

A BRIEF COMPARISON OF REGISTER TONE IN CENTRAL TIBETAN AND KHAM TIBETAN¹

Felix Haller

Berne University, Switzerland

1. INTRODUCTION

In the present paper I would like to discuss register tone in combination with voicing and aspiration. Written Tibetan (WT) forms will be compared with their etymologically corresponding forms in the dialects of Shigatse (Central Tibet)² and Bathang (Kham)³. Register tone may be either high or low in both dialects.

¹ This paper was presented in a preliminary version under the title "Forms with voiced initial consonants accompanied by high register tone in Kham Tibetan: a closer look" at the third project meeting of the *European Cooperation Project on Himalayan Languages* at the South Asia Institute in Heidelberg on June 6, 1998, and in this final version at the 31st ICSTLL (Department of East Asian Languages, University of Lund) on October 1, 1998. I would like to express my thanks to Roland Bielmeier for valuable corrections and comments.

² Shigatse (Gzís ka rtse) is the second largest town in Central Tibet (now Tibet Autonomous Region). The Shigatse materials are mainly from my Ph.D. thesis *Dialekt und Erzählungen von Shigatse* (Dialect and Folktales from Shigatse) given here in a slightly modified transcription. My informant is my wife Chungda (Chun bdag). The tonemes of Shigatse Tibetan are indicated by the following marks: ā (high level tone), à (high falling tone), a (low level tone), â (low falling tone).

³ I took part in the research project "Historisch-vergleichender Wortschatz tibetischer Dialekte" (*Historical-Comparative Lexicon of Tibetan Dialects*), directed by Roland Bielmeier at the Institute of Linguistics of Berne University (1992-1995). In the course of this project I made a field trip to some of the areas inhabited by Tibetans in western and northern Sichuan together with my wife in 1993. During this field trip I recorded lists of nouns and verbs of five Kham dialects, namely Bathang, Lithang, Dartsemdo, Derge and Kardze. The recordings of the nouns contain 660 to 690 items, those of the verbs 140 to 220 items. These materials contribute to the *Comparative Dictionary of Tibetan Dialects (CDTD)* currently being compiled at the Institute of Linguistics of Berne University.

The present paper is based on the Bathang noun list recorded during this field trip and consists of 686 items. Bathang ('Ba 'than) is a large town in southern Kham (now Sichuan province, Ganzi prefecture). My informant is Mr. A-bstan, a villager living close to Bathang town, about 50 years old at the time of the recording.

This paper is mainly concerned with the discussion of register tone. In all other questions of phonology I will generally follow Gesang Jumian's system as expounded in Gesang 1984, 1985 and 1989.

In addition, materials from Themchen⁴ will be adduced in order to permit a comparison with the corresponding forms of an archaic Amdo nomad dialect. Themchen Tibetan has voicing and aspiration as its important articulatory features, but it does not possess register tone.

Written Tibetan forms may be divided according to three types of initials: those with voiceless (non-aspirated or aspirated) consonants with or without preinitials; those with voiced consonants without preinitials; and those with voiced consonants and preinitials. Postinitials, as dealt with in this paper, are not relevant for register tone.

2. WRITTEN TIBETAN FORMS WITH VOICELESS INITIAL CONSONANTS,⁵ WITH OR WITHOUT PREINITIALS, AND THEIR CORRESPONDING DIALECTAL FORMS

In the following three sections the materials will be given in the traditional Tibetan order. The Shigatse example is followed by the English translation of the Shigatse example, the corresponding Bathang and Themchen forms and the written Tibetan form most closely corresponding to the Shigatse example.

