

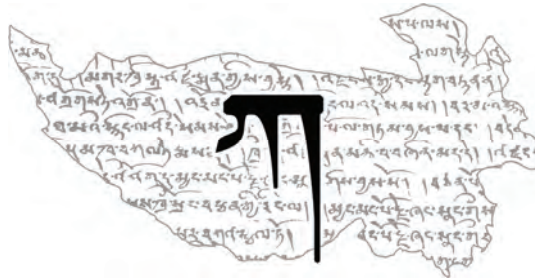
Compounds and Compounding in Old Tibetan

A Corpus Based Approach

by

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Pages from leT 57

PREFACE

This book is an extended version of my doctoral thesis and also includes the results of the research project “Lexikologische Analyse des alttibetischen Wortschatzes mit Sonderberücksichtigung der Komposita” (2013–2016) that was financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and hosted at the Institut für Indologie und Tibetologie (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, Germany). The thesis was defended in January, 2016, at the Philipps-Universität, Marburg, Germany.

With reference to the doctoral thesis that contained detailed analyses of 131 compounds, the present work discusses 394 formations. Not only have new compounds been added, but some of the previously analysed lexemes were surveyed again, yielding new results. In addition, the Part I: Compounding in Old Tibetan has been rearranged so as to present the typological information in a more accessible form to the reader. This concerns first of all the discussion of the linguistic features an Old Tibetan compound displays. Two word-forming processes of paramount importance for compounding – univertation and the $\sigma 1$ -RULE – are given their own subsections and, consequently, greater attention. Furthermore, the classification of compounds has been elaborated to account for new types that were not considered in the former version. However, the basic division into subordinate, coordinate, attributive, and incorporate compounds has proven valid also for the extended corpus. With regard to new classes, the following subdivisions have been added: subordinate/adverbial, multiplicative, and bilingual. In numerous cases, the larger corpus has allowed for a more thorough description of a given class or substantiated tentative assumptions about classes that were under-represented in the former corpus. The main conclusions remain the same despite the modifications and additions which I have made to improve my line of argument.

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The discovery of Old Tibetan manuscripts at the beginning of the 20th century in the Mogao caves at Dunhuang (located in the past on the Silk Road) opened a new chapter in the history of the young discipline that Tibetan studies were at that time. In parallel with the first research reports from Central Asia (e.g., PELLIOT 1908, A. STEIN 1921, 1928) the Lhasa inscriptions aroused the interest of Western scholars for the first time (WADDELL 1909–11). Owing to later palaeographic, philological and historical studies it was possible to assign the findings to the period between the 8th and the 10th centuries. The exposure of those hitherto oldest historical monuments of Tibetan literature to international scholarship provided an unprecedented incentive for philological, linguistic, historical, cultural, and religious studies within Tibetology that continues to the present.¹

The works in which Old Tibetan documents were for the first time philologically analysed in-depth and translated into Western languages comprise the publications of Jacques BACOT, Frederick William THOMAS, Hugh RICHARDSON, and Rolf STEIN, among others. The former two are authors of numerous renderings of Old Tibetan texts (manuscripts but also wooden slips) from Central Asian finds (see References). On the other hand, we owe the vast majority of research done in the field of Old Tibetan inscriptions to the long-standing studies of Hugh RICHARDSON.² Unlike his predecessors, Rolf STEIN used Old Tibetan documents as a starting point for his interdisciplinary studies on the religion and culture of ancient Tibet by presenting the results of his philological and linguistic studies in a wider cultural context and by incorporating Chinese sources.

In the late 1970s, the philological and historical research on Old Tibetan texts received a decisive impulse through a series of publications created in a collaboration between French and Japanese scholars. The facsimiles of dozens of Old Tibetan texts from Central Asia that were published in the first two volumes of *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale* (MACDONALD et al. 1978; SPANIEN et al. 1979) enabled many researchers around

¹ Since it is not my aim to provide a comprehensive account of the discovery, character and history of cataloguing Old Tibetan documents, the reader interested in these subjects is referred to more detailed and recent discussions, e.g., in TAUBE 1980: 7–11, VAN SCHAİK 2002, DALTON/VAN SCHAİK 2007: xi–xx, IMAEDA 2008.

