THE TIBETAN SYSTEM
OF
WRITING

Roy Andrew Miller
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The research and compilation of which this work is a result were brought to completion under a subvention from the Board on Overseas Training and Research (Ford Foundation)

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LITHOGRAPHED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY THE WASHINGTON PLANOGRAPH COMPANY
PREFACE

A grant from the Ford Foundation made it possible for the author to carry out field research in spoken Tibetan in Darjeeling, West Bengal, India, during the period September 1953 to March 1954. The materials presented in this study were collected during that period by working with Tibetan-speaking informants resident in that area. The pamphlet was completed in manuscript in the summer of 1954 and immediately accepted for inclusion in the publications series of the Program in Oriental Languages of the American Council of Learned Societies; but publication was not undertaken immediately because of the typographic difficulties, which were ultimately solved by the editor's lettering-in the Tibetan as well as doing the typewriter composition and editorial revision. The author was fortunate enough to be far removed from the scene of these labors, so that his first and last obligation with respect to the present publication consisted in reading the page-proofs. It was fortunately not necessary to undo any of the editor's changes, most of them minor, which on the whole improved the clarity of presentation as well as harmonizing this with another of my publications (see the note to 3.21).

The author's appreciation is also due to Professor Mary R. Haas, of the University of California, both for the original suggestion out of which this work grew, and for the training and encouragement which made its completion possible. Mention must also be made of the patience and cooperation of my Tibetan informants, without which my fieldwork in India could not have been carried out.

International Christian University
Tokyo, Japan
September, 1955

Roy Andrew Miller
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1. PHONEMES AND SYMBOLS

1.01 The Tibetan system of writing is an alphabetic script on syllabic principles, based upon an Indic prototype, perfected in the ninth century, and since then used in Tibet for a variety of purposes. Though chiefly known to the Occident as the script in which the Tibetan translation and recension of the Buddhist canon has been transmitted, its use, both in the past and at the present time, is by no means restricted to the religious domain: it is the system of writing employed for any purpose for which a script is needed, from newspapers to billboards.

1.02 By omission and addition the Indic prototype upon which the Tibetan system was based, was adjusted to the facts of the Tibetan language of the time; but even today this same script still serves as an efficient and comparatively unambiguous method of writing even a language as far removed from ninth-century Tibetan as the dialect of Central Tibet has come to be. The present work is a synchronic description of the Tibetan system of writing, as it operates in present-day usage, with respect to this Central Tibetan colloquial.

1.03 Since it is a living language with which we are concerned here, and with the method by which it is customarily written by its speakers, we must begin with a skeleton statement of the phonemic system of Central Tibetan (CT).

1.1 CT has 44 segmental and suprasegmental phonemes, as follows:

1.11 35 segmental consonant phonemes (C): a voiceless unaspirated, a voiceless aspirated, a voiced unaspirated stop, and a voiced nasal, each, at the labial (p ph b m), dental (t th d n), palatal (t th d n), and velar (k kh g g) articulatory positions; the stops as just listed, but not the nasals, at the retroflex (t th d) position; the same, in palatal (t tsh dzh) and alveolar (ts tsh dz) affrication; alveolar (s) and palatal (z) spirants, both voiceless; glottal stop (?) and spirant (h), both voiceless; voiced and voiceless aspirated laterals (l l f) and flaps (r f), and voiced labial (w) and palatal (y) semivowels.
1.12 7 segmental vocalic phonemes (V):

\[ \text{i u u e o o a} \]

1.13 2 suprasegmental features of tone (T): a high feature, here unmarked, and a low feature, here marked by a grave accent ('); thus: la [high tone], là [low tone].

1.14 The syllable of CT is of the shape CVT(C); that is, each syllable has one initial consonant-phoneme, one vowel, and one tone; but there may be one final consonant or none. There are no C or V clusters, nor does V ever appear without initial C.

1.2 The script uses the following 34 symbols:

1.21 5 double-value stop-consonant symbols:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Used to write</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कँ गँ</td>
<td>[Unless tone-sandhi has operated (as it does in compounds: see 3.123f), the tone is low in a syllable whose initial consonant is written with one of these symbols. The ambiguity with respect to voicing is cleared up by the use of prescripts or superscripts or both when the initial consonant is voiced: details in 2.113 ff.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.22 5 single-value stop-consonant symbols:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Used to write</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>[Since our transcription indicates high tone by writing nothing, in contrast to the ' which writes 'low tone', the lack of accent-mark in this list is significant: the use of one of these symbols for the initial consonant of a syllable positively signifies high tone, and we indicate the same fact here by writing no further mark with our transcription of the stop.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ b d dz d dz g p t ts t t ts k ? ph th tsh th tsh kh s f s h w l r y m n \]
1.23 5 aspirated-stop-consonant symbols:

kh
th
ph
tsh

[In CT, syllables beginning with an aspirated stop all have high tone; hence a single set of symbols will suffice for this series of consonants, while two sets are provided and used for the unaspirated-stop series to get a simple indication of phonemic tone, as listed above in 1.21 and 1.22.]

1.24 6 continuant-consonant symbols:

v
n
m
h
l
r

[Since these symbols are ambiguous as to tone, the tone of the syllable requires a different sort of indication. As remarked in 2.12, the favorite sort of tone-indication then is the use of prescript and superscript letters, called 'silent' because they signify no segmental phoneme nowadays, whatever their former or etymological value may have been (which is often questionable because of their new modern function).]

1.25 4 sibilant-consonant symbols:

s
s`

1.26 5 miscellaneous symbols:

?`
`h`

1.27 4 overt vowel-symbols:

i
e
o
u

[The dotted rectangle here indicates the consonantal writing above (for i e o) or below (for u) which the vowel-symbol is placed; absence of any vowel-symbol spells 'a'. These five values may be altered by various conventions detailed later on; for instance, many e syllables lack any vowel-symbol, as if the vowel were a, and the e value is signalled by silent consonant-symbols written as finals; and by similar tricks the o and u symbols serve for ö and ü.]
1.31 The consonant-symbols are written so that they seem to hang from an imaginary line, which is to a great extent made into a real line of dots and dashes by the lining-up of the bars and dots which form the top part of the majority of symbols; the syllable-ending point (tsheg; 1.34) also falls in this line: 

The last mark in this example is the sentence-final punctuation-mark. This particular sentence is extraordinary, for a sentence of such length, in not containing a single example of subscript or superscript writing. A consonant-symbol may be written below or above another consonant symbol. A symbol written below another is called a subscript. The two subscript symbols and are usually thought of as the abbreviated forms of the symbols [r] and [y] respectively; they are common and important because they are the normal means of converting other symbols into symbols for retroflex or palatal consonants. Other subscripts and superscripts may be thought of as 'silent letters' which, whatever their etymological values may have been, today have significances ranging from zero to indication of tone or of voicing (as detailed below, beginning at 2.1.1). A few of the consonant symbols require a little practise to recognize when in subscript position; thus \( \underline{\text{\textsc{h}}} \) under \( \underline{\text{\textsc{t}}} \) becomes \( \underline{\text{\textsc{h}}} \); but in general these ligatures are not confusing, and at any rate, at least one example of each is given below. The symbol \( \underline{\text{\textsc{d}}} \), called wāsūr, usually spoken of as the subscript abbreviation of \( \underline{\text{\textsc{h}}} \), has no function in the writing of the language, except for a few cases where it serves as a mater lectionis for the vowel 'a'. The spelling of words using it must therefore be memorized. Thus, \( \underline{\text{\textsc{d}}} \) 'hot', but \( \underline{\text{\textsc{d}}} \) 'salt', both phonemically tsha.

