A Historical Study
of
rGyarong Initials and Prefixes

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0. Introduction

This paper is designed to discuss the possibility of reconstructing
the Proto-rGyarong initials and prefixes and to examine their relationship
with Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB).

The rGyarong language has attracted the attention of many scholars
for a long time, and it is generally thought that the language would be
a sort of link between Tibetan and Burmese. In fact, Wolfenden pointed
this out as early as the 1930's (see Wolfenden 1936), adding that Ao
also had a system of prefixes comparable with Written Tibetan (WT), Written
Burmese (WB), and Kachin (Jingpaw).

Since then, we have had several monographs dealing with rGyarong.
Unfortunately, however, in spite of some sincere scholarly efforts the
comparative studies do not seem to have been very fruitful.

I think that it is rGyarong's striking similarity to WT forms that
has charmed students; indeed, the language has many forms identical to
those in WT. But, at the same time, in a sense that similarity has
misled them. Disappointly, almost all of them merely picked those rGyarong
words which supported their hypothesis and they compared rGyarong directly
with WT. My purpose in writing this paper is to counteract this tendency.

I should like to repeat that, above all, it is preferable to reconstruct Proto-rGyarong before comparing modern rGyarong forms with WT directly, because, first, they are at quite a distance from each other chronologically [1] and, second, there are many problems both on the Tibetan side and on the rGyarong side which must be solved before the two branches can be compared. This is the only sound methodology for studying rGyarong [2].

Also, from the actual history of the rGyarong area, we know that there were several fairly large waves of immigration from Central Tibet to the rGyarong area. These occurred at least twice before the 15-16th centuries [3]. We have documents describing these historical events. In my opinion rGyarong borrowed many words from Central Tibetan due to these immigrations and as a consequence it is to be expected that rGyarong should have a striking similarity to WT. It is because of this that almost identical words should be disregarded and not taken into consideration when we do comparative work.

So my basic idea is that we must now collect as many dialects of rGyarong as possible, reconstruct Proto-rGyarong and, after that, compare our reconstruction with the appropriate subgroups---Ch'iang, for example [4]. It is true that field work there would be extremely difficult, but it is still possible to do it in Nepal, India, and Canada. I spent several months in India collecting some Tibetan dialectal data, and I found three rGyarong informants [5] in Sera Monastery which was originally in Lhasa but has been re-established by Tibetan refugees in South India, where they have fortunately preserved a tradition of speaking Central Tibetan as the standard language and talking in their own dialects in their dormitories, which are set up on the basis of where they came from.

This is a preliminary step towards reconstructing the Proto-rGyarong initials and prefixes and examining their relationship with WT and then with Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

0.1 General remarks about the rGyarong area

The rGyarong area is within Sichuan Province of China, on the east side of Kangze Tibetan Autonomous Region and to the north-west of Cheng-tu. The approximate number of rGyarong speakers is around seventy thousand [6]. According to the informants, the Chos-kia and lCog-rtse areas are the most densely populated, and these two dialects are frequently used for trade. A peripheral area overlaps with Amdo Tibetan in the north, with Ch'iang in the east, with Khams Tibetan in the west, and with Chinese in the south.

According to both the oral tradition and certain documents, there are eighteen dialects in that area [7], but we do not have sufficient data on some of them.

Some scholars refer to rGyarong as 'Jyarong', but this name seems to be based on the Amdo pronunciation of rGyarong. Their own name both for the region and for the language as well as for the people is rGyarong [g̃ja ron].

MAP OF THE rGYARONG AREA

甘 肅
GANSU

青 海
QINGHAI

四 川
SICHUAN

● 阿垻 Abà

松 潘 ●
Songpan

卓克基
lCog rtse

四川省
甘孜藏族
自治州
SICHUAN KANGZE
TIBETAN
AUTONOMOUS REGION

綽斯甲
Chos-kia

松岡 ●

梭磨 ●
Suo-mo

大金 ●
Rab-brtan

子達 ●
Tzuta

Wassu
瓦寺

雜谷腦 ● 理暑
Tsa-ku-nao

汶
川

道孚 ●
Tao-fu

巴地
Pati

丹巴
Tampa

小金 ●
Tsan lha

● Hanniu

成 都 ●
Cheng-tu

四 川
SICHUAN

康 定 ●
K'ang-ting
(Dar rtse mdo)

0.2 Abbreviations and Sources

CK	Chos kia	Edgar, J.H.:An English-Giarung vocabulary, Journal of West China Border Research Society 5 suppl.(1932)
CT	lCog rtse	Nagano, Y.
HN	Hanniu	Rosthorn, A. von: Vakabularfragmente ost-tibetischer Dialekte, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 51(1897)
KT	Kham to	Wolfenden, S.N.: Notes on the Jyarong dialect of Eastern Tibet, T'oung Pao 32(1936)
PT	Pati	Rosthorn, A. von: ibid.
SM	Suo mo	Chin, P'eng, et al.: Chia-jung-yü Suo-mo-hua de Yü-yin ho Hsing-t'ai, Yüyen Yenchiu 2 & 3(1957-8)
TK	Tsa ku nao	Chin, P'eng: Etude sur le Jyarung, Han Hiue 3 (1949)
TR	Trung	Lo, Ch'ang-p'ei: A preliminary study on the Trung language of Kun-shan, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 8(1945)
TS	bTsan lha	Nagano, Y.
TZ	Tzu ta	Chang, Kun: The phonology of a Gyarong dialect, Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica 38 (1968)
WS	Wassu	Rosthorn, A. von: ibid.

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                      and their Ch'iang equivalents, Studia Serica 3
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1. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PROTO-rGYARONG INITIALS AND PREFIXES

This chapter is a trial internal reconstruction of the proto-rGyarong initials and prefixes not using WT. Needless to say, since prefixes and initials are closely related to each other, I will not examine the prefixes in isolation, but consider prefixes and root initial consonants as a set, examine how those combinations correspond in the whole system, and try to reconstruct the proto-system [8].

Generally speaking, a rGyarong syllable has a $(P1)(P2)Ci(G)$ VCf structure. G stands for w, y, l, or r. The prefixes which can be at the P2 position in PG are: *P-, *t-, *K-, *r-, *l-, *s-, *V-, *N-, *sy- (see also Chapter 3). The only P1P2- is *gsy- [9].

Chapters 1-1 through 1-8 are devoted to listing the correspondences and possible reconstructions of the clusters will be shown at the end of each chapter with a short discussion. A probable system of prefixes and initials will be proposed in Chapters 2 and 3.

Although rGyarong has a complicated system of prefixes both on nominals [10] and verbs [11], those on nominals will not be considered in the historical approach of this paper, since, in my opinion, they are secondary phenomena, and thus only the nuclear initials will be examined.

In the following chapters, the original transcriptions which the original scholars used will be cited as they are---that is, without any phonemic interpretation of my own---except for certain symbols which have been changed for the sake of typing:

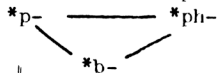| ə	goes to	å		ι	goes to	i
ε		ä		ɑ		a
ɐ		a̠		ɳ		ñ
ŋ		n̄		ρ		ċ
dʑ		dʐ		ʃ		š
ε̌		ş		s		ś
ţ		ţ		z		ż
ḍ		ḋ				

My own materials will be mainly used for reconstruction, with reference to the others.