² See References for the most important works of RICHARDSON.

the world to access the manuscripts.¹ As a sign of the increasing influence of digital data processing, these texts were then transliterated and published in a KWIC layout (vols. 3 and 4 of *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale*; IMAEDA et al. 1990; IMAEDA et al. 2001). The publication of all previously identified Old Tibetan inscriptions followed (IWAO et al. 2009). The natural evolution was to make the documents available on the Internet. This became possible because of two major international projects:

1. Old Tibetan Documents Online (OTDO; <http://otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp/>) where over one hundred most significant texts (manuscripts and inscriptions) have been transliterated and made searchable in KWIC format;²
2. International Dunhuang Project (IDP; <http://idp.bl.uk/>) that makes scans of Dunhuang texts (currently scattered in libraries all around the world) available.

In addition, scans of OT documents that are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale can be now accessed on Gallica (<http://gallica.bnf.fr>). These seminal projects have led to a breakthrough in the study of written sources of Old Tibetan, and have prompted many more publications which in the last 20 years substantially deepened our knowledge of the early history of Tibet and its governance during the dynastic period. We owe the current state of research on non-Buddhist documents to the multifaceted studies of Tibetologists like Hugh RICHARDSON, Géza URAY, Helga UEBACH, Tsuguhito TAKEUCHI, and lately, Brandon DOTSON and Kazushi IWAO, among many others.

The present work is obliged to all previous scholars who have studied Old Tibetan documents and striven to make their language intelligible to a wider spectrum of students. An in-depth analysis of a part of their non-Buddhist vocabulary aimed at here has been only possible due to the continuing interest and decades-long effort of Tibetologists to make the texts available through all kinds of modern media. A special gratitude is expressed to researchers participating in developing tools that were surely not even imagined by scholars like LALOU, URAY or STEIN but that have added a completely new quality to the study of those old records. Owing to the ongoing OTDO and IDP projects, great progress has been achieved in making the Old Tibetan language a subject of study

¹ In 1981 microfilms of the entire collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale were completed in order to provide access to the academic community (COHEN 1996: 2). I would like to thank Brandon DOTSON for drawing my attention to this frequently neglected development in the history of the collection.

² Unfortunately, due to recent changes (September 2014) in the new version (<http://otdo.aa-ken.jp/>), the tool has lost most of the functions that were crucial to corpus linguistic studies.

for corpus linguistics. Now it becomes more urgent to develop a reliable methodology in order to process the quantities of data available for the examination of the language. Thus, one of the aims of the present study is to analyse and describe a part of the Old Tibetan lexicon as realised in those texts.

The present work is likewise indebted to the long-standing lexicographical tradition on Tibetan languages continued by both native and Western scholars. It is not the proper place to recall the whole history of the field¹ but I feel it necessary to express my deepest respect for all those Tibetans who over the centuries attempted to record archaic or ‘odd’ vocabulary they encountered in works of their predecessors and thus preserve it for posterity. Without their meticulous attention to linguistic detail much of the lexical material of historical Tibetan would have been lost.² It is now our debt and at the same time responsibility to study, to reconstruct, and to make the Tibetan languages of yore intelligible to our contemporaries, also in order to preserve the memory of the culture they once transmitted.