1.32 Symbols written above other consonant symbols are called superscripts. Thus \( \underline{\text{\textsc{w}}} \) superscript to \( \underline{\text{\textsc{t}}} \) gives \( \underline{\text{\textsc{w}}} \). Note that \( \underline{\text{\textsc{s}}} \) in superscript position is slightly abbreviated to \( \underline{\text{\textsc{s}}} \), except above \( \underline{\text{\textsc{h}}} \); thus \( \underline{\text{\textsc{s}}} \) superscript to \( \underline{\text{\textsc{t}}} \) gives \( \underline{\text{\textsc{h}}} \), but to \( \underline{\text{\textsc{h}}} \) gives \( \underline{\text{\textsc{h}}} \). It is always the topmost consonantal symbol that hangs from the standard writing-line, no matter whether it is itself significant and has a subscript, or is on the other hand superscript to the segmentally significant consonant-symbol. However, no ambiguity is possible in the regular spellings: given a pile \( \underline{\text{\textsc{s}}} \), the reader always knows (a) that \( \underline{\text{\textsc{s}}} \) is always a superscript to what is under it, or (b) that \( \underline{\text{\textsc{s}}} \) is one of a known set of subscripts, or else (c) that \( \underline{\text{\textsc{s}}} \) is a familiar arbitrary combination; see 2.1.1 ff for the details.
1.33 In addition, a consonant-symbol, called 'prescript', with auxiliary significance or none, may be written before the initial-consonant spelling; and consonant-symbols called 'postscripts' may appear at the end of the syllable with auxiliary significance or none. The sentence in 1.31 begins with a syllable spelled lgs with no overt vowel. Since $\mathbb{N}$ never is used as a prescript, it must be the initial-consonant spelling, and with no vowel overtly symbolized we read la(gs) or là(gs). Now the $\mathbb{N}$ s is clearly a postscript and is silent; but the $\mathbb{G} g$ is called a 'final' although it, too, is silent in this word: là. The last syllable of the sentence has a silent final $\mathbb{G}$ d with the auxiliary function of indicating that the vowel-sign $\mathbb{V}$ stands for $\mathbb{E}$ rather than $\mathbb{O}$. The fourth syllable is the only one with a prescript in this sentence; the fact that $\mathbb{N}$ is prescript is obvious from the placement of the vowel-sign below the true initial consonant-symbol, and the syllable is to be read as thuŋ with final $\mathbb{G}$ pronounced as usual: it is not one of the list of silent finals.

1.34 Each written syllable is followed by a written point, called $\mathbb{T}$ tsheg, which falls on the writing-line from which the consonant-symbols depend; it is customarily written (although we do not follow the custom) after any consonant-symbol or sequence of symbols cited in discussion or listed or used (as we use A, B, C, &c) as sequence-labels instead of numerals, and so on: in short, it is not customary to write a consonant-symbol before an open space without insulating it with at least a tsheg. In text, the tsheg may be thought of as a single symbol writing the several junctures of the language, but its only practical significance is that it cuts the syllables apart for the reader and enables him to spot the prescripts and postscripts. The conclusion of the longer grammatical units of text is marked by a vertical rule, called $\mathbb{V}$ e, which is doubled after the longest grammatical units, where it corresponds roughly to sentence-final open juncture and phrase-final melody. It may be written four times || ||, for example at the end of a chapter; and in poetry two rules end each verse. See the text below, 4.
2. BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SPELLING

2.1 Initials are written either by the use of simple symbols, as 'kha 'mouth', or by combinations of symbols, as 'dha 'hundred'. Note that since, as stated above, CT has no consonant clusters, any combination of consonant symbols in initial (or final) position represents simply a single initial (or final) consonant-phoneme. Since tones are indicated by the particular method employed to write these initial phonemes—by choosing among spellings which would represent the same consonant-phoneme—the writing of tones may most conveniently be treated together with that of the initials themselves.

2.1.1 Stops

2.1.1.1 In general, voiceless stops followed by low tones, i.e. k'tp'ts'ts't, are written with the double-value stop-consonant symbols used without prescripts or superscripts, k'tp'ts'ts being written by the symbols , , , , alone, while t is written by any of , , or with subscript, thus: , , , and t by the symbol with subscript, thus: . This general principle, of writing the retroflex stop consonants with consonant symbols plus subscript, and the palatal consonants with consonant symbols plus subscript, applies throughout below, and will be cited hereafter simply as Rule One.

2.1.1.2 Voiceless stops followed by high tones, i.e. ktp'ts't, are written with the single-value stop-consonant symbols, used either with or without prescripts and superscripts, and with subscripts according to Rule One (2.1.1.1). If there is no prescript nor superscript, this gives us the spellings k, t, p, s, s, ts, ts, three retroflex-stop spellings t, s, p, and the palatal-stop spelling t. Superscript and prescript symbols do not alter these values, nor even change the tone; thus: , , , , , all equal k.

2.1.1.3 The voiced stops, always followed by low tone except under con-
ditions of tone-sandhi, i.e. \( g, d, b \), \( dz, dz, d, d \), are written with the double-value stop-consonant symbols used with prescripts or superscripts or both, and with the necessary subscripts according to Rule One (2.111), e.g. \( \text{gā}, \text{dā}, \text{dzā}, \text{dtā} \), etc. Hence the designation ‘double-value consonant symbols’ for \( a, o, i, e, e \), since they are also used (without prescripts or superscripts) to write the voiceless stops of CT (2.111).

2.114 The aspirated stops \( kh, th, ph, tāh, tsh, th, ŋh, \) which are always accompanied by the high tone (unmarked in our transcription), are written with the aspirated-stop consonant-symbols \( p, q, u, a, h, h, h \), with the necessary subscripts according to Rule One, so that \( ŋh \) has the three normal spellings \( p, q, a \), and \( t \) is written \( h \). Here again (as in 2.112) prescripts and superscripts make no difference.

