भर-दे-श्चर-४-४८। र्रे नवे अव र्रेन र्रेन अव वा त्युका मात्र वे र्वेद वहना नवे र्वेक की भ्रीर वा।

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

रैया वहेंब दयर हों (वहर ब्रीट)

Bettina Zeisler (Germany)

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

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: $\sqrt[5]{5}$ corresponds to $\sqrt[5]{5}$, $\sqrt[5]{5}$ to $\sqrt[5]{5}$, $\sqrt[5]{5}$ to $\sqrt[5]{5}$, $\sqrt[5]{5}$ To $\sqrt[5]{5}$, Following the grammar of the Leh dialect implies that the agent of transitive clauses is marked as a possessor ($\sqrt[5]{5}$ instead of $\sqrt[5]{5}$). 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.

⁷ The pronunciation indicated in brackets \(\int \)...\\ 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' \(\mathbb{M} \) for the vowel 'a' with the appropriate superscripts for other vowels.

र क्रीक त्यः ्रियाष्ट्रकारा है (khanak) क्रियः यः देवाः। हैवाः कः वः 'क्षायकः स्याः' हे 'यक्षु सः हेः श्ली।

द्यार्थित विकासक्ष्या) मी स्निर्देश क्ष्या के ह्या के स्वराधित के

अर्ट. ने. मेट. प्रंचा मी. सेट. स्ट. संतु. संतु.

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 western Ladakhi dialects comes closest to the spelling of the 'original' Tibetan language as documented from the mid 7th 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 विश्वेषायी सुः देवाशायि हैयायी विद्यास्त्री विश्वेष्य है विश्वेष्य है विश्वेष्य है विश्वेष्य है विश्वेष्य है

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 suggested that 'Western Archaic Tibetan', i.e. Balti, Purik, and 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 /cū/ 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। स्न-तिवानश्च के क्षेत्र वहता सन्ति विवानश्च के क्षेत्र विवान विवास के क्षेत्र विवास के क्षेत्र वहता सन्त के क्षेत्र सन्ति के के वहता सन्ति के स्वास के क्षेत्र विवास के क्षेत्र विवास के क्षेत्र वहता सक्त के क्षेत्र व

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 (र्देब द्वा की सेव में विक में कि की का बहुन का बहुन

- 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 /fijatso/ '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-hdzom 'confluence'; but SHA, LEH /chu-dzom/, GARKb/chudzoms/
- LAD (RAM) /zum-thrul/ rdzu-ḥphrul '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 (চুমানামুমামী ধীবা স্থিমানামান কী মুক্তা বহুলা মান্তমা।

- 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 (र्देन:५मा मी सेव: मेंवः गोवः गातः है : क्रेंन वह्मा मा)

- 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 rŋabtsaḥ 'havest' (cf. JÄK btsaḥ 'bring forth')
- LAD (HAM) /ob-gyal/ WrT ho-brgyal 'difficulty, trouble (hon)'; GYA /fiob-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 (চুমান্মুরারী ধীব প্রিণাশ্র রী ধুরি বেছুনা না)

- 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 chaŋ (/baŋma/)'; 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 /chusiŋ/ ~ /chup-siŋ/ WrT chu-bsiŋ 'separating two materials in the water, by letting one sink down, straining'; but SHA /chusik/ ~ /chusip/, GYS /chusiŋ/
- 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 /rdoa cakpa/ 'stone breaker'

- GYA (Kesar songs) /dop-chot/ ~ /do^ap-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-thuŋ/ WrT *za-bthuŋ ~ za-btuŋ 'food' (RAM), 'food management, catering' (SPR); GYA /zap-thuŋ/ SAS, DOM /zap-thuŋ/ 'eating and drinking', LEH2 heard /zap-tuŋ/; but LAD (HAM, spelling bzaḥbtuŋ!), HML, SHA, LEH, GARKb, HRD, TUR /zathuŋ/
- 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-tsonkan/, SHA /çap-tsonba/, CEM /çap-tson/, LEH, ARA /šap-tsonpa/, LEH2 /šap-tshon/, SAS, DOM, ACH, HRD /šap-tsonspa/, GARKb /šap-tsonspa/