(a) The corresponding forms of Shigatse and Bathang Tibetan both have voiceless non-aspirated or aspirated initial consonants accompanied by high register tone in accordance with the aspiration of their written Tibetan equivalent. The initial sibilants of those forms of Bathang Tibetan that go back to WT sibilants without preinitials are normally aspirated. (In Bathang Tibetan there are a few exceptional forms with aspirated initial consonants accompanied by low register tone.⁶) For example:

⁴ Themchen (Them chen, Chinese: Tianjun 天峻 is a pastoral area north-west of the Blue Lake in Amdo (now Qinghai province, Haixi prefecture). The Themchen materials are from my grammar *Dialekt und Erzählungen von Themchen* (Dialect and Folktales from Themchen). My informant is Ms. Bde skyid sgrol ma, a student aged about 20 years at the time of the recording. The other two informants are Mr. Yon bha (represented by 'Yb') in the word lists) and Mr. Hrin pe (represented by 'Hp') in the word lists). (The bullet • in the word lists represents a subsection in which one WT initial has both high- and low-toned correspondences in Bathang Tibetan.)

⁵ Words with initial /ʎ/, or *a-chen*, are also included in this category.

⁶ Cf. Gesang 1989:352, 4.2.6: "The old aspirated stops and affricates of other tonal dialects never appears with low tonemes. In Batang Tibetan, under certain conditions, e.g. when a monosyllabic item incorporated a following particle melting it into a secondary diphthong, the originally high toneme of the first initial may turn out to be low in reduplications."

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'pillar'	kā:	kāwā (Huang 1992 ⁷ :513)	ka	ka ba
'crooked'	cōkcòà	tçō:tçō? (TBL:999)	—	kyog kyog
'rare'	kœ:pō	kœ:pō (TBL:1054)	ʂkon	dkon po
'center'	cī:	tçī:k ^h ē? (TBL:708)	çtei	dkyil
'order'	kā	kā (Gesang 1988:343)	kwa	bka'
'blessing'	ʈsāçì:	ʈsāx ^h ī: (Gesang 1964:177, 53 (Derge))	ʈswaçi	bkra śis
'foot'	kāŋpā	kō:pā (TBL:103)	ʂkuŋa	rkaŋ pa
'wild ass'	cāŋ	tçō: (Gesang 1989:335)	ʈtçaŋ	rkyan
'sound'	kiè	kē? (TBL:161)	ʂkal	skad
'sour'	cū:mō	çū:pō (TBL:1072)	ʂtçæru	skyur mo

⁷ The Bathang materials in Huang et al 1992 (henceforth TBL) were provided by Gesang Jumian, a native speaker of Bathang Tibetan (cf. Huang 1992:8). The numbers refer to synonym sets, not pages.

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'hair' (of head)	tṣā	tṣā (TBL:75)	ṣtṣa	skra
'mouth'	kḥā	kḥā (TBL:84)	kḥā	kha
'difference'	chīēpā:	tchē:pā: (TBL:691)	tṣḥapar (<i>Hp</i>)	khyad par
'falcon'	tṣḥā	tṣḥā (TBL:329)	tṣḥā (<i>Hp</i>)	khra
'kidney'	kḥiēmā	kḥē:lō (TBL:146)	ṁkḥwama	mkhal ma
'gall (bladder)'	tṣḥī:wā	tṣḥī:pā (TBL:147)	ṁtṣḥi:wa	mkhris pa
'wheel'	kḥō:lō	kḥō:lō (TBL:587)	ṁkḥorlo	'khor lo
'to become frozen'	chā:	tṣḥā? (TBL:1284)	ṁtṣḥaχ	'khyag
'table'	tṣōktsē	tṣō:tsē (TBL:1540)	tṣoχtshe	cog tse
'one'	tṣīk	tṣī? (TBL:797)	ṣtṣṣ	gcig
'ten'	tṣū	tṣō (TBL:806)	ptṣə	bcu

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'iron'	tɕà	tɕāʔ (TBL:54)	ʂtɕaɣ	lcags
'water'	•tɕhū	tɕhō (TBL:47)	tɕhə	chu
'small'	tɕhūŋkē	tɕhū:tɕhū̃: (TBL:965); 7 of 8 exx. high	tɕhūŋ	chuŋ chuŋ
'stupa'	tɕhœ:tē̃	tɕhœ:tē̃: (TBL:72); 2 exx.	ɳtɕhœɕten	mchod rten
'plan'	tɕhā:ɕī	tɕhā:jē	ɳtɕharɣzə	'char gzi
'exactly'	tāktā:	tā:tāʔ	—	tag tag
'mineral resources'	tēr	tē:khā (Gesang 1989:350)	ɕter	gter
'horse'	tā	tā (TBL:268)	ʂta	rta
'navel'	tēwā	tēwā (TBL:97)	ʂte	lte ba
'tiger'	tā	tāʔ (TBL:304)	ʂtaɣ	stag
'firm'	tiēpo	tē:pō (TBL:1043)	ɕtanpu	brtan po
'teachings'	tiēpā	tē:pā (TBL:1470)	ɕtanpa	bstan pa