AIMS

With a few exceptions (DOTSON 2008, 2013a; LALOU 1952; R. STEIN 1939, 1970, 1985; ZEISLER 2011a, among others), previous textual studies on non-Buddhist Old Tibetan texts concentrated on, or often even limited themselves to, the analysis of the historical content of the documents. Although the publications mentioned in the previous section have given us invaluable source material for studying the Old Tibetan language, only a small number of researchers have ventured to deal with it. The lexicological and language-historical studies of

¹ Very helpful introductions to the lexicography of written Tibetan can be found in: TAUBE 1978b; TERJÉK 1978 (both devoted to native *brda gsar rñin* works); DORJSUREN 2007 (on Tibeto-Mongolian dictionaries). For more detailed discussions of single dictionaries see: HAENISCH 1934: 59–62 (on the pentaglot dictionary *Skad lña śan sbyar gyi mañju'i skad gsal ba'i me loñ*); SIMONSSON 1957: 212ff. & 238–80 (on *Mahāvvyutpatti* and *Sgra sbyor bam po gñis pa*); RUEGG 1974 (on *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuñ gnas*); MIMAKI 1988 (on the pentaglot dictionary *Skad lña śan sbyar gyi mañju'i skad gsal ba'i me loñ*); MIMAKI 1992 (on BDSN and CDSN); CORFF.1: XXI–XXXVII (on the pentaglot dictionary *Skad lña śan sbyar gyi mañju'i skad gsal ba'i me loñ*). The most comprehensive list of Tibetan dictionaries and glossaries published before 2006 can be found in CLARK et al. 2006: 173–238.

² Compare hereto TAUBE's remark: “Zahlreiche Wörter der etwa zwischen dem 8. und 14. Jh. angefertigten Übersetzungen waren im Laufe der Zeit aus der tibetischen Umgangssprache verschwunden und durch neue ersetzt worden; andere hatten ihre lautliche Gestalt so verändert, daß sie nicht mehr ohne weiteres verständlich waren.” (1978b: 169).

QUOTATION INDEX

The following index lists all passages quoted in the Text sections [T] of the lemmata. These quotations are given in bold type. In addition, passages from the Analytical sections [A] that consist of at least a clause and are provided with a translation are included as well. The order of OT documents (section I) is as follows: manuscripts (Pelliot tibétain; IOL Tib J; Or.; Others), wooden slips, inscriptions. This order corresponds also to the order of quotations within the Text sections [T] of the lemmata. Works from later periods are listed according to the order of the Latin alphabet and divided into the following subgroups: canonical sources (section II: *Bka' gyur*, *Bstan gyur*), other Tibetan sources (section III: Literary, Rock inscriptions).

I. OLD TIBETAN SOURCES

MANUSCRIPTS

Pelliot tibétain

| | | | | | |
|-------|----------|---|--------|-----------|--|
| PT 16 | 22v4 | ldeg ren pa, dbaṅ thañ | PT 126 | 18–9 | za bog |
| | 24r4 | gces spras | | 52–3 | gnag nad |
| | 24v4 | dbaṅ thañ | | 65 | so nam |
| | 25r4 | rjes mchil | | 105–7 | sa sa yul yul |
| | 25v4–6r1 | chags 'og | | 111–2 | khram skya, lña brgya, dud rñog chags, źu bub |
| | 26r2–3 | dgra chos | | 124–5 | sku bla |
| | 26r3 | dku gañ | | 126–7 | stag 'phrañ |
| | 26r3–4 | dgra chos | | 129–32 | stag 'phrañ |
| | 26r4–v1 | gces spras, che chuñ | | 130–1 | sgo btsas |
| | 27r2 | ye myig | | 141 | thañ kar |
| | 27r2–4 | gces spras | | 148–9 | dguñ mtha' |
| | 28v2 | mña' thañ | | 150–1 | gtañ rag |
| | 29r1–2 | gces spras | | 151 | gtsug lag |
| | 29v1–2 | mña' thañ | | 152–4 | źa 'briñ |
| | 29v2 | dgra chos | PT 239 | r4.3–4 | dbon lob |
| | 31r2–3 | rkañ 'gros | | r6.2–3 | phru stsañ |
| | 32v1–2 | dbaṅ thañ | | r6.5 | dbaṅ thañ |
| | 33v1 | gnam mtha' 'og | | r7.2–3 | phru stsañ |
| | 33v1–2 | mña' thañ | | r10.2–3 | skyibs lug |
| | 34r3 | dbaṅ thañ | | r13.1–2 | snam rta |
| | 34v1 | 'greñ mgo nag , yul yab, sa dog | | v2.4–v3.1 | glo bur |
| | 34v3–4 | 'greñ dud | | v5.2–3 | skye śi |

