

BÉLA SZÉCHENYI'S AMDO TIBETAN "ROOT WORDS" AND THE NAMES OF THE TIBETAN LETTERS

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In this short article we try to untangle a little puzzle found in the attachment to the "Tangut" records of a late nineteenth century traveler.

In 1877-1880 Count Béla Széchenyi (1837-1918), son of István Széchenyi, founder of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, organized and led the first Hungarian expedition to the Manchu Empire. This undertaking became appreciated mostly for the geological, paleontological and geographical investigations of one of its members, Lajos Lóczy¹. The scientific results of the expedition were published in Hungarian in three volumes in 1890-1897, their German translation appeared in 1893-1899. The linguist of the expedition Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna left the group for health reasons early on in Bombay, so the linguistic observations on Amdo Tibetan were made by Béla Széchenyi himself. Though Tibet proper was on the expedition's itinerary, due to various difficulties the travelers never succeeded to get there. Nevertheless, they met Tibetans along their way in the Kukurun region and in Kansu (Amdo, Mtsho-sngon/Qinghai; Gansu). In the third volume the Count included a sizable glossary of "Tangut," i.e. Amdo words² followed by the names of the thirty free graphemes (*gsum-bcu-pa*) of the Tibetan alphabet and a list of spelling of ninety Tibetan "root words". The list entitled *In tibetanischen Schulen angewandte Übung zur Erlernung der Wurzelworte* "Exercise applied in Tibetan schools for learning the root words" is found on page 427 of the 1899 German version printed in Vienna we had at our disposal.

The "root words," actually syllables spelled³ in a version of the traditional Tibetan "cumulative" way⁴, were arranged in the list in four columns with each new line beginning with a capital letter. Széchenyi's list is far from being exhaustive and contains quite a few errors, but it shows some Amdo features: initial clusters, [w] for *p-* and *b-*, [ɛ] for *py-*, *phy-* and *by-*, etc. In his not very consistent and often inaccurate notation Széchenyi used the letters of the Latin

1 It was from him Sir Marc Aurel Stein learned about the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas near Dunhuang.

2 See also Róna-Tas, *Tibeto-Mongolica*, quoting some data from Széchenyi's glossary.

3 Tib. *sbyor-klog*, (Sikkim) *sbyong klog* 'spelling', Dawasamdub 1919, 744; 'spelling of words and reading', Roerich 1986, 369; *sbyor-klog byed-pa* 'to spell out', Dhongthog 1973, 452; *sbyor-klog = yi-ge 'i sngon rjes ming gsum sbyor-te klog-pa 'i ming*, Krang 2, 1985, 2077b; *sbyor-klog* 'saying a word by spelling out its letters', Goldstein 2001, 780c.

4 See Hannah 1985, 50: "Tibetan spelling may be described as a cumulative process, one only of the component parts of a syllable being taken up at a time. Next, the sound so taken up is repeated, but with the addition in advance, or by way of assumption, of the second component part. Then this second component part is pronounced by itself. Finally, the phonetic effect of *all* that has thus been taken up is pronounced together, and that effect represents the literal expression of the syllable."

alphabet mostly according to the Hungarian orthography of his time, where *cs* = [ʧ], sometimes for Amdo [tɕ], sometimes erroneously instead of *ch* for Amdo [h] or [kh]; *cz* (but also *tz*) = [tʃ], *j* = [j], *ny* = [ɲ], *ty* = [tʃ], *s* = [ʃ], *sz* = [s], but sometimes *sz* for Amdo [ɕ], etc. We reconstructed the spelling of these syllables in Written Tibetan and added Amdo equivalents (A) from Hua & Klu, de Roerich's *Le parler* (Rebkong), Haller's *Dialekt* (Themchen), Széchenyi's glossary (Sz) and other sources.

The repeated names of the four bound graphemes of vowels are the following:

i = Written Tib. *gi-gu* (Gzungs-'bum-thar has *gug-gu*), Amdo [kəɣə], Széchenyi writes *kogu*, *gogu*, *gog*, and even *ku*;

u = Written Tib. *zhabs-kyu*, Amdo [ɕaptɕə], Széchenyi writes *samsztyü*, *samszu*, *samtji*, *siamtjü*, *siamtziu*, *santzu*, *szamtju*, *szamtjü*, these seem to render [ɕamtɕə] with an anomalous nasal;

