

Language change and the fossilization of the Old Tibetan b- prefix in Ladakhi and Balti.

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श्रामा बीचा ह्र्स्ट (श्राह्म्ट) च व्यास्त श्रीट मिया १ द व्यस्त (श्रीव स्थान विश्वस्त स्थान स्थान

As we learn from Buddhist teachings, nothing is permanent in our world. This is true for the appearance of sentient beings and plants as well as for cultural artefacts including languages. The development of the species is documented through imprints of now extinct beings in the sediments of former lakes or oceans. These imprints are called fossils. Likewise the various stages in the development of a language leave their

⁷ The pronunciation indicated in brackets $\int ... \setminus$ follows the convention of the Roman script: consonants are to be read as consonants only, in the order they are written. Vowels are indicated by the 'vowel sign' w for the vowel 'a' with the appropriate superscripts for other vowels.

The author deliberately does not follow the classical orthography of *Choskat*, but uses a simplified version of *Phalskat*, based on the Leh dialect. Since an ideal script should mirror the sounds of a language (Lobzang Tsewang at the seminar), letters will not be written when they are not sounded or have no phonetic impact on other letters (an exception is made for names, religious and grammatical terms). This means that the grammatical b- prefix of verbs will not be written, and the 'silent' prefixes m- and h- will only be written when they support the voiced pronunciation of voiced consonants (which would be pronounced unvoiced otherwise). The traditional spelling is given in a bracket, when a simplified form is used for the first time. (As for the title: $\sqrt[5]{n}$ corresponds to $\sqrt[5]{n}$, $\sqrt[6]{n}$ to $\sqrt[5]{n}$, $\sqrt[6]{n}$ to $\sqrt[5]{n}$. Following the grammar of the Leh dialect implies that the agent of transitive clauses is marked as a possessor ($\sqrt[5]{n}$ instead of $\sqrt[5]{n}$). The spelling of other grammatical particles follows the current conventions of *Phalskat* writing.

The spelling style presented here is obviously more radical, but also closer to the scientific principles that guided those persons who introduced the Tibetan script than the moderate *Phalskat* spellings current in Ladakh. It is meant to facilitate the understanding of the text, as well as to provide an example of the manifold possibilities for adjusting the Tibetan script to the needs of the Ladakhi language. Hopefully it demonstrates that even academic texts can be written in simple *Phalskat*. Whether it can be a model or not, is ultimately up to the Ladakhi people. Understanding the mental effects that unconventional spellings can have, the author apologises to all those scholars who feel utterly uncomfortable with this text.

र क्रीकायः प्रिष्णक्षणा े (khanak) बेंद्यात्या केंद्रा केंद्रा केंद्रा कर कार्यकार मा केंद्र क्रु र हे क्री।

दणरा) ईं त्वते गा तुका गाव के हेका व्यं न्या। वे (वर्षः) क्र्वा क्षवे क्षवा। वे विवाय के विव

imprints in so-called 'frozen' or 'fossilised' forms, i.e. forms that cannot be formed according to the actual grammatical or phonetic rules, but have been inherited from an earlier stage of the language. In the following I want to give an example for the reconstruction of the development of West Tibetan, the varieties spoken in Ladakh and Baltistan.

It is commonly accepted that among all modern Tibetan varieties the pronunciation of the Balti and Ladakhi dialects comes western closest to the spelling of Tibetan 'original' language as documented from the mid century. The complex consonant clusters at the beginning of a syllable are to a great extent retained, thus Leh /skat/ (WrT skad) 'language' and /spera/ (WrT dpera < dpesgra) 'speech', Western Sham /rhta/ (Leh /sta/, WrT rta) 'horse', /zbyar/ (Leh /yar/, WrT sbyar) 'summer', /phrugu/ (Leh /thrugu/, WrT phrugu) 'child', and particularly Purik and Balti with /khrak/ (Leh, Sham /thrak/, WrT khrag) 'blood' and /gri/ (Leh, Sham /tri/, WrT gri) 'knife'.