1.1 Bilabial

a. CT p-, TS p-, CK p-, TK p-, SM p-, WS p-, KT py-   ¶ PG *b-
   e.g. <u>year</u> CT pi pa, TS ?a i pa, CK te pe, TK ji-pie̊, SM tå pa, WS tiepô, KT tě-pyě

b. CT sp-, TS sp-, TZ sp-, SM sp-   ¶ PG *sP-
   e.g. <u>pus</u> CT ta spu, TS ta spuk, TZ raspu, SM ta spu

c. CT shp-, TS shp-, CK shp-, TK şp-, SM sp-   ¶ PG *shb-
   e.g. <u>thirsty</u> CT shpak, TS shpak, CK kish'pag, TK kaşpiag, SM ka spak

d. CT rp-, TS rph-, TZ rpj-, CK rp'-, TK rp-, SM sp-   ¶ PG *rP-
   e.g. <u>shoulder</u> CT na rpak, TS ta rphak, TZ tarpjak, CK tar p'eg, TK rpia, SM rpak

e. CT mp-, TS mp-, TZ mp-, CK m'p-, TK p'-, SM p'š-   ¶ PG *Nb-
   e.g. <u>outside</u> CT wu mpuy, TS wa mpuy, TZ wempu, CK wu m'po'i TK Nå-p'is, SM wu p'ši

f. CT lp-, TS lp-, CK lp-   ¶ PG *lP-
   e.g. <u>ash</u> CT skya ka lpe, TS ka lpe, CK s'kya k'al pe

g. CT ph-, TS ph-, TZ pj-, CK p'-, SM p-, WS p-, PT p-, HN p'- KT p'y-   ¶ PG *p-
   e.g. <u>pig</u> CT phak, TS phak, TZ pjak, CK p'ag, SM pak, WS påk PT pa, HN p'ā̠, KT p'yăk

h. CT mph-, TS sky-, TZ sts-, CK ky-, SM mp'-   ¶ PG *Np-
   e.g. <u>to vomit</u> CT ka ma mphat, TS skyuk, TZ estšulak, CK ki kyug, SM tå mp'at

i. CT py-, CK my-   ¶ PG *by-
   e.g. <u>full</u> CT ?u pyot, CK ki myod

j. CT phy-, TS pky, CK p'y-, KT py-   ¶ PG *py-
   e.g. <u>carpet</u> CT ta phyo, TS ta pkyu, CK ta p'yo, KT dâ-pyû

k. CT pr-, TS pr-, TZ pr-, TK pr-, ES pr-, KT pr-   ¶ PG *br-
   e.g. <u>white</u> CT ka pram, TS ka prom, TZ keprom, CK ki prom TK kåprom, WS koprôm, KT kă-prŏm

l. CT br-, TZ br-, CK n'br-, TK npr-, SM mbr-, WS br-, KT br-   ¶ PG *pr-

e.g. <u>horse</u> CT bro, TZ bro/baro, CK n'bro, TK mpro, SM mbro
WS bró, KT ŏ-bŏ-rŏ

m. CT zhb-, TS zhb-, CK sh'w-, KT šb-   ¶ PG *shp-
e.g. <u>cheek</u> CT wu zhba, TS ta zhba?, TZ tekharpha, CK ti zh'we
KT tĕ-šbĭe

The most striking thing observed in those data is the fact that
Øb- is not found in any rGyarong dialects. In other words, the initial
b- is always found prefixed in the dialects. Though we must set up the
triangle system of bilabials shown on the right   *p- ——————— *ph-
if we take WT into consideration, we have a much
simpler system, *Øp- ⟷ *Øb- as the nuclear   *b-
initials of the proto-rGyarong stage if we use only the internal reconstruction.
This system is much easier and much less messy when we consider the
relationship between PG and PTB.
My hypothesis is that *Øp- went to ph- and *Øb- to p-, serially.
Although prefixed *p- or *b- behave similarly, those bilabials with sh-
prefixed behave differently: *shp- went to zhb- and *shb- to shp-,
respectively. If those bilabials were with s-, r-, or l- prefixes, they
were neutralized.
The following chart can be induced from the data
given.

*p-			*b-			*P-	
*Øp-	--→	ph-	*Øb-	--→	p-		
						*sP- --→	sp-
*shp-	--→	zhb-	*shb-	--→	shp-		
						*rP --→	rp-
*Np-	--→	Nph-	*Nb-	--→	Np-		
						*lP- --→	lp-
*Øpy-	--→	phy-	*Øby-	--→	py-		
*Øpr-	--→	br-	*Øbr-	--→	pr-		

The rGyarong forms shown on the right hand of each column are
mainly those in CT and TS.

1.2 Dental

a. CT t-, TS t-, TZ tš-, CK t-, TK sw-, SM t-, WS l-, PT l-
KT t-   ¶ PG *d-
e.g. <u>wheat</u> CT tiy, TS tey, TZ tši, CK te'i lo, TK swĕ, SM
tEi, WS télu, PT telú, KT ô-tô

b. CT kt-, TS kt-, TZ tš-, CK g't-, TK rtĕ-, SM kt-, WS kt-
¶ PG *KT-
e.g. <u>big</u> CT ka kte, TS ka kti, TZ ketši, CK ki g'ti, TK
rtĕom, SM kå ktiE, WS koktíe, KT kă-kt'î

c. CT sht-, TS sht-, CK n'dr-, TK dẓ-, SM št-, KT št- ¶ PG *shT-
   e.g. <u>cold</u> CT kȧ mi shtak, TS ka ma shtak, CK ti wa n'dro,
           TK kȧwadẓuo, SM kȧ mȧ štak, WS tevanió, KT kȧ-
           mî-ste-ă

d. CT rt-, TS rt-, TZ rtš-, CK t-   ¶ PG *rT-
   e.g. <u>hat</u> CT wa rti, TS ta rti, TZ tartši, CK tar ti

e. CT mt-, TS Nt-, TZ mt-, TK mt-   ¶ PG *Nd-
   e.g. <u>front</u> CT mto, TS ʔu Ntok, TZ temto, TK mtoȧ

f. CT st-, TS t-, CK s't-   ¶ PG *sd-
   e.g. <u>autumn</u> CT stong key, TS tong ka, CK s'ton ke

g. CT zd-, TS zd-, TZ zdẓ-, CK s'd-, TK zt-   ¶ PG *st-
   e.g. <u>cloud</u> CT zdem, TS zdim, TZ zdžim, CK s'dim, TK ztim

h. CT th-, TS th-, CK t'-, TK t'-   ¶ PG *t-
   e.g. <u>how much?</u> CT this ti, TS this ti, CK t'is ti, TK t'ȧsti

i. CT Nth-, TZ mth-, CK m't'-, SM mt'-   ¶ PG *Nt-
   e.g. <u>waist</u> CT na Nthak, TZ temthak, CK ti m't'eg, SM te
           mt'ak

j. CT shty-, TS shty-, CK sh't-, KT št-   ¶ PG *shT-
   e.g. <u>saliva</u> CT me shtyi, TS ta mi shtyak, CK ti bhi sh'ti'g
           KT tĕ-mĕ-stĭk

k. CT tr-, TS tr-, TZ ŧ-, CK tr-, TK tṣ-, KT t-   ¶ PG *dr-
   e.g. <u>to sew</u> CT ta trop ka pa, TS ka trup, TS ŧep, CK ti
           trob ki pe, TK ka-tṣup, KT tŭp

l. CT shtr-, TS sr-, TZ št ̧j-, CK sh'tr-, TK ṣtṣe-   ¶ PG *shdr-
   e.g. <u>sweat</u> CT ʔu shtre, TS ta srep, TZ testje, CK ta sh'trid
           TK ṣtṣid

m. CT trh-, TS trh-, CK tr'-, SM tṣ-   ¶ PG *tr-
   e.g. <u>tea</u> CT trha, TS trha, CK tr'e, SM tṣ'a

Among those data the examples k. through m. are retroflexives in
the CT dialect, which I interpret as tr-/trh- sequences (also see the
example of an sr- cluster in l.).