e = Written Tib. *'grend-bu*, Amdo [ndzəŋɔ], in Széchenyi's list *mdzumo*, *ndzungo* and *dzungo* or *ndjungo*, *ndjangu*; the compound letter *dz* in these forms should correspond to the Amdo retroflex affricate, while the compound *dj* seems to suggest an alveolo-palatal affricate (as in Written Tib. *gra* of *gra-ma*, Amdo [tɕa] 'the tip of the fur', but Written Tib. *gra* of *gra-gra* [tʃa] of [tʃa tʃa] 'fork to collect dung', see Hua & Klu, p.94b, and *ibid.*, Written Tib. *gra-'grig*, Amdo [tʃa ndzək] 'neat and clean', Written Tib. *gra-sgrig byed*, Amdo [tʃa hdzək jɛl] 'to arrange', cf. Das, p.238a: *sgra-sgrig*, p.297b: *'grig-'grig*), and while according to Hua & Klu, pp.97-98, the Amdo equivalent of Written Tib. *gri* 'knife' is consistently [tɕə], Written Tib. *gru* 'boat' and *gru* 'corner' appear in Amdo respectively as [tʃə] and [tɕə] (Hua & Klu, pp.98-99), cf. Themchen [tɕə] 'knife' and [tʃə] 'boat' (Haller, p.364), Written Tib. *gri-ltag* = Rebkong [tɕərtəɣ] 'dos d'un couteau ou d'une épée' (de Roerich, p.137).

o = Written Tib. *na-ro*, Amdo [naro], Széchenyi writes *naru*, *nariü*, *nara*, the first of which is the nearest to phonetic reality.

The Written Tibetan technical term *btags* (Amdo [tak], Themchen [ptaχ]) indicating the subjoined bound graphemes of the consonants *y*, *r*, *l*, appears in Széchenyi's list as *pta*, *ptak*, *ptok*, *bdok*, *pdok*, *ptorok*, *dtarok* (for *btarok*), *szta*, *rta* and *ta*. In the present list the term is also used for clusters of a surmounting bound consonantal grapheme (called traditionally *mgo*) and a free consonantal grapheme, for instance, in *szanjaptaknja* = *sa nya btags snya* instead of the traditional spelling *sa mgo nya snya*.⁵

Széchenyi's notation of the "root words", their reconstruction in Written Tibetan with Amdo equivalents

Kakukó [ö for ə]

ka gi-gu ki; A ki-ti-ma [kətəma] 'cuckoo'⁶;

kasamsztyükö

ka zhabs-kyu ku; A ku-dir byed [kədər jɛl] 'to yell'

5 Cf. also Hannah 1985, 53-54. Gzungs-'bum-thar uses the term *'dogs-can* for the subjoined allographs of *y*, *r*, *l*, *w*, but in spelling they have the attribute *btags-can* or *btags* (p.25: *gsham-gyi yi-ge'ii grub-tshul ngos-'dzin dgos*, and pp.26-28: *'dogs-can sbyor-tshul*). For the three surmounting consonantal allographs he applies the traditional term *mgo-can* (pp.30-32).