2.115 The \( \text{- subscript with labial-stop symbols gives alternate symbols for palatal affricates (not, as might be expected, stops \( t \) etc.), thus: } \text{p}, \text{t}, \text{q}, \text{tāh}, \text{p}, \text{t}, \text{ph}, \text{tāh}; \text{compare the normal symbols for these three in 2.111, 2.112, and 2.114 respectively. And } \text{p} \text{ plus, gives } \text{p}, \text{an alternate to } \text{p} \text{ (2.12 below).}

2.12 The continuants \( n, m, l, r \) are written with a single set of symbols which, unlike the stop-symbols, have no tone-implication; and here the use of prescripts and superscripts makes the difference between high and low tone, instead of signifying voice (as in 2.113) or nothing (2.112 and 2.114). With low tone there is no prescript nor superscript: \( n, m, l, r \); \text{compare the normal symbols for these in 2.111, 2.112, and 2.114 respectively. And } \text{m plus } \text{gives } \text{m}, \text{an alternate to } \text{m} \text{ (2.12 below).}

2.13 The sibilants \( s \) and \( š \) with high tone are written \( s, š \); with low tone \( s, š \); and prescripts and superscripts have no effect. 2.14 The voiceless lateral \( l \) and flap \( f \), the glottal stop \( h \) and glottal spirant \( h \), and the semivowels \( w \) and \( y \), are written in a variety of fashions, the most important of which are listed below. Note that \( l \) and \( f \) are always accompanied by high tone. The most usual writing of \( h \) is \( h \), and the tone is not indicated. The same symbol with \( \text{g} \) subscript is the usual spelling for the voiceless flap: \( h \). On the other hand, the \( h \) is itself subscript to \( l \) in the usual spelling for the voiceless lateral: \( h \). The usual symbol for \( h \) is \( w \), but the tone is not indicated (as with \( h \); and in addition, several combinations of other
Consonant-symbols are used to spell \( \text{w} \) (2.421). Besides its proper symbol \( \text{w} \), \( w \) is written with the double-value labial stop symbol \( \text{w} \), especially in grammatical morphemes (3 below) but also in a few full words (2.413); no simple rule for the tones can be stated. The usual writing for \( y \)' is \( \text{w} \), and for \( y \) [high tone] is \( \text{w} \), but others are found (2.517).

2.15 The prescripts, superscripts, subscripts (and postscripts: 2.5), wherever the above statements allow for variety in the writing of one and the same phonemic shape (and that is in nearly every detail), just have to be memorized word by word; there is no rule to guide in their usage. The following lists give the various combinations of initial consonant symbols used, and the initial consonant phonemes symbolized by them. In conformity with Tibetan practice, we read each spelling with the vowel a, the vowel that is normally indicated by absence of overt vowel-symbol. Most of these are genuine Tibetan syllables; every one would be, given appropriate vowels and finals. Here ‘a’ means that this initial-consonant spelling implies low tone. Plain ‘a’ of course normally means that high tone is implied by this initial-consonant spelling; but see 2.14 for the possibilities of ambiguity with the ‘miscellaneous’ initials.

2.1511 7 symbols with subscript \( \text{a} \): 1 \( \text{t} \), 2 \( \text{tha} \), 3 \( \text{t} \), 4 \( \text{tha} \), 5 \( \text{tha} \), 6 \( \text{tha} \), 7 \( \text{tha} \).

2.1512 11 symbols with subscript \( \text{a} \): 1 \( \text{t} \), 2 \( \text{tha} \), 3 \( \text{ta} \); 4 \( \text{tha} \), 5 \( \text{tha} \), 6 \( \text{tha} \), 7 \( \text{tha} \), 8 \( \text{tha} \), 9 \( \text{tha} \), 10 \( \text{sa} \), 11 \( \text{sa} \).

2.1521 6 symbols which may appear superscript to \( \text{a} \): 1 \( \text{ka} \), 2 \( \text{t} \), 3 \( \text{ka} \), 4 \( \text{t} \), 5 \( \text{t} \), 6 \( \text{t} \); 6 \( \text{t} \) dì [N.B.].

2.1522 15 symbols and combinations which may appear with \( \text{a} \) superscript: 1 \( \text{ka} \), 2 \( \text{t} \), 3 \( \text{ka} \), 4 \( \text{t} \), 5 \( \text{t} \), 6 \( \text{t} \), 7 \( \text{t} \), 8 \( \text{t} \), 9 \( \text{t} \), 10 \( \text{t} \), 11 \( \text{t} \), 12 \( \text{t} \), 13 \( \text{t} \), 14 \( \text{t} \), 15 \( \text{t} \).

2.1523 10 symbols which may appear with \( \text{ka} \) superscript: 1 \( \text{ka} \), 2 \( \text{gà} \), 3 \( \text{gà} \), 4 \( \text{t} \), 5 \( \text{dà} \), 6 \( \text{dà} \), 7 \( \text{dà} \), 8 \( \text{dà} \), 9 \( \text{bà} \), 10 \( \text{bà} \).
2.1524 21 symbols and combinations which may appear with 茛 super-
script: 1 .Concurrent ka, 2 .Concurrent ㎎; 3  Concurrent, 4  Concurrent ㎎; 5  Concurrent )$/ (g; 6  Concurrent )$/ (da; 7  Concurrent
8  Concurrent )$/ (da, 9  Concurrent )$/ (ga, 10  Concurrent ㎎; 11  Concurrent ㎎; 12  Concurrent )$/ (da, 13  Concurrent )$/ (na, 14  Concurrent ㎎; 15  Concurrent ㎎; 16  Concurrent )$/ (ba; 17  Concurrent )$/ (dz; 18  Concurrent, 19  Concurrent ㎎; 20  Concurrent ㎎; 21  Concurrent ㎎.
2.1531 11 symbols which may appear with prescript ㎎: 1  Concurrent ㎎; 2  Concurrent ㎎; 3  Concurrent ㎎; 4  Concurrent )$/ (da, 5  Concurrent $/ (na, 6  Concurrent ㎎; 7  Concurrent )$/ (ba,
8  Concurrent ㎎; 9  Concurrent $/ (ya, 10  Concurrent ㎎; 11  Concurrent ㎎.
2.1532 15 symbols and combinations of symbols which may appear with
prescript ㎎: 1  Concurrent ㎎; 2  Concurrent ㎎; 3  Concurrent, 4  Concurrent ㎎; 5  Concurrent )$/ (g; 6  Concurrent )$/ (da; 7  Concurrent
8  Concurrent )$/ (da, 9  Concurrent $route; 10  Concurrent $/ (pa, 11  Concurrent ㎎; 12  Concurrent )$/ (wa or ㎎; 13  Concurrent $/ (ya, 14  Concurrent $/ (ma, 15  Concurrent $/ ( nga.
2.1533 45 symbols and combinations of symbols which may appear with
prescript ㎎: 1  Concurrent, 2  Concurrent ㎎; 3  Concurrent ㎎; 4  Concurrent, 5  Concurrent ㏀;
6  Concurrent ㏀; 7  Concurrent, 8  Concurrent ㏀; 9  Concurrent ㏀; 10  Concurrent ㏀, 11  Concurrent ㏀,
12  Concurrent ㏀; 13  Concurrent, 14  Concurrent ㏀; 15  Concurrent ㏀, 16  Concurrent ㏀, 17  Concurrent ㏀; 18  Concurrent ㏀;
19  Concurrent ㏀; 20  Concurrent, 21  Concurrent ㏀, 22  Concurrent ㏀; 23  Concurrent ㏀; 24  Concurrent ㏀; 25  Concurrent ㏀; 26  Concurrent ㏀;
27  Concurrent ㏀; 28  Concurrent ㏀; 29  Concurrent, 30  Concurrent ㏀; 31  Concurrent ㏀; 32  Concurrent ㏀; 33  Concurrent ㏀;
34  Concurrent, 35  Concurrent ㏀; 36  Concurrent, 37  Concurrent ㏀; 38  Concurrent, 39  Concurrent ㏀; 40  Concurrent ㏀;
41  Concurrent ㏀; 42  Concurrent ㏀; 43  Concurrent, 44  Concurrent ㏀; 45  Concurrent ㏀; 46  Concurrent ㏀.
2.1534 15 symbols and combinations with prescript ㏀: 1  Concurrent ㏀; 2  Concurrent ㏀; 3  Concurrent ㏀; 4  Concurrent ㏀;
5  Concurrent ㏁; 6  Concurrent ㏀; 7  Concurrent ㏀; 8  Concurrent ㏀; 9  Concurrent ㏀; 10  Concurrent ㏀; 11  Concurrent ㏀;
12  Concurrent ㏀; 13  Concurrent ㏀; 14  Concurrent ㏀; 15  Concurrent ㏀.
2.1535 19 symbols and combinations with prescript ㏀: 1  Concurrent ㏀; 2  Concurrent ㏀; 3  Concurrent ㏀; 4  Concurrent ㏀;
5  Concurrent ㏁; 6  Concurrent ㏀; 7  Concurrent ㏀; 8  Concurrent ㏀; 9  Concurrent ㏀; 10  Concurrent ㏀; 11  Concurrent ㏀;
12  Concurrent ㏀; 13  Concurrent ㏀; 14  Concurrent ㏀; 15  Concurrent ㏀; 16  Concurrent ㏀; 17  Concurrent ㏀; 18  Concurrent ㏀;
19  Concurrent ㏀.
2.2 Vowels.