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'rope'	•thākpa	thō:pā (TBL:619)	thoχka	thag pa
'dust'	thālā	thē:kā: (TBL:45); 7 of 9 exx. high	thā (Hp)	thal ba
'bottom'	thī:	thī: (Gesang 1989:342); 3 of 4 exx. high	—	mthil
'thick'	thū:pō	thū:pō (TBL:980)	ṅthəçku	'thug po
'knee'	pē:mō	pē:mō (TBL:101)	wəçmu (Hp)	pus mo
'master'	pō:pō	pō:pō (TBL:199)	χwonpu (Hp)	dpon po
'spring'	tēī:kā	çī:kḥā (TBL:791)	ççəlkhā	dpyid ka
'hair'	pū	pō (TBL:266)	spə	spu
'wolf'	tçāṅkū	çō:kḥō (TBL:324)	ḡtçāṅkḥə	spyāṅ khu
'cloud'	tṣīṅpā	tṣī: (TBL:7)	ṣən	sprin pa
'pig'	phākpa	phā? (TBL:284)	haχ	phag pa
'direction'	tçhōa	çhō? (TBL:703)	ḡcoχ (Hp)	phyogs

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'thin'	tʂhā̃:tē	tʂhāyü: (TBL:967); 1 of 2 exx. high	ṃtʂawə	phra mo
'rosary'	tʂhāŋā	tʂhi:mā (TBL:884)	ṃtʂhaŋa	'phreŋ ba
'onion'	tsōŋ	tsū:pō (TBL:423)	tsuŋ	tsōŋ
'clean'	tsāŋmā	tsō:mā (TBL:1085)	çtsaŋma (<i>Hp</i>)	gtsaŋ ma
'prison'	tsœ:kā	tsœ:kʰō: (TBL:68)	ptsonkʰaŋ (<i>Hp</i>)	btson kʰaŋ
'tsampa'	tsāmpā	tsā:pā (Gesang 1964:127 [Derge])	çtsampa	rtsam pa
'grass'	tsā	tsā (TBL:436)	çtsa	rtswa
'love'	tsētū:	tsētū:	ɸtsetuŋ (<i>Hp</i>)	brtse duŋ
'life'	•tshē	tshē (TBL:164)	tshē	tshe
'thorn'	tshē:mà:	tshē:mū: (TBL:391); 10 of 11 exx. high	tsherma	tsher ma
'salt'	tshā	tshā (TBL:61)	tshakə	tshwa

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'lake'	tshō	tshō (TBL:31)	ṇtsho	mtsho
'livelihood'	tshōwā	tshōwā (TBL:683)	ṇtshowa	'tsho ba
'meat'	cā	xhā (TBL:443)	ça	śa
'wings'	çōkpā	xō:pā	çcoḡka (Yb)	gsog pa
'to speak'	ciè	xē:tō̃ (TBL:1649)	ḡcal	bśad
'teeth'	sō	shō (TBL:1279)	sho	so
'life'	şòa	sō? (TBL:163)	şoḡ	srog
'gold'	sēr	sē: (TBL:51)	çser	gser
'cool'	sī:pō	sī:pō (TBL:1066)	ḡsimu	bsil po
'south'	ḡō	ḡcḡō? (TBL:705)	ḡo	lho
'mother'	āmā	āmā (TBL:219)	ama	a ma