6 In the dialect of Gannan Luqu = Klu-chu rdzong (on the Tao River = Klu-chu, West of Co-ne in SW Gansu).

kamdzumoké	ka 'greng-bu ke; A ke sra-no [kə ʃano] 'the best'
kanarukó	ka na-ro ko; A ko-lham [koham] 'leather boot'
Khagogukhó	kha gi-gu khi; A khi-ga [khə hga] 'he/she'
kasamtszuka	kha zhabs-kyu khu; A khu-yug [khəjək] 'cuckoo'
kamdzumokeh	kha 'greng-bu khe; A khe [khe] 'profit'
csanarukó [cs for ch = kh]	kha na-ro kho; A kho [kho] 'himself/herself'
Nágogugnoh	nga gi-gu ngi; A ngi [*ŋə] 'no. 34' ⁷
nasamtszugno	nga zhabs-kyu ngu; A ngu [ŋə] 'to weep'
nandzungongniehnga	'greng-bu nge; A nges ma [ŋema] 'true'
nananarungó	nga na-ro ngo; A ngo [ŋo] 'face'
Csákogutszie [tszi = /tɕ/]	ca gi-gu ci; A ci [tɕə] 'what?'
csaszamtjutszü [ü for ə]	ca zhabs-kyu cu; A cu [tɕə] <i>in</i> sum-cu [səm tɕə] 'thirty'
csiandjungotié [ti = /tɕ/]	ca 'greng-bu ce; A ce-spyang [tɕe hteŋ] 'jackal'
	[The rest of the palatals, cha and ja, and the syllables nyi, nye, nyu are missing.]
njanarungó	nya na-ro nyo; A nyo [ŋo] 'to buy'
Takogutó	ta gi-gu ti; A ti [tə], cf. til [təl] 'sesame'
tasamtjüthó	ta zhabs-kyu tu; A tu [*tə] 'no. 69', cf. also gtun bu [htənbə] 'pestle'
tandjungoti	ta 'greng-bu te; A te te [tete] <i>child language</i> 'automobile'
	[Missing are: ta na-ro to and the other syllables with oral coronal initials and the syllables ni, nu, ne.]
nananarünó	na na-ro no; A no [no] <i>a grammatical particle</i> ⁸
Vagognó [v for w; n for p]	pa gi-gu pi; A pi [pə], pír [pər] 'writing brush' Cf. pad-ma [wanma] 'lotus', pags-pa [wak kwa] 'fur', but pu-ti/po-ti [pətə] 'volume'
pasantszupüh	pa zhabs-kyu pu; A pu-ti [pətə] 'volume',
pandzungopé	pa 'greng-bu pe; A pe-cin [pətəŋ] 'Peking'
	[The rest of the syllables with oral labial initials and the syllables mi, mu, me are missing.]
manarömó	ma na-ro mo; A mo [mo] 'female', cf. mo bya [mopea], Sz samov [ɕamo] 'hen'
Tzhakogatzó	tsha gi-gu tshi; A tshi dkar [tshə kar] 'alum'
csasamtjitzü [cs for cz = ts]	tsha zhabs-kyu tsu; A tsu [*tsə] 'no. 77', cf. also gtsug [htsək] 'top of the head'
	[If Széchenyi's Tzh really renders an aspirate, the order of the letters tsa and tsha is inverted. Missing are: the series of tsa, the rest of the series of tsha; dza+gi-gu, dza+'greng-bu, dza+na-ro.]

7 This sequence of letters is only used as a mark of the number 34 when numbering volumes, etc.

8 Indicates the result of an action as in *bris-no e 'grigs-gi* 'Is what is written right?' or the doer as in *yi-ge 'bri-no de su red* 'Who is that person *there* who is writing?' (Hua & Klu 1993, 315ab).

- zandjungodzé [z for dz or ts] dza 'greng-bu dze; A dze [*tse] 'no. 109', cf. also mdze
[ndze] 'leprosy', and mdzes-ma [ndzema] 'beautiful woman'
[Missing are: wa+gi-gu, etc.]
- vanarnó [rnó for ruo] wa na-ro wo; A wo [*ʔo] 'no. 140', cf. wod [ʔol], 'strike
(a match)! < wad [ʔal]; wa [ʔa], Themchen [ʔa], Rebkong ʔa,
Sz ra [ʔa] 'fox'
- Siakoguse [ea] zha gi-gu zhi; A zhi-ki [ʔəʔə] 'fine' (e. g. flour) < zhib; zhi-dbe
[ʔəpde] 'peace', cf. bzhi [hzə], Themchen [bzə], Golok [wzi],
Rebkong ži = [zə] 'four'
[Missing are: zha+'greng-bu, etc.; za+gi-gu, za+'greng-bu, za+na-ro.]
- szasiamtjüszü za zhabs-kyu zu; A zu [*sə] 'no. 82', cf. zur [sər] 'corner'
[Missing are: 'a+gi-gu, 'a+zhabs-kyu, 'a+na-ro.]
- adzungoé 'a 'greng-bu 'e; A 'e [*e], cf. 'eb [ep] 'opportunity'
[Missing are: ya+gi-gu, ya+zhabs-kyu, ya+'greng-bu.]
- janarujó ya na-ro yo; A yo [jo], cf. yong [joŋ] 'to come', yo-byad
[jopəal] 'utensils'
- Rakogureh ra gi-gu ri; A ri [rə] 'mountain'
[Missing are: ra+zhabs-kyu, ra+'greng-bu, ra+na-ro; la+gi-gu, la+'greng-bu,
la+na-ro.]
- lasiamtzinlü [n for u] la zhabs-kyu lu; A lu [lə] 'to cough'
[Missing are: sha+gi-gu, sha+zhabs-kyu.]
- sandjanguszhi sha 'greng-bu shi; A shi [ʔə] 'to die'
- sanaraszó sha na-ro sho; A sho [əo] 'dice'
[Missing are the syllables with initial *s* and *h*.]
- Csakogucsó [cs for ch?] ha gi-gu hi [ʔ]; A hi [*hə] 'no. 59'; cf. hin-chu [həntʂe]
'male or female secretion', see also phun-tshogs [həntʂok]
'happiness'
- asamtzuó a zhabs-kyu u; A u [*ə] 'no. 90'; cf. u-tshugs [ə tʂək]
'persistency'
- anaruó a na-ro o; A o [*o] 'no. 150'; cf. o-le [ole] 'OK', the same in
Themchen; Rebkong, Golok *ō-jā* [o:-ja:]
- szakaptascsa [cs for ch = /x/?] sa ka btags ska; A ska [hka], cf. skar-ma [hkarma],
Rebkong *xkar-ma*, Golok *škar-ma*, Themchen [škarma],
Sz szkárma [skarma] 'star'
- Szakaptarga sa ga btags rga; A sga [hga], Rebkong, Golok *rga*, Themchen
[rga] 'saddle', Sz sztarga [starga] < rta-sga
- szanaptakrna [= rŋa] sa nga btags snga; A snga [hŋa] 'early, Themchen [ŋaro] and
[sŋaro] 'morning' < snga-dro
- szanjaptakuja [u for n] sa nya btags snya; A snya [hŋa], cf. snyan [hŋan] 'ear'