2.21 The vowel a is written covertly, by using any consonant-symbol or any of the above combinations of consonant-symbols in syllable-initial position, without any of the overt vowel symbols. The vowel a is thus commonly said to be inherent in all the consonant-symbols.

2.22 The vowels i, o and u are written overtly, by using respectively the symbols \( \text{i} \), \( \text{o} \), and \( \text{u} \), the first two as superscripts to, the last one as a subscript to, that consonant-symbol (or combination with subscript or superscript or both) which spells the initial consonant of the syllable: that is, not with its prescript if there is any. This placement can therefore occasionally distinguish between words: \( \text{t} \text{g} \) and \( \text{no} \).

2.23 The vowel e is written either with the overt symbol \( \text{e} \) as a superscript to the initial-consonant spelling, or else by adding, in written syllable-final position, either the symbol \( \text{e} \) or the symbol \( \text{e} \) to a spelling without overt vowel-symbol (which would otherwise signify the vowel a: 2.21); in this case, the symbol \( \text{e} \) has a double function, writing not only the vowel e, but also the final consonant n, while \( \text{e} \) in this position is 'silent'. Note also that when i and e are written with the overt symbols \( \text{i} \) and \( \text{e} \), the additional writing of \( \text{e} \) (or \( \text{e} \) : 2.24) in written syllable-final position is unrelated to any feature of the language.

2.24 The vowels ö and ū are written in various ways, all of which consist in principle of a modification of an o or an u, respectively, written as above, by writing an additional consonant-symbol immediately following the initial-consonant spelling with its or \( \text{o} \). These consonant symbols may be \( \text{o} \), \( \text{u} \), or \( \text{n} \), in which case their only function is to write, in conjunction with the symbols \( \text{o} \) or \( \text{u} \), the vowels ö or ū, or the symbol \( \text{f} \), which then has a double function: writing the final n as well as indicating that the vowel is ö or ū. Additional specialized ways of writing e, ö, and ū are dealt with in 3.14 below.

2.3 Finals.

2.31 Final b, g, m, n are written with \( \text{b} \) or \( \text{m} \), \( \text{g} \) or \( \text{n} \), \( \text{m} \) or \( \text{n} \), \( \text{g} \) or \( \text{n} \), and \( \text{f} \) (see 2.24 for the effect of final \( \text{f} \) upon vowel-readings). Final r and l are written with \( \text{r} \) and \( \text{l} \) (but see 2.24 for the effect of final written \( \text{f} \) [normally silent] upon vowel-read-
ings; there is a certain amount of free variation in CT as far as morphemes ending in û and ð are concerned: such forms often have parallel forms, used in free variation, of the shape -ul, -ur, and -ol, -or, e.g. ñññ yù or yû in free variation 'country'). Final s, rare in CT, is spelled irregularly: 3.26 (written ñ is silent: see above).

2.32 Certain syllables with the vowel a and no final consonant-phoneme are written with a final ñ; then it is obvious that the preceding consonant-symbol spells the initial-consonant phoneme of the syllable and another consonant-symbol before it must be a prescript: ñññ kha 'sky', and if the initial-consonant symbol is one that could also have been a final-consonant symbol (2.31) ambiguity has been prevented by this device: ñññ tåg 'I', ñññ gag 'virtue', for the reader knows that ñ would have been used if possible, so that ñññ cannot be gag (see above, 2.22, for the absence of ambiguity with other vowels than a).

2.4 The regular operation of the above stated basic spelling principles is shown by examples below, arranged so as to display first (2.411-.421) the spellings for initials and tones and incidentally the related final consonants, and then (2.51-.54) the spellings for vowels and final consonants. The lists here show all the phonemic contrasts of CT in regular spellings (thought not with all possible prescripts, subscripts, and superscripts: 2.1511—.1535); irregular spellings, especially those required in certain form-classes, will follow thereafter (3.).

2.411 Velars.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ñññ</th>
<th>ñññ</th>
<th>ñññ</th>
<th>ñññ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ñññ</td>
<td>'order'</td>
<td>kañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kà</td>
<td>ñññ</td>
<td>'where'</td>
<td>kàñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha</td>
<td>ñññ</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
<td>khàñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñññ</td>
<td>ñññ</td>
<td>'saddle'</td>
<td>ñññ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñññ</td>
<td>ñññ</td>
<td>'five'</td>
<td>kò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñññ</td>
<td>ñññ</td>
<td>'I'</td>
<td>gö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñññ</td>
<td>ñññ</td>
<td>'reward'</td>
<td>mag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñññ</td>
<td>ñññ</td>
<td>'bad'</td>
<td>mag</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.412 Dentals.

tag [tag] ‘spend, send’ tag [tag] ‘tiger’
thang [thang] ‘a plain’ thang [thang] ‘spider web’
dang [dang] ‘meet expenditures’ dang [dang] ‘I’
ta [ta] ‘horse’ na [na] ‘ear’
ta [ta] ‘now’ na [na] ‘if’
tha [tha] ‘border’ na[tj] na[tj] ‘give’
då [då] ‘arrow’ nång [nång] ‘house’
țandig [țandig] ‘arranging’ nön [nön] ‘previously’
țândzo [țândzo] ‘we’ dün [dün] ‘seven’
tshen [tshen] ‘night’ lën [lën] ‘reply’