Also the dental series lacks a voiced-unaspirated dental to parallel
the velar and bilabial series so I set up *t- and *d- as the nuclear
initials. Thus the following changes can be induced:

*t-		*d-		*T-	
*Øt-	--→ th-	*Ød-	--→ t-		
*st-	--→ zd-	*sd-	--→ st-		
				*KT-	--→ kt-
				*rT-	--→ rt-
				*shT-	--→ sht-
*Nt-	--→ Nth-	*Nd-	--→ Nt-		
				*shTy-	--→ shty-
*Øtr-	--→ trh	*Ødr-	--→ tr-		

The dentals are neutralized after the prefixes K-, r- and sh-.
Although I categorized the retroflexives in this chapter from the descriptive point of view, I understand that, from the historical point, we have some cases where r- should be regarded as root initials and t- as prefixes. It will be discussed also in Chapter 2.

1.3   Velar

a. CT k-, TS Nk-, CK g-, TK g-, SM k-, WS k-, PT k-, KT k-
                                                    ¶ PG *g-
   e.g. head CT na ko, TS ta Nko, CK ta go, TK ta-go, SM ta-
            ko, WS láku, PT táku, KT tâ-kô

b. CT pk-, TS pk-, SM pk-   ¶ PG *Pg-
   e.g. lid CT wa pkap, TS ʔo pkap, SM ta pkap

c. CT sk-, TS sk-, TK sk-, SM sk-   ¶ PG *sg-
   e.g. voice CT na skat, TS ska, TK Nǎ-skě, SM tǎ ska

d. CT shk-, TS shk-, TZ šk-, CK sh'k-, TK sk-   ¶ PG *shK-
   e.g. onion CT shko, TS shko, TZ šku, CK sh'ko[12], TK
            şkuti

e. CT rk-, TS rk-, CK rk-, SM rk'-, KT rk-   ¶ PG *rK-
   e.g. wing CT wa rkom, TS ʔo rkom, CK tar kom, SM ta rk'am
            KT tâ-rkŏm

f. CT mk-, TS mk-, TZ mk-, CK g-, TK mg-, KT mk-   ¶ PG *Ng-
   e.g. neck CT ʔu mki, TS te mki, TZ temki, CK tim gi, TK
            tâ-mgä, KT tě-mkô

g. CT kh-, TS kh-, TZ khj-, CK k-, TK k'-, WS k'-, HN k'-, KT
   k'-   ¶ PG *k-
   e.g. mouth CT ʔo kha, TS ta kha, TZ tekhje, CK ti ke, TK tâ-
            k'ei, WS tek'á, HN k'á, KT tě-k'â

h. CT zg-, TS zgw-, CK y-   ¶ PG *sk-
   e.g. tent CT zgar, TS zgwar, CK yab

i. CT Ng-, TS rgy-, TZ ng-, CK sg-, TK nk-, SM pk-, KT sk-
                                                    ¶ PG *rK-
   e.g. back CT Ngu, TS rgyap, TZ tañgu, CK ti sgu, TK ñka,
            SM tâ-pkor, KT tě-skû

j. CT ky-, TS ky-, CK ky-, SM cç'-, KT c-   ¶ PG *gy-
   e.g. together CT ka kyas, TS kyas, CK ta-kyas, SM cç'as, KT
            tě-čǎs

k. CT sky-, TS sky-, CK sky'-, KT sčy-   ¶ PG *sgy-
   e.g. to write CT ka ra skyo, TS na ra skyu, CK na ra sky'o
            KT nâ-kŏ-rǎ-sčyŭñ

l. CT khy-, TS ch-, TZ tšh-, CK ky'-, TK tš'-, WS c'- ¶PG *ky-
   e.g. beer[14] CT khya, TS cha, TZ tšhe, CK ky'e, TK tš'iě
            WS č'iá

m. CT ʔkhy-, TS kch-, CK g'ch-, SM ktš'-   ¶ PG *ʔky-
   e.g. short CT ka ʔkhyen, TS ka kchen, CK ki g'chen, SM kǎ
            ktš'an

n. CT mgy-, TS NJ̌-, TZ d̯ž-, CK ny-, KT mJ̌-   ¶ PG *Nky-
   e.g. <u>jaw</u> CT ?o mgya, TS ta NJ̌a, TZ temdže, KT tĕ-mJ̌â

o. CT kr-, TS kr-, TZ nkhr-, CK kr-, TK nk'r-, SM nkr-¶PG*gr-
   e.g. <u>charcoal</u> CT ta krot, TS ta kru, TZ teñkhru, CK r'gya
                       krod, TK tañk'ru, SM ta ñkrot

p. CT skr-, TS skr-, CK skr-, TK sk'r-, SM skr-, KT skr- ¶PG *sgr-
   e.g. <u>body</u> CT ?u skru, TS ?u skrung, CK tis skru, TK tăsk'ri,
                    SM tå skru, KT te-skri

q. CT gshkr-, TS gshkr-   ¶PG *Kshe-
   e.g. <u>rough</u> CT gshkren, TS gshkrak

r. CT khr-, TS dr-, TZ khr-, CK n'br-, SM k'r-, WS k'r-, TR
   dz-   ¶PG *kr-
   e.g. <u>rice</u> CT khri, TS dre, TZ khre, CK n'bres kar, SM k'ri
                    WS k'ri, TR dza

s. CT gr-, TS gr-, CK gr-
   e.g. <u>knife</u> CT gri, TS gri, CK za gri

t. CT zgr-, TS dr-, TK zgr-, WS zgr-   ¶ PG *skr-
   e.g. <u>bracelet</u> CT zgrok, TS drok, TK zgra, WS zgrók

u. CT Ngr-, TS gr-, TZ r-, CK r-, WS r-
   e.g. <u>star</u> CT tsi Ngri, TS tsi gri, TZ tsurer, CK tsu'u ri
                    WS tserí

Since we again have no voiced-unaspirated velar in initial position,
*k- and *g- could be set up as the nuclear consonants. No PG form can
be established for s. and u., since these are loanwords from WT and
Mongolian, respectively.

The velar is neutralized after the prefixes *r- and *sh-; rk-
went to rg- before -y- and to rk- otherwise.

The following changes can be deduced. Thus:

*k-			*g-			*K-		
*∅k-	--→	kh-	*∅g-	--→	k-			
*sk-	--→	zg-	*sg-	--→	sk-			
						*PK-	--→	pk-
*Nk-	--→	Ng-	*Ng-	--→	Nk-			
						*rK-	--→	rg-/___y
								rk-/
								otherwise
						*shK-	--→	shk-
*?k-	--→	kh-	*?g-	--→	?k-			

The other clusters with glides also follow these rules.