szataptaksta	sa ta btags sta [ʃta]; A sta [hta] 'to untie'; cf. also sta-re [htare], Rebkong <i>xta-re</i> , Golok <i>šta-ri</i> , Themchen [ʃtari] 'ax'
Szadabdakrda [= rda]	sa da btags sda; A sda [hda], cf. sdar-ma [hdarma] 'coward'; also Themchen [ɣdan] 'mat' < gdan
szanaptokna [= na]	sa na btags sna*; A sna [hna], Rebkong <i>xna</i> , Golok <i>šna</i> , <i>xnā</i> , Themchen [ʃna, ŋa], Sz szna [sna] 'nose'
szapabdokspa	sa pa btags spa; A spa [hwa] 'tinder; wormwood', but cf. spu [hwə], Themchen [ʃsə] and [ʃpə] 'hair'
szapadtarokrba [d for b?; /rba/]	sa ba btags sba; A sba [hba/wa], cf. sbang-ma [hbaŋma, waŋma] 'dregs', but sbu-gu [wəɣə], Themchen [bzəɣə] 'tube'
Szamatoksma	sa ma btags sma; A sma-ra [hmara] 'beard'; cf. sman [hman], Themchen [ʃman/ṃan], Rebkong <i>xmen</i> , Sz szmen 'medicament'
szataptokszta	sa ta btags sta; A sta [hta], repetition, see above
rakaptokrga	ra ka btags rka; A rka [hka] 'channel, drain'; cf. rkang [hkaŋ], Sz szkunga 'foot, leg' < rkang-pa; rkang-thang [hkaŋ than], Themchen [ʃkaŋthan], Rebkong <i>xkañ-t'an</i> 'by foot'
rakaptorokrga	ra ga btags rga; A rga [hga], cf. rgan-mo [hgan mo] 'auntie; wife', Themchen [rgan mo] 'wife'; rgad-po [hgað po], Rebkong <i>ga-po</i> , <i>ga-wo</i> , Golok <i>rga-ho</i> 'old (man)'
Ranatorokgna [n/gn for ng]	ra nga btags rnga; A rnga [hŋa], cf. rnga-bong [hŋa woŋ], rnga-mong [hŋamoŋ], Rebkong <i>rña moñ</i> , Themchen [rŋamuŋ], Sz gnamung, rha mung [= ŋamuŋ/rŋamuŋ] 'camel'
radjaptokrdja	ra ja btags rja; A rja [hja], cf. rje [hdze], Themchen [rdze] 'to exchange'
ranjaptokrnja	ra nya btags rnya; A rnya [hŋa], cf. rnying [hŋaŋ] 'to grow old', Themchen [rŋuŋa], Rebkong <i>xñiñ-ña</i> 'old'
ratapdokrda	ra ta btags rta; A rta [hta], Rebkong <i>rta</i> , <i>šta</i> , <i>xta</i> , Sz szta, Themchen [ʃta] 'horse'
Rataptokrdá	ra dabtagrda; A rda [hda], cf. rdab [hdap] 'to clap', also rdo [hdo], Themchen [rdo], Rebkong, Golok <i>rdo</i> , Sz szto [sto?] 'stone'
ranaptokrna	ra na btags rna; A rna [hna], Themchen [rna], Sz rna-va [= rna-wa] 'ear', Rebkong <i>xna-loñ</i> 'boucle d'oreille'
rapaptokpa	ra ba btags rba; A rba [wa], cf. rba-rlabs [wa hlap], Themchen [rbaləp] and [rbarləp] 'wave', but rbab-rdo [ɣap hdo] 'boulder'
ramaptokrma	ra ma btags rma; A rma [hma], cf. rma-kha [hma kha], Themchen [rmaɣa] and [əmaɣa] 'wound'

