

*A language map of West Tibet with notes.*—By A. H. FRANCKE.

(With Plate vii.)

For the benefit of students of my Ladakhi Grammar, J. A. S. B. Part I, Extra No. II, 1901, I am now adding a language map of the ancient Ladakhi kingdom.

In the map special attention has been paid to the Tibetan dialects of the Indus valley. To distinguish the characteristics of the different dialects, it has been asked in which manner the following consonant combinations are pronounced in each single dialect :—

- (1) sg, rg, sb, rb.
- (2) sk, rk, sp, rp.
- (3) by, py, phy.
- (4) br, pr, phr.
- (5) gr, kr, phr.

I. In the Rong-dialect the pronunciation is the following :—

- (1) rg or sg = **qh** (like Urdu **ق**) ; sb or rb = v.
- (2) sk or rk = **qh** or h (like Urdu **ح** or **خ**) ; sp or rp = f.
- (3) by = j ; py = c ; phy = ch.
- (4) br = dr ; pr = tr ; phr = thr.
- (5) gr = dr ; kr = tr ; khr = thr.

*Examples.*

- (1) sgam = **سگام** ; sbaste = vaste.
- (2) skampo = hampo ; cospin = cofin.
- (3) bya = ja ; phyogs = chogs.
- (4) brag = drag ; phrugu = thrugu.
- (5) grangmo = drangmo ; khrims = thrims.

II. Leh-dialect :

- (1) rg or sg = **qh** (like Urdu **ق**) ; sb or rb = v.
- (2) sk or rk = sk or rk ; sp or rp = sp or rp.
- (3) by = j ; py = c ; phy = ch before a, o and u.

Before e and i the y disappears, and b, j p, and ph retain their original sound.

- (4) br = dr ; pr = tr ; phr = thr.
- (5) gr = dr ; kr = tr ; khr = thr.

*Examples.*

- (1) sgam = قمر; sbaste = vaste.
- (2) skampo = skampo; cospin = cospin.
- (3) bya = ja; phyogs = chogs; but byema = bema; phye = phe; phyla = phila.
- (4) brag = drag; phrugu = thrugu.
- (5) grangmo = drangmo; khrims = thrims.

III. Sham-dialect:

- (1) rg or sg = rg or sg; rb or sb = rb or sb.
- (2) rk or sk = rk or sk; rp or sp = rp or sp.
- (3) by = by; py = py; phy = phy.
- (4) br = br, pr = pr; phr = phr.
- (5) gr = dr; kr = tr; khr = thr.

*Examples.*

- (1) sgam = sgam; sbaste = sbaste.
- (2) skampo = skampo; cospin = cospin.
- (3) bya = bya; phyogs = phyogs.
- (4) brag = brag; phrugu = phrugu.
- (5) grangmo = drangmo; khrims = thrims.

IV. Purig and Balti dialects:

- (1) rg or sg = rg or sg; rb or sb = rb or sb.
- (2) rk or sk = rk or sk; rp or sp = rp or sp.
- (3) by = by; py = py; phy = phy.
- (4) br = br; pr = pr; phr = phr.
- (5) gr = gr; kr = kr; khr = khr.

*Examples.*

- (1) sgam = sgam; sbaste = sbaste.
- (2) skampo = skampo; cospin = cospain (or byaspain).
- (3) bya = bya; phyogs = phyogs.
- (4) brag = brag; phrugu = phrugu.
- (5) grangmo = grangmo; khrims = khrims.

*Note:* Examples for py, pr, and kr, have not been given. These combinations occur almost invariably with additional prefixes which make these cases more complicated and would take up too much space.

What has been said, only refers to the Indus valley. According to information received from natives the following may be added about other districts.

In the Shayog-valley a development from type No. I to type No. IV can be observed which is very similar to that of the Indus valley.

The dialect of Zangskhar is related to type No. I; only the north-western districts show traces of type No. III.

The dialect of Rubshu is of an entirely different character altogether; it is closely related to the Central Tibetan dialects and exhibits the Tibetan tone system in its full development (compare my article on Amundsen's and the native grammarian's tone system in *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. 57, p. 285.) But the tone system has not yet become quite extinct in the Indus valley, although the bad Tibetan of Indian and Yarkandi traders has done much harm to it.

*Conclusion*: From the above tables of dialects it becomes evident that the farther we advance towards north-west, down the Indus-valley, the more the pronunciation of the dialects is in agreement with the written language; or, in other words, the north-western dialects represent a more archaic state of the Tibetan language.

*The Dard question of West-Tibet.* Other researches have shown me that the north-western portions of Ladakh, at least as far up as *Saspola* in the Indus-valley, were once peopled by Dard tribes which have been tibetanized only recently. The reasons are: (1) the historical recollections of the people. (2) The Dard names of many *pha-spunships*. (3) Remnants of the Dard language in those districts. (4) Dard customs in those districts.