2.413 Labials.
pö [pö] ‘incense’ pha [pha] ‘father’
pò [pò] ‘Tibet’ bâ [bâ] ‘witch’
pù [pù] ‘son’ ma [ma] ‘wound’
bù [bù] ‘worm’ mà [má] ‘not’
piwan [piwan] ‘guitar’ nam [nam] plural marker
wâ [wâ] ‘power’ ñam [ñam] ‘along with’
wômba [wômba] ‘deaf’ làm [lám] ‘road’
wò [wò] ‘light’ dâm [dâm] ‘near to’
šáb [šáb] ‘foot’ šabšub [šabšub] ‘whisper’

2.414 Dental affricates.
tse [tse] ‘mountain peak’ tsö [tsö] ‘discuss’
tshe [tse] ‘life’ tsho [tsho] ‘lake’
tsar [tsar] ‘to the root’ tsaj [tsaj] ‘consequently’
tshar [tshar] ‘finish’ tshaj [tshaj] ‘nest’
țândzo [țândzo] (3.14, .24) ‘our’ tshom [tshom] ‘be annoyed’
tšhandzô [tšhandzô] (3.21) ‘treasurer’ dzôm [dzôm] ‘be assembled’
### 2.415 Palatal affricates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LUMIP</th>
<th>TIBETAN</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tse</td>
<td>tše དེ་</td>
<td>'do'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsha</td>
<td>tša དེ་</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dza</td>
<td>dza དེ་</td>
<td>'speech portion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshu</td>
<td>tshu དེ་</td>
<td>'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b2</td>
<td>'tusks'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>염</td>
<td>'willow'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'beer'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'acquire'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'become'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'small'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.416 Retroflex stops.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LUMIP</th>
<th>TIBETAN</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta ཉ ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'hair of head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thu</td>
<td>thu ཉ ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'bathe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dū</td>
<td>dū ཉ ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tō</td>
<td>tō ཉ ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'Chumbi Valley'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dū</td>
<td>dū ཉ ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལྷ་</td>
<td>'incarnation'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལྷ་</td>
<td>'blood'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.417 Palatals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LUMIP</th>
<th>TIBETAN</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>te ཉ ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'born'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thī</td>
<td>thī ཉ ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gū</td>
<td>gū ཉ ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thān</td>
<td>thān ཉ ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'figure'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'but still'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.418 Sibilants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LUMIP</th>
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<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>sa ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'mushroom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sā</td>
<td>sā ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'hat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ser</td>
<td>ser ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'gold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēr</td>
<td>sēr ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.419 Laterals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LUMIP</th>
<th>TIBETAN</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lo</td>
<td>lo ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'cough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lā</td>
<td>lā ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'wage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lb</td>
<td>lb ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lb</td>
<td>lb ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'mountain pass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo</td>
<td>lo ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'south'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལ དཀྷ་</td>
<td>'god'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
lèn ले ‘answer’ yen येन ‘a patch’
mal मल ‘lie down’ thil ठिळ ‘palm of hand’
riril रिरिल ‘round’ gēl गेल ‘place, put’

2.420 Flaps.
raṅ रा ‘self’ sur सुर ‘pension’
fap फा ‘bachelor’ pōr पोर ‘leave’
pārpar पारपा ‘from time to time’ tāhirdō ताहिर्दो ‘for the purpose of’

2.421 Glottals.
?araṅ अरा ‘alcoholic spirits’ ?orog ओरोग ‘crow [bird]’
?ogō ओगो ‘beard’ hātsāŋ हात्साङ ‘very’
?āpha अफा ‘father’ hālam हालम ‘almost’
?āma आमा ‘mother’ hakō हाको ‘understand’
?ūpo उपो ‘poverty’ hor होर ‘Turks’

2.5 Next we may inspect the following examples of spellings of vowels and finals, arranged, unlike the lists immediately above, by spellings; these, together with the examples presented above, complete the presentation of the regular operation of the script.

2.51 ले, ज, जान, म, मान, र [no vowel-symbol].

2.52 ल: dāsī ढासी ‘royal administration’; म: tṣig ढीग ‘one’, džigten ढिज्ञेंग ‘the world’; र: tshöthim ढोथिम ‘religious customs or laws’; ्र: tēmīnna ढेरिम्न ‘otherwise’;
nîgrû 'diligence', sînmô sîxc 'daughter'; tîlba sîxc 'boy, child', tsi sîxc 'recognized as'.

dûb sîxc 'attaining (to rank, degree)'; thug sîxc 'noodles', lobthug sîxc 'student'; tshödng bû 'catechetical examination'; sum bû 'three'; bû 'government; school of religious speculation'; sup bû 'saying'; bû 'offer', rûrû sîxc 'rotten', fûru tshödng 'ragged, threadbare'; tû tû 'time, when'.

sè sè 'being afraid of', tse sè 'play', dzê sê 'forget'; sem sem 'mind'; tshen tshen 'great'; sê tshen 'carry'; ñêba ñêba 'punishment'.

lobpôn sîxc 'teacher (especially in spiritual matters); tshötsö sîxc 'religious discussion', nödün sîxc 'evil spirit'; log sê 'read', lög sê 'return [travel]'; sog sê 'life'; mûng sê 'no more than..., nothing but...'; dôm sê 'penis'; tsâm dôm sê 'be assembled'; sê sê 'previously'; khog sê 'he';

tshö sîxc 'religion, esp. the Buddhist dharma; book; sermon'.
3. SPECIAL AND IRREGULAR SPELLINGS

3.0 In 2. above we have seen the basic conventions by which the symbols of the Tibetan script are employed to write the language. Now we must consider certain exceptions to these principles, some completely or fairly consistent writings for a particular form-class, others covering only a few words or a single word.

3.1 There are important orthographic exceptions to 2. for certain form-classes.

3.11 The tautological noun-extender -pa  ๋ -ba ั -wà is said to be properly written ΄ after ΅, Β, Γ, Ω, and Θ, and elsewhere Β; and the actor-suffix -po  ๋ -bo ั -wà and the tautological adjective-extender -po  ๋ -bo ั -wà are similarly said to be properly written ΄ after ΅, Β, Γ, Ω, and Θ, and elsewhere; but in current usage these orthographic conventions are not well observed, as the examples will show. Note that, as stated below (3.221), it is the basic form of the preceding morpheme that is written before these suffixes and extenders. Thus: làgpa ะ รม  ‘hand’, gèmba ง ฆ รม  ‘senior in age or rank’, gònba ง ฆ ชม  ‘anger’, ðìba ง ฆ  ‘the [plural]’, ðùbà ง ฆ  ‘a living incarnation (of someone)’, mùtòwà ง ฆ  ‘a beggar’, ðàwà rlîmpòthe ง ฆ ม  ‘the Dalai Lama’, ðàwà ง ฆ ‘moon, month’, ðònbo ง ฆ  ‘guest’, dùgpo ง ฆ ‘suffering’, mànbo ง ฆ  ‘many’, bàwo ง ฆ  ‘male witch’, ðàbo ง ฆ  ‘king’.