3. WRITTEN TIBETAN FORMS WITH VOICED INITIAL CONSONANTS WITHOUT PREINITIALS, AND THEIR CORRESPONDING DIALECTAL FORMS⁸

The corresponding forms of Shigatse Tibetan and Bathang Tibetan both have voiceless non-aspirated initial consonants accompanied by low register tone, with the exception of those forms of Shigatse Tibetan that go back to WT forms with aspirated stops and affricates as initial consonants. Nasals, liquids, and semivowel initials are voiced in both dialects.⁹ For example:

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'price'	kʰoŋ	kū:tsʰē? (TBL:1055)	kuŋ	goŋ
'wall'	chaŋ	çō: (TBL:510)	tcaŋ	gyaŋ
'knife'	tʂʰi	tʂe (TBL:549)	tçə	gri
'monk'	tʂʰa _a wā	tʂapā (TBL:189)	tʂawa	grwa pa
'I'	ŋa	ŋa (TBL:928)	ŋa	ŋa
'tea'	tʂʰa _a	tça (TBL:454)	tça	ja
'fish'	ŋa	ŋa (TBL:351)	ŋa	ña

⁸ Words with initial /ʒ/ are also included in this category.

⁹ Cf. Gesang 1989:352ff, 4.2.7: "initials accompanied with low tonemes are mostly those nine, now aspirated ones derived from old simple voiced initials or from old voiced initials only with postbound -r- or -y-, and the four voiced nasal initials remounting to [i.e. descending from (Ed.)] old nasals without prebound consonants. Beside this, there are four initials, the two semivowels and two liquids, which belong to the group of the voiced initials with low tonemes."

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'poison'	th <u>u</u> k	tu? (TBL:641)	təç (Hp)	dug
'pure'	thar̥kē	tō:mā (TBL:1022)	taŋmu	dwaŋs ma
'six'	tʂ <u>h</u> uk	tʂu? (TBL:802)	tʂəç	drug
'barley'	ni̥	ng: (TBL:412)	ni	nas
'wool'	ph̥a:	pɛ: (TBL:279)	wa	bal
'sand'	tʂem̥ā	ɕem̥ā (TBL:44)	ɕɕema (Hp)	bye ma
'rock'	tʂh̥a:	tʂa? (TBL:27)	ptʂax	brag
'butter'	m̥a: ^{10,11}	m̥a: (TBL:447)	mar	mar

¹⁰ There are a few exceptional written Tibetan forms with *m* as initial consonant that have corresponding forms with high register tone in some dialects (cf. Wang 1983). For example:

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>WT</i>
'man'	m̥i	mē (TBL:167)	m̥jə	mi
'eye'	m̥i:	m̥i? (TBL:79)	ɣp̥əç	m̥ig
'throat'	m̥j̥kpā	m̥i:pā (TBL:1692)	m̥j̥et̥hax	mid pa
'fire'	m̥ɛ	p̥ē (TBL:18)	m̥jɛ	me

¹¹ These words might well point to an earlier **s-* prefix that caused the word to join the HIGH register, as in Proto-Loloish **s-myak^H* 'eye' under the PL **HIGH*-stopped tone. (Ed.)

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'fox'	wā	wā (Gesang 1984:7a)	ka	wa
'yogurt'	œ:lù:	xo (Gesang 1989:343)	co	zo
'hat'	camō	xamō (TBL:475)	ca	zwa mo
'sickle'	sorā	sorā (TBL:624)	sora	zor ba
'nettle'	satsœ:	saxō	satchœç	zwa tshod
'owl'	ukpā	u:pā (TBL:332)	œcka	'ug pa
'letter'	jikē	jeyē (TBL:644)	jœye	yi ge
'mountain'	ri	re (TBL:23)	rœ	ri
'horn (of animals)'	racō	rakō: (TBL:263)	ratçho	rwa co
'sheep'	lū:	lu? (TBL:762)	lœç	lug

4. WRITTEN TIBETAN FORMS WITH VOICED INITIALS AND PREINITIALS, AND THEIR CORRESPONDING DIALECTAL FORMS

Written Tibetan forms with stops, affricates and sibilants as initial consonants are treated separately from those with nasals, liquids and

semivowels because they exhibit different developments of register tone in Shigatse Tibetan.