1.4   Fricative

a. CT s-, TS s-, TZ s-, CK s-, TK s-, KT s-, ¶PG *s-
   e.g. to kill CT sat, TS sat, TZ sjan, CK ko sad, TK
   ka-săᵈd

b. CT ʔs-, TS ʔs-[15]   ¶PG *Ks-
   e.g. to put off light CT ʔsat, TS ʔsat

c. TZ rs-, TK rs-, SM sr-   ¶PG *rs-
   e.g. life TZ tersa, TK rsag, SM tă srok

d. CT z-, TS z-, CK z-, WS z-, PT z-, HN zh-, KT z-, TR k-
   e.g. to eat CT ta zan, TS ka za, CK ta ni zan, TK ta
   zăᵈ, WS tazăᵈ, PT teza, HN c'ʔzo, KT zai,
   TR na kai   ¶PG *z-

e. CT rz-, TS rz-, CK rz-, TK rts-   ¶PG *rz-
   e.g. eyebrow CT mnyak morzi, TS mnyok morzi, CK myeg
   mor ze, TK mar tsᵊ

f. CT sw-, TS sw-, TZ swj-, CK sw-, TK sy-, SM sw-, HN s-,
   KT s-, TR s-   ¶PG *Sw-
   e.g. tooth CT swa, TS ta swa, TZ swje, CK tis we, TK
   nasyă, SM tăswa, HN so, KT te-siᵉ, TR sa

g. CT sh-, TS sh-, TZ sj-, TK ᵉ-, SM s-, KT s-   ¶PG *sh-
   e.g. meat CT sha TS sha, TZ sje, CK sha po, TK ᵉiă,
   sa, TR shia

h. CT psh-, TZ ms-, CK p'sh-, TK bᵉ-, WS ᵉ-, KT s-   ¶PG *psh-
   e.g. liver CT ta pshi, TZ temsi, TK tăbᵉi, WS tesᵉe,
   KT tᵉ-wᵉ-si

i. CT ksh-, TS ksh-, CK ᵉ'sh-   ¶PG *ksh-
   e.g. quiet CT ka kshin, TS ka kshen, CK ki ᵉ'shen

j. CT msh-, TS mkhy-, TZ mtshj-, CK n'py'-, TK np'y-, KT
   e.g. beautiful CT ka mshor, TS ka mkhyer, TZ kemshjar,
   CK ki n'py'er, TK kenp'yar, KT kᵉ-msar   ¶PG *Nsh-
   TR grang   -ms-

k. CT sh-, TS shi-, TZ sᵉ-, CK sy-, TK ᵉl-, WS šn-, HN rts-
   KT šl-   ¶PG *shl-
   e.g. yesterday CT myi sher, TS ʔa shïn, TZ asïn, CK pi
   syor, TK ʔasïn, WS wasïñ, KT ᵉ-slo

Different from the velar, dental and bilabial series, the
fricative series are rather straightforward. Since aspirated s-,
observed in Burmese, does not exist in this language, I set up *s-
and *z-, and *sh- and *zh- respectively. ʔs-, kept in CT and TS,
seems to come from *Ks-, but this word is probably a loanword from
WT.

I suppose the fricative series followed the changes shown
below.

1.5   Affricate

a. CT ts-, TS ts-, TZ tsj-, CK ts-, TK ts-, KT ts-   ¶PG *dz-
    e.g. grass CT ka tsa, TS tsa, TZ ketsje, CK ka tse, TK tsa, KT kā-tsā

b. CT kts-, TS kts-, CK g'ts-, TK g'ts- KT   ¶PG *KTS-
    e.g. young CT ka ktsi, TS ka ktsey, CK wa bli ki g'tse'i, TK kagtsei, KT tō-tsiā

c. CT rts-, TZ rtsh-, CK rts-, KT rts-   ¶PG *rdz-
    e.g. vein CT ʔu rtsa, TZ tertshe, CK tir tse'i, KT tō-rtsiā

d. CT sts-, TS sk-, CK s'ts-, SM sts-   ¶PG *STS-
    e.g. warm CT ka stse, TS sa skit, CK ko wa s'tsi, SM ka stsiE WS matavantō

e. CT tsh-, TS tš-, CK ch-, TK tš-, WS č'-, PT č'-, HN č'-, KT č'-   ¶PG *ts-
    e.g. water CT khyi/tshi, TS tshi, TZ tetšě, CK ti chii, TK tsi, WS tec'i, PT tec'i, HN č'inc'ia, KT tō-c'i

f. CT ptsh-, TS ptsh-, CK ts-, SM nt'-   ¶PG *PTS-
    e.g. drop CT ta ptshak, TS ptshak, CK ti tseg, SM nt'ak

g. CT rtsh-, TS rts-, SM rts'-   ¶PG *rts-
    e.g. cough CT ʔu rtshos, TS ta rtse, SM rts'os

h. CT tsl-, TS tsl-, CK tsl-, WS tsl-, KT tsl-   ¶PG *dzl-
    e.g. month CT tsla, TS tsla, CK tsl-, WS tietslā, KT tē-tsē-liā

i. CT Ndz-, TK ts-, SM mdzr-, KT dz-   ¶PG *NTS-
    e.g. finger CT na yang zu Ndzo, TK tsafu, KT tā-yāñ dzō, SM ta nzru

j. CT c-, TS c-, TZ tš-, CK ch-, TS tš-, SM tš-, PT c-, KT č'-   ¶PG *J-
    e.g. house CT ta cim, TS cem, TZ tšam, CK chem, TK tšim, SM tsum, WS tewā, PT ciěm, KT c'ŏm, TR chiam   TR ch-

k. CT sc-, TS sc-, CK s'py-, TK sp-   ¶PG *SC-
    e.g. wolf CT scang ku, TS scang ku, CK s'pyong ku, TK spiañ ku

l. CT shc-, TS ry-, CK br-   [PG *shC-]
    e.g. CT ʔa shci, TS ʔu rye, CK tib ri

```
 *s-              *z-              *s-
```

```
*ø̃s- ---> s-          *ø̃z- ---> z-
*rs- ---> rs-         *rz- ---> rz-
                      *Sw- ---> sw-
*Ks- ---> ?s-
```

```
*sh-                          [*zh-]
*ø̃sh- ---> sh-       *ø̃zh- ---> [zh-]
*Psh- ---> psh-
*Ksh- ---> ksh-
*Nsh- ---> Nsh-
```

m. CT mc-, TS mc-, TZ mtš-, CK m-, TK m-, SM mtš-, WS m-, PT
   m-, HN mny-, KT mč'-   ¶PG *NC-
   e.g. fire CT mcik, TS ta mcik, TZ temtšek, CK ti mi, TK
                má, SM tă mtšik, WS temí, PT temé, HN mnyí, KT
                tĕ-mč'ĭk
n. CT ch-, TS ch-, TZ ž-, CK s-, SM tš'-, WS y-, PT s-, KT
   s-   ¶PG *c-
   e.g. goat CT chit, TS chit, TZ kežo, CK kiso, SM tš'ăt
             WS kéyo, PT kosú, HN li, KT ă-kĕ-sû
o. CT kch-, TS kch-, TZ tšh-, CK g'ch'-   ¶PG *Kc-
   e.g. thin CT kchem, TS ka kchem, TZ ketšhim, CK ki g'ch'em
p. CT lĵ-, TS lĵ-, TZ bdž-, CK l'j-, SM ldz-   ¶PG *lC-
   e.g. green[16] CT lĵang ku, TS lĵang ku, TZ bdžamku, CK
             l'jang ku, SM ldzañ sar

As was in the velar, bilabial and dental series, we have no
∅dz- nor ∅ĵ-, and so we have only to set up *ts- and *dz- as the nuclear
initials for the former series and *c- and *ĵ- for the latter.
    The following chart will illustrate the historical changes.