However, this phonetic conservatism is only found with lexemes or the main parts of a word, which convey the meaning, but not with morphemes or the grammatical parts of a word. Thus the Old and Classical Ti-

व विजेता मी मु देवाका विजेता मी में दिन देवाका देवे व सहर न हैं ना।

वै. बर्ट. आ देर अपते देश राज्य के श्रिका कर वित्र अपते हैं स्वर अपते देश कर वित्र अपते देश कर वित्र अपते वित्

द्रावर-प्रभावन्त्रम् अर्थ-भ्रत्म् विकास्य स्थान्त्रम् क्षेत्र-प्रह्मा स्थान्त्रम् अर्थ-भ्रत्मा क्षेत्र-भ्रत्मा क्ष्रियः स्थान्त्रम् स्यान्त्रम् स्थान्त्रम् स्थान्त्रम् स्थान्त्रम् स्थान

betan grammatical prefixes of the verb indicating the temporal relation between an event and the utterance are missing in Balti and Ladakhi as well as in all other Tibetan varieties except the north-eastern ones. Two eminent scholars (Shafer 1950/51 and Bielmeier 2004) have thus 'Western Archaic suggested that Tibetan', i.e. Balti, Purik, western Sham, represents an early stage of the Tibetan language, where those grammatical prefixes had not yet developed.

The grammatical prefixes, however, must have been in use even in West Tibetan and must have disappeared from the language gradually, not without leaving some traces of their former presence. In many Tibetan varieties the Written Tibetan prefixes that are no longer pronounced word initially can be heard at a syllable boundary and thus in bound word forms. This 'revitalisation' of mute lexical prefixes was first observed in the compound forms of numbers of Central Tibetan, e.g. WrT bcu '10' pronounced as $c\bar{u}$ and WrT bži '4' pronounced as /ši/ become /cūpši/ '14' and /šipcu/ '40'. This feature can also be observed in the Ladakhi dialects (cf. Koshal 1979: 31)

[्]रही। स्नद्वित्वर्था से केंद्र व्यक्त स्मार्थ व्यक्त स्मार्थ केंद्र व्यक्त सम्मार्थ केंद्र व्यक्त समार्थ केंद्र व्यक्त समार्य केंद्र व्यक्त समार्थ केंद्र व्यक्

ह्या यद्या या वदा । यदे क्ष्या क्ष्या या विद्या या वदी स्था वदी स्था विद्या या वदी स्था वदी स

Besides the compound numbers, one can observe that the Written Tibetan nasal prefixes *m*- and *h*-, which have become mute in word initial position, can be heard at a syllable boundary in some compound expressions (Shawe 1894; Koshal 1979: 32). Similarly an initially mute *b*-prefix can be heard at a syllable boundary in some compound expressions (Shawe 1894).

In course of time, the prefix h-(originally a voiced velar fricative) was pronounced as an unspecified nasal (/ η -/, /n-/, or /m/).

Lexicalised nasal prefix (र्द्र प्रमामी सेदार्गाया महारे क्रेंब्र यह्मा साबदा। या।

- LAD (RAM, HAM) /kham-chu/, WrT kha-mchu 'beak, bill'; HML, CEM, LEH, LEH2 /kham-chu/, SAS, DOM, ACH, GARKb, ARA, BAL (SPR) /kham-cu/
- LAD /gyam-tso/ (Shawe 1893: 13 for names; Koshal 1979: 32), /gyatsho/ ~ /gyam-tsho/ (HAM) WrT rgya-mtsho 'sea, ocean'; GYA /gyatso/, CEM /gyatso/ ~ /gyam-tso/, LEH2 /gyam-tso/, SHA, LEH, SAS /gyam-tsho/, GARKb /gyam-tsho/ ~ /rgyam-tsho/, ARA /gyam-tsho/ ~ (less frequently) /the gyatsho chenpo/; cf. DOM /rgyam-tsho/ 'lake', /thri gyatsho chenmo/ ~ /thri rgyam-tsho chenmo/ 'sea, ocean'; ACH /rgyatsho/ 'sea, ocean' in contrast to /rgyam-tsho/ 'river'; /CIK-He /gyam-tsho/ ~ /rgyam-tsho/ 'river'; TUR /rgyatsho/ 'sea' but /rgyam-tsho/ ~ /rgyam-so/ 'river', BAL (SPR), KPL /rgyam-tsho/ 'river'; but LAD (RAM) /gyatsho (chenmo)/ ~ /rgyatsho/, HML /hjatso/ 'sea, ocean'
- GYA, SAS /chuŋ-go/, HML, KHAL, LEH /chum-go/ WrT chu-mgo 'the beginning of the flowing water (first wave in the canal)', LEH also 'land at the beginning of a river, near the mountain'; DOM /chuŋ-go/ 'beginning of the water (first wave)' in contrast to /chum-go (khor)/ '(place around) the beginning of a river'; SHA /chugo/ ~/chuŋ-go/, GARKb /chum-go/ 'land at the be-ginning of a river' (also used as a loan in Brokskat) in contrast to /chugo/ 'beginning of the water'; ACH /chum-go/ 'beginning of the water, beginning of a canal, upper part of river'; but ARA /chugo/ 'beginning of the water'; BAL (SPR) /chugo/ 'first fields to receive water supply'
- HML, SHA, KHAL, DOM, ACH, ARA /chum-juk/, chu-mjug 'remaining part of the water', ACH also 'end of a canal', cf. also LEH /chun-juk/, GARKb /chum-žuk/ 'land at the lower part of the river' (also used as a loan in Brokskat); DOM /chum-juk khor/ 'place around the end of a river etc.'