LEXEME INDEX

The lexeme index consists of two sections: I. Tibetan lexemes; and II. Lexemes from other Asiatic languages. All lexemes are quoted with reference to the number of the lemma in which they occur. The index of Tibetan lexemes includes all forms of the analysed compounds (i.e. including variants); the numbers of their lemmata are marked in bold. The indices record only lexemes that occur in the [A] section of the lemmata and those analysed additionally in the footnotes of the [T] sections. Excluded from the indices are: dialectal forms, derivative particles (unless forming part of a lemma), and proper names. Tibetan lexemes are arranged according to the alphabetical order of the Tibetan alphabet, Sanskrit according to the Sanskrit alphabet. The order of the lexemes from other languages is that of the Latin alphabet.

I. TIBETAN LEXEMES

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|------------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|------------|
| ka (Prc) | 377 | kyur | 57 | dkor cha | 9 |
| °ka: ste'u ~ ma | 177 | °kru: se mo ~ bži | 382 | dkor nor | 10 |
| °ka: thul ~ | 183 | kla klo | 394 | dkos | 100 |
| °ka: dor ~ | 197 | klad | 184 | dkos thag | 19 |
| °ka: ba lho ~ | 349 | kluñ | 57 | dkyil | 11 |
| °kab: brnal ~ | 233 | klub | 224 | | 89 |
| | 289 | | 277 | dkyu | 75 |
| °kar: rtiñ ~ | 171 | klum | 57 | | 192 |
| °kar: thañ ~ | 179 | klo | 394 | dkyus | 75 |
| ku ku | 336 | °klo: kla ~ | 394 | °dkyus: mkyogs ~ | 75 |
| ku co | 188 | °dkar: 'gron ~ | 79 | °dkyus: mgyogs ~ | 75 |
| ku byug | 34 | °dkar: rgyal ~ | 86 | °dkyus: dur ~ | 192 |
| °kuñ: gtañ ~ | 162 | °dkar: mchog ~ | 134 | dkyus ma | 130 |
| °kuñ: 'on | 343 | °dkar: thañ ~ | 179 | dkyus mo | 75 |
| ko 'goñ | 36 | dkar mi | 322 | | 192 |
| ko gdan | 1 | dku ^I "a deceit" | 2 | °dkyel: skam ~ | 89 |
| kog pa | 51 | dku ^{II} "to exceed" | 4 | °dkyel: sgam ~ | 89 |
| °koñ: jugs ~ | 330 | | 18 | °dkyel: sgal ~ | 89 |
| °kod: ban ~ | 279 | dku gañ | 2 | dkyel mkhas | 11 |
| kom gdan | 1 | dku 'gel | 3 | dkri | 46 |
| kom pa | 1 | dku rgyal | 4 | dkri ma | 76 |
| kom po | 1 | | 86 | dkre | 51 |
| kom bu | 1 | dku rgyal pa | 5 | *dkre'u | 51 |
| | 220 | dku rgyal gtsigs | 6 | dkrol | 164 |
| kom tse | 1 | dku sgyu | 7 | bka' grims | 302 |
| kos thag | 19 | dku lto | 7 | bka' šo | 131 |
| °kor: skyes ~ | 25 | dku 'pel | 8 | bku rgyal | 4 |
| °kyad: 'dzañs ~ | 318 | dku' gañ | 2 | bkyiñs | 258 |
| kyi bser | 21 | dku' rgyal | 4 | bkra | 322 |
| kyiñ bser | 21 | dkor rkañ 'gros | 9 | °bkra: tshon ~ | 247 |

