpatti*, No. 4214 *vana-khaṇḍa* (*vanasaṇḍa*) = *nags-khrod*. In the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*, *nags-khrod* is used to render *vanavivara* (see J. Nobel, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-Sūtra*, II, Leiden, 1950, p. 18. *vivara*, on the other hand, is given as equivalent for *gseb* in the compound *nags-gseb* on p. 97 (folio 190A<sup>1</sup>) of the *Dictionnaire tibétain-sanscrit* by Tse-Ring-Ouang-Gyal, edited by Professor J. Bacot (Paris, 1930). In the Tibetan version of the *Mahāpurinirvāṇasūtra*, *vanasaṇḍa* is rendered as *tshal-maṅ-po* (pp. 252-3 of the edition by Professor E. Waldschmidt, Berlin, 1950). Concerning *vivara* and *gseb* cf. also above ex. 9. In the Tibetan version of Candrakīrti's *Prasannapādā*, *nags-khrod* renders *tarukhaṇḍa* (see the 'Glossaire sanscrit-tibétain' appended to J. W. de Jong's *Cinq chapitres de la Prasannapādā*, Paris, 1949, p. 158). The rendering of *khaṇḍa* (*ṣaṇḍa*) by *tshal* in the compound *taruṣaṇḍa* is to be found in the Tibetan version of the *Udrāyaṇavadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* (*śiṅ-ljon-paḥi tshal*), see J. Nobel, *Udrāyaṇa, König von Roruka*, II, Wiesbaden, 1955, p. 63, s.v. *tshal*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 524.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Dr. C. R. Bawden for kindly checking this latter reading in the Paris copy of the Peking Kanjur (Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Tibétain 99).

<sup>5</sup> There would seem no need to give examples of the compound *groṅ-gseb*, which is quite common. The usage of *gseb* there recalls the etymological relationship between Sanskrit *grāma* 'village', and English 'to cram' (see M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg, 1956, p. 353), and also that between Old English *porp* 'village' and Germanic *torp* in the meaning of 'herd', which survived in Romance languages.

camel), which was mentioned at the beginning of this article. Apparently we are dealing here with a veiled allusion to causing pregnancy which is reminiscent of Latin *implere*.

Summarizing the usage of *gseb* it may be contended that Csoma's definitions have been confirmed, that the aspect of being close together, dense, or thronged prevails in all of them, and that the meaning of 'thicket' may perhaps have to be added to those given by Csoma.

#### IV

It will now be possible to consider the word family as a whole, which may serve as another example to show the 'range of sound alternations in Tibetan word families'.<sup>1</sup> Apart from vowel gradation which comprises the vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, *i*, *u*, we witness an alternation between initial fricatives and affricates (both of which occur also palatalized) and between a final stop and a final nasal.

The alternation between initial *s*- and the initial affricates—see below the Perfect forms *tshabs* and *bsabs* of *htshab-pa* under I (a) 2 of the list of cognate words—clearly points to an archaic *sts*-.<sup>2</sup> The alternation between final stop and final nasal is well known in the dental range.<sup>3</sup> As an example in the labial range I should like to refer to *rñam-pa* (also *rñams-pa*) 'to breathe, to pant, to pant for, to desire ardently', which has already been compared by J (*Dict.*, p. 134) with *rñab-pa* 'to desire earnestly, to crave'. *rñub-pa* 'to draw in', which seems to occur only in combination with *dbugs* 'air' in the meaning of 'to breathe', is likely to be a further cognate word.

On the semantic side, the basic idea is apparently that of a state of being close together, dense, thick, or thronged, or of causing such a state (to fill up or out, to stuff, etc.). *tshab* 'equivalent, substitute' forms an interesting parallel to English 'stop-gap'. From the phonetic point of view, it has a counterpart with a nasal final in *tsam* 'as much as, equivalent in quantity, size', etc., used in Tibetan much as Sanskrit *mātra*.<sup>4</sup>

In general, words with a final *nasal* seem to indicate more the state of *coming* close together, or the action of bringing this about, than the state of *being* close together, or the action of bringing this about.

The function of final *-s*<sup>5</sup> is worth noting in such cases as *mtshams* 'boundary'

<sup>1</sup> See *Asia Major*, NS, I, 1949, 3–15.

<sup>2</sup> cf. e.g., *stsogs-pa* instead of the usual *sogs-pa* in Tun-Huang texts (J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-Houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris, 1940-6, p. 201). The same ancient form is also recorded in F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan literary texts and documents*, III, 1955, p. 183, s.v. *la-stsogs*, side by side with *las-stsogs* and *las-btsogs*. I hope to revert to this alternation on another occasion.

<sup>3</sup> See Jäschke, *Tibetan grammar, Addenda* by A. H. Francke and W. Simon, Berlin, 1929, pp. 120–1.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 531, and n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> See *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, v, 1940, 387–9.

(lit. the *place* where (plots of land, countries, etc.) come together), *śubs* 'sheath' (the place where (object) is stuffed into), *tshabs* 'extreme, extremity' (lit. 'full to overflowing point'). *tshom* 'to doubt' is possibly 'to consider as a borderline point (case)'.

