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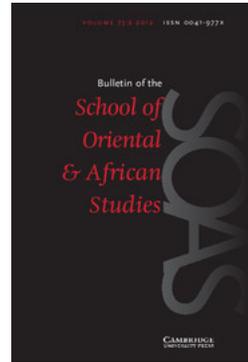
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**A. Rna-Tas: *Tibeto-Mongolica: the Tibetan loanwords of Monguor and the development of the archaic Tibetan dialects.* (Indo-Iranian Monographs, Vol. VII.) 232 pp. The Hague, etc.: Mouton and Co., 1966. Guilders 28.**

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Lhasa', 'Going on a pilgrimage to sāmyētē' [Samye], and 'Monasteries in the Lhasa area' could profitably have been replaced by 'Moving from Seattle to Berkeley', for example, or other situations in keeping with the circumstances of Tibetan refugees.

At the grammatical and lexical levels the *Manual* has much to commend it. In the present climate of opinion the generative basis of the grammatical exercises should prove stimulating. An exemplary break with tradition, at the lexical level, is that the 'polite' vocabulary is given equal prominence with the 'non-polite'.

One final point: the *Manual* is entirely without indications of other work on Lhasa Tibetan; Dr. Richter includes a superb bibliography, covering not only Lhasa Tibetan but other Tibetan dialects, and even languages of the 'Tibeto-Himālaya Gruppe' as well.

In general I would say that the *Manual* falls between two stools: it is not linguistic enough for the professional linguist, who would rightly insist on being told what phonological units are being distinguished, and what the relations of each are with phonetic categories; it is too linguistic for the ordinary run of students, some of whom may well never have seen symbols such as 'ɔ', 'ŋ', and 'Δ' before. The authors suggest that 'ideally, a course in which it is used should be taught by a Tibetan'; but how many Tibetans are there with sufficient training in linguistics for this task?

The *Grundlagen* is addressed not to students but to a professional readership, who will now wait eagerly to see how the problems raised at the phonetic level are to be solved at the phonological, grammatical, and lexical levels. Indeed one could wish that Dr. Richter had attempted an integrated analysis at all these levels in one volume.

R. K. SPRIGG

A. RÓNA-TAS: *Tibeto-Mongolica: the Tibetan loanwords of Monguor and the development of the archaic Tibetan dialects*. (Indo-Iranian Monographs, Vol. VII.) 232 pp. The Hague, etc.: Mouton and Co., 1966. Guilders 28.

The Monguor dialect of Mongolian, through its numerous Tibetan loan-words, provides Dr. Róna-Tas with the occasion for a comparative phonetic study of data from a dozen or more Tibetan dialects. The 790 loan-words are examined as evidence for the pronunciation of Tibetan in adjoining dialect areas; and a comparison of the corresponding forms in these and other Tibetan dialects then furnishes the author with material for a historical study of the development of the contemporary

spoken dialects from his hypothetical Old Tibetan forms.

In his introductory remarks Dr. Róna-Tas places the Monguor dialect, spoken in the Chinghai province of north-west China, in relation to other Mongolian dialect material, and emphasizes its significance for both Mongolian-dialect and Tibetan-dialect studies, a significance due, on the one hand, to conservatism, and, on the other, to innovation under the influence of Tibetan. He discusses his sources, which, it should be noted, include Chinese and Russian works, in detail, and evaluates their systems of transcription, while carefully avoiding any attempt at unifying them.

Since his interest in Tibetan dialects is directed towards those which may be presumed to have acted as donors to Monguor, he finds it convenient to divide them into 'archaic' and 'non-archaic', taking as criteria for the 'archaic' category (i) the absence of 'pitch as a phonematic suprasegmental feature', and (ii) 'the preservation in a more or less complete form [of] the preradical system of Old Tibetan', and, as criteria for the 'non-archaic', (i) 'phonematic pitch', and (ii) the loss of 'the old preradical system'. While broadly efficient for this purpose, at least one of these criteria might be made more precise; and Dr. Róna-Tas himself refers subsequently to a characteristic that might be used to modify the second criterion of the 'non-archaic' category: 'the preradical is preserved in the second syllable if the first ends in a vowel also in the non-archaic dialects' (p. 134). Indeed maximum precision might require one to distinguish between consonant and phonetic feature; for, in the Lhasa dialect, which Dr. Róna-Tas classifies as 'non-archaic', the old 'preradicals' might be said to be preserved even in word-initial position in those words which are distinguished by the phonetic feature partial voicing (and therefore also non-aspiration) from those which have voicelessness and aspiration; e.g. *dgong-mo* [g-] 'evening', 'ja' [dz-] 'rainbow', *rdung* [d-] 'strike'; cf. *gong* [kh-] 'price', *ja* [tch-] 'tea', *dung* [th-] 'shell'.

Dr. Róna-Tas's criteria owe their importance to the fact that he uses them to limit his study to the 'archaic' dialects, together with the literary language, admitting forms from Central Tibetan or Lhasa Tibetan, as representatives of the 'non-archaic', only for some special purpose. The 'archaic' dialect material is divided into six categories in accordance with the six places in syllable structure that he distinguishes for Old Tibetan: 'preradical (C-), radical (C-), postradical (-C-), syllabic vowel (-V-), final (-C), postfinal (-C)'. Radical and postradical are dealt with simultaneously, absence of postradicals '-y-'

and ‘-r-’ being treated as postradical ‘zero’; but, somewhat inconsistently, the same method is not applied to preradical and radical and to postfinal and final.