*c-		*ĵ-		*C-		
*∅c-	--→ ch-	*∅ĵ-	--→ c-			
				*KC-	--→	kch-
				*lC-	--→	lĵ-
				*sC-	--→	sc-
				*shC-	--→	shc-
				*NC-	--→	Nc-

*ts-		*dz-		*TS-		
*∅ts-	--→ tsh-	*∅dz-	--→ ts-			
*rts-	--→ rtsh-	*rdz-	--→ rts-			
				*KTS-	--→	kts-
				*PTS-	--→	ptsh-
				*STS-	--→	sts-
				*NTS-	--→	Ndz-

1.6   l & r

a. CT l-, TS l-, TZ l-, CK l-, KT l-   ¶PG *l-
   e.g. milk CT tu lo, TS tu lu, TZ te lu, CK ti lo, KT tĕ-lŭk
b. CT r-, TS r-, TZ r-, CK r-   ¶PG *r-
   e.g. horn CT wu ru, TS te ri, TZ te ru, CK tu ru, KT tĕ-rĕ
c. CT rw-, TS rw-, CK rw-   ¶PG *rw-
   e.g. to get up CT ka rwas, TS ka rwas, CK kir was
d. CT ry-, CK ry-   ¶PG *ry-
   e.g. day CT ta ryak, CK tar yog

It seems to me that *r- and *l- could be set up as the
initials for the series. Some dialects have the voiceless l- for
the initial of the word 'god', but this must be a loanword from
WT.

1.7   Nasal

    a. CT m-, TS m-, CK m-, TK m-, WS m-, PT m-, HN mt'- ¶PG *m-
       e.g. to drink CT ka mot, TS ka mot, CK ko med, TK ka-mod
                WS komű, PT kóm, HN cínt'ĕn

    b. CT rm-, TS rm-, TZ rmj-, CK my-, TK rm-, WS rm-   ¶PG *rm-
       e.g. to sleep CT ka rma, TS ka rma, TZ karmje, CK ti myed
             ki yu, TK kă-rmiä, WS kormán

    c. CT sm-, TS sm-, TZ sm-, CK s̆m-, TK sm-   ¶PG *sm-
       e.g. wool CT smok, TS smok, TZ smak, CK pi s'mag, TK smag

    d. CT shm-, TS shmy-, TZ s̃m-, CK sh'n-, KT s̆m-   ¶PG *shm-
       e.g. tongue CT ni shme, TS te shmye, TZ tes̃mi, CK ti sh'ni
             KT tĕ-s̃mi

    e. CT n-, TS n-, CK n-, TK sn-, SM n-, WS n-, KT n- ¶PG *n-
       e.g. black CT ka nak, TS ka nak, CK ki-nag, TK snag, SM
            mă nak, WS kanák, KT kă-năk

    f. CT rn-, TS rn-, TZ rnj-, CK rw-, TK rn-   ¶PG *rn-
       e.g. rib CT ko rnam, TS ta rnum, TZ tarnom, CK tor wom

    g. CT sn-, TS sn-, CK sh'n-, TK șn-, WS s̆n-, PT s̆n-, HN sn-
       KT s̆n-   ¶PG *sn-
       e.g. nose CT ?u sna, TS te sna, CK ti sh'ne, TK șne, WS
           tes̆ná, PT tes̆ní, HN snó, KT tĕ-s̆nâ

    h. CT ng-, TS ng-, TZ ñ-, CK ng-, SM ñ-, WS y-, KT ñ-¶PG *ng-
       e.g. I CT nga, TS nga, TZ ña, CK ngo, SM ña, WS yó, KT
           ñô

    i. CT mng-, TS mng-, CK m'ng-, KT mñ-   ¶PG *Nng-
       e.g. knee CT ?o mnga, TS ta mngo, CK tu m'nge, KT tĕ-mñĕ̆

    j. CT sng-, TS sng-, CK s'ng-, WS l-, KT ñ-   ¶PG *sng-
       e.g. blue CT sngon po, TS sngon po, CK s'ngon po, WS lăn
           KT ñŏn-pô

    k. CT ngw-, TS ngw-, TZ ñwj-, CK ng-, WS ngw-, PT ngw-, KT
       ñ-   ¶PG *ngw-
       e.g. ᵇcow CT ni ngwa, TS ti ngwa, TZ niñwje, CK ni nge, TK
           ba liä, SM bo la, WS núngwa, PT nungwé, KT nŏñ-â

    l. CT ny-, TS ny-, CK n-, TK n-, SM ñ-   ¶PG *ny-
       e.g. to sit CT na nyin, TS ka nyi, CK na nun, TK ka-nȧ
           SM ka-ñi

    m. CT rny-, TZ rñ-, CK r'my-, TK rñ-, SM rñ-, KT rn- ¶PG *rny-
       e.g. hair CT ta rnye, TZ tarñek, CK ta ko r'myi, TK ko rñi
           SM ta rñiE, KT tâkô rnî

n. CT mny-, TS mny-, TZ mň-, CK my-, TK mñ-, WS mn-, KT
   mń-   ¶PG *Nny-
   e.g. <u>eye</u> CT mnyak, TS ta mnyok, TZ temňa, CK ti myeg, TK
        mñag, WS temniăk, KT tě-mñăk
o. CT shny-, TS shny-, CK sh'n-, TK şn-, WS šn-, KT
   šn-   ¶PG *shny-
   e.g. <u>today</u> CT pi shnyi, TS ?a shnyi, CK pi sh'ni, TK Na-
        şnǎ, WS asní, KT ă-šnê

From the given data, the following nasal initials and clusters
would be set up:

*∅m-	*rm-	*sm-		
*∅n-	*rn-	*sn-	*shn-	
*∅ny-	*rny-		*shny-	*Nny-
*∅ng-		*sng-		*Nng-
*∅ngw-				

Consider the patterns found in the system as a whole, we should
strongly expect *rng- and *sny-. But they are not in evidence.

1.8   w, y, h and ?

a. CT w-, TS w-, CK w-, TK w-, SM w-, WS w-, KT w- ¶PG *w-
   e.g. <u>mountain</u> CT ta wat, TS ta wat, CK ta wed, TK ta wued
                        SM tawat, WS tǎwa, KT tâwě
b. CT y-, TS y-, TZ s-, CK y-, TK jy-, SM j-, PT y-, KT y-
                                                    ¶PG *y-
   e.g. <u>sheep</u> CT ka yo, TS ka yo, TZ kesu, CK ki-yo, TK
        kǎjyo, SM kǎ jo, PT koyó, KT ă-kě-yû
c. CT ?-, TS ?-   ¶PG *V-/ *?a-
   e.g. <u>wrist</u> CT wa ya ?o tsik, TS ta yak ?a tsik
d. CT ?-, TS ?-, CK w-, TK w-   ¶PG *w-
   e.g. <u>deaf</u> CT ko wa ?os, TS ta?o, CK ta wo, TK wuo
e. CT h-   ¶PG *h-

From the data given, I set up *w-, *y- and *h-. I do not think
we need to set up *?-, since in example d. the ?- came from *w-
originally, and in example c. ?o- and ?a- were in reality a set of
prefixes; in other words, the examples in c. came from *a-tsik or
*ă-tsik.

