TWO FINAL CONSONANTAL CLUSTERS
IN ARCHAIC TIBETAN

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I

Archaic Tibetan -ln

In a number of cases final Tibetan *-l* seems to correspond to Chinese final *-n*.[1] To take an example, when comparing Tibetan *dṅul* "silver" with Chinese 銀 *yn* (Karlgren, *Grammata Serica*[2], Stockholm, 1940, No. 416, k: *ngi̯ən/ngi̯ĕn*), it was justifiable to assume that *-l* represented the primary sound, which had become *-n* in Chinese. The unsatisfactory feature of that assumption was that it left Chinese medial *-i̯-* unaccounted for.

The same difficulty arises in the case of Tibetan *dbul* "poor", for which I suggested Chinese 貧 *pyn* (K., 471, v: *b'i̯ən/b'i̯ĕn*). It is clear that the assumption of an archaic Tibetan *-ln*, which I should now like to suggest, would meet both these cases: **dṅuln > dṅul*, or for that matter, **dbuln > dbul* would represent the development on the Tibetan side, whereas, with metathesis of the *l*, **dṅuln > *dṅlun*, or **dbuln > *dblun* would seem satisfactory on the Chinese side, in view of the great number of cases where Chinese *-i̯-* corresponds to Tibetan *l* or *r* after an initial consonant.[3]

It is necessary to consider at the same time Tibetan words ending in *-l* with an initial *r*-cluster, i.e. words of the kind just mentioned, which show a combination with *r* at the beginning, it being understood that prefixes are disregarded. This *r* may either follow or—as a result of metathesis[4], precede the consonant with which it is combined. The equations to be considered are the following:—

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(1) See W. Simon, *Tibetisch-chinesische Wortgleichungen*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 27/18. See also P. K. Benedict, *Studies in Indo-Chinese Philology* (Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, V (1940), pp. 101–127, esp. pp. 114, etc.)

(2) Hereafter referred to as K.

(3) See *Wortgleichungen*, pp. 53, etc.

(4) See W. Simon, *The Range of Sound Alternations in Tibetan Word Families*, Asia Major, N. S. I. (1949), pp. 10, etc.

    (a) *r following after the initial consonant*

       sgril[5] "to wind round, roll" 卷 *jiuann* (K., 226, a: *ki̯wan/ki̯w n*)

       sprul "to juggle, change" 變 *biann* (K., 178, o: *pli̯an/pi̯än*)

       hphral "to separate" 分 *fen* (K., 471, a-c: *pi̯wən/pi̯uən*)

       sbrul "snake" 閩 *miin* (K., 441, i: *mi̯ən/mi̯ən*)

    (b) *r preceding the consonant*

       rdul "dust" 塵 *chern* (K., 374, a: *d'i̯ĕn/d̑'i̯ĕn*)

       rtol "to bore, pierce" 穿 *chuan* (K., 232, a: *t̑'i̯wan/tś'i̯wän*)

In the above six cases the ancient Chinese medial -i̯-[6] obviously corresponds to the *r* of the initial cluster, so that the assumption of an earlier -*ln* would seem pointless. The theory of a final cluster -*ln* can nevertheless draw support from these cases. This will become evident as soon as we look at the archaic forms which would result from it and which are as follows:—**sgriln*, **spruln*, **hphraln*, **sbruln*, and, with simultaneous metathesis of the *r*, **druln* and **troln*.

Owing to the presence in each of these words of both an *r*-cluster and an *l*-cluster, two further possible alternative developments are possible over and above the development already suggested of **sgriln > sgril*, **spruln > sprul*, etc.: We may reckon with either the immediate elision of the *l* (**sgriln > *sgrin*), or with the assimilation of the *l* to the following *n* and with subsequent simplication of the resulting -*nn* (**sgriln > *sgrinn > *sgrin*).

Summarizing the position reached so far it may be said that provided the equations are acceptable in themselves, the assumption of a final archaic cluster -*ln* would account in a more satisfactory way for the development on the Chinese side. At the same time it must be admitted that the theory rests solely on Chinese evidence and that it is not supported by evidence within the Tibetan field proper.

II

Archaic Tibetan -rn

Such evidence can, I think, be adduced in the case of final -*r* going back to an archaic -*rn*. It seems very likely that the three Tibetan words for

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(5) Cp. also Siamese *gᶜlüön`* "to roll" (K. Wulff, *Chinesisch und Tai*, Copenhagen, 1934, p. 121: Dioi *Küön*: S. *gᶜlüön`*)

(6) In the case of 變 K. has reconstructed an archaic cluster *pl*- on the graphic evidence of the phonetic series. Also Siamese shows this cluster in the corresponding word *plien~*, which has also been adduced by K. Wulff (loc. cit, p. 9, n. 1 and p. 185).