CLASSIFICATION¹

Since compounds can be studied and analysed from different perspectives, a threefold classification is proposed below to provide the most comprehensive description of OT formations. To wit, each compound is surveyed with regard to its semantics as well as the underlying syntactic structure and the formal classes of the constituents in the underlying structure. Although treated independently, they do in fact intermingle, so that it is actually impossible to discuss some syntactic types (e.g., coordinate or determinative) without recalling the semantic and formal relations between their constituents or to introduce further divisions that would represent the existing differences.

The proposed typology is based solely on the compounds analysed in the present work. It follows that there might exist some other types, which are not represented in the corpus, although their number is assumed to be rather limited. The most underrepresented group are certainly compounds that belong to the word class of verbs. From among the compounds discussed in the

¹ A few attempts have already been undertaken at presenting a classification of Tibetan compounds, cf. FRANCKE/SIMON 1929: 116–9, GOLDSTEIN 1991: 329ff., BEYER 1993: 103–6 for native compounds and 107–11 for translational compounds, GOLDSTEIN 2001: xiii–xvi, VOLLMANN 2001: 105ff., and VOLKART 2003: 238–46. A list of OT compounds divided into four classes according to their syntax is supplied in THOMAS 1957: 37*ff. Another important study devoted in particular to Tibetan compounds is SCHIEFNER 1859 (on compounds of the type ‘N+ma+N’). The following classification is based on different approaches and owes much to morphological studies within modern linguistics. CECCAGNO/BASCIANO (2009: 479ff.) have proposed a classification of compounds based on Mandarin Chinese. Compounding in Chinese seems to share many common features with compounding in Tibetan languages. However, the existing differences, first of all those concerning the word order in a sentence, forced me to put forward yet another classification based on the Old Tibetan corpus that can also be applied to Classical Tibetan and most probably to all modern Tibetan dialects. However, it should be stressed that I neither claim any universal applicability for the classification nor am interested in developing a commonly valid description of the types of compounds. The work has a descriptive character and is focused solely on the OT language of the examined corpus. This alone limits the scope of the proposed classification since the compounds were chosen according to strict, mainly semantic, criteria (see the Introduction) and most probably do not provide an exhaustive representation of compound types in OT. It is needless to state that classes of compounds based in the examined corpus on only one example are subject to doubt until further examples have been provided.

present work, three (*'gab sri, chen tags, dbon lob*) could not be classified due to their uncertain origins that pose many problems in the analysis (see s.vv.). One “compound”, *sog rild*, is proposed to be reconstructed as a simple noun **sog ma* that underwent re-interpretation when occurring in one context with the well-known compound *phyiñ rild*.

The following discussion contains a detailed list of compound types accompanied by definitions and exemplary cases taken from the lexicological part of the present work.

SEMANTIC

The terms ‘endocentric’ and ‘exocentric’ refer to the semantic relation of a compound to its semantic head (‘centre’) which can be expressed by one of the constituents of the *underlying phrase* (endocentric) or not (exocentric).¹ Within the class of endocentric compounds in OT one can distinguish between proper endocentric and esocentric compounds (for details see below). The present corpus contains four compounds that can be assigned to two classes at the same time: exo- & endocentric (*che than*) or endo- & esocentric (*'greñ dud, 'brog sog, 'dzañs dran*). These have not been counted among the compounds of the respective groups. Another problematic case concerns the compound *moñ riñs* (<**mo phañ riñ ba*). Assuming that its reconstruction is correct, the head of the compound (**phañ*), due to clipping, is represented on the surface only by the final consonant of the first syllable, i.e. *-ñ*. Discussing the compound in the