3.12 The numbers of CT constitute a form-class characterized by a great deal of morphologically determined morpheme-alternation. The spellings for this set of forms are full of irregular features.
3.121 Units.

1: tšig ští
2: ní ští
3: sum ští
4: ší ští
5: ŋa ští
6: tšug ští
7: dün ští
8: dē ští
9: gū ští
10: tšu ští

'Ten' is tšu or tšuthambā ští. The form thambā 'and no more' may be added at will to the expressions for 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, and 90; it is in each case written the same.

3.122 Tens.

11: tšugtšig štíští
12: tšunjí štíští
13: tšugsum štíští
14: tšubší štíští
15: tšøŋa štíští
16: tšugtšug štíští
17: tšubdün štíští
18: tšobdē štíští
19: tšurgū štíští
20: níšu štíští

Here note the complex shape of the morpheme for '10', and its spellings, especially in '15' and '18'.

3.123 Decades. In each decade, the multiple of '10' is formed by prefixing a simple decade-morph to an allomorph of tšu '10', with the optional addition of thambā (3.121). The simple decade-morphs are:

20: ní ští
30: sum ští
40: bāb ští
50: gab ští
60: tšug ští
70: dün ští
80: dē ští
90: gūb ští

Here the allomorphs of '10' are: ní with '20', elsewhere tšu throughout, but this tšu is written ští in '30', '60', '70', '80', and ní in '40', '50', '90', i.e. where the simple decade-morph has a final b.

In each decade, the numbers from the first to the ninth place, e.g. '41' to '49', are formed by prefixing to the units a secondary decade
morph. These secondary decade morphs, and the numbers for which each allomorph is found, are:

20: \( \text{tsa}^{1,2,3,5,6} \text{ or tsab}^{4,7,8} \text{ or tsar}^{9} \), all written \( \stackrel{\text{5}}{\text{tsar}} \).
30: \( \text{so}^{1,2,3,4,6} \text{ or so}^{5} \text{ or sob}^{7,8} \text{ or sor}^{9} \), all written \( \stackrel{\text{7}}{\text{sor}} \).
40: \( \text{še}^{1,2,3,4,5,6} \text{ or šeb}^{7,8} \text{ or šer}^{9} \), all written \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{šer}} \).
50: \( \text{nà}^{1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8} \text{ or năr}^{9} \), both written \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{năr}} \).
60: \( \text{re}^{1,2,3,5,6,9} \text{ or reb}^{4,7,8} \), both written \( \stackrel{\text{7}}{\text{reb}} \).
70: \( \text{tôn} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{tôn}} \) 80: \( \text{dà} \) \( \stackrel{\text{4}}{\text{dà}} \) 90: \( \text{kò} \) \( \stackrel{\text{8}}{\text{kò}} \)

(The units morphs of 3.121 are used with one alteration: after a low-tone secondary decade morph, the units morph has high tone.) Paralleling the -thambà extensions of the simple multiples of ‘10’, these compound numbers have alternate longer forms with the simple multiple prefixed: ‘4’ \( \text{št} \), ‘9’ \( \text{gù} \), ‘40’ \( \text{štib} \) or \( \text{štibthamb} \), ‘49’ \( \text{štèrgu} \) or \( \text{štibšuštèrgu} \).

3.124 Each number from ‘20’ to ‘99’ has short and long forms in free variation according to the pattern just shown. Typical short forms are:

20 \( \text{štib} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{štib}} \) 21 \( \text{štatsig} \) \( \stackrel{\text{5}}{\text{štatsig}} \) 22 \( \text{štani} \) \( \stackrel{\text{7}}{\text{štani}} \)
23 \( \text{štisum} \) \( \stackrel{\text{5}}{\text{štisum}} \) 24 \( \text{štibši} \) \( \stackrel{\text{7}}{\text{štibši}} \) 25 \( \text{štasa} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{štasa}} \)
30 \( \text{šotšu} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{šotšu}} \) 31 \( \text{šotši} \) \( \stackrel{\text{7}}{\text{šotši}} \) 33 \( \text{šosum} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{šosum}} \)
40 \( \text{štibšu} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{štibšu}} \) 44 \( \text{štèsi} \) \( \stackrel{\text{7}}{\text{štèsi}} \) 49 \( \text{štèrgu} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{štèrgu}} \)
50 \( \text{šhabšu} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{šhabšu}} \) 54 \( \text{šhabši} \) \( \stackrel{\text{7}}{\text{šhabši}} \)
60 \( \text{štùgšu} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{štùgšu}} \) 63 \( \text{štèsum} \) \( \stackrel{\text{7}}{\text{štèsum}} \)
70 \( \text{štùntsšu} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{štùntsšu}} \) 73 \( \text{štènsum} \) \( \stackrel{\text{7}}{\text{štènsum}} \)
80 \( \text{štùgšu} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{štùgšu}} \) 82 \( \text{štìši} \) \( \stackrel{\text{7}}{\text{štìši}} \) 88 \( \text{štàdè} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{štàdè}} \)
90 \( \text{štùbtšu} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{štùbtšu}} \) 94 \( \text{štìši} \) \( \stackrel{\text{7}}{\text{štìši}} \) 95 \( \text{kòša} \) \( \stackrel{\text{8}}{\text{kòša}} \)

3.125 Higher numbers, ‘100’ is \( \text{dà} \) \( \stackrel{\text{4}}{\text{dà}} \), or \( \text{dāthamb} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{dāthamb}} \). ‘101’ to ‘199’ are formed by \( \text{dàn} \) followed by \( \text{dàn} \) \( \stackrel{\text{7}}{\text{dàn}} \) ‘and’ (spelled as \( \text{dàn} \) \( \stackrel{\text{7}}{\text{dàn}} \) 3.22) followed by the numbers from ‘1’ to ‘99’ as above. ‘200’, ‘300’, etc., are formed by prefixing the simple decade morphs (beginning of 3.123) to \( \text{dàn} \), thus: \( \text{sumdàn} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{sumdàn}} \) ‘300’, \( \text{štambàn} \) \( \stackrel{\text{9}}{\text{štambàn}} \) ‘500’, and so on. Note also top \( \text{štib} \) ‘1000’, \( \text{štib} \) ‘10,000’, and \( \text{štibšu} \) ‘100,000’.
3.126 The numerals are 1 7, 2 3, 3 3, 4 5, 5 5, 6 7, 7 7, 8 8, 
9 9, 0 0, used exactly as we use ours: 10 10, 1945 1945.