Dr. Róna-Tas carefully distinguishes his ‘phonemical’ categories (preradical, radical, etc.) from his ‘orthographical’ (‘prescribed’, ‘superscribed’, etc.) and his ‘morphological’ (‘prefix’, ‘stem’, etc.); but, since his hypothetical Old Tibetan forms differ little from the orthographic forms of literary Tibetan, the reader has easy access to a wealth of dialect forms, some from sources that might otherwise be inaccessible, painstakingly arranged for immediate comparison. His debt to the author is great.

One is, of course, free to ask oneself whether a different basis for his presentation of the material might not have served the author better. He might, for example, have extended to the other categories his syntagmatic practice of associating the postradical with the radical in statement; for, just as the post-radical presupposes an associated radical, so the preradical and the postfinal respectively presuppose associated radicals and finals. The variant of the phoneme theory that Dr. Róna-Tas has adopted, one of the more flexible variants, would lend itself to such an extension; for he takes difference in environment into account, and makes no difficulty over analysing preradical [s] and [z], for example, differently from radical [s] and [z], the former pair as allophones of a single phoneme, conditioned by the following radical phoneme, and the latter as phonemically distinct; but an even more syntagmatic analysis might well by-pass complications resulting from his present method, especially in dealing with tonal reflexes. Since his study is mainly concerned with the non-tonal dialects, it is not surprising that these complications are not much in evidence; but they can be illustrated from his treatment of *dby-*: ‘in the cluster *dby-* the *-y-* became a radical consonant after the *b > zero* development: \**yby-* > *γyy-* > *γγ-* > *y-*’. As far as Lhasa Tibetan, at least, is concerned, this statement leaves tone out of account: such syllables as *dbyar(-ka)* ‘summer’, and *dbyangs* ‘vowel’, have a high-tone classification (cf. the low-tone classification of *yang* ‘too’ and *yar* ‘upwards’); if one introduced this feature into Dr. Róna-Tas’s over-segmented form of statement, *-y-* would remain post-radical, and high tone would have to be treated as the radical.

One minor phonetic point: Dr. Róna-Tas interprets forms in orthographic *lh-* as having preradical *l--* and radical *h-*, and refers to the preservation of *l--* through ‘metathesis (*lh- > hl- > l-*)’; but, apart from irregularities in some dialects (e.g. Lhasa [h-] in *tham-*

*khog* ‘boot’), *lh-* symbolizes a single lateral consonant, voiceless ([l̥]) initially, and voiced ([l]) medially. It is, thus, a digraph, like Welsh *ll*, English *th*, and Hungarian *sz*, and presumably always has been. The question of metathesis does not, therefore, arise.

In a concluding section Dr. Róna-Tas uses his comparative dialect material to suggest lines of development for the various categories of elements of Old Tibetan syllable structure in their progress towards their contemporary reflexes in the modern spoken dialects. ‘Zero’ figures widely among these for preradicals, postfinals, and finals alike in the ‘non-archaic’ dialects. In the case of the finals his ‘zero’ refers, strictly speaking, only to the absence of consonantal reflexes for *-s-*, *-d-*, *-l-*, and, to some extent, *-g-*, all of which have vocalic features as reflexes, at least in Lhasa Tibetan; and the author again resorts to syntagmatic statement, treating the vowel and the final categories jointly, in order to be able to show this. A similarly syntagmatic type of statement seems to be required for the preradicals too: there are numerous syllables in Lhasa Tibetan, for example, that do not provide any phonetic evidence for a preradical, at least in word-initial position; but there is no scarcity of syllables, on the other hand, in which the current reflex is either tonal, or the voice feature referred to above, or both at once.

Dr. Róna-Tas accounts for the ‘zero’ reflex of the Old Tibetan preradicals *b--*, *d/g--*, *r--*, *l--*, and *s--* in a table showing the process of convergence on ‘zero’ through ‘spirantization’ via *s*, *š*, and *χ*. There are aspects of this scheme of stages of ‘spirantization’ that are not immediately convincing on general grounds of phonetic probability; but there can be no doubt that the awe-inspiring amount of work that must have gone into sifting the various sources, European and Asian, estimating their reliability, and marshalling the data systematically fully entitles Dr. Róna-Tas to his own conjectures. No other single volume contains so much Tibetan dialect material from such diverse sources; and its Monguor section disposes of any need for further studies on this scale.

R. K. SPRIGG

W. PACHOW (PA CHOU 巴宙) (ed.):  
*Tun-huang yün-wen chi* 敦煌韻文集. [i], 9, 18, 218, [ii] pp. Kao-hsiung, Taiwan: [Buddhist Culture Service], 1965.

Dr. Pachow (Pa Chou) is a Chinese Buddhist scholar who has taught for many years in India and Ceylon. He has recently spent a year working in the British Museum on various Buddhist manuscripts in the Stein collection.