¹ In order to define endo- and exocentric compounds, SCALISE/GUEVARA distinguish between ‘formal head’ and ‘semantic head’ (2006: 190ff.). According to them, the former is identical with the constituent that lends its formal features (i.e. lexical category and subcategorisation frame) to the whole compound whereas the semantic head provides lexical-conceptual information (ibid., p. 190). Taking the distinction between formal and semantic head as their point of departure SCALISE/GUEVARA propose the following definitions of endo- and exocentric compounds: “An *endocentric compound* has at least one formal head and at least one semantic head. If a compound has only one formal head and only one semantic head, then the two must coincide. If a compound realises any of the remaining possibilities, it will be considered to be *exocentric*.” (2006: 192; emphasis in original). Unfortunately, I did not find this distinction to be of any use when classifying OT compounds. First of all, the notion of ‘lexical category’ is already very problematic in Tibetan. Another point is that in order to define exocentric compounds as distinct from endocentric ones the sole notion of semantic head suffices. The greatest problem encountered in my research is the delineation of proper vs possessive exocentric compounds. In this regard the notions of ‘formal-’ and ‘semantic head’ do not seem to contribute to our understanding of these two classes.

THE STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF THE LEMMATA¹:

- [V] Attested variant readings
- [S] Underlying structure
- [E] Etymology
- [M] Meaning
- [F] Grammatical forms
- [C] Classification
- [R] Etymologically related compounds in the corpus
- [A] Lexicological analysis
- [T] Textual evidence

1 kom tse

DSM: 9b: ko ba'i khug ma (s.v. *kom rtse*).

BSOD/DBAÑ 1992: 84: 'ko ba'i khug ma. ²sga chas ko gdan 'ja' ris ma lta bu žig yin nam (s.v. *kom rtse*); BDN: 368: 'di khrab yin pa 'dra (s.v. *kom rtse*); DON GRUB RGYAL 1997: 591n86: kom rtse dañ kom tse ni ko ba las bzos pa'i khug ma lta bu'o; BTK: 73n9: ko khug (s.v. *kom rtse*); BNY: 140: 'ko ba'i khug ma. ²sga chas ko gdan 'ja' ris ma lta bu žig yin nam (s.v. *kom rtse*); STK: 153: ko ba las bzos pa'i khug ma žes bkral la 'di gyon chas žes pa'i don yin pa 'dra.

DTH: 143: le tanneur; la fourrure; DOTSON 2013a: 283: armor.

[E] **ko ba mtshe* “rawhide [that is like] a twin”

[M] (N) armour (made of rawhide)

[C] ^{SEM}endocentric; ^{SYNT}attributive/appositional/comparative; ^{STRC}[N+N]

[R] *khyim tshes / śa lko*

[A] Few other compounds are attested in lexicographical sources that share some morphological traits with *kom tse*; their second member consists of the syllable *-ts(h)e* and the final consonant of the first constituent is *-m*, cf.:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>skyim tse</i> “scissors” (Gs: 71c) | < * <i>skyi mtshe</i> ² |
| <i>grim tse</i> “scissors” (J: 77a) | < * <i>gri mtshe</i> (<i>gri</i> “knife”, J: 76b) |
| <i>grum tse</i> “a thick woolen blanket” (J: 78a) ³ | < * <i>gru</i> (?) <i>mtshe</i> |
| <i>cem tse</i> “scissors” (J: 142a) | < * <i>ce mtshe</i> (<i>ce- ~ lce</i> (?) “ ² blade”, J: 150a) ⁴ |
| <i>cham tshē</i> “cloak” (Gs: 358a) | < * <i>cha mtshe</i> “ ² a cloth [that is like] a twin” |
| <i>jem tse</i> “scissors” (Gs: 391a) | |
| <i>phyam tse</i> “(rñiñ) gos kyi bye brag zla gam” (BTC: 1738a) ⁵ | |
| <i>tsem tse</i> “sm. <i>jem tse</i> ” (Gs: 846c; a scribal error for <i>cem tse</i> ?) | |

¹ A detailed description of the single elements of the microstructure is provided on pp. 43–8.