3.13 Verbs. The verb morph itself is written regularly, according to 
the statements in 2., but in the writing of the various aspect particles 
suffixed to this morph, the following spelling conventions are observed: 
The imperfective aspect marker -gl is written  at after  and , but  after  and , and open syllables, and  after  and , and . The perfective aspect marker -Cà is written  after , , and , and open syllables, elsewhere  regardless of pronunciation; but again, these last rules on the usage of  and  are not always too closely followed today. Thus we have sèrra-, in free variation with the assimilated form sèra-, both written sèrra- 'said', and similarly tsharrà- alongside tsharà- tsharrà 'finished'. In artificially slow literary pronciation, these are sèrwa- and tsharwà-, hence the spellings. Note also pobbà- pobbà- 'shook down', tanà- tanà- 'sent, spent', nanà- nanà- 'gave', dûbbà- dûbbà- 'acknowledged to be of a certain grade of sanctity', hàlèbà- hàlèbà- 'astonished'. The iterative marker -glin ... -glin is spelled  after , , and , but  after  and  and open syllables, and  after  and ,  and  in every case repeated twice, thus: phugìn tshalgin tuhì 'making offerings and bowing down over and over', tagìn tagìn 'looking again and again', ngûgin ngûgin 'crying and carrying on'. The verbal auxiliary dò 'to be about to perform (the action indicated by the head of the con-
struction)' is spelled in a wholly irregular fashion: shalgin: thus: 
lebdò shalgin 'about to reach (somewhere)', phudò 
shalgin shalgin 'about to take off flying'. The verbal referent marker 
-bì is written with bì 'or only', with  and  alternating as 
indicated above, thus: pobbìshirdù 'in order to 
shake down (some fruit)', dòwidòpa dòwidòpa 'the desire to 
go', yàr làñwika mànàñjàrè làñwika màñjàrè 'he did not give the order to arise (from a prone position)'. 


3.14 The nominal referent marker in CT is of a curious shape:

after consonants: \[+g^m,n,r,l,b \sim +g^8,9\] \(\sim\) after vowels: \[(\&e \sim \& +\&1)^a \sim (\&1 \sim \& ti)^i,e \sim \& u \sim (\&8 \sim \& +\&1)^o \sim +\& u \sim +\& ti^b].\] This marker is written \(\tilde{\&}\) after \(\&\), \(\&\) and \(\&\), but \(\tilde{\&}\) after \(\&\), \(\&\), \(\&\), and \(\&\), and \(\tilde{\&}\) after \(\&\) and \(\&\); after open written syllables, i.e. those ending in no written consonant symbol, \(\tilde{\&}\) is added, but if \(\&\) already is written in this position, \(\&\) is simply added to it as a superscript. The actor marker, which in CT serves as a formal mark dividing the verbs of the language into two form-classes, those requiring its presence as an overt marker of the actor-expression in predication in which such verbs are involved, and those requiring its zero counterpart, is identical in shape with the above after consonants; after vowels it appears as \(\sim \{(\& e \sim \& +\&1)^i,e \sim \& u \sim (\&8 \sim \& +\&1)^o \sim +\& u \sim +\& ti^b]\). It is spelled as the nominal referent marker is, but with the addition of \(\&\), thus: \(\tilde{\&}\&\), etc., and in written syllables ending with \(\&\), this \(\&\) is replaced by \(\&\), and in written syllables ending in no consonant-symbol, the \(\&\) is added as a final written consonant-symbol. The locative marker \(\&\) is written \(\tilde{\&}\) after \(\&\), and \(\tilde{\&}\), otherwise regularly \(\&\).

3.2 In addition to the above orthographic conventions for certain form-classes, the fact that the writing system makes no provision for recording certain important morphological processes of the language leads to more irregularity.

3.21 There are a considerable number of morphologically determined morpheme alternants in CT, covered by spelling-conventions by which the script represents only the shortest and simplest of two or more related morphs no matter which one occurs in the colloquial forms. Thus the secondary decade-morpheme for '30' is always written \(\tilde{\&}'so'\) no matter which of the four morphs \(so, s0, sob, sor\) actually occurs. The same is true of many common words in other segments of the vocabulary as well. The following list gives some of the most important words of this sort. In many groups, the leading form, matching the spelling, does not occur in CT colloquial at all, so that the meaning given is literary or even hypothetical; but the other forms are actual:
ka อง ’word, order’ ออกกับ- [กับด่วน อง ภูมิรุ่น ’a rebuke’] ออกกับ kan- [กันดู อง ภูมิรุ่น ’Kangyur’ (section of the canon), กันดู อง ภูมิรุ่น ’a request’] ออกกับ ka- [กับ ’a chastisement’].

กุ ’body’ ออกกับ กันดู อง ’presence’ ออกกับ กันดู ’wife’ ออกกับ กันดู ’prone’ ออกกับ กันดู ’place where a lama customarily meditates’ ออกกับ กันดู ’kindness’.

เก ’virtue’ ออกกับ ภูมิ ’Virtue-Possessing’ (PN).

ก ’door’ ออกกับ ภูมิ ’lock on a door’.

ข่า ’mouth’ ออกกับ ภูมิ ’prone’ ออกกับ ภูมิ ’legal case’ ออกกับ ภูมิ ’a mock fight’.

ง่า ก ’I’ ออกกับ ภูมิ ’we’.

ข้า ’horse’ ออกกับ ภูมิ ’horse race’.

ตี่ ’that’ ออกกับ ยังก ’like that’.

ต้อ ’food’ ออกกับ นั้น ’food, article’.

ต่า ก ’now’ ออกกับ ยังก ’now’.

ก่า ’clothes’ ออกกับ นั้น ’clothing’.

ติ่ง ’hand’ ออกกับ ติ่ง ’small knife’, ติ่ง ’treasurer’.

พอก ’palace’ ออกกับ ภูมิ ’palace’.

เม ’fire’ ออกกับ ยังก ’gun’.

ส่า ย่ ’earth, place’ ออกกับ ยังก ’boundary’.

ละ ภูมิ ’mountain pass’ ออกกับ ทะเลภูมิ ’a place-name.

โล ’south’ ออกกับ ภูมิ ’Southern Rock’ [place-name].

โลก ’sun, day’ ออกกับ ดา ’at sunrise’.

Certain other irregular features in the writing of some of these words will be discussed immediately below, and others have already been mentioned above.
3.22 The script has no provision for writing assimilation, dissimilation, apocope, voicing and deaspiration, or tone-sandhi, all of which are important processes in CT. In all cases where these phenomena have taken place, and it is possible, by the usual methods of morpheme analysis, to establish a basic form, it is this basic form that the script writes, and not the end result of the phonological process. In other cases, where lack of the subject form in certain critical environments makes establishment of a basic form impossible, the irregular writings are of the same type and may safely be assigned to this category. We have already met a few cases of such writings above, in the course of other examples; more are given below, and others in the text (4.).

3.221 Vocalic assimilations.

The change of ð ð to o u before -b -w of the verbal perfective marker is the most important representative of this category:

gð- ژئن 'have to do' ð Gowârê ژئنژئن 'had to do'; ð ð ð ð 'request' ð ð ð 'requested'.