4.1. *Written Tibetan forms with stops, affricates and sibilants as initial consonants*

The corresponding forms of Shigatse Tibetan have voiceless non-aspirated initials accompanied by low register tone. The forms of Bathang Tibetan have voiced initials accompanied by high register tone, with the restriction that those forms that go back to WT forms with stop and affricate initials have high register tone in only approximately 73% of the material.¹² In cases where WT forms with such initial clusters sometimes develop into dialectal forms with high register tone and sometimes with low register tone, examples will be given for each type. If there is more than one example, the number of occurring cases will be stated.¹³ For example:

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'winter'	•kȳ:kā	gȳ:kḥā (TBL:794)	rgəṅkḥa	dgun kha
'teacher'	kekiē	gege: (Gesang 1064:104c) (4 of 6 exx. high)	rgergan (Yb)	dge rgan
'enemy'	tṣa	dzā (TBL:197)	ȳdzā	dgra

¹² A cursory check of the Bathang materials in Huang 1992 suggests a slightly higher percentage. Cf. Gesang 1989:352, 4.2.5: "A voiced initial can appear with any of the four tonemes, however in a group of otherwise homophonous words the high-low tonal difference makes clear the meaning (in Kham dialect there are a few similar cases)."

¹³ At the second project meeting of the European Cooperation Project on Himalayan Languages in Paris, Katrin Häslér gave a report about work in progress with the title "On the Tones of Dege Tibetan" (November 16, 1997).

According to her instrumental study, dialectal forms corresponding to WT forms with prefixed voiced initials also have voiced initials, although sometimes also a decrease of voicedness occurs. The analysis of these forms shows a heterogeneous distribution of frequency levels with a tendency towards low register tone. If a decrease of voicedness occurs the tendency towards low register tone is more pronounced. This leads, according to her interpretation, to the hypothesis that the tone on these syllables is not yet fully established and that its phonological status thus needs to be reconsidered. Forms belonging to this class are tentatively left tonally unmarked by her, e.g. *do* 'stone' < WT *rdo*.

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'distribution'	kɔpcā	gōcā (TBL:1319)	bgoɸca (Hp)	bgo bsa'
'head'	kɔ:	ŋgō (TBL:74)	ŋgo	mgo bo
'quick'	cɔkō	ŋdzō:pā (TBL:1016)	mdzoɣ	mgyogs po
'leader'	kɔtʂhì:	ŋgōtʂhī? (TBL:182)	ŋgotʂhəl (Hp)	'go khrid
'change'	•cū:tōa	ŋdzū:dō? (TBL:1158)	ŋdzərdoɣ	'gyur ldog
'repentance'	cɔ:pā	ŋdzœ:pā (TBL:1376); 1 of 2 exx. high	ŋdzopa (Hp)	'gyod pa
'cheek'	•tʂampā	ndzɑ̃:pā (TBL:83)	ŋdzampə	'gram pa
'to go'	tʂɔ	ndzɑ̃lū? (TBL:1579); 2 of 4 exx. high	ŋdzo	'gro
'grape'	kū:tʂū:	g̃y: (TBL:396) 4 exx.	rgəndzəm	rgun 'brum
'intestine'	•cumà:	dzōmā (TBL:149)	rdzəma (Hp)	rgyu ma
'king'	cā:pō	dzē:pō (TBL:200); 4 of 6 exx. high	rdzawu	rgyal po

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'door'	•k _Q	gō (TBL:514)	rgo	sgo
'egg'	k _Q :ā	gū:ŋā? (TBL:450); 3 of 7 exx. high	rguṇa (<i>Hp</i>)	sgo ṇa
'sack'	cēmō	zēmō (Gesang 1964:95c); 2 exx.	rdze	sgye mo
'sound'	tṣa	dzā (TBL:161); 2 exx.	ydza	sgra
'eight'	ciē	dzē? (TBL:804); 2 exx.	bdzal	brgyad
'neck'	tciṇpā	ndzī:pā (TBL:89); 2 exx.		mjin pa
'rainbow'	•tca	ndzā (TBL:11)	ndza	'ja'
'singing bird'	tco:mō	ndzo:mō (TBL:342); 2 of 4 exx. high	ndzolmu (<i>Hp</i>)	'jol mo
'imprint'	tcē:	dzē: (TBL:695)	rdzi	rjes
'heavy'	tcī:tē	dzī:pō (TBL:1014); 3 exx.	rdzemu (<i>Hp</i>)	ljid po
'exchange'	tcaū	dzerē: (TBL:1419)	rdzeri (<i>Hp</i>)	brje po
'devil'	•ṭy:	ḍy? (TBL:670)	bdəl	bdud