Ratzaptokrdza	ra tsa btags rtsa; A rtsa [htsa], Themchen [ʃtsa] ‘artery’ < rtsa ratzaptokrdzers* ra dza btags rdza []; A rdza [hdza], cf. rdza-dkar [hdza hkar] ‘ceramic bowl’, rdza-ma, Them-chen [rdzama] ‘earthen-ware’
lakaptokrga [= rka]	la ka btags lka; A lka [*hka], cf. lkugs-pa [hkəkkwa] ‘dumb, mute’; lkog, Themchen [ʃkoχ] ‘secret, hidden’
lakaptokrgah [= rga]	la ga btags rga; A lga [hga], cf. lga-skya [hga htea] ‘ginger’, lgang-lug [hgaŋlə] ‘balloon’
Lanaptokgna [= nga]	la nga btags lnga; A lnga [hŋa], Themchen [rŋa], Rebkong, Golok <i>rŋa</i> ‘five’
lacsaptokrdza [= rca]	la cab btags lca; A lca [htea] ‘wild celery’
lacsaptoktin [tin for tia]	la jab btags lja; A lja [hdza], cf. ljang-khu [hdzangə], Themchen [rdzaŋkhə], Rebkong <i>jañ-k’i</i> ‘green’
lataptokrda	la ta btags lta; A lta [hta], Themchen [ʃta], ‘to look’, Reb-kong <i>xtē/rtē/tē-no</i> (< bltas) ‘regarder’ or la da btags lda lda [hda], cf. ldang [hdan], Themchen [rdan] ‘to jump’
Lababtokerba	la ba btags lba; A lba [ɣwa] or [hba], cf. lba-ba [ɣwa wa] ‘goiter’ and lbang-ma [hbaŋma] ‘dregs’
lapaptokspá [= ʃpa: for /ʃpa/?]	la pa btags lpa; A lpa [wa], cf. lug-lpags [lək wak] ‘sheep skin’, shun-lpags [xhən bak], Themchen [ɕənpax] ‘skin’ [lpa should precede lba]
karatacsak [csak for kcsa]	ka ra btags kra; A kra [tea], cf. skra [htea] Themchen [ʃca], Rebkong <i>škja</i> , Golok <i>šgra</i> ‘hair on the head’
karasztatah [tah for tha]	kha ra btags khra; A khra [teha] ‘falcon’
Karasztatzak [tzak for ktza]	ga ra btags gra; A gra [tea] and [tʃa], see above the name of the grapheme <i>e</i> (‘greng-bu)
karasztatah	[repetition, twice]
tarasztatah	ta ra btags tra*; A tra [tʃa*]: Das lists a few, partly Indian, words with <i>tr</i> initials, e.g. <i>tra</i> ‘ape’, <i>tram-pa</i> ‘hard’, <i>tri-shu-la</i> ‘trident’, but no similar entries are listed in Hua & Klu or in Haller. See also <i>pa-tra</i> in Mgon-po Bkra-shis, p.361
Tarasztardza [rdz for dzʔ]	da ra btags dra; A dra [tʃa] ‘net’, Themchen [tʃə] ‘odor, smell < dri, but cf. ’dra [ndza], Themchen nandza ‘similar’, Rebkong <i>dra</i>
parasztatna [tn for tr]	pa ra btags pra; A pra [tʃa] ‘medium; token (in prediction)’, see also Das; cf. also Themchen [ɕtʃə] < dpri ‘colostrum’, Sumatiratna renders it with Mong. <i>uuray</i> id.; according to Das: ‘cream also gen. porridge made of milk and rice’
parasztamcsia*	pha/bra ra btags phra/bra; A phra [tʃha] ‘fine, thin’
marasztaszmar*	ma ra btags mra; A mra [], no equivalent of Written Tib. smra ‘to speak’ in Hua & Klu and in Themchen