² For **skyi-*, compare *khi'u* “a cutting-out knife” (J: 40b).

³ CDTD: 1314 provides the meaning “carpet, seat” for the compound in the Hor dialect.

⁴ It seems more likely that *cem tse*, *jem tse* and *tsem tse* are variant spellings of a loanword from Chinese 剪子 *jianzi* “scissors”. They might be identical with *jab tse*.

⁵ *phyam tse* could be a hypercorrected variant of *cham tshē* (< **cha mtshe*).

tshem tshe “go khrab” (DSM: 725b) < **tshem* (< **tshem bu*) *mtshe*¹
yam tshe (PT 1285: v136) “companion” (?) < **ya mtshe*²

Apart from the morphological parallels, all the compounds listed above reveal some similarities with regard to their semantics. To wit, they denote objects that either consist of two identical parts (like scissors, tweezers, etc.) or are perceived as a kind of substitute made from material that is referred to by the first member of the compound (“armour” < lit. “hide-twin”; “cloak” < lit. “fabric-twin”, etc.). The underlying structures are reconstructed in both cases as appositional phrases, but with differing semantic interpretations: 1. “X [that are] twins” (proper appositional) vs 2. “X [that is like] a twin” (comparative appositional) respectively.

I propose reconstructing the underlying structure of the compound in question as **ko ba mtshe* “rawhide (i.e. untanned skin) [that is like] a twin”. The following morphonological processes are assumed to have taken place: **ko ba mtshe* > **ko mtshe* (compounding) > **kom tshē* (leftward migration) > *kom tse* (deaspiration).

In the ensuing process of back-formation, *kom* has been re-analysed as an independent morpheme and used as a stem for the following lexemes: *kom pa* “to tan (skin)” (D: 37a); *kom po* “skin which has been made soft and pliable by tanning; leather” (D: 37a); *kom bu* “Kalbshaut, -fell” (WTS.2: 127a)³; *kom gdan* “a

¹ The word *tshem bu*, CT “what has been stitched, darned, quilted” (J: 451a), is attested in PT 1134 in the following clause: *go* (read: *gos*) *su tshem bu gyond* (l. 199) “[One] put on a stitched item as a garment.” The variant *tshem tshem* “khrab” (DSM: 725b; < **tshem tshē*) resulted from the assimilation of the rime of the second syllable, *-e, to the rime of the first syllable, -em.

² There is still another group of compounds the second constituent of which can be reconstructed as *mtshe* but their first syllable, not being etymologically an open one, ends with a consonant other than -m; cf.: *rkyoñ tse* “lamp, candle” (J: 18b; spelled in CDTD: 477 as *skyoñ tse*); *skab tse* “tweezers; cf. *’jab tse*, *ska ba*, *skam pa*” (CDTD: 304; *ska ba* Bal “tongs (used by the blacksmith to hold the hot iron)”, CDTD: 288; *skam pa*, “^{11.2}a pair of tongs” (J: 20a), seems to have resulted from a back-formation: **ska mtshe* > **skam tshē*); *skyin tse* Tsha “temporary small bridge (in winter, removed during summer)” (CDTD: 434; < **skyin po mtshe*, lit. “a replacement [that is like] a twin”; cf. *skyin po* De, Ka, Ba, Li “replacement”, CDTD: 432); *’jab tse* “nippers, tweezers” (J: 174b); *thel tse* “seal, stamp” (Gs: 502a; attested variants: *the tse* (CDTD: 3590), *thel se* (J: 236a); < **mtshē(l) mtshe* (?) “a thumb [that is like] a twin”); *dañ tse* “W[estern Tibet] a field-terrace” (J: 249b; lit. “a meadow [that is like] a twin?”). The word-internal elision of *m-* due to the final -*m* of the first syllable is observed in OT *khyim tshes* (see s.v.). The above lists contain all CT compounds the second member of which could be identified as going back to *mtshe ma* “twin”.