- GYA, DOM, ARA /chun-dzom/ chu-ḥdzom 'confluence'; but SHA, LEH /chu-dzom/, GARKb /chudzoms/
- LAD (RAM) /zum-thrul/ rdzu-hphrul 'mirage'; SAS /rzum-trhül/, KHAL (Kesar) /rzum-phrül/ ~ /dzum-trhül/ ~ /rdzuphrül/ ~ /dzutrhül/, DOM /rdzum-phrül/, GARKb /rdzum-trhül/; but LAD (HAM) /dzuthrul/ ~ /rdzuthrul/, GYA /dzutrül/, SHA, CEM /zutrül/, LEH /zothrül/, ARA /rdzuthrül/ 'magic, supernatural'
- HML, GYA, GARKb /šam-bu/, SHA /çam-bu/ WrT ša-ḥbu 'maggot', but LAD (HAM) /šabu/, LEH, SAS, KHAL, DOM /šabutsik/
- LAD /sam-gul/ ~ /saŋ-gul/ (Shawe 1894: 14), /sam-gul/ (RAM, HAM) sa-ḥgul 'earthquake'; GYA, SHA, CEM, LEH, LEH2, ARA /saŋ-gul/, SAS, DOM /sam-gul/; but GARKb, BAL (SPR) /sagul/
- LAD /san-tsam/ (RAM), /sam-tshams/ (HAM) sa-mtshams 'border, frontier';
 GYA, CEM, HML /san-tsam/, LEH2 /sam-tshams/, LEH, SAS, DOM /san-tshams/,
 SHA, ARA /san-tsham/

Morphologically relevant nasal prefix (চুঝা বাধুঝা ঝা বিবার্গাঝা বাধু বিবার্গাঝা বাধু বাধু বাধু বাধু বাধু বাধু

- LAD (HAM) /khan-don/ kha-hdon 'by heart'; GYA, SHA, CEM, LEH, LEH2 /khan-don/, ACH, GARKb (heard), ARA /kham-don/; DOM /kham-don/ 'morning prayer (performed without looking into the text)'
- LAD /gokhor/ ~ /gom-khor/ 'dizziness, confusion' (HAM), /gom-khor/ (RAM) 'accident' WrT mgo-ħkhor; GYA /γokhor/ ~ /γom-khor/, CEM /gokhor/ ~ /gom-khor/, IGU, LEH, LEH2, SAS, DOM, ACH, GARKb /gom-khor/, TUR /goŋ-khor/; cf. ARA /gom-khor/ 'puzzling, unclear'; SHA /gom-khor/ 'dizzy' in contrast to /gokhor/ 'confusing'
- LAD (RAM, HAM) /dran-dra/ WrT hdra-hdra 'equal'; GYA, SHA, CEM, LEH, LEH2, SAS, KHAL (Kesar), DOM, PUR (Bailey 1920: 37), CIK-He, GARKb, ARA /dran-dra/; but BAL (SPR) /dradra/
- LAD (HAM) /dom-can/~/rdom-can/ rdo-hchan 'stone; GYA (old people's speech) /dom-cha/ 'stone', SHA /dum-ca/, LEH /dom-can/, SAS /rdom-chan/~ /rdoam-chan/, DOM /rdoam-chan/, ACH, ARA /rdom-chan/ 'carriable stone' (cf. JÄK /dom-chan/ rdo-hchan 'a stone of such a size as may be grasped by the hand' and the OT/CT verb hchan | bcans | bcan | chon(s) 'to keep in one's hand') ...