Kajersztastja [tja = ca for /tea/] ka ya btags kya; A kya [tea], cf. skya [hteā] 'greyish white; light in color'; Themchen [ʃtee] 'to grow' < skye	
kajertacsá [csa = tʃa for /teha/] kha ya btags khya; A khya [teha], cf. khyad [tehal] 'difference'	
kajertatjia vajertasia	ga ya btags gya; A gya [tea], cf. gyang [teŋ] 'wall' pa ya btags pya; A pya [tea], cf. spyang-khu [hteŋ khə], Themchen [ʃteŋkhə], Rebkong <i>xč'an-ki</i> , Golok <i>šuoñ-kó</i> , Sz <i>csianko</i> [teŋko] 'wolf'
Pajertasia	pha ya btags phya; A phya [ea], cf. phyags [eak], Rebkong <i>šay</i> , <i>šey</i> , Themchen [ʃeak] 'hand'
pajertasa majertamnja [=mŋa]	ba ya btags bya; A bya [ea], Rebkong <i>ša</i> , Themchen [ʃeā] 'bird' ma ya btags mya [ŋa]; A mya [ŋa], cf. mya-ngan [ŋa ŋan] 'grief and pain'; Themchen [mŋaŋ] 'to cost' < myangs
kalaptokla [= la]	ka la btags kla; A kla [hla], cf. kla-klo [hla hlo] 'uncivilized, savage'; klu [hlə], Themchen [ɣlə] 'nāga, dragon'
Kalaptokrla [= ɣla]	ga la btags gla; A gla [hla] 'wages; fee'; gla-rtsi [hlar tsə], Themchen [ɣlaʃtsə] 'musk'
palaptokrla*	ba la btags bla; A bla [hla] 'upper', bla-ma [hlama], Rebkong <i>la-ma</i> , Golok <i>wla-ma</i> , <i>la-ma</i> , Themchen [blama] 'lama priest'

The Names of the Thirty Consonantal Letters of the Tibetan Alphabet in Széchenyi's Record⁹

Kazet ཀ Kha ཁ Kardun ཁ Gna ཅ | Tjalok ཅ Tsa ཆ Csiazet ཇ Nja ཉ | Taszti ཉ Tha ཎ Tasztja
 ཎ Na ཏ | Vakapszi ཎ Pah ཎ Vakardun ཎ Ma ཎ | Tzhá ཎ Tza ཎ Dza ཎ Ora ཎ [= ka] | Sia ཎ Sza ཎ
 A ཎ Ya ཎ | Ra ཎ La ཎ Sa ཎ Sza ཎ | Csa [= cha for ha] ཎ Ah ཎ

These correspond to Written Tibetan

ka zed kha ga sdum nga | ca log cha ja zed nya | ta ste'u tha da rkyā na |
 pa kha-phyi pha ba kha-sdum ma | tsa tsha dza wa | zha za 'a | ya ra la | sha sa ha a.

In Amdo Tibetan, initial *k* and *g*, *c* and *j*, *t* and *d*, as well as *p* and *b* uniformly render unaspirated voiceless stops [k], [tɕ] and [t], respectively. This is why are their letters distinguished through attributes when necessary to indicate their original values in spelling, as in Széchenyi's record. In Amdo, *zh-* > [ɕ], *z-* > [s], *sh-* > [xh] or [ç] and *s-* > [sʰ]; each of these graphemes renders a distinct phoneme and there is no need of attributes when spelling them.

Sz *Kazet* [ka zet], cf. Amdo *zed* [sel] 'chipped, broken'; according to Sumatiratna II, p.755, *zed* = Mong. *emterkei* 'chipped, nicked', *zed-po* = Mong. *semeregsen* 'frayed'. The partly Amdo-based Mongol tradition quoted by Čoyima & Būrīne, p.8, has *k* = *angyarqai/qayarqai ga* 'open/broken *g*' = *ʃOarliγ-un ga* 'the *g* of the Law (Tib. *bka*)'.

9 "Tibetanisches, aus dreissig Buchstaben bestehendes Alphabet" on p.427.