³ This lexeme seems to be already attested in the following OT passage: *gnag nad mñan c[ñ]* (v38) *rkom bu yañ du mñan* / (PT 1285: v37–8) “While the yak disease was heeded,

seat made of tanned skin” (D: 37a; cf.: *ko gdan* “a piece of leather put under the saddle”, J: 5b).¹

As opposed to *khra b bse* (see s.v.), *kom tse* is assumed to have referred to an armour made from untanned leather. Lamellae of unlacquered and untanned leather were found at Niya by Aurel STEIN.²

| | |
|---|--|
| [T] <i>na niñ ni gže niñ sña //</i> | A year ago, two years ago ³ , formerly, |
| <i>pho ma 'i ni 'broñ bkum ba /</i> | an immature wild yak that [one] killed – |
| <i>lho śiñ ni (241) smyug mo rgyal //</i> | the tree of the south, bamboo, was victorious [against it]. |
| <i>lcags kyis ni ma dral na //</i> | If [it] were not split off (lit. torn open) with an iron [tool], |
| <i>smyug gis ni re myi pugs //</i> | the bamboo would never pierce anything. |
| <i>rgod kyis ni (242) ma bsgron na /</i> | If [one] did not cover [it] with [feathers of] a bird of prey, |
| <i>'broñ la ni re myi 'jen //</i> | [it] would never reach the wild yak. |
| <i>nas po ni ra yul gyi /</i> | Regarding the armour from Nas-po, the Ra-sa region, |
| <i>kom tse ni gzig mo (243) rgyal //</i> | porcupine is victorious [in fight against it]. |
| <i>khab kyis ni ma pug na /</i> | If [one] did not pierce [it] with a needle [at first], |
| <i>rgyus kyis ni re myi pugs /</i> | [it] could never be pierced with a thread. |
| <i>rgyus kyis ni ma (244) drañs na /</i> | If [one] did not draw [it] tightly with the thread, |
| <i>kom tse ni ñid myi 'jo (PT 1287)</i> | the armour could not be accomplished by itself. |

2 dku gañ

[V] *dku' gañ* (PT 1287: 95)

[one] also paid attention to the hide.” The syllable *ciñ* has been reconstructed on the basis of other analogously formed sentences from PT 1285: v36–41.

¹ It seems that *khom* glossed as “felt, skin, bag” (Cs: 10b) should be counted among the cognates of *ko* (compare also the alternation in *ko 'bog* and *khom 'bog*; for details, see s.v. *za bog*). Moreover, the morpheme has been borrowed by other languages as well; cf. Lepcha *kom-bo* and *kom-t'un* “leather (untanned), hide” (MG: 27b), CM *köm* “rawhide, depilated skin; blackened and smoked cow-hide; parchment” (Less: 487a).

² Cf. MAS.567 and MAS.526 in the IDP database. Both objects were described for the first time in A. STEIN 1921.1: 236. Similar armours of rawhide lamellae were still in use in China in the 14th century; cf. ROBINSON 2002: 142–3.

³ The syllable *niñ* (the second constituent of the compounds *na niñ* and *gže niñ*) can be juxtaposed with a contemporary word for “year” in East Bodish languages, cf. Dakpa, Dzala [nínj], Kurtöp, Bumthap [néñj], Khengkha [jéñj], Phobjip [né:] (HYSLOP 2014: 168, Tab. 9). HYSLOP reconstructs the Proto East Bodish form as **néñ* (ibid.). To these we can add the Ch. 年 *nian* reconstructed for Old Chinese as **C.sñi[ŋ]* by BAXTER/SAGART (2014: 80). The morpheme *niñ* is also attested in the following formations: *dgu niñ*, *bcu niñ*, *da niñ*, *gžes/gži/že niñ* (= OT *gže niñ*). This *niñ* should be distinguished from the copula *niñ*, for which see s.v. *pho ma*.