Lexicalised labial prefix (र्देब न्या मी भेद गेंद्र गाँद गाँद है क्रेंब पह्या पा)

- LAD /kap-kyon/ (Shawe 1894: 13; cf. also JÄK), /ka-kyon/ ~ /kap-syon/ (HAM) WrT bkaħ-bkyon or bkaħ-bskyon 'undesirable order, scolding (hon)'; CEM /kap-kyon salce/ 'criticise (hon)'; GYA, STOK (Kesar), SAS, DOM, ACH /kap-kyon/ 'critics (hon)'; LEH /kap-kyon/ 'advice of an oracle (hon)'; SHA, ARA /kap-kyon/ 'critics, advice (hon)'
- LAD (HAM) /kheb-zaŋ/ WrT khe-bzaŋ 'profit'; GYA /kheb-zaŋ/ 'very cheep';
 IGU /khe/ or /khep-saŋ/, LEH /kheb-zaŋ/ 'profit'; SAS, DOM, ACH /kheb-zaŋ/ 'cheep';
 ARA /kheb-zaŋ/ 'cheep, benefit';
 LEH2 /kheb-zaŋ/ 'serves you right'

- LAD (HAM) /trub-ži/ WrT gru-bži 'square'; GYA /trup-ži/, IGU /truži/ ~ /trub-ži/, CEM /trup-ži/, LEH2 /trup-ži/ ~ /trub-ži/, STOK (Kesar) /tru-lub-ži/ (in a song), i.e. /trub-ži/, SHA, LEH, SAS, DOM, ACH, ARA /trub-ži/; GARKb /trup-ži/ ~ /trub-ži/ 'brick-like stone'
- GYS, SHA, CEM, LEH /ŋap-sa/, SAS, DOM, ACH, TUR, GARKb /rhŋap-tsa/ (according to GARKb, Kargilis would say /rhŋap-sa/), ARA /rhŋap-sa/ WrT rŋa-btsaḥ 'havest' (cf. JÄK btsaḥ 'bring forth')
- LAD (HAM) /ob-gyal/ WrT ho-brgyal 'difficulty, trouble (hon)'; GYA /hob-gyal/, SHA, CEM, LEH, LEH2, SAS, KHAL, DOM, ACH, ARA /ob-gyal/, LLV hob-rgyal
- LAD (HAM) /reb-ži/ WrT re-bži 'frame of a door or window'; GYA, IGU, CEM, SAS, DOM, ACH, GARKb, ARA (rarely) /rib-ži/, HRD /reb-ži/
- LAD /hab-γot/ (RAM) 'laughter' for WrT *ha-brgod (cf. ha-dgod or ha-rgod, JÄK); GYA /hav-got/ 'loud laughter, heartily'; SHA /hab-got/ 'laughter'; LEH /hab-got/ ~ /hav-got/, SAS /hav-rgot/ 'laughter'; DOM /hab-rgot/ 'loud, aggressive laughter (not coming from the heart)', ACH /hav-rgot/ 'senseless laughter'; TUR /haf-got/ 'laughter that does not come from the heart', LLV hab-rgod 'wild laughter'; but GARKb heard only /har-gotcas/ 'lough'.........