Sz *Kardun* = *ga sdum* [ka rdum], cf. Amdo *sdum* [hdəm], cf. *ga sdum* = *ga 'di'i ming* ‘the name of this (letter) *ga*’ in Mgon-po Bkra-shis et al., *Dag-gsar*, p.87; cf. Themchen [rdə] ‘to tidy up, to stow away’ < *sdu*. See *Dag-gsar*, p.330b (2): *sdum-pa-ste khyim dang khang-pa'i brda rnying* ‘*sdum-pa* is an old word for house’; Sumatiratna I, p.1153, translates *sdum ni khyim-mam khang-pa* with Mong. *ger inu ger buyu bayising* ‘home or house’; Jäschke, p.295a, has *sdum-pa* ‘house, mansion’, but see Ngam-rim I, p.279: *ga sdum* = *ga kha bsum-dang don-cig* ‘meaning the same as closed-mouth *g*’ and I, p.278: *ga kha bsum* = *Mdo Khams-kyi yul-gru 'gar ka dang ga gnyis-kyi sgra gdangs-gcig-tu 'bod-pas ga yig gsal-bar ston-byed-kyi tshig cig* ‘as in some corners of Amdo and Kham, (the letters) *k* and *g* have the same pronunciation, this is a word to distinguish the letter *g* (from the letter *k*)’. In the Mongol tradition *kh* = *aman-u ka* ‘the *k* of the mouth’ = *buruyu qaraysan ga* ‘reverse *g*’; *g* = *bitegüü ga* ‘closed *g*’ (Čoyima & Bürine, p.8).

Sz *Gna*, read *Nga* [ŋa]. For the Mongols, *ng* = *bičiqan ng* ‘little *ng*’ = *bey-e-yin ng* ‘personal [pronoun] *ng*’ (ibid.)

Sz *Tjalok* = *ca log* [tea lok], cf. Amdo *log* [lok] ‘rounded’, see *log* = *yul-skad la-lar dbyibs zlum-po'i don-te | rdo-log, sa-log ces lta-bu* ‘in some dialects it means rounded shape, for instance, round rock, round earth’ in *Dag-gsar*, p.615b (2g). The Mongols have *c* = *qodoγodun | Oja* ‘belly *j*’ and *ch* = *qoyar gedesütei ča* ‘double-bellied *ch*’ (Čoyima & Bürine, p.9); ‘belly’ is the traditional term for a closed, round shape in writing.

Sz *Csiazet* = *ca zed* [tea zet], *zet* with [t] instead of the expected [l]; cf. *ja zed* ‘open *j*’ = *ja yig-gi ming* ‘the name of the letter *ja*’ in *Dag-gsar*, p.200a (1). For the Mongols, *j* = *čay-yin | Oja* ‘the *j* of tea’ (Tib. *ja*); *nya* = *ʃOiyasun-u ña* ‘the *ny* of fish’ (Tib. *nya*, ibid.).

Sz *Tasztı* = *ta ste'u* [ta sti]; see *ste'u* [hti], ‘small *ax*’, Themchen [štari] ‘*ax*’, cf. *ta-ste'u* = *ta 'di'i ming* ‘the name of this (letter) *ta*’ in *Dag-gsar*, p.232a. According to Ngam-rim, I, p.794: *ta sgur* = *Mdo Khams-kyi yul-gru 'ga-zhig-la ta dang da gnyis-kyi sgra gdangs gcig-tu 'bod-pas khyad-par 'byed byed-kyi tshig* ‘as in some corners of Amdo and Kham, (the letters) *t* and *d* have the same pronunciation, this is a word to make a difference between them (when spelling)’

Sz *Tasztja* = [ta stea] < *da rkya* [ta hteha], cf. *rkya-mi* [hteħamŋə] ‘mounted soldier’; *da rkya* = *da 'di'i ming* ‘the name of this (letter) *da*’ in *Dag-gsar*, p.283a; for the initial cluster, see Themchen [štea] ‘to swim’ < *rkyal*. Ngam-rim gives a different name: *da rkyang* = (1) *yi-ge da yig rkyang-pa* ‘the letter *d*, the one which is stretched out’ | (2) *Mdo Khams-kyi yul-gru 'gar ta dang da gnyis-kyi sgra gdangs gcig-tu 'bod-pas khyad-par 'byed byed-kyi tshig* ‘as in some corners of Amdo and Kham (the letters) *t* and *d* have the same pronunciation, this is a word to make a difference between them (when spelling)’ (I, 937); *rkyang-ba* ‘stretched out’, Das, p.78, < *rkyong*, perf. *brkyangs*, Das, p.80b; Amdo *rkyang* [hteħaŋ] ‘to stretch out, extend’, Hua & Klu, p.17a. For the Mongols, *t* = *bögtür da* ‘hump-back *d*’; *th* = *büsetei ta* ‘belted *t*’; *d* = *siduryu da* ‘straight *d*’; *n* = *ergigülgen na* ‘revolving *n*’ (Čoyima & Bürine, p.9).