Thus it can be shown, for instance, that Khalatse (Khalsi or Khalchi of the maps) used to be a Dard village in ancient times, although now-a-days at first sight it appears to be thoroughly Tibetan.

(1) According to the historical recollections of its present inhabitants Khalatse used to be a Dard colony from Gilgit.

(2) The *pha-spunships*. *Pha-spun* means 'father-brothers.' The members of a *pha-spunship* have to burn the dead in their own *pha-spunship*. My explanation of this is the following: In the ancient times the near relatives (father, brothers, etc.) had to bury the dead. All the members of a *pha-spunship* of the present day go back to one and the same family of ancient times.

The *pha-spunships* of Khalatse are the following:

- (a) Brushalpa: It comprises the following six families: Khrolepa, rGyamthsopa, Sherabpa, Ralupa, Gongmapa, bKrashis bsamphelpa.
- (b) Pakorapa: It comprises the following nine families: Sabipa sNumpa, Bhandrepa, rKangchagpa, Grong dponpa, Dragchospa, Grambucanpa, Byabapa, rKyallupa.

(c) *Mi dponpa*: It comprises the following two families: *Phanba*, *Kadcanpa*. (The *Tingdzinpa*-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the *Kadcanpa* family.)

(d) *Rab blonpa*: It comprises the following three families: *bSod rnamshelpa*, *Bragcanpa*, *Skamburpa*.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunship*: *Mon*, *Bhedapa* and *Starapa*.

More families do not exist at *Khalatse*.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of *Brushal* near *Gilgit*, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from *Gilgit*.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of *Gilgit*. *Pakor* is a *Dard* word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my *Bono-na-songs*, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spunships*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of *Gilgit*, which has remained *Dard* to the present day.

*Mi dponpa* means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunships* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of *Khalatse*, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the *Dard* population.

From all this we see that the *Dards*, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from *Gilgit*. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a *Mon* and *Bheda* population? All this I cannot solve.

(3) *Remnant of the Dard language*.—It is most interesting that in one house of the *Brushalpa*, in the house *Gongmapa*, a last remnant of the *Dard* language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in *Dardi*, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di zha nomo hla zhuni  
 Shuni bi zha nomo hla zhuni  
 Sinani bi zha nomo hla zhuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ང་ལ་རྩམ་ཞིག་སྤུལ་བྱ་སྒྲ་བྱ་ནི།  
 ང་ཕྱུག་པོ་མ་ཚུལ་བྱ་སྒྲ་བྱ་ནི།  
 ང་ལ་བྱ་ཞིག་སྤུལ་བྱ་སྒྲ་བྱ་ནི།།

The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da :

Dargyassi de tija namo hla zhuni  
 Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni  
 Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation :

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!  
 Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!  
 A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

Notes on the Dard text :

*Dar-rgyas* is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tizha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *zha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god. *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' Also in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tizha* was lost in the preceding word. The *ni* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetar.

(4) *Dard customs*.—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held  $1\frac{1}{2}$  months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (*mchod rtengyi sgang*) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

I have tried to prove the Dard origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

to prove that the whole of Lower Ladakh was Dard before the Tibetan conquest, and I hope that in the next Census special attention will be paid to the *pha-spunships*. The only colony, which has remained entirely Dard to the present day, is the colony of Da and its neighbourhood. The Dards of Dras are not Dard colonists apparently, but have always been in direct connection with the Dard population of Gilgit.

Now I shall repeat once more that it is interesting to note that the most archaic type of Tibetan pronunciation is found in territories where Tibetan was a foreign language for a long time.

From my limited knowledge of languages I may add two parallels: In Hanover where one of the purest Teutonic tribes is found in Germany, the development of the German language has been more rapid than in the southern mountainous districts, for instance, in Tirol or Styria, where there used to be a Celtic and Slav population before the advent of the Germans. The language of the Slav tribe of the Wends, between Berlin and Bautzen is in certain respects one of the most archaic Slav languages living. It is one of those few living Aryan languages which still make use of the Dual; and the Wends have been largely mixed with Germans.

On the other hand, I can give two examples, which would prove the contrary. French is one of the most advanced types of Roman speech (in the garb of its modern pronunciation); but here the Roman language was accepted by an originally Celtic population.—Hebrew is a far more advanced type of Semitic speech than Arabic, and yet the Jews were settlers among a partially non-Semitic population.

Thus apparently geographical and other questions will have to be taken into consideration; but it would certainly be an interesting task to examine those conditions which work for a speedy or a slow development not only of the Tibetan language, but of languages in general.