2. DISCUSSION OF THE PROTO-rGYARONG INITIALS

Summarizing the data 1.1 through 1.8, the following chart illustrating the PG initials could be deduced:

*p-	*t-	*k-				
*b-	*d-	*g-				
*m-	*n-			*ny-	*ng-	
*s-	*ts-	*sh-	*c-			*h-
*z-	*dz-	*zh-	*ǰ-			
	*r-					*w-
	*l-					*y-

However, *sh- and *zh, which I reconstructed, are palatal, and so, they could be re-interpreted as *sy- and *zy respectively; similarly, it seems also possible to interpret *c- and *ǰ- as *tsy- and *dzy- severally.

Therefore, it is concluded that the PG had *k-, *g-, *p-, *b-, *t-, *d-, *m-, *n-, *ng-, *s-, *z-, *ts-, *dz-, *r-, *l-, *h-, *w- and *y- as the initials.

Then, how do the PG initials correspond with the PTB ones? The following is the list of those correspondences:

	PG	PTB
a. velar		
head	*Ngo(1.3.a)	*m-gaw
mouth	*ka(1.3.g)	*m-ka
b. bilabial		
ash	*lbe(1.1.f)	*pla[17]
pig	*pak(1.1.g)	*pak
white	*brom(1.1.k)	*bok
c. dental		
poison	*duk [CT tuk, TZ tado, CK ta dog]	*duk
saliva	*syTyik(1.2.j)	*tuk/*twiy
d. fricative		
to kill	*Ksat(1.4.a)	*g-sat
to eat	*zan(1.4.d)	*dzan
leopard	*sydzyik [KT kĕ-sčĭk CK ki sh'chig TZ kheŝtŝek SM zuk]	*zik
meat	*sya(1.4.g)	*sya
liver	*Psyi(1.4.h)[18]	*m-sin
e. affricate		
vein	*dza(1.5.c)	*r-sa

hot(taste)	* mar tsap	* tsa
	[CT mar tshap	
	TS mar tshap]	
urine	* sydzyi(1.5.1)	* źȧy/* tsyi
goat	* tsyit(1.5.n)	* tsit
green	* ldzyang gu(1.5.p)	* dzim[19]

f. l & r

penis	* lem[20]	* li
	[CT u lem, TS ta lem]	
horn	* ru(1.6.b)	* ruñ
six	* druk	* d-ruk
	[CT ka truk, TZ keto	
	CK ki trog, TK kȧ-	
	tşuo, WS kočó, HN	
	ktrŭ, KT kûtŏk]	
day	* ryak(1.6.d)	* ryak

g. nasal

ripe	* smin	* s-min
	[CT smin, TS smin	
	CK ki s'min, TK smi]	
black	* nak(1.7.e)	* nak
I	* nga(1.7.h)	* ña

h. w, y & h

tooth	* swa(1.6.f)	* s-wa
itchy	* ra K-ya	* g-ya[21]
sneeze	* hap tsyo(1.8.e)	-----

Judging from the given data, the PG initials are almost identical with the PTB ones. It could be concluded that, in general, the PG initial system is very similar to the PTB one in regard both to the system and to particular lexical items. But, there are few correspondences between the two with regard to the fricative and affricate series. Despite attempts on my part which included setting up various intermediate stages, correspondences have not been worked out. This problem remains to be solved.

3. DISCUSSION OF THE PROTO-rGYARONG PREFIXES

The prefix system which I reconstructed also seems to coincide with the PTB prefixes fairly well. Thus:

	PTB		PG
a.	* b-	--→	* P-
b.	* d-	--→	* t-/___r
			∅-/ otherwise
c.	* g-	--→	* K-
d.	* r-	--→	* r-
e.	* l-	--→	* l-

f. *s-   --→   *s-

g. *a- }
    *ʔá- }   --→   *v-

h. *N-   --→   *N-

i. ???   --→   *sy-

Although there are many cases where those correspondences do not always work, I would like to list the examples illustrating the rough correspondences of the two. The sign Δ stands for discrepancy.

		PTB		PG
a.	four	*b-lǎy	--→	*gu Pli[22] [CT ku bli, CK ki m'pli TK kǎwudǎ, SM kǎ wdi WS koplǐ, PT koplí KT kǫ̆-udî, HN zǐ]
	liver	*m-sin	--→	Δ *Psyi(1.4.h)[23]
b.	six	*d-ruk	--→	*druk(2.f)
	to sew	*d-rup	--→	*drup(1.2.k)
c.	to kill	*g-sat	--→	*Ksat(1.4.b)
	big	*tay	--→	Δ *Kde(1.2.b)[24]
d.	vein	*r-sa	--→	*rdza(1.5.c)
	ear	*r-na	--→	*rna [CT rna, TS ta rna, TZ ternje, CK dir rne, TK rna, SM tǎ rna, WS trnǎ, PT trní, HN námc'o, KT tĕ-rnâ]
e.	ash	*pla	--→	*lbe(1.1.f)
	green	*dzim	--→	Δ *ldzyang gu(1.5.p)
f.	nose	*s-na	--→	*sna(1.7.g)
	body	*s-kuw	--→	*sgru[27] [CT u skru, TS ʔu skrung CK tis skru, TK tǎsk'ri SM tǎ skru, KT te-skri]
g.	father	*a-pa	--→	*Vba[28] [CT ʔa pa, TS a pa, CK nga pa, TK ʔa piä, WS gǎpạ, KT â-tâ-tâ, PT pai]
	mother	*a-ma	--→	*Vma [CT nga ma, TS ʔa ma, CK ngu mo, TK ʔa-mo, KT â- mâ, TR mai]
h.	head	*m-gaw	--→	*Ngo(1.3.a)
	jaw	*m-ka	, --→	*Nkya(1.3.n)

lip	*s-nes	--→	*synas
			[CT synam tsya, TS
			syna pak, TZ temt̯shi
			CK ti m'ch'u, TK
			mts̆'e, KT tĕ-s̄näs]
heart	*s-niñ	--→	*syni(t)
			[CT u syne, TS trun
			trun, TZ tes̆nit, CK
			ti sh'ni, TK ṣni, WS
			teṣní, KT tĕ-sni, PT
			pu' shin]
saliva	*s-twa	--→	*sytyik(1.1.k)
cheek	???	--→	*sypa
	*ba²(PLB)		[CT wu̇ zhba, TS ta
			zhba?, TZ tekharpha
			CK ti zh'we, KT tĕ-
			sbĭĕ]
J.rough	*gram	--→	Δ *Ksygren(1.3.q)

Also I cannot explain the history of the prefix in *Ksygren rough.
This is the only example of the PlP2 prefix, and my suspicion is that
*Ksy- is not a prefix at all but rather a compound consisting of two
nouns

Also I cannot explain the history of the prefix in Ksygren rough.
This is the only example of the PlP2 prefix and my suspicion is that
*Ksy- is not a prefix at all but rather a noun meaning character. In
other words, *Ksygren is a compound consisting of two nouns: Ksy [i]
plus gren (character + rough). Although rGyarong has a completely
separate form for character, WT has the form gshis. My hypothesis is,
therefore, that rGyarong borrowed this word from WT at some stage and,
since they have always used it as a compound, the word became idiomatic
and the rGyarong speakers lost their awareness of its compound nature.
If my hypothesis is accurate, all the rGyarong syllables have the
structure PCi(G)VCf, and the system as a whole has been made simplier
and more internally consistent.
These two problems need to be solved in the near future by tracing
the histories of the relevant words in other TB languages.