Morphologically relevant labial prefix (চুমানাধুমানী খিবার্গামানাধানী খুমানাধানী

- LAD (Shawe 1894: 14, RAM, HAM) /gop-skor/ WrT mgo-bskor 'deception, deceit'; GYS /γop-kor/, SHA /go-hor/ ~/gop-hor/, LEH, SAS, ULE, KHAL, DOM, ACH, ARA, TUR, DRS /gop-skor/, GARKb /gup-skor/ 'deceit', plus /taŋ/ 'deceive'
- LAD (HAM) /chup-tsos/ WrT chu-btsos 'barley or wheat flour of boiled grain'; HML, IGU, SHA, CEM /chup-tse/, DOM /chup-tsos/; GYA /chup-tse/ 'mixture of roasted barley and the left-over from chan (/banma/)'; LEH /chip-tsos/ 'fried grain that has been washed and left for sprouting'; GARKb /chip-tsos/ 'fried food'; DRS /chup-tsos(i kholak)/ 'barley soaked in water, roasted when half dry, and grond into flour', 'pap made out of this flour'; SAS, KHAL, ACH, ARA /chup-tsos/ 'anything boiled in water'; HRD /chup-tsos/ 'dried vergetable put into boiling water (in order to get rid of insects etc.)'
- DRS /chup-sik/ WrT chu-bsig ~ DOM /chusin/ ~ /chup-sin/ WrT chu-bsig 'separating two materials in the water, by letting one sink down, straining'; but SHA /chusik/ ~ /chusip/, GYS /chusin/
- LAD /ñop-tshoŋ/ WrT *ño-btshoŋ ~ ño-btsoŋ 'shopping, trade, commerce' (HAM);
 GYA, SHA /ñop-tsoŋ/, CEM /ñop-tsoŋ/, LEH, LEH2, DOM, ACH /ñop-tshoŋ/,
 SAS /ñop-tshoŋs/ 'shopping'; ARA /ñop-tshoŋ/ 'trade'; but GARKb /ñotshoŋ/ 'shopping'
- GYA /dop-cak/ ~ /doap-cak/, LEH /dop-caks/, SAS, DOMb, ACH, GARKb /rdoap-caks/, ARA /rdop-cak/ WrT rdo(ba)-bcags '(artificially) broken stone'; TUR /rdop-cak/ 'those who break the stones for the houses'; but HML /ðoacak/, SHA /doacak/ 'broken stone'; SAS, ACH, GARK, ARA /rdoa cakhan/, HRD /rdoacak/, DRS /rdoacakpa/ 'stone breaker'

- GYA (Kesar songs) /dop-chot/ ~ /doap-chot/ or /dop-chose raldri/, SAS /rai rdop-cat/, /rai rdop-chot/, KHAL (Kesar) /rdop-cot/, DOMb /rdop-chot/, GARKb (Kesar) /rdop-cotme ragi/ WrT *rdo-bchot ~ rdo-bcod, 'able to cut stones' (name of Kesar's sword, cf. LLV rdochod); but SHA (in Kesar story) /dochot/, STOK (Kesar) /docotme raldri/
- GYS /dop-tet/, SAS, DOM, ACH, GARKb /rdoab-det/ WrT rdo-bded 'stoning, persecution in order to stone'; ARA /rdop-tet/ 'chasing somebody by throwing stones' (DRS could think of /rdoap-tet/, but is not sure whether this is not from the Kargil dialect); but SHA /dotet/, LEH /doatet/
- GYS /dop-sik/ ~ /doap-sik/, DOM /rdoar-tsiks/ ~ /rdoap-rhtsiks/, GARKb /rdoap-rhtsiks/, ARA /rdor-tsik/ ~ /rdop-rhtsik/ WrT *rdoba-brtsigs* 'stacking, staple of stones, built of stones'; but HML /ðoasik/, SHA /dor-sik/, LEH /doar-tsik/, HRD /rdoarhtsik/, SAS, ACH, DRS /rdoa-rhtsiks/ (according to DRS, possibly with /p-/ in the Batalik area or Ciktan)
- GYS /nap-cat/ WrT sna-bcad 'cutting of the nose (a punishment)' in contrast to /nacat/ WrT rna-bcad 'cutting of the ear (a punishment)'; SHA /nap-cat/ 'someone, whose nose is cut' in contrast to /nam-cat/ 'someone whose ear is cut'; DOM /snacat/ ~ /snap-cat/ 'someone with a too short nose' used as a nick name; SAS, ACH /snap-cat/ 'broken or cut nose, someone having such nose'; DRS /rhnap-cat/ 'someone with a short or cut nose' in contrast to /rhnacat/ 'someone whose ear is cut'; but LEH /nacat/ 'nose cutting' or 'ear cutting'
- GYA /mip-sat (khip-sat)/ WrT mi-bsad (khi-bsad) 'habitual murderer' in contrast to /misat (khisat)/ WrT mi-bsad (khi-bsad) 'murderer'; SKY, ACH /mip-sat/ 'one who has killed, murder', GARKb /mip-sat(pa)/ ~/mip-sot(pa)/ mi-bsod(pa), DRS /mip-sat/ 'murderer, killer'; but LAD (RAM) /misat/ 'murder'; SHA, LEH, SAS, DOM, HRD, ARA /misat/ 'murderer, killer'
- LAD, BAL /zap-thun/ WrT *za-bthun ~ za-btun 'food' (RAM), 'food management, catering' (SPR); GYA /zap-thun/ SAS, DOM /zap-thun/ 'eating and drinking', LEH2 heard /zap-tun/; but LAD (HAM, spelling bzahbtun!), HML, SHA, LEH, GARKb, HRD, TUR /zathun/
- LAD (HAM) /zop-ta/ WrT bzo-blta (HAM: bzolta) 'appearance'; GYA, SHA, CEM /zop-ta/, LEH, DOM /zos-ta/ ~ /zop-sta/; but LEH2, SAS, CIK-He, GARKb, HRD, DRS, TUR /zos-ta/, ARA /zo-sta/ ~ /zos-ta/
- GYS /fiop-tsak/, SAS, KHAL, DOM, ACH, TUR /op-tsaks/ WrT ho-btsags 'milk-sieve'; but SHA /fiotsak/, LEH /om-tsaks/, GARKb /utshaks/, ARA /otsak/, DRS /otsaks/
- GYA /šab-tse/ WrT ša-btsos 'boiled meat (inner organs)'; SAS, DOM, ACH (not sure), ARA (not very common) /šap-tsos/ 'boiled meat'; but SHA /çatse/, LEH, HRD /šatsos/ 'boiled meat, meat ready to be eaten'
- LAD (RAM, HAM) /šap-tshonpa/ WrT ša-*btshonpa ~ ša-btsonpa 'meat seller, butcher'; GYS /šap-tsonjkan/, SHA /çap-tsonjba/, CEM /çap-tsonj/, LEH, ARA /šap-tsonjpa/, LEH2 /šap-tshonj/, SAS, DOM, ACH, HRD /šap-tsonjspa/, GARKb /šap-tsonjspa/