The list of cognate words which I wish to propose is as follows<sup>1</sup>:

I Vowel *a*

(a) *-b*

- (1) *gsab*, *bsab*, see *gsob* (II (a) 1)
- (2) *htshab-pa*, Pf. *tshabs*, *bsabs*, Fut. *bsab*, Imp. *tshob* 'to pay back, repay, refund' (= 'to re-fill', see *gsob*, II (a) 1)
- (3) *tshab* 'representative, equivalent, substitute' (cf. 'stop-gap')
- (4) *tshabs* (1) mostly with *che*, *chen-po* 'very great, very much', (2) 'difficulty, trouble'.<sup>2</sup>

(b) *-m*

- (5) *tsam* 'as much as', etc. (= 'equivalent', Sanskrit *mātra*<sup>3</sup>)
- (6) *mtshams* 'intermediate space, interstice, border, boundary-line' (= 'coming together-place')
- (7) *zam-pa* 'bridge' (= 'bringing together')

II Vowel *o*

(a) *-b*

- (1) *gsob-pa*, Pf. *bsab*, Fut. *gsab* (1) 'to fill out or up, to supply, complete, make up', (2) 'to pay, repay, return' (= 'to re-fill', see *htshab-pa*, I (a) 2)
- (2) *sob*, *gsob* 'stuffed', *sob-stan* 'cushion, bolster, mattress', *pags-sob* 'stuffed skin of an animal', *señ-(ge)hi* *sob* 'the stuffed skin of a lion'
- (3) *htshob(s)-pa* 'to be a deputy, representative, substitute' (see *tshab*, I (a) 3)

(b) *-m*

- (4) *hdzom(s)-pa* 'to come together, to meet'
- (5) *tshom-pa* 'to doubt, hesitate' (= 'to regard as on the borderline', see above)
- (6) *śom-pa*, Pf. (b) *śoms*, *bsams*, Fut. *bsam*, Imp. (b) *śom(s)* 'to prepare, make ready, arrange, put in order, fit out' (cf. *gsob-pa*, II (a) 1)

<sup>1</sup> Unless stated otherwise, the meanings have been taken from J's dictionary.

<sup>2</sup> As stated above, *tshabs* seems to denote an extreme state, as it were 'the point when something is full to overflowing'. The example, quoted by J from the *Waidurya Śhōn-po*, *bud-med ho-tshabs la phan*, and translated by him 'it is of use in milk-diseases of the women', may well refer specifically to 'excessive lactation'. I noted from the *Karmaśataka* (Narthang Kanjur, *mDo*, *Sa*, p. 143A<sup>5</sup>) *ji tsam-du tshabs che bar gyur pa de tsam-du lus las rnag khrag hdzag ste* 'when (the illness) reached an extreme, then matter and blood dripped from his body'. Cf. also F. Edgerton, *Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit*. II. *Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953, pp. 268-9, s.v. *dr̥ghaprahāritā*, and *Mahāvīyutpatti*, Nos. 4995 and 6776.

<sup>3</sup> See also *Asia Major*, NS, II, 1952, 194.

III Vowel *e*(a) -*b*

- (1)
- gseb*
- (see above)

(b) -*m*

- (2)
- tshem*
- (-
- po*
- ) 'seam' (cf.
- mtshams*
- , I (b) 6, and III (b) 3)

- (3)
- htshem-pa*
- , Pf.
- tshems*
- ,
- btsems*
- , Fut.
- btsem*
- , Imp.
- tshems*
- 'to sew' (= 'to bring together')

- (4) ?
- tshems*
- resp. tooth (= 'seam of the mouth'?)

- (5) ?
- hchems-pa*
- , Pf.
- bcems*
- , Fut.
- bcem*
- 'to chew' (see III (b) 4)

IV Vowel *i*(a) -*b*(b) -*m*

- (1)
- tshim-pa*
- (1) 'to be content', (2) 'content, satisfied, satiated, consoled' (= 'to be full')

- (2)
- hchims-pa*
- 'to be full, to get full' (included by J from I. J. Schmidt's dictionary)

- (3) ?
- gzim-pa*
- <sup>1</sup>
- 'to fall asleep, to sleep' (= 'close the eyes'?, cf.
- hdzum*
- , V (b) 5)

V Vowel *u*(a) -*b*

- (1)
- sub-pa*
- , Pf. (
- b*
- )
- subs*
- , Fut.
- bsub*
- 'to stop up, plug up, close, cork: to keep shut, closed, locked up, to stop' (= 'to stuff')

- (2)
- htshub-pa*
- , Pf.
- tshubs*
- 'to be choked', esp. 'to be drowned'

- (3)
- bsub-pa*
- 'to put into the scabbard, to sheathe' (included by J from I. J. Schmidt's dictionary) (= 'to stuff into')

- (4)
- sus*
- 'case, covering sheath, paper bag', etc. (= 'place (-s) to stuff into')

(b) -*m*

- (5)
- hdzum*
- 'to close, to shut' . . . more esp. 'to close' one's eyes, 'to shut' one's mouth (= 'to cause to come together')

<sup>1</sup> An earlier \**gzim* can be inferred from the corresponding Chinese word 寢 *chiin* (Karlgren, *Grammata Serica*, 1940, p. 296, No. 661, f-j, \**ts'ïm/ts'ïm*), see W. Simon, *Tibetisch-chinesische Wortgleichungen*, Berlin, 1930, p. 23, No. 263.