Sz *Vakapszi* = [wa khapsi/khəpeɪ] = *pa kha-phye* ‘open *pa*’, see Amdo *kha-phye* [kha ee] perf. < *kha 'byed* [kha ndzel] ‘to open’ (e. g. a chest), in Hua & Klu, p.46; Themchen [kha ɬeɪ] < [kha ɬeɛ].

Sz *Vakardun* = [wa kha rdum] = *ba kha sdum*: it would be easier to deal with [wa rdum] in analogy with *ga sdum* above. Both graphemes *g* and *b* have a closed element, a contrastive feature distinguishing them from *k* and *p* respectively. But it is also possible that the attribute here is *kha sdom*, Themchen [rdom] 'to bind, to close', see also *kha 'dam* = Mong. *amasar-i boyoqu* 'to close the orifice' (Sumatiratna I, 154), an antonym of *kha phye/'byed*. Čoyima & Bürine, p.11, gives in Mongol: *p* = *qayarqai ba* 'broken b'; *ph* = *ečiǵe-yin pa* 'father's p' (Tib. *pha*); *b* = *biteǵüü ba* 'closed b' = *üniyen-ü ba* 'the b of the cow' (Tib. *ba*); *m* = *eke-yin ma* 'mother's m' (Tib. *ma*); *ts* = *qodoǵodun-u ja*; *tsh* = *qoyar gedesüitei cha*; *dz* = *sarbaǵar ja* 'ragged dza'; *wa* = *üneǵen-ü wa* 'the fox's wa' (Tib. *wa*); *zh* = *malayay-yin ža (ša)* 'the sh of the hat' (Tib. *zhva*); *ideǵen-ü za (sa)* 'the s of food' (Tib. *za*); ' = *sinayan 'a (a)* 'the ladle a'; *y* = *ǵurban toluyai-tu ya* 'the three-headed y' (p.12), etc.¹⁰

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10 See also Abel-Rémusat, *Recherches*, pp.153-154, based on Peter Simon Pallas' *Sammlungen historischen Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften*, vol. II, p.361, with Abel-Rémusat's modifications, corrections and miscorrections: "Je serois encore porté à regarder comme une preuve du fréquent usage que les Mongols font de l'alphabet Tibétain, les noms vulgaires qu'ont reçus chez eux les lettres qui le composent. Pour les graver plus facilement dans la mémoire des jeunes étudiants ; on a coutume de donner à ces lettres une dénomination prise de leur figure : ainsi l'on nommera le ᠰ *ths* et le ᠰ *tchh* , *khoyar-getsen* [Pallas: *Chojorgässen* = Oirat *xoyor gesen* < *qoyar gedesün*], ou les lettres à deux ventres ; le ᠨ *ng*, *eboudouktu* [Pallas: *Obodöktä* = Oirat *öbödöktä* < *ebüdügtü*] ou la lettre qui a un genou ; le ᠨ *dja* et le ᠨ *za*, *khourougoun* [Pallas: *Churgun*, Oirat *xurḡun* < *qurḡun*] ; ou digitées ; le ᠨ *da*, *soumoun* [Pallas, erroneously: *Schumun* = *sumun*], ou la flèche [Tibetan *mda*] ; le ᠨ *tha* , *temen-tabak* [Pallas: *Tämän-Tabak*, Oirat *temän tabak* < *temegen tabay* 'camel hoof'], la trace du chameau ; le ᠨ *ta* , *bögen* [Pallas: *Bökön* 'das starke', cf. *bökö* 'wrestler; strong'], la robuste [cf. Tibetan *stag* 'tiger' ?] ; ᠨ *pa* , *angarkha* [angyarqai] , l'ouverte ; ᠨ *ba* , *bouttöh* [Pallas: *Buttöh*, Oirat *bütü* < *biteǵüü*], la fermée ; ᠨ *cha*, *makhale* [Pallas: *Machalä*, Oirat *maxalä* < *malayai* 'chapeau', here an error for Tibetan *zhva*], l'utile ; ᠨ *ya* [for *a* or *ya* ?], la rayée redressée, *ourotattaksan* [Pallas: *Njah* for ᠨ *nya* *Urrotattaksan* 'das verkehrt gezogne', Oirat *urü tataksan* < *uruyu tataysan* 'that is pulled down', or *örü* 'against' ?], et ᠨ *h* (ou plutôt le signe des voyelles longues) *ohlinge* [Pallas: *Ohlingä* 'das hakenförmige', **olingä*, cf. Oirat *ol'ü* 'curved' < *oliyu*] ou la crochue ; ainsi des autres."

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