tsons/, DRS (possibly borrowed from Kargil) /šap-tsons(pa)/, TUR /šap-tshons/; ACH, DRS /šap-tshon/ 'trade in meat'.........

या हुंब सद कुर्या वट केंग्र. जा की र हे. तुब क्या। ।। या हुंब प्राप्त कुर्या वट केंग्र. (श्वरंग) हा. कुर्य प्रदेश प्राप्त कुर्य प्रदेश प्रदेश

द्या देव पद्या द्या के प्रतास मा। द्या स्था प्रतास मा। ।।

स्या देव पद्या द्या के प्रतास के प्र

भदः त्रम् द्वित्रायः से भ्युत्यः स्त्र-दिः वदः दः । वायः हिष्यः यः से से से त्याः (initial voiced consonant) भेंद् व। दे ते त्यायाः द्वेत्याः (initial voiced consonant) भेंद् व। दे ते त्यायाः द्वेताः (megation word) सः वदः। सेतः हे दः वः स्वृतः त्यह्याः तः स्त्राः (त्यादे दः दः वृत्याः द्वेताः वः स्त्राः विदः तः विवाः वः स्त्राः विदः तः विवाः वः स्त्राः विदः तः विवाः वः स्त्राः वः स्त्राः स्त्राः स्त्राः स्त्राः वः स्त्राः स्त्रा

In most cases, the nasal prefixes mand h-originally had a purely lexical function, while the b-prefix can be found in half of all instances as an originally lexical prefix and in half of all instances as an originally grammatical prefix. All prefixes shifted their position and became attached to the preceeding syllable as if they were suffixes.

Many people would state that the feature described can be found in their home dialect, but that it should not be there in the 'real' language, because the monks would not pronounce the prefixes when reading religious texts. I would think, however, that if the prefixes are written in Classical Tibetan their pronunciation would constitute the 'true' language.

The nasal prefix h- also occurs frequently in negated verb forms when the verb has a voiced initial, e.g. /mi/ + /dra/ (WrT hdra) 'similar' > /min-dra/ 'not similar, special'. /ma/ + /but/ (WrT hbud) 'fall' > /mam-but/ 'did not fall'. With respect to the negation particle mi, this feature can be found in the central Tibetan, as well as in all Ladakhi dialects. With respect to the negation particle ma, it seems to be restricted to the western Sham dialects. In some of these dialects the nasal prefix has been generalised and appears before all voiced initials, whether the verb had an original तम्रम् व म्वया क्षेत्रे में कम्मे दे स्वया क्षेत्र में क्षेत्र में क्षेत्र में क्षेत्र में क्षेत्र में क्षेत्र मार्क्षेत्र यहमा क्षेत्र मात्र दे यात्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र में क्षेत्र में क्षेत्र में क्षेत्र में क्षेत्र में क्ष स्वयम मार्के क्षेत्र में क्षेत्र म

nasal prefix or not (cf. Zeisler 2004: 612, isogloss 10). In the following I will give some examples from the Kesar epic, as told in Khalatse 1996.