4. EPILOGUE

The readers will find no chapter entitled conclusion in this paper,
since, in my opinion, a conclusion should be reserved until one succeeds
in reconstructing the PG rhyme system; one cannot say that the proto-
system of any language is established if only parts of either the prefix/
initials or the rhymes have been reconstructed. Indeed, the

rhyme system for PG was proposed in a paper which I precirculated at the 11th Sino-Tibetan Linguistics Conference in 1978, but the forms shown there were really tentative.

In this chapter, I should like to abstain from saying anything decisive, and to discuss and point out some problematical aspects of the PG prefixes and initials within the limited framework which I dealt with in the previous chapters.

My intention was to counteract the previous tendency of many scholars who tended to compare rGyarong directly with WT, and to reconstruct PG first, in order to be able to compare it with some appropriate languages in the sub-groups of TB which seem to be nearer to PG than WT is. Behind this was the idea that PG would prove to have a similar historical status to Proto-Lolo-Burmese(PLB) in the context of TB studies as a whole. After trying to do that, I found that my idea was basically valid, although all sorts of complications arose in practice.

A great deal of attention to the loanwords from WT or Chinese was paid, and I would believe that I succeeded in distinguishing native rGyarong words from the others. And consequently, my reconstruction has much more reliability than the other attempts made in the past few decades; in this sense, I was right. But, the forms the author has been led to hypothesize for PG are surprisingly closer in appearance to PTB itself than are the forms reconstructed for PLB. As is mentioned in Chapters 2 & 3, PG has a strikingly similar system of prefixes and initials to PTB. This could mean that PG is not on the same taxonomic level as PLB, but reflects a much older historical stage. One possible interpretation of this is that the PTB set up in STC(Benedict 1972) represents a rather recent level only, and that there might exist another and older stage of PTB than the PTB generally accepted today. Another possibility is that, if this PTB really represents the oldest stage of the TB languages, the branch-off of PG from PTB might have happened much earlier than Shafer and Hale suggested[cf. Shafer 1966, and Hale, A.: <u>Clause, Sentence, and Discourse Patterns in Selected Languages of Nepal</u>(1973)].

The next thing which the author would like to point out is that rGyarong seems to consist of two strata at least; one is related to the Tibetan group and the other to the Chin group. Perhaps I shall eventually be able to add the Bodo-Naga group as the third stratum which is partially comparable to PG. Even after getting rid of WT-like forms from rGyarong, the verb system is strongly reminiscent of WT. Since I could not figure out those differences of stratum in this paper, that topic will be dealt with on some subsequent occasion. By the way, the author is of the opinion that Lepcha and Trung are not so closely related genetically to rGyarong although they are widely believed to be so. It is true that rGyarong, T[a]rung and Rong(Lepcha) have the common morph <u>rong</u> meaning 'valley', but as far as I have investigated, they are not so close to each other; Trung must be in the Tibetan group, while Rong perhaps belong with Vayu-Bahing.

This paper is a preliminary step towards establishing a tentative position for PG in the TB family. In the future the author plans to pursue these investigations by checking more individual lexical items, as well as the verbal system of the langauge.

5. NOTES

§　This paper originally appeared as the master's thesis at the University of California, Berkeley, submitted in 1978. My sincere thanks are due to Professor Wallace L. Chafe, Professor James A. Matisoff and Professor Kun Chang, who have been supervising my studies at Berkeley for their suggestions and constructive criticisms.

(1)　It is generally believed that Tibetan letters were introduced by Thon mi Sambhota, one of the ministers of Srong btsan sgam po, and that the same person wrote "Sum cu pa" and "rTags kyi 'jug pa" as the principles of Tibetan grammar. Although this tradition is highly doubtful, it is attested that the letters were actually used in the middle of the 7th century. For instance, a Tibetan document from Touen-houang says as follows, in a description on Khri srong brtsan's activities:
　　　bod la snga na yi ge myed pa yang,
　　　btsan po 'di 'i tshe byung nas......
　　　[in Tibet there was no letter before, but
　　　 in the times of this king, (characters) came out...]
　　　(Bacot et al.: Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à
　　　 l'histoire du Tibet, Paris, 1940, p.118, 1. 16-24)
And another document also from Touen-houang says:
　　　blon che stong rtsan gyis, 'gor tir bka' khrims gyi
　　　yi ge bris phar lo gcig
　　　[after the characters of authorized laws were written
　　　 by Minister(mGar) sTong rtsan, one year(passed)]
　　　("Tibetan Chronicle", the description of 655 A.D.,
　　　 cited in Bacot et al. 1940, p.13, 1.26-7)
Those descriptions tell us that Tibetan people had had their letters by 655 A.D. at the latest.

(2)　It goes without saying that it is necessary to reconstruct PG before comparing it with WT. In the rGyarong side, we must check what kinds of strata are found in that language. Since the rGyarong area is a place where many waves of immigration by Tibetans, Uighurs, Ch'iang people and Mongolians tided, the tongue has been influenced by other languages (see Epilogue). Also in the WT side, so-called WT has strata. I can point out two kinds of WT at least; one is the WT named chos skad (language of religion) and another is the WT which had no relation with Buddhist Tibetan and which developed on the basis of spoken features. The chos skad was developed by translating Buddhist texts brought from West India, and it

has a strongly consistent syntax and such a regular
correspondence of lexical items to Sanskrit versions that
we can reconstruct dispersed Sanskrit sentences
canons. In this chos skad too, we can find two sorts: older
way of translation and the new one. Under the reign of Khri
lde srong btsan(777-815 A.D.), the lexicon called "Mahāvyut-
patti" was compiled and translation has been done in a
unified form since this book. We call translation since
this book skad gsar(new language). The year of the compilation
seems to have been 814 A.D. judging from the description of
'sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa' which is the supplement to
"Mahāvyutpatti".
The second kind of WT has few relationship with the Buddhist
Tibetan, but in the process of the development it was so much
influenced by the Buddhist Tibetan that we can say it is a
contaminated form of spoken aspects and the first kind of
WT. This kind of WT is usually found in the other documents
than Tibetan Tripitaka, for instance, those from Touen-houan
or Turkestan and those with Bon religion's source.
In this paper, the WT 1 dealt with is mostly of the second
kind.

(3)   This fact is known by dPa'o gtsug lag 'phreng ba: Dam pa'i
chos kyi 'khor los bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed
pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston, vol.Ja, for instance.
The first immigration from another area into the rGyarong
region which can be attested by concrete documents was in the
6th century. The Khyung po family which resided at dNgul mkhar
of Shang shung(west Tibet) moved to Khams stod area of
Sichuan, making their colony and many Bonpo monasteries there;
similarly Bon religion which we find in rGyal mo tsha ba rong
(rGyarong) was brought by sBrang family in the dMu clan who
was originally from Shang shung[cf. Z.Yamaguchi: Bon-po no
toosen, Annual Report of Japan Association of Tibetan Studies
No. 19, 1973].