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

यो. हुश. यह्या. श्रुया थर. थेश. (श्रुय) हुर्य. यहंया श्रुय। या श्रुय. यहंया श्रुया थर. थेश. (श्रुय) हुर्य. यहंया या श्रुय. यहंया यहंया यहंया यहंया यहंया यहंया यहंया यहंया या श्रुय. यहंया यह

लह. त्या लिया और. ह्या ची. व्या ची. वह. ह. ह्या ची. लिया क्षेत्र. याच्या ची. व्या च

In most cases, the nasal prefixes *m*-and *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 preceding 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 दम्राम्याक्षेत्रम्याक्षेत्रम्याक्षेत्रम्याक्षेत्रम्याः क्षेत्रम्याक्षेत्रम्याः क्षेत्रम्याः कष्टिक्षः क्षेत्रम्याः कष्टिक्षः कष्टिक्यः कष्टिक्षः कष्टिक्षः कष्टिक्

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 (বনানা র্মনা) 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'</p>
- /min-dzemskhancik/ WrT mi-hdzemsmkhancig 'one that is not avoiding'

Negation marker (ব্যাবা র্ট্রবা) 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'
- /ma**n-**drik/ WrT *ma-hgrig* 'was not right'
- /man-drupa/ WrT ma-hgrubpa 'not having accomplished'
- /ma**n-**drülba/ WrT *ma-*<u>h</u>grulba 'not walking'
- /mam-but/ WrT ma-hbud 'did not fall'
- /ma**m-**bana/ (< WrT *ma-byana*) 'if (you) will not do'
- /ma**m**-borskhantsokle/ WrT *ma-hborsmkhantshugle* 'was not put down'

By contrast the grammatical prefix *b*-is 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

^७ डेवाःकःबन्धरशःबेःसूर्यःग्रम्।।

(maton!) र्केवायार्वेगा। ।।

ने क्रेंन्य सर्। सन्वयः विषयः गातः वे वर्षेषा पवे वेषाः त्र के स् देवा वी दिये र तर का **'**क्षेत्र त्र कर (वर्ष र) के ५में अ'!' बेर ग्राव प्रदे थे दर्श (ब्राह्म अर्थित !) (masot!) बेर उर्थ ५ वर्षेर वर । (map-sot!) प्परः [अष्प्रय-म्बोर्यपर!] (map-sodan!) अँवाःवाः दे.यदु:श्रीर.ययुर.याष.श्रु.बुर.बु.श्राय. तताश्री (ता. यक्तः) वैवार्क्षेत्रः रःश्चेः रवाः वा।। वेः बरः (व्याया-वार्षेतः!) (map-sot!) बेर गार प्रते बेर के हैं ता है नदे सुर अव व र्कें र र अव र्वेगा। โ*มเทน-หญิน! (*map-top!) [*มเทน-ฮัก!] (*map-cos!)| ५५: (*map-šot!) মর র র র মিজের জিলা মিজের জিলা! (macok!)। [মড়েডজেঁদ়!] (macot!)। [মড়েদজেঁদ!] (matop!)। [अष्पर्ह्य!] (macos!)। यदः (अष्प-प्रक्षेप्ट!) (mašot!) ॲंट ट रेंगा। ।।

क्षी का ब है। स्ट हैं बेर बेर बेर क्षेत्र यह या या वा या स्व स्था क्षेत्र अव है स्था क्षेत्र अव है स्था क्षेत्र अव है से अव क्षेत्र अव है से क्षेत्र अव है से

/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-

स्तिंश शुन् स्वीता वर्षा स्वास्ति स्वासि स्वासि

यात्रा हेश हैं (हैन्) स्टाटा है से (हैन्स्यमें) धुत्रा त्या छा से से त्या है से त्या से त्या से त्या से त्या से त्या से त्या से त्य

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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