Negation marker (ব্যাবা র্টবা) mi

- /min-gor/ WrT mi-hgor '(I) will not be late'
- /min-duk/ ~ /minuk/ WrT mi-hdug 'is not (there, visual experience)'
- /minak/ (< WrT mi-drag) 'is not (there, non-visual perception)'
- /mim-ba/ (< WrT mi-bya) '(I) will not do'
- /min-dzemskhancik/ WrT mi-hdzemsmkhancig 'one that is not avoiding'

Negation marker (বনানা র্ট্রনা:) ma

- /man-gat/ WrT ma-dgad 'didn't like'
- /man-gansok/ WrT ma-gantshug 'was not filled'
- /man-jiks/WrT ma-hjigs 'was not afraid'
- /man-drik/ WrT ma-hgrig 'was not right'
- /man-drupa/ WrT ma-hgrubpa 'not having accomplished'
- /man-drülba/ WrT ma-hgrulba 'not walking'
- /mam-but/ WrT ma-hbud 'did not fall'
- /mam-bana/ (< WrT ma-byana) 'if (you) will not do'
- /mam-borskhantsokle/ WrT ma-hborsmkhantshugle 'was not put down'

By contrast the grammatical prefix bis never found in negation – or is it?

One must know that in the Purik as well as the Balti dialects the expression for the prohibition has been assimilated to the expression of the command, whereas in all other Tibetan varieties, the command form cannot be used for a prohibition. Instead the present stem is used, thus the regular Ladakhi prohibition is /macha!/ (WrT macha) 'don't go' or

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(maton!) अँवायार्वेगा। ॥

ने ब्रेन प्रायम् । अन्ययः विम्यागानः ने वर्षेना प्रयो ने मा हत के सु देवा वी दिये र हर का 'शेख प्रक शर (वशर) ही বর্মার ।' ঐমান্ত্র বি । বিজ্ঞান্ত্র । (masot!) पदः [अष्य-अर्षेत्रषदः] (map-sodan!) अँवःवः र्देगा। द्रे.चद्रःसट्यदेटःगव द्रे.चेरःस्र्याः ५ लयः स्थः (ल. अर्डदः) सेवार्ट्सरः राग्नेः रवाःवा। देःबदः (अळस-अर्छेतः!) (map-sot!) बेर गुद्र पदे बेर के हैं जिया है या है ये हैं हैं दूह्य चवे सुद्रस्य सर्वे र र स्यव वेंगा। โ*มเทม-หญัน! (*map-top!) [*มเทม-ฮัก!] (*map-cos!)। খেন: ʃ *মাজ্য-বার্জাদ! বি (*map-šot!) মন ন শ্র্মিম ক্রিমা মিমেরজ্যা (macok!)। মিজন্তর্জান! (macot!)। মিজন্তর্জ্ম! (matop!)। মিজর্থ] (macos!) । খন মিজ-প্রজ্ঞা (mašot!) थेंद:द:र्बेगा। ॥

/matan!/ (WrT mabtan < OT magton) 'don't give', but in Purik and Baltistan it is /mason/ (WrT mason) or /maton!/ (WrT mabton < OT mathon).

But when the bilingual Dards of Dah speak the Ciktan Purik dialect, they not only say /masot!/ 'don't kill', they even say /map-sot!/ or /map-sodan!/ (WrT mabsod < OT masod). Surprising as this pronunciation may be, the verb /sat/ 'kill' is apparently the only verb where the prefix remained. It does not appear with the verbs /cak/ 'break': /macok/, /cat/ 'cut': /macot/, /tap/ 'throw': /matop/, /co/ 'construct': /macos/, and /šat/ 'tell': /mašot/.

One may argue that a single expression is not enough for the reconstruction of language development. But like in evolutionary biology, we must be content with what we find in the sediments of language history. When reconstructing the evolution of animals, we cannot hope that we always find plenty of skeletons, we are already very lucky if we find a single bone. As fragmentary as the present evidence might be, by comparing it cautiously with the b- prefix in nominal compounds and the nasal prefix in negation and compounds we can safely assume, that the b- prefix once was a reality in the dialects spoken in Ladakh and Baltistan.