(4)   cf. Kun Chang 1967

(5)   I used in this paper only two kinds of dialects as the material
of historical consideration; CT and TS. I got another informant
from Prokho of rGyarong, but that place is not yet identified
since his information of his native place does not necessarily
coincide with maps. I suspect that it must be [ṣakho]
described as 鵲箇 in 松潘縣志, but I hold my conclusion
until I have more precise information.

(6)   cf. Chin P'eng 1957

(7)   Rather recent political documents of Tibet say that rGyarong
consists of 18 regions where separate dialects which are not
intercommunicable are spoken. But, according to my informants,
this is not the case. rGyarong is divided into two areas roughly;
rGyal mo rong, which is to the west from Suo-mo, and Tsha ba
rong, of which center is Tsha kho(li fan, in the modern naming).

And, those two dialects are not communicable with each other,
but within each area they can communicate by their own dialects.
I think this explanation is very persuasive since this division
agrees with   the historical events. As I mentioned in
Note (3), the predominant clans of the area were Khyung po and
sBrang both of which were originally from Shang shung, and
both clans established their own kingdoms in the 7th century
separately. This state continued until Ming dynasty's times.

(8)   For example, Shafer set up the following correspondence rules
          the prefixes g- and d-.

Old Tibetan Balti
g-   x-/___voiceless initials and nasals
             g-/___voiced initials except for nasals
d-   r-/___voiceless velars
             r-/___voiced velars

According to me, this chart is nonsense since g- and d-
are in complementary distribution both in OT and modern Tibetan;
g- appears before c-, ts-, t-, d-, sh-, zh-, z- s-,y-, ny- and
n-; and d- appears before k-, p-, g-, b-, ng- and m-.
I will treat prefixes with their combination with initials
rather than regard them as separate units from initials.

(9)   See p.37.
(10)   For nominals, there are three sorts of prefixes. If they want
        to refer to a noun as a substancial thing, they will use ta-
        prefix in CT an TS, and if that noun belongs to anyone---that
        is, if it is referred to as possessive they will use na-
        prefix. As for ?a- prefix I cannot specify how it was used
        yet, but it will be allowed to say that ?a- prefix can traced
        up to the PTB prefix a- or ?a-[cf. 3.g.].
(11)   Setting directional prefixes attached to verbs aside, there
        are two prefixes; ka- and sa-. The sa- prefix is always used
        for forming causative, which is comparable with WT and Kachin
        [cf. Nishida: Chibettogo dooshikoozoo no kenkyuu, Gengo Kenkyuu
        vol. 33, 1957, and Nishida: Kachingo no kenkyuu, Gengo Kenkyuu
        vol. 38, 1960]. The ka- prefix is rather new one, and I guess
        this was created much later than PG branched off from PTB.
        This prefix is observed in all the rGyarong dialects today.
        As for directional prefixes attached to verbs, see Wen Yu '43.
(12)   The -'- means that the informant wrote a tsheg(syllable
        boundary in Tibetan orthography) there. I think, therefore, the
        actual pronunciation was like [sako].
        By the way, I would like to mention the way this dialect was
        described. The informant of Chos-kia dialect was a professional
        interpretor of rGyarong and Central Tibetan who served
        rGyarong government, translating political documents between
        the two languages. Edgar handed him a list of WT, and the informant
        wrote down the equivalent rGyarong words in Tibetan letters.

Edgar's material is the romanization of them, and so this is a little bit different from so-called linguistic field work. However, the consistency is so strong that, if we know the Central Tibetan fairly well, we can reconstruct the phonemic system of this dialect. This sort of material is, from my experience, much more reliable than a half linguistic description.

(13) This must be ta-rkom, but since r- prefix functions to raise pitch in Central Tibetan, the informant seems to have used this transcription intentionally.

(14) The form for 'tea' is PG *tra.

(15) I believe that the forms of 1.4.a. and 1.4.b. have the same etymology; *Ksat. This proto-form split at some stage into the two forms in order to distinguish each other. By the way modern Tibetan also has the same expression for 'to kill fire, to extinguish' as 1.4.b.

(16) This is perhaps a loanword from WT.

(17) This is an example of metathesis.

(18) We have a possibility of reconstructing msyi, using TS.

(19) In a sense this example is not appropriate; PTB dzim originally means 'unripe'.

(20) We have some nasals in this language whose origin cannot be traced.

(21) Examples for 'itchy': CT$_5$ra g$_{\Gamma}$ya, TS ka ra ?ya, CK pag si, TR pu^5 sa

The examples of CK and TR seems to have some relationship with *m-sak shown in STC. pu^5- and pag would come from 'skin'. The regular correspondence, PTB *l-: PG *y-, is also observed, e.g. hand PTB *lak PG *yak.

(22) This must be a metathesis.

(23) see (18).

(24) The K- prefix must be a new and secondary one.

(25) see (17).

(26) see (19).

(27) We cannot define this etymology. My hypothesis is that the -r- came from 'corpse'. In TK both corpse and body are taskru/tá-şkri, and in WT corpse is ro. But in TS and CK, corpse is wom and ?om.

(28) Both PTB and PG, this prefix is used for kinship terms.

6. ENGLISH-PTB/PG INDEX

cloud	1.2.g	neck	1.3.f
cold	1.2.c	nose	1.7.g
cough	1.5.g	onion	1.3.d
cow	1.7.k	outside	1.1.e
day	1.6.d	penis	2.f
deaf	1.8.d	pig	1.1.g
to drink	1.7.a	poison	2.c
drop	1.5.f	pus	1.1.b
ear	3.d	to put off light	1.4.b
to eat	1.4.d	quiet	1.4.i
eye	1.7.n	rib	1.7.f
eyebrow	1.4.e	rice	1.3.r
father	3.g	ripe	2.g
finger	1.5.i	rough	1.3.q
fire	1.5.m	saliva	1.2.j
four	3.a	to sew	1.2.k
front	1.2.e	sheep	1.8.b
full	1.1.i	short	1.3.m
to get up	1.6.c	shoulder	1.1.d
goat	1.5.n	to sit	1.7.1
grass	1.5.a	six	2.f
green	1.5.p	to sleep	1.7.b
hair	1.7.m	sneeze	1.8.e
hat	1.2.d	star	1.3.u
head	1.3.a	sweat	1.2.1
heart	3.i	tea	1.2.m
horn	1.6.b	tent	1.3.h
horse	1.1.1	thin	1.5.o
hot(taste)	2.e	thirsty	1.1.c
house	1.5.j	today	1.7.o
how much?	1.2.h	together	1.3.j
I	1.7.h	tongue	1.7.d
itchy	2.h	tooth	1.4.f
jaw	1.3.n	urine	1.5.1
to kill	1.4.a	vein	1.5.c
knee	1.7.i	voice	1.3.c
knife	1.3.s	to vomit	1.1.h
leopard	2.d	waist	1.2.i
lid	1.3.b	warm	1.5.d
life	1.4.c	water	1.5.e
lip	3.i	wheat	1.2.a
liver	1.4.h	white	1.1.k
meat	1.4.g	wing	1.3.e
milk	1.6.a	wolf	1.5.k
month	1.5.h	wool	1.7.c
mother	3.g	wrist	1.8.c
mountain	1.8.a	to write	1.3.k
mouth	1.3.g	year	1.1.a
		yesterday	1.4.k
		young	1.5.b