"naked", viz. *sgren*[7], *rjen* and *gcer*[8] are cognate words. This would point to *sgren* going back to an earlier **sgern*, to be matched by two alternative forms which show palatalisation of the initial *g-* of the "stem" **gern*, viz. *rjen* going back to **jern* and *gcer* going back to **gcern* (*<gjern?*).

Alternation between *g* and the palatals *j-*, *c-* and *ź-* can be observed in other cases. The alternative *rjud* for *rgud* "to decline" has been quoted by Jäschke[9] from Tibetan indigenous dictionaries.[10] I wish to adduce the following further cases: —

> *dguñ* "middle"—*gźuñ* id.
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> *gad-mo* "laughter"[11]—*bźad-mo* id.
>
> *sgal* "load"[12]—*gźal-ba* "to weigh"
>
> *mgal* "jaw, jaw bone"—*źal* "mouth"[13]
>
> *ḫgab-pa*[14] "to take care, be cautious"—*ḫjab-pa* "to sneak, creep privily, slink"
>
> *mgo* "head"—? *jo-bo* "master"

In addition there are two cases, where we witness alternation between palatals and "iotasized" gutturals, viz. *skyuñ-ka* "jackdaw" with its alternative *lcuñ-ka*[15] and *źon-pa* "to mount" with its causative *skyon-pa*[16] "to put astride".

In the light of the above alternations, it may be safe to assume the suggested relationship between *sgren*, *rjen* and *gcer*, and to infer an archaic final *-rn*. One further case can be adduced if the relationship between Kottish and Tibetan is taken into account. Professor E. Lewy has pointed out the likely relationship between Kottish *ašpar*[17] "cloud" and Tibetan *sprin* of the

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(7) Csoma has also *sgre*, see *Wortgleichungen*, p. 21, ad No. 234.

(8) In view of the above, I wish to withdraw equation No. 323, in which *gcer* was equated with Chinese 赤 *chyh*.

(9) *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, London, 1881 (repr. 1934), p. 180, s. v. *rjud-pa*.

(10) *rdzud-pa* is mentioned as a further alternative, but there is no cross-reference under *rdzud-pa*. The *Dictionnaire Thibétain-Latin-Français* par les Missionnaires catholiques du Thibet, Hong-kong, 1899, shortly referred to as "Desgodins' *Dictionary*", notes only *rjud* as alternative to *rgud*.

(11) Cp. also *bgad-pa*, *dgod-pa* "to laugh", *bźad-pa*, *gźad-pa* id.; *gźas* "joke".

(12) Cp. also *hgel ba* (Perf. *bkal*, Fut. *dgal*) "to load", *gal* "importance", and *hjal-ba* (Perf. *bcal*, Fut. *gźal*) "to weigh".

(13) *źal* is used as honorific for *kha* "mouth", as is *źabs* "bottom" for *rkañ* "foot".

(14) *ḫgab-pa* has been recorded in I. J. Schmidt's "*Tibetisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg, 1848, in this meaning, which has not been confirmed by Jäschke (who records it only in the meaning of "to suffice" as modern West Tibetan), nor does it occur in Desgodins' *Dictionary*.

(15) See Jäschke, loc. cit., pp. 27 and 149.

(16) See Jäschke, loc. cit. pp. 32 and 479.

(17) Yenissei-Ostyak (Ketish): *ȧsfêl*.

same meaning[18]. The etymology presupposes an earlier *spirn* on the Tibetan side.

III

As a corollary rather than as further evidence, I should like to propose two new Tibetan-Chinese word equations which appear possible on the assumption that Tibetan final *-r* may in some cases go back to an earlier *-rn*. They concern the Tibetan words *hbar* "to burn" and *gsar* "new", though the latter equation seems difficult from the point of view of vocalism. The Chinese words to be suggested are 燔 *farn* (K., 195, i: $b'\underset{\cdot}{i}w\breve{a}n/b'\underset{\cdot}{i}w\upsilon n$), probably a cognate of 焚 *fern* (K., 474, a-b: $b'\underset{\cdot}{i}w\ni n\ b'\underset{\cdot}{i}u\ni n$) on the one hand, and 新 *shin* (K., 382, k-m: $s\underset{\cdot}{i}\breve{e}n/s\underset{\cdot}{i}\breve{e}n$) on the other.

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(18) See E. Lewy, *Zum Jenissei-Ostjakischen* (*Ungarische Jahrbücher*, Vol. XIII [1933], p. 293). About the linguistic relationship itself, see now also W. Simon, *A Kottish-Tibetan-Chinese Word-Equation*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 441, etc. of this Bulletin.