The particular example of the Dardic-Purik prohibition also allows us to draw the following conclusion: in most of the verbs which have a *b*-prefix in the past stem in Old Tibetan this *b*- prefix must have been over-

यः स्वा। दर्वेषा स्निनः ने निवः सः वे स्यतः सहवा सुः विवा (सूर्य डेमा) वर्वेदः दार्बेमा। वर्मा स्यान्यः मे बदा। यानुमार्थः सुन ने बर र केंब्र यहमा न केंब्र सुन ने केंग्र या यनका सबे नुष यार्गोवा गाव देव गुमा। दे वर ५ वर १ वर सदे वर र दे हें व वह्मानर्दे सेवा हे अट र सूर नवे रुषा वा अट सूवा केंग मी विव में वा है विव गुमा दि अम म मा। देवे वेव द वू दिव तुषा केवा वी अवीं विभा के केदा गाव केदा थटा स्नुवा केवा अटा वे र वृ परे र र के किया व किया व र तुमारा सेट करा **45**1 (aspiration) र्श्वर हे केर या केर गुजा। तथा रेट यदे बट रंदे हे मुं त्ये मुं त्यदेव द भू म हरा । वद्या सवे द्या से सेव र्गेत्याग्राम् वे र्श्वेदायह्मा यदे स्नून येन ग्राम र्थेट है। ने दे दे दे हैट व प्यट स्नय केंगा ना केंव यहना केंट है से द नाव रेट गुना। दे बद वर्डेब सदे गेंब गाव है सु देवा बुद है है सेवा वर्षेत्र स NC! 5.र्ट क्रेंब अर्गोव गाव वे क्रेंब वहमा नवे हेब डेमा डेमा मृज्याम् ज्या

generalised and used for the present stem as well as for the imperative stem. Since the *b*- prefix is incompatible with aspiration, the initial consonant of the imperative stem lost its aspiration. The same happened to a few aspirated present tense forms, while the voiced present tense forms became unvoiced, due to the prefix.

After some time, the prefix became gradually silent, but was kept in fixed expressions (such as compounds) and in commands and the corresponding prohibitions. Then the prefix also disappeared from the plain command, but remained for a while in the prohibition before being dropped as well. As the Dards of Dah use the Ciktan Purik dialect only as a second language, they might not always have been following the development of the Ciktan dialect proper. For this reason the fossilised *b*- prefix could survive up to our days.

I would be very happy if any one who has heard the use of the *b*- prefix after negation markers in his or her home dialect or is even still using it him- or herself would contact me by e-mail (zeis@uni-tuebingen.de).

Dialects and Informants

ACH = Achinathang: Skarma Namthak; ARA = Aranu: Tsering Youdon; BAL = Balti, unspecific; CEM = Cemre: Padma Dohar; CIK-He = Ciktan, (Hermann n.d.); CT = Classical Tibetan (choskat); DOM = Domkhar: Tsewang Tharchin (a) and Thrinlas Chosphel (b); DRS = Dras: Dr. Saleem Mir, GARK = Garkoon: Tshering Stobdan (radio; a), Stanzin Angmo (b); GYA = Gya Sasoma: Tshomo Mingyur; HML = Hameling: Tsering Angmo; HRD = Hardas: Archo Saida; IGU = Igoo: Padma Dorje (through Rincen Dolkar); LAD = (Central) Ladakhi, unspecific; LEH = Leh town, and adjacent villages: Thrinlas Wangmo and various interlocutors; LEH2 = Leh, migrant's second generation: Rincen Dolkar; LLV = Francke (1905–41), Kha-

latse; KHAL = Khalatse, narrator (Kesar story, recorded 1996) and main interlocutor: meme Tondup Tsering; KPL = Khapulu (Read 1934); PUR = Purik, unspecific; OT = Old Tibetan (empirial period); SAS = Saspol: Phuntsok Dolma; SHA = Shara: Thukche Dolma; SKY = Skyurbucan: Tashi; STOK = Stok, narrator (Kesar story, recorded 1996): Phuntsok Paljor; TUR = Turtuk: Abdul Qayoum; ULE = Ule Trokpo/Leh second generation: Sonam Wangchuk; WrT = Written Tibetan (including *Phalskat* and hypothetical forms).

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Dictionaries:

HAM = Hamid 1998; JÄK = Jäschke 1881; RAM = Ramsey 1890; SPR = Sprigg 2002

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