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'owner'	taḳpō	dq:pō (TBL:212); 4 of 5 exx. high	bdoḡku (<i>Hp</i>)	bdag po
'arrow'	*ta	ndā (TBL:637)	mda	mda'
'knot'	ty:pā	ndu:pā (Jin 1983:116 [Derge]); 3 of 5 exx. high	ndəpa	mdud pa
'wish'	tœ:pā	ndœ:pā (Jin 1958:125 [Chamdo]); 3 exx.	ndopa (<i>Hp</i>)	'dod pa
'similar'	tsā:tē	ndzā (TBL:1729)	ndzandzə	'dra 'dra
'stone'	tq	dō (TBL:43); 2 exx.	rdo	rdo
'key'	tēmì:	dēimī? (TBL:585); 3 exx.	rdemṇəç (<i>Yb</i>)	lde mig
'sin'	tjḳpā	dī:pā (TBL:1721); 4 exx.	rdəka (<i>Hp</i>)	sdig pa
'sign'	ta	dā (TBL:680)	bda	brda
'insect'	pu	mbō (TBL:353); 2 exx.	mbə	'bu
'rice'	tsiè	ndzē: (TBL:439); 7 exx.	mdz wi	'bras
'wave'	palà:	balōu? (TBL:48)	rbarlap (<i>Yb</i>)	rba rlabs

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'foam'	puā	būwā (Gesang 1989:333); 2 exx.	ཁོ	lbu ba
'bellows'	•pi:pā	bū:pā (TBL:567)	—	sbid pa
'frog'	pa:pā:	bj:wā (TBL:349); 1 of 4 exx. high	rbawa	sbal pa
'patron'	tcī:tā:	zī:dā? (TBL:212)	bdzəndaχ (Hp)	sbyin bdag
'snake'	tṣu:	qzȳ: (TBL:347); 2 exx.	ru	sbrul
'leprosy'	•tse	ndzēnē? (Gesang 1989:334)	mdze (Hp)	mdze
'fingers'	tsukū	ndzəŋō (TBL:109); 3 of 4 exx. high	mdkəŋə	mdzu gu
'fake'	•tsy:mā	dzȳ:mā (TBL:1048)	rdzənma (Hp)	rdzun ma
'earthen pot'	tsa	dzamā (TBL:557); 3 of 4 exx. high	rdzama	rdza ma
'3 days hence'	çè:	dzē:ŋī: (TBL:780); 3 exx.	γziŋən (Yb)	g'zes
'four'	çī	jē (TBL:800); 2 exx.	bzə	b'zi
'leopard'	sik	zī? (TBL:310); 6 exx.	γzəç	gzig

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'worker'	sopā	zōpā (Gesang 1989:349); 3 exx.	bzowa	bzo pa

4.2. *Written Tibetan forms with nasals, liquids and semivowels as initial consonants*

Written Tibetan forms with initial consonantal clusters traditionally described as initials plus postinitial **-l** are included in this subsection since they appear rather to be combinations of preinitials plus the initial **l**.¹⁴ **db** and **dby** are tentatively also included in this subsection.