3.222 Consonantal assimilations. Place-assimilation of a nasal to a following stop is usual, and examples will be found in the lists in 2.411, 2.412, 2.413, and 3.11, where we assume assimilation if we trust the spellings; attested cases are e.g. gëmba ژئن 'senior in age or rank' with *gën- attested by gëgen ژئن 'teacher', and ððmbà ژئن 'to consult (with astrologers and the like)' with *tôn- as in kabton ژئن 'a rebuke' (3.21).

3.223 Dissimilation is rare, e.g. yûrla for yûlû ژئن 'to a country'.

3.23 Apocope: tsumô < tsûmmô < tsûnmô ژئن 'queen'; simô < simmô < sinmô ژئن 'demon'.

3.24 Voicing and deaspiration of a voiceless aspirated initial stop when in second position in a compound, i.e. following close juncture, is frequent; and again, there are many writings which, although no free form with voiceless aspirated initial can be established by synchronic analysis, can be assigned here with high probability. There are examples above, e.g. ðândzo (2.412), compare ðândzô ژئن 'you [pl.]'. Thus we find kâdzô ژئن 'how many?' alongside the basic tshô ژئن 'measure'; and spellings like ðudzûg ژئن 'insistence' and
?amdzog འབུམ་སྐྱོག་‘ear’, with the low tone normal in voiced-stop syllables contradicting the high-tone implication of the aspirated-stop symbols. Here also may be mentioned some expressions in which the usual pronunciation has a voiced initial in the second member, where the careful literary pronunciation has a voiceless initial, in both cases with low tone; the writing is based on this second artificial pronunciation: sôdza མ་ཤེད་ཤེད་‘tea’, tshedza མ་ཤེད་ཤེད་‘toy’.

3.25 Tone-sandhi, of which we have seen many examples above, and others of which will be found in the text below, is not written. Thus each syllable is written with the tone it would have in isolation, again with the methodological limitations on this statement mentioned in 3.22 above.

3.26 Finally, there are a certain number of simply irregular spellings; some of these might also have been included, for certain of their details, in the lists above. The most important of these irregular spellings, especially as they appear in common words, follow here:

- ?utshub འེད་མེད་‘be choked’
- kandö ཕོ་‘lame, halt’
- känla ཕོ་‘what for’
- tûndo བུ་‘cattle’
- tseta རེ་‘a whip’ for ངེ་‘horse’s goad’ (3.14).
- togtsötsig དོ་‘a bit, a little’
- dûŋ བྱ་‘do this!’
- dûŋjal བོ་‘suffering, tribulation’
- dûm བོ་‘story, tale’
- dûntha བོ་‘a week’
- dê བོ་‘here’
- dônja བོ་‘a kick’
- thumâ བོ་‘a spoon’
- negâmè བོ་‘it doesn’t matter much’
- phe བོ་‘going’
ma 'down, on the ground'
mīndug 'is not'
mégo 'America'
mómô 'a puff [article of food, fried]'
temê 'wife'
dåbo 'king'
têl 'do!'
töerèsi 'Avalokiteshvara'
têmo 'old woman'
sanñi 'the following day'
si 'see'
si 'say'
setan 'gold coin' (3.3)
sem the 'sorry'
sibthur 'spoon'
sî 'live'
šengilmīndug 'don’t know how to…'
rida 'deer; other wild animal (object of hunt)'
rô 'please'
lû 'remain'
làlês 'Yes, sir!'
šesa 'Lhasa'

3.3 The orthographic conventions and special symbols for spelling Sanskrit and other Indic words in the Tibetan script are properly speaking somewhat outside the scope of the present work, but certain points should be noted. The Sanskrit long vowels are written by adding a subscript ू to the symbol for the initial consonant, the Sanskrit voiced aspirates by adding a subscript ॐ, and the Sanskrit retroflexes by reversed ्, ṭ, ṭ, and ṭ, i.e. by ṭ, ṭ, ṭ, and ṭ. Note also that
4. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[intellectually...]
The story of the jackal and the goat.

One day a jackal was very thirsty and went to drink water from a very deep well. When he was finished drinking the water, he could not climb out of the well.

Although he tried very hard to climb out, he could not climb out. Then he stayed there leaning against the side of the well.

In a little while a goat came along there. He saw the jackal in the well and asked him in a loud voice: 'Why are you in the well? What is down there?'

Then the jackal said in reply: 'Today it is very hot. So I am staying down here playing in this cool water.' The goat heard what the jackal said and believing him.
ཐོབ་མ་སྐྱེ་བ་རྩེ་ལྡན་མཐོང་རྩེ་རི་ཞི་རྩོང་
ཐོབ་རྩེ་རྩོང་རྩེ་མཐོང་རྩོང་རི་ཞི་རྩོང་
ཐོབ་རྩེ་རྩོང་རྩེ་མཐོང་རྩོང་རི་ཞི་རྩོང་
ཐོབ་རྩེ་རྩོང་རྩེ་མཐོང་རྩོང་རི་ཞི་རྩོང་
to be honest, went down into the well. Then

the jackal was happy and as soon as he saw him he

jumped upon his back, climbed out of the well and ran

away. He left the goat behind in the well and

mocked him. 'You are a fool,'

he said. This story teaches us that we must not believe

something as soon as someone tells it to us.

We must consider before we do anything.
NOTES

1.01 On the introduction of writing to Tibet, see B. Laufer, “Bird divination among the Tibetans,” TP 15 (1914) 64–67.

1.03 The analysis upon which the present outline of CT phonemics is based is presented in detail in the author’s “Studies in Spoken Tibetan, I: Phonemics,” JAOS 75 (1955) 46–51. For earlier accounts of this dialect, see footnote 2 of that article. On CT and the Lhasa dialect, see the author’s “The independent status of the Lhasa dialect within Central Tibetan,” Orbis 4:1 (1955) 49–55.

1.2 The method employed by Tibetan masters when spelling words aloud, and the names used for the letters in such a case, are accurately described in Bell, Grammar, 17 ff. Here we deal only with the square hand as used in printing; the cursive hand, widely but not exclusively employed in writing, especially for business purposes, introduces no new principle, but is simply a matter of learning the cursive shapes of the symbols and some special combinations; it has been described in J. Bacot, “L’écriture cursive tibétaine,” JA 1912, 1–78 [reprint pagination].

2.15 These are abstracted for the reader’s convenience from the lists in Alexander Csoma de Körös, A grammar of the Tibetan language in English (Calcutta, 1834), pp. 12–16. This is still the most useful of the older grammars of the written language; but more easily available are H. A. Jäschke, Tibetan grammar2 (London, 1883), and Sarat Chandra Das, An introduction to the grammar of the Tibetan language (Darjeeling, 1915).

3.1 Symbols for statements of alternation: ~ ‘phonological variation’; ∞ ‘morphological variation’; ~∞ ‘free variation’; > ‘vowel-shift’; + ‘suffixing’; Ø ‘zero’. Superscripts indicate the governing condition for each variant.