The corresponding forms of Shigatse Tibetan and Bathang Tibetan both have voiced initial consonants accompanied by high register tone, except for those forms that go back to WT forms with **db**, **zl**, **brl**, and **sl** as initial consonantal clusters. The initial nasals of those forms of Bathang Tibetan that go back to WT forms with nasal initials plus the preinitial **s-** are devoiced. For example:

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'serpent-deity'	lū	lō (TBL:671)	ɣlə (<i>Hp</i>)	klu
'song'	lū	lō (Gesang 1964:169, 7 [<i>Derge</i>])	ɣlə	glu
'silver'	ŋū:	ŋȳ: (TBL:52)	rŋu	dŋul
'sweet'	ŋā:mō	ŋā:mō (TBL:1073)	—	mŋar mo
'drum'	ŋā	ŋā (TBL:659)	rŋa	rŋa

¹⁴ Cf. Beyer 1993:74ff, 2.1.

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'five'	ṅā	ṅā (TBL:801)	ṅa	lṅa
'blue'	ṅō:pō	ṅōpō (TBL:1010)	ṣṅonpu (<i>Hp</i>)	ṣṅon po
'two'	ṅī:	ṅī: (TBL:798)	ṅṅi	gñis
'old'	ṅīṅpā	ṅī:pā (TBL:1051)	ṅṅa (<i>Yb</i>)	rñiṅ pa
'heart'	ṅīṅ	ṅī: (Gesang 1984:6a)	ṅaṅ	sñiṅ
'sky'	nām	nā: (TBL:1)	ṅnam	gnam
'oath'	nā	nā (TBL:1302)	na	mna'
'pus'	nā:	nā? (TBL:159)	naṅ	rnag
'nose'	nākū:	ṅā (TBL:80)	ṅa	sna khug
'lama'	lāmā	lāmā (Jin 1958:69a [Chamdo])	blama	bla ma
'breathing'	ù:	bū? (Gesang 1964:138 [Derge])	əṣ	dbugs
'summer'	jā:kā	jā:kḥā (TBL:792)	yjarkḥa	dbyar kha

<i>Translation</i>	<i>Shigatse</i>	<i>Bathang</i>	<i>Themchen</i>	<i>Written Tibetan</i>
'red'	mā:pō	mā:mā: (TBL:1007)	ymaru (Yb)	dmar po
'hell'	ṇālā	ṇē:wā	ṇnalwa (Yb)	dmyal ba
'wound'	mā	māk ^h ā (TBL:124)	rmaṣa (Yb)	rma
'medicine'	miē	ṇē: (TBL:456)	ṇan	sman
'madman'	ṇōē:pā	ṇō:pā (TBL:209)	ṇṇonpa	smyon pa
'month'	ṭawā	ndawā (TBL:4); 2 exx.	rdza	zla ba
'yak'	jā:	jā? (TBL:257)	ṇjaṣ	g.yag
'anger'	lūṇ	lū: (TBL:9)	rluṇ (Hp)	rluṇ
'thigh'	ṭiēcā	lākō: (TBL:100)	bla	brla śa
'thin (of fluids)'	lā:tē	ṭāwō (TBL:1031)	ṣtsamu	sla po

5. SUMMARY

The two dialects, Shigatse and Bathang, differ mainly in two respects with regard to register tone:

- Firstly, in a few exceptional cases, WT forms with aspirated initials have corresponding forms with aspirated initials accompanied by low register tone in

Bathang Tibetan. In Shigatse Tibetan the corresponding forms always have high register tone.

This fact is already mentioned in Gesang 1984, where mainly adjectival derivations and reduplicated adjectival and nominal compounds are referred to (see note 5, above). The Bathang materials in TBL (provided by Gesang Jumian), as well as my own, show that this phenomenon is not restricted to such forms, but can also be found in a few non-reduplicated nominal compounds (see e.g. 'stupa', above §2).

•Secondly, written Tibetan forms with voiced stop, affricate and sibilant initials, and with preinitials, have corresponding forms with voiced initials accompanied by high register tone in Bathang Tibetan, with the restriction that those forms that go back to WT forms with stop and affricate initials have high register tone in only approximately 73% of the material. In Shigatse Tibetan the corresponding forms always have low register tone.

In Gesang 1984 the occurrence of forms with voiced initial consonants accompanied by high register tone is mentioned, but the historical background of such forms is not sufficiently taken account of, nor is a comparison with other tonal dialects attempted (see footnote 10, above).

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